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PTQ3961

PAGE 01 STATE 164293 102013Z
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 /000R

DRAFTED BY S/S-O:VONDA K DELAWIE
APPROVED BY S/S-O:VKDELAWIE

-----D7FDF5 102013Z /38

O 102010Z JUL 95 ZFF5
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
INFO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 164293

NODIS

FOR D/S TALBOTT TODEP 9020

FOLLOWING STATE 164293 SENT ACTION SARAJEVO
USUN NEW YORK JUL 10 BEING RPTD FOR UR INFO:
QTE:

S E C R E T STATE 164293

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EYES ONLY FOR THE CHARGE FROM EXEC SEC

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, MOPPS, UN, BK
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT'S CONVERSATION WITH
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BOSNIAN FM SACIRBEY

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT. NODIS

2. THIS CABLE CONTAINS A DRAFT MEMORANDUM OF AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT'S TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SACIRBEY ON JULY 9. THE AMBASSADOR INITIATED THE CALL. I ASK THAT YOU NOT PERMIT COPIES TO BE MADE OF THIS MESSAGE, AND THAT YOU DO NOT DISTRIBUTE IT OUTSIDE OF THE MISSION'S EXECUTIVE OFFICE. DEPARTMENT RECIPIENTS SHOULD NOT DISTRIBUTE OUTSIDE THE BUREAU'S FRONT OFFICE.

3. BEGIN TEXT:

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

DATE: SUNDAY, JULY 9, 1995

TIME: 0725 EDT

PARTICIPANTS: AMBASSADOR MADELEINE ALBRIGHT

BOSNIAN FOREIGN MINISTER MUHAMED SACIRBEY

SUBJECT: FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS REGARDING SITUATION
IN SREBRENICA

BEGIN TEXT:

AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE SITUATION IN SREBRENICA AND ASKED FOREIGN MINISTER SACIRBEY ABOUT REPORTS THAT A BOSNIAN SOLDIER HAD SHOT AND KILLED A DUTCH PEACEKEEPER. SACIRBEY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT WAS HIS UNDERSTANDING AS WELL. HE SAID EARLY REPORTS HAD LED THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT TO BELIEVE THE UNPROFOR TROOP HAD BEEN CAUGHT IN THE CROSSFIRE BETWEEN

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BOSNIAN SERB AND GOVERNMENT TROOPS, BUT THAT IT NOW APPEARS THE SHOOTING WAS INTENTIONAL. SACIRBEY HAD NOT HEARD THAT THE SOLDIER WAS SHOT AT A BOSNIAN CHECKPOINT, AS THE AMBASSADOR WAS TOLD, BUT WILL TRY TO CLARIFY THE FACTS WHEN HE MEETS WITH DUTCH OFFICIALS LATER TODAY.

THE AMBASSADOR INQUIRED WHETHER SACIRBEY HAD REACHED THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. SACIRBEY REPLIED THAT REPLIED THAT HE HAD NOT, NOR DID HE KNOW IF HIS

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STAFF HAD BEEN SUCCESSFUL, BUT HE HAD SPOKEN TO GENERAL SMITH IN GENEVA AND NATO SECRETARY GENERAL CLAES. SMITH AND HIS PARTY WERE NOT AWARE OF THE EVENTS IN SREBRENICA WHEN SACIRBEY PHONED HIM. SACIRBEY THOUGHT SMITH HAD PROBABLY ARRIVED IN SPLIT. HE SAID CLAES INDICATED NATO WAS READY TO TAKE ACTION WHEN IT RECEIVED AUTHORIZATION, BUT WAS CONCERNED ABOUT THE EXCHANGE OF LETTERS WITH UN SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS-GHALI.

PRESIDENT IZETGEBGOVIC TOLD SACIRBEY THE SITUATION IN SREBRENICA HAD DETERIORATED FURTHER AND CNN HAD REPORTED THAT THE SERBS HAD ADVANCED 3 KILOMETERS INTO THE ENCLAVE. HE BELIEVED THE SERBS WOULD PROBABLY RETREAT IF THREATENED AND RESUME THEIR ACTION IN A FEW DAYS. AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT RAISED THE NEED TO FOCUS ON GETTING THE UNPROFOR TROOPS RELEASED AND REITERATED THAT THERE WOULD BE QUESTIONS ABOUT THE SHOOTING OF THE DUTCH PEACEKEEPER IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING. SACIRBEY SUGGESTED THE SECURITY COUNCIL REQUEST THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT TO INVESTIGATE THE INCIDENT, ALTHOUGH HE GUESSED IT WOULD TAKE A LONG TIME TO FIND OUT WHAT ACTUALLY HAPPENED. SACIRBEY EMPHASIZED THAT THIS

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PAGE 04 STATE 164293 102013Z
INCIDENT WAS CERTAINLY NOT IN BOSNIA'S INTEREST.
AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT SAID SHE WOULD TRY TO ASCERTAIN WHAT WAS HAPPENING WITH RESPECT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING.

THE CALL WAS CONCLUDED AT 0732.

4. END TEXT.
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PAGE 01 USUN N 02765 130117Z
ACTION SS-00

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INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 /000W
-----D8DD2F 130117Z /38

O 130100Z JUL 95
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6239
INFO AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN NEW YORK 002765

EXDIS DECAPTIONED

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/11/05
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR,
SUBJECT: BOSNIAN FOREIGN MINISTER TO MEET WITH ISRAELI
-- FOREIGN MINISTER PERES

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

2. ON THE MARGINS OF A JULY 11 DISCUSSION LARGELY
DEVOTED TO THE SITUATION AROUND SREBRENICA, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] SAID THAT FOREIGN MINISTER SACIRBEY WAS
PLANNING TO MEET WITH ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER PERES ON
JULY 12. [REDACTED] SAID THAT THE MEETING WAS BEING KEPT
CONFIDENTIAL. HE EXPECTED THAT THE TWO MINISTERS WOULD
DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITY OF ESTABLISHING DIPLOMATIC
RELATIONS BETWEEN BOSNIA AND ISRAEL. [REDACTED] SAID THAT
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PAGE 02 USUN N 02765 130117Z
"SOME IN SARAJEVO" FEARED THAT THE MEETING WOULD BE

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OPPOSED BY SOME OF BOSNIA'S ISLAMIC SUPPORTERS, MOST NOTABLY IRAN. IN THE END, HOWEVER, THEY DID NOT PREVENT SACIRBEY FROM ATTENDING.

3. COMMENT: SACIRBEY HAS LONG ADVOCATED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL, AND ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS HAS ASKED FOR U.S. ASSISTANCE WITH THE ISRAELIS AND WITH THE GOB. [REDACTED] IMPLIED THAT SOME BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WERE ADVOCATING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONS ONLY IF THE ISRAELIS AGREED TO SUPPLY BOSNIA WITH MILITARY EQUIPMENT OR TRAINING. END COMMENT.

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4. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. ALBRIGHT

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PAGE 01 LONDON 09935 141338Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00
	SRPP-00	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08	LAB-01
	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01
	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00
	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00
	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00	/029W			

-----D9893D 141339Z /38

O 141327Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1240
 INFO NATO EU COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO PRIORITY
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

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B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

C O N F I D E N T I A L LONDON 009935

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PREL MARR BK UK
 SUBJECT: JULY 13 RIFKIND-SACIRBEY MEETING

REF: LONDON 9878

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT. OADR FOR FOREIGN GOVERNMENT INFORMATION.

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PAGE 02 LONDON 09935 141338Z

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 6 JUL 2020
 DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2009 200705105

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2. [REDACTED] PROVIDED US
SOME SUBSTANCE ON THE JULY 13 MEETING BETWEEN FOREIGN
SECRETARY RIFKIND AND BOSNIAN FOREIGN MINISTER SACIRBEY,
TO ADD TO THE BARE BONES BRIEFED TO THE PRESS FOLLOWING
THE MEETING (REFTEL).

B1

[REDACTED]

B1

[REDACTED]

B1

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[REDACTED]

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6. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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PAGE 01 SARAJE 00354 191931Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	SRFP-00
	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	L-01	ADS-00	M-00
	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00
	DRL-09	G-00	/016W				

-----DB0C94 191931Z /38

R 191924Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0410
INFO AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SARAJEVO 000354

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, BK
SUBJECT: IZETBEGOVIC: "BECAUSE WE ARE MOSLEMS"

1. PRESIDENT ALIJA IZETBEGOVIC SAID ON BOSNIAN STATE TELEVISION JULY 18 THAT THE WORLD HAS FAILED TO COME TO THE AID OF B-H BECAUSE "THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CANNOT ACCEPT THE FACT THAT MOSLEMS WILL FINALLY HAVE A STATE OF THEIR OWN."

2. HIS COMMENT CAME IN RESPONSE TO A JOURNALIST'S QUESTION AS TO WHY THE WORLD STOOD BY PASSIVELY AS THE SERBS
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PAGE 02 SARAJE 00354 191931Z
COMMITTED GENOCIDAL ACTS AGAINST B-H, EVEN THOUGH THE UN

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HAD UNDERTAKEN OBLIGATIONS TO PREVENT SUCH CRIMES.

TEXT

3. PERTINENT EXCERPTS, AS TRANSLATED BY THE OSLOBODENJE AGENCY:

"IT IS BECAUSE WE ARE A MOSLEM PEOPLE, EVEN THOUGH WE ARE A EUROPEAN PEOPLE. THE WORLD DOES NOT LIKE TO SEE THIS, EVEN THOUGH BOSNIA IS NOT PURELY A MOSLEM STATE... THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CANNOT ACCEPT THE FACT THAT MOSLEMS WILL FINALLY HAVE A STATE OF THEIR OWN. IT IS USING THE CHETNIKS AS EXECUTORS IN BOSNIA AND IT IS PRETENDING NOT TO SEE WHAT IS HAPPENING. THEY ARE DOWNPLAYING ALL PROMISES AND RESOLUTIONS WHICH THEY ADOPTED THEMSELVES, THEY ARE MAKING UP VARIOUS REASONS TO NOT CARRY OUT THE TASKS OUTLINED IN DIFFERENT CHARTERS AND RESOLUTIONS. THUS, IF YOU ASK ME WHY, THE ANSWER IS -- BECAUSE WE ARE MOSLEMS."

COMMENT

4. IN THE WEEK SINCE THE FALL OF SREBRENICA, BOSNIANS OF ALL WALKS HAVE BEEN SEARCHING FOR AN EXPLANATION FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S REACTION, TYPICALLY SUMMED UP AS A "BETRAYAL." THE SENSE OF BETRAYAL IS KEENLY FELT. SOME OF OUR CONTACTS FEEL MOST LET DOWN BY THE UNITED STATES, WHICH THEY VIEW AS A KINDRED MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY. IN
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PAGE 03 SARAJE 00354 191931Z
CONTRAST, BOSNIANS HAVE NOT GENERALLY TRUSTED EUROPEAN MOTIVES IN THE BALKANS. SREBRENICA ONLY CONFIRMED THEIR SUSPICIONS.

5. IZETBEGOVIC'S STATEMENT IS BY FAR THE MOST DIRECT COMMENT ON THE SUBJECT FROM A GOBH OFFICIAL. IT CAPTURES THE WELTANSCHAUUNG IN SARAJEVO: THE WORLD SEES BOSNIA THROUGH A RELIGIOUS PRISM. THE IRONY HERE IN SARAJEVO IS THAT MOST MOSLEMS DO NOT CONSIDER THEMSELVES RELIGIOUS AND DO NOT SUPPORT ANY SORT OF THEOCRACY. THEY MAY SUBSCRIBE

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TO IZETBEGOVIC'S EXPLANATION, BUT THEY BRIDLE AT HIS TALK
OF A MOSLEM STATE -- AT LEAST SO FAR.
MENZIES

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PAGE 01 ZAGREB 02863 311047Z
ACTION AID-00

INFO LOG-00 AGRE-00 AMAD-01 CIAE-00 OASY-00 DODE-00 SRPP-00
EUR-01 E-00 FBIE-00 FDRE-01 TEDE-00 INR-00 ADS-00
NSAE-00 P-01 SSO-00 TRSE-00 SNIS-00 NISC-01 DRL-09
G-00 /014W

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O 311142Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6639

UNCLAS ZAGREB 002863

STATE PASS TO AID FOR OFDA
OFDA FOR RANDOLPH, BATTAGLIA

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: EAID, HR, BK
SUBJECT: RECOMMENDATION TO APPROVE CARE
WINTERIZATION GRANT

1. DART/ZAGREB RECOMMENDS APPROVAL OF CARE
INTERNATIONAL'S REQUEST FOR ITS WINTERIZATION
PROGRAM IN THE AMOUNT OF USD 499,983 FOR
EXTREMELY VULNERABLE ELDERLY PEOPLE IN SARAJEVO,
BIHAC, ZENICA AND TUZLA.

2. THIS PROPOSAL WILL RESPOND TO THE
WINTERIZATION NEEDS OF 4,000-6,000 EXTREMELY
VULNERABLE ELDERLY PERSONS. CARE WILL PROVIDE

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HEATING FUEL, CLOTHING, WINTER BOOTS, GAS
INSTALLATION, STOVES OR OTHER WINTERIZATION
ASSISTANCE AS NEEDED. ALL BENEFICIARIES WILL BE
SCREENED TO COMPLY WITH CARE'S SELECTION
CRITERIA.

3. PART OF THIS PROPOSAL WILL BE USED TO ADDRESS
THE WINTERIZATION NEEDS OF DPS ALREADY DISPLACED
FROM SREBRENICA AND ZEPA. THIS PROPOSAL WILL
ALSO ALLOW CARE TO RESPOND TO DPS FROM OTHER
GEOGRAPHIC AREAS AS NEEDS ARRIVE.

4. CARE HAS DEVELOPED A REPUTATION AS A LEADER
IN THE FIELD OF EMERGENCY OUTREACH TO THE ELDERLY
IN BOSNIA. THIS PROGRAM IS DESIGNED TO
COMPLEMENT, STRENGTHEN, AND MAXIMIZE THE IMPACT
OF CARE'S CURRENTLY OFDA-FUNDED PROGRAM WHICH
PROVIDES EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE TO A VERY TARGETED
ELDERLY POPULATION BY FILLING IN THE GAPS IN
WINTERIZATION NEEDS.

5. DART/ZAGREB HAS WORKED WITH CARE IN THE
DEVELOPMENT OF THIS PROPOSAL AND CONCURS WITH
THIS REQUEST.

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ACTION PRM-10

INFO LOG-00 AID-00 AMAD-01 CA-02 CIAE-00 OASY-00 SRPP-00
EUR-01 OIGO-01 TEDE-00 INR-00 IO-08 ADS-00 NSAE-00
OIC-02 PM-00 PMB-00 DRL-09 /034W

-----D9AFEB 142038Z /38

P 142125Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6426
INFO CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//DO/LG/XP/IN//
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J5-PMA/J21//
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
USNMR SHAPE BE//POLAD//
SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ3/ECJ4/ECJ5//
HQUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5//
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
NSC WASHDC
NATO EU COLLECTIVE
AMCONSUL MUNICH
USLO SKOPJE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 ZAGREB 002648

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USVIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL CSCE
BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEU

E.O. 12356: DECL 7/14/00

TAGS: PUF, PHUM. MOPS, NL, UN, BK

SUBJECT: SREBRENICA UPDATE: REFUGEE MOVEMENTS,
STRANDED MEDEVACS, LACK OF COOPERATION ON
EVERY SIDE

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. AT THE JULY 14 MONTHLY MEETING FOR DONOR COUNTRY REPS, UN AGENCIES PROVIDED A REVIEW OF THE STATUS OF SREBRENICA, FOR THE MOST PART, CONFIRMING REPORTS WE HAD ALREADY HAD FROM OTHER SOURCES. LIKE OTHER SOURCES, HCR SO FAR IS UNABLE TO CONFIRM REPORTS OF ATROCITIES COMMITTED AGAINST THE REFUGEES FROM SREBRENICA. WE HAVE ALSO HAD FURTHER DISCUSSION WITH [REDACTED] IN TUZLA REGARDING HIS ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION. HE COMPLAINED THAT UNHCR NEEDS "ENERGIZING," WHICH MAY BE DUE IN PART TO THE AGENCY'S PERSONNEL SITUATION. FIVE OF 85 STRANDED MEDEVAC PATIENTS HAVE DIED WHILE AWAITING TRANSPORT. END SUMMARY.

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WHEREABOUTS OF REFUGEES

3. IN JULY 14 UNHCR DONORS' MEETING, [REDACTED] ANNOUNCED THAT ALMOST ALL MUSLIMS HAVE FLED SREBRENICA: OVER 10,000 HAVE MADE IT TO TUZLA; 5,000 MEN AND BOYS ARE BEING HELD IN A FOOTBALL FIELD IN BRATUNAC; THE REMAINDER (APPROXIMATELY 25,000)

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ARE STRUNG OUT ON THE ROAD BETWEEN KLADANJ AND TUZLA. THROUGHOUT THE DAY, HOWEVER, WE HEARD VARIOUS REPORTS OF DIFFERENT FIGURES: MSF/BELGIUM REPORTED ONLY 700 POWS BEING HELD; THE B-H GOVERNMENT SAYS THAT ONLY 19,000 HAVE CROSSED INTO THEIR HANDS; [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] INSISTED THAT 30,000 HAVE BEEN PUSHED ACROSS THE BORDER; AND MABRA (SOMALI NGO) REPORTS THAT THEIR PEOPLE IN TUZLA CLAIM 29,000 HAVE ACTUALLY ARRIVED THERE.

ACCOMMODATIONS IN TUZLA

4. [REDACTED] OFFICER IN TUZLA ADVISED US THAT NEARLY ALL MUSLIM INHABITANTS HAVE FLED SREBRENICA. HE REPORTED THAT ABOUT 10,000 OF THEM HAVE MADE IT TO TUZLA, WHERE THEY ARE BEING ACCOMMODATED IN TENTS AT THE UN AIR BASE. AS THE AREA AROUND THE AIR BASE IS HEAVILY MINED, BOTH UNPROFOR AND UNHCR ARGUED TO THE B-H GOVERNMENT THAT THIS IS NOT AN APPROPRIATE
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LOCATION FOR THE REFUGEES. THE BASE IS ALSO WITHIN SHELLING DISTANCE OF BSA ROCKETS.

5. ALTHOUGH HCR HAS IDENTIFIED SPACE FOR 11,000 INDIVIDUALS IN VARIOUS COLLECTIVE CENTERS IN AND AROUND TUZLA, THE B-H MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND FEDERATION OFFICIALS HAD UNTIL TODAY REFUSED PERMISSION TO HOUSE THE REFUGEES ANYWHERE OUTSIDE THE AIR BASE. THEY TOLD HCR THAT BY ALLOWING PEOPLE TO MOVE FROM SREBRENICA TO TUZLA THEY WOULD BE CONTRIBUTING TO ETHNIC CLEANSING. THEY ALSO TERMED THIS A "UN PROBLEM", CALLED THE REFUGEES "UN EXPELLEES", SAID THEY ARE UNABLE TO ACCOMMODATE THEM, AND ADVISED HCR TO RESETTLE ALL OF THEM TO THIRD COUNTRIES.

6. COMMENT: AS NOTED IN ZAGREB 2629, HOWEVER, UN OFFICIALS ON THE GROUND IN TUZLA APPEARED OPTIMISTIC, AS OF THE MORNING OF JULY 14, THAT THEIR NEGOTIATIONS CONCERNING THE 11,000 AVAILABLE ACCOMMODATIONS WOULD

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ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CA-02	CIAE-00	OASY-00	SRPP-00
	EUR-01	OIGO-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08	ADS-00	NSAE-00
	OIC-02	PM-00	PMB-00	DRL-09	/034W		

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P 142125Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6427
 INFO CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//DO/LG/XP/IN//
 HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J5-PMA/J21//
 JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
 USNMR SHAPE BE//POLAD//
 SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
 USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ3/ECJ4/ECJ5//
 HQUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5//
 CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
 COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
 NSC WASHDC

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NATO EU COLLECTIVE
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USLO SKOPJE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
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AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 ZAGREB 002648

USVIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL CSCE
BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEU

E.O. 12356: DECL 7/14/00
TAGS: PREF, PHUM. MOPS, NL, UN, BK
SUBJECT: SREBRENICA UPDATE: REFUGEE MOVEMENTS,
STRANDED MEDEVACS, LACK OF COOPERATION ON
EVERY SIDE

BEAR FRUIT. BY LATE AFTERNOON ON JULY 14, FEDERATION
AUTHORITIES HAD SOFTENED THEIR POSITION, SAYING THAT NO
MORE THAN 7,000 PEOPLE WOULD BE ACCOMMODATED AT THE AIR
BASE. OTHERS WOULD BE MOVED TO OTHER LOCATIONS, NOT
NECESSARILY IN THE TUZLA AREA. THE MAYOR OF ZENICA HAS
BEEN TOLD TO EXPECT ABOUT 1,000 OF THE DPS FROM
SREBRENICA.

7. IN ANY CASE, THE CURRENTLY REPORTED ATTITUDE OF THE
GOBH, IF CORRECT, WOULD BE A COMPLETE REVERSAL OF THE
STANCE TAKEN BY THE B-H GOVERNMENT TO DATE. SINCE MAY
1994, THEY HAVE BEEN INSISTING THAT ALL FAMILY
REUNIFICATION MUST BE ACCOMPLISHED IN BOSNIA, AND HAVE
ACCUSED HCR, ICRC, AND OTHERS OF PROMOTING ETHNIC
CLEANSING IN SITUATIONS WHERE FAMILY MEMBERS WERE
EVACUATED TO JOIN EX-DETAINEES WHO HAD BEEN RESETTLED
IN THIRD COUNTRIES. THEY HAVE ALSO REFUSED TO ISSUE
EXIT PERMITS TO GROUPS OF ANY SIZE BEING BROUGHT OUT

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FOR FAMILY REUNIFICATION, FORCING ICRC, IOM, AND UNHCR,
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TO EVACUATE ONE OR TWO INDIVIDUALS AT A TIME. END
COMMENT.

8. [REDACTED] ANNOUNCED
THAT MRS. OGATA HAS SENT A LETTER OF PROTEST TO B-H
GOVERNMENT IN WHICH SHE POINTS OUT THAT THESE PEOPLE
ARE BOSNIANS ON BOSNIAN SOIL AND THAT THIS IS A
PROTECTION ISSUE, NOT A RESETTLEMENT MATTER. HER
LETTER ALSO REPORTEDLY ASKED, "ARE YOU SAYING YOU
CANNOT PROTECT THEM?" THIS MATTER IS ON THE AGENDA FOR
NEXT WEDNESDAY'S ICFY HUMANITARIAN ISSUES WORKING GROUP
MEETING.

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DETAINED MEN AND BOYS

9. [REDACTED] OFFICER CONFIRMED UNHCR
SPECIAL ENVOY'S REPORT THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS ARE
HOLDING ABOUT 5,000 MEN (AGES 16 TO 60) IN A FOOTBALL
FIELD IN BRATUNAC. THEY ARE OSTENSIBLY BEING SCREENED
TO IDENTIFY POSSIBLE WAR CRIMINALS. THE BSA HAS SAID
ONLY 700 ARE BEING DETAINED.

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10. ALTHOUGH [REDACTED] OBSERVED THAT THE SERB ACTION
MIRRORS CROATIAN GOVERNMENT ACTIONS WHEN THE GOC RETOOK
SECTOR WEST ON MAY 2, HE SPECULATED THAT THE BOSNIAN
SERBS MIGHT HAVE DETAINED THE MEN FOR REASONS OTHER
THAN THOSE STATED. ONE POSSIBILITY IS THAT THEY PLAN
TO USE THE ABLE-BODIED FOR "WORK OBLIGATIONS", I.E.,
DIGGING TRENCHES AND SERVING AS HUMAN SHIELDS.

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SITUATION IN SREBRENICA

11. [REDACTED] HAS JUST RETURNED TO ZAGREB AFTER ATTEMPTING FOR THREE DAYS TO ENTER SREBRENICA. ALTHOUGH [REDACTED] ASSURED HIM THAT CLEARANCE HAD BEEN GRANTED, BSA GENERAL MLADIC APPARENTLY REVOKED THAT CLEARANCE FOR SECURITY REASONS, SAYING THERE WERE 600 B-H TROOPS IN THE AREA FIRING RANDOMLY AT VEHICLES ON THE ROAD. HCR WAS THEREFORE NOT ABLE TO CONFIRM RUMORS OF EXECUTIONS IN THE TOWN.

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12. THERE IS ALSO SPECULATION THAT SOME MUSLIMS MAY NOT HAVE FLED SREBRENICA. SEVENTY TO NINETY PERCENT OF THOSE IN THE SAFE AREA WERE NOT ORIGINAL INHABITANTS BUT HAD BEEN DISPLACED FROM OTHER LOCATIONS. [REDACTED] SAID HE HAD HEARD RUMORS THAT SOME OF THE ORIGINAL

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ACTION PRM-10

INFO LOG-00 AID-00 AMAD-01 CA-02 CIAE-00 OASY-00 SRPP-00
EUR-01 OIGO-01 TEDE-00 INR-00 IO-08 ADS-00 NSAE-00
OIC-02 PM-00 PMB-00 DRL-09 /034W

-----D9AFFC 142038Z /38

P 142125Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6428
INFO CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//DO/LG/XP/IN//
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J5-PMA/J21//
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
USNMR SHAPE BE//POLAD//
SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ3/ECJ4/ECJ5//
HQUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5//
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
NSC WASHDC
NATO EU COLLECTIVE
AMCONSUL MUNICH
USLO SKOPJE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 04 ZAGREB 002648

USVIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL CSCE
BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEU

E.O. 12356: DECL 7/14/00
TAGS: PREF, PHUM. MOPS, NL, UN, BK
SUBJECT: SREBRENICA UPDATE: REFUGEE MOVEMENTS,

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STRANDED MEDEVACS, LACK OF COOPERATION ON EVERY SIDE

INHABITANTS HAD REFUSED TO LEAVE THEIR HOUSES AND MIGHT STILL BE IN SREBRENICA. WE HAVE OUR DOUBTS, GIVEN THE ULTIMATUM ISSUED BY THE BSA FOR EVERYONE TO LEAVE AND THE PERSONAL INTERVENTION OF BSA GENERAL MLADIC PERSONALLY TO ORGANIZE CONVOYS TO KLADANJ.

STRANDED MEDEVAC PATIENTS

13. [REDACTED] SAID THAT THE FATE OF THE 85 WOUNDED WHO REQUIRE MEDICAL EVACUATION IS STILL IN LIMBO. HE CLAIMED THAT UNPROFOR OFFERED TO TRANSPORT THEM BY HELICOPTER TO TUZLA, BUT THE SERBS REFUSED TO GIVE CLEARANCE FOR THE FLIGHTS AND THE BOSNIANS REFUSED TO ACCEPT THEM INTO THE TUZLA HOSPITAL.

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14. [REDACTED] ON THE OTHER HAND, COMPLAINED TO US THAT HCR HAD NOT BEEN FORTHCOMING WITH
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TRANSPORT FOR THE MEDEVACS. MEANWHILE, FIVE OF THE 85 PATIENTS HAVE ALREADY DIED.

LACK OF COOPERATION/COORDINATION?

15. [REDACTED] ASKED THAT THE EMBASSY HELP TRY TO "ENERGIZE" HCR, SAYING THEY ARE NOT DOING ENOUGH TO PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE. A "TEAM OF EXPERTS" FROM HCR IS REPORTEDLY ON SITE IN TUZLA, OFFERING ADVICE TO UNPROFOR, "MOST OF IT BAD."

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16. BOTH OFDA/DART AND REFCOORD PUSHED FOR COORDINATION MEETINGS SIMILAR TO THOSE ORGANIZED DURING THE BATNOGA/TURANJ CRISIS. HCR'S INITIAL RESPONSE WAS THAT THE AMERICANS ARE THE ONLY ONES INTERESTED IN SUCH MEETINGS. APPARENTLY, HOWEVER, OTHERS HAVE ALSO

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WEIGHED IN, BECAUSE THE FIRST COORDINATION MEETING -- HELD AT 5 P.M. ON JULY 14 -- INCLUDED REPRESENTATIVES OF NEARLY EVERY NGO IN TOWN.

17. IN GENERAL, THE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE PICTURE LOOKS QUITE GOOD, PRIMARILY BECAUSE STOCKS THAT HAD BEEN BROUGHT INTO CROATIA AND CENTRAL BOSNIA DURING THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS COULD NOT BE DELIVERED TO INTENDED RECIPIENTS IN THE ENCLAVES. OUR CONCERN IN REQUESTING COORDINATION MEETINGS WAS THAT THERE MIGHT BE GAPS IN WHAT IS AVAILABLE, AND OUR NEED TO LEARN OF THOSE GAPS IMMEDIATELY IN ORDER TO RESPOND IN A TIMELY FASHION. OFDA IS REPORTING ON THE HUMANITARIAN AID SITUATION IN

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PAGE 04 ZAGREB 02648 03 OF 04 142038Z
SEPTTEL.

STAFFING SHORTAGES/NEW PERSONNEL/SUMMER VACATIONS

18. WHAT UNPROFOR MIGHT BE SEEING WHEN IT COMPLAINS OF HCR'S INACTION IS A COMBINATION OF STAFFING REDUCTION OVER THE PAST YEAR, MANY NEW PERSONNEL IN BOTH THE CROATIA AND B-H MISSIONS, AND ABSENCE OF KEY PLAYERS ON SUMMER VACATIONS. THIS WAS MENTIONED BY HCR REP, IN FACT, AT THE COORDINATION MEETING.

19. VIRTUALLY ALL OF THE UN AGENCIES IN BOSNIA HAVE REDUCED STAFF AND CLOSED OFFICES DURING THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS. SOME OF THOSE CUTBACKS WERE DUE TO THE WORSENING SECURITY SITUATION, BUT A GREAT MANY OF THEM WERE CAUSED BY BUDGET REDUCTIONS IMPOSED BY GENEVA.

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INFO LOG-00 AID-00 AMAD-01 CA-02 CIAE-00 OASY-00 SRPP-00
EUR-01 OIGO-01 TEDE-00 INR-00 IO-08 ADS-00 NSAE-00
OIC-02 PM-00 PMB-00 DRL-09 /034W
-----D9B005 142039Z /38

P 142125Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6429
INFO CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//DO/LG/XP/IN//
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J5-PMA/J21//
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
USNMR SHAPE BE//POLAD//
SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ3/ECJ4/ECJ5//
HQUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5//
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
NSC WASHDC
NATO EU COLLECTIVE
AMCONSUL MUNICH
USLO SKOPJE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO

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AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 04 ZAGREB 002648

USVIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL CSCE
BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEU

E.O. 12356: DECL 7/14/00
TAGS: PREF, PHUM. MOPS, NL, UN, BK
SUBJECT: SREBRENICA UPDATE: REFUGEE MOVEMENTS,
STRANDED MEDEVACS, LACK OF COOPERATION ON
EVERY SIDE

20. BOTH THE CHIEF OF MISSION AND DEPUTY CHIEF OF MISSION OF THE B-H PROGRAM HAVE LEFT WITHIN THE PAST FEW WEEKS. THE NEW CHIEF OF MISSION FOR B-H (WHOSE NAME HASN'T EVEN YET BEEN ANNOUNCED TO THE DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS) IS ON HIS WAY TO TUZLA, BUT HE WILL OBVIOUSLY BE OPERATING AT A DISADVANTAGE.

21. OTHER OFFICES -- WFP, WHO, HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, AND MANY OF THE NGOS -- EITHER HAVE NEW HEADS OF OFFICE OR TDY PERSONNEL FILLING IN, AND UNICEF HAS CLOSED OR SIGNIFICANTLY DOWNSIZED SEVERAL OF ITS OFFICES IN B-H.

UNCONFIRMED REPORTS OF ATROCITIES

22. [REDACTED] OFFICERS TOLD US THAT THERE HAVE BEEN REPORTS FROM NUMEROUS PEOPLE ARRIVING IN
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TUZLA THAT YOUNG WOMEN WERE YANKED OFF THE BUSES BY BSA
SOLDIERS AND PRESUMABLY RAPED ALTHOUGH THE DUTCHBATT
(WHICH HAS ASSIGNED ONE OF ITS SOLDIERS TO TRAVEL WITH
EACH CONVOY) HAS NOT WITNESSED SUCH INCIDENTS, HCR HAS
SENT SEVERAL FEMALE FIELD OFFICERS TO TUZLA TO CONDUCT
INTERVIEWS AND ATTEMPT TO VERIFY THE REPORTS. IT IS
CONCEIVABLE THAT A DUTCH SOLDIER MIGHT NOT HAVE BEEN
ABLE TO SEE WHAT WAS HAPPENING ON A VEHICLE SEPARATED
FROM THE ONE HE WAS ON BY TWO OR THREE OTHERS.

23. DUTCHBATT REPORTED THAT BSA SOLDIERS ENTERED THEIR
COMPOUND IN POTOCARI THE EVENING OF JULY 13, REMOVED
TWO YOUNG BOSNIAN MEN TO A NEARBY HOUSE, AND SHOTS WERE
HEARD FROM THAT LOCATION A FEW MINUTES LATER. AN
MSF/BELGIUM NURSE IN BRATUNAC ALSO REPORTEDLY HEARD
SHOTS.

24. UNHCR AND ICRC HAVE TEAMS ON HAND TO INTERVIEW THE
REFUGEES AS QUICKLY AS THEY CAN TO DEVELOP LISTS OF
DETAINEES, MISSING WOMEN, AND OTHERS WHO CANNOT BE
LOCATED BY FAMILY MEMBERS.

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ACTION SS-00

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FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
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INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
NATO EU COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
CINC INTEL SUPPORT HEIDELBERG GE
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
USDELMC BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
USCINCEUR INTEL VAIHINGEN GE
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
DIA WASHDC//J2-M//
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

RELEASED IN PART
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 THE HAGUE 003780

EXDIS DECAPTIONED

LONDON FOR A/S HOLBROOKE

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/13/05
TAGS: PREL, MARR, MOPS, BK, NL
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 THE HA 03780 01 OF 02 131331Z

UNCLASSIFIED

SUBJECT: DUTCH DETERMINED TO STAY IN SREBRENICA
- UNTIL LAST REFUGEES DEPART

REFS: THE HAGUE 3746 AND PREVIOUS

1. CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. [REDACTED] TOLD THE
AMBASSADOR LATE JULY 12 THAT THE DUTCH TROOPS IN
SREBRENICA ARE INTENT ON REMAINING IN THE ENCLAVE
UNTIL THE LAST OF THE REFUGEES HAD DEPARTED. HE
POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, THAT MLADIC WAS DICTATING THE
TERMS OF DEPARTURE. IF FORCED TO DEPART, THEY
WOULD HAVE TO DO SO. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN FOR THE
MEN AGED 17-60 WHOM MLADIC DEMANDS TO FIRST
"DEBRIEF." DESPITE THE LIKELY DUTCH DEPARTURE FROM
SREBRENICA IN THE WAKE OF THE REFUGEES, [REDACTED]
CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT UNPROFOR -- REPOSITIONED
IN CENTRAL BOSNIA -- CAN PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE
IN MITIGATING THE CONFLICT IN BOSNIA. END SUMMARY.

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DUTCH TO BE LAST OUT

3. [REDACTED] MET WITH THE
AMBASSADOR LATE JULY 12. [REDACTED] STRESSED THE
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DUTCH GOVERNMENT'S FIRM INTENTION THAT DUTCH TROOPS
WILL BE THE LAST OUT OF THE ENCLAVE AFTER ALL
REFUGEES HAVE DEPARTED. AT DUTCH INSISTENCE, ONE
DUTCHBAT SOLDIER IS ACCOMPANYING EACH REFUGEE BUS
TO ENSURE PROPER TREATMENT TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE.
THESE SOLDIERS WOULD RETURN TO SREBRENICA FOR
SUBSEQUENT CONVOYS. CURRENT BSA PLANS AS RELATED
TO THE DUTCH COMMANDER IN SREBRENICA, KARREMANS, BY
GENERAL MLADIC CALL FOR FIVE WAVES OF DEPARTURES

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BEGINNING WITH INJURED OR ILL, FOLLOWED BY THE ELDERLY, WOMEN AND CHILDREN, MEN BETWEEN 17 AND 60, AND, ULTIMATELY, DUTCH FORCES. [REDACTED] EXPECTED THIS EXODUS WOULD TAKE AROUND FIVE DAYS, BUT COULD TAKE LONGER.

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4. [REDACTED] TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THERE WERE 320 DUTCH TROOPS IN POTOCARI, WITH 51 NOW HELD HOSTAGE BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS IN BRATUNAC, AND AN ADDITIONAL 10 NOW BEING HELD BY BOSNIAN MUSLIM MILITIA. ADDITIONALLY, A SMALL NUMBER OF DUTCH FORCES REMAINS AT TWO OBSERVATION POSTS. DUTCH ESTIMATES LAST NIGHT PLACED THE NUMBER OF REFUGEES IN POTOCARI AT 20-23,000. AS OF MIDDAY JULY 13, THE DUTCH MOD CALCULATED THAT 3700 REFUGEES HAD DEPARTED. MOD OFFICIALS STRESSED THAT THE DUTCH WERE IN NO WAY ENCOURAGING A FORCED EVACUATION OF MUSLIM RESIDENTS. THE DUTCH PRESENCE WAS AIMED AT DETERRING ILL-TREATMENT OF CIVILIANS TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE AND REPORTING TO THE OUTSIDE ON WHAT WAS HAPPENING IN POTOCARI AND IN THE CONVOYS.

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[REDACTED] WAS DEEPLY CONCERNED BY THE POTENTIAL
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FATE OF MEN BETWEEN 17 AND 60 WHO WERE ALLEGEDLY TO BE INTERVIEWED AND SCREENED BY THE BSA. [REDACTED] REPORTED THAT THE MAIN BODY OF BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT FORCES AND MOST YOUNGER MEN HAD NOT RESISTED THE BSA AND HAD FLED THE CITY HEADING WEST TO TUZLA OVER THE PAST FEW DAYS.

DUTCH FLEXIBILITY LIMITED

5. [REDACTED] POINTED OUT THAT DUTCH ABILITY TO INFLUENCE THE COURSE OF EVENTS IN POTOCARI WAS LIMITED. MLADIC WAS CALLING THE SHOTS, HE OBSERVED, AND HE WAS INTENT ON EXPELLING THE MUSLIMS. FOREIGN MINISTER VAN MIERLO MADE THE SAME

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ACTION SS-00

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 /000W
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FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8946
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
NATO EU COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
CINC INTEL SUPPORT HEIDELBERG GE
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
USDELMC BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
USCINCEUR INTEL VAIHINGEN GE
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO

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DIA WASHDC//J2-M//
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 THE HAGUE 003780

EXDIS

LONDON FOR A/S HOLBROOKE

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/13/05

TAGS: PREL, MARR, MOPS, BK, NL
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PAGE 02 THE HA 03780 02 OF 02 131331Z
SUBJECT: DUTCH DETERMINED TO STAY IN SREBRENICA
- UNTIL LAST REFUGEES DEPART

POINT IN A TELEVISION INTERVIEW JULY 12, OBSERVING THAT THE DUTCH WERE "TOTALLY DEPENDENT" ON SERB DECISIONS. WHILE THE DUTCH WERE "NEGOTIATING" WITH THE SERBS, THE SERBS HELD ALL THE TRUMP CARDS AND WERE ESSENTIALLY NEGOTIATING WITH INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION, HE ADDED.

6. WITHIN THESE LIMITATIONS, HOWEVER, THE DUTCH WERE SEEKING TO DO WHAT THEY COULD FOR THE MUSLIM POPULACE. AS OF 1200 JULY 13, NO HUMANITARIAN CONVOYS HAD YET REACHED POTOCARI. MOD OFFICIALS SPECULATED THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS WERE INTENT ON PREVENTING ANY HUMANITARIAN SUPPLIES FROM REACHING POTOCARI IN ORDER TO FORCE REFUGEES TO LEAVE.

SREBRENICA FALL NOT END OF UNPROFOR

7. DESPITE HIS DISAPPOINTMENT WITH THE COLLAPSE OF THE U.N. SAFE AREA IN SREBRENICA, [REDACTED] WAS OPTIMISTIC THAT A RESTRUCTURED UNPROFOR COULD CONTINUE TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN MITIGATING THE BOSNIA CONFLICT. HE ASSERTED THAT FRENCH PRESIDENT CHIRAC HAD DRAWN "AN INCORRECT CONCLUSION" IN ASSERTING THAT THE FALL OF

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SREBRENICA MEANT THE END OF UNPROFOR. [REDACTED]
DREW A DIFFERENT CONCLUSION: UNPROFOR HAD TO BE [REDACTED]
REGROUPED IN CENTRAL BOSNIA AND GIVEN REALISTIC
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MISSIONS. HE MAINTAINED THAT BRITISH FORCES COULD
DO LITTLE IN GORAZDE, AND UKRAINIAN FORCES EVEN
LESS IN ZEPA. THE LOSS OF THESE THREE ENCLAVES
COULD FORCE THE U.N. TO DEFINE A MORE REALISTIC AND
DEFENSIBLE MISSION FOR UNPROFOR IN BOSNIA.

[REDACTED] SPECULATED THAT THE SERB CAPTURE OF
SREBRENICA WAS DESIGNED TO FREE UP THE 3000 BSA
TROOPS BASED IN THE AREA FOR ACTION ELSEWHERE IN
BOSNIA.

8. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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ORIGIN SS-00

INFO LOG-00 AMAD-01 CCO-00 OASY-00 TEDE-00 ADS-00 /001R

DRAFTED BY: PACAMPBELL

APPROVED BY: CRJOHNSON

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 181842 TOSEC 160006

FOLLOWING SARAJEVO 00401 DATED 7/29/95 SENT ACTION SECSTATE, INFO
BELGRADE, ZAGREB REPEATED FOR YOUR INFO
QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SARAJEVO 000401

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL, BK

SUBJECT: SARAJEVO ON THE RACK

- II. WINTER'S EARLY CHILL

REF: SARAJEVO 398

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: SARAJEVO'S MORALE IS BATTERED AFTER THREE
WINTERS OF SIEGE AND ANOTHER, DREADED MORE THAN THE REST,
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ON ITS WAY. EVEN IN HIGH SUMMER, SARAJEVANS THINK ABOUT THE COMING COLD. [REDACTED] TOLD US THE CITY CANNOT SURVIVE ANOTHER WINTER. THE CUTOFF OF WATER, GAS AND ELECTRICITY HAS IMPOSED GREAT HARDSHIP AND TRANSFORMED THE DAILY PATTERN OF LIFE. ONE MFA OFFICIAL SAID SARAJEVANS "LIVE LIKE CAGED ANIMALS." AMID THE STRUGGLE, WE ENCOUNTER RESILIENCE.

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3. THIS IS THE SECOND OF TWO MESSAGES EXAMINING SARAJEVO UNDER SIEGE. THE FIRST (REFTEL) DEALT WITH THE CHETNIK'S INTENSIFIED BOMBARDMENT OF THE CITY. END SUMMARY.

NERVES ON EDGE

4. [REDACTED] TOLD US THAT "PSYCHOLOGICALLY, NO ONE IS IN GOOD SHAPE HERE." IF SARAJEVO HAD TO ENDURE ITS FOURTH WINTER UNDER SIEGE, "IT WILL MEAN THE DEATH OF THE CITY." ASKED IF SARAJEVO ASPIRED TO BE ANOTHER BERLIN, WHICH HEROICALLY OVERCAME ITS ISOLATION, [REDACTED] REPLIED THAT A MORE APT COMPARISON WAS BEIRUT.

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5. THIS WAS TO BE THE SUMMER OF LIBERATION. PRESIDENT IZETBEGOVIC HAD PROMISED IN MARCH THAT B-H FORCES WOULD BREAK THE SIEGE "SOMETIME BETWEEN MAY 25 AND NOVEMBER 25." ONE SARAJEVAN REMEMBERED THINKING THEN THAT THE 6-MONTH WINDOW DID NOT CONVEY MUCH SELF-CONFIDENCE; NONETHELESS, BY WINTER IT WOULD BE OVER. NOW THE GOBH PREFERS TO PASS OVER IZETBEGOVIC'S WORDS. MFA OFFICIALS DOWNPLAY EXPECTATIONS
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ABOUT THE B-H OFFENSIVE.

6. FURTHER, THE MORALE OF THE CITY HAS TAKEN OTHER BLOWS THIS SUMMER, INCLUDING INTENSIFIED SHELLING BY THE CHETNIKS (REFTEL), AND THE LOSS OF SREBRENICA AND ZEPA. THE BSA CONQUEST OF THE TWO ENCLAVES HAS CAUSED A SENSE OF ABANDONMENT AND BETRAYAL, A THEME WE HEAR REPEATEDLY FROM GOBH OFFICIALS AND ORDINARY PEOPLE ALIKE. AS [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] PUT IT, CHETNIKS STOP AT A RED LIGHT
FLASHED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, BUT GO AT A GREEN -
- OR YELLOW. SO FAR, HE SAID, THEY HAVE SEEN LITTLE RED.

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7. WE HEAR MANY COMMENTS FROM SARAJEVANS ABOUT SHATTERED
NERVES. AN MFA PROTOCOL ASSISTANT TOLD US, "I USED TO BE
BRAVE, BUT NOT ANY LONGER AFTER WHAT HAS HAPPENED THIS
SUMMER." AN MSF EMPLOYEE REPORTED THAT REQUESTS FOR
PSYCHOLOGICAL COUNSELING HAVE INCREASED, AS HAVE SUICIDES.
A DOCTOR TOLD US THAT LIFE IN SARAJEVO RESEMBLES A GAME OF
ROULETTE. AN MFA OFFICIAL SUMMED UP, "WE LIVE LIKE CAGED
ANIMALS."

8. A PERVASIVE FEAR HAS GRIPPED THE CITY. ONE SARAJEVAN
SAID "I AM AFRAID FOR THE FIRST TIME, I AM AFRAID."
ANOTHER TOLD US SHE WAS NEVER AFRAID, "NOT EVEN DURING THE
WORST SHELLING, BUT NOW I AM." THE RESULT OF THIS FEAR IS
THAT MORE PEOPLE WISH TO LEAVE THE CITY, NERVES FRAYED,
HOPE EXHAUSTED, FRIENDS AND FAMILY GONE.

PATTERN OF DAILY LIFE

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9. THE SIEGE OF THE CITY HAS DISRUPTED DAILY ROUTINES.
THE MOST PROFOUND CHANGE CAME IN LATE MAY WITH THE CUTOFF
OF GAS, WATER AND ELECTRICITY. SARAJEVANS COMMONLY REFER
TO THEIR LIVING CONDITIONS AS "MEDIEVAL." COPING WITH THE
WATER SHORTAGE IS A CONSTANT PREOCCUPATION. GATHERING
SUPPLIES FROM WATER TRUCKS IS AN ARDUOUS AND DANGEROUS
TASK. THE NEED TO USE IT SPARINGLY AND THEN REUSE IT HAS
TURNED THE SARAJEVAN BATHROOM INTO AN ELABORATE SYSTEM OF
CISTERNS. SHOWERS ARE A THING OF THE PAST. THE TWO MOST
COMMON COMPLAINTS WE HEAR ABOUT SARAJEVO'S PLIGHT DEAL WITH
THE INCREASE OF SHELLING AND THE SHORTAGE OF WATER.

10. ELECTRIC CURRENT IS SPOTTY. THE CITY AUTHORITIES GIVE
POWER TO AN INDIVIDUAL NEIGHBORHOOD FOR ABOUT 6 HOURS EVERY
4 DAYS. SOMETIMES THE POWER COMES ON IN THE MIDDLE OF THE
NIGHT, AT WHICH POINT PEOPLE OFTEN RISE TO DO HOUSEHOLD

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CHORES .

11. A HOSPITAL OFFICIAL TOLD US OF HER RECENT TRIP TO SWEDEN, WHERE SHE ENCOUNTERED "INCOMPREHENSION" ON THE PART OF WOMEN MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT TO WHOM SHE WAS EXPLAINING LIVING CONDITIONS IN SARAJEVO. SHE SAID RUEFULLY, "WE ARE PART OF EUROPE, WE ONCE HAD A EUROPEAN STANDARD OF LIVING."

12. GATHERING WOOD IS ALSO A MAJOR CONCERN OF RESIDENTS, WHO REMEMBER ALL TOO WELL THE HARDSHIPS OF THE LAST THREE WINTERS UNDER SIEGE. [REDACTED] TOLD US OF THE GREAT EXPENSE AND DIFFICULTY IN FINDING WOOD. WITH A FEW EXCEPTIONS (INCLUDING THE GROUNDS OF THE EMBASSY), SARAJEVO

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IS DENUDED OF TREES. ONE ESTIMATE CONCLUDES THAT THE URBAN AREA OF THE CITY HAS LOST 40,000 TREES DURING THE WAR. ONE SARAJEVAN SPOKE OF THE "HYSTERIA" OF THE CITY IN FACING ANOTHER WINTER WITHOUT PROPER FUEL.

BENDING, NOT BREAKING

13. DESPITE THE HARDSHIPS, SARAJEVO HAS SHOWN REMARKABLE RESILIENCE. WE FIND EXAMPLES EVERY DAY. THE DIRECTOR OF THE STATE HOSPITAL DUBBED HIS INSTITUTION "THE SWISS CHEESE" BECAUSE OF ITS MANY HOLES. ONCE A HOSPITAL OF THE YUGOSLAV ARMY, IT BECAME A FAVORITE TARGET OF CHETNIKS, WHO VOWED TO DESTROY IT WHEN THEY LEFT. THE BUILDING HAS TAKEN 150 DIRECT HITS FROM TANK SHELLS, MANY LAUNCHED FROM A FRONT LINE ONLY 250 METERS AWAY.

14. YET THE HOSPITAL CONTINUES TO FUNCTION, THANKS LARGELY TO THE ENERGETIC EFFORTS OF ITS DIRECTOR, WHO SHOWED US THE MANY WAYS HE HAS OVERCOME SHORTAGES AND HARDSHIPS. ONE OF HIS HEATING UNITS, FOR EXAMPLE, CAN WORK ON ONE OF THREE FUELS: GAS, ELECTRICITY, OR WOOD, DEPENDING ON AVAILABILITY. HE ALSO POINTED OUT A PILE OF WOUND DRESSINGS, COLLECTED TO BE WASHED, STERILIZED AND REUSED. HE TOLD US THE WAR HAD MADE HIM CHANGE PROFESSIONS BUT NOT

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JOBS: HE WAS NOW MORE AN ENGINEER THAN A DOCTOR.

15. AT THE CITY CLINIC, A SURGEON TOLD US "IMPROVISATION" WAS HIS WATCHWORD. FOR EXAMPLE, THE WAR HAD FORCED HIM TO EXPERIMENT WITH TREATING SHATTERED LIMBS. HIS CLINIC HAD
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PAGE 06 STATE 181842 292154Z
PIONEERED THE USE OF "EXTERNAL FIXATION," A METAL ROD ATTACHED TO THE OUTSIDE OF THE LIMB. ASKED ABOUT MORALE AMONG PATIENTS, HE SAID FAMILIES HAD SHOWN GREAT STRENGTH AND HAD TENDED TO RALLY AROUND THEIR HOSPITALIZED MEMBERS. AS A WAY OF BOOSTING MORALE, HE ADDED, THE CLINIC HAD RELAXED CERTAIN RESTRICTIONS -- FOR EXAMPLE, SMOKING IN ROOMS.

16. COMMENT: SARAJEVO IS DEAD TIRED, BUT NOT DEAD. AN EXAMPLE OF MORAL RESILIENCE CAME FROM CARDINAL PULJIC OF SARAJEVO. THE DILEMMA HE FACES IN WAR-TORN BOSNIA IS TRYING TO TEACH TOLERANCE IN AN INTOLERANT ERA. HIS RESPONSE? "SIMPLE: CONTINUE TEACHING TOLERANCE." IN THE HOSPITALS, THE SCENE OF EXCRUCIATING PAIN AND SADNESS, THE INGENUITY, RESILIENCE AND HOPE FLOURISH. IF THE BROKEN BODIES OF THE INNOCENT CAN HEAL, HOW MUCH MORE THE SPIRIT. END COMMENT. MENZIES UNQUOTE TARNOFF

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S E C R E T STATE 175011 TOSEC 150059

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THE FOLLOWING ZAGREB 02748, DATED 21 JUL 95, SENT ACTION
SECSTATE WASHDC AND INFO USNATO, USUN NEW YORK, SARAJEVO,
BELGRADE, LONDON AND PARIS, IS BEING REPEATED FOR YOUR
INFORMATION.

QUOTE:

S E C R E T ZAGREB 002748

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DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER'S PARTY
E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/21/00
TAGS: MOPS PREL BK HR UN

SUBJECT: [REDACTED] UN FORCES HAVE NOT TAKEN PRECAUTIONS
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PAGE 02 STATE 175011 211751Z
AGAINST HOSTAGE TAKING, PROMISES TO "GET
UNDERWAY"

REF: STATE 173907

1. SECRET -- ENTIRE TEXT.
2. AMBASSADOR GALBRAITH DELIVERED THE TALKING POINTS IN REFTEL [REDACTED] ON JULY 21. THE AMBASSADOR EMPHASIZED OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT STEPS TO AVOID HOSTAGE TAKING IN THE EVENT OF NATO AIRSTRIKES HAD BEEN TAKEN ALREADY. [REDACTED] REPLIED THAT UNPF HAD BEGUN PLANNING FOR SUCH AN EVENTUALITY, BUT HAD NOT YET IMPLEMENTED ANY PLAN. THE AMBASSADOR INSISTED THAT ACTION SHOULD BE TAKEN IMMEDIATELY. IT WAS VITAL THAT THE SERBS NOT BE GIVEN AN OPPORTUNITY TO TAKE HOSTAGES. [REDACTED] EXPRESSED HIS CONCERNS THAT WITHDRAWING UN PERSONNEL FROM THE FIELD WOULD INHIBIT THE MISSION'S ROLE OF MONITORING AND REPORTING. THE AMBASSADOR ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THIS WAS AN IMPORTANT FUNCTION, BUT IT IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE CURRENT SITUATION AND THE CRITICAL NEED FOR DECISIVE ACTION. [REDACTED] SAID THAT THE UN WAS TRYING TO ESTABLISH A MONITORING PRESENCE IN SREBRENICA; THE AMBASSADOR SAID SUCH AN EFFORT WOULD PROVIDE AUTOMATIC HOSTAGES FOR THE SERBS AND WOULD BE A DETERRENT TO THE USE OF FORCE.
3. AT THE END OF THE DISCUSSION, [REDACTED] SAID HE REALIZED THE URGENCY OF THE AMBASSADOR'S POINTS AND WOULD GET ACTIVITY UNDERWAY BEFORE GENERALS JANVIER AND SMITH RETURNED FROM LONDON.

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- PAGE 03 STATE 175011 211751Z
4. [REDACTED] COMPLAINED THAT THE MEETING ARRANGED BY ICFY BETWEEN GOC AND "RSK" OFFICIALS IN GENEVA WAS A SURPRISE AND HAD CAUSED "RSK PRESIDENT" MARTIC TO CANCEL THE JULY 21 MEETING AT PLESO BETWEEN HV CHIEF OF STAFF GENERAL CERV&O AND "ARSK CHIEF OF STAFF" GENERAL MRKSIC. [REDACTED] LAMENTED THIS LOST OPPORTUNITY AND SAID THE POTENTIAL FOR CONFLICT IN CROATIA WAS MORE EXPLOSIVE THAN IN BOSNIA (WHERE FIGHTING COULD MUDDLE ALONG FOR SOME TIME WITHOUT

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MUCH CHANGE IN THE MILITARY SITUATION) DUE TO THE
DISPARITY IN MILITARY PORCES.

5. [] SEEMING SOMEWHAT MIPFED, SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN
INVITED TO ATTEND THE LONDON CONFERENCE BY SYG BUTROS
GHALI, BUT HAD CHOSEN NOT TO GO. HE SAID THAT THE
PRESENCE OF A LARGE UN DELEGATION, INCLUDING [] GENERALS,
WAS ENOUGH AND HE HAD WORK TO DO.

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GALBRAITH UNQUOTE TALBOTT

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S E C R E T USUN NEW YORK 002844

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PLEASE PASS TO THE SECRETARY

E.O.12356: DECL:07/18/25

TAGS: PREL, BN, UN

SUBJECT: ALBRIGHT/BOUTROS-GHALI CONVERSATION ON BOSNIA

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT
2. SUMMARY. AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT SPOKE WITH UN
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PAGE 02 STATE 173607 200405Z
SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS-GHALI ON 19 JULY IN ADVANCE OF
THE SYG'S ATTENDANCE AT FRIDAY'S MEETING IN LONDON ON
BOSNIA. DISCUSSION POINTS INCLUDED THE NEED FOR
COORDINATED BRITISH, FRENCH AND U.S. POSITIONS, THE
SITUATION IN GORAZDE, THE DUAL KEY ARRANGEMENT FOR USE
OF NATO AIR POWER, AND REDUCING THE VULNERABILITY OF UN
PERSONNEL TO HOSTAGE TAKING BY BOSNIAN-SERB FORCES.
END SUMMARY.

OPENING REMARKS

3. ON 19 JULY, AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT INITIATED A
TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH SECRETARY GENERAL
BOUTROS-GHALI. THE SYG STATED THAT HE WOULD BE LEAVING
TOMORROW, 20 JULY, FOR THE MEETING IN LONDON ON BOSNIA.

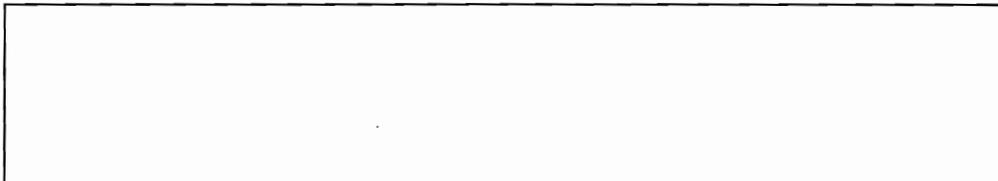
4. AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT INFORMED THE SYG OF THE CONCERN
AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT ABOUT THE
SITUATION IN BOSNIA. SHE STATED THAT THERE MUST BE "A
CLEAR MESSAGE" FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ABOUT
GORAZDE AND SARAJEVO. REFERRING TO THE NUMEROUS
MEETINGS WITH THE PRESIDENT THIS WEEK ON BOSNIA,
AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT STATED THAT THE USG WANTED TO INSURE
THAT LONDON WOULD BE A SUCCESS. SHE SAID THE WORST
OUTCOME WOULD BE ANY DIVERGENT VIEWS OR DISARRAY ON THE
PART OF THOSE GATHERING IN LONDON. AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT
THEN CALLED ATTENTION TO THE IMPORTANT ROLE OF THE
SECRETARY GENERAL WITH RESPECT TO WHAT OCCURS NEXT IN
BOSNIA, INCLUDING THE RELATIONSHIP OF UNPROFOR TO THE
RAPID REACTION FORCE AND THE POSSIBILITY OF MORE
EXTENSIVE USE OF AIR POWER.

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SYG REPONSE



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[REDACTED]

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6. AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT RESPONDED THAT A STRONG EFFORT WILL BE MADE IN LONDON TO DEVELOP CLOSE COORDINATION OF BRITISH, FRENCH AND U.S. POSITIONS, IN PART TO INSURE THAT THE UN IS NOT "BUFFETED BY DIVERGENT VIEWS." WITH RESPECT TO THE SYG'S COMMENT ON RUSSIA, THE AMBASSADOR SAID THAT WE CANNOT ALLOW DECISIONS MADE IN LONDON TO BE HELD HOSTAGE TO DECISIONS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL; INDEED IT IS BEST "TO KEEP THINGS OUT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL."

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[REDACTED] AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT SAID THE U.S. VIEW OF RESOLUTION 836 SUGGESTS FLEXIBILITY CAN BE ACHIEVED WITHOUT MANDATE CHANGE OR FURTHER COUNCIL ACTION.

SITUATION IN GORAZDE

7. AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT THEN TURNED TO GORAZDE AND THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S ROLE IF MORE ROBUST ACTION IS TAKEN IN DEFENSE OF THE ENCLAVE.

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT CAUTIONED THAT INTELLIGENCE ON SREBRENICA HAD BEEN WRONG AND THAT WE SHOULD NOT BE LULLED WITH RESPECT TO GORAZDE.

DUAL KEY ARRANGEMENT

8. AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT THEN TURNED TO A DISCUSSION OF THE "DUAL KEY" BY STATING THAT THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S LIFE WOULD BE EASIER IF THERE IS BRITISH, FRENCH AND U.S. AGREEMENT ON ACTIONS TO BE TAKEN.

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[REDACTED]

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HOSTAGE-TAKING

9. AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT INFORMED THE SYG THAT USUN
AMBASSADOR INDERFURTH HAD SPOKEN TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY

GENERAL IQBAL RIZA ON 18 JULY ABOUT THE POTENTIAL FOR
NEW HOSTAGE-TAKING BY BOSNIAN SERB FORCES. AMBASSADOR
INDERFURTH HAD URGED THE ACTING HEAD OF THE PEACEKEEPING
DEPARTMENT TO TAKE PRUDENT STEPS TO REDUCE THE UN'S

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PAGE 05 STATE 173607 200405Z
EXPOSURE AND VULNERABILITY TO HOSTAGE-TAKING.
AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT REITERATED THAT MESSAGE WITH THE SYG.

RETURN TO NEW YORK

10. THE SYG INFORMED AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT HE WOULD BE
RETURNING TO NEW YORK ON SATURDAY AND THAT HE LOOKED
FORWARD TO A FURTHER DISCUSSION AND MEETING SHORTLY
THEREAFTER.

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DRAFTED BY: S/S-O: CAROLYN JOHNSON
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INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 169036

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FOLLOWING USUN NY DATED 14 JUL 95 SENT ACTION SECSTATE,
BEING REPEATED FOR YOUR INFO.

S E C R E T USUN NEW YORK 002779

FROM AMB ALBRIGHT FOR THE SECRETARY, NSC ADVISOR LAKE

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E.O.12356: DECL: 07/12/05
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR,
SUBJECT: INFORMAL MEETING WITH THE BRITISH, FRENCH AND
-- GERMAN PERMREPS TO DISCUSS THE WAY AHEAD IN
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 12 MAR 2009 200705105

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-- BOSNIA

1. SECRET ENTIRE TEXT.

2. I INVITED UK PERMREP HANNAY, FRENCH PERMREP MERIMEE AND NEWLY ARRIVED GERMAN PERMREP EITEL TO AN UNINSTRUCTED, INFORMAL, JULY 12 MEETING TO TALK ABOUT BOSNIA IN LIGHT OF RECENT EVENTS IN SREBRENICA. DURING A LENGTHY DISCUSSION WE DISCUSSED: (1) THE LIKELY EUROPEAN REACTION IF THE SENATE ADOPTS A BILL CALLING FOR UNILATERAL LIFT, (2) PROVIDING HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE CIVILIAN POPULATION OF SREBRENCIA, (3) THE EFFECT SUCCESSFUL SERB OFFENSIVES AGAINST ZEPA AND GORAZDE COULD HAVE ON UNPROFOR'S FUTURE, AND (4) LONGER-TERM OPTIONS. THE EUROPEANS WERE VERY EAGER FOR OUR DISCUSSION TO BE CONTINUED AT HIGH LEVEL, PERHAPS POLITICAL DIRECTORS, AND WITH THE ATTENDANCE OF MILITARY EXPERTS. THEY SUGGESTED THAT A MEETING TAKE PLACE IN EUROPE OR WASHINGTON, AND THAT THE U.S. TAKE THE LEAD IN SETTING IT UP.

UNILATERAL LIFT

3. [] SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WAS RESIGNED TO THE FACT THAT A BILL CALLING FOR UNILATERAL LIFT WOULD PASS IN THE SENATE WITH APPROXIMATELY 70 VOTES. HE EMPHASIZED THAT, TO CONTAIN EUROPEAN REACTION, IT WILL BE CRITICAL THAT, IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE BILL IS PASSED, THE PRESIDENT ISSUE A STATEMENT MAKING CRYSTAL CLEAR HIS INTENTION TO VETO IT IF IT REACHES HIS DESK.

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[] EXPLAINED THAT IF THE PRESIDENT DOES NOT MAKE
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SUCH A STATEMENT, EUROPEANS WHO WANT TO WITHDRAW THEIR CONTINGENTS FROM UNPROFOR WILL USE THE SENATE BILL AS A PRETEXT FOR DOING SO; THE WHOLE UN EFFORT WOULD BE LIKELY TO UNRAVEL. [] CONFIRMED SUCH A REACTION WAS LIKELY. I MADE THE POINT THAT THE NUMBER OF VOTES IN THE SENATE IN FAVOR OF UNILATERAL LIFT WOULD BE REDUCED IF UNPROFOR DEMONSTRATED ITS WILLINGNESS TO ACT MORE ROBUSTLY.

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PROTECTING THE CIVILIAN POPULATION OF SREBRENICA

4. I SAID THAT BOSNIAN FOREIGN MINISTER SACIRBEY HAD JUST TOLD ME THAT THE GOB WOULD NOT PREVENT THE CIVILIAN POPULATION FROM LEAVING SREBRENICA. RATHER, THE GOB WANTED TO ENSURE THAT THE REFUGEES WOULD BE PROTECTED AS THEY LEFT. THE GOB ALSO WANTED THE COUNCIL TO PROVIDE A SAFE AND SANITARY ENCAMPMENT AROUND KLADANJ. [] CONFIRMED THAT THIS ASPECT NEEDED FURTHER ATTENTION. [] SAID THAT [] HAD OFFERED UNHCR THE SERVICES OF SOME OF THE BRITISH AID PERSONNEL CURRENTLY WORKING IN THE TUZLA AREA.

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UNPROFOR'S FUTURE AFTER SREBRENICA

5. I ASKED HOW THEY VIEWED UNPROFOR'S FUTURE. [] SAID THAT THE IMPORTANT THING NOW WAS TO CONCENTRATE ON THE FUTURE. READING FROM A JUST-RELEASED FRENCH GOVERNMENT STATEMENT, HE SAID THAT HE BELIEVED/BELIEVED THAT [] MIGHT ADVOCATE WITHDRAWAL IF THE BOSNIAN
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SERBS ATTACKED ZEPA AND UNPROFOR WAS AGAIN OVERRUN, OR IT MIGHT BE WILLING TO DRAW THE LINE AT GORAZDE. [] SAID THAT THE UN COULD NOT DEFEND GORAZDE EITHER, ALTHOUGH THE BOSNIAN FORCES THERE WERE MUCH STRONGER. [] DID NOT WANT TO ABANDON THE EASTERN ENCLAVES, BUT NEITHER DID IT ACCEPT THAT THEIR FATE WOULD DETERMINE UNPROFOR'S FUTURE. [] SAID THAT THE LOSS OF THE EASTERN ENCLAVES WOULD MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT TO DRAW THE LINE AT SARAJEVO. WHAT WAS NEEDED WAS A STEP THAT WOULD RESTORE "BALANCE" TO THE CURRENT SITUATION (NOT NECESSARILY A DEFENSE OF THE ENCLAVES).

6. [] SAID THAT IT COULD BE POSSIBLE TO USE THE RRF TO SAVE SARAJEVO. THE RRF WILL BE OPERATIVE BY THE BEGINNING OF AUGUST. THE MOUNT IGMAN ROUTE COULD BE SECURED BY USING "DEFENSIVE FORCE," INCLUDING ARTILLERY TO COUNTER SERB ARTILLERY FIRE, AND THEN THE SERBS MIGHT BE WILLING TO OPEN THE KISELJAK ROUTE. I SAID

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THAT, IF THE SERBS TOOK ZEPA AND GORAZDE, UNPROFOR WOULD HAVE TO SOLIDIFY THE GOB'S POSITION IN SARAJEVO AND THE CORE FEDERATION AREA.

7. I ASKED IF PARIS WOULD DELAY ANY DECISION ON WITHDRAWAL UNTIL THE RRF WAS DEPLOYED. [] SAID HE SUPPOSED SO BUT CAUTIONED THAT THERE MIGHT BE A REACTION TO THE LOSS OF ZEPA OR GORAZDE IN A HUMILIATING WAY. IF UNPROFOR WERE HUMILIATED AGAIN, PEOPLE WOULD BEGIN TO ASK WHY IT WAS THERE.

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ARMS EMBARGO

8. I ASKED ABOUT THEIR VIEWS ON THE POSSIBILITY OF ADOPTING A MULTI-LATERAL LIFT OF THE ARMS EMBARGO ON BOSNIA IF UNPROFOR WERE FORCED TO WITHDRAW. [] SAID THAT PARIS WOULD PROBABLY SUPPORT MULTI-LATERAL LIFT AFTER UNPROFOR'S WITHDRAWAL HAD BEEN COMPLETED. [] SAID THAT HE ASSUMED THAT [] WOULD NOT BLOCK MULTI-LATERAL LIFT AFTER UNPROFOR LEFT. HE ADDED THAT, IN ORDER TO PREVENT A RUSSIAN VETO, IT WOULD LIKELY BE NECESSARY TO ALSO LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO ON BELGRADE, ALTHOUGH LIFTING ECONOMIC SANCTIONS PROBABLY WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY.

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FOLLOW-UP

9. I BELIEVE THAT THE IDEA OF AN EARLY MEETING OF QUAD POLITICAL DIRECTORS, REINFORCED BY MILITARY EXPERTS, WOULD BE AN EXCELLENT IDEA AND URGE THAT WASHINGTON CONSIDER IT. WE NEED TO KEEP IN MIND STEPS TO ADDRESS THE HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS OF THIS TRAGEDY AND TO RESPOND TO EUROPEAN CONCERNS REGARDING THE LIFT VOTE IN THE SENATE.

ALBRIGHT UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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	L-01	ADS-00	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OIG-04	PA-01
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APPROVED BY: EUR:JKORNBLUM

EUR/RPM:JCUNNINGHAM

OSD:FBEAUCHAMP JCS:WKROSS

P:SBREMNER IO/UNP:JCHAMBERLIN IO/PHO:WBARTLETT

EUR/SCE:PGOLDBERG PM/ISP:JJONES

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NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATEJOINT STAFF WASHDC//J3/J5// IMMEDIATE 1057

AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE

USDELMC BRUSSELS BE IMMEDIATE

USNMR SHAPE BE IMMEDIATE

USLO SAACLANT NORFOLK VA IMMEDIATE

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE

CINCUSACOM NORFOLK VA IMMEDIATE

USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES IT IMMEDIATE

ALL NATO POST COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 166440

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE

REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ

CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(D)

DECLASSIFY AFTER: 11 JUL 2020

DATE/CASE ID: 12 MAR 2009 200705105

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LONDON ALSO FOR A/S HOLBROOKE

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: NATO, MARR SR, BK

SUBJECT: 7/12 NAC GUIDANCE: FUTURE OF DENY FLIGHT
NATO-UN LIAISON ARRANGEMENTS, SITUATION IN SREBRENICA

REFS: A) USNATO 2867; B) USNATO 2865

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT. LONDON SEE PARA 4.

2. USNATO SHOULD DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING POINTS IN
DISCUSSION OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] A TWO-TRACK STRATEGY FOR IMPROVING THE
EFFECTIVENESS OF DENY FLIGHT:

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4. USNATO SHOULD DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING POINTS IN DISCUSSION OF THE SITUATION IN SREBRENICA (FOR LONDON: IF APPROPRIATE, A/S HOLBROOKE SHOULD FEEL FREE TO MAKE USE OF THESE POINTS IN THE COURSE OF HIS CONTACT GROUP DISCUSSIONS):

-- U.S. REMAINS COMMITTED TO EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN UNPROFOR SO IT CAN REMAIN IN BOSNIA AND CARRY OUT ITS HUMANITARIAN MISSION MORE EFFECTIVELY.

-- THE PATTERN OF PROVOCATIVE ACTIONS BY BOSNIAN SERBS IN RECENT WEEKS MAKES THESE EFFORTS ALL THE MORE URGENT.

-- WE HOPE IT IS POSSIBLE FOR UNPROFOR TO REMAIN IN SREBRENICA, FOR SREBRENICA TO BE RESTORED AS A SAFE AREA, AND TO SEE THE ENCLAVE STABILIZED.

-- WE HAVE WORKED CLOSELY WITH ALLIES IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO ACHIEVE A STRONG STATEMENT OF SUPPORT FOR EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN THE ENCLAVE.

-- WE MUST ALSO CONSIDER WHAT TO DO ABOUT THE ENCLAVE'S CIVILIAN POPULATION AND ITS HUMANITARIAN SITUATION.

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-- AS A LAST RESORT, NMAS MUST BE PREPARED FOR THE POSSIBILITY OF EMERGENCY EXTRACTION OF THE DUTCH FORCES, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT IN THEIR PLANNING THAT THOSE FORCES ARE NOW MIXED IN AMONG THE CIVILIANS WHO HAVE FLED TO POTOCARI.

-- WE SHOULD ALSO BEGIN THINKING ABOUT HOW WE WILL HANDLE THREATS TO THE OTHER EASTERN ENCLAVES. SHOULD WE TRY TO ACCELERATE THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE RRF TO BE USED IN SUPPORT OF THOSE AREAS? WHAT OTHER OPTIONS SHOULD WE CONSIDER?

-- WE LOOK FORWARD TO WHATEVER RESPONSES ARE AVAILABLE AT THIS TIME, AND WILL CONTINUE TO PURSUE THESE ISSUES HERE

AND IN CAPITALS.

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5. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
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PM-00 PMB-00 PRME-01 /012R

DRAFTED BY: S/S-O:ROBERT SILBERSTEIN
APPROVED BY: S/S-O:TCBROWN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 165736

FOR A/DCM

FOLLOWING USUN NEW YORK 02750 DATED 12 JUL 95 SENT ACTION SECSTATE WASHDC. INFO:SECDEF WASHDC, SDARAJEVO, BELGRADE, JOINT STAFF WASHDC, WHITE HOUSE WASHDC, NSC WASHDC, UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE, ZAGREB, USNATO, USNMR SHAPE BE, USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA, GENEVA, VIENNA, USVIENNA, MADRID, HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT, ANKARA, BUDAPEST, STOCKHOLM, OTTAWA AND ATHENS ARE ALL BEING REPEATED FOR YOUR INFO. QUOTE:

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN NEW YORK 002750

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
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PAGE 02 STATE 165736 120906Z

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 11 JUL 2020
DATE/CASE ID: 27 MAR 2009 200705105

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USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR 07/11/05
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR,
SUBJECT: JULY 10: DRAFT RESOLUTION ON SREBRENICA

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. SUMMARY: THE FRENCH, BRITISH, GERMAN, U.S., AND
ITALIAN DELEGATIONS TABLED THE DRAFT RESOLUTION FOUND
IN PARA 10 BELOW. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THE COUNCIL WILL CONTINUE ITS
DISCUSSION OF THE DRAFT ON JULY 12, WITH A VOTE
SCHEDULED FOR LATER THAT DAY. [REDACTED]

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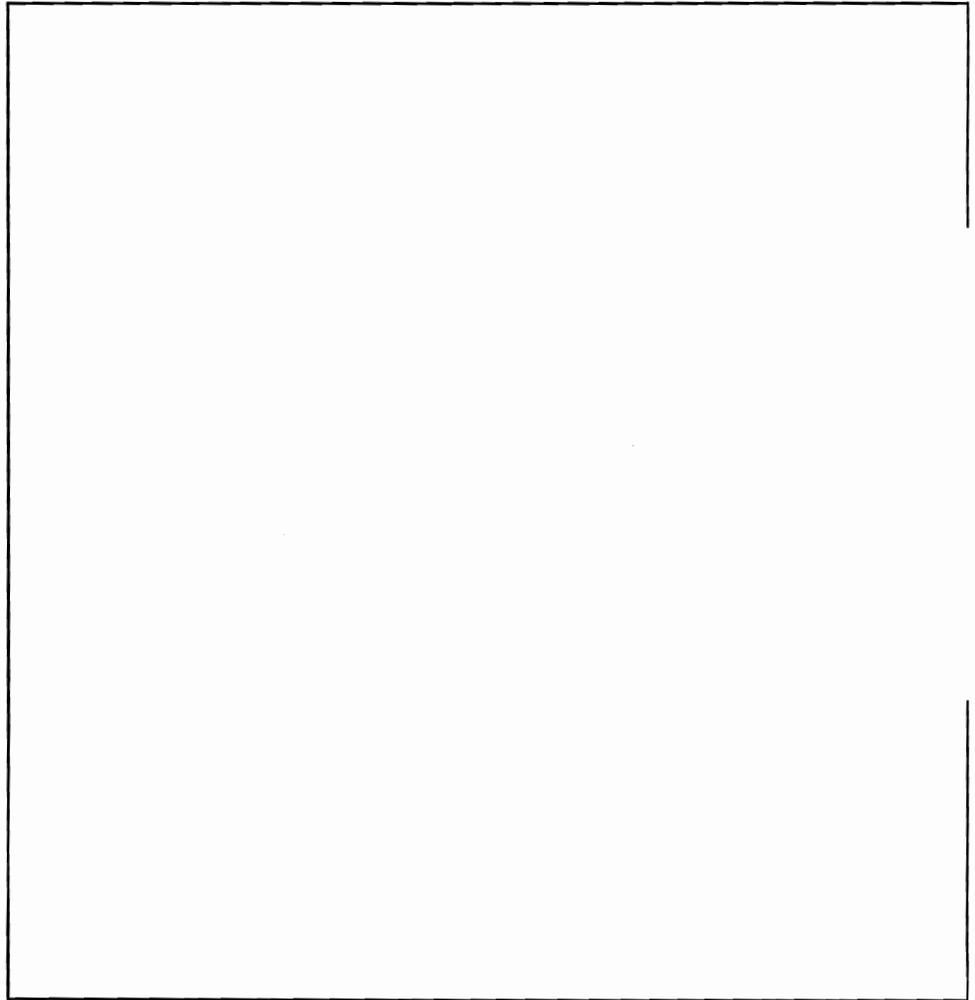
PAGE 03 STATE 165736 120906Z
[REDACTED] BRIEFED THE COUNCIL THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS
IN SREBRENICA AND ON THE SYG'S MEETING IN GENEVA ON
JULY 8 TO DISCUSS THE SITUATIONS IN BOSNIA AND
CROATIA. END SUMMARY.

P-3 PLUS DUTCH

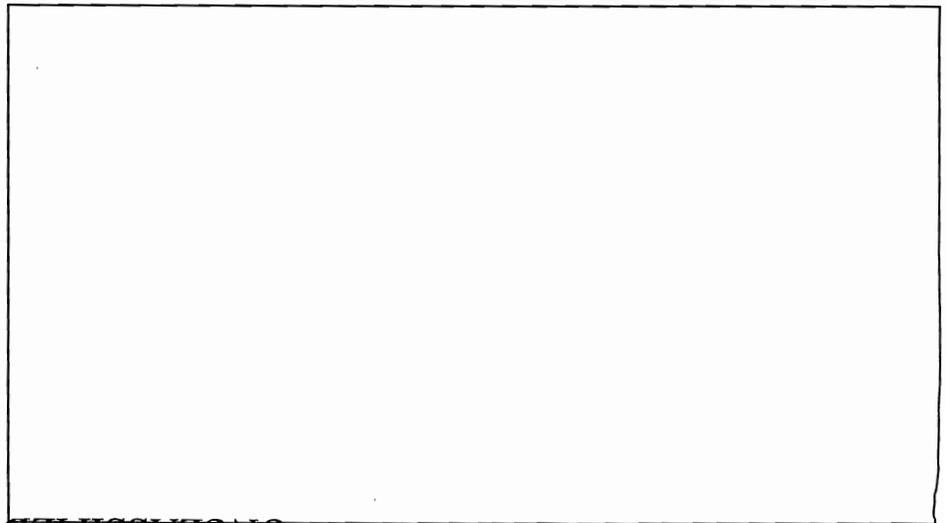
3. DURING A MEETING OF PERM-3 AMBASSADORS, WITH THE

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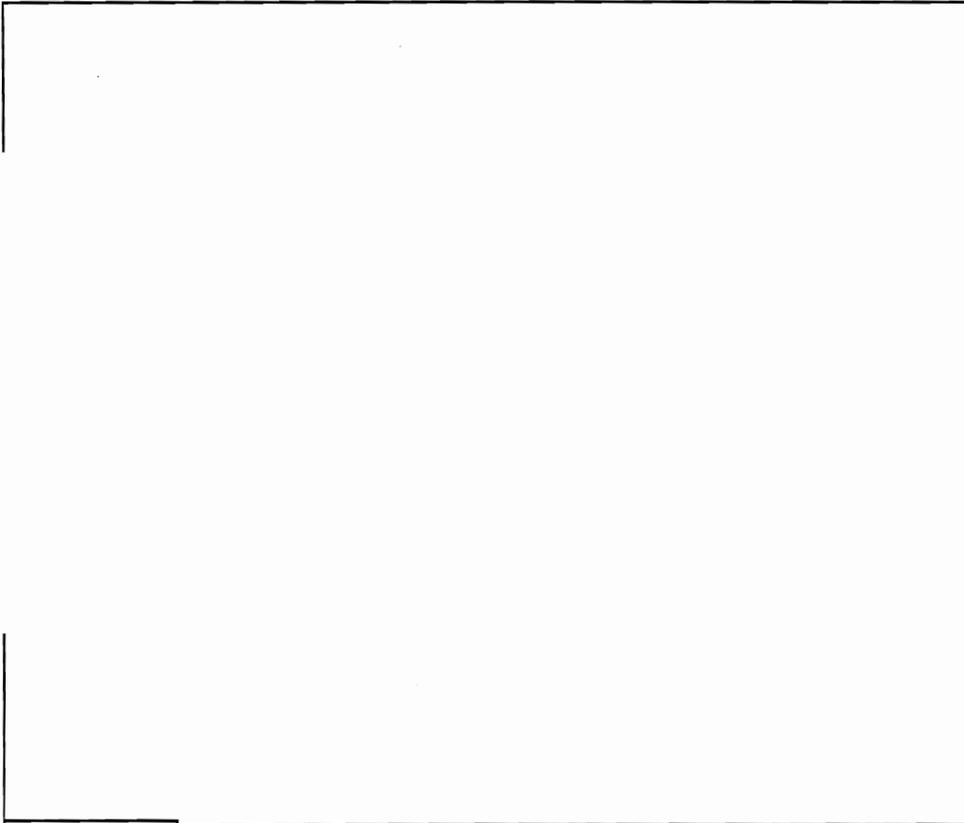
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CONTACT GROUP AND SECURITY COUNCIL



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BRIEFING

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6. DURING THE COUNCIL'S INFORMAL MEETING [REDACTED] REPORTED THAT BOSNIAN SERB FORCES ATTACKED THE DUTCH BLOCKING POST SET UP 1.5 KILOMETERS SOUTH OF SREBRENICA AT 1030 ON JULY 10. THE FORCE COMMANDER APPROVED CLOSE AIR SUPPORT, WHICH WAS EXTENDED BY NATO. TWELVE NATO AIRCRAFT TARGETED THE ADVANCING SERB TANKS. A DAMAGE ASSESSMENT REPORT HAS NOT YET BEEN ISSUED, BUT PRELIMINARY REPORTS SUGGEST THAT TWO BS TANKS WERE PROBABLY ATTACKED, AND ONE NATO AIRCRAFT WAS FIRED AT BUT NOT HIT BY A BS MISSILE. THE BSA SUBSEQUENTLY LAUNCHED A FLANKING OPERATION, BYPASSING THE DUTCH CONTINGENT AND ENTERING THE TOWN OF SREBRENICA. THE

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BSA NOW CONTROLS THE TOWN. THE DUTCH CONTINGENT WITHDREW TO THEIR MAIN CAMP NORTH OF SREBRENICA. REPORTS SUGGEST THAT ONE DUTCH COMPANY COMMANDER IS PROBABLY IN THE CUSTODY OF THE BSA. THERE IS NO WORD
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ON THE CONDITION OF THE 30 DUTCH SOLDIERS DETAINED BY THE BSA, BUT A BSA COMMANDER HAS REPORTEDLY THREATENED TO KILL THE DUTCH SOLDIERS IF CLOSE AIR SUPPORT CONTINUES. THERE ARE REPORTS OF 20,000 REFUGEES FLEEING SREBRENICA.

7. [] SAID THAT THE LOOMING HUMANITARIAN CRISIS WAS THE PRIMARY CONCERN. HE ALSO SAID THAT UNPROFOR SOUGHT TO ESTABLISH A LOCAL CEASEFIRE, AND HAD MADE CONTACTS TO THAT END IN PALE AND LOCALLY IN SREBRENICA. HE SAID THAT THERE WAS AN OPTION OF RELOCATING REFUGEES TO TUZLA, BUT NOTED THAT THIS WOULD REQUIRE THE COOPERATION OF THE BSA AND WOULD BE A HUGE LOGISTICAL EFFORT. HE NOTED THAT THE EVACUATION OF THE DUTCH BATTALION WAS PREMATURE UNTIL THE REFUGEE PROBLEM WAS RESOLVED.

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8. [] REPORTED THAT THE SYG CONVENED A MEETING IN GENEVA ON JULY 8 TO REVIEW THE MILITARY, POLITICAL, AND HUMANITARIAN SITUATIONS IN BOSNIA AND CROATIA. AKASHI, OGATA, STOLTENBERG, JANVIER, AND SMITH WERE PRESENT. PARTICIPANTS EXPRESSED FRUSTRATION OVER THE SITUATION IN CROATIA, WHERE UNCRO IS UNABLE TO

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FULFILL MOST OF ITS MANDATE, PARTICULARLY IN THE AREA OF BORDER CONTROL. THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT IS READY FOR NEGOTIATIONS, BUT REFUSES TO TALK WITH THE PRESENT KNIN LEADERSHIP. [] SAID IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO PREDICT WHETHER CROATIA WILL LAUNCH ANOTHER OFFENSIVE. STOLTENBERG HAS INVITED BOTH SIDES TO TALKS IN GENEVA.

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9. [REDACTED] REPORTED THAT THE HUMANITARIAN SITUATION IN BH WAS OF UTMOST CONCERN TO PARTICIPANTS AT GENEVA. THE REPEATED OBSTRUCTION OF HUMANITARIAN CONVOYS HAS PREVENTED BOSNIA'S HUMANITARIAN NEEDS FROM BEING FULFILLED. THE SITUATION IN SARAJEVO, WHERE THERE HAS NOT BEEN AN AIRLIFT SINCE APRIL 8, IS PARTICULARLY DIRE. [REDACTED] SAID THAT PARTICIPANTS WERE CONCERNED ABOUT THE RECENT DEVELOPMENT, INSTITUTED ON JULY 1, WHEREBY UNHCR CONVOYS ARE DRIVEN BY MILITARY (UNPROFOR) DRIVERS. THIS DEVELOPMENT SUGGESTS THAT UNHCR WAS OBLIGED TO CARRY OUT CONVOYS WITHOUT THE AGREEMENT OF THE PARTIES. HE ALSO NOTED THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE DEMANDED A 50-50 DISTRIBUTION OF AID AS THE PRICE FOR THEIR COOPERATION WITH THE CONVOYS. [REDACTED] SAID THERE WAS A FEAR THAT UNPROFOR WILL HAVE TO TAKE OVER UNHCR OPERATIONS. HE NOTED THE GENERAL CONSENSUS THAT BOTH SIDES CONTINUE TO SEEK A MILITARY SOLUTION. DESPITE THE EFFORTS OF BILDT AND STOLTENBERG, THERE HAS BEEN NO FORWARD MOVEMENT IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS AND NO EVIDENCE THAT THE PARTIES ARE READY TO ENGAGE IN SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS.

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DRAFT TEXT

10. BEGIN TEXT OF DRAFT RESOLUTION:

6:30PM, 11 JULY

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

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--A. REAFFIRMING ALL ITS EARLIER RELEVANT RESOLUTIONS,

--A. BIS REAFFIRMING ITS COMMITMENT TO THE

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INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA,

--B. GRAVELY CONCERNED AT THE DETERIORATION IN THE SITUATION IN AND AROUND THE SAFE AREA OF SREBRENICA, REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, AND AT THE PLIGHT OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION THERE,

--B. BIS GRAVELY CONCERNED ALSO AT THE EXTREMELY SERIOUS SITUATION WHICH CONFRONTS UNPROFOR PERSONNEL AND A GREAT NUMBER OF DISPLACED PERSONS WITHIN THE SAFE AREA AT POTOCARI, ESPECIALLY THE LACK OF ESSENTIAL FOOD SUPPLIES AND MEDICAL CARE,

--C. CONDEMNING THE OFFENSIVE BY THE BOSNIAN SERB FORCES AGAINST THE SAFE AREA OF SREBRENICA, AND IN PARTICULAR THE DETENTION BY THE BOSNIAN SERB FORCES OF UNPROFOR PERSONNEL,

--D. CONDEMNING ALSO ALL ATTACKS ON THE PERSONNEL OF THE UNITED NATIONS PROTECTION FORCE (UNPROFOR),

--E. RECALLING THE AGREEMENT FOR THE DEMILITARIZATION OF SREBRENICA OF 18 APRIL 1993 (S/25700, ANNEX) BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA AND THE BOSNIAN SERB PARTY, AND REGRETTING THAT IT HAS NOT BEEN IMPLEMENTED IN FULL BY EITHER PARTY,

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--F. STRESSING THE IMPORTANCE OF RENEWED EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE AN OVERALL PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT AND THE UNACCEPTABILITY OF ALL ATTEMPTS TO RESOLVE THE CONFLICT IN THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA BY MILITARY MEANS,

--G. ACTING UNDER CHAPTER VII OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS,

--1. DEMANDS THAT THE BOSNIAN SERB FORCES CEASE THEIR OFFENSIVE AND WITHDRAW FROM THE SAFE AREA OF SREBRENICA

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IMMEDIATELY;

--2. DEMANDS ALSO THAT THE PARTIES RESPECT FULLY THE STATUS OF THE SAFE AREA OF SREBRENICA IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE AGREEMENT OF 18 APRIL 1993;

--3. DEMANDS FURTHER THAT THE PARTIES FULLY RESPECT THE SAFETY OF UNPROFOR PERSONNEL AND ENSURE THEIR COMPLETE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, INCLUDING RESUPPLY;

--4. DEMANDS THAT THE BOSNIAN SERB FORCES IMMEDIATELY AND UNCONDITIONALLY RELEASE ALL DETAINED UNPROFOR PERSONNEL;

--5. DEMANDS THAT ALL PARTIES ALLOW UNIMPEDED ACCESS FOR THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN AGENCIES TO THE SAFE AREA OF SREBRENICA IN ORDER TO ALLEVIATE THE PLIGHT OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION, AND IN PARTICULAR
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THAT THEY COOPERATE ON THE RESTORATION OF UTILITIES;

--6. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO USE ALL RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO HIM TO RESTORE THE STATUS AS DEFINED BY THE AGREEMENT OF 18 APRIL OF THE SAFE AREA OF SREBRENICA IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE MANDATE OF UNPROFOR, AND CALLS ON THE PARTIES TO COOPERATE TO THAT END;

--7. DECIDES TO REMAIN ACTIVELY SEIZED OF THE MATTER.

ALBRIGHT UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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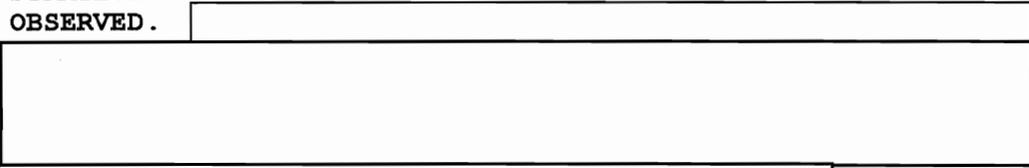
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4. SUMMARY: MEETING IN LONDON ON THE EVE OF THE JULY 21 INTERNATIONAL MEETING ON BOSNIA, THE SECRETARY AND NATO SYG CLAES AGREED ON THE NEED TO ISSUE A WARNING TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS AGAINST FURTHER AGGRESSION AND TO RESPOND WITH STRATEGIC USE OF AIR POWER SHOULD THIS WARNING NOT BE OBSERVED.



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THE SECRETARY NOTED THAT ONE PREREQUISITE FOR A MORE ROBUST COURSE IN BOSNIA--AGREEMENT AMONG THE WESTERN FOUR--SEEMED TO BE NEAR ACHIEVEMENT. END SUMMARY.

5. THE SECRETARY CHARACTERIZED THE JULY 21 LONDON MEETING ON BOSNIA AS A CRUCIAL ONE. UNPROFOR'S FUTURE WAS RIDING ON THE OUTCOME. HE OUTLINED FOUR BLOCKS OF ISSUES THAT HE BELIEVED NEEDED TO BE ADDRESSED AT THE MEETING. THE FIRST WAS WHAT TO DO WITH BOSNIAN SERB AGGRESSION AGAINST SREBRENICA AND ZEPA, AND POTENTIALLY AGAINST GORAZDE. HE THOUGHT THERE WAS NOW GENERAL AGREEMENT ON THE NEED TO DRAW THE LINE AT GORAZDE, THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS SHOULD BE CLEARLY WARNED PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY AGAINST ATTACKING THE ENCLAVE, OR ELSE FACE MAJOR AIR STRIKES. THE U.S. WAS PREPARED TO LAUNCH AN AIR CAMPAIGN ON A SCALE NOT USED BEFORE.

6. THE SECOND BLOCK, THE SECRETARY CONTINUED, INVOLVED
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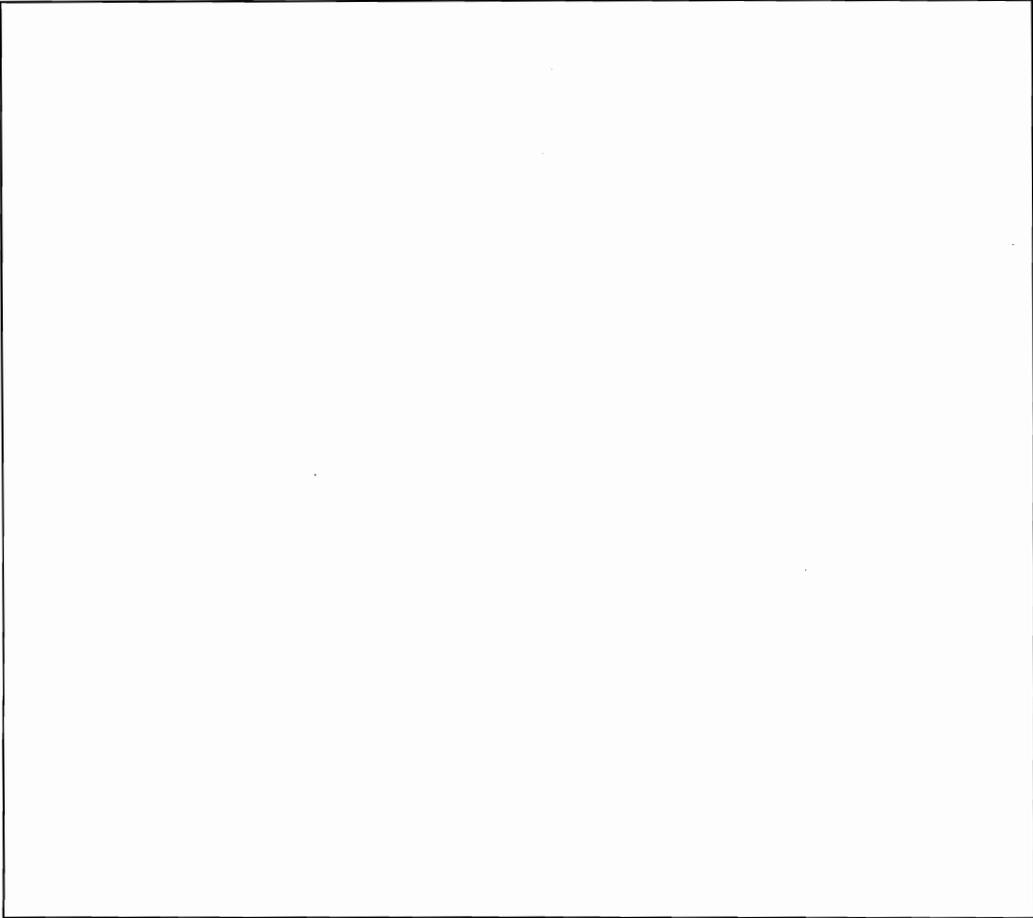
PAGE 03 SECTO 15006 221719Z

STEPS TO PREVENT THE STRANGULATION OF SARAJEVO AND TO SUSTAIN ITS POPULATION. SARAJEVO WAS A VERY IMPORTANT SYMBOL, AND ITS PEOPLE WERE SUFFERING TERRIBLY. WE NEEDED IN THE FIRST INSTANCE TO OPEN ONE OR MORE SUPPLY ROUTES INTO THE CITY, AND SECONDLY TO INCLUDE SAREJEVO IN THE

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WARNING TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS. IF THERE WAS CONTINUED MASSIVE SHELLING OF THE CITY, THE BOSNIAN SERBS SHOULD EXPECT TO BE SUBJECTED TO AIR STRIKES. MOVING ON TO THE THIRD BLOCK, THE SECRETARY NOTED THE PLIGHT OF REFUGEES IN BOSNIA AND THE NEED TO DO MORE FOR THEM DESPITE DONOR FATIGUE. UNHCR AND THE ICRC WERE DOING AN EXTRAORDINARY JOB. THE FOURTH BLOCK REPRESENTED THE NEGOTIATIONS ICFY CO-CHAIRMAN BILDT WAS NOW PURSUING WITH MILOSEVIC. BILDT SHOULD BE REMINDED THAT HE HAD NO AUTHORITY TO CONCLUDE AN AGREEMENT ON HIS OWN; WHAT HE DID WAS AD REF TO THE EU AND THE CONTACT GROUP. CONCLUDING HIS OPENING REMARKS, THE SECRETARY EMPHASIZED THE NEED TO COME OUT OF THE JULY 21 MEETING WITH A SOLID RESULT.



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8. RESPONDING, THE SECRETARY AGREED THAT BOUTROS GHALI NEEDED TO BE CONVINCED TO MODIFY THE DUAL-KEY SYSTEM, TO LEAVE DECISIONS MORE IN THE HANDS OF LOCAL COMMANDERS AND IN ITALY. HE FELT THAT AGREEMENT AMONG THE WESTERN FOUR WAS NOW CLOSE: THE U.S. AND UK WERE MUCH ON THE SAME

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WAVELENGTH, AND THE FRENCH WERE COMING AROUND TO ACCEPT THE IMPORTANCE OF AIR STRIKES. THE SECRETARY ASKED CLAES HOW SOON A NAC COULD BE CONVENED IF A CONSENSUS EMERGED AMONG KEY NATO MEMBERS ON JULY 21 THAT THERE WOULD NEED TO BE A STRATEGIC RESPONSE IF THE WARNING TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS WERE VIOLATED.

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] THE SECRETARY POINTED OUT THAT EVEN WITH CONSOLIDATION WE COULD NOT ELIMINATE HOSTAGE-TAKING; IF IT OCCURRED, WE WOULD HAVE TO LIVE WITH IT. CLAES ADDED THAT ROBUST AIR ACTION COULD NOT BE A LONG-TERM SOLUTION FOR GORAZDE. THE ENCLAVE COULD NOT BE SAVED BY AIR POWER ALONE.

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[REDACTED]

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00
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	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SSD-01	PMB-00	G-00	/035W

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O 131734Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3983
 SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 INFO NATO EU COLLECTIVE
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE
 USNMR SHAPE BE

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B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 16731

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: MARR, PREL, MCAP, UK, SR, BK, FR
 SUBJECT: FRENCH AND BRITISH PERSPECTIVES DIFFER ON
 - NEXT STEPS IN BOSNIA

REF: PARIS 16521 (DTG: 121658Z JUL 95)

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PAGE 02 PARIS 16731 01 OF 03 131733Z
 1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT. OADR BASED ON FOREIGN

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 12 JUL 2020
 DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2009 200705105

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GOVERNMENT SOURCES.

2. SUMMARY AND COMMENT: FRENCH [] AND BRITISH [] SOURCES JULY 13 CONFIRMED INDICATIONS FROM THE PREVIOUS DAY THAT THE FRENCH ARE SHIFTING FOCUS FROM SREBRENICA TO REOPENING OF A LAND ROUTE TO SARAJEVO. WHILE THE FRENCH AND BRITISH ARE WORKING JOINTLY ON THE LATTER, THEIR VIEWS DIFFER AS TO THE BEST ROUTE AND THE BRITISH GIVE FIRST PRIORITY TO DEMILITARIZATION OF THE REMAINING SAFE AREAS TO HELP PRECLUDE FURTHER SERB TAKEOVERS. ON THE QUESTION OF POSSIBLE WITHDRAWAL, [] OPINED THAT A DECISION FOR WITHDRAWAL WOULD HAVE TO BE MADE BY AUGUST 7 TO ALLOWING COMPLETION OF WITHDRAWAL BEFORE WINTER.

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[]

[] END SUMMARY AND COMMENT.

UK FOCUS ON "DEMILITARIZATION," BUT UK/FR PLANNING FOR CONVOY REINFORCEMENT FOR SARAJEVO

3. [] TOLD US JULY 13 THAT HMG AND THE FRENCH WERE NOT SEEING EYE TO EYE ON NEXT STEPS IN BOSNIA, BUT HE CLAIMED THE DIFFERENCES WERE NOT FUNDAMENTAL. NOTING A "FLURRY OF ACTIVITY ACROSS THE CHANNEL OVER THE PAST FEW DAYS," HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE BRITISH FOCUS IS NOW ON "DEMILITARIZING" THE

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OTHER SAFE AREAS. IN ADDITION TO MEETING THE ORIGINAL UN INTENT, HE SAID THIS WOULD ADDRESS THE SERB CLAIM THAT MUSLIMS WERE USING THE UNPROFOR-PROTECTED SAFE AREAS TO LAUNCH ATTACKS AGAINST SERB FORCES, AND THUS PRECLUDE THE SERBS FROM USING THIS AS A PRETEXT FOR TAKING OVER OTHER SAFE AREAS.

4. [] IN CONTRAST TO THE UK EMPHASIS ON DEMILITARIZATION, GOF PLANNERS HAVE SHIFTED FOCUS FROM SREBRENICA BACK TO THE TASK OF CONVOY REINFORCEMENT TO

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SARAJEVO. [REDACTED] THE FRENCH HAVE A NEED TO DO SOMETHING MILITARILY WITH THE RRF, HAVING DEPLOYED IT WITH SUCH HYPE AND HAVING ALREADY HAD A CRISIS (SREBRENICA) IN WHICH THEY WERE UNABLE TO DEPLOY IT. THE BRITS SHARE THE VIEW THAT REINFORCED CONVOYS MUST BE GOTTEN THROUGH, BUT THEY SEE DEALING WITH THE OTHER SAFE AREAS AS A FIRST ORDER TASK TO HALT FURTHER SERB TAKEOVERS.

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YOU TAKE THE HIGH ROAD, AND I'LL TAKE THE LOW ROAD ...

5. [REDACTED] THE BRITISH AND FRENCH HAVE DIFFERENT PREFERENCES AS TO THE ROUTE TO USE TO REPLENISH SARAJEVO. THE BRITISH, ACKNOWLEDGING THERE ARE ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES WITH EITHER ROUTE, BELIEVE THAT THE WESTERLY ROUTE THROUGH KISELJAK IS THE BETTER CHOICE. THE ROUTE IS IN BETTER PHYSICAL CONDITION. THE MAJOR DISADVANTAGE -- WHICH THE FRENCH CITE AS THE REASON FOR THEIR OPPOSITION -- IS THAT IF/IF THE SERBS ELECT TO STOP A CONVOY THERE, A MAJOR
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HEAD-TO-HEAD CONFRONTATION WILL OCCUR WHICH WILL FORCE THE ALLIES TO MAKE A DECISION TO FIGHT THE SERBS OR BACK OUT ENTIRELY, WITH ALL THE NEGATIVE IMAGES SUCH AN ACTION WOULD ENTAIL.

6. [REDACTED] THE FRENCH PREFER THE SOUTHERLY ROUTE WHICH APPROACHES SARAJEVO OVER MT. IGMAN. THEY BELIEVE THAT -- WITH ADDITIONAL RRF DEPLOYMENTS SUCH AS THE

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00
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	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SSD-01	PMB-00	G-00	/035W

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O 131734Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3984
 SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE
 USNMR SHAPE BE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 PARIS 16731

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: MARR, PREL, MCAP, UK, SR, BK, FR
SUBJECT: FRENCH AND BRITISH PERSPECTIVES DIFFER ON
- NEXT STEPS IN BOSNIA

MORTAR PLATOON THEY DEPLOYED TO MT IGMAN TWO WEEKS AGO
AND THE PROXIMITY TO OTHER RRF ELEMENTS -- THEY CAN
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BRING SUFFICIENT FIREPOWER TO BEAR TO KEEP THE SERBS
FROM EASILY CLOSING THE ROUTE. THE BRITS SAY THAT THE
SOUTHERLY ROUTE IS IN BAD PHYSICAL CONDITION, BUT THEIR
PRIMARY CONCERN IS THAT, IF THE ROUTE WERE TO BE
SUCCESSFULLY KEPT OPEN (INCLUDING BY THE MILITARY MEANS
INTENDED BY THE FRENCH), IT WOULD ALSO SERVE AS A
STRATEGIC RESUPPLY/ESCAPE ROUTE FOR SARAJEVO. THE
SERBS WOULD FEEL COMPELLED TO KEEP IT CLOSED FOR THIS
REASON; THEREFORE, UNPROFOR COULD NOT CONTINUE TO
MAINTAIN ACCESS VIA THE ROUTE. (NOTE: IN CAPSULIZING
BRITISH AND FRENCH PREFERENCES, [] DID NOT EXPLAIN
WHY THE CONFRONTATION SCENARIO FOR THE WESTERLY ROUTE
COULD NOT ALSO OCCUR ON THE SOUTHERLY ROUTE AND,
CONVERSELY, WHY THE "STRATEGIC" ACCESS OF THE SOUTHERLY
ROUTE, PROMPTING THE SERBS TO CLOSE IT, WOULD NOT ALSO
APPLY TO THE WESTERLY ROUTE. END NOTE.)

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[] NEED FOR ANY WITHDRAWAL DECISION BY
AUGUST 7

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7. [] IN CONVERSATION WITH
THE AMBASSADOR JULY 13, PUT LESS EMPHASIS ON
FRANCO/BRITISH DIFFERENCES. HE SAID THE U.K. NOW WAS
CONCENTRATING WITH THE FRENCH ON DEVISING A PLAN TO
OPEN A ROUTE TO SARAJEVO. [] CHARACTERIZED THE
BRITISH POSITION AS ONE OF TRYING TO "FORTIFY AND
STABILIZE" THE FRENCH. HE ALSO FLAGGED HMG CONCERN
REGARDING THE GORAZDE ENCLAVE, AND SAID THAT OPTIONS
WERE UNDER STUDY. [] INDICATED LONDON HAD NOT YET

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MADE A DECISION TO WITHDRAW, BUT IMPLIED THAT A
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DECISION WAS CLOSE. HE SAID AN EVENTUAL DECISION TO
LEAVE BOSNIA WOULD HAVE TO BE TAKEN BY AUGUST 7, IN
ORDER TO BE OUT BY NOVEMBER.

FRENCH OBSTRUCTING C2 ARRANGEMENTS OUT OF FEAR OF
LOSING COMMAND SLOT?

8. IN RESPONSE TO OUR QUERY AS TO TIMING FOR 24
AIRMObILE BRIGADE'S ARRIVAL IN THEATER TO ROUND OUT THE
RRF, [REDACTED] SAID ALL ELEMENTS SHOULD BE DEPLOYED WITHIN
THE NEXT TWO WEEKS. HE SAID NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE
CROATIAN GOVERNMENT ON ENTRY AND DEPLOYMENT WERE NOW
SETTLED, BUT THE BRITISH WERE STILL HAVING TO HAGGLE
WITH "THE LOCAL MAFIA" TO ARRANGE FOR TRANSIT AND
SUPPORT. HE OFFERED THAT HMG WOULD PROBABLY HAVE TO
BARTER SOME OF ITS PROVISIONS TO GAIN ACCESS, BUT THIS
IS NOT SEEN AS A LONG-TERM IMPEDIMENT. WHEN WE
MENTIONED A GOF OFFICIAL'S COMMENT THAT THE RRF STILL
LACKED AN ADEQUATE COMMAND AND CONTROL STAFF TO
UNDERTAKE ANY MAJOR OPERATIONS, [REDACTED]

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FRENCH MFA CONFIRMS PLANNING FOR CONVOY SUPPORT

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9. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] TOLD US JULY 13 THE GOF IS PURSUING TWO TRACKS
IN ITS BOSNIA POLICY FOLLOWING PASSAGE OF THE UNSC
RESOLUTION. FIRST, THE GOF WILL CONTINUE TO ATTEMPT TO
CONVINCE ITS ALLIES TO JOIN IN EFFORTS TO RESTORE THE
SREBRENICA SAFE AREA. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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PAGE 01 PARIS 16731 03 OF 03 131734Z
ACTION EUR-01

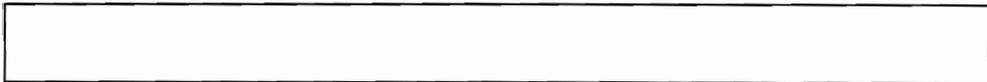
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	ADS-00	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SSD-01	PMB-00	G-00	/035W

-----D94A3A 140052Z /21

O 131734Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3985
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO NATO EU COLLECTIVE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE
USNMR SHAPE BE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 PARIS 16731

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: MARR, PREL, MCAP, UK, SR, BK, FR
SUBJECT: FRENCH AND BRITISH PERSPECTIVES DIFFER ON
- NEXT STEPS IN BOSNIA



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PAGE 02 PARIS 16731 03 OF 03 131734Z

10. REGARDING THE SECOND TRACK -- CONVOY ACCESS TO SARAJEVO VIA THE MT. IGMAN ROAD -- SAID THE RRF WILL BEGIN RECONNAISSANCE THIS WEEK TO DETERMINE WHAT DEPLOYMENTS WILL BE NECESSARY TO SECURE PORTIONS OF THE ROAD NOW CONTROLLED BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS. ELEMENTS OF THE RRF WOULD THEN BE DEPLOYED AT CERTAIN POINTS ALONG THE ROAD TO PROVIDE PROTECTION TO HUMANITARIAN CONVOYS TRAVELLING TO SARAJEVO. (COMMENT: WE PRESUME THAT HE

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MEANS SELECTIVE DEPLOYMENTS, RATHER THAN DEPLOYMENTS INTENDED TO KEEP THE ENTIRE ROUTE OPEN. WE SEE NO INDICATION THAT THE GOF HAS DROPPED ITS PREFERENCE FOR CONVOY SUPPORT RATHER THAN CORRIDOR MAINTENANCE. END COMMENT.)

THE BRITISH QUESTION FRENCH UPROFOR CENTRALIZATION IN SARAJEVO

11. [REDACTED] MENTIONED PARENTHETICALLY THAT THE FRENCH, "WITHIN THE PAST FEW WEEKS," HAVE FINALLY REALIZED THAT CENTRALIZING THEIR UNPROFOR FORCES IN SARAJEVO WILL ENTAIL A CONSIDERABLE PRICE SHOULD A DECISION MADE TO WITHDRAW. THE ORIGINAL FRENCH MOTIVE HAD BEEN TO CENTRALIZE IN ORDER TO AVOID EXPOSURE, FOR EXAMPLE, TO HOSTAGE TAKING. [REDACTED]

B1

12. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

HARRIMAN

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RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

CONFIDENTIAL PTQ6953

PAGE 01 RABAT 05743 01 OF 02 270553Z
ACTION NEA-01

INFO	LOG-00	COR-01	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00
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	IO-06	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02
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	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SA-01	PMB-00
	DRL-09	G-00	/029W				

-----DD69AC 270554Z /38

O 251909Z JUL 95 ZDS
 FM AMEMBASSY RABAT
 TO NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1289
 USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
 USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY BELEGRADE IMMEDIATE
 INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
 AMEMBASSY MADRID
 AMEMBASSY LISBON
 AMEMBASSY ROME
 ISLAMIC CONFERENCE COLLECTIVE
 AMEMBASSY ATHENS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 RABAT 005743

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (ADDRESSEES ADDED)

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PAGE 02 RABAT 05743 01 OF 02 270553Z
STATE ALSO FOR NEA A/S PELLETTREAU AND NEA/ENA

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 24 JUL 2020
 DATE/CASE ID: 19 MAR 2009 200705105

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NSC FOR MARK PARRIS

Z.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, KISL, BK, MO

SUBJECT: ORGANIZATION OF ISLAMIC CONFERENCE BOSNIA CONTACT
GROUP SEEKS URGENT MEETING WITH BOSNIA
INTERNATIONAL CONTACT GROUP

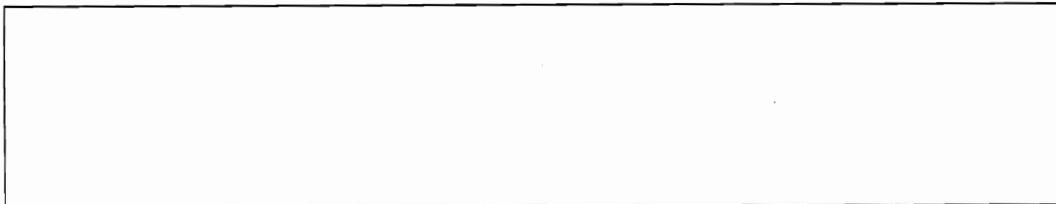
1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT. OADR DUE TO FOREIGN
SOURCES.

2. AMBASSADOR, ALONG WITH THE AMBASSADORS/CHARGES OF THE
UK, FRANCE, GERMANY AND RUSSIA, WAS SUMMONED ON THE
AFTERNOON OF JULY 25 BY PM/FM FILALI TO RECEIVE AN URGENT
APPEAL FROM THE BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA CONTACT GROUP OF THE
ORGANIZATION OF THE ISLAMIC CONFERENCE (OIC) OF WHICH KING
HASSAN IS PRESIDENT. FILALI INFORMED US THAT KING HASSAN
WAS REQUESTED BY THE OIC'S CONTACT GROUP TO SEEK AN
IMMEDIATE MINISTERIAL LEVEL MEETING BETWEEN THE OIC CONTACT
GROUP (WHICH INCLUDES BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, EGYPT, IRAN,
MALAYSIA, PAKISTAN, SAUDI ARABIA, SENEGAL, TURKEY AND
MOROCCO) WITH THE BOSNIA INTERNATIONAL CONTACT GROUP EITHER
IN GENEVA, PARIS OR LONDON.

3. FILALI ADVISED THAT THE OIC "DOES NOT UNDERSTAND" THE
OBJECTIVES OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE AS IT RELATES TO THE
PROTECTION OF UN SAFE HAVENS NOW THAT BOTH SREBRENICA AND
ZEPA HAVE FALLEN. FILALI SPECIFICALLY STATED THAT ONE OF
THE OBJECTIVES FOR THIS INTER-MINISTERIAL MEETING WOULD BE
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PAGE 03 RABAT 05743 01 OF 02 270553Z
TO CLARIFY THE LONDON CONFERENCE'S DECISIONS AS THEY RELATE
TO UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS ESTABLISHING UNPROFOR'S
OBLIGATIONS WITHIN DESIGNATED SAFE HAVENS.



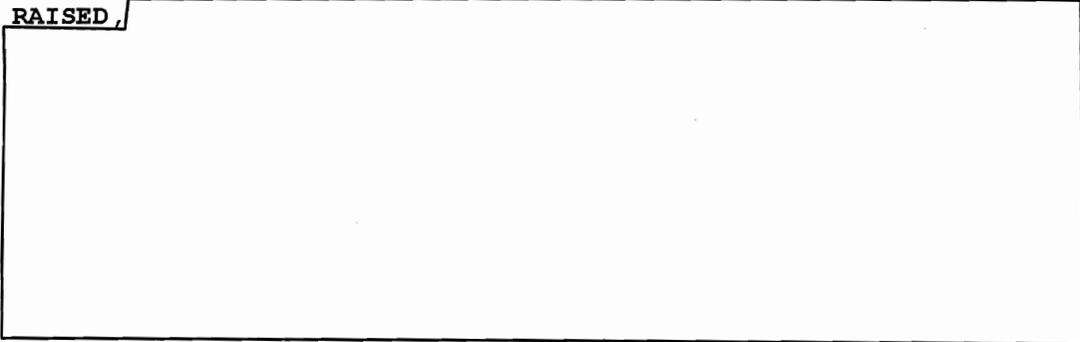
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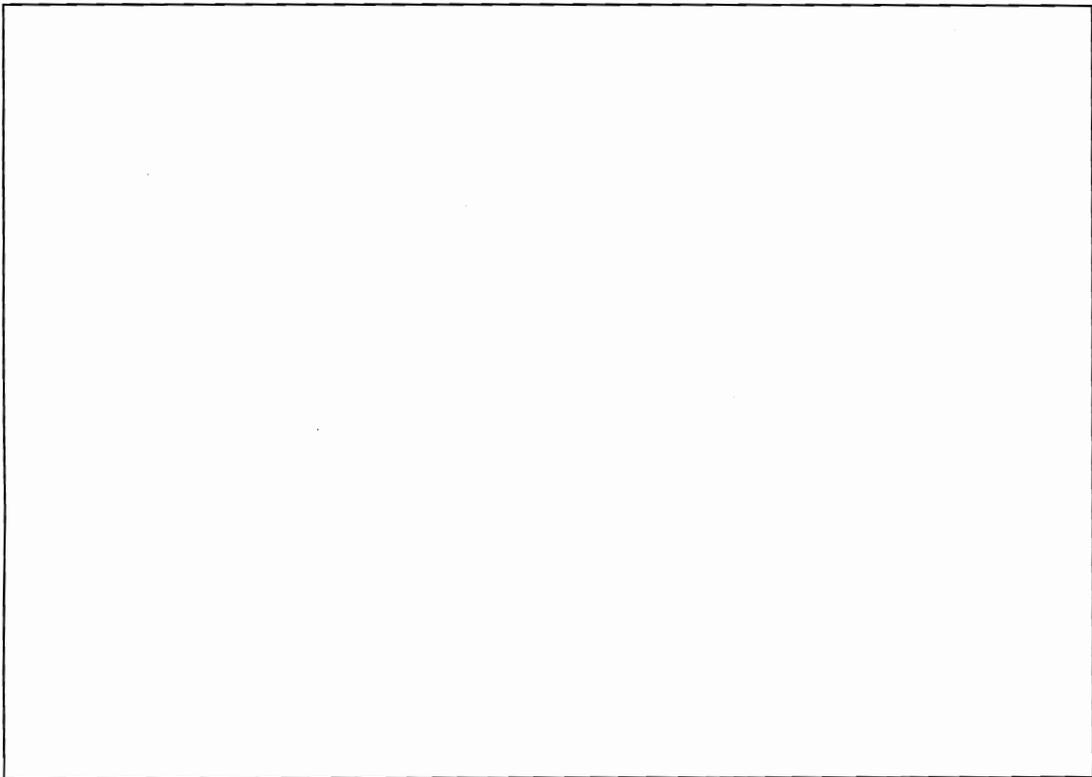
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5. PM/FM FILALI SUGGESTED THAT A JOINT CONTACT GROUP MEETING WOULD CLARIFY THE OBJECTIVES OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE FOR THE OIC GIVEN THE NUMBER OF QUESTIONS BEING RAISED,

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7. FOLLOWING IS THE VERBATIM TEXT OF THE DEMARCHE BY PM/FM FILALI:

THE CRITICAL SITUATION IN BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA

THE OBJECTIVE OF OUR MEETING TODAY CONCERNS THE

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CRITICAL SITUATION IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA.

UNFORTUNATELY THE SITUATION HAS RECENTLY DETERIORATED FURTHER BECAUSE OF THE SERBIAN ATTACKS. AFTER THE COLLAPSE OF THE "SAFE AREAS" OF SREBRENICA AND ZEPA THE ASSAULT CONCERNS NOW BIHAC, IT IS REALLY AN UNACCEPTABLE SITUATION, AN UNHEARD AND UNSEEN INJUSTICE.

FOR THIS REASON AND ON BEHALF OF THE ISLAMIC COUNTRIES AND PARTICULARLY THOSE WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE OIC CONTACT GROUP, I STRESS FOR AN URGENT NEED TO HOLD A MEETING AT A

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ACTION NEA-01

INFO	LOG-00	COR-01	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00
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	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00
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	DRL-09	G-00	/029W				

-----DD69BB 270555Z /38

O 251909Z JUL 95 ZDS
FM AMEMBASSY RABAT
TO NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY ROME
ISLAMIC CONFERENCE COLLECTIVE
AMEMBASSY ATHENS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 RABAT 005743

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (ADDRESSEES ADDED)

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PAGE 02 RABAT 05743 02 OF 02 270554Z
STATE ALSO FOR NEA A/S PELLETREAU AND NEA/ENA

NSC FOR MARK PARRIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, KISL, BK, MO

SUBJECT: ORGANIZATION OF ISLAMIC CONFERENCE BOSNIA CONTACT
GROUP SEEKS URGENT MEETING WITH BOSNIA
INTERNATIONAL CONTACT GROUP

MINISTERIAL LEVEL OF THE ICG AND OIC CONTACT GROUP IN VIEW
OF EXAMINING THIS DRAMATIC SITUATION AND INTERVENE SO AS TO
ACHIEVE JUSTICE, TO HALT THE CYCLE OF STARVATION AND ETHNIC
CLEANSING.

END TEXT.

MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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PAGE 01 RABAT 05743 01 OF 02 251912Z
ACTION NEA-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00
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	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00
	USIE-00	SA-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/019W	

-----DCDE99 251912Z /38

O 251909Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY RABAT
 TO NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1289
 INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
 AMEMBASSY MADRID
 AMEMBASSY LISBON
 AMEMBASSY ROME
 ISLAMIC CONFERENCE COLLECTIVE
 AMEMBASSY ATHENS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 RABAT 005743

STATE ALSO FOR NEA A/S PELLETREAU AND NEA/ENA

NSC FOR MARK PARRIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PREL, KISL, BK, MO
 SUBJECT: ORGANIZATION OF ISLAMIC CONFERENCE BOSNIA CONTACT
 GROUP SEEKS URGENT MEETING WITH BOSNIA
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PAGE 02 RABAT 05743 01 OF 02 251912Z
INTERNATIONAL CONTACT GROUP

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT. OADR DUE TO FOREIGN SOURCES.

2. AMBASSADOR, ALONG WITH THE AMBASSADORS/CHARGES OF THE UK, FRANCE, GERMANY AND RUSSIA, WAS SUMMONED ON THE AFTERNOON OF JULY 25 BY PM/FM FILALI TO RECEIVE AN URGENT APPEAL FROM THE BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA CONTACT GROUP OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ISLAMIC CONFERENCE (OIC) OF WHICH KING HASSAN IS PRESIDENT. FILALI INFORMED US THAT KING HASSAN WAS REQUESTED BY THE OIC'S CONTACT GROUP TO SEEK AN IMMEDIATE MINISTERIAL LEVEL MEETING BETWEEN THE OIC CONTACT GROUP (WHICH INCLUDES BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, EGYPT, IRAN, MALAYSIA, PAKISTAN, SAUDI ARABIA, SENEGAL, TURKEY AND MOROCCO) WITH THE BOSNIA INTERNATIONAL CONTACT GROUP EITHER IN GENEVA, PARIS OR LONDON.

3. FILALI ADVISED THAT THE OIC "DOES NOT UNDERSTAND" THE OBJECTIVES OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE AS IT RELATES TO THE PROTECTION OF UN SAFE HAVENS NOW THAT BOTH SREBRENICA AND ZEPA HAVE FALLED. FILALI SPECIFICALLY STATED THAT ONE OF THE OBJECTIVES FOR THIS INTER-MINISTERIAL MEETING WOULD BE TO CLARIFY THE LONDON CONFERENCE'S DECISIONS AS THEY RELATE TO UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS ESTABLISHING UNPROFOR'S OBLIGATIONS WITHIN DESIGNATED SAFE HAVENS.

4. FILALI ADDED THAT MOROCCO IS SEEKING TO EXERT RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP WITHIN THE OIC CONTACT GROUP BUT IS FINDING IT INCREASINGLY MORE DIFFICULT AS "ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALIST MEMBERS" (E.G., IRAN) ATTEMPT TO CAUSE THE
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PAGE 03 RABAT 05743 01 OF 02 251912Z
OIC TO TAKE UNSPECIFIED UNILATERAL MEASURES AGAINST THE SERBS, PARTICULARLY IN THE WAKE OF ZEPA'S FALL.

5. PM/FM FILALI SUGGESTED THAT A JOINT CONTACT GROUP MEETING WOULD CLARIFY THE OBJECTIVES OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE FOR THE OIC GIVEN THE NUMBER OF QUESTIONS BEING RAISED, AND LEAD TO A MORE RESPONSIBLE DIALOGUE WITHIN THE

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OIC CONTACT GROUP ITSELF. WHETHER OR NOT A JOINT CONTACT GROUP MEETING IS CONVOKED, FILALI IMPLIED THAT INCREASING THE LEVEL OF CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN MOROCCO AND THE ICG COULD HELP FACILITATE A MORE POSITIVE REACTION TO WESTERN OBJECTIVES IN BOSNIA AMONG OIC MEMBERS. FILALI ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE LONDON CONFERENCE UNMASKED THE DIFFICULTIES FACING THE WEST, AND THAT AS CHAIRMAN OF THE OIC, MOROCCO WAS ANXIOUS TO SEE THAT THE OIC ACTS AS RESPONSIBLY AS POSSIBLE GIVEN ITS MEMBERSHIP AND THE CHARGED ATMOSPHERE THROUGHOUT THE MUSLIM WORLD.

6. AMBASSADOR'S COMMENT: UK AMBASSADOR RAMSEY ADVISED ME THAT HE IS GOING TO RECOMMEND TO THE FCO THAT A MEETING BETWEEN THE CONTACT GROUPS IS ADVISABLE. THE FACT THAT FILALI SUMMONED US SO SOON AFTER THE OIC'S GENEVA MEETING INDICATES THE HEIGHTENED LEVEL OF ANXIETY WITHIN THE OIC CONTACT GROUP, AND THE INCREASING PRESSURE ON KING HASSAN TO AGREE TO MEASURES WHICH MAY BE INIMICAL TO OUR INTERESTS IN THE LONG RUN. HASSAN'S APPEAL PERHAPS REPRESENTS AN OPPORTUNITY TO HELP QUELL A RISING TIDE OF CONDEMNDATION EMANATING FROM THE MUSLIM WORLD AGAINST OUR POLICIES IN BOSNIA. HOWEVER, GIVEN THE PUBLIC COMMENTS SO FAR BY INDIVIDUAL OIC CONTACT GROUP MEMBERS, A JOINT CONTACT GROUP MEETING WOULD OPEN A FLOODGATE OF NEW CALLS TO LIFT THE ARMS

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PAGE 04 RABAT 05743 01 OF 02 251912Z
EMBARGO AND REESTABLISH UNPROFOR'S MANDATE IN ALREADY
OVERRUN SAFE HAVENS. END COMMENT.

7. FOLLOWING IS THE VERBATIM TEXT OF THE DEMARCHE BY PM/FM
FILALI:

THE CRITICAL SITUATION IN BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA

THE OBJECTIVE OF OUR MEETING TODAY CONCERNS THE
CRITICAL SITUATION IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA.

UNFORTUNATELY THE SITUATION HAS RECENTLY DETERIORATED
FURTHER BECAUSE OF THE SERBIAN ATTACKS. AFTER THE COLLAPSE
OF THE "SAFE AREAS" OF SREBRENICA AND ZEPA THE ASSAULT

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CONCERNS NOW BIHAC, IT IS REALLY AN UNACCEPTABLE SITUATION, AN UNHEARD AND UNSEEN INJUSTICE.

FOR THIS REASON AND ON BEHALF OF THE ISLAMIC COUNTRIES AND PARTICULARLY THOSE WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE OIC CONTACT GROUP, I STRESS FOR AN URGENT NEED TO HOLD A MEETING AT A

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PAGE 01 RABAT 05743 02 OF 02 251912Z
ACTION NEA-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00
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	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00
	USIE-00	SA-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/019W	

-----DCDE9B 251912Z /38

O 251909Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY RABAT
TO NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1290
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY ROME
ISLAMIC CONFERENCE COLLECTIVE

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AMEMBASSY ATHENS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 RABAT 005743

STATE ALSO FOR NEA A/S PELLETREAU AND NEA/ENA

NSC FOR MARK PARRIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, KISL, BK, MO

SUBJECT: ORGANIZATION OF ISLAMIC CONFERENCE BOSNIA CONTACT
GROUP SEEKS URGENT MEETING WITH BOSNIA

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PAGE 02 RABAT 05743 02 OF 02 251912Z
INTERNATIONAL CONTACT GROUP

MINISTERIAL LEVEL OF THE ICG AND OIC CONTACT GROUP IN VIEW
OF EXAMINING THIS DRAMATIC SITUATION AND INTERVENE SO AS TO
ACHIEVE JUSTICE, TO HALT THE CYCLE OF STARVATION AND ETHNIC
CLEANSING.

END TEXT.

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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ5146

PAGE 01 SARAJE 00401 01 OF 02 292111Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	SRPP-00
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	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00
	USIE-00	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/024W		

-----DE560B 292111Z /38

P 292059Z JUL 95 ZDK
FM AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0459
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB PRIORITY

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 SARAJEVO 000401

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, BK
SUBJECT: SARAJEVO ON THE RACK
- II. WINTER'S EARLY CHILL

REF: SARAJEVO 398

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: SARAJEVO'S MORALE IS BATTERED AFTER THREE WINTERS OF SIEGE AND ANOTHER, DREADED MORE THAN THE REST, ON ITS WAY. EVEN IN HIGH SUMMER, SARAJEVANS THINK ABOUT THE COMING COLD. THE MAYOR TOLD US THE CITY CANNOT SURVIVE

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PAGE 02 SARAJE 00401 01 OF 02 292111Z
ANOTHER WINTER. THE CUTOFF OF WATER, GAS AND ELECTRICITY

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 12 MAR 2009 200705105

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HAS IMPOSED GREAT HARDSHIP AND TRANSFORMED THE DAILY PATTERN OF LIFE. ONE MFA OFFICIAL SAID SARAJEVANS "LIVE LIKE CAGED ANIMALS." AMID THE STRUGGLE, WE ENCOUNTER RESILIENCE.

3. THIS IS THE SECOND OF TWO MESSAGES EXAMINING SARAJEVO UNDER SIEGE. THE FIRST (REFTEL) DEALT WITH THE CHETNIK'S INTENSIFIED BOMBARDMENT OF THE CITY. END SUMMARY.

NERVES ON EDGE

4. [REDACTED] TOLD US THAT "PSYCHOLOGICALLY, NO ONE IS IN GOOD SHAPE HERE." IF SARAJEVO HAD TO ENDURE ITS FOURTH WINTER UNDER SIEGE, "IT WILL MEAN THE DEATH OF THE CITY." ASKED IF SARAJEVO ASPIRED TO BE ANOTHER BERLIN, WHICH HEROICALLY OVERCAME ITS ISOLATION, THE MAYOR REPLIED THAT A MORE APT COMPARISON WAS BEIRUT.

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5. THIS WAS TO BE THE SUMMER OF LIBERATION. PRESIDENT IZETBEGOVIC HAD PROMISED IN MARCH THAT B-H FORCES WOULD BREAK THE SIEGE "SOMETIME BETWEEN MAY 25 AND NOVEMBER 25." ONE SARAJEVAN REMEMBERED THINKING THEN THAT THE 6-MONTH WINDOW DID NOT CONVEY MUCH SELF-CONFIDENCE; NONETHELESS, BY WINTER IT WOULD BE OVER. NOW THE GOBH PREFERS TO PASS OVER IZETBEGOVIC'S WORDS. MFA OFFICIALS DOWNPLAY EXPECTATIONS ABOUT THE B-H OFFENSIVE.

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6. FURTHER, THE MORALE OF THE CITY HAS TAKEN OTHER BLOWS THIS SUMMER, INCLUDING INTENSIFIED SHELLING BY THE CHETNIKS (REFTEL), AND THE LOSS OF SREBRENICA AND ZEPA. THE BSA CONQUEST OF THE TWO ENCLAVES HAS CAUSED A SENSE OF ABANDONMENT AND BETRAYAL, A THEME WE HEAR REPEATEDLY FROM GOBH OFFICIALS AND ORDINARY PEOPLE ALIKE. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] PUT IT, CHETNIKS STOP AT A RED LIGHT FLASHED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, BUT GO AT A GREEN - - OR YELLOW. SO FAR, HE SAID, THEY HAVE SEEN LITTLE RED.

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7. WE HEAR MANY COMMENTS FROM SARAJEVANS ABOUT SHATTERED NERVES. AN MFA PROTOCOL ASSISTANT TOLD US, "I USED TO BE BRAVE, BUT NOT ANY LONGER AFTER WHAT HAS HAPPENED THIS SUMMER." AN MSF EMPLOYEE REPORTED THAT REQUESTS FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL COUNSELING HAVE INCREASED, AS HAVE SUICIDES. A DOCTOR TOLD US THAT LIFE IN SARAJEVO RESEMBLES A GAME OF ROULETTE. AN MFA OFFICIAL SUMMED UP, "WE LIVE LIKE CAGED ANIMALS."

8. A PERVASIVE FEAR HAS GRIPPED THE CITY. ONE SARAJEVAN SAID "I AM AFRAID FOR THE FIRST TIME, I AM AFRAID." ANOTHER TOLD US SHE WAS NEVER AFRAID, "NOT EVEN DURING THE WORST SHELLING, BUT NOW I AM." THE RESULT OF THIS FEAR IS THAT MORE PEOPLE WISH TO LEAVE THE CITY, NERVES FRAYED, HOPE EXHAUSTED, FRIENDS AND FAMILY GONE.

PATTERN OF DAILY LIFE

9. THE SIEGE OF THE CITY HAS DISRUPTED DAILY ROUTINES.

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PAGE 04 SARAJE 00401 01 OF 02 292111Z
THE MOST PROFOUND CHANGE CAME IN LATE MAY WITH THE CUTOFF OF GAS, WATER AND ELECTRICITY. SARAJEVANS COMMONLY REFER TO THEIR LIVING CONDITIONS AS "MEDIEVAL." COPING WITH THE WATER SHORTAGE IS A CONSTANT PREOCCUPATION. GATHERING SUPPLIES FROM WATER TRUCKS IS AN ARDUOUS AND DANGEROUS TASK. THE NEED TO USE IT SPARINGLY AND THEN REUSE IT HAS TURNED THE SARAJEVAN BATHROOM INTO AN ELABORATE SYSTEM OF CISTERNS. SHOWERS ARE A THING OF THE PAST. THE TWO MOST COMMON COMPLAINTS WE HEAR ABOUT SARAJEVO'S PLIGHT DEAL WITH THE INCREASE OF SHELLING AND THE SHORTAGE OF WATER.

10. ELECTRIC CURRENT IS SPOTTY. THE CITY AUTHORITIES GIVE POWER TO AN INDIVIDUAL NEIGHBORHOOD FOR ABOUT 6 HOURS EVERY 4 DAYS. SOMETIMES THE POWER COMES ON IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NIGHT, AT WHICH POINT PEOPLE OFTEN RISE TO DO HOUSEHOLD CHORES.

11. A HOSPITAL OFFICIAL TOLD US OF HER RECENT TRIP TO SWEDEN, WHERE SHE ENCOUNTERED "INCOMPREHENSION" ON THE PART

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OF WOMEN MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT TO WHOM SHE WAS EXPLAINING LIVING CONDITIONS IN SARAJEVO. SHE SAID RUEFULLY, "WE ARE PART OF EUROPE, WE ONCE HAD A EUROPEAN STANDARD OF LIVING."

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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ5145

PAGE 01 SARAJE 00401 02 OF 02 292104Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	SRPP-00
	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-06	L-01	ADS-00
	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00
	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00
	USIE-00	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/024W		

-----DE55F1 292104Z /38

P 292059Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0460
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 SARAJEVO 000401

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, BK
SUBJECT: SARAJEVO ON THE RACK

UNCLASSIFIED

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II. WINTER'S EARLY CHILL

12. GATHERING WOOD IS ALSO A MAJOR CONCERN OF RESIDENTS, WHO REMEMBER ALL TOO WELL THE HARDSHIPS OF THE LAST THREE WINTERS UNDER SIEGE. [REDACTED] TOLD US OF THE GREAT EXPENSE AND DIFFICULTY IN FINDING WOOD. WITH A FEW EXCEPTIONS (INCLUDING THE GROUNDS OF THE EMBASSY), SARAJEVO IS DENUDED OF TREES. ONE ESTIMATE CONCLUDES THAT THE URBAN AREA OF THE CITY HAS LOST 40,000 TREES DURING THE WAR. ONE SARAJEVAN SPOKE OF THE "HYSTERIA" OF THE CITY IN FACING

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B6

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PAGE 02 SARAJE 00401 02 OF 02 292104Z
 ANOTHER WINTER WITHOUT PROPER FUEL.

 BENDING, NOT BREAKING

13. DESPITE THE HARDSHIPS, SARAJEVO HAS SHOWN REMARKABLE RESILIENCE. WE FIND EXAMPLES EVERY DAY. THE DIRECTOR OF THE STATE HOSPITAL DUBBED HIS INSTITUTION "THE SWISS CHEESE" BECAUSE OF ITS MANY HOLES. ONCE A HOSPITAL OF THE YUGOSLAV ARMY, IT BECAME A FAVORITE TARGET OF CHETNIKS, WHO VOWED TO DESTROY IT WHEN THEY LEFT. THE BUILDING HAS TAKEN 150 DIRECT HITS FROM TANK SHELLS, MANY LAUNCHED FROM A FRONT LINE ONLY 250 METERS AWAY.

14. YET THE HOSPITAL CONTINUES TO FUNCTION, THANKS LARGELY TO THE ENERGETIC EFFORTS OF ITS DIRECTOR, WHO SHOWED US THE MANY WAYS HE HAS OVERCOME SHORTAGES AND HARDSHIPS. ONE OF HIS HEATING UNITS, FOR EXAMPLE, CAN WORK ON ONE OF THREE FUELS: GAS, ELECTRICITY, OR WOOD, DEPENDING ON AVAILABILITY. HE ALSO POINTED OUT A PILE OF WOUND DRESSINGS, COLLECTED TO BE WASHED, STERILIZED AND REUSED. HE TOLD US THE WAR HAD MADE HIM CHANGE PROFESSIONS BUT NOT JOBS: HE WAS NOW MORE AN ENGINEER THAN A DOCTOR.

15. AT THE CITY CLINIC, A SURGEON TOLD US "IMPROVISATION" WAS HIS WATCHWORD. FOR EXAMPLE, THE WAR HAD FORCED HIM TO EXPERIMENT WITH TREATING SHATTERED LIMBS. HIS CLINIC HAD PIONEERED THE USE OF "EXTERNAL FIXATION," A METAL ROD ATTACHED TO THE OUTSIDE OF THE LIMB. ASKED ABOUT MORALE

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AMONG PATIENTS, HE SAID FAMILIES HAD SHOWN GREAT STRENGTH
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PAGE 03 SARAJE 00401 02 OF 02 292104Z
AND HAD TENDED TO RALLY AROUND THEIR HOSPITALIZED MEMBERS.
AS A WAY OF BOOSTING MORALE, HE ADDED, THE CLINIC HAD
RELAXED CERTAIN RESTRICTIONS -- FOR EXAMPLE, SMOKING IN
ROOMS.

16. COMMENT: SARAJEVO IS DEAD TIRED, BUT NOT DEAD. AN
EXAMPLE OF MORAL RESILIENCE CAME FROM CARDINAL PULJIC OF
SARAJEVO. THE DILEMMA HE FACES IN WAR-TORN BOSNIA IS
TRYING TO TEACH TOLERANCE IN AN INTOLERANT ERA. HIS
RESPONSE? "SIMPLE: CONTINUE TEACHING TOLERANCE." IN THE
HOSPITALS, THE SCENE OF EXCRUCIATING PAIN AND SADNESS, THE
INGENUITY, RESILIENCE AND HOPE FLOURISH. IF THE BROKEN
BODIES OF THE INNOCENT CAN HEAL, HOW MUCH MORE THE SPIRIT.
END COMMENT. MENZIES

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PTQ3147

SECRET

PTQ3147

PAGE 01 STATE 167378 130115Z
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 /000R

DRAFTED BY:D:DSTAFF:MAS
APPROVED BY:D:M WONG
S/S:MRLINO S/S-O:VKDELAWI

-----D8DD16 130116Z /38

O 130110Z JUL 95 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA 0623/27

RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.4(D), B5

S E C R E T STATE 167378

NODIS DECAPTIONED

FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY TALBOTT FROM D STAFF/TODEP 9062

C O R R E C T E D COPY (ADDING NODIS CAPTION)

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: OVIP (TALBOTT, STROBE), PREL, BR
SUBJECT: D DAILY ACTIVITY REPORT, JULY 12, 1995

TODEP

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 167378 130115Z

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
CLASSIFICATION: SECRET REASON: 1.4(D)
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 12 JUL 2020
DATE/CASE ID: 12 MAR 2009 200705105

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ACTION ITEMS

2. JIM COLLINS WILL BE MEETING CHKHIKVISHVILI TOMORROW (JULY 13) AT 10:00 A.M. HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE YOU FOR FIVE MINUTES BEFORE THEN, POSSIBLY IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE ASSISTANT SECRETARIES MEETING. WE HAVE ALERTED HIM TO OCCASIONAL IRREGULARITIES OF TRAVEL ON COMMERCIAL AIR, BUT HAVE AGREED IN PRINCIPLE.

UPDATES

3. BOSNIA:

(A) THE NEWS REMAINS GLOOMY. THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE NOW INVESTED POCOCARI, THE UN BASE WHERE THE DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS AND SOME TEN THOUSAND REFUGEES SOUGHT REFUGE AFTER THE FALL OF SREBRENICA. THE DUTCH ARE NEGOTIATING DIRECTLY WITH MLADIC FOR FREE PASSAGE TO TUZLA FOR THE REFUGEES AND FOR THEMSELVES. MLADIC IS TAKING A TOUGH LINE. AN ADDITIONAL TEN TO TWENTY THOUSAND REFUGEES ARE ENCAMPED AROUND POCOCARI AND PERHAPS EIGHT TO ELEVEN THOUSAND ARE ALREADY IN FLIGHT TO TUZLA. UNHCR ASSERTS THAT IT IS CAPABLE OF HANDLING SUCH A FLOW FOR THE TIME BEING, DESPITE THE CONTINUED CLOSURE OF THE TUZLA AIRPORT. IN THE MEANTIME, BOSNIAN SERB FORCES ARE MOBILIZING AROUND THE ENCLAVE OF ZEPA, WHICH IS EXPECTED TO FALL WITHIN THE NEXT DAY OR TWO. (THE ONLY UN FORCE IN ZEPA IS AN EIGHTY-MAN UKRAINIAN
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PAGE 03 STATE 167378 130115Z
CONTINGENT.) THEIR LIKELY THIRD TARGET, GORAZDE, IS QUIET FOR NOW, BUT PROBABLY NOT FOR LONG. THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE ALSO INTENSIFIED THE SHELLING OF SARAJEVO.

(B) THE EVENTS HAVE THROWN THE ALLIES INTO A TIZZY. THE DUTCH CABINET IS MEETING IN EMERGENCY SESSION, UNDER HEAVY PUBLIC PRESSURE TO WITHDRAW THE DUTCH CONTINGENT FROM BOSNIA ALTOGETHER. THE GOVERNMENT IS SO FAR STANDING FIRM, BUT CANNOT SUPPORT ANY UN/NATO MILITARY

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RESPONSE TO THE SREBRENICA SITUATION. DESPITE CHIRAC'S BRAVADO YESTERDAY, FRENCH INTENTIONS ARE UNCLEAR; THE BRITISH, MINDFUL THAT THEIR SOLDIERS IN GORAZDE MAY SOON BE IN THE LINE OF FIRE, ARE RELUCTANT TO COUNTENANCE FORCE OPTIONS. AT THE UN, THE FRENCH RESOLUTION ON SREBRENICA IS CLOSE TO PASSAGE, WITH THE RUSSIANS LIKELY TO ABSTAIN. THE RESOLUTION CONTAINS HORTATORY LANGUAGE DEMANDING BOSNIAN SERB WITHDRAWAL FROM SREBRENICA, BUT NO ONE CREDITS THAT THIS CAN BE BACKED UP MILITARILY.

(C) OUR OWN THINKING SEEMS TO BE COALESCING AROUND TWO CONTINGENCIES. FIRST, CREATE IF POSSIBLE A "FIREWALL" BETWEEN SREBRENICA/ZEPA (WHICH CANNOT BE DEFENDED) AND GORAZDE (WHICH POSSIBLY CAN, BUT PROBABLY CANNOT). THERE IS CONSIDERABLE QUESTION WHETHER THIS IS MILITARILY FEASIBLE AND WHETHER THE UN/BRITISH WILL GO ALONG. THE SECOND OPTION IS TO BUTTRESS THE CENTRAL REGION ALREADY UNDER BOSNIAN CONTROL, AND ESPECIALLY SARAJEVO. THE FRENCH ARE ALREADY FOCUSSED ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE IN THIS AREA, IN PARTICULAR IN OPENING THE MT. IGMAN ROAD.

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PAGE 04 STATE 167378 130115Z

(D) RELATED DEVELOPMENTS:

-- THE CONTACT GROUP IS MEETING IN LONDON THIS EVENING (8:00 P.M. LONDON TIME); HOLBROOKE WILL REPRESENT US; HE HAS INFORMED TARNOFF (WHO HAS NOT YET BRIEFED ON THE CONVERSATION) THAT BILDT HAS NEW IDEAS ON NEXT STEPS WHICH MERIT CONSIDERATION.

-, KORNBLUM, WES CLARKE AND JOE KRUZEL WILL BRIEF GILMAN AND HIRC TOMORROW -- AND WILL LIKELY BE IN FOR A ROUGH RIDE. DOLE SPOKE ON THE FLOOR YESTERDAY, CALLING THE ARMS EMBARGO A "FARCE" AND PROMISING TO GO FORWARD WITH HIS UNILATERAL LIFT RESOLUTION EARLY NEXT WEEK. H ANTICIPATES THAT HOYER WILL PRESENT A FREE-STANDING VERSION OF HIS LIFT AMENDMENT (WHICH ALREADY PASSED OVERWHELMINGLY).
D

(E) SUMMING UP: THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE ONCE AGAIN

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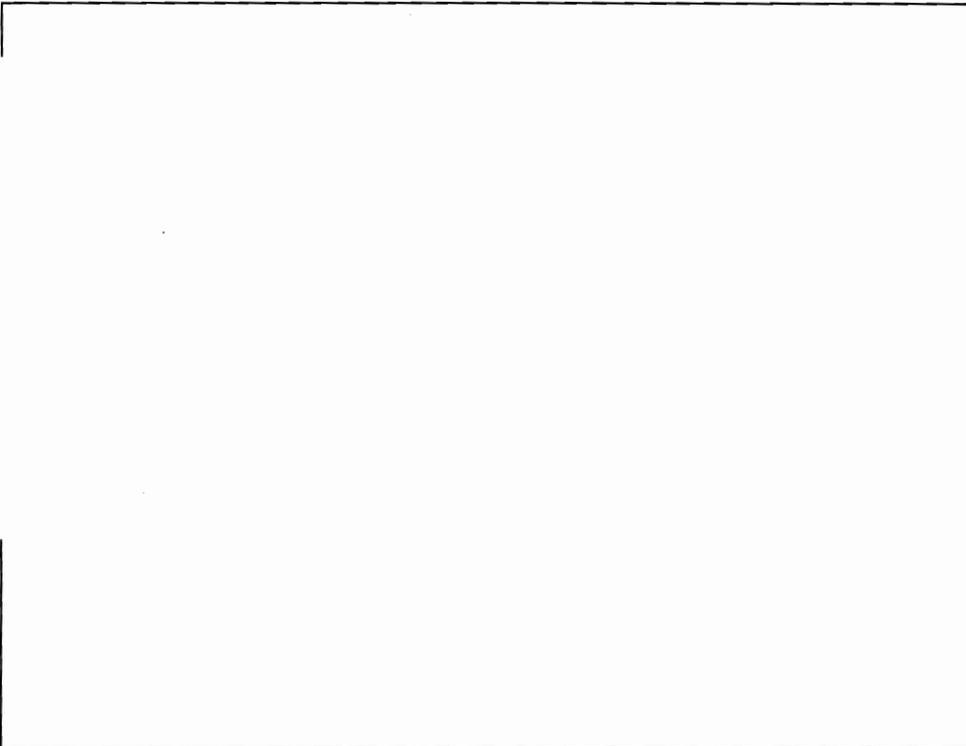
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(F) P.S. THE DAY'S EVENTS HAVE RENDERED THE BOSNIA PACKAGE WE PROMISED YESTERDAY OBE. EUR'S OPTIONS PAPER WILL NOT BE READY UNTIL TOMORROW. WE WILL FAX SUCH MEMOS AS WE HAVE AND ARE RETRANSMITTING ALL RELEVANT
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PAGE 05 STATE 167378 130115Z
CABLES ON THE ISSUE.

4. PAKISTAN F-16S.



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E) ROBIN, BOB EINHORN AND OTHERS WILL SEEK TO PRESENT THEIR VIEWS TO YOU EARLY UPON YOUR RETURN TOMORROW ON WHETHER TO AUTHORIZE HILL BRIEFINGS TO PROCEED ON FRIDAY AS SCHEDULED. WE HAVE FAXED YOU THE PRESSLER BRIEFING PACKAGE AS CLEARED BEFORE THE LATEST INTEL COMPLICATION CROPPED UP. THE DRAFT ACTION MEMO AND CABLE FOLLOW. PM

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PAGE 07 STATE 167378 130115Z
HAS NOT YET FORWARDED THIS TO LYNN DAVIS PENDING FURTHER
IN-HOUSE PM DISCUSSION SO SHE HAS NOT SEEN IT.

5. DRAFT ACTION MEMO:



B1, B5

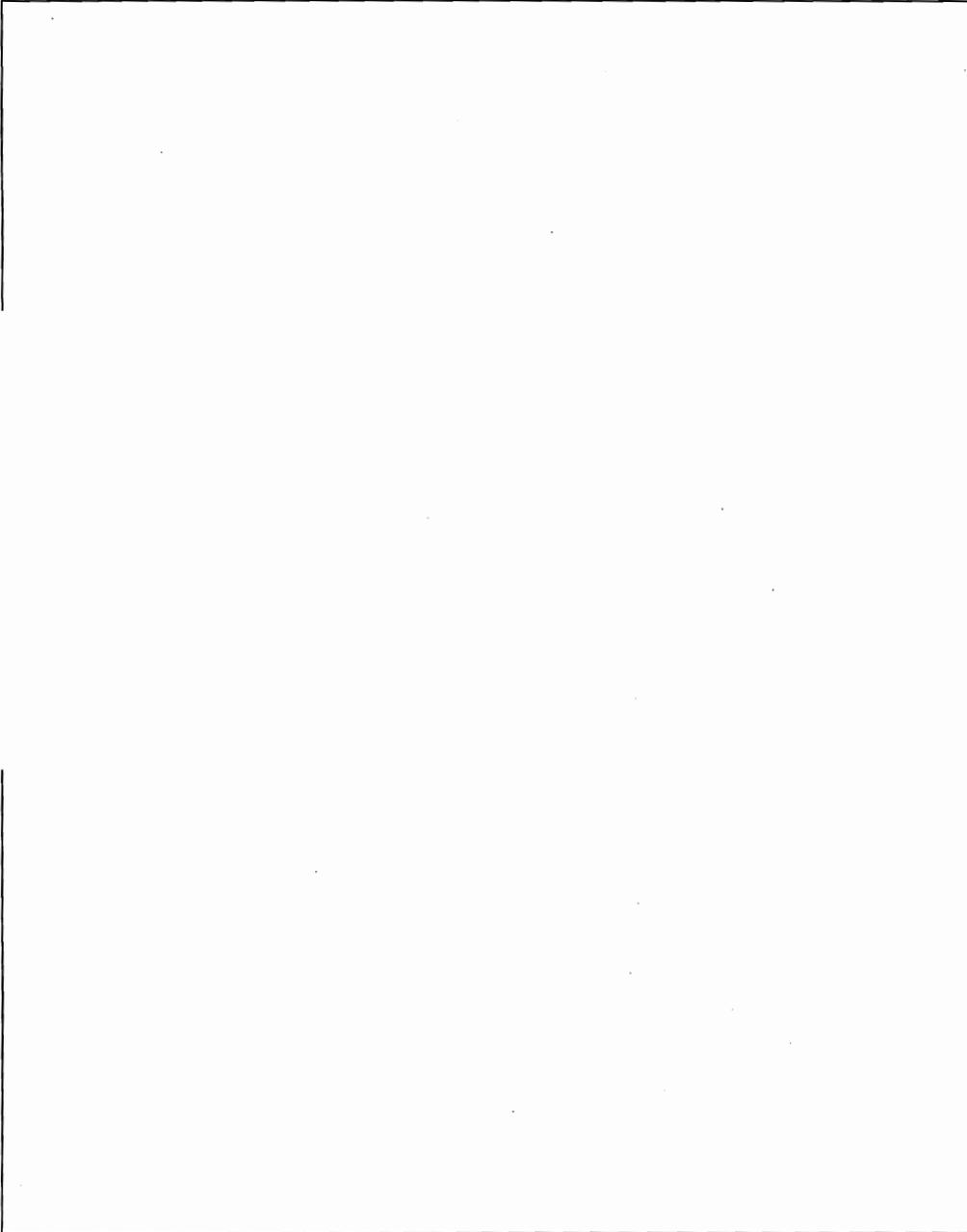
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PAGE 13

STATE 167378 130115Z

B1, B5



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PAGE 01 STATE 167378 130058Z
ORIGIN SS-00

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 TEDE-00 ADS-00 ONY-00 SSO-00 /000R

DRAFTED BY: D:D STAFF:MAS
APPROVED BY: D:M WONG
S/SMMRLINO

S/S-O:VKDELAWIE

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DESIRED DISTRIBUTION:

D ONLY

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O 130056Z JUL 95

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 167378

FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY TALBOTT FROM D STAFF/TODEP 9062

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: OVIP (TALBOTT, STROBE), PREL, BR

SUBJECT: D DAILY ACTIVITY REPORT, JULY 12, 1995

TODEP

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT.

ACTION ITEMS

SECRET

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PAGE 02 STATE 167378 130058Z

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PAGE 03 STATE 167378 130058Z

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4. PAKISTAN F-16S.

SECRET

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B1

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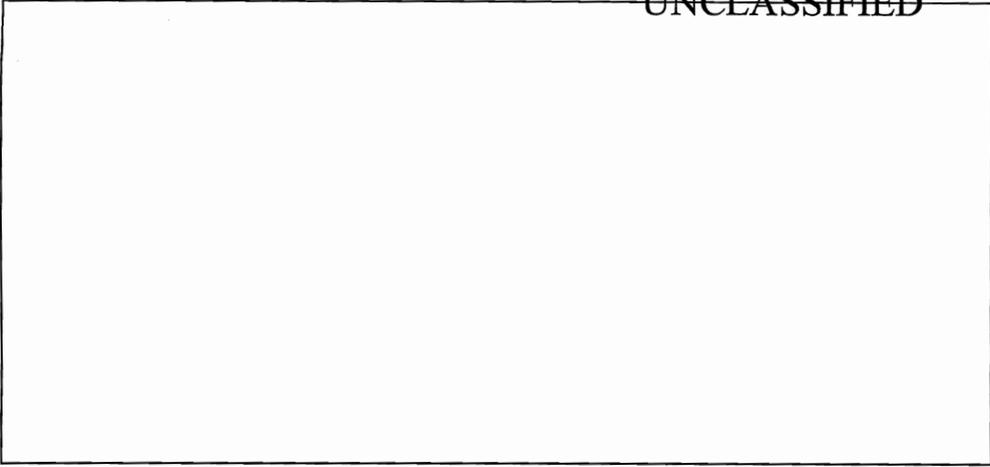
PAGE 07 STATE 167378 130058Z
5. DRAFT ACTION MEMO:

B1, B5

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B1, B5



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PAGE 14 STATE 167378 130058Z
CHRISTOPHER

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RELEASED IN FULL

UNCLASSIFIED PTQ7677

PAGE 01 ZAGREB 02770 01 OF 05 241803Z
ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	INL-01	OASY-00	SRPP-00
	DS-00	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FBIE-00	INLB-01	HHS-01
	H-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-06	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00
	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00

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-----DC7712 241803Z /38

O 241901Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6550
 USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
 USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
 INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
 497IG AMHS BOLLING AFB DC//INAGE//
 CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//
 CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//
 CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
 COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
 AMEMBASSY VIENNA
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY ROME
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

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PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02770 01 OF 05 241803Z
 AMEMBASSY BONN
 SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 DATE/CASE ID: 18 MAR 2009 200705105

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AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE//ECJ2/J3/J4/J5/EC POLAD//
USMISSION USNATO
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC
HQ JTF PROVIDE PROMISE FWD//J2/J3/J5//
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J2/J3/J4/J5//

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 05 ZAGREB 002770

STATE PASS TO AID
AID FOR AA/BHR, ENI, BHR/FFP, AND BHR/OFDA/DRD

BUDAPEST FOR RFMC/CEE
STATE FOR IO, IO/PHO, EUR/EEA
EUR/SCE, PM/ISP, AND PRM

GENEVA FOR RMA

SECDEF ALSO FOR OSD/HRA/IRVIN
RAMSTEIN FOR DO/LG/XP/IN/POLAD//
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, AORC, EAID, PHUM, UNHCR, UN, HR, BK
SUBJECT: OFDA DART/ZAGREB SITREP NO. 109

SUMMARY

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PAGE 03 ZAGREB 02770 01 OF 05 241803Z

1. UNHCR IDENTIFIED MORE SPACES FOR DPS IN ZENICA THAN IN TUZLA. UNHCR/ZAGREB REQUESTS HUMANITARIAN DAILY RATIONS FROM BHR/OFDA TO STOCKPILE IN THEIR ZAGREB WAREHOUSES. AICF/FRANCE REPORTS THAT THE NUTRITIONAL SITUATION IN THE BTHAC POCKET IS GETTING CRITICAL. 1,000 TO 3,000 DPS IN THE BIHAC POCKET. UNHCR CONVOYS REACH SARAJEVO FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE JUNE 21. THE POTATO BLIGHT IN CENTRAL BOSNIA REMAINS A PROBLEM. UNHCR BRIEFING IN ZAGREB UPDATES

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THE SITUATION IN SREBRENICA. UNPF FLIGHTS RESUME AND PROVIDE MORE ASSISTANCE TO TUZLA AND ZENICA. FOR JUL 21-23: CONVOY INCIDENTS; UNHCR SUCCESSFUL CONVOY DELIVERIES; UNHCR SARAJEVO AIRLIFT; AND JTF PROVIDE PROMISE AIRDROP OPERATIONS. END SUMMARY.

MORE SPACES FOR DPS IN ZENICA THAN IN TUZLA

2. DURING THE JUL 24 UNHCR MEETING, THE PROGRAM OFFICER REPORTED THAT UNHCR IS STILL IN THE PROCESS OF IDENTIFYING SPACES IN COLLECTIVE CENTERS IN ZENICA FOR THE SREBRENICA DPS. UNHCR REPORTED THAT ZENICA'S LOCAL AUTHORITIES DO NOT WANT TO USE SCHOOL AND OTHER BUILDINGS TO HOUSE THE DPS, BUT PREFER TO USE VACANT HOUSES OF PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN ETHNICALLY CLEANSED. WHEN QUERIED ABOUT THE NUMBERS OF SPACES AVAILABLE IN ZENICA, UNHCR'S PROGRAM OFFICER DID NOT WANT TO OFFER AN ESTIMATE. HOWEVER, HE DID SAY THAT THEY HAVE IDENTIFIED MORE SPACES IN ZENICA THAN THE
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PAGE 04 ZAGREB 02770 01 OF 05 241803Z
11,000 IDENTIFIED IN TUZLA. UNHCR CONTINUES TO NEGOTIATE WITH ZENICA'S LOCAL AUTHORITIES ON ACCOMMODATION SPACES FOR CURRENT AND FUTURE DPS.

UNHCR/ZAGREB DETERMINES THAT HDRS ARE NEEDED

3. THE UNHCR/ZAGREB LOGISTICS COORDINATOR STATED THAT UNHCR HAS RECEIVED ENCOURAGING FUNDING FIGURES AND IS SATISFIED WITH THE LEVELS OF SUPPORT BEING OFFERED BY DONORS. HOWEVER, UNHCR NEEDS TO OBTAIN MORE HUMANITARIAN DAILY RATIONS (HDRS). THEREFORE, UNHCR/ZAGREB HAS REQUESTED, THROUGH DART/ZAGREB, THAT BHR/OFDA PROVIDE 250,000 HDRS. THE HDRS WILL BE DIVIDED EQUALLY AND STOCKPILED IN THE UNHCR'S GRAFIKA AND ZITNJAK WAREHOUSES IN ZAGREB. ON JULY 24, AFTER REEVALUATING THEIR OVERALL EMERGENCY FOOD NEEDS, THE ICRC REPORTED TO DART/ZAGREB THAT THEY WILL NOT NEED ANY HDRS AT THIS TIME.

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AICF/F REPORTS ON THE WORSENING SITUATION IN BIHAC

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PAGE 01 ZAGREB 02770 02 OF 05 241803Z
ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	INL-01	OASY-00	SRPP-00
	DS-00	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FBIE-00	INLB-01	HHS-01
	H-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-06	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00
	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00
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FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6551
USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
497IG AMHS BOLLING AFB DC//INAGE//
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//

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CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

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AMEMBASSY BONN
SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE//ECJ2/J3/J4/J5/EC POLAD//
USMISSION USNATO
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC
HQ JTF PROVIDE PROMISE FWD//J2/J3/J5//
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J2/J3/J4/J5//

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 05 ZAGREB 002770

STATE PASS TO AID
AID FOR AA/BHR, ENI, BHR/FFP, AND BHR/OFDA/DRD

BUDAPEST FOR RFMC/CEE
STATE FOR IO, IO/PHO, EUR/EEA
EUR/SCE, PM/ISP, AND PRM

GENEVA FOR RMA

SECDEF ALSO FOR OSD/HRA/IRVIN
RAMSTEIN FOR DO/LG/XP/IN/POLAD//
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, AORC, EAID, PHUM, UNHCR, UN, HR, BK
SUBJECT: OFDA DART/ZAGREB SITREP NO. 109

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4. ON JULY 10, ACTION INTERNATIONALE CONTRE LA
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FAIM/France's (AICF/F) LIAISON OFFICER FORWARDED A
MEMO TO DART/ZAGREB ON THE DETERIORATING NUTRITIONAL
SITUATION IN BIHAC. NUTRITIONAL NEEDS ARE MOST
CRITICAL BECAUSE OF THE INABILITY OF UNHCR'S CONVOYS
TO REACH THE BIHAC POCKET ON A REGULAR BASIS. THE
MEMO REPORTS THAT ALTHOUGH AICF/F, SOLIDARITES, AND
FEED THE CHILDREN MAINTAIN PROGRAMS IN THE POCKET,
THERE WILL BE A SHORTFALL IF THE GENERAL FOOD
PROGRAM PROVIDED BY UNHCR DOES NOT SUCCEED IN
ENTERING THE AREA ON A REGULAR BASIS. UNHCR
RECENTLY DECIDED TO REDUCE THEIR GENERAL
DISTRIBUTION PROGRAM TO A DISTRIBUTION FOR ONLY
HOSPITALS AND PUBLIC KITCHENS. ABOUT 3,500
BENEFICIARIES ARE BEING PROVIDED FOR IN THE PUBLIC
KITCHENS, BUT THERE ARE ABOUT 10,000 PEOPLE IN NEED.
AICF/F EXPECTS TO CONDUCT A COMPLETE NUTRITIONAL
SURVEY IN THE BIHAC POCKET DURING AUGUST.

1,000 TO 3,000 DPS IN BIHAC POCKET

5. DURING A JUL 24 MEETING IN ZAGREB, UNHCR'S
PROGRAM OFFICER FROM THE BIHAC POCKET (CURRENTLY IN
ZAGREB) REPORTED THAT 1,000 - 3,000 PEOPLE HAVE
MOVED INTO CAZIN FROM THE AREA WEST OF THE TOWN.
UNPROFOR AND UNHCR BOTH CONFIRMED REPORTS THAT THE
CONFRONTATION LINE IN THE NORTHERN PART AND WESTERN
PART OF THE POCKET HAVE SHIFTED SOUTHWARD AND
EASTWARD TOWARD CORALICI, WHERE UNPROFOR'S BASE IS
LOCATED. THE JOINT ABDIC, BSA, AND KRAJINA SERB
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OFFENSIVE HAS REPORTEDLY RESULTED IN A GAIN OF
APPROXIMATELY 70 SQUARE KILOMETERS. UNHCR STRESSED
THAT ANY POPULATION MOVEMENTS WOULD NOT OVERSTRESS
THEIR HUMANITARIAN SUPPLIES, AS THE WHOLE POPULATION
IN THE BIHAC POCKET IS ALREADY DESIGNATED TO RECEIVE
UNHCR ASSISTANCE.

6. ON JULY 24, DART/ZAGREB SPOKE WITH THE UNHCR'S
CONVOY LOGISTICS OFFICER ABOUT THE CONVOY ACCESS
PROBLEM. UNHCR REPORTS THAT THE KRAJINA SERB
OFFICIALS ARE IGNORING THEIR CALLS AND ARE NOT
SHOWING UP FOR MEETINGS TO DISCUSS THE CONVOY
CLEARANCE SITUATION. CONTINUED FIGHTING IS ALSO
OCCURRING AT THE WESTERN ENTRANCE TO THE POCKET AND
KRAJINA SERB LEADER ABDIC HAS TOLD UNHCR THAT
CONVOYS WILL NOT BE ALLOWED ACCESS TO BIHAC FOR THE
NEXT FIVE DAYS.

UNHCR CONVOYS REACH SARAJEVO ON JULY 21-22

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ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	INL-01	OASY-00	SRPP-00
	DS-00	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FBIE-00	INLB-01	HHS-01
	H-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-06	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00
	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00

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O 241901Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6552
 USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
 USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
 INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
 497IG AMHS BOLLING AFB DC//INAGE//
 CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//
 CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//
 CINCUSAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
 COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
 AMEMBASSY VIENNA
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY ROME
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

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 AMEMBASSY BONN
 SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
 AMEMBASSY ATHENS
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 USMISSION USNATO
 JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
 WHITE HOUSE WASHDC
 HQ JTF PROVIDE PROMISE FWD//J2/J3/J5//
 HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J2/J3/J4/J5//

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UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 05 ZAGREB 002770

STATE PASS TO AID
AID FOR AA/BHR, ENI, BHR/FFP, AND BHR/OFDA/DRD

BUDAPEST FOR RFMC/CEE
STATE FOR IO, IO/PHO, EUR/EEA
EUR/SCE, PM/ISP, AND PRM

GENEVA FOR RMA

SECDEF ALSO FOR OSD/HRA/IRVIN
RAMSTEIN FOR DO/LG/XP/IN/POLAD//
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, AORC, EAID, PHUM, UNHCR, UN, HR, BK
SUBJECT: OFDA DART/ZAGREB SITREP NO. 109

7. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A MONTH, FOUR UNHCR
CONVOYS ARRIVED IN SARAJEVO CARRYING 633 MT OF MIXED
FOOD, ROOFING MATERIALS, CLEANING AGENTS, WATER
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FILTRATION EQUIPMENT, AND PLASTIC SHEETING. THE
LAST SUCCESSFUL CONVOYS ARRIVED IN SARAJEVO ON JUNE
21. ON JULY 24, UNHCR'S CONVOY LOGISTICS OFFICER
TOLD DART/ZAGREB THAT 3 MORE CONVOYS DEPARTED
UNHCR/METKOVIC AND WILL BE OVERNIGHTING IN KISELJAK
AND ZENICA BEFORE CONTINUING TO SARAJEVO ON JULY 25.

ESTIMATED DAMAGE FROM POTATO BLIGHT IS USD 2 MILLION

8. ON JULY 21, THE DART/SPLIT PROGRAM OFFICER MET
WITH LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS IN TUZLA AND
DISCUSSED THE POTATO BLIGHT IN BUGOJNO. IT IS
ESTIMATED BY TUZLA'S LOCAL OFFICIALS THAT SOME 6
MILLION KILOS OF POTATOES HAVE BEEN DESTROYED BY THE
FUNGUS "PHYTOPHTHORA INFESTAN." THE LOSSES ARE
ESTIMATED TO TOTAL OVER USD 2 MILLION. (NOTE:

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FAO'S REPRESENTATIVE IN ZAGREB COULD NOT CONFIRM THE ESTIMATE, AND STATED THAT THE CROP LOSS MAY HAVE BEEN EXAGGERATED. END NOTE.)

9. ON JULY 24, DART/ZAGREB DISCUSSED THE PROBLEM WITH A REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE U.N'S FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION (FAO). THE FAO REPRESENTATIVE REPORTED THAT THE BLIGHT IS CENTERED IN ISOLATED POCKETS IN AND AROUND BUGOJNO. FARMERS HAVE RECEIVED PESTICIDES, BUT UNFORTUNATELY THE POTATO SEED AVAILABLE LAST YEAR IS RECEPTIVE TO THE BLIGHT. DRY WEATHER AND WINDY CONDITIONS ARE THE BEST DETERRENTS TO THE SPREAD OF THIS BLIGHT. FAO
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AND AICF/F REPRESENTATIVES WILL MEET ON JULY 25 TO ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE THE OVERALL SITUATION.

MORE HELP ON THE WAY FOR TUZLA AND ZENICA

10. U.N. PEACE FORCES (UNPF) FLIGHTS RESUMED ON JULY 21. TWO ILYUSHIN-76 FLIGHTS FROM ZAGREB TO SPLIT CARRIED UNHCR STOCKS ON JULY 21. TWO MI-26 FLIGHTS FROM SPLIT TO TUZLA ALSO TRANSPORTED 3.8 MT OF BABY DIAPERS, 4 MT OF SANITARY NAPKINS, 5.4 MT OF MATTRESSES AND 4 MT OF INDIVIDUAL COMBAT RATIONS (ICRS). ON JULY 22, ONE MI-26 FLIGHT FROM SPLIT TO ZENICA TRANSPORTED MATTRESSES AND JERRY CANS. ON JULY 23, THERE WERE NO HUMANITARIAN FLIGHTS BETWEEN SPLIT AND TUZLA DUE TO MECHANICAL PROBLEMS WITH THE MI-26 AND A LACK OF OTHER TRANSPORT ASSETS. ON JULY 24, ONE MI-26 TRANSPORTED UNHCR STOCKS OF TENTS, ICRS, AND SLEEPING BAGS FROM SPLIT TO TUZLA.

11. UNPP HEADQUARTERS STILL DOES NOT HAVE THE

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ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	INL-01	OASY-00	SRPP-00
	DS-00	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FBIE-00	INLB-01	HHS-01
	H-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-06	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00
	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00

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O 241901Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6553
 USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
 USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
 INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
 497IG AMHS BOLLING AFB DC//INAGE//
 CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//
 CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//
 CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
 COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
 AMEMBASSY VIENNA
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY ROME
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
 AMEMBASSY LONDON

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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

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AMEMBASSY BONN
SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ2/J3/J4/J5/EC POLAD//
USMISSION USNATO
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC
HQ JTF PROVIDE PROMISE FWD//J2/J3/J5//
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J2/J3/J4/J5//

UNCLAS SECTION 04 OF 05 ZAGREB 002770

STATE PASS TO AID
AID FOR AA/BHR, ENI, BHR/FFP, AND BHR/OFDA/DRD

BUDAPEST FOR RFMC/CEE
STATE FOR IO, IO/PHO, EUR/EEA
EUR/SCE, PM/ISP, AND PRM

GENEVA FOR RMA

SECDEF ALSO FOR OSD/HRA/IRVIN
RAMSTEIN FOR DO/LG/XP/IN/POLAD//
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, AORC, EAID, PHUM, UNHCR, UN, HR, BK
SUBJECT: OFDA DART/ZAGREB SITREP NO. 109

NECESSARY TRANSPORT ASSETS TO MOVE THE HUGE INPLUX
OP HUMANITARIAN GOODS FOR THE DISPLACED PERSONS IN
TUZLA. SUPPLEMENTARY TRANSPORT ASSISTANCE REQUESTS

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ARE STILL BEING SOLICITED. UNHCR REPORTED THAT, DUE
TO MECHANICAL PROBLEMS, NO PIXED-WING PLIGHTS FROM
ZAGREB TO SPLIT ARE SCHEDULED UNTIL JUL 26.
MECHANICAL PROBLEMS HAVE ALSO RENDERED THE AIRBRIDGE
TO TUZLA TEMPORARILY INOPERABLE.

UNHCR CONVOY INCIDENTS

12. ON JULY 21, UNHCR/BELGRADE REPORTED THAT 1
CONVOY TO GORAZDE (66 MT OF MIXED FOOD) HAS BEEN
DENIED CLEARANCE BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS SINCE JULY 18.
UNHCR/ZAGREB REPORTED THAT 1 CONVOY TO CAZIN (120 MT
OF MIXED FOOD) WAS REFUSED CLEARANCE BY THE KRAJINA
SERBS, AND 1 CONVOY TO BANJA LUKA (130 MT OF MIXED
FOOD) WAS REFUSED CLEARANCE BY THE CROATIAN
AUTHORITIES.

13. ON JULY 22, UNHCR/BELGRADE REPORTED THAT 1
CONVOY TO GORAZDE (66 MT OF MIXED FOOD) HAS BEEN
DENIED CLEARANCE BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS SINCE JULY 18.
A SECOND UNHCR/BELGRADE CONVOY TO GORAZDE (88 MT OF
MIXED FOOD AND BABY NIPPLES) ALSO WAS REFUSED
CLEARANCE BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS. ON JULY 23, A THIRD
CONVOY TO GORAZDE (86 MT OF MIXED FOOD) ALSO WAS
REFUSED CLEARANCE BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS.

UNHCR SUCCESSFUL CONVOYS

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14. ON JULY 21, UNHCR/BELGRADE DID NOT REPORT ANY
SUCCESSFUL CONVOYS. UNHCR/METKOVIC REPORTED 10
SUCCESSFUL CONVOYS: 1 TO LIVNO (20 MT OF MIXED FOOD
AND SOAP); 1 TO TOMISLAVGRAD (14 MT OF MIXED FOOD
AND SOAP); 1 TO TUZLA (72 MT OF MIXED FOOD AND

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CLOTHES); 1 TO LJUBUSKI (41 MT OF MIXED FOOD); 1 TO POSUSJE (8 MT OF MIXED FOOD AND SOAP); 1 TO GRUDE (10 MT OF MIXED FOOD AND SOAP); 1 TO TREBINJE (36 MT OF FLOUR); 1 TO ZENICA (33 MT OF SALT, SLEEPING MATS, MATTRESSES, BEDS, JERRY CANS, AND WATER BUCKETS); AND 2 TO SARAJEVO (152 MT OF MIXED FOOD AND 216 MT OF FLOUR). UNHCR/ZAGREB REPORTED 1 SUCCESSFUL CONVOY TO OSIJEK (26 MT OF SOAP).

15. ON JULY 22, UNHCR/BELGRADE AND UNHCR/ZAGREB DID NOT REPORT ANY SUCCESSFUL CONVOYS. UNHCR/METKOVIC REPORTED 2 SUCCESSFUL CONVOYS TO SARAJEVO (265 MT OF FLOUR, PEAS, ROOFING MATERIAL, CLEANING AGENTS, WATER FILTRATION EQUIPMENT, AND PLASTIC SHEETING). ON JULY 23, NO SUCCESSFUL CONVOYS WERE REPORTED BY UNHCR/BELGRADE, UNHCR/METKOVIC, OR UNHCR/ZAGREB.

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ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	INL-01	OASY-00	SRPP-00
	DS-00	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FBIE-00	INLB-01	HHS-01
	H-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-06	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00

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SNIS-00 NISC-01 PMB-00 DSCC-00 PRME-01 DRL-09 G-00
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O 241901Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6554
USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
497IG AMHS BOLLING AFB DC//INAGE//
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

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AMEMBASSY BONN
SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ2/J3/J4/J5/EC POLAD//
USMISSION USNATO
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC
HQ JTF PROVIDE PROMISE FWD//J2/J3/J5//
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J2/J3/J4/J5//

UNCLAS SECTION 05 OF 05 ZAGREB 002770

STATE PASS TO AID
AID FOR AA/BHR, ENI, BHR/FFP, AND BHR/OFDA/DRD

BUDAPEST FOR RFMC/CEE

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STATE FOR IO, IO/PHO, EUR/EEA
EUR/SCE, PM/ISP, AND PRM

GENEVA FOR RMA

SECDEF ALSO FOR OSD/HRA/IRVIN
RAMSTEIN FOR DO/LG/XP/IN/POLAD//
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, AORC, EAID, PHUM, UNHCR, UN, HR, BK
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UNHCR SARAJEVO AIRLIFT

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16. THE HUMANITARIAN AIRLIFT TO SARAJEVO HAS BEEN INTERRUPTED SINCE APR 8 WHEN AN AMERICAN AIRCRAFT WAS HIT BY 10 ROUNDS OF SMALL ARMS FIRE. THERE IS NO ESTIMATED DATE FOR THE RESUMPTION OF AIRLIFT OPERATIONS (SEE SITREP 78 FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON SERB CONDITIONS FOR REOPENING THE AIRPORT).

JTF PROVIDE PROMISE AIRDROPS

17. JTF PROVIDE PROMISE AIRDROPS OVER B-H ARE INDEFINITELY POSTPONED DUE TO SECURITY CONCERNS. THE LAST HUMANITARIAN AIRDROPS WERE CONDUCTED OVER BIHAC ON AUG 16, 1994.

18. MINIMIZE SARAJEVO CONSIDERED.

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ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	INL-01	OASY-00	SRPP-00
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	H-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-06	LAB-01	L-01
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 FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
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 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
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 HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
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 SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
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 CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//
 CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
 COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
 AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY ROME

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 18 MAR 2009 200705105

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AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ2/J3/J4/J5/EC POLAD//
USMISSION USNATO

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 07 ZAGREB 002756

STATE PASS TO AID
AID FOR AA/BHR, ENI, BHR/FFP, AND BHR/OFDA/DRD

BUDAPEST FOR RFMC/CEE
STATE FOR IO, IO/PHO, EUR/EEA
EUR/SCE, PM/ISP, AND PRM

GENEVA FOR RMA

SECDEF ALSO FOR OSD/HRA/IRVIN
RAMSTEIN FOR DO/LG/XP/IN/POLAD//
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, AORC, EAID, PHUM, UNHCR, UN, HR, BK
SUBJECT: OFDA DART/ZAGREB SITREP NO. 108

SUMMARY

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1. UNPF TEMPORARILY REDUCES SPECIAL AID FLIGHTS TO SPLIT. REPORTS OF MORE PEOPLE LEAVING THE AIRBASE THAN ARRIVING. UNHCR ENCOURAGED BY FUNDING FIGURES, BUT REQUESTS MORE HDRS. 100 PERCENT OF THE NEEDS MET IN TUZLA. UNHCR HOLDS FAST TO POLICY NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN EVACUATION. NEW PROBLEMS ARISE WHEN SEEKING ACCOMMODATION IN ZENICA. NGOS SKEPTICAL ABOUT REHABILITATING UNOCCUPIED HOUSES. POTATO BLIGHT MAY RUIN SEED PROGRAM IN CENTRAL B-H.

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PREPOSITIONING IN KLADANJ FOR POTENTIAL FUTURE
MOVEMENTS. UNHCR CONVOYS TO SELECTED DESTINATIONS
FOR JUN 23 - JUL 20. FOR JUL 21: CONVOY INCIDENTS;
UNHCR SUCCESSFUL CONVOY DELIVERIES; UNHCR SARAJEVO
AIRLIFT; AND JTF PROVIDE PROMISE AIRDROP OPERATIONS.
END SUMMARY.

UNPF TEMPORARILY REDUCES ZAGREB - SPLIT FLIGHTS

2. UN PEACE FORCES (UNPF) HQ TEMPORARILY REDUCED
THE NUMBER OF FLIGHTS FROM ZAGREB TO SPLIT, DUE TO A
LACK OF TRUCKING ASSETS FOR THE ONWARD DELIVERY FROM
SPLIT TO TUZLA. FURTHERMORE, ADDITIONAL PROBLEMS
HAVE HAMPERED THE DELIVERY OF AID TO THE SREBRENICA
DPS IN TUZLA: A) FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT RESTRICTIONS
IN B-H; B) SOME DONOR NATIONS DID NOT/ARE NOT
ANNOUNCING THE ARRIVAL OF AIRCRAFT WHICH HAS CAUSED
A LOGJAM AT THE AIRPORT; AND C) A KEY BORDER CLOSURE
TO ALL UN VEHICLES - THE KAMENSKO CROSSING IN
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METKOVIC. A UNPF OFFICIAL ALSO REPORTED THAT THE
NUMBER OF HELICOPTERS FLYING AID TO TUZLA WILL BE
REDUCED NEXT WEEK.

MORE PEOPLE LEAVING THE AIRBASE THAN ARRIVING

3. DURING THE FOURTH BRIEFING ON THE SITUATION IN
SREBRENICA IN JUL 21, UNHCR'S PROGRAM OFFICER
REPORTED THAT THERE ARE OVER 6,000 DPS AT THE AIR
BASE IN TUZLA. (NOTE: DURING A JUL 21 MEETING AT
THE TUZLA AIRBASE, IT WAS REPORTED THAT
APPROXIMATELY 6,800 DPS WERE AT THE ON SITE. END
NOTE.) EXACT NUMBERS CAN NO LONGER BE GIVEN SINCE
SOME DPS ARE NOT DE-REGISTERING AS THEY LEAVE THE
CAMP. HOWEVER, UNHCR'S PROGRAM OFFICER REPORTED
THAT THERE NOW IS A LARGER NUMBER LEAVING THE CAMP
THAN COMING INTO THE CAMP. UNHCR IS STILL USING THE

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GOVERNMENT'S ESTIMATE OF 29,400 AS THE TOTAL NUMBER OF DPS FROM SREBRENICA.

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ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	INL-01	OASY-00	SRPP-00
	DS-00	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FBIE-00	INLB-01	HHS-01
	H-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-06	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00
	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00

/045W

-----DC0AF5 220920Z /38

O 211644Z JUL 95 ZDK
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6523
USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC
HQ JTF PROVIDE PROMISE FWD//J2/J3/J5//

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HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J2/J3/J4/J5//
SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
497IG AMHS BOLLING AFB DC//INAGE//
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02756 02 OF 07 220920Z
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ2/J3/J4/J5/EC POLAD//
USMISSION USNATO

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 07 ZAGREB 002756

STATE PASS TO AID
AID FOR AA/BHR, ENI, BHR/FFP, AND BHR/OFDA/DRD

BUDAPEST FOR RFMC/CEE
STATE FOR IO, IO/PHO, EUR/EEA
EUR/SCE, PM/ISP, AND PRM

GENEVA FOR RMA

SECDEF ALSO FOR OSD/HRA/IRVIN
RAMSTEIN FOR DO/LG/XP/IN/POLAD//
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, AORC, EAID, PHUM, UNHCR, UN, HR, BK
SUBJECT: OFDA DART/ZAGREB SITREP NO. 108

TENTS TO LIVE IN AND TENTS TO SUPPORT THE DPS' NEEDS

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4. DURING THE JUL 21 UNHCR MEETING AT THE TUZLA AIRBASE, UNHCR REPORTED THAT THE DPS ARE LIVING IN 1,051 TENTS SEPARATED INTO 23 TENT SECTIONS (IRC WAS INTEGRAL IN THE PROCESS OF MARKING THE TENTS DURING THE BEGINNING OF THE CRISIS). TO SUPPORT THE POPULATION AT THE AIRBASE, 40 WATER TANKS, 5 MEDICAL AID STATIONS, 44 LATRINES (A TOTAL OF 260 METERS OF TRENCHES), AND 3 RUBBHALL TENTS (A FOURTH WILL BE SET UP TODAY AND USED AS A MOSQUE) HAVE BEEN SET UP, AND ARE IN FULL OPERATION. IN ADDITION, A TENT WAS SET UP ON JUL 19 TO PROVIDE INFORMATION TO NGOS, DPS, UNPROFOR, AND ANYONE ELSE THAT NEEDS FACTS OR DETAILS ON ANY NUMBER OF SUBJECT. UNHCR'S HEAD OF THE AIRBASE CAMP, MONIQUE TUFFELLI, REPORTED THAT THERE WERE 20 FAMILY REUNIFICATIONS AS A DIRECT RESULT OF THE INFORMATION TENT. NEWLY ARRIVING DPS WHO REPORT TO THE TENT ARE ANNOUNCED ON THE PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM, WHICH FACILITATES THE REUNIFICATION.

UNHCR ENCOURAGED BY FUNDING FIGURES, BUT REQUESTS HDRS FOR FUTURE EMERGENCIES

5. FOLLOWING AN INFORMATION INQUIRY TO UNHCR, DART RECEIVED A FAX FROM THE LOGISTICS COORDINATOR WHO REPORTED THAT "UNHCR IS RECEIVING ENCOURAGING FUNDING FIGURES, AND WE ARE CURRENTLY HAPPY WITH THE LEVEL OF SUPPORT BEING OFFERED BY DONORS." HE FURTHER STATED THAT, "WE (UNHCR) WOULD, HOWEVER,
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WELCOME ADDITIONAL HDRS IN ORDER TO MEET FUTURE
EMERGENCIES." UNHCR REQUESTED THAT DART FACILITATE
THE SHIPMENT OF 200,000 ADDITIONAL HDRS TO THE TWO
ZAGREB WAREHOUSES.

100 PERCENT OF TARGETED AID IN TUZLA

6. UNHCR'S PROGRAM OFFICER ALSO REPORTED THAT
UNHCR HAS DELIVERED 100% OF THE TARGETED AID TO
TUZLA. THEREFORE, HE REPORTED THAT THE AIR BRIDGE
BETWEEN ZAGREB AND SPLIT WILL PROBABLY CONCLUDE THIS
WEEKEND. THE AIRBRIDGE BETWEEN SPLIT AND TUZLA IS
TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED TO END THE EARLY PART OF NEXT
WEEK.

MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION ON THE CURRENT SITUATION

7. UNHCR REPORTED THAT ALL LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL

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UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 07 ZAGREB 002756

STATE PASS TO AID
AID FOR AA/BHR, ENI, BHR/FFP, AND BHR/OFDA/DRD

BUDAPEST FOR RFMC/CEE
STATE FOR IO, IO/PHO, EUR/EEA
EUR/SCE, PM/ISP, AND PRM

GENEVA FOR RMA

SECDEF ALSO FOR OSD/HRA/IRVIN
RAMSTEIN FOR DO/LG/XP/IN/POLAD//
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREEF, AORC, EAID, PHUM, UNHCR, UN, HR, BK
SUBJECT: OFDA DART/ZAGREB SITREP NO. 108

STAFF FROM MSF/BELGIUM AND UNHCR RECENTLY LEFT
POTOCARI WITH DUTCHBAT FOR BELGRADE.

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8. UNHCR'S PROGRAM OFFICER REPORTED THAT BABY FOOD
AND EGG POWDER (OR FRESH EGGS) ARE NOW BACK ON THE
LIST OF FOOD NEEDED.

UNHCR HOLDS FAST ON POLICY NOT TO EVACUATE

9. NO UNPROFOR SPOKESPERSON WAS PRESENT AT THE JUL
21 BRIEFING, AND UNHCR'S PROGRAM OFFICER REPORTED
THAT THE SITUATION IN ZEPA WAS STILL "VERY FUZZY."
ACCORDING TO THE PROGRAM OFFICER, UNHCR IS NOT
PARTICIPATING IN GETTING PEOPLE OUT FROM ZEPA, AND
WILL NOT HELP UNTIL THEY ARE ASKED.

ACCOMMODATING DPS IN ZENICA POSE NEW PROBLEMS

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10. UNHCR'S PROGRAM OFFICER REPORTED THAT LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN ZENICA ARE PLANNING FOR 5,000 DPS IN THE ZENICA AREA. THE PLAN IS FOR THE DPS TO FIRST GO TO THE TUZLA AREA, AND THEN ONWARD TO ZENICA FOR MEDIUM-TERM ACCOMMODATIONS. HOWEVER, THE HEAD OF MISSION FOR THE UNITED METHODIST COMMITTEE ON RELIEF (UMCOR) REPORTED ON JUL 19 THAT FINDING ACCOMMODATIONS IN ZENICA FOR DPS ARRIVING FROM ZEPA COULD BE DIFFICULT.

11. UMCOR REPORTED THAT THE ZENICA GOVERNMENT WOULD LIKE TO HAVE DPS HOUSED IN THE FOLLOWING PRIORITY:

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1) IN PRIVATE HOMES; 2) IN NEW OR PREVIOUSLY USED COLLECTIVE CENTERS; 3) IN EXISTING COLLECTIVE CENTERS; AND 4) IN PRIVATE ACCOMMODATIONS.

12. ALSO ACCORDING TO UMCOR, OF THE 328 UNOCCUPIED, PRIVATE HOUSES IN ZENICA, 175 OR MORE ARE CROATIAN HOMES. UMCOR REPORTED THAT THE ZENICA GOVERNMENT STATED THAT THE CROATIAN HOMES WILL NOT BE USED TO HOUSE DPS FROM ZEPA BECAUSE THE GOVERNMENT WOULD LIKE THEM TO STAY OPEN FOR RETURNEES (DART HAS BEEN UNABLE TO CONFIRM THIS FACT YET WITH OTHER SOURCES). HOWEVER, THE REMAINING HOMES WOULD BE AVAILABLE FOR THE DPS.

REHABILITATE UNOCCUPIED HOUSES?

13. ACCORDING TO UMCOR, A PROBLEM WHICH FACES NGOS IS REHABILITATING UNOCCUPIED PRIVATE HOMES. SINCE THE OWNER OF THE HOME IS NOT LIVING IN IT, NGOS ARE HESITANT EVEN TO MAKE EMERGENCY REPAIRS. HOWEVER,

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ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	INL-01	OASY-00	SRPP-00
	DS-00	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FBIE-00	INLB-01	HHS-01
	H-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-06	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00
	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00

/045W

-----DC0B3D 220923Z /38

O 211644Z JUL 95 ZDK
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6525
USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC
HQ JTF PROVIDE PROMISE FWD//J2/J3/J5//
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J2/J3/J4/J5//
SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
497IG AMHS BOLLING AFB DC//INAGE//
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//
CINCUSAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
COM SIXTHFLT//N2//

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AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
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AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ2/J3/J4/J5/EC POLAD//
USMISSION USNATO

UNCLAS SECTION 04 OF 07 ZAGREB 002756

STATE PASS TO AID
AID FOR AA/BHR, ENI, BHR/FFP, AND BHR/OFDA/DRD

BUDAPEST FOR RFMC/CEE
STATE FOR IO, IO/PHO, EUR/EEA
EUR/SCE, PM/ISP, AND PRM

GENEVA FOR RMA

SECDEF ALSO FOR OSD/HRA/IRVIN
RAMSTEIN FOR DO/LG/XP/IN/POLAD//
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, AORC, EAID, PHUM, UNHCR, UN, HR, BK
SUBJECT: OFDA DART/ZAGREB SITREP NO. 108

UMCOR REPORTED THAT REGARDLESS OF WHAT THE
GOVERNMENT MANDATES, DPS WILL EVENTUALLY FIND THEIR
WAY INTO PRIVATE HOUSES. UMCOR SUGGESTED THAT ONE

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POSSIBLE SOLUTION TO THE OWNERSHIP QUESTION WOULD BE
FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO ISSUE A DOCUMENT WHICH STATES
THAT THE HOUSE IS BEING USED FOR A SPECIFIC AMOUNT
OF TIME AS A MINI-COLLECTIVE CENTER, AND IN NO WAY
IMPARTS OWNERSHIP RIGHTS TO THE TEMPORARY TENANTS.

14. UMCOR REPORTED THERE IS ROOM FOR 1,000 DPS IN 3
COLLECTIVE CENTERS, WHICH WERE PREVIOUSLY USED AND
THEN CLOSED, AND 5 OR 6 NEW LOCATIONS. THE
ORGANIZATION ALSO REPORTED THAT THERE IS ROOM FOR
800 - 1,800 DPS IN EXISTING COLLECTIVE CENTERS.
UMCOR ANTICIPATES THAT FEW PEOPLE WILL VOLUNTEER TO
TAKE DPS INTO THEIR HOMES.

POTENTIAL POTATO CROP FAILURE IN CENTRAL BOSNIA

15. INTERNATIONAL ACTION AGAINST HUNGER (AICF/USA)
AGRICULTURALIST IN BUGOJNO REPORTED THAT THE POTATO
CROP IN THE TRAVNIK CANTON WAS BEING SEVERELY
AFFECTED BY THE POTATO BLIGHT "PHYTOPHTHORA
INFESTAN." AICF/USA STATED THAT THE BLIGHT COULD
POTENTIALLY DESTROY THE ENTIRE CROP, AND THAT THE
LOSS OF THE POTATO CROP WOULD CAUSE A SEVERE FOOD
SHORTAGE IN THE AREA. AICF/USA REPORTED THAT IT
WILL SEND SAMPLES OF THE BLIGHT TO FAO IN ZAGREB ON
JUL 25. AN FAO REPRESENTATIVE WAS REPORTEDLY IN THE
CENTRAL BOSNIA REGION ELEVEN DAYS AGO, AND SAW SIGNS
OF THE BLIGHT IN SMALL AREAS AROUND ZENICA.
HOWEVER, AT THAT TIME NO BLIGHT WAS APPARENT AROUND

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GORNJI VAKUF OR BUGOJNO. THE FUNGUS IS FAST GROWING
AND CAN APPEAR SUDDENLY, AS IT DID IN BUGOJNO, AND
IS EXACERBATED BY WET AND HUMID CONDITIONS. THE
TRAVNIK CANTON HAS EXPERIENCED A WETTER, COOLER
SUMMER THAN NORMAL. AICF/USA REPORTED IS FOCUSING
ITS EFFORTS ON ALL MEANS TO SALVAGE THE HARVEST,

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ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF THE NUMBERS OF REFUGEES
COMING INTO CENTRAL BOSNIA.

PREPOSITIONING AT KLDANJ FOR MORE DPS

16. UNHCR'S SENIOR LOGISTICS OFFICER REPORTED THAT SEVERAL STOCKS WERE PREPOSITIONED IN KLDANJ ON JUL 19 TO PREPARE FOR ANY FURTHER POPULATION MOVEMENTS. UNHCR LOADED AND DISPATCHED THE FOLLOWING ITEMS TO KLDANJ: MEALS READY-TO-EAT (8064 PC), DEHYDRATED WHOLE MILK (1 MT), ORANGE JUICE POWDER (100 KG), HIGH PROTEIN BISCUITS (1 MT), WHEAT FLOUR (1 MT), CANNED BEEF (1 MT), BLANKETS (8,520 PC), LIQUID SOAP (100 LT). UNHCR HAVE ALSO BEGUN TO SUPPLY

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ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	INL-01	OASY-00	SRPP-00
	DS-00	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FBIE-00	INLB-01	HHS-01
	H-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00

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SNIS-00 NISC-01 PMB-00 DSCC-00 PRME-01 DRL-09 G-00
/047W

-----DBD78A 211622Z /38

O 211644Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6526
USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC
HQ JTF PROVIDE PROMISE FWD//J2/J3/J5//
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POR4LQ5N#JCS/OQ#STAFF WASHDC//J2/J3/J4/J5//
SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
497IG AMHS BOLLING AFB DC//INAGE//
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO

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AMEMBASSY ROME
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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ2/J3/J4/J5/EC POLAD//
USMISSION USNATO

UNCLAS SECTION 05 OF 07 ZAGREB 002756

STATE PASS TO AID
AID FOR AA/BHR, ENI, BHR/FFP, AND BHR/OFDA/DRD

BUDAPEST FOR RFMC/CEE
STATE FOR IO, IO/PHO, EUR/EEA

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EUR/SCE, PM/ISP, AND PRM

GENEVA FOR RMA

SECDEF ALSO FOR OSD/HRA/IRVIN
RAMSTEIN FOR DO/LG/XP/IN/POLAD//
E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREF, AORC, EAID, PHUM, UNHCR, UN, HR, BK
SUBJECT: OFDA DART/ZAGREB SITREP NO. 108

ADDITIONAL BLANKETS AND MATTRESSES TO THE CANTONAL
AUTHORITIES RESPONSIBLE FOR THE NEEDS OF THE DP'S
FROM SREBRENICA, AND MOST LIKELY ZEPA. UNHCR
REPORTS THAT IT HAS SUFFICIENT CONTINGENCY STOCKS OF
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ALL FOOD AND NON-FOOD ITEMS TO ADDRESS THE IMMEDIATE
HUMANITARIAN NEEDS OF THESE PEOPLE.

MORE HELP ON THE WAY

17. ON JULY 20, 4 ILYUSHIN-76 FLIGHTS FLEW FROM
ZAGREB TO SPLIT WITH A TOTAL OF 146 MT OF UNHCR
STOCKS. FROM JORDAN, 1 C-130 FLIGHT ARRIVED IN SPLIT
WITH 14 MT AID, AND 1 C-130 FROM NORWAY ARRIVED IN
SPLIT WITH 18 MT MEDICAL SUPPLIES. TWO MI-26
FLIGHTS WITH 12 MT SOAP, 4 MT SHAMPOO, 2 MT
MATTRESSES, 2 MT NAPKINS, 9 MT INDIVIDUAL COMBAT
RATIONS (ICR'S) FLEW FROM SPLIT TO TUZLA. ONE
UNPROFOR CONVOY FROM ZAGREB TO TUZLA DELIVERED 92 MT
ICR'S. TWO UNPROFOR CONVOYS FROM SPLIT DELIVERED
THE FOLLOWING TO TUZLA: 1 CONVOY WITH 54 MT OF
FLOUR, 32 MT BLANKETS, 4 MT TENTAGE; AND THE OTHER
CONVOY WITH 3 MT SLEEPING BAGS, 2 MT JERRY CANS, 3
MT TENTS, 4 MT CROCKERY AND CUTLERY, 8 MT
MATTRESSES.

-----0-U) (-
UNHQM CONVOYS TO SELECTED AREAS FOR JUN 23 - JUL 20

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18. UNHCR REPORTED THE FOLLOWING SUMMARY OF CONVOY
INFORMATI
ON FOR THE WEEK OF JUN 23 - JUL 20. NOTE:
WHEN TWO FIGURES ARE GIVEN FOR THE NUMBER OF
UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 04 ZAGREB 02756 05 OF 07 211621Z
CONVOYS, THE FIRST NUMBER DENOTES NUMBER
ACCOMPLISHED AND THE SECOND INDICATES CONVOYS
ATTEMPTED. UNSUCCESSFUL CONVOYS WERE DENIED PASSAGE
OR OTHERWISE OBSTRUCTED. THE NUMBERS FOR METRIC
TONNAGES INDICATE THE TOTAL AMOUNT OF HUMANITARIAN
SUPPLIES THAT REACHED THE PRIMARY DISTRIBUTION
POINTS, AND DO NOT PORTRAY SECONDARY (LOCAL)
DISTRIBUTION.

DESTQOTION	NUMBER	MTS
BANJA LUKA	0/1	0
CAZIN	0/3	0
GORAZDE	0/2	0
-		
JABLANICA	1	93
KNIN	0/1	0
LJUBUSKI	1	56
NEUM	T 1	10
PETRINJA	0/1 Q;Y	0
PROZOR	1	24

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ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	INL-01	OASY-00	SRPP-00
	DS-00	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FBIE-00	INLB-01	HHS-01
	H-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00
	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00

/047W

-----DBD796 211622Z /38

O 211644Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6527
USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC
HQ JTF PROVIDE PROMISE FWD//J2/J3/J5//
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J2/J3/J4/J5//
SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
497IG AMHS BOLLING AFB DC//INAGE//
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02756 06 OF 07 211622Z
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE//ECJ2/J/J4/J5/# POBUD//
USMISSION USNATO

UNCLAS SECTION 06 OF 07 ZAGREB 002756

STATE PASS TO AID
AID FOR AA/BHR, ENI, BHR/FFP, AND BHR/OFDA/DRD

BUDAPEST FOR RFMC/CEE
STATE FOR IO, IO/PHO, EUR/EEA
EUR/SCE, PM/ISP, AND PRM

GENEVA FOR RMA

SECDEF ALSO FOR OSD/HRA/IRVIN
RAMSTEIN FOR DO/LG/XP/IN/POLAD//
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, AORC, EAID, PHUM, UNHCR, UN, HR, BK
SUBJECT: OFDA DART/ZAGREB SITREP NO. 108

SARAJEVO	0/1	0
SIROKI BRIJEG	1	17
SREBRENICA	0/1	0
UNCLASSIFIED		

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PAGE 03	ZAGREB	02756	06 OF 07	211622Z
STOLAC		1		20
TUZLA		11		990
VELIKA KLADUSA		0/1		0
ZENICA		2		258
ZEPA		0/1		0

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TOTAL	23/35	1,795
LAST WEEK'S	27/44	2,027

UNHCR CONVOY INCIDENTS

19. ON JULY 20, UNHCR/BELGRADE REPORTED THAT 1 CONVOY TO GORAZDE (66 MT OF MIXED FOOD) HAS BEEN DENIED CLEARANCE BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS SINCE THE JUL 18. UNHCR/ZAGREB REPORTED THAT 1 CONVOY TO PETRINJA (155 MT OF MIXED FOOD) AND 1 CONVOY TO BANJA LUKA (130 MT OF FLOUR) WAS REFUSED CLEARANCE BY THE CROATIAN AUTHORITIES.

UNHCR SUCCESSFUL CONVOYS

20. ON JULY 20, UNHCR/BELGRADE DID NOT REPORTED ANY SUCCESSFUL CONVOYS. UNHCR/ZENICA REPORTED 2 SUCCESSFUL CONVOYS TO TUZLA (130 MT OF FLOUR). UNHCR/METKOVIC REPORTED 6 SUCCESSFUL CONVOYS: 1 TO PROZOR (24 MT OF MIXED FOOD); 1 TO JABLANICA (93 MT OF MIXED FOOD); 1 TO SIROKI BRIJEG (17 MT OF MIXED FOOD)

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PAGE 04 ZAGREB 02756 06 OF 07 211622Z
 FOOD); 1 TO STOLAC (20 MT OF MIXED FOOD); 1 TO NEUM (10 MT OF MIXED FOOD); AND 1 TO TUZLA (36 MT OF TENTS, FLOUR). UNHCR/ZAGREB REPORTED 2 SUCCESSFUL CONVOYS: 1 EACH TO RIJEKA (9 MT OF SOAP); AND TUZLA (86 MT OF MRE'S).

UNHCR SARAJEVO AIRLIFT

21. THE HUMANITARIAN AIRLIFT TO SARAJEVO HAS BEEN INTERRUPTED SINCE APR 8 WHEN AN AMERICAN AIRCRAFT WAS HIT BY 10 ROUNDS OF SMALL ARMS FIRE. THERE IS NO ESTIMATED DATE FOR THE RESUMPTION OF AIRLIFT

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OPERATIONS (SEE SITREP 78 FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON SERB CONDITIONS FOR REOPENING THE AIRPORT).

JTF PROVIDE PROMISE AIRDROPS

22. JTF PROVIDE PROMISE AIRDROPS OVER B-H ARE

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PAGE 01 ZAGREB 02756 07 OF 07 211622Z
ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	INL-01	OASY-00	SRFP-00
	DS-00	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FBIE-00	INLB-01	HHS-01
	H-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00
	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00

/047W

-----DBD79A 211622Z /38

O 211644Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6528
USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC
HQ JTF PROVIDE PROMISE FWD//J2/J3/J5//
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J2/J3/J4/J5//
SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
497IG AMHS BOLLING AFB DC//INAGE//
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02756 07 OF 07 211622Z
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE//ECJ2/J3/J4/J5/EC POLAD//
USMISSION USNATO

UNCLAS SECTION 07 OF 07 ZAGREB 002756

STATE PASS TO AID
AID FOR AA/BHR, ENI, BHR/FFP, AND BHR/OFDA/DRD

BUDAPEST FOR RFMC/CEE
STATE FOR IO, IO/PHO, EUR/EEA
EUR/SCE, PM/ISP, AND PRM

GENEVA FOR RMA

SECDEF ALSO FOR OSD/HRA/IRVIN
RAMSTEIN FOR DO/LG/XP/IN/POLAD//
E.O. 12356: N/A

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TAGS: PREF, AORC, EAID, PHUM, UNHCR, UN, HR, BK
SUBJECT: OFDA DART/ZAGREB SITREP NO. 108

INDEFINITELY POSTPONED DUE TO SECURITY CONCERNS.
THE LAST HUMANITARIAN AIRDROPS WERE CONDUCTED
OVER BIHAC ON AUG 16, 1994.

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23.MINIMIZE SARAJEVO CONSIDERED.

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RELEASED IN FULL

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PAGE 01 ZAGREB 02751 01 OF 03 211555Z
ACTION IO-08

INFO LOG-00 AID-00 AMAD-01 CA-02 CIAE-00 OASY-00 SRPP-00
EUR-01 OIGO-01 FBIE-00 HHS-01 TEDE-00 INR-00 L-01
ADS-00 NSAE-00 OIC-02 PM-00 PMB-00 PRM-10 DRL-09
/036W

-----DEB52A 211555Z /38

O 211621Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6519
USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY ATHENS

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ2/J3/J4/J5/EC POLAD//
RUEHNU?SSMISSION USNATO 2053
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC
HQ JTF PROVIDE PROMISE FWD//J2/J3/J5//
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J2/J3/J4/J5//
SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02751 01 OF 03 211555Z
497IG AMHS BOLLING AFB DC//INAGE//
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 18 MAR 2009 200705105

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CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2UN22I)
COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
AMEMBASSY VIENNAJ38!DQ
R!0QQAMEMBASSY SARAJEVO 0159
AMEMBASSY ROME

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 ZAGREB 002751

STATE PASS TO AID
AID FOR AA/BHR, ENI, BHR/FFP, AND BHR/OFDA/DRD

BUDAPEST FOR RFMC/CEE
STATE FOR IO, IO/PHO, EUR/EEA
EUR/SCE, PM/ISP, AND PRM

GENEVA FOR RMA

SECDEF ALSO FOR OSD/HRA/IRVIN
RAMSTEIN FOR DO/LG/XP/IN/POLAD//
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, AORC, EAID, PHUM, UNHCR, UN, HR, BK
SUBJECT: DART REPORT: LACK OF ACCESS CONTINUES TO
STRANGLE SARAJEVO

SUMMARY

1. SARAJEVO'S PROBLEMS HAVE NOT BEEN IN THE FORE
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PAGE 03 ZAGREB 02751 01 OF 03 211555Z
FRONT BECAUSE OF THE SREBRENICA AND ZEPA SITUATIONS.
HOWEVER, THE HIGH INTENSITY OF CONTINUAL SHELLING
AND THE LACK OF ACCESS FOR HUMANITARIAN RELIEF HAS
MADE SARAJEVO A LIVING HELL. ICRC HAD DISTRIBUTED
ITS LAST AVAILABLE FOOD SUPPLIES IN SARAJEVO. THE
UN HAS ONLY DELIVERED 58 MT OF FLOUR INTO SARAJEVO
THUS FAR IN JULY, ALL UNDER HEAVY GUN AND MORTAR
FIRE. THE JUL 15 UN CONVOY LOST TWO TRUCKS TO
MORTAR AND ARMS FIRE. UNPROFOR WAS ABLE TO DELIVER

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8 CUBIC METERS OF FUEL TO SARAJEVI 08-K"7Y"5'ER
SERBS AGAIN GRANTED PERMISSION FOR CONVOYS. THE
CIVILIAN DEATHS FROM WAR INJURIES CONTINUES TO
INCREASE IN SARAJEVO. PEOPLE HAVE HAD LITTLE ACCESS
TO WATER, MARKETS, OR THE FREEDOM TO WALK OUTSIDE
BECAUSE OF THE HEAVY SHELLING. THE ENTIRE MONTH OF
JULY SARAJEVO HAS BEEN UNDER RED ALERT WARNING.
ALL ICRC AND UNHCR FOOD STOCKS IN SARAJEVO STOCKS
HAVE BEEN DEPLETED. CITY AUTHORITIES STATED THAT
PUBLIC COMMUNAL KITCHENS SHOULD HAVE FOOD UNTIL
SEPTEMBER FROM NGO (EQUILIBRE) CONTRIBUTIONS. END
SUMMARY.

INCREASING ATTACKS ON HIGHLY POPULATED AREAS

2. IN THE PAST MONTH, SARAJEVO WAS ATTACKED USING
LARGER CALIBER WEAPONS TARGETING HIGHLY POPULATED
AREAS. THE UN AND THE NEWS MEDIA HAVE COME UNDER
DIRECT ATTACKS, AS HAVE MARKETS AND MEDICAL HEALTH
ESTABLISHMENTS.

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WATER SYSTEMS ARE STILL FUNCTIONING

3. WATER SYSTEMS ARE OPERATING. THE SOUTHERN PART
OF SARAJEVO HAD FAIRLY CONSISTENT DRINKING AND
TECHNICAL WATER, WHILE THE OLD NORTHEASTERN PORTION
OF THE CITY RECEIVES POTABLE WATER AT THE BREWERY
AND TECHNICAL WATER EVERY FOUR TO SIX DAYS THROUGH A
ROTATION SYSTEM TO DIFFERENT AREAS DAILY. DART'S
SUB-OFFICE IN SARAJEVO REPORTED THAT ADDITIONAL
SPARE PARTS WERE BROUGHT INTO SARAJEVO LAST WEEK BY
EAGLETON'S OFFICE TO HELP WITH THE BREWERY AND THE
TECHNICAL WATER SYSTEMS OF MILJACKA AND MOSCANICA.

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NNNNPTQ2679

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ACTION IO-08

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CA-02	CIAE-00	OASY-00	SRPP-00
	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FBIE-00	HHS-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PM-00	PMB-00	PRM-10	DRL-09
	/036W						

-----DBD485 211550Z /38

O 211621Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
 SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6520
 USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
 INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
 AMEMBASSY BONN

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UNCLASSIFIED

AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE//ECJ2/J3/J4/J5/EC POLAD//
USMISSION USNATO
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC
HQ JTF PROVIDE PROMISE FWD//J2/J3/J5//
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J2/J3/J4/J5//
SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
497IG AMHS BOLLING AFB DC//INAGE//
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02751 02 OF 03 211550Z
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY ROME

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 03 ZAGREB 002751

STATE PASS TO AID
AID FOR AA/BHR, ENI, BHR/FFP, AND BHR/OFDA/DRD

BUDAPEST FOR RFMC/CEE
STATE FOR IO, IO/PHO, EUR/EEA
EUR/SCE, PM/ISP, AND PRM

GENEVA FOR RMA

SECDEF ALSO FOR OSD/HRA/IRVIN
RAMSTEIN FOR DO/LG/XP/IN/POLAD//
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, AORC, EAID, PHUM, UNHCR, UN, HR, BK
SUBJECT: DART REPORT: LACK OF ACCESS CONTINUES TO
STRANGLE SARAJEVO

4. PRIORITY AREAS (HOSPITALS, UN, GOVERNMENT

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BUILDINGS, ETC.) HAVE ELECTRICITY. THE CIVILIAN
POPULATION RECEIVES ELECTRICITY EVERY FOUR OR FIVE
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DAYS, THROUGH ROTATING AVAILABILITY TO DIFFERENT
AREAS DAILY, BUT ONLY FOR A FEW HOURS EACH TIME.

THE WAR CONTINUES TO TAKE ITS TOLL ON THE POPULATION

5. ON JUL 14, W.H.O. REPORTED THAT THE HEALTH
SITUATION APPEARS STABLE AT PRESENT, ALTHOUGH THE
PSYCHOLOGICAL STRESS FROM DEATH AND CONTINUED
SHELLING IS TAKING A HEAVY TOLL. W.H.O. IS WORRIED
ABOUT MEDICAL SUPPLIES, HOWEVER ICRC AND MSF/H FEEL
THAT THERE IS ENOUGH BASIC MEDICINES FOR THE NEXT
THIRTY DAYS. W.H.O. REPORTS THAT THE NUMBER OF
DIARRHEA CASES HAS INCREASED SUBSTANTIALLY (JAN 1-
MAY 21: 303; MAY 21-JUL 1: 385; JUL 1-7: 310), WHICH
W.H.O. FEELS IS FROM THE WATER SOURCES/STORAGE.
FROM JUL 1-18 THE NUMBERS OF CIVILIAN DEATHS AND
WOUNDED FROM WAR-RELATED INCIDENCES WERE 48 AND 281
RESPECTIVELY (9 KILLED AND 18 WOUNDED ON JUL 18).

SOME RELIEF COMMODITIES ARE GETTING THROUGH

-
6. UNHCR REPORTED THAT EIGHT TRUCKS WITH 77 MT OF
FLOUR WERE SCHEDULED TO USE THE MOUNT IGMAN ROAD TO
SARAJEVO ON JUL 16. THE CONVOY CAME UNDER FIRE
(LARGE CALIBER MACHINE-GUN AND MORTARS), WHICH
RESULTED IN THE DESTRUCTION OF TWO TRUCKS. THE
REMAINING TRUCKS ARRIVED IN SARAJEVO WITH

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APPROXIMATELY 58 MT OF FLOUR. VEHICLES TRAVELING THE
MOUNT IGMAN ROAD OFTEN COME UNDER FIRE. UNPROFOR
RECENTLY STARTED PROVIDING TRANSPORTATION FOR UNHCR
AND UNPROFOR CARD HOLDERS OVER THE ROAD IN APC
VEHICLES. UNPROFOR REPORTED THAT THE SERBS GRANTED
PERMISSION FOR THE REOPENING OF SIERRA 1 AND SIERRA
4 CHECK POINTS, WHICH LED TO THE SERBS GRANTING
PASSAGE ON THE SWAN ROUTE WHERE THE SIERRAS ARE
SITUATED. ON JUL 17, UNPROFOR SUCCESSFULLY
TRANSPORTED 8 CUBIC METERS OF FUEL TO
UNPROFOR/SARAJEVO ON SWAN ROUTE. FOOD CONVOYS ARE
BEING SCHEDULED FOR THE END OF THE WEEK AFTER THE
TUZLA SHUFFLE IS COMPLETE.

THE AIRPORT IS STILL CLOSED DUE TO THE THREAT OF
SHELLING OF AIRCRAFT

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ACTION IO-08

INFO LOG-00 AID-00 AMAD-01 CA-02 CIAE-00 OASY-00 SRPP-00
EUR-01 OIGO-01 FBIE-00 HHS-01 TEDE-00 INR-00 L-01
ADS-00 NSAE-00 OIC-02 PM-00 PMB-00 PRM-10 DRL-09
/036W

-----DBD489 211550Z /38

O 211621Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6521
USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ2/J3/J4/J5/EC POLAD//
USMISSION USNATO
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC
HQ JTF PROVIDE PROMISE FWD//J2/J3/J5//
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J2/J3/J4/J5//
SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
497IG AMHS BOLLING AFB DC//INAGE//
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PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02751 03 OF 03 211550Z
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY ROME

UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 03 ZAGREB 002751

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STATE PASS TO AID
AID FOR AA/BHR, ENI, BHR/FFP, AND BHR/OFDA/DRD

BUDAPEST FOR RFMC/CEE
STATE FOR IO, IO/PHO, EUR/EEA
EUR/SCE, PM/ISP, AND PRM

GENEVA FOR RMA

SECDEF ALSO FOR OSD/HRA/IRVIN
RAMSTEIN FOR DO/LG/XP/IN/POLAD//
E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREF, AORC, EAID, PHUM, UNHCR, UN, HR, BK
SUBJECT: DART REPORT: LACK OF ACCESS CONTINUES TO
STRANGLE SARAJEVO

7. NO AIR TRAFFIC HAS BEEN ALLOWED INTO SARAJEVO
SINCE 8 APRIL WHEN A USG AIRCRAFT WAS FIRED UPON AND
HIT WHILE TRYING TO LAND AT THE AIRPORT.

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FOOD STOCK LEVELS ARE BECOMING CRITICAL

8. MOST MARKETS AND SHOPS HAVE BEEN CLOSED SINCE
JUL 1, EXCEPT FOR TRZNICA, WHICH OPENS AND CLOSES
PERIODICALLY. ICRC REPORTED THAT THE LAST OF ITS
FOOD STOCKS IN SARAJEVO WERE DISTRIBUTED TO SOME
8,000 OF THE MOST AT RISK PERSONS. UNHCR HAS NOT
HAD FOOD FOR GENERAL DISTRIBUTION SINCE JUN 9. THE
SMALL AMOUNT OF FLOUR THAT HAS BEEN DELIVERED TO
SARAJEVO HAS BEEN USED IN THE BAKERIES TO PROVIDE
BREAD TO THE HOSPITAL AND THE PEOPLE MOST AT RISK.
COMMUNITY KITCHENS FOR THE ELDERLY AND ILL
REPORTEDLY HAVE SUFFICIENT FOOD SUPPLIES UNTIL
SEPTEMBER.

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FUEL FOR HEATING AND COOKING HAS BEEN CUT OFF

9. DIESEL FUEL IS AVAILABLE TO ORGANIZATIONS IN MOST NEED IN SARAJEVO SUCH AS HOSPITALS. GAS SUPPLIES FOR HEATING AND COOKING WAS CUT OFF TO THE BOSNIAN HELD PART OF SARAJEVO ON MAY 28. IN A NEWS ARTICLE DATED JUL 17 FROM THE OSLOBODJENE AGENCY - ONASA, THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT'S MINISTRY OF ENERGY AND INDUSTRY WAS QUOTED AS STATING THAT BOSNIA OWES RUSSIA 1,025 MILLION USD FOR PAST SUPPLIES OF GAS FOR HOME USE (60 PERCENT SUPPOSEDLY HAS GONE TO SERBIAN HELD AREAS). NEGOTIATIONS ARE UNDERWAY TO RESCHEDULE THE DEBTS.

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10. MINIMIZE SARAJEVO CONSIDERED.

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PTQ9315

PAGE 01 ZAGREB 02821 01 OF 07 271627Z
ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	INL-01	OASY-00	SRPP-00
	DS-00	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FBIE-00	INLB-01	HHS-01
	H-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-06	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00
	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00
	/045W						

-----DDA576 271627Z /38

O 271724Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
 SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6600
 USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
 INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
 JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
 WHITE HOUSE WASHDC
 HQ JTF PROVIDE PROMISE FWD//J2/J3/J5//
 HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J2/J3/J4/J5//
 SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
 497IG AMHS BOLLING AFB DC//INAGE//
 CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//
 CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//
 CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
 COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
 AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02821 01 OF 07 271627Z
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY ROME

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 DATE/CASE ID: 18 MAR 2009 200705105

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AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE//ECJ2/J3/J4/J5/EC POLAD//
USMISSION USNATO

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 07 ZAGREB 002821

STATE PASS TO AID
AID FOR AA/BHR, ENI, BHR/FFP, AND BHR/OFDA/DRD

BUDAPEST FOR RFMC/CEE
STATE FOR IO, IO/PHO, EUR/EEA
EUR/SCE, PM/ISP, AND PRM

GENEVA FOR RMA
SECDEF ALSO FOR OSD/HRA/IRVIN
RAMSTEIN FOR DO/LG/XP/IN/POLAD//
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, AORC, EAID, PHUM, UNHCR, UN, HR, BK
SUBJECT: OFDA DART/ZAGREB SITREP NO. 110

SUMMARY

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PAGE 03 ZAGREB 02821 01 OF 07 271627Z
1. A MAJORITY OF THE DPS FROM SREBRENICA AT TUZLA
AIRFIELD MAY BE RELOCATED. SOME DPS RETURN TO THE
TUZLA AIRFIELD. DPS FROM ZEPA MOVED TO SARAJEVO AND
ZENICA. BIJELJINA DPS ARRIVED IN TUZLA ON JUL 24.
ICRC REQUESTS BLANKETS AND HDRS FROM BHR/OFDA. WFP
CREATES EMERGENCY CONTINGENCY STOCKPILES. WFP FOOD
REQUIREMENTS ARE MOSTLY MET FOR THE REMAINDER OF
1995. WFP RECEIVES MORE MAJOR DONOR CONTRIBUTIONS.
JUNE FOOD DELIVERIES TO B-H LIMITED BY ACCESS
PROBLEMS. WFP/FAO FOOD ASSESSMENT IN B-H IS

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CANCELLED. BANJA LUKA IS EXPECTED TO HAVE A POOR GROWING SEASON. UNHCR DISCUSSED THE DIFFICULTIES IN DELIVERING FOOD TO BANJA LUKA. DART/ZAGREB DISCUSSED THE EXTENT OF THE POTATO BLIGHT IN CENTRAL BOSNIA WITH AICF/USA REPRESENTATIVE. AICF/USA VEHICLE STOLEN AT GUNPOINT IN BUGOJNO. FOR JUL 24-25: CONVOY INCIDENTS; UNHCR SUCCESSFUL CONVOY DELIVERIES; UNHCR SARAJEVO AIRLIFT; AND JTF PROVIDE PROMISE AIRDROP OPERATIONS. END SUMMARY.

PLANS UNDERWAY TO MOVE MANY DISPLACED FROM TUZLA

2. ACCORDING TO UNHCR'S PUBLIC INFORMATION OFFICE, PLANS ARE BEING DISCUSSED TO RELOCATE BETWEEN 5,000 - 6,000 OF SREBRENICA'S DISPLACED PERSONS (DPS) SHELTERED AT THE TUZLA AIRFIELD TO THE NORTHERN BOSNIAN MUNICIPALITIES OF GRADADAC AND BRCKO, WITH SOME REMAINING IN THE TUZLA MUNICIPALITY. THE TRANSFER IS EXPECTED TO BEGIN SOON, AND CONTINUE FOR
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SEVERAL DAYS WITH ABOUT 500 - 1,000 PEOPLE BEING MOVED EACH DAY. UNHCR HAD NO MORE INFORMATION ON HOW THE DPS WOULD BE MOVED OR WHERE THEY WOULD BE SHELTERED.

DPS RETURN TO TUZLA AIRFIELD

3. ON JUL 25, THE DART/SPLIT PROGRAM ASSISTANT REPORTED FROM TUZLA THAT A SMALL NUMBER OF DPS ARE RETURNING TO THE TUZLA AIRFIELD FOR SEVERAL REASONS: 1) FOOD AND ACCOMMODATIONS ARE BETTER AT THE AIRFIELD; 2) THEY HAVE A BETTER CHANCE OF FINDING LOST RELATIVES AT THE AIRBASE THROUGH THE ICRC AND UNHCR'S INFORMATION CENTERS; AND 3) THERE IS A RUMOR THAT DOCUMENTS FOR ENTERING THIRD COUNTRIES ARE AVAILABLE ONLY AT THE AIRFIELD (NOTE: DART/ZAGREB WILL ATTEMPT TO VERIFY THE RUMOR). IRC'S HEAD OF

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OFFICE FOR B-H CONFIRMED THAT UNHCR REQUESTED THAT
IRC DISASSEMBLE THEIR PUBLIC KITCHEN SO AS NOT TO
ENCOURAGE THE DISPLACED TO RETURN TO OR STAY AT THE

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ACTION PRM-10

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INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	INL-01	OASY-00	SRPP-00
	DS-00	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FBIE-00	INLB-01	HHS-01
	H-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-06	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00
	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00
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-----DDA57B 271627Z /38

O 271724Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
 SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6601
 USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
 INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
 JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
 WHITE HOUSE WASHDC
 HQ JTF PROVIDE PROMISE FWD//J2/J3/J5//

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HQ JTF BP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J2/J3/J4/J5//
SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
497IG AMHS BOLLING AFB DC//INAGE//
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ2/J3/J4/J5/EC POLAD//
USMISSION USNATO

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 07 ZAGREB 002821

STATE PASS TO AID
AID FOR AA/BHR, ENI, BHR/FFP, AND BHR/OFDA/DRD

BUDAPEST FOR RFMC/CEE
STATE FOR IO, IO/PHO, EUR/EEA
EUR/SCE, PM/ISP, AND PRM

GENEVA FOR RMA
SECDEF ALSO FOR OSD/HRA/IRVIN
RAMSTEIN FOR DO/LG/XP/IN/POLAD//
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, AORC, EAID, PHUM, UNHCR, UN, HR, BK
SUBJECT: OFDA DART/ZAGREB SITREP NO. 110

AIRFIELD.

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DPS FROM ZEPA EXPECTED TO BE MOVED TO ZENICA
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4. ACCORDING TO IRC'S HEAD OF OFFICE FOR B-H AND UNHCR'S PUBLIC INFORMATION OFFICE, 150 OF ZEPA'S WOUNDED CIVILIANS WERE TRANSPORTED TO SARAJEVO ON JULY 26, WHILE APPROXIMATELY 1,400 OTHER RESIDENTS WERE TRANSPORTED ON SERBIAN BUSES TO KLADANJ (SEE SEPTTEL FOR MORE INFORMATION). FROM KLADANJ THE DPS ARE EXPECTED TO BE MOVED TO ZENICA. THERE IS SOME LOCAL CONCERN THAT THE THREE RECEPTION CENTERS WILL NOT BE SUFFICIENT TO ACCOMMODATE ALL OF THE EXPECTED DPS. THREE LOCATIONS HAVE BEEN DESIGNATED IN ZENICA: 1) A CINEMA; 2) A BUILDING AT THE STEELWORKS; AND 3) A TENT WITHIN THE TURKISH BATTALION. AS OF 1200 HOURS ON JUL 26, THERE WERE NO REPORTS OF DPS HAVING ARRIVED IN ZENICA FROM ZEPA.

DISPLACED BOSNIANS FROM BIJELJINA ARRIVE IN TUZLA

5. DURING THE JUL 25 UNPROFOR DAILY PRESS CONFERENCE, IT WAS REPORTED THAT 54 BOSNIAN REFUGEES FROM BIJELJINA ARRIVED IN TUZLA ON THE EVENING OF JUL 24. THEY REPORTEDLY WERE EXPELLED BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS AND SENT BY BUS TO BIH TERRITORY. THE DPS SAID THEY HAD BEEN HARASSED AND ROBBED BY BOSNIAN SERB ARMY SOLDIERS BEFORE BEING EXPELLED.

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ICRC REQUESTS BLANKETS AND HDRS FROM BHR/OFDA

6. THE ICRC HAS REQUESTED 70,000 BLANKETS AND
50,000 HUMANITARIAN DAILY RATIONS (HDRS) FROM DART/
ZAGREB AND BHR/OFDA TO BE PREPOSITIONED THROUGHOUT
THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. THE BLANKETS AND HDRS WILL
BE DRAWN UPON IN THE EVENT THAT THERE ARE ADDITIONAL
HUMANITARIAN EMERGENCIES REQUIRING THESE RELIEF
SUPPLIES.

WFP CREATES SPECIAL CONTINGENCY STOCKPILES

7. DURING THE JUL 19 MEETING OF THE HUMANITARIAN
ISSUES WORKING GROUP OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA IN GENEVA, WFP'S REGIONAL
MANAGER STATED THAT THE RECENT CRISIS IN SREBRENICA
HIGHLIGHTED THE NEED TO ESTABLISH CONTINGENCY
STOCKPILES OF EMERGENCY RATIONS. THE STOCKPILES ARE
DEEMED NECESSARY IN ORDER TO RESPOND QUICKLY TO ANY

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ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	INL-01	OASY-00	SRPP-00
	DS-00	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FBIE-00	INLB-01	HHS-01
	H-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-06	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00
	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00

/045W

-----DDA586 271627Z /38

O 271724Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
 SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6602
 USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
 INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
 JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
 WHITE HOUSE WASHDC
 HQ JTF PROVIDE PROMISE FWD//J2/J3/J5//
 HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J2/J3/J4/J5//
 SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
 497IG AMHS BOLLING AFB DC//INAGE//
 CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//
 CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//
 CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
 COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
 AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY ROME
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 AMEMBASSY BONN
 AMEMBASSY ATHENS
 USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ2/J3/J4/J5/EC POLAD//
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UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 07 ZAGREB 002821

STATE PASS TO AID
AID FOR AA/BHR, ENI, BHR/FFP, AND BHR/OFDA/DRD

BUDAPEST FOR RFMC/CEE
STATE FOR IO, IO/PHO, EUR/EEA
EUR/SCE, PM/ISP, AND PRM

GENEVA FOR RMA
SECDEF ALSO FOR OSD/HRA/IRVIN
RAMSTEIN FOR DO/LG/XP/IN/POLAD//
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, AORC, EAID, PHUM, UNHCR, UN, HR, BK
SUBJECT: OFDA DART/ZAGREB SITREP NO. 110

NEW EMERGENCY. FROM AVAILABLE SUPPLIES, WFP IS
CREATING SPECIAL CONTINGENCY STOCKS OF EASILY
CONSUMABLE FOOD ITEMS, SUCH AS HIGH PROTEIN BISCUITS
AND MILK POWDER, IN STRATEGIC LOCATIONS IN AND
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AROUND B-H. THERE ARE FIVE STRATEGICALLY-LOCATED
MAIN WAREHOUSES IN METKOVIC, SPLIT, ZAGREB, ANCONA,
AND BELGRADE, WHICH PROVIDE THE FLEXIBILITY TO
EXPLOIT AS MANY ACCESS ROUTES AS POSSIBLE IN CASE OF
A NEW EMERGENCY SITUATION.

WFP FOOD REQUIREMENTS FOR 1995 ARE 94 PERCENT MET

8. AT WFP/ZAGREB'S BI-WEEKLY MEETING ON JUL 25,
THE HEAD OF WFP/ZAGREB REPORTED THAT THE FOOD
RESOURCE PIPELINE WITHIN THE CURRENT U.N.
CONSOLIDATED APPEAL PERIOD OF JULY-DECEMBER 1995 IS
IN GOOD SHAPE. ABOUT 94 PERCENT OF THE FOOD TO
FULFILL ESTIMATED REQUIREMENTS ARE AVAILABLE, THOUGH
SOME SHORTAGES OF CANNED FOOD AND MILK POWDER
PERSIST. WFP HAS ESTABLISHED ADEQUATE STOCKS OF

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BASIC COMMODITIES AT VARIOUS PORTS AND WAREHOUSES,
BUT CONVOYS HAVE NOT GAINED SUFFICIENT ACCESS TO
DELIVER THE NECESSARY QUANTITIES.

WFP RECEIVES MAJOR DONOR CONTRIBUTIONS

9. IT WAS ALSO REPORTED BY WFP THAT THEY HAVE
RECEIVED SEVERAL MAJOR DONOR CONTRIBUTIONS: 1)
UNITED STATES - 20,000 MT OF WHEAT FLOUR, PULSES,
AND VEGETABLE OIL FOR B-H; 2) JAPAN - 33,000 MT OF
WHEAT FLOUR FOR ALL OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA; 3)

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SWITZERLAND -- 110 MT OF CHEESE PRODUCTS; 4) NORWAY
- A CASH CONTRIBUTION WHICH ALLOWS WFP TO PURCHASE
NECESSARY COMMODITIES; 5) NORWAY AND DENMARK -- 470
MT OF CANNED MEATS AND FISH, 38 MT OF SUGAR, AND 780
MT OF SALT; AND 6) NETHERLANDS -- 415 MT OF CHEESE
PRODUCTS AND 6,000 MT OF PULSES AND VEGETABLE OIL.

JUNE FOOD DELIVERIES TO B-H ARE LIMITED BY ACCESS

10. ACCESS AND DISTRIBUTION PROBLEMS CONTINUED IN
JUNE 1995, AND WFP REPORTED THAT ONLY 7,429 MT OF
FOOD WERE DELIVERED THROUGHOUT B-H. THIS WAS 5,879
MT LESS THAN IN MAY 1995 WHEN 13,308 MT WERE
DELIVERED, AND 17,181 MT LESS THAN JUNE 1994 WHEN
24,610 MT OF FOOD WERE DELIVERED. WFP'S TOP
PRIORITY IS THE PREPOSITIONING OF FOOD STOCKS FOR
THE COMING WINTER. EFFORTS ARE UNDERWAY TO MAKE
SURE THAT THE FOOD PIPELINE LEADS TO ADEQUATE STOCKS
AT THE RIGHT TIME AND PLACE. WFP REASSURED THOSE IN
ATTENDANCE THAT AMPLE SUPPLIES OF EMERGENCY FOOD

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INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	INL-01	OASY-00	SRPP-00
	DS-00	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FBIE-00	INLB-01	HHS-01
	H-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-06	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00
	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00
	/045W						

-----DDA58C 271628Z /38

O 271724Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6603
USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC
HQ JTF PROVIDE PROMISE FWD//J2/J3/J5//
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J2/J3/J4/J5//
SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
497IG AMHS BOLLING AFB DC//INAGE//
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
COM SIXTHFLT//N2//

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AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
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AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ2/J3/J4/J5/EC POLAD//
USMISSION USNATO

UNCLAS SECTION 04 OF 07 ZAGREB 002821

STATE PASS TO AID
AID FOR AA/BHR, ENI, BHR/FFP, AND BHR/OFDA/DRD

BUDAPEST FOR RFMC/CEE
STATE FOR IO, IO/PHO, EUR/EEA
EUR/SCE, PM/ISP, AND PRM

GENEVA FOR RMA
SECDEF ALSO FOR OSD/HRA/IRVIN
RAMSTEIN FOR DO/LG/XP/IN/POLAD//
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, AORC, EAID, PHUM, UNHCR, UN, HR, BK
SUBJECT: OFDA DART/ZAGREB SITREP NO. 110

HAVE ALWAYS BEEN AVAILABLE FOR THE DPS ARRIVING IN
TUZLA AND ZENICA. WFP IS ALSO IN THE PROCESS OF
MAKING ARRANGEMENTS TO HAVE FOOD STOCKS AVAILABLE
FOR THE DPS FROM ZEPA AND BENEFICIARIES IN THE BIHAC

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POCKET.

WFP/FAO FOOD ASSESSMENT IN B-H IS CANCELLED

11. WFP ALSO REPORTED THAT A JOINT WFP/FAO ASSESSMENT OF FOOD NEEDS IN B-H WAS CANCELLED DUE TO THE LACK OF ACCESS AND SECURITY CONCERNS IN AREAS THAT WERE TO BE STUDIED. WFP IS EXPECTING A FIRST DRAFT OF A LIMITED FAO ASSESSMENT OF THE COMMERCIAL AVAILABILITY OF FOOD IN THE FEDERATION AREAS. FROM THE INFORMATION GATHERED IN FEDERATION TERRITORY, AND SECOND-HAND INFORMATION FROM AID WORKERS IN INACCESSIBLE AREAS, FAO AND WFP WILL EXTRAPOLATE MATERIAL TO HELP REASSESS THE EXTENT TO WHICH FOOD AID IS STILL NECESSARY.

BANJA LUKA IS EXPECTED TO HAVE A POOR HARVEST

12. UNHCR'S PROGRAM OFFICER FOR BANJA LUKA REPORTED THAT THE HARVEST IN BANJA LUKA IS EXPECTED TO BE POOR THIS YEAR, WITH ONLY MAIZE (FOR FODDER) BEING THE ONLY EVIDENT CROP GROWING. LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN BANJA LUKA HAVE BEEN VERY SECRETIVE ABOUT THE SIZE OF THE POSSIBLE HARVEST, SO IT IS NOT KNOWN HOW SERIOUS THE SITUATION REALLY IS.

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UNHCR DISCUSSED THE ACCESS SITUATION IN BANJA LUKA

13. ON JULY 25, UNHCR'S CONVOY LOGISTICS OFFICER AT THE WFP MEETING DISCUSSED THE CONTINUING PROBLEMS IN ACCESS TO BANJA LUKA. CROATIAN AUTHORITIES CONTINUE

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TO REFUSE ACCESS TO UNHCR CONVOYS ATTEMPTING TO TRAVEL TO BANJA LUKA. THUS FAR IN JULY, APPROXIMATELY 200 MT OF FOOD HAS BEEN DELIVERED TO BANJA LUKA FROM BELGRADE THROUGH A PICKUP SYSTEM. UNHCR SUBSIDIZES THE SYSTEM BY PROVIDING FUEL FOR THE MUNICIPAL TRUCKS THAT GO TO BELGRADE TO PICK UP THE FOOD. UNHCR REALIZES THAT THIS IS A TEMPORARY SOLUTION, AND WOULD RATHER ACCESS BANJA LUKA FROM ITS ZAGREB WAREHOUSES.

POTATO BLIGHT WORSENS IN CENTRAL BOSNIA

14. ON JULY 25, DART/ZAGREB MET WITH AICF/USA'S COUNTRY REPRESENTATIVE TO DISCUSS THE SEVERITY AND

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INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	INL-01	OASY-00	SRPP-00
	DS-00	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FBIE-00	INLB-01	HHS-01
	H-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-06	LAB-01	L-01
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	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00

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SNIS-00 NISC-01 PMB-00 DSCC-00 PRME-01 DRL-09 G-00
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-----DDA594 271628Z /38

O 271724Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6604
USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC
HQ JTF PROVIDE PROMISE FWD//J2/J3/J5//
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
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CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
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USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE//ECJ2/J3/J4/J5/EC POLAD//
USMISSION USNATO

UNCLAS SECTION 05 OF 07 ZAGREB 002821

STATE PASS TO AID
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BUDAPEST FOR RFMC/CEE

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STATE FOR IO, IO/PHO, EUR/EEA
EUR/SCE, PM/ISP, AND PRM

GENEVA FOR RMA
SECDEF ALSO FOR OSD/HRA/IRVIN
RAMSTEIN FOR DO/LG/XP/IN/POLAD//
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PRAF, AORC, EAID, PHUM, UNHCR, UN, HR, BK
SUBJECT: OFDA DART/ZAGREB SITREP NO. 110

EXTENT OF THE POTATO BLIGHT IN CENTRAL B-H. THE
COUNTRY REPRESENTATIVE COULD NOT CONFIRM THAT SOME 6
MILLION KILOS OF POTATOES HAVE BEEN DESTROYED AT AN
ESTIMATED LOSS OF OVER USD 2 MILLION. NOT ONLY HAVE
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THE POTATOES IN BUGOJNO BEEN AFFECTED, BUT ALSO
THOSE GROWING IN GORNI VAKUF AND ZENICA.
PRELIMINARY ESTIMATES ARE THAT 100 PERCENT OF
AICF/USA'S CROP (1,000 HECTARES) ARE INFESTED, AND
POSSIBLY 50 PERCENT OF THAT IS LOST. THE FUNGUS
"PHYTOPHTHORA INFESTAN" IS ALWAYS IN THE GROUND, BUT
WAS STIMULATED BY THE WET AND HUMID CONDITIONS THAT
HAVE PREVAILED IN THE REGION DURING THE LAST SEVERAL
WEEKS. THE FUNGUS AFFECTS THE STEMS AND LEAVES OF
THE PLANT AND ANY VARIETY OF POTATO CAN BE INFESTED.
THIS PARTICULAR VARIETY, THE ONLY ONE AVAILABLE ON
THE MARKET THIS YEAR DUE TO THE SEVERE RAINS IN
HOLLAND, DOES NOT HAVE THE ABILITY TO COMBAT
"PHYTOPHTHORA INFESTAN."

15. AICF/USA'S REPRESENTATIVE POINTED OUT THAT THE
SEED POTATO PROGRAM WAS NOT ONLY EXPECTED TO PROVIDE
A SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNT OF FOOD FOR THE PEOPLE OF
BUGOJNO, GORNI VAKUF, AND ZENICA, BUT ALSO DPS
COMING TO THE AREA. POTATOES WITH BLIGHT CAN BE
EATEN AND ENOUGH PLANTS SHOULD SURVIVE TO FEED THE
PEOPLE OF BUGOJNO AND GORNI VAKUF. UNFORTUNATELY,
NEW SEED POTATOES WILL NOW HAVE TO BE BROUGHT TO THE
AREA TO GENERATE A NEW CROP FOR NEXT YEAR, WHEREAS
THIS YEAR'S CROP WAS DUE TO REGENERATE FOR THREE
YEARS. PESTICIDES HAVE NOT BEEN EFFECTIVE AGAINST

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THE FUNGUS. SUN AND WIND ARE FELT TO BE THE MOST BENEFICIAL CONDITIONS FOR CONTROLLING AND PREVENTING THE FUNGUS.

16. AICF/USA'S PROGRAM BROUGHT 530 MT OF SEED
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POTATOES TO THE THREE AREAS DURING THIS PAST SPRING.
A GTZ-SPONSORED AGRICULTURAL MEETING WILL BE HELD ON
JULY 29 IN ZENICA TO EVALUATE THE POTATO BLIGHT.
DART/ZAGREB WILL DISCUSS WITH USAID/ZAGREB THE
IMPORTANCE OF HAVING A USAID REPRESENTATIVE IN
ATTENDANCE.

-

AICF/USA VEHICLE STOLEN AT GUNPOINT IN BUGOJNO

17. ACCORDING TO AICF/USA'S COUNTRY REPRESENTATIVE,
ONE OF THEIR VEHICLES WAS STOLEN AT GUNPOINT ON JULY
25 IN THE CENTER OF BUGOJNO BY A MAN WEARING A
MILITARY UNIFORM. ONE OF THE OCCUPANTS WAS AN AICF
EMPLOYEE AND THE OTHER WORKED FOR FEED THE CHILDREN
(BOTH WERE EXPATS, BUT NEITHER WAS AMERICAN). THE
VEHICLE WAS CARRYING 400 KILOGRAMS OF BEESWAX THAT
WAS TO BE USED IN A USAID-FUNDED PROGRAM. THE
AICF/USA SPOKESPERSON REPORTED THAT ANOTHER ONE OF
THEIR VEHICLES WAS STOLEN TWO YEARS AGO BUT RETURNED
BY THE HVO WITH ITS RADIO INTACT. ON JULY 26 AT

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ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	INL-01	OASY-00	SRPP-00
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	H-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-06	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00
	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00
	/045W						

-----DDA59C 271628Z /38

O 271724Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6605
USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC
HQ JTF PROVIDE PROMISE FWD//J2/J3/J5//
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J2/J3/J4/J5//
SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
497IG AMHS BOLLING AFB DC//INAGE//
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02821 06 OF 07 271628Z
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE//ECJ2/J3/J4/J5/EC POLAD//
USMISSION USNATO

UNCLAS SECTION 06 OF 07 ZAGREB 002821

STATE PASS TO AID
AID FOR AA/BHR, ENI, BHR/FFP, AND BHR/OFDA/DRD

BUDAPEST FOR RFMC/CEE
STATE FOR IO, IO/PHO, EUR/EEA
EUR/SCE, PM/ISP, AND PRM

GENEVA FOR RMA
SECDEF ALSO FOR OSD/HRA/IRVIN
RAMSTEIN FOR DO/LG/XP/IN/POLAD//
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, AORC, EAID, PHUM, UNHCR, UN, HR, BK
SUBJECT: OFDA DART/ZAGREB SITREP NO. 110

1500 HOURS, DART/ZAGREB RECEIVED A CALL FROM THE
AICF/USA'S COUNTRY REPRESENTATIVE AND WAS TOLD THAT
THE CAR HAD BEEN RECOVERED BUT NO OTHER DETAILS WERE
AVAILABLE AT THIS TIME.

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UNHCR CONVOY INCIDENTS

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18. ON JULY 24, UNHCR/ZAGREB REPORTED THAT 1 CONVOY TO VUKOVAR (41 MT OF WATER BUCKETS, ROOFING MATERIALS, HEATERS, KITCHEN SETS, SHOES, CLOTHES, BEDS, AND CANNED BEEF) WAS REFUSED CLEARANCE BY THE CROATIAN AUTHORITIES.

19. ON JULY 25, UNHCR/BELGRADE REPORTED THAT 1 CONVOY TO GORAZDE AND 1 CONVOY TO KOPACI WERE CANCELLED BY UNHCR WHEN THE CONVOY TEAM WAS DELAYED ON A PREVIOUS MISSION TO GORAZDE. UNHCR/ZAGREB REPORTED THAT 1 CONVOY TO CAZIN (97 MT OF MIXED FOODS) WAS REFUSED CLEARANCE BY THE KRAJINA SERB AUTHORITIES.

UNHCR SUCCESSFUL CONVOYS

20. ON JULY 24, UNHCR/BELGRADE REPORTED 2 SUCCESSFUL CONVOYS TO GORAZDE (174 MT OF MIXED FOOD AND BABY NIPPLES). UNHCR/METKOVIC REPORTED 4 SUCCESSFUL CONVOYS: 1 TO EAST MOSTAR (45 MT OF MIXED FOOD); 1 TO WEST MOSTAR (21 MT OF MIXED FOOD AND SOAP); 1 TO TREBINJE (42 MT OF FLOUR); AND 1 TO LJUBUSKI (56 MT OF FLOUR).

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PAGE 04 ZAGREB 02821 06 OF 07 271628Z

21. ON JULY 25, UNHCR/BELGRADE REPORTED NO SUCCESSFUL CONVOYS. UNHCR/METKOVIC REPORTED 8 SUCCESSFUL CONVOYS: 2 TO ZENICA (126 MT OF MIXED FOOD); 3 TO SARAJEVO (510 MT OF MIXED FOOD AND FLOUR); 1 TO TUZLA (54 MT OF MIXED FOOD); 1 TO JABLANICA (42 MT OF FLOUR, FISH, ROOFING MATERIALS, AND PLASTIC SHEETING); AND 1 TO LJUBUSKI (80 MT OF FLOUR). UNHCR/ZAGREB REPORTED 1 SUCCESSFUL CONVOY TO DARUVAR (12 MT OF MIXED FOOD AND SOAP).

UNHCR SARAJEVO AIRLIFT

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22. THE HUMANITARIAN AIRLIFT TO SARAJEVO HAS BEEN INTERRUPTED SINCE APR 8 WHEN AN AMERICAN AIRCRAFT WAS HIT BY 10 ROUNDS OF SMALL ARMS FIRE. THERE IS NO ESTIMATED DATE FOR THE RESUMPTION OF AIRLIFT OPERATIONS (SEE SITREP 78 FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON SERB CONDITIONS FOR REOPENING THE AIRPORT).

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PAGE 01 ZAGREB 02821 07 OF 07 271628Z
ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	INL-01	OASY-00	SRPP-00
	DS-00	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FBIE-00	INLB-01	HHS-01
	H-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-06	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00
	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00

/045W

-----DDA5A5 271629Z /38

O 271724Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6606
USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC
HQ JTF PROVIDE PROMISE FWD//J2/J3/J5//
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J2/J3/J4/J5//
SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
497IG AMHS BOLLING AFB DC//INAGE//
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02821 07 OF 07 271628Z
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ2/J3/J4/J5/EC POLAD//
USMISSION USNATO

UNCLAS SECTION 07 OF 07 ZAGREB 002821

STATE PASS TO AID
AID FOR AA/BHR, ENI, BHR/FFP, AND BHR/OFDA/DRD

BUDAPEST FOR RFMC/CEE
STATE FOR IO, IO/PHO, EUR/EEA
EUR/SCE, PM/ISP, AND PRM

GENEVA FOR RMA
SECDEF ALSO FOR OSD/HRA/IRVIN
RAMSTEIN FOR DO/LG/XP/IN/POLAD//
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PRAF, AORC, EAID, PHUM, UNHCR, UN, HR, BK

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SUBJECT: OFDA DART/ZAGREB SITREP NO. 110

JTF PROVIDE PROMISE AIRDROPS

23. JTF PROVIDE PROMISE AIRDROPS OVER B-H ARE
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PAGE 03 ZAGREB 02821 07 OF 07 271628Z
INDEFINITELY POSTPONED DUE TO SECURITY CONCERNS.
THE LAST HUMANITARIAN AIRDROPS WERE CONDUCTED
OVER BIHAC ON AUG 16, 1994.

24. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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RELEASED IN FULL

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PAGE 01 ZAGREB 02885 01 OF 04 311657Z
ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	INL-01	OASY-00	SRPP-00
	DS-00	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FBIE-00	INLB-01	HHS-01
	H-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-06	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00
	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00

/045W

-----DEAD97 311657Z /38

O 311752Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6663
 USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
 USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
 INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
 497IG AMHS BOLLING AFB DC//INAGE//
 CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//
 CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//
 CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
 COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
 AMEMBASSY VIENNA
 AMEMBASSY ROME
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
 JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 WHITE HOUSE WASHDC

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02885 01 OF 04 311657Z
 HQ JTF PROVIDE PROMISE FWD//J2/J3/J5//
 HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 DATE/CASE ID: 18 MAR 2009 200705105

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JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J2/J3/J4/J5//
SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ2/J3/J4/J5/EC POLAD//
USMISSION USNATO

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 04 ZAGREB 002885

STATE PASS TO AID
VIENNA FOR BOSNIA
AID FOR AA/BHR, ENI, BHR/FFP, AND BHR/OFDA/DRD

BUDAPEST FOR RFMC/CEE
STATE FOR IO, IO/PHO, EUR/EEA
EUR/SCE, PM/ISP, AND PRM

GENEVA FOR RMA

SECDEF ALSO FOR OSD/HRA/IRVIN
RAMSTEIN FOR DO/LG/XP/IN/POLAD//
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, AORC, EAID, PHUM, UNHCR, UN, HR, BK
SUBJECT: OFDA DART/ZAGREB SITREP NO. 112

SUMMARY

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PAGE 03 ZAGREB 02885 01 OF 04 311657Z

1. WFP REPORTS THAT FOOD SUPPLIES ARE AMPLE IN ZENICA AND TUZLA. UNHCR WILL ASSIST RECENT BOSNIAN SERB DPS FROM BOSANSKO GRAHOVO AND GLAMOC. NINE UNHCR CONVOYS REACHED SARAJEVO LAST WEEK. FOOD SITUATION IN SARAJEVO REMAINS CRITICAL. CONVOYS TO SELECTED AREAS FOR JUL 21 - 27. FOR JUL 28 - 30: CONVOY INCIDENTS; UNHCR SUCCESSFUL CONVOY DELIVERIES; UNHCR SARAJEVO AIRLIFT; AND JTF PROVIDE PROMISE AIRDROP OPERATIONS. END SUMMARY

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WFP REPORTS ADEQUATE FOOD STOCKS IN ZENICA AND TUZLA

2. THE WORLD FOOD PROGRAM'S (WFP) REPORT FOR THE WEEK ENDING JUL 27 STATED THAT THERE ARE AMPLE FOOD STOCKS BOTH IN ZENICA AND TUZLA. THE AVAILABLE FOOD STOCKS ARE ABLE TO COVER THE NEEDS OF RECENTLY ARRIVING DISPLACED PERSONS FROM ZEPA AND SREBRENICA AS WELL AS REGULAR BENEFICIARIES IN BOTH TOWNS. IN ZENICA, OVER 1,000 MT OF EMERGENCY FOOD AID IS ON HAND AND IN TUZLA THERE REMAINS SOME 2,300 MT IN WFP'S MAIN WAREHOUSE. UNHCR/ZAGREB'S CONVOY OFFICER REPORTS THAT FOOD AID CONVOY ACCESS TO ZENICA AND TUZLA REMAINS QUITE GOOD.

UNHCR TO ASSIST DPS FROM BOSANSKO GRAHOVO AND GLAMOC

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3. ACCORDING TO THE UNHCR/ZAGREB'S PUBLIC INFORMATION OFFICE, APPROXIMATELY 13,000 BOSNIAN SERBS FLED BOSANSKO GRAHOVO AND GLAMOC, BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA (B-H) AFTER THE RECENT FIGHTING FOR THE SUPPLY ROAD TO KNIN. UNHCR'S PROGRAM OFFICER FOR B-H REPORTS THAT THE DISPLACED BOSNIAN SERBS ARE NOW LOCATED IN DRVAR AND MRKONJIC GRAD. UNHCR IS PLANNING TO ASSIST THESE NEWLY DISPLACED PERSONS (DPS) WITH THE WEEKLY BANJA LUKA PICKUP FROM UNHCR/BELGRADE'S WAREHOUSE.

4. CROATIAN AUTHORITIES CONTINUE TO REFUSE ACCESS TO UNHCR CONVOYS ATTEMPTING TO TRAVEL TO BANJA LUKA. FOOD ASSISTANCE IS DELIVERED TO BANJA LUKA BY A WEEKLY MUNICIPAL PICKUP SYSTEM AND UNHCR SUBSIDIZES THE FUEL FOR THE TRUCKS THAT CARRY THE RELIEF SUPPLIES. ACCORDING TO UNHCR'S PROGRAM OFFICER, A NORMAL-SIZED WEEKLY PICKUP WILL BE MADE ON AUG 1 AS MOST OF THOSE RECENTLY DISPLACED FROM BOSANSKO

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GRAHOVO AND GLAMOC ARE ALREADY FOOD BENEFICIARIES.
A SMALL PORTION OF THOSE DISPLACED THAT ARE IN DRVAR
ARE TO BE RELOCATED TO 10 COLLECTIVE CENTERS IN THE

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PAGE 01 ZAGREB 02885 02 OF 04 311658Z
ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	INL-01	OASY-00	SRPP-00
	DS-00	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FBIE-00	INLB-01	HHS-01
	H-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-06	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00
	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00
	/045W						

-----DEADA2 311658Z /38

O 311752Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6664
USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
497IG AMHS BOLLING AFB DC//INAGE//
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//

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CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
AMEMBASSY LONDON
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC

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PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02885 02 OF 04 311658Z
HQ JTF PROVIDE PROMISE FWD//J2/J3/J5//
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J2/J3/J4/J5//
SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ2/J3/J4/J5/EC POLAD//
USMISSION USNATO

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 04 ZAGREB 002885

STATE PASS TO AID
VIENNA FOR BOSNIA
AID FOR AA/BHR, ENI, BHR/FFP, AND BHR/OFDA/DRD

BUDAPEST FOR RFMC/CEE
STATE FOR IO, IO/PHO, EUR/EEA
EUR/SCE, PM/ISP, AND PRM

GENEVA FOR RMA

SECDEF ALSO FOR OSD/HRA/IRVIN
RAMSTEIN FOR DO/LG/XP/IN/POLAD//
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, AORC, EAID, PHUM, UNHCR, UN, HR, BK
SUBJECT: OFDA DART/ZAGREB SITREP NO. 112

REGION. THE UNHCR PROGRAM OFFICER FOR B-H STATED
THAT UNHCR PERSONNEL WILL BE SENT TO THE AREA TO

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ASSESS THE SITUATION.

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PAGE 03

ZAGREB 02885 02 OF 04 311658Z

NINE UNHCR CONVOYS REACHED SARAJEVO LAST WEEK

5. WFP ALSO REPORTS THAT 9 CONVOYS CARRYING 1,458 MT OF WFP FOOD ASSISTANCE REACHED THE CITY LAST WEEK IN SPITE OF THE HEAVY FIGHTING. THESE CONVOYS WERE THE FIRST TO SUCCESSFULLY USE THE KISELJAK ROUTE SINCE JUN 21. THE CONVOYS AVOIDED THE HAZARDOUS MT. IGMAN ROUTE, AND CARRIED MOSTLY WHEAT FLOUR TO THE CITY'S BAKERY. FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE EARLY JUNE, STOCKS OF FOOD AID WERE SUFFICIENT TO CARRY OUT A LIMITED GENERAL DISTRIBUTION.

HOWEVER, FOOD SITUATION REMAINS CRITICAL IN SARAJEVO

6. ACCORDING TO WFP, EVEN WITH THE DELIVERY OF 1,458 MT OF FOOD ASSISTANCE LAST WEEK, THE FOOD SITUATION IN SARAJEVO REMAINS CRITICAL. THE NINE CONVOYS LAST WEEK REPRESENTED ONLY 12 PERCENT OF THE BIWEEKLY NEEDS OF THE SARAJEVO POPULATION, AND FOOD SHORTAGES STILL EXIST. THE WFP-SUPPLIED CITY BAKERY, WHICH NORMALLY PRODUCES BREAD FOR THE ENTIRE POPULATION EVERY DAY, HAS BEEN FORCED TO DECREASE THE AMOUNT OF BREAD PER PERSON. THE BAKERY IS ONLY FUNCTIONING EVERY OTHER DAY, DUE TO A LACK OF FUEL AND WHEAT FLOUR ON-HAND. MEDICAL AUTHORITIES IN SARAJEVO ARE REPORTING MORE CASES OF ANEMIA,

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PROBABLY CAUSED BY AN IRON-DEFICIENT DIET. WATER,
GAS, AND ELECTRIC SERVICES REMAIN SUSPENDED TO MOST
PARTS OF THE CITY.

CONVOYS TO SELECTED AREAS FOR JUL 21 - 27

7. UNHCR REPORTED THE FOLLOWING SUMMARY OF CONVOY
INFORMATION FOR THE WEEK OF JUL 21 - 27. NOTE:
WHEN TWO FIGURES ARE GIVEN FOR THE NUMBER OF
CONVOYS, THE FIRST NUMBER DENOTES NUMBER
ACCOMPLISHED AND THE SECOND INDICATES CONVOYS
ATTEMPTED. UNSUCCESSFUL CONVOYS WERE DENIED PASSAGE
OR OTHERWISE OBSTRUCTED. THE NUMBERS FOR METRIC
TONNAGES INDICATE THE TOTAL AMOUNT OF HUMANITARIAN
SUPPLIES THAT REACHED THE PRIMARY DISTRIBUTION
POINTS AND DO NOT PORTRAY SECONDARY (LOCAL)
DISTRIBUTION.

DESTINATION	NUMBER	MTS

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PAGE 01 ZAGREB 02885 03 OF 04 311658Z

ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	INL-01	OASY-00	SRPP-00
	DS-00	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FBIE-00	INLB-01	HHS-01
	H-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-06	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00
	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00

/045W

-----DEADB0 311658Z /38

O 311752Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6665
USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
497IG AMHS BOLLING AFB DC//INAGE//
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
AMEMBASSY LONDON
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02885 03 OF 04 311658Z
HQ JTF PROVIDE PROMISE FWD//J2/J3/J5//
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J2/J3/J4/J5//
SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ2/J3/J4/J5/EC POLAD//
USMISSION USNATO

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UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 04 ZAGREB 002885

STATE PASS TO AID
 VIENNA FOR BOSNIA
 AID FOR AA/BHR, ENI, BHR/FFP, AND BHR/OFDA/DRD

BUDAPEST FOR RFMC/CEE
 STATE FOR IO, IO/PHO, EUR/EEA
 EUR/SCE, PM/ISP, AND PRM

GENEVA FOR RMA

SECDEF ALSO FOR OSD/HRA/IRVIN
 RAMSTEIN FOR DO/LG/XP/IN/POLAD//
 E.O. 12356: N/A
 TAGS: PREF, AORC, EAID, PHUM, UNHCR, UN, HR, BK
 SUBJECT: OFDA DART/ZAGREB SITREP NO. 112

BANJA LUKA	0/1	0
CAZIN	0/2	0
DARUVAR	1/1	12
	UNCLASSIFIED	

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PAGE 03	ZAGREB 02885	03 OF 04	311658Z
GORAZDE	3/3		245
GRUDE	1/1		10
JABLANICA	1/1		42
KNIN	0/1		0
LIVNO	1/1		20
LJUBUSKI	3/3		177
MOSTAR	1/1		21
MOSTAR (BIH)	1/1		45
OSIJEK	1/1		26
PETRINJA	0/1		0
POSUSJE	1/1		8
RIJEKA	1/1		9
SARAJEVO	9/13		1458
TOMISLAVGRAD	1/1		14
TREBINJE	2/2		78
TUZLA	4/4		256
VUKOVAR	0/1		0
ZENICA	8/8		751

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TOTAL	39/49	3,172
LAST WEEK'S	23/36	1,785

UNHCR CONVOY INCIDENTS

8. ON JUL 28, UNHCR/ZAGREB REPORTED THAT 1 CONVOY TO CAZIN (100 MT OF MIXED FOOD) WAS REFUSED CLEARANCE BY THE KRAJINA SERB AUTHORITIES. A SECOND UNHCR CONVOY TO VUKOVAR (100 MT OF MIXED FOOD) FROM UNHCR/ZAGREB WAS REFUSED CLEARANCE BY CROATIAN

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PAGE 04 ZAGREB 02885 03 OF 04 311658Z
 AUTHORITIES.

9. ON JUL 29, UNHCR/METKOVIC REPORTED THAT 1 CONVOY TO SARAJEVO (134 MT OF WHEAT FLOUR AND PEAS) WAS DIVERTED TO ZENICA AFTER A BOSNIAN ARMY CHECKPOINT REFUSED TO MOVE MINES BECAUSE OF SNIPER FIRE FROM THE SERBIAN SIDE OF THE CITY.

10. ON JUL 30, NO UNHCR CONVOY INCIDENTS WERE REPORTED BY UNHCR/BELGRADE, UNHCR/METKOVIC, OR UNHCR/ZAGREB.

UNHCR SUCCESSFUL CONVOYS

11. ON JUL 28, UNHCR/BELGRADE REPORTED 1 SUCCESSFUL CONVOY TO GORAZDE (71 MT OF MIXED FOOD). UNHCR/METKOVIC REPORTED THREE SUCCESSFUL CONVOYS TO ZENICA (457 MT OF WHEAT FLOUR AND MIXED FOOD); TWO SUCCESSFUL CONVOYS TO TUZLA (139 MT OF WHEAT FLOUR, PEAS, AND NGO SUPPLIES); AND 1 SUCCESSFUL CONVOY TO

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UNCLASSIFIED PTQ8158

PAGE 01 ZAGREB 02885 04 OF 04 311658Z
ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	INL-01	OASY-00	SRFP-00
	DS-00	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FBIE-00	INLB-01	HHS-01
	H-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-06	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00
	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00

/045W

-----DEADBA 311658Z /38

O 311752Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6666
 USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
 USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
 INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
 497IG AMHS BOLLING AFB DC//INAGE//
 CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//
 CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//
 CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
 COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
 AMEMBASSY VIENNA
 AMEMBASSY ROME
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
 JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
 AMEMBASSY LONDON

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WHITE HOUSE WASHDC

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PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02885 04 OF 04 311658Z
HQ JTF PROVIDE PROMISE FWD//J2/J3/J5//
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J2/J3/J4/J5//
SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ2/J3/J4/J5/EC POLAD//
USMISSION USNATO

UNCLAS SECTION 04 OF 04 ZAGREB 002885

STATE PASS TO AID
VIENNA FOR BOSNIA
AID FOR AA/BHR, ENI, BHR/FFP, AND BHR/OFDA/DRD

BUDAPEST FOR RFMC/CEE
STATE FOR IO, IO/PHO, EUR/EEA
EUR/SCE, PM/ISP, AND PRM

GENEVA FOR RMA

SECDEF ALSO FOR OSD/HRA/IRVIN
RAMSTEIN FOR DO/LG/XP/IN/POLAD//
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, AORC, EAID, PHUM, UNHCR, UN, HR, BK
SUBJECT: OFDA DART/ZAGREB SITREP NO. 112

LJUBUSKI (42 MT OF WHEAT FLOUR). UNHCR/ZAGREB
REPORTED 1 SUCCESSFUL CONVOY TO CEPIN (2 MT OF
PLASTIC SHEETING).

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12. ON JUL 29, UNHCR/METKOVIC REPORTED 1 SUCCESSFUL CONVOY TO TUZLA (64 MT OF MIXED FOOD); 1 SUCCESSFUL CONVOY TO ZENICA (58 MT OF WHEAT FLOUR AND PEAS); AND 1 SUCCESSFUL CONVOY TO SARAJEVO (128 MT OF WHEAT FLOUR AND PEAS). NO SUCCESSFUL CONVOYS WERE REPORTED FROM UNHCR/BELGRADE OR UNHCR/ZAGREB.

13. ON JUL 30, UNHCR/BELGRADE REPORTED 1 SUCCESSFUL CONVOY TO GORAZDE (64 MT OF WHEAT FLOUR AND BEANS). UNHCR/METKOVIC REPORTED 1 SUCCESSFUL CONVOY TO ZENICA (134 MT OF WHEAT FLOUR). NO SUCCESSFUL CONVOYS WERE REPORTED FROM UNHCR/ZAGREB.

UNHCR SARAJEVO AIRLIFT

14. THE HUMANITARIAN AIRLIFT TO SARAJEVO HAS BEEN INTERRUPTED SINCE APR 8 WHEN AN AMERICAN AIRCRAFT WAS HIT BY 10 ROUNDS OF SMALL ARMS FIRE. THERE IS NO ESTIMATED DATE FOR THE RESUMPTION OF AIRLIFT OPERATIONS (SEE SITREP 78 FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON SERB CONDITIONS FOR REOPENING THE AIRPORT).

JTF PROVIDE PROMISE AIRDROPS

15. JTF PROVIDE PROMISE AIRDROPS OVER B-H ARE INDEFINITELY POSTPONED DUE TO SECURITY CONCERNS.
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PAGE 04 ZAGREB 02885 04 OF 04 311658Z
THE LAST HUMANITARIAN AIRDROPS WERE CONDUCTED OVER BIHAC ON AUG 16, 1994.

16. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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PAGE 01 ZAGREB 02883 311646Z
ACTION H-06

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 DS-00 EUR-01 TEDE-00 IO-06 ADS-00
OIC-02 DSCC-00 /015W
-----DEACB0 311646Z /38

R 311741Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6659
INFO AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
USLO SKOPJE
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
DA WASHDC//CLL WASHDC SALL/TVL
AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L ZAGREB 002883

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: OREP, ASEC, TU, MK, HR, SR, BK
SUBJECT: CODEL KERREY

REF: STATE 181496

1. (LOU) ZAGREB WELCOMES THE FORTHCOMING VISIT OF CODEL
KERREY, AUGUST 29 - 31. EMBASSY CONTROL OFFICER WILL BE
POLOFF JEFFREY HOVENIER. TELEPHONES AS FOLLOWS:

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PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02883 311646Z
EMBASSY (NORMAL HOURS) 385-1-455-5500, EXT. 294

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 18 MAR 2009 200705105

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EMBASSY (AFTER 1800)	385-1-455-5281
HOME (SIX DIGITS ONLY)	<input type="text"/>
EMBASSY FAX	385-1-455-0394

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2. (LOU) WE HAVE RESERVED FOUR SINGLE ROOMS AT THE INTERCONTINENTAL HOTEL ZAGREB, KRASNJAVOGA 1, TELEPHONE 385-1-455-3411, FAX 385-1-444-431 (SIX DIGITS ONLY). RATE FOR SINGLE IS USD 108/NIGHT. BREAKFAST IS EXTRA - USD 16/PER PERSON.

 THREAT ASSESSMENT

3. (LOU) ROUGHLY 25 PERCENT OF CROATIAN TERRITORY IS STILL CONTROLLED BY THE "REPUBLIC OF SERB KRAJINA (RSK)," A HOSTILE REBEL SERB FORCE WHICH IS CLOSELY LINKED TO BOSNIAN SERB AND "FRY" FORCES. A CONTINUING STATE OF TENSION AND ARMED CONFRONTATION ALONG THE "RSK" BORDERS CREATES A CONSTANT AND UNPREDICTABLE THREAT OF SHELLING OR ROCKET ATTACKS ON MANY CROATIAN CITIES. AN EMBASSY TRAVEL WARNING RECOMMENDS THAT ALL AMCITS AVOID TRAVEL TO CROATIA BECAUSE OF THE POTENTIAL FOR RAPID CHANGES IN THE SECURITY SITUATION STEMMING FROM INTERNAL SERB-CROAT FIGHTING AND THE ONGOING WAR IN NEIGHBORING BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA. GIVEN THE SECURITY SITUATION, SOME EMBASSY FAMILIES HAVE DEPARTED POST. GIVEN THE REMAINING TIME BEFORE CODEL'S VISIT, AND THE RAPIDLY CHANGING SITUATION, CODEL SHOULD REMAIN IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE CONCERNING THE LEVEL OF THREAT.

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4. (LOU) ON MAY 1, THE CROATIAN ARMY CARRIED OUT A MILITARY ACTION TO REGAIN CONTROL OF THE SERB-OCCUPIED AREAS OF WESTERN SLAVONIA (FORMER UN SECTOR WEST). SERB FORCES IN UN SECTOR NORTH SUBSEQUENTLY FIRED TWELVE ORKAN ROCKETS WITH ANTI-PERSONNEL CLUSTER BOMBS ON DOWNTOWN ZAGREB AND PLESO AIRPORT ON MAY 2 AND 3. TEN PEOPLE DIED AND TWO HUNDRED WERE INJURED IN THESE TWO INCIDENTS.

5. (LOU) AFTER A PERIOD OF CALM DURING JUNE, TENSIONS

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HAVE RISEN CONSIDERABLY AGAIN IN JULY. REBEL SERBS FROM CROATIA AND BOSNIA RENEWED ATTACKS AGAINST THE BIHAC POCKET, WHICH THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT HAS SAID IT WOULD FIGHT TO PROTECT. INDEED, CROATIAN AND BOSNIAN CROAT FORCES LAUNCHED AN OFFENSIVE IN BOSNIA'S LIVNO VALLEY TO DRAW PRESSURE AWAY FROM BIHAC. MEANWHILE IN CROATIA, COMBINED "RSK" AND BSA FORCES MOVED TO OCCUPY PARTS OF THE SEPARATION ZONE NEAR THE CITY OF OSIJEK AND EXCHANGED MORTAR FIRE WITH CROATIAN TROOPS THERE; AND BOSNIAN SERBS RESUMED SPORADIC SHELLING OF DUBROVNIK AIRPORT. IN NEIGHBORING BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA, THE SERBS OCCUPIED THE UN-PROTECTED ENCLAVES OF SREBRENICA AND ZEPA. SERBIAN ROCKET LAUNCHERS REMAIN WITHIN STRIKING DISTANCE OF DOWNTOWN ZAGREB AND PLESO AIRPORT (WHICH SERVES DAILY COMMERCIAL AND UN FLIGHTS). RECENTLY, CROATIAN SERB LEADER MILAN MARTIC THREATENED ROCKET ATTACKS ON COASTAL CITIES, INCLUDING SPLIT, IN RESPONSE TO ONGOING CROATIAN INCURSIONS INTO THE KNIN AREA FROM BOSNIA.

6. (C) ELEMENTS OF VARIOUS TERRORIST GROUPS ARE KNOWN TO BE PRESENT IN CROATIA BUT NONE HAS YET ENGAGED IN ANY
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PAGE 04 ZAGREB 02883 311646Z
TERRORIST ACTION HERE. OCCASIONAL BOMBING INCIDENTS HAVE OCCURRED IN OR NEAR ZAGREB, THE MOST RECENT IN JULY 1994, BUT SUCH EVENTS ARE RARE AND APPEAR FOR THE MOST PART TO HAVE BEEN CRIMINAL ACTS RATHER THAN POLITICALLY MOTIVATED.
7. (LOU) THE SERB-OCCUPIED AREAS IN WHICH THE UN IS DEPLOYED, AND THE CROATIAN TERRITORY BORDERING THEM, ARE CURRENTLY UNSUITABLE FOR TRAVEL EVEN WITH AN ESCORT BECAUSE OF THE CONTINUING TENSION IN CROATIA AND CONFLICT IN BOSNIA. INCIDENTS OF BURGLARY, ROBBERY, HOSTAGE-TAKING AND CARJACKING BY SERBS AGAINST UN AND FOREIGN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE PERSONNEL HAVE INCREASED MARKEDLY IN RECENT MONTHS IN THE SERB-CONTROLLED AREAS.

8. (LOU) STREET CRIME IS ON THE RISE THROUGHOUT CROATIA, PARTICULARLY IN TOWNS ON THE COAST. VISITORS SHOULD REMAIN ALERT AND TAKE SUITABLE PRECAUTIONS.

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PAGE 01 ZAGREB 02787 251745Z
ACTION H-06

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 DS-00 EUR-01 TEDE-00 IO-06 ADS-00
OIC-02 DSCC-00 /015W
-----DCD99C 251745Z /38

P 251843Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6564
INFO AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION GENEVA

RELEASED IN PART
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C O N F I D E N T I A L ZAGREB 002787

E.O. 12356: 7/25/98
TAGS: OREP, ASEC, HR
SUBJECT: CODEL FORBES' TRANSIT THROUGH CROATIA, JULY 27 -
31

REF: STATE 176854

1. (LOU) AMEMBASSY ZAGREB WELCOMES THE TRANSIT OF
REPRESENTATIVE FORBES AND HIS PARTY THROUGH CROATIA INTO
BOSNIA, JULY 27 - 31. WE UNDERSTAND THAT NO EMBASSY
ASSISTANCE IS REQUIRED FOR THIS TRANSIT; HOWEVER, WE WILL
ALERT UN AND AIRPORT OFFICIALS OF THE VISIT. PLEASE
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PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02787 251745Z
ADVISE, AND PROVIDE DATES AND TIMES OF ARRIVAL, SHOULD

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 18 MAR 2009 200705105

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REPRESENTATIVE FORBES AND HIS PARTY DESIRE FOR US TO RESERVE HOTEL ROOMS IN SPLIT. WE ASSUME THAT REPRESENTATIVE FORBES HAS ARRANGED FOR TRANSPORTATION INTO TUZLA WITH AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO OR WITH UNITED NATIONS AUTHORITIES. EMBASSY POINT OF CONTACT WILL BE ECONOMIC OFFICER THOMAS MITTNACHT, TELEPHONES AS FOLLOWS:

EMBASSY (NORMAL HOURS) 385-1-455-5500
EMBASSY (AFTER 1800) 385-1-455-5281
HOME (SIX DIGITS ONLY)

B6

2. (LOU) SPLIT IS IN A PART OF CROATIA THAT MAY BE SUBJECT TO SHELLING IN TIMES OF TENSION FROM NEARBY SERB-CONTROLLED TERRITORY. FULL THREAT ASSESSMENT FOR CROATIA AS A WHOLE FOLLOWS.

3. (LOU) ROUGHLY 25 PERCENT OF CROATIAN TERRITORY IS STILL CONTROLLED BY THE "REPUBLIC OF SERB KRAJINA (RSK)," A HOSTILE REBEL SERB FORCE WHICH IS CLOSELY LINKED TO BOSNIAN SERB AND "FRY" FORCES. A CONTINUING STATE OF TENSION AND ARMED CONFRONTATION ALONG THE "RSK" BORDERS CREATES A CONSTANT AND UNPREDICTABLE THREAT OF SHELLING OR ROCKET ATTACKS ON MANY CROATIAN CITIES. AN EMBASSY TRAVEL WARNING RECOMMENDS THAT ALL AMCITS AVOID TRAVEL TO CROATIA BECAUSE OF THE POTENTIAL FOR RAPID CHANGES IN THE SECURITY SITUATION STEMMING FROM INTERNAL SERB-CROAT FIGHTING AND THE ONGOING WAR IN NEIGHBORING BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA.

4. (LOU) ON MAY 1, THE CROATIAN ARMY CARRIED OUT A MILITARY ACTION TO REGAIN CONTROL OF THE SERB-OCCUPIED
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PAGE 03 ZAGREB 02787 251745Z
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5. (C) AFTER A PERIOD OF CALM DURING JUNE, TENSIONS IN THE AREA ROSE AGAIN IN JULY. IN CROATIA, COMBINED "RSK" AND BSA FORCES MOVED TO OCCUPY PARTS OF THE SEPARATION ZONE NEAR THE CITY OF OSIJEK AND EXCHANGED MORTAR FIRE

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6. (C) ELEMENTS OF VARIOUS TERRORIST GROUPS ARE KNOWN TO BE PRESENT IN CROATIA BUT NONE HAS YET ENGAGED IN ANY TERRORIST ACTION HERE. OCCASIONAL BOMBING INCIDENTS HAVE OCCURRED IN OR NEAR ZAGREB, THE MOST RECENT IN JULY 1994, BUT SUCH EVENTS ARE RARE AND APPEAR FOR THE MOST PART TO HAVE BEEN CRIMINAL ACTS RATHER THAN POLITICALLY MOTIVATED.

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PAGE 04 ZAGREB 02787 251745Z
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8. (LOU) STREET CRIME IS ON THE RISE THROUGHOUT CROATIA, PARTICULARLY IN TOWNS ON THE COAST. VISITORS SHOULD REMAIN ALERT AND TAKE SUITABLE PRECAUTIONS.
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HALL AND HIS PARTY DESIRE FOR US TO RESERVE HOTEL ROOMS IN SPLIT. WE ASSUME THAT REPRESENTATIVE HALL HAS ARRANGED FOR TRANSPORTATION INTO TUZLA WITH AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO OR WITH UNITED NATIONS AUTHORITIES. EMBASSY POINT OF CONTACT WILL BE ECONOMIC OFFICER THOMAS MITTNACHT, TELEPHONES AS FOLLOWS:

EMBASSY (NORMAL HOURS) 385-1-455-5500
EMBASSY (AFTER 1800) 385-1-455-5281
HOME (SIX DIGITS ONLY)

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PAGE 03 ZAGREB 02786 251728Z
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5. (C) AFTER A PERIOD OF CALM DURING JUNE, TENSIONS IN THE AREA ROSE AGAIN IN JULY. IN CROATIA, COMBINED "RSK" AND BSA FORCES MOVED TO OCCUPY PARTS OF THE SEPARATION ZONE NEAR THE CITY OF OSIJEK AND EXCHANGED MORTAR FIRE

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6. (C) ELEMENTS OF VARIOUS TERRORIST GROUPS ARE KNOWN TO BE PRESENT IN CROATIA BUT NONE HAS YET ENGAGED IN ANY TERRORIST ACTION HERE. OCCASIONAL BOMBING INCIDENTS HAVE OCCURRED IN OR NEAR ZAGREB, THE MOST RECENT IN JULY 1994, BUT SUCH EVENTS ARE RARE AND APPEAR FOR THE MOST PART TO HAVE BEEN CRIMINAL ACTS RATHER THAN POLITICALLY MOTIVATED.

7. (LOU) THE SERB-OCCUPIED AREAS IN WHICH THE UN IS
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PAGE 04 ZAGREB 02786 251728Z
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8. (LOU) STREET CRIME IS ON THE RISE THROUGHOUT CROATIA, PARTICULARLY IN TOWNS ON THE COAST. VISITORS SHOULD REMAIN ALERT AND TAKE SUITABLE PRECAUTIONS.
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PAGE 01 ZAGREB 02784 01 OF 02 251724Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00
	DS-00	EB-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-06	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00
	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00

/028W

-----DCD895 251724Z /38

O 251822Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6560
 INFO HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//POLAD//
 COMSIXTHFLT //N2//
 JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
 USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ3/ECJ4/ECJ5/ECPOLAD//
 CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
 CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//
 CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//DO/LG/XOX/IN/POLAD//
 AMCONSUL MUNICH
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 USLO SKOPJE
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
 AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 NATO EU COLLECTIVE
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J-3/J-4/J-5//
 NSC WASHDC

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PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02784 01 OF 02 251724Z
SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//

UNCLASSIFIED

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 ZAGREB 002784

USVIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL OSCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/25/00

TAGS: MOPS PHUM BK HR UN

SUBJECT: UN OFFICIALS SAY "ARSK" ATTACK ON BIHAC LIMITED,
EXPECT GOC REACTION BEFORE NOVEMBER

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

"ARSK" ATTACK ON BIHAC LIMITED

2. ON JULY 25, POLOFFS MET WITH [REDACTED] TO DISCUSS THE "ARSK" OFFENSIVE IN BIHAC AND THE POTENTIAL FOR GOC REACTION. [REDACTED] TOLD US THAT THE UN'S ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION IN BIHAC LEADS TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE OBJECTIVE OF THE "ARSK" OPERATION IS ONLY TO RETAKE AREAS OF THE POCKET HELD BY ABDIC PRIOR TO HIS EXPULSION BY THE GOBH V CORPS LAST YEAR. ATTACKS BY THE BSA ARE BELIEVED TO BE ONLY DIVERSIONARY. "ARSK-" ABDIC ACTION WOULD CREATE A RUFFER ZONE TO PROTECT SERB VILLAGES FROM ATTACKS BY GOBH FORCES, WHICH HE RLAMED FOR PRECIPITATING THE ATTACKS. HE SAID THAT GORH MILITARY COMMAND LOCATED V CORPS HQ IN DOWNTOWN BIHAC IN A DISINGENUOUS EFFORT TO DRAW NATO AIRSTRIKES ON ATTACKING SERBS.

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3. MEANWHILE, [REDACTED] TOLD US JULY 25 THAT THE LEVEL OF FIGHTING IN BIHAC SEEMED TO HAVE DECREASED SOMEWHAT. CONTRARY TO [REDACTED] SAID THAT UN ANALYSTS ARE QUESTIONING "WHETHER THE BOSNIAN SERBS" ARE INVOLVED OR NOT; [REDACTED] ECHOED [REDACTED] COMMENTS THAT THE CURRENT CONFRONTATION LINE LOOKS VERY MUCH LIKE THE AREA THAT ABDIC FORCES CONTROLLED ABOUT A YEAR AGO AND SPECULATED THAT THE ARSK MIGHT BE HELPING ABDIC TO REGAIN LOST GROUND IN RETURN FOR HIS COOPERATION

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NOW AND IN THE PAST. [REDACTED] BOTH DOUBTED THAT THE ARSK WOULD PRESS ITS ATTACK BECAUSE THEY MUST RECOGNIZE THE CROATIAN THREAT. ([REDACTED] ADDED THAT ALL FORCES IN THE AREA HAD SCRUPULOUSLY AVOIDED ACTIVITY IN THE SAFE ZONE, I.E., BIHAC TOWN ITSELF).

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GOC WILL RESPOND BEFORE NOVEMBER

4. IN [REDACTED] OPINION, THE GOC COULD USE ATTACKS ON BIHAC AS AN EXCUSE TO RETAKE THE "RSK" BUT HAD NO INDICATIONS THAT ANY ASSAULT WAS IMMINENT. HE SAID THAT THE HV COULD BEGIN AN ATTACK INTO SECTOR SOUTH FROM THE FREE CROATIA AND BOSNIA IN A FEW DAYS OR WEEKS, BUT WOULD DEFINITELY MOVE BEFORE THE END OF THE UNCRO MANDATE IN NOVEMBER AND THE ONSET OF WINTER. HE SAID THAT THE LONGER THE GOC WAITS TO ATTACK, THE LONGER "ARSK" MILITARY COMMANDER GENERAL MRKSIC HAS TO STRENGTHEN HIS FORCES. IF THE GOC DECIDES TO ATTACK, HE TOLD US THAT HE THINKS MILOSEVIC WILL DO NOTHING TO IN DEFENSE OF THE "RSK"

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PAGE 04 ZAGREB 02784 01 OF 02 251724Z
BECAUSE HE HAS EVERYTHING HE WANTS IN SECTOR EAST, AND THE BSA WILL PROVIDE LITTLE HELP BECAUSE IT IS STRETCHED THIN IN BOSNIA.

5. [REDACTED] SAID THAT HE WOULD NOT BE SURPRISED IF THE CROATS UNDERTOOK SOME ACTIVITY IN THE LIVNO VALLEY, BUT THE UN HAD "NO EVIDENCE" AS OF 1600 JULY 25 THAT THEY HAD DONE SO. (COMMENT: DATT HAS REPORTED THAT AS OF 0500 ON JULY 25, THE HVO BEGAN AN OPERATION AGAINST GLAMOC.) TROUBLE HAD FLARED AGAIN NEAR OSIJEK ON JULY 24, [REDACTED] SAID, BUT HAD BEEN SEEMINGLY CALMED AGAIN BY LOCAL COMMANDERS.

B6

[REDACTED] OPPOSES WIDER USE OF AIRSTRIKES

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6. TURNING TO BOSNIA, [REDACTED] LAUNCHED INTO A TIRADE AGAINST U.S. PRESSURE FOR AIRSTRIKES AND LIFTING THE ARMS

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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USLO SKOPJE
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
NATO EU COLLECTIVE
JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J-3/J-4/J-5//
NSC WASHDC

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02784 02 OF 02 251725Z
SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 ZAGREB 002784

USVIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL OSCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/25/00
TAGS: MOPS PHUM BK HR UN
SUBJECT: UN OFFICIALS SAY "ARSK" ATTACK ON BIHAC LIMITED,
EXPECT GOC REACTION BEFORE NOVEMBER

WIDESPREAD TAKING OF UN HOSTAGES, EVEN AFTER TAKING STEPS
TO SECURE PERSONNEL. (NOTE: HE ALSO STATED THAT SYG
BUTROS GHALI STILL RETAINS ONE OF THE "KEYS.") HE SAID
THAT THE USE OF CLOSE AIR SUPPORT MUST BE TIED TO SPECIFIC
TACTICAL TARGETS LOCATED IN AREAS WHERE THE BSA IS
ATTACKING SAFE AREAS. IN HIS OPINION, THE BOSNIAN SERBS
ARE INCAPABLE OF MAKING THE CONNECTION BETWEEN STRIKES ON
STRATEGIC TARGETS, SUCH AS AMMO DUMPS AND AIR DEFENSES,
AND THEIR ACTIONS AGAINST UN PROTECTED AREAS.

SERBS AND BOSNIAKS GUILTY OF WAR CRIMES

7. [] STRESSED THAT THE UN MUST REMAIN IMPARTIAL.
IN THE CASE OF THE BSA ATTACKS ON SREBRENICA, HE SAID THAT
DUTCH SOLDIERS COULD ONLY CONFIRM THE FEW CASES OF
ATROCITIES THAT THEY WITNESSED. HE CHARGED THAT VIOLENCE
BETWEEN RIVAL MUSLIM GROUPS (THOSE THAT WANTED TO

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SURRENDER AND THOSE THAT DIDN'T) WAS ALSO RESPONSIBLE FOR
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PAGE 03 ZAGREB 02784 02 OF 02 251725Z
LARGE NUMBERS OF KILLINGS. IN THE CASE OF ZEPA, HE
CHARACTERIZED THE BOSNIAKS STILL HOLDING OUT IN THE POCKET
AS THUGS AND CRIMINALS, RESPONSIBLE FOR CRIMES AGAINST
SERB AND MUSLIM CIVILIANS, WHO ARE AFRAID OF BEING
CAPTURED BY THE BSA.

SITUATION IN ZEPA

8. [] DENIED BROADCAST NEWS REPORTS THAT ZEPA HAD
FINALLY "FALLEN" TO THE SERBS. HE SAID THE SITUATION
THERE REMAINED "CONFUSING." HE ADMITTED THE UKRAINIANS
WERE HUNKERED DOWN, TAKING MORTAR FIRE FROM BOTH (I.E.
MUSLIM AND SERB) SIDES AND UNABLE TO DO MUCH OBSERVING.
B-H FORCES WERE PUTTING UP A STIFF RESISTANCE; MLADIC WAS
CURIOSLY RELUCTANT TO MOVE IN AND FINISH THE JOB, BUT HE
MUST ALSO BE CHAFING, HAVING CLAIMED ALMOST A WEEK AGO
THAT HIS ARMY HAD TAKEN CONTROL OF ZEPA. []
REPORTED VARIOUS "RUMORS" THAT THERE WAS SOME AGREEMENT
UNDER WHICH UNPROFOR WOULD COLLECT WEAPONS IN ZEPA IN
RETURN FOR WHICH THE CIVILIANS COULD BE RELEASED BUT
AKASHI WAS OF THE FIRM VIEW THAT VULNERABLE CIVILIANS;
MUST BE ALLOWED TO LEAVE, PERIOD, WITHOUT ANY
PRECONDITIONS.

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PAGE 01 WARSAW 10279 01 OF 02 280635Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DODE-00
	SRPP-00	H-01	IMMC-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-06
	L-01	ADS-00	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	PA-01
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00
	USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	SSD-01	PMB-00	G-00	/035W

-----DDDAC1 280635Z /38

R 280636Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1989
 INFO AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
 AMEMBASSY BONN
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
 USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 WARSAW 010279

E.O. 12356: DECL:7/2000
 TAGS: NATO, SR, BK, PL
 SUBJECT: CALLS FOR UNITY IN CONFRONTING
 BOSNIAN SERBS; REQUESTS TIMETABLE FOR QUICKER NATO
 EXPANSION

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CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 WARSAW 10279 01 OF 02 280635Z
 1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 DATE/CASE ID: 27 MAR 2009 200705105

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SUMMARY

2. [REDACTED] STRESSED ON JULY 21 THAT REPEATED BOSNIAN SERB TRANSGRESSIONS COUPLED WITH A LACK OF RESPONSE FROM NATO AND THE UN DEMANDS MORE WESTERN UNITY IN CONFRONTING THE SERBS. [REDACTED] ALSO EXPRESSED HIS DESIRE TO SEE A TIMETABLE FOR QUICKER NATO EXPANSION, AND BRIEFLY DISCUSSED THE POLISH PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. END SUMMARY.

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BOSNIA: THE TIME TO ACT IS NOW

3. WE MET WITH [REDACTED] ON THE EVE OF HIS DEPARTURE ON A MISSION TO EVALUATE HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONS AFTER THE FALL OF SREBRENICA. [REDACTED] REPEATEDLY STRESSED THAT HE BELIEVES DEVELOPMENTS IN BOSNIA ARE AT A CRITICAL POINT, THREATENING NOT ONLY THE FUTURE OF THE BALKANS BUT ALSO THE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY SYSTEM. "THREE YEARS OF NEGOTIATIONS HAVE NOT PRODUCED RESULTS," HE SAID, "BECAUSE THE BOSNIAN SERBS USE THE FOLLOWING TACTICS: THEY SAY THAT THERE IS A BORDER AND THAT THE BORDER CAN'T BE MOVED, BUT THEN THEY KEEP MOVING FORWARD IN 'HALF STEPS.' AND THERE HAS BEEN NO REACTION FROM NATO. THERE MUST BE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT THE BOSNIAN SERBS MUST UNDERSTAND THAT THEIR TACTICS CAN'T CONTINUE."
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 WARSAW 10279 01 OF 02 280635Z
HE APPROVINGLY QUOTED MARGARET THATCHER: "THE TIME FOR BEGGING IS OVER, AND NOW IT IS TIME TO DO SOMETHING."

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4. WHILE IN BOSNIA, [REDACTED] SAID THAT HE PLANS TO GIVE A SHORT PRESS CONFERENCE TO DETAIL HIS FINDINGS, AND LATER HOPES TO WRITE A HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT. IN PARTICULAR, [REDACTED] MENTIONED THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO INVESTIGATE A REPORT THAT DUTCH SOLDIERS IN BOSNIA HAD WITNESSED SERBIAN MASSACRES. [REDACTED] MAY SEND REPRESENTATIVES TO THE NETHERLANDS OR ZAGREB TO INTERVIEW

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THOSE SOLDIERS.

5. [] CLOSED WITH A PLEA FOR U.S. LEADERSHIP IN RALLYING NATO TO PRESENT A UNITED FRONT TOWARD THE BOSNIAN SERBS. HE NOTED THAT HE MIGHT BE WILLING TO WRITE A LETTER TO SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER DETAILING HIS IMPRESSIONS OF THE BOSNIAN SITUATION AFTER HIS RETURN.

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NATO EXPANSION: BETTER SOONER THAN LATER

6. [] URGED THAT THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION PRODUCE A CONCRETE CALENDAR FOR NATO EXPANSION. HE STRESSED THAT THE U.S. SHOULD ACCELERATE THE PROCESS, SINCE PROLONGING POLAND'S ADMISSION TO NATO WILL ONLY HARDEN RUSSIA'S OPPOSITION. [] EMPHASIZED THAT IN HIS VIEW POLAND ALSO NEEDS TO TAKE STEPS TOWARD IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA IN OTHER AREAS (SUCH AS IMPROVING CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION). HE COMPLAINED THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES FOCUS
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PAGE 04 WARSAW 10279 01 OF 02 280635Z
TOO MUCH ON NATO EXPANSION.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

7. [] ADMITTED THAT WHILE FREEDOM UNION (UW) CANDIDATE JACEK KURON'S CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN SLOW IN STARTING, HE BELIEVES THAT IT WILL BEGIN TO PICK UP STEAM IN AUGUST. HE ADDED THAT BY THE FIRST HALF OF SEPTEMBER THE POST-SOLIDARITY CAMP MUST BEGIN TO UNITE, SINCE FIELDING A NUMBER OF DIFFERENT CANDIDATES WILL, LEAD TO A CATASTROPHIC DEFEAT OF THE RIGHT AND CENTER AT THE HANDS OF THE SLD.

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COMMENT

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8. [REDACTED] HAS NO DOUBTS WHO IS TO BLAME FOR THE CURRENT STRIFE IN BOSNIA, AND WE EXPECT THAT HE WILL NOT PULL ANY PUNCHES IN CONDEMNING THE BOSNIAN SERBS.

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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ1115

PAGE 01 WARSAW 10279 02 OF 02 280635Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DODE-00
	SRPP-00	H-01	IMMC-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-06
	L-01	ADS-00	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	PA-01
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00
	USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	SSD-01	PMB-00	G-00	/035W

-----DDDAC3 280635Z /38

R 280636Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1990
 INFO AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
 AMEMBASSY BONN
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
 USMISSION GENEVA

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 WARSAW 010279

E.O. 12356: DECL:7/2000

TAGS: NATO, SR, BK, PL

SUBJECT: [REDACTED] CALLS FOR UNITY IN CONFRONTING
BOSNIAN SERBS; REQUESTS TIMETABLE FOR QUICKER NATO
EXPANSION

B6

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PAGE 02 WARSAW 10279 02 OF 02 280635Z
INDEED, IN A JULY 24 PRESS CONFERENCE IN THE BOSNIAN CITY
OF TUZLA, [REDACTED] ACCUSED THE SERBS OF WIDESPREAD
HUMAN
RIGHTS VIOLATIONS DURING THEIR SEIZURE OF
SREBRENICA.

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9. [REDACTED] PLEA FOR A CLEARER TIMETABLE FOR NATO
EXPANSION REFLECTS A WIDELY SHARED SENTIMENT IN POLISH
SOCIETY.

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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ0227

PAGE 01 USVIEN 02049 01 OF 03 181558Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AF-01	AID-00	BIB-01	CIAE-00
	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	EB-01	FBIE-00	H-01
	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	M-00
	NEA-01	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00	STR-01
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SSD-01	PMB-00	PRME-01	PRMC-01
	DRL-09	G-00	/052W				

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R 181556Z JUL 95
FM USMISSION USVIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0111
INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY AMMAN
SECDEF WASHDC
AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY TUNIS
EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
AMEMBASSY RABAT
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J-5/DDPMA/DDIN/

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 USVIENNA 002049

DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/RPM (SPENCER) AND NEA/RA (JEFFREY)
FROM USDEL OSCE

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PAGE 02 USVIEN 02049 01 OF 03 181558Z

UNCLASSIFIED

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/18/2000

TAGS: OSCE, PREL, PARM, PHUM, XF

SUBJECT: JULY 13 OSCE-NPMS MINISTERS MEETING - CRITICISM OF OSCE

REFS: A) STATE 160571 B) USVIENNA 01834
C) USVIENNA 02012 (NOTAL)

1. PARAGRAPHS CLASSIFIED AS MARKED.

SUMMARY

2. (C) THE OSCE TROIKA MET JULY 13 WITH OFFICIALS FROM THE FIVE NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES (NPMS) OF ALGERIA, EGYPT, ISRAEL, MOROCCO, AND TUNISIA. THEIR MEETING FOLLOWS THE BUDAPEST SUMMIT DECISION TO INTENSIFY DIALOGUE WITH THE NPMS. OFFICIALS FROM ARAB COUNTRIES CRITICIZED THE OSCE FOR YEARS OF EMPTY RHETORIC AND CALLED FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A TRULY MEANINGFUL RELATIONSHIP, SYMBOLIZED BY A CHANGE OF NAME TO "MEDITERRANEAN PARTNERS." ALTHOUGH AGREEING WITH THE U.S. POSITION ON THE SUBSTANCE OF AN OSCE-NPMS RELATIONSHIP, THE SWISS, UK AND SWEDISH DEL ARE WILLING TO ACCOMMODATE A CHANGE OF NAME AS A GESTURE. OTHER MEETING HIGHLIGHTS INCLUDE PLANS FOR FUTURE DISCUSSION WITHIN THE OSCE/NPMS CONTACT GROUP TO DEVELOP A COOPERATION PROGRAM AS WELL AS A SUGGESTION BY THE NPMS THAT THE HUNGARIAN CHAIRMAN-IN-OFFICE (CIO) SUBMIT PROPOSALS TO THE BUDAPEST MINSTERIAL ON THE "ENHANCEMENT OF THE RELATIONSHIP AND STATUS" OF NPMS AND ON "THE EXTENSION OF ITS SCOPE TO JORDAN AND MAURITANIA." (TEXT OF THE OSCE PRESS RELEASE IS IN PARA 10 BELOW.) END SUMMARY.

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READOUT

[REDACTED]

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3. (C) ON JULY 17, [REDACTED] TOLD USDELOFF DE SOTO THAT THE TROIKA (ITALY, HUNGARY, SWITZERLAND) MEETING WITH SENIOR OFFICIALS FROM THE FIVE NPMS HAD BEEN CONFUSED AND NOT WELL PREPARED. THAT SAID, THE ARAB MEMBERS (ESPECIALLY [REDACTED]) MADE FORCEFUL STATEMENTS EXPRESSING GRAVE DISAPPOINTMENT WITH THE OSCE (AND EUROPE GENERALLY) FOR EMPTY WORDS ABOUT

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COOPERATION WITH THE SOUTH MEDITERRANEAN STATES, ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] [REDACTED] FOR 20 YEARS, THE ARABS SAID, THE OSCE HAS EMPLOYED RICH LANGUAGE DESCRIBING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE EURO-MED RELATIONSHIP AND ITS SECURITY IMPLICATIONS, BUT LITTLE OF SUBSTANCE HAS COME OF IT. THE OSCE WAS NOT SOLELY TO BLAME. THE ARAB OFFICIALS NOTED THAT MANY EURO-MED INITIATIVES EXISTED -- THE MEDITERRANEAN FORUM, THE BARCELONA CONFERENCE, ETC. THESE INITIATIVES HAD MODEST ACHIEVEMENTS (E.G., ENVIRONMENTAL COOPERATION), BUT LACKED MEANINGFUL OUTCOMES. (COMMENT: IN A SIGN OF FRUSTRATION, [REDACTED] INDICATED THAT [REDACTED] HAD REFUSED TO ATTEND THE MEETING BECAUSE HE BELIEVED IT WOULD BE BUSINESS AS USUAL. MOROCCO AND ALGERIA WERE REPRESENTED BY LOCAL AMBASSADORS. END COMMENT.)

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4. (C) IN [REDACTED] VIEW, ARAB OFFICIALS DELIVERED TWO -- NOT NECESSARILY COMPATIBLE -- MESSAGES REGARDING THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE OSCE. FIRST, THEY EXPRESSED INTEREST IN DEVELOPING A DEEPER DIALOGUE WITH THE OSCE TO LEARN MORE ABOUT OSCE EXPERIENCES, INSTITUTIONS, AND PROCEDURES. WITH THIS IN MIND, SENIOR NPMS OFFICIALS WOULD MAKE A WORKING VISIT TO VIENNA TO MEET WITH THE DIRECTORS OF THE CPC, ODHIR AND HCNM. SECOND,
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PAGE 04 USVIEN 02049 01 OF 03 181558Z
THEY LOOKED FOR A MORE AMBITIOUS PROGRAM WHICH WOULD LEAD TO AN EXTENSION OF THE OSCE AREA TO THE MEDITERRANEAN, A KIND OF CO-PROSPERITY ZONE. [REDACTED] NOTED THAT NONE OF THE OFFICIALS OFFERED DEVELOPED IDEAS ON HOW THE LATTER MIGHT BE ACCOMPLISHED.

5. (C) [REDACTED] DECLINED TO JOIN ARAB CRITICISM OF THE OSCE OR THE DEBATE ABOUT RECASTING THE NPMS-OSCE RELATIONSHIP, CHOOSING INSTEAD TO COMMENT ON PROGRESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS. HIS REMARKS DEALT WITH ISRAEL'S CONTRIBUTION TO PROCESS THROUGH THE NUMBER OF CONCESSIONS MADE WITHOUT POLITICAL OR MILITARY PRESSURE. (COMMENT: A [REDACTED] TOLD USDEL THAT ALGERIA INITIALLY HELD UP THE FINAL PRESS RELEASE BECAUSE OF LANGUAGE REFERRING TO ENCOURAGING DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MEPP. END COMMENT.) ALL NPMS OFFICIALS WERE HARSH IN THEIR CRITICISM OF EUROPE AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S POLICY TOWARDS BOSNIA, ACCORDING TO [REDACTED]

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6. (C) [REDACTED] HANDLED THE ESPECIALLY

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AWKWARD MEETING WELL, ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] ALL TROIKA MEETINGS WERE DIFFICULT SINCE THERE WAS NO WAY FOR ANY TROIKA MEMBER TO SPEAK FOR THE OSCE, BUT THIS MEETING WAS PARTICULARLY TROUBLING. [REDACTED] WAS POLITE, FRIENDLY, AND OPEN, BUT NON-COMMITTAL; HE STUCK TO THE BUDAPEST DECISION LANGUAGE. THERE

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PAGE 01 USVIEN 02049 02 OF 03 181559Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AF-01	AID-00	BIB-01	CIAE-00
	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	EB-01	FBIE-00	H-01
	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	M-00
	NEA-01	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00	STR-01
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SSD-01	PMB-00	PRME-01	PRMC-01
	DRL-09	G-00	/052W				

-----DA91B5 181602Z /38

R 181556Z JUL 95
FM USMISSION USVIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0112
INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY AMMAN
SECDEF WASHDC
AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY TUNIS
EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE

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AMEMBASSY RABAT
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J-5/DDPMA/DDIN/

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 USVIENNA 002049

DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/RPM (SPENCER) AND NEA/RA (JEFFREY)

FROM USDEL OSCE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USVIEN 02049 02 OF 03 181559Z

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/18/2000
TAGS: OSCE, PREL, PARM, PHUM, XF
SUBJECT: JULY 13 OSCE-NPMS MINISTERS MEETING - CRITICISM OF OSCE

WAS GENERAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE MEDS' PERCEPTION THAT EUROPE WAS CLOSING ITS BORDERS TO THE NPMS ON A NUMBER OF FRONTS (EU TRADE BARRIERS; INVESTMENT IN MANUFACTURING WAS GOING TO CEE AND ASIA; RESTRICTIONS ON GUEST WORKERS AND MIGRATION). THE PROBLEMS WERE GREAT, BUT STEMMED FROM INTERNAL FACTORS, NOT THE LACK OF COOPERATION WITH EUROPE, [REDACTED] OPINED.

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WHAT'S IN A NAME? CHANGE BUT CLARIFY

7. (C) [REDACTED] SAID THAT THE NPMS WOULD LOOK TO THE QUESTION OF THE CHANGE OF NAME (I.E., FROM NPMS TO MEDITERRANEAN PARTNERS) AS A TRUE MEASURE OF THE OSCE'S READINESS TO DEPART FROM THE PAST. THE NAME WAS WRONG AND A CONTINUING INSULT. THE U.S. WAS UNDERSTOOD TO BE THE VILLIAN ON THIS QUESTION, HE SAID. [REDACTED] POINTED OUT THAT THE U.S. AND OTHERS OPPOSED A NAME CHANGE TO AVOID CONFUSION ON THE NPMS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE OSCE. THE U.S. DID NOT SEE THE NPMS BECOMING OSCE MEMBERS AND DID NOT WANT TO SEE NPMS ISSUES INTRUDING ON OSCE ACTIVITIES. THERE SHOULD BE NO ROUTINE ACCESS TO THE PERMANENT COUNCIL OR OTHER DECISION MAKING BODIES. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE WERE A NUMBER OF SPECIFIC AREAS WHERE NPMS WERE WELCOME TO PARTICIPATE AND CONTRIBUTE. IN GENERAL, HOWEVER, ONLY OSCE MEMBER STATES HAD RIGHT TO RAISE ISSUES REGARDING THE NPMS AREA IN THE DELIBERATIVE BODIES.

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PAGE 01 THESSA 00202 01 OF 03 311932Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00
	SRPP-00	EB-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-06	LAB-01
	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01
	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00
	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00
	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00	/029W			

-----DEB817 311942Z /38

P 311849Z JUL 95
 FM AMCONSUL THESSALONIKI
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0000
 INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
 USLO SKOPJE
 AMEMBASSY ANKARA
 AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
 AMEMBASSY BONN
 AMEMBASSY TIRANA
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 THESSALONIKI 0202

DEPT FOR EUR/SE; ALSO FOR EUR/SCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/31/00
 TAGS: PREL, PHUM, ZL, GR
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN GREEKS DOUBT BOSNIA WAR WILL SPREAD-
 WORRY ABOUT GERMAN AND TURKISH INVOLVEMENT

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PAGE 02 THESSA 00202 01 OF 03 311932Z
 1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

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SUMMARY

2. POLITICAL LEADERS FROM NORTHERN GREECE ARE DISTURBED ABOUT WHAT THEY PERCEIVE TO BE THE WEST'S BIAS TOWARDS "THE MUSLIMS" IN BOSNIA, BUT SEE LITTLE IMMEDIATE DANGER OF THE WAR SPREADING TOWARDS GREECE. THEY EXPRESS PREDICTABLE FEARS OVER TURKEY'S ROLE IN THE CONFLICT, AND STRONG SUSPICION OF GERMANY'S EMERGING ROLE IN THE BALKANS. THERE IS NEAR-UNANIMOUS SUPPORT AMONG OUR INTERLOCUTORS FOR ENDING THE GREEK EMBARGO OF FYROM IN EXCHANGE FOR THE CONCESSIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION IN THE "MINI-PACKAGE." THE EXCEPTION WAS BY THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SO-CALLED "MACEDONIAN" MINORITY, WHICH FEARS AN ESSENTIALLY ECONOMIC COMPROMISE WILL LEAVE THIS GROUP VULNERABLE TO CONTINUED POLITICAL OPPRESSION BY THE GOG.

SERBS JUSTIFIED; THE WEST IS BIASED

3. CONVERSATIONS IN LATE JULY [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] REVEALED THAT THE U.S. AND NATO ARE CONSIDERED TO OPENLY FAVOR THE MUSLIMS IN THE WAR IN BOSNIA. REPRESENTATIVES FROM ALL POLITICAL PARTIES HERE TOLD US THAT "THE WEST" IS IGNORING HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES AND AGGRESSION BY THE
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 THESSA 00202 01 OF 03 311932Z
BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT, ENCOURAGING MORE ATTACKS AND PROLONGING THE WAR. WE HAVE REPEATEDLY EMPHASIZED TO OUR INTERLOCUTORS THE FACT THAT THE AGGRESSION IN BOSNIA HAS COME PREDOMINANTLY FROM THE BOSNIAN SERB SIDE, AND THAT BY OVERRUNNING UN-PROTECTED SAFE HAVENS THE SERBS HAD CREATED A HUMANITARIAN TRAGEDY AND VIOLATED UN RESOLUTIONS ON BOSNIA.

4. IN NORTHERN GREECE, HOME TO MANY DESCENDANTS OF THE 1.2 MILLION GREEK REFUGEES RESETTLED DURING THE GREEK-

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TURKISH EXCHANGE OF POPULATIONS IN 1923, TALK OF WAR-TIME ATROCITIES EVOKES TRAUMATIC FAMILIAL MEMORIES OF WAR-TIME ATROCITIES AT THE HANDS OF THE TURKS. IN THIS CONTEXT, THE BOSNIAN-SERB TAKEOVER OF THE SREBRENICA AND ZEPA SAFE HAVENS IS DEEMED BY MANY GREEKS WE SPOKE TO HAVE BEEN A LOGICAL MOVE TO COUNTER MUSLIM "TERRORIST ATTACKS" EMANATING FROM THERE. SOME PROMINENT GREEK ACADEMICS HAVE TOLD US THAT PARTITION IS THE ONLY POSSIBLE SOLUTION TO THE BOSNIA QUESTION; THEY CITE THE RELATIVE SUCCESS OF THE GREEK-TURKISH EXCHANGE OF POPULATIONS IN 1923.

BEWARE OF THE TURKS...

5. OUR NORTHERN GREEK CONTACTS ARE DEEPLY SUSPICIOUS OF TURKEY'S ROLE IN UNPROFOR AND ITS EFFORTS TO FORM ALLIANCES WITH ALBANIA, FYROM, AND THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT. [REDACTED] SAID CREATION OF A TURKISH-BACKED "MUSLIM STATE" IN THE
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 THESSA 00202 01 OF 03 311932Z
FORMER YUGOSLAVIA COULD HAVE DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES FOR THE REGION'S STABILITY. BOSNIAN PRESIDENT IZETBEGOVIC, HE SAID, HAS MODERATED HIS TONES SOMEWHAT OF LATE, BUT HIS PREWAR SPEECHES AND DECLARATIONS SHOW CLEARLY HIS RADICAL, ANTI-WESTERN PHILOSOPHY. SIGNS THAT THE OIC STATES AND THAT TURKEY AND IRAN IN PARTICULAR ARE SUPPORTING THE MUSLIMS, HE SAID, COULD PORTEND DISASTER FOR THE REGION.

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NNNNPTQ8448

CONFIDENTIAL PTQ8448

PAGE 01 THESSA 00202 02 OF 03 311934Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00
	SRPP-00	EB-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-06	LAB-01
	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01
	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00
	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00
	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00	/029W			

-----DEB7D2 311935Z /38

P 311849Z JUL 95
 FM AMCONSUL THESSALONIKI
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0000
 AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
 INFO USLO SKOPJE
 AMEMBASSY ANKARA
 AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
 AMEMBASSY BONN
 AMEMBASSY TIRANA
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 THESSALONIKI 0202

DEPT FOR EUR/SE; ALSO FOR EUR/SCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, ZL, GR

SUBJECT: NORTHERN GREEKS DOUBT BOSNIA WAR WILL SPREAD-
WORRY ABOUT GERMAN AND TURKISH INVOLVEMENT

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PAGE 02 THESSA 00202 02 OF 03 311934Z

...AND THE GERMANS

6. MORE SURPRISING, PERHAPS, IS THE DEGREE OF
SUSPICION WE FOUND ABOUT GERMANY'S NEW MILITARY ROLE IN
THE BOSNIA CONFLICT. GERMANY, WHOSE BRUTAL OCCUPATION
OF MUCH OF GREECE DURING WWII IS STILL DEEPLY INGRAINED
IN THE GREEK PSYCHE, HAS LONG BEEN HELD RESPONSIBLE
HERE FOR THE BREAKUP OF YUGOSLAVIA THROUGH ITS
PREMATURE RECOGNITION OF CROATIA AND SLOVENIA. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] COMMENTED THAT THE U.S. IS "NAIVE" IF IT
DOES NOT REALIZE THAT GERMANY IS SEEKING TO DOMINATE
THE BALKANS, TO THE DETRIMENT OF REGIONAL STABILITY AND
U.S. AND GREEK INTERESTS. (IRONICALLY, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] GAVE US MUCH THE SAME
LINE ON THE GERMAN ROLE IN THE BALKANS.) [REDACTED]
SAID FOR THAT REASON, THE U.S. SHOULD SEEK TO RENEW ITS
HISTORIC FRIENDSHIP WITH SERBIA, AND TAKE A MORE
OBJECTIVE VIEW OF THE SITUATION.

SPREAD OF THE WAR UNLIKELY, BUT NOT IMPOSSIBLE

7. DESPITE THE FACT THAT BOSNIA IS ONLY ABOUT SIX
HOURS BY CAR FROM THESSALONIKI, NORTHERNERS TODAY
EXPRESS LITTLE CONCERN THAT THE WAR WILL SPREAD TO
GREECE. [REDACTED] SAID THAT KOSOVO IS THE REGION
MOST LIKELY TO CAUSE AN EXPLOSION, BUT THAT BOTH THE

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SERBS AND THE KOSOVAR ALBANIANS REALIZE THAT A WAR
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PAGE 03 THESSA 00202 02 OF 03 311934Z
THERE WOULD BE "SUICIDAL" FOR ALL PARTIES. KOSOVAR
ALBANIAN PRESIDENT RUGOVA, HE SAID, IS SERIOUS AND
SMART ENOUGH TO KNOW THE LIMITS OF THE AUTONOMY HE
COULD SEEK WITHOUT PROVOKING A SERB BACKLASH.

8. WHILE NORTHERN GREEKS ARE STILL RELATIVELY
COMPLACENT ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF THE SPILL-OVER OF
THE BOSNIA CONFLICT TOWARDS GREECE, THERE ARE
INDICATIONS THAT NORTHERN GREEKS ARE NOW CASTING MORE
NERVOUS GLANCES TO THE NORTH. IN A JULY 23 INTERVIEW
IN THE DAILY "MAKEDONIA," PERIFERIARCH KOSTAS TSIMAS
OUTLINED A WORLD WAR III-TYPE SCENARIO FOR KOSOVO IN
WHICH GREECE, SERBIA, BULGARIA AND RUSSIA JOIN FORCES
TO OPPOSE ALBANIA, THE KOSOVAR ALBANIANS, AND TURKEY.
RENEWED FIGHTING IN BOSNIA HAS GENERATED TALK IN THE
PRESS ABOUT READYING REFUGEE CAMPS FOR UP TO 100,000.
(NOTE: WE HAVE SEEN NO CONFIRMATION OF THIS RUMOR. END
NOTE.)

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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ8134

PAGE 01 THESSA 00202 03 OF 03 311652Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00
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	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01
	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00
	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00
	PRME-01	DRI-09	G-00	/029W			

-----DEAD3F 311652Z /38

P 311849Z JUL 95
 FM AMCONSUL THESSALONIKI
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8264
 AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
 INFO USLO SKOPJE
 AMEMBASSY ANKARA
 AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
 AMEMBASSY BONN
 AMEMBASSY TIRANA
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 THESSALONIKI 0202

DEPT FOR EUR/SE; ALSO FOR EUR/SCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PREL, PHUM, ZL, GR
 SUBJECT: NORTHERN GREEKS DOUBT BOSNIA WAR WILL SPREAD-
 WORRY ABOUT GERMAN AND TURKISH INVOLVEMENT
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PAGE 02 THESSA 00202 03 OF 03 311652Z

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TIME TO LIFT THE FYROM EMBARGO

9. NORTHERN GREEK POLITICIANS EXPRESS NEAR-UNANIMOUS SUPPORT FOR LIFTING THE GREEK EMBARGO OF FYROM IN EXCHANGE FOR THE TYPES OF CONCESSIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION IN THE "MINI-PACKAGE." MOST FIND IT DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND WHY PRESIDENT GLIGOROV HAS BECOME SO INTRANSIGENT. ONLY [REDACTED], A LEADING ACTIVIST FOR THE SLAVOPHONE (SO-CALLED "MACEDONIAN") MINORITY IN GREECE, EXPRESSED DISAPPROVAL. HE BELIEVES THAT A "MINI-PACKAGE" DOES NOT GO FAR ENOUGH: BY ESSENTIALLY MAKING A DEAL TO FACILITATE ECONOMIC RELATIONS, THE GOG KEEPS OPEN THE DOOR TO RENEWED POLITICAL INTIMIDATION OF THE MINORITY. IN THE MAIN, HOWEVER, NORTHERN POLITICIANS, INCLUDING [REDACTED] TOLD US THAT THE GOG HAD MADE ITS POINT WITH THE EMBARGO, AND THAT IT WAS NOW WORKING AGAINST GREECE'S ECONOMIC INTERESTS. IN ADDITION, ACCORDING TO PROMINENT NORTHERN GREEK BUSINESSMEN, GREECE COULD EASILY INFLUENCE FYROM BOTH ECONOMICALLY AND POLITICALLY BY MAKING INVESTMENTS IN SEVERAL KEY INDUSTRIES. HE SAID GREEK BUSINESSMEN--HIMSELF INCLUDED--WOULD BE WILLING TO MAKE SUCH INVESTMENTS.

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COMMENT

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PAGE 03 THESSA 00202 03 OF 03 311652Z

10. ALTHOUGH GREECE'S CLOSE TIES WITH SERBIA PROPER HAVE BEEN STRAINED RECENTLY, THERE IS NO DOUBT WHERE GREEK SYMPATHIES LIE IN THE CONFLICT IN BOSNIA. KALAMARIA MAYOR LAZARIDES (PASOK) DELIVERED YET ANOTHER CONVOY OF HUMANITARIAN GOODS FOR PALE--HIS THIRD, BY OUR COUNT--THE WEEK AFTER THE BOSNIAN SERBS OVERRAN THE SREBRENICA SAFE HAVEN. HE RECEIVED NO CRITICISM FROM ANY QUARTER FOR HIS INITIATIVE OR EVEN FOR HIS TIMING.

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WHILE CONCERN OF SPILL-OVER OF THE CONFLICTS IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA DO NOT DIRECTLY CONCERN MOST NORTHERN GREEKS WE SPOKE WITH, MOST NORTHERNERS NOW FAVOR A LIFTING OF THE GREEK EMBARGO OF FYROM STRICTLY OUT OF ECONOMIC SELF INTEREST. A SECONDARY CONSIDERATION, LESS OFTEN EXPRESSED, IS THE REALIZATION THAT AN ECONOMICALLY VIABLE FYROM IS OF STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE TO GREECE.

11. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

HUGHES

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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ5814

PAGE 01 THE HA 03855 01 OF 02 171540Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00
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	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00
	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00

/027W

-----DA2696 171540Z /38

O 171540Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8994
 INFO NATO EU COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
 SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
 USDELTC BRUSSELS
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
 USCINCEUR INTEL VAIHINGEN GE
 JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
 CINC INTEL SUPPORT HEIDELBERG GE
 DIA WASHDC//J2-M//

RELEASED IN PART
B6

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 THE HAGUE 003855

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/13/05
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 THE HA 03855 01 OF 02 171540Z

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 13 MAR 2009 200705105

UNCLASSIFIED

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TAGS: PREL, MARR, MOPS, BK, NL
SUBJECT: DUTCH DETERMINED TO STAY IN SREBRENICA
- UNTIL WOUNDED DEPART, UNPROFOR GIVES ORDER

REFS: A) THE HAGUE 3833, B) THE HAGUE 3804
- C) THE HAGUE 3786, D) THE HAGUE 3780
- E) ZAGREB 2647

1. CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. DUTCH FORCES IN SREBRENICA DO NOT INTEND TO LEAVE THE FORMER SAFE-AREA UNTIL ALL WOUNDED REFUGEES ARE EVACUATED AND UNPROFOR GIVES THEM THE FORMAL ORDER TO DEPART. CONTRARY TO PERSISTENT RUMORS EMANATING FROM U.N. HEADQUARTERS (REF E), THE DUTCH HAVE NOT BEEN GIVEN ORDERS FROM THE HAGUE TO DEPART, AND HAVE BEEN CONSISTENT IN THEIR DETERMINATION TO STAY ON IN SREBRENICA UNTIL THE LAST OF THE MUSLIM REFUGEES HAS DEPARTED (REFS A-D). DESPITE CONCERN OVER THE SAFETY OF DUTCH FORCES, THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT AND PARLIAMENT BELIEVE THE DUTCH FORCES SHOULD STAY ON UNTIL THEY NO LONGER HAVE A MISSION TO FULFILL. LOOKING BEYOND SREBRENICA, THE DUTCH HAVE LAUNCHED AN INTER-MINISTERIAL REVIEW OF OPTIONS WITH EVERYTHING ON THE TABLE. MFA SOURCES INDICATE, HOWEVER, THAT THE DUTCH ARE LIKELY TO FAVOR STRENGTHENING
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 THE HA 03855 01 OF 02 171540Z
UNPROFOR IN CENTRAL BOSNIA AND SARAJEVO. END
SUMMARY.

DUTCH STAYING TO BITTER END

3. DUTCH MILITARY AND MFA SOURCES CONFIRM THAT DUTCH TROOPS REMAINING IN POTOCARI WILL NOT DEPART

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UNTIL THE LAST OF THE WOUNDED REFUGEES HAS BEEN EVACUATED AND UNPROFOR GIVES THE DUTCH THE FORMAL ORDER TO DEPART. CONTRARY TO PERSISTENT RUMORS EMERGING FROM U.N. HEADQUARTERS, THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT HAS NO INTENTION OF ISSUING ORDERS TO WITHDRAW UNTIL ALL REFUGEES HAVE BEEN EVACUATED. SUCH A MOVE WOULD BE POLITICALLY UNTENABLE IN THE HAGUE, WHERE SUPPORT IN PARLIAMENT AND THE PUBLIC REMAINS STRONG FOR EFFORTS TO ALLEVIATE THE PLIGHT OF THE DISPLACED BOSNIANS. REFLECTING THIS CONCERN, DUTCH FOREIGN ASSISTANCE MINISTER PRONK VISITED BOSNIA OVER THE WEEKEND AND PLEDGED 5 MILLION DOLLARS FOR EMERGENCY HUMANITARIAN RELIEF. THE DUTCH HAVE ALSO BEEN PRESSING TO HAVE THE RED CROSS OR OTHER NGO PRESENT IN BRATUNAC WHERE BOSNIAN MUSLIM MEN ARE BEING HELD AND "SCREENED."

4. THE DUTCH HAVE RECEIVED INDICATIONS FROM GENERAL MLADIC THAT THEY WOULD LIKELY BE ABLE TO DEPART BY THE JULY 22 OR 23. FOR THE MOMENT, THEY HAVE BEEN TOLD THEY WOULD BE ABLE TO DEPART WITH THEIR EQUIPMENT, BUT THEY RECOGNIZE THIS COULD
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PAGE 04 THE HA 03855 01 OF 02 171540Z
CHANGE.

WHITHER UNPROFOR: ALL OPTIONS ON TABLE

5. THE DUTCH HAVE BEGUN AN INTERAGENCY REVIEW OF OPTIONS REGARDING THE FUTURE OF UNPROFOR WITH "ALL OPTIONS ON THE TABLE." FOREIGN MINISTER VAN MIERLO AND DEFENSE MINISTER VOORHOEVE WILL MEET IN THE AFTERNOON JULY 18, AND PRESENT RECOMMENDATIONS TO PM KOK EARLY JULY 19. WHILE OUR WORKING-LEVEL CONTACTS DID NOT WANT TO PREJUDGE THE OUTCOME OF THESE MEETINGS, THEY SUGGESTED THAT THE NETHERLANDS WAS LIKELY TO ADVOCATE REFOCUSING AND REGROUPING UNPROFOR IN CENTRAL BOSNIA AND SARAJEVO. "SARAJEVO IS KEY," AN OFFICIAL IN THE MFA'S ATLANTIC SECURITY DIVISION CONCLUDED. IN A MEETING WITH THE AMBASSADOR LAST WEEK, [REDACTED]

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INDICATED THAT HE BELIEVED UNPROFOR STILL HAD A VITAL ROLE TO PLAY, AND THAT ITS EFFORTS SHOULD FOCUS ON CENTRAL BOSNIA.

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NNNNPTQ5815

CONFIDENTIAL PTQ5815

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00
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	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00
	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00

/027W

-----DA269C 171540Z /38

O 171540Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8995
INFO NATO EU COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
USDELMC BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB

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AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USCINCEUR INTEL VAIHINGEN GE
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
CINC INTEL SUPPORT HEIDELBERG GE
DIA WASHDC//J2-M//

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 THE HAGUE 003855

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/13/05
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 THE HA 03855 02 OF 02 171540Z
TAGS: PREL, MARR, MOPS, BK, NL
SUBJECT: DUTCH DETERMINED TO STAY IN SREBRENICA
- UNTIL WOUNDED DEPART, UNPROFOR GIVES ORDER

DUTCHBAT REPLACEMENTS AWAIT NEW ASSIGNMENT

6. THE TWO COMPANIES OF TROOPS THAT HAD BEEN SCHEDULED TO REPLACE THE FORCES IN SREBRENICA THIS MONTH ARE NOW BEING HELD IN THE NETHERLANDS PENDING A NEW ASSIGNMENT IN CENTRAL BOSNIA -- POSSIBLY IN VITEZ. AS SOON AS THEY HAVE NEW ORDERS, THEY WILL BE PREPARED TO DEPART AT SHORT NOTICE. ONE COMPANY OF THE MECHANIZED INFANTRY UNIT HAS ALREADY ROTATED WITH THE PREVIOUS UNIT. THE DUTCHBAT FORCES NOW IN SREBRENICA WILL COMPLETE THEIR TOUR AND DEPART BOSNIA AFTER THEY HAVE CONCLUDED THEIR MISSION IN POTOCARI.

DUTCH OPPOSE NATO MINISTERIAL ON BOSNIA

7. THE DUTCH REACTED NEGATIVELY TO A TURKISH PROPOSAL TO HOLD A NATO MINISTERIAL MEETING ON

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BOSNIA THE DAY BEFORE THE LONDON MEETING. THEY SAW
LITTLE VALUE IN SUCH A MEETING, WHICH THEY BELIEVE
IS MOTIVATED BY TURKEY'S DESIRE TO WANT TO BE SEEN
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 THE HA 03855 02 OF 02 171540Z
AS DOING MORE TO DEFEND THE MUSLIMS.
8. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

DORNBUSH

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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ6624

PAGE 01 THE HA 03982 241329Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	SRPP-00	FBIE-00
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	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00
	USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/025W

-----DC5B68 241330Z /38

O 241318Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
 TO JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9071
 INFO USDELTC BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE
 USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
 NATO EU COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

RELEASED IN PART
B6

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 003982

E.O 12356: DECL: 7/24/05
 TAGS: PREL, MARR, MOPS, BK, SR, NL
 SUBJECT: DUTCH AGREE WITH FOLLOW-UP TO LONDON
 - MEETING

REF: A) STATE 176090, B) STATE 176095

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 THE HA 03982 241329Z

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1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. WE DELIVERED REF A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO PM KOK AND REP B TALKING POINTS TO MOD AND MFA OFFICIALS AT OOB JULY 24. BOTH

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SAID THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT AGREES WITH THE OVERALL APPROACH OUTLINED IN OUR TALKING POINTS. THE DUTCH QUESTIONED BOTH WHETHER CONSENSUS COULD BE REACHED ON THE DUAL KEY ISSUE AS OUTLINED BY THE U.S. AND WHETHER THE POLITICAL WILL TO CONTINUE AN AIR CAMPAIGN WOULD, IN FACT, SURVIVE FURTHER HOSTAGE TAKING.

[REDACTED] SAID THE DUTCH, TO FURTHER CONSENSUS, MAY JUST KEEP THEIR CONCERNS ON THESE ISSUES TO THEMSELVES DURING TODAY'S (JULY 24) MEETINGS IN BRUSSELS. END SUMMARY.

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RESERVATIONS ON PERSISTENCE OF AUTHORITY

3. ON THE ISSUE OF "PERSISTENCE OF AUTHORITY" TO CONTINUE AN AIR CAMPAIGN, THE DUTCH HAVE RESERVATIONS STEMMING FROM THEIR RECENT EXPERIENCE IN SREBRENICA. AS BSA TROOPS ENTERED
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PAGE 03 THE HA 03982 241329Z
SREBRENICA LAST WEEK, DUTCH DEFMIN VOORHOEVE REQUESTED THE CANCELLATION OF A THIRD NATO AIR STRIKE IN RESPONSE TO SERB THREATS TO KILL DUTCH HOSTAGES. NONETHELESS, THE DUTCH RECOGNIZE THAT FOR A DETERRENT TO HAVE ANY VALUE, A PLEDGE TO PERSIST WITH AN AIR CAMPAIGN HAS TO BE MADE. THE GON MAY, THEREFORE, SUPPORT SUCH AUTHORITY IN PRINCIPLE, BUT OFFICIALS DOUBT WHETHER ALLIED SOLIDARITY WOULD SURVIVE SIMILAR THREATS TO

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JNPROFOR HOSTAGES. MOD OFFICIALS SAID THEY WERE NOT YET SURE WHERE VOORHOEVE WOULD COME DOWN ON THE ISSUE. IN ANY EVENT, THE DUTCH STRESSED THAT ACTIONS TO MINIMIZE THE RISK OF HOSTAGE TAKING BEFORE AIR STRIKES -- SUCH AS REGROUPING AND CONSOLIDATING UNPROFOR TROOPS -- WOULD EASE TROOP CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES' CONCERNS.

CONSENSUS DIFFICULT ON DUAL KEY

4. [] SAID THAT FM VAN MIERLO NOW FAVORED ELIMINATING THE DUAL KEY, OR AT LEAST LEAVING THE UN KEY TURNED ON, AS SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER HAD DESCRIBED IT FOLLOWING THE LONDON MEETING. REALIZING THAT MANY TROOP CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES WERE RELUCTANT TO ELIMINATE THE UN KEY, VAN MIERLO BELIEVED AN ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISE COULD BE DELEGATION OF AUTHORITY FOR THAT KEY TO GENERAL SMITH IN SARAJEVO, THUS ELIMINATING AT LEAST THE POLITICAL SIDE OF THE UN FROM
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PAGE 04 THE HA 03982 241329Z
DECISIONMAKING. MOD OFFICIALS ALSO SUPPORTED SUCH A COMPROMISE. THEY STRESSED THAT THE U.N. HAD TO BE INVOLVED BECAUSE OF THE LINK TO TROOPS ON THE GROUND, BUT THERE WAS A CLEAR NEED TO STREAMLINE PROCEDURES FOR QUICKER RESPONSES.
5. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
KLOSSON

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PTQ8980

RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

CONFIDENTIAL PTQ8980

PAGE 01 STOCKH 04476 01 OF 02 271504Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00
	SRPP-00	FBIE-00	H-01	IMMC-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00
	IO-06	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NRRC-00	NSAE-00
	OIC-02	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00
	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01
	SSD-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/045W		

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O 271505Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4747
 INFO HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT IMMEDIATE
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0012
 USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
 NSC WASHDC PRIORITY
 SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY VILNIUS
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY TALLINN
 EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
 DIA WASHDC
 AMEMBASSY RIGA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 STOCKHOLM 004476

EUR FOR ASST/SEC HOLBROOKE AND DAS FRASURE

NSC FOR VERSHBOW

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STOCKH 04476 01 OF 02 271504Z

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 26 JUL 2020
 DATE/CASE ID: 27 MAR 2009 200705105

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

ALSO FOR EUR/NB AND EUR/SCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, MARR, NATO, BK, UN, SW

SUBJECT: SWEDEN--BOSNIA AND DOLE BILL: UNFORTUNATE, BUT
- MAY PUT PRESSURE ON SERBS

REF: STATE 179067

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: SWEDEN'S ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER HAS
PUBLICLY CRITICIZED THE DOLE BILL AND EXPRESSED OPPOSITION
TO ANY UNILATERAL LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO. [REDACTED]

B1

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] MEANWHILE, THE GOS HAS ANNOUNCED
THAT IT WILL CONTRIBUTE ABOUT USD 3 MILLION TO THE
FINANCING OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE. END SUMMARY.

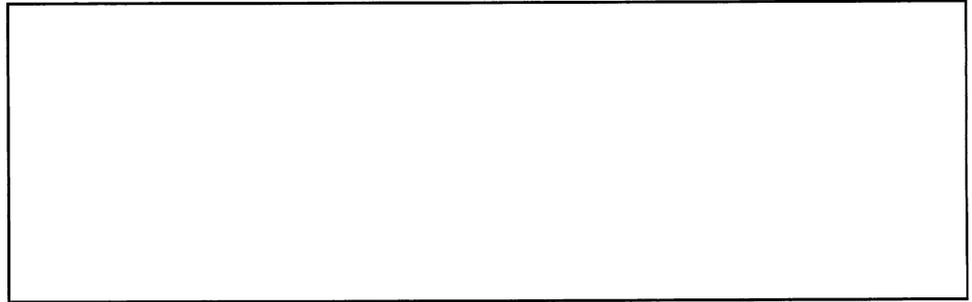
POSSIBLE BENEFIT OF DOLE BILL, PROVIDED NO LIFT OCCURS

[REDACTED]

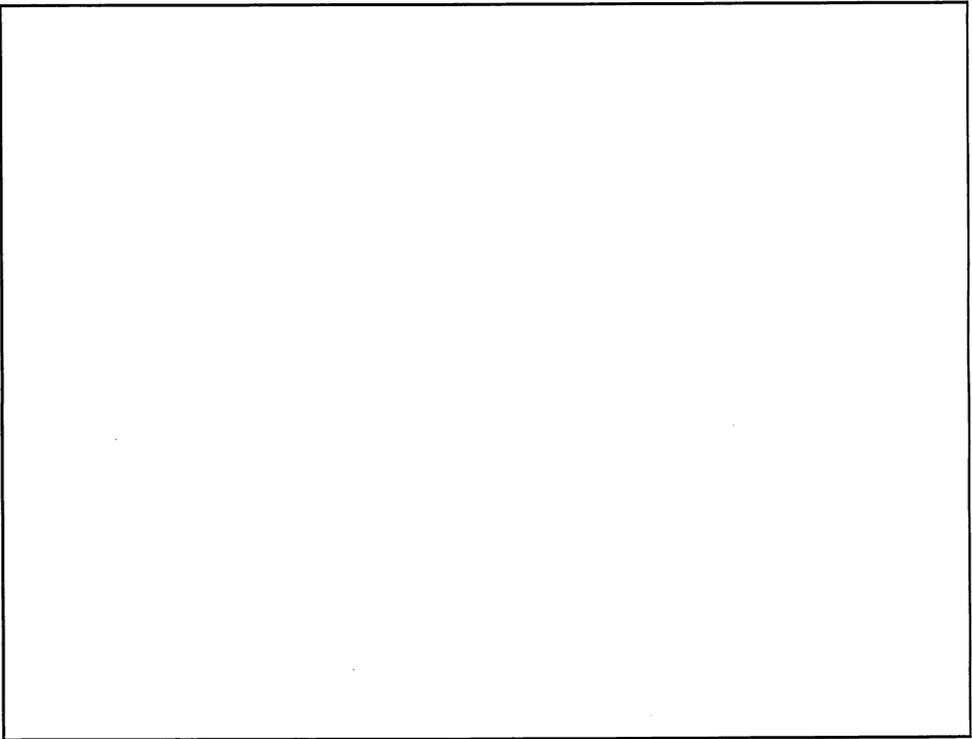
B1

[REDACTED] ACTING FOREIGN
MINISTER MATS HELLSTROM PUBLICLY OFFERED A SIMILAR LINE IN
AN INTERVIEW BROADCAST ON SWEDISH RADIO LATER ON
JULY 27. HELLSTROM WARNED LISTENERS OF THE CONSEQUENCES
OF WIDENED FIGHTING IF THE EMBARGO WERE LIFTED. HE ALSO
ANNOUNCED THAT SWEDEN WOULD CONTRIBUTE SEK 22 MILLION
(ABOUT USD 3 MILLION) TO THE FINANCING OF THE RAPID

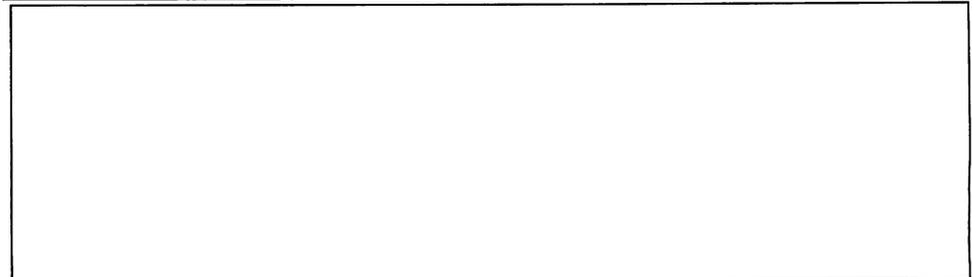
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REACTION FORCE.

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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ8981

PAGE 01 STOCKH 04476 02 OF 02 271504Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00
	SRPP-00	FBIE-00	H-01	IMMC-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00
	IO-06	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NRRC-00	NSAE-00
	OIC-02	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00
	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01
	SSD-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/045W		

-----DD9D17 271504Z /38

O 271505Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4748
INFO HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT IMMEDIATE
JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0013
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
NSC WASHDC PRIORITY
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY VILNIUS
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY TALLINN

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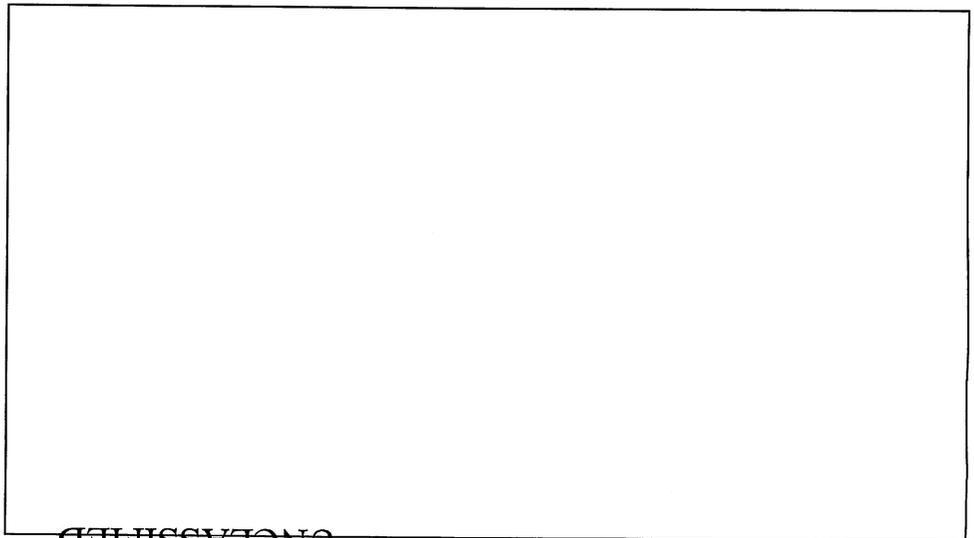
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JOHNSON

10. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.



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PAGE 01 STOCKH 04277 01 OF 02 191325Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	INL-01	OASY-00	SRPP-00
	EB-01	FBIE-00	INLB-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08
	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01
	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00
	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00
	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00	/033W			

-----DAE7E8 191325Z /38

O 191325Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4672
 INFO AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE
 HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT IMMEDIATE
 USCINCEUR INTEL VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
 USEUCOMAIDES VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
 DIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0006
 SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY TALLINN PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY VILNIUS PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY RIGA PRIORITY
 EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE

RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 STOCKHOLM 004277

EUR FOR ASST/SEC HOLBROOKE AND DAS FRASURE

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PAGE 02 STOCKH 04277 01 OF 02 191325Z
NSC FOR VERSHBOW

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 18 JUL 2020
 DATE/CASE ID: 13 MAR 2009 200705105

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LSO FOR EUR/NB AND EUR/SCE

I.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: MARR, PREL, PHUM, PINR, BK, SW
SUBJECT: SWEDISH AGENDA FOR LONDON MEETING ON BOSNIA:
DRAW A CREDIBLE LINE AND THEN DEFEND IT

REF: A) STOCKHOLM 4261; B) LONDON 10093

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: SWEDEN WILL URGE PARTICIPANTS AT THE JULY 21 LONDON MEETING TO ESTABLISH A CREDIBLE LINE AGAINST BOSNIAN SERB AGGRESSION, AND THEN STICK TO IT. THE GOS WILL FIRMLY SUPPORT ANY COMMON POSITION AGREED TO BY BRITAIN, FRANCE AND OTHER UNPROFOR PLAYERS AS LONG AS IT IS BACKED BY A U.S. COMMITMENT. EU NEGOTIATOR BILDT IS "NOT PESSIMISTIC" ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR REACHING AGREEMENT ON MUTUAL RECOGNITION AND SUSPENSION OF SANCTIONS. END SUMMARY.

3. ON JULY 19, [REDACTED] PROVIDED CHARGE AND POLICONS WITH STATUS OF MFA PLANNING FOR THE JULY 21 LONDON MEETING ON BOSNIA. HE EMPHASIZED THE FOLLOWING THEMES:

THE MILITARY AGENDA

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-- SWEDEN SEES THE MILITARY AGENDA IN LONDON AS 1) WHAT TO DO WITH THE EASTERN ENCLAVES, AND 2) WHERE TO DRAW THE LINE IN THE SAND.

-- THE GOS WILL SUPPORT THAT LINE BEING DRAWN EITHER IN GORAZDE OR IN SARAJEVO ("FRENCH" OR "BRITISH" OPTIONS), SO LONG AS THAT LINE IS JOINTLY AGREED TO BY UNPROFOR PLAYERS AND BACKED UP BY THE UNITED STATES.

-- SWEDEN DOES NOT BELIEVE IT FEASIBLE OR ADVISABLE

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O ATTEMPT TO RE-TAKE SREBRENICA. HOWEVER, SWEDEN AND/OR OTHERS) MAY PROPOSE A "NEW CONCEPT" FOR THE ENCLAVES AS "DEMILITARIZED ZONES" OR OTHER CHARACTERIZATION THAT DOES NOT CONCEDE POSSESSION OF THE ENCLAVES TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS.

- A SPECIAL COMMITMENT IS NEEDED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL, AND PARTICULARLY THE PERMANENT MEMBERS, TO ESTABLISHING A CLEAR UNITED NATIONS POLICY ON WHAT TO DO IN BOSNIA.

-- SWEDEN WELCOMES THE FRENCH AND BRITISH DECISION TO SET UP A RAPID REACTION FORCE, AND HOPES THAT THE U.S. WILL BACK "SUCH AN ENDEAVOR."

POLITICAL ISSUES

-- EU NEGOTIATOR CARL BILDT IS "NOT PESSIMISTIC" ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR REACHING A DEAL WITH MILOSEVIC BASED ON MUTUAL RECOGNITION AND SUSPENSION OF SANCTIONS THAT
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PAGE 04 STOCKH 04277 01 OF 02 191325Z
COULD LEAD TO A CEASE-FIRE AND BRING THE PARTIES TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE BASED ON THE CONTACT GROUP PLAN.

-- A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT REQUIRES A FIRM UN/NATO POSITION ON BOSNIA.

-- SWEDEN FULLY SUPPORTS MAINTAINING UNPROFOR'S PRESENCE AS A PREREQUISITE FOR THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

-- WORLD OPINION EXPECTS THE LONDON MEETING TO DRAW A REALISTIC LINE FOR THE BOSNIAN SERBS -- WITH FULL COMMITMENT TO DEFEND THAT LINE WHEREVER IT IS DRAWN.

-- A UNITED FRONT BY THE CONTACT GROUP, THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND NATO IS ESSENTIAL. IT WOULD BE "ABSOLUTELY FATAL" TO DISPLAY DISUNITY IN LONDON.

-- THERE SHOULD BE INCREASED DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO UNDERSCORE THAT THE CONCEPT OF A "GREATER SERBIA" IS

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INCOMPATIBLE WITH INTEGRATION INTO THE EU.

-- SWEDEN IS CONCERNED BY COORDINATION PROBLEMS AT THE LARGE LONDON MEETING, PARTICULARLY GIVEN THE

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PAGE 01 STOCKH 04277 02 OF 02 191325Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	INL-01	OASY-00	SRPP-00
	EB-01	FBIE-00	INLB-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08
	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01
	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00
	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00
	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00	/033W			

-----DAE7F4 191325Z /38

O 191325Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4673
 INFO AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE
 HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT IMMEDIATE
 USCINCEUR INTEL VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
 USEUCOMAIDES VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
 DIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0007
 SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

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MEMBASSY TALLINN PRIORITY
MEMBASSY VILNIUS PRIORITY
MEMBASSY RIGA PRIORITY
EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 STOCKHOLM 004277

EUR FOR ASST/SEC HOLBROOKE AND DAS FRASURE

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PAGE 02 STOCKH 04277 02 OF 02 191325Z
NSC FOR VERSHBOW

ALSO FOR EUR/NB AND EUR/SCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: MARR, PREL, PHUM, PINR, BK, SW
SUBJECT: SWEDISH AGENDA FOR LONDON MEETING ON BOSNIA:
DRAW A CREDIBLE LINE AND THEN DEFEND IT

IMPORTANCE OF SENDING A CLEAR AND UNIFIED SIGNAL AT
ITS CONCLUSION.

-- SWEDEN SEEKS PRIOR CONSULTATIONS WITH THE U.S. AND
OTHER PLAYERS IN PREPARATION FOR THE LONDON MEETING.

THE ARMS EMBARGO

-- [] SAID THAT EVEN AS AMENDED, THE DOLE
LEGISLATION ON LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO IS HARMFUL AND
ILL-TIMED BECAUSE OF ITS PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT IN
SUGGESTING THAT UNPROFOR HAS OR WILL FAIL. (NOTE:
[] EMPHASIZED THAT EVEN IF SANCTIONS WERE
SUSPENDED AS PART OF A CEASE-FIRE DEAL, THERE WOULD
HAVE TO BE AGREED-UPON PROVISIONS FOR RE-IMPOSING
SANCTIONS IF THE AGREEMENT WERE BREACHED.)

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COMMENT

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4. EMBASSY COMMENT: [REDACTED]
CHARACTERIZED THIS READ-OUT AS THE CURRENT STATE OF
GOS THINKING ON BOSNIA, STRESSING THAT THE MFA WAS
STILL PUTTING TOGETHER FINAL POSITION PAPERS FOR
SWEDISH PARTICIPANTS AT THE LONDON MEETING. HIS VIEWS
ARE CONSISTENT WITH PREVIOUS SWEDISH POLICIES AND
EMPHASIS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF SUSTAINING UNPROFOR
PRESENCE IN BOSNIA. HE SEVERAL TIMES REPEATED
SWEDEN'S VIEW THAT IT IS ESSENTIAL TO DEVELOP AND
ANNOUNCE A CREDIBLE AND UNIFIED POSITION IN LONDON,
AND THAT PARTICIPANTS BE PREPARED TO BACK UP THEIR
WORDS WITH ACTIONS.

5. SWEDEN IS PROUD OF ITS TROOPS' CONTRIBUTIONS AT
TUZLA. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING SWEDISH PEACEKEEPER'S
REPUTATION OF NOT BEING RELUCTANT TO RETURN FIRE WHEN
ATTACKED, [REDACTED] SAID IT WAS THE SWEDISH DEFENSE
MINISTRY'S ASSESSMENT THAT TUZLA WAS NOT LIKELY TO BE
ATTACKED BY THE BSA. SINCE THE SWEDISH TROOPS WERE
FULLY OCCUPIED DEALING WITH THE TUZLA REFUGEE
SITUATION, THERE WAS LITTLE LIKELIHOOD THAT SWEDES
WOULD BE ASKED TO MOVE TO OTHER LOCATIONS THAT MIGHT
REQUIRE ADDITIONAL REVIEW OF THEIR TERMS OF ENGAGEMENT
IN BOSNIA.

B1

6. THE GOS PLACES GREAT IMPORTANCE ON THE LONDON
MEETING AND EXPECTS RESULTS. TO THIS END, [REDACTED]
WELCOMED FURTHER CONSULTATIONS WITH THE U.S. AND OTHER
PLAYERS ON HOW TO PROCEED WITH THE LONDON AGENDA.
PLEASE ADVISE. END COMMENT.

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AGE 04
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PAGE 01
ACTION SS-00

STOCKH 04140 131241Z

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	INL-01	OASY-00	ANHR-01
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	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00
	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00
	SSO-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01
	PMB-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00	/034W		

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O 131242Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4638
 INFO NSC WASHDC PRIORITY
 SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
 EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
 AMEMBASSY TALLINN
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY VILNIUS
 AMEMBASSY RIGA

RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.4(B)

C O N F I D E N T I A L STOCKHOLM 004140

EUR FOR ASST/SEC HOLBROOKE AND DAS FRASURE

NSC FOR VERSHBOW

ALSO FOR EUR/NB AND EUR/SCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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PAGE 02
 STOCKH 04140 131241Z
 TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PINR, MARR, BK, SW

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B)
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 12 JUL 2020
 DATE/CASE ID: 13 MAR 2009 200705105

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SUBJECT: TFSR01: SWEDISH OFFICIAL ANGER AT SERB ACTIONS
IN SREBRENICA "TONED DOWN" SO AS NOT TO HARM BILDT

REF: STOCKHOLM 4129

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT. SENSITIVE CONVERSATION
WITH HOST GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL.

2. IN A CONVERSATION JULY 13, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] INDICATED TO POLOFF THAT FOREIGN MINISTER
LENA HJELM-WALLEN'S JULY 12 OFFICIAL STATEMENT REGARDING
THE SITUATION IN SREBRENICA (REFTEL) WAS FAR MORE SUBDUED
THAN "WHAT WE MIGHT HAVE LIKED TO HAVE SAID" REGARDING
SERB ACTIONS. EMOTIONS WERE RUNNING HIGH IN ROSENBAD
(WHERE MOST SWEDISH MINISTERS HAVE THEIR OFFICES),
"INCLUDING IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE," SAID [REDACTED]
DESCRIBING THE ATMOSPHERE AS "TENSE AND SWEATY." [REDACTED]
INDICATED THAT THE GOS DECIDED TO TONE DOWN ITS PUBLIC
REACTION TO SERB ACTIONS SO AS NOT TO FURTHER COMPLICATE
THE SITUATION FOR SWEDISH EU BOSNIA NEGOTIATOR CARL BILDT.

B1

3. COMMENT: [REDACTED] CLEARLY WANTED THE U.S. TO KNOW THAT
THE FM'S STATEMENT IN NO WAY REFLECTED THE NEGATIVE
REACTION AND PLAIN ANGER OF THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT, AT ITS
HIGHEST LEVELS, TO SERB ACTIONS IN SREBRENICA. END COMMENT.

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4. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ4585

PAGE 01 STATE 176085 230211Z
ORIGIN IO-06

INFO	LOG-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00
	SRFP-00	EAP-01	EUR-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	L-01
	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/026R	

DRAFTED BY: IO/PHO:E F LEWISON:KKH
 APPROVED BY: IO:MLKIMBLE
 EUR:RHECKLINGER, IO/PHO:WMBARTLETT, USUN/W:JOIBRIEN,
 EUR/SCE:PSGOLDBERG, EAP/J:JHAGARTY-NUTTER,
 EAP/K:CADENNISON, P:SBREMNER, P:SBREMNER, IO/SP:CRCASPER
 EUR/AGS:HRECTOR
 NSC:JHARMON
 S/S:MLINO
 S/S-O:WFDVAVNIE
 DESIRED DISTRIBUTION:
 NSC FOR SHEEHAN, DREW

-----DC1C67 230213Z /38

O 230212Z JUL 95
 FM SECSTATE WASHDC
 TO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY SEOUL IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
 INFO AMEMBASSY ZAGREB IMMEDIATE
 CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 176085 230211Z
 AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(D)
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 22 JUL 2020
 DATE/CASE ID: 13 MAR 2009 200705105

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AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 176085

E.O. 12356: DECL: 07/17/15

TAGS: UN, MARR, PREL, UNSC, UK

SUBJECT: RRF FUNDING [REDACTED]

B1

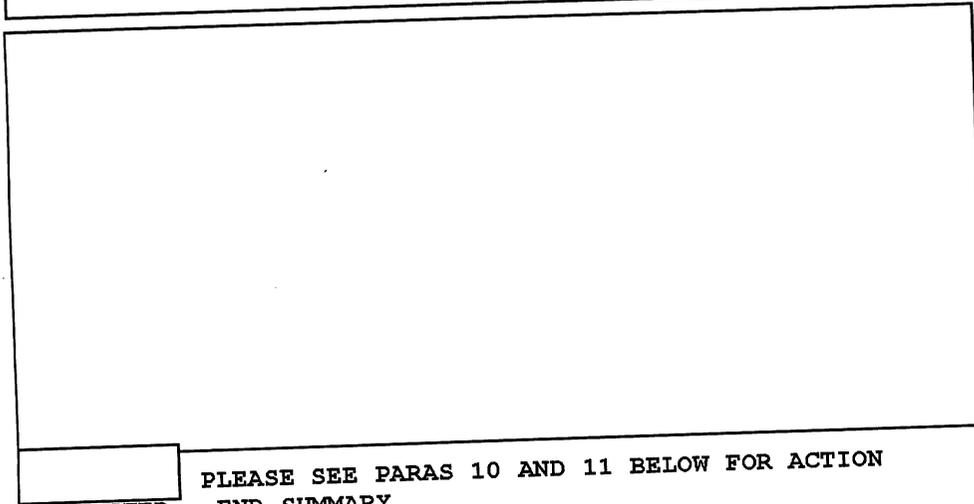
REF: BONN 14581

1. CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THIS IS AN ACTION MESSAGE. SEE PARAS 10 AND 11 BELOW.

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[REDACTED] PLEASE SEE PARAS 10 AND 11 BELOW FOR ACTION REQUESTED. END SUMMARY.

BACKGROUND

5. LAST MONTH THE USG JOINED IN VOTING IN FAVOR OF UN

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SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 998, WHICH ESTABLISHED THE RAPID REACTION FORCE, OR RRF, THE PURPOSE OF WHICH IS TO SUPPORT UNPROFOR IN BOSNIA. THE IMMEDIATE IMPETUS FOR THE CREATION OF THE RRF WAS THE DETENTION BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS OF UN PEACEKEEPERS IN JUNE. THE FORCE WILL BE MADE UP OF BRITISH, FRENCH, AND DUTCH TROOPS. THE USG WILL PROVIDE NO GROUND TROOPS.

6. THE ADMINISTRATION FULLY SUPPORTS THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE RRF. HOWEVER, THE ENORMOUS COST AND SIZE OF UNPROFOR (IT HAS ALREADY ACCOUNTED FOR MORE THAN HALF OF PEACEKEEPING'S RESOURCES BEFORE DEPLOYMENT OF THE RRF) AND STRONG CONGRESSIONAL CONCERNS ABOUT FUNDING THE RRF THROUGH UN ASSESSMENTS MADE IT CLEAR THAT FUNDING FOR THE RRF COULD NOT BE MADE ON A "BUSINESS AS USUAL BASIS." AT OUR INSISTENCE, RESOLUTION 998 LEFT THE MODALITIES OF FUNDING THE RRF TO BE DECIDED AT A LATER DATE.

7. ALTHOUGH WE WERE UNWILLING TO ACCEPT THE FINANCING OF THE ENTIRE RRF THROUGH UN ASSESSMENTS, WE WANT TO PAY A SHARE OF THE COST. WE HAVE AGREED TO ALLOW A PORTION

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PAGE 04 STATE 176085 230211Z
OF THE RRF TO BE COUNTED AS PART OF THE PREVIOUSLY AUTHORIZED, BUT UNUSED UNPROFOR TROOP CEILING. WE AGREED THAT TROOPS (INCLUDED UNDER THE PREVIOUS UNPROFOR CEILING) COULD BE ASSESSED, PROVIDED THAT THE USG WAS NOT REQUIRED TO PAY AN ASSESSMENT IN EXCESS OF USD 35 MILLION FOR THE FIRST SIX MONTHS. WE HAVE ASKED THAT THE REMAINDER OF THE RRF TROOPS BE PAID FOR BY VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS.

8. OUR VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTION IS BEING MADE THROUGH IN-KIND CONTRIBUTIONS OF DRAWN-DOWN MILITARY SERVICES AND EQUIPMENT WORTH UP TO USD 50 MILLION, AS WELL AS CLOSE AIR [REDACTED] SUPPORT VALUED AT APPROXIMATELY USD 10 MILLION. (FYI: ALTHOUGH THE U.S. WILL CONTRIBUTE UP TO USD 60 MILLION ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS, SOMETHING LESS THAN THAT ACTUAL AMOUNT WILL ACTUALLY BE CREDITED TO THE VOLUNTARY ACCOUNT AS A U.S. CONTRIBUTION. ONLY THOSE ITEMS WHICH THE UN WOULD ORDINARILY HAVE PURCHASED WILL BE CREDITED, SUCH AS TRANSPORTATION, AIRCRAFT REFUELING

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EQUIPMENT, AND SPARE PARTS PACKAGES. [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] OTHER EQUIPMENT OR SERVICES
 CONSIDERED "ENHANCEMENTS" WILL NOT. OF THE PROJECTED USD
 50 MILLION CONTRIBUTION IN DRAWN-DOWN MILITARY EQUIPMENT
 AND SERVICES, APPROXIMATELY USD 27 MILLION HAVE BEEN
 IDENTIFIED TO DATE. OF THAT AMOUNT THE U.S. IS EXPECTED
 TO BE CREDITED WITH USD 21 MILLION IN THE VOLUNTARY
 ACCOUNT.)

9. THE UN SECRETARIAT HAS DETERMINED THAT 5,350 RRF
 TROOPS CAN BE ACCOMMODATED UNDER THE PRE-EXISTING TROOP
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PAGE 05 STATE 176085 230211Z
 CEILING. THE REMAINING 7,150 RRF TROOPS THAT ARE NOT
 COUNTED UNDER THE PRE-EXISTING CEILING NEED TO BE FUNDED
 FROM VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO BE PAID INTO A SPECIAL
 UNPROFOR ACCOUNT. FOR THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF THE RRF'S
 DEPLOYMENT, IT IS ESTIMATED THAT USD 140 MILLION IN
 VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS WILL BE NEEDED.

B1

10. ACTION REQUESTED (BONN ONLY): BONN SHOULD [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] DELIVER
 [REDACTED] THE TALKING POINTS CONTAINED IN PARA 13 BELOW.

B1

11. ACTION REQUESTED (ALL ADDRESSEES EXCEPT BONN): ALL
 ADDRESSEES EXCEPT BONN ARE REQUESTED TO [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] DELIVER TALKING POINTS IN
 PARA 13 BELOW [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] PLEASE SLUG RESPONSES FOR IO/PHO LEWISON
 AND USUN SHENWICK/CLONTZ.

 TALKING POINTS

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13. BEGIN TALKING POINTS

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PAGE 06 STATE 176085 230211Z
-- THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL PASSED RESOLUTION 998 ON JUNE 16 AUTHORIZING AN INCREASE OF 12,500 IN THE AUTHORIZED CEILING FOR UN TROOPS IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA TO ENABLE THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE (RRF).

-- THE RRF IS A THEATER-RESERVE UNDER UN COMMAND DESIGNED TO ENABLE UNPF/UNPROFOR TO CARRY OUT ITS

HUMANITARIAN MANDATE MORE EFFECTIVELY. IT IS BOTH A MEANS OF DETERRENCE AND OF INTERVENTION IN THE PROTECTION OF UN PERSONNEL. IT WILL PROVIDE MORE POWERFUL AND MORE MOBILE MILITARY RESOURCES THAN THOSE PREVIOUSLY AVAILABLE TO UNPROFOR.

-- FOR THE FIRST TIME, UNPF/UNPROFOR COMMANDERS WILL HAVE WELL ARMED AND HIGHLY MOBILE FORCES WITH WHICH TO RESPOND PROMPTLY TO THREATS TO THEIR MISSION.

-- THE RRF CONTAINS MAINLY FRENCH, BRITISH, AND DUTCH TROOPS.

-- THE USG WILL PROVIDE NO GROUND TROOPS, BUT INTENDS TO PROVIDE MILITARY SERVICES AND EQUIPMENT WORTH UP TO USD 50 MILLION, AS WELL AS CLOSE AIR AND INTELLIGENCE SUPPORT VALUED AT APPROXIMATELY USD 10 MILLION. IN ADDITION, THE USG WILL BE ASSESSED OVER THE NEXT FIVE MONTHS APPROXIMATELY USD 35 MILLION BY THE UN TO HELP SUPPORT THE RRF.

-- MUCH OF THE RRF HAS ALREADY BEEN DEPLOYED. THE UK DEPLOYED NEARLY 1,000 ADDITIONAL TROOPS TO CENTRAL BOSNIA
CONFIDENTIAL

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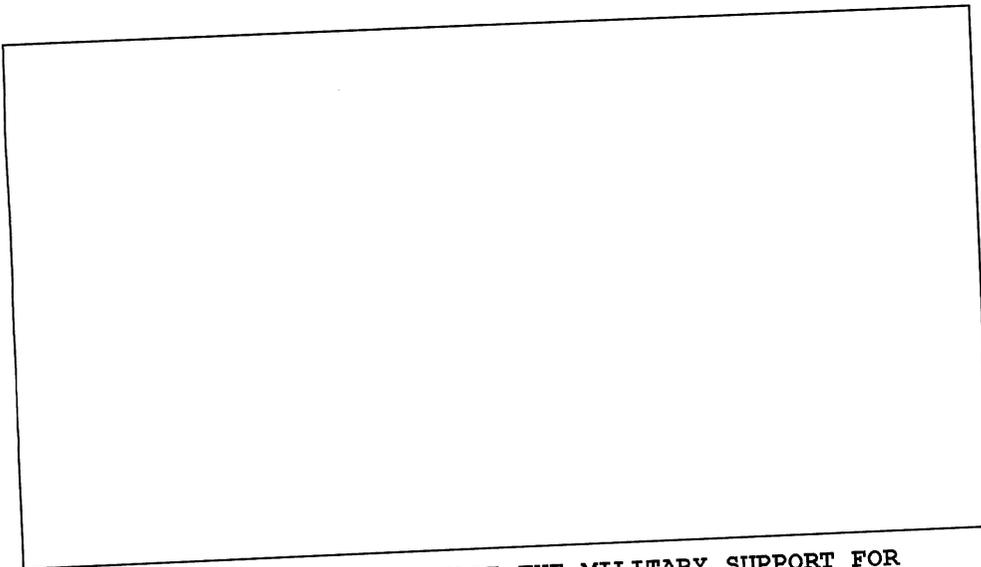
PAGE 07 STATE 176085 230211Z
IN EARLY JUNE. FRENCH BATTALIONS ARE ALSO NOW IN THE
THEATER. THESE WILL BE FOLLOWED BY OVER 4,000 TROOPS
FROM THE UK 24 AIRMOBILE BRIGADE WHICH SHOULD BE DEPLOYED
THIS WEEK. IN ADDITION, A FORCE OF 4,000 FRENCH TROOPS
WILL REMAIN ON STAND-BY.

-- THE EFFECTS OF THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE RRF ARE ALREADY
BEING FELT. THE RRF HAS IMPROVED ACCESS FOR UNPROFOR AND
UNHCR CONVOYS ACROSS BOSNIAN SERB TERRITORY. BUT THE RRF
MUST MAINTAIN ITS MOMENTUM AND READINESS TO RESPOND
ROBUSTLY WHEN REQUIRED.

-- SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 998 LEFT THE MODALITIES
OF FUNDING THE RRF TO BE DECIDED LATER. THE UN HAS NOW
PRESENTED A PROPOSAL, ENJOYING WIDESPREAD SUPPORT, WHICH
PROVIDES THAT TROOPS FALLING WITHIN THE PRE-EXISTING
TROOP CEILING OF 44,870 SHOULD BE PAID FOR FROM STANDARD
UN ASSESSED CONTRIBUTIONS. TROOPS OVER THAT CEILING
SHOULD BE FUNDED FROM VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS. A SPECIAL
UNPROFOR SUB-ACCOUNT HAS BEEN SET UP FOR THIS PURPOSE.
FOR THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF THE RRF'S DEPLOYMENT, IT IS
LIKELY THAT A TOTAL OF USD 140 MILLION IN VOLUNTARY
CONTRIBUTIONS WILL BE NEEDED.

FOR BONN

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-- WE RECOGNIZE AND APPRECIATE THE MILITARY SUPPORT FOR

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THE RRF THAT YOU ARE ALREADY CONTRIBUTING. WE HOPE THAT
IN VIEW OF THE GRAVE SITUATION IN BOSNIA AND THE EXPOSURE
OF THE PEACEKEEPERS, YOU WILL CONSIDER MAKING A VOLUNTARY
FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE SPECIAL UNPROFOR
SUB-ACCOUNT. ADDITIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS IN KIND WOULD ALSO
BE WELCOME.

FOR TOKYO

-- IN HALIFAX, G-7 GOVERNMENTS GAVE A COMMITMENT IN
PRINCIPLE TO PAY THEIR SHARE OF THE COSTS FOR THE RRF.
WE LOOK TO YOU TO SET AN EXAMPLE TO OTHERS BY MAKING A
VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTION IN SUPPORT OF THE RRF. A SPECIAL
UNPROFOR SUB-ACCOUNT HAS BEEN SET UP FOR THIS PURPOSE.

FOR SEOUL

-- FOR SEOUL: WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA
IS AN ACTIVE PARTICIPANT IN SEVERAL UN OPERATIONS, HAVING
RECENTLY DECIDED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE UN PEACEKEEPING
MISSION IN ANGOLA AND HAVE EXTENDED THE SERVICE OF YOUR
MEDICAL SUPPORT GROUP IN THE WESTERN SAHARA FOR AN
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PAGE 09 STATE 176085 230211Z
ADDITIONAL YEAR, GIVEN YOUR SUPPORT FOR UN ACTIVITIES
AND THE IMPORTANCE OF FUNDING THE RRF, WE THOUGHT YOU
WOULD WANT TO BE ASKED TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS EFFORT AS
WELL.

-- AS TROOP CONTRIBUTORS, THE BRITISH, FRENCH, AND DUTCH
ARE BEARING VERY SUBSTANTIAL COSTS OF THE RRF DEPLOYMENT,
WHICH ARE WELL BEYOND THOSE BUDGETED BY THE UN. WE ARE
LOOKING TO YOU TO HELP OFFSET THOSE COSTS, AND REQUEST
THAT YOU MAKE A VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTION IN SUPPORT OF THE

RRF.
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PAGE 01 STATE 181647 290449Z
ORIGIN IO-06

INFO	LOG-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00
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DRAFTED BY: IO/PHO::EFLEWISON:EFL

APPROVED BY: EUR:RFRASURE

IO/PHO:JBRIMS,AKORKY

IO/UNP:SSHIPSHOCK

USUN/W:SGEORGE

EUR/NE:PJONES

EUR/WE:RAFFERTY

EUR/WE:NOTTINGHAM

EUR/WE:CHACON

EUR/AGS:KELLY

EUR/NE:VANSAN

EUR/NB:CGREEN

EUR/SE:SALEXANDER

EUR/SCE:PGOLDBERG P

EUR/RPM:JCOHEN PM/I

EUR/UK:NCOOPER EUR/WE:KWHITTAKER

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 TO AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY VIENNA IMMEDIATE

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PAGE 02 STATE 181647 290449Z
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN IMMEDIATE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(D)
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 28 JUL 2020
 DATE/CASE ID: 27 MAR 2009 200705105

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MEMBASSY LISBON IMMEDIATE
MEMBASSY STOCKHOLM IMMEDIATE
MEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
MEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
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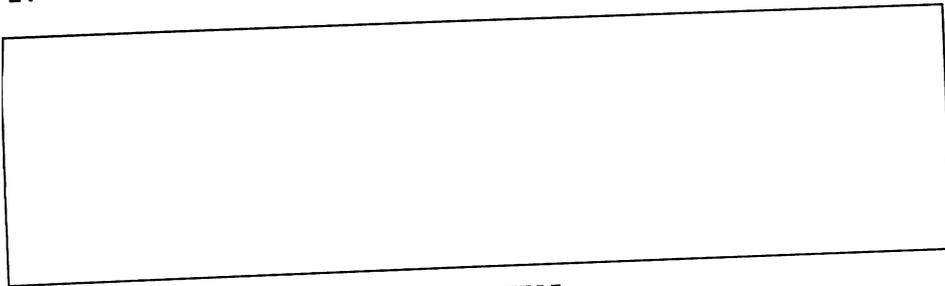
CONFIDENTIAL STATE 181647

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR 7/27/15
TAGS: UN, MARR, PREL, UNSC, UK
SUBJECT: RRF FUNDING: BRITISH REQUEST DEMARCHE

REF: STATE 176185

1. CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THIS IS AN ACTION MESSAGE. SEE PARA 10 BELOW.

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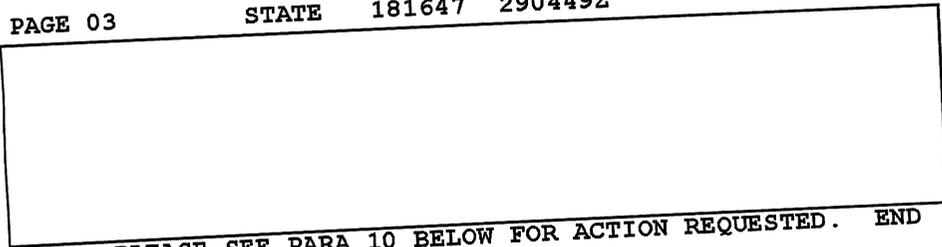


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PAGE 03 STATE 181647 290449Z

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RRF. PLEASE SEE PARA 10 BELOW FOR ACTION REQUESTED. END SUMMARY.

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BACKGROUND

5. IN JUNE, THE USG JOINED IN VOTING IN FAVOR OF UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 998, WHICH ESTABLISHED THE RAPID REACTION FORCE, OR RRF, THE PURPOSE OF WHICH IS TO SUPPORT UNPROFOR IN BOSNIA. THE IMMEDIATE IMPETUS FOR THE CREATION OF THE RRF WAS THE DETENTION BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS OF UN PEACEKEEPERS. THE FORCE WILL BE MADE UP OF BRITISH, FRENCH, AND DUTCH TROOPS. THE USG WILL PROVIDE NO GROUND TROOPS.

6. THE ADMINISTRATION FULLY SUPPORTS THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE RRF. HOWEVER, THE ENORMOUS COST AND SIZE OF UNPROFOR {IT HAS ALREADY ACCOUNTED FOR MORE THAN HALF OF PEACEKEEPING'S RESOURCES BEFORE DEPLOYMENT OF THE RRF} AND STRONG CONGRESSIONAL CONCERNS ABOUT FUNDING THE RRF THROUGH UN ASSESSMENTS MADE IT CLEAR THAT FUNDING FOR THE RRF COULD NOT BE MADE ON A "BUSINESS AS USUAL BASIS." AT
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PAGE 04 STATE 181647 290449Z
OUR INSISTENCE, RESOLUTION 998 LEFT THE MODALITIES OF FUNDING THE RRF TO BE DECIDED AT A LATER DATE.

7. ALTHOUGH WE WERE UNWILLING TO ACCEPT THE FINANCING OF THE ENTIRE RRF THROUGH UN ASSESSMENTS, WE WANT TO PAY A SHARE OF THE COST. WE HAVE AGREED TO ALLOW A PORTION OF THE RRF TO BE COUNTED AS PART OF THE PREVIOUSLY AUTHORIZED, BUT UNUSED UNPROFOR TROOP CEILING. WE AGREED THAT TROOPS {INCLUDED UNDER THE PREVIOUS UNPROFOR CEILING} COULD BE ASSESSED, PROVIDED THAT THE USG WAS NOT REQUIRED TO PAY AN ASSESSMENT IN EXCESS OF USD 35 MILLION FOR THE FIRST SIX MONTHS. WE HAVE ASKED THAT THE REMAINDER OF THE RRF TROOPS BE PAID FOR BY VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS.

8. OUR VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTION IS BEING MADE THROUGH IN-KIND CONTRIBUTIONS OF DRAWN-DOWN MILITARY SERVICES AND EQUIPMENT WORTH UP TO USD 50 MILLION, AS WELL AS CLOSE AIR AND [REDACTED] SUPPORT VALUED AT APPROXIMATELY USD 10 MILLION. {FYI: ALTHOUGH THE U.S. WILL CONTRIBUTE UP TO

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USD 60 MILLION ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS, SOMETHING LESS THAN THAT ACTUAL AMOUNT WILL ACTUALLY BE CREDITED TO THE VOLUNTARY ACCOUNT AS A U.S. CONTRIBUTION. ONLY THOSE ITEMS WHICH THE UN WOULD ORDINARILY HAVE PURCHASED WILL BE

CREDITED, SUCH AS TRANSPORTATION, AIRCRAFT REFUELING EQUIPMENT, AND SPARE PARTS PACKAGES. INTELLIGENCE SUPPORT, TACSATS AND OTHER EQUIPMENT OR SERVICES CONSIDERED "ENHANCEMENTS" WILL NOT. OF THE PROJECTED USD 50 MILLION CONTRIBUTION IN DRAWN-DOWN MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND SERVICES, APPROXIMATELY USD 27 MILLION HAS BEEN IDENTIFIED TO DATE. OF THAT AMOUNT THE U.S. IS EXPECTED

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PAGE 05 STATE 181647 290449Z
TO BE CREDITED WITH USD 21 MILLION IN THE VOLUNTARY ACCOUNT.}

9. THE UN SECRETARIAT HAS DETERMINED THAT 5,350 RRF TROOPS CAN BE ACCOMMODATED UNDER THE PRE-EXISTING TROOP CEILING. THE REMAINING 7,150 RRF TROOPS THAT ARE NOT COUNTED UNDER THE PRE-EXISTING CEILING NEED TO BE FUNDED FROM VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO BE PAID INTO A SPECIAL UNPROFOR ACCOUNT. FOR THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF THE RRF'S DEPLOYMENT, IT IS ESTIMATED THAT USD 140 MILLION IN VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS WILL BE NEEDED.

10. ACTION REQUESTED: ALL ADDRESSEES ARE REQUESTED TO COORDINATE [REDACTED] AND DELIVER TALKING POINTS IN PARA 11 BELOW [REDACTED] PLEASE [REDACTED] SLUG RESPONSES FOR IO/PHO LEWISON AND USUN SHENWICK/CLONTZ.

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TALKING POINTS

11. BEGIN TALKING POINTS

-- THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL ADOPTED RESOLUTION 998 ON JUNE 16 AUTHORIZING AN INCREASE OF 12,500 IN THE

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AUTHORIZED CEILING FOR UN TROOPS IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA
TO ENABLE THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE
{RRF}.

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PAGE 06

STATE 181647 290449Z

-- THE RRF IS A THEATER-RESERVE UNDER UN COMMAND
DESIGNED TO ENABLE UNPF/UNPROFOR TO CARRY OUT ITS MANDATE
MORE EFFECTIVELY. IT IS BOTH A MEANS OF DETERRENCE AND
OF INTERVENTION IN THE PROTECTION OF UN PERSONNEL. IT
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RESOURCES THAN THOSE PREVIOUSLY AVAILABLE TO UNPROFOR.

-- FOR THE FIRST TIME, UNPF/UNPROFOR COMMANDERS WILL
HAVE WELL ARMED AND HIGHLY MOBILE FORCES WITH WHICH TO
RESPOND PROMPTLY TO THREATS TO THEIR MISSION.

-- THE RRF CONTAINS MAINLY FRENCH, BRITISH, AND DUTCH
TROOPS.

-- THE USG WILL PROVIDE NO GROUND TROOPS, BUT INTENDS TO
PROVIDE MILITARY SERVICES AND EQUIPMENT WORTH UP TO USD
50 MILLION, AS WELL AS CLOSE AIR AND INTELLIGENCE SUPPORT
VALUED AT APPROXIMATELY USD 10 MILLION. IN ADDITION, THE
USG WILL BE ASSESSED OVER THE NEXT FIVE MONTHS
APPROXIMATELY USD 35 MILLION BY THE UN TO HELP PAY FOR
THE RRF.

-- MUCH OF THE RRF HAS ALREADY BEEN DEPLOYED. THE UK
SENT NEARLY 1,000 ADDITIONAL TROOPS TO CENTRAL BOSNIA IN
EARLY JUNE. FRENCH BATTALIONS ARE ALSO NOW IN THE
THEATER. THESE ARE BEING FOLLOWED BY OVER 4,000 TROOPS
FROM THE UK 24 AIRMOBILE BRIGADE. IN ADDITION, A FORCE
OF 4,000 FRENCH TROOPS WILL REMAIN ON STAND-BY.

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PAGE 07 STATE 181647 290449Z
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FOR THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF THE RRF'S DEPLOYMENT, IT IS
LIKELY THAT A TOTAL OF USD 140 MILLION IN VOLUNTARY
CONTRIBUTIONS WILL BE NEEDED.

FOR G-7 MEMBERS

-- IN HALIFAX, G-7 GOVERNMENTS GAVE A COMMITMENT IN
PRINCIPLE TO PAY THEIR SHARE OF THE COSTS FOR THE RRF.
IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE SET AN EXAMPLE TO OTHERS BY
MAKING A VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTION IN SUPPORT OF THE RRF. A
SPECIAL UNPROFOR SUB-ACCOUNT HAS BEEN SET UP FOR THIS
PURPOSE.

FOR NON-G7 MEMBERS

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PAGE 08 STATE 181647 290449Z

-- AS TROOP CONTRIBUTORS, THE BRITISH, FRENCH, AND DUTCH
ARE BEARING VERY SUBSTANTIAL COSTS OF THE RRF DEPLOYMENT,
WHICH ARE WELL BEYOND THOSE BUDGETED BY THE UN. WE URGE

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THAT YOU JOIN US IN HELPING OFFSET THOSE COSTS BY MAKING
A VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTION IN SUPPORT OF THE RRF. A
SPECIAL UNPROFOR SUB-ACCOUNT HAS BEEN SET UP FOR THIS
PURPOSE.

FOR ROME

-- WE UNDERSTAND THAT YOU HAVE ALREADY MADE A GENEROUS
OFFER TO PROVIDE AIRCRAFT AND NAVAL UNITS TO NATO IN
SUPPORT OF THE BOSNIA EFFORT. YOU MAY ALSO WISH TO MAKE
A VOLUNTARY FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION IN SUPPORT OF THE
RAPID REACTION FORCE. A SPECIAL UNPROFOR SUB-ACCOUNT HAS
BEEN SET UP FOR THIS PURPOSE.
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PAGE 01 PARIS 16300 01 OF 02 101626Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00
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 INFO NATO EU COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO PRIORITY
 USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB PRIORITY

RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 16300

VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PREL, MARR, UN, NATO, BK, SR, FR
 SUBJECT: FRENCH TO SUPPORT UN EFFORTS ON SREBRENICA

REF: THE HAGUE 3682

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PAGE 02 PARIS 16300 01 OF 02 101626Z
1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 9 JUL 2020
 DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2009 200705105

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2. SUMMARY: FRENCH [REDACTED] TOLD US JULY 10 THAT THE GOF IS PURSUING NO NEW INITIATIVES IN SREBRENICA, BUT WILL SUPPORT UN ACTIONS, INCLUDING A UNSC PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT CONDEMNING BOSNIAN SERB ACTIONS, CALLING FOR RELEASE OF PEACEKEEPERS HELD HOSTAGE, AND A BOSNIAN SERB WITHDRAWAL TO EARLIER POSITIONS. THE GOF CONSIDERS THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS ARE TESTING THE UN AND THE NOT-YET-FULLY-OPERATIONAL RAPID REACTION FORCE (RRF). THE GOF SUPPORTS USE OF CLOSE AIR SUPPORT (CAS) FOR SREBRENICA AND NOTED THAT RRF FRENCH HELICOPTERS ON THE AIRCRAFT CARRIER FOCH ARE ALSO AVAILABLE TO SUPPORT UNPROFOR. END SUMMARY.

SREBRENICA

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3. [REDACTED] TOLD US JULY 10 THAT THE GOF HAS NO NEW INITIATIVES OF ITS OWN ON SREBRENICA, BUT WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT UN ACTIONS. THE GOF SUPPORTS A PROPOSED UNSC PRESIDENTIAL DECLARATION WHICH WOULD (1) CONDEMN BOSNIAN SERB ACTIONS IN SREBRENICA; (2) DEMAND FREEDOM FOR THE 30 DUTCH UN PEACEKEEPERS; AND (3) DEMAND THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS WITHDRAW TO THEIR EARLIER POSITIONS.

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4. [REDACTED] DESCRIBED TO US JULY 10 THE ON-GOING ACTION AT SREBRENICA AS "VERY PRECISELY CALCULATED AND CONTROLLED" BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS. IT'S A SITUATION
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PAGE 03 PARIS 16300 01 OF 02 101626Z
WHERE THEY CAN CONTROL THE ACTION AND MAKE THEIR POINTS. IT IS "A TEST OF WILL AND A PROVOCATION" TO TEST RESPONSES. SREBRENICA IS HARD TO DEFEND AGAINST SERB ATTACKS AND THE DUTCH ARE HARD PRESSED. THE [REDACTED] VIEW IS THAT UNPROFOR CANNOT YIELD TO THIS PRESSURE, BUT IT RECOGNIZES THAT THE DUTCH WILL NOT BE ENTHUSIASTIC FOR AIRSTRIKES AND ANY RESPONSE WILL HAVE TO BE VERY PRECISELY CALIBRATED. TARGET ACQUISITION IS ALSO A PROBLEM: TANKS, FOR EXAMPLE, ARE WELL HIDDEN AND MAY BE MIXED IN WITH THE LOCAL POPULATION.

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5. [] REFERRED TO A "STRONG MESSAGE" FROM UNPROFOR CALLING FOR CLOSE AIR SUPPORT (CAS) WHEN POSSIBLE, TO BE CARRIED OUT BY NATO UNDER ITS COMMITMENT TO SUPPORT UNPROFOR TROOPS UNDER FIRE. (NOTE: WE UNDERSTAND FROM OTHER SOURCES THAT A CAS COMBAT AIR PATROL WAS FLOWN THE MORNING OF JULY 10 AT GEN JANVIER'S REQUEST. END NOTE.) [] NOTED THAT THE 20 HELICOPTERS ON THE FRENCH AIRCRAFT CARRIER FOCH CURRENTLY IN THE ADRIATIC AS PART OF THE RRF ARE AT THE DISPOSAL OF UNPROFOR.

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SARAJEVO CONVOY CORRIDOR

6. ASKED ABOUT CURRENT GOF THINKING ON "OPENING CONVOY CORRIDORS," [] SAID THE RRF WILL BE READY "PRETTY SOON, VERY SOON" TO SUPPORT EFFORTS TO ACCOMPANY A CONVOY TO PUSH THROUGH TO SARAJEVO VIA THE MT. IGMAN ROUTE. HE DESCRIBED IT AS INCREASINGLY CLEAR THAT THE WESTERLY ROUTE THROUGH KISELJAK WILL NOT BE AVAILABLE, SO THE MORE DANGEROUS IGMAN ROUTE MAY HAVE TO BE USED.
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PAGE 04 PARIS 16300 01 OF 02 101626Z
HE CONFIRMED THERE IS NO INTENTION TO HOLD OPEN A CORRIDOR, BUT THE RRF WILL "HAVE SUFFICIENT FORCES IN THE AREA" TO RETALIATE AS NECESSARY IF A CONVOY IS ATTACKED. FORCES WILL ACTUALLY ACCOMPANY THE CONVOYS, TO PROVIDE AN IMMEDIATE MILITARY RESPONSE, SHOULD THE CONVOY COME UNDER ATTACK. [] ADDED THAT ADDITIONAL FORCES WILL BE DEPLOYED TO SUPPORT OPERATIONS ALONG THE ROUTE -- MUCH LIKE THE MORTAR UNIT DEPLOYED TWO WEEKS AGO ONTO MT. IGMAN.

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00
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	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00
	SSD-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/045W		

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O 101625Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3776
INFO NATO EU COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO PRIORITY
USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 16300

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VIENNA FOR BOSNIA
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MARR, UN, NATO, BK, SR, FR
SUBJECT: FRENCH TO SUPPORT UN EFFORTS ON SREBRENICA

7. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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PAGE 02

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PAGE 01 PARIS 16300 101647Z
ACTION EUR-01

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	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00
	SSD-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/045W		

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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
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C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 16300

VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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TAGS: PREL, MARR, UN, NATO, BK, SR, FR
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PAGE 02 PARIS 16300 101647Z
SUBJECT: FRENCH TO SUPPORT UN EFFORTS ON SREBRENICA

7. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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PAGE 01 BELGRA 03708 01 OF 02 311628Z
ACTION H-06

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 DS-00 EUR-01 TEDE-00 IO-06 ADS-00
OIC-02 SS-00 DSCC-00 /015W
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P 311620Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6628
INFO USMISSION USVIENNA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY ROME

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BELGRADE 003708

E.O. 12356:DECL:07/31/15
TAGS: PHUM, PREF, OREP, BK, SR, MW
SUBJECT: CODEL HALL TELLS PALE LEADERSHIP IT SHOULD
- IMPROVE HUMANITARIAN ACCESS

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: DURING A 90-MINUTE SESSION WITH CODEL HALL ON JULY 31, FEDERAL FOREIGN MINISTER VLADISLAV JOVANOVIC PRESENTED CONGRESSMAN HALL WITH STANDARD "FRY" RHETORIC ON UNJUST SANCTIONS, UNEQUAL TREATMENT OF SERBS, BELGRADE'S REASONABLENESS AND PALE'S INTRANSIGENCE.
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 BELGRA 03708 01 OF 02 311628Z
HALL OFFERED JOVANOVIC THE OPPORTUNITY TO IMPROVE THE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 10 MAR 2009 200705105

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ACTION H-06

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 DS-00 EUR-01 TEDE-00 IO-06 ADS-00
OIC-02 SS-00 DSCC-00 /015W
-----DEAB3D 311629Z /38

P 311620Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6628
INFO USMISSION USVIENNA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY ROME

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BELGRADE 003708

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HALL OFFERED JOVANOVIC THE OPPORTUNITY TO IMPROVE THE

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IMAGE OF THE SERBS BY PERSUADING PALE TO ABIDE BY INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN NORMS WHICH, ACCORDING TO THE CODEL'S FINDINGS, HAD BEEN VIOLATED ON A MASSIVE SCALE IN THE TAKEOVERS OF SREBRENICA AND ZEPA. CONGRESSMAN HALL AND GENE DEWEY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE CONGRESSIONAL HUNGER CENTER, ALSO DEBRIEFED US ON THEIR FOUR-PLUS HOURS OF DISCUSSION WITH THE PALE LEADERSHIP ON HUMANITARIAN ISSUES. WHILE BOSNIAN SERB LEADER KARADZIC MAINTAINED HE WAS WILLING TO BE MORE COOPERATIVE ON ISSUES OF HUMANITARIAN ACCESS, CODEL HALL SUSPECTED HIS MOTIVES WERE MORE PERSONAL THAN HUMANITARIAN. END SUMMARY.

3. JOVANOVIC PROVIDED CODEL HALL WITH A REPLAY OF THE "FRY'S" WELL KNOWN POSITION ON A STANDARD LIST OF TOPICS:

-- ORIGINS OF THE YUGOSLAV CRISIS: JOVANOVIC ASSERTED "WE WERE ALL BROTHERS" AND THAT THE "FRY" HAD ALWAYS FAVORED CONTINUATION OF A MULTI-ETHNIC YUGOSLAVIA, BUT "FOREIGN INTERESTS" HAD PROMOTED THE UNLAWFUL SECESSION.

-- HUMAN RIGHTS IN KOSOVO: THE "FRY" HAS GRANTED FULL CULTURAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE AUTONOMY TO KOSOVO, BUT RATHER THAN ENJOYING THEIR RIGHTS, THE KOSOVAR ALBANIANS PREFER TO FOMENT SEPARATIST AMBITIONS.

-- SANCTIONS: THE "FRY" CANNOT UNDERSTAND AN INTERNATIONAL POLICY THAT OPPOSES THE STRANGULATION OF 400,000 SARAJEVANS WHILE AT THE SAME TIME FAVORING ECONOMIC STRANGULATION OF 12 MILLION IN THE "FRY."

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-- HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE: THE USG HAS EARMARKED USD 28 MILLION IN ASSISTANCE FOR BOSNIA WHILE THE "FRY," WHICH HAS VOLUNTARILY ACCOMMODATED 95 PERCENT OF THE 700,000 REFUGEES IN THE COUNTRY, RECEIVES NOTHING.

-- BOSNIAN CRISIS: THE BOSNIAN SERBS WOULD BE LESS INTRANSIGENT AND MORE WILLING TO NEGOTIATE IF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TREATED ALL THE COMBATANTS EQUALLY.

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4. CONGRESSMAN HALL COMMENDED JOVANOVIC FOR THE "FRY'S" ROLE IN VOLUNTARILY ABSORBING LARGE NUMBERS OF REFUGEES, BUT ALSO POINTED OUT THAT THE U.S. WAS NOT BEING SELECTIVE AND DISCRIMINATORY IN ITS HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE POLICY. THE U.S. WAS IN FACT THE LARGEST CONTRIBUTOR TO UNHCR AND WFP, WHICH WERE PROVIDING HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO BENEFICIARIES IN THE "FRY." HALL TRACED ANTI-SERB SENTIMENT IN THE U.S. TO NIGHTLY TELEVISION SCENES OF A BRUTAL WAR IN BOSNIA IN WHICH THE BOSNIAN SERBS WERE DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN ETHNIC CLEANSING, RAPING AND PILLAGING. HE DESCRIBED INTERVIEWS THAT THE CODEL CONDUCTED IN TUZLA AND ZENICA WITH REFUGEES FROM THE OVERRUN ENCLAVES WHO WERE STILL SHOCKED AND TRAUMATIZED, AND BROKE DOWN INTO TEARS AS THEY TOLD THEIR STORIES. HALL NOTED THAT THE INTERPRETER AND CODEL MEMBERS WERE ALL SO EMOTIONALLY MOVED BY THE HORRIFIC STORIES THAT THEY TOO WEPT.

5. HALL URGED JOVANOVIC TO "SHOW THE WORLD THAT THE SERBS HAD HEARTS AND WERE NOT MONSTERS." SERBIAN PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC COULD PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN CHANGING

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THE BRUTAL BEHAVIOR OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS. THE CONGRESSMAN NOTED THAT SO FAR HE HAD SEEN ONLY RHETORIC FROM BELGRADE, AND URGED JOVANOVIC TO TAKE CONCRETE ACTIONS TO PUSH KARADZIC INTO TAKING HUMANITARIAN VALUES INTO CONSIDERATION. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, DECLARED THE CONGRESSMAN, WERE MAD AND FED UP WITH THE KILLING IN BOSNIA. HE WARNED THAT IF THE GORAZDE SAFE HAVEN WERE VIOLATED, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WOULD RETALIATE WITH A MASSIVE BOMBING CAMPAIGN. IF, HOWEVER, BELGRADE COULD PERSUADE THE PALE LEADERSHIP TO TAKE A MORE REASONABLE HUMANITARIAN STANCE, THEN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MIGHT BE MORE FAVORABLY DISPOSED TO A LIFTING OF SANCTIONS.

6. ON FIGHTING IN BOSNIA, JOVANOVIC MADE A POINT OF EMPHASIZING BELGRADE'S PERCEPTION OF A U.S. BLESSING FOR THE CROATIAN OFFENSIVE INTO BOSNIA. WHEN REP. HALL ASKED FOR AN UPDATE ON BIHAC, JOVANOVIC EXPLAINED THAT THE POCKET SHOULD BE DEMILITARIZED -- THERE WILL BE NO

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INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 DS-00 EUR-01 TEDE-00 IO-06 ADS-00
OIC-02 SS-00 DSCC-00 /015W

-----DEAB47 311629Z /38

P 311620Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6629
INFO USMISSION USVIENNA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY ROME

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BELGRADE 003708

E.O. 12356:DECL:07/31/15
TAGS: PHUM, PREF, OREP, BK, SR, MW

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SUBJECT: CODEL HALL TELLS PALE LEADERSHIP IT SHOULD
- IMPROVE HUMANITARIAN ACCESS

SREBRENICA-LIKE MASSACRES BECAUSE IT IS A MOSLEM-MOSLEM CONFLICT. HE CLAIMED THAT MARTIC HAD EXPLAINED THE PRESENCE OF "ARSK" FORCES IN BIHAC AS THE OUTCOME OF LAST YEAR'S FIFTH CORPS OFFENSIVE AND SPILLOVER INTO THE KRAJINA OF REFUGEES. (COMMENT: THIS IS A NEW TALKING POINT FOR "FRY" OFFICIALS.)

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7. FOLLOWING THE MEETING WITH JOVANOVIC, CONGRESSMAN HALL AND GENE DEWEY BRIEFED US ON THEIR MEETING IN PALE WITH THE BOSNIAN SERB LEADERSHIP ON JULY 30. THE MEETING, ATTENDED BY KARADZIC, MOMCILO KRAJISNIK, "SPEAKER" OF THE BOSNIAN SERB ASSEMBLY, AND NIKOLA KOLJEVIC, THE BOSNIAN SERB "VICE-PRESIDENT," LASTED FROM 8:00 PM TO 12:30 AM. ACCORDING TO DEWEY, THE PURPOSE OF THE MEETING WAS ENTIRELY HUMANITARIAN, WITH THE CODEL TRYING TO PERSUADE KARADZIC TO GRANT GREATER HUMANITARIAN ACCESS BY DESCRIBING THE GRAPHIC ACCOUNTS OF ATROCITIES TOLD TO THEM BY REFUGEES.

8. ACCORDING TO DEWEY, KARADZIC ADMITTED THE NEED FOR A CHANGE IN BEHAVIOR AND STATED HIS WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE IN GUARANTEEING ACCESS FOR HUMANITARIAN CONVOYS AS WELL AS RED CROSS (ICRC) ACCESS TO DETAINEES. CODEL MEMBERS, HOWEVER, CONFIDED TO US THAT THEY FELT THE MOTIVATION BEHIND KARADZIC'S OFFER OF COOPERATION WAS NOT HUMANITARIAN, BUT RATHER TO BURNISH HIS PERSONAL IMAGE. PARAMOUNT IN KARADZIC'S MIND, IN DEWEY'S OPINION, WAS A NEED TO ALTER THE DEMONIZED IMAGE GIVEN HIM BY THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS. EVIDENCE OF THIS WERE THE MULTIPLE COPIES OF TIME MAGAZINE FEATURING MILOSEVIC AND MLADIC ON THE COVERS. CODEL MEMBERS FELT KARADZIC WOULD COOPERATE TO IMPROVE HUMANITARIAN ACCESS FOR UNHCR, ICRC AND UNICEF IF HE COULD THEREBY GAIN A MORE POSITIVE IMAGE IN THE EYES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

9. COMMENT: KARADZIC'S PROMISES TO CODEL HALL ARE IN STARK CONTRAST TO THE CONSTANT STREAM OF OBSTACLES THAT

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HE HAS THROWN AT ICRC AND UNHCR HUMANITARIAN ACCESS AT
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ALL LEVELS. A LOCAL INDEPENDENT NEWS AGENCY REPORTED
CONGRESSMAN HALL'S VISIT TO PALE, BUT WE HAVE NOT YET
SEEN ANY FURTHER REACTION TO THE CODEL IN THE LOCAL
PRESS.

10. CODEL DID NOT HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO CLEAR THIS
CABLE PRIOR TO ITS DEPARTURE.

11. SARAJEVO - MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. PERINA

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PAGE 01 BELGRA 03622 251057Z
ACTION EUR-01

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	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01
	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00
	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	PRM-10	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00

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 USEU BRUSSELS
 AMEMBASSY TIRANA
 AMEMBASSY SOFIA
 AMEMBASSY ROME
 DIA WASHDC
 RUEHBMAMEMBASSY BUCHAREST 2328
 USMISSION GENEVA
 USMISSION USVIENNA
 AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 USMISSION USNATO
 AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO

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PAGE 02 BELGRA 03622 251057Z
AMEMBASSY BONN
USLO SKOPJE

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AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

UNCLAS BELGRADE 003622

USMISSION USVIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL OSCE
DEPT PLS PASS TO OVP FOR LFUERTH

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PHUM, PREF, SR, MW, BK
SUBJECT: FIRST CONVOY THROUGH TO GORAZDE

REF: BELGRADE 3599 AND PREVIOUS

1. TWO UNHCR CONVOYS CARRYING 176 METRIC TONS OF MOSTLY FOOD ENTERED GORAZDE JULY 24 AT 1835 LOCAL TIME. THE 22 TRUCKS IN THE TWO CONVOYS COMPLETED UNLOADING THEIR CARGOES AND WERE ON THEIR WAY BACK TO BELGRADE AS OF 1200 JULY 25. UNHCR STAFF IN BELGRADE EXPLAINED THAT GORAZDE'S 65,000 RESIDENTS AND REFUGEES HAD COMPLETELY EXHAUSTED HUMANITARIAN FOOD SUPPLIES, PHARMACEUTICALS AND OTHER MEDICAL NEEDS AT THE TIME THE CONVOYS ARRIVED.

2. UNHCR HAS SCHEDULED ANOTHER CONVOY FOR GORAZDE CONSISTING OF 88 METRIC TONS OF FOOD ITEMS (FLOUR, BEANS, SALT, SUGAR AND COOKING OIL). THE 11-TRUCK CONVOY IS DUE TO DEPART BELGRADE FOR THE KOTORMAN BORDER CROSSING THE EARLY AFTERNOON OF JULY 25, WITH ENTRY TO GORAZDE REQUESTED FOR JULY 27. (NOTE: UNHCR/BELGRADE UNCLASSIFIED

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SCHEDULES AT LEAST A 24-HOUR LEAD TIME TO PERMIT PROCESSING OF THE ENTRY REQUEST BY BOSNIAN SERB AUTHORITIES.)

3. UNHCR HAS ALSO SCHEDULED SMALLER HUMANITARIAN DELIVERIES TO SERB-HELD AREAS OF BOSNIA. FOR JULY 25, FOOD DELIVERIES HAVE BEEN SCHEDULED FOR THE GORAZDE SUBURB OF KOPACI (EIGHT METRIC TONS) AND THE TOWN OF VISEGRAD (18 METRIC TONS). ACCORDING TO UNHCR, THE SMALLER DELIVERIES REFLECT THE LESSER NEED FOR

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HUMANITARIAN DELIVERIES IN SERB-CONTROLLED AREAS, WHICH, UNLIKE THE ENCLAVES, ARE STILL RECEIVING FOOD THROUGH NORMAL COMMERCIAL CHANNELS.

4. ICRC/BELGRADE REPORTED NO CHANGE IN THE STALEMATE REGARDING ACCESS TO SREBRENICA DETAINEES CURRENTLY BEING HELD IN BRATUNAC AND OTHER LOCATIONS IN BOSNIA.

5. SARAJEVO -- MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. PERINA

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	BIB-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	INL-01	OASY-00
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	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01
	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00
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O 241356Z JUL 95
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 AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
 AMEMBASSY ATHENS
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 AMEMBASSY SOFIA
 AMEMBASSY BONN
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 AMEMBASSY TIRANA
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 USLO SKOPJE
 DIA WASHDC
 SECDEF WASHDC//OSD//
 USCINCEUR INTEL VAHINGEN GE
 AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 10 MAR 2009 200705105

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USEU BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY MADRID
USMISSION USVIENNA
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BELGRADE 003588

USMISSION USVIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL OSCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: 1/1/2005

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, SR, MW, BK, HR

SUBJECT: BELGRADE WARNS BOSNIAN SERBS NOT TO ATTACK
- GORAZDE; REACTION TO LONDON CONFERENCE MUTED

1. (C) SUMMARY: BELGRADE OFFICIALLY RESPONDED JULY 21 TO THE LATEST SESSION OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE WITH AN APPEAL TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS NOT TO ATTACK GORAZDE. INDEPENDENT MEDIA PREDICTED THAT THE BOSNIAN SERB MILITARY WAS NOT PREPARED TO CAPTURE GORAZDE IN THE NEAR FUTURE. HOWEVER, OVERALL REACTION TO THE LONDON CONFERENCE WAS MUTED. STATE MEDIA EMPHASIZED SUPPORT FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT WHILE HIGHLIGHTING THE RUSSIAN VIEW OF THE CONFERENCE AND POINTING UP CONTINUING DIFFERENCES AMONG CONTACT GROUP MEMBERS. THE BOSNIAN SERBS CONDEMNED THE CONFERENCE AS "WESTERN CONCEPTUAL CONFUSION." END SUMMARY.

2. (U) IN A STATEMENT ISSUED TO COINCIDE WITH THE CONCLUSION OF THE JULY 21 LONDON CONFERENCE ON THE
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CRISIS IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA, FEDERAL PRIME MINISTER RADOJE KONTIC CALLED ON THE BOSNIAN SERB MILITARY LEADERSHIP NOT TO ATTACK THE GORAZDE SAFE AREA. KONTIC CAUTIONED THE BOSNIAN SERBS THAT AN ESCALATION IN MILITARY OPERATIONS WOULD HAVE A "POWERFUL NEGATIVE EFFECT" ON THE SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF THE PEACE PROCESS.

3. (U) MEANWHILE, BELGRADE'S INDEPENDENT PRESS QUOTED SOURCES CLOSE TO THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY (BSA) THAT GENERAL LEADER RATKO MLADIC, WHO WAS REPORTEDLY

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DISAPPOINTED WITH BSA "EFFICIENCY" IN THE CAMPAIGNS AGAINST SREBRENICA AND ZEPA, WOULD NOT ATTACK GORAZDE IN THE NEAR FUTURE. THE SAME SOURCES PREDICTED AN ESCALATION IN FIGHTING IN WESTERN BOSNIA, BUT ADDED THAT DUE TO THE RELATIVE STRENGTH OF THE BOSNIAN ARMY FIFTH CORPS, BIHAC WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO CAPTURE WITHOUT HEAVY LOSSES TO THE BSA.

4. (U) STATE-RUN AND INDEPENDENT MEDIA REACTION TO THE CONFERENCE ITSELF WAS MUTED. THE PRO-GOVERNMENT DAILY POLITIKA ON JULY 22 HIGHLIGHTED THE CALL IN THE CLOSING STATEMENT FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT TO END THE CRISIS IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. POLITIKA NOTED THAT THE STATEMENT ALSO CONTAINED A THREAT TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS OF "FIRM AND SWIFT, SUBSTANTIVE AND DECISIVE" RETALIATION, INCLUDING THE USE OF AIR POWER, IF THEY TRIED TO CAPTURE GORAZDE. ACCORDING TO POLITIKA, HOWEVER, THE CONTACT GROUP MEMBERS WERE NOT IN FULL AGREEMENT. POLITIKA QUOTED RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ANDRE KOZYREV AS SAYING THAT THERE WAS NO CONSENSUS ON AIR STRIKES AGAINST THE BOSNIAN SERBS AND ADDED THAT RUSSIA WAS AGAINST SUCH

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MEASURES.

5. (U) THE INDEPENDENT DAILY NASA BORBA REPORTED ON JULY 24 THAT BOSNIAN SERB "FOREIGN MINISTER" ALEKSA BUHA VIEWED THE LONDON CONFERENCE AS "ANOTHER VICTORY OF CONCEPTUAL CONFUSION" IN SEEKING A SETTLEMENT OF THE YUGOSLAV CRISIS. BUHA SAID THE CONFERENCE HAD FEATURED A GROWING ANTI-SERBIAN WESTERN MILITARY ALLIANCE AND STRESSED THAT RUSSIA AND THE UN WERE AGAINST MILITARY ACTION. REGARDING THE PROTECTION OF THE SAFE AREAS, BUHA WARNED THAT ANY INTERVENTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WOULD ONLY LEAD TO GREATER BLOODSHED. BUHA CHARGED THAT THREATENING THE BOSNIAN SERBS WITH AIR STRIKE ONLY SERVED TO ENCOURAGE THE MILITARY AMBITIONS OF THE BOSNIAN ARMY.

6. (C) COMMENT: KONTIC'S STATEMENT ON GORAZDE AND THE GENERALLY MUTED REACTION TO THE LONDON CONFERENCE INDICATE THAT MILOSEVIC WOULD LIKE TO SEE A DECREASE IN

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BSA ACTIVITY AFTER THE FIGHTING IN SREBRENICA AND ZEPA.
A PUBLIC WARNING FROM BELGRADE TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS NOT

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	BIB-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	INL-01	OASY-00
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	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00
	USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRM-10	PRME-01
	PRMC-01	DRL-09	G-00	/041W			

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O 241356Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6573
INFO AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
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AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
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AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY TIRANA
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DIA WASHDC
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USCINCEUR INTEL VAIHINGEN GE
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
USEU BRUSSELS
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USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BELGRADE 003588

USMISSION USVIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL OSCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: 1/1/2005

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, SR, MW, BK, HR

SUBJECT: BELGRADE WARNS BOSNIAN SERBS NOT TO ATTACK
- GORAZDE; REACTION TO LONDON CONFERENCE MUTED

TO ATTACK A PARTICULAR TARGET HAS NO PRECEDENT IN OUR
MEMORY AND SUGGESTS THAT THE REGIME IS TAKING THE
CONTACT GROUP WARNING ON GORAZDE SERIOUSLY.

7. (U) EMBASSY SARAJEVO - MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
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ACTION SS-00

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	IO-08	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00
	SP-00	SSO-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SNIS-00
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 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
 USMISSION GENEVA
 AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
 USMISSION USVIENNA
 AMEMBASSY MADRID
 USEU BRUSSELS
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 AMEMBASSY VIENNA
 AMEMBASSY TIRANA
 AMEMBASSY BONN
 AMEMBASSY SOFIA

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AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ATHENS

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 10 MAR 2009 200705105

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USLO SKOPJE
DIA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BELGRADE 003542

USMISSION USVIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL OSCE
DEPT PLS PASS TO OVP FOR LFUERTH

E.O. 12356:DECL:07/19/05

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, ETTTC, EAID, SR, MW

SUBJECT: TFSROL: MONTENEGRIN PRESIDENT BULATOVIC
- PRESSES CASE FOR WATER SUPPLY PROJECT AND
- PORT OPENING; COM RESPONDS WITH SREBRENICA

REF: A) BELGRADE 1471 (NOTAL), B) BELGRADE 1428 (NOTAL)

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: MONTENEGRIN PRESIDENT BULATOVIC OFFERED FAMILIAR ARGUMENTS TO COM IN SUPPORT OF A REGIONAL WATER SUPPLY PROJECT AND THE OPENING OF THE PORT OF BAR. COM RESPONDED THAT THE QUICKEST WAY TO UNBLOCK SANCTIONS-RELATED PROBLEMS WAS AGREEMENT ON THE BOSNIAN RECOGNITION PACKAGE BEING NEGOTIATED BY CARL BILDT. HE WARNED THAT THE EVENTS IN SREBRENICA AND OTHER BOSNIAN SERB ACTIONS AGAIN THREATENED TO DE-RAIL THESE NEGOTIATIONS UNLESS THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND IN BOSNIA WAS STABILIZED AND HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS MET. END SUMMARY.

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3. BULATOVIC INVITED COM TO THE MONTENEGRIN VILLA IN BELGRADE JULY 19 TO REQUEST OUR SUPPORT ON HUMANITARIAN SANCTIONS EXEMPTIONS FOR A REGIONAL WATER SUPPLY PROJECT AND THE OPENING OF THE PORT OF BAR. NEW MONTENEGRIN FOREIGN MINISTER JANKO JEKNIC AND ECONOFF ALSO ATTENDED THE MEETING.

4. BULATOVIC PRESENTED WELL-WORN ARGUMENTS FOR THE WATER SUPPLY PROJECT, ASSERTING THAT THE PROJECT HAD

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HUMANITARIAN RATHER THAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE PROJECT WAS NOT INTENDED FOR SEASONAL TOURISTS BUT RATHER FOR LOCAL COASTAL RESIDENTS WHO SUFFERED FROM WATER SHORTAGES. BULATOVIC ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE USG COULD NOT SUPPORT AN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROJECT UNDER THE SANCTIONS REGIME, BUT APPEALED TO THE COM TO SUPPORT A LONG-TERM SOLUTION THAT WOULD ADDRESS PROBLEMS OF WATER SHORTAGES AND WATER-BORNE DISEASES IN A MANNER CONSISTENT WITH EUROPEAN SANITARY STANDARDS.

5. ON OPENING THE PORT OF BAR TO HUMANITARIAN SHIPMENTS, BULATOVIC NOTED THAT MONTENEGRO HAD FIRST RAISED THE PROPOSAL 18 MONTHS AGO. HE EXPLAINED THAT THE PROPOSAL HAD BEEN REJECTED THEN BECAUSE OF "POLITICAL INFLUENCES." WITH SUBSEQUENT CHANGES IN THE U.S. POLITICAL CLIMATE, AND PARTICULARLY IN WASHINGTON'S ATTITUDE TOWARD BELGRADE, BULATOVIC HOPED THE USG COULD NOW SUPPORT THE BAR PROPOSAL, AGAIN ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS.

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6. COM RESPONDED BY MAKING THREE POINTS:

-- THE SCARCITY OF DATA DOCUMENTING ADVERSE HEALTH EFFECTS ON MONTENEGRIN COASTAL COMMUNITIES PRESENTED DIFFICULTIES FOR THE SANCTIONS COMMITTEE. INTERNATIONAL HEALTH ORGANIZATIONS (WHO AND UNICEF) HAD BEEN UNABLE TO PROVIDE STATISTICS SHOWING ANY SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE IN INCIDENCE OF WATERBORNE DISEASES BETWEEN MONTENEGRO AND SERBIA. THE HUMANITARIAN BENEFITS OF THE PROJECT THUS FELL INTO A "GRAY AREA," UNLESS WE WERE GIVEN MORE PERSUASIVE DATA.

-- OPENING THE PORT OF BAR WAS A COST-SAVINGS RATHER THAN HUMANITARIAN ISSUE. WHILE USING BAR FOR HUMANITARIAN SHIPMENTS WOULD SAVE MONEY FOR THE WORLD FOOD PROGRAM (WFP), WASHINGTON SAW THE RISKS OF A NEW ENTRY POINT TO THE "FRY" OUTWEIGHING ANY COST SAVINGS, PARTICULARLY SINCE SUCH SAVINGS WOULD BE LIMITED TO ONLY A SINGLE SHIPMENT FROM ITALY.

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-- THE EASIEST WAY TO RESOLVE SANCTIONS-RELATED ISSUES WAS TO COME TO CLOSURE ON THE BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA RECOGNITION PACKAGE, WHICH WOULD LEAD TO RAPID SANCTIONS RELIEF. HOWEVER, ACTIONS BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS IN

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ACTION SS-00

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	BIB-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	CIP-01	COME-00
	CTME-00	INL-01	OASY-00	DOEE-00	ANHR-01	SRPP-00	EB-01
	EUR-01	FBIE-00	INLB-01	H-01	IMMC-01	TEDE-00	INR-00
	IO-08	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00
	SP-00	SSO-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SNIS-00
	NISC-01	PMB-00	PRM-10	PRME-01	PRMC-01	DRL-09	G-00

/047W

-----DB6CEF 201648Z /38

O 201644Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6554
INFO USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
USMISSION GENEVA

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AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
USMISSION USVIENNA
AMEMBASSY MADRID
USEU BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY TIRANA
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY SOFIA

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AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USLO SKOPJE
DIA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BELGRADE 003542

USMISSION USVIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL OSCE
DEPT PLS PASS TO OVP FOR LFUERTH

E.O. 12356:DECL:07/19/05

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, ETTC, EAID, SR, MW

SUBJECT: TFSROL: MONTENEGRIN PRESIDENT BULATOVIC
- PRESSES CASE FOR WATER SUPPLY PROJECT AND
- PORT OPENING; COM RESPONDS WITH SREBRENICA

SREBRENICA AND ELSEWHERE AGAIN THREATENED TO COMPLICATE
AND DERAIL THESE SENSITIVE NEGOTIATIONS
UNLESS
MILOSEVIC AND BULATOVIC USED ALL THEIR INFLUENCE TO
STABILIZE THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND.

7. LINKING DEVELOPMENTS IN SREBRENICA TO THE THEME OF
HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS, THE COM POINTED OUT THAT THE
SANCTIONS COMMITTEE WOULD HAVE PARTICULAR DIFFICULTY
BUYING BULATOVIC'S AMBIGUOUS CASE FOR HUMANITARIAN
SUFFERING ON THE ADRIATIC COAST, WHEN THE STARK
REALITIES OF THE HUMANITARIAN NIGHTMARE IN SREBRENICA
AND ZEPA WERE UNFOLDING NIGHTLY ON TELEVISION. COM

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URGED BULATOVIC TO USE HIS INFLUENCE WITH THE BOSNIAN
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SERBS FOR CONCRETE MEASURES TO EASE SUFFERING IN BOSNIA,
SPECIFICALLY THE RELEASE OF AN UNHCR CONVOY STILL
BLOCKED AT THE BORDER AND RED CROSS ACCESS TO DETAINEES
AND REFUGEES. COM URGED BULATOVIC TO IMPROVE THE
SITUATION ON THE GROUND BEFORE JULY 21, WHEN THE CONTACT
GROUP MINISTERS WOULD MEET IN LONDON.

8. BULATOVIC SAID THAT HE HAD MET WITH MILOSEVIC ON
JULY 18 AND ASSURED US THAT THE "FRY" WAS DOING
EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO IMPROVE THE SITUATION. HE
EXPRESSED HOPE THAT BOSNIAN SERB ARMY GENERAL RATKO
MLADIC WOULD TAKE THE NECESSARY DECISIONS JULY 19 TO
EFFECT IMPROVEMENTS. HE CAUTIONED, HOWEVER, THAT IN THE
SHORT RUN, HIS INFLUENCE AND MILOSEVIC'S INFLUENCE WERE
LIMITED AND THAT BELGRADE SHOULD NOT BE HELD RESPONSIBLE
FOR THE IRRATIONAL ACTIONS OF THE BOSNIAN SERB
LEADERSHIP.

9. COMMENT: BULATOVIC OFFERED NOTHING NEW IN SUPPORT
OF HUMANITARIAN OBJECTIVES FOR EITHER OF THE TWO
PROJECTS. HE UNDERSTOOD THE NEED TO PROVIDE STRONGER
DOCUMENTATION FOR THE WATER PROJECT AND AGREED TO CHECK
OTHER SOURCES TO PROVIDE US WITH MORE OBJECTIVE DATA.
(SEPTEL FOLLOWS ON CURRENT STATUS OF THE PROJECT.)
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E15

PTQ6537

SECRET

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PAGE 01 BELGRA 03403 131737Z
ACTION NODS-00

RELEASED IN FULL

INFO LOG-00 CCOE-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 /000W
-----D92CB9 131737Z /38

O 131739Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6458

S E C R E T BELGRADE 003403

NODIS DECAPTIONED

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/13/15
TAGS: PREL, SR
SUBJECT: JULY 13 MEETING WITH MILOSEVIC: OTHER ISSUES

REF: BELGRADE 3374

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. AT THE CONCLUSION OF MY JULY 13 MEETING WITH MILOSEVIC ON REFUGEE ASSISTANCE (REPORTED SEPTTEL), HE SAID HE WANTED TO RAISE TWO OTHER ISSUES.
3. FIRST, HE HAD THOUGHT ABOUT OUR CONVERSATION OF THE PREVIOUS DAY (REFTEL) AND WANTED TO TAKE SOME INITIATIVE TO "BREAK THROUGH" THE ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE IN BOSNIA. HE WAS THINKING OF CALLING UP IZETBEGOVIC AND PROPOSING A SECRET MEETING TO DISCUSS THE SITUATION. HE SAID HE HAD ALWAYS FOUND IZETBEGOVIC REASONABLE AND

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 10 MAR 2009 200705105

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BELIEVED SUCH A MEETING COULD HELP DEFUSE THE CURRENT CRISIS. HE ASKED FOR MY PERSONAL VIEW OF THE IDEA.

4. I RESPONDED THAT THE CURRENT SITUATION CERTAINLY CALLED FOR BOLD IDEAS TO SAVE THE PEACE PROCESS. ON THE OTHER HAND, I COULD NOT JUDGE WHETHER IZETBEGOVIC WOULD UNDERTAKE THE POLITICAL RISK OF SUCH A MEETING AFTER THE FALL OF SREBRENICA. THE PRICE OF MILITARY SUCCESS WAS THAT IT MADE IT VERY HARD FOR THE OTHER SIDE TO RESUME DIPLOMACY. THE SERBS SHOULD UNDERSTAND THIS AFTER WEST SLAVONIA. I SPECULATED THAT IZETBEGOVIC WOULD WANT SOME GESTURE FROM THE SERB SIDE, SUCH AS A PULLBACK FROM SREBRENICA. I ADVISED MILOSEVIC, HOWEVER, TO TAKE THE IDEA UP WITH BILDT, WHO WOULD BE THE LOGICAL INTERMEDIARY. MILOSEVIC SAID HE WOULD DO SO.

5. AS A SECOND POINT, MILOSEVIC SAID RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR SHIKIN HAD CALLED HIM A FEW MINUTES EARLIER TO SAY THAT CHURKIN WANTED TO COME TO BELGRADE TONIGHT, MEET WITH MILOSEVIC, AND PROCEED ON TO PALE. MILOSEVIC SAID THE ABRUPTNESS OF THE REQUEST IRRITATED HIM, AND HE BELIEVED GOING TO PALE RIGHT AFTER THE SREBRENICA EVENTS WAS A POLITICAL MISTAKE. HE HAD TOLD SHIKIN THAT HE COULD NOT MEET WITH CHURKIN BEFORE MONDAY AND WANTED NOTHING TO DO WITH THE PALE VISIT. MILOSEVIC SAID THIS WAS "FOR OUR INFORMATION" ONLY.

6. I SAID I APPRECIATED THE INFORMATION BUT KNEW NOTHING ABOUT THE CHURKIN VISIT. PERINA

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BELGRA 03403 131737Z

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E14

PTQ5893

CONFIDENTIAL PTQ5893

PAGE 01 BELGRA 03400 131438Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 TEDE-00 ADS-00 ONY-00 SSO-00 /001W
-----D91C86 131438Z /38

O 131440Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6455

RELEASED IN FULL

C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE 003400

FOR EUR A/S HOLBROOKE AND EUR/SCE CHRIS HILL ONLY

E.O. 12356: DECL:7/13/15
TAGS: OGEN
SUBJECT: OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. I DID NOT INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING IN MY FRONT-CHANNEL REPORT ON THE JULY 12 MEETING WITH MILOSEVIC, BUT WANTED TO PASS IT ON TO YOU.
3. AS I WAS LEAVING AT THE END OF THE MEETING, MILOSEVIC SAID HE WANTED TO TELL ME "OFF THE RECORD" THAT HE CONSIDERED IT A "GREAT PITY" THAT WE HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO CONCLUDE THE BOSNIA RECOGNITION PACKAGE DURING THE SESSIONS WITH BOB FRASURE. I SAID THAT WE HAD INDEED BEEN CLOSE, AND EVENTS SUCH AS SREBRENICA SHOWED THE IMPORTANCE OF MOVING QUICKLY WHEN THE OPPORTUNITY WAS THERE. HE ASKED ME IF I THOUGHT THAT

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BOB WOULD BE WILLING TO RETURN IF IT WOULD BE USEFUL
AT SOME POINT DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH BILDT.

I SAID THAT FOR THE MOMENT WE WERE LOOKING TO
BILDT TO FIND SOLUTIONS TO THE REMAINING PROBLEMS.
AT THE SAME TIME, AS BOB HAD STATED IN HIS LAST
MESSAGE, HE WOULD CONSIDER COMING BACK IF IT APPEARED
THAT THIS WOULD HELP CONCLUDE THE NEGOTIATIONS. I
STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT THERE WOULD HAVE TO BE
CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS BEYOND THE POINT AT WHICH WE
LEFT OFF. OTHERWISE, WE WOULD BE STUCK ON
THE SAME ISSUES. I TOLD MILOSEVIC TO WORK AS QUICKLY
AS HE COULD WITH BILDT. THE SREBRENICA EVENTS SHOWED
THAT THE SITUATION WAS MORE COMPLICATED AND DANGEROUS
EVERYDAY. I COULD NOT KNOW HOW LONG WE WOULD STILL
HAVE A WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY TO CONCLUDE THIS
AGREEMENT. MILOSEVIC NODDED HIS UNDERSTANDING.
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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ0067

PAGE 01 BELGRA 03330 120821Z
ACTION SS-00

INFO	LOG-00	AGRE-00	AID-00	A-00	BIB-01	CA-02	CCO-00
	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	COME-00	OASY-00	SRPP-00	DS-00	EUR-01
	FBIE-00	FBO-01	H-01	IMMC-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	LAB-01
	L-01	ADS-00	MFLO-03	MMP-00	M-00	DCP-01	NRRC-00
	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OCS-06	OIS-01	OMB-01	OPR-01	PA-01
	PC-01	PER-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	ASDS-01	FMP-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00
	PRME-01	PRMC-01	DRL-09	G-00	/039W		

-----D88C87 120821Z /38

O 120818Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6418
 INFO HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//POLAD//
 JCS WASHDC//J5 PMA//
 USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ3/ECJ4-PLO//
 DIA WASHDC
 SECDEF WASHDC//ISP (EUROPEAN POLICY)//
 AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

RELEASED IN FULL

C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE 003330

STATE FOR S/S-CMS, DS/DSS/OP, EUR/EX, EUR/SCE; BUDAPEST
FOR ADMIN AND RSO

E.O. 12356: DECL: 07/11/00
 TAGS: ASEC, PREL, SR
 SUBJECT: BOSNIA AIRSTRIKES: BELGRADE EAC MEETING
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 DATE/CASE ID: 10 MAR 2009 200705105

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1. C - ENTIRE TEXT

2. EMBASSY BELGRADE'S EMERGENCY ACTION COMMITTEE MET AT 1630 LOCAL JULY 11 TO REVIEW OUR SECURITY POSTURE FOLLOWING NATO AIRSTRIKES AROUND SREBRENICA. THE EAC AGREED TO GO TO A "MODIFIED STANDFAST" MODE, WITH EMBASSY PERSONNEL INSTRUCTED TO AVOID PUBLIC PLACES TO MINIMIZE EXPOSURE. A/RSO AND DETCOMDR WILL PLACE LOCAL GUARD FORCE AND MARINE DETACHMENT ON A HIGHER LEVEL OF ALERT. LOCAL MEDIA HAD NOT YET CARRIED THE AIRSTRIKES STORY AND NO THREATS HAVE BEEN RECEIVED AS OF 1700.

3. THE EAC WILL REEVALUATE THE SITUATION AT OOB, JULY 12.

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RELEASED IN FULL

CONFIDENTIAL PTQ1220

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	INL-01	OASY-00	DODE-00
	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	FBIE-00	INLB-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00
	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NEA-01	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01
	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	PRME-01
	DRL-09	G-00	/021W				

-----D99B25 141608Z /38

R 141558Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9380
 INFO AMCONSUL ADANA
 AMEMBASSY TIRANA
 AMEMBASSY SOFIA
 AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
 AMEMBASSY ATHENS
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 ANKARA 008128

E.O. 12356: 7/14/96
 TAGS: PREL, MOPS, TU, BK
 SUBJECT: DEMIREL CAUTIONS AGAINST "MUSLIM FORCE" IN
 BOSNIA WHILE PUBLIC ANGER HEATS UP

REFS: ANKARA 008023 (NOTAL)
 CONFIDENTIAL

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1. SUMMARY: (C) CONTINUED DETERIORATION OF THE STATUS OF THE REMAINING UN SAFE AREAS IN BOSNIA, AS WITH THE FALL OF SREBRENICA TO BOSNIAN SERB FORCES, WILL CAUSE PUBLIC ANGER IN TURKEY TO RISE STILL FURTHER. TO CONTROL THIS PUBLIC ANGER, THE GOT HAS: (A) STRONGLY CONDEMNED BOSNIAN SERB ACTIONS AND REGRETTED THE LACK OF EFFECTIVE RESPONSE BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, BUT (B) GIVEN NO INDICATION IT IS PREPARED TO TAKE UNILATERAL ACTION ON BOSNIA. IN FACT, PRESIDENT DEMIREL DISMISSED SPECULATION THAT A "MUSLIM" FORCE WILL BE SENT TO BOSNIA IN THE EVENT OF AN UNPROFOR PULLOUT AND CONFIRMED THAT, IF UNPROFOR DOES WITHDRAW, THE TURKISH CONTINGENT IN BOSNIA WILL COMPLY. END SUMMARY.

2. (C) PUBLIC ANGER OVER THE FALL OF SREBRENICA TO BOSNIAN SERB FORCES IS HEATING UP. EDITORIALS IN JULY 13 DAILIES LAY THE BLAME FOR SREBRENICA SQUARELY ON THE FAILURE OF MULTILATERAL EFFORTS AND ON THE WEST IN GENERAL (SEE REFTTEL). IN AN EFFORT TO TEMPER THE PUBLIC MOOD, THE GOT HAS STRONGLY CONDEMNED THE BOSNIAN SERB ATTACKS AND EXPRESSED ITS REGRET THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S RESPONSE HAS BEEN INSUFFICIENT. THE MFA RELEASED A STATEMENT JULY 12 ANNOUNCING THAT TURKEY SUPPORTS FRENCH PRESIDENT CHIRAC'S PROPOSALS FOR A FRENCH MILITARY INTERVENTION TO RESTORE THE SAFE HAVEN AND FAVORS A "USE OF FORCE" WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF EXISTING UN RESOLUTIONS. ON JULY 13, THE MFA DEPUTY SPOKESPERSON STATED THAT THE UN HAS LOST ITS CREDIBILITY AND CALLED FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE SAFE AREA AND DEMANDED BOSNIAN SERB TROOPS BE MADE TO WITHDRAW.

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3. (C) PRESIDENT SULEYMAN DEMIREL HAS ATTEMPTED TO MODERATE THE PUBLIC DEBATE, AS WELL, BUT WITH NOTABLY DIFFERENT TACTICS. IN A JULY 13 PRESS CONFERENCE IN TIRANA, WHERE HE IS ON AN OFFICIAL VISIT, DEMIREL CALLED ON THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO FIRMLY RESPOND TO BOSNIAN SERB AGGRESSION, BUT HE DISMISSED THE IDEA THAT "ISLAMIC VOLUNTEERS" BE SENT TO B-H IN THE EVENT OF AN UNPROFOR PULLOUT. DEMIREL ALSO SAID THAT THE TURKISH UNPROFOR CONTINGENT WOULD DEPART BOSNIA IF THE UNPROFOR

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MISSION WERE TO BE WITHDRAWN.

4. (C) DEMIREL, FURTHERMORE, ATTEMPTED TO DAMPEN SUGGESTIONS OF UNILATERAL ACTIONS ON BOSNIA. DEMIREL TOLD REPORTERS THAT WHAT RESPONSE TURKEY UNDERTAKES IN BOSNIA DEPENDS ON WHAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WANTS TURKEY TO DO. HIS REMARKS ARE CORROBORATED BY OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH MFA BALKANS DEPARTMENT CONTACTS. POLOFF MET WITH THE MFA BOSNIAN DESK OFFICER JULY 12, WHO INDICATED THAT TURKEY WILL CONTINUE TO APPEAL TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO ACT, ESPECIALLY THROUGH HIGH-LEVEL CONTACTS. THE DESK OFFICER INDICATED THAT DEMIREL'S LETTER TO LEADERS OF THE WESTERN CONTACT GROUP AND IOC BOSNIA CONTACT GROUP COUNTRIES (TEXT IN PARA 7) IS AN EXAMPLE OF THESE CONTACTS.

5. (C) MFA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT CONTACTS TELL US THAT THEY ARE PREPARING FOR A JULY 18-22 VISIT BY UNSYG BOUTROS-GHALI. THE UNSYG WILL LIKELY BE IN FOR A ROUGH RECEPTION AND POSSIBLY COULD FACE PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS. MOTHERLAND PARTY (ANAP) DEPUTY VEHBI

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DINCERLER, CO-CHAIR OF THE AD HOC PARLIAMENTARY BOSNIA COMMITTEE, TOLD POLOFF JULY 14 THAT MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE VISITED MFA UNDERSECRETARY ONUR OYMEN TO INSIST THAT THEY BE GIVEN A MEETING WITH THE UNSYG. THE UNSYG WILL MEET WITH PARLIAMENT SPEAKER HUSAMETTIN CINDORUK FOR 30 MINUTES AND THEN SPEND ONE HOUR IN A COMBINED SESSION WITH PARLIAMENT'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND BOSNIA COMMITTEES. DINCERLER SAID THAT BOUTROS-GHALI WILL RECEIVE A "CLEAR, MEANINGFUL, BUT NOT TOO HARSH" MESSAGE ON BOSNIA FROM THE PARLIAMENTARIANS. DINCERLER JOKED, HOWEVER, THAT THE UNSYG IS CERTAIN TO HEAR A LOT OF LOUD, ANGRY VOICES FROM OTHER QUARTERS. MOREOVER, SOME ISLAMIST WELFARE (REFAH) PARTY DEPUTIES PROTESTED IN FRONT OF THE UN MISSION, WHICH IS ACROSS THE STREET FROM THE EMBASSY ON JULY 13.

6. COMMENT: (C) BOSNIA REMAINS A VOLATILE ISSUE IN TURKEY, AND PUBLIC ANGER--INCLUDING POSSIBLE DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST WESTERN AND INTERNATIONAL

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ORGANIZATIONS' MISSIONS, AS OCCURRED IN APRIL 1994 OVER GORAZDE--COULD BOIL OVER IF THERE IS A SERIOUS DETERIORATION OF THE SITUATION IN THE SAFE AREAS OR HIGH CIVILIAN CASUALTIES RESULTING FROM AN EVACUATION FROM

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NNNNPTQ1222

CONFIDENTIAL PTQ1222

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	INL-01	OASY-00	DODE-00
	DOEE-00	SRFP-00	FBIE-00	INLB-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00
	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NEA-01	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01
	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	PRME-01
	DRL-09	G-00	/021W				

-----D99B30 141608Z /38

R 141558Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9381
INFO AMCONSUL ADANA
AMEMBASSY TIRANA
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 ANKARA 008128

E.O. 12356: 7/14/96

TAGS: PREL, MOPS, TU, BK

SUBJECT: DEMIREL CAUTIONS AGAINST "MUSLIM FORCE" IN
BOSNIA WHILE PUBLIC ANGER HEATS UP

SREBRENICA. THE GOT, HOWEVER, HAS GIVEN NO INDICATION
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PAGE 02 ANKARA 08128 02 OF 02 141557Z
THAT IT WOULD CONTEMPLATE UNDERTAKING UNILATERAL ACTION
ON BOSNIA TO APPEASE THE TURKISH PUBLIC. WE WOULD
EXPECT, NONETHELESS, THAT ANKARA WILL PUSH ITS ALLIES
FOR A STRENGTHENED UN MANDATE IN BOSNIA AND FURTHER NATO
AIR STRIKES.

7. (U) TEXT OF JULY 9 DEMIREL LETTER TO PRESIDENT
CLINTON.
BEGIN TEXT.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT

ACCORDING TO THE LATEST INFORMATION I HAVE, INCLUDING
WHAT I HAVE JUST RECEIVED FROM PRESIDENT IZETBEGOVIC
PERSONALLY, THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IS
GOING FROM BAD TO WORSE. THE THREE ENCLAVES TO THE EAST
OF THE COUNTRY WHICH HAVE BEEN DESIGNATED BY THE UNITED
NATIONS AS EXCLUSION ZONES ARE UNDER HEAVY ATTACK BY THE
BOSNIAN SERBS.

PARTICULARLY, THE TOWN OF SREBRENICA AMONG THOSE THREE
AND THE SURVIVAL OF ITS CIVILIAN POPULATION OF ABOUT
70,000 IS IN IMMINENT DANGER. THE TOWN IS NOW UNDER
CONTINUOUS AND INDISCRIMINATE SHELLING AND STRANGULATION.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

KNOWING YOUR INTEREST IN BRINGING ABOUT A PEACEFUL
SOLUTION TO THE ONGOING CONFLICT IN BOSNIA AND

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HERZEGOVINA I THOUGHT I SHOULD SHARE MY CONCERN WITH YOU
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ON THE URGENCY OF THE SITUATION AND TO ASK FOR YOUR
SUPPORT IN TAKING THE NECESSARY STEPS AND MEASURES FOR
THE EFFECTIVE AND IMMEDIATE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
RELEVANT UN RESOLUTIONS TO STOP THE AGGRESSION AGAINST
THE BOSNIAN TOWN OF SREBRENICA.

PLEASE ACCEPT EXCELLENCY THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST
CONSIDERATION.

SULEYMAN DEMIREL
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

END TEXT.

8. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
GROSSMAN

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ACTION PRM-10

INFO LOG-00 AID-00 AMAD-01 CA-02 OASY-00 SRPP-00 EUR-01
OIGO-01 TEDE-00 IO-08 ADS-00 OIC-02 FMP-00 /025W
-----DAFA06 191605Z /38

P 191646Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6478
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
USMISSION GENEVA

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 ZAGREB 002707

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, BK
SUBJECT: HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO DPS FROM SREBRENICA

SUMMARY

1. UNHCR REPORTS THAT THE ONE LARGE UNMET NEED OF THE DPS FROM SREBRENICA REMAINS SUMMER CLOTHING. MOST OF THE CLOTHING ASSISTANCE TARGETED FOR BOSNIA TO DATE HAS BEEN FOR WINTER, AND THERE ARE NO SUMMER ITEMS IN STOCK OR IN THE PIPELINE. A PORTION OF THE CLOTHING NEEDS FOR THE SREBRENICA DPS CAN BE MET WITH PRM RESOURCES THROUGH UMCOR PROJECT THAT HAS ALREADY BEEN APPROVED AND IRC PRODUCTIVITY PROJECT THAT WILL BE PRESENTED TO PPRC ON JULY 27. WE URGE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF GRANT MONEY TO
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 18 MAR 2009 200705105

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UMCOR AND FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION OF THE IRC PROPOSAL.
END SUMMARY.

NEED FOR SUMMER CLOTHING

2. IN COORDINATION MEETING HELD JULY 14 BY UNHCR, DONORS AND NGOS WERE ADVISED THAT MOST OF THE IMMEDIATE NEEDS OF THE DPS FROM SREBRENICA COULD BE MET QUICKLY THROUGH EXISTING STOCKS OR COMMODITIES IN THE PIPELINE. THEY POINTED OUT THAT THESE PEOPLE WERE ALREADY RECEIVING FOOD ASSISTANCE (WHEN CONVOYS COULD REACH THE ENCLAVE), AND THOSE FOOD STOCKS DESIGNATED FOR SREBRENICA COULD SIMPLY BE DIVERTED TO TUZLA. WITH A FEW EXCEPTIONS NOTED IN EARLIER MESSAGES, MOST OF THE NON-FOOD NEEDS COULD ALSO BE MET. ONE OF THOSE EXCEPTIONS IS SUMMER CLOTHING.

3. NEARLY ALL OF THE CLOTHING PROJECTS FOR BOSNIA PRIOR TO THIS HAVE CONCENTRATED ON WINTER ITEMS REQUIRED TO KEEP PEOPLE FROM FREEZING IN PLACES LIKE SARAJEVO THAT HAVE INSUFFICIENT FUEL FOR HEATING. ASIDE FROM SOME UNDERWEAR, THERE HAS NOT BEEN A PRESSING NEED FOR SUMMER ITEMS. MOST OF THE PEOPLE FROM SREBRENICA, HOWEVER, LEFT WITH NOTHING EXCEPT THE CLOTHES THEY WERE WEARING, AND ONE CHANGE OF CLOTHING FOR EACH DP IS DESPERATELY NEEDED TO MINIMIZE THE SPREAD OF LICE AND SCABIES.

4. UNHCR STRESSED THAT ANY DONATIONS MUST BE NEW CLOTHING SUITABLE FOR THE AGE AND GENDER MIX OF THE DP POPULATION. HCR NOTED THAT RECEIVING LARGE BALES OF UNSORTED, UNWASHED
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USED CLOTHES IS SOMETIMES FAR MORE COSTLY THAN DONATIONS OF NEW ITEMS. THEY HAVE TO PAY PEOPLE TO SORT, WASH, AND LABEL WHATEVER IS USABLE AND APPROPRIATE AND TO DISPOSE OF WHATEVER IS NOT.

UMCOR RESPONSE TO PLEA

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5. REFCOORD AND VISITING PRM/ENSA PROGRAM OFFICER MET IN SPLIT ON JULY 18 WITH UMCOR GROUP TO BRIEF THEM ON EVENTS IN TUZLA AS WELL AS TO DISCUSS UMCOR'S EMERGENCY MATERIAL STOCKPILING PROJECT THAT PRM HAS AGREED TO FUND. UMCOR COUNTRY DIRECTOR DIRK VAN GORP VOLUNTEERED TO EXPLORE THE FEASIBILITY OF OBTAINING SUMMER CLOTHING, AGREEING WITH REFCOORD'S SUGGESTION THAT HE SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON THOSE DPS WHO ARE BEING MOVED FROM TUZLA TO ZENICA. UMCOR MANAGES OVER 300 COLLECTIVE CENTERS IN THE ZENICA REGION FOR UNHCR AND DOES NOT WORK IN TUZLA.

6. UMCOR'S ASSOCIATE GENERAL SECRETARY FROM NEW YORK, WHO ALSO ATTENDED THE SPLIT MEETING, AUTHORIZED MR. VAN GORP TO ADVANCE UMCOR FUNDS FOR THE CLOTHING DONATION, WHICH WOULD THEN BE DRAWN FROM THE PRM GRANT ONCE THAT MONEY IS TRANSFERRED. IN ORDER TO MINIMIZE THE AMOUNT OF TIME THAT UMCOR IS OUT OF POCKET FOR THIS DONATION, HOWEVER, WE URGE PRM TO ACCELERATE THE CONTRACT PROCESS AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE.

7. BY EARLY MORNING ON JULY 19, VAN GORP WAS ABLE TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING ARRANGEMENTS: ONE COMPLETE CHANGE OF
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CLOTHING FOR 3,500 DPS (2,000 CHILDREN, 1,000 WOMEN, AND 500 MEN). EACH CHILD WILL RECEIVE ONE T-SHIRT AND ONE PAIR OF SHORTS; EACH WOMAN WILL RECEIVE ONE BLOUSE AND ONE SKIRT; EACH MAN WILL RECEIVE ONE SHIRT AND ONE PAIR OF TROUSERS; EVERYONE WILL GET A COMPLETE SET OF UNDERWEAR AND ONE PAIR OF TENNIS SHOES. THESE ARE LIGHTWEIGHT COTTON ITEMS FROM AN ITALIAN FACTORY, THAT HAS AGREED TO PROVIDE THE ENTIRE PACKAGE AT A COST OF USD 24 PER PERSON, OR A TOTAL OF USD 85,000, WITH DELIVERY TO METKOVIC BY COB ON JULY 20. UMCOR WILL TRANSPORT THE SHIPMENT ON TO ZENICA BY FRIDAY, JULY 21.

8. REFCOORD AUTHORIZED UMCOR TO PLACE THE ORDER AS OUTLINED, AND EXPRESSED APPRECIATION TO THE ORGANIZATION FOR ITS WILLINGNESS AND ABILITY TO ASSIST SO RAPIDLY AND APPROPRIATELY IN THIS SITUATION. UMCOR IN THE U.S. IS ALSO DONATING 450 BALES OF PRE-SORTED, WASHED, USED CLOTHING THAT WILL BE DELIVERED TO ZENICA AS QUICKLY AS

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POSSIBLE, BUT AT THE LATEST BY JULY 28.

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ACTION PRM-10

INFO LOG-00 AID-00 AMAD-01 CA-02 OASY-00 SRPP-00 EUR-01
OIGO-01 TEDE-00 IO-08 ADS-00 OIC-02 FMP-00 /025W
-----DAFAOD 191605Z /38

P 191646Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6479
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
USMISSION GENEVA

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 ZAGREB 002707

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, BK
SUBJECT: HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO DPS FROM SREBRENICA

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IRC WINTER CLOTHING

9. DURING JULY 19 MEETING WITH IRC/CROATIA COUNTRY DIRECTOR WILLIAM CARLOS, THE SUBJECT OF WINTER CLOTHING FOR THE DPS IN BOSNIA WAS DISCUSSED. WHILE THE IMMEDIATE NEED IS FOR SUMMER CLOTHING, WINTER WILL BE UPON US SOON, AND THESE SAME PEOPLE WILL REQUIRE SOME WARMER DUDS. CARLOS POINTED OUT THAT IRC'S PRODUCTIVITY PROJECT WOULD PROVIDE 35,000 ITEMS OF WINTER CLOTHING FOR DISPLACED CHILDREN AND WOMEN IN BOSNIA PRODUCED BY REFUGEE AND DISPLACED WOMEN IN CROATIA. SHEMANSKI ADVISED THAT THE
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PROPOSAL WOULD BE PRESENTED FOR CONSIDERATION ON JULY 27.

10. AGAIN, WE URGE IMMEDIATE APPROVAL, CONTRACT PROCESSING, AND TRANSFER OF THE REQUESTED FUNDING (USD 300,000) SO THAT IRC CAN COMPLETE THE MANUFACTURING AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE CLOTHING BY THE TIME WINTER SETS IN. THIS IS A MULTI-FACETED PROPOSAL THAT DELIVERS WINTER CLOTHING TO THE DPS IN BOSNIA, GENERATES A SMALL AMOUNT OF INCOME TO THE REFUGEE AND DISPLACED WOMEN IN CROATIA, PROVIDES THEM WITH A GREAT SENSE OF SELF-WORTH, AND STRENGTHENS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BOSNIAN REFUGEES AND CROATIAN DISPLACED IN CROATIA.

11. IN AN EFFORT TO COMPLETE THE WARM CLOTHING BEFORE COLD WEATHER BEGINS, IRC WILL DOUBLE THE NUMBER OF WOMEN EMPLOYED TO KNIT, AND WILL GET A HEAD START ON PRODUCTION BY USING DONATED YARN OR WOOL LEFTOVER FROM A SIMILAR PROJECT LAST YEAR. IT IS IMPERATIVE, HOWEVER, THAT WE PROCESS THIS PROPOSAL AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE.

12. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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ACTION IO-08

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AF-01	ARA-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00
	OASY-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	EAP-01	EUR-01	FBIE-00	H-01
	IMMC-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00
	M-00	NEA-01	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OIG-04	PA-01
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	SA-01	SSD-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00

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O 140111Z JUL 95
 FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6271
 INFO JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
 SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB IMMEDIATE
 USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY
 USNMR SHAPE BE PRIORITY
 USMISSION USVIENNA
 AMEMBASSY VIENNA
 AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
 AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
 AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
 AMEMBASSY MADRID

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 AMEMBASSY ATHENS
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 DATE/CASE ID: 13 MAR 2009 200705105

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AMEMBASSY ANKARA
USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 002781

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/11/05
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR,
SUBJECT: BOSNIA: SECRETARIAT ON SITUATION IN
-- SREBRENICA, NEXT STEPS

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.
2. DURING A JULY 13 MEETING OFFICIALS WITH THE SECRETARIAT'S DEPARTMENT OF PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS TOLD US THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAD VIOLATED "EVERY HUMANITARIAN CONVENTION" HE KNEW OF DURING THEIR FORCED RELOCATION OF CIVILIANS FROM SREBRENICA. HE SAID THAT UNPROFOR HAD REPORTED THAT THE SERBS HAD TAKEN UP TO 4,000 MEN AND BOYS BETWEEN THE AGES OF 16 AND 60 TO BRATUNAC. THEIR FATE IS OF CONCERN. HE ADDED THAT ALTHOUGH UNPROFOR HAD DESCRIBED THE BOSNIAN SERB TROOPS' ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE DISPLACED PERSONS AS "CORRECT," THE SERBS WERE NOT ALLOWING INTERNATIONAL ACCESS TO THE CIVILIANS AND WERE FORCING ALL THE INHABITANTS OF THE SREBRENICA POCKET TO LEAVE.

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DISPLACED PERSONS WERE BEING FORCED TO BOARD BUSES
WITHOUT BEING ASKED IF THEY WANTED TO LEAVE. IN SOME
CASES FAMILY MEMBERS ARE BEING PUT ON SEPARATE BUSES.

3. OUR CONTACT ALSO COMPLAINED ABOUT THE GOB'S ATTITUDE. HE SAID THAT MINISTER MURATOVIC HAD TOLD UNPROFOR AND UNHCR THAT THE UN WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR WHAT HAPPENED IN SREBRENICA, AND THEREFORE, THE FATE OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION WAS THE UN'S PROBLEM. UNHCR HAD COMPLAINED THAT THE GOB WAS REFUSING TO COOPERATE WITH

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EFFORTS TO HOUSE DISPLACED PERSONS WHO WERE ARRIVING IN KLADANJ, AND HAD INSISTED THAT THEY BE SENT TO UN COMPOUNDS. THUS, UNHCR HAD SET UP TENTS FOR 9,600 PERSONS AT THE TUZLA AIRPORT. AS OF MID-DAY JULY 13, HOWEVER, THERE WAS NO MORE SPACE AT THE AIRPORT AND UNHCR HAD RUN OUT OF TENTS. EVEN WORSE, MOST OF THE DISPLACED PERSONS WERE DEHYDRATED AND THERE WAS NOT ENOUGH WATER AT THE AIRPORT. OUR CONTACT SAID THAT UNHCR HAD APPEALED TO THE GOB FOR ASSISTANCE, BUT HAD NOT RECEIVED A POSITIVE RESPONSE. THE GOB WAS ALSO HOLDING UP A CONVOY OF HUMANITARIAN SUPPLIES BOUND FOR TUZLA FROM KISELJAK.

4. OUR CONTACT SAID THAT UNHCR EXPECTED THAT BY NIGHTFALL ON JULY 13 THE SERBS WOULD HAVE RELOCATED OVER 10,000 CIVILIANS FROM SREBRENICA. AS OF 1130 LOCAL TIME UNPROFOR AND UNHCR ESTIMATED THAT 5,550 DISPLACED PERSONS HAD ARRIVED AT TUZLA AIRBASE, AN ADDITIONAL 6,000 WERE IN KLADANJ AWAITING TRANSPORTATION TO TUZLA, AND 25,000 REMAINED IN POTOCARI.

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5. OUR CONTACT SAID THAT, ALTHOUGH UNPROFOR WOULD TRY TO CONVINCE THE BOSNIAN SERBS TO ACCEPT THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF A SMALLER, DEMILITARIZED SAFE AREA, THEY HAD LITTLE HOPE THAT THE SERBS WOULD ACCEPT AS THEY CLEARLY INTEND TO EXPEL THE ENTIRE CIVILIAN POPULATION OF THE SAFE AREA. HE ADDED THAT NO UNPROFOR PERSONNEL REMAIN IN THE TOWN OF SREBRENICA AND THEREFORE THE UN HAS NO IDEA HOW MANY CIVILIANS REMAIN THERE OR HOW THEY ARE BEING TREATED. THE DUTCH COMMANDER IN POTOCARI HAD CONTINUED TO MEET WITH GENERAL MLADIC. HE HAD REPORTED THAT MLADIC WAS "NOT IN A CONSTRUCTIVE MOOD," AND HAD SAID THAT THE DUTCH TROOPS WOULD ONLY BE ALLOWED TO LEAVE THE ENCLAVE IF THEY GAVE UP THEIR WEAPONS. THE DUTCH COMMANDER TOLD HIM THAT SUCH CONDITIONS WERE NOT ACCEPTABLE.

6. OUR CONTACT SAID THAT UNPROFOR WAS EXTREMELY CONCE

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RNED ABOUT ZEPA'S FATE. HE ESTIMATED THAT 5,000 CIVILIANS REMAINED IN ZEPA, ALONG WITH 80 UKRAINIAN UNPROFOR TROOPS. (ALTHOUGH THE "OFFICIAL" STRENGTH OF THE UKRAINIAN UNIT IN ZEPA IS 120, SOME ARE ON LEAVE

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INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AF-01	ARA-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00
	OASY-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	EAP-01	EUR-01	FBIE-00	H-01
	IMMC-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00
	M-00	NEA-01	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OIG-04	PA-01
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	SA-01	SSD-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00

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O 140111Z JUL 95
 FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6272
 INFO JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
 SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE

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AMEMBASSY ZAGREB IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY
USNMR SHAPE BE PRIORITY
USMISSION USVIENNA
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY MADRID

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AMEMBASSY ATHENS
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//POLAD//
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 002781

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/11/05
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR,
SUBJECT: BOSNIA: SECRETARIAT ON SITUATION IN
-- SREBRENICA, NEXT STEPS

AND THE SERBS HAVE NOT ALLOWED OTHERS TO RETURN FROM
LEAVE.)

7. OUR CONTACT SAID THAT THE SYG HAD ASKED UNPROFOR TO
DO A MILITARY STUDY ON WHETHER SREBRENICA COULD BE
REGAINED BY FORCE. THE SYG INTENDS TO USE THE STUDY,
WHICH EVERYONE ASSUMES WILL CONCLUDE THAT RETAKING
SREBRENICA WILL REQUIRE AN UNACCEPTABLE NUMBER OF
WELL-ARMED TROOPS, TO RESPOND TO THOSE CAPITALS ARGUING
IN FAVOR OF THE MILITARY OPTION. THE SYG, BASED ON A
PROPOSAL FROM UNDERSECRETARY GENERAL GOULDING, IS
SENDING THORVALD STOLTENBERG TO THE REGION, INCLUDING
PALE, AS A SPECIAL ENVOY (NOT AS ONE OF THE CO-CHAIRMEN

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OF ICFY) TO NEGOTIATE A LOCAL CEASEFIRE FOR SREBRENICA
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PAGE 03 USUN N 02781 02 OF 02 140130Z
AND TRY TO SALVAGE SOME PART OF THE SREBRENICA SAFE
AREA.

8. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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ACTION IO-08

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AF-01	ARA-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00
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	M-00	NEA-01	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OIG-04	PA-01
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	SA-01	SSD-01	PME-00	DRL-09	G-00

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O 130212Z JUL 95
 FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6244
 INFO UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB IMMEDIATE
 SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 USNMR SHAPE BE PRIORITY
 USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
 USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA
 AMEMBASSY ATHENS
 USMISSION GENEVA
 AMEMBASSY VIENNA
 USMISSION USVIENNA

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 AMEMBASSY MADRID
 AMEMBASSY ANKARA

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 DATE/CASE ID: 13 MAR 2009 200705105

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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//POLAD//

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 07 USUN NEW YORK 002768

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/12/05
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR,
SUBJECT: JULY 12: RESOLUTION ADOPTED ON SREBRENICA

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. SUMMARY: MORNING OF JULY 12 UNDERSECRETARY GENERAL FOR PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS ANNAN BRIEFED AMBASSADORS FROM THE CONTACT GROUP PLUS ITALY ON THE SITUATION AROUND SREBRENICA AND THE SECRETARIAT'S VIEW OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION UNDER DISCUSSION IN THE COUNCIL. ANNAN SAID THAT THE SECRETARIAT WAS CONCERNED THAT THE RESOLUTION RAISED UNREALISTIC EXPECTATIONS THAT A MILITARY RESPONSE TO THE BOSNIAN SERB ATTACK ON SREBRENICA WAS POSSIBLE. IN FACT, UNPROFOR HAD REPORTED THAT NO MILITARY RESPONSE WAS POSSIBLE, ESPECIALLY AS THE RAPID REACTION FORCE WAS NOT FULLY
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DEPLOYED. THUS, UNPROFOR WAS CONCENTRATING ON PROTECTING THE CIVILIAN POPULATION OF THE ENCLAVE AND ARRANGING THEIR EVACUATION. DURING A SUBSEQUENT MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, MEMBERS CONTINUED TO DISCUSS THE DRAFT RESOLUTION ON SREBRENICA. USYG GHAREKHAN BRIEFED THE COUNCIL ON THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN BOSNIA. INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS WERE FOLLOWED BY A FORMAL MEETING IN WHICH THE COUNCIL ADOPTED THE DRAFT AS RESOLUTION 1004 BY VOTE OF 15-0-0. TEXT OF RESOLUTION APPEARS IN PARA 17 BELOW.

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END SUMMARY.

CONTACT GROUP PLUS ITALY MEETS WITH ANNAN

3. ANNAN SAID THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS NOW HELD 51 DUTCH TROOPS AND HAD THREATENED TO SHELL THE UN COMPOUND IN POCARI IF NATO AIR POWER WAS USED AGAINST THEM. THE SERBS HAD DEPLOYED A NUMBER OF HEAVY WEAPONS WITHIN SIGHT OF THE UN COMPOUND TO EMPHASIZE THEIR POINT. THE DUTCH COMMANDER HAD HELD TWO "HOSTILE" MEETINGS WITH GENERAL MLADIC WHO IS IN SREBRENICA. DUTCH PERMREP BIEGMAN SAID THAT REPORTS HE HAD RECEIVED SAID THAT DURING THEIR FIRST MEETING MLADIC SLAUGHTERED A PIG IN FRONT OF THE DUTCH COMMANDER TO PROVE HIS TOUGHNESS. THE SECOND MEETING, HOWEVER, WAS MORE POSITIVE AND MLADIC AGREED TO THE EVACUATION OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION OF THE ENCLAVE. ANNAN SAID THAT THE DUTCH TROOPS HAD RATIONS THAT WOULD HAVE LASTED FOR TEN DAYS, BUT THEY HAD DECIDED TO SHARE THEM WITH THE DISPLACED PERSONS WHO HAD FLED TO POCARI. THEY CAN PROVIDE THE REFUGEES WITH TWO MEALS A DAY UNTIL JULY 13, AT WHICH

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POINT ALL FOOD WOULD HAVE RUN OUT. ALTHOUGH UNHCR AND UNPROFOR ARE TRYING TO EVACUATE THE DISPLACED PERSONS, THERE WAS AN URGENT NEED FOR FOOD AND MEDICINE AT POCARI. ANNAN SAID THAT THE GOB WAS BLOCKING THE EVACUATION, AND ASKED IF MEMBERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP COULD PRESSURE THEM TO COOPERATE WITH UNHCR'S EFFORTS.

4. ANNAN SAID THAT UNPROFOR WAS CONCERNED ABOUT GENERAL'S MLADIC'S STATEMENT TO BOSNIAN SERB RADIO DEMANDING THAT GOB FORCES IN ZEPA LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS. UNPROFOR WAS ALSO CONCERNED THAT THE RESOLUTION UNDER DISCUSSION IN THE COUNCIL WOULD RAISE UNREALISTIC EXPECTATIONS THAT THE RAPID REACTION FORCE COULD BE USED TO FORCE A BOSNIAN SERB WITHDRAWAL FROM SREBRENICA. OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 6 WAS OF PARTICULAR CONCERN. ANNAN SAID THAT THE RRF WAS NOT FULLY DEPLOYED AND THAT THE ELEMENTS ALREADY IN THEATER LACKED MOBILITY. THERE CAPABILITY TO DEPLOY TO SREBRENICA WITHOUT BOSNIAN SERB CONSENT WAS THEREFORE

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EXTREMELY LIMITED. ANNAN SAID THAT UNPROFOR'S ABILITY TO REACT TO WHAT HAS HAPPENED WAS LIMITED BY THE REALITIES ON THE GROUND. ITS FIRST PRIORITY WAS TO PROTECT AS MANY OF THE DISPLACED AS POSSIBLE, AND GET

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	M-00	NEA-01	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OIG-04	PA-01
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6245
INFO UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB IMMEDIATE
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 07 USUN NEW YORK 002768

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/12/05
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR,
SUBJECT: JULY 12: RESOLUTION ADOPTED ON SREBRENICA

THEM TO SAFETY.

5. FRENCH PERMREP MERIMEE SAID THAT THE RESOLUTION SHOULD NOT BE READ AS DECLARING WAR ON THE BOSNIAN SERBS. RATHER, IT GAVE THE SYG THE AUTHORITY TO TAKE ACTION BASED ON THE RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO HIM. IF UNPROFOR ANALYZES THE SITUATION AND CONCLUDES THAT MILITARY INTERVENTION IS NOT POSSIBLE, THE GOF WOULD NOT QUESTION THAT JUDGEMENT. AT THAT POINT UNPROFOR WOULD HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE BOSNIAN SERBS TO SAVE THE LIVES OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION OF THE SAFE AREA AND TO EVACUATE THEM. UK PERMREP HANNAY AGREED, NOTING THAT THE RESOLUTION LAID OUT THE COUNCIL'S BROAD OBJECTIVE OF RESTORING THE STATUS OF

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THE SREBRENICA SAFE AREA. HANNAY SAID THAT THE
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RESOLUTION DID NOT BAR THE POSSIBILITY THAT IT MIGHT
PROVE NECESSARY TO EVACUATE MOST OF THE CIVILIAN
POPULATION OF THE SAFE AREA.

GHAREKHAN BRIEFING

6. AMB GHAREKHAN REPORTED THAT SREBRENICA WAS
RELATIVELY QUIET TODAY. THE BSA FIRED SHELLS IN THE
VICINITY OF POCOCARI ON JULY 11. SINCE THEN THE BSA
HAS DEPLOYED TANKS, ARTILLERY PIECES, ROCKET LAUNCHERS,
AND AN ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUN TO THE AREA OF POCOCARI. ON
JULY 10 THE DUTCH CONTINGENTS WERE ORDERED TO ABANDON
THE REMAINING OBSERVATION POSTS AND WITHDRAW TO THEIR
MAIN BASE IN POCOCARI. THEY WERE UNABLE TO IMPLEMENT
THIS ORDER BECAUSE OF RESISTANCE FROM THE BOSNIAN
GOVERNMENT. THE BSA HAS NOW TAKEN OVER TWO OF THE FOUR
REMAINING OBSERVATION POSTS. DUTCH SOLDIERS MANNING
THE REMAINING TWO POSTS ARE HAVING DIFFICULTIES
WITHDRAWING TO POCOCARI. THE NUMBER OF DUTCH HOSTAGES
HELD BY THE BSA HAS INCREASED FROM 31 TO 51.

7. THE DUTCH CONTINGENT WAS NOW PRIMARILY ENGAGED IN
ASSISTING THE ESTIMATED 20,000 REFUGEES WHO HAD FLED TO
POCOCARI. FOOD SUPPLIES, WHICH THE DUTCH ARE SHARING
WITH THE REFUGEES, WILL BE EXHAUSTED TOMORROW. THERE
IS AN URGENT NEED FOR MEDICAL SUPPLIES. LACK OF
SHELTER HAS LED TO SANITATION PROBLEMS WHICH THREATEN
TO BECOME A PUBLIC HEALTH HAZARD. THE MAJORITY OF THE
POPULATION OF SREBRENICA CONSISTS OF PEOPLE ALREADY
DISPLACED SINCE 1993. MOST OF THE POPULATION IS EAGER
TO LEAVE SREBRENICA. THE DUTCH COMMANDER MET WITH BSA
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COMMANDER MLADIC ON JULY 11 AND 12 TO DISCUSS PLANS TO
RELOCATE THE REFUGEES. MLADIC ASSURED THE DUTCH
COMMANDER THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS WILL NOT STAND IN THE
WAY OF THE RELOCATION. UNHCR WANTS TO MOVE THE
REFUGEES TO KLADANJ, NEAR TUZLA, WHICH WOULD INVOLVE
CROSSING 60 KILOMETERS OF BOSNIAN SERB OCCUPIED
TERRITORY. THE OPERATION IS SET TO BEGIN ONCE UNPROFOR
AND UNHCR OBTAIN A GUARANTEE OF COOPERATION FROM THE
BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT. A SECRETARIAT OFFICIAL
SUBSEQUENTLY TOLD USUN THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAD PUT
3,000 PEOPLE ON BUSES HEADED TO KLADANJ. WHILE SOME
FORCE WAS USED, MOST REFUGEES WERE MORE THAN WILLING TO
LEAVE SREBRENICA.

8. GHAREKHAN REPORTED THAT THE SITUATION IN ZEPA IS
DETERIORATING. FIGHTING, INCLUDING THE SHELLING OF UN
POSTS, HAS INCREASED. MLADIC REPORTEDLY TOLD BOSNIANS
IN ZEPA TO LAY DOWN THEIR WEAPONS. THE UKRAINIAN
CONTINGENTS IN ZEPA WILL NOT BE ABLE TO SUCCESSFULLY
DEFEND ZEPA IF THE BSA LAUNCHES A DETERMINED ATTACK.
MILITARY ACTIVITY HAS ALSO INCREASED IN THE AREA OF
GORAZDE, ALTHOUGH GORAZDE IS SEEN AS MORE STABLE THAN
ZEPA. IN WHAT IS SEEN AS A RESPONSE TO CLOSE AIR

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 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6246
 INFO UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB IMMEDIATE
 SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 07 USUN NEW YORK 002768

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,

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USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

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SUPPORT OVER SREBRENICA, THE BSA INCREASED ITS SHELLING
OF SARAJEVO. GHAREKHAN SAID THAT UNPROFOR EXPECTED TO
BE INCREASINGLY TARGETED BY BOTH SIDES FOLLOWING
DEVELOPMENTS IN SREBRENICA.

ADOPTION OF THE RESOLUTION

9. THE COUNCIL UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED RESOLUTION 1004
CONDEMNING THE BOSNIAN SERB ATTACK ON SREBRENICA IN A
FORMAL MEETING ON JULY 12. REPRESENTATIVES FROM BOSNIA
AND CROATIA PARTICIPATED IN THE MEETING.
REPRESENTATIVES FROM BOSNIA, CROATIA, FRANCE, ITALY,
INDONESIA, OMAN, NIGERIA, RUSSIA, THE U.S., GERMANY,
THE UK, CHINA, THE CZECH REPUBLIC, ARGENTINA, AND
HONDURAS MADE STATEMENTS ON THE RESOLUTION. SYNOPSES
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OF KEY STATEMENTS FOLLOW.

10. BOSNIAN CHARGE MISIC STRESSED THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY'S FAILURE IN BOSNIA AND DEPICTED THE ATTACK
ON SREBRENICA AS THE FINAL ACT OF SERBIAN ETHNIC
CLEANSING. HE SAID THAT THE UN CANNOT ALLOW ITSELF TO
BE FURTHER HUMILIATED BY BOSNIAN SERB BLACKMAIL
ATTEMPTS. HE SAID THAT TODAY'S DECISION AFFECTED NOT
ONLY EVENTS IN BOSNIA, BUT HAD IMPLICATIONS FOR THE
UN'S ABILITY TO CARRY OUT ITS FUNCTION OF MAINTAINING
WORLD PEACE AND STABILITY. HE LABELED THE UN'S ATTEMPT
TO ADOPT A NEUTRAL, IMPARTIAL APPROACH TO EVENTS IN THE
BALKANS "DISTORTED," AND SAID THAT THAT MEANT TREATING
THE VICTIM AND THE AGGRESSOR IN THE SAME WAY. BOSNIA
SUPPORTS THE REHABILITATION OF THE UNPROFOR MANDATE AND
THE STRENGTHENING OF UNPROFOR SO THAT IT CAN PROVIDE
REAL PROTECTION TO THE SAFE AREAS, WHICH HE SAID WAS
NECESSARY AS LONG AS THE ARMS EMBARGO REMAINS IN

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FORCE. HE HOPED THAT THE RRF WOULD HELP ACHIEVE THESE OBJECTIVES, AND STATED THAT IF UNPROFOR IS UNABLE TO ACHIEVE THESE GOALS, THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD ASK FOR AN AGREEMENT THAT "WOULD ENABLE US TO ALLEVIATE THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE FAILURES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY."

11. THE CROATIAN REP SAID THAT THE DECISIONS OF BOSNIAN SERB LEADERS TO RENEW THEIR ADVANCES AGAINST THE SAFE AREAS POSED RISKS FOR CROATIAN INTERESTS. HE SAID THAT THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT WAS CONCERNED OVER THE PROSPECT THAT ADDITIONAL BOSNIAN REFUGEES WOULD FLEE TO CROATIA. THE DISPLACEMENT OF THE POPULATION OF
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BIHAC WOULD POSE GRAVE THREATS TO CROATIA'S INTERNAL SECURITY. HE ALSO NOTED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S INABILITY TO IMPLEMENT THE UNCRO MANDATE.

12. THE FRENCH REP SAID THAT THE BOSNIAN SERB ATTACK ON SREBRENICA, WHICH INVOLVED THE USE OF FORCE TO OCCUPY A SAFE AREA, REPRESENTED A CLEAR ESCALATION OF THE CONFLICT. THE RESOLUTION REFLECTS THE POSITION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY THAT IT IS UNACCEPTABLE TO QUESTION THE STATUS OF A SAFE AREA. HE NOTED THE RESOLUTION'S REQUEST THAT THE SYG USE "ALL RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO HIM" TO RESTORE THE STATUS OF THE SAFE AREA, AND SAID THAT WHILE FRANCE HAD NO WISH TO IMPOSE ANY PARTICULAR MEANS, HIS GOVERNMENT WAS PREPARED IF APPROPRIATE TO MAKE TROOPS AVAILABLE "FOR ANY REALISTIC UNDERTAKING." HE ALSO NOTED THE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS AND THE DANGER THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS WILL ATTACK OTHER SAFE AREAS.

13. THE RUSSIAN REP SAID THAT RUSSIA JOINED THE SC IN CONDEMNING THE BOSNIAN SERB AGGRESSION AGAINST THE SAFE AREA OF SREBRENICA. HE AGREED WITH THE NEED TO RESTORE SREBRENICA'S STATUS AS A DEMILITARIZED SAFE AREA WHICH,

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INFO UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB IMMEDIATE
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
USNMR SHAPE BE PRIORITY
USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY MADRID
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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//POLAD//

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JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

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HE STRESSED, BOTH SIDES HAD VIOLATED. UNPROFOR,
HOWEVER, MUST NOT EMPLOY FORCE TO RESTORE THE SAFE
AREA, BECAUSE THIS WOULD VIOLATE UNPROFOR'S
NEUTRALITY.

14. THE GERMAN REP CONDEMNED THE BOSNIAN SERB
OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE SAFE AREA AND NOTED THE IMPENDING
HUMANITARIAN DISASTER IN SREBRENICA. HE EXPRESSED
CONCERN THAT THE SAFE AREA OF ZEPA WOULD BE TARGETED
NEXT, AND URGED THE BOSNIAN SERB LEADERSHIP TO DESIST
FROM FURTHER AGGRESSION. HE STRESSED THAT THE SERBS
MUST BE MADE TO SEE THE PRICE OF THEIR ACTIONS, IN
TERMS OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL MEASURES IMPOSED BY THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

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15. THE UK REP SAID THAT THIS RESOLUTION EXPRESSED IN THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE TERMS THE COUNCIL'S CONDEMNATION OF BOSNIAN SERB AGGRESSION. HE NOTED THAT FOLLOWING THE AGREEMENT OF APRIL 1993 WHICH ESTABLISHED SREBRENICA AS A SAFE AREA, THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAD REPEATEDLY VIOLATED THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT. HE SAID THAT WHILE THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT HAD NOT IMPLEMENTED DEMILITARIZATION, THIS DID NOT JUSTIFY THE BOSNIAN SERB AGGRESSION. HE NOTED THE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS IN SREBRENICA AND URGED THAT UNHCR BE GIVEN IMMEDIATE ACCESS TO PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AND FACILITATE THE DEPARTURE OF REFUGEES WISHING TO LEAVE. HE NOTED THAT THE COUNCIL HAD NOW REQUESTED THE SYG TO USE ALL RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO HIM TO PROMOTE THE RESTORATION OF THE SAFE AREA OF SREBRENICA AND HOPED THAT UNPROFOR WOULD BRING THE PARTIES TO RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE APRIL 1993 AGREEMENT. HE ALSO EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR THE PARTIES TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR READINESS TO NEGOTIATE A POLITICAL SOLUTION, NOTING THAT UNPROFOR COULD NOT IMPOSE A SETTLEMENT IN THE ABSENCE OF THE PARTIES' WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE.

AMB ALBRIGHT'S EOVS

16. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF AMBASSADOR'S ALBRIGHT'S EOVS:
BEGIN TEXT:

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY--INCLUDING EVERY MEMBER OF
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THIS COUNCIL--HAS BEEN FORCED TO ADDRESS RAW AGGRESSION AND WAR CRIMES IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA FOR YEARS NOW.

THE RESOLUTION THE SECURITY COUNCIL ADOPTS TODAY
RIGHTLY CONDEMNNS THE OFFENSIVE ACTION BY THE BOSNIAN

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SERB FORCES AGAINST THE SAFE AREA OF SREBRENICA AND AGAINST UNPROFOR PERSONNEL. THE RESULTING EXODUS OF TENS OF THOUSANDS OF DISPLACED PERSONS NORTH TO POTOCARI IS THE SOLE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PALE LEADERSHIP. THE BRAZEN TREATMENT OF THE DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS IS OUTRAGEOUS. THESE ACTIONS FALL SQUARELY WITHIN THE JURISDICTION OF THE WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL FOR FORMER YUGOSLAVIA.

THE PALE LEADERSHIP SHOULD UNDERSTAND THAT ITS AGGRESSION AGAINST SREBRENICA AND ANY FUTURE ATTACKS AGAINST ANY OTHER SAFE AREAS, NOTABLY ZEPA AND GORAZDE, WILL DEEPEN ITS ISOLATION FROM THE WORLD COMMUNITY AND DISTANCE IT FURTHER FROM A SETTLEMENT IN BOSNIA.

ONE OF OUR IMMEDIATE NEEDS IS TO ADDRESS THE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS IN THE SREBRENICA AREA. THE

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	IMMC-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00
	M-00	NEA-01	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OIG-04	PA-01
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00

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INFO UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
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USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 05 OF 07 USUN NEW YORK 002768

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/12/05
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR,
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BOSNIAN SERBS MUST COMPLY WITH THE COUNCIL'S DEMAND FOR

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UNIMPEDED ACCESS FOR THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN AGENCIES TO THE AREA. MY GOVERNMENT WILL ASSIST THESE NEW VICTIMS OF BOSNIAN SERB AGGRESSION, AND WE ENCOURAGE OTHER GOVERNMENTS TO WORK WITH THE UNITED NATIONS TO MEET THEIR NEEDS.

THERE IS MUCH TALK TODAY ABOUT FAILURE--THE FAILURE OF UNPROFOR, OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, OF NATO, OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE, OF OUR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS. WE HAVE ALL SUFFERED A GRAVE INJURY IN RECENT DAYS. BUT IT IS THE BOSNIAN SERBS WHO HAVE FAILED TO COMPLY WITH THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THE LEGALLY-BINDING DEMANDS OF THIS COUNCIL.

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IN RECENT DAYS THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE ATTACKED THE VERY CORE OF THIS INSTITUTION, AND BROUGHT MORE DEATH AND MISERY TO TENS OF THOUSANDS OF BOSNIAN CITIZENS. WHILE ON THE GROUND THE PALE MILITIA IS ADVANCING, THEIR LEADERS ARE IN FULL RETREAT FROM ALL THAT WE STAND FOR AS AN INTERNATIONAL BODY COMMITTED TO PEACE AND SECURITY UNDER THE RULE OF LAW.

EVEN AS WE CONDEMN THE PALE SERBS' CONTEMPT FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, WE MUST ACKNOWLEDGE SHORTCOMINGS IN OUR EFFORTS. THE COUNCIL RESOLUTION TODAY WHICH WE HAVE CO-SPONSORED MUST BE THE BEGINNING OF CREDIBLE RESOLVE IN THIS BODY, IN OUR RESPECTIVE CAPITALS, AND ON THE GROUND IN BOSNIA, TO EMPLOY OUR RESOURCES IN THE MOST EFFECTIVE MANNER POSSIBLE, TO MEET THE HUMANITARIAN NEEDS OF SO MANY DESPERATE BOSNIAN CITIZENS, AND TO ACHIEVE A LASTING PEACE SETTLEMENT.

TO HELP ACHIEVE THESE ENDS, MY GOVERNMENT FIRMLY BELIEVES THAT UNPROFOR MUST REMAIN IN BOSNIA SUPPORTED BY THE RAPID REACTION FORCE. THE UNITED NATIONS HAS MADE SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE WELFARE OF THE BOSNIAN PEOPLE. UNPROFOR HAS A DIFFICULT MISSION THAT REQUIRES TOUGH DECISIONS UNDER OFTEN INTOLERABLE

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CONDITIONS. THE LEADERSHIP OF UNPROFOR WILL NEED TO MAKE EVEN TOUGHER DECISIONS IN THE DAYS AHEAD. MY GOVERNMENT BELIEVES THAT THE ROLE OF NATO--TO WHICH WE HAVE COMMITTED SIGNIFICANT RESOURCES--WILL BE VITAL TO THOSE DECISIONS, IN SUPPORT OF UNPROFOR.

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ALSO, WE SUPPORT FULL AND SPEEDY DEPLOYMENT OF THE RRF

AND WE ARE PREPARED TO PROVIDE NECESSARY AIRLIFT AND OTHER LOGISTICAL SUPPORT FOR THAT PURPOSE. RECENT STATEMENTS BY MANY OF OUR LEADERS TO MAKE THE RAPID REACTION FORCE AN EFFECTIVE INSTRUMENT IN SUPPORT OF UNPROFOR SHOULD NOW BE IMPLEMENTED.

TEXT OF RESOLUTION

17. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION NO 1004:

BEGIN TEXT:

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

RECALLING ALL ITS EARLIER RELEVANT RESOLUTIONS,

REAFFIRMING ITS COMMITMENT THE SOVEREIGNTY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF THE REPUBLIC OF

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ACTION IO-08

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AF-01	ARA-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00
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O 130212Z JUL 95
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 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB IMMEDIATE
 SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 USNMR SHAPE BE PRIORITY
 USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
 USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA
 AMEMBASSY ATHENS
 USMISSION GENEVA
 AMEMBASSY VIENNA
 USMISSION USVIENNA

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AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//POLAD//

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 06 OF 07 USUN NEW YORK 002768

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/12/05
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR,
SUBJECT: JULY 12: RESOLUTION ADOPTED ON SREBRENICA

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA,
GRAVELY CONCERNED AT THE DETERIORATION IN THE SITUATION
IN AND AROUND THE SAFE AREA OF SREBRENICA, REPUBLIC OF
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, AND AT THE PLIGHT OF THE
CIVILIAN POPULATION THERE,

GRAVELY CONCERNED ALSO AT THE VERY SERIOUS SITUATION
WHICH CONFRONTS PERSONNEL OF THE UNITED NATIONS
PROTECTION FORCE (UNPROFOR) AND A GREAT NUMBER OF
DISPLACED PERSONS WITHIN THE SAFE AREA OF POTOCARI,
ESPECIALLY THE LACK OF ESSENTIAL FOOD SUPPLIES AND
MEDICAL CARE,

PAYING TRIBUTE TO THE PERSONNEL OF UNPROFOR DEPLOYED IN
THE SAFE AREA OF SREBRENICA,
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CONDEMNING THE OFFENSIVE BY THE BOSNIAN SERB FORCES
AGAINST THE SAFE AREA OF SREBRENICA, AND IN PARTICULAR
THE DETENTION BY THE BOSNIAN SERB FORCES OF UNPROFOR
PERSONNEL,

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CONDEMNING ALSO ALL ATTACKS ON UNPROFOR PERSONNEL,

RECALLING THE AGREEMENT FOR THE DEMILITARIZATION OF SREBRENICA OF 18 APRIL 1993 (9/25700, ANNEX) BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA AND THE BOSNIAN SERB PARTY, AND REGRETTING THAT IT HAS NOT BEEN IMPLEMENTED IN FULL BY EITHER PARTY,

STRESSING THE IMPORTANCE OF RENEWED EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE AN OVERALL PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, AND THE UNACCEPTABILITY OF ANY ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE THE CONFLICT IN THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA BY MILITARY MEANS,

ACTING UNDER CHAPTER VII OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS,

1. DEMANDS THAT THE BOSNIAN SERB FORCES CEASE THEIR OFFENSIVE AND WITHDRAW FROM THE SAFE AREA OF SREBRENICA IMMEDIATELY;
2. DEMANDS ALSO THAT THE PARTIES RESPECT FULLY THE STATUTE OF THE SAFE AREA OF SREBRENICA IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE AGREEMENT OF 18 APRIL 1993;
3. DEMANDS FURTHER THAT THE PARTIES RESPECT FULLY THE
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PAGE 04 USUN N 02768 06 OF 07 130231Z
SAFETY OF UNPROFOR PERSONNEL AND ENSURE THEIR COMPLETE
FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, INCLUDING RESUPPLY;

4. DEMANDS THAT THE BOSNIAN SERB FORCES IMMEDIATELY AND UNCONDITIONALLY RELEASE UNHARMED ALL DETAINED UNPROFOR PERSONNEL;
5. DEMANDS THAT ALL PARTIES ALLOW UNIMPEDED ACCESS FOR THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN AGENCIES TO THE SAFE AREA OF SREBRENICA IN ORDER TO ALLEVIATE THE PLIGHT OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION, AND IN PARTICULAR THAT THEY COOPERATE ON THE RESTORATION OF UTILITIES;

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- 6. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO USE ALL RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO HIM TO RESTORE THE STATUS AS DEFINED BY THE AGREEMENT OF 18 APRIL 1993 OF THE SAFE AREA OF SREBRENICA IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE MANDATE OF UNPROFOR, AND CALLS ON THE PARTIES TO COOPERATE TO THAT AND;
- 7. DECIDES TO REMAIN ACTIVELY SEIZED OF THE MATTER.
- 18. SARAJEVO MINIMIZED CONSIDERED.

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PAGE 01 USUN N 02768 07 OF 07 130231Z
ACTION IO-08

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AF-01	ARA-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00
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 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6250
 INFO UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB IMMEDIATE

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SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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PAGE 02 USUN N 02768 07 OF 07 130231Z
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//POLAD//

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 07 OF 07 USUN NEW YORK 002768

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/12/05
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR,
SUBJECT: JULY 12: RESOLUTION ADOPTED ON SREBRENICA

END TEXT OF RESOLUTION.

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ACTION EUR-01

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 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8319
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 USEU BRUSSELS
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 USMISSION USNATO
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D), B6

C O N F I D E N T I A L DUBLIN 003631

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/26/15
 TAGS: PREL, UN, BK, SR, EI
 SUBJECT: IRELAND AND BOSNIA: KEEPING A LOW PROFILE

REF: (A) STATE 176060 (B) STATE 176067

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

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PAGE 02 DUBLIN 03631 261232Z
 2. (C) SUMMARY. DESPITE GROWING PUBLIC, PARLIAMENTARY,

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AND PRESS CALLS FOR (GENERALLY NON-SPECIFIC) GREATER GOVERNMENT ACTION ON BOSNIA, DUBLIN HAS NO PLANS FOR A CHANGE IN THE IRISH APPROACH -- MATERIAL SUPPORT FOR HUMANITARIAN RELIEF, POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR WHATEVER ACTIONS THE UN COLLECTIVELY DECIDES TO UNDERTAKE, AND NON-PARTICIPATION IN UNPROFOR. END SUMMARY.

3. (U) SINCE THE FALL OF SREBRENICA, IRISH HUMAN RIGHTS, REFUGEE, AND ASSOCIATED GROUPS HAVE SPONSORED A WELL-PUBLICIZED CAMPAIGN OF DEMONSTRATIONS CALLING FOR ACTION FROM THE IRISH GOVERNMENT AND THE UN COMMUNITY TO HALT THE CONFLICT IN BOSNIA. DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE INCLUDED EMOTIONAL APPEALS BY BOSNIAN REFUGEES IN IRELAND FOR SUPPORT AND LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL HAS PUBLISHED A DRAFT LETTER FOR IRISH CITIZENS TO SEND TO THE LEADERS OF SERBIA AND THE BOSNIA SERBS CONDEMNING THEIR ACTIONS. THE EMBASSY HAS RECEIVED A NUMBER OF INDEPENDENT LETTERS AND CALLS URGING THE U.S. TO TAKE ACTION.

4. (U) PARLIAMENT HAS JOINED THE CAMPAIGN. THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS APPROVED A RESOLUTION JULY 19 CALLING ON THE GOVERNMENT TO 1) INITIATE EU AND UN ACTION TO CHANGE THE MANDATE FOR UNPROFOR TO GIVE IT A PEACE ENFORCEMENT ROLE; 2) SUPPORT FRENCH PRESIDENT CHIRAC'S CALL FOR A MORE AGGRESSIVE UNPROFOR; 3) SUPPORT LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO SHOULD THE UN FAIL "TO NOW TAKE THE ACTION NECESSARY;" 4) ADMIT 1,000 ADDITIONAL BOSNIAN REFUGEES; 5) INCREASE HUMANITARIAN AID; AND 6) ADVOCATE GREATER ASSISTANCE FOR THE WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL.

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PAGE 03 DUBLIN 03631 261232Z

5. (U) THE GOVERNMENT'S PUBLIC REACTION TO THIS PRESSURE HAS BEEN LIMITED TO MINISTERIAL STATEMENTS DEPLORING SERB ACTION, SUPPORTING UNPROFOR, AND OPPOSING LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO. ON JULY 19 THE GOVERNMENT ISSUED A FORMAL STATEMENT, CONDEMNING "WITHOUT RESERVATION THE REPREHENSIBLE MILITARY ACTIONS OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS." THE STATEMENT ALSO URGED THE UN SYG TO "USE ALL MEANS AT HIS DISPOSAL TO TRY TO MAINTAIN THE PRESENCE OF UNPROFOR." IN A LIMITED BOW TO PARLIAMENT, THE GOVERNMENT URGED THAT FRENCH PROPOSALS RECEIVE "THE MOST SERIOUS URGENT

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CONSIDERATION." THE GOVERNMENT ALSO ANNOUNCED AN ADDITIONAL GRANT OF IRP 250,000 (USD 156K) TO VARIOUS NGOS FOR HUMANITARIAN RELIEF, BRINGING THE TOTAL IRISH CONTRIBUTION SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE CONFLICT TO OVER IRP 2.5 MILLION.

6. (C) [REDACTED]

B1, B6

[REDACTED] TOLD POLOFF JULY 25 THAT, BEYOND THE INCREASE IN HUMANITARIAN AID AND POSSIBLY ACCEPTING MORE REFUGEES, IRELAND HAD NO PLANS TO INCREASE ITS ROLE BEYOND THE POLICE/OBSERVERS NOW IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA (ONLY THREE ARE NOW IN BOSNIA). ASKED ABOUT CONTRIBUTING TO A REINFORCED UNPROFOR, [REDACTED] AT FIRST ONLY SAID "WE HAVE NOT BEEN ASKED." PRESSED, [REDACTED] SAID IRELAND WOULD CONSIDER A REQUEST TO CONTRIBUTE PERSONNEL TO UNPROFOR, BUT INDICATED THAT THE GOVERNMENT BELIEVES EXISTING IRISH COMMITMENTS ALREADY STRETCH THE FORCES TO THEIR LIMIT.

7. (C) THE GOVERNMENT, [REDACTED] SAID, IS PREPARED TO SUPPORT ANY MEASURES AGREED BY THE UN TO GIVE UNPROFOR THE ABILITY TO CARRY OUT ITS MANDATE. BECAUSE IRELAND IS NOT A TROOP
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DUBLIN 03631 261232Z

CONTRIBUTING NATION, DUBLIN WILL NOT COMMENT OR OFFER ANY VIEWS ON THE SPECIFICS OF HOW TO STRENGTHEN UNPROFOR OR ON ISSUES SUCH AS COMMAND AND CONTROL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN NATO AND THE UN. [REDACTED] DID ACKNOWLEDGE, HOWEVER, THAT DFA DOES BELIEVE UN POLITICAL AUTHORITIES SHOULD CONTINUE TO HAVE SOME ROLE IN DECISIONS ON NATO AIR ACTION.

8. (C) [REDACTED] ACKNOWLEDGED THE RISING PUBLIC PRESSURE

B1, B6

ON BOSNIA BUT INDICATED IT COULD BE MANAGED BECAUSE THE DEMANDS WERE DIFFUSE AND NON-SPECIFIC. THERE WAS, [REDACTED] SAID, AN ELEMENT OF "GRANDSTANDING" IN THE PARLIAMENT'S RESPONSE TO THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA. THOUGH PROFESSING LITTLE CONCERN, [REDACTED] ADMITTED THAT [REDACTED] HOPED PARLIAMENT WOULD NOT ISSUE ANY FURTHER STATEMENTS WHICH COULD COMPLICATE THE GOVERNMENT'S POSITION. SMITH

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PAGE 01 COPENH 03843 261127Z
ACTION EUR-01

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	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	FMP-00
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R 261123Z JUL 95
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 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7326
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 USMISSION GENEVA
 ALL NATO POST COLLECTIVE
 SECDEF WASHDC
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO

RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

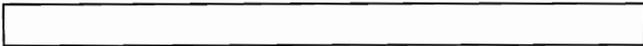
C O N F I D E N T I A L COPENHAGEN 003843

E.O. 12356: DECL: 2025
 TAGS: PREL, MARR, NATO, HR, BK, SR, DA
 SUBJECT: FROM LEOPARD TANKS TO REFUGEE TENTS: LOCAL
 COLOR ON DANISH PEACEKEEPING IN BOSNIA

REF: (A) COPENHAGEN 2697, (B) COPENHAGEN 2722,
 CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 COPENH 03843 261127Z



B1

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 25 JUL 2020
 DATE/CASE ID: 10 MAR 2009 200705105

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(D) COPENHAGEN 3719, (E) 94 COPENHAGEN 2773,
[REDACTED]

B1

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT. FOREIGN GOVERNMENT SOURCES.

2. SUMMARY: THE DANISH TANK SQUADRON AT TUZLA HAS TURNED FROM RETURNING AND STOPPING SERB FIRE TO ADMINISTERING TENT CAMPS FOR MUSLIM REFUGEES. IN CROATIA, THE DANISH PEACEKEEPING BATTALION HAS SEEN ITS MISSION CLOUDED BY THE CROATIAN OFFENSIVE AND "GUILT BY ASSOCIATION" WITH LESS EFFECTIVE NATIONAL CONTINGENTS. THE CAREER SOLDIERS' UNION HAS CALLED FOR CLEARER POLITICAL BACKING FOR THE PEACEKEEPERS IF THE VOLUNTEERS ARE TO REMAIN AVAILABLE. END SUMMARY.

3. IN THE PROCESS OF PREVIEWING THE LONDON CONFERENCE ON BOSNIA (REFTELS D AND F) WITH [REDACTED]

B1

[REDACTED] AND SINCE, WE HEARD A GREAT MANY GRACE NOTES. SINCE THEY ADD SOME COLOR TO THE BASIC THEME, WE SUMMARIZE THEM BELOW.

4. OUR INTERLOCUTORS SEVERAL TIMES SAID THAT ALL WAS QUIET ON THE DANISH DEPLOYED FRONTS. LAST YEAR, THE DANISH TANK SQUADRON AT TUZLA SEVERAL TIMES EFFECTIVELY RETURNED AND STOPPED PROBING SERB FIRE. SINCE THEN, THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT HAS INCREASINGLY RESTRICTED ITS MOVEMENTS, "PROBABLY TO KEEP IT FROM FINDING OUT WHAT THEY'RE UP TO." FEARING A REPETITION OF THE BOSNIAN SEIZURE OF UKRAINIAN WEAPONS AT GORAZDE, THE TANK

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PAGE 03 COPENH 03843 261127Z
SQUADRON HAS HUNKERED DOWN BEHIND A STRENGTHENED DEFENSIVE PERIMETER SINCE JULY 24. IT WAS THEREFORE A RELIEF WHEN THE SQUADRON GOT THE OPPORTUNITY TO HELP ESTABLISH AND ADMINISTER TENT CAMPS FOR MUSLIM REFUGEES FROM SREBRENICA, PROVIDING A SATISFYING HUMANITARIAN MISSION. HOWEVER, DANISH REFUGEE ORGANIZATIONS IN TUZLA ARE SERIOUSLY CONCERNED ABOUT MOVING THE 6,000 REFUGEES IN TENTS AT THE AIRPORT TO MORE SECURE FACILITIES, AND ALSO BY THE PROSPECT OF 10-13,000 NEW REFUGEES FROM ZEPA.

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5. IN CROATIA, HOWEVER, THE DANISH PEACEKEEPING BATTALION HAS NOT FOUND A NEW SENSE OF MISSION. DUE TO BE REPLACED BY A FRESH DANISH BATTALION IN AUGUST, CURRENT DANBAT PERSONNEL HAVE SEEN THEIR MISSION DIMINISHED BY THE RECENT CROATIAN OFFENSIVE. THEY ALSO SUFFER FROM "GUILT BY ASSOCIATION" WITH THE INABILITY OF OTHER UNPROFOR NATIONAL CONTINGENTS TO CONDUCT PROFESSIONAL, IMPARTIAL AND EFFECTIVE PEACEKEEPING ACTIVITIES IN AN ADMITTEDLY DIFFICULT SITUATION (SEE SEPTTEL IIR).

6. THE CAREER SOLDIERS' UNION (UNKNOWN ELSEWHERE, BUT NORMAL IN THE NORDIC WORLD) RECENTLY CALLED FOR CLEARER POLITICAL BACKING FOR THE PEACEKEEPERS. THERE IS NO SHORTAGE OF VOLUNTEERS, THE UNION LEADER SAID, IF THEY CAN JUST BE TOLD WHAT TO DO AND WHY THEIR COUNTRY WANTS THEM TO DO IT. ON AN INDIVIDUAL LEVEL, THE WILL IS THERE. ONE OF THE DANISH HOSTAGES TAKEN AFTER THE MAY AIR STRIKES WAS RELEASED, RETURNED TO DENMARK, AND PROMPTLY RE-UPPED FOR AN ADDITIONAL TOUR, ONE OF OUR INTERLOCUTORS NOTED RECENTLY. ACCORDING TO THE

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PAGE 04 COPENH 03843 261127Z
SOLDIERS' UNION, NOT A SINGLE DANISH PEACEKEEPER HAS ASKED TO SHORTEN HIS TOUR -- EVEN WITH THE THREAT OF HOSTAGE-TAKING NOW MUCH GREATER.

7. ON THE PARLIAMENTARY FRONT, THE CLASSICAL NORDIC CONCEPT OF PEACEKEEPING REMAINS SACROSANCT BUT THERE ARE SOME SIGNS OF BOSNIA-SPECIFIC RETHINKING, PRINCIPALLY ON THE WEAPONS EMBARGO. THE GOVERNMENT REMAINS COMMITTED TO IT AS A PRECONDITION FOR MAINTAINING UNPROFOR (AS REPORTED REFTELS A-D). HOWEVER, KONSERVATIVE PARTY LEADER ENGELL HAS ALREADY GONE ON RECORD IN FAVOR OF LIFT IF THE BOSNIAN MUSLIMS CANNOT BE DEFENDED (REFTEL D). ON JULY 19 A GROUP OF SECURITY POLICY THINK-TANK SPECIALISTS AND THE PARLIAMENTARY SPOKESMAN FOR ONE OF THE SMALL (AND MAVERICK) CENTER PARTIES IN THE GOVERNMENT COALITION, CENTER DEMOCRAT PETER DUETOFT, FOLLOWED SUIT. NONETHELESS, GOVERNMENT POLICY ON THE WEAPONS EMBARGO AND PEACEKEEPING REMAINS UNCHANGED.

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PAGE 01 BONN 14269 171750Z
ACTION EUR-01

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O 171751Z JUL 95
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 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1558
 INFO USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY
 USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY
 EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE. PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB PRIORITY

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C O N F I D E N T I A L BONN 14269

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/17/05
 TAGS: PREL, EUN, BN, SR, HR, GM
 SUBJECT: BOSNIA - GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTER REACTS NEGATIVELY TO
 BILDT EU BRIEFING

REF: BONN 14037 (NOTAL)

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

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PAGE 02 BONN 14269 171750Z
 2. FOLLOWING BILDT'S JULY 17 BRIEFING AT THE GENERAL AFFAIRS

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COUNCIL MEETING IN BRUSSELS, GERMAN FM KINKEL WAS HIGHLY CRITICAL OF BILD'T'S INTEREST IN NEGOTIATING FURTHER CONCESSIONS ON SANCTIONS RELIEF WITH MILOSEVIC. CONTACT GROUP REP STEINER, IN A TELEPHONE CALL BACK TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE, SAID BILD'T REPORTED HE HAD MADE "PROGRESS" WITH MILOSEVIC, BUT BILD'T WAS NOT WILLING TO PROVIDE FURTHER DETAILS. BILD'T PLANS TO CONTINUE THE DIALOGUE, BUT ADMITTED IN THE BRUSSELS BRIEFING THAT HIS NEGOTIATIONS "WOULD NOT PLEASE OUR AMERICAN PARTNERS."

3. KINKEL IS DISTURBED AT BILD'T'S WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE BOSNIAN SERB LEADERSHIP, PARTICULARLY WITH GENERAL MLADIC (REFTEL). [REDACTED] TOLD US THAT IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT FOR CHANCELLOR KOHL TO DEFEND WITH THE GERMAN PUBLIC ANY DEAL CONCLUDED WITH MLADIC AFTER SREBRENICA, AND NOTED THE INTENSE MEDIA COVERAGE IN GERMANY OF SERBIAN MILITARY ACTIVITIES.

B6

4. GERMANY BELIEVES THAT MILOSEVIC IS SEEKING FURTHER CONCESSIONS FROM BILD'T IN THE AREAS OF RELEASE OF FROZEN ASSETS, STEEL AND STRATEGIC GOODS, AND SFYRY SUCCESSION ISSUES, BUT REMAINS RELUCTANT TO AGREE TO MUTUAL RECOGNITION. KINKEL SAID GERMANY CANNOT SUPPORT FURTHER CONCESSIONS ON SANCTIONS RELIEF WHEN THERE IS LITTLE EVIDENCE THAT MILOSEVIC IS PREPARED TO ACCEPT A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. AN INDICATION OF THIS WAS MILOSEVIC'S UNWILLINGNESS TO CALL FOR RESTRAINT BY SERBS IN THE OFFENSIVE AGAINST SREBRENICA.
BINDENAGEL

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PAGE 01 BONN 14157 141642Z
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 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB PRIORITY
 FRG COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L BONN 14157

USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/14/99
 TAGS: GM, NATO, PARM, MARR, BN
 SUBJECT: GERMAN TORNADO DEPLOYMENT PROCEEDS WITHOUT
 CONTROVERSY IN THE WAKE OF SREBRENICA

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: AS KOHL AND KEY MEMBERS OF HIS CABINET
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 14157 141642Z
 CONVENED TO REVIEW BOSNIA POLICY AFTER THE FALL OF

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 DATE/CASE ID: 10 MAR 2009 200705105

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SREBRENICA (SEPTEL), EFFORTS TO DEPLOY GERMAN FORCES IN SUPPORT OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE CONTINUE UNABATED. PUBLIC AND BUNDESTAG REACTION TO RECENT EVENTS IN BOSNIA HAS BEEN MUTED, WITH FEW REGRETS OVER THE JUNE 30 VOTE APPROVING THE DEPLOYMENT. EVEN THE MEDIA, THOUGH INCREASINGLY SKEPTICAL OF UNPROFOR'S VIABILITY, HAS BEEN RESTRAINED IN ITS COVERAGE OF GERMAN INVOLVEMENT. END SUMMARY.

3. IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE SERB TAKEOVER OF SREBRENICA, THERE HAS BEEN VIRTUALLY NO CONTROVERSY OVER THE ON-GOING EFFORTS TO DEPLOY GERMAN FORCES IN SUPPORT OF UNPROFOR. AN ACTIVE PUBLIC CAMPAIGN, LAUNCHED BY THE COALITION IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE JUNE 30 BUNDESTAG VOTE, HAS INCLUDED VISITS BY KOHL, AS WELL AS KINKEL AND RUEHE, TO MILITARY BASES. THE CLEAR MESSAGE HAS BEEN ONE OF CALM AND REASSURANCE.

4. IN TERMS OF THE ACTUAL DEPLOYMENT PROCESS, WE ARE TOLD THAT THE BUNDESWEHR IS PROCEEDING ON THE BASIS OF ITS ORIGINAL TIMELINE, THOUGH NOW ADJUSTED FOR SOME TECHNICAL DELAYS. THE ECR TORNADOS ARE EXPECTED TO DEPLOY TO PIACENZA, ITALY AND TO BE OPERATIONALLY READY BY THE BEGINNING OF AUGUST. AN ADVANCE PARTY FOR THE MILITARY FIELD HOSPITAL IN CROATIA HAS ALREADY ARRIVED IN SPLIT; THE REST OF THE CONTINGENT OF MEDICAL AND SECURITY PERSONNEL IS EXPECTED BY THE END OF JULY.

5. BUNDESTAG REACTION HAS ALSO BEEN LOW-KEY. FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENSE COMMITTEE MEMBER [REDACTED] TOLD US JULY 13
CONFIDENTIAL

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THAT THE PUBLIC DEBATE PRIOR TO THE JUNE 30 BUNDESTAG VOTE HAD ESTABLISHED A CONSENSUS FOR LIMITED BUNDESWEHR SUPPORT TO THE RAPID REACTION FORCE OR FOR AN EXTRACTION OF UNPROFOR. THE BUNDESTAG HAD NOT AUTHORIZED GOING BEYOND THIS LIMITED MANDATE, EVEN IF FRANCE OR OTHER ALLIES PRESSED FOR MORE AGGRESSIVE MILITARY ACTIONS. HOWEVER, [REDACTED] WAS CONFIDENT THAT GERMAN PUBLIC OPINION WOULD REMAIN CALM ABOUT THE BUNDESWEHR ROLE IN THE BALKANS, THOUGH HE DID NOTE THAT COULD CHANGE SHOULD THERE BE A COMBAT-RELATED CASUALTY, SUCH AS THE SHOOTING DOWN OF A

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TORNADO PILOT. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] REFLECTED A SIMILARLY
RELAXED ATTITUDE, NOTING THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD GUARD
AGAINST ANY STEPS THAT COULD LEAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT
GERMANY WAS BEING SUCKED INTO THE FIGHTING IN THE BALKANS.
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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00
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	FRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00
	USIE-00	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/017W		

-----D8BFFB 121731Z /38

O 121732Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY BONN
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1411
 INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
 EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
 FRG COLLECTIVE

RELEASED IN PART
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 13928

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/12/05
 TAGS: PREL, PINR, FR, GM
 SUBJECT: FRANCO-GERMAN SUMMIT: BOSNIA OVERSHADOWS OTHER ISSUES,
 SATELLITES DISCUSSED ONLY WITH PRESS

1. (C) SUMMARY: THE FALL OF SREBRENICA OVERSHADOWED ALL OTHER ISSUES AT THE JULY 11 FRANCO-GERMAN SUMMIT IN STRASBOURG, BASED ON INITIAL REPORTS. ALTHOUGH CHANCELLOR KOHL JOINED PRESIDENT CHIRAC IN CONDEMNING SERB AGGRESSION AND CALLING FOR SUPPORT OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE, KOHL WAS ALSO CAREFUL TO STEP BACK FROM THE FORWARD-LEANING CHIRAC. WE DO NOT BELIEVE KOHL'S ACTIONS AT THE SUMMIT SIGNAL A CHANGE IN GERMAN POLICY

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PAGE 02 BONN 13928 01 OF 02 121731Z
 ON BOSNIA. ON FRENCH NUCLEAR TESTING, KOHL SAID GERMANY WOULD

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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 DATE/CASE ID: 10 MAR 2009 200705105

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NOT ENDORSE A BOYCOTT OF FRENCH PRODUCTS BUT INDICATED GERMAN DISPLEASURE WITH THE STEP. KOHL STATED PUBLICLY HE WOULD MAKE A DECISION ON RECONNAISSANCE SATELLITES BASED ON FINANCIAL FACTORS AND WILL NOT BE PRESSURED BY "COUNTRIES OUTSIDE OF EUROPE." CHIRAC JOINED KOHL IN ENDORSING MAJORITY VOTING IN THE EU UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS. END SUMMARY.

BOSNIA

2. (U) KOHL AND CHIRAC ISSUED A JOINT STATEMENT IN STRASBOURG CONDEMNING SERBIAN AGGRESSION IN SREBRENICA AND DEMANDING THAT SERBIAN FORCES WITHDRAW IMMEDIATELY. THE GERMAN AND FRENCH LEADERS CALLED FOR A MEETING OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL AND SAID THEY WOULD SUPPORT UN MEASURES "ESPECIALLY THROUGH THE SUPPORT OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE."

3. (C) [REDACTED] AFTER CHECKING WITH THE CHANCELLERY, TOLD US CHIRAC TOOK A VERY HARD LINE ENDORSING A CHAPTER VII RESOLUTION CONDEMNING BOSNIAN SERB AGGRESSION AND URGING THE UN TO RESTORE THE STATUS OF THE SAFE AREA USING THE RRF TO ACHIEVE THESE GOALS. KOHL WOULD NOT DISAGREE WITH CHIRAC PUBLICLY, BUT DOES NOT SHARE CHIRAC'S FORWARD-LEANING APPROACH TO THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA, ACCORDING TO [REDACTED]

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4. (U) AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE, KOHL DID NOT COMMENT ON CHIRAC'S CONDEMNATION OF MILOSEVIC, WITH WHOM CHIRAC HAD SPOKEN TWO DAYS BEFORE AND RECEIVED ASSURANCES THAT THE SITUATION AROUND SREBRENICA WOULD BECOME "CALMER." WHEN CHIRAC SAID FRANCE WOULD DEMAND THE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF UNPROFOR IF THE
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ARMS EMBARGO WERE LIFTED "AS A CERTAIN NUMBER OF MEMBERS OF THE U.S. CONGRESS SEEM TO WANT," KOHL DID NOT COMMENT.

5. (C) COMMENT: WE DO NOT BELIEVE KOHL'S ACTIONS IN STRASBOURG SIGNAL A CHANGE IN GERMAN POLICY ON BOSNIA. KOHL SHOWED SUPPORT FOR HIS NEW FRIEND, CHIRAC, WHO HAS TROOPS ON THE GROUND, BUT WILL REMAIN RELUCTANT TO GET GERMANY OUT IN FRONT. END COMMENT.

NUCLEAR TESTS

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6. (U) KOHL ANNOUNCED THAT PLANNED FRENCH NUCLEAR TESTS IN THE PACIFIC WOULD HAVE AN "EFFECT ON PUBLIC DISCUSSION" IN GERMANY, BUT SAID GERMANY WAS AGAINST ANY BOYCOTT OF FRENCH PRODUCTS -- THIS WAS NOT "A WAY TO TREAT FRIENDS." KOHL REITERATED GERMANY'S OWN POSITION IN FAVOR OF A TOTAL END TO NUCLEAR TESTING.

7. (U) BEFORE THE SUMMIT, THE CDU/CSU PARLIAMENTARY GROUP IN THE BUNDESTAG HAD STATED THAT THEY WOULD WELCOME FRANCE ABANDONING ITS PLANS FOR NUCLEAR TESTS. THE FDP PRESIDUM, WHICH INCLUDES FM KINKEL, UNANIMOUSLY APPEALED TO THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT TO REFRAIN FROM THE TESTS. ALREADY AFTER FRANCE'S ANNOUNCEMENT, KINKEL HAD TOLD FM DE CHARETTE THAT HE WAS "NOT HAPPY" ABOUT THE DECISION. THE OPPOSITION SPD HAS URGED KOHL TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT IN HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH CHIRAC.

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00
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	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00
	USIE-00	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/017W		

-----D8C005 121732Z /38

O 121732Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1412
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
FRG COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 13928

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/12/05
TAGS: PREL, PINR, FR, GM

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SUBJECT: FRANCO-GERMAN SUMMIT: BOSNIA OVERSHADOWS OTHER ISSUES,
SATELLITES DISCUSSED ONLY WITH PRESS

SATELLITES

8. (U) WHEN ASKED BY A REPORTER IF HE AND CHIRAC HAD MADE ANY
PROGRESS REGARDING RECONNAISSANCE SATELLITES, KOHL REPLIED THAT
IT WAS NOT A TOPIC OF DISCUSSION AT THE SUMMIT, BUT THAT BOTH
SIDES BELIEVE THE ISSUE MUST BE DECIDED SOON -- FINANCIAL
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ISSUES WOULD BE THE DECIDING FACTOR. KOHL SAID HE WOULD NOT BE
PRESSURED BY ANYONE, INCLUDING "COUNTRIES OUTSIDE OF EUROPE."
CHIRAC RESPONDED THAT, ALTHOUGH HE KNOWS KOHL IS NOT A PERSON
TO BE PRESSURED, IT WILL NOT STOP HIM FROM ATTEMPTING TO PUT
PRESSURE ON KOHL.

EUROPEAN UNION

9. (U) KOHL SAID THAT CERTAIN QUESTIONS WILL ARISE IN THE EU
WHICH WILL NEED TO BE DECIDED BY A MAJORITY VOTE. IN RESPONSE
TO A QUESTION ABOUT THE EU, KOHL SAID MAJORITY VOTING WAS NOT
AN ISSUE RAISED AT THE SUMMIT, BUT THAT HE BELIEVES "CERTAIN
FACTORS MUST BE WEIGHED" REGARDING THE SYSTEM. "FRANCE WAS
NEVER AGAINST MAJORITY VOTING," SAID CHIRAC, EXPLAINING THAT
FRANCE IS "ABSOLUTELY READY" TO ACCEPT THAT MAJORITY VOTING HAS
A BASIS.
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PAGE 01 BELGRA 03627 251445Z
ACTION H-06

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 DS-00 EUR-01 TEDE-00 IO-06 ADS-00
OIC-02 DSCC-00 /015W

-----DCCC63 251445Z /38

O 251440Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6595
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE BELGRADE 003627

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: OREP, ASEC, SR, BK
SUBJECT: CODEL HALL TRAVEL TO BELGRADE

REF: STATE 176844

1. DECONTROL UPON RECEIPT -- SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED
-- PROTECT ACCORDINGLY.

2. EMBASSY WARMLY WELCOMES PROPOSED VISIT TO BELGRADE
BY CODEL HALL. HARVEY LEE, ECONOMIC OFFICER, HAS BEEN
DESIGNATED AS POINT OF CONTACT. HE MAY BE REACHED AT
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PAGE 02 BELGRA 03627 251445Z
381-11-645-655 (OFFICE EXTENSION 624) OR

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(HOME). SHOULD THE CODEL DECIDE ON THE OPTION OF COMBINING TRAVEL TO BOSNIA WITH A VISIT TO BELGRADE, WE WOULD LIKE TO RAISE SOME URGENT CONSIDERATIONS.

3. NO MENTION IS MADE IN REFTTEL OF "FRY" VISAS FOR CODEL HALL. WE WOULD STRONGLY ADVISE THAT CONGRESSMAN HALL AND ALL ACCOMPANYING STAFF MEMBERS OBTAIN VISAS FROM THE YUGOSLAV EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON BEFORE DEPARTURE. OFFICIAL VISITORS ARE NOT USUALLY ISSUED VISAS EITHER AT THE BORDER OR THE BELGRADE AIRPORT. RECENT EXPERIENCE WITH CODELS SHOWS THAT BELGRADE WILL INSIST ON A DETAILED ITINERARY AND WILL NOT ISSUE VISAS WITHOUT ONE.

4. WE WOULD ALSO STRONGLY DISCOURAGE OVERLAND TRAVEL FROM TUZLA TO BELGRADE. THE TRIP WOULD REQUIRE CODEL HALL TO TRAVEL THROUGH AN ACTIVE CONFRONTATION LINE IF DIRECT TRAVEL TO SERBIA WAS ATTEMPTED. GIVEN THE RECENT FIGHTING IN EASTERN BOSNIA AROUND SREBRENICA AND ZEPA, AND WITH CONTINUED FIGHTING IN THE BIHAC POCKET, SARAJEVO AND AROUND TUZLA ITSELF, THE SECURITY SITUATION BETWEEN TUZLA AND BELGRADE IS UNPREDICTABLE AND COULD DETERIORATE RAPIDLY.

5. IF CODEL HALL CHOOSES TO COME TO BELGRADE, WE WOULD SUGGEST THAT THE MOST PRUDENT ROUTE WOULD BE RETURNING TO SPLIT, WHERE THE CODEL COULD THEN MAKE CONNECTIONS TO ZURICH, FRANKFURT OR VIENNA, ALL OF WHICH PROVIDE SAFE ONWARD AIR CONNECTIONS TO BELGRADE.

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PAGE 03 BELGRA 03627 251445Z

6. EMBASSY REQUESTS MORE INFORMATION ON CODEL HALL'S SPECIFIC INTERESTS WHILE IN BELGRADE IN ORDER TO ARRANGE A PROGRAM THAT WOULD BEST MEET THE CODEL'S NEEDS.

7. THREAT ASSESSMENT FOLLOWS SEPTTEL.

8. SARAJEVO -- MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. PERINA

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO LOG-00 AID-00 CIAE-00 SMEC-00 OASY-00 DODE-00 SRPP-00
EB-01 H-01 TEDE-00 INR-00 IO-08 LAB-01 L-01
ADS-00 M-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01
PM-00 PRS-01 P-01 SCT-00 SP-00 SS-00 STR-01
TRSE-00 T-00 USIE-00 PMB-00 PRME-01 DRL-09 G-00
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-----DA8DFD 181528Z /38

P 181456Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3755
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
INFO EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE

RELEASED IN PART
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 ATHENS 006432

DEPT FOR EUR/SE

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/13/05
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, ZL, GR
SUBJECT: RECRUITING GREEK VOLUNTEERS FOR BOSNIA

1. CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THIS IS AN ACTION REQUEST -- SEE PARA 6.
3. ON JULY 14 INDIGNANTLY
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CALLED OUR ATTENTION TO AN ARTICLE IN THE JULY 13 GREEK DAILY, "ETHNOS," (PRO-PASOK) WHICH PROMOTES THE ROLE OF GREEK VOLUNTEERS FIGHTING IN BOSNIA ON THE SIDE OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS AND INCLUDES A PHOTO OF GREEK VOLUNTEERS HOLDING A GREEK FLAG. THOUGH WE HAVE SEEN SIMILAR MEDIA REPORTS ABOUT THE GREEK VOLUNTEERS ON TELEVISION, THE "ETHNOS" ARTICLE IS THE FIRST TO PROVIDE DETAILS ABOUT NUMBERS ("MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED") AND EVEN NAMES NINE GREEK VOLUNTEERS WHO REPORTEDLY FOUGHT TO TAKE SREBRENICA. (NOTE: WE HAVE ENTERED THE INDIVIDUAL'S NAMES IN THE EMBASSY'S HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH DATABASE. END NOTE.)

4. THE ARTICLE ALSO LISTS CONTACT NUMBERS FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ABOUT GREEK VOLUNTEERS FIGHTING IN BOSNIA, WHICH OUR CROATIAN COLLEAGUE INFORMED US IS MANNED BY AN INDIVIDUAL HIMSELF PURPORTING TO HAVE SERVED IN BOSNIA, WHO ENCOURAGES, IF NOT RECRUITS, OTHERS POSSIBLY INTERESTED IN DOING SO. (THE TEXT OF THE ARTICLE FOLLOWS, AT PARA 6.)

5. COMMENT: THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT THE VOLUNTEERS ENJOY ANY BACKING, MORAL OR OTHERWISE, FROM THE GOG. GENERALLY, THE ISSUE OF THE GREEK VOLUNTEERS IS PRESENTED IN THE GREEK MEDIA AS A RELIGIOUS FIGHT FOR THE HONOR OF ORTHODOXY. THOUGH THERE IS NO EVIDENCE OF A GROUNDSWELL OF RESPONSE FROM GREEKS OF FIGHTING AGE, THE PERSONAL STORIES OF GREEK "VETERANS" OF THE WAR IN BOSNIA AIRED RECENTLY BY PRIVATE TELEVISION STATIONS AND EARLIER ARTICLES HAVE RECEIVED RESPECTFUL ATTENTION FROM A LARGE

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SEGMENT OF THE GREEK PUBLIC. END COMMENT.

6. CHARGE RAISED THE "ETHNOS" ARTICLE IN A MEETING WITH [REDACTED] ON ANOTHER SUBJECT (SEPTTEL). CHARGE SAID IT REFLECTED POORLY ON GREECE TO HAVE GREECE AND THE GREEK FLAG ASSOCIATED WITH THE DEPLORABLE EVENTS IN SREBRENICA. [REDACTED] RESPONDED THAT THE GREEK VOLUNTEERS HAD NOT ASKED FOR COG PERMISSION TO FIGHT IN BOSNIA, AND

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THAT THEY WERE DOING SO STRICTLY AS INDIVIDUALS. HE DID NOT KNOW IF THEY WERE BREAKING ANY GREEK LAWS BY DOING SO. CHARGE ENCOURAGED [REDACTED] TO CHECK INTO WHETHER ANY GREEK LAWS WERE BEING VIOLATED OR WHETHER THE GOG'S INACTION VIOLATED UNSC SANCTIONS IN ANY WAY. (FOR DEPARTMENT: DOES THIS VIOLATE UNSC SANCTIONS? IS GREECE OBLIGED TO TAKE ANY ACTION AGAINST THESE VOLUNTEERS?) [REDACTED] ADDED THAT THERE ARE ALSO VOLUNTEERS FIGHTING ON THE BOSNIAN MUSLIM SIDE.

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7. BEGIN TEXT OF "ETHNOS" ARTICLE, JULY 13, 1995:

TITLE: THEY HOISTED THE GREEK FLAG IN SREBRENICA

FOUR FLAGS WERE HOISTED YESTERDAY EVENING IN SREBRENICA AT THE RUINS OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH: THE SERBIAN FLAG, THE GREEK FLAG, THE VERGINA FLAG AND THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE FLAG.

THEY WAVE TOGETHER, SIDE BY SIDE, AS EVIDENCE OF THE SOLIDARITY OF THE TWO PEOPLES AND THE GRATITUDE OF
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THE SERBIAN SOLDIERS FOR THE HELP OF THE GREEK VOLUNTEERS FIGHTING AT THEIR SIDE.

TEN (SIC) OF THE GREEK VOLUNTEERS FIGHTING FOR THE SERBS FOUGHT ON THE SREBRENICA FRONT: ANTONIS MITKOS, TRIANOS VASILEIADIS, SPIROS TZANOPOULOS, GEORGE LYMBERIDIS, KOSTAS KYRIAKIDIS, CHRISTOS DIMOULAS, VASSILIS SCHIZAS, KONSTANTINOS KALTSOUNIS AND A GREEK-ROMANIAN NAMED ANNA FLORIN.

THE DAY BEFORE YESTERDAY THEY CELEBRATED TOGETHER WITH THE SERBIAN SOLDIERS THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE BLUE-HELMETS FROM SREBRENICA, WHICH SIGNALLED THE TAKEOVER OF THE CITY BY THE SERBIANS. RIGHT AFTER VICTORY, THEY HOISTED THE FLAGS AND SANG THE ANTHEMS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES.

THE DANGER FROM THE CONTINUAL BOMBING WAS GREAT, BUT

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ALL GREEKS, AS STATED TO "ETHNOS" BY ONE OF THE VOLUNTEERS, GEORGE MOURATIDIS, ARE FINE. FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED GREEKS HAVE BEEN FIGHTING AT THE BOSNIA FRONT. FOR ANY

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	SRPP-00
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	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00	STR-01
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00

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-----DASE00 181528Z /38

P 181456Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3756
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
INFO EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 ATHENS 006432

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DEPT FOR EUR/SE

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/13/05

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, ZL, GR

SUBJECT: RECRUITING GREEK VOLUNTEERS FOR BOSNIA

INFORMATION IN CONNECTION WITH THE GREEKS FIGHTING
IN SERBIA, THOSE INTERESTED MAY CONTACT KYRIAKOS
KATHARIOS AT 013-337171, OR GEORGE MOURATIDIS AT
561-8650.

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END TEXT.

8. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ6012

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	SRPP-00
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	USIE-00	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/017W		

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O 131434Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3651
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB PRIORITY
 INFO EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
 USMISSION USNATO

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 ATHENS 006283

DEPT FOR EUR/SE, EUR/SCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/13/05
 TAGS: PREL, ZL, GR, BK, HR, SR
 SUBJECT: GREECE SUFFERS SETBACKS IN BOSNIAN,
 CROATIAN, AND SERBIAN TIES

REF: (A) ATHENS 5738
 (B) ATHENS 6091

1. CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT.
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2. SUMMARY. THE SCHEDULED MEETING OF THE GREEK, BOSNIAN, AND IRANIAN FOREIGN MINISTERS HAS BEEN CANCELED DUE TO THE BOSNIAN SERB CAPTURE OF SREBRENICA. FOREIGN MINISTER PAPOULIAS, HOWEVER, HAS CONTINUED TO EXPRESS INTEREST IN FOSTERING A GREEK ROLE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. MEANWHILE, RELATIONS BETWEEN ATHENS AND ZAGREB, WHICH HAVE DEVELOPED SURPRISINGLY WELL SINCE LAST FALL, HAVE SUFFERED A SETBACK BECAUSE OF CROATIAN DISPLEASURE OVER THE RECENT TRIP BY FM PAPOULIAS AND DEFMIN ARSENIS TO PALE. CROATIAN-GREEK RELATIONS, HOWEVER, PROBABLY WILL CONTINUE TO IMPROVE--ALBEIT AT A SLOWER PACE--AND SHOULD CULMINATE IN A VISIT BY CROATIAN PRESIDENT TUDJMAN TO ATHENS THIS FALL. GREEK RELATIONS WITH SERBIA ALSO ARE UNDER STRAIN AS A RESULT OF THE GOG'S EFFORTS TO "BALANCE" ITS TIES TO THE FORMER YUGOSLAV STATES. END SUMMARY.

MFA REACTS TO FALL OF SREBRENICA

3. MFA SPOKESMEN BIKAS CALLED CHARGE ON JULY 13 TO INFORM HIM THAT THE SCHEDULED MEETING BETWEEN FOREIGN MINISTER PAPOULIAS AND HIS BOSNIAN AND IRANIAN COUNTERPARTS HAD BEEN CANCELED BECAUSE OF THE DEVELOPMENTS IN SREBRENICA. FOLLOWING HIS RETURN FROM BUCHAREST, PAPOULIAS WARNED THAT "THE FIRE IS NEARING OUR HOUSE" AND SAID "GREECE HAS AN OBLIGATION TO PEACE AND THE PEACE PROCESS."

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GOG-GOC TIES HIT A SNAG...

4. [REDACTED] TOLD POLOFFS ON JULY 11 THAT CROATIA'S RELATIONS WITH GREECE HAVE RECENTLY SUFFERED SOME SETBACKS BECAUSE ZAGREB IS INCREASINGLY PREDICATING ITS FOREIGN RELATIONS ON

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ITS PERCEPTION OF OTHER NATIONS' RESPONSES TO THE BOSNIAN CONFLICT. HE SAID HIS TWO MOST RECENT MEETINGS WITH BALKAN DIRECTORATE MFA OFFICIALS [REDACTED] DEGENERATED INTO SHOUTING MATCHES AS A RESULT OF CROATIAN IRRITATION WITH THE PAPOULIAS/ARSENIS PALE VISIT (HE SAID [REDACTED] TOOK INTENSE UMBRAGE AT ANY CRITICISM OF THE VISIT) AND GREEK PROTESTS OVER CROATIA'S USE OF MILITARY FORCE TO RETAKE WESTERN SLAVONIA. [REDACTED] ASSERTED THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF A SUMMIT IN ATHENS BETWEEN TUDJMAN AND SERBIAN PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC NOW HAS FALLEN FROM FIFTY TO FIVE PERCENT. ALTHOUGH GENERALLY QUITE PLEASED WITH THE PACE OF DEVELOPING GREEK-CROATIAN TIES, [REDACTED] SAID THE CROATIANS HAVE DECIDED TO LET THINGS COOL DOWN A BIT BEFORE PICKING UP THE PIECES.

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BUT STILL LAYING BASIS FOR SOLID RELATIONSHIP

5. THE PIECES, IN THIS CASE, ARE A NUMBER OF
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AGREEMENTS WHICH LAY THE BASIS FOR SURPRISINGLY GOOD BILATERAL RELATIONS. [REDACTED] ECHOING THE POSITIVE ASSESSMENT GIVEN THE POLCOUNS BY [REDACTED] A FEW DAYS BEFORE, LISTED FOUR AGREEMENTS ALREADY SIGNED (ON ECONOMIC COOPERATION, ABOLITION OF VISAS, READMISSION/REPATRIATION OF CROATIAN, GREEK, AND THIRD-COUNTRY NATIONALS, AND CULTURAL/SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES), ONE INITIALED BUT NOT SIGNED (ON MUTUAL PROTECTION AND PROMOTION OF INVESTMENTS), AND FOUR FURTHER AGREEMENTS IN PROGRESS (ON DOUBLE TAXATION, ROAD TRANSPORTATION-TRUCKING, AIR TRANSPORTATION, AND POLICE COOPERATION ON ORGANIZED CRIME). HE DESCRIBED THESE AGREEMENTS AS BEING IMPORTANT FOR FUTURE RELATIONS, BUT AS OF NOW LITTLE TRADE (APPROXIMATELY USD 20 MILLION) OR EXCHANGES OCCUR BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. [REDACTED] SAID THAT TUDJMAN PROBABLY WILL VISIT ATHENS, BUT THE TRIP HAS BEEN POSTPONED TO OCTOBER OR NOVEMBER.

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CROATIANS VIEW GREEK-"FRY" RELATIONS

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PAGE 01 ATHENS 06283 02 OF 02 131501Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	SRPP-00
	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00
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	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00
	USIE-00	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/017W		

-----D91EE1 131501Z /38

O 131434Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3652
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB PRIORITY
INFO EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 ATHENS 006283

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DEPT FOR EUR/SE, EUR/SCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/13/05

TAGS: PREL, ZL, GR, BK, HR, SR

SUBJECT: GREECE SUFFERS SETBACKS IN BOSNIAN,
CROATIAN, AND SERBIAN TIES

6. [REDACTED] SAID THE RECENT GREECE-FRY FLAP OVER THE DISPUTED EUROPEAN CHAMPIONSHIP BASKETBALL FINAL IS JUST "THE TIP OF THE ICEBERG" OF STRAINS IN THE
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PAGE 02 ATHENS 06283 02 OF 02 131501Z
GREEK-FRY RELATIONSHIP. [REDACTED] GAVE CONSIDERABLE CREDENCE TO A REPORT IN THE ATHENS WEEKLY "TO VIMA" ABOUT A RECENT MEETING BETWEEN "FRY" AMBASSADOR MILUTINOVIC AND SEVERAL UNNAMED GREEK MP'S. MILUTINOVIC REPORTEDLY TOLD THE MP'S THAT MORE IMPORTANT STRAINS IN THE GOG-"FRY" RELATIONSHIP WERE CAUSED BY THE ARSENIS/PAPOULIAS VISIT TO PALE, WHICH WAS NOT APPRECIATED BY MILOSEVIC, AND GREECE'S UNWILLINGNESS TO DEAL ON SPECIAL ACCESS TO THESSALONIKI PORT IN ADVANCE OF THE LIFTING OF UN SANCTIONS ON THE "FRY."

7. [REDACTED] ALSO DESCRIBED THE GREEK-SERBIAN RELATIONSHIP AS STEADILY WORSENING. [REDACTED] DESCRIBED THE TENSIONS WITH BELGRADE AS STEMMING PRIMARILY FROM MILOSEVIC'S "MEGALOMANIA." [REDACTED] SAID HIS OFFICE ASSESSES MILOSEVIC'S GOAL TO BE THE DOMINANT POWER IN THE BALKAN PENINSULA EITHER DIRECTLY OR WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A GROUP OF STATES EXISTING OUTSIDE NATO OR THE EU. RECENT GREEK IMPROVEMENTS IN RELATIONS WITH OTHER BALKAN NEIGHBORS--BULGARIA (REF A), ALBANIA (REF B), AND ROMANIA (SEPTTEL REPORTING PAPOULIAS'S JUST COMPLETED SUCCESSFUL VISIT)--AND A SHIFT IN GREEK POLICY SEEKING "BALANCED" RELATIONS WITH CROATIA AND BOSNIA, POSE A DIRECT THREAT TO MILOSEVIC'S DESIGNS, [REDACTED] CONTENDED.

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COMMENT

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PAGE 03 ATHENS 06283 02 OF 02 131501Z

8. ALTHOUGH GREECE STILL IS LOOKING FOR A WAY TO INSERT ITSELF AS A MEDIATOR IN THE BOSNIAN CONFLICT, THE ESCALATION OF FIGHTING WILL RELEGATE THE GREEKS EVEN FURTHER TO THE SIDELINES. DESPITE PAST GREEK HOPES OF PROMOTING A MILOSEVIC-TUDJMAN SUMMIT, SUCH A MEETING IS NOW PRETTY MUCH OFF THE COG AGENDA. THE GOC IS EVEN LESS ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT SUCH A MEETING HOSTED BY GREECE BECAUSE OF WHAT IT PERCEIVES AS GREEK BACKSLIDING AND ONLY PRETENSES AT NEUTRALITY OVER THE CONFLICT IN BOSNIA. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE GREEK MFA IS SETTING AN INCREASING STORE IN GETTING TUDJMAN TO ATHENS AS A DEMONSTRATION OF ITS EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH A MORE "BALANCED" RELATIONSHIP WITH ALL THE STATES OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA.

9. WHILE MFA OFFICIALS ARE ATTEMPTING TO ADOPT A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE AND EVENHANDED YUGOSLAV POLICY, AND HAVE PRIVATELY EXPRESSED CRITICISM OF MILOSEVIC TO US IN THE WAKE OF THE PALE VISIT, GREEKS IN GENERAL RETAIN A PRO-SERB BENT AND ARE LIKELY TO DO SO UNTIL THE "FRY" IS WIDELY PERCEIVED TO BE EMERGING AS AN ECONOMIC RIVAL IN THE BALKANS. IF WHAT [REDACTED] TOLD US HOLDS, AND WE HAVE NO REASON TO DOUBT HIM, THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE TENOR OF GREEK-CROATIAN RELATIONS WILL LIKELY BE AFFECTED BY COG REACTION TO THE FALL OF SREBRENICA.

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10. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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PAGE 04
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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ2470

PAGE 01 ATHENS 06392 01 OF 02 190914Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	COR-01	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00
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	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00
	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	DRL-09
	G-00	/029W					

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O 171456Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
 TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
 SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3734
 INFO AMEMBASSY ZAGREB PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
 AMCONSUL THESSALONIKI
 AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
 USMISSION USNATO
 EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE

RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.4(B), B6

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 ATHENS 006392

C O R R E C T E D COPY - TO ADD MCNS ON SARAJEVO

DEPT FOR EUR/SE AND EUR/SCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PREL, ZL, GR, BK, SR
 SUBJECT: GREECE SEEKING NEW PEACE CONFERENCE FOR
 CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ATHENS 06392 01 OF 02 190914Z
BOSNIA

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B)
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 16 JUL 2015
 DATE/CASE ID: 10 MAR 2009 200705105

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1. SUMMARY. THE GREEK MEDIA DEVOTED SIGNIFICANT COVERAGE TO FOREIGN MINISTER PAPOULIAS'S CALL FOR ANOTHER BOSNIAN PEACE CONFERENCE. PAPOULIAS REITERATED GREECE'S LONG-STANDING OPPOSITION TO THE USE OF MILITARY FORCE IN BOSNIA BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, ARGUING PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS HAVE BEEN COUNTERPRODUCTIVE. HE TERMED SERBIAN PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC A "BASIC FACTOR" IN RESOLVING THE CRISIS AND CALLED FOR SANCTIONS RELIEF FOR SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO. PAPOULIAS NOTED THAT THE COG WAS IN CONTACT WITH MILOSEVIC AND THE BOSNIAN SERB LEADERSHIP BUT DID NOT REVEAL ANY PLANS FOR ANOTHER DIPLOMATIC MISSION TO THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. MFA CONTACTS DON'T QUESTION THAT THE GENERAL THRUST OF THE MEDIA REPORTS ARE CORRECT, BUT CAUTION THAT

[REDACTED]

THERE HAS BEEN NO STAFF WORK DONE TO GIVE SHAPE TO THE PROPOSAL AS IT HAS BEEN PRESENTED. IN SHORT, EVEN IN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY THERE ARE A LOT OF UNCERTAINTIES AND UNANSWERED QUESTIONS REGARDING PAPOULIAS' SUGGESTION FOR A THIRD GENEVA CONFERENCE. END SUMMARY

B1

A "GENEVA III" CONFERENCE?

2. PRIOR TO DEPARTING FOR A EU GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING FOCUSING ON THE BOSNIAN CRISIS, FOREIGN
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PAGE 03 ATHENS 06392 01 OF 02 190914Z
MINISTER PAPOULIAS ON JULY 17 PROPOSED A "GENEVA III" CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS A CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES AND THE CONTACT GROUP PEACE PLAN. PAPOULIAS REITERATED GREECE'S OPPOSITION TO A MILITARY RESPONSE, INCLUDING "SURGICAL OPERATIONS," AGAINST BOSNIAN SERBS IN THE ENCLAVES OF SREBRENICA AND ZEPA, ARGUING THAT SUCH TACTICS ARE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE.

3. MOST OF THE SENIOR MFA OFFICIALS DEALING WITH

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THE BALKANS ARE TRAVELLING WITH PAPOULIAS AND WILL NOT RETURN TO ATHENS UNTIL JULY 18.

B1, B6

[REDACTED] TOLD US THAT THE PRESS HAS PROBABLY REPORTED THE THRUST OF PAPOULIAS' REPORTED REMARKS CORRECTLY; THEY COINCIDE WITH PAPOULIAS' (AND GREECE'S) GENERAL APPROACH TO TRYING TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THE BOSNIAN CRISIS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE MFA HAS NEITHER A TEXT OF WHAT PAPOULIAS WAS REPORTED TO HAVE SAID, NOR HAS ANY STAFF WORK BEEN UNDERTAKEN TO PROVIDE A STRUCTURE OR DETAILS TO FILL OUT HIS GENERAL PROPOSAL. DETAILS OF ANY PAPOULIAS PROPOSAL WILL ONLY BE WORKED OUT FOLLOWING HIS RETURN FROM BRUSSELS, AND THEN ONLY IF IT APPEARS THERE IS A LIKELY CONSENSUS TO GO AHEAD WITH THE PROPOSAL.

STILL TRYING TO EXPLOIT THE SERB CONNECTION

4. WHEN ASKED IF GREECE PLANNED TO UNDERTAKE ANY
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PAGE 04 ATHENS 06392 01 OF 02 190914Z
NEW INITIATIVE, PAPOULIAS REPORTEDLY SAID THAT THE COG WAS IN CONTACT WITH BOTH PALE AND BELGRADE. PAPOULIAS SAID THAT HE HAD RECEIVED A REPRESENTATIVE OF BOSNIAN SERB LEADER KARADZIC AND WAS IN CONTACT WITH SERBIAN PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC. (COMMENT: WE HAVE NO CONFIRMATION OF THIS INFORMATION). PAPOULIAS REFERRED TO MILOSEVIC AS "A BASIC AND IMPORTANT FACTOR IN RESOLVING THE CRISIS" AND CALLED FOR MORE SANCTIONS RELIEF FOR BELGRADE. HE NOTED THAT "WHAT WE (THE WEST) HAVE GIVEN PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC SO FAR IS VERY LITTLE IN RELATION TO WHAT HE IS DOING AND WHAT WE ARE ASKING HIM TO DO."

5. POLITICAL SPRING (POLAN) LEADER ANTONIS SAMARAS, MEANWHILE, LED A PARTY DELEGATION TO BELGRADE ON JULY 17 TO MEET WITH MILOSEVIC. MEDIA REPORTS INDICATE THAT SAMARAS HOPES TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE RESTORATION OF RECENTLY STRAINED "CLIMATE OF FRIENDSHIP" BETWEEN GREECE AND SERBIA. THE BOSNIAN

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CRISIS IS EXPECTED TO DOMINATE DISCUSSIONS.

COMMENT

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PAGE 01 ATHENS 06392 02 OF 02 190918Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	COR-01	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00
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	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	DRL-09
	G-00	/029W					

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O 171456Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3735
INFO AMEMBASSY ZAGREB PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
AMCONSUL THESSALONIKI
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
USMISSION USNATO
EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 ATHENS 006392

C O R R E C T E D COPY - TO ADD MCNS ON SARAJEVO

DEPT FOR EUR/SE AND EUR/SCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, ZL, GR, BK, SR

SUBJECT: GREECE SEEKING NEW PEACE CONFERENCE FOR
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 ATHENS 06392 02 OF 02 190918Z
BOSNIA

6. GOG EFFORTS AT THIS POINT SEEM DIRECTED
PRIMARILY AT HEADING OFF FRENCH CALLS FOR A USE OF
FORCE IN RESPONSE TO BOSNIAN SERB ATTACKS ON THE
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OUT, THERE IS NO "GREEK PLAN" ON THE DRAWING BOARDS,

[REDACTED] WE ARE SURE THAT
PAPOULIAS AND THE GOG ARE SINCERE IN THEIR DESIRE TO
PURSUE ALL AVENUES WHICH MIGHT LEAD TO A PEACEFUL
RATHER THAN A MILITARY SOLUTION. THUS FAR, HOWEVER,
THEY HAVE ONLY SUCCEEDED IN JOINING THE CHORUS OF
THOSE OPPOSED TO FIRM ACTION AGAINST PALE, BUT HAVE
PROVEN UNABLE TO GET ANY OF THE SERB PLAYERS TO MOVE
ANY CLOSER TO THE POLITICAL SOLUTION THEY ADVOCATE.

7. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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PAGE 01 ATHENS 06392 01 OF 02 171526Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	SRPP-00
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	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/027W

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O 171456Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3734
INFO AMEMBASSY ZAGREB PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
AMCONSUL THESSALONIKI
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
USMISSION USNATO
EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 ATHENS 006392

DEPT FOR EUR/SE AND EUR/SCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, ZL, GR, BK, SR
SUBJECT: GREECE SEEKING NEW PEACE CONFERENCE FOR
BOSNIA

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1. SUMMARY. THE GREEK MEDIA DEVOTED SIGNIFICANT
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PAGE 02 ATHENS 06392 01 OF 02 171526Z
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FOR A THIRD GENEVA CONFERENCE. END SUMMARY

B1

A "GENEVA III" CONFERENCE?

2. PRIOR TO DEPARTING FOR A EU GENERAL COUNCIL
MEETING FOCUSING ON THE BOSNIAN CRISIS, FOREIGN
MINISTER PAPOULIAS ON JULY 17 PROPOSED A "GENEVA
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PAGE 03 ATHENS 06392 01 OF 02 171526Z
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B1, B6

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PAGE 04 ATHENS 06392 01 OF 02 171526Z
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COMMENT

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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ5751

PAGE 01 ATHENS 06392 02 OF 02 171527Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	SRPP-00
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	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/027W

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O 171456Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3735
INFO AMEMBASSY ZAGREB PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
AMCONSUL THESSALONIKI
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
USMISSION USNATO
EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 ATHENS 006392

DEPT FOR EUR/SE AND EUR/SCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, ZL, GR, BK, SR
SUBJECT: GREECE SEEKING NEW PEACE CONFERENCE FOR
BOSNIA

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ATHENS 06392 02 OF 02 171527Z

6. GOG EFFORTS AT THIS POINT SEEM DIRECTED
PRIMARILY AT HEADING OFF FRENCH CALLS FOR A USE OF
FORCE IN RESPONSE TO BOSNIAN SERB ATTACKS ON THE
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[REDACTED] WE ARE SURE THAT
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RATHER THAN A MILITARY SOLUTION. THUS FAR, HOWEVER,
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ANY CLOSER TO THE POLITICAL SOLUTION THEY ADVOCATE.

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7. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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RELEASED IN FULL

CONFIDENTIAL PTQ2964

PAGE 01 ZAGREB 02833 281525Z
ACTION H-06

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 DS-00 EUR-01 TEDE-00 ADS-00 DSCC-00
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O 281622Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6616

C O N F I D E N T I A L ZAGREB 002833

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/28/98
TAGS: OREP, ASEC, HR
SUBJECT: THREAT ASSESSMENT FOR CODEL RADANOVICH

REF: STATE 180177

1. (LOU) ROUGHLY 25 PERCENT OF CROATIAN TERRITORY IS STILL CONTROLLED BY THE "REPUBLIC OF SERB KRAJINA (RSK)," A HOSTILE REBEL SERB FORCE WHICH IS CLOSELY LINKED TO BOSNIAN SERB AND "FRY" FORCES. A CONTINUING STATE OF TENSION AND ARMED CONFRONTATION ALONG THE "RSK" BORDERS CREATES A CONSTANT AND UNPREDICTABLE THREAT OF SHELLING OR ROCKET ATTACKS ON MANY CROATIAN CITIES. AN EMBASSY TRAVEL WARNING RECOMMENDS THAT ALL AMCITS AVOID TRAVEL TO CROATIA BECAUSE OF THE POTENTIAL FOR RAPID CHANGES IN THE SECURITY SITUATION STEMMING FROM INTERNAL SERB-CROAT FIGHTING AND THE ONGOING WAR IN NEIGHBORING BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA. GIVEN THE SECURITY SITUATION, SOME EMBASSY FAMILIES WILL BE DEPARTING POST.

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PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02833 281525Z

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2. (LOU) ON MAY 1, THE CROATIAN ARMY CARRIED OUT A MILITARY ACTION TO REGAIN CONTROL OF THE SERB-OCCUPIED AREAS OF WESTERN SLAVONIA (FORMER UN SECTOR WEST). SERB FORCES IN UN SECTOR NORTH SUBSEQUENTLY FIRED TWELVE ORKAN ROCKETS WITH ANTI-PERSONNEL CLUSTER BOMBS ON DOWNTOWN ZAGREB AND PLESO AIRPORT ON MAY 2 AND 3. TEN PEOPLE DIED AND TWO HUNDRED WERE INJURED IN THESE TWO INCIDENTS.

3. (LOU) AFTER A PERIOD OF CALM DURING JUNE, TENSIONS HAVE RISEN CONSIDERABLY AGAIN IN JULY. REBEL SERBS FROM CROATIA AND BOSNIA RENEWED ATTACKS AGAINST THE BIHAC POCKET, WHICH THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT HAS SAID IT WOULD FIGHT TO PROTECT. INDEED, CROATIAN AND BOSNIAN CROAT FORCES LAUNCHED AN OFFENSIVE IN BOSNIA'S LIVNO VALLEY TO DRAW PRESSURE AWAY FROM BIHAC. MEANWHILE IN CROATIA, COMBINED "RSK" AND BSA FORCES MOVED TO OCCUPY PARTS OF THE SEPARATION ZONE NEAR THE CITY OF OSIJEK AND EXCHANGED MORTAR FIRE WITH CROATIAN TROOPS THERE; AND BOSNIAN SERBS RESUMED SPORADIC SHELLING OF DUBROVNIK AIRPORT. IN NEIGHBORING BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA, THE SERBS OCCUPIED THE UN-PROTECTED ENCLAVES OF SREBRENICA AND ZEPA. SERBIAN ROCKET LAUNCHERS REMAIN WITHIN STRIKING DISTANCE OF DOWNTOWN ZAGREB AND PLESO AIRPORT (WHICH SERVES DAILY COMMERCIAL AND UN FLIGHTS). RECENTLY, CROATIAN SERB LEADER MILAN MARTIC THREATENED ROCKET ATTACKS ON COASTAL CITIES, INCLUDING SPLIT, IN RESPONSE TO ONGOING CROATIAN INCURSIONS INTO THE KNIN AREA FROM BOSNIA.

4. (C) ELEMENTS OF VARIOUS TERRORIST GROUPS ARE KNOWN TO BE PRESENT IN CROATIA BUT NONE HAS YET ENGAGED IN ANY

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PAGE 03 ZAGREB 02833 281525Z
TERRORIST ACTION HERE. OCCASIONAL BOMBING INCIDENTS HAVE OCCURRED IN OR NEAR ZAGREB, THE MOST RECENT IN JULY 1994, BUT SUCH EVENTS ARE RARE AND APPEAR FOR THE MOST PART TO HAVE BEEN CRIMINAL ACTS RATHER THAN POLITICALLY MOTIVATED.

5. (LOU) THE SERB-OCCUPIED AREAS IN WHICH THE UN IS DEPLOYED, AND THE CROATIAN TERRITORY BORDERING THEM, ARE CURRENTLY UNSUITABLE FOR TRAVEL EVEN WITH AN ESCORT BECAUSE OF THE CONTINUING TENSION IN CROATIA AND CONFLICT

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IN BOSNIA. INCIDENTS OF BURGLARY, ROBBERY, HOSTAGE-TAKING AND CARJACKING BY SERBS AGAINST UN AND FOREIGN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE PERSONNEL HAVE INCREASED MARKEDLY IN RECENT MONTHS IN THE SERB-CONTROLLED AREAS.

6. (LOU) STREET CRIME IS ON THE RISE THROUGHOUT CROATIA, PARTICULARLY IN TOWNS ON THE COAST. VISITORS SHOULD REMAIN ALERT AND TAKE SUITABLE PRECAUTIONS.

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PAGE 01 ZAGREB 02760 241424Z
ACTION H-06

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 DS-00 EUR-01 TEDE-00 ADS-00 DSCC-00
/007W

-----DC617E 241424Z /38

R 241523Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6542

C O N F I D E N T I A L ZAGREB 002760

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/21/98
TAGS: ASEC, OREP, HR
SUBJECT: THREAT ASSESSMENT FOR CODEL SHELBY

REF: STATE 172175

1. (LOU) ROUGHLY 25 PERCENT OF CROATIAN TERRITORY IS STILL CONTROLLED BY THE "REPUBLIC OF SERB KRAJINA (RSK)," A HOSTILE REBEL SERB FORCE WHICH IS CLOSELY LINKED TO BOSNIAN SERB AND "FRY" FORCES. A CONTINUING STATE OF TENSION AND ARMED CONFRONTATION ALONG THE "RSK" BORDERS CREATES A CONSTANT AND UNPREDICTABLE THREAT OF SHELLING OR ROCKET ATTACKS ON MANY CROATIAN CITIES. AN EMBASSY TRAVEL WARNING RECOMMENDS THAT ALL AMCITS AVOID TRAVEL TO CROATIA BECAUSE OF THE POTENTIAL FOR RAPID CHANGES IN THE SECURITY SITUATION STEMMING FROM INTERNAL SERB-CROAT FIGHTING AND THE ONGOING WAR IN NEIGHBORING BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA.

2. (LOU) ON MAY 1, THE CROATIAN ARMY CARRIED OUT A
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PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02760 241424Z

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MILITARY ACTION TO REGAIN CONTROL OF THE SERB-OCCUPIED AREAS OF WESTERN SLAVONIA (FORMER UN SECTOR WEST). SERB FORCES IN UN SECTOR NORTH SUBSEQUENTLY FIRED TWELVE ORKAN ROCKETS WITH ANTI-PERSONNEL CLUSTER BOMBS ON DOWNTOWN ZAGREB AND PLESO AIRPORT ON MAY 2 AND 3. TEN PEOPLE DIED AND TWO HUNDRED WERE INJURED IN THESE TWO INCIDENTS.

3. (C) AFTER A PERIOD OF CALM DURING JUNE, TENSIONS IN THE AREA ROSE AGAIN IN JULY. IN CROATIA, COMBINED "RSK" AND BSA FORCES MOVED TO OCCUPY PARTS OF THE SEPARATION ZONE NEAR THE CITY OF OSIJEK AND EXCHANGED MORTAR FIRE WITH CROATIAN TROOPS THERE; AND BOSNIAN SERBS RESUMED SPORADIC SHELLING OF DUBROVNIK AIRPORT. IN NEIGHBORING BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA, THE SERBS OCCUPIED THE UN-PROTECTED ENCLAVES OF SREBRENICA AND ZEPA; THEY ALSO RENEWED ATTACKS ON BIHAC ENCLAVE NEAR THE CROATIAN BORDER, WHICH THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT HAS SAID IT WOULD FIGHT TO PROTECT. SERBIAN ROCKET LAUNCHERS REMAIN WITHIN STRIKING DISTANCE OF DOWNTOWN ZAGREB AND PLESO AIRPORT (WHICH SERVES DAILY COMMERCIAL AND UN FLIGHTS). RECENTLY, CROATIAN SERB LEADER MILAN MARTIC THREATENED ROCKET ATTACKS ON COASTAL CITIES, INCLUDING SPLIT, IN RESPONSE TO ONGOING CROATIAN INCURSIONS INTO THE KNIN AREA FROM BOSNIA.

4. (C) ELEMENTS OF VARIOUS TERRORIST GROUPS ARE KNOWN TO BE PRESENT IN CROATIA BUT NONE HAS YET ENGAGED IN ANY TERRORIST ACTION HERE. OCCASIONAL BOMBING INCIDENTS HAVE OCCURRED IN OR NEAR ZAGREB, THE MOST RECENT IN JULY 1994, BUT SUCH EVENTS ARE RARE AND APPEAR FOR THE MOST PART TO HAVE BEEN CRIMINAL ACTS RATHER THAN POLITICALLY MOTIVATED.

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PAGE 03 ZAGREB 02760 241424Z

5. (LOU) THE SERB-OCCUPIED AREAS IN WHICH THE UN IS DEPLOYED, AND THE CROATIAN TERRITORY BORDERING THEM, ARE CURRENTLY UNSUITABLE FOR TRAVEL EVEN WITH AN ESCORT BECAUSE OF THE CONTINUING TENSION IN CROATIA AND CONFLICT IN BOSNIA. INCIDENTS OF BURGLARY, ROBBERY, HOSTAGE-TAKING AND CARJACKING BY SERBS AGAINST UN AND FOREIGN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE PERSONNEL HAVE INCREASED MARKEDLY IN RECENT MONTHS IN THE SERB-CONTROLLED AREAS.

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6. (LOU) STREET CRIME IS ON THE RISE THROUGHOUT CROATIA,
PARTICULARLY IN TOWNS ON THE COAST. VISITORS SHOULD
REMAIN ALERT AND TAKE SUITABLE PRECAUTIONS.

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PAGE 01 USVIEN 02135 261507Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AID-00	BIB-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00
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	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01
	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	PRMC-01	DRL-09	G-00

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-----DD3247 261507Z /38

R 261456Z JUL 95
 FM USMISSION USVIENNA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0263
 INFO USLO SKOPJE
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L USVIENNA 002135

DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/RPM (POWELL)

FROM USDEL OSCE

E.O. 12356: DECL:01/01/98

TAGS: PREL, OSCE, BK

SUBJECT: DISCUSSION ON BOSNIA AT JULY 25 OSCE PERMANENT COUNCIL

REF: USVIENNA 2093

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PAGE 02 USVIEN 02135 261507Z

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1. PARAGRAPHS CLASSIFIED AS MARKED.

2. (U) AT THE JULY 25 PERMANENT COUNCIL MEETING, THE BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA REP (HADZIAHMETOVIC) AGAIN CONDEMNED BOSNIAN SERB ATTACKS ON UN SAFE AREAS AND KRAJINA SERB ATTACKS AROUND BIHAC. HE DESCRIBED THE ATTACKS BY MORE THAN 20,000 TROOPS IN EASTERN BOSNIA AS "GRAVE AND DRAMATIC" AND UNDERScoreD THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS AGAIN WERE IGNORING UN RESOLUTIONS AND OSCE DECISIONS. HE REPORTED THAT MORE THAN 4,500 CIVILIANS WERE MURDERED AND OVER 8,000 ARE STILL MISSING AFTER THE ATTACKS ON SREBRENICA AND ZEPA. HADZIAHMETOVIC ACCUSED YUGOSLAV ARMY TROOPS OF PARTICIPATING IN THE ATTACKS ON SREBRENICA AND ZEPA AND CLAIMED BELGRADE PROVIDED MILITARY COMMANDERS AS ADVISORS. FURTHERMORE, THE BOSNIAN REP SAID THAT ZEPA STILL WAS EXPOSED TO CONTINUOUS SHELLING AND POISONOUS GAS.

3. (U) THE TURKISH REP (ALP) CRITICIZED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FOR NOT ACTING ON THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT'S BEHALF AND ARGUED THAT THE ARMS EMBARGO SHOULD BE LIFTED. U.S. REP BROWN ACKNOWLEDGED THE CRITICAL HUMANITARIAN SITUATION AND BOSNIAN SERB AGGRESSION. HE COMPLEMENTED THE WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL. BROWN ASKED FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FROM THE BOSNIAN REP ON THE USE OF POISONOUS GAS AND THE YUGOSLAV ARMY ASSISTANCE IN SREBRENICA AND ZEPA. HADZIAHMETOVIC DID NOT RESPOND.

4. (C) COMMENT: THE BOSNIAN REP HAS RAISED THIS ISSUE AT THE LAST THREE PERMANENT COUNCIL MEETINGS. FOLLOWING THE FORMAL MEETING, HADZIAHMETOVIC TOLD USREP THAT THE INFORMATION ON YUGOSLAV ARMY ASSISTANCE, INCLUDING SPECIFIC NAMES AND UNITS, HAD
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PAGE 03 USVIEN 02135 261507Z
BEEN PROVIDED BY THE CROATIAN DELEGATION SEVERAL WEEKS AGO AT THE UN. USDEL IS NOT AWARE OF ANY SUCH INFORMATION. ON THE ALLEGATION OF THE USE OF POISON GAS, NO ADDITIONAL INFORMATION WAS PROVIDED. END COMMENT.

5. (U) SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

BROWN

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AID-00	BIB-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00
	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00
	INR-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00
	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00
	PRMC-01	DRL-09	G-00	/037W			

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P 211636Z JUL 95
 FM USMISSION USVIENNA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0181
 INFO AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
 AMEMBASSY KIEV
 AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
 USLO SKOPJE
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 02 USVIENNA 002093

DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/RPM (POWELL)

FROM USDEL OSCE

E.O. 12356: DECL:N/A
TAGS: OSCE, PREL, BK

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PAGE 02 USVIEN 02093 01 OF 02 211647Z
SUBJECT: OSCE PERMANENT COUNCIL JULY 20: BOSNIAN REP CRITICIZES

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 18 MAR 2009 200705105

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THE BOSNIAN SERBS AND THE UN

1. DECONTROL UPON RECEIPT - SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED - PROTECT ACCORDINGLY.

SUMMARY

2. AT THE JULY 20 OSCE PERMANENT COUNCIL MEETING, THE BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA REP CONDEMNED BOSNIAN SERB ATTACKS ON SREBRENICA AND ZEPA AND THE UN'S FAILURE TO PROTECT CIVILIANS OR GUARANTEE PEACE. HE ARGUED THAT UN MANDATES ALLOW UNPROFOR TO USE FORCE TO DELIVER AID, ENSURE EXCLUSION ZONES, AND PROTECT THE POPULATION; THE BOSNIAN REP DEMANDED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HOLD THE UN RESPONSIBLE FOR FULFILLING THEIR OBLIGATIONS.

3. RESPONDING TO THE BOSNIAN REP'S SPEECH, SEVERAL DELS UNDERScoreD THAT A POLITICAL SOLUTION WAS THE ONLY HOPE FOR ENDING THE CRISIS. THE RUSSIAN REP STATED THAT NEITHER WESTERN AIR POWER NOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF UN PEACEKEEPERS WOULD BE A SOLUTION. THE TURKISH REP WAS PARTICULARLY CRITICAL OF THE UN AND URGED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST GOVERNMENT FORCES. THE FRENCH REP STRESSED THAT A POLITICAL SOLUTION MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY INTERNATIONAL COHESION AND "FIRM ACTIONS". END SUMMARY.

BOSNIAN REP CRITICIZES THE UN

4. IN A PASSIONATE STATEMENT TO THE OSCE PERMANENT COUNCIL ON LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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JULY 20, BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA REP HADZIAHMETOVIC CONDEMNED BOSNIAN SERB ATTACKS ON SREBRENICA AND ZEPA AND THE UN'S FAILURE TO PROTECT HIS COUNTRYMEN. HADZIAHMETOVIC UNDERScoreD THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE REJECTED INTERNATIONAL PEACE PLANS, OSCE PRINCIPLES AND UN RESOLUTIONS. HE STATED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT'S GOAL WAS TO BOOST RELATIONS WITH FRIENDLY COUNTRIES AND REINSTATE BOSNIA'S INHERENT RIGHT TO SELF DEFENSE. HADZIAHMETOVIC REPORTED THAT 42,600 PEOPLE HAD BEEN FORCED FROM THEIR HOMES IN SREBRENICA AND THAT 17,000 CIVILIANS WERE STILL MISSING. ZEPA WAS AT THE MERCY OF BOSNIAN SERB SOLDIERS AND LIKELY WOULD MEET THE SAME

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FATE, HE SAID.

5. HADZIAHMETOVIC REPORTED THAT THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT HAD ASKED THE UN TO OPEN TUZLA AIRPORT SO FOOD AND BLANKETS COULD BE DELIVERED TO REFUGEES AND TO SECURE ROADS TO THE THREE EASTERN ENCLAVES. ADDITIONALLY, SARAJEVO HAD ASKED THE UN TO MAKE LISTS OF PEOPLE BEING BUSSED OUT OF SREBRENICA AND ENSURE THAT THOSE ARRESTED BE TREATED AS WELL AS UNPROFOR CAPTIVES. HADZIAHMETOVIC ARGUED THAT UN MANDATES CLEARLY ALLOW UNPROFOR TO USE FORCE TO DELIVER AID, ENSURE EXCLUSION ZONES, AND PROTECT THE POPULATION. HE DEMANDED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HOLD THE UN RESPONSIBLE.

6. HADZIAHMETOVIC WELCOMED THE RAPID REACTION FORCE, WHICH HE CLAIMED COULD BRIDGE UNPROFOR'S GAPS. HE ALSO COMPLEMENTED UNPROFOR CONTRIBUTORS -- SUCH AS THE DUTCH AND DANISH -- WHO HAVE REMAINED COMMITTED TO PROTECTING THE SAFEHAVENS.

DELEGATIONS RESPOND

7. THE UKRAINIAN REP VOICED KIEV'S CONCERN ABOUT EVENTS IN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BOSNIA, PARTICULARLY THE BOSNIAN SERB'S USE OF HUMAN SHIELDS. HE NOTED THAT 79 UKRAINIAN UNPROFOR TROOPS HAD BEEN BLOCKED BY BOSNIAN SERB SOLDIERS. HE NOTED THAT THE UKRAINIAN MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS WOULD PARTICIPATE IN THE LONDON MEETINGS ON JULY 21.

8. THE RUSSIAN REP (SHUSTOV) REITERATED THE POINTS HIS DELEGATION MADE TO THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL. SHUSTOV STATED THAT NEITHER THE USE OF WESTERN AIR POWER NOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF UN PEACEKEEPERS WOULD BE A SOLUTION TO THE COMPLEX BOSNIAN PROBLEMS. THE RUSSIAN REP SAID THAT ALL UN RESOURCES SHOULD WORK TO REINSTATE THE SAFEHAVEN STATUS IN SREBRENICA AND ZEPA -- BUT "WITHOUT TAKING THE SIDE OF ANY PARTY IN THE CONFLICT". SHUSTOV STRESSED THAT A POLITICAL SOLUTION VIA THE CONTACT GROUP IS THE ONLY SOLUTION TO THE CRISIS.

9. THE USREP (SIGLER) SAID THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT CONTINUED TO WORK WITH OTHERS TO DEVELOP AN EFFECTIVE RESPONSE TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS' CONTINUED DEFIANCE OF UN MANDATES AND RESOLUTIONS. HE

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EXPRESSED DEEP CONCERN FOR THE WELL-BEING OF CIVILIANS IN THE AREA OF CONFLICT AND STRESSED WASHINGTON'S COMMITMENT TO SEEING PERPETRATORS OF WAR CRIMES BROUGHT TO JUSTICE. SIGLER DEPLORED

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AID-00	BIB-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00
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	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00
	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00
	PRMC-01	DRL-09	G-00	/037W			

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P 211636Z JUL 95
FM USMISSION USVIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0182
INFO AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
AMEMBASSY KIEV
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USLO SKOPJE
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 02 USVIENNA 002093

DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/RPM (POWELL)

FROM USDEL OSCE

E.O. 12356: DECL:N/A

TAGS: OSCE, PREL, BK

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PAGE 02 USVIEN 02093 02 OF 02 211647Z

SUBJECT: OSCE PERMANENT COUNCIL JULY 20: BOSNIAN REP CRITICIZES
THE BOSNIAN SERBS AND THE UN

THE ATTEMPTS TO TAKE UN PEACEKEEPERS HOSTAGE AND SAID THAT THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WOULD HOLD ACCOUNTABLE THOSE RESPONSIBLE
FOR ANY HARM THAT COMES TO UN FORCES.

10. THE TURKISH REP (ALP) CRITICIZED THE UN'S UNCONFRONTATIONAL
STRATEGY. HE ARGUED THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS ONLY BELIEVE IN A
MILITARY SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT AND DO NOT UNDERSTAND REASON.
ALP CRITICIZED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FOR DEPRIVING BOSNIAN
GOVERNMENT TROOPS OF THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DEFENSE BY MAINTAINING
THE ARMS EMBARGO.

11. NOTING THAT PARIS CREATED THE SAFEHAVEN CONCEPT, THE FRENCH
REP (MIYET) CRITICIZED INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR NOT BACKING
UP THEIR POLICY OF PROVIDING A SECURE ENCLAVE. HE STATED THAT
THERE "IS A NEED FOR STRONG GESTURES, ESPECIALLY BY ONE
DELEGATION", IMPLYING THAT THE U.S. MUST USE MILITARY POWER
AGAINST THE BOSNIAN SERBS. NONETHELESS, MIYET STRESSED THAT A
POLITICAL SOLUTION WAS THE ONLY LASTING ANSWER AND THAT THIS
DEMANDS COHESION AND FIRM ACTION FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

12. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

SIGLER

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AID-00	BIB-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00
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	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01
	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	PRMC-01	DRL-09	G-00

/036W

-----D99533 141506Z /38

P 141506Z JUL 95
 FM USMISSION USVIENNA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0026
 INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
 USLO SKOPJE
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 02 USVIENNA 002013

DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/RPM (POWELL)

FROM USDEL OSCE

E.O. 12356: N/A
 TAGS: PREL, OSCE, SR, HR, BK
 SUBJECT: ICFY CO-CHAIRMAN STOLTENBERG ADDRESSES OSCE PERMANENT
 COUNCIL, JULY 13

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REF: USUN NEW YORK 2768

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.. DECONTROL UPON RECEIPT - SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED - PROTECT ACCORDINGLY.

SUMMARY

2. THE CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE ICFY STEERING COMMITTEE, THORWALD STOLTENBERG, BRIEFED THE OSCE PERMANENT COUNCIL ON JULY 13. STOLTENBERG OUTLINED THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION FROM JULY 12 REGARDING SREBRENICA BUT SAID THAT THE UN WOULD CONTINUE TO BE HAMSTRUNG BY LACK OF RESOURCES AND THE THREAT THAT BOSNIAN SERB TROOPS WOULD TAKE UN HOSTAGES IF NATO CLOSE AIR SUPPORT WERE EMPLOYED. STOLTENBERG UNDERScoreD THE NEED TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE WARRING PARTIES, ARGUING THAT A MILITARY RESOLUTION WOULD NOT PROVIDE A LASTING SOLUTION TO UNREST IN BOSNIA. HE REPORTED THAT ICFY REPS FREQUENTLY IN CLOSE COOPERATION WITH OSCE CONTINUE TO PROMOTE DIALOGUE IN CROATIA, KOSOVO, SANDZAK, VOJVODINA, THE FYROM, AND ALBANIA. STOLTENBERG NOTED THAT THE ICFY CO-CHAIRMEN WOULD LIKE TO CONTINUE DIALOGUE WITH OSCE.

3. IN OFTEN PASSIONATE STATEMENTS, THE BOSNIAN, ALBANIAN, TURKISH AND CROATIAN REPS CRITICIZED THE UN AND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FOR NOT TAKING RESPONSIBILITY FOR SREBRENICA. THE SPANISH/EU AND U.S. REPS SUPPORTED DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO REACH A PEACEFUL, NON-MILITARY SOLUTION TO THE CRISIS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, AND STRESSED THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS--NOT THE UN--WERE TO BLAME FOR THE CURRENT VIOLENCE. THE U.S. AND CHAIRMAN-IN-OFFICE REPS STRONGLY BACKED STOLTENBERG'S SUGGESTION OF CONTINUED ICFY-OSCE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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COOPERATION. END SUMMARY.

STOLTENBERG BRIEFS THE PERMANENT COUNCIL

4. THORWALD STOLTENBERG, CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE ICFY STEERING COMMITTEE, BRIEFED THE OSCE PERMANENT COUNCIL ON JULY 13. STOLTENBERG BEGAN BY STRESSING THE NEED FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO DECIDE ON ACTIONS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA. HE OUTLINED THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1004 TAKEN ON JULY 12 (REFTEL),

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INCLUDING DEMANDS THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS WITHDRAW FROM SREBRENICA, RESPECT THE SAFE AREA STATUS, IMMEDIATELY RELEASE ALL UN PERSONNEL, AND RESPECT UNPROFOR SAFETY. STOLTENBERG STATED THAT THE UN'S FIRST RESPONSIBILITY MUST BE TO PROVIDE THE REFUGEES WITH FOOD, WATER AND SECURITY.

5. STOLTENBERG ARGUED THAT THERE ARE AT LEAST TWO LIMITS TO THE UN'S ABILITY TO OPERATE IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. FIRST, THERE ARE PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH EMPLOYING MILITARY POWER. THE LAST TIME NATO CLOSE AIR SUPPORT WAS USED IN BOSNIA, THE BOSNIAN SERBS TOOK UN HOSTAGES. WHEN CLOSE AIR SUPPORT WAS AGAIN USED THIS WEEK, THE DUTCH DEFENSE MINISTER REQUESTED THAT IT BE STOPPED IN AN EFFORT TO PROTECT DUTCH UNPROFOR TROOPS IN SREBRENICA. SECOND, MANY GOVERNMENTS ARE NOT PREPARED TO COMMIT THE PERSONNEL RESOURCES NEEDED TO MEET UN NEEDS. FOR EXAMPLE, FRENCH GENERAL COT REQUESTED 34,000 TROOPS FOR BOSNIA BUT THE NUMBER WAS NEGOTIATED DOWN TO 7,500. STOLTENBERG STRESSED THAT SERB FORCES ARE TWENTY TIMES AS STRONG AS THE 417 DUTCH UNPROFOR TROOPS IN SREBRENICA.

6. STOLTENBERG UNDERScoreD THE NEED TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE WARRING LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PARTIES, ARGUING THAT A MILITARY RESOLUTION WILL NOT PROVIDE A LASTING SOLUTION TO UNREST IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA. HE REPORTED THAT ICFY REPS CONTINUE TO ENCOURAGE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF CROATIA AND LOCAL SERB REPS; THE MEETING WILL OCCUR WHEN CROATIAN SERB REPS WITHDRAW THEIR CONDITIONS FOR PARTICIPATION. IN ADDITION, ICFY REPS SPONSORED TRILATERAL TALKS IN GENEVA LAST WEEK BETWEEN FYROM AND ALBANIAN AUTHORITIES AND ALBANIANS RESIDING IN FYROM. ICFY REPS CONTINUE TO MEET REGULARLY WITH MINORITIES IN KOSOVO, SANDZAK, AND VOJVODINA AND RECENTLY SUPPORTED A DIALOGUE ON EDUCATION AND HEALTH. STOLTENBERG CONTINUES TO HOPE FOR A RUGOVA-BELGRADE DIALOGUE.

7. IN CONCLUDING, STOLTENBERG EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR OSCE'S CLOSE COOPERATION WITH ICFY. ICFY CONSULTS ALMOST DAILY WITH THE OSCE MISSIONS IN SARAJEVO AND SKOPJE AND WORKS CLOSELY WITH THE OSCE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR NATIONAL MINORITIES AND THE CHAIRMAN IN OFFICE. STOLTENBERG SAID HE OR CO-CHAIRMAN BILDt WOULD BE PLEASED TO CONTINUE REGULAR MEETINGS WITH THE OSCE IN VIENNA OR BUDAPEST.

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BOSNIAN, ALBANIAN, TURKISH, AND CROATIAN REPS CRITICAL OF THE UN

3. IN A PASSIONATE STATEMENT, THE BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA REP

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AID-00	BIB-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00
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	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00
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P 141506Z JUL 95
 FM USMISSION USVIENNA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0027
 INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
 USLO SKOPJE
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB

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DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/RPM (POWELL)

FROM USDEL OSCE

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, OSCE, SR, HR, BK

SUBJECT: ICFY CO-CHAIRMAN STOLTENBERG ADDRESSES OSCE PERMANENT COUNCIL, JULY 13

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CRITICIZED THE UN FOR NOT TAKING RESPONSIBILITY FOR SREBRENICA, IGNORING THE WARNING SIGNALS, HESITATING TO CALL FOR NATO SUPPORT, AND GENERALLY ACCEPTING WAR CRIMES AND GENOCIDE IN BOSNIA. CONSEQUENTLY, THE UN COOPERATED IN THE BOSNIAN SERB ATTACK AND UNDERMINED WHAT THE UN WAS MEANT TO BE. HE CRITICIZED THE UN FOR THEIR "EMPTY THREATS" AND EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT ZEPA WOULD BE NEXT. THE BOSNIAN REP NOTED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD APPROVED THE FIVE PEACE AGREEMENTS TABLED OVER THE LAST THREE YEARS, BUT THE BOSNIAN SERBS CONTINUED TO REJECT ALL PEACE EFFORTS. HIS GOVERNMENT DEMANDED ON JULY 12 THAT THE UN RESTORE BY FORCE THE MAY 1993 BORDERS OF SREBRENICA AND BRING FOOD AND MEDICATION TO THE AREA -- OR ADMIT PUBLICLY THAT THEY CANNOT OR WILL NOT.

9. IN A LENGTHY STATEMENT, THE ALBANIAN REP (MAZI) COMMENTED ON THE BOSNIAN CRISIS IN GENERAL. HE ARGUED THAT ONLY MILITARY POWER COUNTS IN THE BALKANS AND DIPLOMATIC--PARTICULARLY UN--EFFORTS HAVE BEEN WORTHLESS. HE CRITICIZED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FOR NOT BACKING UP UN RESOLUTIONS AND DECISIONS. MAZI STATED THAT KOSOVO COULD BE SERBIA'S NEXT VICTIM--AND IT WOULD BE MORE VIOLENT THAN BOSNIA HAS BEEN. HE NOTED THAT BELGRADE HAS IGNORED ALL UN RESOLUTIONS AND OSCE STATEMENTS REGARDING KOSOVO.

10. THE TURKISH REP (ALP) CRITICIZED UN RESOLUTION 1004 AS "NOTHING NEW" AND ARGUED THAT NO PIECE OF PAPER WOULD MAKE THE BOSNIAN SERBS CHANGE. ALP EXPRESSED AN UNDERSTANDING FOR THE UN'S LIMITATIONS BUT SAID THAT THIS DOES NOT SANCTION BAD POLICIES. HE FURTHER CRITICIZED THE UN FOR NOT ENSURING RESPECT FOR ITS RESOLUTIONS, FOR ITS INABILITY TO SAFEGUARD A MEMBER STATE, AND FOR EMPLOYING A DOUBLE STANDARD BY NOT PROTECTING OR TOLERATING A

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11. THE CROATIAN REP (CAR) ANNOUNCED THAT ZAGREB WILL NOT EXTEND UNCRO'S MANDATE IF IT CANNOT FULFILL ITS CURRENT MANDATE, INCLUDING THE PROTECTION OF BORDERS. SHE STATED THAT THE KEY TO ANY POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN THE REGION LIES WITH BELGRADE; SANCTIONS SHOULD NOT BE LIFTED UNTIL MILOSEVIC STOPS HIS IMPERIALIST POLICIES. A SIMULTANEOUS RECOGNITION BY BOSNIA, CROATIA AND SERBIA/MONTENEGRO OF EACH OTHERS' BORDERS IS A CRITICAL FIRST STEP TO RESTART THE PEACE PROCESS. CAR CRITICIZED THE UN FOR NOT PROTECTING BOSNIAN TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND THE OSCE FOR ITS INABILITY TO GAIN CONSENSUS TO ACT IN BOSNIA OR CROATIA.

SPAIN/EU AND U.S. REPS SUPPORT A DIPLOMATIC SOLUTION

12. THE SPANISH/EU REP (COSANO) SUPPORTED UN RESOLUTION 1004 AND ICFY EFFORTS TO REACH A PEACEFUL, NON-MILITARY SOLUTION TO THE CRISIS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA. COSANO REPORTED THAT THE EU HAS FIRMLY CONDEMNED BOSNIAN SERB ATTACKS IN SREBRENICA. THEY DEMAND THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF UN HOSTAGES.

13. U.S. REP (BROWN) WELCOMED ICFY DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS IN BOSNIA, CROATIA, ALBANIA, FYROM, AND KOSOVO AND STRESSED THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS--NOT THE UN--ARE TO BLAME FOR THE CURRENT VIOLENCE IN BOSNIA. BROWN STRONGLY SUPPORTED STOLTENBERG'S SUGGESTION OF REGULAR MEETINGS BETWEEN THE OSCE AND ICFY STEERING COMMITTEE CO-CHAIRMEN. DRAWING FROM AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT'S INTERVENTION AT THE UN ON JULY 12 (REFTEL), BROWN OUTLINED THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS ON RECENT EVENTS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA.

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14. ZAGREB AND SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

BROWN

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ACTION IO-06

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	IMMC-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00
	M-00	NEA-01	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OIG-04	PA-01
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 INFO AMEMBASSY ZAGREB IMMEDIATE
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 WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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 SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
 USNMR SHAPE BE PRIORITY
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 AMEMBASSY MADRID
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 AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
 AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
 AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

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 AMEMBASSY VIENNA
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C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN NEW YORK 002976

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/26/05
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR,
SUBJECT: BOSNIAN CHARGE SAYS THAT DEPLOYING RUSSIAN
-- PEACEKEEPERS TO GORAZDE WOULD BE "TOTALLY
-- UNACCEPTABLE" TO THE GOB

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.
2. BOSNIAN CHARGE MISIC APPROACHED USUN ACTION OFFICER MORNING OF JULY 31 TO TELL US THAT FOREIGN MINISTER SACIRBEY WAS CONCERNED THAT THE UN WAS PLANNING TO REPLACE THE UK PEACEKEEPERS IN GORAZDE WITH RUSSIANS. MISIC SAID THAT THE PRESENCE OF RUSSIANS IN GORAZDE WOULD BE TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO THE GOB, WHETHER THEY WERE SENT THERE TO REPLACE THE BRITISH OR IN ADDITION TO THE UK TROOPS. MISIC EXPLAINED THAT AFTER THE FALL OF ZEPA AND SREBRENICA, THE GOB WOULD VIEW ANY ATTEMPT TO DEPLOY RUSSIAN TROOPS TO GORAZDE AS A "BETRAYAL", AND THE FIRST STEP TOWARDS THE UN "GIVING" GORAZDE TO
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THE BOSNIAN SERBS.

3. ACCORDING TO CONTACTS WITH THE SECRETARIAT'S DEPARTMENT OF PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS, RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV HAS TOLD THE SYG THAT THE GOR WAS WILLING TO DEPLOY 200 TROOPS TO GORAZDE, BUT ONLY AS PART OF A MULTI-NATIONAL CONTINGENT. MEANWHILE, THE BRITISH HAVE REITERATED THEIR DECISION TO LEAVE GORAZDE ON AUGUST 22. THE UKRAINIANS HAVE TOLD THE SECRETARIAT THAT THEY WILL NOT AGREE TO STAY IN GORAZDE BY

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THEMSELVES. DPKO IS THEREFORE WORKING TO FORM A MULTI-NATIONAL CONTINGENT COMPOSED OF UP TO SIX COUNTRIES, ONE OF WHICH WOULD BE RUSSIA, TO REPLACE THE BRITISH. CURRENT THINKING IN DPKO CALLS FOR DEPLOYING RUSSIAN, PAKISTANI AND FRENCH INFANTRY COMPANIES TO GORAZDE, ALONG WITH A NORDIC MEDICAL TEAM, A SIGNAL AND ENGINEERING UNIT, AND TACTICAL AIR CONTROLLERS FROM A NATO COUNTRY. THE NEW CONTINGENT COMMANDER WOULD ALSO BE FROM A NATO COUNTRY.

4. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

ALBRIGHT

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	IMMC-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00
	M-00	NEA-01	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OIG-04	PA-01
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00
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WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE
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USMISSION GENEVA
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AMEMBASSY VIENNA
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AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 002913

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/25/05
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR,
SUBJECT: JULY 24 SECURITY COUNCIL: BOSNIA

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. SUMMARY. DURING INFORMAL SECURITY COUNCIL
CONSULTATIONS ON JULY 25 USYG GHAREKHAN BRIEFED THE
COUNCIL ON THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN BOSNIA AND
CROATIA. THE NAM CAUCUS INTRODUCED A DRAFT RESOLUTION
ADDRESSING THE SITUATION IN ZEPA. THEY LATER AGREED TO
A PROPOSAL FROM THE CONTACT GROUP PLUS ITALY TO ADOPT A
PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT INSTEAD (TEXT IN PARA 13). END
SUMMARY.

GHAREKHAN BRIEFING

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3. USYG GHAREKHAN TOLD THE COUNCIL THAT THE SITUATION
IN ZEPA REMAINED CONFUSED, WITH THE LATEST INFORMATION
SUGGESTING THAT THE BSA HAD TAKEN CONTROL OF ZEPA
TOWN. GHAREKHAN STRESSED THAT THIS REPORT HAD NOT BEEN
CONFIRMED, AND THAT THERE WAS AS YET NO STATEMENT FROM
THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT ON THE STATUS OF ZEPA. HE SAID
THAT THE PRIORITY WAS TO ARRANGE THE ORDERLY AND SAFE
EVACUATION OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION FROM ZEPA WHEN
THIS BECOMES NECESSARY. UNPROFOR AND UNHCR STAND READY
TO ASSIST IN THIS PROCESS. IN CONTRAST TO THE

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SITUATION AFTER THE FALL OF SREBRENICA, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE BOSNIAN SERBS MET ON JULY 24 TO DISCUSS THE EVACUATION OF PARTS OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION OF ZEPA. GEN SMITH WAS IN ZEPA ON JULY 25 WITH REPRESENTATIVES FROM ICRC AND UNHCR TO DISCUSS THE EVACUATION. BSA LEADER MLADIC MAY MEET WITH BOSNIAN MINISTER MURATOVIC ON JULY 26 UNDER THE AUSPICES OF GEN SMITH TO DISCUSS THE MODALITIES OF THE EVACUATION.

4. GHAREKHAN SUBSEQUENTLY SAID THAT THE TEXT OF A STATEMENT FROM THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT CONFIRMED THAT THE BOSNIAN ARMY HAD ABANDONED THE TOWN OF ZEPA WHILE REMAINING ELSEWHERE IN THE SAFE AREA.

5. GHAREKHAN REPORTED THAT FIGHTING CONTINUED IN THE NORTH AND WEST OF THE BIHAC ENCLAVE, ALTHOUGH AT A COMPARATIVELY LOW LEVEL. REPORTS INDICATE THAT ARSK-ABDIC FORCES HAD MADE GAINS, AND THAT 3000 PEOPLE HAD BEEN DISPLACED. AT A MEETING BETWEEN THE BANGLADESHI COMMANDER AND AN ABDIC LEADER, THE ABDIC

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LEADER PRESENTED A LETTER WHICH STATED THAT THE DECLARED INTENT OF THE ABDIC FORCES IS TO REGAIN CONTROL OF THE ENTIRE BIHAC ENCLAVE. GHAREKHAN SAID UNPROFOR IS EXTREMELY CONCERNED ABOUT THIS REPORT, AND THAT AKASHI IS CONDUCTING URGENT TALKS WITH ALL PARTIES IN AN EFFORT TO REDUCE TENSION.

6. GHAREKHAN SAID THAT MILITARY ACTIVITY IN SARAJEVO CONTINUED AT SLIGHTLY LOWER LEVELS TO THE NORTH AND SOUTH OF THE CONFRONTATION LINE. UNHCR REMAINED EXTREMELY CONCERNED ABOUT THE HUMANITARIAN SITUATION IN THE CITY. THE LEVEL OF AID REACHING THE CITY HAS BEEN SEVERELY REDUCED BECAUSE OF BSA OBSTRUCTION OF HUMANITARIAN CONVOYS. CONVOYS DID REACH THE CITY OVER THE WEEKEND WITH SUPPLIES, HOWEVER, AND THREE MORE CONVOYS ARRIVED IN SARAJEVO ON JULY 25. TWO MORE CONVOYS ARE PLANNED IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS.

7. GHAREKHAN REPORTED THAT GORAZDE WAS QUIET ON JULY

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24 EXCEPT FOR A RESUMPTION OF SHELLING IN THE OUTSKIRTS OF THE ENCLAVE IN THE EARLY MORNING HOURS. GHAREKHAN SAID THAT WHILE THERE WAS NO APPARENT INCREASE IN BSA

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INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AF-01	ARA-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00
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AMEMBASSY VIENNA
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AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 002913

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/25/05
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR,
SUBJECT: JULY 24 SECURITY COUNCIL: BOSNIA

TROOP DEPLOYMENT IN THE ENCLAVE, RESTRICTIONS ON
UNPROFOR MOVEMENT HINDERED ACCURATE REPORTING. TWO
UNHCR CONVOYS REACHED THE GORAZDE POCKET YESTERDAY.

8. GHAREKHAN SAID THAT ONGOING ARSK MILITARY EXERCISES
IN SECTOR EAST OF CROATIA KEPT TENSIONS HIGH IN THE
AREA. ARSK FORCES IN SECTOR SOUTH SURROUNDED A UN
CHECKPOINT WITH ROADBLOCKS APPARENTLY INTENDING TO
STEAL FUEL FROM UN VEHICLES.

9. AMB INDERFURTH ASKED GHAREKHAN ABOUT REPORTS THAT
AN AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED BETWEEN THE BOSNIAN
SERBS, A BOSNIAN LEADER IN ZEPA, AND UNPROFOR REGARDING
THE EVACUATION OF CIVILIANS. GHAREKHAN REPORTED

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CONFLICTING REPORTS ABOUT SUCH A MEETING: WHILE THERE
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WERE REPORTS THAT BOSNIAN REPRESENTATIVES MET WITH THE
LOCAL BSA COMMANDER ON JULY 24 AND AGREED TO EVACUATE
PARTS OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION IN COORDINATION WITH
UNPROFOR, THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT LATER TOLD GEN SMITH
THAT NO SUCH AGREEMENT HAD BEEN MADE.

10. GHAREKHAN ALSO BRIEFED THE COUNCIL DURING ITS
AFTERNOON SESSION. HE SAID THAT UNPROFOR HAD RECEIVED
REPORTS, BUT COULD NOT CONFIRM, THAT BOSNIAN SERB
FORCES HAD ENTERED THE TOWN OF ZEPA AND WERE IN
CONTROL. THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT AND BOSNIAN SERB
COMMANDERS IN ZEPA HAD BEEN IN DIRECT CONTACT DURING
THE DAY. GENERAL SMITH HAD ALSO VISITED ZEPA WITH
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ICRC AND UNHCR, BUT HAD RETURNED
TO SARAJEVO. A MEETING BETWEEN GENERAL MLADIC AND GOB
MINISTER MURATOVIC TO DISCUSS THE EVACUATION OF THE
CIVILIAN POPULATION OF ZEPA HAD BEEN SCHEDULED FOR JULY
26.

NAM DRAFT RESOLUTION

11. THE NAM CAUCUS INTRODUCED A DRAFT RESOLUTION
ADDRESSING THE PLIGHT OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION OF
ZEPA DURING INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS ON JULY 25. NAM
REPS SPOKE IN FAVOR OF THE RESOLUTION AND EXPRESSED
CONCERN THAT THE COUNCIL WAS NOT ACCORDING DUE
CONSIDERATION TO THEIR INITIATIVE. AMB INDERFURTH
AGREED THAT THE URGENT HUMANITARIAN SITUATION IN ZEPA
REQUIRED COUNCIL ACTION AND SAID THAT THERE WAS MUCH IN
THE RESOLUTION THAT WE FULLY SUPPORT. HE SUGGESTED
THAT THE COUNCIL'S VIEWS COULD ALSO BE EXPRESSED

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THROUGH A PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT. UK PERMREP HANNAY
SUGGESTED THAT THE JULY 20 PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT
ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL MIGHT GUIDE THE COUNCIL'S
REACTION TO THE SITUATION IN ZEPA.

12. DURING A SUBSEQUENT MEETING OF COUNSELORS FROM THE
CONTACT GROUP PLUS ITALY THE U.S. REPRESENTATIVE SAID
THAT WE COULD ACCEPT EITHER A PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT OR
A RESOLUTION. HE URGED THE GROUP TO CONCENTRATE ON THE
SUBSTANCE OF THE RESOLUTION OR STATEMENT, RATHER THAN
ON ITS FORM. OTHER MEMBERS SAID THEY STRONGLY
PREFERRED A PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT. THE GROUP DECIDED
TO DRAFT A PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT BASED ON THE
NON-ALIGNED RESOLUTION AND RETURN TO THE ISSUE OF
WHETHER TO ADOPT A RESOLUTION OR STATEMENT AFTER THE
NON-ALIGNED HAD A CHANCE TO REACT TO THE DRAFT. AFTER
CAUCUSING AMONG THEMSELVES, THE NON-ALIGNED DECIDED TO
ACCEPT THE PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT FOUND BELOW. IT WAS
ADOPTED DURING A FORMAL SESSION LATER THAT EVENING.

13. BEGIN TEXT OF PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT:
25 JULY - 7:45 PM

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 USMISSION GENEVA
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 AMEMBASSY VIENNA
 AMEMBASSY MADRID
 AMEMBASSY ANKARA
 AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

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 AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 002913

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,

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USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/25/05
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR,
SUBJECT: JULY 24 SECURITY COUNCIL: BOSNIA

THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE
SITUATION IN AND AROUND THE SAFE AREA OF ZEPA IN
THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA. THE
COUNCIL NOTES THE LETTER OF 25 JULY 1995 FROM THE
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL
(S/1995/611).

THE SECURITY COUNCIL REAFFIRMS ITS PREVIOUS
RELEVANT RESOLUTIONS AND ITS STATEMENTS OF 20 JULY
1995 (S/PRST/1995/33). IT REITERATES IN THE
STRONGEST POSSIBLE TERMS ITS CONDEMNATION OF THE
BOSNIAN SERB OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE SAFE AREA AND
DEMANDS THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS COMPLY FULLY WITH
THE REQUIREMENTS SET OUT IN THAT STATEMENT AS WELL

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AS ITS EARLIER RESOLUTIONS. THE COUNCIL FURTHER
DEMANDS THAT BOSNIAN SERB FORCES WITHDRAW FROM THE
SAFE AREAS OF SREBRENICA AND ZEPA.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL REMAINS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED
AT THE PLIGHT OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION AND OTHER
PERSONS PROTECTED UNDER INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN
LAW IN THE ZEPA AREA, IT WELCOMES AND SUPPORTS THE
EFFORTS BEING MADE BY UNPROFOR AND THE
INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN AGENCIES, AS REQUESTED
BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND
HERZEGOVINA, TO ACHIEVE A SAFE EVACUATION OF THOSE
CIVILIANS WHO WISH TO LEAVE AND STRESSES THE
IMPORTANCE IT ATTACHES TO THE SUCCESS OF THESE
EFFORTS. IT REQUESTS THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO USE
ALL RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO HIM TO THAT END AND
CALLS ON THE PARTIES TO COOPERATE.

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THE SECURITY COUNCIL DEMANDS THAT UNPROFOR AND THE INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN AGENCIES BE PROVIDED WITH IMMEDIATE AND UNHINDERED ACCESS TO THE POPULATION OF THE AREA AND, IN PARTICULAR, THAT THE BOSNIAN SERB PARTY PROVIDES ACCESS TO REPRESENTATIVES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS (ICRC) TO ALL CIVILIANS WHO DECIDE TO REMAIN AND PERMIT THE ICRC TO REGISTER ANY PERSONS DETAINED AGAINST THEIR WILL AND VISIT THEM IMMEDIATELY.

END TEXT OF PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT.

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14. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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AMEMBASSY ANKARA
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AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 002834

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/18/05
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR,
SUBJECT: JULY 18 UNSC CONSULTATIONS: BOSNIA

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.
SUMMARY

2. SUMMARY. DURING INFORMAL SC CONSULTATIONS ON JULY
18 COUNCIL PRESIDENT BLANCO MARTINEZ (HONDURAS)
DESCRIBED HIS MEETING WITH UKRAINIAN PERMREP ZLENKO TO
DISCUSS HARASSMENT OF UKRAINIAN PEACEKEEPERS IN ZEP
AND GORAZDE. UKRAINIAN PERMREP ZLENKO ALSO BRIEFED
AMBASSADORS FROM THE CONTACT GROUP PLUS ITALY ON THE
SAME SUBJECT. MEMBERS OF THE GROUP AGREED THAT THOSE
WITH EMBASSIES IN SARAJEVO WOULD RAISE THE ISSUE WITH
THE GOB. USYG GHAREKHAN BRIEFED THE COUNCIL ON THE
LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN BOSNIA, AND THE COUNCIL
DISCUSSED AN APPROPRIATE RESPONSE TO THESE
DEVELOPMENTS. END SUMMARY.

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MEETINGS WITH UKRAINIAN AMB

3. AT THE BEGINNING OF THE COUNCIL'S MEETING, COUNCIL
PRESIDENT MARTINEZ BLANCO SAID THAT ZLENKO HAD MET
WITH UKRAINIAN PERMREP ZLENKO ON JULY 18 TO DISCUSS
THE HARASSMENT OF UKRAINIAN CONTINGENTS IN ZEP
AND GORAZDE BY BOSNIANS AND BOSNIAN SERBS. MARTINEZ BLANCO
REPORTED THAT BOSNIAN FORCES DISARMED UKRAINIAN
PERSONNEL IN GORAZDE AND THREATENED TO KILL THEM IF AIR

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STRIKES WERE NOT LAUNCHED IMMEDIATELY AGAINST THE BOSNIAN SERBS. THE UKRAINIAN ASKED THAT THE COUNCIL TAKE EVERY MEASURE NECESSARY TO SECURE THE UKRAINIANS' IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE.

4. IMMEDIATELY BEFORE THE COUNCIL'S MEETING, ZLENKO MET WITH AMBASSADORS FROM THE CONTACT GROUP PLUS ITALY. ZLENKO SAID THAT HE HAD JUST RECEIVED INFORMATION FROM KIEV ON A "FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW" BY BOSNIAN FORCES IN ZEPA AND GORAZDE. HE SAID THAT GOB FORCES IN BOTH PLACES HAD FORCED MEMBERS OF THE UKRAINIAN CONTINGENT TO HAND OVER THEIR WEAPONS, AMMUNITION, BULLET PROOF JACKETS, AND OTHER EQUIPMENT. IN GORAZDE, UKRAINIAN SOLDIERS HAD BEEN FORCED TO LINE UP AND THE BOSNIANS HAD THREATENED TO KILL THEIR COMMANDER IF HE DID NOT IMMEDIATELY REQUEST USE OF NATO AIR POWER. IN ZEPA, WHEN ASKED ABOUT BOSNIAN SERB BEHAVIOR TOWARDS THE UKRAINIANS IN ZEPA, ZLENKO ADMITTED THAT THE SERBS HAD THREATENED TO KILL THE UKRAINIAN TROOPS IF AIR POWER WAS USED.

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5. MEMBERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP PLUS ITALY AGREED WITH A SUGGESTION BY UK PERMREP HANNAY THAT, DURING HIS BRIEFING TO THE PRESS, THE COUNCIL PRESIDENT EXPRESS THE COUNCIL'S CONCERN OVER THE TREATMENT OF THE UKRAINIAN TROOPS IN ZEPA AND GORAZDE. THEY ALSO AGREED THAT THOSE MEMBERS OF THE GROUP WITH EMBASSIES IN SARAJEVO SHOULD DEMARCHE THE GOB AND DEMAND THAT BOSNIAN FORCES RESPECT THE STATUS OF UNPROFOR TROOPS. BEFORE LEAVING ZLENKO NOTED THAT THE BOSNIANS WOULD NOT HAVE BEHAVED AS THEY HAD TOWARDS THE UKRAINIANS IF UKRAINE WERE A MEMBER OF NATO.

GHAREKHAN BRIEFING

6. USYG GHAREKHAN TOLD THE COUNCIL THAT THE SITUATION IN ZEPA CONTINUED TO DETERIORATE. HEAVY SHELLING CONTINUED ON JULY 17 AND 18, WITH TWO SHELLS PER MINUTE LANDING IN THE TOWN OF ZEPA ON JULY 17. THE UKRAINIAN

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CONTINGENT IN ZEPA HAS BEEN SUBJECTED TO UNACCEPTABLE TREATMENT BY BOTH SIDES. BOSNIAN FORCES WERE REPORT EDLY SEEN USING UNPROFOR APC'S ON JULY 18. THE

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 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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 NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
USNMR SHAPE BE PRIORITY
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HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//POLAD//
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USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USMISSION USVIENNA
AMEMBASSY MADRID

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AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS

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JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/18/05
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR,
SUBJECT: JULY 18 UNSC CONSULTATIONS: BOSNIA

UKRAINIANS CONTINUED TO OCCUPY TWO OBSERVATION POSTS;
THESE, HOWEVER, WERE BLOCKADED BY THE BSA. THE BOSNIAN
ARMY HAD SURROUNDED THE UKRAINIAN CAMP IN ZEPA AND
THREATENED TO USE SOLDIERS AS HUMAN SHIELDS UNLESS
AIRSTRIKES WERE LAUNCHED AGAINST THE BOSNIAN SERBS.
THE BSA HAD THREATENED TO KILL THE PEACEKEEPERS IF
AIRSTRIKES WERE LAUNCHED.

7. GHAREKHAN REPORTED THAT BOSNIAN ARMY FORCES TOOK
WEAPONS AND EQUIPMENT FROM UKRAINIAN CAMPS IN GORAZDE
ON THE NIGHT OF JULY 15. THE BOSNIAN ARMY HAD TAKEN
THE UKRAINIAN COMMANDER HOSTAGE AND THREATENED TO USE
UKRAINIANS AS A HUMAN SHIELD. SPORADIC BOSNIAN ARMY
BLOCKADES AROUND THE UK CAMPS IN GORAZDE PREVENTED UK

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FORCES FROM EFFECTIVELY ASSISTING THE UKRAINIANS. GEN
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SMITH MET WITH BH PRESIDENT IZETBEGOVIC TO DISCUSS THE
BOSNIAN ARMY'S TREATMENT OF UKRAINIAN PEACEKEEPERS.
IZETBEGOVIC ASSURED SMITH THAT THE BOSNIAN TROOPS
CONCERNED WERE ACTING WITHOUT THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE
BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT AND THAT THE SITUATION WOULD BE
RECTIFIED.

8. GHAREKAHN SAID THAT HUMANITARIAN AGENCIES ARE
PROVIDING AID TO REFUGEES FROM SREBRENICA. UNHCR
REPORTED THAT 6,600 REFUGEES WERE IN TENTS AT THE TUZLA
AIRBASE AND 16,500 AT OTHER BASES IN THE AREA. AN
ESTIMATED 600 MEN FROM SREBRENICA (WHO WERE AMONG THE
NUMBER PREVIOUSLY UNACCOUNTED FOR) CROSSED THE
CONFRONTATION LINE INTO TUZLA ON THE NIGHT OF JULY 16.
THEY REPORTED THAT 12,000-15,000 MEN FLED THE
SREBRENICA ENCLAVE ON JULY 11 AND 12. GHAREKHAN
REPORTED THAT 2,000-3,000 MALE REFUGEES WERE BEING HELD
IN THE BRATUNAC STADIUM, AND THAT THEY HAVE BEEN
SEPARATED INTO "MILITARY" AND "CIVILIAN" GROUPS.
DESPITE ASSURANCES FROM THE BSA, UNHCR HAD NOT BEEN
GRANTED ACCESS TO THE DETAINEES. DETAILS OF A BOSNIAN
GOVERNMENT EVACUATION OF THE ELDERLY AND WOUNDED FROM
ZEPA HAVE NOT YET BEEN WORKED OUT WITH THE BOSNIAN
SERBS.

9. GHAREKHAN REPORTED LOW LEVELS OF FIGHTING IN
SARAJEVO ON JULY 17. AN UNPROFOR CONVOY IN THE MOUNT
IGMAN AREA WAS SHELLED BY ONE BSA MORTAR ROUND. IN
BIHAC FIGHTING CONTINUED ALONG THE NORTHERN AND
SOUTHERN CONFRONTATION LINES. THE RSK FIRED MISSILES
INTO THE BIHAC POCKET, WHICH UNPROFOR ASSESSED AS AN
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ATTEMPT TO INTIMIDATE THE LOCAL POPULATION. GHAREKHAN
SAID THAT CROATIAN SECTOR EAST AND NORTH REMAINED
TENSE.

COUNCIL DISCUSSIONS

10. COUNCIL MEMBERS EXPRESSED FRUSTRATION WITH
DEVELOPMENTS IN BOSNIA. UK PERMREP HANNAY OUTLINED
THREE AREAS OF CONCERN: (1) THE TREATMENT OF THE
UKRAINIANS IN GORAZDE; (2) THE TREATMENT AND
PREDICAMENT OF THE UKRAINIANS IN ZEPA; AND (3) THE
GOB'S REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE IN EVACUATING PARTS OF THE
POPULATION OF ZEPA. FRENCH PERMREP MERIMEE SAID THAT
IT WAS IMPORTANT TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THE BOSNIAN
ARMY'S MISTREATMENT OF UKRAINIAN PEACEKEEPERS IN ZEPA,
WHERE THE BOSNIANS MAY HAVE FELT DESPERATE AND
PRESSURED, AND SIMILAR MISTREATMENT IN GORAZDE, WHERE
THE BOSNIANS WERE NOT SUBJECT TO IMMEDIATE PRESSURE.
MERIMEE ALSO SAID THAT THE EMERGENCY COUNCIL MEETING
CALLED FOR BY THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT WOULD BE MORE
USEFUL IF HELD AFTER THE JULY 21 MEETING IN LONDON.

11. AMB INDERFURTH AFFIRMED U.S. SUPPORT FOR THE UN

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AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
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WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB IMMEDIATE
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USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USMISSION USVIENNA
AMEMBASSY MADRID

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AMEMBASSY ANKARA
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USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/18/05

TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR,
SUBJECT: JULY 18 UNSC CONSULTATIONS: BOSNIA

PEACEKEEPING MISSION IN BOSNIA, NOTING PRESIDENT
CLINTON'S STATEMENT THAT THE UN MISSION MUST BE
STRENGTHENED IF IT WERE TO REMAIN IN BOSNIA. HE SAID
THAT THE U.S. WAS CURRENTLY DISCUSSING WITH ITS ALLIES
HOW TO RESPOND TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS' CONTINUED DEFIANCE
OF THE UN AND THE SC.

12. MEMBERS DECIDED THAT THE COUNCIL PRESIDENT WOULD
MEET WITH THE BOSNIAN CHARGE TO DISCUSS THE TREATMENT
OF THE UKRAINIANS AT THE HANDS OF THE BOSNIAN ARMY AND
THAT THE PRESIDENT WOULD BRIEF THE PRESS ON THE
CONDITION OF THE UKRAINIAN PEACEKEEPERS AND ON THE
GOB'S REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE IN EVACUATING REFUGEES
FROM ZEPA. THE COUNCIL DECIDED TO POSTPONE THE
EMERGENCY MEETING REQUESTED BY THE BOSNIAN FOREIGN

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MINISTER UNTIL AFTER THE JUNE 19 MEETING IN LONDON.

13. ACTIO

N REQUESTED: WITH DEPARTMENT CONCURRENCE,
EMBASSY SARAJEVO SHOULD PASS ON OUR CONCERNS REGARDING
BOSNIAN ACTIONS TOWARD THE UKRAINIAN PEACEKEEPERS.

14. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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 USMISSION GENEVA
 AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
 AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 002815

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/17/05
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR,
SUBJECT: JULY 17 UNSC: GHAREKHAN BRIEFING ON BOSNIA

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

GHAREKHAN BRIEFING

2. DURING INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS ON JULY 17 USYG
GHAREKHAN BRIEFED THE COUNCIL ON DEVELOPMENTS IN
CROATIA AND BOSNIA. BIHAC, GORAZDE, AND ZEPA REMAINED
TENSE, WHILE SARAJEVO WAS RELATIVELY QUIET. SHELLING
IN BIHAC KILLED ONE CIVILIAN ON JULY 15. THERE WAS
HEAVY FIGHTING BETWEEN THE RSK AND THE BOSNIAN
GOVERNMENT ON THE WESTERN CONFRONTATION LINE NEAR
BIHAC.

3. GHAREKHAN SAID THAT THE SITUATION IN ZEPA WAS
WORSENING. FIGHTING CONTINUED ON JULY 15 BETWEEN THE
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BOSNIAN ARMY AND THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY. BOSNIAN FORCES
SURROUNDED UKRAINIAN POSTS, DEMANDING WEAPONS AND
AMMUNITION. THE BSA ATTACKED WITH TANKS AT 1100 AND
HAD ADVANCED FROM THE NORTH TO 500 METERS SOUTH OF THE
UKRAINIAN OBSERVATION POSTS BY 1700. AT 1400 THE BSA
FIRED TANK ROUNDS INTO THE TOWN OF ZEPA. BY 2000 LOCAL
TIME THE BSA HAD TAKEN OVER A UKRAINIAN CHECKPOINT,
THREATENING TO SHOOT DETAINED PERSONNEL IF NATO AIR
PRESENCE CONTINUED. THE BOSNIAN ARMY CONFISCATED
WEAPONS FROM THREE UKRAINIAN OBSERVATION POSTS. THE

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UKRAINIANS STILL OCCUPIED THREE OBSERVATION POSTS, AND HAVE WITHDRAWN FROM THREE OTHERS TO THEIR CAMP IN THE TOWN.

4. THE 55 DUTCH SOLDIERS DETAINED BY THE BSA WERE RELEASED INTO THE FRY ON JULY 15 AND ARRIVED IN ZAGREB ON JULY 16. THE DUTCH ABANDONED THE LAST REMAINING OBSERVATION POST IN THE SREBRENICA AREA AND WITHDREW TO POTOČARI. THE HUMANITARIAN SITUATION IN TUZLA HAS IMPROVED SLIGHTLY. UNHCR HAS BECOME BETTER EQUIPPED TO DEAL WITH THE CRISIS, AND THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT HAS ADOPTED A MORE COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE. THE GOVERNMENT MOVED 11,000 REFUGEES TO OTHER TOWNS AROUND TUZLA. FOOD AND WATER DISTRIBUTION HAS IMPROVED. ICRC ESTIMATED THE NUMBER OF DISPLACED PERSONS AT 19,700, OF WHICH 90-95 PERCENT ARE WOMEN, CHILDREN, AND THE ELDERLY. UNHCR CONTINUED EFFORTS TO OBTAIN CLEARANCE TO EVACUATE THE SICK AND WOUNDED. ON JULY 16 THE BSA FIRED UPON A NORWEGIAN CONTINGENT WHICH WAS ON ITS WAY TO SREBRENICA TO EVACUATE WOUNDED REFUGEES. THE NORWEGIANS TURNED BACK AND WILL TRY AGAIN ON JULY 17.

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BETWEEN 10,000 TO 20,000 BOSNIANS FROM THE SREBRENICA AREA REMAIN UNACCOUNTED FOR.

5. AMB Inderfurth asked Gharekhan about press reports that the Bosnian Serbs had agreed to grant the ICRC access to the detained men and boys from Srebrenica. Other members asked Gharekhan for clarification on the number of Bosnian men and boys detained by the BSA. Gharekhan said that because the UN now has no presence in Srebrenica, it did not have the means to verify the number or location of the detained men and boys. He could not confirm whether or not the BSA had granted access to the detainees to the ICRC. He confirmed only that 700 Bosnian males were being held in the football stadium in Bratunac. UK Permrep Hannay said that it was important to distinguish between the number of young men of military age who were separated and sent to Bratunac, and a different figure representing those who are not accounted for but who may have escaped to

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THE HILLS AROUND SREBRENICA.

6. IN CROATIA MILITARY ACTIVITY INCREASED ON JULY 16 IN SECTORS EAST AND NORTH, WHILE SECTORS SOUTH AND WEST

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INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AF-01	ARA-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00
	OASY-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	EAP-01	EUR-01	FBIE-00	H-01
	IMMC-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00
	M-00	NEA-01	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OIG-04	PA-01
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	SA-01	SSD-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00

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O 180059Z JUL 95
 FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6333
 INFO SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE

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AMEMBASSY ZAGREB IMMEDIATE
USNMR SHAPE BE PRIORITY
USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MADRID
USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
USMISSION USVIENNA
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//POLAD//

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 002815

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/17/05
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR,
SUBJECT: JULY 17 UNSC: GHAREKHAN BRIEFING ON BOSNIA

REMAINED RELATIVELY STABLE. THERE WAS AN EXCHANGE OF
ARTILLERY AND MORTAR FIRE NEAR OSIJEK IN SECTOR EAST,
AND HEAVIER THAN NORMAL ARTILLERY FIRE IN SECTOR
NORTH.

BOSNIAN LETTER TO THE SC

7. COUNCIL PRESIDENT MARTINEZ BLANCO CIRCULATED A
LETTER FROM BOSNIAN FOREIGN MINISTER SACIRBEY
REQUESTING AN EMERGENCY SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING TO
ADDRESS THE BOSNIAN SERB ATTACKS AGAINST ZEPÄ.
MARTINEZ BLANCO AGREED TO AMB INDERFURTH'S SUGGESTION
THAT THE COUNCIL HOLD INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS ON THE
AFTERNOON OF JULY 18 TO ADDRESS THE SITUATION IN ZEPÄ.

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INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AF-01	ARA-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00
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	NEA-01	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OIG-04	PA-01	PM-00
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 JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
 NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 002720

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/10/05
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR,
SUBJECT: JULY 10: SC DISCUSSION OF SREBRENICA

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. SUMMARY. THE UNSC DISCUSSED THE DETERIORATING SITUATION IN SREBRENICA DURING INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS JULY 10. SC PRESIDENT MARTINEZ BLANCO BRIEFED MEMBERS ON HIS MEETINGS WITH REPS FROM CROATIA AND THE FRY. AMB GHAREKHAN DESCRIBED THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN SREBRENICA. MEMBERS DECIDED THAT THE COUNCIL WILL REACT TO THE SITUATION IN SREBRENICA THROUGH A PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT TO THE PRESS. END SUMMARY.

3. FOLLOWING INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS ON FRIDAY, SC PRESIDENT MARTINEZ BLANCO MET WITH CROATIAN REP NOBILO TO CONVEY THE COUNCIL'S CONCERN OVER THE APPARENT
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EMERGENCE OF A MILITARY OFFENSIVE IN THE MT DINARA AREA OF SECTOR SOUTH. HE QUESTIONED NOBILO ABOUT THE SITUATION IN SECTORS EAST, NORTH, AND WEST AND ABOUT THE HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN SITUATION IN CROATIA. NOBILO SAID THAT CROATIA HAD NO INTENTION OF LAUNCHING A MILITARY OFFENSIVE IN SECTOR SOUTH, BUT WAS CONDUCTING "NORMAL" MILITARY EXERCISES THERE. REGARDING THE HUMANITARIAN SITUATION, NOBILO SAID THAT THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT WAS COOPERATING WITH THE UNHCR TO BRING ABOUT THE RETURN OF REFUGEES AS QUICKLY AS

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POSSIBLE.

4. MARTINEZ BLANCO ALSO MET WITH A FRY REP ON JULY 7 TO REQUEST CLARIFICATION OF REPORTS OF THE FORCED RECRUITMENT OF TROOPS. THE FRY REP REFERRED MARTINEZ BLANCO TO THE FRY'S PREVIOUS STATEMENT ON THIS ISSUE AND SAID HE WILL PROVIDE FURTHER INFORMATION WHEN IT BECOMES AVAILABLE.

5. AMB GHAREKHAN BRIEFED THE COUNCIL JULY 10 ON THE SITUATION IN SREBRENICA. HE REPORTED THAT THE BSA BEGAN SHELLING THE TOWN AT 800 ON JULY 7, AND TARGETED THE ELECTRIC POWER PLANT. UNPROFOR REPORTED 4 CIVILIAN CASUALTIES AND 17 INJURIES ON JULY 7. HEAVY SHELLING CONTINUED ON JULY 8 IN THE POPULATION CENTER AND TO THE NORTHWEST OF THE ENCLAVE. TWO OBSERVATION POSTS WERE OVERRUN BY THE BSA, AND 15 DUTCH SOLDIERS MANNING THE POST WERE TAKEN TO BRATUNAC. ANOTHER OBSERVATION POST WAS OVERRUN AND THE SOLDIERS MANNING IT WITHDREW. WHEN THEY ATTEMPTED TO DRIVE THROUGH A BOSNIAN BARRICADE, BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT FORCES FIRED A GRENADE WHICH KILLED

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ONE DUTCH SOLDIER. SHELLING CONTINUED ON JULY 9, AS THE BSA INFANTRY ADVANCE CONTINUED AND REFUGEES MOVED INTO THE TOWN. THE BSA OVERRAN A TEMPORARY OBSERVATION POST AND MOVED THE 5 SOLDIERS MANNING THE POST TO BRATUNAC. ANOTHER OBSERVATION POST WAS WITHDRAWN AFTER THREE MORTARS LANDED CLOSE TO IT. THE BOSNIAN ARMY PREVENTED THE WITHDRAWAL OF ANOTHER OBSERVATION POST, WHICH WAS THEN OVERRUN BY THE BSA, WHO DETAINED 10 DUTCH SOLDIERS IN THE BAUXITE MINE. IN ALL 5 OBSERVATION POSTS WERE ABANDONED AND 30 UN SOLDIERS DETAINED.

6. GHAREKHAN SAID THAT THE DUTCH BATTALION RECEIVED ORDERS YESTERDAY FROM UNPROFOR TO BLOCK THE SOUTHERN ROUTE INTO SREBRENICA. THEY ESTABLISHED A POST ON JULY 9 1.5 KILOMETERS SOUTH OF SREBRENICA AND HAVE INSTRUCTIONS TO CALL IN CLOSE AIR SUPPORT

IF
NECESSARY. SINCE YESTERDAY EVENING THE BSA ADVANCE AND

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SHELLING HAS STOPPED. ON THE MORNING OF JULY 10, THE BOSNIAN ARMY ENGAGED ONE APC FROM THE BLOCKING FORCE WITH SMALL ARMS FIRE AND ANOTHER WITH GRENADES. A

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	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00
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 INFO SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
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 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE

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USNMR SHAPE BE PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY ANKARA

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USMISSION GENEVA
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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 002720

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/10/05
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR,
SUBJECT: JULY 10: SC DISCUSSION OF SREBRENICA

THIRD APC SENT TO RECOVER THE FIRST ONE WAS FIRED AT BY
THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT ARMY WITH AN ANTI-TANK MISSILE.

7. AMB ALBRIGHT ASKED GHAREKHAN TO CLARIFY THE STATUS
OF CLOSE AIR SUPPORT. GHAREKHAN SAID THAT THE
COMMANDERS ON THE GROUND HAVE BEEN GRANTED THE
AUTHORITY TO ASK FOR CLOSE AIR SUPPORT. COMMANDERS CAN
REQUEST CLOSE AIR SUPPORT IF UN TROOPS ARE IN DANGER
FROM EITHER SIDE. HE SAID THAT THERE HAD NOT YET BEEN
ANY REQUESTS FOR CLOSE AIR SUPPORT. AMB ALBRIGHT ALSO
SAID THAT THE SC NEEDED ADDITIONAL INFORMATION BEFORE
DRAWING CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE BOSNIAN ARMY ATTACKS ON
THE DUTCH CONTINGENTS.

8. THE COUNCIL DECIDED TO RESPOND TO THE SITUATION

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THROUGH A PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT TO THE PRESS.
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ELEMENTS OF THE STATEMENT, AS SUGGESTED BY UK PERMREP
HANNAY, FOLLOW:

- CONCERN AT DETERIORATION IN THE SITUATION IN AND
AROUND SREBRENICA AND ESPECIALLY THE SUFFERING OF THE
CIVILIAN POPULATION

- DEMAND THAT THE PARTIES RESPECT FULLY THE STATUS
OF THE SAFE AREA

- CONDEMN ATTACKS ON UNPROFOR PERSONNEL, AND IN
PARTICULAR THE DETENTION BY THE BOSNIAN SERB PARTY OF
MEMBERS OF THE DUTCH CONTINGENT
- DEMAND THAT THE BOSNIAN SERB FORCES RELEASE
IMMEDIATELY THE DETAINED PERSONNEL, AND THAT ALL
PARTIES RESPECT UNPROFOR'S SAFETY AND FREEDOM OF
MOVEMENT

- SUPPORT FOR THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
SECRETARY-GENERAL AND THE FORCE COMMANDER

- CONDOLENCES TO THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT AND THE
FAMILY OF THE DUTCH PEACEKEEPER WHO GAVE HIS LIFE.

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	M-00	NEA-01	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OIG-04	PA-01
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 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6144
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 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
 SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 USNMR SHAPE BE PRIORITY
 USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY
 USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA
 AMEMBASSY ANKARA
 AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
 AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
 AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
 AMEMBASSY ATHENS

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AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY MADRID
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 002707

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 6/13/05

TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR,

SUBJECT: BOSNIA AND CROATIA: GHAREKHAN'S JULY

-- BRIEFING TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL CONFIRMS
-- THAT UNHCR HAS REPORTED THAT BELGRADE HAS
-- FORCIBLY RECRUITED 2,500 TROOPS FOR THE BSA
-- AND CROATIAN SERB ARMY

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

2. UNDERSECRETARY GENERAL GHAREKHAN BRIEFED THE
SECURITY COUNCIL ON THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA AND CROATIA
DURING THE COUNCIL'S JULY 7 INFORMAL MEETING. MAIN
POINTS OF GHAREKHAN'S BRIEFING INCLUDED THE FOLLOWING:

-- THE SITUATION IN CROATIA WAS TENSE DUE TO
MOBILIZATION BY THE RSK AND ONGOING CROATIAN ARMY TROOP
MOVEMENTS, TRAINING AND CONCENTRATION NEAR THE ZONES OF
SEPARATION. THE CROATIAN OFFENSIVE IN THE LIVNO VALLEY
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WAS OF CONCERN. UNCRO HAD REPORTED SIGNIFICANT TROOP
MOVEMENTS NEAR SECTOR SOUTH. THE CROATIAN ARMY WAS
ALSO CONDUCTING EXERCISES WEST OF SECTOR EAST AND NEAR
SECTOR NORTH.

-- ATTACKS NEAR BIHAC BY THE RSK ARMY AND ABDIC FORCES
HAD INCREASED. THERE WERE UNCONFIRMED REPORTS THAT THE
BOSNIAN FIFTH CORPS WAS PREPARING FOR AN ATTACK ON RSK
FORCES NEAR THE EASTERN BORDER OF THE BIHAC POCKET.

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-- BOTH SIDES IN CROATIA WERE PREVENTING UNCRO FROM IMPLEMENTING ITS MANDATE.

-- REGARDING THE HUMANITARIAN SITUATION IN SECTOR WEST, GHAREKHAN SAID THAT BETWEEN MAY 9 AND MAY 30 2,169 LOCAL SERBS HAD LEFT THE SECTOR FOR BANJA LUKA. BETWEEN JUNE 16 AND JULY 7 ANOTHER 130 LOCAL SERBS MOVED TO BANJA LUKA AND 16 WENT TO SECTOR EAST. THERE WERE NOW LESS THAN 1,000 SERBS IN SECTOR WEST. THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT HAD ANNOUNCED THAT 14,000 DISPLACED CROATS WILL RETURN TO SECTOR WEST, MOST BY THE END OF 1995. UNHCR HAD RECEIVED REQUESTS TO RETURN FROM SOME SERBS WHO HAD FLED THE SECTOR. THE GOC HAD APPROVED 84 SUCH REQUESTS, INCLUDING 34 FROM REFUGEES CURRENTLY IN THE FRY UNHCR AND UNPF HAD ASKED BELGRADE TO APPROVE THE RETURN, BUT HAD NOT RECEIVED A REPLY.

-- UNCRO WAS TRYING TO COOPERATE WITH CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES UNDERTAKEN BY THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT IN SECTOR WEST.

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-- 150 SERBS FROM SECTOR WEST REMAIN IN GOC DETENTION. ZAGREB SAID IT WILL TRY 50 OF THEM FOR WAR CRIMES.

-- UNHCR HAS REPORTED THAT BELGRADE HAS FORCIBLY RETURNED 2,500 REFUGEES TO BOSNIA AND CROATIA WHERE THEY WERE INDUCTED INTO THE BSA AND KRAJINA SERB ARMIES. UNHCR HAS LODGED A STRONG PROTEST WITH THE BELGRADE AUTHORITIES, NOTING THAT SUCH ACTIONS VIOLATED INTERNATIONAL LAW REGARDING REFUGEES.

-- IN BOSNIA, THERE WAS HEAVY FIGHTING AROUND SREBRENICA. A HIGH LEVEL OF BSA ARTILLERY, MORTAR, ROCKET AND TANK FIRE WAS REPORTED IN THE SOUTH, EAST AND NORTHERN PARTS OF THE ENCLAVE. UNMOS HAD CONFIRMED TWO CIVILIANS KILLED AND SIX INJURED. THE UNPROFOR COMPOUND AND ONE OBSERVATION POST WERE DIRECTLY TARGETED BY THE BSA.

3. AMBASSADOR GNEHM SAID THAT THE U.S. REMAINED

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CONCERNED OVER REPORTS THAT BELGRADE WAS FORCIBLY
RECRUITING TROOPS FOR THE BSA AND KRAJINA SERB ARMY.
GHAREKHAN'S DEBRIEF WOULD LIKELY DEEPEN THOSE
CONCERNS. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE COUNCIL PRESIDENT CALL

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ACTION IO-08

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AF-01	ARA-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00
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AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS

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AMEMBASSY MADRID
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 002707

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

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-- BRIEFING TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL CONFIRMS
-- THAT UNHCR HAS REPORTED THAT BELGRADE HAS
-- FORCIBLY RECRUITED 2,500 TROOPS FOR THE BSA
-- AND CROATIAN SERB ARMY

IN FRY CHARGE DJOKIC TO ASK FOR AN EXPLANATION AND
REITERATE THE COUNCIL'S CONCERN. THE RUSSIAN
REPRESENTATIVE SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WAS CONCERNED
ABOUT REPORTS OF CROATIAN TROOP MOVEMENTS. HE
SUGGESTED THAT THE COUNCIL PRESIDENT CALL IN CROATIAN
PERMREP NOBILO AND ASK FOR AN EXPLANATION. BOTH
SUGGESTIONS WERE APPROVED BY OTHER MEMBERS OF THE
COUNCIL.

4. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED

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ACTION L-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	SRPP-00
	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00
	IO-06	LAB-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02
	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00
	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00
	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00	/029W			

-----DCC0A5 251300Z /38

O 251207Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9088
 INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 AMEMBASSY VIENNA
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 004005

STATE FOR USUN/W - O'BRIEN, DRL - NIX, L - MATHESON,
 L/UNA - BLOOM, IO/UNP - SHIPSHOCK, INR - SCHWERING
 EUR/SCE - HILL

VIENNA PLEASE PASS TO BOSNIA

E.O. 12356: DECLASSIFY 5 YEARS AFTER CLOSURE OF ICTY
 TAGS: ICTY, PREL, PHUM, BK, SR
 SUBJECT: YUGOSLAVIA TRIBUNAL: INDICTMENT OF KARADZIC,
 CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 THE HA 04005 251300Z
 - MLADIC, MARTIC AND OTHERS

UNCLASSIFIED

1. (U) SUMMARY. THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA ANNOUNCED JULY 25 THAT IT HAD INDICTED RADOVAN KARDZIC, RATKO MLADIC, MILAN MARTIC AND 21 OTHERS FOR VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. WARRANTS FOR THE ARREST OF THE 24 ACCUSED HAVE BEEN ISSUED. END SUMMARY.

2. (C) INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA (ICTY) PROSECUTOR GOLDSTONE TOLD A BRIEFING OF SENIOR DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PERM 5, THE EU PRESIDENCY AND THE ISLAMIC CONFERENCE AT 12:30 PM LOCAL TIME THAT ANNOUNCEMENT OF INDICTMENTS OF KARADZIC, MLADIC AND OTHERS WOULD BE MADE AT 1:30 LOCAL TIME.

3. (U) KARADZIC AND MLADIC ARE CHARGED WITH GENOCIDE AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY, AMONG OTHERS, ARISING FROM ATROCITIES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE CIVILIAN POPULATION THROUGHOUT BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, FOR THE SNIPING CAMPAIGN AGAINST CIVILIANS IN SARAJEVO, AND FOR THE TAKING OF UN-PEACEKEEPERS AS HOSTAGES AND THEIR USE AS HUMAN SHIELDS. GOLDSTONE SAID THAT, ALTHOUGH NO CHARGES WERE MADE IN CONNECTION WITH RECENT EVENTS IN SREBRENICA AND ELSEWHERE, THE INVESTIGATION WAS CONTINUING BOTH WITH RESPECT TO RECENT EVENTS AND TO OTHER EVENTS IN THE PAST.

4. (U) MARTIC IS CHARGED WITH WAR CRIMES IN CONNECTION WITH THE FIRING OF CLUSTER BOMBS INTO THE CENTRAL PART OF ZAGREB ON MAY 2-3, 1995.

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PAGE 03 THE HA 04005 251300Z

5. (U) TWENTY-ONE OTHER INDIVIDUALS ARE INDICTED WITH RESPECT TO THREE SPECIFIC INVESTIGATIONS: THE SITUATION AT THE KERATERM CAMP IN PRIJEDOR (13 ACCUSED); BOSANSKI SAMAC (6 ACCUSED); AND BRCKO (2 ACCUSED).

6. (U) COPIES OF THE PRESS RELEASE DETAILING THE CHARGES AND OF GOLDSTONE'S PRESS STATEMENT HAVE BEEN FAKED TO L - MATHESON. COPIES OF THE INDICTMENTS WILL BE SENT BY DHL TO L - MATHESON WHEN THEY BECOME AVAILABLE; THEY ARE EXPECTED TO BE AVAILABLE JULY 25 OR

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26.

7. (U) ZAGREB MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ1700

PAGE 01 THE HA 03942 211202Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CCO-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	SRPP-00
	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08	L-01	ADS-00
	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00
	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00
	USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/027W

-----DBBA9E 211202Z /38

O 211154Z JUL 95 ZFF4
 FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 9051
 SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 DIA WASHDC//J2-M// IMMEDIATE
 INFO NATO EU COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
 JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK PRIORITY
 CINC INTEL SUPPORT HEIDELBERG GE PRIORITY
 USCINCEUR INTEL VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB PRIORITY
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 003942

DEPT. PASS TO SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O 12356: DECL: 7/21/96
 TAGS: PREL, MARR, MOPS, BK, SR, NL
 CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 THE HA 03942 211202Z
 SUBJECT: DUTCH BLUE HELMETS LEAVE SREBRENICA

AS PLANNED

UNCLASSIFIED

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. ACCORDING TO MOD SOURCES, ALL DUTCHBAT
TROOPS LEFT THE SREBRENICA ENCLAVE AS PLANNED
AND CROSSED FROM BOSNIA INTO SERBIA AT 1300.
DETAILS TO FOLLOW.

3. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
DORN BUSH

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PAGE 01 THE HA 03898 191457Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	SRPP-00	FBIE-00
	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08	L-01	ADS-00	M-00
	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01
	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00
	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/027W	

-----DAF184 191458Z /38

P 191455Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9027
 INFO AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 USMISSION GENEVA
 USCINCEUR INTEL VAIHINGEN GE
 JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
 CINC INTEL SUPPORT HEIDELBERG GE
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC
 SECDEF WASHDC
 DIA WASHDC//J2-M//
 NATO EU COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 003898

E.O 12356: DECL: 7/19/05
 TAGS: PREL MARR, MOPS, BK, SR, NL
 SUBJECT: FRENCH/DUTCH TENSIONS PERSIST OVER
 CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 THE HA 03898 191457Z
 - PUBLIC COMMENTS ABOUT SREBRENICA

UNCLASSIFIED

REF: A) THE HAGUE 3808, B) THE HAGUE 3822

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THE PUBLIC TIT-FOR-TAT BETWEEN PARIS AND THE HAGUE THAT ERUPTED IN THE WAKE OF FRENCH FM DE CHARETTE'S PUBLIC CRITICISM LAST WEEK OF DUTCH TROOPS IN SREBRENICA LINGERS ON. THERE IS, HOWEVER, NO INDICATION THAT THE HAGUE HAS PERMITTED ITS ANGER WITH THESE REMARKS TO AFFECT ITS THINKING ON UNPROFOR OR FRENCH PROPOSALS IN BOSNIA. END SUMMARY.

3. THE DUST HAS NOT COMPLETELY SETTLED BETWEEN PARIS AND THE HAGUE OVER PUBLIC FRENCH CRITICISM OF DUTCH TROOPS IN SREBRENICA. DURING THE JULY 17 EU GENERAL AFFAIRS COUNCIL (GAC), FRENCH FM DE CHARETTE REPORTEDLY EXPRESSED IRRITATION OVER DUTCH PM KOK'S JULY 14 PUBLIC RESPONSE TO FRENCH CRITICISM OF DUTCH TROOPS IN SREBRENICA.

4. THIS SERIES OF RECRIMINATIONS BEGAN WHEN DE CHARETTE STATED IN A TELEVISED INTERVIEW JULY 13, THAT DUTCH TROOPS HAD NOT FULFILLED THEIR MISSION IN SREBRENICA, BECOMING VIRTUAL ACCOMPLICES TO ETHNIC CLEANSING (REF A). AFTER AN ANGRY FM VAN MIERLO CALLED IN THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR FOR AN EXPLANATION, THE QUAI SENT A BRIEF RESPONSE EXPRESSING UNDERSTANDING FOR THE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 THE HA 03898 191457Z
DIFFICULT SITUATION OF THE DUTCH TROOPS AND CLAIMING "THERE IS NO QUESTION OF CRITICISM (BY FRANCE)."

5. VAN MIERLO HAD DECIDED TO ACCEPT THIS RESPONSE AND PUT THE MATTER BEHIND HIM. KOK, HOWEVER, HAS NOT SATISFIED AND MADE THAT CLEAR TO THE PRESS. "I AM FURIOUS THAT AN IMPORTANT ALLY AND PARTNER SUGGESTS THAT THE DUTCH BLUE HELMETS IN SREBRENICA HAVE NOT DONE ALL THEY

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WOULD... YOU NEED MENTAL GYMNASTICS NOT TO
RELATE (DE CHARETTE'S) CRITICISM TO THE
NETHERLANDS... I AM VERY ANGRY ABOUT THIS. MY
BLOOD IS STILL BOILING."

5. BOTH KOK AND DEFMIN VOORHOEVE ALSO SHARPLY
REJECTED FRENCH CALLS FOR MILITARY ACTION TO
RETAKE SREBRENICA. KOK TERMED CHIRAC'S
SUGGESTION "LUNACY" FROM A MILITARY AND
POLITICAL POINT OF VIEW, ADDING, "WE DO NOT NEED
MR. CHIRAC TO TELL US THAT SOMETHING NEEDS TO BE
DONE WITH UNPROFOR."

7. COMMENT: WE DO NOT BELIEVE DUTCH ANGER
AFFECTS DUTCH THINKING ON UNPROFOR IN GENERAL OR
FRENCH PROPOSALS IN PARTICULAR. AS BACKGROUND
FOR FRIDAY'S MEETING IN LONDON, HOWEVER,
DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO NOTE THIS CURRENT
UNDERLYING TENSION IN THE FRANCO-DUTCH
RELATIONSHIP.

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PAGE 04 THE HA 03898 191457Z
8. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
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PAGE 01 THE HA 03885 190918Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 TEDE-00 ADS-00 ONY-00 SSO-00 /001W
-----DAD1F7 190918Z /38

O 190915Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9019

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 003885

FOR EUR/UBI PAUL JONES FROM ADCM PERCIVAL

E.O 12356: DECL: 7/19/05
TAGS: AMGT, NL
SUBJECT: OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. PAUL, IN RESPONSE TO YOUR FAX, THE DUTCH DELEGATION IS NOT OVERNIGHTING IN LONDON. IF A MESSAGE NEEDS TO BE PASSED BEFORE THE MEETING, THAT CAN BE DONE THROUGH THE DUTCH EMBASSY IN LONDON. FOLLOWING THE MEETING, THEY WILL FLY BACK TO THE HAGUE.
3. BELOW IS THE BRIEFING MATERIAL ON THE GON POSITIONS FOR THE FRIDAY MEETING IN LONDON:

HUMANITARIAN SITUATION

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PAGE 02 THE HA 03885 190918Z

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THE DUTCH SEE THE WELFARE OF THE MUSLIM POPULATION IN THE EASTERN ENCLAVES AS UNPROFOR'S IMMEDIATE PRIORITY. DUTCHBAT ACTED COURAGEOUSLY PROTECTING THE REFUGEES OF SREBRENICA, BUT ALSO WITNESSED FIRST-HAND BOSNIAN-SERB EXCESSES. FM VAN MIERLO HAS PROPOSED A UN EVACUATION OF THE 10,000 CIVILIANS IN ZEPA, WHICH THE GON CONSIDERS INDEFENSIBLE, IN ORDER TO AVERT A REPETITION THERE OF THESE EXCESSES. THE GON THIS WEEK DONATED AN ADDITIONAL \$18 MILLION IN AID TO CAQES FROM SREBRENICA AND HAS OFFERED DUTCH BLUE HELMETS TO BEAR THE BRUNT OF A POTENTIAL EVACUATION OF ZEPA.

DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS

THE NETHERLANDS SHARES OUR VIEW THAT ONLY NEGOTIATIONS CAN RESOLVE THE CRISIS IN BOSNIA AND FULLY SUPPORTS THE EFFORTS OF THE CONTACT GROUP. IT IS NONETHELESS WORRIED THAT THE GON WILL NOT BE ADEQUATELY CONSULTED, BUT PRESENTED WITH A DIPLOMATIC FAIT ACCOMPLI. THE HAGUE SHARES BONN'S MISGIVINGS THAT TOO MANY CONCESSIONS ON SANCTIONS ARE BEING OFFERED TO MILOSEVIC.

UNPROFOR'S FUTURE

THE DUTCH HAVE CONSISTENTLY SUPPORTED A MORE ROBUST IMPLEMENTATION OF UNPROFOR'S MANDATE. SINCE THE GON HOSTED THE FIRST CHODS MEETING LAST DECEMBER, THE DUTCH HAVE BEEN STRESSING THE

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PAGE 03 THE HA 03885 190918Z
NEED TO CONSOLIDATE FORCES, STRENGTHEN MILITARY CAPABILITIES, AND STIFFEN RULES OF ENGAGEMENT. THEY BELIEVE SARAJEVO, NOT GORAZDE, WILL BE THE DECISIVE POINT FOR UNPROFOR. THUS, THE GON REGARDS THE OPENING OF THE MT. IGMAN CORRIDOR AND REESTABLISHMENT OF AN EXCLUSION ZONE AROUND SARAJEVO AS THE MOST REALISTIC OPTIONS FOR THE RAPID REACTION FORCE. DUTCH OFFICIALS DO NOT VIEW GORAZDE AS VIABLE IN THE LONG-TERM, AND ARE

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CONSEQUENTLY RELUCTANT TO COMMIT ADDITIONAL
TROOPS TO ITS DEFENSE. THE GON MIGHT, HOWEVER,
SUPPORT A SYMBOLIC REINFORCEMENT OF GORAZDE,
COMBINED WITH A MORE AGGRESSIVE AIR DEFENSE.
DORN BUSH

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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ8933

PAGE 01 THE HA 03865 01 OF 02 181113Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00
	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08	L-01	ADS-00
	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00
	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00

/027W

-----DA7117 181113Z /38

O 181111Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9008
 INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
 NATO EU COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 USDELTC BRUSSELS
 DIA WASHDC//J2-M//
 AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
 USCINCEUR INTEL VAIHINGEN GE
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 CINC INTEL SUPPORT HEIDELBERG GE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 THE HAGUE 003865

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/18/05
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 THE HA 03865 01 OF 02 181113Z

UNCLASSIFIED

TAGS: PREL, MARR, MOPS, BK, NL
SUBJECT: WITH WOUNDED OUT, DUTCH PRESS FOR ACCESS
- TO BRATUNAC DETAINEES, AWAIT U.N. ORDERS

REFS: A) STATE 170874 (NOTAL)
- B) PERCIVAL-OP CENTER TELCON, 7/18
- C) THE HAGUE 3855, D) THE HAGUE 3833

1. CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. ALTHOUGH THE LAST OF THE WOUNDED MUSLIM REFUGEES HAVE BEEN EVACUATED FROM POTOCARI TO TUZLA, DUTCH TROOPS IN THE FORMER SREBRENICA ENCLAVE PLAN TO REMAIN UNTIL THE U.N. INSTRUCTS THEM TO DEPART. THE DUTCH IN POTOCARI CONTINUE TO PRESS THE BSA FOR INTERNATIONAL ACCESS TO THE MALE DETAINEES IN BRATUNAC, BUT THE SERBS HAVE THUS FAR NOT RELENTED. ADDITIONALLY, THE DUTCH ARE SEEKING TO ARRANGE FOR THE SAFE PASSAGE OF 17-18 UNPROFOR INTERPRETERS. SHOULD THE U.N. GIVE THE DUTCH ORDERS TO DEPART, THE DUTCHBAT WOULD PROBABLY LEAVE POTOCARI VIA BELGRADE AND ZAGREB FOR THE NETHERLANDS. HOWEVER, THEY WILL BE REPLACED IN BOSNIA BY TWO COMPANIES OF A MECHANIZED INFANTRY BATTALION AS SOON AS THE U.N. DECIDES WHERE TO STATION THEM AND THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT GIVES THE GREEN LIGHT. END SUMMARY.

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PAGE 03 THE HA 03865 01 OF 02 181113Z

WOUNDED OUT, DUTCH PRESS ON DETAINEES

3. AS REPORTED REF (B), DUTCH MOD SOURCES CONFIRM THAT ALL 59 WOUNDED REFUGEES THAT HAD BEEN IN POTOCARI HAVE BEEN EVACUATED, AND HAVE ARRIVED IN TUZLA. WITH THE REFUGEES OUT, THE DUTCH TROOPS ARE

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CONTINUING TO PRESS THE BSA FOR SOME FORM OF INTERNATIONAL ACCESS TO THE MUSLIM MALE DETAINEES HELD IN BRATUNAC. MOD OFFICIALS POINT OUT, HOWEVER, THAT DUTCH LEVERAGE IS LIMITED, AND THE SERBS HAVE THUS FAR REFUSED U.N. OR RED CROSS ACCESS. THE DUTCH ARE ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT THE FATE OF 17-18 LOCALLY EMPLOYED TRANSLATORS, WHOM THE SERBS ARE SEEKING TO INTERROGATE. THE DUTCH ARE DETERMINED TO TAKE THESE EMPLOYEES OUT WITH THEM. AS FAR AS THE DUTCH MILITARY EQUIPMENT, THE SERBS HAVE TO DATE TOLD THE DUTCH THEY COULD TAKE WHAT THEY WANTED. AT THE SAME TIME, THE DUTCH WOULD HAVE TO TRAVERSE BOSNIAN SERB TERRITORY, AND THE POTENTIAL THAT THEY WOULD BE BELIEVED OF THEIR EQUIPMENT EN ROUTE IS EVER PRESENT.

4. ONCE THE DUTCH ARE SATISFIED THEY HAVE DONE ALL THEY CAN FOR THE MUSLIM DETAINEES AND HAVE AN AGREEMENT FOR THE DEPARTURE OF THEIR INTERPRETERS, THEY WILL DEPART WHEN U.N. AUTHORITIES GIVE THEM ORDERS TO DO SO. MOD OFFICIALS NOTED THAT THE U.N. SENT THE DUTCH TO SREBRENICA, AND IT WAS UP TO THE
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 THE HA 03865 01 OF 02 181113Z
U.N. TO TELL THEM WHEN TO DEPART. SHOULD THE U.N. DECIDE IT WANTED THE DUTCH TO REMAIN FOR A WHILE AS A TOKEN PRESENCE, THEY WOULD LIKELY DO SO, WE WERE TOLD. THIS WOULD, HOWEVER, BE A TOUGH SELL TO THE DUTCH PUBLIC AND PARLIAMENT.

DEPARTURE MECHANICS

5. ONCE THE DUTCH RECEIVE THE U.N.'S GREEN LIGHT TO DEPART, THEY ARE LIKELY TO DEPART VIA BELGRADE AND ZAGREB. THIS IS APPARENTLY THE CURRENT PREFERENCE OF THE DUTCHBAT COMMANDER, WHO BELIEVES THIS ROUTE WOULD OFFER THE MOST TROUBLE FREE ROUTE OUT OF BOSNIAN SERB-HELD TERRITORY. FROM BELGRADE THE DUTCH FORCES WOULD TRAVEL TO ZAGREB, FROM WHICH THEY WOULD FLY OUT TO THE NETHERLANDS. AN

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ALTERNATIVE ROUTE WOULD BE FOR THE DUTCH TO
DEPARTING VIA GLADANJ AND BUSOVACA, WHERE A
DUTCH/BELGIAN TRANSPORT AND LOGISTICS BATTALION IS

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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ8934

PAGE 01 THE HA 03865 02 OF 02 181113Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00
	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08	L-01	ADS-00
	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00
	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00

/027W

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O 181111Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9009
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
NATO EU COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
USDELMC BRUSSELS
DIA WASHDC//J2-M//
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
USCINCEUR INTEL VAIHINGEN GE
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
CINC INTEL SUPPORT HEIDELBERG GE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 THE HAGUE 003865

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/18/05
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 THE HA 03865 02 OF 02 181113Z
TAGS: PREL, MARR, MOPS, BK, NL
SUBJECT: WITH WOUNDED OUT, DUTCH PRESS FOR ACCESS
- TO BRATUNAC DETAINEES, AWAIT U.N. ORDERS

BASED. THIS ROUTE HAS TRADITIONALLY BEEN PLAGUED
BY BANDITS, AND CONVOYS HAVE HAD PERSISTENT
DIFFICULTIES.

REPLACEMENT TROOPS WAITING IN WINGS

6. THE DUTCH TROOPS CURRENTLY IN POTOCARI -- TWO
COMPANIES OF THE 13TH BATTALION OF THE AIRMOBILE
BRIGADE -- HAD BEEN DUE TO ROTATE OUT OF SREBRENICA
IN EARLY JULY. CONSEQUENTLY, UPON THEIR DEPARTURE
FROM POTOCARI, THEY WILL RETURN TO THE NETHERLANDS
AS PREVIOUSLY PLANNED. THE TROOPS THAT WERE
SCHEDULED TO ROTATE INTO SREBRENICA -- TWO
COMPANIES OF THE 42ND MECHANIZED INFANTRY BATTALION
-- ARE STILL EXPECTED TO JOIN UNPROFOR IN BOSNIA.
FOR THE TIME BEING, THESE FORCES WILL REMAIN IN THE
NETHERLANDS UNTIL THE U.N. DETERMINES WHERE TO
ASSIGN THE FORCES. THE DUTCH UNDERSTAND THAT THE
U.N. IS CONSIDERING USING THESE FORCES TO REPLACE A
BRITISH BATTALION HEADQUARTERED IN VITEZ THAT WILL
BE JOINING THE RRF. ALTERNATIVELY, THE DUTCH COULD

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BE SENT TO MAGLAJ, ALSO REPLACING BRITISH UNITS.
ONE COMPANY OF THE 42ND HAS ALREADY ROTATED INTO
SIMIN HAN, REPLACING THE THIRD COMPANY OF THE 13TH
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PAGE 03 THE HA 03865 02 OF 02 181113Z
AIRMOBILE BRIGADE.

DUTCH ABLE TO ASSIST REFUGEES

7. DUTCH FORCES REMAIN IN A POSITION TO ASSIST THE
REFUGEES IN THE AREA AROUND TUZLA. THE
DUTCH/BELGIAN TRANSPORT BATTALION BASED IN BUSAVACA
WOULD BE ABLE TO OFFER ASSISTANCE TO THE REFUGEES,
AS WOULD THE TROOPS BASED IN SIMIN HAN. BOTH HAVE
CONSIDERABLE CAPABILITIES THAT COULD BE OF USE IN
AIDING THE REFUGEES.

8. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

DORNBUSH

CONFIDENTIAL

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UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 THE HA 03782 131428Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO LOG-00 CIAE-00 OASY-00 TEDE-00 INR-00 IO-08 ADS-00
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 OIC-02 PA-01 PM-00 PRS-01 P-01
SP-00 SSO-00 SS-00 USIE-00 PMB-00 /014W

-----D91CFC 131443Z /45

O 131429Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8948
INFO NATO EU COLLECTIVE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
SECDEF WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 003782

DEPT FOR EUR - FOR A/S HOLBROOKE FROM AMBASSADOR
DEPT FOR PA

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: MARR, MDPS, BK, NL
SUBJECT: DUTCH CONCERNS FOR DUTCH PRESS IMAGE IN U.S.

REFS: (A) LONDON 9839, (B) THE HAGUE 3768

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THANK YOU FOR YOUR OFFER TO HELP WITH THE GON'S PERCEIVED PRESS PROBLEMS IN THE U.S. PROMINENT DUTCH OFFICIALS BELIEVE THAT SOME U.S. MEDIA REPORTS HAVE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 THE HA 03782 131428Z
SUGGESTED THAT DUTCH UNPROFOR FORCES "CUT AND RAN,"

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FAILING IN THEIR RESPONSIBILITY TO DEFEND SREBRENICA.

3. WHEN YOU DISCUSS THE BOSNIA SITUATION WITH MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN PRESS, YOU MIGHT ADD A FEW WORDS OF PRAISE FOR THE DUTCH YOU COULD DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

-- THE DUTCH HAVE ACTED IN A RESPONSIBLE MANNER IN SREBRENICA, PLACING THE INTEREST OF BOSNIAN CIVILIANS IN THE ENCLAVE ABOVE THE SAFETY OF THEIR OWN SOLDIERS

-- A BADLY OUTNUMBERED DUTCH CONTINGENT EXCHANGED FIRE FOR HOURS WITH THE BSA, WHICH WAS SUPPORTED BY TANKS, IN A BRAVE EFFORT TO DEFEND THE SOUTHERN APPROACHES TO SREBRENICA

-- THE DUTCH CALLED IN CLOSE AIR STRIKES DESPITE BOSNIAN SERB THREATS AGAINST DUTCH TROOPS HELD BY THE BSA DORNBUSH

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PAGE 01 STOCKH 04191 141424Z
ACTION SS-00

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	INL-01	OASY-00	ANHR-01
	SRPP-00	EB-01	EUR-01	FBIE-00	INLB-01	H-01	IMMC-01
	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00
	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00
	SSO-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01
	PMB-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00	/034W		

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O 141424Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4650
 INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
 NSC WASHDC PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
 AMEMBASSY TALLINN
 AMEMBASSY RIGA
 AMEMBASSY VILNIUS
 DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L STOCKHOLM 004191

EUR FOR ASST/SEC HOLBROOKE AND DAS FRASURE

NSC FOR VERSHBOW

ALSO FOR EUR/NB AND EUR/SCE

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PAGE 02 STOCKH 04191 141424Z
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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TAGS: MARR, PREL, PHUM, PINR, BK, SW

SUBJECT: TFSR01: MORALE REPORTEDLY LOW AMONG SWEDISH
TROOPS IN TUZLA

1. (U) MORALE AMONG THE APPROXIMATELY 1000 SWEDISH TROOPS DEPLOYED IN TUZLA IS RUNNING EXTREMELY LOW, ACCORDING TO A SWEDISH NATIONAL RADIO INTERVIEW LATE JULY 13 WITH ONE OF THE NORDIC BATTALION'S SWEDISH COMMANDERS. THE COMMANDER SAID THE SWEDISH PEACEKEEPERS EFFECTIVELY HAD BEEN SHUT IN BY STONE-THROWING BOSNIAN REFUGEE DEMONSTRATORS OVER THE PAST WEEK. DEMONSTRATION ACTIVITIES BY THE "OLD REFUGEES" AT TIMES HAD HINDERED THE TROOPS FROM MEETING AND ASSISTING THE "NEW RUFUGEES" FROM SREBRENICA (9000 ALREADY IN TUZLA AT THE TIME OF THE INTERVIEW, WITH 11,000 MORE EXPECTED WITHIN THE NEXT 24 HOURS).

2. (U) ACCORDING TO THE SWEDISH COMMANDER, THE NORDICS ARE COPING AS BEST THEY CAN WITH THE ONSLAUGHT OF PEOPLE FROM SREBRENICA, BUT THEY HAD NO ADDITIONAL FOOD AS YET, AND COULD DO LITTLE BUT PROVIDE REFUGEES WITH WATER UPON ARRIVAL. HE SAID THAT THE SCHIZOPHRENIC NATURE OF NOT BEING ABLE TO HELP THOSE NEEDING IT, WHILE FACING THE HATRED OF THE "OLD REFUGEES" THEY THOUGHT THEY WERE HELPING, IS WEARING HARD ON THE SWEDES.

3. (CONFIDENTIAL) COMMENT: THE MAIN PUBLIC RESPONSE IN SWEDEN TO DEVELOPMENTS IN BOSNIA IS ANGER AT THE INEFFECTIVENESS OF THE UN, AND AT "THE PARALYSIS OF THE MAJOR POWERS" (POLLS HERE SHOW GROWING SUPPORT FOR GREATER NATO AND U.S. MILITARY INVOLVEMENT TO DEFEND BOSNIA).

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PAGE 03 STOCKH 04191 141424Z
NEVERTHELESS, BOTH OFFICIAL AND PUBLIC SUPPORT REMAINS HIGH FOR A CONTINUED UN (AND SWEDISH) ROLE IN BOSNIA. WE SUSPECT, HOWEVER, THAT PUBLIC SENTIMENTS FOR A PULL-OUT WOULD INCREASE SHOULD THE SWEDISH TROOPS COME UNDER SUSTAINED ATTACK FROM SERBIAN FORCES IN THE ABSENCE OF ADDITIONAL MILITARY SUPPORT FROM THE WEST. END COMMENT.

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PAGE 01 STOCKH 04083 120823Z
ACTION P-01

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 ANHR-01 TEDE-00 ADS-00 SS-00 /002W
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O 120824Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4600
INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
NSC WASHDC PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY VILNIUS
AMEMBASSY RIGA
AMEMBASSY TALLINN
EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO

C O N F I D E N T I A L STOCKHOLM 004083

FOR UNDERSECRETARY TARNOFF

EUR FOR ASST/SEC HOLBROOKE AND DAS FRASURE

NSC FOR VERSHBOW

ALSO FOR EUR/NB AND EUR/SCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/12/2015
TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PINR, MARR, BK, SW
SUBJECT: TFSR01: SWEDEN'S DEPUTY FM SCHORI CALLS FOR
MEETING OF SECURITY COUNCIL ON BOSNIA
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PAGE 02 STOCKH 04083 120823Z

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1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SPEAKING FOR THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT, SWEDEN'S DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER AND ASSISTANCE MINISTER PIERRE SCHORI ON JULY 12 CALLED FOR A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL IN THE WAKE OF THE FALL OF SREBRENICA. ACCORDING TO THE SWEDISH MFA, SCHORI MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

-- SWEDEN HAS FOLLOWED THE DEVELOPMENTS OF THE PAST 24 HOURS WITH DISMAY AND HORROR;

-- THE GOS SEES A GREAT RISK FOR ESCALATION IN THE CURRENT SITUATION IN BOSNIA;

-- THE SECURITY COUNCIL THEREFORE SHOULD MEET IMMEDIATELY TO FORM A JOINT POSITION IN RESPONSE SREBRENICA'S FALL;

-- RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SITUATION IN SREBRENICA LIES WITH BELGRADE AND PALE.

3. SOURCES IN THE MOD INDICATED THAT DESPITE THE CURRENT SITUATION, THE GOS HAS NO PLANS TO REMOVE THE APPROXIMATELY 1000 SWEDISH TROOPS, MOSTLY LOCATED AROUND TUZLA, CURRENTLY SERVING IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. CONTACTS WITH THE TROOPS IN TUZLA LATE JULY 11 INDICATED THAT THE SITUATION THERE REMAINS CALM.

4. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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PAGE 01 SARAJE 00357 220810Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO LOG-00 CIAE-00 OASY-00 DODE-00 TEDE-00 INR-00 ADS-00
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-00 SS-00 /003W
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P 220804Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
TO USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 0003
SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0412

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SARAJEVO 000357

USIA FOR EU SKRAUS

E.O. 12356: DECLAS: OADR
TAGS: PREL, BK
SUBJECT: EDHEM BICAKCIC

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: ON JULY 21 WE MET WITH EDHEM BICAKCIC, WHO WILL BE STANDING IN FOR THE RECUPERATING VICE PRESIDENT EJUP GANIC THROUGH JANUARY OF 1996. WE DISCUSSED THE POSSIBILITY FOR RESCHEDULING HIS IV PROGRAM (ACTION REQUEST IN PARAGRAPH 10), AND HE PROVIDED A BRIEF ASSESSMENT OF CURRENT BOSNIAN POLITICAL CONCERNS. END SUMMARY.

3. WE HAD PREVIOUSLY REQUESTED A MEETING WITH BICAKCIC TO DISCUSS THE CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION, BUT HE SAID
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PAGE 02 SARAJE 00357 220810Z

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THAT HE COULD NOT MEET WITH US IN HIS NEW CAPACITY UNTIL CONFIRMED BY THE ASSEMBLY. ACCORDINGLY, WE CALLED BACK TO ARRANGE A JULY 21 MEETING TO DISCUSS HIS INTERNATIONAL VISITOR PROGRAM.

4. BICAKCIC WILL BE UNABLE TO TRAVEL TO THE U.S. IN SEPTEMBER AS PLANNED, DUE TO HIS NEW RESPONSIBILITIES AS ACTING VICE PRESIDENT. HE EXPECTS TO BE CONFIRMED ON OR ABOUT AUGUST 5. GANIC WILL BE OUT OF COMMISSION UNTIL AT LEAST JANUARY 1996.

5. BICAKCIC SAID THAT HE WILL CONTINUE TO WORK IN THE SAME SPIRIT AS GANIC AND WELCOMED CLOSE COOPERATION WITH THE EMBASSY. HE SAID BOSNIA NEEDS U.S. SUPPORT AT THIS DIFFICULT POINT. THE GOVERNMENT IS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED OVER THE DISPLACED PERSONS FROM SREBRENICA.

6. BICAKCIC SAID THERE IS INCREASING OFFICIAL AND POPULAR MISTRUST OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. HE SAID THAT LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO IS NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE A MILITARY BALANCE AND TO FORCE THE SERBS TO BE SERIOUS ABOUT PEACE.

7. IN ADDITION HE EXPRESSED A STRONG PERSONAL COMMITMENT TO STRENGTHEN THE FEDERATION. HE APPRECIATES THE ASSISTANCE OF INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATORS, AND POINTED OUT THAT THERE WOULD SHORTLY BE A MEETING BETWEEN KEY BOSNIAN AND CROAT LEADERS. THE CURRENT FOCUS OF EFFORT IS IN CREATING A JOINT ARMY AND POLICE.

8. BICAKCIC IS THE GENERAL DIRECTOR OF ELEKTROPRIVREDA,
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PAGE 03 SARAJE 00357 220810Z
THE PRIMARY BOSNIAN ELECTRICAL UTILITY COMPANY. HIS IV PROGRAM WAS TO HAVE A DUAL FOCUS ON ELECTRIC POWER GENERATION AND DISTRIBUTION AND ON POLITICAL AFFAIRS. IN THE CONTEXT OF OUR MEETING WE DISCUSSED HIS INTEREST IN ELECTRIC POWER. HE EXPLAINED THAT BOSNIA IS INCREASINGLY FOCUSSED ON SMALL SCALE HYDRO PLANTS, ESPECIALLY IN THE ENCLAVES AND ISOLATED COMMUNITIES. THE BOSNIANS ARE PRODUCING MOST OF THE EQUIPMENT LOCALLY ACCORDING TO BICAKCIC. BOSNIAN LAW HAS CHANGED TO ENCOURAGE THE

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CREATION OF SMALL SCALE HYDRO FACILITIES. BEFORE THE WAR BOSNIA PRODUCED 4,000 MW OF POWER EVENLY DIVIDED BETWEEN THERMAL AND HYDRO GENERATION. BOSNIA STILL PRODUCES ENOUGH FOR ITS OWN NEEDS AND FOR EXPORT. IN THIS REGARD BOSNIA WILL EVENTUALLY WANT TO BECOME PART OF THE EUROPEAN GRID.

9. DURING HIS IV TRIP BICAKCIC HOPES TO LEARN MORE ABOUT COAL FIRED AND HYDRO POWER GENERATION IN THE U.S. WE POINTED OUT THAT CALIFORNIA ENCOURAGES SMALL SCALE HYDRO PRODUCTION AND MIGHT BE AN APPROPRIATE STOP ON HIS TRIP. BICAKCIC IS ALSO INTERESTED IN VISITING U.S. PRODUCERS OF POWER GENERATING EQUIPMENT (PRESUMABLY MOTOROLA, WESTINGHOUSE, ETC.).

10. ACTION REQUEST - USIA: POST REQUESTS THAT USIA SCHEDULE A NEW DATE FOR BICAKCIC'S IV GRANT, BEGINNING IN LATE JANUARY OR MARCH.

11. COMMENT: BICAKCIC IS KNOWN AS A HARD LINER IN THE SDA. HIS VISIT TO THE U.S. IS A HIGH PRIORITY FOR THE POST. OUR INITIAL MEETING WITH HIM WAS PROMISING. WE
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PAGE 04 SARAJE 00357 220810Z
SHARED HIS INTEREST IN ELECTRIC UTILITIES, AND BELIEVE THAT THERE IS ROOM FOR COOPERATION WITH AMERICAN COMPANIES. WE URGED RESISTANCE TO THE INCREASING PRESSURE TO RADICALIZE THE CONFLICT IN THE FACE OF DISILLUSIONMENT WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. END

COMMENT. MENZIES

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PAGE 01 STATE 167577 130311Z
ORIGIN EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	SRPP-00
	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	L-01	ADS-00	M-00
	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
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DRAFTED BY: EUR/SCE:PGOLDBERG:PSG

APPROVED BY: EUR:JCKORNBLUM

EUR/SCE:CHILL

NSC:JHARMON

S/S :MRLINO

S/S-O:VKDELAWIE

P:SBREMNER

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O 130313Z JUL 95
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 167577

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, BK
SUBJECT: CURRENT THINKING OF GOBH

REFTEL: GOLDBERG-BURTON OF 7/12

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT
2. PER REFTEL, DEPARTMENT SEEKS CLARIFICATION ON GOBH THINKING ON SEVERAL POINTS RELATED TO THE CRISIS IN
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PAGE 02 STATE 167577 130311Z

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SREBRENICA AND ITS AFTERMATH. IN DISCUSSING THESE ISSUES WITH APPROPRIATE OFFICIALS, CHARGE SHOULD USE THE FOLLOWING POINTS AS A ROADMAP:

-- WE WISH TO STAY IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT DURING THIS DIFFICULT MOMENT. WE WANT TO COORDINATE OUR POSITIONS BEFORE TAKING DECISIONS AT NATO, THE UN, AND IN THE CONTACT GROUP.

-- IN ORDER TO FACILITATE A HIGH-LEVEL DIALOGUE, SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, IS TAKING THE EXTRAORDINARY STEP OF SENDING CHARGE MENZIES BACK TO SARAJEVO BEFORE HIS FINAL CONFIRMATION IN THE U.S. SENATE. (WHICH IS EXPECTED BEFORE THE CONGRESSIONAL

RECESS IN AUGUST).

-- IN ORDER TO COORDINATE OUR POSITIONS, WE SEEK BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT VIEWS ON SEVERAL ISSUES:

- 1) THE CURRENT SITUATION IN SREBRENICA (INFORMATION ON CIVILIANS AND PROSPECTS FOR RESETTLEMENT IN CENTRAL BOSNIA, IF THE POPULATION IS FORCED TO LEAVE.)
- 2) THE FUTURE OF GORAZDE (AND ZEPA) AND PROSPECTS FOR BOSNIAN FORCES TO DEFEND THEM.
- 3) FRENCH PLANS FOR OPENING A ROUTE OVER MT. IGMAN. IS THIS FEASIBLE AND CAN IT BE KEPT OPEN? AT WHAT COST?

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PAGE 03 STATE 167577 130311Z

4) WHAT DO YOU SEE AS THE IMPACT OF RECENT BOSNIAN SERB ACTIONS ON THE BILDT/MILOSEVIC TALKS? CHRISTOPHER

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PAGE 01 STATE 166917 122302Z
ORIGIN SS-00

INFO LOG-00 COR-01 AMAD-01 CCO-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 /002R

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 166917

EXDIS, TODEP 9057 DECAPTIONED

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (ADDING EXDIS CAPTION)

FOLLOWING BELGRADE DATED 7/12/95 SENT ACTION SECSTATE, INFO
LONDON, USVIENNA, USUN NEW YORK, USNATO, GENEVA, SKOPJE,
USEU BRUSSELS, ZAGREB, THE HAGUE, SARAJEVO, PARIS, MOSCOW,
BONN REPEATED FOR YOUR ACTION
QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE 003374
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LONDON PLS PASS TO A/S HOLBROOKE

USVIENNA FOR OSCE

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PAGE 02 STATE 166917 122302Z

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/12/15

TAGS: PREL, SR

SUBJECT: DEMARCHE TO MILOSEVIC ON SREBRENICA

REF: STATE 166345

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: I MET WITH MILOSEVIC FOR ABOUT AN HOUR JULY 12 TO DELIVER THE REFTEL DEMARCHE. CLEARLY STUNG BY THE TALKING POINTS, MILOSEVIC'S RESPONSE WAS "WHY BLAME ME?" HE CLAIMED TO HAVE BEEN SURPRISED BY THE RAPID FALL OF SREBRENICA AND UNABLE TO REACH MLADIC SINCE YESTERDAY MORNING. HE SAID HE HAD RECEIVED "MESSAGES," HOWEVER, THAT NO UNPROFOR PERSONNEL WOULD BE HARMED OR DETAINED AND THAT THE BSA ACTION WAS NECESSITATED BY THE "MUSLIM OFFENSIVES" FROM SREBRENICA WHICH DESTROYED TWO SERB VILLAGES. HE SAID HE DID NOT KNOW IF THE BSA WOULD MOVE AGAINST OTHER ENCLAVES BUT SUGGESTED THAT GUARANTEES BY UNPROFOR OF "DEMILITARIZING" THESE AREAS WOULD BE HELPFUL. WHEN PRESSED, MILOSEVIC SAID HE WOULD TRY TO PERSUADE MLADIC TO RESTORE UN AUTHORITY IN SREBRENICA NOW THAT THE THREAT OF "FURTHER OFFENSIVES" OUT OF THE CITY HAS BEEN ELIMINATED. END SUMMARY.

3. MILOSEVIC AGREED TO SEE ME ON RELATIVELY SHORT NOTICE JULY 12 BUT WAS CLEARLY STUNG BY THE REFTEL TALKING POINTS, WHICH I ALSO LEFT BEHIND AS A NON-PAPER. HIS FIRST REACTION WAS "WHY BLAME ME?" HE
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PAGE 03 STATE 166917 122302Z

SAID HE HAD FIRST HEARD OF AN OFFENSIVE AGAINST SREBRENICA YESTERDAY MORNING FROM AKASHI AND HAD BEEN TRYING EVER SINCE TO CONTACT MLADIC. THE BSA COMMANDER WAS NOT TO BE FOUND, HOWEVER, OR "HAD DECIDED NOT TO BE FOUND." MILOSEVIC SAID THAT "FRY" CHIEF-OF-STAFF PERISIC HAD GOTTEN A MESSAGE FROM THE BOSNIAN SERBS SAYING THAT NO UNPROFOR PERSONNEL OR CIVILIANS WOULD BE HARMED OR DETAINED AND THAT THE CAMPAIGN WAS

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NECESSITATED BY "MUSLIM OFFENSIVES" FROM SREBRENICA WHICH HAD DESTROYED TWO NEIGHBORING SERB VILLAGES--VISNICE AND BAJNA LUCICE. MILOSEVIC CLAIMED THAT BOTH VILLAGES HAD BEEN BURNED AND OVER 100 CIVILIANS KILLED AND 200 INJURED. GIVEN SUCH "PROVOCATIONS" FROM WHAT WAS SUPPOSED TO BE A DEMILITARIZED ENCLAVE, IT SHOULD HAVE BEEN EXPECTED THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS WOULD REACT, THOUGH MILOSEVIC EXPRESSED SURPRISE THAT SREBRENICA HAD FALLEN SO QUICKLY SINCE IT WAS REPORTED TO HAVE A GARRISON OF SIX TO SEVEN THOUSAND TROOPS.

4. I SAID THAT REGARDLESS OF ANY PROVOCATIONS, THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAD AGAIN OVERREACTED BUT THIS TIME IN A QUALITATIVELY NEW AND DANGEROUS WAY. CAPTURING A SAFEHAVEN WAS A DIRECT CHALLENGE TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND A STEP THAT COULD HAVE DEVASTATING CONSEQUENCES FOR THE PEACE PROCESS AND THE FUTURE OF THE UN IN BOSNIA. IT WAS NOW VITAL TO STOP THE OFFENSIVE AND SEE WHAT COULD BE DONE TO REPAIR THE ENORMOUS DAMAGE ALREADY DONE TO PEACE EFFORTS. I ASKED MILOSEVIC IF HE BELIEVED THE OFFENSIVE WAS OVER OR IF MLADIC WOULD MOVE AGAINST ZEPA AND OTHER ENCLAVES.

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PAGE 04 STATE 166917 122302Z

5. HE RESPONDED THAT HE COULD NOT KNOW SINCE HE HAD BEEN UNABLE TO TALK TO MLADIC. HE SAID HE HOPED THE CAMPAIGN WAS OVER BUT SUGGESTED THAT UNPROFOR GUARANTEES OF DEMILITARIZING ZEPA AND OTHER SAFEHAVENS, AS HAD BEEN AGREED IN 1993, WOULD BE A "HELPFUL STEP" TO CALM THE BOSNIAN SERBS. THIS APPLIED ALSO TO SARAJEVO. PICKING UP ON THIS, I ASKED IF HE REALLY BELIEVED THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS WOULD TRY TO TAKE SARAJEVO. HE REPEATED THAT HE HOPED NOT, BUT COULD NOT KNOW FOR CERTAIN.

6. I TOLD HIM THAT HIS ANSWERS WOULD PRESENT A DILEMMA FOR WASHINGTON. CARL BILDT WAS NEGOTIATING WITH HIM ON THE PREMISE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY THAT HE COULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE PEACE PROCESS. THE ANSWERS I WAS GETTING, HOWEVER, SEEMED TO IMPLY THAT HE HAD NO INFLUENCE WITH THE BOSNIAN SERBS. THE LOGICAL QUESTION

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MANY WOULD ASK WAS "WHY DEAL WITH MILOSEVIC WHEN HE HAS NO INFLUENCE?"

7. SOMEWHAT STARTLED BY MY DIRECTNESS, HE BEGAN TO BACKTRACK. HE SAID THAT THE LIFTING OF SANCTIONS WOULD ALLOW HIM TO EXERT INFLUENCE OVER "PUBLIC OPINION" AMONG ALL SERBS AND THUS UNDERCUT THE BOSNIAN SERB POLITICAL LEADERSHIP, WITH WHICH IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO DEAL. IN THE PRESENT SITUATION HE WAS "SHACKLED BY SANCTIONS," BUT HE WOULD CONTINUE TO DO HIS BEST. HE SAID HE WOULD CONTINUE EFFORTS TO REACH MLADIC AND EXPECTED TO SEE HIM NO LATER THAN FRIDAY FOR THE NEXT SESSION WITH BILDT. HE HAD HOPED TO FOCUS ON OPENING A CORRIDOR TO SARAJEVO, BUT HE WOULD PRESS MLADIC ON SREBRENICA ALSO.

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PAGE 05 STATE 166917 122302Z

8. I SAID THAT AN APPROPRIATE STEP WOULD BE FOR THE SERBS TO AGREE TO WITHDRAW AND RESTORE UN AUTHORITY, NOW THAT THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT FORCES IN THE CITY WERE CLEARLY NO LONGER A THREAT. MILOSEVIC AGREED AND SAID HE WOULD RAISE THIS WITH MLADIC. HE URGED, HOWEVER, THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ALSO SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE "MUSLIM OFFENSIVES" FROM THE SAFE AREAS. HE SAID THAT IF THERE HAD BEEN ANY EVIDENCE OF INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE AGAINST SUCH OFFENSIVES, THE BOSNIAN SERB ACTION MIGHT HAVE BEEN AVOIDED. I REPEATED ONLY THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAD GREATLY OVERREACTED. THERE COULD BE NO EXCUSE FOR OVERRUNNING A SAFEHAVEN.

9. PER REFTTEL INSTRUCTIONS, WE HAVE INFORMED THE BRITISH, FRENCH AND GERMAN EMBASSIES OF THIS DEMARCHE AND ENCOURAGED SIMILAR APPROACHES ON THEIR PART. PERINA UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ2687

PAGE 01 STATE 166917 122121Z
ORIGIN ARA-01

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 TEDE-00 ADS-00 /001R

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APPROVED BY: CJOHNSON
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O 122119Z JUL 95
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 166917

TODEP 9057

FOLLOWING BELGRADE DATED 7/12/95 SENT ACTION SECSTATE, INFO
LONDON, USVIENNA, USUN NEW YORK, USNATO, GENEVA, SKOPJE,
USEU BRUSSELS, ZAGREB, THE HAGUE, SARAJEVO, PARIS, MOSCOW,
BONN REPEATED FOR YOUR ACTION
QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE 003374

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EXDIS

LONDON PLS PASS TO A/S HOLBROOKE

USVIENNA FOR OSCE

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PAGE 02 STATE 166917 122121Z

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/12/15

TAGS: PREL, SR

SUBJECT: DEMARCHE TO MILOSEVIC ON SREBRENICA

REF: STATE 166345

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: I MET WITH MILOSEVIC FOR ABOUT AN HOUR JULY 12 TO DELIVER THE REFTTEL DEMARCHE. CLEARLY STUNG BY THE TALKING POINTS, MILOSEVIC'S RESPONSE WAS "WHY BLAME ME?" HE CLAIMED TO HAVE BEEN SURPRISED BY THE RAPID FALL OF SREBRENICA AND UNABLE TO REACH MLADIC SINCE YESTERDAY MORNING. HE SAID HE HAD RECEIVED "MESSAGES," HOWEVER, THAT NO UNPROFOR PERSONNEL WOULD BE HARMED OR DETAINED AND THAT THE BSA ACTION WAS NECESSITATED BY THE "MUSLIM OFFENSIVES" FROM SREBRENICA WHICH DESTROYED TWO SERB VILLAGES. HE SAID HE DID NOT KNOW IF THE BSA WOULD MOVE AGAINST OTHER ENCLAVES BUT SUGGESTED THAT GUARANTEES BY UNPROFOR OF "DEMILITARIZING" THESE AREAS WOULD BE HELPFUL. WHEN PRESSED, MILOSEVIC SAID HE WOULD TRY TO PERSUADE MLADIC TO RESTORE UN AUTHORITY IN SREBRENICA NOW THAT THE THREAT OF "FURTHER OFFENSIVES" OUT OF THE CITY HAS BEEN ELIMINATED. END SUMMARY.

3. MILOSEVIC AGREED TO SEE ME ON RELATIVELY SHORT NOTICE JULY 12 BUT WAS CLEARLY STUNG BY THE REFTTEL TALKING POINTS, WHICH I ALSO LEFT BEHIND AS A NON-PAPER. HIS FIRST REACTION WAS "WHY BLAME ME?" HE

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PAGE 03 STATE 166917 122121Z
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SREBRENICA YESTERDAY MORNING FROM AKASHI AND HAD BEEN
TRYING EVER SINCE TO CONTACT MLADIC. THE BSA COMMANDER
WAS NOT TO BE FOUND, HOWEVER, OR "HAD DECIDED NOT TO BE
FOUND." MILOSEVIC SAID THAT "FRY" CHIEF-OF-STAFF
PERISIC HAD GOTTEN A MESSAGE FROM THE BOSNIAN SERBS
SAYING THAT NO UNPROFOR PERSONNEL OR CIVILIANS WOULD BE
HARMED OR DETAINED AND THAT THE CAMPAIGN WAS
NECESSITATED BY "MUSLIM OFFENSIVES" FROM SREBRENICA
WHICH HAD DESTROYED TWO NEIGHBORING SERB
VILLAGES--VISNICE AND BAJNA LUCICE. MILOSEVIC CLAIMED
THAT BOTH VILLAGES HAD BEEN BURNED AND OVER 100
CIVILIANS KILLED AND 200 INJURED. GIVEN SUCH
"PROVOCATIONS" FROM WHAT WAS SUPPOSED TO BE A
DEMILITARIZED ENCLAVE, IT SHOULD HAVE BEEN EXPECTED THAT
THE BOSNIAN SERBS WOULD REACT, THOUGH MILOSEVIC
EXPRESSED SURPRISE THAT SREBRENICA HAD FALLEN SO QUICKLY
SINCE IT WAS REPORTED TO HAVE A GARRISON OF SIX TO SEVEN
THOUSAND TROOPS.

4. I SAID THAT REGARDLESS OF ANY PROVOCATIONS, THE
BOSNIAN SERBS HAD AGAIN OVERREACTED BUT THIS TIME IN A
QUALITATIVELY NEW AND DANGEROUS WAY. CAPTURING A
SAFEHAVEN WAS A DIRECT CHALLENGE TO THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY AND A STEP THAT COULD HAVE DEVASTATING
CONSEQUENCES FOR THE PEACE PROCESS AND THE FUTURE OF THE
UN IN BOSNIA. IT WAS NOW VITAL TO STOP THE OFFENSIVE
AND SEE WHAT COULD BE DONE TO REPAIR THE ENORMOUS DAMAGE
ALREADY DONE TO PEACE EFFORTS. I ASKED MILOSEVIC IF HE
BELIEVED THE OFFENSIVE WAS OVER OR IF MLADIC WOULD MOVE
AGAINST ZEPA AND OTHER ENCLAVES.

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PAGE 04 STATE 166917 122121Z

5. HE RESPONDED THAT HE COULD NOT KNOW SINCE HE HAD

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BEEN UNABLE TO TALK TO MLADIC. HE SAID HE HOPED THE CAMPAIGN WAS OVER BUT SUGGESTED THAT UNPROFOR GUARANTEES OF DEMILITARIZING ZEPA AND OTHER SAFEHAVENS, AS HAD BEEN AGREED IN 1993, WOULD BE A "HELPFUL STEP" TO CALM THE BOSNIAN SERBS. THIS APPLIED ALSO TO SARAJEVO. PICKING UP ON THIS, I ASKED IF HE REALLY BELIEVED THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS WOULD TRY TO TAKE SARAJEVO. HE REPEATED THAT HE HOPED NOT, BUT COULD NOT KNOW FOR CERTAIN.

6. I TOLD HIM THAT HIS ANSWERS WOULD PRESENT A DILEMMA FOR WASHINGTON. CARL BILDT WAS NEGOTIATING WITH HIM ON THE PREMISE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY THAT HE COULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE PEACE PROCESS. THE ANSWERS I WAS GETTING, HOWEVER, SEEMED TO IMPLY THAT HE HAD NO INFLUENCE WITH THE BOSNIAN SERBS. THE LOGICAL QUESTION MANY WOULD ASK WAS "WHY DEAL WITH MILOSEVIC WHEN HE HAS NO INFLUENCE?"

7. SOMEWHAT STARTLED BY MY DIRECTNESS, HE BEGAN TO BACKTRACK. HE SAID THAT THE LIFTING OF SANCTIONS WOULD ALLOW HIM TO EXERT INFLUENCE OVER "PUBLIC OPINION" AMONG ALL SERBS AND THUS UNDERCUT THE BOSNIAN SERB POLITICAL LEADERSHIP, WITH WHICH IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO DEAL. IN THE PRESENT SITUATION HE WAS "SHACKLED BY SANCTIONS," BUT HE WOULD CONTINUE TO DO HIS BEST. HE SAID HE WOULD CONTINUE EFFORTS TO REACH MLADIC AND EXPECTED TO SEE HIM NO LATER THAN FRIDAY FOR THE NEXT SESSION WITH BILDT. HE HAD HOPED TO FOCUS ON OPENING A CORRIDOR TO SARAJEVO, BUT HE WOULD PRESS MLADIC ON SREBRENICA ALSO.

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PAGE 05 STATE 166917 122121Z

8. I SAID THAT AN APPROPRIATE STEP WOULD BE FOR THE SERBS TO AGREE TO WITHDRAW AND RESTORE UN AUTHORITY, NOW THAT THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT FORCES IN THE CITY WERE CLEARLY NO LONGER A THREAT. MILOSEVIC AGREED AND SAID HE WOULD RAISE THIS WITH MLADIC. HE URGED, HOWEVER, THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ALSO SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE "MUSLIM OFFENSIVES" FROM THE SAFE AREAS. HE SAID THAT IF THERE HAD BEEN ANY EVIDENCE OF INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE AGAINST SUCH OFFENSIVES, THE BOSNIAN SERB ACTION MIGHT HAVE BEEN AVOIDED. I REPEATED ONLY THAT

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THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAD GREATLY OVERREACTED. THERE COULD BE NO EXCUSE FOR OVERRUNNING A SAFEHAVEN.

9. PER REFTTEL INSTRUCTIONS, WE HAVE INFORMED THE BRITISH, FRENCH AND GERMAN EMBASSIES OF THIS DEMARCHE AND ENCOURAGED SIMILAR APPROACHES ON THEIR PART. PERINA UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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PAGE 01 STATE 166913 122114Z
ORIGIN SS-00

INFO LOG-00 CCO-00 OASY-00 TEDE-00 ADS-00 /000R

DRAFTED BY:S/S-O:CAROLYN JOHNSON
APPROVED BY:S/S-O:CAROLYN JOHNSON

-----D8CE95 122114Z /38

O 122105Z JUL 95
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA IMMEDIATE

RELEASED IN FULL

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 166913

TODEP 9052

FOLLOWING ZAGREB 2601 DATED 07/12/95 SENT ACTION TO
SECSTATE AND INFO TO USUN NEW YORK, NSC WASHDC, THE HAGUE,
JOINT STAFF, SECDEF WASHDC, HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT, COMSIXTHFLT,
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK, USUEUCOM VAIHINGEN,
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON, CINSUSAREUR HEIDELBERG, CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN
AB GE, MUNICH, SKOPJE, SARAJEVO, LJUBLJANA, BUDAPEST, BELGRADE
AND NATO EU COLLECTIVE. BEING REPEATED FOR YOUR ACTION.
QUOTE:

C O N F I D E N T I A L ZAGREB 002601

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USVIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL OSCE
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PAGE 02 STATE 166913 122114Z

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E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/12/00

TAGS: MOPS BK UN NL

SUBJECT: SREBRENICA: MLADIC THREATENS TO SHELL POTOCARI;
DUTCHBAT DESPAIRING OF ITS MISSION

REF: ZAGREB 2592

1. CONFIDENTIAL NOFORN - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. BOSNIAN SERB MILITARY COMMANDER GENERAL MLADIC HAS BEEN MEETING WITH THE DUTCH BATTALION TO DICTATE HIS TERMS AFTER CAPTURING SREBRENICA. THE DUTCH COMMANDER, ACCORDING TO DOCUMENTS WE HAVE OBTAINED (PROTECT SOURCE) IS DESPAIRING OF HIS ABILITY TO CARRY OUT HIS MISSION TO PROTECT REFUGEES AND DEFEND HIS OWN TROOPS. MEANWHILE, THERE ARE 30,000 REFUGEES AT POTOCARI; 10,000 INSIDE THE DUTCHBAT DEFENSIVE PERIMETER, 20,000 OUTSIDE, AND ANOTHER 8,000-11,000 COMING FROM THE NORTH (15,000 REFUGEES AND DUTCHBAT ARE CONCENTRATED WITHIN 1 SQUARE KILOMETER). THE BSA HAS LOCATED TWO TANKS, A ROCKET LAUNCHER, AND ARTILLERY WITHIN SIGHT OF WHERE THE REFUGEES ARE GATHERED.
END SUMMARY.

MLADIC DICTATES TERMS

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PAGE 03 STATE 166913 122114Z

3. IN A MEMO TO UNPROFOR HQ THE DUTCHBAT COMMANDER, LTC KARREMANS, DETAILED TWO MEETINGS WITH BSA GENERAL MLADIC ON 11 JULY. DURING THE FIRST MEETING KARREMANS REPORTED THAT MLADIC BLAMED HIM FOR ALL THE DAY'S EVENTS AND DEMANDED THAT NATO CLOSE AIR SUPPORT (CAS) CEASE. MLADIC WARNED THAT IF CAS CONTINUED THE POTOCARI COMPOUND ALONG WITH THE (THEN) 17,500 REFUGEES LOCATED THERE WOULD BE SHELLED. MLADIC MADE IT CLEAR HE WOULD USE ALL HIS MILITARY ASSETS IN TARGETING POTOCARI.

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4. FOR THE SECOND MEETING, MLADIC DEMANDED THAT A REFUGEE REPRESENTATIVE BE PRESENT. AT THIS MEETING KARREMANS REQUESTED HUMANITARIAN AND MEDICAL ASSISTANCE FOR THE REFUGEES AND OBSERVED THAT MLADIC NOTED EACH REQUEST. MLADIC THEN TURNED TO THE REFUGEE REP, SAID THERE WOULD BE A CEASEFIRE UNTIL 1000 HRS JULY 12 AND DEMANDED THAT:

- ALL ABIH TROOPS WITHIN THE FORMER ENCLAVE HAND OVER THEIR WEAPONS AND RETREAT.
- THERE BE A THIRD MEETING AT 1000 HRS ON JULY 12 WITH REFUGEE REPS AND FORMER CIVIL AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES.

MLADIC SAID HE WAS WILLING TO PROVIDE TREATMENT FOR ALL WOUNDED IF HIS DEMANDS ARE EXECUTED FIRST. IF NOT, THE COMPOUND WOULD BE SHELLED. (NOTE: THE 1000 DEADLINE PASSED WITHOUT INCIDENT AND THE UN HAS IGNORED IT. NO FURTHER THREATS HAD BEEN MADE BY MLADIC AS OF 1500, ACCORDING TO THE UN DEPUTY PRESS SPOKESMAN.)

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PAGE 04 STATE 166913 122114Z
DUTCH COMMANDER FRUSTRATED

5. AT THE END OF HIS MEMO, LTC KARREMANS EXPRESSED HIS EXTREME FRUSTRATION AND INABILITY TO PROTECT REFUGEES AND HIS OWN TROOPS.

(BEGIN TEXT)

I AM NOT ABLE:

- A. TO DEFEND THESE PEOPLE;
- B. TO DEFEND MY OWN BATTALION;
- C. TO FIND SUITABLE REPRESENTATIVES AMONG THE CIVILIANS BECAUSE THE OFFICIAL AUTHORITIES ARE, FOR CERTAIN REASONS, UNAVAILABLE;
- D. TO FIND REPRESENTATIVES AMONG THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES BECAUSE THEY ARE TRYING TO FIGHT FOR

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A CORRIDOR TO THE TUZLA AREA, AND WILL NOT SHOW UP ANYWAY BECAUSE OF PURELY PERSONAL REASONS;

E. TO FORCE ABIH TROOPS TO HAND OVER THEIR WEAPONS.
(END TEXT)

SREBRENICA UPDATE

6. UPDATING THE SITREP PROVIDED REFTTEL, CIVIL AFFAIRS DESK OFFICER FOR BOSNIA, ANDY BAIR TOLD US THAT CURRENTLY THERE ARE 30,000 REFUGEES AT POTOCARI; 10,000 INSIDE THE DUTCHBAT DEFENSIVE PERIMETER, 20,000 OUTSIDE, AND ANOTHER
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 05 STATE 166913 122114Z
8,000-11,000 COMING FROM THE NORTH (15,000 REFUGEES AND DUTCHBAT ARE CONCENTRATED WITHIN 1 SQUARE KILOMETER). THE BSA HAS LOCATED TWO TANKS, A ROCKET LAUNCHER, AND ARTILLERY WITHIN SIGHT OF WHERE THE REFUGEES ARE GATHERED. UN OFFICIALS IN TUZLA WERE TOLD BY BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT MINISTER WITHOUT PORTFOLIO HASAN MURATOVIC THAT LOCAL GOBH OFFICIALS ARE NOT AUTHORIZED TO DISCUSS THE EVACUATION OF REFUGEES FROM SREBRENICA. HE IS REPORTED AS SAYING THAT THE GOBH POSITION IS THAT REFUGEES SHOULD NOT BE MOVED FROM THEIR CURRENT LOCATION AND THAT THE UN SHOULD FULLY PROTECT THEM. HE ALSO SAID THAT THE BEST WAY TO SUPPLY HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE WOULD BE TO START A "HELICOPTER BRIDGE" FROM TUZLA.

DUTCHBAT RECEIVES ORDERS FROM UNPROFOR HQ

7. POLOFF ALSO RECIEVED A COPY OF THE ORDERS WHICH WERE ISSUED TO DUTCHBAT BY UNPROFOR HQ AT 1830 ON JULY 11, HALF-AN-HOUR BEFORE SREBRENICA WAS OVERRUN, AND ARE STILL IN EFFECT ACCORDING TO BAIR.

8. (BEGIN TEXT)
SUBJECT: ORDER FOR DEFENSE OF DUTCHBAT AND PROTECTION OF REFUGEES IN SREBRENICA

MESSAGE

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IN VIEW OF THE NEW SITUATION IN SREBRENICA THE FOLLOWING
ARE THE ORDERS OF ACTING COMMANDER UNPROFOR FOR THE
DEFENSE OF DUTCHBAT AND THE PROTECTION OF REFUGEES IN
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 06 STATE 166913 122114Z
SREBRENICA.

A. ENTER INTO LOCAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH BSA FORCES FOR AN
IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE. GIVING UP ANY WEAPONS AND MILITARY
EQUIPMENT IS NOT AUTHORIZED AND IS NOT A POINT OF
DISCUSSION.

B. CONCENTRATE YOUR FORCES INTO THE POTOCARI CAMP,
INCLUDING WITHDRAWAL OF YOUR OPS. TAKE ALL REASONABLE
MEASURES TO PROTECT REFUGEES AND CIVILIANS IN YOUR CARE.

C. PROVIDE MEDICAL ASSISTANCE AND ASSIST LOCAL MEDICAL
AUTHORITIES.

D. CONTINUE WITH ALL POSSIBLE MEANS TO DEFEND YOUR FORCES
AND INSTALLATION FROM ATTACK. THIS IS TO INCLUDE THE USE
OF CLOSE AIR SUPPORT IF NECESSARY.

E. BE PREPARED TO RECEIVE AND COORDINATE DELIVERY OF
MEDICAL AND OTHER RELIEF SUPPLIES TO REFUGEES.
(END TEXT)

KLEMP UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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PAGE 01 STATE 166345 120256Z
ORIGIN EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00
	SRPP-00	EB-01	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08
	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OIG-04
	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00
	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	PRME-01
	DRL-09	G-00	/034R				

RELEASED IN FULL

DRAFTED BY: EUR/SCE:CHOH:CJH

APPROVED BY: EUR:JKORNBLUM

P:SBREMNER

EUR:CHILL

S/P:SFLANAGAN

NSC:SBERGER

S/S-O:VKDELAWIE

S/S:MHARTY

-----D87BCE 120256Z /38

O P 120257Z JUL 95
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
INFO EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 166345

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, SR, UN, PHUM
SUBJECT: DEMARCHE TO MILOSEVIC ON SREBRENICA

1. CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT.

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PAGE 02 STATE 166345 120256Z
2. IN VIEW OF THE DETERIORATION IN BOSNIA, CHARGE SHOULD

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SEEK A MEETING WITH MILOSEVIC ON TURNING AROUND THE SITUATION IN THE EASTERN ENCLAVES. IF MILOSEVIC IS NOT IMMEDIATELY AVAILABLE, EMBASSY SHOULD PRESENT THIS DEMARCHE TO THE HIGHEST OFFICIAL AVAILABLE ON WEDNESDAY, JULY 12, DRAWING ON THE FOLLOWING POINTS. CHARGE SHOULD ALSO INFORM OTHER INTERESTED EMBASSIES AND URGE SIMILAR APPROACHES.

3. BEGIN POINTS.

-- THE FALL OF THE SREBRENICA SAFE AREA AND BSA ASSAULTS ON OTHER MUSLIM ENCLAVES IN BOSNIA ARE A SERIOUS SETBACK FOR REGIONAL PEACE.

-- THE DEVELOPING HUMANITARIAN NIGHTMARE AND UNPROFOR'S DISASTROUS CIRCUMSTANCES UNDERMINE ALL THE WORK OF RECENT MONTHS AIMED AT HEADING OFF A MILITARY ESCALATION.

-- COMING ON THE HEELS OF RESOLUTION 1003'S PASSAGE, THESE ASSAULTS SUGGEST A BLATANT DISREGARD FOR THE ATTEMPT BY THE U.S. AND OTHER CONTACT GROUP COUNTRIES TO WORK WITH BELGRADE ON A WAY FORWARD.

-- WE WILL LOOK TO YOUR GOVERNMENT DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO BRING THE RECENT SERB OFFENSIVE TO AN END.

-- THIS INCLUDES REDOUBLING EFFORTS TO SEAL THE BORDER AND PREVENT RESUPPLY OF THE BOSNIAN SERB FORCES.

-- THIS DETERIORATING SITUATION COULD ULTIMATELY AFFECT
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 STATE 166345 120256Z
OUR ABILITY TO SUPPORT A SANCTIONS RELIEF PACKAGE.

-- WE URGE YOU TO CONDEMN PUBLICLY THE OUTRAGEOUS ACTION OF THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY.

CHRISTOPHER

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PAGE 01 STATE 170483 171714Z
ORIGIN EUR-01

INFO LOG-00 AMAD-01 CIAE-00 SMEC-00 OASY-00 DODE-00 FBIE-00
TEDE-00 INR-00 ADS-00 NSAE-00 PM-00 P-01 SS-00
SNIS-00 NISC-01 PMB-00 G-00 /004R

DRAFTED BY: EUR/UBI:PWJONES:PWJ
APPROVED BY: THE SECRETARY
EUR/UBI:TSNELL
S/S:MRLINO

EUR/RCHOLBROOKE
S/S-O:CJOHNSON

-----DA2E27 171714Z /38

O 171718Z JUL 95
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 170483

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, MARR, MOPS, BK, SR, NL
SUBJECT: LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY FOR FM VAN MIERLO
(9513316)

THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER SHOULD BE
DELIVERED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO FOREIGN MINISTER VAN
MIERLO. WHILE THE DEPARTMENT HAS NO PLANS TO RELEASE THE
TEXT OF THE LETTER, WE HAVE NO OBJECTION SHOULD THE
GOVERNMENT OF THE NETHERLANDS WISH TO DO SO. NO SIGNED
ORIGINAL TO FOLLOW.

BEGIN TEXT

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PAGE 02 STATE 170483 171714Z

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DEAR HANS:

LET ME EXPRESS MY ADMIRATION FOR THE COURAGE AND DEDICATION WITH WHICH YOUR TROOPS ARE HANDLING AN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT SITUATION IN SREBRENICA.

THE DUTCH BATTALION'S ACTION, UNDER FIRE, TO CARE FOR THE WOUNDED AND THE THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES WAS TRULY HEROIC. THE PRIORITY YOU HAVE PLACED ON THE SAFETY OF THE REFUGEES AT THE RISK OF YOUR OWN SOLDIERS, IS AN EXAMPLE OF YOUR COUNTRY'S LEADING ROLE IN ADDRESSING HUMANITARIAN CRISES ALL OVER THE WORLD.

SREBRENICA WAS THE MOST EXPOSED ENCLAVE AND THE MOST DIFFICULT ASSIGNMENT IN BOSNIA. WHEN THE CRISIS CAME, BRAVE DUTCH SOLDIERS AVERTED WHAT COULD HAVE BEEN A MUCH GREATER HUMANITARIAN CATASTROPHE.

WE WILL CONTINUE TO WORK CLOSELY WITH YOU TO RESOLVE THIS CRISIS.

SINCERELY,

/s/

WARREN CHRISTOPHER

END TEXT

CHRISTOPHER

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PAGE 01 STATE 174803 211344Z
ORIGIN SS-00

INFO LOG-00 AMAD-01 CCO-00 OASY-00 TEDE-00 ADS-00 /001R

DRAFTECD BY:S/S-O:MEDIETERICH
APPROVED BY:S/S-O:WFDVAVNIE

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O 211336Z JUL 95 ZFF6
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 174803 TOSEC 150047

THE FOLLOWING THE HAGUE 03942 DTD 211154Z JUL 95 SENT ACTION
SECSTATE, JOINT STAFF WASHDC, DIA WASHDC//J2-M//, SENT INFO
NATO EU COLLECTIVE, BELGRADE, JAC MOLESWORTH RAF UK,
CINC INTEL SUPPT HEIDELBERG GE, USCINCEUR INJTEL VAIHINGEN GE,
ZAGREB, USUN NEW YORK, SARAJEVO. BEING REPEATED FOR ACTION/INFO.
QUOTE:

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 003942

DEPT. PASS TO SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O 12356: DECL: 7/21/96
TAGS: PREL, MARR, MOPS, BK, SR, NL
SUBJECT: DUTCH BLUE HELMETS LEAVE SREBRENICA
- AS PLANNED

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PAGE 02 STATE 174803 211344Z

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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ4395

PAGE 01 PARIS 17099 01 OF 02 191637Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	INL-01	OASY-00	DOEE-00
	SRPP-00	OIGO-01	FBIE-00	INLB-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00
	IO-08	LAB-01	L-01	MCO-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SNIS-00
	NISC-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/032W		

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R 191637Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4151
 SECDEF WASHDC
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 AMEMBASSY VIENNA
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 AMEMBASSY BONN
 AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
 AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
 AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
 AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
 USEU BRUSSELS
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 USMISSION USNATO
 AMCONSUL BORDEAUX
 AMCONSUL MARSEILLE
 AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 17099

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VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O. 12356: DECL:07/10/05

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, MARR, BK, HR, FR

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT CHIRAC'S BOSNIA POLICY: DOMESTIC
DIMENSIONS

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. PRESIDENT CHIRAC'S TOUGH STANCE ON BOSNIA HAS STRUCK A RESPONSIVE CHORD IN FRANCE. PUBLIC DISMAY OVER TELEVISED IMAGES OF THE BOSNIAN EXODUS FROM SREBRENICA IS BOTH SHAPED BY AND REFLECTED IN PRESS COMMENTARIES WELCOMING GOF RESOLVE AMIDST AN OTHERWISE DISILLUSIONING INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE. CHIRAC CURRENTLY ALSO ENJOYS BROAD BI-PARTISAN POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR HIS PROPOSALS TO CHECK FURTHER SERB ADVANCES -- ASSUMING SUPPORT FROM FRANCE'S INTERNATIONAL PARTNERS. FACED WITH THE OPTION OF GOING IT ALONE, HOWEVER, THERE ARE INDICATIONS OF GROWING SENTIMENT IN FAVOR OF A WITHDRAWAL FROM UNPROFOR. SHOULD A DECISION TO WITHDRAW BE MADE, CHIRAC APPEARS TO HAVE DONE A GOOD JOB OF PREPARING OPINION TO ESCAPE THE BLAME -- AT LEAST IN THE SHORT TERM. END SUMMARY.

FRENCH PRESS AND PUBLIC LAUD CHIRAC'S FIRMNESS

3. THE FRENCH PRESS GENERALLY HAS PRAISED CHIRAC'S FIRM BOSNIA STAND. THE JULY 18 EDITION OF LEFT-WING
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PARIS 17099 01 OF 02 191637Z
"LIBERATION," FOR EXAMPLE, CLAIMED THAT CHIRAC'S
"FIRMNESS" STOPPED AN INTENDED BRITISH RETREAT FROM
GORAZDE. THIS REINVIGORATED FRENCH LEADERSHIP IS ALSO
RESONATING WELL WITH THE PUBLIC. ACCORDING TO ONE
COMMENTATOR, CHIRAC IS BOTH CREATING AND BENEFITING FROM
A "SMALL WAVE" OF FRENCH NATIONALISM PRESENT FOR THE
FIRST TIME SINCE POMPIDOU'S PRESIDENCY.

4. FOREIGN POLICY EXPERTS REPORT THAT FRENCH PUBLIC

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OPINION HAS BEEN SHARPLY AFFECTED BY LOCAL MEDIA COVERAGE -- MUCH OF WHICH HAS BEEN QUITE STRIDENT IN ITS CONDEMNATION OF INTERNATIONAL PASSIVITY -- OF THE EXODUS OF BOSNIA REFUGEES FROM SREBRENICA. A PARLIAMENTARY STAFFER NOTED TO US THAT THE FRENCH HAVE TROUBLE ACCEPTING THAT THIS HUMAN DRAMA IS UNFOLDING JUST TWO-HOURS FLIGHT TIME FROM PARIS. FORMER SOCIALIST MINISTER JEAN LE GARREC SAYS FRENCH OPINION ON BOSNIA IS ALSO SHAPED BY "THE LINGERING TRAUMA" OF FRANCE'S EARLY DEFEAT IN WORLD WAR II, WHICH TAUGHT FRANCE THAT IT MUST STAND UP TO AGGRESSION. NOTED POLITICAL SCIENTIST PASCAL PERRINEAU OBSERVED TO US RECENTLY THAT THE BIGGEST EVOLUTION IN FRENCH PUBLIC OPINION -- TRADITIONALLY COLORED BY FRANCE'S HISTORICAL ALLIANCE WITH SERBIA -- HAS BEEN TO CLEARLY LABEL AS THE "AGGRESSORS" THE BOSNIAN SERBS.

BI-PARTISAN SUPPORT STRENGTHENS CHIRAC'S HAND

5. THE GOF'S BOSNIA POLICY HAS BENEFITED FROM A STRONG BI-PARTISAN CONSENSUS. IN A JULY 18 OP ED PIECE
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PAGE 04 PARIS 17099 01 OF 02 191637Z
PUBLISHED IN "LE MONDE," CHIRAC PICKED UP A RINGING ENDORSEMENT FROM FORMER SOCIALIST PM MICHEL ROCARD WHO SAID WITH REGARDS TO BOSNIA THAT CHIRAC HAS FOUND "THE RIGHT WORDS" TO EXPRESS FRENCH COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND REJECTION OF "THE TRIUMPH OF BARBARISM."

6. A MAJORITY OF PARLIAMENTARIANS FROM BOTH SIDES OF THE AISLE HAVE VOICED SUPPORT FOR CHIRAC'S CALLS FOR A

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PAGE 01 PARIS 17099 02 OF 02 191638Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	INL-01	OASY-00	DOEE-00
	SRPP-00	OIGO-01	FBIE-00	INLB-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00
	IO-08	LAB-01	L-01	MCO-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SNIS-00
	NISC-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/032W		

-----DB001D 191647Z /38

R 191637Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4152
SECDEF WASHDC
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
USEU BRUSSELS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION USNATO
AMCONSUL BORDEAUX
AMCONSUL MARSEILLE
AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

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PAGE 02 PARIS 17099 02 OF 02 191638Z
C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 17099

VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O. 12356: DECL:07/10/05
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, MARR, BK, HR, FR
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT CHIRAC'S BOSNIA POLICY: DOMESTIC
DIMENSIONS

MORE PRO-ACTIVE UNPROFOR. NONETHELESS, DESPITE LIKING CHIRAC'S TOUGH TALK, VERY FEW BELIEVE THAT FRANCE CAN GO IT ALONE. A DIPLOMATIC ADVISOR TO NATIONAL ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT PHILIPPE SEGUIN TOLD US JULY 18 THAT CONFRONTED WITH THE CONTINUING DIPLOMATIC STALEMATE AND THE REALIZATION THAT THERE CAN BE NO "MILITARY SOLUTION," THERE IS GROWING SENTIMENT AMONG DEPUTIES IN FAVOR OF WITHDRAWAL.

PREPARING FOR WITHDRAWAL?

7. JULY 18 REPORTS -- COUNTERBALANCING THE BOSNIAN SERBS' INTRANSIGENCE WITH GOF COMPLAINTS THAT THE CROATIA-BOSNIA FEDERATION IS IMPEDING DEPLOYMENT OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE -- FEEDS SPECULATION OF FRENCH PLANNING FOR A WITHDRAWAL. INDEED, CHIRAC HAS BEEN SKILLFUL AT SIMULTANEOUSLY PREPARING THE FRENCH PUBLIC FOR EITHER DEEPER ENGAGEMENT OR WITHDRAWAL. TYPICAL OF REACTIONS IS THAT OF A LOCAL RADIO COMMENTATOR WHO SAID

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"SHOULD THE PERMANENT WITHDRAWAL BECOME UNAVOIDABLE AT
LEAST FRANCE WILL HAVE GAINED BY HAVING TRIED A LOT."
CHIRAC'S SUCCESS IN CASTING THE GOF (IN THE FRENCH
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PAGE 03 PARIS 17099 02 OF 02 191638Z
PUBLIC'S EYES) AS THE WILLING HERO SHOULD CUSHION HIM
FROM BLAME SHOULD HIS HIGH STAKES GAMBLE FAIL -- AT
LEAST IN THE SHORT TERM. OVER TIME, PUBLIC
RECRIMINATIONS OVER THE ESCALATING CONFLICT THAT WOULD
FOLLOW A PULL-OUT, MIGHT, HOWEVER, TAINT CHIRAC --
PARTICULARLY GIVEN HIS ROLE IN HEIGHTENING EXPECTATIONS
OF FRENCH RESOLVE.

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PAGE 01 MUSCAT 03222 171229Z
ACTION IO-08

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00
	EUR-01	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	M-00	NEA-01	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01
	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/028W

-----DA1190 171229Z /38

R 171226Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY MUSCAT
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7272
 INFO SECDEF WASHDC
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 ISLAMIC CONFERENCE COLLECTIVE
 USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL
 COMUSNAVCENT

RELEASED IN FULL

C O N F I D E N T I A L MUSCAT 003222

DEPT FOR IO/UNP, NEA/ARP

E.O. 12356: DECL:7/7/2000
 TAGS: PREL, UNSC, ZL, BK, MU
 SUBJECT: OMANI CONCERN OVER BOSNIA

REF: JEDDAH 1116

1. (C) DURING A JULY 17 CALL ON FUAD AL HINAI, DEPUTY
 CHIEF FOR CONFERENCES AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS TO
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PAGE 02 MUSCAT 03222 171229Z
 DISCUSS UN MATTERS, FUAD VEERED OFF INTO A DISCUSSION OF

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THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA. HIS FRUSTRATION AND UNHAPPINESS OVER THE SITUATION WAS EVIDENT. HE MENTIONED THAT THE OIC MAY HOLD AN EMERGENCY MEETING SOON TO DISCUSS WHAT CAN AND SHOULD BE DONE.

2. (C) THE SAME DAY, ECONOFF WAS MEETING WITH A PROMINENT AMERICAN BUSINESSMAN WHO HAS RESIDED IN OMAN FOR EIGHT YEARS WHEN THE SUBJECT OF BOSNIA AROSE. THE BUSINESSMAN SAID THAT THE WEST'S INACTION OVER BOSNIA HAS SERIOUSLY DIMINISHED U.S. CREDIBILITY WITH HIS OMANI INTERLOCUTORS. HE HAS HEARD REPEATEDLY FROM OMANIS ABOUT THEIR DISAPPOINTMENT OVER THE U.S. POSTURE TOWARDS BOSNIA; THEY FEEL THE U.S. LACKS THE POLITICAL WILL TO INTERVENE.

3. (U) THE LOCAL ARABIC LANGUAGE PRESS ON JULY 13 CARRIED ARTICLES ON OMAN'S RECENT STATEMENT AT THE UNSC CONDEMNING SERBIAN OCCUPATION OF SREBRENICA. IN HIS STATEMENT, OMAN'S UN PERMREP EMPHASIZED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S HESITATION IN TAKING EFFECTIVE ACTION AGAINST THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAS LED TO THEIR NEW AGGRESSION, OCCUPYING THE CITY, HOLDING UN FORCES AND USING THEM AS HUMAN SHIELDS. THESE ARTICLES DID NOT APPEAR IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE DAILIES.

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 05715 211634Z
ACTION PRM-10

INFO LOG-00 AID-00 AMAD-01 CA-02 OASY-00 SRPP-00 EUR-01
OIGO-01 FBIE-00 TEDE-00 INR-00 IO-08 ADS-00 OIC-02
PM-00 SSO-00 SS-00 TRSE-00 FMP-00 PMB-00 DRL-09
/034W

-----DBD8CE 211634Z /38

O 211622Z JUL 95
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4839
INFO NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK IMMEDIATE
JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT IMMEDIATE
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB IMMEDIATE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 005715

DEPT PLEASE PASS TO SECRETARY'S PARTY

LONDON PLEASE PASS TO A/S OAKLEY

NSC FOR ERIC SCHWARTZ

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 05715 211634Z

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E.O. 12356: 07/21/96
TAGS: PREF, EAID, MOPS, UN, BK, HR
SUBJECT: BOSNIA UPDATE, 21 JULY

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: TWO SARAJEVO CONVOYS WERE STOPPED EN ROUTE, BUT FINALLY ARRIVED WITH 152 MT OF MIXED FOOD AND 240 MT OF FLOUR.. BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES REPORT THAT 29,400 DISPLACED PERSONS HAVE ARRIVED IN TUZLA SINCE 12 JULY. THE DUTCH BATTALION, ALONG WITH UNHCR AND MSF STAFF DEPART POTOCARI ON 21 JULY. END SUMMARY.

TUZLA DP NUMBERS

3. ACCORDING TO UNHCR, BOSNIAN AUTHORITIES REPORT THAT 24,400 PERSONS HAVE ARRIVED FROM SREBRENICA SINCE 12 JULY. OF THAT NUMBER 6,000 REMAIN IN THE TUZLA AIRBASE TENT ENCAMPMENT. OVER 20,000 ARE SHELTERED IN GOVERNMENT COLLECTIVE CENTERS. THE REMAINING 2-3,000 PEOPLE ARE PRIVATELY ACCOMMODATED WITH RELATIVES AND FRIENDS IN THE TUZLA AREA.

CONVOYS TO SARAJEVO FINNALLY GET IN

4. UNHCR REPORTS THAT TWO CONVOYS THAT LEFT ZENICA
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PAGE 03 GENEVA 05715 211634Z
BOUND FOR ZARAJEVO ARRIVED SUCCESSFULLY AFTER BEING STOPPED BY CROAT AND SERB FORCES. THE AGREEMENT WITH THE BOSNIAN SERBS STIPULATED THAT ONE OF THE CONVOYS WOULD GO TO THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT SIDE OF SARAJEVO AND THE OTHER TO RAJLOVAC ON THE BOSNIAN SERB SIDE. HOWEVER, THE CONVOY DESTINED FOR THE SERBIAN SIDE WAS STOPPED BY CROAT FORCES IN KISELJAK. WHEN THE BOSNIAN SERBS HEARD OF THE CONVOY BEING STOPPED, THEY STOPPED THE CONVOY GOING TO THE GOVERNMENT SIDE. BOTH CONVOYS WERE SUBSEQUENTLY RELEASED AND ARRIVED IN SARAJEVO. THE

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CONVOY FOR THE GOVERNMENT SIDE CONSTITUTED 10 TRUCKS OF 240 MT OF FLOUR FOR THE BAKERY. THE 10 TRUCK CONVOY THAT ARRIVED AT KISELJAK CARRIED 152 MT OF MIXED FOOD.

EVACUATION FROM POCOCARI

5. UNHCR REPORTS THAT THE DUTCH BATTALION, THEIR LOCAL STAFF (2 PEOPLE) AND THE MSF STAFF (2 INTERNATIONALS AND 13 LOCAL) BEGAN EVACUATION OF POCOCARI AT 1130 LOCAL ON 21 JULY. THIS MOVEMENT HAS BEEN APPROVED BY MLADIC. THE GROUP PLANS TO DRIVE TO BELGRADE WHERE THEY WILL TAKE AN UNPROFOR FLIGHT TO ZAGREB. SPIEGEL

NOTE: NOT PASSED TO ABOVE ADDRESSEE(S)

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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ5974

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ACTION NEA-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	SRPP-00	EUR-01
	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00
	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01
	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00
	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/018W			

-----DE7583 310548Z /38

P 310544Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY DOHA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2644
INFO ISLAMIC CONFERENCE COLLECTIVE

RELEASED IN FULL

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 DOHA 001609

E.O. 12356: DECL: 30 JULY 2005
TAGS: PREL, KISL, QA, BK
SUBJECT: QATAR AND BOSNIA: GROWING AWARENESS,
GROWING TENSION

1. (C) SUMMARY: QATARI MEDIA ARE DISPLAYING THE
PLIGHT OF MUSLIMS IN BOSNIA ON A DAILY BASIS, WITH
UPDATES ON THE SITUATION LEADING NEWSCASTS AND
TAKING UP THE FRONT AND EDITORIAL PACES. THE GOQ
HAS NOT ISSUED ANY FORMAL POLICY STATEMENTS, BUT WE
UNDERSTAND THAT THE ISSUE WILL BE THE MAJOR TOPIC OF
DISCUSSION AT THE WEEKLY CABINET MEETING ON
WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 2. CHARITABLE CONTRIBUTIONS ON
BEHALF OF THE BOSNIAN MUSLIMS OF SOME USD 43 MILLION

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PAGE 02 DOHA 01609 01 OF 02 310548Z
IN THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES HAVE BEEN TRUMPETED IN

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THE LOCAL PRESS, WHILE LOCAL FUND RAISING ALSO APPEARS TO BE GETTING OFF THE GROUND. FINALLY, WHILE THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT THE GOQ IS PROVIDING ANY DIRECT FINANCIAL OR MILITARY SUPPORT TO MUSLIM FORCES IN BOSNIA, THERE IS REASON TO SUSPECT THAT SOME QATARI VOLUNTEERS MAY BE FIGHTING ON THE GROUND. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) THE LOCAL QATARI MEDIA HAS FOR MANY DAYS NOW CARRIED A VAST AMOUNT OF REPORTING ABOUT THE WAR IN BOSNIA AND THE INTERNATIONAL CRISIS. THE FALL OF SREBRENICA AND ZEPA, WITH PICTURES OF SCREAMING AND CRYING WOMEN AND CHILDREN REFUGEES WERE PARTICULARLY FEATURED, AS WAS THE OUTCOME OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE. EDITORIALS HAVE CRITICIZED PERCEIVED UN AND INTERNATIONAL INACTION, WHILE THE LOCAL ENGLISH LANGUAGE DAILY "GULF TIMES" POISED THE DECISION OF THE US SENATE TO LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO. THE EDITORIAL SAID THE DECISION REPRESENTS "A REALISTIC, NECESSARY AND WELCOME SHIFT AMONG WESTERN POLICY-MAKERS."

3. (U) THE EDITORIAL ALSO SAID, HOWEVER, THAT THE UN AND NATO COULD RESTORE THEIR CREDIBILITY BY ACTING FAST TO USE FORCE AGAINST THE SERBS OR AT LEAST BY LAUNCHING "MASSIVE" AIR STRIKES, BUT FAILING THAT, ARMING THE MUSLIMS IS THE ONLY OPTION. "NEGOTIATION IS FUTILE," THE ARTICLE OPINED.

4. (U) AT THE SAME TIME, EFFORTS IN THE UAE WHICH
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HAVE RAISED SOME USD 43 MILLION FOR "BESIEGED FELLOW MUSLIMS IN BOSNIA" HAVE BEEN TRUMPETED IN THE DOHA PRESS. THE NEWSPAPER QUOTED UAE PRESIDENT SHAYKH ZAYED BIN SULTAN AL NAHYAN AS SAYING: "THE UAE AND OTHER GULF STATES ARE AMONG THE FORERUNNERS OF ARAB AND MUSLIM BROTHERS IN CONSOLIDATING (SIC) THE BOSNIAN PEOPLE." ON THE SAME PAGE, THE IRANIAN "WEEK OF SOLIDARITY WITH BOSNIAN MUSLIMS" WAS ANNOUNCED.

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5. (U) AND LOCAL EFFORTS FOR DONATIONS ARE ALSO GETTING UNDERWAY. THE "QATARI CHARITY SOCIETY" ANNOUNCED IN AN URGENT APPEAL THAT "THE DISASTER IS BEYOND WORDS AND A GRAVE INJUSTICE PERPETRATED BY THE CIVILIZED WORLD AGAINST THE MUSLIM PEOPLE," ACCORDING TO AN ARTICLE IN THE GULF TIMES JULY 29. THE SOCIETY HAS SET UP BANK ACCOUNTS TO RECEIVE DONATIONS, AND IS ALSO PREPARED TO RECEIVE IN KIND DONATIONS OF FOOD, CLOTHING, ETC.

6. (C) POST SOURCES HAVE SAID THAT SHAYKH MOHAMED BIN KHALID AL-THANI, MINISTER OF STATE FOR CABINET AFFAIRS, IS PREPARING A REPORT ON THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA FOR THE REGULAR WEEKLY CABINET SESSION ON WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 2. THE FOCUS OF THE REPORT IS APPARENTLY WORLD, ARAB AND ESPECIALLY GCC REACTION TO THE CRISIS. UNTIL NOW, THE OFFICIAL GOQ POSITION HAS BEEN RELATIVELY QUIET, AT LEAST IN DISCUSSIONS WITH THIS EMBASSY.

7. (C) HOWEVER, THAT SITUATION MAY BE ABOUT TO
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CHANGE. POST COMMERCIAL ASSISTANT REPORTS THAT MANY LOCALS FEEL THAT CONCERN IN THE GOQ IS GROWING OVER THE POSSIBILITY OF MUSLIM FUNDAMENTALISTS IN QATAR AND ELSEWHERE MAY GAIN THE UPPER HAND IN DRIVING ARAB POLICY OVER THE BOSNIA CONFLICT. THEREFORE, THEY SUGGEST THE GOQ AND OTHERS MAY MOVE TO PLAY A MUCH MORE VISIBLE ROLE IN SUPPORTING THE BOSNIAN MUSLIMS IN THE STRUGGLE. IT IS, OF COURSE, TOO EARLY TO SUGGEST IN WHAT DIRECTION THIS POLICY MIGHT GO, BUT THE RECENT DECISION BY THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ISLAMIC CONFERENCE REGARDING THE "INVALIDITY" OF THE ARMS EMBARGO SEEMS TO OPEN THE PATH FOR A WIDE RANGE OF ACTION.

3. (C) TO DATE, POST HAS NO INFORMATION ON ANY OFFICIAL MILITARY SUPPORT FROM QATAR TO THE MUSLIMS OF BOSNIA, NOR IS THERE ANY EVIDENCE OF PRIVATE DONATIONS OF WAR MATERIEL. POST RECALLS, HOWEVER, AN ANNOUNCEMENT IN 1993 THAT THE FORMER AMIR, SHAYKH

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KHALIFA BIN HAMAD, WAS ESTABLISHING A SALARY/PENSION FUND FOR THE FAMILIES OF THREE QATARI "MARTYRS" KILLED WHILE FIGHTING WITH MUSLIM FORCES IN BOSNIA. EVEN THOUGH THERE IS NO EVIDENCE, THERE IS ALSO NO

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ACTION NEA-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	SRPP-00	EUR-01
	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00
	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01
	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00
	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/018W			

-----DE7595 310549Z /38

P 310544Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY DOHA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2645
INFO ISLAMIC CONFERENCE COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 DOHA 001609

E.O. 12356: DECL: 30 JULY 2005
TAGS: PREL, KISL, QA, BK
SUBJECT: QATAR AND BOSNIA: GROWING AWARENESS,
GROWING TENSION

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REASON TO RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT OTHER
QATARIS ARE NOW FIGHTING IN BOSNIA.

9. (C) COMMENT: THE MUSLIM WORLD IS RALLYING
BEHIND THE MUSLIMS IN BOSNIA, WITH COUNTRIES SUCH AS
IRON TAKING THE LEAD. THE RECENT VISIT OF QATARI
FOREIGN MINISTER SHAYKH HAMAD BIN JASSIM BIN JABOR
AL THANI WAS NOTED IN THE PRESS TO COVER ISSUES OF
"REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL INTEREST," WHICH
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PRESUMABLY INCLUDED THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA. GIVEN
THE REACTIONS IN OTHER GULF STATES SUCH AS THE UAE
AND SAUDI ARABIA, POST EXPECTS THE GOQ WILL DEFINE
ITS POSITION AND EXPRESS IT CLEARLY IN THE NEXT FEW
DAYS. WE EXPECT THE RESULTS WILL NOT BE EXTREMELY
SUPPORTIVE OF CURRENT U.S. POLICY. END COMMENT.
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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ6999

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ACTION NEA-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00
	SRPP-00	EB-01	EUR-01	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00
	IO-08	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00
	SP-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00
	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00	/031W			

-----DB3D6B 200839Z /38

R 200841Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY RIYADH
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0605
INFO ISLAMIC CONFERENCE COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 RIYADH 003277

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/19/05
TAGS: PROP, PHUM, PREL, KISL, BK, SA
SUBJECT: SAUDI ATMOSPHERICS ON BOSNIA

REF: (A) FBIS LD1807082895, (B) FBIS LD1807081695

1. (C) SUMMARY: SAUDI NEWSPAPERS HAVE BEEN PROVIDING
PROMINENT AND EXTENSIVE FACTUAL AD EDITORIAL COMMENTARY
ON BOSNIA THIS WEEK. BRIAIN, THE UN LEADERSHIP, AND,
TO A LIMITED EXTENT, THE U.S. ARE BLAMED FOR ALLOWING
THE TRAGEDY TO CONTINUE; SOME WRITERS HAVE CALLED FOR
BOYCOTTS AND INDEPENDENT OIC ACTION. THE SAUDI
LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN BUSY DEMONSTRATING ITS CLAIM TO
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ISLAMIC LEADERSHIP: THE SAG COUNCIL OF MINISTERS HAS

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2009 200705105

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DEVOTED SEVERAL SESSIONS TO BOSNIA, WITH KING FAHD WRITING TO THE UNSC URGING IT TO ALLOW BOSNIANS THE RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE; BOSNIAN RELIEF CZAR, RIYADH GOVERNOR PRINCE SALMAN, HAS APPEALED FOR DONATIONS; AND FAHD HAS DONATED SR 50 MILLION (USD 13.33 MILLION) FOR BOSNIAN RELIEF. DESPITE THE HEIGHTENED MEDIA COVERAGE AND OFFICIAL CONCERN, MANY SAUDIS REMAIN ONLY MARGINALLY INTERESTED. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) EVENTS IN BOSNIA HAVE DOMINATED SAUDI PRESS COVERAGE DURING THE PAST FEW WEEKS, RELEGATING WHAT WOULD NORMALLY BE LEAD STORIES, SUCH AS THE SUCCESSIVE VISITS OF THE JORDANIAN AND KUWAITI FOREIGN MINISTERS, TO LESS PROMINENT FRONT PAGE LOCATIONS. REPORTING OF BOSNIAN RELATED EVENTS ARE OBJECTIVE, BASED ON WIRE SERVICE REPORTING.

ANGER, BLAME, CONSPIRACY

3. (U) OP-ED PIECES ARE SOMETHING ELSE. SAUDI EDITORIAL COMMENTARIES HAVE BEEN EQUAL PARTS PUZZLEMENT, ANGER, AND CALLS TO ACTION. REFERRING TO EVENTS IN BOSNIA AS A "REVIVAL OF BARBARISM," THE JULY 16 "RIYADH DAILY" SAID THAT THE "THUGS THAT THE WESTERN WORLD NURTURED AND PAMPERED HAD TURNED INTO A MONSTER DETERMINED TO OVERTURN ALL NORMS OF CIVILIZATION." THE JULY 16 "ARAB NEWS," UNDER THE TITLE "BOSNIANS BETRAYED," SPOKE OF "AN INTERNATIONAL ORDER MORE CONCERNED WITH POLITICAL TRANQUILITY THAN JUSTICE OR
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MORALITY" DESPITE THE EXPRESSIONS OF OUTRAGE BY WORLD LEADERS. THE JULY 17 ARABIC LANGUAGE "OKAZ" CONCLUDED THAT THE FAILURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND THE U.N. TO ACT WAS ... "TO OBLITERATE THE MUSLIM PRESENCE IN EUROPE ... BECAUSE OF THE LONGSTANDING HATRED TOWARDS ANYTHING THAT IS MUSLIM.

4. (U) OTHER THAN CONDEMNATION OF SERBIAN AGGRESSION, SPECIAL BLAME HAS BEEN HEAPED UPON BRITAIN FOR ITS STALLING AND UN SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS GHALI FOR HIS

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INACTION. TYPICAL OF THE CONSPIRACY AND BLAME SCHOOL IS "ARAB NEWS" EDITORIAL WRITER KHALID AL-MAEENA'S JULY 18 PIECE "IS THE WEST OUT TO GET THE MUSLIMS" IN WHICH HE CASTIGATES BRITAIN AS "THE ARCH-CULPRIT" WHICH "WATCHED AND WAITED AND DELAYED ALL EFFORTS TO STOP THE SERB ADVANCE" AND BOUTROS GHALI WHOSE "MUDDLED THINKING AND DELIBERATE OBSTINACY HAS CREATED RIVERS OF BLOOD IN BOSNIA," AND OF WHOM AL-MAEENA WROTE "HIS BACKGROUND (CHRISTIAN) IS SUFFICIENT TO PROVE WHY HE IS INDIRECTLY HELPING THE SERBS."

5. (U) IN ADDITION TO THE USUAL CALLS FOR AN END TO INTERNATIONAL LETHARGY AND FOR ENDING THE UN ARMS EMBARGO, RECENT PRESS COMMENTARY HAS CALLED FOR COORDINATED ISLAMIC ACTION. THE JULY 18 "AL-MADINA," SUGGESTED A BOYCOTT TO MOVE WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION WHICH "DOES NOT SEE THE NEED TO MOVE AS LONG AS THE VICTIMS ARE MUSLIM ... SINCE THE LONGER WAIT WILL RESULT IN A EUROPE WITHOUT ISLAM." HOWEVER, "WHEN INTERNATIONAL MARKETS LOSE A THOUSAND MILLION MUSLIM CONSUMERS THEY WILL NOT BE ABLE TO WAIT LONG THEN." SIMILARLY KHALID
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AL-MAEENA, REFERRING IN HIS JULY 18 "ARAB NEWS" PIECE TO THE FLURRY OF UNEXPECTED OIC BOSNIA-RELATED DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES OF LATE, SUGGESTED THAT THE TIME HAD COME FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF ISLAMIC CONFERENCE (OIC) TO NO LONGER "DENOUNCE," "REQUEST", OR "PLEAD." IT NEEDED TO MAKE PLANS WITHOUT CONSULTING THE WEST OR THE UN.

6. (C) UNTIL THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BIPARTISAN SENATE PROPOSAL WHICH WOULD RESULT IN THE LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO, THE U.S. HAD NOT BEEN A PARTICULAR TARGET OF PRESS COMMENTARY. BUT THIS PROPOSAL HAS, FOR SAUDI EDITORIAL WRITERS WHO HAD THOUGHT THE U.S. WAS SITTING THIS ONE OUT, PUT THE U.S. BACK IN THE GAME. THE "ARAB NEWS" ABD AL-QADER TASH JULY 19 CALLED THE U.S. ONE OF THOSE "MANEUVERING AND HESITATING" COUNTRIES WHICH SHOULD BE TOLD THAT ITS "INTERESTS IN THE MUSLIM WORLD WOULD BE ADVERSELY AFFECTED IF IT CONTINUES TO PURSUE ITS POLICY OF HESITATION. LESS SUBTLE IS HUDA AL-HUSSAINI'S "AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT" EDITORIAL WHICH

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REFERRED THE U.S. AS A BLOATED COUNTRY AND ITS PRESIDENT AS A COWARD DISHING OUT LIES AND FICTITIOUS HOPES TO THE BOSNIAN PEOPLE AND THEN CLARIFYING WHY HE IS NOT READY TO HAVE AMERICANS "DIE IN LAND THAT IS NOT HIS."

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ACTION NEA-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00
	SRPP-00	EB-01	EUR-01	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00
	IO-08	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00
	SP-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00
	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00	/031W			

-----DB3D72 200839Z /38

R 200841Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY RIYADH
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0606
INFO ISLAMIC CONFERENCE COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 RIYADH 003277

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/19/05
TAGS: PROP, PHUM, PREL, KISL, BK, SA
SUBJECT: SAUDI ATMOSPHERICS ON BOSNIA

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SAG ISLAMIC LEADERSHIP: RHETORIC AND RIYALS

7. (U) THE SAUDI LEADERSHIP HAS ALSO MOVED QUICKLY TO SHOW ITS CONTINUING COMMITMENT TO ISLAMIC LEADERSHIP. THE JULY 17 COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEETING CHAIRED BY KING FAHD WAS THE SECOND CONSECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING TO FOCUS EXTENSIVELY ON THE BOSNIAN CRISIS WITH PARTICULAR ATTENTION PAID BY KING FAHD TO SAUDI ARABIA'S SPECIAL
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PAGE 02 RIYADH 03277 02 OF 02 200839Z
RESPONSIBILITY TO SUPPORT ALL MUSLIM PEOPLE AGAINST TYRANNY AND AGGRESSION. THE FALL OF SREBRENICA AND FEARS FOR THE ZEPA SAFEHAVEN ELICITED THE STRONGEST RESPONSE YET FROM THE SAUDI MONARCH, WITH KING FAHD UNDERTAKING TO CONTACT EACH MEMBER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO REMIND THEM OF THEIR OBLIGATION TO ASSIST BOSNIA IN ITS RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE AGAINST SERB AGGRESSION. FAHD ALSO ORDERED THAT URGENT FINANCIAL AND HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE BE EXTENDED TO ASSIST THE VICTIMS. THE FOLLOWING DAY BROUGHT FRONT PAGE HEADLINES TRUMPETING THE NEWS OF KING FAHD'S DECISION TO OBLIGATE 50 MILLION RIYALS IN ADDITIONAL ASSISTANCE TO BOSNIA.
(REFS)

8. (C) ON THE SAME DAY, JULY 17, RIYADH GOVERNOR PRINCE SALMAN CHAIRED AN EMERGENCY MEETING OF THE HIGHER COMMISSION FOR DONATIONS TO BOSNIAN MUSLIMS IN WHICH HE APPEALED TO ALL CITIZENS, EXPATRIATES AND PRIVATE SECTOR COMPANIES ALIKE, TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE HUMANITARIAN INITIATIVE. (NOTE: TWO YEARS AGO, IN AN EFFORT TO CURB FUNDING OF INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIST MOVEMENTS, THE SAG PROHIBITED PRIVATE SAUDI DONATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL CHARITABLE ORGANIZATIONS OTHER THAN THROUGH PRINCE SALMAN'S COMMITTEE. END NOTE.) ELSEWHERE, IN A MEETING OF THE MAKKAH LOCAL COMMITTEE FOR ASSISTANCE TO BOSNIA, ACTING GOVERNOR PRINCE SAUD BIN ABD AL-MOHSIN ANNOUNCED THAT A SHIP WILL DEPART JIDDAH AT THE END OF JULY LADEN WITH FOODSTUFFS, MEDICAL EQUIPMENT, AND OTHER MATERIALS TO SUPPORT VICTIMS OF THE BOSNIAN CRISIS.

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PAGE 03 RIYADH 03277 02 OF 02 200839Z
THE LIGHTS ARE ON, BUT IS ANYBODY HOME?

9. (C) COMMENT: IN THE PAST FEW WEEKS, OFFICIAL AND SEMI-OFFICIAL SAUDI MEDIA HAVE GENERATED AN UNUSUAL AMOUNT OF BOSNIAN COVERAGE; EXTENSIVE AND GRAPHIC TELEVISION COVERAGE AND EMOTIONAL EDITORIALS ARE DEMANDING ACTION FROM THE WEST. THE SAG, UNDER PRESSURE FROM OIC INITIATIVES, HAS EXPRESSED ITS CONCERN FOR BOSNIA AND, AS USUAL, DEMONSTRATED THAT CONCERN WITH ITS WALLET. BUT FOR MANY URBAN SAUDIS, PREOCCUPIED WITH SUMMER VACATIONS AND TIGHT FINANCIAL TIMES, BOSNIA IS AN ISSUE TO WHICH LIP SERVICE IS PAID, BUT TO WHICH LITTLE REAL ATTENTION IS GIVEN. AT A RECENT CLUB GATHERING OF SAUDI MEN IN THEIR THIRTIES USUALLY NOT AVERSE TO POLITICAL DISCUSSION, ALL CONTINUED TO PLAY CARDS, READ NEWSPAPERS, AND WATCH TV AS A TUNISIAN EXPATRIATE AND POLOFFS ENGAGED IN A LENGTHY DISCUSSION OF BOSNIA.
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PAGE 01 STATE 174121 202247Z
ORIGIN SS-00

INFO LOG-00 CCO-00 OASY-00 TEDE-00 ADS-00 /000R

DRAFTED BY:S/S-O:KENT BROKENSHERE
APPROVED BY:S/S-O:TCBROWN

-----DB8B2C 202335Z /21

O 202235Z JUL 95 ZFF5
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
INFO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 174121 TOSEC 150034

FOLLOWING ROME 10188 DATED 07/20/95 SENT ACTION TO
SECSTATE. BEING REPEATED FOR YOUR INFO.
QUOTE:

UNCLAS ROME 010188

H-PASS

PERSONAL FOR SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY
WHITE HOUSE FOR NSA TONY LAKE
DEPT FOR SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AND A/S HOLBROOKE

FROM EMBASSY VATICAN/MESSAGE NO. 211/95

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, BK, VT
SUBJECT: VATICAN STANCE ON BOSNIA

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 13 MAR 2009 200705105

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PAGE 02 STATE 174121 202247Z
REF: A) ROME 10132

1. FOR SENATOR KENNEDY: FOLLOWING UP ON OUR RECENT TELEPHONE CONVERSATION REGARDING THE HORRENDOUS SITUATION IN THE BALKANS, I PASSED YOUR CONCERNS ALONG TO THE HOLY FATHER AND VATICAN OFFICIALS. THEY WERE PLEASED WITH YOUR STRONG EXPRESSION OF CONCERN. YOU ARE QUITE CORRECT; THE POPE, AS LEADER OF NEARLY ONE BILLION CATHOLICS WORLDWIDE AND CERTAINLY THE WORLD'S MOST RESPECTED AND EFFECTIVE MORAL LEADER, HAS CONDEMNED THESE TERRIBLE ACTS OF INHUMANITY IN THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE LANGUAGE AND WILL CONTINUE TO SPEAK OUT ON THE SUBJECT UNTIL SUCH TIME AS THE SITUATION IS RESOLVED. I HAVE FORWARDED FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION THE POPE'S MOST RECENT STATEMENT ON THIS MATTER, WHICH YOU WILL SEE IS QUITE STRONG AND DIRECT. I AM CONVINCED THAT THE POPE WILL CONTINUE TO BE A STRONG VOICE FOR PEACE IN THE REGION AND THE U.S. EMBASSY TO THE HOLY SEE WILL CONTINUE TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE VATICAN, AS YOU SUGGESTED. THANK YOU FOR YOUR PERSONAL WORDS OF ENCOURAGEMENT AND SUPPORT.

2. (NOTE: THE FOLLOWING IS AN EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF THE POPE'S REMARKS ON BOSNIA DELIVERED JULY 16, 1995. END NOTE.) "THE NEWS AND SCENES COMING FROM BOSNIA, AND IN PARTICULAR FROM SREBRENICA AND ZEPA, ARE TESTIMONY OF HOW EUROPE AND HUMANITY HAVE BEEN DESCENDING MORE AND MORE INTO THE ABYSS OF DEGRADATION. NO CAUSE, NO PROJECT, CAN JUSTIFY SUCH BARBAROUS ACTIONS AND METHODS; THEY ARE CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY! HOW I WISH THAT MY WORDS, MY AFFECTION, AND MY PRAYERS WOULD REACH THOSE
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PAGE 03 STATE 174121 202247Z
BROTHERS AND SISTERS REJECTED ALONG THE ROAD OF EXODUS IN THE MOST EXTREME MISERY! I IMPORE ALL MEN OF GOOD WILL TO CONTINUE TIRELESSLY TO AID THOSE MARTYRED PEOPLES. WHAT IS HAPPENING BEFORE THE EYES OF THE WHOLE WORLD CONSTITUTES THE UNDOING OF CIVILIZATION. THESE CRIMES WILL REMAIN AS ONE OF THE SADDEST CHAPTERS IN THE HISTORY OF EUROPE. I WISH THAT GOD WOULD TOUCH THEIR HEARTS AND ENLIGHTEN THESE LOST SPIRITS!"

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PAGE 01 STATE 174120 202231Z
ORIGIN SS-00

INFO LOG-00 AMAD-01 CCO-00 OASY-00 TEDE-00 ADS-00 /001R

DRAFTED BY: S/S-O: KATHERINE A MUNCHMEYER
APPROVED BY: S/S-O: TCBROWN

-----DB86F6 202231Z /38

O 202204Z JUL 95 ZFF6
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
INFO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 174120 TOSEC 150032

FOLLOWING USEU BRUSSELS 07722 DATED 20 JUL 95 SENT ACTION
SECSTATE INFO ALLEU COLLECTIVE ZAGREB BELGRADE GENEVA IS
BEING REPEATED FOR YOUR INFO

QUOTE

UNCLAS BRUSSELS 007722

DEPT FOR EUR/RPE, EUR/SCE, FRIENDS OF BOSNIA COORDINATOR
SERWER, AND PRM
DEPT PLEASE PASS NSC
PLEASE PASS AID FOR ENI/NIS/EHA AND OFDA

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREF, PREL, EAID, BK, EUN

SUBJECT: EU COMMISSIONER VAN DEN BROEK SAYS LONDON

- MEETING SHOULD GIVE "CLEAR SIGNAL" TO
- BOSNIAN SERBS

1. SPEAKING TO THE EXTERNAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE OF THE
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ON JULY 20, EU COMMISSIONER VAN DEN BROEK CONFIRMED THAT HE WILL ATTEND THE JULY 21 LONDON MEETING ON BOSNIA TO REPRESENT THE EU WITH SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTER AND PRESIDENT-IN-OFFICE OF THE EU COUNCIL SOLANA. DRAWING FROM VAN DEN BROEK'S ADDRESS, HIS SPOKESMAN TOLD REPORTERS AT THE NOON PRESS BRIEFING THE COMMISSIONER WAS HOPING FOR A "CLEAR SIGNAL" TO BE SENT TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS, WHO SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED "TO GO FURTHER" AS THE CREDIBILITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WAS AT STAKE. THE SPOKESMAN SAID THAT VAN DEN BROEK'S REMARKS APPLIED TO THE SITUATION "AS ITS STANDS TODAY" (JULY 20).

2. SPEAKING ON BEHALF OF COMMISSIONER EMMA BONINO, WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE, ANOTHER SPOKESMAN EXPRESSED BONINO'S "VERY DEEP CONCERN" AT THE DETERIORATION OF THE SITUATION OF BOSNIAN REFUGEES. THE SPOKESMAN SAID THE EXPECTED NEW INFLUX OF REFUGEES IN TUZLA WOULD PUT TO THE TEST THE ABSORPTION CAPACITY OF THE EXISTING ARRANGEMENTS. HE NOTED THAT THE EU HUMANITARIAN AID OFFICE (ECHO) HAS BEEN PROVIDING THE BULK OF ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES FROM SREBRENICA.

(DRAFTED: POL RDEGLAIN; APPROVED: POL GJGREENWALD)
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PAGE 01 MADRID 07349 171523Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO LOG-00 CIAE-00 OASY-00 DODE-00 FBIE-00 TEDE-00 INR-00
ADS-00 NSAE-00 /001W

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R 171521Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8554
INFO USIA WASHDC 6994
AMCONSUL BARCELONA

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UNCLAS MADRID 007349

USIA

STATE FOR EUR/WE, EUR/ERA, EUR/PA
USIA FOR WEU DAVID SIEFKIN
BARCELONA FOR USIS

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OVIP, PREL, OPRC, SP, BK

SUBJECT: ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE'S BREAKFAST WITH
THE SPANISH PRESS

1. A/S HOLBROOKE'S ON-THE-RECORD BREAKFAST WITH EIGHT
KEY SPANISH FOREIGN AFFAIRS JOURNALISTS IN MADRID JULY
12 TOOK PLACE JUST AS THE CRISIS IN SREBRENICA REACHED
THE FRONT PAGES HERE. AS A RESULT, QUESTIONS FROM
ATTENDEES FOCUSED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY ON BOSNIA AND THE
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PAGE 02 MADRID 07349 171523Z
EXCHANGE PROVIDED THE SUBSTANCE FOR SEVERAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2009 200705105

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AUTHORITATIVE REPORTS THE FOLLOWING DAY ON THE U.S. VIEW OF EVENTS.

2. BOTH MADRID DAILIES "ABC" AND "EL MUNDO" HEADLINED THEIR STORIES JULY 13 WITH HOLBROOKE'S CHARACTERIZATION OF BOSNIA AS "THE WEST'S BIGGEST FAILURE." ABC'S FOREIGN EDITOR QUOTED HOLBROOKE AS SAYING THAT "THE FALL OF SREBRENICA CANNOT BE LEFT UNANSWERED" AND THAT THE SOLUTION WILL NEED TO BE "DIPLOMATIC." EL MUNDO'S CHIEF DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT CALLED HOLBROOKE'S COMMENTS ON BOSNIA "A BREATH OF FRESH AIR" AND QUOTES APPROVINGLY HIS CRITICISMS OF SERB BEHAVIOR. BARCELONA'S SPANISH-LANGUAGE DAILY "LA VANGUARDIA" LED ITS REPORT BY CLAIMING THAT THE U.S. SUPPORTED CHIRAC'S CALL FOR MILITARY ACTION TO RESTORE THE SAFE HAVEN AND QUOTED HOLBROOKE ON THE ULTIMATE RESPONSIBILITY OF MILOSEVIC FOR THE TURN OF EVENTS IN BOSNIA.

3. OTHER ATTENDEES, INCLUDING PRINCIPAL NATIONAL DAILY "EL PAIS," HAVE YET TO BE HEARD FROM. POST WILL REPORT ANY SUBSEQUENT LATE-APPEARING COMMENTARY.
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PAGE 01 GENEVA 05879 281513Z
ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CA-02	OASY-00	SRPP-00	EUR-01
	OIGO-01	FBIE-00	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-06	ADS-00	OCS-03
	OIC-02	PM-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	FMP-00	PMB-00
	DRL-09	/035W					

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O 281453Z JUL 95
 FM USMISSION GENEVA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5002
 INFO USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
 USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB IMMEDIATE
 SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK IMMEDIATE
 EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
 HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD, IMMEDIATE

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UNCLAS GENEVA 005879

NSC FOR ERIC SCHWARTZ
USCINCEUR ECJ2 ECJ3 ECJ4 ECJ5 POLAD

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PEF, EAID, MOPS, UN, BK, HR
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PAGE 02 GENEVA 05879 281513Z

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2009 200705105

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SUBJECT: BOSNIA UPDATE FROM UNHCR AND ICRC HEADQUARTERS

1. SUMMARY: THE EVACUATION OF ZEPa HAS BEEN MUCH SMOOTHER THAN THAT OF SREBRENICA. SOME OF THE 3,345 PEOPLE WHO HAVE ARRIVED FROM ZEPa HAVE FOUND TEMPORARY HOUSING. UNHCR BELIEVES THAT PERMANANT HOUSING CAN BE FOUND IN THE ZENICA AREA FOR ALL THE EVACUEES. HEADQUARTERS UNHCR HAS DIRECTED FIELD OFFICES TO ACCOUNT FOR ALL STAFF AND NGOS BY LOCATION IN CASE EVACUATION FROM BOSNIA IS NECCESARRY. ICRC REMAINS 29 MILLION SWISS FRANCS SHORT ON ITS BOSNIA APPEAL AND ANTICIPATES NEEDING AN ADDITIONAL 30 MILLION SWISS FRANCS TO COMPLETE THE YEAR. END SUMMARY.

ZENICA POPULATIONS AND PLANS FOR WINTER

2. UNHCR REPORTS THAT THE ZEPa EVACUATION IS GOING CONSIDERABLY BETTER THAN THAT OF SREBRENICA. THE EVACUEES ARRIVING IN ZENICA ARE IN BETTER PHYSICAL AND MENTAL SHAPE. TO DATE UNHCR REPORTS A TOTAL OF 3,345 PEOPLE DEPARTED ZEPa AND ARRIVED AT ZENICA. IN ADDITION, 26 PEOPLE HAVE ALSO ARRIVED FROM TUZLA THAT WERE PART OF THE ORIGINAL SREBRENICA CASELOAD. THE FOLLOWING LOCATIONS ARE HOUSING DISPLACED PEOPLE WITHIN ZENICA TOWN PROPER:

BABINO/POLGE CAMPSITES 498
MOVIE THEATER 207

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PAGE 03 GENEVA 05879 281513Z
BRANDUK COLLECTIVE CENTER 207
KAKANJ COLLECTIVE CENTER 256
SCHOOL 97

THE FOLLOWING COLLECTIVE CENTERS NEAR THE TOWN OF ZENICA ARE HOUSING DISPLACED PEOPLE:

VISOKO 215
VARES 232
FOJNICA 195

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2. THE DISPLACED PEOPLE IN THE COLLECTIVE CENTERS ARE FOR THE MOST PART STAYING IN PRIVATE HOMES WITH FAMILY, FRIENDS, OR SPONSORS. FOR THOSE WHO ARE NOT IN COLLECTIVE CENTERS, UNHCR IS USING THE SCHOOL, MOVIE THEATER, AND TWO CAMP SITES AS TEMPORARY LOCATIONS. UNHCR REALIZES THAT WITH THE START OF SCHOOL AND WINTER THAT THEY WILL NEED TO FIND ADEQUATE PERMANANT ACCOMODATIONS TO REPLACE THESE TEMPORARY SITES. ONE PROPOSAL BEING STUDIED FROM THE INTERNATIONAL MANAGEMENT GROUP (IMG) IS TO FINISH HOUSES WHOSE CONSTRUCTION WAS SUSPENDED OR WERE DAMAGED DURING HOSTILITIES FOR LOCAL FAMILIES WHO COULD THEN HOST OTHER DISPLACED PEOPLE. REGARDLESS OF THE PROCESS, UNHCR BELIEVES THEY CAN FIND ADEQUATE HOUSING IN THE ZENICA AREA FOR THE WINTER.

UNHCR BEGINS TO ACCOUNT FOR STAFF AND NGOS

3. UNHCR HEADQUARTERS HAS DIRECTED ITS ZAGREB OFFICE TO
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PAGE 04 GENEVA 05879 281513Z
BEGIN ACCOUNTING FOR THEIR STAFF AND NGOS WITHIN BOSNIA
BY LOCATION IN CASE THEY ARE REQUIRED TO PULL OUT FOR
SECURITY REASONS.

ICRC SHORT CASH

4. ICRC EXTERNAL AFFAIRS HAS INDICATED THAT THEY ARE 29M SWISS FRANCS SHORT FROM THEIR ORIGINAL CASH APPEAL FOR BOSNIA.. IN ADDITION, THEY BELIEVE THAT THEY WILL NEED ANOTHER 30M SWISS FRANCS ABOVE THAT APPEAL TO MAINTAIN OPERATIONS IN BOSNIA TO THE END OF THE YEAR. THEY ARE CALCULATING THE NUMBERS AND EXPECT TO ISSUE A NEW APPEAL BY THE END OF AUGUST.
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ACTION IO-06

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	INL-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00
	SRPP-00	EAP-01	EUR-01	FBIE-00	INLB-01	H-01	TEDE-00
	INR-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NEA-01	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00
	SA-01	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	PRM-10	PRME-01	DRL-09
	G-00	/042W					

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O 260728Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4030
 INFO AMEMBASSY RIYADH
 AMCONSUL LAHORE
 AMCONSUL PESHAWAR
 AMCONSUL KARACHI
 AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
 AMEMBASSY ANKARA
 AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 USMISSION USNATO
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 AMEMBASSY BONN
 AMEMBASSY BEIJING
 USCENCOM MACDILL AFB FL
 AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 AMEMBASSY AMMAN

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AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY KIEV

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2009 200705105

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AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

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CENTCOM ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: MARR, MOPS, PREL, UNSC, SR, BK, PK

SUBJECT: PAKISTANI REACTION TO THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA

REF: ISLAMABAD 6710

1. (U) DECONTROL PARAGPRAPH 10 UPON RECEIPT - SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED - PROTECT ACCORDINGLY.

2. (U) SUMMARY. FROM THE FALL OF THE SAFEHAVEN OF SREBRENICA JULY 11, THE PLIGHT OF THE BOSNIAN MUSLIMS HAS FILLED THE FRONT PAGES OF THE PAKISTANI PRESS WITH ARTICLES, EDITORIALS, AND PHOTOS OF BOSNIAN REFUGEES. PAKISTANI PAPERS HAVE DENOUNCED THE INACTION OF THE UN AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY BUT ALSO THE OIC. A RECENT FOCUS HAS BEEN ON THE INJUSTICES SUFFERED BY FELLOW MUSLIMS IN BOSNIA AND THE NEED FOR PAKISTAN AND OTHER MUSLIM NATIONS TO OFFER SUPPORT. IN ADDITION TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S DEMARCHE (REFTEL), POLITICAL LEADERS HAVE ALSO RAISED CONCERNS OVER THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA, BUT VIOLENCE IN KARACHI AND KASHMIR ARE MORE ON THEIR MINDS. END SUMMARY.

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PAGE 03 ISLAMA 06898 01 OF 02 260727Z
"SHOCKING SILENCE"

3. (U) AS IN OTHER MUSLIM COUNTRIES, EDITORIAL OPINION IN PAKISTAN HAS FOCUSED ON THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA AFTER THE FALL OF SREBRENICA. THE JULY 16 "NEWS" LEAD EDITORIAL "BOSNIAN TRAGEDY" CONDEMNED THE INACTION OF THE UN AND MORE SEVERELY CRITICIZED THE ORGANIZATION OF ISLAMIC CONFERENCE (OIC). "EXCEPT FOR A FEW RESOLUTIONS AND SOME FOOD AND MEDICAL AID, THE TOTAL CONTRIBUTION OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD TO HELP THE

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BOSNIANS HAS BEEN ALMOST NIL. EVEN AS THE BOSNIAN MUSLIMS ARE SLOWLY GOING UNDER SERB CHRISTIAN THRALDOM, THE OIC MAINTAINS A SHOCKING SILENCE."

4. (U) A SUBSEQUENT EDITORIAL IN THE "NEWS" JULY 23 CRITICIZED THE "WATERY APPROACH TO THE CRISIS BY THE WEST." BUT THE EDITORIAL ALSO BLAMED THE OIC AND MUSLIM NATIONS FOR THEIR COMPLICITY WITH THE WEST IN ALLOWING THE CONTINUED "SUFFERING OF BOSNIA." THE EDITORIAL FROM THE "NATION" JULY 22 ALSO COMMENTED ON THE "PATENT INABILITY OF THE UN OR THE WORLD POWERS TO DO ANYTHING TO HALT THE SERB BLITZKRIEG." IN ADDITION, THE EDITORIAL CRITICIZED PAKISTAN'S INEFFECTIVE ROLE. "PAKISTAN'S RESPONSE TOO, LIKE MOST OF THE MUSLIM WORLD, HAS BEEN FEEBLE."

5. (U) SIMILARLY IN THE KARACHI-BASED "DAWN," THE JULY 23 LEAD EDITORIAL DESCRIBED THE LONDON CONFERENCE ON BOSNIA AS A FAILURE. "GIVEN THE SHAMEFUL WESTERN RECORD IN BOSNIA IN THE LAST THREE YEARS, ONE CAN EXPECT THE BIG POWERS TO CONTINUE TO DITHER AND BLUFF AND RETREAT IN THE FACE OF SERB DEFIANCE." AN OP-ED PIECE IN THE SAME ISSUE ENTITLED "THE BOSNIA LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SLAUGHTERHOUSE" DISCUSSED BOTH WESTERN AND MUSLIM INACTION IN BOSNIA. "BUT TO CASTIGATE ONLY THE WEST IS TO ABSOLVE THE MUSLIM WORLD OF ANY BLAME OR RESPONSIBILITY. BEYOND OFFERING SYMPATHY AND OCCASIONAL, POLITE CRITICISM, THE MUSLIM WORLD HAS NOT SEEN FIT TO USE ITS ECONOMIC CLOUT, TO PLAY ANY SORT OF ROLE."

6. (U) IN THE PRO-IRANIAN AND OFTEN ANTI-AMERICAN DAILY "THE MUSLIM" JULY 24, THE LEAD EDITORIAL UNSURPRISINGLY CRITICIZED THE WEST'S POLICY TOWARDS BOSNIA, BUT ALSO THE EDITORIAL DESCRIBED THE OIC LEADERSHIP AS "LILY LIVERED AND WEAK KNEED."

7. (U) THE EDITORIAL FROM THE URDU LANGUAGE DAILY "JANG" FOR JULY 24 NOTED THE NEED FOR THE INVOLVEMENT OF MUSLIM NATIONS IN BOSNIA. "MUSLIM COUNTRIES MAKE UP ALMOST 20 PERCENT OF THE WORLD - ALMOST FIFTY COUNTRIES - AND CONSTITUTE A LARGE NUMBER OF MEMBERS IN THE UN. IF WESTERN COUNTRIES DO NOT ACT, THESE MUSLIM COUNTRIES SHOULD TAKE ACTION THEMSELVES."

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PAKISTAN AND OIC INVOLVEMENT

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ACTION IO-06

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	INL-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00
	SRPP-00	EAP-01	EUR-01	FBIE-00	INLB-01	H-01	TEDE-00
	INR-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NEA-01	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00
	SA-01	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	PRM-10	PRME-01	DRL-09
	G-00	/042W					

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O 260728Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4031
 INFO AMEMBASSY RIYADH
 AMCONSUL LAHORE
 AMCONSUL PESHAWAR
 AMCONSUL KARACHI
 AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
 AMEMBASSY ANKARA
 AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

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AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USNATO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BEIJING
USCENTCOM MACDILL AFB FL
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY AMMAN

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AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY KIEV
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 02 ISLAMABAD 006898

CENTCOM ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: MARR, MOPS, PREL, UNSC, SR, BK, PK
SUBJECT: PAKISTANI REACTION TO THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA

8. (U) IN THE JULY 23 ISSUE OF THE MODERATE ENGLISH "NEWS," THE LEAD STORY DESCRIBED THE DECISION OF THE ORGANIZATION OF ISLAMIC CONFERENCE (OIC) CONTACT GROUP, WHICH INCLUDES PAKISTAN, TO NO LONGER SUPPORT THE UN ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST BOSNIA. THE ARTICLE QUOTED PAKISTAN FOREIGN MINISTER SARDAR ASSEF AHMED ALI, WHO ATTENDED THE OIC CONTACT GROUP MEETING IN GENEVA JULY 22, AS STATING THE NEED TO SUPPORT BOSNIAN MUSLIMS. "WE MUST RESPOND VIGOROUSLY AND GENEROUSLY TO THE PLIGHT OF OUR BOSNIAN BROTHERS AND SISTERS WHETHER THIS IS IN THE FORM OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE, POLITICAL SUPPORT, OR STRATEGIC HELP."

PAKISTAN ALLEGEDLY SUPPLYING ARMS

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9. (U) A FRONT PAGE ARTICLE CARRIED IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE
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"NATION" JULY 25 DESCRIBED PAKISTAN'S ALLEGED ROLE IN SUPPLYING
ARMS TO THE BOSNIAN MUSLIMS. THE ARTICLE WAS BASED ON A REPORT
THAT APPEARED IN THE JULY 24 ISSUE OF THE "WASHINGTON POST"
WHICH INDICATED THAT PAKISTAN WAS ONE OF FOUR STATES ARMING THE
BOSNIAN MUSLIMS IN DEFIANCE OF THE UN EMBARGO.

POLITICAL REACTION

10. (LOU) MOST PAKISTANI POLITICIANS, HOWEVER, CONTINUE TO BE
FOCUSED ON DOMESTIC ISSUES, LIKE THE CONTINUING VIOLENCE IN
KARACHI AND KASHMIR, AT THE EXPENSE OF BOSNIA. WHILE THE
FOREIGN MINISTER'S DEMARCHE TO PERM 5 AMBASSADORS (REFTEL) WAS
REPORTED IN THE PRESS AND, AS NOTED ABOVE, SARDAR ASSEF
DISCUSSED THE OIC CONTACT GROUP MEETING IN WHICH HE
PARTICIPATED, OTHER PAKISTANI POLITICIANS HAVE NOT FOCUSED ON
BOSNIA. THE PRIME MINISTER DID NOT RAISE IT IN A LENGTHY
MEETING WITH THE AMBASSADOR. A FEW SENATORS MENTIONED BOSNIA
IN THE SENATE'S RECENTLY CONCLUDED SESSION LED BY SEN. KHURSHED
AHMED, JAMIAAT ISLAMI CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE'S FOREIGN
RELATIONS COMMITTEE, BUT IT DID NOT FIGURE PROMINENTLY IN THE
DEBATES.

COMMENT

11. (U) DOMESTIC ISSUES CLEARLY ARE LIMITING PAKISTAN'S FOCUS
ON BOSNIA RIGHT NOW. THE PRESS IS TRYING TO KEEP A SPOTLIGHT
ON THE ISSUE, FOCUSING BOTH ON THE FAILURE OF THE UN AND
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WESTERN NATIONS TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS IN BOSNIA -- AS WELL AS A
DEMAND FOR MUSLIM COUNTRIES PARTICULARLY AND THE OIC TO BECOME
MORE INVOLVED ON BEHALF OF THEIR FELLOW MUSLIMS. HOWEVER,
POLITICIANS THUS FAR HAVE NOT MADE IT A MAJOR ISSUE. MONJO

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INFO LOG-00 AID-00 AMAD-01 CA-02 CIAE-00 OASY-00 DODE-00
SRPP-00 EAP-01 EUR-01 OIGO-01 HHS-01 TEDE-00 INR-00
IO-08 L-01 ADS-00 NEA-01 NSAE-00 OIC-02 SA-01
FMP-00 DRL-09 /039W

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R 201158Z JUL 95
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4767
INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
AMEMBASSY RABAT

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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 GENEVA 005641

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, UNHCR, BK, HR, SR
SUBJECT: BOSNIA: UNHCR OGATA DESCRIBES EFFECTS OF
INCREASED FIGHTING ON HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE

1. SUMMARY: UNHCR HIGH COMMISSIONER OGATA EMPHASIZED
THE APPALLING HUMANITARIAN CONSEQUENCES OF THE RECENT
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2009 200705105

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INCREASED FIGHTING IN BOSNIA, MOST RECENTLY IN SREBRENICA AT A MEETING OF THE HUMANITARIAN ISSUES WORKING GROUP OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA IN GENEVA ON JULY 19. SHE CONDEMNED THE BOSNIAN SERB BLOCKADE OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE, EMPHASIZING THE ISOLATION OF SARAJEVO AND BIHAC. SARJEVO RECEIVED ONLY EIGHT PERCENT OF ITS FOOD TARGET IN JUNE. SHE ALSO WARNED THAT UNHCR COULD NOT CONTINUE AT ANY COST. THE CONSENT OF THE PARTIES IS ESSENTIAL. SHE ENCOURAGED BILATERAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE GOBH FOR THE VICTIMS OF SREBRENICA AND SAID THAT UNHCR HAS PREPARED A CONTINGENCY PLAN FOR ZEPA. SHE ALSO UNDERLINED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE FEDERATION AND THE VOLUNTARY RETURN OF REFUGEES AND DISPLACED WITHIN THE FEDERATION AFTER ADEQUATE LEAD TIME PERMITS THE REBUILDING OF MUTUAL TRUST. PRM A/S OAKLEY CALLED FOR ACCESS TO THE DETAINEES FROM SREBRENICA, FAMILY REUNIFICATION, AND PROSECUTION OF THOSE WHO COMMITTED WAR CRIMES. SHE ALSO STRESSED THE NEED TO PLAN FOR NEW REFUGEES FROM THE EASTERN ENCLAVES AND FOR THE HUMANITARIAN CONSEQUENCES OF A CHANGE IN THE ROLE OF UNPROFOR. OTHER DONORS CONDEMNED THE ATTACK ON SREBRENICA AND PLEDGED ADDITIONAL FUNDS FOR THE SREBRENICA VICTIMS. ISLAMIC STATES CALLED FOR THE REESTABLISHMENT OF SREBRENICA AS A SAFEHAVEN, EMPHASIZED THE LEGAL AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE UN FOR THE SREBRENICA VICTIMS, AND REPORTED THAT AN OIC MINISTERIAL CONTACT GROUP WOULD MEET IN GENEVA TO DISCUSS BOSNIA THIS WEEKEND. CROATIA WARNED THAT IT COULD NOT TAKE ANY NEW REFUGEES, AND THE FRY ASKED THAT SANCTIONS BE LIFTED TO HELP IT COPE WITH ITS REFUGEES. TEXTS OF UNHCR

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OGATA'S AND A/S OAKLEY'S STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN PROVIDED
SEPTELS. END SUMMARY.

2. UNHCR MRS. OGATA OPENED THE MEETING BY STRESSING THE APPALLING HUMANITARIAN CONSEQUENCES OF THE RECENT UPSURGE IN FIGHTING IN BOSNIA, INCLUDING THE ATROCITIES ASSOCIATED WITH THE ETHNIC CLEANSING OF SREBRENICA AND THE BOSNIAN SERB BLOCKADE OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE. SHE STRESSED HER CONCERN ABOUT THE STRANGULATION OF

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SARAJEVO AND BIHAC. THE FORMER RECEIVED ONLY EIGHT PERCENT OF UNHCR'S TARGET OF 6000 TONS PER MONTH DURING JUNE. SHE STRESSED THAT SHE WOULD MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO CONTINUE THE WORK OF UNHCR IN BOSNIA, BUT THAT UNHCR CANNOT CONTINUE AT ANY COST. THE CONSENT OF THE PARTIES IS NECESSARY.

3. OTHER AGENCIES SOUNDED THE SAME THEMES. ICRC PRESIDENT SOMMARUGA CALLED ON THE PARTIES TO RESPECT THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS, GRANT ACCESS TO THE DETAINEES AND GIVE THEIR CONSENT TO HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE. WFP POINTED OUT THAT SO FAR WIDESPREAD MALNUTRITION AND HUNGER HAVE BEEN AVOIDED AND THAT THE INCREASED FIGHTING HAS WORSENED THE ACCESS PROBLEM. STOCKS ARE NOT A PROBLEM, WITH PREPOSITIONED FOOD PROVIDING TWO MONTHS SUPPLY FOR TUZLA. WFP REITERATED MRS. OGATA'S CONCERN FOR BIHAC AND SREBRENICA AND STRESSED THAT THE WITHDRAWAL OF UNPROFOR WOULD SEVERELY LIMIT BUT NOT HALT THAT ABILITY OF HUMANITARIAN AGENCIES TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE. IT ADDED THAT IT HAS PREPOSITIONED CONTINGENCY STOCKS AT METKOVIC, SPLIT, ZAGREB, ANCONA AND BELGRADE. UNICEF STRESSED ITS ASSISTANCE TO

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CHILDREN, ESPECIALLY THEIR PSYCHOLOGICAL NEEDS, AND WHO WARNED OF INCREASING MALNUTRITION AND HEALTH PROBLEMS IN THE ENCLAVES AND SARAJEVO.

4. THE FIRST GOVERNMENT TO SPEAK WAS BOSNIA (MURATOVIC), WHICH STRESSED THE MORAL AND LEGAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE UN TO PROTECT SREBRENICA AFTER IT WAS DECLARED A SAFE ZONE AND DEMILITARIZED. MURATOVIC THANKED UNHCR FOR WHAT IT HAD DONE TO GET SUPPLIES THROUGH, BUT WAS BITTERLY CRITICAL OF UNPROFOR FOR ITS FAILURES. HE SAID THAT 13,000 OF THE 42,600 WHO HAD BEEN IN SREBRENICA WERE STILL MISSING, SAYING THAT HUNDREDS WERE BRUTALLY MURDERED AND THAT FIVE CONCENTRATION CAMPS HAVE BEEN SET UP BY THE SERBS. HE CALLED FOR THE UN TO RETURN THE PEOPLE OF SREBRENICA TO THEIR HOMES AND FOR UNHCR TO ESTABLISH A SEPARATE APPEAL FOR EXILES FROM SREBRENICA, TO BE FUNDED AT THE RATE OF USDOLLARS 24 MILLION/MONTH. HE ALSO CALLED ON THE UN TO

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ESTABLISH A SETTLEMENT FUND OF USDOLLARS 220 MILLION TO
PROVIDE HOUSING, SCHOOLS AND HEALTH FACILITIES FOR THE

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ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CA-02	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DODE-00
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	IO-08	L-01	ADS-00	NEA-01	NSAE-00	OIC-02	SA-01
	FMP-00	DRL-09	/039W				

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R 201158Z JUL 95
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4768
INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

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AMEMBASSY RABAT

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 03 GENEVA 005641

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREF, UNHCR, BK, HR, SR

SUBJECT: BOSNIA: UNHCR OGATA DESCRIBES EFFECTS OF
INCREASED FIGHTING ON HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE

SREBRENICA EXILES, AN EDUCATION FUND OF USDOLLARS 6.9
MILLION, A JOINT UNHCR-GOBH TASK FORCE (ALREADY DONE)
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AND AN AIRLIFT TO TUZLA.

5. BOSNIA RECEIVED STRONG SUPPORT FROM ISLAMIC COUNTRIES, INCLUDING TURKEY, PAKISTAN, MOROCCO, MALAYSIA, EGYPT AND IRAN. PAKISTAN SAID THAT THE OIC CONTACT GROUP ON BOSNIA MEETING IN GENEVA ON JULY 21 AT THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL WOULD ATTEMPT TO DRAW UP A PLAN FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE REST OF BOSNIA. IT INVITED A MEETING BETWEEN THE PRINCIPAL CONTACT GROUP AND THE OIC CONTACT GROUP.

6. SPEAKING FOR THE USG, PRM A/S OAKLEY CALLED FOR ACCESS TO DETAINEES FROM SREBRENICA, REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES AND THE PROSECUTION OF THOSE WHO COMMITTED WAR CRIMES IN THE ETHNIC CLEANSING OF SREBRENICA. OAKLEY REPORTED ON HER TRIP TO TUZLA, UNDERScoreD THE NEED FOR BETTER ACCOMMODATIONS FOR THE DISPLACED AWAY FROM THE TUZLA AIRPORT AND STRESSED THE NEED TO PLAN FOR ADDITIONAL CIVILIANS FLEEING THE EASTERN ENCLAVES. SHE ALSO EMPHASIZED THE NEED TO PLAN FOR THE HUMANITARIAN CONSEQUENCES OF ANY CHANGE IN THE ROLE OF UNPROFOR. SHE RAISED THE STRAIN PLACED ON THE POPULATION OF THE FEDERATION BY THE GROWING NUMBERS OF REFUGEES AND WARNED THAT THE HUMANITARIAN SITUATION IN SARAJEVO AND BIHAC COULD NOT BE SUSTAINED THROUGH THE WINTER WITHOUT IMPROVED ACCESS. SHE NOTED THAT THE AID OFFICE OF FOREIGN DISASTER ASSISTANCE HAD GIVEN USDOLLARS 4 MILLION WHICH WAS BEING USED TO ASSIST THE DISPLACED AT

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TUZLA.

7. EUROPEAN COUNTRIES CONDEMNED THE ATTACK ON
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SREBRENICA AND IN MANY CASES PLEDGED NEW ASSISTANCE.
SPAIN ON BEHALF OF THE EU CALLED FOR THE REESTABLISHMENT
OF SREBRENICA AS A SAFEHAVEN, A CESSATION OF ATTACKS
AGAINST ZEPA AND ACCESS TO SARAJEVO. IT SAID THAT THE
EU IS READY TO PROVIDE SUPPLEMENTARY ASSISTANCE TO THE
NEW EMERGENCY. IT HAS RECENTLY ALLOCATED 93 MILLION ECU
OF NEW ASSISTANCE, WITH SIXTY PERCENT GOING TO BOSNIA.
20 MILLION ECU WAS EARMARKED FOR UNHCR IN MAY AND IS
STILL AVAILABLE. THE NETHERLANDS ANNOUNCED THAT
ASSISTANCE MINISTER PRONK HAD JUST VISITED TUZLA AND
SARAJEVO AND PLEDGED USDOLLARS 5 MILLION AS THE FIRST
DONOR TO THE GOBH FUND TO ASSIST THE VICTIMS OF
SREBRENICA AND 26 MILLION GUILDERS TO NGOS FOR THE SAME
PURPOSE. THE UK STRESSED ITS CONTRIBUTION OF CONVOY AND
ENGINEERING TEAMS LOANED TO UNHCR FOR THE CRISIS. THE
NORWEGIANS ANNOUNCED A CONTRIBUTION OF TEN MILLION
KRONER. SWITZERLAND OFFERED ONE MILLION SWISS FRANCS TO
UNHCR. DENMARK ANNOUNCED A CONTRIBUTION OF 140 MILLION
DANISH KRONER TO VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS. FRANCE SAID
THAT IT HAD CONTRIBUTED 15 TONS OF FOOD TO TUZLA AND
PLEDGED 5 MILLION FRENCH FRANCS. ITALY IS CONDUCTING AN
AIRLIFT FROM PISA TO TUZLA. JAPAN SAID THAT IT WOULD
RESPOND TO SPECIAL APPEALS FOR THE SREBRENICA VICTIMS.

8. RUSSIA MADE A LOW KEY STATEMENT, DEMANDING A STOP TO
ATTACKS ON THE ENCLAVES, AND ANNOUNCED CONTINUED SUPPORT
FOR UNHCR. IT SAID THAT IT WOULD CONTINUE HUMANITARIAN
ASSISTANCE AND CALLED FOR A POLITICAL SOLUTION AT THE
JULY 21 LONDON MEETING.

9. CROATIA CONDEMNED THE SERBS AND DREW A PARALLEL
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BETWEEN SREBRENICA AND VUKOVAR. IT SAID THAT IT COULD
NOT ACCEPT ANYMORE THAN THE 200,000 REFUGEES FROM BOSNIA
AND 200,000 DISPLACED FROM THE UNPAS THAT IT WAS ALREADY
SUPPORTING WITH DECLINING ASSISTANCE FROM THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. IT ASKED OTHER EUROPEAN
COUNTRIES TO DELAY THE RETURN OF CROATIANS ON THEIR
TERRITORY.

10. THE FRY STRESSED THE NEED TO LIFT SANCTIONS, WHICH
IT CLAIMED WAS IMPAIRING ITS ABILITY TO CARE FOR
REFUGEES, INCLUDING NEW REFUGEES FROM WESTERN SLAVONIA.
IT ALSO ASKED THAT THE PORT OF BAR BE OPENED TO REDUCE
LOGISTICS AND TRANSPORTATION COSTS OF ASSISTANCE. IT
DENIED THAT IT HAD EVER CONDUCTED A CAMPAIGN TO RETURN
CROATIAN AND BOSNIAN SERBS TO THEIR OWN MILITARY FORCES.

11. MRS. OGATA WRAPPED UP THE MEETING BY STATING THAT
SHE WAS ENCOURAGED BY THE EXPRESSIONS OF SUPPORT FOR
UNHCR AND THE CONDEMNATION OF ATTACKS ON SAFE AREAS.
SHE REEMPHASIZED THAT UNHCR WAS REASSESSING THE

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ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CA-02	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DODE-00
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	IO-08	L-01	ADS-00	NEA-01	NSAE-00	OIC-02	SA-01
	FMP-00	DRL-09	/039W				

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R 201158Z JUL 95
 FM USMISSION GENEVA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4769
 INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
 AMEMBASSY TOKYO
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
 AMEMBASSY ANKARA
 AMEMBASSY CAIRO
 AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
 AMEMBASSY RABAT

UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 03 GENEVA 005641

E.O. 12356: N/A
 TAGS: PREF, UNHCR, BK, HR, SR
 SUBJECT: BOSNIA: UNHCR OGATA DESCRIBES EFFECTS OF
 INCREASED FIGHTING ON HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE

BUDGETARY IMPLICATIONS OF ASSISTANCE TO THE SREBRENICA
 VICTIMS AND SAID THAT UNHCR HAD CONTINGENCY PLANS FOR
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 DEALING WITH THE FALL OF ZEPA. SHE ENCOURAGED DIRECT
 BILATERAL ASSISTANCE TO THE GOBH AND SAID THAT UNHCR
 COULD MONITOR PROGRAMS TO MEET THE LONGER-TERM SHELTER
 NEEDS OF THE DISPLACED IN TUZLA. SHE ANSWERED THE CALLS
 FOR A RETURN TO SREBRENICA BY SAYING THAT THAT WOULD
 DEPEND UPON POLITICAL AND MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS. SHE

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ALSO SUPPORTED CROATIA'S PLEA TO POSTPONE THE RETURN OF
REFUGEES TO THAT COUNTRY. SPIEGEL

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ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CA-02	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DODE-00
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	L-01	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	FMP-00	DRL-09	/036W
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R 200654Z JUL 95
 FM USMISSION GENEVA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4749
 INFO AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 005632

E.O. 12356: N/A
 TAGS: PREF, UNHCR, BK, HR, SR
 SUBJECT: BOSNIA: A/S OAKLEY CALLS FOR ACCESS TO
 - SREBRENICA DETAINEES

1. SUMMARY: PRM A/S OAKLEY CALLED FOR ACCESS TO
 DETAINEES FROM SREBRENICA, REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES AND
 THE PROSECUTION OF THOSE WHO COMMITTED WAR CRIMES IN THE
 ETHNIC CLEANSING OF SREBRENICA. ADDRESSING THE JULY 19
 MEETING OF THE HUMANITARIAN ISSUES WORKING GROUP OF THE
 INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA
 (HIWG/ICFY), OAKLEY REPORTED ON HER TRIP TO TUZLA,
 UNDERScoreD THE NEED FOR BETTER ACCOMMODATIONS FOR THE
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 DISPLACED AWAY FROM THE TUZLA AIRPORT AND STRESSED THE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2009 200705105

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NEED TO PLAN FOR ADDITIONAL CIVILIANS FLEEING THE EASTERN ENCLAVES. SHE ALSO EMPHASIZED THE NEED TO PLAN FOR THE HUMANITARIAN CONSEQUENCES OF ANY CHANGE IN THE ROLE OF UNPROFOR. SHE RAISED THE STRAIN PLACED ON THE POPULATION OF THE FEDERATION BY THE GROWING NUMBERS OF REFUGEES AND WARNED THAT THE HUMANITARIAN SITUATION IN SARAJEVO AND BIHAC COULD NOT BE SUSTAINED THROUGH THE WINTER WITHOUT IMPROVED ACCESS. END SUMMARY.

2. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF A/S OAKLEY'S ADDRESS TO THE HIWG/ICFY:

THANKS TO THE ARRANGEMENTS OF UNHCR, AMBASSADOR SPIEGEL AND I HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM TUZLA WHERE WE ASSESSED THE SITUATION OF THE REFUGEES FROM SREBRENICA AND CONTINGENCY PLANNING FOR POSSIBLE NEW REFUGEE FLOWS INTO HE AREA FROM THE EASTERN ENCLAVES. UNHCR WAS KIND ENOUGH TO PROVIDE THE OPPORTUNITY TO TRAVEL DOWN TO TUZLA AND BACK WITH HIGH COMMISSIONER OGATA ON MONDAY, AND WE ARE BOTH VERY APPRECIATIVE OF THIS OPPORTUNITY.

THE SITUATION OF THIS NEW GROUP OF REFUGEES IN TUZLA IS ANOTHER GRIM CHAPTER IN THE CONTINUING TRAGEDY OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. TENS OF THOUSANDS OF CIVILIANS HAVE BEEN FORCED FROM THEIR HOMES AND LEFT TO CROSS CONFRONTATION LINES ON FOOT. THE REFUGEES IN TUZLA ARE PREDOMINANTLY WOMEN AND CHILDREN. THEY ARE STILL DAZED BY THEIR FORCED REMOVAL FROM SREBRENICA, THEIR UNCERTAIN FUTURE, AND THE TRAUMA OF SEPARATION FROM THEIR HUSBANDS, FATHERS, AND SONS. THERE ARE REPORTS OF

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EXECUTIONS, RAPES, AND DISAPPEARANCES. ACCESS HAS NOT YET BEEN GIVEN TO THOSE STILL DETAINED. SOME OF THE WOUNDED HAVE DIED, NO DOUBT IN PART BECAUSE OF THE HARDSHIP TO WHICH THEY WERE EXPOSED DURING THE FORCED EVACUATION OF SREBRENICA.

NHCR, WORKING IN CONJUNCTION WITH UNPROFOR AND NGOS, HAS BEEN ABLE TO ALLEVIATE THE SUFFERING AND STABILIZE THE SITUATION WITH ADEQUATE FOOD, WATER, SANITATION FACILITIES AND MEDICAL ASSISTANCE. AFTER A BRIEF UNEVEN

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BEGINNING, THANKS TO PREPOSITIONING AND GOOD PREPAREDNESS, THESE REFUGEES ARE BEING CARED FOR IN OUTSTANDING MANNER. ICRC AND OTHERS ARE PERFORMING THE IMPORTANT TASK OF TRACING AND FAMILY REUNIFICATION. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY OWES A GREAT DEBT OF GRATITUDE TO UNHCR, ICRC, OTHER UN ORGANIZATIONS AND NGOS FOR PROVIDING RELIEF TO THE VICTIMS OF SREBRENICA.

WE ARE PLEASED THAT THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT HAS AGREED TO COOPERATE WITH UNHCR IN FINDING PROPER SHELTER FOR THE REFUGEES. WE AGREE WITH THE HIGH COMMISSIONER THAT THE PEOPLE IN THE TENT ENCAMPMENTS AT THE AIRPORT SHOULD BE MOVED TO BETTER ARRANGEMENTS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. AN AIRPORT WHICH IS TODAY A MILITARY INSTALLATION IN CLOSE PROXIMITY TO BOSNIAN SERB ARTILLERY IS NOT AN APPROPRIATE LOCATION FOR REFUGEE HOUSING.

WE ARE GRATIFIED THAT RESOURCES APPEAR TO BE AVAILABLE FOR THE REFUGEES OVER THE SUMMER. THE UNITED STATES HAS GIVEN FOUR MILLION DOLLARS THROUGH THE AID OFFICE OF FOREIGN DISASTER ASSISTANCE WHICH IS BEING USED TO

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ASSIST THE REFUGEES FORCED FROM SREBRENICA.

EVERTHELESS MORE MUST BE DONE. WE DEMAND THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS FULFILL THEIR OBLIGATIONS UNDER INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW TO GRANT ACCESS TO THOSE THEY HAVE DETAINED FROM SREBRENICA. DETAINEES BEING ILLEGALLY HELD SHOULD BE RETURNED TO THEIR FAMILIES IMMEDIATELY. THE WORLD HOLDS THE BOSNIAN SERB LEADERSHIP RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SAFETY OF ALL REFUGEES FROM SREBRENICA. THOSE WHO COMMIT WAR CRIMES MUST BE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE. THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT THOSE WHO HAVE COMMITTED WAR CRIMES SHOULD NOT EXPECT IMPUNITY.

WE MUST ALSO LOOK TO THE FUTURE. THERE MAY BE ADDITIONAL REFUGEES FORCED OUT OF THE EASTERN ENCLAVES. WE MUST ALL BE SATISFIED THAT AS MUCH HAS BEEN PREPARED FOR THIS EVENTUALITY AS IS POSSIBLE.

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OREOVER, THE CURRENT CRISIS MAKES EVEN MORE DIFFICULT
THE ALREADY DIFFICULT HUMANITARIAN SITUATION THROUGHOUT

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ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CA-02	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DODE-00
	SRPP-00	EUR-01	OIGO-01	HHS-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08
	L-01	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	FMP-00	DRL-09	/036W
					-----DB353E 200700Z /38		

R 200654Z JUL 95
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4750
INFO AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 GENEVA 005632

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PEF, UNHCR, BK, HR, SR
SUBJECT: BOSNIA: A/S OAKLEY CALLS FOR ACCESS TO

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- SREBRENICA DETAINEES

BOSNIA. IN ADDITION TO THE EASTERN ENCLAVES, WE MUST THINK OF SARAJEVO AND BIHAC. IN SARAJEVO THE AIRPORT REMAINS CLOSED TO THE HUMANITARIAN AIRLIFT. ALL BUT THE MOST MEAGER OF HUMANITARIAN SUPPLIES HAVE BEEN BLOCKED FROM REACHING SARAJEVO AND BIHAC AS THE CONDITION OF THE CIVILIANS BECOMES INCREASINGLY DESPERATE. WE ALL KNOW THE CURRENT SITUATION CANNOT BE SUSTAINED THROUGH THE COMING WINTER. HOW CAN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HELP

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 05632 02 OF 02 200700Z
PREPARE FOR THIS WINTER IN BOSNIA? HOW CAN WE HELP SUSTAIN ALL THE POPULATION OF BOSNIA IN A PROGRESSIVELY MORE DIFFICULT SITUATION WITH PRESSURES OF GROWING NUMBERS OF REFUGEES STRAINING THE FEDERATION?

IN ADDITION, THERE MAY BE A CHANGE IN THE MANDATE FOR UNPROFOR THAT COULD HAVE DRAMATIC CONSEQUENCES FOR THE HUMANITARIAN SITUATION. THOSE NEED TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN FUTURE PLANNING BOTH FOR UNPROFOR AND FOR HUMANITARIAN AGENCIES. THOSE HUMANITARIAN CONSEQUENCES NEED TO BE UNDERSTOOD AND PROPER PLANNING NEEDS TO TAKE PLACE TO ADDRESS THEM.

ADAME HIGH COMMISSIONER, TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IN RESPONSE TO THE CRISIS IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA ARE NEARING ONE BILLION DOLLARS. CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THIS FISCAL YEAR ALONE HAVE AMOUNTED TO ALMOST 140 MILLION DOLLARS. WE ARE PREPARED TO INCREASE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE WITH SPECIFIC EMERGENCY RELIEF PROGRAMS AIMED AT MEETING THE NEEDS OF THOSE FORCED OUT OF THE SREBRENICA. EVERYONE MUST DO MORE. WE LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU, MADAME HIGH COMMISSIONER, IN HELPING UNHCR AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS IN ASSISTING THE VICTIMS OF THIS CONTINUING TRAGEDY.

LET ME THANK YOU FOR CALLING THIS MEETING TODAY. WE ALWAYS REMAIN AVAILABLE TO DISCUSS THESE IMPORTANT HUMANITARIAN ISSUES.

END TEXT.

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PAGE 03 GENEVA 05632 02 OF 02 200700Z
3. SARAJEVO AND ZAGREB MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
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PAGE 01 BELGRA 03354 121246Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	BIB-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00
	SRPP-00	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	L-01	ADS-00
	M-00	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01	PA-02	PM-00
	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	PRME-01	PRMC-01	DRL-09	G-00

/021W

-----D8A373 121246Z /38

O 121243Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6430
 INFO USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
 USLO SKOPJE
 JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
 SECDEF WASHDC
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
 JCS WASHDC//J-5//
 HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//POLAD//
 AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA

RELEASED IN FULL

UNCLAS BELGRADE 003354

ROME ALSO FOR VATICAN
USMISSION USVIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL OSCE

E.O. 12356:N/A
TAGS: PGOV, SR, BK

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PAGE 02 BELGRA 03354 121246Z
SUBJECT: NO OFFICIAL BELGRADE REACTION TO NATO

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 10 MAR 2009 200705105

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AIRSTRIKES, AND BOSNIAN SERB OCCUPATION OF
SREBRENICA

1. SUMMARY: THERE WAS NO OFFICIAL REACTION FROM THE "FRY" GOVERNMENT TO THE OCCUPATION OF SREBRENICA BY BOSNIAN SERB TROOPS OR TO THE RELATED NATO AIRSTRIKES. PRO-GOVERNMENT MEDIA QUOTED UN SOURCES ON THE FATE OF THE TOWN AND BURIED THE NEWS OF AIRSTRIKES. THE TABLOID PRESS QUOTED PALE SOURCES THAT SREBRENICA HAD BEEN "LIBERATED" AND THAT THE ATTACK ON THE TOWN HAD BEEN MADE NECESSARY BY THE UN, WHICH HAD FAILED TO PREVENT MUSLIMS FROM USING THE TOWN AND SURROUNDING AREA AS A BASE FOR TERRORIST ATTACKS. END SUMMARY

2. BELGRADE PRO-GOVERNMENT MEDIA CARRIED NO OFFICIAL REACTION TO THE EVENTS SURROUNDING THE FALL OF SREBRENICA TO THE BOSNIAN SERB FORCES BUT QUOTED OTHER SOURCES IN THEIR BRIEF REPORTS. GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED TELEVISION ON THE EVENING OF JULY 11 BURIED THE REPORT 14 MINUTES INTO THE EVENING NEWS. ON JULY 12 STATE TELEVISION AND THE PRO-GOVERNMENT DAILY POLITIKA LED WITH A STORY ABOUT HARVESTS AND AGAIN QUOTED UN SOURCES FOR NEWS ON SREBRENICA. STATE-CONTROLLED DAILY BORBA RETURNED TO THE STORY WHICH HAD DOMINATED THE JULY 11 NEWS IN BELGRADE, THE TIME MAGAZINE COVER STORY ON MILOSEVIC, BEFORE TURNING TO "NATO RAIDS" ON SERB POSITIONS AROUND SREBRENICA.

3. ONLY THE INDEPENDENT MEDIA GAVE LEAD COVERAGE TO SREBRENICA, PUTTING THEIR STORIES TOGETHER FROM UN
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PAGE 03 BELGRA 03354 121246Z
SOURCES AND NOTING THAT U.S. AND OTHER WESTERN LEADERS PRAISED NATO ACTION. VUK DRASKOVIC, HEAD OF THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION SERBIAN RENEWAL MOVEMENT (SPO), DEPLORED THE CONTINUED FIGHTING AND ACCUSED THE BOSNIA SERBS OF TRYING TO PULL THE "FRY" INTO THE WAR. AN SPO SPOKESPERSON EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT UNPROFOR MIGHT LEAVE BOSNIA. A SPOKESPERSON FOR THE ULTRA-NATIONALIST SERBIAN RADICAL PARTY (SRS) WELCOMED WHAT HE CALLED "THE TAKING OF SERB SREBRENICA."

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4. PRO-GOVERNMENT MEDIA FOR SEVERAL DAYS HAVE BEEN JUSTIFYING THE BOSNIAN SERB ADVANCE BY QUOTING BOSNIAN ARMY STATEMENTS THAT MUSLIMS WERE USING THE SREBRENICA SAFE AREA TO LAUNCH SABOTAGE AND TERRORIST ATTACKS AGAINST SERB POSITIONS. ON JULY 12, THE BELGRADE TABLOID PRESS QUOTED PALE MEDIA THAT BOSNIAN SERB TROOPS HAD "COUNTERATTACKED" AGAINST MUSLIM FORCES AND HAD "LIBERATED" SREBRENICA. BOSNIAN SERB GENERAL MLADIC WAS QUOTED FROM PALE SOURCES THAT THE UN HAD FAILED TO DEMILITARIZE THE "SAFE ZONE" NECESSITATING THE BOSNIAN SERB RESPONSE. BOSNIA SERB SPEAKER OF PARLIAMENT MOMCILO KRAJSNIK TOLD INDEPENDENT STUDIO B THAT THE SITUATION AROUND SREBRENICA "WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN SO TENSE IF UN POLICY WERE NOT SO BAD." HE ADDED THAT SREBRENICA WOULD BE RETURNED WHEN WESTERN SLAVONIA WAS RETURNED TO THE SERBS. THE INDEPENDENT MEDIA REPORTED FIGHTING IN SREBRENICA HAD DIED DOWN ON THE AFTERNOON OF JULY 11, KARADZIC HAD APPOINTED A CIVILIAN COMMISSIONER FOR THE TOWN, AND THE FLAG OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS WAS FLYING FROM THE ORTHODOX CHURCH.

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PAGE 01 BELGRA 03394 131327Z
ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CA-02	CIAE-00	OASY-00	SRPP-00
	EUR-01	OIGO-01	HHS-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	SSO-00	SS-00	DRL-09	/036W

-----D91429 131327Z /38

O 131329Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6452
 INFO USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
 JCS WASHDC//J-5//
 JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
 AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
 HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//POLAD//
 USMISSION GENEVA
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 USLO SKOPJE
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 SECDEF WASHDC

RELEASED IN FULL

UNCLAS BELGRADE 003394

ROME ALSO FOR VATICAN
USMISSION USVIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL OSCE

E.O. 12356:N/A
TAGS: PUF, PHUM, UNHCR, UN, SR, BK
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PAGE 02 BELGRA 03394 131327Z
SUBJECT: UNHCR CONVOY FOR POTOCARI STOPPED

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 10 MAR 2009 200705105

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AT MALI ZVORNIK

REF: ZAGREB 2607

1. UNHCR/BELGRADE PROGRAM OFFICER IN CHARGE OF BOSNIA TOLD US ON JULY 13 THAT AS OF 1300 LOCAL TIME A UNHCR CONVOY BOUND FOR POTOCARI HAD BEEN STOPPED AT THE MALI ZVORNIK BORDER CROSSING SINCE ABOUT 2100 JULY 12 AWAITING APPROVAL FROM BOSNIAN SERB AUTHORITIES IN PALE TO PROCEED. THE CONVOY, CARRYING 20 METRIC TONS OF EMERGENCY HUMANITARIAN SUPPLIES FOR REFUGEES WHO HAD FLED SREBRENICA, DEPARTED BELGRADE BETWEEN 1900 AND 2000 THE EVENING OF JULY 12. THE UNHCR CONVOY HAS A CARGO OF CANNED FOOD, HIGH PROTEIN BISCUITS, MATTRESSES, BLANKETS AND WATER CONTAINERS.

2. UNHCR NOTED THAT THE DELAY AT MALI ZVORNIK WAS NOTHING UNUSUAL, AND THAT CONVOYS OUT OF BELGRADE TRAVELLING TO THE EASTERN ENCLAVES HAD BEEN ENCOUNTERING FREQUENT DELAYS IN THE RECENT PAST. THE PROGRAM OFFICER COULD NOT PREDICT WHEN THE CONVOY WOULD BE RELEASED BUT NOTED WRYLTY THAT TELEPHONE LINES BETWEEN PALE AND MALI ZVORNIK WERE NOT ALWAYS RELIABLE.

3. THE UNHCR OFFICER DESCRIBED THE SITUATION IN POTOCARI AS CONFUSED, WITH BOSNIAN SERBS IN THE PROCESS OF EVACUATING SOME 30,000 REFUGEES FROM POTOCARI TO KLADANJ. TRUCKS AND BUSES, DRIVEN BY BOSNIAN SERBS, WERE DROPPING REFUGEES OFF ABOUT 10 KILOMETERS OUTSIDE OF KLADANJ ON THE SERBIAN SIDE OF THE CONFRONTATION

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PAGE 03 BELGRA 03394 131327Z
LINE, CAUSING THE REFUGEES TO CROSS THE FRONT LINE THERE ON FOOT TO REACH KLADANJ. THE OFFICER REPORTED THAT THE BOSNIAN SERB DRIVERS WERE UNWILLING TO RISK TRANSPORTING THE REFUGEES ACROSS THE FRONT LINE.

4. IN THE MEANTIME, UNHCR/BELGRADE IS PREPARING A SECOND EMERGENCY CONVOY FOR KLADANJ, ANTICIPATING THAT BY THE TIME THE STALLED CONVOY AT MALI ZVORNIK RECEIVES CLEARANCE, THERE WILL BE AN URGENT NEED TO PROVIDE FOR THE NEEDS OF THOSE EVACUATED FROM POTOCARI TO KLADANJ.

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PARTICULARLY WORRISOME FOR UNHCR, HOWEVER, IS THE PROBLEM OF CROSSING THE FRONT LINE TO BRING HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE INTO KLADANJ, WHICH LIES JUST OVER THE CONFRONTATION LINE IN FEDERATION TERRITORY.

5. SARAJEVO - MINIMIZE CONSIDERED PERINA

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PAGE 01 BELGRA 03447 171323Z
ACTION IO-08

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CA-02	CIAE-00	OASY-00	SRPP-00
	EUR-01	OIGO-01	HHS-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	L-01	ADS-00
	NSAE-00	OIC-02	SSO-00	SS-00	PRM-10	DRL-09	/036W

-----DA165F 171323Z /38

O 171325Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6493
 INFO SECDEF WASHDC
 EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
 AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
 HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//POLAD//
 JCS WASHDC//J-5//
 JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
 USLO SKOPJE
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE

RELEASED IN FULL

UNCLAS BELGRADE 003447

ROME ALSO FOR VATICAN
USMISSION USVIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL OSCE

E.O. 12356:N/A
TAGS: PREF, PHUM, UN, ICRC, UNHCR, SR, BK
SUBJECT: STILL NO ACCESS TO BRATUNAC DETAINEES

REF: A) BELGRADE 3415, B) BELGRADE 3394
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PAGE 02 BELGRA 03447 171323Z

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 10 MAR 2009 200705105

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1. ICRC/BELGRADE'S ACTING DIRECTOR TOLD US THAT AS OF 1100 LOCAL TIME JULY 17, ICRC HAD STILL NOT GAINED ACCESS TO THE DETAINEES BEING HELD AT THE BRATUNAC STADIUM. THE OFFICIAL INDICATED, HOWEVER, THAT ICRC HAD RECEIVED FORMAL WORD FROM PALE THAT ICRC WOULD BE GRANTED ACCESS "AS SOON AS THE SECURITY SITUATION PERMITTED." ACCORDING TO ICRC, PALE AUTHORITIES CLAIMED THAT MUSLIMS WERE STILL OFFERING RESISTANCE IN AND AROUND BRATUNAC AND THAT SOME SNIPING CONTINUED, BUT OFFERED NO FURTHER ELABORATION ON THE SECURITY SITUATION. ICRC CHARACTERIZED PALE'S LATEST RESPONSE AS A "GREEN LIGHT," EXPLAINING THAT ALL OTHER BUREAUCRATIC OBSTACLES TO ACCESS WERE NOW CLEARED WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE SECURITY SITUATION.

2. WHILE ICRC HAD HEARD NEWS REPORTS ABOUT MISTREATMENT OF REFUGEES DURING THE EVACUATION OF SREBRENICA, THE ACTING DIRECTOR STATED THAT UNTIL ICRC OFFICIALS WERE GRANTED ACCESS TO REFUGEES, THE AGENCY WOULD BE UNABLE TO CONFIRM ANY REPORTS ABOUT ALLEGED RAPE OR MISTREATMENT. SHE ALSO COULD CONFIRM NOTHING ABOUT THE NUMBERS OR AGE OF THE DETAINEES BEING HELD IN BRATUNAC AND CAUTIONED THAT UNTIL ICRC ACTUALLY GAINED ACCESS, THERE WAS NO BASIS FOR DRAWING ANY CONCLUSIONS ON THE TREATMENT OF REFUGEES.

3. THE ACTING DIRECTOR DID CONFIRM THAT ICRC HAD BEEN GIVEN APPROVAL TO EVACUATE THE WOUNDED FROM POTOCARI AND BRATUNAC. THE OFFICIAL ESTIMATED MORE THAN 50 WOUNDED IN POTOCARI WERE BEING CARED FOR BY UNPROFOR AND BOSNIAN

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PAGE 03 BELGRA 03447 171323Z
SERB MEDICS. ANOTHER 46 IN BRATUNAC WERE REPORTED WOUNDED, HALF OF THEM SERIOUSLY. THE ACTING DIRECTOR SAID THOSE NOT SERIOUSLY WOUNDED WOULD BE EVACUATED TO TUZLA, WHEREAS THE MORE SERIOUSLY WOUNDED WERE DESTINED FOR TREATMENT IN SERBIA. ICRC HAS RECEIVED GOOD COOPERATION FROM BELGRADE OFFICIALS TO TRANSFER WAR WOUNDED HERE.

4. UNHCR OFFICIALS TOLD US ON JUNE 17 THAT THEIR EFFORTS TO ACCESS DETAINEES IN BRATUNAC AS WELL AS

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REFUGEES FROM OTHER LOCATIONS CONTINUED TO BE STYMIED. THE FOUR TEAMS OF UNHCR OBSERVERS STOPPED AT THE MALI ZVORNIK BORDER ON JULY 12 (SEE REF A) HAVE STILL NOT BEEN GIVEN APPROVAL TO CROSS TO THE BOSNIAN SIDE. THE ONE MONITORING TEAM THAT CROSSED WITH A UNHCR CONVOY JULY 13 WAS UNABLE TO GAIN ACCESS TO THE DETAINEES IN BRATUNAC. UNHCR OFFICIALS HERE REPORTED RUMORS THAT AN UNSPECIFIED NUMBER OF BRATUNAC DETAINEES HAD BEEN TRANSFERRED TO BIJELJINA WHERE THEY WOULD BE EXCHANGED FOR BOSNIAN SERB POWS. UNHCR COULD NOT CONFIRM THE RUMORS.

5. UNHCR/BELGRADE SENT ONE CONVOY TO GORAZDE, SUNDAY MORNING JULY 16. THE CONVOY, CARRYING 64 METRIC TONS OF FLOUR, BEANS AND COOKING OIL, WAS STOPPED AT THE BORDER CROSSING NEAR KOTORMAN SUNDAY AFTERNOON AND AS OF 1200 LOCAL TIME JULY 17, WAS STILL AWAITING CLEARANCE TO CROSS INTO BOSNIA. PERINA

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PAGE 01 BELGRA 03532 201131Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AGRE-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	OASY-00	SRPP-00
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	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02
	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00
	STR-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	PRM-10
	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00	/043W			

-----DB4D06 201131Z /38

O 201124Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6545
 INFO AMEMBASSY TIRANA
 USLO SKOPJE
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 AMEMBASSY SOFIA
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 USMISSION GENEVA
 AMEMBASSY BONN
 AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
 AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
 AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 USMISSION USNATO
 AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
 AMEMBASSY MADRID
 DIA WASHDC
 AMEMBASSY ATHENS

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PAGE 02 BELGRA 03532 201131Z
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 DATE/CASE ID: 10 MAR 2009 200705105

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MEMBASSY VIENNA
MISSION USUN NEW YORK

NCLAS BELGRADE 003532

MISSION USVIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL OSCE

.O. 12356: N/A
AGS: PHUM, PREF, EAID, SR, BK
SUBJECT: HUMANITARIAN ACCESS FROM BELGRADE
TO BOSNIA REMAINS BLOCKED

REF: BELGRADE 3469 AND PREVIOUS (NOTAL)

1. UNHCR CONVOYS FROM BELGRADE BOUND FOR THE EASTERN ENCLAVES REMAIN BLOCKED. TWO CONVOYS SCHEDULED FOR GORAZDE JULY 18 AND 20 HAVE BOTH RETURNED TO BELGRADE, UNABLE TO OBTAIN NECESSARY CLEARANCES FROM BOSNIAN SERB AUTHORITIES IN PALE. UNHCR ALSO CANCELLED A JULY 20 CONVOY SCHEDULED FOR ZEPA IN VIEW OF THE QUESTIONABLE SECURITY SITUATION THERE.

2. UNHCR/BELGRADE DESPATCHED ANOTHER GORAZDE CONVOY TO THE KOTORMAN BORDER CROSSING THE MORNING OF JULY 20, SEEKING CLEARANCE FOR JULY 21. AN ACCOMPANYING CONVOY DESTINED FOR THE NEAR-BY BOSNIAN SERB HELD TOWN OF KOPACE DEPARTED BELGRADE AT THE SAME TIME. NO HUMANITARIAN CONVOYS HAVE ENTERED GORAZDE SINCE JULY 6. BEFORE THAT, THE ONLY OTHER SUCCESSFUL CONVOY WAS ON MAY
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PAGE 03 BELGRA 03532 201131Z
20.

3. BOTH UNHCR AND ICRC EFFORTS TO ACCESS BRATUNAC DETAINEES AND OTHER EVACUEES FROM SREBRENICA CONTINUE TO BE REBUFFED BY BOSNIAN SERB AUTHORITIES. ICRC NEGOTIATORS IN PALE MET WITH BOSNIAN SERB REPRESENTATIVES LATE INTO THE EVENING OF JULY 19, BUT WITHOUT FAVORABLE RESULTS. ICRC OFFICIALS IN BELGRADE SAY THE BRATUNAC DETAINEES REMAIN THEIR TOP PRIORITY CONCERN.

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4. ACCORDING TO ICRC'S INFORMATION OFFICER IN BELGRADE, ICRC PRESIDENT CORNELIO SOMMARUGA HAS SENT LETTERS TO BOTH SERBIAN PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC AND BOSNIAN SERB PRESIDENT KARADZIC REQUESTING HUMANITARIAN ACCESS TO THE DETAINEES. SOMMARUGA, WHO MET WITH MILOSEVIC IN BELGRADE ON JUNE 21, RECEIVED PUBLIC SUPPORT AT THAT TIME FROM THE SERBIAN PRESIDENT FOR WHAT MILOSEVIC CHARACTERIZED AS ICRC'S "IMPARTIAL AND NEUTRAL MANDATE" TO VISIT DETAINEES AND POWS. SOMMARUGA IS PLANNING A PERSONAL VISIT TO PALE NEXT WEEK TO MAKE THE CASE FOR ACCESS TO THE BRATUNAC DETAINEES.

5. SARAJEVO -- MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. PERINA

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PAGE 01 BONN 14158 141643Z
ACTION EUR-01

NFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00
	SRPP-00	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01	PA-02	PM-00
	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00
	USIE-00	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/018W		

-----D99EB5 141643Z /38

R 141644Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY BONN
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1530
 INFO EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 FRG COLLECTIVE

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UNCLAS BONN 14158

USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, BN, SR, HR, GM

SUBJECT: BOSNIA - GERMAN BUNDESTAG CONDEMNS OCCUPATION OF
SREBRENICA

1. THE GERMAN BUNDESTAG ON JULY 13 "SHARPLY CONDEMNED" THE
 BOSNIAN SERB OCCUPATION OF SREBRENICA. AT A SPECIAL SESSION TO
 ADDRESS THE 1996 TAX PACKAGE, BUNDESTAG PRESIDENT RITA
 UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 BONN 14158 141643Z
 SUESSMUTH READ OUT A STATEMENT THAT WAS OVERWHELMINGLY ADOPTED

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 DATE/CASE ID: 10 MAR 2009 200705105

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ACROSS PARTY LINES. SUESSMUTH SAID THAT THE ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF SREBRENICA REPRESENTED A FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. REFERRING TO "TARGETTED GENOCIDE," THE RESOLUTION SAID THE BOSNIAN SERBS PLAN "NO LESS THAN THE EXPULSION AND DESTRUCTION OF THE BOSNIAN MUSLIM CULTURE IN THE BALKANS." THE STATEMENT CALLED FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF BOSNIAN SERBS FROM SREBRENICA AND FOR THE UN PROTECTION ZONES TO BE RESPECTED. IT APPEALED TO THE SERBIAN GOVERNMENT IN BELGRAD TO EXERCISE ITS INFLUENCE ON THE BOSNIAN SERBS TOWARD THIS PURPOSE. IT CALLED FOR UNPROFOR TO CONTINUE ITS MISSION IN BOSNIA.

2. THE GERMAN MEDIA ALSO CARRIED A STATEMENT BY EU ADMINISTRATOR IN MOSTAR, HANS KOSCHNICK, IN REACTION TO THE LATEST UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION ON THE OCCUPATION OF SREBRENICA. KOSCHNICK, A FORMER MAYOR THE CITY-STATE OF BREMEN AND A MEMBER OF THE OPPOSITION SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, SAID "THE UN AND NATO MUST FINALLY SAY WHAT THEY REALLY WANT AND STATE THEIR POSITION. WE ARE DECEIVING OURSELVES WITH ONE RESOLUTION AFTER ANOTHER, AND THAT MAKES ME SICK. THIS LATEST RESOLUTION IS AGAIN JUST WORDS THAT NO ONE TAKES SERIOUSLY. ENCLAVES THAT ARE LOCATED SO FAR INTO SERBIAN TERRITORY CANNOT BE DEFENDED WITHOUT ENGAGING IN COMBAT. AND IF YOU DO NOT WANT TO DO THAT, THEN YOU HAVE TO PULL BACK FROM THE ENCLAVES. EUROPE SHOULD PROMISE LESS AND DO MORE."
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PAGE 01 BONN 14490 191711Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AGRE-00	AID-00	CEA-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	COME-00
	CTME-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	ITCE-00	SRPP-00	EB-01
	EXME-00	OIGO-01	E-00	FBIE-00	FRB-01	H-01	TEDE-00
	INR-00	IO-08	ITC-01	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	M-00
	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	OPIC-01	PA-02	PM-00
	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	PRM-10	PRME-01	DRL-09
	G-00	/046W					

-----DB0317 191711Z /38

P 191712Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY BONN
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1654
 INFO EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 FRG COLLECTIVE
 AMCONSUL LEIPZIG

UNCLAS BONN 14490

E.O. 12356: N/A
 TAGS: PREL, PHUM, SREF, ECON, BN, SR, HR, GM
 SUBJECT: BOSNIA - GERMANY ANNOUNCES POST-SREBRENICA
 HUMANITARIAN AID

1. FOLLOWING THE BOSNIAN SERB OFFENSIVE AGAINST SREBRENICA,
UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 BONN 14490 191711Z
 GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTER KINKEL ANNOUNCED A SERIES OF EMERGENCY

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 DATE/CASE ID: 10 MAR 2009 200705105.

UNCLASSIFIED

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MEASURES TO PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE FOR REFUGEES IN TUZLA AND CENTRAL BOSNIA. THESE MEASURES INCLUDE:

-- TRANSFER OF 218 TONS OF EMERGENCY RELIEF SUPPLIES TO TUZLA.

-- AN ADDITIONAL DM 480,000 TO SUPPORT REFUGEES IN CAMPS THROUGH THE "BOSNIA COMMITTEE OF BREMEN."

-- RELIEF SUPPLIES TO THE ZAGREB "GERMAN HUMANITARIAN AID COMMUNICATION OFFICE" TO ASSIST REFUGEES IN THE SAFE AREAS.

-- SUPPORT TO SMALLER GERMAN NGO'S FOR THE FINANCING OF RELIEF SUPPLY DELIVERIES AND MEDICINE, IN COORDINATION WITH UNHCR AND WHO.

-- PROVISION OF UNHCR WITH FOOD AND BABY SUPPLIES.

-- IN COOPERATION WITH THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE, PROVISION OF SLEEPING BAGS AND WATER CONTAINERS TO UNHCR.

2. PRIOR TO SREBRENICA, THE GERMANS AGREED TO DEPLOY A MOBILE HOSPITAL (MASH) TO SPLIT. THE 30-BED UNIT WITH EXPANDABLE SHELTERS (SURGICAL, LAB, X-RAY, PHARMACY) WILL ARRIVE IN CROATIA ON AUGUST 1 AND WILL BE STAFFED BY A MEDICAL CONTINGENT AND SUPPORT STRUCTURE OF APPROXIMATELY 600-700 PERSONNEL. GERMANY HAS ALSO PROVIDED 20 TRUCKS, AVAILABLE TO TRANSPORT RELIEF SUPPLIES.
BINDENAGEL

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BONN 14490 191711Z

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ACTION PRM-10

INFO LOG-00 AID-00 AMAD-01 CA-02 OASY-00 SRPP-00 EUR-01
OIGO-01 TEDE-00 INSE-00 IO-08 ADS-00 OIC-02 FMP-00
/025W

-----DBC912 211415Z /38

R 211451Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6511
INFO AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY BONN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

RELEASED IN PART
B6

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 ZAGREB 002744

ROME FOR INS DD

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PEF, BK
SUBJECT: REFUGEE RETURNS FROM CROATIA, GERMANY, AND
SWEDEN

SUMMARY

- 1. CROATIAN GOVERNMENT REVOKES REFUGEE STATUS OF REFUGEES
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PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02744 01 OF 03 211415Z
FROM THE FEDERATED AREA OF BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA. GERMAN

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 18 MAR 2009 200705105

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GOVERNMENT RENEWS ATTEMPTS TO RETURN CROATIAN REFUGEES TO AREAS THAT ARE STILL OCCUPIED BY REBEL SERBS. SWEDISH GOVERNMENT CONTINUES ATTEMPTS TO RETURN TO FEDERATION TERRITORY BOSNIAN REFUGEES WHO TRAVELED TO SWEDEN ON CROATIAN PASSPORTS. ODPD FEELS THE PINCH OF REDUCED UNHCR CONTRIBUTIONS. END SUMMARY.

CROATIAN GOVERNMENT REVOCATION OF REFUGEE STATUS

2. ON JULY 3, THE CROATIAN OFFICE OF DISPLACED PERSONS AND REFUGEES (ODPR) ISSUED A DIRECTIVE TO ITS REGIONAL OFFICES THAT THE STATUS OF REFUGEES FROM PERSONS FROM THE FEDERATED AREA OF B-H WAS BEING REVOKED. EXCEPTIONS INCLUDED PEOPLE FROM SARAJEVO, THE BIHAC POCKET, AND THE BOSANSKA POSAVINA AREA AS WELL AS ANYONE WHO COULD PRESENT A CERTIFICATE FROM THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES THAT RETURN TO THEIR FORMER DOMICILE IS IMPOSSIBLE BECAUSE THEIR HOUSE WAS DESTROYED OR SOMEONE ELSE HAD MOVED IN. THIS NOTICE WAS NOT SHARED WITH UNHCR, NOR WAS A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT MADE.

B6

3. ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] AT ODPD, THIS POLICY WAS ESTABLISHED AT THE REQUEST OF THE B-H GOVERNMENT. WHEN ASKED HOW THE GOC COULD ENFORCE SUCH A POLICY, ESPECIALLY NOW THAT LARGE NUMBERS OF DISPLACED FROM SREBRENICA AND ZEPA WERE REPORTEDLY TO BE ACCOMMODATED IN VARIOUS LOCATIONS IN THE FEDERATION, [REDACTED] QUICKLY EXPLAINED THAT THE POLICY WAS NOT DESIGNED TO APPLY TO VERY MANY

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PEOPLE. SHE NOTED THE GEOGRAPHIC EXCEPTIONS, AND SAID THAT REFUGEES WHO COULD PRESENT ATTESTATION FROM MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES THAT THEIR DOMICILES HAD BEEN DESTROYED OR ARE OCCUPIED BY OTHERS WOULD ALSO NOT BE RETURNED. SHE SAID THAT ALTHOUGH THE NOTICE WAS POORLY WORDED, THE ODPD REGIONAL OFFICES ARE AWARE OF THE ACTUAL INTENT AND WILL NOT BE FORCING PEOPLE TO RETURN.

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4. [REDACTED] SAID THAT IT WAS AIMED PRIMARILY AT REFUGEES WHO ARE ACCOMMODATED ON THE DALMATIAN COAST, MANY

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OF WHOM ARE ACTUALLY LIVING IN THEIR HOMES IN BOSNIA DURING THE WEEK AND ARE RETURNING TO THEIR REFUGEE ACCOMMODATIONS ON THE WEEKEND. SHE ASSURED REF COORD AND VISITING PRM PROGRAM OFFICER THAT THE REVOCATION IS ONLY TO BE APPLIED IN THE CASE OF 1,000-1,500 INDIVIDUALS FROM KUPRES.

5. IN FACT, ALTHOUGH IT WAS NOT LABELED AS A CORRECTION, ODPD ISSUED ANOTHER DIRECTIVE ON JULY 5 -- AGAIN TO THE ODPD REGIONAL OFFICES -- THAT REFUGEE STATUS FOR PERSONS FROM KUPRES WAS BEING SELECTIVELY REVOKED EFFECTIVE 8/1/95. THE NOTICE SAID THAT RETURN TO KUPRES IS POSSIBLE, BUT ADDED THAT IF A PERSON COULD JUSTIFY IT, AN EXTENSION WOULD BE GRANTED UNTIL 9/1/95. THIS SECOND DIRECTIVE WAS ALSO NOT SHARED WITH HCR AND WAS NOT PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED.

6. UNHCR LEARNED OF THE DIRECTIVE WHEN ONE OF THE REGIONAL ODPD OFFICES SHARED THE TEXT WITH AN HCR PROGRAM OFFICER ON JULY 14.

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[REDACTED] RAISED OBJECTIONS WITH THE POLICY DURING A JULY 19 [REDACTED] UNCLASSIFIED

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MEETING WITH [REDACTED] TELLS US THAT CROATIA MADE A SIMILAR MOVE AT SOME POINT DURING 1994, BUT REVERSED ITS DECISION FOLLOWING A UNHCR PROTEST. ON THIS OCCASION, [REDACTED] MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

A. MUCH OF THE FEDERATION TERRITORY IS CERTAINLY NOT SAFE FOR RETURN. KUPRES ITSELF, IN FACT, IS RIGHT ON THE FRONT LINE AND WOULD HAVE BEEN ONE OF HCR'S LAST CHOICES IN IDENTIFYING AREAS FOR REPATRIATION.

B. IN ORDER FOR A REFUGEE TO OBTAIN ATTESTATION FROM MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES THAT HIS DOMICILE HAS BEEN DESTROYED OR IS OCCUPIED BY OTHERS, HE MUST RETURN TO B-H. TECHNICALLY, ONCE A REFUGEE RETURNS, HE IS NO LONGER A REFUGEE, AND IT IS UNLIKELY THE B-H GOVERNMENT WOULD ALLOW SUCH PEOPLE TO LEAVE AGAIN.

C. BY TAKING SUCH ACTION, CROATIA WOULD SEND THE WRONG

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SIGNALS TO GERMANY, SWEDEN, AND OTHER NATIONS THAT HAVE
ATTEMPTED TO FORCIBLY RETURN PEOPLE TO CROATIA FROM THE

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ACTION PRM-10

INFO LOG-00 AID-00 AMAD-01 CA-02 OASY-00 SRPP-00 EUR-01
OIGO-01 TEDE-00 INSE-00 IO-08 ADS-00 OIC-02 FMP-00
/025W -----DBC925 211416Z /38

R 211451Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6512
INFO AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY BONN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 03 ZAGREB 002744

ROME FOR INS DD

UNCLASSIFIED

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I.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, BK
SUBJECT: REFUGEE RETURNS FROM CROATIA, GERMANY, AND
SWEDEN

OCCUPIED TERRITORIES OR TO CROATIA/BOSNIA WHO HAD TRAVELED
ON CROATIAN PASSPORTS. CROATIA, IN PROTESTING SUCH
FORCIBLE RETURNS, WOULD NOT ENJOY MUCH CREDIBILITY IF IT
WERE CONDUCTING ITS OWN PROGRAM OF FORCIBLE RETURN.

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PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02744 02 OF 03 211415Z
D. TAKING SUCH ACTION COULD JEOPARDIZE THE AVAILABILITY
OF FUNDING (FROM UNHCR AND DONOR GOVERNMENTS) FOR
REHABILITATION OF DESTROYED OR DAMAGED AREAS IN CROATIA.

E. THERE WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE ADVERSE POLITICAL
IMPLICATIONS.

7. [] ASSURED [] THAT THE POLICY WOULD BE
SELECTIVELY APPLIED, THAT IT WOULD ONLY AFFECT 3,000-4,000
PEOPLE AT THE MOST, AND THAT UNHCR SHOULD NOT BE GREATLY
CONCERNED ABOUT THE IMPACT.

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GERMAN GOVERNMENT RETURN OF CROATIAN REFUGEES

8. THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT HAS AGAIN ANNOUNCED ITS
INTENTION TO RETURN ALL CROATIAN REFUGEES NOW IN GERMANY
-- EVEN THOSE FROM TERRITORIES OCCUPIED BY REBEL SERBS --
TO CROATIA. THIS EXPULSION WAS TO HAVE BEGUN ON JULY 15,
BUT HAS BEEN PUT ON HOLD PENDING THE OUTCOME OF A UNHCR-
LODGED OBJECTION.

9. LARGE PORTIONS OF THE COUNTRY (SECTORS NORTH, EAST,
AND SOUTH) CONTINUE TO BE OCCUPIED BY REBEL SERB FORCES,
AND EVEN THE RECENTLY LIBERATED SECTOR WEST REQUIRES
MASSIVE RECONSTRUCTION BEFORE MEANINGFUL NUMBERS OF PEOPLE
CAN RETURN. ADDITIONALLY, BECAUSE OF THE LARGE NUMBER OF
BOSNIAN REFUGEES IN CROATIA, THE RETURN OF 40,000-50,000
OF ITS OWN CITIZENS FROM GERMANY WOULD DEAL A CRUSHING
BLOW TO THE ECONOMIC WELL-BEING OF THE COUNTRY.

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PAGE 03 ZAGREB 02744 02 OF 03 211415Z
 10. ODPK CHIEF PROFESSOR DR. ADALBERT REBIC WILL TRAVEL TO GERMANY NEXT WEEK FOR MEETINGS ON THIS ISSUE. MEANWHILE, BELIEVES THAT THE PROTEST DELIVERED BY UNHCR COM IN BONN, JUDITH KUMIN, WILL SUCCEED IN PERSUADING THE GERMANS TO POSTPONE THE RETURN TO THE END OF THIS YEAR.

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 SWEDISH EXPULSION OF BOSNIANS WITH CROATIAN PASSPORTS

11. THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT IS ONCE AGAIN ATTEMPTING TO PUSH BACK TO CROATIA ALL BOSNIANS WHO TRAVELED TO SWEDEN ON CROATIAN PASSPORTS. PREMIER KOSTOVIC AND MINISTER REBIC HAVE TRIED ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS TO HEAD OFF THE RETURN OF THESE PEOPLE (ESTIMATED TO BE AROUND 6,000) BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT CROATIAN CITIZENS.

12. CROATIAN LAW ALLOWS ANY ETHNIC CROAT TO OBTAIN A CROATIAN PASSPORT FOR USE AS A TRAVEL DOCUMENT. THAT SAME INDIVIDUAL IS NOT, HOWEVER, CONSIDERED A FULL-FLEDGED CROATIAN CITIZEN. ONLY THOSE WITH RESIDENCE PERMITS ARE COUNTED AS ACTUAL CROATIAN CITIZENS. PEOPLE WHO OWN PROPERTY IN CROATIA OR WHO ARE GAINFULLY EMPLOYED MAY OBTAIN A RESIDENCE PERMIT AND MAY ALSO VOTE. GENERALLY, IN ORDER TO FIND EMPLOYMENT, A PERSON NEEDS A RESIDENCE PERMIT, SO THIS IS A REAL CATCH-22 FOR ETHNIC CROATS WHO ENTER THE COUNTRY WITHOUT THE MEANS TO PURCHASE REAL PROPERTY.

 ECONOMIC BURDEN OF REFUGEES ON CROATIA
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13. [REDACTED] COMPLAINED TO REF COORD AND PRM/ENSA OFFICER THAT CROATIA IS SHOULDERING A CONTINUALLY RISING PERCENTAGE OF THE COSTS INVOLVED IN ACCOMMODATING THE BOSNIAN REFUGEES AND CROATIAN DISPLACED. THIS YEAR'S HCR BUDGET REDUCTIONS, BASED ON A PROJECTION OF ITS FUND RAISING PROBABILITIES RATHER THAN ON AN ESTIMATE OF NEEDS, HAS CAUSED TERMINATION OF A NUMBER OF NGO PROGRAMS AS WELL AS HALF OF THE CASH PAYMENTS PROVIDED TO REFUGEES IN PRIVATE ACCOMMODATIONS.

14. SHE OUTLINED ODPR'S MOST IMMEDIATE NEEDS AS BEING:

-- SIX MONTHLY CASH PAYMENTS FOR REFUGEES (TOTALING USD 15 MILLION);

-- REHABILITATION OF HOUSES IN ZADAR, SIBENIK, DUBROVNIK, AND WESTERN SLAVONIA;

-- RENOVATION OF THE EXISTING ELDERLY CARE FACILITY IN

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PAGE 01
ACTION PRM-10

ZAGREB 02744 03 OF 03 211416Z

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CA-02	OASY-00	SRPP-00	EUR-01
	OIGO-01	TEDE-00	INSE-00	IO-08	ADS-00	OIC-02	FMP-00
	/025W						

-----DBC927 211416Z /38

R 211451Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6513
 INFO AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY ROME
 AMEMBASSY BONN
 USMISSION GENEVA
 AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 03 ZAGREB 002744

ROME FOR INS DD

E.O. 12356: N/A
 TAGS: PEF, BK
 SUBJECT: REFUGEE RETURNS FROM CROATIA, GERMANY, AND SWEDEN

GASINCI CAMP AND EXPANSION INTO ADJACENT BUILDING TO INCREASE THE NUMBER OF GERIATRIC CASES THAT CAN BE ACCOMMODATED; AND

-- SCHOOL BOOKS AND MATERIALS FOR 50,000 REFUGEE AND UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02
 DISPLACED CHILDREN.

ZAGREB 02744 03 OF 03 211416Z

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ACTION IO-06

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AF-01	ARA-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00
	OASY-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	EAP-01	EUR-01	FBIE-00	H-01
	IMMC-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00
	M-00	NEA-01	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OIG-04	PA-01
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	SA-01	SSD-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00

/053W

-----DDC451 272345Z /38

O 272317Z JUL 95
 FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6518
 INFO AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
 SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB IMMEDIATE
 WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY
 USNMR SHAPE BE PRIORITY
 HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//POLAD//
 AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
 AMEMBASSY ANKARA
 AMEMBASSY VIENNA
 AMEMBASSY MADRID
 USMISSION USVIENNA

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PAGE 02 USUN N 02944 01 OF 02 272344Z
 AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
 AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 DATE/CASE ID: 18 MAR 2009 200705105

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AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 002944

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/26/05

TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR,

SUBJECT: BOSNIA: JULY 27 SECRETARIAT BRIEFING TO THE

-- SECURITY COUNCIL, DISCUSSION OF THE SYG'S

-- STATEMENT ON DELEGATION OF AUTHORITY REGARDING

-- AIR STRIKES

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

2. UNDERSECRETARY

RY GENERAL GHAREKHAN MADE THE FOLLOWING

KEY POINTS DURING HIS JULY 27 BRIEFING TO THE SECURITY
COUNCIL:

-- THE EVACUATION OF 190 SICK AND WOUNDED CIVILIANS AND
MILITARY PERSONNEL FROM ZEPA WAS COMPLETE. THE
EVACUATION OF WOMEN, ELDERLY MEN, AND CHILDREN WAS
ALMOST COMPLETE. THE EVACUATION HAD BEEN BY BOSNIAN
SERB BUSES. UNPROFOR HAD BEEN ABLE TO ACCOMPANY EACH
CONVOY AND REGISTER PERSONS BEING EVACUATED.

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-- FROM THE BOSNIAN SIDE, ONLY GOVERNMENT SOLDIERS WILL
REMAIN IN THE ZEPA SAFE AREA. (A CONTACT WITH DPKO
TOLD US THAT UNPROFOR CAN ONLY CONFIRM THAT ALL
CIVILIANS ARE IN THE PROCESS OF BEING EVACUATED FROM
THE VILLAGE OF ZEPA. ACCORDING TO THIS CONTACT,
UNPROFOR DOES NOT HAVE ACCESS TO OTHER PARTS OF THE
SAFE AREA, AND THEREFORE WHAT IS HAPPENING OUTSIDE OF
THE VILLAGE OF ZEPA.) THE BSA WAS TRYING TO MOP UP THE
LAST POCKETS OF RESISTANCE.

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-- THE BSA HAS PROPOSED THAT ALL BOSNIAN PRISONERS BE EXCHANGED FOR ALL BOSNIAN SERB PRISONERS. THEY WILL NOT AGREE TO PARTIAL EXCHANGES. NEGOTIATIONS ON AN EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS WERE CONTINUING AT SARAJEVO AIRPORT. THE BSA HAS AGREED THAT THE ICRC WILL BE GIVEN ACCESS TO ANY BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT SOLDIERS WHO SURRENDER AT ZEPA. THE BSA HAD NOT YET GIVEN THE ICRC ACCESS TO THE MILITARY AGE MEN AND BOYS DETAINED IN SREBRENICA.

-- THERE WAS ACTIVE FIGHTING NORTHEAST OF SARAJEVO, MUCH OF IT INITIATED BY BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT FORCES. ONE UNPROFOR AND TWO HUMANITARIAN CONVOYS REACHED SARAJEVO THROUGH THE BOSNIAN SERB CONTROLLED ROUTE. THE BOSNIAN SERBS WERE INSISTING THAT THEY BE GIVEN HALF OF THE HUMANITARIAN RELIEF ALLOWED THROUGH, WHEREAS UNHCR HAS DETERMINED THAT THEY WERE ONLY ENTITLED TO 35 PERCENT.

-- THERE WAS A HIGH LEVEL OF FIGHTING IN THE NORTHWEST AND WESTERN PARTS OF THE BIHAC POCKET.

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3. WHEN GHAREKHAN FINISHED, COUNCIL PRESIDENT MARTINEZ BLANCO (HONDURAS) NOTED THAT HE HAD CIRCULATED TO COUNCIL MEMBERS COPIES OF THE SYG'S LETTER CONTAINING HIS REACTION TO THE JULY 25 NAC DECISION. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] SAID THAT HIS DELEGATION WAS CONCERNED ABOUT THE SYG'S DECISION TO DELEGATE HIS AUTHORITY REGARDING THE USE OF AIR POWER TO UNPROFOR'S MILITARY COMMANDERS. [REDACTED] SAID THAT USE OF NATO AIR POWER HAD ONLY INCREASED TENSION IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA, IT HAD NEITHER INCREASED THE SECURITY OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION NOR INCREASED THE SAFETY OF UNPROFOR.

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[REDACTED] SAID THAT ANY USE OF AIR POWER MUST COMPLY WITH RESOLUTION 836 INCLUDING THE REQUIREMENT THAT IT BE UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. DELEGATING DECISIONS OVER THE USE OF FORCE TO MILITARY AUTHORITIES WAS DANGEROUS, AS SUCH DECISIONS WERE ESSENTIALLY POLITICAL.

4. [REDACTED] ASKED GHAREKHAN THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS

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-- COULD JANVIER NOW REQUEST NATO AIR POWER WITHOUT
INFORMING THE SYG OR AKASHI?

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ACTION IO-06

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AF-01	ARA-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00
	OASY-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	EAP-01	EUR-01	FBIE-00	H-01
	IMMC-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00
	M-00	NEA-01	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OIG-04	PA-01
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	SA-01	SSD-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00

/053W

-----DDC457 272345Z /38

O 272317Z JUL 95
 FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6519
 INFO AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
 SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB IMMEDIATE

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WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY
USNMR SHAPE BE PRIORITY
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//POLAD//
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY MADRID
USMISSION USVIENNA

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

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AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 002944

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/26/05

TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR,

SUBJECT: BOSNIA: JULY 27 SECRETARIAT BRIEFING TO THE
-- SECURITY COUNCIL, DISCUSSION OF THE SYG'S
-- STATEMENT ON DELEGATION OF AUTHORITY REGARDING
-- AIR STRIKES

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

-- WHO HAS THE AUTHORITY TO DECIDE TO END THE USE OF
AIR POWER?

-- HOW DID THE SECRETARIAT ENVISION REACTING TO BOSNIAN
GOVERNMENT PROVOCATIONS FROM THE SAFE AREAS?

5. GHAREKHAN RESPONDED THAT THE SYG'S LETTER WAS VERY
CLEAR AND VERY SPECIFIC. THE SYG HAD SENT
UNDERSECRETARY GENERAL ANNAN AND GENERAL JANVIER TO
BRUSSELS IN ORDER TO CONSULT WITH NATO, AND WORK OUT

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REMAINING DETAILS. ANY USE OF AIR POWER WILL BE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONSISTENT WITH RESOLUTION 836 AND WILL RESPOND TO
ACTIONS BY EITHER OF THE PARTIES. AMBASSADOR
INDERFURTH SAID THAT THE U.S. BELIEVED THAT THE CONTENT
OF THE SYG'S LETTER WAS FULLY CONSISTENT WITH
RESOLUTION 836.

6. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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ACTION PRM-10

INFO LOG-00 AID-00 AMAD-01 CA-02 OASY-00 SRPP-00 EUR-01
OIGO-01 FBIE-00 TEDE-00 INR-00 IO-06 ADS-00 OIC-02
PM-00 SSO-00 SS-00 TRSE-00 FMP-00 PMB-00 DRL-09
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O 251421Z JUL 95
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4904
INFO NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK IMMEDIATE
JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB IMMEDIATE
EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD, IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 005776

NSC FOR ERIC SCHWARTZ
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN FOR ECJ2, ECJ3, ECJ4, ECJ5/POLAD
E.O. 12356: 07/21/96
TAGS: PREF, EAID, MOPS, UN, BK, HR
SUBJECT: BOSNIA UPDATE, 21 JULY
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PAGE 02 GENEVA 05776 01 OF 02 251437Z

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 26 MAY 2009 200705105

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1. SUMMARY: UNHCR HOSTED A MEETING OF GENEVA BASED HUMANITARIAN AGENCIES TO UPDATE DONOR COUNTRIES OF EVENTS IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. ALSO BRIEFING WERE ICRC, WFP, AND UNICEF. UNHCR STATED THAT THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT FORCED UNHCR TO USE THE TUZLA AIRBASE TO SHOW THAT THE UN HAD FAILED IN PROTECTING SCREBRENICA. THE POPULATION IN TUZLA IS TRAUMATIZED; ICRC AND OTHER NGOS ARE PROVIDING SOCIAL COUNSELING TO WOMEN AND CHILDREN. ICRC IS PERFORMING EXTENSIVE INTERVIEWS IN TUZLA TO DETERMINE THE NUMBER OF DETAINEES IN SREBRENICA. THE NUMBER NOW STANDS AT 2,500, BUT ICRC BELIEVES IT WILL GO MUCH HIGHER. IN ZEPA, UNHCR EXPECTS ABOUT 10,000 EVACUEES VERSUS A GOVERNMENT ESTIMATE OF 17,000. THEY STRONGLY WARN AGAINST TAKING THESE ESTIMATES TOO SERIOUSLY. UNHCR AND ICRC ARE RESISTING PRESSURE TO REGISTER PEOPLE IN GORAZDE. CONVOYS DRIVEN BY UNPROFOR RE TRYING TO REACH SARAJEVO THROUGH THE SPARROW ROAD CHECKPOINT. BIHAC POCKET HAS ONLY RECEIVED 10 PERCENT OF ITS FOOD REQUIREMENT. UNPROFOR PULL-OUT WILL MAKE THE HUMANITARIAN RELIEF EFFORT DIFFICULT. THE GOVERNMENT OF ITALY OFFERS AIRLIFT FROM PIZA TO SPLIT FOR 3 MONTHS. END SUMMARY.

 UNHCR'S THOUGHTS ON SREBRENICA AFTERMATH

2. [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] GAVE HIS OPINION OF THE FALL OF SCREBRENICA. ON 11 JULY AS THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT WAS UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 03 GENEVA 05776 01 OF 02 251437Z
 TELLING THE HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS THAT THEY WANTED THE PEOPLE TO STAY IN SREBRENICA, PEOPLE WERE ALREADY ON BUSES HEADING TOWARDS TUZLA. IT BECAME APPARENT THAT THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT BLAMED THE UN FOR THE FALL OF SCREBRENICA AND THE RESULTANT HUMANITARIAN AFTERMATH. GOBH OFFICIALS SAID THAT THE PEOPLE OF SREBRENICA WERE UN REFUGEES AND THAT THE UN SHOULD FIND WESTERN COUNTRIES FOR THEM TO SETTLE IN. [REDACTED] SAID THAT THE GOBH WANTED TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THIS WAS AN UN CREATED MESS. INSTEAD OF ALLOWING THE DISPLACED PEOPLE

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TO MOVE INTO PRE-DETERMINED COLLECTIVE CENTERS, THE GOVERNMENT INSISTED THAT THEY STAY ON TUZLA AIRBASE.

[REDACTED] PRESSED THE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS NOT TO "ABDICATE THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THEIR OWN PEOPLE", BUT THEY WOULD NOT ALLOW MOVEMENT OFF OF THE AIRBASE. THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT WANTED MRS. OGATA TO COME TO TUZLA, BUT [REDACTED] SUSPENDED HER VISIT UNTIL THE GOBH ALLOWED THE PEOPLE TO BE PLACED IN THE PREPARED CENTERS. IT WAS AT THIS POINT THAT THE GOVERNMENT ALLOWED THE USE OF THE CENTERS.

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3. [REDACTED] NOTED THAT THERE ARE STILL 6,000 PEOPLE ON THE AIRBASE. ON JULY 20 THE GOVERNMENT TRIED TO MOVE SOME OF THEM OFF THE AIRBASE TO UNSPECIFIED CENTERS. MANY REFUSED TO MOVE. SINCE THEN, THE GOVERNMENT HAS DONE A BETTER JOB OF COMMUNICATING, SHOWING SOME OF THE PEOPLE WHERE THEY WILL BE TAKEN. CONSEQUENTLY, UNHCR IS ANTICIPATING MORE SUCCESS JULY 26 WHEN THEY HOPE TO MOVE THE REMAINING 6,000 PEOPLE OFF THE AIRFIELD.

4. WITH HELP FROM ICRC AND OTHER NGOS, UNHCR IS DOING UNCLASSIFIED

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SOME LIMITED SOCIAL COUNSELING FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN.
[REDACTED] SAID THIS WAS THE MOST BROKEN GROUP OF DISPLACED PEOPLE THAT HE HAS SEEN DURING THIS CONFLICT.

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5. [REDACTED] INDICATED THAT ICRC IS PERFORMING SYSTEMATIC INTERVIEWS TO DETERMINE WHAT REALLY HAPPENED. ICRC ADDED THAT WHILE FIGURES ARE PRELIMINARY, THEY KNOW THAT AT LEAST 2,500 MEN HAVE BEEN DETAINED. THEY BELIEVE THE FINAL NUMBER WILL GO MUCH HIGHER.

STATUS OF ZEPA

6. AT THE TIME OF THE BRIEFING, ZEPA WAS STILL RESISTING THE BOSNIAN SERBS. [REDACTED] INDICATED THAT MLADIC IS USING PSCHOLOGICAL WARFARE OF FEAR AND LOUDSPEAKERS TO GET THE POPULATION TO SURRENDER.

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BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE REQUESTED UNHCR'S ASSISTANCE IN MOVING THE CIVILIAN POPULATION. HOWEVER, UNHCR HAS

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ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CA-02	OASY-00	SRPP-00	EUR-01
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	PM-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	FMP-00	PMB-00	DRL-09
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FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4905
INFO NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB IMMEDIATE
EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE

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HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD, IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 GENEVA 005776

NSC FOR ERIC SCHWARTZ
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN FOR ECJ2, ECJ3, ECJ4, ECJ5/POLAD
E.O. 12356: 07/21/96
TAGS: PREF, EAID, MOPS, UN, BK, HR
SUBJECT: BOSNIA UPDATE, 21 JULY
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REFUSED BECAUSE THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT HAS NOT REQUESTED HELP AND UNHCR NEEDS THE CONSENT OF BOTH PARTIES. (NOTE: SINCE THE UNHCR BRIEFING, THERE HAVE BEEN SEVERAL PRESS REPORTS THAT SOME OR ALL OF THE ZEPA ENCLAVE HAS SURRENDERED TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS).

7. [REDACTED] SAID THAT UNHCR BELIEVES THAT THEIR ARE APPROXIMATELY 10,000 PEOPLE IN ZEPA, DESPITE GOBH ESTIMATES OF 17,000. BOTH UNHCR AND ICRC CAUTIONED AGAINST PLAYING THE NUMBERS GAME AS THE NUMBERS ARE OFTEN INACCURATE IN THESE KINDS OF SITUATIONS.

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GORAZDE

8. [REDACTED] STATED THAT THE SITUATION IS VERY TENSE IN GORAZDE. THE SHELLING CONTINUES. IN ADDITION, THE UKRAINIAN PEACEKEEPERS HAVE HAD THEIR WEAPONS AND AMMO CONFISCATED BY BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT FORCES AND CANNOT DEFEND THEMSELVES. THE CONVOY THAT GOT THROUGH ON 6 JULY WAS THE FIRST SINCE 20 MAY. THE PEOPLE ARE NOW EATING THE CROPS AND SEEDS FROM THE SEED PROGRAM. THIS FOOD WAS SUPPOSED TO BE FOR THE WINTER.

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9. UNHCR ESTIMATES ABOUT 56,000 PEOPLE IN GORAZDE. [REDACTED] AGAIN CAUTIONED ON PLAYING THE NUMBERS GAME. HE SAID THAT SEVERAL ORGANIZATIONS HAD REQUESTED THAT UNHCR AND ICRC BEGIN TO REGISTER THE PEOPLE IN GORAZDE.

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STRONGLY STATED, AND ICRC AGREED, THAT THIS IS UNCLASSIFIED

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IMPOSSIBLE FOR BOTH POLITICAL AND PRACTICAL REASONS.

ACCESS TO SARAJEVO IMPROVES

10. [REDACTED] INDICATED THAT ACCESS TO SARAJEVO HAD IMPROVED IN THE LAST SEVERAL DAYS. TWO CONVOYS ARRIVED IN SARAJEVO ON FRIDAY AND THREE MORE CONVOYS GOT THROUGH ON SATURDAY. THREE CONVOYS ARE SCHEDULED FOR JULY 25. ALL OF THE CONVOYS USED THE SIERRA CHECKPOINT. THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE AGREED TO ALLOW ACCESS THROUGH THIS CHECKPOINT. DUE TO THIS DEVELOPMENT UNPROFOR WILL NOT HAVE TO USE THE DIFFICULT AND DANGEROUS MT IGMAN ROAD.

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BIHAC POCKET UNDER ATTACK

11. FOR THE PAST 14 MONTHS ACCESS PROBLEMS HAMPERED RELIEF EFFORTS IN THE BIHAC POCKET AND THE RECENT FIGHTING THAT HAS BROKEN OUT HAS ONLY MADE THE FOOD SITUATION WORSE. UNHCR ESTIMATES THAT ONLY 10 PERCENT OF THE REQUIRED NEEDS OF THE AREA HAS MADE IT THROUGH.

UNPROFOR PULLOUT WILL MAKE HUMANITARIAN EFFORTS DIFFICULT, IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE

12. ICRC MADE THE POINT THAT IF UNPROFOR PULLS OUT,
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PAGE 04 GENEVA 05776 02 OF 02 251437Z
RELIEF WORK WOULD BE DIFFICULT. THEY INDICATED THAT
THEY WOULD STAY, BUT WHETHER THEY COULD WORK WOULD BE
ANOTHER MATTER. THEY WOULD LOSE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT.
IN ADDITION, THEY WOULD HAVE TO NEGOTIATE NEW AGREEMENTS
WITH ALL THE PARTIES.

ITALLION GOVT OFFERS AIRLIFT ASSISTANCE

13. THE REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE ITALIAN MISSION
ANNOUNCED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WAS OFFERING AIRLIFT
SUPPORT. THE GOI WOULD PROVIDE AIRLIFT FROM DHA'S
WHAREHOUSE IN PISA TO SPLIT. THEY WOULD PROVIDE THIS
SUPPORT FOR THREE MONTHS. UNHCR REMINDED THE DONORS
THAT THEY SHOULD REFER TO THEIR 20 JULY LETTER OF ITEMS
MOST NEEDED. SPIEGEL

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PAGE 01 ZAGREB 02767 241735Z
ACTION AID-00

INFO	LOG-00	AGRE-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	SRPP-00
	EUR-01	E-00	FBIE-00	FDRE-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-06
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	P-01	SSO-00	TRSE-00	SNIS-00
	NISC-01	DRL-09	G-00	/022W			

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O 241834Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6545

UNCLAS ZAGREB 002767

STATE PASS TO AID FOR OFDA
OFDA FOR RANDOLPH, BATTAGLIA

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: EAID, HR, BK
SUBJECT: RECOMMENDATION TO APPROVE NO COST
EXTENSION FOR MSF/BELGIUM

1. DART/ZAGREB RECOMMENDS APPROVAL OF MEDECINS
SANS FRONTIERES/BELGIUM'S (MSF/BELGIUM) REQUEST
FOR A FOUR MONTH NO COST EXTENSION TO ITS HEALTH,
REHABILITATION, AND SANITATION PROGRAM IN EASTERN
BOSNIA.

2. MSF/BELGIUM NEEDS TO EXTEND THE ENDING DATE
OF ITS GRANT UNTIL 12/31/95 DUE TO THE DELAYED
DELIVERY OF SUPPLIES ORDERED FROM UNICEF.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 18 MAR 2009 200705105

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3. MSF/B IS ONE OF THE FEW INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS RECOGNIZED AND ACCREDITED BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES TO MANAGE HUMANITARIAN PROGRAMS IN EASTERN BOSNIA AND THE ENCLAVES. MSF/B HAS BEEN ACTIVE SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA, PROVIDING MEDICAL, SANITATION, REHABILITATION AND NUTRITIONAL AID. MSF/B'S PRESENCE IN BOSNIA STARTED IN 1992.

4. MSF/B IS CURRENTLY PROVIDING MEDICAL AND EMERGENCY HUMANITARIAN RELIEF TO THE DPS FROM SREBRENICA, AS WELL AS POPULATIONS ON ALL SIDES OF THE FRONT-LINES IN BOSNIA.

5. DART/ZAGREB RECOGNIZES THE DIFFICULT CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH MSF/B WORKS AND THE CONTRIBUTIONS MSF/B CONTINUES TO MAKE TO AN EXTREMELY VULNERABLE POPULATION. DART/ZAGREB HAS WORKED WITH MSF/B ON THIS NO COST EXTENSION AND CONCURS WITH ITS REQUEST.

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	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01	PA-02
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	PRMC-01	DRL-09	G-00

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O 121444Z JUL 95
 FM USMISSION USVIENNA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9976
 INFO AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
 CIS COLLECTIVE
 EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
 USLO SKOPJE

UNCLAS USVIENNA 001979

DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/RPM (HAINDL)
 FROM USDEL OSCE

E.O. 12356: N/A
 TAGS: PREL, OSCE, BK, SR
 SUBJECT: STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN IN OFFICE OF THE OSCE
 REGARDING THE SITUATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
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PAGE 02 USVIEN 01979 121442Z

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 DATE/CASE ID: 18 MAR 2009 200705105

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1. SUMMARY: THE HUNGARIAN DELEGATION HAS FORWARDED TO USDEL A COPY OF A STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE OSCE CHAIRMAN-IN-OFFICE, HUNGARIAN FOREIGN MINISTER LASZLO KOVACS, ON THE SITUATION IN SREBRENICA. THE CHAIRMAN CALLS FOR THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF UN PERSONNEL DETAINED BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS. HE SUGGESTS THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY LOOK FOR MORE EFFICIENT WAYS TO ENSURE THE CONTINUATION OF ITS CONFLICT MANAGEMENT ACTIVITIES IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA, AND REITERATES OSCE'S READINESS TO SUPPORT ALL EFFORTS AIMED AT BRINGING PEACE AND JUSTICE TO THE REGION. FULL TEXT IS CONTAINED IN PARAGRAPH TWO BELOW. END SUMMARY.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN-IN-OFFICE OF THE OSCE

ANOTHER HUMANITARIAN DISASTER IS UNFOLDING IN THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA. AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE RECENT LARGE-SCALE ATTACK BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS, THE UN-DECLARED SAFE AREA OF SREBRENICA HAS FALLEN. 40,000 CIVILIAN LIVES ARE NOW AT RISK. THE SITUATION IN ZEPA AND GORAZDE, TWO OTHER SAFE AREAS, IS ALSO CRITICAL. THE DUTCH UN PEACEKEEPERS DEPLOYED IN SREBRENICA WERE FORCED TO LEAVE THE TOWN TOGETHER WITH THOUSANDS OF FLEEING CIVILIANS. A MERE EXPRESSION OF OUTRAGE AND CONDEMNATION IS NO LONGER ENOUGH.

THE BOSNIAN SERB TAKEOVER OF SREBRENICA, THE ATTACKS LAUNCHED AGAINST THE CIVILIAN POPULATION AND THE UN PERSONNEL THERE AND IN OTHER SAFE AREAS, THE BLOCKADE OF HUMANITARIAN DELIVERIES TO SARAJEVO ARE ELEMENTS OF A LARGER, CONSISTENT PATTERN OF BOSNIAN
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SERB REPUDIATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE, OF THE REJECTION BY PALE OF ALL EFFORTS AT A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. WITH THESE ACTIONS, THE BOSNIAN SERBS ARE SENDING A CLEAR AND DEFIANT MESSAGE TO THE WORLD COMMUNITY. THOSE WHO ARE CONDONING, SUPPORTING OR COMMITTING THESE UNQUALIFIABLE ACTIONS, IN BLATANT VIOLATION OF UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS, MUST BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE. THE UN PERSONNEL DETAINED BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS IN SREBRENICA MUST BE IMMEDIATELY RELEASED. UNPROFOR'S FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT MUST BE UNCONDITIONALLY ENSURED.

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THE CONCEPT OF SAFE AREAS HAS BEEN FUNDAMENTAL TO THE UNITED NATIONS PRESENCE IN THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA. IT WAS DESTINED TO BE A MEANS TO PROVIDE SECURITY FOR THE CIVILIAN POPULATION THERE AND TO ENSURE THEIR HUMANITARIAN SUPPORT. IT IS WORTH RECALLING THAT EVENTS IN SREBRENICA WERE INSTRUMENTAL IN THE DECISION BY THE UNITED NATIONS TWO YEARS AGO TO INTRODUCE THE VERY CONCEPT OF SAFE AREAS IN THE COUNTRY. FAILURE TO PROVIDE PROTECTION TO THEM AND TO STOP YET ANOTHER HUMANITARIAN TRAGEDY RAISES THE QUESTION OF THE VIABILITY OF THE ENTIRE CONCEPT. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD LOOK FOR MORE ADEQUATE AND EFFICIENT WAYS TO ENSURE THE CONTINUATION OF ITS CONFLICT MANAGEMENT ACTIVITIES IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA AS IT SEEKS ANSWERS TO SOME FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS REGARDING ITS ROLE AND RESPONSE TO THE UNPRECEDENTED CHALLENGES STEMMING FROM THIS CONFLICT. THE OSCE REITERATES ITS READINESS TO CONTINUE TO ACTIVELY SUPPORT ALL SUCH EFFORTS WHICH ARE AIMED AT BRINGING PEACE AND JUSTICE TO THIS TORMENTED REGION.

END OF TEXT.

2. ZAGREB AND SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
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PAGE 04 USVIEN 01979 121442Z

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PAGE 01 USUN N 02833 190030Z
ACTION IO-08

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AF-01	ARA-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00
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	NEA-01	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OIG-04	PA-02	PM-00
	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00
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 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6357
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 JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB IMMEDIATE
 SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE
 USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY
 USNMR SHAPE BE PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY ANKARA
 AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
 USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA
 USMISSION GENEVA
 AMEMBASSY VIENNA
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PAGE 02 USUN N 02833 190030Z
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 18 MAR 2009 200705105

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AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS

UNCLAS USUN NEW YORK 002833

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: NA
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR,
SUBJECT: ZUBAK'S LETTER ON DEPLOYMENT OF THE RAPID
-- REACTION FORCE

1. IN A JULY 14 LETTER TO THE COUNCIL PRESIDENT,
BOSNIAN CHARGE MISIC ASKED THAT THE LETTER FOUND BELOW
FROM FEDERATION PRESIDENT KRESIMIR ZUBAK TO THE COUNCIL
PRESIDENT BE CIRCULATED AS A COUNCIL DOCUMENT.
2. BEGIN TEXT OF ZUBAK LETTER TO THE COUNCIL PRESIDENT:

(DATE) 14 JULY 1995

THE FEDERATION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IS SERIOUSLY
CONCERNED ABOUT THE DEVELOPMENTS IN AND AROUND THE
THREE SAFE AREAS IN EASTERN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA,
WHICH ARE INTEGRAL PARTS OF THE FEDERATION OF BOSNIA
AND HERZEGOVINA. THE FEDERATION CONDEMNS IN THE
STRONGEST TERMS THE ACTIONS OF THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY,
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WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE ARMY OF YUGOSLAVIA, AGAINST
THE SAFE AREA OF SREBRENICA AND, TODAY, AGAINST THE
SAFE AREA OF ZEPA.

THE FEDERATION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA CALLS ON THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO TAKE ALL POSSIBLE MEASURE,
INCLUDING THE USE OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE, TO
RESTORE THE STATUS OF SAFE AREAS IN SREBRENICA AND
ZEPA, AND TO TAKE ADDITIONAL MEASURES TO REINFORCE THE
SAFETY AND SECURITY OF THE OTHER FOUR SAFE AREAS IN THE

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FEDERATION TERRITORY.

IN THIS REGARD, THE INTENTION OF THE FEDERATION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA TO REGULATE ITS RELATIONS WITH THE RAPID REACTION FORCE SHOULD NOT BE MISINTERPRETED NOR MISUSED. WHETHER INTENTIONAL, OR UNINTENTIONAL, THIS DEVELOPMENT CAN ONLY COME AT THE DETRIMENT TO THE INNOCENT PEOPLE OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA AND AT THE DETRIMENT OF THE CREDIBILITY OF RELEVANT PARTIES.

ANY OBJECTION THAT THE FEDERATION MAY HAVE IN RESPECT OF DEPLOYMENT OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE IS RELATED TO THE AMBIGUITY OF ITS MANDATE. IF THAT MANDATE SHOULD INCLUDE ASSISTANCE TO THE RELEVANT SAFE AREAS AND IF THE FEDERATION IS INFORMED ABOUT THIS IN A CLEAR AND PROPER WAY, THE FEDERATION WILL PROVIDE ALL POSSIBLE RESOURCES AND COOPERATION SO THAT OBJECTIVES CAN BE ACHIEVED IN THE URGENT MANNER THAT THE PRESENT SITUATION REQUIRES, AS WE ALREADY INFORMED THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, MR. YASUSHI AKASHI, YESTERDAY IN MOSTAR.

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PAGE 04

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END TEXT OF ZUBAK LETTER.
MINIMIZE CONSIDERED
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ACTION IO-08

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AF-01	ARA-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00
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	NEA-01	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OIG-04	PA-01	PM-00
	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00
	USIE-00	SA-01	SSD-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/054W

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 FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
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 AMEMBASSY MADRID
 AMEMBASSY ANKARA

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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 13 MAR 2009 200705105

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AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 002796

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/14/05
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR,
SUBJECT: JULY 12: PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ADOPTED ON
SREBRENICA; GHAREKHAN BRIEFING

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. SUMMARY. ON JULY 14 THE SECURITY COUNCIL APPROVED,
WITH MINOR AMENDMENTS, THE U.S.-DRAFTED PRESIDENTIAL
STATEMENT ON HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS ABOUT SREBRENICA.
USYG GHAREKHAN BRIEFED THE COUNCIL ON THE PLIGHT OF THE
SREBRENICA DISPLACED PERSONS AND ON THE SITUATION IN
ZEPA. COUNCIL PRESIDENT BLANCO MARTINEZ MET WITH
BOSNIAN CHARGE MISIC TO ASK FOR GREATER GOBH
COOPERATION IN DEPLOYMENT OF THE RRF. THE RUSSIAN
AMBASSADOR TO NATO AND BRUSSELS (CHURKIN) ARRIVED TODAY
IN BELGRADE AND WILL TRAVEL TO PALE FOR DISCUSSIONS
ABOUT THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA.

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PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT

3. IN ADDITION TO OTHER MINOR CHANGES, THE DUTCH
REQUESTED INCLUSION OF A PARAGRAPH DEMANDING THAT THE
BSA RELEASE ALL DETAINED UNPROFOR PERSONNEL AND THAT
THE PARTIES GUARANTEE THE SAFETY AND FREEDOM OF
MOVEMENT OF UNPROFOR PERSONNEL. THE GERMANS SUGGESTED
INSERTION OF REFERENCES TO INTERNATIONAL LAW IN
PARAGRAPH ONE. THESE SUGGESTIONS WERE INCORPORATED

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INTO THE TEXT (PARA XX).

SC INFORMALS; GHAREKHAN BRIEFING

4. DURING INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS USYG GHAREKHAN TOLD THE COUNCIL THAT THE CONDITION OF DISPLACED PERSONS FROM SREBRENICA REMAINS "SIMPLY AWFUL, TRAGIC." WHILE AN EXACT COUNT IS NOT AVAILABLE, GHAREKHAN ESTIMATED THAT 15,000 DISPLACED PERSONS ARRIVED IN TUZLA THE MORNING OF JULY 14, 3,000 WERE IN TRANSIT ON BSA BUSES, AND AN ADDITIONAL 3,000 WERE EXPECTED TO LEAVE THE DUTCH BASE THAT DAY. SOME 21,000 WILL PROBABLY HAVE COLLECTED IN TUZLA BY THE END OF THE DAY. THE REFUGEES ARE IN A STATE OF ACUTE EXHAUSTION AND DEHYDRATION; SOME NEED MEDICAL EVACUATION. CONDITIONS IN TUZLA ARE POOR, AND THE REFUGEES SIT IN THE BURNING SUN. THE PRESENCE OF ANTI-PERSONNEL MINES IMPEDED UNHCR PLANS TO SET UP TENTS.

5. GHAREKHAN SAID THAT GEN SMITH MET WITH MINISTER MURATOVIC TO SEEK GREATER BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT
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COOPERATION IN DEALING WITH THE CRISIS. THE BOSNIAN ARMY'S INSISTENCE ON 72-HOUR ADVANCED NOTICE ON ALL CONVOY MOVEMENT IN SECTOR NORTHEAST AND ON 24-HOUR NOTICE IN SECTOR SOUTHWEST HAS IMPAIRED HUMANITARIAN EFFORTS. GEN SMITH WILL RAISE THIS PROBLEM WITH BOSNIAN MILITARY LEADERS.

6. GHAREKHAN REPORTED THAT THE SITUATION IN ZEPA WAS DETERIORATING. A HEAVY GROUND ASSAULT APPEARED TO BE UNDERWAY. THERE WAS GUN AND TANK FIRE IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE ENCLAVE. AT A MEETING AT THE UKRAINIAN CHECKPOINT, THE BSA TOLD THE BOSNIANS THAT CIVILIANS WILL BE FREE TO LEAVE THE ENCLAVE OR STAY IF THEY PUT DOWN THEIR WEAPONS BY 1530 JULY 14. THE BSA REQUESTED THE UKRAINIAN BATTALION TO LEAVE ITS OBSERVATION POSTS. FOUR HAVE SINCE BEEN TAKEN BY THE BSA, BUT THE UKRAINIANS HAD ALREADY DEPARTED. THE BOSNIANS OPPOSE THE UKRAINIANS' LEAVING. IN A MEETING ON JULY 12, THE BOSNIAN ARMY DEMANDED AMMUNITION FROM THE UKRAINIAN

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BATTALION, AND THREATENED TO TAKE IT BY FORCE IF THE UKRAINIANS DO NOT TURN IT OVER. A SUCCESSFUL BSA OFFENSIVE ON ZEPA WOULD FREE 4 BSA BRIGADES FOR

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	IMMC-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	L-01	ADS-00	M-00
	NEA-01	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OIG-04	PA-01	PM-00
	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00
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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 002796

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/14/05
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SREBRENICA; GHAREKHAN BRIEFING

REDEPLOYMENT, AND THE FALL OF GORAZDE WOULD RELEASE 10
BSA BRIGADES. GORAZDE AND SARAJEVO WERE RELATIVELY
QUIET.

7. RUSSIAN DPR SIDOROV ANNOUNCED THAT THE RUSSIAN
AMBASSADOR TO NATO AND BRUSSELS ARRIVED TODAY IN
BELGRADE AND WILL TRAVEL TO PALE FOR DISCUSSIONS ABOUT
THE DETERIORATION OF THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA INCLUDING
THE "SEIZURE OF SREBRENICA."

8. PETER SCHMITZ OF DPKO SAID THAT UN PERSONNEL SENT
INTO SREBRENICA ON JULY 13 HAD BEEN UNABLE TO CONFIRM
ABUSES REPORTED IN THE PRESS. THEY REPORTED THAT
SREBRENICA APPEARED TO BE A GHOST TOWN.

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MEETING WITH MISIC; LETTER FROM ZUBAK

9. IN RESPONSE TO GHAREKHAN'S REPORT THAT DIFFICULTIES WITH FEDERATION PRESIDENT ZUBAK HAVE DELAYED THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE RRF, COUNCIL PRESIDENT BLANCO MARTINEZ MET WITH BOSNIAN CHARGE MISIC ON JULY 14. MISIC SAID THAT THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT WAS READY TO FACILITATE RRF DEPLOYMENT IMMEDIATELY, UPON THE RESOLUTION OF CERTAIN "TECHNICAL" QUESTIONS WHICH HE SAID HAVE NO POLITICAL CONTENT.

10. IN A LETTER TRANSMITTED TO MARTINEZ BLANCO BY MISIC, BOSNIAN FEDERATION PRESIDENT ZUBAK STATED THAT "ANY OBJECTION THAT THE FEDERATION MAY HAVE IN RESPECT OF DEPLOYMENT OF RRF IS RELATED TO THE AMBIGUITY OF ITS MANDATE. IF THAT MANDATE SHOULD INCLUDE ASSISTANCE TO THE RELEVANT SAFE AREAS, AND THE FEDERATION IS INFORMED ABOUT THIS IN A CLEAR AND PROPER WAY, THE FEDERATION WILL PROVIDE ALL POSSIBLE RESOURCES AND COOPERATION SO THAT OBJECTIVE CAN BE ACHIEVED IN AN URGENT MANNER THAT THE PRESENT SITUATION REQUIRES, AS WE HAVE ALREADY INFORMED SRSYG AKASHI YESTERDAY IN MOSTAR."

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT

11. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE SC PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ON SREBRENICA APPROVED JULY 14:

DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ON BOSNIA 14 JULY 1995

THE SECURITY COUNCIL RECALLS ITS RESOLUTION 1004
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(1995). THE COUNCIL IS DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE ONGOING FORCED RELOCATION OF TENS OF THOUSANDS OF CIVILIANS FROM THE SREBRENICA SAFE AREA TO THE TUZLA REGION BY THE BOSNIAN SERB PARTY. SUCH A FORCED RELOCATION IS CLEAR VIOLATION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION. IT IS EXPECIALLY CONCERNED ABOUT REPORTS OF GRAVE MISTREATMENT AND KILLING OF INNOCENT CIVILIANS. IT IS EQUALLY CONCERNED ABOUT REPORTS THAT UP TO 4,000 MEN AND BOYS HAVE BEEN FORCIBLY REMOVED BY THE BOSNIAN SERB PARTY FROM THE SREBRENICA SAFE AREA. IT DEMANDS THAT IN CONFORMITY WITH INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED STANDARDS OF CONDUCT AND INTERNATIONAL LAW THE BOSNIAN SERB PARTY RELEASE THEM IMMEDIATELY, RESPECT FULLY THE RIGHTS OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION OF THE SREBRENICA SAFE AREA AND OTHER PERSONS PROTECTED UNDER INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW, AND PERMIT ACCESS BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL AGAIN CONDEMNS THE UNACCEPTABLE PRACTICE OF "ETHNIC CLEANSING" AND REAFFIRMS THAT THOSE WHO HAVE COMMITTED OR HAVE ORDERED THE COMMISSION OF

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	IMMC-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	L-01	ADS-00	M-00
	NEA-01	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OIG-04	PA-01	PM-00
	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00
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 USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA
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 AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
 AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
 AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
 AMEMBASSY ATHENS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 002796

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR

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POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/14/05
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SUCH ACTS WILL BE HELD INDIVIDUALLY RESPONSIBLE IN
RESPECT OF SUCH ACTS.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL DEMANDS THAT THE BOSNIAN SERB
PARTY IMMEDIATELY ALLOW UNIMPEDED ACCESS TO THE
CIVILIAN POPULATION OF SREBRENICA SAFE AREA BY
INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS, AND COOPERATE
WITH ANY PROCEDURE ESTABLISHED BY THOSE ORGANIZATIONS
TO DETERMINE WHICH CIVILIANS WISH TO DEPART THE AREA OF
SREBRENICA. IT FURTHER DEMANDS THAT THE BOSNIA SERB
PARTY RESPECT FULLY THE RIGHTS OF THOSE CIVILIANS WHO
WISH TO REMAIN IN THE SAFE AREA AN COOPERATE WITH
EFFORTS TO ENSURE THAT CIVILIANS WHO WISH TO DEPART ARE
ALLOWED TO DO SO WITH THEIR FAMILIES IN AN ORDERLY,
SAFE WAY IN CONFORMITY WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW.

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THE SECURITY COUNCIL DEMANDS THAT BOTH SIDES ALLOW THE
UNHINDERED MOVEMENT OF HUMANITARIAN RELIEF AND
COOPERATE WITH EFFORTS BY INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
AND AGENCIES AND CONCERNED GOVERNMENTS TO PROVIDE FOOD,
MEDICINE, FACILITIES, AND HOUSING TO THE DISPLACED.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL REITERATES ITS DEMAND THAT THE
BOSNIAN SERB FORCES IMMEDIATELY AND UNCONDITIONALLY
RELEASE UNHARMED ALL DETAINED PERSONNEL OF THE UNITED
NATIONS PROTECTION FORCE (UNPROFOR), AND THAT THE
PARTIES RESPECT FULLY THE SAFETY OF ALL UNPROFOR
PERSONNEL AND ENSURE THEIR COMPLETE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL PAYS TRIBUTE TO ALL THE PERSONNEL
OF UNPROFOR, AND OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH
COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES, ESPECIALLY THOSE DEPLOYED IN
THE AREA OF SREBRENICA. IT NOTES THAT THE PRESENCE AND

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BRAVERY OF THE TROOPS HAS UNDOUBTEDLY SAVED THE LIVES
OF MANY CIVILIANS IN THE SREBRENICA AREA.

12. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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	IMMC-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00
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AMEMBASSY ANKARA
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AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
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AMEMBASSY ATHENS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 USUN NEW YORK 002750

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/11/05
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR,
SUBJECT: JULY 10: DRAFT RESOLUTION ON SREBRENICA

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. SUMMARY: THE FRENCH, BRITISH, GERMAN, U.S., AND
ITALIAN DELEGATIONS TABLED THE DRAFT RESOLUTION FOUND
IN PARA 10 BELOW. FRENCH PERMREP MERIMEE SAID THAT
PRESIDENT CHIRAC HAD DECIDED TO PUSH FOR A CHAPTER VII
RESOLUTION WHICH CONDEMNED THE BOSNIAN SERB AGGRESSION
AGAINST SREBRENICA, DEMANDED AN IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL
FROM THE SAFE AREA, AND URGED THE UN TO RESTORE THE
STATUS OF THE SAFE AREA. MERIMEE SAID THAT CHIRAC AND
GERMAN CHANCELLOR KOHL HAD AGREED THAT THE RAPID
REACTION FORCE COULD BE USED TO ACHIEVE THESE GOALS.
IN A SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION WITH AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT
MERIMEE SAID THAT CHIRAC HAD APPROVED THE DEPLOYMENT OF
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THE RRF TO SREBRENICA. HE ADDED THAT IF THE SERBS DO
NOT WITHDRAW "THERE WILL BE CLASHES." UK PERMREP
HANNAY SAID THAT HIS INSTRUCTIONS WERE SIMILAR TO
MERIMEE'S, WITH THE CAVEAT THAT LONDON DID NOT BELIEVE
THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS COULD DISLODGED FROM SREBRENICA
BY FORCE. THE RUSSIANS RAISED A NUMBER OF OBJECTIONS
TO THE CURRENT TEXT. THE COUNCIL WILL CONTINUE ITS
DISCUSSION OF THE DRAFT ON JULY 12, WITH A VOTE
SCHEDULED FOR LATER THAT DAY. UNDERSECRETARY GENERAL
GHAREKHAN BRIEFED THE COUNCIL THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS

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IN SREBRENICA AND ON THE SYG'S MEETING IN GENEVA ON
JULY 8 TO DISCUSS THE SITUATIONS IN BOSNIA AND
CROATIA. END SUMMARY.

P-3 PLUS DUTCH

3. DURING A MEETING OF PERM-3 AMBASSADORS, WITH THE
DUTCH PERMREP SITTING IN, MERIMEE SAID THAT PRESIDENT
CHIRAC HAD MET EARLIER THAT DAY WITH CHANCELLOR KOHL.
THEY HAD INFORMED BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY RIFKIND OF
THEIR DISCUSSIONS. DESCRIBING THE FRENCH POSITION AS
"RATHER ROBUST," MERIMEE SAID HE HAD RECEIVED
INSTRUCTIONS TO PUSH HARD FOR A CHAPTER VII RESOLUTION
WHICH WOULD CONDEMN THE BOSNIAN SERB AGGRESSION AGAINST
SREBRENICA, DEMAND THE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF BOSNIAN
SERB TROOPS, AND DEMAND THAT THE STATUS OF THE SAFE
AREA BE RESTORED. MERIMEE SAID THAT THE CIVILIAN
POPULATION OF THE ENCLAVE SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO RETURN.
THE GOF WAS PREPARED TO USE THE RAPID REACTION FORCE TO
ACHIEVE THESE GOALS. DURING A SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATION
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WITH AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT MERIMEE SAID THAT CHIRAC WAS
PREPARED TO DEPLOY THE RAPID REACTION FORCE TO
SREBRENICA. IF THE SERBS DID NOT WITHDRAW "THERE WILL
BE CLASHES."

4. UK PERMREP HANNAY SAID THAT HIS INSTRUCTIONS WERE
SIMILAR TO MERIMEE'S. WHILE HMG WOULD NOT PUSH
DEMILITARIZATION OF THE SAFE AREA, IT DID WANT A
REFERENCE TO THE APRIL 1993 AGREEMENT WHICH CALLED FOR
DEMILITARIZATION. HANNAY SAID THAT A SERB WITHDRAWAL
WOULD PROBABLY TAKE SOME TIME TO ARRANGE, AND WILL
REQUIRE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN UNPROFOR AND PALE. LONDON
WAS THINKING IN TERMS OF A PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT, BUT
COULD ACCEPT A RESOLUTION. THE IMPORTANT THING WAS TO
NEITHER LEGITIMIZE THE BOSNIAN SERB ATTACK ON
SREBRENICA, NOR DO NOTHING. MAINTAINING A UN PRESENCE
IN SREBRENICA WAS NOT A LOST CAUSE, AND, IN FACT, WAS
NECESSARY IF THE ENCLAVE WAS DEMILITARIZED. MERIMEE
SAID THAT WH

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FILE THE PROCESS OF RESTORING RESPECT FOR SREBRENICA'S STATUS AS A SAFE AREA COULD BEGIN WITH NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN UNPROFOR AND PALE, HIS GOVERNMENT WAS PREPARED TO USE FORCE IF NECESSARY. HE SUGGESTED

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 USUN NEW YORK 002750

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
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MENTIONING THE RRF IN THE RESOLUTION, BUT HANNAY
OPPOSED. THE IMPORTANT THING IS TO STATE STRONGLY THAT
THE COUNCIL WILL NOT LEGITIMIZE THE SERB OFFENSIVE AND
WILL NOT ACCEPT WHAT HAS HAPPENED. DUTCH PERMREP
BIEGMAN SAID THAT THE DUTCH BOTTOM LINE WAS SAFE
WITHDRAWAL OF THEIR TROOPS, BUT ACQUIESCED ON THE
FRENCH-BRITISH APPROACH.

CONTACT GROUP AND SECURITY COUNCIL

5. MERIMEE AND HANNAY WENT THROUGH THE SAME POINTS IN
SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS WITH THE CONTACT GROUP PLUS ITALY
AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL. RUSSIAN CHARGE SIDOROV SAID
THAT HIS DELEGATION COULD ACCEPT A CONDEMNATION OF THE

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BOSNIAN SERB OFFENSIVE, BUT MOSCOW WOULD ALSO INSIST
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THAT THE GOB'S FAILURE TO DEMILITARIZE SREBRENICA, AS
CALLED FOR IN THE APRIL 1993 AGREEMENT, SHOULD ALSO BE
CONDEMNED. OTHER MEMBERS OF THE GROUP SAID THAT SUCH A
CONDEMNATION WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE. THE RUSSIANS
ALSO PRESSED FOR CHANGING THE REFERENCE TO CHAPTER VII
IN PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH G TO THE FORMULA USED IN
RESOLUTION 988. OTHER MEMBERS OF THE GROUP SAID THEY
WOULD CONSIDER THE CHANGE ONLY IF THE RUSSIANS AGREE TO
SUPPORT THE RESOLUTION. THE DRAFT RESOLUTION HAS BEEN
PUT IN BLUE. THE COUNCIL WILL CONTINUE ITS DISCUSSION
OF IT DURING A JULY 12 INFORMAL MEETING. IT WILL BE
VOTED ON LATER THAT DAY.
GHAREKHAN BRIEFING

6. DURING THE COUNCIL'S INFORMAL MEETING GHAREKHAN
REPORTED THAT BOSNIAN SERB FORCES ATTACKED THE DUTCH
BLOCKING POST SET UP 1.5 KILOMETERS SOUTH OF SREBRENICA
AT 1030 ON JULY 10. THE FORCE COMMANDER APPROVED CLOSE
AIR SUPPORT, WHICH WAS EXTENDED BY NATO. TWELVE NATO
AIRCRAFT TARGETED THE ADVANCING SERB TANKS. A DAMAGE
ASSESSMENT REPORT HAS NOT YET BEEN ISSUED, BUT
PRELIMINARY REPORTS SUGGEST THAT TWO BS TANKS WERE
PROBABLY ATTACKED, AND ONE NATO AIRCRAFT WAS FIRED AT
BUT NOT HIT BY A BS MISSILE. THE BSA SUBSEQUENTLY
LAUNCHED A FLANKING OPERATION, BYPASSING THE DUTCH
CONTINGENT AND ENTERING THE TOWN OF SREBRENICA. THE
BSA NOW CONTROLS THE TOWN. THE DUTCH CONTINGENT
WITHDREW TO THEIR MAIN CAMP NORTH OF SREBRENICA.
REPORTS SUGGEST THAT ONE DUTCH COMPANY COMMANDER IS
PROBABLY IN THE CUSTODY OF THE BSA. THERE IS NO WORD
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ON THE CONDITION OF THE 30 DUTCH SOLDIERS DETAINED BY
THE BSA, BUT A BSA COMMANDER HAS REPORTEDLY THREATENED
TO KILL THE DUTCH SOLDIERS IF CLOSE AIR SUPPORT
CONTINUES. THERE ARE REPORTS OF 20,000 REFUGEES
FLEEING SREBRENICA.

7. GHAREKHAN SAID THAT THE LOOMING HUMANITARIAN CRISIS
WAS THE PRIMARY CONCERN. HE ALSO SAID THAT UNPROFOR
SOUGHT TO ESTABLISH A LOCAL CEASEFIRE, AND HAD MADE
CONTACTS TO THAT END IN PALE AND LOCALLY IN
SREBRENICA. HE SAID THAT THERE WAS AN OPTION OF
RELOCATING REFUGEES TO TUZLA, BUT NOTED THAT THIS WOULD
REQUIRE THE COOPERATION OF THE BSA AND WOULD BE A HUGE
LOGISTICAL EFFORT. HE NOTED THAT THE EVACUATION OF THE
DUTCH BATTALION WAS PREMATURE UNTIL THE REFUGEE PROBLEM
WAS RESOLVED.

8. AMB GHAREKHAN REPORTED THAT THE SYG CONVENED A
MEETING IN GENEVA ON JULY 8 TO REVIEW THE MILITARY,
POLITICAL, AND HUMANITARIAN SITUATIONS IN BOSNIA AND
CROATIA. AKASHI, OGATA, STOLTENBERG, JANVIER, AND
SMITH WERE PRESENT. PARTICIPANTS EXPRESSED FRUSTRATION
OVER THE SITUATION IN CROATIA, WHERE UNCRO IS UNABLE TO

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PAGE 02 USUN N 02750 03 OF 04 120152Z
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 04 USUN NEW YORK 002750

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,

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USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/11/05
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR,
SUBJECT: JULY 10: DRAFT RESOLUTION ON SREBRENICA

FULFILL MOST OF ITS MANDATE, PARTICULARLY IN THE AREA
OF BORDER CONTROL. THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT IS READY
FOR NEGOTIATIONS, BUT REFUSES TO TALK WITH THE PRESENT
KNIN LEADERSHIP. GHAREKHAN SAID IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO
PREDICT WHETHER CROATIA WILL LAUNCH ANOTHER OFFENSIVE.
STOLTENBERG HAS INVITED BOTH SIDES TO TALKS IN GENEVA.

9. GHAREKHAN REPORTED THAT THE HUMANITARIAN SITUATION
IN BH WAS OF UTMOST CONCERN TO PARTICIPANTS AT GENEVA.
THE REPEATED OBSTRUCTION OF HUMANITARIAN CONVOYS HAS
PREVENTED BOSNIA'S HUMANITARIAN NEEDS FROM BEING
FULFILLED. THE SITUATION IN SARAJEVO, WHERE THERE HAS
NOT BEEN AN AIRLIFT SINCE APRIL 8, IS PARTICULARLY
DIRE. GHAREKHAN SAID THAT PARTICIPANTS WERE CONCERNED
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ABOUT THE RECENT DEVELOPMENT, INSTITUTED ON JULY 1,
WHEREBY UNHCR CONVOYS ARE DRIVEN BY MILITARY (UNPROFOR)
DRIVERS. THIS DEVELOPMENT SUGGESTS THAT UNHCR WAS
OBLIGED TO CARRY OUT CONVOYS WITHOUT THE AGREEMENT OF
THE PARTIES. HE ALSO NOTED THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE
DEMANDED A 50-50 DISTRIBUTION OF AID AS THE PRICE FOR
THEIR COOPERATION WITH THE CONVOYS. GHAREKHAN SAID
THERE WAS A FEAR THAT UNPROFOR WILL HAVE TO TAKE OVER
UNHCR OPERATIONS. HE NOTED THE GENERAL CONSENSUS THAT
BOTH SIDES CONTINUE TO SEEK A MILITARY SOLUTION.
DESPITE THE EFFORTS OF BILDT AND STOLTENBERG, THERE HAS
BEEN NO FORWARD MOVEMENT IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS AND
NO EVIDENCE THAT THE PARTIES ARE READY TO ENGAGE IN
SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS.

DRAFT TEXT

10. BEGIN TEXT OF DRAFT RESOLUTION:

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6:30PM, 11 JULY

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

--A. REAFFIRMING ALL ITS EARLIER RELEVANT RESOLUTIONS,

--A. BIS REAFFIRMING ITS COMMITMENT TO THE
INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF
THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA,

--B. GRAVELY CONCERNED AT THE DETERIORATION IN THE
SITUATION IN AND AROUND THE SAFE AREA OF SREBRENICA,
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REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, AND AT THE PLIGHT
OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION THERE,

--B. BIS GRAVELY CONCERNED ALSO AT THE EXTREMELY
SERIOUS SITUATION WHICH CONFRONTS UNPROFOR PERSONNEL
AND A GREAT NUMBER OF DISPLACED PERSONS WITHIN THE SAFE
AREA AT POCARI, ESPECIALLY THE LACK OF ESSENTIAL FOOD
SUPPLIES AND MEDICAL CARE,

--C. CONDEMNING THE OFFENSIVE BY THE BOSNIAN SERB
FORCES AGAINST THE SAFE AREA OF SREBRENICA, AND IN
PARTICULAR THE DETENTION BY THE BOSNIAN SERB FORCES OF
UNPROFOR PERSONNEL,

--D. CONDEMNING ALSO ALL ATTACKS ON THE PERSONNEL OF
THE UNITED NATIONS PROTECTION FORCE (UNPROFOR),

--E. RECALLING THE AGREEMENT FOR THE DEMILITARIZATION
OF SREBRENICA OF 18 APRIL 1993 (S/25700, ANNEX) BY THE
GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
AND THE BOSNIAN SERB PARTY, AND REGRETTING THAT IT HAS
NOT BEEN IMPLEMENTED IN FULL BY EITHER PARTY,

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	M-00	NEA-01	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OIG-04	PA-01
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NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY
USNMR SHAPE BE PRIORITY
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USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USMISSION USVIENNA
AMEMBASSY MADRID

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PAGE 02 USUN N 02750 04 OF 04 120152Z
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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 04 USUN NEW YORK 002750

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 07/11/05
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR,
SUBJECT: JULY 10: DRAFT RESOLUTION ON SREBRENICA

--F. STRESSING THE IMPORTANCE OF RENEWED EFFORTS TO
ACHIEVE AN OVERALL PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT AND THE
UNACCEPTABILITY OF ALL ATTEMPTS TO RESOLVE THE CONFLICT
IN THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA BY MILITARY
MEANS,

--G. ACTING UNDER CHAPTER VII OF THE CHARTER OF THE
UNITED NATIONS,

--1. DEMANDS THAT THE BOSNIAN SERB FORCES CEASE THEIR
OFFENSIVE AND WITHDRAW FROM THE SAFE AREA OF SREBRENICA
IMMEDIATELY;

--2. DEMANDS ALSO THAT THE PARTIES RESPECT FULLY THE
STATUS OF THE SAFE AREA OF SREBRENICA IN ACCORDANCE

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PAGE 03 USUN N 02750 04 OF 04 120152Z
WITH THE AGREEMENT OF 18 APRIL 1993;

--3. DEMANDS FURTHER THAT THE PARTIES FULLY RESPECT THE SAFETY OF UNPROFOR PERSONNEL AND ENSURE THEIR COMPLETE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, INCLUDING RESUPPLY;
--4. DEMANDS THAT THE BOSNIAN SERB FORCES IMMEDIATELY AND UNCONDITIONALLY RELEASE ALL DETAINED UNPROFOR PERSONNEL;

--5. DEMANDS THAT ALL PARTIES ALLOW UNIMPEDED ACCESS FOR THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN AGENCIES TO THE SAFE AREA OF SREBRENICA IN ORDER TO ALLEVIATE THE PLIGHT OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION, AND IN PARTICULAR THAT THEY COOPERATE ON THE RESTORATION OF UTILITIES;

--6. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO USE ALL RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO HIM TO RESTORE THE STATUS AS DEFINED BY THE AGREEMENT OF 18 APRIL OF THE SAFE AREA OF SREBRENICA IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE MANDATE OF UNPROFOR, AND CALLS ON THE PARTIES TO COOPERATE TO THAT END;

--7. DECIDES TO REMAIN ACTIVELY SEIZED OF THE MATTER.

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 INFO ALLEU COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
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 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 USMISSION GENEVA

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DEPT FOR EUR/RPE, EUR/SCE, FRIENDS OF BOSNIA COORDINATOR
 SERWER, AND PRM
 DEPT PLEASE PASS NSC
 PLEASE PASS AID FOR ENI/NIS/EHA AND OFDA

E.O. 12356: N/A
 TAGS: PREF, PREL, EAID, BK, EUN
 SUBJECT: EU COMMISSIONER VAN DEN BROEK SAYS LONDON
 - MEETING SHOULD GIVE "CLEAR SIGNAL" TO
 - BOSNIAN SERBS

1. SPEAKING TO THE EXTERNAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE OF THE
 EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ON JULY 20, EU COMMISSIONER VAN DEN
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PAGE 02 USEU B 07722 201752Z
BROEK CONFIRMED THAT HE WILL ATTEND THE JULY 21 LONDON MEETING ON BOSNIA TO REPRESENT THE EU WITH SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTER AND PRESIDENT-IN-OFFICE OF THE EU COUNCIL SOLANA. DRAWING FROM VAN DEN BROEK'S ADDRESS, HIS SPOKESMAN TOLD REPORTERS AT THE NOON PRESS BRIEFING THE COMMISSIONER WAS HOPING FOR A "CLEAR SIGNAL" TO BE SENT TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS, WHO SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED "TO GO FURTHER" AS THE CREDIBILITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WAS AT STAKE. THE SPOKESMAN SAID THAT VAN DEN BROEK'S REMARKS APPLIED TO THE SITUATION "AS ITS STANDS TODAY" (JULY 20).

2. SPEAKING ON BEHALF OF COMMISSIONER EMMA BONINO, WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE, ANOTHER SPOKESMAN EXPRESSED BONINO'S "VERY DEEP CONCERN" AT THE DETERIORATION OF THE SITUATION OF BOSNIAN REFUGEES. THE SPOKESMAN SAID THE EXPECTED NEW INFLUX OF REFUGEES IN TUZLA WOULD PUT TO THE TEST THE ABSORPTION CAPACITY OF THE EXISTING ARRANGEMENTS. HE NOTED THAT THE EU HUMANITARIAN AID OFFICE (ECHO) HAS BEEN PROVIDING THE BULK OF ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES FROM SREBRENICA.

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	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00
	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	FMP-00
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 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 USMISSION GENEVA
 AMEMBASSY VIENNA
 ALLEU COLLECTIVE

UNCLAS BRUSSELS 007384

VIENNA ALSO FOR EMBASSY BOSNIA

DEPT FOR EUR/RPE, EUR/SCE, FRIENDS OF BOSNIA COORDINATOR
 SERWER, AND PRM
 DEPT PLEASE PASS NSC
 PLEASE PASS AID FOR ENI/NIS/EHA AND OFDA

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PEF, PREL, EAID, BK, EUN

SUBJECT: EU WILL "DO ITS UTMOST" TO ASSIST REFUGEES
 - FROM SREBRENICA

1. THE EU COMMISSION ANNOUNCED AT ITS JULY 13 PRESS
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PAGE 02 USEU B 07384 140526Z
BRIEFING THAT IT WAS MONITORING THE EVACUATION OF REFUGEES FROM SREBRENICA AND WOULD TRY TO PROVIDE RELIEF TO THOSE CONVERGING ON TUZLA. COMMISSIONER BONINO, WHO HOLDS RESPONSIBILITY FOR HUMANITARIAN AID, REPORTEDLY THINKS SHE CAN USE CURRENTLY AVAILABLE FUNDS TO HELP REFUGEES. BONINO NOTED THAT SOME 95 MILLION ECU (ABOUT THE EQUIVALENT OF 120 MILLION USD) IN EU HUMANITARIAN AID HAD BEEN RELEASED IN JUNE. ACCORDING TO THE CHIEF SPOKESMAN, BONINO INFORMED HER COMMISSION COLLEAGUES ON JULY 12 THAT SHE INTENDS TO RELEASE MORE MONEY FROM BUDGET RESERVES. A PROCEDURE WAS PUT IN MOTION FOR THE RELEASE OF ANOTHER 30 MILLION ECU (39 MILLION USD). THE SPOKESMAN SAID MORE CREDITS COULD BE RELEASED "IF NEED BE," ADDING: "THAT'S ALL WE CAN DO IN THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES."

2. ASKED FOR A POLITICAL COMMENT FROM THE COMMISSION ON THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN SREBRENICA, ANOTHER SPOKESMAN QUOTED COMMISSIONER VAN DEN BROEK AS SAYING THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS "SHOULD RETREAT FROM THAT REGION, VOLUNTARILY OR OTHERWISE." THE SPOKESMAN DECLINED TO BE DRAWN IN FURTHER OFFICIAL COMMENTS, INCLUDING ON A POSSIBLE LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO. SPEAKING ON A "BACKGROUND" BASIS, HE FURTHER NOTED THAT VAN DEN BROEK PREVIOUSLY ARGUED THAT THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO SHOULD NOT BE EXCLUDED IF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CAME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THERE WAS NO POSSIBILITY OF ACHIEVING A POLITICAL SOLUTION. THE SPOKESMAN MADE IT CLEAR THAT REPORTERS SHOULD NOT DRAW THE CONCLUSION THAT VAN DEN BROEK IS NOW IN FAVOR OF LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO.

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 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
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E.O. 12356: N/A
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PAGE 02 USEU B 07384 131549Z
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 EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
 USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 AMEMBASSY VILNIUS
 AMEMBASSY TALLINN
 AMEMBASSY RIGA

UNCLAS STOCKHOLM 004129

E.O. 12356: N/A
 TAGS: UN, PREL, NATO, MARR, MK, BK, SW
 SUBJECT: SWEDISH FOREIGN MINISTER'S STATEMENT ON SREBRENICA
 UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 STOCKH 04129 130834Z

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 DATE/CASE ID: 13 MAR 2009 200705105

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1. FOLLOWING IS EMBASSY'S INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF AN MFA PRESS RELEASE ON SWEDISH FOREIGN MINISTER LENA HJELM-WALLEN'S JULY 12 STATEMENT REGARDING SREBRENICA. BEGIN TEXT:

"I AM UPSET ABOUT THE INFORMATION REGARDING THE BOSNIAN SERBS' ENTRY INTO SREBRENICA. THROUGH THIS THE UN IS NOW FACING A NEW AND SERIOUS CHALLENGE. THE ATTACK MUST BE CONDEMNED" SAYS FM LENA HJELM-WALLEN. "WHAT NOW HAS HAPPENED IS A SET-BACK FOR THE PEACE EFFORTS, BUT AT THE SAME TIME IT IS OF OUTMOST IMPORTANCE THAT THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIATORS CONTINUE THEIR WORK AND THAT THEY ARE GIVEN SUBSTANTIVE INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT."

"WE VIEW WITH CONCERN THE VERY PRECARIOUS SITUATION FOR THE CIVILIAN POPULATION, AND FOR THE DUTCH UN FORCES IN THE AREA. THE INFORMATION WE HAVE RECEIVED TODAY THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE TAKEN PRISONER REFUGEES IN POTOCARI, AND THAT THE STREAM OF REFUGEES FROM SREBRENICA HAS BEEN SHOT AT, IS DEEPLY CONCERNING."

"THE RESOLUTIONS BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL ABOUT THE DEFENSE OF THE PROTECTED AREAS MUST BE RESPECTED TO THE FULLEST BY ALL PARTIES. THE ATTACKS AGAINST UN PERSONNEL ARE UNACCEPTABLE. IT IS AN UNCONDITIONAL DEMAND THAT THE DUTCH UN SOLDIERS, WHO ARE BEING KEPT BY THE SERBS, ARE RELEASED."

"PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC IN BELGRADE MUST ALSO, PERHAPS NOW MORE THAN EVER, ASSUME HIS RESPONSIBILITY IN THE PRESENT SITUATION, AND ACTIVELY COOPERATE SO THAT THE PEACE
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PAGE 03 STOCKH 04129 130834Z
PROCESS CAN CONTINUE."

"THE SECURITY COUNCIL WAS CALLED IN YESTERDAY FOR CONSULTATIONS ABOUT THE SITUATION, AND THEY WILL GATHER AGAIN TODAY. THE BOSNIAN SERBISH ENTRY INTO SREBRENICA, AS WELL AS THE THREAT AGAINST ZEPA, MAKE IT IMPORTANT TO HAVE DETAILED DISCUSSIONS ABOUT FUTURE UN ACTIONS IN BOSNIA. UNPROFOR CONTINUES TO BE THE ONLY GUARANTEE FOR THE ASSISTANCE TO THE BOSNIAN CIVILIAN POPULATION, AND FURTHERMORE HAS THE CENTRAL TASK TO TRY TO PREVENT THAT

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THE CONFLICT SPREADS IN THE AREA. THE CONTINUED PRESENCE
OF THE UN IN BOSNIA IS THEREFORE OF OUTMOST IMPORTANCE."

END TEXT.

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PAGE 01 ROME 10188 201312Z
ACTION H-06

INFO LOG-00 CIAE-00 OASY-00 DS-00 EUR-01 TEDE-00 INR-00
ADS-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SCT-00 SS-00 DSCC-00 DRL-09
/016W -----DB6E56 201701Z /22

R 201251Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9678

UNCLAS ROME 010188

H-PASS

PERSONAL FOR SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY
WHITE HOUSE FOR NSA TONY LAKE
DEPT FOR SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AND A/S HOLBROOKE

FROM EMBASSY VATICAN/MESSAGE NO. 211/95

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, BK, VT
SUBJECT: VATICAN STANCE ON BOSNIA

REF: A) ROME 10132

1. FOR SENATOR KENNEDY: FOLLOWING UP ON OUR RECENT
TELEPHONE CONVERSATION REGARDING THE HORRENDOUS
SITUATION IN THE BALKANS, I PASSED YOUR CONCERNS ALONG
TO THE HOLY FATHER AND VATICAN OFFICIALS. THEY WERE
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
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PLEASED WITH YOUR STRONG EXPRESSION OF CONCERN. YOU ARE QUITE CORRECT; THE POPE, AS LEADER OF NEARLY ONE BILLION CATHOLICS WORLDWIDE AND CERTAINLY THE WORLD'S MOST RESPECTED AND EFFECTIVE MORAL LEADER, HAS CONDEMNED THESE TERRIBLE ACTS OF INHUMANITY IN THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE LANGUAGE AND WILL CONTINUE TO SPEAK OUT ON THE SUBJECT UNTIL SUCH TIME AS THE SITUATION IS RESOLVED. I HAVE FORWARDED FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION THE POPE'S MOST RECENT STATEMENT ON THIS MATTER, WHICH YOU WILL SEE IS QUITE STRONG AND DIRECT. I AM CONVINCED THAT THE POPE WILL CONTINUE TO BE A STRONG VOICE FOR PEACE IN THE REGION AND THE U.S. EMBASSY TO THE HOLY SEE WILL CONTINUE TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE VATICAN, AS YOU SUGGESTED. THANK YOU FOR YOUR PERSONAL WORDS OF ENCOURAGEMENT AND SUPPORT.

2. (NOTE: THE FOLLOWING IS AN EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF THE POPE'S REMARKS ON BOSNIA DELIVERED JULY 16, 1995. END NOTE.) "THE NEWS AND SCENES COMING FROM BOSNIA, AND IN PARTICULAR FROM SREBRENICA AND ZEPA, ARE TESTIMONY OF HOW EUROPE AND HUMANITY HAVE BEEN DESCENDING MORE AND MORE INTO THE ABYSS OF DEGRADATION. NO CAUSE, NO PROJECT, CAN JUSTIFY SUCH BARBAROUS ACTIONS AND METHODS; THEY ARE CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY! HOW I WISH THAT MY WORDS, MY AFFECTION, AND MY PRAYERS WOULD REACH THOSE BROTHERS AND SISTERS REJECTED ALONG THE ROAD OF EXODUS IN THE MOST EXTREME MISERY! I IMPLORE ALL MEN OF GOOD WILL TO CONTINUE TIRELESSLY TO AID THOSE MARTYRED PEOPLES. WHAT IS HAPPENING BEFORE THE EYES OF THE WHOLE WORLD CONSTITUTES THE UNDOING OF CIVILIZATION. THESE CRIMES WILL REMAIN AS ONE OF THE SADDEST CHAPTERS IN THE

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HISTORY OF EUROPE. I WISH THAT GOD WOULD TOUCH THEIR
HEARTS AND ENLIGHTEN THESE LOST SPIRITS!"

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PAGE 01 SARAJE 00390 281741Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO LOG-00 AMAD-01 CIAE-00 OASY-00 FBIE-00 TEDE-00 INR-00
ADS-00 NSAE-00 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-00 /005W
-----DE18BE 281742Z /38

R 281739Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
TO DOD WASHDC
SECSTATE WASHDC 0447
USIA WASHDC 0006

UNCLAS SARAJEVO 000390

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USIA FOR MEDIA REACTION STAFF, STATE FOR EUR/SCE CHILL
AND RFAISURE, DEP'T PLEASE PASS TO EUROPEAN COLLECTIVE

E.O. 12356 N/A

TAGS: PREL, BK

SUBJECT: SARAJEVO MEDIA REACTION REPORT FOR 7/28/1995

1. DAILY INDEPENDENT "OSLOBODJENJE" CARRIED A COMMENTARY
HEADLINED "CRUCIAL DECISIONS" BY ZIJA DIZDAREVIC, WHO
NOTED, "THE STRUGGLE FOR LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO
AGAINST BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA IS ADVANCING. THE U.S. SENATE
HAS OVERPOWERED THE PRESIDENT. ISLAMIC COUNTRIES HAVE
DECLARED THE ARMS EMBARGO VOID. NATO IS ELABORATING
PLANS FOR NEW ACTIONS, WHILE THE FAMOUS COMMANDING KEY
FOR MILITARY STRIKES CAME CLOSER TO COMMANDERS ON GROUND
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 12 MAR 2009 200705105

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AND NATO COMMAND . . . MEANWHILE, THE AGGRESSOR IS MASSACRING CIVILIAN POPULATION. IN THE PAST FIVE DAYS MANY THINGS OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE FOR BOSNIA HAVE TAKEN PLACE. SOME VERY IMPORTANT DECISIONS WERE ADOPTED, AND YET WE EXPECT MORE IMPORTANT ONES. WITHOUT UNDERESTIMATING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO AND POSSIBLE NATO AIR STRIKES, THE SPLIT DECLARATION, SIGNED BY CROATIA AND BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA, MOST PROBABLY REPRESENTS THE MOST VALUABLE STRATEGIC POTENTIAL, BOTH IN MILITARY AND POLITICAL SENSE."

2. ZIJA DIZDAREVIC ADDED, "LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO WILL NOT COME INTO EFFECT QUICKLY. WHEN IT COMES TO THE U.S. CONGRESS, THE PROCEDURE WILL LAST FOR AT LEAST THREE MONTHS. ISLAMIC COUNTRIES HAVE ANNOUNCED THEY WILL FOLLOW THE BEHAVIOR OF THE U.N. AND NATO FOR THE TIME BEING. HOWEVER, LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO WILL FORCE WESTERN COUNTRIES TO CHANGE THEIR BEHAVIOR. THEY HAVE ENOUGH TIME TO TRY STOPPING THE CRISIS WITH THEIR OWN METHODS, BUT ALSO TO PREPARE FOR POSSIBLE WITHDRAWAL."

3. ZIJA DIZDAREVIC EMPHASIZED, "THE LONDON CONFERENCE FAVORS DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITIES AND POLITICAL SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEM. IN THIS REGARD, THE FIRST ISSUE IS MUTUAL RECOGNITION OF BELGRADE AND SARAJEVO. EUROPE AND RUSSIA WILL DO THEIR BEST TO TALK SARAJEVO INTO THIS BARGAIN. THE SECOND PART OF THAT POLITICAL PLAN IS TO FORCE BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA TO ACCEPT NEW MAPS AND POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS. EVENTS IN THE SAFE ZONES OF SREBRENICA, ZEPA, BIHAC AND SARAJEVO PROVE THE POINT. THREATS AND POSSIBLE NATO ACTIONS ALONG WITH THE PRESENCE OF RAPID
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PAGE 03 SARAJE 00390 281741Z
REACTION FORCE SHOULD DISCIPLINE THE AGGRESSOR, BUT ALSO EXERT PRESSURE ON US."

4. ZIJA DIZDAREVIC CONCLUDED, "WESTERN COUNTRIES CAN NO LONGER BLUFF ANYBODY. EMPTY WORDS DO NOT IMPRESS EVEN THE YOUNGEST SARAJEVANS. INITIATIVES THAT OPPOSE WESTERN DESIRES ARE NOT A DANGER TO WESTERN HONOR, ABOUT WHICH THEY DO NOT EVEN CARE, BUT TO WESTERN STRATEGIC INTERESTS." LEVEY

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NOTE: NOT PASSED TO ABOVE ADDRESSEE(S)

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00
	DODE-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	EB-01	FBIE-00	H-01	IMMC-01
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	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-02	PM-00
	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	SSD-01	PMB-00	PRME-01
	DRL-09	G-00	/051W				

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P 201554Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY ROME
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9698
 INFO AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
 AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 ALL NATO POST COLLECTIVE
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 ROME 010225

STATE FOR EUR/EE AND EUR/WE
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE

FROM EMBASSY VATICAN/ MESSAGE NO. 210/95

E.O. 12356: N/A

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TAGS: PREL, MARR, MOPS, PHUM, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR, VT

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2009 200705105

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SUBJECT: VATICAN SIGNALS ITS "APPROVAL" FOR
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO USE LIMITED
ARMED FORCE IN BOSNIA

1. SUMMARY: THE PAPAL NUNCIO TO BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA HAS CALLED FOR THE USE OF LIMITED MILITARY FORCE TO END THE VIOLENCE IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA, AND APPEALED TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO CONSIDER SOME KIND OF ARMED INTERVENTION THERE. A RELATED EDITORIAL IN L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO, THE SEMI-OFFICIAL VATICAN DAILY, STATED, "WE SHOULD INTERVENE AT LEAST TO PROTECT THE CIVILIANS." THE OSSERVATORE'S COVERAGE OF EVENTS IN BOSNIA IS THE FULLEST THE DAILY HAS DEVOTED ANY ISSUE SINCE THE GULF WAR. THESE STRONG AND AUTHORITATIVE PUBLIC STATEMENTS INDICATE THE VATICAN'S DESIRE TO SIGNAL ITS APPROVAL FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO USE LIMITED ARMED FORCE IN THE REGION UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES. END SUMMARY.

2. MSGR. FRANCESCO MONTERISI, HOLY SEE NUNCIO FOR BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, BUT BASED MAINLY IN ROME, TOLD THE PRESS JULY 19 THAT: "THE OPTION FOR METHODS OF PEACE, DIALOGUE, AND NEGOTIATIONS ARE PREFERABLE 999 TIMES IN A THOUSAND. BUT WHEN ONE IS FACED WITH AS GRAVE A SITUATION AS THE PRESENT ONE, SEEING THAT REPEATED NEGOTIATIONS HAVE HAD NO SUCCESS, ONE MAY ALSO CONSIDER AN INTERVENTION BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY."

3. MSGR. MONTERISI DECLINED TO OUTLINE THE SPECIFICS OF ANY SUCH INTERVENTION, SAYING THAT THIS WAS NOT THE "COMPETENCE" OF THE VATICAN. REGARDING THE IMPLICATION
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THAT THE BOSNIAN CASE WAS THE ONE-IN-A-THOUSAND CASE WHERE INTERVENTION WAS JUSTIFIED, MONTERISI REPLIED: "I WOULD SAY SO, AT LEAST TO PREVENT SITUATIONS OF THIS NATURE IN THE FUTURE. IT IS NECESSARY HOWEVER THAT THE INTERVENTION BE TRULY AIMED AT DEFENDING THE POPULATION AND PROPORTIONATE TO THE OBJECTIVE OF DISARMING THE AGGRESSOR. IN SUBSTANCE, AN INTERVENTION OF THIS TYPE SHOULD ACT AS A DETERRENT, ALWAYS WITH THE CONSTANT OBJECTIVE OF RETURNING TO THE NEGOTIATION TABLE TO FIND A TRULY PEACEFUL SOLUTION."

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4. MONTERISI COMPARED THE CURRENT SITUATION TO THE RISE OF NAZISM, SAYING: "EVEN THOUGH THE PLANS OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PRESENT WICKEDNESS ARE NOT ON AS GRAND A SCALE AS THOSE OF THE NAZIS, THE PRINCIPLE AND THE FOUNDATION OF THEIR ACTIONS AND THEIR "SUPREMACY" IS HEIGHTENED NATIONALISM. WHAT WE MUST FEAR IS THAT A PRECEDENT OF THIS NATURE COULD EXTEND TO MANY LOCAL CONFLICTS IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD, BEGINNING WITH EUROPE. IT IS A VERY DANGEROUS PRECEDENT, ABOVE ALL CONSIDERING THE INERTIA AND INDECISION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY."

5. MONTERISI CONCLUDED: "I HOPE AND DESIRE THAT A DECISION WILL RESULT THAT WILL PULL US OUT OF BEING FACED WITH SUCH A DRAMATIC SITUATION, ALSO THAT THE RECENT MEETINGS AND CONTACTS DO NOT GIVE BIRTH TO THE CLASSIC "MOUSE THAT ROARS." "

6. A JULY 15 EDITORIAL IN L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO, THE SEMI-OFFICIAL VATICAN DAILY, STOPPED JUST SHORT OF
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CALLING ON THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO END THE VIOLENCE BY WHATEVER MEANS NECESSARY -- INCLUDING THE USE OF FORCE. EDITOR MARIO AGNES OBSERVED THAT, "WE SHOULD INTERVENE AT LEAST TO PROTECT THE CIVILIANS AND SPARE THEM FROM THE ATROCITIES SUFFERED BY THE INHABITANTS OF SREBRENICA," RECALLING THAT "THE INSANE, CRIMINAL DESIGN OF "ETHNIC CLEANSING' HAS GONE ON FOR THREE LONG YEARS" AND NOTING WITH APPROVAL THAT INTERVENTION IS BEING DISCUSSED "EVEN IN ITALY, AFTER THE DISINTEREST OF RECENT MONTHS." THE VATICAN DAILY RECENTLY HAS DEVOTED MORE SPACE TO BOSNIA THAN TO ANY OTHER ISSUE SINCE THE GULF WAR.

7. CONNENT: APPARENTLY, THESE STATEMENTS ARE MEANT TO SIGNAL THAT THE HOLY SEE HAS DECIDED THE USE OF MILITARY FORCE IS PREFERABLE TO THE CURRENT BOSNIAN BLOODBATH -- IF SUCH USE OF FORCE MET THE VATICAN'S STRICT CRITERIA FOR A "JUST WAR", AND IF IT WERE AIMED AT A RETURN TO THE

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BARGAINING TABLE -- AND THAT IT WANTS THE WORLD TO KNOW IT. MONTERISI, NUNCIO TO SARAJEVO SINCE JUNE 1993, BUT MOSTLY BASED IN ROME SINCE THE CRISIS INTENSIFIED, IS AN AUTHORITATIVE EXPONENT OF VATICAN POLICY IN BOSNIA, CLOSE TO FOREIGN MINISTER ABP. TAURAN AND UNDOUBTEDLY PRIVY TO

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00
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	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08	L-01	ADS-00	M-00
	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-02	PM-00
	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00
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	DRL-09	G-00	/051W				

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P 201554Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9699
INFO AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
ALL NATO POST COLLECTIVE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 ROME 010225

STATE FOR EUR/EE AND EUR/WE
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE

FROM EMBASSY VATICAN/ MESSAGE NO. 210/95

E.O. 12356: N/A

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PAGE 02 ROME 10225 02 OF 02 201618Z
TAGS: PREL, MARR, MOPS, PHUM, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR, SR, VT
SUBJECT: VATICAN SIGNALS ITS "APPROVAL" FOR
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO USE LIMITED
ARMED FORCE IN BOSNIA

THE POPE'S THINKING ON BOSNIAN ISSUES. THE CAUTIOUS
MONTERISI WOULD NEVER GIVE SUCH AN INTERVIEW WITHOUT
PRECISE NARCHING ORDERS FROM THE SECRETARIAT OF STATE.
AGNES' REMARKS ARE SIMILARLY AUTHORITATIVE, SINCE ANY
"EDITORIAL" IN THE OSSERVATORE MUST BE CLEARED BY THE
VATICAN SECRETARIAT OF STATE. END COMMENT.

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PAGE 01 STATE 177180 251402Z
ORIGIN EUR-01

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 TEDE-00 ADS-00 ONY-00 SSO-00 /001R

DRAFTED BY: EUR/SCE:PGOLDBERG:PSG
APPROVED BY: EUR/SCE:CHILL

-----DCC761 251403Z /38

O 251403Z JUL 95
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 177180

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: AMGT
SUBJECT: OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

1. JOHN, SORRY THIS ALDAC DIDN'T GET TO YOU. IT MUST BE THE RESULT OF MINIMIZE.

2. POSTS SHOULD BRIEF HOST GOVERNMENTS ON THE RESULTS OF THE JULY 21 INTERNATIONAL MEETING ON BOSNIA DRAWING ON THE FOLLOWING POINTS TAKEN FROM PREPARED REMARKS DELIVERED BY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AT A POST-CONFERENCE PRESS EVENT. POSTS IN UNPROFOR TROOP CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES SHOULD STRESS THE SECRETARY'S WARNING OF THE DANGER POSED BY FURTHER BOSNIAN SERB HOSTAGE-TAKING AND THE NEED TO TAKE APPROPRIATE PRECAUTIONS.

3. BEGIN POINTS:

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 13 MAR 2009 200705105

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ORIGIN EUR-01

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 TEDE-00 ADS-00 ONY-00 SSO-00 /001R

DRAFTED BY: EUR/SCE:PGOLDBERG:PSG
APPROVED BY: EUR/SCE:CHILL

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O 251403Z JUL 95
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 177180

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: AMGT
SUBJECT: OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

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3. BEGIN POINTS:

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-- NONE OF US IS UNDER ANY ILLUSIONS. BY NOW WE ARE ALL TOO AWARE THAT NO CONFERENCE, INCLUDING THIS ONE, CAN END THE WAR AND SUFFERING IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA.

-- BUT WHAT IT CAN DO IS FOCUS OUR MINDS ON HOW WE CAN BEST CONTRIBUTE TO ALLEVIATING SUFFERING AND ACHIEVING A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. THIS CONFERENCE HAS SERVED AS A DECISION-FORCING EVENT. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS AGREED ON A RESPONSE. NOW, WE MUST ACT.

-- TO SUCCEED IN SUCH A COLLECTIVE ENDEAVOR REQUIRES ENORMOUS LEADERSHIP. THIS WEEK, PRESIDENT CLINTON, PRESIDENT CHIRAC OF FRANCE, AND PRIME MINISTER MAJOR HAVE JOINED TO PROVIDE THAT LEADERSHIP.

-- THE ENTIRE WORLD IS WATCHING US, WAITING TO SEE IF THE WEST WILL ANSWER THE BOSNIAN SERBS' OUTRAGEOUS AGGRESSION.

-- WE FACE A VERY SIMPLE, STARK CHOICE. EITHER THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY RAPIDLY TAKES FIRM STEPS TO FULFILL ITS MISSION IN BOSNIA OR ITS MISSION WILL COLLAPSE.

-- TO HAVE ANY CHANCE OF SUCCESS, THE DECISIONS MADE TODAY MUST BE TRANSLATED -- QUICKLY -- INTO REALITY ON THE GROUND. PRESIDENT CLINTON AND THE UNITED STATES ARE DETERMINED TO SEE THAT THEY ARE. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, AND THE PEOPLE OF BOSNIA, SIMPLY CANNOT AFFORD ANY MORE EMPTY THREATS.

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-- THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THE FOLLOWING TO BE THE CENTRAL ELEMENTS OF TODAY'S AGREEMENT:

-- FIRST, THE UNANIMOUS REAFFIRMATION THAT UNPROFOR MUST REMAIN IN BOSNIA. IN ORDER TO DO SO, ITS ABILITY TO FULFILL ITS MANDATE WILL BE STRENGTHENED. WE ARE ALL PAINFULLY AWARE OF UNPROFOR'S SHORTCOMINGS. NEVERTHELESS, WE AGREE THAT UNPROFOR'S COLLAPSE IN THE FACE OF BOSNIAN SERB AGGRESSION CAN ONLY LEAD TO A FAR GREATER

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HUMANITARIAN AND STRATEGIC TRAGEDY IN THE BALKANS.

-- SECOND, AND OF MOST IMMEDIATE CONCERN, GORAZDE WILL BE DEFENDED. BOSNIAN SERB LEADERS ARE NOW ON NOTICE: AN ATTACK AGAINST GORAZDE WILL BE MET BY SUBSTANTIAL AND DECISIVE AIR POWER.

-- IN THIS REGARD, LET ME MAKE TWO KEY POINTS: FIRST ANY AIR CAMPAIGN IN GORAZDE WILL INCLUDE SIGNIFICANT ATTACKS ON SIGNIFICANT TARGETS. THERE WILL BE NO MORE PINPRICK STRIKES. SECOND, EXISTING COMMAND AND CONTROL ARRANGEMENTS FOR USING NATO AIR POWER WILL BE SIGNIFICANTLY CHANGED TO ENSURE THAT RESPONSIVENESS AND UNITY OF PURPOSE ARE ACHIEVED.

-- THIRD, WE WILL TAKE STEPS TO STABILIZE THE SITUATION IN SARAJEVO. ITS PEOPLE MUST BE FED. FRENCH AND BRITISH TROOPS FROM THE RAPID REACTION FORCE WILL TAKE ACTION TO OPEN AND SECURE HUMANITARIAN ACCESS ROUTES.

-- AT THE SAME TIME, WE AGREED MORE BROADLY ON THE NEED TO
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FULFILL THE UN'S OTHER MANDATES, INCLUDING IN THE OTHER REMAINING SAFE AREAS. IN THIS REGARD, WE ARE ESPECIALLY CONCERNED BY ESCALATING BOSNIAN SERB ATTACKS IN BIHAC.

-- FOURTH, WE AGREED ON THE NEED TO SUPPORT ONGOING EFFORTS TO ADDRESS BOSNIA'S HUMANITARIAN CRISIS, WHICH HAS BEEN GREATLY EXACERBATED BY THE FIGHTING IN SREBRENICA AND ZEPA.

, - WE INTEND, AND ARE URGING OTHERS, TO INCREASE THEIR SUPPORT FOR THESE EFFORTS, ESPECIALLY IN ADVANCE OF THE COMING WINTER. WE ARE ALSO DEMANDING THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY BE PROVIDED IMMEDIATE ACCESS TO THIS DETAINEES STILL BEING HELD BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS.

-- FIFTH, WE REAFFIRMED OUR BELIEF THAT THE CONFLICT IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA CAN ONLY BE RESOLVED BY A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT.

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-- TODAY, WE RECEIVED AN UPDATE FROM THE EU REPRESENTATIVE, CARL BILDT, AND UNDERScoreD OUR SUPPORT FOR HIS WORK. TONIGHT THE CONTACT GROUP MINISTERS WILL MEET WITH MR. BILDT TO REVIEW OUR POLITICAL EFFORTS.

-- AT THE SAME TIME, DURING THE CONFERENCE I MADE CLEAR OUR BELIEF THAT SO LONG AS THE CURRENT BOSNIAN SERB AGGRESSION CONTINUES, ANY POLITICAL PROCESS IS DOOMED TO FAILURE. OUR FIRST STEP MUST BE TO TAKE ACTION THAT CAN RETURN AN ELEMENT OF STABILITY ON THE GROUND. AT THAT POINT, WE AGREED THAT A COUNTRY-WIDE CEASEFIRE SHOULD BE DECLARED, WHICH COULD SERVE AS A BASIS FOR A RESUMPTION OF

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PAGE 05 STATE 177180 251402Z
SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS.

-- FINALLY, TODAY'S PARTICIPANTS ARE FULLY AWARE OF THE RISKS THAT WILL ACCOMPANY ANY EFFORT TO IMPLEMENT UNPROFOR'S MISSION MORE VIGOROUSLY. THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE TAKEN UN PERSONNEL AS HOSTAGES BEFORE. THEY WILL LIKELY TRY TO DO SO AGAIN.

-- AS PART OF TODAY'S PLAN WE ARE URGING THE UN TO TAKE STEPS IMMEDIATELY TO MINIMIZE THE EXPOSURE OF ITS PERSONNEL. AT THE SAME TIME, WE ARE DETERMINED THAT THE TAKING OF HOSTAGES WILL NO LONGER BE ALLOWED TO PREVENT

IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR POLICIES. WE ARE ALSO RESOLVED TO HOLD BOSNIAN SERB LEADERS FULLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SAFETY AND WELL-BEING OF ANY UN PERSONNEL IN THEIR CUSTODY.

-- LET ME SAY THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON IS COMMITTED TO WORKING WITH OUR PARTNERS, ESPECIALLY IN FRANCE AND BRITAIN, TO SEE THAT THE DECISIONS TAKEN TODAY ARE TRANSLATED INTO REALITY.

-- WE DO NOT SEEK TO MAKE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY A PARTICIPANT IN THIS WAR. BUT WE ARE DETERMINED TO MAKE ANOTHER, PERHAPS FINAL EFFORT TO FULFILL THE WORLD'S RESPONSIBILITIES IN BOSNIA -- TO CARE FOR THE VICTIMS OF AGGRESSION, TO PROVIDE SOME MINIMAL PROTECTION FOR THE

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DEFENSELESS, AND TO SUPPORT A PEACEFUL SOLUTION. TODAY'S
MEETING WAS A NECESSARY FIRST STEP TOWARD THAT GOAL. BUT
AS I NOTED EARLIER: NOW WE MUST ACT.

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PAGE 06 STATE 177180 251402Z
END POINTS. CHRISTOPHER

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PAGE 01 STATE 176067 221614Z
ORIGIN EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AF-01	AIT-03	AMAD-01	ARA-01	AS-01	A-00
	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	ANHR-01	SRPP-00	EAP-01	FBIE-00
	FSI-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-06	L-01	ADS-00
	MMP-00	M-00	NEA-01	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIG-04	OMB-01
	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	DTSP-00	SP-00	SSO-00
	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SA-01	PMB-00	SSAH-00
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 APPROVED BY: THE ACTING SECRETARY
 S/S:MLINO SSO:BFREDEN
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 FM SECSTATE WASHDC
 TO ALL DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR POSTS IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 176067

TO THE AMBASSADOR FROM THE ACTING SECRETARY

E.O. 12356: N/A
 TAGS: PREL, BK
 SUBJECT: GUIDANCE ON JULY 22 LONDON INTERNATIONAL MEETING
 ON BOSNIA

1. POSTS SHOULD BRIEF HOST GOVERNMENTS ON THE RESULTS OF
 THE JULY 21 INTERNATIONAL MEETING ON BOSNIA DRAWING ON THE
 FOLLOWING POINTS TAKEN FROM PREPARED REMARKS DELIVERED BY
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PAGE 02 STATE 176067 221614Z

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 DATE/CASE ID: 13 MAR 2009 200705105

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SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AT A POST-CONFERENCE PRESS EVENT. HOSTS IN UNPROFOR TROOP CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES SHOULD STRESS THE SECRETARY'S WARNING OF THE DANGER POSED BY FURTHER BOSNIAN SERB HOSTAGE-TAKING AND THE NEED TO TAKE APPROPRIATE PRECAUTIONS.

1. BEGIN POINTS:

-- NONE OF US IS UNDER ANY ILLUSIONS. BY NOW WE ARE ALL TOO AWARE THAT NO CONFERENCE, INCLUDING THIS ONE, CAN END THE WAR AND SUFFERING IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA.

-- BUT WHAT IT CAN DO IS FOCUS OUR MINDS ON HOW WE CAN BEST CONTRIBUTE TO ALLEVIATING SUFFERING AND ACHIEVING A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. THIS CONFERENCE HAS SERVED AS A DECISION-FORCING EVENT. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS

AGREED ON A RESPONSE. NOW, WE MUST ACT.

-- TO SUCCEED IN SUCH A COLLECTIVE ENDEAVOR REQUIRES ENORMOUS LEADERSHIP. THIS WEEK, PRESIDENT CLINTON, PRESIDENT CHIRAC OF FRANCE, AND PRIME MINISTER MAJOR HAVE JOINED TO PROVIDE THAT LEADERSHIP.

-- THE ENTIRE WORLD IS WATCHING US, WAITING TO SEE IF THE WEST WILL ANSWER THE BOSNIAN SERBS' OUTRAGEOUS AGGRESSION.

-- WE FACE A VERY SIMPLE, STARK CHOICE. EITHER THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY RAPIDLY TAKES FIRM STEPS TO FULFILL ITS MISSION IN BOSNIA OR ITS MISSION WILL COLLAPSE.

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PAGE 03 STATE 176067 221614Z
-- TO HAVE ANY CHANCE OF SUCCESS, THE DECISIONS MADE TODAY MUST BE TRANSLATED -- QUICKLY -- INTO REALITY ON THE GROUND. PRESIDENT CLINTON AND THE UNITED STATES ARE DETERMINED TO SEE THAT THEY ARE. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, AND THE PEOPLE OF BOSNIA, SIMPLY CANNOT AFFORD ANY MORE EMPTY THREATS.

-- THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THE FOLLOWING TO BE THE CENTRAL ELEMENTS OF TODAY'S AGREEMENT:

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-- FIRST, THE UNANIMOUS REAFFIRMATION THAT UNPROFOR MUST REMAIN IN BOSNIA. IN ORDER TO DO SO, ITS ABILITY TO FULFILL ITS MANDATE WILL BE STRENGTHENED. WE ARE ALL PAINFULLY AWARE OF UNPROFOR'S SHORTCOMINGS. NEVERTHELESS, WE AGREE THAT UNPROFOR'S COLLAPSE IN THE FACE OF BOSNIAN SERB AGGRESSION CAN ONLY LEAD TO A FAR GREATER HUMANITARIAN AND STRATEGIC TRAGEDY IN THE BALKANS.

-- SECOND, AND OF MOST IMMEDIATE CONCERN, GORAZDE WILL BE DEFENDED. BOSNIAN SERB LEADERS ARE NOW ON NOTICE: AN ATTACK AGAINST GORAZDE WILL BE MET BY SUBSTANTIAL AND DECISIVE AIR POWER.

-- IN THIS REGARD, LET ME MAKE TWO KEY POINTS: FIRST, ANY AIR CAMPAIGN IN GORAZDE WILL INCLUDE SIGNIFICANT ATTACKS ON SIGNIFICANT TARGETS. THERE WILL BE NO MORE PINPRICK STRIKES. SECOND, EXISTING COMMAND AND CONTROL ARRANGEMENTS FOR USING NATO AIR POWER WILL BE SIGNIFICANTLY CHANGED TO ENSURE THAT RESPONSIVENESS AND UNITY OF PURPOSE ARE ACHIEVED.

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PAGE 04 STATE 176067 221614Z
-- THIRD, WE WILL TAKE STEPS TO STABILIZE THE SITUATION IN SARAJEVO. ITS PEOPLE MUST BE FED. FRENCH AND BRITISH TROOPS FROM THE RAPID REACTION FORCE WILL TAKE ACTION TO OPEN AND SECURE HUMANITARIAN ACCESS ROUTES.

-- AT THE SAME TIME, WE AGREED MORE BROADLY ON THE NEED TO FULFILL THE UN'S OTHER MANDATES, INCLUDING IN THE OTHER REMAINING SAFE AREAS. IN THIS REGARD, WE ARE ESPECIALLY CONCERNED BY ESCALATING BOSNIAN SERB ATTACKS IN BIHAC.

-- FOURTH, WE AGREED ON THE NEED TO SUPPORT ONGOING EFFORTS TO ADDRESS BOSNIA'S HUMANITARIAN CRISIS, WHICH HAS BEEN GREATLY EXACERBATED BY THE FIGHTING IN SREBRENICA AND ZEPA.

-- WE INTEND, AND ARE URGING OTHERS TO INCREASE THEIR SUPPORT FOR THESE EFFORTS, ESPECIALLY IN ADVANCE OF THE

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COMING WINTER. WE ARE ALSO DEMANDING THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY BE PROVIDED IMMEDIATE ACCESS TO THIS DETAINEES STILL BEING HELD BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS.

-- FIFTH, WE REAFFIRMED OUR BELIEF THAT THE CONFLICT IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA CAN ONLY BE RESOLVED BY A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT.

-- TODAY, WE RECEIVED AN UPDATE FROM THE EU REPRESENTATIVE, CARL BILDT, AND UNDERScored OUR SUPPORT FOR HIS WORK. TONIGHT THE CONTACT GROUP MINISTERS WILL MEET WITH MR. BILDT TO REVIEW OUR POLITICAL EFFORTS.

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PAGE 05 STATE 176067 221614Z
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-- FINALLY, TODAY'S PARTICIPANTS ARE FULLY AWARE OF THE RISKS THAT WILL ACCOMPANY ANY EFFORT TO IMPLEMENT UNPROFOR'S MISSION MORE VIGOROUSLY. THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE TAKEN UN PERSONNEL AS HOSTAGES BEFORE. THEY WILL LIKELY TRY TO DO SO AGAIN.

-- AS PART OF TODAY'S PLAN, WE ARE URGING THE UN TO TAKE STEPS IMMEDIATELY TO MINIMIZE THE EXPOSURE OF ITS PERSONNEL. AT THE SAME TIME, WE ARE DETERMINED THAT THE TAKING OF HOSTAGES WILL NO LONGER BE ALLOWED TO PREVENT IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR POLICIES. WE ARE ALSO RESOLVED TO HOLD BOSNIAN SERB LEADERS FULLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SAFETY AND WELL-BEING OF ANY UN PERSONNEL IN THEIR CUSTODY.

-- LET ME SAY THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON IS COMMITTED TO WORKING WITH OUR PARTNERS, ESPECIALLY IN FRANCE AND BRITAIN, TO SEE THAT THE DECISIONS TAKEN TODAY ARE

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TRANSLATED INTO REALITY.

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PARTICIPANT IN THIS WAR. BUT WE ARE DETERMINED TO MAKE
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PAGE 06 STATE 176067 221614Z
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DEFENSELESS, AND TO SUPPORT A PEACEFUL SOLUTION. TODAY'S
MEETING WAS A NECESSARY FIRST STEP TOWARD THAT GOAL. BUT
AS I NOTED EARLIER: NOW WE MUST ACT.

END POINTS. TALBOTT

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PAGE 01 MOSCOW 22041 141009Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	BIB-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00
	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	OIGO-01	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00
	IO-08	LAB-01	L-01	MCO-01	ADS-00	MOFM-04	MOF-03
	M-00	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-02
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00
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R 141010Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5863
 MOSCOW POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 USMISSION USVIENNA
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 USMISSION USNATO
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 AMEMBASSY BONN

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UNCLAS MOSCOW 022041

USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: NA
 TAGS: PREL, RS, BK, SR
 SUBJECT: RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY STATEMENT ON
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2009 200705105

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PAGE 02 MOSCOW 22041 141009Z
BOSNIA

REF: USUN 2768

1. FOLLOWING IS EMBASSY'S INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF
RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY STATEMENT ON RECENT EVENTS
IN BOSNIA. ORIGINAL TEXT IS BEING FAXED TO S/NIS.
BEGIN TEXT:

"THE EVENTS TAKING PLACE IN BOSNIA ARE BEING
FOLLOWED WITH SERIOUS ALARM IN MOSCOW. THE
MILITARY ACTIONS LAUNCHED EARLIER BY THE TROOPS OF
THE MUSLIM-CROATIAN FEDERATION AND THE SEVERE
RESPONSE FROM THE BOSNIAN SERBS ARE LEADING TO A
NATURAL RESULT: THE LOGIC OF FORCE IS GAINING THE
UPPER HAND IN BOSNIAN AFFAIRS, AND THIS MEANS NEW
SUFFERING FOR THE CIVILIAN POPULATION, NEW VICTIMS,
AND TENS OF THOUSANDS OF NEW REFUGEES.

THE SITUATION IN THE REGION OF SREBRENICA IS
DEVELOPING EXACTLY ACCORDING TO THIS SCENARIO.
WE CONDEMN THE ACTIONS OF THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY FOR
IGNORING THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL DECISIONS ON THE
SAFE AREAS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA. WE CANNOT FAIL
TO MENTION ALSO THE VIOLATION OF THE DEMILITARIZED
STATUS OF THIS AREA BY THE OTHER SIDE IN THE
CONFLICT.

WE CONSIDER THE ATTACKS ON UNPROFOR INADMISSABLE,
AS WELL AS THE TAKING HOSTAGE OF PEACEKEEPERS BY
ANY OF THE CONFLICTING PARTIES.

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ONCE AGAIN, WE STATE THAT THE USE OF AIR STRIKES IS
NOT THE WAY TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM.

WE SEE THE WAY OUT NOT IN THE WITHDRAWAL OF
PEACEKEEPERS FROM BOSNIA, NOR IN THE BUILDUP OF
FORCEFUL PRESSURE, WHICH WOULD HAVE SERIOUS
NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES, BUT IN THE INSURANCE OF THE

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SAFE AND EFFICIENT FUNCTIONING OF UNPROFOR. WE CONTINUE TO FEEL THAT THE ONLY WAY IS A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, NO MATTER HOW HARD THIS MIGHT BE, ON THE BASIS OF THE PROPOSALS OF THE CONTACT GROUP, WHOSE POTENTIAL IS FAR FROM EXHAUSTED." END TEXT.

2. DURING THE REGULAR MFA PRESS BRIEFING JULY 13 MFA SPOKESMAN GRIGORIY KARASIN TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO REITERATE POINTS IN THE STATEMENT, AS WELL AS THOSE MADE BY UN RUSSIAN REP SIDOROV DURING THE UNSC MEETING JULY 12 (REFTEL).

3. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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PAGE 01 ALGIER 02250 111706Z
ACTION IO-08

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00
	EUR-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00
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	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/028W	

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R 111708Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3725
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE ALGIERS 002250

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, MOPS, BL, AG
SUBJECT: ALGERIAN MFA DEMARCHE ON BOSNIA

1. ACTING DIRECTOR GENERAL OF MULTILATERAL
RELATIONS, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, ON JULY 10
CONVOKED UNSC PERMANENT FIVE REPRESENTATIVES FOR A
DEMARCHE ON BOSNIA. MEETING WAS ATTENDED BY RUSSIAN
AND CHINESE AMBASSADORS, BRITISH CHARGE, AND
AMERICAN DCM. FRENCH AMBASSADOR WAS UNABLE TO
ATTEND.

2. ALGERIAN OFFICIAL SAID HE WAS DIRECTED BY
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PAGE 02 ALGIER 02250 111706Z
"HIGHEST ALGERIAN AUTHORITIES" TO CONVEY ALGERIA'S

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 10 MAR 2009 200705105

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DEEP CONCERNS OVER RECENT EVENTS IN BOSNIA. HE SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED SERIOUS DEVELOPMENTS NEAR SREBRENICA AND SERBIAN ATTACKS ON BOSNIAN CIVILIANS AND UNPROFOR PEACEKEEPERS.

3. MFA OFFICIAL SAID HIS GOVERNMENT DID NOT HAVE ANY SPECIFIC PROPOSALS. IN ADDITION TO ALGERIAN CONCERN OVER BOSNIA, HE SAID HE WAS ASKED TO RELAY ALGERIAN CONCERN OVER THE LACK OF UN REACTION TO REPEATED SERBIAN FLOUTING OF UN RESOLUTIONS CALLING FOR THE PROTECTION OF CIVILIANS IN PROTECTED ZONES AND TO CONTINUED SERBIAN ATTACKS ON CORRIDORS USED BY RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS FOR BASIC FOOD AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES.

4. PERMANENT FIVE REPRESENTATIVES ASSURED THE MFA OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS' CONTINUED CONCERN OVER DEVELOPMENTS IN THIS REGION AND THEIR DESIRE FOR A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION.
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PAGE 01 BANDAR 00814 310405Z
ACTION SS-00

INFO LOG-00 AMAD-01 CCO-00 CPR-02 OASY-00 DIM-00 DS-00
EAP-01 IMMC-01 TEDE-00 ADS-00 NSCE-00 PA-02 PRS-01
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O 310404Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY BANDAR SERI BEGAWAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4867
INFO ASEAN REGIONAL FORUM COLLECTIVE
USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI

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UNCLAS BANDAR SERI BEGAWAN 000814

FOR S/S MARISA LINO AND EAP. AS LORD

DEPT ALSO FOR EAP/PIMBS, EAP/RSP,

CINCPAC ALSO FOR FPA - AMB. SALMON

SINGAPORE ALSO FOR ARMA

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: OVIP (CHRISTOPHER, WARREN), ASEAN, ARF,
MARR, EFIN, PREL, BK, BX
SUBJECT: STATEMENT BY THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF
ASEAN ON THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

REF: BANDAR SERI BEGAWAN 813
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PAGE 02 BANDAR 00814 310405Z

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 10 MAR 2009 200705105

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1. THE TEXT OF THE ASEAN MINISTERIAL MEETING
STATEMENT ON BOSNIA FOLLOWS.

BEGIN TEXT

JULY 28, 1995

STATEMENT BY THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF ASEAN ON
THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

1. THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF ASEAN DISCUSSED
THE EXTREMELY GRAVE SITUATION IN BOSNIA AND
HERZEGOVINA AND CONDEMNED THE SEIZURE OF THE UN
SAFE AREAS OF SREBRENICA AND ZEPA BY THE
BOSNIAN SERB FORCES AS WELL AS THEIR ATTACKS ON
THE SAFE AREA OF BIHAC, GORAZDE AND SARAJEVO.
THEY DEMAND THE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF THE
BOSNIAN SERB FORCES FROM SREBRENICA AND ZEPA.
THEY SUPPORT ALL INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO PUT A
STOP TO THE CONTINUING AGGRESSION,
STRANGULATION OF THE UN SAFE AREAS, ETHNIC
CLEANSING AND GENOCIDE IN THE REPUBLIC OF
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS
WHICH CONSTITUTE FLAGRANT VIOLATIONS OF
INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW AND SECURITY
COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS.

2. THEY EXPRESS THEIR PROFOUND ANGUISH AT THE
FAILURE AND PARALYSIS OF THE UN MISSION IN THE
REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN
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PAGE 03 BANDAR 00814 310405Z
RESPONDING AND ADDRESSING THE FAST
DETERIORATING SITUATION IN THAT COUNTRY. THEY
CALL UPON THE UNITED NATIONS, IN PARTICULAR THE
SECURITY COUNCIL, TO AUTHORIZE UNPROFOR TO USE
ALL NECESSARY MEASURES TO PROTECT THE UN SAFE
AREAS IN ACCORDANCE WITH ALL RELEVANT UN
SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS. THEY ALSO CALL
ON THE UN AND NATO TO PROTECT, DEFEND AND
SECURE THE LIFELINES TO ALL UN SAFE AREAS, IN
PARTICULAR SARAJEVO.

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3. THEY CONDEMN THE OPEN AND BLATANT ATTACKS ON UNPROFOR PERSONNEL BY THE SERBS. THEY SUPPORT THE CONTINUING PRESENCE OF UNPROFOR IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA. THEY CALL UPON UNPROFOR TO RESPOND APPROPRIATELY IN ORDER TO ENABLE UNPROFOR TO EFFECTIVELY CARRY OUT ITS MANDATE IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA.

4. THE FOREIGN MINISTERS ACCEPT THE RIGHT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA TO SELF-DEFENSE IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 51 OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER, AND THE LEGITIMATE RIGHT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA TO REQUEST AND RECEIVE MILITARY ASSISTANCE. THEY THEREFORE SUPPORT THE LIFTING OF THE UNITED NATIONS ARMS EMBARGO IMPOSED ON BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA AS CALLED FOR IN OP22 OF UNGA RESOLUTION 49/10 ADOPTED ON 3 NOVEMBER 1994.

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PAGE 04 BANDAR 00814 310405Z
5. THEY ALSO SUPPORT THE SOVERIEGN AND NATIONAL RIGHT OF CROATIA TO REGAIN THE TERRITORIES SEIZED AND NOW UNDER CONTROL BY THE SERBS.

6. THEY REGRET THE FAILURE OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL TO FIND A JUST AND DURABLE SETTLEMENT AND CALLED UPON THE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE UNSC TO EFFECTIVELY BRING AN END TO THE TRAGEDY AND ACHIEVE PEACE IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA. THEY PLEDGE THEIR READINESS TO SUPPORT INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO REALIZE THIS OBJECTIVE.
BRUNEI DARUSSALAM
28 JULY 1995
END TEXT
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PAGE 01 AMMAN 07514 01 OF 02 161037Z
ACTION IO-08

INFO	LOG-00	AF-01	ARA-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	CPR-02	OASY-00
	DODE-00	SRPP-00	EAP-01	EUR-01	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00
	INR-00	L-01	ADS-00	MOFM-04	MOF-03	M-00	NEA-01
	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OIG-04	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00
	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	SA-01	PMB-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00

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 FM AMEMBASSY AMMAN
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1918
 INFO UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
 USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB PRIORITY

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 02 AMMAN 007514

E.O. 12356: N/A
 TAGS: PREL, PDIP, MARR, UNSC, JO, BK
 SUBJECT: KING HUSSEIN APPEALS FOR SECURITY
 COUNCIL ACTION TO STOP SERB
 AGGRESSION

1. ACTION REQUEST - SEE PARA 9.

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PAGE 02 AMMAN 07514 01 OF 02 161037Z

2. KING HUSSEIN SUMMONED THE P-5 AMBASSADORS TO THE

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PALACE THE AFTERNOON OF JULY 15 TO EXPRESS HIS FRUSTRATION AND HORROR OVER THE BOSNIAN SERB OCCUPATION OF SREBRENICA, SUBSEQUENT ATTACKS ON THE UN SAFE AREA OF ZEPA, AND THE INABILITY THUS FAR OF UNPROFOR TO FULFILL ITS MANDATE. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY ROYAL COURT CHIEF MARWAN KASSIM. THE KING SAID HE HAD SPOKEN WITH PRESIDENT CHIRAC JULY 14 TO SUPPORT THE FRENCH CALL FOR MILITARY ACTION TO REASSERT THE UNPROFOR MANDATE AND TO PROTECT THE DESIGNATED SAFE AREAS IN BOSNIA. THE KING SAID THAT IF UNPROFOR REMAINS UNABLE TO FULFILL ITS MANDATE, HE WOULD HAVE TO CONSIDER WITHDRAWING THE OVER 3,000 JORDANIAN PERSONNEL WITH UNPROFOR IN CROATIA. THE KING ASKED THE P-5 AMBASSADORS TO COMMUNICATE HIS CONCERNS TO THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS.

3. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THE KING HAS SUMMONED THE P-5 AMBASSADORS AS SUCH SINCE EARLY 1994. THAT ALONE IS AN INDICATION OF THE DEPTH AND EMOTION OF HIS CONCERN OVER SERB AGGRESSION AND UNPROFOR'S EFFECTIVENESS. IN HIS TEN-MINUTE PRESENTATION THE KING SAID:

-- "WE FEEL A SENSE OF SHAME THAT AFFECTS ALL OF US. BOSNIAN SERB AGGRESSION AND ETHNIC CLEANSING IS AKIN TO A SECOND HOLOCAUST, AND WE STAND HELPLESS TO DO ANYTHING ABOUT IT. HAVING JUST CELEBRATED ITS FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY, THE UN IS FACING A CRUCIAL TEST OF ITS ABILITY TO DISCHARGE ITS MANDATE. SUCH NAKED AGGRESSION CANNOT BE TOLERATED. ONE SAFE AREA HAS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ALREADY BEEN OVERRUN AND WE FACE THE POSSIBILITY OF A COMPLETE DISASTER IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA."

-- "JORDAN IS A SMALL COUNTRY BUT HAS BEEN PROUD TO PARTICIPATE AS A PART OF UNPROFOR. IF BOSNIAN SERB AGGRESSION CONTINUES UNCHECKED, OUR PRESENCE BECOMES IRRELEVANT. IF THE UN IS HUMILIATED, JORDAN WILL HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO WITHDRAW THE JORDANIAN CONTINGENT. WE DO NOT WANT TO SHARE IN THIS STIGMA. THIS IS THE WORST TYPE OF CRISIS I HAVE SEEN IN MY

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LIFETIME. SERB AGRESSION IS AN INSULT TO HUMANITY AND TO THE COLLECTIVE WILL OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY. THE ABSENCE OF AN APPROPRIATE RESPONSE BREEDS EXTREMISM."

4. HUSSEIN SAID HE HAD TOLD PRESIDENT CHIRAC THAT HE FULLY SUPPORTS THE FRENCH PROPOSAL FOR AN AGGRESSIVE MILITARY RESPONSE, BUT THAT IF THERE IS NO CHANGE "MAYBE WE SHOULD PULL OUT."

5. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR TOLD THE KING THAT CHIRAC HAD WELCOMED HIS CALL AND CONTINUES TO PRESS FOR STRONG ACTION BY THE UNITED NATIONS. HE SAID THAT PARIS WOULD APPRECIATE THE KING'S CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR A SIGNIFICANTLY ENHANCED MILITARY RESPONSE TO SERB AGGRESSION. THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT FOLLOWING AN INITIAL CONTACT BETWEEN CHIRAC AND JOHN MAJOR, MILITARY-TO-MILITARY DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN BRITAIN AND FRANCE CONTINUED. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR RESPONDED THAT CHIRAC AND HIS GOVERNMENT BELIEVE STRONG ACTION IS NECESSARY BUT THAT FRANCE CANNOT ACT

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UNILATERALLY.

6. THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR TOLD THE KING THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF CROATIA CONTINUED TO BLOCK THE DEPLOYMENT OF BRITISH RRF FORCES BECAUSE THE CROATS BELIEVE ALLEGEDLY THAT DEPLOYMENT IS DESIGNED TO FACILITATE UNPROFOR WITHDRAWAL, NOT TO STRENGTHEN ITS CAPACITY TO FULFILL ITS MANDATE.

7. I TOLD THE KING THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD ALREADY CONSULTED WITH CHIRAC, CHANCELLOR KOHL AND JOHN MAJOR AND THAT OUR MILITARY AUTHORITIES WERE DISCUSSING WITH THE FRENCH SPECIFIC QUESTIONS THE PRESIDENT HAD POSED TO CHIRAC ABOUT THE PROPOSAL TO STRENGTHEN UNPROFOR. I TOLD HIM THAT WE SHARE THE FRENCH CONCERN TO RESTORE THE INTEGRITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS MISSION, THAT WE BELIEVE UNPROFOR SHOULD REMAIN IN THE FIELD, AND THAT WE STAND READY TO SUPPORT THOSE WHO HAVE TROOPS ON THE GROUND. I ADDED

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THAT WE ALSO WERE CONCERNED TO MAINTAIN CONSENSUS WITHIN THE NATO ALLIANCE. FINALLY, I DREW ON THE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN'S STATEMENT THAT WHEN OUR QUESTIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE FRENCH STRATEGY ARE ANSWERED, WE WILL RESPOND DIRECTLY AND PUBLICLY TO

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ACTION IO-08

INFO	LOG-00	AF-01	ARA-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	CPR-02	OASY-00
	DODE-00	SRPP-00	EAP-01	EUR-01	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00
	INR-00	L-01	ADS-00	MOFM-04	MOF-03	M-00	NEA-01
	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OIG-04	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00
	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	SA-01	PMB-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00

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FM AMEMBASSY AMMAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1919
INFO UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB PRIORITY

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E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, PDIP, MARR, UNSC, JO, BK
SUBJECT: KING HUSSEIN APPEALS FOR SECURITY
COUNCIL ACTION TO STOP SERB
AGGRESSION

CHIRAC'S PROPOSAL.

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8. THE LOCAL PRESS REPORTED WIDELY JULY 16 ON THE KING'S MEETING WITH THE P-5. ACCORDING TO THE JORDAN TIMES, THE KING URGED THE WORLD COMMUNITY TO PUT AN END TO THE "HEINOUS CRIMES" COMMITTED BY THE SERBS AGAINST BOSNIAN CIVILIANS. STRAINING TO AVOID THE WORD "HOLOCAUST," THE PRESS QUOTED THE KING AS HAVING TOLD THE P-5 THAT SERB PRACTICES "REMINDS US OF THE ATROCITIES AGAINST PEOPLE THAT USED TO BE COMMITTED IN THE WORLD BEFORE THE CREATION OF THE (UN)." RADIO JORDAN SAID HUSSEIN TOLD CHIRAC THAT JORDAN WOULD WITHDRAW ITS TROOPS FROM UNPROFOR IF NO MILITARY ACTION WERE TAKEN TO STOP SERB ATTACKS AGAINST MUSLIM ENCLAVES IN BOSNIA.

ACTION REQUESTED

9. WE WILL CONTINUE TO DRAW ON OFFICIAL STATEMENTS WITH RESPECT TO OUR REACTION TO CHIRAC'S PROPOSAL AND THE DEEPENING CRISIS. IN LIGHT OF THE KING'S SPECIAL ISLAMIC CREDENTIALS AND THE SIZEABLE JORDANIAN DEPLOYMENT IN SUPPORT OF UNPROFOR, AN ADMINISTRATION MESSAGE TAILORED TO HIS CONCERNS AS EXPRESSED ABOVE WOULD SEEM APPROPRIATE.
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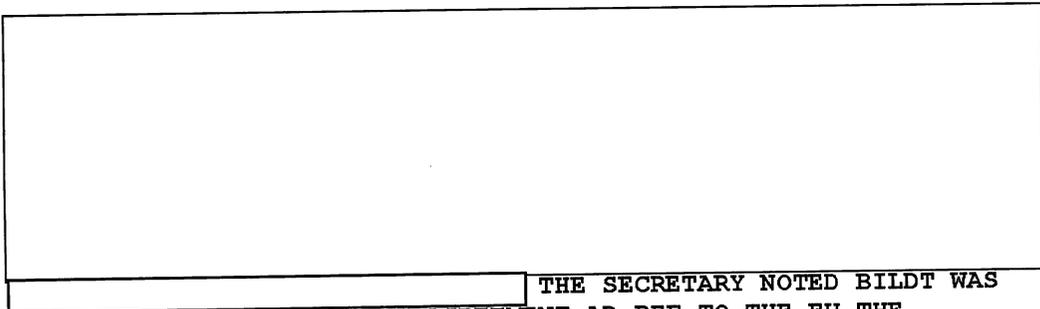
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PAGE 02 SECTO 15007 221724Z
FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA ZOTOV AND MFA POLICY PLANNER LUKOV AND
EMBASSY LONDON INTERPRETER IVANOVSKY JOINED KOZYREV.

4. SUMMARY: THE SECRETARY NOTED THIS IS AN HISTORIC, DEFINING
MOMENT FOR UNPROFOR, THE CONTACT GROUP AND RELATIONS WITH THE
FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. WITH THE BOSNIAN SERB ASSAULT ON SREBRENICA
AND ZEPA, WE MAY BE REACHING A SITUATION IN WHICH UNPROFOR IS
UNSUSTAINABLE. WE NEED STRONG ACTION TO PREVENT THIS. NOTING
THE NEED FOR CLOSE CONSULTATIONS WITH RUSSIA, THE SECRETARY SAID
THE JULY 21 MEETING SHOULD FOCUS ON FOUR ISSUES: THE MILITARY
SITUATION IN BOSNIA; THE STRANGLE-HOLD ON SARAJEVO (WHICH WAS
PRODUCING MALNUTRITION); IMPROVING HUMANITARIAN AID FOR THE
REFUGEES; AND THE BILDT MISSION. REGARDING THE FIRST ITEM, HE
STRESSED THE NEED TO SET DOWN CLEAR MARKERS OF STRONG NATO AIR
STRIKES TO DETER THE BOSNIAN SERBS FROM AGGRESSION AGAINST OTHER
SECURITY ZONES IN BOSNIA.

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THE SECRETARY NOTED BILDT WAS
TASKED TO COME UP WITH AN AGREEMENT AD REF TO THE EU THE
CONTACT GROUP AND THE U.N. BILDT'S RESULTS SHOULD BE REPORTED
FIRST TO THESE ORGANIZATIONS. END SUMMARY.

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THE CHALLENGE TODAY IN BOSNIA

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6. THE SECRETARY OPENED THE MEETING BY NOTING THIS IS AN HISTORIC, DEFINING MOMENT FOR UNPROFOR, THE CONTACT GROUP AND RELATIONS WITH THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. WITH THE BOSNIAN SERB ASSAULT ON SREBRENICA AND ZEPA, WE MAY BE REACHING A SITUATION IN WHICH UNPROFOR IS UNSUSTAINABLE. WE NEED STRONG ACTION TO PREVENT THIS FROM HAPPENING. HE ADDED THE ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY WAS ALSO FACING GREAT PRESSURE IN CONGRESS. THE PRESIDENT HAD PERSUADED SENATE MAJORITY LEADER DOLE TO POSTPONE A VOTE ON THE UNILATERAL LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO ON THE BOSNIAN MUSLIMS BY POINTING TO THE PROSPECT OF SOME PROGRESS AT THIS MEETING. THE SECRETARY ADDED THAT, IF THE MEASURE HAD BEEN BROUGHT TO THE FLOOR, IT WOULD HAVE RECEIVED 70-75 VOTES; I.E., IT WOULD BE VETO-PROOF.

7. THE SECRETARY STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP ON AN EVEN KEEL, EVEN AS WE GRAPPLED WITH THE TASK OF MAINTAINING UNPROFOR IN BOSNIA. THIS WOULD REQUIRE REGULAR CONSULTATION.

THE FOUR TASKS OF THE CONFERENCE

8. THE SECRETARY SAID THERE WERE FOUR MAIN SUBJECTS FOR THE MEETING JULY 21. THE FIRST WAS THE MILITARY SITUATION IN BOSNIA. THE SEIZURE OF ZEPA AND SREBRENICA SET A DANGEROUS PRECEDENT WE NEEDED TO STOP. DETERRENCE WAS OUR PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE; ONLY BY DETERRING FURTHER BOSNIAN SERB ACTION COULD
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THE CONTACT GROUP RETAIN SOME CREDIBILITY. THAT WAS WHAT OUR PROPOSED MASSIVE AIR CAMPAIGN -- IN THE EVENT THE BOSNIAN SERBS MOVE AGAINST SARAJEVO OR GORAZDE -- WAS DESIGNED TO DO. WE HOPE IT DOES NOT HAPPEN; BUT IN THE PAST A CLEAR INTENTION OF NATO WILLINGNESS TO ACT MILITARILY PERSUADED THE BOSNIAN SERBS TO BACK DOWN. THE SECRETARY ADDED THE FRENCH HAD PROPOSED TO PUT ADDITIONAL TROOPS INTO THE SAFE HAVENS. THIS WAS ALSO UNDER DISCUSSION.

9. THE SECOND ISSUE CONCERNED THE GRAVE SITUATION IN SARAJEVO; WE NEEDED TO PREVENT DISASTER THERE. SERB REFUSAL TO ALLOW REGULAR FOOD TRANSPORTS INTO THE CITY HAS LED TO A SEVERE PROBLEM WITH MALNUTRITION.

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10. IN THE SECRETARY'S VIEW, THE THIRD AREA WAS OVERALL HUMANITARIAN RELIEF FOR REFUGEES IN BOSNIA. HE NOTED THE ASSAULTS ON SREBRENICA AND ZEPA HAD PRODUCED THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES. THE ICRC AND UNHCR WERE COPING, BUT UNDER SUMMERTIME CONDITIONS, WHEN IT WAS POSSIBLE, FOR INSTANCE, FOR REFUGEES TO LIVE IN A TENT. MUCH MORE WILL NEED TO BE DONE TO MEET THE REFUGEES' NEEDS IN THE WINTER.

11. THE SECRETARY ADDED THE MEETING TOMORROW HAD TO CONSIDER THE EFFORTS OF EU ENVOY BILDT. THERE WERE SOME INDICATIONS THAT HE REACHED AGREEMENT WITH MILOSEVIC ON CERTAIN KEY QUESTIONS -- SUCH AS THE RECOGNITION OF BOSNIA -- AND HAD A NEW FORMULA FOR SANCTIONS LIFT. THE SECRETARY SAID WE HAD NOT TAKEN A CLOSE LOOK AT BILDT'S LATEST MISSION. HE NOTED THE JULY 21 MEETING MIGHT PROVE UNWIELDY -- WITH MANY DIFFERENT GROUPS (THE CONTACT GROUP, TROOP CONTRIBUTOR COUNTRIES, NATO, THE U.N.) AND MANY
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DIFFERENT INTERESTS. HE ONCE AGAIN UNDERScoreD THE NEED FOR CLOSE CONSULTATIONS TO ASSURE THE MAXIMUM DEGREE OF CONVERGENCE IN THE RUSSIAN AND AMERICAN POSITIONS.

KOZYREV'S RESPONSE:

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[REDACTED]

THE
SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT THE U.S. AND RUSSIA HAD A COMMON
PROBLEM WITH THE BOSNIAN SERBS. THEY WERE VIOLATING THE
SECURITY ZONES, COMMITTING BLATANT AGGRESSION AGAINST THEIR
NEIGHBORS, AND, ACCORDING TO ACCOUNTS IN THE PAPERS, COMMITTING
ATROCITIES. SUCH BEHAVIOR MUST STOP.
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THE BILDT MISSION

[REDACTED]

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15. THE SECRETARY ACKNOWLEDGED THE CONTACT GROUP HAD WANTED TO
GIVE BILDT LEEWAY IN HIS MISSION. BUT BILDT WAS TASKED TO COME
UP WITH AN AGREEMENT AD REF TO THE EU, THE CONTACT GROUP AND THE
U.N. BILDT'S RESULTS SHOULD BE REPORTED FIRST TO THESE
ORGANIZATIONS. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

THE
SECRETARY REITERATED THAT WE HAD NOT YET TAKEN A COMPREHENSIVE
LOOK AT BILDT'S LATEST IDEAS. U/S TARNOFF REMARKED BILDT WAS
NOT AS NEAR TO AGREEMENT WITH MILOSEVIC AS KOZYREV HAD
SUGGESTED; FOR INSTANCE, THERE WAS NO MEETING OF THE MINDS ON
OIL IMPORTS AND THE CONTINUED FREEZING OF COMMERCIAL ASSETS.
THE SECRETARY ADDED THAT BILDT'S IDEAS ON THE FORMULA FOR
SANCTIONS LIFT MIGHT ALSO BE PROBLEMATIC.

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THE CHURKIN TRIP

16. THE SECRETARY ASKED FOR AMBASSADOR CHURKIN'S VIEWS ON THE
SITUATION IN PALE, BASED UPON HIS RECENT TRIP. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] THE SECRETARY SAID
OUR OBJECTIVE IS TO BRING BOTH SIDES TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE.

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PAGE 01 STATE 165050 110124Z
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INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 /000R

DRAFTED BY: D:D STAFF:MAS

APPROVED BY: D:M WONG

S/S:MEGUEST

S/S-O: TBROWN

DESIRED DISTRIBUTION:

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TO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL SAO PAULO IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 165050

NODIS **DECAPTIONED**

FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY TALBOTT FROM THE D STAFF TODEP 9026

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: OVIP (TALBOTT, STROBE), PREL, CI, BR

SUBJECT: D DAILY ACTIVITY REPORT, JULY 10, 1995

TODEP: 9026

SAO PAULO PLEASE HOLD FOR THE DEPUTY SECRETARY'S
ARRIVAL

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PAGE 02 STATE 165050 110124Z

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
CLASSIFICATION: SECRET REASON: 1.4(D)
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 10 JUL 2020
DATE/CASE ID: 27 MAR 2009 200705105

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1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT.

ACTION ITEMS
--,-----

2. LATVIAN WEAPONS: DOD HAS ASKED FOR A D CLEARANCE ON A MEMO WHICH WOULD PROVIDE PRICE AND AVAILABILITY DATA ON EXCESS M-14 RIFLES AND M-60 LIGHT MACHINE GUNS TO LATVIA. THE REAL ISSUE -- AND LYNN DAVIS AGREES -- IS TO ESTABLISH A RATIONAL PROCESS FOR DEALING WITH SUCH REQUESTS FROM HERE ON OUT. THIS BUILDING AND THE PENTAGON WOULD LIKE YOUR THOUGHTS ON THE MATTER. AS CLEARANCE IS NEEDED ONLY BY JULY 13 JOHN IS HOLDING THE MEMO FOR YOUR RETURN.

3. MARTIN WALKER LUNCH: PETER TARNOFF AND ALAN ROMBERG HAVE ACCEPTED YOUR INVITATION TO THE BROWN BAG LUNCH WHICH YOU OFFERED TO HOST FOR WALKER. THE ONLY LUNCH SLOT OPEN PRIOR TO YOUR VACATION IS JULY 17. SHOULD WE SCHEDULE THE LUNCH THEN?

4. BURUNDI/RWANDA: GEORGE MOOSE HAS INQUIRED WHETHER YOU WOULD BE WILLING TO CONVOKE THE FRENCH AND THE BELGIAN AMBASSADORS ON FRIDAY, JULY 14. HE IS SEEKING SEVENTH-FLOOR SUPPORT FOR HIS EFFORTS TO ROUSE PARIS AND BRUSSELS IN HELPING WITH PREEMPTIVE MEASURES AIMED AT PREVENTING RENEWED CONFLICT IN THESE NATIONS. UNFORTUNATELY, THE MEETING HAS TO BE HELD ON FRIDAY, SINCE OUR NEW SPECIAL ENVOY ON RWANDA, RICHARD BOGOSIAN, WILL DEPART SATURDAY. IF YOU ARE UNABLE TO HOLD SUCH A
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MEETING SO SOON AFTER YOUR TRIP (JOHN HAS INFORMED AF THAT YOU WILL ONLY RETURN FROM LATIN AMERICA ON THURSDAY), AF WILL ASK PETER TARNOFF.

5. MEETING WITH ROK PRES. KIM YONG-SAM. TOM HUBBARD CALLED TO INQUIRE ABOUT YOUR AVAILABILITY ON JULY 25 TO PAY A CALL ON KIM AT BLAIR HOUSE AT THE START OF HIS STATE VISIT. EAP HAD REQUESTED THAT THE SECRETARY PAY THIS COURTESY CALL (AS HAS BEEN TRADITIONAL) BUT EAP

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UNDERSTANDS THAT THE SECRETARY HAS DECLINED IN ORDER TO CLEAR HIS CALENDAR FOR A POSSIBLE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS EVENT ON THAT DAY. AS PUT TO THE SECRETARY, THE COURTESY CALL WOULD TAKE PLACE AT 3:30 PM FOR THIRTY MINUTES. EAP HAD RECOMMENDED THAT MRS. CHRISTOPHER ACCOMPANY FOR THE CALL ON PRES. KIM AND MRS. KIM. THOUGHTS?

6. MAMEDOV PAPERS: JIM TIMBIE WANTS TO KNOW IF YOU WERE ABLE TO HAND OVER A NON-PAPER ON BW TO MAMEDOV DURING YOUR MEETING. MOSCOW REPORTS THEY PASSED THE NON-PAPER TO MFA ON 7/8, WHICH PROMISED TO GET IT TO MAMEDOV. TIMBIE THOUGHT YOU WOULD ALSO PROVIDE ONE TO MAMEDOV AND WANTS TO CONFIRM THAT MAMEDOV IN FACT RECEIVED IT.

UPDATES

7. BOSNIA: PER YOUR REQUEST, JOHN WILL SEND A PACKAGE OF BOSNIA MEMOS TO BRASILIA (I.E., THE NEXT STOP WITH A
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CLASSIFIED FAX) FOR THE PLANE RIDE HOME. IN THE MEANTIME, HE HAS HAD RETRANSMITTED SOME GOOD CABLES FROM

SARAJEVO, THE HAGUE AND USUN ON LATEST DEVELOPMENTS. READ IN TANDEM, THESE PROVIDE THE CONTEXT OF THE LOOMING CRISIS IN SREBRENICA AS A RESULT OF THE ONGOING BOSNIAN SERB ADVANCE AGAINST THE ENCLAVE. IN OUTLINE, THAT ADVANCE APPEARS TO BE THE BOSNIAN SERBS' WAY OF TESTING THE NERVE OF THE NEW RAPID REACTION FORCE. IN A BROADER SENSE, HOWEVER, THE SERB ATTACK, THE TENUOUS SITUATION OF THE FOUR HUNDRED DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS IN THE TOWN, AND THE DEATH OF A DUTCH SOLDIER AT THE HANDS OF BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT FORCES AGAIN PLACE IN HIGH RELIEF KEY QUESTIONS ABOUT THE CONFLICT AND ABOUT OUR ROLE IN IT: THE VIABILITY OF NATO AIRSTRIKES AS A DETERRENT OF BOSNIAN SERB ATTACKS; THE PRESERVATION OF THE ENCLAVES; THE FATE OF UNPROFOR. THE STRAIN ON OUR ALLIES IS EVIDENT: THE DUTCH CABINET IS MEETING IN EMERGENCY

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SESSION TO DECIDE ON A RESPONSE TO DANGER THEIR TROOPS IN SREBRENICA NOW FACE (IT WILL BE RELUCTANT TO SUPPORT AIRSTRIKES). THE FRENCH SO FAR SEEM DETERMINED TO HOLD FIRM. HOWEVER, CHIRAC IS UNDER PRESSURE ON RANGE OF POLITICAL FRONTS (NUCLEAR TESTING, DOMESTIC POLITICS). BOSNIA MAY ULTIMATELY PROVE ONE PRESSURE TOO MANY.

8. PAKISTAN F-16S. THE ACTION MEMO AND CABLE AUTHORIZING THE APPROACH TO JAKARTA TO SELL PAKISTAN F-16S (AND ALL OTHER F-16 FLAVORS) IS MOVING TO LYNN DAVIS FOR HER CLEARANCE. I'VE BEEN IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH HER STAFF AND SHE MAY GIVE US A NOTE TO SEND TO YOU ALONG WITH THE DRAFT MEMO. WENDY SHERMAN'S STAFF HAS

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PUT TOGETHER A LEGISLATIVE BRIEFING STRATEGY THAT WILL HAVE WINSTON LORD MEETING WITH SENS. LEAHY AND HATFIELD TO BRIEF ON THE INDONESIA ANGLE; OTHER STAFF BRIEFINGS ARE IN THE WORKS TO GO OVER THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION, THE LEGISLATIVE VEHICLES NEEDED TO RETURN OTHER MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO PAKISTAN, AND THE PITCH TO INDONESIA. H ASSURES US THAT THIS EFFORT WILL BE COMPLETED BEFORE THE STATE BUDGET BILLS ARE ACTED ON NEXT WEEK. SO FAR SO GOOD. WE HOPE TO GET THE FINAL DRAFTS DOWN TO YOU IN TOMORROW'S DAR.

9. (A) DISTURBING DEVELOPMENTS IN ARMENIAN VOTE TALLY. INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS NOTE THAT THE RESULTS FROM THE JULY 5 PARLIMENTARY ELECTIONS AND CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDUM HAVE BEEN SLOW AND SUBJECT TO TAMPERING. THERE IS CONCERN OVER A LACK OF COOPERATION AND TRANSPARENCY BY THE CENTRAL ELECTION COMMISSION, WHICH SO FAR HAS REFUSED TO SHARE PRELIMINARY ELECTION TALLIES WITH INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS. MOREOVER, IT APPEARS THAT ONLY PRO-GOVERNMENT MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL ELECTION COMMISSION HAVE BEEN PRESENT DURING THE VOTE TABULATION

AND OPPOSITION MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION HAVE BEEN EXCLUDED FROM PARTICIPATING. THESE ACTIONS CAST DOUBT ON THE VERACITY OF THE ANNOUNCED PRELIMINARY RESULTS.

(B) CHAIRMAN ANNOUNCES REFERENDUM RESULTS. THE

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CHAIRMAN OF THE ARMENIAN CENTRAL ELECTION COMMISSION
ANNOUNCED LATE SATURDAY NIGHT IN THE HALL OF PARLIMENT
THAT THE CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDUM PASSED WITH "YES"
VOTES CAST BY 37.83 OF ELIGIBLE VOTERS. THE MEASURE

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PAGE 06 STATE 165050 110124Z
REQUIRED THE ASSENT OF 30 OF CITIZENS WHOSE NAMES FALL
ON THE BALLOT LIST. IN A SEPARATE STATEMENT, OPPOSITION
COMMISSION MEMBERS COUNTERED THAT THEY "ARE SURE THAT
THE FINAL RESULTS WILL BE RIGGED." LENDING CREDENCE TO
OPPOSITION CLAIMS, THE CHAIRMAN'S ANNOUNCEMENT ALSO
CLAIMED A REMARKABLY LOW TALLY OF ONLY 3 OF BALLOTS
CAST WERE "RECOGNIZED AS INVALID."

(C) AMBASSADOR'S COMMENT: HARRY GILMORE COUNSELS
AGAINST ISSUING A PUBLIC STATEMENT AT THIS TIME. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] U.S. PRESS REACTION
SO FAR HAS BEEN MINIMAL, AND WE HAVE RECEIVED NO
REQUESTS FOR GUIDANCE.

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B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

CONFIDENTIAL PTQ3017

PAGE 01 RIYADH 03176 160641Z
ACTION NEA-01

INFO	LOG-00	COR-01	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00
	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	EUR-01	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00
	IO-08	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00
	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00
	DRL-09	G-00	/030W				

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O 151430Z JUL 95 ZDS
 FM AMEMBASSY RIYADH
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0533
 INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L RIYADH 003176

C O R R E C T E D COPY (NAME OF CITY CHANGED PARA 3 & 6)

DEPT PLEASE ALSO PASS TO NSC

E.O. 12356: DECL:
 TAGS: PREL, SA, US, BK
 SUBJECT: SAUDI ARABIA URGES U.S. TO TAKE THE LEAD IN
 LIFTING ARMS EMBARGO ON BOSNIA

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 RIYADH 03176 160641Z
 1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 14 JUL 2020
 DATE/CASE ID: 27 MAR 2009 200705105

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2. MFA WESTERN AFFAIRS DIRECTOR, KHALID JINDAN, UNDER INSTRUCTIONS FROM FOREIGN MINISTER SAUD AL FAISAL, CONVOKED THE CHARGE ON JULY 15, TO PRESENT SAUDI CONCERNS ABOUT THE DETERIORATING SITUATION IN BOSNIA.

3. IN A LONG AND REASONED, [REDACTED] DISCOURSE, JINDAN MADE THREE ESSENTIAL POINTS ABOUT HIS GOVERNMENT'S POSITION TOWARD THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS:

B1

-- THE SERB CAPTURE OF SREBRENICA AND ITS HORRIFIC AFTERMATH DEMONSTRATED THE ABSENCE OF ANY TRUE SAFEHAVENS FOR THE BOSNIAN MUSLIMS. UNPROFOR WAS INCAPABLE OF CARRYING OUT ITS MANDATE.

-- UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT IS UNREASONABLE AND IMMORAL TO CONTINUE EMBARGOING ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT OF BOSNIA. THE POLICY MIGHT HAVE BEEN DEFENSIBLE IF THE U.N. HAD PREVENTED FURTHER AGGRESSION AND PROTECTED THE CIVILIAN POPULATION, BUT IT COULD NO LONGER BE JUSTIFIED.

-- THE SAUDI GOVERNMENT, THEREFORE, IS REQUESTING THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO TAKE THE LEAD IN ENDING THE EMBARGOING OF ARMS TO BOSNIA. ONLY THE U.S. HAS THE POLITICAL WEIGHT AND WILL TO END THIS NOW UNFAIR POLICY. THE U.S. AND OTHERS SHOULD NO LONGER ARGUE THAT LIFTING THE EMBARGO WOULD LEAD TO A WIDER CONFLICT, SINCE THE CURRENT POLICY NOT ONLY
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PAGE 03 RIYADH 03176 160641Z
THREATENED TO IGNITE A WIDER CONFLICT, BUT ALSO WAS UNDERMINING RESPECT FOR THE U.N. AND INTERNATIONAL LEGITIMACY RIGHT IN THE HEART OF EUROPE.

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PAGE 01 RIYADH 03176 151429Z
ACTION NEA-01

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FM AMEMBASSY RIYADH
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0533
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY LONDON

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C O N F I D E N T I A L RIYADH 003176

DEPT PLEASE ALSO PASS TO NSC

E.O. 12356: DECL:

TAGS: PREL, SA, US, BK

SUBJECT: SAUDI ARABIA URGES U.S. TO TAKE THE LEAD IN
LIFTING ARMS EMBARGO ON BOSNIA

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

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PAGE 02 RIYADH 03176 151429Z

2. MFA WESTERN AFFAIRS DIRECTOR, KHALID JINDAN, UNDER INSTRUCTIONS FROM FOREIGN MINISTER SAUD AL FAISAL, CONVOKED THE CHARGE ON JULY 15, TO PRESENT SAUDI CONCERNS ABOUT THE DETERIORATING SITUATION IN BOSNIA.

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B1

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-- UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT IS UNREASONABLE AND IMMORAL TO CONTINUE EMBARGOING ARMS DELIVERIES TO THE LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT OF BOSNIA. THE POLICY MIGHT HAVE BEEN DEFENSIBLE IF THE U.N. HAD PREVENTED FURTHER AGGRESSION AND PROTECTED THE CIVILIAN POPULATION, BUT IT COULD NO LONGER BE JUSTIFIED.

-- THE SAUDI GOVERNMENT, THEREFORE, IS REQUESTING THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO TAKE THE LEAD IN ENDING THE EMBARGOING OF ARMS TO BOSNIA. ONLY THE U.S. HAS THE POLITICAL WEIGHT AND WILL TO END THIS NOW UNFAIR POLICY. THE U.S. AND OTHERS SHOULD NO LONGER ARGUE THAT LIFTING THE EMBARGO WOULD LEAD TO A

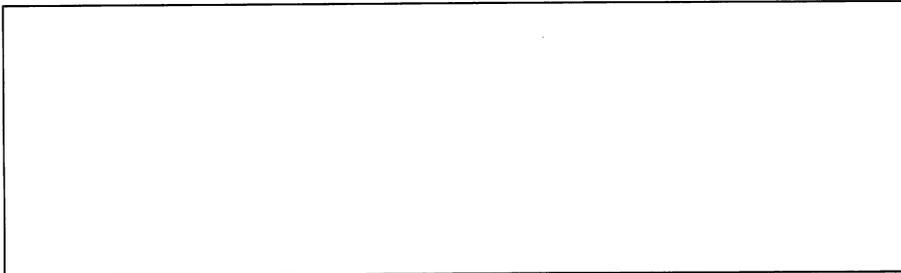
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WIDER CONFLICT, SINCE THE CURRENT POLICY NOT ONLY
THREATENED TO IGNITE A WIDER CONFLICT, BUT ALSO WAS
UNDERMINING RESPECT FOR THE U.N. AND INTERNATIONAL
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PAGE 03 RIYADH 03176 151429Z
LEGITIMACY RIGHT IN THE HEART OF EUROPE.



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5. THE CHARGE EXPLAINED THAT, ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT
HAVE ANY CURRENT GUIDANCE, IT WAS CLEAR FROM
PRESIDENT CLINTON'S STATEMENTS THAT WE TOO HAD DOUBTS
ABOUT THE EFFICACY OF UNPROFOR'S CONTINUING ITS
MISSION IN BOSNIA. THE ADMINISTRATION WAS CONSULTING
WITH SELECTED ALLIES AND REVIEWING ITS OPTIONS. HE
TOLD JINDAN THAT THE SAUDI GOVERNMENT'S MESSAGE WOULD
BE EXPEDITIOUSLY CONVEYED TO U.S. AUTHORITIES.

6. COMMENT: MOST SAUDIS, BOTH OFFICIALS AND PRIVATE
CITIZENS, ARE GENUINELY OUTRAGED BY THE PLIGHT OF
THOSE CAPTURED IN, OR EXPELLED FROM, THE GORAZDE
ENCLAVE. THE FACT THAT THESE PEOPLE ARE
OVERWHELMINGLY MUSLIM ALSO ADDS A POLITICAL
DIMENSION;

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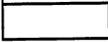
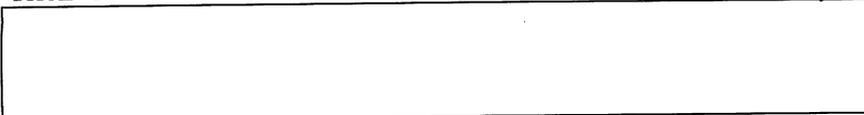
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PAGE 04

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 FM USMISSION GENEVA
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 INFO NSC WASHDC PRIORITY
 SECDEF WASHDC
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 EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
 USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ2/ECJ3/ECJ4/ECJ5/POLAD//
 HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB 879
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 GENEVA 005347

NSC FOR BERGER

E.O. 12356: 07/08/96
 TAGS: PREF, EAID, MOPS, UN, BK, HR
 SUBJECT: BOSNIA: UNHCR PESSIMISTIC ON PRESENT SITUATION
 - AND ABILITY TO OPERATE DURING AN UNPROFOR WITHDRAWAL

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 05347 01 OF 03 101123Z

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2009 200705105

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REF: A) GENEVA 4968 B) GENEVA 4269

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY:

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[REDACTED] EXPRESSED HIS INCREASING PESSIMISM ABOUT THE HUMANITARIAN SITUATION IN BOSNIA AND UNHCR'S INABILITY TO ASSIST DURING AN UNPROFOR WITHDRAWAL TO AMBS. SPIEGEL AND INDERFURTH DURING A JULY 6 MEETING. [REDACTED] CALLED THE CONTINUATION OF THE PRESENT HUMANITARIAN SITUATION UNTENABLE. THE 100,000 IN SARAJEVO DEPENDENT ALMOST SOLELY ON HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE WILL SUFFER INCREASING MALNUTRITION AND FATALITIES FROM ASSOCIATED DISEASES UNLESS DELIVERIES ARE INCREASED. [REDACTED] NOTED, HOWEVER, HIS SKEPTICISM ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR RESTARTING THE HUMANITARIAN AIRLIFT FOR SARAJEVO. CONDITIONS IN THE EASTERN ENCLAVES AND BIHAC CONTINUE TO DETERIORATE. IN ADDITION, THE INCREASING MILITARIZATION OF UNHCR ASSISTANCE RESULTING FROM THE USE OF UNPROFOR TO BRING CONVOYS INTO SARAJEVO IS DIMINISHING UNHCR'S NEUTRALITY AND THEREFORE ITS ABILITY TO NEGOTIATE AGREEMENTS FOR ACCESS. HOWEVER, AN UNPROFOR WITHDRAWAL WOULD IN UNHCR'S VIEW CREATE SUCH CHAOS THAT THE COMBINATION OF TRAFFIC JAMS AND DETERIORATING SECURITY CONDITIONS WOULD FORCE UNHCR TO HALT ASSISTANCE TO AFFECTED AREAS. IN UNHCR'S VIEW THE INCREASED TENSION AND INTENTIONAL SHELLING OF CIVILIAN TARGETS MATCH CONDITIONS AT THE WORST STAGES OF THE WAR, AND AN INCREASINGLY LIKELY CROATIAN MOVE ON UNPA SOUTH COULD EASILY LEAD TO WIDER FIGHTING.

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3. UNHCR HAS CALLED A MEETING OF THE HUMANITARIAN ISSUES WORKING GROUP OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA (ICFY) ON JULY 19 IN GENEVA. THE MEETING WILL BE CHAIRED BY HIGH COMMISSIONER OGATA AND DISCUSS THE REPERCUSSIONS OF THE DETERIORATING SECURITY CONDITIONS ON HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE. END SUMMARY.

4. AMBASSADORS SPIEGEL AND INDERFURTH (USUN) DISCUSSED

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THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA WITH [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] JULY 6 WHILE
AMB. INDERFURTH WAS IN GENEVA FOR THE DEMINING
CONFERENCE (IMMC). [REDACTED] STARTED BY SAYING HE WAS
SKEPTICAL ABOUT THE PROSPECTS FOR RESTARTING THE
HUMANITARIAN AIRLIFT TO SARAJEVO AND THAT THE SERBS,
IGNORING THE FRONT LINES, WERE NOW TARGETING CIVILIAN
TARGETS IN DOWNTOWN SARAJEVO WHICH THEY HAD NOT SHELLED
BEFORE - AMONG THEM THE TELEVISION CENTER, UNPROFOR
HEADQUARTERS AND THE FRENCH EMBASSY.

SARAJEVO HUMANITARIAN CONDITIONS - NOT SUSTAINABLE

5. [REDACTED] DESCRIBED THE HUMANITARIAN SITUATION IN
BLEAK TERMS. ALTHOUGH THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT IS HOLDING
FOOD RESERVES IN SARAJEVO AND MARKETS ARE OPEN FOR THOSE
WITH FUNDS, HE ESTIMATED THAT ABOUT ONE THIRD OF THE
POPULATION OF SARAJEVO, I.E. 100,000 CIVILIANS, WERE
DEPENDENT ENTIRELY ON HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE. THEY ARE
LIVING ON THE BREAD PRODUCED FROM FLOUR WHICH UNHCR HAS

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DELIVERED TO SARAJEVO RECENTLY PLUS A FEW GREENS THAT
CAN BE GROWN ON BALCONIES. WATER SUPPLIES ARE ALSO
MEAGER.

6. [REDACTED] TOLD AMBS. SPIEGEL AND INDERFURTH THAT THE
SITUATION WAS NOT SUSTAINABLE. UNLESS THERE WERE
IMPROVEMENT BEFORE WINTER, INCREASING MALNUTRITION WOULD
LEAD TO INCREASED SUSCEPTIBILITY TO DISEASE AND HIGHER
DEATH RATES. HE NOTED THAT THE CURRENT REASON GIVEN BY
THE SERBS FOR BLOCKING CONVOYS INTO SARAJEVO IS MLADIC'S
DEMAND THAT SERBS RECEIVE 50 PERCENT OF THE FOOD SHIPPED
IN BY UNHCR. [REDACTED] HAS RESPONDED IN WRITING THROUGH
CIVILIAN BOSNIAN SERB AUTHORITIES THAT UNHCR WILL DIVIDE
SUPPLIES BASED ONLY UPON AN ASSESSMENT OF NEEDS AND THAT
IT WILL NOT NEGOTIATE THIS POSITION.

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ACTION PRM-10

INFO LOG-00 AID-00 AMAD-01 CA-02 OASY-00 SRPP-00 EUR-01
OIGO-01 FBIE-00 TEDE-00 INR-00 IO-08 ADS-00 OIC-02
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INFO NSC WASHDC PRIORITY
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EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ2/ECJ3/ECJ4/ECJ5/POLAD//
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB 880
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK

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JOINT STAFF WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 GENEVA 005347

NSC FOR BERGER

E.O. 12356: 07/08/96

TAGS: PREF, EAID, MOPS, UN, BK, HR

SUBJECT: BOSNIA: UNHCR PESSIMISTIC ON PRESENT SITUATION

- AND ABILITY TO OPERATE DURING AN UNPROFOR WITHDRAWAL

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 05347 02 OF 03 101123Z

7. FOR THE EASTERN ENCLAVES, [REDACTED] REMARKED THAT UNHCR WAS STILL ABLE TO GET CONVOYS INTO SREBRENICA AND ZEPA, BUT THAT NO SUPPLIES HAVE REACHED GORAZDE FOR FORTY DAYS. RECENT SERBIAN PROMISES OF ACCESS HAVE PROVED FRUITLESS, AND SAMS DEPLOYED IN THE AREA MAKE AIRDROPS TOO RISKY. THE SITUATION IN THE URBAN AREA OF THE GORAZDE POCKET HAS DETERIORATED TO THE POINT WHERE PEOPLE ARE BEGGING FOR FOOD. [REDACTED] SAID THAT THE SITUATION IN BIHAC WAS NO BETTER, WITH RECENT CONVOYS (THREE IN THE PAST FIVE DAYS) ADDING LITTLE TO ALLEVIATE THE SUFFERING.

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CONDITIONS SIMILAR TO WORST STAGES OF THE WAR

8. [REDACTED] RESPONDED TO A QUERY FROM AMB. SPIEGEL BY NOTING THAT THE SITUATION HAS DETERIORATED TO THE CONDITIONS AT THE WORST STAGES OF THE WAR, WITH CONVOYS BEING HIT AND DRIVERS KILLED. HE EXPRESSED HIS DEEP CONCERN THAT UNHCR'S OPERATIONS IN BOSNIA ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY MILITARIZED. UNHCR HAS TURNED A NEW PAGE BY USING UNPROFOR TO DELIVER FOOD OVER MT. IGMAN, BUT IT WAS THE ONLY CHOICE. UNHCR WILL CONTINUE THIS PRACTICE SO LONG AS THIS DELIVERY SYSTEM WORKS, BUT IT IS ALREADY DRAWING MORE SHELLING OF THE MT. IGMAN ROUTE. WHEN ASKED, [REDACTED] SAID THAT HE WOULD PREFER A LAND ROUTE

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TO THE AIRLIFT IF NEGOTIATIONS WERE TO OFFER THE CHOICE, BECAUSE ANYONE INCLUDING THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT CAN SHUT DOWN THE AIRLIFT WITH A FEW SHOTS.

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IMPACT OF AN UNPROFOR WITHDRAWAL

9. WHEN [] SPECULATED THAT PERHAPS THE MILITARIZATION OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE MEANT IT WAS TIME FOR UNHCR TO WITHDRAW (BECAUSE ITS ABILITY TO NEGOTIATE ACCESS IS THEREBY UNDERMINED), AMB. Inderfurth NOTED THAT WE SEEMED TO BE REACHING A FUNDAMENTAL TURNING POINT IN BOSNIA. [] RESPONDED THAT AN UNPROFOR WITHDRAWAL WOULD ONLY INCREASE THE PROBLEMS OF DELIVERY. UNHCR CAN'T DELIVER TO SARAJEVO NOW WITHOUT UNPROFOR DRIVERS; A WITHDRAWAL WOULD LEAD TO CLOGGED ROADS; THERE WOULD BE INCREASED FIGHTING; PEOPLE WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO MOVE; UNHCR CONVOYS WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO GET THROUGH. IN [] VIEW IT WOULD BE "ONE BIG MESS."

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SAFE CORRIDORS FOR REFUGEES?

10. [] RESPONDED TO AMB. Inderfurth'S QUESTION ABOUT ESTABLISHING SAFE CORRIDORS FOR REFUGEES BY SAYING THAT PEOPLE WOULD EAGERLY LEAVE THE ENCLAVES AND EVEN SARAJEVO. ACCORDING TO [] WHEN UNHCR TRIED SUCH AN APPROACH IN 1993, IT WAS A DISASTER AS IT TURNED INTO A STAMPEDE.

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CROATIA - THE IGNITION POINT?

11. [REDACTED] ALSO REITERATED HIS CONCERN ABOUT THE CROATIAN TROOP CONCENTRATIONS ON MT. DINARA, WHICH ARE GETTING CLOSE TO SERB SUPPLY ROUTES TO KNIN. HE NOTED THAT TAKING UNPA SOUTH WON'T BE AN EASY TASK. THE RSK IS ALSO MOBILIZING, WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE FRY WHICH IS FORCING CROATIAN SERBS BACK TO THE UNPAS. [REDACTED] SEES THE POSSIBILITY OF AN EARLY CROATIAN MOVE BEFORE THE SERBS CAN BETTER PREPARE THEMSELVES, WHICH WOULD LEAD TO MISSILE ATTACKS ON ZAGREB, SPLIT AND OTHER CROATIAN CITIES. HE ALSO NOTED THE CROATIAN UNWILLINGNESS TO SHOW FLEXIBILITY BY ACCEPTING CROATIAN SERBS BACK INTO WESTERN SLAVONIA. A MOVE BY THE CROATS COULD LEAD TO THE WIDER WAR WHICH WOULD RENDER IMPOSSIBLE CONTINUED UNHCR ASSISTANCE TO AREAS IN CONFLICT.

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ACTION PRM-10

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PM-00 TRSE-00 FMP-00 PMB-00 DRL-09 /034W
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P 101111Z JUL 95
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4428
INFO NSC WASHDC PRIORITY
SECDEF WASHDC
USMISSION USNATO
EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE//ECJ2/ECJ3/ECJ4/ECJ5/POLAD//
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB 881
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
JOINT STAFF WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 GENEVA 005347

NSC FOR BERGER

E.O. 12356: 07/08/96
TAGS: PREF, EAID, MOPS, UN, BK, HR
SUBJECT: BOSNIA: UNHCR PESSIMISTIC ON PRESENT SITUATION
- AND ABILITY TO OPERATE DURING AN UNPROFOR WITHDRAWAL

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 05347 03 OF 03 101123Z

COMMENT - INCREASING PESSIMISM

12. COMMENT: IN OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH [REDACTED] OVER
THE PAST SEVERAL WEEKS (REFTELS A AND B), HE HAS

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INCREASINGLY EMPHASIZED THE DIFFICULTIES OF UNHCR
CARRYING ON UNDER CURRENT CONDITIONS OR IN THE EVENT OF
AN UNPROFOR WITHDRAWAL. AS THE SITUATION BECOMES MORE
DIFFICULT, [REDACTED] HAS MOVED AWAY FROM REPEATING THAT
UNHCR WAS IN YUGOSLAVIA BEFORE UNPROFOR AND WILL REMAIN
AFTERWARDS. HE NOW STRESSES THAT SECURITY CONCERNS AND
CHAOS DURING AN UNPROFOR WITHDRAWAL WILL PREVENT UNHCR
OPERATIONS IN AFFECTED AREAS. END COMMENT.

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13. AMB. INDERFURTH DID NOT HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO
CLEAR THIS CABLE BEFORE DEPARTING GENEVA.

14. ZAGREB AND SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
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PAGE 01 BRUSSE 07182 100921Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	SRPP-00	FBIE-00
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P 101002Z JUL 95
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 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4205
 INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
 NATO EU COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
 USNMR SHAPE BE PRIORITY
 USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY
 SECDEF WASHINGTON DC PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L BRUSSELS 007182

DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/UBI AND EUR/SCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/10/2005
 TAGS: PREL, MOPS, SR, BR, BE
 SUBJECT: BELGIAN GOVERNMENT APPROVES PARATROOPER
 CONTINGENT FOR RAPID REACTION FORCE; APPROVES
 USE OF 'MOVING STAR' TRANSPORT UNIT FOR
 SARAJEVO

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 BRUSSE 07182 100921Z
 REF: BRUSSELS 7129 AND PREVIOUS

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 DATE/CASE ID: 10 MAR 2009 200705105

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1. (U) IN ITS JULY 7 MEETING, THE BELGIAN COUNCIL OF MINISTERS APPROVED THE PARTICIPATION OF A PARA-COMMANDO CONTINGENT OF 185 MEN IN THE RAPID REACTION FORCE IN BOSNIA AS A SIGN OF SOLIDARITY WITH BELGIUM'S FRENCH, BRITISH, AND DUTCH ALLIES. THE PARATROOPERS OF THE ARTILLERY BATTERY AT BRASSCHAAT IN BELGIUM HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED FOR THIS TASK. THE PRIME MINISTER ANNOUNCED THAT THE BELGIAN TROOPS WOULD BE DISPATCHED 'ACCORDING TO THE NEEDS ON THE GROUND, IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE RELIEF OR AN EVENTUAL REINFORCEMENT OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE.'
2. (U) THE BELGIAN PRESS ALSO QUOTES A GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN AS SAYING THAT THE GOVERNMENT SEES BELGIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE RELIEF OF THE TROOPS ALREADY IN PLACE. THEIR TOUR OF DUTY WOULD BE LIMITED TO 4 MONTHS. THE BELGIAN PARATROOPERS WOULD PARTICIPATE IN A RESERVE FORCE BUILT AROUND THE BRITISH 24TH MOBILE FLIGHT BRIGADE. THE PRESS NOTES THAT BOTH THE BELGIAN PARACOMMANDO BRIGADE AND THE BRITISH 24TH MOBILE AIR BRIGADE ARE AMONG UNITS IDENTIFIED FOR NATO OPLAN 40104.
3. (U) ACCORDING TO THE LOCAL PRESS STORIES, THE BELGIANS WILL ALSO PROVIDE, AT THE REQUEST OF THE BRITISH, A SMALL TEAM OF FORWARD AIR CONTROLLERS FOR THE RAPID REACTION FORCE. THIS TEAM IS EXPECTED TO LEAVE QUICKLY.
4. (U) THE BELGIAN PRESS JULY 10 ALSO CARRIED A STORY THAT THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT HAD AGREED TO A UN REQUEST TO USE THE BELGIAN-DUTCH TRANSPORT COMPANY 'MOVING STAR' TO
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PAGE 03 BRUSSE 07182 100921Z
TRANSPORT GOODS TO SARAJEVO, WITH THE CONDITIONS THAT THE CONVOYS MUST BE AGREED TO BY EACH OF THE FIGHTING PARTIES, MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY ARMED ESCORTS, AND THE BELGIAN DRIVERS MUST DRIVE ONLY THEIR OWN FREIGHT TRUCKS.

5. (C) COMMENTING ON THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE RAPID REACTION FORCE, [REDACTED] TOLD US JULY 10 THAT THE BELGIAN TROOPS ARE INTENDED TO REPLACE A FRENCH OR BRITISH ARTILLERY BRIGADE ALREADY ASSIGNED TO

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THE RRF. THEY WOULD DEPLOY TO BOSNIA ON REQUEST FROM THE RRF COMMAND WHEN NEEDED. THEIR STAY IN BOSNIA WOULD BE LIMITED TO FOUR MONTHS "SINCE THEY ARE THE ONLY ARTILLERY BRIGADE WE HAVE," [REDACTED] CONTINUED. THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE MOD IS THAT BELGIAN TROOPS WILL PARTICIPATE IN THE RRF UNDER THE SAME MANDATE AND WITH THE SAME RULES OF ENGAGEMENT AS UNPROFOR.

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6. (C) [REDACTED] ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE REMAINS SOME UNCERTAINTY OVER WHETHER THE RAPID REACTION FORCE WILL BE ABLE TO MAKE A CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION IN BOSNIA, GIVEN THE INCREASE IN FIGHTING THERE. AT THIS POINT, IT IS STILL UNCLEAR WHETHER BOSNIAN AUTHORITIES WILL PERMIT ALL OF THE RRF'S INTENDED UNITS TO JOIN THE FORCE, HE NOTED. "IT IS NOT GOING TOO WELL IN SREBRENICA," [REDACTED] COMMENTED. HE SAID HE HOPED THE SITUATION WOULD BE CLEARER IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS. "PUT IT THIS WAY," [REDACTED] SAID, "I'M VERY GLAD THAT WE ARE NOT PARTICIPATING IMMEDIATELY."

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7. (C) THE MOD ESTIMATES THAT THE COST OF BELGIAN
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PAGE 04 BRUSSE 07182 100921Z
PARTICIPATION IN THE RRF WILL REACH BF 165 MILLION (USD 5.8 MILLION), BASED ON AN ANTICIPATED COST OF BF 13 MILLION (USD 456,000) TO DEPLOY AND WITHDRAW THE UNIT AND A MONTHLY BF 38 MILLION (USD 1.3 MILLION) TO SUSTAIN THE 185-MEMBER UNIT. DESPITE THE VERY STRICT BUDGETARY RESTRAINTS ON SPENDING, THE CABINET OF MINISTERS "DID NOT HESITATE" TO RESPOND TO REQUESTS FROM BRITAIN AND FRANCE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE FORCE. "THE GOVERNMENT REALLY WANTED TO SHOW SOLIDARITY," [REDACTED] SAID.

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8. (C) ON JULY 9, [REDACTED] CONFIRMED TO THE EMBASSY DEFENSE ATTACHE THAT IF THE BELGIAN RRF CONTINGENT WERE DEPLOYED, LUXEMBOURG WOULD CONTRIBUTE A LOGISTICAL UNIT OF PLATOON SIZE TO THE BELGIAN FORCE.

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PAGE 01 BONN 13852 111659Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00
	SRPP-00	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00
	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/017W	

-----D85808 111659Z /38

O 111700Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY BONN
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1367
 INFO EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 FRG COLLECTIVE

RELEASED IN PART
B6

C O N F I D E N T I A L BONN 13852

USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/11/05
 TAGS: PREL, BN, SR, HR, GM
 SUBJECT: BOSNIA - GERMANY CONCERNED ABOUT SREBRENICA AND EFFECT
 ON RAPID REACTION FORCE AND UNPROFOR

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. WITH THE SITUATION IN SREBRENICA DETERIORATING RAPIDLY,
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PAGE 02 BONN 13852 111659Z
 GERMANY IS UNSURE WHETHER THE SERBS INTEND TO TAKE OVER

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 DATE/CASE ID: 10 MAR 2009 200705105

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SREBRENICA OR CUT IT OFF, MAKING IT POSSIBLE TO REDEPLOY FORCES FROM THE DRINA TO OTHER AREAS. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] TOLD US THE SERBS ISSUED AN ULTIMATUM ON JULY 11 AT 0600 HOURS LOCAL THAT DUTCH, ITALIAN, AND BOSNIAN FORCES HAVE 48 HOURS TO EVACUATE SREBRENICA LEAVING BEHIND THEIR WEAPONS. THE DUTCH EMBASSY IN BONN EXPRESSED CONCERN TO CG REP STEINER JULY 11 THAT THE DUTCH CONTINGENT IN SREBRENICA HAD COME UNDER HEAVY PRESSURE, BUT HAD NOT RECEIVED NATO CLOSE AIR SUPPORT AS ANTICIPATED.

3. IF THE SERBS ARE ALLOWED A FREE HAND IN THE EASTERN ENCLAVES, GERMANY BELIEVES CROATIA MAY RECEIVE THE "WRONG SIGNAL" AND MAY CONSIDER LAUNCHING PRE-EMPTIVE MILITARY ACTION, ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] GERMANY IS ALSO CONCERNED THAT THE SREBRENICA OFFENSIVE AND HOSTAGE-TAKING WILL FURTHER ERODE PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR UNPROFOR AND ADVERSELY AFFECT THE MISSION OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE.

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4. FM KINKEL HAS OFFERED HELP TO THE DUTCH, IF THEY BELIEVE GERMANY CAN PLAY ANY USEFUL ROLE IN SREBRENICA. [REDACTED] ALSO TOLD US THAT KINKEL PLANS TO RAISE SREBRENICA WITH FRENCH FM DE CHARETTE AT THE JULY 11 FRANCO-GERMAN SUMMIT IN STRASBOURG. SREBRENICA IS A SERB "TEST" OF THE VULNERABILITY OF UNPROFOR. IT WOULD MAKE UNPROFOR WITHDRAWAL MORE LIKELY AND, WITH THE EVENTUAL ROTATION OF DUTCH FORCES OUT OF SREBRENICA (A "DE FACTO WITHDRAWAL"), IT WOULD FURTHER STRENGTHEN THE BOSNIAN SERBS. [REDACTED] ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE POSSIBLE REDEPLOYMENT OF UNPROFOR INTO BOSNIAN FEDERATION AREAS COULD CREATE NEW PROBLEMS BETWEEN THE FEDERATION AND THE UN.

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PAGE 03 BONN 13852 111659Z

5. COMMENT: WHILE THE GERMANS ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE SITUATION IN SREBRENICA, THEY SEE THEMSELVES AS ONLY MARGINAL PLAYERS IN ITS RESOLUTION. GERMANY WILL CONTINUE TO DEFER TO THOSE COUNTRIES THAT HAVE TROOPS EXPOSED, BUT IS PREPARED -- AS KINKEL SAID -- TO PLAY A HELPFUL ROLE.
BINDENAGEL

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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ7810

PAGE 01 BONN 13851 111658Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00
	SRPP-00	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00
	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/017W	

-----D857FD 111658Z /38

O 111700Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY BONN
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1366
 INFO EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 FRG COLLECTIVE

RELEASED IN PART
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C O N F I D E N T I A L BONN 13851

USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/11/05
TAGS: PREL, BN, SR, HR, GM

SUBJECT: BOSNIA - [REDACTED] WARNS OF UNPROFOR WITHDRAWAL IN
TALK WITH GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTER

B6

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. THE PROSPECT THAT UNPROFOR WILL WITHDRAW FROM BOSNIA IS
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PAGE 02 BONN 13851 111658Z
"VERY REAL," [REDACTED] TOLD FM KINKEL DURING

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A JULY 11 MEETING IN BONN. HE WARNED THAT A FRENCH DECISION TO WITHDRAW COULD TAKE PLACE "VERY SOON," PARTICULARLY WITH THE SITUATION DETERIORATING IN SREBRENICA AND THE EASTERN ENCLAVES. [REDACTED] SAID THAT THE POLITICAL TRACK REMAINS THE BEST CHANCE FOR PEACE IN BOSNIA, BUT EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT MILOSEVIC HAS HESITATED TOO LONG TO STRIKE A DEAL ON RECOGNITION AND IT IS UNCLEAR TO WHAT EXTENT MILOSEVIC CAN INFLUENCE THE ATTITUDES OF THE BOSNIAN SERB LEADERSHIP, ACCORDING TO GERMANY'S BOSNIA CG DEPUTY REP SEIDT. [REDACTED] ALSO INFORMED KINKEL THAT BILDТ HAS OFFERED TO MEET WITH KARADZIC IN SVORNIK, BUT KARADZIC HAS INSISTED THAT ANY MEETING TAKE PLACE IN PALE.

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3. FM KINKEL RESPONDED THAT TALKS WITH BELGRADE ARE THE ONLY REALISTIC PATH TOWARD A SETTLEMENT. MILOSEVIC, HOWEVER, IS ACTING UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT HE ONLY HAS TO WAIT AND HE WILL BE GIVEN WHAT HE WANTS. KINKEL WAS SKEPTICAL THAT THE BILDТ MISSION WOULD BE SUCCESSFUL AND REITERATED FRG OPPOSITION TO BILDТ CONTACT WITH KARADZIC. KINKEL ALSO WARNED THAT THE RECOGNITION PACKAGE WOULD HAVE NO IMMEDIATE EFFECT ON THE MILITARY SITUATION IN BOSNIA.

4. [REDACTED] WELCOMED GERMAN INTEREST IN RE-ESTABLISHING DIALOGUE BETWEEN ZAGREB AND KNIN (SEPTTEL), BUT FEARED THAT ZAGREB WOULD CHOOSE THE MILITARY OPTION. [REDACTED] DESCRIBED THE INFLUX OF MILITARY PERSONNEL AND MATERIEL FROM SERBIA TO THE KRAJINA SERBS AND SAID THAT HE DID NOT RULE OUT A PRE-EMPTIVE STRIKE BY CROATIA, ALTHOUGH HE HAD NO INFORMATION THAT MILITARY OPTIONS WERE IMMINENT.
BINDENAGEL

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PAGE 03

BONN 13851 111658Z

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PAGE 01 ZAGREB 02647 01 OF 02 142032Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DS-00	TEDE-00
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	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01
	PMB-00	DSCC-00	/015W				

-----D9AF9C 142032Z /38

O 142120Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6424
 INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
 USMISSION GENEVA
 CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//DO/LG/XP/IN//
 HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J5-PMA/J21//
 JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
 USNMR SHAPE BE//POLAD//
 AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
 AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
 SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
 USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE//ECJ3/ECJ4/ECJ5//
 HQUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5//
 CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
 COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
 NSC WASHDC
 NATO EU COLLECTIVE
 AMCONSUL MUNICH

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PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02647 01 OF 02 142032Z
AMEMBASSY KIEV
USLO SKOPJE

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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 ZAGREB 002647

USVIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL CSCE
BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEU

E.O. 12356: 7/14/98

TAGS: MOPS SR BK

SUBJECT: ZEPA ENCLAVE UNDER ATTACK, RIPE TO FALL

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

SITUATION IN ZEPA

2. UNPF HEADQUARTERS SOURCES IN ZAGREB REPORTED LATE AFTERNOON ON JULY 14 THAT THE ZEPA ENCLAVE IN EASTERN BOSNIA WAS UNDER ATTACK. AT LEAST THREE OF THE UN (UKRAINIAN BATTALION) OBSERVATION POSTS WERE EXPERIENCING SHELLING. AS OF 1800, THERE WERE NO FURTHER SIGNS OF MILITARY MOVEMENT AROUND THE AREA. WE HAVE SO FAR BEEN UNABLE TO CONFIRM REPORTS THAT THE BOSNIAN ARMY IN THE AREA HAS SURROUNDED AT LEAST SOME UKRAINIAN TROOPS AND INSISTED THAT THEY TURN OVER THEIR WEAPONS TO THEM, THOUGH BOSNIAN EFFORTS TO HEM IN THE DUTCHBATT AT SREBRENICA A FEW DAYS AGO WOULD TEND TO LEND CREDENCE.

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PAGE 03 ZAGREB 02647 01 OF 02 142032Z
3. THERE ARE ALSO CONFLICTING REPORTS CONCERNING A SERB "WARNING" OR "ULTIMATUM" ON ZEPA. THE UN CIVIL AFFAIRS OFFICER FOR BOSNIA SAYS HE HAS HEARD NO SPECIFIC NEW WARNING REGARDING ZEPA, BUT HARK BACK TO A MLADIC STATEMENT OF JULY 12 IN WHICH HE REPORTEDLY SAID THAT THE RESIDENTS OF BOTH SREBRENICA AND ZEPA SHOULD DEPART. A CROATIAN MFA OFFICIAL, HOWEVER, TOLD US THE SERBS HAD DELIVERED A DEADLINE OF 1900 ON JULY 14 FOR THE UN AND ABH TROOPS IN ZEPA TO LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS. (NO REPORT YET ON WHAT HAS OCCURRED SINCE THAT

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OSTENSIBLE DEADLINE PASSED TWO HOURS AGO.)

SERB CAPTURE OF ZEPA LIKELY

4. BOTH UN AND GOC CONTACTS ASSUME THAT THIS LATEST ACTIVITY IS THE BEGINNING OF THE END FOR ZEPA, AND THAT THE ENCLAVE WILL FALL INTO SERB HANDS VERY SOON, POSSIBLY WITHIN HOURS. (COMMENT: THE ZEPA CONTINGENT IS 70-90 UKRAINIAN PEACEKEEPERS AND AN UNKNOWN-SIZE BUT SMALL ABH FORCE; UNPF OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN SAYING FOR DAYS THAT IT WAS EVEN LESS ABLE TO RESIST SERB AGGRESSION THAN SREBRENICA.) IF SO, THE RESULTS WILL LIKELY BE THE SAME, WITH THE SERBS EXPELLING ALL OR MOST OF THE POPULATION OF ABOUT 11,000.

GORAZDE -- THE NEXT PLUM?

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PAGE 04 ZAGREB 02647 01 OF 02 142032Z
5. OBSERVERS HERE ARE ALMOST AS UNANIMOUS IN ASSUMING THAT THE SERBS WILL MAKE A TRY FOR GORAZDE, THE THIRD EASTERN ENCLAVE, BEFORE LONG, THOUGH PERHAPS THE PAUSE AFTER THE FALL OF ZEPA WOULD BE LONGER. WE ARE TOLD THAT FORCE COMMANDER JANVIER AND HIS STAFF HAVE BEGUN WORKING ON PLANS TO STRENGTHEN GORAZDE'S DEFENSES, THOUGH WE HAVE NO SPECIFICS YET. GORAZDE'S "ADVANTAGES" ARE WELL KNOWN: A LARGER AND MORE DIFFICULT TARGET, BETTER CIVILIAN AND MILITARY LEADERSHIP, A LARGER UN CONTINGENT, HIGHER MORAL, AND MORE DIFFICULT TOPOGRAPHY THAN SREBRENICA OR ZEPA. NEVERTHELESS, FEW BELIEVE THAT GORAZDE IS INVULNERABLE.

SREBRENICA -- DUTCHBATT TO PULL OUT

6. UN CIVIL AFFAIRS SAYS THAT DUTCHBATT HAS RECEIVED ORDERS (ORIGINATING IN THE HAGUE, THEY SAY) TO

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DS-00	TEDE-00
	INR-00	IO-08	L-01	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PM-00
	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01
	PMB-00	DSCC-00	/015W				

-----D9AFAO 142032Z /38

O 142120Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6425
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
USMISSION GENEVA
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//DO/LG/XP/IN//
HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J5-PMA/J21//
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
USNMR SHAPE BE//POLAD//
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA

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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ3/ECJ4/ECJ5//
HQUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5//
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
COM SIXTHFLT//N2//
NSC WASHDC
NATO EU COLLECTIVE
AMCONSUL MUNICH

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PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02647 02 OF 02 142032Z
AMEMBASSY KIEV
USLO SKOPJE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 ZAGREB 002647

USVIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL CSCE
BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEU

E.O. 12356: 7/14/98
TAGS: MOPS SR BK
SUBJECT: ZEPA ENCLAVE UNDER ATTACK, RIPE TO FALL

WITHDRAW; AS OF EARLY EVENING JULY 14, THEY WERE
REPORTEDLY NEGOTIATING TERMS WITH THE SERBS. ASKED IF
CIVILIANS STILL REMAINED AT POTOCARI, OUR CONTACT SAID
"PRESUMABLY" ALL WOULD BE GONE BEFORE THE DUTCH LEFT,
BUT HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT WAS NECESSARILY A CONDITION
OF THE ORDER.

7. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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PAGE 01 ZAGREB 02659 171548Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	OASY-00	TEDE-00	INR-00
	IO-08	L-01	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PM-00	P-01
	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	PRMC-01
	G-00	/016W					

-----DA2756 171548Z /38

O 171632Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6445
 INFO NSC WASHDC
 SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J-3/J-4/J-5//
 NATO EU COLLECTIVE
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
 AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 USLO SKOPJE
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 AMCONSUL MUNICH
 CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//DO/LG/XOX/IN/POLAD//
 CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//
 CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
 USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ3/ECJ4/ECJ5/ECPOLAD//
 JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
 COMSIXTHFLT //N2//
 HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//POLAD//

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PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02659 171548Z
C O N F I D E N T I A L ZAGREB 002659

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USVIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL OSCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/17/00

TAGS: MOPS BK UN

SUBJECT: UN UPDATE ON BOSNIAN SITUATION

1. THE UN REPORTED THAT AS OF 1200 HRS ON JULY 17 THE BSA HAD NOT MADE ANY FURTHER ADVANCES INTO THE ZEPA "SAFE AREA." DURING THE EVENING OF JULY 16, THE BSA ATTACKED FROM THE WEST AND HAD MOVED 500 METERS INTO THE ENCLAVE, ABOUT 1 KM FROM THE CENTER OF TOWN. THE UN CIVIL AFFAIRS DESK OFFICER FOR BOSNIA ANDY BAIR SAID THAT 5 OF 9 UKRAINIAN BATTALION OBSERVATION POSTS HAD BEEN ABANDONED. BAIR SAID THAT THE BSA HAD SUFFICIENT FORCES IN THE AREA TO TAKE ZEPA AT WILL AND HE EXPECTED THE TOWN TO FALL IN 24 TO 48 HOURS, IF NOT SOONER.

2. ACCORDING TO THE UN PRESS OFFICE, THE POPULATION OF ZEPA IS STARTING TO FLEE. HOWEVER, AT THIS TIME NO FIGURES ARE AVAILABLE AND IT IS NOT KNOWN WHERE THEY ARE HEADED. DURING THE UN'S DAILY PRESS CONFERENCE, SPOKESMAN PHIL ARNOLD SAID THAT 6-8,000 DISPLACED PERSONS (DPS) FROM SREBRENICA HAD ARRIVED IN ZEPA (ACCOUNTING FOR MOST OF THE "MISSING" POPULATION). BAIR, HOWEVER, EXPRESSED STRONG RESERVATIONS ABOUT THIS INFORMATION. HE SAID THAT DURING MEETINGS IN TUZLA ON JULY 16, MUHAREM CERO, THE GOBH MINISTER FOR REFUGEES, HAD NOT MENTIONED A LARGE NUMBER OF DPS ARRIVING IN ZEPA. BAIR WAS ALSO SKEPTICAL THAT SUCH A LARGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE, PARTICULARLY WOMEN AND THE
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PAGE 03 ZAGREB 02659 171548Z
ELDERLY, COULD MOVE THROUGH SERB LINES TO THE SOUTH OF SREBRENICA, FROM WHERE THE ATTACKS WERE LAUNCHED LAST WEEK.

3. NETHERLANDS CHARGE SCHEFFERS TOLD US JULY 17 THAT THE DUTCH TROOPS WERE STILL AT POTOCARI NEGOTIATING THE TERMS OF THEIR DEPARTURE. THE MAIN STICKING POINT WAS THAT THE DUTCH COMMANDER CONTINUED TO INSIST THAT HE AND HIS MEN WOULD LEAVE ONLY IF THE 59 MUSLIM WOUNDED COULD DEPART WITH THEM. SCHEFFERS SAID THE SERBS HAD AGREED THAT THE

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DUTCH WOULD WITHDRAW WITH/WITH THEIR WEAPONS AND EQUIPMENT, THOUGH HE NOTED THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO RELY ON THAT GUARANTEE, SINCE THE 75 DUTCH "GUESTS OF THE SERBS" WHO HAD BEEN ALLOWED TO DEPART HAD BEEN SET UPON TWICE BY DIFFERENT ARMED BANDS WHO RELIEVED THEM OF FLAK JACKETS, SIDEARMS, AND PERSONAL PROPERTY AND VALUABLES.

4. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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PAGE 01 ZAGREB 02612 130851Z
ACTION H-06

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 DS-00 EUR-01 TEDE-00 ADS-00 DSCC-00
/007W -----D8F73F 130851Z /38

O 130941Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6392
INFO AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
RUEHROAMEMBASSY ROME 2834

C O N F I D E N T I A L ZAGREB 002612

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/13/98
TAGS: OREP, ASEC, GM, IT, BE, HR
SUBJECT: THREAT ASSESSMENT FOR CODEL MURTHA

1. (LOU) ON MAY 1, THE CROATIAN ARMY CARRIED OUT A MILITARY ACTION TO REGAIN CONTROL OF THE SERB-OCCUPIED AREAS OF WESTERN SLAVONIA (FORMER UN SECTOR WEST). SERB FORCES IN UN SECTOR NORTH SUBSEQUENTLY FIRED TWELVE ORKAN ROCKETS WITH ANTI-PERSONNEL CLUSTER BOMBS ON DOWNTOWN ZAGREB AND PLESO AIRPORT ON MAY 2 AND 3. TEN PEOPLE DIED AND TWO HUNDRED WERE INJURED IN THESE TWO INCIDENTS. SINCE THE EVENTS OF EARLY MAY, THE MILITARY SITUATION IN CROATIA HAS CALMED SIGNIFICANTLY, ALTHOUGH SERBIAN ROCKET LAUNCHERS REMAIN WITHIN STRIKING DISTANCE OF DOWNTOWN ZAGREB AND PLESO AIRPORT (WHICH SERVES DAILY COMMERCIAL

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PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02612 130851Z
AND UN FLIGHTS). THE WITHDRAWAL OF MANY CROATIAN TROOPS

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FROM THE SEPARATION ZONES HAS CALMED TENSIONS IN THE AREA TO SOME EXTENT. NEVERTHELESS, AN EMBASSY TRAVEL WARNING RECOMMENDS THAT ALL AMCITS AVOID TRAVEL TO CROATIA BECAUSE OF THE POTENTIAL FOR RAPID CHANGES IN THE SECURITY SITUATION STEMMING FROM INTERNAL SERB-CROAT FIGHTING AND THE ONGOING WAR IN NEIGHBORING BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA, WHICH HAS ALSO HEATED UP WITH THE SERB OVERRUNNING OF THE SREBRENICA ENCLAVE ON JULY 11. RECENTLY, CROATIAN SERB LEADER MILAN MARTIC THREATENED ROCKET ATTACKS ON COASTAL CITIES, INCLUDING SPLIT, IN RESPONSE TO ONGOING CROATIAN INCURSIONS INTO THE KNIN AREA FROM BOSNIA.

2. (C) ELEMENTS OF VARIOUS TERRORIST GROUPS ARE KNOWN TO BE PRESENT IN CROATIA BUT NONE HAS YET ENGAGED IN ANY TERRORIST ACTION HERE. OCCASIONAL BOMBING INCIDENTS HAVE OCCURRED IN OR NEAR ZAGREB, THE MOST RECENT IN JULY 1994, BUT SUCH EVENTS ARE RARE AND APPEAR FOR THE MOST PART TO HAVE BEEN CRIMINAL ACTS RATHER THAN POLITICALLY MOTIVATED.

3. (LOU) THE SERB-OCCUPIED AREAS IN WHICH THE UN IS DEPLOYED, AND THE CROAQN MAY BE UNSUITABLE FOR TRAVEL EVEN WITH AN ESCORT BECAUSE OF THE CONTINUING TENSION IN CROATIA AND CONFLICT IN BOSNIA. INCIDENTS OF BURGLARY, ROBBERY, HOSTAGE-TAKING AND CARJACKING BY SERBS AGAINST UN AND FOREIGN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE PERSONNEL HAVE INCREASED MARKEDLY IN RECENT MONTHS IN THE SERB-CONTROLLED AREAS.

4. (LOU) STREET CRIME IS ON THE RISE THROUGHOUT CROATIA, PARTICULARLY IN TOWNS ON THE COAST. VISITORS SHOULD
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PAGE 03 ZAGREB 02612 130851Z
REMAIN ALERT AND TAKE SUITABLE PRECAUTIONS.

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DS-00	TEDE-00
	INR-00	IO-08	L-01	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PM-00
	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DSCC-00
	PRME-01	/016W					

-----D8B4E7 121520Z /38

P 121610Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6376
 INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
 NSC WASHDC PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE PRIORITY
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J-3/J-4/J-5//
 SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
 HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//POLAD//
 COMSIXTHFLT //N2//
 JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
 USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ3/ECJ4/ECJ5/ECPOLAD//
 CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
 CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//
 CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//DO/LG/XOX/IN/POLAD//
 AMCONSUL MUNICH
 USLO SKOPJE
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
 AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 NATO EU COLLECTIVE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 ZAGREB 002601

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 DATE/CASE ID: 18 MAR 2009 200705105

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NOFORN

USVIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL OSCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/12/00

TAGS: MOPS BK UN NL

SUBJECT: SREBRENICA: MLADIC THREATENS TO SHELL POTOCARI;
DUTCHBAT DESPAIRING OF ITS MISSION

REF: ZAGREB 2592

1. CONFIDENTIAL NOFORN - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. BOSNIAN SERB MILITARY COMMANDER GENERAL MLADIC HAS BEEN MEETING WITH THE DUTCH BATTALION TO DICTATE HIS TERMS AFTER CAPTURING SREBRENICA. THE DUTCH COMMANDER, ACCORDING TO DOCUMENTS WE HAVE OBTAINED (PROTECT SOURCE) IS DESPAIRING OF HIS ABILITY TO CARRY OUT HIS MISSION TO PROTECT REFUGEES AND DEFEND HIS OWN TROOPS. MEANWHILE, THERE ARE 30,000 REFUGEES AT POTOCARI; 10,000 INSIDE THE DUTCHBAT DEFENSIVE PERIMETER, 20,000 OUTSIDE, AND ANOTHER 8,000-11,000 COMING FROM THE NORTH (15,000 REFUGEES AND DUTCHBAT ARE CONCENTRATED WITHIN 1 SQUARE KILOMETER). THE BSA HAS LOCATED TWO TANKS, A ROCKET LAUNCHER, AND ARTILLERY WITHIN SIGHT OF WHERE THE REFUGEES ARE GATHERED.
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PAGE 03 ZAGREB 02601 01 OF 02 121520Z
END SUMMARY.

MLADIC DICTATES TERMS

3. IN A MEMO TO UNPROFOR HQ THE DUTCHBAT COMMANDER, LTC KARREMANS, DETAILED TWO MEETINGS WITH BSA GENERAL MLADIC ON 11 JULY. DURING THE FIRST MEETING KARREMANS REPORTED THAT MLADIC BLAMED HIM FOR ALL THE DAY'S EVENTS AND

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DEMANDED THAT NATO CLOSE AIR SUPPORT (CAS) CEASE. MLADIC WARNED THAT IF CAS CONTINUED THE POCOCARI COMPOUND ALONG WITH THE (THEN) 17,500 REFUGEES LOCATED THERE WOULD BE SHELLED. MLADIC MADE IT CLEAR HE WOULD USE ALL HIS MILITARY ASSETS IN TARGETING POCOCARI.

4. FOR THE SECOND MEETING, MLADIC DEMANDED THAT A REFUGEE REPRESENTATIVE BE PRESENT. AT THIS MEETING KARREMANS REQUESTED HUMANITARIAN AND MEDICAL ASSISTANCE FOR THE REFUGEES AND OBSERVED THAT MLADIC NOTED EACH REQUEST. MLADIC THEN TURNED TO THE REFUGEE REP, SAID THERE WOULD BE A CEASEFIRE UNTIL 1000 HRS JULY 12 AND DEMANDED THAT:

- ALL ABIH TROOPS WITHIN THE FORMER ENCLAVE HAND OVER THEIR WEAPONS AND RETREAT.
- THERE BE A THIRD MEETING AT 1000 HRS ON JULY 12 WITH REFUGEE REPS AND FORMER CIVIL AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES.

MLADIC SAID HE WAS WILLING TO PROVIDE TREATMENT FOR ALL
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WOUNDED IF HIS DEMANDS ARE EXECUTED FIRST. IF NOT, THE COMPOUND WOULD BE SHELLED. (NOTE: THE 1000 DEADLINE PASSED WITHOUT INCIDENT AND THE UN HAS IGNORED IT. NO FURTHER THREATS HAD BEEN MADE BY MLADIC AS OF 1500, ACCORDING TO THE UN DEPUTY PRESS SPOKESMAN.)

DUTCH COMMANDER FRUSTRATED

5. AT THE END OF HIS MEMO, LTC KARREMANS EXPRESSED HIS EXTREME FRUSTRATION AND INABILITY TO PROTECT REFUGEES AND HIS OWN TROOPS.

(BEGIN TEXT)

I AM NOT ABLE:

- A. TO DEFEND THESE PEOPLE;
- B. TO DEFEND MY OWN BATTALION;
- C. TO FIND SUITABLE REPRESENTATIVES AMONG THE CIVILIANS BECAUSE THE OFFICIAL AUTHORITIES ARE,

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FOR CERTAIN REASONS, UNAVAILABLE;

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DS-00	TEDE-00
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	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DSCC-00
	PRME-01	/016W					

-----D8B4F4 121520Z /38

P 121610Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6377
 INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
 NSC WASHDC PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE PRIORITY
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J-3/J-4/J-5//
 SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
 HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//POLAD//
 COMSIXTHFLT //N2//
 JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
 USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ3/ECJ4/ECJ5/ECPOLAD//
 CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//

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CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5/POLAD//
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//DO/LG/XOX/IN/POLAD//
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USLO SKOPJE
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 ZAGREB 002601

NOFORN

USVIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL OSCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/12/00

TAGS: MOPS BK UN NL

SUBJECT: SREBRENICA: MLADIC THREATENS TO SHELL POTOCARI;
DUTCHBAT DESPAIRING OF ITS MISSION

- D. TO FIND REPRESENTATIVES AMONG THE MILITARY
AUTHORITIES BECAUSE THEY ARE TRYING TO FIGHT FOR
A CORRIDOR TO THE TUZLA AREA, AND WILL NOT SHOW
UP ANYWAY BECAUSE OF PURELY PERSONAL REASONS;
- E. TO FORCE ABIH TROOPS TO HAND OVER THEIR WEAPONS.

(END TEXT)

SREBRENICA UPDATE

6. UPDATING THE SITREP PROVIDED REFTTEL, CIVIL AFFAIRS
DESK OFFICER FOR BOSNIA, ANDY BAIR TOLD US THAT CURRENTLY
THERE ARE 30,000 REFUGEES AT POTOCARI; 10,000 INSIDE THE
DUTCHBAT DEFENSIVE PERIMETER, 20,000 OUTSIDE, AND ANOTHER
8,000-11,000 COMING FROM THE NORTH (15,000 REFUGEES AND
DUTCHBAT ARE CONCENTRATED WITHIN 1 SQUARE KILOMETER). THE
BSA HAS LOCATED TWO TANKS, A ROCKET LAUNCHER, AND

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ARTILLERY WITHIN SIGHT OF WHERE THE REFUGEES ARE GATHERED.
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PAGE 03 ZAGREB 02601 02 OF 02 121520Z
UN OFFICIALS IN TUZLA WERE TOLD BY BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT
MINISTER WITHOUT PORTFOLIO HASAN MURATOVIC THAT LOCAL GOBH
OFFICIALS ARE NOT AUTHORIZED TO DISCUSS THE EVACUATION OF
REFUGEES FROM SREBRENICA. HE IS REPORTED AS SAYING THAT
THE GOBH POSITION IS THAT REFUGEES SHOULD NOT BE MOVED
FROM THEIR CURRENT LOCATION AND THAT THE UN SHOULD FULLY
PROTECT THEM. HE ALSO SAID THAT THE BEST WAY TO SUPPLY
HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE WOULD BE TO START A "HELICOPTER
BRIDGE" FROM TUZLA.

DUTCHBAT RECEIVES ORDERS FROM UNPROFOR HQ

7. POLOFF ALSO RECIEVED A COPY OF THE ORDERS WHICH WERE
ISSUED TO DUTCHBAT BY UNPROFOR HQ AT 1830 ON JULY 11,
HALF-AN-HOUR BEFORE SREBRENICA WAS OVERRUN, AND ARE STILL
IN EFFECT ACCORDING TO BAIR.

8. (BEGIN TEXT)
SUBJECT: ORDER FOR DEFENSE OF DUTCHBAT AND PROTECTION OF
REFUGEES IN SREBRENICA

MESSAGE

IN VIEW OF THE NEW SITUATION IN SREBRENICA THE FOLLOWING
ARE THE ORDERS OF ACTING COMMANDER UNPROFOR FOR THE
DEFENSE OF DUTCHBAT AND THE PROTECTION OF REFUGEES IN
SREBRENICA.

A. ENTER INTO LOCAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH BSA FORCES FOR AN
IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE. GIVING UP ANY WEAPONS AND MILITARY
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PAGE 04 ZAGREB 02601 02 OF 02 121520Z
EQUIPMENT IS NOT AUTHORIZED AND IS NOT A POINT OF
DISCUSSION.

B. CONCENTRATE YOUR FORCES INTO THE POCARI CAMP,
INCLUDING WITHDRAWAL OF YOUR OPS. TAKE ALL REASONABLE
MEASURES TO PROTECT REFUGEES AND CIVILIANS IN YOUR CARE.

C. PROVIDE MEDICAL ASSISTANCE AND ASSIST LOCAL MEDICAL
AUTHORITIES.

D. CONTINUE WITH ALL POSSIBLE MEANS TO DEFEND YOUR FORCES
AND INSTALLATION FROM ATTACK. THIS IS TO INCLUDE THE USE
OF CLOSE AIR SUPPORT IF NECESSARY.

E. BE PREPARED TO RECEIVE AND COORDINATE DELIVERY OF
MEDICAL AND OTHER RELIEF SUPPLIES TO REFUGEES.
(END TEXT)

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	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	/015W

-----D85122 111531Z /38

O 111621Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6370
 INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
 USNMR SHAPE BE//POLAD//
 USMISSION GENEVA
 SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
 USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE//ECJ3/ECJ4/ECJ5//
 AMCONSUL MUNICH
 NSC WASHDC
 NATO EU COLLECTIVE
 CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//DO/LG/XP/IN//
 HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J5-PMA/J21//
 USLO SKOPJE
 HQUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5//
 JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
 CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
 AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
 AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 COMSIXTHFLT //N2//

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 ZAGREB 002590

PARIS ALSO FOR A/S HOLBROOKE
BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEU

E.O. 12356: 7/11/97

TAGS: MOPS UN BK

SUBJECT: UNPROFOR CONSIDERING NEXT STEPS IN LIGHT OF
SERB ULTIMATUM ON SREBRENICA

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

UN REACTION TO THE SERB ULTIMATUM

2. UN HEADQUARTERS IN ZAGREB, AS OF MIDDAY JULY 11, WAS TAKING SERIOUSLY THE SERB ULTIMATUM CONCERNING THE COMPLETE EVACUATION OF SREBRENICA. CONTACTS IN SRSG AKASHI'S AND IN DEPUTY FORCE COMMANDER ASHTON'S OFFICES TOLD US THAT THE SERR ULTIMATUM HAD BEEN REPEATED BY A SERB LIAISON OFFICER, AND THERE WERE ALSO REPORTS THAT SOURCES IN KARADZIC'S PALE HEADQUARTERS HAD RELAYED THE SAME MESSAGE. (HOWEVER, THE ONLY SOURCE FOR THIS THREAT MENTIONED PUBLICLY BY THE PRESS SPOKESMAN'S OFFICE WAS A DUTCH OFFICER WHO CALLED IN OVER HIS RADIO WHILE IN BSA "DETENTION" IN BRATUNAC.) THESE RESTATEMENTS ARE BEING INTERPRETED AS SUPERSEDING THE
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PAGE 03 ZAGREB 02590 01 OF 02 111531Z
REASSURANCES WHICH BOSNIAN SERB C/S TOLIMIR REPORTEDLY GAVE FORCE COMMANDER JANVIER LATE ON JULY 10. WE ARE TOLD THAT THE ULTIMATUM ALSO SPECIFICALLY REQUIRES ALL THOSE LEAVING SREBRENICA TO DEPART UNARMED VIA THE ROAD TO THE NORTH. THE UN HAS NOT YET REACHED ANY DECISIONS ON NEXT STEPS IN RESPONSE TO THE SERB ULTIMATUM, BUT OPTIONS BEING DISCUSSED TODAY INCLUDE "SERIOUS CONSIDERATION" OF CLOSE AIR SUPPORT IF ATTACKS CONTINUE. UN DEPUTY PRESS SPOKESMAN CHRIS GUNNESS SAID THAT AIR SUPPORT WAS CALLED OFF YESTERDAY BECAUSE SERB

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ADVANCES HAD STOPPED AND BECAUSE UN AND BSA TROOPS WERE IN CLOSE PROXIMITY TO EACH OTHER. ASKED IF UN FORCES WERE STILL POSITIONED TOO CLOSE TO THE SERBS TODAY, GUNNESS SAID THAT IF THAT WERE THE CASE, "OTHER" TARGETS COULD BE CONSIDERED.

MILITARY ACTIVITY AROUND SREBRENICA

3. GUNNESS SAID THAT AS OF MID-MORNING JULY 11 FIGHTING HAD PICKED UP AFTER THE OVERNIGHT LULL. ONE UN OBSERVATION POST WAS ATTACKED DURING THE MORNING. BSA ACTIVITY HAD BEEN DETECTED NORTH OF SREBRENICA (ALONG THE EVACUATION ROUTE SPECIFIED IN THE SERB ULTIMATUM) AND PREPARATIONS FOR A POSSIBLE BSA ADVANCE ON THE CITY APPEARED TO BE UNDERWAY TO THE SOUTH. FIGHTING WAS REPORTED NEAR THE BAUXITE MINE, WHERE 10 DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS ARE REPORTED TO BE HELD. FIRING INCIDENTS WERE ALSO REPORTED IN TOWN. UN CASUALTY ESTIMATES RANGE FROM 4 TO 27 DEAD AND 22 TO 60 INJURED.
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AROUND 4,000 REFUGEES HAVE FLED INTO THE TOWN. THE UN CIVIL AFFAIRS OFFICER FOR BOSNIA TOLD US THAT THERE APPEARS TO BE NO ORGANIZED MILITARY ACTIVITY BY BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT FORCES. GOVERNMENT TROOPS HAVE NOT YET MOVED TO WITHDRAW WEAPONS FROM COLLECTION SITES.

ACTIVITY AROUND ZEPA

4. MEANWHILE, THERE ARE NEW REPORTS OF ACTIVITY AROUND ZEPA. ON JULY 10, REPORTEDLY, SERB FIRING FORCED THE TEMPORARY EVACUATION OF A UN OBSERVATION POST WHICH HOWEVER WAS RECLAIMED LATER THAT SAME DAY. (GOBH FORCES APPARENTLY SOUGHT TO PREVENT THE UN OBSERVERS' EVACUATION OF THE OP, AS THEY HAVE SIMILARLY ATTEMPTED TO KEEP THE DUTCH PEACEKEEPING FORCES AROUND SREBRENICA IN PLACE.) ZEPA ALSO EXPERIENCED FURTHER SHELLING JULY 10-11, THOUGH GORAZDE REMAINED QUIET.
UN MILITARY ANALYSTS SO FAR DO NOT DISCERN ANY COORDINATION

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	OASY-00	TEDE-00	INR-00
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	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	/015W
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O 111621Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6371
 INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
 USNMR SHAPE BE//POLAD//
 USMISSION GENEVA
 SECDEF WASHDC//ISA/ISP//
 USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ3/ECJ4/ECJ5//
 AMCONSUL MUNICH
 NSC WASHDC
 NATO EU COLLECTIVE
 CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//DO/LG/XP/IN//
 HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//CA/POLAD//
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J5-PMA/J21//

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USLO SKOPJE
HQUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//J3/J4/J5//
JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
COMSIXTHFLT //N2//

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 ZAGREB 002590

PARIS ALSO FOR A/S HOLBROOKE
BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEU

E.O. 12356: 7/11/97
TAGS: MOPS UN BK
SUBJECT: UNPROFOR CONSIDERING NEXT STEPS IN LIGHT OF
SERB ULTIMATUM ON SREBRENICA

BETWEEN ACTIVITY IN ZEPA AND SREBRENICA.

5. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 TEDE-00 ADS-00 ONY-00 SSO-00 /001W
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FM USMISSION USVIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0196

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USVIENNA 002103

FOR EUR/BOB FRASURE AND CHRIS HILL FROM LOUIS SELL

E.O. 12356: DECL:7/24/15
TAGS: AMGT
SUBJECT: OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

1. CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. CHRIS: I AM SENDING WITH THIS O/I A DRAFT
REPORTING BILDT'S JULY 20 MEETING WITH IZETBEGOVIC. I
AM ALSO SENDING, VIA THE SWEDISH EMBASSY HERE, A COPY
TO BILDT. SINCE BILDT HAS NOT YET SEEN AND APPROVED
THIS DRAFT, I WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR HOLDING IT CLOSE.
REGARDS, LOUIE.

3. SUMMARY: ON JULY 20 ICFY COCHAIRMAN CARL BILDT MET
WITH BOSNIAN PRESIDENT ALIA IZETBEGOVIC, TO DISCUSS
THE "SANCTIONS/RECOGNITION" PACKAGE, TENTATIVELY
AGREED IN PRINCIPLE THE PREVIOUS DAY WITH SERBIAN
PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC. FOLLOWING ARE MAIN POINTS:
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-- IZETBEGOVIC WAS SKEPTICAL ABOUT OPENING OF THE KISLYAK SUPPLY ROUTE, POINTING OUT ITS VULNERABILITY TO SERB CLOSURE AND HOSTAGE-TAKING. IZETBEGOVIC SAID TWENTY TRUCKS A DAY VIA THE IGMAN ROUTE COULD KEEP SARAJEVO SUPPLIED WITH FOOD.

-- IZETBEGOVIC WAS RESERVED ON THE "SANCTION/RECOGNITION" PACKAGE, WARNING THAT TOO HIGH A PRICE SHOULD NOT BE PAID FOR RECOGNITION AND THAT SANCTIONS SHOULD NOT BE SUSPENDED.

-- IZETBEGOVIC WARNED THAT ONLY THE USE OF FORCE COULD STOP THE SERBS, WHOSE ULTIMATE AIM IS TO CAPTURE SARAJEVO AND EXPELL ALL MOSLEMS.

-- BILDT STRESSED THE NEED TO GET THE POLITICAL PROCESS STARTED, WARNED OF THE LIMITS OF AIR POWER ALONE, AND URGED A COHERENT, CONSISTENT AND COORDINATED APPROACH THAT AVOIDED THE USE OF THREATS WE DID NOT MEAN TO CARRY OUT. BILDT ALSO TOLD IZETBEGOVIC THAT THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE UN WOULD LEAD TO A PROLONGED, BITTER, AND INCONCLUSIVE WAR. END SUMMARY.

4. BILDT OPENED THE MEETING BY REMARKING THAT HE HAD ENTERED SARAJEVO THROUGH THE ROAD FROM KISLYAK, WHICH HAD JUST BEEN OPENED THAT DAY AS PART OF AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN UNPROFOR BOSNIA COMMANDER GEN. SMITH AND SERB MILITARY CHIEF MLADIC. BILDT POINTED OUT THAT OPENING THE KISLYAK ROUTE WOULD MAKE IT SIGNIFICANTLY EASIER
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TO SUPPLY SARAJEVO BUT THAT THE UN WOULD CONTINUE TO IMPROVE THE IGMAN ROUTE, AS A BACK-UP. IZETBEGOVIC WARNED THAT THE KISLYAK ROUTE, WHICH WENT THROUGH SERB CONTROLLED TERRITORY, WOULD ALWAYS BE SUBJECT TO CLOSURE AND HOSTAGE-TAKING. IZETBEGOVIC ALSO SAID THAT SARAJEVO NEEDED BETWEEN 300-400 TONS OF FOOD A DAY. THIS COULD BE BROUGHT INTO THE CITY IN TWENTY TRUCKS A DAY, USING THE MT. IGMAN ROUTE. IZETBEGOVIC ADDED, AND BILDT AGREED, THAT IT WOULD BE BEST TO OPEN THE

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SARAJEVO AIRPORT. BILDT ADDED THAT THE SERBS HAD TOLD GEN. SMITH THAT THEY WOULD AGREE TO REOPEN THE AIRPORT AS PART OF A DEAL THAT INCLUDED A CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES.

5. BILDT DESCRIBED THE RECOGNITIONS/SANCTIONS PACKAGE HE HAD TENTATIVELY AGREED WITH MILOSEVIC THE PREVIOUS DAY IN BELGRADE AND GAVE IZETBEGOVIC A COPY OF THE TEXT, NOTING THAT IT SHOULD STILL BE CONSIDERED CONFIDENTIAL. BILDT ALSO BRIEFLY RAISED THE POSSIBILITY OF IZETBEGOVIC MEETING WITH MILOSEVIC, AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME, ADDING THAT MILOSEVIC HAD SAID HE WAS READY FOR THIS. BILDT POINTED OUT THAT IF THE TIME WAS NOT RIPE FOR A FACE-TO-FACE MEETING, A TELEPHONE CALL MIGHT BE USEFUL. IZETBEGOVIC REPLIED THAT HE WOULD CONSIDER THIS AFTER THERE HAD BEEN SOME POLITICAL PROGRESS.

6. BILDT POINTED OUT THAT THE PACKAGE WAS ESSENTIALLY THE SAME THAT THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT HAD ALREADY SEEN AND AGREED TO. MILOSEVIC HAD EFFECTIVELY AGREED TO RECOGNIZE BOSNIA IN ITS INTERNATIONAL BORDERS AND
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AGREED TO REALIZE THE CONTACT GROUP (CG) PLAN. IF, AFTER NINE MONTHS MILOSEVIC COULD NOT DELIVER THE BOSNIAN SERBS OR HE WAS NOT SUPPORTING THE CG PLAN, SANCTIONS COULD BE REIMPOSED THROUGH A VOTE OF THREE OUT OF FIVE STATES. THESE WOULD PROBABLY BE THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL PERMANENT MEMBERS, ALTHOUGH IT WAS POSSIBLE GERMANY WOULD TAKE CHINA'S PLACE IN THIS MECHANISM. IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT THAT MILOSEVIC HAS AGREED TO STRENGTHEN THE MONITORING MECHANISM ALONG THE DRINA BORDER.

7. BILDT ALSO TOLD IZETBEGOVIC THAT, ALTHOUGH HE HAD NOT YET VISITED PALE, AT SOME POINT IT MIGHT BE NECESSARY TO TALK TO THEM. BILDT STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT HE CURRENTLY HAS NO CONTACTS WITH PALE AND DOES NOT PLAN ANY NOW. UNSYG BOUTROS GHALI HAD ASKED ICFY COCHAIRMAN STOLTENBERG TO VISIT PALE BUT AFTER BILDT AND STOLTENBERG HAD CONSULTED, THEY HAD DECIDED THAT

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O 241311Z JUL 95
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 USVIENNA 002103

FOR EUR/BOB FRASURE AND CHRIS HILL FROM LOUIS SELL

E.O. 12356: DECL:7/24/15
TAGS: AMGT
SUBJECT: OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

SUCH A VISIT WOULD NOT BE APPROPRIATE.

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8. IZETBEGOVIC REPLIED THAT BOSNIA IS NOT IN A HURRY FOR RECOGNITION FROM SERBIA AND TOO HIGH A PRICE SHOULD NOT BE PAID FOR THIS. SANCTIONS SHOULD NOT BE LIFTED. AFTER THE FALL OF SREBRENICA, BOSNIA IS STRONGER AND CAN RESIST THE SERBS. MILOSEVIC IS STILL AIMING TO CREATE A GREATER SERBIA AND IS HELPING THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY (BSA) IN THE CURRENT OFFENSIVE, FOR EXAMPLE BY PAYING SALARIES FOR BSA OFFICERS OUT OF BELGRADE. AFTER NINE MONTHS MILOSEVIC WILL BE STRONGER AND REIMPOSING SANCTIONS WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE. IZETBEGOVIC ALSO CHARGED -- WITHOUT READING THE DOCUMENT -- THAT IT DID NOT PROVIDE GENUINE
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PAGE 02 USVIEN 02103 02 OF 02 241322Z
RECOGNITION FOR BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA. BILDТ REJOINED THAT THE AGREEMENT DID, IN FACT, RECOGNIZE BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA "WITHIN ITS INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED BORDERS." THIS MEANT THAT MILOSEVIC COULD NOT GO BACK ON RECOGNITION, WITHOUT DERECOGNIZING HIS OWN STATE.

9. IZETBEGOVIC CONTINUED THAT THE ONLY WAY TO STOP THE SERBS IS THROUGH THE USE OF FORCE. HE STRESSED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS THAT THE USE OF AIR POWER COULD STOP THE CURRENT SERBIAN OFFENSIVE. WITHOUT THE USE OF FORCE, HOWEVER, THE SERBS WILL TRY TO TAKE ALL OF THE ENCLAVES AND SARAJEVO ITSELF. AFTER A SEIGE THAT HAS COST 11,000 DEAD AND 65,000 WOUNDED IN ITS CAPITAL, THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT CANNOT ACCEPT A PEACE THAT LEAVES THE SERBS 400 METERS FROM THE CENTER OF SARAJEVO. IZETBEGOVIC COMPLAINED THAT IT IS NOT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, BUT THE LEADERS OF INDIVIDUAL STATES THAT HAVE LET BOSNIA DOWN. HE COMPARED CURRENT POLICY TO 1930S APPEASEMENT AND ASKED WHY THE WORLD COULD NOT STOP A WAR CRIMINAL AND A KILLER, SUCH AS MLADIC.

10. BILDТ CONCLUDED THAT HE IS TRYING TO CREATE THE POLICY CONDITIONS FOR NEGOTIATIONS. THIS WILL REQUIRE POLITICAL AND POSSIBLY OTHER PRESSURE ON THE BOSNIAN SERBS. THE EFFECTIVENESS OF AIR POWER ALONE, HOWEVER, IS OFTEN OVERRATED. BILDТ ALSO WARNED IZETBEGOVIC THAT HE SHOULD NOT OVERESTIMATE THE DESIRE OF SOME

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STATES TO GET INVOLVED IN BOSNIA. AT THE NEXT DAY'S CONFERENCE ON YUGOSLAVIA IN LONDON, BILDT SAID HE INTENDED TO STRESS THE NEED FOR A CREDIBLE, COHERENT
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PAGE 03 USVIEN 02103 02 OF 02 241322Z
AND CONSISTENT POLICY. IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO BLUFF MLADIC AND WE SHOULD SAY WHAT WE ARE PREPARED TO ACTUALLY DO. AT THE END OF THE DAY, ONLY A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT CAN END THE WAR. TO PULL OUT THE UN, AS SOME BOSNIAN SPOKESMEN HAVE ADVOCATED, WOULD MEAN A LONG AND BRUTAL WAR THAT WOULD NOT CHANGE ANYTHING.

11. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH IZETBEGOVIC LISTENED CAREFULLY TO BILDT'S DESCRIPTION OF THE "SANCTIONS/RECOGNITION" PACKAGE, HIS HOPES WERE CLEARLY FOCUSED ON A ROBUST BOMBING CAMPAIGN COMING OUT OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE AND ON A POSITIVE VOTE IN THE U.S. CONGRESS ON LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO. IZETBEGOVIC DID NOT REJECT THE PACKAGE -- IT WOULD BE HARD FOR HIM TO DO SO SINCE THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY AGREED TO IT IN PRINCIPLE -- BUT HE IS UNLIKELY TO EXPRESSLY ENDORSE IT UNTIL HE SEES WHETHER SUFFICIENT OUTSIDE MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO ROLL THE SERBS BACK MILITARILY IS ON THE WAY.

12. TOWARD THE END OF THE MEETING WITH BILDT, TWO SHELLS LANDED IN THE REAR OF THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE, PROBABLY NO MORE THAN 200 YARDS FROM THE MEETING SITE. IN THE SILENCE THAT FOLLOWED THE EXPLOSIONS, IZETBEGOVIC LEANED BACK AND SAID, ALMOST TO HIMSELF, "WHILE WE ARE TALKING IN HERE, PEOPLE ARE DYING."

13. THE BILDT PARTY'S BRIEF VISIT TO SARAJEVO ALSO PROVIDED SOME OPPORTUNITY FOR INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS WITH MINOR OFFICIALS AND ORDINARY CITIZENS.

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IZETBEGOVIC'S INTERPRETER, AN INTELLIGENT AND WELL-
EDUCATED WOMAN WHO HAS BEEN INTERPRETING FOR BOSNIAN
LEADERS FOR MANY YEARS, REPORTED THAT IN THE WAKE OF
SREBRENICA SARAJEVO RESIDENTS ARE BECOMING EVEN MORE
ANXIOUS TO LEAVE THE CITY. THERE ARE REPORTS OF
SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS OF PEOPLE LEAVING VIA THE TUNNEL
WITH EMPTY SUITCASES, NEVER INTENDING TO RETURN. THE
INTERPRETER AND OTHERS ALSO NOTED A SEA-CHANGE IN THE
ATTITUDE OF ORDINARY BOSNIANS TO THE UN AFTER
SREBRENICA. SARAJEVO RESIDENTS HAD GREETED THE
ARRIVAL OF UN FORCES WITH FLOWERS, NOW MANY SAY THE UN
SHOULD GO BECAUSE THEY BELIEVE IT CANNOT PROTECT
PEOPLE FROM THE SERBS. IZETBEGOVIC'S INTERPRETER
WORRIED THAT THE MOOD OF BOSNIANS COULD SWING OVER TO
ACTIVE HOSTILITY TOWARD THE UN IF CURRENT TRENDS
CONTINUE. BROWN

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PAGE 01 USUN N 02724 102047Z
ACTION IO-08

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AF-01	ARA-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00
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	IMMC-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	L-01	ADS-00	M-00
	NEA-01	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OIG-04	PA-01	PM-00
	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00
	USIE-00	SA-01	SSD-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/054W

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O 102030Z JUL 95
 FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6164
 INFO AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE
 NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB IMMEDIATE
 WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
 USNMR SHAPE BE PRIORITY
 USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY
 HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//POLAD//
 USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA
 USMISSION GENEVA
 AMEMBASSY VIENNA
 USMISSION USVIENNA
 AMEMBASSY MADRID
 AMEMBASSY ANKARA

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PAGE 02 USUN N 02724 102047Z
 AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
 AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

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AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN NEW YORK 002724

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 7/10/05
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR
SUBJECT: NATO CLOSE AIR SUPPORT UNDERWAY TO DEFEND
-- DUTCH UNPROFOR CONTINGENT IN SREBRENICA

REF: GNEHM-OPS CENTER TELCON

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. AT ABOUT 2:30 P.M. ON JULY 10, DUTCH PERMREP BIEGMAN ADVISED DPR GNEHM THAT THE DUTCH CONTINGENT IN SREBRENICA WAS AGAIN UNDER ATTACK BY BOSNIAN SERB FORCES, UTILIZING TWO TANKS AND TWO REINFORCED COMPANIES. THE DUTCH WERE RETURNING FIRE. THE LOCAL DUTCH COMMANDER HAD REQUESTED NATO CLOSE AIR SUPPORT AND UNDERSTOOD THAT IT WAS ON THE WAY.
3. PETER SCHMITZ OF UN DPKO CONFIRMED, SOME 20 MINUTES LATER, THAT SOME NATO AIR ACTION WAS TAKING PLACE AROUND SREBRENICA BUT SAID THAT HIS INFORMATION WAS ONLY PRELIMINARY. HE SAID THAT UN HEADQUARTERS HAD
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PAGE 03 USUN N 02724 102047Z
"PRE-AUTHORIZED" NATO CLOSE AIR SUPPORT AROUND
SREBRENICA ON JULY 9. NATO CAS, THEREFORE, COULD BE
AUTHORIZED BY UNPROFOR COMMANDER RUPERT SMITH OR IN HIS
ABSENCE, AS IS CURRENTLY THE CASE, THE COMMANDER OF
UNPROFOR SECTOR SARAJEVO, FRENCH GENERAL GOBILLARD.

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PAGE 01 USUN N 02731 110052Z
ACTION IO-08

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	IMMC-01	SSA-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	L-01	ADS-00	M-00
	NEA-01	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OIG-04	PA-01	PM-00
	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00
	USIE-00	SA-01	SSD-01	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/054W

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 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6176
 INFO SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB IMMEDIATE
 USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY
 USNMR SHAPE BE PRIORITY
 HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT//POLAD//
 USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA
 USMISSION GENEVA
 AMEMBASSY VIENNA
 USMISSION USVIENNA
 AMEMBASSY MADRID
 AMEMBASSY ANKARA

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PAGE 02 USUN N 02731 110052Z
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

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AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN NEW YORK 002731

JCS FOR DIR, DIR J5, CHAIRMAN,
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE, CINCLANT FOR POLAD; SHAPE FOR
POLAD MINISTER PENNER, VIENNA FOR BOSNIA

E.O.12356: DECL: 7/10/05
TAGS: PREL, UNSC, NATO, BK, HR
SUBJECT: NO USE OF NATO CLOSE AIR SUPPORT NEAR
-- SREBRENICA

REF: USUN 2724

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
 2. AT ABOUT 4:30 P.M. ON JULY 10 WE AGAIN SPOKE TO PETER SCHMITZ OF THE SECRETARIAT'S DEPARTMENT OF PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS REGARDING THE USE OF NATO CLOSE AIR SUPPORT NEAR SREBRENICA. (SCHMITZ HAD EARLIER TOLD US THAT HE HAD PRELIMINARY INFORMATION THAT UNPROFOR HAD CALLED FOR CAS IN SUPPORT OF DUTCH TROOPS NEAR SREBRENICA WHO WERE UNDER BOSNIAN SERB ATTACK. FOR MORE DETAILS SEE REFTTEL.) SCHMITZ SAID THAT HIS MOST RECENT INFORMATION WAS THAT THE DUTCH BATTALION COMMANDER HAD REQUESTED CLOSE AIR SUPPORT, BUT THAT FORCE COMMANDER GENERAL JANVIER HAD DECIDED NOT TO PASS THE REQUEST ON TO NATO. SCHMITZ SAID THAT JANVIER
- CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 USUN N 02731 110052Z
BASED HIS DECISION ON THE FACT THAT THE BSA HAD STOPPED ADVANCING TOWARDS SREBRENICA AND FIRING ON THE DUTCH TROOPS, AND THAT NIGHTFALL HAD MADE SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF A CAS MISSION MORE DIFFICULT. SCHMITZ ADDED THAT UNPROFOR BELIEVED THAT THE BSA'S DECISION TO BREAK OFF THE FIRE FIGHT WAS LARGELY DUE TO THE STRONG STAND TAKEN BY THE DUTCH AND THE SERBS' KNOWLEDGE THAT THEY HAD ANTI-TANK MISSILES. SCHMITZ SAID THAT IF THE SERBS RESUME THEIR ATTACK ON THE DUTCH POSITIONS DURING THE MORNING OF JULY 11, NATO CAS MIGHT BE REQUESTED.

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3. SCHMITZ SAID THAT THE BSA COMMANDER AROUND SREBRENICA HAD GIVEN AN ULTIMATUM TO THE DUTCH BATTALION COMMANDER GIVING UNPROFOR AND GOB TROOPS 48 HOURS TO WITHDRAW FROM THE SAFE AREA. GENERAL GOBILLARD HAD GOTTEN IN TOUCH WITH THE BSA CHIEF OF STAFF WHO TOLD HIM THAT HE WAS NOT AWARE OF ANY SUCH ULTIMATUM AND, IN FACT, HAD ORDERED BSA TROOPS AROUND SREBRENICA TO STOP FIGHTING. IN ANY CASE UNPROFOR WILL IGNORE THE ULTIMATUM.

4. SCHMITZ ADDED THAT UNPROFOR HAD REPORTED THAT DURING THE FIRE FIGHT BETWEEN THE DUTCH AND BSA, BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT FORCES HAD TAKEN "POTSHOTS" AT THE DUTCH.

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PAGE 01 ROME 10132 191342Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	SRPP-00
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	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-02
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00
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R 191327Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY ROME
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9638
 INFO AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

UNCLAS ROME 010132

FROM THE AMBASSADOR

FROM EMBASSY VATICAN/MESSAGE NO. 207/95

E.O. 12356: N/A
 TAGS: PREL, BK, HR, SR, VT
 SUBJECT: POPE CALLS BOSNIA SITUATION
 "UNDOING OF CIVILIZATION"

REF: A) ROME 7866 B) ROME 7272 C) ROME 7271
 D) ROME 7160

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1. POPE JOHN PAUL II DELIVERED JULY 16 A PASSIONATE PUBLIC DENUNCIATION OF RECENT EVENTS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: "WHAT IS HAPPENING BEFORE THE EYES OF THE WHOLE WORLD IS THE UNDOING OF CIVILIZATION. THESE CRIMES WILL REMAIN AS ONE OF THE SADDEST CHAPTERS OF THE HISTORY OF EUROPE." THE POPE SAID HE WANTED YET AGAIN TO REMIND "ALL MEN OF GOOD WILL" OF THE DRAMA OF "THESE BROTHERS AND SISTERS CAST AGAIN ON THE ROAD OF EXODUS IN THE MOST EXTREME MISERY."

2. THE POPE, WHO HAS BEEN FOLLOWING EVENTS IN EX-YUGOSLAVIA CLOSELY THROUGHOUT THE CRISIS, PROTESTED AGAINST THE BARBARITY: "NO CAUSE, NO PLAN CAN JUSTIFY SUCH BARBAROUS ACTIONS AND METHODS: THEY ARE CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY! THE NEWS AND THE SCENES COMING FROM BOSNIA, FROM SREBRENICA, AND FROM ZEPA, WITNESS HOW EUROPE AND HUMANITY HAVE FALLEN EVEN DEEPER INTO THE ABYSS OF DEGRADATION." SPEAKING OF THE AUTHORS OF THE MASSACRE AND OF THE FAILURE OF ANY AGENTS TO STOP THEM, THE POPE SAID: "I WOULD THAT GOD WOULD TOUCH THEIR HEARTS AND ENLIGHTEN THESE LOST SPIRITS." JOAQUIN NAVARRO-VALLS, THE VATICAN SPOKESMAN, ALSO SPOKE PUBLICLY OF THE POPE'S DEEP ANGUISH AND SADNESS, QUOTING HIM AS SAYING: "WHAT CAN I DO TO SAVE THE VICTIMS OF THIS HELL?"

3. POPE JOHN PAUL II'S COMMITMENT TO PEACE AND JUSTICE IN BOSNIA IS REFLECTED IN HIS FREQUENT AND INCREASINGLY ANGUISHED CALLS FOR AN END TO THE VIOLENCE THERE (SEE REFTELS). THE POPE'S STRONG HOPE TO BE ABLE TO VISIT

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SAREJEVO (AND BELGRADE) CONTRIBUTES TO THE POIGNANCY OF HIS PERSONAL APPEALS ON BEHALF OF ALL THE VICTIMS OF WAR IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA.

4. FROM MY CONVERSATIONS WITH MANY SENIOR VATICAN OFFICIALS, I CONCLUDE THAT THE POPE HAS BEEN RECEIVING MANY MESSAGES OF SUPPORT FOR HIS ADVOCACY OF PEACE IN BOSNIA FROM CHURCH LEADERS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. I KNOW FOR A FACT THAT AMERICAN CATHOLIC CHURCH LEADERS HAVE BEEN PROMINENT AMONG THOSE SUPPORTING THE POPE ON

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PAGE 01 STATE 165939 112203Z
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APPROVED BY: CJOHNSON
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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 165939

TODEP 9035

FOLLOWING ZAGREB DATED 7/11/95 SENT ACTION SECSTATE, INFO PARIS,
USNMR SHAPE BE, GENEVA, SECDEF, USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE, MUNICH,
NSC WASHDC, NATO EU COLL, CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN, HQ JTF PP NAPLES IT,
JOINT STAFF, USLO SKOPJE, HQUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE, JAC MOLESWORTH
RAF, CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON, LJUBLJANA, BUDAPEST, SARAJEVO, BELGRADE,
COMSIXTHFLT, USUN NEW YORK REPEATED FOR YOUR ACTION
QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L ZAGREB 002590

PARIS ALSO FOR A/S HOLBROOKE
BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEU

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 12 MAR 2009 200705105

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E.O. 12356: 7/11/97

TAGS: MOPS UN BK

SUBJECT: UNPROFOR CONSIDERING NEXT STEPS IN LIGHT OF
SERB ULTIMATUM ON SREBRENICA

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

UN REACTION TO THE SERB ULTIMATUM

2. UN HEADQUARTERS IN ZAGREB, AS OF MIDDAY JULY 11, WAS TAKING SERIOUSLY THE SERB ULTIMATUM CONCERNING THE COMPLETE EVACUATION OF SREBRENICA. CONTACTS IN SRSG AKASHI'S AND IN DEPUTY FORCE COMMANDER ASHTON'S OFFICES TOLD US THAT THE SERB ULTIMATUM HAD BEEN REPEATED BY A SERB LIAISON OFFICER, AND THERE WERE ALSO REPORTS THAT SOURCES IN KARADZIC'S PALE HEADQUARTERS HAD RELAYED THE SAME MESSAGE. (HOWEVER, THE ONLY SOURCE FOR THIS THREAT MENTIONED PUBLICLY BY THE PRESS SPOKESMAN'S OFFICE WAS A DUTCH OFFICER WHO CALLED IN OVER HIS RADIO WHILE IN BSA "DETENTION" IN BRATUNAC.) THESE RESTATEMENTS ARE BEING INTERPRETED AS SUPERSEDING THE REASSURANCES WHICH BOSNIAN SERB C/S TOLIMIR REPORTEDLY GAVE FORCE COMMANDER JANVIER LATE ON JULY 10. WE ARE TOLD THAT THE ULTIMATUM ALSO SPECIFICALLY REQUIRES ALL THOSE LEAVING SREBRENICA TO DEPART UNARMED VIA THE ROAD TO THE NORTH. THE UN HAS NOT YET REACHED ANY DECISIONS ON NEXT STEPS IN RESPONSE TO THE SERB ULTIMATUM, BUT OPTIONS BEING DISCUSSED TODAY INCLUDE "SERIOUS CONSIDERATION" OF CLOSE AIR SUPPORT IF ATTACKS

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PAGE 03 STATE 165939 112203Z
CONTINUE. UN DEPUTY PRESS SPOKESMAN CHRIS GUNNESS SAID THAT AIR SUPPORT WAS CALLED OFF YESTERDAY BECAUSE SERB ADVANCES HAD STOPPED AND BECAUSE UN AND BSA TROOPS WERE IN CLOSE PROXIMITY TO EACH OTHER. ASKED IF UN FORCES WERE STILL POSITIONED TOO CLOSE TO THE SERBS TODAY, GUNNESS SAID THAT IF THAT WERE THE CASE, "OTHER" TARGETS COULD BE CONSIDERED.

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MILITARY ACTIVITY AROUND SREBRENICA

3. GUNNESS SAID THAT AS OF MID-MORNING JULY 11 FIGHTING HAD PICKED UP AFTER THE OVERNIGHT LULL. ONE UN OBSERVATION POST WAS ATTACKED DURING THE MORNING. BSA ACTIVITY HAD BEEN DETECTED NORTH OF SREBRENICA (ALONG THE EVACUATION ROUTE SPECIFIED IN THE SERB ULTIMATUM) AND PREPARATIONS FOR A POSSIBLE BSA ADVANCE ON THE CITY APPEARED TO BE UNDERWAY TO THE SOUTH. FIGHTING WAS REPORTED NEAR THE BAUXITE MINE, WHERE 10 DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS ARE REPORTED TO BE HELD. FIRING INCIDENTS WERE ALSO REPORTED IN TOWN. UN CASUALTY ESTIMATES RANGE FROM 4 TO 27 DEAD AND 22 TO 60 INJURED. AROUND 4,000 REFUGEES HAVE FLED INTO THE TOWN. THE UN CIVIL AFFAIRS OFFICER FOR BOSNIA TOLD US THAT THERE APPEARS TO BE NO ORGANIZED MILITARY ACTIVITY BY BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT FORCES. GOVERNMENT TROOPS HAVE NOT YET MOVED TO WITHDRAW WEAPONS FROM COLLECTION SITES.

ACTIVITY AROUND ZEPA

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PAGE 04 STATE 165939 112203Z

4. MEANWHILE, THERE ARE NEW REPORTS OF ACTIVITY AROUND ZEPA. ON JULY 10, REPORTEDLY, SERB FIRING FORCED THE TEMPORARY EVACUATION OF A UN OBSERVATION POST WHICH HOWEVER WAS RECLAIMED LATER THAT SAME DAY. (GOBH FORCES APPARENTLY SOUGHT TO PREVENT THE UN OBSERVERS' EVACUATION OF THE OP, AS THEY HAVE SIMILARLY ATTEMPTED TO KEEP THE DUTCH PEACEKEEPING FORCES AROUND SREBRENICA IN PLACE.) ZEPA ALSO EXPERIENCED FURTHER SHELLING JULY 10-11, THOUGH GORAZDE REMAINED QUIET. UN MILITARY ANALYSTS SO FAR DO NOT DISCERN ANY COORDINATION BETWEEN ACTIVITY IN ZEPA AND SREBRENICA.

5. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 009772

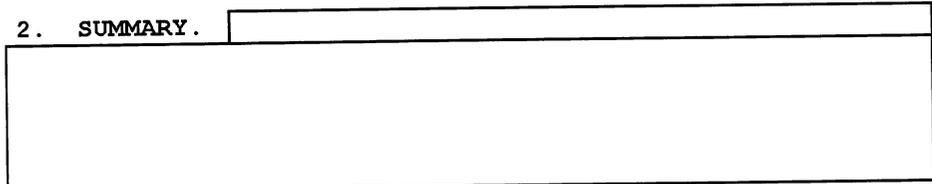
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MADRID FOR A/S HOLBROOKE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL US UK BK
SUBJECT: BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY ON SREBRENICA

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY.



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PAGE 02 LONDON 09772 01 OF 02 121315Z
[Redacted] END SUMMARY.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 11 JUL 2020
DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2009 200705105

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3. THE AMBASSADOR'S JULY 12 MEETING WITH MALCOLM RIFKIND IN HIS NEW CAPACITY AS FOREIGN SECRETARY FOCUSED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY ON BOSNIA AND BRITISH THINKING FOLLOWING THE FALL OF SREBRENICA. [REDACTED]

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ACTION SS-00

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 /000W
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FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
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INFO AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE
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NATO EU COLLECTIVE PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 009772

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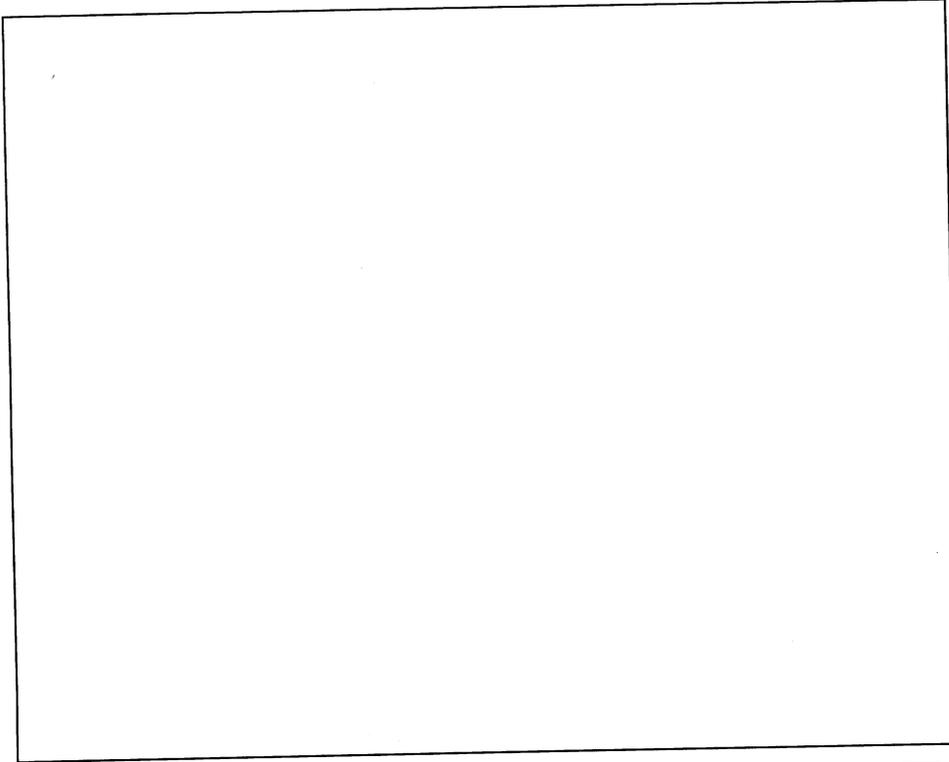
MADRID FOR A/S HOLBROOKE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL US UK BK

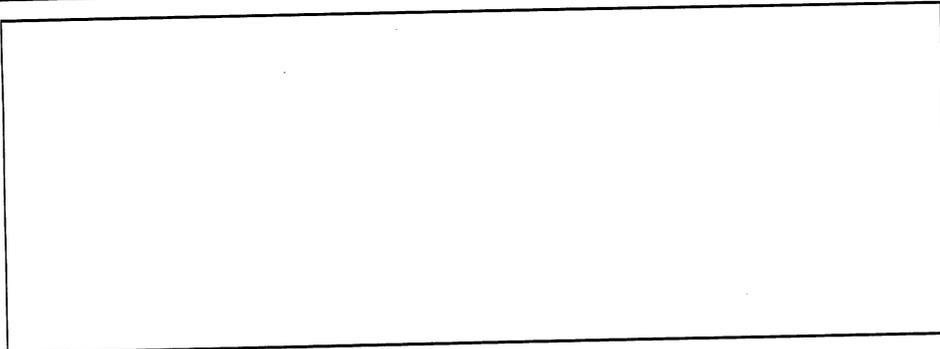
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SUBJECT: BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY ON SREBRENICA

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INFO AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO PRIORITY
NATO EU COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY

RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 009948

DECAPTIONED

EXDIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL BK UK
SUBJECT: HMG PAUSES TO REFLECT ON BOSNIA POLICY,
REAFFIRMS VALUE OF UNPROFOR

REF: LONDON 9894

1. CONFIDENTIAL AS MARKED. OADR FOR FOREIGN GOVERNMENT INFORMATION.
2. (C) SUMMARY: THE BRITISH ARE NOT PREPARED TO TAKE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

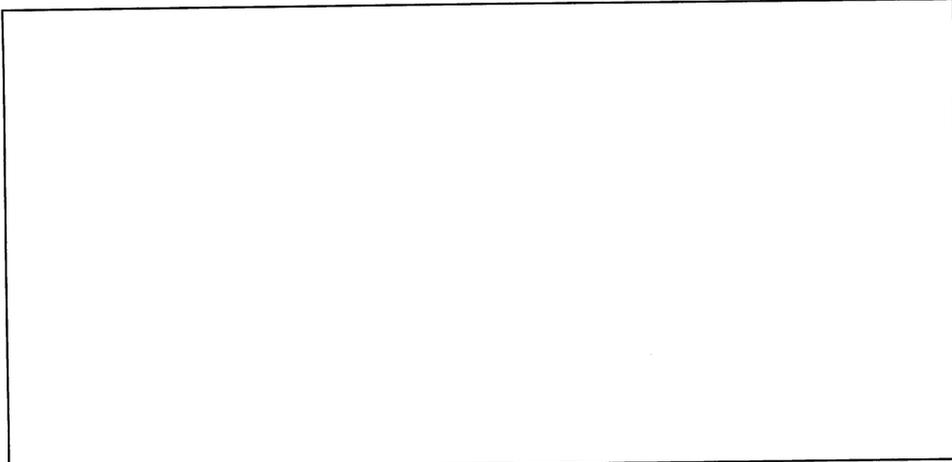
PAGE 02 LONDON 09948 01 OF 03 141556Z
ANY QUICK DECISIONS ON POSSIBLE MILITARY ACTIONS IN

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 13 JUL 2020
DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2009 200705105

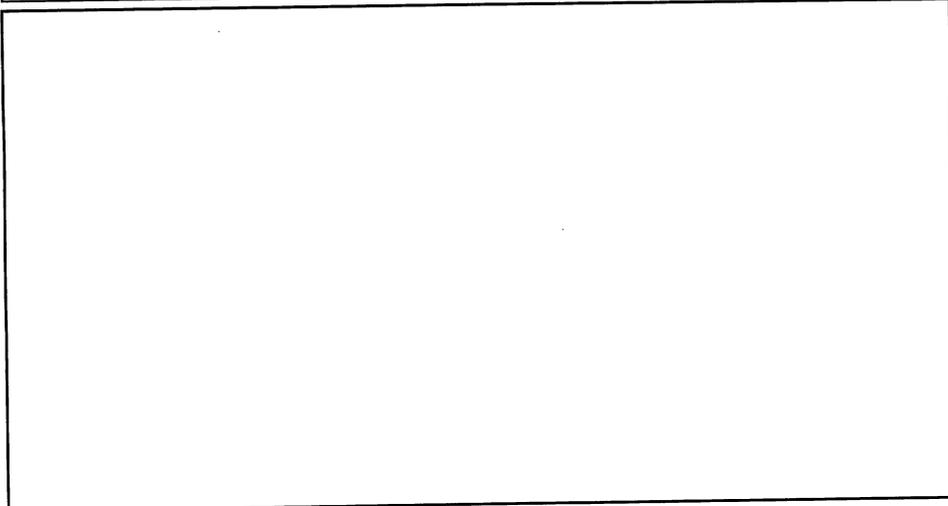
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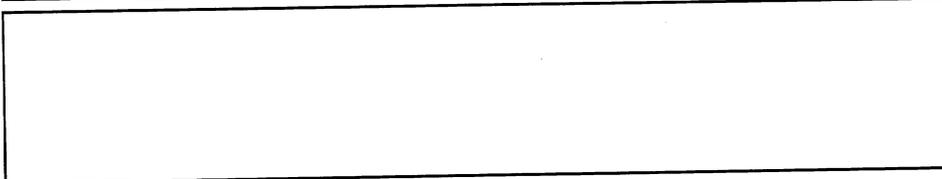
BOSNIA, INCLUDING DRAWING A LINE IN THE SAND AT GORAZDE, DESPITE STRONG FRENCH PRESSURES TO DO SO. SENIOR OFFICIALS ARE HIGHLY SKEPTICAL OF ANY OPERATION TO REINFORCE ZEPA OR GORAZDE, BUT BELIEVE THAT OPENING UP OVERLAND ACCESS TO SARAJEVO WOULD BE FEASIBLE MILITARILY AND DESIRABLE IN POLICY TERMS. MEANWHILE, BOTH THE PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN SECRETARY HAVE REAFFIRMED THE BRITISH COMMITMENT TO REMAIN IN BOSNIA UNLESS THE SITUATION DETERIORATES SIGNIFICANTLY FURTHER. END SUMMARY.



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PAGE 01 LONDON 09948 02 OF 03 141557Z
ACTION SS-00

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 /000W
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O 141544Z JUL 95
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NATO EU COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 LONDON 009948

EXDIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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SUPPORT FOR CONTINUED UNPROFOR PRESENCE

9. (U) MEANWHILE, THE PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN SECRETARY HAVE PUBLICLY REITERATED THEIR COMMITMENT TO KEEP BRITISH TROOPS IN BOSNIA UNLESS CONDITIONS DETERIORATE SIGNIFICANTLY FURTHER. SPEAKING TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS JULY 13, MAJOR SAID:

-- "IF UNPROFOR WITHDREW WE WOULD CERTINLY PUT AT RISK THE PEACE WHICH REMAINS IN CENTRAL BOSNIA, NOT LEAST BECAUSE OF THE PRESENCE OF BRITISH TROOPS. WE MIGHT PUT AT RISK THE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF LIVES THAT HAVE BEEN SAVED AS A RESULT OF THE PRESENCE OF UN TROOPS."

-- "ONE OF THE PRIMARY REASONS WHY I FELT IT RIGHT TO SEND BRITISH TROOPS THERE IN THE FIRST PLACE AND WHY I WOULD BE RELUCTANT TO REMOVE THEM UNLESS IT BECAME IMPERATIVE TO DO SO, IS THE DANGER OF A WIDER BALKANS WAR. I CONCEDE THE SITUATION IS SERIOUS AND I HAVE SAID TO THIS HOUSE BEFORE THAT CIRCUMSTANCES COULD ARISE IN WHICH IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR UN TROOPS TO REMAIN."

-- "BUT UNTIL AND UNLESS THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES ARISE,
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PAGE 04 LONDON 09948 02 OF 03 141557Z
I BELIEVE IT IS RIGHT FOR THEM TO DO SO AND TO
CONTRIBUTE TO PEACEKEEPING IN THE WAY THEY HAVE
THUS FAR."

10. (U) SEPARATELY, FOREIGN SECRETARY RIFKIND TOLD THE
PRESS THAT BRITISH TROOPS WOULD REMAIN IN BOSNIA IF IT
WAS FELT THAT THEY COULD STILL CARRY OUT THE UNPROFOR
MANDATE WITHOUT UNACCEPTABLE RISK. HE POINTED OUT THAT
THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE BOSNIAN MUSLIM POPULATION IS
LOCATED IN CENTRAL BOSNIA, WHERE BRITISH AND OTHER
TROOPS CONTINUED TO CARRY OUT THEIR MISSION SUCCESSFULLY.

11. (C) [REDACTED] CONFIRMED TO US THAT THE
GENERAL MOOD AMONG MINISTERS WAS STILL IN FAVOR OF
STAYING IN BOSNIA.

B1

12. SARAJEVO MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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PAGE 01 LONDON 09948 03 OF 03 141557Z
ACTION SS-00

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 /000W
-----D99B18 141557Z /38

O 141544Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1253
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NATO EU COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 LONDON 009948

EXDIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL BK UK
SUBJECT: HMG PAUSES TO REFLECT ON BOSNIA POLICY,
REAFFIRMS VALUE OF UNPROFOR

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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ6191

PAGE 01 LONDON 10050 171706Z
ACTION EUR-01

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	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SS-00
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	SNIS-00	NISC-01	PMB-00	DRL-09
	G-00	/028W					

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P 171651Z JUL 95
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 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1345
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 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

C O N F I D E N T I A L LONDON 010050

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PREL, MARR, BK, UK
 SUBJECT: BOSNIA: VIEWS OF FCO MINISTER OF STATE

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THE AMBASSADOR MET OVER LUNCH ON JULY 17 WITH THE NEWLY APPOINTED FCO MINISTER OF STATE SIR NICHOLAS BONSOR. BONSOR, AN MP, WAS PREVIOUSLY CHAIRMAN OF THE
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 LONDON 10050 171706Z
 HOUSE OF COMMONS SELECT DEFENCE COMMITTEE. HE HAS BEEN

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 16 JUL 2020
 DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2009 200705105

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IN OFFICE FOR ONLY A WEEK

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3. BONSOR ADVISED THAT THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD CHAIR A MEETING OF THE OVERSEAS POLICY AND DEFENCE COMMITTEE (OPDC) THIS EVENING ON BOSNIA. DEFENCE SECRETARY PORTILLO, WHO WAS PRESENTLY VISITING BOSNIA, WOULD RETURN FOR THE SESSION. MALCOLM RIFKIND WHO WILL HAVE SPENT THE BETTER PART OF THE DAY IN DISCUSSION OF BOSNIA WITH KEY EU FOREIGN MINISTERS AT THE GENERAL AFFAIRS COUNCIL MEETING IN BRUSSELS WILL ALSO ATTEND. BONSOR THOUGHT THE SESSION WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT STEP IN DEVELOPING HMG'S APPROACH TO THE ISSUES AND TO THE JULY 21 MINISTERIAL IN LONDON.

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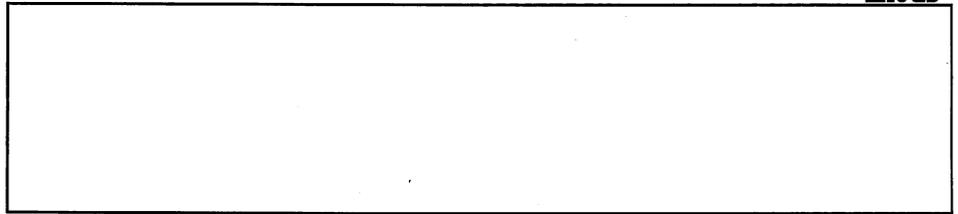
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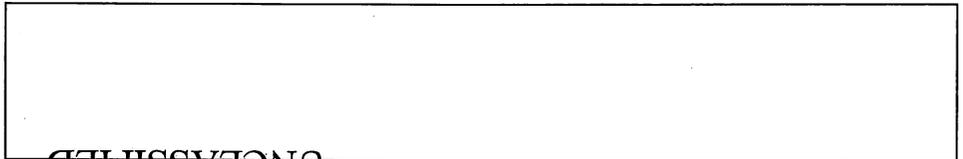
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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ0431

PAGE 01 LONDON 10113 01 OF 02 181756Z
ACTION SS-00

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 /000W
-----DA9A0F 181756Z /38

O 181716Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1408
INFO USMISSION USNATO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY PARIS

RELEASED IN PART
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 010113

EXDIS DECAPTIONED

STATE FOR EUR A/S HOLBROOKE

NSC FOR VERSHBOW

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL MARR BK UK
SUBJECT: BRITISH CABINET DECISIONS ON BOSNIA

REF: LONDON 10500

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PAGE 02 LONDON 10113 01 OF 02 181756Z

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 17 JUL 2020
DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2009 200705105

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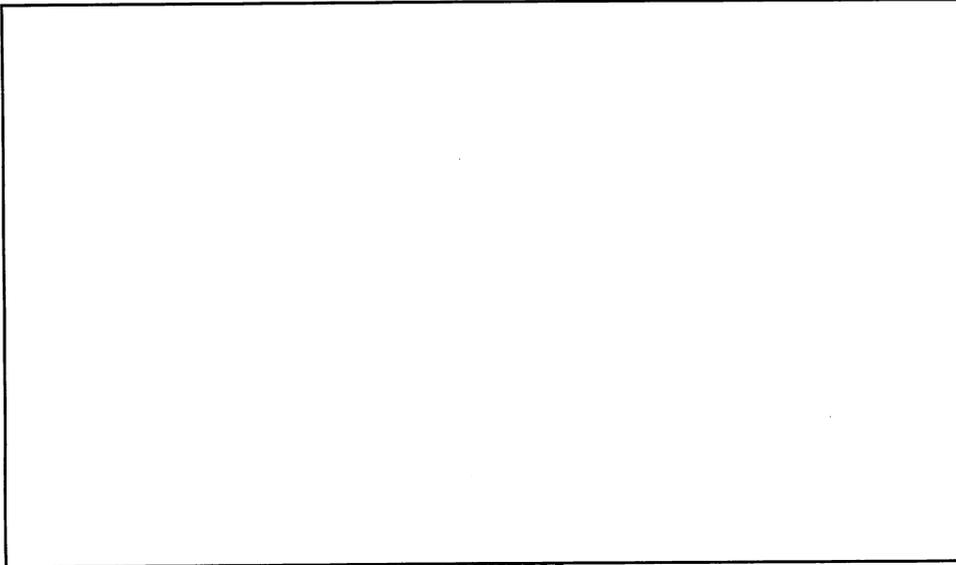
1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT. OADR FOR FOREIGN GOVERNMENT INFORMATION.

2.

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[REDACTED] ON THE RESULTS OF THE PREVIOUS EVENING'S DISCUSSION ON BOSNIA IN THE CABINET OVERSEAS POLICY AND DEFENSE COMMITTEE (OPDC). THE MEETING WAS CHAIRED BY THE PRIME MINISTER; FOREIGN SECRETARY RIFKIND, DEFENSE SECRETARY PORTILLO AND CHIEF OF DEFENSE STAFF INGE WERE PRESENT, AMONG OTHERS.

B1



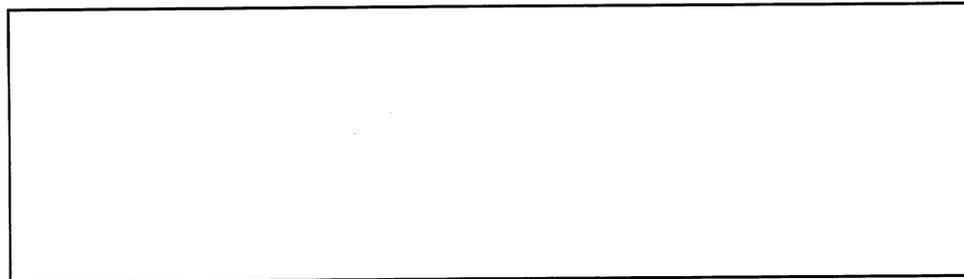
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PAGE 03

LONDON 10113 01 OF 02 181756Z

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PAGE 01 LONDON 10113 02 OF 02 181756Z
ACTION SS-00

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 /000W
-----DA9A13 181756Z /38

O 181716Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1409
INFO USMISSION USNATO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 010113

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STATE FOR EUR A/S HOLBROOKE

NSC FOR VERSHBOW

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL MARR BK UK

SUBJECT: BRITISH CABINET DECISIONS ON BOSNIA

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LONDON 10113 02 OF 02 181756Z



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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ0442

PAGE 01 LONDON 10114 01 OF 02 181759Z
ACTION SS-00

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 /000W
-----DA9A58 181759Z /38

O 181742Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1410
INFO USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY PARIS

RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 010114

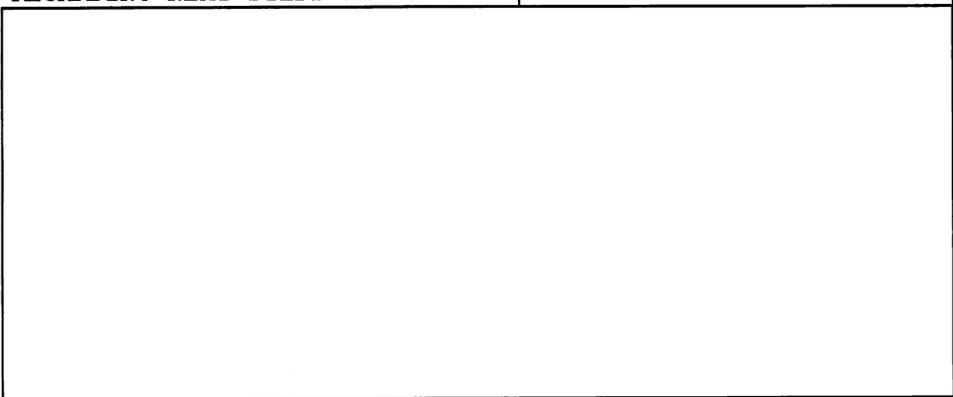
EXDIS DECAPTIONED

DEPT. FOR EUR A/S HOLBROOKE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, BK, US, UK, FR
SUBJECT: BRITISH CHOD ON BOSNIA

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. I SPOKE WITH BRITISH CHIEF OF STAFF SIR PETER INGE THIS AFTERNOON TO GET A FIX ON BRITISH MILITARY THINKING REGARDING NEXT STEPS IN BOSNIA.

B1



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 17 JUL 2020
DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2009 200705105

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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ0443

PAGE 01 LONDON 10114 02 OF 02 181759Z
ACTION SS-00

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 /000W
-----DA9A5C 181759Z /38

O 181742Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO JOINT STAFF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1411
INFO USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 010114

EXDIS

DEPT. FOR EUR A/S HOLBROOKE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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TAGS: PREL, BK, US, UK, FR
SUBJECT: BRITISH CHOD ON BOSNIA

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RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

CONFIDENTIAL PTQ6826

PAGE 01 OTTAWA 03431 01 OF 02 172053Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00
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	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/027W	

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 ALL NATO POST COLLECTIVE
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC
 SECDEF WASHDC
 NSC WASHDC
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 OTTAWA 003431

NOFORN

VIENNA FOR EMBASSY BOSNIA; BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEU

NSC STAFF FOR VERSHBOW AND PETERS

E.O. 12356: DECL: 07/17/20

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 OTTAWA 03431 01 OF 02 172053Z
TAGS: PREL, MARR, ZL, HR, BK, CA

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 27 MAR 2009 200705105

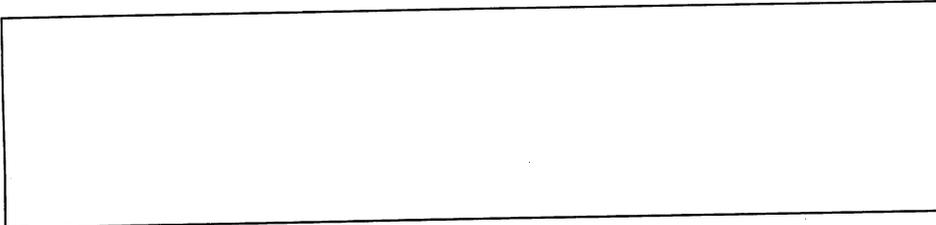
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SUBJECT: DFA OFFICIALS BELIEVE UNPROFOR HAS OUTLIVED
-- ITS USEFULNESS, BUT DO NOT SUGGEST AN
- IMMINENT CHANGE IN CANADA'S BOSNIA POLICY

1. (CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.)

SUMMARY



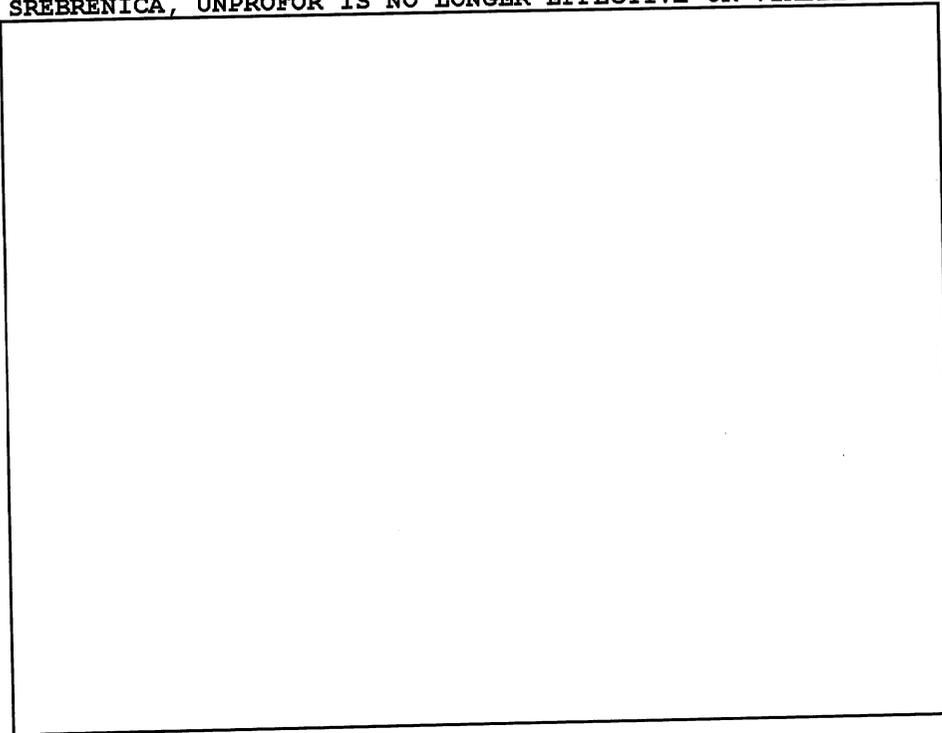
B1

END SUMMARY.

"UNPROFOR IS DEAD"

3. OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH DFA OFFICIALS ON JULY 15
REVEALED UNANIMOUS SENTIMENT THAT WITH THE FALL OF
SREBRENICA, UNPROFOR IS NO LONGER EFFECTIVE OR VIABLE.

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LONDON MEETING

[Redacted]

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PAGE 04 OTTAWA 03431 01 OF 02 172053Z

GROWING FRUSTRATION

6. THE BOSNIAN SERB OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE EASTERN ENCLAVES HAS INCREASED FRUSTRATION HERE AND LED TO RENEWED QUESTIONING ABOUT THE USEFULNESS OF MAINTAINING CANADIAN PEACEKEEPERS IN BOSNIA. SPEAKING TO REPORTERS ON JULY 5, FOR EXAMPLE, CHRETIEN EXPRESSED HIS DOUBTS ABOUT THE FUTURE OF CANADIAN PARTICIPATION IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS IN BOSNIA. "WE'RE THERE TO MAINTAIN PEACE. WE'RE NOT THERE TO MAKE PEACE, AND SOMETIMES THERE IS NO PEACE TO KEEP. IT'S AN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT ROLE TO PLAY."

COMMENT

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 OTTAWA 003431

NOFORN

VIENNA FOR EMBASSY BOSNIA; BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEU

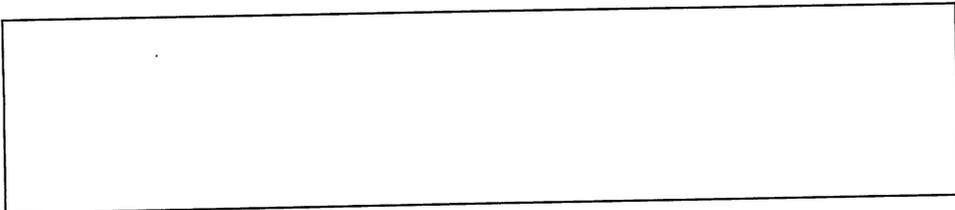
NSC STAFF FOR VERSHBOW AND PETERS

E.O. 12356: DECL: 07/17/20

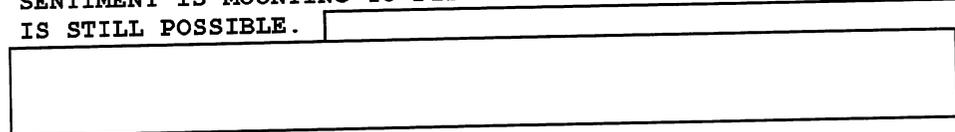
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 OTTAWA 03431 02 OF 02 172053Z
TAGS: PREL, MARR, ZL, HR, BK, CA
SUBJECT: DFA OFFICIALS BELIEVE UNPROFOR HAS OUTLIVED
-- ITS USEFULNESS, BUT DO NOT SUGGEST AN
- IMMINENT CHANGE IN CANADA'S BOSNIA POLICY



8. BARRING CANADIAN CASUALTIES, THE GOC'S BOSNIA POLICY IS NOT A "MAKE OR BREAK" IS SUE FOR CHRETIEN, WHO ENJOYS HIGH APPROVAL RATINGS IN THE POLLS. NONETHELESS, PUBLIC SENTIMENT IS MOUNTING TO DISENGAGE FROM BOSNIA WHILE IT IS STILL POSSIBLE.



END COMMENT.

BLANCHARD

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PAGE 01 ZAGREB 02748 211545Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO LOG-00 CCOE-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 /000W
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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

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B6

S E C R E T ZAGREB 002748

NODIS DECAPTIONED

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER'S PARTY

E.O. 12356: DECL: 7/21/00
TAGS: MOPS PREL BK HR UN
SUBJECT: [REDACTED] UN FORCES HAVE NOT TAKEN PRECAUTIONS
AGAINST HOSTAGE TAKING, PROMISES TO "GET
UNDERWAY"

B6

REF: STATE 173907

1. SECRET -- ENTIRE TEXT.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02748 211545Z

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 18 MAR 2009 200705105

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2. AMBASSADOR GALBRAITH DELIVERED THE TALKING POINTS IN REFTEL [REDACTED] ON JULY 21. THE AMBASSADOR EMPHASIZED OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT STEPS TO AVOID HOSTAGE TAKING IN THE EVENT OF NATO AIRSTRIKES HAD BEEN TAKEN ALREADY. [REDACTED] REPLIED THAT UNPF HAD BEGUN PLANNING FOR SUCH AN EVENTUALITY, BUT HAD NOT YET IMPLEMENTED ANY PLAN. THE AMBASSADOR INSISTED THAT ACTION SHOULD BE TAKEN IMMEDIATELY. IT WAS VITAL THAT THE SERBS NOT BE GIVEN AN OPPORTUNITY TO TAKE HOSTAGES. [REDACTED] EXPRESSED HIS CONCERNS THAT WITHDRAWING UN PERSONNEL FROM THE FIELD WOULD INHIBIT THE MISSION'S ROLE OF MONITORING AND REPORTING. THE AMBASSADOR ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THIS WAS AN IMPORTANT FUNCTION, BUT IT IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE CURRENT SITUATION AND THE CRITICAL NEED FOR DECISIVE ACTION. [REDACTED] SAID THAT THE UN WAS TRYING TO ESTABLISH A MONITORING PRESENCE IN SREBRENICA; THE AMBASSADOR SAID SUCH AN EFFORT WOULD PROVIDE AUTOMATIC HOSTAGES FOR THE SERBS AND WOULD BE A DETERRENT TO THE USE OF FORCE.

B6

3. AT THE END OF THE DISCUSSION, [REDACTED] SAID HE REALIZED THE URGENCY OF THE AMBASSADOR'S POINTS AND WOULD GET ACTIVITY UNDERWAY BEFORE GENERALS JANVIER AND SMITH RETURNED FROM LONDON.

B6

4. [REDACTED] COMPLAINED THAT THE MEETING ARRANGED BY ICFY BETWEEN GOC AND "RSK" OFFICIALS IN GENEVA WAS A SURPRISE AND HAD CAUSED "RSK PRESIDENT" MARTIC TO CANCEL THE JULY 21 MEETING AT PLESO BETWEEN HV CHIEF OF STAFF GENERAL CERV&O AND "ARSK CHIEF OF STAFF" GENERAL MRKSIC. [REDACTED] LAMENTED THIS LOST OPPORTUNITY AND SAID THE POTENTIAL FOR

B6

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 ZAGREB 02748 211545Z
CONFLICT IN CROATIA WAS MORE EXPLOSIVE THAN IN BOSNIA
(WHERE FIGHTING COULD MUDDLE ALONG FOR SOME TIME WITHOUT
MUCH CHANGE IN THE MILITARY SITUATION) DUE TO THE
DISPARITY IN MILITARY FORCES.

5. [REDACTED] SEEMING SOMEWHAT MIPPED, SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN INVITED TO ATTEND THE LONDON CONFERENCE BY SYG BUTROS GHALI, BUT HAD CHOSEN NOT TO GO. HE SAID THAT THE PRESENCE OF A LARGE UN DELEGATION, INCLUDING HIS GENERALS, WAS ENOUGH AND HE HAD WORK TO DO.

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GALBRAITH

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PAGE 01 ZAGREB 02743 01 OF 02 211407Z
ACTION PRM-10

INFO LOG-00 AID-00 AMAD-01 CA-02 CIAE-00 OASY-00 SRPP-00
EUR-01 OIGO-01 TEDE-00 INR-00 IO-08 L-01 ADS-00
NEA-01 NSAE-00 OCS-03 OIC-02 DRL-09 /039W
-----DBC832 211407Z /38

R 211443Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6509
INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
RUEHBWAMEMBASSY BELGRADE 3404
USMISSION GENEVA

RELEASED IN PART
B6

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 ZAGREB 002743

DEPT. FOR PRM

TEL AVIV FOR POLCOUNS ERDMAN

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, PHUM, HR, BK, ICRC
SUBJECT: ICRC UPDATE ON HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO TUZLA
AND BIHAC

SUMMARY

1. ICRC [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] STATES THAT UN CLAIMS OF IMMINENT STARVATION
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PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02743 01 OF 02 211407Z
IN BIHAC ARE OVERSTATED; SAYS THAT RECENTLY IMPROVED

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ACCESS INTO THE AREA HAS ALLOWED ICRC TO PROVIDE NEEDED HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE; EXPRESSES CONCERN ABOUT ESCALATION OF HOSTILITIES IN BIHAC POCKET. IN JULY 20 MEETING WITH REF COORD AND PRM/ENSA PROGRAM OFFICER, [REDACTED] ALSO OUTLINED ASSISTANCE THAT ICRC HAS PROVIDED TO THE DISPLACED FROM SREBRENICA, BUT NOTED THAT STOCKS -- ESPECIALLY OF MEDICAL SUPPLIES -- HAVE BEEN SEVERELY DEPLETED. BASED ON INFORMATION FROM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV POLCOUNS, REFCOORD MENTIONED THAT ISRAELI AND JORDANIAN GOVERNMENTS WERE CONSIDERING A JOINT DONATION OF MEDICAL SUPPLIES FOR THE CRISIS IN BOSNIA AND TOLD [REDACTED] THAT HIS NAME AND NUMBER HAD BEEN PASSED TO THOSE PLANNING THE JOINT CONTRIBUTION. END SUMMARY.

B6

 BIHAC SITUATION

2. ON JULY 20, REF COORD AND VISITING PRM PROGRAM OFFICER CALLED ON [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] WITH REGARD TO BIHAC, [REDACTED] EXPRESSED MILD ANNOYANCE WITH FREQUENT ASSERTIONS BY THE UN THAT "PEOPLE ARE STARVING" IN BIHAC. HE SAID THAT IN HIS OPINION THERE IS SOME MALNUTRITION IN THE POCKET, BUT THAT THERE IS NO EVIDENCE OF ANYONE HAVING "STARVED TO DEATH".

3. HE SAID THAT ACCESS TO THE BIHAC ENCLAVE HAS IMPROVED CONSIDERABLY WITHIN THE PAST FEW WEEKS. ICRC NOW HAS REGULAR CONVOYS DELIVERING FOODSTUFFS TO THE LOCAL RED
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PAGE 03 ZAGREB 02743 01 OF 02 211407Z
 CROSS SOUP KITCHENS IN VELIKA Kladusa AND BIHAC CITY (ICRC FACT SHEET ON BIHAC FAXED TO PRM/ENSA). HE ALSO CONFIRMED THAT MOST OF THE BIHAC ENCLAVE IS ADEQUATELY SUPPLIED WITH WATER AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES, AND THAT IN ADDITION TO THE SOUP KITCHENS, ICRC IS DISTRIBUTING FOOD PARCELS TO NEEDY PERSONS.

4. NONETHELESS, [REDACTED] EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE RECENT ESCALATION IN MILITARY ACTIVITY IN THE AREA, WHICH HE CHARACTERIZED AS A JOINT OFFENSIVE FROM THE NORTH AND

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WEST BY BOSNIAN SERBS AND THEIR KRAJINA SERB ALLIES. HE NOTED THAT, WHILE AT PRESENT THERE IS NO DANGER OF STARVATION ANYWHERE IN THE ENCLAVE, A DISRUPTION OF FUTURE DELIVERIES OF HUMANITARIAN RELIEF SUPPLIES WOULD LEAD TO A RAPID DETERIORATION OF THE SITUATION. [REDACTED] FEARS THAT IF A SUDDEN DECLINE DOES OCCUR IN THE HEALTH OF THE BIHAC POPULATION, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MAY BE SLOW TO REACT BECAUSE THE UN HAS CRIED "WOLF" TOO MANY TIMES.

B6

ASSISTANCE TO THE DISPLACED FROM SREBRENICA

5. TURNING TO TUZLA, [REDACTED] CONFIRMED THAT THE SITUATION HAS STABILIZED SIGNIFICANTLY OVER THE LAST SEVERAL DAYS. HE AGREED THAT THE INITIAL RESPONSE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAD BEEN DISJOINTED AND CHAOTIC, BUT ARGUED AT THE SAME TIME THAT MUCH OF THIS HAD BEEN DUE TO THE ACTIONS OF THE GOBH IN ORCHESTRATING THE RECEPTION OF SREBRENICA DISPLACED AT THE TUZLA AIRFIELD.

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PAGE 04 ZAGREB 02743 01 OF 02 211407Z

6. ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] THE ICRC HAS DRAWN ON RELIEF SUPPLIES WHICH HAD BEEN PREPOSITIONED IN THE AREA AS PART OF ICRC CONTINGENCY PLANNING TO SUPPLEMENT THE EFFORTS OF UNHCR AND UNPROFOR. WHILE THESE SUPPLIES WERE ADEQUATE TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE FIRST WAVE OF DISPLACED PERSONS FROM SREBRENICA, [REDACTED] SAID THE DISTRIBUTION OF CONSIDERABLE QUANTITIES HAD LED TO DISRUPTIONS IN THE ICRC PIPELINE, AND THAT STOCKS WOULD HAVE TO BE REPLENISHED IN ORDER TO ENABLE ICRC TO MEET ANY FUTURE EMERGENCIES. HE NOTED IN PARTICULAR THE DEPLETION OF ICRC'S SUPPLY OF MEDICINES AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES.

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7. [REDACTED] ALSO INDICATED THAT THE ICRC HAS INCREASED ITS EXPATRIATE STAFF IN THE TUZLA AREA FROM 3 TO 20.

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POSSIBILITY OF JOINT ISRAELI-JORDANIAN DONATION

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8. IN JULY 20 TELCON WITH AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV POLCOUNS
DICK ERDMAN, REF COORD LEARNED THAT THE ISRAELI AND

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PAGE 01 ZAGREB 02743 02 OF 02 211407Z
ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CA-02	CIAE-00	OASY-00	SRPP-00
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	NEA-01	NSAE-00	OCS-03	OIC-02	DRL-09	/039W	
					-----DBC839 211407Z /38		

R 211443Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6510
INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
RUEHBWAMEMBASSY BELGRADE 3405
USMISSION GENEVA

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 ZAGREB 002743

DEPT. FOR PRM

TEL AVIV FOR POLCOUNS ERDMAN

UNCLASSIFIED

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E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PEF, PHUM, HR, BK, ICRC
SUBJECT: ICRC UPDATE ON HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO TUZLA
AND BIHAC

JORDANIAN GOVERNMENTS ARE CONSIDERING A JOINT DONATION,
PERHAPS IN THE FORM OF A PLANELOAD OF MEDICAL SUPPLIES, TO
THE CRISIS IN BOSNIA. REF COORD PASSED THIS INFORMATION
TO [REDACTED] SAYING THAT HIS NAME AND TELEPHONE NUMBER
UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02743 02 OF 02 211407Z
HAD BEEN GIVEN TO THE PARTIES AS A POINT OF CONTACT TO
COORDINATE SUCH A DONATION.

9. HE SAID THAT ICRC WOULD CERTAINLY BE GRATEFUL FOR SUCH
A CONTRIBUTION, AND NOTED THAT HE HAS A LIST OF NEEDED
ITEMS ALREADY PREPARED THAT HE COULD FAX TO INTERESTED
DONORS. IF ANY ADDITIONAL LIAISON ASSISTANCE OR
INFORMATION IS REQUIRED IN THIS REGARD, REF COORD STANDS
READY TO HELP.

ZEPA AND GORAZDE

10. [REDACTED] DID NOT HAVE MUCH TO ADD TO WHAT HAS
ALREADY BEEN REPORTED IN REFTTEL CONCERNING THE EVACUATION
OF ZEPA, EXCEPT TO CONFIRM WHAT WE HAD HEARD FROM OTHER
SOURCES: THAT THE EVACUEES WOULD BE TAKEN TO ZENICA.

B6

11. IN HIS VIEW, IT IS STILL PREMATURE TO DISCUSS AN
ORDERED EVACUATION FROM GORAZDE. HE BELIEVES THAT GORAZDE
WOULD NOT FALL AS EASILY AS SREBRENICA AND ZEPA DID.
PRESENTLY, ICRC HAS ONE EXPATRIATE STAFF MEMBER IN
GORAZDE, AND IS ATTEMPTING TO MOVE AN EXPATRIATE DOCTOR
INTO THE ENCLAVE.

GALBRAITH

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PTQ5662

CONFIDENTIAL PTQ5662

PAGE 01 USVIEN 02036 01 OF 05 171508Z
ACTION SS-00

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	EB-01	EUR-01	EXIM-01	E-00	FBIE-00	FMC-01	FRB-01
	H-01	IMMC-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08	ITC-01	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OES-09	OIC-02	OMB-01	OPIC-01
	PM-00	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00
	USIE-00	PMB-00	PRMC-01	DRL-09	G-00	/062W	

-----DA22AD 171508Z /38

P 171506Z JUL 95
 FM USMISSION USVIENNA
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 SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 USLO SKOPJE
 EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
 USCUSTOMS WASHDC
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 AMEMBASSY TOKYO

RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 05 USVIENNA 002036

STATE PASS OVP FOR LEON FUERTH, NSC FOR VERSHBOW;

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USVIEN 02036 01 OF 05 171508Z
DEPT FOR EUR/RPM PRICE; USEU FOR YARBRO; CUSTOMS FOR ADAMS

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 16 JUL 2020
 DATE/CASE ID: 18 MAR 2009 200705105

UNCLASSIFIED

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FROM USDEL OSCE

E.O. 12356: OADR

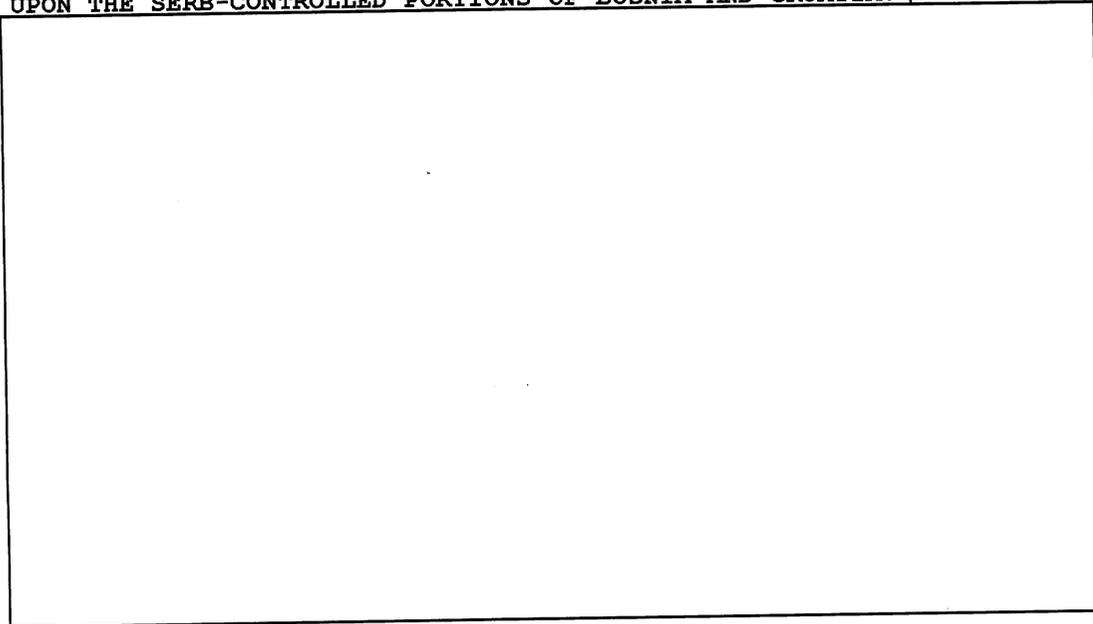
TAGS: ETTC, EPET, ETRD, EWWT, UNSC, PREL, OSCE, SR, MK, MW, HR
SUBJECT: TFSR01: TWENTY-FOURTH SANCTIONS LIAISON GROUP MEETING
(JULY 14, 1995) -- CONTINUED ENTHUSIASM FOR SANCTIONS ENFORCEMENT

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT. OADR BECAUSE OF SENSITIVE
INFORMATION DERIVED FROM FOREIGN GOVERNMENT SOURCES.

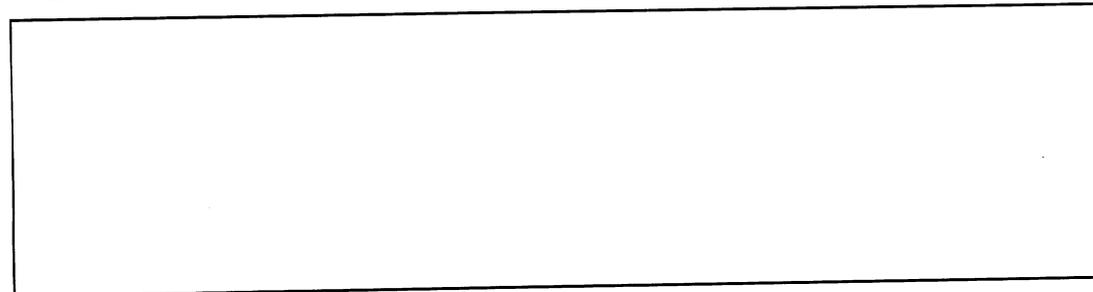
SUMMARY

2. IN THE WAKE OF THE FALL OF SREBRENICA, THE TWENTY-FOURTH
MEETING OF THE SANCTIONS LIAISON GROUP OF THE OSCE, HELD IN VIENNA
JULY 14, REFLECTED A SUSTAINED INTEREST IN MAINTAINING AND
IMPROVING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL ECONOMIC
SANCTIONS IMPOSED ON THE FRY (SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO), AS WELL AS
UPON THE SERB-CONTROLLED PORTIONS OF BOSNIA AND CROATIA.

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"SANCTIONS SHOULD CONTINUE UNDIMINISHED..."

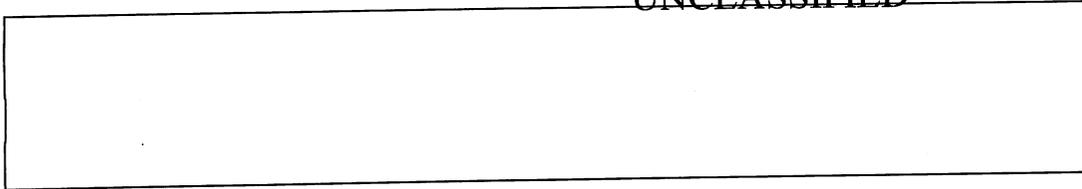
4. THE TWENTY-FOURTH MEETING OF THE SLG WAS ATTENDED BY DELEGATIONS FROM THE FRONT-LINE STATES, SOME WESTERN EUROPEANS, RUSSIA AND NUMEROUS ORGANIZATIONS, INCLUDING THE U.N. YUGOSLAV SANCTIONS (724) COMMITTEE AND THE DANUBE COMMISSION. THE U.S. DELEGATION CONSISTED OF SERBIA SANCTIONS TASK FORCE DIRECTOR POPE, DEPUTY DIRECTOR ADAMS AND CUSTOMS SANCTIONS COORDINATOR SAMBRANO.

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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ5663

PAGE 01 USVIEN 02036 02 OF 05 171508Z
ACTION SS-00

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AID-00	CG-00	CIAE-00	CIP-01
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	EB-01	EUR-01	EXIM-01	E-00	FBIE-00	FMC-01	FRB-01
	H-01	IMMC-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08	ITC-01	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OES-09	OIC-02	OMB-01	OPIC-01
	PM-00	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00
	USIE-00	PMB-00	PRMC-01	DRL-09	G-00	/062W	

-----DA22C0 171508Z /38

P 171506Z JUL 95
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 AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA PRIORITY
 SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 USLO SKOPJE
 EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE

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PAGE 01 USVIEN 02036 03 OF 05 171509Z
ACTION SS-00

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AID-00	CG-00	CIAE-00	CIP-01
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	H-01	IMMC-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08	ITC-01	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OES-09	OIC-02	OMB-01	OPIC-01
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 AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA PRIORITY
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 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 USLO SKOPJE
 EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
 USCUSTOMS WASHDC
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 AMEMBASSY TOKYO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 05 USVIENNA 002036

STATE PASS OVP FOR LEON FUERTH, NSC FOR VERSHBOW;

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USVIEN 02036 03 OF 05 171509Z
DEPT FOR EUR/RPM PRICE; USEU FOR YARBRO; CUSTOMS FOR ADAMS

FROM USDEL OSCE

E.O. 12356: OADR
 TAGS: E TTC, EPET, ETRD, EWWT, UNSC, PREL, OSCE, SR, MK, MW, HR
 SUBJECT: TFSR01: TWENTY-FOURTH SANCTIONS LIAISON GROUP MEETING
 (JULY 14, 1995) -- CONTINUED ENTHUSIASM FOR SANCTIONS ENFORCEMENT

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PAGE 01 USVIEN 02036 04 OF 05 171509Z
ACTION SS-00

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	H-01	IMMC-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08	ITC-01	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OES-09	OIC-02	OMB-01	OPIC-01
	PM-00	P-01	SP-00	SSO-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00
	USIE-00	PMB-00	PRMC-01	DRL-09	G-00	/062W	

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 SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 USLO SKOPJE
 EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
 USCUSTOMS WASHDC
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 AMEMBASSY TOKYO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 05 USVIENNA 002036

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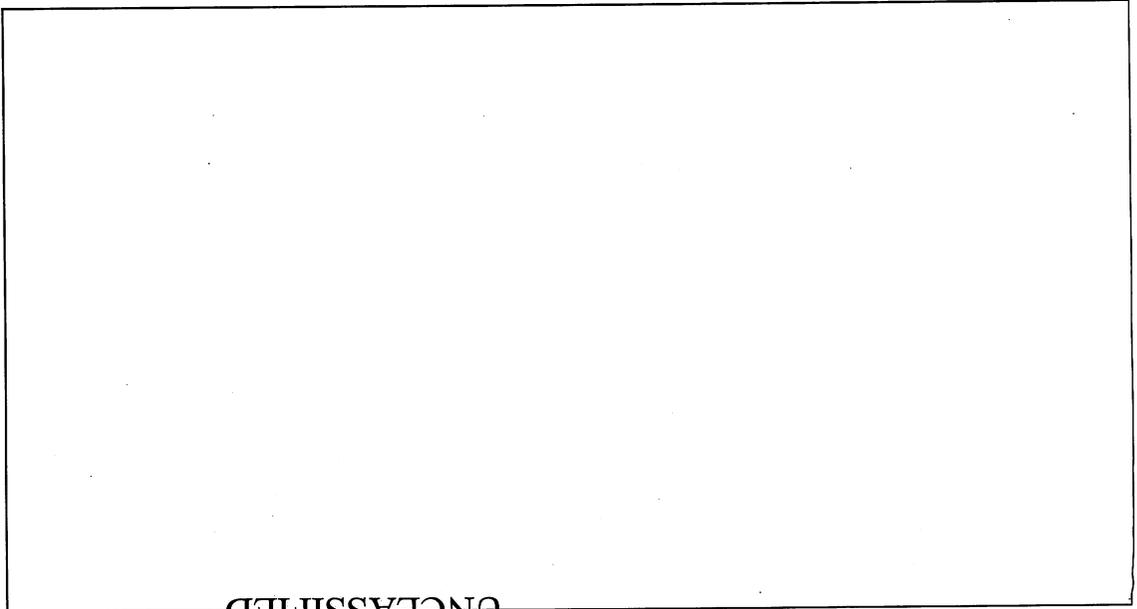
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SIGLER

21. SAREJEVO - MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.



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RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

SECRET

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PAGE 01 USUN N 02844 01 OF 02 200037Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO LOG-00 CCOE-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 /000W
-----DB1E95 200037Z /38

O 200015Z JUL 95 ZFF4
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6372

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 002844

NODIS DECAPTIONED

PLEASE PASS TO THE SECRETARY

E.O.12356: DECL:07/18/25
TAGS: PREL, BN, UN
SUBJECT: ALBRIGHT/BOUTROS-GHALI CONVERSATION ON BOSNIA

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY. AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT SPOKE WITH UN SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS-GHALI ON 19 JULY IN ADVANCE OF THE SYG'S ATTENDANCE AT FRIDAY'S MEETING IN LONDON ON BOSNIA. DISCUSSION POINTS INCLUDED THE NEED FOR COORDINATED BRITISH, FRENCH AND U.S. POSITIONS, THE SITUATION IN GORAZDE, THE DUAL KEY ARRANGEMENT FOR USE OF NATO AIR POWER, AND REDUCING THE VULNERABILITY OF UN PERSONNEL TO HOSTAGE TAKING BY BOSNIAN-SERB FORCES.
END SUMMARY.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 USUN N 02844 01 OF 02 200037Z

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 18 MAR 2009 200705105

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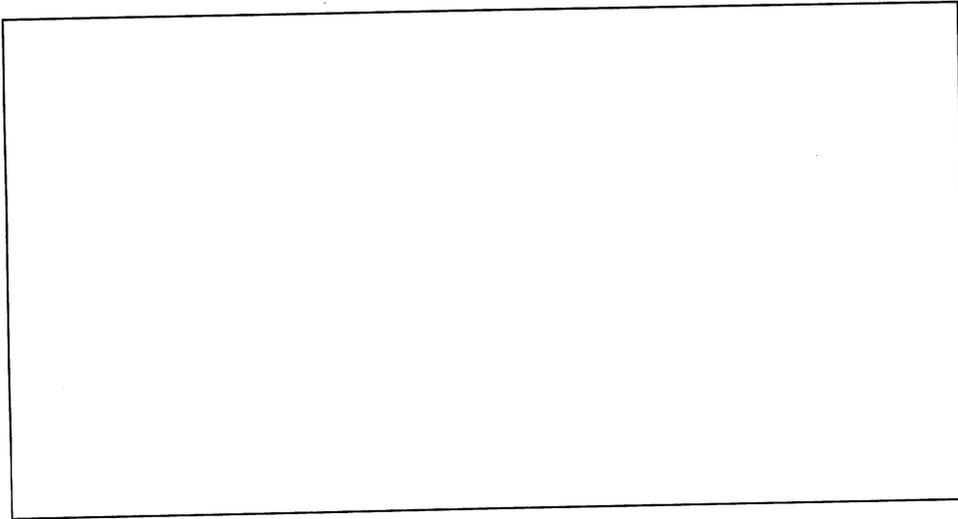
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OPENING REMARKS

3. ON 19 JULY, AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT INITIATED A TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS-GHALI. THE SYG STATED THAT HE WOULD BE LEAVING TOMORROW, 20 JULY, FOR THE MEETING IN LONDON ON BOSNIA.

4. AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT INFORMED THE SYG OF THE CONCERN AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT ABOUT THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA. SHE STATED THAT THERE MUST BE "A CLEAR MESSAGE" FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ABOUT GORAZDE AND SARAJEVO. REFERRING TO THE NUMEROUS MEETINGS WITH THE PRESIDENT THIS WEEK ON BOSNIA, AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT STATED THAT THE USG WANTED TO INSURE THAT LONDON WOULD BE A SUCCESS. SHE SAID THE WORST OUTCOME WOULD BE ANY DIVERGENT VIEWS OR DISARRAY ON THE PART OF THOSE GATHERING IN LONDON. AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT THEN CALLED ATTENTION TO THE IMPORTANT ROLE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL WITH RESPECT TO WHAT OCCURS NEXT IN BOSNIA, INCLUDING THE RELATIONSHIP OF UNPROFOR TO THE RAPID REACTION FORCE AND THE POSSIBILITY OF MORE EXTENSIVE USE OF AIR POWER.

SYG REPOSENSE



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6. AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT RESPONDED THAT A STRONG EFFORT WILL BE MADE IN LONDON TO DEVELOP CLOSE COORDINATION OF BRITISH, FRENCH AND U.S. POSITIONS, IN PART TO INSURE THAT THE UN IS NOT "BUFFETED BY DIVERGENT VIEWS." [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] THE AMBASSADOR SAID THAT WE CANNOT ALLOW DECISIONS MADE IN LONDON TO BE HELD HOSTAGE TO DECISIONS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL;

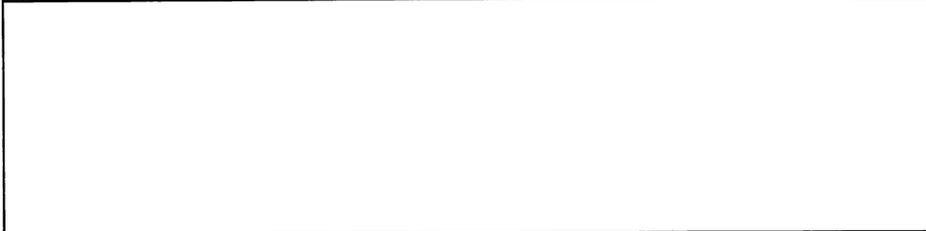
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INDEED IT IS BEST "TO KEEP THINGS OUT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL." THE SECRETARY GENERAL REPLIED THAT ANY CHANGES IN UNPROFOR'S MANDATE WOULD REQUIRE SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION. AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT SAID THE U.S. VIEW OF RESOLUTION 836 SUGGESTS FLEXIBILITY CAN BE ACHIEVED WITHOUT MANDATE CHANGE OR FURTHER COUNCIL ACTION.

SITUATION IN GORAZDE

7. AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT THEN TURNED TO GORAZDE AND THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S ROLE IF MORE ROBUST ACTION IS TAKEN IN DEFENSE OF THE ENCLAVE. [REDACTED]

B1



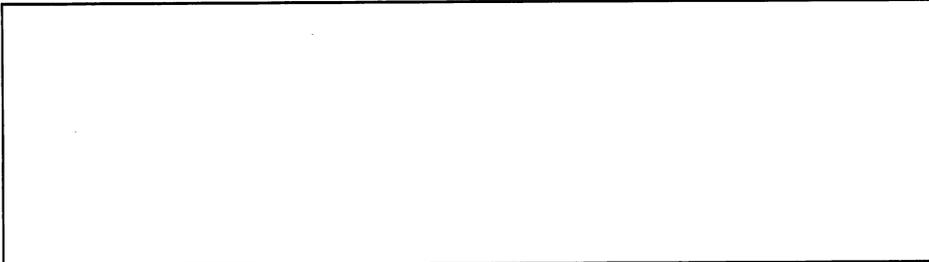
DUAL KEY ARRANGEMENT

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 USUN N 02844 01 OF 02 200037Z
8. AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT THEN TURNED TO A DISCUSSION OF THE "DUAL KEY" BY STATING THAT THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S LIFE WOULD BE EASIER IF THERE IS BRITISH, FRENCH AND U.S. AGREEMENT ON ACTIONS TO BE TAKEN. [REDACTED]

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HOSTAGE-TAKING

9. AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT INFORMED THE SYG THAT USUN AMBASSADOR INDERFURTH HAD SPOKEN TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY

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PAGE 01 USUN N 02844 02 OF 02 200037Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO LOG-00 CCOE-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 /000W
-----DB1E98 200037Z /38

O 200015Z JUL 95 ZFF4
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6373

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 002844

NODIS

PLEASE PASS TO THE SECRETARY

E.O.12356: DECL:07/18/25
TAGS: PREL, BN, UN
SUBJECT: ALBRIGHT/BOUTROS-GHALI CONVERSATION ON BOSNIA

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GENERAL IQBAL RIZA ON 18 JULY ABOUT THE POTENTIAL FOR
NEW HOSTAGE-TAKING BY BOSNIAN SERB FORCES. AMBASSADOR
INDERFURTH HAD URGED THE ACTING HEAD OF THE PEACEKEEPING
DEPARTMENT TO TAKE PRUDENT STEPS TO REDUCE THE UN'S
EXPOSURE AND VULNERABILITY TO HOSTAGE-TAKING.
AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT REITERATED THAT MESSAGE WITH THE SYG.

RETURN TO NEW YORK

10. THE SYG INFORMED AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT HE WOULD BE
RETURNING TO NEW YORK ON SATURDAY AND THAT HE LOOKED
FORWARD TO A FURTHER DISCUSSION AND MEETING SHORTLY

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02
THEREAFTER.
ALBRIGHT

USUN N 02844 02 OF 02 200037Z

UNCLASSIFIED

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SECRET

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PTQ2882

RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

CONFIDENTIAL PTQ2882

PAGE 01 USEU B 07605 191119Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 TEDE-00 ADS-00 ONY-00 SSO-00 /001W
-----DADCD1 191119Z /38

O 191150Z JUL 95
FM USEU BRUSSELS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L BRUSSELS 007605

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE FROM BOB FRASURE

E.O. 12356: OADR
TAGS: AMGT
SUBJECT: OFFICIAL - INFORMAL

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. I DID NOT GO TO PARIS THIS MORNING. PAM SAID THAT THE MEETINGS WOULD BE OVER BY NOON AND THERE WAS NO POINT IN COMING.
3. I AM LEAVING NOW FOR LONDON. PERRY WILL BE THERE ON THURSDAY FOR A FULL SCHEDULE. YOU WILL NEED TO CALL PERRY TO INSIST THAT I BE IN ON HIS SESSIONS. THEY WILL BE CRITICAL.

4. BILDT. I DID THREE HOURS WITH HIM. HE IS IN
 BELGRADE TODAY [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] WE WENT OVER THE PACKAGE IN
 CONFIDENTIAL

B1

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USEU B 07605 191119Z

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 18 JUL 2020
DATE/CASE ID: 27 MAR 2009 200705105

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DETAIL. I TOLD HIM WE COULD UNENTHUSIASTICALLY BUY THE REIMPOSITION FORMULA IN THE CONTEXT OF REAL IMPROVEMENT ON THE GROUND AS REFLECTED IN A SET OF SUBAGREEMENTS, E.G. GORAZDE, SARAJEVO ACCESS, ETC., BEING RESPECTED. I GAVE A LOT OF NEGOTIATING ADVICE, E.G. HOLD FIRM ON FROZEN ASSETS, USE THE SPORTS LIFT CHIP AT THE END, IF NEED BE, ETC ETC.

B1

[Redacted]

5. JOULWAN--SAW HIM THIS MORNING.

B1

[Redacted]

ON GORAZDE HE HAD SEVERAL POINTS:

--WE WOULD LOSE HELICOPTERS IF WE DID THE FRENCH PLAN.

---AIR USE IS BETTER, BUT IT MUST TAKE OUT TARGETS WELL BEFORE THEY GET TOO CLOSE TO THE TOWN. THAT WAS JANVIER'S FAILURE AT SREBRENICA--IT WAS TOO LATE. (MLADIC TOLD BILDt THAT ONE OF THE SREBRENICA AIR STRIKES CAME DOWN ABOUT 500 YARDS FROM WHERE HE WAS.)

---GORAZDE CAN ONLY BE HELD IF THERE IS ACTIVE DEFACTO COOPERATION WITH THE BIH ON THE GROUND AND THAT IS OBVIOUSLY A MAJOR POTICAL DECISION.

6. ON AIR DEFENCES,

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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 FM USEU BRUSSELS
 TO DEPT OF TREASURY WASH DC IMMEDIATE
 SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
 INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE
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DEPT FOR EUR/ERA, EUR/CE, EUR/EE, EUR/WE, EUR/SE, AF/C,
EUR/ISCA, ARA/SC AND S/NIS

DEPT AND GENEVA FOR USTR

TREAS FOR ITN - CRAWFORD, IMI - MOTRADOVSKY

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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VIENNA ALSO FOR BOSNIA

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VILNIUS FOR AID/JOHN CLOUTIER

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: ETRD, EFIN, ENRG, PREL, RS, HR, BK, SR, TS, IS,
PL, HU, RO, LO, XH, RUN

SUBJECT: EU GENERAL AFFAIRS COUNCIL MEETING, JULY 17:
- BOSNIA IN FOCUS: KOZYREV MEETS EU MINISTERS

1. SUMMARY/INTRODUCTION. THE AGENDA FOR THE JULY 17 MEETING OF THE EU FOREIGN MINISTERS IN BRUSSELS (GENERAL AFFAIRS COUNCIL - GAC) IS SIMPLY "CRAZY," AS A SENIOR SPANISH OFFICIAL PUT IT. COMMENTS AND REACTIONS TO THE SEIZURE OF SREBRENICA BY THE BOSNIAN SERB FORCES WILL EMERGE AS THE DOMINANT ISSUE. EU MEDIATOR CARL BILDT WILL BRIEF THE EU MINISTERS, JUST BEFORE A LONG EXCHANGE WITH RUSSIAN FM KOZYREV WHO WILL ALSO SIGN THE INTERIM TRADE AGREEMENT WITH THE EU. THE EU MINISTERS WILL DEBATE THE COMMISSION PROPOSAL CONCERNING A FOOD AID OPERATION FOR THE POPULATIONS OF ARMENIA, GEORGIA, AZERBAIJAN, TAJIKISTAN AND KYRGYZSTAN TO COVER REQUIREMENTS IN THE 1995/96 WINTER SEASON.

2. THE GAC WILL TAKE NOTE OF THE LIST OF EU NOMINEES (PRESIDENCY AND COMMISSION) FOR THE HIGH-LEVEL STUDY GROUP ON EU-U.S. RELATIONS AND DISCUSS THE DRAFT AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE EUROPEAN ATOMIC ENERGY COMMUNITY (EURATOM) WHICH THE SPANISH PRESIDENCY AND THE COMMISSION WOULD LIKE TO CONCLUDE BEFORE THE EU SUMMER BREAK.

3. THE LIST OF GAC AGENDA ITEMS ALSO INCLUDES THE

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NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE COMMISSION AND THE ISRAELIS FOR
A NEW AGREEMENT, WHICH ARE SAID TO BE IN A "CRITICAL
PHASE." THE COUNCIL WILL APPOINT FORMER SWEDISH
MINISTER FOR JUSTICE AND TRADE LIDBOM TO HEAD THE UNIT
WHICH WILL COORDINATE THE INTERNATIONAL MONITORING OF
THE PALESTINIAN ELECTIONS, SUBJECT TO THE SIGNING BY
ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY OF THE AGREEMENT ON
THE MODALITIES OF THE ELECTIONS. A SENIOR SPANISH
OFFICIAL TOLD REPORTERS ON JULY 14 THAT A MAJORITY OF EU
GOVERNMENTS WERE RESISTING CREATION OF A DEVELOPMENT
BANK FOR THE MIDDLE EAST, BUT HE ADMITTED THAT THE U.S.
WANTS TO FORCE A DECISION AT THE AMMAN SUMMIT IN
OCTOBER. BECAUSE OF THE CROWDED AGENDA, EU OFFICIALS
HAVE INDICATED THERE IS UNLIKELY TO BE MUCH DISCUSSION
ON THE COMMISSION PAPER FOR A COMPROMISE SOLUTION.

4. AMONG OTHER TOPICS, THE COMMISSION WILL PRESENT ITS
EU CUBA INITIATIVE, WHICH IS EXPECTED TO BE REFERRED TO
OFFICIALS FOR STUDY. EU MINISTERS WILL ALSO SIGN NEW
AGREEMENTS WITH TUNISIA AND VIETNAM AND HOLD ASSOCIATION
COUNCIL MEETINGS WITH HUNGARY AND POLAND AT THE END OF A
LONG DAY THAT WILL START WITH AN OPEN DEBATE ON THE
PRIORITIES OF THE SPANISH EU COUNCIL PRESIDENCY.

5. THE MOST IMPORTANT TRADE ISSUE WILL BE THE
NEGOTIATIONS ON FINANCIAL SERVICES. COMMISSION
VICE-PRESIDENT BRITTAN WILL REPORT ON THE LOBBYING
PROCESS HE HAS BEEN CONDUCTING FOR THE PAST TWO WEEKS ON
BEHALF OF THE EU. A COMMISSION SPOKESMAN SAID BRITTAN'S
DISCUSSIONS WITH THE JAPANESE FINANCE MINISTER ON JULY
13 HAD GONE "WELL," ALTHOUGH THE JAPANESE WERE OBVIOUSLY
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NOT PREPARED TO TAKE A FINAL STANCE IN THAT CONTEXT. AS
WE WRITE THIS MESSAGE, BRITTAN IS HAVING TALKS WITH WTO
DIRECTOR-GENERAL RUGGIERO IN LONDON. HIS SPOKESMAN SAID
HE WOULD SEEK FROM THE JULY 17 GAC A "FURTHER CLEAR
SIGNAL" TO PURSUE HIS EFFORTS FOR AN INTERIM AGREEMENT:
"WE A

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RE LOOKING FOR AS MUCH SUPPORT AS WE CAN GET," THE SPOKESMAN TOLD THE COMMISSION NOON BRIEFING JULY 14. MEANWHILE, THE SPANISH PRESIDENCY ANNOUNCED AN EXTRAORDINARY EU COUNCIL IN BRUSSELS JULY 28, THE TARGET DATE FOR CONCLUDING THE NEGOTIATIONS. END SUMMARY/INTRODUCTION.

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	DINT-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	ITCE-00	SRPP-00	EAP-01	EB-01
	EXME-00	E-00	FBIE-00	INLB-01	FRB-01	H-01	TEDE-00
	INR-00	IO-08	ITC-01	JUSE-00	L-01	ADS-00	M-00

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DEPT AND GENEVA FOR USTR

TREAS FOR ITN - CRAWFORD, IMI - MOTRADOVSKY

VIENNA ALSO FOR BOSNIA

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 VILNIUS FOR AID/JOHN CLOUTIER

E.O. 12356: N/A
 TAGS: ETRD, EFIN, ENRG, PREL, RS, HR, BK, SR, TS, IS,

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SUBJECT: EU GENERAL AFFAIRS COUNCIL MEETING, JULY 17:
- BOSNIA IN FOCUS: KOZYREV MEETS EU MINISTERS

6. FOLLOWING ARE THE MAJOR AGENDA ITEMS FOR THE JULY 17
GAC, AS ANNOUNCED BY COUNCIL SECRETARIAT, SPANISH
PRESIDENCY AND COMMISSION OFFICIALS:

WORK PROGRAM OF THE SPANISH PRESIDENCY

7. THE MEETING STARTSAT 9:30 WITH OPEN DEBATE ON THE
WORK PROGRAM OF THE SPANISH PRESIDENCY THAT WAS
PRESENTED TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT JULY 12. FOLLOWING
AN INTRODUCTION BY MINISTER SOLANA, MEMBER STATE
DELEGATIONS HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO COMMENT AND OUTLINE
THEIR PRIORITIES. THE COMMENTS WILL BE TELEVISED TO THE
PRESS ROOM, AND THE PUBLIC WILL HAVE ACCESS. AS USUAL,
THE PRESS WILL FAIL TO ANNOUNCE THIS OPPORTUNITY, AND
FEW ORDINARY BRUSSELS RESIDENTS OR TOURISTS ARE LIKELY
TO FOLLOW THE BROADCAST ON TV SCREENS.

EU-U.S. RELATIONS

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8. THE GAC WILL TAKE NOTE OF THE LIST OF EU NOMINEES
(PRESIDENCY AND COMMISSION) FOR THE HIGH-LEVEL STUDY
GROUP ON EU-U.S. RELATIONS WITH A VIEW TO THE
VISIT OF SPANISH FM SOLANA AND COMMISSION VICE-PRESIDENT
BRITTAN TO WASHINGTON JULY 24. THE COMMISSION NOMINEES
ARE COLIN BUDD (CHEF DE CABINET OF VICE-PRESIDENT
BRITTAN) AND DIRECTOR-GENERAL HORST KRENZLER. BRITTAN
WILL PRESENT THE MAIN LINES OF THE COMMUNICATION ON
FUTURE RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. HE HOPES TO INTRODUCE
FORMALLY TO THE COMMISSION AT ITS LAST SUMMER SESSION,
JULY 26.

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9. A COMMISSION SPOKESMAN SAID THE COMMISSION WAS HOPING FOR "A POLITICAL AGREEMENT ON MONDAY" THAT WOULD ALLOW CONCLUSION OF THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN ATOMIC ENERGY COMMUNITY (EURATOM) AND THE U.S. FOR PEACEFUL NUCLEAR COOPERATION. A SPANISH SENIOR OFFICIAL TOLD REPORTERS JULY 14 THAT THE SPANISH PRESIDENCY WAS HOPING TO CLOSE THE DOSSIER "BEFORE THE (EU) SUMMER BREAK (AUGUST). IN REPLY TO A QUESTION, HE MADE IT CLEAR THAT NEGOTIATIONS WERE NOT CLOSED AS FAR AS EU GOVERNMENTS ARE CONCERNED. ASKED IF THE NEGOTIATIONS COULD BE "REOPENED," HE SAID: "WE CAN'T REOPEN WHAT HAS NOT BEEN CLOSED."

FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

10. EU MEDIATOR CARL BILDT WILL JOIN THE MINISTERS
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EARLY IN THE AFTERNOON. HE WILL FIRST HAVE A RESTRICTED MEETING WITH MINISTERS ONLY TO REPORT ON HIS MISSION, INCLUDING RECENT TALKS WITH MILOSEVIC IN BELGRADE. THE SESSION WILL THEN BE ENLARGED TO WELCOME RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS THAT COULD LAST 90 MINUTES, ACCORDING TO THE PRESIDENCY'S SCHEDULE.

11. MEETING IN THE GAC, EU MINISTERS WILL ALSO ASSESS THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH CROATIA FOR A COOPERATION ACCORD. THE CROATS ARE PUSHING FOR A CLAUSE THAT WOULD OPEN THE WAY TO AN ASSOCIATION AGREEMENT SUCH AS THOSE CONCLUDED WITH THE CENTRAL EUROPEANS. MOST EU GOVERNMENTS OBJECT,

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TO DEPT OF TREASURY WASH DC IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY TUNIS PRIORITY
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VIENNA ALSO FOR BOSNIA

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VILNIUS FOR AID/JOHN CLOUTIER

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: ETRD, EFIN, ENRG, PREL, RS, HR, BK, SR, TS, IS,
PL, HU, RO, LO, XH, RUN

SUBJECT: EU GENERAL AFFAIRS COUNCIL MEETING, JULY 17:
- BOSNIA IN FOCUS: KOZYREV MEETS EU MINISTERS

ARGUING THAT THIS PROSPECT IS SIMPLY NOT REALISTIC IN
THE CURRENT POLITICAL CONTEXT. THE ISSUE WILL BE
REFERRED FOR FURTHER STUDY.

12. THE COUNCIL WILL HAVE TO VERIFY WHETHER ITALY CAN
NOW AGREE THAT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA
(SERBIA/MONTENEGRO) IS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE LIST OF
COUNTRIES WHOSE CITIZENS REQUIRE A VISA FOR CROSSING THE
EXTERNAL BORDERS OF THE EU MEMBER STATES.

RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA AND NIS

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13. FOLLOWING A DECISION TAKEN BY AT THE CANNES EU
SUMMIT, THE INTERIM TRADE AGREEMENT WITH RUSSIA, HUNG UP
FOR A HALF YEAR AS AN INFORMAL SANCTION AGAINST RUSSIAN
ACTION IN CHECHNYA, WILL BE SIGNED WITH KOZYREV (USEU
BRUSSELS 7083).

14. THE GAC WILL ADOPT CONCLUSIONS WITHOUT DEBATE ON
THE COMMISSION COMMUNICATIONS IN WHICH A "COMPREHENSIVE
STRATEGY" WAS PROPOSED FOR DEVELOPING THE FUTURE
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RELATIONS OF THE EU WITH RUSSIA (USEU 5903), THE T
HREE

TRANSCAUCASIAN REPUBLICS (GEORGIA, ARMENIA AND
AZERBAIJAN - USEU 5950) AND THE REPUBLICS OF CENTRAL
ASIA (USEU 6544). THE CONCLUSIONS PREPARED BY EU
PERMREPS WILL HIGHLIGHT THE MAJOR QUESTIONS IN RELATIONS
BUT NOT PREJUDGE A "COMMON POSITION" IN THE SENSE OF THE
MAASTRICHT TREATY PROVISIONS ON THE COMMON FOREIGN AND
SECURITY POLICY. CONTACTS HAVE TOLD US THE PAPERS WILL
BE FLESHED OUT AND, IN SOME CASES, REWRITTEN OVER THE
NEXT MONTHS. THE CONCLUSIONS WILL NEVERTHELESS PROVIDE
SOME GUIDANCE FOR THE SEPTEMBER 12 SUMMIT IN MOSCOW
("ASSUMING," THE SPANISH OFFICIAL ADDED, "THAT YELTSIN
WILL BE ABLE TO HOST" ON THAT DATE).

FOOD AID FOR CAUCASIAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN COUNTRIES

15. THE COUNCIL WILL DEBATE THE COMMISSION PROPOSAL
CONCERNING A FOOD AID OPERATION FOR THE POPULATIONS OF
ARMENIA, GEORGIA, AZERBAIJAN, TAJIKISTAN AND KYRGYZSTAN
TO COVER REQUIREMENTS IN THE 1995/96 WINTER SEASON WITH
A GLOBAL AMOUNT OF 204 MILLION ECU (265 MILLION USD).
ACCORDING TO THE COMMISSION PROPOSAL, THE PACKAGE WOULD
COMPRISE FOOD SUPPLIES WORTH 110 MILLION ECU, TO BE
FUNDED BY THE FEOPA GUARANTEE CREDITS (CAP SPENDING).
ACCORDING TO A SPANISH SOURCE, SEVEN OR EIGHT
DELEGATIONS OBJECT TO THE FEOPA LEGAL BASE FOR THIS

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OPERATION BUT ALL RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR ASSISTANCE.
THE PRESIDENCY AND COMMISSION ARE PUTTING FORWARD A NEW
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PROPOSAL TO CUT THE PROPORTION OF FEOGA FUNDING FROM 110
MECU TO 80 MILLION ECU. THE GAP WOULD BE FUNDED BY
OTHER BUDGET LINES (FINANCING OF EXTERNAL ACTIONS), AND
MEMBER STATES WOULD RECEIVE ASSURANCES THAT THIS
OPERATION WILL BE THE LAST FOR WHICH THE COMMISSION WILL
USE FEOGA CREDITS, NORMALLY RESERVED FOR INTRA-EU
SPENDING.

MEDITERRANEAN AND MIDDLE EAST POLICY

16. THE COMMISSION WILL MAKE AN ORAL REPORT ON THE

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VILNIUS FOR AID/JOHN CLOUTIER

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: ETRD, EFIN, ENRG, PREL, RS, HR, BK, SR, TS, IS,
PL, HU, RO, LO, XH, RUN
SUBJECT: EU GENERAL AFFAIRS COUNCIL MEETING, JULY 17:
- BOSNIA IN FOCUS: KOZYREV MEETS EU MINISTERS

STATE OF PLAY IN NEGOTIATIONS FOR NEW AGREEMENTS WITH ISRAEL, MOROCCO AND EGYPT. SPANISH AND COMMISSION OFFICIALS INDICATED JULY 14 THAT THE TALKS WITH ISRAEL WERE IN A CRITICAL PHASE. ACCORDING TO A SPANISH OFFICIAL, A GLOBAL COMPROMISE WILL BE OFFERED TO THE ISRAELIS. THE PACKAGE WILL INCLUDE ARRANGEMENTS FOR S&T COOPERATION WHILE PROTECTING EU DECISION-MAKING AUTONOMY. THE SPANISH OFFICIAL SAID THE EU WILL "CUT OUT A GARMENT FOR THE ISRAELIS" THAT CANNOT BE USED BY ANYBODY ELSE.

17. THE COUNCIL WILL HAVE TO PRONOUNCE ON A DRAFT DECISION CONCERNING IMPLEMENTATION OF THE COMMON ACTION FOR MONITORING THE PALESTINIAN ELECTIONS. THE EU ELECTION UNIT WHICH WILL COORDINATE THE INTERNATIONAL OPERATION WILL BE UNDER THE RESPONSIBILITY OF A FORMER SWEDISH MINISTER FOR JUSTICE AND TRADE, CARL LIDBOM, FORMERLY AMBASSADOR IN PARIS. EU SOURCES UNDERLINE THAT THE FORMAL COUNCIL DECISION IS SUBJECT TO THE SIGNING BY ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY OF THE AGREEMENT ON THE MODALITIES OF THE ELECTIONS.

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MIDDLE EAST DEVELOPMENT BANK

18. A SENIOR SPANISH OFFICIAL TOLD REPORTERS JULY 14 THAT A MAJORITY OF EU MEMBER STATES OBJECT TO THE CREATION OF A DEVELOPMENT BANK FOR THE MIDDLE EAST, ARGUING THAT "THERE IS NO NEED FOR A NEW FINANCIAL INSTRUMENT." THE OFFICIAL SUGGESTED THE EU MIGHT LOOK FOR A LESS EXPENSIVE PROGRAM (AT LEAST INITIALLY). OTHER SOURCES INDICATE THAT, BECAUSE OF THE PRESSURE OF OTHER BUSINESS, THE COMMISSION PAPER PROPOSING A PHASED-IN APPROACH TO A BANK (USEU BRUSSELS 7421) WILL BE ADOPTED WITHOUT DISCUSSION BY THE COUNCIL. THE SENIOR SPANISH OFFICIAL RECOGNIZED THAT THE U.S. "WANTS TO FORCE A DECISION" ON CREATION OF THE BANK AT THE AMMAN SUMMIT IN OCTOBER. HE SAID THE U.S. WAS "SEEKING A SUCCESS, AT LEAST A MINIMAL ONE." AMMAN WAS "PERFECTLY COMPATIBLE" WITH THE EU-SPONSORED BARCELONA CONFERENCE WHERE FUNDING "WILL NOT BE THE CENTRAL ISSUE," HE SAID.

19. THE ASSOCIATION AGREEMENT WITH TUNISIA WILL BE SIGNED ON THE FRINGES OF THE GAC MEETING. THIS IS THE FIRST OF THE AGREEMENTS FALLING WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE RENOVATED MEDITERRANEAN POLICY.

RELATIONS WITH CCES

20. THE EU WILL HOLD JOINT ASSOCIATION COUNCIL MEETINGS
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WITH POLAND AND HUNGARY THE EVENING OF JULY 17. COMING EARLY IN THE SPANISH PRESIDENCY, THESE ARE NOT EXPECTED TO PRODUCE FORMAL CONCLUSIONS. EACH PARTY WILL HAVE A CHANCE TO SPEAK ON KEY QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE

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PRE-ACCESSION STRATEGY. THE POLISH AND HUNGARIAN DELEGATIONS WILL ALSO BE INVITED TO LUNCH: THEY WILL COMPARE NOTES WITH THE EU MINISTERS ON FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES (YUGOSLAV CRISIS, RUSSIA) AND (POSSIBLY) INVOLVEMENT OF THE CCES IN THE BARCELONA CONFERENCE ON THE MEDITERRANEAN.

21. THE COUNCIL WILL TAKE NOTE OF THE FORMAL REQUESTS

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EXME-00	E-00	FBIE-00	INLB-01	FRB-01	H-01	TEDE-00
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PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00
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PMB-00	DRL-09	G-00	/067W			

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FM USEU BRUSSELS

TO DEPT OF TREASURY WASH DC IMMEDIATE

SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST PRIORITY

ALLEU COLLECTIVE PRIORITY

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY TUNIS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BRATISLAVA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ZAGREB PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

AMEMBASSY VILNIUS

UNCLAS SECTION 05 OF 05 BRUSSELS 007458

DEPT FOR EUR/ERA, EUR/CE, EUR/EE, EUR/WE, EUR/SE, AF/C,
EUR/ISCA, ARA/SC AND S/NIS

DEPT AND GENEVA FOR USTR

TREAS FOR ITN - CRAWFORD, IMI - MOTRADOVSKY

VIENNA ALSO FOR BOSNIA

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VILNIUS FOR AID/JOHN CLOUTIER

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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: ETRD, EFIN, ENRG, PREL, RS, HR, BK, SR, TS, IS, PL, HU, RO, LO, XH, RUN

SUBJECT: EU GENERAL AFFAIRS COUNCIL MEETING, JULY 17:
- BOSNIA IN FOCUS: KOZYREV MEETS EU MINISTERS

FOR EU MEMBERSHIP SUBMITTED BY ROMANIA AND SLOVAKIA AT THE END OF JUNE. IN ACCORDANCE WITH REGULAR PROCEDURES, THE REQUESTS WILL BE HANDED TO THE COMMISSION FOR OPINIONS THAT ARE NOT EXPECTED TO BE DRAFTED IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

RELATIONS WITH CHILE

22. THE COUNCIL WILL ADOPT WITHOUT DISCUSSION CONCLUSIONS ON THE STRATEGY OPTIONS FOR STRENGTHENING RELATIONS WITH CHILE. THE STATEMENT WILL INVITE THE COMMISSION TO SUBMIT GUIDELINES FOR A NEW BILATERAL AGREEMENT, AN INDICATION THAT THE UNION IS PREPARED TO GIVE "CONCRETE FORM" TO THE EXTENSION OF ITS RELATIONS WITH SANTIAGO, REGARDLESS OF THE SHAPE OF ITS FUTURE TIES WITH MERCOSUR.

RELATIONS WITH CUBA

23. THE COMMISSION (VICE-PRESIDENT MARIN) WILL PRESENT UNCLASSIFIED

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ITS PROPOSED EU CUBA INITIATIVE (IN THE FORM DESCRIBED IN USEU BRUSSELS 6799). THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDS THAT THE EU AND CUBA ESTABLISH A DIALOGUE IN THE SHAPE OF REGULAR CONSULTATIONS "THAT WOULD SERVE TO WORK OUT THE SCOPE AND FRAMEWORK OF THOSE TIES IN THE LIGHT OF CUBA'S ECONOMIC AND INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS." EU SOURCES DO NOT ANTICIPATE A MINISTERIAL DISCUSSION AT THIS STAGE. THE COMMISSION PAPER WILL BE REFERRED TO PERMREPS FOR STUDY.

RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM

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24. A FRAMEWORK COOPERATION AGREEMENT WITH VIETNAM WILL BE SIGNED ON THE FRINGES OF THE COUNCIL MEETING (SEE USEU BRUSSELS 7375).

TRADE MATTERS

25. APART FROM HIS PRESENTATION ON FINANCIAL SERVICES, COMMISSION VICE-PRESIDENT BRITTAN WILL PRESS THE COUNCIL FOR A POLITICAL DEBATE ON THE COMMISSION PROPOSAL FOR A DIRECTIVE ON THE HARMINIZATION OF EXPORT CREDIT SCHEMES. THE PROPOSAL HAS BEEN WIDELY CRITICIZED BY MEMBER STATE EXPERTS AS WELL AS BY INDUSTRY AND BANKING SECTOR REPRESENTATIVES. BRITTAN'S SPOKESMAN SAID THE COMMISSION WOULD LIKE TO "INJECT A BIT OF ENERGY" IN THE DISCUSSION, BUT A SPANISH OFFICIAL CALLED THE FILE "IMPOSSIBLE." THE SPANIARDS MAY PROPOSE PROCEDURAL
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CONCLUSIONS.

26. THE XXIV:6 NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE U.S. AND CANADA WILL NOT BE DISCUSSED AS THE ISSUE IS NOT RIPE FOR POLITICAL DEBATE. THE CODE OF CONDUCT CONCERNING THE MODALITIES OF THE PARTICIPATION OF THE COMMUNITY AND ITS MEMBER STATES WITHIN THE WTO FRAMEWORK WILL BE DISCUSSED AT THE NEXT REGULAR GAC, OCTOBER 2.

(DRAFTED: POL RDEGLAIN; CLEARED: POL MBURROWS; ECON BHARMAN; TREAS:GBERGER; APPROVED: POL GJGREENWALD)
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 USDOC WASHDC
 INFO ALL EUROPEAN UNION POST COLLECTIVE
 CIMS NTDB WASHDC
 AMEMBASSY TOKYO
 AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
 AMCONSUL BORDEAUX
 AMCONSUL MARSEILLE
 AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

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FOR FEDERAL RESERVE

STATE FOR HA/IL; PASS DOL/ILAB

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TREASURY FOR DO/IMI MOTRADOVSKY, RHARLOW

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 27 MAR 2009 200705105

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DO/IMB WEEKS AND DO/E WDINKELACKER

OCC FOR JHARTZEL

CEA FOR TYSON

USDOC FOR 4212/IEP/EUR/OWE/MIKALIS

STATE PASS EXIMBANK

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: EFIN, ETRD, ELAB, EU, FR, PINR, PGOV, KPRV, KTDB,
EXIM

SUBJECT: FRENCH FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS:
JULY 7-JULY 19, 1995

SUMMARY: IN A BURST OF ACTIVITY BEFORE PARIS EMPTIES FOR THE SUMMER, THE GOVERNMENT MADE SEVERAL SIGNIFICANT ANNOUNCEMENTS, INCLUDING THE REMOVAL OF REMAINING BARRIERS TO NON-EU INVESTORS IN FRANCE AND THE CREATION OF SEVERAL NEW COMMITTEES TO OVERSEE FINANCIAL MARKETS AND AUDITORS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE EU INVESTMENT SERVICES DIRECTIVE. THE GOVERNMENT WELCOMED THE EMPLOYERS' ORGANIZATION REPORT ON CORPORATE GOVERNANCE, SAYING IT HOPED TO SEE RESULTS IN THIS AREA WITHIN THE NEXT YEAR. SEVERAL HIGH LEVEL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS CRITICIZED THE ELITE NATURE OF FRANCE'S CORPORATE STRUCTURE, AND THE PRACTICE OF CROSS-SHAREHOLDINGS AND MULTIPLE DIRECTORSHIPS ON BOARDS OF DIRECTORS.

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THE FRANC CONTINUES TO STRENGTHEN AGAINST THE DM AS THE BANK OF FRANCE CONTINUES ITS POLICY OF GRADUALLY PUSHING DOWN INTEREST RATES. THE GOVERNMENT URGED THE BOF TO TAKE BOLDER STEPS TO PUSH DOWN INTEREST RATES IN ORDER TO GIVE A BOOST TO GROWTH. THE BANK OF FRANCE ALSO EXPRESSED WORRIES ABOUT THE CURRENT LEVEL OF COMPETITION AMONG FRENCH BANKS, WHICH HAS LED THE BANKS TO CUT MARGINS BY LOWERING THEIR LENDING RATES.

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THE PROSPECT OF IMPROVEMENT IN THE LABOR SITUATION HAS BOOSTED HOUSEHOLD CONFIDENCE, AND INSEE HAS COME OUT WITH A FORECAST OF 3.1 PERCENT GROWTH FOR 1995. INFLATION REMAINS UNDER CONTROL, BUT WILL GO UP WITH THE TWO PERCENTAGE POINT INCREASE IN VAT AS OF AUGUST 1. END SUMMARY.

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MONETARY AND FINANCIAL DEVELOPMENTS

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2. MINISTER OF ECONOMY AND FINANCE MADELIN URGES THE UNCLASSIFIED

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P 201627Z JUL 95
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 CIMS NTDB WASHDC
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 AMCONSUL BORDEAUX

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AMCONSUL MARSEILLE
AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

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TREASURY FOR DO/IMI MOTRADOVSKY, RHARLOW
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OCC FOR JHARTZEL

CEA FOR TYSON

USDOC FOR 4212/IEP/EUR/OWE/MIKALIS

STATE PASS EXIMBANK

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: EFIN, ETRD, ELAB, EU, FR, PINR, PGOV, KPRV, KTDB,
EXIM

SUBJECT: FRENCH FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS:
JULY 7-JULY 19, 1995

BANK OF FRANCE TO CUT INTEREST RATES SIGNIFICANTLY

3. M3 MONETARY AGGREGATE INCREASES 0.5 PERCENT IN MAY;
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4. MODERNIZATION OF THE PARIS FINANCIAL MARKET
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6. NATIONAL ASSEMBLY PASSES THE REVENUE SIDE OF THE 1995 MINI-BUDGET; TREASURY BORROWING FF21.5 BILLION HIGHER THAN EXPECTED
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8. GOVERNMENT WELCOMES SENIOR BUSINESS EXECUTIVES' CALL FOR REFORM IN THE AREA OF CORPORATE GOVERNANCE
9. ANTI-NUCLEAR TESTING PROTESTS AND BOSNIA OVERSHADOW THE FRANCO-GERMAN SUMMIT

CURRENT INDICATORS/SURVEYS

10. INSEE FORECASTS GDP TO INCREASE 3.1 PERCENT IN 1995
11. CONSUMER PRICES REMAINED UNCHANGED IN JUNE
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13. HOUSEHOLD CONFIDENCE INCREASES DUE TO OPTIMISM ABOUT LABOR SITUATION
14. SMALL-AND-MEDIUM SIZED COMPANIES PLAN TO INVEST AND
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15. PRIVATE SECTOR REAL WAGES DECREASE IN THE FIRST
QUARTER

STATISTICAL ANNEXES

MONETARY AND FINANCIAL DEVELOPMENTS

1. FF STRENGHTENS; SHORT-TERM INTEREST RATES LOWER;
BOURSE UP

FOREIGN EXCHANGE

THE FRANC STRENGHTENED DURING MOST OF THE FIRST PART OF

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 AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
 AMCONSUL BORDEAUX
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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: EFIN, ETRD, ELAB, EU, FR, PINR, PGOV, KPRV, KTDB,
EXIM

SUBJECT: FRENCH FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS:
JULY 7-JULY 19, 1995

THE REPORTING PERIOD AS THE BANK OF FRANCE CONTINUED TO PUSH DOWN THE OVERNIGHT INTEREST RATE. THE FRANC OPENED THE REPORTING PERIOD AT FF3.51 AGAINST THE D-MARK AND WAS TRADING AT FF3.48 AT THE END OF THE REPORTING PERIOD. THE FRANC TRADED WITHIN A NARROW RANGE AGAINST THE U.S. DOLLAR, CLOSING THE REPORTING PERIOD AT FF4.85, COMPARED TO FF4.84 TWO WEEKS EARLIER. ON JULY 17, BANK OF FRANCE (BOF) GOVERNOR TRICHET DECLARED IN A RADIO INTERVIEW THAT THE FRENCH FRANC WAS UNDERVALUED AGAINST THE OTHER EMU CURRENCIES, AND OVERVALUED AGAINST THE US DOLLAR AND NON-EMU EUROPEAN CURRENCIES. WITH REGARD TO THE DOLLAR, TRICHET NOTED THAT THE G-7 AGREEMENT OF LAST SPRING THAT THE DOLLAR SHOULD APPRECIATE IN AN ORDERLY MANNER WAS STILL APPLICABLE.

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INTEREST RATES

SHORT-TERM INTEREST RATES CONTINUED TO EXPERIENCE GRADUAL DOWNWARD PRESSURE DURING THE REPORTING PERIOD. THE BOF REDUCED THE OVERNIGHT RATE BY ANOTHER ONE-SIXTEENTH OF A PERCENTAGE POINT ON JULY 5 AND BY THE SAME AMOUNT ON JULY 17, AND CUT ITS 5-10 DAY REPURCHASE RATE BY 25 BASIS POINTS TO 7.25 PERCENT ON JULY 6.

DURING THE REPORTING PERIOD THE OVERNIGHT MONEY MARKET RATE FELL BY 32 BASIS POINTS TO 6.81 PERCENT. THERE WAS A SIGNIFICANT DECLINE AT THE LONG END OF THE MARKET. LONG-TERM INTEREST RATES WERE DOWN 19 BASIS POINTS COMPARED TO THE PREVIOUS REPORTING PERIOD, DOWN TO 7.33 PERCENT.

STOCKS

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FRENCH STOCKS GAINED FOR MOST OF THE REPORTING PERIOD. AT THE BEGINNING OF THE PERIOD STOCKS INCREASED IN ANTICIPATION OF A CUT IN THE BOF 5-10 DAY REPURCHASE RATE. FINANCIAL MARKETS ALSO WELCOMED THE US INTEREST RATE CUT AND SUBSEQUENT RALLY ON WALL STREET ON JULY 7. THEREAFTER, HOWEVER, STOCKS FELL SOMEWHAT DUE TO THE BUNDESBANK'S DECISION TO LEAVE UNCHANGED INTEREST RATES AND PROFIT-TAKING BEFORE A BASTILLE DAY 3-DAY WEEK-END. STOCKS FELL AGAIN ON JULY 18 DRAGGED DOWN BY WALL STREET AND SALES OF FRENCH STOCKS BY JAPANESE INVESTORS PROTESTING AGAINST FRENCH NUCLEAR TESTING IN THE PACIFIC. EXPORT-ORIENTATED STOCKS INCLUDING LUXURY

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GOODS WERE STRONGLY HIT. THE CAC-40 ENDED THE REPORTING PERIOD AT 1929, UP FROM 1889 AT THE BEGINNING OF THE REPORTING PERIOD.

2. MINISTER OF ECONOMY AND FINANCE MADELIN URGES THE BANK OF FRANCE TO CUT INTEREST RATES SIGNIFICANTLY

IN A PRESS INTERVIEW ON JULY 18, MINISTER OF ECONOMY AND FINANCE MADELIN URGED THE BANK OF FRANCE TO CUT INTEREST RATES BY AS MUCH AS 2 PERCENTAGE POINTS, SAYING SUCH A DECREASE IS ABSOLUTELY VITAL TO HELP SPUR CONTINUED ECONOMIC GROWTH. HE ARGUED THAT THE FRENCH FRANC IS STRONG ENOUGH TO MAINTAIN ITS VALUE EVEN IN THE FACE OF A SIZABLE RATE CUT. MADELIN'S CALL FOR ACTION APPEARS TO BE AN ATTEMPT TO LIGHT A FIRE UNDER BOF GOVERNOR TRICHET AND THE INDEPENDENT MONETARY POLICY COMMITTEE, WHICH APPEAR SET ON BRINGING DOWN INTEREST RATES IN A VERY GRADUAL MANNER. MADELIN ALSO SAID THAT THE SPREAD BETWEEN FRENCH AND GERMAN INTEREST RATES -- AROUND 2

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 USDOC WASHDC
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 CIMS NTDB WASHDC
 AMEMBASSY TOKYO
 AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
 AMCONSUL BORDEAUX
 AMCONSUL MARSEILLE
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TREASURY FOR DO/IMI MOTRADOVSKY, RHARLOW
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OCC FOR JHARTZEL

CEA FOR TYSON

USDOC FOR 4212/IEP/EUR/OWE/MIKALIS

STATE PASS EXIMBANK

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: EFIN, ETRD, ELAB, EU, FR, PINR, PGOV, KPRV, KTDB,
EXIM

SUBJECT: FRENCH FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS:
JULY 7-JULY 19, 1995

PERCENTAGE POINTS FOR THREE-MONTH INTEREST RATES AND 0.6
PERCENTAGE POINTS FOR 10-YEAR BOND YIELDS -- WAS NOT
JUSTIFIED. HE SAID THAT HE RESPECTED THE BOF'S
INDEPENDENCE, BUT EMPHASIZED THAT "IT IS IMPORTANT FOR
THE BANK OF FRANCE AND FINANCIAL MARKETS TO UNDERSTAND
PROGRESSIVELY OUR POLICIES AND TO ACT."

3. M3 MONETARY AGGREGATE INCREASES 0.5 PERCENT IN MAY;
BANK LENDING INCREASES MODERATELY

ACCORDING TO RECENTLY RELEASED BANK OF FRANCE DATA, BOTH
THE NARROW (M1) MONETARY AGGREGATE AND THE BROAD (M3)

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MONETARY AGGREGATE DECREASED IN MAY COMPARED WITH
APRIL. M1 DECREASED 0.6 PERCENT, MAINLY DUE TO A 0.3
PERCENT DECREASE IN DEMAND DEPOSITS. M2 DECREASED 0.2
PERCENT. HOUSEHOLD ASSETS IN LIQUID SAVINGS ACCOUNTS
INCREASED MODERATELY, A COMPONENT IN M2 BUT NOT IN M1.
FUNDS INVESTED IN SAVINGS ACCOUNTS SUCH AS "CODEVI"
INCREASED MORE SIGNIFICANTLY COMPARED WITH OTHER
ACCOUNTS, UP 1.6 PERCENT. HOWEVER, INCREASES IN THE
LAST THREE MONTHS WERE SLOWER THAN IN PREVIOUS MONTHS,
BECAUSE THE IMPACT OF THE INCREASE IN THE MAXIMUM AMOUNT
ALLOWED TO BE PLACED IN A "CODEVI" ACCOUNT (FROM
FF20,000 TO FF30,000), EFFECTIVE OCTOBER 1, 1994 IS
BEGINNING TO WEAR OFF. ("CODEVI" FUNDS ARE USED TO
SUBSIDIZE LOANS TO SMALL- AND MEDIUM-SIZED INDUSTRIAL
COMPANIES.) "CODEVI" CARRY A TAX-FREE INTEREST RATE OF
4.5 PERCENT.

M3 INCREASED 0.5 PERCENT IN MAY COMPARED WITH APRIL,
REFLECTING AN INCREASE IN TIME DEPOSITS AND MUTUAL
FUNDS. INVESTMENT IN MONEY MARKET MUTUAL FUNDS
INCREASED 1.2 PERCENT AFTER DROPPING IN THE PAST FEW
MONTHS DUE TO INCREASES IN TAXES ON THIS KIND OF
INVESTMENT. M4 INCREASED 0.6 PERCENT IN MAY.
HOUSEHOLDS CONTINUED TO INCREASE DEPOSITS IN TAX-FREE
LONG-TERM SAVINGS PLANS, NOTABLY "HOME SAVINGS PLAN"
(PLAN D'EPARGNE LOGEMENT - PEL) AND IRA-LIKE ACCOUNTS
(PLAN D'EPARGNE POPULAIRE - PEP). WHILE NOT INCLUDED IN
ANY OF THE MONETARY AGGREGATES, THEY HAVE INCREASED 13.5
PERCENT AND 15.4 PERCENT, RESPECTIVELY BETWEEN MAY 1994
AND MAY 1995.

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USING THE BANK OF FRANCE'S CALCULATION, WHICH COMPARES
THE THREE-MONTH AVERAGE CENTERED ON THE PRECEDING MONTH
WITH THE FINAL THREE MONTHS OF THE PRECEDING YEAR, THE
M3 ANNUAL RATE OF GROWTH WAS 1.9 PERCENT. GROWTH IS FAR
BELOW THE BANK'S MEDIUM-TERM TARGET OF 5 PERCENT ANNUAL
GROWTH.

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BANK CREDIT AND INDEBTEDNESS

ACCORDING TO THE LATEST FIGURES, OVERALL BANK CREDIT IN APRIL INCREASED 0.2 PERCENT, BUT WAS 1.5 PERCENT BELOW THE LEVEL OF A YEAR AGO. BANK LOANS TO NON-FINANCIAL FIRMS, WHICH INCLUDE LOANS TO INDIVIDUAL BUSINESSES AND COMPANIES, INCREASED 1.3 PERCENT IN APRIL COMPARED WITH MARCH. BOTH INVESTMENT AND SHORT-TERM LOANS TO COMPANIES INCREASED. BANK CREDITS TO HOUSEHOLDS DECREASED 0.2 PERCENT COMPARED WITH MARCH, REFLECTING A DECREASE IN SHORT-TERM LOANS.

OVERALL INDEBTEDNESS INCREASED 0.6 PERCENT DUE TO AN INCREASE IN BORROWING BY COMPANIES AND THE CENTRAL

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TREASURY FOR DO/IMI MOTRADOVSKY, RHARLOW
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TAGS: EFIN, ETRD, ELAB, EU, FR, PINR, PGOV, KPRV, KTDB,
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SUBJECT: FRENCH FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS:
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GOVERNMENT TO COVER THE BUDGET DEFICIT. THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT BORROWING SURGED 16.1 PERCENT FROM APRIL 1994 TO APRIL 1995. (SEE STATISTICAL DETAILS IN ANNEXES)

4. MODERNIZATION OF THE PARIS FINANCIAL MARKET CONTINUES; FRANCE ELIMINATES RESTRICTIONS ON FOREIGN INVESTMENT

ON JULY 10, AT THE PARIS EUROPLACE CONFERENCE, A CONFERENCE FOR INVESTMENT ADVISERS AND MONEY-MARKET PROFESSIONALS, ECONOMY AND FINANCE MINISTER MADELIN ANNOUNCED NEW MEASURES FOR THE MODERNIZATION OF THE

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PARIS FINANCIAL MARKET. HE ANNOUNCED PLANS TO CREATE A NEW FINANCIAL MARKETS COMMITTEE ("CONSEIL DES MARCHES FINANCIERS" -- CMF) TO OVERSEE OPERATIONS OF BOTH THE CASH AND DERIVATIVES MARKETS. THE EXACT NATURE OF THIS COMMITTEE WILL BE DECIDED IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE EUROPEAN UNION'S INVESTMENT SERVICES DIRECTIVES, WHICH, MINISTER MADELIN PROMISED, WILL BE COMPLETED BY JANUARY 1996. OTHER INNOVATIONS INCLUDE THE CREATION OF ANOTHER NEW COMMITTEE ON ACCOUNTING REGULATION, WHICH IS TO OPERATE ALONG THE LINES OF THE EXISTING COMMITTEE ON BANKING REGULATION, AND THE PROPOSAL FOR A CODE OF OPERATIONS (CODE DE BONNE PRATIQUE) FOR PUBLIC SECTOR COMPANIES.

MADELIN ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT FRANCE IS TO ELIMINATE RESTRICTIONS ON FOREIGN INVESTMENT BY NON-EU FIRMS. CALLING THE CHANGE A MAJOR REFORM, HE SAID IT IS A PART OF A PROGRAM TO INCREASE THE LIQUIDITY AND TRANSPARENCY OF THE FRENCH CAPITAL MARKET, AND TO CREATE JOBS. WITH THE ELIMINATION OF THE RESTRICTIONS, NON-EU INVESTORS WILL NO LONGER NEED APPROVAL FOR THEIR INVESTMENT PLANS, ALTHOUGH NOTIFICATION IS STILL REQUIRED. CURRENTLY, ACQUISITIONS BY NON-EU INVESTORS REQUIRE PRIOR NOTIFICATION TO THE FINANCE MINISTRY AND CAN BE DISAPPROVED WITHIN A PERIOD OF 15-30 DAYS (15 DAYS FOR ACQUISITIONS OF FIRMS VALUED AT LESS THAN FF50 MILLION

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AND WITH ANNUAL SALES OF LESS THAN FF500 MILLION; 30 DAYS FOR ACQUISITIONS VALUED AT OVER FF50 MILLION OR IN FIRMS WITH SALES OVER FF500 MILLION). HOWEVER IN RECENT YEARS FRANCE HAS RARELY STOPPED FOREIGN PURCHASES OF FRENCH ASSETS. THE ELIMINATION OF RESTRICTIONS ON
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FOREIGN INVESTMENT WILL MEAN THAT THE SAME EU RULES FOR MERGERS AND ACQUISITIONS WILL APPLY TO EU AND NON-EU INVESTORS. UNDER EU RULES, RESTRICTIONS ON ALL INVESTORS REMAIN FOR CASES INVOLVING NATIONAL DEFENSE, PUBLIC SAFETY, HEALTH, OR SECURITY.

5. PRECARIOUS SITUATION OF BANKS PROMPTS
RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE BANK OF FRANCE; LOWER RATING FOR BNP; FAILURE OF PALLAS-STERN

A RECENT BANK OF FRANCE REPORT CONFIRMED THAT 1994 WAS A POOR YEAR FOR BANKS, AND THERE WAS NO SIGN OF IMPROVEMENT IN THE EARLY PART OF 1995. IN 1994, BANKS AS A WHOLE EXPERIENCED A 7.4 PERCENT DECREASE IN NET SALES TO FF335.5 BILLION AND A 28 PERCENT DROP IN OPERATING PROFIT TO FF76.1 BILLION. PROFIT BEFORE TAXES DROPPED 87 PERCENT TO FF1.9 BILLION DESPITE A 17.7 PERCENT DECLINE IN PROVISIONS FOR BAD LOANS. NET LOSSES REACHED FF4.2 BILLION. BANKS MADE EFFORTS TO TRIM

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TREASURY FOR DO/IMI MOTRADOVSKY, RHARLOW
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COSTS, BUT LENDING RATES DID NOT RISE SIGNIFICANTLY AS BANKS COMPETED AMONG THEMSELVES FOR A DWINDLING POOL OF BORROWERS. THE BOF REPORT SUGGESTS THAT BANKS SHOULD CONTINUE EFFORTS TO CUT OPERATING COSTS IN ORDER TO INCREASE MARGINS, RECOMMENDING A CUT IN THE SIZE OF BRANCH NETWORKS. ACCORDING TO THE BOF, THE AVERAGE INTEREST RATE ON LOANS DIPPED 1.13 PERCENTAGE POINTS TO 9.08 PERCENT, PUSHING DOWN THE AVERAGE MARGIN ON LENDING OPERATIONS BY 0.6 PERCENTAGE POINTS TO 5.05 PERCENT. THE FRENCH ASSOCIATION OF BANKS (AFB) SHOWED AN EVEN GREATER DECREASE IN AFB BANKS' MARGINS -- DOWN 0.8 PERCENTAGE POINTS TO 4.7 PERCENT.

IN A FURTHER EFFORT TO ADDRESS THE FIERCE COMPETITION IN
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THE FRENCH BANKING INDUSTRY AT A TIME OF WEAK PROFITS,
BOF GOVERNOR TRICHET IN A JULY 18 SPEECH RECOMMENDED
THAT BANKS ADD A PREMIUM RISK OF AT LEAST 0.60
PERCENTAGE POINTS TO INTEREST RATES FOR LOANS WITH A
CREDIT RISK. TRICHET'S DECLARATION FOLLOWED THE RELEASE

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OF A REPORT ON CREDIT RISK MADE AT THE REQUEST OF FORMER PRIME MINISTER BALLADUR BY JACQUES DELMAS-MARSALET, CHAIRMAN OF BANQUES POPULAIRES. THE REPORT CRITICISED THE SUICIDAL PRACTICE OF FRENCH BANKS OF MAKING LOANS AT INTEREST RATES BELOW THE COST OF BORROWING FOR OECD COUNTRIES.

STANDARD AND POOR'S ADEF RECENTLY DOWNGRADED ITS RATING OF BANQUE NATIONALE DE PARIS (BNP), FRANCE'S THIRD LARGEST BANK, AND PLACED SOCIETE GENERALE, THE SECOND LARGEST, ON A NEGATIVE WATCHLIST. THE RATING AGENCY NOTED THAT BNP EXPERIENCED LOW PROFITS AND ALSO A DECLINE IN MARGINS DUE TO COMPETITION FROM COOPERATIVE AND SAVINGS BANKS. THIS LATTER GROUP OF BANKS FACES SMALLER RISKS AS THEY TRADITIONALLY DEAL ONLY WITH INDIVIDUALS. THE RATING AGENCY ALSO SAID THAT LABOR MARKET RIGIDITIES IN THE BANKING SECTOR WAS SLOWING THE RESTRUCTURING THAT IS NECESSARY TO INCREASE BANK PROFITABILITY. SOCIETE GENERALE CHAIRMAN MARC VIENOT SAID IN RESPONSE TO THE WARNING TO HIS BANK THAT FRANCE HAS TOO MANY BANKS. HE ALSO REITERATED THAT THE PROPOSED RESCUE PLAN FOR THE STATE-OWNED BANK CREDIT LYONNAIS, THE LARGEST FRENCH BANK, IS AN UNACCEPTABLE DISTORTION OF COMPETITION.

WHILE FEARS ARE GROWING ABOUT THE PRECARIOUS SITUATION
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OF FRENCH BANKS, ONE BANK HAS BEEN ALLOWED TO FAIL. THE FRENCH BANKING ASSOCIATION ANNOUNCED ON JULY 5 THAT IT WILL INITIATE THE "SOLIDARITY MECHANISM" TO PAY OFF DEPOSITORS OF PALLAS-STERN, A MEDIUM-SIZED BANK, AND MORHANGE, ITS SUBSIDIARY. PALLAS-STERN SUFFERED LIKE MANY OTHER FRENCH BANKS FROM HEAVY EXPOSURE IN THE REAL ESTATE MARKET. ELF-AQUITAINE, THE OIL COMPANY, AND AGF, THE INSURANCE COMPANY, SHAREHOLDERS IN COMIPAR, THE HOLDING COMPANY, HAD RAISED OBJECTIONS TO A PROPOSED PLAN TO BAIL OUT THE BANK, THEREBY LETTING IT FAIL. UNDER THE SOLIDARITY MECHANISM, THE ENTIRE BANKING COMMUNITY CONTRIBUTES FUNDS TO PAY OFF DEPOSITORS UP TO A MAXIMUM OF FF400,000 FOR EACH DEPOSITOR. THE LAST TIME THE AFB USED THIS MECHANISM WAS IN DECEMBER 1994,

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FOR DEPOSITORS OF BANQUE COMMERCIALE PRIVEE (BCP), A SMALL PRIVATE BANK.

IN ANOTHER RECENT CASE A TROUBLED BANK WAS GIVEN A REPRIEVE. COMPAGNIE DU BTP ("BATIMENT ET DES TRAVAUX PUBLICS"), A BANK PRIVATIZED BY THE FORMER GOVERNMENT AND WHICH PROVIDED LOANS TO ABOUT 3,000 SMALL

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BUSINESSES, WAS ALSO HARD HIT BY THE CRISIS IN THE REAL
ESTATE MARKET. BECAUSE THE MAIN SHAREHOLDERS, INCLUDING
SOME OF FRANCE'S LARGEST CONSTRUCTION COMPANIES --
BOUYGUES, LYONNAISE DES EAUX, COMPAGNIE GENERALE DES
EAUX AND SPIE BATIGNOLLES -- WERE RELUCTANT TO PROVIDE
FUNDS, PRIME MINISTER JUPPE ANNOUNCED THAT THE
GOVERNMENT WOULD PROVIDE A GUARANTEE FOR A FF250 BILLION
LOAN TO THE BANK. FUNDS WILL BE PROVIDED BY STATE-OWNED

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FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS INCLUDING CAISSE DES DEPOTS ET
CONSIGNATIONS AND CREDIT FONCIER. COMPAGNIE DU BTP WILL
ALSO ISSUE FF550 MILLION IN SUBORDINATED DEBT AND SELL
SOME OF ITS ASSETS.

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POLICY INITIATIVES/STATEMENTS

6. NATIONAL ASSEMBLY PASSES THE REVENUE SIDE OF THE
1995 MINI- BUDGET; TREASURY BORROWING FF21.5 BILLION
HIGHER-THAN-EXPECTED

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY PASSED THE REVENUE SIDE OF THE
1995 MINI- BUDGET THAT RAISES TAXES TO FINANCE
EMPLOYMENT CREATION MEASURES AND HOUSING PROGRAMS. THE
REVENUE MEASURES INCLUDE AN INCREASE OF 2 PERCENTAGE
POINTS IN THE VAT, A 10 PERCENT SURCHARGE ON CORPORATE
INCOME TAX AND A 10 PERCENT SURCHARGE ON WEALTH TAXES
(PARIS 015040.) CRITICISM BY SOME CONSERVATIVE DEPUTIES
WHO SOUGHT TO LOWER THE TAX INCREASES AND MAKE
AMENDMENTS TO OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT'S BUDGET
PACKAGE FORCED BUDGET STATE SECRETARY FRANCOIS D'AUBERT
TO USE A FAST-TRACK PROCEDURE (ARTICLE 44), REQUIRING
DEPUTIES TO VOTE FOR OR AGAINST THE BILL AS A WHOLE
RATHER THAN VOTE ON INDIVIDUAL ELEMENTS. D'AUBERT SAID
THAT THE 1995 BUDGET DEFICIT TARGET WAS NOW SET AT
FF320.95 BILLION COMPARED WITH THE ORIGINAL FF322
BILLION TARGET ANNOUNCED BY JUPPE. THIS TARGET EXCLUDES
REVENUES FROM PRIVATIZATIONS, WHICH ARE NOT INCLUDED IN
MAASTRICHT FISCAL ACCOUNTING. THE REVENUE SIDE OF THE
BUDGET WILL BE EXAMINED BY THE SENATE AT THE END OF
JULY. (FYI: SUBSEQUENTLY BOTH THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND
THE SENATE WILL CONSIDER THE EXPENDITURE SIDE OF THE
BUDGET.)

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MINISTER MADELIN SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS REVISED DOWNWARD ITS EXPECTED PRIVATIZATION RECEIPTS FOR 1995 FROM FF55 BILLION TO FF40 BILLION, AND WILL INCREASE CAPITAL INFUSION IN STATE-OWNED COMPANIES FROM FF8 BILLION TO FF14.5 BILLION. AS A RESULT 1995 TREASURY BORROWING WILL INCREASE BY FF21.5 BILLION, FROM FF470 BILLION TO FF495 BILLION. THE FRENCH TREASURY ANNOUNCED IT WILL ISSUE APPROXIMATELY FF260 BILLION IN TREASURY BONDS AND FF235 BILLION IN TREASURY BILLS IN 1995. THUS FAR THE TREASURY HAS ISSUED 60.3 PERCENT OF THE BONDS AND 66.5 PERCENT OF THE BILLS INCLUDED IN ITS FORMER PROGRAM. MADELIN ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PRIVATIZATION RECEIPTS AND CAPITAL INFUSIONS, FF25.5 BILLION, WILL BE USED TO REDUCE THE PUBLIC DEBT.

7. GOVERNMENT ASKS COMPANIES TO PARTICIPATE IN THE NATIONAL JOB CREATION EFFORT

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SUBJECT: FRENCH FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS:
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IN A PRESS CONFERENCE HELD ON BASTILLE DAY, PRESIDENT CHIRAC CALLED FOR A "CULTURAL REVOLUTION" IN FRANCE, ASKING COMPANIES TO AVOID LAYING OFF WORKERS AS SOON AS THEY EXPERIENCE FINANCIAL PROBLEMS. HE SAID THAT A RESPONSIBLE COMPANY SHOULD RESORT TO LAY-OFFS ONLY AFTER ALL OTHER POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS HAVE BEEN TRIED. HE REQUESTED COMPANIES TO USE IMAGINATIVE IDEAS SUCH AS ADJUSTMENTS IN WORKING HOURS. HE ALSO INDICATED THAT HE WAS NOT OPPOSED TO NEW LAWS ON THIS ISSUE IF NECESSARY. SEPARATELY, LABOR MINISTER BARROT SENT LETTERS TO COMPANIES ASKING THEM TO PARTICIPATE IN THE NATIONAL JOB CREATION EFFORT.

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8. GOVERNMENT WELCOMES SENIOR BUSINESS EXECUTIVES' CALL
FOR REFORM IN THE AREA OF CORPORATE GOVERNANCE

SENIOR BUSINESS EXECUTIVES IN FRANCE ARE CALLING FOR WIDE-RANGING REFORMS IN THE AREA OF CORPORATE GOVERNANCE AND HAVE CRITICIZED THE CROSS-SHAREHOLDING STRUCTURE TYPICAL OF MANY LARGE-SIZED FRENCH COMPANIES. THE PROPOSALS ARE CONTAINED IN A REPORT COMMISSIONED BY THE FRENCH EMPLOYERS ORGANIZATION -- CNPF -- AND BY THE AFEP, AN INFLUENTIAL GROUP OF PRIVATE COMPANIES. MARC VIENOT, THE CHAIRMAN OF SOCIETE GENERALE, CHAIRED THE COMMITTEE WHICH PRODUCED THE REPORT. THERE HAS BEEN A

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GROWING DEBATE IN FRANCE OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHS OVER THE ROLE OF BOARDS OF DIRECTORS, WITH THE CONCERN THAT OFTEN DIRECTORS' DECISIONS DO NOT ALWAYS REFLECT SHAREHOLDERS' INTERESTS. THE REPORT NOTES THAT SOME COMPANIES HAVE ALREADY INTRODUCED CHANGES IN THE WAY THEIR BOARDS OPERATE, BUT RECOMMENDS TOUGH MEASURES TO REINFORCE THE INDEPENDENCE OF BOARDS AND CALLS FOR THE CREATION OF AUDIT, COMPENSATION AND NOMINATION COMMITTEES IN ALL CORPORATIONS. THE REPORT ALSO RECOMMENDS THAT DIRECTORS SHOULD NOT SIT ON MORE THAN FIVE BOARDS, IN ORDER TO DIMINISH THE INTERLOCKING RELATIONSHIPS THAT PREVAIL IN THE FRENCH CORPORATE WORLD. THE GENERAL RECOMMENDED GUIDELINE IS THAT EACH BOARD SHOULD HAVE AT LEAST TWO DIRECTORS WHO ARE INDEPENDENT OF THE COMPANY, ITS CLIENTS AND SHAREHOLDERS, AND THAT THE BOARD SHOULD REPRESENT THE INTERESTS OF ALL SHAREHOLDERS AND PLACE THE COMPANY'S INTEREST FIRST. VIENOT ALSO DESCRIBED AS UNDESIRABLE
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THE FRENCH SYSTEM OF CROSS-SHARE-HOLDING. MANY LARGE FRENCH COMPANIES OWN SIGNIFICANT SHARES IN EACH OTHER. SUEZ, THE INDUSTRIAL AND FINANCIAL HOLDING COMPANY, IS AN EXAMPLE OF EXTENSIVE CROSS-SHARE HOLDING. THE TROUBLED COMPANY IS CURRENTLY SUBJECT TO INTENSE DIVISIONS BETWEEN SHAREHOLDERS AND HAS INTERLOCKING HOLDINGS WITH SAINT-GOBAIN, UNION DES ASSURANCES DE PARIS, AND ELF-AQUITAINE. VIENOT ADDED HE WAS OPPOSED TO NEW LAWS OR REGULATIONS TO IMPLEMENT THE REPORT'S PROPOSALS, AND RECOMMENDED THAT THE COMMITTEE MEET AGAIN IN THREE YEARS TO REVIEW PROGRESS MADE IN IMPLEMENTING ITS PROPOSALS.

PRIME MINISTER JUPPE WELCOMED THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE VIENOT REPORT, BUT SUGGESTED THAT THE REVIEW TAKE PLACE IN ONE YEAR RATHER THAN THREE. HE THREATENED THAT GOVERNMENT WOULD CONSIDER INTRODUCING LAWS TO ENSURE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE REPORT'S PROPOSALS IF COMPANIES DO NOT MAKE PROGRESS ON THEIR OWN IN THE NEXT YEAR. HE ALSO SHARPLY CRITICIZED THE WAY MANY FRENCH COMPANIES ARE MANAGED BY A SMALL CIRCLE OF MEN WHO ATTENDED THE

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 FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4200
 DEPARTMENT OF TREASURY PRIORITY
 USDOC WASHDC
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TREASURY FOR DO/IMI MOTRADOVSKY, RHARLOW
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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: EFIN, ETRD, ELAB, EU, FR, PINR, PGOV, KPRV, KTDB,
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SUBJECT: FRENCH FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS:
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SAME ELITE SCHOOLS. HE CALLED FOR A MORE OPEN SYSTEM OF CAPITALISM AND MORE EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT. JUPPE ALSO REITERATED THAT THE GOVERNMENT ROLE SHOULD STAY NEUTRAL REGARDING THE REORGANIZATION OF PRIVATE COMPANIES, SAYING THAT GOVERNMENT'S ROLE IS TO ENSURE EQUAL TREATMENT FOR ALL SHAREHOLDERS. MINISTER MADELIN ALSO WELCOMED THE VIENOT REPORT'S RECOMMENDATIONS AND SAID HE WOULD UNVEIL A SERIES OF SIMILAR GUIDELINES FOR THE PUBLIC SECTOR, STATING THAT CORPORATE GOVERNANCE WAS AN IMPORTANT ISSUE FOR COMPANIES AND THE FINANCIAL MARKETS. SEPARATELY IN AN INTERVIEW IN THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE MADELIN REPEATED JUPPE'S CRITICISMS THAT MANY FRENCH COMPANIES ARE RUN BY AN ELITE GROUP OF MEN WHO ATTENDED THE SAME SCHOOLS. HE

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CALLED FOR A PHASING OUT OF THE "NOYAX DURS" SYSTEM
UNDER WHICH COMPANIES ARE OFTEN CONTROLLED BY A SMALL
GROUP OF LARGE SHAREHOLDERS, AND OF THE
CROSS-SHAREHOLDING SYSTEM IN FRANCE.

9. ANTI-NUCLEAR TESTING PROTESTS AND BOSNIA OVERSHADOW
THE FRANCO-GERMAN SUMMIT

FRANCE AND GERMANY HELD THEIR 65TH BILATERAL SUMMIT IN
STRASBURG IN JULY 10 AND 11. ACCORDING TO NEWS REPORTS,
THE WAR IN BOSNIA, NOTABLY THE FALL OF SREBRENICA, AND
FRENCH NUCLEAR TESTING DOMINATED THE SUMMIT. CHANCELLOR
KOHL SAID HE DID NOT DEMAND THAT THE TESTS BE CANCELLED,
ALTHOUGH HE IS OPPOSED TO THEM, BECAUSE HE DID NOT WANT
TO INTERFERE WITH A SOVEREIGN DECISION OF THE FRENCH
GOVERNMENT. THE BOISTEROUS ANTI-NUCLEAR TESTING PROTEST
OF SOCIALIST, COMMUNIST AND GREEN DEPUTIES FORCED
PRESIDENT CHIRAC TO BRIEFLY DELAY HIS SPEECH BEFORE THE
EU PARLIAMENT. HIS ADDRESS TO THE EU PARLIAMENT
OUTLINED THE RESULTS OF FRANCE'S SIX MONTH EU
PRESIDENCY, WHICH ENDED ON JUNE 30. HE TOOK THIS
OPPORTUNITY TO REITERATE HIS FULL COMMITMENT TO THE
COMMON EUROPEAN CURRENCY. HE OUTLINED AT LENGTH THE
IMPORTANCE OF THE EU-TURKEY CUSTOMS UNION WHICH MUST BE
RATIFIED BY THE EU PARLIAMENT IN AUTUMN.

CURRENT INDICATORS/SURVEYS

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10. INSEE FORECASTS GDP TO INCREASE 3.1 PERCENT IN 1995

IN ITS LATEST OVERVIEW OF THE FRENCH ECONOMY, INSEE, THE NATIONAL STATISTICAL AGENCY, PROJECTS GDP TO INCREASE 3.1 PERCENT IN 1995 AFTER A 2.8 PERCENT INCREASE IN 1994, AN ESTIMATE THAT COINCIDES WITH THE GOF OFFICIAL FORECAST. THE EXPECTED UPTURN IS MAINLY DUE TO A PROJECTED STRONG INCREASE IN CORPORATE INVESTMENT, 8.6 PERCENT AFTER NO INCREASE IN 1994, AND A HIGHER INCREASE IN HOUSEHOLD CONSUMPTION, 2.3 PERCENT AFTER 1.5 PERCENT IN 1994.

ACCORDING TO INSEE, GDP INCREASED 1.4 PERCENT IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE YEAR, LED BY A 4.8 PERCENT INCREASE IN CORPORATE INVESTMENT AND A 3.9 PERCENT INCREASE IN EXPORTS. INSEE'S ORIGINAL GDP PROJECTION FOR THE FIRST HALF OF 1.6 PERCENT HAD BEEN BASED ON A HIGHER INCREASE IN CORPORATE INVESTMENT AND EXPORTS. REVISED FIGURES

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	E-00	FBIE-00	FRB-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	ITC-01
	JUSE-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OMB-01	OPIC-01	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00
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FOR THE FIRST HALF YEAR ALSO SHOWED A NEGATIVE CONTRIBUTION OF STOCKS. FOR THE SECOND HALF OF THE YEAR, INSEE FORECASTS GDP TO INCREASE 1.4 PERCENT AS WELL. HOWEVER THE FACTORS BEHIND GROWTH IN THE SECOND HALF WILL INCLUDE A PROJECTED GROWTH IN HOUSEHOLD CONSUMPTION OF 1.6 PERCENT AFTER ONLY A 0.8 PERCENT INCREASE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE YEAR. INSEE EXPECTS THAT THE IMPROVED LABOR SITUATION WILL PUSH UP HOUSEHOLD CONSUMPTION. ASSUMING ONLY A GRADUAL IMPACT OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT MEASURES ("CONTRATS INITIATIVE-EMPLOI"), INSEE PROJECTS JOB CREATION TO INCREASE ONLY 1.2 PERCENT IN 1995. THIS WILL LEAD TO A DECREASE IN UNEMPLOYMENT FROM 11.6 PERCENT AS OF MAY 1995 TO 11.3 PERCENT BY THE END OF 1995. (SEE UNCLASSIFIED

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STATISTICAL DETAILS IN ANNEXES.)

11. CONSUMER PRICES REMAINED UNCHANGED IN JUNE

ACCORDING TO PRELIMINARY ESTIMATES COMPILED BY INSEE, THE NATIONAL STATISTICAL INSTITUTE, CONSUMER PRICES REMAINED UNCHANGED IN JUNE AFTER INCREASING 0.2 PERCENT IN MAY. BETWEEN JUNE 1994 AND JUNE 1995, PRICES INCREASED 1.6 PERCENT, THE SAME INCREASE THAT OCCURRED BETWEEN MAY 1994 AND MAY 1995. FRANCE CONTINUED TO HAVE THE LOWEST INFLATION RATE AMONG ITS NINE PRINCIPAL EUROPEAN PARTNERS, 1.5 PERCENTAGE POINTS BELOW THE AVERAGE AND 0.7 PERCENTAGE POINTS BELOW GERMANY.

IN JUNE A 0.3 PERCENT INCREASE IN SERVICES PRICES WAS OFFSET BY A 0.2 PERCENT DECREASE IN BOTH FOOD PRICES AND MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS PRICES. THE DECREASE IN FOOD PRICES REFLECTED A 1.4 PERCENT DECREASE IN PRICES OF FRESH PRODUCTS (THE FOOD COMPONENT OF THE CPI IS NOT

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SEASONALLY ADJUSTED.) THE DECREASE IN MANUFACTURED PRICES WAS ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE SEMI-ANNUAL SALE PRICES OF CLOTHING AND SHOES, WHICH WERE 0.6 PERCENT LOWER, EVEN AFTER SEASONAL ADJUSTMENT. ENERGY PRICES REMAINED UNCHANGED DESPITE A 0.1 PERCENT DECREASE IN PRICES OF PETROLEUM PRODUCTS. IN JUNE, THE UNDERLYING OR CORE INFLATION RATE, WHICH EXCLUDES PRICES FOR FOOD, ENERGY AND PUBLIC UTILITIES, REMAINED UNCHANGED COMPARED WITH THE PREVIOUS MONTH AND WAS 1.7 PERCENT OVER JUNE 1994.

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INSEE PROJECTS THAT AN INCREASE IN VAT TO 20.6 PERCENT FROM THE CURRENT 18.6 PERCENT, EFFECTIVE AUGUST 1, WILL ADD 0.9 PERCENTAGE POINTS TO THE INFLATION RATE, PUSHING IT TO 2.5 PERCENT BY THE END OF THE YEAR. (SEE STATISTICAL DETAILS IN ANNEXES)

12. CURRENT ACCOUNT POSTED A SURPLUS IN APRIL; LARGE LONG-TERM CAPITAL INFLOWS

THE RECENTLY RELEASED BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DATA FOR APRIL SHOWED A FF10.4 BILLION CURRENT ACCOUNT SURPLUS. MERCHANDISE TRADE (BOP BASIS, FOB/FOB, SEASONALLY ADJUSTED) POSTED A FF5.4 BILLION SURPLUS IN APRIL, DOWN FROM FF7.6 BILLION IN MARCH. THIS BROUGHT THE CURRENT ACCOUNT SURPLUS IN THE FIRST FOUR MONTHS TO FF58 BILLION, UP FROM FF24 BILLION IN THE SAME PERIOD IN 1994. OVER THE SAME PERIOD, THE MERCHANDISE TRADE SURPLUS INCREASED TO FF24.3 BILLION FROM FF7.5 BILLION DUE TO AN INCREASE IN EXPORTS. THE SERVICES SURPLUS

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	E-00	FBIE-00	FRB-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	ITC-01
	JUSE-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OMB-01	OPIC-01	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00
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INCREASED FF1.6 BILLION TO FF28.5 BILLION. IT SHOULD BE
NOTED THAT THE INCREASE IN THE CURRENT ACCOUNT DURING
THE FIRST FOUR MONTHS WAS HEAVILY INFLUENCED BY AN
EXCEPTIONALLY HIGH SURPLUS OF FF32.3 BILLION IN JANUARY
1995, WHICH WAS DUE TO A FF20.4 BILLION EXCEPTIONAL
TRANSFER FROM THE EUROPEAN FUNDS FOR AGRICULTURAL
GUARANTEE AND ORIENTATION.

IN CONTRAST WITH PREVIOUS MONTHS, THE OVERALL CAPITAL
ACCOUNT REGISTERED NET LONG-TERM CAPITAL INFLOWS OF
FF34.8 BILLION IN APRIL. THIS WAS MOSTLY DUE TO
ACQUISITIONS OF FRENCH ASSETS BY FOREIGNERS (FF25.9
BILLION) AND SALES OF FOREIGN ASSETS BY FRENCH RESIDENTS
(FF5.5 BILLION), PUSHING PORTFOLIO INVESTMENT INFLOWS TO
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FF30.2 BILLION IN APRIL. APRIL CAPITAL INFLOWS REDUCED NET LONG CAPITAL OUTFLOWS TO FF21.6 BILLION IN THE FIRST FOUR MONTHS. THIS WAS CONSIDERABLY LESS THAN FF163 BILLION IN PORTFOLIO INVESTMENT OUTFLOWS DURING THE FIRST FOUR MONTHS OF 1994. FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT IN FRANCE EXCEEDED FRENCH INVESTMENT ABROAD BY FF2.1 BILLION IN THE FIRST FOUR MONTHS. THIS COMPARES WITH FF4 BILLION IN NET OUTFLOWS IN THE FIRST FOUR MONTHS OF 1994.

13. HOUSEHOLD CONFIDENCE INCREASES DUE TO OPTIMISM ABOUT THE LABOR SITUATION

ACCORDING TO A SURVEY CONDUCTED BY INSEE, HOUSEHOLD CONFIDENCE INCREASED IN JUNE COMPARED WITH MAY. HOUSEHOLDS ARE INCREASINGLY OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THEIR STANDARD OF LIVING AND THEIR FINANCIAL STATUS. THERE WAS A GREATER PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS EXPECTING A DECREASE IN UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE COMING MONTHS. HOUSEHOLDS PLAN TO INCREASE LARGE PURCHASES, BUT BELIEVE THAT PRICES WILL INCREASE MORE SIGNIFICANTLY IN THE COMING MONTHS, NOTABLY DUE TO THE 2 PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN VAT.

14. SMALL-AND-MEDIUM SIZED COMPANIES PLAN TO INVEST AND CREATE JOBS

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ACCORDING TO A SURVEY CONDUCTED BY CREDIT D'EQUIPEMENT AUX PETITES ET MOYENNES ENTREPRISES (CPME), A BANK PROVIDING LOANS TO SMALL- AND-MEDIUM SIZED COMPANIES (PMES), SUCH COMPANIES REPORTED A SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN THEIR SALES IN THE FIRST QUARTER. PMES EXPECT THEIR SALES TO INCREASE 4.4 PERCENT IN 1995. THIS COMPARES WITH A 2.3 PERCENT DECREASE IN 1993 AND A 4.3 PERCENT INCREASE IN 1994. EXPECTATIONS ARE NOTICEABLY GOOD IN INDUSTRY, TRANSPORT AND TRADE SECTORS. PMES PLAN TO

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INCREASE NOMINAL INVESTMENT BY 4 PERCENT IN 1995. INDUSTRIAL COMPANIES MAY INCREASE INVESTMENT BY 25 PERCENT, WHILE COMPANIES IN TRADE, CONSTRUCTION AND SERVICES SECTORS ANNOUNCED DECLINES IN INVESTMENT, EXPLAINING THAT THE COST OF CREDIT REMAINS TOO HIGH. COMPANIES SAID THEY CREATED JOBS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE YEAR, NOTABLY IN THE INDUSTRY AND SERVICES SECTORS. THEY INTEND TO INCREASE HIRING IN THE COMING MONTHS.

15. PRIVATE SECTOR REAL WAGES DECREASE IN THE FIRST QUARTER

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INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CEA-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	CTME-00	OASY-00
	DODE-00	DOEE-00	ITCE-00	SRPP-00	EAP-01	EB-01	EXME-00
	E-00	FBIE-00	FRB-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	ITC-01
	JUSE-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OMB-01	OPIC-01	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00
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ACCORDING TO THE MINISTRY OF LABOR, HOURLY WAGES

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INCREASED 0.8 PERCENT IN THE FIRST QUARTER, THE HIGHEST INCREASE SINCE THE SECOND QUARTER OF 1993. ACCORDING TO INSEE, NOMINAL PRIVATE SECTOR WAGES (EXCLUDING FRINGE BENEFITS) INCREASED 0.6 PERCENT DURING THE FIRST QUARTER COMPARED WITH THE FOURTH QUARTER OF 1994. SINCE CONSUMER PRICES INCREASED 0.7 PERCENT IN THE FIRST QUARTER, THE REAL PURCHASING POWER OF PRIVATE SECTOR WAGES DECREASED 0.1 PERCENT AFTER INCREASING 0.5 PERCENT FOR ALL OF 1994. IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR, AVERAGE NOMINAL WAGES (INCLUDING SOME FRINGE BENEFITS) INCREASED 1.3 PERCENT DURING THE FIRST QUARTER COMPARED WITH THE

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FOURTH QUARTER OF 1994. REAL PURCHASING POWER THUS INCREASED 0.6 PERCENT AFTER DECREASING 0.2 PERCENT FOR ALL OF 1994. THE RESULTS CONFIRM A MODERATE GROWTH IN LABOR COSTS.

STATISTICAL ANNEXES

EXCHANGE AND INTEREST RATE TABLE

	REPORTING PERIOD (1)				LAST 12 MOS	
	START	END	HIGH/	LOW	HIGH/LOW	
	7/3	7/18				

I. INTEREST RATES

A. PARIS MONEY MARKET/INTERBANK RATES

OVERNIGHT (2)	7.13	6.81	7.13	6.44	8.06	5.38
3 MONTHS (3)	6.75	6.50	6.75	6.13	9.00	5.44

B. SPREAD FF-DM MONEY MARKET RATES (BASIS POINTS)

OVERNIGHT	281	247	291	247	344	0
3 MONTHS	269	222	269	222	431	23

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C. MATIF PIBOR 3-MONTH FUTURES - IMPLIED RATES (4)
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SEP 1995 6.30 6.10

JUN 1996 6.40 6.07

D. BANK OF FRANCE INTERVENTION RATES

CALL MONEY RATE	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.10	5.00
5-10 DAY REPO	7.50	7.25	7.50	7.25	7.50	6.40
24-HOUR REPO	7.75	---			---	---

E. GOVERNMENT BONDS

7-10 YEARS (5) 7.52 7.33 7.52 7.25 8.35 7.16

F. SPREAD FRENCH-GERMAN BOND

10-YEARS 86 64 64 92 N.A. N.A.

II STOCK MARKET INDICES (6)

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	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	DRL-09
	G-00	/025W					

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SBF 250	1253	1272	1289	1253	1405	1154
CAC40	1889	1929	1962	1889	2117	1722

III EXCHANGE RATES

A. FF/DOLLAR

SPOT RATE	4.84	4.85	4.89	4.84	5.46	4.79
3-MONTH FORWARD	4.85	4.87				
1-YEAR FORWARD	4.88	4.89				

B. FF/DM

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SPOT RATE	3.506	3.481	3.506	3.469	3.581	3.412
3-MONTH FORWARD	3.526	3.50				
1-YEAR FORWARD	3.571	3.54				

C. TRADE-WEIGHTED EXCHANGE RATE INDEX (7)

MAR	APR	MAY	MAY
-----	-----	-----	-----

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	1995	1995	1995	1994
NOMINAL	109.9	111.2	108.8	105.3
REAL	101.4	102.2	100.1	98.0

(1) THE FIGURES UNDER THE "START" COLUMN ARE DATA FOR THE END OF THE LAST DAY OF THE PREVIOUS REPORTING PERIOD. HIGH/LOW FIGURES ARE BASED ON END OF DAY DATA, NOT INTRA-DAY TRADING HIGHS AND LOWS.

(2) AVERAGE RATE IS WEIGHTED BY THE VOLUME OF TRANSACTIONS, AS CALCULATED BY THE BANK OF FRANCE ON THE BASIS OF INFORMATION FROM OPMS (THE BANKS WHICH THE BANK OF FRANCE HAS DESIGNATED AS PRIVILEGED OPERATORS IN THE INTERBANK MARKET).

(3) THE PARIS INTERBANK OFFER RATE (PIBOR) IS CALCULATED BY THE ASSOCIATION OF FRENCH BANKS ON THE BASIS OF INFORMATION FROM THE BANQUE INTERNATIONALE GESTION TRESORERIE, BFCE, BNP, CNCA, COMPAGNIE PARISIENNE DE REESCOMPTE, CIC-PARIS, PARIBAS AND SOCIETE GENERALE.

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(4) THE MARKET EXPECTATIONS OF WHAT INTEREST RATES WILL BE FOR 3-MONTH INTERBANK LOANS AT THE TIME THE FUTURES CONTRACT EXPIRES CAN BE DETERMINED BY SUBTRACTING THE PRICE OF THE FUTURES CONTRACT FROM 100. 3-MONTH PIBOR CONTRACTS EXPIRE ON THE 11TH TUESDAY OF EACH QUARTER. THUS, A PRICE OF 92.5 FOR A MARCH 1994 CONTRACT WOULD IMPLY THAT MARKET EXPECTATIONS ARE SUCH THAT THE 3-MONTH PIBOR RATE ON TUESDAY MARCH 15, 1994 WILL BE 7.5 PERCENT.

(5) AVERAGE YIELD IS WEIGHTED BY VOLUME OF TRANSACTIONS ON THE BOURSE, BASED ON A DAILY SURVEY BY CREDIT LYONNAIS.

(6) SBF250 AND CAC40 - CLOSE OF TRADING. ON DECEMBER 7, 1993, THE PARIS BOURSE CREATED THE INDEX CALLED SBF 250, WHICH IS MORE COMPREHENSIVE THAN THE FORMER SBF 240.

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(7) CALCULATED BY THE BANK OF FRANCE, THE INDEX MEASURES CHANGES IN THE AVERAGE OF THE EXCHANGE RATES BETWEEN THE FRENCH FRANC AND THE CURRENCIES OF FRANCE'S 19 LARGEST TRADING PARTNERS, WEIGHTED BY THE AMOUNT OF TRADE

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CEA-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	CTME-00	OASY-00
	DODE-00	DOEE-00	ITCE-00	SRPP-00	EAP-01	EB-01	EXME-00
	E-00	FBIE-00	FRB-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	ITC-01
	JUSE-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OMB-01	OPIC-01	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00
	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	DRL-09
	G-00	/025W					

-----DB6B87 201638Z /38

P 201627Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4205
DEPARTMENT OF TREASURY PRIORITY
USDOC WASHDC
INFO ALL EUROPEAN UNION POST COLLECTIVE
CIMS NTDB WASHDC
AMEMBASSY TOKYO

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
AMCONSUL BORDEAUX
AMCONSUL MARSEILLE
AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

UNCLAS SECTION 14 OF 18 PARIS 17197

FOR FEDERAL RESERVE

STATE FOR HA/IL; PASS DOL/ILAB

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 PARIS 17197 14 OF 18 201638Z
TREASURY FOR DO/IMI MOTRADOVSKY, RHARLOW
DO/IMB WEEKS AND DO/E WDINKELACKER

OCC FOR JHARTZEL

CEA FOR TYSON

USDOC FOR 4212/IEP/EUR/OWE/MIKALIS

STATE PASS EXIMBANK

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: EFIN, ETRD, ELAB, EU, FR, PINR, PGOV, KPRV, KTDB,
EXIM

SUBJECT: FRENCH FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS:
JULY 7-JULY 19, 1995

BETWEEN FRANCE AND EACH COUNTRY IN 1986. THE REAL INDEX
IS ALSO ADJUSTED FOR DIFFERENCES IN RATES.
JANUARY 1992 100.

MONEY SUPPLY (SEASONALLY ADJUSTED - REVISED)

BILLIONS OF FF

M1 M2 M3 M4

UNCLASSIFIED

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	----	----	----	----
MAY95	1547	2894	5222	5307
			UNCLASSIFIED	

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03	PARIS	17197	14 OF 18	201638Z
APR95	1557	2899	5198	5277
MAR95	1547	2884	5166	5248
FEB95	1554	2887	5187	5263
JAN95	1546	2872	5154	5236
DEC94	1580	2887	5180	5225
NOV94	1561	2853	5152	5200
OCT94	1569	2849	5130	5151
SEP94	1556	2814	5084	5134
AUG94	1554	2807	5073	5134
JUL94	1574	2821	5073	5070
JUN94	1550	2788	5013	5081
MAY94	1539	2770	5029	5087

 PERCENTAGE CHANGE
 M/M-1

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M3 ANNUAL RATE	ANNUAL	GVT TARGET
	---	---	---	---	(1)	(2)	-----
MAY95	-0.6	-0.2	0.5	0.6	3.3	1.9	5.0
APR95	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.5	3.0	1.7	5.0
MAR95	-0.4	-0.1	-0.4	-0.3	2.6	N.A.	(3)
FEB95	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.5	2.3	N.A.	(3)
JAN95	-2.2	-0.5	-0.5	0.2	1.5	N.A.	(3)
DEC94	1.3	1.2	0.5	0.5	0.9	0.9	5.0
NOV94	-0.5	0.2	0.4	0.9	-0.2	0.3	5.0
OCT94	0.8	1.2	0.9	0.3	-1.0	-0.3	5.0
SEP94	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.0	-1.8	-0.8	5.0
AUG94	-1.3	-0.5	-0.0	1.3	-2.9	-1.6	5.0

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PAGE 04		PARIS	17197	14	OF 18	201638Z	
JUL94	1.5	1.2	1.2	-0.2	-4.0	-2.4	5.0
JUN94	0.7	0.7	-0.3	-0.1	-4.8	-3.2	5.0
MAY94	-1.9	-1.0	-0.1	0.4	-5.2	-3.8	5.0

PERCENTAGE CHANGE
M/M-12

	M1	M2	M3	M4
	---	---	---	---
MAY95	0.6	4.5	3.8	4.3
AVR95	-0.8	3.7	3.2	4.1
MAR95	-1.0	3.7	2.9	3.1
FEB95	-0.9	3.9	2.9	3.2
JAN95	-0.9	3.9	2.1	2.0
DEC94	2.9	5.3	1.9	1.0
NOV94	3.1	5.5	0.7	0.4
OCT94	3.1	5.1	0.1	-1.1
SEP94	2.7	4.3	-1.3	-1.7
AUG94	2.8	4.3	-1.8	-2.2

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NNNNPTQ8681

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UNCLASSIFIED PTQ8681

PAGE 01 PARIS 17197 15 OF 18 201639Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CEA-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	CTME-00	OASY-00
	DODE-00	DOEE-00	ITCE-00	SRPP-00	EAP-01	EB-01	EXME-00
	E-00	FBIE-00	FRB-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	ITC-01
	JUSE-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OMB-01	OPIC-01	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00
	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	DRL-09
	G-00	/025W					

-----DB6B90 201639Z /38

P 201627Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4206
DEPARTMENT OF TREASURY PRIORITY
USDOC WASHDC
INFO ALL EUROPEAN UNION POST COLLECTIVE
CIMS NTDB WASHDC
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
AMCONSUL BORDEAUX
AMCONSUL MARSEILLE
AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

UNCLAS SECTION 15 OF 18 PARIS 17197

FOR FEDERAL RESERVE

STATE FOR HA/IL; PASS DOL/ILAB

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 PARIS 17197 15 OF 18 201639Z
TREASURY FOR DO/IMI MOTRADOVSKY, RHARLOW
DO/IMB WEEKS AND DO/E WDINKELACKER

OCC FOR JHARTZEL

CEA FOR TYSON

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

USDOC FOR 4212/IEP/EUR/OWE/MIKALIS

STATE PASS EXIMBANK

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: EFIN, ETRD, ELAB, EU, FR, PINR, PGOV, KPRV, KTDB, EXIM

SUBJECT: FRENCH FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS:
JULY 7-JULY 19, 1995

JUL94	4.7	5.2	-2.3	-4.6
JUN94	1.8	3.2	-4.6	-5.1
MAY94	1.2	2.7	-5.0	-5.0

DEFINITIONS

-M1 EQUALS CURRENCY AND DEMAND DEPOSITS WITH BANKS, FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, THE POSTAL CHECKING SYSTEM, SAVINGS BANKS AND THE TRESOR.

-M2 EQUALS M1 PLUS CERTAIN HIGHLY LIQUID SAVINGS ACCOUNTS MANAGED EITHER BY BANKS, OTHER FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND THE TRESOR

-M3 EQUALS M2 PLUS MEDIUM TO LONG TERM DEPOSITS,
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PAGE 03 PARIS 17197 15 OF 18 201639Z
CERTIFICATES OF DEPOSITS AND NEGOTIABLE CLAIMS DENOMINATED IN FRENCH FRANCS AND FOREIGN CURRENCIES MANAGED BY FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND THE POSTAL CHECKING SYSTEM, AND MONEY MARKET MUTUAL FUNDS,
-M4 EQUALS M3 PLUS FINANCIAL ASSETS SUCH AS NEGOTIABLE TREASURY BILLS AND COMMERCIAL PAPER.

(1) THE TWELVE MONTH INCREASE IN THE THREE-MONTH MOVING AVERAGE
CENTERED ON MONTH PRECEDING REPORTING PERIOD

(2) THE ANNUALIZED RATE IS CALCULATED USING THE THREE-MONTH AVERAGE CENTERED ON THE PRECEDING MONTH, COMPARED WITH THE FINAL THREE MONTHS OF THE PRECEDING YEAR. THE BANK OF FRANCE DOES NOT PUBLISH THIS FIGURE FOR JANUARY, FEBRUARY AND MARCH EACH YEAR

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BECAUSE OF THE POTENTIAL LARGE SWINGS.

(3) THE BANK OF FRANCE STATED GOAL IS A GROWTH RATE OF 5 PERCENT MEDIUM TERM

BANK CREDIT (SEASONALLY ADJUSTED REVISED)

	BILLIONS OF FF	PERCENTAGE CHANGE	
		M/M-1	M/M-12
APR95	3571	0.2	-1.5
MAR95	3565	-0.0	-1.9
FEB95	3566	0.5	-1.9

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PAGE 04	PARIS	17197	15 OF 18	201639Z
JAN95	3549	-0.9	-2.7	
DEC94	3581	-0.5	-2.1	
NOV94	3600	-0.9	-2.2	
OCT94	3634	0.6	-1.8	
SEP94	3612	0.1	-2.1	
AUG94	3608	-0.3	-3.1	
JUL94	3618	-0.0	-3.4	
JUN94	3619	-0.4	-3.3	
MAY94	3632	0.1	-3.2	
APR94	3627	-0.2	-3.4	

- BANK CREDIT INCLUDES ALL CREDITS TO NON-FINANCIAL RESIDENTS ENTITIES (INDIVIDUALS, COMPANIES, LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, AND ASSOCIATIONS) BY RESIDENT BANKS (MUTUAL AND COOPERATIVE BANKS, COMMERCIAL BANKS, AND MUNICIPAL CREDIT BANKS IN METROPOLITAN FRANCE AND MONACCO). THEY ALSO INCLUDE DEFEASANCE OPERATIONS AND BAD DEBT AGAINST WHICH PROVISIONS HAVE BEEN TAKEN

INDEBTEDNESS (NON SEASONALLY ADJUSTED)

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UNCLASSIFIED PTQ8683

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CEA-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	CTME-00	OASY-00
	DODE-00	DOEE-00	ITCE-00	SRPP-00	EAP-01	EB-01	EXME-00
	E-00	FBIE-00	FRB-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	ITC-01
	JUSE-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OMB-01	OPIC-01	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00
	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	DRL-09
	G-00	/025W					

-----DB6BB0 201639Z /38

P 201627Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4207
 DEPARTMENT OF TREASURY PRIORITY
 USDOC WASHDC
 INFO ALL EUROPEAN UNION POST COLLECTIVE
 CIMS NTDB WASHDC
 AMEMBASSY TOKYO
 AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
 AMCONSUL BORDEAUX
 AMCONSUL MARSEILLE
 AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

UNCLAS SECTION 16 OF 18 PARIS 17197

UNCLASSIFIED

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FOR FEDERAL RESERVE

STATE FOR HA/IL; PASS DOL/ILAB

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PAGE 02 PARIS 17197 16 OF 18 201639Z
TREASURY FOR DO/IMI MOTRADOVSKY, RHARLOW
DO/IMB WEEKS AND DO/E WDINKELACKER

OCC FOR JHARTZEL

CEA FOR TYSON

USDOC FOR 4212/IEP/EUR/OWE/MIKALIS

STATE PASS EXIMBANK

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: EFIN, ETRD, ELAB, EU, FR, PINR, PGOV, KPRV, KTDB,
EXIM

SUBJECT: FRENCH FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS:
JULY 7-JULY 19, 1995

BILLIONS OF FF

	TOTAL	CENTRAL GOVERNMT.	HOUSEHOLDS	COMPA-NIES	OTHER (1)
APR95	10307	3108	2487	3856	860
MAR95	10247	3073	2491	3822	866
FEB95	10162	2985	2492	3819	868
JAN95	10112	2921	2496	3831	869
DEC94	10068	2798	2491	3849	926
NOV94	10115	2879	2488	3866	880
OCT94	10070	2806	2482	3902	873
SEP94	10044	2844	2474	3865	853

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PAGE 03	PARIS	17197	16 OF 18	201639Z	
AUG94	9997	2826	2478	3856	841
JUL94	9970	2752	2481	3908	832
JUN94	9920	2713	2471	3877	850
MAY94	9873	2691	2466	3885	825
APR94	9879	2677	2466	3908	828

PERCENTAGE CHANGE
M/M-1

	TOTAL	CENTRAL HOUSEHOLDS GOVERNMT.		COMPA- NIES	OTHER (1)
APR95	0.6	1.1	-0.2	0.9	-0.7
MAR95	0.8	2.9	-0.0	0.1	-0.3
FEB95	0.5	2.2	-0.2	-0.3	-0.1
JAN95	0.4	4.4	0.2	-0.5	-6.1
DEC94	-0.5	-2.8	0.1	-0.5	5.2
NOV94	0.4	2.6	0.2	-0.9	0.7
OCT94	0.3	-1.3	0.3	1.0	2.4
SEP94	0.5	0.6	-0.2	0.2	1.4
AUG94	0.3	2.7	-0.1	-1.3	1.1
JUL94	0.5	1.4	0.4	0.8	1.1
JUN94	0.5	0.8	0.2	-0.2	-2.0
MAY94	-0.1	0.5	0.2	-0.6	2.9
APR94	0.5	1.4	-0.2	0.4	-0.3

PERCENTAGE CHANGE
M/M-12

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PAGE 04	PARIS	17197	16 OF 18	201639Z	
TOTAL	CENTRAL HOUSEHOLDS GOVERNMT.			COMPA- NIES	OTHER (1)
APR95	4.3	16.1	0.9	-1.3	3.9

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MAR95	4.3	16.3	0.8	-1.8	5.1
FEB95	4.1	16.1	0.7	-1.8	4.8
JAN95	3.7	14.3	0.9	-2.2	7.8
DEC94	4.4	20.7	0.6	-1.2	-2.6
NOV94	3.6	18.9	0.7	-1.9	-5.3
OCT94	3.8	18.1	0.4	-2.0	0.5
SEP94	3.8	15.6	-0.1	-2.3	9.1
AUG94	2.5	12.8	-1.1	-2.8	8.4
JUL94	2.9	13.2	0.1	-2.5	7.4
JUN94	2.7	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
MAY94	2.9	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
APR94	3.3	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)

(1) INSURANCE COMPANIES AND GENERAL GOVERNMENT EXCLUDING CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

(2) DATA WILL BE RELEASED LATER. THE BANK OF FRANCE

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NNNNPTQ8684

UNCLASSIFIED PTQ8684

PAGE 01 PARIS 17197 17 OF 18 201640Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CEA-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	CTME-00	OASY-00
	DODE-00	DOEE-00	ITCE-00	SRPP-00	EAP-01	EB-01	EXME-00
	E-00	FBIE-00	FRB-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	ITC-01

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

JUSE-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
OMB-01	OPIC-01	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00
SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	DRL-09
G-00	/025W					

-----DB6BC2 201640Z /38

P 201627Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4208
 DEPARTMENT OF TREASURY PRIORITY
 USDOC WASHDC
 INFO ALL EUROPEAN UNION POST COLLECTIVE
 CIMS NTDB WASHDC
 AMEMBASSY TOKYO
 AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
 AMCONSUL BORDEAUX
 AMCONSUL MARSEILLE
 AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

UNCLAS SECTION 17 OF 18 PARIS 17197

FOR FEDERAL RESERVE

STATE FOR HA/IL; PASS DOL/ILAB

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 PARIS 17197 17 OF 18 201640Z
 TREASURY FOR DO/IMI MOTRADOVSKY, RHARLOW
 DO/IMB WEEKS AND DO/E WDINKELACKER

OCC FOR JHARTZEL

CEA FOR TYSON

USDOC FOR 4212/IEP/EUR/OWE/MIKALIS

STATE PASS EXIMBANK

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: EFIN, ETRD, ELAB, EU, FR, PINR, PGOV, KPRV, KTDB,
 EXIM

SUBJECT: FRENCH FINANCIAL AND ECONOMHXOGLRVXPGGEQBJOJHQHE REVISED ESTIMATES OF INDEB'

UNCLASSIFIED

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JUNE 1993-JULY 1993 PERIOD ARE NOT ENOUGH ACCURATE

INSEE
GDP FORECASTS

(PERCENT CHANGE) (1)

	1994 1STHY	1994 2NDHY	1994	1995 1STHY	1995 2NDHY	1995 (FORE)
HOUSEHOLD CONSUMPTION	0.7	1.1	1.5	0.8	1.6	2.3

UNCLASSIFIED

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	PARIS	17197	17 OF 18	201640Z		
PAGE 03 INVESTMENT OF WHICH	0.7	3.0	1.4	3.0	2.6	6.0
CORPORATE HOUSEHOLD	0.4 -0.4	2.7 4.4	0.0 2.5	4.8 -0.1	3.6 -0.1	8.3 2.0
EXPORTS	1.3	4.0	5.8	3.9	1.1	6.5
IMPORTS	4.6	3.2	6.6	2.8	3.6	6.3
STOCKS (1)	2.0	0.3	1.6	2.0	0.3	0.1
GDP	1.7	2.0	2.8	1.4	1.4	3.1

(1) CONTRIBUTION OF STOCKS TO GDP

CONSUMER PRICES

OVERALL (1990100)

INDEX	PERCENT CHANGE	
(1)	M/M-1	M/M-12

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

JUN95	111.5	0.0	1.6
MAY95	111.5	0.2	1.6
APR95	111.3	0.1	1.6
MAR95	111.2	0.3	1.8
FEB95	110.9	0.4	1.7
JAN95	110.5	0.3	1.7

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 04 PARIS 17197 17 OF 18 201640Z

DEC94	110.2	-0.1	1.6
NOV94	110.3	0.0	1.6
OCT94	110.3	0.3	1.7
SEP94	110.0	0.3	1.6
AUG94	109.7	0.0	1.7
JUL94	109.7	0.0	1.7
JUN94	109.7	0.0	1.8
MAY94	109.7	0.2	1.7

(1) THE INDEX IS BASED ON 1990 PRICES. THE CPI IS NOT SEASONALLY ADJUSTED BUT SOME OF ITS COMPONENTS ARE.

(2) MONTHLY INCREASES MUST BE INTERPRETED WITH CAUTION AS THEY REFLECT CHANGES IN COMPONENTS WHICH ARE NOT SEASONALLY ADJUSTED SUCH AS PRICES OF VEGETABLES.

ANNUAL INCREASES ARE BETTER INDICATORS OF INFLATION AS THEY TEND TO ELIMINATE SEASONAL CHANGES.

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UNCLASSIFIED

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UNCLASSIFIED PTQ8685

PAGE 01 PARIS 17197 18 OF 18 201640Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CEA-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	CTME-00	OASY-00
	DODE-00	DOEE-00	ITCE-00	SRPP-00	EAP-01	EB-01	EXME-00
	E-00	FBIE-00	FRB-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	ITC-01
	JUSE-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OMB-01	OPIC-01	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00
	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	DRL-09
	G-00	/025W					

-----DB6BCA 201640Z /38

P 201627Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4209
DEPARTMENT OF TREASURY PRIORITY
USDOC WASHDC
INFO ALL EUROPEAN UNION POST COLLECTIVE
CIMS NTDB WASHDC
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
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AMCONSUL MARSEILLE
AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

UNCLAS SECTION 18 OF 18 PARIS 17197

FOR FEDERAL RESERVE

STATE FOR HA/IL; PASS DOL/ILAB

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PAGE 02 PARIS 17197 18 OF 18 201640Z
 TREASURY FOR DO/IMI MOTRADOVSKY, RHARLOW
 DO/IMB WEEKS AND DO/E WDINKELACKER

OCC FOR JHARTZEL

CEA FOR TYSON

USDOC FOR 4212/IEP/EUR/OWE/MIKALIS

STATE PASS EXIMBANK

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: EFIN, ETRD, ELAB, EU, FR, PINR, PGOV, KPRV, KTDB,
 EXIM

SUBJECT: FRENCH FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS:
 JULY 7-JULY 19, 1995

UNDERLYING INFLATION (1)

	INDEX	PERCENT CHANGE	
		M/M-1	M/M-12
JUN95	113.1	-0.0	1.7
MAY95	113.2	0.1	1.8
APR95	113.1	0.1	1.8
MAR95	112.9	0.4	1.8
FEB95	112.5	0.3	1.8
JAN95	112.1	0.1	1.6
DEC94	112.0	0.0	1.5
NOV94	111.9	0.1	1.6

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 PARIS 17197 18 OF 18 201640Z
 OCT94 111.8 0.1 1.5
 SEP94 111.7 0.4 1.6
 AUG94 111.3 0.1 1.6

UNCLASSIFIED

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JUL94	111.2	-0.0	1.7
JUN94	111.3	0.0	1.6
MAY94	111.2	0.1	1.6

(1) UNDERLYING INFLATION EXCLUDES PRICES OF FOOD, ENERGY
AND PUBLIC TARIFFS

HARRIMAN

UNCLASSIFIED

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UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

E133

PTQ8779

SECRET

PTQ8779

PAGE 01 STATE 166113 120035Z
ORIGIN NODS-00

RELEASED IN PART
B6

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 /000R

DRAFTED BY: D:D STAFF:MAS

APPROVED BY: D:M WONG

S/S:MHARTY

S/S-O:VDELAWIE

DESIRED DISTRIBUTION:

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-----D8727C 120036Z /38

O 120033Z JUL 95 ZFF6

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMCONSUL SAO PAULO IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 166113

NODIS DECAPTIONED

FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY TALBOTT FROM THE D STAFF TODEP 9044

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: OVIP (TALBOTT, STROBE), PREL BR

SUBJECT: D DAILY ACTIVITY REPORT, JULY 11, 1995

TODEP

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT.

ACTION ITEMS

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 166113 120035Z

UNCLASSIFIED

2. SOME OF THESE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED DURING OUR
TELCONS, BUT TO REMIND:

, - ROK PRESIDENT VISIT. WHITE HOUSE HAS INVITED YOU TO
PARTICIPATE IN KIM YONG-SAM WELCOMING CEREMONY ON SOUTH
LAWN ON JULY 27. EAP HAS ALSO INQUIRED WHETHER YOU ARE
AVAILABLE TO PAY COURTESY CALL ON PRES. KIM AT BLAIR
HOUSE ON JULY 25 IN PLACE OF THE SECRETARY.

- , SA HAS JUST LEARNED FROM H THAT AMBASSADOR DESIGNATE
SIMONS MAY GO UP FOR HIS HEARINGS ON TUESDAY NEXT WEEK
(JULY 18). SIMONS HAS REQUESTED A MEETING WITH YOU

BEFORE TUES. ON EITHER JULY 14 OR 17 TO GIVE HIM A
CHANCE TO DISCUSS PRESSLER REVISIONS AND OUR CURRENT
STRATEGY TO IMPLEMENT THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION ON PAK
F-16S.

-- AMB. WISNER HAS ALSO EXPRESSED INTEREST IN MEETING
WITH YOU ON JULY 18.

- ,-----
UPDATES

3. YELTSIN'S HEALTH: TO EXPAND A BIT ON THE MESSAGES
JOHN GAVE TORIA AND HELEN EARLIER: DICK MILES MET
KOZYREV AT A DIPLOMATIC RECEPTION THIS EVENING. [REDACTED]
SAID THAT THE VARIOUS SYMPTOMS OF YELTSIN'S ISCHEMIA
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HAVE VANISHED AND THAT THE PRESIDENT IS FEELING FIT. HE
IS UP AND WALKING ABOUT THE HOSPITAL ON HIS OWN.
EARLIER, HE TRIED TO HAVE HIMSELF RELEASED FROM THE
HOSPITAL AND TO RETURN HOME, BUT THE DOCTORS INSISTED ON
KEEPING HIM OVERNIGHT FOR FURTHER OBSERVATION. [REDACTED]
EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT YELTSIN WILL BE BACK AT WORK
BY THE END OF THE WEEK.

4. BOSNIA: JOHN RECEIVED A PRELIMINARY READOUT ON THE

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DEPUTIES COMMITTEE MEETING ON BOSNIA THIS AFTERNOON, AT WHICH TARNOFF, KORNBLUM AND HILL REPRESENTED STATE. (YOU MIGHT WISH TO CONTACT TARNOFF DIRECTLY FOR ADDITIONAL DETAILS.) THE DC DECIDED TO CALL FOR A PC WITHIN THE NEXT DAY OR TWO, AND TO HAVE EUR PREPARE AN OPTIONS PAPER ON HANDLING THE REFUGEE FLOW OUT OF SREBRENICA AND ON HOW TO ASSIST THE EVACUATION OF THE DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS. THE PAPER WILL ALSO ADDRESS THE CAPABILITIES OF THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT FORCES TO HELP THEMSELVES IN THIS CRISIS. IN ADDITION, WE WILL SEND MESSAGES TO MILOSEVIC (COUNSELING HIM TO URGE RESTRAINT ON THE BOSNIAN SERBS) AND TO THE ALLIES (SOLICITING VIEWS ON NEXT STEPS).

-- THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND IS GRIM. LATEST REPORTS FROM EMBASSY AND MEDIA SOURCES CONFIRM THAT SREBRENICA HAS FALLEN TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS, BELATED NATO AIRSTRIKES NOTWITHSTANDING. THE DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS HAVE FLED TO THE TOWN OF POTOCARI, NORTH OF THE CITY, ACCOMPANIED BY SOME SEVEN THOUSAND REFUGEES FROM SREBRENICA. (THE DUTCH COMMANDER, HOWEVER, HAS REPORTEDLY BEEN CAPTURED AND IS BEING HELD AS INSURANCE AGAINST FURTHER

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AIRSTRIKES.) AN ADDITIONAL TWENTY THOUSAND REFUGEES ARE ALREADY IN POTOCARI. THE DUTCH TROOPS HAVE SUPPLIES FOR

SEVEN DAYS FOR THEMSELVES, BUT NOTHING FOR THE REFUGEES. AS THIS GOES TO PRINT, THERE ARE UNCONFIRMED REPORTS THAT A SECOND ENCLAVE, ZEPA MAY ALSO HAVE FALLEN.

IN RELATED DEVELOPMENTS:

-, TARNOFF HAS PHONED HOLBROOKE WITH INSTRUCTIONS FOR TOMORROW'S CONTACT GROUP MEETING.

-- ACCORDING TO P, PERRY HAS BEEN QUOTED AS SAYING (UNHELPFULLY, IN P'S VIEW) THAT UNPROFOR CAN NO LONGER STAY IN BOSNIA.

-- GNEHM REPORTS FROM USUN THAT THE FRENCH AND THE

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BRITISH ARE TRYING TO TABLE A CHAPTER SEVEN RESOLUTION CONDEMNING THE BOSNIAN SERB ATTACK, AND CALLING FOR THEIR IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL AND THE UN'S RETURN TO SREBRENICA. THEY HAVE ASKED FOR OUR "POLITICAL SUPPORT" FOR THE RESOLUTION. IT IS UNCLEAR WHETHER THE RUSSIANS WILL DELAY ACTION ON THE RESOLUTION. ALBRIGHT IS MEETING WITH CONTACT GROUP REPS IN NEW YORK THIS AFTERNOON.

-- SO FAR, PARIS IS TALKING TOUGH: CHIRAC HAS MADE THE STATEMENT THAT FRANCE IS WILLING, WITH UN PERMISSION, TO SEND ITS TROOPS TO RECAPTURE THE CITY (PERHAPS POSTURING FOR DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION?). THE BRITISH HAVE REACTED

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CAUTIOUSLY, FLOATING THE IDEA THAT SREBRENICA BECOME A DEMILITARIZED ZONE UNDER UN AUSPICES.

-- THE SUM TOTAL OF THE DEVELOPMENTS OF THE PAST TWO DAYS IS THAT OUR CHOICES ARE INCREASINGLY STARK. IF THE BOSNIAN SERBS CONTINUE TO PRESSURE THE ENCLAVES, THE UN WILL EITHER HAVE TO ABANDON THEM TO THEIR FATE OR TO FIND MEANS OF DEFENDING THEM. AS AIRPOWER ALONE SEEMS INADEQUATE TO STEM A GROUND ATTACK, DEFENDING THE ENCLAVES WOULD ENTAIL TROOPS ON THE GROUND. UGH

5. PAKISTAN F-16S. EAP HAS BEGUN ITS BRIEFINGS OF CONCERNED MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ON THE SALES PITCH TO INDONESIA. DAS SANDRA O'LEARY DID A GOOD JOB WITH FEINGOLD TODAY AND H HOPES TO BEGIN ITS STAFF BRIEFINGS BY THURSDAY. SA ANXIETIES ARE UP A BIT ABOUT THE BUREAUCRATIC DRAG FACTOR AND NSC IS WATCHING CLOSELY. THE ACTION MEMO AND CABLE OF INSTRUCTIONS TO PRESENT PAK PLANES TO JAKARTA IS IN FINAL STAGES OF TOUCH-UP AND WILL BE BEFORE LYNN DAVIS TOMORROW MORNING. WE HOPE TO GET IT TO YOU FOR THE PLANE RIDE BACK. LYNN STILL PLANS

TO SEND YOU A SEPARATE MESSAGE.

6. SECRETARY'S MEETING ON CHINA POLICY. SECRETARY HELD A SMALL IN-HOUSE CHINA POLICY SESSION ON JULY 10 TO THINK THROUGH NEXT STEPS. THE SECRETARY DONILON, LORD,

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SHERMAN, BRADTKE, BURNS, HERGEN AND ALBRIGHT ATTENDED.
WE'LL FAX YOU A MEMO ON THIS FOR YOUR PLANE READING.
THE MEMO WILL CONTAIN SOME OF THE LATEST THINKING ABOUT
THE HARRY WU CASE (WE HAVE REPEATED TO YOU BEIJING'S
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LATEST CABLES ON THE CONSULAR VISIT TO HIM).

7. HAITI. WE SPOKE WITH PAT KANE AND INFORMED HIM THAT
YOU WON'T BE ABLE TO MAKE THE TRIP ON FRIDAY WITH WHITE
THOUGH YOU LOOK FORWARD WITH GREAT ANTICIPATION TO A
FUTURE TRIP DOWN TO HAITI TOGETHER. WE ALSO CONFIRMED
THAT WE WOULD WANT JIM DOBBINS TO ACCOMPANY ON THIS
FRIDAY'S TRIP TO HAITI.

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TO ALL NEAR EASTERN AND SOUTH ASIAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE

WHITE HOUSE 0000

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

CTF PROVIDE COMFORT INCIRLIK TU//POLAD//

INFO ALL EUROPEAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS PRIORITY

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-- ANY FURTHER QUESTIONS AS TO HIS LEGAL PERMANENT RESIDENCE STATUS OR HIS ENTRIES INTO THE UNITED STATES SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO THE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE.

TERRORISM: MUSA ABU MARZOOK

Q: HAS ISRAEL ASKED FOR MARZOOK'S EXTRADITION? ANY MORE TO SAY ABOUT HIS CASE?

A: -- WE HAVE RECEIVED NO EXTRADITION REQUEST FOR MR. MARZOOK.

-- FOR FURTHER INFORMATION, I WOULD REFER YOU TO THE INS.

NOTE:

OTHER QUESTIONS SHOULD BE REFERRED TO DOJ OR INS.
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BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: NEW APPROACH

--FOLLOWING INTENSIVE WORK BY NATO AUTHORITIES, NATO APPROVED THE NECESSARY PLANNING TO ENSURE THAT NATO AIRPOWER WOULD BE USED IN A TIMELY AND EFFECTIVE WAY

SHOULD THE BOSNIAN SERBS THREATEN OR ATTACK GORAZDE.

--THE NATO DECISIONS DEALT SPECIFICALLY WITH GORAZDE, BUT SOME ASPECTS OF THE PLANNING CAN BE APPLIED TO OTHER SAFE AREAS. THAT IS OUR INTENT, AND OUR DESIRE. NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES HAVE BEEN FOLLOWING CLOSELY DEVELOPMENTS IN THE OTHER SAFE AREAS, AND ARE FORMULATING PROPOSALS ON PROTECTING THEM, PARTICULARLY THE AREA AROUND BIHAC.

--UN SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI HAS GIVEN HIS

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FULL SUPPORT TO THIS EFFORT BY DELEGATING THE AUTHORITY FOR AIR STRIKES TO HIS SENIOR MILITARY COMMANDER. THE NEW COMMAND AND CONTROL PROCEDURES PROVIDES FOR A MORE ROBUST AND STREAMLINED RESPONSE TO SERB PROVOCATIONS.

BOSNIA/CROATIA: CONTACT GROUP

Q: WHAT IS THE LATEST ON CONTACT GROUP EFFORTS?

A: --THE CONTACT GROUP OFFER OF SANCTIONS RELIEF FOR
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SERBIA IN EXCHANGE FOR RECOGNITION OF BOSNIA AND TIGHTER
BORDER CONTROL REMAINS ON THE TABLE.

--RECENT SERB OFFENSIVES ON THE BATTLEFIELD HAVE MADE
PROGRESS ON THE DIPLOMATIC FRONT MORE DIFFICULT.

--NEVERTHELESS, THE CONTACT GROUP REVIEWED THE
NEGOTIATIONS OF EU ENVOY CARL BILDT WITH THE SERBIAN AND
BOSNIAN GOVERNMENTS ON MUTUAL RECOGNITION, BORDER CONTROL,
AND POSSIBLE SANCTIONS RELIEF.

--WE EXPECT THE GROUP WILL ULTIMATELY ACHIEVE ITS DESIRED
RESULT -- PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AMONG THE PARTIES BASED ON
ACCEPTANCE OF THE CONTACT GROUP PLAN.

--AT THIS POINT, HOWEVER, A PACKAGE ACCEPTABLE TO
SARAJEVO, BELGRADE, AND THE CONTACT GROUP REMAINS ELUSIVE.

--THE CENTRAL PROBLEM IS TO CREATE GUARANTEES THAT
BELGRADE'S PLEDGED CUT-OFF OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS ENDURES IN
PRACTICE.

--CARL BILDT AND SOME EUROPEAN REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE IN
WASHINGTON NEXT WEEK FOR MORE TALKS.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: CROATIAN INTERVENTION

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Q: WHAT ABOUT CROATIA'S INTERVENTION?

A: --CROATIAN FORCES HAVE INTERVENED IN BOSNIA AT THE
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SARAJEVO GOVERNMENT'S REQUEST IN AN ATTEMPT TO FORESTALL
THE FALL OF THE BIHAC ENCLAVE AND TO COUNTER SERE ATTACKS
ELSEWHERE IN BOSNIA.

--WE ARE EXTREMELY CONCERNED ABOUT THE SITUATION IN BIHAC,
WHICH IS UNDER SIEGE BY SERBS FROM CROATIA, AS WELL AS BY
BOSNIAN SERBS AND RENEGADE MUSLIMS.

--NATO IS PREPARING A CONTINGENCY PLAN.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: DOLE LEGISLATION

--THE ADMINISTRATION IS DISAPPOINTED BY THE SENATE'S
PASSAGE OF THE DOLE-LIEBERMAN BILL. THE PRESIDENT WILL
CONTINUE TO MAKE HIS OPPOSITION CLEAR TO CONGRESS AND HE
IS PREPARED TO VETO ANY LEGISLATION REQUIRING UNILATERAL
LIFT THE REACHES HIS DESK.

--THE SENATE MADE A STRONG STATEMENT ON WEDNESDAY TO THE
ADMINISTRATION AND OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES THAT THE TIME HAS
COME TO DO SOMETHING TO STEM THE BOSNIAN SERBS' FLAGRANT
VIOLATION OF UN MANDATES AND RESOLUTIONS.

--WE BELIEVE WE HAVE TAKEN THE APPROPRIATE ACTIONS TO
BOLSTER UN MANDATES. NATO'S NEW COMMAND AND CONTROL
ARRANGEMENTS AND THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE RAPID REACTION
FORCE TO SECURE ROUTES INTO SARAJEVO DEMONSTRATE OUR
DETERMINATION.

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--THE ADMINISTRATION CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT A MULTILATERAL LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO IS THE BEST WAY TO ALLOW THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT TO EXERCISE ITS RIGHT TO SELF-DEFENSE.

--WE REMAIN CONVINCED THAT UNILATERAL LIFT WOULD HINDER OUR EFFORTS TO END THE CONFLICT IN BOSNIA, WIDEN THE CONFLICT, INCREASE PRESSURES FOR DIRECT U.S. MILITARY SUPPORT TO THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT, DAMAGE RELATIONS WITH OUR ALLIES, AND RISK CONFRONTATION WITH RUSSIA AND SERBIA.

--BY PROVOKING AN UNPROFOR WITHDRAWAL, THE U.S. WOULD BE BLAMED FOR THE DETERIORATING MILITARY AND HUMANITARIAN SITUATION AND PLACE US UNDER GREAT PRESSURE TO INTERVENE TO STEM THE DETERIORATING SITUATION.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: SITUATION REPORT

BIHAC:

--ACCORDING TO UN REPORTS, CROATIAN SERB TROOPS GAINED GROUND THURSDAY EVENING IN AN ADVANCE FROM THE WESTERN BORDER OF BIHAC. THE TROOPS HAVE HALTED JUST 2.5 MILES FROM THE MAIN UN BASE IN THE ENCLAVE.

--THE CROATIAN ARMY BEGAN AN OFFENSIVE THURSDAY ON THE MAIN SUPPLY ROUTE CONNECTING CROATIAN AND BOSNIAN SERB-HELD TERRITORY. THE ATTACKS HAVE HALTED ALL TRAFFIC ON THE ROUTE AND UNHCR REPORTS THAT 5,000 BOSNIAN SERB
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CIVILIANS HAVE FLED THE AREA.

--UN MONITORS REPORT THAT THE CROATIAN ARMY HAS DEPLOYED AN ADDITIONAL 500 TROOPS TO BOOST ITS PRESENCE ON THE WESTERN BOSNIAN FRONT TO ROUGHLY 2,500 TROOPS.

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--THE UN ANNOUNCED PLANS YESTERDAY TO POST PEACEKEEPERS ON THE CROATIAN-BOSNIAN BORDER, PROVIDED THAT THEY RECEIVE THE CONSENT OF THE WARRING SIDES. SO FAR, PEACEKEEPERS HAVE BEEN BLOCKED FROM THE COMBAT ZONES.

--A JOINT SERB OFFENSIVE HAS OVERRUN 38 SQUARE MILES IN BIHAC IN THE PAST WEEK, CAUSING 8,000 BOSNIANS TO FLEE THEIR HOMES.

PLANE IN BIHAC? IF ASKED; ON BACKGROUND

--THE UN REPORTS THAT A CARGO PLANE LANDED AT CORALICI (CORE-A-LEE-CHEE) AIRFIELD IN BIHAC WEDNESDAY NIGHT, IN VIOLATION OF THE "NO-FLY" ZONE OVER BOSNIA. UN OFFICIALS SAY THAT THE PLANE BROUGHT SUPPLIES FOR GOVERNMENT TROOPS.

--WE HAVE NO INFORMATION ON THE ORIGINS OF THE AIRCRAFT, OR OF THE CONTENT OF ITS DELIVERY.

GORAZDE:

--THERE ARE NO REPORTS OF ACTIVITY IN GORAZDE, NOW THE SOLE REMAINING GOVERNMENT-HELD ENCLAVE IN EASTERN BOSNIA.
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--IN RESPONSE TO THE THREAT OF NATO AIR STRIKES, BOSNIAN SERB LEADERS HAVE SAID THEY HAVE NO PLANS TO ATTACK THE ENCLAVE IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

--THE UNHCR REPORTED THE SUCCESSFUL DELIVERY OF TWO AID CONVOYS TO GORAZDE EARLIER THIS WEEK.

SARAJEVO:

--THREE AID CONVOYS SUCCESSFULLY COMPLETED DELIVERIES TO SARAJEVO THIS WEEK, ACCORDING TO UNHCR REPORTS.

SREBRENICA:

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--UNHCR REPORTS THAT THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE FROM THE FALLEN ENCLAVE REMAIN UNACCOUNTED FOR.

--DESPITE THE BOSNIAN SERBS' PLEDGE TO ALLOW ICRC ACCESS TO THE DETAINEES AT BRATUNAC (BRAH-TOO-NATZ), THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE NOT YET PERMITTED ANY AID WORKERS TO VISIT THE MEN AND BOYS.

TUZLA:

--UNHCR REPORTS INDICATE THAT SOME 19,000 DISPLACED PERSONS REMAIN IN THE TUZLA AREA, WITH ROUGHLY 6,800 SHELTERED AT THE UN AIRBASE THERE.

--THE UNHCR REPORTED THE SUCCESSFUL DELIVERY OF ONE AID CONVOY TO TUZLA EARLIER THIS WEEK.

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ZEPA

--ALTHOUGH THERE ARE STILL POCKETS OF RESISTANCE IN ZEPA (ZEH-PAH), UN REPORTS THAT MOST OF THE ENCLAVE HAS FALLEN INTO BOSNIAN SERB HANDS.

--THE UNHCR REPORTS THAT ALMOST 3,000 EVACUEES FROM ZEPA HAVE BEEN PROCESSED THROUGH KLADANJ (KLAH-DAHN-YAH), A BORDER TOWN IN GOVERNMENT-HELD TERRITORY. MANY HAVE ALREADY BEEN TRANSFERRED TO THE ZENICA AREA WHERE THEY ARE BEING CARED FOR BY THE COORDINATED EFFORTS OF UNPROFOR, UNHCR, THE INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE AND OTHERS.

--TWO UNHCR OFFICERS RECEIVED PERMISSION FROM THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMM TO ENTER THE ENCLAVE TO MONITOR THE MOVEMENT OF THE EVACUEES. LATEST REPORTS INDICATE THAT THEY WERE AT A CHECKPOINT AT THE ENTRY TO ZEPA.

--UN OFFICIALS HAVE SO FAR HEARD NO REPORTS OF ATROCITIES DURING THE EVACUATION.
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
CLASSIFICATION: SECRET REASON: 1.4(D)
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 19 JUL 2020
DATE/CASE ID: 13 MAR 2009 200705105

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- A. SPOTLIGHT ON: BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA: EXODUS FROM
- SREBRENICA-THE FIRST DOMINO?
- B. MUSLIM STATES: SUPPORT FOR UNPROFOR AND THE BOSNIAN
- GOVERNMENT
- C. GERMANY AS A PERMANENT SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBER
- D. TAJIKISTAN: UNMOT AFTER ROUND IV
- E. UN AND REGIONAL NOTES

PEACEKEEPING PERSPECTIVES IS A JOURNAL OF INR ANALYSIS OF MULTILATERAL CONFLICT MANAGEMENT AND HUMANITARIAN OPERATIONS.

- A. SPOTLIGHT ON: BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA: EXODUS FROM
SREBRENICA-THE FIRST DOMINO?

THE INABILITY OF THE UN AND NATO TO PREVENT THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY (BSA) CAPTURE OF SREBRENICA MAY CONVINCED BSA COMMANDER MLADIC TO MOVE QUICKLY ON ZEPA AND PERHAPS EVEN GORAZDE. THE FALL OF ALL THE EASTERN ENCLAVES WOULD FORCE THE UN TO COPE WITH MORE THAN 100,000 NEWLY DISPLACED BOSNIANS, MANY OF WHOM PROBABLY WOULD MOVE TOWARD TUZLA.

THE BOSNIAN SERBS ARE NOW DICTATING THE TERMS OF A LARGE-SCALE EVACUATION AND THE PROVISION OF EMERGENCY FOOD, SHELTER, AND MEDICAL CARE. SREBRENICA'S SUDDEN COLLAPSE HAS CONVINCED BOTH THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT AND SERB FORCES THAT THE UN PROTECTION FORCE (UNPROFOR) IS INCAPABLE OF PROTECTING THE REMAINING "SAFE AREAS" AND THUS WILL NARROW ITS DE FACTO MISSION TO MANAGING RESCUE AND RELIEF OPERATIONS.

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SREBRENICA: LIMITED OPTIONS

WHETHER BY FOOT OR ORGANIZED CONVOY, ALL OF SREBRENICA'S 40,000 MUSLIM RESIDENTS-MOST ALREADY DISPLACED PREVIOUSLY FROM NEARBY VILLAGES-WILL BE OUT OF THE ENCLAVE WITHIN DAYS. MORE THAN HALF THE ENCLAVE'S POPULATION HAS ALREADY GATHERED AT THE UNPROFOR COMPOUND IN POTOCARI; FROM POTOCARI, THE BOSNIAN SERBS ARE TRUCKING THE MUSLIMS

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TO KLDANJ AND BRATUNAC. DESPITE THE WEAKENED STATE OF SREBRENICANS AFTER A MORE THAN TWO-YEAR SIEGE, MANY, PARTICULARLY MEN OF MILITARY AGE, PROBABLY WILL RISK A LONG TREK TO TUZLA TO AVOID THE BOSNIAN SERB SCREENING OF EVACUEES. THE SERBS ARE HOLDING 42 DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS AT BRATUNAC.

THE BOSNIAN SERB-ORGANIZED RAPID-EVACUATION OPERATION IS MEANT TO DEPOPULATE THE ENCLAVE BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS TIME TO PROTEST. THE BOSNIAN SERBS WILL ALLOW FOR THE EMERGENCY PROVISION OF FOOD AND MEDICAL CARE TO THOSE MOST AT RISK BUT WILL DISCOURAGE ANY EFFORTS THAT MIGHT ALLOW MUSLIMS TO REMAIN. THE UNHCR, THOUGH STILL SENSITIVE TO ACCUSATIONS THAT IT ABETS ETHNIC CLEANSING, WILL SEE LITTLE OPTION BUT TO HELP ENSURE A SAFE EVACUATION AND ASSIST THOSE BEING FORCIBLY RELOCATED TO TUZLA.

HOUSING IS IN SHORT SUPPLY, BUT SUFFICIENT EMERGENCY STOCKS OF FOOD AND MEDICINES CAN BE MOBILIZED BY THE UN AND NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS TO HANDLE AN EVENTUAL

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INFLUX OF 40,000 FROM SREBRENICA TO THE TUZLA REGION, TO WHICH ACCESS REMAINS OPEN FROM THE CROATIAN COAST. MORE PROBLEMATIC WOULD BE THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL IMPACT OF A MAJOR INFLUX INTO TUZLA, WHICH THUS FAR HAS REMAINED REMARKABLY STABLE AND RELATIVELY WELL SUPPLIED.

ZEPA, THEN GORAZDE?

CONTRARY TO THEIR EARLIER TACTICS, WHICH AVOIDED DIRECT INFANTRY ATTACKS ON THE EASTERN ENCLAVES, BOSNIAN SERB TACTICS NOW MAY BE TO TRY TO DRIVE THE REMAINING MUSLIMS OUT OF ZEPA, AND PERHAPS GORAZDE, QUICKLY, WHILE THE UN AND NATO ARE PARALYZED WITH INACTION. THE LIGHTLY ARMED BOSNIAN ARMY DEFENDERS OF ZEPA WILL RETREAT, THE UKRAINIAN UNPROFOR TROOPS WILL EITHER WITHDRAW OR BE TAKEN INTO CUSTODY, AND THE 15,000 RESIDENTS OF THE RELATIVELY SMALL ENCLAVE WILL GET ONE-WAY TICKETS ON BOSNIAN SERB TRUCKS. IF FIGHTING DRAGS ON, HUMANITARIAN

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OPERATIONS WILL BE PROBLEMATIC, AND ZEPA RESIDENTS PROBABLY WILL TAKE TO THE SURROUNDING FORESTS UNTIL A SURRENDER OR EVACUATION CAN BE ORGANIZED.

GORAZDE, THE LARGEST AND BEST DEFENDED OF THE EASTERN ENCLAVES, COULD BE BETTER TARGETED BY NATO CLOSE AIR SUPPORT AND, IN ANY CASE, WILL NOT BE SO QUICKLY OVERRUN. BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE NOT ALLOWED A UN RELIEF CONVOY INTO GORAZDE SINCE MAY 21, HOWEVER, AND WILL AT LEAST SUCCEED IN TIGHTENING THEIR STRANGLEHOLD ON THE ENCLAVE. SHOULD THE SERBS OVERRUN GORAZDE, ITS 60,000 RESIDENTS MAY FLEE TOWARD SARAJEVO AND POSSIBLY INTO CENTRAL BOSNIA RATHER THAN TUZLA. SHOULD GORAZDE AND ZEPA CAPITULATE EARLY TO

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BOSNIAN SERB ONSLAUGHTS, CORRIDORS MAY BE OPENED FOR THE UN TO CONDUCT AN EVACUATION THROUGH ROGATICA TOWARD TUZLA OR, POSSIBLY, CROATIA.

SARAJEVO: RISING STAKES

OF THE REMAINING "SAFE AREAS," SARAJEVO CONTINUES TO BE THE KEY TO SURVIVAL OF A BOSNIAN STATE. ANY NEW INFLUX INTO THE CAPITAL WILL REQUIRE AN URGENTLY EXPANDED HUMANITARIAN EFFORT, WHICH WOULD BE DEPENDENT ON BOSNIAN SERB COOPERATION (AS IT CONTINUES TO BE IN BIHAC). TUZLA, IN CONTRAST, REMAINS PROTECTED PRIMARILY BY ITS LARGE SIZE AND ITS CONTIGUITY WITH OTHER BOSNIAN MUSLIM AND CROAT AREAS.

AFTER FOCUSING ON EXTRACTING ITS REMAINING PEACEKEEPERS, UNPROFOR PROBABLY WILL CONSOLIDATE IN AND AROUND SARAJEVO AND MAKE PLANS FOR THE RAPID REACTION FORCE (RRF) TO

PROTECT FUTURE CONVOY-ESCORTING MISSIONS, PARTICULARLY ON THE MT. IGMAN ROAD INTO THE CITY (SEE ALSO NOTE, P. 15). BUT A BSA GAIN OF THE EASTERN ENCLAVES MIGHT ALLOW THE SERBS TO REDEPLOY THEIR FORCES TO OPPOSE A RENEWED UNPROFOR/BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA GOVERNMENT EFFORT AT OPENING UP NEW HUMANITARIAN CORRIDORS. (LEE SCHWARTZ, INR/GGI)

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B. MUSLIM STATES: SUPPORT FOR UNPROFOR AND THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT

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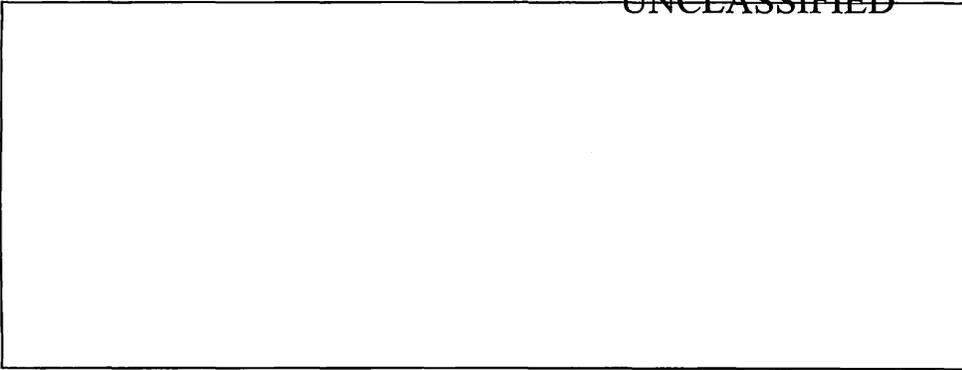


C. GERMANY AS A PERMANENT SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBER

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D. TAJIKISTAN: UNMOT AFTER ROUND IV

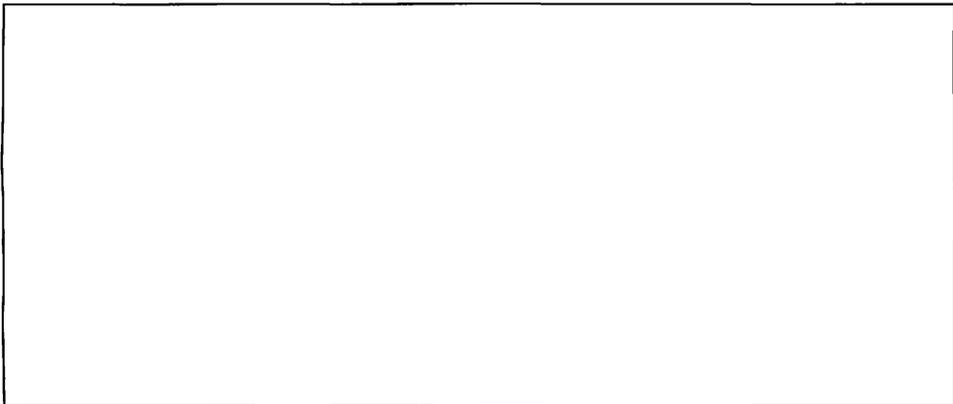
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E. UN AND REGIONAL NOTES

UNPROFOR/RRF. OFFICIALS OF THE SARAJEVO GOVERNMENT AND THE UN PROTECTION FORCE (UNPROFOR) IN BOSNIA ON JULY 10 AGREED THAT ELEMENTS OF THE UK-FRANCE-LED RAPID REACTION FORCE (RRF) WILL SECURE THE MT. IGMAN ROAD AS THE KEY SUPPLY ROUTE INTO SARAJEVO, ACCORDING TO [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] UNDER THE PLAN 1,500 RRF SOLDIERS AND ADDITIONAL UNPROFOR PERSONNEL IN SARAJEVO WOULD WIDEN AND PAVE THE ROAD, ERECT SECURITY BARRIERS ALONG AREAS EXPOSED TO BOSNIAN SERB FIRE, AND FLY HELICOPTERS AND MAN VEHICLES TO SECURE THE ROUTE.

[REDACTED] SAID STRUCTURAL AND SECURITY IMPROVEMENTS WOULD BE COMPLETE BY MID-TO-LATE AUGUST. FREQUENT, AND OFTEN
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CONTRADICTORY, UN OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE STATEMENTS TO THE MEDIA ON THE RRF'S MISSION AND COMMAND AND CONTROL STRUCTURE HAVE REINFORCED BOSNIAN SUSPICIONS OF, AND RESISTANCE TO, THE DEPLOYMENT OF RRF FORCES. THE PLAN, IF IMPLEMENTED, WILL GO FAR TO ALLAY BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT AND CROAT CONCERNS. THE JULY 11 FALL OF SREBRENICA, HOWEVER, HAS REINFORCED ANTI-UNPROFOR SENTIMENT IN SARAJEVO, WHERE PRESIDENT IZETBEGOVIC ON JULY 12 SAID HIS GOVERNMENT ALMOST CERTAINLY WOULD ASK UNPROFOR TO LEAVE BOSNIA WHEN ITS MANDATE EXPIRES IN NOVEMBER 1995. IN

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EARLY JUNE, [REDACTED] REPORTED TO EMBASSY SARAJEVO THAT HE HAD PREPARED AGGRESSIVE MISSIONS FOR THE RRF-INCLUDING THE OPENING OF THE MT. IGMAN ROUTE AND THE HELICOPTER RESUPPLY OF UNPROFOR TROOPS IN THE EASTERN ENCLAVES. [REDACTED] REPORT SUGGESTS THAT [REDACTED] PLANS-REPORTEDLY SCUTTLED BY UNPF HEADQUARTERS-HAVE BEEN REVIVED. RRF COMMANDERS, SEEKING TO MAINTAIN ITS RAPID DEPLOYMENT CAPABILITY, WILL BE LOATH TO DEPLOY AIRBORNE TROOPS TO SENTRY DUTIES AND PROBABLY WILL PRESS UNPROFOR SOLDIERS TO DEFEND FIXED POSITIONS ALONG THE MT. IGMAN ROAD. (DAVID MCKEE, INR/PMW)

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UNAMIR II. IN THE LATEST MAJOR EXAMPLE OF ONGOING THEFTS OF MONIES AND SUPPLIES FROM THE UN ASSISTANCE MISSION IN RWANDA (UNAMIR II), MORE THAN 25,-000 DOLLARS WORTH OF SOUP, BOTTLED WATER, AND SOAP WERE STOLEN FROM MISSION - FACILITIES ON JULY 9. THIEVES HAVE KIDNAPPED UNAMIR II PAYROLL OFFICERS TO OPEN SECURE MISSION FACILITIES, FOLLOWED AND STOLEN MTSSION VEHICLES, AND SURVEYED

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MISSION SITES FOR CASH AND MATERIEL ASSETS, BUT THIS APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN THE FIRST ROBBERY OF CONSUMABLES. DESPITE THE FREQUENT THEFTS, UNAMIR II SECURITY REMAINS POOR.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
(DAVID MCKEE, INR/PMW)

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UNOMIL. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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OAU/BURUNDI. OAU SECRETARY GENERAL SALIM SALIM ON JUNE 28 ANNOUNCED THE OAU WOULD INVITE BURUNDIAN POLITICAL AND MILITARY LEADERS TO ADDIS ABABA FOR TALKS TO AVERT CIVIL WAR. THE TALKS, TO BE PRECEDED BY AN OAU-MEDIATED SESSION IN BUJUMBURA, WILL "PROBABLY" TAKE PLACE IN JULY, THOUGH THEY COULD OCCUR AS LATE AS SEPTEMBER.

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GEORGIA/RUSSIA. RUSSIAN "PEACEKEEPING" COMMANDER FOR ABKHAZIA YAKUSHEV AND TOP GEORGIAN AND ABKHAZ OFFICIALS ON JULY 10 AGREED THAT DISPLACED PERSONS COULD NOW RETURN TO SOUTHERN ABKHAZIA.

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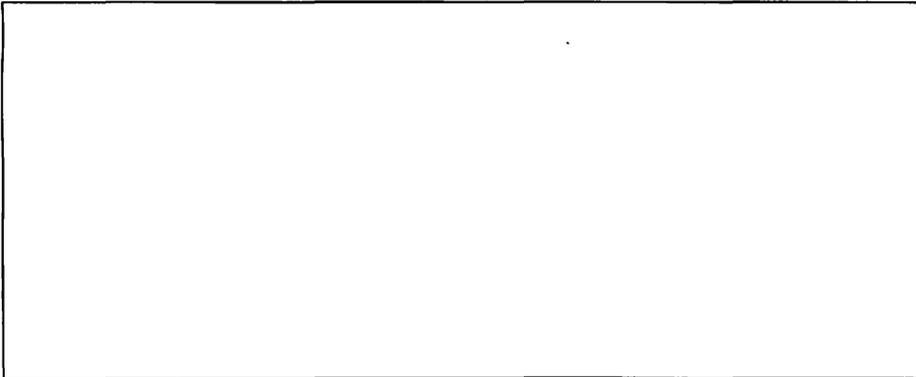
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DAMAGE CAUSED BY THE JULY 1 FLOOD IN THE ABKHAZ REGION
ARE GREATLY EXAGGERATED. DISPLACED GEORGIANS NONETHELESS
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XMT AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 12 MAR 2009 200705105

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AMEMBASSY MALABO
AMCONSUL SHANGHAI

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INFORM CONSULS ALSO FOR USEC/USOECD

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OPRC

SUBJECT: DAILY PRESS BRIEFING -- TUESDAY, JULY 18, 1995

THE FOLLOWING TOPICS WERE COVERED IN TODAY'S PRESS
BRIEFING:

DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCEMENTS

REQUIRED PRESS INFO FOR SECRETARY'S TRIP TO VIETNAM

. (1)

REITERATION OF EMBARGO RULES FOR THE DAILY BRIEFING

. (1-2)

SENTENCING OF 40 ACCUSED IN NIGERIAN COUP PLOT . (2)

CLOSURE OF 19 OVERSEAS POSTS (2-4)

MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS

CONSULATE GENERAL JERUSALEM'S ROLE IN COORDINATING

CONTACTS WITH THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY (4-5)

US POSITION ON MOVING THE US EMBASSY TO JERUSALEM (4-5)

FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

FOREIGN MINISTER SACIRBEY'S CALL FOR AND END OF

UNPROFOR (5-6)

SECRETARY'S CONSULTATIONS WITH WHITE HOUSE/CONGRESS/

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COUNTERPARTS RE NEXT STEPS/FORGING A COMMON APPROACH

WITH FRANCE AND THE UK (6-8,9-10)

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OAKLEY'S VISIT TO TUZLA RE

REFUGEES. (7)

STATUS OF CONTACT GROUP MEETING IN LONDON JULY 21 . (8-9)

CONSIDERATION OF RISK FACTORS TO US SERVICEMEN . (10-11)

DETRIMENTAL IMPACT OF THE DUAL-KEY ARRANGEMENT ON

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ATTEMPTS TO CONTAIN THE BOSNIAN SERBS .(11-14)
RUSSIAN ATTITUDE TOWARD ENHANCED MILITARY ACTION (14)
UK POSITION ON UNPROFOR REMAINING IN GORAZDE .(15-16)

INDIA

STATUS OF KIDNAPPED AMERICAN IN KASHMIR .(16-17)

CHINA

IMPORT OF UPCOMING MEETING BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND
THE FOREIGN MINISTER IN BRUNEI .(16)
MISSILE TESTS IN THE EAST CHINA SEA .(17)
CONGRESSIONAL RECEPTION FOR MADAM CHIANG .(17)

JAPAN

RESUMPTION OF CIVIL AVIATION TALKS IN LOS ANGELES (17-18)

BEGIN TEXT:

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MR. BURNS: GOOD AFTERNOON. WELCOME TO THE STATE
DEPARTMENT BRIEFING. I HAVE A COUPLE OF SHORT
ANNOUNCEMENTS TO MAKE BEFORE WE GO TO QUESTIONS.

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THE FIRST IS, AS ALL OF YOU KNOW, SECRETARY
CHRISTOPHER WILL BE TRAVELLING TO VIETNAM ON AUGUST 5TH
AND 6TH. ALL PRESS TRAVELLING TO VIETNAM ARE ASKED TO
FILL OUT A PRESS INFORMATION SHEET, AND I UNDERSTAND
THEY ARE AVAILABLE IN THE PRESS OFFICE FOR YOU.

THIS WILL HELP IN IDENTIFYING WHERE YOU ARE DURING
THE VISIT TO VIETNAM, SO THAT WE CAN LOCATE YOU WHEN
NEWS IS MADE.

SECOND, -- EXCUSE ME?

Q IS THIS -- WE WERE TOLD THAT THERE COULD BE A
CREDENTIAL. IS THIS NOT CREDENTIAL BUT SIMPLY
INFORMATION?

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MR. BURNS: I THINK IT IS SIMPLY FOR INFORMATIONAL PURPOSES.

Q THAT WON'T BE CREDENTIAL, PER SE.

MR. BURNS: RIGHT.

Q (INAUDIBLE)

MR. BURNS: SECOND, I NEED TO REMIND JOURNALISTS AND ORGANIZATIONS WHO COVER THE DAILY BRIEFING HERE OF AN ANNOUNCEMENT I MADE SEVERAL WEEKS AGO CONCERNING THE BASIC GROUND RULES FOR FILING INFORMATION THAT EMANATES FROM THIS ROOM.

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APPARENTLY THERE HAS BEEN A TRANSGRESSION IN THE PAST FEW DAYS, AND I WOULD LIKE TO RESTATE THE POLICY.

ALL STATE DEPARTMENT BRIEFINGS ARE EMBARGOED UNTIL THEIR CONCLUSION. THIS MEANS THAT TRANSCRIPTION SERVICES

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MAY NOT TRANSMIT TEXTS, AND JOURNALISTS MAY NOT FILE AND TELEVISION AND RADIO NETWORKS MAY NOT BROADCAST VISUALS OR SOUND UNTIL THE SENIOR WIRE SERVICE CORRESPONDENT FORMALLY ENDS THE BRIEFING, AND HE DOES THAT GENERALLY WITH A THANK YOU TO THE BRIEFER, WHICH IS NICE, BUT THAT IS WHEN PEOPLE CAN FILE, NOT BEFORE.

I BELIEVE YESTERDAY WE HAD AN INCIDENT WHEN THERE WAS SOME FILING DURING THE BRIEFING. I CAN FULLY UNDERSTAND WHY SOME OF YOU MAY HAVE BEEN UPSET WITH THAT.

THIRD, I JUST WANTED TO BRING TO YOUR ATTENTION A STATEMENT THAT WAS ISSUED LAST EVENING CONCERNING THE SITUATION IN NIGERIA. IT WAS ISSUED RATHER LATE. I DON'T KNOW IF ALL OF YOU HAVE SEEN IT, BUT THE UNITED

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STATES IS DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE CONVICTIONS AND THE SENTENCING OF 40 NIGERIANS, INCLUDING THE FORMER PRESIDENT, LT. GENERAL OBASANJO, AND HIS FORMER DEPUTY. AND WE BELIEVE THAT THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT HAS ACTED INCORRECTLY AND UNWISELY IN TRYING THESE PEOPLE WITHOUT ANY ELEMENT OF UNCLASSIFIED

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FAIRNESS. THEY HAVE BEEN TRIED IN CAMERA. THEY HAVE

NOT RECEIVED THE KIND OF TRIALS THAT PEOPLE DESERVE UNDER INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS, AND I WOULD REFER YOU TO THE STATEMENT FOR A FULL EXPLANATION OF OUR VIEWS ON THIS ISSUE. I'LL BE GLAD TO TAKE ANY QUESTIONS ON IT.

FINALLY, WE ARE ANNOUNCING TODAY THAT THE UNITED STATES INTENDS TO CLOSE 19 DIPLOMATIC POSTS IN ORDER TO MEET THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER'S OBJECTIVE OF MAKING GOVERNMENT BOTH MORE EFFICIENT AND (LESS) COSTLY.

AS YOU REMEMBER, AS PART OF THE STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT INITIATIVE, SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER ASKED AMBASSADORS J. STAPLETON ROY AND RICHARD MELTON TO UNDERTAKE AN EFFORT TO SEE IF WE COULD STREAMLINE STATE DEPARTMENT OPERATIONS. AND THE SECRETARY MADE DECISIONS ON POST CLOSINGS BASED ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF AMBASSADORS ROY AND MELTON, BUT THE DECISIONS WERE THE SECRETARY'S ALONE, AND WE WILL BE POSTING AFTER THIS BRIEFING A COMPLETE LIST OF THE -- MAINLY CONSULATES. I THINK OF THE 19, ALMOST ALL, EXCEPT FOR A VERY FEW ARE CONSULATES OF THE POSTS THAT WILL BE CLOSED.

I'D JUST LIKE TO POINT OUT THAT THE SAVINGS FROM THIS WILL AMOUNT TO ABOUT \$12 MILLION PER YEAR. THAT'S AN ANNUAL RECURRING SAVING OF \$12 MILLION. IT WILL COST US APPROXIMATELY \$3 MILLION ON A ONE-TIME BASIS TO CLOSE THESE POSTS IN 1996, BUT WE WILL SAVE \$12 MILLION PER YEAR.

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THE POSTS ARE SPREAD THROUGHOUT AFRICA, EAST ASIA, EUROPE, AND LATIN AMERICA. I'M AFRAID THAT SOME OF YOU WILL BE DISAPPOINTED IN SOME OF THE POSTS THAT ARE CLOSING BECAUSE THEY ARE IN PLACES -- SOME OF THE CITIES ARE QUITE

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NICE CITIES. I KNOW THAT BORDEAUX AND EDINBURGH AND FLORENCE ARE ALL ON THE LIST.

BUT THE SECRETARY HAS MADE THESE DECISIONS BECAUSE HE DOES TAKE VERY SERIOUSLY HIS OBLIGATION TO THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER TO MAKE SURE THAT WE HAVE A LESS COSTLY GOVERNMENT, A MORE EFFICIENT GOVERNMENT, AND THAT WE RESPOND -- THE STATE DEPARTMENT RESPONDS TO THE PRESIDENT'S INSTRUCTION THAT WE TRY TO DOWN-SIZE GOVERNMENT WHEREVER POSSIBLE.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT, IN TAKING THIS ACTION IS TRYING TO DO ITS SHARE, AND I THINK YOU ALL WILL BE INTERESTED BY THIS STATEMENT WHEN WE POST IT. I'D ALSO BE GLAD TO TAKE ANY QUESTIONS ON THIS TODAY.

Q WOULD YOU JUST READ THE LIST, PLEASE?

MR. BURNS: I'D BE GLAD TO READ THE LIST IF YOU ARE INTERESTED, YES.

THE POSTS THAT WILL BE CLOSING -- AND I SHOULD TELL
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YOU WE NOTIFIED CONGRESS YESTERDAY I BELIEVE, THAT WE WOULD BE TAKING THIS ACTION. WE LOOK FORWARD TO

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CONSULTING WITH THE KEY CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES ON THESE DECISIONS, AND WE ARE VERY CONFIDENT THAT CONGRESS WILL SUPPORT SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER'S ACTIONS.

THE POSTS ARE IN AFRICA, OUR EMBASSY IN EQUATORIAL GUINEA AND ALSO OUR EMBASSY IN VICTORIA IN THE SEYCHELLES. IN EAST ASIA, EMBASSY APIA IN WESTERN SOMOA. CONSULATES IN BRISBANE IN AUSTRALIA; CEBU IN THE PHILIPPINES; MEDAN IN INDONESIA; AND UDORN IN THAILAND.

IN EUROPE, ALL CONSULATES IN BILBAO IN SPAIN; BORDEAUX, AS I MENTIONED IN FRANCE; EDINBURGH IN THE U.K.; FLORENCE IN ITALY; POZNAN IN POLAND STUTTGART IN GERMANY; AND ZURICH, SWITZERLAND.

IN LATIN AMERICA, CURACAO; IN THE NETHERLANDS, ANTILLES; HERMOSILLO AND MATAMOROS IN MEXICO; AND PORTO ALEGRE IN BRAZIL.

ALL OF THESE POSTS, AS I SAID, MAINLY CONSULATES WILL BE CLOSED.

Q (INAUDIBLE) REQUESTS FOR TRANSFERS OR PEOPLE RESIGNING. THOSE ARE MOSTLY GOOD PLACES.

MR. BURNS: THEY ARE NICE PLACES. A LOT OF THEM ARE VERY NICE PLACES. YES, THAT'S RIGHT.

Q THEY ARE NOT ALL BEING TRANSFERRED TO SARAJEVO.
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MR. BURNS: NOT ALL OF THEM, NO. NOT ALL OF THEM.

Q WILL EMBASSY STAFFS BE AUGMENTED TO TAKE OVER THE WORK OF THESE CLOSED CONSULATES?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T BELIEVE SO. FOR THE MOST PART, I KNOW PRINCIPALLY CONCERNING SOME OF OUR VERY LARGE EMBASSY STAFFS IN EUROPE, THE SECRETARY HAS ASKED THAT

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THOSE EMBASSIES LOOK TOWARDS DOWNSIZING THEMSELVES. I KNOW THAT UNDER SECRETARY DICK MOOSE, WHO IS SPEARHEADING THIS EFFORT ALONG WITH OTHERS HAS BEEN OUT TO EUROPE TO TALK TO OUR AMBASSADORS IN THE MAJOR EUROPEAN POSTS TO SEE IF THEY CAN FIND WAYS TO SAVE MONEY AND TO DOWN-SIZE WHERE POSSIBLE.

I THINK THAT WE ARE GIVING TO OUR AMBASSADORS, OUR CHIEFS OF MISSION, DISCRETION ON WHAT TYPE OF ACTIONS THEY TAKE TO SAVE MONEY, BECAUSE THEY ARE IN CHARGE OF THESE POSTS, AS LONG AS THEY DO MAKE A GENUINE EFFORT -- AND WE THINK ALL OF THEM ARE -- TO COMPLY WITH THE SECRETARY'S REQUEST THAT WE SIMPLY FIND A WAY TO CONDUCT AMERICAN DIPLOMACY ON A LESS COSTLY BASIS. AND WE BELIEVE THAT IS POSSIBLE WITHOUT COMPROMISING A VERY IMPORTANT PRINCIPLE, WHICH IS UNIVERSALITY.

THE UNITED STATES GENERALLY WOULD LIKE TO BE IN EVERY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD -- BE REPRESENTED -- WHICH RECOGNIZES US AND WHICH WE RECOGNIZE, AND FOR THE MOST

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PART, WE ARE GOING TO MAINTAIN UNIVERSALITY.

Q WILL RIFS GO ALONG WITH THIS?

MR. BURNS: EXCUSE ME?

Q ARE THERE ANY RIFS OF PERSONNEL THAT GO ALONG WITH THIS?

MR. BURNS: NO, THERE ARE NO RIFS THAT GO ALONG WITH THIS ANNOUNCEMENT.

Q WITH ALL THIS MOVING AND THINKING GOING ON IS THERE ANYTHING GOING ON AS TO HOW YOU DEAL WITH THE PALESTINIANS AND WITH ISRAEL? AS THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY INCREASES, ARE YOU STILL GOING TO DEAL WITH THEM OUT OF JERUSALEM, AND AS IT BECOMES CLEAR THAT ISRAEL IS GOING TO RETAIN ITS CAPITAL IN JERUSALEM WHATEVER ELSE IT RELINQUISHES, WHICH IS ABOUT EVERYTHING, HAVE YOU CONSIDERED MOVING THE EMBASSY TO

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JERUSALEM AS PROBABLY THE LEAST EXPENSIVE -- LESS

EXPENSIVE WAY OF DEALING WITH THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT WHICH IS IN JERUSALEM?

MR. BURNS: WELL, I THINK YOU KNOW, BARRY, ON THE LAST POINT, YOU KNOW OUR WELL-KNOWN POSITION THAT WE ARE OPPOSED TO ANY MOVE OF THE EMBASSY. THE STATUS -- THE

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ISSUE OF JERUSALEM IS A FINAL STATUS ISSUE THAT THE PARTIES THEMSELVES MUST DECIDE. IT CERTAINLY IS NOT THE POSITION OF THIS GOVERNMENT THAT WE SHOULD DECIDE THAT ISSUE FOR THEM, OR THAT WE SHOULD TAKE ANY STEPS THAT WOULD ANTICIPATE THAT DISCUSSION. SO, ON THAT PARTICULAR QUESTION, WE HAVE A VERY CLEAR AND A VERY FIRM POLICY THAT HAS NOT CHANGED.

ON THE GENERAL ISSUE OF HOW WE RELATE TO THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY, WHICH, OF COURSE, HAS OFFICES IN BOTH GAZA CITY AND THROUGHOUT GAZA AND JERICHO, OUR CONSULATE GENERAL IN JERUSALEM IS TAKING THE LEAD IN FORMING OUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE PALESTINIAN LEADERS AND IN WORKING WITH THEM ON A DAILY BASIS. AND I THINK YOU KNOW WE HAVE A VERY FINE CONSUL GENERAL AT ABINGTON, WHO HAS DEVELOPED GOOD TIES WITH THE PALESTINIAN LEADERS.

OUR EMBASSY IN TEL AVIV DOES TAKE -- HAVE SOME RESPONSIBILITY FOR OUR ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS IN GAZA WHEREAS THE CONSULATE GENERAL WORKS ON ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS IN THE WEST BANK.

SO THAT IS THE WAY IT HAS BEEN FOR A VERY LONG TIME --

Q YOU ARE NOT GOING TO MOVE TO THE WEST BANK AS THE PALESTINIANS, YOU KNOW, INCREASE THEIR HOLD ON THE WEST BANK AND ESTABLISH A SORT OF WOULD-BE GOVERNMENT

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THERE.

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MR. BURNS: RIGHT NOW, WE HAVE TWO DIPLOMATIC POSTS
IN THE AREA. WE HAVE AN EMBASSY IN TEL AVIV. WE HAVE A
CONSULATE GENERAL IN JERUSALEM. WE HAVE NO PLANS TO
CHANGE THE CONFIGURATION OF EITHER OR THE STATUS OF
EITHER.

Q CAN I ASK YOU ABOUT BOSNIA? THE BOSNIAN
MINISTER, SACIRBEY, SAYS IT'S TIME FOR THE PEACEKEEPING

MISSION TO CLOSE DOWN. PRESUMABLY HE MEANS BECAUSE IT
ISN'T ACCOMPLISHING ALL THAT THEY WOULD HOPE IT WOULD.

WHAT IS THE U. S. VIEW OF THAT? DOES THAT IMPROVE
THE CHANCES OF A WITHDRAWAL?

MR. BURNS: WE DON'T WANT TO IMPROVE THE CHANCES OF
A WITHDRAWAL. WE WANT UNPROFOR TO STAY. WE HAVE MADE
THAT VERY CLEAR TO MINISTER SACIRBEY, THE SECRETARY DID,
IN A MEETING THAT THEY HAD ABOUT A WEEK TO TEN DAYS
AGO. IT WAS A VERY GOOD MEETING. WE DID NOT HEAR IN
THAT MEETING, NOR HAVE WE HEARD IN ANY MEETINGS WITH THE
BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT LEADERSHIP, PRESIDENT, PRIME
MINISTER, OR THE FOREIGN MINISTER, THAT THEY WISH
UNPROFOR TO LEAVE.

WE CERTAINLY UNDERSTAND THEIR FRUSTRATION WITH THE
STATE OF AFFAIRS, WITH THE MILITARY SITUATION, WITH THE
TENS OF THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES, AND WITH THE INABILITY OF
THE UNITED NATIONS TO DATE TO PROTECT TO MEET SOME OF
ITS RESPONSIBILITIES, INCLUDING NOT BEING ABLE TO MEET
ITS RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT SREBRENICA LAST WEEK.

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SO WE CERTAINLY UNDERSTAND THE FRUSTRATION. BUT I DO WANT TO LET YOU KNOW THAT WE HAVE NOT HEARD THIS FORMALLY FROM THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT, AND OF COURSE THAT WOULD BE A VERY KEY THING IF WE DID, BUT WE HAVE NOT.

NOW ON THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA, I SHOULD TELL YOU THAT THE SECRETARY HAS BEEN AT WORK AT THIS ALMOST CONTINUOUSLY FOR THE LAST SEVERAL DAYS. HE WENT OVER TO THE WHITE HOUSE THIS MORNING. HE HAD A COUPLE OF VERY GOOD MEETINGS, INCLUDING A MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT THAT I KNOW THAT MIKE MCCURRY WILL BE TALKING ABOUT, DURING HIS BRIEFING OVER AT THE WHITE HOUSE. WE BELIEVE IT IS VERY IMPORTANT TO FORGE A COMMON APPROACH WITH BRITAIN AND WITH FRANCE, AND A COMMON APPROACH TO STRENGTHEN UNPROFOR. WE BELIEVE THAT FURTHER PROGRESS IN DEALING WITH THE CONFLICT IN BOSNIA DEPENDS ON A COORDINATED APPROACH WITH OUR ALLIES.

THE PRESIDENT IS CLEARLY, AND THE SECRETARY, ARE CLEARLY DETERMINED, HOWEVER, TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE, TO HAVE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MAKE A DIFFERENCE BECAUSE THE SITUATION IS SIMPLY UNACCEPTABLE. IF YOU LOOK AT THE SITUATION, OF THE TENS OF THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES; IF YOU LOOK AT THE FURTHER ATTACKS THIS MORNING ON ZEPA, AND THE CONTINUAL THREAT AT LEAST NOW THE RHETORICAL THREAT, TO GORAZDE. AND I UNDERSTAND AS

A RESULT OF THE MEETINGS THIS MORNING, THERE WILL BE FURTHER DISCUSSIONS WITHIN THE ADMINISTRATION AT A VERY HIGH LEVEL WHICH WILL INCLUDE, OF COURSE, SECRETARY
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CHRISTOPHER AND ALL OF HIS COUNTERPARTS AND THE PRESIDENT.

IT'S NOT REALLY USEFUL OR POSSIBLE FOR ME TODAY TO SPECULATE ON POSSIBLE MILITARY ACTION. I THINK A LOT OF THE SPECULATION IN THE PRESS -- I CERTAINLY UNDERSTAND

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WHY THE PRESS IS SPECULATING. SOME OF THE INFORMATION IS SIMPLY NOT ACCURATE ABOUT WHAT THE ADMINISTRATION IS CONSIDERING WITH BRITAIN AND WITH FRANCE.

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER LEFT THE BUILDING JUST A COUPLE OF MINUTES AGO TO GO UP TO CAPITOL HILL. HE'S GOING TO BE MEETING WITH THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP, FIRST, AND THEN WITH THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP OF BOTH THE HOUSE AND THE SENATE. HE WILL DO SO WITH SECRETARY BILL PERRY, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, AND THEY WILL BE EXPLAINING THE ADMINISTRATION'S CURRENT APPRECIATION OF THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND IN BOSNIA AND THEY'LL ALSO BE SHARING WITH THE CONGRESS OUR GENERAL VIEW OF HOW THE UNITED STATES SHOULD MOVE FORWARD WITH ITS ALLIES.

I CAN TELL YOU ONE THING THEY WILL DO IN THEIR MEETING WITH THE REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS ON THE HILL, AND

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THAT IS TO ARGUE VERY STRENUOUSLY AGAINST A UNILATERAL LIFT OF THE ARMS EMBARGO. THIS IS A STEP THAT, I THINK YOU KNOW VERY WELL, WE BELIEVE WOULD AMERICANIZE THE CONFLICT IN BOSNIA AND GIVE THE UNITED STATES A

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UNILATERAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR EVENTS THERE THAT COULD HAVE DEVASTATING CONSEQUENCES LEADING TO A WIDER WAR

THE FOREIGN POLICY TEAM -- I UNDERSTAND THAT THE SECRETARY, SECRETARY PERRY, GENERAL SHALIKASHVILI, NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR TONY LAKE, AND OTHERS -- WILL BE MEETING AGAIN TOMORROW MORNING TO CONSIDER THE SITUATION. WE ARE IN CONTINUOUS CONTACT WITH THE BRITISH AND WITH THE FRENCH. WE WERE THIS MORNING AS WE WILL BE THIS AFTERNOON.

I THINK THE CENTRAL MESSAGE I CAN GIVE YOU IS THAT WE WANT TO FORGE A UNIFIED POSITION WITH BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND THE OTHER MAJOR TROOP-CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES

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SO THAT THE UNITED NATIONS CAN MAKE A POSITIVE DIFFERENCE IN BOSNIA AND WE CAN LIVE UP TO THE RESPONSIBILITY THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS TO MAKE A POSITIVE DIFFERENCE AND TO HELP THE PEOPLE ON THE GROUND WHO ARE CURRENTLY SUFFERING.

FINALLY, SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER WILL BE HAVING DINNER TONIGHT WITH THE FOREIGN SECRETARY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, MALCOLM RIFKIND. THEY WILL BE DISCUSSING TONIGHT ALL THE DIMENSIONS OF THE CONFLICT IN BOSNIA INCLUDING ANY POSSIBLE MILITARY OPTIONS THAT THE UNITED STATES, THE UK, AND FRANCE MIGHT CARE NOW TO TAKE.

THE SECRETARY WILL ALSO SEE MINISTER RIFKIND TOMORROW MORNING HERE AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT FOR A FURTHER MEETING BEFORE MINISTER RIFKIND RETURNS TO
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BRITAIN.

I SHOULD ALSO LET YOU KNOW -- AND I'D BE GLAD TO GO INTO THIS IF YOU'RE INTERESTED -- THAT ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE PHYLLIS OAKLEY WAS IN TUZLA YESTERDAY. SHE HAD, WITH MRS. OGATA A FIRST-HAND VIEW OF THE SITUATION OF THE REFUGEES. SHE TALKED TO MANY OF THEM. SHE GOT A FIRST-HAND ACCOUNT FROM MANY OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS THAT ARE ON THE GROUND OF THE SITUATION THERE AND WHAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY NEEDS TO DO TO HELP THE BOSNIAN REFUGEES.

SHE WAS ABLE TO WITNESS THE VERY DRAMATIC RETURN TO TUZLA OF SEVERAL THOUSAND BOSNIAN MEN WHO, AS YOU KNOW, MADE THEIR WAY FROM SREBRENICA TO TUZLA OVER THE LAST FIVE TO SIX DAYS FIGHTING THE BOSNIAN SERBS ALL ALONG THE WAY.

SO I DO HAVE A LOT OF INFORMATION ON THAT, IF YOU CARE TO GET INTO THAT.

Q NICK, WHEN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WHO THINK THE U.S. SHOULD LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO AND THAT THE U.N.

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PEACEKEEPERS SHOULD BE REMOVED, WHEN THEY'RE TOLD BY CHRISTOPHER THAT THAT'S NOT THE RIGHT WAY TO GO AND THEY SAY TO HIM, "WHAT DO YOU SUGGEST AS AN ALTERNATIVE," WILL HE ABLE TO GIVE THEM, AT THIS POINT, A MILITARY ALTERNATIVE TO THAT APPROACH OR WILL HE SPEAK IN THE
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GENERAL TERMS YOU'RE SPEAKING OF -- FORGING A COMMON

POSITION, STRENGTHENING THE U.N., MEETING WITH THE ALLIES?

IN OTHER WORDS, HAS THE U.S. -- HAS THIS ADMINISTRATION COME TO SOME CONCLUSION ABOUT WHAT TO DO MILITARILY AS AN OPTION PREFERABLE TO LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO?

MR. BURNS: THE ADMINISTRATION HAS NOT YET COME TO A DECISION WITH OUR ALLIES -- MAINLY, WITH BRITAIN AND FRANCE.

Q WITH ITSELF, TO BEGIN WITH.

MR. BURNS: THE ADMINISTRATION, I THINK, HAS MADE SEVERAL GENERAL CONCLUSIONS ABOUT WHAT MAKES SENSE TO DO IN THE PERIOD AHEAD.

WE ARE NOW IN THE PROCESS OF TALKING TO OUR ALLIES ABOUT THOSE ISSUES, BUT WE HAVE NOT COME TO A FINAL DECISION IN THE GOVERNMENT ABOUT WHAT SPECIFIC ACTIONS SHOULD BE TAKEN, AND WE HAVE NOT COME TO A FINAL DECISION WITH OUR ALLIES ABOUT WHAT SPECIFIC ACTIONS MUST BE TAKEN. THIS IS A PROCESS THAT WILL CONTINUE AND WE'RE CONFIDENT THAT WE, IN OUR OWN GOVERNMENT, WILL GET TO THIS DECISION AND THEN HOPEFULLY ARRIVE AT A UNIFIED POSITION WITH BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND OTHERS SHORTLY.

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BUT I DO WANT TO BE STRAIGHTFORWARD WITH YOU. THERE
WAS A VERY GOOD DISCUSSION AT THE WHITE HOUSE THIS
MORNING. I THINK THAT OUR LEADERSHIP IS COALESCING
AROUND CERTAIN ASSUMPTIONS THAT WE HAVE TO BRING TO THIS
ISSUE, BUT THERE HAS BEEN NO DECISION, THAT I KNOW OF,
THAT'S BEEN MADE BY THE PRESIDENT, WHO IS THE ONLY
PERSON IN OUR GOVERNMENT WHO CAN MAKE SUCH DECISIONS

THEREFORE, WE ARE IN A POSITION NOW OF SHARING SOME
VIEWS WITH OUR ALLIES, BUT NO FINAL DECISIONS HAVE BEEN
TAKEN EITHER HERE AT HOME OR WITH THEM.

Q MIKE MCCURRY SAID THAT THE LONDON MEETING,
HOWEVER, WAS BY NO MEANS CERTAIN. IS THAT STILL UP IN
THE AIR OR IS IT DEFINITELY ON?

MR. BURNS: WE HAVE AN INVITATION FROM THE BRITISH
GOVERNMENT TO ATTEND A MEETING IN LONDON. WE ARE
SEEKING FURTHER INFORMATION FROM THE BRITISH ABOUT THE
PARAMETERS OF THE MEETING, ABOUT THE PARTICIPATION IN

THE MEETING; WHAT TYPES OF COUNTRIES WILL BE INVITED
INTERNATIONAL

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ORGANIZATIONS, AND THERE'S FURTHER WORK THAT NEEDS TO BE
DONE, I THINK, JUST TO GET TO A MORE DETAILED SENSE OF
WHAT IS INTENDED TO BE ACCOMPLISHED; BUT WITH SECRETARY
RIFKIND HERE, I'M SURE WE'LL GET A VERY FULL SENSE OF
THAT TODAY.

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Q THEN, THE INVITATION HAS NOT BEEN ACCEPTED YET;
IS THAT CORRECT?

MR. BURNS: I THINK WE'VE ANNOUNCED A GENERAL
INCLINATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MEETING, BUT WE
CERTAINLY NEED, I THINK, A MORE DETAILED EXPLANATION
FROM THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT OF WHAT THE PARAMETERS OF
THE MEETING ARE, WHAT THE AGENDA IS, AND WHO ELSE WILL
BE PARTICIPATING.

Q NICK, YOU ANNOUNCED THAT THE SECRETARY WAS
GOING. THAT SEEMS TO BE --

MR. BURNS: HE SAID SO YESTERDAY AND, YES, I DID.
I WAS JUST SIMPLY RESPONDING TO THE SPECIFIC QUESTION.
WE DO HAVE SOME GAPS IN OUR INFORMATION ABOUT THE
DETAILS OF THE MEETING. BUT CERTAINLY WE HAVE INDICATED
OUR GENERAL INTEREST IN PARTICIPATING, YES.

Q THIS FORGING OF A COMMON POSITION YOU WANT TO
ACHIEVE, WHAT IS THE TIMETABLE ON THIS? IS THERE ANY
REASON WHY THIS ISN'T GOING TO DRAG ON FOR WEEKS AND
WEEKS?

MR. BURNS: I THINK THAT ALL OF US WORKING ON THIS,
BUT PARTICULARLY, OF COURSE, AND MOST IMPORTANTLY, OUR
LEADERSHIP HERE IN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS
IMPRESSED BY THE FACT THAT EVERY DAY DOES COUNT WHEN THE
BOSNIAN SERBS CONTINUE TO RUN AMUCK IN A WAY THAT
CONTRAVENES NOT ONLY U.N. RESOLUTIONS BUT COMMON SENSE
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AND BASIC HUMAN VALUES AND TO ACQUIT THEMSELVES IN SUCH
A WAY THAT IS CLEARLY CONTRARY TO ANYTHING THAT IS
DECENT OR CIVILIZED. PEOPLE DO FEEL THE PRESS OF THIS
ISSUE.

I THINK, AS I TOLD YOU, SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER HAS
SPENT ALMOST EVERY WAKING MOMENT OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF
DAYS ON THIS ISSUE, THROUGHOUT THE WEEKEND, AND DURING
THE LAST DAY AND A HALF.

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SO PEOPLE ARE BRINGING TO THIS ISSUE A GREAT SENSE OF URGENCY.

ALONG WITH THAT COMES A GREAT SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY TO MAKE SURE THAT WHEN THE UNITED STATES COMMITS ITSELF TO A COURSE OF ACTION TO STRENGTHEN UNPROFOR, THAT COULD VERY WELL HAVE MILITARY IMPLICATIONS. THAT COULD VERY WELL INVOLVE OUR ARMED FORCES IN SOME CAPACITY. WE WANT TO MAKE SURE THAT WE'VE THOUGHT THROUGH ALL THE ANGLES, THAT WE DO HAVE A UNIFIED POSITION WITH OUR MAJOR ALLIES. IT CERTAINLY WOULDN'T MAKE SENSE FOR US TO UNDERTAKE ANY ACTION THAT

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DIDN'T HAVE THE SUPPORT OF OUR ALLIES OR THAT IT WASN'T TAKEN IN CONJUNCTION WITH THEM.

WE OWE IT TO THE MEN AND WOMEN IN OUR ARMED SERVICES TO MAKE SURE THAT THINGS ARE WELL THOUGHT OUT. SO I
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THINK THAT'S THE OTHER SENSE OF URGENCY THAT OUR LEADERSHIP BRINGS TO ALL THESE QUESTIONS.

Q DO YOU THINK A DECISION WILL MADE AT THE MEETING ON FRIDAY?

MR. BURNS: FIRST OF ALL, WE NEED TO HAVE THE UNITED STATES, BRITAIN, AND FRANCE AGREE ON A COURSE OF ACTION. WE HOPE THAT WILL MATERIALIZE SHORTLY. IT'S VERY DIFFICULT TO PREDICT IF IT WILL BE TONIGHT OR TOMORROW OR THE NEXT DAY. WE CERTAINLY ARE PRESSING THIS VERY HARD, AS ARE THEY. THE BRITISH AND FRENCH ARE WORKING NIGHT AND DAY ON THIS AS WELL.

Q CAN YOU TELL US ANYTHING ABOUT THE GENERAL CONCLUSIONS OR CERTAIN ASSUMPTIONS THAT HAVE BEEN AGREED UPON WITHIN THE ADMINISTRATION?

MR. BURNS: I REALLY DON'T CARE TO. I'VE ALSO BEEN

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ASKED NOT TO. I THINK IT'S IMPORTANT AT THIS TIME BEFORE THE PRESIDENT HAS MADE A DECISION THAT WE SAY AS LITTLE AS POSSIBLE ABOUT SOME OF THE STEPS THAT MAY BE TAKEN AND SOME OF THE THOUGHTS THAT WE HAVE NOW, THAT ARE PRETTY MUCH AGREED UPON IN THE ADMINISTRATION, UNTIL THE PRESIDENT HAS HAD A CHANCE TO CONSIDER IT FULLY AND MAKE HIS OWN DECISION.

Q IF THERE IS MILITARY ACTION OF THE TYPE BEING DISCUSSED, IT COULD BE A GREAT RISK TO AMERICAN PILOTS.

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TWO QUESTIONS: WOULD YOU EXPECT THE PRESIDENT TO EXPLAIN TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WHY IT'S IMPORTANT TO HAVE AMERICAN PILOTS TAKE THESE RISKS? AND WILL HE EXPLAIN IT THAT SOME OF THEM COULD BE SHOT DOWN AND KILLED?

AND, SECONDLY, SINCE YOU -- AT THE BEGINNING OF YOUR BRIEFING, YOU TALKED ABOUT A LOT OF INCORRECT PRESS REPORTING ON WHAT'S BEING CONSIDERED. PERHAPS YOU COULD TELL US, IF NOT, WHAT'S CORRECT; WHAT'S INCORRECT?

MR. BURNS: THAT'S A GOOD QUESTION. I CERTAINLY DIDN'T WANT IT TO MEAN SOME OF THE VERY FINE REPORTING THAT I SAW THIS MORNING. JUST TO SAY, THOUGH IN AN ENVIRONMENT WHERE A VERY SMALL CIRCLE OF PEOPLE ARE WORKING ON A VERY IMPORTANT DECISION, IT'S ONLY NATURAL THAT A LOT OF DIFFERENT NEWS STORIES COULD BE PRODUCED.

I WOULD JUST URGE YOU TO UNDERSTAND THAT SOME OF THE REPORTING THIS MORNING WAS NOT ACCURATE. UNFORTUNATELY, I REALLY CAN'T HELP YOU OUT ANY FURTHER WITH THAT QUESTION

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BECAUSE IF I DID GET INTO THAT IT MIGHT, IN A VERY TRANSPARENT WAY, INDICATE WHAT WE MAY BE PLANNING OR THINKING ABOUT. I DON'T WANT TO DO THAT.

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Q (INAUDIBLE).

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MR. BURNS: WE'RE NOT MISLEADING THE PUBLIC, AND
YOU'RE NOT TRYING TO, I KNOW. WE ALL HAVE A JOB OF
HAVING TO WAIT FOR THE DECISION OF THE PRESIDENT AND
THEN THE DECISION OF THE ALLIES AS TO OUR FUTURE COURSE
OF ACTION.

Q THE FIRST QUESTION? THE FIRST QUESTION -- THE
RISKS?

MR. BURNS: WHENEVER MILITARY FORCES ARE DEPLOYED,
WHEN MILITARY FORCES ARE ASKED TO GO INTO ACTION -- IN
THIS CASE, SINCE THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT BE, WILL NOT

CONSIDER INTRODUCING GROUND TROOPS, WE MIGHT BE TALKING
ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF AIR ACTION AS AN OPTION. THAT
IS ALWAYS A RISK. THERE IS ALWAYS A RISK TO THE PEOPLE
WHO UNDERTAKE THOSE MISSIONS. THAT'S PART OF THEIR
PROFESSIONAL DUTY. IT'S ALSO PART OF THE HAZARDS AND
IT ALSO MAKES IT IMPERATIVE THAT ANY OPTION WORKED OUT
IN THIS GOVERNMENT BE VERY CAREFULLY THOUGHT THROUGH AND
WELL PLANNED. THAT IS CERTAINLY THE WAY THAT ALL OF US
IN THIS GOVERNMENT ARE APPROACHING THIS ISSUE.

Q WOULDNT IT BE PRUDENT, SO THAT THE PILOTS ARE
PROTECTED TO THE GREATEST DEGREE POSSIBLE, TO TAKE SOME
STEPS BEFOREHAND SUCH AS SUPPRESSING MISSILE SITES?

MR. BURNS: THAT'S A QUESTION THAT I REALLY CAN'T
DEAL WITH TODAY. I'M NOT WILLING TO GO INTO ANY OF THE
SPECIFIC OPTIONS THAT MAY OR MAY NOT BE CONSIDERED.
EVEN THAT WAS AN OPTION THAT WE CAN EVEN TALK ABOUT, I

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WOULD PROBABLY REFER YOU TO KEN BACON AT THE PENTAGON.

Q IS IT CONCEIVABLE THAT -- I JUST WONDER -- IF
THE U.S. PILOTS WOULD GO INTO THIS TYPE OF SITUATION
WITHOUT BEING AS PROTECTED AS THEY POSSIBLY COULD?

MR. BURNS: I THINK THAT OUR LEADERSHIP HAS SPOKEN
OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF WEEKS ABOUT THE NEED TO GIVE OUR
PILOTS, IN GENERAL, THE BEST POSSIBLE PROTECTION. BUT I
SAY THAT NOT INDICATING THAT THERE'S ANY RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN THAT QUESTION AND ANYTHING THAT WE MAY NOW BE
CONSIDERING. I JUST SAY THAT IN ISOLATION.

OBVIOUSLY, WE'VE HEARD THAT FROM THE PENTAGON; WE'VE
HEARD THAT FROM THE PRESIDENT.

Q SECRETARY HOLBROOKE SAID SOMETHING ABOUT THE
DUAL-KEY ARRANGEMENT AND HOW HE LOOKED ON IT WITH
DISFAVOR.

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ARE DISCUSSIONS GOING ON PERHAPS AT THE UNITED
NATIONS AS WELL AS IN SOME OF THESE CAPITALS ON HOW --
IF THERE IS TO BE A STRENGTHENING OF UNPROFOR, HOW TO
ABOLISH THE DUAL-KEY ARRANGEMENT?

MR. BURNS: DAVID, IF WE HAD TO WRITE THE BOOK AGAIN
ON BOSNIA, I DON'T THINK ANYBODY IN THIS GOVERNMENT
WOULD AGREE TO A DUAL-KEY ARRANGEMENT. THAT HAS BEEN SO
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DETRIMENTAL TO THE INTERNATIONAL PURPOSE OF TRYING TO
CONTAIN THE BOSNIAN SERBS. WE CERTAINLY WOULDN'T GO
DOWN THAT ROAD AGAIN. WE DO HAVE THAT ARRANGEMENT ON
THE GROUND NOW. THEY ARE THE RULES OF THE ROAD AS
PRESENTLY CONFIGURED.

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HOWEVER, SHOULD THE UNITED STATES DECIDE -- AND I DON'T KNOW IF WE WILL DO THIS -- BUT SHOULD THE UNITED STATES DECIDE, IF WE DECIDE, TO GET INVOLVED IN A BIGGER WAY -- IF WE DECIDE AMERICAN MILITARY FORCES SHOULD BE DEPLOYED ON BEHALF OF OTHERS OR IN CONJUNCTION WITH OTHERS -- I DON'T THINK WE WOULD WISH TO BE CONSTRAINED BY THE DUAL-KEY ARRANGEMENT. I DON'T THINK IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE, IT WOULDN'T BE WISE, AND IT WOULDN'T BE MILITARILY EFFECTIVE. I THINK OUR ALLIES KNOW THAT I THINK THE UNITED NATIONS KNOWS THAT.

Q IN EFFECT, WE ARE REWRITING THE RULES, OR TALKING ABOUT IT, AT LEAST?

MR. BURNS: AGAIN, I'M NOT GOING TO GET INTO WHAT WE MAY OR MAY NOT BE TALKING ABOUT WITH OUR ALLIES. BUT I CAN JUST TELL YOU VERY CLEARLY, CHARLIE, THAT IF WE HAVE TO FACE THESE QUESTIONS AGAIN OF A POSSIBLE DEPLOYMENT OF THE AMERICAN ARMED FORCES, WE WILL CERTAINLY DO SO WITH A VERY STRONG DESIRE, NOT TO BE ENCUMBERED BY THE DUAL-KEY ARRANGEMENT.

Q MAYBE I'M DENSE OR MAYBE -- LET ME ATTEMPT TO STRAIGHTEN IT OUT, AT LEAST IN MY OWN MIND. WHAT THE ADMINISTRATION AND ITS ALLIES ARE NOW TALKING ABOUT,
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DOES THAT INCLUDE CHANGING THE ARRANGEMENTS UNDER WHICH YOU'VE BEEN OPERATING, WHICH IS THE DUAL-KEY ARRANGEMENT? IS THAT POSSIBILITY ON THE TABLE NOW FOR A DISCUSSION?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T WANT TO GO DOWN THE SLOPE OF BEGINNING TO ANSWER QUESTIONS. I REALLY DON'T AND CAN'T. I'M SORRY ABOUT WHAT WE MAY OR MAY NOT BE DISCUSSING WITH OUR ALLIES.

BUT I CAN VERY CLEARLY STATE FOR YOU OUR POSITION THAT IF, IN THE FUTURE, WE ARE ASKED TO UNDERTAKE OR WE DECIDE TO UNDERTAKE ANY MILITARY MISSIONS, THAT THOSE MISSIONS NOT BE COMPLICATED BY THE DUAL-KEY

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ARRANGEMENT.

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THAT'S A VERY FIRM VIEW, I THINK UNANIMOUSLY HELD IN THIS GOVERNMENT.

Q IN THE FUTURE, MEANING TOMORROW, THE NEXT DAY FRIDAY'S MEETING --

MR. BURNS: THE FUTURE IS EVERYTHING FROM THIS MOMENT ON.

Q NICK, SO THE POSSIBILITY IS THAT EVEN THOUGH THE FRENCH AND THE BRITISH AND THE U.S. AND OTHER NATO ALLIES MAY AGREE ON A COURSE OF ACTION WHICH MAY OR MAY NOT INCLUDE THE DUAL-KEY, YOU FEEL YOU MUST GO TO THE
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U.N. TO GET ACCEPTANCE OF THIS? AND IF THE DUAL-KEY IS NOT INCLUDED IN THIS PLAN, IT'S POSSIBLE THAT THE U.N. COULD BLOCK ANY ACTION THAT YOU ALL ARE ABLE TO FORMULATE?

MR. BURNS: IT'S VERY DIFFICULT FOR ME TO DISCUSS -- I THINK YOU UNDERSTAND -- HYPOTHETICAL SITUATIONS INVOLVING MILITARY FORCE.

FIRST OF ALL, MOST OF THOSE QUESTIONS SHOULD BE PROPERLY DIRECTED TO THE EXPERTS AT THE PENTAGON, NOT TO THOSE OF US IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

SECONDLY, THE PRESIDENT HAS NOT MADE ANY DECISIONS ABOUT WHAT COURSE OF ACTION THE UNITED STATES WILL TAKE, AND WE DO NOT YET HAVE AN AGREEMENT WITH THE BRITISH AND FRENCH ON ANY COURSE OF ACTION. SO IT'S DIFFICULT FOR ME REALLY TO RESPOND FAIRLY TO YOUR QUESTION.

Q BUT IF A COURSE OF ACTION IS DETERMINED, IT COULD EITHER BE THROUGH THE U.N. OR UNILATERALLY, RIGHT, OR MULTILATERALLY WITH THE (INAUDIBLE).

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MR. BURNS: YES, THERE ARE A VARIETY OF DIFFERENT WAYS THAT WE CAN BOTH STRENGTHEN UNPROFOR AND TRY TO CONTAIN TH RECKLESSNESS AND THE MILITARY AGGRESSIVENESS OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS. THERE ARE A VARIETY OF WAYS TO ACCOMPLISH THAT. A LOT OF DIFFERENT THINGS ARE BEING LOOKED AT, BUT I'M NOT PREPARED, AND I SIMPLY CANNOT GO INTO WHAT THOSE OPTIONS ARE.

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Q WHAT IS THE RUSSIAN POSITION ON REMOVING THE DUAL-KEY ARRANGEMENT, DO YOU KNOW?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T KNOW. I DON'T KNOW WHAT THE RUSSIAN POSITION IS. I DON'T KNOW IF THE RUSSIANS HAVE SPOKEN TO THAT.

Q HAVE YOU SPOKEN TO THE RUSSIANS ABOUT WHAT'S GOING ON?

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MR. BURNS: I USED TO SPEAK TO THEM EVERY DAY. I DON'T SPEAK TO THEM EVERY DAY ANYMORE. I DON'T KNOW IF ANY OF OUR DIPLOMATS, EITHER IN MOSCOW OR ANY PLACE ELSE, HAVE HAD CONVERSATIONS WITH THE RUSSIANS ON THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE. I JUST DON'T KNOW.

Q MR. KOZYREV SAID YESTERDAY THAT HE DIDN'T THINK THIS PLANNING FOR A BEEFED-UP OPERATION WAS A GOOD IDEA.

MR. BURNS: SOMETHING HAS GOT TO BE DONE TO DEAL WITH THE VERY, VERY SERIOUS PROBLEM OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS CLEARLY FEELING THAT THEY HAVE AN OPEN FIELD; OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS CONTINUING TO VIOLATE WITH IMPUNITY UNITED NATIONS MANDATES; OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS GOING AFTER DEFENSELESS CIVILIANS AND BEING ACCUSED, WE THINK WITH GOOD REASON, OF ALL SORTS OF ATROCITIES AGAINST THOSE CIVILIANS.

SOMETHING'S GOT TO BE DONE. CERTAINLY WE IN THIS
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GOVERNMENT FEEL A RESPONSIBILITY TO THINK VERY SERIOUSLY
ABOUT WHAT CAN BE DONE TO STOP THE BOSNIAN SERBS, TO
CONVINCE THEM THAT THE ONLY WAY TO ACHIEVE THEIR
OBJECTIVE IS THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS, NOT THROUGH THIS
RUTHLESS MILITARY BEHAVIOR.

THAT IS WHAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS LOOKING
AT. THAT'S WHAT THE BRITISH, THE FRENCH THE UNITED
STATES AND OTHERS ARE LOOKING AT. IF THE RUSSIANS HAVE
A BETTER IDEA, I'M SURE THEY'LL FEEL FREE TO TELL US
BUT TO SIMPLY SAY THAT WE SHOULD STAND BY -- IF THIS IS
THE IMPLICATION, THAT WE SHOULD STAND BY AND WATCH
WHAT'S HAPPENING, WITHOUT THINKING ABOUT WHAT WE COULD
DO -- ALL OF US -- TO PREVENT THIS FROM RECURRING, I
THINK THE ANSWER TO THAT IS VERY CLEAR. WE FEEL A
RESPONSIBILITY TO ENGAGE IN THIS ISSUE.

Q THAT BEGS THE QUESTION. WHAT ARE THEY DOING
NOW THAT THEY HAVEN'T BEEN DOING FOR THE LAST THREE
YEARS, AND WHY DID YOU ALL STAND BY FOR THREE YEARS?

MR. BURNS: "THEY" MEANING?

Q THE BOSNIAN SERBS.

MR. BURNS: THE BOSNIAN SERBS, YOU'RE QUITE RIGHT,
SID, TO POINT OUT, HAVE ON A RECURRING BASIS TIME AND
AGAIN FLOUTED INTERNATIONAL LAW. AND ONE OF THE PROBLEMS
THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS HAD IS THAT WE
HAVEN'T STOOD UP TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS. WE CERTAINLY

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DIDN'T STAND UP TO THEM LAST WEEK IN SREBRENICA, AND IN COUNTLESS INCIDENTS THROUGHOUT THE LAST COUPLE OF YEARS.

THE QUESTION NOW IS WHAT CAN BE DONE TO CONVINCING THEM THAT THEIR BEHAVIOR IS NOT ONLY UNACCEPTABLE BUT UNWISE AND NOT IN THEIR OWN INTEREST. THAT IS THE QUESTION THAT

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HAS PRESENTED ITSELF TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, AND WE'RE ADDRESSING THAT QUESTION -- HOW TO STRENGTHEN UNPROFOR, HOW TO POSITION UNPROFOR IN SUCH A WAY THAT UNPROFOR CAN BE EFFECTIVE, UNPROFOR CLEARLY NOT HAVING BEEN EFFECTIVE ON A NUMBER OF ACCOUNTS RECENTLY.

Q NICK, HAVE THE BRITISH IN ANY WAY DEFINED UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS THEY WOULD OR WOULD NOT REMAIN IN VERY DIFFICULT PLACES LIKE GORAZDE? IN OTHER WORDS, HAVE YOU HAD THAT DISCUSSION? I'M NOT ASKING WHAT THEY SAID SPECIFICALLY AND UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS THEY WOULD DO WHAT, BUT HAVE YOU HAD THAT DISCUSSION AND A CLEAR ANSWER?

MR. BURNS: I THINK WE'VE HAD A NUMBER OF DISCUSSIONS ON THAT PARTICULAR ISSUE, ON THE STATUS OF THE BRITISH TROOPS THAT ARE IN GORAZDE AND ELSEWHERE ON THE GROUND, AND ON WHAT THEIR OPTIONS ARE. WE'VE CERTAINLY HAD THOSE DISCUSSIONS.

IT IS VERY CLEAR TO US THAT THE UNITED KINGDOM
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WISHES UNPROFOR TO STAY; THAT IT INTENDS TO STAY AS A PART OF UNPROFOR, AND WE CONGRATULATE PRIME MINISTER MAJOR AND FOREIGN SECRETARY RIFKIND ON BEING COURAGEOUS ENOUGH TO DECIDE AT A TIME OF GREAT DANGER AND UNCERTAINTY TO STRENGTHEN UNPROFOR, TO BRING MORE

BRITISH TROOPS INTO THE THEATER, AND WE ARE SUPPORTING THAT WITH LIFT AND BY OTHER MEANS.

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THE SECRETARY IS LOOKING FORWARD TO A FULL DISCUSSION, STEVE, OF THE QUESTION YOU'VE ASKED AND ALL THE OTHERS, WITH SECRETARY RIFKIND THIS EVENING.

Q THE OTHER DAY PRIME MINISTER MAJOR SAID THAT IT'S NOT PRACTICAL TO MIX WAR FIGHTING WITH PEACEKEEPING. DOES THAT MEAN THAT THE BRITISH ARE SUPPORTING SOME SORT OF CHANGE IN THE DEFINITION OF THE ROLE OF THE SOLDIERS WHO ARE CURRENTLY ON THE GROUND IN BOSNIA? WOULD THEY NO LONGER BE PEACEKEEPERS?

MR. BURNS: I THINK I'D HAVE TO REFER YOU TO THE BRITISH FOR AN ANSWER TO THAT QUESTION. I THINK IT WOULD BE UNFAIR FOR ME TO TRY TO INTERPRET THEIR POSITION JUST HOURS BEFORE FOREIGN SECRETARY RIFKIND ARRIVES.

Q WHAT DOES THE U.S. THINK ON THAT SAME QUESTION?

MR. BURNS: THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT UNPROFOR HAS GOT TO BE STRENGTHENED, AND IT HAS GOT TO STAY AND TO BE MADE MORE EFFECTIVE. IT HAS CLEARLY FAILED IN A
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VERY IMPORTANT WAY IN SREBRENICA, AND WE IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AS PART OF THE U.N. EFFORT HAVE AN OBLIGATION NOW

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TO CONSIDER WHAT WE CAN DO TO STRENGTHEN THE REMAINING ENCLAVES. IT'S A VERY IMPORTANT QUESTION, AND THAT IS OUR POSITION ON THAT QUESTION.

Q DIFFERENT SUBJECT?

MR. BURNS: SURE.

Q THERE'S A WIRE STORY OUT OF BEIJING THAT SAYS CHINA SAID TUESDAY THE MEETING BETWEEN THE CHINESE AND U.S. FOREIGN MINISTERS NEXT MONTH WILL DETERMINE WHETHER BATTERED SINO-U.S. RELATIONS CAN RECOVER. IS THAT THE

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U.S. VIEW OF THE UPCOMING MEETING BETWEEN THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER?

MR. BURNS: CHARLIE, I WOULDN'T WANT TO GIVE IT THAT BURDEN. I THINK THE MEETING THAT'S COMING UP BETWEEN

FOREIGN MINISTER QIAN QICHEN AND SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER IS AN EXCEEDINGLY IMPORTANT MEETING. THEY HAVEN'T MET SINCE APRIL 17.

SINCE THAT TIME, THERE HAS BEEN A ROCKY ROAD, A VERY ROCKY ROAD INDEED, IN U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS THAT NEED TO BE DISCUSSED AT THAT
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LEVEL, AND THEY CAN ONLY BE DISCUSSED AT THAT LEVEL. SO IN THAT SENSE I DO AGREE WITH MY COLLEAGUE, THE FOREIGN MINISTRY SPOKESMAN IN BEIJING, THAT THIS IS A VERY IMPORTANT MEETING.

BUT WE SEE U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS TO BE TAKING PLACE ON A CONTINUUM. NO ONE MEETING, I THINK, SHOULD HAVE THE BURDEN OF EITHER SUCCEEDING OR FAILING IN THAT RELATIONSHIP. WHAT REALLY MATTERS IS THE ATMOSPHERE, BUT MORE IMPORTANTLY THE APPROACH AND THE INCLINATIONS THAT COUNTRIES BRING TO THOSE MEETINGS.

WE'LL BE MEETING IN GOOD FAITH. WE WILL BRING A COMMON-SENSE AND REALISTIC APPROACH TO SOLVING PROBLEMS TOGETHER. WE HOPE VERY MUCH AND WE EXPECT THAT THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE THAT APPROACH AND HAVE THOSE INCLINATIONS WHEN WE MEET ON AUGUST 1 IN BRUNEI. THAT'S WHAT'S REALLY IMPORTANT, THAT BOTH COUNTRIES DEDICATE THEMSELVES TOGETHER TO RESOLVING THE PROBLEMS. IT'S SIMPLY NOT REALLY BELIEVABLE TO THINK THAT ONE OF THE COUNTRIES HAS AN OVERRIDING RESPONSIBILITY TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEMS IN THE RELATIONSHIP. BOTH COUNTRIES SHARE THAT RESPONSIBILITY AND THAT IS THE WAY THE UNITED STATES WILL APPROACH THIS MEETING.

BETSY.

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Q DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING MORE ON THE KASHMIRI REBELS WHO ARE HOLDING THE AMERICAN AND OTHERS?

MR. BURNS: WE ARE CONTINUING TO WORK WITH THE UNCLASSIFIED

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INDIAN AUTHORITIES. WE REMAIN HOPEFUL THERE WILL BE A PEACEFUL

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OUTCOME TO THIS VERY GREAT PROBLEM. WE STILL HAVE AN EMBASSY OFFICER IN SRINAGAR. WE CERTAINLY WOULD JOIN THE FAMILIES IN APPEALING TO THE PEOPLE WHO ARE HOLDING MR. HUTCHINGS CAPTIVE AND THE OTHERS CAPTIVE TO RELEASE THEM UNHARMED. THESE PEOPLE HAVE DONE NOTHING WRONG.

THESE PEOPLE ARE INNOCENT, AND THEY OUGHT TO BE RELEASED UNHARMED AND RELEASED IMMEDIATELY.

Q NICK, TO COME BACK TO CHINA. CHINA SAYS THAT IT IS PLANNING TO CONDUCT SOME MISSILE LAUNCHING EXERCISES IN THE EAST CHINA SEA. HOW DOES THE U.S. SEE THIS IN TERMS OF THE TENSION ACROSS THE STRAITS?

MR. BURNS: WE SAW A PRESS REPORT THIS MORNING, INDICATING THAT THIS ACTION WILL BE TAKEN -- PRESS REPORTS FROM THE GOVERNMENT IN BEIJING. WE'RE LOOKING INTO THOSE REPORTS, AND CERTAINLY WE'LL WANT TO TALK TO THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT ABOUT THESE ACTIONS, BUT I REALLY HAVE NOTHING TO SAY PUBLICLY ABOUT THEM AT THIS POINT.

Q ANOTHER ISSUE -- TAIWAN. NEXT WEEK SOME SENATORS WILL, AS YOU KNOW, HOST A RECEPTION FOR MADAME CHIANG. WILL ANYONE FROM THIS BUILDING ATTEND THE MEETING? WILL THE FIRST LADY ATTEND THE RECEPTION?

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MR. BURNS: I DON'T KNOW IF ANYBODY FROM THIS
BUILDING OR OUR GOVERNMENT WILL BE REPRESENTED. I CAN
LOOK INTO THAT FOR YOU.

Q DO YOU HAVE ANY MORE ON THE AVIATION TALKS
BETWEEN THE U.S. AND JAPAN?

MR. BURNS: YES, I ACTUALLY DO ON THAT. I'M PLEASED
TO TELL YOU THAT WE HAVE AGREED WITH THE JAPANESE
GOVERNMENT TO HAVE ANOTHER ROUND OF TALKS IN LOS
ANGELES, CALIFORNIA, ON JULY 20-21. THERE WILL BE VICE
MINISTERIAL-LEVEL TALKS AT THE OUTSET. THE UNITED
STATES SIDE WILL BE HEADED BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF
STATE DAN TARULLO, AND THEN THERE WILL BE
MINISTERIAL-LEVEL TALKS. WE'LL BE REPRESENTED BY
SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION FEDERICO PENA.

I UNDERSTAND THAT THE JAPANESE MINISTER OF
TRANSPORT, MINISTER KAMEI, WILL BE THE JAPANESE MINISTER
WORKING WITH SECRETARY PENA.

AS YOU KNOW, WE DID NOT REACH AGREEMENT DURING THE
LAST TWO ROUNDS OF DISCUSSION IN WASHINGTON AND IN TOKYO
ON THIS ISSUE. THAT IS WHY WE HAVE AGREED TO RESUME
TALKS ON THURSDAY AND FRIDAY OF THIS WEEK. WE VERY MUCH
HOPE TO REACH AN AGREEMENT WITH JAPAN, AND WE HOPE TO DO
SO BECAUSE THERE'S A VERY IMPORTANT ISSUE AT STAKE.

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UNDER OUR BILATERAL CIVIL AVIATION AGREEMENT WITH
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THE JAPANESE, OUR AIR CARRIERS HAVE THE RIGHT TO OFFER
SERVICES BEYOND JAPAN TO OTHER ASIAN DESTINATIONS, AND
THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT UNFORTUNATELY HAS SAID THAT IT
WILL NOT PERMIT OUR CARRIERS SUCH AS FEDERAL EXPRESS TO

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EXERCISE THOSE RIGHTS.

WHEN THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT HONORS THE EXISTING RIGHTS OF OUR CARRIERS, WE WILL THEN BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS OTHER CIVIL AVIATION ISSUES. WE WANT TO EXPAND COMMERCIAL OPPORTUNITIES AVAILABLE TO CARRIERS OF BOTH SIDES. THAT IS OUR CENTRAL GOAL IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS WITH JAPAN, AND WE HOPE VERY MUCH THAT WE'LL BE SUCCESSFUL IN THEM.

Q YOU MEAN FEDERAL EXPRESS WANTS TO -- I'M NOT THAT FAMILIAR WITH THE ISSUE -- FEDERAL EXPRESS WANTS TO BE ABLE TO REFUEL IN JAPAN AND THEN GO ON TO OTHER ASIAN --

MR. BURNS: ESSENTIALLY, YES. THEY WANT TO BE ABLE TO LAND IN JAPAN. THEY WANT TO BE ABLE TO TAKE ON SERVICES IN JAPAN TO SERVE OTHER DESTINATIONS IN ASIA. RIGHT NOW THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT IS TAKING THE POSITION THAT IT WILL DENY FEDERAL EXPRESS -- THAT IT DOES DENY FEDERAL EXPRESS THAT RIGHT, AND WE THINK THAT IS NOT SUPPORTABLE AND NOT DEFENDABLE -- OR DEFENSIBLE -- EXCUSE ME -- UNDER THE CURRENT CIVIL AVIATION AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN.

WE ARE SIMPLY ASKING JAPAN TO HONOR THE CURRENT AGREEMENT. ONCE THE JAPANESE HAVE INDICATED THAT THEY

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WILL BE WILLING TO DO SO, WE'LL BE VERY GLAD TO TALK ABOUT A RANGE OF OTHER ISSUES THAT ARE OF CONCERN TO THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN.

Q THANK YOU.

MR. BURNS: THANK YOU.

END TEXT. CHRISTOPHER

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DRAFTED BY: EUR/PA: MEROBINSON
APPROVED BY: EUR/PA: ARSCHWAN
PA/PRESS (INFO): PAYOUNG

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 12 MAR 2009 200705105

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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OPRC

SUBJECT: EUR DAILY PRESS GUIDANCE - JULY 18, 1995

PARIS ALSO FOR USOECD, ROME ALSO FOR VATICAN, USVIENNA FOR USDEL
CSCE

1. THE FOLLOWING PRESS GUIDANCE WAS PREPARED AND APPROVED
BY THE BUREAU OF EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE
DEPARTMENT BRIEFING. QUESTIONS SHOULD BE REFERRED TO
ARIC SCHWAN, EUR PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

2. STATEMENT BY NICHOLAS BURNS, SPOKESMAN: POST CLOSINGS

SECRETARY OF STATE CHRISTOPHER HAS DECIDED THAT WE
MUST CLOSE MORE OVERSEAS POSTS IN FISCAL YEAR
1996. LETTERS WERE SENT TO THE CONGRESS ON THIS
SUBJECT ON FRIDAY, JULY 14, AND WE ARE CONSULTING
WITH OTHER U.S. GOVERNMENT AGENCIES WHICH HAVE
OPERATIONS AT THESE POSTS AND WITH THE HOST
GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED. THE LETTERS TO THE
CONGRESS DISCUSS CLOSING 19 POSTS, ALTHOUGH OTHERS
ARE STILL UNDER REVIEW AND THE DEPARTMENT MAY BE
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ADDING TO THIS LIST LATER THIS YEAR. THREE OF THE
POSTS SELECTED FOR CLOSURE ARE EMBASSIES; THE REST
ARE ALL CONSULATES OR CONSULATES GENERAL. THE
POSTS ARE:

AFRICA: LUBUMBASHI (ZAIRE), EMBASSY MALABO
(EQUATORIAL GUINEA), AND EMBASSY VICTORIA
(SEYCHELLES);

EAST ASIA: EMBASSY APIA (WESTERN SAMOA),

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BRISBANE (AUSTRALIA), CEBU (PHILIPPINES),
MEDAN (INDONESIA), AND UDORN (THAILAND);

EUROPE: BILBAO (SPAIN), BORDEAUX (FRANCE),
EDINBURGH (UK), FLORENCE (ITALY), POZNAN
(POLAND), STUTTGART (GERMANY), AND ZURICH
(SWITZERLAND).

LATIN AMERICA: CURACAO (NETHERLANDS
ANTILLES), HERMOSILLO AND MATAMOROS (MEXICO),
AND PORTO ALEGRE (BRAZIL);

LET ME MAKE A FEW POINTS THAT WILL PUT THIS
DECISION INTO PERSPECTIVE FOR YOU.

THIS ADMINISTRATION IS ACTIVELY ENGAGED ON EVERY
MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ISSUE, AND IS PROVIDING GLOBAL
LEADERSHIP IN ALL CRITICAL AREAS.

THE PRINCIPAL PATH TO ASSURING OUR CONTINUED
ENGAGEMENT AND LEADERSHIP, HOWEVER, IS A
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STRENGTHENED NATIONAL ECONOMY. THE PARTICIPATION
OF EVERY GOVERNMENT AGENCY IN ATTACKING THE BUDGET
DEFICIT PROBLEM IS CRITICAL TO ACHIEVING THIS
GOAL. IN DOING ITS PART IN THIS EFFORT, THE
DEPARTMENT OF STATE HAS TO MAKE SOME HARD CHOICES.

THE DRAMATIC CHANGES BROUGHT ON BY THE END OF THE
COLD WAR, THE COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORTATION
REVOLUTIONS AND THE INCREASING FINANCIAL DEMANDS
OF NEW OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES MEAN THAT WE
MUST LOOK ANEW AT OUR OVERSEAS PRESENCE. AS PART
OF A LARGER, STRATEGIC REVIEW OF THE DEPARTMENT'S
MANAGEMENT, THE SECRETARY UNDERTOOK A THOROUGH AND
CAREFUL EXAMINATION OF ALL OVERSEAS POSTS. HIS
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POST CLOSINGS RESULTED FROM
THIS REVIEW.

WE WILL CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS
WITH THOSE COUNTRIES WHERE WE MUST CLOSE

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EMBASSIES, AND WILL WORK VIGOROUSLY TO MINIMIZE WHATEVER NEGATIVE IMPACT THE CLOSING OF OUR EMBASSIES OR CONSULATES MAY HAVE ON OUR CITIZENS AND OUR INTERESTS IN THOSE COUNTRIES. WE WILL ALSO WORK TO ASSURE OUR ABILITY TO RESPOND TO THE NEEDS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS LIVING OR TRAVELLING IN THOSE AREAS AFTER THE POSTS ARE CLOSED.

WHERE WE MUST CLOSE EMBASSIES, WE WILL ACCREDIT NON-RESIDENT AMBASSADORS TO CONTINUE REPRESENTING OUR INTERESTS THROUGH VISITS AND COMMUNICATIONS WITH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS. WHERE WE CLOSE
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CONSULATES, OUR EMBASSIES WILL PROJECT OUR INTERESTS THROUGH VISITS AND MEETINGS WITH OFFICIALS, BUSINESSMEN AND KEY PERSONALITIES.

AS WE FACE INCREASING PRESSURE ON RESOURCES, STREAMLINED STAFFING OF ALL OUR MISSIONS BECOMES AN ABSOLUTE NECESSITY. CLOSING OVERSEAS POSTS IS NOT A DECISION THE SECRETARY HAS TAKEN LIGHTLY; SUCH CLOSURES REPRESENT SERIOUS SACRIFICES. THESE DECISIONS WERE MADE ONLY AFTER REVIEWING MANY ALTERNATIVES.

THAT SAID, THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN OPENING AND CLOSING POSTS OVERSEAS SINCE THE FOUNDING OF OUR COUNTRY. NOT TOO LONG AGO WE HAD CONSULATES IN LIVERPOOL, ENGLAND (CLOSED IN 1976), WINDSOR, ONTARIO (1970), MANDALAY, BURMA (1980), AND VERACRUZ, MEXICO (1971).

BUT WE CLOSED THESE POSTS AS THE NEED FOR THEIR PRESENCE LESSEned AND AS NEW REQUIREMENTS FOR OVERSEAS REPRESENTATION EMERGED. THAT SAME BASIC PROCESS CONTINUES, AND HAS BECOME INTENSIFIED DUE TO BUDGETARY PRESSURES.

3. POST CLOSINGS

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Q: HOW DID THE SECRETARY DECIDE WHICH POSTS TO CLOSE?

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A: -- AS PART OF THE SECRETARY'S STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT INITIATIVE, HE ASKED TWO DISTINGUISHED CAREER FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS, AMBASSADORS J. STAPLETON ROY AND RICHARD MELTON, TO LEAD A TEAM OF STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS IN A PROGRAM TO DEVISE AN OBJECTIVE, RATIONAL PROCEDURE FOR IDENTIFYING POSTS FOR CLOSURE.

-- IN HIS INSTRUCTIONS TO THE TEAM, THE SECRETARY EMPHASIZED HIS GOAL OF MAINTAINING TO THE GREATEST POSSIBLE EXTENT THE UNIVERSALITY OF U.S. DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION ABROAD. CONSEQUENTLY, THE TEAM FOCUSED ITS ATTENTION PRIMARILY ON CONSULATES.

-- THE TEAM, WORKING WITH BOTH GEOGRAPHICAL AND FUNCTIONAL BUREAUS, DEvised NINE CRITERIA FOR PRIORITIZING THE POSTS:

- (1) ECONOMIC/COMMERCIAL IMPORTANCE,
- (2) MILITARY/STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE,
- (3) GLOBAL ISSUES,
- (4) LAW ENFORCEMENT ISSUES,
- (5) REGIONAL, PUBLIC AFFAIRS; OTHER AGENCY SUPPORT,
- (6) CONCERNS OF U.S. CITIZENS,
- (7) POLITICAL/ECONOMIC POLICY SIGNIFICANCE,
- (8) CONSULAR ISSUES, AND
- (9) OPERATIONAL COSTS.

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-- THE SECRETARY USED THIS ADVICE TO HELP DECIDE WHICH POSTS COULD BE CLOSED WITH THE LEAST AMOUNT OF GLOBAL HARM TO OUR INTERNATIONAL POSITION.

Q: WHAT HAPPENS NEXT? DO YOU CONSULT WITH THE CONGRESS? AND WHAT HAPPENS TO THE POSTS AND THE PEOPLE WHO WORK THERE?

A: -- SECTION 48 OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT BASIC AUTHORITIES ACT REQUIRES US TO PROVIDE THE CONGRESS WITH OFFICIAL NOTIFICATION 45 DAYS BEFORE WE CLOSE ANY OF OUR OVERSEAS POSTS. THE SAME ACT REQUIRES THAT WE GIVE CONGRESS NOTICE OF OUR INTENDED EXPENDITURES BEFORE WE PAY ANY EXPENSES RELATED TO POST CLOSINGS. WE PROVIDED THAT NOTIFICATION ON FRIDAY, JULY 14.

-- GIVEN THE BUDGET PRESSURES AND THE INTERNATIONAL CHANGES AFFECTING THE STATE DEPARTMENT, WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT THE CONGRESS WILL UNDERSTAND THE NEED FOR THESE ACTIONS. WE LOOK FORWARD TO CONSULTING WITH KEY CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES ON THIS ISSUE, AND WILL CONTINUE OUR CONSULTATIONS WITH OTHER U.S. GOVERNMENT AGENCIES WITH PROGRAMS AND PERSONNEL AT THESE POSTS. WE INTEND TO TAKE WHATEVER CONCERNS BOTH CONGRESS AND THE OTHER AGENCIES HAVE ABOUT THESE CLOSINGS SERIOUSLY. OUR GOAL IS TO COMPLETE THIS PROCESS EXPEDITIOUSLY AND TO MOVE FORWARD TO CLOSE

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THESE POSTS IN A WAY THAT BEST PROTECTS THE OVERALL INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

-- WHEN WE CLOSE POSTS, WE REASSIGN AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE PERSONNEL TO OTHER POSTS OR

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BACK TO WASHINGTON. OUR OVERALL EMPLOYMENT AND FINANCIAL PLAN WILL BE ADJUSTED TO REFLECT THESE SAVINGS. JOBS HELD BY LOCAL EMPLOYEES ARE ABOLISHED, AND THEIR EMPLOYMENT IS TERMINATED IN KEEPING WITH DEPARTMENT REGULATIONS AND LAW. EQUIPMENT IN THE CONSULATES IS EITHER SOLD OR SHIPPED TO OTHER POSTS, AND REAL PROPERTY IS DISPOSED OF.

- Q: HOW MUCH WILL CLOSING THESE POSTS SAVE? HOW MUCH WILL IT COST TO CLOSE THEM DOWN?
- A: -- ONE-TIME CLOSING COSTS, WHICH WE WILL INCUR IN FY 1996, SHOULD NOT EXCEED 3 MILLION. AFTER THAT, WE ESTIMATE THAT ANNUAL RECURRING SAVINGS SHOULD BE APPROXIMATELY 12 MILLION.
- Q: ARE YOU JUST CUTTING BACK OVERSEAS? WHAT ABOUT WASHINGTON?
- A: -- IN ORDER TO LIVE WITHIN OUR BUDGET LEVELS, MAJOR REDUCTIONS WILL BE TAKEN IN WASHINGTON. THE MAIN FOCUS IS DEFINITELY ON HEADQUARTERS. HOWEVER, 70 OF OUR PERSONNEL AND 60 OF OUR DIRECT FUNDING IN WASHINGTON ARE FOCUSED ON SUPPORTING OUR EMBASSIES AND CONSULATES
- UNCLASSIFIED

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OVERSEAS. THUS IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WE REVIEW OPERATIONS OVERSEAS AND AT HOME VERY CAREFULLY.

4. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: BALKAN POLICY POINTS

- WE CONTINUE WORKING WITH OUR ALLIES TO DEVELOP AN EFFECTIVE RESPONSE TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS' CONTINUED DEFIANCE OF UN MANDATES AND RESOLUTIONS.
- WE SUPPORT THE STRENGTHENING OF UNPROFOR TO ENABLE IT TO PROTECT UN-DESIGNATED SAFE AREAS.

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- WE EMPHASIZE OUR DEEP CONCERN FOR THE WELL-BEING OF CIVILIANS AND OUR COMMITMENT TO SEE PERPETRATORS OF WAR CRIMES BROUGHT TO JUSTICE.
- WE DEMAND THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS ALLOW INTERNATIONAL MONITORS FULL ACCESS TO THE MEN AND BOYS HELD AS P.O.W.'S IN BRATUNAC (BRAH-TOO-NATZ).

5. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: SACIRBEY'S STATEMENTS

Q: REACTION TO BOSNIAN FM SACIRBEY'S CALL FOR THE END OF UNPROFOR?

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- A:
- WE BELIEVE THE UNITED NATION'S PEACEKEEPING MISSION IN BOSNIA SHOULD CONTINUE.
 - THE PRESIDENT HAS SAID THAT THE UNITED NATIONS MISSION MUST BE STRENGTHENED IF IT IS TO REMAIN IN BOSNIA.
 - WE SUPPORT THE REASSERTION OF THE UN'S MANDATE AND THE PROTECTION OF CIVILIANS IN THE DESIGNATED SAFE HAVENS.
 - WE ARE PRESENTLY DISCUSSING WITH OUR ALLIES THE BEST WAY TO ACHIEVE THESE GOALS.
 - WE HAVEN'T HEARD THIS FORMALLY FROM BOSNIA.
 - UNDERSTAND THEIR FRUSTRATION.

6. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL?

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Q: DOES THE ADMINISTRATION RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL BEFORE DOING ANYTHING TO HELP THE ALLIES? BEFORE USING HELICOPTERS?

A: -- WE BELIEVE STRONGLY IN REGULAR CONSULTATIONS WITH CONGRESS ON ALL ASPECTS OF OUR POLICY IN BOSNIA. WE CONTINUE TO CONSULT CLOSELY AT BOTH A STAFF AND MEMBER LEVEL.
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-- WE WILL CONSULT CONTINUOUSLY AS WE WORK THROUGH OPTIONS IN BOSNIA.

-- THIS IS ALSO TRUE CONCERNING AID AND EQUIPMENT THAT MIGHT BE CONSIDERED IN SUPPORT OF THE RRF AND UNPROFOR AS WELL AS FOR A NATO EFFORT TO EXTRACT UN FORCES SHOULD THAT BECOME NECESSARY.

Q: DOES CONGRESS HAVE A VETO POWER OVER A CORADZE OPERATION OR A BOMBING CAMPAIGN?

A: -- AS I SAID, WE HAVE PLEDGED TO CONSULT AND WE WILL DO SO.

-- SINCE THE US AND ITS ALLIES HAVE NOT SETTLED ON ANY FURTHER MILITARY STEPS, I CAN'T ADDRESS A HYPOTHETICAL SITUATION.

7. MILITARY OPTIONS

Q: IS THE ADMINISTRATION CONSIDERING MASSIVE BOMBING AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO OR COMPLEMENTARY OF THE FRENCH PROPOSAL?

A: -- AS WE HAVE SAID, WE CONTINUE TO DISCUSS OUR NEXT COURSE OF ACTION WITH OUR ALLIES.

-- LAST SUNDAY, THE MILITARY CHIEFS OF THE U.S.,
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FRANCE AND BRITAIN MET IN LONDON TO DISCUSS
OUR MILITARY OPTIONS.

- THESE DISCUSSIONS WILL CONTINUE AT AN
INTERNATIONAL MEETING IN LONDON THIS FRIDAY.
SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, GENERAL SHALIKASHVILI
AND SECRETARY PERRY WILL BE IN ATTENDANCE.
- THEY WILL ALSO BE A PART OF SECRETARY
CHRISTOPHER'S MEETINGS WITH BRITISH FOREIGN
SECRETARY MALCOLM RIFKIND TODAY.
- WE HAVE NOT RULED OUT ANY OPTIONS ON THE USE
OF NATO AIR POWER.

8. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: SITUATION UPDATE

Q: STATUS OF ZEPA?

- A: -- BOSNIAN RADIO REPORTS THAT THE SAFE HAVEN OF
ZEPA (ZEH-PAH) HAS COME UNDER HEAVY TANK AND
ARTILLERY FIRE THIS MORNING.
- THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY ADVANCED TO WITHIN ONE
MILE OF THE TOWN ON SUNDAY, BUT DID NOT MOVE
FURTHER YESTERDAY INTO THE TOWN, HOME TO
15,000 BOSNIAN CIVILIANS.
- THE UN ESTIMATES THAT THE ENCLAVE IS PROTECTED
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BY 500-1,000 LIGHTLY ARMED GOVERNMENT TROOPS.

- GOVERNMENT FORCES HAVE CONFISCATED LIGHT ARMS AND SEVERAL ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS FROM THE 79 UKRANIAN PEACEKEEPERS STATIONED WITHIN THE TOWN.
- THE PEACEKEEPERS HAVE WITHDRAWN FROM SEVEN OF THE NINE UN OBSERVATION POSTS. THE UN REPORTS THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE LAID MINES AROUND ONE OF THE POSTS AND SEVERAL PEACEKEEPERS REMAIN TRAPPED IN THE AREA.

Q: UPDATE ON GORAZDE? STATUS OF UKRANIAN COMMANDER?

- A:
- THE COMMANDER OF THE 90-MAN UKRANIAN PEACEKEEPER FORCE IN GORAZDE (GOR-AZH-DAY) HAS BEEN TAKEN HOSTAGE BY A BOSNIA MILITIA IN THE ENCLAVE WHICH HAS THREATENED TO KILL HIM UNLESS THE UKRANIANS TURN OVER THEIR WEAPONS TO BOSNIAN FORCES.
 - WE DEPLORE THE TAKING OF UN PEACEKEEPERS HOSTAGE BY ANY SIDE IN THE CONFLICT.
 - WE CALL ON THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT TO ASSIST THE UN IN NEGOTIATING FOR THE COMMANDER'S RAPID AND SAFE RELIEF.
 - MEANWHILE, GORAZDE REMAINS UNDER ATTACK. SARAJEVO RADIO REPORTED THAT TWO PEOPLE WERE
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SERIOUSLY WOUNDED IN SERB SHELLING THIS
MORNING.

- IN ADDITION TO THE UKRANIAN FORCE, THERE ARE 320 BRITISH PEACEKEEPERS STATIONED IN GORAZDE.

9. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: STATUS OF REFUGEES

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- A: -- UNHCR REPORTS THAT TUZLA HAS RECEIVED ROUGHLY 29,000 REFUGEES FROM SREBRENICA (SREH-BREH-NEET-SAH). ABOUT 4,000 MEN ARRIVED IN TUZLA YESTERDAY AFTER HAVING FOUGHT THEIR WAY THROUGH SERB-HELD TERRITORY AFTER THE FALL OF SREBRENICA.
- APPROXIMATELY 9,000 REFUGEES STILL REMAIN UNACCOUNTED FOR AND THE BOSNIAN SERBS STILL HOLD 4,000 MEN AND BOYS IN BRATUNAC.
- THE BOSNIAN SERBS CONTINUE TO REFUSE TO ALLOW INTERNATIONAL INPECTORS TO SEE THE PRISONERS IN BRATUNAC, CITING SECURITY REASONS.
- THE RED CROSS EVACUATED 87 WOUNDED FROM SREBRENICA YESTERDAY, AND TOOK THEM TO TUZLA FOR MEDICAL TREATMENT. THE SERBS REFUSED TO ALLOW 18 OF THE WOUNDED TO LEAVE WHO THEY SAID WERE P.O.W.'S.

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Q: REPORTS OF ATROCITIES?

- A: -- AS YOU KNOW, MANY OF THE REFUGEES OF SREBRENICA HAVE REPORTED SERIOUS ABUSES OF HUMAN RIGHTS--INCLUDING RAPE AND MURDER--BY THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY DURING THEIR CAPTURE OF THE CITY.
- THESE REPORTS STILL CANNOT BE INDEPENDENTLY CONFIRMED BECAUSE THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE CONSTRAINED THE MOVEMENTS OF UN PERSONNEL AND INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN WORKERS.
- HOWEVER, WE FEAR THAT A GREAT DEAL OF THESE ACCOUNTS MAY BE TRUE. WE WILL HOLD THE BOSNIAN SERB LEADERSHIP ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE ACTIONS OF THEIR TROOPS.

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10. BOSNIA: VISIT OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY OAKLEY TO TUZLA

Q. COULD YOU GIVE US A READOUT OF MRS. OAKLEY'S VISIT TO TUZLA YESTERDAY?

A. -- ASSISTANT SECRETARY OAKLEY VISITED TUZLA YESTERDAY TO GET A FIRST-HAND VIEW OF THE SITUATION AND TO ASSESS THE NEEDS OF THE DISPLACED PEOPLE FORCED FROM THEIR HOMES IN SREBRENICA.

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- SHE TRAVELLED WITH UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEE SADAKO OGATA AND WAS ACCOMPANIED BY OUR AMBASSADOR IN GENEVA DAN SPIEGEL.
- MRS. OAKLEY WAS DISTRESSED BY THE PLIGHT OF THE DISPLACED AND EXTREMELY CONCERNED ABOUT THE FATE OF THE SEVERAL THOUSAND REFUGEES FROM SREBRENICA WHO ARE STILL MISSING.
- MRS. OAKLEY TOURED THE CAMP AT THE TUZLA AIRBASE WHERE SOME 5,500 WOMEN, CHILDREN AND A FEW ELDERLY MEN ARE HOUSED. SHE FOUND THAT THEIR SITUATION HAD STABILIZED AND THAT THEY HAVE ADEQUATE FOOD, WATER, AND MEDICAL CARE THROUGH THE COMBINED EFFORTS OF UNPROFOR, UNHCR AND THE NGOS.
- SHE ALSO VISITED COLLECTION CENTERS IN THE TUZLA AREA TO WHICH SOME 23,000 DISPLACED PERSONS FROM SREBRENICA ARE BEING MOVED TEMPORARILY. PEOPLE FROM SREBRENICA CONTINUE TO TRICKLE INTO TUZLA.
- SHE SPOKE WITH MANY OF THE DISPLACED. SHE FOUND THEM TO BE IN FAIRLY GOOD PHYSICAL CONDITION BUT DAZED BY THEIR EXPULSION FROM THEIR HOMES AND DISTRESSED BY THE SEPARATION

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FROM HUSBANDS, SONS, AND FATHERS, AND THEIR
UNCERTAIN FUTURE.

-- MRS. OAKLEY ALSO MET WITH UN AND NGO OFFICIALS
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ON THE GROUND. IN ADDITION TO UNPROFOR,
UNHCR, THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION, THE
ICRC, THERE ARE A NUMBER OF NGO'S WORKING IN
THE TUZLA AREA.

-- MRS. OAKLEY IS IN GENEVA TODAY AND TOMORROW.
SHE IS MEETING TODAY WITH CORNELIO SOMMARUGA,
PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF
THE RED CROSS (ICRC), TO DISCUSS THE SITUATION
ESPECIALLY THE THOUSANDS OF MISSING FROM
SREBRENICA. SHE IS ALSO MEETING WITH UN
OFFICIALS.

-- TOMORROW SHE WILL ATTEND A MEETING OF THE
HUMANITARIAN ISSUES WORKING GROUP OF THE
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE FORMER
YUGOSLAVIA, CHAIRED BY MRS. OGATA.

-- MRS. OAKLEY WILL RETURN TO WASHINGTON ON
THURSDAY.

Q. WHAT ASSISTANCE IN THE U.S. PROVIDING?

A. -- THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN RESPONDING TO THE
ONGOING HUMANITARIAN CRISIS IN THE FORMER
YUGOSLAVIA SINCE 1991, AND IS PREPARING TO
RESPOND TO THE PRESENT CRISIS WITH ADDITIONAL
ASSISTANCE.

-- THE U.S. HAS CONTRIBUTED OVER 900 MILLION
DOLLARS IN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE SINCE THE
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CONFLICT BEGAN IN 1991 (ALMOST 140 MILLION
DOLLARS IN FY 1995 TO DATE).

11. GREECE/TURKEY: GREECE-NEWS REPORT ON DEPARTMENT
MEETING

(IF ASKED)

Q: DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT ON THE ARTICLE IN THE
LATEST EDITION OF THE ATHENS WEEKLY "TO VIMA"
REPORTING AN INTERAGENCY MEETING IN WASHINGTON
DISCUSSING GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS?

A: -- THE ARTICLE IS INACCURATE.

 -- USG AGENCIES REGULARLY MEET TO DISCUSS AND
FORMULATE POLICY ON SPECIFIC ISSUES. WE DO
NOT, HOWEVER, DISCUSS THE DETAILS OR THE
CONCLUSIONS OF THESE MEETINGS PUBLICLY.

MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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AMEMBASSY PORT AU PRINCE IMMEDIATE 2473-98
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COMUSNAVCENT IMMEDIATE
CIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7385-407
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WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE 5756-81
AMEMBASSY BAKU IMMEDIATE 2270-95
XMT AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY MALABO
AMCONSUL SHANGHAI

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INFORM CONSULS ALSO FOR USEC/USOECDC

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 12 MAR 2009 200705105

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E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: OPRC
SUBJECT: DAILY PRESS BRIEFING -- MONDAY, JULY 17, 1995

THE FOLLOWING TOPICS WERE COVERED IN TODAY'S PRESS
BRIEFING:

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RELEASE OF U.S. CITIZENS BARLOON/DALIBERTI FROM IRAQ 1-2
SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER/CHINESE FM QIAN MTG. IN BRUNEI .. .2
SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER/UK FOREIGN SECRETARY DISCUSSIONS .2
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OAKLEY'S TRIP TO BOSNIA/GENEVA .2-3
SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER'S TRIP TO LONDON FOR BOSNIA MTGS.
2-3

FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

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CHINA

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BEGIN TEXT:

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MR. BURNS: GOOD AFTERNOON, WELCOME TO THE STATE
DEPARTMENT BRIEFING. I SEE WE HAVE SOME SPECIAL GUESTS
WITH US TODAY. WELCOME. HOW ARE YOU? GOOD.

I'D LIKE TO INTRODUCE MISS ANIKA TURNER, WHO IS AN
INTERN THIS SUMMER IN THE PA FRONT OFFICE, WORKING WITH
ME AND WITH CHRISTINE SHELLEY. SHE IS A GRADUATE OF THE

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UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, AND SHE INTENDS TO PURSUE HER GRADUATE STUDY SHORTLY. WELCOME, ANIKA.

STEVE, DO YOU HAVE AN INTRODUCTION YOU WANT TO MAKE HERE?

Q MY DAUGHTER, ELLEN

MR. BURNS: WELCOME. ARE YOU GOING TO ASK QUESTIONS? YOU'RE NOT. OKAY. JUST YOUR DAD HUH? (LAUGHTER.)

Q (INAUDIBLE)

MR. BURNS: YOU HAVE A RIGHT TO ASK. IF ANYTHING IS UNCLEAR, JUST SPEAK UP.

Q (INAUDIBLE) (LAUGHTER.)

MR. BURNS: OKAY. I HAVE A FEW THINGS, A FEW NOTICES
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BEFORE WE GET TO QUESTIONS.

FIRST, I JUST WANTED TO REAFFIRM HOW PLEASED ALL OF US IN THE GOVERNMENT ARE BY THE RELEASE OF MR. DALIBERTI AND MR. BARLOON OVERNIGHT AND TO CONGRATULATE AGAIN CONGRESSMAN BILL RICHARDSON. SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER PHONED OUT TO AMMAN THIS MORNING TO OUR AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE AND HE TALKED TO BOTH MR. DALIBERTI AND MR. BARLOON. I THINK YOU KNOW THE PRESIDENT ALSO CALLED AND TALKED TO THEM BOTH. THEY ARE IN GREAT SPIRITS. I THINK MR. DALIBERTI IS HEADING BACK TO THE U.S. AND MR. BARLOON IS TO KUWAIT WHERE HIS FAMILY RESIDES.

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IN ADDITION TO THANKING CONGRESSMAN RICHARDSON I THINK IT'S APPROPRIATE FOR ALL OF US IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT TO THANK MR. RYSZARD KRYSZOSIK WHO IS THE CHIEF OFFICIAL OF THE POLISH PROTECTING OFFICE IN BAGHDAD. HE IS A VETERAN DIPLOMAT. HE DID AN

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OUTSTANDING JOB FOR THE UNITED STATES AND I THINK FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN TRYING TO STAY IN TOUCH WITH THE TWO MEN OVER THE LAST FIVE MONTHS AND IN

REPRESENTING UNITED STATES' INTERESTS, AND WE ARE VERY VERY GRATEFUL TO HIM AND TO THE POLISH GOVERNMENT.

SECONDLY, I WANTED YOU ALL TO KNOW THAT THE SECRETARY WILL INDEED HAVE A MEETING ON AUGUST 1ST IN BRUNEI WITH THE CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER, FOREIGN MINISTER QIAN. WE AGREED WITH THE CHINESE THIS MORNING

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THAT THIS MEETING WOULD TAKE PLACE ON AUGUST 1. WE ARE LOOKING FORWARD TO THIS MEETING. THE SECRETARY BELIEVES THAT IT PRESENTS AN OPPORTUNITY TO TALK THROUGH SOME OF THE MAJOR AND IMPORTANT ISSUES ON THE AGENDA OF BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA. THIS WILL BE THE NINTH MEETING BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND FOREIGN MINISTER QIAN.

THIRD, THE SECRETARY WILL BE HAVING DINNER TOMORROW NIGHT WITH THE U.K. FOREIGN SECRETARY MALCOLM RIFKIND AND THEY WILL BE HAVING DISCUSSIONS AS WELL ON WEDNESDAY MORNING HERE IN THE DEPARTMENT. THIS WAS A MEETING THAT WAS SCHEDULED MORE THAN A WEEK AGO, JUST AFTER MR. RIFKIND ASSUMED HIS POST AS FOREIGN SECRETARY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, AND OF COURSE PRESENTS AN OPPORTUNITY TO TALK ABOUT BOSNIA IN GREATER DETAIL BUT ALSO ABOUT MANY OTHER ISSUES THAT ARE OF CONCERN TO THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED KINGDOM.

ALSO I WOULD LIKE YOU TO NOTE THE SECRETARY HAS ASKED ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE PHYLLIS OAKLEY TO TRAVEL TO BOSNIA FOR AN ON-SIGHT LOOK AT THE PROBLEMS, THE TREMENDOUS PROBLEMS THAT ARE AFFLICTING THE REFUGEES FROM SREBRENICA. SHE LEFT YESTERDAY. SHE WAS IN GENEVA EARLY THIS MORNING, AND SHE TRAVELLED WITH MRS. OGATA THIS MORNING INTO TUZLA, SPENT THE DAY IN TUZLA, AND I BELIEVE IS NOW HEADING BACK TO GENEVA, SO WE HOPE TO HAVE SOME IMPRESSIONS FROM HER VISIT PERHAPS LATER ON TODAY.

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THE PURPOSE OF HER TRIP IS TO GAIN A FIRSTHAND
IMPRESSION OF THE PROBLEMS OF THE REFUGEES BUT I THINK
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MORE RELEVANT TO THE UNITED STATES, WHAT WE CAN DO
WORKING THROUGH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE AND THE RED
CROSS, THE WORLD FOOD PROGRAM, THE UNHCR, AND WORKING
THROUGH THE RELEVANT NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS,
WHAT WE CAN DO TO HELP RESPOND TO THE VERY URGENT AND
VERY GRAVE PROBLEMS OF THE REFUGEES.

FINALLY, I THINK YOU ALL KNOW THE SECRETARY TALKED A
LITTLE BIT EARLIER THIS MORNING ON NPR ABOUT HIS
INTENTION

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TO TRAVEL TO LONDON ON THURSDAY AFTERNOON FOR THE
BOSNIAN MEETINGS THAT HAVE BEEN CALLED, SUGGESTED, BY
THE U.K. THAT WILL TAKE PLACE ON FRIDAY. SO HE WILL BE
SPENDING PART OF THURSDAY EVENING AND FRIDAY AND
PROBABLY INTO SATURDAY IN LONDON ON THOSE MEETINGS.

AND THERE IS A SIGN-UP SHEET TODAY THAT IS AVAILABLE
FOR ANY OF YOU WHO WOULD LIKE TO ACCOMPANY THE SECRETARY
AND HIS PARTY TO LONDON, AND IT CLOSES AT NOON TOMORROW.

Q NICK, CAN YOU -- WHAT IS PHYLLIS OAKLEY
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF, PLEASE? AND IT SOUNDS LIKE SHE
MADE AN EXTREMELY SHORT, EXTREMELY BRIEF TRIP. CAN YOU
PUT IT IN HOURS, OR WAS SHE THERE A WHOLE DAY, OR WHAT?

MR. BURNS: I THINK SHE WAS THERE THE BETTER PART OF
THE DAY. HER TITLE IS ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
POPULATION, REFUGEES AND MIGRATION, AND SHE HAS BEEN IN
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GENEVA CONFERRING WITH THE U.N. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR
REFUGEES, MRS. OGATA. THE INTENTION WAS TO FLY IN
TODAY, TO TALK TO THE OFFICIALS OF THE INTERNATIONAL
ORGANIZATIONS WHO ARE ON THE GROUND DEALING WITH THE
REFUGEE PROBLEMS, AND TO GET A SENSE OF WHAT FURTHER
ASSISTANCE THEY NEED FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

SHE WILL THEN SPEND THE NEXT TWO DAYS IN GENEVA
WHERE THERE IS GOING TO BE A WORKING GROUP, A
HUMANITARIAN ISSUES WORKING GROUP, OF ALL THE
ORGANIZATIONS THAT ARE CONTRIBUTING MONEY AND SERVICES
TO THE REFUGEES IN BOSNIA, SO THAT THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY CAN BE UNITED IN WHAT ITS RESPONSE SHOULD BE
TO THIS HUMANITARIAN SITUATION.

Q YOU FOLKS HAVE BEEN EXTREMELY CLEAR ABOUT
RULING OUT TROOPS, AND NOT TO EXTEND WHAT WILL BE A LONG
BRIEFING ANYHOW WHEN WE GET TO THE MIDDLE EAST AMONG
OTHER THINGS, WHAT IS THE U.S. DOING UNILATERALLY,
RISK-FREE, WITHOUT ANY NEED TO SEND ANY TROOPS INTO
BOSNIA? WHAT IS THE U.S. DOING ON ITS OWN WITHOUT
WAITING FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS IN BEHALF OF
THESE REFUGEES IN BOSNIA?

MR. BURNS: WELL, AS YOU KNOW, WE DON'T HAVE AMERICAN
GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL ON THE GROUND WHO ARE WORKING WITH
THE REFUGEES, TRYING TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF THE
REFUGEES. WE ARE A FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTOR TO

ORGANIZATIONS THAT DO THAT WORK. SO THEREFORE IT MADE
SENSE FOR MRS. OAKLEY TO TRAVEL TO BOSNIA TO LOOK AT THE
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SITUATION AND TALK TO PEOPLE ON THE GROUND, BUT ALSO TO
GO BACK TO THE HEADQUARTERS OF THESE ORGANIZATIONS IN
GENEVA IN ORDER TO MAKE SOME DECISIONS ABOUT WHAT
FURTHER ASSISTANCE IS NEEDED.

I DON'T THINK IT IS POSSIBLE FOR THE UNITED STATES

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AT THIS POINT TO UNILATERALLY INTERVENE IN A SITUATION WHERE

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YOU HAVE THREE MAIN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS WORKING. I THINK IT IS MUCH MORE EFFECTIVE TO WORK THROUGH THEM SINCE THEY HAVE THE INFRASTRUCTURE SET UP AND THE EXPERIENCE IN THE REGION.

Q WHAT ARE THE THREE? THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR
--

MR. BURNS: THE UNHCR, THE U.N. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS, THE WORLD FOOD PROGRAM, AND THERE ARE A NUMBER OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS, SOME OF THEM AMERICAN, SOME NOT AMERICAN, THAT HAVE SPECIFIC CONTRACTS TO WORK ON THIS PROBLEM.

Q NICK, THERE IS A REPORT OUT OF FRANCE THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS TOLD THE FRENCH THAT IT WOULD HAVE TO ASK CONGRESS TO APPROVE THE USE OF HELICOPTERS IN BOSNIA FOR ANY OPERATION THAT MIGHT BE UNDERTAKEN TO STRENGTHEN GORAZDE OR ANY OF THE OTHER SAFE HAVENS. IS THIS
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ACCURATE? HAS THE UNITED STATES TOLD THE FRENCH THAT BEFORE IT COULD PROVIDE THAT KIND OF TRANSPORT, IT WOULD HAVE TO GET APPROVAL FROM CONGRESS?

MR. BURNS: THAT'S THE FIRST I'VE HEARD OF THAT, CAROL. I'M NOT AWARE THAT WE HAVE PASSED ANY SUCH MESSAGE TO THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT. I CAN'T KNOW WHAT ALL OF OUR CONTACTS HAVE BEEN, BUT I'M NOT AWARE THAT WAS A MESSAGE THAT WAS PASSED YESTERDAY.

Q AT LEAST IN YOUR DISCUSSIONS, YOU HAVE NOT HEARD ANYONE TALK ABOUT A LEGAL REQUIREMENT THAT -- OR THAT THE PRESIDENT COULDN'T MAKE A DECISION LIKE THAT WITHOUT FIRST --?

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MR. BURNS: I HAVE NOT. I'D BE GLAD TO LOOK INTO THAT AND CHECK ON IT, BUT I HAVE NOT. I THINK, YOU KNOW, BASICALLY WHAT WE HAVE DONE, TO CATCH YOU UP ON EVENTS SINCE FRIDAY, IS WE CONTINUED OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH OUR ALLIES THROUGHOUT THE WEEKEND, AND THAT WAS HIGHLIGHTED BY THE MEETING THAT GENERAL SHALIKASHVILI ATTENDED YESTERDAY IN LONDON.

HE IS BACK. HE HAD A MEETING WITH TONY LAKE, SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, SECRETARY PERRY AND AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT THIS MORNING. I UNDERSTAND THE PRESIDENT PARTICIPATED IN THAT, AND I THINK MIKE WILL HAVE SOMETHING TO SAY ABOUT THAT WHEN MIKE BRIEFS, BUT HE GAVE A FIRSTHAND REPORT TO ALL OF THOSE INDIVIDUALS ABOUT THE MEETING.

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I THINK IT IS FAIR TO SAY THAT IT IS GOING TO BE NECESSARY FOR US TO CONTINUE OUR DISCUSSIONS FOR THE NEXT COUPLE OF DAYS WITH OUR NATO ALLIES, WITH THE OTHER TROOP- CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES, TO GAIN A MORE PRECISE UNDERSTANDING OF EXACTLY WHAT THE FRENCH PLAN IS, AND ALSO TO WORK THROUGH SOME OF THE DIFFERENCES THAT ARE OBVIOUSLY OUT THERE AMONG THE TROOP-CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES ON WHAT THE NEXT BEST STEP IS.

THIS WILL LEAD US TO THE MEETING IN LONDON AT THE END OF THIS WEEK WHEN BOTH FOREIGN MINISTERS AND DEFENSE MINISTERS MEET, ALL OF THESE COUNTRIES TO ASSESS THE FUTURE OF THE UNITED NATIONS OPERATION THERE, AND ASSESS WHAT MAKES SENSE TO DO IN A STRATEGIC AND TACTICAL MILITARY SENSE, PARTICULARLY PERTAINING TO THE EASTERN ENCLAVES AND PARTICULARLY GORAZDE, WHAT MAKES SENSE NEXT.

BUT I THINK IT IS STILL TRUE THAT WE DON'T HAVE YET A DETAILED SENSE OF WHAT THE MILITARY PLAN IS. WE DO HAVE A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS ABOUT THE PLAN, QUESTIONS THAT NEED TO BE ANSWERED CERTAINLY BEFORE A DECISION CAN

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BE MADE BY THE PRESIDENT, QUESTIONS OF A MILITARY NATURE ABOUT THE RESOURCES THAT WILL BE BROUGHT TO BEAR, THAT ARE IMPORTANT TO KNOW BEFORE YOU CAN, I THINK, APPROPRIATELY MAKE A DECISION.

Q AND IS IT THE ASSESSMENT OF THIS GOVERNMENT

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THAT YOU HAVE THAT TIME, THAT YOU HAVE SEVERAL DAYS TO MAKE THIS DECISION, AND STILL BE ABLE TO INTERVENE IN A MEANINGFUL WAY?

MR. BURNS: IT'S DIFFICULT, CAROL, BECAUSE I THINK EVERYBODY WATCHING THE CONFLICT, WHETHER ON THE GROUND OR FROM AFAR, UNDERSTANDS THAT EVERY DAY DOES COUNT AND THAT EVERY DAY IS A DAY WHERE THE BOSNIAN SERBS CONTINUE TO PERSECUTE THE REFUGEES AND WHERE THEY CONTINUE AS THEY DO TODAY TO BE AGGRESSIVE MILITARILY AS THEY ARE AROUND ZEPA, SO EVERY DAY COUNTS.

I WOULD ALSO SAY, HOWEVER, THAT FOR THE UNITED STATES TO BE ABLE TO MEET A REQUEST FOR MILITARY ASSISTANCE IS A VERY IMPORTANT UNDERTAKING. WE WOULD BE PUTTING OUR FORCES AND OUR RESOURCES AT THE SERVICE OF OTHERS, AND WE NEED TO HAVE A VERY REAL APPRECIATION OF WHAT THE REQUEST IS. WE ALSO NEED TO HAVE FRANKLY, FURTHER TALKS TO LOOK AT THE POSITION OF OTHER COUNTRIES THAT ARE INVOLVED BEFORE WE CAN, I THINK MAKE A DECISION TO GO FORWARD OR MAKE A DECISION TO DO SOMETHING ELSE. AND I BELIEVE THAT THE TIME TABLE THAT I HAVE SKETCHED OUT IS PROBABLY THE APPROPRIATE ONE.

Q NICK, YOU RAISE AN INTERESTING POINT THERE IN YOUR LAST STATEMENT, WHEN YOU SAY "UNDER THE SERVICE OF

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OTHERS." THIS REFERRING TO POSSIBLE -, THIS OPERATION WILL NOT BE COMMANDED BY U.S. OFFICERS?

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MR. BURNS: I WASN'T REFERRING TO THAT. I WAS JUST REFERRING TO THE CENTRAL POINT THAT CERTAIN COUNTRIES, NAMELY FRANCE, BRITAIN, THE NETHERLANDS, HAVE TROOPS ON THE GROUND RIGHT NOW AS PART OF THE UNPROFOR FORCES. WE DO NOT AND WE ARE NOT INTENDING TO PUT AMERICAN COMBAT TROOPS ON THE GROUND TO JOIN THEM.

ANY REQUEST -- THE REQUESTS TO US HAVE BEEN MORE IN THE WAY OF LIFT AND TRANSPORT SERVICES AND THINGS OF THAT NATURE. THAT DOES NOT GET ME INTO THE ISSUE OF COMMAND AND CONTROL WHICH IS NOT MY PRESERVE, WHICH IS CERTAINLY A QUESTION THAT THE PENTAGON SHOULD ANSWER AND NOT ME. BUT I DON'T MEAN TO CAST DOUBT ON THAT EITHER. I SAID I AM JUST NOT SPEAKING TO THAT POINT.

Q OKAY, I MEAN NOT TO DRAW TOO FINE A LINE, BUT

WHAT DID YOU MEAN BY "UNDER THE SERVICE OF OTHERS?"

MR. BURNS: I SIMPLY MEANT AT THE REQUEST OF OTHERS. MAYBE THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN A BETTER WAY TO PUT IT, MAYBE IT WOULD HAVE BEEN MORE CLEAR. WE ARE IN A SITUATION NOW WHERE FRANCE, BRITAIN, THE NETHERLANDS ARE THE COUNTRIES THAT COMPRISE THE RAPID REACTION FORCE, THERE IS A REQUEST FROM THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT FOR THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN AND OTHERS NOW TO CONTRIBUTE TO AN UNDERTAKING TO DEFEND GORAZDE, AND THE UNITED STATES IS RESPONDING TO THAT -- OR ATTEMPTING TO RESPOND TO THAT REQUEST, BUT WE NEED GREATER CLARITY ABOUT THAT REQUEST.

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Q WHEN YOU SAY "GREATER CLARITY," ISN'T THAT

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REALLY JUST COVER FOR THE ASSESSMENT THAT THIS MEETING WAS A FAILURE? AFTER ALL, I THINK JUST FROM THURSDAY ONWARD THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WAS ASKING PUBLICLY FOR THE FRENCH TO CLARIFY WHAT THEY MEANT BY THEIR REQUEST. AND THEN THE CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF FLEW ALL THE WAY TO LONDON FOR A SPECIFIC MEETING TO FIND OUT FROM THE FRENCH WHAT THEY WERE ASKING.

HE HAD A LONG MEETING WITH THE FRENCH ON THAT VERY SUBJECT, AND THERE STILL ISN'T CLARITY?

MR. BURNS: WELL IT'S CERTAINLY NOT COVERED IN THIS SENSE, STEVE, AND THAT IS, ANYTIME THE UNITED STATES IS ASKED TO INVOLVE ITSELF MILITARILY IN A CONFLICT OR TO MEET A REQUEST TO ALLOW OTHERS TO DO SO ON THE GROUND, WE HAVE TO TAKE THAT REQUEST SERIOUSLY. AND HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO THE MEN AND WOMEN WHO WOULD CARRY IT OUT, AND WE SIMPLY HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO UNDERSTAND FULLY WHAT THE REQUEST IS AND WHAT THE IMPACT WOULD BE ON THE UNITED STATES.

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AND, I DON'T BELIEVE EVEN AFTER YESTERDAY'S MEETING THAT IS SUFFICIENTLY CLEAR YET.

I THINK IT'S MUCH TOO HARSH TO SAY THAT YESTERDAY'S MEETING WAS A FAILURE. THE FACT IS, WE HAVE A REQUEST. THERE WILL BE AN ANSWER TO THAT REQUEST SOONER OR LATER. AND THAT ANSWER WAS NOT - WE WERE NOT ABLE TO

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PRODUCE THAT ANSWER YESTERDAY. AND THE COUNTRIES THAT MET YESTERDAY WERE NOT ABLE TO AGREE ON A FINAL RESPONSE

TO THE SITUATION, BUT THAT WILL ALSO, WE HOPE, EMERGE IN THE COMING DAYS.

SO, TO SAY IT'S FAILURE, I THINK WE'RE JUST IN MID-STREAM HERE. WE'VE GOT TO WAIT AND SEE WHAT HAPPENS IN THE NEXT COUPLE OF DAYS.

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Q (INAUDIBLE) THE U.N. PEACEKEEPERS ARE GOING TO STAY? EVERYTHING YOU'VE SAID, EVERYTHING CHRISTOPHER SAID THIS MORNING IS WITHIN THAT CONTEXT. THERE'S ANOTHER CONSTRUCTION, OF COURSE -- THAT THE FRENCH ARE BLUFFING AND THAT THEY WILL EVENTUALLY TRY TO LEAVE THE ALLIES OUT OF BOSNIA AND THEN YOU WILL GO ALONG.

YOU'RE PUTTING EVERYTHING IN A SENSE OF BOLSTERING THE PEACEKEEPERS. IS THERE A THRESHOLD DECISION TO KEEP THE PEACEKEEPERS IN BOSNIA AND BOLSTER THEM?

MR. BURNS: WELL, THAT'S A QUESTION, I THINK, THAT'S GOING TO BE CENTRAL TO THE MEETINGS IN LONDON ON FRIDAY.

Q YOU CAN'T - THAT FRIDAY, IT WON'T BE THE BEGINNING OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE PEACEKEEPERS?

MR. BURNS: WE CERTAINLY HOPE NOT. BUT I WAS JUST GETTING TO THE SECOND PART OF MY RESPONSE. I THINK THAT IS A CENTRAL QUESTION FOR FRIDAY, BARRY. I ALSO THINK IT'S - I ALSO KNOW THAT IT'S CLEAR THAT OUR POSITION IS
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. THAT THEY SHOULD STAY AND THAT THEY SHOULD BE BOLSTERED. AND THAT IN OUR DISCUSSION WITH MOST OF THE TROOP-CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES, THAT'S CERTAINLY THE VERY REAL SENSE THAT WE GET.

Q DO ANY OF THE TROOP-CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES NOW FAVOR WITHDRAWAL?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE ANY THAT FAVOR WITHDRAWAL RIGHT NOW.

Q HOW WIDE ARE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE COUNTRIES REPRESENTED IN LONDON?

MR. BURNS: AT YESTERDAY'S MEETING?

Q YEAH.

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MR. BURNS: WELL, I CAN'T SPEAK WITH ANY DEGREE OF SPECIFICITY ABOUT YESTERDAY'S MEETING BECAUSE I WASN'T IN THE DEBRIEF THAT GENERAL SHALIKASHVILI GAVE TO THE PRESIDENT AND OTHERS THIS MORNING.

OBVIOUSLY, THESE ARE EXCEEDINGLY DIFFICULT PROBLEMS. THEY NEED TO BE WORKED THROUGH, AND THERE IS NOT AN AGREEMENT YET AMONG THE WESTERN ALLIES. WE HOPE VERY MUCH THAT THERE WILL BE SOME KIND OF AGREEMENT BY THE END OF THIS WEEK.

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Q WHY CAN'T THE UNITED STATES SAY AT THIS POINT WHAT IT IS WILLING TO OFFER TO SUCH AN OPERATION?

MR. BURNS: WELL, I'M JUST NOT GOING TO GO INTO THE DETAILS OF WHAT GENERAL SHALIKASHVILI DID YESTERDAY. I THINK THAT WE'VE BEEN CLEAR IN OUR PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS WITH OUR ALLIES WHAT WE MIGHT BE PREPARED TO DO, BUT WE ALSO HAVE A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS. AND WE'VE RESERVED THE RIGHT TO AGREE OR NOT TO AGREE BASED ON THE ANSWERS TO THOSE QUESTIONS. AND THAT'S PRETTY MUCH WHERE WE ARE RIGHT NOW.

Q IS THERE AN ASSESSMENT IN THE GOVERNMENT WHETHER GORAZDE CAN BE SAVED -- I MEAN, WHETHER IT IS SAVABLE -- WHETHER IT SHOULD BE SAVED, OR WHETHER IT'S GOING TO TAKE SOME AMERICAN SUPPORT TO DO THAT? I MEAN, CAN IT BE SAVED? BECAUSE TIME IS OBVIOUSLY OF THE ESSENCE.

MR. BURNS: I THINK A MUCH GREATER EXPERT IS SECRETARY PERRY WHO TOOK THIS QUESTION YESTERDAY AND I THINK ANSWERED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE. OF COURSE, IT CAN BE SAVED; IT CAN BE PROTECTED. THAT IS THE MANDATE THAT THE UNITED NATIONS HAS. AND, WE BELIEVE THAT MANDATE SHOULD BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY.

THE QUESTION IS, HOW CAN IT BE DONE? THAT'S THE QUESTION THAT SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER POSED ON HIS MEDIA

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APPEARANCE YESTERDAY, AND THAT IS THE QUESTION THAT
NEEDS TO BE ANSWERED THIS WEEK.

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Q BUT, NICK, THIS MORNING -- I DON'T KNOW THE
CONDITION, ONE CITY AGAINST ANOTHER. BUT THIS MORNING,
CHRISTOPHER SAID EXPLICITLY THAT IT WAS NEVER ASSUMED
THAT THE U.N. PEACEKEEPERS IN ZEPA COULD SAVE THAT
CITY. THAT WAS NEVER THEIR MISSION. THEY'RE LIGHTLY
ARMED. THERE WAS NEVER -- I'M LOOKING FOR THE EXACT
WORDS. BUT HE SAID THERE WAS NEVER AN ASSUMPTION THAT
THE U.N. PEACEKEEPERS WOULD SAVE THE CITY. THEY'RE NOT
SO EQUIPPED.
DO YOU THINK THIS CITY IS DIFFERENT? OR DO YOU
THINK FRIDAY'S MEETING WHICH, I SUPPOSE -- WHATEVER
RESULTS WOULD TAKE FURTHER TIME TO IMPLEMENT -- ALL
WOULD BE DONE IN TIME

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TO (1) TO BOLSTER; (2) THE CITY IS SAVABLE, SALVAGEABLE,
BY BOLSTER-PEACEKEEPING FORCES? IS THAT WHAT YOU'RE
SAYING?

MR. BURNS: I'M VERY WELL AWARE OF WHAT THE
SECRETARY SAID.

Q NO, TODAY, THIS MORNING; NOT YESTERDAY.

MR. BURNS: THIS MORNING. I WAS LISTENING AS WELL,
THIS MORNING, WHEN THE SECRETARY SPOKE ON NPR.

Q (INAUDIBLE) U.N. TROOPS.
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MR. BURNS: THE SECRETARY WAS STATING A FACT AND THAT IS THAT ALL OF THESE U.N. PEACEKEEPERS ARE LIGHTLY ARMED. AND THEIR CENTRAL MISSION OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF YEARS HAS BEEN HUMANITARIAN. THAT IS A DIFFERENT FACT THAN THE QUESTION THAT ROY BROUGHT UP. AND THE QUESTION IS, IS IT POSSIBLE TO PROTECT GORAZDE? AND THE ANSWER IS, YES, IT CERTAINLY IS. WE HOPE VERY MUCH THAT IT WILL BE PROTECTED AND DEFENDED AGAINST THE BOSNIAN SERBS.

Q BY THE WAY, HIS QUOTE WAS: "THEY WERE NEVER INTENDED TO TRY TO DEFEND THE AREA," MEANING THE U.N. MISSION WAS NEVER TO DEFEND ZEPA. THERE AREN'T ENOUGH PEOPLE THERE --

MR. BURNS: I DON'T BELIEVE THAT'S WHAT THE SECRETARY SAID. I DON'T BELIEVE IT'S FAIR TO INFER THAT FROM HIS COMMENTS.

Q I'M NOT SAYING ANYTHING -- HE'S SPEAKING OF THE POOR PEACEKEEPERS WHO DON'T HAVE THE WEAPONS AND DON'T HAVE THE ARMAMENT TO DEFEND A SO-CALLED SAFEHAVEN.

THAT'S ALL HE'S SAYING.

MR. BURNS: BARRY, ALL I'M SAYING IS THAT YOU'VE ADDED A DESCRIPTION OF WHAT YOU THOUGHT HE MEANT BY THAT. I'LL TELL YOU WHAT I THINK HE MEANT BY THAT.

WHAT I THINK THE SECRETARY MEANT WAS EXACTLY WHAT HE
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SAID: THEY ARE LIGHTLY ARMED.

Q RIGHT.

MR. BURNS: AND THEY ARE IN A VERY DIFFICULT

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POSITION TO ENGAGE IN FULL-SCALE MILITARY ACTIVITIES AS LIGHTLY ARMED INDIVIDUALS. AND, THEIR CENTRAL MISSION HAS ALWAYS BEEN HUMANITARIAN.

THE UNITED NATIONS ALSO HAS A MANDATE TO PROTECT THOSE SAFE AREAS. IT FAILED IN THAT MANDATE LAST WEEK IN

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SREBRENICA, AND WE HOPE VERY MUCH IT WILL NOT FAIL IN THE OTHER ENCLAVES.

Q ISN'T THE ESSENCE --

Q IF IT CAN BE SAVED, THEN THE NEXT QUESTION IS, SHOULD IT BE SAVED? IS THERE A VIEW IN THE ADMINISTRATION THAT GORAZDE SHOULD BE SAVED IF AT ALL POSSIBLE?

MR. BURNS: WE CERTAINLY THINK GORAZDE SHOULD BE PROTECTED. WE CERTAINLY THINK THE U.N. MANDATE SHOULD BE SERIOUSLY - A SERIOUS PART OF THIS CALCULATION, AND THAT THE PEOPLE OF GORAZDE HAVE EVERY RIGHT TO THINK THAT THE UNITED NATIONS WILL PROTECT THEM.

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THE QUESTION IS A VERY DIFFICULT QUESTION. IN UNFAVORABLE MILITARY CIRCUMSTANCES, WHERE THE BOSNIAN SERBS ARE NOW EMBOLDENED TO PRETTY MUCH GET THEIR WAY BASED ON THE EVENTS OF THE LAST COUPLE OF WEEKS, HOW CAN THE UNITED NATIONS NOW STRENGTHEN ITSELF OR RECONFIGURE ITSELF TO, IN ESSENCE, TO DEFEND THE MANDATE THAT IT CLEARLY HAS? THAT'S THE QUESTION THAT THE UNITED STATES, FRANCE, BRITAIN, THE NETHERLANDS AND OTHER COUNTRIES, ALONG WITH THE UNITED NATIONS, HAVE TO ANSWER THIS WEEK. AND THAT'S WHAT WAS AT ISSUE IN YESTERDAY'S MEETING AND WILL BE AN ISSUE IN FRIDAY'S MEETING IN LONDON.

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Q BUT THE PROBLEM IS, WITH ALL OF THE MEETINGS YOU WERE DESCRIBING EARLIER, ALL THE DISCUSSIONS THIS WEEK, EVERYTHING SEEMS LIKE THE UNITED STATES IS SORT OF ASKING QUESTIONS AND WAITING FOR SOMEBODY ELSE TO ANSWER.

IF IT CAN BE SAVED; IF IT SHOULD BE SAVED; IF IT'S A MATTER OF SAVING THE U.N.'S HONOR, DOESN'T THE UNITED STATES HAVE TO TAKE SOME KIND OF A LEADERSHIP ROLE IN FIGURING OUT HOW TO DO IT, AND LET THE OTHERS ASK YOU QUESTIONS. WHY AREN'T YOU GIVING OUT SOME ANSWERS AND, IN FACT, TAKING THE LEAD ON THIS?

MR. BURNS: LOOK, ROY, I'M SIMPLY NOT GOING TO BE IN A POSITION TO GO INTO EVERYTHING THAT'S SAID IN EVERY PRIVATE MEETING. I CAN ASSURE YOU, WE ARE ASSERTING VIEWS IN THOSE MEETINGS.

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THE FUNDAMENTAL FACT OF THIS CONFLICT, HOWEVER IS THAT WE DO NOT HAVE TROOPS ON THE GROUND. IF WE WANT TO SAVE GORAZDE, IF WE WANT TO PROTECT IT AND PROTECT THE U.N. MANDATE, OTHERS ARE GOING TO HAVE TO BEAR THE BRUNT OF THAT WORK -- NAMELY, THE FRENCH, THE BRITISH, THE DUTCH, AND OTHERS. THAT'S JUST A FUNDAMENTAL FACT OF LIFE.

SO THEREFORE WHEN WE ARE REQUESTED TO HELP THEM IT IS ENTIRELY LEGITIMATE AND IT IS IMMINENTLY SENSIBLE OF THE

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UNITED STATES TO ASK QUESTIONS THAT WOULD HELP US UNDERSTAND WHAT THE MISSION IS AND HOW WE CAN BEST HELP THAT MISSION. YOU WOULD CERTAINLY NOT EXPECT THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE OR THE CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT'S STAFF TO BLINDLY AGREE TO ANY REQUEST TO DO ANYTHING.

WE HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO OUR MEN AND WOMEN IN THE SERVICE TO MAKE SURE THAT THEIR MISSIONS ARE CAREFULLY THOUGHT OUT. THAT IS EXACTLY WHAT THE UNITED STATES IS

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DOING AND HAS BEEN DOING FOR THE PAST SEVERAL DAYS. AND THE ANSWERS HAVE TO BE CLEAR. WE HOPE AND EXPECT VERY MUCH THAT THEY WILL BE CLEAR AS WE LEAD UP TO FRIDAY.

Q ISN'T THE ESSENCE OF WHAT YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT, THE LACK OF AGREEMENT COMING OUT OF THIS MEETING, ISN'T THE ESSENCE OF THAT THAT THE BRITISH WANT TO CONTINUE
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MORE OR LESS UNDER THIS CURRENT DUAL-KEY SYSTEM WHICH ALMOST PROHIBITS QUICK, REACTIVE MILITARY TACTICS THAT THE UNITED STATES WANTS, IF IT GOES ALONG WITH THIS REQUEST, TO BE ABLE TO ACT AS IT SEES FIT AND NOT ASK THE U.N. WHAT TO DO, OR IF IT MAY DO IT?

MR. BURNS: STEVE, I'M JUST NOT IN A POSITION TO GO INTO PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS WE'RE HAVING NOW WITH THE BRITISH AND FRENCH ON ISSUES LIKE THAT.

Q BUT ON THE DUAL-KEY --

Q WE LISTEN TO YOUR WORDS, ALL OF US, VERY CAREFULLY. YOU ARE NEVER -- NOT "YOU" JUST. BUT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT IS NEVER CRITICAL OF NATO, BUT THEY PASS WHEN THE U.N. COMES UP.

SO I GUESS ONE WAY TO REPHRASE STEVE'S QUESTION IS, IS THE U.S. STILL IN FAVOR OF THE DUAL-KEY ARRANGEMENT?

MR. BURNS: I THINK, AS --

Q YOU NEVER FAULT NATO.

MR. BURNS: NOR SHOULD WE FAULT NATO.

Q RIGHT. I WANT TO ASK YOU IF YOU FAULT THE U.N.?

MR. BURNS: I THINK AS SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER SAID YESTERDAY, IF WE HAD TO DO IT ALL OVER AGAIN, WE WOULDN'T AGREE, CERTAINLY, TO A DUAL-KEY SYSTEM. THAT
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IS CUMBERSOME AND THAT HAS PREVENTED RESOLUTE ACTION IN
THE PAST.

HOWEVER, YOU CAN'T REWRITE HISTORY. WE'RE NOT IN A
POSITION TO REWRITE HISTORY AT THIS POINT. WE HAVE VERY
STRONG VIEWS ON THIS ISSUE BUT I'M JUST NOT GOING TO GO
INTO THE DETAILS OF WHAT WE ARE SAYING IN PRIVATE AT
THIS POINT.

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Q TECHNICALLY SPEAKING, DOES THE DUAL-KEY JUST GO
ON AD INFINITUM, OR IS IT THE TYPE OF AN AD HOC

ARRANGEMENT THAT CAN BE REVISED IF THERE'S A WILL TO
REVISE IT?

MR. BURNS: IT CERTAINLY TODAY IS PART OF THE RULES
OF THE ROAD FOR HOW THE UNITED NATIONS AND NATO INTERACT
TOGETHER. IT IS CERTAINLY NOT SOME KIND OF IMMUTABLE
LAW THAT CAN NEVER BE QUESTIONED. IN FACT, A LOT OF
PEOPLE THINK IT SHOULD BE QUESTIONED IN THE EFFORT TO
STRENGTHEN UNPROFOR. I JUST CAN'T GO BEYOND THAT
GENERAL -- THAT VERY GENERAL CHARACTERIZATION.

Q IS THE UNITED STATES MAKING EFFORTS TO GET THE
DUAL-KEY ARRANGEMENT CHANGED BEFORE INVOLVING ITS
HELICOPTERS OR OTHER AIRCRAFT?

MR. BURNS: I'M JUST NOT IN A POSITION TO GO INTO
WHAT WE ARE SAYING IN OUR PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS.

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Q NICK, IS PART OF THE QUESTION THAT STILL NEEDS CLARIFICATION THE USE OF AMERICAN FLIGHT CREWS ON HELICOPTERS THAT MIGHT BE SUPPLIED? HAVE YOU AGREED THAT AMERICAN FLIGHT CREWS WILL TAKE PART ALONG WITH AMERICAN HELICOPTERS?

MR. BURNS: THERE ARE A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS THAT WE ARE ASKING; A LOT OF INFORMATION THAT WE ARE SEEKING SO THAT WE CAN MAKE A DECISION. THE PENTAGON WILL BE MUCH MORE HELPFUL TO YOU IN OUTLINING WHAT SOME OF THOSE MILITARY QUESTIONS ARE. I THINK IT'S REALLY APPROPRIATE FOR KEN BACON AND OTHERS TO DEAL WITH THAT QUESTION.

Q HAS THAT DECISION BEEN MADE, NOTWITHSTANDING WHO CAN ANSWER IT?

MR. BURNS: I JUST DON'T KNOW IF THE DECISION HAS BEEN MADE. I'M NOT SURE WE'RE THAT FAR ALONG IN THE PLANNING.

MARK.

Q NICK, BETWEEN NOW AND FRIDAY, IT'S LIKELY THERE WILL BE A STRONG SHOW OF POLITICAL SUPPORT ON CAPITOL HILL FOR LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO AND SUBSEQUENTLY WITHDRAWING THE PEACEKEEPERS. HOW WILL THAT AFFECT THE DYNAMIC OF FRIDAY'S MEETING? AND ARE YOU, IN THE MEANTIME, CONTRIBUTING TO A VACUUM THAT THE CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS CAN WALK RIGHT INTO?

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MR. BURNS: WE'RE CERTAINLY NOT LEAVING A VACUUM.

OUR POSITION ON UNILATERAL LIFT IS CLEAR. WE THINK IT'S VERY UNWISE. WE THINK IT WOULD WIDEN THE WAR. IT WOULD LEAD TO THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE U.N. FORCES. THAT'S WHAT THE

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U N. TROOP-CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES HAVE TOLD US. WE THINK IT WOULD CRIPPLE ANY CHANCE FOR POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS WHICH, AT THE END OF THE DAY, ARE REALLY THE ONLY LONG-TERM HOPE TO RESOLVE THIS PROBLEM IN BOSNIA.

SO WE HAVE A VERY FIRM POSITION. AS WE GO OFF TO THE MEETINGS ON FRIDAY, OUR ALLIES WILL KNOW THAT THE POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES IS THAT WE ARE AGAINST UNILATERAL LIFT.

Q HOW CAN YOU ARGUE THAT FORCEFULLY WITH THE ALLIES WHEN A MAJORITY OF CONGRESS -- I CAN'T GUARANTEE IT -- BUT A MAJORITY OF CONGRESS IS LIKELY TO SAY OTHERWISE?

MR. BURNS: WE WILL ARGUE IT FORCEFULLY BECAUSE IT IS THE PRESIDENT'S RIGHT TO CONDUCT FOREIGN POLICY. THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY AND OTHERS BELIEVE THAT UNILATERAL LIFT WOULD CRIPPLE WHATEVER CHANCES ARE LEFT FOR THE UNITED NATIONS TO SALVAGE SOME SEMBLANCE OF A PEACEKEEPING OPERATION IN BOSNIA.

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IT'S VERY IMPORTANT THAT WE NOT WALK OUT ON OUR ALLIES NOW, AND THAT'S ESSENTIALLY WHAT UNILATERAL LIFT" WOULD HAVE US DO -- WALK OUT ON OUR NATO ALLIES. OUR NATO ALLIES HAVE MADE IT VERY CLEAR THAT THEIR PREFERENCE IS FOR THE UNITED STATES TO STAY ENGAGED, SUPPORT UNPROFOR ON THE GROUND, AND NOW CONSIDER A FURTHER REQUEST -- AT LEAST, FROM THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT. AT A TIME WHEN WE ARE DEBATING STEPS TO STRENGTHEN UNPROFOR, IT WOULD NOT MAKE SENSE TO PULL THE RUG OUT FROM UNDER UNPROFOR'S FEET.

SO I THINK YOU'LL SEE THAT AMERICAN LEADERS SAY THAT WITH A GREAT DEAL OF AUTHORITY.

THERE WAS A TIME A COUPLE OF WEEKS AGO WHEN SOME IN CONGRESS WERE SAYING "YOU CAN'T ASSIST THE RAPID REACTION FORCE. YOU SHOULDN'T OBLIGATE ANY MONEY; YOU

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SHOULDN'T DELIVER EQUIPMENT; YOU SHOULDN'T DELIVER

LIFTS." THE PRESIDENT FELT IT WAS IMPORTANT ENOUGH TO GO AHEAD ON HIS OWN. HE MADE IT VERY PUBLIC WHY HE WAS DOING THAT. WE ISSUED THE TEXT OF HIS LETTER TO THE CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP. WE'VE GONE AHEAD WITH LIFT.

WE ARE NOW LIFTING BRITISH AND FRENCH TROOPS INTO SPLIT WHO WILL THEN GO ON TO BOSNIA TO FORM THE RAPID REACTION FORCE. WE'RE DELIVERING EQUIPMENT, AND WE'RE GOING TO DELIVER THE OTHER THINGS THAT WE PROMISED -- INTELLIGENCE AND COMMUNICATION SUPPORT.

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I THINK THIS GOVERNMENT IS UNIFIED AND DETERMINED TO MAKE SURE THAT WE DO NOT LEAVE OUR NATO ALLIES UNPROTECTED AS A UNILATERAL LIFT WOULD DO.

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Q JUST ONE MORE QUESTION, NICK. DOESN'T THE ABSENCE OF AN AGREEMENT AND THE FACT THAT THE MEETING OF MINISTERS WILL NOT OCCUR UNTIL FRIDAY CREATE A FOUR-DAY LEADERSHIP VACUUM THAT CONGRESS IS LIKELY TO TRY TO FILL?

MR. BURNS: CONGRESS WILL DO WHAT CONGRESS WANTS TO DO, AND CONGRESS HAS TO MAKE ITS OWN DECISIONS. THE ADMINISTRATION IS MAKING CLEAR -- PUBLICLY CLEAR AND PRIVATELY CLEAR TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS -- THAT WE THINK UNILATERAL LIFT WOULD BE A VERY SERIOUS MISTAKE, CONTRARY TO THE INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CONTRARY TO THE INTERESTS OF OUR ALLIES WHO HAVE TROOPS ON THE GROUND.

WE COULDN'T HAVE MADE IT MORE CLEAR, AND IF YOU WATCHED SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AND SECRETARY PERRY YESTERDAY, THEY MADE IT CLEAR; WE'LL CONTINUE TO DO THAT. THERE WILL BE NO VACUUM IN THE DEBATE. WE'LL VERY GLADLY TAKE PART IN THE DEBATE THIS WEEK, AND WHEN WE GO OFF TO LONDON FOR THE MEETINGS ON FRIDAY, OUR ALLIES WILL BE CLEAR ABOUT WHAT THE POSITION OF THE

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS, AS THEY WERE CLEAR AND ARE NOW CLEAR ON OUR POSITION OF AIDING THE RAPID REACTION FORCE.

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SOME IN CONGRESS SAID IT WOULD NOT BE DONE. THE PRESIDENT WENT AHEAD AND DID IT.

Q WHAT'S YOUR ALTERNATIVE, HOWEVER, TO UNILATERAL LIFT? I MEAN, YOU HAVE NOTHING TO OFFER THEM IT SOUNDS LIKE, UNTIL FRIDAY, IF THEN. I MEAN, TO OFFER CONGRESS. HOW CAN YOU SAY THAT YOU HAVE A BETTER ALTERNATIVE WHEN YOU DON'T HAVE AN A TERNATIVE?

MR. BURNS: I GUESS I DON'T AGREE WITH THE BASIS OF THE QUESTION. WE ARE NOW CONSIDERING A VERY SERIOUS REQUEST TO STRENGTHEN UNPROFOR AND TO PUT THE UNITED NATIONS IN A BETTER POSITION TO LIVE UP TO THE MANDATES THAT IT CLEARLY HAS. AND, AS I SAID, THOSE DECISIONS SOMETIMES CANNOT BE MADE IN A MORNING OR EVEN IN A MORNING AND AN AFTERNOON. SOMETIMES THEY DO TAKE DAYS OR A WEEK TO DECIDE.

BUT ONCE WE'VE COME TO THE POINT OF DECISION, I THINK IT WILL BE VERY CLEAR TO THE CONGRESS WHAT WE'RE DOING. IF CONGRESS WANTS TO VOTE IN THE NEXT COUPLE OF DAYS, THAT'S CONGRESS' PREROGATIVE, BUT IT CERTAINLY WILL NOT INTERFERE -- OUR SCHEDULE, DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY -- TO RESPOND TO THE REQUEST OF OUR ALLIES AND TO WORK WITH THEM THROUGH THESE VERY DIFFICULT QUESTIONS.

Q DO YOU UNDERSTAND IF CONGRESS VOTES THAT IMMEDIATELY THE ENTIRE PLAN FOR STRENGTHENING UNPROFOR IS OFF AND THAT UNPROFOR SIMPLY DECIDES TO LEAVE? I MEAN, IS THAT YOUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE ALLIES?

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BE STRENGTHENED MILITARILY.

Q COULD THE FRENCH MILITARILY CARRY OUT THE MISSION OR TO DEFEND AGAINST SERBS?

MR. BURNS: TO STRENGTHEN ITSELF MILITARILY SO THAT THE UNITED NATIONS CAN BE AN EFFECTIVE INSTITUTION TO STAY ON THE GROUND, TO CONTINUE ITS HUMANITARIAN MISSION, AND TO BE TRUE TO THE COMMITMENT THAT IT HAS MADE TO PROTECT THE ENCLAVES. IT FAILED TO DO THAT LAST WEEK FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS.

WE WOULD HOPE TO PUT UNPROFOR IN A POSITION SO THAT IT COULD SUCCEED AND NOT FAIL IN THE FUTURE.

Q YOU SAID EARLIER IN THE BRIEFING THAT YOU WERE NOT AWARE THAT THERE WAS A MESSAGE IN LONDON THAT THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD HAVE TO CONSULT CONGRESS BEFORE PROVIDING TRANSPORT FOR REINFORCEMENTS OF UNPROFOR AND THAT YOU KNEW OF NO LEGAL REQUIREMENT. ARE YOU PREPARED TO SAY THAT THE UNITED STATES DID NOT TELL ITS ALLIES THAT IT WOULD HAVE TO CONSULT WITH CONGRESS BEFORE PUTTING THE RAPID REACTION FORCE IN AND ARE YOU PREPARED TO SAY THAT IT WILL NOT CONSULT -- IT DOES NOT NEED TO CONSULT WITH CONGRESS?

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MR. BURNS: I DIDN'T MEAN THAT. WE ALWAYS CONSULT WITH CONGRESS. WE CONSULTED WITH CONGRESS ON THE QUESTION OF FUNDING FOR THE RAPID REACTION FORCE. WE HAD A DIFFERENCE OF OPINION WITH THE CONGRESS. WE WENT

OUT WAY. CONGRESS WENT ITS WAY.

WE'LL CERTAINLY CONSULT WITH THE CONGRESS AND I DIDN'T MEAN AT ALL TO INFER THAT WE WOULD NOT. THE QUESTION, THOUGH WAS SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT AND I TRIED TO RESPOND TO THE QUESTION. I'M NOT IN A POSITION TO SAY CATEGORICALLY, YES, WE'VE DELIVERED THIS MESSAGE. I'M

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NOT AWARE THAT WE DID. I'LL CERTAINLY BE GLAD TO CHECK ON IT, BUT I'M NOT AWARE THAT THAT MESSAGE AS QUOTED WAS DELIVERED.

Q I SHOULDN'T SAY "CONSULT." I SHOULD SAY DO YOU THINK THAT THE CONGRESS HAS A RIGHT TO AND SHOULD VOTE ON WHETHER OR NOT APACHE HELICOPTERS AND TROOP CARRIER HELICOPTERS SHOULD BE SENT IN OR NOT?

MR. BURNS: THAT'S UP TO THE CONGRESS TO DECIDE. IT IS CERTAINLY REASONABLE FOR THE CONGRESS TO EXPECT THAT THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD CONSULT, MEANING THAT WE WOULD TALK TO THEM. WE'D EXPLAIN OUR POINT OF VIEW. WE'D EXPLAIN THE STATE OF PLAY IN THE ALLIANCE AS WE GO UP TO FRIDAY AND WHEN WE COME BACK FROM FRIDAY'S MEETINGS. THAT'S REASONABLE. WE WILL CERTAINLY DO THAT.

THE QUESTION OF WHETHER OR NOT THEY SHOULD VOTE UP
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OR DOWN ON ANY PROSPECTIVE ACTION IS ONE THAT CONGRESS HAS TO DECIDE. I'M NOT AN EXPERT ON LEGISLATIVE PREROGATIVES, AND SO FORTH, AND I'M NOT A LAWYER, SO I DON'T WANT (INAUDIBLE).

Q THE QUESTION I'M ASKING IS WHAT IS THE ADMINISTRATION'S POSITION? DOES THE ADMINISTRATION BELIEVE THAT THE PRESIDENT COULD GO AHEAD AND TAKE THIS ACTION WITHOUT A CONGRESSIONAL VOTE, DOES IT BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD HAVE TO HAVE ONE?

MR. BURNS: WE BELIEVE IT'S CERTAINLY REASONABLE TO CONSULT WITH CONGRESS. THE PRESIDENT, I THINK HAS SHOWN IN A NUMBER OF CASES BUT MOST RECENTLY IN THE CASE OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE THAT WHEN WE THINK IT'S IN OUR NATIONAL INTEREST TO GO FORWARD TO HELP ALLIES, WE DO SO, AND WE HOPE VERY MUCH THE CONGRESS WILL SUPPORT US ON THAT.

Q NICK, DO YOU HAVE A FIGURE OF HOW MUCH FORCE -- HOW MANY PERSONNEL FORCES THAT ARE NEEDED ON THE GROUND IN ORDER TO BOLSTER THE MISSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

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FROM HUMANITARIAN TO DEFEND ITSELF OR TO BE ABLE TO
REPEL ANY AGGRESSION BY THE SERBS?

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MR. BURNS: THAT'S A VERY GOOD QUESTION. IT'S ONE
OF THE QUESTIONS THAT'S BEING DISCUSSED IN OUR MEETINGS
WITH THE ALLIES. I DON'T BELIEVE THERE'S A FINAL ANSWER
ON THAT OR A FINAL AGREEMENT ON THAT QUESTION.

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Q CHANGE THE SUBJECT?

Q ONE MORE. CAN YOU SAY WHETHER YOU -- FROM WHAT
YOU HAVE HEARD ABOUT THIS MEETING IN LONDON, THAT THE
BRITISH ARE LIKE-MINDED WITH THE FRENCH THAT IN THE --
ON THE ISSUE THAT IF SOMETHING ISN'T DONE NOW RELATIVELY
SOON, WE'RE GOING TO TAKE OUR TROOPS OUT AS WELL.
BECAUSE THAT WAS THE FRENCH THREAT; DO IT. AT ONE
POINT, THEY WERE SAYING WITHIN 48 HOURS OR AGREED TO
IT. DO THE BRITISH THINK THAT WAY TOO?

MR. BURNS: I THINK IT'S BETTER TO LET THE BRITISH
AND THE FRENCH SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES AND TO AVOID MY
HAVING TO CHARACTERIZE A MEETING IN WHICH I DID NOT
PARTICIPATE THAT WAS HELD IN LONDON YESTERDAY.

Q NICK, ON A DIFFERENT SUBJECT, CAN YOU BRING US
UP TO DATE ON -- IF THERE'S ANY NEWS ON -- THE HOSTAGE
SITUATION IN KASHMIR AND THE AMERICAN BEING HELD? THE
DEADLINE HAS PASSED, AND I JUST WONDERED WHAT THE
SITUATION WAS.

MR. BURNS: THE UNITED STATES REMAINS VERY DEEPLY
CONCERNED ABOUT THE SITUATION IN KASHMIR WHERE FIVE
HOSTAGES ARE BEING HELD BY THE AL-FARAN GROUP. WE HAVE
AN OFFICER IN NEW DELHI WHO IS IN SRINAGAR. HE WORKS
CONTINUOUSLY WITH THE INDIAN AUTHORITIES IN THEIR
EFFORTS TO SECURE RELEASE OF THE HOSTAGES.

WE CONTINUE TO HOPE FOR A PEACEFUL OUTCOME OUT OF

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CONCERN FOR THE SAFETY OF THE AMERICAN INVOLVED AND THE
OTHERS. I'M GOING TO LIMIT MY COMMENTS. BUT I WOULD
LIKE TO SAY THAT KASHMIR REMAINS A VERY DANGEROUS PLACE
WHERE TERRORIST ACTIVITIES AND ACTS OF VIOLENCE CONTINUE.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAS ISSUED A PUBLIC
ANNOUNCEMENT -- WE ISSUED IT ON FRIDAY -- TO REMIND
AMERICAN CITIZENS OF THE DANGERS OF TRAVEL TO JAMMU AND

KASHMIR, AND TO INFORM THE AMERICAN PUBLIC OF OUR
GOVERNMENT'S RESTRICTION ON TRAVEL BY OFFICIAL AMERICANS
TO THAT REGION.

WE ARE MONITORING IT VERY CLOSELY WITH THE ONE
PERSON THAT WE HAVE THERE, AND THROUGH THE EFFORTS OF
OUR EMBASSY IN NEW DELHI, WE'RE HOPEFUL FOR A PEACEFUL
OUTCOME TO THIS. WE CALL UPON, OF COURSE, THE AL-FARAN
GROUP TO EXERCISE REASON AND A HUMANITARIAN COMMITMENT
TO RESOLVE THIS PROBLEM PEACEFULLY AND TO RELEASE ALL OF
THE CAPTIVES UNHARMED.

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Q DO YOU THINK THERE ARE ANY DIRECT TALKS BETWEEN
YOUR PERSON ON THE SCENE AND THIS GROUP? HAS THERE BEEN
ANY DIRECT CONTACT AT ALL?

MR. BURNS: I CAN'T SAY. I THINK I WANT TO SAY AS
LITTLE AS POSSIBLE, SO THAT I DON'T IN ANY WAY AFFECT
NEGATIVELY THE EFFORTS BY THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT TO BRING
THIS CRISIS TO A SUCCESSFUL AND PEACEFUL CONCLUSION.

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Q ARE YOU SUGGESTING, THOUGH IT IS IN THE HANDS OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT RIGHT NOW, NOT --

MR. BURNS: IT'S CERTAINLY IN THE HANDS OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT, YES. IT MOST DEFINITELY IS, AND WE ARE WORKING WITH THEM. WE HAVE A DIRECT INTEREST OBVIOUSLY, BECAUSE AN AMERICAN CITIZEN IS BEING HELD, AND FOR THAT REASON WE HAVE AN EMBASSY OFFICER IN SRINAGAR.

Q CAN WE TALK ABOUT CHINA?

MR. BURNS: YES.

Q THE WILLINGNESS OF BEIJING TO SCHEDULE THIS MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY AND QIAN AND THEIR RELEASE OF THE DISSIDENT FROM -- A PROMINENT DISSIDENT FROM SHANGHAI, DOES THIS SUGGEST THAT MAYBE THE TREND HAS NOW GONE THE OTHER WAY; THAT RELATIONS ARE -- AT LEAST THERE'S A SIGN RELATIONS MAY START TO IMPROVE?

MR. BURNS: WE CERTAINLY HOPE RELATIONS WILL IMPROVE. WE'VE GONE THROUGH A VERY ROUGH PATCH, AND

WE'VE SAID ALL ALONG FROM THE BEGINNING OF THESE TROUBLES AND DIFFERENCES OF OPINIONS WITH THE CHINESE THAT THERE WAS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR HIGH-LEVEL CONTACT BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS; AND IT WAS JUST THIS KIND OF MEETING THAT'S NOW PLANNED FOR BRUNEI THAT WE HAD IN MIND. WHEN COUNTRIES HAVE DIFFERENCES, THEY HAVE TO
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WORK THROUGH THEM.

SO WE ARE CERTAINLY ENCOURAGED BY THE FACT THAT THERE WILL BE A MEETING. IT WILL BE A MEETING WHERE WE EXPRESS OUR VIEWS VERY PLAINLY AND CLEARLY ON THE OPPORTUNITIES WHERE WE THINK WE CAN WORK TOGETHER AND ON THE PROBLEMS THAT WE HAVE.

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ONE OF THE PROBLEMS IS THE CASE OF HARRY WU WHO IS STILL, AS FAR AS WE KNOW, BEING HELD IN WUHAN. WE ARE STILL SEEKING CONSULAR ACCESS TO HIM BEYOND THE MEETING THAT OUR CONSULAR OFFICER HAD LAST MONDAY. WE HOPE VERY MUCH THAT THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT WILL DECIDE THAT HE SHOULD BE RELEASED IMMEDIATELY AND BE ALLOWED TO LEAVE CHINA.

ON YOUR SECOND QUESTION, CAROL, WE VERY MUCH WELCOME THE ANNOUNCEMENT THAT THE PROMINENT DISSIDENT, YANG ZHOU,

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HAS BEEN RELEASED. MR. YANG WAS ONE OF NINE DISSIDENTS DETAINED IN 1993 FOR SIGNING THE PEACE CHARTER. WE UNDERSTAND THAT HE IS AILING. HE'S ILL. HE'S IN NEED OF MEDICAL TREATMENT. CHINESE LAW PERMITS THE MEDICAL PAROLE OF PRISONERS IN NEED OF MEDICAL CARE, AND WE CERTAINLY URGE THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT TO RELEASE ALL PERSONS IN PRISON SOLELY FOR THE PEACEFUL EXPRESSION OF THEIR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL VIEWS OR THEIR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

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Q HOW DID THE MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY AND QIAN COME ABOUT? DID IT JUST HAPPEN? WAS IT AGREED THROUGH EMBASSIES? DID THE SECRETARY TALK TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER ON THE PHONE?

MR. BURNS: IT WAS AGREED THROUGH EMBASSIES. WE I THINK, CONTACTED THE CHINESE SOME TIME AGO -- SEVERAL WEEKS AGO -- TO SAY THAT SINCE BOTH MEN WOULD BE IN BRUNEI IN THE EARLY PART OF AUGUST FOR THE ASEAN MEETINGS, THAT THEY SHOULD GET TOGETHER AS THEY HAD IN

NEW YORK IN APRIL. WE HEARD THIS MORNING FROM THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT THEY AGREE WITH THAT, AND THAT WE WOULD SCHEDULE THE MEETING AT A CERTAIN PLACE AND A CERTAIN TIME, AND WE'RE NOW WORKING OUT THE DETAILS. BUT THERE'S A COMMITMENT NOW TO HAVE THE MEETING.

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Q NICK, THE SECRETARY SAID THIS MORNING THAT HE COULD NOT RULE -- HE WOULD NOT RULE OUT THE ISSUANCE OF A VISA FOR A TAIWANESE OFFICIAL ON NON-OFFICIAL BUSINESS IN THE UNITED STATES. CAN IT NOW BE SURMISED THAT THE ADMINISTRATION'S POSITION IS IT WILL NOT ACCEDE TO THE CHINESE DEMAND OF NO MORE VISAS FOR TAIWANESE OFFICIALS ON OFFICIAL OR NON-OFFICIAL BUSINESS?

MR. BURNS: IT'S HARD TO IMPROVE ON SUCH A CLEAR STATEMENT THAT THE SECRETARY GAVE THIS MORNING, BUT I WOULD JUST TRY TO REFER YOU BACK TO SOMETHING WE SAID, I BELIEVE, THE DAY THAT WE ANNOUNCED THE DECISION TO GRANT THE VISA TO PRESIDENT LEE FOR HIS UNOFFICIAL VISIT AND
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THAT WAS THAT IN THE FUTURE WHEN OFFICIALS FROM TAIWAN REQUEST VISAS FOR UNOFFICIAL VISITS TO THE UNITED STATES, THAT THOSE REQUESTS WILL BE CONSIDERED ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS. I THINK YOU SHOULD SEE THE SECRETARY'S REMARKS THIS MORNING ON NPR IN THAT LIGHT.

ONLY THE UNITED STATES. ONLY AMERICAN CONSULAR OFFICERS CAN MAKE DECISIONS ON WHO COMES TO THE UNITED STATES AND ON WHETHER OR NOT VISAS ARE GRANTED. IT CAN BE NO OTHER WAY. ALL COUNTRIES HAVE THE RIGHT TO DECIDE WHO COMES INTO THEIR COUNTRY AND WHO DOES NOT, AND WE SIMPLY STAND BY OUR RIGHT TO MAKE THOSE DECISIONS, BUT WE'LL DO SO ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS.

Q CAN WE GO BACK TO --

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MR. BURNS: STILL ON CHINA?

Q DIFFERENT SUBJECT. NO.

Q CHINA?

MR. BURNS: CHINA, STEVE.

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Q I BELIEVE IT WAS LAST WEEK AFTER WU WAS
ARRESTED AND CHARGED THAT YOU MADE THE COMMENTS THAT YOU
WERE NOT IN A POSITION TO TALK ABOUT THE VALIDITY OF
THOSE CHARGES BECAUSE YOU JUST WEREN'T SURE ENOUGH YET
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ABOUT THE CIRCUMSTANCES.

I BELIEVE THE SECRETARY MOVED THAT POSITION A LITTLE
BIT FORWARD TODAY. I WAS WONDERING IF I'M CORRECT OR
INCORRECT IN SAYING THAT LET'S JUST NOT TALK ABOUT
WHETHER HE'S GUILTY OF ANYTHING OR NOT. HE'S AN
AMERICAN CITIZEN. WE THINK HE'S WRONGLY DETAINED, SO WHY
DON'T YOU SEND HIM HOME, AND WE WON'T DEBATE THE
LEGALITIES OF WHAT HE MAY OR MAY NOT HAVE DONE.

MR. BURNS: IT'S AN INTERESTING DAY. WE'RE DELVING
DEEP INTO INTERFRETATION OF WHAT THE SECRETARY SAID THIS
MORNING. I THOUGHT THE SECRETARY, AS I LISTENED TO HIM
ON DIANE REHM, WAS QUITE DIRECT AND CLEAR ON ALL OF
THESE ISSUES.

I KNOW, STEVE, THAT WE HAVE A RUDIMENTARY
UNDERSTANDING OF CHINESE LAW THROUGH OUR EMBASSY AND
CONSULATES IN CHINA. BUT SINCE WE'VE HAD SUCH LIMITED
CONTACT WITH THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT AND SINCE ALL WE
KNOW IS THAT HE IS BEING -- HE MAY BE OFFICIALLY CHARGED
AT THE END OF THIS PRE-TRIAL INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD WITH
CERTAIN SPECIFIC CRIMES.

ALL WE KNOW IS THAT HE'S IN THIS PRECARIOUS LEGAL
POSITION. WE HAVE NOT HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO BE APPRISED
BY THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT OF SPECIFICALLY WHAT EVIDENCE
THEY BRING TO THESE CHARGES, AND I DON'T BELIEVE THAT
MR. WU HAS EITHER.

SO I THINK WE ARE STILL IN A POSITION OF NOT BEING
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ABLE TO SUBSTANTIATE TO OUR SATISFACTION THE BASIS AND
THE EVIDENCE FOR HIS DETENTION AND HIS ARREST. I ALSO
THINK THAT WHILE IT'S A VERY SERIOUS POINT FOR THE
CHINESE GOVERNMENT TO CONSIDER THERE'S A MUCH LARGER
POINT HERE, AND THAT IS THAT HARRY WU SHOULD BE
RELEASED, AND HE SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO RETURN TO THE
UNITED STATES. THAT HAS BEEN OUR POSITION ALL ALONG
AND THAT WILL BE THE CENTRAL POINT THAT WE BRING TO AL
OF OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH THE CHINESE.

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Q BUT, NICK, THE POINT IS, WHY ARE YOU UNWILLING
TO ALLOW CHINESE LAW TO TAKE ITS COURSE?

MR. BURNS: BECAUSE WE THINK HE WAS UNJUSTLY
DETAINED AND NOW IS UNJUSTLY IMPRISONED. LET'S JUST
REVIEW ONCE AGAIN WHAT HAPPENED. HERE IS AN INDIVIDUAL
WITH A VALID AMERICAN PASSPORT. HE SENT AN APPLICATION
FOR A VISA TO A CHINESE CONSULATE OR ITS EMBASSY IN
WASHINGTON IN THE UNITED STATES. HE ASKED FOR A VISA.
THEY GAVE HIM A VISA. THEY, THEREFORE GAVE HIM EVERY
INDICATION THAT HE WAS ACCEPTED FOR ENTRY INTO CHINA.

WHEN HE SHOWED UP AT THE BORDER, HE WAS DETAINED AND
THEN SUBSEQUENTLY ARRESTED. THAT DOESN'T SEEM TO BE
FAIR. IT'S NOT THE NORMAL WAY THAT THIS IS DONE IN
DIPLOMATIC PRACTICE. IT'S CERTAINLY NOT THE WAY THAT
THE UNITED STATES WOULD HAVE DONE IT, AND SO, THEREFORE,
CONSIDERING THOSE FACTS AND CONSIDERING THE FACT THAT HE
IS A GREAT CHAMPION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND A WELL-RESPECTED
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PERSON HERE, WE THINK HE SHOULD BE RELEASED. WE THINK
THAT'S THE CENTRAL QUESTION HERE.

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THE QUESTION OF WHETHER OR NOT HE IS GUILTY OF VIOLATION OF CHINESE LAW WELL, THAT'S SOMETHING THE CHINESE HAVE TO CONSIDER. THEY HAVE BEEN VERY SPARE IN TELLING US WHAT THEIR EVIDENCE IS -- WHAT BASIS THEY HAVE FOR THESE ACTIONS. THEREFORE, WE THINK IT BEHOOVES THEM TO TAKE THE IMMEDIATE STEP OF RELEASING HIM.

Q ISN'T THERE A CONTRADICTION THERE?

MR. BURNS: WHAT'S THE CONTRADICTION?

Q WELL, YOU, ON THE ONE HAND ARE ASKING THE CHINESE TO BE SPECIFIC ABOUT WHAT THE CHARGES ARE AND TO GO AHEAD WITH THE LEGAL PROCEDURE, AND, ON THE OTHER HAND, YOU'RE SAYING THEY GRANTED HIM A VISA AND THEY SHOULD RELEASE HIM IMMEDIATELY. THERE'S A CONTRADICTION --

MR. BURNS: WELL, IT'S NOT ON THE ONE HAND AND ON THE OTHER. I MEAN, I WOULD SAY THIS. OUR PRIMARY POINT HERE WITH THE CHINESE IS RELEASE HIM. YOU'VE ASKED A QUESTION ABOUT WHAT THE SECRETARY MEANT IN SPEAKING TO SOME OF THE LEGAL ISSUES, AND I GAVE YOU AN ANSWER. BUT THAT'S REALLY THE SECOND OR THIRD POINT WE'VE MADE TO THE CHINESE. THE FIRST POINT IS IT'S GOING TO HELP U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS IF YOU RELEASE HARRY WU.

Q NICK, CAN I GO BACK TO YOUR FIRST STATEMENT
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ABOUT THE IRAQIS AND THE TWO AMERICANS, IF YOU'RE
FINISHED WITH CHINA?

MR. BURNS: YES.

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Q HAS CONGRESSMAN RICHARDSON BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THE UNITED STATES STATE DEPARTMENT DURING HIS SECRET TALKS WITH IRAQIS IN NEW YORK AND/OR IN BAGHDAD?

MR. BURNS: I THINK YOU KNOW FROM ALL OF THE

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ACCOUNTS THAT WERE GIVEN OVER THE LAST 24 HOURS THAT HE WAS IN TOUCH WITH US OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF WEEKS -- CONGRESSMAN RICHARDSON. HOWEVER, HE DID NOT GO AS AN OFFICIAL EMISSARY OF THE ADMINISTRATION. HE DID NOT BRING A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OR THE SECRETARY OR ANYBODY ELSE IN THE ADMINISTRATION, BUT HE CERTAINLY HAD OUR BEST WISHES. THERE WERE A NUMBER OF DISCUSSIONS WITH HIM BEFORE HE DEPARTED. HE HAD OUR BEST WISHES.

FOR OBVIOUS REASONS WE THOUGHT IT WAS WISE TO KEEP ALL OF THIS A LITTLE BIT QUIET, BECAUSE WE DIDN'T WANT TO ENDANGER THE PROSPECTS THAT HE MIGHT ACTUALLY BE ABLE TO GO TO BAGHDAD AND CONVINCE THE IRAQI LEADERSHIP THAT THESE TWO INDIVIDUALS SHOULD BE RELEASED. HE WAS SUCCESSFUL. WE ARE VERY GRATEFUL TO HIM, AS I THINK EVERYBODY IS IN THE UNITED STATES, AND WE CONGRATULATE HIM FOR THE WORK THAT HE DID -- CONGRESSMAN RICHARDSON. WE'RE ALSO VERY GRATEFUL TO THE POLISH GOVERNMENT.

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Q CAN YOU ADD TO THE STATEMENT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE YESTERDAY WHO SAID THAT THIS COULD BE A FIRST STEP TO IMPROVED RELATIONS OR TO IMPROVE THE ATMOSPHERE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND IRAQ? YOU KNOW NOT SPECIFIC -- I DIDN'T SAY SPECIFICALLY ABOUT, YOU KNOW, THE GIST OF IT -- WHAT THE SECRETARY SAID AFTER THE RELEASE.

MR. BURNS: I DON'T REMEMBER THE SECRETARY QUITE SAYING IT LIKE THAT, BUT I DO KNOW IT'S OBVIOUS TO THE IRAQI LEADERSHIP WHAT IT MUST DO TO NORMALIZE ITS RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. IT MUST DO A LOT. IT MUST MAKE UP FOR A LOT OF ITS BRUTAL TRANSGRESSIONS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AND A NUMBER OF OTHER QUESTIONS PERTAINING TO SANCTIONS.

I DO REMEMBER FROM "MEET THE PRESS" YESTERDAY THAT THE SECRETARY VERY CLEARLY SAID THAT THIS DECISION BY THE IRAQI LEADERSHIP -- AND WE'RE GLAD THEY TOOK IT, - TO RELEASE THESE TWO MEN IN NO WAY WILL HAVE AN EFFECT

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ON THE QUESTION OF SANCTIONS, BECAUSE THAT HAS TO DO WITH THE VERY SERIOUS ISSUE OF BIOLOGICAL GROWTH MATERIAL, 17 TONS OF WHICH IS MISSING; AND OF IRAQ'S VERY FLAGRANT AND CONSISTENT VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, BOTH ON CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS, AND FOR ITS UNACCEPTABLE TREATMENT OF ITS KURDISH AND SHI'A MINORITIES. THERE'S A LOT THAT IRAQ MUST ANSWER FOR.

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Q BUT RICHARDSON SAID SOMETHING TO THE EFFECT THAT IF THEY WILL COME CLEAN OR THEY GO FORWARD ON THE CHEMICAL THINGS OR THE BACTERIOLOGICAL THINGS THAT YOU KNOW, THE ENVIRONMENT IS CONDUCIVE TO BE CHANGED OR SOMETHING TO THE EFFECT THAT --

MR. BURNS: AGAIN, CONGRESSMAN RICHARDSON DID A VERY GREAT THING OVER THE WEEKEND. I THINK SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER WAS CLEAR IN DESCRIBING UNITED STATES POLICY. THOSE QUESTIONS OF CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS AND ACTIVITY ARE CENTRAL, BUT, AS YOU REMEMBER, U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 688 ALSO TALKED ABOUT OTHER ACTIVITIES. WHAT HAPPENED TO THE 600 MISSING KUWAITIS, WHO WERE TAKEN PRISONER BY THE IRAQIS, WHEN THEY INVADED KUWAIT IN AUGUST 1990. CAN THEY ACCOUNT FOR THOSE PEOPLE. WE THINK THEY SHOULD BEFORE WE CAN SUCCESSFULLY PUT TO AN END THIS QUESTION OF SANCTIONS.

WE ALSO THINK THAT THE IRAQIS HAVE TO FORSAKE THEIR COMMITMENT TO SUPPORT TERRORIST GROUPS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND WE THINK THEY HAVE TO DO SOMETHING TO REDRESS THEIR BRUTAL TREATMENT OF THE SHI'AS AND THE KURDS. SO WE HAVE ALWAYS SAID VERY CONSISTENTLY, THE UNITED STATES, IT'S NOT JUST A QUESTION OF THE CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS; IT'S ALSO A QUESTION OF THESE OTHER FACTORS THAT DATE NOW FROM NEARLY FIVE YEARS AGO.

Q WELL, WHY SHOULDN'T IT BE SEEN AS A CONCESSION TO SADDAM HUSSEIN THAT A CONGRESSMAN -- U.S. CONGRESSMAN WHO IS PUBLICLY ACKNOWLEDGED BY THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE

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ADMINISTRATION TO BE A FRIEND OF THE PRESIDENT -- GOES
DIRECTLY TO BAGHDAD AND MEETS PERSONALLY WITH SADDAM TO
SEEK THE RELEASE OF THESE TWO MEN? WHY IS THAT NOT A
CONCESSION, AT LEAST --

MR. BURNS: I DON'T THINK HE'S A CONCESSION BECAUSE
HE UNDERTOOK A HUMANITARIAN MISSION HE DID WHAT WAS
RIGHT. TWO OF HIS FELLOW AMERICANS WERE UNJUSTLY
IMPRISONED, AND HE USED HIS INFLUENCE AND HIS POSITION
AND HIS NEGOTIATING SKILL TO GET THEM OUT. HE OUGHT TO
BE CONGRATULATED.

IT'S NOT A CONCESSION. IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN A
CONCESSION HAD WE TAKEN A DIFFERENT STAND -- HAD WE GONE
BEGGING ON OUR KNEES, HAD WE SENT EMISSARIES, HAD WE
SENT LETTERS, HAD WE PROMISED THINGS IN RETURN FOR THIS
ACTION. WE DIDN'T DO ANY OF THAT. WE PROMISED
NOTHING. WE DIDN'T SEND ANY OFFICIAL COMMUNICATION WITH
CONGRESSMAN RICHARDSON, AND I THINK THAT'S VERY
IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER, BECAUSE WE ALWAYS FELT THAT
DALIBERTI AND BARLOON WERE UNJUSTLY IMPRISONED, AND THAT
IRAQ HAD NO RIGHT TO GET ANYTHING IN RETURN FOR THEIR
RELEASE. AND THEY HAVEN'T GOTTEN ANYTHING IN RETURN FOR
THEIR RELEASE.

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Q WHO ASKED FOR RICHARDSON TO GO? WAS THIS HIS
OWN IDEA, OR DID BAGHDAD SAY, "LOOK IF YOU SEND
SOMEBODY OVER TO GIVE US A FACE-SAVER, WE'LL BE ABLE TO
WORK OUT SOME DEAL." AND ARE YOU PLANNING TO SEND HIM
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TO BEIJING TO GET HARRY WU OUT?

MR. BURNS: I'M NOT AWARE OF ANY PLANS TO SEND HIM TO BEIJING. HE'S TRAVELED A LOT. HE PROBABLY WANTS TO COME BACK TO THE UNITED STATES. ON THE FIRST QUESTION I THINK YOU'LL HAVE TO GO TO CONGRESSMAN RICHARDSON. I KNOW THAT HE WAS IN CONTACT WITH THE IRAQIS BEFORE HE WENT TO BAGHDAD. OBVIOUSLY, YOU WOULD HAVE EXPECTED THAT, BUT I JUST CAN'T TELL YOU WHO MADE THE FIRST STEP FORWARD ON THIS. I JUST DON'T KNOW THE ANSWER TO THAT.

Q CAN WE SWITCH TO THE MIDDLE EAST?

Q JUST ONE MORE. YOU SAID HE DIDN'T TAKE A LETTER -- THAT HE DIDN'T TAKE AN OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUE

MR. BURNS: THAT'S RIGHT.

Q DID HE COMMUNICATE ON BEHALF OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES THAT ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS -- NOT OFFICIALLY, BUT SOMETHING THAT THE PRESIDENT WOULD LIKE -- THAT ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS THESE TWO MEN SHOULD BE RELEASED?

MR. BURNS: I HAVEN'T SEEN A BRIEFING ON HIS CONVERSATION WITH SADDAM HUSSEIN. I KNOW THAT HE DID NOT TRAVEL TO THAT MEETING AS A REPRESENTATIVE -- A DIRECT EMISSARY OF THE PRESIDENT, A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PRESIDENT. I KNOW HE WENT ON HIS OWN. HE WENT WITH OUR BEST WISHES.

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I'M NOT AWARE THAT HE DID CONVEY ANY MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OR THE SECRETARY TO SADDAM HUSSEIN. THIS WAS DESCRIBED, I THINK, BY CONGRESSMAN RICHARDSON AS A PERSONAL EFFORT BY AN INTERESTED MEMBER OF CONGRESS AND WE'RE VERY GLAD THAT HE DID WHAT HE DID.

Q DO YOU MEAN THAT HE WENT IN THERE AND -- I

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MEAN, IT DOESN'T MAKE SENSE THAT HE WOULDN'T GO IN THERE AND SAY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES WOULD LIKE HIM TO BE RELEASED. I MEAN, HE DIDN'T EVEN SAY THAT? I MEAN, HOW COULD HE HAVE ANY VOICE --

MR. BURNS: SID, I CAN'T BE IN A POSITION TO QUOTE FROM THE CONVERSATION THAT TOOK PLACE 48 HOURS AGO AND I DON'T REPRESENT CONGRESSMAN RICHARDSON WE HAVE GREAT RESPECT FOR HIM, BUT I DON'T REPRESENT HIM. SO YOU'RE JUST COMING TO THE WRONG PERSON FOR THAT.

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BUT I CAN TELL YOU, BASED ON MY CONVERSATIONS WITH EVERYONE HERE IN THE DEPARTMENT THAT HE DID NOT TRAVEL WITH A COMMUNICATION FROM US. HE DID NOT MAKE REPRESENTATIONS ON OUR BEHALF. HE WAS THERE AS AN AMERICAN LEGISLATOR, A RESPECTED ONE, AND HE WAS SUCCESSFUL, AND I THINK THAT SPEAKS FOR ITSELF.

Q NICK, YOU HAVE A CASE THEN OF A CONGRESSMAN CARRYING OUT UNAUTHORIZED DIPLOMACY, INDIVIDUAL DIPLOMACY?

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MR. BURNS: EXCUSE ME?

Q IS THIS A CASE, THEN, OF A CONGRESSMAN CARRYING OUT -- A MEMBER OF THE LEGISLATURE CARRYING OUT INDEPENDENT DIPLOMACY?

MR. BURNS: OKAY, LET ME JUST TRY TO HELP BRING THIS PART OF OUR BRIEFING TO A CONCLUSION BY SAYING THERE ARE SOMETIMES CASES WHERE PEOPLE -- EVEN CONGRESSMEN -- TRAVEL AND DON'T NECESSARILY HAVE THE GOOD WISHES OF THE ADMINISTRATION. IN THIS CASE, IT WAS VERY CLEAR THAT CONGRESSMAN RICHARDSON DID NOT TRAVEL AS AN EMISSARY OF THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION BUT HE CERTAINLY HAD THE GOOD WISHES OF THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION, AND WE CERTAINLY HAD DISCUSSIONS WITH HIM BEFORE HE WENT.

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THERE'S A VERY GREAT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WHAT HE DID OVER THE WEEKEND AND WHAT SOME OTHERS HAVE DONE IN THE PAST, AND I CAN'T GIVE YOU ANY EXAMPLES OF WHAT THOSE MAY BE, BUT I THINK YOU ALL KNOW THEM WHEN YOU SEE THEM.

KAREN.

Q DID THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAVE TO GRANT HIM ANY KIND OF A WAIVER IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO TRAVEL TO BAGHDAD?

MR. BURNS: LET ME CHECK INTO THAT FOR YOU. I DON'T KNOW TECHNICALLY THE ANSWER TO THAT QUESTION.

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(TO STAFF, MR. JOHNSON): DAVID, CAN YOU HELP US?

MR. JOHNSON: (INAUDIBLE)

MR. BURNS: OKAY, WE'LL LOOK INTO IT. I THINK THAT'S A GOOD QUESTION. I'M JUST NOT AWARE OF THE SPECIFICS ON IT.

SID.

Q AT ANY POINT DURING HIS THREE OR FOUR DAYS THERE, DID HE COMMUNICATE WITH THE SECRETARY OR U.S. OFFICIALS HERE AT THE WHITE HOUSE ABOUT THE PROGRESS OF HIS CONSULTATIONS?

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MR. BURNS: I DON'T BELIEVE THAT HE DID. I KNOW HE COMMUNICATED JUST BEFORE HE WENT IN BEFORE HE LEFT THE UNITED STATES. THEN I BELIEVE, IF IT'S TRUE -- IF I'M RIGHT -- HE WENT THROUGH AMMAN. HE UNDOUBTEDLY COMMUNICATED WITH OUR AMBASSADOR IN AMMAN AMBASSADOR EGAN, BUT I'M NOT AWARE THAT ONCE HE ENTERED IRAQI TERRITORY, THE LONG DRIVE ACROSS THE DESERT TO BAGHDAD, WAS IN BAGHDAD, I'M NOT AWARE THAT HE WAS IN DIRECT

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COMMUNICATION WITH US. I CAN CHECK ON THAT BUT I'M JUST NOT AWARE OF ANYTHING.

WE'LL GO TO THE MIDDLE EAST AND THEN WE'LL BE GLAD TO COME BACK.

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Q I DON'T KNOW IF PRIME MINISTER RABIN WATCHES "MEET THE PRESS," BUT HE SEEMS TO HAVE A DIFFERENT VIEW THAN THE SECRETARY DOES OF THE STATE OF PLAY BETWEEN SYRIA AND ISRAEL. SO WE CAN LEAVE "MEET THE PRESS" OUT OF IT AND WHAT WAS SAID YESTERDAY.

CAN YOU SAY TODAY WHAT IT IS THAT IS KEEPING THE ISRAELIS AND THE SYRIANS FROM RESUMING THEIR NEGOTIATIONS HERE?

MR. BURNS: I JUST FEEL COMPELLED TO SAY THE WORDS, "MEET THE PRESS."

Q GO AHEAD. WE'RE ALL HERE TO HEAR WHAT "MEET THE PRESS" DID YESTERDAY.

MR. BURNS: THE SECRETARY GAVE A FULL ACCOUNT OF HIS APPRAISAL OF THE SITUATION ON "MEET THE PRESS." AS HE EXPLAINED, BARRY, WE DO EXPECT THE SYRIAN AND ISRAELI AMBASSADORS TO GET TOGETHER SOON IN WASHINGTON ALTHOUGH NO DATES HAVE BEEN SET FOR THOSE MEETINGS. WE'RE SURE THAT DATES WILL BE SET FOR THOSE MEETINGS.

WE THINK, AS HE SAID, IT'S IMPORTANT TO MAINTAIN A PERSPECTIVE ON THIS NEGOTIATION. THESE ARE VERY TOUGH AND COMPLEX ISSUES. SOME PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE, BUT THERE ARE VERY REAL GAPS THAT REMAIN BETWEEN SYRIA AND ISRAEL ON THE QUESTION OF THE GOLAN HEIGHTS.

WE HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH THROUGH DENNIS ROSS. THE SECRETARY HAS BEEN IN TOUCH WITH BOTH PARTIES TO SEE IF

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WE CAN BRIDGE THOSE GAPS.

NOW, SPECIFICALLY, THERE WAS AN UNDERSTANDING ABOUT A SEQUENCE OF STEPS FOR THESE TALKS. THE LAST STEP OF THAT SEQUENCE WAS A MILITARY EXPERT'S MEETING BY THE END OF JULY. YOU REMEMBER THAT WHEN THE SECRETARY WAS IN DAMASCUS, HE ANNOUNCED THAT BASED ON A DISCUSSION THAT HE HAD WITH BOTH PRIME MINISTER RABIN AND PRESIDENT ASSAD. WE'RE STILL WORKING ON THAT.

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IT'S BEEN OUR JUDGMENT -- NOW WE'VE COME TO THE REALLY INTERESTING PART.

Q IT'S THE TECHNICAL PART THAT THE SECRETARY REFERRED TO ON TELEVISION YESTERDAY. THE SYRIANS RIPPING UP THE SCHEDULE IS A TECHNICAL PROBLEM THAT YOU'RE STILL WORKING ON, RIGHT?

MR. BURNS: LET ME CONTINUE WITH OUR WELL THROUGHTOUT AND WELL REASONED LINE OF ARGUMENTATION HERE. IT HAS BEEN OUR JUDGMENT THAT THIS SEQUENCE OFFERS THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY TO ACCELERATE THE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH, OF COURSE IS OUR OBJECTIVE.

WE THINK IT'S IMPORTANT TO REMAIN REALISTIC AND PATIENT IN COPING WITH THE INEVITABLE UPS AND DOWNS IN THIS PROCESS, AS THE SECRETARY SAID YESTERDAY ON "MEET THE PRESS" -- VERY RELEVANT REMARKS HE MADE ON "MEET THE PRESS."

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WHEN THE PARTIES MAKE COMMITMENTS TO EACH OTHER OR

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TO US, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THEY LIVE UP TO THOSE COMMITMENTS.

Q NICK, IT ISN'T A MATTER OF THE PARTIES RENEGING ON COMMITMENTS. THERE IS A PARTY WHO IS RENEGING ON A COMMITMENT. WHY ARE YOU SAYING BOTH PARTIES?

MR. BURNS: I USE THE PLURAL. I MEANT TO USE THE PLURAL: WHEN THE PARTIES MAKE COMMITMENTS TO EACH OTHER OR TO US, IT'S IMPORTANT THEY LIVE UP TO THEM. THAT IS SUCH A CLEAR STATEMENT OF OUR POLICY. I DON'T THINK I CAN IMPROVE UPON IT.

Q IF I UNDERSTAND WHAT RABIN IS SAYING TODAY -- AND I ONLY HAVE WHAT YOU FREQUENTLY REFER TO AS WIRE

REPORTS IS THIS; IT'S NOT QUITE AS AUTHENTIC AS BEING ON "MEET THE PRESS" -- I UNDERSTAND RABIN TODAY SAID, AT LEAST ON THE REUTER NEWS SERVICE, HE WOULD HOPE THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD TRY -- WOULD URGE THE SYRIANS TO FULFILL THEIR COMMITMENT TO HAVE THESE TALKS; THAT IT'S NOT A TECHNICAL PROBLEM THAT THE SECRETARY OF STATE DESCRIBED IT AS BEING.

IS THE UNITED STATES IN THE PROCESS OF TRYING TO URGE THE SYRIANS TO FULFILL THEIR COMMITMENT?

MR. BURNS: FIRST, IT'S VERY HARD FOR ME TO IMPROVE UPON WHAT THE SECRETARY SAID YESTERDAY. I'VE GIVEN YOU
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A SLIGHTLY --

Q RABIN HAS SPOKEN TO THE SECRETARY.

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MR. BURNS: I'VE GIVEN YOU SLIGHTLY FURTHER ELUCIDATION OF THOSE REMARKS TODAY, OF WHAT OUR POLICY IS TODAY. I REALLY DON'T HAVE ANYTHING TO ADD TO THAT.

WE'RE WORKING, AS I SAY, WITH BOTH PARTIES TO BRIDGE

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THE GAPS THAT INEVITABLY COME UP IN NEGOTIATIONS AS SERIOUS AS THIS.

Q NICK, WE'RE NOT TALKING ABOUT BRIDGING GAPS. WE'RE TALKING ABOUT A SCHEDULE THAT YOU HAD THAT APPARENTLY IS NO LONGER IN EFFECT. WE'RE ASKING IF THE SECRETARY OF STATE CONSIDERS ONE OF THE PARTIES TO HAVE BEEN SOMEHOW REMISS IN FULFILLING THE SCHEDULE AND WHAT HE'S DOING ABOUT IT. NOT THE GAPS ON THE ISSUES, AN AGREEMENT TO BE HERE.

YOU WISELY, BUT, OF COURSE, IT DOESN'T WORK, SAID THAT YOU EXPECT THE AMBASSADORS TO RESUME. THAT ISN'T THE QUESTION. YOU KNOW THAT. THE QUESTION IS, WILL THE GENERALS COME HERE AS THEY SAID THEY WOULD, AS THE U.S. SAID SEVERAL TIMES THEY WOULD; AS THE U.S. TOOK DEEP BOWS, INCLUDING DENNIS ROSS, FOR HAVING ACCOMPLISHED. THIS MISSION IS NOW UP IN THE AIR. WHAT ARE YOU DOING ABOUT IT?

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MR. BURNS: FIRST OF ALL, I APPRECIATE YOUR HELPING

ME ALONG WITH THIS ISSUE. I KNOW YOU'VE GOT LONG EXPERIENCE ON THIS, BUT LET ME JUST BEG TO DIFFER ON ONE TECHNICAL POINT, THAT IS, WE BELIEVE WE ARE TRYING TO BRIDGE THE GAPS. THAT'S A RELEVANT QUESTION.

BUT I ALSO SAID, AS I TRY TO BE HELPFUL TO YOU IN RESPONDING TO YOUR SPECIFIC QUESTION, THAT THERE WAS AN UNDERSTANDING THAT WE ANNOUNCED PUBLICLY IN DAMASCUS -- THE SECRETARY OF STATE ANNOUNCED -- ABOUT THE SEQUENCE OF STEPS FOR THE TALKS.

IT'S VERY CLEAR TO US THAT THE LAST STEP IN THAT SEQUENCE WAS, INDEED, MILITARY-LEVEL TALKS, EXPERTS MEETINGS, BELOW THE LEVEL OF CHIEF OF STAFF. WE WERE VERY CLEAR ABOUT SAYING WE THOUGHT THIS WAS A GOOD THING AND WE THOUGHT IT WAS A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

I SAID IT'S IN OUR JUDGMENT THIS SEQUENCE IS THE

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BEST WAY TO GO. IT'S THE BEST WAY NOW TO FURTHER
PROGRESS, TO ACCELERATE THE NEGOTIATIONS I ENDED BY
SAYING, WHEN PARTIES MAKE COMMITMENTS TO EACH OTHER OR
TO US, IT'S IMPORTANT THEY LIVE UP TO THEM. I THINK
THAT'S PROBABLY THE MOST RELEVANT, PERTINENT THING I CAN
SAY ON THIS ISSUE TODAY.

Q WHILE WE ARE THERE, CAN WE ADDRESS THE ISSUE OF
THE TALKS BETWEEN THE ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS. IF
YOU CAN GIVE US A SITUATION REPORT, IF YOU HAVE
SOMETHING POSITIVE ON --

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MR. BURNS: I CAN'T GIVE YOU MUCH DETAIL BEYOND WHAT
I HAD FOR YOU LAST WEEK. THE PARTIES CONTINUE TO WORK
VERY HARD. THEY'VE MADE SOME PROGRESS. THEY STILL HAVE
A WAYS TO GO. THEY HAVE DECLARED NEXT TUESDAY AS THE
DAY BY WHICH THEY HOPE TO HAVE ACHIEVED FULL PROGRESS
AND A CONCLUSION OF THEIR DISCUSSIONS. WE VERY MUCH
WISH THEM WELL IN THESE TALKS.

WE ARE, OF COURSE, ACTIVELY MONITORING THEM. WE
RETAIN A GREAT INTEREST IN THEM, AND WE'RE WILLING TO DO
WHATEVER WE CAN TO HELP THE PARTIES MAKE PROGRESS.

Q A QUESTION ON THAILAND. NICK, DO YOU HAVE ANY
NEW GUIDANCE ON THE CASE OF NARONG WONGWAN, A THAI

POLITICIAN, WHO HAS BEEN ACCUSED BY THIS DEPARTMENT OF
DRUG TRAFFICKING?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T HAVE ANY NEW GUIDANCE ON THE
SITUATION IN THAILAND. I DON'T BELIEVE, IN MY OWN
REMARKS ABOUT THIS, I EVER PUT A NAME -- A SPECIFIC NAME
-- TO SOME OF THE CONCERNS WE HAD ABOUT THE
POST-ELECTION SCENE IN BANGKOK, BUT I THINK MY REMARKS
SHOULD PROBABLY -- I WANT TO LEAVE THEM WHERE THEY WERE
10 DAYS/2 WEEKS AGO.

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Q HE WAS ACCUSED BY YOUR PREDECESSOR, THOUGH, BY
NAME. SO IT'S ON THE RECORD. I BELIEVE YOU RENEWED IT
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ABOUT 10 DAYS AGO JUST AFTER THEIR ELECTIONS.

MR. BURNS: I HAD A VERY SHORT AND SIMPLE STATEMENT
ABOUT SOME CONCERNS WE HAD' BUT I THINK THOSE CONCERNS
WERE EXPRESSED CLEARLY ENOUGH THAT I DON'T NEED TO GO
FURTHER.

Q IS THE STATE DEPARTMENT AWARE THAT THE CIA HAS
INVESTIGATED THEIR OWN CASE AGAINST WONGWAN AND
DETERMINED THAT THEIR PRINCIPAL SOURCE -- IN FACT, THE
U.S. GOVERNMENT'S PRINCIPAL SOURCE -- OF INFORMATION WAS
A FABRICATOR, SOMEBODY ON WHOM THE CIA HAS NOW ISSUED
WHAT THEY CALL A "BURN NOTICE?"

MR. BURNS: AS YOU KNOW, ROY, IT HAS BEEN OUR
PRACTICE NOT TO DISCUSS INTELLIGENCE ISSUES OR MATTERS
PERTAINING TO THE CIA FROM THIS PODIUM. YOU'LL HAVE TO
GO TO THE CIA FOR A RESPONSE ON THAT QUESTION.

Q THE CIA HAS, IN FACT, REFERRED QUESTIONS TO THE
STATE DEPARTMENT BECAUSE THEY SAY THEY'VE ISSUED A BURN
NOTICE, BUT IT'S UP TO THE CONSUMERS AT THE STATE
DEPARTMENT TO DECIDE WHETHER THEY'RE GOING TO OBSERVE
THIS OR NOT? AND DOES THE STATE DEPARTMENT OBSERVE THIS
--

MR. BURNS: I CAN CERTAINLY CHECK WITH MY GOOD
FRIEND, DENNIS BOX. I DON'T THINK HE'D WANT ME TO BE

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TALKING ABOUT AGENCY BUSINESS IN PUBLIC IN THIS
PARTICULAR SETTING.

Q WELL, IF A FOREIGN POLITICIAN HAS BEEN ACCUSED
OF DRUG TRAFFICKING BY THIS DEPARTMENT AND IT TURNS OUT
THAT THERE'S NO BASIS FOR IT, IS THERE A KIND OF MORAL
OBLIGATION BY THE DEPARTMENT TO CLEAR THE AIR AND TO
EITHER PRODUCE ITS EVIDENCE OR TO SAY WE HAVE NOTHING ON
THE GUY?

MR. BURNS: WHEN WE MAKE STATEMENT, WE ALWAYS TRY TO
HAVE OUR FACTS IN ORDER. WE ALWAYS TRY TO BE ABLE TO
BACK THEM UP.

YOU HAVE NOW MENTIONED A PROCESS WHEREBY A REPORT
THAT PEOPLE IN THE CIA MAY BE QUESTIONING THE BASIS OF
THAT. I CAN'T TO SPEAK TO INTELLIGENCE MATTERS IN
PUBLIC. I JUST CAN'T DO IT.

Q THIS IS A CASE OF THERE'S BEING NO INTELLIGENCE
ON THE GUY, IN FACT, BUT IT WAS THE BASIS FOR THE STATE
DEPARTMENT'S OWN JUDGMENT AT AN EARLIER POINT. SO IF
THERE IS NO INTELLIGENCE -- IT'S NOT A QUESTION OF
PROTECTING INTELLIGENCE; IT'S PROTECTING FALSE
INTELLIGENCE THAT, IN FACT, HAS LED TO A POSSIBLE
MISJUDGMENT OF A PERSON AND A DENUNCIATION THAT HAS NO
BASIS?

MR. BURNS: IT IS A QUESTION OF PROTECTING OUR
RELATIONSHIP WITH THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY AND
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NOT VIOLATING A FUNDAMENTAL TENET OF THAT RELATIONSHIP,
WHICH IS, WE DON'T DISCUSS THEIR BUSINESS -- CERTAINLY
NOT IN PUBLIC. WE DON'T DISCUSS THEIR BUSINESS. THEY
HAVE TO DISCUSS THEIR OWN OPERATIONS.

THEY ARE WORKING ON THIS CASE. THEY ARE IN A

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POSITION TO TELL YOU WHAT THEY HAVE OR PERHAPS NOT TO TELL YOU WHAT THEY HAVE BASED ON THEIR OWN RULES AND REGULATIONS, BUT I CAN'T DO THAT FOR THEM. I KNOW IT DOES IMPINGE ON AN ISSUE IN WHICH I'VE SPOKEN. I CLEARLY ACCEPT THAT, ROY, BUT I JUST CAN'T GET INTO THIS PART OF IT.

Q ANOTHER TAIWANESE QUESTION. A FORMER OPPOSITION MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT APPARENTLY -- NAMED THANONG -- THE UNITED STATES WAS SEEKING HIS EXTRADITION AND A THAI CRIMINAL COURT HAS AGREED WITH THAT. CAN YOU SHED ANY LIGHT ON WHEN THAT EXTRADITION MAY TAKE PLACE?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T HAVE ANY INFORMATION ON THAT CAROL. NONE AT ALL. I'LL SEE WHAT WE CAN DO. YES?

Q ASSISTANT SECRETARY WIN LORD KEEPS SAYING IN THE PAST SEVERAL DAYS THAT THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT HAVE OFFICIAL RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN BECAUSE TAIWAN INSISTS THE ONE-CHINA POLICY AND THEY DON'T WANT TO

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HAVE OFFICIAL RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. TAIWAN UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 60 STATE 171094 180724Z SAYS IT'S NOT TRUE. HE MISREPRESENTS TAIWAN'S POSITION. IT HAS CHANGED ALREADY. CAN YOU CLARIFY THAT?

MR. BURNS: WELL, WE HAVE GONE OVER THIS MANY TIMES. I'LL BE GLAD TO DO IT ONCE MORE, VERY BRIEFLY.

IT IS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT THE TAIWAN AUTHORITIES CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN THAT TAIWAN IS PART OF CHINA, BUT I WOULD CERTAINLY DIRECT YOU TO THE TAIWAN AUTHORITIES FOR A DESCRIPTION OF THEIR OWN POLICY.

THE UNITED STATES POLICY AS WE REAFFIRMED IT LAST WEEK, IS QUITE CLEAR. WE RECOGNIZE THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AS THE SOLE LEGAL GOVERNMENT OF CHINA, AND WE CERTAINLY ACKNOWLEDGE THE

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CHINESE POSITION THAT THERE IS BUT ONE CHINA AND TAIWAN IS PART OF CHINA.

Q IF TAIWAN CHANGED THEIR POSITION, SAY THEY CALLED THEMSELVES ROC, REPUBLIC OF CHINA OR REPUBLIC OR TAIWAN, THEN THE UNITED STATES WOULD HAVE TO CHANGE THEIR POSITION. IS THAT THE MEANING?

MR. BURNS: NO, IT DOES NOT MEAN THAT. I THINK WE HAVE BEEN VERY CAREFUL TO SAY OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF MONTHS THAT OUR CHINA POLICY MUST REMAIN FIRMLY GROUDED IN THE THREE COMMUNIQES, AND FIRMLY GROUNDED IN THE FACT THAT WE RECOGNIZE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AS THE SOLE LEGAL GOVERNMENT OF CHINA. THERE CAN BE NO CONFUSION ABOUT UNITED STATES POLICY. THERE IS NO WILLINGNESS OR INTEREST IN CHANGING THE BASIS FOR OUR
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CHINA POLICY.

Q INDEED, THOUGH, I THINK YOU HAVE REFERRED TO THE GOVERNMENT OF TAIWAN BEFORE. WE ASSUMED IT WAS JUST PROBABLY A FIGURE OF SPEECH. YOU DON'T THINK THAT TAIWAN IS --

MR. BURNS: NO, I CAN'T REMEMBER EVER SAYING IT HERE. THAT'S A LITTLE BIT UNFAIR.

Q UNFAIR, BUT WHAT ISN'T UNFAIR IS YOU THINK THE SECRETARY'S STATEMENT TODAY WAS VERY CLEAR. I THINK IT WAS INCREDIBLY AMBIGUOUS.

MR. BURNS: WELL, IT DEPENDS ON YOUR PERSPECTIVE.

Q YES, YES, YOU SAID THERE WERE FREQUENT VISITS, BUT LET ME NOT DEBATE WHAT THE SECRETARY SAID.

MR. BURNS: GOOD.

Q LET ME TAKE YOU UP ON WHAT YOU SAID. YOU SAID THESE DECISIONS ARE MADE BY CONSULAR OFFICERS. WHEN YOU LET

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THE PRESIDENT OF TAIWAN HERE, THE STATE DEPARTMENT SAID, IT WAS AN EXPRESSION OF FREEDOM OF SPEECH; THAT IT WAS A GOVERNMENT POLICY THAT THE PRESIDENT BE PERMITTED TO COME HERE AND GO TO CORNELL BECAUSE WE BELIEVE IN FREE
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SPEECH. SO IT SEEMED TO ME YOU HAD AN OVERRIDING POLICY, NOT ONE THAT WOULD BE MADE CASE-BY-CASE BY A CONSULAR OFFICER SOME PLACE. ISN'T THAT STILL THE GOVERNING POLICY?

MR. BURNS: WELL, IT IS CERTAINLY TRUE THAT ONLY CONSULAR OFFICERS CAN ISSUE THESE --

Q TECHNICALLY, OF COURSE.

MR. BURNS: SOMETIMES A VISA CASE IS SO PROMINENT THAT PEOPLE IN WASHINGTON, IN FACT SENIOR MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT TAKE A POSITION AND THAT BECOMES THE POSITION OF THE GOVERNMENT ON A PARTICULAR VISA REQUEST. NO QUESTION ABOUT IT. I WAS SIMPLY TRYING TO MAKE THE POINT THAT WE CANNOT ALLOW OURSELVES TO BE PUT IN A POSITION TO PERMIT OTHER COUNTRIES TO DECIDE THE BASIS FOR ISSUING VISAS. ONLY THE UNITED STATES I.E., CONSULAR OFFICERS OR THEIR SUPERIORS SOME PLACE ELSE CAN MAKE THOSE DECISIONS, AND THAT HAS TO BE THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES. YES.

Q DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ON NIGERIA TODAY?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T HAVE ANYTHING NEW ON THE SITUATION THERE, BUT I CERTAINLY CAN TELL YOU THAT WE REMAIN VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE SITUATION IN LAGOS. WE

UNDERSTAND THAT THE SECRET TRIALS HAVE GONE ON IN LAGOS. WE ARE TRYING TO CONFIRM WHAT DECISIONS THESE IN CAMERA SESSIONS MAY HAVE COME TO. WE ARE DEEPLY
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CONCERNED ABOUT THE SAFETY OF THOSE NIGERIAN OPPOSITION
LEADERS, FORMER POLITICIANS, FORMER GOVERNMENT
OFFICIALS, A FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE COUNTRY, GENERAL
ABACHA, WE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THEIR FATE. WE
ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE FACT THAT THEY HAVE BEEN DENIED
AN ADEQUATE TRIAL UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW, AND WE
CERTAINLY CALL UPON THE GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA TO RESPECT
INTERNATIONAL NORMS AND LAWS PERTAINING TO HUMAN RIGHTS,
PERTAINING TO DUE PROCESS, TO UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF
HUMAN RIGHTS. WE CERTAINLY HAVE A LOT OF CONCERNS ABOUT
WHAT IS HAPPENING NOW TO ALL OF THESE PEOPLE.

Q IS THE UNITED STATES ALSO CONCERNED THAT THE
NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT APPARENTLY HAS TOLD BRITAIN THAT ITS
OIL INTERESTS IN NIGERIA MAY BE AFFECTED IF IT CONTINUES
TO TAKE A VERY STRONG STAND ABOUT EXACTLY THIS ISSUE?

MR. BURNS: I'M NOT AWARE THAT THAT HAS BEEN A
MESSAGE PASSED. I HAVE SEEN PRESS REPORTS TO THAT
EFFECT. I AM NOT AWARE THAT THERE HAS BEEN AN OFFICIAL
MESSAGE FROM LAGOS TO LONDON.

Q DOES THE UNITED STATES AND THE U.S. OIL
INDUSTRY --

MR. BURNS: WELL, WE HAVE IMPORTANT OIL INTERESTS IN
NIGERIA, AS YOU KNOW -- AMERICAN COMPANIES, BRITISH
COMPANIES AND OTHERS. THAT DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE SHOULD
SOMEHOW BECOME MUTE WHEN SO MANY PEOPLE, WE BELIEVE, ARE
BEING UNJUSTLY ARRESTED, AND NOW UNJUSTLY AND
INCORRECTLY TRIED. WE ARE GOING TO CONTINUE TO SPEAK
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OUT ON THOSE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS THAT ARE SO

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APPARENT RIGHT NOW IN NIGERIA. YES. I THINK WE HAVE ONE MORE.

Q JUST IN REGARD TO THE AVIATION SPAT WITH JAPAN?

MR. BURNS: YES.

Q HAS THE DEPARTMENT RESPONDED TO THE JAPANESE PROPOSAL FOR HIGHER LEVEL TALKS TO WORK OUT THE DIFFERENCES?

MR. BURNS: WELL, WE HELD TALKS JULY 13TH TO 15TH IN TOKYO ON THE CIVIL AVIATION ISSUES. THERE WAS NO AGREEMENT REACHED AT THOSE TALKS, BUT DISCUSSIONS HAVE

NOT BROKEN OFF. WE WENT TO JAPAN TO HAVE PRODUCTIVE TALKS. WE THINK THEY WERE PRODUCTIVE. THE JAPANESE HAVE NOW PROPOSED ANOTHER VICE MINISTER LEVEL MEETING TO DEVELOP IDEAS AND FURTHER DEFINE PROBLEMS, AND FOLLOWING THAT A MINISTERIAL LEVEL MEETING. I BELIEVE THEY HAVE GIVEN US SOME SPECIFIC PROPOSALS ON WHERE AND WHEN THOSE MEETINGS SHOULD BE HELD. WE'LL BE REPLYING TO THOSE PROPOSALS VERY SHORTLY. WE WANT TO CONTINUE THESE DISCUSSIONS. WE WANT TO REACH AGREEMENT, AND WE ARE VERY MUCH HOPEFUL THAT WILL BE THE CASE IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

END TEXT. CHRISTOPHER

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DRL-09 /027R

DRAFTED BY: EUR/PA: MEROBINSON
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EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
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AMCONSUL MARSEILLE IMMEDIATE
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 13 MAR 2009 200705105

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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OPRC

SUBJECT: EUR DAILY PRESS GUIDANCE - JULY 24, 1995

PARIS ALSO FOR USOECD, ROME ALSO FOR VATICAN, USVIENNA FOR USDEL
CSCE

1. THE FOLLOWING PRESS GUIDANCE WAS PREPARED AND APPROVED BY THE BUREAU OF EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING. QUESTIONS SHOULD BE REFERRED TO ARIC SCHWAN, EUR PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

2. U.S. GOVERNMENT HUMANITARIAN RESPONSE TO THE SREBRENICA AND ZEPA CRISES

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS RESPONDING TO THE URGENT HUMANITARIAN NEEDS OF THE DISPLACED PEOPLE FROM SREBRENICA AND ZEPA.

IN FY 1995 TO DATE, THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAS PROVIDED OVER 138 MILLION IN HUMANITARIAN RELIEF THROUGH DOZENS OF ORGANIZATIONS, RANGING FROM THE LARGE MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS SUCH AS
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THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES (UNHCR), THE WORLD FOOD PROGRAM (WFP), AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS (ICRC), TO THE NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (NGOS). THIS HAS ENABLED THESE ORGANIZATIONS TO MEET THE INCREASED NEEDS GENERATED BY THE CRISES IN SREBRENICA AND ZEPA. USAID'S OFFICE OF FOOD FOR PEACE HAS CONTRIBUTED 126,400 METRIC TONS OF FOOD, VALUED AT 58 MILLION, TO THE REGION THIS FISCAL YEAR.

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USAID'S OFFICE OF U.S. FOREIGN DISASTER ASSISTANCE (OFDA) HAS OBLIGATED 31.7 MILLION TO FUND 40 ON-GOING AND NEW HUMANITARIAN RELIEF PROGRAMS BY U.S. AND INTERNATIONAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS WORKING IN BOSNIA. THIS INCLUDES 7.5 MILLION DOLLARS' WORTH OF GRANTS PUT INTO PLACE SINCE JULY 11 TO ASSIST DIRECTLY THE PEOPLE DISPLACED FROM SREBRENICA, AND NOW FROM ZEPA AS WELL. THESE INCLUDE GRANTS TO:

- THE INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE (IRC) IN THE AMOUNT OF 1.7 MILLION TO PROVIDE CLOTHING, SHELTER MATERIALS, HYGIENE AND BEDDING SUPPLIES;
- FEED THE CHILDREN WHICH IS PROVIDING SUPPLEMENTAL FOOD AND HYGIENIC ITEMS TO INFANTS, CHILDREN, AND PREGNANT AND LACTATING MOTHERS;

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- THE INTERNATIONAL MERCY CORPS WHICH HAS ALREADY VACCINATED 580 DISPLACED CHILDREN FROM SREBRENICA THROUGH ITS OFDA-FUNDED EMERGENCY VACCINATION PROGRAM IN TUZLA AND ZENICA.

AN ADDITIONAL 250,000 IN RAPID RESPONSE FUNDS HAS BEEN MADE AVAILABLE TO PROVIDE IMMEDIATE ASSISTANCE TO THE DISPLACED THROUGH:

- THE CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICES FOR ANTIBIOTICS FOR THE MEDICAL CLINIC IN TUZLA;
- FEED THE CHILDREN FOR READY-TO-EAT BABY MEALS, POWDERED MILK, AND DETERGENT;
- PREMIERE URGENGE FOR FRESH FOODS;
- THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION FOR HEALTH MONITORING.

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OFDA HAS MOVED 66,000 HUMANITARIAN DAILY RATIONS (HRS) INTO TUZLA AND IS PROVIDING 30,000 HYGIENE KITS, 10,000 WATER JUGS, 20,000 BLANKETS, AND 300 ROLLS OF PLASTIC SHEETING FROM ITS STOCKPILES IN THE REGION.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR POPULATION, REFUGEES, AND MIGRATION PHYLLIS OAKLEY VISITED TUZLA ON JULY 17 TO PERSONALLY ASSESS THE SITUATION. MRS. OAKLEY WAS WITH THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN LONDON ON FRIDAY TO TAKE PART IN THE DISCUSSIONS ON BOSNIA.

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THE UNITED STATES HAS CONTRIBUTED ALMOST ONE BILLION DOLLARS IN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA SINCE THE CONFLICT BEGAN IN 1991.

3. STATEMENT BY NICK BURNS, SPOKESMAN
TURKEY: PASSAGE OF DEMOCRATIZATION MEASURES

ON JULY 23, TURKEY'S GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY APPROVED, BY THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF 360 TO 32, 17 CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS WHICH WILL ENHANCE TURKISH DEMOCRACY AND BROADEN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION. PRESIDENT CLINTON HAS WRITTEN PRIME MINISTER CILLER WITH HIS CONGRATULATIONS ON HER LEADERSHIP IN SECURING APPROVAL FOR THESE MEASURES. WE ALSO CONGRATULATE THE LEADERS OF TURKEY'S OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES THAT SUPPORTED THIS PACKAGE. THIS PACKAGE IS PART OF A BROAD EFFORT TO ENHANCE TURKEY'S DEMOCRACY, WHICH WE SUPPORT.

4. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: BALKAN POLICY POINTS

-- LAST FRIDAY, THE ALLIES ISSUED A STRONG

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WARNING TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS. THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WILL NOT TOLERATE
THEIR CONTINUED DEFIANCE OF UN MANDATES AND
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RESOLUTIONS. ANY ATTACK ON GORAZDE
(GOR-AHZ-DAY) WILL BE MET BY STRONG AND
DECISIVE AIR POWER.

- WE ALSO AGREED IN LONDON THAT THE RRF WILL
TAKE ACTION TO OPEN AND SECURE HUMANITARIAN
ACCESS ROUTES. WE STRONGLY SUPPORT THE
REINFORCEMENT THAT IS NOW UNDERWAY IN SARAJEVO
AND ON MT. IGMAN.
- ALTHOUGH THE LONDON AGREEMENTS FOCUSED ON
GORAZDE AS THE AREA OF MOST IMMINENT CONCERN,
THEY ALSO AGREED ON THE NEED TO FULFILL THE
UNITED NATIONS' COMMITMENTS TO THE OTHER SAFE
AREAS. THESE PROCEDURES COULD BE PROMPTLY
APPLIED TO THOSE OTHER AREAS AND WE STAND
READY TO TAKE THE STEPS TO DO SO IF NECESSARY.
- WE REMAIN DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE CITIZENS
OF ZEPA WHO CONTINUE TO RESIST A HEAVY SERB
ASSAULT. THE SERBS MUST RESPECT THE RIGHTS OF
NONCOMBATANTS ACCORDING TO INTERNATIONAL LAW.

5. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: DETAILS OF AIR THREAT

Q: WHAT IS THE TRIGGER FOR AIRSTRIKES? HAS NATO
FINALIZED PLANS?

A: -- AS SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER SAID ON FRIDAY, AN
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ATTACK AGAINST GORAZDE WILL BE MET BY
SUBSTANTIAL AND DECISIVE AIR POWER. ANY AIR
CAMPAIGN WOULD INCLUDE SIGNIFICANT ATTACKS ON
SIGNIFICANT TARGETS.

-- NATO AUTHORITIES MET THROUGHOUT THE WEEKEND
AND HAVE BEEN IN SESSION TODAY. THIS AND
OTHER ISSUES ARE BEING DISCUSSED BY THE NAC.

Q: HAS THE UN CIVILIAN COMMAND BEEN EXCLUDED FROM THE
DUAL KEY?

A: -- COMMAND AND CONTROL AGREEMENTS FOR THE USE OF
NATO AIRPOWER, THE SO-CALLED DUAL KEY, ARE
BEING ADJUSTED TO ENSURE THAT THE RESPONSE TO
ANY ATTACK ON GORAZDE IS SUBSTANTIAL AND
DECISIVE.

-- THE MILITARY COMMITTEE MET TODAY; THERE WILL
BE ADDITIONAL DISCUSSIONS TOMORROW.

6. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: SITUATION UPDATE

Q: STATUS OF ZEPA?

A: -- FIGHTING CONTINUED IN THE EASTERN ENCLAVE OF
ZEPA. THE BOSNIAN SERBS CONTINUED TO SHELL
THE TOWN, HOME TO 17,000 BOSNIANS. THE TOWN'S
DEFENDERS HAVE HELD OUT FOR OVER A WEEK UNDER
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HEAVY ASSAULT.

Q: WHAT IS THE OBJECTIVE OF THE RRF'S ACTIVITIES
AROUND SARAJEVO?

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A: -- UNITS OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE TOOK UP POSITIONS TODAY ON MOUNT IGMAN, WHICH OVERLOOKS A MAJOR CONVOY ROUTE INTO SARAJEVO.

-- TWO BRITISH BATTERIES TOTALLING 320 MEN BEGAN DIGGING GUN EMPLACEMENTS TODAY. THEY WILL BE JOINED BY 500 FRENCH ARTILLERY AND INFANTRY UNITS LATER TODAY.

-- THE RRF'S MISSION IS TO PROTECT UN PERSONNEL IN SARAJEVO AND TO DEFEND UN CONVOYS ATTEMPTING TO DELIVER HUMANITARIAN AID TO THE CITY.

Q: FIGHTING IN SARAJEVO?

A: -- ON SATURDAY, SERB TROOPS FIRED ON A UN CONVOY ATTEMPTING TO USE THE MOUNT IGMAN ROAD. TWO FRENCH PEACEKEEPERS WERE KILLED AND FOUR OTHER PEACEKEEPERS WERE WOUNDED IN THE ATTACK. THE FRENCH RESPONDED WITH A MORTAR ASSAULT ON SERB POSITIONS.

-- IN SARAJEVO ON SUNDAY, 8 CIVILIANS WERE KILLED AND 35 WOUNDED IN SERB SHELLING OF THE CITY. THE BOSNIAN SERBS REPORTED THAT A GOVERNMENT
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ATTACK ON SERB-HELD AREA WOUNDED 11.

Q: DID A FRENCH AIRCRAFT BOMB PALE ON SUNDAY?

A: -- A FRENCH NEWSPAPER REPORTED ON SUNDAY THAT PRESIDENT CHIRAC ORDERED AN ATTACK BY A FRENCH AIRCRAFT ON PALE IN REPRISAL FOR THE KILLING OF FRENCH PEACEKEEPERS ON SATURDAY.

-- THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT HAS DENIED THE PAPER'S REPORT. ALTHOUGH WE CANNOT CONFIRM WHETHER THERE WAS AN AIR ATTACK ON PALE, THERE WAS NO NATO ASSAULT THIS WEEKEND.

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Q: FIGHTING IN BIHAC?

- THE JOINT OFFENSIVE OF CROATIAN SERBS AND REBEL MUSLIM FORCES CONTINUED IN BIHAC (BEE-HACH) THIS WEEKEND. THE UN HAS REPORTED THAT SERB TROOPS ARE CONTINUING THEIR OFFENSIVE ON THE AREA, AND HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT ADVANCES ON ALL FRONTS.
 - THE SERBS HAVE REPORTEDLY OVERRUN 20 SQUARE MILES OF TERRITORY AND CAUSED MORE THAN 2,000 BOSNIANS TO FLEE THEIR HOMES. THE BOSNIAN ARMY 5TH CORPS, WHICH IS DEFENDING THE ENCLAVE, IS BEGINNING TO RUN SHORT ON AMMUNITION, ACCORDING TO THE UN.
 - WE ARE DEEPLY DISTURBED BY THE CROATIAN SERB
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OFFENSIVE INTO BOSNIA, WHICH HAS THE POTENTIAL TO GREATLY ESCALATE THE CONFLICT BY DRAWING CROATIA INTO THE WAR. THE UN REPORTS THAT 1,000 CROATIAN TROOPS HAVE ALREADY BEEN DEPLOYED NEAR THE BORDER OF SERB-HELD CROATIA.

Q: HAVE WE WARNED THE GOVERNMENT OF CROATIA NOT TO ENTER THE FIGHTING IN BIHAC?

A: -- THE ANSWER IS FOR THE BOSNIAN SERBS TO STOP FIGHTING; THE WAR SHOULD BE CONTAINED, NOT WIDENED.

7. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: REPORTS OF ATROCITIES

Q: UPDATE ON REPORTS OF ATROCITIES?

A: -- THE DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS HAVE RETURNED TO SAFETY IN THE NETHERLANDS AND HAVE REPORTED TO THEIR GOVERNMENT FIRSTHAND ACCOUNT OF SERB ATROCITIES AFTER THE FALL OF SREBRENICA

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(SREH-BREH-NEET-SAH) .

-- THE UN ENVOY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS SAID THIS MORNING THAT REPORTS GATHERED BY UNHCR ALSO ESTABLISH THAT THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY ENGAGED IN "BARBARIC ACTS" OF RAPE AND MURDER AGAINST THE BOSNIANS OF SREBRENICA.

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-- WE REITERATE OUR COMMITMENT TO SEE WAR CRIMINALS BROUGHT TO JUSTICE.

8. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: FEAR OF ISLAMIC INVOLVEMENT?

Q: IS THE WEST OPPOSED TO INCREASED INVOLVEMENT FROM ISLAMIC NATIONS?

A: -- WE RESPECT THE CLOSE RELATIONS THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT HAS WITH MEMBERS OF THE O.I.C. WE SHARE THEIR DEEP CONCERN FOR THE INTEGRITY OF THE BOSNIAN STATE AND THE SAFETY OF BOSNIAN CITIZENS.

-- I WOULD NOTE THAT OIC MEMBER GOVERNMENTS ARE ALREADY ACTIVELY SUPPORTING BOSNIA WITH SUBSTANTIAL HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AS WELL AS NEARLY ONE-THIRD OF UNPROFOR PEACEKEEPING TROOPS.

-- WE ARE NOT OPPOSED TO ANY MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, INCLUDING MEMBERS OF THE O.I.C, ASSISTING THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT IN ACCORDANCE WITH EXISTING UN RESOLUTIONS.

9. UK (NORTHERN IRELAND): SECRET MEETING BETWEEN BRITISH AND SINN FEIN

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Q: ANY COMMENT ON THE UK'S SECRET TALKS WITH SINN FEIN PRESIDENT GERRY ADAMS?

A: -- WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE TALKS BETWEEN NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY OF STATE SIR PATRICK MAYHEW AND SINN FEIN (SHIN FAIN) PRESIDENT GERRY ADAMS.

-- THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS LONG SUPPORTED AN END TO THE VIOLENCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND LONG ENCOURAGED DIALOGUE TO THAT END. OBVIOUSLY, DIALOGUE AT SUCH A SENIOR LEVEL OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE PROVISIONAL SINN FEIN IS A POSITIVE AND WELCOME DEVELOPMENT.

-- WE HOPE THAT THE GENERAL TREND TOWARD MORE TALK -- BY ALL PARTIES INVOLVED -- AND LESS VIOLENCE CONTINUES IN NORTHERN IRELAND, AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO OFFER OUR SUPPORT TO THE PEACE PROCESS.

10. TURKEY: DEMOCRATIZATION MEASURES

Q: JUST WHAT WAS APPROVED BY PARLIAMENT? ARE THERE ANY FURTHER STEPS BEFORE THESE MEASURES BECOME LAW?

A: -- PARLIAMENT APPROVED 17 AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION WHICH, AMONG OTHER THINGS,
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ELIMINATE RESTRICTIONS ON PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS BY ASSOCIATIONS, UNIONS, GROUPS AND COOPERATIVES; GRANT CIVIL SERVANTS THE RIGHT TO FORM UNIONS AND ENGAGE IN COLLECTIVE TALKS; LOWER THE VOTING AGE FROM 20 TO 18, AND INCREASE THE NUMBER OF PARLIAMENTARIANS FROM 450 TO 550.

-- THE PACKAGE WILL NOW BE SENT TO PRESIDENT SULEYMAN DEMIREL FOR APPROVAL. WITH HIS SIGNATURE AND THEIR OFFICIAL PUBLICATION, THESE AMENDMENTS BECOME PART OF TURKEY'S CONSTITUTION.

Q: TWO WEEKS AGO THIS PACKAGE SEEMED DEAD. WHAT HAPPENED TO PRODUCE THIS HUGE MAJORITY?

A: -- WE DON'T WISH TO SPECULATE ON WHAT MAY HAVE HAPPENED IN PARLIAMENT. WE UNDERSTAND THAT POPULAR INTEREST IN, AND SUPPORT OF, THE PACKAGE OF AMENDMENTS INCREASED GREATLY AS TIME WENT ON.

Q: DO WE EXPECT ANY MORE ATTEMPTS TO CHANGE THE LAW OR CONSTITUTION IN THE NEAR FUTURE?

A: -- THIS PACKAGE IS PART OF A BROAD EFFORT TO ENHANCE TURKEY'S DEMOCRACY, WHICH WE SUPPORT.

MINIMIZE CONSIDERED
CHRISTOPHER

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 13 MAR 2009 200705105

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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OPRC

SUBJECT: EUR DAILY PRESS GUIDANCE - JULY 25, 1995

PARIS ALSO FOR USOECD, ROME ALSO FOR VATICAN, USVIENNA FOR USDEL
CSCE

1. THE FOLLOWING PRESS GUIDANCE WAS PREPARED AND APPROVED BY THE BUREAU OF EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING. QUESTIONS SHOULD BE REFERRED TO ARIC SCHWAN, EUR PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

2. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: SITUATION UPDATE

Q: FIGHTING IN BIHAC?

A: -- WE ARE CONCERNED THAT CROATIA'S EFFORTS TO ASSIST IN THE DEFENSE OF BIHAC MIGHT LEAD TO AN ESCALATION OF THE WAR. HOWEVER, WE RECOGNIZE THAT IT COMES AT THE REQUEST OF THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT FOR ASSISTANCE AGAINST THE CONTINUED INCURSIONS OF CROATIAN SERBS ACROSS THE BORDER WITH BOSNIA.

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-- WE HAVE EXPRESSED OUR CONCERNS IN TALKS WITH THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT.

-- THE JOINT OFFENSIVE WITH BOSNIAN SERBS AND REBEL MUSLIM FORCES HAS CAPTURED OVER 30 SQUARE MILES OF TERRITORY AND HAS CAUSED MORE THAN 2,000 BOSNIANS TO FLEE THEIR HOMES.

-- THE UN REPORTS THAT THE 5TH CORPS OF THE BOSNIAN ARMY IS RUNNING LOW ON AMMUNITION AND

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HAS SUSTAINED HEAVY CASUALTIES.

Q: STATUS OF ZEPA? ARE THE RESIDENTS BEING EVACUATED?

A: -- WE HAVE SEEN THE REPORTS THAT THE EASTERN ENCLAVE OF ZEPA HAS SURRENDERED. THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT HAS DENIED THESE REPORTS, AND WE HAVE NO WAY OF CONFIRMING THEM AT THIS TIME.

-- WE REMAIN DEEPLY CONCERNED, HOWEVER, FOR THE 17,000 RESIDENTS OF ZEPA IN LIGHT OF THE REPORTS OF THE ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS AFTER THE FALL OF SREBRENICA (SREH-BREH-NEET-SAH).

-- UN OFFICIALS HAVE REPORTED THAT AN AGREEMENT WAS REACHED BY BOTH SIDES LAST NIGHT ON THE TERMS OF EVACUATION FOR WOMEN, CHILDREN, THE ELDERLY AND WOUNDED AND THAT THE BOSNIAN ARMY HAS AGREED TO SURRENDER ITS WEAPONS TO THE 79 UKRANIAN PEACEKEEPERS STATIONED IN THE ENCLAVE.

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-- A UN LIASON TEAM IS REPORTEDLY EN ROUTE TO ZEPA TO CONFIRM THAT THIS AGREEMENT IS BEING CARRIED OUT AND TO MONITOR THE EVACUATION PROCESS.

Q: FIGHTING IN SARAJEVO?

A: -- THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE IN LONDON REPORTED THAT A BRITISH HELICOPTER WAS HIT BY SMALL-ARMS FIRE OVER MOUNT IGMAN ROAD THIS MORNING. THE HELICOPTER LANDED SAFELY AND THERE WERE NO INJURIES.

-- THE BOSNIAN SERBS CONTINUE TO SHELL THE BOSNIAN CAPITAL OF SARAJEVO, WHERE THE GOVERNMENT REPORTS THAT 20 WERE KILLED AND 51 WOUNDED OVER THE PAST TWO DAYS.

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-- ON SATURDAY, SERB TROOPS FIRED ON A UN CONVOY ATTEMPTING TO USE THE MOUNT IGMAN ROAD AND SHELLED UN FORCES STATIONED THERE. TWO UN PEACEKEEPERS WERE KILLED AND THREE CIVILIANS WOUNDED IN THE ATTACK.

3. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: RRF DEPLOYMENT

Q: STATUS OF THE RRF ON MOUNT IGMAN? WHAT IS THE OBJECTIVE OF THE RRF'S ACTIVITIES AROUND SARAJEVO?
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A: -- 300 BRITISH AND 500 FRENCH ARTILLERY AND INFANTRY UNITS OF THE UN'S RAPID REACTION FORCE ARRIVED IN SARAJEVO YESTERDAY. THE FORCE TOOK UP POSITIONS ON MOUNT IGMAN, WEST OF SARAJEVO.

-- THE TWO MAIN OBJECTIVES OF THE RRF IN SARAJEVO ARE TO PROTECT UN PERSONNEL AND TO ENSURE THE DELIVERY OF AID CONVOYS TO THE BESIEGED CITY OF SARAJEVO.

-- THE UN TROOPS HAVE TAKEN UP POSITION ON MOUNT IGMAN, OVERLOOKING THE MAIN SUPPLY ROUTE INTO THE CITY. THEY ARE ARMED WITH LIGHT TANKS, HOWITZERS, AND ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS.

4. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: NATO MEETINGS

Q: HAS NATO MADE ANY DECISIONS ON HOW TO IMPLEMENT THE LONDON AGREEMENT?

A: -- NATO AUTHORITIES CONTINUE TO MEET TO DISCUSS HOW TO OPERATIONALIZE THE DECISIONS AGREED TO LAST FRIDAY IN LONDON. THEY HAVE MADE PROGRESS, AND THE MATTER REMAINS UNDER ACTIVE

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REVIEW AND DISCUSSION IN THE NATO COUNCIL.

-- THE NATO ALLIES AGREE WITH THE DECISION TO
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MEET ANY ATTACK ON GORAZDE WITH SIGNIFICANT
AND DECISIVE AIR POWER. THE QUESTION BEFORE
THE NATO COUNCIL IS HOW TO IMPLEMENT THESE
DECISIONS.

Q: HAS THE UN CIVILIAN COMMAND BEEN EXCLUDED FROM THE
DUAL KEY?

A: -- COMMAND AND CONTROL AGREEMENTS FOR THE USE OF
NATO AIRPOWER, THE SO-CALLED DUAL KEY, ARE
BEING ADJUSTED TO ENSURE THAT THE RESPONSE TO
ANY ATTACK ON GORAZDE IS SUBSTANTIAL AND
DECISIVE.

-- THE MATTER REMAINS UNDER ACTIVE DISCUSSION
WITHIN THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND WITH THE
SECRETARY GENERAL.

5. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: DOLE LEGISLATION

-- WE OPPOSE THE EFFORTS OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS
TO UNILATERALLY BREAK THE UN ARMS EMBARGO.
SUCH AN ACT WOULD BE A VIOLATION OF
INTERNATIONAL LAW AND WOULD UNDERMINE OTHER UN
RESOLUTIONS AND SANCTIONS REGIMES, SUCH AS ON
IRAQ, THAT SERVE CRITICAL U.S. INTERESTS.

-- UNILATERALLY LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO WOULD
LEAD TO A WIDER AND BLOODIER CONFLICT, WITH A
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VERY UNCERTAIN OUTCOME, FOR WHICH THE U.S. WOULD BEAR THE ULTIMATE RESPONSIBILITY. UNILATERAL ACTION WOULD STRAIN OUR RELATIONS WITH OUR NATO ALLIES.

- THIS WEEK, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT WOULD NO LONGER TOLERATE THE BOSNIAN SERBS' CONTINUED DEFIANCE OF UN MANDATES. WE HAVE ISSUED AN ULTIMATUM TO DEFEND GORAZDE, AND OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES HAVE TAKEN RESOLUTE ACTION TO OPEN SARAJEVO TO HUMANITARIAN SUPPLIES, WHICH WE SUPPORT.
- WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE FOOLHARDY FOR THE SENATE TO DOOM THESE SERIOUS EFFORTS AT THEIR START. LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO NOW WOULD CAUSE THE WITHDRAWAL OF UNPROFOR, THE END OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN EFFORTS, AND THE INSERTION OF THOUSANDS OF U.S. TROOPS AS PART OF A NATO-LED EXTRACTION OPERATION.

6. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

- Q: WHO CAN HIRE AND FIRE THE UN COMMANDER IN BOSNIA? WHAT IS THE PROCEDURE?
- A. -- TECHNICALLY, THE UNDER SECRETARY GENERAL FOR PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS, KOFI ANNAN, HAS THE AUTHORITY TO HIRE AND FIRE THE UN COMMANDER IN
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BOSNIA. WE UNDERSTAND THE PROCEDURE, HOWEVER, WOULD LIKELY INVOLVE KOFI ANNAN'S RECEIVING APPROVAL FROM SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS BHOUTROS GHALI.

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7. BOSNIA: WAR CRIMES TRIBUNALS

Q: WHAT CAN YOU TELL US ABOUT THE INDICTMENT HANDED
DOWN BY THE UN WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL IN THE HAGUE?

A: -- THIS MORNING THE PROSECUTOR FOR THE YUGOSLAV
WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL ANNOUNCED THAT INDICTMENTS
AND ARREST WARRANTS HAD BEEN ISSUED AGAINST
BOSNIAN SERB PRESIDENT RADOVAN KARADZIC, SERB
ARMY COMMANDER, RATKO MLADIC, CROATIAN SERB
PRESIDENT MILAN MARTIC AND SOME 21 OTHERS.

-- MESSRS. KARADZIC AND MLADIC ARE CHARGED WITH
GENOCIDE AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY, ARISING,
AMONG OTHERS, FROM ATROCITIES PERPETRATED
AGAINST THE CIVILIAN POPULATION THROUGHOUT
BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, FOR THE SNIPING CAMPAIGN
AGAINST CIVILIANS IN SARAJEVO, AND FOR THE
TAKING OF UN PEACEKEEPERS AS HOSTAGES AND
THEIR USE AS HUMAN SHIELDS. THE OTHER
INDIVIDUALS HAVE BEEN INDICTED IN RELATION TO
INVESTIGATIONS RELATING TO INCIDENTS AT
PRIJEDOR, BOSANSKI SAMAC AND BRCKO. A TOTAL
OF 46 INDIVIDUALS HAVE BEEN ACCUSED BY THE
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TRIBUNAL OF SERIOUS VIOLATIONS OF
INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW, IN ITS FIRST
YEAR OF OPERATION.

-- THE INDICTMENTS ANNOUNCED TODAY RELATE TO
EVENTS WHICH OCCURRED IN BOTH CROATIA AND
BOSNIA AND TO ATROCITIES COMMITTED AGAINST
BOSNIAN MUSLIMS, CROATS AND CROATIANS; COVER
EVENTS WHICH TOOK PLACE IN 1992 AND 1995
(TAKING OF UN PEACEKEEPERS HOSTAGE);
ILLUSTRATE THE VARYING RANKS AND DEGREES OF
PARTICIPATION OF THOSE ACCUSED; AND INDICATE A
WIDE RANGE OF CRIMES, INCLUDING THE SETTING UP
OF "DEATH CAMPS," TERROR CAMPAIGNS FOLLOWING

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SERB TAKE-OVERS OF TOWNS, THE FIRING OF ROCKETS INTO CITIES, THE DEPORTATION OF CIVILIANS, THE SHELLING OF CIVILIAN GATHERINGS, THE PLUNDER AND DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY AND SACRED SITES, THE SNIPING CAMPAIGN IN SARAJEVO AND THE TARGETING OF UN PEACEKEEPERS.

Q: WILL THE TRIBUNAL ALSO INVESTIGATE ACTS BY MUSLIMS AND CROATIANS?

A: -- JUSTICE GOLDSTONE IS INVESTIGATING ALLEGED CRIMES BY MUSLIMS AND CROATS, BUT IS BEING DELAYED BY LACK OF COOPERATION ON THE PART OF THE FRY AND THE SERB AUTHORITIES IN PALE.

Q: ARE YOU CONCERNED ABOUT THE POSSIBLE EFFECT OF UNCLASSIFIED

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THESE INDICTMENTS ON THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS?

A: -- THE JUDICIAL PROCESS OF THE TRIBUNAL AND THE POLITICAL PROCESS NOW UNDERWAY ARE DISTINCT. NEITHER THE U.S. NOR ANY OTHER CONTACT GROUP MEMBER IN ANY WAY CONTROLS OR DIRECTS THE WORK OF JUSTICE GOLDSTONE AND HIS STAFF. THE YUGOSLAV TRIBUNAL AND ITS COUNTERPART RWANDA TRIBUNAL ARE PART OF A BROADER ENTERPRISE -- THE BUILDING OF INSTITUTIONS OF ACCOUNTABILITY FOR THE NEW INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TAKING SHAPE IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA.

-- AT THE SAME TIME, WE DO BELIEVE THAT PROSECUTING WAR CRIMES IS IN THE LONG-TERM INTEREST OF ACHIEVING PEACE IN THE REGION.

-- THE SUCCESS OF THE TRIBUNAL IS ESSENTIAL TO THE POSSIBILITY OF LONG-TERM RECONCILIATION IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA AND TO THE CREDIBILITY OF THE RULE OF LAW.

-- PERSONS RESPONSIBLE FOR GENOCIDE AND CRIMES

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AGAINST HUMANITY MUST ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY
FOR THEIR ACTIONS REGARDLESS OF RANK OR
POSITION.

Q: WHAT GOOD DOES IT DO TO INDICT THESE PEOPLE IF
THEY ARE NOT UNDER ARREST?

A: -- ALL STATES ARE UNDER AN OBLIGATION TO DETAIN
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THOSE UNDER INDICTMENT WHO ARE ON THEIR
TERRITORY. MOREOVER, THESE INDICTMENTS SERVE
TO ISOLATE THE INDIVIDUALS IN QUESTION, AND TO
GIVE CREDENCE TO THE CLAIMS OF THEIR VICTIMS.

Q: WHAT SORT OF SUPPORT HAS THE U.S. GIVEN THE
TRIBUNAL?

A: -- THE U.S. HAS DEVOTED SIGNIFICANT RESOURCES AND
PERSONNEL TO THE TRIBUNAL. IN FY '94, WE
COMMITTED TO SPEND 14 MILLION, INCLUDING A 3
MILLION CASH CONTRIBUTION, AND PROVIDED 22 USG
DETAILEES. THE TRIBUNAL'S TOTAL STAFF NUMBERS
SOME 130 INDIVIDUALS DRAWN FROM 38 COUNTRIES.

-- AT THE SAME TIME, I WOULD EMPHASIZE AGAIN THAT
THIS IS NOT AN AMERICAN TRIBUNAL BUT AN
INDEPENDENT UN BODY OPERATING UNDER THE
AUSPICES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.
JUSTICE GOLDSTONE'S INTEGRITY AND COURAGE WERE
AMPLY DEMONSTRATED DURING HIS YEARS IN SOUTH
AFRICA AND ARE THE SAME QUALITIES THAT MAKE
HIM THE RIGHT MAN FOR THIS JOB TODAY.

8. TURKEY: VISAS FOR KPIE MEMBERS

Q: DID WE GRANT VISAS TO PKK TERRORISTS? (REMZI
KARTAL AND YASAR KAYA, MEMBERS OF THE KURDISH
PARLIAMENT IN EXILE, BRIEFLY JOINED A HUNGER
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STRIKE HERE IN DC).

- A: -- WE SUPPORT THE GOT'S EFFORTS TO OPPOSE THE
TERRORIST KURDISTAN WORKERS' PARTY (PKK).
- WE HAVE CONSISTENTLY CONDEMNED THE PKK AS A
VICIOUS TERRORIST ORGANIZATION, WHICH DOES NOT
HESITATE TO TARGET WESTERN, INCLUDING U.S.,
INTERESTS.
- WHILE THE KURDISH PARLIAMENT IN EXILE (KPIE)
HAS NOT BEEN DESIGNATED AS A TERRORIST
ORGANIZATION, IT HAS CLOSE TIES TO THE PKK AND
WE BELIEVE SHOULD BE VIEWED IN THAT LIGHT.
- AS A TERRORIST ORGANIZATION, THE PKK HAS NO
LEGITIMACY. NEITHER DOES THE KPIE.
- AS A GENERAL POLICY, THE USG DOES NOT GRANT
VISAS TO TERRORISTS.
- HOWEVER, UNDER U.S. LAW MERE MEMBERSHIP IN A
TERRORIST ORGANIZATION IS NOT A BASIS FOR VISA
INELIGIBILITY. COMMISSION OF A TERRORIST ACT
WOULD, HOWEVER, MAKE AN INDIVIDUAL INELIGIBLE
FOR A VISA.
- WE UNDERSTAND THAT BOTH REMZI KARTAL AND YASAR
KAYA, BOTH MEMBERS OF THE KPIE, ARE IN THE
COUNTRY. WE ARE CHECKING INTO WHERE AND HOW
THEY OBTAINED THEIR TRAVEL DOCUMENTS.

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-- THOSE INDIVIDUALS ENGAGING IN A HUNGER STRIKE ARE EXERCISING THEIR RIGHTS UNDER THE FIRST AMENDMENT. WE UNDERSTAND THAT MR. KAYA AND MR. KARTAL BRIEFLY VISITED THOSE INDIVIDUALS.

9. UK (NORTHERN IRELAND): NEW PLAN FOR IRISH PEACE EFFORT

Q: ANY COMMENT A NEW PLAN BY THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS FOR DEALING WITH OBSTACLES IMPEDING THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE EFFORT?

A: -- IT IS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEEN WORKING ON PLANS FOR THE DECOMMISSIONING OF ILLEGAL WEAPONS, FOR MOVING TOWARD ALL PARTY TALKS, AND FOR RESOLVING OTHER ISSUES CONCERNING THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS.

-- WE HAVE NOT SEEN ANY FORMAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF A NEW PLAN.

-- WE CONTINUE ACTIVELY TO SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGE THE EFFORTS OF BOTH GOVERNMENTS AND THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND TO ACHIEVE A PERMANENT SETTLEMENT.

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FOLLOWING LONDON 10294 DTD 22 JUL SENT ACTION SECSTATE, WHITEHOUSE,
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LISBON, MOSCOW, PARIS, OTTAWA, ROME, TOKYO, THE HAGUE, ANKARA,
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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: N/A

SUBJECT: PRESS BRIEFING BY SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE WILLIAM SECRETARY, CHAIRMAN, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF GEN. JOHN SHALIKASHVILI, AT CONCLUSION OF BOSNIA CONFERENCE, QUEEN ELIZABETH II

CENTRE, LONDON, JULY 21, 1995 -- 18:30

THE TEXT OF THE PRESS BRIEFING BY SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE WILLIAM SECRETARY, CHAIRMAN, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF GEN. JOHN SHALIKASHVILI, AT CONCLUSION OF BOSNIA CONFERENCE, QUEEN ELIZABETH II CENTRE, LONDON, JULY 21, 1995 -- 18:30 FOLLOWS:

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: GOOD EVENING. ON BEHALF OF THE ENTIRE UNITED STATES DELEGATION I WANT TO THANK PRIME MINISTER MAJOR FOR CONVENING TODAY'S CONFERENCE AND FOREIGN SECRETARY RIFKIND FOR HIS VERY SKILLFUL CHAIRMANSHIP.

NONE OF US IS UNDER ANY ILLUSION ABOUT TODAY'S MEETING. BY NOW WE'RE ALL TOO AWARE THAT NO CONFERENCE, INCLUDING THIS ONE, CAN END THE WAR AND SUFFERING IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. WHAT A CONFERENCE OF THIS KIND CAN DO IS TO FOCUS OUR MINDS ON HOW WE CAN BEST CONTRIBUTE TO ALLEVIATING SUFFERING AND ACHIEVING A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. THIS CONFERENCE HAS SERVED AS A DECISION-

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FORCING EVENT. AS I TOLD MY COLLEAGUES TODAY, THE ENTIRE WORLD IS WATCHING US, WAITING TO SEE IF THE WEST WILL ANSWER THE BOSNIAN SERBS' OUTRAGEOUS AGRSSION.

WE FACE A VERY SIMPLE AND STARK CHOICE: EITHER THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY RAPIDLY TAKES FIRM STEPS TO FULFILL ITS MISSION IN BOSNIA OR ITS MISSION WILL COLLAPSE. TODAY WE HAVE AGREED ON SEVERAL ACTIONS WHICH, IF VIGOROUSLY IMPLEMENTED, OFFER A REAL OPPORTUNITY TO

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REASSERT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S ROLE IN BOSNIA.

LET ME STRESS THE OBVIOUS: TO HAVE ANY CHANCE OF SUCCESS THE DECISIONS MADE TODAY MUST BE TRANSLATED, TRANSLATED QUICKLY INTO REALITY ON THE GROUND. PRESIDENT CLINTON AND THE UNITED STATES ARE DETERMINED TO DO SO. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND THE PEOPLE OF BOSNIA SIMPLY CANNOT AFFORD ANY MORE EMPTY THREATS. LET ME BRIEFLY REVIEW WHAT THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES TO BE THE CENTRAL ELEMENTS OF TODAY'S AGREEMENT.

FIRST, THE UNANIMOUS REAFFIRMATION THAT UNPROFOR WILL

REMAIN IN BOSNIA. IN ORDER TO DO SO, ITS ABILITY TO FULFILL ITS MANDATE WILL BE STRENGTHEND. WE ARE ALL PAINFULLY AWARE OF UNPROFOR'S SHORT-COMINGS. NEVERTHELESS, WE AGREE THAT UNPROFOR'S COLLAPSE IN THE FACE OF BOSNIAN SERB AGRESSION CAN ONLY LEAD TO FAR GREATER HUMANITARIAN TRAGEDY AND STRATEGIC DANGER IN THE BALKANS.

SECOND, AND OF MOST IMMEDIATE CONCERN: GORAZDE WILL BE
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DEFENDED. BOSNIAN SERB LEADERS ARE NOW ON NOTICE THAT AN ATTACK AGAINST GORAZDE WILL BE MET BY SUBSTANTIAL AND DECISIVE AIR POWER. SECRETARY SECRETARY AND GENERAL SHALIKASHVILI CAN SPEAK MORE FULLY ON THE MILITARY ASPECTS OF THE PLAN, BUT LET ME MAKE JUST A COUPLE OF POINTS. ANY AIR CAMPAIGN IN GORAZDE WILL INCLUDE SIGNIFICANT ATTACK ON SIGNIFICANT TARGETS. THERE'LL BE NO MORE PIN-PRICK STRIKES. MOREOVER EXISTING COMMAND AND

CONTROL ARRANGEMENTS FOR USE OF NATO AIR POWER WILL BE SIGNIFICANTLY ADJUSTED TO ENSURE THAT RESPONSIVENESS AND UNITY, OUR PURPOSES, ARE ACHIEVED. THE NEW SYSTEM IS A MUCH IMPROVED SYSTEM.

THIRD, WE WILL TAKE STEPS TO STABILIZE THE SITUATION IN SARAJEVO. ITS PEOPLE MUST BE FED. FRENCH AND BRITISH TROOPS FROM THE RAPID REACTION FORCE WILL TAKE ACTION TO OPEN AND SECURE HUMANITARIAN ACCESS ROUTES. AT THE SAME

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TIME, WE AGREED MORE BROADLY ON THE NEED TO FULFILL THE UNITED NATIONS' OTHER MANDATES, INCLUDING THAT IN THE OTHER SAFE AREAS. IN THIS REGARD WE ARE ESPECIALLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE ESCALATING BOSNIAN SERB ATTACKS IN BIHAC.

FOURTH, WE'RE AGREED ON THE NEED TO SUPPORT ON-GOING EFFORTS TO ADDRESS BOSNIA'S DEEP HUMANITARIAN NEEDS, WHICH HAVE CERTAINLY BEEN EXACERBATED BY THE FIGHTING IN SREBRENICA AND ZEPA. WE INTEND AND WE ARE URGING OTHERS TO INCREASE OUR CONTRIBUTION, ESPECIALLY IN ADVANCE OF THE COMING WINTER.

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FIFTH, WE REAFFIRMED OUR BELIEF THAT THE CONFLICT IN YUGOSLAVIA CAN ONLY BE RESOLVED BY A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. TODAY WE RECEIVED AN UPDATE FROM THE EUROPEAN UNION'S REPRESENTATIVE CARL BILDT AND WE

UNDERScoreD OUR SUPPORT FOR HIS WORK. TONIGHT THE CONTACT GROUP MINISTERS WILL BE MEETING WITH MR. BILDT TO REVIEW HIS POLITICAL EFFORTS. AT THE SAME TIME DURING THE CONFERENCE I MADE CLEAR OUR BELIEF THAT SO LONG AS THE BOSNIAN SERB AGRESSION CONTINUES ANY POLITICAL PROCESS IS DOOMED TO FAILURE. OUR FIRST STEP MUST BE TO TAKE ACTION THAT CAN RETURN AN ELEMENT OF STABILITY ON THE GROUND. AT THAT POINT WE AGREED THAT A COUNTRY WIDE CEASEFIRE SHOULD BE DECLARED WHICH CAN BE USED AS A BASIS FOR A RESUMPTION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

FINALLY TODAY'S PARTICIPANTS ARE FULLY AWARE OF THE RISKS THAT WILL ACCOMPANY ANY EFFORT TO IMPLEMENT UNPROFOR'S MISSION MORE VIGOROUSLY.

THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE TAKE HOSTAGES BEFORE AND THEY MAY DO SO AGAIN. AS PART OF TODAY'S PLAN WE ARE URGING THE UNITED NATIONS TO TAKE STEPS IMMEDIATELY TO MINIMIZE THE EXPOSURE OF ITS PERSONNEL. AT THE SAME TIME WE'RE DETERMINED THAT THE TAKING OF HOSTAGES WILL NO LONGER BE ALLOWED TO PREVENT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR POLICIES. WE ARE ALSO RESOLVED TO HOLD THE BOSNIAN SERB LEADERS

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FULLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SAFETY AND PERSONNEL OF ANY UN
PERSONNEL THAT THEY HAVE DETAINED.

LET ME SAY AGAIN THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON IS COMMITTED TO
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WORKING WITH OUR PARTNERS, ALL OF THEM--ESPECIALLY FRANCE
AND BRITAIN--TO SEE THAT THE DECISIONS WE TAKE TODAY ARE
TRANSLATED INTO REALITY. WE DO NOT SEEK TO MAKE THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY A PARTICIPANT IN THE WAR IN
BOSNIA, BUT WE'RE DETERMINED TO MAKE ANOTHER, PERHAPS
FINAL EFFORT TO FULFILL THE WORLD'S RESPONSIBILITIES IN
BOSNIA. TODAY'S MEETING WAS A NECESSARY FIRST STEP

TOWARD THAT GOAL. NOW WE MUST ACT. THANK YOU.

I BELIEVE THAT SECRETARY PERRY AND GENERAL SHALIKASHVILI
WILL NOT HAVE OPENING REMARKS, BUT I'M SURE YOU'LL HAVE
SOME QUESTIONS FOR THEM AS WELL AS FOR ME.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, COULD YOU CLEAR UP A COUPLE OF
THINGS, WE HAD BEEN TOLD EARLIER BY OUR DEFENSE OFFICIALS
THAT THIS ULTIMATION WOULD APPLY TO AN ATTACK ON SAREJEVO
AS WELL. AND ACCORDING TO SECRETARY RIFKIND THAT IS NOT

THE CASE. IT WOULD ONLY APPLY, ACCORDING TO THE
CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENTS, TO AN ATTACK ON GORAZDE, SO COULD
YOU CLEAR THAT UP AND ALSO COULD YOU CLARIFY FRENCH
CLAIMS THAT THERE IS A COMMITMENT OF AMERICAN HELICOPTER
LIFT TO BRING IN TROOPS TO GORAZDE?

SECRETARY CHIRSTOPHER: WITH RESPECT TO THE FIRST
QUESTION, THE CONFERENCE TODAY FOCUSED ON GORAZDE BECAUSE
THAT SEEMED TO BE THE AREA OF GREATEST IMMEDIATE THREAT.
HAVING ATTACKED AND APPARENTLY OVERCOME BOTH THE ENCLAVES
IN SREBRENICA AND ZEPA, THE NEXT ONE EVIDENTLY ON THE
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TARGET LIST IS GORAZDE. SO WE FOCUSSED OUR PRIMARY CONCERN ON THAT, BUT AT THE SAME TIME WE WERE CONCERNED ABOUT ALL THE SAFE AREAS. NOW WITH RESPECT TO SAREJEVO THE FOCUS THERE WAS ON THE USE OF RAPID REACTION FORCE TO ENSURE THAT THERE WILL BE OPPORTUNITIES FOR HUMANITARIAN AID TO GET THROUGH. BUT LET ME EMPHASIZE THIS: SHOULD THE BOSNIAN SERBS LAUNCHED THE KIND OF SHELLING ATTACK THAT THEY HAVE HAD ON SREBRENICA AND ZEPA, SHOULD THEY LAUNCH THAT KIND OF ATTACK ON OTHER SAFE AREAS, THESE PROCEDURES CAN BE PROMPTLY APPLIED TO THOSE OTHER AREAS AND WE STAND READY TO TAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS TO DO SO. BUT, TODAY'S MEETING WAS FOCUSED, AS THE CHAIRMAN SAID, PRIMARILY ON GORAZDE.

WITH RESPECT TO THE OTHER QUESTION YOU ASKED, AS THE CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT INDICATED, THERE WAS AN INDICATION ON THE PART OF ALL THE PARTICIPANTS, THAT THE UNPROFOR TROOPS WERE NECESSARY, WOULD BE RESUPPLIED, GIVEN ADDITIONAL SUPPLIES, ADDITIONAL ARMS IF NECESSARY. IF THAT BECOMES NECESSARY THAT CAN BE CONSIDERED, BUT THERE IS NO COMMITMENT ON BEHALF OF THE UNITED STATES, AT THE PRESENT TIME, FOR THE USE OF HELICOPTERS; AND I MIGHT SAY THERE IS ALSO NO COMMITMENT BY THE UNITED STATES WITH RESPECT TO GROUND TROOPS. OUR LONG STANDING POSITION ON THAT REMAINS INTACT.

QUESTION: I AM SORRY, YOU SAID THAT THERE WOULD BE NO MORE PIN-PRICK ATTACKS AND THERE HAVE BEEN STATEMENTS HERE ABOUT SUBSTANTIAL ATTACKS. I WOULD LIKE TO ASK SECRETARY SECRETARY PERRY AND GENERAL SHALIKASHVILI, WOULD THESE ATTACKS GO FAR BEYOND GORAZDE? IN OTHER WORDS, DO YOU
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INTEND AS YOU SAID ON THE AIRPLANE TO WIPE OUT THE SERBS'
AIR DEFENSE SYSTEM AND GIVE YOU FREEDO" IN THE AIR OVER BOSNIA AND TO ATTACK PERHAPS FUEL DUMPS, AMMUNITION

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DEPOTS AND OTHER AREAS TO TEACH THEM A LESSON?

SECRETARY PERRY: I DON'T WANT TO DESCRIBE THE DETAILS OF THE AIR CAMPAIGN WHICH WE DISCUSSED IN SOME DETAIL WITH OUR COLLEAGUES. BUT WHAT I WILL SAY IS THAT, FIRST OF ALL, IT IS A PHASED PLAN RANGING EVERYWHERE FROM CLOSE AIR SUPPORT FOR A PARTICULAR TACTICAL UNIT ON THE GROUND THAT IS BEING ATTACKED, TO A BROADER REGIONAL AIR CAMPAIGN; THAT THIS WOULD BE AGREED TO IN DETAIL, TO BE DRAWN OUT IN DETAIL AND AGREED TO BETWEEN THE AIR COMMANDER AND THE GROUND COMMANDER. IN ITS LATTER PHASES IT INVOLVES AN AREA CONSIDERABLY BROADER THAN GORAZDE. WOULD GENERAL SHALIKASHVILI PERHAPS LIKE TO ADD TO THAT?

GENERAL SHALIKASHVILI: I THINK THAT YOU ARE RIGHT, THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO UNDERSTAND THAT THESE ARE NOT JUST RESPONSES AGAINST THE INITIAL PROVOCATION BUT AN AIR CAMPAIGN THAT CONSISTS OF A WIDE RANGE OF TARGETS THROUGHOUT A BROAD ZONE OF OPERATIONS. THAT IS A SIGNIFICANT DEPARTURE FROM THE WAY AIR POWER WAS USED BEFORE.

QUESTION: AND WAS IT AGREED THAT, IF HOSTAGES WERE HELD, THAT SUCH A CAMPAIGN WOULD NOT BE STOPPED BY THAT?

SECRETARY PERRY: THAT WAS AN ISSUE THAT WAS DISCUSSED
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FULLY AND COMPLETELY AT THE MEETING. WE ALL UNDERSTOOD THAT THE SUCCESS OF A SUSTAINED AIR CAMPAIGN DEPENDED ON ITS BEING SUSTAINED AND THEREFORE IT COULD NOT BE DETERRED AND INTERRUPTED BY HOSTAGE TAKING IF THAT WERE TO OCCUR. WE CANNOT LET A POLICY BE HOSTAGE TO THE TAKING OF HOSTAGES.

QUESTION: DO YOU UNDERSTAND THE MEETING TO HAVE DECLINED TO APPROVE, AT THIS POINT, THE USE OF AIR POWER IN THE CASE WHERE SOME OTHER ACTION IS TAKEN OTHER THAN AN ATTACK ON GORAZDE? WILL THERE HAVE TO BE ANOTHER MEETING IF SOME OTHER ACTION IS TAKEN BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS IN VIOLATION OF UN MANDATES?

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SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: DAVID, LET ME SAY TWO THINGS

ABOUT THAT. FIRST, THE MEETING DIDN'T DECLINE TO DO ANYTHING. THE MEETING WAS POSITIVE IN CHARACTER. SECOND, THERE ARE EXISTING AUTHORITIES, AS YOU KNOW, FOR THE USE OF AIR POWER IN PARTICULAR CIRCUMSTANCES BUT IF ADDITIONAL AUTHORITY WAS NECESSARY BECAUSE THE BOSNIAN SERBS TOOK SOME OTHER ACTION WE STAND READY TO DO THAT BUT THERE ARE BROAD EXISTING AUTHORITIES UNDER THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL AT THE PRESENT TIME THAT ARE AVAILABLE TO THE NATO AUTHORITIES. WE FOCUSED ON GORAZDE AND AS BOTH THE SECRETARY AND THE GENERAL HAVE SAID WE MADE FAIRLY SPECIFIC AND DETAILED PLANS FOR AN AIR CAMPAIGN SHOULD IT BECOME NECESSARY IN GORAZDE. I THINK THOSE PROCEDURES COULD BE TRANSLATED INTO OTHER AREAS IF THAT BECOMES NECESSARY.

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QUESTION: BIHAC IS UNDER ATTACK NOW SIR, AND I WONDER WHY THAT HASN'T BEEN RESPONDED TO?

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: THE SITUATION IN BIHAC IS AS IT HAS BEEN BEFORE, NOT ALWAYS ENTIRELY CLEAR AS TO WHOSE DOING THE ATTACKING AND WHAT THE CIRCUMSTANCES ARE. WE

WILL BE WATCHING THAT VERY CAREFULLY. I THINK THAT TODAY'S MEETING INDICATES A NEW LEVEL OF CONCERN ABOUT THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA AS A WHOLE. WE ADDRESSED WHAT WE THOUGHT WAS THE PRINCIPAL CURRENT THREAT; WE WILL CERTAINLY BE FOLLOWING BIHAC. AS I SAID IN MY STATEMENT, WE ARE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE ESCALATING ATTACKS THERE, AND WE ARE FOLLOWING IT WITH GREAT CARE.

QUESTION: WHAT IS THE NEW MESSAGE TO THE SERBS?

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: WELL THE NEW MESSAGE TO THE SERBS IS THAT IF YOU ATTACK--FIRST THE MESSAGE TO THE SERBS IS YOU SHOULD NOT ATTACK GORAZDE. WE ARE ISSUING A VERY STRONG, STERN WARNING TO THEM WHICH WILL BE COMMUNICATED IN WAYS IN ADDITION TO THIS PARTICULAR PRESS CONFERENCE

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OR FOREIGN SECRETARY RIFKIND'S PRESS CONFERENCE. BUT BEYOND THAT WE ARE SAYING THAT IF YOU DO ATTACK YOU ARE GOING TO PAY AN EXTREMELY HEAVY PRICE.

QUESTION: WHAT PRICE?

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: I THINK THAT WE WILL LEAVE THAT TO THEIR CONSIDERATION AND IMAGINATION.

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QUESTION: DO YOU THINK THEY ARE QUAKING IN THEIR BOOTS AS SOMEBODY ELSE PUT IT EARLIER AT ANOTHER PRESS CONFERENCE?

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: IF THEY ARE WELL ADVISED, THEY WILL NOT ATTACK GORAZDE BECAUSE THEY WILL PAY A VERY HEAVY PRICE.

QUESTION: I HAVE JUST BEEN TO THE PRESS CONFERENCE BY MR. KOZYREV AND THE GREATEST EXPERT ON AIR STRIKES IN THE WORLD AT THE MOMENT, ON CIVILIAN AIR STRIKES, NAMELY GENERAL GRACHEV. THEY SAID THAT THEY DON'T AGREE WITH ANY OF THIS AND THAT THEY HAVEN'T BEEN QUOTED PROPERLY, AND THEY ATTACK MR. RIFKIND FOR NOT QUOTING THEM. DO THE RUSSIANS HAVE THE VETO OR NOT?

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: THE RUSSIANS DO NOT HAVE A VETO. THERE IS NO FURTHER ACTION BY THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL REQUIRED FOR US TO TAKE THE ACTION THAT WE ARE GOING TO TAKE TODAY. WE ARE PREPARED TO GO FORWARD WITH THE ACTION IF NECESSARY. I MUST SAY THAT I DID NOT HEAR THE PRESS CONFERENCE, BUT FOREIGN MINISTER KOSYREV AND THE GENERAL WERE PRESENT IN THE MEETING. THEY JOINED US I THINK IN THE IMPORTANCE OF UNPROFOR'S STAYING. THEY JOINED US IN THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS NOT TAKING FURTHER ACTION--THAT THEY SHOULD NOT THREATEN GOREZDE. I THINK THAT THEY REALIZE THAT UNPROFOR IS AT STAKE. IF GOREZDE WERE TO BE TAKEN, AS THE FOREIGN SECRETARY SAID, UNPROFOR'S MISSION IN BOSNIA WOULD BE VERY SERIOUSLY COMPROMISED.

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BUT TO ANSWER YOUR QUESTION DIRECTLY, THE ACTION THAT
WE'VE TAKEN TODAY AND THE AGREEMENTS THAT WE'VE REACHED
IS NOT DEPENDENT UPON RUSSIAN CONCURRENCE OR ANY RUSSIAN
VOTE.

QUESTION: YOU SAID EARLIER THAT HOW THE COUNTRIES WITH
TROOPS ON THE GROUND WOULD RESPOND IF HOSTAGES WERE TAKEN
WAS FULLY DISCUSSED IN THE MEETING. DO I UNDERSTAND YOU
TO MEAN THAT YOU UNDERSTAND CLEARLY THAT THESE COUNTRIES
WOULD NOT REQUEST INTERRUPTION OF BOMBING IF THIS WERE TO
TAKE PLACE?

A. I CAN'T FORECAST WHAT ANY GIVEN COUNTRY WOULD DO
UNDER SOME HYPOTHETICAL SITUATION. BUT THE AGREEMENT OF
THE IMPORTANCE OF INTRODUCING A SUSTAINED AIR CAMPAIGN
WAS MADE WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT IT HAD TO BE
SUSTAINED EVEN IN THE FACE OF HOSTAGE-TAKING. THIS WAS
EXPLICITLY DISCUSSED AND DISCUSSED IN SOME DETAIL.

QUESTION: SECRETARY PERRY, AGAIN ON YOUR HOSTAGE
REMARKS: DOES THAT MEAN THAT THE ALLIES HAVE TO BE
PREPARED FOR THE POSSIBILITY OF LOSING THEIR PERSONNEL TO
A NATO AIR STRIKE? DID THE ALLIES EXPLICITLY AGREE TO
THAT?

SECRETARY PERRY: COULD YOU RE-FORMULATE THE QUESTION. I
DID NOT UNDERSTAND THE POINT.

QUESTION: YOUR COMMENT ON THE NECESSITY OF SUSTAINING AN
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AIR CAMPAIGN, EVEN IF HOSTAGES ARE TAKEN: COULD WE INTERPRET THAT TO MEAN THAT THE ALLIES MUST BE PREPARED FOR THE POSSIBLE LOSS OF THEIR HOSTAGES IN THE EVENT AIR STRIKES ARE AUTHORIZED? WAS IT DISCUSSED IN SUCH EXPLICIT DETAIL, AND DID YOU GET AGREEMENT ON THAT POINT?

SECRETARY PERRY: FIRST OF ALL, WE ARE NOT PROPOSING TO CONDUCT AN AIR CAMPAIGN. WE ARE PROPOSING TO THREATEN AN AIR CAMPAIGN TO STOP,
TO DETER ANY ACTION THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS MIGHT TAKE TO ATTACK GORAZDE. WE HOPE THAT WILL BE SUCCESSFUL.

IF IT IS NOT SUCCESSFUL, WE ARE PREPARED TO CONDUCT A SUSTAINED AIR CAMPAIGN. WE UNDERSTAND--EVERYBODY AT THE MEETING UNDERSTANDS--THERE WOULD BE SUBSTANTIAL RISKS IN DOING THAT. THE RISKS WOULD BE TO THE AIR CREWS CONDUCTING THE CAMPAIGN, THE RISK WOULD INVOLVE UN FORCES ON THE GROUND, THE RISK WOULD BE EVEN TO CIVILIANS WHO ARE IN THE AREA OF THE TARGETS. THOSE ARE INHERENT RISKS IN AIR CAMPAIGNS. WE ALL AGREED THAT THAT WAS AN UNATTRACTIVE OPTION, AND THE ONLY REASON WE ARE GOING TO PROCEED WITH THAT OPTION IS BECAUSE THE ALTERNATIVES SEEM EVEN MORE UNATTRACTIVE TO US. THE ALTERNATIVE OF LETTING GORAZDE FALL, WHICH WOULD DRIVE THE UNPROFOR OUT OF BOSNIA, WOULD RESULT IN A HUMANITARIAN CATASTROPHE OF GREAT PROPORTIONS. THEREFORE, BALANCING RISKS, WE BELIEVE THAT THESE RISKS WERE FAR PREFERABLE OF ALLOWING GORAZDE TO FALL.

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: COULD I ADD TO SECRETARY PERRY'S
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STATEMENT THAT WE ARE URGING THE UNITED NATIONS AND WE HAVE URGED THE UNITED NATIONS ALREADY TO MINIMIZE THE EXPOSURE OF ITS PERSONNEL TO LIMIT THE POSSIBILITIES OF HOSTAGE-TAKING IF IT COMES TO THAT.

QUESTION: YES, I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU IF THE RESULTS OF THIS MEETING MET YOUR HOPES AND EXPECTATIONS BEFORE THE

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MEETING AND DO YOU THINK THEY WILL BE SUFFICIENT TO RESTORE THE CREDIBILITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS MISSION IN BOSNIA.

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: YES, I FOUND THE MEETING TO BE A SUCCESSFUL MEETING. IT MET MY HOPES AND EXPECTATIONS, ESPECIALLY SINCE IT WAS CALLED ON SHORT NOTICE AND THERE WAS THE NEED TO TRY TO COALESCE THE VIEWS OF MANY COUNTRIES IN A VERY SHORT PERIOD OF TIME. I THINK OUR WORKING TOGETHER WITH THE BRITISH AND FRENCH IN ADVANCE OF THE MEETING, OF CONTACTING OTHER COUNTRIES IN ADVANCE, PAVED THE WAY FOR A SUCCESSFUL MEETING. AND INCIDENTALLY, AT THE MEETING TODAY FOREIGN MINISTER KOSYREV ALSO DESCRIBED IT AS A SUCCESSFUL MEETING. IF THE SERBS ARE WISE, THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA WILL BECOME STABILIZED AND WILL PROVIDE THE OPPORTUNITY FOR US TO TRY TO SEEK A PEACEFUL NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF THE MATTER. IN A SENSE, THE MATTER IS IN THEIR HANDS. IF THEY CHOOSE TO ATTACK GORAZDE, AS I SAID, THEY WILL SUFFER VERY GRAVELY. BUT IT WOULD BE A MUCH WISER COURSE FOR THEM TO WITHHOLD THOSE ATTACKS AND ENTER INTO A PEACEFUL NEGOTIATION WHICH IS THE ONLY ULTIMATE CONCLUSION TO THIS TRAGIC CONFLICT.

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QUESTION: HAS IT BEEN DECIDED TO INVITE CANADA AND ITALY TO JOIN THE CONTACT GROUP, BOTH IN RECOGNITION OF THEIR MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO PEACEKEEPING AND PEACE ENFORCEMENT IN BOSNIA AND ALSO TO PUT THE CONTRIBUTION OF

ONE OF THE CURRENT FIVE, POST-CHECHNYA RUSSIA, IN "ORE PROPORTIONATE PERSPECTIVE? AND SECOND, GIVEN THE OUTSPOKEN SUPPORT OF THE WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS FOR BOSNIA'S MUSLIMS, WILL YOU SEEK TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FROM THE ISRAELIS FOR AN ENTEBBE-LIKE OPERATION TO RESCUE KARADZIC AND HIS MATES BEFORE THEY COMMIT FURTHER WAR CRIMES?

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: ONE THING ABOUT IT WHEN YOU GET TWO QUESTIONS, YOU CAN CHOOSE WHICH ONE TO ANSWER. WITH RESPECT TO ITALY AND CANADA, THERE WAS NO DISCUSSION

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ABOUT THE CONTACT GROUP TODAY, BUT THE POINT I WOULD EMPHASIZE HERE IS THAT BOTH ITALY AND CANADA WERE VERY WELL AND OPENLY REPRESENTED TODAY BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER, THE DEFENSE MINISTER AND THE CHIEF OF THEIR MILITARY FORCES. THEY PARTICIPATED VERY ACTIVELY IN THE DISCUSSIONS TODAY. THEY WERE DEEPLY INVOLVED AND THEY WILL BE CERTAINLY FULLY CONSULTED AS WE MOVE THROUGH EACH ONE OF THESE FURTHER PROCEDURES.

QUESTION: I'D LIKE TO ASK ABOUT THE DUAL KEY. SECRETARY RIFKIN WAS SAYING THAT HE COULD NOT CONCEIVE OF A SITUATION IN WHICH GENERAL RUPERT SMITH DIDN'T HAVE A FINAL DECISION ON WHETHER AIR STRIKES WOULD BE LAUNCHED. CAN YOU TELL US HOW FAR UP THE UN CHAIN OF COMMAND

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APPROVAL WOULD HAVE TO COME AND WHO TALKS TO WHOM IN ORDER TO APPROVE AN AIR STRIKE?

SECRETARY PERRY: WE DISCUSSED THAT IN CONSIDERABLE DETAIL TODAY, AND WE HAD AT THE MEETING ALL OF THE RELEVANT PEOPLE. I'D LIKE TO REFER SPECIFICALLY TO GENERAL SHALIKASHVILI TO GIVE YOU A MORE DETAILED ANSWER TO THAT. I AM SATISFIED THAT WE'VE MADE SUBSTANTIAL CHANGES MUCH FOR THE BETTER IN HOW THAT COORDINATION IS DONE. JOHN....

GENERAL SHALIKASHVILI: THE PROCEDURES WE DID DISCUSS, AS SECRETARY PERRY SAID, ARE A VERY QUALITATIVE STEP FORWARD, AND THEY PARALLEL PROPER AIR-GROUND OPERATIONS PROCEDURES. IN SUCH PROCEDURES, THE APPROPRIATE GROUND COMMANDER, GENERAL RUPERT SMITH, AND THE AIR COMMANDER MUST CONTINUALLY COORDINATE TO INSURE THAT AIR STRIKES ARE CARRIED OUT SAFELY, BUT AT THE SAME TIME ALSO VERY PROMPTLY.

THESE PROCEDURES THAT WE NOW HAVE REPRESENT THE SECOND PART OF YOUR QUESTION: HOW FAR UP DOES THIS COORDINATION GO IN THE UNPROFOR CHAIN? THE UNPROFOR CHAIN THAT IS INVOLVED IN THESE COORDINATIONS STOPS WITH THE MILITARY COMMANDERS.

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THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

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DRAFTED BY: NEA/P:LVANLANINGHAM
 APPROVED BY: NEA/P:JHAMILTON
 DESIRED DISTRIBUTION:
 2 COPIES H:PYEO, 15 COPIES NEA, P:DHAE, IO/ACU, 2 COPIES DRL
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INFORM CONSULS-PASS PAOS-MILITARY ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OPRC, XF

SUBJECT: NEA PRESS GUIDANCE - 07/21/95

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM PLEASE PASS TO E. LAIPSON AND
D. SATTERFIELD,
LONDON FOR M. TUELLER, PARIS FOR K. ALLEGRONE,
WARSAW PASS PPP BAGHDAD

THE FOLLOWING GUIDANCE IS PROVIDED FOR POST'S INFORMATION:

MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS: PFLP TERRORISM
BALKAN POLICY POINTS
SITUATION UPDATE
SERB ATROCITIES
BOSNIAN ARMS
READOUT ON U.S. FORCES

MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS: PFLP TERRORISM

Q: IS ARAFAT DOING ENOUGH TO DEAL WITH THE RECENT
TERRORIST ACTION CLAIMED BY THE PFLP?

A: --THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY HAS BEEN TAKING MORE
EFFECTIVE ACTION AGAINST THOSE GROUPS SUSPECTED OF
TERRORISM AND THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR TERRORIST ACTS.

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--IN THIS CASE, SUSPECTS HAVE BEEN INTERROGATED AND AN
INVESTIGATION LAUNCHED.

--ARAFAT HAS MADE CLEAR TO US AND TO ISRAEL THAT HE WOULD
PURSUE ALL LEADS AND ACT DECISIVELY ON THEM.

Q: DO YOU THINK ARAFAT SHOULD EXPEL THE PFLP?

A: --THE PFLP HAS FROZEN ITS PARTICIPATION IN THE PLO.
AT THIS TIME, IT IS NOT EFFECTIVELY A PART OF THE PLO.

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--FOR OUR PART, ANY GROUP THAT ADVOCATES OR PRACTICES
TERROR AND VIOLENCE HAS NO PLACE IN THE PEACE PROCESS OR
AS A PART OF THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY.

BALKAN POLICY POINTS

-- WE ARE MEETING WITH OUR ALLIES IN LONDON RIGHT NOW TO
DETERMINE HOW BEST TO STOP THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY'S
REPEATED VIOLATIONS OF UN MANDATES AND INTERNATIONAL LAW.
IN MEETINGS WITH OUR ALLIES THIS MORNING AND YESTERDAY, WE
HAVE NARROWED OUR POSITIONS ON SOME OF THE KEY ISSUES.

-- WE ARE DISCUSSING SEVERAL OPTIONS IN ORDER TO ENSURE
THAT THE INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE HAS THE BEST CHANCE OF
SUCCEEDING MILITARILY, IMPROVING THE HUMANITARIAN
SITUATION, AND PAVING THE WAY FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON A
DURABLE SETTLEMENT.

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--THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS COMING TOGETHER ON WAYS
TO PROTECT GORAZDE AND RELIEVE THE SIEGE OF SARAJEVO. WE
FAVOR THE USE OF AIRPOWER TO DETER BOSNIAN SERB ATTACKS
AGAINST SAFE HAVENS AND HUMANITARIAN EFFORTS.

--WE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE CITIZENS OF ZEPA AND
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GRANTED ACCESS TO ALL REFUGEES AND P.O.W.'S.

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Q: STATUS OF ZEPA?

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OF THE 20 HAMLETS IN THE ENCLAVE OF ZEPA (ZEH-PAH), THE
TOWN ITSELF REMAINS IN GOVERNMENT HANDS, ACCORDING TO THE
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PAGE 05 STATE 175395 212148Z
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--WE DO NOT YET HAVE ANY CONFIRMED INFORMATION ON THE STATUS OF THE 17,000 BOSNIANS LIVING IN THE ENCLAVE.

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--ALL INDICATIONS ARE THAT THE LIGHTLY-ARMED UKRAINIANS ARE TRYING HARD TO CARRY OUT THEIR EXISTING ORDERS UNDER VERY DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES.

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Q: STATUS OF PEACEKEEPERS AND DETAINEES IN SREBRENICA?

A: --AFTER HAVING SUPERVISED THE EVACUATION OF THE
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PAGE 06 STATE 175395 212148Z
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DETAILS LATER TODAY.

--THE ICRC WILL CONTINUE ITS NEGOTIATIONS FOR ACCESS TO
THE ESTIMATED 4,000 MEN AND BOYS WHO ARE DETAINED IN THE
TOWN OF BRATUNAC (BRAH-TOO-NATZ).

--THE BOSNIAN SERB LEADERSHIP TOLD ICRC YESTERDAY THAT AN
ICRC TEAM WOULD BE GIVEN ACCESS TODAY TO THE DETENTION
CAMPS.

--HOWEVER, THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE RETRACTED MANY PROMISES
BEFORE, AND SO WE AWAIT ICRC-S REPORT.

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A: --FIGHTING CONTINUES IN THE WESTERN ENCLAVE OF BIHAC
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INFANTRY BACKED BY ARMOR HAVE OVERTAKEN THE BORDER TOWNS
OF STURLICH (STUR-LEECH) AND TRZAC (TUR-ZACH). AT LEAST
1,200 CIVILIANS HAVE REPORTEDLY FLED.

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Q: ARE BOSNIAN FORCES MAKING GAINS IN BOSNIA?

A: --THE BOSNIAN FORCES HAVE INDEED MADE REGAINED SOME TERRITORY IN BOSNIA.

--IT REMAINS THE U.S. POSITION THAT NEITHER SIDE HAS THE CAPABILITY TO OBTAIN A MILITARY VICTORY. THE BEST HOPE FOR AN END TO THE CONFLICT IS AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE.

SERB ATROCITIES

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--HOWEVER, WE HAVE NO INFORMATION ON SPECIFIC REPORTS OF SERBS USING THIS DECEPTION AGAINST CIVILIANS IN SREBRENICA OR ZEPA.

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BOSNIAN ARMS

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Q: WHERE ARE THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT FORCES GETTING THEIR WEAPONS?

A: --THERE IS PRESENTLY AN ARMS EMBARGO ON ALL PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT IN BOSNIA. INEVITABLY, SOME LEAKAGES WILL OCCUR.

--WE CANNOT DISCUSS U.S. INTELLIGENCE REPORTS. READOUT ON U.S. FORCES

--IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO GIVE AN EXACT NUMBER FOR U.S. CITIZENS IN BOSNIA.

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DRAFTED BY: EUR/PA: MEROBINSON
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PA/PRESS (INFO): PAYOUNG

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PLEASE PASS TO ALL PAOS USIA PLEASE PASS TO EU

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OPRC

SUBJECT: EUR DAILY PRESS GUIDANCE - JULY 21, 1995

PARIS ALSO FOR USOECD, ROME ALSO FOR VATICAN, USVIENNA FOR USDEL
CSCE

1. THE FOLLOWING PRESS GUIDANCE WAS PREPARED AND APPROVED BY THE BUREAU OF EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING. QUESTIONS SHOULD BE REFERRED TO ARIC SCHWAN, EUR PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

2. BALKAN POLICY POINTS

-- WE ARE MEETING WITH OUR ALLIES IN LONDON RIGHT NOW TO DETERMINE HOW BEST TO STOP THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY'S REPEATED VIOLATIONS OF UN MANDATES AND INTERNATIONAL LAW. IN MEETINGS WITH OUR ALLIES THIS MORNING AND YESTERDAY, WE HAVE NARROWED OUR POSITIONS ON SOME OF THE KEY ISSUES.

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4. SERB ATROCITIES

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6. READOUT ON U.S. FORCES

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- THERE ARE ALSO 350 MEDICAL AND SUPPORT PERSONNEL STATIONED OUTSIDE OF ZAGREB. THERE ARE AN ESTIMATED ADDITIONAL 100 AMERICANS WORKING IN CROATIA FOR NGO'S.

7. SPAIN: GAL DEATHSQUADS

Q: WHAT DOES THE U.S. KNOW/THINK OF THE SPANISH "DEATHSQUADS"?

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- A:
- THE UNITED STATES CONDEMNS MURDERS COMMITTED BY SO CALLED "DEATHSQUADS" NO MATTER WHERE THEY OCCUR.
 - THESE PARTICULAR ALLEGATIONS ARE CURRENTLY UNDER INVESTIGATION BY SPANISH GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES.
 - FOR THAT REASON, I AM NOT GOING TO EVALUATE THE ALLEGATIONS THAT ARE CURRENTLY BEING REPORTED FROM SPAIN.

MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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FOLLOWING GENEVA 5715 DATED 07/21/95 SENT ACTION TO
SECSTATE AND INFO TO NSC, JAC MOLESWORTH RAF, JOINT STAFF,
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE, USNATO, HQ JTF PP NAPLES IF, SECDEF,
EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE, SARAJEVO, BELGRADE AND
ZAGREB. BEING REPEATED FOR YOUR INFO.
QUOTE:

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 005715

DEPT PLEASE PASS TO SECRETARY'S PARTY

LONDON PLEASE PASS TO A/S OAKLEY

NSC FOR ERIC SCHWARTZ

E.O. 12356: 07/21/96
TAGS: PEF, EAID, MOPS, UN, BK, HR
SUBJECT: BOSNIA UPDATE, 21 JULY
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1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: TWO SARAJEVO CONVOYS WERE STOPPED EN ROUTE, BUT FINALLY ARRIVED WITH 152 MT OF MIXED FOOD AND 240 MT OF FLOUR.. BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES REPORT THAT 29,400 DISPLACED PERSONS HAVE ARRIVED IN TUZLA SINCE 12 JULY. THE DUTCH BATTALION, ALONG WITH UNHCR AND MSF STAFF DEPART POTOCARI ON 21 JULY. END SUMMARY.

TUXLA DP NUMBERS

3. ACCORDING TO UNHCR, BOSNIAN AUTHORITIES REPORT THAT 24,400 PERSONS HAVE ARRIVED FROM SREBRENICA SINCE 12 JULY. OF THAT NUMBER 6,000 REMAIN IN THE TUZLA AIRBASE TENT ENCAMPMENT. OVER 20,000 ARE SHELTERED IN GOVERNMENT COLLECTIVE CENTERS. THE REMAINING 2-3,000 PEOPLE ARE PRIVATELY ACCOMMODATED WITH RELATIVES AND FRIENDS IN THE TUZLA AREA.

CONVOYS TO SARAJEVO FINNALLY GET IN

4. UNHCR REPORTS THAT TWO CONVOYS THAT LEFT ZENICA BOUND FOR ZARAJEVO ARRIVED SUCCESSFULLY AFTER BEING STOPPED BY CROAT AND SERB FORCES. THE AGREEMENT WITH THE BOSNIAN SERBS STIPULATED THAT ONE OF THE CONVOYS WOULD GO TO THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT SIDE OF SARAJEVO AND
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THE OTHER TO RAJLOVAC ON THE BOSNIAN SERB SIDE. HOWEVER, THE CONVOY DESTINED FOR THE SERBIAN SIDE WAS STOPPED BY CROAT FORCES IN KISELJAK. WHEN THE BOSNIAN SERBS HEARD OF THE CONVOY BEING STOPPED, THEY STOPPED THE CONVOY GOING TO THE GOVERNMENT SIDE. BOTH CONVOYS WERE SUBSEQUENTLY RELEASED AND ARRIVED IN SARAJEVO. THE CONVOY FOR THE GOVERNMENT SIDE CONSTITUTED 10 TRUCKS OF 240 MT OF FLOUR FOR THE BAKERY. THE 10 TRUCK CONVOY

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THAT ARRIVED AT KISELJAK CARRIED 152 MT OF MIXED FOOD.

EVACUATION FROM POTOARI

5. UNHCR REPORTS THAT THE DUTCH BATTALION, THEIR LOCAL STAFF (2 PEOPLE) AND THE MSF STAFF (2 INTERNATIONALS AND 13 LOCAL) BEGAN EVACUATION OF POTOARI AT 1130 LOCAL ON 21 JULY. THIS MOVEMENT HAS BEEN APPROVED BY MLADIC. THE GROUP PLANS TO DRIVE TO BELGRADE WHERE THEY WILL TAKE AN UNPROFOR FLIGHT TO ZAGREB. SPIEGEL
UNQUOTE TALBOTT

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AMEMBASSY MALABO
AMCONSUL SHANGHAI

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 13 MAR 2009 200705105

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INFORM CONSULS ALSO FOR USEC/USOEC

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OPRC

SUBJECT: DAILY PRESS BRIEFING -- THURSDAY, JULY 20, 1995

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BEGIN TEXT:

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MR. JOHNSON: GOOD AFTERNOON, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.
 WE'RE GOING TO START OUR BRIEFING TODAY WITH UNDER
 SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ECONOMIC. BUSINESS AND

AGRICULTURAL AFFAIRS, JOAN SPERO. SHE'S GOING TO TALK
 TO YOU ABOUT THE U.S.-JAPAN INVESTMENT ARRANGEMENT WHICH
 WAS SIGNED EARLIER THIS MORNING BY ACTING SECRETARY OF
 STATE STROBE TALBOTT AND JAPANESE AMBASSADOR KURIYAMA.

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THE INVESTMENT ARRANGEMENT, CONCLUDED UNDER THE U.S.-JAPAN FRAMEWORK, IS DESIGNED TO FACILITATE FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT IN JAPAN AS WELL AS INCREASED FOREIGN BUSINESS PRESENCE AND GREATER MARKET ACCESS FOR U.S. SUPPLIERS.

ONCE MRS. SPERO HAS CONCLUDED HER PRESENTATION AND ANSWERED ALL YOUR QUESTIONS, WE'LL PROCEED WITH OTHER TOPICS.

UNDER SECRETARY SPERO: THANK YOU, DAVID. GOOD AFTERNOON. I'D LIKE TO JUST READ AN OPENING STATEMENT AND THEN BE HAPPY TO TAKE YOUR QUESTIONS.

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TODAY, ACTING SECRETARY TALBOTT, AS DAVID HAS SAID, AND JAPANESE AMBASSADOR KURIYAMA SIGNED AND EXCHANGED LETTERS FORMALIZING A U.S.-JAPAN INVESTMENT ARRANGEMENT DESIGNED TO FACILITATE FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT IN JAPAN.

FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT ISSUES ARE AN IMPORTANT COMPONENT OF THE ECONOMIC HARMONIZATION BASKET, WHICH IS PART OF OUR ECONOMIC FRAMEWORK WITH JAPAN. THAT BASKET HAS BEEN LED BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

IN THIS BASKET, WE HAVE CONCLUDED AN UNDERSTANDING ON INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS AND ARE WORKING TOWARD A SHARED AGENDA FOR IMPROVING ACCESS TO TECHNOLOGY. THE INVESTMENT ARRANGEMENT SIGNED TODAY, WE THINK, IS A WIN-WIN PROPOSITION FOR THE U.S. AND JAPAN. IT WILL SUPPORT THE EFFORTS OF U.S. AND OTHER NON-JAPANESE FIRMS TO ESTABLISH A LARGER PRESENCE IN JAPAN'S MARKET AND A GREATER ROLE AS SUPPLIERS TO JAPANESE FIRMS. THIS IS CRITICAL TO U.S. EXPORTS WHICH ARE INCREASINGLY CHANNLED THROUGH U.S. AFFILIATES ABROAD.

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THE ARRANGEMENT WILL BRING NEW TALENT AND RESOURCES

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TO JAPAN'S MARKET AND ALSO A WIDER RANGE OF GOODS AND SERVICES.

THIS COMPREHENSIVE JOINT ARRANGEMENT ON INVESTMENT IS A PRODUCT OF OVER 18 MONTHS OF INTENSIVE NEGOTIATIONS
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BETWEEN BOTH GOVERNMENTS. THROUGHOUT THIS PROCESS, THE U.S. INTERAGENCY TEAM, WHICH I WANT TO MENTION ESPECIALLY, WAS LED VERY ABLY BY DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE, AL LARSEN.

HIS TEAM BENEFITED GREATLY FROM THE INPUT AND COUNSEL OF THE U.S. BUSINESS COMMUNITY. THEY ADVISED US ON KEY PROBLEMS THEY FACE IN JAPAN AND HELPED US DEVISE SOLUTIONS TO THOSE PROBLEMS. OUR TEAM ALSO REACHED OUT TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH MEMBERS OF JAPAN'S PRIVATE SECTOR WHO MADE VERY USEFUL CONTRIBUTIONS.

THE INVESTMENT ARRANGEMENT CREATES SIGNIFICANT NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR U.S. FIRMS TO ESTABLISH OR EXPAND THEIR PRESENCE IN JAPAN, THE WORLD'S SECOND LARGEST NATIONAL MARKET.

JAPAN ACCOUNTS FOR 16 PERCENT OF THE WORLD'S GDP, BUT HOSTS ONLY ONE PERCENT OF ITS INVESTMENT. BY COMPARISON, THE U.S. ACCOUNTS FOR 27 PERCENT OF GLOBAL GDP, AND WE HAVE 30 PERCENT OF WORLD FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT.

THIS ARRANGEMENT LAYS OUT IN DETAIL FINANCING PROGRAMS AND INCENTIVES AVAILABLE TO FOREIGN INVESTORS AND PROVIDES A BLUEPRINT OF THE SUPPORTIVE ROLE TO BE PLAYED BY RELEVANT AGENCIES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN.

IN IT, THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN HAS EXPLICITLY AGREED THAT U.S. AND OTHER FOREIGN FIRMS WILL BE ELIGIBLE FOR MANY OF JAPAN'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS ON A

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NON-DISCRIMINATORY BASIS.

THE INVESTMENT ARRANGEMENT SPECIFICALLY PROVIDES THE FOUNDATION FOR, FIRST, EXPANDED FINANCING FOR FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT BY THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN, POTENTIALLY IN THE BILLIONS OF DOLLARS ANNUALLY, THROUGH PROGRAMS OF THE JAPAN DEVELOPMENT BANK AND OTHER JAPANESE INSTITUTIONS. IT PROVIDES FOR MORE ACTIVE GOVERNMENT FACILITATION OF FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT INTO JAPAN THROUGH THE SUPPORT OF THE JAPAN INVESTMENT COUNCIL, THE JAPAN EXTERNAL TRADE ORGANIZATION, AND THE FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN JAPAN DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION.

THAT FACILITATION WILL INCLUDE, FIRST, SUPPORT AND FAIR TREATMENT OF FOREIGN PARTICIPATION IN MERGERS AND ACQUISITIONS IN JAPAN. SECOND, IMPROVED ACCESS FOR FOREIGN

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INVESTORS IN JAPAN TO SKILLED LABOR, LAND AND FACILITIES. THIRD, ONGOING EFFORTS TO DEREGULATE JAPAN'S INVESTMENT REGIME AND TO ENSURE NON-DISCRIMINATORY TREATMENT OF FOREIGN INVESTORS, AND STEPS BY THE TWO GOVERNMENTS TO SUPPORT THE BUILDING OF CLOSER TIES BETWEEN U.S. AND JAPANESE FIRMS AT THE DESIGN IN AND OTHER KEY STAGES OF THE COMMERCIAL PROCESS.

REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE POLICIES AND MEASURES EACH GOVERNMENT INTENDS TO TAKE IS JUST A FIRST STEP TO
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ENHANCING CONDITIONS FOR U.S. INVESTORS IN JAPAN. THE BULK OF OUR WORK LIES AHEAD IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE UNDERSTANDINGS.

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WE PUT MECHANISMS IN PLACE, INCLUDING SEMI-ANNUAL CONSULTATIONS AT THE OUTSET FOR ACTIVE AND EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION TO ASSURE THAT THESE POLICIES AND MEASURES PROVIDE EFFECTIVE SUPPORT FOR OUR FIRMS. WE INTEND TO STEP UP ACTIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE POLICIES AND MEASURES IN OUR INVESTMENT ARRANGEMENT BY HOLDING JOINT CONSULTATIONS IN THE EARLY FALL.

THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN WILL HAVE A CRITICAL ROLE IN ENCOURAGING FOREIGN PRESENCE IN JAPAN'S MARKET AND SUPPORTING FULL INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE JAPANESE ECONOMY, AND THEY'VE TAKEN A VERY POSITIVE STEP IN SIGNING THIS AGREEMENT.

AT THE SAME TIME, WE'RE COMMITTED TO WORKING WITH OUR FIRMS TO GET THE WORD OUT ABOUT THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN'S PROGRAMS AND POLICIES. WE THINK IN THIS WAY WE CAN ASSURE THAT THE ARRANGEMENT WILL YIELD POSITIVE RESULTS, GREATER U.S. DIRECT INVESTMENT THAT WILL SUPPORT OUR EXPORTS TO JAPAN, AND MAKING AVAILABLE A WIDER RANGE OF HIGH QUALITY GOODS AND SERVICES AVAILABLE TO THE JAPANESE CUSTOMERS, AND PROVIDING MORE AND BETTER JOBS FOR WORKERS IN BOTH COUNTRIES.

I WILL STOP THERE. HAPPY TO TAKE YOUR QUESTIONS.

KEITH.

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Q JOAN, I HAVE TWO QUESTIONS. FIRST, WITH REGARD

TO THE JAPAN DEVELOPMENT BANK, HAS THE JDB IN THE PAST DISCRIMINATED AGAINST FOREIGN INVESTORS? AND HAVE U.S. COMPANIES ACTIVELY SOUGHT SUCH FINANCING?

AND, SECONDLY -- I DON'T MEAN TO SOUND CYNICAL, BUT GIVEN THE KEIRETSU SYSTEM, GIVEN THE VERY HIGH COST OF LAND IN JAPAN, AREN'T THESE BARRIERS, NON-TARIFF THOUGH THEY ARE, SUFFICIENT ENOUGH TO BLUNT ANY ATTEMPTS BY U.S. COMPANIES TO GET IN THERE EVEN THIS AGREEMENT

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NOTWITHSTANDING?

UNDER SECRETARY SPERO: KEITH, LET ME START BY GIVING A GENERAL COMMENT. WE ARE NOT CLAIMING THAT THIS AGREEMENT

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IS GOING TO CHANGE THE ENTIRE INVESTMENT CLIMATE IN JAPAN. AS I SAID, JAPAN HAS A VERY MINIMAL AMOUNT OF TOTAL FOREIGN WORLD DIRECT INVESTMENT. A LOT OF THAT STEMS FROM THE DAYS WHEN JAPAN HAD SPECIFIC EXCLUSIONS AND HEAVY REGULATION OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT.

SO WE'RE NOT GOING TO TURN THAT AGREEMENT AROUND OVERNIGHT NOR ARE WE GOING TO CHANGE KEIRETSU PRACTICES, NOR ARE WE GOING TO CHANGE THE VALUE OF THE YEN NOR ARE WE GOING TO CHANGE LAND PRICES OVERNIGHT. SO I'M NOT TRYING TO OVERSELL WHAT WE'VE DONE.

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AT THE SAME TIME, WHAT WE DID WAS TO CONSULT OUR INDUSTRY ABOUT WHAT PROBLEMS THERE WERE THAT MIGHT BE SUSCEPTIBLE TO CHANGE. THIS IS GOING TO BE A LONG-TERM EFFORT. ONE OF THE THINGS THEY DID TELL US WAS THAT THEY WANTED A BETTER ENVIRONMENT, MORE ACCESS TO FINANCE; THE KIND OF FINANCING THAT IS AVAILABLE TO JAPANESE FIRMS NOW.

FOR EXAMPLE, IN THE PAST, THE JAPAN DEVELOPMENT BANK AND OTHER FINANCING HAS NOT BEEN AVAILABLE FOR CREATING IMPORT INFRASTRUCTURE. SO NOW THEY HAVE BROADEN THE CATEGORIES WHICH WILL BE AVAILABLE FOR LENDING TO FOREIGN FIRMS.

THERE WILL BE NO QUESTION THAT THE JAPAN DEVELOPMENT BANK AND OTHER FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, THERE IS A THING CALLED THE PRIVATE PARTICIPATION PROGRAM, WHICH PUTS IN EQUITY FINANCE AND OTHER FINANCE. ALL OF THIS WILL NOW BE OPEN TO FOREIGN FIRMS.

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THERE WERE OTHER AREAS THAT OUR FIRMS HAVE MENTIONED. I CAN GO OVER THOSE -- TAX PROBLEMS. ON THE LAND ISSUE, KEITH, WE'RE NOT GOING TO CHANGE THE PRICE OF LAND OR THE VALUE OF LAND, BUT THERE ARE A COUPLE OF THINGS THAT CAN BE DONE THROUGH THIS AGREEMENT -- AGAIN, AS FIRST STEPS.

THE JAPANESE HAVE AGREED TO SET UP SOMETHING CALLED "FOREIGN ACCESS ZONES" AROUND MAJOR COMMERCIAL AREAS THAT WILL PROVIDE PHYSICAL FACILITIES. IT WILL ALSO
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PROVIDE CERTAIN FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR INVESTMENT IN THOSE FOREIGN ACCESS ZONES. SO I DON'T WANT TO OVERSELL IT; I DON'T WANT TO UNDERSELL IT EITHER.

Q DID THE JAPANESE ASK THAT THE UNITED STATES CHANGE ANY OF ITS BARRIERS -- TARIFF OR NON-TARIFF?

UNDER SECRETARY SPERO: THE JAPANESE ASKED THAT WE CONFIRM OUR SUPPORT FOR FOREIGN INVESTMENT. THEIR MAIN CONCERN WAS OUR SO-CALLED EXON-FLORIO PROVISIONS WHICH GIVE US A REVIEW ON CERTAIN INVESTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES THAT MIGHT CHALLENGE U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY. BUT THE MAIN

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EMPHASIS OF THIS NEGOTIATION REALLY WAS ON OPENING UP THE JAPANESE MARKET.

Q YOU HAD MENTIONED IN YOUR OPENING COMMENTS THAT JAPAN HOSTS ONE PERCENT OF THE FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN THE WORLD ECONOMY -- A MUCH SMALLER PORTION THAN ITS OVERALL SHARE OF GDP IN THE WORLD ECONOMY.

IS THERE A PARTICULAR TARGET OR GOAL THAT YOU HAVE IN MIND TO TRY TO GET THAT UP TO?

UNDER SECRETARY SPERO: NO. THIS AGREEMENT DOES NOT HAVE ANY TARGET. OBVIOUSLY, THE MORE THAT JAPAN CAN MOVE TOWARD THE OECD NORM, THE BETTER. BUT THERE IS NO

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TARGET INVOLVED.

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Q WHAT IS THE (INAUDIBLE)?

UNDER SECRETARY SPERO: I DON'T HAVE THE ANSWER OFFHAND. IT VARIES FROM COUNTRY TO COUNTRY. THE EUROPEANS ACTUALLY HAVE A HIGHER LEVEL OF FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT OVERALL THAN WE DO. BUT IF YOU THINK THAT WE'RE ABOUT 27 PERCENT AND JAPAN IS ONE PERCENT, THERE'S A LOT OF ROOM FOR MOVEMENT THERE.

Q WHICH COMPANIES OR INDUSTRIES PRESSED MOST FOR THIS AGREEMENT AND MIGHT BE MOST INTERESTED IN MOVING IN?

UNDER SECRETARY SPERO: THERE WAS ACTUALLY A VERY BROAD RANGE OF COMPANIES THAT WE WORK WITH, INCLUDING A NUMBER OF THE BUSINESS COALITIONS -- THE U.S.-JAPAN BUSINESS COUNCIL, THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR FOREIGN TRADE. THERE WEREN'T ANY PARTICULAR ONES THAT -- I CAN'T REALLY CATEGORIZE THEM AS THE "BIG GUYS" OR THE "LITTLE GUYS." THERE WAS VERY BROAD INTEREST AND FRANKLY WE ACTIVELY SOLICITED THEIR ADVICE.

WE WANTED TO KNOW WHERE THE COMPANIES SAW BARRIERS, AND, AS I SAY, THEY IDENTIFIED PROBLEMS OF HIGH COST OF ENTRY, WHETHER IT'S FINANCE OR TAX ISSUES. WE TRIED TO ADDRESS THOSE IN THE AGREEMENT. THEY TALKED ABOUT ACCESS TO PERSONNEL.

I KNOW, HAVING BEEN IN BUSINESS AND HAVING DEALT IN THE JAPANESE MARKET, THE ABILITY TO HIRE LOCAL PERSONNEL

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OR THE COST OF SENDING IN EXPATS. SO WE HAVE MADE SURE,
FOR EXAMPLE, THAT OUR FIRMS WILL HAVE ACCESS TO THE
VARIOUS EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING PROGRAMS OF THE JAPANESE
GOVERNMENT. THEY'VE AGREED TO DO THINGS LIKE SUPPORT
FOREIGN SCHOOLS FOR THE EXPATS.

M&A WAS A BIG ISSUE, BECAUSE IT'S VERY DIFFICULT.
ONE OF THE TRADITIONAL WAYS YOU ENTER A NEW MARKET IS

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THROUGH MERGERS AND ACQUISITIONS. THAT'S BEEN VERY
DIFFICULT IN JAPAN. IN THE PROCESS OF THIS NEGOTIATION,
THE JAPANESE CHANGED SOME OF THEIR CORPORATE GOVERNANCE
PRACTICES -- MORE TRANSPARENCY, MORE DISCLOSURE, MORE
SHAREHOLDER RIGHTS.

SO THERE WAS A VERY BROAD CONSULTATION WITH THE
BUSINESS AND A SORT OF A BROAD APPROACH IN THE AGREEMENT.

Q COULD YOU EXPAND ON THAT? YOU SAID FINANCING
FOR FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT COULD GO UP POTENTIALLY
BILLIONS OF DOLLARS, I THINK YOU SAID, A YEAR. CAN YOU
-- IS THIS STUFF THAT WILL BE EARMARKED FOR FOREIGN

INVESTMENT --

UNDER SECRETARY SPERO: NO.

Q -- OR THIS WOULD BE JUST FOREIGNERS GETTING A
BIGGER PIECE OF STUFF THAT'S ALREADY --

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UNDER SECRETARY SPERO: YES. IT'S REALLY FOREIGNERS
HAVING ACCESS TO THE JAPAN DEVELOPMENT BANK. AS I SAID,
TO THIS PRIVATE PARTICIPATION PROGRAM, WHICH IS MONEY
THAT CAME FROM THE PRIVATIZATION OF NTT, AND IT'S A FUND
THAT IS USED TO PUT EQUITY IN, TO PUT OTHER FORMS OF
FINANCING.

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(TO STAFF) ANN, IS IT LARGELY FOR SMALLER FIRMS?

STAFF: NO. IN FACT, IT'S FINANCED SOMETIMES BY
(INAUDIBLE).

UNDER SECRETARY SPERO: OKAY. SO IT IS REALLY THE
POOLS OF FUNDS THAT ARE AVAILABLE IN THOSE INSTITUTIONS.

Q OF THE BILLIONS OF DOLLARS, IS THIS A FIGURE
THAT JAPAN --

UNDER SECRETARY SPERO: THIS IS A FIGURE THAT'S
AVAILABLE IN THESE INSTITUTIONS. I'M NOT CLAIMING THAT
BILLIONS OF DOLLARS -- THAT U.S. FIRMS ARE NOW GOING TO
GET BILLIONS OF DOLLARS OF FINANCING AND TAKE OVER THE
BULK OF FINANCING FROM THOSE FIRMS. WHAT I'M SAYING IS
THEY HAVE ACCESS TO THAT POOL OF CAPITAL NOW.

THEY ALSO WILL BENEFIT AGAIN FROM CHANGES THAT WERE
IMPLEMENTED IN THE PROCESS OF THIS NEGOTIATION ON LOSS
CARRY FORWARD. THE JAPANESE HAVE INCREASED THE PERIOD
FROM SEVEN TO TEN YEARS. THIS IS ANOTHER WAY TO
FACILITATE PAYBACK IN JAPAN.

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Q WHAT ABOUT THE PROSPECTS FOR THE CIVIL AVIATION
TALKS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES TO BE CONCLUDED
SUCCESSFULLY DURING THIS ROUND OF TALKS?

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UNDER SECRETARY SPERO: AS YOU KNOW, THOSE TALKS ARE
GOING ON EVEN AS WE SPEAK TODAY AND TOMORROW IN LOS

ANGELES. THEY'LL BE MEETING AT VICE MINISTER LEVEL
TODAY, AND THEN AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL PRESUMABLY STARTING
TOMORROW. I DON'T KNOW. WE HOPE THAT THERE WILL BE A
SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION TO THOSE TALKS.

AS YOU KNOW, THE STICKING POINT HAS BEEN THAT THE

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JAPANESE GOVERNMENT HAS NOT YET RECOGNIZED THAT WE HAVE RIGHTS UNDER OUR TREATY, AND WE INSIST THAT THOSE RIGHTS MUST BE HONORED.

Q YOU MENTIONED THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THIS INVESTMENT TREATY TOOK 18 MONTHS. WHAT WAS SO DIFFICULT ABOUT IT? WHY DID IT TAKE THAT LONG?

UNDER SECRETARY SPERO: I HAVE TO SAY IT WASN'T A CONTENTIOUS NEGOTIATION, BUT IT WAS ACTUALLY ONE THAT INITIALLY YOU HAD TO GET A HANDLE ON. WE SPENT A LOT OF TIME CONSULTING THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY AND SAYING, WELL, HOW DO YOU PROMOTE INVESTMENT? WE WANT IT TO GO BEYOND SIMPLY ANOTHER COMMISSION OR SIMPLY ANOTHER OMBUDSMAN, ALTHOUGH WE'VE EXPANDED THE ROLE OF THE OMBUDSMAN HERE.

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WE WANTED TO TARGET SPECIFIC SECTORS, SO WE HAD TO WORK THROUGH THE FINANCING MECHANISMS. WE HAD TO WORK THROUGH THE CORPORATE GOVERNANCE. WE HAD TO WORK THROUGH THE TAX ISSUES, AND WE TRIED TO DEVISE TECHNIQUES THAT WOULD IMPROVE AND ADDRESS SOME OF THESE BUYER/SUPPLIER ISSUES.

FOR EXAMPLE, WE'RE GOING TO HAVE -- THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT HAS AGREED TO SET UP CO-LOCATION FACILITIES OR BUSINESS INCUBATORS, AND THE KEIDANREN HAS AGREED TO ADMIT FOREIGN FIRMS MORE TO ITS TRAINING AND SEMINARS. EACH OF THOSE THINGS JUST REQUIRED A LOT OF WORK, BUT IT WASN'T AS THOUGH THERE WAS A SORT OF AN INTRACTABLE ISSUE. I THINK PROBABLY THE MOST DIFFICULT ISSUES WERE REALLY THE TAX ISSUES.

Q YOU SAID THAT THE BULK OF THE WORK AHEAD LIES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION. WILL SPECIFIC IMPLEMENTING AGREEMENTS BE REQUIRED FOR ANY OF THIS?

UNDER SECRETARY SPERO: NO. WE DON'T HAVE IMPLEMENTING AGREEMENTS, BUT WHAT WE DO HAVE IS A CONSULTATIVE PROCESS, BOTH WITH THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT AND WITH OUR OWN BUSINESS COMMUNITY TO SEE IF THEY ARE

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FOLLOWING THROUGH ON THEIR COMMITMENTS AND IF THE AGREEMENTS ARE WORKING.

WHAT WE SAID TO OUR BUSINESS COMMUNITY IS LET US KNOW. IS THIS HELPING OR NOT; AND IF IT'S NOT HELPING, IS IT BECAUSE THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT IS NOT
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IMPLEMENTING, OR

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IS IT BECAUSE THESE AREN'T THE RIGHT TECHNIQUES, AND DO WE NEED TO ADJUST THE TECHNIQUES.

I HAVE TO SAY THAT IN THIS SITUATION, THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT WAS VERY INTERESTED IN WORKING WITH US. IT ISN'T THAT WE NECESSARILY AGREED EASILY ON FINANCING OR TAX REFORM OR OTHER THINGS, BUT THEY VERY MUCH WANT MORE FOREIGN INVESTMENT. SO I THINK IT WILL BE OPEN - THEY WILL BE OPEN I EXPECT, TO ONGOING WORK ABOUT HOW WE CAN FACILITATE THAT. BUT THERE IS A CONSULTATIVE PROCESS BUILT INTO THIS AGREEMENT. I THINK YOU HAD A QUESTION, AND THEN THERE AND THERE

Q WAS THERE MUCH, WAS THERE ANY DISCUSSION OF MACRO-ECONOMIC ISSUES AS PART OF THIS, BECAUSE, I MEAN, IS THERE MUCH INCENTIVE FOR U.S. COMPANIES TO, SAY, INVEST IN JAPAN IF THE JAPANESE ECONOMY REMAINS IN THE DUMPS BECAUSE CONSUMERS AREN'T SPENDING?

UNDER SECRETARY SPERO: WELL, THIS IS NOT AN AGREEMENT FOR THIS WEEK OR NEXT MONTH. IT'S AN AGREEMENT FOR THE LONG HAUL. AND AGAIN I DON'T WANT TO SAY THAT IMMEDIATELY THE INVESTMENT PICTURE IS GOING TO TURN AROUND. COMPANIES WILL GO INTO JAPAN BOTH WHEN THE MACRO-ECONOMIC SITUATION LOOKS GOOD AND WHEN THEY THINK THEY NEED TO BE THERE FOR THEIR OWN BUSINESS PURPOSES.

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I MEAN, WHAT COMPANIES ARE INCREASINGLY FINDING IS THAT IN ORDER TO GET INTO A MARKET YOU HAVE TO BE THERE. YOU HAVE TO HAVE A PHYSICAL PRESENCE EITHER TO DEVELOP YOUR PRODUCTS, TO PROVIDE SERVICES IN THE AFTER-MARKET, OR SIMPLY BECAUSE THE JAPANESE ARE SIGNIFICANT COMPETITORS.

SO THIS IS NOT SOMETHING THAT IS DESIGNED FOR ANY PARTICULAR CYCLICAL SITUATION. IT REALLY IS AN EFFORT TO BEGIN TO GET AT A STRUCTURAL PROBLEM IN JAPAN. BUT GIVEN THE RECESSION RIGHT NOW IN JAPAN, GIVEN EXCHANGE RATES, THESE ARE OBVIOUSLY NOT INCENTIVES; THEY ARE DISINCENTIVES. THESE OTHER PROBLEMS ARE OFFSETTING FACTORS. IN THE BACK.

Q YOU SAID THIS WAS KIND OF THE ECONOMIC HARMONIZATION BASKET. WHAT'S LEFT IN THAT BASKET, AND WHAT'S THE STATUS OF THE FRAMEWORK?

UNDER SECRETARY SPERO: WELL THE FRAMEWORK NOW -- WE'VE MADE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN A LOT OF THE AREAS OF THE FRAMEWORK. IF I MAY REFRESH YOUR MEMORY, THE FRAMEWORK INCLUDED -- FOR THOSE OF YOU WHO DON'T HAVE THAT ON THE TIPS OF YOUR TONGUE -- THE FRAMEWORK HAD A MACRO-ECONOMIC COMPONENT. IT HAD A COMPONENT THAT HAD TO DO WITH VARIOUS SECTORAL PROBLEMS. IT HAD A COMPONENT THAT HAD TO DO WITH STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS. AND THEN IT ALSO HAD THIS COMMON AGENDA, WHICH WAS A COOPERATIVE MODE DEALING WITH THE ENVIRONMENT AND HEALTH

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AND OTHER KINDS OF GLOBAL ISSUES.

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ON THE MACRO-ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT, WE CONTINUE TO HAVE A DIALOGUE WITH JAPAN. JAPAN CONTINUES TO TRY TO SEEK THE KEY TO STIMULATING ITS ECONOMY, AND SO THAT EFFORT GOES ON. ON THE SECTORAL SIDE WE'VE REACHED A HUGE NUMBER OF AGREEMENTS, THE MOST LATEST ONE BEING THE AUTOMOTIVE AGREEMENT. SO IN MANY OF THE SECTORAL ISSUES, WE'VE ACCOMPLISHED OUR GOALS IN THE FIRST TWO-YEAR PERIOD OF THE FRAMEWORK.

ON THE STRUCTURAL ISSUES, WE'VE REACHED AN AGREEMENT ON FINANCIAL SERVICES. I GUESS YOU COULD CALL THAT STRUCTURAL OR SECTORAL. WE'VE REACHED AN AGREEMENT ON PATENTS, ON INVESTMENT.

WHAT WE HAVE AHEAD -- A COUPLE OF BIG ISSUES WE HAVE AHEAD ARE COMPETITION POLICY. THAT WAS ONE THAT WAS ON OUR LIST, NOT FOR THE FIRST TWO YEARS BUT ONGOING, AND WE WANT TO COMPLETE THIS TECHNOLOGY AGREEMENT THAT WE HAVE BEEN NEGOTIATING.

SO MANY OF THE ISSUES THAT ARE LEFT IN THE FRAMEWORK -- AND WE AND THE JAPANESE AGREED AT THE HALIFAX SUMMIT THAT WE WOULD CONTINUE THE FRAMEWORK -- MANY OF THE ISSUES FALL IN THE CATEGORY OF THE STRUCTURA AGREEMENT -- WHAT I WOULD CALL STRUCTURAL CHANGE IN JAPAN. WE NEED TO KEEP - ANOTHER VERY IMPORTANT FACTOR IS THAT WE

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NEED TO KEEP MONITORING THE AGREEMENTS THAT WE HAVE REACHED. WE DON'T JUST WANT TO REACH AN AGREEMENT AND WALK AWAY. WE WANT TO MAKE SURE THAT THOSE AGREEMENTS ARE IMPLEMENTED, AND SO WE HAVE TO MAKE SURE THAT THE AUTOMOTIVE AGREEMENT, THAT THE GLASS ALL OF THE OTHER AGREEMENTS ARE FOLLOWED THROUGH ON, WHICH IS WHY IN OUR INVESTMENT AGREEMENT WE HAD THIS BUILT-IN FOLLOW-UP PROCESS. LET'S SEE, YES.

Q MANY U.S. COMPANIES CITE KEIRETSU SYSTEM AS A REASON FOR THE DIFFICULTY TO TRADE WITH JAPAN OR INVEST

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THERE, AND YET YOU SAID EARLIER YOU DIDN'T EXPECT THIS AGREEMENT TO HAVE A SUBSTANTIAL IMPACT ON DISMANTLING THE KEIRETSU SYSTEM. DOES IT TOUCH -- WILL IT HAVE ANY IMPACT AT ALL ON THE KEIRETSU, AND DO YOU EXPECT THESE FUTURE TALKS ON COMPETITION POLICY TO PICK UP THAT AREA OF DIFFICULTY WITH JAPAN?

UNDER SECRETARY SPERO: REGARDING KEIRETSU, YOU'RE NOT GOING TO CHANGE THAT SYSTEM OVERNIGHT. IN FACT MANY U.S. COMPANIES HAVE DISCOVERED THAT THERE ARE CERTAIN ADVANTAGES OF BUYER/SUPPLIER RELATIONSHIPS -- THE DESIGN-IN PROCESS. SO THE QUESTION IS NOT TRYING TO OVERTHROW THE SYSTEM BUT HOW CAN YOU REDUCE ITS IMPACT ON FOREIGNERS AND HOW CAN YOU ENCOURAGE RELATIONSHIPS TO DEVELOP BETWEEN FOREIGN FIRMS AND JAPANESE FIRMS.

THERE IS NO SILVER BULLET HERE. WE'VE TRIED SEVERAL THINGS. FIRST OF ALL THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT HAS AGREED TO

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SET UP, AS I SAID, THESE COLLOCATION FACILITIES. THESE WILL BE OPPORTUNITIES FOR AMERICAN FIRMS TO INVEST TO DO RESEARCH IN JAPAN AND FOR OTHER JAPANESE FIRMS TO BE PRESENT. SO THERE WILL BE OPPORTUNITIES, IF YOU WILL, FOR THEM TO DEVELOP WORK JOINTLY.

THERE IS A PROPOSAL FOR AN INCUBATOR FACILITY. I DON'T KNOW IF YOU'RE FAMILIAR WITH THESE. THESE ARE SORT OF RESEARCH DEVELOPMENT ZONES. IF YOU THINK OF SOMETHING LIKE THE TRIANGLE IN NORTH CAROLINA OR SORT OF TRYING TO MODEL THE SILICON VALLEY, WHERE YOU CREATE ENVIRONMENT FOR RESEARCH FACILITIES IN THE HOPE THAT FIRMS WILL NOT ONLY COME BUT FIND PARTNERS THERE.

KEIDANREN HAS AGREED TO OPEN ITS DOORS MUCH MORE TO FOREIGN FIRMS. THEY WILL BE INCLUDED IN SEMINARS. THEY WILL BE ALLOWED TO ATTEND MEETINGS. I AM NOT SAYING

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THAT ANY OF THESE IS A SILVER BULLET OR EVEN, ADDED UP,
THAT THEY ARE THE ANSWER.

BUT WHAT WE'RE TRYING TO DO IS TO FIND TECHNIQUES
THAT WILL BEGIN TO CHANGE THE SYSTEM AND OPEN IT UP. I
THINK THAT ANSWERS THE QUESTION. THERE WAS A QUESTION
BACK HERE, YES?

Q I GUESS THIS SORT OF FOLLOWS WHAT HE WAS JUST
ASKING. WHAT ARE THE MAIN IMPEDIMENTS TO ENTRY NOW THAT
WE HAVEN'T ADDRESSED IN THIS AGREEMENT, AND DID WE NOT
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ADDRESS THEM BECAUSE THEY'RE OUTSIDE THE FRAMEWORK OF
WHAT THE GOVERNMENT CAN DO, OR ARE THEY JUST THINGS THAT
WE AND THE JAPANESE COULDN'T AGREE ON, AND WE PUT THEM
OFF FOR LATER?

UNDER SECRETARY SPERO: YOU KNOW, SOME BARRIERS --
NON-TARIFF BARRIERS OR BUSINESS PRACTICES -- ARE MUCH
HARDER TO GET AT THAN SIMPLY SORT OF REDUCING TARIFFS OR
CHANGING INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY LAWS. OUR DILEMMA IN
THIS NEGOTIATION, AND ONE OF THE REASONS IT WAS
CONCEPTUALLY VERY DIFFICULT, WAS TO TRY TO FIGURE OUT
WHAT THE ACCESS POINTS WERE, WHERE WE COULD TRY TO
CHANGE THINGS THAT WOULD OPEN THE SYSTEM.

AND WHEN WE CONSULTED U.S. BUSINESS, WE FOUND A BIG
PROBLEM WITH THE HIGH COST OF ENTRY FINANCING -- LAND,
TAXATION. SO WE TRIED TO DEVISE TECHNIQUES IN THOSE
AREAS. AGAIN, I'M NOT SAYING WE SOLVED ALL OF THE
ANSWERS, BUT WE'VE TRIED TO CHIP AWAY AT IT.

SECONDLY, REGULATORY POLICIES; AND, THIRD, THE WHOLE
ENVIRONMENT FOR MERGERS AND ACQUISITIONS. AS I SAID
WE'VE TRIED TO PUSH FOR CHANGES IN CORPORATE GOVERNANCE
LAWS SO THAT IT WILL BE EASIER TO DO MERGERS AND
ACQUISITIONS -- MORE SHAREHOLDER RIGHTS, MORE
TRANSPARENCY, MORE FINANCIAL DISCLOSURE. IT'S NOT GOING
TO CHANGE IT OVERNIGHT, BUT IT WILL MOVE IN THAT
DIRECTION.

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HUGE ISSUE OF PERSONNEL -- HIRING QUALIFIED JAPANESE
PERSONNEL AND THE HIGH COST OF HAVING EXPAT PERSONNEL

THERE -- AGAIN, OPENING GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS, ACCESS TO
HIRING OR LABOR POLICY -- EXCUSE ME -- THE JAPANESE
GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT POLICIES, JAPANESE GOVERNMENT
TRAINING. THEN THESE BUYER/SUPPLIER RELATIONS THAT I
MENTIONED.

AND THEN, YOU KNOW THERE'S A WHOLE CATEGORY OF
PROBLEMS THAT I WOULD CALL ATTITUDES OR PERCEPTIONS
ABOUT THE DESIRABILITY OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT. AND HERE,
THE BEST THAT YOU CAN HOPE FOR, I THINK, IS THAT THE
JAPANESE GOVERNMENT SENDS MESSAGES THAT IT WANTS FOREIGN
INVESTMENT, AND IT CAN DO THAT BY SETTING UP
INSTITUTIONS LIKE THIS -- THE FOREIGN INVESTMENT
DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION -- I FORGET, IT'S CALLED FIND
-- WHICH IS AN OMBUDSMAN THAT IS THERE TO TRY TO HELP
FOREIGN INVESTORS NAVIGATE THEIR WAY THROUGH THE
JAPANESE SYSTEM. YOU CAN DO THAT BY SIGNALING THAT THE
JAPAN DEVELOPMENT BANK IS OPEN FOR FOREIGNERS. YOU CAN
DO IT BY HAVING JETRO PROMOTED.

SO YOU CAN BEGIN TO GET THAT MESSAGE OUT. SO IN ALL
OF THOSE AREAS, WE TRIED TO DEFINE AND DEVISE SOLUTIONS
THAT WOULD BEGIN TO ADDRESS THE PROBLEMS. NONE OF THEM
IS COMPLETELY SOLVED. THERE IS A LOT MORE WORK TO BE
DONE, BUT I THINK WE'RE GOING TO TRY THIS FIRST STEP
YES?

Q WE DO HAVE THE SO-CALLED PRIORITY AREA IN THE
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FUTURE -- THE FRAMEWORK TALKS -- I MEAN, SECTORAL TALKS
-- SECTORAL ISSUES.

UNDER SECRETARY SPERO: WELL WE HAVE NOT SAT DOWN
-- WE DID WITH OUR JAPANESE COLLEAGUES AT THE BEGINNING
OF THE FRAMEWORK. WE SAT DOWN AND IDENTIFIED A WHOLE
SERIES OF PRIORITY AREAS, AND I GUESS I WOULD SAY THE
PRIORITY AREAS NOW ARE THE ONES THAT WE HAVE NOT
COMPLETED. SO, AS I SAID, PARTICULARLY IN THE
STRUCTURAL -- COMPETITION POLICY, TECHNOLOGY POLICY,
CONTINUING WITH FINANCIAL DEREGULATION WILL BE VERY HIGH
ON THE AGENDA.

BUT I WANT TO EMPHASIZE ONE OF THE BASKETS OF THE
FRAMEWORK WAS IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREEMENTS UNDER THE
FRAMEWORK AND PAST AGREEMENTS. AND I THINK YOU CAN LOOK
TO HEAVY FOCUS ON ACTUAL IMPLEMENTATION IN THE FUTURE.

MR. JOHNSON: IS THERE A FINAL QUESTION? (NONE)
THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

UNDER SECRETARY SPERO: THANK YOU.

(UNDER SECRETARY SPERO CONCLUDED AT 1:22 P.M. AT
WHICH TIME THE ACTING SPOKESMAN, DAVID JOHNSON, BEGAN
THE DAILY PRESS BRIEFING.)

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MR. JOHNSON: MR. GEDDA.

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Q COULD YOU TELL US WHAT YOU KNOW ABOUT THE
SITUATION IN ZEPA?

MR. JOHNSON: I CAN TELL YOU PRETTY MUCH ONLY WHAT
YOU ALREADY KNOW ACCORDING TO THE PRESS REPORTS THAT YOU
HAVE SEEN. THE INFORMATION WE HAVE IS THAT THAT'S COME

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FROM U.N. SOURCES OVER THE LAST 24 TO 36 -- EXCUSE ME, THE LAST 12 TO 24 HOURS. IT HAS BEEN CONFLICTING. IT'S APPARENT THAT THERE IS INTENSIFIED PRESSURE ON ZEPA. WHETHER OR NOT ZEPA HAS ACTUALLY FALLEN OR NOT IS THE SUBJECT OF SOME CONTINUING AND CONFLICTING REPORTS, SO I CAN'T TELL YOU EXACTLY WHAT THE STATUS OF THE SITUATION THERE IS, BECAUSE WE, OF COURSE, DON'T HAVE PEOPLE THERE ON THE GROUND, AND THE U.N.'S ABILITY TO CONTACT THEIR PERSONNEL THERE HAS BEEN LIMITED.

Q WHAT ABOUT THE REFUGEES? HAS THERE BEEN ANY SIGNIFICANT REFUGEE FLOW?

MR. JOHNSON: I HAVE SEEN REPORTS THAT THERE HAS BEEN SOME REFUGEE FLOW OUT OF ZEPA, BUT I DON'T HAVE ANYTHING CONCRETE ON THAT. AS YOU MAY RECALL FROM LAST NIGHT, WE ISSUED A STATEMENT, IMPLORING THE BOSNIAN SERBS TO ALLOW INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS TO ENTER THE AREA. AND AS FAR AS I KNOW, THAT HAS NOT TAKEN PLACE YET.

Q DAVID, DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ON THE PRESS REPORTS THAT THE UKRAINIAN -- THE U.N. COMMANDER OF THE UKRAINIAN FORCE THAT WAS IN ZEPA HAD ACTUALLY GONE OVER TO THE SERB SIDE -- HAD LEFT ZEPA?

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MR. JOHNSON: I DON'T. I DON'T HAVE ANYTHING ON THAT AT ALL. IN FACT, I HAVEN'T SEEN THAT REPORT. BUT BECAUSE THERE HASN'T BEEN RELIABLE CONTACT WITH THE FORCES IN ZEPA, IT'S IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME TO ADDRESS THAT, I'M AFRAID.

Q IS THERE ANYTHING THAT YOU CAN TELL US ABOUT THE TALKS THAT ARE TAKING PLACE IN LONDON?

MR. JOHNSON: NOT A WHOLE LOT, BUT I WILL TELL YOU WHAT I CAN. DURING THE MEETINGS YESTERDAY HERE WITH SECRETARY RIFKIND, BOTH AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND AT THE WHITE HOUSE, AND TODAY BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND

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FOREIGN SECRETARY RIFKIND IN LONDON, WE BELIEVE WE'VE COME CLOSER TO A UNITED POSITION.

AS WE'VE SAID THROUGHOUT THE COURSE OF THIS WEEK WE'RE DETERMINED TO REACH A UNITED ALLIANCE POSITION WHICH WOULD STRENGTHEN UNPROFOR IN SOME SIGNIFICANT WAYS.

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THE SECRETARY HAS ALSO BEEN SPEAKING ON THE PHONE TO THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER WHO'S CURRENTLY IN MOROCCO AND WHO WILL ARRIVE IN LONDON TONIGHT, AND HE LOOKS FORWARD TO SEEING HIM, PERHAPS NOT TONIGHT BUT IN THE MORNING, IN ORDER TO TAKE FURTHER STEPS IN ARRIVING AT A UNITED POSITION.

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ALSO, I WOULD NOTE FOR YOU JUST IN TERMS OF CALENDAR EVENTS, THAT THE SECRETARY IS CURRENTLY MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV.

Q DAVID, YOU SAY YOU'RE COMING CLOSER TO A UNITED POSITION AFTER THE TALKS WITH MR. RIFKIND. ARE YOU TALKING ABOUT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED KINGDOM OR AMONG THE GROUP?

MR. JOHNSON: I'M TALKING SPECIFICALLY ABOUT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED KINGDOM. WE'VE ALSO BEEN CONSULTING WITH THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER, BUT WE EXPECT TO SEE HIM TONIGHT OR PERHAPS IN THE MORNING, AND WE HOPE TO MOVE EVEN CLOSER TOGETHER AFTER WE'VE HAD A CHANCE TO HAVE THAT DISCUSSION.

BUT AT THIS POINT, BECAUSE ACTIVITIES ARE ACTUALLY TAKING PLACE IN LONDON, THAT'S ABOUT AS MUCH AS I CAN HELP YOU WITH THAT, I'M AFRAID.

Q DAVID, CAN YOU SAY WHETHER THE FRENCH POSITION IS MOVING TO MATCH THAT OF BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES?

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MR. JOHNSON: I'D REALLY RATHER NOT GET INTO MUCH DISCUSSION OF THE DETAILS OF THAT, BECAUSE I'M AFRAID I'M A LITTLE DISTANT FROM WHERE THOSE CONVERSATIONS ARE TAKING PLACE.

Q DAVID, THERE ARE REPORTS FROM REFUGEES IN TUZLA WHO HAD COME FROM SREBRENICA THAT THE FIRST INDICATION
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THEY HAD THAT THE SERBS WERE MOVING INTO SREBRENICA WAS WHEN THEY DISCOVERED SERBS WHO WERE WEARING BLUE HELMETS OVER THEIR SERBIAN CAPS. DO YOU HAVE ANY REPORTS ON THAT, ON HOW THEY GOT THIS OR WHAT HAPPENED?

MR. JOHNSON: AS TO HOW THEY ALLEGEDLY GOT BLUE HELMETS?

Q IF THERE WERE OTHER REPORTS TO THIS NATURE.

MR. JOHNSON: I HAVEN'T SEEN ANY REPORTS OF THAT NATURE, AND I DON'T KNOW THE ORIGIN OF THE BLUE HELMETS YOU REFERRED TO IN THE PREVIOUS INSTANCE.

Q DAVID, THERE ARE ALSO PRESS REPORTS THAT THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN CIRCULATING EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS PROVIDED BY THEIR PEACEKEEPERS OF ATROCITIES DURING THE FALL

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OF SREBRENICA. HAS THIS DEPARTMENT OR ANYBODY IN THE UNITED STATES RECEIVED THOSE EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS?

MR. JOHNSON: DIRECTLY FROM THE DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS? I DON'T HAVE ANY DIRECT REPORTS FROM THAT -- NO, NOT FROM THE DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS AS A SOURCE. WE DO HAVE REPORTS FROM THE REFUGEES WHO HAVE STRAINED INTO THE AREA OF ATROCITIES WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE, BUT, AND WE'VE SAID, I THINK EARLIER IN THE WEEK, THAT - HOW WE FOUND THAT OUTRAGEOUS THAT THEY CONTINUE TO DENY BOTH
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THE UNHCR AND ICRC ACCESS, ESPECIALLY TO THE MEN AND
BOYS WHO HAD BEEN DETAINED.

I DO KNOW THAT ICRC NEGOTIATORS MET WITH BOSNIAN
SERB REPRESENTATIVES LAST NIGHT, BUT THE BOSNIAN SERBS
ARE CONTINUING TO INSIST IN DEFIANCE OF INTERNATIONAL
WAR CONVENTIONS THAT THEY'RE UNABLE TO GRANT ACCESS TO
THE MEN.

Q DAVID, HAVE YOU RECEIVED ANY ASSURANCES FROM
THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT THAT THEY WOULD NOT USE THE
UKRAINIAN -- THAT THEIR FORCES WILL NOT USE THE
UKRAINIAN PEACEKEEPERS AS HUMAN SHIELDS?

MR. JOHNSON: I HAVEN'T SEEN ANYTHING DIRECTLY WITH
RESPECT TO THAT, AS TO WHETHER THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT
HAS RESPONDED TO THAT OR NOT.

Q HAVE YOU SEEN A DEMAND BY KARADZIC THAT THE
OUTER WORLD, PARTICULARLY A POWER SUCH AS THE UNITED
STATES, RECOGNIZE THE BOSNIAN SERB NATION?

MR. JOHNSON: HAVE I SEEN DEMANDS FROM HIM?

Q YEAH.

MR. JOHNSON: I HAVEN'T SEEN THOSE. OUR POSITION ON
THE RECOGNITION OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA IS QUITE CLEAR.
WE DON'T PLAN TO CHANGE THAT. WE DON'T PLAN TO CHANGE
THE RECOGNITION OF THE BORDERS THAT WE HAVE ALREADY
RECOGNIZED THERE. WE THINK THAT IN ORDER TO COME TO ANY
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TYPE OF AGREEMENT LIKE THAT, THAT WE HAVE TO COME TO THE

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CONFERENCE TABLE. THAT'S THE POSITION WE'VE MADE CLEAR FOR MONTHS NOW.

Q DAVID, ON BIHAC, WHEN IT WAS SET UP AS A SAFEHAVEN, THERE WAS AN AGREEMENT THAT THERE WOULD BE AIRDROPS OF FOOD INTO IT, BECAUSE IT'S A VERY ISOLATED AREA. APPARENTLY NOW FOR AT LEAST ONE YEAR, THESE AIRDROPS HAVE NOT BEEN COMING IN. CAN YOU TELL ME WHY?

MR. JOHNSON: I THINK I'D REFER YOU TO THE PENTAGON FOR THAT, SINCE IT LIKELY INVOLVES THEIR AIRCRAFT AND THE SAFETY OF THOSE AIRCRAFT. I THINK THEY'D BE ABLE TO BETTER ADDRESS THAN I WOULD.

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Q THE AGREEMENTS, HOWEVER, WERE MADE IN TERMS OF THE OVERALL FOREIGN POLICY CONSOLIDATION OF THE SAFEHAVENS.

MR. JOHNSON: YOU'RE ASKING AN OPERATIONAL QUESTION, THOUGH, AS TO WHETHER AND WHY THEY HAVE NOT BEEN

CONTINUED, AND I THINK THAT THE PENTAGON WOULD BE IN A MUCH BETTER POSITION TO ADDRESS THAT THAN I WOULD.

Q ANOTHER SUBJECT.

MR. JOHNSON: IF YOU WISH.

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Q DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING -- YESTERDAY THERE WAS QUITE A BIT OF CONCERN ABOUT BIHAC AND CONCERN THAT IF THERE WAS CONTINUED FIGHTING IN THE AREA, THAT IT MIGHT DRAW THE CROATS IN. DO YOU HAVE ANY READOUT ON BIHAC?

MR. JOHNSON: I DON'T. I DON'T HAVE AN UPDATE ON THAT. ARE WE STILL IN BOSNIA, OR ARE WE --

Q YES, BOSNIA. SEVERAL U.S. OFFICIALS, INCLUDING MIKE MCCURRY, HAVE SAID THAT THE FEAR OF A WIDER WAR

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COULD BE ONE REASON -- COULD BE A U.S. NATIONAL INTEREST FOR GETTING INVOLVED. HOW GREAT IS THE RISK OF A WIDER WAR, AND HOW WOULD THAT IN YOUR VIEW PLAY OUT?

MR. JOHNSON: I'M NOT GOING TO GET INTO SPECULATION ABOUT HOW A WIDER WAR MIGHT PLAY OUT.

MIKE, AND PEOPLE STANDING BEHIND THIS LECTERN, HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT WE SAW A VITAL INTEREST IN PREVENTING THE SPREAD OF THIS CONFLICT. THAT WAS THE REASON THAT WE HAD PUT OUR PEACEKEEPING TROOPS INTO MACEDONIA. THAT WAS ONE OF THE MOTIVATIONS FOR OUR BACKING OF UNPROFOR, IN ADDITION TO A HUMANITARIAN REASON. IT'S A PRINCIPLE WE HOLD TO VERY MUCH, BUT I'M NOT GOING TO SPECULATE ABOUT WHAT A WIDER WAR WOULD MEAN.

I THINK NICK, EARLIER IN THE WEEK, TALKED ABOUT HOW A WIDER WAR WOULD SPREAD THROUGHOUT THE BALKANS, POTENTIALLY AFFECTING EVEN OUR NATO PARTNERS, GREECE AND TURKEY. IT'S SOMETHING WE TAKE VERY SERIOUSLY, BUT I DON'T THINK I WANT TO SPECULATE ON HOW IT MIGHT SPIN OUT.

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ARE YOU READY?

Q I AM. COULD YOU TALK A LITTLE BIT ABOUT YOUR SECRET MISSION TO NIGERIA?

MR. JOHNSON: MY SECRET MISSION?

Q NOT YOUR SECRET MISSION.

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MR. JOHNSON: THANK YOU FOR THE PROMOTION. IN DECEMBER 1994, THE PRESIDENT ASKED AMBASSADOR DONALD MCHENRY, A PRIVATE CITIZEN, TO APPROACH LEADING NIGERIANS IN THE GOVERNMENT, IN OPPOSITION GROUPS, AS WELL PRIVATE CITIZENS, TO ASCERTAIN HOW THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT COULD ASSIST NIGERIA IN A RAPID RETURN TO CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT.

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UNDER THAT MANDATE, HE'S TRAVELLED TO NIGERIA A NUMBER OF TIMES. HE'S WORKED VERY CLOSELY WITH THE STATE DEPARTMENT, PARTICULARLY THROUGH ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS, MOOSE, AS WELL AS UNDER SECRETARY FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS, PETER TARNOFF, AND OUR EMBASSY IN NIGERIA, AS WELL AS WITH OFFICIALS AT THE WHITE HOUSE. HE'S MADE A TOTAL OF SIX VISITS TO NIGERIA IN THE PAST SEVEN MONTHS. HIS MOST RECENT VISIT WAS IN THE LAST MONTH.

WE BELIEVE HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH THE NIGERIANS HAVE
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BEEN USEFUL. BUT AS ONE COULD CONCLUDE FROM STATEMENTS WE'VE MADE HERE AND OTHER PLACES OVER THE LAST SEVERAL DAYS, THE NEED TO MOVE TO CIVILIAN RULE AND TO RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS IN NIGERIA IS SOMETHING THAT WE CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR.

Q I GUESS THE POST STORY SUGGESTED THAT HE FELT THE MISSION HAD FAILED ULTIMATELY AND THAT WE'RE LOOKING FOR OTHER WAYS TO TRY TO BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON NIGERIA. CAN YOU TALK A LITTLE BIT ABOUT WHAT YOUR FUTURE STRATEGY IS?

MR. JOHNSON: I DON'T THINK IT'S NECESSARY TO SAY THAT AMBASSADOR MCHENRY HAS COMPLETED WHAT HE'S ATTEMPTING TO DO. WE'RE CONTINUING TO PRESS THE NIGERIANS THROUGH OUR EMBASSY, LOOKING FOR OTHER WAYS WORKING WITH OUR ALLIES AS WELL. WE PUT OUT STATEMENTS ONLY JUST A FEW DAYS AGO THAT REFLECTED OUR CONCERNS ABOUT INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS IN NIGERIA.

WE'RE CONTINUING TO PRESS FOR A RETURN TO CIVILIAN RULES, AND WE'RE NOT RULING OUT SANCTIONS AS A POSSIBLE POLICY OPTION.

Q WHEN YOU TALK ABOUT SANCTIONS, THOUGH, COULD THIS AFFECT THE OIL INDUSTRY?

MR. JOHNSON: I DON'T THINK I'M GOING TO DEFINE IT

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ANY FURTHER. YOU'RE AWARE JUST AS WELL AS I AM, THAT'S THE LEADING EXPORT OF NIGERIA.

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Q DO YOU HAVE ANY BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE SANCTIONS TAKEN TO DATE SINCE THE ELECTIONS WERE OVERTURNED IN NIGERIA?

MR. JOHNSON: I'D BE PLEASED TO GET YOU SOMETHING A LITTLE MORE COMPLETE THAN I HAVE. I KNOW IT HAS AFFECTED OUR VISA POLICY WITH RESPECT TO NIGERIA, BUT LET ME SEE IF

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I CAN GET YOU SOMETHING THAT'S A LITTLE MORE COMPREHENSIVE THAN THAT.

Q HAS THERE BEEN A CUT-OFF --

Q (INAUDIBLE).

MR. JOHNSON: YES, I THINK WE'RE STILL THERE.

Q (INAUDIBLE) AID TO NIGERIA; I'M TRYING TO RECALL?

MR. JOHNSON: THERE MAY BE SOME HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE THROUGH NGOS, BUT THERE'S NO DIRECT AID.

Q THE NIGERIAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT HAVE DEFENDED THEIR EXISTENCE BY SAYING THAT THEY HAVE BEEN COOPERATING WITH THE WAR ON DRUGS. DOES THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT THINK THAT IS SO?

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MR. JOHNSON: I BELIEVE THAT AMBASSADOR GELBARD IS ADDRESSING THAT IN ABOUT 29 MINUTES UP ON THE HILL. I'M GOING TO LEAVE THAT TO HIM. I HAVEN'T HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO PREVIEW HIS TESTIMONY.

Q (INAUDIBLE) THE TALKS ARE USEFUL. CAN YOU GO INTO ANYMORE DETAIL? IN THE SEVEN-MONTH PERIOD, YOU MENTIONED THE SITUATION -- THE COUNTRY HAS ESSENTIALLY DETRIORATED. SO WHAT EXACTLY HAS BEEN ACHIEVED? IF THERE IS ANYMORE DETAIL YOU CAN GIVE US?

MR. JOHNSON: I CAN'T GIVE YOU MUCH MORE DETAIL, BUT I WOULD POINT YOU BACK TO THE OPENING PART OF MY STATEMENT WHERE HIS DISCUSSIONS HAVE BEEN WITH A BROADER AUDIENCE THAN JUST THE GOVERNMENT. HE'S ALSO BEEN TALKING TO OPPOSITION GROUPS AND WITH PRIVATE CITIZENS IN ORDER TO GET A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF HOW WE MIGHT MOVE FORWARD IN NIGERIA.

I'M NOT TRYING TO OVERPLAY HIS SUCCESS. I DON'T BELIEVE IT'S CORRECT TO ASSESS IT AS A FAILURE.

Q WILL AMBASSADOR MCHENRY BE GOING BACK?

MR. JOHNSON: I DON'T HAVE ANYTHING FOR YOU ON A NEXT TRIP.

Q IS HE THERE NOW?

MR. JOHNSON: I DO NOT BELIEVE SO.
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Q YOU SAY THERE MAY BE MORE TRIPS?

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MR. JOHNSON: I'M NOT RULING IT OUT; NO. ARE WE STILL ON NIGERIA? WE'VE EXHAUSTED NIGERIA.

WE GO TO --

Q CHINA. HAS YOUR EMBASSY IN BEIJING SPOKEN TO THE CHINESE AUTHORITIES ABOUT THE MISSILE EXERCISES?

MR. JOHNSON: AS I THINK NICK INDICATED YESTERDAY WE'RE LOOKING INTO THE QUESTION OF THIS EXERCISE. I WOULD NOTE FOR YOU THAT AT TODAY'S PRESS BRIEFING IN BEIJING, THE CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY SPOKESMAN CHARACTERIZED THE MISSILE EXERCISE AS A "NORMAL MISSILE TEST LAUNCH AND A STANDARD MILITARY EXERCISE." HE SAID THAT THE TRAINING EXERCISE WILL TAKE PLACE FROM THE 21ST TO THE 28TH OF JULY, BUT BEYOND THAT, I DON'T HAVE ANYTHING FOR YOU TODAY.

Q DO YOU ACCEPT HIS STATEMENT? DO YOU HAVE ANY CONCERN ABOUT THE STABILITY IN THE STRAIT AREA?

MR. JOHNSON: IT'S BEEN THE LONG-STANDING POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES TO SEEK TO PROMOTE PEACE, SECURITY

AND STABILITY IN THE AREA OF THE TAIWAN STRAIT. WE BELIEVE IT'S IN THE INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES, THE
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PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, AND TAIWAN. WE DON'T BELIEVE THIS TEST CONTRIBUTES TO PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE AREA.

Q WHY --

MR. JOHNSON: I'M GOING TO LEAVE IT RIGHT THERE.

Q HAVE YOU FOUND OUT ANYTHING ABOUT THE EXCHANGE BETWEEN TAIWAN AND THE U.S. ON THE LAST REMARKS BY AN OFFICIAL OF THIS DEPARTMENT?

MR. JOHNSON: I CAN TELL YOU THAT THE TAIWAN AUTHORITIES HAVE CLARIFIED THEIR POSITION ON RELATIONS

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WITH THE U.S. AND HAVE INDICATED THAT RESUMING AN OFFICIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES IS ONE OF THEIR LONG-STANDING GOALS.

Q DO YOU AGREE WITH --

MR. JOHNSON: THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZES THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AS THE SOLE, LEGAL GOVERNMENT OF CHINA AND ACKNOWLEDGES THE CHINESE POSITION THAT THERE IS ONE CHINA, AND TAIWAN IS PART OF CHINA.

WITHIN THAT CONTEXT, WE MAINTAIN CULTURAL COMMERCIAL, AND OTHER UNOFFICIAL RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE OF TAIWAN.

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Q DAVID, ANOTHER QUESTION. HOW DO YOU SEE THE PROSPECT OF FORMER PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH GOING TO CHINA AS A SPECIAL ENVOY?

MR. JOHNSON: I READ THE SAME ARTICLES THAT YOU HAVE, AND I DON'T HAVE ANY FURTHER REACTION FOR YOU ON THAT.

Q I HAD A QUESTION YESTERDAY TAKEN UP, REGARDING SLOVAKIA. DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING ON IT?

MR. JOHNSON: IF I'M RESPONDING CORRECTLY TO YOUR QUESTION, YOU WERE ASKING ABOUT A RECENT VISIT BY SLOVAK LEADERS.

Q (INAUDIBLE)

MR. JOHNSON: DURING THE WEEK OF JULY 10, THE LEADERS OF THREE ETHNIC HUNGARIAN PARTIES, REPRESENTED IN THE SLOVAK PARLIAMENT, CAME TO WASHINGTON AND MET WITH ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS FROM THE NATIONAL SECURITY

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COUNCIL STAFF AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S BUREAU OF EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN AFFAIRS AND THE BUREAU OF DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND LABOR.

WE DESCRIBED OUR OVERARCHING OBJECTIVE TO THEM FOR CENTRAL EUROPE, AND THAT IS, TO BUILD A STABLE, SECURE, AND DEMOCRATIC EUROPE. SPECIFICALLY, IN SLOVAKIA, WE TOLD THEM THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT SUPPORTS
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DEMOCRATIC AND ECONOMIC REFORMS, AND EFFORTS TO IMPROVE ETHNIC RELATIONS WITHIN SLOVAKIA AND WITH SLOVAKIA'S NEIGHBORS.

Q WAS THERE ANY COMMENT ABOUT REMOVING SLOVAKIA FROM THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE?

MR. JOHNSON: THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS SLOVAKIA'S ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE PROGRAM. WE'RE PLEASED THAT SLOVAKIA PLANS TO SEND A UNIT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE "COOPERATIVE NUGGET" EXERCISE, WHICH WE WILL HOST IN LOUISIANA IN AUGUST.

WE ALSO WELCOME THE SLOVAK GOVERNMENT'S INTEREST IN HOSTING A PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE EXERCISE, POSSIBLY LATER THIS YEAR.

Q ONE MORE QUESTION. THERE HAVE BEEN SOME COMMUNICATIONS THAT MAYBE PRESIDENT CLINTON, CONGRESS, OR THE STATE DEPARTMENT ARE GOING TO TAKE SOME SHARPER STEPS TO MAINTAIN DEMOCRACY IN SLOVAKIA. DID THE SUBJECT COME UP ABOUT TAKING SOME STEPS -- SPECIFIC STEPS, I MEAN?

MR. JOHNSON: ALL I CAN SAY TO THAT -- NOT DIRECTLY RESPONSIVE TO THAT QUESTION -- IS THAT WE SUPPORT A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT IN SLOVAKIA, AND ITS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM EFFORTS, AND WE CONTINUE TO

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ENCOURAGE IMPROVED ETHNIC RELATIONS WITH SLOVAKIA'S NEIGHBORS.

Q BACK TO CHINA, VERY QUICKLY. HAVE YOU SPOKEN TO THE CHINESE, EITHER HERE IN WASHINGTON OR IN BEIJING, ABOUT YOUR VIEW OF THE MISSILE EXERCISE?

MR. JOHNSON: I DON'T HAVE ANYTHING FOR YOU ON ANY DIRECT CONVERSATION WE'VE HAD. THAT'S NOT TO FORECLOSE IT, BUT I DON'T HAVE ANYTHING DIRECTLY RESPONSIVE TO THAT QUESTION.

Q DESPITE THE URGENCY OF BOSNIA, I THINK THE ISSUE OF CYPRUS RECEIVED QUITE SOME ATTENTION, BOTH IN THIS BUILDING AND OVER AT CAPITOL HILL. A NUMBER OF MEETINGS WERE HELD. I THINK MR. BEATTIE WILL BE VISITING THE REGION IN THE FALL.

WHAT'S THE OVERALL ADMINISTRATION POLICY AT THIS POINT TO RESOLVE THE CYPRUS ISSUE? IS IT, FOR EXAMPLE, TO REVIVE THE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE GREEK CYPRIOTS DECLARED THEM DEAD?

MR. JOHNSON: I WOULD ONLY SAY THAT WE REMAIN DETERMINE TO WORK WITH THE PARTIES TO ACHIEVE A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM IN CYFRUS. I WILL BE PLEASED TO LOOK INTO YOUR QUESTION ABOUT WHAT OUR OVERALL STRATEGY IS IN MORE DETAIL AND SEE IF WE CAN COME BACK TO THAT ANOTHER DAY.

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Q IT'S FOR THE MECHANISM, YOU KNOW -- OPERATIONAL TERMS.

Q DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ON THE ATTEMPTS BY THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT TO TRY AND SECURE THE RELEASE OF THOSE PEOPLE BEING HELD BY THE KASHMIRI REBELS?

MR. JOHNSON: I DON'T REALLY HAVE ANYTHING OF MUCH DETAIL. I KNOW THAT WE'RE CONTINUING TO WORK WITH INDIAN AUTHORITIES IN THEIR EFFORTS TO OBTAIN THE RELEASE OF THE HOSTAGES. WE'VE CONTINUED OUR APPEALS TO THE KIDNAPPERS TO HEED OUR PLEAS AND OTHERS FOR THE HUMANITARIAN RELEASE, AND FOR IT TO TAKE PLACE IMMEDIATELY.

WE CONTINUE TO KEEP OUR OFFICER ON STATION IN SRINAGAR, AND WE CONTINUE TO HOPE FOR A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION TO THESE KIDNAPPINGS.

Q THE FLYERS ARE SAYING THAT THE REBELS HAVE ISSUED A STATEMENT SAYING THAT THE TALKS HAVE BROKEN OFF. DO YOU HAVE ANY INFORMATION ON THAT?

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MR. JOHNSON: I DON'T. WE'VE SEEN CONFLICTING REPORTS OVER THE LAST SEVERAL DAYS, AND I DON'T THINK WE'RE GOING TO WANT TO BE RESPONDING TO EACH AND EVERY ONE.

Q ONE MORE. DO YOU HAVE ANY INFORMATION AT ALL
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ABOUT HOW THESE HOSTAGES ARE FARING; WHAT THEIR PHYSICAL CONDITION IS?

MR. JOHNSON: I DON'T HAVE ANYTHING DIRECTLY RELATED TO THAT. I'VE SEEN THE SAME PRESS REPORTS THAT YOU HAVE, BUT I DON'T HAVE ANY INFORMATION MORE DIRECT THAN THAT TO RELATE TO YOU.

Q DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ON THE POST STORY

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CONCERNING A NUCLEAR PROGRAM BEING DEVELOPED IN GERMANY?

MR. JOHNSON: A BIT. IT'S THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES THAT CIVIL USE OF HIGHLY ENRICHED URANIUM REACTORS BE MINIMIZED IN ORDER TO LOWER THE RISK OF DIVERSION AND PROLIFERATION. THAT'S A GLOBAL POLICY AND IT'S NOT DIRECTED TOWARD ANY PARTICULAR STATE.

WE'VE MADE THAT POSITION ON CIVIL HEU REACTORS KNOWN TO OTHER STATES, INCLUDING GERMANY, AND WE'VE ENCOURAGED THEM TO ADOPT A POLICY SIMILAR TO OURS.

WHETHER TO CONSTRUCT THAT REACTOR AND THE TYPE OF REACTOR TO BE CONSTRUCTED ARE DECISIONS FOR THE GERMANS TO MAKE.

WE WOULD ALSO NOTE THAT THE GERMANS HAVE UNASSAILABLE NON-PROLIFERATION CREDENTIALS AND THEY FULLY SHARE OUR COMMITMENT TO STOP THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

Q FRED CUNY: DO YOU HAVE ANY INFORMATION ABOUT
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HIM?

MR. JOHNSON: I DON'T HAVE ANYTHING BEYOND WHAT WE'VE SAID OVER THE LAST SEVERAL DAYS.

Q THE FBI TEAM HAS BEEN THERE NOW FOR A COUPLE OF WEEKS.

MR. JOHNSON: THE FBI TEAM HAS BEEN THERE FOR ABOUT THAT LENGTH OF TIME. THEY ARE IN MOSCOW WORKING WITH RUSSIAN OFFICIALS, TRYING TO GET A BETTER HANDLE ON THE CASE. THERE ARE NO PLANS FOR THEM TO RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES.

Q ANY PLANS FOR THEM TO GO DOWN TO CHECHNYA?

MR. JOHNSON: POSSIBLY LATER ON, BUT I DON'T HAVE ANYTHING ON A SPECIFIC DATE FOR YOU.

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Q THANK YOU.

END TEXT. TALBOTT

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INFORM CONSULS ALSO FOR USEC/USOECDC

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: OPRC
SUBJECT: DAILY PRESS BRIEFING -- WEDNESDAY, JULY 26
1995

THE FOLLOWING TOPICS WERE COVERED IN TODAY'S PRESS
BRIEFING:

DEPARTMENT: INTRODUCTION OF DEPARTMENT INTERNS (1);
SECRETARY'S ADDRESS AT THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB (1)

FORMER YUGOSLAVIA: NATO/NAC MEETING IN BRUSSELS (2-3);
SECRETARY'S CONVERSATIONS WITH UN SECRETARY GENERAL
(2,8-9,12); DUAL-KEY SYSTEM (3-5,6); NECESSITY FOR
FUTURE NATO/NAC MEETINGS (5-6); APPLICATION OF RULES OF
ENGAGEMENT (6); CHAIN OF COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS (6-7); UN
MISSION IN SARAJEVO (9-10); CONTACT GROUP MEETING (10);
POSSIBLE EXPANSION OF CONFLICT (10); REPORTED BOMBING OF
PALE (11); RUSSIAN SANCTIONS AGAINST SERBS/KOZYREV
MEETINGS IN BELGRADE (11-12); DOLE AMENDMENT--ARMS
EMBARGO (13-14); SITUATION IN BIHAC (7,12-16)

MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS: AMBASSADOR INDYK'S VISIT TO
THE KNESSET/GOLAN BILL (16-17,20); ACTIVITIES OF
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AMBASSADOR ROSS/ASSESSMENT OF PEACE PROCESS (17-18)

CHINA: VISIT OF MADAME CHIANG KAI-SHEK (18-19);
SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH CHINESE FM/US-CHINA RELATIONS
(19)

JAPAN: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH FM KONO (19-20)

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FRANCE: INVESTIGATION OF BOMB ATTACK (20)

BEGIN TEXT:

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MR. BURNS: GOOD AFTERNOON. WELCOME TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING. I HAVE A COUPLE OF ANNOUNCEMENTS BEFORE THIS GENTLEMAN SPEAKS TO YOU.

FIRST I WOULD LIKE TO INTRODUCE TO YOU TWO INTERNS. JANIA RICHARDSON IS CURRENTLY AN INTERN IN THE OFFICE OF DEPUTY SECRETARY STROBE TALBOTT. SHE IS ASSISTING DEPUTY SECRETARY TALBOTT WITH SPEECH WRITING THIS SUMMER. SHE IS ORIGINALLY FROM CALIFORNIA. SHE IS A JUNIOR AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY HERE IN WASHINGTON WHERE SHE IS MAJORING IN POLITICAL SCIENCE AND MINORING IN ENGLISH. WELCOME, JANIA.

SECONDLY, STEVE KAUFMAN HAS BEEN A MAINSTAY IN THE PRESS OFFICE THIS SUMMER. HE IS A RECENT GRADUATE OF WILLIAM AND MARY WHERE HE MAJORED IN MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES AND RELIGION. HE HAS BEEN HELPING US TO PREPARE
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FOR THESE BRIEFINGS ALL SUMMER LONG, AND THIS COMING SUNDAY HE WILL GO TO ISRAEL FOR TWO YEARS OF STUDY AT TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY IN MIDDLE EASTERN HISTORY. STEVE, THANKS VERY MUCH FOR ALL YOUR EFFORTS THIS SUMMER.

THIRD, I THINK, AS SOME OF YOU MAY KNOW, THE SECRETARY WILL BE ADDRESSING THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB AT 1:00 P.M. ON FRIDAY, JULY 28TH. HE WILL LAY OUT IN HIS REMARKS AMERICA'S COMPREHENSIVE STRATEGY OF ENGAGEMENT IN THE ASIA/PACIFIC REGION. I COMMEND THIS EVENT TO ALL OF YOU, COMING AS IT DOES JUST A DAY BEFORE THE SECRETARY'S DEPARTURE FOR BRUNEI, MALAYSIA, CAMBODIA AND VIETNAM.

NOW, IT IS A PARTICULAR PLEASURE TO INTRODUCE A GOOD

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FRIEND AND COLLEAGUE, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN AFFAIRS, RICHARD C. HOLBROOKE, WHO WILL SPEAK TO YOU ON MATTERS CONCERNING BOSNIA. ANYTHING ELSE THAT'S ON YOUR MIND, HE'S ONLY GOT 15 OR 20 MINUTES, SO I THINK HE HAS A FEW COMMENTS, AND THEN WILL GO DIRECTLY TO QUESTIONS.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: THE PLEASURE IS ALL YOURS. (LAUGHTER) WHENEVER I AM DOWN HERE, YOU KNOW IT IS

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REALLY GOOD NEWS. THIS IS BECAUSE NICK JUST CAN'T HANDLE THE QUESTIONS TODAY, RIGHT?

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I'LL GO DIRECTLY TO QUESTIONS, BUT THE REASON NICK AND I AND THE SECRETARY THOUGHT I OUGHT TO COME DOWN HERE IS SIMPLY THE TIMING -- EXCUSE ME, I HAVE A SORE THROAT AND I APOLOGIZE IN ADVANCE FOR MY THROAT -- THE TIMING OF THE EVENTS IN BRUSSELS LAST NIGHT IN REGARD TO YOUR DEADLINES LEFT SOME NEWSPAPERS AND SOME EARLY EDITIONS IN DIFFICULT POSITIONS, AND WE JUST WANTED TO CLARIFY AGAIN FOR YOU WHAT HAPPENED IN BRUSSELS LAST NIGHT AND RESPOND TO ANY OTHER QUESTIONS YOU HAVE.

AT ABOUT 3:30 IN THE MORNING THEY ADJOURNED THIS MARATHON SESSION IN WHICH, FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW, WE GOT A SATISFACTORY, VERY POSITIVE OUTCOME. THE NAC REAFFIRMED AND IMPLEMENTED THE KEY DECISIONS OF LONDON. SOME NEWSPAPERS' EARLY EDITIONS DIDN'T CATCH UP WITH THE STORY AND THERE ARE SOME QUESTIONS YOU WILL UNDOUBTEDLY HAVE WITH IT. BUT IT IS IMPORTANT BECAUSE, FOR REASONS I FULLY UNDERSTAND AND PROBABLY WOULD HAVE DONE MYSELF HAD I BEEN IN YOUR SHOES OVER THE LAST THREE DAYS, THERE WAS A WIDESPREAD CONCERN THAT WHAT HAD HAPPENED IN LONDON WAS GOING TO ERODE. IT WAS NOT AN ALTOGETHER EASY SITUATION, BUT AT THE END OF THE DAY, IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NIGHT, THERE WAS AGREEMENT AMONG ALL SIXTEEN NATO ALLIES ON THE STEPS TO BE TAKEN IN AND AROUND GORAZDE

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AND VARIOUS OTHER THINGS. WE STILL HAVE A LOT OF ISSUES TO RESOLVE AND WORK OUT. WE ARE WORKING THROUGH THOSE NOW.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE HAS TALKED TO BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI I BELIEVE TWICE TODAY -- IS THAT CORRECT,
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NICK -- TWICE TODAY ALREADY, TO MAKE SURE THAT HE UNDERSTANDS THE SEVERITY AND IMPORTANCE OF THESE DECISIONS AND THEIR ABSOLUTE IRREVERSIBILITY FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES AND OUR NATO ALLIES. BOUTROS-GHALI WILL SPEAK FOR HIMSELF VERY SHORTLY, BUT I CANNOT IMAGINE THAT YOU WON'T FIND AGREEMENT ON THESE POINTS.

SECONDLY, LEADERS IN EUROPE, INCLUDING THE NATO SECRETARY GENERAL, HAVE HAD SIMILAR CONVERSATIONS WITH NEW YORK, AND THAT'S WHERE WE STAND.

I'LL BE HAPPY TO TAKE YOUR QUESTIONS. I KNOW THERE ARE A LOT OF OTHER ISSUES YOU MAY WANT TO COVER, INCLUDING THE SITUATION IN THE FIELD.

KAREN?

Q: HOW DO YOU EXPLAIN THE DISARRAY THEN FROM THE END OF THE LONDON MEETING UNTIL LAST NIGHT IN BRUSSELS? WHAT HAPPENED? HOW DID THIS SO-CALLED CONSENSUS FROM FRIDAY FALL APART OVER THE WEEKEND?

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ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: FIRST OF ALL, I DIDN'T GO TO LONDON. I WAS GROUNDED WITH AN EAR INFECTION. NICK WAS THERE, AS WERE MY DEPUTY AND OTHER COLLEAGUES. PETER TARNOFF WENT. BUT IT WAS CLEAR FOLLOWING THE PROCESS THAT IT WAS HIGH SPEED, LIMITED
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TIME A LOT OF PARTICIPANTS, A LOT COUNTRIES, A LOT OF
MINISTERS, AND A GENERAL CONSENSUS HAD TO BE WORKED OUT
ON OPERATIONAL TERMS BY THE ORGANIZATION THAT REALLY
COUNTS, NATO; THE ORGANIZATION THAT WILL, IF CALLED
UPON, CARRY OUT THE AIR STRIKES.

I DON'T DISPUTE THE QUESTION THAT THERE WAS
CONFUSION. MAYBE "DISARRAY" IS YOUR WORD, NOT MINE.
NICE NEWSWEEK WORD. BUT THE FACT IS THAT IT WAS
SELF-EVIDENT THAT A FORMAL ORGANIZATION WOULD HAVE TO
GIVE A FORMAL IMPLEMENTATION MECHANISM TO A CONSENSUS
AGREED UPON IN AN AD HOC AND SOMEWHAT CHAOTIC MEETING IN
LONDON. AND THEY MET AND THEY MET AND THEY MET; AND
THIRTEEN HOURS SEEMS LIKE A LONG TIME, BUT I DON'T THINK
IT'S EXCESSIVE TO FORGE A SIXTEEN-NATION CONSENSUS TO
PREPARE US FOR WHAT WOULD BE, IF IT'S LAUNCHED, THE
HEAVIEST AND MOST SIGNIFICANT NATO MILITARY ACTION IN
HISTORY.

Q WHERE EXACTLY DO WE STAND ON THE DUAL KEY
SYSTEM? IS THERE STILL ONE?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: WELL, FIRST OF ALL,
I WON'T REPEAT FOR YOU IN DETAIL MY OWN PERSONAL VIEWS
ON THE DUAL KEY, BUT YOU UNDERSTAND THAT I THINK -- AND
I KNOW THIS IS A VIEW SHARED BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE
AND MY OTHER COLLEAGUES -- THAT THE DUAL KEY WAS A
TERRIBLE IDEA TO BEGIN WITH, AND NEVER SHOULD HAVE BEEN
PUT INTO PLACE. IT TOOK TWO HUGE IMPORTANT
ORGANIZATIONS, NATO AND THE U.N., WITH INCOMPATIBLE
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MISSIONS AND MANDATES AND INTERLOCKED THEIR
DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES IN A WAY THAT WORKED TO THE

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DETRIMENT OF BOTH.

HAVING SAID THAT, LET ME TRY TO ADDRESS YOUR QUESTION, AND BEARING IN MIND THAT WE DON'T LIKE THE DUAL KEY AND WE WOULD LIKE TO MINIMIZE ITS EFFECTS, AND HERE WE GET INTO SOME FAIRLY COMPLICATED DETAILS. AND THIS IS, BY THE WAY, ONE OF THE MAIN REASONS THAT WE, NICK AND I, WANTED TO COME OUT AND CHAT WITH YOU TODAY.

THE CIVILIAN SIDE OF THE DUAL KEY ON THE U.N. IS NO LONGER IN PLACE IN REGARD TO THE GORAZDE AND THE AREA AROUND GORAZDE AND THREATS TO GORAZDE. THAT IS A CRITICAL ASPECT OF THE NAC DECISIONS.

FROM A UNITED STATES POINT OF VIEW, WE WOULD LIKE TO ELIMINATE THE CIVILIAN SIDE OF THE DUAL KEY ACROSS THE BOARD IN THE WAR THEATER. AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO WORK FOR THAT.

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NOW, WHAT ABOUT GETTING RID OF THE U.N. SIDE OF THE KEY ENTIRELY? IT'S A TECHNICALITY, TO BE FRANK, BECAUSE WHEN YOU ANALYZE THE DUAL KEY, WHO ARE THE COMMANDERS? ON THE U.N. SIDE, THE SENIOR COMMANDER IN THE FIELD IS GENERAL BERNARD JANVIER OF FRANCE, AND THE SECOND MAN IN THE CHAIN OF COMMAND IS MAJOR GENERAL RUPERT SMITH OF THE UNITED KINGDOM. AND WE NOT ONLY DON'T OBJECT TO THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE PROCESS, NO MILITARY MAN ONE
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TALKS TO, STARTING WITH GENERAL SHALIKASHVILI AND GENERAL JOULWAN, WOULD DISAGREE WITH THE FACT THAT YOU CANNOT LAUNCH SUSTAINED AIR STRIKES WITHOUT COORDINATING

IT WITH THE LOCAL ON-THE-GROUND COMMANDERS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SAFETY OF THE MEN; AND YOU NEED TO COORDINATE, YOU NEED FORWARD AIR CONTROLLERS, YOU NEED ALL SORTS OF TECHNICAL THINGS. I TALKED TO SHALI AT LENGTH ABOUT THIS BEFORE HE WENT TO LONDON, AND WE WENT OVER THE TECHNICAL SIDE OF IT. I WON'T BORE YOU WITH THE DETAILS, BUT I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT WE OURSELVES WOULD

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WANT TO COORDINATE CLOSELY WITH JANVIER AND SMITH ON THE GROUND IN THE EVENT OF NATO ACTION.

THERE IS A HUGE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN COORDINATING WITH JANVIER, SMITH, MILITARY TO MILITARY -- WHAT WE SOMETIMES LIKE TO CALL THE SMITH/SMITH CHANNEL BECAUSE THE NATO KEY IS IN THE HANDS OF ADMIRAL LEIGHTON SMITH IN NAPLES -- AND A CHAIN OF COMMAND WHICH GOES BACK TO MR. AKASHI AND TO SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS-GHALI, AND SO ON.

YOU KNOW, IT CAN BE ALL OVER ON THE GROUND WHILE PEOPLE ARE TRYING TO REACH OTHER ON THE TELEPHONE.

Q MR. HOLBROOKE, YOU SAY THAT DUAL-KEY REGARDING GORAZDE AND THE AREAS AROUND GORAZDE, IS NO LONGER IN PLACE.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: YES.

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Q THEN MY UNDERSTANDING WAS THAT WILLY CLAES ASKED BOUTROS-GHALI'S ENDORSEMENT OF THE NAC DECISION IN REGARD TO DUAL KEY. I DON'T SEE HOW THAT JIVES WITH YOU SAYING IT'S NO LONGER IN PLACE.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: WELL, I DON'T SEE ANY CONTRADICTION. MY UNDERSTANDING IS WILLY CLAES INFORMED THE SECRETARY (INAUDIBLE) NAC DECISION, AS DID THE SECRETARY OF STATE. I CANNOT IMAGINE THAT THAT IS NOT NOW THE IMPLEMENTING OPERATIONAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE SITUATION AS IT IS COVERED BY THE NAC DECISION. I CAN'T IMAGINE IT.

Q BUT BOUTROS-GHALI'S SPOKESMAN SAID --

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: THAT'S --

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Q -- FORTY-FIVE MINUTES OR SO AGO THAT HE IS

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CONSIDERING IT, AND HE'LL MAKE A DECISION -- OR MAYBE YOU KNOW SOMETHING WE DON'T ABOUT BOUTROS-GHALI'S DECISION?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: ALL I CAN TELL YOU IS THAT THE SECRETARY HAS TALKED TO BOUTROS-GHALI TWICE TODAY; AND I REPEAT, I CANNOT IMAGINE THAT THIS WILL NOT BE THE OPERATING INSTRUCTIONS. IT IS INCONCEIVABLE TO ME. THIS IS THE NATO DECISION. THE UNITED STATES AND ITS NATO ALLIES HAVE MADE THIS DECISION. THESE ARE THE UNCLASSIFIED

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RULES OF ENGAGEMENT UNDER WHICH WE BELIEVE WE MUST OPERATE, AND THAT IS HOW IT'S GOING TO BE. AND WE WILL WORK OUT, WE WILL CLOSE THE GAP. WE WILL LET THE POLICY PROCESS AND THE RHETORIC CATCH UP TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PROCEDURES OVER THE NEXT FEW HOURS.

BETSY.

Q RICHARD, DID YOU ALL WORK OUT THE TRIGGER MECHANISM, AND DID YOU ALSO DECIDE WHETHER NATO HAS TO MEET AGAIN IN ORDER TO IMPLEMENT THIS?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE:; THE ANSWER TO THE SECOND QUESTION IS THEY DO NOT HAVE TO MEET AGAIN. THAT WAS A KEY POINT. ONE OF THE REASONS IT TOOK SO LONG.

THE TRIGGER MECHANISM HAS BEEN DEFINED. I DON'T WANT TO GO INTO IT IN DETAIL. IT'S AN OPERATIONAL MATTER, AND I DON'T SEE ANY REASON TO TELL THE BOSNIAN SERBS EXACTLY WHAT LINE THEY HAD BETTER NOT PASS, OR PASS IN AN ABSTRACT WAY. BUT, I WANT TO REMIND YOU THAT THREE SENIOR GENERALS, GENERAL JAMES JAMERSON, THE DEPUTY COMMANDER IN CHIEF, UNITED STATES FORCES, EUROPE, HEADQUARTERED AT STUTTGART, AND THE BRITISH AND FRENCH COLLEAGUES WENT TO PARLEY ON SUNDAY AND AFTER REFUSING A VERY GRACIOUS OFFER FOR DINNER AND OVERNIGHT ACCOMMODATIONS FROM GENERAL MLADIC, CHOSE TO HAND HIM AN ULTIMATUM, TELL HIM IT WAS A CLEAR STATEMENT OF ALLIED RESOLVE, AND AFTER ABSORBING A BIZARRE LECTURE OF

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HISTORY ACCORDING TO GENERAL MLADIC, LEFT, AND I ASSUME
THAT GENERAL MLADIC WAS UNDER NO MISUNDERSTANDING AS TO
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WHAT THAT MEANT. BUT IF HE IS UNDER ANY
MISUNDERSTANDING, HE CAN JUST PICK UP THE PHONE AND
THOSE GENERALS WILL CLARIFY IT.

Q IS THERE SOME LOSE GROUND IN BRUSSELS, POST
LONDON, ON THE QUESTION OF WHERE BOMBS IN THE EVENT OF
AN ATTACK ON GORAZDE CAN BE DROPPED WITHOUT REFERRING
BACK TO THE NAC?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: DO YOU MEAN HOW WIDE
THE PERIMETER?

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Q YEAH. MY UNDERSTANDING IS THAT YOU - THAT
BRUSSELS HAS NOW DECIDED THAT BOMBS MAY BE DROPPED IN
THE GORAZDE THEATER, AND PERHAPS ALSO IN THE EVENT OF
ANTI-AIRCRAFT RADAR BEING --.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: OR A THREAT TO
GORAZDE, OR A THREAT TO GORAZDE.

Q BUT YOU CAN'T BOMB PALE OR ANY OTHER PART OF
BOSNIAN SERB TERRITORY NOW UNDER THIS NAC AGREEMENT
WITHOUT GOING BACK TO NAC, IS THAT RIGHT?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: THAT IS ONE OF THE
ISSUES WE ARE STILL DISCUSSING, BUT - THANK YOU - IT'S A
VERY IMPORTANT ISSUE. BEFORE COMING IN HERE, AND
BECAUSE I ASSUMED SOMEBODY WOULD ASK THIS QUESTION, I
CHECKED WITH THOSE OF MY COLLEAGUES WHO WERE IN LONDON,
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AND I SAID, "SOMEBODY IS GOING TO ASK THIS QUESTION,
PROBABLY ENSOR." AND I SAID, LOOK, THERE WAS A PIN-DOWN
IN LONDON, AND NOBODY WHO WAS THERE BELIEVES THAT THIS
WAS COMPLETELY AGREED ON IN LONDON, AND THEREFORE IT
DOES NOT -- AND I REALLY WANT TO STRESS THIS, DAVID, IT
DOES NOT REPRESENT AN EROSION OF THE ONE IN THE
AGREEMENTS. IT WAS AN ISSUE. NICK, YOU MAY CERTAINLY
INTERRUPT ME, IF YOU WANT, BECAUSE YOU THERE, BUT MY
UNDERSTANDING IS THAT THIS WAS AN ISSUE THAT WAS NOT
COMPLETELY RESOLVED IN LONDON, THAT WAS NOT ADDRESSED
YESTERDAY IN THE NAC, BUT LET ME BE CLEAR ON THE UNITED
STATES POSITION ON THIS. WE BELIEVE THAT THE RULES OF
ENGAGEMENT THAT WE ARE NOW APPLYING TO THE GORAZDE AREA
SHOULD BE APPLIED NATION-WIDE, AND WE ARE GOING TO
CONTINUE, IN FACT WE ARE AT THIS MOMENT CONTINUING TO
WORK TOWARDS THAT GOAL.

WE'VE MADE A LOT OF PROGRESS IN THE LAST 24 HOURS
WITH A VERY STRONG PERFORMANCE FROM OUR COMBINED
CIVILIAN-MILITARY TEAM WITH BOB HUNTER AND GENERAL
MONTGOMERY IN NATO, AND WE ARE GOING TO CONTINUE TO
PURSUE THAT POINT. IT'S A VERY IMPORTANT POINT.

Q CAN I RETURN TO THE DUAL KEY BRIEFLY. IN

LONDON THE IMPRESSION WAS LEFT THAT THE U.S. AT LEAST
WANTED TO INSIST THAT THE U.N. MILITARY SIDE BE IN
SARAJEVO AND NOT ZAGREB. ARE YOU HAPPY NOW THAT JANVIER
IS IN THE MIX?

Q IT'S A - YOU'RE ABSOLUTELY CORRECT THAT THAT
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WAS OUR GOING-IN POSITION. UPON ANALYSIS, IT TURNS OUT
TO BE A DISTINCTION WITHOUT A DIFFERENCE. GENERAL
SHALIKASHVILI AND HIS COLLEAGUES -- AND I HAPPEN TO
AGREE WITH THIS, HAVING SPENT A LOT OF TIME WORKING WITH
THE MILITARY SINCE 1963 IN VIETNAM -- BELIEVED THAT THE
QUESTION OF THE LEVEL OF THE CHAIN OF COMMAND IS NOT A

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CRITICAL ISSUE.

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JANVIER IS RUPERT SMITH'S DIRECT COMMAND -- SUPERIOR COMMANDING OFFICER, AND WE DON'T NEED TO SAY THAT IT HAS TO BE RUPERT SMITH VERSUS BERNARD JANVIER. THAT IS A MILITARY CHAIN OF COMMAND, AND ANYONE IN THOSE MILITARY KNOWS HOW IMPORTANT IT IS TO RESPECT THAT. AND SHALI DID NOT THINK WE SHOULD MAKE AN ISSUE OF IT. I SUPPORTED THAT. THE SECRETARY SUPPORTED IT. IT WAS A - I STRESS, BECAUSE WE SPENT A LOT OF TIME ON IT, IT IS A DISTINCTION WITHOUT A DIFFERENCE. THE IMPORTANT THING IS THE CIVILIANS AND THE DUAL-KEY.

Q ISN'T THE SECRETARY AND OTHER PEOPLE WHO ARE TALKING TO BOUTROS-GHALI TELLING HIM ABOUT A FAIT ACCOMPLI BY NATO ON THE COMMAND-AND-CONTROL ARRANGEMENTS, OR ARE YOU REQUESTING HIS AGREEMENT, ANYTHING?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: WE'RE INFORMING HIM OF THE NATO DECISION.

TIM.

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Q IT SEEMS THAT THERE IS SIGNIFICANTLY MORE AGREEMENT ON GORAZDE NOW, BUT, AND THE AREA OF CONCERN IS BIHAC.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: IT SURE IS.

Q I'M JUST WONDERING WHETHER -- CAN YOU GIVE US JUST AN UPDATE ON YOUR VIEW OF WHETHER BIHAC IS IN DANGER OF FALLING AND --

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: I THINK DAVID RAISED THAT QUESTION. OH -- WELL, FIRST OF ALL, I WANT TO REPEAT IN ANSWER TO THE FIRST PART OF YOUR QUESTION, WE WANT IT EXTENDED TO COVER ALL OF BOSNIA.

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Q AND WHICH AGREEMENT DO YOU HAVE TO ISSUE A SIMILAR ULTIMATUM ABOUT BIHAC? OBVIOUSLY, THAT'S A --

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: WE DON'T HAVE AN AGREEMENT ON THAT, BUWE HAVE A CLEAR AMERICAN POSITION, AND WE'RE WORKING TOWARDS IT. AS FOR THE DANGER OF BIHAC FALLING, THE FIGHTING IS SIGNIFICANT IN THE BIHAC POCKET, SOUTH OF THE BIHAC POCKET, BETWEEN LIVNO AND BOSANSKA GRAHOVO, I THINK. I APOLOGIZE. IT'S A TOWN NORTH OF LIVNO.

THERE IS ALSO FIGHTING ALONG THE RANGE TO THE SOUTH, KUPRES AND BORNJI VAKUF, AND I DO NOT -- IT WOULD BE ILL ADVISED OF ME TO GIVE YOU A MILITARY ASSESSMENT. THE INTELLIGENCE REPORTS I'VE HAD THIS MORNING ARE RUNNING
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WAY BEHIND. THE JOURNALISTS ARE REPORTING MORE RAPIDLY, AND THE SITUATION IS CONFUSED.

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MY INSTINCT IS THAT IT'S NOT IN IMMINENT DANGER OF FALLING, BUT DON'T HOLD ME TO THAT.

Q JUST TO FOLLOW-UP. WHAT'S THE POSSIBILITY THAT TUDJMAN WILL GET IN AND THIS WILL KIND OF CONFUSE THE WAR EVEN MORE? THAT HE'LL EITHER DECIDE THAT IT'S A DANGER TO HIM --

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: THEY'RE VERY HIGH.

Q -- OR TAKE THE CHANCE OF AN OPPORTUNITY --

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: VERY HIGH.

BETSY.

Q HOW MUCH OPPOSITION ARE YOU REACHING IN TRYING TO GET THIS FOLLOW-ON PART OF THE POLICY THROUGH?

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ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: THIS IS TOO COMPLICATED FOR ME. THERE ARE TOO MANY DOUBLE NEGATIVES IN THERE. (LAUGHTER) LET'S DO IT AGAIN.

Q WOULD YOU TAKE EXCEPTION TO ONE DRAWING THE CONCLUSION THAT BOUTROS-GHALI TOLD THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN THESE TWO CONVERSATIONS --

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: NICK, YOU DO THIS FOR A LIVING? (LAUGHTER) WOULD YOU TAKE EXCEPTION TO DRAWING THE CONCLUSION --

Q ALL RIGHT. I'LL SAY IT --

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: JUST DO IT. YOU KNOW, I'M JUST A --

Q DID BOUTROS-GHALI TELL WARREN CHRISTOPHER THAT HE HAS APPROVED THE NAC PLAN FROM LAST WEEK?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: I DON'T WANT TO CHARACTERIZE A PRIVATE CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE WITH THE SECRETARY GENERAL. (LAUGHTER) I WILL JUST REPEAT TO YOU, IT'S INCONCEIVABLE TO ME THAT THIS DECISION CAN BE MISUNDERSTOOD, AND LET'S WAIT FOR BOUTROS-GHALI TO MAKE HIS FORMAL ANNOUNCEMENT. HE UNDERSTANDS WHAT THE DECISION WAS.

MR. BURNS: WE HAVE TIME FOR TWO MORE QUESTIONS.
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SOMEONE MIGHT WANT TO ASK ONE ON TURKEY.

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ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: I LOVE TURKEY.
PLEASE ASK ABOUT TURKEY. (LAUGHTER) HOW ABOUT NATO
ENLARGEMENT?

Q I WANT TO ASK ABOUT SARAJEVO. THE COMMANDERS
OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE HAVE SAID THAT THIS NEW
DEPLOYMENT ON MT. IGMAN IS NOT TO SECURE THAT ROAD BUT
ONLY TO PROTECT CONVOYS -- U.N. CONVOYS TRAVELING UP AND
DOWN. IN THE LAST THREE WEEKS, AN AVERAGE OF SIX PEOPLE
HAVE BEEN KILLED EVERY DAY IN SARAJEVO AS A RESULT OF
SHELLING. ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH THE U.N. MISSION IN
SARAJEVO, GIVEN THAT THE WEAPONS EXCLUSION ZONE HAS
COMPLETELY COLLAPSED AND THAT THERE APPEARS TO BE NO
PLANS EVEN TO SECURE THE MT. IGMAN ROAD, ACCORDING TO
THE COMMANDERS OF THIS FORCE?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: OF COURSE, WE'RE NOT
SATISFIED WITH THE U.N. PERFORMANCE. WE ARE ENCOURAGED
BY THE RECENT ACTIONS -- MUCH MORE AGGRESSIVE -- TAKEN
BY THE RAPID REACTION FORCE AND LED PARTICULARLY BY THE
FRENCH AND SUPPORTED BY THE BRITISH AND THE DUTCH.
YOU'RE DESCRIBING CORRECTLY WHAT I HOPE WILL BE A WORK
IN PROGRESS TOWARDS A DEPLOYMENT AND AN AGGRESSIVENESS
AND A STRENGTH OF

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THE U.N. IN THE MT. IGMAN-SARAJEVO AREA, WHICH I AT
LEAST BELIEVE IS THREE YEARS OVERDUE.

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LET THEM DO IT. THEY HAVE FINALLY GOTTEN THERE.
THEY'VE GOT LONG GUNS, 17.5 KILOMETER RANGE INSTEAD OF 5
KILOMETERS. THEY CAN FIRE BACK. THE RULES OF
ENGAGEMENT ARE CHANGING, AND WE STRONGLY ENCOURAGE
THAT. LEST THERE BE ANY MISUNDERSTANDING ON THIS --
BECAUSE THERE'S BEEN SO MUCH UNSOURCED BACKGROUND
SNIPING ABOUT THE FRENCH AND THE AMERICANS -- WE SUPPORT
WHAT THE FRENCH ARE DOING. WE THINK THE FRENCH ARE ON
THE RIGHT TRACK, AND WE'RE VERY POSITIVE TOWARDS

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PRESIDENT CHIRAC AND THE LEADERSHIP HE SHOWED HERE.

THE ISSUE YOU'RE DESCRIBING IS ONE THAT WE HOPE THERE WILL BE FURTHER MOVEMENT ON FOR EXACTLY THE REASONS IMPLICIT IN YOUR QUESTION.

MR. BURNS: OKAY, THE LAST QUESTION.

Q DO WE THINK ALL THIS IS AIMED TOWARDS GETTING SOME KIND OF DIPLOMATIC PROCESS GOING? CAN YOU JUST UPDATE US ON HOW CLOSE --

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: BOB FRASURE IS IN A CONTACT GROUP MEETING RIGHT NOW WITH CARL BILDT.

Q ARE THEY DISCUSSING A PLAN THAT'S ACCEPTABLE TO ANYBODY OR --

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: THEY'RE DISCUSSING BILDT'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH MILOSEVIC. I THINK I'VE GOT TO HOLD ON THAT, TIM, BUT NICK AND I WILL TRY TO GET

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BACK TO YOU LATER IN THE DAY.

I'M SORRY, YOU DIDN'T GET A CHANCE TO ASK A QUESTION.

Q WITH THE FALL OF ZEPA, IN YOUR VIEW, HAS THE LIKELIHOOD OF A WIDER WAR -- THE WAR SPREADING -- HAS THAT INCREASED? I MEAN, THIS HAS BEEN A CONCERN OBVIOUSLY OF U.S. OFFICIALS.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: THE DANGER OF A WIDER WAR IS INCREASING BUT NOT BECAUSE OF THE FALL OF ZEPA; BECAUSE OF THE QUESTION TIM RAISED EARLIER, THAT'S THE DANGER. WE'VE TALKED ABOUT THIS A LOT IN THE PAST. THE POLICIES IN BOSNIA HAVE BEEN FRUSTRATING AND NOBODY COULD GET UP AND SAY THEY'VE BEEN SUCCESSFUL. BUT THERE

HAVE BEEN SUCCESSES IN LIMITED AREAS. A LOT OF PEOPLE WERE FED. THE LEVEL OF VIOLENCE WENT WAY DOWN UNTIL THE LAST FEW WEEKS. THERE WAS A STRENGTHENING OF THE PEOPLE

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SITUATION IN MANY AREAS OF THE COUNTRY, AND THE WAR WAS KEPT OUT OF THE NEIGHBORING AREA.

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THAT LAST POINT IS ONE THAT WE ARE INTENSELY WORRIED ABOUT RIGHT NOW, AND THAT'S WHY I ANSWERED TIM'S QUESTION EARLIER THE WAY I DID.

Q CAN I ASK JUST ONE FACTUAL QUESTION? WAS PALE BOMBED FROM THE AIR THE OTHER DAY?

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ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: I HAVE NO IDEA.
(LAUGHTER) WE DIDN'T. WE DIDN'T BOMB IT.

Q DID ANYBODY?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE: JE NE SAIS -- EXCUSE ME. (LAUGHTER) YOU'LL HAVE TO ASK THE PEOPLE WHO ARE ACCUSED OF DOING IT. I HAVE NO IDEA.

(ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE CONCLUDED AT 1:47 P.M., AT WHICH TIME SPOKESMAN NICHOLAS BURNS BEGAN THE DAILY PRESS BRIEFING.)

MR. BURNS: THANK YOU VERY MUCH TO DICK HOLBROOKE. THE SECRETARY IS GOING TO BE AVAILABLE AT 2:30 FOR A PHOTO OPPORTUNITY BEFORE HIS MEETING WITH THE SOUTH KOREAN FOREIGN MINISTER, MINISTER GONG, AND SO HE WILL BE AVAILABLE TO ANSWER A LIMITED NUMBER OF QUESTIONS ON ANY SUBJECT THAT YOU WOULD CARE TO DISCUSS WITH HIM.

WHAT I'D LIKE TO DO IS LIMIT OURSELVES HERE, IF WE CAN, IN CONTINUING THIS BRIEFING TO ABOUT 20 OR 25 MINUTES, IF WE HAVE TO GO THAT LONG. WE CAN DO MORE BOSNIA IF YOU WANT OR WE CAN GET ON TO OTHER ISSUES. ARE THERE ANY MORE QUESTIONS ON BOSNIA? HAVE WE FINISHED BOSNIA?

Q ONE MORE. HAVE YOU HEARD ANYTHING FROM THE

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RUSSIANS THAT THREATENS THEIR LIFTING SANCTIONS
UNILATERALLY AGAINST SERBIA IF THE CONGRESS GOES THROUGH
WITH ITS PLAN TO LIFT U.S. SANCTIONS ON BOSNIA?
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MR. BURNS: NO, WE HAVE NOT. IN FACT, WE HAVE BEEN
IN TOUCH WITH THE RUSSIANS TWICE OVER THE LAST 24
HOURS. MOST RECENTLY, I UNDERSTAND, PRESIDENT YELTSIN
SENT A MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT CLINTON ON MINISTER
KOZYREV'S TRIP TO BELGRADE. WE BELIEVE THAT MINISTER
KOZYREV COMMUNICATED EFFECTIVELY TO THE BOSNIAN SERB
LEADERSHIP AND TO THE LEADERSHIP IN BELGRADE THAT THE
LONDON CONFERENCE MEANT WHAT IT SAID; THAT THE NATIONS
ASSEMBLED THERE HAVE DELIVERED AN ULTIMATUM TO THE
BOSNIAN SERB MILITARY LEADERSHIP, AND THAT IT SHOULD BE
HEEDED.

I'M NOT, OF COURSE, ATTEMPTING TO SAY THAT MINISTER
KOZYREV OR THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT AGREES ON EVERYTHING
IN THAT ULTIMATUM OR THAT THE RUSSIANS WANT TO ASSOCIATE
THEMSELVES WITH THE POSSIBILITY OF AIRSTRIKES. I THINK
THE

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RUSSIANS HAVE BEEN VERY CLEAR THEY DO NOT AGREE WITH
THAT, BUT WE BELIEVE THAT MINISTER KOZYREV DID
EFFECTIVELY REPRESENT THE MESSAGE THAT CAME OUT OF
LONDON, AND WE ARE THANKFUL TO HIM FOR THAT.

Q A FOLLOW-UP ON THE RUSSIANS. THERE'S A WIRE
STORY THAT MOVED JUST BEFORE THE BRIEFING THAT KOZYREV
GOT A PROMISE FROM THE BOSNIAN SERBS THAT THEY WOULD NOT
ATTACK GORAZDE. HAVE YOU GOTTEN THAT FROM THE RUSSIANS?

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MR. BURNS: I SAW THE SAME WIRE STORY. I DID NOT
HAVE THAT FROM THE BRIEFING THAT WE HAD. IF THAT IS
TRUE, IF IN EFFECT THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE AGREED NOT TO
ATTACK GORAZDE, THAT'S VERY GOOD NEWS. BUT WE DO HAVE
CONCERNS ABOUT THE OTHER ENCLAVES.

ONE OF THE SENTENCES THAT YOU SHOULD PAY PARTICULAR
ATTENTION TO IN WILLY CLAES' PRESS BRIEFING LAST EVENING
WAS A SENTENCE THAT ESSENTIALLY SAID THAT THE NATO
COUNTRIES HAD AGREED YESTERDAY THAT ONE OF THE THINGS
THAT THEY WOULD DO WOULD LOOK INTO PLANNING FOR POSSIBLE
OPERATIONS ON THE OTHER SAFE AREAS, INCLUDING BIHAC, AND
ESPECIALLY BIHAC; THAT HAVING TAKEN A DECISION NOW ONLY
ON GORAZDE, THAT NATO SHOULD BEGIN PLANNING FOR THE
POSSIBILITY OF OPERATIONS IN OTHER AREAS.

THAT WAS A VERY CLEAR DECISION THAT CAME OUT OF

NATO; AND, AS DICK HOLBROOKE SAID, WE WERE VERY
GRATIFIED TO SEE THAT BECAUSE WE HAVE BEEN PUSHING THAT
POINT ALL ALONG, INCLUDING BEFORE THE LONDON CONFERENCE,
THAT WE HAD TO BE CONCERNED WITH WHAT HAPPENED IN THE
OTHER ENCLAVES. BUT I DO WANT TO BE CLEAR THAT THE
DECISION YESTERDAY ONLY PERTAINED TO GORAZDE. SHOULD WE
ENTERTAIN OTHER POSSIBLE ACTIONS CONCERNING THE OTHER
ENCLAVES, WE'D HAVE TO GO BACK TO THE NAC -- THE NORTH
ATLANTIC COUNCIL IN BRUSSELS.

Q NICK, THE SECOND CONVERSATION BETWEEN
BOUTROS-GHALI AND WARREN CHRISTOPHER -- WHO INITIATED
THAT CALL?

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MR. BURNS: SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER INITIATED THAT
CALL.

Q SO HE INITIATED BOTH CALLS.

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MR. BURNS: THAT'S RIGHT. MORE ON BOSNIA? ANY MORE ON BOSNIA? TIM?

Q TWO THINGS. ONE, IS IT THE U.S. VIEW THAT IF BIHAC FALLS -- I MEAN, IT WAS OFTEN SAID THAT IF GORAZDE FALLS THAT WOULD BE THE END OF UNPROFOR. IS IT OUR VIEW THAT IF BIHAC FALLS, THAT COULD EASILY TRIGGER THE END OF UNPROFOR?

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MR. BURNS: TIM, WE'VE SAID CLEARLY AND PUBLICLY THAT IF GORAZDE FALLS -- NOT TO SPEAK OF BIHAC, BUT INCLUDING BIHAC -- IT WOULD LIKELY REPRESENT A DECISIVE BLOW AGAINST UNPROFOR. UNPROFOR HAS FAILED IN ITS MISSION TO PROTECT TWO ENCLAVES. THE DECISION TAKEN AT LONDON AND CONFIRMED BY THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL LAST NIGHT REPRESENTS THE DETERMINATION OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS PARTNERS TO TRY TO MAKE SURE THAT OTHER ENCLAVES DO NOT FALL. WE CAN'T SEE HOW THE UNITED NATIONS WOULD CONTINUE IF A NUMBER OF OTHERS -- INCLUDING GORAZDE WITH 60,000 PEOPLE, BIHAC WITH OVER 200,000 PEOPLE -- WOULD FALL. SO I THINK IT APPLIES TO BOTH, NOT JUST BIHAC.

Q JUST ONE OTHER THING ON THE ARMS EMBARGO.
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GIVEN THE REVISED STIPULATIONS IN THE LEGISLATION IN FRONT OF THE SENATE REGARDING U.N. WITHDRAWAL AND EXEMPTIONS THAT THE PRESIDENT CAN -- OR THE EXTENSIONS

THE PRESIDENT CAN TAKE. I MEAN, WHY DOES THE ARMS EMBARGO VOTE REALLY MATTER? I MEAN IT DOESN'T REALLY SEEM TO HAVE VERY MUCH PRACTICAL EFFECT. WHY IS IT SO IMPORTANT?

MR. BURNS: IT'S VERY IMPORTANT BECAUSE THE INTENT -- IF THE VOTE IS A MAJORITY VOTE FOR THE UNILATERAL LIFT, IT WOULD REPRESENT A VIEW BY AT LEAST ONE BRANCH OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT THAT WE OUGHT TO LEAVE THE AREA; THAT HAVING ENCOUNTERED A NUMBER OF VERY

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SERIOUS PROBLEMS, WE SHOULD JUST GIVE UP AND GO HOME.
WE THINK THAT THAT WOULD HAVE THE OPPOSITE EFFECT.

IT WOULD IN EFFECT AMERICANIZE THE WAR. IT WOULD
REQUIRE THE INTRODUCTION OF AT LEAST 25,000 AMERICAN
TROOPS, AND IT WOULD LEAVE OUR ALLIES WITHOUT THE
SUPPORT OF THE UNITED STATES. SO IT WOULD HAVE A
DECISIVE EFFECT, AND THAT'S WHY WE'RE ARGUING AGAINST IT
TODAY AS THE SENATE DEBATES THE BILL.

Q IT STIPULATES LIFT ONLY IF THE U.N. 12 WEEKS
AFTER EITHER THE BOSNIANS CALL FOR THE U.N. TO LEAVE OR
THE U.N. DOES LEAVE -- NO ONE REALLY IMAGINES, I DON'T
THINK, THAT ONCE THE U.N. LEAVES, THE ARMS EMBARGO WILL
STAY ON BOSNIA. SO I GUESS IT'S JUST NOT CLEAR TO ME
WHY THERE'S A PRACTICAL CONCERN. IT'S SYMBOLIC AND
IMPORTANT FOR THAT SENSE, BUT I DON'T REALLY SEE THAT IT
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WILL HAVE A PRACTICAL EFFECT ON IT.

MR. BURNS: THE PROBLEM WITH THAT FINELY CRAFTED
LANGUAGE IS THAT OUR ALLIES HAVE SAID THAT THAT
ESSENTIALLY DOESN'T MAKE A DIFFERENCE. OUR ALLIES WOULD
SEE IT AS ONE STEP TOWARDS THE UNITED STATES PULLING THE
RUG OUT FROM UNDERNEATH THEM, AND THEY HAVE ADVANCED
THAT MESSAGE TO US JUST IN THE LAST 24 HOURS, AS WELL AS
THE LAST COUPLE OF

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MONTHS, AS PEOPLE BEGAN TO SEE THIS AMENDMENT AS BEING A
POSSIBILITY.

DAVID.

Q DO YOU HAVE ANY SENSE FROM THE WHITE HOUSE AS
TO WHEN THE PRESIDENT WILL VETO THE LEGISLATION,
ASSUMING IT PASSES TODAY? IS HE GOING TO SEND IT RIGHT
BACK?

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MR. BURNS: I DON'T. I THINK THAT'S A QUESTION REALLY FOR THE WHITE HOUSE TO ANSWER, DAVID, BUT I THINK NOBODY SHOULD MISTAKE THE WILL OF THE PRESIDENT OR THE SECRETARY HERE. THE SECRETARY HAS BEEN IN TOUCH ONCE AGAIN THIS MORNING WITH THE SENATE LEADERSHIP TO MAKE THOSE VIEWS VERY, VERY CLEAR.

Q NEW SUBJECT?

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MR. BURNS: YES.

Q FILING BREAK --

MR. BURNS: YES. THERE WAS A CALL FOR A FILING BREAK.

Q ONE MORE --

MR. BURNS: ONE MORE QUESTION ON BOSNIA.

Q ISN'T THERE A DANGER THAT YOU'VE DRAWN THE WRONG LINE BY PUTTING ALL THIS ATTENTION ON GORAZDE -- NOW APPARENTLY GOTTEN A PROMISE FROM THE SERBS NOT TO ATTACK GORAZDE WHILE IN FACT THE CURRENT -- ACCORDING TO U.N. OBSERVERS, THE MOST HEAVY FIGHTING IN WELL OVER A YEAR IN ALL OF BOSNIA IS TAKING PLACE AROUND BIHAC NOW; 8,000 THOUSAND CIVILIANS ARE ON THE RUN; THE SERBS ARE IN THE POSITION TO CUT THE POCKET IN TWO.

SHOULDN'T BIHAC BE THE PLACE WHERE YOU'RE DRAWING THE LINE RATHER THAN GORAZDE?

MR. BURNS: LET'S REMEMBER WHY THE LONDON CONFERENCE WAS CALLED. IT WAS CALLED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT BECAUSE THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT SAW AFTER THE FALL OF SREBRENICA AND THE LIKELY FALL OF ZEPA THAT THE NEXT TARGET OF MLADIC WAS GOING TO BE GORAZDE IN EASTERN BOSNIA, TO EFFECTIVELY CUT OFF ALL OF EASTERN BOSNIA FROM BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT CONTROL AND TO WIPE IT OUT.

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THAT WAS THE REASON WHY THE LONDON CONFERENCE WAS CALLED. THAT WAS THE DECISION THAT HAD TO BE MADE BY THE CONFEREES AT LONDON, BUT I WOULD JUST POINT YOU TO THE

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STATEMENT LAST NIGHT BY THE NATO SECRETARY GENERAL, IN WHICH HE SPECIFICALLY SAID THAT THEY HAD TALKED ABOUT BIHAC YESTERDAY FOR ALL THE REASONS THAT YOU CITED: THAT THE FIGHTING IS THE MOST CRITICAL THERE; IT'S CERTAINLY THE LARGEST OFFENSIVE THAT WE'VE SEEN IN THE LAST YEAR, AND THAT NATO COUNTRIES UNANIMOUSLY AGREED YESTERDAY THAT WE OUGHT TO BEGIN PLANNING FOR A CONTINGENCY OPERATION, SHOULD THAT BECOME NECESSARY.

IT WOULD NOT BE AUTOMATIC. IT WOULD MEAN WE'D HAVE TO GO BACK TO A NAC. I WANT TO BE CLEAR ABOUT THAT. BUT FOR THE REASONS YOU'VE CITED, BIHAC WAS DISCUSSED BOTH IN LONDON BUT MOST PARTICULARLY YESTERDAY IN BRUSSELS, AND I WOULDN'T TAKE ISSUE WITH ANYTHING YOU'VE SAID. THE SITUATION IN BIHAC IS CRITICALLY IMPORTANT. IT IS BY ALL ACCOUNTS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT POINTS FOR THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT IN A MILITARY SENSE AS WELL.

Q CAN I FOLLOW ON THAT?

MR. BURNS: YES.

Q I MEAN, HOW QUICKLY WILL THIS HAPPEN? I MEAN,
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SREBRENICA FELL BECAUSE EVERYONE GOT EXCITED ABOUT IT ONCE IT WAS ALMOST TOO LATE. ARE WE CALLING A NAC MEETING ON BIHAC? ARE WE CALLING FOR A WASHINGTON CONFERENCE TO IMPLEMENT THIS? HOW FAST DO YOU EXPECT NATO TO AGREE ON THIS?

MR. BURNS: THERE'S A SYSTEM OF COORDINATION -- WE LIKE TO CALL IT MILITARY COORDINATION; YOU MIGHT CALL IT DUAL-KEY -- IN PLACE THAT WOULD REQUIRE THE U.N. COMMANDERS ON THE GROUND TO GIVE NATO A SENSE OF WHEN THEY WANT TO REQUEST NATO AIR POWER.

THAT WAS DONE IN THE CASE OF SREBRENICA. BECAUSE OF THE BYZANTINE, LABYRINTHINE DUAL-KEY SYSTEM THAT WAS IN PLACE, THE REQUEST FINALLY WAS -- THE KEY WAS TURNED BY THE UNITED NATIONS AT THE VERY LAST MOMENT, WHICH MADE THE NATO JETS OPERATIONS ALMOST USELESS AT THE LAST MOMENT.

IF THE U.N. COMMANDERS IN BIHAC REQUEST NATO AIR POWER, NATO THROUGH THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL CAN MEET OVERNIGHT, THEY CAN MEET WITHIN HALF AN HOUR TO DISCUSS THE SITUATION. BUT WE DO NEED TO HAVE A REQUEST FROM THE U.N. PEOPLE IN BIHAC.

RIGHT NOW THERE IS SIGNIFICANT INVOLVEMENT OF THE CROATIAN ARMY IN THE FIGHTING, WHICH MANY OBSERVERS BELIEVE WILL MAKE A DECISIVE DIFFERENCE. IT IS ALSO VERY CHAOTIC FIGHTING, SO WE DO NOT YET HAVE A REQUEST OF NATO FROM THE UNITED NATIONS.

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Q YOU DIDN'T IN GORAZDE, TO DRAW A LINE AROUND GORAZDE. WHY WASN'T THAT?

MR. BURNS: WE CERTAINLY DID. WE CERTAINLY HAD A REQUEST TO SEE IF NATO COULD MAKE A DIFFERENCE. THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT SUGGESTED THAT THE ANSWER WAS TO REINFORCE THE GARRISON IN GORAZDE THROUGH AN ADDITIONAL

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CONTINGENT OF FRENCH TROOPS. THE UNITED STATES SUGGESTED A DEPLOYMENT OF AIR POWER, WHICH WAS THE DECISION THAT WAS FINALLY TAKEN. SO WE CERTAINLY HAD A NUMBER OF MAJOR TROOP-CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES COME FORWARD AND SAY, "WE NEED NOW TO ENGAGE NATO IN GORAZDE, BECAUSE IT'S THE LIKELY NEXT TARGET IN EASTERN BOSNIA."

I'M JUST SAYING THAT WE FORMALLY HAVE NOT HAD ANY REQUEST FROM THE UNITED NATIONS, AS FAR AS I'M AWARE FOR THAT KIND OF NATO DECISION IN BIHAC. IT'S POSSIBLE THAT WE MIGHT IN THE FUTURE, AND IF WE DO, WE WILL CONSIDER IT. IF YOU LOOK AT THE LANGUAGE AND THE WAY IT IS WRITTEN, IT'S FAIRLY STRONG LANGUAGE THAT NATO SHOULD BEGIN NOW TO PLAN FOR THAT CONTINGENCY. WE CAN'T ALLOW OURSELVES TO DROP THE SUBJECT AND NOT PLAN FOR A CONTINGENCY THAT MAY BECOME REALITY, NOT JUST IN BIHAC BUT IN ANY OF THE REMAINING ENCLAVES.

Q TWO DISTINGUISHED PERSONS IN ISRAEL FIND THEMSELVES IN THE MIDDLE OF A POLITICAL DEBATE. ONE IS YOUR MAN IN TEL AVIV, MARTIN INDYK, WHO, ACCORDING TO A FEW PRESS REPORTS, WAS ADVOCATING A FEW PARLIAMENT
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MEMBERS ABOUT THE DETRIMENTAL EFFECTS OF PASSING THE GOLAN BILL, WHICH FAILED IN THE MEANTIME. THE OTHER ONE IS PRESIDENT WEIZMAN WHO IS CALLING FOR A REASSESSMENT OF THE PEACE PROCESS NOW, AFTER THE TERRORIST ATTACK IN TEL AVIV. WOULD YOU CARE TO COMMENT ON BOTH ISSUES?

MR. BURNS: WHAT IS THE QUESTION SPECIFICALLY ON AMBASSADOR INDYK?

Q ACCORDING TO A FEW PRESS REPORTS, AMBASSADOR INDYK ADVISED A FEW MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITION THAT PASSING THE GOLAN HEIGHTS BILL, EVEN IN THE FIRST ROUND, WILL HAVE DETRIMENTAL EFFECTS ON THE PEACE PROCESS BECAUSE IT WILL NOT BE UNDERSTOOD CORRECTLY IN DAMASCUS.

MR. BURNS: I WILL SIMPLY TELL YOU THAT I'M NOT AWARE THAT AMBASSADOR INDYK WAS ENGAGED TODAY IN ANYTHING OTHER THAN LOBBYING FOR SOME ECONOMIC ISSUES

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WHEN HE WAS UP AT THE KNESSET THIS MORNING. I DON'T BELIEVE THAT HE LOBBIED IN ANY WAY ON THE BILL THAT WAS DEBATED THIS MORNING IN THE KNESSET ON THE GOLAN OR YESTERDAY.

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Q (INAUDIBLE)

MR. BURNS: NO, I DO HAVE. WE'VE HAD SOME COMMUNICATIONS FROM OUR EMBASSY, AND I THINK THAT'S A FAIRLY CLEAR RESPONSE I CAN GIVE YOU ON THAT. HE DID NOTHING INAPPROPRIATE. EVERYTHING HE DID WAS CONSISTENT
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WITH HIS ROLE AS AMBASSADOR. HE'S DOING AN EXCELLENT JOB.

Q WHAT ABOUT PRESIDENT WEIZMAN'S REASSESSMENT OF THE PEACE PROCESS NOW?

MR. BURNS: I THINK YOU KNOW THE VIEWS OF THE UNITED STATES. THE PEACE PROCESS IS CRITICAL TO THE FUTURE OF THE ISRAELI PEOPLE, AS IT IS TO THE ARABS IN ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST. WE STAND BEHIND IT. WE'RE AN ACTIVE PARTICIPANT IN IT. WE HAVEN'T GIVEN UP. WE THINK IT SHOULD GO FORWARD. WE AGREE VERY MUCH WITH THE COMMENTS BY PRIME MINISTER RABIN AND BY CHAIRMAN ARAFAT THAT THE ISRAELI, PALESTINIAN TALKS WILL GO FORWARD. WE THINK THAT'S POSITIVE.

Q NICK, STILL ON MARTIN INDYK. IN THE CABLES OF MARTIN'S VISITS TO THE KNESSET, DID IT REFER TO HIS MEETINGS WITH MEMBERS OF THE SHAS PARTY?

MR. BURNS: IT DID NOT, NO. HE'S A VERY ACTIVE AMBASSADOR. HE SEES PEOPLE, AS YOU WOULD EXPECT FOR THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN ISRAEL, AND HE HAS MANY, MANY MEETINGS AND PHONE CONTACTS EVERY DAY. I CAN'T POSSIBLY SPEAK AS TO WHAT HE'S DOING FROM ONE MINUTE TO THE NEXT.

BUT I DO KNOW, IN ANSWER TO THE FIRST QUESTION,

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EXACTLY WHAT THE STORY WAS.

ONE MORE TO FOLLOW UP ON THIS, AND THEN, JUDD, WE'LL GO TO YOU.

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Q WHEN YOU CAN GIVE US AN UPDATE? I UNDERSTAND THAT YESTERDAY THERE WAS A MEETING BETWEEN AMBASSADOR ROSS AND MOUALEM, THE SYRIAN AMBASSADOR. MAYBE YOU CAN GIVE US SOME DETAILS ON IT.

MR. BURNS: AS YOU KNOW, OUR PRACTICE HAS BEEN TO SAY VERY LITTLE IN PUBLIC ABOUT AMBASSADOR ROSS' ACTIVITIES, BECAUSE WE THINK HE CAN BE MOST EFFECTIVE BY OPERATING BEHIND THE SCENES. SO I'M NOT IN A POSITION TO GIVE YOU A READOUT, UNFORTUNATELY, ON HIS MEETING IF IT DID TAKE PLACE.

Q IN PRIVATE. (LAUGHTER)

MR. BURNS: BUT WE'RE NOT SPEAKING PRIVATELY. THIS IS A PUBLIC FORUM.

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Q HOW ABOUT A TIME FOR THE AMBASSADORS -- THE SYRIAN AND ISRAELI AMBASSADORS TO MEET AGAIN?

MR. BURNS: YES. THAT'S A VERY IMPORTANT COMMITMENT THAT WAS MADE, AND WE ARE STILL TRYING TO WORK OUT THE DATES FOR THOSE MEETINGS.

Q WHICH MEETINGS?

MR. BURNS: THE QUESTION WAS ON THE AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL MEETINGS BETWEEN SYRIA AND ISRAEL HERE IN THE

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UNITED STATES.

Q DO YOU HAVE TIME TO WORK OUT A MEETING BETWEEN
THE TWO AMBASSADORS?

MR. BURNS: AS YOU REMEMBER, WHEN SECRETARY
CHRISTOPHER LEFT DAMASCUS ON HIS LAST TRIP, HE ANNOUNCED
A SERIES OF STEPS ON THE SYRIA-ISRAEL PEACE NEGOTIATIONS
THAT WOULD ESSENTIALLY BE THE AGENDA FOR THE TALKS THIS
SUMMER. THEY INCLUDED THE CHIEF OF STAFF MILITARY TALKS

THAT TOOK PLACE HERE IN WASHINGTON AND WE THINK QUITE
SUCCESSFULLY; A DENNIS ROSS TRIP TO THE REGION, WHICH
TOOK PLACE; AND SLIGHTLY LOWER LEVEL
MILITARY-TO-MILITARY TALKS. WE'RE TRYING TO ESTABLISH
DATES FOR THOSE PARTICULAR MEETINGS.

Q MADAME CHIANG KAI-SHEK WHO, ASTOUNDINGLY ENOUGH
TO ME IS STILL ALIVE, IS BEING FETED ON CAPITOL HILL.
IS THERE SOME CONCERN IN THE ADMINISTRATION THAT THIS
MIGHT FURTHER COMPLICATE CHINESE-U.S. RELATIONS?

MR. BURNS: WHAT HAPPENS ON CAPITOL HILL IS NOT
WITHIN THE DOMAIN OR THE PURVIEW OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH
OF THE GOVERNMENT. LEGISLATORS ARE FREE TO SEE PEOPLE,
SPEAK TO PEOPLE, TALK ABOUT ISSUES AS THEY DEEM
APPROPRIATE. IT'S CERTAINLY NOT OUR POSITION TO SUGGEST
TO THEM WITH WHOM THEY SHOULD MEET.

I WOULD SIMPLY NOTE THAT THERE WILL NOT BE ANY U.S.
GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS FROM THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH IN THE
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CLINTON ADMINISTRATION PRESENT AT THOSE PARTICULAR
EVENTS. WE HAVE SENT REPEATEDLY OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF
WEEKS AND MONTHS A VERY CLEAR SIGNAL ABOUT UNITED STATES
POLICY TOWARDS CHINA AND ABOUT OUR VIEWS ON THE BASIS

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FOR THAT POLICY, AND OUR POLICY HAS NOT CHANGED IN ANY WAY. THE SECRETARY IS LOOKING FORWARD VERY MUCH TO HIS MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER QIAN A WEEK FROM TOMORROW IN BRUNEI.

Q CAN I FOLLOW?

MR. BURNS: YES.

Q WERE ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS INVITED?

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MR. BURNS: I DON'T KNOW IF THEY WERE INVITED. I DON'T KNOW THE ANSWER TO THAT, BUT I KNOW THAT NO ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS WILL BE PRESENT AT THOSE MEETINGS.

Q NICK, DO YOU THINK IT -- DOESN'T THE ADMINISTRATION THINK IT'S APPROPRIATE THAT A BRAVE INDIVIDUAL, HISTORICAL INDIVIDUAL LIKE THIS RECEIVES THE SORT OF RECEPTION THAT SHE IS GETTING ON CAPITOL HILL?

MR. BURNS: IT'S REALLY NOT FOR US TO COMMENT ON RECEPTIONS ON CAPITOL HILL. IT'S UP TO THE CONGRESS TO DECIDE WHAT RECEPTIONS IT WANTS TO HAVE. WE ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR CONDUCTING OUR FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS
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THE LARGEST POPULATION IN THE WORLD: THE GOVERNMENT OF CHINA. WE ARE SEEKING BETTER RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF CHINA. WE ARE SEEKING A CLARIFICATION OF SOME OF THE DIFFICULTIES AND MISUNDERSTANDINGS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THAT RELATIONSHIP. WE'RE GOING TO CONCENTRATE ON THAT ASPECT OF OUR POLICY AND ALLOW TO OTHERS RECEPTIONS.

Q NICK, DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ABOUT WHAT THE SECRETARY PLANS TO SAY TO THE CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER? WE HAVE THE DIALOGUE, OR AT LEAST WE HAVE A CHANCE TO OPEN THE DIALOGUE. I MEAN, WHAT POINTS DOES HE WANT TO MAKE?

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MR. BURNS: I THINK YOU'LL SEE IF YOU -- I HOPE ALL OF YOU CAN COME OR LISTEN TO THE SECRETARY' SPEECH ON FRIDAY AT THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB. THIS WILL BE A MAJOR POLICY ADDRESS ON OUR POLICY TOWARDS ASIA. BUT WE'LL EMPHASIZE IN SOME RESPECTS OUR POLICY TOWARDS CHINA.

I THINK IN GENERAL, WITHOUT WANTING TO PREVIEW IT TOO MUCH, THE SECRETARY BELIEVES THAT U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS ARE AMONG THE MOST IMPORTANT THAT WE HAVE ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD FOR THE FUTURE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, THAT WE NEED TO HAVE A STRONG RELATIONSHIP. WE NEED TO BE ABLE TO WORK OUT PROBLEMS, AND THAT WE STAND READY TO DO JUST THAT -- TO HAVE MEETINGS TO WORK OUT PROBLEMS AND TO ADVANCE THIS RELATIONSHIP IN ALL RESPECTS IN THE FUTURE.

Q ON ANOTHER HIGH-LEVEL MEETING TO BE HELD NEXT
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WEEK, DID SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AND JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER KONO IN THEIR TELEPHONE CALL THIS MORNING FLESH OUT WHAT THEY PLAN FOR THEIR MEETING NEXT WEEK?

MR. BURNS: YES. THE SECRETARY SPOKE BRIEFLY WITH THE JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER THIS MORNING. THE SECRETARY WANTED TO PERSONALLY REITERATE THE CONDOLENCES THAT HE HAD SENT LAST WEEK IN HIS LETTER REGARDING THE DEATH OF THE WIFE OF FOREIGN MINISTER KONO. THE SECRETARY ALSO SPOKE BRIEFLY

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TO THE MINISTER THIS MORNING ABOUT OUR MUTUAL PLEASURE THAT THE CIVIL AVIATION TALKS HAD BEEN RESOLVED SUCCESSFULLY.

THE SECRETARY IS LOOKING FORWARD TO HIS MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER KONO. THEY HAVE A VERY GOOD RELATIONSHIP. THEY GET ALONG QUITE WELL, AND THEY WORK TOGETHER VERY PRODUCTIVELY. THEY'LL BE MEETING IN BRUNEI, AND THE SECRETARY SAID THAT HE'S LOOKING FORWARD

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TO THAT. THERE ARE A LOT OF ISSUES THAT THE U.S. AND JAPAN NEED TO DISCUSS, AND WE INTEND TO HAVE A GOOD MEETING NEXT WEEK.

Q NICK, REGARDING THE BOMBING AT THE ST. MICHEL METRO STATION, THERE ARE STORIES IN FRANCE THAT THE SOURCE OF THE BOMBING WAS EITHER ISLAMIST OR SERB. ONE OFFICIAL, FRENCH OFFICIAL, COMMENTED THAT IT'S LEANING IN THE DIRECTION OF THE SERBS. NOW, WHAT DO WE KNOW
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ABOUT THE SERB TERRORIST CAPABILITIES? THERE WERE THINGS GOING ON LAST YEAR IN BUDAPEST, A TRAIN BOMBING; SOME INCIDENTS IN AUSTRIA WHICH SEEM TO HAVE BEEN LINKED TO SERB NETWORKS. WHAT DO YOU KNOW ABOUT IT, AND PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO ST. MICHEL?

MR. BURNS: LET ME JUST SAY THAT WE DEPLORE THE VIOLENCE, WE DEPLORE THE TERRORIST ATTACK YESTERDAY IN PARIS. WE CERTAINLY SEND OUR CONDOLENCES TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE AND THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT. BECAUSE OF THE FACT THAT I BELIEVE, NOW, FIVE PEOPLE HAVE DIED AND 81 HAVE BEEN INJURED, IT WAS A HORRIFIC INCIDENT.

IN OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT, WE HAVE NOT BEEN GIVEN ANY INDICATION OF WHO MAY HAVE BEEN RESPONSIBLE, AND I THINK THAT THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT HAS INDICATED THIS MORNING THAT NO GROUP HAS CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE BLAST.

WE'LL HAVE TO WAIT AND SEE WHAT EMERGES ON THAT ISSUE IN THE COMING DAYS.

Q DO YOU HAVE ANY INDICATION OF OTHER INCIDENTS IN WHICH THE SERBS WERE INVOLVED IN EUROPE OR IN THE UNITED STATES? DO THEY HAVE A CAPABILITY --

MR. BURNS: I DON'T, OFF THE TOP OF MY HEAD. I DON'T HAVE ANY INFORMATION FOR YOU ON THAT.

Q DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT ON THE RESULT OF THE

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VOTE ON THE BILL ON THE GOLAN?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T. THAT'S AN INTERNAL MATTER FOR THE ISRAELI PEOPLE AND THE ISRAELI LEGISLATORS TO WORK OUT IN THE KNESSET. WE ARE CERTAINLY PLEASED THAT THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAVE GIVEN SUCH IMPORTANT EMPHASIS TO CONTINUING THE PEACE PROCESS, BOTH WITH SYRIA

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AND WITH THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY. WE FULLY SUPPORT THE EFFORTS OF THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT TO SEE THOSE TWO PROCESSES THROUGH TO THE END AND TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION THAT WILL BENEFIT EACH AND EVERY CITIZEN OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

WE FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT. THAT'S WHY WE ARE ENGAGED IN THIS. WE HAVE A GREAT AND SIGNIFICANT NATIONAL INTEREST IN OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH ISRAEL. WE WANT TO SEE THE PEACE PROCESS CONCLUDED IN ALL OF ITS DIMENSIONS SO THAT THE ISRAELI PEOPLE, THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, THE SYRIAN PEOPLE AND OTHERS CAN BENEFIT FROM IT.

Q (INAUDIBLE) POSITION, HOW DO YOU EXPLAIN BASICALLY THE ACTIVITY OF THE AMBASSADOR IN THE KNESSET?

MR. BURNS: I JUST TOLD YOU THAT THE AMBASSADOR, AMBASSADOR INDYK, ENGAGES IN NORMAL DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITIES. HE DOES NOT ENGAGE IN ACTIVITIES BEYOND THOSE THAT I HAVE DESCRIBED. I DON'T BELIEVE THERE IS

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ANYTHING ABNORMAL OR UNUSUAL ABOUT HIS ACTIVITIES, NONE
WHATSOEVER.

Q BUT HE WAS TALKING ABOUT THE VOTE. HE WAS
TALKING WITH MEMBERS OF THE KNESSET ABOUT THE VOTE, AND
THEN YOU'VE JUST SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES DOESN'T GET
INVOLVED IN A DOMESTIC MATTER LIKE THAT.

MR. BURNS: NO. I BELIEVE THAT IN MY ORIGINAL
ANSWER A COUPLE OF MINUTES AGO I SAID THAT, AS I
UNDERSTAND IT, AMBASSADOR INDYK WAS UP AT THE KNESSET TO
TALK ABOUT ECONOMIC ISSUES.

Q IT WAS YESTERDAY?

MR. BURNS: I'M SORRY. I'M JUST SORRY TO DISAGREE

WITH -- AND PLEASE, LET'S NOT MISUNDERSTAND THIS, THAT
HE WAS ENGAGED IN DISCUSSIONS, AS I UNDERSTAND IT, ON
ECONOMIC ISSUES, NOT ON THIS. AND, AGAIN, I CAN'T GET
INTO TRACKING HIS MOVEMENTS MINUTE-BY-MINUTE FOR YOU.
BUT I CAN TELL YOU THAT EVERYTHING THAT HE HAS DONE
SINCE HIS ARRIVAL IN ISRAEL HAS BEEN --

Q (INAUDIBLE)

MR. BURNS: -- HAS BEEN CERTAINLY, AND CAN BE
CERTAINLY DESCRIBED AS NORMAL DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITIES.

OKAY. I THINK I WOULD LIKE TO END SO WE CAN ALL GET
TO THE SECRETARY.

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END TEXT. CHRISTOPHER

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 13 MAR 2009 200705105

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INFORM CONSULS-PASS PAOS-MILITARY ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OPRC, XF

SUBJECT: NEA PRESS GUIDANCE - 07/27/95

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM PLEASE PASS TO E. LAIPSON AND
D. SATTERFIELD,
LONDON FOR M. TUELLER, PARIS FOR K. ALLEGRONE,
WARSAW PASS PPP BAGHDAD

THE FOLLOWING GUIDANCE IS PROVIDED FOR POST'S INFORMATION:

IRAQ: BRIDGING KURDISH DIFFERENCES IN NORTHERN IRAQ
PEACE PROCESS: ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN TRACK
PAKISTAN - NUCLEAR HELP TO IRAN, U.S. ARMS SALES
TERRORISM: MUSA ABU MARZUK
BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: POLICY POINTS
BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: SITUATION REPORT
BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: USE OF GAS IN ZEPA

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA/CROATIA: CONTACT GROUP MEETING
BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: NAC DECISION ON BOSNIA
130SNIA-HERZEGOVINA: BACKGROUND ON AIR CAMPAIGN PHASES AND
APPROVAL AUTHORITY

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IRAQ: BRIDGING KURDISH DIFFERENCES IN NORTHERN IRAQ

Q: HAVE BOTH KURDISH FACTIONS IN IRAQ ACCEPTED THE U.S.
EFFORT TO HELP BRIDGE THEIR DIFFERENCES?

A: --THE PUK AND THE KDP HAVE BOTH INFORMED US THAT THEY
ACCEPT OUR OFFER TO MEET AND ATTEMPT TO WORK OUT THEIR
DIFFERENCES. WE ARE EVALUATING THEIR RESPONSES.

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--WE ARE WATCHING CLOSELY THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND TO MAKE SURE THE TWO PARTIES LIVE UP TO THEIR COMMITMENT TO CEASE FIGHTING BEFORE ANY TALKS TAKE PLACE.

--US DIPLOMATS WILL PARTICIPATE IN THESE MEETINGS.

--OUR NORMAL CONTACT IS AT THE OFFICE DIRECTOR LEVEL.

PEACE PROCESS: ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN TRACK

Q. WHAT IS THE STATUS OF THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN PEACE PROCESS TALKS?

A.-- ISRAELI FM PERES HAS ANNOUNCED THAT REPRESENTATIVES OF BOTH SIDES WILL MEET IN ISRAEL THIS WEEK AND THAT FULL NEGOTIATIONS WILL RESUME NEXT WEEK. THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITIES HAVE ALSO PUBLICLY STATED THAT THE TALKS WILL RESUME NEXT WEEK.

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PAKISTAN - NUCLEAR HELP TO IRAN, U.S. ARMS SALES

Q: JIM HOAGLAND REITERATED TODAY IN THE WASHINGTON POST THAT PAKISTAN HAS HELPED IRAN'S NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROGRAM. IS THIS TRUE?

A: WE BELIEVE THAT PAKISTAN HAS NO INTEREST IN SEEING IRAN ACQUIRE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND WE ARE UNAWARE OF PAKISTANI ASSISTANCE TO IRAN'S NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROGRAM.

Q: DO WE KNOW IF PAKISTAN GAVE NUCLEAR ASSISTANCE TO IRAN PRIOR TO THE CURRENT BHUTTO GOVERNMENT COMING TO POWER?

A: (IF PRESSED: WE HAVE SEEN REPORTS THAT THE FORMER CHIEF OF PAKISTAN'S ARMY STAFF, GENERAL BEG, MAY HAVE BEEN INTERESTED IN NUCLEAR COOPERATION WITH IRAN IN THE PAST.

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WE ARE UNAWARE OF ANY OFFICIAL COOPERATION HAVING TAKEN PLACE, ALTHOUGH WE OBVIOUSLY CANNOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF UNAUTHORIZED CONTACTS.)

Q: HOAGLAND ALSO ACCUSES THE DEPARTMENT OF ATTEMPTING TO OVERTURN PRESSLER SANCTIONS BLOCKING ARMS SALES TO PAKISTAN IN ORDER TO BOLSTER THE BENEZIR BHUTTO GOVERNMENT. IS THIS TRUE?

A: OUR EFFORTS ARE AIMED AT PROMOTING U.S. VITAL INTERESTS IN PAKISTAN AND THE REGION, INCLUDING OUR
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NONPROLIFERATION OBJECTIVES, NOT AT BOLSTERING ANY PARTICULAR GOVERNMENT IN PAKISTAN.

THE LONGSTANDING PROBLEM OVER MILITARY EQUIPMENT, INCLUDING F-16S, WHICH PAKISTAN PURCHASED BUT COULD NOT OBTAIN BECAUSE OF PRESSLER SANCTIONS, HAS MADE IT INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT TO MAKE PROGRESS TOWARD THESE GOALS.

WE ARE SEEKING TO RESOLVE THIS PROBLEM BY SELLING THE F-16S TO A THIRD PARTY AND RELEASING THE REMAINING, LESS CONTROVERSIAL EQUIPMENT TO PAKISTAN.

THAT EQUIPMENT IS NON-STRATEGIC AND WILL NOT UPSET THE MILITARY BALANCE IN THE REGION.

THE EQUIPMENT INCLUDES THREE P-3 ORION NAVAL PATROL AIRCRAFT, HARPOON ANTI-SHIP MISSILES, TOWED HOWITZERS, AIM-9 ANTI-AIRCRAFT MISSILES, RADAR EQUIPMENT, AND PARTS FOR F-16 AIRCRAFT AND COBRA HELICOPTERS ALREADY IN PAKISTAN'S INVENTORY.

WE ARE NOT SEEKING TO RESUME AN ARMS SUPPLY RELATIONSHIP WITH PAKISTAN.

TERRORISM: MUSA ABU MARZUK

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Q: DID THE U.S. ARREST A SUSPECTED TERRORIST YESTERDAY AT
JFK AIRPORT?

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A: -- THE INS DETAINED MUSA ABU MARZUK TUESDAY AT JFK
INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT IN NEW YORK.

-- MARZUK'S IMMIGRATION STATUS IS CURRENTLY BEING
REVIEWED. I WOULD REFER FURTHER QUESTIONS TO THE INS.

NOTE FOR BRIEFER:

TWO DS AGENTS FROM THE NEW YORK FIELD OFFICE HAVE BEEN
WORKING CLOSELY WITH THE INS AND FBI IN THIS CASE.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: POLICY POINTS

--WE BELIEVE UNPROFOR HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED AS A RESULT OF
THE LONDON MEETING, NATO'S MEETING IN BRUSSELS AND THE UN
SECRETARY GENERAL'S DUAL KEY DECISION.

--NATO'S NEW COMMAND AND CONTROL ARRANGEMENTS AND
DEPLOYMENT OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE TO SECURE ROUTES
INTO SARAJEVO DEMONSTRATES OUR DETERMINATION TO BOLSTER UN
MANDATES.

--THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL'S DELEGATION OF DECISION-MAKING
AUTHORITY TO MILITARY COMMANDERS STREAMLINES THE
PROCESS. WE ARE NOW WORKING TO EXPAND DECISIONS ON
GORAZDE (GOR-AHZ-DAY) TO OTHER SAFE AREAS.

--CONGRESS SENT A MESSAGE TO THE ADMINISTRATION AND THOSE
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INVOLVED IN BOSNIA THAT IT IS TIME TO TAKE STRONGER
ACTION. THAT IS NOW BEING DONE (NAC AND DUAL KEY).

--US CANNOT AFFORD TO UNILATERALLY DISREGARD UN
RESOLUTIONS AND MANDATES.

--WE ARE DISAPPOINTED THAT THE SENATE HAS VOTED TO HAVE
THE U.S. BREAK THE ARMS EMBARGO UNILATERALLY. THE BILL
WOULD SERIOUSLY UNDERMINE OUR NEW EFFORTS IN BOSNIA BY
SPARKING THE WITHDRAWAL OF OUR ALLIES AND LEADING TO EVEN
GREATER HUMANITARIAN DISASTER. EVEN IF IT PASSES IN THE
HOUSE, THE PRESIDENT REMAINS FIRMLY OPPOSED.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: SITUATION REPORT

BIHAC:

--THE SERB ASSAULT ON BIHAC IS EXTREMELY SERIOUS, AND
THREATENS TO DRAW CROATIA INTO THE WAR TO PROTECT THE
ENCLAVE.

--WE HOPE THE CONFLICT CAN BE CONTAINED TO BOSNIA.
CROATIAN MILITARY ASSISTANCE COMES AT THE REQUEST OF THE
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--THE UN REPORTS THAT THE JOINT SERB OFFENSIVE HAS OVERRUN
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IN THE PAST WEEK, CAUSING 8,000 BOSNIANS TO FLEE THEIR
HOMES.

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KILLED AND 180 WOUNDED IN THE PAST FEW DAYS OF FIGHTING.

GORAZDE:

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--THERE ARE NO REPORTS OF ACTIVITY IN GORAZDE, NOW THE
SOLE REMAINING GOVERNMENT-HELD ENCLAVE IN EASTERN BOSNIA.

--IN RESPONSE TO THE THREAT OF NATO AIR STRIKES, BOSNIAN
SERB LEADERS HAVE SAID THEY HAVE NO PLANS TO ATTACK THE
ENCLAVE IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

SARAJEVO:

--THE BOSNIAN SERBS CONTINUE TO SHELL THE BOSNIAN CAPITAL
OF SARAJEVO, WHERE THE BOSNIAN HEALTH MINISTRY REPORTED
TWO PEOPLE WERE KILLED AND 13 WOUNDED IN ATTACKS YESTERDAY.

SREBRENICA:

--THERE ARE STILL THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE FROM THE FALLEN
ENCLAVE WHO REMAIN UNACCOUNTED FOR.

--DESPITE THE BOSNIAN SERBS' PLEDGE TO ALLOW ICRC ACCESS
TO THE DETAINEES AT BRATUNAC (BRAH-TOO-NATZ), THE BOSNIAN
SERBS HAVE NOT YET PERMITTED ANY AID WORKERS TO VISIT THE
MEN AND BOYS.

TUZLA:

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PAGE 09 STATE 180066 272325Z
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PERSONS REMAIN IN THE TUZLA AREA, WITH ROUGHLY 6,800
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ZEPA

--ALTHOUGH THERE ARE STILL POCKETS OF RESISTANCE IN ZEPA
(ZEH-PAH), UNHCR REPORTS THAT MOST OF THE ENCLAVE HAS
FALLEN INTO BOSNIAN SERB HANDS.

--A CONVOY CARRYING 1,000 BOSNIANS LEFT ZEPA WEDNESDAY
EVENING AND WAS EXPECTED TO ARRIVE EARLY THIS MORNING NEAR
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-UN OFFICIALS HAVE SO FAR HEARD NO REPORTS OF ATROCITIES.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: USE OF GAS IN ZEPA

Q: DID THE BOSNIAN SERBS USE CHEMICAL WEAPONS IN THEIR
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ASSAULT ON ZEPA?

A: --WE HAVE SEEN THE PRESS ACCOUNTS ABOUT THE USE OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS ON THE DEFENDERS OF ZEPA.

--AS WITH PAST SUCH REPORTS, WE HAVE NO CONFIRMATION OF CHEMICAL WARFARE IN ZEPA OR ELSEWHERE IN BOSNIA.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA/CROATIA: CONTACT GROUP MEETING

--THE CONTACT GROUP MET YESTERDAY IN LONDON TO DISCUSS THE CURRENT SITUATION AND EVALUATE FUTURE DIPLOMATIC STEPS.

--IT REVIEWED THE NEGOTIATIONS OF EU ENVOY CARL BILDT WITH THE SERBIAN AND BOSNIAN GOVERNMENTS CONCERNING MUTUAL RECOGNITION AND POSSIBLE SANCTIONS RELIEF.

--AMBASSADOR FRASURE, OUR CONTACT GROUP REPRESENTATIVE IS RETURNING TO WASHINGTON THIS AFTERNOON AND WILL BRIEF US FULLY.

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--WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT RECOGNITION OF BOSNIA WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT.

--HOWEVER, IN ORDER FOR THIS RECOGNITION TO HAVE REAL MEANING, ADDITIONAL STEPS NEED TO BE TAKEN TO STABILIZE THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND AND SEAL THE BORDER BETWEEN BOSNIA AND SERBIA.

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--THE CONTACT GROUP IS CONTINUING THEIR DIALOGUE ON THE MENTIONED POINTS.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: NAC DECISION ON BOSNIA

Q: DO THE NATO DECISIONS OF YESTERDAY APPLY TO THE OTHER SAFE AREAS?

A: THE NAC DECISION DEALT SPECIFICALLY WITH GORAZDE, BUT SOME ASPECTS OF THE PLANNING CAN BE APPLIED TO THE OTHER SAFE AREAS. THAT IS OUR INTENT, AND OUR DESIRE.

NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES HAVE BEEN FOLLOWING CLOSELY DEVELOPMENTS IN THE OTHER SAFE AREAS, AND ARE FORMULATING PROPOSALS ON PROTECTING THE OTHER SAFE AREAS, PARTICULARLY THE AREA AROUND BIHAC.

Q: HOW DOES THE DUAL KEY AUTHORITY NOW WORK? SPECIFICALLY, DOES BBG'S DELEGATION OF AUTHORITY APPLY TO ALL PLANNED PHASES OF THE AIR CAMPAIGN?

A: THE MEASURES AGREED TO IN BRUSSELS CONFIRM THE LONDON DECISIONS TO MODIFY SUBSTANTIALLY THE DUAL-KEY PREVIOUSLY IN EFFECT.

UN SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS-GHALI HAS GIVEN HIS FULL SUPPORT TO THIS EFFORT BY DELEGATING THE AUTHORITY FOR AIR STRIKES TO HIS SENIOR MILITARY COMMANDER GENERAL BERNARD

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JANVIER.

HE ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT AUTHORITY TO APPROVE CLOSE AIR SUPPORT TO PROTECT UN PEACEKEEPERS HE KEY PREVIOUSLY HELD BY MR. AKASHI] HAS BEEN DELEGATED TO GENERAL JANVIER,

WHO IS AUTHORIZED TO FURTHER DELEGATE THAT RESPONSIBILITY TO UNPROFOR COMMANDER GENERAL RUPERT SMITH WHEN OPERATIONAL REQUIREMENTS DICTATE.

THE EFFECT OF THESE NATO AND UN DECISIONS IS TO PLACE DECISION MAKING AUTHORITY DIRECTLY IN THE HANDS OF THE RESPONSIBLE MILITARY COMMANDERS.

EE ADDITIONAL BACKGROUND ON OPTIONS AND KEYS ATTACHEDJ

Q: WHAT IS OUR OPINION ON THE DECISION? HOLBROOKE TOLD THE PRESS THAT WE WERE LOOKING TO GET THE KEY TN SMITH'S HANDS?

A: WE FULLY SUPPORT THE DELEGATION OF AUTHORITY TO THE MILITARY COMMANDERS. THIS HAS BETN OUR POINT ALL ALONG.

AS A GENERAL PRINCIPLE THIS AUTHORITY IS MOST EFFECTIVE WHEN IN THE HANDS OF THE MILITARY COMMANDERS, NOT CIVILIAN AUTHORITIES, IN THE THEATER. GENERAL SHALIKASHVILI HAS REVIEWED THE CURRENT ARRANGEMENT AND GIVES HIS FULL APPROVAL.

OTE: WHAT, AS HOLBROOKE SAID, WAS THAT THE CURRENT
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ARRANGEMENT HAD BEEN REVIEWED BY GENERAL SHALIKASHVILI AND HE WAS CONVINCED THAT THIS KEY ARRANGEMENT WAS CONSISTENT WITH MILITARY AUTHORITY AND COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS FOR ANY AIR/GROUND OPERATION.]

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: BACKGROUND ON AIR CAMPAIGN PHASES AND APPROVAL AUTHORITY

THE FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF AIR CAMPAIGN PHASES AND RELEVANT DUAL KEY ARRANGEMENTS FROM THE MOST RECENT NAC AND UN DECISIONS:

1. NATO AGREED THAT AIR OPERATIONS SHOULD BE INITIATED TO COUNTER ANY BOSNIAN SERB OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE UN SAFE AREA OF GORAZDE. THE AIR ATTACK WOULD BE TRIGGERED BY THE COMMON JUDGEMENT OF NATO AND UN MILITARY COMMANDERS.

OPTION I: ATTACKS AGAINST MASSING OF FORCES AND HEAVY WEAPONS IN AND AROUND THE SAFE AREA AND PRESENTING A DIRECT THREAT TO THE SAFE AREA. PURPOSE IS TO DENY

MANEUVER CAPABILITY AND CONCENTRATION OF FORCES. UN KEY HELD BY GENERAL JANVIER AND COULD BE DELEGATED TO GEN RUPERT SMITH BASED ON THE MILITARY AND OPERATIONAL SITUATION.

OPTION II: ATTACKS IN RESPONSE TO AN ACTUAL MILITARY ATTACK AGAINST THE SAFE AREA. TARGETS WOULD INCLUDE
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ENGAGED FORCES AND FOLLOW-ON FORCES POSING A DIRECT THREAT TO THE SAFE AREA IN A WIDER "ZONE OF ACTION," COULD INCLUDE CONCENTRATIONS OF FORCES AS WELL AS HEAVY WEAPONS. KEYS ARE HELD BY GEN JANVIER AND ADM SMITH. ATTACKS WOULD BE SUBSTANTIAL AND DECISIVE.

OPTION III: ATTACKS TO COUNTER A CONTINUED BSA OFFENSIVE OR FLAGRANT VIOLATIONS SUCH AS HOSTAGE TAKING ANYWHERE. A WIDER RANGE OF TARGETS IN A WIDER AREA. ESSENTIALLY A

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STRATEGIC AIR CAMPAIGN WITH TARGETS INCLUDING INFRASTRUCTURE THAT SUPPORTS THE BSA MILITARY. WOULD REQUIRE A SEPARATE NAC DECISION. THE LEVEL OF THIS DECISION AT THE UN WAS LEFT UNDETERMINED IN THE NATO AGREEMENTS YESTERDAY. THE FRENCH INSIST THAT THIS DECISION BE GIVEN TO SYG BOUTROS-GHALI.

2. ATTACKS ON EARLY WARNING RADARS WITHIN BOSNIA ARE AUTHORIZED IN SUPPORT OF AIR ATTACKS TO DEFEND GORAZDE BUT ONLY FOR THE DURATION OF THE OPERATION. THIS WAS A NECESSARY DECISION TO INSURE OUR ABILITY TO PROTECT NATO AIRCRAFT.

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APPROVED BY: EUR/PA: ARSCHWAN
PA/PRESS (INFO): PAYOUNG

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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OPRC

SUBJECT: EUR DAILY PRESS GUIDANCE - JULY 27, 1995

PARIS ALSO FOR USOECD, ROME ALSO FOR VATICAN, USVIENNA FOR USDEL
CSCE

1. THE FOLLOWING PRESS GUIDANCE WAS PREPARED AND APPROVED BY THE BUREAU OF EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING. QUESTIONS SHOULD BE REFERRED TO ARIC SCHWAN, EUR PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

2. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: POLICY POINTS

- WE BELIEVE UNPROFOR HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED AS A RESULT OF THE LONDON MEETING, NATO'S MEETING IN BRUSSELS AND THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL'S DUAL KEY DECISION.
- NATO'S NEW COMMAND AND CONTROL ARRANGEMENTS AND DEPLOYMENT OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE TO SECURE ROUTES INTO SARAJEVO DEMONSTRATES OUR DETERMINATION TO BOLSTER UN MANDATES.

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- THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL'S DELEGATION OF DECISION-MAKING AUTHORITY TO MILITARY COMMANDERS STREAMLINES THE PROCESS. WE ARE NOW WORKING TO EXPAND DECISIONS ON GORAZDE (GOR-AHZ-DAY) TO OTHER SAFE AREAS.
- CONGRESS SENT A MESSAGE TO THE ADMINISTRATION AND THOSE INVOLVED IN BOSNIA THAT IT IS TIME TO TAKE STRONGER ACTION. THAT IS NOW BEING DONE (NAC AND DUAL KEY).

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- US CANNOT AFFORD TO UNILATERALLY DISREGARD UN RESOLUTIONS AND MANDATES.
- WE ARE DISAPPOINTED THAT THE SENATE HAS VOTED TO HAVE THE U.S. BREAK THE ARMS EMBARGO UNILATERALLY. THE BILL WOULD SERIOUSLY UNDERMINE OUR NEW EFFORTS IN BOSNIA BY SPARKING THE WITHDRAWAL OF OUR ALLIES AND LEADING TO EVEN GREATER HUMANITARIAN DISASTER. EVEN IF IT PASSES IN THE HOUSE, THE PRESIDENT REMAINS FIRMLY OPPOSED.

3. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: SITUATION REPORT

BIHAC:

- THE SERB ASSAULT ON BIHAC IS EXTREMELY SERIOUS, AND THREATENS TO DRAW CROATIA INTO UNCLASSIFIED

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STATE 179931 272031Z
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4. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: USE OF GAS IN ZEPA

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- A: -- WE HAVE SEEN THE PRESS ACCOUNTS ABOUT THE USE
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-- UN SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS-GHALI HAS GIVEN HIS FULL SUPPORT TO THIS EFFORT BY DELEGATING THE AUTHORITY FOR AIR STRIKES TO HIS SENIOR MILITARY COMMANDER GENERAL BERNARD JANVIER.

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INFORM CONSULS-PASS PAOS-MILITARY ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OPRC, XF

SUBJECT: NEA PRESS GUIDANCE - 07/25/95

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM PLEASE PASS TO E. LAIPSON AND
D. SATTERFIELD,
LONDON FOR M. TUELLER, PARIS FOR K. ALLEGRONE,
WARSAW PASS PPP BAGHDAD

THE FOLLOWING GUIDANCE IS PROVIDED FOR POST'S INFORMATION:

IRAQI KURDS: U.S. MEDIATION EFFORT
ISRAEL: TEL AVIV BOMBING
BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: SITUATION UPDATE
BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: RRF DEPLOYMENT
BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: NATO MEETINGS
BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: DOLE LEGISLATION

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA
BOSNIA: WAR CRIMES TRIBUNALS
TURKEY: VISAS FOR KPKE MEMBERS

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IRAQI KURDS: U.S. MEDIATION EFFORT

Q. WHAT CAN YOU TELL US ABOUT THE U.S. EFFORT TO MEDIATE
BETWEEN WARRING KURDISH FACTIONS IN NORTHERN IRAQ?

A. -- THE U.S. IS CONCERNED BY CONTINUED FIGHTING BETWEEN
KURDISH FACTIONS IN NORTHERN IRAQ.

-- WE HAVE TALKED REPEATEDLY TO THE LEADERSHIP OF THE TWO
MAJOR KURDISH PARTIES -- THE PUK (PATRIOTIC UNION OF

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KURDISTAN) AND THE KDP (KURDISH DEMOCRATIC PARTY) -- TO HELP RECONCILE THEIR DIFFERENCES AND URGE THEM TO WORK TOGETHER.

-- MOST RECENTLY, WE OFFERED TO BRING THE TWO PARTIES TOGETHER TO WORK ON BRIDGING THEIR DIFFERENCES.

-- THE PUK ACCEPTS OUR OFFER; THE KDP HAS YET TO RESPOND.

-- OUR INITIATIVE CAN SUCCEED ONLY IF BOTH PARTIES STOP THE FIGHTING AND SERIOUSLY COMMIT THEMSELVES TO COMPROMISE, RECONCILIATION, AND PRACTICAL COOPERATION.

-- THE HIGHEST PRIORITY AT THIS POINT IS TO STOP THE FIGHTING, AND I WANT TO STRESS THAT ACTIONS SPEAK LOUDER THAN WORDS IN THIS KEY MATTER.

-- WE SINCERELY HOPE THAT THE TWO SIDES WILL MAKE MEDIATION POSSIBLE AND WORK HARD FOR PEACE AND PROSPERITY FOR THE KURDISH PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRAQ.

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ISRAEL: TEL AVIV BOMBING

Q. DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING NEW ON THE TEL AVIV BOMBING AND WHEN THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN TALKS WILL RESUME?

A. -- WE HAVE NOTHING TO ADD TO WHAT WE SAID YESTERDAY ABOUT THIS HIDEOUS TERRORIST ACT.

-- BOTH SIDES HAVE EMPHASIZED THEIR DETERMINATION TO PRESS AHEAD IN THE FACE OF THIS TERRORIST ATTACK AND ARE WORKING TO CONCLUDE AN AGREEMENT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: SITUATION UPDATE

Q: FIGHTING IN BIHAC?

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A: WE ARE CONCERNED THAT CROATIA'S EFFORTS TO ASSIST IN THE DEFENSE OF BIHAC MIGHT LEAD TO AN ESCALATION OF THE WAR. HOWEVER, WE RECOGNIZE THAT IT COMES AT THE REQUEST OF THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT FOR ASSISTANCE AGAINST THE CONTINUED INCURSIONS OF CROATIAN SERBS ACROSS THE BORDER WITH BOSNIA.

WE HAVE EXPRESSED OUR CONCERNS IN TALKS WITH THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT.

THE JOINT OFFENSIVE WITH BOSNIAN SERBS AND REBEL MUSLIM FORCES HAS CAPTURED OVER 30 SQUARE MILES OF TERRITORY AND
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HAS CAUSED MORE THAN 2,000 BOSNIANS TO FLEE THEIR HOMES.

THE UN REPORTS THAT THE 5TH CORPS OF THE BOSNIAN ARMY IS RUNNING LOW ON AMMUNITION AND HAS SUSTAINED HEAVY CASUALTIES.

Q: STATUS OF ZEPA? ARE THE RESIDENTS BEING EVACUATED?

A: --WE HAVE SEEN THE REPORTS THAT THE EASTERN ENCLAVE OF ZEPA HAS SURRENDERED. THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT HAS DENIED THESE REPORTS, AND WE HAVE NO WAY OF CONFIRMING THEM AT THIS TIME.

--WE REMAIN DEEPLY CONCERNED, HOWEVER, FOR THE 17,000 RESIDENTS OF ZEPA IN LIGHT OF THE REPORTS OF THE ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS AFTER THE FALL OF SREBRENICA (SREH-BREH-NEET-SAH).

--UN OFFICIALS HAVE REPORTED THAT AN AGREEMENT WAS REACHED BY BOTH SIDES LAST NIGHT ON THE TERMS OF EVACUATION FOR WOMEN, CHILDREN, THE ELDERLY AND WOUNDED AND THAT THE BOSNIAN ARMY HAS AGREED TO SURRENDER ITS WEAPONS TO THE 79 UKRAINIAN PEACEKEEPERS STATIONED IN THE ENCLAVE.

--A UN LIAISON TEAM IS REPORTEDLY EN ROUTE TO ZEPA TO CONFIRM THAT THIS AGREEMENT IS BEING CARRIED OUT AND TO MONITOR THE EVACUATION PROCESS.

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Q: FIGHTING IN SARAJEVO?

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A: --THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE IN LONDON REPORTED THAT A BRITISH HELICOPTER WAS HIT BY SMALL-ARMS FIRE OVER MOUNT IGMAN ROAD THIS MORNING. THE HELICOPTER LANDED SAFELY AND THERE WERE NO INJURIES.

--THE BOSNIAN SERBS CONTINUE TO SHELL THE BOSNIAN CAPITAL OF SARAJEVO, WHERE THE GOVERNMENT REPORTS THAT 20 WERE KILLED AND 51 WOUNDED OVER THE PAST TWO DAYS.

--ON SATURDAY, SERB TROOPS FIRED ON A UN CONVOY ATTEMPTING TO USE THE MOUNT IGMAN ROAD AND SHELLED UN FORCES STATIONED THERE. TWO UN PEACEKEEPERS WERE KILLED AND THREE CIVILIANS WOUNDED IN THE ATTACK.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: RRF DEPLOYMENT

Q: STATUS OF THE RRF ON MOUNT IGMAN? WHAT IS THE OBJECTIVE OF THE RRF'S ACTIVITIES AROUND SARAJEVO?

A: --300 BRITISH AND 500 FRENCH ARTILLERY AND INFANTRY UNITS OF THE UN'S RAPID REACTION FORCE ARRIVED IN SARAJEVO YESTERDAY. THE FORCE TOOK UP POSITIONS ON MOUNT IGMAN, WEST OF SARAJEVO.

--THE TWO MAIN OBJECTIVES OF THE RRF IN SARAJEVO ARE TO PROTECT UN PERSONNEL AND TO ENSURE THE DELIVERY OF AID CONVOYS TO THE BESIEGED CITY OF SARAJEVO.

--THE UN TROOPS HAVE TAKEN UP POSITION ON MOUNT IGMAN,
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OVERLOOKING THE MAIN SUPPLY ROUTE INTO THE CITY. THEY ARE
ARMED WITH LIGHT TANKS, HOWITZERS, AND ARMORED PERSONNEL
CARRIERS.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: NATO MEETINGS

Q: HAS NATO MADE ANY DECISIONS ON HOW TO IMPLEMENT THE
LONDON AGREEMENT?

A: --NATO AUTHORITIES CONTINUE TO MEET TO DISCUSS HOW TO
OPERATIONALIZE THE DECISIONS AGREED TO LAST FRIDAY IN
LONDON. THEY HAVE MADE PROGRESS, AND THE MATTER REMAINS
UNDER ACTIVE REVIEW AND DISCUSSION IN THE NATO COUNCIL.

--THE NATO ALLIES AGREE WITH THE DECISION TO MEET ANY
ATTACK ON GORAZDE WITH SIGNIFICANT AND DECISIVE AIR
POWER. THE QUESTION BEFORE THE NATO COUNCIL IS HOW TO
IMPLEMENT THESE DECISIONS.

Q: HAS THE UN CIVILIAN COMMAND BEEN EXCLUDED FROM THE
DUAL KEY?

A: --COMMAND AND CONTROL AGREEMENTS FOR THE USE OF NATO
AIRPOWER, THE SO-CALLED DUAL KEY, ARE BEING ADJUSTED TO
ENSURE THAT THE RESPONSE TO ANY ATTACK ON GORAZDE IS
SUBSTANTIAL AND DECISIVE.

--THE MATTER REMAINS UNDER ACTIVE DISCUSSION WITHIN THE
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SECURITY COUNCIL AND WITH THE SECRETARY GENERAL.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: DOLE LEGISLATION

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--WE OPPOSE THE EFFORTS OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS TO UNILATERALLY BREAK THE UN ARMS EMBARGO. SUCH AN ACT WOULD BE A VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND WOULD UNDERMINE OTHER UN RESOLUTIONS AND SANCTIONS REGIMES, SUCH AS ON IRAQ, THAT SERVE CRITICAL U.S. INTERESTS.

--UNILATERALLY LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO WOULD LEAD TO A WIDER AND BLOODIER CONFLICT, WITH A VERY UNCERTAIN OUTCOME, FOR WHICH THE U.S. WOULD BEAR THE ULTIMATE RESPONSIBILITY. UNILATERAL ACTION WOULD STRAIN OUR RELATIONS WITH OUR NATO ALLIES.

--THIS WEEK, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT WOULD NO LONGER TOLERATE THE BOSNIAN SERBS' CONTINUED DEFIANCE OF UN MANDATES. WE HAVE ISSUED AN ULTIMATUM TO DEFEND GORAZDE, AND OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES HAVE TAKEN RESOLUTE ACTION TO OPEN SARAJEVO TO HUMANITARIAN SUPPLIES, WHICH WE SUPPORT.

--WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE FOOLHARDY FOR THE SENATE TO DOOM THESE SERIOUS EFFORTS AT THEIR START. LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO NOW WOULD CAUSE THE WITHDRAWAL OF UNPROFOR, THE END OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN EFFORTS, AND THE INSERTION OF THOUSANDS OF U.S. TROOPS AS PART OF A NATO-LED EXTRACTION OPERATION.

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BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Q: WHO CAN HIRE AND FIRE THE UN COMMANDER IN BOSNIA?
WHAT IS THE PROCEDURE?

A. --TECHNICALLY, THE UNDER SECRETARY GENERAL FOR PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS, KOFI ANNAN, HAS THE AUTHORITY TO HIRE AND FIRE THE UN COMMANDER IN BOSNIA. WE UNDERSTAND THE PROCEDURE, HOWEVER, WOULD LIKELY INVOLVE KOFI ANNAN'S RECEIVING APPROVAL FROM SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS BHOUTROS GHALI.

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BOSNIA: WAR CRIMES TRIBUNALS

Q: WHAT CAN YOU TELL US ABOUT THE INDICTMENT HANDED DOWN BY THE UN WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL IN THE HAGUE?

A: THIS MORNING THE PROSECUTOR FOR THE YUGOSLAV WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL ANNOUNCED THAT INDICTMENTS AND ARREST WARRANTS HAD BEEN ISSUED AGAINST BOSNIAN SERB PRESIDENT RADOVAN KARADZIC, SERB ARMY COMMANDER, RATKO MLADIC, CROATIAN SERB PRESIDENT MILAN MARTIC AND SOME 21 OTHERS.

--MESSRS. KARADZIC AND MLADIC ARE CHARGED WITH GENOCIDE AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY, ARISING, AMONG OTHERS, FROM ATROCITIES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE CIVILIAN POPULATION THROUGHOUT BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, FOR THE SHOOTING CAMPAIGN
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AGAINST CIVILIANS IN SARAJEVO, AND FOR THE TAKING OF UN PEACEKEEPERS AS HOSTAGES AND THEIR USE AS HUMAN SHIELDS. THE OTHER INDIVIDUALS HAVE BEEN INDICTED IN RELATION TO INVESTIGATIONS RELATING TO INCIDENTS AT PRIJEDOR, BOSANSKI SAMAC AND BRCKO. A TOTAL OF 46 INDIVIDUALS HAVE BEEN ACCUSED BY THE TRIBUNAL OF SERIOUS VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW, IN ITS FIRST YEAR OF OPERATION.

--THE INDICTMENTS ANNOUNCED TODAY RELATE TO EVENTS WHICH OCCURRED IN BOTH CROATIA AND BOSNIA AND TO ATROCITIES COMMITTED AGAINST BOSNIAN MUSLIMS, CROATS AND CROATIANS; COVER EVENTS WHICH TOOK PLACE IN 1992 AND 1995 (TAKING OF UN PEACEKEEPERS HOSTAGE); ILLUSTRATE THE VARYING RANKS AND DEGREES OF PARTICIPATION OF THOSE ACCUSED; AND INDICATE A WIDE RANGE OF CRIMES, INCLUDING THE SETTING UP OF "DEATH CAMPS," TERROR CAMPAIGNS FOLLOWING SERB TAKE-OVERS OF

TOWNS, THE FIRING OF ROCKETS INTO CITIES, THE DEPORTATION OF CIVILIANS, THE SHELLING OF CIVILIAN GATHERINGS, THE PLUNDER AND DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY AND SACRED SITES, THE SHOOTING CAMPAIGN IN SARAJEVO AND THE TARGETING OF UN PEACEKEEPERS.

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Q: WILL THE TRIBUNAL ALSO INVESTIGATE ACTS BY MUSLIMS AND CROATIANS?

A: JUSTICE GOLDSTONE IS INVESTIGATING ALLEGED CRIMES BY MUSLIMS AND CROATS, BUT IS BEING DELAYED BY LACK OF COOPERATION ON THE PART OF THE FRY AND THE SERB
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AUTHORITIES IN PALE.

Q: ARE YOU CONCERNED ABOUT THE POSSIBLE EFFECT OF THESE INDICTMENTS ON THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS?

A: THE JUDICIAL PROCESS OF THE TRIBUNAL AND THE POLITICAL PROCESS NOW UNDERWAY ARE DISTINCT. NEITHER THE U.S. NOR ANY OTHER CONTACT GROUP MEMBER IN ANY WAY CONTROLS OR DIRECTS THE WORK OF JUSTICE GOLDSTONE AND HIS STAFF. THE YUGOSLAV TRIBUNAL AND ITS COUNTERPART RWANDA TRIBUNAL ARE PART OF A BROADER ENTERPRISE -- THE BUILDING OF INSTITUTIONS OF ACCOUNTABILITY FOR THE NEW INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TAKING SHAPE IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA.

--AT THE SAME TIME, WE DO BELIEVE THAT PROSECUTING WAR CRIMES IS IN THE LONG-TERM INTEREST OF ACHIEVING PEACE IN THE REGION.

--THE SUCCESS OF THE TRIBUNAL IS ESSENTIAL TO THE POSSIBILITY OF LONG-TERM RECONCILIATION IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA AND TO THE CREDIBILITY OF THE RULE OF LAW.

--PERSONS RESPONSIBLE FOR GENOCIDE AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY MUST ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEIR ACTIONS REGARDLESS OF RANK OR POSITION.

Q: WHAT GOOD DOES IT DO TO INDICT THESE PEOPLE IF THEY ARE NOT UNDER ARREST?

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A: ALL STATES ARE UNDER AN OBLIGATION TO DETAIN THOSE UNDER INDICTMENT WHO ARE ON THEIR TERRITORY. MOREOVER, THESE INDICTMENTS SERVE TO ISOLATE THE INDIVIDUALS IN QUESTION, AND TO GIVE CREDENCE TO THE CLAIMS OF THEIR

VICTIMS.

Q: WHAT SORT OF SUPPORT HAS THE U.S. GIVEN THE TRIBUNAL?

A: THE U.S. HAS DEVOTED SIGNIFICANT RESOURCES AND PERSONNEL TO THE TRIBUNAL. IN FY `94, WE COMMITTED TO SPEND DOLLARS 14 MILLION, INCLUDING A DOLLARS 3 MILLION CASH CONTRIBUTION, AND PROVIDED 22 USG DETAILEES. THE TRIBUNAL'S TOTAL STAFF NUMBERS SOME 130 INDIVIDUALS DRAWN FROM 38 COUNTRIES.

--AT THE SAME TIME, I WOULD EMPHASIZE AGAIN THAT THIS IS NOT AN AMERICAN TRIBUNAL BUT AN INDEPENDENT UN BODY OPERATING UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. JUSTICE GOLDSTONE'S INTEGRITY AND COURAGE WERE AMPLY DEMONSTRATED DURING HIS YEARS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND ARE THE SAME QUALITIES THAT MAKE HIM THE RIGHT MAN FOR THIS JOB TODAY.

TURKEY: VISAS FOR KPIS MEMBERS

Q: DID WE GRANT VISAS TO PKK TERRORISTS? (REMZI KARTAL AND YASAR KAYA, MEMBERS OF THE KURDISH PARLIAMENT IN
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EXILE, BRIEFLY JOINED A HUNGER STRIKE HERE IN DC).

A: WE SUPPORT THE GOT'S EFFORTS TO OPPOSE THE TERRORIST KURDISTAN WORKERS' PARTY (PKK).

WE HAVE CONSISTENTLY CONDEMNED THE PKK AS A VICIOUS TERRORIST ORGANIZATION, WHICH DOES NOT HESITATE TO TARGET WESTERN, INCLUDING U.S., INTERESTS.

WHILE THE KURDISH PARLIAMENT IN EXILE (KPIE) HAS NOT BEEN DESIGNATED AS A TERRORIST ORGANIZATION, IT HAS CLOSE TIES TO THE PKK AND WE BELIEVE SHOULD BE VIEWED IN THAT LIGHT.

--AS A TERRORIST ORGANIZATION, THE PKK HAS NO LEGITIMACY. NEITHER DOES THE KPIE.

AS A GENERAL POLICY, THE USG DOES NOT GRANT VISAS TO TERRORISTS.

HOWEVER, UNDER U.S. LAW MERE MEMBERSHIP IN A TERRORIST ORGANIZATION IS NOT A BASIS FOR VISA INELIGIBILITY. COMMISSION OF A TERRORIST ACT WOULD, HOWEVER, MAKE AN

INDIVIDUAL INELIGIBLE FOR A VISA.

WE UNDERSTAND THAT BOTH REMZI KARTAL AND YASAR KAYA, BOTH MEMBERS OF THE KPIE, ARE IN THE COUNTRY. WE ARE CHECKING INTO WHERE AND HOW THEY OBTAINED THEIR TRAVEL DOCUMENTS.

THOSE INDIVIDUALS ENGAGING IN A HUNGER STRIKE ARE EXERCISING THEIR RIGHTS UNDER THE FIRST AMENDMENT. WE
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UNDERSTAND THAT MR. KAYA AND MR. KARTAL BRIEFLY VISITED THOSE INDIVIDUALS.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 DATE/CASE ID: 13 MAR 2009 200705105

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (DTG YEAR)

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OPRC, XF

SUBJECT: NEA PRESS GUIDANCE - 07/24/95

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM PLEASE PASS TO E. LAIPSON AND
D. SATTERFIELD,
LONDON FOR M. TUELLER, PARIS FOR K. ALLEGRONE,
WARSAW PASS PPP BAGHDAD

THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL GUIDANCE FROM 7/24 15 PROVIDED
FOR POST'S INFORMATION:

STATEMENT: U.S. GOVERNMENT HUMANITARIAN RESPONSE TO THE
SREBRENICA AND ZEPA CRISES

SOUTH AFRICA: STORAGE OF IRANIAN OIL

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA BALKAN POLICY POINTS

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA DETAILS OF AIR THREAT

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA SITUATION UPDATE

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA REPORTS OF ATROCITIES

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA FEAR OF ISLAMIC INVOLVEMENT?

ISRAEL: DETENTION OF U.S. CITIZENS

STATEMENT: U.S. GOVERNMENT HUMANITARIAN RESPONSE TO THE

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SREBRENICA AND ZEPA CRISES

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS RESPONDING TO THE URGENT

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HUMANITARIAN NEEDS OF THE DISPLACED PEOPLE FROM SREBRENICA AND ZEPA.

IN FY 1995 TO DATE, THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAS PROVIDED OVER \$138 MILLION IN HUMANITARIAN RELIEF THROUGH DOZENS OF ORGANIZATIONS, RANGING FROM THE LARGE MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS SUCH AS THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES (UNHCR), THE WORLD FOOD PROGRAM (WFP), AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS (ICRC), TO THE NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (NGOS). THIS HAS ENABLED THESE ORGANIZATIONS TO MEET THE INCREASED NEEDS GENERATED BY THE CRISES IN SREBRENICA AND ZEPA. USAID'S OFFICE OF FOOD FOR PEACE HAS CONTRIBUTED 126,400 METRIC TONS OF FOOD, VALUED AT \$58 MILLION, TO THE REGION THIS FISCAL YEAR.

USAID'S OFFICE OF U.S. FOREIGN DISASTER ASSISTANCE (OFDA) HAS OBLIGATED \$31.7 MILLION TO FUND 40 ON-GOING AND NEW HUMANITARIAN RELIEF PROGRAMS BY U.S. AND INTERNATIONAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS WORKING IN BOSNIA. THIS INCLUDES 7.5 MILLION DOLLARS' WORTH OF GRANTS PUT INTO PLACE SINCE JULY 11 TO ASSIST DIRECTLY THE PEOPLE DISPLACED FROM SREBRENICA, AND NOW FROM ZEPA AS WELL. THESE INCLUDE GRANTS TO:

-- THE INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE (IRC) IN THE AMOUNT OF \$1.7 MILLION TO PROVIDE CLOTHING, SHELTER MATERIALS,
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HYGIENE AND BEDDING SUPPLIES;

-- FEED THE CHILDREN WHICH IS PROVIDING SUPPLEMENTAL FOOD AND HYGIENIC ITEMS TO INFANTS, CHILDREN, AND PREGNANT AND LACTATING MOTHERS;

-- THE INTERNATIONAL MERCY CORPS WHICH HAS ALREADY VACCINATED 580 DISPLACED CHILDREN FROM SREBRENICA THROUGH ITS OFDA-FUNDED EMERGENCY VACCINATION PROGRAM IN TUZLA AND ZENICA.

AN ADDITIONAL \$250,000 IN RAPID RESPONSE FUNDS HAS BEEN

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MADE AVAILABLE TO PROVIDE IMMEDIATE ASSISTANCE TO THE
DISPLACED THROUGH:

-- THE CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICES FOR ANTIBIOTICS FOR THE
MEDICAL CLINIC IN TUZLA;

-- FEED THE CHILDREN FOR READY-TO-EAT BABY MEALS,
POWDERED MILK, AND DETERGENT;

-- PREMIERE URGENCY FOR FRESH FOODS;

-- THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION FOR HEALTH MONITORING.

OFDA HAS MOVED 66,000 HUMANITARIAN DAILY RATIONS (HDRS)
INTO TUZLA AND IS PROVIDING 30,000 HYGIENE KITS, 10,000
WATER JUGS, 20,000 BLANKETS, AND 300 ROLLS OF PLASTIC
SHEETING FROM ITS STOCKPILES IN THE REGION.

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ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR POPULATION, REFUGEES, AND
MIGRATION PHYLLIS OAKLEY VISITED TUZLA ON JULY 17 TO
PERSONALLY ASSESS THE SITUATION. MRS. OAKLEY WAS WITH THE
SECRETARY OF STATE IN LONDON ON FRIDAY TO TAKE PART IN THE
DISCUSSIONS ON BOSNIA.

THE UNITED STATES HAS CONTRIBUTED ALMOST ONE BILLION
DOLLARS IN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE FORMER
YUGOSLAVIA SINCE THE CONFLICT BEGAN IN 1991.

SOUTH AFRICA: STORAGE OF IRANIAN OIL

Q: WHAT CAN YOU TELL US ABOUT REPORTS THAT SOUTH AFRICA
INTENDS TO STORE OIL FOR IRAN?

A: ACCORDING TO SOUTH AFRICA'S CENTRAL ENERGY FUND, IRAN
AND SOUTH AFRICA HAVE AGREED TO STORE 15 MILLION BARRELS
OF IRANIAN OIL IN TWO TANKS AT SALDANHA BAY ON SOUTH
AFRICA'S WEST COAST. THE FIRST OIL DELIVERY IS EXPECTED
IN AUGUST. THE OIL REPORTEDLY WILL BE SOLD TO SOUTH
AMERICA AND EUROPE, WITH SOUTH AFRICA RECEIVING A

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PERCENTAGE OF THE SALES.

Q: IS THIS A VIOLATION OF THE U.S. OIL EMBARGO ON IRAN?

A: ONLY U.S. CITIZENS AND RESIDENTS ARE PROHIBITED FROM TRADING WITH OR INVESTING IN IRAN. HOWEVER, WE HAVE URGED OUR TRADING PARTNERS, INCLUDING SOUTH AFRICA, TO TAKE SIMILAR ACTION. WE SPECIFICALLY ASKED THEM NOT TO FILL
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THE VOID RESULTING FROM U.S. FIRMS' DEPARTURE FROM THE IRANIAN MARKET. WE BELIEVE IT IS INAPPROPRIATE TO PROVIDE TEHRAN WITH ADDITIONAL FINANCIAL RESOURCES WHILE THE GOVERNMENT SUPPORTS TERRORISM AND PURSUES WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION.

Q: WILL SOUTH AFRICA'S INCREASED COOPERATION WITH IRAN CAUSE IT TO LOSE U.S. AID?

A: NO. HOWEVER, WE ARE DISAPPOINTED THAT SOUTH AFRICA INTENDS TO INCREASE ITS COOPERATION WITH IRAN, AND HOPE THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS WILL RECONSIDER.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA BALKAN POLICY POINTS

-- LAST FRIDAY, THE ALLIES ISSUED A STRONG WARNING TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WILL NOT TOLERATE THEIR CONTINUED DEFIANCE OF UN MANDATES AND RESOLUTIONS. ANY ATTACK ON GORAZDE (GOR-AHZ-DAY) WILL BE MET BY STRONG AND DECISIVE AIR POWER.

-- WE ALSO AGREED IN LONDON THAT THE RRF WILL TAKE ACTION TO OPEN AND SECURE HUMANITARIAN ACCESS ROUTES. WE STRONGLY SUPPORT THE REINFORCEMENT THAT IS NOW UNDERWAY IN SARAJEVO AND ON MT. IGMAN.

-- ALTHOUGH THE LONDON AGREEMENTS FOCUSED ON GORAZDE AS THE AREA OF MOST IMMINENT CONCERN, THEY ALSO AGREED ON THE

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NEED TO FULFILL THE UNITED NATIONS' COMMITMENTS TO THE
OTHER SAFE AREAS. THESE PROCEDURES COULD BE PROMPTLY
APPLIED TO THOSE OTHER AREAS AND WE STAND READY TO TAKE
THE STEPS TO DO SO IF NECESSARY.

-- WE REMAIN DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE CITIZENS OF ZEPA
WHO CONTINUE TO RESIST A HEAVY SERB ASSAULT. THE SERBS
MUST RESPECT THE RIGHTS OF NONCOMBATANTS ACCORDING TO
INTERNATIONAL LAW.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA DETAILS OF AIR THREAT

Q: WHAT IS THE TRIGGER FOR AIRSTRIKES? HAS NATO
FINALIZED PLANS?

A: AS SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER SAID ON FRIDAY, AN ATTACK
AGAINST GORAZDE WILL BE MET BY SUBSTANTIAL AND DECISIVE
AIR POWER. ANY AIR CAMPAIGN WOULD INCLUDE SIGNIFICANT
ATTACKS ON SIGNIFICANT TARGETS.

-- NATO AUTHORITIES MET THROUGHOUT THE WEEKEND AND HAVE
BEEN IN SESSION TODAY. THIS AND OTHER ISSUES ARE BEING
DISCUSSED BY THE NAC.

Q: HAS THE UN CIVILIAN COMMAND BEEN EXCLUDED FROM THE
DUAL KEY?

A: COMMAND AND CONTROL AGREEMENTS FOR THE USE OF NATO
AIRPOWER, THE SO-CALLED DUAL KEY, ARE BEING ADJUSTED TO
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ENSURE THAT THE RESPONSE TO ANY ATTACK ON GORAZDE IS
SUBSTANTIAL AND DECISIVE.

-- THE MILITARY COMMITTEE MET TODAY; THERE WILL BE
ADDITIONAL DISCUSSIONS TOMORROW.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA SITUATION UPDATE

Q: STATUS OF ZEPA?

A: FIGHTING CONTINUED IN THE EASTERN ENCLAVE OF ZEPA.
THE BOSNIAN SERBS CONTINUED TO SHELL THE TOWN, HOME TO
17,000 BOSNIANS. THE TOWN'S DEFENDERS HAVE HELD OUT FOR
OVER A WEEK UNDER HEAVY ASSAULT.

Q: WHAT IS THE OBJECTIVE OF THE RRF'S ACTIVITIES AROUND
SARAJEVO?

A: UNITS OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE TOOK UP POSITIONS
TODAY ON MOUNT IGMAN, WHICH OVERLOOKS A MAJOR CONVOY ROUTE
INTO SARAJEVO.

-- TWO BRITISH BATTERIES TOTALLING 320 MEN BEGAN DIGGING
GUN EMPLACEMENTS TODAY. THEY WILL BE JOINED BY 500 FRENCH
ARTILLERY AND INFANTRY UNITS LATER TODAY.

-- THE RRF'S MISSION IS TO PROTECT UN PERSONNEL IN

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SARAJEVO AND TO DEFEND UN CONVOYS ATTEMPTING TO DELIVER
HUMANITARIAN AID TO THE CITY.

Q: FIGHTING IN SARAJEVO?

A: ON SATURDAY, SERB TROOPS FIRED ON A UN CONVOY
ATTEMPTING TO USE THE MOUNT IGMAN ROAD. TWO FRENCH

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PEACEKEEPERS WERE KILLED AND FOUR OTHER PEACEKEEPERS WERE WOUNDED IN THE ATTACK. THE FRENCH RESPONDED WITH A MORTAR ASSAULT ON SERB POSITIONS.

-- IN SARAJEVO ON SUNDAY, 8 CIVILIANS WERE KILLED AND 35 WOUNDED IN SERB SHELLING OF THE CITY. THE BOSNIAN SERBS REPORTED THAT A GOVERNMENT ATTACK ON SERB-HELD AREA WOUNDED 11.

Q: DID A FRENCH AIRCRAFT BOMB PALE ON SUNDAY?

A: A FRENCH NEWSPAPER REPORTED ON SUNDAY THAT PRESIDENT CHIRAC ORDERED AN ATTACK BY A FRENCH AIRCRAFT ON PALE IN REPRISAL FOR THE KILLING OF FRENCH PEACEKEEPERS ON SATURDAY.

-- THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT HAS DENIED THE PAPER'S REPORT. ALTHOUGH WE CANNOT CONFIRM WHETHER THERE WAS AN AIR ATTACK ON PALE, THERE WAS NO NATO ASSAULT THIS WEEKEND.

Q: FIGHTING IN BIHAC?

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-- THE JOINT OFFENSIVE OF CROATIAN SERBS AND REBEL MUSLIM FORCES CONTINUED IN BIHAC (BEE-HACH) THIS WEEKEND. THE UN HAS REPORTED THAT SERB TROOPS ARE CONTINUING THEIR OFFENSIVE ON THE AREA, AND HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT ADVANCES ON ALL FRONTS.

-- THE SERBS HAVE REPORTEDLY OVERRUN 20 SQUARE MILES OF TERRITORY AND CAUSED MORE THAN 2,000 BOSNIANS TO FLEE THEIR HOMES. THE BOSNIAN ARMY 5TH CORPS, WHICH IS DEFENDING THE ENCLAVE, IS BEGINNING TO RUN SHORT ON AMMUNITION, ACCORDING TO THE UN.

-- WE ARE DEEPLY DISTURBED BY THE CROATIAN SERB OFFENSIVE INTO BOSNIA, WHICH HAS THE POTENTIAL TO GREATLY ESCALATE THE CONFLICT BY DRAWING CROATIA INTO THE WAR. THE UN REPORTS THAT 1,000 CROATIAN TROOPS HAVE ALREADY BEEN

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DEPLOYED NEAR THE BORDER OF SERB-HELD CROATIA.

Q: HAVE WE WARNED THE GOVERNMENT OF CROATIA NOT TO ENTER THE FIGHTING IN BIHAC?

A: THE ANSWER IS FOR THE BOSNIAN SERBS TO STOP FIGHTING; THE WAR SHOULD BE CONTAINED, NOT WIDENED.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA REPORTS OF ATROCITIES

Q: UPDATE ON REPORTS OF ATROCITIES?
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A: THE DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS HAVE RETURNED TO SAFETY IN THE NETHERLANDS AND HAVE REPORTED TO THEIR GOVERNMENT FIRSTHAND ACCOUNT OF SERB ATROCITIES AFTER THE FALL OF SREBRENICA (SREH-BREH-NEET-SAH).

-- THE UN ENVOY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS SAID THIS MORNING THAT REPORTS GATHERED BY UNHCR ALSO ESTABLISH THAT THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY ENGAGED IN "BARBARIC ACTS" OF RAPE AND MURDER AGAINST THE BOSNIANS OF SREBRENICA.

-- WE REITERATE OUR COMMITMENT TO SEE WAR CRIMINALS BROUGHT TO JUSTICE.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA FEAR OF ISLAMIC INVOLVEMENT?

Q: IS THE WEST OPPOSED TO INCREASED INVOLVEMENT FROM ISLAMIC NATIONS?

A: WE RESPECT THE CLOSE RELATIONS THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT HAS WITH MEMBERS OF THE O.I.C. WE SHARE THEIR DEEP CONCERN FOR THE INTEGRITY OF THE BOSNIAN STATE AND THE SAFETY OF BOSNIAN CITIZENS.

-- I WOULD NOTE THAT OIC MEMBER GOVERNMENTS ARE ALREADY

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ACTIVELY SUPPORTING BOSNIA WITH SUBSTANTIAL HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AS WELL AS NEARLY ONE-THIRD OF UNPROFOR PEACEKEEPING TROOPS.

-- WE ARE NOT OPPOSED TO ANY MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL UNCLASSIFIED

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COMMUNITY, INCLUDING MEMBERS OF THE O.I.C, ASSISTING THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT IN ACCORDANCE WITH EXISTING UN RESOLUTIONS.

ISRAEL: DETENTION OF U.S. CITIZENS

Q: ANYTHING ON THE DETENTION OF U.S. CITIZEN PEACE ACTIVISTS IN HEBRON?

A: FOUR CHRISTIAN PEACE ACTIVISTS WERE ARRESTED IN HEBRON ON JULY 22 FOR ATTEMPTING TO FORCE OPEN THE GATES OF A COLLEGE.

-- A COURT HEARING WAS SCHEDULED FOR TODAY TO DETERMINE WHETHER THE INDIVIDUALS WOULD BE CHARGED.

-- A CONSULAR OFFICER FROM THE AMERICAN CONSULATE IN JERUSALEM ATTENDED THE HEARING.

-- WE HAVE NO ADDITIONAL DETAILS AT THIS TIME AND DO NOT HAVE PRIVACY ACT WAIVERS FROM THE INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED.
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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (DTG - YEAR)

E.O. 12356: DECL: 24/7/05
TAGS: KISL, PREL, OIC, UN, BK
SUBJECT: OIC POSITION ON BOSNIAN ARMS EMBARGO

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REF: A) STATE 176060; B) STATE 176067; C) RIYADH 3336
D) RIYADH 3311; E) MANAMA 3626

I - (C) DEPARTMENT NOTES WITH CONCERN THE STATEMENT BY THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ISLAMIC CONFERENCES (OIC) BOSNIAN CONTACT GROUP THAT THE UN ARMS EMBARGO ON BOSNIA IS "INVALID."

2 (U) A DECLARATION ISSUED JULY 21 BY THE OIC CONTACT GROUP STATED "THE OIC MEMBER COUNTRIES CONSIDER DE JURE INVALID THE IMMORAL AND POLITICALLY DETRIMENTAL ARMS EMBARGO IMPOSED AGAINST THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, A MEMBER OF THE U.N. EGYPTIAN FOREIGN MINISTER MOUSSA SUBSEQUENTLY MADE SIMILAR STATEMENTS TO THE PRESS

3 (U) THE FOLLOWING TALKING POINTS ARE FOR POSTS? USE IN CONJUNCTION WITH POINTS IN REFTTEL B IN RESPONDING TO INQUIRIES OR IN DISCUSSIONS WITH HOST GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS:

O THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS REACHED A DEFINING MOMENT IN ITS APPROACH TO BOSNIA. BOSNIAN SERB AGGRESSION AGAINST SREBRENICA AND ZEPA HAS REVEALED THE LIMITS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S PAST STRATEGY

O THE UNITED STATES, GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE HAVE NOW TAKEN THE LEAD IN DEVELOPING A NEW STRATEGY TO DETER BOSNIAN SERB VIOLATIONS OF UN-DESIGNATED SAFE AREAS. THIS APPROACH WAS RATIFIED ON JULY 21 AT THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BOSNIA IN LONDON WHERE IT
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WAS AGREED THAT ANY ATTACK ON GORAZDE WOULD BE MET WITH A SUBSTANTIAL AND DECISIVE RESPONSE.

O WE BELIEVE THAT UNPROFOR MUST REMAIN IN BOSNIA BECAUSE ITS PRESENCE HAS MADE A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE WELFARE OF THE BOSNIAN PEOPLE AND WE BELIEVE UNPROFOR WITHDRAWAL WOULD LEAD TO AN EVEN WORSE HUMANITARIAN DISASTER. HOWEVER, WE MUST PROVIDE UNPROFOR WITH THE MEANS TO BETTER ACCOMPLISH ITS

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MANDATE

- O WE SUPPORT THE USE OF NATO AIRPOWER TO DETER BOSNIAN SERB ATTACKS AGAINST SAFE HAVENS AND HUMANITARIAN EFFORTS WE HAVE AGREED WITH OUR ALLIES TO LAUNCH A DECISIVE AND SUBSTANTIAL AIR CAMPAIGN IN THE EVENT OF AN ATTACK ON GORAZDE.
- O WE HAVE ALWAYS FELT THE UN ARMS EMBARGO UNFAIRLY PENALIZES THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT, WHICH IS THE VICTIM OF SERB AGGRESSION. IN 1993 AND 1994, WE ADVOCATED MULTILATERAL ACTION TO END THE EMBARGO, BUT LACKED SUFFICIENT SUPPORT IN THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL. THE U.S. HAS STOPPED ENFORCING THE EMBARGO AGAINST BOSNIA, BUT CONTINUES TO HONOR IT.
- O WE FIRMLY OPPOSE UNILATERAL LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO. IT WOULD LEAD TO A WIDER AND BLOODIER CONFLICT, WITH A VERY UNCERTAIN OUTCOME, FOR WHICH THE U.S. WOULD HAVE ULTIMATE RESPONSIBILITY. SUCH A CONFLICT WOULD CAUSE MAJOR STRAINS IN NATO AND RISK DIRECT CONFRONTATION WITH RUSSIA, WHICH LIKE SERBIA,
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MIGHT CHOOSE TO PROVIDE MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS.

- O WE ALSO OPPOSE THE DOLE AMENDMENT WHICH PROPOSES TO ANNOUNCE A U.S. COMMITMENT TO UNILATERAL LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO WHILE UNPROFOR FORCES ARE STILL IN PLACE. SUCH AN ANNOUNCEMENT WOULD MAKE THE WITHDRAWAL OPERATION MUCH MORE DANGEROUS FOR U.S. AND ALLIED FORCES AND RISK ENTANGLING THEM IN THE WAR.
- O WE ALSO DISAGREE WITH THE OIC'S BOSNIA CONTACT GROUP'S JULY 21 DECLARATION THAT THE EMBARGO IS "INVALID." OIC NON-COMPLIANCE WITH THE EMBARGO WOULD ESTABLISH A HARMFUL PRECEDENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS, LEAD TO AN ESCALATION IN THE FIGHTING AND WOULD COMPLICATE IMPLEMENTATION OF STEPS AGREED TO BY THE WESTERN CONTACT GROUP

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- O WE APPRECIATE THE EXTENSIVE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AND UNPROFOR TROOP CONTRIBUTIONS THAT OIC MEMBER GOVERNMENTS HAVE MADE TO BOSNIA. WE HOPE OIC MEMBERS WILL CONTINUE TO ASSIST BOSNIA IN ACCORDANCE WITH U.N. RESOLUTIONS.
- O OUR GOAL REMAINS TO END THE WAR CONSISTENT WITH THE CONTACT GROUP PLAN FOR A 51/49 TERRITORIAL DIVISION THAT PRESERVES BOSNIA'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY.
- O FINALLY, I WANT TO MAKE IT VERY CLEAR THAT THE UNITED STATES SHARES THE ANGUISH THE ISLAMIC WORLD FEELS IN THE FACE OF PERSECUTION OF MUSLIMS IN BOSNIA. THE
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HUMAN COSTS OF THIS TRAGEDY ARE IMMEASURABLE.

- O WE MUST ALL WORK TOGETHER, HOWEVER, TO ASSURE THAT OUR MUTUAL FRUSTRATION IN FINDING A WORKABLE MEANS END THIS CONFLICT IS NOT EXPLOITED BY THOSE WHO CLAIM THAT THERE IS AN UNBRIDGEABLE GAP BETWEEN THE MUSLIM AND NON-MUSLIM WORLDS.
4. (U) REFTELS A AND B HAVE FURTHER GUIDANCE ON UN/NATO/US PLANS AND POLICY.

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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OPRC

SUBJECT: EUR DAILY PRESS GUIDANCE - JULY 26, 1995

PARIS ALSO FOR USOECD, ROME ALSO FOR VATICAN, USVIENNA FOR USDEL
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1. THE FOLLOWING PRESS GUIDANCE WAS PREPARED AND APPROVED BY THE BUREAU OF EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING. QUESTIONS SHOULD BE REFERRED TO ARIC SCHWAN, EUR PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

2. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: ISSUES AND POLICY POINTS

NATO MEETINGS

-- ON JULY 26, NATO'S NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL AGREED ON PLANS TO IMPLEMENT THE DECISIONS OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE ON BOSNIA. NATO DECIDED UNANIMOUSLY ON SUBSTANTIAL AIR POWER TO DETER BOSNIAN SERBS FROM ATTACKING GORAZDE.

Q: WHAT IS THE STATUS OF COMMAND AND CONTROL ARRANGEMENTS? IS THERE STILL A DUAL KEY?
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A: -- THE MEASURES AGREED TO IN BRUSSELS CONFIRM THE LONDON DECISIONS TO MODIFY SUBSTANTIALLY THE "DUAL KEY" PREVIOUSLY IN EFFECT. THESE NEW ARRANGEMENTS WILL ENSURE THAT THE USE OF AIRPOWER IS SUBSTANTIAL AND DECISIVE. THERE WILL BE NO MORE "PIN-PRICK" STRIKES.

Q: HOW WILL NATO RESPOND TO FUTURE HOSTAGE TAKING?

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- NO ISSUE IS MORE SENSITIVE THAN HOSTAGE TAKING. THEREFORE, WE WILL NOT DISCUSS THIS ISSUE OTHER THAN TO SAY THAT THE NATO PLAN RECOGNIZES THE NEED TO TAKE ALL POSSIBLE STEPS TO REDUCE THIS RISK. THERE SHOULD BE NO DOUBT ABOUT OUR RESOLVE. NATO WILL NOT BE DETERRED.
- NATO ATTACKS WOULD NOT BE LIGHTLY DISCONTINUED.

Q: DID YOU GET EVERYTHING YOU WERE SEEKING?

- A: -- THE NAC AGREEMENT IS FULLY CONSISTENT WITH THE LONDON MEETING. THE ALLIANCE HAS TRANSLATED THE DECISIONS IN LONDON INTO CONCRETE REALITY THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS SHOULD NOT TAKE LIGHTLY.
- THE DECISION IS CONSISTENT WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE U.S. MILITARY AND HAS ITS ENDORSEMENT.

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Q: WILL THE NATO DECISION APPLY TO SAFE AREAS OTHER THAN GORAZDE?

- A: -- TODAY'S DECISION DEALS SPECIFICALLY WITH GORAZDE, BUT SOME ASPECTS OF THE PLANNING MIGHT BE APPLIED TO THE OTHER SAFE AREAS. THAT IS OUR INTENT, OUR DESIRE.
- NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES HAVE BEEN FOLLOWING CLOSELY DEVELOPMENTS IN THE OTHER SAFE AREAS, AND ARE FORMULATING PROPOSALS ON PROTECTING THE OTHER SAFE AREAS, PARTICULARLY THE AREA AROUND BIHAC (BEE-HACH).

Q: WAS THERE RESOLUTION ON WHETHER NATO WILL TAKE PREEMPTIVE ACTION AGAINST THREATENING TROOP CONCENTRATIONS AROUND GORAZDE?

- A: -- ALL ISSUES OF TARGETTING AND OTHER CONCRETE

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STEPS TO IMPLEMENT THE LONDON DECISIONS WERE RESOLVED SUCCESSFULLY. I CANNOT DISCUSS THE OPERATIONAL DETAILS OF THE NAC DECISION, BUT I CAN TELL YOU THAT IT DEMONSTRATES CLEARLY NATO'S UNITY OF DETERMINATION TO RESPOND IF GORAZDE IS THREATENED OR ATTACKED. WE WILL NOT BE DETERRED.

3. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: SITUATION UPDATE

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BIHAC:

- WE ARE OPPOSED TO ANY WIDENING OF THE WAR. WE NOTE, HOWEVER, THAT CROATIAN MILITARY ASSISTANCE COMES AT THE REQUEST OF THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT TO RELIEVE PRESSURE FROM CONTINUED INCURSIONS BY CROATIAN SERBS INTO BOSNIA.
- WE HAVE URGED ALL SIDES TO EXERCISE MAXIMUM RESTRAINT.
- THE JOINT SERB OFFENSIVE CONTINUES IN THE WESTERN ENCLAVE OF BIHAC (BEE-HACH). THERE WAS APPARENTLY NO MOVEMENT OF THE FRONTS.
- THE CROATIAN ARMY IS ASSISTING FEDERATION FORCES NEAR THE LIVNO VALLEY, ABOUT 40 MILES SOUTH OF BIHAC.
- THE BOSNIAN SERBS, IN ALLIANCE WITH CROATIAN SERBS AND REBEL MUSLIM FORCES, HAVE CAPTURED ROUGHLY 30 SQUARE MILES OF TERRITORY AND CAUSED MORE THAN 3,000 BOSNIANS TO FLEE THEIR HOMES IN THE PAST WEEK.

SARAJEVO:

- SARAJEVO CONTINUES TO COME UNDER HEAVY

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SHELLING. BOSNIAN RADIO REPORTS THAT SIX
PEOPLE WERE SERIOUSLY INJURED WEDNESDAY
MORNING WHEN A SHELL LANDED IN THE CENTER OF
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THE CITY.

- 150 WOUNDED AND SICK FROM ZEPA ARRIVED IN
SARAJEVO FOR URGENT MEDICAL CARE EARLY
WEDNESDAY MORNING.
- ABOUT 800 BRITISH AND FRENCH MEMBERS OF THE
RAPID REACTION FORCE CONTINUED FORTIFYING
THEIR GUN POSITIONS ON MOUNT IGMAN.

ZEPA:

- WE REMAIN VERY CONCERNED FOR THE SAFETY OF THE
CITIZENS OF ZEPA IN LIGHT OF THE REPORTED
ATROCITIES FOLLOWING THE FALL OF SREBRENICA
(SREH-BREH-NEET-SAH) .
- THE UN REPORTS THAT BOSNIAN SERB FORCES
ENTERED THE TOWN OF ZEPA EARLY TUESDAY.
BOSNIAN FORCES HAD ALREADY FLED THE TOWN AND
THERE ARE REPORTS OF SOME RESISTANCE REMAINING
IN OTHER PARTS OF ENCLAVE .
- THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY BEGAN EVACUATING
BOSNIANS FROM THE TOWN YESTERDAY. 1,400
ELDERLY, WOMEN AND CHILDREN HAVE ALREADY BEEN
BUSSED BY THE SERBS TO KLADANJ
(KLAH-DAH-N-YAH) . AN ESTIMATED 7,000 ARE
EXPECTED TO FOLLOW TODAY .
- THE BOSNIAN SERBS DID NOT PERMIT THE UN TO
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HONOR THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT'S REQUEST THAT INTERNATIONAL MONITORS ESCORT ALL OF THE BUSES TO GOVERNMENT-HELD TERRITORY.

- THE UN ARRIVED EARLY TUESDAY MORNING WITH AN ADDITIONAL 151 WOUNDED TO A HOSPITAL IN SARAJEVO.
- THE BOSNIAN SERBS SAY THEY WILL DETAIN ALL MALES BETWEEN THE AGES OF 18 AND 55 AS PRISONERS OF WAR.
- SO FAR, THERE HAVE BEEN NO REPORTS OF ABUSES FROM THE DISPLACED PERSONS WHO HAVE ARRIVED IN KLADANJ.

4. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: DOLE AMENDMENT

WE REMAIN OPPOSED TO THE SENATE ATTEMPTS TO FORCE THE PRESIDENT TO BREAK THE UN ARMS EMBARGO UNILATERALLY. THE BILL IS FUTILE AND DAMAGING FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS:

1. UNILATERAL LIFT WOULD UNDERMINE UN SANCTIONS REGIMES ON IRAQ AND LIBYA AND WOULD VIOLATE INTERNATIONAL LAW.
2. LIFT WOULD AMERICANIZE THE CONFLICT BY SPARKING THE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF UN
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PEACEKEEPERS. THIS WOULD LEAD TO A WIDER AND BLOODIER CONFLICT, FOR WHICH THE U.S. WOULD BEAR THE ULTIMATE RESPONSIBILITY.

3. LIFT WOULD DOOM FROM THE START THE SERIOUS

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EFFORTS MADE BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN THE PAST WEEK TO PROTECT THE ENCLAVE OF GORAZDE, TO OPEN SARAJEVO TO RELIEF CONVOYS, AND TO REASSERT UN MANDATES.

4. LIFT WOULD DRAW THOUSANDS OF U.S. TROOPS INTO THE CONFLICT AS PART OF A NATO-LED EXTRACTION OF OUR ALLIES IN UNPROFOR.

5. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: RUSSIA FM KOZYREV VISIT TO BELGRADE

Q: HAVE YOU RECEIVED A DETAILED READOUT FROM THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT ON FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV'S TRIP TO BELGRADE? DID THE PRESIDENT RECEIVE A LETTER ON BOSNIA FROM PRESIDENT YELTSIN?

A: -- WE HAVE BEEN IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH THE RUSSIANS DIRECTLY AND THROUGH THE CONTACT GROUP ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS IN BOSNIA, INCLUDING KOZYREV'S TRIP TO BELGRADE, AND APPROPRIATE RESPONSES TO THEM.

-- PRESIDENTS CLINTON AND YELTSIN HAVE ALSO BEEN UNCLASSIFIED

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IN TOUCH REGARDING THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA. A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT YELTSIN TO PRESIDENT CLINTON WAS RECEIVED LATE YESTERDAY.

-- IT IS NO SECRET THAT RUSSIA CONTINUES TO STRESS THE DIPLOMATIC TRACK OVER THE USE OF FORCE.

-- THE SECRETARY AND FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV WILL LIKELY DISCUSS THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA DURING THEIR AUGUST 1 MEETING IN BRUNEI.

(IF PRESSED ABOUT THE YELTSIN LETTER)

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-- WE CAN'T GET INTO THE DETAILS OF PRESIDENTIAL
CORRESPONDENCE.

6. FRANCE: PARIS SUBWAY BOMBING

Q: WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT YESTERDAY'S SUBWAY BLAST IN
PARIS? WERE THERE ANY AMERICAN CITIZENS INVOLVED?

A: -- FRENCH INTERIOR MINISTER DEBRE (DEH-BRAY)
CONFIRMED THAT A BOMB EXPLODED ON A COMMUTER
TRAIN AT THE ST. MICHEL-NOTRE DAME (SAHN
MEE-SHELL NO-TRUH DAHM) STATION IN CENTRAL
PARIS AT APPROXIMATELY 5:30 PM ON JULY 25.

-- THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT INDICATES THAT NO GROUP
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HAS CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE BLAST.

-- THE CURRENT CASUALTY COUNT IS FIVE DEAD AND 81
INJURED. TWO OF THE DEAD AND 66 OF THE
INJURED HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED; NONE OF THOSE
IDENTIFIED IS AN AMERICAN. EMBASSY PARIS IS
IN TOUCH WITH FRENCH OFFICIALS AND WILL
OBTAIN A COMPLETE LIST OF THE INJURED BY
NATIONALITY AS SOON AS IT IS AVAILABLE.

-- THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE DEPLORES THIS
SENSELESS VIOLENCE AGAINST INNOCENT CITIZENS
AND EXPRESSES ITS SINCERE CONDOLENCES AND
SYMPATHY TO THE FAMILIES OF THE VICTIMS AND TO
THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF FRANCE.

7. LITHUANIA: BOMB BLAST DAMAGES BUILDING HOUSING THE
USAID OFFICE IN VILNIUS

Q: WHY WAS THE USAID OFFICE IN VILNIUS BOMBED LAST
NIGHT?

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A: -- ACCORDING TO OUR INFORMATION, TWO GRENADES
EXPLODED AT THE BUILDING HOUSING THE USAID
OFFICE IN VILNIUS LATE EVENING JULY 25. WE
ARE RELIEVED THAT NO ONE WAS INJURED.
HOWEVER, THE USAID OFFICE SUFFERED
APPROXIMATELY 20,000 IN EQUIPMENT LOSSES AS
WELL AS EXTENSIVE DAMAGE TO ROOMS.
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- LITHUANIAN AUTHORITIES ARE INVESTIGATING THIS
LATEST IN A SERIES OF BOMBINGS IN VIILNIUS. WE
DO NOT YET KNOW WHO THE PERPETRATORS WERE OR
WHETHER THEY DELIBERATELY TARGETTED A U.S.
GOVERNMENT FACILITY.
- WE CANNOT YET COMMENT ON ONE THEORY THAT THIS
BOMBING WAS AIMED AT A JOURNALIST LIVING IN
THE SAME BUILDING WHO HAD BEEN WORKING FOR A
NEWSPAPER WELL-KNOWN FOR INVESTIGATING
ORGANIZED CRIME IN LITHUANIA. END BACKGROUND
- WE CONTINUE TO BE IN TOUCH WITH LITHUANIAN
AUTHORITIES ON THIS CASE. U.S. EMBASSY
PERSONNEL ARE TAKING ALL NECESSARY PRECAUTIONS.

MINIMIZE CONSIDERED

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AMCONSUL SHANGHAI

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INFORM CONSULS ALSO FOR USEC/USEOCD

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OPRC

SUBJECT: DAILY PRESS BRIEFING -- MONDAY JULY 10, 1995

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MR. BURNS: GOOD AFTERNOON. WELCOME TO THE STATE

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DEPARTMENT BRIEFING. I'D LIKE TO INTRODUCE TO ALL OF YOU TODAY MR. JOHN DINGER. JOHN, IF YOU WANT TO STAND.

JOHN IS THE NEW DIRECTOR OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT PRESS OFFICE, REPLACING DAVID JOHNSON. DAVID, IF YOU'D LIKE TO STAND. DAVID IS THE NEW DEPUTY SPOKESMAN OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT, AND JOHN HAS JUST BEGUN WORK TODAY HE IS A VERY DISTINGUISHED FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER WHO HAS SERVED MOST RECENTLY UNTIL ABOUT A WEEK AGO AS DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE JAPAN DESK. HE HAS ALSO SERVED IN JOHANNESBURG, RIO DE JANEIRO AND HAS HAD ASSIGNMENTS IN JAPAN ITSELF. WE'RE VERY PLEASED HE'S HERE. I'M SURE YOU ALL WANT TO TALK TO HIM AND GET TO KNOW HIM VERY SOON.

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I THINK YOU ALL KNOW MR. JOHNSON. HE NEEDS NO --

Q IS HE VERY DISTINGUISHED, TOO?

MR. BURNS: HE'S VERY DISTINGUISHED, YES.
(LAUGHTER) HE'S EXCEEDINGLY DISTINGUISHED. (LAUGHTER)

Q WHAT HAVE YOU DONE WITH THE DISTINGUISHED CHRISTINE SHELLY?

MR. BURNS: THE DISTINGUISHED CHRISTINE SHELLY IS GOING TO GO ON TO AN ASSIGNMENT WITH THE DEPARTMENT, AND I THINK YOU'LL BE SEEING HER SHORTLY BEFORE SHE LEAVES. SHE'S HERE FOR ANOTHER TWO WEEKS, IN THE BUILDING.

Q CAN YOU ENLIGHTEN US ON --

MR. BURNS: I DON'T WANT TO DO THAT. I THINK THAT'S FOR CHRISTINE TO SAY WHAT SHE'S GOING TO BE DOING. I DON'T WANT TO DO THAT IN HER BEHALF.

I AM PREPARED TO GO TO WHATEVER QUESTIONS MAY BE ON YOUR MIND.

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Q WOULD YOU BRING US UP TO DATE ON HARRY WU?

MR. BURNS: YES, I CAN. AS YOU KNOW, MR. WU -- THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT INFORMED OUR EMBASSY IN BEIJING ON SATURDAY THAT MR. HARRY WU HAD BEEN ARRESTED AND WAS UNCLASSIFIED

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GOING TO BE CHARGED WITH SOME VERY SERIOUS CRIMES. WE SENT OUR CONSUL GENERAL IN BEIJING, MR. ARTURO MACIAS OUT TO WUHAN IN HUBEI PROVINCE, AND THEY HAD A MEETING THIS MORNING.

THE VISIT IN A WUHAN JAIL LASTED ABOUT 30 MINUTES. MR. WU STATED THAT HE WAS FINE THAT HE WAS BEING FED, AND THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN BEATEN OR TORTURED. I UNDERSTAND THAT THE CONVERSATION HAD TO TAKE PLACE THROUGH A GLASS PARTITION. THE CONVERSATION WAS MONITORED BY FOUR OR FIVE CHINESE OFFICIALS. IN FACT, THEY HAD TO SPEAK THROUGH A PHONE LINE. THERE WAS A CHINESE OFFICIAL ON THE PHONE LINE.

OUR CONSUL WAS NOT PERMITTED TO DISCUSS THE DETAILS OF THE LEGAL CASE BEING BROUGHT AGAINST MR. WU WITH MR. WU. WE HAD BEEN INFORMED BY THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT BEFORE THE MEETING THAT THAT WOULD NOT BE THE CASE; THAT IT WAS NOT GOING TO BE PERMISSIBLE FOR OUR CONSUL TO DISCUSS ANY ASPECT OF THE LEGAL PROCEEDINGS WITH MR. WU.

WE BELIEVE THAT MR. WU SHOULD BE GIVEN LEGAL REPRESENTATION OF HIS OWN CHOOSING, AND WE WANT TO MAKE SURE THAT MR. WU IS FULLY APPRISED OF THE CHARGES BEING BROUGHT AGAINST HIM AND FULLY UNDERSTANDS THE CHARGES BEING BROUGHT AGAINST HIM, AND THEREFORE WE WOULD LIKE ACCESS TO HIM TO BE ABLE TO DISCUSS THESE CHARGES.

UNDER THE CONSULAR CONVENTION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA, UNDER ARTICLE 35 OF THAT CONVENTION, UNCLASSIFIED

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VISITS MAY BE MADE ON A RECURRING BASIS -- OUR VISITS TO
SEE MR. WU -- AND NO LONGER THAN ONE MONTH SHALL BE
ALLOWED TO PASS IN BETWEEN VISITS. MR. MACIAS, OUR
CONSUL, WAS INFORMED UPON LEAVING THE PRISON THAT WE
MIGHT NOT EXPECT ANOTHER VISIT FOR A MONTH.

WE ARE PRESSING TO MAKE SURE THAT OUR CONSUL CAN SEE
MR. WU ON A MORE FREQUENT BASIS. MR. MACIAS IS
SCHEDULED TO RETURN TO BEIJING ON JULY 11. JUST TO
REVIEW SOME OF THE INFORMATION THAT CAME IN OVER THE
WEEKEND, IT'S OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT MR. WU HAS BEEN
ACCUSED OF COMMITTING THREE CRIMES.

FIRST, REPEATEDLY SNEAKING INTO CHINA UNDER FALSE
NAMES;

SECOND, STEALING CHINESE STATE SECRETS; AND

THIRD, DISSEMINATING THOSE SECRETS TO INSTITUTIONS

AND ORGANIZATIONS OUTSIDE OF CHINA.

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WE ARE NOT AWARE IF THESE ARE IN FACT THE SPECIFIC
CHARGES THAT WILL BE BROUGHT AGAINST MR. WU IF HIS CASE
COMES TO TRIAL, AND WE ARE CURRENTLY RESEARCHING CHINESE
LAW TO DISCOVER ANY PENALTIES -- OR THE PENALTIES THAT
WOULD ACCOMPANY A CONVICTION UNDER THESE CHARGES.

WE VERY MUCH REGRET THE ACTION THAT THE CHINESE
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GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN IN ARRESTING MR. WU AND IN BRINGING
THESE CHARGES AGAINST HIM, AND WE'RE GOING TO MAKE SURE

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THAT WE DO EVERYTHING WE CAN TO PROTECT MR. WU'S RIGHTS UNDER THE U.S.-CHINA CONSULAR CONVENTION. AND I'VE GONE JUST A COUPLE OF MINUTES AGO INTO WHAT WE ARE DOING IN THAT REGARD.

WE HAVE REPEATEDLY STATED THAT WE THINK HE SHOULD BE RELEASED EXPEDITIOUSLY, IMMEDIATELY AND I'D LIKE TO RESTATE THAT AGAIN FOR YOU TODAY. WE BELIEVE THAT MR. WU'S EXPEDITIOUS RELEASE IS IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA, AS WELL, OBVIOUSLY, AS IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF MR. WU AND HIS FAMILY.

Q THE OTHER DAY YOU SAID THAT THE OVERALL RELATIONSHIP CANNOT BE IMPROVED AS LONG AS THIS WU CASE REMAINS A SORE POINT. SUCH A TRIAL PROCEEDING COULD GO ON FOR MONTHS OR EVEN YEARS, DEPENDING ON HOW FAST THE CHINESE WANT IT TO MOVE. ARE YOU STILL LINKING OVERALL IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS WITH CHINA WITH A SUCCESSFUL RESOLUTION OF THE WU CASE?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T THINK WE EVER SPECIFICALLY LINKED THE TWO, BUT WHAT WE HAVE SAID QUITE CLEARLY, JIM, IS THAT WE ARE OBVIOUSLY IN A PERIOD OF SOME DIFFICULTY IN U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS. WE BELIEVE IT'S IMPERATIVE THAT BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA TAKE STEPS TO REPAIR THOSE DIFFICULTIES.

THE UNITED STATES IS TRYING TO SCHEDULE MEETINGS WITH THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP TO DISCUSS THESE

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DIFFERENCES. WE'RE NOT TRYING TO CANCEL MEETINGS, AND WE'D LIKE TO SEE SOME HIGH-LEVEL DISCUSSIONS TAKE PLACE SO THAT WE CAN SORT OUT OUR DIFFERENCES AND TALK THROUGH THEM.

CERTAINLY, MR. WU'S CASE IS AN IMPORTANT CASE BECAUSE HE'S AN AMERICAN CITIZEN TRAVELING ON A VALID AMERICAN PASSPORT. HE HAD A VALID CHINESE VISA. HE WAS NOT AWARE UPON ENTERING CHINA THAT ANY DIFFICULTIES WOULD ENSUE. IT'S A SERIOUS CASE, BUT THERE ARE A NUMBER OF ISSUES THAT REMAIN ON THE AGENDA THAT ARE

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QUITE IMPORTANT THAT NEED TO BE RESOLVED. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF OPPORTUNITIES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA THAT SPEAK TO BOTH OF OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS WHICH SPEAKS TO THE NEED FOR CONTINUED CONTACT.

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ON SATURDAY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE WIN LORD TELEPHONED THE CHINESE CHARGE HERE IN WASHINGTON AND MADE THE BASIC POINT THAT IT'S TIME FOR BOTH COUNTRIES TO UNDERSTAND THAT WE NEED TO MAKE PROGRESS IN THIS RELATIONSHIP AND CERTAINLY ACTION BY THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT IN THE PARTICULAR CASE OF MR. WU WOULD PROVIDE THAT KIND OF PROGRESS THAT MIGHT HELP US UNLOCK SOME OF THE DIFFICULTIES THAT ARE CURRENTLY A BIG FACTOR IN OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH CHINA.

MARK.

Q ARE YOU ASKING OTHER COUNTRIES TO RAISE THE WU
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CASE IN THEIR CONTACTS WITH CHINESE OFFICIALS, IN PARTICULAR GERMANY WHERE THE PRESIDENT OF CHINA IS NOW TRAVELING?

MR. BURNS: MARK, WE'VE TAKEN THE POSITION THAT U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS ARE DEPENDENT ON THE ACTIONS AND THE BEHAVIOR OF BOTH COUNTRIES, AND WE BELIEVE NOW THAT IT'S IMPORTANT THAT CHINA DEMONSTRATE THAT IT HAS AN INTEREST IN GOOD RELATIONS WITH US; AND THAT'S THE MAJOR POINT THAT WE'VE TRIED TO MAKE TO THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT IN ALL OF OUR DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS.

WE WOULD CERTAINLY BE AGREEABLE IF OTHER COUNTRIES WANTED TO ADVISE THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT THAT THEIR REACTION IN THE CASE OF MR. WU HAS PROBABLY NOT LED TO AN IMPROVEMENT OF THE RELATIONSHIP; IN FACT, HAS ADDED TO THE DIFFICULTIES. IF OTHER COUNTRIES WANT TO MAKE THAT CASE, IF THEY WANT TO ADVISE CHINA OF A CERTAIN COURSE OF ACTION, THAT WOULD BE BENEFICIAL TO MR. WU WE

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WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION TO THAT.

BUT I THINK THE MAIN MESSAGE WE'RE GIVING IS THAT THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA HAVE TO RESOLVE THESE PROBLEMS TOGETHER AND DIRECTLY. WE'RE NOT LOOKING FOR OUTSIDE MEDIATION OF THIS PROBLEM, AND WE'RE NOT SEARCHING DESPERATELY FOR OTHER COUNTRIES TO STEP IN AND SOLVE THIS PROBLEM.

IT'S REALLY INCUMBENT UPON THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA TO RESOLVE THIS PARTICULAR PROBLEM AND ALL THE
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PROBLEMS ON OUR AGENDA.

Q SO NO OTHER COUNTRY HAS BEEN ASKED TO RAISE THE ISSUE OF HARRY WU WITH THE CHINESE?

MR. BURNS: NO, I DIDN'T SAY THAT. WE WOULD CERTAINLY WELCOME IT, AND I THINK WE'VE PROBABLY HAD CONTACT WITH OTHER COUNTRIES AND SAID -- I'M NOT AWARE OF IT SPECIFICALLY, BUT I IMAGINE WE HAVE HAD CONTACT WITH OTHER COUNTRIES AND ASKED FOR SUPPORT. WE NORMALLY WOULD DO THAT

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IN A CASE LIKE THIS WHICH IS SO PUBLIC AND IS POSING SUCH A PROBLEM IN OUR RELATIONSHIP.

BUT THE MAIN POINT I WANT TO STRESS IS THAT WE BELIEVE THAT WE CAN RESOLVE THIS PROBLEM-AND OTHERS ON OUR OWN WITH THE CHINESE AND THAT IS THE MAIN FOCUS OF OUR EFFORTS.

Q IN ASKING FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE, ARE YOU SAYING THESE CHARGES ARE TRUMPED UP AND POLITICALLY MOTIVATED WITH NO LEGAL BASIS AT ALL?

MR. BURNS: WE'RE NOT IN A POSITION TO KNOW, GEORGE. WE'RE NOT IN A POSITION TO SUBSTANTIATE THESE CHARGES, BECAUSE WE HAVE HAD VERY CURSORY ACCESS TO MR.

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WU, AND OUR CONSUL DID NOT HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO
DISCUSS THE SPECIFIC CHARGES WITH HIM. SO IN EFFECT WE
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HAVE NOT HEARD MR. WU'S SIDE OF THE STORY, AND THAT
OBVIOUSLY WOULD HAVE TO HAPPEN BEFORE WE FORMED OUR OWN
JUDGMENT.

WE'RE NOT PARTY TO THE LEGAL PROCEEDINGS. THIS IS A
MATTER NOW FOR THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT TO DECIDE HOW IT

WILL PROCEED UNDER CHINESE LAW AND REGULATIONS. SO IT'S
REALLY NOT POSSIBLE FOR US TO TAKE ANY KIND OF POSITION
ON THE LEGAL ISSUES THAT HAVE ARISEN HERE.

Q BUT (INAUDIBLE)

MR. BURNS: BUT IT IS CERTAINLY POSSIBLE FOR US,
GEORGE -- LET ME JUST FINISH A POINT -- TO ASSERT A
COMPELLING POLITICAL AND HUMANITARIAN POINT, AND THAT IS
THAT MR. WU IS A CHAMPION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. HE IS
ACKNOWLEDGED TO BE AROUND THE WORLD AND CERTAINLY IN THE
UNITED STATES, AND WE BELIEVE IT'S CERTAINLY IN HIS BEST
INTERESTS TO HAVE HIM RELEASED IMMEDIATELY. WE BELIEVE
IT'S IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF BOTH OF OUR COUNTRIES AND
OF OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH CHINA TO SEE AN EXPEDITIOUS
RELEASE.

SID.

Q IT MAY BE ASKING THE OBVIOUS, BUT IS CHINA
ABUSING THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF HARRY WU?

MR. BURNS: SID, I THINK WE KNOW SO LITTLE ABOUT THE
CONDITIONS OF MR. WU'S DETENTION SINCE JUNE 19. THERE
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WAS A VERY SHORT MEETING TODAY. I HAVE JUST REPORTED TO
YOU THAT MR. WU STATED THAT HE WAS FINE; THAT HE WAS
BEING FED, AND THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN BEATEN OR TORTURED.
THAT'S WHAT HE STATED TO OUR CONSUL, AND THERE WERE
CHINESE OFFICIALS PRESENT AT THAT ENCOUNTER.

WE DO NOT HAVE AN INDEPENDENT WAY TO ASSESS THE
CONDITIONS OF HIS DETENTION OR THE SPECIFICS OF WHAT HAS

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HAPPENED TO HIM SINCE JUNE 19. ALL I'M SAYING TODAY IS
IT'S QUITE CLEAR TO US THAT IT'S IN HIS BEST INTERESTS
AND THE BEST INTERESTS OF BOTH COUNTRIES THAT CHINA TAKE
NOW VERY QUICK ACTION TO RELEASE HIM. THAT IS CLEARLY
THE OUTCOME THAT IS DESIRED BY THE UNITED STATES.

Q BUT THE FACT OF HIS DETENTION -- THE
CIRCUMSTANCES OF HIS ARREST AND DETENTION, IS THAT AN
ABUSE OF HIS HUMAN RIGHTS, BARRING THE CONDITIONS UNDER
WHICH HE'S BEEN HELD?

MR. BURNS: AGAIN, I THINK WE HAVE TO BE VERY
CAREFUL HERE TO MAKE JUDGMENTS BASED UPON WHAT WE KNOW.

WE KNOW VERY LITTLE ABOUT THE CHARGES THAT ARE BEING
BROUGHT AGAINST HIM, ABOUT THE ULTIMATE SPECIFIC CHARGES
ON WHICH HE MAY OR MAY NOT BE TRIED, AND WE HAVEN'T HAD
AN OPPORTUNITY TO HEAR FROM MR. WU.

BECAUSE OF ALL THIS, BECAUSE WE KNOW SO LITTLE ABOUT
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THE LEGAL ASPECTS OF THIS CASE, I THINK IT'S REALLY WISE
FOR ME TO LIMIT MYSELF TO WHAT I'VE SAID.

STEVE.

Q THE WAY I HEAR YOU, YOU'RE LEAVING OPEN THE

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POSSIBILITY THAT THE CHARGES ARE THEN VALID CHARGES,
PENDING WHAT YOU HEAR FROM HIM?

AND THE SECOND QUESTION IS, SO FAR AS YOU KNOW, IS
HE A SPY FOR ANYBODY?

MR. BURNS: I CAN TELL YOU THERE IS NOTHING THAT I
KNOW OF THAT WOULD INDICATE HE'S A SPY FOR ANYONE;
CERTAINLY NOT FOR THE UNITED STATES. MR. WU IS
RESPECTED CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES. HE HAS
CONTRIBUTED A LOT TO THIS COUNTRY, AND WE, IN THE
GOVERNMENT, HAVE GREAT RESPECT FOR HIM.

ON YOUR FIRST QUESTION, STEVE, THE PROBLEM THAT
WE'RE DEALING WITH -- AGAIN, I WILL BE REPETITIVE; I
THINK IT BEARS REPETITION. WE HAVE NOT BEEN GIVEN THE
OPPORTUNITY BY THE CHINESE AUTHORITIES TO UNDERSTAND IN
A SPECIFIC AND DETAILED WAY WHAT THE CHARGES ARE, WHAT
THEY MEAN, AND WHAT EVIDENCE HAS COME FORTH TO
SUBSTANTIATE THOSE CHARGES.

SO I AM VERY CLEARLY TODAY NOT SUBSTANTIATING THE
CHARGES. I'M NOT IN A POSITION TO DO SO. BUT I'M
REALLY NOT IN A POSITION TO GO BEYOND SAYING THAT SINCE
WE KNOW SO LITTLE.

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THE CLEAR POINT THAT I WOULD LIKE TO LEAVE WITH YOU,
FROM THIS PARTICULAR BRIEFING, IS THAT WE THINK HE OUGHT
TO BE RELEASED, AND THAT REMAINS THE GOAL OF THE UNITED
STATES.

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CHARLIE.

Q NICK TO GO BACK TO WHAT YOU TOLD US ABOUT WHAT
THE CHINESE TOLD MR. MACIAS AND THE AGREEMENT -- I GUESS
ARTICLE 35, IF I HEARD YOU CORRECTLY, IF THERE IS NOT
ANOTHER MEETING ALLOWED WITH MR. WU FOR 30 DAYS, THE
CHINESE WOULD BE WITHIN THE REALM -- THEY WOULD BE

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COMPLYING WITH THE AGREEMENT; IS THAT CORRECT?

MR. BURNS: MY UNDERSTANDING OF ARTICLE 35 OF THE U.S.-CHINA CONSULAR CONVENTION IS THAT NO LONGER THAN ONE MONTH SHALL BE ALLOWED TO PASS BEFORE THERE IS A VISIT. SO I GUESS A READING OF THAT WOULD INDICATE THAT THEY MAY BE WITHIN THEIR RIGHTS TO PERMIT ONLY ONE VISIT DURING A 30-DAY PERIOD.

WE BELIEVE, BECAUSE OF THE ABSENCE OF DETAILED INFORMATION, BECAUSE OF OUR INTENSE AND SERIOUS INTEREST IN THIS CASE AND IN THE WELFARE OF MR. WU, WE BELIEVE WE OUGHT TO BE GIVEN THE RIGHT TO SEE HIM ON A MORE FREQUENT BASIS. WE ARE ASSERTING THAT WITH THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT, AND WE'LL CONTINUE TO DO THAT.

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Q NICK, YOU ARE STILL NOT -- OR THE ADMINISTRATION IS STILL NOT CONSIDERING ANY KIND OF PUNITIVE MEASURES IN REGARDS TO CHINA OVER THIS CASE?

MR. BURNS: WE'RE TAKING DEVELOPMENT AS THEY OCCUR ON A DAY-TO-DAY BASIS. WE'VE LEARNED A LITTLE BIT MORE OVER THE WEEKEND -- SATURDAY AND TODAY. NOT NEARLY ENOUGH FOR US TO BE SATISFIED BUT A LITTLE BIT MORE. WE'LL CONTINUE TO TAKE IT ON A DAY-TO-DAY BASIS.

WE'RE GOING TO TRY TO USE OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH CHINA, IN OUR DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS BOTH HERE IN WASHINGTON AND IN BEIJING, TO RESOLVE THIS PROBLEM.

Q WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT SPEAKER GINGRICH'S SUGGESTION THAT YOU RECOGNIZE TAIWAN?

MR. BURNS: THE UNITED STATES HAS A VERY CLEAR POLICY TOWARDS CHINA, AND THAT IS THAT THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IS THE SOLE, LEGAL GOVERNMENT OF CHINA. WE CERTAINLY ACKNOWLEDGE THE CHINESE POSITION THAT THERE IS ONE CHINA AND TAIWAN IS PART OF CHINA. WE HAVE A ONE-CHINA POLICY.

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IT'S BEEN THE POLICY OF SUCCESSIVE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATIONS FOR WELL OVER 16 YEARS. IT HAS WORKED FOR THE UNITED STATES. IT HAS HAD BIPARTISAN

SUPPORT, AND IT CONTINUES TO HAVE -- IN THE LARGE, IN THE MAIN -- BIPARTISAN SUPPORT.

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IT SPEAKS TO OUR NATIONAL INTEREST TO HAVE A STABLE AND CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GOVERNMENT IN BEIJING.

WE MAINTAIN CULTURAL, COMMERCIAL, AND OTHER UNOFFICIAL RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE ON TAIWAN. THIS APPROACH -- UNOFFICIAL RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN; OFFICIAL RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA -- HAS BEEN THE FOUNDATION OF AN EXTREMELY SUCCESSFUL POLICY THAT HAS LASTED FOR GOING ON FIVE ADMINISTRATIONS. WE ARE NOT GOING TO CHANGE THAT POLICY. WE HAVE NO PLANS TO CHANGE THAT POLICY, AND WE CERTAINLY STAND BEHIND THE POLICY.

WE HAVE MADE CLEAR TO THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT, IN THE AFTERMATH OF THEIR DISAGREEMENT WITH US IN ISSUING THE VISA TO PRESIDENT LEE, THAT WE HAVE A ONE-CHINA POLICY; THAT WE ARE NOT CHANGING THAT POLICY, AND WE'RE GOING TO STICK WITH THAT POLICY. WE HAVE BEEN VERY CLEAR ABOUT THAT. AND VERY CLEAR ALSO TO ASSURE THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT IN BEIJING THAT WE HAVE A POLICY OF ENGAGEMENT WITH THEM -- ENGAGEMENT ACROSS THE BOARD -- AND WE'RE GOING TO REMAIN DEDICATED TO THAT.

Q WHAT DO YOU THINK THE IMPACT IS OF SOMEONE OF GINGRICH'S STATURE INTRODUCING THIS SUGGESTION INTO THE PUBLIC DEBATE?

MR. BURNS: I THINK THAT WE'RE GOING TO RETAIN

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BIPARTISAN SUPPORT FOR THE ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY WHICH
HAS RECEIVED THE SUPPORT OF BOTH REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTS
IN OFFICE AND ALSO REPUBLICAN LEGISLATORS.

I THINK UPON A CLOSE EXAMINATION OF THIS ISSUE AND
ALL OF THE RAMIFICATIONS THAT THIS TYPE OF PROPOSAL
WOULD BRING TO OUR RELATIONS WITH CHINA, IT WILL BE
CLEARER TO POLITICIANS IN THIS COUNTRY -- BOTH
REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC AND TO OTHERS IN THIS COUNTRY,
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- THAT IT'S IN OUR BEST INTEREST TO
STICK WITH A POLICY THAT HAS WORKED AND THAT'S WHAT WE
INTEND TO DO.

THE PRESIDENT SETS AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS
CHINA, AND THE PRESIDENT IS NOT GOING TO CHANGE THAT
POLICY.

STEVE.

Q SINCE THE SECRETARY IS GOING TO BE OUT THAT WAY
SHORTLY, IS THERE ANY THOUGHT BEING GIVEN TO HIM
STOPPING BY BEIJING AND TRYING TO PATCH THINGS UP?

MR. BURNS: NO, NOT THAT I'M AWARE OF. THERE'S NO
THOUGHT WHATSOEVER. THE SECRETARY DOES PLAN TO TRAVEL
TO BRUNEI FOR THE ASEAN MEETINGS AT THE BEGINNING OF
AUGUST.

WE ARE SEEKING DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS -- HIGH-LEVEL
DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS -- WITH CHINESE OFFICIALS. WE'D
VERY

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MUCH LIKE TO HAVE THOSE DISCUSSIONS SO THAT WE CAN WORK THROUGH THE PROBLEM OF MR. WU AND THE OTHER PROBLEMS ON THE U.S.-CHINA AGENDA BUT THERE ARE NO PLANS FOR THE SECRETARY TO VISIT CHINA.

Q NICK, JUST TO GO BACK TO THE INTERVIEW WITH MR. WU. YOU SAY THAT MR. MACIAS WAS NOT ALLOWED TO DISCUSS THE DETAILS OF HIS ARREST; IS THAT CORRECT?

MR. BURNS: THAT'S CORRECT. WE HAD BEEN INFORMED ON SATURDAY, WHEN MR. MACIAS WAS CALLED IN TO THE CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY, THAT WHEN WE HAD OUR CONSULAR VISIT WITH MR. WU, IT WOULD NOT BE PERMITTED OR POSSIBLE FOR THE AMERICAN CONSULAR OFFICIAL TO DISCUSS THE CASE -- THE LEGAL CHARGES BEING BROUGHT AGAINST MR. WU OR HIS CASE OR IMPENDING TRIAL -- WITH MR. WU.

I UNDERSTAND THAT WHEN THE CONVERSATION VEERED TOWARDS THAT AT SEVERAL POINTS, THE CHINESE OFFICIALS MADE IT KNOWN THAT THE CONVERSATION WOULD COMPLETELY END IF THE DISCUSSION CONTINUED OF THE CASE.

AS I SAID BEFORE -- AND I WANT TO EMPHASIZE THIS -- WE BELIEVE IT'S VERY IMPORTANT THAT HE BE GIVEN LEGAL REPRESENTATION OF HIS OWN CHOOSING. WE ALSO THINK IT'S IMPORTANT THAT MR. WU ADEQUATELY BE IN A POSITION TO

UNDERSTAND WHAT IS HAPPENING TO HIM IN THE CHINESE
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JUDICIAL PROCESS, WHAT THE NATURE OF THE CHARGES IS, WHAT THE ULTIMATE PENALTY IS, AND WE WILL SEEK TO HAVE FUTURE CONVERSATIONS WITH MR. WU ON THESE ISSUES.

WE HAVE A FUNDAMENTAL OBLIGATION HERE -- OUR GOVERNMENT -- TO AN AMERICAN CITIZEN TO HELP PROTECT BOTH HIS RIGHTS IN THE CHINESE SYSTEM, IN WHICH HE FINDS HIMSELF, BUT ALSO TO DO WHAT WE THINK IS REASONABLE TO HELP HIM UNDERSTAND WHAT THE RAMIFICATIONS OF THESE PROCEEDINGS ARE, AND WE'LL CONTINUE TO ASSERT THAT RIGHT.

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Q YOU WENT ALONG WITH THOSE GUIDELINES? MR. MACIAS DID NOT PROTEST THOSE RESTRICTIONS AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY WHEN THEY WERE LAID OUT TO HIM?

MR. BURNS: I UNDERSTAND, SID, THAT THESE ARE NOT RESTRICTIONS THAT ARE UNIQUE TO THE CASE OF MR. WU; THAT THESE ARE THE NORMAL RESTRICTIONS THAT APPLY TO ANY FOREIGNER WHO IS SUBJECT TO ARREST, DETENTION, AND CHARGES WITHIN CHINA. IT'S NOT UNUSUAL.

IN FACT, THE CHINESE TOLD US ON SATURDAY THAT THIS WAS NOT UNUSUAL; THIS WAS A NORMAL PROCEDURE. I AM JUST ASSERTING TODAY THAT WE WOULD LIKE THE RULE OF REASON TO PREVAIL HERE. THIS IS NOW A VERY HIGH PROFILE CASE. AN AMERICAN CITIZEN HAS BEEN CHARGED WITH VERY SERIOUS CRIMES,

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AND WE BELIEVE THAT HE HAS THE RIGHT TO KNOW, WITHOUT A
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DOUBT, IN HIS OWN MIND, WHAT THE NATURE OF THOSE CHARGES IS.

Q ONCE HE GOT DONE SAYING HE WAS OKAY AND NOT BEING BEATEN AND EATING ALRIGHT, WHAT WAS THE REST OF THE HALF HOUR ON?

MR. BURNS: MR. MACIAS, OUR CONSUL, I BELIEVE, PHONED IN A REPORT TO THE EMBASSY IN BEIJING, AND ON THAT BASIS WE HAVE A VERY SHORT CABLE FROM BEIJING. WE DO NOT HAVE A LENGTHIER CABLE, WHICH WE ARE EXPECTING TO RECEIVE WHICH COULD PROVIDE FURTHER INFORMATION. BUT OUR FIRST OBJECTIVE IN SEEKING ACCESS TO MR. WU WAS TO ASSURE OURSELVES THAT HE WAS OKAY, THAT HIS PHYSICAL AND EMOTIONAL STATE WAS AS GOOD AS COULD BE EXPECTED UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES.

WE CERTAINLY WANT TO ASSURE OURSELVES THAT HE IS BEING WELL TREATED. HE STATED TO US, WITH CHINESE

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OFFICIALS PRESENT, THAT HE IS, IN EFFECT, RECEIVING FAIR TREATMENT. WE WILL SEEK OTHER VISITS TO HIM BECAUSE WE WILL CONTINUOUSLY WANT TO MONITOR HIS CONDITION. HE IS 58 YEARS OLD. HE HAS SPENT 19 YEARS OF HIS LIFE IN CHINESE DETENTION -- IN PRISONS. HE'S HAD A HARD LIFE, AND HE'S CERTAINLY GOING THROUGH ENORMOUS EMOTIONAL STRAIN NOW. HE'S UNDER ARREST. HE'S BEING CHARGED WITH SERIOUS CRIMES. WE WANT TO MAKE SURE THAT HE'S OKAY AND THAT IS THE FIRST OBJECTIVE.

WHEN THE CONVERSATION DID VEER SECONDARILY TO THE CASE ITSELF, AS I SAID, THE CHINESE OFFICIALS THREATENED
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TO END THE CONVERSATION. SO MR. MACIAS WAS NOT IN A POSITION TO GET ANY KIND OF DETAIL FROM MR. WU ON HIS OWN APPRECIATION OF HIS LEGAL POSITION.

Q YOU MENTIONED THE THREE CHARGES, AND ONE OF THEM IS THAT HE ENTERED CHINA REPEATEDLY UNDER FALSE NAMES. IS PETER HONGDA WU A FALSE NAME? YOU CAN AT LEAST COMMENT ON THAT, CAN YOU NOT?

MR. BURNS: I CERTAINLY CAN YES. PETER HONGDA WU IS AN AMERICAN CITIZEN, NATURALIZED IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE NAME THAT HE TOOK AS A NATIONALIZED AMERICAN CITIZEN WAS PETER HONGDA WU. THE PASSPORT THAT HE WAS GIVEN WAS IN THAT NAME. HE HAS A VALID AMERICAN PASSPORT. HE HAS BEEN ISSUED ONLY ONE PASSPORT. HE HAS A VALID CHINESE VISA IN HIS PASSPORT.

HE HAS TRAVELED TO CHINA ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS DURING THE LAST COUPLE OF YEARS WITH THIS PARTICULAR PASSPORT. IF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT HAD A REASON TO SUSPECT THAT HE WAS GUILTY OF THESE CRIMES, THEN THEY SHOULD HAVE OF COURSE, ALERTED HIM DURING THE VISA PROCESS. THAT'S NORMALLY WHAT WE WOULD DO IN THIS PROCESS.

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WE OFTEN KEEP PEOPLE OUT OF OUR COUNTRY WHO WE

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BELIEVE HAVE EITHER VIOLATED OUR LAWS OR HAVE ACTED IN SUCH A WAY THAT THEY ARE UNDESIRABLE IN OUR OWN COUNTRY.

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SO IT'S A LITTLE BIT UNUSUAL FOR AN AMERICAN CITIZEN TO BE ISSUED A VALID VISA ONLY TO FIND THAT WHEN HE ENTERS THE PARTICULAR COUNTRY HE'S ARRESTED ON VERY SERIOUS CHARGES.

Q DO YOU THINK THE CHINESE SET MR. WU UP?

MR. BURNS: I HAVE NO WAY OF KNOWING THAT. WE KNOW VERY LITTLE ABOUT HIS ACTUAL DETENTION AND ARREST ON THE CHINESE-KAZAK BORDER ON JUNE 19. AS I SAID, WE HAVE VERY LITTLE INFORMATION ON THE CHARGES THAT HAVE BEEN BROUGHT AGAINST HIM, AND WE'VE NOT HAD A FULL DISCUSSION WITH THE CHINESE AUTHORITIES ON HOW THEY INTEND TO PROCEED ON A JUDICIAL BASIS.

SO WE'RE REALLY OPERATING HERE WITH SCANT INFORMATION, AND WE'RE DOING THE BEST WE CAN TO, KIND OF SURMISE WHAT THE FACTS ARE.

BETSY.

Q IF WE WERE TOLD THAT AN AREA OF DISCUSSION COULD NOT BE THE CHARGES AGAINST HIM, WERE THERE ANY OTHER AREAS OF DISCUSSION THAT WE WERE TOLD THAT THERE WERE RESTRICTIONS ON?

MR. BURNS: I'M NOT AWARE THAT WE WERE ADVISED BEFOREHAND THERE WERE ADDITIONAL AREAS OF DISCUSSION THAT WERE OFF LIMITS, NO. I KNOW THAT WE WERE SPECIFICALLY ADVISED -- AND, AGAIN, THE CHINESE SAID THIS IS NORMAL, THIS IS HOW WE TREAT -- THIS IS HOW ALL

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FOREIGNERS IN THIS CASE ARE TREATED, AS ARE FOREIGN
GOVERNMENTS, WHEN THEY SEEK CONSULAR ACCESS.

Q DID THEY SAY WHEN YOU WOULD NORMALLY -- UNDER
THEIR NORMAL PROCESS -- BE ABLE TO DISCUSS THE CASE WITH
HIM?

MR. BURNS: NO. NO, THEY DID NOT.

Q DID THE CONSUL ACTUALLY SEE HIM, OR WAS IT
THROUGH A PARTITION?

MR. BURNS: HE ACTUALLY SAW HIM. IT WAS A GLASS
PARTITION. AGAIN, THIS IS NOT UNUSUAL IN JAILS AND
PRISONS AROUND THE WORLD, THAT YOUR ACCESS IS NOT, IN
THIS CASE, PHYSICALLY DIRECT, THAT YOU HAVE TO MEET
THROUGH A PARTITION. THERE WAS A GLASS PARTITION. AS I
UNDERSTAND IT, BOTH MR. WU AND MR. MACIAS HAD PHONES AND

WERE SPEAKING TO EACH OTHER THROUGH A PHONE. THERE WAS
A CHINESE OFFICIAL

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ON THE LINE WHO MAY HAVE BEEN INTERPRETING; WE'RE NOT
CLEAR ABOUT THIS POINT, BUT CERTAINLY WAS LISTENING IN
ON THE CONVERSATION.

THERE WAS AN OFFICIAL WITH MR. WU ON HIS SIDE OF THE
PARTITION, AND THERE WERE SEVERAL OFFICIALS WITH MR.
MACIAS ON HIS SIDE OF THE PARTITION. SO THIS WAS A
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GROUP DISCUSSION. THIS WAS NOT AN OPPORTUNITY FOR MR.
MACIAS TO HAVE DIRECT ACCESS TO MR. WU.

WHAT WE WOULD LIKE NOW TO HAPPEN IS, WE WOULD LIKE
TO SEE MORE FREQUENT, CERTAINLY, ACCESS TO HIM BY OUR

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CONSULAR OFFICIALS. WE WANT TO ASSURE OURSELVES THAT MR. WU DOES UNDERSTAND WHAT IS HAPPENING TO HIM AND THAT HE BELIEVES HE'S GOT ADEQUATE REPRESENTATION.

THIS IS, IN EFFECT, THE DETAIL OF WHAT HAPPENED TODAY. BUT THE LARGEST POINT THAT'S OF IMPORTANCE TO THE UNITED STATES IS THAT HE BE RELEASED, AND THAT HE BE RELEASED EXPEDITIOUSLY. WE PREFER IT TO BE IMMEDIATELY, BECAUSE WE THINK THAT'S IN HIS BEST INTEREST. WE THINK THAT'S THE MOST LOGICAL AND SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF THIS CASE.

Q IN WHAT KIND OF FACILITY IS MR. WU KEPT IN RIGHT NOW? WAS THERE ANY INDICATION THAT HE WAS GOING TO BE MOVED ANYTIME SOON? AND DID YOU GET ANY GUARANTEES THAT IF HE WAS MOVED THAT CONSULATE OFFICIALS WERE GOING TO BE INFORMED OF THAT?

MR. BURNS: I KNOW THAT MR. MACIAS MET WITH HIM IN A JAIL. WUHAN IS A FAIRLY BIG TOWN. THERE MAY BE SEVERAL JAILS THERE. I CAN'T TELL YOU THE SPECIFIC NAME OF THIS JAIL. IT'S THAT TYPE OF INFORMATION THAT I BELIEVE WILL BE FORTHCOMING, WHEN WE RECEIVE THE DETAILED REPORT OF MR. MACIAS ONCE HE GETS BACK TO BEIJING. YOU SEE, HE CAN'T FILE A CABLE TO US FROM WUHAN. HE'S GOT TO FILE IT FROM BEIJING, AND I THINK HE'LL BE BACK IN BEIJING

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TOMORROW. SO WE MAY HAVE MORE INFORMATION TOMORROW.

I WOULD IMAGINE THAT IF ANYTHING FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN THE TERMS OF MR. WU'S INCARCERATION, IT WOULD BE NORMAL, IT WOULD BE REASONABLE AND EXPECTED, THAT THE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WOULD BE INFORMED -- NAMELY IF HE IS MOVED TO ANOTHER TOWN, WE WOULD BE INFORMED OF THAT.

AS YOU KNOW, SINCE JUNE 19, WE'VE HAD A PROBLEM OF PINPOINTING WHERE MR. WU HAS BEEN HELD. IT WASN'T UNTIL THIS WEEKEND ON SATURDAY, THAT WE KNEW EXACTLY WHERE HE WAS BEING HELD.

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Q NICK, YOU CAN'T GO VERY FAR BACK IN HISTORY TO FIND PRECEDENT FOR DEALING WITH ANOTHER TOTALITARIAN STATE IN SITUATIONS LIKE THIS. IS THERE ANY THOUGHT BEING GIVEN,

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OR IS THERE A POINT AT WHICH THE UNITED STATES MIGHT FIND A CHINESE SPY IN THIS COUNTRY AND ARREST HIM?

MR. BURNS: IN THE INTEREST OF FAIRNESS IN ANSWERING YOUR QUESTION, LET ME JUST ASSERT THAT MR. WU IS AN AMERICAN CITIZEN. HE'S A PRIVATE AMERICAN CITIZEN. THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO EVIDENCE OF WHICH I'M AWARE THAT WOULD LED ANYBODY TO CONCLUDE THAT HE IS A SPY.

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I DON'T KNOW, STEVE, WHAT I CAN SAY IN ANSWER TO YOUR QUESTION. WE'RE GOING TO PROCEED ON THE MOST RATIONAL, REASONABLE LEVEL THAT WE CAN. WE'RE GOING TO TRY TO CONVINCED THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT THAT IT'S IN THEIR INTEREST TO RESOLVE THIS CASE SOON AND TO FREE MR. WU.

Q NICK, IS THERE ANYTHING IN HOW THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT CONDUCTED THIS INTERVIEW THAT VIOLATES THE CONSULAR AGREEMENT THAT YOU'RE AWARE OF?

MR. BURNS: I'M NOT AWARE THAT THE CHINESE DID ANYTHING THAT WOULD VIOLATE THE CONSULAR AGREEMENT.

Q WE'RE NOW WITHIN THE LETTER OF THE CONSULAR AGREEMENT --

MR. BURNS: THEY HAD NOT BEEN WITHIN THE LETTER OF THE CONSULAR AGREEMENT FOR NEARLY TWO WEEKS IN DENYING US ACCESS TO MR. WU. BUT SINCE WE NOW HAVE ACCESS I'M NOT AWARE THAT ANY OF THE PROCEDURES THAT WERE FOLLOWED TODAY IN WUHAN IN THE JAIL INTERVIEW WERE INCONSISTENT WITH THE CONSULAR CONVENTION. I'M NOT AWARE OF ANYTHING

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THAT WOULD LEAD ME TO THAT CONCLUSION.

HOWEVER, WE ARE ALSO FOLLOWING A COURSE OF REASON
HERE. WE'D LIKE TO SEE SOME FLEXIBILITY AND WE WOULD
LIKE TO SEE REASON PREVAIL IN OUR ACCESS TO MR. WU.

Q ONE OTHER QUESTION. IS THERE ANY CONSIDERATION
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BEING GIVEN IN THIS BUILDING TO A TRAVEL ADVISORY?

MR. BURNS: I'M NOT AWARE OF ANY CONSIDERATION TO
THAT EFFECT.

Q THE OTHER DAY YOU MADE THE POINT THAT DIPLOMATS
DEAL WITH CHINA THROUGH THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN
AFFAIRS. SOME PEOPLE ARE TAKING THE VIEW THAT HARRY WU
MAY BE A VICTIM OF A POWER STRUGGLE WITHIN CHINA BETWEEN
THE VARIOUS FORCES -- HARDLINE AND SOFTLINE -- AND THE
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS HAS LOST ITS INFLUENCE WHILE
THE SECURITY FORCES AND THE MILITARY HAVE GAINED
INFLUENCE AND ARE USING HIM AS A PAWN. DO YOU SUBSCRIBE
AT ALL TO SUCH A THEORY?

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MR. BURNS: IT'S HARD TO KNOW WHAT IS MOTIVATING THE
CHINESE GOVERNMENT IN TAKING SUCH A HARD LINE AGAINST
MR. WU. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF REASONS THAT CAN BE
CITED. YOU'VE CITED ONE. PEOPLE OFTEN CITE THAT
PARTICULAR REASON.

WE ARE GOING TO CONFINE OURSELVES, I THINK AT THIS
POINT, IN THE CASE OF MR. WU, TO OUR EFFORT TO HAVE HIM
RELEASED.

YOU'VE ASKED A BROADER QUESTION HERE, THAT CONCERNS
U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS IN GENERAL, AND WHAT THE FACTORS
MAY BE AT WORK THAT AFFECT THAT RELATIONSHIP. WE ARE
NOT IN A POSITION TO CONTROL MOST OF THOSE FACTORS. AS
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THEM MAY BE OBVIOUS TO YOU; SOME MAYBE NOT. BUT THE UNITED STATES HAS AN OBLIGATION TO DEFEND ITS OWN NATIONAL INTERESTS.

WE HAVE A VARIETY OF INTERESTS AT STAKE IN OUR RELATIONS WITH CHINA -- NOT JUST THE HARRY WU CASE, BUT OTHERS. THE HARRY WU CASE IS QUITE IMPORTANT TO US, AND WE'RE SIGNALING THAT TO THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT. WE'RE SIGNALING IT BY INDICATING THE VERY HIGH LEVEL OF INTEREST

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BY OUR LEADERSHIP IN THIS PARTICULAR CASE; BY THE FACT THAT ASSISTANT SECRETARY LORD WAS IN CONTACT AGAIN WITH THE CHINESE CHARGE; AND BY OUR CONTINUING ATTEMPT TO SEEK HIGH LEVEL MEETINGS ON THIS AND OTHER ISSUES.

Q IT'S ALRIGHT IF YOU REFRAIN FROM TELLING ME WHAT THE OPTIONS ARE, BUT IN YOUR EXCHANGE WITH THE CHINESE, DID YOU INDICATE WHAT OPTIONS YOU MIGHT TAKE IN CASE YOU FAIL TO GET WHAT YOU GET?

MR. BURNS: I JUST DON'T WANT TO BE IN A POSITION OF TELLING YOU AND OTHERS THE DETAILS OF OUR DIPLOMATIC

CONVERSATIONS WITH THE CHINESE. WE DON'T NORMALLY DO THAT. THAT'S NOT NORMAL DIPLOMATIC PRACTICE SO I THINK I'LL ADHERE TO NORMAL DIPLOMATIC PROCESS AND BE SILENT ON THAT ISSUE.

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Q IS THE UNITED STATES DETERMINED TO HARRY WU'S RELEASE?

MR. BURNS: OF COURSE, WE'RE DETERMINED TO OBTAIN THE RELEASE OF AN AMERICAN CITIZEN WHO WE RESPECT. WE'RE CALLING FOR HIS IMMEDIATE RELEASE.

Q HAS THE SECRETARY BEEN IN TOUCH WITH ANY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS -- SENATOR HELMS OR OTHERS -- WHO

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KNOW MR. WU, TO SPECIFICALLY INFORM HIM OF WHAT MR. MACIAS TOLD HIM?

MR. BURNS: I CAN CHECK INTO THAT. I DON'T KNOW IF THE SECRETARY HAS DONE THAT THIS MORNING. THIS INFORMATION JUST REACHED US A COUPLE OF HOURS AGO. WE HAVE BEEN TRYING TO KEEP THE INTERESTED MEMBERS OF CONGRESS APPRISED OF WHATEVER WE KNOW ALL ALONG THE LINE. THE SECRETARY HAD LUNCH WITH SENATOR HELMS AND SENATOR PELL A WEEK BACK, AND HAD A LONG DISCUSSION OF MR. WU'S CASE.

IT WOULDN'T SURPRISE ME IF IT COMES UP TONIGHT IN CONTACTS THAT WE'LL BE HAVING WITH MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, AND IT WOULDN'T SURPRISE ME IF IT CAME UP IN ANY TELEPHONE CALL OR MEETING AT ANY LEVEL BETWEEN CONGRESS AND THE ADMINISTRATION.

IT'S A VERY IMPORTANT CASE. MR. WU HAS A GREAT DEAL OF SUPPORT IN THE U.S. CONGRESS. HE'S GOT A GREAT DEAL OF SUPPORT IN THE ADMINISTRATION FOR HIS RELEASE AS WELL.

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Q THERE'S A STORY IN U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT REGARDING THE CHINESE PREMIER, LI PENG, AND FOREIGN MINISTER, QIAN QICHEN HAVE REQUESTED PRESIDENT CLINTON TO PROMISE NOT TO RECEIVE PRESIDENT LEE TENG-HUI TO VISIT THE UNITED STATES. APPARENTLY, THE STATE DEPARTMENT SAID NO TO THIS REQUEST. CAN YOU CONFIRM THAT?

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MR. BURNS: I HAVE NO INFORMATION ON THAT PARTICULAR STORY.

Q ARE YOU AWARE OF ANY COMMUNIQUE OR ANY FURTHER FORMAL THINGS BEING DISCUSSED BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS RIGHT NOW?

MR. BURNS: THIS ISSUE IS PROBABLY DISCUSSED ON A

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DAILY BASIS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA. I'M SIMPLY NOT AWARE OF ALL THE CONVERSATIONS THAT TAKE PLACE AT A VARIETY OF LEVELS. I'M AWARE OF SOME OF THE CONVERSATIONS THAT TAKE PLACE. I'M AWARE OF SOME OF THE CONVERSATIONS THAT TAKE PLACE.

WE ISSUED A VISA TO PRESIDENT LEE TENG-HUI FOR AN UNOFFICIAL VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES. WE SAID AFTER ISSUING THE VISA THAT ANY SUBSEQUENT REQUESTS FOR A VISA WOULD BE CONSIDERED ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS. WE HAVE NOT MADE ANY COMMITMENTS TO ISSUE VISAS IN THE FUTURE.

Q SOME OF THE PROBLEMS BETWEEN CHINA AND THE
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UNITED STATES ARE PERHAPS UNFORTUNATE COINCIDENCES OF TIMING. YOU NOW HAVE A PRETTY DELICATE SITUATION WITH THE CHINESE AND THERE'S GOING TO BE AN ANNOUNCEMENT TOMORROW THAT I WONDER WHETHER YOU THINK WILL HAVE AN IMPACT ON THAT ALSO. WHAT DO YOU EXPECT THE CHINESE TO SAY IN REACTION TO TOMORROW'S EXPECTED ANNOUNCEMENT ON VIETNAM?

MR. BURNS: I WAS GOING TO ASK FOR ENLIGHTENMENT ON TOMORROW -- ON VIETNAM, OKAY. THANK YOU.

Q MY PLEASURE.

MR. BURNS: THANKS, DAVID. THE UNITED STATES IS CONSIDERING -- AND, OF COURSE, THE PRESIDENT IS CONSIDERING -- NEXT STEPS IN OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH VIETNAM.

THIS DECISION THAT IS GOING TO BE BASED ON THE ISSUE OF POW/MIAS AND THE EFFORTS THAT WE BELIEVE THE VIETNAMESE MAY OR MAY NOT HAVE MADE ON THAT DECISION SHOULD NOT BE SEEN AS ANYWAY LINKED TO UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH CHINA. THE FACT IS, THE UNITED STATES AND VIETNAM HAVE AN ENORMOUSLY COMPLEX PAST. THEY FOUGHT A WAR. IT IS NOW 20 YEARS SINCE THE END OF THAT WAR. THE PRESIDENT MUST DETERMINE WHETHER OR NOT IT'S NOW APPROPRIATE TO NORMALIZE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.

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IF THAT HAPPENS -- IF IT HAPPENS -- AND IF THAT
DECISION IS MADE, THEN THAT WILL SPEAK TO
U.S.-VIETNAMESE RELATIONS. IT SHOULD NOT BE SEEN BY
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ANYONE ELSE IN ASIA AS SOME KIND OF THREAT. IT'S NOT
MEANT TO BE. IT'S NOT DESIGNED TO BE.

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VIETNAM IS A COUNTRY OF GROWING IMPORTANCE TO THE
UNITED STATES AND TO OTHER COUNTRIES THAT HAVE INTERESTS
IN THE PACIFIC -- BECAUSE OF ITS ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE
ITS GROWING ECONOMY, BECAUSE OF ITS POLITICAL RELATIONS
WITH A NUMBER OF THE OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE REGION. SO
I THINK YOU HAVE TO SEE THIS QUESTION OF U.S.-VIETNAMESE
RELATIONS IN ITS OWN FRAMEWORK.

Q CAN'T COUNT ON THE CHINESE TO DO THAT, THOUGH,
CAN WE?

MR. BURNS: THE CHINESE HAVE TO MAKE THEIR OWN
DECISIONS. BUT THE CHINESE SHOULD NOT SEE ANY POSSIBLE
IMPROVEMENT IN U.S.-VIETNAMESE RELATIONS AS SOMEHOW TO
THEIR DETRIMENT. THIS IS NOT A ZERO-SUM GAME.

THE UNITED STATES IS A PACIFIC POWER. WE ARE ONE OF
THE GREAT POWERS OF THE PACIFIC. WE HAVE VITAL NATIONAL
INTERESTS AT STAKE IN THE PACIFIC, AND WE WILL MEET
THOSE INTERESTS BASED ON OUR OWN PERCEPTION OF OUR
INTERESTS. OTHER COUNTRIES WOULD HAVE TO EXPECT THAT WE
WOULD FOLLOW THAT COURSE.

Q NICK, DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT ON THE FACT THAT
A NUMBER OF U.S. COMPANIES HAVE LOST MAJOR CONTRACTS IN
THE CONTEXT OF THE DIFFICULT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO
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COUNTRIES?

MR. BURNS: WE WOULD HOPE THAT U.S.-CHINESE ECONOMIC RELATIONS WOULD CONTINUE TO BE GOOD. WE CERTAINLY THINK THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS A LOT TO OFFER. OUR COMPANIES HAVE A LOT TO OFFER. CHINA HAS BEEN A MAJOR MARKET FOR THE UNITED STATES. THE UNITED STATES IS A MAJOR MARKET FOR CHINA. WE HAVE A MUTUAL INTEREST IN ENSURING THE CONTINUATION OF GOOD ECONOMIC RELATIONS. WE WOULD EXPECT THAT THAT WILL CONTINUE.

Q ANOTHER TOPIC?

MR. BURNS: CAN WE JUST EXHAUST CHINA BEFORE WE GO TO ANOTHER.

Q I'D LIKE TO TAKE YOU BACK TO THAT U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT STORY FOR A MOMENT. THE STORY SAYS THAT BEFORE FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER WENT OUT TO BEIJING HE MET WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY LORD IN THE BUILDING.

WHILE SECRETARY KISSINGER WAS IN BEIJING, HE MADE THREE PROPOSALS TO THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP. AMONG THEM, ONE WAS A MEETING BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND FOREIGN MINISTER QIAN WHEN THEY MEET IN BRUNEI IN AUGUST. DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT ON THIS PARTICULAR ASPECT OF THE STORY?

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NUMBER ONE: CAN YOU CONFIRM WHETHER SECRETARY KISSINGER DID MEET WITH LORD BEFORE HE WENT OUT?

MR. BURNS: I CAN CERTAINLY CONFIRM IT. I SAID LAST

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WEEK THAT SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER MET WITH FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER A COUPLE OF WEEKS BACK, IN ADVANCE OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S TRIP TO CHINA.

IN ADDITION TO THAT, JUST BEFORE FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER LEFT, HE DID MEET WITH WIN LORD. YOU WOULD EXPECT THAT -- WIN LORD IS OUR TOP REGIONAL SPECIALIST ON ASIA. HE ALSO USED TO WORK WITH FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER. THEY HAD A GOOD DISCUSSION ABOUT THE STATE OF U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS.

I'M NOT AWARE THAT FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER WAS CARRYING ANY MESSAGES FROM THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT. HE MAY HAVE RAISED -- AND I'M SURE HE DID RAISE -- A NUMBER OF ISSUES PERTAINING TO THE RELATIONSHIP, AND THAT WOULD BE QUITE NATURAL.

I'M SURE THAT WHEN FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER RETURNS, WE WILL BE INTERESTED IN MEETING HIM TO GET A BRIEF ON WHAT HE THINKS OF THE SITUATION IN CHINA, HOW HE APPRAISES U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS AND WHAT HE HEARD FROM SPECIFIC CHINESE OFFICIALS IN THE MEETING. THIS IS NORMAL PRACTICE IN THE UNITED STATES, AND I'M SURE WE WILL NOT DEVIATE FROM IT IN THIS CASE.

Q WHILE HE'S IN THE FIELD, HE'S NOT SENDING ANY UNCLASSIFIED

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REPORTS OR MESSAGES TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT?

MR. BURNS: I'M NOT AWARE OF ANY REPORTS THAT HE SENT TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT DURING HIS TRIP. I CAN'T EXCLUDE THAT POSSIBILITY. BECAUSE, AS YOU KNOW, OUR EMBASSY HAS BEEN FACILITATING HIS VISIT, AND I BELIEVE SOME OF OUR EMBASSY OFFICERS HAVE SAT IN ON SOME OF HIS MEETINGS. IT COULD BE THE CASE THAT HE SENT IN REPORTS BUT I'M NOT AWARE OF ANY.

CONCERNING --

Q YOU'RE NOT AWARE OF ANY MESSAGES THAT DR.

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KISSINGER WAS CARRYING FOR THE ADMINISTRATION? DOES THAT MEAN THOSE THREE PROPOSALS WHICH THE U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT MENTIONED WERE HIS OWN?

MR. BURNS: I HAVE NO IDEA WHETHER OR NOT THE U.S. NEWS REPORT IS ACCURATE. I HAVEN'T SEEN THE REPORT. I DON'T KNOW THE SPECIFICS OF WHAT DR. KISSINGER DISCUSSED IN HIS MEETINGS. I DON'T EVEN KNOW IN GENERALITY WHAT HE DISCUSSED. I DO KNOW THAT WE HAD A COUPLE OF MEETINGS WITH

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HIM -- SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AND WIN LORD -- BEFORE HE LEFT AND THAT WE'LL BE SEEING HIM WHEN HE COMES BACK.

Q HAS CHINA DEMANDED AN APOLOGY FROM THE U.S. FOR ISSUING THE VISA TO PRESIDENT LEE TENG-HUI?

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MR. BURNS: I'M NOT AWARE THAT IT HAS DEMANDED AN APOLOGY. I THINK IT'S FAIR TO SAY THAT CHINA BELIEVES THE UNITED STATES SHOULD TAKE SOME STEPS TO CORRECT WHAT IT PERCEIVES TO BE A RELATIONSHIP THAT HAS SOME DIFFICULTIES.

WE WOULD SAY, IN REPLY, THAT IT TAKES TWO COUNTRIES TO MAKE A SUCCESSFUL RELATIONSHIP. GIVEN THE PATTERN OF THE LAST COUPLE OF WEEKS -- AND SPECIFICALLY THE CASE OF MR. WU -- IT IS CERTAINLY INCUMBENT UPON THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP TO TAKE SOME STEPS TO SHOW IT HAS AN INTEREST IN GOOD U.S.-CHINESE RELATIONS.

Q ARE YOU PREPARED TO TALK TO THE CHINESE AS TO WHAT TO DO TO CORRECT WHAT THE CHINESE CALL MISTAKES?

MR. BURNS: WE ARE INTERESTED IN ALL CONVERSATIONS POSSIBLE WITH THE CHINESE AT ALL LEVELS. WE HAVE MADE OUR VIEWS CLEARLY KNOWN TO THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT.

Q WHAT, SPECIFICALLY, HAVE THE CHINESE ASKED THAT

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THE UNITED STATES DO TO MEND FENCES?

MR. BURNS: AGAIN, I'M NOT A PARTY TO THE DAILY DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS THAT GO ON, SO I CAN'T SPEAK SPECIFICALLY, STEVE. BUT IT'S MY OWN VIEW -- IT'S MY OWN UNDERSTANDING -- THAT THEY HAVE NOT BEEN EXCEEDINGLY SPECIFIC TO US.

THEREFORE, WE BELIEVE THAT THE WAY TO GO FORWARD NOW
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IN U.S.-CHINESE RELATIONS IS TO HAVE CONTACT, IS TO HAVE DISCUSSIONS, IS TO DISCUSS SPECIFIC PROBLEMS, AND FOR BOTH SIDES TO DEMONSTRATE THAT WE BOTH HAVE AN INTEREST AND A COMMITMENT TO THE RELATIONSHIP.

WE'VE DEMONSTRATED THAT BY ASSERTING TIME AND AGAIN, INCLUDING TODAY, THAT WE HAVE A ONE-CHINA POLICY, AND THAT POLICY WILL NOT CHANGE AND HAS NOT CHANGED. WE HAVE ALSO ASSERTED PUBLICLY THAT DESPITE THE FEARS OF SOME IN CHINA, WE ARE NOT ENGAGED IN A POLICY OF CONTAINMENT OF CHINA. WE'RE ENGAGED IN A POLICY OF ENGAGEMENT WITH CHINA, AND THAT'S GOING TO REMAIN THE FUNDAMENTAL BEDROCK OF OUR POLICY.

SO WE HAVE MADE A NUMBER OF PUBLIC OVERTURES TO THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT, AND WE WOULD NOW EXPECT THAT CHINA WOULD TAKE SOME STEPS TO ASSURE US THAT IT IS ALSO COMMITTED TO THIS TYPE OF RELATIONSHIP.

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Q HAVE THE CHINESE SIDE MENTIONED THAT THEY NEED A FOURTH COMMUNIQUE BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES TO BOOST THE SO-CALLED ONE-CHINA POLICY TO GUARANTEE THAT THE U.S. WOULD NOT DO ANYTHING BEYOND THE ONE-CHINA POLICY? HAVE THE CHINESE SIDE MENTIONED THAT?

MR. BURNS: OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH CHINA IS BASED ON THE THREE COMMUNIQES. I'M NOT AWARE THAT THERE'S A PROPOSAL FOR A FOURTH.

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Q WERE YOU ASKED ABOUT THE RAINBOW WARRIOR SITUATION? DO YOU HAVE ANY REACTION TO THE FRENCH, AND DO YOU THINK THEY OVERREACTED IN THEIR ACTIONS?

MR. BURNS: I THINK WE'VE EXHAUSTED CHINA, SO WE CAN GO ON TO THE RAINBOW WARRIOR, IF POSSIBLE. I BELIEVE WE HAVE.

Q (INAUDIBLE)

MR. BURNS: I FULLY EXPECT THAT. (LAUGHTER) LET'S TALK ABOUT THE RAINBOW WARRIOR FIRST. WE VIEW TODAY'S INCIDENT AS UNFORTUNATE. ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS THE GREEN PEACE VESSEL VIOLATED FRENCH TERRITORIAL WATERS, PRECIPITATING THE SEIZURE. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD HAVE BEEN PREFERABLE TO RESOLVE DISPUTES THROUGH PEACEFUL, LEGAL MEANS.

AS WE STATED PREVIOUSLY, WE REGRET VERY MUCH THE FRENCH DECISION TO RESUME NUCLEAR TESTING, AND WE CONTINUE TO URGE ALL NUCLEAR POWERS, INCLUDING FRANCE TO JOIN IN A GLOBAL MORATORIUM AS WE WORK TO COMPLETE THE COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE TIME.

WE WILL CONTINUE TO WORK WITH FRANCE AND THE OTHER NUCLEAR POWERS TOWARDS THAT TREATY.

Q WILL THE U.S. HAVE ANY DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE FRENCH OR THE GOVERNMENTS OF NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIA

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ON THIS?

MR. BURNS: I'M SURE WE'LL HAVE DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT ON THIS PARTICULAR INCIDENT.

Q ARE YOU GOING TO TRY TO --

MR. BURNS: I DON'T KNOW IF WE'LL HAVE CONTACT WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS, BUT I'M SURE WE WILL WITH THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

Q WILL YOU TRY TO CONVINCING THEM TO LET THESE PEOPLE GO OR TO CHANGE THE SITUATION OR BACK DOWN ON THEIR POLICY?

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MR. BURNS: I BELIEVE THE RAINBOW WARRIOR HAS LEFT THE AREA. THAT'S WHAT I'VE SEEN ON TELEVISION JUST RECENTLY. I DON'T BELIEVE IT'S A CASE OF HAVING LET PEOPLE GO. WE JUST THINK THIS WAS AN UNFORTUNATE INCIDENT THIS MORNING.

Q WHAT'S UNFORTUNATE ABOUT IT? IS IT UNFORTUNATE THAT THE FRENCH STORMED THE VESSEL, OR IS IT UNFORTUNATE THAT GREEN PEACE WANTED TO PROTEST THE FRENCH DECISION?

MR. BURNS: I THINK THE FORMER, NOT THE LATTER.

Q THAT THE FRENCH STORMED THE VESSEL.

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MR. BURNS: THE INCIDENT WAS UNFORTUNATE IN THE WAY THAT IT WAS RESOLVED, CERTAINLY. WE WOULD HAVE PREFERRED PEACEFUL, LEGAL MEANS. I WOULD NOTE THAT ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS, THE GREEN PEACE VESSEL DID VIOLATE FRENCH TERRITORIAL WATERS WHICH PRECIPITATED THE SEIZURE. SO JUST TO BE FAIR IN ASSESSING THE SITUATION, I WANTED TO NOTE BOTH FACTORS.

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Q COULD WE DO BURMA? DO YOU HAVE ANY REACTION TO THE RELEASE OF AUNG SAN SUU KYI?

MR. BURNS: YES, WE DO. WE WELCOME VERY, VERY MUCH THE ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE BURMESE AUTHORITIES THAT AUNG SAN SUU KYI HAS BEEN RELEASED, AFTER HER NEARLY SIX YEARS OF HOUSE ARREST. IF HER RELEASE ENABLES HER TO PARTICIPATE FREELY IN A GENUINE PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION THAT LEADS TO A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT, THIS WOULD ALSO MARK A MILESTONE TOWARD THE RESTORATION OF PEACE AND STABILITY IN BURMA.

WHILE WE WELCOME THIS STEP, WE REMAIN CONCERNED ABOUT THE GENERAL HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN BURMA, AS REFLECTED IN OUR ANNUAL HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTS. WE HOPE VERY MUCH THAT THE RELEASE THIS MORNING OF AUNG SAN SUU KYI SIGNALS THE BURMESE GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS AND ENGAGE IN A GENUINE POLITICAL DIALOGUE WITH ALL FORCES -- POLITICAL FORCES -- IN BURMA.

Q NICK, THIS IS SOMETHING THAT THE SECRETARY AND WINSTON LORD SAID WOULD BE A VERY IMPORTANT STEP IN
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IMPROVING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND BURMA

WHEN THEY WERE IN THE REGION LAST TIME. IS THE UNITED STATES GOING TO RECIPROCATE IN ANY FASHION?

MR. BURNS: I BELIEVE BEFORE WE DO THAT, SID, WE'RE GOING TO HAVE TO ASCERTAIN TO OUR SATISFACTION THAT THE CONDITIONS OF HER RELEASE THIS MORNING ARE CONSISTENT WITH WHAT WE THINK HAS HAPPENED. THAT THEY'RE CONSISTENT WITH A GENUINE EFFORT TO TRY TO IMPROVE THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN

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BURMA AND TO PERMIT A MUCH GREATER MEASURE OF POLITICAL EXPRESSION WITHIN BURMA. SHE'S A VERY COURAGEOUS PERSON. SHE'S BEEN UNDER HOUSE ARREST FOR NEARLY SIX

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YEARS.

WE'RE JUST NOT QUITE SURE OF ANY STRINGS THAT MIGHT BE ATTACHED TO THIS PARTICULAR RELEASE OR IF IN FACT THERE ARE SOME CONDITIONS THAT MAY HAVE BEEN APPLIED TO HER ACTIONS AFTER HAVING BEEN RELEASED. I DON'T BELIEVE WE'VE HEARD FROM HER YET. I THINK IT'S IMPORTANT WE HEAR FROM HER AND WE SATISFY OURSELVES THROUGH OUR EMBASSY IN RANGOON TO THE SPECIFICS OF THIS PARTICULAR CASE, BUT WE CERTAINLY WELCOME THE FACT THAT SHE APPARENTLY HAS BEEN RELEASED FROM HOUSE ARREST. WE HAVE A GREAT DEAL OF RESPECT AND ADMIRATION FOR HER.

Q DIFFERENT SUBJECT?

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MR. BURNS: DIFFERENT SUBJECT.

Q DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ELSE ABOUT THE NOW ONE AMERICAN BEING HELD BY REBELS IN INDIA?

MR. BURNS: WE HAVE A LITTLE BIT OF INFORMATION ON THE SITUATION IN KASHMIR. AS YOU ALL KNOW JOHN CHILDS, AN AMERICAN CITIZEN, WHO IS FROM CONNECTICUT, MADE A VERY COURAGEOUS AND DRAMATIC ESCAPE FROM THE TERRORISTS, WHO HAVE KIDNAPPED HIM OVER THE WEEKEND. WE UNDERSTAND THAT MR. CHILDS IS IN GOOD HEALTH.

HE IS NOW BEING ASSISTED BY A FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER FROM OUR EMBASSY IN NEW DELHI, WHO WAS DISPATCHED TO KASHMIR LAST WEEK. THE OTHER U.S. CITIZEN, DONALD FRED HUTCHINGS, AND TWO CITIZENS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM ARE STILL BEING HELD BY THE AL,FARAN GROUP.

THEIR ABDUCTION REMAINS A MATTER OF DEEP CONCERN TO US. WE ARE OBVIOUSLY HOPEFUL FOR A PEACEFUL OUTCOME. WE APPRECIATE VERY MUCH THE COOPERATION WE'RE RECEIVING FROM THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT IN THIS MATTER. AT THIS TIME OUT OF CONCERN FOR THE SAFETY OF THE AMERICAN AND THE TWO BRITS, WE CANNOT PROVIDE ANY FURTHER INFORMATION

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CONCERNING EFFORTS TO SECURE THEIR RELEASE.

Q CAN YOU TELL US IF THEY ARE OKAY? IF THE GENTLEMAN WHO CAME OUT CAN VERIFY THAT THESE PEOPLE ARE IN GOOD HEALTH, WHO ARE STILL BEING HELD?

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MR. BURNS: UNFORTUNATELY, I DON'T HAVE ANY INFORMATION ON THAT. I ASSUME THAT MR. CHILDS HAS DONE HIS BEST TO BRIEF OUR AUTHORITIES AND INDIAN AUTHORITIES ON THE CONDITIONS OF THE OTHERS. HE ESCAPED SOME TIME AGO. IT'S NOW BEEN -- WHAT -- ALMOST THREE DAYS SINCE HIS ESCAPE, I BELIEVE, AND SO I DON'T BELIEVE WE'RE IN A POSITION TO

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SATISFY OURSELVES THAT THE AMERICAN CITIZENS OR THE TWO BRITISH CITIZENS ARE IN GOOD SHAPE. WE JUST DON'T KNOW.

Q NICK, COULD WE GO TO THE MIDDLE EAST?

MR. BURNS: YES.

Q FILING BREAK?

MR. BURNS: YOU'VE ASKED FOR A FILING BREAK. OKAY. I BELIEVE GEORGE IS THE SENIOR CORRESPONDENT IN THE ROOM, SO WE'LL HAVE TO GO BY GEORGE'S GUIDANCE.

Q THERE ARE REPORTS THAT THE ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS ARE GOING TO RESUME THEIR TALKS IN ITALY. WOULD YOU EXPECT AMBASSADOR ROSS TO BE GOING TO ITALY IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS, NEXT WEEK?

MR. BURNS: I'M NOT AWARE THAT AMBASSADOR ROSS HAS ANY PLANS TO DO THAT. AS YOU KNOW, HE'S IN THE REGION,
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HE LEFT YESTERDAY. HE WILL BE MEETING WITH ISRAELI,
SYRIAN, PALESTINIAN, JORDANIAN AND EGYPTIAN AUTHORITIES
OVER THE NEXT COUPLE OF DAYS. HE IS PURSUING TWO VERY
IMPORTANT ISSUES.

ONE IS THE PROGRESS OF THE ISRAEL-PALESTINIAN TALKS
-- THAT TRACK -- WHICH, AS YOU KNOW, WE ARE VERY MUCH
ENGAGED IN. THE SECOND IS PROGRESS IN THE ISRAEL-SYRIAN
TALKS IN WHICH WE TAKE A DIRECT ROLE IN THE TALKS ITSELF.

WE HAVE NOT HAD AMERICAN OFFICIALS PRESENT IN THE
ISRAEL-PALESTINIAN TALKS IN CAIRO OR IN TALKS THAT HAVE
GONE ON IN ISRAEL ITSELF. SO I WOULDN'T EXPECT THAT
WOULD BE THE CASE. I WOULD EXPECT THAT HE CONTINUE WITH
HIS ITINERARY AS HE HAD PLANNED IT.

Q IT IS YOUR UNDERSTANDING THAT THEY ARE GOING TO
CONVENE THE TALKS IN ITALY, THOUGH?

MR. BURNS: I'VE JUST SEEN THE PRESS REPORTS, SID.
I'M NOT IN A POSITION TO VERIFY THAT.

Q THINGS SEEM TO BE WARMING UP AGAIN IN NORTHERN
IRAQ BETWEEN KDP AND PUK. TALIBANI AND BARZANI FORCES
ARE AT IT AGAIN. THEY'RE FIGHTING EACH OTHER, AND THE
IRANIAN REVOLUTIONARY GUARDS, I UNDERSTAND HAVE
ATTACKED PEOPLE MOJAHEDIN CAMPS NEAR BAGHDAD. IS THAT
TURBULENCE AS USUAL OR SOMETHING ELSE? WHAT'S YOUR
READING ON WHAT'S GOING IN IRAQ?

MR. BURNS: I CAN'T INDEPENDENTLY CONFIRM THE EVENTS
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THAT YOU'RE REFERRING TO. I HAVE SEEN SOME PRESS
REPORTS ABOUT TURBULENT EVENTS, BUT I HAVEN'T SEEN
SPECIFIC ONES. I

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DO KNOW THAT THE TURKISH MILITARY IS WRAPPING UP ITS OPERATION IN NORTHERN IRAQ. WE'VE BEEN ASSURED THAT THE WITHDRAWAL WILL BE IN A MATTER OF SEVERAL DAYS.

WE, OF COURSE, CONTINUE TO URGE THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT TO KEEP THIS A LIMITED ENGAGEMENT, TO RECOGNIZE STANDARDS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. WE VERY MUCH UNDERSTAND THE REASON FOR THIS INCURSION AND VERY MUCH UNDERSTAND AND DEFEND TURKISH RIGHT TO DEFEND ITSELF

Q IRANIAN OPERATION WAS ON AGENCE FRANCE PRESS.

MR. BURNS: IS THAT RIGHT?

Q YES.

MR. BURNS: I'M NOT IN A POSITION TO CONFIRM THAT

LAURA.

Q ON BOSNIA. OVER THE WEEKEND AND PART OF TODAY, THE SAFE ZONES OF SREBRENICA AND ZEPA WERE SHELLED CONTINUOUSLY, WHICH PROVOKED CALLS OR THREATS BY THE UNITED NATIONS FOR AIRSTRIKES. CAN YOU GIVE US THE DEPARTMENT'S ASSESSMENT OF WHAT IS HAPPENING RIGHT NOW
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ON THE GROUND?

MR. BURNS: I THINK THAT THE ASSESSMENT OF THE EVENTS AS REPORTED IN THE MAJOR NEWSPAPERS ARE ESSENTIALLY OUR ASSESSMENT THAT THERE'S BEEN A VERY SERIOUS INCIDENT THAT'S OCCURRED OVER THE WEEKEND WHERE BOSNIAN SERB FORCES HAVE GONE WITHIN THE 12.5 MILE ZONE. THEY FORCED, FROM THEIR POSITIONS A SMALL NUMBER OF DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS AND UP TO 30 OF THEM, UNFORTUNATELY, HAVE BEEN TAKEN PRISONER BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS.

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WE DO UNDERSTAND THAT THE DUTCH HAVE FORMED A DEFENSIVE LINE JUST OUTSIDE THE CITY; THAT THE UNITED NATIONS HAS THREATENED NATO AIR STRIKES IF THE BOSNIAN SERBS ATTEMPT TO PIERCE THAT LINE. NATO, OF COURSE, COULD LAUNCH AIR STRIKES OR PROVIDE CLOSE AIR SUPPORT TO U.N. FORCES IF REQUESTED TO DO SO BY THE U.N., BUT NATO HAS NOT YET RECEIVED ANY SUCH REQUEST BY THE UNITED NATIONS.

ON THE DIPLOMATIC SIDE, THE EU NEGOTIATOR, CARL BILDT, HAS FINISHED A TOUR OF THE REGION. THERE WILL BE A CONTACT GROUP MEETING ON WEDNESDAY NIGHT IN PARIS; WHERE MR. BILDT WILL REPORT ON HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT, WITH THE SERBIAN GOVERNMENT IN BELGRADE AND WITH A NUMBER OF OTHERS IN THE REGION. ASSISTANT SECRETARY DICK HOLBROOKE WILL REPRESENT THE UNITED STATES AT THAT MEETING.

Q THESE MOST RECENT INCIDENTS AND THE TAKING OF
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HOSTAGES AGAIN AND THE THREAT OF AIR STRIKES -- HOW

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SUCCESSFUL DO YOU THINK THE U.N.'S MISSION HAS BEEN ON THE GROUND IN TERMS OF DELIVERING HUMANITARIAN AID OR CARRYING OUT ITS MANDATE?

MR. BURNS: THE UNITED NATIONS, ESPECIALLY IN RECENT MONTHS, HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO MEET THE MANDATE THAT IT MUST CARRY OUT. IT HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO DELIVER NEARLY ENOUGH OF THE HUMANITARIAN SUPPLIES TO THE ENCLAVES AND TO SARAJEVO. I BELIEVE THAT IN MOST CASES ABOUT TEN PERCENT OF THE MONTHLY ALLOCATION OF HUMANITARIAN FOOD AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES TO MOST OF THE AFFECTED AREA.

IT HAS ALSO NOT BEEN ABLE TO PROTECT THESE AREAS FROM BOMBARDMENT AND FROM SHELLING BY THE BOSNIAN SERB FORCES. I THINK THIS IS WELL KNOWN. IT'S APPARENT FOR EVERYONE TO SEE. THAT IS WHY WE HAVE BELIEVED OVER THE LAST MONTH THAT THE RAPID REACTION FORCE, IF CONSTRUCTED

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PROPERLY AND IF IT IS SERVED WITH THE APPROPRIATE MANDATE, COULD, WE HOPE, MAKE A POSITIVE DIFFERENCE IN STRENGTHENING THE ABILITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO MEET ITS OBLIGATIONS, WHETHER THEY'RE HUMANITARIAN OR SECURITY. WE VERY MUCH HOPE THAT WILL BE THE CASE ALTHOUGH THAT REMAINS AN OPEN QUESTION.

Q ON THE RAPID REACTION FORCE, THERE'S A REPORT ON THE WIRES THAT FRANCE HAS OFFERED TO USE ATTACK HELICOPTERS TO ASSIST THE BELEAGUERED DUTCH THAT YOU
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REFERRED TO. IS THIS A PROPER EXAMPLE OF WHAT YOU INTEND -- THIS GOVERNMENT INTENDED THE RAPID REACTION FORCE TO BE?

MR. BURNS: FIRST, JUDD, I'M NOT AWARE THAT THE RAPID REACTION FORCE HAS BEEN DEPLOYED TO BE UTILIZED IN THIS PARTICULAR INCIDENT IN SREBRENICA. IF THE FRENCH HAVE IN FACT OFFERED THAT, WE THINK IT WOULD BE FULLY CONSISTENT WITH THE MANDATE OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO PROTECT THE ENCLAVES AND ALSO TO PROTECT ITS OWN PEACEKEEPERS. I CAN'T SPEAK TO THAT REQUEST SPECIFICALLY.

Q BUT YOU'VE ONCE AGAIN GOT HOSTAGES, U.N. PEACEKEEPERS BEING HELD HOSTAGE IN BOSNIA, DOESN'T THAT FORECLOSE AIR STRIKES?

MR. BURNS: THE U.N. SPOKESMAN THIS MORNING, COLONEL COWARD, WAS VERY CAREFUL TO SAY THAT HE DID NOT THINK THAT THESE WERE HOSTAGES, IN THE SENSE THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAD NOT MADE DEMANDS FOR THEIR RELEASE, AS THEY HAVE DONE IN THE PREVIOUS CASES WHERE THERE WERE CLEARLY HOSTAGE-TAKINGS OF THE SEVERAL HUNDRED U.N. PEACEKEEPERS. SO I THINK WE'LL HAVE TO STAND BY WHAT MR. COWARD HAS SAID AND SEE WHAT DEVELOPS.

ALL I CAN SAY, DAVID, IS THAT THE UNITED NATIONS HAS THREATENED THE BOSNIAN SERBS WITH NATO AIR STRIKES SHOULD THIS DEFENSIVE PERIMETER, SET-UP JUST OUTSIDE SREBRENICA, BE

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CHANCE THAT IT WILL BE IN EFFECT A FORCE THAT
STRENGTHENS THE UNITED NATIONS. IT WAS ON THAT BASIS
THAT THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION -- PRESIDENT CLINTON
SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AND OTHERS -- DECIDED THAT WE
OUGHT TO SUPPORT THE RAPID REACTION FORCE THROUGH THE
PROVISION OF AMERICAN FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE, OF MILITARY
LIFT, OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT, OF LOGISTICS HELP AND
INTELLIGENCE SUPPORT.

WE ALSO MADE THE DECISION BASED ON A VERY IMPORTANT
POINT PERTAINING TO U.S. RELATIONS WITH WESTERN EUROPE.
THESE ARE OUR NATO ALLIES. THEY'RE IN A VERY TIGHT

POSITION, AND THE DUTCH, A NATO ALLY OF THE UNITED
STATES, ARE CERTAINLY IN A TIGHT POSITION TODAY. IT
WOULD BE FOOLISH OF THE UNITED STATES TO FORSAKE OUR
ALLIES AND TO LEAVE THEM IN THE LURCH AND TO FORSAKE THE
FUNDAMENTAL COMMITMENT WE HAVE TO HELP THEM WHEN THEY
ARE THREATENED AND IN A TIGHT POSITION.

IT WAS ALSO ON THAT BASIS THAT THE PRESIDENT MADE
THE DECISION TO BACK THE RAPID REACTION FORCE, AND WE
STILL THINK THAT'S A VERY IMPORTANT POINT THAT EVERYBODY
IN OUR COUNTRY HAS TO CONSIDER. THERE ARE SOME PEOPLE
IN OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM AND PEOPLE AROUND THE COUNTRY
WHO BELIEVE THE UNITED NATIONS HAS FAILED, AND THEREFORE
WE SHOULD

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SIMPLY WASH OUR HANDS OF THE WHOLE AFFAIR AND WALK OUT.
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THAT WOULD NOT BE AN HONORABLE THING FOR THE UNITED
STATES TO DO WHEN WE HAVE NATO ALLIES WHO ARE CURRENTLY
THREATENED BY MILITARY FORCE.

WE HAVE 30 NATO ALLIES -- PEACEKEEPERS -- WHO ARE
DETAINED TODAY BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS. YOU DON'T LEAVE
YOUR ALLIES IN A SITUATION LIKE THAT, AND THE PRESIDENT

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IS DETERMINED NOT TO LEAVE THEM.

TOM.

Q THE TIME PICTURES COMES IN THE FACT THAT WINTER IS APPROACHING AND, IF THERE IS TO BE A U.N. WITHDRAWAL, COMPLETED BEFORE WINTER, THAT IT WOULD HAVE TO BEGIN IN A MATTER OF WEEKS. I THINK THAT'S WHERE THE IDEA OF A DEADLINE COMES. DO YOU SHARE THAT SCENARIO, THAT SENSE OF A DEADLINE?

MR. BURNS: I THINK IT'S COMMONLY AGREED THAT WINTER CONDITIONS IN THE BALKANS WOULD PRECLUDE A MAJOR MILITARY OPERATION ALONG THE LINES OF, SAY, THE CONTINGENCY PLAN THAT NATO HAS DRAWN UP -- PLAN 4104. YES, IT'S COMMONLY AGREED TO BE THE CASE ALTHOUGH IN EXTREMIS ALL SORTS OF THINGS HAVE BEEN DONE IN DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES, BUT THAT IS AN ASSUMPTION I THINK MOST PEOPLE BRING TO THIS QUESTION.

Q THE DEFENSE MINISTER SAID TODAY THAT THE CURRENT DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVE BY BILDT IS THE LAST ONE BEFORE THESE BIG DECISIONS HAVE TO BE MADE.

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MR. BURNS: WE CERTAINLY THINK THERE'S ENOUGH HOPE FOR THE PARTICULAR NEGOTIATIONS, IN WHICH HE HAS BEEN INVOLVED, TO GIVE HIM MORE THAN ONE CHANCE. THESE ARE VERY COMPLEX DIPLOMATIC, POLITICAL PROBLEMS, AND MR. BILDT HAS JUST HAD ONE FORAY INTO THE REGION. HE CERTAINLY DESERVES AN ADEQUATE AMOUNT OF TIME TO SEE IF HE IS ABLE TO BRING THE PARTIES TOGETHER.

WE HAVE BEEN IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH HIM. SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER HAS, AS HAS DICK HOLBROOKE, AND WE'RE GOING TO CONTINUE TO SUPPORT HIM IN THIS.

Q NICK, I WOULD LIKE TO REFER TO YOUR STORY IN THE WASHINGTON POST TODAY ABOUT THE DRUG MENACE THREATENING THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES. WHAT IS THE ADMINISTRATION NOW THINKING? WILL IT GEAR UP ANY

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EFFORTS -- SPECIFIC EFFORTS, AS THEY'RE BEING REPORTED THAT KHUN SA HAS BEEN OBTAINING ABOUT 40,000 FULL-FLEDGED ARMY IN THE OTHER PARTS OF THAT REGION NOW.

MR. BURNS: WE'RE NOT GOING TO GIVE UP ON THE FIGHT AGAINST NARCOTICS. THE PRESIDENT HAS MADE THIS ONE OF THE

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CORNERSTONES OF HIS FOREIGN POLICY. WE HAVE PUT AN ENORMOUS EFFORT INTO THIS. WE HAVE SOME VERY TALENTED PEOPLE, INCLUDING ONE OF OUR FINEST FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS, BOB GELBARD, WHO ARE IN CHARGE OF THIS EFFORT.

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I WOULD JUST NOTE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION'S FISCAL YEAR '95 REQUEST FOR NARCOTICS -- THE FIGHT AGAINST NARCOTICS WAS CUT BY OVER \$75 MILLION. IN CONSIDERING THE FISCAL '96 REQUEST, OUR REQUEST HAS BEEN CUT SO FAR BY \$100 MILLION.

WE NEED AN ADEQUATE LEVEL OF FUNDING TO ENGAGE IN THE FIGHT AGAINST DRUGS WORLDWIDE. IT'S A GLOBAL FIGHT. IT'S IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. IT'S IN SOUTH ASIA. IT'S IN SOUTH AMERICA. IT'S HERE IN THE UNITED STATES. FOR THE CONGRESS TO CUT THOSE FUNDS WE THINK IS AGAINST OUR OWN NATIONAL INTEREST.

IT GETS TO A LARGER QUESTION, AND THAT'S THE BATTLE OVER RESOURCES. TO BE A GLOBAL POWER, AS WE ARE, AND TO BE EFFECTIVE OVERSEAS, YOU'VE GOT TO HAVE THE EQUIPMENT

TO DO IT AND THE FINANCIAL RESOURCES. RIGHT NOW THE ADMINISTRATION IS MAKING A BIG EFFORT TO CONVINCING THE CONGRESS THAT TO BE A GLOBAL POWER, YOU'VE GOT TO HAVE THE TOOLS.

YOU CAN'T TALK A GOOD GAME AGAINST NARCOTICS AND NOT GIVE PEOPLE THE TOOLS TO FIGHT THAT EFFORT; THAT'S WHAT AMBASSADOR GELBARD AND OTHERS NEED, AND THAT'S WHAT WE

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HOPE THE CONGRESS WILL CONCLUDE AS THEY HEAD INTO THE CONFERENCE THIS SEPTEMBER.

Q NICK, WOULD YOU SAY THAT THE REPUBLICANS ARE BEING SOFT ON DRUG -- THE INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS PROBLEM? IS THAT YOUR MESSAGE?

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MR. BURNS: I WOULD NEVER SAY THAT, SID. I WOULD SAY THAT SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, AMBASSADOR GELBARD AND OTHERS HAVE MADE IT VERY CLEAR THAT WE HAVE A DIRECT NATIONAL INTEREST IN THE WELFARE OF ALL THE PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY WHO ARE AFFLICTED PERSONALLY BY DRUG ABUSE TO SEE THAT THE SOURCES OF THOSE DRUGS ARE DRIED UP; TO SEE THAT THE FIGHT AGAINST THE CALI CARTEL CONTINUES THE FIGHT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA CONTINUES, BUT TO BE EFFECTIVE IN THAT FIGHT, WE'RE GOING TO HAVE TO HAVE A BIPARTISAN EFFORT, AND WE'RE GOING TO HAVE TO HAVE MONEY.

RIGHT NOW THE CONGRESS IS ENGAGED IN CUTTING IT, SO I MEAN, YOU CAN DRAW YOUR OWN CONCLUSIONS, BUT I WOULD NEVER STATE IT IN THE WAY THAT YOU HAVE.

LAURA.

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Q BACK TO BOSNIA FOR A SECOND. THE CONVERSATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS ABOUT THE MANDATE FOR THE RAPID REACTION FORCE HAVE BEEN GOING ON FOR SOME TIME NOW. IS THERE A DEADLINE BY WHICH THIS MANDATE IS EXPECTED TO BE DEFINED OR AGREED UPON?

MR. BURNS: WE BELIEVE THAT THIS DISCUSSION, WHICH IS A VERY IMPORTANT DISCUSSION, IS PROBABLY GOING TO BE ANSWERED ON THE GROUND WHEN THE RAPID REACTION FORCE IS FULLY DEPLOYED -- IT'S NOT YET FULLY DEPLOYED -- AND WHEN IT FACES A SITUATION ANALOGOUS PROBABLY TO THIS

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MORNING'S SITUATION -- A SITUATION LIKE THAT. HOW WILL
THE U.N. REACT, HOW WILL IT USE THE FORCE, HOW WILL IT
USE IT TO PROTECT AND ADVANCE THE MANDATE OF THE U.N.
THAT'S THE KEY QUESTION.

SINCE WE'VE HEARD SO MANY DIFFERENT SIDES OF THIS
ISSUE BEING EXPRESSED -- SO MANY DIFFERENT VIEWS BEING
EXPRESSED -- I THINK WE'LL HAVE TO WAIT UNTIL THE RAPID
REACTION FORCE GETS ON THE GROUND.

Q DIFFERENT TOPIC. IS THE STATE DEPARTMENT AWARE
OF A GROUP OF CUBAN EXILES, MANY WHO WERE AMERICAN
CITIZENS, WHO ON THURSDAY SAY THEY'RE GOING TO LEAVE ON
A FLOTILLA FROM MIAMI, AND THEY SAY THEIR PLANS ARE TO
PENETRATE CUBAN WATERS IN MEMORY OF A GROUP OF CUBANS
WHO WERE KILLED IN THAT TUGBOAT INCIDENT LAST JULY 13,
AND CUBA HAS RESPONDED VIA RAFAEL DAUSA SAID THEY WILL
TAKE ANY MEASURES NECESSARY TO DEFEND THEIR SOVEREIGNTY
IF SOMEBODY ENTERS THEIR WATERS?

MR. BURNS: I AM AWARE VERY GENERALLY THAT THE
ANNIVERSARY OF THE SINKING OF THE TUGBOAT -- I BELIEVE
IT'S JULY 13 IS COMING UP -- AND THAT THERE ARE A NUMBER
OF AMERICANS AND OTHERS IN FLORIDA WHO WANT TO
COMMEMORATE THAT.

WE ARE AWARE OF PLANS TO HAVE SOME KIND OF EVENT.
WE WOULD JUST HOPE VERY MUCH THAT THIS COULD PROCEED IN
A WAY THAT IS PEACEFUL AND THAT IS CONSISTENT WITH THE
LAW HERE IN THE UNITED STATES AND ALSO CONSISTENT WITH
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REASON, BUT CERTAINLY IF PEOPLE WANT TO COMMEMORATE AN
EVENT, THEY HAVE A RIGHT TO DO SO IN THIS COUNTRY.

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IF THEY WANT TO DO THAT IN CUBA, THEY HAVE TO
UNDERSTAND, OF COURSE, THAT THEY ARE SUBJECT WITHIN
CUBA'S TERRITORIAL JURISDICTION TO CUBAN LAW.

Q THANK YOU.

MR. BURNS: THANK YOU. CHRISTOPHER

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SUBJECT: DAILY PRESS BRIEFING -- MONDAY JULY 10, 1995

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MR. BURNS: GOOD AFTERNOON. WELCOME TO THE STATE

DEPARTMENT BRIEFING. I'D LIKE TO INTRODUCE TO ALL OF
YOU TODAY MR. JOHN DINGER. JOHN, IF YOU WANT TO STAND.

JOHN IS THE NEW DIRECTOR OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT
PRESS OFFICE, REPLACING DAVID JOHNSON. DAVID, IF YOU'D
LIKE TO STAND. DAVID IS THE NEW DEPUTY SPOKESMAN OF THE
STATE DEPARTMENT, AND JOHN HAS JUST BEGUN WORK TODAY
HE IS A VERY DISTINGUISHED FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER WHO
HAS SERVED MOST RECENTLY UNTIL ABOUT A WEEK AGO AS
DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE JAPAN DESK. HE HAS ALSO SERVED
IN JOHANNESBURG, RIO DE JANEIRO AND HAS HAD ASSIGNMENTS

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IN JAPAN ITSELF. WE'RE VERY PLEASED HE'S HERE. I'M SURE YOU ALL WANT TO TALK TO HIM AND GET TO KNOW HIM VERY SOON.

I THINK YOU ALL KNOW MR. JOHNSON. HE NEEDS NO --
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Q IS HE VERY DISTINGUISHED, TOO?

MR. BURNS: HE'S VERY DISTINGUISHED, YES.
(LAUGHTER) HE'S EXCEEDINGLY DISTINGUISHED. (LAUGHTER)

Q WHAT HAVE YOU DONE WITH THE DISTINGUISHED CHRISTINE SHELLY?

MR. BURNS: THE DISTINGUISHED CHRISTINE SHELLY IS GOING TO GO ON TO AN ASSIGNMENT WITH THE DEPARTMENT, AND I THINK YOU'LL BE SEEING HER SHORTLY BEFORE SHE LEAVES. SHE'S HERE FOR ANOTHER TWO WEEKS, IN THE BUILDING.

Q CAN YOU ENLIGHTEN US ON --

MR. BURNS: I DON'T WANT TO DO THAT. I THINK THAT'S FOR CHRISTINE TO SAY WHAT SHE'S GOING TO BE DOING. I DON'T WANT TO DO THAT IN HER BEHALF.

I AM PREPARED TO GO TO WHATEVER QUESTIONS MAY BE ON YOUR MIND.

PAGE 2

Q WOULD YOU BRING US UP TO DATE ON HARRY WU?

MR. BURNS: YES, I CAN. AS YOU KNOW, MR. WU -- THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT INFORMED OUR EMBASSY IN BEIJING ON SATURDAY THAT MR. HARRY WU HAD BEEN ARRESTED AND WAS

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GOING TO BE CHARGED WITH SOME VERY SERIOUS CRIMES. WE
SENT OUR CONSUL GENERAL IN BEIJING, MR. ARTURO MACIAS
OUT TO WUHAN IN HUBEI PROVINCE, AND THEY HAD A MEETING
THIS MORNING.

THE VISIT IN A WUHAN JAIL LASTED ABOUT 30 MINUTES.
MR. WU STATED THAT HE WAS FINE THAT HE WAS BEING FED,
AND THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN BEATEN OR TORTURED. I
UNDERSTAND THAT THE CONVERSATION HAD TO TAKE PLACE
THROUGH A GLASS PARTITION. THE CONVERSATION WAS
MONITORED BY FOUR OR FIVE CHINESE OFFICIALS. IN FACT,
THEY HAD TO SPEAK THROUGH A PHONE LINE. THERE WAS A
CHINESE OFFICIAL ON THE PHONE LINE.

OUR CONSUL WAS NOT PERMITTED TO DISCUSS THE DETAILS
OF THE LEGAL CASE BEING BROUGHT AGAINST MR. WU WITH MR.
WU. WE HAD BEEN INFORMED BY THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT
BEFORE THE MEETING THAT THAT WOULD NOT BE THE CASE; THAT
IT WAS NOT GOING TO BE PERMISSIBLE FOR OUR CONSUL TO
DISCUSS ANY ASPECT OF THE LEGAL PROCEEDINGS WITH MR. WU.

WE BELIEVE THAT MR. WU SHOULD BE GIVEN LEGAL
REPRESENTATION OF HIS OWN CHOOSING, AND WE WANT TO MAKE
SURE THAT MR. WU IS FULLY APPRISED OF THE CHARGES BEING
BROUGHT AGAINST HIM AND FULLY UNDERSTANDS THE CHARGES
BEING BROUGHT AGAINST HIM, AND THEREFORE WE WOULD LIKE
ACCESS TO HIM TO BE ABLE TO DISCUSS THESE CHARGES.

UNDER THE CONSULAR CONVENTION BETWEEN THE UNITED
STATES AND CHINA, UNDER ARTICLE 35 OF THAT CONVENTION,
VISITS MAY BE MADE ON A RECURRING BASIS -- OUR VISITS TO
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SEE MR. WU -- AND NO LONGER THAN ONE MONTH SHALL BE
ALLOWED TO PASS IN BETWEEN VISITS. MR. MACIAS, OUR
CONSUL, WAS INFORMED UPON LEAVING THE PRISON THAT WE

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MIGHT NOT EXPECT ANOTHER VISIT FOR A MONTH.

WE ARE PRESSING TO MAKE SURE THAT OUR CONSUL CAN SEE MR. WU ON A MORE FREQUENT BASIS. MR. MACIAS IS SCHEDULED TO RETURN TO BEIJING ON JULY 11. JUST TO REVIEW SOME OF THE INFORMATION THAT CAME IN OVER THE WEEKEND, IT'S OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT MR. WU HAS BEEN ACCUSED OF COMMITTING THREE CRIMES.

FIRST, REPEATEDLY SNEAKING INTO CHINA UNDER FALSE NAMES;

SECOND, STEALING CHINESE STATE SECRETS; AND

THIRD, DISSEMINATING THOSE SECRETS TO INSTITUTIONS

AND ORGANIZATIONS OUTSIDE OF CHINA.

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WE ARE NOT AWARE IF THESE ARE IN FACT THE SPECIFIC CHARGES THAT WILL BE BROUGHT AGAINST MR. WU IF HIS CASE COMES TO TRIAL, AND WE ARE CURRENTLY RESEARCHING CHINESE LAW TO DISCOVER ANY PENALTIES -- OR THE PENALTIES THAT WOULD ACCOMPANY A CONVICTION UNDER THESE CHARGES.

WE VERY MUCH REGRET THE ACTION THAT THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN IN ARRESTING MR. WU AND IN BRINGING
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THESE CHARGES AGAINST HIM, AND WE'RE GOING TO MAKE SURE THAT WE DO EVERYTHING WE CAN TO PROTECT MR. WU'S RIGHTS UNDER THE U.S.-CHINA CONSULAR CONVENTION. AND I'VE GONE JUST A COUPLE OF MINUTES AGO INTO WHAT WE ARE DOING IN THAT REGARD.

WE HAVE REPEATEDLY STATED THAT WE THINK HE SHOULD BE RELEASED EXPEDITIOUSLY, IMMEDIATELY AND I'D LIKE TO RESTATE THAT AGAIN FOR YOU TODAY. WE BELIEVE THAT MR. WU'S EXPEDITIOUS RELEASE IS IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA, AS WELL, OBVIOUSLY, AS IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF MR. WU AND HIS FAMILY.

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Q THE OTHER DAY YOU SAID THAT THE OVERALL RELATIONSHIP CANNOT BE IMPROVED AS LONG AS THIS WU CASE REMAINS A SORE POINT. SUCH A TRIAL PROCEEDING COULD GO ON FOR MONTHS OR EVEN YEARS, DEPENDING ON HOW FAST THE CHINESE WANT IT TO MOVE. ARE YOU STILL LINKING OVERALL IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS WITH CHINA WITH A SUCCESSFUL RESOLUTION OF THE WU CASE?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T THINK WE EVER SPECIFICALLY LINKED THE TWO, BUT WHAT WE HAVE SAID QUITE CLEARLY, JIM, IS THAT WE ARE OBVIOUSLY IN A PERIOD OF SOME DIFFICULTY IN U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS. WE BELIEVE IT'S IMPERATIVE THAT BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA TAKE STEPS TO REPAIR THOSE DIFFICULTIES.

THE UNITED STATES IS TRYING TO SCHEDULE MEETINGS WITH THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP TO DISCUSS THESE DIFFERENCES. WE'RE NOT TRYING TO CANCEL MEETINGS, AND
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WE'D LIKE TO SEE SOME HIGH-LEVEL DISCUSSIONS TAKE PLACE SO THAT WE CAN SORT OUT OUR DIFFERENCES AND TALK THROUGH THEM.

CERTAINLY, MR. WU'S CASE IS AN IMPORTANT CASE BECAUSE HE'S AN AMERICAN CITIZEN TRAVELING ON A VALID AMERICAN PASSPORT. HE HAD A VALID CHINESE VISA. HE WAS NOT AWARE UPON ENTERING CHINA THAT ANY DIFFICULTIES WOULD ENSUE. IT'S A SERIOUS CASE, BUT THERE ARE A NUMBER OF ISSUES THAT REMAIN ON THE AGENDA THAT ARE QUITE IMPORTANT THAT NEED TO BE RESOLVED. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF OPPORTUNITIES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA THAT SPEAK TO BOTH OF OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS WHICH SPEAKS TO THE NEED FOR CONTINUED CONTACT.

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ON SATURDAY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE WIN LORD TELEPHONED THE CHINESE CHARGE HERE IN WASHINGTON AND MADE THE BASIC POINT THAT IT'S TIME FOR BOTH COUNTRIES TO UNDERSTAND THAT WE NEED TO MAKE PROGRESS IN THIS

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RELATIONSHIP AND CERTAINLY ACTION BY THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT IN THE PARTICULAR CASE OF MR. WU WOULD PROVIDE THAT KIND OF PROGRESS THAT MIGHT HELP US UNLOCK SOME OF THE DIFFICULTIES THAT ARE CURRENTLY A BIG FACTOR IN OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH CHINA.

MARK.

Q ARE YOU ASKING OTHER COUNTRIES TO RAISE THE WU CASE IN THEIR CONTACTS WITH CHINESE OFFICIALS, IN
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PARTICULAR GERMANY WHERE THE PRESIDENT OF CHINA IS NOW TRAVELING?

MR. BURNS: MARK, WE'VE TAKEN THE POSITION THAT U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS ARE DEPENDENT ON THE ACTIONS AND THE BEHAVIOR OF BOTH COUNTRIES, AND WE BELIEVE NOW THAT IT'S IMPORTANT THAT CHINA DEMONSTRATE THAT IT HAS AN INTEREST IN GOOD RELATIONS WITH US; AND THAT'S THE MAJOR POINT THAT WE'VE TRIED TO MAKE TO THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT IN ALL OF OUR DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS.

WE WOULD CERTAINLY BE AGREEABLE IF OTHER COUNTRIES WANTED TO ADVISE THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT THAT THEIR REACTION IN THE CASE OF MR. WU HAS PROBABLY NOT LED TO AN IMPROVEMENT OF THE RELATIONSHIP; IN FACT, HAS ADDED TO THE DIFFICULTIES. IF OTHER COUNTRIES WANT TO MAKE THAT CASE, IF THEY WANT TO ADVISE CHINA OF A CERTAIN COURSE OF ACTION, THAT WOULD BE BENEFICIAL TO MR. WU WE WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION TO THAT.

BUT I THINK THE MAIN MESSAGE WE'RE GIVING IS THAT THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA HAVE TO RESOLVE THESE PROBLEMS TOGETHER AND DIRECTLY. WE'RE NOT LOOKING FOR OUTSIDE MEDIATION OF THIS PROBLEM, AND WE'RE NOT SEARCHING DESPERATELY FOR OTHER COUNTRIES TO STEP IN AND SOLVE THIS PROBLEM.

IT'S REALLY INCUMBENT UPON THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA TO RESOLVE THIS PARTICULAR PROBLEM AND ALL THE

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PROBLEMS ON OUR AGENDA.

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Q SO NO OTHER COUNTRY HAS BEEN ASKED TO RAISE THE ISSUE OF HARRY WU WITH THE CHINESE?

MR. BURNS: NO, I DIDN'T SAY THAT. WE WOULD CERTAINLY WELCOME IT, AND I THINK WE'VE PROBABLY HAD CONTACT WITH OTHER COUNTRIES AND SAID -- I'M NOT AWARE OF IT SPECIFICALLY, BUT I IMAGINE WE HAVE HAD CONTACT WITH OTHER COUNTRIES AND ASKED FOR SUPPORT. WE NORMALLY WOULD DO THAT

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IN A CASE LIKE THIS WHICH IS SO PUBLIC AND IS POSING SUCH A PROBLEM IN OUR RELATIONSHIP.

BUT THE MAIN POINT I WANT TO STRESS IS THAT WE BELIEVE THAT WE CAN RESOLVE THIS PROBLEM--AND OTHERS ON OUR OWN WITH THE CHINESE AND THAT IS THE MAIN FOCUS OF OUR EFFORTS.

Q IN ASKING FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE, ARE YOU SAYING THESE CHARGES ARE TRUMPED UP AND POLITICALLY MOTIVATED WITH NO LEGAL BASIS AT ALL?

MR. BURNS: WE'RE NOT IN A POSITION TO KNOW, GEORGE. WE'RE NOT IN A POSITION TO SUBSTANTIATE THESE CHARGES, BECAUSE WE HAVE HAD VERY CURSORY ACCESS TO MR. WU, AND OUR CONSUL DID NOT HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THE SPECIFIC CHARGES WITH HIM. SO IN EFFECT WE HAVE NOT HEARD MR. WU'S SIDE OF THE STORY, AND THAT

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OBVIOUSLY WOULD HAVE TO HAPPEN BEFORE WE FORMED OUR OWN
JUDGMENT.

WE'RE NOT PARTY TO THE LEGAL PROCEEDINGS. THIS IS A
MATTER NOW FOR THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT TO DECIDE HOW IT
WILL PROCEED UNDER CHINESE LAW AND REGULATIONS. SO IT'S
REALLY NOT POSSIBLE FOR US TO TAKE ANY KIND OF POSITION
ON THE LEGAL ISSUES THAT HAVE ARISEN HERE.

Q BUT (INAUDIBLE)

MR. BURNS: BUT IT IS CERTAINLY POSSIBLE FOR US,
GEORGE -- LET ME JUST FINISH A POINT -- TO ASSERT A
COMPELLING POLITICAL AND HUMANITARIAN POINT, AND THAT IS
THAT MR. WU IS A CHAMPION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. HE IS
ACKNOWLEDGED TO BE AROUND THE WORLD AND CERTAINLY IN THE
UNITED STATES, AND WE BELIEVE IT'S CERTAINLY IN HIS BEST
INTERESTS TO HAVE HIM RELEASED IMMEDIATELY. WE BELIEVE
IT'S IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF BOTH OF OUR COUNTRIES AND
OF OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH CHINA TO SEE AN EXPEDITIOUS
RELEASE.

SID.

Q IT MAY BE ASKING THE OBVIOUS, BUT IS CHINA
ABUSING THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF HARRY WU?

MR. BURNS: SID, I THINK WE KNOW SO LITTLE ABOUT THE
CONDITIONS OF MR. WU'S DETENTION SINCE JUNE 19. THERE
WAS A VERY SHORT MEETING TODAY. I HAVE JUST REPORTED TO
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YOU THAT MR. WU STATED THAT HE WAS FINE; THAT HE WAS
BEING FED, AND THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN BEATEN OR TORTURED.
THAT'S WHAT HE STATED TO OUR CONSUL, AND THERE WERE
CHINESE OFFICIALS PRESENT AT THAT ENCOUNTER.

WE DO NOT HAVE AN INDEPENDENT WAY TO ASSESS THE
CONDITIONS OF HIS DETENTION OR THE SPECIFICS OF WHAT HAS

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HAPPENED TO HIM SINCE JUNE 19. ALL I'M SAYING TODAY IS IT'S QUITE CLEAR TO US THAT IT'S IN HIS BEST INTERESTS AND THE BEST INTERESTS OF BOTH COUNTRIES THAT CHINA TAKE NOW VERY QUICK ACTION TO RELEASE HIM. THAT IS CLEARLY THE OUTCOME THAT IS DESIRED BY THE UNITED STATES.

Q BUT THE FACT OF HIS DETENTION -- THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF HIS ARREST AND DETENTION, IS THAT AN ABUSE OF HIS HUMAN RIGHTS, BARRING THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH HE'S BEEN HELD?

MR. BURNS: AGAIN, I THINK WE HAVE TO BE VERY CAREFUL HERE TO MAKE JUDGMENTS BASED UPON WHAT WE KNOW.

WE KNOW VERY LITTLE ABOUT THE CHARGES THAT ARE BEING BROUGHT AGAINST HIM, ABOUT THE ULTIMATE SPECIFIC CHARGES ON WHICH HE MAY OR MAY NOT BE TRIED, AND WE HAVEN'T HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO HEAR FROM MR. WU.

BECAUSE OF ALL THIS, BECAUSE WE KNOW SO LITTLE ABOUT THE LEGAL ASPECTS OF THIS CASE, I THINK IT'S REALLY WISE
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FOR ME TO LIMIT MYSELF TO WHAT I'VE SAID.

STEVE.

Q THE WAY I HEAR YOU, YOU'RE LEAVING OPEN THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE CHARGES ARE THEN VALID CHARGES, PENDING WHAT YOU HEAR FROM HIM?

AND THE SECOND QUESTION IS, SO FAR AS YOU KNOW, IS HE A SPY FOR ANYBODY?

MR. BURNS: I CAN TELL YOU THERE IS NOTHING THAT I KNOW OF THAT WOULD INDICATE HE'S A SPY FOR ANYONE; CERTAINLY NOT FOR THE UNITED STATES. MR. WU IS RESPECTED CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES. HE HAS CONTRIBUTED A LOT TO THIS COUNTRY, AND WE, IN THE

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GOVERNMENT, HAVE GREAT RESPECT FOR HIM.

ON YOUR FIRST QUESTION, STEVE, THE PROBLEM THAT WE'RE DEALING WITH -- AGAIN, I WILL BE REPETITIVE; I THINK IT BEARS REPETITION. WE HAVE NOT BEEN GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY BY THE CHINESE AUTHORITIES TO UNDERSTAND IN A SPECIFIC AND DETAILED WAY WHAT THE CHARGES ARE, WHAT THEY MEAN, AND WHAT EVIDENCE HAS COME FORTH TO SUBSTANTIATE THOSE CHARGES.

SO I AM VERY CLEARLY TODAY NOT SUBSTANTIATING THE CHARGES. I'M NOT IN A POSITION TO DO SO. BUT I'M REALLY NOT IN A POSITION TO GO BEYOND SAYING THAT SINCE WE KNOW SO LITTLE.

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THE CLEAR POINT THAT I WOULD LIKE TO LEAVE WITH YOU, FROM THIS PARTICULAR BRIEFING, IS THAT WE THINK HE OUGHT TO BE RELEASED, AND THAT REMAINS THE GOAL OF THE UNITED STATES.

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CHARLIE.

Q NICK TO GO BACK TO WHAT YOU TOLD US ABOUT WHAT THE CHINESE TOLD MR. MACIAS AND THE AGREEMENT -- I GUESS ARTICLE 35, IF I HEARD YOU CORRECTLY, IF THERE IS NOT ANOTHER MEETING ALLOWED WITH MR. WU FOR 30 DAYS, THE CHINESE WOULD BE WITHIN THE REALM -- THEY WOULD BE COMPLYING WITH THE AGREEMENT; IS THAT CORRECT?

MR. BURNS: MY UNDERSTANDING OF ARTICLE 35 OF THE U.S.-CHINA CONSULAR CONVENTION IS THAT NO LONGER THAN ONE MONTH SHALL BE ALLOWED TO PASS BEFORE THERE IS A VISIT. SO I GUESS A READING OF THAT WOULD INDICATE THAT THEY MAY BE WITHIN THEIR RIGHTS TO PERMIT ONLY ONE VISIT DURING A 30-DAY PERIOD.

WE BELIEVE, BECAUSE OF THE ABSENCE OF DETAILED INFORMATION, BECAUSE OF OUR INTENSE AND SERIOUS INTEREST

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IN THIS CASE AND IN THE WELFARE OF MR. WU, WE BELIEVE WE OUGHT TO BE GIVEN THE RIGHT TO SEE HIM ON A MORE FREQUENT BASIS. WE ARE ASSERTING THAT WITH THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT, AND WE'LL CONTINUE TO DO THAT.

Q NICK, YOU ARE STILL NOT -- OR THE
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ADMINISTRATION IS STILL NOT CONSIDERING ANY KIND OF PUNITIVE MEASURES IN REGARDS TO CHINA OVER THIS CASE?

MR. BURNS: WE'RE TAKING DEVELOPMENT AS THEY OCCUR ON A DAY-TO-DAY BASIS. WE'VE LEARNED A LITTLE BIT MORE OVER THE WEEKEND -- SATURDAY AND TODAY. NOT NEARLY ENOUGH FOR US TO BE SATISFIED BUT A LITTLE BIT MORE. WE'LL CONTINUE TO TAKE IT ON A DAY-TO-DAY BASIS.

WE'RE GOING TO TRY TO USE OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH CHINA, IN OUR DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS BOTH HERE IN WASHINGTON AND IN BEIJING, TO RESOLVE THIS PROBLEM.

Q WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT SPEAKER GINGRICH'S SUGGESTION THAT YOU RECOGNIZE TAIWAN?

MR. BURNS: THE UNITED STATES HAS A VERY CLEAR POLICY TOWARDS CHINA, AND THAT IS THAT THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IS THE SOLE, LEGAL GOVERNMENT OF CHINA. WE CERTAINLY ACKNOWLEDGE THE CHINESE POSITION THAT THERE IS ONE CHINA AND TAIWAN IS PART OF CHINA. WE HAVE A ONE-CHINA POLICY.

IT'S BEEN THE POLICY OF SUCCESSIVE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATIONS FOR WELL OVER 16 YEARS. IT HAS WORKED FOR THE UNITED STATES. IT HAS HAD BIPARTISAN

SUPPORT, AND IT CONTINUES TO HAVE -- IN THE LARGE, IN THE MAIN -- BIPARTISAN SUPPORT.

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IT SPEAKS TO OUR NATIONAL INTEREST TO HAVE A STABLE AND CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GOVERNMENT IN BEIJING.

WE MAINTAIN CULTURAL, COMMERCIAL, AND OTHER UNOFFICIAL RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE ON TAIWAN. THIS APPROACH -- UNOFFICIAL RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN; OFFICIAL RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA -- HAS BEEN THE FOUNDATION OF AN EXTREMELY SUCCESSFUL POLICY THAT HAS LASTED FOR GOING ON FIVE ADMINISTRATIONS. WE ARE NOT GOING TO CHANGE THAT POLICY. WE HAVE NO PLANS TO CHANGE THAT POLICY, AND WE CERTAINLY STAND BEHIND THE POLICY.

WE HAVE MADE CLEAR TO THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT, IN THE AFTERMATH OF THEIR DISAGREEMENT WITH US IN ISSUING THE VISA TO PRESIDENT LEE, THAT WE HAVE A ONE-CHINA POLICY; THAT WE ARE NOT CHANGING THAT POLICY, AND WE'RE GOING TO STICK WITH THAT POLICY. WE HAVE BEEN VERY CLEAR ABOUT THAT. AND VERY CLEAR ALSO TO ASSURE THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT IN BEIJING THAT WE HAVE A POLICY OF ENGAGEMENT WITH THEM -- ENGAGEMENT ACROSS THE BOARD -- AND WE'RE GOING TO REMAIN DEDICATED TO THAT.

Q WHAT DO YOU THINK THE IMPACT IS OF SOMEONE OF GINGRICH'S STATURE INTRODUCING THIS SUGGESTION INTO THE PUBLIC DEBATE?

MR. BURNS: I THINK THAT WE'RE GOING TO RETAIN BIPARTISAN SUPPORT FOR THE ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY WHICH
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HAS RECEIVED THE SUPPORT OF BOTH REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTS IN OFFICE AND ALSO REPUBLICAN LEGISLATORS.

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I THINK UPON A CLOSE EXAMINATION OF THIS ISSUE AND ALL OF THE RAMIFICATIONS THAT THIS TYPE OF PROPOSAL WOULD BRING TO OUR RELATIONS WITH CHINA, IT WILL BE CLEARER TO POLITICIANS IN THIS COUNTRY -- BOTH REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC AND TO OTHERS IN THIS COUNTRY, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- THAT IT'S IN OUR BEST INTEREST TO STICK WITH A POLICY THAT HAS WORKED AND THAT'S WHAT WE INTEND TO DO.

THE PRESIDENT SETS AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS CHINA, AND THE PRESIDENT IS NOT GOING TO CHANGE THAT POLICY.

STEVE.

Q SINCE THE SECRETARY IS GOING TO BE OUT THAT WAY SHORTLY, IS THERE ANY THOUGHT BEING GIVEN TO HIM STOPPING BY BEIJING AND TRYING TO PATCH THINGS UP?

MR. BURNS: NO, NOT THAT I'M AWARE OF. THERE'S NO THOUGHT WHATSOEVER. THE SECRETARY DOES PLAN TO TRAVEL TO BRUNEI FOR THE ASEAN MEETINGS AT THE BEGINNING OF AUGUST.

WE ARE SEEKING DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS -- HIGH-LEVEL DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS -- WITH CHINESE OFFICIALS. WE'D VERY

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MUCH LIKE TO HAVE THOSE DISCUSSIONS SO THAT WE CAN WORK THROUGH THE PROBLEM OF MR. WU AND THE OTHER PROBLEMS ON THE U.S.-CHINA AGENDA BUT THERE ARE NO PLANS FOR THE SECRETARY TO VISIT CHINA.

Q NICK, JUST TO GO BACK TO THE INTERVIEW WITH MR. WU. YOU SAY THAT MR. MACIAS WAS NOT ALLOWED TO DISCUSS THE DETAILS OF HIS ARREST; IS THAT CORRECT?

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MR. BURNS: THAT'S CORRECT. WE HAD BEEN INFORMED ON SATURDAY, WHEN MR. MACIAS WAS CALLED IN TO THE CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY, THAT WHEN WE HAD OUR CONSULAR VISIT WITH MR. WU, IT WOULD NOT BE PERMITTED OR POSSIBLE FOR THE AMERICAN CONSULAR OFFICIAL TO DISCUSS THE CASE -- THE LEGAL CHARGES BEING BROUGHT AGAINST MR. WU OR HIS CASE OR IMPENDING TRIAL -- WITH MR. WU.

I UNDERSTAND THAT WHEN THE CONVERSATION VEERED TOWARDS THAT AT SEVERAL POINTS, THE CHINESE OFFICIALS MADE IT KNOWN THAT THE CONVERSATION WOULD COMPLETELY END IF THE DISCUSSION CONTINUED OF THE CASE.

AS I SAID BEFORE -- AND I WANT TO EMPHASIZE THIS -- WE BELIEVE IT'S VERY IMPORTANT THAT HE BE GIVEN LEGAL REPRESENTATION OF HIS OWN CHOOSING. WE ALSO THINK IT'S IMPORTANT THAT MR. WU ADEQUATELY BE IN A POSITION TO

UNDERSTAND WHAT IS HAPPENING TO HIM IN THE CHINESE JUDICIAL PROCESS, WHAT THE NATURE OF THE CHARGES IS,
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WHAT THE ULTIMATE PENALTY IS, AND WE WILL SEEK TO HAVE FUTURE CONVERSATIONS WITH MR. WU ON THESE ISSUES.

WE HAVE A FUNDAMENTAL OBLIGATION HERE -- OUR GOVERNMENT -- TO AN AMERICAN CITIZEN TO HELP PROTECT BOTH HIS RIGHTS IN THE CHINESE SYSTEM, IN WHICH HE FINDS HIMSELF, BUT ALSO TO DO WHAT WE THINK IS REASONABLE TO HELP HIM UNDERSTAND WHAT THE RAMIFICATIONS OF THESE PROCEEDINGS ARE, AND WE'LL CONTINUE TO ASSERT THAT RIGHT.

Q YOU WENT ALONG WITH THOSE GUIDELINES? MR. MACIAS DID NOT PROTEST THOSE RESTRICTIONS AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY WHEN THEY WERE LAID OUT TO HIM?

MR. BURNS: I UNDERSTAND, SID, THAT THESE ARE NOT RESTRICTIONS THAT ARE UNIQUE TO THE CASE OF MR. WU; THAT THESE ARE THE NORMAL RESTRICTIONS THAT APPLY TO ANY FOREIGNER WHO IS SUBJECT TO ARREST, DETENTION, AND CHARGES WITHIN CHINA. IT'S NOT UNUSUAL.

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IN FACT, THE CHINESE TOLD US ON SATURDAY THAT THIS WAS NOT UNUSUAL; THIS WAS A NORMAL PROCEDURE. I AM JUST ASSERTING TODAY THAT WE WOULD LIKE THE RULE OF REASON TO PREVAIL HERE. THIS IS NOW A VERY HIGH PROFILE CASE. AN AMERICAN CITIZEN HAS BEEN CHARGED WITH VERY SERIOUS CRIMES,

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AND WE BELIEVE THAT HE HAS THE RIGHT TO KNOW, WITHOUT A DOUBT, IN HIS OWN MIND, WHAT THE NATURE OF THOSE CHARGES
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IS.

Q ONCE HE GOT DONE SAYING HE WAS OKAY AND NOT BEING BEATEN AND EATING ALRIGHT, WHAT WAS THE REST OF THE HALF HOUR ON?

MR. BURNS: MR. MACIAS, OUR CONSUL, I BELIEVE, PHONED IN A REPORT TO THE EMBASSY IN BEIJING, AND ON THAT BASIS WE HAVE A VERY SHORT CABLE FROM BEIJING. WE DO NOT HAVE A LENGTHIER CABLE, WHICH WE ARE EXPECTING TO RECEIVE WHICH COULD PROVIDE FURTHER INFORMATION. BUT OUR FIRST OBJECTIVE IN SEEKING ACCESS TO MR. WU WAS TO ASSURE OURSELVES THAT HE WAS OKAY, THAT HIS PHYSICAL AND EMOTIONAL STATE WAS AS GOOD AS COULD BE EXPECTED UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES.

WE CERTAINLY WANT TO ASSURE OURSELVES THAT HE IS BEING WELL TREATED. HE STATED TO US, WITH CHINESE OFFICIALS PRESENT, THAT HE IS, IN EFFECT, RECEIVING FAIR TREATMENT. WE WILL SEEK OTHER VISITS TO HIM BECAUSE WE WILL CONTINUOUSLY WANT TO MONITOR HIS CONDITION. HE IS 58 YEARS OLD. HE HAS SPENT 19 YEARS OF HIS LIFE IN CHINESE DETENTION -- IN PRISONS. HE'S HAD A HARD LIFE, AND HE'S CERTAINLY GOING THROUGH ENORMOUS EMOTIONAL STRAIN NOW. HE'S UNDER ARREST. HE'S BEING CHARGED WITH SERIOUS CRIMES. WE WANT TO MAKE SURE THAT HE'S OKAY AND THAT IS THE FIRST OBJECTIVE.

WHEN THE CONVERSATION DID VEER SECONDARILY TO THE

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CASE ITSELF, AS I SAID, THE CHINESE OFFICIALS THREATENED TO END THE CONVERSATION. SO MR. MACIAS WAS NOT IN A UNCLASSIFIED

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POSITION TO GET ANY KIND OF DETAIL FROM MR. WU ON HIS OWN APPRECIATION OF HIS LEGAL POSITION.

Q YOU MENTIONED THE THREE CHARGES, AND ONE OF THEM IS THAT HE ENTERED CHINA REPEATEDLY UNDER FALSE NAMES. IS PETER HONGDA WU A FALSE NAME? YOU CAN AT LEAST COMMENT ON THAT, CAN YOU NOT?

MR. BURNS: I CERTAINLY CAN YES. PETER HONGDA WU IS AN AMERICAN CITIZEN, NATURALIZED IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE NAME THAT HE TOOK AS A NATIONALIZED AMERICAN CITIZEN WAS PETER HONGDA WU. THE PASSPORT THAT HE WAS GIVEN WAS IN THAT NAME. HE HAS A VALID AMERICAN PASSPORT. HE HAS BEEN ISSUED ONLY ONE PASSPORT. HE HAS A VALID CHINESE VISA IN HIS PASSPORT.

HE HAS TRAVELED TO CHINA ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS DURING THE LAST COUPLE OF YEARS WITH THIS PARTICULAR PASSPORT. IF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT HAD A REASON TO SUSPECT THAT HE WAS GUILTY OF THESE CRIMES, THEN THEY SHOULD HAVE OF COURSE, ALERTED HIM DURING THE VISA PROCESS. THAT'S NORMALLY WHAT WE WOULD DO IN THIS PROCESS.

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WE OFTEN KEEP PEOPLE OUT OF OUR COUNTRY WHO WE BELIEVE HAVE EITHER VIOLATED OUR LAWS OR HAVE ACTED IN SUCH A WAY THAT THEY ARE UNDESIRABLE IN OUR OWN COUNTRY.

SO IT'S A LITTLE BIT UNUSUAL FOR AN AMERICAN CITIZEN UNCLASSIFIED

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TO BE ISSUED A VALID VISA ONLY TO FIND THAT WHEN HE
ENTERS THE PARTICULAR COUNTRY HE'S ARRESTED ON VERY
SERIOUS CHARGES.

Q DO YOU THINK THE CHINESE SET MR. WU UP?

MR. BURNS: I HAVE NO WAY OF KNOWING THAT. WE KNOW
VERY LITTLE ABOUT HIS ACTUAL DETENTION AND ARREST ON THE
CHINESE-KAZAK BORDER ON JUNE 19. AS I SAID, WE HAVE
VERY LITTLE INFORMATION ON THE CHARGES THAT HAVE BEEN
BROUGHT AGAINST HIM, AND WE'VE NOT HAD A FULL DISCUSSION
WITH THE CHINESE AUTHORITIES ON HOW THEY INTEND TO
PROCEED ON A JUDICIAL BASIS.

SO WE'RE REALLY OPERATING HERE WITH SCANT
INFORMATION, AND WE'RE DOING THE BEST WE CAN TO, KIND OF
SURMISE WHAT THE FACTS ARE.

BETSY.

Q IF WE WERE TOLD THAT AN AREA OF DISCUSSION
COULD NOT BE THE CHARGES AGAINST HIM, WERE THERE ANY
OTHER AREAS OF DISCUSSION THAT WE WERE TOLD THAT THERE
WERE RESTRICTIONS ON?

MR. BURNS: I'M NOT AWARE THAT WE WERE ADVISED
BEFOREHAND THERE WERE ADDITIONAL AREAS OF DISCUSSION
THAT WERE OFF LIMITS, NO. I KNOW THAT WE WERE
SPECIFICALLY ADVISED -- AND, AGAIN, THE CHINESE SAID
THIS IS NORMAL, THIS IS HOW WE TREAT -- THIS IS HOW ALL
FOREIGNERS IN THIS CASE ARE TREATED, AS ARE FOREIGN
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GOVERNMENTS, WHEN THEY SEEK CONSULAR ACCESS.

Q DID THEY SAY WHEN YOU WOULD NORMALLY -- UNDER
THEIR NORMAL PROCESS -- BE ABLE TO DISCUSS THE CASE WITH
HIM?

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MR. BURNS: NO. NO, THEY DID NOT.

Q DID THE CONSUL ACTUALLY SEE HIM, OR WAS IT THROUGH A PARTITION?

MR. BURNS: HE ACTUALLY SAW HIM. IT WAS A GLASS PARTITION. AGAIN, THIS IS NOT UNUSUAL IN JAILS AND PRISONS AROUND THE WORLD, THAT YOUR ACCESS IS NOT, IN THIS CASE, PHYSICALLY DIRECT, THAT YOU HAVE TO MEET THROUGH A PARTITION. THERE WAS A GLASS PARTITION. AS I UNDERSTAND IT, BOTH MR. WU AND MR. MACIAS HAD PHONES AND

WERE SPEAKING TO EACH OTHER THROUGH A PHONE. THERE WAS A CHINESE OFFICIAL

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ON THE LINE WHO MAY HAVE BEEN INTERPRETING; WE'RE NOT CLEAR ABOUT THIS POINT, BUT CERTAINLY WAS LISTENING IN ON THE CONVERSATION.

THERE WAS AN OFFICIAL WITH MR. WU ON HIS SIDE OF THE PARTITION, AND THERE WERE SEVERAL OFFICIALS WITH MR. MACIAS ON HIS SIDE OF THE PARTITION. SO THIS WAS A GROUP DISCUSSION. THIS WAS NOT AN OPPORTUNITY FOR MR.

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MACIAS TO HAVE DIRECT ACCESS TO MR. WU.

WHAT WE WOULD LIKE NOW TO HAPPEN IS, WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE MORE FREQUENT, CERTAINLY, ACCESS TO HIM BY OUR CONSULAR OFFICIALS. WE WANT TO ASSURE OURSELVES THAT MR. WU DOES UNDERSTAND WHAT IS HAPPENING TO HIM AND THAT HE BELIEVES HE'S GOT ADEQUATE REPRESENTATION.

THIS IS, IN EFFECT, THE DETAIL OF WHAT HAPPENED TODAY. BUT THE LARGEST POINT THAT'S OF IMPORTANCE TO THE UNITED STATES IS THAT HE BE RELEASED, AND THAT HE BE RELEASED EXPEDITIOUSLY. WE PREFER IT TO BE IMMEDIATELY, BECAUSE WE THINK THAT'S IN HIS BEST INTEREST. WE THINK THAT'S THE MOST LOGICAL AND SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF THIS CASE.

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Q IN WHAT KIND OF FACILITY IS MR. WU KEPT IN RIGHT NOW? WAS THERE ANY INDICATION THAT HE WAS GOING TO BE MOVED ANYTIME SOON? AND DID YOU GET ANY GUARANTEES THAT IF HE WAS MOVED THAT CONSULATE OFFICIALS WERE GOING TO BE INFORMED OF THAT?

MR. BURNS: I KNOW THAT MR. MACIAS MET WITH HIM IN A JAIL. WUHAN IS A FAIRLY BIG TOWN. THERE MAY BE SEVERAL JAILS THERE. I CAN'T TELL YOU THE SPECIFIC NAME OF THIS JAIL. IT'S THAT TYPE OF INFORMATION THAT I BELIEVE WILL BE FORTHCOMING, WHEN WE RECEIVE THE DETAILED REPORT OF MR. MACIAS ONCE HE GETS BACK TO BEIJING. YOU SEE, HE CAN'T FILE A CABLE TO US FROM WUHAN. HE'S GOT TO FILE IT FROM BEIJING, AND I THINK HE'LL BE BACK IN BEIJING TOMORROW. SO WE MAY HAVE MORE INFORMATION TOMORROW.

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I WOULD IMAGINE THAT IF ANYTHING FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN THE TERMS OF MR. WU'S INCARCERATION, IT WOULD BE NORMAL, IT WOULD BE REASONABLE AND EXPECTED, THAT THE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WOULD BE INFORMED -- NAMELY IF HE IS MOVED TO ANOTHER TOWN, WE WOULD BE INFORMED OF THAT.

AS YOU KNOW, SINCE JUNE 19, WE'VE HAD A PROBLEM OF PINPOINTING WHERE MR. WU HAS BEEN HELD. IT WASN'T UNTIL THIS WEEKEND ON SATURDAY, THAT WE KNEW EXACTLY WHERE HE WAS BEING HELD.

Q NICK, YOU CAN'T GO VERY FAR BACK IN HISTORY TO FIND PRECEDENT FOR DEALING WITH ANOTHER TOTALITARIAN STATE IN SITUATIONS LIKE THIS. IS THERE ANY THOUGHT BEING GIVEN,

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OR IS THERE A POINT AT WHICH THE UNITED STATES MIGHT FIND A CHINESE SPY IN THIS COUNTRY AND ARREST HIM?

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MR. BURNS: IN THE INTEREST OF FAIRNESS IN ANSWERING YOUR QUESTION, LET ME JUST ASSERT THAT MR. WU IS AN AMERICAN CITIZEN. HE'S A PRIVATE AMERICAN CITIZEN. THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO EVIDENCE OF WHICH I'M AWARE THAT WOULD LED ANYBODY TO CONCLUDE THAT HE IS A SPY.

I DON'T KNOW, STEVE, WHAT I CAN SAY IN ANSWER TO
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YOUR QUESTION. WE'RE GOING TO PROCEED ON THE MOST RATIONAL, REASONABLE LEVEL THAT WE CAN. WE'RE GOING TO TRY TO CONVINCE THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT THAT IT'S IN THEIR INTEREST TO RESOLVE THIS CASE SOON AND TO FREE MR. WU.

Q NICK, IS THERE ANYTHING IN HOW THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT CONDUCTED THIS INTERVIEW THAT VIOLATES THE CONSULAR AGREEMENT THAT YOU'RE AWARE OF?

MR. BURNS: I'M NOT AWARE THAT THE CHINESE DID ANYTHING THAT WOULD VIOLATE THE CONSULAR AGREEMENT.

Q WE'RE NOW WITHIN THE LETTER OF THE CONSULAR AGREEMENT --

MR. BURNS: THEY HAD NOT BEEN WITHIN THE LETTER OF THE CONSULAR AGREEMENT FOR NEARLY TWO WEEKS IN DENYING US ACCESS TO MR. WU. BUT SINCE WE NOW HAVE ACCESS I'M NOT AWARE THAT ANY OF THE PROCEDURES THAT WERE FOLLOWED TODAY IN WUHAN IN THE JAIL INTERVIEW WERE INCONSISTENT WITH THE CONSULAR CONVENTION. I'M NOT AWARE OF ANYTHING

THAT WOULD LEAD ME TO THAT CONCLUSION.

HOWEVER, WE ARE ALSO FOLLOWING A COURSE OF REASON HERE. WE'D LIKE TO SEE SOME FLEXIBILITY AND WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE REASON PREVAIL IN OUR ACCESS TO MR. WU.

Q ONE OTHER QUESTION. IS THERE ANY CONSIDERATION BEING GIVEN IN THIS BUILDING TO A TRAVEL ADVISORY?

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MR. BURNS: I'M NOT AWARE OF ANY CONSIDERATION TO THAT EFFECT.

Q THE OTHER DAY YOU MADE THE POINT THAT DIPLOMATS DEAL WITH CHINA THROUGH THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. SOME PEOPLE ARE TAKING THE VIEW THAT HARRY WU MAY BE A VICTIM OF A POWER STRUGGLE WITHIN CHINA BETWEEN THE VARIOUS FORCES -- HARDLINE AND SOFTLINE -- AND THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS HAS LOST ITS INFLUENCE WHILE THE SECURITY FORCES AND THE MILITARY HAVE GAINED INFLUENCE AND ARE USING HIM AS A PAWN. DO YOU SUBSCRIBE AT ALL TO SUCH A THEORY?

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MR. BURNS: IT'S HARD TO KNOW WHAT IS MOTIVATING THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT IN TAKING SUCH A HARD LINE AGAINST MR. WU. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF REASONS THAT CAN BE CITED. YOU'VE CITED ONE. PEOPLE OFTEN CITE THAT PARTICULAR REASON.

WE ARE GOING TO CONFINE OURSELVES, I THINK AT THIS POINT, IN THE CASE OF MR. WU, TO OUR EFFORT TO HAVE NIM RELEASED.

YOU'VE ASKED A BROADER QUESTION HERE, THAT CONCERNS U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS IN GENERAL, AND WHAT THE FACTORS MAY BE AT WORK THAT AFFECT THAT RELATIONSHIP. WE ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO CONTROL MOST OF THOSE FACTORS. AS TO THE FUTURE OF POLITICS AND THE FUTURE OF THE

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LEADERSHIP IN CHINA, WE HAVE NO CONTROL OVER THAT.

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BUT WE DO HAVE CONTROL OVER OUR AGENDA WITH CHINA, AND WE HAVE A MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITY WITH THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT TO DO EVERYTHING WE CAN TO KEEP THIS RELATIONSHIP STABLE.

THIS RELATIONSHIP IS ENORMOUSLY IMPORTANT FOR BOTH COUNTRIES. WE RECOGNIZE THAT. SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE TROUBLES WITH CHINA OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF MONTHS I WOULD JUST NOTE THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT TAKEN ACTIONS LIKE CANCELLING MEETINGS. WE HAVE ALWAYS SOUGHT TO ENGAGE, AND WE'RE GOING TO CONTINUE THAT.

Q NICK, THE QUESTION IS REGARDING THE EXPEDITIOUS RELEASE OF HARRY WU. MY QUESTION IS, IS THIS BEING TAKEN AS A NORMAL DIPLOMATIC PROCESS? AT ANY POINT, HAVE YOU THOUGHT OF TAKING ANY ALTERNATIVE COURSE IF THIS FAILS, IF THIS NORMAL DIPLOMATIC PROCESS FAILS?

MR. BURNS: WE'RE TAKING IT ONE DAY AT A TIME. WE ARE GOING THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS TO TRY TO RESOLVE THIS CASE. WE RETAIN A NUMBER OF OPTIONS, AND WE'LL CONTINUE TO RETAIN THOSE OPTIONS. BUT FOR NOW, WE'RE TAKING IT ONE DAY AT A TIME. WE'RE SEEKING MORE INFORMATION. WE'RE SEEKING MR. WU'S RELEASE.

Q WHAT KIND OF OPTIONS ARE YOU TALKING ABOUT?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T CARE TO GO INTO THEM. SOME OF THEM MAY BE OBVIOUS TO YOU; SOME MAYBE NOT. BUT THE
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UNITED STATES HAS AN OBLIGATION TO DEFEND ITS OWN NATIONAL INTERESTS.

WE HAVE A VARIETY OF INTERESTS AT STAKE IN OUR RELATIONS WITH CHINA -- NOT JUST THE HARRY WU CASE, BUT OTHERS. THE HARRY WU CASE IS QUITE IMPORTANT TO US, AND WE'RE SIGNALING THAT TO THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT. WE'RE SIGNALING IT BY INDICATING THE VERY HIGH LEVEL OF INTEREST

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BY OUR LEADERSHIP IN THIS PARTICULAR CASE; BY THE FACT THAT ASSISTANT SECRETARY LORD WAS IN CONTACT AGAIN WITH THE CHINESE CHARGE; AND BY OUR CONTINUING ATTEMPT TO SEEK HIGH LEVEL MEETINGS ON THIS AND OTHER ISSUES.

Q IT'S ALRIGHT IF YOU REFRAIN FROM TELLING ME WHAT THE OPTIONS ARE, BUT IN YOUR EXCHANGE WITH THE CHINESE, DID YOU INDICATE WHAT OPTIONS YOU MIGHT TAKE IN CASE YOU FAIL TO GET WHAT YOU GET?

MR. BURNS: I JUST DON'T WANT TO BE IN A POSITION OF TELLING YOU AND OTHERS THE DETAILS OF OUR DIPLOMATIC

CONVERSATIONS WITH THE CHINESE. WE DON'T NORMALLY DO THAT. THAT'S NOT NORMAL DIPLOMATIC PRACTICE SO I THINK I'LL ADHERE TO NORMAL DIPLOMATIC PROCESS AND BE SILENT ON THAT ISSUE.

Q IS THE UNITED STATES DETERMINED TO HARRY WU'S
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RELEASE?

MR. BURNS: OF COURSE, WE'RE DETERMINED TO OBTAIN THE RELEASE OF AN AMERICAN CITIZEN WHO WE RESPECT. WE'RE CALLING FOR HIS IMMEDIATE RELEASE.

Q HAS THE SECRETARY BEEN IN TOUCH WITH ANY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS -- SENATOR HELMS OR OTHERS -- WHO KNOW MR. WU, TO SPECIFICALLY INFORM HIM OF WHAT MR. MACIAS TOLD HIM?

MR. BURNS: I CAN CHECK INTO THAT. I DON'T KNOW IF THE SECRETARY HAS DONE THAT THIS MORNING. THIS INFORMATION JUST REACHED US A COUPLE OF HOURS AGO. WE HAVE BEEN TRYING TO KEEP THE INTERESTED MEMBERS OF CONGRESS APPRISED OF WHATEVER WE KNOW ALL ALONG THE LINE. THE SECRETARY HAD LUNCH WITH SENATOR HELMS AND SENATOR PELL A WEEK BACK, AND HAD A LONG DISCUSSION OF MR. WU'S CASE.

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IT WOULDN'T SURPRISE ME IF IT COMES UP TONIGHT IN CONTACTS THAT WE'LL BE HAVING WITH MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, AND IT WOULDN'T SURPRISE ME IF IT CAME UP IN ANY TELEPHONE CALL OR MEETING AT ANY LEVEL BETWEEN CONGRESS AND THE ADMINISTRATION.

IT'S A VERY IMPORTANT CASE. MR. WU HAS A GREAT DEAL OF SUPPORT IN THE U.S. CONGRESS. HE'S GOT A GREAT DEAL OF SUPPORT IN THE ADMINISTRATION FOR HIS RELEASE AS WELL.

Q THERE'S A STORY IN U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT
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REGARDING THE CHINESE PREMIER, LI PENG, AND FOREIGN MINISTER, QIAN QICHEN HAVE REQUESTED PRESIDENT CLINTON TO PROMISE NOT TO RECEIVE PRESIDENT LEE TENG-HUI TO VISIT THE UNITED STATES. APPARENTLY, THE STATE DEPARTMENT SAID NO TO THIS REQUEST. CAN YOU CONFIRM THAT?

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MR. BURNS: I HAVE NO INFORMATION ON THAT PARTICULAR STORY.

Q ARE YOU AWARE OF ANY COMMUNIQUE OR ANY FURTHER FORMAL THINGS BEING DISCUSSED BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS RIGHT NOW?

MR. BURNS: THIS ISSUE IS PROBABLY DISCUSSED ON A DAILY BASIS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA. I'M SIMPLY NOT AWARE OF ALL THE CONVERSATIONS THAT TAKE PLACE AT A VARIETY OF LEVELS. I'M AWARE OF SOME OF THE CONVERSATIONS THAT TAKE PLACE. I'M AWARE OF SOME OF THE CONVERSATIONS THAT TAKE PLACE.

WE ISSUED A VISA TO PRESIDENT LEE TENG-HUI FOR AN UNOFFICIAL VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES. WE SAID AFTER ISSUING THE VISA THAT ANY SUBSEQUENT REQUESTS FOR A VISA WOULD BE CONSIDERED ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS. WE HAVE NOT MADE ANY COMMITMENTS TO ISSUE VISAS IN THE FUTURE.

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Q SOME OF THE PROBLEMS BETWEEN CHINA AND THE
UNITED STATES ARE PERHAPS UNFORTUNATE COINCIDENCES OF
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TIMING. YOU NOW HAVE A PRETTY DELICATE SITUATION WITH
THE CHINESE AND THERE'S GOING TO BE AN ANNOUNCEMENT
TOMORROW THAT I WONDER WHETHER YOU THINK WILL HAVE AN
IMPACT ON THAT ALSO. WHAT DO YOU EXPECT THE CHINESE TO
SAY IN REACTION TO TOMORROW'S EXPECTED ANNOUNCEMENT ON
VIETNAM?

MR. BURNS: I WAS GOING TO ASK FOR ENLIGHTENMENT ON
TOMORROW -- ON VIETNAM, OKAY. THANK YOU.

Q MY PLEASURE.

MR. BURNS: THANKS, DAVID. THE UNITED STATES IS
CONSIDERING -- AND, OF COURSE, THE PRESIDENT IS
CONSIDERING -- NEXT STEPS IN OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH
VIETNAM.

THIS DECISION THAT IS GOING TO BE BASED ON THE ISSUE
OF POW/MIAs AND THE EFFORTS THAT WE BELIEVE THE
VIETNAMESE MAY OR MAY NOT HAVE MADE ON THAT DECISION
SHOULD NOT BE SEEN AS ANYWAY LINKED TO UNITED STATES
RELATIONS WITH CHINA. THE FACT IS, THE UNITED STATES
AND VIETNAM HAVE AN ENORMOUSLY COMPLEX PAST. THEY
FOUGHT A WAR. IT IS NOW 20 YEARS SINCE THE END OF THAT
WAR. THE PRESIDENT MUST DETERMINE WHETHER OR NOT IT'S
NOW APPROPRIATE TO NORMALIZE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.

IF THAT HAPPENS -- IF IT HAPPENS -- AND IF THAT
DECISION IS MADE, THEN THAT WILL SPEAK TO
U.S.-VIETNAMESE RELATIONS. IT SHOULD NOT BE SEEN BY
ANYONE ELSE IN ASIA AS SOME KIND OF THREAT. IT'S NOT
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MEANT TO BE. IT'S NOT DESIGNED TO BE.

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VIETNAM IS A COUNTRY OF GROWING IMPORTANCE TO THE UNITED STATES AND TO OTHER COUNTRIES THAT HAVE INTERESTS IN THE PACIFIC -- BECAUSE OF ITS ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE ITS GROWING ECONOMY, BECAUSE OF ITS POLITICAL RELATIONS WITH A NUMBER OF THE OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE REGION. SO I THINK YOU HAVE TO SEE THIS QUESTION OF U.S.-VIETNAMESE RELATIONS IN ITS OWN FRAMEWORK.

Q CAN'T COUNT ON THE CHINESE TO DO THAT, THOUGH, CAN WE?

MR. BURNS: THE CHINESE HAVE TO MAKE THEIR OWN DECISIONS. BUT THE CHINESE SHOULD NOT SEE ANY POSSIBLE IMPROVEMENT IN U.S.-VIETNAMESE RELATIONS AS SOMEHOW TO THEIR DETRIMENT. THIS IS NOT A ZERO-SUM GAME.

THE UNITED STATES IS A PACIFIC POWER. WE ARE ONE OF THE GREAT POWERS OF THE PACIFIC. WE HAVE VITAL NATIONAL INTERESTS AT STAKE IN THE PACIFIC, AND WE WILL MEET THOSE INTERESTS BASED ON OUR OWN PERCEPTION OF OUR INTERESTS. OTHER COUNTRIES WOULD HAVE TO EXPECT THAT WE WOULD FOLLOW THAT COURSE.

Q NICK, DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT ON THE FACT THAT A NUMBER OF U.S. COMPANIES HAVE LOST MAJOR CONTRACTS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE DIFFICULT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES?

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MR. BURNS: WE WOULD HOPE THAT U.S.-CHINESE ECONOMIC RELATIONS WOULD CONTINUE TO BE GOOD. WE CERTAINLY THINK THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS A LOT TO OFFER. OUR COMPANIES HAVE A LOT TO OFFER. CHINA HAS BEEN A MAJOR

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MARKET FOR THE UNITED STATES. THE UNITED STATES IS A MAJOR MARKET FOR CHINA. WE HAVE A MUTUAL INTEREST IN ENSURING THE CONTINUATION OF GOOD ECONOMIC RELATIONS. WE WOULD EXPECT THAT THAT WILL CONTINUE.

Q ANOTHER TOPIC?

MR. BURNS: CAN WE JUST EXHAUST CHINA BEFORE WE GO TO ANOTHER.

Q I'D LIKE TO TAKE YOU BACK TO THAT U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT STORY FOR A MOMENT. THE STORY SAYS THAT BEFORE FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER WENT OUT TO BEIJING HE MET WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY LORD IN THE BUILDING.

WHILE SECRETARY KISSINGER WAS IN BEIJING, HE MADE THREE PROPOSALS TO THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP. AMONG THEM, ONE WAS A MEETING BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND FOREIGN MINISTER QIAN WHEN THEY MEET IN BRUNEI IN AUGUST. DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT ON THIS PARTICULAR ASPECT OF THE STORY?

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NUMBER ONE: CAN YOU CONFIRM WHETHER SECRETARY
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KISSINGER DID MEET WITH LORD BEFORE HE WENT OUT?

MR. BURNS: I CAN CERTAINLY CONFIRM IT. I SAID LAST WEEK THAT SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER MET WITH FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER A COUPLE OF WEEKS BACK, IN ADVANCE OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S TRIP TO CHINA.

IN ADDITION TO THAT, JUST BEFORE FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER LEFT, HE DID MEET WITH WIN LORD. YOU WOULD EXPECT THAT -- WIN LORD IS OUR TOP REGIONAL SPECIALIST ON ASIA. HE ALSO USED TO WORK WITH FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER. THEY HAD A GOOD DISCUSSION ABOUT THE STATE OF U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS.

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I'M NOT AWARE THAT FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER WAS CARRYING ANY MESSAGES FROM THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT. HE MAY HAVE RAISED -- AND I'M SURE HE DID RAISE -- A NUMBER OF ISSUES PERTAINING TO THE RELATIONSHIP, AND THAT WOULD BE QUITE NATURAL.

I'M SURE THAT WHEN FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER RETURNS, WE WILL BE INTERESTED IN MEETING HIM TO GET A BRIEF ON WHAT HE THINKS OF THE SITUATION IN CHINA, HOW HE APPRAISES U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS AND WHAT HE HEARD FROM SPECIFIC CHINESE OFFICIALS IN THE MEETING. THIS IS NORMAL PRACTICE IN THE UNITED STATES, AND I'M SURE WE

WILL NOT DEVIATE FROM IT IN THIS CASE.

Q WHILE HE'S IN THE FIELD, HE'S NOT SENDING ANY REPORTS OR MESSAGES TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT?

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MR. BURNS: I'M NOT AWARE OF ANY REPORTS THAT HE SENT TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT DURING HIS TRIP. I CAN'T EXCLUDE THAT POSSIBILITY. BECAUSE, AS YOU KNOW, OUR EMBASSY HAS BEEN FACILITATING HIS VISIT, AND I BELIEVE SOME OF OUR EMBASSY OFFICERS HAVE SAT IN ON SOME OF HIS MEETINGS. IT COULD BE THE CASE THAT HE SENT IN REPORTS BUT I'M NOT AWARE OF ANY.

CONCERNING --

Q YOU'RE NOT AWARE OF ANY MESSAGES THAT DR. KISSINGER WAS CARRYING FOR THE ADMINISTRATION? DOES THAT MEAN THOSE THREE PROPOSALS WHICH THE U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT MENTIONED WERE HIS OWN?

MR. BURNS: I HAVE NO IDEA WHETHER OR NOT THE U.S. NEWS REPORT IS ACCURATE. I HAVEN'T SEEN THE REPORT. I DON'T KNOW THE SPECIFICS OF WHAT DR. KISSINGER DISCUSSED IN HIS MEETINGS. I DON'T EVEN KNOW IN GENERALITY WHAT HE DISCUSSED. I DO KNOW THAT WE HAD A COUPLE OF MEETINGS WITH

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HIM -- SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AND WIN LORD -- BEFORE HE LEFT AND THAT WE'LL BE SEEING HIM WHEN HE COMES BACK.

Q HAS CHINA DEMANDED AN APOLOGY FROM THE U.S. FOR ISSUING THE VISA TO PRESIDENT LEE TENG-HUI?

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MR. BURNS: I'M NOT AWARE THAT IT HAS DEMANDED AN APOLOGY. I THINK IT'S FAIR TO SAY THAT CHINA BELIEVES THE UNITED STATES SHOULD TAKE SOME STEPS TO CORRECT WHAT IT PERCEIVES TO BE A RELATIONSHIP THAT HAS SOME DIFFICULTIES.

WE WOULD SAY, IN REPLY, THAT IT TAKES TWO COUNTRIES TO MAKE A SUCCESSFUL RELATIONSHIP. GIVEN THE PATTERN OF THE LAST COUPLE OF WEEKS -- AND SPECIFICALLY THE CASE OF MR. WU -- IT IS CERTAINLY INCUMBENT UPON THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP TO TAKE SOME STEPS TO SHOW IT HAS AN INTEREST IN GOOD U.S.-CHINESE RELATIONS.

Q ARE YOU PREPARED TO TALK TO THE CHINESE AS TO WHAT TO DO TO CORRECT WHAT THE CHINESE CALL MISTAKES?

MR. BURNS: WE ARE INTERESTED IN ALL CONVERSATIONS POSSIBLE WITH THE CHINESE AT ALL LEVELS. WE HAVE MADE OUR VIEWS CLEARLY KNOWN TO THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT.

Q WHAT, SPECIFICALLY, HAVE THE CHINESE ASKED THAT THE UNITED STATES DO TO MEND FENCES?

MR. BURNS: AGAIN, I'M NOT A PARTY TO THE DAILY DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS THAT GO ON, SO I CAN'T SPEAK SPECIFICALLY, STEVE. BUT IT'S MY OWN VIEW -- IT'S MY OWN UNDERSTANDING -- THAT THEY HAVE NOT BEEN EXCEEDINGLY SPECIFIC TO US.

THEREFORE, WE BELIEVE THAT THE WAY TO GO FORWARD NOW IN U.S.-CHINESE RELATIONS IS TO HAVE CONTACT, IS TO HAVE

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DISCUSSIONS, IS TO DISCUSS SPECIFIC PROBLEMS, AND FOR
BOTH SIDES TO DEMONSTRATE THAT WE BOTH HAVE AN INTEREST
AND A COMMITMENT TO THE RELATIONSHIP.

WE'VE DEMONSTRATED THAT BY ASSERTING TIME AND AGAIN,
INCLUDING TODAY, THAT WE HAVE A ONE-CHINA POLICY, AND
THAT POLICY WILL NOT CHANGE AND HAS NOT CHANGED. WE
HAVE ALSO ASSERTED PUBLICLY THAT DESPITE THE FEARS OF
SOME IN CHINA, WE ARE NOT ENGAGED IN A POLICY OF
CONTAINMENT OF CHINA. WE'RE ENGAGED IN A POLICY OF
ENGAGEMENT WITH CHINA, AND THAT'S GOING TO REMAIN THE
FUNDAMENTAL BEDROCK OF OUR POLICY.

SO WE HAVE MADE A NUMBER OF PUBLIC OVERTURES TO THE
CHINESE GOVERNMENT, AND WE WOULD NOW EXPECT THAT CHINA
WOULD TAKE SOME STEPS TO ASSURE US THAT IT IS ALSO
COMMITTED TO THIS TYPE OF RELATIONSHIP.

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Q HAVE THE CHINESE SIDE MENTIONED THAT THEY NEED
A FOURTH COMMUNIQUE BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES TO BOOST THE
SO-CALLED ONE-CHINA POLICY, TO GUARANTEE THAT THE U.S.
WOULD NOT DO ANYTHING BEYOND THE ONE-CHINA POLICY? HAVE
THE CHINESE SIDE MENTIONED THAT?

MR. BURNS: OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH CHINA IS BASED ON
THE THREE COMMUNIQES. I'M NOT AWARE THAT THERE'S A

PROPOSAL FOR A FOURTH.

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Q WERE YOU ASKED ABOUT THE RAINBOW WARRIOR SITUATION? DO YOU HAVE ANY REACTION TO THE FRENCH, AND DO YOU THINK THEY OVERREACTED IN THEIR ACTIONS?

MR. BURNS: I THINK WE'VE EXHAUSTED CHINA, SO WE CAN GO ON TO THE RAINBOW WARRIOR, IF POSSIBLE. I BELIEVE WE HAVE.

Q (INAUDIBLE)

MR. BURNS: I FULLY EXPECT THAT. (LAUGHTER) LET'S TALK ABOUT THE RAINBOW WARRIOR FIRST. WE VIEW TODAY'S INCIDENT AS UNFORTUNATE. ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS THE GREEN PEACE VESSEL VIOLATED FRENCH TERRITORIAL WATERS, PRECIPITATING THE SEIZURE. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD HAVE BEEN PREFERABLE TO RESOLVE DISPUTES THROUGH PEACEFUL, LEGAL MEANS.

AS WE STATED PREVIOUSLY, WE REGRET VERY MUCH THE FRENCH DECISION TO RESUME NUCLEAR TESTING, AND WE CONTINUE TO URGE ALL NUCLEAR POWERS, INCLUDING FRANCE TO JOIN IN A GLOBAL MORATORIUM AS WE WORK TO COMPLETE THE COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE TIME.

WE WILL CONTINUE TO WORK WITH FRANCE AND THE OTHER NUCLEAR POWERS TOWARDS THAT TREATY.

Q WILL THE U.S. HAVE ANY DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE FRENCH OR THE GOVERNMENTS OF NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIA ON THIS?

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MR. BURNS: I'M SURE WE'LL HAVE DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT ON THIS PARTICULAR INCIDENT.

Q ARE YOU GOING TO TRY TO --

MR. BURNS: I DON'T KNOW IF WE'LL HAVE CONTACT WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS, BUT I'M SURE WE WILL WITH THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

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Q WILL YOU TRY TO CONVINCE THEM TO LET THESE PEOPLE GO OR TO CHANGE THE SITUATION OR BACK DOWN ON THEIR POLICY?

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MR. BURNS: I BELIEVE THE RAINBOW WARRIOR HAS LEFT THE AREA. THAT'S WHAT I'VE SEEN ON TELEVISION JUST RECENTLY. I DON'T BELIEVE IT'S A CASE OF HAVING LET PEOPLE GO. WE JUST THINK THIS WAS AN UNFORTUNATE INCIDENT THIS MORNING.

Q WHAT'S UNFORTUNATE ABOUT IT? IS IT UNFORTUNATE THAT THE FRENCH STORMED THE VESSEL, OR IS IT UNFORTUNATE THAT GREEN PEACE WANTED TO PROTEST THE FRENCH DECISION?

MR. BURNS: I THINK THE FORMER, NOT THE LATTER.

Q THAT THE FRENCH STORMED THE VESSEL.

MR. BURNS: THE INCIDENT WAS UNFORTUNATE IN THE WAY
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THAT IT WAS RESOLVED, CERTAINLY. WE WOULD HAVE PREFERRED PEACEFUL, LEGAL MEANS. I WOULD NOTE THAT ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS, THE GREEN PEACE VESSEL DID VIOLATE FRENCH TERRITORIAL WATERS WHICH PRECIPITATED THE SEIZURE. SO JUST TO BE FAIR IN ASSESSING THE SITUATION, I WANTED TO NOTE BOTH FACTORS.

Q COULD WE DO BURMA? DO YOU HAVE ANY REACTION TO THE RELEASE OF AUNG SAN SUU KYI?

MR. BURNS: YES, WE DO. WE WELCOME VERY, VERY MUCH THE ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE BURMESE AUTHORITIES THAT AUNG SAN SUU KYI HAS BEEN RELEASED, AFTER HER NEARLY SIX YEARS OF HOUSE ARREST. IF HER RELEASE ENABLES HER TO PARTICIPATE FREELY IN A GENUINE PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION THAT LEADS TO A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT, THIS WOULD ALSO MARK A MILESTONE TOWARD THE RESTORATION OF PEACE AND STABILITY IN BURMA.

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WHILE WE WELCOME THIS STEP, WE REMAIN CONCERNED ABOUT THE GENERAL HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN BURMA, AS REFLECTED IN OUR ANNUAL HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTS. WE HOPE VERY MUCH THAT THE RELEASE THIS MORNING OF AUNG SAN SUU KYI SIGNALS THE BURMESE GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS AND ENGAGE IN A GENUINE POLITICAL DIALOGUE WITH ALL FORCES -- POLITICAL FORCES -- IN BURMA.

Q NICK, THIS IS SOMETHING THAT THE SECRETARY AND WINSTON LORD SAID WOULD BE A VERY IMPORTANT STEP IN IMPROVING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND BURMA
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WHEN THEY WERE IN THE REGION LAST TIME. IS THE UNITED STATES GOING TO RECIPROCATE IN ANY FASHION?

MR. BURNS: I BELIEVE BEFORE WE DO THAT, SID, WE'RE GOING TO HAVE TO ASCERTAIN TO OUR SATISFACTION THAT THE CONDITIONS OF HER RELEASE THIS MORNING ARE CONSISTENT WITH WHAT WE THINK HAS HAPPENED. THAT THEY'RE CONSISTENT WITH A GENUINE EFFORT TO TRY TO IMPROVE THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN

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BURMA AND TO PERMIT A MUCH GREATER MEASURE OF POLITICAL EXPRESSION WITHIN BURMA. SHE'S A VERY COURAGEOUS PERSON. SHE'S BEEN UNDER HOUSE ARREST FOR NEARLY SIX YEARS.

WE'RE JUST NOT QUITE SURE OF ANY STRINGS THAT MIGHT BE ATTACHED TO THIS PARTICULAR RELEASE OR IF IN FACT THERE ARE SOME CONDITIONS THAT MAY HAVE BEEN APPLIED TO HER ACTIONS AFTER HAVING BEEN RELEASED. I DON'T BELIEVE WE'VE HEARD FROM HER YET. I THINK IT'S IMPORTANT WE HEAR FROM HER AND WE SATISFY OURSELVES THROUGH OUR EMBASSY IN RANGOON TO THE SPECIFICS OF THIS PARTICULAR CASE, BUT WE CERTAINLY WELCOME THE FACT THAT SHE APPARENTLY HAS BEEN RELEASED FROM HOUSE ARREST. WE HAVE

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A GREAT DEAL OF RESPECT AND ADMIRATION FOR HER.

Q DIFFERENT SUBJECT?

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MR. BURNS: DIFFERENT SUBJECT.

Q DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ELSE ABOUT THE NOW ONE
AMERICAN BEING HELD BY REBELS IN INDIA?

MR. BURNS: WE HAVE A LITTLE BIT OF INFORMATION ON
THE SITUATION IN KASHMIR. AS YOU ALL KNOW JOHN CHILDS,
AN AMERICAN CITIZEN, WHO IS FROM CONNECTICUT, MADE A
VERY COURAGEOUS AND DRAMATIC ESCAPE FROM THE TERRORISTS,
WHO HAVE KIDNAPPED HIM OVER THE WEEKEND. WE UNDERSTAND
THAT MR. CHILDS IS IN GOOD HEALTH.

HE IS NOW BEING ASSISTED BY A FOREIGN SERVICE
OFFICER FROM OUR EMBASSY IN NEW DELHI, WHO WAS
DISPATCHED TO KASHMIR LAST WEEK. THE OTHER U.S.
CITIZEN, DONALD FRED HUTCHINGS, AND TWO CITIZENS OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM ARE STILL BEING HELD BY THE AL,FARAN
GROUP.

THEIR ABDUCTION REMAINS A MATTER OF DEEP CONCERN TO
US. WE ARE OBVIOUSLY HOPEFUL FOR A PEACEFUL OUTCOME.
WE APPRECIATE VERY MUCH THE COOPERATION WE'RE RECEIVING
FROM THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT IN THIS MATTER. AT THIS TIME
OUT OF CONCERN FOR THE SAFETY OF THE AMERICAN AND THE
TWO BRITS, WE CANNOT PROVIDE ANY FURTHER INFORMATION
CONCERNING EFFORTS TO SECURE THEIR RELEASE.

Q CAN YOU TELL US IF THEY ARE OKAY? IF THE
GENTLEMAN WHO CAME OUT CAN VERIFY THAT THESE PEOPLE ARE
IN GOOD HEALTH, WHO ARE STILL BEING HELD?

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MR. BURNS: UNFORTUNATELY, I DON'T HAVE ANY
INFORMATION ON THAT. I ASSUME THAT MR. CHILDS HAS DONE
HIS BEST TO BRIEF OUR AUTHORITIES AND INDIAN AUTHORITIES
ON THE CONDITIONS OF THE OTHERS. HE ESCAPED SOME TIME
AGO. IT'S NOW BEEN -- WHAT -- ALMOST THREE DAYS SINCE
HIS ESCAPE, I BELIEVE, AND SO I DON'T BELIEVE WE'RE IN A
POSITION TO

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SATISFY OURSELVES THAT THE AMERICAN CITIZENS OR THE TWO
BRITISH CITIZENS ARE IN GOOD SHAPE. WE JUST DON'T KNOW.

Q NICK, COULD WE GO TO THE MIDDLE EAST?

MR. BURNS: YES.

Q FILING BREAK?

MR. BURNS: YOU'VE ASKED FOR A FILING BREAK. OKAY.
I BELIEVE GEORGE IS THE SENIOR CORRESPONDENT IN THE
ROOM, SO WE'LL HAVE TO GO BY GEORGE'S GUIDANCE.

Q THERE ARE REPORTS THAT THE ISRAELIS AND THE
PALESTINIANS ARE GOING TO RESUME THEIR TALKS IN ITALY.
WOULD YOU EXPECT AMBASSADOR ROSS TO BE GOING TO ITALY IN
THE NEXT FEW DAYS, NEXT WEEK?

MR. BURNS: I'M NOT AWARE THAT AMBASSADOR ROSS HAS
ANY PLANS TO DO THAT. AS YOU KNOW, HE'S IN THE REGION,
HE LEFT YESTERDAY. HE WILL BE MEETING WITH ISRAELI,
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SYRIAN, PALESTINIAN, JORDANIAN AND EGYPTIAN AUTHORITIES
OVER THE NEXT COUPLE OF DAYS. HE IS PURSUING TWO VERY
IMPORTANT ISSUES.

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ONE IS THE PROGRESS OF THE ISRAEL-PALESTINIAN TALKS -- THAT TRACK -- WHICH, AS YOU KNOW, WE ARE VERY MUCH ENGAGED IN. THE SECOND IS PROGRESS IN THE ISRAEL-SYRIAN TALKS IN WHICH WE TAKE A DIRECT ROLE IN THE TALKS ITSELF.

WE HAVE NOT HAD AMERICAN OFFICIALS PRESENT IN THE ISRAEL-PALESTINIAN TALKS IN CAIRO OR IN TALKS THAT HAVE GONE ON IN ISRAEL ITSELF. SO I WOULDN'T EXPECT THAT WOULD BE THE CASE. I WOULD EXPECT THAT HE CONTINUE WITH HIS ITINERARY AS HE HAD PLANNED IT.

Q IT IS YOUR UNDERSTANDING THAT THEY ARE GOING TO CONVENE THE TALKS IN ITALY, THOUGH?

MR. BURNS: I'VE JUST SEEN THE PRESS REPORTS, SID. I'M NOT IN A POSITION TO VERIFY THAT.

Q THINGS SEEM TO BE WARMING UP AGAIN IN NORTHERN IRAQ BETWEEN KDP AND PUK. TALIBANI AND BARZANI FORCES ARE AT IT AGAIN. THEY'RE FIGHTING EACH OTHER, AND THE IRANIAN REVOLUTIONARY GUARDS, I UNDERSTAND HAVE ATTACKED PEOPLE MOJAHEDIN CAMPS NEAR BAGHDAD. IS THAT TURBULENCE AS USUAL OR SOMETHING ELSE? WHAT'S YOUR READING ON WHAT'S GOING IN IRAQ?

MR. BURNS: I CAN'T INDEPENDENTLY CONFIRM THE EVENTS THAT YOU'RE REFERRING TO. I HAVE SEEN SOME PRESS
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REPORTS ABOUT TURBULENT EVENTS, BUT I HAVEN'T SEEN SPECIFIC ONES. I

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DO KNOW THAT THE TURKISH MILITARY IS WRAPPING UP ITS OPERATION IN NORTHERN IRAQ. WE'VE BEEN ASSURED THAT THE WITHDRAWAL WILL BE IN A MATTER OF SEVERAL DAYS.

WE, OF COURSE, CONTINUE TO URGE THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT TO KEEP THIS A LIMITED ENGAGEMENT, TO RECOGNIZE STANDARDS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. WE VERY MUCH UNDERSTAND THE REASON FOR THIS INCURSION AND VERY MUCH

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UNDERSTAND AND DEFEND TURKISH RIGHT TO DEFEND ITSELF

Q IRANIAN OPERATION WAS ON AGENCE FRANCE PRESS.

MR. BURNS: IS THAT RIGHT?

Q YES.

MR. BURNS: I'M NOT IN A POSITION TO CONFIRM THAT

LAURA.

Q ON BOSNIA. OVER THE WEEKEND AND PART OF TODAY, THE SAFE ZONES OF SREBRENICA AND ZEPA WERE SHELLED CONTINUOUSLY, WHICH PROVOKED CALLS OR THREATS BY THE UNITED NATIONS FOR AIRSTRIKES. CAN YOU GIVE US THE DEPARTMENT'S ASSESSMENT OF WHAT IS HAPPENING RIGHT NOW ON THE GROUND?

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MR. BURNS: I THINK THAT THE ASSESSMENT OF THE EVENTS AS REPORTED IN THE MAJOR NEWSPAPERS ARE ESSENTIALLY OUR ASSESSMENT THAT THERE'S BEEN A VERY SERIOUS INCIDENT THAT'S OCCURRED OVER THE WEEKEND WHERE BOSNIAN SERB FORCES HAVE GONE WITHIN THE 12.5 MILE ZONE. THEY FORCED, FROM THEIR POSITIONS A SMALL NUMBER OF DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS AND UP TO 30 OF THEM, UNFORTUNATELY, HAVE BEEN TAKEN PRISONER BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS.

WE DO UNDERSTAND THAT THE DUTCH HAVE FORMED A DEFENSIVE LINE JUST OUTSIDE THE CITY; THAT THE UNITED NATIONS HAS THREATENED NATO AIR STRIKES IF THE BOSNIAN SERBS ATTEMPT TO PIERCE THAT LINE. NATO, OF COURSE, COULD LAUNCH AIR STRIKES OR PROVIDE CLOSE AIR SUPPORT TO U.N. FORCES IF REQUESTED TO DO SO BY THE U.N., BUT NATO HAS NOT YET RECEIVED ANY SUCH REQUEST BY THE UNITED NATIONS.

ON THE DIPLOMATIC SIDE, THE EU NEGOTIATOR, CARL BILDT, HAS FINISHED A TOUR OF THE REGION. THERE WILL BE

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A CONTACT GROUP MEETING ON WEDNESDAY NIGHT IN PARIS; WHERE MR. BILDT WILL REPORT ON HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT, WITH THE SERBIAN GOVERNMENT IN BELGRADE AND WITH A NUMBER OF OTHERS IN THE REGION. ASSISTANT SECRETARY DICK HOLBROOKE WILL REPRESENT THE UNITED STATES AT THAT MEETING.

Q THESE MOST RECENT INCIDENTS AND THE TAKING OF HOSTAGES AGAIN AND THE THREAT OF AIR STRIKES -- HOW UNCLASSIFIED

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SUCCESSFUL DO YOU THINK THE U.N.'S MISSION HAS BEEN ON THE GROUND IN TERMS OF DELIVERING HUMANITARIAN AID OR CARRYING OUT ITS MANDATE?

MR. BURNS: THE UNITED NATIONS, ESPECIALLY IN RECENT MONTHS, HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO MEET THE MANDATE THAT IT MUST CARRY OUT. IT HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO DELIVER NEARLY ENOUGH OF THE HUMANITARIAN SUPPLIES TO THE ENCLAVES AND TO SARAJEVO. I BELIEVE THAT IN MOST CASES ABOUT TEN PERCENT OF THE MONTHLY ALLOCATION OF HUMANITARIAN FOOD AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES TO MOST OF THE AFFECTED AREA.

IT HAS ALSO NOT BEEN ABLE TO PROTECT THESE AREAS FROM BOMBARDMENT AND FROM SHELLING BY THE BOSNIAN SERB FORCES. I THINK THIS IS WELL KNOWN. IT'S APPARENT FOR EVERYONE TO SEE. THAT IS WHY WE HAVE BELIEVED OVER THE LAST MONTH THAT THE RAPID REACTION FORCE, IF CONSTRUCTED PROPERLY AND IF IT IS SERVED WITH THE APPROPRIATE MANDATE, COULD, WE HOPE, MAKE A POSITIVE DIFFERENCE IN STRENGTHENING THE ABILITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO MEET ITS OBLIGATIONS, WHETHER THEY'RE HUMANITARIAN OR SECURITY. WE VERY MUCH HOPE THAT WILL BE THE CASE ALTHOUGH THAT REMAINS AN OPEN QUESTION.

Q ON THE RAPID REACTION FORCE, THERE'S A REPORT ON THE WIRES THAT FRANCE HAS OFFERED TO USE ATTACK HELICOPTERS TO ASSIST THE BELEAGUERED DUTCH THAT YOU REFERRED TO. IS THIS A PROPER EXAMPLE OF WHAT YOU

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INTEND -- THIS GOVERNMENT INTENDED THE RAPID REACTION
FORCE TO BE?

MR. BURNS: FIRST, JUDD, I'M NOT AWARE THAT THE
RAPID REACTION FORCE HAS BEEN DEPLOYED TO BE UTILIZED IN
THIS PARTICULAR INCIDENT IN SREBRENICA. IF THE FRENCH
HAVE IN FACT OFFERED THAT, WE THINK IT WOULD BE FULLY
CONSISTENT WITH THE MANDATE OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO
PROTECT THE ENCLAVES AND ALSO TO PROTECT ITS OWN
PEACEKEEPERS. I CAN'T SPEAK TO THAT REQUEST
SPECIFICALLY.

Q BUT YOU'VE ONCE AGAIN GOT HOSTAGES, U.N.
PEACEKEEPERS BEING HELD HOSTAGE IN BOSNIA, DOESN'T THAT
FORECLOSE AIR STRIKES?

MR. BURNS: THE U.N. SPOKESMAN THIS MORNING, COLONEL
COWARD, WAS VERY CAREFUL TO SAY THAT HE DID NOT THINK
THAT THESE WERE HOSTAGES, IN THE SENSE THAT THE BOSNIAN
SERBS HAD NOT MADE DEMANDS FOR THEIR RELEASE, AS THEY
HAVE DONE IN THE PREVIOUS CASES WHERE THERE WERE CLEARLY
HOSTAGE-TAKINGS OF THE SEVERAL HUNDRED U.N.
PEACEKEEPERS. SO I THINK WE'LL HAVE TO STAND BY WHAT
MR. COWARD HAS SAID AND SEE WHAT DEVELOPS.

ALL I CAN SAY, DAVID, IS THAT THE UNITED NATIONS HAS
THREATENED THE BOSNIAN SERBS WITH NATO AIR STRIKES
SHOULD THIS DEFENSIVE PERIMETER, SET-UP JUST OUTSIDE
SREBRENICA, BE

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PIERCED. ALSO NATO, OF COURSE, UNDER THE DUAL-KEY ARRANGEMENT IS AVAILABLE TO CONSIDER REQUESTS THAT ARE MADE TO IT BY THE UNITED NATIONS, AND WE'RE NOT IN A POSITION TO FORECLOSE THE POSSIBILITY OF AIR STRIKES.

Q ON THE WIDER POINT, THERE WAS A PIECE OVER THE WEEKEND THAT SUGGESTED -- AND I WONDER WHETHER YOU AGREE WITH IT -- THAT THE REACTION FORCE AND IN FACT THE U.N. PEACEKEEPING FORCE IN BOSNIA REALLY ONLY HAS A FEW WEEKS TO TURN THE SITUATION AROUND IN SOME WAY BEFORE THERE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO BE PLANS MADE TO WITHDRAW THE ENTIRE U.N. PEACEKEEPING FORCE IN BOSNIA. DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THAT THESIS?

MR. BURNS: I THINK WE'LL HAVE TO WAIT AND SEE WHEN THE RAPID REACTION FORCE IS FULLY DEPLOYED. IT'S CLEARLY NOT YET FULLY DEPLOYED FROM CROATIA INTO BOSNIA. WE'LL HAVE TO WAIT AND SEE HOW THAT FORCE EQUIPS ITSELF AND WHAT KIND OF MANDATE IT AND OTHERS IN THE U.N. COMMAND WANT TO GIVE TO IT. IF IT IS A MANDATE TO PROTECT THE MAJOR RESPONSIBILITIES AND ADVANCE THE MAJOR RESPONSIBILITIES THAT THE U.N. HAS THEN WE THINK IT HAS A CHANCE OF BEING SUCCESSFUL.

IF IT IS MORE OF THE SAME, IF IT IS UNDULY PASSIVE IN THE FACE OF OBVIOUS PROVOCATIONS BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS, THEN WE WOULD THINK THAT THIS RAPID REACTION FORCE PROBABLY WOULDN'T BE OF MUCH HELP, BUT BASED ON OUR CONVERSATIONS, WE BELIEVE THAT THERE IS A GOOD CHANCE THAT IT WILL BE IN EFFECT A FORCE THAT

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STRENGTHENS THE UNITED NATIONS. IT WAS ON THAT BASIS THAT THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION -- PRESIDENT CLINTON SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AND OTHERS -- DECIDED THAT WE OUGHT TO SUPPORT THE RAPID REACTION FORCE THROUGH THE PROVISION OF AMERICAN FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE, OF MILITARY LIFT, OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT, OF LOGISTICS HELP AND INTELLIGENCE SUPPORT.

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WE ALSO MADE THE DECISION BASED ON A VERY IMPORTANT POINT PERTAINING TO U.S. RELATIONS WITH WESTERN EUROPE. THESE ARE OUR NATO ALLIES. THEY'RE IN A VERY TIGHT

POSITION, AND THE DUTCH, A NATO ALLY OF THE UNITED STATES, ARE CERTAINLY IN A TIGHT POSITION TODAY. IT WOULD BE FOOLISH OF THE UNITED STATES TO FORSAKE OUR ALLIES AND TO LEAVE THEM IN THE LURCH AND TO FORSAKE THE FUNDAMENTAL COMMITMENT WE HAVE TO HELP THEM WHEN THEY ARE THREATENED AND IN A TIGHT POSITION.

IT WAS ALSO ON THAT BASIS THAT THE PRESIDENT MADE THE DECISION TO BACK THE RAPID REACTION FORCE, AND WE STILL THINK THAT'S A VERY IMPORTANT POINT THAT EVERYBODY IN OUR COUNTRY HAS TO CONSIDER. THERE ARE SOME PEOPLE IN OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM AND PEOPLE AROUND THE COUNTRY WHO BELIEVE THE UNITED NATIONS HAS FAILED, AND THEREFORE WE SHOULD

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SIMPLY WASH OUR HANDS OF THE WHOLE AFFAIR AND WALK OUT. THAT WOULD NOT BE AN HONORABLE THING FOR THE UNITED
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STATES TO DO WHEN WE HAVE NATO ALLIES WHO ARE CURRENTLY THREATENED BY MILITARY FORCE.

WE HAVE 30 NATO ALLIES -- PEACEKEEPERS -- WHO ARE DETAINED TODAY BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS. YOU DON'T LEAVE YOUR ALLIES IN A SITUATION LIKE THAT, AND THE PRESIDENT IS DETERMINED NOT TO LEAVE THEM.

TOM.

Q THE TIME PICTURES COMES IN THE FACT THAT WINTER IS APPROACHING AND, IF THERE IS TO BE A U.N. WITHDRAWAL, COMPLETED BEFORE WINTER, THAT IT WOULD HAVE TO BEGIN IN A MATTER OF WEEKS. I THINK THAT'S WHERE THE IDEA OF A DEADLINE COMES. DO YOU SHARE THAT SCENARIO, THAT SENSE OF A DEADLINE?

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MR. BURNS: I THINK IT'S COMMONLY AGREED THAT WINTER CONDITIONS IN THE BALKANS WOULD PRECLUDE A MAJOR MILITARY OPERATION ALONG THE LINES OF, SAY, THE CONTINGENCY PLAN THAT NATO HAS DRAWN UP -- PLAN 4104. YES, IT'S COMMONLY AGREED TO BE THE CASE ALTHOUGH IN EXTREMIS ALL SORTS OF THINGS HAVE BEEN DONE IN DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES, BUT THAT IS AN ASSUMPTION I THINK MOST PEOPLE BRING TO THIS QUESTION.

Q THE DEFENSE MINISTER SAID TODAY THAT THE CURRENT DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVE BY BILDT IS THE LAST ONE BEFORE THESE BIG DECISIONS HAVE TO BE MADE.

MR. BURNS: WE CERTAINLY THINK THERE'S ENOUGH HOPE
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FOR THE PARTICULAR NEGOTIATIONS, IN WHICH HE HAS BEEN INVOLVED, TO GIVE HIM MORE THAN ONE CHANCE. THESE ARE VERY COMPLEX DIPLOMATIC, POLITICAL PROBLEMS, AND MR. BILDT HAS JUST HAD ONE FORAY INTO THE REGION. HE CERTAINLY DESERVES AN ADEQUATE AMOUNT OF TIME TO SEE IF HE IS ABLE TO BRING THE PARTIES TOGETHER.

WE HAVE BEEN IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH HIM. SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER HAS, AS HAS DICK HOLBROOKE, AND WE'RE GOING TO CONTINUE TO SUPPORT HIM IN THIS.

Q NICK, I WOULD LIKE TO REFER TO YOUR STORY IN THE WASHINGTON POST TODAY ABOUT THE DRUG MENACE THREATENING THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES. WHAT IS THE ADMINISTRATION NOW THINKING? WILL IT GEAR UP ANY EFFORTS -- SPECIFIC EFFORTS, AS THEY'RE BEING REPORTED THAT KHUN SA HAS BEEN OBTAINING ABOUT 40,000 FULL-FLEDGED ARMY IN THE OTHER PARTS OF THAT REGION NOW.

MR. BURNS: WE'RE NOT GOING TO GIVE UP ON THE FIGHT AGAINST NARCOTICS. THE PRESIDENT HAS MADE THIS ONE OF THE

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CORNERSTONES OF HIS FOREIGN POLICY. WE HAVE PUT AN

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ENORMOUS EFFORT INTO THIS. WE HAVE SOME VERY TALENTED PEOPLE, INCLUDING ONE OF OUR FINEST FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS, BOB GELBARD, WHO ARE IN CHARGE OF THIS EFFORT.

I WOULD JUST NOTE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION'S FISCAL
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YEAR '95 REQUEST FOR NARCOTICS -- THE FIGHT AGAINST NARCOTICS WAS CUT BY OVER \$75 MILLION. IN CONSIDERING THE FISCAL '96 REQUEST, OUR REQUEST HAS BEEN CUT SO FAR BY \$100 MILLION.

WE NEED AN ADEQUATE LEVEL OF FUNDING TO ENGAGE IN THE FIGHT AGAINST DRUGS WORLDWIDE. IT'S A GLOBAL FIGHT. IT'S IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. IT'S IN SOUTH ASIA. IT'S IN SOUTH AMERICA. IT'S HERE IN THE UNITED STATES. FOR THE CONGRESS TO CUT THOSE FUNDS WE THINK IS AGAINST OUR OWN NATIONAL INTEREST.

IT GETS TO A LARGER QUESTION, AND THAT'S THE BATTLE OVER RESOURCES. TO BE A GLOBAL POWER, AS WE ARE, AND TO BE EFFECTIVE OVERSEAS, YOU'VE GOT TO HAVE THE EQUIPMENT

TO DO IT AND THE FINANCIAL RESOURCES. RIGHT NOW THE ADMINISTRATION IS MAKING A BIG EFFORT TO CONVINCING THE CONGRESS THAT TO BE A GLOBAL POWER, YOU'VE GOT TO HAVE THE TOOLS.

YOU CAN'T TALK A GOOD GAME AGAINST NARCOTICS AND NOT GIVE PEOPLE THE TOOLS TO FIGHT THAT EFFORT; THAT'S WHAT AMBASSADOR GELBARD AND OTHERS NEED, AND THAT'S WHAT WE HOPE THE CONGRESS WILL CONCLUDE AS THEY HEAD INTO THE CONFERENCE THIS SEPTEMBER.

Q NICK, WOULD YOU SAY THAT THE REPUBLICANS ARE BEING SOFT ON DRUG -- THE INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS PROBLEM? IS THAT YOUR MESSAGE?

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MR. BURNS: I WOULD NEVER SAY THAT, SID. I WOULD SAY THAT SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, AMBASSADOR GELBARD AND OTHERS HAVE MADE IT VERY CLEAR THAT WE HAVE A DIRECT NATIONAL INTEREST IN THE WELFARE OF ALL THE PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY WHO ARE AFFLICTED PERSONALLY BY DRUG ABUSE TO SEE THAT THE SOURCES OF THOSE DRUGS ARE DRIED UP; TO SEE THAT THE FIGHT AGAINST THE CALI CARTEL CONTINUES THE FIGHT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA CONTINUES, BUT TO BE EFFECTIVE IN THAT FIGHT, WE'RE GOING TO HAVE TO HAVE A BIPARTISAN EFFORT, AND WE'RE GOING TO HAVE TO HAVE MONEY.

RIGHT NOW THE CONGRESS IS ENGAGED IN CUTTING IT, SO I MEAN, YOU CAN DRAW YOUR OWN CONCLUSIONS, BUT I WOULD NEVER STATE IT IN THE WAY THAT YOU HAVE.

LAURA.

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Q BACK TO BOSNIA FOR A SECOND. THE CONVERSATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS ABOUT THE MANDATE FOR THE RAPID REACTION FORCE HAVE BEEN GOING ON FOR SOME TIME NOW. IS THERE A DEADLINE BY WHICH THIS MANDATE IS EXPECTED TO BE DEFINED OR AGREED UPON?

MR. BURNS: WE BELIEVE THAT THIS DISCUSSION, WHICH IS A VERY IMPORTANT DISCUSSION, IS PROBABLY GOING TO BE ANSWERED ON THE GROUND WHEN THE RAPID REACTION FORCE IS FULLY DEPLOYED -- IT'S NOT YET FULLY DEPLOYED -- AND WHEN IT FACES A SITUATION ANALOGOUS PROBABLY TO THIS MORNING'S SITUATION -- A SITUATION LIKE THAT. HOW WILL
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THE U.N. REACT, HOW WILL IT USE THE FORCE, HOW WILL IT USE IT TO PROTECT AND ADVANCE THE MANDATE OF THE U.N.

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THAT'S THE KEY QUESTION.

SINCE WE'VE HEARD SO MANY DIFFERENT SIDES OF THIS ISSUE BEING EXPRESSED -- SO MANY DIFFERENT VIEWS BEING EXPRESSED -- I THINK WE'LL HAVE TO WAIT UNTIL THE RAPID REACTION FORCE GETS ON THE GROUND.

Q DIFFERENT TOPIC. IS THE STATE DEPARTMENT AWARE OF A GROUP OF CUBAN EXILES, MANY WHO WERE AMERICAN CITIZENS, WHO ON THURSDAY SAY THEY'RE GOING TO LEAVE ON A FLOTILLA FROM MIAMI, AND THEY SAY THEIR PLANS ARE TO PENETRATE CUBAN WATERS IN MEMORY OF A GROUP OF CUBANS WHO WERE KILLED IN THAT TUGBOAT INCIDENT LAST JULY 13, AND CUBA HAS RESPONDED VIA RAFAEL DAUSA SAID THEY WILL TAKE ANY MEASURES NECESSARY TO DEFEND THEIR SOVEREIGNTY IF SOMEBODY ENTERS THEIR WATERS?

MR. BURNS: I AM AWARE VERY GENERALLY THAT THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE SINKING OF THE TUGBOAT -- I BELIEVE IT'S JULY 13 IS COMING UP -- AND THAT THERE ARE A NUMBER OF AMERICANS AND OTHERS IN FLORIDA WHO WANT TO COMMEMORATE THAT.

WE ARE AWARE OF PLANS TO HAVE SOME KIND OF EVENT. WE WOULD JUST HOPE VERY MUCH THAT THIS COULD PROCEED IN A WAY THAT IS PEACEFUL AND THAT IS CONSISTENT WITH THE LAW HERE IN THE UNITED STATES AND ALSO CONSISTENT WITH REASON, BUT CERTAINLY IF PEOPLE WANT TO COMMEMORATE AN
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EVENT, THEY HAVE A RIGHT TO DO SO IN THIS COUNTRY.

IF THEY WANT TO DO THAT IN CUBA, THEY HAVE TO UNDERSTAND, OF COURSE, THAT THEY ARE SUBJECT WITHIN CUBA'S TERRITORIAL JURISDICTION TO CUBAN LAW.

Q THANK YOU.

MR. BURNS: THANK YOU. CHRISTOPHER

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APPROVED BY: EUR/PA: ASCHWAN
PA/PRESS (INFO): PAYOUNG

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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OPRC

SUBJECT: EUR DAILY PRESS GUIDANCE - JULY 13, 1995

PARIS ALSO FOR USOECN, ROME ALSO FOR VATICAN, USVIENNA FOR USDEL
CSCE

1. THE FOLLOWING GUIDANCE WAS PREPARED AND APPROVED BY
THE BUREAU OF EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE
DEPARTMENT BRIEFING. QUESTIONS SHOULD BE REFERRED TO
ARIC SCHWAN, EUR PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

2. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: BALKAN POLICY POINTS

- THE CONTINUED ATTACKS BY THE BOSNIAN SERB
FORCES AGAINST THE UN SAFE HAVENS AND THE
CONTINUED DETENTION OF UN PERSONNEL AND THE
TENS OF THOUSANDS OF INNOCENT CIVILIANS ARE A
FLAGRANT AND BRUTAL AFFRONT TO THE UNITED
NATION'S PEACE EFFORTS.
- WE STRONGLY SUPPORT THE UN MANDATE AND THE
REENFORCEMENT OF UN CAPABILITIES IN BOSNIA.

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- THE UNITED STATES IS DISCUSSING AVAILABLE
OPTIONS WITH ITS ALLIES, BUT THE UN WILL MAKE
FINAL DECISIONS ON WHAT FUTURE STEPS WILL BE
TAKEN TO UPHOLD UN SECURITY COUNCIL
RESOLUTIONS.
- WE ARE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE TREATMENT OF
THE MORE THAN 40,000 REFUGEES OF SREBRENICA
(SREH-BREH-NEET-SAH) AND CALL ON THE BOSNIAN
SERBS TO ALLOW FULL ACCESS BY UNHCR TO ALL

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REFUGEES IN THE ENCLAVE.

- WE HOLD THE BOSNIAN SERB LEADERSHIP RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SAFETY OF ALL THE REFUGEES AND SUPPORT THE EVACUATION ONLY OF THOSE REFUGEES WHO WISH TO LEAVE THE ENCLAVE.
- UNPROFOR'S HUMANITARIAN MISSION IS ITS CENTRAL MISSION AND IS CRITICALLY IMPORTANT NOW.
- THE REFUGEES NEED FOOD, SHELTER, AND PROTECTION THAT ONLY UNPROFOR CAN PROVIDE.
- THAT IS, IN OUR VIEW, A CENTRAL ARGUMENT FOR KEEPING UNPROFOR IN THE FIELD.

3. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA/SERBIA: CONTACT GROUP MEETING

Q: WHAT HAPPENED AT THE CONTACT GROUP MEETING?
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- A: -- THE CONTACT GROUP MET IN LONDON YESTERDAY. THE UNITED STATES WAS REPRESENTED BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE RICHARD HOLBROOKE.
- THE DISCUSSION CENTERED ON THE CRISIS IN SREBRENICA AND THE EFFORTS OF EU-NEGOTIATOR CARL BILDT. BILDT PROVIDED A PROGRESS REPORT ON HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH THE BOSNIANS AND WITH SERBIAN PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC (MEE-LOH-SHEH-VEECH).
- BILDT WILL RETURN TO BELGRADE TOMORROW TO CONTINUE HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH MILOSEVIC ON A RECOGNITION FOR SANCTIONS RELIEF PACKAGE.
- AS ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE SAID --
- ALL AGREED THAT THE SITUATION IS A DISASTER

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FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE REGION AND FOR THE UN;
THAT BILDT WOULD RETURN TO BELGRADE;
CRITICAL IMPORTANCE OF KEEPING THE WAR FROM
SPREADING TO CROATIA, TO KOSOVO, TO MACEDONIA

4. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: SITUATION UPDATE

Q: STATUS OF UN PEACEKEEPERS IN SREBRENICA?
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A: -- THE DUTCH DEFENSE MINISTRY REPORTS THAT 48
DUTCH UN PEACEKEEPERS ARE CURRENTLY BEING HELD
BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS. 38 ARE DETAINED IN
BRATUNAC (BRAH-TOO-NATZ) AND THE REMAINING 10
HAVE BEEN TAKEN TO A POLICE STATION IN A TOWN
SOUTH OF SREBRENICA. ALL REPORTS INDICATE
THAT THEY ARE SAFE AND HAVE BEEN WELL-TREATED.

-- THE DUTCH UN COMMANDER IS CURRENTLY
NEGOTIATING WITH THE BOSNIAN SERBS FOR THEIR
RELEASE.

-- THE REMAINING 400 PEACEKEEPERS ARE IN POTOCARI
MONITORING THE EVACUATION OF REFUGEES AND
ATTEMPTING TO DISTRIBUTE WHAT LITTLE SUPPLIES
ARE LEFT AT THE CAMP.

-- WE ADMIRE THE BRAVERY OF THE DUTCH UN
BATTALION IN SREBRENICA AND COMMEND THEIR
EFFORTS TO PROTECT THE MANY INNOCENT CIVILIANS
CAUGHT UP IN THIS TRAGEDY.

-- THE DUTCH ARE TRYING TO OBSERVE CLOSELY THE
TREATMENT OF THE CIVILIANS

Q: STATUS OF REFUGEES FROM SREBRENICA?

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A: -- IN ONE OF THE LARGEST SINGLE POPULATION
TRANSFERS SINCE THE WAR BEGAN, THE BOSNIAN
SERBS SAY THEY WILL MOVE ALL 40,000 REFUGEES
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OF SREBRENICA TO GOVERNMENT-HELD TERRITORY.

- THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE TAKEN 6,000 REFUGEES,
MOSTLY WOMEN, CHILDREN, AND THE ELDERLY, FROM
THE UN CAMP AT POCARI (POH-TOH-CHAR-EE) AND
BROUGHT THEM TO GOVERNMENT-HELD TERRITORY.
2,300 REFUGEES ARE NOW AT THE UN AIR BASE IN
TUZLA (TOOZ-LAH) AND 3,500 ARE WAITING IN THE
BORDER TOWN OF KLADANJ (KLAH-DAHN-YAH).
- THE MORE THAN 30,000 REFUGEES WHO REMAIN AT
POCARI HAVE ALMOST NO FOOD OR WATER, NO
SHELTER AND NO TOILETS. THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY
HAS BLOCKED A UN AID CONVOY AT THE BORDER WITH
SERBIA AND HAS ALSO PREVENTED ADDITIONAL
RELIEF WORKERS FROM COMING TO ASSIST THE
REFUGEES.
- US IS CONTRIBUTING IN EVERY WAY IT CAN TO
SUPPORT THE UNHCR AND ICRC (SEE TODAY'S
STATEMENT)

Q: WHAT ABOUT REPORTS THAT MEN ARE BEING SEPARATED
FROM THE REFUGEES?

- A: -- WE ARE PARTICULARLY TROUBLED BY REPORTS THAT
THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY HAS TAKEN MALE REFUGEES,
INCLUDING SOME YOUNG BOYS, TO BRATUNAC
(BRAH-TOO-NATZ) AS "POSSIBLE WAR CRIMINALS."
- IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITIES
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HAVE ACCESS TO THESE PRISONERS OF WAR IN
ACCORDANCE WITH THE LAWS OF WAR FOLLOWED BY
CIVILIZED NATIONS. WE CALL UPON THE BOSNIAN
SERBS TO PERMIT INTERNATIONAL MONITORING.

Q: STATUS OF ZEPA?

A: -- RENEWED FIGHTING IN ZEPA (ZEH-PAH) WAS
REPORTED EARLY THIS MORNING. A TANK
REPORTEDLY ATTACKED CIVILIANS IN A SMALL TOWN
IN THE SOUTH OF THE ENCLAVE. WE HAVE NO
FURTHER INFORMATION AT THIS TIME.

5. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: REACTION TO BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT'S
STATEMENTS

Q: WHAT ABOUT THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT'S REFUSAL TO
CARE FOR THE REFUGEES?

A: -- PROVISIONS ARE CURRENTLY BEING MADE BY UNHCR
FOR THE CARE OF THE REFUGEES ARRIVING IN TUZLA.

-- DISCUSSIONS ARE CURRENTLY UNDERWAY BETWEEN THE
UN AND THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT FOR THE FUTURE
CARE OF THE THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES.

-- WE SYMPATHIZE WITH THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT'S
FRUSTRATION WITH THE FALL OF SREBRENICA, A
UN-DESIGNATED SAFE AREA. THE CITY OF TUZLA
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ALREADY HOLDS 60,000 REFUGEES AMONG ITS
POPULATION OF 132,000.

-- BUT THE UN NEEDS THE COOPERATION AND SUPPORT
OF THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT TO CARE FOR THESE

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PEOPLE.

6. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: SREBRENICA RESOLUTION

- Q. WHAT HAPPENED AT THE SECURITY COUNCIL YESTERDAY WITH REGARD TO THE SREBRENICA RESOLUTION? WHAT DOES "ALL RESOURCES AVAILABLE" MEAN?
- A. -- THE COUNCIL UNANIMOUSLY PASSED A RESOLUTION CONDEMNING BOSNIAN SERB ACTIONS IN AND AROUND SREBRENICA, DEMANDING THAT ALL PARTIES ON THE GROUND IMMEDIATELY ACT TO RESTORE THE SAFE AREA, AND REQUESTING THAT THE SECRETARY GENERAL "USE ALL RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO HIM" TO FACILITATE THAT EFFORT.
- THE RESOLUTION ALSO DEMANDED THAT THE UNHCR BE GIVEN FULL ACCESS TO REFUGEES FROM SREBRENICA. AMASSADOR ALBRIGHT, IN EXPLAINING OUR SUPPORT FOR THE RESOLUTION, UNDERLINED THIS POINT AND EMPHASIZED OUR INTENTION TO ASSIST THESE VICTIMS.
- (IF ASKED) WE UNDERSTAND THE PHRASE "ALL UNCLASSIFIED

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RESOURCES AVAILABLE" TO MEAN THAT UNPROFOR WILL OPERATE WITHIN ITS CURRENTLY AUTHORIZED MANDATE AND MANPOWER.

- THIS COULD INCLUDE THE RAPID REACTION FORCE, NOW IN THE PROCESS OF DEPLOYING, WHICH WE FULLY SUPPORT. BUT WE CANNOT SPECULATE ON ITS AVAILABILITY FOR ANY ROLE IN SREBRENICA. IT IS NOT FULLY DEPLOYED AND THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND WILL INFLUENCE HOW THE UN EMPLOYS THE RRF.

7. STATEMENT BY NICHOLAS BURNS, SPOKESMAN, U.S.

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GOVERNMENT HUMANITARIAN RESPONSE TO SREBRENICA CRISIS

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN RESPONDING TO THE ONGOING HUMANITARIAN CRISIS IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA SINCE 1991, AND IS PREPARED TO INCREASE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE WITH SPECIFIC EMERGENCY RELIEF PROGRAMS AIMED AT MEETING THE NEEDS OF THE ESTIMATED 38,000 BOSNIANS WHO FLED THE SREBRENICA AREA IN THE WAKE OF THE ATTACK BY BOSNIAN SERB FORCES ON JULY 12. SINCE THAT TIME, THE HUMANITARIAN SITUATION HAS DETERIORATED RAPIDLY, AND THE DISPLACED POPULATION IS IN GREAT NEED OF FOOD, SHELTER AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES.

THE UNITED STATES IS COORDINATING ITS RESPONSE
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WITH THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES (UNHCR), THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS (ICRC), THE WORLD FOOD PROGRAM (WFP), AND INTERNATIONAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (NGOS) CURRENTLY OPERATING IN BOSNIA. THUS FAR IN FY 1995, THE U.S. HAS CONTRIBUTED OVER 130 MILLION IN ASSISTANCE TO THESE ORGANIZATIONS.

U.S. FUNDING OF UNHCR THIS YEAR HAS AMOUNTED TO 27 MILLION TO DATE, WHICH HAS HELPED THE ORGANIZATION TO MAINTAIN ITS EXISTING LEVELS OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE WHILE PROVIDING THE FLEXIBILITY TO MEET INCREASED NEEDS SUCH AS THOSE GENERATED BY THE SREBRENICA CRISIS. LIKEWISE, U.S. FUNDING OF ICRC HAS ENABLED IT TO PREPOSITION STOCKS IN 16 WAREHOUSES THROUGHOUT THE REGION. THESE STOCKS INCLUDE A ONE-MONTH SUPPLY OF RELIEF ASSISTANCE (INCLUDING FOOD PARCELS) SUFFICIENT FOR 180,000 PERSONS, AND A THREE-MONTH SUPPLY OF SURGICAL/MEDICAL SUPPLIES SUFFICIENT FOR 60,000 WAR-WOUNDED.

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IN ADDITION, THE UNITED STATES HAS CONTRIBUTED FUNDING TO VARIOUS NGOS FOR PROJECTS AIMED AT STOCKPILING FOODSTUFFS, HYGIENE KITS AND EMERGENCY SHELTER SUPPLIES, INCLUDING HUMANITARIAN DAILY RATIONS (HDRS). MOREOVER, THE U.S. HAS ALREADY CONTRIBUTED 126,400 METRIC TONS OF FOOD TO THE REGION IN FY 1995.
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OVERALL U.S. HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA NOW STANDS AT ALMOST 900 MILLION DOLLARS SINCE THE CONFLICT BEGAN IN 1991.

8. UK (NORTHERN IRELAND): EFFECT OF BELFAST DISTURBANCES ON PEACE PROCESS

Q: DO WE BELIEVE THE VIOLENCE IN BELFAST IS HAVING A NEGATIVE EFFECT ON THE PEACE PROCESS?

A: -- THE RECENT DISTURBANCES IN BELFAST ARE UNHELPFUL TO THE PEACE PROCESS AND TO U.S. EFFORTS TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC REGENERATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE BORDER COUNTIES.

-- THE PLACE TO DEAL WITH DIFFERENCES IS IN THE NEGOTIATION OF A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. TALKS AND NOT VIOLENCE REMAIN THE BEST PATH TO A PERMANENT PEACE.

9. TURKEY: VISAS FOR ERNK AND KPKE MEMBERS

Q: WHAT TYPE OF VISAS WILL THE USG PROVIDE MEMBERS OF ERNK AND THE KURDISH PARLIAMENT-IN-EXILE?

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A: -- TO THE BEST OF OUR KNOWLEDGE NONE HAVE YET
 APPLIED FOR VISAS. WE WILL MAKE THE NECESSARY
 DETERMINATIONS IF AND WHEN ANY DO APPLY.

MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
CHRISTOPHER

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 12 MAR 2009 200705105

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XMT AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY MALABO
AMCONSUL SHANGHAI

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INFORM CONSULS ALSO FOR USEC/USOECDC

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: OPRC
SUBJECT: DAILY PRESS BRIEFING -- WEDNESDAY, JULY 12
1995

THE FOLLOWING TOPICS WERE COVERED IN TODAY'S PRESS
BRIEFING:

DEPARTMENT: STATEMENT CONCERNING SECRETARY'S TRIP TO
ASIA (1-2,3); POSSIBLE MEETINGS WITH FM KOZYREV AND FM
QIAN (3)

VIETNAM: POW/MIA ISSUE (2)

MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS: AMBASSADOR ROSS'
PLANS/ITINERARY (2-3)

CHINA: ARREST OF U.S. CITIZEN HARRY WU (4-7,9-10);
MEETING WITH CHINESE OFFICIALS (4); ACCESS BY CONSULAR
OFFICER/DETAILS OF CONSULAR VISIT (4-5,9-10);
SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER
(5-6); CHARGES FILED AGAINST MR. WU/PRE-TRIAL
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INVESTIGATION (6-7); MISSILE SALES TO PAKISTAN AND IRAN

(7); EXPERT LEVEL TALKS (7-8); COMPLIANCE WITH
INTERNATIONAL LAW (9); RETURN OF CHINA'S AMBASSADOR TO
THE U.S. (10); REACTION TO NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS
WITH VIETNAM (10)

FORMER YUGOSLAVIA: STATUS OF THE ENCLAVE SREBRENICA

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(10); U.S. REACTION TO SERB ATTACK (10-11); ROLE OF UNPROFOR/RAPID REACTION FORCE (11); MEETING OF CONTACT GROUP/UN SECURITY COUNCIL (11); CONDITION OF REFUGEES/DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS (12-14,16); SERB MOBILIZATION AGAINST OTHER ENCLAVES (13); ROLE OF U.S./POSSIBLE TROOP DEPLOYMENT (14,17,28) SECURITY OF SARAJEVO (15); PROPOSED LEGISLATION TO LIFT ARMS EMBARGO (18); ROLE OF MR. AKASHI (19-20,21); POSSIBILITY OF NATO AIRSTRIKES AROUND ZEPA (23); MEETING OF CONTACT GROUP/PROPOSED SOLUTIONS (23-27); RUSSIAN COOPERATION (28-29)

BOLIVIA: COCA ERADICATION PROGRAM (30)

BEGIN TEXT:

PAGE 1

MR. BURNS: GOOD AFTERNOON. WELCOME TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING. I HAVE A SHORT ANNOUNCEMENT, AND THEN I'LL BE GLAD TO GO DIRECTLY TO YOUR QUESTIONS.

SECRETARY OF STATE CHRISTOPHER WILL TRAVEL TO
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BRUNEI, MALAYSIA, CAMBODIA, AND VIETNAM FROM JULY 29-AUGUST 7. SOME DETAILS OF HIS TRAVEL ARE STILL BEING ARRANGED, BUT I CAN SHARE THE FOLLOWING WITH YOU.

THE SECRETARY WILL LEAD THE U.S. DELEGATION TO THE ANNUAL MINISTERIAL MEETINGS OF THE ASEAN REGIONAL FORUM AND THE POST MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE IN BRUNEI FROM JULY 31-AUGUST 3. HE WILL HAVE MEETINGS THERE WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTERS, HIS COLLEAGUES OF THE ASEAN COUNTRIES, AND HE WILL HAVE A FULL DISCUSSION OF ECONOMIC, SECURITY, AND POLITICAL ISSUES OF REGIONAL AND GLOBAL IMPORTANCE.

IN MALAYSIA, ON AUGUST 3, THE SECRETARY WILL MEET WITH GOVERNMENT LEADERS TO DISCUSS, AGAIN, A FULL RANGE OF BILATERAL AND GLOBAL, REGIONAL AND GLOBAL ISSUES. HE WILL ADVANCE OUR VIBRANT BILATERAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

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WITH MALAYSIA, DISCUSS COMMON SECURITY AND OTHER

INTERESTS, AND CONSULT IN ADVANCE OF THE APEC MEETINGS
IN OSAKA, JAPAN THIS NOVEMBER.

DURING HIS STOP IN CAMBODIA ON AUGUST 4, THE
SECRETARY'S MEETINGS WITH GOVERNMENT LEADERS AND OTHER
EVENTS WILL HIGHLIGHT HOW FAR THE CAMBODIAN PEOPLE HAVE
COME FROM THE DAYS OF THE KILLING FIELDS TO TODAY WHEN
THEY ARE WORKING TO CONSOLIDATE DEMOCRACY. HE WILL
DISCUSS, AGAIN, A FULL RANGE OF ISSUES. HE WILL BE THE
FIRST AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE TO VISIT PHNOM PENH
SINCE JOHN FOSTER DULLES IN 1955.

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AND THEN IN VIETNAM, ON AUGUST 5-6, THE SECRETARY
WILL FORMALIZE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC
RELATIONS, OPEN A UNITED STATES EMBASSY, AND, OF COURSE,
STRESS THE CONTINUING IMPORTANCE OF A FULL ACCOUNTING
FOR OUR POWS AND MIAs FROM THE VIETNAM WAR.

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HE WILL ENGAGE THE VIETNAMESE LEADERSHIP IN
DISCUSSIONS ON MANY ISSUES, INCLUDING THE POW/MIA ISSUE,
ECONOMIC RELATIONS, REGIONAL SECURITY ISSUES, HUMAN
RIGHTS AND COUNTER-NARCOTICS. HE WILL ALSO PAY TRIBUTE
IN MANY EVENTS DURING HIS VISIT TO THE YOUNG AMERICANS
WHO LOST THEIR LIVES IN VIETNAM DURING THE WAR.

AND THIS WILL BE THE FIRST VISIT BY AN AMERICAN
SECRETARY OF STATE TO VIETNAM SINCE 1970, WHEN FORMER
SECRETARY ROGERS WAS THERE.

WE'RE GOING TO POST A SIGN-UP SHEET IN THE PRESS
OFFICE DIRECTLY FOLLOWING THE BRIEFING FOR THOSE OF YOU
WHO WOULD LIKE TO ACCOMPANY THE SECRETARY ON THIS TRIP.
AND THAT SHEET WILL CLOSE AT NOON ON TUESDAY, JULY 18.

SO WITH THAT ANNOUNCEMENT, I'LL BE GLAD TO GO
DIRECTLY TO YOUR QUESTIONS.

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Q LET ME FOLLOW UP YOUR ANNOUNCEMENT. WITH THE TWO DAYS IN VIETNAM, WILL THE SECRETARY USE THAT TIME HE HAS TO LOOK CLOSE-HAND AT THE MIA SITUATION? FOR INSTANCE, WILL HE GO TO THE SITES, FOR INSTANCE, WHERE
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AMERICANS HAVE SAID IN THE PAST THEY SAW AMERICANS WHO HAVEN'T BEEN HEARD FROM? WILL HE GET INTO THE FIELDS, SO TO SPEAK, OR WILL HE RELY ENTIRELY ON WHAT THE VIETNAMESE TELL HIM IS THE STATE OF PLAY?

MR. BURNS: THE FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS FOR THE SECRETARY IN HANOI IS TO TALK WITH VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ABOUT THE POW/MIA ISSUE. AND I THINK AMONG THE FIRST EVENTS HE WILL HAVE ON SATURDAY, AUGUST 5, WILL BE EVENTS THAT PERTAIN TO THE POW/MIA ISSUE.

WE ARE STILL WORKING OUT, BARRY, THE EXACT ITINERARY AND DETAILS OF SOME OF THESE EVENTS. BUT I CAN TELL YOU, THAT IS THE PRIMARY ISSUE ON THE AGENDA; AND, OF COURSE, HE WILL BE LOOKING INTO THIS IN A FAIRLY INTENSIVE WAY.

Q ON HIS WAY BACK, DOES THE SECRETARY ANTICIPATE A STOP IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

MR. BURNS: RIGHT NOW, SID, THERE'S NO VISIT TO THE MIDDLE EAST SCHEDULED AFTER THE ASIA PORTION OF THE TRIF. IT'S ALWAYS A POSSIBILITY. THAT WOULD DEPEND ON PROGRESS. IT WOULD DEPEND ON PROGRESS IN THE TALKS BETWEEN THE ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS, THE SYRIANS AND THE ISRAELIS. AND I THINK DEPEND, IN PART, ON THE ASSESSMENT THAT DENNIS ROSS BRINGS BACK FROM THE REGION WHEN HE DOES RETURN.

AS YOU KNOW, DENNIS HAS BEEN IN THE REGION FOR A COUPLE OF DAYS. HE HAD A LONG FOUR-HOUR MEETING WITH
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PRESIDENT ASSAD IN DAMASCUS YESTERDAY. HE WAS IN ISRAEL

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TODAY, TALKING WITH ISRAELI GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS. I BELIEVE THAT HE'LL BE IN GAZA, OR HE IS IN GAZA AT THIS TIME, MEETING WITH CHAIRMAN ARAFAT.

HE'S HAD A NUMBER OF GOOD MEETINGS. HE IS WORKING TO SEE WHAT THE UNITED STATES CAN DO TO FURTHER PROGRESS ON BOTH TRACKS THAT I MENTIONED.

I UNDERSTAND ON THE ISRAEL-PALESTINIAN TRACK, BOTH SIDES HAVE ASKED DENNIS TO ENGAGE WITH THEM IN MEETINGS THIS WEEK ON THE PARTICULAR SET OF ISSUES WITH WHICH THEY ARE DEALING, WHICH, AS YOU KNOW, REVOLVE AROUND THE AUTHORITY ISSUE, THE TRANSFER OF AUTHORITY AND ALSO THE REDEPLOYMENT ISSUE FROM SOME OF THE WEST BANK CITIES, AND THE HOPE THAT THE PARTIES HAVE ANNOUNCED THAT THEY MIGHT BE ABLE TO HAVE, REACH, AGREEMENT ON THOSE ISSUES

BY JULY 25.

ON THE SYRIAN-ISRAELI SIDE, HE'S HAD A SET OF VERY GOOD DISCUSSIONS. IT'S REALLY NOT POSSIBLE FOR ME TO CHARACTERIZE ANY SPECIFIC PROGRESS HE MAY HAVE MADE BECAUSE HE'S IN THE FIELD AND WE ONLY ARE GETTING SPORADIC REPORTS IN.

Q NICK, TO GO BACK TO THE ASIA PART OF THE TRIP. IN BRUNEI, CAN YOU TALK ABOUT ANY BILATERAL MEETINGS

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THAT ARE NOW SCHEDULED, ESPECIALLY WITH THE CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER AND, AND/OR, THE RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER? AND IF THEY'RE NOT YET SCHEDULED, HAS THE

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UNITED STATES AT LEAST ASKED FOR THEM?

MR. BURNS: I KNOW WE HAVE REQUESTED MEETINGS WITH FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV AND WITH FOREIGN MINISTER QIAN. AND I DON'T, I'M NOT AWARE THAT WE HAVE FEEDBACK FROM EITHER THE RUSSIAN OR CHINESE GOVERNMENTS ON THAT, BUT WE FULLY EXPECT TO HAVE MEETINGS WITH BOTH MINISTERS AND WOULD LIKE TO HAVE MEETINGS WITH BOTH MINISTERS.

ON THE RUSSIAN SIDE, OF COURSE, WE HAVE, THE SECRETARY HAS NOT SEEN FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV SINCE THE NOORDWIJK MEETINGS AT THE END OF MAY. THERE WERE A LOT OF ISSUES THAT, ON THE U.S.-RUSSIAN AGENDA THAT NEED TO BE DISCUSSED BY THE TWO MEN, AND THEY'VE HAD A SERIES OF GOOD MEETINGS, DATING BACK TO JANUARY, MID-JANUARY OF THIS YEAR.

ON THE CHINESE SIDE, OF COURSE, IT'S WELL KNOWN THAT WE ARE, WE HAVE SOME DIFFICULTIES WITH THE CHINESE NOW -- A NUMBER OF DIFFICULTIES. AND WE THINK THAT A MEETING WOULD BE A GOOD WAY TO WORK THROUGH SOME OF THOSE DIFFICULTIES. IT'S ALWAYS BEEN OUR VIEW THROUGHOUT THE TIME OF TROUBLES THAT WE'RE EXPERIENCING WITH CHINA OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF MONTHS THAT THE WAY TO ADDRESS PROBLEMS IS TO DISCUSS THEM DIRECTLY. SO THEREFORE THE SECRETARY IS LOOKING FORWARD TO A MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER QIAN.

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Q ON CHINA. IS THERE ANY NEW DEVELOPMENT IN THE WU CASE?

MR. BURNS: WELL, THERE ARE SOME THINGS THAT I CAN

RELAY TO YOU THAT GO A LITTLE BIT BEYOND WHERE WE WERE ON MONDAY.

FIRST OF ALL, OUR CONSUL GENERAL, WHO IS, AGAIN, THE CHIEF OF OUR CONSULAR SECTION IN BEIJING, ARTURO MACIAS,

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HAS AN APPOINTMENT WITH THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS CONSULAR DEPARTMENT TOMORROW AFTERNOON, JULY 13, TO DISCUSS OUR VERY GREAT WISH FOR FURTHER AMERICAN GOVERNMENT ACCESS TO MR. HARRY WU.

AS YOU REMEMBER, THE U.S.-CHINA CONSULAR CONVENTION STIPULATES A MINIMUM OF ONE VISIT PER MONTH. WE THINK ONE VISIT PER MONTH DOESN'T REALLY SERVE THE INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES OR MR. WU OR THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT AT THIS TIME. WE'D LIKE TO HAVE A GREATER NUMBER OF VISITS, CERTAINLY, IN THE NEXT COUPLE OF WEEKS. SO HE WILL BE MAKING THAT POINT TO THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT TOMORROW.

IN ADDITION, OUR CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, OUR TOP DIPLOMAT IN BEIJING, SCOTT HALLFORD, MET YESTERDAY WITH A SENIOR OFFICIAL OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. AND HE RELAYED TO HIM THE GREAT CONCERN THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAS FOR THE CASE OF MR. WU, FOR THE URGENCY
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THAT WE GIVE TO THIS QUESTION, FOR OUR GREAT HOPE THAT MR. WU WILL BE RELEASED IMMEDIATELY SO THAT U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS MAY GET ONTO OTHER ISSUES ON OUR AGENDA, BECAUSE THIS IS A FAIRLY IMPORTANT ISSUE ON OUR AGENDA NOW.

AND HE MADE SOME OF THE SAME POINTS ABOUT CONSULAR ACCESS THAT I HAVE JUST MADE.

I DO HAVE A FEW MORE DETAILS ON MONDAY'S VISIT, WHEN MR. MACIAS WENT OUT TO WUHAN IN CENTRAL CHINA TO MEET MR. WU.

THE VISIT WAS HELD AT A PRE-TRIAL DETENTION FACILITY OF THE PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAU IN WUHAN IN CENTRAL CHINA. MR. MACIAS INFORMED MR. WU THAT UNDER CHINESE LAW NO DEFENSE ATTORNEY WILL BE PERMITTED TO CONSULT WITH HIM UNTIL THE END OF THE PERIOD OF PRE-TRIAL INVESTIGATION WHICH BEGAN WITH HIS FORMAL ARREST LAST SATURDAY ON JULY 8. AND THROUGH CHINESE OFFICIALS, MR. MACIAS WAS ABLE TO PROVIDE MR. WU WITH BOOKS,

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NEWSPAPERS, AND WRITING MATERIAL, PAPER. I UNDERSTAND THAT MR. WU HAS REQUESTED SOME SPECIFIC BOOKS, SOME CLASSICS -- ACTUALLY, OF AMERICAN LITERATURE -- TO BE DELIVERED TO HIM BECAUSE HE HAS A LOT OF TIME ON HIS

HANDS AND HE WANTED TO HAVE SOME GOOD BOOKS TO READ.

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MR. MACIAS ALSO PROVIDED, THROUGH CHINESE OFFICIALS
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TO MR. WU, A LIST OF CHINESE ATTORNEYS THAT WE WANTED
MR. WU TO HAVE.

AS YOU KNOW, I THINK, THOSE OF YOU WHO HAVE BEEN ABROAD AND HAD SOME DEALINGS WITH U.S. EMBASSIES, WE NORMALLY KEEP, IN MOST COUNTRIES, A LIST OF ATTORNEYS THAT WE GIVE TO AMERICAN CITIZENS WHEN THEY'RE IN TROUBLE. WE CANNOT PROVIDE LEGAL ADVICE OURSELVES. WE CERTAINLY CANNOT REPRESENT FOR LEGAL PURPOSES AN AMERICAN CITIZEN -- IN THIS CASE, IN A CHINESE COURT -- AND WE'RE NOT REALLY IN A POSITION TO RECOMMEND SPECIFIC ATTORNEYS. BUT WE WANTED HIM TO HAVE A LIST. BECAUSE WE THINK IT'S VERY IMPORTANT THAT HE HAVE THE ABILITY TO CHOOSE HIS OWN ATTORNEY AND NOT TO HAVE AN ATTORNEY CHOSEN FOR HIM.

WE DO HAVE THE RIGHT UNDER ARTICLE 35, SUB-SECTION (4) OF THE CONSULAR CONVENTION, TO ASSIST IN ARRANGING FOR LEGAL REPRESENTATION. AND IN SOME CASES, WHERE A PRISONER IS ISOLATED IN HIS DETENTION, THAT MIGHT BE NECESSARY. SO WE WILL OBVIOUSLY TAKE A LOOK AT WHAT WE CAN DO IN THAT REGARD.

MR. WU STATED THAT THE FOOD HE WAS RECEIVING FROM THE CHINESE WAS OKAY; THAT HE WAS GETTING ENOUGH TO EAT; THAT HE HAD BEEN SEEN BY A DOCTOR. HE IS IN AN AIR-CONDITIONED FACILITY. IT'S VERY HOT IN THIS PARTICULAR CITY.

AND MR. MACIAS REPORTED TO US, IN HIS DETAILED

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REPORTING CABLE -- THIS IS WHERE I'M GETTING MOST OF
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THIS INFORMATION -- THAT THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH HE
MET MR. WU WERE EXACTLY THOSE UNDER WHICH PRISON VISITS
HAVE ALWAYS TAKEN PLACE BETWEEN AMERICAN OFFICIALS AND
AMERICAN CITIZENS WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE GLASS
PARTITION; AND I THINK ALSO WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE
GREAT NUMBER OF CHINESE OFFICIALS WHO INSISTED UPON
MONITORING THE CONVERSATION.

I DO KNOW THAT THEY HAD TO SPEAK BY PHONE; THAT THEY
SPOKE IN ENGLISH, BUT THERE WAS AN INTERPRETER ON THE
LINE SO THAT THE CHINESE AUTHORITIES COULD UNDERSTAND

WHAT WAS BEING SAID BETWEEN MR. MACIAS AND MR. WU.

I DON'T HAVE MUCH MORE ABOUT THE INTERVIEW THAT DID
TAKE PLACE. AS I SAID, THOUGH, WE BELIEVE IT'S
IMPORTANT THAT WE HAVE CONTINUED ACCESS TO HIM, AND WE
ARE SEEKING THAT ACCESS.

Q FOLLOW-UP. HAS THE SECRETARY SEEN OR SPOKEN TO
FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER SINCE KISSINGER RETURNED FROM
CHINA?

MR. BURNS: THE SECRETARY WILL BE SEEING FORMER
SECRETARY KISSINGER TOMORROW. THEY WILL MEET HERE IN
THE DEPARTMENT. FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER HAD A SERIES
OF

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MEETINGS WITH I THINK ALL THE SENIOR LEADERS OF THE
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CHINESE GOVERNMENT, AND SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER LOOKS
FORWARD TO GETTING A DIRECT BRIEF FROM FORMER SECRETARY
KISSINGER ON HIS MEETINGS, ON HIS ASSESSMENT OF THE
SITUATION IN CHINA.

Q HOW SENIOR? LI PENG? WHO? CAN YOU SAY?

MR. BURNS: I'M JUST RELYING NOW ON JUST MY MEMORY
OF READING ACCOUNTS OF HIS VISIT. I BELIEVE HE SAW
ALMOST ALL THE SENIOR LEADERS OF CHINA DURING HIS VISIT.

Q (INAUDIBLE) AVAILABLE TO US?

MR. BURNS: MAKE --

Q THE SECRETARY -- THE FORMER SECRETARY AT SOME
POINT?

MR. BURNS: IT'S ENTIRELY UP TO FORMER SECRETARY
KISSINGER WHETHER HE WANTS TO --

Q OH, IT'S SORT OF UP TO YOU UP TO STATE, TOO,
YOU BEING THE HOST.

MR. BURNS: -- WHETHER HE WANTS TO SEE THE PRESS

Q I'M SURE HE'LL REPORT ON WHAT HE DID TO LOOK
BEYOND TELEVISION OR WRITE AN ARTICLE, BUT BEFORE HE

DOES, IF YOU COULD HELP ARRANGE A PHOTO OP, IT WOULD BE
HELPFUL.

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Q WHAT TIME IS HE COMING?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T HAVE DETAILS OF THE EXACT TIME
OF THE MEETING, BUT I KNOW THE MEETING WILL TAKE PLACE
TOMORROW.

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Q STILL ON WU. YOU SAID A FEW DAYS AGO THAT THE DEPARTMENT'S LEGAL EXPERTS WERE EXAMINING THE CHARGES AGAINST MR. WU. HAVE YOU DISCOVERED WHETHER STEALING STATE SECRETS IS A CAPITAL CRIME OR NOT?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T HAVE SPECIFIC INFORMATION, DAVID. THE PROBLEM WE HAVE IS THAT WE'RE NOT IN A POSITION TO SUBSTANTIATE THE CHARGES IN ANY WAY. WE'VE BEEN GIVEN A VERY THIN DESCRIPTION OF WHAT THE CHARGES ARE FROM THE CHINESE, AND WE ARE SEEKING FURTHER INFORMATION ON WHAT THESE SPECIFIC CHARGES ARE.

I DON'T BELIEVE THAT FORMAL CHARGES WILL BE BROUGHT TO HIM UNTIL THIS PERIOD OF PRETRIAL INVESTIGATION IS CONCLUDED, AND THAT IS HOW THE CHINESE DESCRIBE THE PRESENT PHASE OF THIS EVENT.

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Q HAVE THEY SUGGESTED HOW LONG THE PHASE MIGHT LAST?

MR. BURNS: I ASKED THAT VERY QUESTION THIS MORNING, AND WE'RE TRYING TO GET AN ANSWER BOTH FOR YOU AND FOR
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US. I DON'T KNOW IF THERE'S A NORMAL PERIOD OF TIME THAT WOULD CHARACTERIZE A PRETRIAL INVESTIGATION, BUT WE'RE LOOKING INTO THAT, TOO.

Q NICK, DIFFERENT SUBJECT. DOLE --

MR. BURNS: SAME SUBJECT?

Q STILL CHINA. THIS GOES BACK TO THE ISSUE OF CHINA'S ALLEGED MISSILE SALES TO PAKISTAN AND IRAN. IS IT STILL THE DEPARTMENT'S POSITION THAT IT WOULD PREFER TO DISCUSS THESE ALLEGATIONS WITH CHINA BEFORE COMING TO ANY SORT OF CONCLUSION ABOUT POSSIBLE SANCTIONS?

MR. BURNS: WELL WE ARE DISCUSSING THESE CHARGES WITH CHINESE OFFICIALS. WE DO HAVE AN EMBASSY IN

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BEIJING, AND THEY HAVE AN EMBASSY HERE. AND THIS IS AN ISSUE THAT IS DISCUSSED ON A REGULAR BASIS BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS. SO IT'S NOT A QUESTION OF HAVING TO WAIT UNTIL WE HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY.

IF THERE IS A MEETING BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND FOREIGN MINISTER QIAN, I'M SURE THAT THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE WILL BE ON THE AGENDA, AND WILL BE DISCUSSED INTENSIVELY. OUR POSITION HASN'T CHANGED. WE HAVE NOT DETERMINED THAT CHINA IS IN FACT IN VIOLATION OF EITHER UNITED STATES LAW -- UNITED STATES SANCTIONS LAW -- OR THE MISSILE TECHNOLOGY CONTROL REGIME, REGULATIONS THAT ARE BOTH PERTINENT TO THIS QUESTION.

Q THESE CONSULTATIONS ON THIS ISSUE ARE OCCURRING
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-- HAVE BEEN OCCURRING AT THE EMBASSY LEVEL?

MR. BURNS: THEY HAVE BEEN OCCURRING. THEY HAVE NOT BEEN OCCURRING AT A SENIOR LEVEL BECAUSE SINCE MID-APRIL WE HAVEN'T HAD ANY SENIOR-LEVEL EXCHANGES WITH THEM ON THE LEVEL OF A SECRETARY OR AN UNDER SECRETARY OR EVEN AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY. AND SO WE, OF COURSE, WOULD LIKE THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THESE ISSUES AT A HIGHER LEVEL, BUT THEY ARE DISCUSSED BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS.

THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT IS AWARE OF OUR INTEREST IN THIS ISSUE -- THE FACT THAT IT CONTINUES TO BE UNDER REVIEW IN THE U.S. GOVERNMENT -- AND THAT WE WOULD LIKE FURTHER DISCUSSIONS. THEY'RE VERY WELL AWARE OF THAT.

Q BUT DIDN'T YOU AGREE IN APRIL TO HAVE
EXPERT-LEVEL TALKS, AND HAVEN'T THOSE TALKS BEEN --
HAVEN'T

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THE CHINESE REFUSED TO HAVE THOSE TALKS? THIS IS WHAT I THINK SOME OF US HEARD THIS MORNING FROM ANOTHER STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL, UNLESS I'VE GOT IT WRONG.

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MR. BURNS: NO, YOU DON'T. I THINK YOU'RE RIGHT BARRY. ON APRIL 17, SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AND FOREIGN MINISTER QIAN AGREED THERE SHOULD BE EXPERT-LEVEL TALKS. I BELIEVE THAT THEY WERE INITIATED IN NEW YORK

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ON THE FOLLOWING DAY.

BOB EINHORN, WHO'S OUR DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY WAS TO HAVE CONDUCTED THOSE TALKS IN BEIJING A COUPLE OF WEEKS AGO, AND THAT VISIT WAS CANCELLED IN THE WAKE OF THE CONTROVERSY OVER THE ISSUANCE OF THE VISA TO PRESIDENT LEE.

Q I KNOW IT'S SORT OF MORE SIGNIFICANT THAN HAVING AN FELLOW IN THE EMBASSY TALK TO A FELLOW IN THE CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY.

MR. BURNS: IT WOULD BE ABSOLUTELY MORE SIGNIFICANT AND MORE IMPORTANT.

Q YOU'VE LOST SOMETHING. YOU'VE LOST SOMETHING, HAVEN'T YOU?

MR. BURNS: WELL, WE HAVE THE ABILITY TO TRANSMIT DIPLOMATIC MESSAGES, TO GIVE DEMARCHES, TO MAKE OUR POINT OF VIEW WELL UNDERSTOOD. WE'D LIKE TO DO THAT AT A MORE SENIOR LEVEL, STARTING WITH MR. EINHORN AND GOING ABOVE THAT LEVEL, AND WE'RE LOOKING FOR OPPORTUNITIES TO DO THAT.

I DON'T THINK, HOWEVER, THAT ANYBODY IN THIS BUILDING BELIEVES THAT WE ABSOLUTELY MUST HAVE THOSE KINDS OF MEETINGS BEFORE WE CAN MAKE A DECISION. SID, TO GO BACK TO YOUR ORIGINAL QUESTION TO ME, I THINK IF THE INFORMATION BECOMES AVAILABLE TO US THAT WE THINK IS CONVINCING AN PERSUASIVE, WE WILL MAKE A DECISION. BUT

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I CAN TELL YOU THAT AS OF TODAY WE HAVE NOT DETERMINED
THAT, GIVEN THE INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO US, THAT CHINA
IS IN FACT IN VIOLATION OF EITHER U.S. OR INTERNATIONAL
LAW ON THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE.

Q I MAY BE MISTAKEN, NICK, BUT IT SEEMS TO ME
THAT ABOUT A MONTH AGO YOU SAID -- AT LEAST IT WAS CLEAR
TO ME THAT WE WANTED TO TALK TO THE CHINESE AT A SENIOR
LEVEL FIRST, AND CORRECT ME IF I'M WRONG.

THERE WAS ANOTHER OFFICIAL SPEAKING TODAY. THEY
SAID THAT THERE IS NO FLEXIBILITY; THAT IF UNDER U.S.
LAW TO MAKE THAT DETERMINATION YOU'VE GOT TO GO FORWARD.

HAS THERE BEEN -- GIVEN THE PLAY BETWEEN CHINA AND
THE UNITED STATES LATELY, HAS THERE BEEN A CONSCIOUS

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DECISION TO HARDEN OUR POSITION ON THIS AND NOT LOOKING
FOR THE FLEXIBILITY IN THE LAW?

MR. BURNS: WE HAVE NOT CHANGED OUR POSITION ON THIS
PARTICULAR ISSUE OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF WEEKS. WE
MAINTAIN THE POSITION THAT THIS IS A VERY SERIOUS ISSUE
THAT REQUIRES A CONTINUOUS REVIEW BY US. IT'S ON OUR
AGENDA. IT HAS NOT BEEN SWEEPED UNDER THE RUG. BUT WE DO
NOT HAVE THE COMPELLING INFORMATION, THE CERTAIN
INFORMATION, THE SPECIFIC INFORMATION THAT IS NEEDED TO
MAKE A DETERMINATION THAT CHINA HAS VIOLATED THE LAW.

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LET ME GO BACK TO THE FIRST PART OF YOUR QUESTION.
I CAN'T RECALL EXACTLY WHAT I MAY HAVE SAID A MONTH AGO

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ON THIS, BUT I DO KNOW THAT IN RECENT WEEKS I HAVE CONFIRMED WITH SOME OF THE SENIOR PEOPLE IN THIS BUILDING THAT HAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS ISSUE THAT IN FACT WE CAN MAKE THIS DETERMINATION ON OUR OWN.

WE ARE NOT HOSTAGE TO FUTURE MEETINGS. THIS DETERMINATION CAN BE MADE AT ANY TIME. BUT I DON'T WANT -- IN SAYING THAT, I'M NOT TRYING TO SIGNAL IN ANY WAY THAT WE ARE ABOUT TO MAKE A DETERMINATION OR THAT WE HAVE CHANGED OUR POSITION. I'M NOT AWARE THAT WE HAVE RECEIVED ANY NEW INFORMATION THAT WOULD CHANGE OUR POSITION, AND OUR POSITION ONCE AGAIN, TO BE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR, IS THAT WE ARE NOT NOW IN POSSESSION OF INFORMATION THAT WE BELIEVE CONSTITUTES A CHINESE VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL OR AMERICAN LAW.

Q (INAUDIBLE) CHARGE D'AFFAIRES -- SINCE THEY'RE HELD WITH THE CHINESE OFFICIALS. WHAT WAS THE CHINESE OFFICIAL'S RESPONSE TO THE REQUEST THAT YOU MADE? WERE THEY COOPERATIVE? DID THEY SAY THEY'D THINK ABOUT IT?

MR. BURNS: THE REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL MEETINGS? MR. MACIAS TALKED TO THE PRISON OFFICIALS ON MONDAY ABOUT HIS INTEREST IN FURTHER MEETINGS, BUT NOW HE'S GOING TO GO IN TOMORROW TO THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN BEIJING -- A POLICY-MAKING BODY -- AND ASSERT OUR INTEREST IN HAVING SOME FLEXIBILITY IN INTERPRETING THE CONSULAR CONVENTION SO THAT WE MIGHT HAVE MORE THAN ONE VISIT PER MONTH.

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WE THINK IT'S ENTIRELY REASONABLE, GIVEN THE NATURE OF THIS PARTICULAR CASE -- GIVEN THE PROMINENCE OF MR.

WU, GIVEN THE IMPORTANCE THAT WE ATTACH TO HIS IMMEDIATE RELEASE, GIVEN THE PERSONAL INTEREST OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND OF OTHERS IN THIS CASE, AND GIVEN OUR BELIEF THAT THIS IS A PROBLEM IN U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS AND THAT FOR U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS TO MOVE FORWARD ON A SURE BASIS, WE NEED TO RESOLVE THIS PROBLEM.

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THE WAY TO RESOLVE IT IS FOR THE CHINESE TO CONCLUDE THAT IT'S IN THE BEST INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES AND

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CHINA TO HAVE MR. WU RELEASED, TO BE RETURNED SAFELY AND FREELY TO THE UNITED STATES.

Q BUT THERE'S BEEN NO RESPONSE TO THESE REQUESTS AT THIS TIME?

MR. BURNS: WELL, WE HAVE MADE THIS REQUEST VERY CLEAR TO THE CHINESE AUTHORITIES THROUGHOUT THIS WHOLE SAGA. MR. MACIAS IS GOING IN TOMORROW TO MAKE IT AGAIN UNMISTAKABLY CLEAR, AS MR. HALLFORD, OUR CHARGE D'AFFAIRES DID IN HIS MEETING YESTERDAY.

Q NICK, DO YOU HAVE AN INDICATION FROM THE CHINESE WHEN THEIR AMBASSADOR MIGHT RETURN TO WASHINGTON? I KNOW YOU SAID AT THE TIME THAT THEY
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STRESSED THAT THERE WAS NO DOWNGRADING OFFICIALLY OF RELATIONS, BUT IN EFFECT THAT SEEMS TO BE WHAT'S HAPPENED.

MR. BURNS: WE, I DON'T BELIEVE WE HAVE ANY INDICATION OF WHEN THE AMBASSADOR WILL BE RETURNING TO HIS POST, SO THE CHINESE EMBASSY IS CURRENTLY HEADED BY A MR. ZHOU WENZHONG WHO IS THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, AS OUR EMBASSY IS HEADED BY A CHARGE D'AFFAIRES BECAUSE OF THE PLANNED AND ORDERLY DEPARTURE OF OUR AMBASSADOR, STAPE ROY.

Q I WANT TO ASK YOU, HAVE YOU HEARD ANYTHING FROM THE CHINESE ABOUT U.S. RECOGNITION OF VIETNAM?

MR. BURNS: ONE OF THE THINGS THAT WE DID AMONG THE MANY, MANY THINGS WE DID YESTERDAY ON VIETNAM WAS TO HAVE ALL OF OUR DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR POSTS AROUND THE WORLD INFORM THEIR HOST GOVERNMENTS THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON INTENDED TO ANNOUNCE THE NORMALIZATION OF

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U.S.-VIETNAM RELATIONS, AND WE DID THAT IN BEIJING. I DID SEE A REPORTING CABLE TO THE EFFECT THAT THE MESSAGE WAS DELIVERED, AND THE CHINESE ACKNOWLEDGED THE FACT AND CONGRATULATED US UPON THE RESUMPTION OF RELATIONS. I SHOULDN'T SAY "RESUMPTION." ON NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS.

BETSY.

Q NEW SUBJECT. BOSNIA. COULD YOU TELL US WHAT
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THE STATE OF PLAY IS ON DIPLOMACY, PLEASE?

MR. BURNS: I'D BE GLAD TO. LET ME MAKE A FEW POINTS FIRST, THEN I'LL GO INTO THE DIPLOMACY. THE UNITED STATES CONDEMNS THE BOSNIAN SERB ATTACK ON SREBRENICA YESTERDAY. WE STRONGLY CALL UPON THE SERBS TO RELEASE ALL U.N. PERSONNEL, TO PERMIT THE DELIVERY OF HUMANITARIAN AID TO THE BOSNIAN REFUGEES -- THE REFUGEES WHO WERE FORCED TO FLEE SREBRENICA YESTERDAY BECAUSE OF THE INHUMANE ATTACK UPON SREBRENICA.

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WE SUPPORT THE U.N. FORCES IN THE AREA. WE SUPPORT THE CONTINUATION OF UNPROFOR BECAUSE IT HAS MADE A CONTRIBUTION TO THE WELFARE OF THE BOSNIAN PEOPLE. WE BELIEVE THE WITHDRAWAL OF UNPROFOR WOULD TRIGGER A HUMANITARIAN CRISIS FAR BEYOND THE DIMENSIONS OF THE CURRENT CRISIS WHICH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS DEALING WITH TODAY IN SREBRENICA.

WE BELIEVE THE RAPID REACTION FORCE OFFERS THE BEST MEANS TO STRENGTHEN UNPROFOR'S ABILITY TO CARRY OUT THE VERY CLEAR MANDATE THAT IT HAS BEEN GIVEN BY THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL.

THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND, AS THE DIPLOMATIC SITUATION, IS QUITE FLUID. THE UNITED STATES INTENDS TO REVIEW WITH OUR CONTACT GROUP PARTNERS THIS EVENING IN

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LONDON ALL THE ASPECTS OF THE CURRENT CRISIS. WE
BELIEVE, AS SECRETARY OF STATE CHRISTOPHER SAID
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YESTERDAY, THAT THERE ARE NO GOOD ALTERNATIVES AVAILABLE
TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, TO THE UNITED NATIONS OR
TO THE UNITED STATES.

BUT AMONG THE ALTERNATIVES THAT ARE AVAILABLE, AND
ALL OF THEM ARE FLAWED, WE THINK BY FAR THE MOST

PREFERABLE IS FOR THE UNITED STATES TO CONTINUE TO
SUPPORT UNPROFOR IN ALL OF ITS DIMENSIONS; FOR THE
UNITED STATES TO CONTINUE TO SUPPORT ITS NATO ALLIES,
ONE OF WHICH, THE NETHERLANDS, FINDS ITSELF IN AN
EMBATTLED POSITION TODAY.

THIS IS NOT THE TIME TO LEAVE OUR ALLIES IN THE
LURCH; THIS IS NOT THE TIME TO DESERT THEM WHEN THEIR
BACKS -- SOME OF THEM -- ARE AGAINST THE WALL. IT IS A
TIME TO STAND WITH THEM.

SO THIS EVENING ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE DICK
HOLBROOKE WILL BE MEETING WITH THE EU NEGOTIATOR, CARL
BILDT, WITH THE OTHER POLITICAL DIRECTORS FROM THE
ALLIED COUNTRIES, FROM RUSSIA AND THE CONTACT GROUP.
THEY WILL HAVE A FULL REVIEW OF THE SITUATION.

IN ADDITION, I UNDERSTAND THAT AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT
IS REPRESENTING US RIGHT NOW EARLY THIS AFTERNOON IN
U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATES ON A U.N. RESOLUTION
PERTAINING TO SREBRENICA, AND WE HOPE AND BELIEVE THAT
THAT WILL BE A VERY STRONG RESOLUTION CONDEMNING THE
ACTION OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS.

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SO FAR, I AM NOT AWARE -- IN FACT, I'M FAIRLY SURE
-- THERE HAS BEEN NO REQUEST FOR SPECIFIC AMERICAN
SUPPORT IN RESPONSE TO THE EVENTS YESTERDAY IN
SREBRENICA. THERE HAS BEEN NO REQUEST TO NATO FOR ANY
NATO ACTION TO RESPOND TO THE SITUATION THAT GOES BEYOND
THE ACTION THAT NATO TOOK AT U.N. REQUEST YESTERDAY IN
PROVIDING CLOSE AIR SUPPORT.

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Q GENERAL MLADIC'S ON LOCATION. ELDERLY PEOPLE
AND CHILDREN HAVE BEEN CARTED AWAY, THOUSANDS OF THEM,
DESTINATION UNKNOWN. THE BOSNIAN PRESIDENT HAS CALLED
FOR THE FIRING OF MR. AKASHI. APART FROM YOUR
CONDEMNATION OF THE SERBS' TAKEOVER OF THE SAFEHAVEN IN
DEFIANCE OF THE U.N., WHAT DOES THE STATE DEPARTMENT
THINK ABOUT ALL THESE EVENTS, PLEASE?

MR. BURNS: WHAT WE THINK ABOUT ALL THESE EVENTS IS
THAT THEY'RE MOST UNFORTUNATE; THAT THEY OUGHT TO BE
CONDEMNED BECAUSE THEY DEMONSTRATE THAT THE BOSNIAN
SERBS ONCE AGAIN HAVE LITTLE REGARD FOR HUMAN LIFE AND
FOR DECENCY, AND THAT THEY FLAGRANTLY VIOLATE U.N.

RESOLUTIONS.

WE BELIEVE THAT IT'S IMPORTANT NOW TO LISTEN TO OUR
ALLIES, THOSE WHO HAVE TROOPS ON THE GROUND; TO WORK
WITH THEM; TO SUPPORT THEM IN THE COURSE OF ACTION THAT
THEY PLAN TO TAKE. IT IS NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR TO US WHAT
COURSE THEY PLAN TO TAKE. THAT IS THE POINT OF THE
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CONTACT GROUP MEETING TONIGHT, AND THAT IS THE POINT OF
THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING THIS AFTERNOON, AND
THE ADDITIONAL DISCUSSIONS THAT ASSISTANT SECRETARY
HOLBROOKE HAS BEEN HAVING IN A NUMBER OF EUROPEAN
CAPITALS. HE HAS BEEN IN SPAIN. HE HAS BEEN IN PARIS,
AND HE'S NOW IN LONDON.

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HE HAS BEEN BUSY TALKING TO ALL OF THEM ABOUT THEIR APPRECIATION OF THE SITUATION, WHAT THEY MIGHT WISH TO DO NOW, AND I THINK WE MUST BE IN A POSITION OF WAITING FOR OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES WHO HAVE TROOPS ON THE GROUND TO DECIDE ON THEIR PREFERRED COURSE OF ACTION, AND THEN, OF COURSE, THE UNITED STATES WILL SUPPORT THEM.

LET ME, BARRY -- IT MIGHT BE USEFUL JUST TO GIVE YOU OUR APPRECIATION OF THE SPECIFIC SITUATION ON THE GROUND, BECAUSE I DO HAVE SOME DETAILED INFORMATION ON THAT.

OBVIOUSLY, EVERYONE KNOWS THAT THE SERB FORCES HAVE OVERRUN THE ENCLAVE IN SREBRENICA. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THERE ARE AN ESTIMATED 30,000 REFUGEES THAT HAVE FLED FIRST TO THE U.N. CAMP AT POTOCARI, WHICH IS THREE MILES NORTH. WE BELIEVE THAT AN ADDITIONAL 8-10,000 MORE BOSNIANS WILL MAKE THEIR WAY OUT OF THE CITY TO THE CAMP TODAY.

THE LATEST REPORTS THAT WE HAVE ARE THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS ARE -- THE ARMY IS IN CONTROL OF THE ENTIRE ENCLAVE, AND THIS MORNING THE SERBS ALSO ENTERED THE U.N. CAMP AT POTOCARI. WE BELIEVE THEY MAY HAVE

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DISTRIBUTED SOME FOOD TO THE REFUGEES THERE.

THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE SAID THEY PLAN TO SHIP THOUSANDS OF THE REFUGEES THREE MILES EAST TO A FOOTBALL STADIUM IN BRATUNAC. IN ADDITION, 36 DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS

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CONTINUE TO BE HELD CAPTIVE. THE U.N. REPORTS THAT THE SERBS CAPTURED TWO MORE U.N. OBSERVATION POSTS LATE YESTERDAY, ADDING SIX MORE DUTCH PRISONERS TO THE 30 THAT HAVE PREVIOUSLY BEEN HELD, AND THAT'S HOW WE ARRIVED AT THE FIGURE OF 36.

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THE U.N. HIGH COMMISSIONER ON REFUGEES REPORTS THAT THERE IS VIRTUALLY NO FOOD OR WATER FOR THE REFUGEES IN POTOCARI, AND AID WORKERS FEAR A HUMANITARIAN DISASTER UNLESS THE BOSNIAN SERBS PERMIT THE DELIVERY OF AID PRE-POSITIONED IN SERBIA TO THE U.N. CAMP AT POTOCARI.

MEDICAL SUPPLIES FOR THE MORE THAN 70 REPORTED PEOPLE WHO ARE WOUNDED -- AND THESE ARE CIVILIANS -- ARE VERY LOW. THE UNITED NATIONS IS WORKING ON EVACUATING THE REFUGEES TO TUZLA, WHERE THERE ARE ADEQUATE SUPPLIES FOR THE REFUGEES IN PLACE. THE U.N. HAS STRESSED TODAY THAT ONLY THOSE REFUGEES WHO WISH TO LEAVE THE ENCLAVE WILL BE TRANSPORTED.

THAT LEAVES US WITH CONTINUED FIGHTING AROUND ZEP
AND AROUND GORAZDE, THE OTHER EASTERN ENCLAVES. THE
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UNITED NATIONS IS TRYING TO FOLLOW THAT FIGHTING
CLOSELY. BOTH ENCLAVES HAVE BEEN UNDER ATTACK FOR THE
PAST COUPLE OF DAYS. IN THE CASE OF ZEP, THERE WAS
INCREASED SHELLING OVERNIGHT.

I UNDERSTAND THAT 90 UKRAINIAN U.N. PEACEKEEPERS ARE
STATIONED IN ZEP, WHICH IS INHABITED BY 16,000
BOSNIANS, MOST OF WHOM ARE MUSLIM REFUGEES WHO HAVE FLED
THERE FROM FIGHTING ELSEWHERE IN BOSNIA.

Q NICK, DIDN'T THE UNITED STATES JOIN ITS U.N.
ALLIES IN DECLARING SREBRENICA A SAFE AREA? IS THIS
WHAT A SAFE AREA IS WHEN THE UNITED STATES COMMITS
ITSELF TO IT?

MR. BURNS: THE UNITED STATES, INDEED, JOINED MANY
OTHER COUNTRIES IN DECLARING THIS TO BE A U.N. SAFEHAVEN
SEVERAL YEARS AGO. THERE WERE SIX, AS YOU KNOW. NOW
ONE HAS FALLEN, AND THERE ARE FIVE LEFT. TWO OTHERS ARE
UNDER ATTACK.

Q WHAT DOES THAT SAY ABOUT THE U.S. AND U.N.
COMMITMENT?

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MR. BURNS: WHAT IT CLEARLY SAYS, I THINK, IS THAT THE UNITED NATIONS HAS NOT SUCCEEDED IN PROTECTING A VERY IMPORTANT ENCLAVE. THE UNITED NATIONS NOW, AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN GENERAL, HAS THE TASK OF

TRYING TO DEAL WITH THE VERY GREAT PROBLEMS THAT HAVE RESULTED FROM THE FALL OF THAT ENCLAVE, NAMELY MANY,
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MANY -- TENS OF THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES WHO ARE WITHOUT FOOD AND WATER AND ARE IN A VERY PRECARIOUS SITUATION.

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SO, WHAT THE UNITED STATES IS DOING IS WORKING CLOSELY WITH THE UNITED NATIONS TO SEE HOW WE CAN HELP IN PROVIDING FOOD, WATER, MEDICINE TO THE REFUGEES. WE'RE WORKING WITH OUR ALLIES TO TRY TO CONSIDER WITH THEM NEXT STEPS DIPLOMATICALLY AND ALSO OF A SECURITY NATURE ON THE GROUND, AND MADELEINE ALBRIGHT, OUR AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS, IS NOW DEBATING WITH THE UNITED NATIONS A SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION. IT IS AN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT SITUATION.

Q IS THERE ANY CONSIDERATION BEING GIVEN TO TRYING TO MOUNT SOME SORT OF MILITARY OPERATION TO RECLAIM SREBRENICA? AND, AFTER YOU ANSWER THAT QUESTION, WHAT WOULD YOU DO -- WHAT DO YOU PLAN TO DO, IF ANYTHING, ABOUT THE OTHER SO-CALLED SAFEHAVENS?

MR. BURNS: WE HAVE SEEN, OF COURSE, THE COMMENTS MADE YESTERDAY BY PRESIDENT CHIRAC AND BY CHANCELLOR KOHL AT THEIR JOINT PRESS CONFERENCE IN FRANCE. WE ARE TALKING TO OUR ALLIES NOW -- THOSE OF OUR NATO ALLIES THAT HAVE TROOPS ON THE GROUND -- TO TRY TO ASCERTAIN WHAT THEY PLAN TO DO NEXT.

IT'S NOT CLEAR TO US THAT THERE IS ANY CONCERTED, COHESIVE PLAN THAT IS AVAILABLE TO THEM NOW; THAT CLEARLY MUST BE WORKED OUT, THAT KIND OF STRATEGY, OVER
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THE NEXT COUPLE OF DAYS. ONCE THAT STRATEGY IS DEFINED BY THEM -- THEY'RE THE ONES WITH TROOPS ON THE GROUND -- AND BY THE UNITED NATIONS, WHICH HAS THE RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT THE ENCLAVES AND TO ADHERE TO THE MANDATES -- ONCE THOSE DECISIONS ARE MADE, THE UNITED STATES WILL BE FULLY SUPPORTIVE OF DECISIONS MADE BY OUR ALLIES.

WE CANNOT BE THIS AFTERNOON IN A POSITION OF GIVING THEM FREE ADVICE FROM THE OUTSIDE WHEN THEY ARE THE ONES WITH TROOPS ON THE GROUND. THEY HAVE TO MAKE THESE DECISIONS. BUT ONE THING WILL BE VERY CLEAR. ONCE THEY'VE MADE THEIR DECISIONS, THE UNITED STATES WILL SUPPORT THEM AND WILL SUPPORT THEM TO OUR UTMOST CAPABILITIES WITHIN THE LIMITS THAT WE HAVE EXPRESSED FOR SOME TIME NOW.

Q WHAT ABOUT U.S. LEADERSHIP IN THIS SITUATION?

MR. BURNS: THE UNITED STATES IS MAKING ITS VIEWS KNOWN TO OUR ALLIES. WE ARE MAKING OUR VIEWS ABOUT THE BOSNIAN SERB OFFENSIVE KNOWN TO YOU AND TO THE WORLD THROUGH AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT AND THROUGH THE STATEMENTS THAT WE ARE MAKING PUBLICLY. AS YOU KNOW, WE ARE THE LARGEST CONTRIBUTOR TO UNPROFOR, CONTRIBUTOR OF MONEY. WE ARE THE MAJOR FINANCIER OF THE HUMANITARIAN EFFORT.

WE DO NOT HAVE TROOPS ON THE GROUND. THE DECISION TO TAKE FURTHER ACTION IN RESPONSE TO YESTERDAY'S EVENTS MUST REST WITH BOTH THE UNITED NATIONS AND WITH THOSE COUNTRIES

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THAT HAVE TROOPS ON THE GROUND. WE HAVE VIEWS. WE ARE ASSERTING OUR OWN VIEWS. WE ARE DISCUSSING THIS WITH THE ALLIES, BUT WE MUST WAIT TO SEE WHAT DECISIONS AND PLANS ARE MADE BY THEM BEFORE, I THINK, SAYING MUCH MORE IN PUBLIC ABOUT THIS.

TOM.

Q CAN WE MOVE TO ANOTHER SAFE AREA, SARAJEVO? SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER SAID YESTERDAY THAT SREBRENICA NEVER WAS ALL THAT DEFENSIBLE. SARAJEVO HE SAID WAS. WHAT IS THE U.S. VIEW OF WHAT THE UNITED NATIONS CAN AND SHOULD DO IN SARAJEVO TO PROTECT IT AS A SAFE AREA?

MR. BURNS: I KNOW THAT SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER IN ALL OF HIS MANY COMMENTS YESTERDAY IN VARIOUS MEDIA ASSERTED A VERY CLEAR U.S. POSITION. WE HAVE RECOGNIZED U.N. RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALL THESE ENCLAVES, AND WE HAVE TAKEN THAT RESPONSIBILITY AS A MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND OF THE U.N. SERIOUSLY.

WHAT WE BELIEVE MUST HAPPEN NOW IS FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO RECOGNIZE THAT A GREAT INJUSTICE HAS BEEN DONE ONCE AGAIN BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS, AND THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD CONSIDER ITS NEXT STEPS. THAT IS EXACTLY WHERE THE DIPLOMACY IS, AND THAT'S EXACTLY WHERE THE SECURITY THINKING IS TODAY.

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Q (INAUDIBLE)

MR. BURNS: EXCUSE ME?

Q SPECIFICALLY ABOUT SARAJEVO.

MR. BURNS: THE FIGHTING HAS CONTINUED AROUND SARAJEVO. WE'RE NOT AWARE THAT SARAJEVO IS IN ANY IMMINENT DANGER OF COLLAPSE, AS COMPARED TO WHAT HAPPENED IN SREBRENICA YESTERDAY. THERE ARE A MUCH

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GREATER NUMBER OF BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT FIGHTERS THERE INSIDE AND AROUND THE CITY, AND IT'S NOT OUR VIEW THAT SARAJEVO IS IN ANY KIND OF IMMINENT DANGER OF A BOSNIAN SERB TAKEOVER.

Q NICK, I UNDERSTAND THE UNITED STATES' PURSUIT OF ITS POLICY IN NOT PUTTING TROOPS ON THE GROUND AND SO FORTH, BUT WHILE YOU AND YOUR EUROPEAN ALLIES ARE HOLDING DISCUSSIONS ON WHAT TO DO NEXT, THOUSANDS OF INNOCENT MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN ARE BEING CARTED OFF TO A FOOTBALL STADIUM. WE'VE SEEN ALL TOO CLEARLY IN THE PAST WHAT HAPPENS TO PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN ETHNICALLY CLEANSED.

MY QUESTION IS HOW CAN THE UNITED STATES, GIVEN ITS PAST HISTORY ON THIS KIND OF A CASE STAND IDLY BY AND LET

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WHAT APPEARS TO BE ANOTHER ROUND OF ETHNIC CLEANSING AND
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HUMANITARIAN ATROCITIES OCCUR?

MR. BURNS: FIRST OF ALL, LET'S BE ACCURATE ABOUT WHAT WE ARE HEARING AND WHAT THE UNITED NATIONS IS SEEING. GIVEN PAST PRACTICE, WE DO HAVE A NUMBER OF CONCERNS ABOUT THE CAPACITY AND THE INCLINATION OF THE BOSNIAN SERB FORCES TO TREAT WELL AND JUSTLY THE CAPTIVES -- CIVILIAN CAPTIVES AS WELL AS MILITARY CAPTIVES.

IN 1991 AND 1992, THEY DISPLAYED FOR ALL THE WORLD TO SEE BRUTAL TENDENCIES TOWARDS PEOPLE THEY HAD TAKEN CAPTIVE. THEY SHOULD NOT REPEAT THOSE VERY GRAVE AND SERIOUS MISTAKES NOW. THEY SHOULD TREAT THESE PEOPLE WELL. WE ARE NOT STANDING IDLY BY AND IGNORING THIS PROBLEM, SID. WE ARE ASSERTING PUBLICLY THAT THE

BOSNIAN SERB ARMY HAS A RESPONSIBILITY TO TREAT THESE PEOPLE WELL.

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NOW WE ARE WORKING THROUGH THE COMPETENT AUTHORITY ON THE GROUND, WHICH IS THE UNITED NATIONS, TO DEAL WITH THE REFUGEE PROBLEM. THE U.N. HIGH COMMISSIONER ON REFUGEES HAS DIRECT INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS PROBLEM, ALBEIT IN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES GIVEN THE SHORTAGE OF FOOD, WATER AND MEDICINE AND GIVEN THE PRECARIOUS POSITION OF TENS OF THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES.

WE'RE GOING TO DO EVERYTHING WE CAN WITHIN THE UNITED NATIONS STRUCTURE TO TRY TO HELP THOSE REFUGEES,
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TO TRY TO FEED THEM, TO TRY TO HAVE THEM TAKEN TO TUZLA IF THEY WANT TO BE TAKEN TO TUZLA, WHERE THEY CAN BE GIVEN PROPER SHELTER AND CARE AND BE FREED FROM CAPTIVITY BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS, AND WE THINK THAT SHOULD HAPPEN.

WE HAVE ANOTHER OBLIGATION, AND THAT IS TO PARTICIPATE IN DISCUSSIONS WITHIN THE U.N. STRUCTURE AND TO SEND MESSAGES TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS THAT THE 36 DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS OUGHT TO BE TREATED WELL AND RELEASED IMMEDIATELY.

WE'RE GOING TO BE ENGAGED AS MUCH AS WE CAN BE ENGAGED, TO THE LIMITS OF WHAT WE CAN DO, TO HELP REGULARIZE AND RESOLVE AN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT AND SAD SITUATION. WE DO NOT HAVE TROOPS ON THE GROUND. OUR NATO ALLIES DO HAVE TROOPS ON THE GROUND. THEY NOW MUST CONSIDER WHAT THEY ARE PREPARED TO DO TO RESPOND TO YESTERDAY'S EVENTS. WE'RE HAVING THOSE DISCUSSIONS WITH THEM TODAY AND WE'RE PREPARED TO SUPPORT THEM IN WHATEVER DECISIONS THEY TAKE.

Q GIVEN THE RESPONSE IN THE PAST TO SIMILAR SITUATIONS HERE ABOUT -- AFTER YOU'VE TALKED ABOUT WHAT THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS ARE, WHY SHOULD THEY BE WORRIED AT ALL ABOUT HOW THEY TREAT THE PEOPLE THAT THEY'RE NOW IN CHARGE OF? I MEAN, THERE DOESN'T SEEM TO HAVE BEEN

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IN THE PAST THE POLITICAL WILL OR THE MILITARY
CAPABILITY TO DO ANYTHING ABOUT IT, SO WHY SHOULD THEY
TAKE YOUR CURRENT WORDS ANY DIFFERENTLY?

MR. BURNS: WE THINK IT'S IMPORTANT TO VOICE
PUBLICLY THE OBVIOUS HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS THAT THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAVE IN
LOOKING AT THE SITUATION YESTERDAY. WE ALSO THINK IT'S
IMPORTANT, CHARLIE, JUST TO ASSERT PUBLICLY THE OUTRAGE
THAT A LOT OF PEOPLE FEEL ABOUT WHAT HAPPENED
YESTERDAY. I DON'T THINK THAT IS -- I THINK THAT'S THE
APPROPRIATE THING TO DO IN THIS SITUATION.

YOU'RE RIGHT THAT IN THE PAST LOTS OF STATEMENTS
HAVE BEEN MADE -- LOTS OF STATEMENTS THAT HAVE NOT HAD A
PRACTICAL EFFECT -- AND I THINK IT'S VERY CLEAR FOR
EVERYONE TO SEE THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE OFTEN TAKEN
ACTIONS THAT WERE NOT REPLIED TO.

IT IS NOW A QUESTION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS, AS WELL
AS FOR THE COUNTRIES WITH TROOPS ON THE GROUND, TO
CONSIDER THE SITUATION AND TO CONSIDER WHAT THEY THINK
THEY CAN PRACTICALLY DO. SINCE WE DON'T HAVE TROOPS ON
THE GROUND, WE ARE NOT GOING TO BE A DIRECT PARTY --
RESPONSIBLE PARTY TO THOSE DISCUSSIONS BECAUSE WE'RE NOT
GOING TO HAVE TO PUT TROOPS INTO THESE ENCLAVES OR
REDEPLOY TROOPS IN A WAY THAT THEY FIGURE THEY MIGHT
WANT TO.

BUT WE DO HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO SUPPORT OUR
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ALLIES. WE ARE PROVIDING LIFT FOR THE RAPID REACTION FORCE FROM BOTH FRANCE AND BRITAIN TO CROATIA. WE ARE PROVIDING LOGISTICS AND INTELLIGENCE SUPPORT AND EQUIPMENT SUPPORT, AND WE'LL CONTINUE TO DO THAT. AND WE'RE GOING TO STAND BY OUR COMMITMENT, THE FINANCIAL AND MILITARY COMMITMENT THAT WE HAVE MADE, TO SUPPORT THE IMPLEMENTATION AND FULL DEPLOYMENT OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE.

RIGHT NOW WE THINK THAT THE BEST THING THAT CAN HAPPEN IS FOR THE MAJOR TROOP CONTRIBUTORS TO DECIDE THAT THEY'RE GOING TO STAY -- THAT UNPROFOR WILL STAY; THAT THEY WILL STRENGTHEN UNPROFOR AND MAKE IT A MUCH MORE EFFECTIVE ORGANIZATION THAN IT HAS BEEN TO DATE.

ONE VEHICLE TO MAKE IT MORE EFFECTIVE WILL BE TO DEPLOY A RAPID REACTION FORCE THAT HAS SOME TEETH AND THAT CAN IN EFFECT PROTECT THE RESPONSIBILITIES AND DEFEND THE RESPONSIBILITIES THAT THE UNITED NATIONS HAS, CLEARLY, FROM THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL.

THAT IS WHY WE BELIEVE IT'S IN OUR INTEREST AND THE INTEREST OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO SEE THE UNITED NATIONS STAY.

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Q SENATOR DOLE IS GOING TO PROPOSE A BILL THAT WOULD UNILATERALLY LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO, AND MANY PEOPLE SEEM TO FEEL THAT HE HAS ENOUGH VOTES NOT ONLY TO GET IT PASSED, BUT TO OVERRIDE ANY PRESIDENTIAL VETO

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HOW CONCERNED IS THIS DEPARTMENT AND THIS ADMINISTRATION BY THIS?

MR. BURNS: WE DON'T FAVOR THIS BILL. WE HAVEN'T FAVORED IT IN THE PAST, AND WE STILL DON'T FAVOR THIS

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BILL. WE DON'T FAVOR IT BECAUSE OUR NATO ALLIES HAVE MADE UNMISTAKABLY CLEAR TO US AND TO THE BACKERS OF THIS BILL THAT UNILATERAL LIFT WOULD LEAD TO THE WITHDRAWAL OF UNPROFOR. IT WOULD LEAD TO THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE TROOP CONTINGENTS FROM THE NATO COUNTRIES. THAT IS NOT IN THE INTEREST OF THE BOSNIAN PEOPLE OR OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, AND WE BELIEVE THAT UNILATERAL LIFT WOULD ALSO ADD TO THE HUMANITARIAN PROBLEMS BECAUSE IT WOULD LIKELY LEAD TO AN INCREASE IN FIGHTING AND IT WOULD TORPEDO ANY CHANCE THAT THE POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS HAVE FOR SUCCESS.

WE ARE DEALING HERE, ONCE AGAIN, IN AN IMPERFECT WORLD WITH IMPERFECT OPTIONS. ONE OPTION IS TO UNILATERALLY LIFT. I'VE TALKED ABOUT THE LIKELY CONSEQUENCES OF THAT. ANOTHER OPTION IS FOR THE UNITED STATES TO DEPLOY A GREAT NUMBER OF TROOPS IN THE AREA TO WIN A VICTORY IN THE BATTLEFIELD AND TO FORCE POLITICAL CHANGES. THAT OPTION CLEARLY DOES NOT HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OR OF THE CONGRESS.

IN OUR VIEW, THAT LEAVES US WITH ANOTHER IMPERFECT OPTION AND THAT IS TO KEEP UNPROFOR IN THE FIELD, TO TRY TO CONTINUE TO CONTAIN THE CONFLICT AS UNPROFOR HAS DONE SUCCESSFULLY IN MANY WAYS OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF YEARS; TO KEEP UNPROFOR IN THE BUSINESS OF FEEDING 1.5 MILLION
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TO 2 MILLION PEOPLE A DAY; TO DEAL WITH THE 40,000-PLUS REFUGEES IN SREBRENICA OR AROUND SREBRENICA NOW.

THIS IS NOT A PERFECT OPTION, BUT WE HAVE TO LIVE IN THE WORLD OF REALITY. WE HAVE TO DEAL WITH THE SITUATION AS IT IS, AND WE BELIEVE THAT THIS OPTION IS

FAR PREFERABLE TO THE CALAMITY THAT WOULD BE UNLEASHED WERE UNILATERAL LIFT TO OCCUR, AND THAT'S OUR VERY FIRM POSITION TODAY IN LOOKING AT THE EVENTS IN SREBRENICA.

Q BUT, NICK, IF YOU'RE DEALING IN A WORLD OF REALITY, THE REALITY IS THAT SREBRENICA HAS FALLEN. ZEPA COULD FALL SOON. GORAZDE IS BEING SHELLED. AND,

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IF THERE IS NOT THE WILL BY THE U.N. TO SAVE THESE SAFE AREAS, THEN WHERE ARE YOU? ARE THE BOSNIANS BETTER OFF TRYING TO DEFEND THEMSELVES?

MR. BURNS: SREBRENICA HAS FALLEN, BUT THAT DOES NOT END UNITED NATIONS' AND INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY TO THE PEOPLE OF THE AREA. THERE ARE NOW TENS OF THOUSANDS OF

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REFUGEES THAT HAVE BEEN PRODUCED BY THE MILITARY ACTION OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF DAYS. WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO HELP THOSE PEOPLE. WE CAN HELP THEM BEST IF UNPROFOR REMAINS IN THE FIELD. IF UNILATERAL LIFT OCCURS AND UNPROFOR WITHDRAWS, WHO WILL BE IN A POSITION TO HELP FEED THESE PEOPLE AND HOUSE THEM AND PROVIDE MEDICAL
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CARE.

WHO WILL BE IN A POSITION TO MONITOR THE SANCTIONS REGIMES THAT HAVE BEEN PUT INTO PLACE. THE UNITED NATIONS' OPERATION IN BOSNIAN OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF YEARS HAS BEEN HIGHLY IMPERFECT. THEY'VE MADE A NUMBER OF MISTAKES, AND THEY HAVE FAILED IN A NUMBER OF WAYS TO PROTECT THE PEOPLE THAT THEY WERE PLEDGED TO PROTECT.

BUT, ON THE OTHER HAND, THEY'VE ACHIEVED A NUMBER OF THINGS, AND THEY HAVE DONE SOME GOOD -- THAT CANNOT BE DENIED. AND IF YOU SIMPLY CREATE AN ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH THE UNITED NATIONS LEAVES, YOU ARE LEFT WITH A SITUATION THAT WE THINK WILL BE FAR WORSE THAN WHAT'S HAPPENING TODAY.

Q NICK, CAN YOU VERIFY THAT THE SERBS ARE SEPARATING THE ELDERLY AND THE CHILDREN FROM THE OTHER FOLKS? YOU REALIZE THE HISTORICAL PRECEDENT FOR THAT, WHEN, OF COURSE, THE STATE DEPARTMENT ALSO DIDN'T ACT 60 YEARS AGO.

MR. BURNS: BARRY, I DON'T HAVE SPECIFIC INFORMATION

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ABOUT ELDERLY PEOPLE, WOMEN AND CHILDREN BEING SEPARATED FROM MALES. I DO HAVE INFORMATION THAT A GREAT NUMBER OF PEOPLE ARE BEING HERDED INTO A FOOTBALL STADIUM. CONSIDERING WHAT HAPPENED THREE OR FOUR YEARS AGO IN THE SAME AREA AT THE HANDS OF THE SAME PEOPLE, THE BOSNIAN SERB MILITARY, WE ARE OBVIOUSLY CONCERNED -- GREATLY CONCERNED, GRAVELY CONCERNED -- ABOUT THIS SITUATION
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AND WE ARE SENDING A PUBLIC MESSAGE TODAY TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS THAT THEY HAVE A HUMANITARIAN RESPONSIBILITY TO TREAT THESE PEOPLE WELL.

I DON'T THINK IT'S NECESSARY FOR ME TO REMIND THEM OR TO REMIND YOU THAT THERE IS AN INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL THAT IS INVESTIGATING THE ATROCITIES THAT CLEARLY TOOK PLACE THREE OR FOUR YEARS AGO.

THE BOSNIAN SERBS WILL BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FOR THEIR ACTIONS THEN, AND THEY CERTAINLY ARE BEING WATCHED CAREFULLY BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY NOW.

Q WHAT ABOUT THE BOSNIAN PRESIDENT'S REQUEST THAT (1) NATO RECAPTURE THE CITY; (2) YOU BOOT AKASHI? DO YOU THINK HE'S DOING A GOOD JOB?

MR. BURNS: DO I THINK THE BOSNIAN PRESIDENT IS DOING A GOOD JOB?

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Q DO YOU THINK AKASHI IS DOING A GOOD JOB? DO YOU THINK THE U.N. IS FORCEFULLY LOOKING AFTER THESE POOR WRETCHES IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA?

MR. BURNS: LET ME JUST TAKE YOUR QUESTIONS IN ORDER.

Q WHAT DOES THE STATE DEPARTMENT THINK?

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MR. BURNS: LET ME TAKE THESE QUESTIONS IN ORDER.
THE TROOP-CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES CLEARLY HAVE SOME
DECISIONS TO MAKE WITH THE UNITED NATIONS ABOUT THE WAY
FORWARD. WE ARE NOW INTENT ON PURSUING OUR OWN
DISCUSSIONS WITH THEM ALONG THESE LINES. THAT'S NUMBER
ONE.

AS TO MR. AKASHI, I THINK WE'VE MADE IT CLEAR IN THE
PAST THAT WE HAVE NOT ALWAYS AGREED WITH SOME OF HIS

ACTIONS. WE CERTAINLY DID NOT AGREE WITH HIS ACTIONS
LAST MONTH TO ASSERT A DESCRIPTION OF THE MANDATE OF THE
RAPID REACTION FORCE TO THE BOSNIAN SERB LEADERSHIP IN
PALE.

WE TOOK DIRECT AND PUBLIC OPPOSITION TO THAT
ACTION. BUT IT'S NOT FOR ME OR ANYBODY ELSE IN THIS
GOVERNMENT TO SPEAK TO WHETHER OR NOT MR. AKASHI SHOULD
BE FIRED. THAT'S UP TO THE U.N. SECRETARY GENERAL.

Q ONE LAST THING. A QUESTIONER USED "ETHNIC
CLEANSING," BUT THE STATE DEPARTMENT IS AVOIDING THAT
PHRASE? HASN'T ENOUGH EVIDENCE YET WHETHER THE SERBS
ARE ENGAGED IN ANOTHER CHAPTER, ANOTHER PHASE OF THEIR
ETHNIC CLEANSING OPERATION? MUST YOU KNOW MORE ABOUT
WHAT HAPPENS IN THE STADIUM? WHETHER, PERHAPS, THEY
WILL BE SERVED LUNCH AND SENT HOME?

MR. BURNS: BARRY, WE'RE NOT AVOIDING ANY OF THESE
QUESTIONS, BUT WE DO HAVE TO TRY TO ASCERTAIN THE
FACTS. ALL OF US, I THINK, AT THIS POINT ARE RELYING ON
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PRESS REPORTS. I'M NOT AWARE THAT THERE ARE PEOPLE REPORTING BACK DIRECTLY THAT WE TALK TO NORMALLY ON THE SITUATION THERE. IT'S A CHAOTIC SITUATION WHERE TENS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE ARE ON THE ROAD WITH NOTHING.

WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO ASCERTAIN FACTS. THAT'S WHAT WE'RE TRYING --

Q SO THAT'S A GOVERNMENT --

MR. BURNS: WE ARE TALKING TO THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT.

Q WHAT DO THEY TELL YOU IS GOING ON? DO THEY TELL YOU ETHNIC CLEANSING IS GOING ON?

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MR. BURNS: BARRY, WE TALK TO THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT EVERY DAY, AND WE'RE TALKING TO THEM TODAY.

SID ASKED ME A DIRECT QUESTION, AND YOU'VE REPEATED THE QUESTION: "ARE WE AWARE OF CERTAIN REPORTS THAT PEOPLE ARE BEING SEPARATED?" I'VE TOLD YOU, I'M NOT AWARE OF THOSE REPORTS.

THE REPORTS ALONE ARE OF CONCERN TO US, AND WE'LL

CERTAINLY LOOK INTO THEM. WE WON'T DISREGARD THEM, AND IT'S NOT BUSINESS AS USUAL. THAT'S NOT HOW AMERICANS REACT TO SITUATIONS LIKE THAT. THAT'S NOT HOW THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WILL REACT TO THE SITUATION.

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Q THAT'S HOW THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT REACTED IN 1939 -- TO A TOTALLY PARALLEL SITUATION. YOU SPEAK OF THE U.N. AS IF IT'S SOME DISTANT OPERATION ON THE MOON. I MEAN, THE STATE DEPARTMENT DOES.

DOESN'T, NUMBER ONE, THE U.S. HAVE THE AUTHORITY TO ASK NATO TO CARRY OUT BOMBING RAIDS THAT THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES PROPOSED WHEN HE WAS RUNNING FOR

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OFFICE BUT DROPPED WHEN HE GOT ELECTED? NUMBER TWO:
DON'T YOU HAVE THE MORAL AUTHORITY IN THE UNITED
NATIONS? WHY ARE YOU GOING AROUND POLLING THE EUROPEANS
BEFORE YOU DECIDE WHAT YOUR POSITION IS?

MR. BURNS: WE DON'T HAVE THE AUTHORITY OR
INCLINATION TO DEPLOY AMERICAN MILITARY FORCE IN THE
AREA WITHOUT CONFERRING WITH THE INTERNATIONAL BODY
THAT'S IN CHARGE -- AND THAT'S THE UNITED NATIONS, LIKE
IT OR NOT -- AND WITHOUT CONFERRING WITH OUR NATO
ALLIES. NO, IT'S NOT AN OPTION FOR THE PRESIDENT OR
ANYONE ELSE IN WASHINGTON TO DECIDE THAT WE'RE GOING TO
DEPLOY AMERICAN MILITARY FORCE IN SOME KIND OF
ABSTRACTION. WE HAVE TO DEAL WITH THE SITUATION ON THE
GROUND, AND THAT'S WHAT WE'RE DOING.

NATO FORCES, INCLUDING U.S. WAR PLANES, WERE
DEPLOYED YESTERDAY BECAUSE OF A REQUEST FROM THE UNITED
NATIONS. THOSE ARE THE RULES OF THE ROAD HERE, AND
WE'VE COMMITTED OURSELVES TO THOSE RULES OF THE ROAD.

Q CAN I JUST DEAL WITH YESTERDAY ON THAT VERY
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MATTER? THERE WERE SUGGESTIONS IN THE PRESS THAT MR.
AKASHI HAD ONCE AGAIN DELAYED THE REACTION FROM THE AIR
THAT WAS REQUESTED. IS THAT TRUE OR NOT?

MR. BURNS: I'M NOT IN A POSITION TO SPEAK TO THAT
BECAUSE I JUST DON'T KNOW. WHAT I DO KNOW IS THAT JUST
BEFORE SREBRENICA FELL ON MONDAY EVENING, NATO CLOSE AIR
SUPPORT WAS REQUESTED; NATO PLANES TOOK TO THE AIR FROM
AIRCRAFT CARRIERS IN AVIANO, AND THEY DID NOT RELEASE

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ORDNANCE BECAUSE THEY WERE ASKED BY THE DUTCH COMMANDER
ON THE GROUND TO TURN BACK, PROBABLY BECAUSE OF DARKNESS.

YESTERDAY MORNING, NATO CLOSE AIR SUPPORT WAS AGAIN
REQUESTED BY THE DUTCH ON THE GROUND, BY THE UNITED
NATIONS AUTHORITIES. UNDER THE DUAL-KEY ARRANGEMENT

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NATO FORCES COMPLIED WITH THAT REQUEST, AND NATO FORCES WENT INTO ACTION. IT WAS TOO LATE. NATO FORCES MIGHT HAVE HAD SOME EFFECT ON A PARTICULAR TANK COLUMN, BUT IT WAS CLEARLY TOO LATE TO PREVENT THE FALL OF SREBRENICA. THAT'S THE WAY IT WAS.

SO NOW WE'RE DEALING WITH A DIFFERENT SITUATION, WHERE THE CITY HAS FALLEN, WHERE YOU HAVE TENS OF THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES, WHERE YOU HAVE THE UNCERTAINTY OF WHAT HAPPENS NEXT, WHAT ACTION DOES THE UNITED NATIONS NEXT TAKE, DO THE TROOP-CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES TAKE?

WE ARE OPERATING TODAY IN A VERY TURBULENT
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ENVIRONMENT. I THINK IT MEANS IT SPEAKS TO THE IMPORTANCE OF THE UNITED STATES GETTING ITS FACTS STRAIGHTS ABOUT WHAT'S HAPPENING, NUMBER ONE, BECAUSE OF ALL THE CONTRADICTORY REPORTS, TALKING WITH OUR ALLIES, WHAT ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE IS NOW DOING IN LONDON, AS WE SPEAK, TRYING TO FIGURE OUT WHAT THE ALLIES WANT TO DO. IF THEY'RE GOING TO MAKE SPECIFIC REQUESTS OF THE UNITED STATES, WE'LL LISTEN TO THOSE.

WE'RE GOING TO BE PREDISPOSED TO SUPPORT THEM IN WHAT THEY WANT TO DO.

Q HAS THE SECRETARY BEEN IN TOUCH DIRECTLY WITH ANY OF HIS COUNTERPARTS IN THIS?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T BELIEVE HE HAS THIS MORNING. HE'S BEEN IN CONTINUAL CONTACT WITH A NUMBER OF THEM OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF WEEKS. HE HAS BEEN ON THE PHONE WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE A COUPLE OF TIMES AND HE'S ALSO MET AND BEEN ON THE PHONE WITH AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT.

Q CAN I JUST FOLLOW A LITTLE BIT FURTHER. OBVIOUSLY, I THINK EVERYONE IN THE ROOM WOULD AGREE THAT THE FALL OF SREBRENICA HURTS THE CREDIBILITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND OF ALL OF ITS MEMBERS -- THE MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL -- WHO STATED THAT IT WAS A SAFE

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AREA.

HOW MUCH DAMAGE TO THE CREDIBILITY OF NATO AND THE

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CREDIBILITY OF THE UNITED STATES DO YOU THINK WAS DONE
YESTERDAY?

MR. BURNS: ADMIRAL LEIGHTON SMITH SPOKE TO THIS
QUESTION THIS MORNING. NATO DID WHAT IT WAS ASKED TO
DO. UNDER THE TERMS OF ENGAGEMENT IN THE BOSNIAN
CONFLICT, NATO

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DOES NOT HAVE THE RIGHT TO TAKE INDEPENDENT MILITARY
ACTION IN A SITUATION LIKE THE SITUATION THAT POSED
ITSELF YESTERDAY. WE'RE NOT TALKING ABOUT AIR-TO-AIR
ACTION, WHERE IT DOES HAVE THE RIGHT TO INITIATE ACTION
IF IT IS THREATENED. BUT IN THE SITUATION LIKE
YESTERDAY, NATO HAS TO HAVE A REQUEST FROM THE UNITED
NATIONS.

NATO DID WHAT IT WAS ASKED TO DO YESTERDAY. IT
ATTACKED THE TARGETS IT WAS ASKED TO ATTACK. NATO
REMAINS READY TO CARRY OUT THE SAME TYPE OF ACTION IN
THE FUTURE IF IT IS REQUESTED. I DON'T BELIEVE THE
CREDIBILITY OF NATO HAS BEEN AFFECTED BY THIS.

Q GIVEN THE 36 HOSTAGES -- THE DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS
-- AND THE LARGE VOLUME OF REFUGEES ARE IN SOME MORE OR
LESS DANGER AROUND SREBRENICA, DO THOSE TWO FACTS
FORECLOSE AIR STRIKES NOW AROUND ZEPA, WHERE I
UNDERSTAND AT LEAST TWO U.N. POSTS HAVE ALREADY FALLEN,
THAT THE CITY IS ABOUT TO GO?

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MR. BURNS: I DON'T BELIEVE IT DOES FORECLOSE NATO
AIR ACTION; NO, IT DOES NOT. IF THE UNITED NATIONS
COMMANDERS ON THE GROUND REQUEST NATO AIR SUPPORT, NATO,
OF COURSE, WILL MEET THOSE REQUESTS.

Q HAS THAT REQUEST BEEN MADE?

MR. BURNS: I'M NOT AWARE IT'S BEEN MADE IN THE CASE
OF ZEPA.

Q APPROACHES TO OUR FRIEND MR. MILOSEVIC IN THE
WAKE OF THE EVENTS YESTERDAY?

MR. BURNS: THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT MADE, TO MY
KNOWLEDGE, ANY APPROACHES TO MR. MILOSEVIC IN THE LAST
24-48 HOURS. MR. CARL BILD'T WAS IN BELGRADE RECENTLY --

A COUPLE OF DAYS AGO -- AND HAD A SERIES OF
CONVERSATIONS WITH HIM. HE'S GOING TO BE REPORTING ON
THOSE CONVERSATIONS TO THE CONTACT GROUP THIS EVENING.

Q WE'VE MADE APPEALS TO BELGRADE BEFORE. IS
THERE A REASON WHY WE WOULDN'T TRY THAT APPROACH AGAIN?

MR. BURNS: THERE'S NO REASON WE WOULDN'T TRY THE
APPROACH. I JUST DON'T HAVE ANY INFORMATION AS TO THE
NATURE OF OUR CONTACTS WITH HIM OVER THE LAST 24-48
HOURS.

Q NICK, SPEAKING TO THAT POINT, THE CONTACT GROUP
HAS SAID IT'S WILLING TO START UP NEGOTIATIONS AGAIN
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BASED ON THE MAP AND THE PLAN -- IF THE BOSNIAN SERBS
ACCEPT THE MAP AND THE PLAN. I BELIEVE THE MAP AND THE
PLAN CALLS FOR THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT TO GET THE EASTERN
ENCLAVES. DO THE BOSNIAN SERBS -- IS IT THE

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ADMINISTRATION'S POSITION THAT

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THE BOSNIAN SERBS, IN ANY CASE, WILL HAVE TO GIVE THOSE BACK TO GET THE PEACE PROCESS GOING AGAIN?

MR. BURNS: WE CONTINUE TO STAND BY THE CONTACT GROUP MAP AND PLAN. THE OFFER IS THAT THIS IS THE BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS AND THAT OFFER REMAINS ON THE TABLE.

Q SO THEY CAN'T HOLD ONTO THOSE CITIES AND GO INTO THE PEACE PROCESS?

MR. BURNS: THE OFFER REMAINS ON THE TABLE, TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS ON THE BASIS OF A MAP AND PLAN. THE SITUATION HAS, IN SOME RESPECTS, BEEN DRAMATICALLY CHANGED BY THE EVENTS OF THE LAST 24 HOURS. BUT THAT DOES NOT REDUCE OUR INTEREST IN ULTIMATELY SEEING A POLITICAL RESOLUTION OF THESE PROBLEMS.

AS WE REFLECT ON THE LAST THREE OR FOUR YEARS, AND THE EVENTS OF THE LAST COUPLE OF DAYS, IT'S CLEAR TO US THAT ALL THE ACTIVITY -- MILITARY, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC -- OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS NOT GOING TO ULTIMATELY RESOLVE THIS CONFLICT. THE BURDEN OF RESPONSIBILITY DOES REST ON THE PEOPLE OF THE AREA TO

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DECIDE THAT THEY WANT A POLITICAL PROCESS.

WE THINK THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT HAS SHOWN ITSELF VERY MUCH OPEN AND READY TO POLITICAL DISCUSSION, AND THE BOSNIAN SERB AUTHORITIES CLEARLY HAVE NOT. AS YOU LEGITIMATELY ASK A LOT OF QUESTIONS TODAY ABOUT WHAT THE UNITED STATES AND THE WESTERN RESPONSE IS GOING TO BE, ALSO ASK QUESTIONS ABOUT WHAT THE BOSNIAN SERB RESPONSIBILITIES ARE.

Q NICK, A FOLLOW-UP. IS THERE, IN THIS WORLD OF IMPERFECT CHOICES, AS YOU REFER TO IT, IS THERE SOME SENSE HERE IN THIS BUILDING THAT IF THE BOSNIAN SERBS

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WERE TO CAPTURE THE THREE ENCLAVES WHICH THEY'RE ON THE VERGE OF DOING -- THE EASTERN ENCLAVES -- THAT THEY WOULD HAVE THE MAP THEY WANT AND THEN BE WILLING TO DEAL -- WILLING TO TALK ABOUT A POLITICAL SOLUTION?

MR. BURNS: THAT WOULD BE A SIGN OF SEVERE BAD FAITH ON THE PART OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS. I DON'T BELIEVE IT'S A CREDIBLE PLACE TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS. THE CONTACT GROUP HAS MADE CLEAR WHERE THE NEGOTIATIONS CAN BEGIN.

THERE WERE SEVERAL ASSUMPTIONS THAT THE CONTACT GROUP BROUGHT TO THAT. CERTAINLY, THE FALL OF THE EASTERN ENCLAVES WAS NOT AMONG THEM.

Q REALISTICALLY, THOUGH, IF THE SERBS CAME TO YOU TOMORROW, HAVING CAPTURED SREBRENICA AND POSSIBLY ZEPA, IF THEY CAME TO YOU TOMORROW AND SAID, "OKAY, NOW WE'RE READY

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TO DEAL." YOU'RE GOING TO TURN IT DOWN? YOU'RE GOING TO SAY, OH, NO, NO, AND WALK AWAY?

MR. BURNS: I CAN'T PREDICT WHAT THE CONTACT GROUP OR WHAT THE UNITED STATES OR OTHERS WOULD DO. I THINK IT'S A FAR-FETCHED HYPOTHETICAL SITUATION THAT PROBABLY WON'T OCCUR -- THAT THEY WOULD TURN AROUND TOMORROW AND SAY WE'RE READY TO DEAL. I DON'T THINK IT'S GOING TO HAPPEN. I THINK THEY'VE CLEARLY SHOWN THAT THEY'RE SEEKING A MILITARY SOLUTION HERE.

THEY'RE SEEKING A MILITARY SOLUTION. THEY ARE ATTACKING OTHER ENCLAVES. THAT IS THE OBVIOUS WAY THEY'VE DECIDED TO PROCEED. SO NOW IT IS UP TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND OTHERS TO DECIDE WHAT THE RESPONSE TO

THIS SHOULD BE.

THE UNITED STATES HAS A DIRECT INTEREST IN THIS. WE

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HAVE VIEWS, AND WE ARE ENGAGED IN DISCUSSIONS ABOUT THAT VERY IMPORTANT QUESTION.

Q NICK, WHEN THIS PLAN WAS APPROVED BY THE MINISTERS, INCLUDING THE SECRETARY OF STATE, BACK IN BRUSSELS -- I FORGOT WHEN -- THE SECRETARY WAS ASKED WHETHER THERE ARE OTHER OPTIONS. HE SAID THERE WERE ONLY TWO OPTIONS AND BOTH WERE TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE. ONE WAS CARPET-BOMBING AND THE OTHER IS TO PULL OUT
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ENTIRELY.

YOU AND OTHERS, AND THE SECRETARY, HAVE TALKED NOW ABOUT -- IT WOULD BE NOTHING WORSE THAN TO PULL OUT. IS THAT STILL THE POSITION, THAT THE ONLY TWO THINGS THAT COULD BE DONE -- AND THEY'RE BOTH UNACCEPTABLE -- IS CARPET-BOMBING OR A PULLOUT? ISN'T THERE ANYTHING IN BETWEEN? THERE WAS LIFT-AND-STRIKE, YOU REMEMBER, IN THE CAMPAIGN. IS THERE ANY OTHER ACTION THE U.S. COULD SUGGEST OR PROPOSE SHORT OF THESE IMPOSSIBLE -- APPARENTLY -- IMPOSSIBLE, UNACCEPTABLE OPTIONS? IS THERE ANYTHING YOU CAN DO THERE MILITARILY?

MR. BURNS: I THINK THE WAY YOU DESCRIBE IT, BARRY, CARPET-BOMBING --

Q IT'S HIS WORDS.

MR. BURNS: CARPET-BOMBING IS CLEARLY NOT SOMETHING THAT COULD BE CONSIDERED IN A SITUATION LIKE IN SREBRENICA WHERE YOU HAVE REFUGEES MIXED UP WITH THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY. IT WOULDN'T BE EFFECTIVE AND IT WOULD LIKELY HURT THE PEOPLE YOU WANT TO HELP.

THERE ARE A COUPLE OF PROPOSALS OUT THERE. LET'S JUST REVIEW THEM ONCE AGAIN, BECAUSE WE DO HAVE LIVE IN A WORLD OF REALITY, NOT THE WORLD OF ILLUSIONS.

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THERE IS ONE PROPOSAL THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD

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GET INVOLVED MILITARILY AND SEEK A MILITARY SOLUTION
TURN OUR VAST MILITARY POWER TO THE ADVANTAGE OF THE
AFFLICTED POPULATIONS.

Q LIKE SENATOR LUGAR'S PROPOSAL.

MR. BURNS: THAT PROPOSAL, WE BELIEVE, WOULD NOT
HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE MUCH LESS THE
AMERICAN CONGRESS.

THERE IS ANOTHER PROPOSAL THAT BASICALLY SAYS, SINCE
THE UNITED NATIONS HAS FAILED, LET'S HAVE THE UNITED
NATIONS WITHDRAW AND LET'S LET THE SIDES FIGHT IT OUT;
LET'S ALLOW ARMS TO THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT, AND LET'S
LET THEM FIGHT IT OUT. THE PROBLEM, AGAIN, WITH THAT
PROPOSAL IS THAT WE THINK IT WOULD DO SEVERAL THINGS.

WE THINK IT WOULD LEAD TO AN INTENSIFICATION OF THE
FIGHTING, WOULD CAUSE MORE BLOODSHED FOR THE AFFLICTED
PEOPLE OF THE REGION, WOULD KILL THE PEACE PROCESS --
THE ALMOST MORIBUND PEACE PROCESS -- BUT AT LEAST THERE
IS ONE, AND THAT IT WOULD LEAD TO AN INCREASE IN THE
NUMBER OF REFUGEES AND THERE WOULD BE NO ONE THERE TO
HELP THEM BECAUSE THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE MAJOR
TROOP-CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES HAVE MADE IT ABUNDANTLY
CLEAR TO US THAT IF A UNILATERAL LIFT IS IMPOSED, THEY
WILL LEAVE.

SO, THEREFORE, WHAT COMPETENT BODY WILL BE THERE TO
HELP THE BOSNIAN PEOPLE? CERTAINLY NOT THE BOSNIAN SERB
AUTHORITIES. THAT LEAVES US WITH ANOTHER OPTION. AND

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THAT IS TO CONCLUDE THAT SINCE UNPROFOR HAS NOT DONE
VERY WELL RECENTLY, WE OUGHT NOW TO TRY TO STRENGTHEN
UNPROFOR.

THE RAPID REACTION FORCE MAY OR MAY NOT BE THE WAY
TO DO THAT. WE THINK IT CAN BE A WAY TO MAKE UNPROFOR
MORE EFFECTIVE. THAT'S NUMBER ONE -- ON THE SECURITY
SIDE.

ON THE HUMANITARIAN SIDE, WE THINK THAT UNPROFOR
REMAINING IN THE FIELD ALLOWS THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY A DIRECT CHANNEL TO HELP PEOPLE WITH FOOD,
SHELTER, WATER, AND MEDICINE. THAT'S NOT
INCONSEQUENTIAL WHEN YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT SEVERAL
MILLION PEOPLE THAT ARE DEPENDENT UPON UNPROFOR.

IT IS FAR PREFERABLE FOR US TO CONTINUE ALONG
CURRENT LINES, HOWEVER IMPERFECT OR FRUSTRATING IT MAY,
THAN TO ADOPT EITHER THESE OF OTHER TWO OPTIONS WHICH WE
THINK -- ONE HAS NO CHANCE OF BEING IMPLEMENTED, AND THE
OTHER, CLEARLY, WOULD WORSEN THE SITUATION.

Q THAT'S BASICALLY, EXCEPT FOR THE LUGAR
PROPOSAL, WHICH IS SHORT OBVIOUSLY OF CARPET-BOMBING,
THAT'S

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THE POSITION THE SECRETARY OF STATE TOOK IN BRUSSELS.
THERE HAVE BEEN OTHER SUGGESTIONS -- OTHER PEOPLE IN THE
PENTAGON CAPABLE OF SELECTING TARGETS AND CARRYING OUT
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LIMITED BOMBING; HAVING NATO CARRYING OUT LIMITED
BOMBING OPERATIONS, FOR INSTANCE.

ARE YOU SO BEREFT OF OPTIONS THAT ALL YOU CAN DO IS
EITHER ABANDON BOSNIA OR SEND IN HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS
OF AMERICAN TROOPS, WHICH YOU SAY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
WON'T SUPPORT? AREN'T THERE MILITARY MEASURES SHORT OF
THAT, THAT MIGHT GET YOUR MESSAGE ACROSS?

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MR. BURNS: AS WE USE OUR INFLUENCE TO TRY TO CONVINCED THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE TROOP-CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES TO STAY, AND IF THE CURRENT OPERATION REMAINS IN PLACE, THERE ARE, OF COURSE, IN A TACTICAL SENSE, A VARIETY OF MILITARY MEANS THAT CAN BE USED TO FURTHER THE OBJECTIVES OF THE UNITED NATIONS. SOME WERE USED YESTERDAY. THEY DID NOT MAKE A DECISIVE DIFFERENCE. BUT PERHAPS IN THE FUTURE THEY COULD UNDER ANOTHER SET OF CIRCUMSTANCES.

THE RAPID REACTION FORCE -- WHICH WILL AMOUNT TO AROUND 15,000 MEN, ADDED TO THE CURRENT FORCE -- THEY'LL BE MORE HEAVILY MECHANIZED AND MORE FULLY EQUIPPED. THAT COULD BE MAKE THE U.N. MORE EFFECTIVE AND WE HOPE IT WILL. WE HOPE THAT'S THE DECISION THAT THE U.N. COMMANDERS AND THE INDIVIDUAL DIVISION AND BATTALION COMMANDERS WILL ELECT TO MAKE IT MORE EFFECTIVE, TO STRENGTHEN UNPROFOR. THAT'S WHAT WE HOPE, AND THAT IS THE BASIS FOR OUR SUPPORT FOR CONTINUING UNPROFOR IN THE REGION.

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Q FROM LISTENING TO YOU TODAY, IT SOUNDS AS IF THE AMERICAN POSITION HAS BECOME ONE OF "KEEP UNPROFOR THERE EVEN IF IT IS ABLE TO FULFILL ONLY A SMALL FRACTION OF ITS MANDATE." IS THAT CORRECT?

MR. BURNS: NOT FULLY. NOT FULLY CORRECT. NO, NOT

FULLY BECAUSE I THINK IT BEGS ANOTHER QUESTION, AND THAT IS, HOW DOES THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY RESPOND TO YESTERDAY'S EVENTS WHERE AN ENCLAVE THAT IT WAS PLEDGED TO PROTECT WAS NOT PROTECTED SUCCESSFULLY? THAT RESPONSE WILL BE FORTHCOMING BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THAT IS A RESPONSE THAT IS BEING DEVELOPED TODAY AND PROBABLY THE NEXT COUPLE OF DAYS.

WE HAVE DECIDED THAT WE NEED TO HAVE VERY GOOD

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CONVERSATIONS WITH OUR ALLIES ABOUT WHAT THAT RESPONSE WILL BE. I'M NOT IN A POSITION TO ANTICIPATE WHAT THE DECISION OF FRANCE, BRITAIN, AND THE DUTCH WILL BE; WHAT BOUTROS GHALI'S DECISION WILL BE, BUT WE'RE CERTAINLY INVOLVED IN

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IT. I THINK THAT'S ANOTHER PART OF THE MATRIX THAT YOU HAVE CONSTRUCTED FOR US.

Q I HAVE QUESTIONS ABOUT PAST AMERICAN COMMITMENTS. IS THE UNITED STATES PREPARED NOW, IF THERE IS A REQUEST BY THE PEACEKEEPERS ON THE GROUND TO
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PUT ITS OWN FORCES IN FOR EMERGENCY EXTRACTION?

MR. BURNS: WE ARE PREPARED, AS WE'VE SAID IN THE PAST, I THINK, IN THE PRESENT SITUATION, TO SUPPORT OUR ALLIES IN RESPONDING TO THE SITUATION IN SREBRENICA. I'M NOT AWARE THAT THERE WILL BE A REQUEST FOR EMERGENCY EXTRACTION IN THIS PARTICULAR CASE OF THE FACT THAT 350-400 DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS ARE, IN EFFECT, STRANDED BETWEEN THEIR FORMER BASE AND TRYING TO FIND SAFE HAVEN OUTSIDE OF THE AREA. SO THAT'S A HYPOTHETICAL AT THIS POINT.

RIGHT NOW, I THINK WE'RE DEALING WITH ANOTHER KIND OF QUESTION; THAT IS, WHAT WILL BE THE RESPONSE OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO THE FACT THAT AN ENCLAVE HAS FALLEN AND THAT OTHER ENCLAVES -- THE EASTERN ENCLAVES -- ARE UNDER DIRECT AND VERY SERIOUS ATTACK? THERE HAS TO BE SOME KIND OF INTERNATIONAL DECISION ABOUT THAT RATHER IMPORTANT QUESTION.

NOW, YOU'VE ASKED A DIFFERENT QUESTION BEYOND THAT QUESTION. IF SOME OF THE NATO COUNTRIES -- THE TROOPS FROM NATO COUNTRIES -- FIND THEMSELVES IN POSITIONS WHERE THEY MUST BE EXTRACTED, WILL THE UNITED STATES

RESPOND? I THINK THAT THE PRESIDENT AND OTHERS HAVE

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SPOKEN TO THAT.

IN ITS FULLEST DIMENSION, IF THERE IS TO BE A
WITHDRAWAL OF UNPROFOR SOMETIME IN THE FUTURE, THERE IS
A CONTINGENCY PLAN -- 4104, NATO OPERATIONS PLAN -, IN
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PLACE TO ACCOMPLISH THAT. NO ONE IS NOW REQUESTING
THAT. IT REMAINS A CONTINGENCY PLAN. IT'S NOT AN
ACTIVE OPERATIONAL PLAN AT THIS POINT.

THE OTHER QUESTION YOU HAVE ASKED IS PERHAPS IN A
MORE LIMITED WAY -- WOULD WE RESPOND TO A REQUEST FOR
HELP. THESE ARE OUR NATO ALLIES, AND SO OF COURSE WE'D
RESPOND TO THEIR REQUEST FOR HELP IN THAT TYPE OF
SITUATION, BUT IT'S A HYPOTHETICAL SITUATION AT THIS
POINT.

Q HOW ABOUT UKRAINIANS, SINCE THEY'RE NOT NATO
ALLIES, ARE THEY?

MR. BURNS: UKRAINE IS NOT A NATO ALLY OF THE UNITED
STATES, BUT UKRAINE IS A MEMBER OF UNPROFOR AND IS A
TROOP-CONTRIBUTING CONTINGENT, AND WE'RE JUST GOING TO
HAVE TO TAKE THINGS ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS.

Q RUSSIA HAS BEEN ONE OF THE MAIN PROBLEMS FOR
UNPROFOR TO HAVE TO ACT IN BOSNIA. WHERE DO THEY

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STAND NOW, AND WHAT ARE YOU DOING TO TRY TO TAKE THEM ON
THE BOAT, BECAUSE THEY HAVE BEEN HOLDING UP THE WHOLE
THING? THE RUSSIANS ARE THE PROBLEM.

MR. BURNS: I THINK THE BOSNIAN SERBS ARE THE
PROBLEM, AND I WOULD --

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Q WELL, FOR UNPROFOR TO ACT.

MR. BURNS: I WOULD GIVE THEM FIRST PLACE, PROBABLY SECOND, THIRD AND FOURTH PLACE. I DON'T THINK THE RUSSIANS SHOULD BE PUT IN THE COMPANY OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS. THE RUSSIANS ARE AN IMPORTANT PARTNER OF OURS IN THE CONTACT GROUP AND WE'LL KNOW A LOT MORE ABOUT THE RUSSIAN POSITION AFTER THIS EVENING'S MEETING.

BUT BY AND LARGE, WE'VE HAD VERY GOOD COOPERATION

FROM THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF MONTHS. LET ME JUST CITE AGAIN THE NOORDWIJK MEETING OF THE CONTACT GROUP FOREIGN MINISTERS. WHEN FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV WAS VERY OPEN IN HIS SUPPORT FOR STRENGTHENING UNPROFOR, FOR DEPLOYING A RAPID REACTION FORCE, AND FOR THE UNITED STATES' EFFORT TO TRY TO COME TO SOME KIND OF ARRANGEMENT WITH MR. MILOSEVIC.

WE'VE HAD GOOD COOPERATION WITH THE RUSSIANS. WE'RE NOT IN A POSITION TO PUBLICLY TAKE ANY ISSUE WITH THEM.

Q THERE ARE A COUPLE OF PARTICULAR POLICY QUESTIONS I PRESUME WILL BE DEBATED IN THE CONTEXT OF THIS CONTACT GROUP MEETING AND OTHER DISCUSSIONS WITH THEIR ALLIES. ONE IS WHAT ACTION SHOULD BE TAKEN AGAINST SERB ANTIAIRCRAFT SYSTEMS IN BOSNIA. YESTERDAY NOT ALL OF THE PLANES WERE ABLE TO DROP THEIR ORDNANCE, BECAUSE THERE WAS SO MUCH ANTIAIRCRAFT FIRE.

ANOTHER IS THE MT. IGMAN ROAD AND WHETHER THE RAPID
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REACTION FORCE SHOULD MAKE IT ITS JOB TO SECURE IT OR NOT. THERE'S BEEN DISAGREEMENT ON THAT. DOES THE U.S. HAVE A POSITION ON THOSE TWO POLICY ISSUES AND ANY OTHER

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SPECIFIC QUESTIONS LIKE THAT ABOUT ENFORCING UNPROFOR'S EFFECTIVENESS?

MR. BURNS: ON THE SECOND ISSUE, I BELIEVE THE FRENCH HAVE MADE IT CLEAR TO US THAT THEY WOULD LIKE TO KEEP THE MT. IGMAN ROAD OPEN. INDIVIDUAL FRENCH SOLDIERS HAVE TRIED TO KEEP THAT ROAD OPEN BY NIGHT CONVOYS OVER THE LAST TWO WEEKS IN VERY COURAGEOUS ACTIONS, AND WE FULLY SUPPORT THAT.

THERE'S AN IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATION TO TRY TO KEEP SUPPLY LINES INTO SARAJEVO OPEN, AND WE CERTAINLY STAND BY THOSE OBLIGATIONS.

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ON THE FIRST QUESTION, IT'S A RATHER DIFFICULT QUESTION TO ANSWER. WE'LL JUST HAVE TO SEE WHAT TRANSPIRES IN THE FUTURE IN TERMS OF NATO AIR ACTIONS, BUT CERTAINLY NATO HAS THE RIGHT AND NATO AIRCRAFT HAVE THE RIGHT TO PROTECT THEMSELVES. THEY TOOK MEASURES TO DO THAT YESTERDAY. THERE WERE MISSILES FIRED BACK AT THEM YESTERDAY, BUT FORTUNATELY NONE OF THE PLANES WERE HIT.

THANK YOU.

Q ANOTHER SUBJECT?

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MR. BURNS: ANOTHER SUBJECT?

Q QUICK QUESTION. APPARENTLY THE BOLIVIAN GOVERNMENT HAS UNDERTAKEN A PROGRAM OF FORCIBLE ERADICATION OF THE COCA CROP. DID THEY DO THIS UNDER PRESSURE FROM THE U.S., AND IS THE U.S. PLEASED ABOUT THIS?

MR. BURNS: I CAN TELL YOU, JUDD, THAT WE HAVE MADE NO DEMAND FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF BOLIVIA TO ENGAGE IN A PROGRAM OF FORCED ERADICATION OF COCA. WE HAVE

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ENCOURAGED THE GOVERNMENT OF BOLIVIA TO CONTINUE ITS PROGRAM OF ERADICATING COCA FIELDS BUT COMPENSATING FARMERS WHO HAVE HAD THOSE FIELDS.

WE SUPPORT THE EFFORTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BOLIVIA TO MEET THE TARGETS OF ITS OWN NARCOTICS LAW, WHICH IS THE ERADICATION OF 5,000 HECTARES OF COCA PER YEAR.

THANK YOU.

END TEXT. CHRISTOPHER

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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OPRC

SUBJECT: EUR DAILY PRESS GUIDANCE - JULY 12, 1995

PARIS ALSO FOR USOECD, ROME ALSO FOR VATICAN, USVIENNA FOR USDEL
CSCE

1. THE FOLLOWING PRESS GUIDANCE WAS PREPARED AND APPROVED BY THE BUREAU OF EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING. QUESTIONS SHOULD BE REFERRED TO ARIC SCHWAN, EUR PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

2. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: BALKAN POLICY POINTS

- WE CONDEMN THE SERB ATTACK ON SREBRENICA (SREH-BREH-NEET-SAH). WE STRONGLY SUPPORT THE REESTABLISHMENT OF THE UN MANDATE AND THE REASSERTION OF UN CAPABILITIES IN BOSNIA.
- WE CALL ON THE SERBS TO RELEASE ALL UN PERSONNEL AND TO PERMIT THE DELIVERY OF HUMANITARIAN AID TO THE BOSNIAN REFUGEES.
- WE SUPPORT UNPROFOR AND ITS CONTINUATION
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BECAUSE IT HAS MADE SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE WELFARE OF THE BOSNIAN PEOPLE AND ITS WITHDRAWAL WOULD TRIGGER A HUMANITARIAN DISASTER. WE BELIEVE THE RAPID REACTION FORCE OFFERS THE BEST MEANS TO STRENGTHEN UNPROFOR'S ABILITY TO CARRY OUT ITS MANDATE.

- THE SITUATION IS FLUID. THE US INTENDS TO REVIEW THE SITUATION WITH THE CONTACT GROUP PARTNERS TONIGHT IN LONDON.

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- THERE ARE NO GOOD ALTERNATIVES BUT WE BELIEVE CONTINUED US SUPPORT FOR UNPROFOR REMAINS THE BEST WAY TO PROCEED.

IF ASKED ABOUT CHIRAC

- WE WILL, THEREFORE, BE PREPARED TO SUPPORT OUR NATO ALLIES AS THEY CONSIDER THE NEXT STEPS.
- SO FAR, THERE HAS NOT BEEN A REQUEST FOR US SUPPORT AND NO REQUEST FOR NATO EXTRACTION.

3. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: SITUATION UPDATE

Q: SITUATION IN SREBRENICA?

A: -- SERB FORCES HAVE OVERRUN THE SREBRENICA ENCLAVE, FORCING DUTCH UN PEACEKEEPERS
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STATIONED IN THE TOWN AND AN ESTIMATED 30,000 REFUGEES TO FLEE TO THE UN CAMP AT POTOCARI (POH-TOH-CHAR-EE), THREE MILES NORTH OF SREBRENICA. ABOUT 8,000 MORE BOSNIANS ARE EXPECTED TO MAKE THEIR WAY TO THE CAMP TODAY.

- THE LATEST REPORTS ARE THAT THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY IS IN CONTROL OF THE ENTIRE ENCLAVE. THIS MORNING THE SERBS ENTERED THE UN CAMP AT POTOCARI AND DISTRIBUTED SOME FOOD TO THE REFUGEES.
- THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE SAID THEY PLAN TO SHIFT THOUSANDS OF THE REFUGEES THREE MILES EAST TO A FOOTBALL STADIUM IN BRATUNAC (BRAH-TOO-NATZ).
- 36 DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS ARE CURRENTLY HELD CAPTIVE NEAR BRATUNAC. THE UN REPORTS THE SERBS CAPTURED TWO MORE UN OBSERVATION POSTS

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LATE YESTERDAY ADDING SIX MORE DUTCH PRISONERS TO THE 30 PREVIOUSLY HELD.

- UNHCR REPORTS THAT THERE IS VIRTUALLY NO FOOD OR WATER FOR THE REFUGEES IN POTOCARI AND AID WORKERS FEAR A HUMANITARIAN DISASTER UNLESS THE BOSNIAN SERBS PERMIT THE DELIVERY OF AID PREPOSITIONED IN SERBIA TO THE UN CAMP. MEDICAL SUPPLIES FOR THE MORE THAN 70 WOUNDED IN POTOCARI ARE LOW.
 - THE UN IS WORKING ON EVACUATING THE REFUGEES
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TO THE AREA OF TUZLA (TOOZ-LAH), WHERE THERE ARE ADEQUATE SUPPLIES FOR THE REFUGEES. THE UN STRESSES THAT ONLY THOSE REFUGEES WHO WISH TO LEAVE THE ENCLAVE WILL BE TRANSPORTED.

Q: STATUS OF ZEPA?

- A: -- UN OFFICIALS REPORT THAT BOSNIAN SERB TROOPS ARE MASSING TO THE NORTH AND SOUTH OF ZEPA (ZEH-PAH), ANOTHER UN DESIGNATED "SAFE AREA" NINE MILES SOUTHWEST OF SREBRENICA. THE ENCLAVE HAS BEEN UNDER ATTACK FOR THE PAST TWO DAYS, WITH INCREASED SHELLING REPORTED OVERNIGHT.
- 90 UKRANIAN UN PEACEKEEPERS ARE STATIONED IN THE AREA, WHICH IS INHABITED BY 16,000 BOSNIANS, MOSTLY MUSLIM REFUGEES FROM FIGHTING ELSEWHERE.

4. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: DIPLOMATIC UPDATE

Q: NATO AND UN RESPONSE?

- A: -- THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL IS REVIEWING THE SITUATION OF SREBRENICA AND THE OTHER ENCLAVES

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- A. -- THE COUNCIL IS CONSIDERING A RESOLUTION DEMANDING THAT SREBRENICA'S SAFE AREA STATUS BE RESTORED AND REQUESTING THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO USE ALL RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO ACCOMPLISH THIS OBJECTIVE.
- PREVIOUS UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS HAVE AUTHORIZED UNPROFOR TO USE FORCE IN AND AROUND THE SAFE AREAS.
- (IF PRESSED ON THE USE OF FORCE) THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND WILL INFLUENCE HOW THE UN ACTS.

6. TURKEY/IRAQ: TURKISH INCURSION INTO NORTHERN IRAQ

- Q: CAN WE CONFIRM THAT ALL TURKISH TROOPS HAVE LEFT IRAQ?
- A: -- YESTERDAY, TURKEY'S MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ISSUED A STATEMENT THAT ALL TURKISH TROOPS HAVE COMPLETED THEIR MISSION AND RETURNED TO TURKEY.

(BACKGROUND)

- WHILE WE CANNOT CONFIRM ABSOLUTELY THAT ALL TROOPS HAVE LEFT IRAQ, TO THE BEST OF OUR
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KNOWLEDGE ALL OPERATIONS HAVE CEASED.

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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OPRC

SUBJECT: EUR DAILY PRESS GUIDANCE - JULY 17, 1995

PARIS ALSO FOR USOECD, ROME ALSO FOR VATICAN, USVIENNA FOR USDEL
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2. STATEMENT BY NICHOLAS BURNS, SPOKESMAN
BOSNIA: ASSISTANT SECRETARY PHYLLIS OAKLEY IN TUZLA

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS EXTREMELY CONCERNED ABOUT THE PLIGHT OF THE THOUSANDS OF DISPLACED PEOPLE WHO WERE BRUTALLY EXPELLED FROM THEIR HOMES IN SREBRENICA BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS. THE SECRETARY HAS ASKED ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR POPULATION, REFUGEES, AND MIGRATION PHYLLIS E. OAKLEY TO GO TO TUZLA TO PERSONALLY ASSESS AND REPORT ON THE
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SITUATION ON THE GROUND.

MRS. OAKLEY LEFT GENEVA EARLY THIS MORNING AT 7 A.M. LOCAL TIME, TOGETHER WITH UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES SADAKO OGATA, FOR SPLIT. FROM THERE, THEY FLEW BY HELICOPTER TO TUZLA. MRS. OAKLEY WAS ACCOMPANIED BY OUR AMBASSADOR IN GENEVA DAN SPIEGEL. THEY ARE EXPECTED TO RETURN TO GENEVA THIS EVENING.

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MRS. OAKLEY IS VISITING THE CAMPS BEING SET UP TO HOUSE THE DISPLACED AND IS MEETING WITH UN OFFICIALS ON THE GROUND, AS WELL AS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF AMERICAN NGOS WORKING IN THE AREA. A MEMBER OF USAID'S DISASTER ASSISTANCE RESPONSE TEAM (DART) AND THE REFUGEE COORDINATOR FROM OUR EMBASSY IN ZAGREB ARE ALSO SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE IN TUZLA TODAY.

SHE WILL SPEND THE NEXT TWO DAYS IN GENEVA, WHERE SHE WILL ATTEND A MEETING OF THE HUMANITARIAN ISSUES WORKING GROUP OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA, CHAIRED BY MRS. OGATA. SHE WILL ALSO MEET WITH WITH PRESIDENT CORNELIO SOMMARUGA OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS (ICRC) AND UN OFFICIALS ON WAYS TO ALLEVIATE THE PLIGHT OF THE THOUSANDS OF DISPLACED WHO HAVE TAKEN REFUGE IN TUZLA.

MRS. OAKLEY IS EXPECTED TO RETURN TO
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WASHINGTON ON THURSDAY AND WILL REPORT ON HER FINDINGS TO THE SECRETARY.

THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN RESPONDING TO THE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA SINCE 1991 AND HAS CONTRIBUTED OVER 900 MILLION DOLLARS IN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE SINCE THE CONFLICT BEGAN. WE HAVE CONTRIBUTED OVER 130 MILLION TO DATE IN FY 1995 AND ARE PREPARED TO RESPOND TO THE PRESENT CRISIS WITH ADDITIONAL ASSISTANCE.

3. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: BALKAN POLICY POINTS

-- WE ARE WORKING WITH OUR ALLIES TO DEVELOP AN EFFECTIVE RESPONSE TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS' CONTINUED DEFIANCE OF UN MANDATES AND

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RESOLUTIONS.

- WE SUPPORT THE STRENGTHENING OF UNPROFOR TO ENABLE IT TO PROTECT UN-DESIGNATED SAFE HAVENS.
- THE BOSNIAN SERBS SHOULD IMMEDIATELY RELEASE ALL UN PERSONNEL AND ALLOW INTERNATIONAL MONITORS FULL ACCESS TO THE MEN AND BOYS HELD AS P.O.W.'S IN BRATUNAC (BRAH-TOO-NATZ).
- WE EMPHASIZE OUR DEEP CONCERN FOR THE WELL-BEING OF CIVILIANS AND P.O.W.'S, AND OUR
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COMMITMENT TO SEE PERPETRATORS OF WAR CRIMES
BROUGHT TO JUSTICE.

4. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS

- Q: UPDATE ON LONDON MEETING OF MILITARY CHIEFS? A
MINISTERIAL MEETING?
- A: -- MILITARY CHIEFS FROM FRANCE, BRITAIN, AND THE
UNITED STATES MET IN LONDON TO CONSIDER OUR
MILITARY OPTIONS IN BOSNIA.
- GENERAL SHALIKASHVILI, CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT
CHIEFS OF STAFF, REPRESENTED THE UNITED STATES
AND HAS REPORTED BACK THIS MORNING TO THE
PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER.
- WE ARE NOT ABLE TO COMMENT ON THE SUBSTANCE OF
THESE TALKS AT THIS TIME EXCEPT TO SAY THAT WE
CONTINUE TO WORK WITH FRANCE, THE UK AND OTHER
TROUP CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES ON STEPS TO
STRENGTHEN UNPROFOR.
- THE DISCUSSIONS WILL CONTINUE ON FRIDAY WITH A
SENIOR MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE IN LONDON.

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-- SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER WILL ATTEND THE JULY 21 MEETING IN LONDON TO CONSIDER THE BOSNIA SITUATION WITH OUR ALLIES AND OTHER COUNTRIES.
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-- HE WILL ALSO SEE BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY RIFKIND HERE TUESDAY AND WEDNESDAY.

5. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: SITUATION UPDATE

Q: STATUS OF ZEPA?

A: -- THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY STANDS WITHIN ONE MILE OF THE SAFE HAVEN OF ZEPA (ZEH-PAH), HOME TO 15,000 BOSNIAN CIVILIANS.

-- GOVERNMENT FORCES CONFISCATED LIGHT ARMS FROM THE PEACEKEEPERS TO USE AGAINST THE ATTACKING SERB FORCES. HOWEVER, THE BOSNIAN ARMY HAS BEEN ABLE TO MOUNT ONLY LIGHT RESISTANCE TO THE SERBS.

-- THE UN REPORTS THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE LAID MINES AROUND THE UN'S LAST OBSERVATION POST IN ZEPA AND HAVE THREATENED TO SHELL THE TRAPPED PEACEKEEPERS IF NATO PLANES TAKE ANY ACTION AGAINST THE SERB ARMY.

(IF ASKED)

-- THE UN PEACEKEEPERS HAVE NOT ASKED NATO FOR ASSISTANCE IN THE ENCLAVE.

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6. CROATIA

Q: FIGHTING IN THE CROATIAN TOWN OF OSIJEK?

A: -- FIGHTING ERUPTED THIS WEEKEND IN THE CROATIAN
 TOWN OF OSIJEK (OH-SEE-YEK), IN THE FIRST
 ATTACK ON THE TOWN SINCE 1992.

-- ON SATURDAY MORNING, REBEL SERB FORCES LAUNCHED
AN ARTILLERY BARRAGE AT THE TOWN, WHICH LIES
ON THE BORDER OF UN SECTOR EAST. 15 SHELLS
REPORTEDLY LANDED ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF THE TOWN.

-- ON SUNDAY, THE CROATIAN ARMY RESPONDED TO A
STEPPED UP SERBIAN ASSAULT. REBEL FORCES
ADVANCED TOWARD THE NORTH OF THE TOWN AND TWO
SHELLS EXPLODED INSIDE OSIJEK.

-- THE CROATS REPORTED TWO KILLED AND EIGHT
WOUNDED IN THE FIGHTING.

7. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: STATUS OF REFUGEES

-- UNHCR REPORTS THAT TUZLA HAS RECEIVED ROUGHLY
23,000 REFUGEES FROM SREBRENICA
(SREH-BREH-NEET-SAH). APPROXIMATELY 15,000
REFUGEES STILL REMAIN UNACCOUNTED FOR AND THE
BOSNIAN SERBS STILL HOLD 4,000 MEN AND BOYS IN
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A FOOTBALL STADIUM IN BRATUNAC.

-- ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE OAKLEY WILL
TRAVEL WITH THE UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR
REFUGEES OGATU TO TUZLA TODAY TO INSPECT THE

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CONDITIONS OF THE REFUGEES.

- THE RED CROSS HAS REPORTED THAT THE BOSNIAN SERB LEADERSHIP HAS AGREED TO ALLOW INTERNATIONAL INSPECTORS TO SEE THE PRISONERS IN BRATUNAC, BUT THE SERBS SAY THEY MUST WAIT DUE TO SO-CALLED "SECURITY REASONS."
- THE BOSNIAN SERBS SAID YESTERDAY THEY WILL ALLOW AID WORKERS TO EVACUATE 102 WOUNDED FROM SREBRENICA. THE RED CROSS AND UNPROFOR WILL ATTEMPT TODAY TO MOVE 46 PEOPLE FROM MEDICAL FACILITIES IN BRATUNAC AND 56 FROM POTOCARI (POH-TOH-CHAR-EE).

Q: REPORTS OF ATROCITIES?

- A: -- AS YOU KNOW, MANY OF THE REFUGEES OF SREBRENICA HAVE REPORTED SERIOUS ABUSES OF HUMAN RIGHTS--INCLUDING RAPE AND MURDER--BY THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY DURING THEIR CAPTURE OF THE CITY.
- THESE REPORTS CANNOT BE INDEPENDENTLY CONFIRMED BECAUSE THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE CONSTRAINED THE MOVEMENTS OF UN PERSONNEL AND
- UNCLASSIFIED

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INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN WORKERS.

- HOWEVER, WE FEAR THAT A GREAT DEAL OF THESE REPORTS MAY BE TRUE. WE WILL HOLD THE BOSNIAN SERB LEADERSHIP ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE ACTIONS OF THEIR TROOPS.

Q: STATUS OF DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS?

- A: -- WE HAVE REPORTS THAT 75 DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS WERE RELEASED BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS ON SATURDAY AND WERE BUSED TO SERBIA.
- NEGOTIATIONS ON THE DEPARTURE OF THE REMAINING

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DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS IN SREBRENICA CONTINUE.

-- THE DUTCH WISH TO REMAIN UNTIL ALL WOUNDED
HAVE BEEN EVACUATED FROM THE ENCLAVE AND
INTERNATIONAL MONITORS RECEIVE ACCESS TO ALL
P.O.W.S IN THE ENCLAVE.

8. CZECH: STATUS OF VISA WAIVER PROGRAM

Q: IS THE CZECH REPUBLIC GOING TO PARTICIPATE IN THE
VISA WAIVER PILOT PROGRAM (VWPP)?

A: -- STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS HAVE HAD A NUMBER
OF MEETINGS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CZECH
REPUBLIC, INCLUDING MOST RECENTLY ON FRIDAY,
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JULY 14, REGARDING ITS POSSIBLE FUTURE
PARTICIPATION IN THE VISA WAIVER PILOT PROGRAM
(VWPP).

-- AT THE PRESENT TIME, THE CZECH REPUBLIC DOES
NOT QUALIFY FOR INCLUSION IN THE VISA WAIVER
PILOT PROGRAM.

-- WE WILL CONSIDER NOMINATING THE CZECH REPUBLIC
FOR MEMBERSHIP AS SOON AS IT SATISFIES ALL
STATUTORY REQUIREMENTS FOR INCLUSION INTO THE
PROGRAM.

9. FRANCE: CHIRAC ADMISSION ON DEPORTATIONS

Q: WHAT IS OUR REACTION TO PRESIDENT CHIRAC'S
ADMISSION THAT THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT COOPERATED
WITH THE NAZIS DURING WWII?

A: -- WE RECOGNIZE PRESIDENT CHIRAC'S STATEMENT AS
COURAGEOUS AND FORTHRIGHT.

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-- WE INTERPRET PRESIDENT CHIRAC'S WORDS AS BEING
CONSONANT WITH THE SPIRIT OF RECONCILIATION
WHICH THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE WAR HAVE ADOPTED
IN THIS 50TH YEAR AFTER THE END OF THAT
TERRIBLE CONFLICT.

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TAGS: OPRC

SUBJECT: EUR DAILY PRESS GUIDANCE - JULY 14, 1995

PARIS ALSO FOR USOECD, ROME ALSO FOR VATICAN, USVIENNA FOR USDEL
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2. BALKAN POLICY POINTS

- WE SUPPORT PRESIDENT CHIRAC'S DESIRE TO RESTORE THE INTEGRITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS' MANDATE IN THE FACE OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS' FLAGRANT AND REPEATED VIOLATIONS. WE ARE DISCUSSING FUTURE ACTIONS WITH OUR ALLIES BUT BELIEVE IT WOULD BE PREMATURE TO COMMENT ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THOSE TALKS AT THIS TIME.
- WE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT REPORTS OF
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SERIOUS ABUSES OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN SREBRENICA (SREH-BREH-NEET-SAH). WHILE WE CANNOT CONFIRM THESE REPORTS AT THIS TIME, THE WORLD HOLDS THE BOSNIAN SERB LEADERSHIP RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SAFETY OF ALL REFUGEES IN THE ENCLAVE.

- WE DEMAND THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS RESPECT THE DESIGNATION OF UN SAFE AREAS, IMMEDIATELY RELEASE ALL UN PERSONNEL AND ALLOW UNHCR FULL ACCESS TO ALL REMAINING REFUGEES IN THE

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ENCLAVE, PARTICULARLY THE MEN AND BOYS HELD IN ISOLATION IN BRATUNAC (BRAH-TOO-NATZ).

3. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS

Q: REACTION TO FRENCH PROPOSAL? WHAT ARE THEY PROPOSING?

A: -- YESTERDAY FRENCH PRESIDENT CHIRAC CALLED FOR LIMITED MILITARY ACTION TO REASSERT THE UN'S MANDATE TO PROTECT THE DESIGNATED SAFE HAVENS.

-- PRESIDENT CLINTON SHARES FRANCE'S BELIEF THAT WE MUST RESTORE THE INTEGRITY OF THE UN MISSION TO PROTECT INNOCENT CIVILIANS.

-- WE STRONGLY BELIEVE THAT UNPROFOR'S MISSION SHOULD CONTINUE. THE UN HAS MADE A
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SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE WELFARE OF THE BOSNIAN PEOPLE AND WITHDRAWAL WOULD LEAD TO AN EVEN GREATER HUMANITARIAN DISASTER THAN WE HAVE SEEN THIS WEEK IN SREBRENICA.

-- WE STAND READY TO SUPPORT OUR ALLIES WHO HAVE TROOPS ON THE GROUND IN BOSNIA.

-- DISCUSSIONS ARE ON-GOING TODAY WITH FRANCE, UK, GERMANY AND UN.

-- WE NEED A MORE PRECISE UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT IS BEING PROPOSED BEFORE WE CAN RESPOND.

-- PRIMARY US OBJECTIVES ARE UN SHOULD STAY AND BE MORE EFFECTIVE AND SUPPORT OF NATO ALLIES IS CRITICAL.

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4. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: ATROCITY REPORTS

Q: REPORTS OF ATROCITIES?

A: -- THE UN HAS RECEIVED REPORTS OF RAPE AND MURDER
BY THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY FROM SOME REFUGEES
ARRIVING AT THE UN CAMP IN TUZLA (TOOZ-LAH) .
AID WORKERS ALSO ESTIMATE THAT SEVERAL
THOUSAND REFUGEES ARE UNACCOUNTED FOR.

-- WE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED BY THE REPORTS. THE
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US AND INT'L COMMUNITY WILL HOLD BOSNIAN SERBS
RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR ACTIONS AND SAFETY OF
ALL REFUGEES.

-- THE DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS AND THE UNHCR IN
SREBRENICA ARE ATTEMPTING TO MONITOR THE
TREATMENT OF REFUGEES, BUT THE BOSNIAN SERBS
HAVE BANNED UN PEACEKEEPERS FROM THE
DEPORTATION STAGING AREA.

-- THESE REPORTS UNDERLIE THE NECESSITY OF
PERMITTING INTERNATIONAL MONITORS UNIMPEDED
ACCESS TO ALL AREAS IN THE ENCLAVE.

Q: WHAT ABOUT THE DETAINED MEN?

-- WE REMAIN CONCERNED ABOUT THE UP TO 3,000 MEN
AND BOYS WHO ARE REPORTEDLY BEING HELD IN
SEVERAL AREAS IN THE TOWN OF BRATUNAC.

-- SO FAR THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS HAVE
BEEN DENIED ACCESS TO BRATUNAC.

-- IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITIES
HAVE ACCESS TO THESE PRISONERS OF WAR IN
ACCORDANCE WITH THE LAWS OF WAR FOLLOWED BY
CIVILIZED NATIONS.

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5. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: SITUATION UPDATE
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Q: STATUS OF UN PEACEKEEPERS IN SREBRENICA?

A: -- THE DUTCH DEFENSE MINISTRY REPORTS THAT ANOTHER SEVEN DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS WERE CAPTURED YESTERDAY AFTER SURRENDERING THEIR OBSERVATION POST TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS. THE NUMBER OF DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS BEING HELD BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS IS NOW 55.

-- WE CONDEMN IN THE STRONGEST TERMS THE TAKING OF PEACEKEEPERS AS HOSTAGES AND HOLD THE BOSNIAN SERB LEADERSHIP PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR SAFETY.

-- THE UN IS CONTINUING ITS EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE THE RELEASE OF THE UN HOSTAGES.

-- THE REMAINING PEACEKEEPERS ARE AIDING THE FEW REFUGEES WHO REMAIN AT THE UN CAMP IN POTOCARI (POH-TOH-CHAR-REE). THE DUTCH HAVE SAID THEY WILL REMAIN UNTIL THE SAFETY OF ALL REFUGEES, INCLUDING THOSE DETAINED IN BRATANUC, CAN BE ASSURED.

-- WE REITERATE OUR SUPPORT FOR THE BRAVE EFFORTS OF THE DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS TO AID THE REFUGEES OF SREBRENICA.

Q: STATUS OF REFUGEES FROM SREBRENICA?
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- A: -- ALMOST ALL OF THE REFUGEES HAVE BEEN EVACUATED FROM POTOCARI. 59 WOUNDED REMAIN IN THE COMPOUND, AND AN UNDETERMINED NUMBER OF SREBRENICA INHABITANTS HAVE ELECTED TO REMAIN AT THE CAMP FOR THE PRESENT.
- THE UNHCR REPORTS THAT 10,000 REFUGEES ARE CURRENTLY STAYING AT A UN-CONTROLLED AIRBASE IN TUZLA. AS OF EARLY THIS MORNING, ANOTHER 2,000 HAVE ARRIVED IN THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED TOWN OF KLADANJ (KLAH-DAH-N-YAH). MORE ARE EXPECTED LATER TODAY.
- ALTHOUGH THERE IS ENOUGH FOOD FOR THE REFUGEES, THERE ARE NO ADEQUATE FACILITIES TO SHELTER THE TENS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE WHO HAVE ARRIVED FROM SREBRENICA. THE REFUGEES ARE TEMPORARILY BEING HOUSED IN AIRHANGERS AND TENTS. THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT HAS AGREED TO COOPERATE WITH THE UNHCR IN FINDING PROPER SHELTER FOR THE REFUGEES.
- WE DEMAND THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS RESPECT DESIGNATION OF UN SAFE AREAS, RELEASE ALL UN PERSONNEL, AND ALLOW UNHCR FULL ACCESS.

Q: FIGHTING ELSEWHERE IN BOSNIA?

- A: -- THE TOWN OF ZEPA (ZEH-PAH) IS UNDER ASSAULT THIS MORNING. THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT HAS
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REPORTED THAT THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY IS ADVANCING ON THE CITY FROM THE NORTH AND THE SOUTHEAST.

- THE UN HAS REPORTED THAT THE SERBS HAVE FIRED

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ON THE 79 UKRANIAN PEACEKEEPERS STATIONED THERE. ONE PEACEKEEPER WAS SERIOUSLY WOUNDED IN THE ATTACK.

- THE SERBIAN COMMANDERS HAVE DEMANDED THAT THE PEACEKEEPERS LAY DOWN THEIR WEAPONS AND LEAVE THE AREA.
- FIGHTING WAS ALSO REPORTED IN THE EASTERN ENCLAVE OF GORAZDE (GOR-AHZ-DAY). BOSNIAN RADIO REPORTED THAT ONE CIVILIAN WAS KILLED AND SIX WERE INJURED IN THE LAST 24 HOURS OF FIGHTING.
- ZEPA AND GORAZDE ARE BOTH ENCLAVES IN EASTERN BOSNIA DESIGNATED AS "SAFE AREAS" BY THE UN.

6. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: INTERNATIONAL RELIEF EFFORTS

Q: INTERNATIONAL RELIEF EFFORTS?

A: -- THE US GOVERNMENT IS POISED TO REpond TO THE INCREASE IN HUMANITARIAN NEEDS IN EASTERN BOSNIA WITH SPECIFIC EMERGENCY RELIEF PROGRAMS
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TARGETED AT MEETING THE NEEDS OF THE ESTIMATED 40,000 REFUGEES OF SRBRENICA.

- THE US GOVERNMENT HAS APPROVED ADDITIONAL FUNDING OF 4 MILLION TO RESPOND TO PROVIDE IMMEDIATE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE REFUGEES OF SREBRENICA. THROUGH ITS SUPPORT FOR INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN PROGRAMS SUCH AS DOCTORS WITHOUT BORDERS, THE US HAS CONTRIBUTED AN ADDITIONAL 1 MILLION TO ASSIST THIS HUMANITARIAN CRISIS.
- SO FAR IN FISCAL YEAR 1995 THE US HAS PROVIDED 27.5 MILLION DOLLARS TO IMPLEMENT 28

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HUMANITARIAN RELIEF PROGRAMS IN THE FORMER
YUGOSLAVIA.

-- THE U.S. IS ALSO WORKING CLOSELY WITH THE
UNHCR WHICH IS PROVIDING ESSENTIAL SERVICES TO
THE TENS OF THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES WHO HAVE
ARRIVED IN TUZLA.

7. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: ZEPa UPDATE

Q: WHAT IS THE LATEST?

A: -- SERB FORCES HAVE REPORTEDLY MOVED ON ZEPa, AN
ENCLAVE IN EASTERN BOSNIA CONTAINING AN
ESTIMATED 10,000 MUSLIMS.
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-- WE ARE AWARE OF REPORTS THAT UN OBSERVATION
POSTS MANNED BY UKRAINIANS HAVE BEEN OVERRUN,
THAT THE TOWN IS ABOUT TO FALL, AND THAT
NEARBY VILLAGES ARE BEING BURNED.

-- WHILE IT IS DIFFICULT TO CONFIRM THESE REPORTS
OF BREAKING DEVELOPMENTS, ZEPa IS
LIGHTLY-DEFENDED AND CLEARLY AT RISK.

-- WE EMPHASIZE OUR DEEP CONCERN FOR THE
WELL-BEING OF CIVILIANS AND POW'S, AND OUR
COMMITMENT TO SEE PERPETRATORS OF WAR CRIMES
BROUGHT TO JUSTICE.

MINIMIZE CONSIDERED
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XMT AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 DATE/CASE ID: 12 MAR 2009 200705105

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AMEMBASSY MALABO
AMCONSUL SHANGHAI

UNCLAS STATE 170595

INFORM CONSULS ALSO FOR USEC/USOECD

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OPRC

SUBJECT: DAILY PRESS BRIEFING -- FRIDAY JULY 14, 1995

THE FOLLOWING TOPICS WERE COVERED IN TODAY'S PRESS
BRIEFING:

DEPARTMENT: INTRODUCTION OF UKRAINIAN PRESS SPOKESMAN
(1)

CUBA: COLLISION OF CUBAN GOV'T & AMERICAN FLOTILLA
VESSEL (1-2,24); REPORTS OF INCREASED HUMAN RIGHTS
ABUSES (2); ALLEGED VIOLATION OF CUBAN AIR SPACE
(2,24-25)

FORMER YUGOSLAVIA: WAR IN BOSNIA--BOSNIAN-SERB
OFFENSIVE: U.S. SUPPORT FOR CONTINUATION OF UNPROFOR,
NATO ALLIES (3,8,11); CURRENT DISCUSSIONS (3);
PROPOSALS/REQUESTS OF TROOP CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES
(2,6-7,9-14,16,18); PROTECTION OF ENCLAVES (3,8-9,19);
CAPTURE/NEGOTIATION FOR RELEASE OF DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS
(4); REFUGEE SITUATION: DENIAL OF UN ACCESS (4-5); U.S.
HUMANITARIAN SUPPORT (5-6,14); WAR CRIMES TRIBUNA

GENOCIDE CONVENTION (5,7-10); USE OF U.S. GROUND TROOPS
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(9,11-12); MR. CHURKIN'S TRIP TO PALE; RUSSIAN
INVOLVEMENT (12-13); FIGHTING AROUND ZEPA; DEFENSE OF
GORAZDE; TUZLA AIRPORT (12,15-17); U.S. PRESENCE IN
MACEDONIA (17); PRESIDENT CLINTON'S DISCUSSIONS
W/CHIRAC/KOHL/MAJOR (18); U.S. CONSULTATIONS W/TURKISH
GOV'T. (19)

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MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS: AMBASSADORIAL-LEVEL &
MILITARY-TO MILITARY TALKS (19-20); AMBASSADOR ROSS'
TRIP TO REGION (19)

THAILAND: NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING ALLEGATIONS (20)

MISCELLANEOUS: TERRORISM: PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT OF THREAT
IN SOUTH AMERICA (21-23); CONSULAR AFFAIRS: PROCESSING
OF PASSPORT APPLICATIONS (23)

FRANCE: FRENCH COMPANY AGREEMENT TO DEVELOP SIRRI FIELD
(23-26)

RUSSIA: BORIS YELTIN'S PHYSICAL STATUS (26); REPORT OF
DISCOVERY OF CHOLERA IN MOSCOW RIVER (27)

CHINA: HARRY WU CASE (26-27); U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS (27)

UKRAINE: KHARKOV WATER CATASTROPHE (27-28);
DEMOCRATIC/ECONOMIC REFORMS (28-29)

BEGIN TEXT:

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MR. BURNS: GOOD AFTERNOON. WELCOME TO THE STATE
DEPARTMENT BRIEFING.

I'D LIKE TO START THE BRIEFING TODAY BY INTRODUCING
TO YOU A SPECIAL GUEST OF MINE. MR. MYCHAYLO DOROSHENKO
IS THE PRESS SPOKESMAN FOR THE UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT
LEONID KUCHMA. HE'S VISITING THE DEPARTMENT TODAY AND
HE'S VISITING THE UNITED STATES AS PART OF A
USAID-FUNDED TRAINING PROGRAM. I'M VERY PLEASED TO HAVE
HIM HERE TODAY BECAUSE OF THE VERY CLOSE RELATIONSHIP
THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS FORGED DURING THE PAST 12
MONTHS WITH PRESIDENT KUCHMA, WHO IS ONE OF THE MOST
RESPECTED FIGURES IN EASTERN EUROPE WHO HAS LED UKRAINE
INTO A NEW ERA BASED ON ECONOMIC REFORM, BASED ON A LOT

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OF PROGRESS ON THE QUESTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS; AND I THINK IT'S FAIR TO SAY THAT AFTER THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO KIEV IN MAY, U.S.-UKRAINE RELATIONS ARE AS GOOD AS THEY'VE EVER BEEN.

I'M VERY PLEASED TO HAVE YOU HERE TODAY, MR. DOROSHENKO. WE PROMISE YOU THAT WE WILL NOT ALLOW THE PRESS TO ASK YOU ANY QUESTIONS. (LAUGHTER)

O.K. WITH THAT I'M READY TO GO DIRECTLY TO YOUR QUESTIONS.

Q DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT ON THE CUBAN GUNBOAT INCIDENT OUTSIDE HAVANA?

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MR. BURNS: YES, I DO. WE HAVE RECEIVED SEVERAL REPORTS ABOUT THE INCIDENT THAT TOOK PLACE YESTERDAY. IT WAS A COLLISION THAT OCCURRED SEVERAL MILES INSIDE CUBAN TERRITORIAL WATERS BETWEEN A CUBAN GOVERNMENT VESSEL AND THE VESSEL "DEMOCRACIA," A BOAT FROM THE AMERICAN FLOTILLA.

THIS INCIDENT, WHICH OCCURRED ON THE AFTERNOON OF JULY 13, YESTERDAY, REPORTEDLY RESULTED IN INJURIES TO SEVERAL OF THE PEOPLE ABOARD THE "DEMOCRACIA."

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THE UNITED STATES COAST GUARD RESPONDED TO A REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE FROM THE FLOTILLA AND MET IT AS IT LEFT CUBAN TERRITORIAL WATERS.

I UNDERSTAND THAT A COAST GUARD HELICOPTER MEDIVACED ONE PERSON WHO WAS SUFFERING FROM A FOOT INJURY TO A HOSPITAL IN FLORIDA.

WE ARE EVALUATING INFORMATION ON THE INCIDENT AS IT BECOMES AVAILABLE TO US FROM THE COAST GUARD AND FROM OTHERS. WE DEEPLY REGRET THIS INCIDENT.

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Q ONE OTHER QUESTION. WE HAVE REPORTS THAT THE CASTRO REGIME HAS INCREASED HIS REPRESSION AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS. ARE YOU AWARE OF THAT?

MR. BURNS: WE, THROUGH OUR INTERESTS SECTION IN HAVANA, CLOSELY FOLLOW THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN
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CUBA. WE HAVE I THINK BEEN THE WORLD LEADER IN

CRITICIZING THE CASTRO GOVERNMENT FOR MANY DECADES FOR ITS BRUTAL TREATMENT OF ITS OWN POPULATION AND WE HAVE A DIRECT AMERICAN INTEREST IN MAKING SURE THAT WE DO CLOSELY FOLLOW THE SITUATION AND THAT WE DO EVERYTHING WE CAN TO SPEAK OUT AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSE IN CUBA. IT'S OF GREAT INTEREST TO SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AND OTHERS HERE IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

Q ON THE CUBA ISSUE, ONE MORE QUESTION, PLEASE. THERE WAS AN AIRPLANE THAT DROPPED SOME PAMPHLETS. WAS THAT IN VIOLATION OF THE U.S. LAW, AND IS THE U.S. GOING TO DO ANYTHING IN REGARDS TO THAT INCIDENT?

MR. BURNS: I UNDERSTAND AS WELL THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT INFORMED US YESTERDAY THAT APPROXIMATELY SIX GENERAL AVIATION AIRCRAFT VIOLATED CUBAN AIRSPACE YESTERDAY. THE FEDERAL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION WILL VIGOROUSLY INVESTIGATE ANY VIOLATIONS OF UNITED STATES AND INTERNATIONAL AVIATION REGULATIONS, SO I'M GOING TO HAVE TO REFER YOU TO THE FAA FOR FURTHER WORK ON THA.

Q (INAUDIBLE)

MR. BURNS: YES.

Q YESTERDAY AND THE DAY BEFORE, YOU VERY STRONGLY AND VEHEMENTLY STOOD THERE AND SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES WAS PREPARED TO ASSIST THE ALLIES IF AND WHEN THEY DECIDED WHAT THEY WANTED TO DO, AND CHIRAC SEEMS TO
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HAVE SOME VERY STRONG VIEWS ON WHERE THIS SHOULD GO IS
THE UNITED STATES PREPARED TO SUPPORT HIM IN WHAT HE'S
LAID OUT?

MR. BURNS: SINCE I EXPECTED THIS QUESTION, CAROL,
LET ME GIVE YOU MY CONSIDERED RESPONSE.

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AS YOU'D EXPECT, IN OUR TRADITION OF THE LAST COUPLE
OF DAYS, THIS WILL BE A SOMEWHAT LENGTHY RESPONSE BUT
BEAR WITH ME.

YESTERDAY THE FRENCH PRESIDENT, JACQUES CHIRAC,
CALLED FOR LIMITED MILITARY ACTION TO REASSERT THE
UNITED NATIONS MANDATE TO PROTECT THE DESIGNATED SAFE
AREAS IN BOSNIA.

PRESIDENT CLINTON AND THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
SHARE FRANCE'S BELIEF THAT WE MUST RESTORE THE INTEGRITY
OF THE UNITED NATIONS MISSION TO PROTECT INNOCENT
CIVILIANS.

WE STRONGLY BELIEVE THAT UNPROFOR'S MISSION SHOULD
CONTINUE. THE UNITED NATIONS HAS MADE A SIGNIFICANT
CONTRIBUTION TO THE WELFARE OF THE BOSNIAN PEOPLE; AND
THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS FORCES, ESPECIALLY
FROM ITS HUMANITARIAN MISSION, WOULD LEAD, WE THINK TO
AN EVEN GREATER HUMANITARIAN DISASTER IN THE WAKE OF THE
FALL OF SREBRENICA AND ASSUREDLY IN THE BATTLES THAT ARE
YET TO COME BECAUSE OF THIS BRUTAL BOSNIAN SERB

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OFFENSIVE.

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WE DO STAND READY TO SUPPORT OUR ALLIES WHO HAVE TROOPS ON THE GROUND IN BOSNIA. TODAY DISCUSSIONS ARE ONGOING. IN THE WAKE OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT PROPOAAL THAT WAS MADE PUBLIC LAST NIGHT IN PARIS DISCUSSIONS ARE ONGOING BETWEEN OFFICIALS OF OUR GOVERNMENT, OFFICIALS OF FRANCE, BRITAIN, GERMANY, THE UNITED NATIONS, AND THE NETHERLANDS, AND OTHER TROOP-CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES.

WHAT WE HAVE ASKED IN THESE DISCUSSIONS IS THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE AND THE OTHER GOVERNMENTS MIGHT BE MORE PRECISE ABOUT EXACTLY WHAT THEY ARE PROPOSING AND WHAT THEY ARE REQUESTING FROM THE UNITED STATES AND OTHERS. I THINK WE DO NEED TO HAVE A MORE PRECISE UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT THE REQUEST IS AND WHAT THE STRATEGY IS BEFORE WE CAN GIVE AN ADEQUATE RESPONSE.

I WOULD JUST REMIND YOU THAT AS WE WORK THROUGH THESE PROBLEMS TODAY AND INTO THE WEEKEND, WE'RE GOING TO KEEP IN THE FOREFRONT OF OUR OWN MINDS HERE IN WASHINGTON TWO CENTRAL OBJECTIVES.

ONE, OF COURSE, IS OUR VERY FIRM BELIEF AS YOU SAY, CAROL, THAT WE'VE BEEN TALKING ABOUT FOR A LONG TIME NOW, THAT THE UNITED NATIONS MUST STAY IN THE FIELD THAT IT SHOULD NOT BE WITHDRAWN AND THAT IT MUST BECOME MORE EFFECTIVE. THAT'S THE FIRST OBJECTIVE.

THE SECOND IS THAT AT ALL COSTS WE MUST RETAIN THE
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COHESIVENESS OF NATO, AND OUR SUPPORT FOR OUR NATO ALLIES IS CRITICAL AT THIS TIME.

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DO YOU WANT TO ME TO ANSWER SOME QUESTIONS ON THAT? THEN I HAVE SOME FURTHER INFORMATION TO GIVE OUT. ACTUALLY, LET ME DO THAT, CAROL. LET ME JUST GIVE OUT WHATEVER INFORMATION I HAVE, AND THEN WE CAN HAVE OUR DISCUSSION OF BOSNIA.

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THE DUTCH DEFENSE MINISTRY REPORTED TO US THIS MORNING IN THE HAGUE THAT ANOTHER SEVEN DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS WERE CAPTURED YESTERDAY AFTER SURRENDERING THEIR OBSERVATION POST, JUST NORTH OF SREBRENICA, TO BOSNIAN SERB MILITARY FORCES. THIS BRINGS THE NUMBER OF DUTCH MILITARY PEACEKEEPERS BEING HELD HOSTAGE BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS TO 55.

WE CONDEMN IN THE STRONGEST TERMS THE TAKING OF PEACEKEEPERS AS HOSTAGES, AND WE CALL ON THE BOSNIAN SERB MILITARY AUTHORITIES AND POLITICAL AUTHORITIES TO RELEASE THESE PEOPLE IMMEDIATELY. WE ARE HOLDING THEM PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR SAFETY.

I UNDERSTAND THAT THE UNITED NATIONS IS CONTINUING ITS EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE THE RELEASE OF THESE 55 DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS.

THE REMAINING DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS ARE AIDING THE FEW REFUGEES WHO REMAIN AT THE U.N. CAMP IN POTOCARI. THE
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DUTCH HAVE TOLD US THAT THEY WILL REMAIN AT POTOCARI UNTIL THE SAFETY OF ALL REFUGEES, INCLUDING THOSE DETAINED AT BRATANUC -- AND THEY INCLUDE WHAT WE THINK MAY BE SEVERAL THOUSAND MEN AND BOYS WHO WERE SEPARATED FROM THEIR FAMILIES ON THE BUSES THAT WERE LEAVING POTOCARI 24 HOURS AGO. THE DUTCH HAVE SAID THAT THEY WILL REMAIN UNTIL THEY CAN BE ASSURED THAT THE SAFETY OF THOSE PEOPLE IS ASSURED.

I'D JUST LIKE TO REITERATE AGAIN THE VERY STRONG UNITED STATES SUPPORT FOR THE ACTIONS OF THE NETHERLANDS AND THE VERY BRAVE EFFORTS OF THE DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS TO AID THE REFUGEES OF SREBRENICA.

AT THE SAME TIME, AS WE HAVE BEEN FOLLOWING THE SITUATION OF THE DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS WE HAVE BEEN TRYING TO FOLLOW VERY CLOSELY THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS -- THE U.N. HIGH COMMISSIONER ON REFUGEES, THROUGH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON THE RED CROSS, OFFICIALS OF THE WORLD FOOD PROGRAM -- THE BRUTAL SITUATION OF THE

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MORE THAN 40,000 REFUGEES.

THE UNITED NATIONS HAS RECEIVED REPORTS OF RAPE AND OF MURDER BY THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY FROM MANY OF THE REFUGEES WHO ARE ARRIVING AT THE UNITED NATIONS CAMP IN TUZLA, WHICH IS INSIDE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT TERRITORY. THE UNITED NATIONS IS ALSO ESTIMATING THAT SEVERAL THOUSAND REFUGEES ARE UNACCOUNTED FOR. WE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED BY THESE REPORTS

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AND THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WILL HOLD THE BOSNIAN SERB LEADERSHIP PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR ACTIONS AND FOR THE SAFETY OF ALL OF THE REFUGEES.

WHAT WE HAVE SEEN OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF DAYS IS PERHAPS NOT SURPRISING, GIVEN THE HISTORY OF THE BOSNIAN SERB MILITARY FORCES; BUT IT DOES TELL THE WORLD ONCE AGAIN THAT THESE ARE BRUTAL PEOPLE, THAT THEY FOLLOW INHUMANE PRACTICES, AND THAT THEY SHOULD BE CONDEMNED IN THE STRONGEST TERMS BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

WORDS CANNOT DESCRIBE I THINK WHAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND PEOPLE IN THIS GOVERNMENT FEEL TODAY ABOUT THE BOSNIAN SERB MILITARY FORCES AND ABOUT THE BRUTALITY THAT THEY HAVE SET UPON THE TENS OF THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES.

THE DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS, AS I SAID, AND THE U.N. HIGH COMMISSIONER OF REFUGEES IN SREBRENICA ARE ATTEMPTING TO MONITOR THE TREATMENT OF THE REFUGEES; BUT THE BOSNIAN SERB MILITARY AUTHORITIES HAVE BANNED ALL U.N. PERSONNEL FROM THE STAGING AREA FOR THE DEPORTATIONS, WHERE WE BELIEVE PEOPLE ARE BEING SEPARATED -- MEN FROM WOMEN, AND SOME WOMEN FROM THE REST OF THE REFUGEES.

THESE REPORTS CERTAINLY UNDERLIE THE NECESSITY FOR THE BOSNIAN SERB MILITARY TO PERMIT INTERNATIONAL

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MONITORS UNIMPEDED ACCESS TO ALL PARTS OF THE ENCLAVE.

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WE BELIEVE THAT THE NUMBER OF DETAINED MEN AND BOYS
MAY REACH 3,000, WHO ARE BEING HELD IN THE VICINITY OF
BRATANUC OR IN THE SOCCER STADIUM THERE.

AS I SAID, U.N. OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN DENIED ACCESS TO
THEM.

I WOULD JUST LIKE TO POINT OUT AGAIN TODAY THAT THE
INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL IS IN OPERATION. IT
IS LOOKING INTO REPORTS OF ATROCITIES AND WAR CRIMES
FROM SEVERAL YEARS PAST. I BELIEVE, BASED ON REPORTS
TODAY, THERE IS EVERY REASON FOR THAT TRIBUNAL TO BEGIN
VERY CLOSELY MONITORING THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND
TODAY IN BOSNIA AND THE DESPICABLE BEHAVIOR OF THE
BOSNIAN SERB MILITARY FORCES.

THAT BRINGS US TO THE QUESTION OF WHAT CAN THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY DO ABOUT THIS SITUATION.

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS READY TO RESPOND TO
THE INCREASE IN HUMANITARIAN NEEDS -- THE VERY CLEAR
INCREASE IN THOSE NEEDS -- IN EASTERN BOSNIA WITH
SPECIFIC EMERGENCY RELIEF PROGRAMS THAT WE HOPE MIGHT BE
ABLE TO

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ADDRESS SOME OF THE NEEDS -- THE NEEDS FOR FOOD,
SHELTER, AND MEDICINE -- OF THE REFUGEES.

THE ADMINISTRATION HAS APPROVED JUST IN THE LAST 24
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HOURS, AN ADDITIONAL \$5 MILLION IN SUPPORT FOR THE
NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS WHO ARE EXTENDING
ASSISTANCE TO THE REFUGEES. THIS IS TO SUPPORT
IMMEDIATE HUMANITARIAN NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE
BECOME REFUGEES FROM SREBRENICA, AND SPECIFICALLY TO THE
PROGRAMS OF THE UNHCR.

SO FAR, IN FISCAL YEAR 1995, WE HAVE ALLOCATED \$130
MILLION FOR REFUGEE ASSISTANCE IN BOSNIA. THIS BRINGS
OUR TOTAL TO \$135 MILLION. WE STAND READY TO DO
WHATEVER WE CAN. WE STAND READY TO MEET ANY REQUEST
FROM THE U.N. AGENCIES WHO HAVE RESPONSIBILITY ON THE
GROUND.

Q NICK, YOU AN FILIBUSTER ALL YOU WANT AND SPEW
OUT AS MANY WORDS AS YOU WANT AND TALK ABOUT DESPICABLE
AND BRUTAL, BUT THE TRUTH IS WORDS DON'T MATTER IN THIS
CASE ANYMORE AND THEY HAVEN'T FOR A LONG TIME.

SO THE QUESTION IS: WHAT ACTION, IF ANY, IS THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WILLING TO TAKE IN ORDER TO DO
SOMETHING ABOUT THE SITUATION WHICH YOU YOURSELF HAVE

GONE ON REPEATEDLY DESCRIBING IN HORRIBLE TERMS?

YOU DON'T RULE OUT LIMITED MILITARY ACTION AS
PROPOSED BY CHIRAC, IT SEEMS?

MR. BURNS: I TAKE, ACTUALLY CAROL, DEEP EXCEPTION
TO YOUR QUESTION. YOU'VE ASKED ME A QUESTION. YOU
ASKED ME TO SPELL OUT WHAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
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IS DOING AND WHAT IT IS THINKING. I'M TRYING TO ANSWER
THAT QUESTION AS BEST I CAN, SO I TAKE EXCEPTION TO YOUR
QUESTION.

I AM NOT FILIBUSTERING. IN FACT, I'M GIVING YOU ALL
THE DETAILED INFORMATION THAT WE HAVE ABOUT THE

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SITUATION ON THE GROUND AND HOW WE CONSIDER IT. IF THAT'S NOT OF INTEREST, FINE, WE'LL GO ON TO ANOTHER ISSUE.

Q PEOPLE WANT TO TALK ABOUT THE ISSUE, NICK -- EXCUSE ME -- BUT I ASKED YOU A QUESTION. IT SOUNDS LIKE THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT RULED OUT LIMITED MILITARY ACTION AS PROPOSED BY CHIRAC. IS THAT TRUE?

MR. BURNS: AS I TOLD YOU, WE HAVE A REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE FROM THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT. THAT REQUEST IS AT THIS POINT IMPRECISE. WE NEED TO GIVE IT A DEGREE OF PRECISION. WE ARE SPENDING TODAY IN VERY CLOSE AND DETAILED CONVERSATIONS WITH FRANCE, THE UK, GERMANY AND THE U.N. ON THAT SPECIFIC QUESTION.

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ONCE WE HAVE SATISFIED OURSELVES TO WHAT THE STRATEGY IS BEING PROPOSED AND WHAT THE SPECIFIC REQUESTS ARE, THEN WE WILL RESPOND TO THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND WE WILL RESPOND PUBLICLY. THERE WILL BE SOME MEETINGS HERE IN WASHINGTON THIS AFTERNOON OF OUR SENIOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS TO LOOK AT THIS PARTICULAR QUESTION. THAT'S NOT FILIBUSTERING IT IS RESPONSIBLE
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BECAUSE WE ARE BEING ASKED TO PROVIDE, APPARENTLY, MILITARY ASSISTANCE IN A VERY SERIOUS WAY. YOU HAVE TO EXPECT, OF COURSE, THAT WE WANT TO SATISFY OURSELVES AS TO THE PARTICULARS OF THAT REQUEST BEFORE WE GIVE A RESPONSE.

IT'S THE RESPONSIBLE THING TO DO, AND THAT'S WHAT WE'RE DOING.

Q WHAT IS THE DEFINITION OF PEOPLE WHO COMMIT WAR CRIMES? OBVIOUSLY, GENERAL MLADIC WOULD COME UNDER THAT CATEGORY AS THE ACTUAL PERPETRATOR. BUT IN THE NUREMBERG TRIALS, WE ALSO HAD PEOPLE WHO HAD CONDONED OR WHO HAD PROMOTED OR WHO HAD RUN COVER SO THAT THESE WAR CRIMES COULD CONTINUE.

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I'D LIKE TO ASK, FOR INSTANCE, IS MR. AKASHI -- WOULD HIS ACTIONS OR HIS FAILURE TO ACT ALSO BE CONSIDERED UNDER THE CATEGORY OF WAR CRIMES? WHAT IS THE ACTUAL DEFINITION HERE? HOW BROAD IS IT AND HOW WILL IT BE ACTED UPON?

MR. BURNS: I CAN'T RECITE FOR YOU THE ACTUAL DEFINITION OF A "WAR CRIME." I KNOW IT EXISTS BECAUSE THE WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL HAS A DEFINITE SET OF CRITERIA

I CAN TELL YOU THAT THE PRELIMINARY REPORTS -- INVESTIGATIVE REPORTS -- UNDERWAY DO IMPLICATE THE BOSNIAN SERB MILITARY AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP. WE SPOKE TO THAT A COUPLE OF MONTHS AGO.

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THESE PEOPLE ARE BEING INVESTIGATED -- MR. MLADIC AND MR. KARADZIC -- FOR THEIR ACTIVITIES OF SEVERAL YEARS AGO.

I'M JUST SUGGESTING THAT GIVEN WHAT WE ARE ALL VIEWING ON TELEVISION -- THE SHOTS THAT CNN IS BRINGING BACK FROM THE REGION -- THAT THE BOSNIAN SERB LEADERSHIP OUGHT TO EXPECT THAT THEIR BEHAVIOR DURING THE LAST COUPLE OF DAYS AND TODAY WILL ALSO, WE THINK, BE A SUBJECT FOR THAT TRIBUNAL.

Q A FOLLOW-UP, REGARDING PEOPLE WHO HAVE ASSISTED IN THIS EVEN THOUGH THEY BE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS. LORD DAVID OWEN, FOR INSTANCE, WHO WAS KNOWN IN BOSNIA AS "LORD DAVID OWEN," HAS BEEN VERY MUCH RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CONTINUATION OF THIS TRAGEDY; BUT ALSO MR. AKASHI, IN HIS ROLE AS U.N. ENVOY HAS REALLY PROMOTED THE KIND OF ACTION -- THE SITUATION IN WHICH THE ACTIONS BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS

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COULD OCCUR. ISN'T THAT ALSO CONSIDERED AS BEING COMPLICIT IN THE WAR CRIMES?

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MR. BURNS: I DON'T BELIEVE SO.

Q COULD YOU SHARE WITH US ANY OF THE THINKING THAT'S GOING ON AS YOU WEIGH WHETHER THE UNITED STATES SHOULD OFFER MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO FRANCE AND OTHERS? WHAT ARE SOME OF THE CONSIDERATIONS?

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MR. BURNS: THE TWO MAJOR OBJECTIVES THAT WE HAVE HERE IS THAT WE BELIEVE IN WHATEVER THE TROOP-CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES DO, WHATEVER THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY DOES, WE SHOULD TRY TO KEEP THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE FIELD AND WE SHOULD TRY TO STRENGTHEN IT. THAT'S NUMBER ONE.

NUMBER TWO: IT'S IMPORTANT NOW, SINCE WE GOT TO THE QUESTION OF A REQUEST FOR UNITED STATES MILITARY ASSISTANCE. IT'S IMPORTANT TO KEEP NATO COHESIVE AND UNIFIED AS TO WHAT THE MILITARY STRATEGY AND TACTICS SHOULD BE AND TO WHAT OUR POLITICAL OBJECTIVES SHOULD BE. THOSE TWO QUESTIONS ARE IN THE FOREFRONT OF OUR OWN THINKING AS WE WORK THROUGH THE PROBLEMS TODAY.

Q BUT ARE THE FRENCH ASKING SIMPLY THAT THE REMAINING ENCLAVES BE PROTECTED? OR DO THEY WANT TO GO BEYOND THAT? WHAT IS IT THEY'RE --

MR. BURNS: THAT'S ONE OF THE QUESTIONS THAT WE'RE ASKING. AS WE SAW THE INITIAL REQUEST LAST NIGHT, IT APPEARED TO BE A REQUEST TO PROTECT ALL OF THE ENCLAVES, INCLUDING SREBRENICA. IT MAY NOW BE THAT AT LEAST SOME PEOPLE IN EUROPE ARE THINKING ABOUT CONCENTRATING EFFORTS ON ZEPA AND GORADZE.

SO ONE OF THE QUESTIONS WE HAVE IS JUST THAT: WHAT IS THE SCOPE OF THIS PROPOSAL? DOES IT PERTAIN TO ALL OF THE SAFE AREAS, OR SOME OF THE SAFE AREAS. WE'RE ATTEMPTING TO GET THAT QUESTION ANSWERED TODAY.

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Q NICK, ASSUMING THAT YOU FIND THE FRENCH PLAN SERIOUS, CREDIBLE, AND DOABLE, CAN YOU TELL US WHAT THE LIMITS OF WHAT THE U.S. WOULD BE WILLING TO CONTRIBUTE?

THE SECOND QUESTION IS, DOES YOUR ANSWER TO DAVID MEAN THAT THE U.S. WRITES OFF SREBRENICA BUT WOULD IT BE WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN A PLAN TO PROTECT GORADZE?

MR. BURNS: LET ME MAKE ONE THING CLEAR. WE'RE NOT WRITING OFF ANY AREA. WE ARE RIGHT NOW ATTEMPTING TO

FASHION A STRATEGY WITH OUR ALLIES. IT DOES TAKE MORE THAN A COUPLE OF HOURS. SO WE'RE NOT WRITING OFF ANY OF THE

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ENCLAVES, AND WE'RE NOT FORSAKING ANY OF THE ENCLAVES AT THIS POINT.

WE'VE SIMPLY GOT TO TAKE A LOOK AT THE SITUATION AND TRY TO SEE WHAT CAN BE DONE ON A PRACTICAL BASIS.

AS TO YOUR FIRST QUESTION, IT'S RATHER HYPOTHETICAL. ONCE WE GET AN UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT SPECIFICALLY IS BEING REQUESTED, WE'LL MAKE A DECISION ON WHETHER WE CAN DO THAT, AND WE WILL COMMUNICATE THAT TO THE FRENCH AND, I'M SURE, COMMUNICATE IT PUBLICLY.

Q BUT, CERTAINLY, YOU'VE CONSIDERED WHETHER
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GROUND TROOPS, LIMITED AIR SUPPORT -- WHAT OF THOSE

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KINDS OF OPTIONS WOULD THE U.S. BE WILLING TO --

MR. BURNS: I THINK THE PRESIDENT AND OTHERS HAVE BEEN VERY CLEAR. THE UNITED STATES IS NOT WILLING TO CONSIDER A REQUEST FOR GROUND TROOPS.

Q HELICOPTER SUPPORT --

MR. BURNS: NATO -- AND I THINK ADMIRAL SMITH SPOKE TO THIS YESTERDAY MORNING -- NATO IS WILLING TO CONSIDER ANY REQUEST FOR CLOSE AIR SUPPORT UNDER THE EXISTING U.N.-NATO AGREEMENT AND UNDER EXISTING RULES OF ENGAGEMENT.

AS TO ANY OTHER REQUESTS, AND THERE IS A REQUEST, AT LEAST, THERE IS A REPORT OF A REQUEST FOR HELICOPTER TRANSPORT FROM FRANCE. THAT, OBVIOUSLY, IS SOMETHING THAT HAS TO BE LOOKED AT SPECIFICALLY TODAY AND IS BEING LOOKED AT.

Q NICK, IF I COULD ASK YOU A LEGAL QUESTION. IF YOU CAN'T ANSWER IT, IF YOU COULD HAVE THE LEGAL DEPARTMENT SUPPLY US WITH A WRITTEN ANSWER.

DOES THE UNITED STATES HAVE AN OBLIGATION UNDER THE GENOCIDE CONVENTION TO STOP WHAT'S GOING ON IN BOSNIA RIGHT NOW?

MR. BURNS: I'M NOT A LAWYER. I'VE NEVER WORKED IN THE LEGAL ADVISOR'S OFFICE SO I CAN'T GIVE YOU A LEGAL
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ANSWER.

I WOULD SAY THIS: THE UNITED STATES IS DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE ATROCITIES BEING COMMITTED BY THE BOSNIAN SERB MILITARY. WE WILL DO ANYTHING WE CAN TO CONTRIBUTE TO EFFORTS TO STOP IT.

I THINK ONE HAS TO HAVE A CERTAIN SENSE OF PRACTICALITY HERE AS WELL. WE DON'T HAVE ANYBODY IN THE REGION. WE DON'T HAVE ANY DIPLOMATS IN THE REGION CLOSE

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THESE EVENTS; WE DON'T HAVE ANY MILITARY PEOPLE CLOSE TO THE EVENTS.

THE CLOSEST THAT THE UNITED NATIONS HAS, IN TERMS OF MILITARY OBSERVERS OF THESE EVENTS, ARE THE DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS. AS I SAID, THEY'RE BEING CONSTRAINED AND PREVENTED FROM GETTING ACCESS TO THE AREA WHERE WE BELIEVE THERE IS A LOT OF REASON FOR CONCERN IN THE TREATMENT OF THE MEN AND WOMEN WHO HAVE BEEN SEPARATED FROM THE REFUGEE CONVOY.

AT THIS POINT, WE ARE GOING TO CONTINUE TO SAY PUBLICLY -- AND IT'S IMPORTANT TO SAY IT PUBLICLY -- THAT WE CONDEMN THIS AND THAT THESE PEOPLE ARE GOING TO BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY NO MATTER HOW LONG IT TAKES.

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Q WOULD IT BE POSSIBLE FOR THIS STATE DEPARTMENT -- THE LEGAL DEPARTMENT -- TO PROVIDE AN OPINION ON THAT, A WRITTEN OPINION?

MR. BURNS: I'LL LOOK INTO WHETHER IT'S POSSIBLE.

TOM.

Q A COUPLE OF DAYS AGO YOU SAID FAIRLY FLATLY THAT WHAT THE ALLIES DECIDE TO DO, YOU'LL LISTEN TO IT, YOU'LL CONSIDER THEM; AND ONCE THEY MAKE A DECISION, YOU WILL SUPPORT THAT DECISION. NOW, IT SEEMS AS IF YOU'RE BACKING OFF A BIT.

APART FROM THE USE OF GROUND TROOPS, CAN YOU STILL FLATLY SAY THAT IF THE ALLIES DECIDE ON A COURSE OF ACTION, THE UNITED STATES WILL SUPPORT THEM, BARRING THE USE OF GROUND TROOPS?

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MR. BURNS: I'M NOT TRYING TO BACK OFF OR SEND ANY SIGNALS THAT WE'RE BACKING OFF THAT. BUT ALLIES IS PLURAL, AND WE DO NEED TO TALK TO ALL OF THE ALLIES WHO HAVE TROOPS ON THE GROUND TO SEE WHAT THE PLAN IS. IT MAY BE THAT THERE IS A NEED NOW TO UNITE ALL COUNTRIES ON A SINGULAR PLAN. IT ISN'T APPARENT TO US THAT THERE IS A SINGLE PLAN RIGHT NOW.

WE MUST, OF COURSE, CONSIDER THE REQUEST OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT; ALSO CONSIDER THE VIEWS OF THE BRITISH AND DUTCH GOVERNMENTS AND OTHERS.

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Q (INAUDIBLE) ALLIED APPROVAL? FOR INSTANCE, IF THE FRENCH AND THE DUTCH AND EVERYBODY ELSE IN NATO WANTS TO DO IT, BUT THE BRITISH DON'T.

MR. BURNS: I DON'T BELIEVE IT HAS TO BE UNANIMOUS, BUT I THINK IT IS CERTAINLY WISE OF US TO TAKE TODAY AND

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PERHAPS TOMORROW, TO HAVE DETAILED CONVERSATIONS WITH ALL THE TROOP-CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES BECAUSE THEY ALL HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY ON THE GROUND TO PROTECT THEMSELVES AND TO PROTECT THE U.N. MANDATES. SO WE CERTAINLY DO WANT TO TALK TO EVERYONE.

THE FRENCH PROPOSAL CAME IN QUITE LATE LAST EVENING. WE'VE SPENT THIS MORNING AND WILL SPEND THIS AFTERNOON TALKING TO ALL THE COUNTRIES ABOUT IT.

MARK.

Q NICK, WHAT OBLIGATION DOES THE UNITED STATES HAVE AS THE FOUR-DECADE LEADER OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE TO ASSUME A LEADERSHIP ROLE IN REACHING A PLAN THAT EVERYBODY CAN AGREE ON?

MR. BURNS: WE CERTAINLY TAKE UPON OURSELVES A

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LEADERSHIP ROLE IN TRYING TO HELP OUR ALLIES FIGURE OUT
WHAT THE BEST COURSE OF ACTION IS -- MILITARY ACTION OR
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OTHER ACTION.

WE DO NOT HAVE TROOPS ON THE GROUND. SO THEREFORE
WE ARE IN A POSITION IN BOSNIA, AS WE HAVE BEEN FOR A
LONG TIME NOW -- SEVERAL YEARS -- OF GIVING CREDENCE AND
GREAT CREDIBILITY TO THOSE COUNTRIES THAT DO.
OFTENTIMES, THE UNITED STATES DOES LISTEN IN THESE
DISCUSSIONS AND OFTENTIMES WE TALK. WE'RE DOING BOTH
TODAY.

Q I HAVE A FOLLOW-UP QUESTION. YOU'VE SAID THAT
BOSNIA IS NOT A VITAL, NATIONAL SECURITY INTEREST OF THE
UNITED STATES, AND THAT IS THE REASON GIVEN FOR NOT
SUPPLYING GROUND TROOPS.

IS THERE ANY SENSE IN THIS BUILDING THAT THE
ACCUMULATIVE EFFECT OF AN INADEQUATE RESPONSE TO SERB
AGGRESSION HAS WEAKENED NATO TO THE POINT WHERE VITAL
NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS ARE AFFECTED?

MR. BURNS: WE HAVE SAID THAT IF THE PRESIDENT IS
GOING TO MAKE A DECISION TO PUT AMERICAN TROOPS INTO
COMBAT, THAT IT MUST BE FOR A REASON THAT WOULD
APPROPRIATELY BE CALLED "OF VITAL NATIONAL INTERESTS."
THAT IS USUALLY THE STANDARD THAT PRESIDENTS BRING TO
BEAR -- AT LEAST SINCE THE VIETNAM WAR -- ON THIS
QUESTION.

THAT QUESTION HAS BEEN LOOKED AT BY TWO AMERICAN
PRESIDENTS -- BY PRESIDENT BUSH AND PRESIDENT CLINTON.
BOTH OF THEM HAVE CONCLUDED IT'S NOT IN THE UNITED
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STATES INTERESTS TO PUT AMERICAN MEN AND WOMEN INTO
BOSNIA FOR PURPOSES OF COMBAT.

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WE HAVE SAID IN THE CONTINGENCY PLAN FOR 4104 THAT
WE WILL PUT AMERICAN TROOPS INTO THE THEATER TO EXTRACT
UNPROFOR SHOULD THAT BECOME NECESSARY.

Q THERE'S A REPORT TODAY THAT CHURKIN IS GOING TO
PALE. HAD THE RUSSIANS TALKED TO UNITED STATES ABOUT
THAT BEFORE HE WENT? DO YOU KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT WHAT HE
SPECIFICALLY PLANS TO DO?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT THAT TRIP.

IT'S THE FIRST I'VE HEARD OF IT. IT'S POSSIBLE THAT MR.
CHURKIN TALKED TO OUR DIPLOMATS IN MOSCOW ABOUT IT, BUT
I HAVEN'T HEARD ANY REPORTS SO I DON'T KNOW WHY HE WOULD
BE GOING. BUT IF HE IS GOING, WE'LL CERTAINLY WANT TO
TALK TO HIM WHEN HE GETS BACK.

Q YOU ALSO SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES ISN'T
WRITING OFF ANY SPECIFIC AREA IN BOSNIA. BUT ISN'T IT
TRUE THAT THE LONGER IT TAKES TO MAKE A DECISION IN A
MILITARY SITUATION LIKE THIS, THE MORE THE FACTS ON THE
GROUND JUST SORT OF CREATE ITS OWN REALITY?

MR. BURNS: IT COULD BE TRUE. IT'S ONE OF THE
WORRIES THAT PEOPLE HAVE. THERE APPARENTLY IS AN
INCREASE IN THE FIGHTING NOW AROUND ZEPA AND APPARENTLY

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THERE IS SOME KIND OF A BOSNIAN SERB MILITARY ATTACK ON
ZEPA, SO IT COULD BE THE CASE, THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS
WILL JUST CREATE FACTS ON THE GROUND THAT MAKE IT MUCH
MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO ACT OR
REACT. IT'S CERTAINLY A GREAT CONCERN THAT PEOPLE HAVE

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THIS MORNING AS WE LOOK AT THESE EVENTS.

Q DOES IT CREATE ANY URGENCY IN YOUR
DECISION-MAKING?

MR. BURNS: I THINK IT DOES, YES. I THINK THAT WE
ARE ACTING WITH THAT IN MIND.

Q SIR, CAN YOU GIVE US ANY DETAILS ABOUT THE
TOURIST THREAT THAT MAY HAPPEN -- I'M SORRY.

MR. BURNS: WE SPEND A LOT OF TIME EVERY DAY ON
BOSNIA. WHEN WE'RE FINISHED WITH BOSNIA, WHICH IS
USUALLY AFTER AN HOUR OR TWO, WE GO TO OTHER QUESTIONS.

Q HOW LONG DO YOU THINK IT WILL TAKE,
REALISTICALLY, GIVEN THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND, TO
MAKE A DECISION AND TO CONSIDER THE FRENCH OFFER AND TO
GET THE SPECIFICS YOU NEED?

MR. BURNS: IT'S HARD TO SAY. I WOULD THINK WE'RE
TALKING ABOUT A MATTER OF DAYS, NOT WEEKS HERE. IT'S
JUST HARD TO PREDICT THESE THINGS.

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Q IN TERMS OF WHAT YOU'RE HEARING FROM THE

FRENCH, WE KNOW, BECAUSE IT'S PUBLIC WHAT YOU'RE HEARING
FROM THE PRESIDENT -- PRESIDENT CHIRAC AND WHAT HE'S
ASKING FOR. ARE YOU HEARING THE SAME THINGS FROM THE
FRENCH MILITARY? IS OUR MILITARY HEARING THE SAME KINDS
OF THINGS? OR ARE THE FRENCH SAYING SOMETHING IN PUBLIC
THAT WE'RE NOT NECESSARILY HEARING IN PRIVATE ON THE
MILITARY SIDE?

MR. BURNS: NO. I THINK THE FRENCH ARE BEING VERY
CONSISTENT IN WHAT THEY'RE SAYING PUBLICLY AND
PRIVATELY. WE ARE TALKING TO BOTH THE FRENCH MILITARY
-- THE ELYSEE -- AND, OF COURSE, THE FRENCH FOREIGN

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MINISTRY. WE HAVE A NUMBER OF CONTACTS IN THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT BACK AND FORTH, CONVERSATIONS ACROSS THE ATLANTIC. I'M NOT AWARE THAT THE FRENCH ARE BEING INCONSISTENT HERE. BUT YOU KNOW YOU DO GET DIFFERENT ACCENTS DEPENDING WHO YOU TALK TO. THAT'S CERTAINLY ONE OF THE ISSUES THAT HAS TO BE WORKED THROUGH.

Q NICK, FOLLOW-UP ON CAROL'S QUESTION. WE HAVEN'T HEARD RUSSIA MENTIONED MUCH IN THE CONTEXT OF WHAT'S BEEN HAPPENING THE PAST FEW DAYS. DO WE SEE THEM NOW AS PART OF THE PROBLEM OR PART OF A SOLUTION?

MR. BURNS: WE CERTAINLY DO NOT SEE RUSSIA -- DO NOT -- AS PART OF THE PROBLEM. RUSSIA ATTENDED THE CONTACT GROUP MEETING IN LONDON ON WEDNESDAY NIGHT. RUSSIA AGREED TO THE STEPS THAT THE CONTACT GROUP REPRESENTATIVES THOUGHT THE WEST SHOULD TAKE, NAMELY
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THAT WE SHOULD CALL UPON THE BOSNIAN SERBS TO CEASE AND DESIST IN THEIR MILITARY ACTIONS; THAT THE UNITED NATIONS MUST BE KEPT IN THE FIELD AND BE STRENGTHENED, AND THAT CARL BILDT SHOULD CONTINUE HIS DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS TO TRY TO SEE IF THERE IS BY SOME CHANCE A DIPLOMATIC WAY FORWARD.

RUSSIA AGREED TO ALL OF THAT SO I WOULD NOT CHARACTERIZE RUSSIA AS BEING A PROBLEM. I THINK RUSSIA HAS BEEN CONSTRUCTIVE. IT DOESN'T MEAN THAT WE ALWAYS AGREE WITH THE RUSSIANS. WE OFTENTIMES DO HAVE DISAGREEMENTS WITH THE RUSSIANS. I NOTED THAT ONE OF THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT SPOKESMEN OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY COMPLAINED ABOUT THE NATO AIR STRIKES ON SREBRENICA. WE WOULD CERTAINLY TAKE GREAT ISSUE WITH THAT COMPLAINT.

Q YOU JUST ANSWERED A QUESTION A FEW MINUTES AGO, SAYING THAT THE DECISION WOULD COME WITHIN A MATTER OF DAYS, NOT WEEKS, AND AS WE ALL WATCH THESE PICTURES OF THE REFUGEES AND THE DIRE CIRCUMSTANCES THAT THEY FIND

THEMSELVES IN AND SEE REPORTS OF PEOPLE HANGING THEMSELVES OUT OF DESPERATION AND CHILDREN STARVING --

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ISN'T THERE A SENSE THAT YOU'RE RUNNING OUT OF TIME?

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MR. BURNS: THERE'S A SENSE THAT EVERY DAY COUNTS,
AND THAT WE CAN'T SIT IDLY BY AND EXPECT THE PROBLEM TO
DISAPPEAR. YES, THERE'S A VERY GREAT CONCERN, A VERY,
VERY GREAT CONCERN, ABOUT THE SITUATION OF THESE
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REFUGEES. WHAT CAN WE DO ABOUT IT.

FIRST AND FOREMOST, THE UNITED STATES CAN CONTRIBUTE
TO THE EFFORTS OF THOSE NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS
THAT ARE WITH THE REFUGEES AND TRYING TO GIVE THEM FOOD
SHELTER, WATER AND MEDICAL CARE -- PRINCIPALLY THE U.N.
HIGH COMMISSIONER ON REFUGEES, THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS AND THE WORLD FOOD PROGRAM.

WE ARE GIVING THEM \$130 MILLION THIS YEAR. WE'RE
THE LARGEST CONTRIBUTOR TO THEM. WE'RE GIVING THEM AN
ADDITIONAL \$5 MILLION TODAY, SPECIFICALLY TO MEET
IMMEDIATE NEEDS IN SREBRENICA. WE WILL MEET ANY REQUEST
THAT THEY GIVE TO US, BECAUSE WE DO FEEL A SENSE OF
URGENCY. THAT'S ONE THING WE CAN DO.

THE SECOND THING WE CAN DO IS TO WORK WITH THE
ALLIES OF OURS THAT HAVE TROOPS ON THE GROUND TO FIGURE
OUT A MILITARY SECURITY STRATEGY. THE FRENCH HAVE
PROPOSED AN IDEA WHICH WE FIND TO BE A VERY INTERESTING
IDEA, ONE THAT DESERVES THE GREATEST CONSIDERATION BY
THE WEST, AND WE ARE LOOKING INTO THAT IDEA.

IT IS NOT REALISTIC TO THINK THAT ANY GOVERNMENT CAN
COMMIT MILITARILY TO A PROGRAM WITHOUT LOOKING INTO WHAT
THE PROGRAM IS, WITHOUT CONSULTING WITH THE OTHERS WHO
WOULD BE PART OF THAT PROGRAM. THAT'S WHAT WE'RE DOING
TODAY. WE'RE TRYING TO DO THAT AS QUICKLY AS WE CAN
BECAUSE WE DO FEEL A SENSE OF URGENCY.

Q FROM THE OUTSIDE IT LOOKS A BIT LIKE THERE'S A
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PARALYSIS. I MEAN, WHAT IS HAPPENING ON THE GROUND,
THIS IS -- COULD HAVE BEEN ANTICIPATED, GIVEN THE
CIRCUMSTANCES, AND ONE WOULD ASSUME THERE WAS
INTELLIGENCE THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS WERE PLANNING THIS,
AND THAT THE PEACEKEEPERS ON THE GROUND WERE RELAYING
THIS INFORMATION BACK TO THEIR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS.

YOU KNOW, AS WE READ REPORTS THAT ZEPA IS ABOUT TO
FALL AND THAT GORAZDE IS BEING TARGETED, YES, THERE NEED
TO BE MEETINGS AND PLANS, BUT IT SEEMS LIKE THERE HAVE
BEEN MEETINGS AND PLANS, AND PERHAPS THERE OUGHT TO BE A
CONCLUSION.

MR. BURNS: I UNDERSTAND WHAT'S BEHIND THE QUESTION,
AND I THINK I UNDERSTAND THE QUESTION ITSELF. I THINK
IT IS UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT THE PRESIDENT AND HIS
ADVISERS TO WITHIN AN HOUR OR SO OF A REQUEST AGREE TO
IT. WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO OUR OWN MILITARY FORCES
AND A

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RESPONSIBILITY TO THOSE WHO MAKE THE REQUEST TO GIVE IT
OUR MOST SERIOUS CONSIDERATION.

WHEN YOU DO MAKE DECISIONS LIKE THIS YOU HAVE TO
MAKE THEM, LOOKING AT ALL THE POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES.
THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE'RE BACKING OFF FROM WHAT
WE'VE BEEN SAYING IN THE PAST COUPLE OF DAYS, AND IT
DOESN'T MEAN THAT WE SOMEHOW ARE TRYING TO STRING THIS
OUT. IT MEANS THAT WE HAVE TO TAKE A VERY SERIOUS LOOK
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AT IT, AND FRANKLY WE HAVE TO KNOW WHAT THE REQUEST IS. AND MOST OF THE EFFORTS THIS MORNING HAVE BEEN CENTERED ON THAT PARTICULAR QUESTION -- WHAT IS THE REQUEST. WHAT IS THE MILITARY PLAN. WHO ELSE WOULD BE PART OF IT -- AND PUTTING ALL THAT INFORMATION TOGETHER, WE WILL CONSIDER IT VERY SERIOUSLY.

Q WOULDNT IT BE ALREADY, THOUGH -- MAKING SOME ASSUMPTIONS -- TOO LATE TO DO ANYTHING ABOUT GORAZDE? COULDN'T THE BOSNIAN SERBS SWEEP THROUGH THERE BEFORE PEOPLE BEGIN TO ORGANIZE TO STOP THEM, EVEN IF THERE WERE A DECISION TO STOP THEM?

AND A SECOND QUESTION IS, SPECULATION IS THAT ONCE THAT HAPPENS -- IF IT DOES HAPPEN -- THE BOSNIAN SERBS WOULD HAVE ABOUT THE MAP THAT THEY WANT AND MIGHT SUE FOR PEACE. WHAT KIND OF RESPONSE WOULD THERE BE FROM THE CONTACT GROUP TO SUCH A SUIING FOR PEACE?

MR. BURNS: ON THE SECOND QUESTION, IF THAT'S THEIR PLAN, THEY SHOULDN'T EXPECT TO GET AN IMMEDIATE, POSITIVE RESPONSE OR ANY KIND OF POSITIVE RESPONSE FROM

THE CONTACT GROUP. IF THAT'S THEIR PLAN, THEY'RE BADLY MISTAKEN TO THINK THAT WE'RE GOING TO GLADLY COME TO PALE JUST TO DISCUSS THINGS ON THEIR TERMS. THEY'VE GOT TO DISCUSS THINGS ON OUR TERMS WHEN IT COMES TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE.

ON THE FIRST QUESTION, I DO NOT AGREE. I DON'T THINK MANY PEOPLE HERE -- LOOKING AT THIS SITUATION THIS
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MORNING -- AGREE THAT SOMEHOW GORAZDE SHOULD BE FORSAKEN BECAUSE IT IS INDEFENSIBLE. I'M NOT SAYING. YOU'RE SAYING IT SHOULD BE FORSAKEN. THAT'S UNFAIR.

BUT AS TO THE QUESTION OF WHETHER IT'S DEFENSIBLE OR NOT, I THINK THERE ARE PEOPLE WHO BELIEVE IT CAN BE MADE DEFENSIBLE. THERE ARE 300 BRITISH TROOPS THERE. THE BRITISH ARE AMONG THE FINEST TROOPS ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD. THERE ARE 100 UKRAINIAN TROOPS THERE. THE

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UKRAINIANS FIND THEMSELVES IN A VERY DIFFICULT POSITION IN ZEPA AND IN GORAZDE, BUT I DON'T THINK ANYONE IS ASSUMING THAT GORAZDE IS INDEFENSIBLE.

IN FACT, THE REQUEST THAT HAS COME IN FROM THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT CERTAINLY FOCUSES ON GORAZDE, AND THAT IS REASON ENOUGH TO HOPE THAT SOMETHING MIGHT BE ABLE TO BE DONE.

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Q (INAUDIBLE) WITH FRENCH OFFICIALS ABOUT THIS PROPOSAL. WHERE DO THEY STAND? YOU SAID THAT YOU SHOULDN'T EXPECT THE PRESIDENT TO BE ABLE TO RESPOND WITHIN HOURS, BUT HOW SOON ARE YOU GOING TO BE ABLE TO MAKE A DECISION ON THIS SPECIFIC PROPOSAL?

MR. BURNS: I CAN'T PREDICT WHEN A DECISION WILL BE MADE. IT WILL BE MADE BY OUR GOVERNMENT WHEN WE ARE SATISFIED THAT WE FULLY UNDERSTAND THE REQUEST THAT WE'VE FULLY LOOKED AT THE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE UNITED STATES AND OUR MILITARY, AND I THINK THAT IT WILL BE
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SHORTLY. I DON'T THINK IT WILL BE LONG BEFORE THAT DECISION IS MADE, BUT WE OWE IT TO OURSELVES AND TO OUR PARTNERS, INCLUDING THE FRENCH, TO HAVE THESE DISCUSSIONS. I THINK THAT IS REASONABLE AND I THINK IT WOULD BE IMPRACTICAL TO CONSIDER ANY OTHER COURSE AT THIS TIME.

Q HAVE THEY ASKED YOU ANYTHING THAT YOU'VE REFUSED ALREADY?

MR. BURNS: NO.

Q ARE THESE FRENCH PROPOSALS TO HOLD THE LINE AT GORAZDE, TO REINFORCE GORAZDE AND HOLD IT?

MR. BURNS: WE ARE SEEKING CLARIFICATION ON THAT VERY POINT, DAVID.

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Q YOU WERE TELLING US THAT THAT WAS PART OF THE PROPOSAL.

MR. BURNS: WHAT I MEANT TO SAY IN RESPONDING IS THAT SEEMS TO BE CERTAINLY ONE OF THE THINGS THEY WANT TO DO. WHAT WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW IS WHAT THE BREADTH OF THIS PROPOSAL. WHAT OTHER AREAS DOES IT COVER. HOW MANY TROOPS WOULD BE INVOLVED. WHAT WOULD IT TAKE IN TERMS OF LIFT. WHAT WOULD IT TAKE IN TERMS OF NEW EQUIPMENT. WHAT WOULD IT TAKE IN TERMS OF LOGISTICS AND COMMUNICATION.

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I THINK YOU CAN ASSUME THAT THESE ARE THE KINDS OF THINGS -- LIFT, COMMUNICATIONS, LOGISTICS, EQUIPMENT -- THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE ASKED FOR. WE NEED TO HAVE A SENSE OF WHAT WE'RE BEING ASKED FOR. WHAT THE STRATEGIC AND TACTICAL OBJECTIVES ARE. WHO ELSE WOULD BE PARTICIPATING IN THIS AMONG THE TROOP-CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES THAT HAVE PEOPLE ON THE GROUND. SO THESE QUESTIONS ARE ALL BEING ASKED THIS MORNING.

Q ARE THEY PROPOSING TO SEND FRENCH TROOPS TO REINFORCE THE BRITISH AND UKRAINIANS IN GORAZDE?

MR. BURNS: I THINK THAT'S THE GENERAL IDEA HERE YES.

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Q ARE THERE ANY CONSIDERATIONS TO REINFORCE THE U.S. PRESENCE IN MACEDONIA?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T BELIEVE THAT QUESTION HAS BEEN RAISED OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF DAYS. AS YOU KNOW, WE HAVE A LITTLE OVER 500 AMERICAN SERVICEMEN/WOMEN IN MACEDONIA, AND I DON'T BELIEVE THAT THERE IS ANY REASON TO INCREASE THEIR NUMBER NOW.

TOM.

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Q ABOUT THE OPENING OF TUZLA AIRPORT. YOU'VE GOT TENS OF THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES STREAMING IN THERE. THAT AIRPORT WAS DECLARED OPEN, BUT SERBS HAVE NOT GIVEN
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SAFETY GUARANTEES, SO IT'S NOT BEING USED. CAN YOU REALLY FEED AND TAKE CARE OF THESE PEOPLE IN TUZLA WITHOUT THAT AIRPORT FUNCTIONING?

MR. BURNS: I THINK IT MAKES IT MUCH MORE DIFFICULT AND I THINK THAT'S ONE OF THE ISSUES THAT THE UNITED NATIONS WITH OUR SUPPORT IS WORKING ON RIGHT NOW. I THINK IT DOES MAKE IT MUCH MORE DIFFICULT, IF IN FACT THAT IS WHERE MANY THOUSANDS OF THESE PEOPLE WILL END UP, TO SUPPLY THEM ON ANY EFFECTIVE BASIS WITHOUT TAKING ACTION TO OPEN UP THE MAJOR CORRIDORS, INCLUDING THE AIRPORT.

Q HOW ABOUT AN AIRLIFT TO DO THAT? IS THAT UNDER CONSIDERATION?

MR. BURNS: WE'VE NOT BEEN REQUESTED. WE HAVE NOT BEEN REQUESTED TO UNDERTAKE AN AIRLIFT. IF WE ARE REQUESTED TO DO SO, WE WILL CERTAINLY LOOK AT THAT REQUEST VERY SERIOUSLY.

Q I ASSUME WE HAVE NOT VOLUNTEERED TO UNDERTAKE --

MR. BURNS: AT THIS POINT, BECAUSE WE DON'T HAVE ANY AMERICAN OFFICIALS ANYWHERE CLOSE TO THESE EVENTS, WE ARE RELYING ON THE UNITED NATIONS TO TELL US WHAT THEY NEED FROM US, AND WE ARE RESPONDING TO THOSE REQUESTS AS EFFECTIVELY AND AS QUICKLY AS WE CAN. SO REALLY IT'S NOT REASONABLE TO THINK THAT WE COULD INITIATE A PROPOSAL LIKE THAT BECAUSE WE'RE NOT THERE TO SEE WHAT IS NEEDED ON THE GROUND, AND WE'RE WORKING CLOSELY WITH
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THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS THAT ARE THERE.

Q HAS CLINTON TALKED TO MAJOR YET AND, IF HE
HAS CAN YOU TELL US WHERE MAJOR FELL ON THE BROAD
OUTLINES OF THE FRENCH PLAN?

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MR. BURNS: THE PRESIDENT TALKED TO CHIRAC AND KOHL
YESTERDAY. HE WAS TO HAVE TALKED TO MAJOR THIS

MORNING. THAT PHONE CALL HAS BEEN POSTPONED UNTIL EARLY
AFTERNOON.

Q (INAUDIBLE) THE FORMALITIES OF THE OPERATIONS
IN BOSNIAN, NICK, THAT IF THE BRITISH AND, I MEAN, A
LEOPARD, I GUESS, CAN CHANGE ITS SPOTS BUT UP UNTIL NOW
THEY HAVEN'T BEEN INTERESTED IN ANY KIND OF DECISIVE
MILITARY ACTION -- IF THEY WOULD SAY NOW AND THE OTHER
PARTIES WERE IN AGREEMENT, WOULD IT NOT BE BEST TO TRY
AND PULL OUT OF THAT SOME EFFECTIVE ACTION IN SPITE OF
THE BRITISH OBJECTIONS? YOU SAY THAT YOU'RE VERY
CONSIDERATE ABOUT THE STABILITY OF THE ALLIANCE AND
EVERYTHING, BUT WHAT HAPPENS TO THE NATO ALLIANCE IF
THIS GENOCIDE CONTINUES? ISN'T IT TOTALLY DISCREDITED
AS AN ORGAN WHICH COULD PREVENT THESE THINGS FROM
HAPPENING IN THE HEART OF EUROPE? COULDN'T THAT
DECISION BE TAKEN? WOULDN'T IT BE BETTER TO LEAVE THE
DOUBTERS ASIDE AND TO MOVE ON IN ORDER TO GET SOMETHING
DONE EFFECTIVELY IN BOSNIA?

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MR. BURNS: AGAIN, I JUST FEEL PERSONALLY THAT I
HAVE TO TAKE EXCEPTION WITH THE BASIS OF YOUR QUESTION.
I DON'T THINK IT'S RIGHT FOR ME TO BE SILENT WHEN PEOPLE
ASK QUESTIONS THAT IMPLICITLY OR DIRECTLY CRITICIZE OUR

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ALLIES. I DON'T THINK THERE'S ANY REASON TO CRITICIZE GREAT BRITAIN -- THE UNITED KINGDOM

I THINK PRIME MINISTER MAJOR HAS SHOWN A GREAT DEAL OF COURAGE AND RESOLVE IN INCREASING THE NUMBER OF BRITISH TROOPS IN BOSNIA JUST OVER THE LAST SIX WEEKS, WHICH WAS AN OBVIOUSLY DIFFICULT DECISION TO TAKE, BUT HE TOOK IT, AND THE PRESIDENT IS LOOKING FORWARD TO HIS CONVERSATION WITH THE BRITISH. WE HAVE A VERY CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.K. AND WITH THE MAJOR GOVERNMENT, AND WE'RE GOING TO LISTEN TO THEIR VIEWS, CERTAINLY, BEFORE WE MAKE ANY DECISION.

Q ANOTHER SUBJECT. MIDDLE EAST.

Q I HAVE ONE QUESTION ON BOSNIA. IS IT THE U.S. POSITION TO WAIT FOR THE OTHERS, WHETHER THEY ARE THE ONES TO SEND THE TROOPS OR NOT, BEFORE TAKING A FINAL VIEW?

MR. BURNS: OUR DECISION IS GOING TO BE INFORMED BY WHAT THE FRENCH, THE BRITISH, THE DUTCH, THE GERMANS AND THE U.N. CHOOSE TO DO. IT HAS TO BE THAT WAY. THESE ARE THE MAJOR ACTORS ON THE GROUND.

Q IS IT POSSIBLE, WHETHER THEY ARE GOING TO SEND THE TROOPS OR NOT?

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MR. BURNS: CERTAINLY, THAT'S ONE OF THE QUESTIONS -- WHETHER OR NOT THE TROOP-CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES ARE WILLING

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TO COMMIT TROOPS TO ANY FUTURE PLAN TO PROTECT THE ENCLAVES. THAT'S CERTAINLY ONE OF THE KEY QUESTIONS THAT HAS TO BE ASCERTAINED.

Q YOU SAID THE U.S. WILL CONSULT ALL THE GROUND -- THOSE COUNTRIES THAT CONTRIBUTE GROUND TROOPS RIGHT

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NOW. WILL THE U.S. CONSULT TURKISH GOVERNMENT AS WELL?

MR. BURNS: YES. ABSOLUTELY. TURKEY IS ONE OF OUR CLOSEST NATO ALLIES.

Q NICK, ON THE MIDDLE EAST, THERE ARE SOME SOURCE STORIES COMING OUT OF DAMASCUS TODAY THAT AMBASSADOR-LEVEL PEACE TALKS ARE GOING TO RESUME HERE IN WASHINGTON. CAN YOU COMMENT ON THAT?

MR. BURNS: WHAT I CAN SAY, SID IS THAT DENNIS ROSS JUST RETURNED AT ABOUT 9:30 THIS MORNING FROM HIS TRIP WHERE HE SHUTTLED BETWEEN DAMASCUS AND JERUSALEM, WHERE HE WENT TO GAZA AND OTHER PLACES.

HE WORKED VERY HARD ON THE ISRAEL-SYRIA TRACK, AS YOU WOULD HAVE EXPECTED HIM TO. HE HAD VERY SERIOUS DISCUSSIONS WITH BOTH ISRAELI AND SYRIAN OFFICIALS AND
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COMBINED HIS DISCUSSIONS, COMBINED WITH THE RECENT DISCUSSIONS OF THE CHIEFS OF STAFF, GIVE US THE VIEW THAT THERE IS A REAL POTENTIAL FOR CONVERGENCE ON KEY ISSUES RELATING TO SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS.

THESE ARE VERY DIFFICULT TALKS. THERE ARE STILL A NUMBER OF MAJOR OBSTACLES THAT LIE IN THE PATH OF THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED -- ISRAEL AND SYRIA -- AND WE WILL REMAIN IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH THE PARTIES AS THIS PROCESS MOVES FORWARD. I DON'T HAVE ANYTHING SPECIFIC TO GIVE YOU ON DATES FOR AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL TALKS, THOUGH

SID.

Q ARE YOU SAYING THEN THE PARTIES HAVE NOT AGREED TO RESUME ANYTHING -- AMBASSADOR-LEVEL TALKS, SECURITY TALKS?

MR. BURNS: WE FULLY EXPECT ALL OF THE TALKS TO CONTINUE, BUT I DON'T HAVE ANY INFORMATION AS TO THE DATES OF THE NEXT TALKS. THAT'S ALL I'M SAYING. DENNIS JUST GOT BACK. I HAD A CHANCE TO SPEAK TO HIM BY PHONE

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LAST NIGHT JUST BEFORE HE LEFT TEL AVIV. I HAVE NOT HAD A CHANCE TO TALK TO HIM THIS MORNING, UNFORTUNATELY BEFORE I CAME OUT TODAY.

Q DID YOU ASK DENNIS IF THERE WERE GOING TO DATES -- IF THE SYRIANS AND THE ISRAELIS HAD COMMITTED ON DATES TO RESUME THE TALKS?

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MR. BURNS: I DO KNOW THAT RIGHT NOW WE DON'T HAVE SPECIFIC DATES THAT WE CAN GIVE YOU AND WE'RE WORKING ON THAT QUESTION.

Q BUT DO YOU HAVE SPECIFIC DATES?

MR. BURNS: NO. NO, WE DON'T HAVE DATES. THE ISRAELIS, SYRIANS AND AMERICANS DON'T HAVE DATES, SO THEREFORE WE DON'T HAVE ANY DATES TO GIVE YOU, BUT WE'RE WORKING ON THAT QUESTION.

Q (INAUDIBLE)

MR. BURNS: NO, I UNDERSTAND. BUT WE DON'T HAVE ANY TO -- WE DON'T HAVE ANYTHING TO SAY ON THAT QUESTION TODAY.

Q THERE'S A SCHEDULE THAT WAS ANNOUNCED IN DAMASCUS LAST TIME THE SECRETARY WAS THERE HAD MILITARY-TO-MILITARY TALKS JUST BELOW THE CHIEF OF STAFF LEVEL RESUMING THE MIDDLE OF JULY. TODAY IS THE 14TH OF JULY, SO --

MR. BURNS: RIGHT.

Q CAN WE PRESUME, THOUGH, IT STARTS SOON?

MR. BURNS: WE HOPE VERY MUCH THEY'LL START SOON BUT I JUST DON'T HAVE ANY SPECIFIC DATES TO OFFER

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TODAY. I HAVEN'T HAD A CHANCE TO TALK TO DENNIS (ROSS).

Q NICK, NEWSDAY REPORTED TODAY THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT IN 1992 EFFECTIVELY BLOCKED THE ASCENSION TO THE PRIME MINISTERSHIP OF A THAI POLITICIAN BY PUBLICLY SAYING THREE DAYS AFTER AN ELECTION THAT HE WAS LINKED TO NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING. IT TURNS OUT THAT THE MAIN SOURCE FOR THE INFORMATION WAS SUBSEQUENTLY FOUND TO BE A FABRICATOR, AND A BURN NOTICE WAS ISSUED LATE LAST YEAR ON THE PERSON. THE QUESTION IS, WHY DOES STATE STILL STICK TO ITS GUNS AND HOLD THAT THE PERSON IS INVOLVED IN NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING AND A VISA IS DENIED?

MR. BURNS: I HAVE NOT SEEN A NEWSDAY REPORT, AND THEREFORE I CAN'T SPEAK TO IT, AND I CERTAINLY CAN'T SPEAK TO THE ALLEGATION THAT SOMEONE FABRICATED -- SOMEBODY IN THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, WHICH I SUPPOSE THAT MEANS. I DON'T KNOW WHO THE PERSON IS, AND I DON'T KNOW THE SPECIFICS OF THE EVENT.

I COMMENTED TWO WEEKS AGO, I GUESS -- I COMMENTED LAST WEEK -- EXCUSE ME -- ON THE THAI ELECTIONS AND I COMMENTED TWICE ON THE THAI ELECTIONS, AND I DON'T THINK I CAN DO ANYTHING RIGHT NOW TO IMPROVE UPON THOSE COMMENTS.

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Q GOING BACK TO LATIN AMERICA, CAN YOU GIVE US ANY OTHER DETAILS IN RELATION TO THE POSSIBLE TERRORIST THREAT FOR THE U.S. IN SOUTH AMERICA, AND ALSO I
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UNDERSTAND YOU HAVE THIS KIND OF INFORMATION FROM TIME
TO TIME AND YOU DECIDE WHEN YOU MAKE IT PUBLIC OR NOT.
THIS TIME WAS IT PUBLIC, BECAUSE YOU FEEL THAT LATIN
AMERICA IS NOT TOO ALERT ON THIS ISSUE? TWO QUESTIONS.

MR. BURNS: WE ISSUED A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT OF A
GENERAL THREAT IN SOUTH AMERICA THE OTHER DAY BECAUSE
IT'S OUR OBLIGATION TO DO SO. WHEN THE UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT, THROUGH THE VARIETY OF MEANS AT OUR
DISPOSAL, HAS INFORMATION THAT WE THINK COULD POSSIBLY
LEAD TO A TERRORIST INCIDENT, WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY
TO SHARE THAT WITH AMERICAN CITIZENS, NOT JUST AMERICAN
GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.

IT WOULDN'T BE FAIR TO AMERICAN CITIZENS WHO DO NOT
WORK FOR THE GOVERNMENT IF THOSE OF US WHO DO HAVE THE

INFORMATION AND THEY DIDN'T -- AT LEAST THE INFORMATION
OF A POSSIBLE THREAT. I REALIZE THIS IS AN EXCEEDINGLY
GENERAL ANNOUNCEMENT, AND I REALIZE THAT IF YOU'RE AN
AMERICAN CITIZEN, IT MIGHT BE DIFFICULT TO ASCERTAIN --
TO FIGURE OUT HOW YOUR RESPOND TO AN ANNOUNCEMENT LIKE
THIS.

WE WOULDN'T HAVE ISSUED THE ANNOUNCEMENT HAD WE NOT
THOUGHT THERE WAS SOME REASON TO BELIEVE THAT A
TERRORIST ORGANIZATION MIGHT STRIKE AT TARGETS IN SOUTH
AMERICA FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS WHICH YOU WILL
UNDERSTAND. IT'S NOT IN OUR INTEREST TO GIVE SPECIFIC
INFORMATION ABOUT THE THREAT, BECAUSE WE CERTAINLY WOULD
LIKE TO HELP GOVERNMENTS IN THE AREA APPREHEND THOSE WHO
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ARE PLANNING TERRORIST ATTACKS.

SO I THINK THE GENERAL THRUST OF THE STATEMENT IS
THAT AMERICAN CITIZENS WHO ARE LIVING OR TRAVELING IN
SOUTH AMERICA -- THAT DOES NOT INCLUDE CENTRAL AMERICA
OR MEXICO -- SHOULD UNDERSTAND THAT WE DO HAVE CONCERN
THAT TERRORIST GROUPS MAY BE PLANNING AN OPERATION.
THEY SHOULD JUST TAKE THE NORMAL PRECAUTIONS THAT ONE

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SHOULD TAKE IN MOST PARTS OF THE WORLD THESE DAYS, AS PEOPLE LIVE AND TRAVEL AROUND THE WORLD.

Q SOME INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION FROM ISRAEL THOUGH, SAY THAT THE INFORMATION IS GOING TO ARGENTINA, TO BUENOS AIRES, SPECIFICALLY. IS THAT THE INFORMATION YOU ALSO HAVE? I MEAN, CAN YOU TELL US AT LEAST IF IT IS IN RELATION TO ARGENTINA?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T HAVE THAT INFORMATION. I'M SORRY. OUR ANNOUNCEMENT WAS VERY GENERAL. IT WAS NOT SPECIFIC. IT DID NOT SAY ARGENTINA AND SO THEREFORE I CANNOT CORROBORATE THAT.

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Q IT SAID ARGENTINE DIPLOMATS ARE SAYING THAT THEY'RE BEEFING UP SECURITY, AND ARGENTINA'S INTERIOR MINISTER WAS ON -- GIVING RADIO INTERVIEWS TODAY IN WHICH HE SAID THAT THEY'RE CHECKING THE BORDERS. THERE'S MORE SECURITY ON THE STREETS. HAS THERE BEEN CONTACT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ARGENTINA ON THIS ISSUE?

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MR. BURNS: AGAIN, I CANNOT LINK ARGENTINA TO THE PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT THAT WE ISSUED THE OTHER DAY. BECAUSE OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN ARGENTINA ON A COUPLE OF OCCASIONS OVER THE LAST FEW YEARS -- TERRORIST ATTACKS ON INNOCENT PEOPLE -- WE HAVE HAD A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP. A CLOSE SUPPORTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT ON THE ISSUE OF TERRORISM. WE'RE WORKING CLOSELY WITH THAT GOVERNMENT.

BUT I AM NOT TRYING TO LINK, AND I CANNOT LINK, THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE OTHER NIGHT WITH WHATEVER PRECAUTIONS MAY BE ADVISED NOW BY THE ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT.

Q CONSIDERING THE PAST INCIDENTS, ARE YOU IN

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CONTACT FOLLOWING THIS ANNOUNCEMENT WITH ARGENTINA?

MR. BURNS: I AM NOT SPECIFICALLY AWARE OF WHO WE'VE BEEN IN CONTACT WITH IN SOUTH AMERICA OVER THE LAST 48 HOURS ON THIS ISSUE. I DO KNOW THAT THIS PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT WENT TO ALL OF OUR EMBASSIES AND CONSULATES IN SOUTH AMERICA, AND I WOULD PRESUME THAT THE OFFICIALS IN THOSE EMBASSIES AND CONSULATES HAVE ALERTED ALL THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES WITH WHOM THEY WORK. I THINK THAT WOULD BE REASONABLE. SO IT'S PROBABLY REASONABLE, YES, TO SAY THAT THERE'S BEEN CONTACT. I JUST CAN'T SPEAK TO IT SPECIFICALLY.

Q DID THE (INAUDIBLE) OF ARGENTINA HAVE ANY
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(INAUDIBLE) THIS MORNING BECAUSE THE PAPER REPORTS THAT THE (INAUDIBLE) OF ARGENTINA WAS GOING TO MEET WITH STATE OFFICIALS TODAY.

MR. BURNS: HERE IN THE DEPARTMENT?

Q TODAY, YES.

MR. BURNS: I DON'T KNOW IF HE DID, BUT WE CAN CERTAINLY LOOK INTO THAT FOR YOU.

Q YESTERDAY CNN REPORTED FROM AN UNKNOWN SOURCE THAT THE TERRORISTS MAY BE MEMBERS OF HIZBOLLAH AN IRANIAN-BACKED GROUP. IS THIS TRUE OR HAVE YOU HEARD ANYTHING ABOUT THAT?

MR. BURNS: IN SOUTH AMERICA?

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Q YES. THAT THEY WERE THE -- CNN YESTERDAY RECEIVED FROM AN UNKNOWN SOURCE THAT THIS WAS THE TERRORIST GROUP THAT WAS INVOLVED.

MR. BURNS: I DON'T HAVE ANYTHING FOR YOU ON THAT. SORRY.

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Q THE WALL STREET JOURNAL TODAY REPORTS THERE ARE EXTREMELY LONG LINES AT PASSPORT OFFICES ACROSS THE COUNTRY. WHY IS IT TAKING SO LONG TO PROCESS THESE APPLICATIONS? AND MAYBE THE SECOND QUESTION WOULD BE
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WHY IS THE GOVERNMENT CUTTING BACK STAFFING AT A TIME WHEN SO MANY PEOPLE WANT PASSPORTS?

MR. BURNS: I THINK IT IS JUST LOGICAL THAT THIS IS THE BUSIEST TIME FOR OUR PASSPORT OFFICES AROUND THE COUNTRY, BECAUSE THE GREATEST NUMBER OF AMERICANS WHO TRAVEL, TRAVEL IN THE SUMMER. PEOPLE WHO ARE APPLYING FOR PASSPORTS OR NEW PASSPORTS APPLY GENERALLY IN THE SUMMER.

IT GENERALLY TAKES ABOUT THREE TO FOUR WEEKS TO GET A PASSPORT. I UNDERSTAND THAT THE GREATEST NUMBER OF U.S. CITIZENS APPLYING FOR A PASSPORT IN PERSON FOR PASSPORTS ARE LEAVING WITHIN TWO WEEKS OR LESS; AND, IF YOU NEED TO GET A PASSPORT ON AN URGENT BASIS, THAT CAN USUALLY BE ACCOMPLISHED AT A PASSPORT OFFICE.

WE ENCOURAGE ALL PEOPLE TO APPLY EARLY AND TO PLAN THEIR TRIPS SO THAT THEY ARE IN TOUCH WITH ONE OF OUR 13 PASSPORT AGENCIES ABOUT THEIR REQUEST FOR PASSPORTS. WE ARE TRYING TO DO -- THE DEPARTMENT, OF COURSE HAS RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS -- DEPARTMENT OF STATE. WE'RE TRYING TO DO AS GOOD A JOB AS WE CAN TO MEET THE VERY, VERY HEAVY DEMAND THAT RUNS INTO THE MILLIONS FOR PASSPORTS EVERY YEAR.

IN 1992 WE SET UP A NATIONAL PASSPORT OFFICE IN PORTSMOUTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE, TO DEAL WITH THE ONSLAUGHT OF PASSPORTS THAT ARE ANTICIPATED FROM THE EXPIRATION OF A TEN-YEAR PASSPORT WHICH BEGAN LAST YEAR. SO WE'RE DOING OUR BEST. PEOPLE, I THINK, WILL UNDERSTAND THAT WE'LL
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TRY TO PROCESS THESE APPLICATIONS AS QUICKLY AS WE CAN.

Q NICK, DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING MORE ON THE
FRENCH-IRANIAN OIL DEAL?

MR. BURNS: I BELIEVE I DO HAVE SOMETHING ON THAT.

I JUST HAVE TO DETERMINE WHERE I HAVE THE INFORMATION.
I HAVE DETERMINED THAT. I'M GOING TO TURN TO IT.

WE ARE CERTAINLY DISAPPOINTED BY THE ANNOUNCEMENT
THAT TOTAL -, THE FRENCH COMPANY TOTAL -- HAS REACHED AN
AGREEMENT WITH IRAN TO DEVELOP THE SIRRI FIELD. OUR

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OBJECTION TO THIS SORT OF DEAL HAS BEEN MADE VERY CLEAR
TO THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

THE GOVERNMENT OF TEHRAN CONTINUES TO SUPPORT
ACTIVITIES THAT THREATEN THE INTERESTS OF THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, SO IT'S IMPORTANT WE THINK
FOR ANY GOVERNMENT OR SOCIETY NOT TO CONTRIBUTE TO
IRAN'S ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES.

DEALS OF THE TOTAL TYPE SEND THE WRONG SIGNAL TO THE
IRANIAN LEADERSHIP AT THE WRONG TIME. THE IRANIANS
MIGHT CONCLUDE THEY CAN SPONSOR TERRORISM, PURSUE
WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION WITHOUT PENALTY. SO WE
WOULD LIKE TO CALL UPON THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT, EVEN
THOUGH IT'S BASTILLE DAY, NOT TO EXTEND OFFICIAL CREDITS
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OR OTHER FINANCIAL BENEFITS TO IRAN.

Q ARE YOU ALL GOING TO PRESENT THESE WORDS ON A

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DAY WHEN THEIR GOVERNMENT IS NOT CLOSED?

MR. BURNS: THAT'S WHY I SAID, "EVEN THOUGH ITS'
BASTILLE DAY."

Q (INAUDIBLE).

MR. BURNS: I ACTUALLY UNDERSTAND -- I CHECKED ON
THIS QUESTION. I ACTUALLY UNDERSTAND THAT WE MADE OUR
DIPLOMATIC PROTEST TO THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT YESTERDAY
BEFORE THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT CLOSED THE DOORS FOR
BASTILLE DAY. I WOULD THINK THAT WE WOULD EVEN FOLLOW
UP ON MONDAY MORNING, SO THEY SHOULD BE READY TO HEAR
FROM THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT CONSISTENTLY THAT WE
ARE VERY DISAPPOINTED IN THIS ACTION.

Q IF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT IS CLOSED, ARE YOU
STILL ABLE TO TALK TO THEM ABOUT BOSNIA?

MR. BURNS: YES. WE ARE STILL ABLE TO TALK TO THE
FRENCH GOVERNMENT ABOUT BOSNIA, EVEN THOUGH IT'S
BASTILLE DAY.

Q DO YOU KNOW HOW LONG THE U.S. IS GOING TO WAIT
BEFORE IT PROTESTS TO THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT FOR THE
ATTACK ON THE CUBAN EXILE'S BOAT. ARE YOU GOING TO
PROTEST, OR JUST --

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MR. BURNS: I HAVE NOTED THAT WE REGRET THE
INCIDENT. I THINK THAT ENCOMPASSES OUR REACTION TO WHAT
HAPPENED YESTERDAY.

I WOULD SIMPLY NOTE THAT THIS INCIDENT TOOK PLACE
WITHIN CUBA'S TERRITORIAL WATERS. THE INCIDENT BETWEEN
THE VESSELS AND THAT SEVERAL AIRCRAFT FLEW INTO CUBAN
AIR SPACE. I THINK THOSE ARE PERTINENT FACTS TO NOTE.

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WE HAD A NUMBER OF CONVERSATIONS WITH THE INDIVIDUALS WHO UNDERTOOK THESE AIR AND SEA MISSIONS -- PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS -- BEFORE IT HAPPENED.

WE CERTAINLY SUPPORT THE RIGHT OF AMERICANS -- OF ANYONE ELSE -- TO SAY WHAT THEY WANT AND TO THINK WHAT THEY WANT AND TO BELIEVE WHAT THEY WANT. WE DID POINT OUT TO THESE INDIVIDUALS THAT WHEN YOU DO ENTER THE AIR SPACE OR TERRITORIAL WATERS, OR TERRITORY OF ANOTHER COUNTRY, YOU ARE SUBJECT TO THE LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES OF THAT COUNTRY AND TO THE RULES AND LAWS OF THAT COUNTRY.

WE HAVE NO INTEREST HERE IN SUPPORTING THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT. WE DON'T THINK IT'S A GOOD GOVERNMENT. WE'D LIKE TO SEE A TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY IN CUBA. WE'VE OPPOSED THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT FOR 36/37 YEARS. I JUST WANTED TO POINT OUT THOSE PERTINENT FACTS WHICH LED US TO THE STATEMENT THAT I MADE, THAT WE REGRET THE

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INCIDENT.

Q NICK, I'D LIKE TO GO TO IRAN. HOW FAR ALONG IS -- HAVE THE FRENCH TOLD YOU THAT THEY'RE GOING TO EXTEND OFFICIAL CREDITS OR SOME SORT OF OTHER BENEFIT IN THIS DEAL?

MR. BURNS: WE UNDERSTAND THAT TOTAL HAS REACHED AN AGREEMENT. ORDINARILY IN A DEAL OF THIS TYPE, WHICH IS

A HUGE MULTI-BILLION DOLLARS DEAL, ORDINARILY NATIONAL EXPORT CREDIT AGENCIES OR INSURANCE PROGRAMS WOULD BE REQUIRED TO FINANCE A DEAL OF THIS TYPE. THAT'S CERTAINLY TRUE OF MOST OF THE MAJOR U.S. OIL DEALS AROUND THE WORLD. THAT IS PART OF THE PROBLEM THAT WE HAVE WITH THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT, THE VERY SERIOUS OBJECTION THAT WE HAVE. BUT WE'RE GOING TO LOOK INTO THAT; AND, OF COURSE, GET INTO THE DETAILS OF THIS WITH THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

Q PRESUMABLY, SINCE THIS DEAL IS NOW FINALIZED,

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IF EXPORT CREDITS, OR WHATEVER, ARE PART OF IT YOUR WORDS AREN'T GOING TO HAVE MUCH EFFECT AT THIS POINT?

MR. BURNS: WE DON'T KNOW IF THEY'LL HAVE AN EFFECT OR NOT. GOVERNMENTS CAN CHANGE THEIR MINDS SOMETIMES. WE WOULD HOPE THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT WOULD CHANGE ITS MIND IN SUPPORTING THIS PARTICULAR DEAL. WE WOULD ALSO HOPE TO JUST KEEP IN THE FOREFRONT OF OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH FRANCE, GERMANY, WITH OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES THAT THEY HAVE AS MUCH INTEREST AS WE DO IN PREVENTING
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THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT FROM EXPANDING ITS ECONOMY -- FROM IMPROVING ITS ECONOMY -- AND THEREFORE BEING MORE FREE TO PRACTICE THE WANTON SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM THAT THEY HAVE BEEN UNDERTAKING FOR QUITE SOME TIME NOW AND TO PLAN THE CONSTRUCTION OF A NUCLEAR WEAPONS CAPABILITY WHICH WE FIRMLY BELIEVE IRAN IS PLANNING.

WE DON'T THINK IT'S IN FRANCE'S INTEREST TO IDLY STAND BY FOR THE SAKE OF SHORT-TERM PROFIT AND TO SACRIFICE

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FRANCE'S LONGER-TERM NATIONAL INTERESTS THAT ARE CLEARLY AT STAKE FROM AN IRAN THAT AFFECTS FRANCE NEGATIVELY. SO WE HAVE A VERY DEEP DISAGREEMENT WITH THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT ON THIS.

JUDD.

Q THIS IS A DIFFERENT SUBJECT. DOES ANYBODY HAVE ANOTHER QUESTION ON IRAN?

DO YOU HAVE ANY WORD ON BORIS YELTSIN'S HEALTH?

MR. BURNS: WE UNDERSTAND FROM THE RUSSIAN

PRESIDENTIAL SPOKESMAN THAT PRESIDENT YELTSIN WILL BE STAYING IN THE HOSPITAL FOR ANOTHER WEEK. WE WERE VERY SORRY TO HEAR THIS NEWS.

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WE, AS YOU KNOW, HAVE GREAT RESPECT FOR PRESIDENT
YELTSIN, AND THE UNITED STATES CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH
RUSSIA. WE CERTAINLY WISH PRESIDENT YELTSIN A FULL AND
SPEEDY RECOVERY.

Q HAS THERE BEEN ANY DIRECT CONTACT WITH MR.
YELTSIN AND U.S. OFFICIALS? OR ARE YOU JUST
COMMUNICATING WITH HIS SPOKESMAN?

MR. BURNS: THERE HAS NOT BEEN ANY DIRECT CONTACT
WITH PRESIDENT YELTSIN AND AMERICAN OFFICIALS SINCE HE
ENTERED THE HOSPITAL. BUT OUR EMBASSY, AND AMBASSADOR
TOM PICKERING, ARE IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH YELTSIN'S TOP
AIDES ON THE PRESIDENTIAL STAFF IN THE KREMLIN.

Q DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ON HARRY WU AND ON YOUR
EXCHANGE WITH THE CHINESE? DID ANYONE IN THIS BUILDING
WARN MR. WU OF WHAT HE MIGHT FACE BEFORE HE WENT THERE?

MR. BURNS: ON THE FIRST QUESTION, THERE'S REALLY
NOTHING NEW TO REPORT. OUR CONSUL GENERAL MR. MACIAS,
IS DOING A VERY FINE JOB ON THIS. HE HAS REMINDED THE
CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY OF ITS OBLIGATION TO PURSUE A
REASONABLE COURSE IN THIS MATTER, AND THAT IS TO GIVE US
FLEXIBILITY IN THE NUMBER OF VISITS THAT WE CAN HAVE
WITH MR. WU.

OUR CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, MR. SCOTT HALLFORD, HAS MADE
THE SAME POINTS AT A VERY SENIOR LEVEL IN THE CHINESE
FOREIGN MINISTRY. WE WILL TAKE EVERY OPPORTUNITY IN OUR
CONTACTS WITH CHINA TO REMIND THEM OF OUR BELIEF THAT
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MR. WU SHOULD BE RELEASED IMMEDIATELY.

AS TO YOUR SECOND QUESTION, THE STATE DEPARTMENT WAS NOT ADVISED BY MR. WU OF THIS TRIP BEFORE HE UNDERTOOK IT -- THE TRIP THAT LEAD HIM THROUGH KAZAKHSTAN TO THE

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CHINESE-KAZAK BORDER WHERE HE WAS DETAINED AND LATER APPREHENDED.

WE DO BELIEVE, BASED ON PRIOR CONVERSATIONS, THAT

OFFICIALS IN THIS DEPARTMENT HAD WITH MR. WU, THAT HE WAS FULLY AWARE OF THE RISK OF TRAVEL IN CHINA. HE WAS FULLY AWARE OF IT NOT JUST BECAUSE HIM OF THE RISKS BUT BECAUSE HE HAD SPENT 19 YEARS IN CHINESE PRISONS. WE ASSUME THAT MR. WU TOOK INTO ACCOUNT THE VERY OBVIOUS RISKS THAT WERE UNDERWAY. HE MADE THE DECISION TO GO TO CHINA, AND HE HAS SUFFERED A VERY UNFORTUNATE DETENTION. WE'D LIKE TO CALL UPON THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT AGAIN TO RELEASE HIM IMMEDIATELY.

Q DO YOU HAVE ANY RESPONSE TO FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER'S COMMENT YESTERDAY THAT CHINA-U.S. RELATIONS ARE IN A STATE OF FREE FALL?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T HAVE A COMMENT ON THAT, REALLY. I WOULDN'T DESCRIBE CHINESE-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN THAT WAY. I THINK WE HAVE A TROUBLED RELATIONSHIP WITH CHINA NOW. BUT IT IS A RELATIONSHIP IN WHICH BOTH COUNTRIES
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HAVE A MUTUAL INTEREST TO SEE THAT IT IS STRENGTHENED.

THERE ARE SO MANY ISSUES -- ECONOMIC POLITICAL AND SECURITY -- IN WHICH CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE TO TALK AND HAVE TO ADVANCE AND COOPERATE. IT'S CLEARLY IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF BOTH GOVERNMENTS TO COOPERATE AND THAT'S WHAT WE'RE TRYING TO DO WITH THE CHINESE

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GOVERNMENT.

Q CHINA'S FOREIGN MINISTER, BLAMING THE UNITED STATES, SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES WAS FULLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DETERIORATION OF ITS RELATIONS WITH CHINA; AND HE URGED THE UNITED STATES TO PLEDGE NEVER TO LET LEE TENG-HUI VISIT THE UNITED STATES. WHAT IS YOUR RESPONSE TO THAT?

MR. BURNS: MY RESPONSE IS THAT BOTH COUNTRIES ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP AND FOR WHATEVER PROGRESS WE'RE GOING TO MAKE IN THE RELATIONSHIP.

THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT IS SPECIFICALLY RESPONSIBLE TO REMOVE A NUMBER OF THE PROBLEMS IN THAT RELATIONSHIP NOTABLY THEIR DETENTION OF HARRY WU.

THAT IS MY RESPONSE.

Q NICK, I DON'T KNOW IF YOU MENTIONED IN YOUR OPENING STATEMENT THERE'S NOW A WATER CATASTROPHE IN UKRAINE -- THAT THE CITY OF KHARKOV, I BELIEVE, IS BEING EVACUATED; AND, ALSO, IN THE MOSCOW RIVER, IN THE CITY OF MOSCOW, CHOLERA HAS BEEN DISCOVERED. I DON'T KNOW IF
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YOU MADE COMMENTS ON THAT AT ALL OR IF YOU DIDN'T.

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MR. BURNS: I DIDN'T COMMENT ON IT IN MY OPENING STATEMENT; BUT I'M AWARE OF THE PROBLEM IN KHARKOV AND I KNOW THAT THE UKRAINIAN AUTHORITIES HAVE, I THINK, DONE EVERYTHING THEY CAN TO COPE WITH IT. IF WE RECEIVE THE REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE, WE WILL LOOK AT THAT VERY SERIOUSLY DUE TO OUR CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH UKRAINE

Q PRESIDENT KUCHMA, IN CONNECTION WITH THAT, OBVIOUSLY ALSO MENTIONED ONE OF THE BIG PROBLEMS WITH THE SHOCK-THERAPY POLICIES WHICH UKRAINE, AS WELL AS RUSSIA, HAVE IMPLEMENTED. IS IT NOT THE CASE IN LINE

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WITH WHAT AMBASSADOR TALBOTT SAID SOME YEARS AGO, WHEN HE CAME BACK FROM RUSSIA AND SAID THERE SHOULD BE LESS SHOCK AND MORE THERAPY -- MAYBE THAT IS THE CASE NOW TOO -- AND THAT THE IMF CONDITIONALITIES AS A MEDICINE ARE STARTING TO KILL THE PATIENT AND SHOULD BE REEVALUATED? (LAUGHTER)

MR. BURNS: THAT'S A LOT TO TALK ABOUT AND WE HAVE VERY LITTLE TIME BECAUSE I HAVE TO GO TO A MEETING. BUT LET ME JUST SAY THAT PRESIDENT KUCHMA WAS ELECTED ON JULY 10 OF 1994 AND SINCE THEN HE HAS MADE THE MOST DRAMATIC REFORMS OF ANY LEADER IN THE FORMER SOVIET UNION. THERE'S NO QUESTION ABOUT THAT.

HE HAS RECEIVED AN IMF STANDBY AGREEMENT, WHICH IS
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AN ENORMOUS ACCOMPLISHMENT CONSIDERING WHERE UKRAINE WAS A YEAR AGO TODAY, IN TERMS OF ITS ECONOMIC REFORM EFFORTS. IT HAD DONE LITERALLY NOTHING FROM DECEMBER 25, 1991, TO JULY 10, 1994. HE IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE TURNAROUND IN THAT ECONOMY, FOR THE FACT THAT THE IMF IS ASSISTING IT.

UKRAINE IS NOW THE FOURTH LARGEST RECIPIENT OF AMERICAN ASSISTANCE ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD. A LOT OF PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD -- PRIVATE INVESTORS, AS WELL AS INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS -- HAVE A LOT OF CONFIDENCE IN HIM, IN HIS ECONOMIC TEAM LED BY PRIME MINISTER MARCHUK, MINISTER SHPEK AND MINISTER OSYKA. WE ARE GOING TO DO EVERYTHING WE CAN TO HELP THE UKRAINIAN GOVERNMENT NEGOTIATE ITS WAY THROUGH THE VERY, VERY BIG CHALLENGES IT FACES ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT.

THERE IS ALWAYS ACCOMPANYING THESE ISSUES A CERTAIN TENSION BETWEEN THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND THE COUNTRIES WITH WHICH THEY NEGOTIATE. WE THINK THE IMF HAS DONE A VERY, VERY FINE JOB; AND WE CONGRATULATE THE IMF AND UKRAINE ON THE WORK THAT THEY'VE BEEN ABLE TO DO TOGETHER, BUT IT'S NOT UNUSUAL THAT THEY MIGHT HAVE TACTICAL DISAGREEMENTS ABOUT HOW YOU MIGHT PHASE IN OR STAGE SOME OF THESE REFORMS.

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WE JUST HAVE A LOT OF CONFIDENCE IN PRESIDENT
KUCHMA. HE WAS HERE IN NOVEMBER, AND PRESIDENT CLINTON
WENT TO VISIT HIM IN MAY. WE HAVE A VERY STRONG
RELATIONSHIP

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WITH UKRAINE AND WE'RE ROOTING FOR IT -- ROOTING FOR IT
TO SUCCEED DEMOCRATICALLY AS WELL AS ECONOMICALLY.

Q THANK YOU.

MR. BURNS: THANK YOU.

END TEXT. CHRISTOPHER

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XMT AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 12 MAR 2009 200705105

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AMEMBASSY MALABO
AMCONSUL SHANGHAI

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INFORM CONSULS ALSO FOR USEC/USOECDC

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OPRC

SUBJECT: DAILY PRESS BRIEFING -- THURSDAY, JULY 13, 1995

THE FOLLOWING TOPICS WERE COVERED IN TODAY'S PRESS
BRIEFING:

CHINA: UN CONFERENCE ON WOMEN--BEIJING LOCATION (1);
RELIGIOUS EXPRESSION OF DELEGATES (1-2); POSSIBILITY OF
MRS. CLINTON'S ATTENDANCE AT CONFERENCE (3); SECRETARY
CHRISTOPHER'S MTG. W/FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER (3-4);
PROSPECTS FOR CHRISTOPHER/QIAN MTG. IN BRUNEI (4-5,7);
U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS: HIGH-LEVEL MTGS (5,8,10); GRANTING
OF VISAS TO TAIWAN OFFICIALS (4-12); HARRY WU CASE:
CONSULAR ACCESS (6-7); MERCEDES-BENZ CONTRACT W/CHINA
(8-9); U.S.-GERMAN DISCUSSIONS RE: JIANG ZEMIN MTGS. IN
GERMANY (9); REPORTED DEMANDS FOR RETURN OF CHINESE AMB.
TO U.S. (9)

FORMER YUGOSLAVIA: WAR IN BOSNIA: U.S. POSITION ON
ATTACKS ON SAFE HAVENS, DETENTION OF UN PERSONNEL,
DETENTION/ABUSE OF REFUGEES, UN MANDATE, RAPID REACTION
FORCE (12-13,21-22,29); EASTERN ENCLAVES: SREBRENICA,

ZEPA, GORADZDE (14-15,18-19,23,25-28); STATUS OF
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REFUGEES: SEPARATION OF MALES, MOSLEM WOMEN
(13,15,22-23); U.S. ASSISTANCE/AID/SUPPORT
(15-16,20,25-26,32); STATUS OF DETAINED PEACEKEEPERS
(14); CONTACT GROUP MTG. IN LONDON (13-14,17-18,20);
U.S. CONTACTS W/MILOSEVIC (16-17); ISSUE OF UNILATERAL
LIFTING OF SANCTIONS (24); FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER'S
REMARKS (30); WIDENING OF WAR (14,31-32); MULTILATERAL

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LIFT AND STRIKE (27)

SRI LANKA: GOV'T./TAMIL TIGERS CONFLICT (32)

JORDAN: MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (33)

MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS: DENNIS ROSS' TRIP TO REGION
(33-34)

CUBA: CONSTRUCTION OF JURAGUA NUCLEAR POWER PLANT
(34-35)

AZERBAIJAN: REPORT OF PRESIDENT HEYDAR/TURKISH PM MTG.
(35)

FRANCE: REPORT OF "DEAL" WITH IRAN (35)

BEGIN TEXT:

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MR. BURNS: GOOD AFTERNOON. WELCOME TO THE STATE
DEPARTMENT BRIEFING. I'LL BE GLAD TO GO DIRECTLY TO
YOUR QUESTIONS.

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Q YOU'VE HAD HARRY WU'S WIFE AND NEWT GINGRICH
TALKING ABOUT THE DESIRABILITY, PERHAPS, OF MOVING THE
WOMEN'S CONFERENCE IN BEIJING TO ANOTHER SITE BECAUSE OF
THE VARIOUS DRAWBACKS OF THAT LOCATION. DO YOU HAVE ANY
THOUGHTS ON THAT?

MR. BURNS: I DO. LET ME JUST GIVE YOU A LITTLE BIT
OF THE HISTORY ON THIS. THE SITES OF U.N. CONFERENCES
ARE DECIDED ON A REGIONAL BASIS. WHEN THE UNITED
NATIONS HAD TO DECIDE WHERE TO HOLD THE U.N. CONFERENCE
ON WOMEN, IT WAS CLEAR THAT IT WOULD BE IN ASIA. THE
ONLY ASIAN COUNTRY TO STEP FORWARD TO VOLUNTEER TO HOST
THIS CONFERENCE WAS CHINA. THIS DECISION WAS MADE
SEVERAL YEARS AGO, BEFORE THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION

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TOOK OFFICE, AND THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION DECIDED TO JOIN AN INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS IN THE U.N. TO HAVE CHINA HOST THIS CONFERENCE. THAT'S POINT NUMBER ONE.

POINT NUMBER TWO IS THAT WE ARE ONLY TWO MONTHS AWAY FROM THIS CONFERENCE. IT DOES NOT SEEM TO US TO BE PRACTICAL TO THINK THAT THIS CONFERENCE CAN NOW BE MOVED.

POINT NUMBER THREE IS THE UNITED STATES INTENDS TO ATTEND THIS CONFERENCE. IT'S AN IMPORTANT CONFERENCE ABOUT THE FUTURE OF WOMEN AROUND THE WORLD, AND WE WILL ATTEND. WE WILL SEND A DELEGATION.

Q WHAT IS YOUR POSITION ON THE AMERICAN DELEGATES CARRYING BIBLES TO THE CONFERENCE?

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MR. BURNS: WE BELIEVE IT IS VERY IMPORTANT THAT ALL OF THE AMERICAN PARTICIPANTS SHOULD FEEL FREE TO EXPRESS THEMSELVES FREELY AND TO EXPRESS THEMSELVES CERTAINLY

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RELIGIOUSLY, IF THEY WISH TO BRING BIBLES, IF THEY WISH TO BRING KORANS, IF ANY DELEGATE WISHES TO BRING ANY RELIGIOUS BOOK.

CHINA HAS UNDERTAKEN AN OBLIGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND TO ALL THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONFERENCE, IN HOLDING THIS CONFERENCE, TO RESPECT THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE PARTICIPANTS AND TO ALLOW THEM FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION. IT WOULD BE ILLOGICAL AND UNREASONABLE TO ASSERT THAT AMERICANS COULD NOT BRING BIBLES TO AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.

SO WE WILL BE REMINDING CHINA AND THE UNITED NATIONS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF ALL PARTICIPANTS HAVING THE RIGHT TO EXPRESS THEMSELVES FREELY, INCLUDING IN RELIGIOUS TERMS.

BETSY.

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Q I SAW A WIRE STORY THAT SAID, HOWEVER, THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT IS WARNING WOMEN WHO WERE GOING THAT CARRYING A BIBLE OR TRYING TO ENGAGE IN RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES COULD LEAD TO THEIR ARREST AND THAT THERE WOULD BE LITTLE THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT COULD DO TO

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HELP THEM OUT OF THIS FIX.

MR. BURNS: IT IS CERTAINLY TRUE THAT WHEN ONE TRAVELS TO A FOREIGN COUNTRY, YOU ARE SUBJECT TO THE LAWS OF THAT COUNTRY. IF YOU VIOLATE THE LAWS OF THAT COUNTRY, THEN YOU MIGHT FACE THE LEGAL SYSTEM IN THAT COUNTRY.

IN THIS PARTICULAR CONTEXT, HOWEVER, THIS IS AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE. CHINA DOES HAVE VERY SPECIFIC OBLIGATIONS TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN HOLDING IT. I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE ON DOWN IN THIS DEPARTMENT, WE BELIEVE IT IS VERY IMPORTANT THAT AMERICANS, IN THIS CASE -- AMERICAN CITIZENS HAVE THE RIGHT TO EXPRESS THEMSELVES FREELY AND THEY SPECIFICALLY SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO BRING BIBLES TO AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.

THE BRIEFING THAT WAS HELD THE OTHER DAY FOR PROSPECTIVE AMERICAN DELEGATES CONCENTRATED ON DESCRIBING THE CONDITIONS IN WHICH THE DELEGATES WOULD FIND THEMSELVES IN CHINA. CERTAINLY, THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE DID NOT WISH TO CONVEY, AND IS NOT CONVEYING TODAY, ANY KIND OF WARNING THAT PEOPLE SHOULD NOT BRING BIBLES TO THIS CONFERENCE. WE THINK IT'S VERY IMPORTANT THAT PEOPLE SHOULD FEEL FREE TO EXPRESS THEMSELVES AS AMERICANS, AND NOT TO FEEL THAT THEY'RE GOING TO BE PUNISHED FOR IT BY THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT. AS I SAID, WE WILL BE MAKING THIS POINT VERY CLEAR TO THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT.

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WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT CHINA WILL LIVE UP TO THESE
OBLIGATIONS THAT ARE SO CLEAR, AS A HOST FOR THIS
CONFERENCE.

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Q HAS THE DEPARTMENT MADE ANY RECOMMENDATION, OR
IS IT CONSIDERING MAKING A RECOMMENDATION AS TO WHETHER
THE FIRST LADY SHOULD ATTEND? IT'S FAIRLY WIDELY KNOWN
THAT SHE WOULD VERY MUCH LIKE TO.

MR. BURNS: THAT'S A DECISION THAT THE FIRST LADY
WILL HAVE TO MAKE. THE WHITE HOUSE CAN SPEAK TO THAT.
I SIMPLY CAN'T SPEAK TO IT, STEVE.

Q NICK, WHAT CAN YOU SAY ABOUT THE SECRETARY'S
BREAKFAST WITH FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER?

MR. BURNS: THE SECRETARY HAD BREAKFAST WITH FORMER
SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER THIS MORNING HERE IN
THE DEPARTMENT. THEY HAD A ONE-HOUR MEETING. ASSISTANT
SECRETARY OF STATE WIN LORD AND THE DIRECTOR OF THE
POLICY PLANNING STAFF, JIM STEINBERG, ALSO ATTENDED.

I UNDERSTAND THAT FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER BRIEFED
THE SECRETARY ON HIS PERCEPTION OF EVENTS IN CHINA. HE
BRIEFED HIM ON THE DISCUSSIONS THAT HE HAD WITH THE
CHINESE LEADERSHIP. I KNOW HE MET WITH PREMIER LI PENG
AND ALSO WITH THE CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER, QIAN
QICHEN. THEY DISCUSSED SOME OF THE SPECIFIC ISSUES ON
THE U.S.-CHINA AGENDA -- IN FACT, ALL THE MAJOR ISSUES,
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I THINK, ON THAT AGENDA, INCLUDING SOME OF THE ISSUES
THAT HAVE BEEN SO MUCH IN THE NEWS, SUCH AS THE HARRY WU

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CASE, RECENTLY. THEY HAD A VERY GOOD DISCUSSION.

THEY ALSO TOUCHED ON THE BOSNIA PROBLEM AND ALL THE ISSUES SURROUNDING THE BOSNIA PROBLEM.

AFTER THAT, I BELIEVE THAT FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER WENT UP TO CAPITOL HILL FOR SOME TESTIMONY. THERE WILL BE SOME FURTHER MEETINGS OVER AT THE WHITE HOUSE THIS AFTERNOON.

Q DID KISSINGER MAKE ANY OBSERVATIONS AS TO THE WAY THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN HANDLING THIS ISSUE -- NOT JUST WU, BUT THE OVERALL DETERIORATION IN RELATIONS? DID HE SUGGEST THAT SOME OF THE CONGRESSIONAL CALLS FOR TOUGHER ACTION WERE WARRANTED?

MR. BURNS: I BELIEVE THAT HE CERTAINLY GAVE HIS ASSESSMENT OF U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS, AND I BELIEVE THEY DID GET INTO WHAT THE UNITED STATES CAN AND SHOULD DO TO MAKE AN EFFORT TO STRENGTHEN OUR RELATIONS WITH CHINA AND WHAT CHINA HAS TO DO TO MAKE THAT EFFORT. BUT I CERTAINLY WOULDN'T WANT TO CHARACTERIZE DR. KISSINGER'S VIEWS. I THINK IT'S UP TO HIM TO DO THAT.

Q HOW ABOUT ANY EXPLANATION THAT HE MIGHT HAVE BEEN ABLE TO HELP YOU WITH IN TERMS OF EXACTLY WHAT'S GOING ON IN CHINA? IS THIS MOSTLY INTERNAL POLITICS?

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MR. BURNS: I THINK THE SECRETARY FOUND THIS TO BE A VERY HELPFUL AND USEFUL BREAKFAST. HE HAD LUNCH WITH DR. KISSINGER BEFORE DR. KISSINGER LEFT ON THE TRIP. THEY HAD DECIDED AHEAD OF TIME THAT THEY WANTED TO GET TOGETHER AFTER THE TRIP. IT'S PARTICULARLY USEFUL BECAUSE WE ARE IN A CHALLENGING TIME IN OUR RELATIONS WITH CHINA. SO THE SECRETARY WAS VERY PLEASED BY THE BREAKFAST AND FOUND DR. KISSINGER'S VIEWS AND ADVICE TO BE QUITE HELPFUL.

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Q BUT NO DETAILS?

MR. BURNS: NO DETAILS.

Q NICK, WILL THERE BE A FUTURE CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER?

MR. BURNS: WILL THERE BE FUTURE CONSULTATIONS?

Q YES.

MR. BURNS: I KNOW THAT THEY ARE OFTEN IN TOUCH ABOUT GLOBAL ISSUES, NOT JUST CHINA. AS I SAID, THEY DISCUSSED THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA AS WELL. SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER HAS A LOT OF RESPECT FOR DR. KISSINGER.

Q TWO QUESTIONS. HAVE YOU HEARD YET FROM THE CHINESE WHETHER THERE WILL BE A MEETING WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER DURING THE ASEAN CONFERENCE; QUESTION ONE. AND
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-- I FORGOT THE SECOND QUESTION.

DO YOU FIND IT LIKELY THAT THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES WILL ACCEPT THE INVITATION OF THE CHINESE TO STAND UP AND SAY AGAIN WHAT U.S. POLICY IS TOWARD CHINA AND ALSO PROMISE NOT TO ISSUE VISAS TO TAIWANESE OFFICIALS?

MR. BURNS: FIRST QUESTION FIRST; SECOND QUESTION SECOND?

Q AS YOU LIKE.

MR. BURNS: THE SECRETARY HAS SAID, AND I BELIEVE I MENTIONED YESTERDAY, THAT HE WOULD VERY MUCH LIKE TO HAVE A MEETING IN BRUNEI WITH FOREIGN MINISTER QIAN OF CHINA. WE HAVE DISCUSSED WITH THE CHINESE AND ARE DISCUSSING, THE PROSPECTS FOR SUCH A MEETING. WE HAVEN'T ARRIVED AT A MUTUALLY AGREED TIME AND DATE, AND I DON'T BELIEVE WE HAVE A COMMITMENT YET FROM THE

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CHINESE TO HOLD THIS MEETING.

WE THINK IT'S VERY IMPORTANT TO HAVE THIS MEETING BECAUSE, AS WE'VE SAID MANY TIMES IN THE PAST, IT'S IMPORTANT TO HAVE HIGH-LEVEL DIPLOMATIC CONTACT TO RESOLVE EITHER MISUNDERSTANDINGS OR DIFFERENCES OF OPINION ON MAJOR ISSUES. WE CERTAINLY WOULD LIKE TO USE THIS MEETING TO THAT EFFECT.

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SECONDLY, STEVE, ON THE BROADER QUESTION OF UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARDS CHINA, LET ME JUST NOTE AGAIN THAT IT'S THE VERY FIRM AND CLEAR POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE LONG-STANDING POSITION WE'VE TAKEN TOWARD THE CHINESE PEOPLE ON BOTH SIDES OF THE TAIWAN STRAIT THAT THERE IS ONE CHINA AND THAT TAIWAN IS PART OF CHINA. WE HAVE A ONE-CHINA POLICY. IT'S BASED ON THE "THREE COMMUNIQUES" FROM THE 1970S.

THE PRESIDENT HAS EMPHASIZED THAT PARTICULAR POINT IN THE MEETING HE HAD WITH THE CHINESE AMBASSADOR IN EARLY JUNE, I BELIEVE IT WAS ON JUNE 8. THE SECRETARY OF STATE HAS EMPHASIZED THAT ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS, AND A NUMBER OF OTHERS WHO SPEAK FOR THE ADMINISTRATION PUBLICLY HAVE ALSO REVIEWED THAT.

WE HAVE A VERY STRONG AND CONTINUED INTEREST IN A GOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH CHINA, AND WE HAVE A ONE-CHINA POLICY.

BUT I WOULD ALSO SAY THAT THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA SHARE A MUTUAL INTEREST IN HAVING A STRONG RELATIONSHIP. IT IS NOT SOMETHING FOR WHICH THE UNITED STATES HAS A SOLE OR UNITARY OBLIGATION. THEREFORE IT IS VERY IMPORTANT FOR THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT TO ALSO DEMONSTRATE AN INTEREST IN THIS TYPE OF RELATIONSHIP

SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THIS ADMINISTRATION HAVE TAKEN MANY OPPORTUNITIES IN THE PAST COUPLE OF WEEKS TO

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REAFFIRM THIS POLICY TO THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP. AS I
SAID, WE'VE MADE FREQUENT PUBLIC REAFFIRMATIONS OF THE
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POLICY AS WELL.

Q WHAT ABOUT THE VISA ISSUE?

MR. BURNS: EXCUSE ME?

Q THE VISA ISSUE?

MR. BURNS: THE VISA ISSUE, FOR --

Q THEIR DEMAND THAT THE UNITED STATES NOT, IN THE
FUTURE, ISSUE VISAS TO TAIWANESE OFFICIALS?

MR. BURNS: WE SAID, I BELIEVE, IN ANNOUNCING THE
DECISION TO GRANT THE VISA TO PRESIDENT LEE FOR HIS
UNOFFICIAL VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES, THAT WE DID SO
BECAUSE IT WAS A UNIQUE CIRCUMSTANCE, A UNIQUE EVENT
AND WE ALSO SAID AT THE TIME THAT ANY FUTURE VISA
REQUESTS WOULD BE HANDLED ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS BY THE
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

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Q DR. KISSINGER SAID A FEW MINUTES AGO ON THE
HILL THAT HE HAD MADE A STRONG REPRESENTATION TO PRIME
MINISTER LI PENG ON THE SUBJECT OF HARRY WU. WITHOUT
GOING INTO THE SPECIFICS OF WHAT EXACTLY HE SAID ABOUT
HIS MEETINGS WITH THE CHINESE OFFICIALS, WHICH I GATHER
YOU DON'T WANT TO DO, CAN YOU TELL US WHETHER AS A
RESULT OF THE DISCUSSION OVER BREAKFAST WITH DR.
KISSINGER THE SECRETARY HAS NOW GOT A DIFFERENT VIEW
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EITHER A MORE OPTIMISTIC OR MORE PESSIMISTIC VIEW ABOUT
THE PROSPECTS FOR A SOLUTION OF THIS PROBLEM?

MR. BURNS: I CAN'T SAY THAT HIS VIEW HAS CHANGED
EITHER NEGATIVELY OR POSITIVELY ON THE CASE OF HARRY
WU. WE ARE CONTINUING TO ASSERT OUR RIGHT TO SEE HIM,
TO HAVE CONSULAR ACCESS TO HIM. AS I SAID THE OTHER
DAY, WE HOPE THAT WILL BE FREQUENT CONSULAR ACCESS, AND
WE WILL PRESS THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT FOR FREQUENT
CONSULAR ACCESS TO HIM.

OUR CONSUL GENERAL MET TODAY WITH A SENIOR OFFICIAL
OF THE CONSULAR BRANCH OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN
AFFAIRS AND MADE THAT POINT.

OUR CHARGE D'AFFAIRES IN BEIJING HAD ANOTHER MEETING
TODAY WITH THE ASSISTANT MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN
WHICH HE ALSO REAFFIRMED OUR REQUEST FOR THE IMMEDIATE
RELEASE OF MR. WU AND FOR THE IMMEDIATE ACCESS OF
AMERICAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS TO HIM.

Q WHAT WAS THE RESPONSE?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T BELIEVE THAT WE RECEIVED A
RESPONSE THAT WOULD INDICATE THAT HIS RELEASE IS
IMMINENT. WE DID NOT RECEIVE A RESPONSE TO THAT EFFECT,
AND WE WERE TOLD THAT OUR REQUEST FOR MORE FREQUENT
CONSULAR ACCESS WAS UNDER CONSIDERATION. WE CERTAINLY
HOPE THAT WILL BE THE CASE AND THAT WE'LL BE GIVEN
FREQUENT CONSULAR ACCESS.

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Q NICK, YOUR COUNTERPART IN BEIJING SAID THIS
MORNING THE UNITED STATES SHOULD HAVE PATIENCE IN
DEALING WITH THE HARRY WU CASE. DO YOU MAKE ANYTHING OF
THAT?

MR. BURNS: WE HAVE A RIGHT UNDER THE CONSULAR

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CONVENTION TO BE ABLE TO SEE HIM AND TO VISIT HIM, AND THAT'S IMPORTANT IN ANY PRISONER'S CASE, PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT IN THE CASE OF HARRY WU BECAUSE OF HIS AGE AND BECAUSE OF HIS HEALTH AND, FRANKLY, BECAUSE OF HIS PROMINENCE AND THE CONCERN WE HAVE OVER HIS TREATMENT. WE WANT THE TREATMENT TO BE GOOD. WE WANT HIM TO BE ACCORDED FULL RIGHTS. WE WANT HIM TO HA/E AN OPPORTUNITY TO HAVE AN ATTORNEY OF HIS OWN CHOOSING.

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WE HAVE SHOWN A GREAT DEAL OF PATIENCE SINCE JUNE 19, THE DAY ON WHICH HE WAS TAKEN INTO CUSTODY. WE DEMONSTRATED A GREAT DEAL OF FLEXIBILITY AND PATIENCE THROUGHOUT THE TIME WHEN WE WERE DENIED CONSULAR ACCESS TO HIM. I THINK THE TIME HAS COME FOR HARRY WU'S IMMEDIATE RELEASE; AND SO RATHER THAN SAY THAT WE'RE CONTENT TO BE PATIENT, I WOULD SAY THAT WE ARE ANXIOUS TO HAVE HIM RELEASED FREELY SO HE CAN COME BACK TO THE UNITED STATES TO HIS FAMILY AND CONTINUE ON WITH HIS LIFE.

Q CHINA, WHEN IT WAS TALKING ABOUT ITS DEMANDS FOR THE PRESIDENT TO RESTATE THE ONE-CHINA POLICY AND STOP ISSUING THE VISAS, SAID SOMETHING ABOUT NO MORE
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HIGH-LEVEL MEETINGS. IS THIS RELATED TO THE LACK OF COMMITMENT FOR A MEETING WITH SECRETARY OF STATE CHRISTOPHER IN BRUNEI?

MR. BURNS: I SIMPLY DON'T KNOW. IT'S HARD ALWAYS TO INTERPRET SOME OF THE STATEMENTS THAT YOU HEAR FROM ANY COUNTRY. IN THIS CASE WE'VE MADE VERY CLEAR OUR

INTEREST IN HIGH-LEVEL MEETINGS. WE THINK THEY'RE IMPORTANT. THEY MUST OCCUR IF THE RELATIONSHIP IS TO MOVE FORWARD, AND CLEARLY THIS RELATIONSHIP SHOULD MOVE FORWARD.

CHARLIE.

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Q NICK, NOTWITHSTANDING YOUR CALL FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE AND YOUR CALL FOR MORE FREQUENT ACCESS, AREN'T YOU IN FACT -- DOESN'T THE UNITED STATES HAVE ITS HANDS TIED BY THE CONSULAR CONVENTION OF ONE VISIT FOR EVERY 30 DAYS? NOW THAT THEY'VE GIVEN IT IF THEY DON'T WISH TO DO ANY MORE THAN THAT, THEY ARE WITHIN THEIR RIGHTS?

MR. BURNS: THEY ARE CERTAINLY WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE CONSULAR CONVENTION TO PERMIT A MINIMUM OF ONE VISIT PER MONTH. WE JUST DON'T THINK THAT IS REASONABLE. WE WOULD ASK THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT AND HAVE ASKED THEM TO DEMONSTRATE A CERTAIN DEGREE OF FLEXIBILITY AND OF REASON IN THIS MATTER. WE THINK THAT WOULD BE THE MOST HUMANE TREATMENT OF HARRY WU, FOR WHOM WE HAVE A GREAT DEAL OF CONCERN.

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KAREN.

Q I HAVE A BOSNIA QUESTION.

MR. BURNS: LET'S FINISH CHINA, AND THEN I'LL BE GLAD TO GO TO BOSNIA.

Q SINCE ALL THE SPECULATION ABOUT THE VISA AND WHAT PRESIDENT CLINTON SHOULD DO IS BASED ON AN UNSOURCED STORY, PERHAPS YOU COULD TELL US WHETHER THE CHINESE HAVE GIVEN THE UNITED STATES THAT SAME MESSAGE, THAT THEY WOULD

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LIKE PRESIDENT CLINTON TO MAKE SOME STATEMENT ABOUT THE ONE-CHINA POLICY AND ALSO TO PROMISE NOT TO ISSUE ANOTHER VISA TO --

MR. BURNS: I DON'T BELIEVE THAT HAS BEEN EXPRESSED TO US AT A HIGH LEVEL OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT, BUT I THINK WE'VE HEARD THAT FROM A NUMBER OF CHINESE OFFICIALS SINCE THE TROUBLES OVER THE VISA TO PRESIDENT LEE BEGAN. A NUMBER OF CHINESE OFFICIALS HAVE EXPRESSED

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TO US THE NEED FOR A CLEARER STATEMENT OF AMERICAN POLICY.

WE HAVE REPLIED TO THEM ON EVERY OCCASION -- AND ARE GLAD TO REPLY AGAIN TODAY -- THAT WE HAVE ENUNCIATED TIME AND AGAIN AN EXTREMELY CLEAR AND OPEN POLICY

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TOWARDS CHINA, THAT NO ONE CAN MISTAKE THE AMERICAN POLICY TOWARDS CHINA, THAT IT HAS NOT CHANGED. IT HAS RECEIVED BIPARTISAN SUPPORT IN THE PAST FROM A NUMBER OF ADMINISTRATIONS, ALL OF THEM SINCE THE EARLY 1970S, AND WE THINK THAT SHOULD CONTINUE.

WE HAVE NO INTEREST IN CHANGING OUR POLICY TOWARDS CHINA AND HAVE NOT CHANGED IT.

Q SINCE THERE HAVE NOT BEEN ANY HIGH-LEVEL MEETINGS WITH THE CHINESE SINCE THIS ISSUE CAME UP WOULD IT BE FAIR TO SAY THAT AT EVERY MEETING -- EVERY LOW-LEVEL MEETING -- THEY'VE EXPRESSED THIS IN EVERY LOW-LEVEL MEETING YOU'VE HAD WITH THEM?

MR. BURNS: NO, I CAN'T SAY THAT, BECAUSE THERE ARE LOTS AND LOTS OF MEETINGS THAT DO TAKE PLACE IN BEIJING, IN WASHINGTON AND AROUND THE WORLD; AND I JUST SIMPLY CAN'T CONFIRM THAT THIS ISSUE COMES UP AT EVERY MEETING, BUT IT HAS COME UP FREQUENTLY.

Q NICK, A GERMAN COMPANY JUST WON A BILLION DOLLAR MINIVAN CONTRACT IN CHINA, BEATING OUT TWO U.S. FIRMS. DO YOU THINK MERCEDES WON THAT FAIR AND SQUARE, THAT IT WAS JUST BUSINESS, OR DO YOU SEE ANY LINKAGE TO THE POLITICAL SITUATION?

MR. BURNS: I WOULD JUST NOTE THAT THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN REPLIED TO THIS SAME QUESTION YESTERDAY, AND HE SAID THAT THE DECISION BY THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT TO UNDERTAKE THIS PROJECT WITH MERCEDES-BENZ

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WAS BASED PURELY ON COMMERCIAL CONSIDERATIONS. WE WOULD CERTAINLY EXPECT THAT TO BE THE FACT. WE WOULD NOT EXPECT THAT OVERT POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS WOULD INFLUENCE A DEAL OF THIS SIZE.

WE FOLLOW THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS ON THESE MAJOR INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL PROJECTS QUITE CLOSELY. THEY'RE IMPORTANT TO US BECAUSE CHINA'S AN IMPORTANT EXPORT MARKET, AN INVESTMENT MARKET FOR AMERICAN FIRMS, AND WE CONTINUE TO

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BELIEVE THAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE FOR AMERICAN FIRMS TO DO WELL IN CHINA, AND WE CONTINUE TO ENCOURAGE AMERICAN FIRMS TO INVEST IN CHINA.

Q ALSO ON GERMANY, HAS THE DEPARTMENT GOT ANY WORD FROM ITS GERMAN COUNTERPARTS ON THE MEETINGS THAT GERMAN OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN HAVING WITH JIANG ZEMIN AND HIS GROUP VISITING GERMAN NOW, AND DOES IT KNOW WHETHER THE SUBJECT OF EITHER HARRY WU OR U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS IN GENERAL WAS BROUGHT UP BY EITHER SIDE IN THOSE MEETINGS?

MR. BURNS: AS YOU'D EXPECT, GIVEN THE VERY CLOSE ALLIANCE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GERMANY, WE HAD A NUMBER OF GOOD DISCUSSIONS WITH THE GERMAN LEADERSHIP BEFORE THE VISIT OF JIANG ZEMIN, AND THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT WAS CERTAINLY AWARE OF OUR INTEREST IN THE HARRY WU CASE AND OTHER PROMINENT ISSUES
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IN THE U.S.-CHINA AGENDA.

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I DON'T BELIEVE -- AT LEAST I'M NOT AWARE -- THAT WE'VE RECEIVED ANY HIGH-LEVEL BRIEFINGS ON THE MEETINGS THAT TOOK PLACE OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF DAYS IN GERMANY.

Q WE'RE IN DANGER OF BEATING A DEAD HORSE --

MR. BURNS: WE DO THAT EVERY DAY. THAT'S OKAY.

Q CHINA SAID THEY WOULD ONLY RETURN THEIR AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S. IF THE PRESIDENT PERSONALLY DENOUNCED INDEPENDENT TAIWAN AND THEY PROMISED NOT TO REPEAT THE VISA. WILL YOU ACQUIESCE ON THOSE TWO DEMANDS?

MR. BURNS: CAN YOU REPEAT THE TWO DEMANDS AGAIN? I'M NOT SURE I'VE HEARD THEM IN THAT ORDER BEFORE.

Q THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON PERSONALLY DENOUNCE AN INDEPENDENT TAIWAN AND THAT THEY PROMISE NOT TO REPEAT GRANTING PRESIDENT LEE A VISA IN THE FUTURE. THOSE ARE CONTINGENT ON THEIR RETURNING THEIR AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON.

MR. BURNS: I DON'T BELIEVE THAT WE'VE EVER HEARD SUCH DEMANDS OFFICIALLY FROM THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT PUT IN THAT LIGHT. WE'VE SEEN A NUMBER OF NEWSPAPER REPORTS

THAT TOUCH ON THAT PARTICULAR ISSUE. I HAVE JUST EXPRESSED TO YOU A LITTLE BIT EARLIER OUR VERY CLEAR
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POLICY ON THE ISSUE OF VISAS FOR OFFICIALS FROM TAIWAN, AND THAT IS THAT THEY WILL BE HANDLED ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS.

Q WILL THE PRESIDENT -- HAS HE INDICATED THAT HE WILL STAND UP AND SAY SO HIMSELF?

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MR. BURNS: I DON'T BELIEVE THE PRESIDENT HAS

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INDICATED ANY SUCH THING. WE'VE JUST SEEN A NEWSPAPER REPORT HERE IN THE UNITED STATES JUST IN THE LAST COUPLE OF HOURS. I THINK THE PRESIDENT AT VARIOUS TIMES IN THE PAST HAS SPOKEN VERY CLEARLY ABOUT CHINA POLICY, AND I HAVE SPOKEN VERY CLEARLY ABOUT OUR POLICY ON VISAS FOR OFFICIALS FROM TAIWAN.

THERE'S NO POSSIBILITY, I THINK, OF EXPANDING ON THAT BECAUSE IT IS WHAT IT IS. IT'S FAIRLY CLEAR.

Q YOU SAID A MOMENT AGO THAT YOU DIDN'T THINK THERE HAD BEEN ANY SORT OF CHANGE IN THE ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY TOWARDS CHINA. YOU DON'T THINK THAT ISSUING A VISA TO THE PRESIDENT OF TAIWAN CONSTITUTED ANY SORT OF CHANGE IN THE POLICY?

MR. BURNS: WE THINK IT WAS ENTIRELY APPROPRIATE FOR US FOLLOWING THE FOUNDATION OF THE THREE COMMUNIQUEES FOR THAT VISA TO BE ISSUED, AND WE STAND BY THAT DECISION.

WHEN I SPEAK ABOUT CHINA POLICY AND THERE HAVING
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BEEN NO CHANGE, THERE'S BEEN NO CHANGE IN THE CONCRETE FOUNDATION OF U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS BASED ON THE THREE COMMUNIQUEES THAT THERE IS BUT ONE CHINA, AND THAT TAIWAN IS PART OF CHINA. THAT IS THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES. THAT HAS BEEN THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES FOR FIVE ADMINISTRATIONS AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE THE POLICY OF THIS ADMINISTRATION. WE HAVE NO INTEREST IN CHANGING THAT POLICY, NOR WILL WE IN THE FUTURE.

MARK.

Q IF I COULD ASK YOU TO ELABORATE ON THAT JUST A LITTLE BIT MORE. YOU SPEAK OF PRESIDENT LEE'S COLLEGE REUNION AS BEING A UNIQUE CIRCUMSTANCE, A UNIQUE EVENT,

AND THEN YOU SAY THAT FUTURE VISA REQUESTS WILL BE HANDLED ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS. YOUR SECOND STATEMENT SUGGESTS A REPEAT THAT FUTURE VISAS COULD BE GRANTED AND YOUR FIRST SUGGESTS THAT THIS WAS A ONE-TIME ONLY

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EVENT. CAN YOU TRY TO BRIDGE THOSE TWO FOR ME, PLEASE?

MR. BURNS: I'M NOT SURE THEY NEED BRIDGING. I THINK THE TWO OF THEM ARE QUITE COMPATIBLE. THE FACT IS THAT WE ISSUED A VISA TO THE PRESIDENT OF TAIWAN. THAT WAS AN APPROPRIATE DECISION FOR THE UNITED STATES TO MAKE, AND WE STAND BY THAT DECISION.

IN ANNOUNCING THAT DECISION SOME TIME AGO, WE ALSO SAID QUITE SPECIFICALLY THAT FUTURE REQUESTS WOULD BE HANDLED ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS. THAT HAS BEEN MADE CLEAR TO OFFICIALS ON TAIWAN. IT IS CERTAINLY CLEAR TO
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THE GOVERNMENT OF CHINA. IT'S CLEAR TO ALL OF US WHO WORK ON THESE ISSUES.

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Q ISN'T IT A PRECEDENT?

MR. BURNS: EXCUSE ME.

Q ISN'T IT A PRECEDENT AND AN IMPORTANT PRECEDENT?

MR. BURNS: ISN'T WHAT? WHAT IS THE ANTECEDENT?

Q THE GRANTING OF THE VISA TO THE PRESIDENT OF TAIWAN.

MR. BURNS: NO. WE NEVER SAID THAT IT WAS A PRECEDENT. WE DON'T BELIEVE IT'S A PRECEDENT. WE'VE NEVER COMMUNICATED TO ANYONE IN ANY WAY, SHAPE OR FORM THAT IT IS A PRECEDENT. WE SAID SIMPLY, " WE'RE ISSUING A VISA". THIS WAS A UNIQUE CASE. WE WILL CONSIDER FUTURE SUCH REQUESTS, IF THEY ARE MADE, ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS. THAT'S ALL WE'VE EVER SAID ON AN AUTHORITATIVE BASIS.

CERTAINLY FROM THIS ROOM, AND I THINK CERTAINLY FROM THE WHITE HOUSE, ON THIS ISSUE WE'VE BEEN VERY CLEAR ABOUT THE TERMS OF THE ISSUANCE OF THAT VISA AND ABOUT

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ANY FUTURE REQUESTS. WE'VE NEVER SAID ANYTHING
DIFFERENT.

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Q IF I COULD QUICKLY FOLLOW UP, AN OFFICIAL WAS
QUOTED BLINDLY IN THE TIMES THIS MORNING AS SAYING THAT
IT WAS UNLIKELY THAT ANOTHER SUCH VISA WOULD BE ISSUED
ANY TIME SOON. ARE YOU PREPARED TO PUT THOSE COMMENTS
ON THE RECORD?

MR. BURNS: WHAT I'VE SAID TODAY IS AMERICAN
POLICY. WHAT I SAID JUST -- I THINK I REPEATED NOW
TWICE, AND I'M GOING TO LET MY REMARKS STAND THERE.

Q NICK, BEFORE THE VISA WAS ISSUED TO PRESIDENT
LEE, THE ADMINISTRATION WAS BASICALLY SAYING THAT WE
CAN'T DO THIS -- UNTIL SHORTLY BEFORE IT WAS ISSUED,
THERE'S NO WAY WE CAN DO THIS BECAUSE THE CHINESE WOULD
REGARD THAT THE WHOLE BASIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
WASHINGTON AND BEIJING WOULD BE UNDERMINED. SO ALL THE
CHINESE HAVE REALLY DONE IS LIVE UP TO THE EXPECTATIONS
WHICH YOU BUILT UP BEFORE CHANGING YOUR MIND.

MR. BURNS: I DIDN'T SAY THAT. SECRETARY
CHRISTOPHER DIDN'T SAY THAT. I DON'T BELIEVE ANYBODY ON
THE RECORD EVER SAID THAT, AND THAT WASN'T THE
ASSUMPTION THAT WE BROUGHT TO THE QUESTION.

Q IS IT NOT THE ARGUMENT THAT WAS MADE, THOUGH,
AGAINST THE PRESSURE FROM CONGRESS UNTIL THE DECISION
WAS MADE TO GIVE THE VISA?

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MR. BURNS: WE BELIEVE THAT IT WAS AN APPROPRIATE
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THING TO DO, AND CERTAINLY WITHIN A REASONABLE LIMIT OF
OUR POLICY TOWARDS CHINA TO ISSUE THE VISA. WE DO NOT
REGRET THAT. WE THINK IT WAS THE RIGHT THING TO DO.

BUT I WANT TO REPEAT, WE SAID AT THE TIME THAT THERE
WAS NO PRECEDENTIAL VALUE HERE, AND WE CONTINUE TO
BELIEVE THAT'S THE CASE. IT'S VERY DIFFICULT FOR ME TO
RESPOND TO UNNAMED OFFICIALS WHO WERE RECORDED SEVERAL
MONTHS AGO. I DON'T KNOW WHO THE PEOPLE ARE, BUT I CAN
TELL YOU THAT WE BELIEVE IN ISSUING THE VISA, THAT IT
SHOULD NOT CONFUSE ANYBODY ABOUT WHAT AMERICAN POLICY
TOWARDS CHINA WAS OR IS. WE CONTINUE TO TELL THE
CHINESE GOVERNMENT THAT -- THAT THE VISA WAS AN ISSUE
THAT WAS DEALT WITH BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, BUT
IT HAS NO EFFECT ON THE BASIC FOUNDATIONS OF OUR
POLICIES TOWARDS CHINA OR OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE SOE

LEGAL BASIS OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT AS REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE.

Q BOSNIA.

MR. BURNS: BOSNIA. I KNEW WE'D GET TO IT SOONER OR
LATER.

Q THE PRESIDENT SAID TODAY THAT WE NEED TO
RESTORE THE INTEGRITY OF THE U.N. MISSION, THAT EVENTS
NOW ARE CERTAINLY A CHALLENGE TO THIS MISSION, AND THAT
IT MUST EITHER BE RESOLVED OR THERE WILL HAVE TO BE
CHANGES THERE. CAN YOU EXPLAIN WHAT HE MEANT?

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MR. BURNS: FIRST OF ALL, LET ME SAY I AGREE WITH
EVERYTHING THE PRESIDENT SAID.

Q WHAT DID HE SAY?

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MR. BURNS: I THINK WHAT THE PRESIDENT SAID WAS VERY CLEAR AND CERTAINLY PERTINENT CONSIDERING THE SITUATION. WITH YOUR AGREEMENT, CAN I JUST MAYBE BACK UP -- I'LL GET TO THE QUESTION -- AND JUST TELL YOU WHAT WE KNOW TODAY ABOUT THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND, BECAUSE THAT WILL MAYBE HELP AS WE GO THROUGH THESE ISSUES.

THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT CONTINUED ATTACKS BY THE BOSNIAN SERB FORCES AGAINST THE U.N. SAFEHAVENS AND THE CONTINUED DETENTION OF UNITED NATIONS PERSONNEL, THE CONTINUED DETENTION AND ABUSE OF THE REFUGEES -- THE TENS OF THOUSANDS OF INNOCENT CIVILIANS -- ARE A FLAGRANT AND BRUTAL AFFRONT TO THE UNITED NATIONS PEACE EFFORTS.

THE U.S. RECOGNIZES THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AS THE SOLE LEGAL GOVERNMENT OF CHINA.

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WE STRONGLY SUPPORT THE UNITED NATIONS' MANDATE AND, AS THE PRESIDENT INDICATED THIS MORNING, THE REINFORCEMENT OF U.N. CAPABILITIES IN BOSNIA. THE UNITED STATES IS DISCUSSING AVAILABLE OPTIONS WITH ALL OF OUR ALLIES AND WITH THE UNITED NATIONS, BUT IT IS THE UNITED NATIONS THAT WILL MAKE THE FINAL DECISION ON WHAT
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FUTURE STEPS WILL BE TAKEN TO UPHOLD U.N. SECURITY

COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS.

WE ARE EXTREMELY CONCERNED ABOUT THE FATE, THE SITUATION AND THE TREATMENT OF THE UP TO 40,000 REFUGEES FROM SREBRENICA, AND WE CALL UPON THE BOSNIAN SERBS TO ALLOW FULL ACCESS BY THE U.N. HIGH COMMISSIONER ON REFUGEES TO ALL REFUGEES IN THE ENCLAVE. WE HOLD THE BOSNIAN SERB LEADERSHIP RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SAFETY AND THE GOOD TREATMENT OF ALL OF THE REFUGEES, AND WE EXPECT THAT THEY WILL SUPPORT THE EVACUATION ONLY OF THOSE REFUGEES WHO WISH TO LEAVE THE ENCLAVE.

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LET ME JUST STRESS THE FOLLOWING POINT. UNPROFOR'S HUMANITARIAN MISSION IS REALLY ITS CENTRAL MISSION. IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN ITS CENTRAL MISSION FOR THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS, AND IT IS EVEN MORE CRITICALLY IMPORTANT NOW GIVEN THE TRAGIC EVENTS OF THE LAST COUPLE OF DAYS.

THE REFUGEES NEED FOOD AND THEY NEED SHELTER. THEY NEED HOUSING, AND THEY NEED PROTECTION FROM THE BOSNIAN SERBS. IT IS OUR VIEW THAT THE CENTRAL ARGUMENT THAT UNPROFOR SHOULD STAY IN THE FIELD IS BASED IN A VERY LARGE PART ON THIS CRITICAL HUMANITARIAN MISSION OF UNPROFOR.

IF UNPROFOR IS NOT IN THE FIELD AND IF FUTURE TRAGEDIES OCCUR LIKE THE ONE IN SREBRENICA, WHICH THEY SURELY WILL, THEN WHO WILL TAKE CARE OF THESE REFUGEES? HOW WILL THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY EXPRESS ITS SUPPORT

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IN A MEANINGFUL WAY ABOUT THESE REFUGEES? THAT IS THE POINT THAT WE WANTED TO ACCENTUATE.

THE CONTACT GROUP MET IN LONDON YESTERDAY. THE UNITED STATES WAS REPRESENTED BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE DICK HOLBROOKE.

THE DISCUSSION IN LONDON CENTERED ON THE CRISIS IN SREBRENICA, ON THE EFFORTS OF CARL BILDT THE EU NEGOTIATOR, TO TRY TO ACHIEVE SOME PROGRESS ON THE DIPLOMATIC FRONT IN HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH THE SERBIAN LEADERSHIP AND WITH THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT LEADERSHIP. WE UNDERSTAND THAT MR. BILDT WILL BE ACTIVE IN THE NEXT COUPLE OF DAYS ON ALL OF THESE ISSUES.

I WOULD JUST SUMMARIZE THE CONTACT GROUP MEETING BY SAYING THAT THREE THINGS WERE AGREED UPON. ALL COUNTRIES -- AND THIS INCLUDES, OF COURSE, THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT --

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AGREED THAT THE SITUATION IS A DISASTER FOR THE PEOPLE

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OF THE REGION AND FOR THE UNITED NATIONS.

SECOND, THAT IT IS IMPERATIVE NOW THAT MR. BILDT THE FORMER SWEDISH PRIME MINISTER, SHOULD RETURN TO HIS DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITIES IN WORKING WITH BOTH THE SERBIAN GOVERNMENT IN BELGRADE AND THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT IN SARAJEVO.

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THIRD, THERE IS A CRITICAL IMPORTANCE OF PREVENTING THE SPREAD OF THIS WAR TO CROATIA, TO KOSOVO, TO MACEDONIA. ALL THE CONTACT GROUP COUNTRIES BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT TO WORK TOGETHER TO CONTAIN THE PRESENT CONFLICT.

I WOULD ALSO JUST SAY THAT WE CONTINUE TO DISCUSS WITH OUR ALLIES WHO HAVE TROOPS ON THE GROUND THE VERY IMPORTANT QUESTION OF WHAT THEY INTEND TO DO ON THE VERY SERIOUS QUESTION OF THE EASTERN ENCLAVES AND THE FATE OF THE EASTERN ENCLAVES. WE CONTINUE TO DISCUSS THAT SITUATION WITH THE UNITED NATIONS.

A FEW MORE FACTS, AS WE UNDERSTAND THEM THIS MORNING. THE DUTCH DEFENSE MINISTRY HAS REPORTED TO US IN THE HAGUE THAT THERE ARE NOW 48 DUTCH U.N. PEACEKEEPERS CURRENTLY BEING HELD BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS; 38 ARE BEING DETAINED IN BRATUNAC AND THE REMAINING 10 HAVE BEEN TAKEN TO A POLICE STATION IN A TOWN SOUTH OF SREBRENCIA.

ALL REPORTS FROM THE DUTCH INDICATE THAT THESE MEN ARE BEING WELL TREATED AND ARE SAFE. WE CALL UPON THE BOSNIAN SERBS TO RELEASE THEM IMMEDIATELY.

THE REMAINING 400 DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS ARE IN POTOCARI MONITORING THE EVACUATION OF THE REFUGEES AS BEST AS THEY CAN IN AN EXTREMELY CHAOTIC SITUATION. THEY ARE ATTEMPTING TO DISTRIBUTE WHAT LITTLE SUPPLIES THEY HAVE LEFT -- IN FACT, AMONG THEIR OWN SUPPLIES -- TO THE REFUGEES.

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I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY ON BEHALF OF THE SECRETARY AND OTHERS HERE IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT TO SAY THAT WE ADMIRE VERY MUCH THE BRAVERY OF THE DUTCH U.N. BATTALION IN SREBRENICA. WE COMMEND THE EFFORTS OF

THE DUTCH TODAY AND YESTERDAY TO PROTECT THE MANY INNOCENT CIVILIANS CAUGHT UP IN THIS TRAGEDY.

THE DUTCH, UNDER A VERY DIFFICULT SITUATION -- UNDER VERY DIFFICULT TERMS -- ARE TRYING TO DO THE BEST THEY CAN TO PROTECT THE REFUGEES AND TO MONITOR THE BEHAVIOR OF THE BOSNIAN SERB FORCES TOWARDS THE REFUGEES.

WE BELIEVE THAT WHAT HAS HAPPENED OVER THE LAST 24-48 HOURS IS ONE OF THE LARGEST SINGLE POPULATION TRANSFERS SINCE THE WAR BEGAN. THE BOSNIAN SERBS ARE NOW

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SAYING THAT THEY WILL MOVE ALL 40,000 REFUGEES IN SREBRENICA TO GOVERNMENT-HELD TERRITORY. TO OUR KNOWLEDGE, THEY HAVE SO FAR TAKEN 6,000 REFUGEES, MOSTLY WOMEN, CHILDREN AND THE ELDERLY, FROM THE U.N. CAMP AT POTOCARI AND BROUGHT THEM TO BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT-HELD TERRITORY.

WE ALSO UNDERSTAND THAT AN ADDITIONAL 2,300 REFUGEES ARE NOW AT THE U.N. AIR BASE IN TUZLA AND THAT 3,500 REFUGEES ARE WAITING IN THE BORDER TOWN OF KLADANJ.

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THERE ARE MORE THAN 30,000 REFUGEES WHO REMAIN IN POTOCARI. THEY HAVE ALMOST NO FOOD OR WATER. THERE ARE NO SHELTERS AND NO TOILETS.

THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY HAS BLOCKED A U.N. AID CONVOY AT THE BORDER THIS MORNING. I UNDERSTAND JUST BEFORE I CAME INTO HERE THAT ONE CONVOY -- I DON'T KNOW IF IT WAS THE SPECIFIC ONE THAT WAS BLOCKED THIS MORNING -- WAS ABLE TO GET THROUGH WITH SOME FOOD AND OTHER SHELTER RELIEF.

THE UNITED STATES IS WORKING WITH THE U.N. HIGH COMMISSIONER ON REFUGEES, WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS, TO DO EVERYTHING THAT WE CAN TO MAKE SURE THAT THERE IS ADEQUATE FOOD, WATER, MEDICAL SUPPLIES, HOUSING SUPPLIES -- TO BE ABLE TO TAKE CARE OF THESE PEOPLE ONCE THEY DO, AS WE HOPE, ALL REACH SAFE GOVERNMENT-HELD TERRITORY.

WE ARE PARTICULARLY TROUBLED BY REPORTS THAT THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY HAS TAKEN MALE REFUGEES, INCLUDING

SOME YOUNG BOYS, TO BRATUNAC AS POSSIBLE WAR CRIMINALS, AS THEY'VE BEEN DESCRIBED BY THE BOSNIAN SERB MILITARY FORCES.

IT IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL THAT INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITIES HAVE ACCESS TO THESE PRISONERS OF WAR IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LAWS OF WAR THAT ARE FOLLOWED BY CIVILIZED NATIONS. WE CALL UPON THE BOSNIAN SERBS TO
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PERMIT INTERNATIONAL MONITORING OF THE DETENTION OF THESE INDIVIDUALS AS LONG AS IT PERSISTS.

I WOULD JUST SAY, FINALLY, CONCERNING ZEPA, THAT THERE HAS BEEN RENEWED FIGHTING THERE EARLY THIS MORNING. WE UNDERSTAND THERE WAS A BOSNIAN SERB TANK ATTACK ON A SMALL TOWN SOUTH OF THE ENCLAVE, BUT WE DON'T HAVE ANY FURTHER INFORMATION AT THIS POINT ABOUT ZEPA.

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I WOULD ALSO SAY, AS A FINAL WORD IN OUR DESCRIPTION OF THE SITUATION AS IT STANDS THIS MORNING, THAT THE UNITED STATES IS WORKING VERY HARD WITH THE UNHCR, THE WORLD FOOD PROGRAM AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS TO RESPOND TO AN EXTREMELY GRAVE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS IN BOSNIA TODAY.

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WE HAVE ALLOCATED \$130 MILLION FOR FISCAL YEAR '95 -- FOR THIS YEAR -- TO THE EFFORT OF HUMANITARIAN RELIEF IN BOSNIA. WE WILL EXPEDITE ANY ASSISTANCE THAT WE CAN. WE WILL MEET ANY REQUEST TO US FROM THESE NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS BECAUSE WE DO HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY -- ALL OF US IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY -- TO SEE WHAT WE CAN DO TO HELP DEFEND AND PROTECT THE REFUGEES.

KAREN.

Q TWO QUESTIONS. FIRST COULD YOU BRING US UP TO UNCLASSIFIED

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SPEED ON WHAT THE CURRENT STATE OF COMMUNICATIONS IS BETWEEN MILOSEVIC AND THE ADMINISTRATION; AND WHETHER OR NOT THE ADMINISTRATION THINKS MILOSEVIC HAS ANY RESPONSIBILITY, CULPABILITY, CONTROL -- WHATEVER YOU WANT TO CALL IT -- OVER WHAT'S GOING ON NOW IN SREBRENICA?

AND THE SECOND IS, DID ANY NEW THINKING EMERGE FROM THE SECRETARY'S BREAKFAST WITH DR. KISSINGER THIS MORNING IN TERMS OF ALTERNATIVES?

MR. BURNS: ON THE SECOND QUESTION, KAREN, THERE WAS A BRIEF BUT GOOD DISCUSSION ON THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA. OBVIOUSLY, THE SECRETARY HAS SPENT A LOT OF TIME OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF DAYS MEETING WITH HIS SENIOR ADVISORS ON THIS ISSUE. ON THAT PARTICULAR ISSUE THE SECRETARY WAS IN A POSITION TO BRIEF DR. KISSINGER ON WHAT WE'RE

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DOING, WHAT WE'RE THINKING, WHAT WE'RE HEARING FROM THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE ALLIES.

I'M SORRY, YOUR FIRST QUESTION AGAIN?

Q MILOSEVIC. WHAT IS THE STATE OF COMMUNICATION, AND IS HE BELIEVED TO HAVE ANY CONTROL OVER THE CURRENT SITUATION?

MR. BURNS: WE COMMUNICATE WITH MR. MILOSEVIC THROUGH OUR CHARGE D'AFFAIRES IN BELGRADE. AMBASSADOR BOB FRASURE HAS NOT BEEN OUT TO SEE HIM IN SEVERAL WEEKS.

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MR. BILDT, THE EU NEGOTIATOR, IS TAKING THE LEAD ON THE CONTACT GROUP NEGOTIATIONS WITH MR. MILOSEVIC. I'M NOT AWARE THAT THERE IS ANYTHING THAT DIRECTLY TIES MR. MILOSEVIC TO THE EVENTS OF THE PAST COUPLE OF DAYS.

IT'S OUR ASSUMPTION IN WATCHING THESE TRAGIC EVENTS UNFOLD THAT THE BOSNIAN SERB LEADERSHIP -- PARTICULARLY NOW THE MILITARY LEADERSHIP -- IS DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR WHAT IS HAPPENING AND WERE PERHAPS THE CONCEPTUALIZERS OF THIS MOST RECENT ATROCITY.

Q IS THERE ANY POINT IN CONTINUING TO NEGOTIATE WITH MILOSEVIC UNDER THE CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES?

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MR. BURNS: I THINK THERE'S VERY MUCH A POINT IN CONTINUING THE NEGOTIATIONS BECAUSE THE ISSUE OF BELGRADE'S WILLINGNESS TO ADHERE TO A VERY TIGHTLY CONTROLLED SANCTIONS REGIME ON THE BOSNIAN SERBS IS, OF COURSE, A POINT OF PRESSURE, WE THINK, ON THE BOSNIAN SERBS. IT'S CLEARLY HAD AN EFFECT ON THE ECONOMY OF THE BOSNIAN SERB-HELD AREAS OVER THE LAST YEAR OR SO.

WE'VE BEEN MOST DISSATISFIED, AS YOU KNOW, WITH THE APPLICATION OF THOSE SANCTIONS, WITH THE MONITORING OF

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THOSE SANCTIONS -- THE APPLICATION OF THOSE SANCTIONS ON THE BOSNIAN SERBS. THERE HAVE BEEN A NUMBER OF LEAKAGES -- SOME VERY IMPORTANT LEAKAGES.

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WE SAID LAST WEEK, IN VOTING AT THE UNITED NATIONS, TO TURN OVER THE SANCTIONS, TO ROLL OVER THE SANCTIONS; THAT WE WERE, IN ESSENCE, WARNING THE SERBIAN GOVERNMENT THAT THE STANDARD OF PERFORMANCE HAD TO IMPROVE FOR US TO BE FAVORABLE IN THE FUTURE.

Q NICK, TO FOLLOW UP ON MR. BILDT'S RENEWED DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS COMING OUT OF THE CONTACT GROUP MEETING, WHY ISN'T HE GOING BACK TO PALE? SINCE YOU'VE JUST SAID THAT THE BOSNIAN SERB MILITARY LEADERSHIP SEEMS TO BE BEHIND THE LATEST THING. WHY ISN'T HE GOING TO PALE TO TALK TO THEM?

MR. BURNS: I WASN'T AT THE CONTACT GROUP MEETING, BUT I UNDERSTAND FROM DICK HOLBROOKE, WITH WHOM I DID TALK LAST EVENING, THAT THE CONSENSUS IN THE CONTACT GROUP WAS THAT IT MADE SENSE NOW TO CONTINUE THE EFFORT TO TRY TO BRING SERBIAN GOVERNMENT PRESSURE TO BEAR ON THE BOSNIAN SERBS, ALTHOUGH WE KNOW THAT THERE ARE SOME INTERLOCKING RELATIONSHIPS THAT STILL EXISTS BETWEEN BELGRADE AND PALE AND THAT THE SANCTIONS REGIME HAS BEEN LEAKY, HAS BEEN EXTREMELY LEAKY.

THE CONTACT GROUP POLITICAL DIRECTORS FELT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO CONTINUE THAT EFFORT.

I BELIEVE THE CONSENSUS IN THE ROOM WAS THAT IT WOULD SIMPLY BE INAPPROPRIATE AT THE PRESENT TIME TO HAVE MR. BILDT GO TO PALE.

Q INAPPROPRIATE ON WHAT BASIS?
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MR. BURNS: INAPPROPRIATE CONSIDERING THE OUTRAGEOUS BEHAVIOR OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF DAYS.

Q AND YOU THINK THEIR NOT GOING WON'T LEAD TO MORE INAPPROPRIATE BEHAVIOR?

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MR. BURNS: WE DON'T BELIEVE THAT GOING THERE WOULD DECREASE THEIR INCLINATION TOWARDS OUTRAGEOUS AND BRUTAL BEHAVIOR TOWARDS INNOCENT CIVILIANS.

Q NICK, THERE WAS A REPORT IN THE INDEPENDENT TODAY SAYING THAT THERE WERE CERTAIN FOREIGN MINISTRIES WHO REALIZED ALREADY BEFORE SREBRENICA FELL THAT THE EASTERN ENCLAVES WERE INDEFENSIBLE AND THAT THEY WERE GEARING THEMSELVES TO PREPARE A NEW OPERATION AROUND SARAJEVO, SACRIFICING THE EASTERN HAVEN. HAS THAT BEEN ANY PART OF THE DISCUSSION IN THIS DEPARTMENT? AND, IF NOT, WHAT CONCRETE MEASURES WOULD YOU BE PREPARED TO TAKE TO RE-ESTABLISH ALL THE SAFEHAVENS IN THE EASTERN PART OF BOSNIA?

MR. BURNS: I'M NOT PREPARED TO DESCRIBE -- AND I REALLY CAN'T DESCRIBE -- ALL THE CONVERSATIONS THAT TAKE PLACE IN THIS BUILDING. BUT I CAN TELL YOU THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS SPOKEN THIS MORNING ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING U.N. PROTECTION FOR THE EASTERN

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ENCLAVES. THAT'S VERY DIRECTLY WHAT THE PRESIDENT SAID TO THE PRESS EARLIER TODAY.

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER FIRMLY BELIEVES THAT, AND DICK

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HOLBROOKE AT THE CONTACT GROUP MEETING LAST NIGHT
ASSERTED THAT AS A FUNDAMENTAL POINT.

WHAT WE ARE HEARING FROM OUR ALLIES IS THAT WHILE,
CERTAINLY, THESE ENCLAVES ARE DIFFICULT TO DEFEND
MILITARILY BY U.N. PEACEKEEPERS, WHOSE PRIMARY PURPOSE
IS HUMANITARIAN, WE AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY DO
NOT WANT TO FORESAKE THESE ENCLAVES.

WE HAVE TAKEN THE POSITION THAT OUR ALLIES THAT HAVE
TROOPS ON THE GROUND, AND THE UNITED NATIONS, THAT HAS
THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR OPERATIONS IN BOSNIA, MUST NOW
DECIDE WHAT THEY INTEND TO DO REGARDING GORAZDE, ZEPA
AND SREBRENICA. WE HAVE SAID VERY CLEARLY THAT THE
UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO SUPPORT THEM IN WHATEVER
ACTION THEY INTEND TO TAKE -- AND THAT THEY AGREE ON
TAKING -- TOWARDS THESE ENCLAVES. THAT WAS PART OF THE
DISCUSSION LAST NIGHT.

I DON'T BELIEVE THAT DISCUSSION HAS FINISHED OR THAT
THE -- I DON'T BELIEVE IT'S FAIR TO SAY THAT THE ALLIES
HAVE FULLY DECIDED WHAT THEIR COURSE OF ACTION WILL BE,
BUT ONCE THEY DO DECIDE, YOU WILL SEE THAT THE UNITED
STATES GIVES VERY FIRM SUPPORT TO THEM.

YOU'VE ASKED ONE OF THE MORE PERTINENT QUESTIONS

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THAT IS CHALLENGING EVERYBODY IN THE WEST TODAY. LET ME
JUST TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY TO REASSERT ANOTHER VERY
IMPORTANT POINT, AND THAT IS, THE UNITED STATES HAS NATO
ALLIES IN THE FIELD, SOME OF WHOM NOW -- MANY HUNDREDS
OF WHOM -- ARE IN

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DANGER. IT WOULD NOT BE IN THE BEST TRADITIONS OF THIS
COUNTRY IF WE LEFT THEM EXPOSED, IF WE LEFT THEM ALONE,
AND IF WE FAIL TO GIVE THEM THE SUPPORT THAT THEY
DESERVE.

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EVERYONE FEELS FRUSTRATED BY THE SITUATION AND ANGERED BY IT. THERE IS A CERTAIN SENSE THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS FAILED IN A VERY CONCRETE WAY IN SREBRENICA.

BUT HAVING FAILED IN SREBRENICA WE MUST NOW REDOUBLE OUR EFFORTS TO MAKE SURE THAT WE DON'T FORESAKE OUR ALLIES; THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MEETS ITS OBLIGATIONS. THE UNITED STATES MUST BE, AND MUST HAVE FIRMLY IN THE FOREFRONT OF OUR THINKING, ALLEGIANCE TO OUR ALLIES -- FAITH WITH THEM, AND TO STAND WITH THEM -- AND THAT IS WHAT IS PARAMOUNT IN THE MINDS OF PEOPLE HERE IN WASHINGTON AND THAT IS WHAT IS GUIDING AMERICAN POLICY.

Q WHAT IS THE PROCESS BY WHICH THESE DECISIONS WILL BE TAKEN. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT WHAT IS HAPPENED IS THAT YOU HAVE -- THE U.S. HAS BEEN WILLING TO TAKE
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FURTHER ACTION TO SECURE THESE SAFEHAVENS. THE FRENCH HAVE OFFERED MILITARY ACTION TO RECAPTURE SREBRENICA. AND, AS IS CLASSICAL, THE BRITISH HAVE BEEN DRAGGING THEIR FEET.

IT SEEMS TO ME THAT ALL ALONG THE LINE THERE'S BEEN THIS LEAST COMMON DENOMINATOR THAT THE ONE PARTY THAT WANTS TO PULL BACK HAS DETERMINED THE SITUATION.

WHY CAN'T IT BE THE CASE THAT THE UNITED STATES CAN GET TOGETHER WITH PRESIDENT CHIRAC AND SAY, YES, YOU'VE GOT A GOOD IDEA; WE DON'T WANT TO GET INVOLVED ON THE GROUND, BUT IF YOU WANT TO COMMIT YOUR TROOPS TO DO SOMETHING, WE WILL GIVE YOU THE LOGISTICAL SUPPORT. THEN PRESENT THIS TO THE BRITISH TO BRING THEM ON BOARD, SO THAT RATHER THAN THE BRITISH TAIL LAGGING THE

UNPROFOR DOG, OR THE NATO DOG, THE NATO DOG COULD GET THE BRITISH TAIL TO WAG ONCE IN A WHILE. WHY CAN'T THAT HAPPEN?

MR. BURNS: FIRST OF ALL, LET ME JUST TAKE EXCEPTION

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TO YOUR DESCRIPTION OF ONE OF OUR MAJOR ALLIES.

THE U.K. HAS MADE A NUMBER OF SACRIFICES -- THE UNITED KINGDOM -- IN PUTTING MANY THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE ON THE GROUND AND IN TAKING THE DECISION JUST IN THE LAST 30 DAYS TO INCREASE THEIR FORCES AND TO BE ONE OF THE MAJOR TROOP-CONTRIBUTORS TO THE RAPID REACTION FORCE. IT IS VERY EASY FOR PEOPLE ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE OCEAN TO THROW STONES AT A COUNTRY THAT FINDS ITSELF IN UNCLASSIFIED

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A VERY DIFFICULT SITUATION, AND WE FULLY SUPPORT THE U.K. GOVERNMENT AND PRIME MINISTER MAJOR IN TAKING THE DECISION TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE RAPID REACTION FORCE.

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THE COMPETENT AUTHORITIES ON THE GROUND, AS YOU WELL KNOW, ARE THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE TROOP-CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES. WHAT HAS TO HAPPEN NOW IS THAT THE UNITED NATIONS' LEADERSHIP -- IN BOTH NEW YORK AND IN ZAGREB, AND THOSE ON THE GROUND IN SARAJEVO AND ELSEWHERE -- MUST MAKE A DECISION AS TO WHAT THEY BELIEVE THEY CAN DO MILITARILY. THAT DECISION WILL BE INFORMED BY THE MAJOR TROOP-CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES AND BY OTHERS WHO PLAY A PROMINENT ROLE SUCH AS THE UNITED STATES.

THE CONTACT GROUP MEETING LAST NIGHT WAS ONE OF THE VENUES FOR THAT DISCUSSION. THE UNITED NATIONS' SESSION IN NEW YORK YESTERDAY WAS ANOTHER. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF CONVERSATIONS TAKING PLACE BETWEEN MILITARY OFFICIALS IN ALL THE COUNTRIES THAT I MENTIONED. WE HOPE VERY SHORTLY THAT THERE WILL BE AGREEMENT ON A WAY FORWARD.

WE DO NOT WANT TO PUT OURSELVES IN A POSITION OF GIVING VERY EASY PUBLIC ADVICE TO COUNTRIES THAT ARE FACING VERY DIFFICULT SITUATIONS. THEY'RE THE ONES WITH TROOPS ON THE GROUND. THEY ARE OUR NATO ALLIES. ONCE THEY DO MAKE A FINAL DECISION, WE WILL SUPPORT THEM.

Q NICK, IN THESE DISCUSSIONS. WHAT ASSISTANCE HAVE THE EUROPEANS ASKED FOR, AND WHAT IS THE UNITED

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STATES PREPARED TO PROVIDE?

MR. BURNS: I'M NOT AWARE THAT THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES HAVE ASKED FOR SPECIFIC ASSISTANCE IN THE LAST 48 HOURS. IN THE LAST MONTH, THEY HAVE ASKED FOR SPECIFIC LIFT CAPABILITY ASSISTANCE. THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE IS NOW LIFTING MANY THOUSANDS OF SOLDIERS FROM BRITAIN AND FRANCE INTO THE THEATER -- INTO CROATIA -- FOR DEPLOYMENT IN BOSNIA AS PART OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE.

THEY HAVE REQUESTED INTELLIGENCE, LOGISTICS AND COMMUNICATION SUPPORT, AND WE ARE GIVING IT. THEY HAVE ASKED FOR FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO FUND ALL OF THESE ACTIVITIES AND OTHERS. AS YOU KNOW THE PRESIDENT HAS MADE A VERY FIRM DECISION TO EXTEND THAT FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE ON A SIX-MONTH BASIS, AND WE'LL BEGIN THINKING ABOUT THE NEXT SIX-MONTH STAGE VERY SHORTLY.

SO THAT'S A CLEAR POLICY DECISION THAT'S BEEN TAKEN BY THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION TO SUPPORT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND THE NETHERLANDS -- THE MAJOR TROOP-CONTRIBUTORS TO THE RAPID REACTION FORCE.

Q NEXT QUESTION, IF I COULD FOLLOW UP. THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN UNABLE, GIVEN THE CONSTRAINTS IMPOSED BY THE CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS, TO MAKE ITS FULL U.N., 30 PERCENT SHARE, FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION. HOW IS IT POSSIBLE

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FOR YOU TO SAY THAT YOU WILL SUPPORT WHATEVER DECISION THE EUROPEANS MAKE GIVEN THOSE CONSTRAINTS IMPOSED BY CONGRESS?

MR. BURNS: IT'S NOT ONLY POSSIBLE; IT'S ABSOLUTELY DEFENSIBLE. THE FACT IS THAT THE CONGRESS DECIDED THAT IT WOULD NOT SUPPORT THE NORMAL FUNDING MECHANISM WHEREBY THE UNITED STATES PAYS ROUGHLY JUST OVER 30 PERCENT OF THE COST OF A U.N.-ASSESSED OPERATION.

GIVEN THAT POLITICAL REALITY IN THE UNITED STATES, THE PRESIDENT DECIDED THAT WE COULD NOT LEAVE OUR ALLIES UNPROTECTED AND UNSUPPORTED. THEREFORE, HE AND OTHERS FOUND A WAY TO DRAW DOWN DEFENSE FUNDS TO FUND AND FINANCE THIS OPERATION. THAT'S A DECISION THAT HE HAS EVERY RIGHT TO MAKE AS PRESIDENT. IT'S NOT BEING CONTESTED AS FAR AS I KNOW -- THAT PARTICULAR PART OF

THE DECISION -- BY THE CONGRESS. THAT MONEY IS GOING FORWARD. WE'RE ALREADY SPENDING THE MONEY. WE'RE ALREADY LIFTING THE TROOPS. WE'RE PROVIDING ADDITIONAL EQUIPMENT THAT THEY THINK THEY MUST HAVE TO STRENGTHEN THE RAPID REACTION FORCE AND THEREFORE UNPROFOR.

IT'S A DECISION THAT'S IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THIS COUNTRY. IT'S A DECISION THAT SPEAKS TO OUR NEED AND, FRANKLY, OUR OBLIGATION TO DEFEND OUR ALLIES.

Q I'M NOT SURE YOU ANSWERED MY QUESTION THAT STARTED ALL OF THIS. COULD YOU EXPLAIN, PLEASE, THE UNCLASSIFIED

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PRESIDENT'S REMARKS? HE SAID THAT THE U.N. MISSION -- THAT ITS DAYS ARE NUMBERED UNLESS IT CAN SOLVE THIS PROBLEM THAT IT HAS OF CREDIBILITY; AND THAT THIS MUST BE RESOLVED OR THERE WILL HAVE TO BE SOME CHANGES THERE. WAS HE REFERRING TO THE RAPID REACTION FORCE TO A PULLOUT?

MR. BURNS: IT'S HARD FOR ME TO IMPROVE ON THE

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PRESIDENT'S REMARKS.

I WOULD SAY GENERALLY -- APART FROM WHAT THE PRESIDENT SAID THIS MORNING, SINCE I CANNOT IMPROVE ON THEM -- THAT IT'S OUR VERY FIRM VIEW THAT UNPROFOR HAS GOT TO BE STRENGTHENED. UNPROFOR, AS IT CURRENTLY IS STRUCTURED AND EXISTS, IS SIMPLY -- UNFORTUNATELY, DESPITE THE BEST EFFORTS OF A LOT OF PEOPLE IN UNPROFOR -- NOT CAPABLE OF MEETING ITS MANDATES. THEREFORE, WE HAVE SUPPORTED THE RAPID REACTION FORCE AS AN ATTEMPT TO STRENGTHEN UNPROFOR. WE BELIEVE IT DESERVES A CHANCE.

I DON'T BELIEVE THERE IS ANYBODY WHO CAN GUARANTEE THAT THE RAPID REACTION FORCE WILL BE SUCCESSFUL, BUT IT IS WORTH A TRY. IT'S WORTH A TRY BECAUSE WE DON'T BELIEVE IN A CATASTROPHY SUCH AS THE ONE THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND THE REFUGEES FIND THEMSELVES IN.

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IT MAKES (NO) SENSE SIMPLY TO LEAVE PEOPLE WHO ARE IN NEED. WE BELIEVE THAT THE WAY A RESPONSIBLE COUNTRY
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SHOULD MEET THE CHALLENGE OF A CATASTROPHY -- ALBEIT ONE THAT HAS GONE VERY, VERY POORLY FOR THE UNITED NATIONS FOR THE UNITED STATES AND EVERYBODY ELSE CONCERNED -- IS TO STAND UP AND TRY AGAIN.

IT IS EASY TO SAY UNPROFOR HAS FAILED; THEREFORE LET'S WITHDRAW U.S. SUPPORT -- AMERICAN SUPPORT -- FOR UNPROFOR. LET'S JUST LEAVE, AND LET'S WASH OUR HANDS OF THE SITUATION. IT'S VERY EASY TO SAY THAT. THAT DOESN'T SPEAK TO THE REALITY OF 40,000 REFUGEES AND THE CERTAINTY THAT TENS OF THOUSANDS OF MORE WILL BE CREATED BY LEAVING. IT DOESN'T SPEAK TO THE FACT THAT OUR NATO ALLIES, WHO HAVE BEEN WITH US FOR THE LAST 50 YEARS, COUNTLESS TIMES HAVE TOLD US THEY WANT US TO CONTINUE OUR SUPPORT; AND THAT IF WE DO LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO UNILATERALLY, THEY WILL LEAVE. IT DOESN'T SPEAK TO THE OBLIGATION THAT A GREAT POWER LIKE THE UNITED STATES

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HAS, IN ESSENCE, TO STAY IN A VERY DIFFICULT SITUATION. THAT IS WHAT IS ANIMATING THE U.S. LEADERSHIP AND OUR POLICY THIS WEEK.

Q NICK, DO YOU HAVE ANY CONFIRMATION OF REPORTS THAT I HEARD LAST NIGHT THAT THERE WERE, BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS, THEY TOOK ASIDE SEVERAL BOSNIAN MUSLIM WOMEN TO UNKNOWN PLACES, AND THERE'S A GREAT FEAR THAT THE EARLIER MASSACRES AND BRUTALITY OF THE WAR -- OF ETHNIC CLEANSING AND MASSIVE BARBARITY OF RAPING MUSLIM WOMEN -- WAS HAPPENING BEFORE AND COULD HAPPEN AGAIN? DO YOU HAVE ANY CONFIRMATION ON THIS, OR DO YOU HAVE CONSENSUS ABOUT THESE THINGS, THESE REPORTS?

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MR. BURNS: WE AND THE DUTCH AND THE UNITED NATIONS ARE LOOKING VERY SERIOUSLY AND CLOSELY INTO THAT CHARGE WHICH WE HEARD AS WELL LAST EVENING AND THIS MORNING. THAT IS SOMETHING THAT IS ONE OF THE MOST BRUTAL ATROCITIES OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS THAT OCCURRED SEVERAL YEARS AGO -- THIS TYPE OF INCIDENT. IF IT OCCURS AGAIN, THE BOSNIAN SERBS MUST AND WILL ANSWER TO INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION AND TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

THERE IS A WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL THAT IS IN OPERATION THAT IS INVESTIGATING THE WAR CRIMES THAT TOOK PLACE A COUPLE OF YEARS AGO. THAT TRIBUNAL WILL CERTAINLY HAVE A KEEN INTEREST IN THE BEHAVIOR AND THE CONTROL OF THE BOSNIAN SERB FORCES IN THIS SITUATION. WE TAKE THESE REPORTS VERY SERIOUSLY. WE CANNOT CONFIRM THEM, BUT WE'RE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THEM, AS WE SHOULD BE, GIVEN THE PAST BEHAVIOR OF THE BOSNIAN SERB MILITARY FORCES, WHICH HAS BEEN BRUTAL AND ATROCIOUS.

Q NICK, HOW DOES THE U.S. LOOK INTO THAT IF IT'S NOT ON THE GROUND?

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MR. BURNS: THE UNITED STATES LOOKS INTO IT THROUGH OUR CONTACTS WITH THE UNITED NATIONS AND THROUGH OUR

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CONVERSATIONS WITH OUR ALLIES; AND BECAUSE OF THE FACT THAT WE DO HAVE A NUMBER OF AMERICAN CITIZENS IN NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS WHO HAVE BEEN VERY HELPFUL IN THE PAST IN ASSESSING THESE WAR CRIMES AND THROUGH AMERICAN CITIZENS WHO WORK FOR THE UNITED
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NATIONS.

WE ARE THE CENTRAL FUNDER OF THE UNITED NATIONS' OPERATION. SO THEREFORE WE CERTAINLY HAVE AN AVENUE TO LOOK INTO THESE CHARGES. THE U.N. IS THE BEST PLACE TO DO IT.

Q BEFORE -- WAY BACK -- YOU SPOKE OF THERE'S A SENSE THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS FAILED; IT'S SORT OF A PASSIVE CONSTRUCTION.

IS IT THE STATE DEPARTMENT -- GRAMATICALLY -- IS IT THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S POSITION THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS FAILED?

MR. BURNS: I SAID THAT I DON'T THINK ANYBODY CAN LOOK AT WHAT HAPPENED IN SREBRENICA OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF DAYS AND CALL IT ANYTHING ELSE. IT DOESN'T MEAN THAT UNPROFOR IS A FAILURE. IT DOESN'T MEAN THAT WE HAVE TO ACCEPT FAILURE AS A PERMANENT CONDITION; AND IT CERTAINLY DOESN'T MEAN THAT HAVING NOTED THE FACT -- OBSERVED THE FACT THAT 40,000 PEOPLE WERE DRIVEN OUT OF THEIR HOMES INTO THE COUNTRYSIDE, THAT WE SHOULD JUST LEAVE AND WASH OUR HANDS OF IT, WHICH SOME PEOPLE ARE ADVOCATING.

SO BY SAYING WHAT I DID, I MEANT TO JUST CALL A SPADE A SPADE ABOUT WHAT HAPPENED IN THE LAST 48 HOURS.

Q THIS CAN OBVIOUSLY GO ON AND ON BECAUSE IT'S VERY COMPLEX. THE CLOSER THE STATE DEPARTMENT MOVES TO
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THE POSITION -- YOU'VE USED WORDS LIKE "ATROCITY, A
SENSE OF FAILURE." THE CLOSER YOU GET TO THAT, THE MORE
YOU ERODE -- THE STATE DEPARTMENT, NOT YOU -- THE MORE
YOU ERODE THE POSITION THAT TO DO THE KIND OF THING
SENATOR DOLE IS ASKING COULD ONLY MAKE THINGS WORSE.
BECAUSE, AS YOU ACCEPT THE NOTION THAT THINGS ARE
OUTRAGEOUSLY, ATROCIOUSLY, IMPOSSIBLY HORRIBLE THERE

THEN THE NEXT QUESTION HAS TO BE, WHY NOT ACCEPT ANOTHER
OPTION? WHY NOT ACCEPT DOLE'S OPTION, FOR INSTANCE, OR
LUGAR'S OPTION, IF WHAT'S GOING ON NOW IS SUCH -- PLEASE
DON'T GO BACK TO THE RAPID DEPLOYMENT FORCE. I REALIZE
YOU FEEL THAT MAY CHANGE THINGS.

BUT APART FROM THAT, THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAS RAISED
NO OTHER POSSIBILITY OF SOMEHOW RESOLVING YOUR WORD
"ATROCITY." WHY IS DOLE SO WRONG THEN?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T ACCEPT YOUR LOGIC.

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Q OKAY.

MR. BURNS: AND MAYBE YOU'RE BEING A DEVIL'S
ADVOCATE --

Q NO, I'M NOT. I'M JUST WONDERING --

MR. BURNS: I DON'T KNOW.

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Q -- BECAUSE YOU'RE BEGINNING TO -- THE STATE
DEPARTMENT IS GRADUALLY ACCEPTING THE NOTION THAT THINGS
ARE ATROCIOUS THERE. I DON'T KNOW, WHAT'S WORSE THAN

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ATROCIOUS?

MR. BURNS: BARRY, I DON'T KNOW IF THESE ARE YOUR PERSONAL VIEWS OR WHETHER YOU'RE JUST PLAYING DEVIL'S ADVOCATE.

Q NO, IT'S NOT MY PERSONAL VIEW.

MR. BURNS: LET ME RESPOND TO THE CHARGE. I THINK THE LOGIC IN YOUR QUESTION IS BADLY FLAWED. OUR BELIEF IS THAT IF YOU ACCEPT UNILATERAL LIFT AND IF YOU PRACTICE AND IMPLEMENT UNILATERAL LIFT, YOU WILL COMPOUND THE HUMANITARIAN DISASTERS; YOU'LL EXACERBATE AN ATROCIOUS AND BRUTAL SITUATION FOR PEOPLE ON THE GROUND, AND YOU WILL TAKE AWAY THE ABILITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO HELP THEM.

IT SEEMS TO US THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS ARE BENT ON A MILITARY SOLUTION TO THIS CONFLICT. SO IT IS LOGICAL TO THINK THAT THERE ARE GOING TO FURTHER ATTACKS ON ENCLAVES; THERE ARE GOING TO BE FURTHER BATTLES. AND AS

REFUGEES ARE UNDOUBTEDLY CREATED FROM THOSE BATTLES, WHO WILL BE THERE TO TAKE CARE OF THEM AND LOOK AFTER THEIR NEEDS IF YOU JUST TAKE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY OUT OF THE EQUATION; IF YOU JUST LET THE TWO WARRING PARTIES FIGHT IT OUT? THAT MIGHT BE A NICE EMOTIONAL, GRATIFYING WAY TO REACT TO A VERY TERRIBLE SITUATION.

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IT ALLOWS YOU, AS AN AMERICAN, OR ANYONE ELSE PROPOSING THIS. JUST TO STAND BACK AND SAY, "IT'S NOT MY PROBLEM ANYMORE." BUT IT DOES NOT SPEAK WELL TO THE ACTIONS OF A COUNTRY LIKE THE UNITED STATES, AND WE'RE NOT GOING TO TAKE THAT -- WE'RE NOT GOING TO FOLLOW THAT DIRECTION.

Q IT SEEMS TO HAVE THE , - IT'S NOT A ZANY, ECCENTRIC IDEA. IT SEEMS TO HAVE THE SUPPORT OF A MAJORITY OF THE SENATE, FOR INSTANCE?

MR. BURNS: IT DOESN'T HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION. IT DOESN'T HAVE THE SUPPORT OF

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ANY OF OUR ALLIES. IT DOESN'T HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS. WE'RE GOING TO FOLLOW THE COURSE THAT WE HAVE SET FOR OURSELVES.

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Q NICK, IN ANSWERING BARRY'S QUESTION, IS IT AN IMPROPER INTERPRETATION TO SAY THAT REALLY NOW THE BROAD VIEW BY THE UNITED STATES IN THIS WHOLE SITUATION IS THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE THE UPPER HAND AND THEY ARE GRADUALLY GOING TO CREATE MORE AND MORE OF THESE SITUATIONS THAT YOU SEE AROUND SREBRENICA RIGHT NOW, AND THERE'S NOTHING TO STOP THEM FROM DOING THAT; SO ALL THE UNITED STATES AND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CAN DO IS TRY TO ALLEVIATE THE PAIN OF THAT SITUATION?

MR. BURNS: I THINK THERE ARE TWO FACTORS AT WORK. ONE IS THAT THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE TROOP-CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES HAVE GOT TO MAKE A
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FUNDAMENTAL DECISION -- WHETHER THEY WILL USE MILITARY FORCE OR MILITARY STRATEGY TO TRY TO EITHER REGAIN WHAT HAS BEEN LOST OR TO PROTECT WHAT MAY BE LOST. THAT IS A VERY IMPORTANT QUESTION, ONE THAT HAS NOT YET BEEN FULLY ANSWERED AND, AS I SAID BEFORE, THE UNITED STATES WILL SUPPORT DECISIONS -- ANY DECISIONS TAKEN BY THE TROOP-CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES ONCE THEY ARE TAKEN.

SO THAT'S ONE PART OF THE EQUATION. THERE'S CLEARLY A MILITARY FACTOR HERE AT WORK FOR WHICH THE UNITED

NATIONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS RESPONSIBILITY. THE SECOND PART IS THE CENTRAL MISSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS -- PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS -- AND THAT IS TO MONITOR WHAT IS GOING ON, AND IT'S ALSO TO PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN RELIEF. NO MATTER WHAT HAPPENS ON THE FIRST PART, NO MATTER IF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY DECIDES TO AGGRESSIVELY TRY TO TAKE BACK WHAT HAS BEEN LOST OR WHETHER OR NOT THAT DECISION IS MADE TO PULL BACK AND TO ACCEPT THE MILITARY COURSE OF EVENTS, THE HUMANITARIAN MISSION WILL REMAIN. IT REMAINS

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ESSENTIALLY IMPORTANT TO THE PEOPLE WHO ARE LOSING THEIR HOMES.

Q IS IT CORRECT FROM WHAT YOU'VE SAID ON THE FIRST POINT, THE UNITED STATES TAKES NO POSITION. THE U.S. POSITION IS THAT THE EUROPEANS ARE THE ONES INVOLVED. THEY'RE THE ONES WITH THE PEACEKEEPERS. IT'S THEIR DECISION. WE WILL SUPPORT THEIR DECISION. IS THAT CORRECT?

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MR. BURNS: ALMOST BUT NOT QUITE. ALMOST BUT NOT QUITE IN THIS SENSE. WE CERTAINLY HAVE VIEWS, AND WE ARE CERTAINLY EXPRESSING THOSE VIEWS. WE'RE GOING TO EXPRESS THEM PRIVATELY, BECAUSE WE DON'T THINK IT IS RIGHT FOR US TO BE GIVING FREE ADVICE THOUSANDS OF MILES AWAY FROM THE BATTLEFIELD WHEN OUR TROOPS AREN'T THERE AND WHEN THE EUROPEANS DO HAVE MEN AND WOMEN WHO FACE THE THREAT.

SO I WANTED TO DISTINGUISH THAT, BARRY. BUT THE REST OF IT, YES. I MEAN, THE REST OF IT IS THAT THEY HAVE TO MAKE THE DECISION AS TO WHAT THEY'RE GOING TO DO ALONG WITH THE UNITED NATIONS, AND ONCE THEY DO MAKE THAT

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DECISION, YOU WILL SEE THAT THE UNITED STATES IS QUITE SUPPORTIVE OF THEM.

Q IS THE STATE DEPARTMENT -- ON THE FUNDING -- YOU SAID IT STARTED ALREADY, SO IS THE AMOUNT WHAT THE FRENCH AND THE BRITISH WERE EXPECTING, OR IS THE AMOUNT -- WHAT THE SUM -- WHAT TOLD LIKE TWO OR THREE WEEKS AGO, LIKE \$50 MILLION INSTEAD OF THE \$400 MILLION EXPECTED?

MR. BURNS: WE INFORMED THE BRITISH AND THE FRENCH AND THE DUTCH A COUPLE OF WEEKS AGO THAT IN THIS INITIAL SIX-MONTH PERIOD WE'D BE ABLE TO SUPPLY ROUGHLY UP TO

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\$60-\$65 MILLION IN FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR THE ACTIVITIES
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-- FOR THE SUPPORT THAT THEY REQUESTED FROM US -- THE
MILITARY LIFT, THE MILITARY EQUIPMENT, THE COMMUNIQUE
AND LOGISTICS AND SO FORTH.

THEY KNOW THAT. THEY WERE TOLD THAT SEVERAL WEEKS
AGO. THEY KNOW THAT IS THE REALITY. THAT IS THE EXTENT
OF WHAT WE CAN DO, GIVEN THE LIMITS OF OUR OWN POLITICAL
SITUATION HERE.

THE UNITED NATIONS IS CERTAINLY INFORMED OF THAT.
THAT PROCESS HAS ALREADY BEGUN. THE LIFT HAS BEGUN.
THE EQUIPMENT DELIVERIES HAVE BEGUN, AND WE HAVE BEGUN
TO DRAW DOWN THE FUNDS IN THE DOD BUDGET TO PAY FOR
THOSE EXPENSES.

Q NICK, ONE MORE QUESTION. IS SREBRENICA STILL
ON THE LIST OF THE SAFEHAVENS FOR THE U.S., OR IT'S
ALREADY BEEN ERASED LIKE WE ACCEPT THE REALITY OR --

MR. BURNS: IT'S A VERY SERIOUS SITUATION. 40,000
PEOPLE ARE HOMELESS, AND THE CITY HAS BEEN EMPTIED OF
ITS POPULATION. THE POPULATION IS UNDER THREAT. WE
CERTAINLY CONSIDER IT STILL TO BE A SAFEHAVEN. THE
QUESTION OF A SAFEHAVEN HAS BEEN VIOLATED. THE CITY HAS
FALLEN. THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE WON A TACTICAL MILITARY
VICTORY IN THEIR OWN EYES.

WE HAVE NO REASON TO SAY NOW THAT IT'S NO LONGER A
SAFEHAVEN, BUT IT IS WHAT IT IS. IT'S A SAFEHAVEN THAT
HAS FALLEN. IT'S A SITUATION IN WHICH THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY WAS NOT ABLE TO PROTECT THE PEOPLE OF THAT
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CITY.

THE QUESTION IS WHAT WILL HAPPEN IN THE FUTURE, AND THAT QUESTION, AS I SAID BEFORE, IS A QUESTION THAT FIRST AND FOREMOST BY ALL RIGHTS HAS GOT TO BE ANSWERED BY THE COMPETENT AUTHORITIES ON THE GROUND.

Q NICK, (INAUDIBLE) AND IT LOOKS LIKE THE OTHER SAFEHAVENS ARE BEING THREATENED BY THE SERBS, THE BOSNIAN SERBS, AND THEY ARE BEING BOMBARDING OTHER AREAS AND ALL OF THE PUNDITS WHO ARE THERE ON THE GROUND -- THE ANALYSTS --

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THEY SAY THAT OTHER AREAS ARE GOING TO FALL. WHAT IS THE STRATEGY THAT YOU AND THE ALLIES ARE DEVELOPING TO TRY TO PROTECT THE OTHER SAFEHAVENS FROM THE PRESENCE OF THIS EXPEDITIONARY FORCE OR WHATEVER? WHAT ARE THE MECHANICS THAT YOU ARE WORKING WITH?

MR. BURNS: IT'S ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTIONS FACING EVERYBODY INVOLVED IN THE CONFLICT. IT IS CURRENTLY BEING DEBATED AND DISCUSSED IN EUROPE AND IN THE U.N. AND DISCUSSED WITH US, AND WE'LL JUST HAVE TO SEE WHAT DECISIONS ARE MADE BY THE COUNTRIES AND ORGANIZATIONS THAT HAVE TROOPS ON THE GROUND.

Q NICK, IS LIFT AND STRIKE STILL THE -- MULTILATERAL LIFT AND STRIKE STILL FAVORED BY THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION?

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MR. BURNS: WE'VE SAID FOR A LONG TIME THAT WE COULD SUPPORT THAT. I DON'T BELIEVE IT'S PERTINENT TO THE PRESENT SITUATION, BECAUSE IT'S VERY CLEAR THAT OUR ALLIES DON'T AGREE WITH THAT. BUT THEY HAVE A DIFFERENT COURSE THAT THEY INTEND TO STAY; THAT THEY ARE IN FACT NOW BRINGING MORE TROOPS INTO THE THEATER. SO IT'S A

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THEORETICAL QUESTION BUT NOT REALLY ONE THAT HAS MUCH APPLICATION FOR US, FRANKLY, THIS WEEK.

Q RIGHT. BUT WE WOULD SUPPORT IF THAT HAPPENED TO COME UP.

MR. BURNS: WE SAID IN THE PAST THAT WOULD BE SOMETHING WE COULD SUPPORT. BUT AGAIN IT'S NOT SOMETHING THAT IS GROUNDED IN REALITY THIS WEEK.

Q NICK, THIS WHOLE DEBATE HAS A SENSE OF THE THEATER OF THE ABSURD. YOU TALK ABOUT THE U.N. HAVING FAILED TO PROTECT THE SAFEHAVEN OF SREBRENICA. I MEAN, IT FAILED TO PROTECT IT NOT BECAUSE IT COULDN'T -- IT DIDN'T HAVE THE CAPABILITY -- BUT THERE JUST WASN'T THE POLITICAL WILL TO DO IT.

AS THIS DISCUSSION GOES FORWARD, WHAT YOU OUTLINED WAS, YOU KNOW, DO YOU TRY TO REGAIN SREBRENICA AND TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU PROTECT THE REMAINING SAFEHAVENS. I MEAN, REALISTICALLY IS THERE A POLITICAL WILL TO DO ANY OF THAT?

MR. BURNS: WE'RE GOING TO HAVE TO SEE WHAT
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DECISIONS ARE MADE BY THE COUNTRIES THAT HAVE TROOPS ON THE GROUND BY THE UNITED NATIONS AS THEY ASSESS THEIR ABILITY TO DO WHAT I THINK YOU VERY RIGHTLY SAY IS ONE OF THE MAJOR QUESTIONS. YOU KNOW, WHAT WILL BE THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE OTHER EASTERN ENCLAVES AND TOWARDS THE QUESTION OF WHETHER OR NOT IT MAKES SENSE MILITARILY OR POLITICALLY TO TRY TO REGAIN SREBRENICA.

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I WOULD JUST SAY, CAROL, IT'S THE THEATER OF THE REAL. IT'S THE SITUATION THAT IS PRESENTED TO US, AND IT'S PRESENTED TO EVERYBODY ELSE IN THE AREA. AND WE SIMPLY HAVE TO DEAL WITH THE SITUATION AS IT IS.

Q WELL, NO, IT WASN'T JUST PRESENTED TO YOU. I

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MEAN, THE UNITED STATES REMAINS A MAJOR POWER AND HAS PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE, EVEN THOUGH A LIMITED ROLE, CIRCUMSCRIBED BY ITS OWN DESIRES, FOR ALL THESE YEARS. SO, YOU KNOW, THE DIALOGUE OF THE LAST COUPLE OF DAYS HAS VERY MUCH SEEMED TO WANT TO DISTANCE THE UNITED STATES FROM WHAT'S GOING ON AND WHAT'S BEEN DECIDED, AND THAT'S CERTAINLY NOT REALISTIC, AND IT'S NOT TRUE.

MR. BURNS: NO ONE'S TRYING TO DISTANCE THE UNITED STATES FROM THE CONFLICT OR OUR RESPONSIBILITY AS A MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FOR WHAT HAPPENS THERE. WE DO TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE UNITED NATIONS. WE HAVE TO. WE'RE ONE OF THE ORIGINAL FOUNDERS. WE'RE ONE OF THE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

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CERTAINLY, I'M NOT TRYING -- AND I DON'T THINK ANYONE ELSE IS TRYING, SPEAKING PUBLICLY HERE -- TO DISTANCE OURSELVES FROM THIS CONFLICT. I THINK WE'VE BEEN QUITE OPEN WITH YOU ABOUT THE SITUATION AS IT EXISTS.

THE FACT IS THAT WHILE ONE OF THE CENTRAL QUESTION IS WHAT HAPPENS TO THE OTHER ENCLAVES. DO YOU RETAKE SREBRENICA. THE FACT IS THAT THERE IS AS OF YET NO INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS FROM THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE THE ABILITY TO MAKE THINGS HAPPEN THERE ABOUT WHAT SHOULD BE THE ANSWER TO THAT QUESTION.

WE ARE IN A POSITION TO INFLUENCE THAT DEBATE, BUT

WE ARE NOT A DECISIVE ACTOR. WE DO NOT HAVE TROOPS ON THE GROUND. WE'VE CHOSEN NOT TO PUT TROOPS ON THE GROUND, BECAUSE WE DON'T BELIEVE IT IS IN THE VITAL INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES TO DO SO, WHICH SHOULD ALWAYS BE THE STANDARD WHEN A DECISION IS MADE TO PUT AMERICAN TROOPS INTO BATTLE -- COMBAT SITUATIONS.

WE TOOK THAT DECISION. THE LAST ADMINISTRATION TOOK THAT DECISION. THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS REAFFIRMED THAT

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DECISION, AND THAT IS UNITED STATES POLICY. SO THEREFORE, THE UNITED STATES HAS INFLUENCE ON THE MARGINS. WE HAVE INFLUENCE IN NATO. WE ARE PLAYING A ROLE IN NATO, AND THE UNITED STATES AIRCRAFT HAVE CERTAINLY PARTICIPATED IN THE AIR ACTIONS IN THIS WAR. BUT I THINK IT IS QUITE WELL KNOWN WE ARE NOT THERE AS A

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TROOP-CONTRIBUTOR, AND THE BASIC DECISION HAS TO BE MADE BY THE TROOP-CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES.

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Q NICK, THE STORY WE ALL WANT TO WRITE IS WHAT THE UNITED STATES THINKS WILL MOTIVATE THE BOSNIAN SERBS TO REACH A SETTLEMENT. WHAT TODAY DOES THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT FEEL THAT CAN BE DONE TO CHANGE THE MOTIVATIONS OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS FROM ONE OF A MILITARY ATTACK ON REGIONS THAT THEY WANT TO CONTROL TO A WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE ABOUT THAT?

MR. BURNS: WE BELIEVE THAT PROTECTING THE U.N. MANDATES AND LIVING UP TO THOSE MANDATES AND HAVING A FIRM POLICY OF SUPPORT FOR THE MANDATES IS ONE WAY, CERTAINLY, TO INFLUENCE THE BOSNIAN SERBS. THAT HAS NOT WORKED VERY WELL. IT HAS NOT WORKED AT ALL IN THE CASE OF SREBRENICA.

WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT IT MAY BE POSSIBLE FOR THE GOVERNMENT IN BELGRADE -- THE GOVERNMENT OF SERBIA -- TO USE ITS INFLUENCE, HOWEVER ONE WANTS TO DEFINE THAT INFLUENCE, ON THE BOSNIAN SERBS TO CONVINCING THEM TO STOP FIGHTING AND TO TURN TO THE CONTACT GROUP'S MAP AND PLAN, I.E., TO TURN TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE.

WE ALSO BELIEVE IT BEHOOVES MR. KARADZIC AND MR. MLADIC AND OTHERS IN THE BOSNIAN SERB LEADERSHIP TO THINK ABOUT THE JUDGMENT OF HISTORY. I THINK IT'S APPROPRIATE TO SAY THAT DURING A WEEK WHEN THERE ARE

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40,000 REFUGEES THAT THEY HAVE CAUSED. IT'S APPROPRIATE

TO SAY THAT WHEN THERE ARE ALLEGATIONS OF BRUTAL
TREATMENT OF THOSE REFUGEES.

SO THAT'S A THIRD FACTOR THAT WOULD NORMALLY
INFLUENCE A GROUP OF INDIVIDUALS, BUT IF YOU LOOK AT THE
HISTORY OF THIS CENTURY, SOME INDIVIDUALS SEEM TO HAVE
BEEN IMPERVIOUS TO HAVE. SO IF THEY'RE NOT INTERESTED
IN KNOWING THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WILL JUDGE
THEM ONE DAY, ONE WAY OR THE OTHER, THEN PERHAPS THE
OTHER TWO OR A COMBINATION OF THE OTHER TWO WILL HAVE AN
EFFECT.

THAT STRATEGY HAS NOT WORKED VERY WELL UP UNTIL
NOW. IT'S REALLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY TO TRY TO MAKE IT WORK BETTER IN THE FUTURE.
WE HAVE DECIDED TO MAINTAIN OUR OWN INVOLVEMENT IN
TRYING TO MAKE THAT STRATEGY WORK RATHER THAN LEAVING
AND SAYING THAT THE -- OR AT LEAST OUR OWN INVOLVEMENT
IS OVER. WE THINK IT'S A DIFFICULT CHOICE. IT WOULD BE
A LOT EASIER TO LEAVE, BUT WE DECIDED TO STAY IN THE
BATTLE.

Q ARE THOSE THE ONLY TWO CHOICES, THOUGH?

MR. BURNS: CHOICES?

Q YES. ARE THE ONLY TWO CHOICES AN ADMITTEDLY
FAILED STRATEGY OR DISENGAGEMENT?

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MR. BURNS: AGAIN, WE'VE GONE OVER THIS A LOT, BUT I'LL BE GLAD TO GO OVER IT AGAIN VERY QUICKLY. AS WE HAVE LOOKED AT THE AVAILABLE REALISTIC OPTIONS, ONE WOULD BE -- AND SOME PEOPLE HAVE URGED THIS ON THE ADMINISTRATION IN OUR OWN COUNTRY -- TO DEPLOY A MASSIVE NUMBER OF AMERICAN TROOPS TO COERCE -- TO WIN A MILITARY VICTORY OR COERCE THE BOSNIAN SERBS MILITARILY TOWARDS THE PEACE TABLE. WE DON'T BELIEVE IT'S REALISTIC, SINCE THE CONGRESS WOULD NOT SUPPORT IT AND NEITHER WOULD THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

ANOTHER IS TO LEAVE AND ESSENTIALLY ASSERT THAT UNPROFOR HAS FAILED, THEREFORE IT SHOULD GET OUT, AND WE SHOULD LET THE PARTIES FIGHT IT OUT. THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE BOSNIAN SERBS. WE BELIEVE THAT THAT WOULD LEAD TO A GREATER NUMBER OF REFUGEES, FURTHER

SUFFERING, FURTHER BLOODSHED, MORE DEATHS, AND A POSSIBLE WIDENING OF THE WAR.

THE THIRD IMPERFECT OPTION IS TO STAY AND TRY TO MAKE A VERY DIFFICULT SITUATION SOMEWHAT BETTER, AND THAT'S WHAT WE'RE TRYING TO DO.

Q NICK, THIS MORNING ON CAPITOL HILL AGAIN FORMER SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER SAID -- I MEAN. KISSINGER -- FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER --

MR. BURNS: KISSINGER. SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER HAD A UNCLASSIFIED

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GOOD DAY TODAY. HE'S BEEN HARD AT WORK. (LAUGHTER)

Q LET ME START AGAIN. THIS MORNING ON CAPITOL HILL FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER SAID THAT HE OPPOSES THE IDEA OF 60,000 TROOPS BEING NEEDED TO WITHDRAW 10,000 OR 12,000 TROOPS FROM BOSNIA, AND THAT HE THINKS IT'S A BAD IDEA TO HAVE AMERICAN TROOPS GO INTO BOSNIA FOR SUCH AN ILL-DEFINED MISSION. THOSE WERE HIS WORDS.

DO YOU THINK -- FIRST OF ALL, WOULD YOU LIKE TO RESPOND TO THAT? AND, SECONDLY, DO YOU THINK THAT YOU

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HAVE THE VOTES IN CONGRESS FOR THE 25,000 AMERICAN TROOPS THAT WOULD HAVE TO BE INVOLVED IN A WITHDRAWAL, IF IT COMES TO THAT?

MR. BURNS: DAVID, YOU RAISE THE CASE OF A CONTINGENCY, AND THAT IS IF THE UNITED NATIONS DECIDES TO LEAVE, FOR WHATEVER REASON, HOW WOULD THE UNITED STATES GET OUT IN A COMBAT SITUATION IN A VERY ROUGH AND DIFFICULT GEOGRAPHIC TERRAIN. THE ANSWER FROM NATO, WORKING WITH THE UNITED NATIONS, IS A CONTINGENCY MILITARY OPERATIONS PLAN 4104 WHICH DOES REQUIRE IN THE JUDGMENT OF OUR TOP MILITARY COMMANDERS -- THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF AND OTHERS -- A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF NATO FORCES WHICH WOULD BE DOMINATED BY MANY THOUSANDS OF AMERICAN TROOPS.

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I THINK WE'D HAVE TO LEAVE IT UP TO OUR MILITARY COMMANDERS TO DECIDE HOW THEY'RE BEST GOING TO PROTECT
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AMERICAN SOLDIERS WHEN THEY GO INTO BATTLE. AND, I THINK IF THEY BELIEVE THAT WE NEED MANY THOUSANDS OF TROOPS TO CARRY OUT A MISSION OF EXTRICATING THE UNPROFOR FORCE FROM A VARIETY OF LOCATIONS IN BOSNIA

AND THEY BELIEVE THEY CAN DO THAT SWIFTLY AND EFFECTIVELY CARRY OUT A MISSION WITH THE LEAST COST TO HUMAN LIFE, INCLUDING AMERICAN LIFE WE OUGHT TO LISTEN TO THE PROFESSIONALS WHO HAVE DONE SO WELL IN PREVIOUS MILITARY ACTIONS OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF YEARS -- DONE SO WELL IN ACQUITTING THEMSELVES PROFESSIONALLY.

I WOULDN'T SOLELY TRUST OR AGREE WITH THE VIEWS OF AN OUTSIDER ON THIS. I THINK YOU'VE GOT TO LOOK TO THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN WHO WILL BE PUT INTO THAT SITUATION. I CAN'T IMAGINE THAT IF THIS SITUATION DOES UNFOLD -- AND WE HOPE IT WILL NOT -- BUT I CAN'T IMAGINE THAT THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES WOULD NOT STAND UP FOR OUR NATO ALLIES AT A TIME WHEN THEY WOULD NEED TO BE

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EXTRICATED FROM EXTREMELY DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES.

I MEAN, IF YOU AGREE WITH THE VIEWS ASSERTED TODAY, DOES THIS MEAN TO SAY THAT WE WOULD LEAVE BRITAIN AND FRANCE AND THE NETHERLANDS TO THEIR OWN DEVICES WHEN WE ALONE IN MANY RESPECTS HAVE LEFT CAPACITY TO BRING THEM OUT? I DON'T THINK THAT WOULD BE THE HONORABLE THING TO DO, AND THE ADMINISTRATION IS CONFIDENT THAT WE'D HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND OF THE CONGRESS IF THIS SITUATION DOES COME TO PASS.

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WE HOPE IT WILL NOT. WE HOPE THAT UNPROFOR WILL BE ABLE TO STAY TO CARRY OUT ITS HUMANITARIAN MISSION AND TO CARRY OUT THE FUNDAMENTAL OBLIGATIONS IT HAS UNDER UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE AREA.

Q (MULTIPLE QUESTIONS)

Q SEVERAL TIMES YOU'VE TALKED OF YOUR FEAR OF SPREADING THIS CONFLICT. HAVE YOU SEEN ANY EVIDENCE OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS HEADING TOWARDS THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA OR ANY OTHER AREA, YOU KNOW, IN THAT REGION? DO YOU SEE AN ACTUAL THREAT OF THAT, OR IS THAT JUST YOUR SUPPOSITION?

MR. BURNS: IM NOT AWARE OF ANY SPECIFIC BOSNIAN SERB MILITARY MOVEMENTS THIS WEEK THAT WOULD WIDEN THE WAR IN KOSOVO OR MACEDONIA OR IN CROATIA. WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE SITUATION IN CROATIA. WE'RE CONCERNED ABOUT THE PROSPECT THAT WAR MIGHT SPREAD THERE IN THE FUTURE AND CONCERNED ABOUT SOME OF THE RECENT STATEMENTS BY THE KRAJINA SERB LEADERSHIP. WE'VE MADE OUR VIEWS KNOWN TO ALL PARTIES CONCERNED IN THAT AREA.

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I THINK, THOUGH, THAT IN TALKING ABOUT OUR FEAR OF THE SPREAD OF WAR, WE ARE JUST MINDFUL OF THE RECENT HISTORY IN THAT REGION, AND WE'RE MINDFUL OF THE VERY STRONG AMBITIONS OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS, AND WE BELIEVE

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IT'S IMPORTANT FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO
COALESCE TO CONTAIN THIS PRESENT CONFLICT IN ALL OF ITS
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HORRIBLE DIMENSIONS.

Q (INAUDIBLE)A

MR. BURNS: STILL ON BOSNIA?

Q YES.

MR. BURNS: ONE MORE ON BOSNIA, AND THEN WE'LL GO TO
A DIFFERENT SUBJECT.

Q NICK, I HAVE THIS QUESTION. SINCE SREBRENICA
AND THE 40,000 REFUGEES, HAS THE ADMINISTRATION THOUGHT
OF EXTENDING ANY RELIEF AND HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE
(INAUDIBLE) BECAUSE THESE PEOPLE ARE REALLY IN A BAD
SITUATION AS THEY HAVE ALREADY VACATED.

MR. BURNS: YES. THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH
COMMISSIONER ON REFUGEES, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF
THE RED CROSS AND THE WORLD FOOD PROGRAM ARE ALL
INVOLVED WITH THE CENTRAL ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED
NATIONS IN TRYING TO GET HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE
REFUGEES. IT'S CRITICAL, BECAUSE MANY THOUSANDS OF THEM
ARE DOWN TO ONE OR TWO DAYS OF SUPPLIES.

Q (INAUDIBLE) UNDER CONSIDERATION?

MR. BURNS: I'M NOT AWARE THAT IT'S SPECIFICALLY
UNDER CONSIDERATION, CHARLIE, BUT WE WILL CERTAINLY MEET
ANY REASONABLE REQUEST THAT COMES FROM THE UNITED
NATIONS AND THESE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS TO HELP

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THE REFUGEES. WE ABSOLUTELY STAND READY TO HELP.

Q NICK, A RATHER LESS PUBLICIZED WAR. THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS SAYS ABOUT 150 CIVILIANS HAVE BEEN KILLED IN NORTHERN SRI LANKA IN THE LAST FEW DAYS INCLUDING 65 WHO WERE SHELTERING IN A CHURCH, WHICH WAS HIT BY AIR FORCE BOMBS. THEY ALSO TALK ABOUT 150,000 PEOPLE MADE REFUGEES IN THE LAST FEW DAYS. HAVE YOU GOT

ANY COMMENT ABOUT HOW THE SRI LANKAN GOVERNMENT IS CARRYING OUT ITS MILITARY OFFENSIVE?

MR. BURNS: IT'S A TERRIBLE STRUGGLE UNDERWAY BETWEEN THE SO-CALLED TAMIL TIGERS AND THE SRI LANKAN GOVERNMENT. HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE HAVE DIED IN THE LAST COUPLE

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OF WEEKS, AND THERE WAS A TERRIBLE INCIDENT JUST THIS PAST WEEKEND WHEN A CHURCH WAS BOMBED AND MANY, MANY PEOPLE DIED.

WE KNOW THAT THE SRI LANKAN GOVERNMENT IS LOOKING INTO THAT PARTICULAR INCIDENT IN WHICH ITS OWN FORCES MAY HAVE BEEN INVOLVED. WE KNOW THAT THE SRI LANKAN GOVERNMENT FACES A VERY TERRIBLE CHALLENGE FROM THE TAMIL TIGERS. AND WE KNOW THAT THE TAMIL TIGERS HAVE BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MOST REPUGNANT ATROCITIES OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF WEEKS AND MONTHS, AND WE CONDEMN THE ACTS OF TERRORISM BY THAT PARTICULAR GROUP. AND WE

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CERTAINLY HOPE THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF SRI LANKA WILL BE ABLE TO CONTAIN THIS VIOLENCE.

Q DO YOU SPECIFICALLY CONDEMN THE BOMBING OF THE CHURCH, BUT YOUR SYMPATHIES ARE MORE WITH THE GOVERNMENT.

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MR. BURNS: I DIDN'T SAY THAT WE CONDEMNED THE BOMBING OF THE -- WE CERTAINLY CONDEMN THE DEATHS OF THE PEOPLE AND THE ACTS THAT ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR IT. BUT WE KNOW THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF SRI LANKA IS LOOKING INTO THAT PARTICULAR INCIDENT. WHEN I LAST WAS BRIEFED ON THIS, IT WAS A FAIRLY CONFUSED AND INDISTINCT SITUATION IN WHICH WE DID NOT HAVE A CLEAR VIEW OF THE EXACT CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH THOSE DEATHS OCCURRED.

WE'RE ALWAYS CERTAINLY MINDFUL AND SORROWFUL AT THE LOSS OF LIFE. I WOULD JUST LIKE TO SAY BEYOND THE INCIDENT THIS WEEKEND, IT'S VERY CLEAR TO A LOT OF PEOPLE WHO HAS BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE VIOLENCE THAT HAS PERVADED SRI LANKA, AND THE TAMIL TIGERS CERTAINLY HAVE A LOT TO ANSWER TO.

Q NICK, DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT OR REACTION TO THE FIRST MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS EVER BEEN HELD IN JORDAN?

MR. BURNS: WE KNOW THAT ELECTIONS HAVE BEEN HELD IN JORDAN. WE CONGRATULATE THE JORDANIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE ON THE CONDUCT OF THOSE ELECTIONS. WE HAVE A VERY CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF JORDAN AND, OF COURSE, HAVE A CONTINUED INTEREST IN STABILITY AND ECONOMIC GROWTH IN JORDAN.

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Q CAN YOU GIVE US A SITUATION REPORT ON DENNIS ROSS' SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

MR. BURNS: I CERTAINLY CAN. DENNIS WAS TODAY IN DAMASCUS FOR MEETINGS WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SHARA AND AMBASSADOR MUALEM. I BELIEVE HE WAS GOING TO MEET PRESIDENT ASSAD. HE MET WITH HIM FOR FOUR HOURS YESTERDAY. HE HAS BEEN SHUTTLEING BACK AND FORTH BETWEEN JERUSALEM AND DAMASCUS TRYING TO SEE WHAT THE UNITED STATES CAN DO TO FURTHER PROGRESS ON THE SYRIAN-ISRAELI TRACK.

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HE CALLED IN AND GAVE SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER A FULL DEBRIEF THIS MORNING. THEY HAVE SPOKEN THREE OR FOUR TIMES IN THE LAST SEVERAL DAYS. DENNIS HAS ALSO BEEN ASKED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ISRAEL-PALESTINIAN NEGOTIATIONS AT THE REQUEST OF BOTH PARTIES AS THEY TRY TO CONCLUDE THEIR NEGOTIATIONS BY THEIR OWN TARGET OF JULY 25. WE ARE DOING EVERYTHING WE CAN TO HELP PROGRESS ON THAT PARTICULAR TRACK AS WELL.

Q YOU SAID THAT AT THE REQUEST OF BOTH PARTIES THAT HE -- THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THAT I HEAR THAT BOTH PARTIES ASKED DENNIS ROSS TO SIT --

MR. BURNS: YES. I UNDERSTAND THAT BOTH PARTIES HAVE ASKED DENNIS TO PARTICIPATE IN CONVERSATIONS WITH THEM ABOUT THE STATUS OF THE TALKS AND THE CENTRAL
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ISSUES IN THOSE TALKS.

Q AND HE WILL, RIGHT?

MR. BURNS: AND HE CERTAINLY IS. HE FLEW DOWN TO GAZA LAST NIGHT, HAD A GOOD MEETING WITH CHAIRMAN ARAFAT. HE HAS BEEN IN TOUCH, OF COURSE -- DIRECT TOUCH WITH PRIME MINISTER RABIN AND FOREIGN MINISTER PERES. HE IS CERTAINLY GOING TO MEET THE REQUEST THAT WE BECOME INVOLVED NOW IN SOME OF THE ACTUAL DISCUSSIONS HERE. HE

IS VERY WELL PLACED TO DO THAT, AND I THINK HE'S GOT THE CREDIBILITY AND THE TRUST OF BOTH SIDES TO DO THIS.

Q ONE MORE TIME AND I'LL FINISH. THE SIGNATURES WILL BE THE 25TH OR AUGUST 1ST -- 25TH OF JULY OR AUGUST 1ST?

MR. BURNS: THE TARGET DATE ESTABLISHED BY CHAIRMAN ARAFAT AND FOREIGN MINISTER PERES IS JULY 25. I DON'T BELIEVE THAT'S CHANGED. WE DON'T KNOW WHETHER THEY'LL MEET THAT TARGET DATE. IF THEY MEET IT, WE'LL CONGRATULATE THEM. IF THEY DON'T MEET IT, WE'LL BE VERY WILLING TO WORK WITH THEM TO FINISH THIS CURRENT ROUND

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OF NEGOTIATIONS.

Q ON CUBA, DO YOU HAVE ANY REACTION TO THE DECISION OF CUBA TO PURSUE THE CONSTRUCTION OF JURAGUA NUCLEAR PLANT?

MR. BURNS: WE HAVE A LOT OF QUESTIONS ABOUT THE
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JURAGUA NUCLEAR POWER PLANT. WE HAVE QUESTIONS ABOUT RUSSIAN'S INVOLVEMENT AND THE ASSISTANCE THAT RUSSIA IS GIVING TO THIS. WE CERTAINLY WANT TO MAKE SURE, AT A MINIMUM, THAT ANY NUCLEAR POWER PLANT CONSTRUCTED IN CUBA MEETS INTERNATIONAL GUIDELINES AND MEETS INTERNATIONAL SAFETY STANDARDS. WE DON'T BELIEVE THAT IS YET THE CASE, THAT THEY'VE BEEN GIVEN A STAMP OF APPROVAL BY THE COMPETENT INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, AND WE THINK THAT HAS TO HAPPEN.

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WE ALSO, AS YOU KNOW, TAKE A VERY DIM VIEW ABOUT MOST INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE TO CUBA BECAUSE OF THE AUTHORITARIAN REGIME THAT HAS REPPRESSED THE CUBAN PEOPLE FOR A LONG TIME NOW.

Q PRESIDENT OF AZERBAIJAN, MR. HEYDAR, OFFERED TO VISITING TURKISH PRIME MINISTER, MRS. CILLER, TO CONTROL SOUTHERN PART OF THE AZERBAIJAN WHICH THE INVADING ARMENIAN FORCES -- THEY CUT THE TWO PARTS OF THE COUNTRY. DO YOU HAVE ANY REACTION? DO YOU HAVE ANY INFORMATION ABOUT THIS SUBJECT?

MR. BURNS: I'M NOT AWARE OF THE CONVERSATION THAT YOU DESCRIBED HAVING TAKEN PLACE. WE KNOW THAT TURKEY HAS A VERY GREAT INTEREST IN STABILITY IN AZERBAIJAN.

WE KNOW THAT THERE'S A HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIP, AND THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN A VERY GOOD FRIEND TO AZERBAIJAN.

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WE VERY MUCH SUPPORT TURKEY'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE CASPIAN SEA AREA. WE VERY MUCH SUPPORT TURKEY'S INVOLVEMENT WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF AZERBAIJAN, BUT I JUST CAN'T SPEAK TO THE SPECIFIC QUESTION YOU'VE --

Q CAN YOU TAKE THIS QUESTION?

MR. BURNS: I CAN CERTAINLY LOOK INTO IT, BUT I JUST DON'T KNOW IF WE WOULD BE AWARE OF THIS TYPE OF CONVERSATION.

Q NICK, THE FRENCH OIL COMPANY, (INAUDIBLE), HAS SIGNED A DEAL WITH IRAN TODAY WHICH REPLACES THE CONOCO DEAL. HAVE YOU GOT ANY COMMENT ON THAT DEAL AND WHAT IT SAYS ABOUT THE EFFECT OF THE UNILATERAL AMERICAN TRADE EMBARGO?

MR. BURNS: WE'VE SEEN REPORTS OF A DEAL. WE'VE NOT BEEN ABLE TO CONFIRM THAT WITH THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES, AND I THINK I SHOULD WITHHOLD COMMENT UNTIL WE DO. WE HAVEN'T CONFIRMED IT WITH THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT. BUT I THINK I CAN SAY IN GENERAL, WE'VE CERTAINLY MADE IT CLEAR TO OUR FRIENDS IN EUROPE AND IN ASIA THAT WE THINK IT IS STRONGLY INADVISABLE FOR THEM TO PROMOTE THEIR OWN COMPANIES ECONOMIC INVOLVEMENT IN IRAN FOR VERY WELL KNOWN REASONS. BECAUSE OF THE FACT THAT WE BELIEVE THAT IRAN IS INTENT ON ACQUIRING NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND WE THINK THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD MAKE AN EFFORT TO STOP IRAN.

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THE UNITED STATES HAS TAKEN A VERY STRONG LEADERSHIP

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POSITION ON THIS, AND WE'LL CONTINUE THAT.

Q THANK YOU.

MR. BURNS: THANK YOU.

END TEXT. CHRISTOPHER

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XMT AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

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AMEMBASSY MALABO
AMCONSUL SHANGHAI

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RM CONSULS ALSO FOR USEC/USOECDC

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: OPRC
SUBJECT: DAILY PRESS BRIEFING -- WEDNESDAY, JULY 19,
1995

THE FOLLOWING TOPICS WERE COVERED IN TODAY'S PRESS
BRIEFING:

UNITED KINGDOM: READOUT ON THE SECRETARY'S MTG WITH UK
FOREIGN SECRETARY: DISCUSSIONS RE: BOSNIA, NORTHERN
IRELAND AND RUSSIA (1-3)

FORMER YUGOSLAVIA: U.S. DISCUSSIONS WITH
ALLIES/OTHERS/LONDON MTG ON FRIDAY (1-2,4,13-14);
REPORTED OPTIONS/PLAN BY ALLIES FOR BOSNIA/"DUAL KEY"
PROSPECTS OF AIRSTRIKES (1,4-5,7-8,14-15); STATUS OF THE
CONTACT GROUP/ROLE (6-7); PROGRESS OF DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS
(9-10); ADMINISTRATION CONSULTATIONS WITH CONGRESS (12);
PROSPECTS FOR UNSC VOTE/AGREEMENT (8-9,12-13); STATUS OF
THE SAFE AREAS: OFFENSIVE AGAINST BIHAC (2,10-11);
DEFENSE OF GORAZDE AREA (2,4,11); STATUS OF DUTCH
PEACEKEEPERS IN SREBRENCIA (7) STATUS OF THE UKRAINIAN
PEACEKEEPERS IN ZEPA/SITUATION (2,11-12,14) SITUATION
IN TULZA (11)

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CHINA: UPCOMING CHINESE MISSILE EXERCISES NEAR TAIWAN
(16.19); CONSULAR ACCESS TO US CITIZEN HARRY WU/VISIT
DENIED (17-18); UPCOMING VISITS TO CHINA BY FORMER
PRESIDENT BUSH (18); SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER'S UPCOMING
MEETING WITH FM QIAN (18-19)

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TAIWAN: ASST. SECRETARY LORD'S REMARKS RE: TAIWAN
(16-17)

INDIA: HOSTAGE SITUATION IN KASHMIR/DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS
(19-20); US JOINS CALL BY WESTERN GOVERNMENTS FOR
RELEASE (19)

CUBA: US-CUBA MIGRATION TALKS (21)

BEGIN TEXT:

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MR. BURNS: GOOD AFTERNOON AND WELCOME TO THE STATE
DEPARTMENT BRIEFING. AS YOU KNOW, SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER
HAS BEEN INTENSIVELY INVOLVED IN BOSNIA DISCUSSIONS
DURING THE LAST 24 HOURS. HE HAD DINNER LAST NIGHT WITH
THE FOREIGN SECRETARY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, MALCOLM
RIFKIND, FOR ABOUT TWO AND A HALF HOURS. THIS MORNING
THEY MET AGAIN FOR AN HOUR AND A HALF IN THE SECRETARY'S
OFFICE UPSTAIRS.

I THINK IT'S FAIR TO SAY THAT THEY HAD AN EXCELLENT
SET OF DISCUSSIONS, PRINCIPALLY ON THE BOSNIA QUESTION.

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THEY DISCUSSED THEIR MUTUAL GOAL OF KEEPING UNPROFOR IN
THE FIELD AND OF STRENGTHENING UNPROFOR, AND, CERTAINLY,
THE MUTUAL INTEREST THAT BOTH OF OUR COUNTRIES HAVE IN
HELPING THE UNITED NATIONS DEFEND THE ENCLAVES AND IN
MEETING THE RESPONSIBILITIES THAT THE UNITED NATIONS SO
CLEARLY HAS IN BOSNIA.

THEY ALSO DISCUSSED SEVERAL OPTIONS FOR ACHIEVING
THESE GOALS. AMONG THEM OF COURSE, AS THE SECRETARY
SAID YESTERDAY, IS THE POSSIBILITY OF AIRSTRIKES TO
DETER BOSNIAN SERB AGGRESSION. NO FIRM DECISIONS HAVE
BEEN MADE BY THE UNITED STATES, THE UNITED KINGDOM AND
FRANCE AND THE OTHER TROOP-CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES. THE
DISCUSSIONS ARE CONTINUING.

I THINK YOU KNOW THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS IN TOUCH

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WITH BOTH PRIME MINISTER MAJOR AND PRESIDENT CHIRAC THIS MORNING. THE SECRETARY HAS ALSO TALKED TO THE SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTER, MINISTER SOLANA, TO GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTER KINKEL, BOTH LAST EVENING. JUST AFTER THE MEETING WITH MR. RIFKIND TODAY, THE SECRETARY TALKED TO THE DUTCH FOREIGN MINISTER, MINISTER VAN MIERLO, AND HE IS NOW ATTEMPTING TO TALK TO THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER, MINISTER DE CHARETTE, IN A FEW HOURS. I UNDERSTAND MINISTER DE CHARETTE IS TRAVELING OUTSIDE OF FRANCE, BUT BOTH OF THEM WANT TO HAVE THAT CONVERSATION.

IN SUM, I WOULD SAY THAT WE ARE MOVING ALONG IN THESE DISCUSSIONS. SOME PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE. WE ARE

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DETERMINED TO MAKE FURTHER PROGRESS AS WE LOOK TOWARDS THE LONDON CONFERENCE AT LANCASTER HOUSE THAT WILL TAKE PLACE ON FRIDAY, BUT NO FINAL DECISIONS HAVE BEEN MADE. FURTHER WORK NEEDS TO BE DONE, CERTAINLY, IN AGREEING ON THE BEST WAY TO STRENGTHEN UNPROFOR AND TO SEND A MESSAGE TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS THAT THEIR AGGRESSION IS NOT IN THEIR INTEREST AND THAT IT SHOULD STOP.

THE TWO MINISTERS TALKED THIS MORNING ABOUT THE SITUATION BEYOND GORAZDE, SPECIFICALLY THE SITUATION IN ZEPA AND ALSO THE SITUATION AROUND BIHAC. AS YOU KNOW, THERE WAS A VERY INTENSE AND STRONG BOSNIAN SERB AND REBEL MUSLIM OFFENSIVE UNLEASHED THIS MORNING AGAINST BIHAC. BOTH MINISTERS TALKED ABOUT THIS. THEY ARE BOTH CONCERNED ABOUT IT, AND WE CERTAINLY CALL UPON THE BOSNIAN SERBS AND THE REBEL MUSLIM GROUPS INVOLVED TO CEASE AND DESIST FROM THIS ACTION.

I SHOULD TELL YOU THAT IN ADDITION TO THE BOSNIA DISCUSSION, SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AND FOREIGN SECRETARY RIFKIND ALSO DISCUSSED THREE OTHER ISSUES THAT ARE VERY IMPORTANT FOR U.S.-U.K. RELATIONS. THE FIRST IS THE MUTUAL INTEREST OF BOTH OF THESE MEN -- AND THEY HAVE BOTH GIVEN SPEECHES ABOUT IT RECENTLY, THE SECRETARY'S

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IN MADRID -- TO FORGE A STRONGER TRANSATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED KINGDOM, THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, INTO THE NEXT CENTURY.

SECRETARY RIFKIND TALKED ABOUT SOME SPECIFIC IDEAS
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THAT HE HAS TO DO THAT, NOT JUST IN THE AREA OF TRADE AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION BUT ALSO IN THE AREA, FRANKLY, OF PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE CONTACTS AND LEGISLATIVE CONTACTS -- CONTACTS BETWEEN THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT AND THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS -- ON ALL THE ISSUES WITH WHICH OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS ROUTINELY DEAL.

THEY ALSO TALKED ABOUT NORTHERN IRELAND. BOTH MEN AGREED THAT THE RECENT INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE WERE MOST UNFORTUNATE AND TRAGIC. THERE IS A NEED TO END THE VIOLENCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND TO MAKE GREATER PROGRESS IN THE TALKS THAT THE UNITED KINGDOM HAS UNDERWAY.

SECRETARY RIFKIND REPORTED VERY LITTLE PROGRESS ON THE ISSUE OF DECOMMISSIONING. IN FACT, I SHOULD PROBABLY SAY NO PROGRESS AT ALL ON THE DECOMMISSIONING OF ARMS. OF COURSE, YOU KNOW THAT THE UNITED STATES' POSITION IS THAT WE THINK IT'S VERY IMPORTANT THAT PROGRESS IS MADE ON DECOMMISSIONING, AND THERE HAVE BEEN A NUMBER OF COMMITMENTS MADE TO THAT EFFECT.

FINALLY, THE TWO OF THEM TALKED -- AND I KNOW AT BREAKFAST THIS MORNING SECRETARY RIFKIND ALSO TALKED TO DEPUTY SECRETARY TALBOTT ABOUT THIS -- THEY TALKED ABOUT RUSSIA: THE IMPORTANCE OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED

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KINGDOM STAYING IN CLOSE TOUCH ON RUSSIA; OF HAVING
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STRONG, STABLE RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA; AND IN PARTICULAR,
SINCE BOTH OF US ARE AMONG THE LEADING MEMBERS OF NATO,
ABOUT THE CRITICAL IMPORTANCE OF HAVING THE RUSSIAN-NATO
DIALOGUE ABOUT THE FUTURE OF NATO'S RELATIONS WITH
RUSSIA PROCEED IN A VERY VIGOROUS WAY THIS YEAR.
SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER MADE AN ADDITIONAL POINT, AND THAT
IS THAT RUSSIA'S PARTICIPATION IN THE PARTNERSHIP FOR
PEACE IS A VERY, VERY STRONG ELEMENT OF OUR DESIRE TO
SEE RUSSIA AND NATO FORM A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP IN THE
FUTURE.

SO IT WAS A VERY FULL DISCUSSION. I THINK THEY HAD
OVER FOUR AND A HALF HOURS OF TALKS. I UNDERSTAND THAT
SECRETARY RIFKIND WILL BE OVER AT THE WHITE HOUSE THIS
AFTERNOON MEETING WITH TONY LAKE THE NATIONAL SECURITY
ADVISER, AND VICE PRESIDENT GORE.

I'D BE GLAD TO TAKE YOUR QUESTIONS.

Q DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING TO SAY ABOUT THE COMMENT
BY KARADZIC THAT ANY AIRCRAFT, HELICOPTERS, WHATEVER,
THAT INTERCEDE IN BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT-HELD AREAS IN
BOSNIA WOULD BE SHOT DOWN?

MR. BURNS: WE'VE SEEN THE COMMENT. WE WERE MOST
DISPLEASED TO SEE THE COMMENT. IT IS CHARACTERISTIC OF
BOTH HIS ATTITUDE AND HIS Demeanor AND THAT OF THE
BOSNIAN SERB FORCES IN GENERAL. THEY HAVE NO REGARD FOR
INTERNATIONAL LAW, FOR THE MANDATES OF THE UNITED
NATIONS. THEY HAVE LITTLE REGARD FOR HUMAN LIFE, AND
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IT'S BEEN MOST APPARENT IN THEIR CRIMINAL ACTIONS OVER
THE LAST WEEK, THEIR ACTIONS TOWARDS THE REFUGEES.

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IT'S A TIMELY COMMENT IN THIS SENSE, IN A NEGATIVE SENSE. THE COMMENT FOCUSES ON THE SAME QUESTION THAT NOW THE WESTERN COUNTRIES HAVE TO FOCUS ON -- ON THE QUESTION THAT SECRETARY RIFKIND AND SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER WERE FOCUSING ON -- AND IT WILL BE AT THE CENTER OF THE LONDON TALKS.

I THINK THERE IS A CONSENSUS AMONG THE LEADING COUNTRIES OF THE WEST, THOSE THAT ARE INVOLVED IN THE UNITED NATIONS' EFFORTS IN BOSNIA, THAT A WAY HAS TO BE FOUND TO DETER BOSNIAN SERB AGGRESSION. WE HAVE NOT SUCCEEDED IN THAT EFFORT OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF YEARS. WE CERTAINLY FAILED IN THAT EFFORT LAST WEEK IN SREBRENICA. I THINK THERE IS A DETERMINATION THAT IS EVIDENT IN THESE DISCUSSIONS THAT WE'VE HAD IN THE LAST 24 HOURS WITH THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO FIND A WAY TO DETER THAT TYPE OF AGGRESSION THAT MR. KARADZIC WAS SO OPEN AND BRAZEN ABOUT IN HIS COMMENTS THIS MORNING.

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SO HIS COMMENTS, I THINK, JUST GIVE US A GREATER SENSE OF DETERMINATION THAT SOMETHING HAS TO BE DONE TO CONVINCE THE BOSNIAN SERBS THAT IT IS IN THEIR INTERESTS TO SEEK A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT TO THE PROBLEMS IN THE AREA, NOT A MILITARY SETTLEMENT.

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SID.

Q NICK, JUST TO CLARIFY. WHEN YOU SAY THERE HAS BEEN NO DECISION TAKEN, I ASSUME YOU'RE REFERRING TO TACTICS AND NOT TO STRATEGIES, BECAUSE THE SECRETARY AND THE BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY WERE VERY CLEAR THAT THERE HAS BEEN A DECISION TAKEN TO DO SOMETHING TO DETER SERB AGGRESSION IN BOSNIA.

MR. BURNS: I THINK BASED ON ALL THE CONTACTS THAT BOTH THE SECRETARY AND THE PRESIDENT AND OTHERS HAVE HAD

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OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF DAYS, THERE IS CERTAINLY UNITY IN THE WEST THAT THERE HAS TO BE SOME ACTION TAKEN TO STRENGTHEN UNPROFOR AND TO KEEP IT IN THE FIELD, AND TO DETER THE BOSNIAN SERBS FROM CONTINUING THEIR MILITARY ACTIONS.

THE SPECIFIC QUESTION, THOUGH, THAT IS REALLY AT THE CENTER OF THE DISCUSSIONS IS HOW DO YOU ACHIEVE THAT OBJECTIVE. DO YOU ACHIEVE IT BY THE FRENCH SUGGESTION THAT YOU REINFORCE THE GARRISON IN GORAZDE? DO YOU ACHIEVE IT BY A CAMPAIGN OF AIRSTRIKES? THERE ARE OTHER OPTIONS THAT HAVE BEEN PUT OUT, AND WHAT I MEANT TO SAY WAS THAT THERE WAS NO DECISION ON THOSE SPECIFIC TACTICAL QUESTIONS. THEY'RE VERY IMPORTANT TACTICAL QUESTION, BECAUSE THEY INVOLVE THE MILITARY FORCES OF EACH OF THE COUNTRIES IN THESE DISCUSSIONS; AND THAT WILL BE, I THINK, THE FOCUS OF THE LONDON DISCUSSIONS.

I JUST WANTED TO GIVE YOU A SENSE THAT WE ARE MOVING THROUGH THESE ISSUES. WE HAVE MADE SOME PROGRESS, BUT
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WE HAVE NOT -- I DON'T THINK THE THREE GOVERNMENTS HAVE NOT AGREED ON A SPECIFIC TACTICAL ROAD AHEAD. I THINK ALL OF US WOULD LIKE TO AGREE ON A COURSE OF ACTION. WE'RE NOT THERE YET, BUT THESE DISCUSSIONS WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY RIFKIND HAVE BEEN VERY, VERY HELPFUL, AND THE ATMOSPHERE HAS BEEN VERY, VERY GOOD. THERE IS A STRONG PARTNERSHIP AND A STRONG SENSE OF MUTUAL INTEREST IN ALL THESE DISCUSSIONS.

Q NICK, DO THE THREE GOVERNMENTS AGREE, THOUGH, THAT GORAZDE MUST BE PROTECTED AND HELD?

MR. BURNS: ALL THREE GOVERNMENTS -- AND I THINK THIS RUNS THROUGH ALL THE CONVERSATIONS -- WANT TO SEE GORAZDE DEFENDED, BELIEVE THAT THE U.N. MANDATE FOR GORAZDE IS A VERY IMPORTANT MANDATE, AND WANT TO FIND A WAY TO HELP THE UNITED NATIONS DEFEND GORAZDE.

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Q AND IS THERE AGREEMENT ON DOING AWAY WITH THE DUAL-KEY?

MR. BURNS: THAT IS A QUESTION THAT WAS TOUCHED UPON IN THE DISCUSSIONS THIS MORNING, I CAN TELL YOU, AND THAT CERTAINLY WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF FURTHER DISCUSSIONS AS WE GET FURTHER INTO THESE ISSUES. I THINK IT'S FAIR TO SAY THAT THE THREE COUNTRIES AND OTHER COUNTRIES -- THE GERMANS, THE SPANIARDS AND OTHERS -- WHO ARE INVOLVED IN THIS EFFORT NEED TO HAVE AN AGREEMENT ON THE BASIC APPROACH. THEN I THINK WE WILL

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HAVE TO HAVE SUBSEQUENTLY AN AGREEMENT ON A SERIES OF QUESTIONS, AMONG THEM THE QUESTION THAT YOU ASKED ABOUT, JUDD. SO IT WILL DEFINITELY BE LOOKED AT VERY, VERY CAREFULLY, BUT I CAN'T POINT YOU IN ANY DIRECTION RIGHT NOW.

Q YOU'RE NOT THERE YET.

MR. BURNS: RIGHT.

Q I'D LIKE TO ASK SOMETHING ELSE, BUT I'D LIKE TO FOLLOW UP ON THAT FIRST, IF I MAY, BECAUSE SECRETARY RIFKIND SAID -- I DON'T HAVE HIS EXACT LANGUAGE IN FRONT OF ME; I'M SURE SOMEONE ELSE DOES -- ON DUAL-KEY THAT THERE SHOULD BE A DECISION MADE BOTH BY COMMANDERS ON THE GROUND AND BY THOSE HANDLING THE USE OF AIR. IT SOUNDED AS IF HE STILL WANTS DUAL-KEY. BUT PERHAPS YOU COULD TELL US WHAT IS THE AMERICAN -- AFTER FOUR-AND-A-HALF HOURS OF DISCUSSIONS WITH THE GENTLEMAN, WHAT IS THE AMERICAN UNDERSTANDING OF THE BRITISH POSITION ON THAT PRECISE QUESTION?

MR. BURNS: I THINK IT'S FAIR TO SAY THAT AS A RESULT OF THESE DISCUSSIONS, NEITHER COUNTRY WOULD LIKE TO SEE AN EXACT REPETITION OF THE SYSTEM THAT HAS BEEN IN PLACE FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS THAT I THINK EVERYONE ADMITS HAS BEEN AN ENCUMBRANCE AND HAS BEEN COMPLICATING THE MISSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

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WE HAVE MADE A VERY STRONG POINT THAT IF WE HAD TO
DO IT ALL OVER AGAIN, IF WE HAD TO WRITE TO BOOK AGAIN,
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WE CERTAINLY WOULD NOT DO IT THE WAY IT HAS BEEN
CONSTRUCTED; AND IF THE UNITED STATES IS GOING TO DEPLOY
ITS MILITARY FORCES IN ANY WAY, WE CERTAINLY WANT TO SEE
AN ARRANGEMENT THAT WILL GIVE US SOME FLEXIBILITY AND

THAT WOULD INSURE THAT OUR MILITARY FORCES COULD BE
EFFECTIVE IN ACHIEVING THEIR MISSION.

I THINK THAT'S THE MESSAGE THAT'S UNDERSTOOD BY OUR
CLOSEST PARTNERS IN NATO, INCLUDING THE U.K. AND I
THINK THAT FOREIGN SECRETARY RIFKIND AND SECRETARY
CHRISTOPHER AGREED THAT WHEN WE GET TO THIS PART OF THE
DISCUSSION, THERE WILL BE A NEED FOR VERY CLOSE
MILITARY-TO-MILITARY CONTACTS ON THIS. IT'S REALLY A
QUESTION THAT PROBABLY

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THE MILITARIES CAN WORK OUT ONCE THERE HAS BEEN A BROAD
GENERAL LEVEL AGREEMENT ON THE COURSE AHEAD.

Q CAN I NOW ASK, YOU'VE SAID THAT THE THREE
GOVERNMENTS THAT HAVE BEEN TALKING THESE LAST 48
HOURS/24 HOURS AREN'T AT THE POINT OF A FINAL DECISION.
BUT WITHIN THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS THE U.S. GOVERNMENT
COME TO AN OPINION AS TO WHETHER IT WOULD BE WISE TO
HAVE HELICOPTERS USED TO TRANSPORT TROOPS OVER HOSTILE
BOSNIAN SERB TERRITORY OR NOT?

MR. BURNS: WE CERTAINLY HAVE OUR OWN IDEAS. WE
WORKED THROUGH ON OUR OWN BEFORE WE HAD THESE INTENSIVE
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SERIES OF DISCUSSIONS IN WHICH WE ARE NOW ENGAGED, WE'VE WORKED THROUGH A NUMBER OF THE OPTIONS THAT HAD BEEN SUGGESTED AND A NUMBER OF OPTIONS THAT WE DEVELOPED. I THINK NOW THAT THE PRESIDENT AND HIS ADVISORS, INCLUDING SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, HAVE DETERMINED PRETTY MUCH WHAT WE THINK WOULD BE THE BEST OPTION.

BUT WE CERTAINLY CONTINUE TO BE OFEN TO THE SUGGESTIONS OF OTHERS. SINCE WE'RE IN THE MIDDLE OF THOSE DISCUSSIONS, I DON'T CARE REALLY TO GIVE TOO MUCH MORE DETAIL ON THEM.

Q EXCUSE ME IF I MISSED THIS NUANCE. I'VE BEEN AWAY. SO FAR YOU HAVE BEEN TALKING ABOUT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND THE UNITED STATES. THESE NOW SEEM TO BE THE CORE GROUP. DOES THIS NOW REPLACE WHAT THE CONTACT GROUP USED TO DO, OR OTHER GROUPS? IN OTHER WORDS, IS THERE NOW A THREE-SIDED DIRECTORATE? WHAT HAPPENED TO THE RUSSIANS? WHAT HAPPENED TO THE GERMANS?

MR. BURNS: LET ME JUST TRY TO CLARIFY IT. I THINK

ON SOME OF THE SPECIFIC QUESTIONS THAT ARE AT ISSUE, THE TACTICS THAT COULD BE DEPLOYED TO ACHIEVE THE OBJECTIVE OF DETERRING THE BOSNIAN SERBS IN GORAZDE AND ELSEWHERE - BIHAC -- THAT ISSUE HAS BEEN INTENSELY DISCUSSED AMONG FRANCE, BRITAIN, AND THE UNITED STATES BUT NOT EXCLUSIVELY SO.

THE SECRETARY HAD A VERY GOOD CONVERSATION WITH HIS DUTCH COUNTERPART, MINISTER VAN MIERLO, JUST AT NOON
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TODAY. HE WAS ON THE PHONE WITH FOREIGN MINISTER KINKEL. AS YOU KNOW, GERMANY HAS DEPLOYED TORNADO AIRCRAFT TO THE REGION -- TO ITALY -- AND HAS SUGGESTED THAT THOSE AIRCRAFT WILL BE AT THE DISPOSAL OF NATO.

SO THOSE COUNTRIES THAT HAVE TROOPS ON THE GROUND,

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INCLUDING SPAIN, ARE VERY IMPORTANT MEMBERS OF THESE DISCUSSIONS ARE TAKING PART IN THEM; AND WE'LL BE IN TOUCH WITH THEM, I THINK, ALL THE WAY UP TO AND THROUGH THE LONDON CONFERENCE.

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SECONDLY, THE CONTACT GROUP CONTINUES TO BE THE FOCAL POINT OF THE DIPLOMACY. AS YOU KNOW, THE CONTACT GROUP HAS BEEN IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH CARL BILDT, WHO HAS BEEN NEGOTIATING WITH MR. MILOSEVIC; CONTINUES TO DO SO. AMBASSADOR BOB FRASURE TRAVELED OUT TO EUROPE TWO DAYS AGO TO MAKE CONTACT WITH CARL BILDT. THEY HAD A GOOD SET OF DISCUSSIONS. HE IS IN CONTACT WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP.

I THINK THE DIPLOMACY IS FOCUSED THERE. SOME OF THESE SPECIFIC MILITARY QUESTIONS ARE FOCUSED, FRANKLY ON THOSE NATIONS THAT WILL BE ASKED TO CONTRIBUTE TO ANY POSSIBLE FURTHER MILITARY STEPS. AMONG THEM ARE THE COUNTRIES THAT I MENTIONED BUT NOT JUST EXCLUSIVELY THE THREE.

Q I'M WONDERING ABOUT THE DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS IN SREBRENICA. ARE THEY FREE TO LEAVE? IF THEY ARE, IN
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FACT, DE FACTO HOSTAGES, WHAT DOES THAT IMPLY FOR THE FEASIBILITY OF AIRSTRIKES? AND IS THERE ANY THOUGHT BEING GIVEN TO EMERGENCY EXTRACTION?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T BELIEVE IT'S FAIR TO SAY THAT THEY'RE HOSTAGES. THE DUTCH HAVE MADE A DECISION TO KEEP THEIR 350-ODD PEACEKEEPERS IN SREBRENICA UNTIL THEY

CAN BE ASSURED THAT THE LAST REFUGEES PARTICULARLY THOSE WHO WERE ILL IN THE HOSPITAL AND SOME OF THOSE WHO DID NOT GET OUT OR WERE NOT FORCED OUT -- THEY CAN BE ASSURED THAT THEY'RE BEING PROTECTED, THAT THEIR CASES HAVE BEEN RESOLVED OR THEY'VE BEEN AGREED TO MOVE TO ANOTHER AREA.

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THE DUTCH HAVE TAKEN THAT UPON THEMSELVES, AND THEN THE DUTCH WILL CERTAINLY WANT TO ANNOUNCE THEIR OWN DECISIONS ABOUT WHEN AND IF THEY LEAVE. I CAN'T SPEAK FOR THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT IN THAT REGARD, BUT WE DO ADMIRE THE FACT THAT THE DUTCH DECIDED TO STAY AND DECIDED TO MEET THEIR HUMANITARIAN OBLIGATIONS TO TRY TO LOOK AFTER THE REFUGEES. THAT HAS BEEN VERY DIFFICULT FOR THEM BECAUSE THE BOSNIAN SERBS PREVENTED THEM FROM ACCESS TO THE SOCCER STADIUM IN BRATUNAC FOR MANY, MANY DAYS.

I UNDERSTAND NOW THAT SOME IN THE RED CROSS HAVE BEEN ABLE TO GET TO THAT SOCCER STADIUM. THE BOSNIAN SERBS PREVENTED THEM FROM SEEING SOME OF THE VICTIMS OF THE ATROCITIES THAT TOOK PLACE AFTER THE FALL OF SREBRENICA. SO WE COMMEND THE DUTCH FOR HAVING STAYED.

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WE SYMPATHIZE WITH THE DIFFICULTIES THEY'VE HAD IN DEALING WITH THE BOSNIAN SERBS.

Q DOES THAT COMPLICATE THE POSSIBILITY OF PLANNING FOR AIRSTRIKES?

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MR. BURNS: AS I SAID, THAT IS ONE OF THE OPTIONS THAT'S BEING DISCUSSED. IT'S NOT THE ONLY OPTION.

I THINK THERE IS A DETERMINATION TO FIND A WAY TO DETER FUTURE AGGRESSION. THAT DETERMINATION IS VERY IMPORTANT TO THE EFFORT, BUT IT SERVES A VERY IMPORTANT OBJECTIVE, AND THAT IS THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS TO FIND A WAY TO STOP THE BRUTALITY THAT WE ARE WITNESSING AGAIN TODAY AND THAT HAS BEEN GOING ON FOR QUITE SOME TIME NOW.

Q WITH ALL THE DISCUSSION OF MORE AGGRESSIVE AIRSTRIKES COMING ABOUT, IS IT YOUR UNDERSTANDING THAT THOSE AIRSTRIKES WILL BE CARRIED OUT OUTSIDE THE DUAL-KEY SYSTEM? THAT IS, YOU WOULD NOT ENGAGE IN THESE AIRSTRIKES UNLESS DUAL-KEY WERE AT LEAST PUT ASIDE?

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MR. BURNS: I REALLY CAN'T HELP YOU TOO MUCH ON THE ISSUE OF AIRSTRIKES. AS YOU KNOW IT'S AN OPTION THAT WE ARE SERIOUSLY CONSIDERING. HOWEVER, IT IS ONE OF A NUMBER OF OPTIONS. NONE OF THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED HAVE MADE A GROUP DECISION THAT THIS IS THE WAY WE SHOULD GO. WE'RE WORKING TOWARDS A DECISION TO TAKE ACTION

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BUT I DO WANT TO LEAD YOU AWAY FROM THE THOUGHT THAT THERE HAS BEEN AN IRREVOCABLE DECISION TO PURSUE AIRSTRIKES. THAT IS NOT THE CASE.

I THINK WE'VE MADE IT VERY CLEAR -- WE, IN THE UNITED STATES: SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER ON SUNDAY; DICK HOLBROOKE ON MONDAY; AT MY BRIEFING YESTERDAY -- I THINK WE'VE MADE VERY CLEAR THAT WE HAVE VERY LITTLE REGARD FOR THE FUTURE OF A RIGID DUAL-KEY SYSTEM OF THE TYPE THAT HAS BEEN IN PLACE OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF YEARS. IF THE UNITED STATES IS TO DEPLOY MILITARY FORCE, WE WOULD WANT TO HAVE THE FLEXIBILITY TO ENSURE THE SUCCESS OF ANY ACTION.

SO THEREFORE WE WILL LOOK FOR WAYS TO FIND THAT FLEXIBILITY. WE DON'T THINK MUCH, FRANKLY, OF THE DUAL-KEY SYSTEM THAT'S BEEN IN PLACE OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF YEARS. IT HAS HINDERED THE ABILITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO RESPOND QUICKLY AND DECISIVELY AGAINST BLATANT ACTS OF AGGRESSION BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS.

Q THERE IS ONE ACCOUNT THIS MORNING THAT SUGGESTED --

Q HOW DO YOU AWAY WITH THE DUAL-KEY? DO YOU HAVE TO GO BACK TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL?

MR. BURNS: AGAIN, I THINK IT WOULD BE UNWISE FOR ME -- AND I DON'T WANT TO MISLEAD ANYONE IN THIS ROOM -- TO

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TRY TO GET INTO A SPECIFIC DISCUSSION OF WHAT YOU MIGHT
DO.

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THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED HAVE NOT DECIDED ON A COURSE
OF MILITARY AIRSTRIKES. IT IS BEING CONSIDERED. IT HAS
NOT YET BEEN DECIDED.

IF WE GET TO THE POINT WHERE IT IS DECIDED, THEN OF
COURSE OUR MILITARIES WOULD GET TOGETHER TO DISCUSS HOW
THIS WOULD HAPPEN. IN THE HYPOTHETICAL SENSE, JIM, I
DON'T THINK IT WOULD BE PERHAPS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO
GO BACK, NO.

Q THERE WAS ONE ACCOUNT THIS MORNING THAT
SUGGESTED THAT AMONG THE TOPICS BEING CONSIDERED ARE THE
COMMAND-AND-CONTROL FACILITIES INSIDE SERBIA. COULD YOU
COMMENT ON THAT?

MR. BURNS: GEORGE, IF I GO DOWN THAT ROAD. WE'RE
GOING TO HAVE A BRIEFING THAT'S A VERY DETAILED BRIEFING
ABOUT A HYPOTHETICAL SITUATION THAT MAY OR MAY NOT
OCCUR. SO I THINK I'M GOING TO RELUCTANTLY REFRAIN FROM
GOING DOWN THAT ROAD.

I COULD JUST TELL YOU THAT WE'RE TRYING TO FIND AN
EFFECTIVE WAY TO INFLUENCE THE BEHAVIOR OF THE BOSNIAN
SERBS. THERE ARE VERY EFFECTIVE WAYS THAT ONE CAN DO
THAT. WE'RE TRYING TO FIND THE MOST EFFECTIVES WAYS AND
THEN TO REACH AN AGREEMENT IN THE WEST THAT WE SHOULD

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PURSUE THOSE MEANS.

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I THINK THE BOSNIAN SERBS OUGHT TO UNDERSTAND THAT THERE IS A SENSE OF DETERMINATION IN THE WEST AS WE CONSIDER THESE QUESTIONS.

Q WOULD IT BE FAIR TO -- AS HYPOTHETICAL AS IT IS RIGHT NOW -- WOULD IT BE FAIR TO SAY ANY POSSIBLE BOMBING CAMPAIGN (A) WOULD NOT BE PIN PRICK AS IT HAS BEEN CALLED IN THE PAST; AND (B) THAT IT WOULD BE WIDESPREAD?

MR. BURNS: SID, AGAIN, YOU AND GEORGE ARE ASKING GOOD, LOGICAL QUESTIONS THAT REALLY CANNOT BE APPROPRIATELY ANSWERED AT A TIME WHEN WE'RE IN THE MIDDLE OF DISCUSSIONS AND WHEN IT HAS NOT BEEN AGREED THAT THAT IS THE COURSE OF ACTION THAT THE WEST SHOULD TAKE.

STILL ON BOSNIA, BEFORE WE GO TO CHINA? STILL ON BOSNIA? STEVE.

Q HAS THE INCREASED VOCALNESS OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND, TO A DEGREE THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT OVER THE PAST SEVERAL DAYS, WITH THESE THREATS OF AIRSTRIKES OR BEEFING UP THE PEACEKEEPING FORCE IN GORAZDE, HAS THAT PRODUCED

ANYTHING ON THE DIPLOMATIC

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FRONT? HAS BILDT SEEN ANY DIFFERENCE IN ATTITUDES OF THE PEOPLE HE'S BEEN TALKING TO DIPLOMATICALLY?

MR. BURNS: TO BE FRANK, I DON'T THINK THE DISCUSSION IN THE WEST OF WHAT TO DO HAS HAD VERY MUCH OF AN EFFECT ON THE ACTIONS OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS BECAUSE THEY'VE LAUNCHED AN OFFENSIVE THIS MORNING AGAINST BIHAC, AND THEY CONTINUE AN OFFENSIVE IN ZEPA.

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I CAN'T POINT TO ANY PARTICULAR PROGRESS IN THE DIPLOMATIC FRONT, STEVE. MR. BILDT IS ACTIVELY ENGAGED. WE ARE ACTIVELY ENGAGED WITH HIM IN DISCUSSING WHETHER OR NOT IT'S POSSIBLE TO GET AN AGREEMENT ALONG THE LINES OF THE ONE THAT BOB FRASURE TRIED SO HARD TO REACH A COUPLE OF WEEKS AND MONTHS AGO WITH MR. MILOSEVIC. WE'LL JUST HAVE TO SEE WHAT'S POSSIBLE IN THAT CHANNEL.

WE WOULD WANT AN AGREEMENT THAT WAS IN THE INTERESTS OF EVERYONE CONCERNED, INCLUDING THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE WESTERN GOVERNMENTS INVOLVED. WE'RE NOT INTERESTED IN AN AGREEMENT FOR AGREEMENT'S SAKE. I THINK MR. MILOSEVIC IS AWARE OF THAT.

Q I WAS WONDERING IF YOU HAD ANYTHING FRESH ON THE HOSTAGE SITUATION IN KASHMIR, AND IF YOU HAVE BEEN ABLE TO --

MR. BURNS: I'LL BE GLAD TO GO TO KASHMIR. I HAVE A LITTLE BIT ON THAT, BUT MAYBE WE COULD STAY ON BOSNIA
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FIRST, AND THEN WE'LL GO TO KASHMIR AND CHINA, AND OTHER ISSUES.

Q COULD YOU, FOR EXAMPLE, GIVE US WHAT YOU CAN ON BIHAC? HOW MANY U.N. PEACEKEEPERS ARE THERE. IF YOU KNOW; HOW MANY MUSLIM FIGHTERS ARE THERE?

MR. BURNS: I DO HAVE A LITTLE BIT OF INFORMATION. WHY DON'T I JUST GO THROUGH THE LITTLE THAT I HAVE

OUR EMBASSY IN ZAGREB -- IN CROATIA -- REPORTED THIS MORNING TO THE DEPARTMENT GREATLY INTENSIFIED FIGHTING AROUND THE BIHAC ENCLAVE. CROATIAN SERBS AND REBEL

MUSLIM FORCES LAUNCHED A COORDINATED OFFENSIVE FROM THE NORTH AND FROM THE SOUTHWEST.

WE'RE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE FIGHTING. WE FEAR IT HAS THE POTENTIAL TO PROVOKE A MAJOR ESCALATION OF THE

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CONFLICT.

THIS MORNING TWO KRAJINA SERB INFANTRY ATTACKS, WE UNDERSTAND, PENETRATED TWO KILOMETERS INTO THE BIHAC POCKET ALONG THE SOUTHWEST BORDER WITH CROATIA.

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ALONG THE NORTHERN CONFRONTATION LINE, REBEL MUSLIM FORCES -- THESE ARE FORCES HOSTILE TO THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT -- LAUNCHED A HEAVY ARTILLERY BARRAGE, APPARENTLY WITH THE SUPPORT OF KRAJINA SERB

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HELICOPTERS. OVER 1,000 EXPLOSIONS WERE RECORDED SINCE 5:00 A.M. LOCAL TIME THIS MORNING IN ADDITION TO 400 EXPLOSIONS RECORDED LAST EVENING.

WE HAVE NOT SEEN REPORTS OF CASUALTIES ALTHOUGH WE DO UNDERSTAND THAT SOME OF THE SHELLS LANDED NEAR THE BANGLADESHI PEACEKEEPERS WHO ARE STATIONED IN THE ENCLAVE.

I SHOULD ALSO TELL YOU THAT THERE WAS FIGHTING REPORTED IN TUZLA, IN SARAJEVO, AND IN GORAZDE. IN TUZLA, THERE ARE NOW UPWARDS OF 42,000 REFUGEES FROM SREBRENICA. THE SERB SHELLING OF TUZLA ENDED IN THE DEATH OF AT LEAST ONE MAN AND WOUNDED EIGHT. IN SARAJEVO, THERE WERE A NUMBER OF DEATHS, A NUMBER OF PEOPLE WOUNDED. IN GORAZDE, A FEW CASUALTIES REPORTED.

WE DO TAKE SERIOUSLY THIS UPTURN, INCREASE IN THE FIGHTING AND WE'RE VERY DISTURBED ABOUT IT, AS WAS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WHEN WE TALKED TO THEM THIS MORNING.

IT IS ANOTHER INDICATION THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS DON'T APPEAR TO BE LISTENING TO WORDS. THEY APPEAR TO BE ACTING BRAZENLY AND WITHOUT ANY REGARD FOR THE WILL OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THAT REALLY STRENGTHENS OUR DETERMINATION TO FIND A WAY TO INFLUENCE THEIR BEHAVIOR.

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Q IS BIHAC ABOUT TO FALL?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T BELIEVE THAT'S THE CASE. BIHAC
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IS FAIRLY HEAVILY FORTIFIED AND DEFENDED BY THE BOSNIAN
GOVERNMENT. I BELIEVE IT'S STRONGLY DEFENDED.

CERTAINLY, THE FACT THAT THERE'S BEEN A MAJOR
OFFENSIVE UNLEASHED AGAINST IT, ALONG WITH THE
OFFENSIVES IN EASTERN BOSNIA, GIVES CAUSE FOR GREAT
CONCERN, BUT I WOULDN'T LEAD YOU TO THE CONCLUSION THAT
WE THINK IT'S GOING TO FALL, AND WE CERTAINLY HOPE IT
WILL NOT FALL. WE KNOW THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY
HAS COMMITMENTS TO THOSE WHO LIVE INSIDE THE POCKET, TO
DO WHAT WE CAN TO SEE THAT IT DOES NOT FALL.

Q HAVE THERE BEEN ANY ADDITIONAL THREATS AGAINST
THE UKRAINIAN PEACEKEEPERS BY THE BOSNIAN MUSLIM FORCES?

MR. BURNS: AS OF LAST NIGHT, UNFORTUNATELY, AND AS
LT. COLONEL COWARD SAID THIS MORNING FROM SARAJEVO, IT'S
AN EXTRAORDINARY SITUATION WHERE BOTH THE BOSNIAN SERBS
AND THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT WERE THREATENING THE
UKRAINIAN GARRISON INSIDE ZEPA. WE CERTAINLY FIND THAT
TO BE MOST DISTURBING

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AND WE HAVE WE AND OTHERS, HAVE HAD CONVERSATIONS WITH
THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT IN SARAJEVO TO SEE WHAT CAN BE
DONE TO RELIEVE AT LEAST ONE SIDE OF THE PRESSURE ON THE
UKRAINIANS WHO HAVE STAYED THERE UNDER INTENSE SHELLING
AND IN A MOST DIFFICULT SITUATION FOR THEM.

Q NICK, WHEN THE UNITED STATES DECIDES WHAT IT'S
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WILLING TO DO IN BOSNIA, VIS-A-VIS ITS ALLIES -- AND IN PARTICULAR, I GUESS, IT WOULD BE THIS FRIDAY -- WILL THE ADMINISTRATION'S DECISION BE CONDITIONED ON OR DEPENDENT IN ANY WAY ON WHAT IS HAPPENING IN CONGRESS? WILL LACK OF SUPPORT FOR ANY ACTION YOU MAY CONTEMPLATE MAKE YOU MORE RELUCTANT TO CONTEMPLATE THAT ACTION?

MR. BURNS: WE HAVE A COMMITMENT TO THE CONGRESS TO CONSULT, AS YOU WOULD EXPECT IN A FOREIGN POLICY ISSUE OF THIS IMPORTANCE -- THIS LEVEL OF IMPORTANCE -- WHERE SOME OF THE OPTIONS BEING CONSIDERED DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITY OF THE USE OF UNITED STATES MILITARY FORCE. EVERYONE IN THE ADMINISTRATION FEELS AN OBLIGATION AND HAS A COMMITMENT TO CONSULT, AND THAT WILL HAPPEN.

I DON'T HAVE ANYTHING THAT WOULD TAKE ME BEYOND THOSE CONSULTATIONS. I THINK IT'S A QUESTION NOW FOR THE ADMINISTRATION, WITH ITS ALLIES, TO WORK OUT THE BEST COURSE OF ACTION TO DEFEND WESTERN INTERESTS, TO DEFEND THE COMMITMENTS MADE BY THE UNITED NATIONS TO STRENGTHEN IT.

WHEN WE WORK OUT THAT COURSE OF ACTION, WE WILL CONSULT INTENSIVELY AND IN DETAIL WITH THE CONGRESS. BUT I'M NOT AWARE THAT WE HAVE ANY PLANS TO SUBJECT THE ADMINISTRATION TO ANY FURTHER CONSTRAINTS OR CONDITIONS. THAT IS A QUESTION, OF COURSE, THAT ULTIMATELY OTHERS HAVE TO ANSWER; NOT ME, BUT THAT'S MY GENERAL SENSE OF THE SITUATION.

Q THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE U.N., BOUTROS
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GHALI, SAID ABOUT AN HOUR AGO IN GENEVA THAT WHATEVER PLAN IS DECIDED UPON WILL NEED A SECURITY COUNCIL ENDORSEMENT. IS THAT THE POSITION HERE IN WASHINGTON?

MR. BURNS: IT'S HARD TO SAY. IT'S HARD TO SAY

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BECAUSE WE HAVE NOT YET IDENTIFIED A COMMON COURSE OF ACTION. I THINK IT IS CERTAINLY POSSIBLE TO SUGGEST THAT THERE COULD BE COURSES OF ACTION THAT A GROUP OF COUNTRIES COULD TAKE WITH A COLLECTIVE AGREEMENT AMONG THOSE COUNTRIES THAT MIGHT NOT HAVE TO BE SENT BACK TO THE UNITED NATIONS FOR AGREEMENT OR FOR CONCURRENCE.

CERTAINLY, WE ARE IN THIS TOGETHER WITH THE U.N. I CERTAINLY DON'T WANT TO SET UP A CONSTRUCT OF US VERSUS THEM. WE WANT TO WORK WITH THE U.N. WE WANT TO SUPPORT THE U.N.

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ONE OF THE OBJECTIVES HERE THAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, THE UNITED STATES, THE NETHERLANDS, GERMANY SPAIN, AND OTHERS AGREE UPON IS THAT UNPROFOR SHOULD REMAIN. THE U.N. SHOULD REMAIN AND BE STRENGTHENED. BUT I DON'T THINK WE WOULD WANT TO TIE OURSELVES WITHIN PARAMETERS THAT WOULD REQUIRE SOME KIND OF U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL VOTE. I DON'T THINK WE'D WANT TO TIE OURSELVES TO THAT ALL.

IT MAY BE THAT SOME OPTIONS WOULD DEMAND THAT; IT MAY BE THAT SOME OTHER OPTIONS WOULD NOT DEMAND THAT. THAT'S CERTAINLY TRUE IN THE LATTER CASE, SOME OF THE
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OPTIONS WOULD NOT.

SINCE WE HAVEN'T AGREED ON A COURSE OF ACTION, IT'S A LITTLE BIT DIFFICULT TO GIVE A DEFINITIVE ANSWER HERE.

Q HAS THERE BEEN ANY EFFORT TO GET THE RUSSIAN ATTITUDE TOWARDS, AT LEAST, WHAT'S BEING SAID IN THE MEDIA ABOUT THE PLANNING HERE IN WASHINGTON AND ELSEWHERE, VIS-A-VIS BOSNIA? WHAT IS THEIR REACTION?

MR. BURNS: WE'RE IN TOUCH WITH THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT. THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT WILL PARTICIPATE IN THE CONFERENCE IN LONDON ON FRIDAY. MINISTER KOZYREV

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WILL BE THERE. IT'S A GOOD OPPORTUNITY FOR US TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH HIM.

WE THINK IT'S VERY IMPORTANT THAT ALL COUNTRIES UNDERSTAND THAT THE ACTIONS OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS OVER THE LAST WEEK TO TEN DAYS -- AND FOR THE LAST COUPLE OF YEARS -- CANNOT BE ALLOWED TO GO FORWARD WITHOUT SOME RESPONSE FROM THE WEST. WE HOPE VERY MUCH THAT THE RUSSIANS WILL AGREE WITH THAT GENERAL THOUGHT AND OBJECTIVE; AND ONCE WE HAVE DECIDED ON A COURSE OF ACTION, THEY WILL AGREE THAT IT'S IMPERATIVE TO INFLUENCE THE BEHAVIOR OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS. WE WILL BE MAKING ALL THOSE POINTS TO THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT. OF COURSE, OUR EMBASSY IS MAKING THOSE POINTS TO THEM TODAY.

Q IT'S WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON. THE MEETING IN LONDON IS LESS THAN TWO DAYS AWAY. IN YOUR OWN WORDS,
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YOU'VE SAID, WHILE THE ALLIES HAVE AGREED THAT SOMETHING MUST BE DONE, A COMMON COURSE OF ACTION HAS -- WE'RE CLEARLY NOT THERE YET. ARE YOU CONFIDENT THAT ON FRIDAY A DECISION WILL BE REACHED?

MR. BURNS: WE'RE VERY HOPEFUL LAURA, THAT A DECISION WILL BE REACHED BY FRIDAY. I THINK THERE IS POLITICAL WILL AMONG THE LEADING WESTERN COUNTRIES TO HAVE A DECISIVE COURSE OF ACTION AGREED UPON. THERE'S NO QUESTION ABOUT THAT FROM THE NATURE OF THE DISCUSSIONS IN WHICH I'VE PARTICIPATED THIS MORNING AND MY UNDERSTANDING OF SOME OF

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THE OTHER DISCUSSIONS THAT THE PRESIDENT AND OTHERS HAVE HAD. THERE'S NO QUESTION THERE IS POLITICAL WILL.

THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT THESE ARE OPTIONS AND ISSUES THAT HAVE GREAT CONSEQUENCES FOR EACH OF THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES, AND THEREFORE IT IS PRUDENT FOR US AND WISE TO TAKE THESE DAYS TO HAVE THESE DISCUSSIONS, TO WORK THROUGH THE

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OPTIONS, AND NOT TO HAVE LEFT, SAY, A COUPLE OF DAYS AGO INTO ONE OR ANOTHER OF THEM.

I THINK PEOPLE FEEL THAT WE NEED TIME TO WORK THROUGH THESE ISSUES. BUT I THINK THERE'S ALSO A CERTAIN SENSE THAT FRIDAY IS AN IMPORTANT DAY AND THAT WE NEED TO HAVE AGREED ON A COURSE OF ACTION IF AT ALL POSSIBLE BY THEM BECAUSE WE CAN'T WAIT FOREVER TO MAKE A
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DECISION. GORAZDE IS UNDER THREAT. ZEPA IS IN A HIGHLY PRECARIOUS POSITION, AND THERE'S NOW THE FIGHTING IN BIHAC.

SO WHILE WE WANT TO TAKE THE TIME TO MAKE THE RIGHT DECISION, WE CERTAINLY FEEL THAT THERE HAS TO BE A DECISION MADE FAIRLY SOON. THAT WAS THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE TALKS BOTH LAST NIGHT AND THIS MORNING BETWEEN THE FOREIGN SECRETARY AND SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER.

Q TO THAT END, ARE THERE FURTHER CONSULTATIONS PLANNED THAT YOU KNOW OF BETWEEN NOW AND THE DEPARTURE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, FOR EXAMPLE, ON THIS ISSUE?

MR. BURNS: STEVE, WHEN I CAME IN, I SAID THAT SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER WILL BE CALLING MINISTER DE CHARETTE, THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER THIS AFTERNOON. HE'S JUST TALKED WITH THE DUTCH FOREIGN MINISTER.

FOREIGN SECRETARY RIFKIND IS GOING TO BE OVER AT THE WHITE HOUSE FOR MOST OF THE AFTERNOON FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE VICE PRESIDENT AND TONY LAKE. SO, YES, THE CONSULTATIONS WILL CONTINUE ALL DAY TODAY AND CERTAIN Y TOMORROW AND FRIDAY.

Q NICK, IN THESE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND IN THE TELEPHONE CALLS WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS, WHEN THE U.S. HAS BEEN TALKING ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF AIR POWER, HAS IT ALSO SUGGESTED -- OR THE USE OF AIR POWER -- HAS IT ALSO SUGGESTED A MODE AND METHOD IN A WAY THAT THE PEACEKEEPERS MIGHT BE
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REDEPLOYED, WHO MIGHT BE IN HARMS WAY, MIGHT BE
POTENTIAL HOSTAGES?

MR. BURNS: WE HAVE BEEN CONCERNED -- VERY, VERY

CONCERNED -- SINCE BEFORE THE NATO AIRSTRIKES THAT LED
TO THE TAKING OF THE HOSTAGES, ABOUT THE EXPOSED
POSITION OF A LOT OF THE U.N. MILITARY OBSERVERS. IT'S
OUR FIRM BELIEF THAT A NUMBER OF THOSE OBSERVERS -- THAT
GREAT CARE AND

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CAUTION SHOULD BE TAKEN IN THE POSITIONING OF THOSE
PEOPLE. WE MADE THAT POINT SEVERAL MONTHS AGO.

IT'S CERTAINLY A LESSON THAT ALL OF US SHOULD HAVE
LEARNED FROM THE LAST ROUND OF AIRSTRIKES AND
HOSTAGE-TAKING.

Q SO THE ANSWER IS YES?

MR. BURNS: THE ANSWER IS THAT WE THINK THE LESSON
SHOULD HAVE BEEN LEARNED. WE ARE ADVISING THE U.N. AND
OTHER AUTHORITIES THAT GREAT CARE SHOULD OBVIOUSLY BE
TAKEN WITH THESE PEOPLE; BUT THAT IS IRRESPECTIVE,
REALLY, OF THE QUESTION OF WHAT THE WEST MIGHT DO.
THAT'S JUST A GENERAL CONCERN THAT WE HAVE HAD FOR SOME
TIME.

Q IT MIGHT JUST BE WISE TO GIVE YOU A CHANCE TO
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COMMENT, IF YOU'D LIKE, ON THE REPORTS OUT OF PARIS WHERE OFFICIALS ARE TALKING "ON BACKGROUND" QUITE EXTENSIVELY ABOUT WHAT ALLEGEDLY IS THE WESTERN PLAN. THEY ARE SAYING THE PLAN IS THAT A LINE WOULD BE DRAWN AROUND GORAZDE, AND THE BOSNIAN SERBS WILL BE TOLD THAT IF THEY CROSS THAT LINE THERE WILL BE AIRSTRIKES AGAINST THEM, AND THAT BRITISH TROOPS WILL BE SENT TO KEEP OPEN A LAND-SUPPLY ROUTE TO THE BOSNIAN CAPITAL OF SARAJEVO.

ARE THESE REPORTS INACCURATE? OR ARE THEY NEAR THE MARK, DO YOU THINK? WOULD YOU LIKE TO SAY ANYTHING ABOUT IT? BECAUSE THEY'RE GOING TO RUN ALL OVER THE PLACE.

MR. BURNS: WE KNOW THAT THERE'S GOING TO BE -- GIVEN THE NUMBER OF JOURNALISTS AND DIPLOMATS INVOLVED -- THERE'S GOING TO BE A LOT OF REPORTS COMING FROM A LOT OF DIFFERENT CAPITALS.

I THINK, DAVID, IT'S JUST FAIR TO SAY THAT I'M ABSOLUTELY SURE THAT THERE IS NO DECISION YET BY THE

COUNTRIES INVOLVED. IF THERE ARE REPORTS THAT DECISIONS HAVE BEEN MADE, THEY'RE SIMPLY ERRONEOUS. WE HOPE DECISIONS WILL BE MADE. WE HOPE THAT THEY'LL BE A COMMON COURSE OF ACTION AGREED UPON VERY SHORTLY. IT'S NOT THE CASE AS OF 1:45 P.M. HERE IN WASHINGTON. JUST NOT THE CASE.

I DON'T WANT TO SPECULATE. I'VE BEEN ASKED NOT TO SPECULATE, AND I WON'T SPECULATE ON THE SPECIFIC DETAILS
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OF THE OPTIONS THAT ARE UNDER DISCUSSION, I THINK, FOR OBVIOUS REASONS. BUT THANKS FOR ASKING THE QUESTION GIVE ME A CHANCE. I APPRECIATE IT. (LAUGHTER)

OKAY, OFF BOSNIA. WE'LL GO TO CHINA.

Q NICK, DO YOU HAVE ANY FURTHER COMMENT ON THE UPCOMING CHINESE MILITARY EXERCISES NEAR TAIWAN, THE

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ANNOUNCEMENT OF WHICH HAS CAUSED THE TAIWAN STOCK MARKET TO PLUMMET?

MR. BURNS: WELL, WE HAVE - WE'VE CERTAINLY NOTED THE RECENT ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY, THE PLA, OF SURFACE-TO-SURFACE MISSILE EXERCISES APPROXIMATELY 150 KILOMETERS OF NORTH OF TAIWAN IN THE EAST CHINA SEA. AND WE INTEND TO DISCUSS WITH THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT THE PURPOSE OF THESE TESTS AND LENGTH AND DURATION OF THESE TESTS AND ARE SEEKING MORE INFORMATION ABOUT THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT ON THEM.

Q YOU DON'T HAVE ANY COMMENT DIRECTLY FOR THE CHINESE AUTHORITIES?

MR. BURNS: NO. I THINK AT THIS POINT SINCE WE HAVE VERY LITTLE INFORMATION -- REALLY NOT MORE THAN YOU HAVE FROM PRESS REPORTS -- I DON'T THINK IT'S WISE OR APPROPRIATE TO DELIVER A COMMENT, NEGATIVE OR POSITIVE, ON THESE TESTS. I THINK IT'S REALLY MUCH WISER FOR US
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TO SPEAK TO THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT FIRST.

GIVEN THE NATURE OF HOW WE WANT TO DEAL WITH THE CHINESE, WE WANT TO DEAL IN A VERY PROFESSIONAL, STABLE MANNER. WE WANT TO GIVE THEM A CHANCE TO LET US KNOW WHAT THEY'RE DOING, WHAT THE EXTENT AND DURATION OF THESE TESTS WILL BE, AND TO ASSURE OURSELVES THAT WE

HAVE SUFFICIENT INFORMATION TO FORM AN OPINION ON THEM, AND WE CERTAINLY ARE NOT IN THAT POSITION THIS MORNING.

Q HAVE YOU ATTEMPTED TO SPEAK TO THE CHINESE ON THIS ALREADY?

MR. BURNS: I BELIEVE WE WILL BE IN CONTACT SHORTLY WITH THEM, YES, ON THIS.

Q ON THE SAME SUBJECT, DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT ON

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THE VERY STRONG PROTEST IN BOTH TAIPEI AND HERE IN WASHINGTON OVER ASSISTANT SECRETARY WINSTON LORD'S REMARK ABOUT WHETHER OR NOT TAIWAN WANTS OFFICIAL RELATIONS WITH THE U.S.?

MR. BURNS: I WASN'T AWARE THAT THERE WAS A VERY STRONG PROTEST ABOUT ANYTHING THAT WIN LORD HAD SAID RECENTLY. MAYBE I'M BEHIND THE TIMES. HE IS OUR SENIOR ASIA POLICY-MAKER IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND I THINK IN THE GOVERNMENT. HE IS ONE OF THE MOST RESPECTED AMERICAN DIPLOMATS. HE IS DOING AN EXCELLENT JOB.

AND I'M NOT AWARE THAT THERE'S ANY CONTROVERSY OVER
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SOMETHING HE SAID RECENTLY. IF THERE IS, MAYBE WE CAN TALK ABOUT IT AFTERWARDS. BUT I'M SIMPLY UNEQUIPPED TO DEAL WITH THE QUESTION.

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Q HAS THE TAIWAN FOREIGN MINISTRY ATTEMPTED TO APPROACH AIT IN TAIWAN ABOUT WHETHER OR NOT TAIWAN WANTS OFFICIAL RELATIONS WITH THE U.S.?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T KNOW. THAT'S SOMETHING WE CAN LOOK INTO. I DO HAVE SOMETHING -- A SLIGHTLY FURTHER UPDATE ON THE HARRY WU SITUATION THAT I WANTED TO SHARE WITH YOU.

AS YOU KNOW, WE HAVE BEEN SEEKING CONSULAR ACCESS TO HARRY WU. HE IS AN AMERICAN CITIZEN. THE CONSULAR CONVENTION CALLS FOR A MINIMUM OF ONE VISIT PER 30 DAYS. WE THINK THAT WE NEED MORE. WE'RE ASKING THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT FOR GREATER FLEXIBILITY.

ACCORDINGLY, AN OFFICER FROM THE U.S. EMBASSY IN BEIJING VISITED WUHAN WHERE HARRY WU IS BEING HELD DURING THE LAST THREE DAYS, JULY 16 TO 19. THIS WAS A

PREVIOUSLY SCHEDULED TRIP. THE OFFICER REQUESTED PERMISSION TO VISIT MR. WU.

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AFTER WEIGHING OUR OFFICER'S REQUEST FOR TWO DAYS,
THE HUBEI FOREIGN AFFAIRS OFFICE IN WUHAN CONVEYED THE
MESSAGE THAT OUR REQUEST FOR THE VISIT HAD BEEN DENIED.
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ALTHOUGH OUR EMBASSY OFFICER WAS NOT PERMITTED TO VISIT
MR. WU, THE HUBEI FOREIGN AFFAIRS OFFICE TOLD HER THAT
THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS OFFICE HAD BEEN AUTHORIZED TO
RECEIVE FROM HER AND PASS TO MR. WU A POWER OF ATTORNEY
FORM AND AN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE READING MATERIAL THAT HE
HAD REQUESTED AND THAT SHE HAD BROUGHT FOR HIM.

I WOULD JUST LIKE TO SAY THAT WE'RE GOING TO
CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS TO HAVE PERSONAL ACCESS ON THE PART
OF OUR CONSULAR OFFICERS AND OTHER POLITICAL OFFICERS
AND OTHERS TO MR. WU. WE THINK THIS IS RATIONAL. WE
THINK IT'S REASONABLE CONSIDERING THE NATURE OF THIS
CASE. WE'RE DISAPPOINTED THAT OUR OFFICER WAS NOT
ALLOWED TO SEE HIM, AND WE WILL SEEK WITH THE CHINESE
GOVERNMENT FURTHER ACCESS TO HIM.

Q NICK, HAVE YOU BEEN LED TO BELIEVE THAT IF THIS
CONSULAR OFFICER OR THIS DIPLOMAT WAS IN WUHAN, THAT SHE
MIGHT BE ABLE TO SEE WU?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T KNOW, CAROL, IF WE HAD BEEN
GIVEN ANY SIGNALS THAT IF SHE TRAVELED THERE, SHE MIGHT
BE ABLE TO SEE HIM. I DO KNOW THAT SHE WAS IN WUHAN ON
OTHER BUSINESS. IT WAS A PREVIOUSLY SCHEDULED TRIP, AND
I THINK OUR EMBASSY FELT THAT IT MADE SENSE TO TAKE
ADVANTAGE OF HER PRESENCE THERE TO TRY TO GET INTO THE
JAIL TO SEE HIM. I JUST DON'T KNOW IF THERE WERE ANY
ADVANCE COMMITMENTS MADE.

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Q THE CHINESE HAVE ALREADY -- THE CHINESE HAVE NOT TOLD YOU, YOU WOULD GETTING -- BE ALLOWED TO HAVE GREATER ACCESS, AND NOW YOU'RE EXPRESSING DISAPPOINTMENT THAT THEY WOULD NOT ALLOW THIS SORT OF UNANNOUNCED VISITOR TO SEE MR. WU. WHY IS THERE ANY SURPRISE ON YOUR PART OR DISAPPOINTMENT, BECAUSE THEY DID EXACTLY WHAT THEY'VE BEEN TELLING YOU THEY'RE GOING TO DO FOR TWO WEEKS.

MR. BURNS: WELL. YOU'RE RIGHT, SID, THAT WE HAVE

NOT BEEN TOLD -- PROMISED A GREATER LEVEL OR FREQUENCY OF ACCESS TO MR. WU. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT OUR REQUEST FOR THAT WAS UNDER CONSIDERATION. WE'RE DISAPPOINTED BECAUSE HE IS -- LET'S FACE IT THIS IS A VERY PROMINENT CASE AND ISSUE IN U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS. HE'S A PROMINENT INDIVIDUAL FOR WHOM WE HAVE GREAT RESPECT, AND WE WANT TO SEE HIM RELEASED IMMEDIATELY.

WE HAVEN'T CHANGED OUR VIEWS ON THE HARRY WU CASE, AND SO WE THEREFORE THINK IT IS REASONABLE TO HAVE GREATER FLEXIBILITY ON THE ISSUE OF CONSULAR ACCESS.

Q NICK, DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT ON THE SUGGESTION IN A WALL STREET JOURNAL ARTICLE TODAY THAT THE ADMINISTRATION MAKE USE OF GEORGE BUSH'S TRIP IN SEPTEMBER TO CHINA, ALSO APPARENTLY PERHAPS WITH BRENT SCOWCROFT, TO INTERCEDE, TO HELP AID THE PROBLEMS IN U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T. I MEAN, CONSIDERING THE FACT
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THAT, AS YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT A FORMER PRESIDENT AND A FORMER NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER, I REALLY THINK THAT'S A DECISION THAT THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY OF STATE WOULD HAVE TO MAKE, AND I'VE NOT CONSULTED EITHER OF

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THEM ON THE WALL STREET JOURNAL ARTICLE.

I WOULD SAY THAT WE DO HAVE A VERY GOOD OPPORTUNITY ON AUGUST 1 TO ADDRESS THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES IN U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS WHEN SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER MEETS FOREIGN MINISTER QIAN IN BRUNEI. THAT'S A VERY IMPORTANT MEETING. I THINK IT'S IMPORTANT BECAUSE OF THE TROUBLES THAT WE'VE HAD, THE MISUNDERSTANDINGS THAT HAVE CHARACTERIZED A NUMBER OF ISSUES IN THE RELATIONSHIP, AND SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER IS LOOKING FORWARD TO THIS MEETING.

I DON'T THINK IT'S PROPER TO PLACE AN undue BURDEN ON THIS MEETING; THAT SOMEHOW THERE'S BEEN SOME SENSE FROM BEIJING THAT THIS MEETING HAS TO RESOLVE ALL THE MAJOR ISSUES; THAT IT'S A DECISIVE TURNING POINT. IT'S CERTAINLY A VERY IMPORTANT MEETING. BUT THERE SHOULD BE IMPORTANT ENGAGEMENTS, MEETINGS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA BEYOND AUGUST 1, AND WE FULLY EXPECT THAT WILL TAKE PLACE -- THAT WILL HAPPEN.

Q CAN WE GO --

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MR. BURNS: CHINA? STILL ON CHINA?

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Q JUST BRIEFLY ON THE MISSILE TEST. YOU SAID WE'LL BE IN CONTACT SHORTLY WITH THE CHINESE. IS THERE SOME MEETING OR IS THIS JUST NORMAL EMBASSY --

MR. BURNS: I THINK THIS WILL BE DONE -- ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH OUR EMBASSY IN BEIJING. I CANNOT TELL YOU EXACTLY WHEN AND HOW THAT WILL HAPPEN, BUT I'M SURE IT WILL HAPPEN, BECAUSE IT'S AN ISSUE THAT IS OF GREAT INTEREST TO US.

Q WILL IT TAKE THE FORM OF A PROTEST?

MR. BURNS: I THINK AT THIS POINT WE ARE SEEKING

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INFORMATION FROM THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT. BEFORE WE GIVE SOME KIND OF PUBLIC STATEMENT, EITHER POSITIVE, NEUTRAL OR NEGATIVE, I THINK WE NEED TO FIND OUT MORE INFORMATION ABOUT WHAT IS HAPPENING THERE.

Q CAN WE GO TO THE HOSTAGE SITUATION IN KASHMIR?

MR. BURNS: YES, CERTAINLY.

Q MY QUESTION IS THERE IS A REPORT THAT THE U.S. AMBASSADOR MET A POLITICIAN IN PAKISTAN AND ASKED HIM TO MEDIATE. COULD YOU NAME THAT POLITICIAN, AND WHAT KIND OF A MEDIATION YOU HAVE REQUESTED?

MR. BURNS: WELL, I'VE ALSO SEEN THE SAME PRESS REPORTS THAT YOU HAVE, AND I WOULD JUST SAY IN RESPONSE TO THOSE REPORTS THAT WE CERTAINLY SUPPORT THE EFFORTS OF OTHER COUNTRIES TO TRY TO BRING THIS TERRIBLE HOSTAGE
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CRISIS TO A HAPPY AND PEACEFUL CONCLUSION. I WOULD JUST NOTE THAT PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO HAS ALREADY CALLED FOR THE RELEASE OF THE FIVE WESTERNERS WHO ARE BEING HELD HOSTAGE, WHO INCLUDE, AS YOU KNOW, MR. HUTCHINGS - MR. DONALD HUTCHINGS, AN AMERICAN CITIZEN. SO WE WOULD SUPPORT THE EFFORTS OF ANY COUNTRY THAT CAN BE CONSTRUCTIVE AND HELPFUL IN RESOLVING THIS CRISIS.

I WANT TO BRING TO YOUR ATTENTION THE FACT THAT LAST EVENING THE STATE DEPARTMENT JOINED THE PUBLIC CALLS OF NORWAY, BRITAIN AND GERMANY -- THE PUBLIC APPEAL FOR THE IMMEDIATE AND SAFE RELEASE OF THE FIVE MEN BASED ON HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS.

WE REMAIN HOPEFUL THAT THE KIDNAPPERS WILL HEED THESE PLEAS FROM THESE WESTERN GOVERNMENTS AND RELEASE THE FIVE HOSTAGES AT ONCE. AND WE ARE STILL WORKING VERY CLOSELY WITH THE INDIAN AUTHORITIES TO TRY TO RESOLVE THIS, AND WE HAVE GREAT ADMIRATION FOR THE EFFORTS THAT THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT IS MAKING TO RESOLVE THIS CRISIS.

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Q HAVE YOU BEEN ABLE TO IDENTIFY THE CAPTORS,
BECAUSE THEY SAY AL-FARAN DOESN'T EXIST AT ALL AND --

MR. BURNS: WELL I UNDERSTAND THAT THE INDIAN
GOVERNMENT HAS MADE CONTACT WITH THE CAPTORS, AND I DO
KNOW THAT BOTH THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT AND WE BELIEVE THAT
THE CAPTORS ARE FROM THE AL-FARAN GROUP. IT IS A MOSLEM
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ORGANIZATION THAT HAS A NUMBER OF DEMANDS THAT IT WOULD
LIKE TO BE - HAVE MET.

WE BELIEVE THAT WHAT THEY'VE DONE CERTAINLY, IS THE
WRONG WAY TO GO IN TRYING TO HAVE THEIR DEMANDS MET;
THAT IT IS SIMPLY UNACCEPTABLE TO TAKE WESTERN HOSTAGES
OR ANY HOSTAGES, AND IT'S SIMPLY UNACCEPTABLE TO TRY TO
ACHIEVE POLITICAL MEANS THROUGH TERRORIST ACTS. AND WE
CALL UPON THEM TO RELEASE THESE MEN ON HUMANITARIAN
GROUNDS.

Q NICK, IS THERE ANYTHING THAT THE UNITED STATES
WOULD CARE TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE AL-FARAN GROUP EITHER
THROUGH INTERMEDIARIES OR INDIRECT TALKS?

MR. BURNS: WE'VE - SID, I'M JUST GOING TO LIMIT
MYSELF TO SAYING THAT WE CALL UPON THEM TO RELEASE THESE
INDIVIDUALS.

Q WOULD YOU LIKE THE --

Q YOU WON'T - YOU'RE NOT RULING OUT SOME SORT OF
NEGOTIATION WITH THIS GROUP OR WITH THEM THROUGH
INTERMEDIARIES?

MR. BURNS: SINCE I'M NOT THERE, I'M NOT A PARTY TO
THE SEARCH EFFORT, I'M NOT A PARTY TO THE WORK THAT WE
ARE DOING WITH THE INDIAN AUTHORITIES, I THINK IT WOULD
BE HIGHLY UNWISE FOR ME TO SPECULATE ON A QUESTION LIKE
THAT. ALL I'M SAYING IS OUR MESSAGE TO THEM -- RELEASED

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AGAINST LAST EVENING -- IS PLEASE RELEASE THESE MEN.
THEY ARE INNOCENT. THEY'VE DONE NOTHING TO WARRANT THE
TREATMENT THAT THEY'RE RECEIVING FROM THIS GROUP.
THEY'VE BEEN KIDNAPPED. THEY ARE HELD HOSTAGE, AND THEY
SHOULD BE RELEASED.

Q ISN'T THERE A CORE POLICY IN THIS GOVERNMENT
AS THERE HAS BEEN IN PAST GOVERNMENTS, THAT THERE IS NOT
TO BE NEGOTIATIONS WITH TERRORISTS OR PEOPLE WHO CARRY
OUT TERRORIST ACTS?

MR. BURNS: THERE CERTAINLY IS, AND THAT CERTAINLY
PERTAINS TO THIS SITUATION. I UNDERSTOOD YOUR QUESTION
MAYBE INCORRECTLY TO BE TAKING ME DOWN A ROAD WHERE I
DIDN'T WANT TO GO, AND THAT WAS TO DISCUSS SOME OF THE
DEMANDS THAT THESE KIDNAPPERS HAVE MADE. THERE
CERTAINLY IS A POLICY THAT WE'RE NOT GOING TO NEGOTIATE
FOR ANYONE'S RELEASE. THAT IS THE POSITION WE TOOK IN
THE CASE OF MR. DALIBERTI AND MR. BARLOON IN IRAQ, AND
THE POSITION TO WHICH WE HELD RIGHT UP THROUGH THEIR
RELEASE.

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Q (INAUDIBLE) POLITICIAN WHICH YOU REPORTED HERE
IN --

MR. BURNS: I CANNOT, NO. I SIMPLY DON'T KNOW WHO
THAT PERSON IS.

2 DO YOU HAVE A READOUT ON THE MIGRATION TALKS
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WHICH ENDED YESTERDAY IN CUBA?

MR. BURNS: GEORGE, I HAVE A LITTLE BIT OF INFORMATION ON THOSE TALKS. AS YOU KNOW, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY ANN PATTERSON WAS THE LEAD U.S. DIPLOMAT IN THOSE TALKS. I KNOW THAT THEY DISCUSSED A FULL RANGE OF ISSUES. THEY AGREED THAT THE SEPTEMBER 9 AND MAY 2 ACCORDS ARE WORKING. THEY ARE DIRECTING MIGRATION INTO LEGAL CHANNELS WHILE DISCOURAGING UNSAFE MIGRATION. I DON'T BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE ANY NEW AGREEMENTS REACHED DURING THE COURSE OF THE LAST COUPLE OF DAYS. THE UNITED STATES REMAINS INTERESTED IN FACILITATING SAFE, ORDERLY AND LEGAL MIGRATION. WE RAISED SEVERAL SUGGESTIONS TO ASSURE THAT BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND CUBA DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO FACILITATE LEGAL MIGRATION. WE'LL CONTINUE TO DISCUSS

ALL THESE ISSUES WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF CUBA.

Q DIFFERENT SUBJECT. THREE DEPUTIES OF THE SLOVAK PARLIAMENT REPRESENTING FOUR HUNGARIAN MINORITY WERE VISITING WASHINGTON LAST WEEK, AND THEY HAD ALL THE TALKS AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT. AFTER COMING BACK, THEY SAID, I QUOTE: "PRESIDENT CLINTON, CONGRESS AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT ARE PREPARING TO TAKE SHARPER STEPS IN THE FALL IN ORDER THAT DEMOCRACY IN SLOVAKIA IS MAINTAINED." THEY ALSO SAID THAT THERE HAVE BEEN COMMENTS SUGGESTING THAT SLOVAKIA WILL BE REMOVED FROM THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE PROGRAM. HAVE YOU ANY COMMENT ON THIS PERHAPS?

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MR. BURNS: I DON'T HAVE A SPECIFIC COMMENT. I CAN JUST TELL YOU THAT WE VERY MUCH HOPE THAT REFORM AND DEMOCRACY WILL TAKE HOLD AND BE THE DRIVING FORCE BEHIND THE EFFORTS OF THE SLOVAK PEOPLE TO HAVE A BETTER FUTURE THAN THE PAST THAT THEY HAVE HAD OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF DECADES.

ON THESE SPECIFIC TALKS THAT WERE HAD, I'M JUST NOT

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AWARE OF THE SPECIFICS AND THEREFORE NOT IN A POSITION TO TALK ABOUT THEM.

Q WOULD YOU TAKE UP THIS QUESTION?

MR. BURNS: I'D BE GLAD TO HAVE OUR EUROPEAN BUREAU LOOK INTO THAT AND BE IN CONTACT WITH YOU SPECIFICALLY YES.

Q THERE HAS BEEN ALSO A STATEMENT BY THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY IN BRATISLAVA TO THAT EFFECT TODAY.

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MR. BURNS: WE'D BE GLAD TO HAVE THE EUROPEAN BUREAU AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS BUREAU LOOK INTO THAT FOR YOU.

Q THANK YOU.

MR. BURNS: THANK YOU.

END TEXT. TALBOTT

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AMEMBASSY TIRANA IMMEDIATE 8743-65
AMEMBASSY MASERU IMMEDIATE 3125-47
CINCUSNAAAVEUR LONDON UK
AMEMBASSY SANAA IMMEDIATE 7905-27
COMUSNAVCENT IMMEDIATE
CIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6731-53
DOD WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0030-52
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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (DTG AND ADDED DISTRIBUTION) .

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OPRC

SUBJECT: DAILY PRESS BRIEFING -- THURSDAY, JULY 6, 1995

THE FOLLOWING TOPICS WERE COVERED IN TODAY'S PRESS
BRIEFING:

IRAQ: UN SANCTIONS COMPLIANCE/EKEUS REPORT (1-6);
IRAQ'S STATEMENT ON BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS PROGRAM (1-5); UN
RESOLUTION: SALE OF OIL FOR HUMANITARIAN GOODS (4-5)

MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS: DISCUSSIONS ON STATUS OF
WEST BANK, REDEPLOYMENT, ETC. (6-7); PALESTINIAN
AUTHORITY'S USE OF DONOR FUNDS (7-11); AMBASSADOR DENNIS
ROSS' TRIP TO REGION (9-10,14); EU INVOLVEMENT IN PEACE
PROCESS (11); REPORT OF NEW ISRAELI SETTLEMENT ON WEST
BANK (12-14)

CHINA/TAIWAN: U.S. REQUEST FOR CONSULAR ACCESS TO HARRY
WU (15-16); U.S.-CHINA DISCUSSIONS/CONTACTS (16-17,20);
ALLEGATIONS OF U.S. DENIAL OF CONSULAR ACCESS (15-16);
SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER/CHINESE FM MINISTER ASEAN MTGS.
(17-18); U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS (18-20); POSSIBLE VISA

REQUESTS OF SENIOR TAIWAN OFFICIALS (20)

IRAQ: AMERICAN DETAINEES (19)

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RUSSIA: SEARCH FOR FRED CUNY (21)
INDIA: KASHMIR--TWO U.S. CITIZENS TAKEN CAPTIVE (21-22)
CUBA: U.S. REVIEW OF TRAVEL POLICY (22-23)
FORMER YUGOSLAVIA: WAR IN BOSNIA: RAPID REACTION FORCE
(24-28); SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, A/S HOLBROOKE CONTACTS
W/CARL BILDT (24); SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, BOSNIAN FM
SACIRBEY MTG (25)
NIGERIA: REPORT OF NIGERIAN GOV'T. ARREST, TRIAL, &
SENTENCING OF FORMER PRESIDENT OLUSEGUN OBASANJO (28-29)
VIETNAM: NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS (29)
THAILAND: DENIAL OF U.S. VISA FOR MR. VATANA (29-30)
BEGIN TEXT:

PAGE 1

MR. BURNS: GOOD AFTERNOON. WELCOME TO THE STATE
DEPARTMENT BRIEFING. I DON'T HAVE ANY ANNOUNCEMENTS SO
I'LL BE GLAD TO GO DIRECTLY TO YOUR QUESTIONS.

Q NICK, DO YOU WANT TO RUN THROUGH YOUR POLICY ON
IRAQ AGAIN? I MEAN, HAVE THEY BEHAVED SUFFICIENTLY TO
AT LEAST TO ENTERTAIN THE THOUGHT OF LIFTING SOME OF THE
SANCTIONS AGAINST THEM, AND DO YOU ANTICIPATE SOME SORT
OF A SHATTERING DISAGREEMENT WITH TWO WOULD-BE ALLIES

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FRANCE AND RUSSIA, OVER THE ISSUE?

MR. BURNS: BARRY, THE ANSWER TO YOUR QUESTION IS
NO. THEY HAVEN'T DONE NEARLY ENOUGH TO WARRANT A
LIFTING OF THE SANCTIONS BY THE UNITED NATIONS AND
CERTAINLY THE UNITED STATES WILL ADHERE TO THAT POSITION
WHEN THIS QUESTION COMES BEFORE THE U.N. SECURITY
COUNCIL, I BELIEVE, ON JULY 12.

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LET ME JUST GO THROUGH FOR YOU WHAT OUR POLICY HAS BEEN FOR FOUR YEARS. THIS HAS BEEN THE POLICY OF THE

BUSH ADMINISTRATION, AND NOW THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION FOR THE LAST TWO AND A HALF YEARS.

THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT UNSC 688 SANCTIONS SHOULD CONTINUE UNTIL IRAQ FORSAKES TERRORISM ABANDONS ITS ATTEMPTS TO ACQUIRE AND PRODUCE NUCLEAR AND BIOLOGICAL AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS, CEASES REPRESSION OF ITS OWN CITIZENS, AND ACCOUNTS FOR MISSING KUWAITIS AND OTHERS WHO ARE MISSING FROM THE IRAQI OCCUPATION OF KUWAIT -- AND WE'RE TALKING HERE ABOUT SIX TO SEVEN HUNDRED PEOPLE.

WE, OF COURSE, NOTED THE STATEMENTS OUT OF MR. EKEUS YESTERDAY. MR. EKEUS HAS DONE AN EXCELLENT JOB UNDER VERY DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES. WE ARE LOOKING AT IRAQ'S ANNOUNCEMENT -- ITS ADMISSION OF GUILT THAT IT NOW ADMITS THAT IT HAD A BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS PROGRAM. WE'RE LOOKING AT THAT WITH A GREAT DEAL OF SKEPTICISM -- SKEPTICISM BECAUSE WE AREN'T NAIVE.

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FOR FOUR YEARS NOW UNDER REPEATED QUESTIONING BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, IRAQ INSISTED THAT IT DID NOT HAVE BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS, AND NOW IT SAYS IT DID. WHAT HAPPENED TO THE 17 TONS OF GROWTH MATERIAL? DID IRAQ EVER ATTEMPT TO CREATE DELIVERY VEHICLES FOR THE BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS THAT IT NOW SAYS IT WAS PRODUCING BEFORE THE OUTBREAK OF THE GULF WAR IN 1990 AND 1991.

WE HAVE SAID REPEATEDLY THAT WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT IRAQ'S FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH ALL OF THESE RELEVANT UNSC -- U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS, AND BEFORE THERE CAN BE A SERIOUS DISCUSSION OF MODIFYING THE SANCTIONS REGIME, IRAQ NEEDS TO DEMONSTRATE COMPLIANCE WITH ALL OF THE RELEVANT U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS; NOT JUST ON WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION -- THAT IS A VERY

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IMPORTANT ISSUE -- BUT ALSO ON THE OTHER ISSUES THAT I MENTIONED.

I THINK AS AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT PUT IT QUITE WELL YESTERDAY, A LA CARTE COMPLIANCE BY IRAQ IS SIMPLY NOT AN ACCEPTABLE WAY TO PROCEED.

Q IS IT CONCEIVABLE WITH SADDAM HUSSEIN STILL -- MUST SADDAM HUSSEIN DEPART BEFORE IRAQ CAN MAKE THAT KIND OF CHANGE IN THEIR POLICIES?

MR. BURNS: THAT'S JUST SOMETHING THAT SADDAM HUSSEIN AND THE IRAQI LEADERSHIP IS GOING TO HAVE TO
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DECIDE. IF THEY WANT TO INTEGRATE THEMSELVES BACK INTO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, IF THEY WANT TO BE TREATED AS A RESPONSIBLE MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, THEY'RE GOING TO HAVE TO COMPLY WITH ALL OF THE RELEVANT U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS.

IT'S NOT JUST A QUESTION OF DOING OR SAYING THE RIGHT THING ON BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS, IT'S ALL OF THEM. WHETHER OR NOT ONE CAN BELIEVE IN REDEMPTION FOR SADDAM HUSSEIN, THAT'S A QUESTION MAYBE FOR HISTORY. BUT WE'RE GOING TO LOOK AT THEIR ACTIONS, AND THEIR ACTIONS HAVE NOT BEEN TERRIBLY IMPRESSIVE.

IT IS ONE THING TO SAY AFTER FOUR YEARS OF INTERNATIONAL PRODDING THAT YOU NOW ADMIT YOUR GUILT. IT'S QUITE ANOTHER TO EXPLAIN WHAT HAPPENED TO THE GROWTH MATERIAL. AS I READ THIS MORNING, THE IRAQIS ARE SAYING, "WELL, THE GROWTH MATERIAL WAS DESTROYED BEFORE THE OUTBREAK OF FIGHTING IN 1991." CAN WE BE SURE OF THAT? DO THEY HAVE EVIDENCE OF THAT? WERE THEY DEVELOPING DELIVERY VEHICLES FOR BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS THAT COULD HAVE KILLED MILLIONS OF PEOPLE?

THESE ARE VERY SERIOUS QUESTIONS. THEY CANNOT BE DISREGARDED SIMPLY BECAUSE THE IRAQIS HAVE MADE WHAT I WOULD

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SAY IS A SELF-SERVING STATEMENT ABOUT THEIR PAST
CULPABILITY ON BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS. WE TAKE THIS
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QUESTION VERY SERIOUSLY BECAUSE WE HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO
DEFEND OUR INTERESTS IN THE AREA. ON THE QUESTION OF
BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS, WE HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO DEFEND OUR
OWN PEOPLE, AND SO WE'RE GOING TO CONTINUE TO PURSUE ALL
OF THESE ISSUES, BUT FRANKLY IRAQ HAS TO DO A LOT MORE
TO CONVINCEN US THAT IT'S SERIOUS.

Q HAVE OTHER NATIONS COOPERATED WITH THE UNITED
STATES OR ARE THEY COOPERATING WITH THE UNITED STATES IN
THE VIEW THAT YOU JUST EXPRESSED? ARE YOU GOING TO THE
UNITED NATIONS FOR AN INVESTIGATION? WHAT'S HAPPENING
IN A FOLLOW-UP TO THIS REPORT THAT THEY WERE DESTROYED
IN 1990 OR WHENEVER THEY SAID THESE MASS DESTRUCTION

WEAPONS WERE DESTROYED?

MR. BURNS: FIRST, THE UNITED NATIONS HAS THE LEAD
IN INVESTIGATING THESE PARTICULAR CHARGES ABOUT WEAPONS
OF MASS DESTRUCTION, AND AGAIN I'D LIKE TO CONGRATULATE
MR. EKEUS ON HAVING DONE AN EXCELLENT JOB. WE HAVE
GREAT CONFIDENCE IN HIM.

WE'LL HAVE TO SEE WHAT OTHER NATIONS THINK AND WHAT
THEY SAY WHEN THE ISSUE OF SANCTIONS COMES UP AGAIN NEXT
WEEK AT THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL. OBVIOUSLY, AS YOU
ALL KNOW, THERE ARE SOME COUNTRIES WHO BELIEVE THAT IF
IRAQ SAYS THE RIGHT THING, THEN PERHAPS IRAQ SHOULD BE
LET OFF QUITE EASILY. WE DON'T BELIEVE THAT, AND WE
DON'T BELIEVE GIVEN IRAQ'S PAST BEHAVIOR TOWARD ITS
NEIGHBORS AND ON THIS PARTICULAR QUESTION, THEY OUGHT TO
BE LET OFF WITH JUST A SIMPLE STATEMENT.

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THEY OUGHT TO BE HELD TO A VERY STIFF TEST. THAT'S WHAT THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL VOTED ON IN 1991, AND THAT'S WHAT WE STILL BELIEVE.

Q SINCE YOU'RE ON THE MIDDLE EAST MAY I ASK YOU
--

Q COULD I JUST FOLLOW UP THAT LAST ONE? WHO SPECIFICALLY ARE THE "SOME COUNTRIES" THAT YOU JUST MENTIONED?

MR. BURNS: I THINK THOSE COUNTRIES HAVE MADE THEIR VIEWS CLEAR IN THE PAST. I DON'T NEED TO GO INTO THEM. IT WILL BE CLEAR NEXT WEEK WHERE COUNTRIES FALL ON THIS ISSUE. WE WILL USE THE INTERVENING TIME, OF COURSE, BETWEEN NOW AND NEXT WEEK TO ADVOCATE WITH OUR FELLOW U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS AND OTHERS WHO HAVE A VOICE IN THIS THAT WHILE IT IS IN ONE SENSE,, IN ONE GENERAL SENSE, POSITIVE THAT THIS STATEMENT HAS BEEN MADE BY BAGHDAD, THEY HAVE A LONG, LONG WAY TO GO, AND WE REMAIN SKEPTICAL, AND WE THINK THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FOR ITS OWN SAKE AND ITS OWN

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INTEREST SHOULD REMAIN SKEPTICAL UNTIL THERE ARE CONCRETE DEEDS THAT ESTABLISH THAT THERE'S BEEN A CHANGE IN ATTITUDE IN BAGHDAD.

Q IF MR. EKEUS AND HIS PEOPLE BECOME SATISFIED
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THAT IRAQ HAS BECOME IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE DEMAND THAT IT FORSAKE THE EFFORT TO BUILD WEAPONS OF VARIOUS TYPES, DOES THE U.S. STILL THINK THAT IT SHOULD HOLD SANCTIONS AGAINST IRAQ BECAUSE IT HAS NOT ACCOUNTED FOR MISSING

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KUWAITIS, OR BECAUSE IT'S REPRESSING ITS OWN PEOPLE OR SOME OF THESE OTHER THINGS THAT YOU'VE LISTED? AND DO YOU THINK THAT YOU COULD CONVINCE THE OTHER COUNTRIES TO KEEP SANCTIONS ON IRAQ EVEN AFTER MR. EKEUS IS SATISFIED, ASSUMING HE WILL BE?

MR. BURNS: IF THAT OCCURS, DAVID, I THINK THERE WILL BE SOME COUNTRIES, I WOULD PREDICT, WHO WOULD PROBABLY WANT TO GO ALONG WITH THE LIFTING OF SANCTIONS. WHAT I HAVE STATED HERE TODAY -- RESTATED -- IS NOTHING NEW. WE'VE SAID FOR FOUR YEARS THAT THE FACT THAT THE IRAQIS HAVE NOT ACCOUNTED FOR SIX TO SEVEN HUNDRED KUWAITIS FROM THEIR ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF KUWAIT IS A VERY SERIOUS MATTER INDEED. AND WE HAVE COMMITTED THE KUWAITI GOVERNMENT THAT WE WILL DO WHAT WE CAN TO HELP IDENTIFY WHAT HAPPENED TO THOSE PEOPLE.

WE'VE SAID THAT THE ISSUE OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION IN ALL OF ITS RAMIFICATIONS IS IMPORTANT TO US. IS IT REASONABLE THAT AFTER FOUR YEARS OF DENYING THAT IT HAD A BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS PROGRAM -- IS IT REASONABLE TO SAY THAT A SIMPLE STATEMENT FROM BAGHDAD SUDDENLY CLEARS UP ALL OF THE DISCUSSION OF THAT ISSUE, ALL OF THE PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH THAT ISSUE. IT'S NOT REASONABLE.

BY MR. EKEUS' OWN ACCOUNT, THERE ARE 17 TONS OF
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GROWTH MATERIAL THAT WERE PRODUCED IN IRAQ. WHAT HAPPENED TO THAT GROWTH MATERIAL. A LOT OF THESE QUESTIONS HAVE TO BE ANSWERED. AND IN ADDITION, WE CERTAINLY DO NOT APOLOGIZE FOR OUR CONCERN ABOUT IRAQ'S TREATMENT OF ITS SHI'A POPULATION IN THE SOUTH -- ITS BRUTAL TREATMENT OF THAT POPULATION -- AND WE DO NOT APOLOGIZE FOR OUR CONCERNS ABOUT IRAQI SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM MORE BROADLY IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

THESE WERE THE FOUR MAIN AREAS OF CONCERN OUTLINED FOUR YEARS AGO BY THE UNITED STATES AND THEY REMAIN OUR AREAS OF CONCERN TODAY, AND IRAQ HAS TO SPEAK TO ALL OF THESE QUESTIONS.

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Q NICK IS IT FAIR TO CONTINUE PUNISHING INNOCENT IRAQI CIVILIANS FOR THE MISDEEDS OF THEIR GOVERNMENT?

MR. BURNS: THERE ARE IN FACT MANY IRAQIS WHO ARE PAYING FOR THE MISDEEDS OF THEIR GOVERNMENT. THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE IT QUITE CLEAR, AS RECENTLY AS THIS SPRING,

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THAT WE WOULD BE QUITE OPEN TO VOTING FAVORABLY FOR RESOLUTIONS THAT WOULD ALLOW IRAQ TO SELL A PORTION OF ITS OIL AS LONG AS THE PROCEEDS WENT TO PROVIDING HUMANITARIAN GOODS AND SERVICES -- MEDICAL GOODS, BADLY NEEDED FOOD SUPPLIES -- TO THE IRAQI POPULATION.

THERE WAS A U.N. RESOLUTION WORKED OUT TO THAT
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EFFECT. THE UNITED STATES SIGNALLED THAT IT WOULD SUPPORT THAT. THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT PULLED THE PLUG ON THAT RESOLUTION AT THE LAST MOMENT. WHAT DOES THAT SAY ABOUT THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT'S INTEREST IN THE HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS OF ITS OWN PEOPLE.

THAT OFFER REMAINS ON THE TABLE. WE'RE INTERESTED IN SEEING THE PEOPLE ARE WELL FED, THAT THEIR MEDICAL NEEDS ARE BEING ATTENDED TO, BUT IRAQ CHOSE NOT TO GO IN THAT DIRECTION, AND THAT TELLS YOU SOMETHING. IT CERTAINLY TOLD US SOMETHING.

Q WHAT DOES IT TELL YOU?

MR. BURNS: IT TELLS US THAT THEY'RE INTERESTED IN PLAYING GAMES WITH THIS ISSUE. IT TELLS US THAT THEY WEREN'T SERIOUS ABOUT THEIR CLAIMS THAT SOMEHOW THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WAS UNFAIRLY PENALIZING THE IRAQI PEOPLE. WE PROVIDED THROUGH OUR PARTNERS IN THE U.N., A MECHANISM TO HELP IMPROVE THE HUMANITARIAN SITUATION OF THE IRAQI PEOPLE -- OF THOSE PEOPLE WHO IN FACT HAVE PAID THE PRICE FOR THE BEHAVIOR OF THE

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GOVERNMENT, AND THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT TURNED THAT OFFER DOWN.

SO I WOULD TURN THE TABLES ON THAT CHARGE AND SAY THAT THE REGIME IN BAGHDAD HAD AN OPEN OFFER FROM THE U.N., REFUSED IT AND MUST BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THAT.

Q NICK, DO YOU THINK THAT THE PRESSURE FOR LIFTING THE SANCTIONS IS SO STRONG THAT THE UNITED
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STATES MAY BE FORCED TO USE ITS VETO NEXT WEEK?

MR. BURNS: WE'LL JUST HAVE TO SEE CAROL. I THINK THAT A LOT OF PEOPLE ARE GOING TO LISTEN CLOSELY TO WHAT MR. EKEUS SAYS. HE'S A WELL RESPECTED FIGURE. I THINK SOME COUNTRIES WILL HAVE A HIGHER STANDARD THAN OTHERS. WE HAVE A VERY HIGH STANDARD. WE FEEL VERY STRONGLY ABOUT THIS ISSUE.

IT HAS A DIRECT IMPACT ON OUR NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS. ANY TIME YOU TALK ABOUT 17 TONS OF BIOLOGICAL GROWTH MATERIAL. MATERIAL THAT, IF IT HAS NOT BEEN DESTROYED, IF IT IS CURRENTLY BEING HIDDEN, COULD POSE A THREAT TO MILLIONS OF PEOPLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND AROUND THE WORLD. YOU'VE GOT TO TAKE THAT THREAT SERIOUSLY, AND WE DO.

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SO I THINK WE'RE IN A SKEPTICAL MOOD. WE NEED TO BE SHOWN THAT THERE HAS INDEED BEEN A CONVERSION OR THERE'S BEEN SOME KIND OF REDEMPTION ON THE PART OF THE IRAQI LEADERSHIP. WE'RE SKEPTICAL.

Q WILL YOU USE YOUR VETO IF NECESSARY?

MR. BURNS: WE WILL DO WHATEVER WE HAVE TO DO TO PROTECT THE FOUR AREAS OF INTEREST THAT WE'VE OUTLINED AND WE'LL JUST HAVE TO SEE HOW THE DEBATE GOES. BUT RIGHT NOW, WE DON'T BELIEVE THAT THERE IS ANY BASIS TO LIFT THOSE SANCTIONS. WE DON'T BELIEVE THAT THERE'S

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BEEN ANY ACTION TAKEN SO FAR THAT WOULD ARGUE FOR A
LIFTING OF THOSE SANCTIONS.

Q YOU'LL DO WHATEVER YOU HAVE TO DO, INCLUDING A
VETO.

MR. BURNS: WE WOULD HOPE TO CONVINCED OUR PARTNERS
WHO WILL LOOK AT THIS QUESTION WITH US, THAT IT'S JUST
TOO EARLY TO CHANGE OUR POLICY AFTER FOUR LONG YEARS
WHERE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS HELD TOGETHER
BASED ON A SINGLE STATEMENT.

Q NICK, THE MISSION OF JULY 12, THAT'S THE DATE
WHEN THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS SCHEDULED TO VOTE ON THE
RESOLUTION WHICH WAS DRAFTED --

MR. BURNS: I DON'T KNOW IF THE VOTE IS SCHEDULED
FOR THAT DATE, JIM. BUT I KNOW THAT THE DEBATE WILL BE
STARTING ON THAT DAY, YES.

Q NICK, CAN I ASK YOU ABOUT THAT -- THE VETO
QUESTION, AND ALL? IS IT THE US.'S EXPECTATION THAT
THIS NEED NOT COME TO A VOTE; THAT SOME SORT OF
COMPROMISE OR SOME SORT OF ARRANGEMENT CAN BE WORKED OUT
WITHOUT FORCING YOU TO CONSIDER USING YOUR VETO, WITHOUT
FORCING A COLLISION WITH RUSSIA FRANCE, AND POSSIBLY
OTHERS?

MR. BURNS: OUR VIEW IS THAT WE HOPE THAT THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND OUR PARTNERS WILL HAVE A
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HISTORICAL MEMORY OF WHAT HAPPENED FOUR YEARS AGO IN THE PERSIAN GULF, AND WE'LL HAVE A MEMORY OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED SINCE -- SPECIFICALLY, THE BEHAVIOR OF THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT. SO THEREFORE IT WILL NOT BE NECESSARY FOR THE UNITED STATES TO ACT ALONE.

WE WOULDN'T EXPECT TO HAVE TO ACT ALONE. WE THINK A NUMBER OF OUR PARTNERS ARE JUST AS SKEPTICAL AS WE ARE.

Q THERE IS A REPORT THAT THE PLO AND ISRAEL WOULD SIGN AN AGREEMENT RELATING TO THE WEST BANK IN WASHINGTON ON

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JULY 24. DO YOU HAVE ANY SPECIFIC DATE, OR ANYTHING LIKE THAT?

MR. BURNS: AS YOU KNOW, BOTH FOREIGN MINISTER PERES AND CHAIRMAN ARAFAT ARE WORKING HARD TOWARDS THEIR OWN DEADLINE OF JULY 25 TO COMPLETE THEIR DISCUSSIONS ABOUT THE MANY COMPLEX ISSUES BEFORE THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT AND THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY CONCERNING THE STATUS OF THE WEST BANK AND REDEPLOYMENT AND THE HAND OVER OF AUTHORITY AND THE OTHER ISSUES.

IF THE PARTIES ARE SUCCESSFUL BY JULY 25, AND IF THEY WISH TO HOLD A CEREMONY TO MARK THEIR SUCCESS IN WASHINGTON, D.C., WE'D VERY MUCH WELCOME THAT. WE'VE MADE THAT CLEAR TO BOTH THE PALESTINIAN LEADERSHIP AND TO THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT.

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Q HAVE YOU MADE ANY STATEMENT -- OR I SHOULD SAY, HAS THE STATE DEPARTMENT MADE ANY STATEMENT ON THE REPORT THAT 28 LETTERS ARE IN THE POSSESSION OF A NEW

YORK TIMES COLUMNIST DEALING WITH ORDERS FROM ARAFAT'S TOP FINANCE AIDE DEALING WITH THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE FINANCES BEING GIVEN -- THE FUNDS BEING GIVEN HIM BY

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DONORS WHICH RUN CONTRARY TO THE WISHES AND THE ESSENCE OF THE CONTRIBUTORS DONATIONS?

MR. BURNS: THERE WAS SOMETHING IN THE PRESS LAST WEEK ABOUT THIS, ABOUT SOME OF THESE CHARGES. WE HAVE PAID A GREAT DEAL OF ATTENTION TO OUR WORK WITH THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY TO TRY TO MAKE SURE THAT MONEY THAT IS GIVEN BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS WELL SPENT, THAT IT CAN ALL BE ACCOUNTED FOR. BOTH THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND USAID HAVE PUT A LOT OF PERSON HOURS INTO THIS PARTICULAR QUESTION.

WE'RE NOT AWARE OF ANY MAJOR PROBLEM THAT WOULD SUBSTANTIATE THE CHARGES CONCERNING THOSE LETTERS.

OBVIOUSLY, IN ANY AID PROGRAM -, AND THIS ONE IS NOT EXCLUDED -- THERE ARE PROBLEMS IN IMPLEMENTATION. SOMETIMES THERE ARE PROBLEMS IN CONCEPTUALIZING WHAT THE RIGHT THING TO DO IS. BUT WE HAVE A MADE DETAILED STUDY OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MONEY GIVEN BY THE UNITED STATES, AND WE'RE NOT AWARE OF ANY PROBLEMS ALONG THE ORDER OF WHAT THAT PARTICULAR REPORT REFERRED TO.

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Q YOU SPOKE OF MAJOR PROBLEMS. HAVE THERE BEEN MINOR PROBLEMS THAT SOME PEOPLE WOULD CONSIDER MAJOR PROBLEMS?

MR. BURNS: TEN YEARS AGO I WAS ASSOCIATED WITH THE ASSISTANCE PROGRAM WITH THE PALESTINIANS AND MORE RECENTLY WITH THE ASSISTANCE PROGRAM TO RUSSIA AND UKRAINE. I'VE NEVER SEEN AN AID PROGRAM THAT'S PERFECT. ALL AID PROGRAMS SUFFER FROM THE PROBLEMS OF IMPLEMENTATION.

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THIS PARTICULAR ONE THAT'S OPERATING RIGHT NOW IN GAZA AND THE WEST BANK IS NO DIFFERENT, BUT WE HAVE LOOKED INTO THESE PARTICULAR CHARGES AND WE SATISFIED OURSELVES, BOTH THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND USAID, THAT WE

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DON'T HAVE A MAJOR PROBLEM; THAT BY AND LARGE THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY HAS ACTED IN A GOOD FAITH MANNER IN DISPOSING OF THESE FUNDS. IN FACT, IT HAS BEEN A GOOD PARTNER IN DECIDING WHAT IS THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY

THAT THE UNITED STATES CAN HELP THIS PROCESS.

AS YOU KNOW, WE PLEDGED HALF A BILLION DOLLARS OVER SEVERAL YEARS TO TRY TO HELP THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE TO DEAL WITH THEIR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS. WE HAVE RECENTLY TRIED TO SPEED UP THE IMPLEMENTATION OF A NUMBER OF THOSE PROGRAMS, TO SPEED UP THE DELIVERY OF ASSISTANCE, PARTICULARLY IN GETTING OTHER COUNTRIES TO MAKE GOOD ON COMMITMENTS TO THE HOLST FUND THAT WOULD

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PAY FOR THE SALARIES OF MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES AND POLICE AUTHORITIES IN BOTH GAZA AND JERICHO. WE'LL CONTINUE THAT EFFORT.

WE THINK THAT ALL COUNTRIES HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO MAKE GOOD ON THE COMMITMENTS THAT THEY HAVE MADE OVER THE YEAR IN THE WAKE OF THE VERY DRAMATIC PROGRESS AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE, AND WE'LL CONTINUE THAT EFFORT.

Q THE PROBLEM IS THAT SINCE YOU GIVE A CLEAN BILL OF HEALTH, VIRTUALLY, TO THE PLO ON THE USE OF FUNDS GIVEN BY THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER DONOR COUNTRIES WHY IS IT NECESSARY, THEN, FOR CONGRESS TO ASK FOR AN INVESTIGATION OF THE LETTERS AND THEIR INTENT AND THE USE OF THE MONEY? AND WHY IS THERE SUCH LEGISLATION BEING PROPOSED IN CONGRESS?

LOOK, THERE'S SOMETHING WRONG WITH THIS MATTER OF HOW THESE FUNDS ARE BEING HANDLED. HOW DO YOU ACCOUNT FOR THAT?

MR. BURNS: CONGRESS HAS A RESPONSIBILITY BECAUSE IT ALLOCATES THE FUNDS AND AUTHORIZES THEM TO MAKE SURE THAT THE FUNDS ARE WELL SPENT AS WELL. WE CERTAINLY BELIEVE THAT CONGRESS HAS A RIGHT TO LOOK INTO THE DISPOSITION OF THESE MONIES, BUT I'M NOT AWARE THAT

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THERE IS ANY SERIOUS PROBLEM.

WE BELIEVE, IN FACT, THAT THINGS ARE GOING RATHER WELL. AND SO I'M NOT A POSITION HERE TO GET INTO A LONG DISCUSSION ABOUT THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE BECAUSE WE DON'T
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BELIEVE THE PROBLEM IS NEARLY AS GREAT AS THE REPORTS THAT YOU ARE SIGNALING SEEMS TO SAY.

Q BUT THERE ARE 28 LETTERS THAT THE COLUMNIST WROTE ABOUT. DOES THE STATE DEPARTMENT BELIEVE THOSE LETTERS ARE AUTHENTIC?

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MR. BURNS: I CAN'T SPEAK TO THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE LETTERS. ALL I CAN DO IS SPEAK TO THE APPLICATION OF THE PROGRAMS AND THE WAY THE FUNDS HAVE BEEN DISBURSED, AND WE STAND BY OUR ASSISTANCE PROGRAM WITH THE PALESTINIANS.

BARRY.

Q WHEN DENNIS ROSS GOES TO THE MIDDLE EAST NEXT WEEK, DOES HE WORK THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI ISSUES? OR IS HE MOSTLY DEALING WITH SYRIA AND ISRAEL? AND IF HE WORKS THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI ISSUES, DOES HE GET INTO THE DETAILS? AND IF HE DOES, DOES THAT SIGNIFY NOT ONLY YOU'RE WILLING TO BE THE HOST BUT YOU AGREE WITH WHAT THE ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS ARE DOING?

MR. BURNS: WE CERTAINLY AGREE WITH WHAT THEY'RE DOING. THEY'RE TRYING TO NEGOTIATE A RESOLUTION OF THEIR DIFFERENCES SO THAT THERE CAN BE A TRANSFER OF AUTHORITY IN AT LEAST PART OF THE WEST BANK TO THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY; THERE CAN BE ELECTIONS, AND SO FORTH. WE AGREE WITH THAT PROCESS.
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DENNIS ROSS WILL BE TRAVELLING NEXT WEEK TO WORK ON SEVERAL PROBLEMS. ONE WILL BE THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN DISCUSSIONS. WE'VE ALWAYS BEEN AN INTERESTED PARTY TO THOSE DISCUSSIONS. WE'VE ALWAYS TAKEN AN ACTIVE ROLE.

WE'VE NOT ALWAYS BEEN IN THE ROOM WHILE THE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE TAKEN PLACE, BUT CERTAINLY HE'LL WANT TO ADDRESS BOTH WITH CHAIRMAN ARAFAT, WITH PRIME MINISTER RABIN, AND FOREIGN MINISTER PERES OUR VIEWS ON HOW THIS PARTICULAR NEGOTIATION CAN BE BROUGHT TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION.

SECONDLY -- AND BY NO MEANS LESS IMPORTANTLY -- HE WILL BE FOLLOWING UP ON THE CHIEF OF STAFF TALKS THAT TOOK PLACE LAST WEEK BETWEEN SYRIA AND ISRAEL. HE'LL BE TRAVELLING TO DAMASCUS TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT ASSAD AND ALSO, OF COURSE, HE'LL BE IN ISRAEL TO MEET WITH ALL THE ISRAELI LEADERSHIP.

WE ARE DIRECTLY INVOLVED AND IN THE ROOM IN THAT SET OF NEGOTIATIONS, AND WE HAVE PARTICULAR VIEWS ON HOW THOSE NEGOTIATIONS CAN BEST GO FORWARD, AND HE'LL BE ASSERTING THOSE VIEWS.

Q CHRISTOPHER WILL KNOW THAT THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN NEGOTIATORS HAVE GONE FAR BEYOND PRINCIPLES. THEY'RE INTO DISCUSSIONS OF SPECIFIC TOWNS AND SPECIFIC --

MR. BURNS: THAT'S RIGHT.

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Q I'M JUST TRYING TO SORT OF REPHRASE THE QUESTION. WILL DENNIS ROSS GET INVOLVED IN THOSE KIND OF DETAILS? WILL HE SAY, HYPOTHETICALLY, TO THE ISRAELIS, "WHY DON'T YOU THROW IN BETHLEHEM NEXT WEEK," FOR INSTANCE?

DOES HE MICRO-MANAGE THIS STUFF? I KNOW YOU'RE IN FAVOR OF ISRAEL GIVING UP THE WEST BANK AND THE PALESTINIANS ESTABLISHING THEMSELVES THERE. THE QUESTION IS, DOES THE STATE DEPARTMENT GET INTO THE FINE TUNING OF THAT ARRANGEMENT, WHICH NOT ALL ISRAELIS THINK IS THE BEST THING IN THE WORLD OF COURSE?

MR. BURNS: WE'RE AN INTERESTED PARTY. WHEN THE PARTIES ASK US FOR ADVICE, WHEN THEY ASK US TO BE MORE OR LESS ACTIVELY INVOLVED, THEN WE'RE WILLING TO TAKE THOSE WISHES INTO CONSIDERATION.

CERTAINLY, WE HAVE BEEN INVOLVED, ON A VERY DETAILED BASIS, IN BOTH SETS OF NEGOTIATIONS BUT PARTICULARLY THIS ONE AS WELL.

Q MAY I FOLLOW UP ON A QUESTION OF THE MONEY? SOME YEARS AGO THE WORD "FUNGIBILITY" WAS VERY POPULAR IN DISCUSSING FUNDING IN FOREIGN AID. I JUST WONDER IF THE INVESTIGATION -- IF YOUR STATEMENT REGARDING THAT THERE ARE NO MAJOR PROBLEMS DEALING WITH THE MONEY THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS GIVEN TO THE PLO, IT MAY BE THAT

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THE PLO VERY CHEERFULLY SAYS, "OH, WE'RE NOT USING YOUR MONEY FOR ANYTHING BUT GOOD THINGS; WE MAY BE USING BRITISH MONEY OR SWEDISH MONEY FOR DIFFERENT THINGS THAT PERHAPS YOU ARE NOT INTERESTED IN." WOULD YOU SAY THAT YOUR INVESTIGATION COVERS ALL THE FUNDING GIVEN TO THE PLO, OR ONLY THAT PROVIDED BY THE UNITED STATES?

MR. BURNS: WE CAN'T BE RESPONSIBLE FOR ENSURING THE IMPLEMENTATION DOWN TO THE LAST LETTER OF EVERY DOLLAR THAT GOES TO THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY FROM ANY SOURCE WORLDWIDE. WE ARE RESPONSIBLE LEGALLY FOR MONEY THAT'S

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GIVEN BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

WHEN DENNIS ROSS GOES TO THE REGION, HE ALWAYS HAS DISCUSSIONS ON THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE.

I JUST REMIND YOU ABOUT THE SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER'S LAST MEETING WITH CHAIRMAN ARAFAT IN JERICHO JUST A COUPLE OF WEEKS AGO. MOST OF THE MEETING WAS NOT CONCERNED BY CONCEPTUAL BREAKTHROUGHS AND PEACE DISCUSSIONS. IT HAD TO DO WITH THE DETAILS OF TRYING TO EXTEND EFFECTIVE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY AND THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. IT'S AN ISSUE THAT NOT MUST MID-LEVEL OFFICIALS, BUT THE SECRETARY AND AMBASSADOR ROSS ARE ENGAGED IN ON A CONSISTENT BASIS WITH THE PALESTINIAN LEADERSHIP. WE TAKE OUR RESPONSIBILITIES VERY SERIOUSLY.

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WE'RE NOT AWARE OF ANY PROBLEM -- ANY MAJOR PROBLEM -- CONCERNING THE APPLICATION OF AMERICAN FUNDS. BUT WE CERTAINLY CAN'T BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR TALKING ABOUT ALL THE FUNDING THAT GOES TO THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY.

I WOULD JUST SAY THAT CHAIRMAN ARAFAT HAS HAD A VERY DIFFICULT AND CHALLENGING FIRST YEAR. CONSIDER ALL THE PROBLEMS HE FACED WHEN HE RETURNED TO GAZA AND JERICHO. WE THINK THAT THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY HAS BROUGHT A GREAT DEAL OF SERIOUSNESS, CREDIBILITY, AND GOOD FAITH EFFORT TO THE QUESTION OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE SPECIFICALLY OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF MONTHS AND WE HOPE THAT EFFORT CONTINUES.

MAYBE THIS CAN BE JUST THE LAST QUESTION ON THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE.

Q ALRIGHT. JUST ONE MORE QUESTION. THE GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTER -- I HAVE ANOTHER QUESTION ON THE MONEY. BUT THE GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTER WAS IN DAMASCUS YESTERDAY, AS I SEE THE REPORT TO DISCUSS THE PEACE

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PROCESS WITH SYRIA. I JUST WONDER, WHERE DOES GERMANY COME IN ON A PEACE PROCESS WITH SYRIA AND ISRAEL AND THE REST OF IT?

MR. BURNS: THE EUROPEAN UNION HAS BEEN A PARTNER IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS; A PARTNER TO THE UNITED STATES,

CERTAINLY, AND TO ALL THE PARTIES ALL ALONG THE WAY. THE EUROPEAN UNION HAS ALSO BEEN A VERY GENEROUS PROVIDER OF FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO THE PARTIES. SO
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THEREFORE WE FULLY SUPPORT THE EFFORTS BY GERMANY, BY MINISTER KINKEL, AND BY THE EUROPEAN UNION AS A WHOLE, TO BE INVOLVED IN THIS PROCESS. WE WANT THEM TO BE INVOLVED. THEY'RE A POSITIVE FORCE.

Q NICK, ASKING THE QUESTION IN A DIFFERENT WAY, THERE ARE REPORTS THAT THE PRICE TAG FOR ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM THE GOLAN HEIGHTS WILL BE THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL ADVANCE OR GIVE ISRAEL \$2.7 BILLION. DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENTS ON THESE REPORTS?

MR. BURNS: NO, I DON'T HAVE ANY COMMENT BECAUSE THERE ARE ALL SORTS OF STORIES ABOUT WHAT THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE IN THE EVENT OF A SETTLEMENT ON THE GOLAN AND BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SYRIA. THERE'S JUST NO WAY OF KNOWING RIGHT NOW WHAT ALL THE RAMIFICATIONS WILL BE AND HOW THE UNITED STATES WILL BE AFFECTED.

BUT WE ARE CLEAR ABOUT ONE THING. WE WANT THIS PROCESS TO SUCCEED. WE THINK THAT BOTH COUNTRIES HAVE MADE A STRATEGIC CHOICE FOR PEACE. WE'RE WILLING TO WORK WITH THEM VERY CLOSELY TO MAKE THAT HAPPEN IN 1995.

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Q NICK, THERE'S A REPORT THIS MORNING THAT ISRAEL HAD BEGUN ANOTHER SETTLEMENT, I BELIEVE A COUPLE OF MILES OUTSIDE JERUSALEM. DON'T HOLD ME TO THAT. I'M NOT SURE. IS THAT SOMETHING AMBASSADOR ROSS IS EXPECTED

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TO RAISE WITH THE PRIME MINISTER? WILL HE RAISE IT, AND
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WHAT WILL HE SAY? WHAT DO YOU ALL THINK ABOUT IT?

MR. BURNS: I BELIEVE THERE IS A REPORT OF A NEW SETTLEMENT NEAR RAMALLAH, INSIDE THE WEST BANK. I DON'T THINK I NEED TO RESTATE OUR POSITION ON SETTLEMENTS. IT'S BETTER KNOWN TO THIS GROUP THAN IT IS TO MANY OF US IN GOVERNMENT.

OBVIOUSLY, SUCH ACTIVITY COMPLICATES THE NEGOTIATIONS. WE'VE MADE THAT CLEAR. WE'LL CONTINUE TO MAKE THAT CLEAR.

THIS IS A QUESTION, HOWEVER, THAT THE PARTIES HAVE

AGREED UNDER THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES TO DISCUSS. WE'RE SURE THAT AS PART OF THE PERMANENT STATUS NEGOTIATIONS, THIS ISSUE WILL BE DISCUSSED INTENSIVELY BY THE PARTIES.

Q A FOLLOW UP. THE SETTLERS ARE SAYING THAT THEY WERE GIVEN PERMISSION BY THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT. IS IT THE U.S. OPINION, IF YOU HAVE ONE ON AN INTERNAL MATTER LIKE THAT, THAT THAT PERMISSION LIVES THROUGH INTO THE NEXT ADMINISTRATION, OF THE RABIN ADMINISTRATION?

MR. BURNS: THAT'S A QUESTION FOR THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT AND THE ISRAELI CITIZENS TO WORK OUT.

Q BUT THIS GOVERNMENT HAD PROMISED THAT IT WOULD STOP SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY. REALISTICALLY SPEAKING CAN THIS PROCESS WAIT FOR FINAL STATUS NEGOTIATIONS IF, IN
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THE INTERIM, THESE SETTLEMENTS ARE GOING TO EXPAND
EXPONENTIALLY?

MR. BURNS: SETTLEMENTS HAVE BEEN A COMPLICATED
FACTOR SINCE 1967-68. THEY'VE ALWAYS BEEN PART OF THE
DIFFICULTY OF NEGOTIATING PEACE IN THE AREA.
FORTUNATELY, AND JUST RECENTLY THE PARTIES HAVE DECIDED
THAT THERE'S A WAY TO DISCUSS THIS PROBLEM AND THERE'S A
PLACE FOR THIS DISCUSSION, AND THEY WILL DISCUSS IT
DIRECTLY BETWEEN THEMSELVES. WE THINK THAT'S THE PROPER
PLACE TO PUT THIS DISCUSSION. WE SUPPORT THE PARTIES IN
THAT EFFORT. OUR OWN VIEWS ARE WELL KNOWN.

Q SO EVEN THOUGH YOU THINK IT COMPLICATES THE
PROCESS, THE UNITED STATES IS NOT WILLING OR PREPARED AT
THIS TIME TO MAKE ANY MORE MUSCULAR STATEMENTS TO THE
ISRAELI GOVERNMENT ABOUT THE NEED TO REIN THIS KIND OF
ACTIVITY IN?

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MR. BURNS: I THINK OUR VIEWS ARE WELL KNOWN. THERE
IS A PLACE FOR THESE DISCUSSIONS. BOTH SIDES WILL HEAR
FROM US ON OUR VIEWS ON THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE. BUT I
THINK IT'S BEST LEFT TO THE PARTIES TO MAKE EXTENSIVE
PUBLIC COMMENTS ABOUT THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE.

Q NICK THE LIKUD IS MAKING SOME MUSCULAR
STATEMENTS OF ITS OWN, SORT OF TOUGHENING ITS WARNINGS
THAT IT WILL NOT BE BOUND BY ANY AGREEMENT REACHED

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BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY. IS THE
U.S. CONCERNED ABOUT THAT?

MR. BURNS: THAT'S ANOTHER QUESTION FOR ISRAELIS TO
DISCUSS. WE CAN ONLY DEAL WITH ONE GOVERNMENT AT A
TIME. WE HAVE A GOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PRESENT
GOVERNMENT.

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THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT HAS CONSISTENTLY APPLIED ITSELF SERIOUSLY TO THE QUESTION OF PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT HAS OUR ADMIRATION -- OUR STRONG ADMIRATION -- FOR ITS EFFORTS. BUT WE CERTAINLY WOULDN'T WANT TO DISCUSS OR SPECULATE ON WHAT IS CLEARLY AN INTERNAL ISRAELI DEBATE.

Q BUT YOU WOULD WIND UP (INAUDIBLE) -- YOU WOULD EXPECT THIS AGREEMENT TO LAST MORE THAN A YEAR?

MR. BURNS: WHENEVER AGREEMENTS ARE MADE -- INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS ARE MADE -- WHEN TREATIES ARE SIGNED, WHEN HEADS OF STATE AND LEADERS PUT THEIR SIGNATURES TO TREATY, ONE ASSUMES, AS A BASIC RULE OF DIPLOMACY, THAT THE COMMITMENT LASTS, THAT IT ENDURES. THAT CERTAINLY HAS BEEN THE CASE OF THE UNITED STATES, IN OUR OWN DEALINGS WITH ISRAEL, WITH EGYPT, WITH THE PALESTINIANS, AND OTHERS IN THE AREA.

Q (INAUDIBLE) OF THE FUNDS FOR BUILDING THIS NEW SETTLEMENT. DOES THIS GO BACK TO THE \$10 BILLION LOAN GUARANTEES THAT THE UNITED STATES GAVE TO ISRAEL, AND THIS MONEY COULD BE USED -- BECAUSE THERE WERE
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STIPULATIONS OR CONDITIONS THAT NO SETTLEMENTS WOULD BE BUILT BEYOND THE SETTLEMENTS WHICH WERE IN THE PLAN WHEN THEY GAVE THE LOAN GUARANTEES AT THAT TIME? IS THIS A MATTER THAT NEEDS TO BE EMPHASIZED, OR SOMETHING?

MR. BURNS: I THINK IT'S ONLY FAIR TO LET THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT AND THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY AND OTHERS SPEAK TO THIS ISSUE. IT JUST SURFACED IN THE PRESS OVER THE LAST 24 HOURS. AT LEAST, THAT'S WHEN I'VE SEEN IT. I CERTAINLY DON'T WANT TO GET AHEAD OF THE PARTIES IN COMMENTING BEYOND WHAT I'VE ALREADY SAID ON THIS ISSUE.

IT'S ONLY FAIR TO GIVE THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT A CHANCE TO SPEAK TO THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE, AND I'M SURE THE

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PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY WILL HAVE ITS OWN VIEWS TO EXPRESS PUBLICLY.

I'VE EXPRESSED OUR VIEWS. SETTLEMENTS ARE A COMPLICATING FACTOR. THERE'S A PLACE FOR SETTLEMENTS TO BE DISCUSSED UNDER THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, A VERY SPECIFIC PLACE. THE PARTIES HAVE AGREED TO THAT. I'M SURE THEY'LL DISCUSS THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE.

Q BUT MY SPECIFIC QUESTION GOES TO THE CONDITIONS FOR THE \$10 BILLION LOAN THAT THE UNITED STATES GAVE ISRAEL, AND ABOUT THE CIRCUMSTANCES -- IF THESE FUNDS
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WILL BE SPENT ON THE MATTER OF THIS NEW SETTLEMENT NEXT TO RAMALLAH?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T BELIEVE IT'S RELEVANT IN THIS. OUR VIEW IS QUITE STRONG. THIS IS A COMPLICATING FACTOR.

Q IF THERE WERE TO BE A NEW SETTLEMENT NEW RAMALLAH, WOULD THAT BE IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE PLEDGE MADE BY FOREIGN MINISTER PERES TO SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER HERE IN FEBRUARY

MR. BURNS: AS I NEGOTIATE MY WAY THROUGH THESE LAND MINES, I THINK IT'S BEST JUST TO GO BACK TO MY PREVIOUS STATEMENT. THAT IS TO SAY, IT IS ONLY FAIR TO GIVE THE ISRAELI LEADERSHIP A CHANCE TO SPEAK TO THIS BEFORE WE SPEAK EXTENSIVELY. THEY ARE WELL AWARE OF OUR POSITION ON SETTLEMENTS. WE'VE MADE THAT POSITION PUBLIC TODAY AS WELL AS MANY, MANY TIMES IN THE PAST. WE'VE MADE IT CONTINUALLY CLEAR PRIVATELY AS WELL AND I'M JUST GOING TO LIMIT MYSELF TO WHAT I'VE ALREADY SAID.

Q CAN WE CHANGE DIRECTIONS -- TO HARRY WU'S TRAVAILS AND THE CHINESE LATEST --

MR. BURNS: ANYTHING ELSE ON THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE

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PROCESS BEFORE WE GO TO CHINA?

Q DO YOU KNOW THE DATES FOR DENNIS ROSS' TRIP?

MR. BURNS: UNFORTUNATELY, IT'S BEEN OUR PRACTICE NOT TO GIVE OUT THE DATES OF HIS PARTICULAR TRAVELS.

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Q MR. PERES SAID THAT ALL THE STATEMENTS OF THE SYRIANS AND ALL OF THEIR DECLARATIONS ARE NOT -- LIP

SERVICE REGARDING PEACE FOR ISRAEL. CAN YOU COMMENT? DO YOU HAVE ANY ASSESSMENT OR EVALUATION OF SUCH A STATEMENT?

MR. BURNS: NO. IF I SPENT ALL MY TIME ASSESSING OR EVALUATING STATEMENTS FROM THE MIDDLE EAST THEN WE WOULDN'T HAVE ANYTHING ELSE TO DO. SO I THINK I'LL JUST LEAVE THAT ONE WHERE IT IS.

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Q THE CHINESE ARE SAYING THAT NO AGREEMENT WAS BROKEN ON THE HARRY WU CASE AND COMPLAINING THAT IN THE PAST AND IN AT LEAST TWO INCIDENTS WHERE CHINESE MET UNTIMELY ENDS IN THE U.S., THE U.S. DIDN'T NOTIFY THEM -- SOMEBODY IN PHILADELPHIA AND SOMEBODY IN BROOKLYN PERHAPS YOU'RE FAMILIAR WITH THE EXAMPLES. IS THERE ANY BASIS FOR THAT TYPE OF ACCUSATION?

MR. BURNS: THERE'S NO BASIS FOR THAT PARTICULAR ACCUSATION. LET ME JUST QUOTE FROM THE CONSULAR AGREEMENT THAT'S AT ISSUE HERE: "THE UNITED STATES -- THE PARTIES -- SHALL NOT BE REFUSED ACCESS AFTER TWO DAYS FROM THE DATE OF THE REQUEST." THAT IS DIRECT, SPECIFIC LANGUAGE FROM THE U.S.-CHINA CONSULAR CONVENTION.

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THE LANGUAGE IS VERY CLEAR. WE MADE A REQUEST FOR
ACCESS A WEEK AGO MONDAY. IT IS NOW THURSDAY. ACCESS
SHOULD HAVE BEEN GIVEN BY THIS SPECIFIC LANGUAGE --
"SHALL NOT BE REFUSED ACCESS AFTER TWO DAYS FROM THE DAY
OF THE REQUEST." THEY ARE NOW OVERDUE. THEY ARE EIGHT
DAYS OVERDUE. THERE CAN BE NO IFS, ANDS, OR BUTS ABOUT
IT. THERE CAN BE NO EQUIVOCATING, THERE CAN BE NO
CONFUSION, THERE CAN BE NO DIFFERENT INTERPRETATION.
THEY'RE OVERDUE. THEY HAVE A CLEAR INTERNATIONAL
LEGAL RESPONSIBILITY TO GIVE US ACCESS.

ON THE SECOND QUESTION, BARRY. WE DID NOTE -- AS
PART OF THE BRIEFING AT THE CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY
TODAY -- THE CHINESE CHARGED THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD
BEEN NEGLIGENT IN MARCH OF THIS YEAR AND IN THE WINTER
OF 1994 IN NOT GIVING CHINA CONSULAR ACCESS IN THE CASES
OF TWO YOUNG CHINESE WHO WERE APPARENTLY SHOT AND KILLED
-- ONE IN PHILADELPHIA AND ONE IN NEW YORK.

WE HAVE HEARD ABOUT THESE CASES FOR THE FIRST TIME

TODAY FROM THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT. WE ARE LOOKING IN --
"WE," IN THE DEPARTMENT AND OTHERS IN THE GOVERNMENT --
LOOKING INTO BOTH CASES TO SEE IF WE HAVE RECORDS OF
THESE INCIDENTS. IF WE DO, WE'LL BE GLAD TO TALK ABOUT
THEM.

BUT LET'S TAKE A STEP BACK. IT IS ONE THING TO TALK
ABOUT TWO YOUNG MEN WHO WERE KILLED -- THE PERTINENT
QUESTION REALLY IS ARRANGEMENTS, UNFORTUNATELY, FOR A
FUNERAL OR THE DISPOSITION OF THE REMAINS. IT'S QUITE

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ANOTHER TO TALK ABOUT AN AMERICAN CITIZEN, AN AMERICAN
PASSPORT-HOLDER WHO CROSSED THE BORDER ON JUNE 19, WHO

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WAS DETAINED WITHOUT CHARGE, AND WHO HAS NOT BEEN ALLOWED TO SEE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IN DIRECT VIOLATION OF OUR CONSULAR CONVENTION.

THESE TWO SITUATIONS THAT HAVE BEEN POSITED THIS MORNING BY THE CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY SPOKESMAN ARE NOT AT

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ALL ANALOGOUS. IT IS NOT A PERTINENT COMPARISON FOR THE CHINESE SPOKESMAN TO MAKE, AND WE DON'T ACCEPT THE VALIDITY THAT SOMEHOW WE'VE BEEN GUILTY OF TRANSGRESSIONS IN THE PAST.

THE POINT IS, BOTH GOVERNMENTS HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO HONOR THIS AGREEMENT. IF WE ENCOUNTER SITUATIONS WHERE CHINESE CITIZENS ARE ARRESTED OR DETAINED IN THE UNITED STATES, WE WILL HONOR THE CONSULAR CONVENTION. WE BELIEVE WE HAVE HONORED THE CONSULAR CONVENTION IN THE PAST. WE ARE NOT AWARE OF ANY VIOLATIONS BY THE UNITED STATES OF THIS CONVENTION IN THE PAST.

BUT IT IS TIME TO STOP PLAYING A GAME OF WORDS IT'S TIME TO STOP THE RHETORICAL WARS THAT HAVE BEEN GOING ON NOW FOR A COUPLE OF DAYS ON THIS ISSUE.

LET'S BRING IT DOWN TO THE SIMPLE, ELEMENTAL,
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PERTINENT FACTS. THESE ARE THAT HARRY WU OUGHT TO BE RELEASED. IN THE MEANTIME, BEFORE HIS RELEASE, THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT OUGHT TO BE APPRISED OF HIS WHEREABOUTS AND HIS CONDITION AND BE GIVEN PERSONAL ACCESS TO HIM.

WE CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS TODAY IN BEIJING TO SEEK HIGH-LEVEL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT ON THE ISSUE OF HARRY WU. OUR CHARGE, SCOTT HALLFORD, IS SEEKING HIGH-LEVEL APPOINTMENTS WITH HIS CHINESE COLLEAGUES. WE VERY MUCH HOPE THAT THOSE APPOINTMENTS

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WILL BE FORTHCOMING.

Q IT'S THE THIRD DAY HE'S BEEN TRYING TO DO THAT. DO THEY NOT RESPOND, OR DO THEY GIVE YOU SOME INADEQUATE RESPONSE?

MR. BURNS: ACTUALLY, YESTERDAY, ON JULY 5, MR. HALLFORD HAD A DISCUSSION WITH THE VICE FOREIGN MINISTER OF CHINA, MR. LIU HUA QIU, AND HAD A CONVERSATION ABOUT HARRY WU. THAT'S WAS JUST 24 HOURS AGO. HE IS SEEKING ADDITIONAL DISCUSSIONS BECAUSE WE'RE GOING TO RAISE THIS ISSUE EVERY DAY. WE'RE GOING TO RAISE IT EVERY DAY BECAUSE IT'S IMPORTANT THAT WE ADHERE TO OUR OWN RESPONSIBILITIES TO AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.

I THINK ALL OF YOU, OR MOST OF YOU, WHO ARE AMERICAN CITIZENS WOULD WANT SIMILAR TREATMENT IF YOU WERE IN SUCH A SITUATION IN FOREIGN COUNTRY. IT'S OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO TRY TO HELP MR. WU. WE'RE GOING TO CONTINUE THAT.

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Q NICK, IN THE STATEMENT IN BEIJING THIS MORNING, THE CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY SPOKESMAN SEEM TO SAY "WHAT ARE YOU BOTHERING US WITH THIS FOR; HE'S IN THE HANDS OF THE SECURITY PEOPLE, AND WE'RE NOT THEM." IS THERE ANY EFFORT BEING MADE BY THE U.S. TO CONTACT THE SECURITY BUREAU?

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MR. BURNS: WE ARE MAKING EFFORTS TO CONTACT ALL RELEVANT OFFICIALS.

WE, AS DIPLOMATS -- AMERICAN DIPLOMATS, CHINESE DIPLOMATS -- HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO BE ON THE FRONTLINES OF A RELATIONSHIP. IT IS NORMAL DIPLOMATIC PROCESS, WHEN THERE IS A PROBLEM BETWEEN COUNTRIES FOR THE FOREIGN MINISTERIES TO DISCUSS THOSE PROBLEMS. THAT IS CERTAINLY THE CASE WHEN IT COMES TO CITIZENSHIP AND CITIZEN PROBLEMS. WHEN AN AMERICAN CITIZEN OR A CHINESE

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CITIZEN IS IN TROUBLE, YOU GO TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY,
OR YOU COME TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

IT IS NOT UNUSUAL FOR US TO ADDRESS THESE CONCERNS
TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. HAVING SAID THAT WE ARE QUITE
WELL AWARE THAT IT MAY VERY WELL BE THE CASE THAT MR. WU
WAS ACTUALLY DETAINED AND MAY NOW BE IN THE CUSTODY OF A
DIFFERENT AGENCY, A DIFFERENT BRANCH OF THE CHINESE
GOVERNMENT -- PARTICULARLY SOME SECURITY OFFICIALS. IT
MAY BE THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY NEEDS TO TALK TO THOSE
MINISTERIES -- THE CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY -- ABOUT MR.

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WU'S CASE. THAT IS ALSO A NORMAL, STANDARD PROCEDURE.
NOTHING UNUSUAL HERE. WE'RE NOT MAKING ONEROUS
DEMANDS. WE'RE MAKING VERY SIMPLE REQUESTS.

Q NICK, IS THERE ANY THOUGHT BEING GIVEN TO SOME
SORT OF OTHER APPROACH -- SENDING SOME KIND OF
NON-GOVERNMENTAL ENVOY TO BEIJING; PASSING A MESSAGE
THROUGH THE GERMANS? APPARENTLY, JIANG ZEMIN IS ABOUT
TO MAKE SORT OF EUROPEAN TOUR. ANYTHING LIKE THAT?

MR. BURNS: CAROL, WE ADDRESSED THIS QUESTION
YESTERDAY. I'LL BE GLAD TO GO INTO IT AGAIN TODAY.
WE'RE GOING TO BE WILLING TO CONSIDER ANY MEASURE THAT
WOULD ALLOW US TO SEE MR. WU AND TO CONVINCED THE CHINESE
GOVERNMENT TO RELEASE HIM SO THAT HE CAN COME BACK TO
HIS FAMILY AND THE UNITED STATES.

HOWEVER, HAVING SAID THAT, THE BASIS OF OUR EFFORTS,
THE THRUST OF OUR EFFORTS, HAS TO BE TO CONVINCED THE
CHINESE GOVERNMENT THAT WHEN WE HAVE PROBLEMS, WE NEED
TO HAVE DIRECT CONTACT ON THOSE PROBLEMS. WE NEED TO
HAVE MEETINGS. WE NEED TO HAVE DISCUSSIONS. THAT'S
WHERE THE BASIS OF OUR EFFORTS IS GOING TO LIE.

Q HAVE YOU BEEN ABLE TO SET UP A SPECIFIC MEETING
WITH THE CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER WHEN THE SECRETARY IS
IN BRUNEI?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T BELIEVE THERE IS SUCH A SPECIFIC

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MEETING SCHEDULED.

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Q IS THAT BECAUSE THE CHINESE ARE BALKING AT IT,
OR A MONTH BEFOREHAND IS NOT SOON ENOUGH TO DO THIS?

MR. BURNS: WE'RE QUITE A WAYS AWAY FROM THE BRUNEI
MEETINGS; JUST UNDER A MONTH AWAY.

I BELIEVE THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT WILL BE IN
ATTENDANCE AT THE ASEAN MEETINGS. I BELIEVE THE FOREIGN
MINISTER INTENDS TO COME, AND, OF COURSE, WE WOULD LOOK
FORWARD TO ANY OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS ALL THE ISSUES IN
THE U.S.-CHINA AGENDA WITH FOREIGN MINISTER QIAN.

THE SECRETARY HAS FOUND THAT IN THE PAST HE'S BEEN A
VERY GOOD AND RESPONSIBLE INTERLOCUTOR. THE
RELATIONSHIP IS IMPORTANT ENOUGH TO WARRANT IT, BUT I
DON'T BELIEVE THERE'S ANYTHING ON THE SCHEDULE YET.

Q THE CHINESE ARE SORT OF HAVING THEIR WAY WITH
AN AMERICAN CITIZEN THERE. THEY'RE LEAVING OUR DCM
HANGING OUT ON THE LINE; THEY'RE CHERRY-PICKING WHO
THEY'LL SEE AND WHO THEY WON'T; THEY WON'T SEE PETER
TARNOFF; THEY'LL BE HAPPY TO WELCOME RON BROWN.

ARE THE CHINESE DICTATING THE TERMS OF THE
RELATIONSHIP AT THIS POINT?

MR. BURNS: NO, THEY'RE CERTAINLY NOT. BECAUSE ANY
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COUNTRIES ONE THAT IS GOING TO BE
SUCCESSFUL -- AND THIS ONE MUST BE SUCCESSFUL IN THE

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NEXT COUPLE OF YEARS, INTO THE NEXT CENTURY -- HAS GOT
TO BE BASED ON THE EFFORTS OF BOTH COUNTRIES.

THE CHINESE HAVE TAKEN A NUMBER OF STEPS TO EXPRESS
THEIR DISPLEASURE OVER THE ISSUANCE OF A VISA FOR AN
UNOFFICIAL VISIT TO CORNELL UNIVERSITY. THERE MAY BE
OTHER REASONS FOR CHINESE BEHAVIOR. BUT THE CHINESE
HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO WORK WITH US TO BUILD A GOOD
RELATIONSHIP.

THEY'RE NOT DICTATING THE TERMS. IN FACT, WE HAVE
MADE IT VERY CLEAR OVER THE PAST COUPLE OF DAYS THAT WE
CAN'T IMAGINE GOING FORWARD TO HAVE GOOD RELATIONS
WITHOUT THIS ELEMENTARY CASE BEING BROUGHT FORWARD TO A
MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY CONCLUSION IN THE CASE OF MR. WU.
WE'RE GOING TO TALK ABOUT THIS CASE EVERY DAY.

SO I THINK IT'S CLEAR THAT WHILE CHINA PERHAPS HAS
SOME ISSUES THAT IT WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS FURTHER WITH
THE UNITED STATES, WE HAVE ISSUES FOR THEM. WE ARE NOW
DISCUSSING THOSE ISSUES PUBLICLY AS WELL AS PRIVATELY.

Q NICK, DOES THIS APPARENT STAND-OFF BETWEEN THE
FOREIGN MINISTRY AND THE SECURITY MINISTRIES TELL YOU
ALL ANYTHING ABOUT SUCCESSION IN CHINA?

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MR. BURNS: I DON'T KNOW IF IT DOES. IT'S PROBABLY
HARD TO MAKE A COHERENT ANALYSIS OF THAT QUESTION BASED
ON THE ISSUE OF AN AMERICAN CITIZEN WHO SHOWED UP AT A
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BORDER ON THE WRONG DAY AT THE WRONG TIME, APPARENTLY.
I THINK WE WOULD SEPARATE THE TWO.

Q HOW WOULD YOU EQUATE THE ARREST AND
IMPRISONMENT OF BARLOON AND DALIBERTI AND MR. WU IN
TERMS OF MOTIVATIONS AND STYLE OF BEHAVIOR OF THE TWO

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COUNTRIES?

MR. BURNS: WE CERTAINLY EXPECT FROM THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP STABILITY AND CERTAINTY AND REASON IN OUR DEALINGS. WE HOPE THAT ALL THREE OF THOSE CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTRIBUTES WOULD BE BROUGHT TO THIS PARTICULAR QUESTION, AND WE'RE CONFIDENT WE'LL BE ABLE TO WORK THIS QUESTION OUT.

THE IRAQI LEADERSHIP IS A DIFFERENT SCENE ALL TOGETHER. IT'S HARDER TO FATHOM WHAT MOTIVATES THEM IT'S HARDER TO UNDERSTAND THEIR ACTIONS. THEY HAVE ACTED IN AN ENTIRELY UNREASONABLE WAY, UNCIVILIZED WAY, TOWARDS MR. DALIBERTI AND MR. BARLOON. THEY'VE BEEN CRITICIZED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY -- BY EVERYBODY -- FOR WHAT THEY'VE DONE TO THOSE TWO MEN WHO QUITE INNOCENTLY FOUND THEMSELVES, AGAIN, THE VICTIM OF IRAQI BRUTALITY.

I WOULD SAY THAT WE LOOK AT THEM QUITE DIFFERENTLY. OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH CHINA IS FUNDAMENTALLY IMPORTANT TO THE UNITED STATES. WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO MAKE PROGRESS WITH THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT QUITE RECENTLY -- AS RECENTLY AS APRIL -- ON A NUMBER OF VERY IMPORTANT ISSUES SUCH AS THE NORTH KOREA ACCORD. WE'RE GOING TO
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CONTINUE THAT EFFORT.

THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT HAS A MUCH FURTHER WAY TO GO TO CONVINCING US THAT, INDEED, WE CAN BELIEVE IN REDEMPTION.

Q NICK, ALSO ON CHINA. WITH THE WORST IN HINDSIGHT, DO YOU THINK NOW IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN A MISTAKE TO HAVE LEFT THE BEIJING EMBASSY WITHOUT THE EXPERIENCE AND CLOUT OF AN AMBASSADOR?

MR. BURNS: THAT'S REALLY A QUESTION THAT CAN'T BE ANSWERED. AMBASSADOR ROY HAD BEEN EXTENDED -- STAFF ROY -- FOR AN ADDITIONAL YEAR. HE SERVED FOUR YEARS. THE NORMAL TERM OF AN AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IS THREE.

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I THINK THAT THE PROBLEMS THAT HAVE CHARACTERIZED U.S.-CHINESE RELATIONS OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF MONTHS WOULD PROBABLY HAVE LEFT US IN THE SAME POSITION HAD THERE BEEN AN AMBASSADOR OR NOT BEEN AN AMBASSADOR.

LET ME JUST SAY, WE HAVE GREAT CONFIDENCE IN SCOTT HALLFORD AND HIS STAFF. FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS OFTEN FIND

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THEMSELVES IN THE POSITION OF BEING IN CHARGE AS CHARGE D'AFFAIRES OF AN EMBASSY, WHEN AN AMBASSADOR HAS LEFT. HE HAS DONE A VERY, VERY FINE JOB OVER THE PAST COUPLE OF WEEKS IN VERY DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES.

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I DON'T KNOW THAT THE PRESENCE OF ANY AMBASSADOR WOULD HAVE MADE AN APPRECIABLE DIFFERENCE. THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT HAS MADE A DECISION THAT THEY'RE NOT -- AT LEAST UP UNTIL NOW THAT THEY'RE GOING TO PLAY A VERY UNUSUAL AND UNORTHODOX GAME ON THE ISSUE OF HARRY WU AND I THINK THAT GAME PROBABLY WOULD HAVE BEEN PLAYED OUT. IT'S NOW TIME FOR THE GAME TO END. IT'S TIME FOR CHINA TO MEET ITS INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS.

Q NICK, WHAT ARE THE CONSEQUENCES --

Q YOU'VE BEEN SAYING (INAUDIBLE) THAT YOU WILL RAISE THE ISSUE WITH CHINA EVERY DAY. IS THERE A TIME LIMIT SET FOR THIS? I MEAN, HOW LONG ARE YOU GOING TO WAIT?

MR. BURNS: WE'RE GOING TO TAKE IT DAY BY DAY. WE'RE GOING TO USE DIPLOMACY. WE'RE GOING TO USE REASON, AND I THINK THE MUTUAL INTERESTS THAT CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE IN PUTTING THIS ISSUE BEHIND US. THIS ISSUE CANNOT BLOCK THE PROGRESS THAT THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA MUST MAKE IN OUR POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP, ON ECONOMIC AND TRADE ISSUES, ON OUR SECURITY RELATIONSHIP, ON OUR DISCUSSION OF HOW TO MAKE

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THE PACIFIC AN AREA OF STABILITY IN THE 21ST CENTURY.

THESE ARE THE VITAL ISSUES BEFORE THE U.S. AND CHINA. ONCE THE HARRY WU SITUATION IS RESOLVED, WE CAN GET ONTO THIS. WE CAN HAVE HIGH-LEVEL MEETINGS. THE OFFER OF THE UNITED STATES TO HAVE SUCH A MEETING IS ON THE TABLE. WE ARE READY, WILLING TO TALK WHENEVER THE

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CHINESE ARE READY.

Q DO YOU HAVE ANY VISA REQUESTS FROM SENIOR TAIWANESE OFFICIALS FOR THE JULY 26 PARTIES THAT SENATORS DOLE AND SIMON ARE HAVING ON THE BIRTHDAY OF CHAING KAI-SHEK AND MADAME CHAING IS GOING TO BE THERE?
(LAUGHTER)

MR. BURNS: I WASN'T AWARE OF THE PARTY. I'M NOT AWARE OF ANY VISA REQUESTS AS WELL.

Q (INAUDIBLE)

MR. BURNS: I'LL BE GLAD TO TAKE IT, DAVID.

Q (INAUDIBLE) BOTH THE ISRAEL AND PLO AGREEMENT AND THE CHIANG KAI-SHEK BIRTHDAY PARTY? (LAUGHTER) I MEAN, WHAT --

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Q ON THE SUBJECT OF AMERICANS MISSING AND DETAINED, IS THERE ANYTHING NEW ON FRED CUNY IN THE LAST FEW WEEKS? WE HAVEN'T ASKED OR WE HAVEN'T BEEN TOLD IF THERE IS ANYTHING.

MR. BURNS: VICE PRESIDENT GORE MET WITH FRED CUNY'S BROTHER IN MOSCOW LATE LAST WEEK. HE HAD A LONG DISCUSSION WITH HIM OVER OUR EFFORTS TO FIND FRED CUNY AND FREE HIM. THE ADMINISTRATION HAS SENT A TWO-PERSON FBI TEAM TO MOSCOW. THAT TEAM HAS BEEN IN MOSCOW SINCE

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LAST WEEK. IT'S WORKING WITH THE RUSSIAN SECURITY AGENCIES AND INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES TO PLOT A STRATEGY TO TRY TO METHODICALLY WORK THROUGH ALL THE DIFFERENT LEADS THAT HAVE COME IN TO US AND THAT THE RUSSIANS AND TO THE INGUSH AND THE CHECHEN LEADERSHIP OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF MONTHS.

THE FBI TEAM WILL THEN WORK VERY CLOSELY WITH THE RUSSIANS AND THE INGUSH AND OTHERS TO TRY TO FOLLOW UP ON THE LEADS. WE HAVE, OF COURSE, THE RIGHT AND WE HAVE THE INCLINATION TO SEND AMERICAN EMBASSY OFFICIALS TO

INGUSHETIA, TO DAGESTAN, TO CHECHNYA WHENEVER WE THINK THERE'S A CREDIBLE LEAD.

UNFORTUNATELY, WE ARE LEFT IN THE VERY, VERY FRUSTRATING POSITION OF STILL NOT KNOWING NOW, GOING ON FOUR MONTHS, WHAT HAPPENED TO FRED CUNY. THERE ARE NO CREDIBLE LEADS THAT WOULD ALLOW ME TO TELL YOU WE'RE HOPEFUL. WE CERTAINLY ARE PUZZLED BY THE LACK OF CREDIBLE INFORMATION. WE'RE PUZZLED BY THE FACT THAT NO GROUP HAS CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY.

WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT HE'S ALIVE. HE'S A GREAT AMERICAN, AND MANY OF US KNOW HIM PERSONALLY. HE'S DONE FIRST-RATE HUMANITARIAN WORK OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF YEARS IN RUSSIA AND ALL AROUND THE WORLD. AND I THINK THAT A LOT OF PEOPLE IN THIS GOVERNMENT, BEGINNING WITH THE VICE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, STROBE TALBOTT, WHO KNEW HIM BRING A PERSONAL SENSE OF MISSION TO THIS EFFORT TO FIND HIM. BUT THERE'S NOTHING GOOD
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THAT WE CAN SAY RIGHT NOW -- NOTHING POSITIVE.

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Q NICK, THERE ARE MORE MISSING AMERICANS. TWO HAVE BEEN KIDNAPPED APPARENTLY IN KASHMIR. DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ON THAT?

MR. BURNS: YES. WE'RE AWARE THAT TWO AMERICANS AND TWO CITIZENS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM HAVE BEEN TAKEN CAPTIVE IN KASHMIR IN THE VICINITY OF SRINAGAR. THIS HAS BEEN A DANGEROUS AREA IN THE PAST. THERE IS NOT A PRIVACY ACT WAIVER IN EFFECT THAT WOULD ALLOW ME TO RELEASE THE NAMES OF THE TWO INDIVIDUALS. WE ARE FOLLOWING UP VERY CLOSELY WITH THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES TO TRY TO DO WHAT WE CAN TO HAVE THESE PEOPLE RELEASED.

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I BELIEVE THAT THERE HAS BEEN A GOVERNMENT -- EXCUSE ME -- A MOVEMENT THAT HAS TAKEN CREDIT FOR THIS. WE DON'T KNOW MUCH ABOUT THIS PARTICULAR GROUP, AND WE'RE CERTAINLY GOING TO DO WHATEVER WE CAN TO WORK WITH THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT TO BRING THIS MATTER TO A PLEASANT CONCLUSION, MEANING THE RELEASE OF THE TWO AMERICANS AND THE TWO BRITS.

THE PREVIOUSLY UNKNOWN GROUP CALLS ITSELF THE J.K. AL-FARAN GROUP -- F-A-R-A-N. IT HAS APPARENTLY CLAIMED

RESPONSIBILITY, BUT I DON'T HAVE ANY FURTHER INFORMATION FOR YOU ON THIS CASE.

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Q CAN WE DO CUBA?

MR. BURNS: CERTAINLY.

Q DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ON A POSSIBLE EASING OF TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS TO CUBA?

MR. BURNS: THE ADMINISTRATION CONTINUES TO REVIEW A NUMBER OF POSSIBLE STEPS THAT MIGHT ENHANCE OUR ABILITY

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TO INCREASE COMMUNICATIONS WITH AND PROVIDE SUPPORT FOR THOSE GROUPS IN CUBA WHO ARE WORKING FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE, BECAUSE WE THINK THAT DEMOCRATIC CHANGE IS WHAT HAS GOT TO TAKE PLACE IN CUBA.

NO FINAL DECISIONS HAVE BEEN MADE ON WHETHER ANY CHANGES WILL BE MADE TO PRESENT POLICY OR IF CHANGES ARE MADE, WHICH MEASURES COULD POSSIBLY BE IMPLEMENTED AS PART OF A CHANGE.

I WOULD JUST REMIND YOU THAT ANY STEPS THAT WILL BE TAKEN WITH US WILL BE FULLY CONSISTENT WITH THE CUBAN DEMOCRACY ACT, WITH ITS MAJOR PROVISIONS, WHICH ARE, FIRST, AN EMBARGO AGAINST CUBA. WE INTEND TO MAINTAIN THE EMBARGO AGAINST CUBA.

AND, SECOND, THE EFFORT THAT BOTH REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS -- PEOPLE IN CONGRESS AND PEOPLE IN THE ADMINISTRATION -- BELIEVE MUST TAKE PLACE, AND THAT IS EFFORTS TO SUPPORT THOSE GROUPS THAT WANT A DIFFERENT KIND OF FUTURE FOR CUBA AFTER 35, 36 YEARS OF

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DICTATORSHIP. THEY WANT DEMOCRACY. THEY WANT CHANGE.
THEY WANT ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FREEDOM.

IF THOSE GROUPS ARE WILLING TO WORK WITH US, WE'RE WILLING TO WORK WITH THEM. IF THERE ARE WAYS THAT WE CAN EXPAND OUR CONTACTS WITH THEM, WE'LL CONSIDER THAT. BUT WE'VE NOT MADE ANY DECISIONS.

Q HOW ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF GIVING AMERICAN NEWS ORGANIZATIONS PERMISSION TO OPEN BUREAUS IN CUBA?

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MR. BURNS: THAT COULD BE ONE OF THE STEPS THAT WE WOULD TAKE IF WE DECIDED TO MODIFY OUR POLICY, TO EXPAND THE POLICY. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NEWS BUREAUS HAS BEEN SOMETHING THAT WE'VE TALKED TO, I THINK, MEMBERS OF THE MEDIA ABOUT AND ALSO TALKED CERTAINLY EXTENSIVELY IN THE

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GOVERNMENT ABOUT, BUT WE HAVE NOT DECIDED YET TO DO THAT. IT'S JUST ONE OF THE POSSIBLE STEPS THAT COULD BE TAKEN.

Q WHY WOULD YOU HOLD BACK ON SOMETHING AS OBVIOUS AS THAT?

MR. BURNS: IT'S A COMPLICATED ISSUE. IT'S COMPLICATED IN THE UNITED STATES. WE CERTAINLY HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO CONSULT WITH CONGRESS BECAUSE THE POSITIVE THING ABOUT OUR POLICY TO CUBA -- AND THERE ARE MANY POSITIVE THINGS -- IS THAT THE CUBAN DEMOCRACY ACT
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HAS BEEN SUPPORTED ON A BIPARTISAN BASIS BY BOTH THE ADMINISTRATION -- THIS AND THE LAST ADMINISTRATION -- AND BY THE CONGRESS, AND SO WE CERTAINLY WANT TO TALK TO THE CONGRESS, TALK TO LEADING MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, WHO HAVE A STAKE IN THIS ISSUE, AS WELL AS INTERESTED PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES, INCLUDING THE CUBAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY.

Q BOSNIA?

MR. BURNS: BOSNIA.

Q ON CUBA --

MR. BURNS: MORE ON CUBA?

Q I JUST WANT TO ASK YOU, YOU SAID YOU'RE CONSIDERING REVIEWING A NUMBER OF CHANGES. ASIDE FROM NEWS BUREAUS, WHAT OTHER CHANGES ARE YOU CONSIDERING? I DON'T KNOW IF YOU CAN GIVE US A COUPLE OF OTHER EXAMPLES.

MR. BURNS: I REALLY DON'T, BECAUSE THAT WOULD JUST PROBABLY FUEL THE FIRE FROM THIS MORNING'S NEWSPAPER ARTICLE. I THINK WE WANT TO BE A LITTLE CIRCUMSPECT ABOUT THIS. WE'RE THINKING ABOUT A NUMBER OF STEPS. WE'RE REVIEWING THIS, BUT WE HAVEN'T MADE ANY DECISIONS YET, AND I THINK I'LL JUST LEAVE IT THERE. IF WE DO DECIDE TO EXTEND THE POLICY OR AMPLIFY IT OR MODIFY IT,

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WHATEVER, THEN WE'LL BE ABLE TO TALK ABOUT IT AT THAT TIME.

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STILL ON CUBA?

Q OUT OF CUBA.

MR. BURNS: OUT OF CUBA. I THINK WE HAD A BOSNIA QUESTION HERE. I'LL BE GLAD TO GO TO YOU AFTER THAT

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Q CARL BILDT, I GUESS, AFTER TALKING IN BELGRADE, SAID THAT NEGOTIATIONS, OF COURSE, REMAIN THE KEY TO SOLVING THE PROBLEMS IN BOSNIA, BUT THAT HE DIDN'T SEE ANY LIKELIHOOD OF SUCCESS AT THE MOMENT.

GIVEN THAT RATHER DIRE ASSESSMENT BY HIM AND OTHERS -- PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN IN BELGRADE -- DOESN'T IT MAKE THE RAPID REACTION FORCE LOOK EVER MORE LIKE A RAPID PULLOUT FORCE, BECAUSE IF NEGOTIATIONS GO NOWHERE, HOW LONG CAN, IN OTHER WORDS, UNPROFOR STAY THERE DOING WHAT IT'S DOING, AND WOULDN'T THE RAPID REACTION FORCE JUST BE TURNING INTO A MEANS OF PULLING UNPROFOR OUT?

MR. BURNS: THE MAJOR COUNTRIES BEHIND THE RAPID REACTION FORCE -- FRANCE, THE UNITED KINGDOM, THE NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM -- HAVE ALL SAID THAT THIS IS NOT A FORCE THAT IS PRIMARILY DESIGNED TO FACILITATE THE ULTIMATE WITHDRAWAL OF UNPROFOR. THEY HAVE ALL SAID AND MADE CLEAR TO US FOR A GOOD MONTH NOW THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE IS TO STRENGTHEN UNPROFOR. ALL OF THEM SAY THAT THEY WANT UNPROFOR TO STAY IN THE FIELD. BOUTROS-GHALI, THE SECRETARY GENERAL, REITERATED

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THAT YESTERDAY, AS DID PRESIDENT CHIRAC, IN GENEVA.

WE TAKE, OF COURSE, THESE GOVERNMENTS AT THEIR WORD,
AND WE ARE WORKING WITH THEM -- THE ADMINISTRATION IS
WORKING WITH THEM TO SEE HOW WE CAN SUPPORT THE RAPID
REACTION FORCE. I WOULDN'T GIVE UP ON THE NEGOTIATIONS
YET. THEY'RE FRUSTRATING NEGOTIATIONS. THEY HAVEN'T
BORNE THE FRUIT THAT WE THOUGHT THEY MIGHT. WE THOUGHT
WE MIGHT HAVE MADE FROGRESS EARLIER WITH MR. MILOSEVIC.

I THINK MR. BILDT HAS NOW HAD A TASTE OF JUST HOW
DIFFICULT IT IS TO WORK WITH SOME OF THE PARTIES IN THE
AREA. WE HAVE GREAT CONFIDENCE IN HIM. SECRETARY
CHRISTOPHER HAD A GOOD CONVERSATION WITH MR. BILDT
YESTERDAY, WHO PHONED IN FROM MOSTAR. DICK HOLBROOKE
HAS BEEN IN TOUCH I THINK FOUR OR FIVE TIMES OVER THE
LAST COUPLE OF DAYS WITH MR. BILDT.

WE THINK HE'S DOING A FINE JOB. WE THINK THAT WE
ARE ON THE SAME WAVELENGTH IN GENERAL ABOUT WHAT SHOULD
BE DONE. WE CERTAINLY DON'T WANT TO GIVE UP ON
NEGOTIATIONS. THE EFFORT AGAIN IS TO KEEP UNPROFOR IN
PLAY SO IT CAN SERVE ITS HUMANITARIAN MISSION, AS WELL
AS SERVE, WE HOPE, THE LARGER MISSION AND PERHAPS MORE
IMMEDIATE MISSION OF PROTECTING THE ENCLAVES.

THAT, OF COURSE, DEPENDS ON THE ACTIONS OF THE RAPID
REACTION FORCE, WHICH IS NOW JUST, WE THINK, NEARING A
CRITICAL MASS IN ITS OWN DEPLOYMENT IN THE FIELD, AND IT
MAY BE THAT WE DON'T KNOW THE ANSWER TO THE ULTIMATE
MANDATE OF

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THE RAPID REACTION FORCE UNTIL THEY ARE OPERATIONAL --
FULLY OPERATIONAL.

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Q ANY PLANS FOR FRASURE TO GO BACK ANY TIME SOON? ANY NEW DIPLOMATIC OVERTURES FROM ANYONE IN THE WORKS?

MR. BURNS: THE CONTACT GROUF REMAINS ACTIVE. THERE WAS A MEETING JUST LAST WEEK. I THINK THERE WILL PROBABLY BE ANOTHER MEETING SOON WHEN MR. BILDT COMPLETES HIS CURRENT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS IN THE FIELD.

WE HAVE NO PLANS TO SEND AMBASSADOR FRASURE. RIGHT NOW WE THINK THAT IT'S BEST FOR MR. BILDT -- FORMER PRIME MINISTER BILDT -- TO TAKE THE LEAD IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS. HE HAS OUR CONFIDENCE. WE'LL SEE WHAT CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED. WHEN HE CONCLUDES THIS ROUND I'M SURE WE'LL GET AN ASSESSMENT FROM HIM OVER WHAT THE NEXT STEPS SHOULD BE, AND WE'LL BE GLAD TO LISTEN TO THAT.

CAROL.

Q WHY IS THE SECRETARY MEETING WITH SACIRBEY TODAY?

MR. BURNS: THE SECRETARY IS GOING TO MEET WITH THE BOSNIAN FOREIGN MINISTER BECAUSE THEY HAD PLEDGED TO EACH OTHER THAT THEY WOULD KEEP IN CLOSE CONTACT. THERE
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WAS A MEETING TEN DAYS AGO HERE IN THE DEPARTMENT. THEY MEET TODAY AT FIVE O'CLOCK. MR. SACIRBEY HAS BEEN UP AT THE U.N. HE SPOKE YESTERDAY TO THE QUESTION OF

SANCTIONS RELIEF.

WE ARE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN THE VIEWS OF THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT ON THE ROLE OF TNE RAPID REACTION FORCE, ON THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND IN BOSNIA -- SPECIFICALLY IN SARAJEVO AND IN A NUMBER OF THE EMBATTLED CITIES. WE'D LIKE TO HAVE MR. SACIRBEY'S VIEWS ON THE DIPLOMATIC STRATEGY THAT SHOULD NOW BE EMPLOYED TO TRY TO REACH ULTIMATELY SOME DAY IN THE FUTURE A RESOLUTION OF ALL THESE ISSUES. HE'S AN

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IMPORTANT PERSON TO KEEP IN CONTACT WITH.

I SHOULD ALSO SAY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, HAVING WORKED WITH HIM CLOSELY, NOW THAT THEY'RE COLLEAGUES HAS A GREAT DEAL OF RESPECT FOR HIM LIKES HIM VERY MUCH. THEY HAD A VERY GOOD MEETING THE LAST TIME THE MINISTER WAS HERE AND ARE LOOKING FORWARD TO THAT AGAIN TODAY.

Q IS FRANCE SENDING TROOPS IN FOR THE RAPID -- YOU TALK ABOUT THESE FOUR COUNTRIES AND THEIR FIRM COMMITMENT TO A RAPID REACTION FORCE OR A RESPONSE FORCE, NOT TO A PULLOUT FORCE. IS FRANCE ABOUT TO SEND TROOPS IN TO SHOW ITS COMMITMENT TO THIS PRINCIPLE?

MR. BURNS: I UNDERSTAND THAT ALL OF THE --

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Q (INAUDIBLE) BUT I DON'T KNOW THAT --

MR. BURNS: I UNDERSTOOD THAT ALL OF THE COUNTRIES WERE CONTRIBUTING TROOPS TO THE PARTICULAR FORCE. I DON'T KNOW, BARRY, IF THERE'S A QUESTION OF DEFINITION HERE -- WHETHER THERE ARE TROOPS THAT ARE BEING DEPLOYED FROM ONE UNIT IN UNPROFOR TO ANOTHER OR WHETHER WE'RE TALKING ABOUT NEW TROOPS, BUT FRANCE IS CERTAINLY CONTRIBUTING FORCES, TROOPS, TO THIS EFFORT, AS WELL AS EQUIPMENT.

TO GIVE FRANCE ITS DUE, WE'VE WORKED WELL WITH FRANCE. FRANCE HAS BEEN THE LEADER -- AMONG THE LEADERS, CERTAINLY -- BUT I WOULD SAY IN MANY RESPECTS A DIPLOMATIC LEADER IN TRYING TO GET THIS EFFORT GOING. THAT WAS TRUE AT NOORDWIJK. MINISTER DE CHARETTE WAS THE CHAIR OF THE MEETING AT NOORDWIJK. THAT WAS THE CRUCIAL MEETING, AND PRESIDENT CHIRAC HAS SHOWN GOOD LEADERSHIP ON THIS ISSUE AS WELL.

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Q WELL, NOT TO BE ARGUMENTATIVE THAT THE FRENCH ARE ALSO THE LEADERS -- IN THE VIEW THAT IF THIS DOESN'T GET DONE BY, YOU KNOW, THE FALL, PERHAPS -- LET'S NOT BE THERE ANOTHER WINTER, LET'S PULL OUT --

MR. BURNS: THAT'S SOMETHING THAT THE FRENCH WILL HAVE TO SPEAK TO. IT'S NOT OUR IMPRESSION OF CURRENT FRENCH POLICY.

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Q (INAUDIBLE)

MR. BURNS: IT'S STILL ON BOSNIA?

DAVID.

Q STILL ON THE RAPID REACTION FORCE. BY WHAT YARDSTICK SHOULD ITS SUCCESS OR FAILURE BE MEASURED IN YOUR VIEW, AND AT WHAT POINT ARE YOU GOING TO HAVE TO START CONSIDERING FUNDING FOR A SECOND SIX MONTHS?

MR. BURNS: THE ANSWER TO THE SECOND QUESTION, I THINK WE'LL HAVE TO START THINKING OF FUNDING FOR THE SECOND SIX MONTHS FAIRLY SHORTLY, AT THE END OF THIS SUMMER -- AUGUST, I WOULD THINK, SEPTEMBER.

IN ANSWER TO THE FIRST QUESTION, THE RAPID REACTION FORCE, IN OUR VIEW, CANNOT BE MORE OF THE SAME. IT CANNOT BE THE RULES OF THE ROAD AND THE POSTURE THAT RESULTED IN ALL THE PROBLEMS OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF MONTHS IN UNPROFOR'S INABILITY TO MEET ITS RESPONSIBILITIES. WE BELIEVE THAT THE VALUE OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE IS THAT IT WILL STRENGTHEN UNPROFOR -- STRENGTHEN UNPROFOR'S ABILITY

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TO DEFEND THE MANDATE THAT IT HAS BEEN GIVEN TO DELIVER HUMANITARIAN AID AND PROTECT ENCLAVES.

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THE U.N. CAN'T DO THAT RIGHT NOW, AND SO WE HOPE THE
RAPID REACTION FORCE WILL MAKE A POSITIVE DIFFERENCE AND
A SUBSTANTIAL DIFFERENCE. THAT'S OUR VERY CLEAR VIEW OF
THE RAPID REACTION FORCE.

Q AND ARE YOU SATISFIED THAT MR. AKASHI WILL NOT
BE ABLE TO STOP IT FROM RAPIDLY REACTING, IF NECESSARY?

MR. BURNS: I THINK WE'VE MADE CLEAR OUR VIEW AS TO
WHAT THE FORCE SHOULD BE. WE'VE MADE CLEAR OUR
DIFFERENCE OF OPINION WITH MR. AKASHI ABOUT WHAT THE
FORCE SHOULD BE, AND OUR DIFFERENCE OF OPINION WITH HIM
ON SENDING A LETTER TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS IN ATTEMPTING
TO DEFINE THE MANDATE OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE.

THERE ARE LOTS OF DIFFERENT VIEWS FLOATING AROUND,
AND WE HAVE ONE, MR. AKASHI HAS ANOTHER. I THINK THAT
IT WILL PROBABLY STAY IN THOSE RESPECTIVE POSITIONS.

Q TWO WEEKS AGO YOU WERE USING THE WORD
"EFFECTIVE" TO DESCRIBE YOUR ASPIRATIONS FOR THE RAPID
REACTION FORCE, AND NOW YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT
STRENGTHENING IT. I THINK THERE'S A BIG DIFFERENCE
BETWEEN STRENGTHENING IT AND BEING EFFECTIVE. YOU COULD
ADD TWO PEOPLE TO STRENGTHEN IT, BUT THAT WOULDN'T
NECESSARILY MAKE IT EFFECTIVE. HOW COME YOU'VE DROPPED
THE WORD "EFFECTIVE," OR AM I READING TOO MUCH INTO THIS?

MR. BURNS: THANK YOU FOR REMINDING ME OF THAT,
BECAUSE I THINK MAYBE THIS IS A USEFUL SERVICE HERE.
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NO, WHAT WE MEAN BY "STRENGTHENING,, GEORGE, IS EFFECTIVE, MEANING THE ABILITY TO DELIVER FOOD TO 1.5 MILLION TO 2 MILLION PEOPLE, WHICH IS NOT NOW HAPPENING. A FEW CONVOYS ARE GETTING THROUGH, MAINLY BECAUSE OF THE COURAGE OF SOME FRENCH SOLDIERS AND THE COURAGE OF THE COMMANDERS ON THE GROUND.

BUT NOT ENOUGH FOOD IS GETTING THROUGH. THERE ARE NOW SOME REPORTS OF STARVATION IN SREBRENICA. THERE WERE TWO REPORTS OF STARVATION OF A YOUNG CHILD AND AN ELDERLY MAN IN BIHAC. THIS IS EXTREMELY SERIOUS. AND WE CONGRATULATE GENERAL SMITH AND SOME OF THE PEOPLE WHO WORK FOR HIM AND SOME OF THE VERY COURAGEOUS FRENCH SOLDIERS WHO HAVE GONE BY NIGHT NOW OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF NIGHTS TO DELIVER FOOD CONVOYS TO SARAJEVO AND OTHER CITIES.

IT CLEARLY ISN'T ENOUGH. THE CITIES CLEARLY NEED MORE SUPPORT, AND SO YOU'RE RIGHT. THE RELEVANT WORD HERE -- WHAT WE MEAN BY "STRENGTHENING" IS THAT THE U.N. FORCE WILL BECOME MORE EFFECTIVE IN CARRYING OUT THE DUTIES WHICH

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IT HAS BEEN ASSIGNED, AND THAT I THINK IS -- TO GET BACK TO DAVID'S QUESTION -- THE CRUCIAL YARDSTICK HERE BY WHICH WE WOULD ATTEMPT TO MEASURE THE RAPID REACTION FORCE.

WE HAVE A QUESTION BACK HERE THAT HAS BEEN WAITING
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TO BE ASKED.

Q YES. THIS REGARDS NIGERIA -- AND BRITAIN IS ALREADY REACTING TO IT. THERE ARE REPORTS THAT THE FORMER PRESIDENT OF NIGERIA HAS BEEN SECRETLY SENTENCED TO 25 YEARS PRISON, AND 15 OTHERS WHO WERE SUPPORTING HIM ALLEGEDLY TO OVERTHROW THE GOVERNMENT ARE BEING SENTENCED TO DEATH.

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WHAT DOES THE U.S. KNOW ABOUT THIS, AND WHAT IS IT DOING ABOUT IT?

MR. BURNS: THE UNITED STATES REMAINS DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE WHEREABOUTS AND SAFETY OF THE FORMER NIGERIAN PRESIDENT, A WELL RESPECTED INTERNATIONAL FIGURE, GENERAL OLUSEGUN OBASANJO. IN THE ABSENCE OF PUBLICLY STATED CHARGES, THERE ARE RUMORS THAT HE IS BEING TRIED IN CAMERA BY A MILITARY TRIBUNAL FOR PARTICIPATION IN AN ALLEGED MARCH COUP PLOT.

IF SPECIFIC CHARGES HAVE INDEED BEEN BROUGHT, THEY SHOULD BE MADE PUBLIC, AND THEY SHOULD BE FOLLOWED BY AN OPEN AND PUBLIC TRIAL. THE UNITED STATES IS CONCERNED ABOUT THE SECRET TRIAL NOW UNDERWAY FOR 23 ALLEGED COUP PLOTTERS AND URGES THE GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA TO PROVIDE DUE PROCESS, INCLUDING FAIR, OPEN PUBLIC TRIALS FOR ALL PERSONS DETAINED.

THERE WAS AN ARREST JUST A COUPLE OF DAYS AGO OF MR. GANI FAWEHINMI AT HIS LAW CHAMBERS ON THE EVENING OF JULY 3. HIS ARREST HAS BEEN CONFIRMED BY THE ORGANIZING
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DIRECTOR OF HIS NATIONAL CONSCIENCE PARTY, AND NO CHARGES HAVE BEEN FILED AGAINST HIM BUT HE IS IN CUSTODY. WE TAKE THIS CASE VERY SERIOUSLY AS WELL

WE HAVE A PROBLEM HERE AND THE PROBLEM IS THAT THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT IS UNWILLING TO MEET A BASIC INTERNATIONAL STANDARD OF FREE AND FAIR TRIAL, AND A NUMBER OF THESE PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN ARRESTED AND DETAINED ARE RESPONSIBLE PEOPLE. THEY'RE PEOPLE WHO HAVE THE CONFIDENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND

WE CALL UPON THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT TO RELEASE THEM.

Q NICK, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WAS IN TOUCH WITH THE U.S. REGARDING THIS ALLEGED SENTENCING OF OBASANJO.

MR. BURNS: EXCUSE ME?

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Q HAS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT GOT IN TOUCH WITH THE U.S., BECAUSE IT IS ALREADY GETTING IN TOUCH WITH THE COMMONWEALTH AND EUROPEAN PARTNERS REGARDING THE ALLEGED REPORT ABOUT THE SENTENCING OF OBASANJO?

MR. BURNS: I'D HAVE TO CHECK ON THAT. WE HAVE VERY CLOSE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE BRITISH ABOUT NIGERIA AN ONGOING DISCUSSION WITH THEM. I JUST DON'T KNOW IF IN FACT WE HAD A PARTICULAR DISCUSSION ON THIS ISSUE.

ONE MORE QUESTION ON ASIA HERE, AND THEN WE'LL CALL
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IT A DAY PERHAPS.

Q (INAUDIBLE) WAS REPORTING VARIOUS SCENARIOS FOR NORMALIZATION WITH VIETNAM THIS MORNING, AND I WONDERED IF YOU COULD TELL US ANYTHING ABOUT THAT.

MR. BURNS: I CAN TELL YOU THAT THE QUESTION OF NORMALIZATION OF U.S. RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM HAS LONG BEEN AN ISSUE. IT IS SOMETHING THAT THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE HAVE PLEDGED TO LOOK INTO. IT WILL BE BASED ON VIETNAM'S COMMITMENT TO WORKING WITH US IN A RESPONSIBLE WAY TO GIVE A FULL, OPEN ACCOUNTING OF THE REMAINS OF OUR MIAS AND POWS AND OF THE STATUS OF OUR MIAS AND POWS.

WE ARE NOW LOOKING AT INFORMATION GIVEN TO US BY THE VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENT AFTER THE LAST TRIP BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE WIN LORD. WE'RE ASSESSING THAT INFORMATION. THIS IS NOW A QUESTION THAT I THINK WILL SHORTLY BE BEFORE THE PRESIDENT, AND WE'LL JUST HAVE TO WAIT AND SEE WHAT KIND OF DECISION THE PRESIDENT MAKES ON THIS ISSUE.

Q JUST ONE MORE QUICK ONE. MR. VATANA A THAI -- POLITICIAN IN THAILAND, A MEMBER OF THE NEW RULING COALITION, AND THE NATIONAL POLICE CHIEF OF THAILAND HAVE CALLED UPON THE UNITED STATES TO MAKE PUBLIC ITS

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CHARGES AGAINST MR. VATANA, WHY HE WAS DENIED A U.S. VISA. THE POLICE CHIEF SAID THEY INVESTIGATED -- WHAT DO YOU CALL IT, ALL THAI POLITICIANS -- AND FOUND NO
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EVIDENCE OF COLLUSION WITH NARCOTICS TRAFFICKERS. DO YOU CARE TO COMMENT?

MR. BURNS: I SPOKE RATHER EXTENSIVELY TO THIS QUESTION YESTERDAY. I SPOKE TO IT MONDAY. I SAID I THINK I'VE EXPRESSED THE VIEWS OF OUR GOVERNMENT ON THIS ISSUE. I'M NOT SURE IT WOULD BE HELPFUL FOR ME TO EXPAND UPON THOSE COMMENTS TODAY.

Q WELL, WHY ARE YOU NOT -- WHY WILL YOU NOT PROVIDE THIS MAN WHO YOU'RE ESSENTIALLY CHARGING WITH AN OFFENSE, A GRAVE OFFENSE, AN INTERNATIONAL OFFENSE WHICH IS LIKELY TO MAKE HIM A PARIAH IN HIS OWN COUNTRY AND AROUND

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THE WORLD -- IS ALREADY A PARIAH IN THE UNITED STATES -- WHY ARE YOU REFUSING TO MAKE THOSE CHARGES PUBLIC?

MR. BURNS: WE'VE MADE A DECISION ON A VISA APPLICATION, AND WE DON'T NORMALLY MAKE THOSE DECISIONS PUBLIC, NOR DO WE NORMALLY SHARE THAT INFORMATION WITH PEOPLE OUTSIDE THAT PROCESS. I THINK IT'S PRETTY WELL KNOWN NOW WHAT OUR POSITION IS ON THIS GENERAL ISSUE. THIS IS JUST A SUBSET OF A BIGGER ISSUE, AND I JUST PREFER TO STAND BY MY COMMENTS YESTERDAY.

Q WELL, YOU KNOW, OF COURSE, THAT HE IS -- AS A RESULT OF THAT DECISION, HE'S BARRED FOREVER FROM ENTERING THE UNITED STATES.

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MR. BURNS: CONSULAR OFFICERS HAVE A LEGAL RESPONSIBILITY TO ASSESS THE VALIDITY OF AN APPLICATION FOR A VISA, AND I DON'T WANT TO BE IN A POSITION TO SECOND-GUESS A DECISION MADE BY A CONSULAR OFFICER, AND WE'RE SIMPLY GOING TO HAVE TO STAND BY THE DECISION THAT WAS MADE IN THAT PARTICULAR CASE FOR THAT VISA.

Q (INAUDIBLE)

MR. BURNS: I DON'T KNOW SPECIFICALLY WHEN IT WAS MADE.

Q COULD YOU TAKE THAT QUESTION PLEASE?

MR. BURNS: WE'LL CERTAINLY LOOK INTO IT.

Q THANK YOU.

MR. BURNS: THANK YOU. CHRISTOPHER

NOTE:ADDED DISTRIBUTION TO SNIS AND NISC.

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AMEMBASSY TIRANA IMMEDIATE 8743-65
AMEMBASSY MASERU IMMEDIATE 3125-47
CINCUSNAAAVEUR LONDON UK
AMEMBASSY SANAA IMMEDIATE 7905-27
COMUSNAVCENT IMMEDIATE
CIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6731-53
DOD WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0030-52
WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE 5479-501
AMEMBASSY BAKU IMMEDIATE 2027-49
XMT AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY MALABO
AMCONSUL SHANGHAI

UNCLAS STATE 162201

INFORM CONSULS ALSO FOR USEC/USOEC

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: OPRC
SUBJECT: DAILY PRESS BRIEFING -- THURSDAY, JULY 6, 1995
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THE FOLLOWING TOPICS WERE COVERED IN TODAY'S PRESS BRIEFING:

IRAQ: UN SANCTIONS COMPLIANCE/EKEUS REPORT (1-6); IRAQ'S STATEMENT ON BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS PROGRAM (1-5); UN RESOLUTION: SALE OF OIL FOR HUMANITARIAN GOODS (4-5)

MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS: DISCUSSIONS ON STATUS OF WEST BANK, REDEPLOYMENT, ETC. (6-7); PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY'S USE OF DONOR FUNDS (7-11); AMBASSADOR DENNIS ROSS' TRIP TO REGION (9-10,14); EU INVOLVEMENT IN PEACE PROCESS (11); REPORT OF NEW ISRAELI SETTLEMENT ON WEST BANK (12-14)

CHINA/TAIWAN: U.S. REQUEST FOR CONSULAR ACCESS TO HARRY WU (15-16); U.S.-CHINA DISCUSSIONS/CONTACTS (16-17,20); ALLEGATIONS OF U.S. DENIAL OF CONSULAR ACCESS (15-16); SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER/CHINESE FM MINISTER ASEAN MTGS. (17-18); U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS (18-20); POSSIBLE VISA

REQUESTS OF SENIOR TAIWAN OFFICIALS (20)

IRAQ: AMERICAN DETAINEES (19)

RUSSIA: SEARCH FOR FRED CUNY (21)

INDIA: KASHMIR--TWO U.S. CITIZENS TAKEN CAPTIVE (21-22)

CUBA: U.S. REVIEW OF TRAVEL POLICY (22-23)

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FORMER YUGOSLAVIA: WAR IN BOSNIA: RAPID REACTION FORCE

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(24-28); SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, A/S HOLBROOKE CONTACTS
W/CARL BILDT (24); SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, BOSNIAN FM
SACIRBEY MTG (25)

NIGERIA: REPORT OF NIGERIAN GOV'T. ARREST, TRIAL, &
SENTENCING OF FORMER PRESIDENT OLUSEGUN OBASANJO (28-29)

VIETNAM: NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS (29)

THAILAND: DENIAL OF U.S. VISA FOR MR. VATANA (29-30)

BEGIN TEXT:

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MR. BURNS: GOOD AFTERNOON. WELCOME TO THE STATE
DEPARTMENT BRIEFING. I DON'T HAVE ANY ANNOUNCEMENTS SO
I'LL BE GLAD TO GO DIRECTLY TO YOUR QUESTIONS.

Q NICK, DO YOU WANT TO RUN THROUGH YOUR POLICY ON
IRAQ AGAIN? I MEAN, HAVE THEY BEHAVED SUFFICIENTLY TO
AT LEAST TO ENTERTAIN THE THOUGHT OF LIFTING SOME OF THE
SANCTIONS AGAINST THEM, AND DO YOU ANTICIPATE SOME SORT
OF A SHATTERING DISAGREEMENT WITH TWO WOULD-BE ALLIES
FRANCE AND RUSSIA, OVER THE ISSUE?

MR. BURNS: BARRY, THE ANSWER TO YOUR QUESTION IS
NO. THEY HAVEN'T DONE NEARLY ENOUGH TO WARRANT A
LIFTING OF THE SANCTIONS BY THE UNITED NATIONS AND
CERTAINLY THE UNITED STATES WILL ADHERE TO THAT POSITION
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WHEN THIS QUESTION COMES BEFORE THE U.N. SECURITY
COUNCIL, I BELIEVE, ON JULY 12.

LET ME JUST GO THROUGH FOR YOU WHAT OUR POLICY HAS
BEEN FOR FOUR YEARS. THIS HAS BEEN THE POLICY OF THE

BUSH ADMINISTRATION, AND NOW THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION
FOR THE LAST TWO AND A HALF YEARS.

THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT UNSC 688 SANCTIONS

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SHOULD CONTINUE UNTIL IRAQ FORSAKES TERRORISM ABANDONS ITS ATTEMPTS TO ACQUIRE AND PRODUCE NUCLEAR AND BIOLOGICAL AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS, CEASES REPRESSION OF ITS OWN CITIZENS, AND ACCOUNTS FOR MISSING KUWAITIS AND OTHERS WHO ARE MISSING FROM THE IRAQI OCCUPATION OF KUWAIT -- AND WE'RE TALKING HERE ABOUT SIX TO SEVEN HUNDRED PEOPLE.

WE, OF COURSE, NOTED THE STATEMENTS OUT OF MR. EKEUS YESTERDAY. MR. EKEUS HAS DONE AN EXCELLENT JOB UNDER VERY DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES. WE ARE LOOKING AT IRAQ'S ANNOUNCEMENT -- ITS ADMISSION OF GUILT THAT IT NOW ADMITS THAT IT HAD A BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS PROGRAM. WE'RE LOOKING AT THAT WITH A GREAT DEAL OF SKEPTICISM -- SKEPTICISM BECAUSE WE AREN'T NAIVE.

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FOR FOUR YEARS NOW UNDER REPEATED QUESTIONING BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, IRAQ INSISTED THAT IT DID NOT HAVE BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS, AND NOW IT SAYS IT DID. WHAT
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HAPPENED TO THE 17 TONS OF GROWTH MATERIAL? DID IRAQ EVER ATTEMPT TO CREATE DELIVERY VEHICLES FOR THE BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS THAT IT NOW SAYS IT WAS PRODUCING BEFORE THE OUTBREAK OF THE GULF WAR IN 1990 AND 1991.

WE HAVE SAID REPEATEDLY THAT WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT IRAQ'S FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH ALL OF THESE RELEVANT UNSC -- U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS, AND BEFORE THERE CAN BE A SERIOUS DISCUSSION OF MODIFYING THE SANCTIONS REGIME, IRAQ NEEDS TO DEMONSTRATE COMPLIANCE WITH ALL OF THE RELEVANT U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS; NOT JUST ON WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION -- THAT IS A VERY IMPORTANT ISSUE -- BUT ALSO ON THE OTHER ISSUES THAT I MENTIONED.

I THINK AS AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT PUT IT QUITE WELL YESTERDAY, A LA CARTE COMPLIANCE BY IRAQ IS SIMPLY NOT AN ACCEPTABLE WAY TO PROCEED.

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Q IS IT CONCEIVABLE WITH SADDAM HUSSEIN STILL --
MUST SADDAM HUSSEIN DEPART BEFORE IRAQ CAN MAKE THAT
KIND OF CHANGE IN THEIR POLICIES?

MR. BURNS: THAT'S JUST SOMETHING THAT SADDAM
HUSSEIN AND THE IRAQI LEADERSHIP IS GOING TO HAVE TO
DECIDE. IF THEY WANT TO INTEGRATE THEMSELVES BACK INTO
THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, IF THEY WANT TO BE TREATED
AS A RESPONSIBLE MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY,
THEY'RE GOING TO HAVE TO COMPLY WITH ALL OF THE RELEVANT
U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS.

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IT'S NOT JUST A QUESTION OF DOING OR SAYING THE
RIGHT THING ON BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS, IT'S ALL OF THEM.
WHETHER OR NOT ONE CAN BELIEVE IN REDEMPTION FOR SADDAM
HUSSEIN, THAT'S A QUESTION MAYBE FOR HISTORY. BUT WE'RE
GOING TO LOOK AT THEIR ACTIONS, AND THEIR ACTIONS HAVE
NOT BEEN TERRIBLY IMPRESSIVE.

IT IS ONE THING TO SAY AFTER FOUR YEARS OF
INTERNATIONAL PRODDING THAT YOU NOW ADMIT YOUR GUILT.
IT'S QUITE ANOTHER TO EXPLAIN WHAT HAPPENED TO THE
GROWTH MATERIAL. AS I READ THIS MORNING, THE IRAQIS ARE
SAYING, "WELL, THE GROWTH MATERIAL WAS DESTROYED BEFORE
THE OUTBREAK OF FIGHTING IN 1991." CAN WE BE SURE OF
THAT? DO THEY HAVE EVIDENCE OF THAT? WERE THEY
DEVELOPING DELIVERY VEHICLES FOR BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS THAT
COULD HAVE KILLED MILLIONS OF PEOPLE?

THESE ARE VERY SERIOUS QUESTIONS. THEY CANNOT BE
DISREGARDED SIMPLY BECAUSE THE IRAQIS HAVE MADE WHAT I
WOULD

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SAY IS A SELF-SERVING STATEMENT ABOUT THEIR PAST
CULPABILITY ON BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS. WE TAKE THIS
QUESTION VERY SERIOUSLY BECAUSE WE HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO
DEFEND OUR INTERESTS IN THE AREA. ON THE QUESTION OF
BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS, WE HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO DEFEND OUR

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OWN PEOPLE, AND SO WE'RE GOING TO CONTINUE TO PURSUE ALL OF THESE ISSUES, BUT FRANKLY IRAQ HAS TO DO A LOT MORE TO CONVINCING US THAT IT'S SERIOUS.

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Q HAVE OTHER NATIONS COOPERATED WITH THE UNITED STATES OR ARE THEY COOPERATING WITH THE UNITED STATES IN THE VIEW THAT YOU JUST EXPRESSED? ARE YOU GOING TO THE UNITED NATIONS FOR AN INVESTIGATION? WHAT'S HAPPENING IN A FOLLOW-UP TO THIS REPORT THAT THEY WERE DESTROYED IN 1990 OR WHENEVER THEY SAID THESE MASS DESTRUCTION

WEAPONS WERE DESTROYED?

MR. BURNS: FIRST, THE UNITED NATIONS HAS THE LEAD IN INVESTIGATING THESE PARTICULAR CHARGES ABOUT WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, AND AGAIN I'D LIKE TO CONGRATULATE MR. EKEUS ON HAVING DONE AN EXCELLENT JOB. WE HAVE GREAT CONFIDENCE IN HIM.

WE'LL HAVE TO SEE WHAT OTHER NATIONS THINK AND WHAT THEY SAY WHEN THE ISSUE OF SANCTIONS COMES UP AGAIN NEXT WEEK AT THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL. OBVIOUSLY, AS YOU ALL KNOW, THERE ARE SOME COUNTRIES WHO BELIEVE THAT IF IRAQ SAYS THE RIGHT THING, THEN PERHAPS IRAQ SHOULD BE LET OFF QUITE EASILY. WE DON'T BELIEVE THAT, AND WE DON'T BELIEVE GIVEN IRAQ'S PAST BEHAVIOR TOWARD ITS NEIGHBORS AND ON THIS PARTICULAR QUESTION, THEY OUGHT TO BE LET OFF WITH JUST A SIMPLE STATEMENT.

THEY OUGHT TO BE HELD TO A VERY STIFF TEST. THAT'S WHAT THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL VOTED ON IN 1991, AND THAT'S WHAT WE STILL BELIEVE.

Q SINCE YOU'RE ON THE MIDDLE EAST MAY I ASK YOU

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Q COULD I JUST FOLLOW UP THAT LAST ONE? WHO SPECIFICALLY ARE THE "SOME COUNTRIES" THAT YOU JUST MENTIONED?

MR. BURNS: I THINK THOSE COUNTRIES HAVE MADE THEIR VIEWS CLEAR IN THE PAST. I DON'T NEED TO GO INTO THEM. IT WILL BE CLEAR NEXT WEEK WHERE COUNTRIES FALL ON THIS ISSUE. WE WILL USE THE INTERVENING TIME, OF COURSE, BETWEEN NOW AND NEXT WEEK TO ADVOCATE WITH OUR FELLOW U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS AND OTHERS WHO HAVE A VOICE IN THIS THAT WHILE IT IS IN ONE SENSE,, IN ONE GENERAL SENSE, POSITIVE THAT THIS STATEMENT HAS BEEN MADE BY BAGHDAD, THEY HAVE A LONG, LONG WAY TO GO, AND WE REMAIN SKEPTICAL, AND WE THINK THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FOR ITS OWN SAKE AND ITS OWN

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INTEREST SHOULD REMAIN SKEPTICAL UNTIL THERE ARE CONCRETE DEEDS THAT ESTABLISH THAT THERE'S BEEN A CHANGE IN ATTITUDE IN BAGHDAD.

Q IF MR. EKEUS AND HIS PEOPLE BECOME SATISFIED THAT IRAQ HAS BECOME IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE DEMAND THAT IT FORSAKE THE EFFORT TO BUILD WEAPONS OF VARIOUS TYPES, DOES THE U.S. STILL THINK THAT IT SHOULD HOLD SANCTIONS AGAINST IRAQ BECAUSE IT HAS NOT ACCOUNTED FOR MISSING KUWAITIS, OR BECAUSE IT'S REPRESSING ITS OWN PEOPLE OR SOME OF THESE OTHER THINGS THAT YOU'VE LISTED? AND DO

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YOU THINK THAT YOU COULD CONVINCE THE OTHER COUNTRIES TO KEEP SANCTIONS ON IRAQ EVEN AFTER MR. EKEUS IS SATISFIED, ASSUMING HE WILL BE?

MR. BURNS: IF THAT OCCURS, DAVID, I THINK THERE

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WILL BE SOME COUNTRIES, I WOULD PREDICT, WHO WOULD PROBABLY WANT TO GO ALONG WITH THE LIFTING OF SANCTIONS. WHAT I HAVE STATED HERE TODAY -- RESTATED -- IS NOTHING NEW. WE'VE SAID FOR FOUR YEARS THAT THE FACT THAT THE IRAQIS HAVE NOT ACCOUNTED FOR SIX TO SEVEN HUNDRED KUWAITIS FROM THEIR ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF KUWAIT IS A VERY SERIOUS MATTER INDEED. AND WE HAVE COMMITTED THE KUWAITI GOVERNMENT THAT WE WILL DO WHAT WE CAN TO HELP IDENTIFY WHAT HAPPENED TO THOSE PEOPLE.

WE'VE SAID THAT THE ISSUE OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION IN ALL OF ITS RAMIFICATIONS IS IMPORTANT TO US. IS IT REASONABLE THAT AFTER FOUR YEARS OF DENYING THAT IT HAD A BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS PROGRAM -- IS IT REASONABLE TO SAY THAT A SIMPLE STATEMENT FROM BAGHDAD SUDDENLY CLEARS UP ALL OF THE DISCUSSION OF THAT ISSUE, ALL OF THE PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH THAT ISSUE. IT'S NOT REASONABLE.

BY MR. EKEUS' OWN ACCOUNT, THERE ARE 17 TONS OF GROWTH MATERIAL THAT WERE PRODUCED IN IRAQ. WHAT HAPPENED TO THAT GROWTH MATERIAL. A LOT OF THESE QUESTIONS HAVE TO BE ANSWERED. AND IN ADDITION, WE CERTAINLY DO NOT APOLOGIZE FOR OUR CONCERN ABOUT IRAQ'S TREATMENT OF ITS SHI'A POPULATION IN THE SOUTH -- ITS BRUTAL TREATMENT OF THAT POPULATION -- AND WE DO NOT
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APOLOGIZE FOR OUR CONCERNS ABOUT IRAQI SUPPORT FOR
TERRORISM MORE BROADLY IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

THESE WERE THE FOUR MAIN AREAS OF CONCERN OUTLINED FOUR YEARS AGO BY THE UNITED STATES AND THEY REMAIN OUR AREAS OF CONCERN TODAY, AND IRAQ HAS TO SPEAK TO ALL OF THESE QUESTIONS.

Q NICK IS IT FAIR TO CONTINUE PUNISHING INNOCENT IRAQI CIVILIANS FOR THE MISDEEDS OF THEIR GOVERNMENT?

MR. BURNS: THERE ARE IN FACT MANY IRAQIS WHO ARE PAYING FOR THE MISDEEDS OF THEIR GOVERNMENT. THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE IT QUITE CLEAR, AS RECENTLY AS THIS

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SPRING,

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THAT WE WOULD BE QUITE OPEN TO VOTING FAVORABLY FOR RESOLUTIONS THAT WOULD ALLOW IRAQ TO SELL A PORTION OF ITS OIL AS LONG AS THE PROCEEDS WENT TO PROVIDING HUMANITARIAN GOODS AND SERVICES -- MEDICAL GOODS, BADLY NEEDED FOOD SUPPLIES -- TO THE IRAQI POPULATION.

THERE WAS A U.N. RESOLUTION WORKED OUT TO THAT EFFECT. THE UNITED STATES SIGNALLED THAT IT WOULD SUPPORT THAT. THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT PULLED THE PLUG ON THAT RESOLUTION AT THE LAST MOMENT. WHAT DOES THAT SAY ABOUT THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT'S INTEREST IN THE HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS OF ITS OWN PEOPLE.

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THAT OFFER REMAINS ON THE TABLE. WE'RE INTERESTED IN SEEING THE PEOPLE ARE WELL FED, THAT THEIR MEDICAL NEEDS ARE BEING ATTENDED TO, BUT IRAQ CHOSE NOT TO GO IN THAT DIRECTION, AND THAT TELLS YOU SOMETHING. IT CERTAINLY TOLD US SOMETHING.

Q WHAT DOES IT TELL YOU?

MR. BURNS: IT TELLS US THAT THEY'RE INTERESTED IN PLAYING GAMES WITH THIS ISSUE. IT TELLS US THAT THEY WEREN'T SERIOUS ABOUT THEIR CLAIMS THAT SOMEHOW THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WAS UNFAIRLY PENALIZING THE IRAQI PEOPLE. WE PROVIDED THROUGH OUR PARTNERS IN THE U.N., A MECHANISM TO HELP IMPROVE THE HUMANITARIAN SITUATION OF THE IRAQI PEOPLE -- OF THOSE PEOPLE WHO IN FACT HAVE PAID THE PRICE FOR THE BEHAVIOR OF THE GOVERNMENT, AND THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT TURNED THAT OFFER DOWN.

SO I WOULD TURN THE TABLES ON THAT CHARGE AND SAY THAT THE REGIME IN BAGHDAD HAD AN OPEN OFFER FROM THE U.N., REFUSED IT AND MUST BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THAT.

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Q NICK, DO YOU THINK THAT THE PRESSURE FOR LIFTING THE SANCTIONS IS SO STRONG THAT THE UNITED STATES MAY BE FORCED TO USE ITS VETO NEXT WEEK?

MR. BURNS: WE'LL JUST HAVE TO SEE CAROL. I THINK THAT A LOT OF PEOPLE ARE GOING TO LISTEN CLOSELY TO WHAT MR. EKEUS SAYS. HE'S A WELL RESPECTED FIGURE. I THINK SOME COUNTRIES WILL HAVE A HIGHER STANDARD THAN OTHERS.

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WE HAVE A VERY HIGH STANDARD. WE FEEL VERY STRONGLY ABOUT THIS ISSUE.

IT HAS A DIRECT IMPACT ON OUR NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS. ANY TIME YOU TALK ABOUT 17 TONS OF BIOLOGICAL GROWTH MATERIAL. MATERIAL THAT, IF IT HAS NOT BEEN DESTROYED, IF IT IS CURRENTLY BEING HIDDEN, COULD POSE A THREAT TO MILLIONS OF PEOPLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND AROUND THE WORLD. YOU'VE GOT TO TAKE THAT THREAT SERIOUSLY, AND WE DO.

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SO I THINK WE'RE IN A SKEPTICAL MOOD. WE NEED TO BE SHOWN THAT THERE HAS INDEED BEEN A CONVERSION OR THERE'S BEEN SOME KIND OF REDEMPTION ON THE PART OF THE IRAQI LEADERSHIP. WE'RE SKEPTICAL.

Q WILL YOU USE YOUR VETO IF NECESSARY?

MR. BURNS: WE WILL DO WHATEVER WE HAVE TO DO TO PROTECT THE FOUR AREAS OF INTEREST THAT WE'VE OUTLINED AND WE'LL JUST HAVE TO SEE HOW THE DEBATE GOES. BUT RIGHT NOW, WE DON'T BELIEVE THAT THERE IS ANY BASIS TO LIFT THOSE SANCTIONS. WE DON'T BELIEVE THAT THERE'S BEEN ANY ACTION TAKEN SO FAR THAT WOULD ARGUE FOR A LIFTING OF THOSE SANCTIONS.

Q YOU'LL DO WHATEVER YOU HAVE TO DO, INCLUDING A VETO.

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MR. BURNS: WE WOULD HOPE TO CONVINCE OUR PARTNERS WHO WILL LOOK AT THIS QUESTION WITH US, THAT IT'S JUST TOO EARLY TO CHANGE OUR POLICY AFTER FOUR LONG YEARS WHERE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS HELD TOGETHER BASED ON A SINGLE STATEMENT.

Q NICK, THE MISSION OF JULY 12, THAT'S THE DATE WHEN THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS SCHEDULED TO VOTE ON THE RESOLUTION WHICH WAS DRAFTED --

MR. BURNS: I DON'T KNOW IF THE VOTE IS SCHEDULED FOR THAT DATE, JIM. BUT I KNOW THAT THE DEBATE WILL BE STARTING ON THAT DAY, YES.

Q NICK, CAN I ASK YOU ABOUT THAT -- THE VETO QUESTION, AND ALL? IS IT THE US.'S EXPECTATION THAT THIS NEED NOT COME TO A VOTE; THAT SOME SORT OF COMPROMISE OR SOME SORT OF ARRANGEMENT CAN BE WORKED OUT WITHOUT FORCING YOU TO CONSIDER USING YOUR VETO, WITHOUT FORCING A COLLISION WITH RUSSIA FRANCE, AND POSSIBLY OTHERS?

MR. BURNS: OUR VIEW IS THAT WE HOPE THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND OUR PARTNERS WILL HAVE A HISTORICAL MEMORY OF WHAT HAPPENED FOUR YEARS AGO IN THE PERSIAN GULF, AND WE'LL HAVE A MEMORY OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED SINCE -- SPECIFICALLY, THE BEHAVIOR OF THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT. SO THEREFORE IT WILL NOT BE NECESSARY FOR THE UNITED STATES TO ACT ALONE.

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WE WOULDN'T EXPECT TO HAVE TO ACT ALONE. WE THINK A NUMBER OF OUR PARTNERS ARE JUST AS SKEPTICAL AS WE ARE.

Q THERE IS A REPORT THAT THE PLO AND ISRAEL WOULD SIGN AN AGREEMENT RELATING TO THE WEST BANK IN WASHINGTON ON

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JULY 24. DO YOU HAVE ANY SPECIFIC DATE, OR ANYTHING LIKE THAT?

MR. BURNS: AS YOU KNOW, BOTH FOREIGN MINISTER PERES AND CHAIRMAN ARAFAT ARE WORKING HARD TOWARDS THEIR OWN DEADLINE OF JULY 25 TO COMPLETE THEIR DISCUSSIONS ABOUT THE MANY COMPLEX ISSUES BEFORE THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT AND THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY CONCERNING THE STATUS OF THE WEST BANK AND REDEPLOYMENT AND THE HAND OVER OF AUTHORITY AND THE OTHER ISSUES.

IF THE PARTIES ARE SUCCESSFUL BY JULY 25, AND IF THEY WISH TO HOLD A CEREMONY TO MARK THEIR SUCCESS IN WASHINGTON, D.C., WE'D VERY MUCH WELCOME THAT. WE'VE MADE THAT CLEAR TO BOTH THE PALESTINIAN LEADERSHIP AND TO THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT.

Q HAVE YOU MADE ANY STATEMENT -- OR I SHOULD SAY, HAS THE STATE DEPARTMENT MADE ANY STATEMENT ON THE REPORT THAT 28 LETTERS ARE IN THE POSSESSION OF A NEW YORK TIMES COLUMNIST DEALING WITH ORDERS FROM ARAFAT'S
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TOP FINANCE AIDE DEALING WITH THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE FINANCES BEING GIVEN -- THE FUNDS BEING GIVEN HIM BY DONORS WHICH RUN CONTRARY TO THE WISHES AND THE ESSENCE OF THE CONTRIBUTORS DONATIONS?

MR. BURNS: THERE WAS SOMETHING IN THE PRESS LAST WEEK ABOUT THIS, ABOUT SOME OF THESE CHARGES. WE HAVE PAID A GREAT DEAL OF ATTENTION TO OUR WORK WITH THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY TO TRY TO MAKE SURE THAT MONEY

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THAT IS GIVEN BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS WELL SPENT, THAT IT CAN ALL BE ACCOUNTED FOR. BOTH THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND USAID HAVE PUT A LOT OF PERSON HOURS INTO THIS PARTICULAR QUESTION.

WE'RE NOT AWARE OF ANY MAJOR PROBLEM THAT WOULD SUBSTANTIATE THE CHARGES CONCERNING THOSE LETTERS.

OBVIOUSLY, IN ANY AID PROGRAM -, AND THIS ONE IS NOT EXCLUDED -- THERE ARE PROBLEMS IN IMPLEMENTATION. SOMETIMES THERE ARE PROBLEMS IN CONCEPTUALIZING WHAT THE RIGHT THING TO DO IS. BUT WE HAVE A MADE DETAILED STUDY OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MONEY GIVEN BY THE UNITED STATES, AND WE'RE NOT AWARE OF ANY PROBLEMS ALONG THE ORDER OF WHAT THAT PARTICULAR REPORT REFERRED TO.

Q YOU SPOKE OF MAJOR PROBLEMS. HAVE THERE BEEN MINOR PROBLEMS THAT SOME PEOPLE WOULD CONSIDER MAJOR PROBLEMS?

MR. BURNS: TEN YEARS AGO I WAS ASSOCIATED WITH THE ASSISTANCE PROGRAM WITH THE PALESTINIANS AND MORE
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RECENTLY WITH THE ASSISTANCE PROGRAM TO RUSSIA AND UKRAINE. I'VE NEVER SEEN AN AID PROGRAM THAT'S PERFECT. ALL AID PROGRAMS SUFFER FROM THE PROBLEMS OF IMPLEMENTATION.

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THIS PARTICULAR ONE THAT'S OPERATING RIGHT NOW IN GAZA AND THE WEST BANK IS NO DIFFERENT, BUT WE HAVE LOOKED INTO THESE PARTICULAR CHARGES AND WE SATISFIED OURSELVES, BOTH THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND USAID, THAT WE DON'T HAVE A MAJOR PROBLEM; THAT BY AND LARGE THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY HAS ACTED IN A GOOD FAITH MANNER IN DISPOSING OF THESE FUNDS. IN FACT, IT HAS BEEN A GOOD PARTNER IN DECIDING WHAT IS THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY THAT THE UNITED STATES CAN HELP THIS PROCESS.

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AS YOU KNOW, WE PLEDGED HALF A BILLION DOLLARS OVER SEVERAL YEARS TO TRY TO HELP THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE TO DEAL WITH THEIR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS. WE HAVE RECENTLY TRIED TO SPEED UP THE IMPLEMENTATION OF A NUMBER OF THOSE PROGRAMS, TO SPEED UP THE DELIVERY OF ASSISTANCE, PARTICULARLY IN GETTING OTHER COUNTRIES TO MAKE GOOD ON COMMITMENTS TO THE HOLST FUND THAT WOULD PAY FOR THE SALARIES OF MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES AND POLICE AUTHORITIES IN BOTH GAZA AND JERICHO. WE'LL CONTINUE THAT EFFORT.

WE THINK THAT ALL COUNTRIES HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO MAKE GOOD ON THE COMMITMENTS THAT THEY HAVE MADE OVER

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THE YEAR IN THE WAKE OF THE VERY DRAMATIC PROGRESS AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE, AND WE'LL CONTINUE THAT EFFORT.

Q THE PROBLEM IS THAT SINCE YOU GIVE A CLEAN BILL OF HEALTH, VIRTUALLY, TO THE PLO ON THE USE OF FUNDS GIVEN BY THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER DONOR COUNTRIES WHY IS IT NECESSARY, THEN, FOR CONGRESS TO ASK FOR AN INVESTIGATION OF THE LETTERS AND THEIR INTENT AND THE USE OF THE MONEY? AND WHY IS THERE SUCH LEGISLATION BEING PROPOSED IN CONGRESS?

LOOK, THERE'S SOMETHING WRONG WITH THIS MATTER OF HOW THESE FUNDS ARE BEING HANDLED. HOW DO YOU ACCOUNT FOR THAT?

MR. BURNS: CONGRESS HAS A RESPONSIBILITY BECAUSE IT ALLOCATES THE FUNDS AND AUTHORIZES THEM TO MAKE SURE THAT THE FUNDS ARE WELL SPENT AS WELL. WE CERTAINLY BELIEVE THAT CONGRESS HAS A RIGHT TO LOOK INTO THE DISPOSITION OF THESE MONIES, BUT I'M NOT AWARE THAT THERE IS ANY SERIOUS PROBLEM.

WE BELIEVE, IN FACT, THAT THINGS ARE GOING RATHER WELL. AND SO I'M NOT A POSITION HERE TO GET INTO A LONG DISCUSSION ABOUT THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE BECAUSE WE DON'T BELIEVE THE PROBLEM IS NEARLY AS GREAT AS THE REPORTS THAT YOU ARE SIGNALING SEEMS TO SAY.

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Q BUT THERE ARE 28 LETTERS THAT THE COLUMNIST WROTE ABOUT. DOES THE STATE DEPARTMENT BELIEVE THOSE LETTERS ARE AUTHENTIC?

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MR. BURNS: I CAN'T SPEAK TO THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE LETTERS. ALL I CAN DO IS SPEAK TO THE APPLICATION OF THE PROGRAMS AND THE WAY THE FUNDS HAVE BEEN DISBURSED, AND WE STAND BY OUR ASSISTANCE PROGRAM WITH THE PALESTINIANS.

BARRY.

Q WHEN DENNIS ROSS GOES TO THE MIDDLE EAST NEXT WEEK, DOES HE WORK THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI ISSUES? OR IS HE MOSTLY DEALING WITH SYRIA AND ISRAEL? AND IF HE WORKS THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI ISSUES, DOES HE GET INTO THE DETAILS? AND IF HE DOES, DOES THAT SIGNIFY NOT ONLY YOU'RE WILLING TO BE THE HOST BUT YOU AGREE WITH WHAT THE ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS ARE DOING?

MR. BURNS: WE CERTAINLY AGREE WITH WHAT THEY'RE DOING. THEY'RE TRYING TO NEGOTIATE A RESOLUTION OF THEIR DIFFERENCES SO THAT THERE CAN BE A TRANSFER OF AUTHORITY IN AT LEAST PART OF THE WEST BANK TO THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY; THERE CAN BE ELECTIONS, AND SO FORTH. WE AGREE WITH THAT PROCESS.

DENNIS ROSS WILL BE TRAVELLING NEXT WEEK TO WORK ON SEVERAL PROBLEMS. ONE WILL BE THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN DISCUSSIONS. WE'VE ALWAYS BEEN AN INTERESTED PARTY TO THOSE DISCUSSIONS. WE'VE ALWAYS TAKEN AN ACTIVE ROLE.

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WE'VE NOT ALWAYS BEEN IN THE ROOM WHILE THE
NEGOTIATIONS HAVE TAKEN PLACE, BUT CERTAINLY HE'LL WANT
TO ADDRESS BOTH WITH CHAIRMAN ARAFAT, WITH PRIME
MINISTER RABIN, AND FOREIGN MINISTER PERES OUR VIEWS ON
HOW THIS PARTICULAR NEGOTIATION CAN BE BROUGHT TO A
SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION.

SECONDLY -- AND BY NO MEANS LESS IMPORTANTLY -- HE
WILL BE FOLLOWING UP ON THE CHIEF OF STAFF TALKS THAT
TOOK PLACE LAST WEEK BETWEEN SYRIA AND ISRAEL. HE'LL BE
TRAVELLING TO DAMASCUS TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT ASSAD AND
ALSO, OF COURSE, HE'LL BE IN ISRAEL TO MEET WITH ALL THE
ISRAELI LEADERSHIP.

WE ARE DIRECTLY INVOLVED AND IN THE ROOM IN THAT SET
OF NEGOTIATIONS, AND WE HAVE PARTICULAR VIEWS ON HOW
THOSE NEGOTIATIONS CAN BEST GO FORWARD, AND HE'LL BE
ASSERTING THOSE VIEWS.

Q CHRISTOPHER WILL KNOW THAT THE
ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN NEGOTIATORS HAVE GONE FAR BEYOND
PRINCIPLES. THEY'RE INTO DISCUSSIONS OF SPECIFIC TOWNS
AND SPECIFIC --

MR. BURNS: THAT'S RIGHT.

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Q I'M JUST TRYING TO SORT OF REPHRASE THE
QUESTION. WILL DENNIS ROSS GET INVOLVED IN THOSE KIND
OF DETAILS? WILL HE SAY, HYPOTHETICALLY, TO THE
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ISRAELIS, "WHY DON'T YOU THROW IN BETHLEHEM NEXT WEEK,"
FOR INSTANCE?

DOES HE MICRO-MANAGE THIS STUFF? I KNOW YOU'RE IN

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FAVOR OF ISRAEL GIVING UP THE WEST BANK AND THE PALESTINIANS ESTABLISHING THEMSELVES THERE. THE QUESTION IS, DOES THE STATE DEPARTMENT GET INTO THE FINE TUNING OF THAT ARRANGEMENT, WHICH NOT ALL ISRAELIS THINK IS THE BEST THING IN THE WORLD OF COURSE?

MR. BURNS: WE'RE AN INTERESTED PARTY. WHEN THE PARTIES ASK US FOR ADVICE, WHEN THEY ASK US TO BE MORE OR LESS ACTIVELY INVOLVED, THEN WE'RE WILLING TO TAKE THOSE WISHES INTO CONSIDERATION.

CERTAINLY, WE HAVE BEEN INVOLVED, ON A VERY DETAILED BASIS, IN BOTH SETS OF NEGOTIATIONS BUT PARTICULARLY THIS ONE AS WELL.

Q MAY I FOLLOW UP ON A QUESTION OF THE MONEY? SOME YEARS AGO THE WORD "FUNGIBILITY" WAS VERY POPULAR IN DISCUSSING FUNDING IN FOREIGN AID. I JUST WONDER IF THE INVESTIGATION -- IF YOUR STATEMENT REGARDING THAT THERE ARE NO MAJOR PROBLEMS DEALING WITH THE MONEY THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS GIVEN TO THE PLO, IT MAY BE THAT THE PLO VERY CHEERFULLY SAYS, "OH, WE'RE NOT USING YOUR MONEY FOR ANYTHING BUT GOOD THINGS; WE MAY BE USING BRITISH MONEY OR SWEDISH MONEY FOR DIFFERENT THINGS THAT PERHAPS YOU ARE NOT INTERESTED IN." WOULD YOU SAY THAT YOUR INVESTIGATION COVERS ALL THE FUNDING GIVEN TO THE PLO, OR ONLY THAT PROVIDED BY THE UNITED STATES?

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MR. BURNS: WE CAN'T BE RESPONSIBLE FOR ENSURING THE IMPLEMENTATION DOWN TO THE LAST LETTER OF EVERY DOLLAR THAT GOES TO THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY FROM ANY SOURCE WORLDWIDE. WE ARE RESPONSIBLE LEGALLY FOR MONEY THAT'S GIVEN BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

WHEN DENNIS ROSS GOES TO THE REGION, HE ALWAYS HAS DISCUSSIONS ON THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE.

I JUST REMIND YOU ABOUT THE SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER'S LAST MEETING WITH CHAIRMAN ARAFAT IN JERICHO JUST A

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COUPLE OF WEEKS AGO. MOST OF THE MEETING WAS NOT CONCERNED BY CONCEPTUAL BREAKTHROUGHS AND PEACE DISCUSSIONS. IT HAD TO DO WITH THE DETAILS OF TRYING TO EXTEND EFFECTIVE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY AND THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. IT'S AN ISSUE THAT NOT MUST MID-LEVEL OFFICIALS, BUT THE SECRETARY AND AMBASSADOR ROSS ARE ENGAGED IN ON A CONSISTENT BASIS WITH THE PALESTINIAN LEADERSHIP. WE TAKE OUR RESPONSIBILITIES VERY SERIOUSLY.

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WE'RE NOT AWARE OF ANY PROBLEM -- ANY MAJOR PROBLEM -- CONCERNING THE APPLICATION OF AMERICAN FUNDS. BUT WE CERTAINLY CAN'T BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR TALKING ABOUT ALL THE FUNDING THAT GOES TO THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY.

I WOULD JUST SAY THAT CHAIRMAN ARAFAT HAS HAD A VERY
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DIFFICULT AND CHALLENGING FIRST YEAR. CONSIDER ALL THE PROBLEMS HE FACED WHEN HE RETURNED TO GAZA AND JERICHO. WE THINK THAT THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY HAS BROUGHT A GREAT DEAL OF SERIOUSNESS, CREDIBILITY, AND GOOD FAITH EFFORT TO THE QUESTION OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE SPECIFICALLY OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF MONTHS AND WE HOPE THAT EFFORT CONTINUES.

MAYBE THIS CAN BE JUST THE LAST QUESTION ON THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE.

Q ALRIGHT. JUST ONE MORE QUESTION. THE GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTER -- I HAVE ANOTHER QUESTION ON THE MONEY. BUT THE GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTER WAS IN DAMASCUS YESTERDAY, AS I SEE THE REPORT TO DISCUSS THE PEACE PROCESS WITH SYRIA. I JUST WONDER, WHERE DOES GERMANY COME IN ON A PEACE PROCESS WITH SYRIA AND ISRAEL AND THE REST OF IT?

MR. BURNS: THE EUROPEAN UNION HAS BEEN A PARTNER IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS; A PARTNER TO THE UNITED STATES,

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CERTAINLY, AND TO ALL THE PARTIES ALL ALONG THE WAY. THE EUROPEAN UNION HAS ALSO BEEN A VERY GENEROUS PROVIDER OF FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO THE PARTIES. SO THEREFORE WE FULLY SUPPORT THE EFFORTS BY GERMANY, BY MINISTER KINKEL, AND BY THE EUROPEAN UNION AS A WHOLE, TO BE INVOLVED IN THIS PROCESS. WE WANT THEM TO BE INVOLVED. THEY'RE A POSITIVE FORCE.

Q NICK, ASKING THE QUESTION IN A DIFFERENT WAY,
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THERE ARE REPORTS THAT THE PRICE TAG FOR ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM THE GOLAN HEIGHTS WILL BE THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL ADVANCE OR GIVE ISRAEL \$2.7 BILLION. DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENTS ON THESE REPORTS?

MR. BURNS: NO, I DON'T HAVE ANY COMMENT BECAUSE THERE ARE ALL SORTS OF STORIES ABOUT WHAT THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE IN THE EVENT OF A SETTLEMENT ON THE GOLAN AND BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SYRIA. THERE'S JUST NO WAY OF KNOWING RIGHT NOW WHAT ALL THE RAMIFICATIONS WILL BE AND HOW THE UNITED STATES WILL BE AFFECTED.

BUT WE ARE CLEAR ABOUT ONE THING. WE WANT THIS PROCESS TO SUCCEED. WE THINK THAT BOTH COUNTRIES HAVE MADE A STRATEGIC CHOICE FOR PEACE. WE'RE WILLING TO WORK WITH THEM VERY CLOSELY TO MAKE THAT HAPPEN IN 1995.

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Q NICK, THERE'S A REPORT THIS MORNING THAT ISRAEL HAD BEGUN ANOTHER SETTLEMENT, I BELIEVE A COUPLE OF MILES OUTSIDE JERUSALEM. DON'T HOLD ME TO THAT. I'M NOT SURE. IS THAT SOMETHING AMBASSADOR ROSS IS EXPECTED TO RAISE WITH THE PRIME MINISTER? WILL HE RAISE IT, AND WHAT WILL HE SAY? WHAT DO YOU ALL THINK ABOUT IT?

MR. BURNS: I BELIEVE THERE IS A REPORT OF A NEW SETTLEMENT NEAR RAMALLAH, INSIDE THE WEST BANK. I DON'T THINK I NEED TO RESTATE OUR POSITION ON SETTLEMENTS. IT'S BETTER KNOWN TO THIS GROUP THAN IT IS TO MANY OF US

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IN GOVERNMENT.

OBSOLETE, SUCH ACTIVITY COMPLICATES THE
NEGOTIATIONS. WE'VE MADE THAT CLEAR. WE'LL CONTINUE TO
MAKE THAT CLEAR.

THIS IS A QUESTION, HOWEVER, THAT THE PARTIES HAVE

AGREED UNDER THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES TO DISCUSS.
WE'RE SURE THAT AS PART OF THE PERMANENT STATUS
NEGOTIATIONS, THIS ISSUE WILL BE DISCUSSED INTENSIVELY
BY THE PARTIES.

Q A FOLLOW UP. THE SETTLERS ARE SAYING THAT THEY
WERE GIVEN PERMISSION BY THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT. IS IT
THE U.S. OPINION, IF YOU HAVE ONE ON AN INTERNAL MATTER
LIKE THAT, THAT THAT PERMISSION LIVES THROUGH INTO THE
NEXT ADMINISTRATION, OF THE RABIN ADMINISTRATION?

MR. BURNS: THAT'S A QUESTION FOR THE ISRAELI
GOVERNMENT AND THE ISRAELI CITIZENS TO WORK OUT.

Q BUT THIS GOVERNMENT HAD PROMISED THAT IT WOULD
STOP SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY. REALISTICALLY SPEAKING CAN
THIS PROCESS WAIT FOR FINAL STATUS NEGOTIATIONS IF, IN
THE INTERIM, THESE SETTLEMENTS ARE GOING TO EXPAND
EXPONENTIALLY?

MR. BURNS: SETTLEMENTS HAVE BEEN A COMPLICATED
FACTOR SINCE 1967-68. THEY'VE ALWAYS BEEN PART OF THE
DIFFICULTY OF NEGOTIATING PEACE IN THE AREA.

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FORTUNATELY, AND JUST RECENTLY THE PARTIES HAVE DECIDED THAT THERE'S A WAY TO DISCUSS THIS PROBLEM AND THERE'S A PLACE FOR THIS DISCUSSION, AND THEY WILL DISCUSS IT DIRECTLY BETWEEN THEMSELVES. WE THINK THAT'S THE PROPER PLACE TO PUT THIS DISCUSSION. WE SUPPORT THE PARTIES IN THAT EFFORT. OUR OWN VIEWS ARE WELL KNOWN.

Q SO EVEN THOUGH YOU THINK IT COMPLICATES THE PROCESS, THE UNITED STATES IS NOT WILLING OR PREPARED AT THIS TIME TO MAKE ANY MORE MUSCULAR STATEMENTS TO THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT ABOUT THE NEED TO REIN THIS KIND OF ACTIVITY IN?

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MR. BURNS: I THINK OUR VIEWS ARE WELL KNOWN. THERE IS A PLACE FOR THESE DISCUSSIONS. BOTH SIDES WILL HEAR FROM US ON OUR VIEWS ON THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE. BUT I THINK IT'S BEST LEFT TO THE PARTIES TO MAKE EXTENSIVE PUBLIC COMMENTS ABOUT THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE.

Q NICK THE LIKUD IS MAKING SOME MUSCULAR STATEMENTS OF ITS OWN, SORT OF TOUGHENING ITS WARNINGS THAT IT WILL NOT BE BOUND BY ANY AGREEMENT REACHED

BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY. IS THE U.S. CONCERNED ABOUT THAT?

MR. BURNS: THAT'S ANOTHER QUESTION FOR ISRAELIS TO DISCUSS. WE CAN ONLY DEAL WITH ONE GOVERNMENT AT A TIME. WE HAVE A GOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PRESENT
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GOVERNMENT.

THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT HAS CONSISTENTLY APPLIED ITSELF SERIOUSLY TO THE QUESTION OF PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT HAS OUR ADMIRATION -- OUR STRONG ADMIRATION -- FOR ITS EFFORTS. BUT WE CERTAINLY WOULDN'T WANT TO DISCUSS OR SPECULATE ON WHAT IS CLEARLY AN INTERNAL ISRAELI DEBATE.

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Q BUT YOU WOULD WIND UP (INAUDIBLE) -- YOU WOULD EXPECT THIS AGREEMENT TO LAST MORE THAN A YEAR?

MR. BURNS: WHENEVER AGREEMENTS ARE MADE -- INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS ARE MADE -- WHEN TREATIES ARE SIGNED, WHEN HEADS OF STATE AND LEADERS PUT THEIR SIGNATURES TO TREATY, ONE ASSUMES, AS A BASIC RULE OF DIPLOMACY, THAT THE COMMITMENT LASTS, THAT IT ENDURES. THAT CERTAINLY HAS BEEN THE CASE OF THE UNITED STATES, IN OUR OWN DEALINGS WITH ISRAEL, WITH EGYPT, WITH THE PALESTINIANS, AND OTHERS IN THE AREA.

Q (INAUDIBLE) OF THE FUNDS FOR BUILDING THIS NEW SETTLEMENT. DOES THIS GO BACK TO THE \$10 BILLION LOAN GUARANTEES THAT THE UNITED STATES GAVE TO ISRAEL, AND THIS MONEY COULD BE USED -- BECAUSE THERE WERE STIPULATIONS OR CONDITIONS THAT NO SETTLEMENTS WOULD BE BUILT BEYOND THE SETTLEMENTS WHICH WERE IN THE PLAN WHEN THEY GAVE THE LOAN GUARANTEES AT THAT TIME? IS THIS A MATTER THAT NEEDS TO BE EMPHASIZED, OR SOMETHING?

MR. BURNS: I THINK IT'S ONLY FAIR TO LET THE
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ISRAELI GOVERNMENT AND THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY AND OTHERS SPEAK TO THIS ISSUE. IT JUST SURFACED IN THE PRESS OVER THE LAST 24 HOURS. AT LEAST, THAT'S WHEN I'VE SEEN IT. I CERTAINLY DON'T WANT TO GET AHEAD OF THE PARTIES IN COMMENTING BEYOND WHAT I'VE ALREADY SAID ON THIS ISSUE.

IT'S ONLY FAIR TO GIVE THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT A CHANCE TO SPEAK TO THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE, AND I'M SURE THE

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PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY WILL HAVE ITS OWN VIEWS TO EXPRESS PUBLICLY.

I'VE EXPRESSED OUR VIEWS. SETTLEMENTS ARE A

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COMPLICATING FACTOR. THERE'S A PLACE FOR SETTLEMENTS TO BE DISCUSSED UNDER THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, A VERY SPECIFIC PLACE. THE PARTIES HAVE AGREED TO THAT. I'M SURE THEY'LL DISCUSS THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE.

Q BUT MY SPECIFIC QUESTION GOES TO THE CONDITIONS FOR THE \$10 BILLION LOAN THAT THE UNITED STATES GAVE ISRAEL, AND ABOUT THE CIRCUMSTANCES -- IF THESE FUNDS WILL BE SPENT ON THE MATTER OF THIS NEW SETTLEMENT NEXT TO RAMALLAH?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T BELIEVE IT'S RELEVANT IN THIS. OUR VIEW IS QUITE STRONG. THIS IS A COMPLICATING FACTOR.

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Q IF THERE WERE TO BE A NEW SETTLEMENT NEW RAMALLAH, WOULD THAT BE IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE PLEDGE MADE BY FOREIGN MINISTER PERES TO SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER HERE IN FEBRUARY?

MR. BURNS: AS I NEGOTIATE MY WAY THROUGH THESE LAND MINES, I THINK IT'S BEST JUST TO GO BACK TO MY PREVIOUS STATEMENT. THAT IS TO SAY, IT IS ONLY FAIR TO GIVE THE ISRAELI LEADERSHIP A CHANCE TO SPEAK TO THIS BEFORE WE SPEAK EXTENSIVELY. THEY ARE WELL AWARE OF OUR POSITION ON SETTLEMENTS. WE'VE MADE THAT POSITION PUBLIC TODAY AS WELL AS MANY, MANY TIMES IN THE PAST. WE'VE MADE IT CONTINUALLY CLEAR PRIVATELY AS WELL AND I'M JUST GOING TO LIMIT MYSELF TO WHAT I'VE ALREADY SAID.

Q CAN WE CHANGE DIRECTIONS -- TO HARRY WU'S TRAVAILS AND THE CHINESE LATEST --

MR. BURNS: ANYTHING ELSE ON THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS BEFORE WE GO TO CHINA?

Q DO YOU KNOW THE DATES FOR DENNIS ROSS' TRIP?

MR. BURNS: UNFORTUNATELY, IT'S BEEN OUR PRACTICE NOT TO GIVE OUT THE DATES OF HIS PARTICULAR TRAVELS.

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Q MR. PERES SAID THAT ALL THE STATEMENTS OF THE SYRIANS AND ALL OF THEIR DECLARATIONS ARE NOT -- LIP

SERVICE REGARDING PEACE FOR ISRAEL. CAN YOU COMMENT?
DO YOU HAVE ANY ASSESSMENT OR EVALUATION OF SUCH A
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STATEMENT?

MR. BURNS: NO. IF I SPENT ALL MY TIME ASSESSING OR
EVALUATING STATEMENTS FROM THE MIDDLE EAST THEN WE
WOULDN'T HAVE ANYTHING ELSE TO DO. SO I THINK I'LL JUST
LEAVE THAT ONE WHERE IT IS.

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Q THE CHINESE ARE SAYING THAT NO AGREEMENT WAS
BROKEN ON THE HARRY WU CASE AND COMPLAINING THAT IN THE
PAST AND IN AT LEAST TWO INCIDENTS WHERE CHINESE MET
UNTIMELY ENDS IN THE U.S., THE U.S. DIDN'T NOTIFY THEM
-- SOMEBODY IN PHILADELPHIA AND SOMEBODY IN BROOKLYN
PERHAPS YOU'RE FAMILIAR WITH THE EXAMPLES. IS THERE ANY
BASIS FOR THAT TYPE OF ACCUSATION?

MR. BURNS: THERE'S NO BASIS FOR THAT PARTICULAR
ACCUSATION. LET ME JUST QUOTE FROM THE CONSULAR
AGREEMENT THAT'S AT ISSUE HERE: "THE UNITED STATES --
THE PARTIES -- SHALL NOT BE REFUSED ACCESS AFTER TWO
DAYS FROM THE DATE OF THE REQUEST." THAT IS DIRECT,
SPECIFIC LANGUAGE FROM THE U.S.-CHINA CONSULAR
CONVENTION.

THE LANGUAGE IS VERY CLEAR. WE MADE A REQUEST FOR
ACCESS A WEEK AGO MONDAY. IT IS NOW THURSDAY. ACCESS
SHOULD HAVE BEEN GIVEN BY THIS SPECIFIC LANGUAGE --
"SHALL NOT BE REFUSED ACCESS AFTER TWO DAYS FROM THE DAY
OF THE REQUEST." THEY ARE NOW OVERDUE. THEY ARE EIGHT
DAYS OVERDUE. THERE CAN BE NO IF'S, ANDS, OR BUTS ABOUT
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IT. THERE CAN BE NO EQUIVOCATING, THERE CAN BE NO
CONFUSION, THERE CAN BE NO DIFFERENT INTERPRETATION.
THEY'RE OVERDUE. THEY HAVE A CLEAR INTERNATIONAL
LEGAL RESPONSIBILITY TO GIVE US ACCESS.

ON THE SECOND QUESTION, BARRY. WE DID NOTE -- AS
PART OF THE BRIEFING AT THE CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY
TODAY -- THE CHINESE CHARGED THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD
BEEN NEGLIGENT IN MARCH OF THIS YEAR AND IN THE WINTER
OF 1994 IN NOT GIVING CHINA CONSULAR ACCESS IN THE CASES
OF TWO YOUNG CHINESE WHO WERE APPARENTLY SHOT AND KILLED
-- ONE IN PHILADELPHIA AND ONE IN NEW YORK.

WE HAVE HEARD ABOUT THESE CASES FOR THE FIRST TIME

TODAY FROM THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT. WE ARE LOOKING IN --
"WE," IN THE DEPARTMENT AND OTHERS IN THE GOVERNMENT --
LOOKING INTO BOTH CASES TO SEE IF WE HAVE RECORDS OF
THESE INCIDENTS. IF WE DO, WE'LL BE GLAD TO TALK ABOUT
THEM.

BUT LET'S TAKE A STEP BACK. IT IS ONE THING TO TALK
ABOUT TWO YOUNG MEN WHO WERE KILLED -- THE PERTINENT
QUESTION REALLY IS ARRANGEMENTS, UNFORTUNATELY, FOR A
FUNERAL OR THE DISPOSITION OF THE REMAINS. IT'S QUITE
ANOTHER TO TALK ABOUT AN AMERICAN CITIZEN, AN AMERICAN
PASSPORT-HOLDER WHO CROSSED THE BORDER ON JUNE 19, WHO
WAS DETAINED WITHOUT CHARGE, AND WHO HAS NOT BEEN
ALLOWED TO SEE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE AMERICAN
GOVERNMENT IN DIRECT VIOLATION OF OUR CONSULAR
CONVENTION.

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THESE TWO SITUATIONS THAT HAVE BEEN POSITED THIS
MORNING BY THE CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY SPOKESMAN ARE

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NOT AT

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ALL ANALOGOUS. IT IS NOT A PERTINENT COMPARISON FOR THE CHINESE SPOKESMAN TO MAKE, AND WE DON'T ACCEPT THE VALIDITY THAT SOMEHOW WE'VE BEEN GUILTY OF TRANSGRESSIONS IN THE PAST.

THE POINT IS, BOTH GOVERNMENTS HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO HONOR THIS AGREEMENT. IF WE ENCOUNTER SITUATIONS WHERE CHINESE CITIZENS ARE ARRESTED OR DETAINED IN THE UNITED STATES, WE WILL HONOR THE CONSULAR CONVENTION. WE BELIEVE WE HAVE HONORED THE CONSULAR CONVENTION IN THE PAST. WE ARE NOT AWARE OF ANY VIOLATIONS BY THE UNITED STATES OF THIS CONVENTION IN THE PAST.

BUT IT IS TIME TO STOP PLAYING A GAME OF WORDS IT'S TIME TO STOP THE RHETORICAL WARS THAT HAVE BEEN GOING ON NOW FOR A COUPLE OF DAYS ON THIS ISSUE.

LET'S BRING IT DOWN TO THE SIMPLE, ELEMENTAL, PERTINENT FACTS. THESE ARE THAT HARRY WU OUGHT TO BE RELEASED. IN THE MEANTIME, BEFORE HIS RELEASE, THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT OUGHT TO BE APPRISED OF HIS WHEREABOUTS AND HIS CONDITION AND BE GIVEN PERSONAL ACCESS TO HIM.

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WE CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS TODAY IN BEIJING TO SEEK HIGH-LEVEL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT ON THE ISSUE OF HARRY WU. OUR CHARGE, SCOTT HALLFORD, IS SEEKING HIGH-LEVEL APPOINTMENTS WITH HIS CHINESE COLLEAGUES. WE VERY MUCH HOPE THAT THOSE APPOINTMENTS WILL BE FORTHCOMING.

Q IT'S THE THIRD DAY HE'S BEEN TRYING TO DO THAT. DO THEY NOT RESPOND, OR DO THEY GIVE YOU SOME INADEQUATE RESPONSE?

MR. BURNS: ACTUALLY, YESTERDAY, ON JULY 5, MR.

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HALLFORD HAD A DISCUSSION WITH THE VICE FOREIGN MINISTER OF CHINA, MR. LIU HUA QIU, AND HAD A CONVERSATION ABOUT HARRY WU. THAT'S WAS JUST 24 HOURS AGO. HE IS SEEKING ADDITIONAL DISCUSSIONS BECAUSE WE'RE GOING TO RAISE THIS ISSUE EVERY DAY. WE'RE GOING TO RAISE IT EVERY DAY BECAUSE IT'S IMPORTANT THAT WE ADHERE TO OUR OWN RESPONSIBILITIES TO AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.

I THINK ALL OF YOU, OR MOST OF YOU, WHO ARE AMERICAN CITIZENS WOULD WANT SIMILAR TREATMENT IF YOU WERE IN SUCH A SITUATION IN FOREIGN COUNTRY. IT'S OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO TRY TO HELP MR. WU. WE'RE GOING TO CONTINUE THAT.

Q NICK, IN THE STATEMENT IN BEIJING THIS MORNING, THE CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY SPOKESMAN SEEM TO SAY "WHAT ARE YOU BOTHERING US WITH THIS FOR; HE'S IN THE HANDS OF THE SECURITY PEOPLE, AND WE'RE NOT THEM." IS THERE ANY EFFORT BEING MADE BY THE U.S. TO CONTACT THE
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SECURITY BUREAU?

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MR. BURNS: WE ARE MAKING EFFORTS TO CONTACT ALL RELEVANT OFFICIALS.

WE, AS DIPLOMATS -- AMERICAN DIPLOMATS, CHINESE DIPLOMATS -- HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO BE ON THE FRONTLINES OF A RELATIONSHIP. IT IS NORMAL DIPLOMATIC PROCESS, WHEN THERE IS A PROBLEM BETWEEN COUNTRIES FOR THE FOREIGN MINISTERIES TO DISCUSS THOSE PROBLEMS. THAT IS CERTAINLY THE CASE WHEN IT COMES TO CITIZENSHIP AND CITIZEN PROBLEMS. WHEN AN AMERICAN CITIZEN OR A CHINESE CITIZEN IS IN TROUBLE, YOU GO TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY, OR YOU COME TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

IT IS NOT UNUSUAL FOR US TO ADDRESS THESE CONCERNS TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. HAVING SAID THAT WE ARE QUITE WELL AWARE THAT IT MAY VERY WELL BE THE CASE THAT MR. WU WAS ACTUALLY DETAINED AND MAY NOW BE IN THE CUSTODY OF A

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DIFFERENT AGENCY, A DIFFERENT BRANCH OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT -- PARTICULARLY SOME SECURITY OFFICIALS. IT MAY BE THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY NEEDS TO TALK TO THOSE MINISTERIES -- THE CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY -- ABOUT MR. WU'S CASE. THAT IS ALSO A NORMAL, STANDARD PROCEDURE. NOTHING UNUSUAL HERE. WE'RE NOT MAKING ONEROUS DEMANDS. WE'RE MAKING VERY SIMPLE REQUESTS.

Q NICK, IS THERE ANY THOUGHT BEING GIVEN TO SOME SORT OF OTHER APPROACH -- SENDING SOME KIND OF
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NON-GOVERNMENTAL ENVOY TO BEIJING; PASSING A MESSAGE THROUGH THE GERMANS? APPARENTLY, JIANG ZEMIN IS ABOUT TO MAKE SORT OF EUROPEAN TOUR. ANYTHING LIKE THAT?

MR. BURNS: CAROL, WE ADDRESSED THIS QUESTION YESTERDAY. I'LL BE GLAD TO GO INTO IT AGAIN TODAY. WE'RE GOING TO BE WILLING TO CONSIDER ANY MEASURE THAT WOULD ALLOW US TO SEE MR. WU AND TO CONVINCING THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT TO RELEASE HIM SO THAT HE CAN COME BACK TO HIS FAMILY AND THE UNITED STATES.

HOWEVER, HAVING SAID THAT, THE BASIS OF OUR EFFORTS, THE THRUST OF OUR EFFORTS, HAS TO BE TO CONVINCING THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT THAT WHEN WE HAVE PROBLEMS, WE NEED TO HAVE DIRECT CONTACT ON THOSE PROBLEMS. WE NEED TO HAVE MEETINGS. WE NEED TO HAVE DISCUSSIONS. THAT'S WHERE THE BASIS OF OUR EFFORTS IS GOING TO LIE.

Q HAVE YOU BEEN ABLE TO SET UP A SPECIFIC MEETING WITH THE CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER WHEN THE SECRETARY IS IN BRUNEI?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T BELIEVE THERE IS SUCH A SPECIFIC MEETING SCHEDULED.

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Q IS THAT BECAUSE THE CHINESE ARE BALKING AT IT, OR A MONTH BEFOREHAND IS NOT SOON ENOUGH TO DO THIS?

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MR. BURNS: WE'RE QUITE A WAYS AWAY FROM THE BRUNEI
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MEETINGS; JUST UNDER A MONTH AWAY.

I BELIEVE THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT WILL BE IN ATTENDANCE AT THE ASEAN MEETINGS. I BELIEVE THE FOREIGN MINISTER INTENDS TO COME, AND, OF COURSE, WE WOULD LOOK FORWARD TO ANY OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS ALL THE ISSUES IN THE U.S.-CHINA AGENDA WITH FOREIGN MINISTER QIAN.

THE SECRETARY HAS FOUND THAT IN THE PAST HE'S BEEN A VERY GOOD AND RESPONSIBLE INTERLOCUTOR. THE RELATIONSHIP IS IMPORTANT ENOUGH TO WARRANT IT, BUT I DON'T BELIEVE THERE'S ANYTHING ON THE SCHEDULE YET.

Q THE CHINESE ARE SORT OF HAVING THEIR WAY WITH AN AMERICAN CITIZEN THERE. THEY'RE LEAVING OUR DCM HANGING OUT ON THE LINE; THEY'RE CHERRY-PICKING WHO THEY'LL SEE AND WHO THEY WON'T; THEY WON'T SEE PETER TARNOFF; THEY'LL BE HAPPY TO WELCOME RON BROWN.

ARE THE CHINESE DICTATING THE TERMS OF THE RELATIONSHIP AT THIS POINT?

MR. BURNS: NO, THEY'RE CERTAINLY NOT. BECAUSE ANY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COUNTRIES ONE THAT IS GOING TO BE SUCCESSFUL -- AND THIS ONE MUST BE SUCCESSFUL IN THE NEXT COUPLE OF YEARS, INTO THE NEXT CENTURY -- HAS GOT TO BE BASED ON THE EFFORTS OF BOTH COUNTRIES.

THE CHINESE HAVE TAKEN A NUMBER OF STEPS TO EXPRESS THEIR DISPLEASURE OVER THE ISSUANCE OF A VISA FOR AN UNOFFICIAL VISIT TO CORNELL UNIVERSITY. THERE MAY BE
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OTHER REASONS FOR CHINESE BEHAVIOR. BUT THE CHINESE
HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO WORK WITH US TO BUILD A GOOD
RELATIONSHIP.

THEY'RE NOT DICTATING THE TERMS. IN FACT, WE HAVE
MADE IT VERY CLEAR OVER THE PAST COUPLE OF DAYS THAT WE
CAN'T IMAGINE GOING FORWARD TO HAVE GOOD RELATIONS
WITHOUT THIS ELEMENTARY CASE BEING BROUGHT FORWARD TO A
MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY CONCLUSION IN THE CASE OF MR. WU.
WE'RE GOING TO TALK ABOUT THIS CASE EVERY DAY.

SO I THINK IT'S CLEAR THAT WHILE CHINA PERHAPS HAS
SOME ISSUES THAT IT WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS FURTHER WITH
THE UNITED STATES, WE HAVE ISSUES FOR THEM. WE ARE NOW
DISCUSSING THOSE ISSUES PUBLICLY AS WELL AS PRIVATELY.

Q NICK, DOES THIS APPARENT STAND-OFF BETWEEN THE
FOREIGN MINISTRY AND THE SECURITY MINISTRIES TELL YOU
ALL ANYTHING ABOUT SUCCESSION IN CHINA?

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MR. BURNS: I DON'T KNOW IF IT DOES. IT'S PROBABLY
HARD TO MAKE A COHERENT ANALYSIS OF THAT QUESTION BASED
ON THE ISSUE OF AN AMERICAN CITIZEN WHO SHOWED UP AT A
BORDER ON THE WRONG DAY AT THE WRONG TIME, APPARENTLY.
I THINK WE WOULD SEPARATE THE TWO.

Q HOW WOULD YOU EQUATE THE ARREST AND
IMPRISONMENT OF BARLOON AND DALIBERTI AND MR. WU IN
TERMS OF MOTIVATIONS AND STYLE OF BEHAVIOR OF THE TWO
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COUNTRIES?

MR. BURNS: WE CERTAINLY EXPECT FROM THE CHINESE
LEADERSHIP STABILITY AND CERTAINTY AND REASON IN OUR
DEALINGS. WE HOPE THAT ALL THREE OF THOSE
CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTRIBUTES WOULD BE BROUGHT TO THIS
PARTICULAR QUESTION, AND WE'RE CONFIDENT WE'LL BE ABLE

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TO WORK THIS QUESTION OUT.

THE IRAQI LEADERSHIP IS A DIFFERENT SCENE ALL TOGETHER. IT'S HARDER TO FATHOM WHAT MOTIVATES THEM IT'S HARDER TO UNDERSTAND THEIR ACTIONS. THEY HAVE ACTED IN AN ENTIRELY UNREASONABLE WAY, UNCIVILIZED WAY, TOWARDS MR. DALIBERTI AND MR. BARLOON. THEY'VE BEEN CRITICIZED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY -- BY EVERYBODY -- FOR WHAT THEY'VE DONE TO THOSE TWO MEN WHO QUITE INNOCENTLY FOUND THEMSELVES, AGAIN, THE VICTIM OF IRAQI BRUTALITY.

I WOULD SAY THAT WE LOOK AT THEM QUITE DIFFERENTLY. OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH CHINA IS FUNDAMENTALLY IMPORTANT TO THE UNITED STATES. WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO MAKE PROGRESS WITH THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT QUITE RECENTLY -- AS RECENTLY AS APRIL -- ON A NUMBER OF VERY IMPORTANT ISSUES SUCH AS THE NORTH KOREA ACCORD. WE'RE GOING TO CONTINUE THAT EFFORT.

THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT HAS A MUCH FURTHER WAY TO GO TO CONVINCE US THAT, INDEED, WE CAN BELIEVE IN REDEMPTION.

Q NICK, ALSO ON CHINA. WITH THE WORST IN
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HINDSIGHT, DO YOU THINK NOW IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN A MISTAKE TO HAVE LEFT THE BEIJING EMBASSY WITHOUT THE EXPERIENCE AND CLOUT OF AN AMBASSADOR?

MR. BURNS: THAT'S REALLY A QUESTION THAT CAN'T BE ANSWERED. AMBASSADOR ROY HAD BEEN EXTENDED -- STAPE ROY -- FOR AN ADDITIONAL YEAR. HE SERVED FOUR YEARS. THE NORMAL TERM OF AN AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IS THREE.

I THINK THAT THE PROBLEMS THAT HAVE CHARACTERIZED U.S.-CHINESE RELATIONS OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF MONTHS WOULD PROBABLY HAVE LEFT US IN THE SAME POSITION HAD THERE BEEN AN AMBASSADOR OR NOT BEEN AN AMBASSADOR.

LET ME JUST SAY, WE HAVE GREAT CONFIDENCE IN SCOTT HALLFORD AND HIS STAFF. FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS OFTEN

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FIND

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THEMSELVES IN THE POSITION OF BEING IN CHARGE AS CHARGE D'AFFAIRES OF AN EMBASSY, WHEN AN AMBASSADOR HAS LEFT. HE HAS DONE A VERY, VERY FINE JOB OVER THE PAST COUPLE OF WEEKS IN VERY DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES.

I DON'T KNOW THAT THE PRESENCE OF ANY AMBASSADOR WOULD HAVE MADE AN APPRECIABLE DIFFERENCE. THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT HAS MADE A DECISION THAT THEY'RE NOT -- AT LEAST UP UNTIL NOW THAT THEY'RE GOING TO PLAY A VERY UNUSUAL AND UNORTHODOX GAME ON THE ISSUE OF HARRY WU AND I THINK THAT GAME PROBABLY WOULD HAVE BEEN PLAYED

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OUT. IT'S NOW TIME FOR THE GAME TO END. IT'S TIME FOR CHINA TO MEET ITS INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS.

Q NICK, WHAT ARE THE CONSEQUENCES --

Q YOU'VE BEEN SAYING (INAUDIBLE) THAT YOU WILL RAISE THE ISSUE WITH CHINA EVERY DAY. IS THERE A TIME LIMIT SET FOR THIS? I MEAN, HOW LONG ARE YOU GOING TO WAIT?

MR. BURNS: WE'RE GOING TO TAKE IT DAY BY DAY. WE'RE GOING TO USE DIPLOMACY. WE'RE GOING TO USE REASON, AND I THINK THE MUTUAL INTERESTS THAT CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE IN PUTTING THIS ISSUE BEHIND US. THIS ISSUE CANNOT BLOCK THE PROGRESS THAT THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA MUST MAKE IN OUR POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP, ON ECONOMIC AND TRADE ISSUES, ON OUR SECURITY RELATIONSHIP, ON OUR DISCUSSION OF HOW TO MAKE THE PACIFIC AN AREA OF STABILITY IN THE 21ST CENTURY.

THESE ARE THE VITAL ISSUES BEFORE THE U.S. AND CHINA. ONCE THE HARRY WU SITUATION IS RESOLVED, WE CAN GET ONTO THIS. WE CAN HAVE HIGH-LEVEL MEETINGS. THE OFFER OF THE UNITED STATES TO HAVE SUCH A MEETING IS ON THE TABLE. WE ARE READY, WILLING TO TALK WHENEVER THE

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CHINESE ARE READY.

Q DO YOU HAVE ANY VISA REQUESTS FROM SENIOR
TAIWANESE OFFICIALS FOR THE JULY 26 PARTIES THAT
SENATORS DOLE AND SIMON ARE HAVING ON THE BIRTHDAY OF
CHAING KAI-SHEK AND MADAME CHAING IS GOING TO BE THERE?

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(LAUGHTER)

MR. BURNS: I WASN'T AWARE OF THE PARTY. I'M NOT
AWARE OF ANY VISA REQUESTS AS WELL.

Q (INAUDIBLE)

MR. BURNS: I'LL BE GLAD TO TAKE IT, DAVID.

Q (INAUDIBLE) BOTH THE ISRAEL AND PLO AGREEMENT
AND THE CHIANG KAI-SHEK BIRTHDAY PARTY? (LAUGHTER) I
MEAN, WHAT --

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Q ON THE SUBJECT OF AMERICANS MISSING AND
DETAINED, IS THERE ANYTHING NEW ON FRED CUNY IN THE LAST
FEW WEEKS? WE HAVEN'T ASKED OR WE HAVEN'T BEEN TOLD IF
THERE IS ANYTHING.

MR. BURNS: VICE PRESIDENT GORE MET WITH FRED CUNY'S
BROTHER IN MOSCOW LATE LAST WEEK. HE HAD A LONG
DISCUSSION WITH HIM OVER OUR EFFORTS TO FIND FRED CUNY
AND FREE HIM. THE ADMINISTRATION HAS SENT A TWO-PERSON
FBI TEAM TO MOSCOW. THAT TEAM HAS BEEN IN MOSCOW SINCE
LAST WEEK. IT'S WORKING WITH THE RUSSIAN SECURITY
AGENCIES AND INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES TO PLOT A STRATEGY TO
TRY TO METHODICALLY WORK THROUGH ALL THE DIFFERENT LEADS
THAT HAVE COME IN TO US AND THAT THE RUSSIANS AND TO THE
INGUSH AND THE CHECHEN LEADERSHIP OVER THE LAST COUPLE
OF MONTHS.

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THE FBI TEAM WILL THEN WORK VERY CLOSELY WITH THE RUSSIANS AND THE INGUSH AND OTHERS TO TRY TO FOLLOW UP ON THE LEADS. WE HAVE, OF COURSE, THE RIGHT AND WE HAVE THE INCLINATION TO SEND AMERICAN EMBASSY OFFICIALS TO

INGUSHETIA, TO DAGESTAN, TO CHECHNYA WHENEVER WE THINK THERE'S A CREDIBLE LEAD.

UNFORTUNATELY, WE ARE LEFT IN THE VERY, VERY FRUSTRATING POSITION OF STILL NOT KNOWING NOW, GOING ON FOUR MONTHS, WHAT HAPPENED TO FRED CUNY. THERE ARE NO CREDIBLE LEADS THAT WOULD ALLOW ME TO TELL YOU WE'RE HOPEFUL. WE CERTAINLY ARE PUZZLED BY THE LACK OF CREDIBLE INFORMATION. WE'RE PUZZLED BY THE FACT THAT NO GROUP HAS CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY.

WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT HE'S ALIVE. HE'S A GREAT AMERICAN, AND MANY OF US KNOW HIM PERSONALLY. HE'S DONE FIRST-RATE HUMANITARIAN WORK OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF YEARS IN RUSSIA AND ALL AROUND THE WORLD. AND I THINK THAT A LOT OF PEOPLE IN THIS GOVERNMENT, BEGINNING WITH THE VICE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, STROBE TALBOTT, WHO KNEW HIM BRING A PERSONAL SENSE OF MISSION TO THIS EFFORT TO FIND HIM. BUT THERE'S NOTHING GOOD THAT WE CAN SAY RIGHT NOW -- NOTHING POSITIVE.

Q NICK, THERE ARE MORE MISSING AMERICANS. TWO HAVE BEEN KIDNAPPED APPARENTLY IN KASHMIR. DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ON THAT?

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MR. BURNS: YES. WE'RE AWARE THAT TWO AMERICANS AND TWO CITIZENS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM HAVE BEEN TAKEN

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CAPTIVE IN KASHMIR IN THE VICINITY OF SRINAGAR. THIS HAS BEEN A DANGEROUS AREA IN THE PAST. THERE IS NOT A PRIVACY ACT WAIVER IN EFFECT THAT WOULD ALLOW ME TO RELEASE THE NAMES OF THE TWO INDIVIDUALS. WE ARE FOLLOWING UP VERY CLOSELY WITH THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES TO TRY TO DO WHAT WE CAN TO HAVE THESE PEOPLE RELEASED.

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I BELIEVE THAT THERE HAS BEEN A GOVERNMENT -- EXCUSE ME -- A MOVEMENT THAT HAS TAKEN CREDIT FOR THIS. WE DON'T KNOW MUCH ABOUT THIS PARTICULAR GROUP, AND WE'RE CERTAINLY GOING TO DO WHATEVER WE CAN TO WORK WITH THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT TO BRING THIS MATTER TO A PLEASANT CONCLUSION, MEANING THE RELEASE OF THE TWO AMERICANS AND THE TWO BRITS.

THE PREVIOUSLY UNKNOWN GROUP CALLS ITSELF THE J.K. AL-FARAN GROUP -- F-A-R-A-N. IT HAS APPARENTLY CLAIMED

RESPONSIBILITY, BUT I DON'T HAVE ANY FURTHER INFORMATION FOR YOU ON THIS CASE.

Q CAN WE DO CUBA?

MR. BURNS: CERTAINLY.

Q DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ON A POSSIBLE EASING OF
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TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS TO CUBA?

MR. BURNS: THE ADMINISTRATION CONTINUES TO REVIEW A NUMBER OF POSSIBLE STEPS THAT MIGHT ENHANCE OUR ABILITY TO INCREASE COMMUNICATIONS WITH AND PROVIDE SUPPORT FOR THOSE GROUPS IN CUBA WHO ARE WORKING FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE, BECAUSE WE THINK THAT DEMOCRATIC CHANGE IS WHAT HAS GOT TO TAKE PLACE IN CUBA.

NO FINAL DECISIONS HAVE BEEN MADE ON WHETHER ANY CHANGES WILL BE MADE TO PRESENT POLICY OR IF CHANGES ARE

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MADE, WHICH MEASURES COULD POSSIBLY BE IMPLEMENTED AS PART OF A CHANGE.

I WOULD JUST REMIND YOU THAT ANY STEPS THAT WILL BE TAKEN WITH US WILL BE FULLY CONSISTENT WITH THE CUBAN DEMOCRACY ACT, WITH ITS MAJOR PROVISIONS, WHICH ARE, FIRST, AN EMBARGO AGAINST CUBA. WE INTEND TO MAINTAIN THE EMBARGO AGAINST CUBA.

AND, SECOND, THE EFFORT THAT BOTH REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS -- PEOPLE IN CONGRESS AND PEOPLE IN THE ADMINISTRATION -- BELIEVE MUST TAKE PLACE, AND THAT IS EFFORTS TO SUPPORT THOSE GROUPS THAT WANT A DIFFERENT KIND OF FUTURE FOR CUBA AFTER 35, 36 YEARS OF DICTATORSHIP. THEY WANT DEMOCRACY. THEY WANT CHANGE. THEY WANT ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FREEDOM.

IF THOSE GROUPS ARE WILLING TO WORK WITH US, WE'RE WILLING TO WORK WITH THEM. IF THERE ARE WAYS THAT WE CAN EXPAND OUR CONTACTS WITH THEM, WE'LL CONSIDER THAT.

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BUT WE'VE NOT MADE ANY DECISIONS.

Q HOW ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF GIVING AMERICAN NEWS ORGANIZATIONS PERMISSION TO OPEN BUREAUS IN CUBA?

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MR. BURNS: THAT COULD BE ONE OF THE STEPS THAT WE

WOULD TAKE IF WE DECIDED TO MODIFY OUR POLICY, TO EXPAND THE POLICY. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NEWS BUREAUS HAS BEEN SOMETHING THAT WE'VE TALKED TO, I THINK, MEMBERS OF THE MEDIA ABOUT AND ALSO TALKED CERTAINLY EXTENSIVELY IN THE GOVERNMENT ABOUT, BUT WE HAVE NOT DECIDED YET TO DO THAT. IT'S JUST ONE OF THE POSSIBLE STEPS THAT COULD BE TAKEN.

Q WHY WOULD YOU HOLD BACK ON SOMETHING AS OBVIOUS AS THAT?

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MR. BURNS: IT'S A COMPLICATED ISSUE. IT'S COMPLICATED IN THE UNITED STATES. WE CERTAINLY HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO CONSULT WITH CONGRESS BECAUSE THE POSITIVE THING ABOUT OUR POLICY TO CUBA -- AND THERE ARE MANY POSITIVE THINGS -- IS THAT THE CUBAN DEMOCRACY ACT HAS BEEN SUPPORTED ON A BIPARTISAN BASIS BY BOTH THE ADMINISTRATION -- THIS AND THE LAST ADMINISTRATION -- AND BY THE CONGRESS, AND SO WE CERTAINLY WANT TO TALK TO THE CONGRESS, TALK TO LEADING MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, WHO HAVE A STAKE IN THIS ISSUE, AS WELL AS INTERESTED PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES, INCLUDING THE

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CUBAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY.

Q BOSNIA?

MR. BURNS: BOSNIA.

Q ON CUBA --

MR. BURNS: MORE ON CUBA?

Q I JUST WANT TO ASK YOU, YOU SAID YOU'RE CONSIDERING REVIEWING A NUMBER OF CHANGES. ASIDE FROM NEWS BUREAUS, WHAT OTHER CHANGES ARE YOU CONSIDERING? I DON'T KNOW IF YOU CAN GIVE US A COUPLE OF OTHER EXAMPLES.

MR. BURNS: I REALLY DON'T, BECAUSE THAT WOULD JUST PROBABLY FUEL THE FIRE FROM THIS MORNING'S NEWSPAPER ARTICLE. I THINK WE WANT TO BE A LITTLE CIRCUMSPECT ABOUT THIS. WE'RE THINKING ABOUT A NUMBER OF STEPS. WE'RE REVIEWING THIS, BUT WE HAVEN'T MADE ANY DECISIONS YET, AND I THINK I'LL JUST LEAVE IT THERE. IF WE DO DECIDE TO EXTEND THE POLICY OR AMPLIFY IT OR MODIFY IT, WHATEVER, THEN WE'LL BE ABLE TO TALK ABOUT IT AT THAT TIME.

STILL ON CUBA?

Q OUT OF CUBA.

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MR. BURNS: OUT OF CUBA. I THINK WE HAD A BOSNIA
QUESTION HERE. I'LL BE GLAD TO GO TO YOU AFTER THAT
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Q CARL BILDt, I GUESS, AFTER TALKING IN BELGRADE,
SAID THAT NEGOTIATIONS, OF COURSE, REMAIN THE KEY TO
SOLVING THE PROBLEMS IN BOSNIA, BUT THAT HE DIDN'T SEE
ANY LIKELIHOOD OF SUCCESS AT THE MOMENT.

GIVEN THAT RATHER DIRE ASSESSMENT BY HIM AND OTHERS
-- PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN IN BELGRADE -- DOESN'T IT MAKE
THE RAPID REACTION FORCE LOOK EVER MORE LIKE A RAPID
PULLOUT FORCE, BECAUSE IF NEGOTIATIONS GO NOWHERE, HOW
LONG CAN, IN OTHER WORDS, UNPROFOR STAY THERE DOING WHAT
IT'S DOING, AND WOULDN'T THE RAPID REACTION FORCE JUST
BE TURNING INTO A MEANS OF PULLING UNPROFOR OUT?

MR. BURNS: THE MAJOR COUNTRIES BEHIND THE RAPID
REACTION FORCE -- FRANCE, THE UNITED KINGDOM, THE
NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM -- HAVE ALL SAID THAT THIS IS
NOT A FORCE THAT IS PRIMARILY DESIGNED TO FACILITATE THE
ULTIMATE WITHDRAWAL OF UNPROFOR. THEY HAVE ALL SAID AND
MADE CLEAR TO US FOR A GOOD MONTH NOW THAT THE PURPOSE
OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE IS TO STRENGTHEN UNPROFOR.
ALL OF THEM SAY THAT THEY WANT UNPROFOR TO STAY IN THE
FIELD. BOUTROS-GHALI, THE SECRETARY GENERAL, REITERATED
THAT YESTERDAY, AS DID PRESIDENT CHIRAC, IN GENEVA.

WE TAKE, OF COURSE, THESE GOVERNMENTS AT THEIR WORD,
AND WE ARE WORKING WITH THEM -- THE ADMINISTRATION IS
WORKING WITH THEM TO SEE HOW WE CAN SUPPORT THE RAPID
REACTION FORCE. I WOULDN'T GIVE UP ON THE NEGOTIATIONS

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YET. THEY'RE FRUSTRATING NEGOTIATIONS. THEY HAVEN'T
BORNE THE FRUIT THAT WE THOUGHT THEY MIGHT. WE THOUGHT
WE MIGHT HAVE MADE FROGRESS EARLIER WITH MR. MILOSEVIC.

I THINK MR. BILDT HAS NOW HAD A TASTE OF JUST HOW
DIFFICULT IT IS TO WORK WITH SOME OF THE PARTIES IN THE
AREA. WE HAVE GREAT CONFIDENCE IN HIM. SECRETARY
CHRISTOPHER HAD A GOOD CONVERSATION WITH MR. BILDT
YESTERDAY, WHO PHONED IN FROM MOSTAR. DICK HOLBROOKE
HAS BEEN IN TOUCH I THINK FOUR OR FIVE TIMES OVER THE
LAST COUPLE OF DAYS WITH MR. BILDT.

WE THINK HE'S DOING A FINE JOB. WE THINK THAT WE
ARE ON THE SAME WAVELENGTH IN GENERAL ABOUT WHAT SHOULD
BE DONE. WE CERTAINLY DON'T WANT TO GIVE UP ON
NEGOTIATIONS. THE EFFORT AGAIN IS TO KEEP UNPROFOR IN
PLAY SO IT CAN SERVE ITS HUMANITARIAN MISSION, AS WELL
AS SERVE, WE HOPE, THE LARGER MISSION AND PERHAPS MORE
IMMEDIATE MISSION OF PROTECTING THE ENCLAVES.

THAT, OF COURSE, DEPENDS ON THE ACTIONS OF THE RAPID
REACTION FORCE, WHICH IS NOW JUST, WE THINK, NEARING A
CRITICAL MASS IN ITS OWN DEPLOYMENT IN THE FIELD, AND IT
MAY BE THAT WE DON'T KNOW THE ANSWER TO THE ULTIMATE
MANDATE OF

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THE RAPID REACTION FORCE UNTIL THEY ARE OPERATIONAL --
FULLY OPERATIONAL.

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Q ANY PLANS FOR FRASURE TO GO BACK ANY TIME
SOON? ANY NEW DIPLOMATIC OVERTURES FROM ANYONE IN THE
WORKS?

MR. BURNS: THE CONTACT GROUF REMAINS ACTIVE. THERE
WAS A MEETING JUST LAST WEEK. I THINK THERE WILL

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PROBABLY BE ANOTHER MEETING SOON WHEN MR. BILDT
COMPLETES HIS CURRENT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS IN THE FIELD.

WE HAVE NO PLANS TO SEND AMBASSADOR FRASURE. RIGHT
NOW WE THINK THAT IT'S BEST FOR MR. BILDT -- FORMER
PRIME MINISTER BILDT -- TO TAKE THE LEAD IN THESE
NEGOTIATIONS. HE HAS OUR CONFIDENCE. WE'LL SEE WHAT
CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED. WHEN HE CONCLUDES THIS ROUND I'M
SURE WE'LL GET AN ASSESSMENT FROM HIM OVER WHAT THE NEXT
STEPS SHOULD BE, AND WE'LL BE GLAD TO LISTEN TO THAT.

CAROL.

Q WHY IS THE SECRETARY MEETING WITH SACIRBEY
TODAY?

MR. BURNS: THE SECRETARY IS GOING TO MEET WITH THE
BOSNIAN FOREIGN MINISTER BECAUSE THEY HAD PLEDGED TO
EACH OTHER THAT THEY WOULD KEEP IN CLOSE CONTACT. THERE
WAS A MEETING TEN DAYS AGO HERE IN THE DEPARTMENT. THEY
MEET TODAY AT FIVE O'CLOCK. MR. SACIRBEY HAS BEEN UP AT
THE U.N. HE SPOKE YESTERDAY TO THE QUESTION OF

SANCTIONS RELIEF.

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WE ARE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN THE VIEWS OF THE
BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT ON THE ROLE OF THE RAPID REACTION
FORCE, ON THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND IN BOSNIA --
SPECIFICALLY IN SARAJEVO AND IN A NUMBER OF THE
EMBATTLED CITIES. WE'D LIKE TO HAVE MR. SACIRBEY'S
VIEWS ON THE DIPLOMATIC STRATEGY THAT SHOULD NOW BE
EMPLOYED TO TRY TO REACH ULTIMATELY SOME DAY IN THE
FUTURE A RESOLUTION OF ALL THESE ISSUES. HE'S AN
IMPORTANT PERSON TO KEEP IN CONTACT WITH.

I SHOULD ALSO SAY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, HAVING
WORKED WITH HIM CLOSELY, NOW THAT THEY'RE COLLEAGUES
HAS A GREAT DEAL OF RESPECT FOR HIM LIKES HIM VERY
MUCH. THEY HAD A VERY GOOD MEETING THE LAST TIME THE
MINISTER WAS HERE AND ARE LOOKING FORWARD TO THAT AGAIN

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TODAY.

Q IS FRANCE SENDING TROOPS IN FOR THE RAPID -- YOU TALK ABOUT THESE FOUR COUNTRIES AND THEIR FIRM COMMITMENT TO A RAPID REACTION FORCE OR A RESPONSE FORCE, NOT TO A PULLOUT FORCE. IS FRANCE ABOUT TO SEND TROOPS IN TO SHOW ITS COMMITMENT TO THIS PRINCIPLE?

MR. BURNS: I UNDERSTAND THAT ALL OF THE --

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Q (INAUDIBLE) BUT I DON'T KNOW THAT --

MR. BURNS: I UNDERSTOOD THAT ALL OF THE COUNTRIES WERE CONTRIBUTING TROOPS TO THE PARTICULAR FORCE. I
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DON'T KNOW, BARRY, IF THERE'S A QUESTION OF DEFINITION HERE -- WHETHER THERE ARE TROOPS THAT ARE BEING DEPLOYED FROM ONE UNIT IN UNPROFOR TO ANOTHER OR WHETHER WE'RE TALKING ABOUT NEW TROOPS, BUT FRANCE IS CERTAINLY CONTRIBUTING FORCES, TROOPS, TO THIS EFFORT, AS WELL AS EQUIPMENT.

TO GIVE FRANCE ITS DUE, WE'VE WORKED WELL WITH FRANCE. FRANCE HAS BEEN THE LEADER -- AMONG THE LEADERS, CERTAINLY -- BUT I WOULD SAY IN MANY RESPECTS A DIPLOMATIC LEADER IN TRYING TO GET THIS EFFORT GOING. THAT WAS TRUE AT NOORDWIJK. MINISTER DE CHARETTE WAS THE CHAIR OF THE MEETING AT NOORDWIJK. THAT WAS THE CRUCIAL MEETING, AND PRESIDENT CHIRAC HAS SHOWN GOOD

LEADERSHIP ON THIS ISSUE AS WELL.

Q WELL, NOT TO BE ARGUMENTATIVE THAT THE FRENCH ARE ALSO THE LEADERS -- IN THE VIEW THAT IF THIS DOESN'T GET DONE BY, YOU KNOW, THE FALL, PERHAPS -- LET'S NOT BE THERE ANOTHER WINTER, LET'S PULL OUT --

MR. BURNS: THAT'S SOMETHING THAT THE FRENCH WILL HAVE TO SPEAK TO. IT'S NOT OUR IMPRESSION OF CURRENT

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FRENCH POLICY.

Q (INAUDIBLE)

MR. BURNS: IT'S STILL ON BOSNIA?

DAVID.

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Q STILL ON THE RAPID REACTION FORCE. BY WHAT YARDSTICK SHOULD ITS SUCCESS OR FAILURE BE MEASURED IN YOUR VIEW, AND AT WHAT POINT ARE YOU GOING TO HAVE TO START CONSIDERING FUNDING FOR A SECOND SIX MONTHS?

MR. BURNS: THE ANSWER TO THE SECOND QUESTION, I THINK WE'LL HAVE TO START THINKING OF FUNDING FOR THE SECOND SIX MONTHS FAIRLY SHORTLY, AT THE END OF THIS SUMMER -- AUGUST, I WOULD THINK, SEPTEMBER.

IN ANSWER TO THE FIRST QUESTION, THE RAPID REACTION FORCE, IN OUR VIEW, CANNOT BE MORE OF THE SAME. IT CANNOT BE THE RULES OF THE ROAD AND THE POSTURE THAT RESULTED IN ALL THE PROBLEMS OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF MONTHS IN UNPROFOR'S INABILITY TO MEET ITS RESPONSIBILITIES. WE BELIEVE THAT THE VALUE OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE IS THAT IT WILL STRENGTHEN UNPROFOR -- STRENGTHEN UNPROFOR'S ABILITY

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TO DEFEND THE MANDATE THAT IT HAS BEEN GIVEN TO DELIVER HUMANITARIAN AID AND PROTECT ENCLAVES.

THE U.N. CAN'T DO THAT RIGHT NOW, AND SO WE HOPE THE RAPID REACTION FORCE WILL MAKE A POSITIVE DIFFERENCE AND A SUBSTANTIAL DIFFERENCE. THAT'S OUR VERY CLEAR VIEW OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE.

Q AND ARE YOU SATISFIED THAT MR. AKASHI WILL NOT
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BE ABLE TO STOP IT FROM RAPIDLY REACTING, IF NECESSARY?

MR. BURNS: I THINK WE'VE MADE CLEAR OUR VIEW AS TO WHAT THE FORCE SHOULD BE. WE'VE MADE CLEAR OUR DIFFERENCE OF OPINION WITH MR. AKASHI ABOUT WHAT THE FORCE SHOULD BE, AND OUR DIFFERENCE OF OPINION WITH HIM ON SENDING A LETTER TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS IN ATTEMPTING TO DEFINE THE MANDATE OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE.

THERE ARE LOTS OF DIFFERENT VIEWS FLOATING AROUND, AND WE HAVE ONE, MR. AKASHI HAS ANOTHER. I THINK THAT IT WILL PROBABLY STAY IN THOSE RESPECTIVE POSITIONS.

Q TWO WEEKS AGO YOU WERE USING THE WORD "EFFECTIVE" TO DESCRIBE YOUR ASPIRATIONS FOR THE RAPID REACTION FORCE, AND NOW YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT STRENGTHENING IT. I THINK THERE'S A BIG DIFFERENCE BETWEEN STRENGTHENING IT AND BEING EFFECTIVE. YOU COULD ADD TWO PEOPLE TO STRENGTHEN IT, BUT THAT WOULDN'T NECESSARILY MAKE IT EFFECTIVE. HOW COME YOU'VE DROPPED THE WORD "EFFECTIVE," OR AM I READING TOO MUCH INTO THIS?

MR. BURNS: THANK YOU FOR REMINDING ME OF THAT, BECAUSE I THINK MAYBE THIS IS A USEFUL SERVICE HERE. NO, WHAT WE MEAN BY "STRENGTHENING,, GEORGE, IS EFFECTIVE, MEANING THE ABILITY TO DELIVER FOOD TO 1.5 MILLION TO 2 MILLION PEOPLE, WHICH IS NOT NOW HAPPENING. A FEW CONVOYS ARE GETTING THROUGH, MAINLY BECAUSE OF THE COURAGE OF SOME FRENCH SOLDIERS AND THE COURAGE OF THE COMMANDERS ON THE GROUND.

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BUT NOT ENOUGH FOOD IS GETTING THROUGH. THERE ARE NOW SOME REPORTS OF STARVATION IN SREBRENICA. THERE WERE TWO REPORTS OF STARVATION OF A YOUNG CHILD AND AN ELDERLY MAN IN BIHAC. THIS IS EXTREMELY SERIOUS. AND WE CONGRATULATE GENERAL SMITH AND SOME OF THE PEOPLE WHO WORK FOR HIM AND SOME OF THE VERY COURAGEOUS FRENCH SOLDIERS WHO HAVE GONE BY NIGHT NOW OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF NIGHTS TO DELIVER FOOD CONVOYS TO SARAJEVO AND OTHER CITIES.

IT CLEARLY ISN'T ENOUGH. THE CITIES CLEARLY NEED MORE SUPPORT, AND SO YOU'RE RIGHT. THE RELEVANT WORD HERE -- WHAT WE MEAN BY "STRENGTHENING" IS THAT THE U.N. FORCE WILL BECOME MORE EFFECTIVE IN CARRYING OUT THE DUTIES WHICH

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IT HAS BEEN ASSIGNED, AND THAT I THINK IS -- TO GET BACK TO DAVID'S QUESTION -- THE CRUCIAL YARDSTICK HERE BY WHICH WE WOULD ATTEMPT TO MEASURE THE RAPID REACTION FORCE.

WE HAVE A QUESTION BACK HERE THAT HAS BEEN WAITING TO BE ASKED.

Q YES. THIS REGARDS NIGERIA -- AND BRITAIN IS ALREADY REACTING TO IT. THERE ARE REPORTS THAT THE FORMER PRESIDENT OF NIGERIA HAS BEEN SECRETLY SENTENCED TO 25 YEARS PRISON, AND 15 OTHERS WHO WERE SUPPORTING
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HIM ALLEGEDLY TO OVERTHROW THE GOVERNMENT ARE BEING SENTENCED TO DEATH.

WHAT DOES THE U.S. KNOW ABOUT THIS, AND WHAT IS IT DOING ABOUT IT?

MR. BURNS: THE UNITED STATES REMAINS DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE WHEREABOUTS AND SAFETY OF THE FORMER NIGERIAN PRESIDENT, A WELL RESPECTED INTERNATIONAL FIGURE, GENERAL OLUSEGUN OBASANJO. IN THE ABSENCE OF

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PUBLICLY STATED CHARGES, THERE ARE RUMORS THAT HE IS BEING TRIED IN CAMERA BY A MILITARY TRIBUNAL FOR PARTICIPATION IN AN ALLEGED MARCH COUP PLOT.

IF SPECIFIC CHARGES HAVE INDEED BEEN BROUGHT, THEY SHOULD BE MADE PUBLIC, AND THEY SHOULD BE FOLLOWED BY AN OPEN AND PUBLIC TRIAL. THE UNITED STATES IS CONCERNED ABOUT THE SECRET TRIAL NOW UNDERWAY FOR 23 ALLEGED COUP PLOTTERS AND URGES THE GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA TO PROVIDE DUE PROCESS, INCLUDING FAIR, OPEN PUBLIC TRIALS FOR ALL PERSONS DETAINED.

THERE WAS AN ARREST JUST A COUPLE OF DAYS AGO OF MR. GANI FAWEHINMI AT HIS LAW CHAMBERS ON THE EVENING OF JULY 3. HIS ARREST HAS BEEN CONFIRMED BY THE ORGANIZING DIRECTOR OF HIS NATIONAL CONSCIENCE PARTY, AND NO CHARGES HAVE BEEN FILED AGAINST HIM BUT HE IS IN CUSTODY. WE TAKE THIS CASE VERY SERIOUSLY AS WELL

WE HAVE A PROBLEM HERE AND THE PROBLEM IS THAT THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT IS UNWILLING TO MEET A BASIC
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INTERNATIONAL STANDARD OF FREE AND FAIR TRIAL, AND A NUMBER OF THESE PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN ARRESTED AND DETAINED ARE RESPONSIBLE PEOPLE. THEY'RE PEOPLE WHO HAVE THE CONFIDENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND

WE CALL UPON THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT TO RELEASE THEM.

Q NICK, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WAS IN TOUCH WITH THE U.S. REGARDING THIS ALLEGED SENTENCING OF OBASANJO.

MR. BURNS: EXCUSE ME?

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Q HAS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT GOT IN TOUCH WITH THE U.S., BECAUSE IT IS ALREADY GETTING IN TOUCH WITH THE COMMONWEALTH AND EUROPEAN PARTNERS REGARDING THE ALLEGED REPORT ABOUT THE SENTENCING OF OBASANJO?

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MR. BURNS: I'D HAVE TO CHECK ON THAT. WE HAVE VERY CLOSE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE BRITISH ABOUT NIGERIA AN ONGOING DISCUSSION WITH THEM. I JUST DON'T KNOW IF IN FACT WE HAD A PARTICULAR DISCUSSION ON THIS ISSUE.

ONE MORE QUESTION ON ASIA HERE, AND THEN WE'LL CALL IT A DAY PERHAPS.

Q (INAUDIBLE) WAS REPORTING VARIOUS SCENARIOS FOR NORMALIZATION WITH VIETNAM THIS MORNING, AND I WONDERED IF YOU COULD TELL US ANYTHING ABOUT THAT.

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MR. BURNS: I CAN TELL YOU THAT THE QUESTION OF NORMALIZATION OF U.S. RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM HAS LONG BEEN AN ISSUE. IT IS SOMETHING THAT THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE HAVE PLEDGED TO LOOK INTO. IT WILL BE BASED ON VIETNAM'S COMMITMENT TO WORKING WITH US IN A RESPONSIBLE WAY TO GIVE A FULL, OPEN ACCOUNTING OF THE REMAINS OF OUR MIAS AND POWS AND OF THE STATUS OF OUR MIAS AND POWS.

WE ARE NOW LOOKING AT INFORMATION GIVEN TO US BY THE VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENT AFTER THE LAST TRIP BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE WIN LORD. WE'RE ASSESSING THAT INFORMATION. THIS IS NOW A QUESTION THAT I THINK WILL SHORTLY BE BEFORE THE PRESIDENT, AND WE'LL JUST HAVE TO WAIT AND SEE WHAT KIND OF DECISION THE PRESIDENT MAKES ON THIS ISSUE.

Q JUST ONE MORE QUICK ONE. MR. VATANA A THAI -- POLITICIAN IN THAILAND, A MEMBER OF THE NEW RULING COALITION, AND THE NATIONAL POLICE CHIEF OF THAILAND HAVE CALLED UPON THE UNITED STATES TO MAKE PUBLIC ITS

CHARGES AGAINST MR. VATANA, WHY HE WAS DENIED A U.S. VISA. THE POLICE CHIEF SAID THEY INVESTIGATED -- WHAT DO YOU CALL IT, ALL THAI POLITICIANS -- AND FOUND NO EVIDENCE OF COLLUSION WITH NARCOTICS TRAFFICKERS. DO YOU CARE TO COMMENT?

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MR. BURNS: I SPOKE RATHER EXTENSIVELY TO THIS QUESTION YESTERDAY. I SPOKE TO IT MONDAY. I SAID I THINK I'VE EXPRESSED THE VIEWS OF OUR GOVERNMENT ON THIS
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ISSUE. I'M NOT SURE IT WOULD BE HELPFUL FOR ME TO EXPAND UPON THOSE COMMENTS TODAY.

Q WELL, WHY ARE YOU NOT -- WHY WILL YOU NOT PROVIDE THIS MAN WHO YOU'RE ESSENTIALLY CHARGING WITH AN OFFENSE, A GRAVE OFFENSE, AN INTERNATIONAL OFFENSE WHICH IS LIKELY TO MAKE HIM A PARIAH IN HIS OWN COUNTRY AND AROUND

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THE WORLD -- IS ALREADY A PARIAH IN THE UNITED STATES -- WHY ARE YOU REFUSING TO MAKE THOSE CHARGES PUBLIC?

MR. BURNS: WE'VE MADE A DECISION ON A VISA APPLICATION, AND WE DON'T NORMALLY MAKE THOSE DECISIONS PUBLIC, NOR DO WE NORMALLY SHARE THAT INFORMATION WITH PEOPLE OUTSIDE THAT PROCESS. I THINK IT'S PRETTY WELL KNOWN NOW WHAT OUR POSITION IS ON THIS GENERAL ISSUE. THIS IS JUST A SUBSET OF A BIGGER ISSUE, AND I JUST PREFER TO STAND BY MY COMMENTS YESTERDAY.

Q WELL, YOU KNOW, OF COURSE, THAT HE IS -- AS A RESULT OF THAT DECISION, HE'S BARRED FOREVER FROM ENTERING THE UNITED STATES.

MR. BURNS: CONSULAR OFFICERS HAVE A LEGAL RESPONSIBILITY TO ASSESS THE VALIDITY OF AN APPLICATION FOR A VISA, AND I DON'T WANT TO BE IN A POSITION TO SECOND-GUESS A DECISION MADE BY A CONSULAR OFFICER, AND WE'RE SIMPLY GOING TO HAVE TO STAND BY THE DECISION THAT
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WAS MADE IN THAT PARTICULAR CASE FOR THAT VISA.

Q (INAUDIBLE)

MR. BURNS: I DON'T KNOW SPECIFICALLY WHEN IT WAS
MADE.

Q COULD YOU TAKE THAT QUESTION PLEASE?

MR. BURNS: WE'LL CERTAINLY LOOK INTO IT.

Q THANK YOU.

MR. BURNS: THANK YOU. CHRISTOPHER

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OPRC

SUBJECT: EUR DAILY PRESS GUIDANCE - JULY 20, 1995

PARIS ALSO FOR USOECD, ROME ALSO FOR VATICAN, USVIENNA FOR USDEL
CSCE

1. THE FOLLOWING PRESS GUIDANCE WAS PREPARED AND APPROVED BY THE BUREAU OF EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING. QUESTIONS SHOULD BE REFERRED TO ARIC SCHWAN, EUR PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

2. BOSNIA: CALL FOR ACCESS TO ZEP

THE UNITED STATES IS DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE WELL-BEING OF THE PEOPLE OF ZEP, WHICH IS REPORTED TO HAVE FALLEN TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS. WE CALL FOR IMMEDIATE ACCESS TO THE AREA BY HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS (ICRC) AND THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES (UNHCR) TO ENSURE A NEUTRAL AND FULL ACCOUNTING OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION. THEIR EVACUATION MUST BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW AND BE MONITORED BY

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NEUTRAL OBSERVERS. WE REMIND THE BOSNIAN SERB AUTHORITIES OF THEIR OBLIGATIONS TO PROTECT CIVILIANS IN THEIR JURISDICTION AND TO ALLOW ACCESS TO ALL DETAINEES, CIVILIAN OR MILITARY. WE ALSO HOLD THE BOSNIAN SERB LEADERSHIP ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE ACTIONS OF THEIR TROOPS. THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR ATROCITIES WILL BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE BEFORE THE WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL.

3. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA BALKAN POLICY POINTS

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- WE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE FATE OF THE CITIZENS OF ZEPA AS WELL AS THE REMAINING DETAINEES IN SREBRENICA (SREH-BREH-NEET-SAH) GIVEN THE PERSISTENT REPORTS OF ATROCITIES. WE DEMAND THAT INTERNATIONAL MONITORS BE GRANTED ACCESS TO ALL REFUGEES AND P.O.W.'S.

 - THE KEY QUESTION IN OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH ALLIES IS HOW BEST TO DETER BOSNIAN SERB ATTACKS AND ATROCITIES. WE ARE DISCUSSING SEVERAL POSSIBLE RESPONSES, IN ORDER TO ENSURE THAT THE INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE HAS THE BEST CHANCE OF SUCCEEDING MILITARILY, IMPROVING THE HUMANITARIAN SITUATION, AND PAVING THE WAY FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON A DURABLE SETTLEMENT.

 - THE REPORTED DIFFERENCES AMONG ALLIED VIEWS ARE ABOUT WHAT WOULD WORK BEST MILITARILY, NOT ABOUT THE NEED FOR A RESOLUTE AND MEANINGFUL RESPONSE. SINCE THESE DISCUSSIONS ARE
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CURRENTLY UNDERWAY IN PREPARATION FOR THE MEETING IN LONDON TOMORROW, I CANNOT COMMENT ON THE DETAILS.

4. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA SITUATION UPDATE

- Q: ZEPA UPDATE?
- A: -- THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT CONCEDED THE FALL OF THE ZEPA (ZEH-PAH) ENCLAVE EARLY THIS MORNING. THE BOSNIAN SERBS CLAIM THAT CIVILIAN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ENCLAVE SURRENDERED ZEPA TO BOSNIAN SERB ARMY OFFICIALS YESTERDAY EVENING.
- THE UN REPORTS THE UKRANIAN PEACEKEEPERS IN THE AREA ARE ASSISTING IN THE EVACUATION OF

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ABOUT 30 WOUNDED TO SARAJEVO. THE EVACUATION OF THE ELDERLY, WOMEN AND CHILDREN BEGAN THIS MORNING.

- UNHCR AND INTERNATIONAL AID ORGANIZATIONS ARE REPORTEDLY EN ROUTE TO ZEPA TO ASSIST THE EVACUATION OF THE ENCLAVE.
 - HOWEVER, THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY HAS NOT YET SAID WHETHER IT WILL PERMIT INTERNATIONAL MONITORS TO ENTER THE ENCLAVE. WE FIND THIS REPREHENSIBLE IN LIGHT OF THE REPORTS OF
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ATROCITIES LAST WEEK IN SREBRENICA.

- THE REFUGEES WILL BE TAKEN TO THE TOWN OF KLADANAJ (KLAH-DAH-N-YAH) IN GOVERNMENT-HELD TERRITORY. THE UNHCR CURRENTLY HAS OFFICERS PREPOSITIONED IN THE TOWN TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE INCOMING REFUGEES AND TRANSFER THEM TO ZENICA (ZEH-NEET-SAH).
- BOSNIAN SERB OFFICIALS HAVE SAID THEY PLAN TO DETAIN ALL MEN BETWEEN THE AGES OF 18 AND 55 FOR PRISONER EXCHANGES WITH THE BOSNIAN ARMY.

Q: FIGHTING UPDATE IN BIHAC?

A: -- WE UNDERSTAND THAT FIGHTING IN THE BIHAC (BEE-HACH) ENCLAVE TAPERED OFF LAST NIGHT, ALTHOUGH EXCHANGES OF FIRE RESUMED THIS MORNING.

- THE SITUATION IS UNCLEAR, BUT EXTREMELY WORRISOME, AND WE CALL ON ALL SIDES TO EXERCISE MAXIMUM RESTRAINT.

Q: INFORMATION ON WITHDRAWAL OF DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS FROM SREBRENICA?

- AFTER HAVING SUPERVISED THE EVACUATION OF THE

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REFUGEES OF SREBRENICA THE 300 REMAINING DUTCH
PEACEKEEPERS WILL LEAVE THE ENCLAVE TOMORROW.

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- THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY HAS AGREED TO ALLOW THE DUTCH TO LEAVE TOMORROW WITH THEIR WEAPONS, BUT THEIR SAFE TRANSIT DEPENDS UPON THE COOPERATION OF LOCAL COMMANDERS.

- ICRC WILL CONTINUE INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO SEE THE ESTIMATED 4,000 MEN AND BOYS DETAINED IN BRATUNAC (BRAH-TOO-NATZ).

5. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA HUMANITARIAN UPDATE

Q: STATUS OF REFUGEES IN TUZLA?

A: -- AS OF YESTERDAY, THE UN ESTIMATED THAT 29,000 REFUGEES FROM SREBRENICA WERE IN THE ENCLAVE OF TUZLA. 1,350 HAVE ARRIVED AT ZENICA. AN UNDETERMINED NUMBER REMAIN UNACCOUNTED FOR INCLUDING THE MEN AND BOYS WHO ARE BELIEVED TO BE HELD PRISONER IN BRATUNAC.

Q: CONVOY UPDATE?

A: -- FRENCH PEACEKEEPERS FIRED FIVE MORTAR AND TWO TANK SHELLS AT SERB POSITIONS IN RESPONSE TO AN ATTACK ON A HUMANITARIAN CONVOY TRAVERSING THE MOUNT IGMAN ROAD. THE CONVOY WAS ABLE TO ENTER SARAJEVO SAFELY.

- THE BOSNIAN SERBS CONTINUE TO BLOCK
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HUMANITARIAN CONVOYS HEADING FOR THE EASTERN
ENCLAVE OF GORAZDE (GOR-AHZ-DAY). SERBS
DENIED ACCESS TO TWO CONVOYS COMING FROM
BELGRADE THIS WEEK. ONLY ONE CONVOY HAS
ENTERED THE ENCLAVE SINCE MAY 20.

6. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN SREBRENICA

Q: ACCESS TO BRATUNAC REFUGEES?

A: -- WE FIND IT OUTRAGEOUS THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS
CONTINUE TO DENY BOTH THE UNHCR AND THE ICRC
ACCESS TO THE MEN AND BOYS DETAINED IN
BRATUNAC.

-- ICRC NEGOTIATORS MET WITH BOSNIAN SERB
REPRESENTATIVES LAST NIGHT, BUT THE BOSNIAN
SERBS CONTINUE TO INSIST--IN DEFIANCE OF
INTERNATIONAL WAR CONVENTIONS--THAT THEY ARE
UNABLE TO GRANT ACCESS TO THE MEN.

Q: ANY NEW REPORTS ON ATROCITIES IN SREBRENICA?

A: -- WE HAVE NO NEW INFORMATION ON REPORTS OF HUMAN
RIGHTS ABUSES AGAINST THE BOSNIAN REFUGEES
FROM SREBRENICA.

-- WE HAVE HEARD FROM SOME REFUGEES ACCOUNTS OF
GROSS ATROCITIES PERPETRATED BY THE BOSNIAN
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SERB ARMY ON THE CIVILIANS OF SREBRENICA. WE
FEAR THAT A GREAT DEAL OF THESE ACCOUNTS MAY
BE TRUE.

-- WE EMPHASIZE OUR DEEP CONCERN FOR THE

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WELL-BEING OF CIVILIANS AND OUR COMMITMENT TO
SEE PERPETRATORS OF WAR CRIMES BROUGHT TO
JUSTICE.

7. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA REACTION TO DOLE

Q: REACTION TO DOLE'S STATEMENTS THAT HE WILL LIKELY
DELAY HIS RESOLUTION?

- A: -- SENATOR DOLE HAS INDICATED THAT HE MAY DELAY
VOTING ON HIS RESOLUTION CALLING FOR THE
GOVERNMENT TO LIFT UNILATERALLY THE UN ARMS
EMBARGO.
- THE SENATOR'S DECISION WOULD FACILITATE OUR
DISCUSSIONS WITH OUR ALLIES TO PROVIDE THE
BEST RESPONSE TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS' CONTINUED
DEFIANCE OF UN MANDATES AND RESOLUTIONS.
- WE REMAIN OPPOSED TO UNILATERAL LIFTING OF THE
ARMS EMBARGO BECAUSE IT WOULD DO LITTLE TO
HELP THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT, BUT IT WOULD DO
MUCH HARM BY LEADING TO THE WITHDRAWAL OF UN
PEACEKEEPERS.

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8. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA NATO PLAN TO WITHDRAW UNPROFOR

Q: DO WE REALLY NEED 25,000 U.S. TROOPS TO WITHDRAW
UNPROFOR?

- A: -- IN JUNE, NATO ALLIES PROVISIONALLY APPROVED A
PLAN FOR WHAT WE MOST WANT TO AVOID: UNPROFOR
WITHDRAWAL FROM BOSNIA. THE PLAN IS FLEXIBLE
AND DESIGNED TO BE USED UNDER VARIOUS
SCENARIOS.

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- NATO CONTINUES TO ADAPT THE PLAN AS THE SITUATION CHANGES ON THE GROUND IN BOSNIA.
- FOR THAT REASON, THE NUMBERS OF TROOPS WHICH MIGHT BE REQUIRED TO IMPLEMENT THAT PLAN WILL CONTINUE TO BE ADJUSTED AS CIRCUMSTANCES WARRANT.

9. SLOVAKIA STATUS OF BILATERAL RELATIONS

Q: DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT ON THE RECENT VISIT TO WASHINGTON OF THE CHAIRMEN OF THE THREE ETHNIC HUNGARIANS PARTIES REPRESENTED IN THE SLOVAK PARLIAMENT?

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- A: -- DURING THE WEEK OF JULY 10, THE LEADERS OF THE THREE ETHNIC HUNGARIAN PARTIES REPRESENTED IN THE SLOVAK PARLIAMENT -- MR. DURAY (DUR EYE), MR. BUGAR (BOO GAR), AND MR. NAGY (NAJ) -- CAME TO WASHINGTON AND HAD MEETINGS WITH ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS FROM THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL STAFF AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S BUREAUS OF EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN AFFAIRS AND DEMOCRACY, RIGHTS AND LABOR.
- AT THE MEETING AT THE DEPARTMENT, STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS DESCRIBED OUR OVERARCHING OBJECTIVE FOR CENTRAL EUROPE, NAMELY, TO BUILD A STABLE, SECURE AND DEMOCRATIC EUROPE. SPECIFICALLY IN SLOVAKIA, THE U.S. GOVERNMENT SUPPORTS DEMOCRATIC AND ECONOMIC REFORMS AND EFFORTS TO IMPROVE ETHNIC RELATIONS WITHIN SLOVAKIA AND SLOVAKIA'S RELATIONS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS.
- DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS WERE INTERESTED IN THE VIEWS OF THESE ETHNIC HUNGARIANS LEADERS CONCERNING ETHNIC RELATIONS IN SLOVAKIA, THE

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INDEPENDENCE OF THE PRESS, RESPECT FOR
DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES, AND ECONOMIC REFORM AND
PRIVATIZATION.

Q: DOES THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PLAN TO EXCLUDE
SLOVAKIA FROM THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE PROGRAM?
DOES THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT INTEND TO TAKE
MEASURES AGAINST SLOVAKIA THIS FALL?
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A: -- THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT SUPPORTS
SLOVAKIA'S ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THE
PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE PROGRAM. WE ARE PLEASED
THAT SLOVAKIA PLANS TO SEND A UNIT TO
PARTICIPATE IN THE "COOPERATIVE NUGGET"
EXERCISE, WHICH WE WILL HOST IN LOUISIANA THIS
AUGUST. FURTHER, WE WELCOME THE SLOVAK
GOVERNMENT'S INTEREST IN HOSTING A "PPF"
EXERCISE, POSSIBLY LATER THIS YEAR.

(FOR BACKGROUND ONLY: THE ETHNIC HUNGARIANS STRONGLY
DISAGREE WITH THE MECIAR GOVERNMENT OVER A NUMBER OF
PROPOSED MEASURES AFFECTING THEIR COMMUNITY: A PROPOSAL
ON BILINGUAL EDUCATION; A PROPOSAL TO MAKE SLOVAK THE
OFFICIAL STATE LANGUAGE; AND A PROPOSAL TO REALIGN
DISTRICT BOUNDARIES. WE FOLLOW THESE DEVELOPMENTS
CLOSELY, BUT UNTIL WE SEE WHAT THE FINAL LEGISLATION
LOOKS LIKE, WE DO NOT WANT TO COMMENT ON THESE MATTERS.

MANY IN THE ADMINISTRATION AND ON CAPITAL HILL ARE
CONCERNED BY THE AUTHORITARIAN TENDENCIES OF PRIME
MINISTER VLADIMIR MECIAR. HIS GOVERNMENT'S POLITICAL
ATTACKS ON PRESIDENT MICHAL KOVAC AND THE DEMOCRATIC
UNION OPPOSITION PARTY, ITS CONTROL OF THE ELECTRONIC
MEDIA AND THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICE, AND ITS BACKTRACKING
ON PRIVATIZATION MAKE US WORRIED ABOUT THE PACE OF
POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM.)
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INFORM CONSULS-PASS PAOS-MILITARY ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: OPRC, XF
SUBJECT: NEA PRESS GUIDANCE - 07/20/95

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM PLEASE PASS TO E. LAIPSON AND
D. SATTERFIELD,
LONDON FOR M. TUELLER, PARIS FOR K. ALLEGRONE,
WARSAW PASS PPP BAGHDAD

THE FOLLOWING GUIDANCE IS PROVIDED FOR POST'S INFORMATION:

EGYPT: ARREST OF MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD MEMBERS
IRAQ: THREAT TO CEASE COOPERATION WITH UNSCOM
IRAN: ARMS SALES BY BELARUS
STATEMENT - BOSNIA: CALL FOR ACCESS TO ZEPA
BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: BALKAN POLICY POINTS
BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: SITUATION UPDATE
BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: HUMANITARIAN UPDATE
BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN SREBRENICA

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: REACTION TO DOLE
BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: NATO PLAN TO WITHDRAW UNPROFOR

EGYPT: ARREST OF MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD MEMBERS

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Q: WHAT IS YOUR REACTION TO REPORTS THAT THE GOVERNMENT
OF EGYPT HAS ARRESTED 15 AS A RESULT OF A TWO-DAY
CRACKDOWN ON MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD MEMBERS?

A: --WE'RE NOT IN A POSITION TO COMMENT ON THE BASIS FOR
THESE PARTICULAR ARRESTS.

--IN GENERAL, WE RECOGNIZE THE RESPONSIBILITY AND RIGHT OF
ALL GOVERNMENTS TO ASSURE THE SAFETY AND WELL-BEING OF

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THEIR CITIZENS AND TO MAINTAIN CIVIC ORDER.

--WE ALSO BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT TO UPHOLD THE RULE OF LAW AND RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS.

IF PRESSED:

Q: ARE YOU CONCERNED ABOUT THE IMPACT SUCH A CRACKDOWN COULD HAVE ON HUMAN RIGHTS?

A: --OUR VIEWS ON THE GENERAL HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN EGYPT ARE CONTAINED IN OUR MOST RECENT HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT.

IRAQI THREAT TO CEASE COOPERATION WITH UNSCOM

Q. WHAT IS YOUR REACTION TO IRAQI FM AL-SAHHAF'S STATEMENT IN CAIRO YESTERDAY THAT IRAQ WOULD CEASE COOPERATION WITH UNSCOM AT THE END OF AUGUST UNLESS UN
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SANCTIONS ARE LIFTED?

A: -- THESE THREATS SHOW THAT BAGHDAD FUNDAMENTALLY MISUNDERSTANDS THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS.

-- IRAQ MUST MEET ITS OBLIGATIONS UNDER UN RESOLUTIONS BEFORE THE U.S. WILL DISCUSS A MODIFICATION OF THE SANCTIONS REGIME IN THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL. A MAJORITY OF COUNCIL MEMBERS SHARE OUR VIEW.

-- THE PURPOSE OF THESE RESOLUTIONS IS TO MAKE SURE THAT IRAQ DOES NOT PRESENT A THREAT TO PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE REGION. THE IRAQI FOREIGN MINISTER'S STATEMENTS CONTRADICT THIS PURPOSE.

-- WE SUPPORT UNSCOM, WHICH CONTINUES TO WORK HARD AND EFFICIENTLY ON THE VERIFICATION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION.

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-- IRAQI CONFRONTATION WITH THE UN WILL ONLY PROLONG THE SANCTIONS REGIME.

IRAN: ARMS SALES BY BELARUS

Q: IS BELARUS SELLING WEAPONS TO IRAN?

A: IRANIAN FIRST VICE PRESIDENT HASAN HABIBI VISITED MINSK JULY 12-14. ACCORDING TO BELARUS GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND PRESS REPORTS, THE SUBJECT OF ARMS SALES WAS UNCLASSIFIED

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DISCUSSED.

- WEAPONS SALES TO IRAN IS A SUBJECT OF CONCERN TO THE UNITED STATES. BOTH HERE AND IN MINSK, WE HAVE BROUGHT OUR CONCERNS TO THE ATTENTION OF THE BELARUS GOVERNMENT AND SOUGHT CLARIFICATION ON THE STATUS OF POSSIBLE ARMS DEALS WITH IRAN. BELARUS OFFICIALS HAVE REPORTED TO US THAT NO MILITARY SALES HAVE BEEN CONCLUDED. THEY DID INDICATE, HOWEVER, THEIR CONTINUING INTEREST IN SELLING CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS, SUCH AS TANKS AND ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS.

- THE UNITED STATES HAS HELD DISCUSSIONS WITH A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES AROUND THE WORLD, INCLUDING SOME OF THE NEW INDEPENDENT STATES OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION, ON THE SUBJECT OF ARMS SALES TO IRAN. THE UNITED STATES STRONGLY DISCOURAGES SUCH SALES, A POINT OF VIEW SHARED TO A GREATER OR LESSER DEGREE BY A NUMBER OF STATES WITH WHOM WE HAVE RAISED THE SUBJECT.

Q: DO WE BELIEVE THIS IS A SUBTERFUGE BY RUSSIA TO GET AROUND ITS AGREEMENT WITH US ON ARMS SALES TO IRAN?

A: ACCORDING TO BELARUS OFFICIALS, NO WEAPONS SALES HAVE BEEN CONCLUDED WITH IRAN. IRAN HAS SOUGHT IN THE PAST TO PURCHASE WEAPONS FROM A NUMBER OF STATES. WE HAVE SEEN NO EVIDENCE OF ANY THIRD PARTY INVOLVEMENT INDISCUSSIONS

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BETWEEN BELARUS AND IRAN ON ARMS SALES, INCLUDING BY
RUSSIA.

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Q: DO WE HAVE ANY AGREEMENT WITH BELARUS, FORMAL OR
INFORMAL, NOT TO SELL ARMS TO IRAN?

A: THE UNITED STATES IS VERY CONCERNED BY THE SALE OF
WEAPONS TO IRAN. WE HAVE MADE THESE CONCERNS KNOWN TO THE
BELARUS GOVERNMENT BOTH IN WASHINGTON AND IN MINSK. WHILE
BELARUSIAN OFFICIALS HAVE ASSERTED THAT NO ARMS SALES HAVE
BEEN CONCLUDED WITH IRAN, THERE WAS NO INDICATION FROM THE
BELARUS GOVERNMENT THAT THEY WOULD NOT IN FUTURE CONSIDER
ARMS SALES TO IRAN. THE UNITED STATES INTENDS TO DISCUSS
THIS MATTER FURTHER WITH THE BELARUS GOVERNMENT.

STATEMENT: BOSNIA: CALL FOR ACCESS TO ZEPA

THE UNITED STATES IS DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE WELL-BEING
OF THE PEOPLE OF ZEPA, WHICH IS REPORTED TO HAVE FALLEN TO
THE BOSNIAN SERBS. WE CALL FOR IMMEDIATE ACCESS TO THE
AREA BY HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS (ICRC) AND THE
UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES (UNHCR) TO
ENSURE A NEUTRAL AND FULL ACCOUNTING OF THE CIVILIAN
POPULATION. THEIR EVACUATION MUST BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH
INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW AND BE MONITORED BY NEUTRAL
OBSERVERS. WE REMIND THE BOSNIAN SERB AUTHORITIES OF
THEIR OBLIGATIONS TO PROTECT CIVILIANS IN THEIR
JURISDICTION AND TO ALLOW ACCESS TO ALL DETAINEES,
CIVILIAN OR MILITARY. WE ALSO HOLD THE BOSNIAN SERB
LEADERSHIP ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE ACTIONS OF THEIR TROOPS.
THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR ATROCITIES WILL BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE'

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BEFORE THE WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: BALKAN POLICY POINTS

--WE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE FATE OF THE CITIZENS OF ZEPA AS WELL AS THE REMAINING DETAINEES IN SREBRENICA (SREH-BREH-NEET-SAH) GIVEN THE PERSISTENT REPORTS OF ATROCITIES. WE DEMAND THAT INTERNATIONAL MONITORS BE

-- THE KEY QUESTION IN OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH ALLIES IS HOW BEST TO DETER BOSNIAN SERB ATTACKS AND ATROCITIES. WE ARE DISCUSSING SEVERAL POSSIBLE RESPONSES, IN ORDER TO

ENSURE THAT THE INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE HAS THE BEST CHANCE OF SUCCEEDING MILITARILY, IMPROVING THE HUMANITARIAN SITUATION, AND PAVING THE WAY FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON A DURABLE SETTLEMENT.

-- THE REPORTED DIFFERENCES AMONG ALLIED VIEWS ARE ABOUT WHAT WOULD WORK BEST MILITARILY, NOT ABOUT THE NEED FOR A RESOLUTE AND MEANINGFUL RESPONSE. SINCE THESE DISCUSSIONS ARE CURRENTLY UNDERWAY IN PREPARATION FOR THE MEETING IN LONDON TOMORROW, I CANNOT COMMENT ON THE DETAILS.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: SITUATION UPDATE

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Q: ZEPA UPDATE?

A: --THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT CONCEDED THE FALL OF THE ZEPA (ZEH-PAH) ENCLAVE EARLY THIS MORNING. THE BOSNIAN SERBS CLAIM THAT CIVILIAN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ENCLAVE

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SURRENDERED ZEPA TO BOSNIAN SERB ARMY OFFICIALS YESTERDAY EVENING.

--THE UN REPORTS THE UKRAINIAN PEACEKEEPERS IN THE AREA ARE ASSISTING IN THE EVACUATION OF ABOUT 30 WOUNDED TO SARAJEVO. THE EVACUATION OF THE ELDERLY, WOMEN AND CHILDREN BEGAN THIS MORNING.

--UNHCR AND INTERNATIONAL AID ORGANIZATIONS ARE REPORTEDLY EN ROUTE TO ZEPA TO ASSIST THE EVACUATION OF THE ENCLAVE.

--HOWEVER, THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY HAS NOT YET SAID WHETHER IT WILL PERMIT INTERNATIONAL MONITORS TO ENTER THE ENCLAVE. WE FIND THIS REPREHENSIBLE IN LIGHT OF THE REPORTS OF ATROCITIES LAST WEEK IN SREBRENICA.

--THE REFUGEES WILL BE TAKEN TO THE TOWN OF KLADANAJ (KLAH-DAH-N-YAH) IN GOVERNMENT-HELD TERRITORY. THE UNHCR CURRENTLY HAS OFFICERS PREPOSITIONED IN THE TOWN TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE INCOMING REFUGEES AND TRANSFER THEM TO ZENICA (ZEH-NEET-SAH).

--BOSNIAN SERB OFFICIALS HAVE SAID THEY PLAN TO DETAIN ALL MEN BETWEEN THE AGES OF 18 AND 55 FOR PRISONER EXCHANGES WITH THE BOSNIAN ARMY.

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Q: FIGHTING UPDATE IN BIHAC?

A: --WE UNDERSTAND THAT FIGHTING IN THE BIHAC (BEE-HACH) ENCLAVE TAPERED OFF LAST NIGHT, ALTHOUGH EXCHANGES OF FIRE RESUMED THIS MORNING.

--THE SITUATION IS UNCLEAR, BUT EXTREMELY WORRISOME, AND WE CALL ON ALL SIDES TO EXERCISE MAXIMUM RESTRAINT.

Q: INFORMATION ON WITHDRAWAL OF DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS FROM SREBREN I CA?

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--AFTER HAVING SUPERVISED THE EVACUATION OF THE REFUGEES OF SREBREN-ICA THE 300 REMAINING DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS WILL LEAVE THE ENCLAVE TOMORROW.

--THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY HAS AGREED TO ALLOW THE DUTCH TO LEAVE TOMORROW WITH THEIR WEAPONS, BUT THEIR SAFE TRANSIT DEPENDS UPON THE COOPERATION OF LOCAL COMMANDERS.

--ICRC WILL CONTINUE INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO SEE THE ESTIMATED 4,000 MEN AND BOYS DETAINED IN BRATUNAC (BRAH-TOO-NATZ).

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: HUMANITARIAN UPDATE

Q: STATUS OF REFUGEES IN TUZLA?

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A: --AS OF YESTERDAY, THE UN ESTIMATED THAT 29,000 REFUGEES FROM SREBRENICA WERE IN THE ENCLAVE OF TUZLA. 1,350 HAVE ARRIVED AT ZENICA. AN UNDETERMINED NUMBER REMAIN UNACCOUNTED FOR INCLUDING THE MEN AND BOYS WHO ARE BELIEVED TO BE HELD PRISONER IN BRATUNAC.

Q: CONVOY UPDATE?

A: --FRENCH PEACEKEEPERS FIRED FIVE MORTAR AND TWO TANK SHELLS AT SERB POSITIONS IN RESPONSE TO AN ATTACK ON A HUMANITARIAN CONVOY TRAVERSING THE MOUNT IGMAN ROAD. THE CONVOY WAS ABLE TO ENTER SARAJEVO SAFELY.

--THE BOSNIAN SERBS CONTINUE TO BLOCK HUMANITARIAN CONVOYS HEADING FOR THE EASTERN ENCLAVE OF GORAZDE (GOR-AHZ-DAY). SERBS DENIED ACCESS TO TWO CONVOYS COMING FROM BELGRADE THIS WEEK. ONLY ONE CONVOY HAS ENTERED THE ENCLAVE SINCE

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BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN SREBRENICA

Q: ACCESS TO BRATUNAC REFUGEES?

A: --WE FIND IT OUTRAGEOUS THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS CONTINUE TO DENY BOTH THE UNHCR AND THE ICRC ACCESS TO THE MEN AND BOYS DETAINED IN BRATUNAC.

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--ICRC NEGOTIATORS MET WITH BOSNIAN SERB REPRESENTATIVES LAST NIGHT, BUT THE BOSNIAN SERBS CONTINUE TO INSIST--IN DEFIANCE OF INTERNATIONAL WAR CONVENTIONS--THAT THEY ARE UNABLE TO GRANT ACCESS TO THE MEN.

Q: ANY NEW REPORTSON ATROCITIES IN SREBRENICA?

A: --WE HAVE NO NEW INFORMATION ON REPORTS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES AGAINST THE BOSNIAN REFUGEES FROM SREBRENICA.

--WE HAVE HEARD FROM SOME REFUGEES ACCOUNTS OF GROSS ATROCITIES PERPETRATED BY THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY ON THE CIVILIANS OF SREBRENICA. WE FEAR THAT A GREAT DEAL OF THESE ACCOUNTS MAY BE TRUE.

--WE EMPHASIZE OUR DEEP CONCERN FOR THE WELL-BEING OF CIVILIANS AND OUR COMMITMENT TO SEE PERPETRATORS OF WAR CRIMES BROUGHT TO JUSTICE.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: REACTION TO DOLE

Q: REACTION TO DOLE'S STATEMENTS THAT HE WILL LIKELY DELAY HIS RESOLUTION?

A: --SENATOR DOLE HAS INDICATED THAT H& MAY DELAY VOTING ON HIS RESOLUTION CALLING FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO LIFT

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UNILATERALLY THE UN ARMS EMBARGO.

--THE SENATOR'S DECISION WOULD FACILITATE OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH OUR ALLIES TO PROVIDE THE BEST RESPONSE TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS' CONTINUED DEFIANCE OF UN MANDATES AND RESOLUTIONS.

--WE REMAIN OPPOSED TO UNILATERAL LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO BECAUSE IT WOULD DO LITTLE TO HELP THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT, BUT IT WOULD DO MUCH HARM BY LEADING TO THE WITHDRAWAL OF UN PEACEKEEPER.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: NATO PLAN TO WITHDRAW UNPROFOR

Q: DO WE REALLY NEED 25,000 U.S. TROOPS TO WITHDRAW UNPROFOR?

A: --IN JUNE, NATO ALLIES PROVISIONALLY APPROVED A PLAN FOR WHAT WE MOST WANT TO AVOID: UNPROFOR WITHDRAWAL FROM BOSNIA. THE PLAN IS FLEXIBLE AND DESIGNED TO BE USED UNDER VARIOUS SCENARIOS.

--NATO CONTINUES TO ADAPT THE PLAN AS THE SITUATION CHANGES ON THE GROUND IN BOSNIA.

--FOR THAT REASON, THE NUMBERS OF TROOPS WHICH MIGHT BE REQUIRED TO IMPLEMENT THAT PLAN WILL CONTINUE TO BE * ADJUSTED AS CIRCUMSTANCES WARRANT.

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AMEMBASSY MALABO
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INFORM CONSULS ALSO FOR USEC/USOECD

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OPRC

SUBJECT: DAILY PRESS BRIEFING -- TUESDAY, JULY 25 1995

THE FOLLOWING TOPICS WERE COVERED IN TODAY'S PRESS BRIEFING:

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BEGIN TEXT:

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MR. BURNS: GOOD AFTERNOON. WELCOME TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING. I HAVE NO ANNOUNCEMENTS, SO I'M GLAD, GEORGE, TO GO ANY QUESTIONS YOU MAY HAVE.

Q DO YOU HAVE ANY THOUGHTS ON THE FALL OF ZEPA AND ON THE NEED TO PROTECT THE POPULATION THERE FROM ATROCITIES?

MR. BURNS: YES, I DO. WE'VE SEEN REPORTS -- IN FACT, JUST IN THE LAST COUPLE OF HOURS -- THAT SEEM TO CONFIRM NOW THE BOSNIAN SERB CLAIM THAT INDEED ZEPA HAS FALLEN, THAT THE FIGHTERS DEFENDING IT HAVE BEEN DEFEATED OR HAVE LEFT THE TOWN.

WE BELIEVE IT'S VERY IMPORTANT THAT THE ATROCITIES, THE BRUTALITIES OF SREBRENICA NOT BE REPEATED. IT'S ESSENTIAL THAT THE BOSNIAN SERB GOVERNMENT AND LEADERSHIP, INCLUDING THE MILITARY PEOPLE ON THE GROUND, UNDERSTAND THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS WATCHING. UNDERSTAND THAT THE UNITED NATIONS IS TAKING STEPS AS WE SPEAK TO TRY TO EVACUATE THE WOUNDED FROM ZEPA AND TO MAKE SURE THAT OTHER CIVILIANS ARE ALLOWED TO LEAVE IF
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THEY WISH TO LEAVE AND STAY IF THEY WISH TO STAY.

Q HAVE YOU RESOLVED -- OR WHAT ARE YOUR HOPES FOR RESOLVING BOUTROS-GHALI'S OBJECTIONS TO THE CHANGE IN DUAL-KEY AND NATO CONFUSION OVER THE NEXT STEPS?

MR. BURNS: LET ME JUST, ANDREA, STEP BACK AND TAKE ADVANTAGE OF YOUR QUESTION AND TELL YOU WHAT WE'RE DOING TODAY ON BOTH OF THOSE QUESTIONS. THE SECRETARY HAS JUST LEFT THE BUILDING TO GO UP TO CAPITOL HILL WHERE HE'LL BE BRIEFING THE SENATE DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS. IN FACT, I BELIEVE THAT JUST STARTED A COUPLE OF MINUTES

AGO. HE'LL BE BRIEFING THEM ON THE RESULTS OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE, INCLUDING THE ISSUE THAT YOU MENTIONED, ANDREA, THE DUAL-KEY ISSUE. HE'LL ALSO BE TALKING TO THEM ABOUT THE VOTE THAT IS SET FOR LATER

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TODAY ON THE DOLE AMENDMENT. THAT WOULD BE TO HAVE THE UNITED STATES UNILATERALLY LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO ON BOSNIA.

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HE IS GOING TO BE ARGUING VERY STRENUOUSLY AND VIGOROUSLY AGAINST UNILATERAL LIFT BECAUSE WE BELIEVE THAT THAT WILL AMERICANIZE THE WAR. WE BELIEVE THAT IS THE SUREST WAY TO SPEED THE INTRODUCTION OF AMERICAN GROUND TROOPS IN BOSNIA -- 25,000 ESTIMATED AMERICAN GROUND TROOPS. WE THINK IT WILL REALLY TORPEDO ANY REMAINING HOPE THAT THERE CAN BE POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS THIS SUMMER AND THIS FALL THAT MIGHT PROVE TO BE

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BENEFICIAL TO THE PROCESS IN BOSNIA.

SO FOR A VARIETY OF VERY IMPORTANT REASONS, NOT LEAST AMONG THEM OF WHICH IS THAT WE ALSO DON'T THINK WE SHOULD BE DESERTING OUR NATO ALLIES WHEN THEY ARE INCREASING THEIR TROOP COMMITMENT ON THE GROUND. THE SECRETARY AND SECRETARY PERRY, WHO WILL BE WITH HIM, WILL BE ARGUING QUITE STRONGLY AGAINST UNILATERAL LIFT.

IN ADDITION TO THE SECRETARY'S APPEARANCE ON THE HILL, THE NATO MEETINGS HAVE CONTINUED TODAY IN BRUSSELS -- THE MEETINGS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL. THE POSITION THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS TAKEN DURING THE LAST 24 HOURS IS THAT THE VERY GOOD AND POSITIVE DECISIONS TAKEN AT LONDON SHOULD NOW BE PUT INTO OPERATION BY NATO.

THE DETAILED OPERATIONAL PLANS SHOULD BE WRITTEN AND AGREED TO THAT WOULD ALLOW NATO TO CARRY OUT ITS RESPONSIBILITIES. THESE INCLUDE, OF COURSE, THE RESPONSIBILITY NOW TO DEFEND GORAZDE FROM ATTACKS BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS, AND WE HAVE GIVEN A DIRECT AND PERSONAL ULTIMATUM TO MR. MLADIC ON THAT QUESTION. THERE NEEDS NOW TO BE A TRANSLATION FROM THE LONDON DECISION INTO SPECIFIC OPERATIONAL PLANS TO PUT THAT INTO EFFECT.

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SECONDLY, THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES TO BELIEVE
THAT THE PRIOR DUAL-KEY SYSTEM, WHICH WAS SO INFLEXIBLE

AND SO INEFFICIENT IN TRYING TO ACHIEVE COORDINATION
BETWEEN THE UNITED NATIONS AND NATO IN THE PAST, MUST BE
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CHANGED. THE DECISION WAS MADE AT THE LONDON CONFERENCE
TO CHANGE THAT DUAL-KEY SYSTEM, AND WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE
THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL CONFIRM THAT DECISION AND
WRITE NEW OPERATIONAL PLANS THAT WOULD PUT A NEW, MORE
FLEXIBLE, AND MORE EFFICIENT SYSTEM INTO PLACE.

THIRD, THE NAC IS ALSO CONSIDERING THE QUESTION OF
WHAT THE WEST OUGHT TO DO IF OTHER SAFE AREAS AND
ENCLAVES COME UNDER THE TYPE OF ATTACK THAT SREBRENICA
AND ZEPA FACED IN THE LAST COUPLE OF WEEKS. AS YOU
KNOW, THE AMERICAN POSITION HAS BEEN THAT SINCE THE
LONDON MEETING, WE NOW HAVE IN PLACE A SYSTEM WHEREBY
IT'S POSSIBLE FOR NATO TO TAKE THE
DECISION TO TAKE SIMILAR ACTION, IF IT SO CHOOSES, AS WE
HAVE TAKEN IN GORAZDE.

WHAT HAS HAPPENED OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF DAYS IN
BRUSSELS IS THAT TAKING ALL OF THESE GENERAL AGREEMENTS
FROM LONDON AND TRANSLATING THEM INTO SPECIFIC
OPERATIONAL PLANS HAS BECOME A DIFFICULT AND COMPLICATED
EXERCISE. IT IS DIFFICULT AND COMPLICATED BECAUSE ANY
TIME YOU TAKE THE DECISIONS OF 16 NATIONS AND TRY THEN
TO WRITE SPECIFIC PLANS, IT'S NOT SOMETHING THAT CAN BE
EASILY ACHIEVED OR ACHIEVED OVERNIGHT.

WE REMAIN CONFIDENT THAT THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL
WILL INDEED CONFIRM THE DECISIONS OF THE LONDON
MEETING. WE THINK IT IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY FOR IT TO
DO SO BECAUSE UNPROFOR IS IN A FAIRLY EXPOSED AND IN
SOME CASES FAIRLY WEAK POSITION IN THE FIELD. IT IS
NECESSARY NOW TO STRENGTHEN IT. THE DECISIONS TAKEN AT
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THE LONDON CONFERENCE WILL INDEED STRENGTHEN IT, AND
THAT'S WHY WE'RE ARGUING SO HARD THAT THESE DISCUSSIONS
BE CONCLUDED AND THAT THESE DECISION BE CODIFIED INTO
OPERATIONAL DECISIONS.

Q IF I MAY FOLLOW, THERE'S AN "ALICE IN
WONDERLAND" QUALITY TO THIS. YOU'RE SUGGESTING THAT THE
NAC TRANSLATE THE "DECISIONS" OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE
INTO OPERATIONAL ORDERS BUT THERE IS NO APPARENT
AGREEMENT AS TO WHAT THE DECISIONS OF THE LONDON
CONFERENCE WERE. THE UNITED STATES SEEMS TO HAVE A
UNILATERAL INTERPRETATION OF THAT WHICH IS IN CONFLICT
WITH MEMBERS OF NATO AS WELL AS WITH THE U.N. SECRETARY
GENERAL.

MR. BURNS: I DON'T AGREE WITH YOUR ASSESSMENT. I
HOPE IT'S NOT "ALICE IN WONDERLAND." I DON'T THINK IT
IS, ANDREA. I CAN TELL YOU ON THE KEY DECISION THAT THE
LONDON CONFERENCE TOOK, THE DEFENSE OF GORAZDE, THERE IS
AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM, THE UNITED
STATES AND FRANCE, THE THREE MAJOR COUNTRIES THAT
DISCUSSED THIS LAST WEEK, TO DEFEND GORAZDE.

IT IS A COMPLICATED QUESTION TO WRITE AN OPERATIONAL
PLAN THAT ALL CAN AGREE TO ON THE DEFENSE OF GORAZDE,
AND THERE'S NO REASON TO SWEEP THAT UNDER THE RUG.
WE'VE HAD ANIMATED DISCUSSIONS IN BRUSSELS ABOUT THE
BEST WAY TO PUT THAT INTO OPERATIONAL PLANS. WE
BELIEVE, BASED ON CONVERSATIONS THAT WE'VE HAD TODAY
THAT WE'RE GOING TO GET THERE; BUT IT HAS TAKEN A NUMBER
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OF HOURS, BOTH YESTERDAY AND TODAY, TO SLOG THROUGH SOME
OF THESE ISSUES.

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I WOULD SAY THE SAME ON DUAL-KEY.

Q (INAUDIBLE)

MR. BURNS: LET ME JUST FINISH, AND I'LL BE GLAD TO GO TO THAT. I WOULD EXPECT THE SAME ON THE DUAL-KEY PROVISIONS. THERE'S NO QUESTION THAT THE UNITED KINGDOM, FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES STAND TOGETHER ON DUAL-KEY RIGHT NOW.

THERE IS A DIFFERENCE OF INTERPRETATION BETWEEN I THINK, THE THREE OF US AND BETWEEN THE UNITED NATIONS. YOU HAVE SEEN SOME PUBLIC STATEMENTS OUT OF THE UNITED NATIONS THAT SAY THE SECRETARY GENERAL HAS NOT GIVEN UP HIS AUTHORITY TO HOLD A KEY IN THE COMBINED NATO-U.N. AIR OPERATIONS. WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL THAT THE DUAL-KEY BE A PROCESS OF COORDINATION BETWEEN THE NATO COMMANDER IN NAPLES AND THE U.N. COMMANDER ON THE GROUND IN SARAJEVO.

THAT WAS THE DECISION THAT WAS PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED LAST FRIDAY IN LONDON, AND NOT JUST BY THE UNITED STATES. BUT IT'S CERTAINLY A DECISION THAT HAS BEEN TAKEN ISSUE WITH BY SOME IN THE UNITED NATIONS. WE ARE ENGAGED IN DISCUSSIONS TODAY, AS WE WERE YESTERDAY, TO CONVINCE THE UNITED NATIONS THAT WE INTEND TO MOVE FORWARD WITH AN ALTERED DUAL-KEY SYSTEM, BECAUSE IN OUR
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ESTIMATION THAT IS THE ONLY WAY TO MAKE UNPROFOR MORE CAPABLE, MORE EFFECTIVE AND MORE STRONG.

NOW, DAVID AND JUDD, TO GET TO YOUR QUESTION, WE HAD HOPED VERY MUCH -- AND I THINK I SAID THIS YESTERDAY -- THAT WE WOULD CONCLUDE THESE DISCUSSIONS TODAY IN BRUSSELS. THE NAC CONTINUES TO MEET. AMBASSADOR BOB HUNTER IS REPRESENTING THE UNITED STATES. IT MAY BE THAT THEY CONCLUDE TODAY, IT MAY BE THEY HAVE TO GO INTO TOMORROW. THERE'S NO WAY FOR ME TO KNOW FROM THE VANTAGE POINT OF 1:26 IN THE AFTERNOON WHETHER INDEED WE WILL FINISH TONIGHT.

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BUT I DO WANT TO LEAVE YOU WITH THIS IMPRESSION. DESPITE SOME OF THE CONTRADICTORY THINGS THAT YOU'VE SEEN IN THE PRESS AND SOME OF THE CONTRADICTORY STATEMENTS, THE UNITED STATES' POSITION HASN'T CHANGED SINCE LONDON. WE HAVE MAINTAINED A CONSISTENT POSITION.

ON THE DUAL-KEY, FOR INSTANCE, WE HAVE A WRITTEN AGREEMENT TO CHANGE IT FROM LONDON, AND ON GORAZDE WE HAVE THE CONFERENCE CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT TO DEPLOY SUBSTANTIAL AND DECISIVE AIR POWER TO PROTECT GORAZDE.

THERE IS A LOT OF HARD SLOGGING TO DO ON THIS ISSUE, BUT WE'RE NOT GOING TO CHANGE OUR POSITION. WE'RE NOT GOING TO DEVIATE FROM OUR POSITIONS. WE'RE GOING TO SEE IT THROUGH, WITH THE HOPE AND EXPECTATION THAT WE'LL RESOLVE THESE COMPLICATIONS SHORTLY AND GET ON WITH THE BUSINESS OF TRYING TO STRENGTHEN UNPROFOR.

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YES, JIM.

Q DID THE SECRETARY GENERAL SIGN ON TO THE STATEMENT ABOUT THE DUAL-KEY IN LONDON?

MR. BURNS: ALL I CAN SAY IS THAT THE UNITED NATIONS WAS REPRESENTED IN LONDON. THE SECRETARY GENERAL PARTICIPATED IN THE CONVERSATIONS. HE WAS THERE. THE DUAL-KEY DECISION WAS OPENLY DISCUSSED AND OPENLY

ARRIVED AT, AND THERE WERE NO COMPLICATIONS ON FRIDAY.

OBVIOUSLY, COMPLICATIONS HAVE ARISEN SINCE FRIDAY, AND WE KNOW THAT FROM BOTH THE PUBLIC STATEMENTS THAT YOU AND I HAVE HEARD AND BY SOME OF OUR PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS UP IN NEW YORK. WE ARE TAKING THE POSITION THAT FOR THE UNITED STATES TO BE ASKED TO TAKE ON A GREATER ROLE THROUGH MILITARY AIR POWER, AS WE WERE, MEANS THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS GOT TO APPROACH THIS WITH A GREAT DEGREE OF SERIOUSNESS AND STRENGTH. THE

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ONLY EFFECTIVE WAY TO DEPLOY OUR AIR POWER IS TO DO IT IN SUCH A WAY THAT IT CAN BE DONE SPEEDILY AND EFFICIENTLY, AND THAT WAS CERTAINLY NOT THE CASE WITH THE OLD DUAL-KEY SYSTEM.

SID.

Q NICK, IF I HEAR YOU RIGHT -- CORRECT ME IF I'M WRONG -- ARE YOU SAYING THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE DEFENSE OF GORAZDE AND THE OTHER
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ACTIVITIES LAID OUT ON FRIDAY UNLESS DUAL-KEY IS CHANGED AND AGREED?

MR. BURNS: NO, I DON'T MEAN TO GIVE YOU THAT IMPRESSION. LET ME JUST SAY IT PERHAPS MORE CLEARLY. WE WENT INTO THE LONDON CONFERENCE WITH A REQUEST FROM THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT TO BECOME MORE HEAVILY INVOLVED IN THE SITUATION IN GORAZDE THROUGH THE PROVISION OF AMERICAN HELICOPTERS AND CREWS.

WE WENT IN TO THE LONDON CONFERENCE WITH OUR OWN PROPOSAL THAT WE DEPLOY SUBSTANTIAL NATO -- AND INSIDE THAT RUBRIC, AMERICAN -- AIR POWER TO DEFEND GORAZDE. WE DID IT ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE DUAL-KEY WOULD HAVE TO BE CHANGED. THAT WAS THE VERY CLEAR POLICY ADVICE FROM OUR MILITARY, AND ALL THE CIVILIANS IN THIS GOVERNMENT AGREED TO IT, AND I THINK LAST WEEK I TALKED ABOUT THERE BEING UNANIMITY IN THIS GOVERNMENT ABOUT THAT.

WE HAD DETAILED CONVERSATIONS WITH THE FRENCH, THE BRITISH, THE UNITED NATIONS AND OTHERS. THERE WAS A WRITTEN AGREEMENT WORKED OUT BETWEEN THE MAJOR TROOP-CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES ABOUT HOW A NEW DUAL-KEY SYSTEM WOULD OPERATE.

THE BASIS FOR OUR DECISION TO AGREE TO AIR POWER WAS HAND IN HAND WITH THE DECISION TO ALTER THE DUAL-KEY SYSTEM, AND SO WE STILL BELIEVE IT'S VERY, VERY

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IMPORTANT THAT THE GORAZDE DECISION GO FORWARD WITH THE
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ALTERED DUAL-KEY SYSTEM.

Q JUST A FOLLOW-UP THEN. I STILL DON'T -- IT SOUNDS LIKE YOU'RE SAYING IT THE WAY I JUST STATED IT. LET ME GO AT IT ANOTHER WAY. WILL THE UNITED STATES DO WHAT IT COMMITTED TO DO IN LONDON IF DUAL-KEY REMAINS IN PLACE?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T THINK WE NEED TO ANSWER THAT HYPOTHETICAL BECAUSE WE FULLY EXPECT THAT NATO WILL CODIFY IN AN OPERATIONAL SENSE THE DECISIONS MADE AT LONDON, INCLUDING THE DECISION ON DUAL-KEY.

I'M NOT HERE TO MAKE ANY THREATS OR TO SEND ANY PUBLIC SIGNALS THAT WE'RE GOING TO TAKE OUR MARBLES AND GO HOME IF WE DON'T GET OUR WAY, BECAUSE WE FULLY EXPECT TO GET OUR WAY. OUR WAY IS NOT JUST OUR WAY; IT'S THE WAY THAT THE UNITED KINGDOM AND FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES. GERMANY AND OTHER COUNTRIES HAD DECIDED TO PROCEED MILITARILY. WE FULLY EXPECT THAT THAT WILL BE THE OPERATIONAL DECISION BY THE NAC, AND SO THEREFORE I DON'T THINK IT'S NECESSARY FOR US TO ENGAGE IN HYPOTHETICAL DEBATE ABOUT WHAT MIGHT NOT HAPPEN.

Q SO THERE'S BEEN NO CONSIDERATION IN THIS GOVERNMENT ANYWHERE ABOUT THE WISDOM OF PROCEEDING WITH MASSIVE AIRSTRIKES AROUND GORAZDE IF U.N. CIVILIANS MAINTAIN CONTROL OF THE OPERATION? NOBODY IN THIS GOVERNMENT HAS EVEN THOUGHT ABOUT IT?

MR. BURNS: SINCE WE KNOW WHAT THE LONDON CONFERENCE
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DECIDED, WE KNOW THAT THE NATO CONFERENCE IS HEADED IN
THE DIRECTION OF CODIFYING THIS. I THINK THAT WE ARE
CONFIDENT THAT THIS DECISION WILL BE WORKED OUT.

Q NICK, WHAT HAPPENED? WHY HAS THIS -- IF IT WAS
SO CLEAR, WHY HAS THIS IMPASSE COME TO BE?

MR. BURNS: BECAUSE THERE ARE VERY COMPLICATED
ISSUES. TO TAKE A GENERAL DECISION, LIKE DEFENDING A
CITY, AND THEN TRANSLATING IT INTO A SPECIFIC MILITARY
PLAN HAS PROVEN TO BE AND TURNED OUT TO BE VERY
COMPLICATED.

Q I TALKING SPECIFICALLY ABOUT DUAL-KEY. IF IT
WAS ON PAPER, AS YOU SAY AND WAS VERY SPECIFIC AND WAS
VERY CLEAR, WHY IS IT NOT CLEAR TODAY TO SOME PEOPLE?

MR. BURNS: I THINK MAYBE IT'S BEST TO ADDRESS THAT
QUESTION TO NEW YORK AND TO THE UNITED NATIONS BUT NOT
TO THE UNITED STATES. WE FELT WE HAD AN AGREEMENT. WE
DID NOT HEAR ANY COUNTER-ARGUMENTS ON FRIDAY. WE HAVE
HEARD

COUNTER-ARGUMENTS SINCE, AND WE'RE GOING TO PROCEED AS
BEST WE CAN TO CODIFY THE DECISION THAT WE THINK MAKES
SENSE.

THIS IS NOT JUST A THEORETICAL POINT FOR THE UNITED
STATES. IT'S A VERY IMPORTANT POINT ABOUT MILITARY
EFFECTIVENESS.

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Q DO YOU THINK BOUTROS-GHALI JUST HAD A CHANGE OF
HEART; THAT SOME OF HIS ADVISERS SAID, YOU KNOW, REALLY,
YOU'RE GIVING UP YOUR AUTHORITY?

MR. BURNS: I THINK IT'S BEST TO ADDRESS THAT
QUESTION TO OTHERS. I DON'T WANT TO GET INTO THE
BUSINESS OF INTERPRETING OTHERS. I JUST KNOW HOW

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STRONGLY PEOPLE IN OUR GOVERNMENT FEEL ABOUT THIS.

Q NICK, IF NAC GOES AHEAD AND CODIFIES THIS AND AGREES TO PROCEED, YOU STILL HAVE THE COMPLICATIONS THAT HAVE ARISEN IN TERMS OF HOW THE U.N. FEELS ABOUT IT.

MR. BURNS: WE HOPE TO RESOLVE THOSE COMPLICATIONS TO OUR SATISFACTION. WE INTEND TO. THERE ARE DISCUSSIONS GOING ON TODAY AND LATER ON THIS AFTERNOON UP IN NEW YORK WHERE WE'LL BE REPRESENTED BY AMBASSADOR MADELEINE ALBRIGHT. WE SIMPLY WILL MAKE CLEAR THE CONSENSUS OUT OF LONDON THAT THE PRIOR DUAL-KEY OPERATION WAS NOT WORKING AND THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO ALTER THAT SYSTEM SO THAT UNPROFOR COULD BE MORE EFFECTIVE AND THE WEST CAN BE MORE EFFECTIVE.

Q YOU DON'T KNOW WHETHER, BY THE TIME ALBRIGHT HAS HER MEETINGS IN NEW YORK, WHETHER SHE'LL BE ABLE TO SPEAK ON BEHALF OF ALL OF THE ALLIES, WHETHER A CONSENSUS WILL HAVE BEEN REACHED IN BRUSSELS?

MR. BURNS: WE VERY MUCH HOPE THAT THERE WILL BE A CONSENSUS ON THIS AND ALL ISSUES REACHED IN BRUSSELS. I CAN'T FORECAST WHETHER OR NOT THAT WILL COME BY 5:00

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THIS AFTERNOON. WE'LL HAVE TO SEE.

Q NICK, IF NAC RESOLVES ALL THE QUESTIONS OF DUAL-KEY, CAN YOU PROCEED WITHOUT BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI'S APPROVAL OR IN FACE OF HIS OPPOSITION ON THIS?

MR. BURNS: WE HOPE IT DOESN'T COME TO THAT, BECAUSE WE'RE IN A PARTNERSHIP HERE WITH THE UNITED NATIONS. WE WORK VERY CLOSELY WITH THE UNITED NATIONS, AND WE WANT TO BE GOOD PARTNERS. WE WANT TO HAVE AGREED-UPON RULES OF THE ROAD FOR THAT PARTNERSHIP, AND THAT'S WHAT WE'LL TRY TO DO -- WORK OUT AN AGREEMENT WITH THE UNITED NATIONS.

Q REGARDLESS OF WHETHER THE NAC OR THE U.N.

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AGREES ON PROCEDURES -- AND I KNOW YOU CAN'T SPEAK FOR
BRITAIN AND FRANCE -- BUT WILL THE UNITED STATES LIVE UP
TO

THE COMMITMENT IT MADE TO DEFEND GORAZDE, IN SPITE OF
ALL THE OTHER PERIPHERAL ISSUES?

MR. BURNS: THERE'S NO QUESTION THAT HAVING
DELIVERED AN ULTIMATUM, HAVING PARTICIPATED, BEEN ONE OF
THE THREE COUNTRIES THAT DELIVERED AN ULTIMATUM TO MR.
MLADIC, THE UNITED STATES IS GOING TO LIVE UP TO ITS
COMMITMENTS. WE INTEND TO DO THAT. THERE'S NO QUESTION
ABOUT THAT.

Q REGARDLESS OF THE DUAL KEY?

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MR. BURNS: I'M NOT OPERATING ON THAT ASSUMPTION OR
THAT BASIS. THE DECISION TAKEN BY THE PRESIDENT TO
COMMIT PRIVATELY AND PUBLICLY TO DEPLOY U.S. AIR POWER
WITHIN NATO IN A SUBSTANTIAL WAY, SHOULD IT BE
NECESSARY, WAS TAKEN ON THE BASIS OF SEVERAL
ASSUMPTIONS. THOSE ASSUMPTIONS WERE AGREED TO AT
LONDON. WE BELIEVE THEY WILL BE AGREED TO IN BRUSSELS
BY THE NAC.

I REALLY DON'T WANT TO GO DOWN A HYPOTHETICAL ROAD.

I'M JUST GOING TO TALK ABOUT REALITY AND WHAT'S
HAPPENING TODAY. I THINK ALL OF OUR PARTNERS ARE AWARE
OF OUR POSITION.

Q IT'S NOT HYPOTHETICAL FOR 70,000 PEOPLE IN
GORAZDE WHO ARE COUNTING ON WASHINGTON TO DEFEND THEM.
CAN YOU REASSURE THEM AND TELL THEM THAT REGARDLESS,
EVEN IF YOU HAVE TO GO IT ALONE, WILL THE UNITED STATES
LIVE UP TO THE COMMITMENT IT MADE IN LONDON?

MR. BURNS: I THINK IT'S IMPORTANT FOR THOSE PEOPLE
LIVING IN GORAZDE TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE WEST MADE
DECISIONS IN LONDON, IT WASN'T JUST THE UNITED STATES,

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AND THAT ALL OF US OUGHT TO LIVE UP TO THE COMMITMENTS THAT WE MADE IN LONDON. THE UNITED STATES CERTAINLY INTENDS TO DO THAT.

BETSY.

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Q DO YOU HAVE A READOUT ON THE KOZYREV MEETINGS IN BELGRADE?

MR. BURNS: WE HAVE A VERY BRIEF READOUT. WE RECEIVED IT TODAY FROM THE RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY. I THINK MINISTER KOZYREV IS ON HIS WAY BACK TO MOSCOW AFTER HAVING MET MR. MILOSEVIC AND I BELIEVE MR. MLADIC IN BELGRADE.

THE READOUT IS VERY BRIEF. IT IS THAT MR. KOZYREV, I THINK, CONVEYED TO THEM THE SERIOUSNESS OF PURPOSE THAT WAS PRESENT AT THE LONDON CONFERENCE. HE HAS PROMISED TO GET IN TOUCH WITH SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AND OTHERS IN OUR GOVERNMENT UPON HIS RETURN TO MOSCOW. SO I DON'T HAVE ANYTHING IN MORE DETAIL THAN THAT.

Q ONE MORE QUESTION. I UNDERSTAND THAT HE DID WRITE -- THAT KOZYREV WROTE THE SECRETARY A LETTER TO TELL HIM THAT HE WAS GOING TO GO TO BELGRADE. DID THAT LETTER ALSO CONTAIN WHAT HE WAS GOING TO SAY?

MR. BURNS: YES. MINISTER KOZYREV WROTE THE SECRETARY YESTERDAY A LETTER SAYING THAT PRESIDENT YELTSIN HAD INSTRUCTED HIM TO GO TO BELGRADE TO HAVE SERIOUS TALKS WITH THE SERBIAN AND BOSNIAN SERB LEADERSHIP ABOUT THE RESULTS OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE.

WE HAD EVERY EXPECTATION THAT MINISTER KOZYREV WAS IN THIS SENSE CARRYING A HELPFUL MESSAGE ON THE PART OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, - HELPFUL TO OUR POSITION -- TO THE BOSNIAN SERBS AND TO THE SERBIAN LEADERSHIP.

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DAVID.

Q YOU'VE SAID THAT THERE'S A PROBLEM, AND IT'S PUBLICLY KNOWN THAT THERE IS A PROBLEM WITH THE CIVILIAN LEADERSHIP AT THE U.N. OVER THE QUESTION OF DUAL-KEY. BUT UNDER THE ASSUMPTION THAT THERE ISN'T A PROBLEM IN BRUSSELS ON THE DUAL-KEY QUESTION, WHAT IS THE PROBLEM IN BRUSSELS?

MR. BURNS: I THINK WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN BRUSSELS OVER THE LAST 48 HOURS IS THAT THE DECISIONS IN LONDON ARE SERIOUS DECISIONS. TO TRANSLATE THEM INTO OPERATIONAL CONTENT, OPERATIONAL DETAIL, HAS PROVEN TO BE COMPLICATED. THERE ARE SOME TACTICAL DISAGREEMENTS ON SOME ISSUES. BUT, IN THE MAIN, WE CERTAINLY ARE PUSHING HARD TO TRANSLATE THOSE DECISIONS INTO PRACTICAL REALITIES AND WE'LL CONTINUE TO DO THAT. WE'RE CONFIDENT THAT THE NAC WILL EVENTUALLY END, WHETHER IT'S TODAY OR TOMORROW, AND END HAVING CODIFIED THE MAJOR DECISIONS FROM LONDON. WE DON'T SEE ANY OTHER WAY TO MOVE FORWARD.

Q FOR EXAMPLE, DO AMERICA'S ALLIES AGREE WITH IT THAT SHOULD GORAZDE BE ATTACKED, MASSIVE AIR POWER SHOULD BE USED, NOT EXCLUDING ANY TARGETS?

MR. BURNS: THAT'S ONE OF THE ISSUES THAT'S BEEN DISCUSSED. IT'S BEEN QUITE COMPLICATED TO WORK OUT, AND WE HOPE VERY MUCH WE CAN WORK IT OUT VERY SOON.

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Q WHAT ABOUT DIFFERENCES AS TO WHICH TARGETS SHOULD BE THREATENED IN THE CASE OF AN ATTACK ON GORAZDE?

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MR. BURNS: AS I SAID, IT'S BEEN VERY COMPLICATED. THERE HAVE BEEN SOME TACTICAL DIFFERENCES THAT WE HOPE CAN BE WORKED OUT.

WHAT I DON'T WANT TO DO, BECAUSE THERE IS A MEETING GOING ON AND I CAN'T POSSIBLY TELL YOU WHERE THE MEETING IS NOW SINCE I WALKED IN THE DOOR HERE, I JUST DON'T WANT TO RUN THROUGH WHERE I THINK THE RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES ARE, BECAUSE POSITIONS ARE CHANGING, VIEWS ARE BEING EXPRESSED TODAY. THEY'RE SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT THAN YESTERDAY. WE ARE WORKING HARD TO MAKE SURE THAT THE LONDON CONFERENCE DECISIONS ARE GOING TO NOW BE CODIFIED. THAT'S THE MOST IMPORTANT THING THAT WE'VE GOT TO DO RIGHT NOW.

I WON'T HIDE THE FACT THAT IT'S BEEN MORE COMPLICATED THAN WE THOUGHT, BUT WE'RE HOPING VERY MUCH FOR SUCCESS.

Q NICK, SECRETARY PERRY SAID LAST WEEK THAT IF THERE WAS BOMBING, THE FIRST TARGETS WOULD BE THE SERB AIR DEFENSE SYSTEMS. IS THAT STILL THE CASE, OR IS THAT ANOTHER OF THE THINGS THAT'S --

MR. BURNS: I KNOW THAT SECRETARY PERRY SAID THAT ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS, AND I CERTAINLY WOULD NOT TAKE ISSUE WITH THAT.

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Q ON GENERAL MLADIC, HAVE YOU SEEN THE REPORT THAT THE WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL IN THE HAGUE HAS ISSUED WARRANTS FOR HIM AND PRESIDENT KARADZIC AND 31 OTHERS, I THINK. DOES THAT COMPLICATE THINGS IN ANY SENSE? DOES IT HARDEN THEIR POSITION OR MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THEM TO GO ABROAD TO DEAL WITH POSSIBLE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS?

MR. BURNS: IT'S HARD TO SAY WHETHER IT WILL COMPLICATE THINGS, JIM. FROM OUR PERSPECTIVE, IT CLARIFIES RESPONSIBILITY -- THESE INDICTMENTS -- FOR

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CRIMES COMMITTED IN 1992 AND IN 1995.

LET ME JUST GIVE YOU OUR SENSE OF WHAT THIS DECISION MEANS. WE WERE APPRISED THIS MORNING THAT THE PROSECUTOR FOR THE YUGOSLAV WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL ANNOUNCED THAT INDICTMENTS AND ARREST WARRANTS HAD, INDEED, BEEN ISSUED AGAINST THE BOSNIAN SERB PRESIDENT, MR. KARADZIC, AND THE SERB ARMY COMMANDER, MR. MLADIC, AS WELL AS THE CROATIAN SERB PRESIDENT, MR. MARTIC, AND SOME 21 OTHERS, IN ADDITION TO THOSE THREE INDIVIDUALS.

KARADZIC AND MLADIC ARE BEING CHARGED WITH GENOCIDE AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY ARISING, AMONG OTHERS, FROM ATROCITIES PERPETRATED AGAINST THE CIVILIAN POPULATION THROUGHOUT BOSNIA, FOR THE SNIPING CAMPAIGN AGAINST CIVILIANS IN SARAJEVO, FOR THE TAKING OF U.N. PEACEKEEPERS AS HOSTAGES IN 1995, AND FOR THEIR USE AS HUMAN SHIELDS.

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THE OTHER INDIVIDUALS, BEYOND THE LEADERS THAT I MENTIONED, HAVE BEEN INDICTED IN RELATION TO INVESTIGATIONS RELATING TO INCIDENTS IN SEVERAL TOWNS THROUGHOUT BOSNIA IN 1992.

A TOTAL OF 46 PEOPLE HAVE BEEN ACCUSED BY THE TRIBUNAL OF SERIOUS VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. AS I SAID, THE INDICTMENTS ANNOUNCED TODAY RELATE TO EVENTS WHICH OCCURRED IN BOTH CROATIA AND BOSNIA AND TO ATROCITIES COMMITTED AGAINST BOSNIAN MUSLIMS, BOSNIAN CROATS, AND AGAINST CROATIANS. THEY DO COVER EVENTS THAT TOOK PLACE IN TWO YEARS -- 1992 AND 1995.

JUSTICE GOLDSTONE IS INVESTIGATING ALLEGED CRIMES ALSO BY MUSLIMS AND CROATS, BUT HIS INVESTIGATION OF THOSE ALLEGED CRIMES IS BEING DELAYED BY A LACK OF COOPERATION FROM THE PALE AUTHORITIES, INTERESTINGLY ENOUGH.

WE BELIEVE THAT THE ACTION TAKEN BY THE TRIBUNAL IN

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PROSECUTING WAR CRIMES IS IN THE LONG-TERM INTEREST OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND IN OUR LONG-TERM INTEREST TO ACHIEVE PEACE IN THE REGION.

Q NICK, WHAT IS THE LIKELIHOOD, DO YOU THINK, THAT KARADZIC AND MLADIC WILL EVER BE BROUGHT TO TRIAL? THERE IS THIS PROBLEM OF GETTING THEM INTO CUSTODY.

MR. BURNS: THERE IS THE PROBLEM OF BRINGING THEM TO TRIAL BECAUSE IT MIGHT BE DIFFICULT TO BRING THEM INTO CUSTODY. THAT'S CORRECT.

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IT'S HARD TO KNOW WHAT THE EVENTUAL OUTCOME WILL BE. WE BELIEVE THAT IF INDICTMENTS HAVE BEEN HANDED DOWN THAT TRIALS OBVIOUSLY SHOULD TAKE PLACE. BUT RIGHT NOW, I THINK THE WARTIME CONDITIONS MIGHT MAKE THAT VERY DIFFICULT.

WE CERTAINLY SUPPORT THE ACTIVITIES OF THE TRIBUNAL, AND WE'LL CONTINUE TO.

Q NICK, WHAT ABOUT THE IMPACT OF THIS ON ANY PEACE EFFORTS? DOES THIS MEAN NOW THAT THEY'RE INDICTED THAT U.N. NEGOTIATORS -- CONTACT GROUP NEGOTIATORS -- WILL NOT BE ABLE TO TALK TO THEM?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T BELIEVE SO. I THINK IN THIS SENSE -- IN RESPONSE TO YOUR SPECIFIC QUESTION -- THE JUDICIAL AND POLITICAL PROCESSES ARE SOMEWHAT DISTINCT.

THESE INDIVIDUALS HAVE BEEN ACCUSED AND NOW INDICTED OF VARIOUS CRIMES. THEY HAVE NOT BEEN CONVICTED IN TRIALS. SO I DON'T BELIEVE THAT THEIR INDICTMENT MEANS THAT THE UNITED NATIONS IS PRECLUDED FROM CONTACT WITH THEM.

IN SAYING THAT, I DO WANT TO SAY WE SUPPORT THE WORK THAT HAS BEEN DONE. WE HAVE CONTRIBUTED BOTH FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE, AND A NUMBER OF AMERICANS HAVE BEEN DETAILED

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TO WORK FOR THE TRIBUNAL.

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Q WHAT IF THE U.N. NEGOTIATORS WENT TO MEET WITH THEM AT PALE? WOULDN'T IT A RESPONSIBILITY OF THAT U.N. OFFICIAL OR THAT U.N.-ASSOCIATED OFFICIAL -- HOWEVER YOU WANT TO DEFINE IT -- TO TAKE THEM INTO CUSTODY?

MR. BURNS: THAT'S AN INTERESTING QUESTION. IT COULD VERY WELL BE THE THEORETICAL RESPONSIBILITY. BUT ACTUALIZING THAT AND ACTUALLY DOING IT MIGHT BE QUITE DIFFICULT GIVEN THE FACT THAT THERE IS A WAR GOING ON.

WHENEVER THE UNITED NATIONS NEGOTIATORS SHOW UP IN PALE, THEY DO SO IN A SENSE THAT THEY'RE OUT-NUMBERED. THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE GUNS AND THE U.N. DIPLOMATS DO NOT; JUST TO BE PRACTICAL ABOUT IT.

Q SO AT ANY RATE, THE BOTTOM LINE, THOUGH, IS THAT EVEN THOUGH THESE GUYS NOW HAVE BEEN INDICTED, THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ALLIES INTEND TO CONTINUE TO TRY TO NEGOTIATE PEACE WITH THEM BECAUSE YOU HAVE NO CHOICE, RIGHT?

MR. BURNS: AS I SAID, THESE ARE DISTINCT PROCESSES BECAUSE THESE INDIVIDUALS HAVE NOT BEEN CONVICTED, THEY HAVE BEEN INDICTED. A NUMBER OF OTHERS ARE UNDER INVESTIGATION. THAT'S AN IMPORTANT PROCESS THAT WE

SUPPORT, BUT I DON'T THINK IT WILL STOP THE ACTIVITIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND COUNTRIES LIKE THE UNITED STATES TO TRY TO SEEK A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE AREA.

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Q DO YOU KNOW IF ARREST WARRANTS ARE GOING TO BE ISSUED FOR THEM? OR IS THE INTENTION NOT TO ISSUE ARREST WARRANTS, PRECISELY TO GET AROUND THIS PROBLEM, IN CASE YOU ONE DAY WANT TO INVITE THEM TO GENEVA OR SOMETHING FOR PEACE TALKS?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T KNOW. THAT'S A QUESTION, I THINK, FOR THE TRIBUNAL AND THE UNITED NATIONS. THE TRIBUNAL OPERATES UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS. IT'S A QUESTION FOR THEM. I SIMPLY DON'T KNOW THE ANSWER TO THAT.

Q NICK, COULD YOU TELL US ANYTHING ABOUT THE REPORT IN THE NEW YORK TIMES TODAY THAT QUOTES AMERICAN OFFICIALS AS SAYING THAT THERE IS INTELLIGENCE SHOWING THAT THE FRENCH PROBABLY BOMBED PALE; DROPPED A BOMB ON A HOUSE IN PALE?

MR. BURNS: DAVID, ALL I CAN SAY IS THAT THE SPOKESWOMAN FOR THE PRESIDENT OF FRANCE HAS DENIED THAT PARTICULAR REPORT, AS HAVE OTHER FRENCH OFFICIALS, ON THE RECORD. SO I HAVE TO REFER YOU TO THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT ON THAT ONE.

Q HAVE YOU ASKED THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT?

MR. BURNS: I'M NOT AWARE WHAT KIND OF CONVERSATIONS WE'VE HAD WITH THE FRENCH ON THIS. BUT I WOULD JUST SIMPLY NOTE THAT THE FRENCH HAVE PUBLICLY DENIED THAT, INDEED, THEY TOOK THIS ACTION. I WOULD REFER YOU TO THE FRENCH FOR ANY FURTHER QUESTIONS.

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Q CAN YOU TELL US WHETHER OR NOT IT'S TRUE THAT AMERICAN OFFICIALS SAW EVIDENCE THAT A PLANE HAD FLOWN OVER PALE THAT DAY AND THAT --

MR. BURNS: I CANNOT. I SIMPLY HAVE NOT BEEN

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INVOLVED IN THE DETAILS OF THIS PARTICULAR QUESTION. I CANNOT TELL YOU. I CANNOT CONFIRM THAT REPORT EITHER WAY.

Q NICK, THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT DID NOT SPECIFICALLY DENY NEW ARTILLERY PLACEMENTS ON MOUNT IGMAN COULD HAVE POSSIBLY FIRED ARTILLERY RATHER THAN AN AIRSTRIKE. HAS THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT INFORMED YOU IN ANY WAY THAT WAS THE CASE?

MR. BURNS: I SIMPLY DON'T KNOW. I HADN'T HEARD THAT ANGLE BEFORE.

I WAS ANSWERING A SPECIFIC QUESTION. I BELIEVE THAT THE SPOKESWOMAN FOR PRESIDENT CHIRAC WAS ASKED YESTERDAY WHETHER OR NOT FRENCH AIRCRAFT HAD BOMBED PALE. SHE SAID, NO. THAT'S THE QUOTE THAT I READ IN THE PRESS. I'M BASING MY COMMENTS ON THAT REPORT.

Q THE PRESIDENT, HIMSELF, SAID HE HAD ORDERED A COUNTER-ATTACK.

MR. BURNS: I SAW THAT QUOTE AS WELL.

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Q SO I'M ASKING, AGAIN, IS THERE EVIDENCE THAT IT WAS AN ARTILLERY STRIKE RATHER THAN AN AIRSTRIKE?

MR. BURNS: I'M NOT AWARE OF ANY EVIDENCE THAT IT WAS AN ARTILLERY STRIKE AS OPPOSED TO AN AIRSTRIKE.

Q LET ME ASK THE QUESTION JUST ANOTHER WAY. ARE YOU AWARE OF ANY COUNTER-ATTACK BY THE FRENCH, QUITE APART FROM WHAT CHIRAC MAY HAVE SAID?

MR. BURNS: I WOULD JUST REFER YOU BACK TO MY ORIGINAL STATEMENT, AND THAT IS THAT WE HAVE NOTED THE FRENCH RESPONSE ON THIS. I WOULD REFER YOU TO THE FRENCH FOR FURTHER INFORMATION.

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Q DOES IT MATTER? DO YOU CARE IF THEY DID?

MR. BURNS: I THINK IT PROBABLY MATTERS.

Q YOU WOULD BE SUPPORTIVE, RIGHT?

MR. BURNS: LET ME CHOOSE MY WORDS CAREFULLY HERE.

I THINK IT MATTERS A GREAT DEAL. WE CARE VERY DEEPLY BUT I HAVE NOTHING FURTHER TO SAY THAN WHAT I'VE SAID.

Q (INAUDIBLE).

MR. BURNS: EXCUSE ME? WE'RE JUST SAYING WHAT WE'RE SAYING. THE FACT IS, THERE ARE A LOT OF REPORTS OUT THERE. WE HAVE NOTED AN EQUIVOCAL STATEMENT THAT THE
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BOMBING ATTACK DID NOT TAKE PLACE BY FRENCH PLANES.
WE'VE NOTED THAT, AND WE REFER YOU TO THE FRENCH
GOVERNMENT FOR ANY FURTHER QUESTIONS.

Q NICK, WHAT ARE THE RULES OF ENGAGEMENT FOR THE
FRENCH ARTILLERY WHICH IS NOW PLACED ON MOUNT IGMAN?
THE SERBS ARE CONTINUING BOMBING SARAJEVO, AND THE
FRENCH DO NOT RESPOND TO THAT; THEY WOULD RESPOND IF
THEY THEMSELVES WERE ATTACKED. WHAT IF THE SUPPLY
TRAINS WERE ATTACKED OR WERE BOMBED BY THE SERB
ARTILLERY. WOULD THE FRENCH FORCES RESPOND TO THAT?

MR. BURNS: THAT'S A QUESTION, AGAIN, FOR THE
FRENCH. I GUESS WE SHOULD HAVE HELD TODAY'S BRIEFING IN
PARIS. IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN MORE ILLUMINATING.

WE THINK IT'S A GOOD THING THAT THE BRITISH AND
FRENCH HAVE GONE UP TO MOUNT IGMAN; THAT THEY HAVE
WIDENED THE ROAD IN SOME PLACES; THAT THEY WANT TO GET
CONVOYS THROUGH. THIS WAS CLEARLY THE SPIRIT OF WHAT
WAS AGREED TO IN LONDON ON SARAJEVO.

AS TO WHAT THEIR RULES OF ENGAGEMENT ARE, I CAN'T
SPEAK FOR THE FRENCH MILITARY. YOU'LL HAVE TO ASK THE

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FRENCH MILITARY AND THE UNITED NATIONS WHAT THE RULES OF ENGAGEMENT ARE.

Q ANOTHER SUBJECT?

MR. BURNS: SURE.

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Q DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING MORE ON IRAQ AND WHETHER OR NOT WE'RE DOING ANY NEGOTIATING OR MEDIATING WITH THE IRAQI GROUPS?

MR. BURNS: YES, I BELIEVE I DO. WE HAVE HAD A LONG-TERM INTEREST SINCE MARCH AND APRIL OF 1991 IN TRYING TO WORK WITH THE GROUPS IN NORTHERN IRAQ TO GET THEM TO UNIFY -- BECAUSE THEY HAVE BEEN FEUDING FOR A LONG TIME -- TO CREATE CONDITIONS OF STABILITY IN NORTHERN IRAQ.

WE HAVE SENT, ON A REGULAR BASIS, AMERICAN DIPLOMATS INTO NORTHERN IRAQ -- PEOPLE WHO WORK IN THIS BUILDING -- TO TALK WITH BOTH GROUPS TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO END THEIR PARTICULAR FEUDS AND TO COALESCE SO THAT THEY CAN CREATE A BASIS FOR STABILITY, FOR PROTECTION FROM TERRORISM IN NORTHERN IRAQ -- THAT'S BEEN A REAL PROBLEM BECAUSE OF THE PKK, A KURDISH GROUP; AND TO PREPARE THEMSELVES FOR THE FUTURE, WHATEVER MAY HAPPEN IN THE FUTURE IN IRAQ.

WE'VE, IN FACT, JUST HAD, QUITE RECENTLY, AN OFFICER IN NORTHERN IRAQ TO HAVE THESE CONVERSATIONS. HE IS TRYING TO GET THEM BOTH TO COMMIT TO A PLAN OF ACTION IN THE FUTURE. I BELIEVE ONE OF THE GROUPS HAS DECIDED TO DO THAT AND ONE HAS NOT. SO WE'LL KEEP WORKING AT THAT.

Q THE ONE THAT HAS NOT, ARE YOU SAYING THAT THEY REJECTED IT OR THAT THEY JUST HAVEN'T GIVEN AN ANSWER?

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MR. BURNS: I DON'T KNOW IN FACT THAT THEY'VE
TOTALLY REJECTED IT, BUT WE HAVEN'T HAD SUCCESS IN
GETTING THEM TO AGREE TO WHAT WE HAVE BEEN PROPOSING
BUT WE'LL WORK AT IT, AND WE'LL CONTINUE TO WORK WITH
BOTH GROUPS. IT'S IMPORTANT THAT WE DO THAT.

Q AND WHEN WAS THIS MOST RECENT CONTACT?

MR. BURNS: I BELIEVE IT WAS A COUPLE OF WEEKS AGO.

Q A COUPLE OF WEEKS.

MR. BURNS: I CAN CHECK ON THAT, TO BE MORE
SPECIFIC. BUT WE HAVE REGULAR CONTACTS BY DEPARTMENT
OFFICIALS, AND WE'LL CONTINUE THOSE CONTACTS, BECAUSE,
AFTER ALL, WE'RE ONE OF THE FOUR MAJOR COUNTRIES IN
"PROVIDE COMFORT II," AND WE HAVE AN INTEREST IN
STABILITY IN NORTHERN IRAQ; AND THE ACTIONS OF THESE TWO
MAJOR KURDISH GROUPS ARE THE KEY FACTOR IN WHETHER OR
NOT NORTHERN IRAQ IS GOING TO BE STABLE.

Q NICK, CAN YOU SAY WHICH GROUP HAS ACCEPTED THE
PROPOSAL, AND DO WE KNOW WHICH GROUP HAS REJECTED -- HAS
NOT COMMITTED TO IT YET? AND CAN YOU PUT SOME MEAT ON

THE BONES OF THE PROPOSAL? WHAT SORT OF SPECIFIC THINGS
ARE YOU ASKING THEM TO DO?

MR. BURNS: I THINK IT'S FAIR TO SAY THAT THE
PATRIOTIC UNION OF KURDISTAN HAS ACCEPTED OUR OFFER, AND
THE KURDISH DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS AT THIS POINT HELD BACK
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A LITTLE BIT. WE'D LIKE TO BRIDGE THE DIFFERENCES

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BETWEEN THESE TWO GROUPS AND WE'LL CONTINUE TO DO THAT.

Q WHAT IS IT SPECIFICALLY THAT YOU'D LIKE THEM TO DO?

MR. BURNS: WE'D LIKE THEM TO RECONCILE THEIR DIFFERENCES, WORK TOGETHER FOR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL AND CIVIL STABILITY IN NORTHERN IRAQ, WHICH HAS BEEN SADLY LACKING OVER THE LAST FOUR YEARS.

Q YOU MEAN FORM A GOVERNMENT OF SOME KIND?

MR. BURNS: AT THIS POINT, AS YOU KNOW WE RECOGNIZE IRAQI SOVEREIGNTY IN NORTHERN IRAQ. WE DON'T RECOGNIZE KURDISH SOVEREIGNTY. WE HAVE NOT RECOGNIZED THE KURDISH STATE. BUT WE CERTAINLY WOULD LIKE THE KURDISH PEOPLE TO LIVE IN THE BEST POSSIBLE CONDITIONS THAT THEY CAN, AND THAT IS CERTAINLY A FUNCTION OF HOW THESE TWO RIVAL GROUPS COOPERATE OR FAIL TO COOPERATE.

SO I THINK OUR OBJECTIVES ARE TO GET THEM TO WORK TOGETHER FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRAQ. BUT IT'S NOT A QUESTION OF RECOGNIZING A GOVERNMENT; GOVERNMENT ENTAILS SOVEREIGNTY, AND I THINK YOU KNOW WE DO RECOGNIZE IRAQI SOVEREIGNTY ABOVE THE 36TH PARALLEL.

Q BUT YOU RECOGNIZE THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL AUTHORITY AND THAT'S NOT A GOVERNMENT PER SE.

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MR. BURNS: THAT'S A DIFFERENT SITUATION.

Q RIGHT. BUT ARE YOU TELLING US -- IT'S SORT OF A MUNICIPAL -- I DON'T WANT TO USE "GOVERNMENT" -- BUT "MUNICIPAL" FOR LACK OF A BETTER WORD -- SOME SORT OF RULING BODY THAT WOULD OVERSEE KURDISH AFFAIRS?

MR. BURNS: NO. AT THIS POINT I THINK IT'S MORE FUNDAMENTAL THAN THAT. THESE GROUPS HAVE BEEN FEUDING.

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THEY HAVE FOUGHT EACH OTHER IN THE PAST, IN THE RECENT PAST, AND WE THINK THEY NEED TO COOPERATE, BOTH FOR THEIR OWN GOOD, BUT ALSO FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE PEOPLE WHOM THEY REPRESENT. SO IT'S NOT A QUESTION OF ESTABLISHING A GOVERNMENT OR A GOVERNING ENTITY AT THIS POINT. I BELIEVE IT'S A QUESTION OF TRYING TO RESOLVE A FEUD AND GET THEM TO AGREE ON A COMMON PLAN OF ACTION TO MAKE NORTHERN IRAQ A BETTER PLACE FOR THE PEOPLE OF THAT REGION TO LIVE.

Q DID THE UNITED STATES PROPOSE ANY FORMULAS FOR REVENUE SHARING AMONG THESE TWO GROUPS?

MR. BURNS: I'M NOT AWARE THAT WE DID.

Q NICK, CAN WE GET A SITUATION REPORT ON BIHAC AND PERHAPS A REACTION TO THE REPORTS THAT CROATIAN GOVERNMENT FORCES ARE NOW INVOLVED IN THE FIGHTING THERE?

MR. BURNS: CERTAINLY. THE SITUATION, AS WE UNDERSTAND IT, IN BIHAC IS QUITE CRITICAL. ONE OF THE
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MAJOR OFFENSIVES OF THE LAST COUPLE OF YEARS WAS BEGUN LAST WEEK BY THE BOSNIAN SERB MILITARY LEADERSHIP. WE BELIEVE THEY'RE ATTEMPTING TO DIVIDE THE POCKET INTO TWO TO MAKE IT MORE EASILY CONQUERABLE IN THE FUTURE.

WE OBVIOUSLY HAVE CALLED REPEATEDLY UPON THE BOSNIAN SERB MILITARY LEADERS TO CEASE AND DESIST FROM THESE ACTIONS. THEY ARE EXPOSING THE CIVILIAN POPULATION OF BIHAC TO SHELLING, TO KILLING, TO SNIPING, AND IT SHOULD STOP.

AT THE SAME TIME, WE HAVE ADVISED ALL THE PARTIES IN THE REGION THAT AN ESCALATION OF THE CONFLICT CANNOT SERVE OUR LONG-TERM INTEREST IN PEACE IN THE AREA, AND THAT'S BASICALLY THE EXTENT, I THINK, OF THE INFORMATION, DAVID, THAT I HAVE HERE TODAY ON BIHAC.

Q AND THERE STILL ARE REPORTS THAT CROATIAN FORCES ARE FIGHTING IN BIHAC?

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MR. BURNS: WE UNDERSTAND THAT ELEMENTS OF THE

CROATIAN ARMY HAVE GONE INTO ACTION AROUND BIHAC. THEY ARE DOING THIS, WE BELIEVE, AS PART OF THE FEDERATION -- THE BOSNIAN-CROATIAN FEDERATION -- IN AN ATTEMPT TO DEFEND BIHAC AGAINST THE KRAJINA SERBS AND THE BOSNIAN SERBS AND OTHERS IN THE AREA.

Q NICK, WOULD YOU THEN SAY THAT PERHAPS THE UNITED STATES EFFORT TO GET THIS FEDERATION -- TO FORM THIS FEDERATION MAY BE BACKFIRING ON YOU IN THIS REGARD?
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MR. BURNS: I DON'T THINK SO. I THINK WE BELIEVE THAT THE FORMATION OF THE FEDERATION HAS BEEN ONE OF THE FEW MAJOR POSITIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE LAST COUPLE OF YEARS IN BOSNIA. IT HAS CERTAINLY STRENGTHENED BOSNIA ITSELF, AND WE HOPE IT WILL LEND A MEASURE OF STABILITY IN THE FUTURE AS THE PEACE TALKS BEGIN.

WE HAVE BEEN ACTIVE IN TRYING TO ADVISE THEM ON HOW BEST TO SET UP THE FEDERATION, INCLUDING THE MILITARY PARTS OF THE FEDERATION -- NOT IN TERMS OF TACTICS OR STRATEGY BUT IN ORGANIZATION -- AND WE ARE VERY GREAT SUPPORTERS OF THE FEDERATION.

Q IN THIS POINT IT SEEMS TO BE THAT THE FEDERATION IS BECOMING A MECHANISM FOR EXACTLY WHAT YOU DON'T WANT TO HAPPEN, WHICH IS TO HAVE CROATIAN INVOLVEMENT.

MR. BURNS: I THINK THE PROPER SPOTLIGHT OUGHT TO BE PUT ON THE BOSNIAN SERBS. THE FEDERATION DID NOT START THE FIGHTING IN BIHAC. IT WASN'T THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT. IT

WASN'T THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT. IT WAS THE BOSNIAN SERBS AND THEIR ALLIES, THE KRAJINA SERBS. THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FIGHTING RESTS ON THEIR

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SHOULDERS, AND THAT'S WHERE OUR SPOTLIGHT IS TODAY.

Q WHY AREN'T YOU WELCOMING THE CROATIANS HELPING
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THEIR FELLOW FEDERATION MEMBERS?

MR. BURNS: DAVID, I THINK WE'RE IN A SITUATION
WHERE FIGHTING HAS BROKEN OUT ALL OVER BOSNIA. WE
BELIEVE IT'S IMPORTANT THAT THE WAR BE CONTAINED, AND WE
ALSO BELIEVE IT'S IMPORTANT THAT THE WAR NOT BE
ESCALATED IN ANY PART OF THE COUNTRY. WE BELIEVE THAT

U.N. MANDATES AND RESOLUTIONS OUGHT TO BE RESPECTED.

BETSY.

Q DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING NEW TODAY ON THE KASHMIRI
REBELS HOLDING HOSTAGES? THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT HAS SAID
THAT THEY WILL NOT NEGOTIATE FOR THE RELEASE OF THESE
HOSTAGES.

MR. BURNS: I DON'T HAVE ANYTHING NEW. WE'RE
CONTINUING TO FOLLOW THE SITUATION THROUGH THE INDIAN
GOVERNMENT. WE SUPPORT THE ACTIONS OF THE INDIAN
GOVERNMENT. WE CALL ON THE AL-FARAN GROUP TO RELEASE
MR. HUTCHINGS AND THE OTHER WESTERNERS WHO ARE BEING
HELD HOSTAGE, BUT I HAVE NO NEW INFORMATION ON THEIR
STATUS.

Q BACK ON NORTHERN IRAQ. DO YOU HAVE THE NAME OF
THE U.S. DIPLOMAT WHO WAS OUT THERE MOST RECENTLY?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T.

Q NICK, DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ON HARRY WU?
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MR. BURNS: THERE'S NOTHING NEW ON HARRY WU. OUR CHARGE D'AFFAIRES, SCOTT HALLFORD, WAS IN AGAIN TODAY, IN CONVERSATIONS WITH CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY, SEEKING CONSULAR ACCESS. I DON'T BELIEVE HE'S BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN SEEKING GREATER CONSULAR ACCESS -- GREATER FLEXIBILITY ON THE PART OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT ABOUT THE CONSULAR CONVENTION, AND THAT CALLS FOR A MINIMUM OF ONE VISIT PER MONTH.

Q WHEN IS THAT IN EFFECT? DO YOU KNOW, NICK?

MR. BURNS: I'LL HAVE TO CHECK. I BELIEVE WE'VE GOT A COUPLE OF WEEKS LEFT. I THINK THAT MR. MACIAS WENT TO WUHAN, IF I'M NOT MISTAKEN, TWO WEEKS AGO MONDAY, BUT I'LL CHECK ON THAT.

Q NICK, HAS THE U.S. IN A COUPLE OF WEEKS OF STUDY REACHED A CONCLUSION AS TO WHETHER HIS DETENTION IS LEGAL, EVEN UNDER CHINESE LAW?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T THINK WE'VE PURSUED THAT QUITE AGGRESSIVELY, BECAUSE IT'S NOT BEEN A QUESTION FOR US OF LEGALITY, AS MUCH AS IT'S BEEN A QUESTION OF REASON. WE BELIEVE THAT HARRY WU SHOULD BE RELEASED IMMEDIATELY HE WAS TRAVELING ON A VALID AMERICAN PASSPORT AND

RECEIVED A VALID CHINESE VISA AND WAS SUMMARILY AND SUDDENLY DETAINED AND THEN ARRESTED. WE DON'T THINK THAT'S RIGHT, AND WE THINK THE CHINESE OUGHT TO RELEASE HIM.

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SO WE'RE NOT PURSUING A DEFINED LEGAL ARGUMENT HERE AS MUCH AS WE ARE A PRACTICAL HUMANITARIAN AND POLITICAL ARGUMENT, AND THAT IS THEY OUGHT NOT TO HOLD HIM. THEY OUGHT NOT TO TRY HIM. THEY OUGHT TO SEND HIM BACK TO

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THE UNITED STATES SO HE CAN LIVE HERE IN PEACE AND FREEDOM.

Q AMBASSADOR LORD SAID ON THE HILL YESTERDAY IT WAS ILLEGAL AND IMMORAL.

MR. BURNS: IT'S CERTAINLY IMMORAL, AND I'M SURE IF AMBASSADOR LORD SAID IT WAS ILLEGAL, IT IS, BECAUSE HE CHOOSES HIS WORDS CAREFULLY. THE PRIMARY MESSAGE WE SENT TO THE GOVERNMENT OF CHINA IS THAT WE DON'T THINK THIS IS GOING TO HELP THE QUEST TO IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA -- IN FACT IT WILL HURT IT -- AND WE THINK IT CERTAINLY GOES AGAINST THE GRAIN OF WHAT IS REASONABLE AND ON A HUMANITARIAN BASIS WE WOULD ASK THAT HE BE RELEASED.

Q THANK YOU.

MR. BURNS: THANK YOU. CHRISTOPHER

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I/GEA, B/TW, B/TP; STATE FOR RAP/CM

E.O. 12356: N/A

SUBJECT: CHINA MEDIA REACTION -- JULY 31, 1995

SUMMARY: CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER QIAN QICHEN, IN
BRUNEI TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ASEAN REGIONAL FORUM,
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 13 MAR 2009 200705105

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ATTEMPTS TO REFUTE THE "CHINA THREAT" THEORY. MINISTRY
OF FOREIGN TIDE AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS SPOKESMAN
STATES THAT "ONLY A RETURN TO THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF
THE THREE JOINT COMMUNIQUE CAN CAUSE SINO-U.S. TIDE
TIES TO DEVELOP IN A HEALTHY FASHION". "PEOPLE'S
DAILY" PREDICTS BOSNIAN WAR WILL SPREAD AND LEAD TO
OUTBREAK OF "TOTAL WAR" THROUGHOUT THE FORMER
YUGOSLAVIA. END SUMMARY

TOPICS:

--ASIAN ISSUES: CHINA (OFFICIAL COMMENT)
--SINO-U.S. TIDE RELATIONS (OFFICIAL COMMENT)
--BOSNIA (COMMENTARIES)

TEXTS:

1. ASIAN ISSUES: CHINA (OFFICIAL COMMENT)

"QIAN QICHEN REFUTES 'CHINA THREAT'" (INTERNATIONAL
PAGE, OFFICIAL COMMUNIST PARTY "PEOPLE'S DAILY" (RENMIN
RIBAO), ORIENTED-TO-INTELLECTUALS "GUANGMING DAILY",
(GUANGMING RIBAO), OFFICIAL COMMUNIST YOUTH LEAGUE
"CHINA YOUTH DAILY" (ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO), OFFICIAL
CENTRAL POLITICAL AND LEGAL COMMISSION "LEGAL DAILY"
(FAZHI RIBAO), OFFICIAL SHANGHAI COMMUNIST PARTY
"LIBERATION DAILY" (JIEFANG RIBAO), OFFICIAL SHANGHAI
MUNICIPAL "WENHUI DAILY" (WENHUI BAO), OFFICIAL
MUNICIPAL "BEIJING DAILY" (BEIJING RIBAO), 7/31)

EXCERPTS: "FOREIGN MINISTER QIAN QICHEN HELD TALKS
WITH FOREIGN MINISTERS OF ASEAN COUNTRIES ON JULY 30 IN
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BANDAR SERI BEGAWAN, BRUNEI. SPEAKING ABOUT CHINA'S
DEVELOPMENT, HE REFUTED THE SO-CALLED 'CHINA THREAT'
THEORY.

"QIAN SAID THAT CALLING CHINA 'A THREAT' REFLECTS, AT
THE LEAST, A MISUNDERSTANDING. HE SAID CHINA'S
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE IMPROVED STANDARD OF
LIVING OF 1.2 BILLION PEOPLE IS A CONTRIBUTION, NOT A

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THREAT, TO MANKIND. CONVERSELY, IF CHINA'S ECONOMY WERE NOT TO DEVELOP AND IF HER 1.2 BILLION PEOPLE WERE TO REMAIN IN POVERTY, THEN THAT WOULD CONSTITUTE A THREAT TO THE WHOLE OF HUMANKIND.

"QIAN STRESSED THAT, IN MODERN HISTORY, CHINA HAS NEVER ATTEMPTED... OUTWARD EXPANSION, AND NEVER WILL... QIAN STATED THAT CHINA'S CURRENT MOMENTUM AND EFFORTS TOWARDS DEVELOPING AND STRENGTHENING FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION WITH ALL COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD - AND PARTICULARLY WITH NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES - WILL ONLY BE STRENGTHENED..."

2. SINO-U.S. TIDE RELATIONS (OFFICIAL COMMENT)

"MINISTRY OF FOREIGN TRADE SPOKESMAN SPEAKS ABOUT SINO-U.S. TIDE RELATIONS" ('IMPORTANT NEWS' PAGE, OFFICIAL COMMUNIST PARTY "PEOPLE'S DAILY" (RENMIN RIBAO), "PEOPLE'S DAILY (OVERSEAS)", OFFICIAL SHANGHAI COMMUNIST PARTY "LIBERATION DAILY" (JIEFANG RIBAO), OFFICIAL CENTRAL POLITICAL AND LEGAL COMMISSION "LEGAL DAILY" (FAZHI RIBAO), 7/29)

EXCERPTS: "SPEAKING ON THE TOPIC OF SINO-U.S. TRADE

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RELATIONS, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN TRADE AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS SPOKESMAN ZHOU JIE SAID, 'SINCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES, THERE HAS BEEN GREAT PROGRESS IN THE AREA OF ECONOMIC AND TRADE RELATIONS, DESPITE SOME FRICTIONS. RECENTLY, THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WENT BACK ON ITS WORD AND INVITED LEE TENG-HUI TO VISIT THE UNITED STATES AND THUS ENCROACHED ON CHINA'S SOVEREIGNTY... THIS HAS INEVITABLY AFFECTED SINO-U.S. TIDE RELATIONS. WE BOTH "HOPE AND DEMAND" THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE ACTIONS TO ERADICATE THE IMPACT CAUSED BY LEE TENG-HUI'S VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES AND RETURN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE THREE JOINT COMMUNIQUES. ONLY IN SUCH A WAY CAN SINO-U.S. TRADE RELATIONS DEVELOP IN A HEALTHY MANNER."

3. BOSNIA (COMMENTARIES)

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A.

"A SHARP TURN IN THE BOSNIAN MILITARY SITUATION"
(BY BELGRADE CORRESPONDENT HU XIJIN, INTERNATIONAL
PAGE, OFFICIAL COMMUNIST PARTY "PEOPLE'S DAILY" (RENMIN
RIBAO), 7/31)

"EXCERPTS: "MILITARY OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT CROATIA'S
PARTICIPATION IN THE WAR IN WESTERN BOSNIA WILL HAVE AN
'EXPLOSIVE IMPACT' ON THE SITUATION IN THE ENTIRE
FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. THESE OBSERVERS HOLD THAT THE
PRESENT SITUATION IN BOTH EAST AND WEST BOSNIA MAY LEAD
TO AN ESCALATION OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAV CONFLICT, WITH
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THE DANGER GREATEST IN WESTERN BOSNIA. BECAUSE WESTERN
BOSNIA IS CLOSE TO KRAJINA, THE BOSNIAN WAR WILL
PROBABLY SPREAD BEYOND ITS PRESENT BORDERS AND LEAD TO
AN OUTBREAK OF A TOTAL WAR IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA..."

B. "NATO ENCOUNTERS DIFFICULTIES IN IMPLEMENTING AIR
STRIKES" (BY CORRESPONDENT ZHANG BAOXIANG,
INTERNATIONAL PAGE, OFFICIAL COMMUNIST PARTY "PEOPLE'S
DAILY" (RENMIN RIBAO), 7/29)

"EXCERPTS: "THERE WILL BE MANY DIFFICULTIES IN
IMPLEMENTING NATO AIR RAID PLANS AGAINST THE BOSNIAN
SERBS. THE MEDIA BELIEVE THAT THE UN SECRETARY-GENERAL
STILL 'POSSESSES THE MEANS TO STOP STRIKES AGAINST THE
SERBS'.

"SECOND, AMONG THE NATO ALLIES, THERE IS A 'LACK OF
REAL UNITY AND THE POLITICAL WILL TO JOINTLY
INTERVENE'.

"THIRD, THE LEADER OF THE UN PEACEKEEPING FORCES IN
BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA MAY 'HESITATE' IN DECIDING WHETHER
OR NOT TO CARRY OUT AIR RAIDS ON THE SERBS.

"FURTHERMORE, RUSSIA IS RESOLUTELY OPPOSED TO NATO'S
AIR RAIDS ON THE SERBS.

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"WITH THE CAPTURE OF SREBRENICA AND ZEPA, NOW COMES A SEVERE TEST FOR NATO AND THE UNITED NATIONS: HOW TO STOP FURTHER ATTACKS BY THE SERBS."

C. "BOSNIA: A LIT MATCH NEARS THE BLASTING CAP" (BY UNCLASSIFIED

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ZHENG RUOLIN, INTERNATIONAL PAGE, OFFICIAL SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL "WENHUI DAILY" (WENHUI BAO), 7/29)

EXCERPTS: "VIEWED FROM EITHER THE INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE OR FROM THE CHANGES IN POSITIONS HELD BY VARIOUS COUNTRIES TOWARDS THE BALKAN CRISIS, OR FROM THE EVOLUTION OF THE BOSNIAN BATTLE FIELD ITSELF, THE BALKANS - THIS EUROPEAN 'BLASTING CAP' - IS BECOMING EVER MORE DANGEROUS.

"AT PRESENT, THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IS PREPARING TO VOTE ON A RESOLUTION WHICH WOULD REMOVE THE ARMS EMBARGO PASSED BY THE SENATE. IT MAY BE SAID THAT REMOVING THE ARMS EMBARGO WOULD BE LIKE A LIT MATCH NEARING THE BALKAN 'BLASTING CAP'."

D. "BIHAC: A CRUCIAL BATTLE IN THE BALKANS" (BY PARIS CORRESPONDENT ZHENG RUOLIN, INTERNATIONAL PAGE, OFFICIAL SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL "WENHUI DAILY" (WENHUI BAO), 7/31)

"EXCERPTS: "NOW THAT THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT FORCES HAVE ATTACKED THE BOSNIAN SERBS..., THE BALKAN SITUATION IS EVEN MORE CRITICAL. THE BATTLE FOR BIHAC WILL MOST LIKELY BECOME A HISTORIC CAMPAIGN WHICH DECIDES THE FATES OF THE VARIOUS PARTIES."
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USIA FOR MEDIA REACTION STAFF, STATE FOR EUR/SCE CHILL
AND RFAISURE, DEP'T PLEASE PASS TO EUROPEAN COLLECTIVE

E.O. 12356 N/A

TAGS: PREL, BK

SUBJECT: SARAJEVO MEDIA REACTION REPORT FOR JULY 27, 1995

THE LEADING NEWS IN ALL SARAJEVO MEDIA WAS THE U.S.
SENATE VOTE TO LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST BOSNIA
HERZEGOVINA.

1. THE 7.30 A.M. NEWS FROM 7/27/1995 ON RADIO BOSNIA
HERZEGOVINA BROADCAST THE FOLLOWING, "THE AMERICAN
SENATE, DESPITE PRESIDENT CLINTON'S THREAT TO VETO THE
DECISION, HAS VOTED IN FAVOR OF LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO
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THAT THE U.N. HAS IMPOSED ON BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA."

2. DAILY INDEPENDENT "OSLOBODJENJE" OF 7/27/1995 CARRIED A FRONT PAGE ARTICLE HEADLINED "THE U.S. SENATE DEMANDS LIFTING OF ARMS EMBARGO." THE ARTICLE REPORTED, "WITH 69 VOTES IN FAVOR, TWO MORE THAN REQUIRED, AND 29 AGAINST THE U.S. SENATE APPROVED BOB DOLE'S PROPOSAL FOR LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO . . ."

3. DAILY INDEPENDENT "OSLOBODJENE" CARRIED A FRONT PAGE STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER HARIJILAJDZIC ON THE LATEST EVENTS IN THE U.S. SENATE. COMMENTING THE NEWS THAT THE SENATE SUPPORTS BOB DOLE'S RESOLUTION LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA, SILAJDZIC POINTED OUT THAT IT IS A GREAT VICTORY OF PRINCIPLE AND JUSTICE AND ADDED, "THIS IS PROOF THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE ALWAYS SUPPORTED US, FOR WHICH WE ARE GRATEFUL . . . WE HOPE THAT THIS MARKS THE TURNING POINT IN U.S. POLICY TOWARD BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA. THIS DECISION WILL CERTAINLY INFLUENCE OTHER COUNTRIES TO CHANGE THEIR POSITIONS ON THIS IMPORTANT ISSUE." THE BOSNIAN PRIME MINISTER EMPHASIZED, "THE RESULT OF THE SENATE VOTE IS A GREAT VICTORY FOR OFFICIAL BOSNIAN POLICY."

4. DAILY INDEPENDENT "OSLOBODJENJE" OF 7/27/1995 CARRIED A REPORT HEADLINED "FINALLY THE UNTIED HANDS" BY U.S. CORRESPONDENT KEMAL KURSPAHIC, WHO NOTED, "THE U.S. CONGRESS, THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, HAVE LONG BELIEVED THAT THE ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA IS ILLEGAL AND IMMORAL, BECAUSE IT HINDERS
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PAGE 03 SARAJE 00391 281755Z
THE VICTIM FROM FIGHTING AGAINST GENOCIDE. NEVERTHELESS, THE EVENTS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE AT THE SAME TIME AS THE DEBATE IN THE SENATE UNDERLINED UNANIMOUS DEMANDS TO PRESIDENT CLINTON TO END THE ARMS EMBARGO. THAT DAY, SHORTLY AFTER SREBRENICA, THE SAFE ZONE OF ZEPA FELL, WHILE FIGHTING AN UNEQUAL BATTLE. THE NEUTRAL U.N. PROTECTING FORCES WERE SHAMEFULLY PRESENT. ON THAT SAME DAY THE HAGUE TRIBUNAL BROUGHT CHARGES AGAIN THE BOSNIAN SERB LEADERS RADOVAN KARADZIC AND RATKO MLADIC, ACCUSING

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THEM OF THE MOST SERIOUS WAR CRIMES. MANY SENATORS HOPE TO SEE THE ACCUSED IN THE HAGUE COURT ROOM."

KEMAL KURSPAHC ADDED, "THE SENATE HAS ACCEPTED DOLE'S AND LIBERMAN'S ARGUMENT THAT THEY HAVE WAITED FOR TOO LONG TO LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA . . . HOWEVER, CLINTON SENT A LETTER TO THE SENATE LEADERS, JUST BEFOREQING THEY NOT VOTE FOR THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO. HE ALSO THREATENED TO USE THE PRESIDENTIAL VETO."

KEMAL KURSPAHC EMPHASIZED, "TWO YEARS AGO THE U.S. PRESIDENT HIMSELF PROPOSED AIR STRIKES AND LIFTING THE ARM EMBARGO TO STOP THE AGGRESSION AGAINST BOSNIA. HIS OPPOSITION TO THE SENATE MEASURE HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA AND IN THE BALKANS. IT IS DIRECTLY CONNECTED WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY PRESIDENT CLINTON HAS TOWARD HIS WESTERN ALLIES TO SUPPORT THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE U.N. TROOPS FROM BOSNIA. TWENTY-FIVE THOUSAND AMERICAN SOLDIERS COULD PARTICIPATE IN THE ACTION. SINCE THE FRENCH AND BRITISH THREATEN TO WITHDRAW FROM BOSINA IF THE EMBARGO IS LIFTED, PRESIDENT
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PAGE 04 SARAJE 00391 281755Z
CLINTON'S ADMINISTRATION TRIES TO SCARE THE CONGRESS THAT THESE MEASURES WOULD LEAD TO THE AMERICANIZATION OF THE BOSNIAN WAR. THOSE IN FAVOR OF LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO HAVE RULED OUT THIS ARGUMENT."

KURSPAHC CONCLUDED, "THE SENATE VOTE MOCKS ALL THE OTHER ARGUMENTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION. THE CONCERN THAT THEY ARE UNDERMINING THE PEACE PROCESS IS SUPERFLUOUS AFTER THE BOSNIAN SIDE ACCEPTED AND THE SERB REJECTED THE PEACE PLAN OF THE CONTACT GROUP. AFTER WARNING THAT SERB FORCES COULD LAUNCH A GENERAL ATTACK IF THE EMBARGO WERE TO BE LIFTED, SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER WAS REMINDED THE SERBS ARE SAVAGELY ATTACKING AROUND ZEPA, BIHAC AND GORAZDE." LEVEY

NOTE: NOT PASSED TO ABOVE ADDRESSEE(S)

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 FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
 TO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8238
 INFO CIA WASHDC
 DEPARTMENT OF TREASURY
 DIA WASHDC//ASD/ISA//
 SECSTATE WASHDC 4159
 SECDEF WASHDC
 WHITE HOUSE
 USDOC WASHDC
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 AMEMBASSY BONN
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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: NONE

SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION REPORT

PARIS -- THURSDAY JULY 20, 1995

(A) SUBJECTS COVERED IN TODAY'S REPORT:

BOSNIA

(B) SUMMARY OF COVERAGE:

AFTER THE FALL OF ZEPA, THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA IS WIDELY REPORTED ON. INTERVIEWED ON CHANNEL TWO LAST NIGHT, PRIME MINISTER ALAIN JUPPE POINTEDLY REPEATED FRANCE'S PROPOSAL TO FLY IN ABOUT 1,000 TROOPS IN GORAZDE. REFERRING TO MUSLIM ENCLAVES IN EMBATTLED BOSNIA, MR. JUPPE SAID: "WE CANNOT ACCEPT THAT WHAT HAPPENED IN SREBRENICA A FEW DAYS AGO IS REPEATED IN GORAZDE WITH THE COMPLICITY -- AND THAT WORD IS NOT TOO STRONG -- OF THE UNITED NATIONS.".... HE ADDED: "EUROPE CANNOT BE PROUD, BUT NEITHER CAN THE UNITED STATES. IF THE AMERICANS HAD LIFTED THEIR LITTLE FINGER A YEAR OR

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TWO AGO TO HELP THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PEACE PLANS, THE WAR WOULD HAVE STOPPED. THEY SHOULD SEND HELICOPTERS TO GORAZDE." ASKED ABOUT THE DEBATE THAT IS GOING ON IN CONGRESS, MR. JUPPE CONSIDERED THAT "IT WAS A 'PONTIUS PILATE' SOLUTION. FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND FOR THE AMERICANS IT CONSISTS OF SAYING: 'WE LEAVE AND LET THE FIGTHERS FIGHT. IT IS A LITTLE TOO EASY FOR SOME MEMBERS OF CONGRESS TODAY, TO COME AND GIVE LESSONS TO THE WORLD. THEY SHOULD SEND HELICOPTERS IF THEY DON'T WANT TO SEND MEN. IT WOULD BE A LOT MORE

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EFFECTIVE THAN LIFTING THE EMBARGO AND LEAVING."
IN AN INTERVIEW WITH INFLUENTIAL LIBERATION'S LUC
LAMPRIERE, SENATOR JOHN MC CAIN (R-ARIZONA) SAYS, "LET'S
NOT REINFORCE A POLICY WHICH HAS FAILED." HE EXPLAINS
WHY HE IS IN FAVOR OF THE LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO.
ALAN GREENSPAN'S SEMI-ANNUAL FORECAST IS COMMENTED ON BY
THE ECONOMIC PRESS. ECONOMIC LES ECHOS BY MARTINE ROYO:
"ALAN GREENSPAN EXPECTS AN ECONOMIC RECOVERY IN THE U.S.
IN THE COURSE OF THE SECOND SEMESTER. THE PRESIDENT OF
THE FEDERAL RESERVE BANK EXPRESSED CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM
YESTERDAY DURING HIS REPORT TO CONGRESS. HE SAID THE
ECONOMY HAS IMPROVED AND THAT AS FAR AS THE WANING OF
ACTIVITY, THE WORSE WAS BEHIND." ECONOMIC LA TRIBUNE
DESFOSES BY WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT: "ACCORDING TO
GREENSPAN, THE DANGER OF RECESSION IS BEHIND...
CONCERNING INFLATION, HE NOTES THAT THE SITUATION IS
LESS DISTURBING NOW THAN IT WAS LAST FEBRUARY."
THE ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE EUROPEAN UNION EXECUTIVE
COMMISSION THAT IT WILL DECIDE NEXT WEEK WHETHER TO
ALLOW THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT TO RESCUE AILING BANK CREDIT
LYONNAIS IS ANALYZED BY THE ECONOMIC PRESS. COMPETITION
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COMMISSIONER KAREL VAN MIERT TOLD REPORTERS HE HAS ALL
THE INFORMATION NEEDED TO MAKE A DECISION.

PRESS ALSO REPORTS ON THE MEETING YESTERDAY IN
ALEXANDRIA BETWEEN HOSNI MUBARAK, SHIMON PERES AND
YASSER ARAFAT. CONSERVATIVE LE FIGARO FOCUSES ON THE
WATER SUPPLY PROBLEMS WHICH WERE THE ESSENTIAL CAUSE OF

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 FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
 TO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8239
 INFO CIA WASHDC
 DEPARTMENT OF TREASURY
 DIA WASHDC//ASD/ISA//
 SECSTATE WASHDC 4160
 SECDEF WASHDC
 WHITE HOUSE
 USDOC WASHDC
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 AMEMBASSY BONN
 AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
 AMEMBASSY ROME

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ITA/EUR/FR AND PASS USTR/PA (ANN LUZZATO); USINCEUR FOR
PAO; NATO FOR USIS; MOSCOW FOR USIS; ROME FOR USIS/AIO;
BRUSSELS FOR USIS AND USEC (PAO); USVIENNA FOR USDEL
CSCE.

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: NONE

SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION REPORT

DISCUSSION.

THE JAPANESE THREAT TO BOYCOTT FRENCH PRODUCTS IN THE
WAKE OF FRANCE'S WIDELY PROTESTED DECISION TO RESUME
NUCLEAR TESTING THIS FALL IS ALSO REPORTED ON. ECONOMIC
PRESS NOTES THAT FRENCH MANUFACTURERS AND FARMERS HAVE
EXPRESSED GREAT CONCERN OVER THIS MATTER. PRIME
MINISTER ALAIN JUPPE TOLD ASSOCIATED PRESS TELEVISION
THAT HE THINKS THE JAPANESE THREAT "WILL NOT GO VERY
FAR."

(C) SUPPORTING TEXT/BLOCK QUOTES:

BOSNIA:

"DESPERATELY LOOKING FOR COMPROMISE"

CONSERVATIVE LE FIGARO BY BAUDOIN BOLLAERT:

"FRANCE, GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES INCREASE
DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY CONTACTS IN AN ATTEMPT TO AVOID

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A FIASCO DURING THE MEETING SCHEDULED TOMORROW IN
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LONDON... AT THE ELYSEE, IT IS SAID THAT THE BRITISH
REPLY TO THE FRENCH PROPOSAL DEPENDS ON THE REPLY GIVEN
BY THE AMERICANS.... BILL CLINTON IS LOOKING FOR AN
ACTION PROGRAM THAT WOULD BE APPROVED BY THE BRITISH AND
THE FRENCH. BUT ACCORDING TO HIS SPOKESMAN, THIS
PROGRAM DOES NOT EXIST YET."

"HIT TO NEGOTIATE"
CONSERVATIVE LE FIGARO BY ALAIN PEYREFITTE:
"AN ARMED INTERVENTION OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE ON
GORADZE WOULD HAVE A POLITICAL AIM IT WOULD BE A
MATTER OF CONVINCING THE SERBS TO RESUME THE DISCUSSION
OVER A PLAN OF DIVISION OF BOSNIA."

"ALL WRONG"
INFLUENTIAL LIBERATION BY GERARD DUPUY:
"THE SERB AMBITIONS NOW OPENLY BREAK OUT ON ALL POSSIBLE
FRONTS.... ALL THE SO-CALLED 'SAFE HAVENS' SUPPOSEDLY
GUARANTEED BY THE UN ARE TARGETED. IT LEADS TO THE
CONCLUSION THAT THE KARADZIC REGIME NOW FEELS STRONG
ENOUGH TO CHALLENGE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN A THE
MOST IMPUDENT AND BRUTAL MANNER EVER USED."

"EUROPE BUMPS INTO THE BOSNIAN WALL"
LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS BY ANDRE FERRIERES:
"THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENSE MINISTERS OF THE
CONTACT GROUP WILL MEET IN LONDON TOMORROW TO STUDY THE
FRENCH PROPOSITION FOR LIMITED ACTION. ONE CAN EXPECT
HONORABLE STATEMENTS AND INTENTIONS OF GOODWILL WITHOUT
GOING ANY FURTHER, BECAUSE THE ALLIES AND INTERNATIONAL
ORGANIZATIONS HAVE ALREADY SHOWN FOR A LONG TIME THEIR
INCAPABILITY OF CHOSING A SOLUTION."

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JEAN LEVALLOIS IN REGIONAL DAILY LA PRESSE DE LA MANCHE:
"THE UN DOES NOT FIGHT FOR BOSNIA. IT OFFERS A
REFRESHING WATER BOWL SO WE CAN WASH OUR HANDS."

ANDRE MAZIERES IN REGIONAL LA CHARENTE LIBRE:
"ONE IS SOMEWHAT DISGUSTED IN PARIS BY THE HESITATIONS
OF THE WESTERN ALLIES TO ATTEMPT TO ULTIMATELY SAVE
GORADZE."

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8240
INFO CIA WASHDC
DEPARTMENT OF TREASURY
DIA WASHDC//ASD/ISA//
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SECDEF WASHDC
WHITE HOUSE
USDOC WASHDC
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BONN
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ITA/EUR/FR AND PASS USTR/PA (ANN LUZZATO); USINCEUR FOR
PAO; NATO FOR USIS; MOSCOW FOR USIS; ROME FOR USIS/AIO;
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E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: NONE
SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION REPORT

MARC ULLMANN ON RTL RADIO:

"THE OUTCOME IS CLOSE BECAUSE EUROPE WOULD LOSE ITS SOUL AND ITS HONOR IF IT WENT ANY FURTHER IN ITS RENUNCIATION POLICY.... THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS BEEN VERY INCONSIDERATE WHEN HASTILY ACKNOWLEDGING CROATIA AND BOSNIA, RATHER THAN MAINTAINING A SORT OF YUGOSLAV FEDERATION.... IT IS NOW A MATTER OF USING FORCE TO STOP THE VIOLENT SERB ATTACK WHILE OPENING THE DOOR TO NEGOTIATIONS THAT IN THE PAST HAVE BEEN BADLY CARRIED OUT."

ALAIN DUHAMEL ON EUROPE 1:

"THE FRENCH PROPOSAL IS A REAL MILITARY OPERATION, WITH REAL RISKS. WHICH MEANS THAT AMERICANS WOULD BE OBLIGED TO TAKE RISKS WHICH THEY HAVE ALWAYS REFUSED.... THIS MEANS THAT IF THERE IS A RETREAT THE FRENCH WILL HAVE MORE HONOR THAN THE OTHER POWERS, AND IF THERE IS NO RETREAT THEY WILL HAVE LESS DISHONOR THAN THE OTHERS."
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 FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
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 INFO CIA WASHDC
 DEPARTMENT OF TREASURY
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 SECSTATE WASHDC 4122
 SECDEF WASHDC
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 USDOC WASHDC
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: NONE

SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION REPORT

PARIS -- WEDNESDAY JULY 19, 1995

(A) SUBJECTS COVERED IN TODAY'S REPORT:

- BOSNIA
- RUSSIA

(B) SUMMARY OF COVERAGE:

THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA IS STILL WIDELY REPORTED ON. ACCORDING TO AFP: "PARIS BLAMES SARAJEVO FOR 'SABOTAGE.' A HIGH OFFICIAL EXPOSES THE UNWORKABLE CONDITIONS IMPOSED BY THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT FOR THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE." INFLUENTIAL LIBERATION DESCRIBES THE "LONG WALK OF THE BOSNIAN FIGHTERS" AND THE "BLUE HELMETS UNDER FIRE IN ZEPA."

BORIS YELTSIN'S TELEVISION APPEARANCE IS COMMENTED ON. THIS WAS HIS FIRST APPEARANCE SINCE HE WAS RUSHED TO A HOSPITAL ON JULY 11. IT FOLLOWED A NEW ROUND OF

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SPECULATION ABOUT HIS HEALTH THAT WAS SET OFF BY THE
RELEASE OF A PHOTOGRAPH ON FRIDAY THAT CLOSELY RESEMBLED
A FILM TAKEN WHEN MR. YELTSIN WAS ON VACATION IN
SOUTHERN RUSSIA ON APRIL 3.

ECONOMIC DAILIES MAKE FRONTPAGE TITLES ON THE U.S.
COMMERCIAL DEFICIT WHICH CAUSED A NEW FALL OF THE
DOLLAR. LES ECHOS: "MOST PROFESSIONALS HAD HOPED FOR AN
IMPROVEMENT OF THE AMERICAN COMMERCIAL IMBALANCE, CAUSED
BY THE COMBINED EFFECT OF GROWING IMPORTS AND SLOWER

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GROWTH OF EXPORTS, THAT WOULD BENEFIT THE RECOVERY IN EUROPE." LA TRIBUNE DESFOSES: " THE FALL OF MICROSOFT AND OF TECHNOLOGICAL SHARES SIGNALLED THE FALL. THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF A RECORD AMERICAN TRADE DEFICIT AMPLIFIED THE MOVE."

ON THE DOMESTIC FRONT PRESIDENT CHIRAC'S FOUR DAY TRIP TO AFRICA IS WIDELY COMMENTED ON. THE PRESIDENT WILL VISIT MOROCCO, THE IVORY COAST, GABON AND SENEGAL. AN EDITORIAL IN LE MONDE BY MICHEL ROCARD APPROVING JACQUES CHIRAC'S POLICY IS ALSO LARGELY REPORTED ON. MICHEL ROCARD BEGINS HIS EDITORIAL: "MY FRANCE, IT IS THE ONE THAT TWICE IN TWO DAYS, THE PRESIDENT EMBODIED."

ON THE SOCIAL FRONT THE STRIKE AT AIR FRANCE IS A SUBJECT OF CONCERN. THE COMPANY IS IN A DIFFICULT FINANCIAL SITUATION, AND THE CABIN ATTENDANTS HAVE CALLED ON A GENERAL TWO DAY STRIKE DURING THE PEAK SUMMER SEASON.

INTERIOR MINISTER'S JEAN-LOUIS DEBRE'S DECISION TO
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REPATRIATE SIXTY ILLEGAL ZAIRIAN IMMIGRANTS IS COMMENTED ON. THE MINISTER ALREADY SENT FIFTY ONE RUMANIANS TO BUCHAREST LAST WEEK.

(C) SUPPORTING TEXT/BLOCK QUOTES:

1. BOSNIA

"THE FATE OF THE FRENCH PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERVENTION DEPENDS ON BILL CLINTON"

INFLUENTIAL LE MONDE BY DANIEL VERNET:

"THE WHOLE ARGUMENT FOR THE EUROPEANS, AND ESSENTIALLY THE FRENCH, DEPENDS ON PROVING THAT IF THE SERB ATTACK AGAINST THE MUSLIM ENCLAVES IS NOT STOPPED NOW, THE UNITED STATES WILL END UP BEING MORE DEEPLY INVOLVED AND

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 FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
 TO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8210
 INFO CIA WASHDC
 DEPARTMENT OF TREASURY
 DIA WASHDC//ASD/ISA//
 SECSTATE WASHDC 4123
 SECDEF WASHDC
 WHITE HOUSE
 USDOC WASHDC
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 AMEMBASSY BONN
 AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
 AMEMBASSY ROME

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ITA/EUR/FR AND PASS USTR/PA (ANN LUZZATO); USINCEUR FOR
PAO; NATO FOR USIS; MOSCOW FOR USIS; ROME FOR USIS/AIO;
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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: NONE

SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION REPORT

WITH GREATER RISKS THAN IN THE FRENCH PROPOSAL. THE
SAME ARGUMENT WAS USED IN 1993 WHEN THE CLINTON
ADMINISTRATION SUGGESTED THE POLICY OF 'LIFT AND STRIKE'
TO ITS EUROPEAN ALLIES. . . . THE ONLY ELEMENT OF
STABILITY SHOWN IN THE AMERICAN POLICY SINCE 1991 HAS
BEEN THE REFUSAL TO HAVE MILITARY UNITS ON THE GROUND."

"FROM CHAIN OF EVENTS TO STANDSTILL"

CONSERVATIVE LE FIGARO BY ALAIN PEYREFITTE:

"BECAUSE OF THE ERRORS OF ANALYSIS MADE AT THE BEGINNING
OF THE YUGOSLAV CONFLICT, THE WEST IS NOW A PRISONER OF
THE BALKAN QUAGMIRE. . . . FOR THREE YEARS, THE TELEVISION
IMAGES SUSTAINED PUBLIC EMOTION ON BOSNIA. . . . TODAY,
OUR TELEVISION SCREENS SHOW A NEW EXPRESSION ON THE
FACES: THAT OF SCORN. THE REFUGEES FROM SREBRENICA AND
THE BESIEGED OF SARAJEVO NOT ONLY SHOW THEIR DISTRESS.
THEY DEMONSTRATE THEIR INDIGNATION FOR THE UN, NATO, THE

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EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, AND AGAINST EACH OF THE POWERS
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CONCERNED, WHO ONLY SHOW THEIR POWERLESSNESS."

"BOUTROS-GHALI IN FAVOR OF A REPLACEMENT STRATEGY"
CONSERVATIVE LE FIGARO BY SPECIAL ENVOY TO CAIRO
BAUDOUIN BOLLAERT:

"THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL IS ABOUT TO ADMIT THAT THE
WITHDRAWAL OF THE BLUE HELMETS IS UNAVOIDABLE.... HE
ADMITS THAT THE MANDATE OF THE UNPROFOR HAS CHANGED
SINCE IT IS NOW UNABLE TO FULFILL ITS MISSION. AT THE
UN, IT IS THOUGHT THAT BILL CLINTON WILL HAVE DIFFICULTY
KEEPING HIS PROMISE OF SENDING 25,000 AMERICAN SOLDIERS
TO HELP WITH THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE BLUE HELMETS--"

"AND IF THE EMBARGO WERE LIFTED?"
POPULAR FRANCE SOIR BY JEAN-MICHEL MAIRE:
"THE BOSNIANS COULD ARM THEMSELVES BETTER.... THE SERBS
WOULD FIGHT TO THE UTMOST.... THE WEST WOULD GET OUT OF
THIS QUAGMIRE."

"THE BOSNIAN DOMINO"
CATHOLIC DAILY LA CROIX BY BRUNO FRAPPAT:
"SREBRENICA FELL, NOBODY IS NOW TALKING ABOUT
RECONQUERING IT. ZEPA WILL FALL LIKE A RIPE FRUIT, AND
EVEN BEFORE IT'S BEEN TAKEN, IT IS GIVEN TO UNDERSTAND
THAT WE WILL NOT DEFEND IT. THE NEXT DOMINOS: GORAZDE
AND SARAJEVO. WHICH SHALL WE DEFEND, FOR HONOR? EUROPE
DISPLAYS ITS TACTICAL DIVISIONS FACING BARBARISM- IT IS
HANDICAPPED BY BRITISH AND AMERICAN ISOLATIONISM.
FRANCE PRETENDS IT CANNOT REMAIN WITH GUNS ON THE
GROUND. IT STILL HOPES TO SAVE A CERTAIN IDEA OF
EUROPE."

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PATRICK BEGUIER IN REGIONAL DAILY L'ECHO REPUBLICAIN:
"WHERE DID ALL THOSE STRONG DEFENDERS OF BOSNIA AND
THOSE DENOUNCERS OF ETHNIC CLEANSING GO? ARE THEY ALL
ON HOLIDAY?"

JEAN FRANCOIS BEGE IN REGIONAL SUD-OUEST:
" THE BOSNIAN SERBS WANT TO ACCUMULATE TERRITORIAL
CONQUESTS AND THEIR OPPONENTS LIVE IN THE DREAM OF A
MASSIVE AMERICAN INTERVENTION ON THEIR SIDE. THEY CAN
WAIT FOR A LONG TIME, AT LEAST TO SEE REGIMENTS ON THE
GROUND. THE HORRIBLE IMAGES AND STORIES FROM THE
REFUGEES FLEEING FROM SREBRENICA, PARKED IN TUZLA

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CERTAINLY ROUSE THE WORLD'S OPINION, BUT IN WASHINGTON THEY WILL ONLY MANAGE FOR BETTER, OR FOR WORSE, A VOTE TO LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO BY A MAJORITY OF THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS THE WHOLE EVOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT DEPENDS TODAY ON THE AMERICAN ATTITUDE."

"FRANCE AND BRITAIN ALIGN TO WARN U.S. ON BOSNIA"
INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE BY WILLIAM DROZDIAK:
"AFTER PATCHING UP DIFFERENCES WITH BRITAIN, SENIOR FRENCH OFFICIALS SAID A BLUNT MESSAGE WOULD NOW BE DELIVERED TO PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON: EITHER YOU PROVIDE UP TO 100 HELICOPTERS TO HELP TRANSPORT FRENCH SOLDIERS TO REINFORCE BRITISH TROOPS IN THE MUSLIM ENCLAVE OF GORAZDE, OR YOU SHOULD PREPARE TO SEND 25,000 AMERICAN SOLDIERS TO HELP EXTRICATE UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPERS FROM BOSNIA. A SENIOR ADVISER TO PRESIDENT JACQUES CHIRAC SAID THAT GOVERNMENTS IN LONDON AND PARIS REALIZED IT WAS NECESSARY 'TO PLACE THE AMERICANS

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SQUARELY IN FRONT OF THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES AND TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT UNLESS THE SERBIAN OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE ENCLAVES IS STOPPED NOW, THE UNITED STATES WILL BECOME MORE DEEPLY ENGAGED ONCE THE ARMS EMBARGO IS LIFTED, UN TROOPS PULL OUT AND THE SERBS TRY TO SLAUGHTER THE MUSLIMS BEFORE THEY GET MORE WEAPONS.... ANY REFUSAL BY THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION TO LIVE UP TO ITS PROMISES TO BAIL OUT THE ALLIES, FRENCH AND BRITISH OFFICIALS SAID, WOULD CALL INTO QUESTION THE BASIS OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND THE FUTURE EXISTENCE OF NATO."

CHRISTINE OCKRENT ON EUROPE ONE:
"HERE WE HAVE AT LAST A FRENCH PRESIDENT, ISOLATED AMONG HIS PEERS, WHO REFERS TO PURIFICATION, SHAME, BARBARISM, WHO SINCERELY USES WORDS THAT COMFORT THE HONOR OF FRANCE AND WHO IS UNUSUALLY APPLAUDED."

MARC ULLMANN ON RTL RM) IO:

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"THERE IS ONE THING AMERICANS HATE, THAT IS HEROIC IMPROVISATION... AND THEY ARE NOT READY TO MAKE A MOVE EVEN THOUGH THINGS ARE RUSHING ALONG."

2. RUSSIA

"THE SHARING OF POWER BETWEEN BORIS YELTSIN AND VIKTOR TCHERNOMYRDINE"

INFLUENTIAL LE MONDE BY SOPHIE SHIHAB:

THE RUSSIANS ARE OBVIOUSLY USED TO REPEATED ABSENCES FROM POWER OF THE OWNER OF THE SUPREME POWER, EVEN IF THEY UNDOUBTEDLY REACT LIKE PART OF THE PRESS DOES: WITH A TOTAL LACK OF RESPECT FOR THE TACTLESS INFORMATION ABUNDANTLY BROADCAST BY THE PRESIDENTIAL MACHINERY TO

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CONVINCE THE POPULATION THAT BORIS YELSTIN IS MORE STRESSED THAN REALLY SICK... PRIME MINISTER VIKTOR TCHERNOMYRDINE SHOULD ASSUME INTERIM POWER IN THE EVENT OF PROLONGED INCAPACITY OF THE PRESIDENT, BUT THE CONSTITUTION DOES NOT SPECIFY WHO SHALL PROCLAIM SUCH INCAPACITY. INSTEAD, IT IMPOSES A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WITHIN THREE MONTHS.

"BORIS YELTSIN GIVES PROOF OF HIS GOOD HEALTH"
ECONOMIC LA TRIBUNE DESFOSSES BY MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT BRIGITTE BREUILLAC:
"BORIS YELTSIN APPEARED ON TELEVISION IN RELATIVELY GOOD SHAPE... BORIS YELTSIN WANTED TO SHOW TO THE WHOLE OF

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RUSSIA THAT HE WAS STILL VIGOROUS." HOGAN

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PARIS -- TUESDAY JULY 18, 1995

(A) SUBJECTS COVERED IN TODAY'S REPORT:

1. BOSNIA
2. IRAQ

(B) SUMMARY OF COVERAGE:

THE DRAMATIC SITUATION IN BOSNIA IS MAKING HEADLINES AGAIN THIS MORNING. ELECTRONIC AND PRINT PRESS GAVE HORRIBLE REPORTS ON THE TREATMENT OF SERBS PRISONERS AND CAPTURE OF YOUNG GIRLS. ALL MEDIA NOTE THE SERB THREAT TO SHOOT AT THE BLUE HELMETS IF THE NATO AIRPLANES FLY OVER THE MUSLIM ENCLAVE OF ZEPA. INTERVIEWED ON CHANNEL ONE LAST NIGHT, FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTER HERVE DE CHARETTE SAID: "I AM DOING MY UTMOST TO MAKE FRIDAY'S MEETING A SUCCESS, AND AT LAST CONVINCING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO HELP GORAZDE AND SARAJEVO IN THE NAME OF OUR PRINCIPLES. FRANCE IS READY TO BRING

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ITS MEANS AND PUT IN ALL ITS ENERGY AND DETERMINATION," SAID THE MINISTER, WHO ADDED: "FACED WITH THIS FRENCH LOGIC, THINGS BEGIN TO MOVE." FRANCE INTER NEWS ANCHORWOMAN THIS MORNING NOTED THAT "BILL CLINTON WAS STILL WAVERING." LIBERATION AND INFOMATIN PUBLISH THE TESTIMONY OF AN EIGHTEEN YEARS OLD GIRL WHO WAS RAPED BY SERB SOLDIERS IN SREBRENICA.

HELENE ATOUN IN LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS WRITES ABOUT SADDAM HUSSEIN'S DOUBLE GAME: "SADDAM HUSSEIN THREATENS.

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IF THE UN REFUSES TO LIFT THE EMBARGO, HE WILL REFUSE TO COOPERATE WITH HER. YET HE FREES TWO AMERICANS ARRESTED ON MARCH 13."

PRESS ALSO REPORTS ON THE EUROPEAN UNION FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING IN BRUSSELS YESTERDAY, AND THE SIGNATURE OF THE EU-RUSSIAN INTERIM TRADE AGREEMENT. THIS ACCORD IS DESIGNED TO BEGIN LOWERING TARIFFS AND ELIMINATING TRADE RESTRICTIONS. ECONOMIC LA TRIBUNE DESFOSSES BY MARC PAOLINI: "EUROPE-RUSSIA: THE BEGINNING OF A NEW PARTNERSHIP. THIS AGREEMENT SHOULD STIMULATE RUSSIAN ECONOMIC REFORMS." ECONOMIC LES ECHOS BY JACQUES DOCQUIERT: "THE UNION DECIDES TO CHOSE 'REALPOLITIK' FOR RUSSIA."

THE JAPANESE THREAT TO BOYCOTT FRENCH PRODUCTS AS A PROTEST AGAINST PRESIDENT JACQUES CHIRAC'S DECISION TO RESUME NUCLEAR TESTING IN THE PACIFIC IS ALSO COMMENTED ON. ECONOMIC LA TRIBUNE DESFOSSES BY JACQUES JUBLIN: "JAPAN MIGHT MAKE A COMMERCIAL SURPRISE TO FRANCE BY BOYCOTTING ITS PRODUCTS IN A PROTEST AGAINST THE
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RESUMPTION OF THE NUCLEAR TESTS.... TODAY, THE USE OF BOYCOTTS AND EMBARGOS ARE MORE DECISIVE TO INFLUENCE A NATION THAN DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGES. ECONOMY HAS BECOME A DISSUASIVE WEAPON. FRANCE MIGHT WELL PAY THE PRICE FOR THE MURUROA TESTS."

ECONOMIC PRESS REPORTS ON THE FOREIGN MINISTRY'S REPLY TO CRITICISM OF A CONTRACT FOR THE FRENCH OIL GROUP TOTAL TO DEVELOP IRANIAN OILFIELDS. "TOTAL IS A PRIVATE COMPANY. ITS ACTIVITIES IN IRAN ARE LEGAL, AND THE STATE THEREFORE HAS NO LEGAL MEANS EITHER TO LIMIT OR FORBID ITS ACTIVITIES," A FOREIGN MINISTRY SPOKESMAN

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SAID ON CONDITION OF ANONYMITY.

(C) SUPPORTING TEXT/BLOCK QUOTES:

1. BOSNIA

"GENERAL SOUBIROU: NO ACTION OVER GORAZDE WITHOUT
HELICOPTERS"

CONSERVATIVE LE FIGARO PUBLISHES AN INTERVIEW OF GENERAL
SOUBIROU, COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE RRF IN BOSNIA BY
PATRICK DE SAINT EXUPERY:

"THE MULTINATIONAL BRIGADE IS READY FOR ACTION, BUT THE
LACK OF STRATEGIC AIR CAPABILITY IS STILL A PROBLEM. THE
MULTINATIONAL BRIGADE DOES NOT HAVE THE MEANS THAT WOULD
ALLOW IT TO LEAD BIG ACTIONS OVER THE ENCLAVES.... WE
ARE NOT HERE TO PREPARE THE WITHDRAWAL. WE ARE HERE TO
SUPPORT THE PEACEKEEPING ACTIONS, AND PROVIDE BETTER
SECURITY TO THE BLUE HELMETS."

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"BOSNIA: THE ART OF ARRIVING AFTER THE BATTLE."

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LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS BY HELENE ATOUN:

"THE RATIFICATION OF THE CAPTURE OF SREBRENICA, A SECURITY ZONE, WITHOUT OPPOSING THE SERBS WAS THE SHAME OF THE UN. ALLOWING ZEPA'S CAPTURE WOULD BE A FOLLOW UP TO THE INACTIVITY OF THAT ORGANIZATION, WHICH IS UNDERMINED BY DIVISIONS AND COWARDICE."

"THE PROTECTION OF GORAZDE DEPENDS ON AMERICAN ASSISTANCE"

ECONOMIC LES ECHOS BACKPAGE UNATTRIBUTED EDITORIAL:

"ANTHONY LAKE, BILL CLINTON'S ADVISOR FOR NATIONAL SECURITY, EMPHASIZED THE NEED TO LEAD A STRONGER ACTION IN BOSNIA.... LONDON BELIEVES THAT AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT HAS BECOME CRUCIAL. THIS IS THE MESSAGE THAT THE NEW BRITISH FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTER WILL BRING TODAY TO HIS AMERICAN COUNTERPART."

"FRANCE FAILS TO GAIN ALLIED SUPPORT TO ACT AGAINST SERBS"

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE BY WILLIAM DROZDIAK, WASHINGTON POST SERVICE IN PARIS

"THE FRENCH DEMANDS FOR A BOLD SHOW OF FORCE TO OPEN A SUPPLY ROAD TO THE BESIEGED CAPITAL OF SARAJEVO AND TO PROTECT MUSLIM CIVILIANS TRAPPED IN THE EASTERN ENCLAVE OF GORAZDE CONTINUED TO MEET STIFF RESISTANCE FROM THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN. AS FOREIGN MINISTERS FROM RUSSIA AND THE EUROPEAN UNION MET IN BRUSSELS AND CONDEMNED THE LATEST BOSNIAN SERBIAN CAMPAIGN OF ETHNIC CLEANSING, SENIOR FRENCH OFFICIALS SAID THEY WERE DISAPPOINTED BY THE FAILURE OF A FIVE-HOUR MEETING AMONG THE TOP MILITARY CHIEFS OF FRANCE, BRITAIN AND THE

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UNITED STATES TO REACH A CONSENSUS ON RAPID MILITARY
ACTION. 'THE AMERICANS AND THE BRITISH APPEAR VERY
RELUCTANT TO MOVE AHEAD WITH THIS,' A SENIOR MILITARY
SOURCE SAID. 'IF THEY DO NOT SHOW ANY CHANGE OF HEART
WITHIN THE NEXT TWO OR THREE DAYS, THEN WE WILL TURN OUR
THOUGHTS TO PLANNING FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF UN FORCES."

BOSNIA CONUNDRUM: WILL MILITARY FORCE SHORTEN THE WAR?"
INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE BY JOSEPH FITCHETT:
"THE IMPORTANT THING IS TO DRAW A LINE, EVEN AT THIS
LATE DATE, TO SHOW THE SERBS THAT THERE'S A LIMIT,' SAID
A MEMBER OF THE FRENCH GENERAL STAFF.... THE PLAN THAT
FRANCE HAS SUGGESTED HAS THE ADVANTAGE OF BEING MUCH

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MORE LIMITED THAN ANY PREVIOUS BLUEPRINT FOR WESTERN MILITARY INTERVENTION.... THE FRENCH PLAN ALSO CALLS FOR DEFENDING GORAZDE, THE UN 'SAFE AREA' IN THE EAST THAT IS CRITICAL TO ANY WESTERN HOPES OF PROTECTING SARAJEVO - AND BEYOND THAT, MAKING THE SERBS RECONSIDER THE BARGAINING TABLE. WHILE CONFIDENT OF SUCCESS IF THEIR PLAN IS ADOPTED, FRENCH OFFICIALS ACKNOWLEDGE THE COMPLEXITY OF THE ISSUE ON MONDAY. ONE OF THEM SAID: 'THE KEY REMAINS MILOSEVIC - IF THERE IS A KEY.'

JULES CLAUWAERT IN REGIONAL NORD ECLAIR:
"IT IS TRUE THAT KARADZIC AND MILOSEVIC ARE NOT HITLER, AND THAT THEY DO NOT PRETEND TO DOMINATE EUROPE. BUT THEIR METHODS ARE THE SAME: THEY DEPEND ON THE WEAKNESS OF WESTERN DEMOCRACIES TO CARRY OUT THEIR CAMPAIGN TO ELIMINATE MINORITIES WHO OPPOSE THEIR DREAM OF A GREAT SERBIA."

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ROGER BOUZINAC IN REGIONAL NICE-MATIN:
"THE ADVANCE OF THE SERBIAN ARMY SHOULD URGE WESTERN COUNTRIES TO LOOK FOR AN AGREEMENT AND IMPLEMENT IT IMMEDIATELY. BUT WHAT DO WE SEE? THE WEST HAS NEVER BEEN SO DIVIDED."

PIERRE TARIBO IN REGIONAL L'EST REPUBLICAIN:
"AFTER THE CHIEFS OF STAFF MEETING, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS AT A REAL TURNING POINT. SHE MUST BE PREPARED TO STAY UNTIL THE END, AND THUS GIVE A NEW JUSTIFICATION TO ITS PRESENCE IN BOSNIA, OR ELSE TAKE THE EMERGENCY EXIT."

JEN LEVALLOIS IN REGIONAL LA PRESSE DE LA MANCHE:
"ONE THING IS OBVIOUS, UNFORTUNATELY, AND THAT IS THAT NO SOLUTION NOW EXISTS WITHIN THE UN FRAMEWORK."

MARC ULLMANN ON RTL RADIO:

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"CHIRAC'S RECENT ARRIVAL TO POWER GIVES HIM THE OPTION OF USING A SORT OF BLACKMAIL OVER THE AMERICANS AND THE BRITISH. CONCERNING THE AMERICANS, CLINTON HAS CAUGHT HIMSELF IN AN IMPASSE: TO AVOID DOMESTIC UNPOPULARITY, HE PROMISED NOT TO SEND SOLDIERS WHO MIGHT RISK THEIR LIVES IN A UN MISSION TO BOSNIA. BUT IN ORDER NOT TO LOOK LIKE A COWARD FOR HIS ALLIES, HE HAS PROMISED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE WITHDRAWAL OF UN TROOPS IF THEIR MISSION BECAME IMPOSSIBLE... CHIRAC IS THEREFORE IN A POSITION TO TELL CLINTON: 'MAKE UP YOUR MIND: EITHER YOU ARE HELPING US AND WE IMMEDIATELY SEND HUNDREDS OF HELICOPTERS WITH THE RISKS INVOLVED, OR YOU WILL HAVE TO SEND THOUSANDS OF MEN TO PROTECT THE RETREAT SINCE WE

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HAVE NO REASON TO REMAIN IN BOSNIA TO DO NOTHING."

ALAIN DUHAMEL ON EUROPE 1 RADIO:
"THERE IS ONE THING THAT IS CLEAR, IT MAY BE THE ONLY ONE, AND THAT IS THAT THE WESTERNERS WILL HAVE TO MAKE A FINAL CHOICE WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS... THE FACT THAT THE AMERICAN CONGRESS WILL VOTE THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO AND WILL DO IT WITH SUCH A MAJORITY THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON WILL NOT BE ABLE TO VETO IT, IS A VERY IMPORTANT FACTOR... IF THERE IS A WITHDRAWAL OF THE BLUE HELMETS, THERE WILL BE A SERIES OF SLAUGHTERS EVERYWHERE, IN HORRIBLE CONDITIONS, AND WE KNOW IT. AND ALSO, THERE IS A REAL DANGER OF CONTAGION TO BOTH THE

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ITA/EUR/FR AND PASS USTR/PA (ANN LUZZATO); USINCEUR FOR
PAO; NATO FOR USIS; MOSCOW FOR USIS; ROME FOR USIS/AIO;
BRUSSELS FOR USIS AND USEC (PAO); USVIENNA FOR USDEL
CSCE.

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: NONE

SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION REPORT

FORMER YUGOSLAVIA AND THE CLOSEST ALLIED REGIONS."

CLAUDE IMBERT ON EUROPE 1 RADIO:

"A NUMBER OF DIPLOMATS AND MILITARY EXPERTS WHO ARE
FAMILIAR WITH THE GROUND NO LONGER BELIEVE IN A
MULTICULTURAL BOSNIA... SHOULD THE PERMANENT WITHDRAWAL
BECOME UNAVOIDABLE AT LEAST FRANCE WILL HAVE GAINED BY
HAVING TRIED A LOT. THE UNITED STATES ON THE CONTRARY
WILL BEAR THE RESPONSIBILITY. THE UNITED STATES, WHICH
IF IT DECIDES TO LIFT THE EMBARGO, WILL HAVE ACCEPTED
THAT THE CIVIL WAR WILL CONTINUE TO ITS END."

2. IRAQ

"SADDAM HUSSEIN'S SLOW AGONY"

LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS BY HELENE ATOUN:

"AFTER THE GULF WAR, INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION
PONDERED THE REASONS THAT LED THE ALLIES TO GIVE UP
SADDAM HUSSEIN'S CAPTURE. IT MAY HAVE BEEN A

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SOPHISTICATED PLOT TO MAKE HIM FALL VICTIM OF HIS
DOMESTIC OPPOSITION.... ONE OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE
GULF WAR WAS TO IMPOSE AN EMBARGO ON IRAQ IN ORDER TO
FORCE SADDAM HUSSEIN TO COMPLY WITH UN CONTROLS.... THE
US REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UN, MADELEINE ALBRIGHT
REASSERTED THAT IRAQ HAD A CREDIBILITY PROBLEM AND THAT
IT WAS FAR FROM COMPLYING WITH THE DEMANDS OF THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.-.. THE AMERICANS WANT TO
SLOWLY BUT SURELY STRANGLE SADDAM HUSSEIN; IN THE
MEANTIME, IT IS THE IRAQI POPULATION WHO IS PAYING FOR
THIS LATENT WAR." HOGAN

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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: NONE

SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION REPORT

PARIS -- THURSDAY JULY 13, 1995

(A) SUBJECTS COVERED IN TODAY'S REPORT:

1. BOSNIA
2. U.S--VIETNAM
3. RUSSIA

(B) SUMMARY OF COVERAGE:

THE DRAMATIC SITUATION IN SREBRENICA STILL MAKES HEADLINES THIS MORNING. RADIOS GAVE EXTENSIVE REPORTS ON THE DEPORTATION OF MUSLIM CIVILIANS FROM POTOCARI, SCREENING THEM FOR 'WAR CRIMES' AND SEPARATING MEN FROM THEIR FAMILIES. SPEAKING AT THE SENATE YESTERDAY, PRESIDENT JACQUES CHIRAC SAID: "IF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY DOES NOT REACT, THEN WE HAVE TO ASK OURSELVES WHAT PURPOSE THE UNPROFOR IS SERVING THERE AND DRAW THE APPROPRIATE CONCLUSIONS." CONSERVATIVE LE FIGARO

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FRONTPAGE TITLE: "BOSNIA: FRANCE ALONE FACING ITS ALLIES" COMMUNIST L'HUMANITE FRONTPAGE TITLE: "SREBRENICA: AFTER THE INVASION, THE SORTING OUT OF CIVIL POPULATION."

MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS ARE REPORTED ON IN WEEKLY MAGAZINE L'EXPRESS BY MARC EPSTEIN: "THE PROTOCOL AGREEMENT THE PALESTINIANS AND THE ISRAELIS ARE ABOUT TO SIGN IS ONE OF THE MOST COMPLICATED OF ALL TIMES. THE DISAGREEMENTS REMAIN ESSENTIALLY ON WATER AND ROADS...."

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IT PRESENTS NUMEROUS LEGAL AND USEFUL INNOVATIONS. A WELL-DESERVED ACCOMPLISHMENT, IF PEACE IS AT THAT PRICE."

ECONOMIC LA TRIBUNE GIVES A FACTUAL REPORT ON THE EU MEETING YESTERDAY IN BRUSSELS WHICH UNDER SECRETARY GARTEN ATTENDED.

ECONOMIC LA TRIBUNE PUBLISHES AN INTERVIEW OF RENATO RUGGIERO, DIRECTOR OF WTO WHO CLAIMS HE IS IN FAVOR OF AN INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM.

ON THE DOMESTIC FRONT THE ASSASSINATION OF THE IMAM IS STILL WIDELY COMMENTED ON AS THE POLICE HAVE STARTED INVESTIGATIONS. CONSERVATIVE LE FIGARO NOTES "ALL HYPOTHESES OF A POLITICAL SETTling OF ACCOUNTS ARE BEING CONSIDERED IN AN ATTEMPT TO FIND AN EXPLANATION TO THIS SHOOTING IN A HOSPITABLE COUNTRY."

(C) SUPPORTING TEXT/BLOCK QUOTES:

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1. BOSNIA

"TO DIE IN SILENCE ?"

WEEKLY MAGAZINE L'EXPRESS PUBLISHES AN INTERVIEW OF HARIJ SILAJDZIC, BOSNIAN PRIME MINISTER BY SYLVAIN PASQUIER:

"WHEN YOU TIE UP SOMEONE'S HANDS WITHOUT PROTECTING HIM, YOU BECOME OBJECTIVELY AN ACCOMPLICE OF MURDER. FOR THREE YEARS A GENOCIDE HAS BEEN TAKING PLACE IN BOSNIA AND NOBODY TRIED TO STOP IT--"

"PARIS IS ISOLATED IN ITS REFUSAL OF THE FAIT ACCOMPLI"

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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: NONE

SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION REPORT

INFLUENTIAL LE MONDE BY AFSANE BASSIR POUR AND CLAIRE
TREAN:

"THE AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER WAS
SATISFIED WITH THE VIGOR EXPRESSED BY PRESIDENT JACQUES
CHIRAC WHEN HE CALLED FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE SERBIAN
FORCES FROM THE MUSLIM ENCLAVE OF SREBRENICA, AND
OFFERED FRENCH MILITARY ASSISTANCE.... ON THE OTHER
HAND, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE WILLIAM PERRY HAD PRESENTED
THE FALL OF SREBRENICA AS AN ULTIMATE AND IRREPARABLE
SQUELCH INFLICTED ON THE UNPROFOR. HE ALSO CONSIDERED
ITS WITHDRAWAL FROM BOSNIA AS AN INESCAPABLE PROSPECT.
NOT ONLY DO THE AMERICANS CONTINUE TO SAY TWO DIFFERENT
THINGS, BUT THE NICE FRANCO-BRITISH ALLIANCE THAT LED TO
THE CREATION OF THE RRF IS CRACKING.... THE ROAD IS
GETTING NARROWER AND NARROWER AND FULL OF AMBUSHES, TIME
IS GETTING SHORTER, AND FRANCE IS MORE AND MORE ALONE ."

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"THE DEFEATS OF SREBRENICA"

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INFLUENTIAL LE MONDE IN AN UNATTRIBUTED EDITORIAL:
"THE WESTERN COUNTRIES HAVE JUST REGISTERED IN BOSNIA
THEIR MOST IMPORTANT FAILURE WHICH WILL PROBABLY BEAR
THE WORST CONSEQUENCES.... THEY HAVE BECOME COMPLETELY
TRAPPED BY CONTINUALLY REFUSING TO CHOOSE BETWEEN A
HUMANITARIAN OR MILITARY APPROACH."

"CLINTON IN A STRANGLEHOLD"

CONSERVATIVE LE FIGARO BY WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT
STEPHANE MARCHAND:

"THE WHITE HOUSE IS READY FOR A DIFFICULT FIGHT. ITS
EMISSARIES CONTACT HESITATING PARLIAMENTARIANS. THEY
ARE GETTING ALARMING DESCRIPTIONS OF THE TWO HARMFUL
CONSEQUENCES THAT THE LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO WOULD
HAVE: THE AMERICANS MIGHT BE DRAGGED INTO THE BALKAN'S
QUAGMIRE AND NATO MIGHT BE DESTABILIZED."

"SREBRENICA'S ETHNIC CLEANSING"

INFLUENTIAL LIBERATION FRONT PAGE BY H.D. P.

"WHILE THE SECURITY COUNCIL WAS TIMIDLY ASKING FOR THE
WITHDRAWAL OF THE SERBS FROM SREBRENICA, THE SERB FORCES
IN BOSNIA HAVE STARTED TO EXPELL BY FORCE THOUSANDS OF
BOSNIAN MUSLIMS WHO HAD FOUND SHELTER IN A DUTCH CAMP."

"SREBRENICA, SARAJEVO, BEIRUT..."

ECONOMIC LA TRIBUNE DESFOSSES BACKPAGE EDITORIAL BY
JACQUES JUBLIN:

"BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI IS PATHETIC, AND CYNICAL AT THE
SAME TIME. HOW CAN THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL BE SO
RELAXED VIS A VIS HUMANITY, WHEN THE WHOLE WORLD IS
EXPECTING HIM TO HAVE AN IMMEDIATE REACTION.... BEIRUT

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WAS COMPLETELY DESTROYED BY A FRATRICIDE WAR... BEIRUT
WAS THE SHAME OF GREAT NATIONS, AS WILL SREBRENICA AND
SARAJEVO BE TOMORROW, IF WE STAND BY BOUTROS BOUTROS-
GHALI'S UNBELIEVABLE FATALISM."

"THE CHOICE OF MARS"
POPULAR FRANCE SOIR BY JACQUES MALMASSARI:
" FUTURE CAN EASILY BE READ IN THE DICTATORS' APPETITE
FOR CONQUEST WHEN IT IS ACCOMPANIED BY THE RENUNCIATION
OF THE GREAT POWERS. THAT IS WHERE WE ARE AND IT WOULD
BE NICE IF ONLY AT THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE UN SECURITY
COUNCIL EVERYONE COULD AT LEAST MEASURE THE DIMENSION OF

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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: NONE

SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION REPORT

THE DRAMA THAT IS BEING PLAYED LIVE ON TELEVISION SCREENS AROUND THE WORLD.... AFTER THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE UNPROFOR, WE WOULD GIVE ARMS TO THE BOSNIANS, WE WOULD DRAW A SANITARY LIMIT TO AVOID CONTAMINATION TO THE NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, BOSNIA WOULD BLOW UP AND MARS, GOD OF WAR, WOULD SIMPLY CHOSE THE WINNER. WE HAVE A RIGHT TO KNOW, IF THAT IS THE POLICY THAT IS BEING IMPOSED ON BILL CLINTON DURING AN ELECTORAL PERIOD."

"WILL AND TORPOR"

CATHOLIC DAILY LA CROIX BY BRUNO FRAPPAT:

"THE POWERLESSNESS, THE SHAME AND PARALYSIS. THOSE ARE THE LEAST UNPLEASANT WORDS WE MIGHT USE TO SUMMARIZE THE FEELING WE GET FROM THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA.... PIECE BY PIECE, AND BIT BY BIT, THE CUTTING UP OF BOSNIA GOES ON IN MARTIAL SPEECHES AND INACTIVITY."

REGIONAL LES DERNIERES NOUVELLES D'ALSACE BY CHRISTIANE
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VETTU:

"IT IS A SCENARIO OF HORROR, BECAUSE A GENERAL WAR WILL INFLAME THE BALKANS, WITH INCALCULABLE CONSEQUENCES FOR EUROPEAN STABILITY."

REGIONAL DAILY L'EST REPUBLICAIN BY PIERRE TARIBO:

"WE WILL BE MORE EFFICIENT IN THE UN CORRIDORS THAN IN BOSNIA."

PHILIPPE HARROUARD ON FRANCE TWO TELEVISION:

"FRANCE STILL HOPES ITS PARTNERS WILL REACT, BUT THE DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY SITUATIONS ARE BLOCKED. PESSIMISM IS COMPULSORY. AND WHAT IS LEFT AFTER PESSIMISM BUT A RETREAT ?"

MARC ULLMANN ON RTL RADIO:

"LOTS OF MUSLIMS AROUND THE WORLD PROBABLY BELIEVE TODAY THAT THE BEHAVIOR OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES WOULD HAVE

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BEEEN DIFFERENT IF THE INHABITANTS OF SREBRENICA HAD BEEN CHRISTIANS AND NOT MUSLIMS.... IT IS ABOUT TIME WE HAVE A REAL POLICY TOWARDS ISLAM. THE FIRST AND OBVIOUS GESTURE SHOULD BE TOWARDS TURKEY... ISLAM WILL REMAIN A GREAT RELIGION, AND EGYPT AS WELL AS IRAN WILL REMAIN COUNTRIES WITH A RICH HISTORY, AND EVEN IRAQ DESERVES TO JOIN IN THE CONCERT OF NATIONS."

FRANCE INTER RADIO WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT PIERRE YVES DUGAS:

"SOME HIGH OFFICIALS OF THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION SAY IN PRIVATE THAT THE FRENCH IDEA OF A RECONQUEST OF SREBRENICA BY FORCE IS MILITARILY NOT FEASIBLE. YET

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OFFICIALLY, WASHINGTON SAYS IT SUPPORTS ALL DECISIONS ITS EUROPEAN ALLIES WILL MAKE, BUT THIS SUPPORT STILL EXCLUDES ALL PARTICIPATION OF AMERICAN TROOPS ON THE GROUND-"

2. U.S.- VIETNAM

"HANOI-WASHINGTON: A COMMERCIAL AGREEMENT WILL BE NEGOTIATED"

ECONOMIC LA TRIBUNE BY WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT JEAN-MARIE MACABREY:

"A VERY INTERESTING DEBATE WILL TAKE PLACE ABOUT VIETNAM BETWEEN CONGRESS, THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION AND

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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: NONE

SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION REPORT

AMERICAN LARGE COMPANIES. PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON WILL
NEED THE SUPPORT OF THE INDUSTRIAL AND FINANCIAL LOBBY
TO CONVINCING CONGRESS WHICH OPPOSES THE COMMERCIAL
IMPLEMENTATIONS OF A POLITICAL NORMALIZATION, REVIVING
THE DIVISIONS CAUSED BY THE VIETNAM WAR."

3. RUSSIA

"RUSSIA: A POST-REIGN CLIMATE."

CONSERVATIVE LE FIGARO BY MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT IRINA DE
CHIKOFF: IT SEEMS THAT THE POST-YELTSIN PERIOD HAS
STARTED.... THE PRIME MINISTER WHOSE POPULARITY IS
INCREASING IN RUSSIA, AND EVEN MORE IN THE WEST, SEEMS
TO BE THE 'MOST REASONABLE ALTERNATIVE', ALTHOUGH HE IS
TREADING ON THIN ICE. ON THE ONE HAND, THE PRESIDENT MAY
WELL RECOVER, AND HE HAS PROVED ON PREVIOUS OCCASIONS
THAT HIS RESENTMENT COULD BE DANGEROUS IF HE EVER FELT
BETRAYED. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF THE FIGHT FOR HIS
SUCCESSION IS OPEN 'DE FACTO', VIKTOR CHERNOMYRDIN, EVEN
THOUGH HE LOOKS LIKE THE BEST CANDIDATE, HAS NOT YET

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CONVINCED ALL THE LOBBIES WHO ARE PUSHING FORWARD OTHER
CANDIDATES." HOGAN

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: NONE

SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION REPORT

PARIS -- WEDNESDAY JULY 12, 1995

(A) SUBJECTS COVERED IN TODAY'S REPORT:

1. VIETNAM
2. BOSNIA
3. FRANCO-GERMAN SUMMIT

(B) SUMMARY OF COVERAGE:

THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA MAKES HEADLINES AFTER THE FALL OF SREBRENICA YESTERDAY. PRESS AGREES THAT THIS IS THE MOST HUMILIATING DEFEAT FOR THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE THREE YEARS OF THEIR PEACEKEEPING ROLE. PRESIDENT JACQUES CHIRAC SAID THAT FRANCE WAS PREPARED TO USE MILITARY FORCE IF ASKED BY THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL TO HELP RECAPTURE THE MUSLIM ENCLAVE OF SREBRENICA FROM BOSNIAN SERBS. SPEAKING IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, CHIRAC SAID: "I WANT TO BE VERY CLEAR: IF THE U.S. CONGRESS DECIDES TO LIFT THE EMBARGO ... THE

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U.N. PROTECTION FORCE WOULD HAVE TO WITHDRAW IMMEDIATELY." ALSO NOTED IS THE BRITISH RELUCTANCE AND DUTCH DISAGREEMENT ON SUCH USE OF THE RRF. INFLUENTIAL LIBERATION FRONTPAGE TITLE: "SREBRENICA: UN'S WATERLOO"

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S DECISION TO RESUME FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM IS ALSO REPORTED ON.

THE KILLING OF AN ALGERIAN IMAM IN PARIS YESTERDAY IS WIDELY COMMENTED ON. TWO ASSAILANTS ENTERED ABDELBAKI

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SAHRAOUI MOSQUE IN NORTHERN PARIS AND KILLED THE IMAM BY SHOOTING HIM IN THE HEAD WITH A SUBMACHINE GUN EQUIPPED WITH A SILENCER. ANOTHER PERSON WHO TRIED TO STOP THE ATTACKERS WAS ALSO FATALLY SHOT BY THEM AS THEY FLED. IMAM SAHRAOUI WAS THE ELDERLY CO-FOUNDER OF THE ISLAMIC SALVATION FRONT, THE BANNED PARTY CALLING FOR INSURRECTION IN ALGERIA. SAHRAOUI WAS THE ONLY FRONT LEADER ALLOWED TO LIVE IN FRANCE, UNTOUCHED BY A RECENT CRACKDOWN IN WHICH POLICE ROUNDED UP AND EXPELLED DOZENS OF ACTIVISTS LINKED WITH THE SALVATION FRONT.

PRESIDENT YELTSIN'S HOSPITALIZATION'S YESTERDAY IS WIDELY COVERED BY THE PRESS. CONSERVATIVE LE FIGARO BY MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT IRINA DE CHIKOFF: "BORIS YELTSIN'S HEART SINKS...THIS IS NOT THE FIRST TIME THAT THE RUSSIAN PRESIDENT WAS TAKEN TO THE HOSPITAL IN THE MIDDLE OF A POLITICAL CRISIS." IN INFLUENTIAL LIBERATION SOPHIE LAMBROSCHINI REFERS TO "THE KREMLIN, SICK OF YELTSIN".

THE FRENCH-GERMAN SUMMIT YESTERDAY IN STRASBOURG IS ALSO
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REPORTED ON. THIS WAS THE SECOND BILATERAL MEETING SINCE PRESIDENT CHIRAC TOOK OFFICE IN MAY. BOTH HE AND CHANCELLOR KOHL PLEDGED TO GIVE NEW MOMENTUM TO THE FRANCO-GERMAN AXIS WHICH HAS LONG BEEN SEEN AS THE DRIVING FORCE BEHIND THE EU. THE MEETING WAS OVERSHADOWED BY THE FRENCH DECISION TO RESUME NUCLEAR TESTS. CHANCELLOR KOHL TOLD REPORTERS THAT GERMANY FAVORS A BAN ON TESTS AND WANTS A TREATY TO THAT EFFECT SIGNED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. HE SAID THE DECISION WAS A FRENCH INTERNAL MATTER, AND ADDED THAT HE OPPOSES A BOYCOTT MOVEMENT TO REJECT FRENCH PRODUCTS THAT IS

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 TO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8168
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 DEPARTMENT OF TREASURY
 DIA WASHDC//ASD/ISA//
 SECSTATE WASHDC 3869
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PAO; NATO FOR USIS; MOSCOW FOR USIS; ROME FOR USIS/AIO;
BRUSSELS FOR USIS AND USEC (PAO); USVIENNA FOR USDEL
CSCE.

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: NONE

SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION REPORT

GAINING SUPPORT IN GERMANY.

ECONOMIC PRESS FOCUSES ON THE DECISION MADE BY THE
FRENCH GOVERNMENT TO POSTPONE THE PRIVATIZATION PLAN OF
FRANCE TELECOM UNDER GROWING POLITICAL PRESSURE TO
PROTECT JOBS.

INFLUENTIAL LE MONDE PUBLISHES AN EDITORIAL BY SYLVIE
KAUFFMANN ON THE O.J SIMPSON'S TRIAL: "BROADCAST LIVE BY
CNN, THE TRIAL OF AN AMERICAN FOOTBALL PLAYER FASCINATES
THE U.S. EVEN BILL CLINTON WATCHES IT FROM TIME TO
TIME. IT QUESTIONS THE FUNCTIONING OF THE POLICE AND
COURTS.... AMERICAN JUDICIAL HISTORY WILL NOW BE
DEFINED IN TWO ERAS: BEFORE THE O.J. SIMPSON'S TRIAL AND
AFTER."

(C) SUPPORTING TEXT/BLOCK QUOTES:

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1. VIETNAM:

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"WASHINGTON AND HANOI NORMALIZE"

CONSERVATIVE LE FIGARO BY WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT
STEPHANE MARCHAND:

"TWENTY YEARS AFTER THE FALL OF SAIGON, THE INCURABLE
VIETNAMESE WOULD BEGINS TO HEAL IN THE UNITED STATES.
VETERANS' DEMANDS ARE DROWNED OUT BY THE PRESSURE OF
AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN WHO DO NOT WANT TO LET THE JAPANESE
QUIETLY INVAD A TRADE MARKET. THE AMERICAN COMPANIES
HAVE BEEN VERY ACTIVE SINCE THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO
AND WASHINGTON IS ALREADY THE EIGHTH LARGEST INVESTOR IN
VIETNAM."

"BILL CLINTON: GOOD MORNING VIETNAM"

INFLUENTIAL LIBERATION BY LUC LAMPRIERE:

"THE DECISION WAS NOT EASY TO MAKE FOR BILL CLINTON,
ESSENTIALLY BECAUSE OF ITS UNCERTAIN POLITICAL COST....
THE MOST SPECTACULAR SUPPORT FOR BILL CLINTON MIGHT COME
FROM GEORGE BUSH WHO HAS SCHEDULED A TRIP TO VIETNAM
NEXT SEPTEMBER."

"WASHINGTON AND HANOI REESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS"
ECONOMIC LA TRIBUNE BY WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT JEAN
MARIE MACABREY:

"THE UNITED STATES AND VIETNAM TURNED A PAGE OF THEIR
PAINFUL HISTORY.... AMERICAN ENTERPRISES HAVE A VERY
CLEAR VIEW OF THE POTENTIAL VIETNAMESE ECONOMIC MARKET."

CHRISTOPHE MOULIN ON TF-1 TELEVISION:

"BILL CLINTON HAS CLOSED A TRAGIC CHAPTER OF THE HISTORY
OF HIS COUNTRY.... THE TIMING FOR THIS NORMALIZATION
WITH HANOI SEEMS TO BE CONNECTED WITH DOMESTIC POLICY
MOTIVATIONS. BILL CLINTON WANTED TO GET THE PROBLEM
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BEHIND HIM BEFORE THE BEGINNING OF THE PRESIDENTIAL
CAMPAIGN."

2. BOSNIA

"THE DISORDERLY RETREAT OF THE UN"
CONSERVATIVE LE FIGARO BY PATRICK DE SAINT-EXUPERY:
"THE ENCLAVE THAT FELL YESTERDAY WAS THE SYMBOL OF THE
HUMANITARIAN INVOLVEMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.
ITS FALL MIGHT LEAD TO THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE BLUE
HELMETS.... THE GREAT POWERS ARE NOW FORCED TO FACE THE
TOTAL FAILURE OF THEIR HUMANITARIAN ACTION, FOR HAVING
REFUSED TO GET INVOLVED SOONER AND MILITARILY."

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 DIA WASHDC//ASD/ISA//
 SECSTATE WASHDC 3870
 SECDEF WASHDC
 WHITE HOUSE
 USDOC WASHDC
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E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: NONE
SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION REPORT

"BOUTROS-GHALI: THE RRF IS NOT READY YET"
CONSERVATIVE LE FIGARO PUBLISHES AN INTERVIEW OF
BOUTROS-GHALI BY CHARLES LAMBROSCHINI:
"ACCORDING TO THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL, THE RAPID
REACTION FORCE WOULD STILL BE WAITING FOR THE SUPPORT OF
MEN AND WEAPONS TO BE OPERATIONAL... IT WOULD BE
IRRESPONSIBLE NOT TO ENVISION A POSSIBLE WITHDRAWAL OF
THE UN FORCES, SAYS BOUTROS-GHALI."

"THE KNELL OF THE UNPROFOR"
INFLUENTIAL LIBERATION BY JACQUES AMALRIC:
"... WE KNOW THE END OF THE SCENARIO, EVEN IF THE NATO
AIRFORCE, ACTIVATED BY BILL CLINTON, INCREASES THE AIR
STRIKES. THEN IT IS ALL THE BLUE HELMETS WHO WILL
EITHER BE TAKEN HOSTAGES BY THE BOSNIAN-SERBS, OR CAUGHT
UNDER FIRE OF THEIR ARTILLERY WITHOUT ANY POSSIBILITY
FOR THE RAPID REACTION FORCE TO REACT... THE EUROPEANS
MUST STOP FOOLING THEMSELVES WITH DIPLOMATIC
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NEGOTIATIONS WHICH FOR BELGRADE IS ONLY THE ACCEPTANCE
OF THIS 'FAIT ACCOMPLI'... WE CAN TRUST THAT THE UNITED
STATES, WHICH HAS NEVER BELIEVED IN UNPROFOR, WILL LEND
A HELPING HAND, AS DEFENSE SECRETARY WILLIAM PERRY HAS
SAID. THIS WOULD SAVE CLINTON FROM A CONFRONTATION WITH
HIS CONGRESS, WHICH IS ABOUT TO VOTE TO LIFT THE ARMS
EMBARGO ON BOSNIA. THE WAR IS ONLY BEGINNING BUT THE
SERBS WOULD BE WRONG IF THEY CLAIMED VICTORY TOO SOON
SINCE THEY JUST GOTTEN STARTED."

"SREBRENICA IN THE HANDS OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS"
ECONOMIC LA TRIBUNE IN A BACKPAGE UNATTRIBUTED
EDITORIAL:
"THIRTY THOUSAND PERSONS ARE FLEEING THE CITY OF
SREBRENICA, PUSHED OUT BY SERB TANKS... TENSION WENT UP
ONE DEGREE AFTER BILL CLINTON'S STATEMENT SAYING THAT HE
WAS 'WORRIED FOR THE UNPROFOR SOLDIERS SERVING IN
BOSNIA.'... A UN WITHDRAWAL FROM BOSNIA? FINAL

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HUMILIATION FOR THE INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATION."

RALPH PINTO ON RADIO FRANCE INTER:

"THE SERBS OF SERBIA HAVE SHOWN THEIR CAPABILITY TO DEFEAT THE UN MACHINERY, PARALYSED BY ITS BURDENSOME ROLE OF PRUDENCE."

LAURENCE AIM ON EUROPE ONE RADIO:

"THE WHITE HOUSE CONFIRMS THAT IT IS STILL IMPORTANT TO KEEP THE BLUE HELMETS IN BOSNIA. MILITARY ADVISORS SAY THAT SREBRENICA IS A TURNING POINT IN THE WAR. DEFENSE SECRETARY WILLIAM PERRY SAYS HE IS OUTRAGED AND THINKS

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THAT THE PROBLEM IS WHETHER OR NOT THE UN SHOULD STAY IN BOSNIA.... ANTHONY LAKE, NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR, HAD THE FINAL WORD, WHEN HE SAID: 'THE PRESENT SITUATION IS CHANGING TOO RAPIDLY TO MAKE A DECISION.'

BERNARD GUETTA ON RADIO FRANCE INTER:

"ONE FEELS LIKE USING STRONG ADJECTIVES AND WORDS TO DENOUNCE THE ABSURD, THE RIDICULOUS, THE UNSPEAKABLE SCANDAL OF THE FALL OF SREBRENICA, PROCLAIMED A UN SAFE HAVEN IN APRIL 16, 1993.... ONE FEELS LIKE USING STRONG WORDS, BECAUSE ONE IS HUMILIATED, BUT ALSO WORRIED AND TERRIFIED THAT SUCH A THING HAS HAPPENED."

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PAO; NATO FOR USIS; MOSCOW FOR USIS; ROME FOR USIS/AIO;
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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: NONE

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PHILIPPE SEGUIN, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY,
QUOTED ON EUROPE-1 RADIO:

"IT IS NECESSARY TO GIVE THE RAPID REACTION FORCE A
CHANCE, BUT IF THEY FAIL, THEN THE PROBLEM OF A RETREAT
WOULD COME UP."

3. FRANCO-GERMAN SUMMIT:

"THE PARIS-BONN ENTENTE SEALED IN STRASBOURG"
CONSERVATIVE LE FIGARO IN ITS ECONOMIC PAGES BY MARIE-
FRU CE CALLE:

"JACQUES CHIRAC AND HELMUT KOHL REASSERTED IN STRASBOURG
THE NEED TO BUILD TOWARD MONETARY UNION SOON AND NOT
TURN BACK."

"FRANCE-RFA: A SUMMIT UNDER THE SIGN OF BOSNIA AND
NUCLEAR"

ECONOMIC LA TRIBUNE BY BORIS DURANDE:

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"THE CONTROVERSY OVER THE NUCLEAR TESTS AND BOSNIA
DOMINATED THE MEETING BETWEEN JACQUES CHIRAC AND HELMUT
KOHL... BOTH COUNTRIES CONSIDER THAT 'WITHOUT AGREEMENT
BETWEEN FRANCE AND GERMANY, THERE WILL BE NO ACCORD
AMONG THE FIFTEEN." SNOW

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BRUSSELS FOR USIS AND USEC (PAO); USVIENNA FOR USDEL
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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: NONE

SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION REPORT

PARIS -- MONDAY JULY 10, 1995

(A) SUBJECTS COVERED IN TODAY'S REPORT:

1. GREENPEACE
2. BOSNIA
3. U.S. - VIETNAM

(B) SUMMARY OF COVERAGE:

MOST HEADLINES TODAY FEATURE THE SEIZURE OF THE RAINBOW
WARRIOR II BY FRENCH NAVY COMMANDOS ON SUNDAY AFTER THE
GREENPEACE SHIP ENTERED FRENCH WATERS OFF MURUROA ATOLL,
SITE OF PLANNED FRENCH NUCLEAR TESTS. PRESS NOTES THAT
THIS CONFRONTATION COMES EXACTLY TEN YEARS AFTER THE
SCUBA DIVERS FROM THE FRENCH SECRET SERVICE BOMBED AND
SANK THE ORIGINAL RAINBOW WARRIOR IN AUCKLAND HARBOR,
NEW ZEALAND, ON JULY 10, 1985.

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THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA IS STILL REPORTED ON.
INFLUENTIAL LIBERATION WRITES ABOUT THE "SERBS IN THE
ENCLAVE OF SREBRENICA. THEY ARE HOLDING THIRTY DUTCH
BLUE HELMETS AS HOSTAGES. THOUSANDS OF CIVILIANS ARE
FLEEING." PROVINCIAL DAILY LA PRESSE DE LA MANCHE BY
JEAN LEVALLOIS: "SREBRENICA IS ABOUT TO FALL. TWENTY
BLUE HELMETS, THEN THIRTY... HAVE BEEN TAKEN HOSTAGE BY
THE SERBS. IN BOSNIA, IT IS MORE OBVIOUS THAN EVER THAT
THE UN IS ONLY AN ILLUSION. A TRAGIC ILLUSION SINCE IT
BROUGHT HOPE WHICH HAS BECOME A GREAT DISAPPOINTMENT."

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THE POSSIBLE ANNOUNCEMENT BY PRESIDENT CLINTON OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM, 20 YEARS AFTER THE WAR, IS COMMENTED ON.

STEPHANE MARCHAND WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT FOR CONSERVATIVE LE FIGARO WRITES ABOUT THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR ARTICLE WHICH ACCUSES PRESIDENT CLINTON OF HAVING TURNED A BLIND EYE TO COCAINE TRAFFICKING WHILE GOVERNOR OF ARKANSAS.

THE ARREST OF HARRY WU IN CHINA WAS REPORTED ON BY BOTH PRINT AND ELECTRONIC MEDIA OVER THE WEEK END. CAROLINE PUEL IN INFLUENTIAL LIBERATION WRITES: "HARRY WU'S ARREST AGGRAVATES THE DIPLOMATIC CRISIS WHICH OPPOSES BEIJING AND WASHINGTON."

CONSERVATIVE LE FIGARO REPORTS ON THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS. PIERRE ROUSSELIN WRITES: "RABIN DENOUNCES THE 'AYATOLLAHS' OF JUDAISM. IN ORDER TO BRING ABOUT THE FAILURE OF PALESTINIAN SELF- RULE IN THE WEST BANK, THE

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EXTREME RIGHT RABBINS URGE THE ARMY TO DISOBEY--.. IN ORDER TO MINIMIZE THEIR EFFECTIVENESS, MR. RABIN NOTES THAT THE MOST INFLUENTIAL RABBINS OFTEN COME FROM THE UNITED STATES."

ECONOMIC LA TRIBUNE PUBLISHES A DOUBLE PAGE INTERVIEW OF COMMERCE SECRETARY RON BROWN BY BLANCA RIEMER AND JEAN MARIE MACABREY:
"RON BROWN IS CONSIDERED AS ONE OF THE MOST DYNAMIC AMERICAN COMMERCE SECRETARIES... HE FEELS THAT THE CRITICISMS OF THE EUROPEANS ABOUT THE AMERICAN THREAT OF

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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: NONE

SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION REPORT

SANCTIONS AGAINST JAPAN ARE
AN EXPRESSION OF BAD FAITH. HE WANTS TO GO BACK TO THE
NEGOTIATING TABLE TO REACH AN AGREEMENT ON FINANCIAL
SERVICES."

BOTH ECONOMIC DAILIES LES ECHOS AND LA TRIBUNE COMMENT
ON THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN THE U.S.
FOR LES ECHOS "THE AMERICAN ECONOMIC SITUATION IS ABOUT
TO START UP AGAIN." FOR LA TRIBUNE: "THE UNITED STATES
SEE THE SPECTRUM OF RECESSION FADE AWAY."

(C) SUPPORTING TEXT/BLOCK QUOTES:

1. GREENPEACE:

"HEAD HELD HIGH"

CONSERVATIVE LE FIGARO BY ALAIN PEYREFITTE:

"WHAT'S THE GREENPEACE MANDATE? DID THIS ORGANIZATION,

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STUBBORNLY ANTI-FRENCH, EVER SEND THE RAINBOW WARRIOR
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OFF THE SHORES OF CHINA, DURING ITS TESTS? WHAT IS THE
MANDATE OF THE AUSTRALIANS? DID THEY EVER CRITICIZE
GREAT BRITAIN WHEN IT WAS TESTING ITS BOMBS ON IN
AUSTRALIA? DO THEY CALL THEIR AMBASSADOR BACK WHEN
BEIJING BLOWS UP A BOMB IN A SITE MUCH CLOSER TO
AUSTRALIA THAN MURUROA?"

2. BOSNIA

"FRENCH SOLDIERS READY TO OPEN THE ROAD TO SARAJEVO."
CONSERVATIVE LE FIGARO BY ERIC BIEGALA:
"IF CARL BILD'T'S DIPLOMATIC METHODS FAIL, THE RAPID
REACTION FORCE WILL HAVE TO SECURE THE INGMAN ROAD. THE
UN THREATENS THE SERBS WITH AIR STRIKES IF THEY ATTACK
SREBRENICA."

BERNARD GUETTA ON RADIO FRANCE INTER: "THE BOSNO-SERBS
SCOFF AT THE WORLD IN GENERAL AND AT FRANCE IN
PARTICULAR. THEY MAY HAVE PUSHED THEIR LIMITS TOO FAR.
THE PROBLEM IS THAT, CONCURRENTLY, THE AMERICAN
CONGRESS, UNILATERALLY, IS ANXIOUS TO VOTE FOR THE
LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO. IF THIS BILL GOES THROUGH,
IF THE WHITE HOUSE DOES NOT MANAGE TO STOP IT, WETHER
THE BOSNO-SERBS WITHDRAW OR NOT, IT ENDS THE ROLE OF THE
UN. THUS IT IS WAR, ONLY WAR, WHICH MUST BE AVOIDED AT
ALL COSTS."

RENAUD GIRARD ON RADIO EUROPE ONE: "TREATED HARSHLY IN
SARAJEVO, WHERE THE BOSNIAN ARMY IS TRYING TO BREAK THE
SIEGE OF THE CAPITAL CITY, THE SERBS, IN SREBRENICA, ARE
PLAYING THEIR USUAL DIVERSION CARD, AND AS USUAL THE UN
IS LEFT OUT WHILE THEY (THE UN) KEEP SCORE."

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3. U.S. - VIETNAM

"U.S. - VIETNAM: NORMALIZATION"

CONSERVATIVE LE FIGARO IN ITS SATURDAY EDITION BY
WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT STEPHANE MARCHAND:

"CONCLUDING A FOUR YEAR CAUTIOUS RAPPROCHEMENT,
WASHINGTON AND HANOI WILL ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC
RELATIONS.... TWENTY YEARS AFTER THE FALL OF SAIGON, THE
INCURABLE VIETNAMESE WOUND BEGINS TO HEAL IN THE UNITED STATES.'

"UPCOMING NORMALIZATION HANOI - WASHINGTON"

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USIA FOR R/MR; P/FW P/FN; VOA NEWS/CA; EU; AF; STATE FOR
EUR/WE (ANN CARSON)/P/SP; AF; INR/P; PM; OSC ISA FOR
ILN; FOR NEA; WHITE HOUSE FOR NSC/WEUROPE; DOC FOR
ITA/EUR/FR AND PASS USTR/PA (ANN LUZZATO); USINCEUR FOR
PAO; NATO FOR USIS; MOSCOW FOR USIS; ROME FOR USIS/AIO;
BRUSSELS FOR USIS AND USEC (PAO); USVIENNA FOR USDEL
CSCE.

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E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: NONE
SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION REPORT

EDITORIAL:

"FOR TWO AND A HALF YEARS, PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON MADE PROGRESS DESPITE THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND TRAUMATIC SENSITIVITY PERVASIVE IN THE U.S..... IN HANOI, PATIENCE IS ALSO THE RULE. IT HAS BEEN ADMITTED FOR ONCE AND FOR ALL THAT THE NORMALIZATION WAS NO LONGER A MATTER OF BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS, BUT AN AMERICAN DOMESTIC PROBLEM... AND SHOULD BILL CLINTON EVER DECIDE TO GIVE UP ON THIS ISSUE, VIETNAM HAS ALREADY SAID THAT IT WOULD CONTINUE TO COOPERATE WITH WASHINGTON."

"TWENTY YEARS LATER, WASHINGTON RENEWS ITS LINKS WITH HANOI"

ECONOMIC LA TRIBUNE BY WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT JEAN MARIE MACABREY:

"IN REESTABLISHING ITS DIPLOMATIC TIES, WASHINGTON WANTS TO REWARD HANOI FOR HAVING PROVIDED INFORMATION ON THE MIAS AND RAPATRIATED THE REMAINS OF SOME OF THEM. ALIKE
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MANY AMERICANS, THE GOVERNMENT ALSO WANTS TO CLOSE A SAD AND BITTER CHAPTER OF THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES."
SNOW

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ACTION SA-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00
	DODE-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	EAP-01	EB-01	H-01	TEDE-00
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	DRL-09	G-00	/050W				

-----DC4BEB 241047Z /38

O 241037Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
 TO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3132
 INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9804
 AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
 AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU
 AMEMBASSY DHAKA
 AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
 FBIS BANGKOK TH
 USDOC WASHDC
 CINCPACFLT PEARL HARBOR HI
 USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI//USIA//

UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 06 NEW DELHI 009588

USIA FOR NEA, R/MR, I/TIC, I/R, I/GAR, I/REC, I/RW,
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 STATE FOR NSC
 STATE FOR AID/APRE-A
 USTR FOR GODEC

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PAGE 02 NEW DE 09588 03 OF 06 241047Z
USDOC FOR 4530/IEP/ANESA/OSA

E.O. 12356: N/A
 TAGS:PREL, PGOV
 SUBJECT: INDIAN MEDIA REACTION REPORT NO. 337
 -JULY 22-24, 1995

"IT IS A MISTAKE TO EQUATE THE SURVIVAL OF THE
 ENCLAVES WITH THE ENTIRE UN OPERATION IN BOSNIA. THE UN

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HAS, FIRST, A HUMANITARIAN ROLE AND, SECOND, THE TASK OF FINDING A DIPLOMATIC SETTLEMENT. TO CLAIM THE UN HAS FAILED IN THE FIRST TASK IS NONSENSE. ITS RECORD IS NOT PERFECT, BUT THAT SARAJEVANS HAVE NOT STARVED TO DEATH IS A REMINDER OF HOW MUCH WORSE THINGS WOULD HAVE BEEN WITHOUT THE CONVOYS OF WHITE TRUCKS. THE UN'S ATTEMPTS AT PEACE BROKERING HAVE BEEN FARFICAL. BUT THEIR COLLECTIVE NATURE HAS HAD ONE MAJOR SUCCESS. BOSNIA'S CIVIL WAR IS AN INTERNATIONAL TRAGEDY BUT A REGIONAL CONFLICT. LET THE OUTSIDE WORLD WALK THEIR SEPARATE BOSNIAN PATHS--GERMANY BACKING THEIR OLD ALLIES, RUSSIA SUPPORTING THE SERBS AND THE ISLAMIC NATIONS RALLYING BEHIND THE MUSLIMS--AND BOSNIA WILL BECOME AN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT. THE PREVENTION OF WAR IS IMPORTANT, BUT THE BUSINESS OF SEEING IT DOES NOT SPREAD IS THE GREATER DIPLOMATIC IMPERATIVE TODAY...."

--"WEST'S INACTION ENCOURAGES SERBIAN ATROCITIES,"
ANALYSIS IN JULY 23 THE TIMES OF INDIA BY NAPLES
CORRESPONDENT VAIJU NARAVANE:

"RECENTLY DEMONSTRATED FOR THE UMPTEENTH TIME IN
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PAGE 03 NEW DE 09588 03 OF 06 241047Z
LONDON: THAT THE WEST HAS NO TASTE FOR SOMEONE ELSE'S WAR; IN CONCRETE TERMS THE LONDON CONFERENCE HAS ACHIEVED NEXT TO NOTHING.... SINCE THE WEST DOES NOT SEEM TO HAVE THE STOMACH FOR ACTION, AS DEMONSTRATED BY RECENT EVENTS AND IN PARTICULAR BY THE UN HOSTAGE CRISIS A FEW MONTHS AGO, THE LOGICAL NEXT STEP WOULD BE TO PULL OUT UN TROOPS AND LET THE BELLIGERENTS FIGHT IT OUT AMONGST THEMSELVES. BUT FOR THE TIME BEING THE WEST IS NOT PREPARED TO ADMIT THAT IS WHAT, IN THE LONG RUN, IS GOING TO HAPPEN....

"PRESIDENT CLINTON SAID THE FUTURE AIR RAIDS AGAINST RECALCITRANT BOSNIAN SERBS WOULD BE SUBSTANTIAL AND SIGNIFICANT. IS THE WEST FINALLY GEARING UP TO WETTING JUST A WEE BIT MORE THAN ITS LITTLE PINK TOES? A WORLD WHICH HAS LOST ALL CONFIDENCE IN THE WESTERN POWERS' SENSE OF JUSTICE OR HONOR IS CLEARLY WAITING TO BE CONVINCED THAT THIS IS TOUGH TALK IS NOT JUST BLUSTER

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AND BLUFF."

2. ASIAN ISSUES: CHINA/VIETNAM

SUMMARY:

AN EDITORIAL IN THE TIMES OF INDIA REFLECTED OPINIONS EXPRESSED IN SEVERAL ANALYSES OVER THE WEEKEND, WHILE NOTING THAT THE CHINESE MOVE TO CONDUCT MISSILE TESTS CLOSE TO TAIWAN IS A MESSAGE TO TAIWAN, THE U.S., THE EAST ASIAN COUNTRIES AND THE WORLD AGAINST
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INTERFERING IN BEIJING'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THE HINDU'S WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT SRIDHAR KRISHNASWAMI NOTED A STRONG CONSENSUS THAT BOTH THE U.S. AND CHINA STAND TO GAIN BY PURSUING A POLICY OF COOPERATION.

BLOCK QUOTES:

--"AIMING A MISSILE," EDITORIAL IN JULY 22 THE TIMES OF INDIA:

"...THE CHINESE HAVE NOTIFIED THAT THEY WILL BE CONDUCTING MISSILE TESTS JUST NORTH OF TAIWAN.... THE NEW MISSILE TESTS...HAVE A MESSAGE TO CONVEY TO TAIWAN, THE U.S., THE EAST ASIAN COUNTRIES AND THE WORLD.... IT IS QUITE OBVIOUS THAT THE TIMING OF THE TESTS WAS INTENDED TO DEMONSTRATE CHINA'S ANNOYANCE TOWARDS TAIWAN AND THE U.S. IN THE LIGHT OF THE VISIT OF THE TAIWANESE PRESIDENT LEE TENG HUI TO THE U.S.... IT IS ALSO PERHAPS A SIGNAL TO THE U.S. AT A TIME WHEN THEIR RELATIONS WITH JAPAN ARE SOMEWHAT STRAINED THAT THE U.S. CANNOT AFFORD TO ALIENATE BOTH JAPAN AND CHINA. IT MAY ALSO BE AN IMPLICIT WARNING TO THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS THAT THEY CANNOT RELY ON THE U.S. FOR THEIR

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 FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
 TO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3133
 INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9805
 AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
 AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU
 AMEMBASSY DHAKA
 AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
 FBIS BANGKOK TH
 USDOC WASHDC
 CINCPACFLT PEARL HARBOR HI
 USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI//USIA//

UNCLAS SECTION 04 OF 06 NEW DELHI 009588

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 STATE FOR SA/INS, PM/CEM T AND ACDA
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USDOC FOR 4530/IEP/ANESA/OSA

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS:PREL, PGOV
SUBJECT: INDIAN MEDIA REACTION REPORT NO. 337
-JULY 22-24, 1995

SECURITY AS CHINA INTENDS TO BE THE DOMINANT STRATEGIC
POWER IN EAST ASIA. LASTLY, THE U.S. IS PERHAPS BEING
TOLD THAT IT CANNOT INTERFERE IN CHINA'S INTERNAL
AFFAIRS....

"CHINA'S MILITARY POWER IS BEING MODERNIZED RAPIDLY
AND IT IS EMERGING AS THE FOREMOST POWER IN ASIA. THE
SHORT- SIGHTED AMERICAN POLICIES OF PUTTING PRESSURE ON
JAPAN OVER TRADE, NOT HELPING RUSSIAN ECONOMIC RECOVERY
ADEQUATELY AND ARM TWISTING INDIA OVER ITS NUCLEAR AND
MISSILE PROGRAM ARE CREATING OBSTACLES FOR A NATURAL
BALANCE OF POWER TO EMERGE IN ASIA, OPENING THE WAY FOR
CHINA TO BECOME THE HEGEMON OF ASIA. THIS IS NOT THE
FIRST OCCASION THE U.S. IS COMMITTING A MAJOR ERROR OF
JUDGMENT IN RESPECT OF CHINA.... THE AMERICANS DID NOT
UNDERSTAND THAT VIETNAM WAS A DYKE AGAINST THE EXPANSION
OF CHINESE INFLUENCE INTO SOUTH EAST ASIA AND ENGAGED IT
IN A RUINOUS WAR. THE PRESENT U.S. POLICY OF EQUATING
INDIA AND PAKISTAN AND APPLYING PRESSURE ON THE INDIAN
MISSILE PROGRAM ONLY HIGHLIGHTS THAT THE AMERICAN
ADMINISTRATION HAS NOT LEARNT FROM HISTORY."

--'BREAKING THE ICE, ANALYSIS IN JULY 22 BUSINESS
STANDARD BY COLUMNIST SUNANDA K. DATTA RAY:

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"ONLY THE CHINESE COULD DO IT, IN SPITE OF RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. BEING WORN TO A FRAZZLE, TRADE BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES, REMAINS BRISK AND BUOYANT AS EVER. SINO-U.S. RELATIONS ARE AT THEIR LOWEST SINCE DIPLOMATIC TIES WERE ESTABLISHED IN 1979; AND NO ONE SEEMS TO THINK THAT THE TALKS SCHEDULED TO BE HELD IN BRUNEI ON AUGUST 1 BETWEEN WARREN CHRISTOPHER...AND CHINA'S FOREIGN MINISTER, QIAN QICHEN, WILL LEAD TO AN IMMEDIATE UPTURN.... MEANWHILE, THE CHINESE ARE COCKING A SNOOK AT THE AMERICANS. THE MESSAGE IS THAT BEIJING HAS OTHER OPTIONS: IT CAN DO BUSINESS WITH THE EUROPEANS.... THE PROBLEM WITH THE U.S. IS BOTH POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC. INTENSELY TOUCHY ABOUT QUESTIONS RELATING TO SOVEREIGNTY, THE CHINESE ARE LIVID OVER THE AMERICAN VISIT, PRIVATE AND UNOFFICIAL THOUGH IT WAS, OF TAIWAN'S PRESIDENT, LEE TENG-HUI....

"THE U.S. HAS ITS OWN LONG LIST OF GRIEVANCES.... THESE ARE GRAVE ENOUGH OFFENSES FOR THE U.S. TO THREATEN TO REIMPOSE THE SANCTIONS THAT BILL CLINTON REMOVED LAST OCTOBER...THE LAST THING THE CHINESE WANT IS AN ECONOMIC RUPTURE WITH A COUNTRY WITH WHICH THEY ENJOY A TRADE SURPLUS OF ABOUT \$28 BILLION.... LUCKILY FOR THEM, MONEY TALKS, AND THEIR ARDENT LOBBYIST IN THE U.S., THE FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE, HENRY KISSINGER, HAS LEAPT TO THE RESCUE."

--"THE CHINA FACTOR," ANALYSIS IN JULY 22 THE HINDU BY WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT SRIDHAR KRISHNASWAMI:

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"BY AND LARGE THERE IS A STRONG CONSENSUS THAT BOTH THE U.S. AND CHINA STAND TO GAIN BY PURSUING A POLICY OF COOPERATION.... THOSE CALLING UPON THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION NOT TO GO OVERBOARD AGAINST THE BACKDROP OF THE ANTI-CHINA 'FEVER' IN SOME QUARTERS, MAKE THE POINT THAT WASHINGTON STILL NEEDS BEIJING'S BACKING AT

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THE UNITED NATIONS AND FOR ADVANCING SOME OF THE ISSUES THAT THE U.S. HAS BEEN PURSUING IN THE GLOBAL ARENA.

"SEEN IN THE IMMEDIATE CONTEXT, THE U.S. HAS A CONTINUING INTEREST IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEAS WHERE THE DISPUTE OVER THE SPRATLYS AND PARACELS BRINGS INTO FOCUS AT LEAST SIX NATIONS IN EAST AND SOUTH EAST ASIA.... THE U.S. NEEDS TO BEAR IN MIND THE SENSITIVE AREAS IN DEALING WITH CHINA AND HEADING THAT LIST IS TAIWAN.... MUCH AS SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION MAY ARGUE THAT THE U.S. IS KEEN ON ENGAGING AND NOT CONTAINING CHINA, SEEN FROM THE OTHER SIDE, A NUMBER OF DECISIONS TAKEN BY THE BUSH AND CLINTON ADMINISTRATIONS WOULD POINT IN THE DIRECTION OF 'CONTAINING' CHINA OR LIMITING ITS INFLUENCE AS WAS BEING DONE TO THE ERSTWHILE SOVIET UNION AT THE TIME OF THE COLD WAR....

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INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00
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	NSCE-00	OMB-01	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00
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FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
TO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3134
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9806
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU
AMEMBASSY DHAKA
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
FBIS BANGKOK TH
USDOC WASHDC
CINCPACFLT PEARL HARBOR HI
USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI//USIA//

UNCLAS SECTION 05 OF 06 NEW DELHI 009588

USIA FOR NEA, R/MR, I/TIC, I/R, I/GAR, I/REC, I/RW,
STATE FOR SA/INS, PM/CEM T AND ACDA
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E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS:PREL, PGOV
SUBJECT: INDIAN MEDIA REACTION REPORT NO. 337
-JULY 22-24, 1995

"THE DISTURBING PART OF WHAT IS IN STORE FOR
BILATERAL RELATIONS...HAS TO DO WITH HOW THE CONGRESS
MAY BE SEEKING TO PRESSURE THE ADMINISTRATION TO
RETALIATE FOR THE STRING OF PERCEIVED HOSTILE ACTS BY
CHINA.... EVEN IF THINGS AT THE BILATERAL LEVEL REMAIN
THE SAME IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS, THERE ARE OTHER
DEVELOPMENTS IN THE U.S. AND ELSEWHERE THAT ARE BOUND TO
SHAPE CHINA'S THINKING AND REACTION. TOPPING THAT LIST
WOULD BE THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH
VIETNAM.... THE INTERPRETATION THAT THE U.S. POLICY IS

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A STRATEGY FOR CONTAINMENT OF CHINA DOES NOT STOP WITH U.S.- VIETNAM RELATIONS IN SOUTH EAST ASIA OR IN A NEW FOUND RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDIA AND THE U.S. IT ALSO COVERS THE TIES WITH MYANMAR--A CLOSE ALLY OF CHINA."

--"LUKEWARM INTERESTS AFTER A COLD WAR," OP-ED PAGE ARTICLE BY COLUMNIST A.N.D. HAKSAR IN JULY 20 THE TELEGRAPH:

"...TWO UNRELATED EVENTS LAST WEEK UNDERScoreD DRAMATICALLY THE CURRENT DILEMMAS OF UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY. THEY ALSO DISPLAYED ITS TWO FACES--ONE DECISIVE, THE OTHER DITHERING.... ON JULY 11, THE U.S. FORMALLY RECOGNIZED VIETNAM.... ON THE SAME

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DAY...SREBRENICA...WAS CAPTURED BY BOSNIAN SERB FORCES DESPITE U.S. PROTESTATIONS.... THE FIRST EVENT DEMONSTRATED THE FRUITION OF A CLEARCUT POLICY PURSUED WITH CARE THROUGH POLITICAL HAZARDS. THE SECOND REFLECTED CONTINUED CONFUSION OF AIMS LEADING TO A FORESEEN DEBACLE.... BOTH EVENTS POINT TO INCREASING OPPOSITION AT HOME AND DIFFICULT CHOICES ABROAD WHICH U.S. STANCE IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS....

"THERE IS WIDE SPECULATION THAT ITS NEW TIES WITH HANOI COULD PROVIDE THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION WITH AN IMPORTANT COUNTER-WEIGHT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AT A TIME WHEN ITS RELATIONS WITH BEIJING HAVE DETERIORATED SHARPLY.... WHILE THE U.S. HAS INVESTED BILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN CHINA...BEIJING IS NO LONGER THE STRATEGIC COUNTERBALANCE TO MOSCOW.... WHILE THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION REVIEWS ITS CHINA OPTIONS.... THE DUEL BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE ARMS OF ITS GOVERNMENT HAS HAMSTRUNG U.S. POLICY ON BOSNIA.... COLD WAR PERCEPTIONS OF THE SOVIET THREAT HAD UNDERPINNED A FOREIGN POLICY CONSENSUS, BOTH WITHIN THE U.S. AND THE WESTERN ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE.... CHINA AND BOSNIA ILLUSTRATE THE EROSION OF THIS CONSENSUS INSIDE THE U.S. AS WELL AS THE ALLIANCE...."

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E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS:PREL, PGOV
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-JULY 22-24, 1995

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 FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
 TO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3083
 INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9645
 AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
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 AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU
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 CINCPACFLT PEARL HARBOR HI

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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 05 NEW DELHI 009373

USIA FOR NEA, R/MR, I/TIC, I/R, I/GAR, I/REC, I/RW,
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 STATE FOR NSC
 STATE FOR AID/APRE-A
 USTR FOR GODEC

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2009 200705105

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E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS:PREL, PGOV
SUBJECT: INDIAN MEDIA REACTION REPORT NO. 334
-JULY 19, 1995

SUBJECTS COVERED IN THIS REPORT

1. BOSNIA
2. U.S.-VIETNAM
3. MIDDLE EAST: PLO
4. NUCLEAR ISSUES: SOUTH ASIA

PAGE ONE STORIES

1. FATE OF FOREIGN HOSTAGES IN KASHMIR UNCERTAIN;
AL-FARAN REMAINS SILENT AFTER DEADLINE EXPIRED ON
MONDAY:

X-- ALL MAJOR NATIONAL DAILIES GAVE PROMINENT LEAD
ATTENTION TO REPORTS FROM SRINAGAR STATING THAT THE FATE
OF THE FIVE FOREIGN TOURISTS HELD HOSTAGE BY THE
AL-FARAN MILITANT OUTFIT REMAINS UNCERTAIN AS THE
CAPTORS REMAINED SILENT AFTER THE EXTENDED DEADLINE SET
BY THEM EXPIRED ON JULY 17. THE STATE GOVERNMENT HAS
FORMED A CRISIS MANAGEMENT GROUP HEADED BY THE
GOVERNOR'S SECURITY ADVISOR LT.GEN. D.D. SAKLANI AS
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EFFORTS CONTINUED TO RE-ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH AL-FARAN
TO SECURE RELEASE OF THE HOSTAGES. MEANWHILE, THE
INDIAN EXPRESS AND OTHER PAPERS REPORTED THAT IN A
SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT, FOUR JAMMU AND KASHMIR
LIBERATION FRONT (JKLF) ACTIVISTS, INCLUDING ITS FORMER
ACTING CHIEF MOHAMAD RAFI, WERE RELEASED ON INTERIM BAIL
BY THE JAMMU AND KASHMIR AUTHORITIES ON TUESDAY.
ADDRESSING A PRESS CONFERENCE SOON AFTER THEIR RELEASE,
RAFI APPEALED TO AL-FARAN TO RELEASE THE HOSTAGES,
STATING THAT SUCH ACTIONS WERE NOT IN THE INTEREST OF

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XTHEIR "MOVEMENT" AND WOULD DO CONSIDERABLE HARM TO THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE.

-- THE HINDUSTAN TIMES GAVE SECOND LEAD ATTENTION TO A WASHINGTON STORY QUOTING STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN NICHOLAS BURNS' REMARKS THAT THE U.S. HAS CALLED UPON THE AL-FARAN GROUP "TO EXERCISE REASON AND A HUMANITARIAN COMMITMENT TO RESOLVE THIS PROBLEM PEACEFULLY AND TO RELEASE ALL THE CAPTIVES UNHARMED." STATING THAT THE U.S. REMAINED "VERY DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE SITUATION IN KASHMIR, BURNS SAID THE ADMINISTRATION WAS MONITORING THE SITUATION IN KASHMIR "VERY CLOSELY" THROUGH THE EFFORTS OF THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN NEW DELHI AND ONE OF ITS OFFICIALS IN KASHMIR. "WE CONTINUE TO HOPE FOR A PEACEFUL OUTCOME OUT OF CONCERN FOR THE SAFETY OF THE AMERICAN AND OTHERS INVOLVED," HE ADDED.

2. ENRON REVIEW REPORT SUBMITTED; MAHARASHTRA CABINET TO TAKE FINAL DECISION ON DABHOL PROJECT:

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-- MAINSTREAM DAILIES GAVE PROMINENT PAGE ONE COVERAGE XTO REPORTS FROM BOMBAY STATING THAT THE MAHARASHTRA CABINET SUB-COMMITTEE THAT REVIEWED THE ENRON CORPORATION'S CONTROVERSIAL DABHOL POWER PROJECT HAS HANDED OVER ITS REPORT ON JULY 18 TO CHIEF MINISTER MANOHAR JOSHI AT AN OFFICIAL CEREMONY. REPORTS SAID THAT BOTH JOSHI AND HIS DEPUTY GOPINATH MUNDE, WHO HEADED THE REVIEW COMMITTEE, DECLINED TO DISCLOSE THE RECOMMENDATIONS, MAINTAINING THAT THE REPORT IS "CONFIDENTIAL AND WILL BE MADE PUBLIC ONLY AFTER THE ENTIRE CABINET DISCUSSES IT." STATING THAT THE CABINET WOULD TAKE A DECISION "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE," JOSHI SAID IT WOULD ALSO CONSULT LEGAL OPINION BEFORE COMING TO A DECISION.

3. PAK. ARMS EXPENDITURE DOUBLES, INDIA'S DECREASES--ACDA:

-- THE HINDUSTAN TIMES GAVE SECOND LEAD ATTENTION TO A

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PTI WIRE SERVICE REPORT FROM WASHINGTON, WHICH QUOTES AN ACDA REPORT STATING THAT CHINA HAD ASSISTED PAKISTAN IN DEVELOPING NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES PRIOR TO ITS ACCESSION TO THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY IN EARLY 1992. THE ACDA

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INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00
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	INR-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NEA-01	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OMB-01	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00
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O 191047Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
TO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3084
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9646
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
FBIS BANGKOK TH
USDOC WASHDC
AMEMBASSY DHAKA
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU
USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI//USIA//

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CINCPACFLT PEARL HARBOR HI

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 05 NEW DELHI 009373

USIA FOR NEA, R/MR, I/TIC, I/R, I/GAR, I/REC, I/RW,
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STATE FOR NSC
STATE FOR AID/APRE-A
USTR FOR GODEC

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E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS:PREL, PGOV
SUBJECT: INDIAN MEDIA REACTION REPORT NO. 334
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REPORT, WHICH WAS SUBMITTED TO THE U.S. CONGRESS, ALSO
SAYS THAT PAKISTAN HAD INCREASED ITS ARMS PURCHASES IN
1992-93 WHILE INDIAN AND AFGHANISTAN HAD MADE DRASTIC
CUTS IN THEIR ARMS PURCHASES. THE REPORT HAS ALSO
EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE TERRITORIAL, ETHNIC,
RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL DISPUTES IN SOUTH ASIA COULD
ESCALATE INTO A FOURTH WAR BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN.

1. BOSNIA

SUMMARY:

EDITORIALS CONTINUED TO APPEAR IN MAJOR NATIONAL
DAILIES, GENERALLY CRITICIZING THE WESTERN NATIONS FOR
"LACKING THE POLITICAL WILL" TO TAKE ON AGGRESSORS IN A
REGION WHERE VITAL STRATEGIC INTERESTS ARE NO LONGER
INVOLVED. THE EDITORIALS NOTED THAT THE CAPTURE OF
SREBRENICA MADE "A MOCKERY OF NOT ONLY THE UN MISSION,
BUT ALSO OF ALL THE GLOBAL RESOLUTIONS AND FORMULAS."

BLOCK QUOTES:

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X--"APPEASING AN AGGRESSOR," EDITORIAL IN THE TIMES OF
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PAGE 03 NEW DE 09373 02 OF 05 191053Z
INDIA:

"THE CAPTURE OF SREBRENICA... IS A BRAZEN ACT OF AGGRESSION THAT VIOLATES ALL INTERNATIONAL PRINCIPLES AND CONVENTIONS OF WAR.... WHILE THE WORLD CONTINUES TO WATCH HELPLESSLY AND THE WESTERN POWERS DITHER OVER WHAT TO DO, THE SERBS HAVE ACQUIRED MORE TERRITORY AND DETAINED THOUSANDS OF CIVILIANS IN ONE MORE ROUND OF ETHNIC 'CLEANSING.' NEITHER THE PRESENCE OF 24,000 UN PEACEKEEPERS NOR SPORADIC AIR STRIKES BY NATO HAS DETERRED THEIR SYSTEMATIC OFFENSIVE, INCLUDING TAKING UN SOLDIERS HOSTAGE. ON THE CONTRARY, THEIR ATTEMPTS TO MANIPULATE THE WESTERN POWERS HAVE PAID OFF.... THE CASE FOR SWIFT INTERVENTION HAS NEVER BEEN MORE URGENT. THIS IS A COURSE THAT THE WESTERN POWERS HAVE CONSISTENTLY BALKED AT.... UNFORTUNATELY FOR THE VICTIMIZED MUSLIMS IN BOSNIA, A MAJOR FACTOR THAT MILITATES AGAINST A MORE ACTIVE ROLE BY THE WEST IN THE XPOST-COLD WAR ERA IS THE LACK OF POLITICAL WILL TO TAKE ON AGGRESSORS IN A REGION WHERE VITAL STRATEGIC INTERESTS ARE NO LONGER INVOLVED. ANOTHER IS THE COMPULSIONS OF DOMESTIC POLITICS.... IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER THE WESTERN POWERS WILL CONTINUE TO PASSIVELY WATCH THE DESTRUCTION OF WHAT WAS ONCE A VIBRANT MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY."

--"HOPE ABANDONED," EDITORIAL IN THE INDIAN EXPRESS:

"LAST WEEK WHEN THE SERBIAN WARRIORS CARRIED OUT THEIR BIGGEST 'CLEANSING' OPERATION IN THE 39-MONTH BALKAN WAR, IT WAS, APART FROM BEING A COLOSSAL DISPLAY
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OF INHUMANITY, A HUMILIATING BLOW TO BOTH THE KEEPERS
AND NEGOTIATORS OF PEACE--THE UN, NATO, AND THE BIG
POWERS OF THE WEST. FOR, THE BRUTALITY OF THE
OPERATION.... MADE A MOCKERY OF NOT ONLY THE UN MISSION
BUT ALL THE GLOBAL RESOLUTIONS AND FORMULAS....

"AS THE SERBIAN NATIONALISTS PREPARE FOR THE CAPTURE
OF ANOTHER UN 'SAFE AREA', THE INTERNATIONAL CONFUSION
XONCE AGAIN COMES IN SHARP FOCUS.... SUCH A POLYPHONY OF
BALKAN REMEDIES WILL NEITHER HELP THE VICTIMS NOR HAMPER
THE VILLAINS. THE CRISIS IS FURTHER CONFOUNDED BY THE
WIDENING RUSSIAN-AMERICAN RIFT AND THE REPUBLICANS'
DETERMINATION TO LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO ON THE BOSNIAN
GOVERNMENT.... IT IS A SAD IRONY THAT THE SLAVS WHO PUT
UP A SACRIFICIAL FIGHT IN THE NAZI ERA ARE NOW TAKING A
LEAF OUT OF THE TORMENTOR'S BURIED BOOK. THE
INTERNATIONAL SHAME IS THAT IT IS ALLOWED TO HAPPEN."

--"AGE OF IMPOTENCE," EDITORIAL IN THE STATESMAN:

"THE AMERICANS ARE SO INFECTED BY THE VIETNAM
SYNDROMES THAT REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS ARE JOINING TO
RESTRAIN PRESIDENT CLINTON FROM TAKING ANY INITIATIVES

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ACTION SA-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00
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	NSCE-00	OMB-01	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00
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	DRL-09	G-00	/050W				

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O 191047Z JUL 95
 FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
 TO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3085
 INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9647
 AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
 AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
 FBIS BANGKOK TH
 USDOC WASHDC
 AMEMBASSY DHAKA
 AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU
 USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI//USIA//
 CINCPACFLT PEARL HARBOR HI

UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 05 NEW DELHI 009373

USIA FOR NEA, R/MR, I/TIC, I/R, I/GAR, I/REC, I/RW,
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 STATE FOR NSC
 STATE FOR AID/APRE-A
 USTR FOR GODEC

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AT ALL, NOT THAT THE POOR MAN, DEVOID OF CONVICTION, IS
 IN ANY DANGER OF DOING SO. ALL HE CAN SUGGEST IS A

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LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO WHICH IS AFFECTING THE LARGELY MUSLIM GOVERNMENT OF BOSNIA ALTHOUGH HE IS CAREFUL NOT TO SAY WHEN... ONE IS DRIVEN TO THE XCONCLUSION THAT THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL, FOR ALL THE SECURITY IT PROVIDES, IS WASHING ITS HANDS OF THE MISSION IN BOSNIA. A LONE DEMOCRATIC SENATOR REMINDS EVERYONE THAT WASHINGTON SHOULD HAVE IGNORED THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND MOVED UNDER THE NATO UMBRELLA THREE YEARS AGO....

"WHILE THIS CHARADE IS BEING PLAYED OUT, ONE AGONIZING NOTE AT A TIME, THE UNSPEAKABLE HORRORS IN BOSNIA CONTINUE... WHEN THE HAPLESS SECRETARY-GENERAL...BOUTROS- GHALI, SAID THAT HE NEEDED 37,000 MEN TO CARRY CONVICTION WITH THE SERBS, NO ONE LISTENED BECAUSE NO ONE WANTED TO LISTEN.... IF HE CAN BRING HIMSELF TO RESIGN IN PROTEST RATHER THAN BEAR WITNESS TO A REPUDIATION OF ALL THAT THE UNITED NATIONS HAS TRIED TO STAND FOR SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II HE MAY YET JOLT THE WEST INTO AN AWAKENING THEY SO BADLY NEED."

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2. U.S.-VIETNAM

SUMMARY:

WHILE AN EDITORIAL IN A RIGHT-OF-CENTER DAILY FROM XHYDERABAD OBSERVED THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON "CLEARLY TOOK A PERSONAL AS WELL AS A POLITICAL RISK" WITH HIS ANNOUNCEMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM, AN EDITORIAL IN A BENGALI-LANGUAGE DAILY ARGUED THAT THE U.S. HAS ULTIMATELY RESPONDED TO VIETNAM BECAUSE OF ITS "MORE CONDUCTIVE" MARKET AND ALSO ITS "STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE" VIS-A-VIS CHINA.

BLOCK QUOTES:

--"THE VIETNAM WAR-EXORCISED," EDITORIAL IN JULY 14

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HYDERABAD RIGHT OF CENTER NEWSTIMES:

"BILL CLINTON WOULD APPEAR TO HAVE LAID TO REST SOME PERSONAL GHOSTS BESIDES A NATION'S LONG-RUNNING TRAUMA WHEN HE ANNOUNCED THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM ON TUESDAY.... CLINTON CLEARLY TOOK A PERSONAL AS WELL AS A APOLITICAL RISK WITH HIS DRAMATIC WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCEMENT.... ON A MORE SUBSTANTIVE PLANE, YEARS OF PATIENT WORK HAVE ENSURED THAT THE EMOTIVE ISSUE OF AMERICAN SERVICEMEN MISSING IN ACTION FROM THE XVIETNAM WAR, NOW STANDS A BETTER CHANCE OF BEING RESOLVED WITH HANOI'S ACTIVE COOPERATION THAN THROUGH AGGRESSIVE STRATEGIES ON THE AMERICAN SIDE.... BUT THAT

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IS NOT TO SAY THAT IT WILL BE SMOOTH SAILING FOR CLINTON ALL THE WAY."

--"THE U.S. AND VIETNAM ARE NOW BONDED BY BROTHERHOOD,"
EDITORIAL IN JULY 14 ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA:

"THE U.S. HAS ULTIMATELY RESPONDED...BECAUSE IT NEEDS VIETNAM,.... FOR THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE CAN BECOME CONSUMERS OF AMERICAN GOODS AND THE MARKET IS NOT THAT SMALL..... MOREOVER, THE VIETNAMESE MARKET IS MORE CONDUCIVE TO INVESTORS THAN THE JAPANESE, THAI, MALAYSIAN OR SOUTH KOREAN MARKETS.... ON THE OTHER HAND, VIETNAM IS STRATEGICALLY MORE IMPORTANT BECAUSE OF THE AMERICAN NEED TO HAVE A BASE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA...IN VIEW OF THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF CHINA NOT ONLY AS AN ECONOMIC BUT ALSO AS A MILITARY POWER.... IT WOULD NOT BE AN ACT OF WISDOM FOR THE U.S. NOW TO REMAIN SILENT, XNO MATTER WHAT THE CRITICISMS FROM VIETNAM VETERANS AND THEIR FAMILIES....

"HOWEVER, CHINA IS NOT AT ALL HAPPY OVER THE U.S. DECISION BECAUSE OF VIETNAM'S POTENTIALITY TO BECOME A PARALLEL MARKET FOR U.S. INVESTMENTS AND TECHNOLOGY IN

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INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00
	DODE-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	EAP-01	EB-01	H-01	TEDE-00
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	NSCE-00	OMB-01	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00
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	DRL-09	G-00	/050W				

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 FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
 TO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3086
 INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9648
 AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
 AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
 FBIS BANGKOK TH
 USDOC WASHDC
 AMEMBASSY DHAKA
 AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU
 USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI//USIA//
 CINCPACFLT PEARL HARBOR HI

UNCLAS SECTION 04 OF 05 NEW DELHI 009373

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 STATE FOR SA/INS, PM/CEM T AND ACDA
 STATE FOR NSC

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STATE FOR AID/APRE-A
USTR FOR GODEC

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SUBJECT: INDIAN MEDIA REACTION REPORT NO. 334
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THIS REGION. SECONDLY, THE AMERICAN MILITARY COULD FOLLOW SUIT IN THE WAKE OF INVESTMENTS WHICH CAN ENDANGER CHINESE HEGEMONY IN THE REGION, INCLUDING SOUTH CHINA.... DOUBTS AND DISBELIEFS STILL PERSIST WHICH CAN HAVE AN IMPACT ON THE FUTURE OF SINO-U.S. RELATIONS.... THE U.S. RESTORATION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM, HOWEVER, PROVES ONCE AGAIN THAT MUTUAL BENEFITS AND NOT IDEALISM HOLD SWAY IN THE MODERN WORLD WHICH HAS BROUGHT THE FOES OF THE PAST TOGETHER...."

3. MIDDLE EAST: PLO

--"STILL ON COURSE," EDITORIAL IN THE STATESMAN:

"THE ANNOUNCEMENT IN TEL-AVIV THAT AN AGREEMENT WITH THE PLO ON AUTONOMY ON THE WEST BANK WILL AFTER ALL BE XSIGNED IN WASHINGTON ON JULY 25 SHOWS THAT, NO MATTER HOW STRONG THE PROVOCATION, THE PEACE PROCESS REMAINS ON COURSE.... THE COMING ELECTIONS MAKE IT IMPERATIVELY FOR...RABIN NOT TO APPEAR SOFT TOWARDS THE PLO.... RABIN CANNOT POSSIBLY GIVE A STRAIGHT ANSWER CONCERNING THE PLO DEMAND THAT ISRAEL BRING AWAY ITS TROOPS FROM

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ALL TOWNS, VILLAGES AND POPULATION CENTERS ON THE WEST
BANK. ON THE OTHER HAND, ISRAEL DOES PROPOSE TO PULL
OUT INITIALLY FROM FOUR TOWNS, INCLUDING NABLUS, AND
DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE ARAFAT-PERES MEETING ENDED
WITHOUT FIXING ANOTHER, ISRAEL HOPES TO CLINCH THE ISSUE
ON JULY 25. EVEN IF THIS LOOKS LIKE A CHARADE, HAPPILY
THE COMMITMENT TO PEACE ON BOTH SIDES CANNOT BE
QUESTIONED."

4. NUCLEAR MISSILES: SOUTH ASIA

--"PAKISTAN' MISSILES: U.S. TURNING A NELSON'S EYE,"
ANALYSIS IN THE TIMES OF INDIA BY DIRECTOR OF INSTITUTE
XOF DEFENSE STUDIES AND ANALYSIS JASJIT SINGH:

"THE U.S. WAS ALWAYS UNHAPPY ABOUT OUR AGNI PROGRAM
BECAUSE THERE WAS LITTLE IT COULD DO TO STOP THE
COMPLETELY INDIGENOUS PROGRAM. BUT WHAT HAS BEEN
INTRIGUING IS THE U.S. PRESSURE AT VARIOUS LEVELS FOR
THE LAST ONE YEAR OR SO TO BLOCK THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE
SHORT RANGE BATTLEFIELD PRITHVI MISSILE.... IT IS
FAIRLY OBVIOUS THAT INDIA'S MISSILE PROGRAM DOES NOT IN
ANY WAY WORK NEGATIVELY TOWARD U.S. STRATEGIC AND
SECURITY INTERESTS...ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS AN OPEN
SECRET THAT PAKISTAN HAS BEEN PRESSING THE U.S. TO TAKE
SOME ACTION TO STOP INDIA'S MISSILE PROGRAM. THE U.S.
ADMINISTRATION HAS COME TO BELIEVE THAT PAKISTAN NEED TO
BE ACCOMMODATED IF IT SERVES ANY U.S. STRATEGIC
INTERESTS. IN WHAT AREAS, AND HOW FAR, WILL REMAIN KEY
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QUESTIONS. BUT AS IN THE PAST, INDIA IS EXPECTED TO PAY
THE PRICE. IT IS WORTH NOTING THAT, IN SPITE OF A
LONGSTANDING BILATERAL STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP, NEITHER
XSIDE REALLY CONSIDERS THE OTHER AS A RELIABLE PARTNER....

"THERE IS ABUNDANT EVIDENCE THAT PAKISTAN ACQUIRED

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BALLISTIC MISSILES MANY YEARS AGO.... FROM ALL ACCOUNTS
 PAKISTAN HAD RECEIVED AN UNSPECIFIED NUMBER OF M-11
 MISSILES ALONG WITH LAUNCHERS FROM CHINA BY JUNE
 1991.... EVEN U.S. OFFICIALS ADMIT THAT THERE IS
 CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE OF PAKISTAN HAVING ACQUIRED
 BALLISTIC MISSILES.... IN TRYING TO PRESSURIZE ONLY
 INDIA, THE UNITED STATES IS DISPLAYING GROSS
 INSENSITIVITY TO OUR CORE SECURITY INTERESTS.
 CONSIDERING THAT THERE IS NO CREDIBLE DEFENSE AGAINST
 BALLISTIC MISSILES EXCEPT TO RELY ON DEFENSE THROUGH
 DETERRENCE. THE WAY AHEAD IS CLEAR. THE PRITHVI MUST
 BE INDUCTED INTO SERVICE ON PRIORITY, AND THE
 DEVELOPMENT OF THE AGNI MUST PROCEED WITH THE GOAL OF
 ITS INDUCTIOIN INTO SERVICE AT AN EARLY DATE. THE SECOND
 POINT CONCERNS THE ISSUE WHETHER THE MISSILES IMPORTED
 BY PAKISTAN VIOLATE THE MTCR OR NOT. THIS IS
 XESSENTIALLY A MATTER BETWEEN THE U.S...AND PAKISTAN....

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 ACTION SA-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AID-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00
	DODE-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	EAP-01	EB-01	H-01	TEDE-00
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	NSCE-00	OMB-01	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00
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FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
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INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9649
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
FBIS BANGKOK TH
USDOC WASHDC
AMEMBASSY DHAKA
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU
USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI//USIA//
CINCPACFLT PEARL HARBOR HI

UNCLAS SECTION 05 OF 05 NEW DELHI 009373

USIA FOR NEA, R/MR, I/TIC, I/R, I/GAR, I/REC, I/RW,
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STATE FOR AID/APRE-A
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SUBJECT: INDIAN MEDIA REACTION REPORT NO. 334
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"THE SANCTIONS AGAINST CHINA WERE LIFTED LAST YEAR
AFTER CHINA AGREED TO ADHERE TO MTCR GUIDELINES. THE
SANCTIONS AGAINST PAKISTAN WILL LAPSE NEXT MONTH UNLESS
RENEWED. THE PAKISTANI LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN TRYING TO
CONVINCE THE U.S. THAT THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP MUST BE
STRENGTHENED IF ISLAMIC RADICALISM IS TO BE HELD AT BAY
NOT ONLY IN PAKISTAN BUT ALSO IN THE REST OF THE ISLAMIC
WORLD. BUT THE REAL BULWARK AGAINST RELIGIOUS
RADICALISM CAN ONLY COME FROM SECULAR VALUES AND NORMS

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AND PAKISTAN HARDLY QUALIFIES FOR THAT..... THE U.S.
WOULD DO WELL TO WATCH THE DEVELOPMENTS WITH SOME
PATIENCE AND ACT ACCORDING TO THE EVIDENCE AND ITS
LAWS. BUT IT SHOULD DESIST FROM ASKING INDIA TO PAY THE
PRICE FOR PAKISTANI ACTIONS OR ITS OWN FOREIGN POLICY
GOALS." KRECKE

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ACTION SA-01

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 FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
 TO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3067
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 AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 04 NEW DELHI 009304

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
 DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2009 200705105

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E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS:PREL, PGOV
SUBJECT: INDIAN MEDIA REACTION REPORT NO. 333
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SUBJECTS COVERED IN THIS REPORT

1. BOSNIA
2. U.S. - VIETNAM
3. ASIAN ISSUES1.

PAGE ONE STORIES

1. AL-FARAN THREATENS TO KILL FOREIGN HOSTAGES
"ANYTIME" IN KASHMIR; DEADLINE EXPIRES ON MONDAY:
-- ALL MAJOR NATIONAL DAILIES GAVE PROMINENT LEAD
ATTENTION TO REPORTS FROM SRINAGAR STATING THAT THE
2-WEEK- LONG HOSTAGE CRISIS IN KASHMIR TOOK A TURN FOR
THE WORSE YESTERDAY AS THE AL-FARAN MILITANTS REFUSED TO
EXTEND THE DEADLINE BEYOND MONDAY 6 P.M., AND THREATENED
TO KILL THE FIVE FOREIGN TOURISTS "ANY TIME NOW." AN
AL-FARAN STATEMENT ISSUED LAST EVENING SAID: "THERE
WON'T BE ANY FURTHER EXTENSION IN THE DEADLINE AND THE
HOSTAGES COULD BE KILLED ANYTIME AFTER THE DEADLINE HAS
EXPIRED." AL-FARAN SAID IT HAD MADE CONTACT WITH THE
GOVERNMENT THREE DAYS AGO, "BUT THE GOVERNMENT DOES NOT
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SEEM TO BE PREPARED FOR PURPOSEFUL TALKS." ALONG WITH
THE STATEMENT, AL-FARAN RELEASED AUDIO CASSETTES TO THE
MEDIA, CARRYING MESSAGES FROM THE HOSTAGES TO THEIR
WIVES.

-- MEANWHILE, THE PIONEER AND THE TIMES OF INDIA
REPORTED THAT THE RECENT SPATE OF KIDNAPPINGS OF
FOREIGNERS IN KASHMIR HAS NOT HAD MUCH IMPACT ON THE
ATTRACTION THE STATE HOLDS FOR TOURISTS, ESPECIALLY FROM
FOREIGN COUNTRIES. FOR THE PAST WEEK, EVERY FLIGHT TO

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SRINAGAR FROM DELHI HAS BEEN BOOKED TO CAPACITY, AN INDIAN AIRLINES OFFICIAL SAID.

2. INDIA TO MATCH PAKISTAN ARMS:

-- THE HINDUSTAN TIMES AND OTHER MAINSTREAM DAILIES HIGHLIGHTED EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER PRANAB MUKHERJEE'S ASSERTION THAT INDIA WILL HAVE NO OPTION BUT TO MAKE ARRANGEMENTS TO MEET ITS OWN SECURITY REQUIREMENTS IF PAKISTAN'S STRIKING POWER IS ENHANCED. ADDRESSING A PRESS CONFERENCE HERE YESTERDAY ON HIS RETURN FROM A TOUR OF GERMANY, AUSTRIA AND PORTUGAL, HE SAID THE "COMMON OBJECTIVE" BEHIND THE CHINESE TRANSFER OF M-11 MISSILES TO PAKISTAN AND THE MOVES CURRENTLY AFOOT IN THE U.S. TO CIRCUMVENT THE PRESSLER LAW WAS TO "ENHANCE" ISLAMABAD'S STRIKING POWER. HE SAID NEW DELHI HAS CONVEYED ITS CONCERNS TO BOTH BEIJING AND WASHINGTON, BUT DID NOT ELABORATE ON THE SORT OF SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS INDIA MIGHT RESORT TO.

1. BOSNIA

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SUMMARY:

AN EDITORIAL IN THE HINDU OBSERVED THAT THE UN, EUROPE AND THE U.S. HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO COME TO GRIPS WITH THE WORSENING SITUATION IN BOSNIA BECAUSE OF THE COLOSSAL PROBLEMS WHICH THEY ARE BOUND TO FACE FROM AN EVENTUAL REFUGEE INFLUX. A FORMER INDIAN DIPLOMAT ARGUED IN THE PIONEER THAT ONLY THE SECESSION OF SERB AREAS FROM BOSNIA- HERZEGOVINA, POSSIBLY IN A LOOSE FEDERATION WITH SERBIA, NOW HOLDS ANY PROSPECT FOR LASTING PEACE, NOT MERE FORMAL REITERATION OF PRESERVING THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THE NEWLY CREATED STATE.

BLOCK QUOTES:

--"UNENDING TRAGEDY," EDITORIAL IN THE HINDU:

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"IF THE ETHNIC CLEANSING BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS CONTINUES, IT IS JUST A MATTER OF TIME BEFORE THEY DECIDE TO SEIZE TUZLA ALSO AND THROW THE REFUGEES OUT FROM THERE. IF THE MEMBER-COUNTRIES OF THE NATO AND

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ALSO RUSSIA ARE RELUCTANT TO COMMIT MORE TROOPS FOR BRINGING PEACE TO BOSNIA, IT CAN ONLY BE ATTRIBUTED TO THEIR HEARTLESS DISCLINATION TO HAVE ANYTHING TO DO WITH THE SAVAGERY PERPETRATED ON A HAPLESS PEOPLE.... A MULTINATIONAL MILITARY INTERVENTION IN BOSNIA COULD, HOWEVER, BY ITSELF NOT BRING LASTING PEACE TO THAT COUNTRY. THE UN WILL HAVE TO REACTIVATE THE MOVES WHICH HAD EARLIER BEEN INITIATED FOR BRINGING ABOUT A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT....

"THERE IS NO GETTING AWAY FOR THE UN, EUROPE AND THE U.S. FROM HAVING TO COME TO GRIPS WITH THE WORSENING SITUATION IN BOSNIA BECAUSE OF THE COLOSSAL PROBLEMS WHICH THEY ARE BOUND TO FACE FROM AN EVENTUAL REFUGEE INFLUX. THE NATO AND THE UN WILL HAVE TO ACCEPT THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR PUTTING AN END TO THE FIGHTING AND THE RESTORATION OF THE ENCLAVES TO THOSE TO WHOM IT BELONGED IRRESPECTIVE OF THE ODDS INVOLVED IN TAKING ON THE SERBS."

--"WEST AND BOSNIA'S 'UNSAFE HAVENS'," ANALYSIS IN THE PIONEER BY FORMER DIPLOMAT PETER LYNN SINAI:

"THE FALL OF SREBRENICA...TO THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY,

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AND ITS CURRENT ASSAULT ON ZEPA...HAVE EXPOSED THE
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FAILURE OF WESTERN POLICY. THE LONDON MEETING OF
DEFENSE CHIEFS OF BRITAIN, FRANCE AND U.S. HAS YET TO
RESULT IN A COHERENT MILITARY AND DIPLOMATIC
RESPONSE.... THERE IS LITTLE SIGN OF A FUNDAMENTAL
POLICY REVIEW TO SECURE A LASTING PEACE....

"SECURITY COUNCIL CONDEMNATION WITHOUT EFFECTIVE
FOLLOWUP ALSO EXPOSED THE UN. A FIRM UN AND WESTERN
COMMITMENT HAS YET TO EMERGE TO REASSURE THE SERBS THAT
SAFE HAVENS WILL NOT BE ALLOWED TO BE MISUSED IN FUTURE
BY BOSNIAN MUSLIM GOVERNMENT FORCES TO LAUNCH OFFENSIVES
AND ATTACKS ON THEM, WHICH PRECIPITATED THE PRESENT
CRISIS.... THE ENORMITY OF THE HUMAN TRAGEDY AT
SREBENICA...RECALLS THE WORST MEMORIES OF THE HATEFUL
POLICY OF 'ETHNIC CLEANSING' IN THE EARLY STAGES OF THIS
FOUR YEAR WAR....

"ONLY THE SECESSION OF SERB AREAS FROM BOSNIA
HERZEGOVINA, POSSIBLY IN A LOOSE FEDERATION WITH SERBIA,
NOW HOLDS ANY PROSPECT FOR LASTING PEACE, NOT MERE
FORMAL REITERATION OF PRESERVING THE TERRITORIAL
INTEGRITY OF THE NEWLY CREATED STATE. THE UN COULD
EMPOWER THE CONTACT GROUP TO NEGOTIATE A SETTLEMENT
BASED ON ITS LATEST PROPOSALS, WHICH THE MUSLIMS
ACCEPTED BUT WERE NEEDLESSLY SOUGHT TO BE IMPOSED ON THE
SERBS BY THE WEST. IT MAY THEN STILL BE POSSIBLE TO
AVERT AN EVEN GREATER HUMANITARIAN DISASTER, AND A
DEBACLE NOT JUST FOR UNPROFOR, BUT FOR THE FUTURE OF UN
PEACEKEEPING ELSEWHERE."

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2. U.S. - VIETNAM

SUMMARY:

AN EDITORIAL IN LEADING HINDI-ANGUAGE NAVBHARAT TIMES OBSERVED THAT THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION WAS UNDER PRESSURE FROM AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN TO NORMALIZE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM. A NOTED LEFTIST COLUMNIST INSISTED ON THE TIMES OF INDIA EDITORIAL PAGE THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. IS "ANOTHER LANDMARK IN THE TRIUMPHAL MARCH" OF VIETNAM.

BLOCK QUOTES:

--"PRAGMATISM HAS THE UPPER HAND," EDITORIAL IN HINDI DAILY NAVBHARAT TIMES:

"THE RESUMPTION OF U.S.-VIETNAM DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS IS A POST COLD WAR EVENT THAT WILL HAVE FAVORABLE REPERCUSSIONS IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD...PRESIDENT CLINTON HAS PROVED HIMSELF TO BE A MAN OF COURAGE, SO

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ALSO THE VIETNAMESE LEADERS....

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"THE U.S. IS EXPLORING NEW MARKETS IN SOUTH EAST ASIA. EVER SINCE IT LIFTED THE TRADE EMBARGO ON VIETNAM AND AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN BEGAN MASSIVE INVESTMENTS THERE, THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN UNDER PRESSURE TO NORMALIZE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THAT COUNTRY.... IT IS CLEAR THAT RESTORATION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WILL FURTHER BOOST TRADE BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES."

--"THE VIETNAM SAGA," ANALYSIS IN THE TIMES OF INDIA BY LEFTIST COLUMNIST MOHIT SEN:

"THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH IT BY THE U.S. IS ANOTHER LANDMARK IN THE TRIUMPHAL MARCH OF VIETNAM. IT WANTED THAT RECOGNITION AND WILL BENEFIT BY IT. IT WAS THE U.S. WHICH THOUGH DEFEATED REFUSED TO ACCEPT THE FULL IMPLICATIONS OF THAT DEFEAT. IT HAS DONE SO NOW BUT IN THE HOPE THAT POSSIBLE ADVENTURIST ANTAGONISTIC ACTION BY CHINA AS WELL AS THE DIFFICULTIES AND CONTRADICTIONS OF THE NEW COURSE OF SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT WILL CREATE A SITUATION IN WHICH VIETNAM WILL CRINGE BEFORE IT....

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"THIS, HOWEVER, IS NOT THE ONLY GRIEVOUS MISCALCULATION THAT THE NEO-IMPERIALISTS OF WASHINGTON HAVE MADE, BASING THEMSELVES AS THEY DO ON THE 'SOLE SUPER POWER' THEORY. THOSE WHO HAVE TO SCUTTLE AWAY FROM SOMALIA HAVE LITTLE REASON TO HOPE THAT THEY CAN INFLUENCE, MUCH LESS ALTER, THE DESTINY OF THE MEN AND WOMEN WHOSE 'WORDS BECOME (THEM) AS MUCH AS (THEIR) WOUNDS. THEY SMACK OF HONOR BOTH."

3. ASIAN ISSUES

--'UNEASY TIES WITH INDIA," EDITORIAL PAGE IN THE INDIAN EXPRESS BY FORMER FOREIGN SECRETARY J.N. DIXIT:

"THE CLEAREST EXPOSITION OF THE U.S.'S ASIAN PRIORITIES WAS MADE BY...SECRETARY OF

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STATE...CHRISTOPHER ON JANUARY 20, 1995 IN A SPEECH AT THE JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT...REGARDING U.S.'S ASIAN PRIORITIES...HE STRESSED THAT THE U.S. SHOULD CONSOLIDATE ITS RELATIONS WITH JAPAN AND CHINA, POINTING OUT THAT U.S. PARTNERSHIP WITH JAPAN IS THE LINCHPIN OF U.S. POLICY TOWARDS ASIA.... IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT IN THIS MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY ANNOUNCEMENT, THERE IS NO REFERENCE TO THE REST OF THE ASIAN COUNTRIES.... THERE IS NO REFERENCE TO INDIA AT ALL; SO WE NEED NOT BLAME...ROBIN RAPHEL FOR HAVING TOLD US WITHIN DAYS OF THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION COMING INTO POWER THAT INDIA IS NOT ON THE RADAR SCREEN OF PRESIDENT CLINTON....

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"THE CONCRETE FEATURES OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IN RELATION TO ASIA ARE--TO STRUCTURE POSITIVE RELATIONSHIPS WITH POLITICALLY, MATERIALLY AND ECONOMICALLY STRONG ASIAN COUNTRIES OR ASIAN GROUPINGS WHICH CAN AFFECT AMERICAN INTERESTS. SECONDLY, TO ENSURE PRE-EMPTIVE AND PREVENTIVE ACTION AGAINST THOSE ASIAN COUNTRIES WHOSE ECONOMIC, FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICIES AND TECHNOLOGICAL CAPACITIES CAN CHALLENGE AMERICAN INTERESTS. HENCE, THE TWIN OBJECTIVES OF GIVING HIGH EMPHASIS, FIRST, ON ADVANCING THE MOST OPEN GLOBAL TRADING SYSTEM IN HISTORY, SUBJECT OF COURSE TO IT NOT AFFECTING THE U.S. ECONOMY AND, SECOND, BANNING THE SPREAD OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION WHILE THE U.S. AND ITS ALLIES REMAIN IN POSSESSION OF SUCH WEAPONS TO ENSURE AN INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL STRATEGIC ORDER WHERE THE U.S.'S OVERWHELMING INFLUENCE CAN BE SUSTAINED....

"THOSE ASIAN COUNTRIES WHICH MIGHT NOT CONFORM TO U.S. INTERESTS WOULD REMAIN SUBJECT TO U.S. ECONOMIC, TECHNOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL PRESSURE. DESPITE ALL THE POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN INDO-U.S. RELATIONS WHICH SHOULD NO DOUBT BE ENCOURAGED, INDIA FALLS IN THIS

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SECOND CATEGORY.... IT WOULD BE UNFAIR IF ONE WERE TO ANALYZE THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SCENARIO BETWEEN ASIA AND THE U.S. ONLY IN TERMS OF U.S. OBJECTIVES.... DESPITE CONCERNS AND CRITICISMS OF U.S. MOTIVATIONS AND POLICIES, ASIAN COUNTRIES ARE DEVELOPING A VESTED INTEREST IN CULTIVATING RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. JAPAN DESIRES A POSITIVE AND STABLE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S. DESPITE THE ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES AFFECTING BILATERAL RELATIONS.... WHILE CHINA TAKES AN OCCASIONAL DEFIANT STANCE, THE ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL INTERDEPENDENCE BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES IS ON THE INCREASE....

"THE SOUTH ASIAN REGION AND ESPECIALLY INDIA ARE AN UNCERTAIN FACTOR IN THE U.S.'S EVOLVING ASIAN POLICIES. WHILE THE OLD SUSPICIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND THE U.S. HAVE BEEN REPLACED BY A CERTAIN CAPACITY FOR INTERACTION, THE U.S. STILL FINDS INDIA AN UNMANAGEABLE ENTITY BECAUSE OF INDIA'S FIRMFNESS ABOUT CERTAIN ASPECTS OF ITS ECONOMIC AND SECURITY INTERESTS. THE TEST WHICH BOTH COUNTRIES HAVE TO FACE IS OF GRADUALLY CONSOLIDATING A PRACTICAL RELATIONSHIP WHICH WILL BE TO THEIR MUTUAL ADVANTAGE.
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 SUBJECTS COVERED IN THIS REPORT

1. BOSNIA
2. U.S. - VIETNAM
3. U.S. - CHINA
4. RUSSIA
5. NUCLEAR ISSUES

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PAGE ONE STORIES

1. GOVT. ESTABLISHES CONTACT WITH ABDUCTORS OF FOREIGN HOSTAGES IN KASHMIR; DEADLINE EXPIRES ON MONDAY:
-- THE TIMES OF INDIA AND OTHER MAJOR NATIONAL DAILIES FRONT-PAGED REPORTS STATING THAT THE JAMMU AND KASHMIR STATE AUTHORITIES ARE IN DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE AL-FARAN, THE MILITANT OUTFIT THAT IS HOLDING THE FIVE FOREIGN TOURISTS IN KASHMIR, ALTHOUGH THE FATE OF THE HOSTAGES REMAINS UNCERTAIN AS THE EXTENDED DEADLINE EXPIRES ON MONDAY. PAPERS ALSO RAN PHOTOS WHICH WERE RELEASED BY AL-FARAN ON SUNDAY SHOWING THE HOSTAGES--INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP PHOTOS--WITH THE
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MILITANTS GUARDING THEM. WHILE SEVERAL DAILIES REPORTED THAT THE MILITANTS WERE IN CONTACT WITH INDIAN AUTHORITIES AND WESTERN DIPLOMATS, LT.GEN.(RETD.) D.D. SAKLANI, WHO IS OVERSEEING THE RESCUE OPERATION, HAS RULED OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF FREEING JAILED MILITANTS TO SECURE THE RELEASE OF THE HOSTAGES. WIRE SERVICES ALSO CARRIED REPORTS FROM DUBAI THAT THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ISLAMIC CONFERENCE (OIC) HAS CONDEMNED THE KASHMIRI MILITANTS FOR THE KIDNAPPING AND THEIR THREAT TO KILL THE FOREIGN NATIONALS.

-- MEANWHILE, PAPERS REPORTED TODAY THAT UNION FINANCE MINISTER MANMOHAN SINGH IS ON A THREE-DAY VISIT TO KASHMIR LEADING A 12-MEMBER HIGH-LEVEL TEAM TO MAKE AN ON-THE-SPOT ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION IN THE STATE.

2. ENRON REVIEW REPORT ON TUESDAY; CEO MEETS WITH MAHARASHTRA CHIEF MINISTER IN LAST-DITCH BID TO SAVE DABHOL PROJECT:

-- MAINSTREAM DAILIES QUOTED MAHARASHTRA DEPUTY CHIEF MINISTER GOPINATH MUNDE, WHO HEADS THE ENRON'S DABHOL POWER PROJECT REVIEW COMMITTEE, STATING THAT THE COMMITTEE WOULD SUBMIT ITS REPORT TO CHIEF MINISTER MANOHAR JOSHI ON TUESDAY, JULY 18. STATING THAT ENRON HAS NOT MADE ANY SPECIFIC OFFER TO MODIFY THE DABHOL AGREEMENT, HE HINTED THAT MEANINGFUL TALKS COULD TAKE PLACE ONLY AFTER THE MAHARASHTRA GOVERNMENT MADE KNOWN ITS DECISION.

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-- MOST MAJOR DAILIES REPORTED SATURDAY FROM BOMBAY THAT ENRON CEO REBECCA MARK FINALLY SUCCEEDED IN MEETING WITH MAHARASHTRA CHIEF MINISTER MANOHAR JOSHI ON FRIDAY, BUT SHE FAILED TO SECURE AN ASSURANCE FROM HIM THAT THE SHIV SENA- BJP GOVERNMENT WILL NOT SCRAP THE \$920 MILLION POWER PROJECT. SHE WAS ACCOMPANIED FOR THE MEETING BY ENRON PRESIDENT JOSEPH SUTTON. THE MEETING WAS ALSO ATTENDED BY GOPINATH MUNDE WHO DID NOT ATTACH MUCH IMPORTANCE TO THE MEETING POINTING OUT THAT ENRON HAS ALREADY MADE ITS DETAILED PRESENTATION BEFORE THE REVIEW COMMITTEE.

3. ORISSA GOVT. MAY SCRAP AES TRANSPower PROJECT:

-- SEVERAL DAILIES CARRIED REPORTS FROM BHUBANESWAR ON SATURDAY STATING THAT ORISSA CHIEF MINISTER J.B. PATNAIK HAS ASSERTED THAT THE STATE GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT HONOR ITS AGREEMENT WITH THE U.S. FIRM AES TRANSPower TO SET UP TWO THERMAL POWER PLANTS AT IB VALLEY IF THE LATTER DID NOT SCALE DOWN THE PROJECT COST AND AGREE TO MODIFY CERTAIN CONDITIONS. HE SAID THE AGREEMENT THAT THE PREVIOUS JANATA DAL GOVERNMENT HAD SIGNED WITH THE AMERICAN COMPANY WAS ONE- SIDED.

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1. BOSNIA

SUMMARY:

STATING THAT THE FALL OF SREBRENICA IS A "GRIEVOUS BLOW" TO THE UN PEACEKEEPING MISSION IN BOSNIA, EDITORIALS IN THE HINDUSTAN TIMES AND THE PIONEER INSISTED THAT THE UN HAS ONLY ITSELF TO BLAME FOR PLACING THE PEACE-KEEPING FORCES INTO A "WAR-FIGHTING ROLE," AND HAS MADE THE OTHER SAFE AREAS IN EASTERN BOSNIA ALSO VULNERABLE.

BLOCK QUOTES:

--"BOSNIA ON THE BRINK," EDITORIAL IN JULY 15 THE HINDUSTAN TIMES:

"BY ADOPTING PROVOCATIVE MEASURES LIKE HOSTAGE TAKING AND OVERRUNNING THE UN 'SAFE AREA' OF SERBRENICA, BOSNIAN SERBS ARE ONLY TESTING THE THRESHOLD OF INTERNATIONAL TOLERANCE. THE FALL OF SREBRENICA...HAS

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MADE OTHER ENCLAVES IN EASTERN BOSNIA LIKE ZEPA AND

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GORADZE VULNERABLE. THE UN...IF ANYTHING IS STILL LEFT OF IT, IS ILL-EQUIPPED TO PROTECT THESE 'SAFE AREAS'.... THE FALL OF SREBRENICA IS...A GRIEVOUS BLOW TO THE UN PEACEKEEPING MISSION IN BOSNIA.... THE FALL OF SREBRENICA INDEED MARKS A NEW PHASE IN THE WAR IN BOSNIA. BOSNIAN SERBS SEEM TO BE CONVINCED THAT IF THE UN PEACEKEEPERS WITHDRAW, THEY WOULD ACHIEVE THEIR TERRITORIAL AMBITIONS....

BEHIND THE GLOBAL HUFFING AND PUFFING, THERE ARE NO SIGNS THAT THE WORLD COMMUNITY HAS DRAMATICALLY CHANGED ITS MIND ABOUT HOW FAR IT IS PREPARED TO INTERVENE EFFECTIVELY IN BOSNIA.... 'THE UN MISSION IN BOSNIA IS A FAILURE'.... THE BOSNIAN WAR IS HARDLY A POPULAR CAUSE IN THE WEST.... THE UN IS ONLY ITSELF TO BLAME FOR PLACING THE PEACE-KEEPING FORCES INTO A WAR-FIGHTING ROLE."

--"ENDGAME IN THE BALKANS," EDITORIAL IN JULY 15 THE PIONEER:

"THE FALL OF SREBRENICA...IS A STRAIGHTFORWARD SLAP IN THE FACE OF UN OPERATIONS IN THE BALKANS. THE UNPROFOR...IS A BIT OF A MISNOMER.... WITH THE BOSNIAN SERB ADVANCE INTO SREBRENICA, THE UN...EITHER...HAS TO PULL OUT THE 23,000 'PEACEKEEPERS' WHO ARE STATIONED THERE OR CROSS THAT THIN LINE THAT DIVIDES PEACE-KEEPING AND PEACE-MAKING, THEREBY TAKING SIDES. IF THAT WERE TO HAPPEN, THE BLUE BERETS WOULD IMMEDIATELY COME UNDER THREAT FROM THE BOSNIAN SERBS, WHICH COULD DRAG THE
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EUROPEAN POWERS DEEPER IN.... SREBRENICA HAS SHOWN THAT THE UN CANNOT BACK ITS WORDS WITH ACTION...THE RAPID REACTION FORCE...IS SIMPLY A SPENT FORCE.... AT THIS RATE THE UN MIGHT AS WELL KISS THE OTHER FIVE SAFE AREAS-- ZEPA, GORAZDE, BIHAC, TUZLA, SARAJEVO--GOODBYE."

2. U.S.-VIETNAM

--"U.S.-VIETNAM PACT A BOON FOR ASIA," EDITORIAL IN JULY 16 THE ASIAN AGE:

"PRESIDENT...CLINTON'S...RESUMPTION OF DIPLOMATIC TIES WITH VIETNAM...UNDERLINES THE UNSPOKEN U.S. ACCEPTANCE OF ASIA'S EMERGENCE AS AN INDUSTRIAL AND

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ECONOMIC POWER AND ITS REALIZATION THAT ITS FUTURE SUPREMACY IN WORLD TRADE DEMANDS THAT IT KEEP ASIA ON ITS RIGHT SIDE. THE DECISION IS AN INDICATOR OF THE DRAMATIC SHIFT IN WASHINGTON'S PERSPECTIVES.... THE BAD NEWS FOR THE WEST IS, ASIA'S CONSEQUENT ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE-- AND MORE SO, THE THREAT IT NOW HOLDS OUT FOR U.S. BUSINESS ITSELF.... THE RESUMPTION OF TIES

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INFO LOG-00 ACDA-17 ACDE-00 AID-00 CIAE-00 SMEC-00 OASY-00
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INR-00 LAB-01 L-01 ADS-00 M-00 NEA-01 NSAE-00
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O 171051Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
TO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3054
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9551
FBIS BANGKOK TH
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU
AMEMBASSY DHAKA
USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI//USIA//
CINCPACFLT PEARL HARBOR HI
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
USDOC WASHDC

UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 05 NEW DELHI 009236

USIA FOR NEA, R/MR, I/TIC, I/R, I/GAR, I/REC, I/RW,
STATE FOR SA/INS, PM/CEM T AND ACDA
STATE FOR NSC

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STATE FOR AID/APRE-A
USTR FOR GODEC
USDOC FOR 4530/IEP/ANESA/OSA
C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS:PREL, PGOV
SUBJECT: INDIAN MEDIA REACTION REPORT NO. 332

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WITH VIETNAM IS SEEN AS THE SECOND TIME THAT THE U.S. IS TAKING A FEW STEPS BACK TO MOVE FORWARD WITH A NEW ASIAN POWER."

3. U.S. - CHINA

--"ONE CHINA, TWO POLICIES," EDITORIAL IN JULY 16 THE HINDU BY TOKYO CORRESPONDENT F.J. KHERGAMVALA:

"A SLOW SINO-U.S. ACCOMMODATION MAY BE ON THE WAY TO LIFT THE RELATIONSHIP OUT OF THE PRESENT MORASS, BUT UNLESS A LONG-TERM POLICY CRYSTALLIZES IN WASHINGTON DC ON WHETHER TO 'ENGAGE' CHINA OR 'CONTAIN' IT, AND BEIJING KNOWS WHERE IT STANDS, THESE SERIOUS BUMPS WILL CONTINUE TO RECUR, ESPECIALLY WHEN BOTH POWERS ARE UNDER WEAK AND CONFUSED LEADERSHIPS WITHOUT A VISION OR DIRECTION.... THE VISIT OF...TAIWAN PRESIDENT...LEE TENG-HUI, TO THE U.S WAS CLEARLY THE FLASH POINT FOR THE CURRENT DETERIORATION IN TIES. UNTIL THEN, IT DID APPEAR THAT BARRING THE ODD TRADE SPATS WHICH ARE NOW ERUPTING LIKE MEASLES ACROSS THE GLOBE, THE U.S. AND
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CHINA HAD SETTLED IN AS TWO NATIONS BELONGING TO THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL WITH A BROAD SIMILARITY OF VIEWS ABOUT NORTHEAST ASIAN SECURITY....

"BEIJING FEELS THAT IT IS UNDER CONTAINMENT--THE CAREFUL AND TOLERANTLY NEGOTIATED U.S. DEAL WITH NORTH KOREA, THE REITERATION OF THE U.S. FORCES' PERMANENCE IN THE PACIFIC, NOW THE FORMAL MENDING OF TIES WITH VIETNAM, SOON TO JOIN THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH EAST ASIAN NATIONS (ASEAN) AND FINALLY THE LEE VISIT, FOLLOWED BY TAIWAN'S OFFER OF BUYING MEMBERSHIP IN THE UN, LIFTING OF SOME RATHER INSIGNIFICANT U.S. SANCTIONS ON TAIWAN'S WILDLIFE AND FISH, PLUS THE COMPLEXION OF THE U.S. CONGRESS AND ITS ACTIVISM IN MATTERS CONCERNING HUMAN RIGHTS AND CHINA.... IN BEIJING, IT IS SUSPECTED THAT THE CLINTON WHITE HOUSE POLICY OF 'CONSTRUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT' IS DESIGNED TO EXPLOIT THE VAST CHINESE MARKET AND (IS) JUST A TRAFFIC LIGHTS STOP TOWARDS AN UNSTATED INTENTION OF CONTAINMENT....

"YET, WHEN IT COMES TO REPEATED AND STRONG CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE OF CHINESE MISSILE TRANSFERS TO

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PAKISTAN, THE ADMINISTRATION REFUSES TO IMPLEMENT A 1990 U.S. LAW MANDATING SANCTIONS. PRIMARILY TO MAINTAIN COMMERCIAL TIES, THE U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT EXPLAINS AWAY THE INTELLIGENCE REPORTS AS REQUIRING CONFIRMATION. OTHERWISE ON IRAN, NORTH KOREA, IRAQ AND LIBYA INTELLIGENCE REPORTS ARE TREATED AS THE GOSPEL TRUTH....

"THE IMPRESSION ABROAD IS THAT THERE IS ONE FOREIGN UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 NEW DE 09236 03 OF 05 200225Z POLICY FOR CONGRESS WITH ITS FOCUS ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHINA, ANOTHER FOR THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH THAT PUTS TRADE IN THE VANGUARD.... PERHAPS UNTIL THE CHINESE SUBTERRANEAN LEADERSHIP STRUGGLE IS RESOLVED, THE JAPANESE POLICY OF DOING NOTHING WOULD BE IDEALLY SUITED TO WASHINGTON WHICH NEEDS TIME TO SORT OUT ITS OWN BELTWAY POWER EQUATIONS. UNTIL THIS HOUSE CLEANING IS COMPLETED, CHINA WILL BE THE LOSER IF IT DOES NOT AVOID GETTING CAUGHT IN THE CROSSFIRE BETWEEN THE U.S. EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND CONGRESS."

4. RUSSIA

--"DEMOCRACY IN RUSSIAN," EDITORIAL PAGE IN JULY 15 THE TIMES OF INDIA BY COLUMNIST A.S. ABRAHAM:

"RUSSIA IS STILL TORN BETWEEN, ON THE ONE HAND, BEING THE AUTOCRATIC, HEAVY-HANDED STATE THAT SYMBOLIZED THE FORMER SOVIET UNION AND, ON THE OTHER, ASPIRING TO BE THE DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY TO WHICH ITS LEADERS ARE COMMITTED.... RUSSIA'S PRESENT PROBLEMS SPRING LARGELY FROM ITS ROLE AS THE SUCCESSOR STATE OF THE SOVIET UNION

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O 171051Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
TO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3055
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9552
FBIS BANGKOK TH
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU
AMEMBASSY DHAKA
USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI//USIA//
CINCPACFLT PEARL HARBOR HI
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
USDOC WASHDC

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USIA FOR NEA, R/MR, I/TIC, I/R, I/GAR, I/REC, I/RW,
STATE FOR SA/INS, PM/CBM T AND ACDA
STATE FOR NSC
STATE FOR AID/APRE-A
USTR FOR GODEC

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-JULY 15-17, 1995

AND ITS SELF- PERCEPTION AS THE ONLY OTHER SUPER-POWER.
ITS ROLE IN CHECHNYA DOES NOT SPEAK VERY HIGHLY OF ITS
RECORD ON THIS COUNT. ITS ENTRY INTO NATO, ITS
AMBIVALENCE VIS-A-VIS THE WEST, ITS DESIRE TO PREVENT
NATO FROM EXPANDING EASTWARDS TO INCORPORATE THE
COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE, ITS NEW-FOUND FRIENDSHIP
WITH CHINA, ITS VIEW ON SANCTIONS AGAINST IRAQ, ALL
THESE ARE SIGNS THAT IT IS CONFUSED AND, THEREFORE
SENDING CONTRADICTORY SIGNALS. NOTHING BROUGHT THIS OUT
MORE CLEARLY THAN THE HANDLING OF THE SITUATION IN
CHECHNYA....

"BUT CHECHNYA MAY WELL HAVE DONE RUSSIA SOME
GOOD.... IT HAS PROVIDED RUSSIANS WITH THE FIRST REAL
TASTE AND TEST OF DEMOCRACY. AS LONG AS ITS LEADERS ARE
COMMITTED TO THIS IDEAL, THERE IS EVERY CHANCE THAT
DEMOCRACY WILL INDEED TAKE ROOT. CHECHNYA MAY YET SPELL
THE END OF COMMUNIST STYLE AUTOCRACY AND MARK THE

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BEGINNING OF A NEW LIBERALISM IN RUSSIA."

5. NUCLEAR ISSUES

SUMMARY:
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AN EDITORIAL IN THE TIMES OF INDIA CRITICIZED THE AMERICAN "DOUBLESPEAK" ON THE CTBT AND URGED NEW DELHI MAKE IT CLEAR THAT INDIA WILL NOT ACCEDE TO ANY SO CALLED TEST BAN TREATY WHICH CONTINUES TO DIVIDE THE WORLD INTO HAVES AND HAVE NOTS. A RESEARCH PROFESSOR AT A NEW DELHI THINK- TANK OBSERVED THAT A TRILOGY OF CHINESE ACTIONS--IT CONDUCTED A NUCLEAR TEST, IT FLIGHT-TESTED A SOLD-FUELLED ICBM IN A LAND-MOBILE MODE, AND ITS REPORTED TRANSFER OF M- 11 MISSILES TO PAKISTAN--IDENTIFY BEIJING AS "THE MOST PROMINENT ABERRANT AND BLATANT PROLIFERANT" IN THE INTERNATIONAL NUCLEAR REGIME.

BLOCK QUOTES:

--"AMERICA DOUBLETALK," EDITORIAL IN THE JULY 17 THE TIMES OF INDIA:

"THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION'S THINKING ON THE PROPOSED COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREAT (CTBT)...CONFIRMS INDIAN FEARS ABOUT THE CTBT TURNING OUT TO BE AN EXTENSION OF THE DISCRIMINATORY...NPT.... THE U.S. ARGUMENT IS THAT SINCE THE NPT ALLOWS THE FIVE NUCLEAR WEAPON POWERS RETAIN THEIR NUCLEAR WEAPONS, IT IS ONLY LOGICAL THAT THEY BE ALLOWED TO CONTINUE TESTING TO ENSURE THEIR RELIABILITY. THIS KIND OF DOUBLESPEAK IS IN LINE WITH THE HYPOCRISY OF CALLING A TREATY WHICH UNLEASHED THE BIGGEST ARMS RACE IN THE WORLD...A GREAT MILESTONE IN DISARMAMENT.... AT THIS STAGE IT IS INCUMBENT ON THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT TO MAKE IT CLEAR TO THE INTERNATIONAL
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COMMUNITY AND THE INDIAN PUBLIC THAT...INDIA WILL NOT ACCEDE TO ANY SO CALLED COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY WHICH CONTINUES TO DIVIDE THE WORLD INTO HAVES AND HAVE NOTS.... IN A SENSE CHINA AND FRANCE HAVE BEEN MORE FORTHRIGHT AND OPEN THAN THE U.S. WHICH TALKS OF

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COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN AND FISSILE MATERIALS PRODUCTION CUT OFF AS MEASURES LEADING TO DISARMAMENT EVEN WHILE CONTINUING WITH SOPHISTICATED NUCLEAR TESTING AND RETAINING LARGE STOCKS OF WEAPONS AND FISSILE MATERIALS IN ITS ARSENAL."

--"NOT SO FRIENDLY NEIGHBORS," ANALYSIS IN JULY 17 BUSINESS STANDARD BY RESEARCH PROFESSOR OF CENTER OF POLICY RESEARCH P.R. CHARI:

"A TRILOGY OF CHINESE ACTIONS HAVE REFOCUSED GLOBAL ATTENTION ON ITS DISRUPTIVE ROLE IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM. IT FIRST CONDUCTED A NUCLEAR TEST ALMOST IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE NPT EXTENSION CONFERENCE... SECOND, AND SHORTLY THEREAFTER, IT FLIGHT-TESTED A SOLID-FUELLED ICBM IN A LANDMOBILE MODE... THIRD, THERE IS GROWING EVIDENCE OF CHINA'S TRANSFER OF M-11 MISSILES TO PAKISTAN.... THESE

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SP-00 STR-01 TRSE-00 T-00 PMB-00 PRME-01 DRL-09
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FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
TO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3056
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9553
FBIS BANGKOK TH
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU
AMEMBASSY DHAKA
USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI//USIA//
CINCPACFLT PEARL HARBOR HI
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
USDOC WASHDC

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USIA FOR NEA, R/MR, I/TIC, I/R, I/GAR, I/REC, I/RW,
STATE FOR SA/INS, PM/CEM T AND ACDA
STATE FOR NSC

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STATE FOR AID/APRE-A
USTR FOR GODEC

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DISRUPTIVE ACTIONS IDENTIFY CHINA AS THE MOST PROMINENT
ABERRANT AND BLATANT PROLIFERANT IN THE INTERNATIONAL
NUCLEAR REGIME. INDEED, ITS ACTIONS HAVE BOTH
INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL IMPLICATIONS....

"CHINA'S CHIEF AIM IS TO CONSTRUCT A TRIPOLAR
STRUCTURE OF WORLD POWER BY CHALLENGING AMERICAN/RUSSIAN
DOMINANCE IN THE MILITARY AND NUCLEAR SPHERES. IT ALSO
WISHES TO SWIFTLY BUILD ITS ECONOMY TO RIVAL THAT OF THE
U.S. AND JAPAN. IN THE AD INTERIM PERIOD, IT IS SEEKING
A STRATEGIC ENGAGEMENT WITH SEVERAL COUNTRIES TO
MAINTAIN ITS RELATIONS WITH THEM ON AN EVEN KEEL AND
PERMIT ITS UNDEFLECTED PURSUIT OF THESE OBJECTIVES. IN
SOUTH ASIA, BEIJING'S STRATEGIC GOALS ARE TO CONFINE
INDIA WITHIN REGIONAL BARRIERS. THIS CAN BE ACHIEVED BY
INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS REMAINING...TENSION- PRONE. TO
THIS END,...IT WOULD LIKE INDIA AND PAKISTAN TO RETAIN
THEIR NUCLEAR OPTION AND CONTINUE IN A STATE OF
PERSISTING CRISIS.... A DENUCLEARIZED SOUTH ASIA, ON
THE OTHER HAND, AS FAVORED BY THE UNITED STATES, COULD
ENGENDER A RAPPROCHEMENT IN INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS
THAT WOULD AFFECT CHINA'S STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES." KRECKE

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P 191558Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 3609
USMISSION USVIENNA
USMISSION USNATO
SECDEF WASHDC
SECSTATE WASHDC 6321
CIA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC
CIS COLLECTIVE

RELEASED IN FULL

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 022635

USIA

USIA FOR R/MR, EEN, WEU
STATE FOR S/NIS, PA, EUR/RUS, D
WHITE HOUSE FOR NSC (BLACKER)
NATO FOR USIS, PARIS FOR USIS, BONN FOR USIS
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2009 200705105

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VIENNA FOR USIS
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: N/A
SUBJECT: DAILY MEDIA REACTION REPORT

MOSCOW -- WEDNESDAY JULY 19, 1995

1. SUBJECTS COVERED IN TODAY'S REPORT

- BOSNIA
- U.S.-CHINA
- RUSSIA: CHECHNYA
- MIDDLE EAST: SYRIA TRACK

2. -- BOSNIA --

"NO SUPPORT FOR FRENCH MOTION"

MAXIM YUSIN REMARKED IN REFORMIST "IZVESTIA" (7/19), "IT CAN SAFELY BE SAID THAT THE FRENCH PROPOSAL TO USE NATO FORCES TO REGAIN SREBRENICA AND PROTECT OTHER MUSLIM CITIES HAS HAD NO SUPPORT.... NOW THAT HE HAS FAILED TO GET RESOLUTE ACTION FROM HIS ALLIES, CHIRAC MAY WELL CARRY OUT HIS THREAT, PULLING OUT FRENCH PEACEKEEPERS FROM BOSNIA. THEIR PRESENCE NO LONGER MAKES ANY SENSE, WITH THE BLUE HELMETS BEING UNABLE TO DO SO MUCH AS PROTECT UN-

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PROCLAIMED 'SAFE AREAS,' LET ALONE STOP THE
WAR."

3. "UN: DISCREDITED AND DEMORALIZED"

VLADIMIR SIMONOV FILED FROM LONDON FOR REFORMIST "SEGODNYA" (7/19), "NEVER BEFORE IN ITS HALF-A-CENTURY HISTORY HAS THE UN LOOKED SO DISCREDITED AND DEMORALIZED AS THESE DAYS. ITS

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BOSNIAN MISSION, IT SEEMS, HAS FAILED IN EVERY RESPECT.... FEW PEOPLE, HOWEVER, WONDER ABOUT WHY IT HAS BEEN A FIASCO. THE REASON MAY LIE IN THE FACT THAT THE THINK TANK OF THE OPERATION HAS UNNITTINGLY BEEN TRANSFERRED FROM THE UN HIGH-RISE IN NEW YORK TO THE NATO HEADQUARTERS IN BRUSSELS."

4. "SERB ASSAULT BENEFITS CROATS"

"SEGODNYA" (7/19) PUBLISHED A REPORT BY ANDREI STAKHOV IN ZAGREB, "STRANGE AS IT MAY SOUND, THE SUCCESSFUL SERBIAN OFFENSIVE IN EASTERN BOSNIA, WHICH HAS ONCE AGAIN DEMONSTRATED THE BLUE HELMETS' HELPLESSNESS, BENEFITS ZAGREB. SINCE THE UN OPERATION HAS PROVED FRUITLESS AND INEFFECTIVE, THE CROATIAN ARMY WILL TAKE OVER THE PEACEMAKING FUNCTION, ITS INCREASED MILITARY MIGHT GIVING CROATS MORE HOPE THAT NEXT YEAR'S TOURIST SEASON WILL BE BETTER THAN THE CURRENT ONE."

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5. "THE U.S. USES UN AGAINST SERBS"

NEO-COMMUNIST "PRAVDA" (7/19) CONTENTED IN A PIECE BY ALEXANDER YAKHONTOV, CHAIRMAN OF THE RUSSIAN-SERB FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY IN THE UNITED STATES, "THE MOST IMPORTANT REASON BEHIND THE U.S.'S TOUGH POLICY TOWARD THE SERBS IS THAT IT IS A PREPARATORY STAGE ON THE ROAD TO THE FINAL GOAL, THAT OF BRINGING RUSSIA TO UTTER MISERY AND POLITICAL RUINATION AND OF MAKING IT INTO A COLONY OF THE WEST.... RUSSIA DOES NOT HAVE AN INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY ANY MORE. THAT WAS DEMONSTRATED MOST MANIFESTLY BY EVENTS IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA WHERE IT (RUSSIA) LET THE UNITED STATES, RIGHT FROM THE OUTSET, DICTATE AN UNJUST ANTI-SERBIAN POLICY, WITH THE UN ACTION USED AS A FORMAL COVER-UP."

6. -- U.S.-CHINA --

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P 191558Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 3610
USMISSION USVIENNA
USMISSION USNATO
SECDEF WASHDC
SECSTATE WASHDC 6322
CIA WASHDC
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AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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WHITE HOUSE WASHDC
CIS COLLECTIVE

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 MOSCOW 022635

USIA

USIA FOR R/MR, EEN, WEU
STATE FOR S/NIS, PA, EUR/RUS, D
WHITE HOUSE FOR NSC (BLACKER)
NATO FOR USIS, PARIS FOR USIS, BONN FOR USIS
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VIENNA FOR USIS
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: N/A
SUBJECT: DAILY MEDIA REACTION REPORT

"CRISIS WON'T LAST LONG"

ALEXANDER CHUDODEYEV JUDGED IN REFORMIST
"SEGODNYA" (7/19), "IT LOOKS AS IF THE CURRENT
SERIOUS SINO-AMERICAN DISPUTE HAS REACHED A
PINNACLE. MOST SURPRISINGLY, WHILE BOTH SIDES
WELL REALIZE THAT THERE IS NOTHING TO BE
GAINED, POLITICALLY OR MORALLY, FROM THEIR
QUARREL, THEY CANNOT HELP IT.... BEIJING IS
CONVINCED THAT THE UNITED STATES VIEWS CHINA AS
A COMPETITOR AND EVEN AN OPPONENT AND, FOR THIS
REASON, IS LOOKING FORWARD TO SEEING THE MIDDLE
KINGDOM FALL APART AS THE EX-USSR DID....
NOTWITHSTANDING, THE PRESENT CRISIS...IS
UNLIKELY TO LAST LONG. THE SIDES ARE TOO
CLOSELY INTERRELATED, FIRST OF ALL
ECONOMICALLY.... EVEN SO, MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING
WILL TAKE AWHILE IN COMING AND IN THE MEANTIME,
'SERIOUS PROBLEMS' ARE
BOUND TO ARISE IN SINO-
AMERICAN RELATIONS EVERY NOW AND THEN."

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7. -- RUSSIA: CHECHNYA --
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"CHECHENS CALL THE SHOTS"

DMITRY KAMYSHEV AND GEORGY BOVT OPINED IN REFORMIST, BUSINESS-ORIENTED "KOMMERSANT-DAILY" (7/19), "FOR ALL THE RUSSIAN ENVOYS' INCANTATIONS THAT SUCCESS IS AROUND THE CORNER, IT IS HARD TO GET RID OF THE IMPRESSION THAT DUDAYEV'S PEOPLE HAVE LONG SINCE BEEN CALLING THE SHOTS AT THE TALKS, AND THE MAIN PROBLEM CONFRONTING THE MOSCOW DELEGATION IS HOW TO GET AWAY FROM THE SEEMINGLY SUBJUGATED CHECHNYA WITHOUT LOSING FACE.... EVEN TODAY, AFTER BOMBINGS AND BATTLES, FEDERAL TROOPS ACTUALLY HAVE NO CONTROL OF THE TERRITORY OF THE REPUBLIC. AWARE OF THAT, THE CHECHENS ALLOW THEMSELVES TO TALK TO MOSCOW AS A STRONG AND SELF-ASSURED PARTNER, REFUSING TO BACK OFF... AND INSISTING ON INDEPENDENCE.... THE BIGGEST IRONY IS THAT...MOSCOW MAY SOON FACE YET ANOTHER PROBLEM -- HOW TO WITHDRAW FROM THE STALLED TALKS, WITHOUT LOSING FACE."

B. -- MIDDLE EAST; SYRIA TRACK --

"U.S. AIMS TO CHECK RUSSIAN INFLUENCE"

VADIM MARKUSHIN ASSERTED IN CENTRIST ARMY DAILY "KRASNAYA ZVEZDA" (7/19), "TRYING TO ELIMINATE THE ISRAELI-SYRIAN CONFRONTATION IS CLOSELY RELATED TO WASHINGTON'S PLANS TO BOOST ITS POSITION IN THE MIDDLE EAST.... THE U.S.

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MIDEAST STRATEGY, AMONG OTHER THINGS, AIMS TO
CONTAIN RUSSIAN INFLUENCE WIDELY RECOGNIZED IN
THAT REGION.... THE U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT AND
THE RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY CAN, OF COURSE,
SPEED UP RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO YET
OPPOSING SIDES, EITHER FINANCIALLY OR MORALLY
AND POLITICALLY. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, IT IS
NOT SO MUCH A DIPLOMATIC BREAKTHROUGH THAT IS
NEEDED MOST NOW. GETTING OVER THE OLD
STEREOTYPES OF ENMITY IS MORE IMPORTANT...."
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ACTION EUR-01

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P 201449Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 3617
SECSTATE WASHDC 6472
AMEMBASSY BONN
CIS COLLECTIVE
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
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USMISSION USVIENNA
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WHITE HOUSE WASHDC
SECDEF WASHDC
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 022827

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VIENNA FOR USIS
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2009 200705105

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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: N/A

SUBJECT: DAILY MEDIA REACTION REPORT

MOSCOW -- THURSDAY JULY 20, 1995

1. SUBJECTS COVERED IN TODAY'S REPORT

- BOSNIA
- U.S.-RUSSIA/START-2
- RUSSIA: CHECHNYA
- U.S.-VIETNAM

2. -- BOSNIA --

"VAIN ATTEMPTS"

ANDREI SHARY REMARKED ON THE FRONT PAGE OF REFORMIST WEEKLY "ROSSIYA" (# 22, JULY 19-25), "NATO'S THREATS TO LAUNCH AIR ATTACKS AGAINST THE SERBS, EXHIBITION WAR GAMES OF FRENCH OR BRITISH COMMANDOS, AND HARSH STATEMENTS BY GENERALS AND PRESIDENTS ARE MERELY AN EXERCISE IN FUTILITY, AND THE OPTIONS DIPLOMATS HAVE BEEN FUSSING AROUND WITH ARE UNACCEPTABLE TO THE PARTIES IN THE CONFLICT..."

3. "SOME WANT SLOW WAR"

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BORIS LABUTIN FILED FROM BELGRADE FOR REFORMIST
WRITERS' WEEKLY "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA" (#
29/95), "WITH THE SARAJEVO AUTHORITIES --
COVERTLY BACKED BY WESTERN PEACEKEEPERS --
PERSISTING IN THE USE OF FORCE...NO WORDS ON
THE NEED FOR A RENEWED PEACE PROCESS CAN BRING
ABOUT THE DESIRED DEEDS... ABRUPT MOVES BY
THE WEST, SUCH AS THE FRENCH IDEA OF MILITARY
INTERVENTION TO PROTECT MUSLIM ENCLAVES OR A

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WITHDRAWAL OF THE UNPROFOR, COMPLETELY HUMILIATED BY NOW, ARE NO HELP EITHER. MEASURES LIKE THOSE WOULD ONLY MAKE THINGS WORSE...MUCH TO THE CHAGRIN OF THOSE BEHIND THIS CONFLICT WHO WOULD LIKE IT TO PROCEED AT A 'NICE' AND SLOW PACE."

4. "FAULTY STRATEGY"

EDGAR CHEPOROV JUDGED IN THE SAME NEWSPAPER, "SREBRENICA BECAME A KIND OF TOUCHSTONE REVEALING THE WEAKNESSES OF THE OLD STRATEGY. ITS MAIN FAULT IS THAT IT FAILED TO STOP THE WAR, LETTING IT CLAIM MORE AND MORE VICTIMS. NO DOUBT, UN AND WORLD LEADERS NOW REALIZE BETTER THAN EVER THAT THE EVENTS IN BOSNIA ARE A REAL THREAT TO THEIR AUTHORITY AND FUTURE."

5. -- U.S.-RUSSIA/START-2 --

"A HARD ROAD TO RATIFICATION"
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ALEXANDER GOLTS OBSERVED IN CENTRIST ARMY DAILY "KRASNAYA ZVEZDA" (7/20), "A MEASURE OF MUTUAL TRUST IS CRITICAL TO THE FUTURE OF START-2, WHICH IS ESPECIALLY TRUE NOW THAT THE TREATY IS GOING TO HAVE AN EXTREMELY HARD TIME IN THE RUSSIAN PARLIAMENT.... THE U.S. CONGRESS THESE DAYS MAKES IT PLAIN THAT IT MISTRUSTS RUSSIA, CHOOSING TO CUT OFF THE FINANCING OF A NUMBER OF AID PROGRAMS.... APPROACHES LIKE THAT CAN PROVE DANGEROUSLY TEMPTING FOR RUSSIAN LEGISLATORS, CAUSING THEM TO TRY TO BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON WASHINGTON BY THREATENING TO REVIEW THE SAID AGREEMENTS, WHICH, IN TURN, WOULD UNDERMINE THE SOLE REAL BASIS FOR COOPERATION...."

6. "START-2 TO PASS WITH FLYING COLORS"

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ACTION EUR-01

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P 201449Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: N/A

SUBJECT: DAILY MEDIA REACTION REPORT

ALEXANDER KORETSKY CLAIMED IN REFORMIST, BUSINESS-ORIENTED "KOMMERSANT-DAILY" (7/20), "IT CAN SAFELY BE SAID NOW THAT, CONTRARY TO THE PESSIMISTIC FORECASTS OF THE OPPONENTS OF START-2, THERE WILL BE NO BIG PROBLEMS HAVING IT RATIFIED, NOT EVEN WITH THE PRESENT STATE DUMA... DEPUTIES' REACTION TO REPORTS BY MILITARY AND INDEPENDENT EXPERTS AND THE NATURE OF THEIR QUESTIONS MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO CONCLUDE THAT THE DUMA NOT ONLY WILL RATIFY THE TREATY, BUT MAY ALSO ADOPT A SPECIAL PROGRAM TO DEVELOP RUSSIA'S STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES, PROVIDING FOR APPROPRIATE OUTLAYS."

7. -- RUSSIA: CHECHNYA --

"ABSURD STAND"

DMITRY KAMYSHEV HELD IN REFORMIST, BUSINESS-ORIENTED "KOMMERSANT-DAILY" (7/20), "APART FROM ATTEMPTS TO BRING TOGETHER BARELY COMPATIBLE THINGS -- 'THE WIDEST POSSIBLE FORMS OF

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SOVEREIGNTY' AND 'THE FRAMEWORK OF A SINGLE
FEDERATION' -- THE UPDATED RUSSIAN STANCE (AT
THE PEACE T

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PAGE 03 MOSCOW 22827 02 OF 02 201456Z
ALKS IN GROZNY) IS NOTED FOR ANOTHER
ABSURDITY, SUGGESTING BY WAY OF 'COMPROMISE'
THAT THE DUDAYEV GOVERNMENT SHOULD COEXIST WITH
A NATIONAL REVIVAL GOVERNMENT UNTIL THE
PROPOSED ELECTIONS."

8. "LEGAL CHAOS"

ACCORDING TO YURY FEOFANOV IN REFORMIST
"IZVESTIA" (7/20), "HEARINGS (ON THE CHECHEN
CONFLICT) IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT ARE STARK
TESTIMONY TO THE KIND OF LEGAL CHAOS WE HAVE
BEEN LIVING IN.... WHILE WE ARE EQUIPPED WITH
A CONSTITUTION, OUR LEGAL NORMS APPEAR TO BE
EITHER TOO TIGHT OR TOO LOOSE, MORE OFTEN THAN
NOT LEAVING GAPING LACUNAS.... THUGS COME
ACROSS AS ROMANTIC HEROS, THE PERFORMANCE OF
THE MILITARY DUTY IS CONSIDERED A NEAR-CRIME,
THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH STARTS A WAR BY A SECRET
ORDER, AND THE LEGISLATURE HAS NOTHING BETTER
TO DO THAN BRING IN A COURT ACTION...."

9. -- U.S.-VIETNAM --

"U.S.-VIETNAM: TRAGEDY AND FARCE"

HARDLINE NATIONALIST "SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA"
(7/20) PUBLISHED A PIECE BY P.TSVETOV, "THE
AMERICANS ARE BACK IN VIETNAM, WITH U.S.
BUSINESS NATURALLY BEING IN THE FOREFRONT...."

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ALL GREAT EVENTS IN HISTORY, SAGES TEACH,
HAPPEN TWICE. THEY COME FIRST AS TRAGEDY, AND
THEN THEY COME AS FARCE. THE AMERICANS' FIRST
ADVENT IN THE 1950S ENDED IN WAR. WILL THEIR
CURRENT WIDELY-PUBLICIZED ADVENT BECOME A
FARCE, IF THEIR INVESTMENTS FALL SHORT OF
EXPECTATIONS AND THE VIETNAMESE MARCH ON DOWN
THEIR ROAD, AS THEY HAVE DONE THROUGHOUT THEIR
HISTORY, REFUSING TO BE PAWNS IN SOMEBODY
ELSE'S POLITICAL GAME? INCIDENTALLY, THIS IS
EXACTLY THE WAY FOR RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO
COUNTRIES TO BECOME REALLY NORMAL."
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ACTION EUR-01

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: N/A

SUBJECT: DAILY MEDIA REACTION REPORT

MOSCOW -- MONDAY JULY 17, 1995

1. SUBJECTS COVERED IN TODAY'S REPORT

- BOSNIA
- U.S.-JAPAN
- RUSSIA: CHECHNYA, LEADERSHIP
- EUROPEAN SECURITY/NATO

2. -- BOSNIA --

"ONE SAFE AREA LESS"

YELENA SHCHEDRUNOVA SURMISED ON THE FRONT PAGE OF REFORMIST "SEGODNYA" ((7/15), "THE FATE OF THE SREBRENICA ENCLAVE HAS BEEN DECIDED. NOT ONLY SERBS ARE CERTAIN THAT IT WILL NEVER AGAIN BE A 'SAFE AREA.' INTERNATIONAL POLITICIANS, EXCEPT FOR FRENCH PRESIDENT CHIRAC, ARE SURE THE ENCLAVE HAS BEEN LOST...AS ATTEMPTING TO GET IT BACK BY FORCE WOULD DRAG THE BLUE HELMETS INTO WAR WITH THE SERBS...."

3. "FRENCH CALL FALLS ON DEAF EARS"

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ANDREI SMIRNOV JUDGED IN REFORMIST, BUSINESS-ORIENTED "KOMMERSANT-DAILY" (7/15), "PARIS'S CALL FOR A TOUGH STANCE ON THE SERBS WILL HARDLY BE HEARD BY ITS NATO PARTNERS.... WASHINGTON'S POSITION IS DIRECTLY OPPOSITE. THE UNITED STATES IS TRYING HARD TO DISTANCE ITSELF FROM WHAT IS GOING ON IN THE BALKANS.... THE BEST OUTCOME FOR THE UNITED STATES, IT

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SEEMS, WOULD BE...LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO ON BOSNIA...AS THIS, ACCORDING TO CLINTON, WOULD HELP AVOID THE 'AMERICANIZATION' OF THE CONFLICT.... SHOULD FRANCE SUCCEED IN GETTING THE RRF INTO A FIGHT TO PUNISH THE SERBS, THE SERBS, OBVIOUSLY, WOULD TAKE SUCH A MOVE AS A DECLARATION OF WAR BY NATO, AND THE ALLIANCE WOULD THEN HAVE TO BRING INTO BOSNIA ADDITIONAL FORCES, AMERICANS INCLUDED."

4. -- U.S.-JAPAN --

"U.S.-JAPAN DISPUTE: WHEELS-UP"

VALERIA SYCHEVA NOTED IN REFORMIST, BUSINESS-ORIENTED "KOMMERSANT-DAILY" (7/15), "THE (U.S.) SENATORS' UNANIMOUS AND TOUGH POSTURE (ON JAPANESE AIRLINES) IS QUITE UNDERSTANDABLE -- A DANGEROUS PRECEDENT HAS BEEN SET, JEOPARDIZING THE ENTIRE MAMMOTH NETWORK OF U.S. AIR OPERATIONS.... THE JAPANESE ARE UNLIKELY TO

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REACH A COMPROMISE THIS TIME, AND THE CURRENT TROUBLES BETWEEN THE TWO TRADING PARTNERS THREATEN TO BE WORSE THAN THE JUST ENDED CAR DISPUTE."

5. -- RUSSIA: CHECHNYA, LEADERSHIP --

"MOSCOW WON'T ACCEPT CHECHEN INDEPENDENCE"
SERGEI KISELYOV HELD IN REFORMIST WRITERS' WEEKLY "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA" (# 28/95), "THE SUCCESS OF THE RUSSIAN-CHECHEN TALKS WOULD, FROM A 'THIRD FORCE'S' PERSPECTIVE, ONLY MEAN TOTAL CAPITULATION OF GIANT RUSSIA TO TINY CHECHNYA. SINCE IMPERIAL RUSSIA WILL NEVER, EVER ALLOW THE BIBLICAL EXPERIENCE OF THE BATTLE OF DAVID AND GOLIATH TO REPEAT ITSELF, THERE IS LITTLE CHANCE THE TALKS WILL END

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SUCCESSFULLY, WITH MOSCOW ACCEPTING CHECHNYA'S

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P 171450Z JUL 95
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E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: N/A
SUBJECT: DAILY MEDIA REACTION REPORT

INDEPENDENCE.... THE NEGOTIATIONS MAY BREAK
OFF ANY MINUTE, DUE TO EITHER A RUSSIAN ARMORED
VEHICLE STORMING INTO A PEACEFUL CHECHEN
VILLAGE OR ANOTHER ATTACK BY THE FEDERAL
TROOPS...."

6. "DUDAYEV OUT TO SAVE FACE"

IGOR ROTAR FILED FROM GROZNY FOR REFORMIST
"IZVESTIA" (7/15), "ACCORDING TO MEMBERS OF THE
RUSSIAN DELEGATION (AT THE PEACE TALKS), THE
DUDAYEV PEOPLE'S MAIN CONCERN NOW IS TO SAVE
FACE, WHICH IS EXACTLY WHY THEY INSIST ON
MAINTAINING THE PRESENT 'LEGAL STATUS' --
INDEPENDENCE -- BEFORE THE PROPOSED ELECTIONS
IN CHECHNYA."

7. "UNLIKE A CONTENDER, PRESIDENT IS WELL"

REFORMIST "OBSHCHAYA GAZETA" (# 28/95)
EDITORIALIZED UNDER THE HEADLINE ABOVE, "IF
ISCHEMIA DOES NOT AFFECT YELTSIN THE PRESIDENT,

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IT DOES NOT MEAN THAT IT WILL NOT HURT YELTSIN
THE PRESIDENTIAL CONTENDER IN T
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ELECTIONS. A PRESIDENT IS ONE THING, AND A
CONTENDER IS ANOTHER. AS ONE RECALLS HOW GOOD
YELTSIN LOOKED FOUR YEARS AGO AND COMPARES
THOSE GREAT LOOKS, NOW IRREVOCABLY LOST, WITH
THE PRESENT REALITY, ONE DOES NOT HAVE TO BE A
PHYSICIAN TO IMAGINE THE KIND OF LEADER WE ARE
GOING TO WATCH ON THE TUBE SOMEWHERE AROUND THE
YEAR 2000."

8. "PRESIDENT NO LONGER AT THE HELM"

PAVEL VOSHCHANOV, PRESIDENT YELTSIN'S FORMER
PRESS SECRETARY, OPINED ON THE FRONT PAGE OF
REFORMIST YOUTH "KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA" (7/15),
"THE REAL LEVERS OF POWER ARE NO LONGER IN THE
PRESIDENT'S HANDS. NOT IMPLAUSIBLY, HE AND THE
PREMIER MAY HAVE REACHED A KIND OF
AGREEMENT...ON WHO WILL REIGN AND WHO WILL RULE
IN THE TIME LEFT BEFORE THE ELECTIONS. AN EVER
MORE APPARENT DETACHMENT FROM DOMESTIC PROBLEMS
-- BUDYONNOVSK IS ONE EXAMPLE -- WIDELY
PUBLICIZED OCCASIONAL TRIPS IN THE RUSSIAN
PROVINCES, A PASSION FOR GRAND FOREIGN TOURS, A
BREZHNEV-LIKE STYLE OF MAKING POLITICAL
STATEMENTS, AND ANECDOTAL VERBAL IMPROMPTU
STUNTS -- THESE ARE EVIDENCE THAT THE MASTER OF
THE KREMLIN HAS, WITTINGLY OR UNWITTINGLY,
TURNED INTO THE RITUAL-MYTHICAL FIGURE OF A
'GUARANTOR.'

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9. -- EUROPEAN SECURITY/NATO --

"NO ONE WANTS RUSSIA IN NATO"

ALEXANDER MINEYEV FILED FROM BRUSSELS FOR
REFORMIST "OBSSHCHAYA GAZETA" (# 28/95), "WHILE
THERE IS NOT A SINGLE DOCUMENT WHICH WOULD SAY
THAT RUSSIA, OR ANY OTHER COUNTRY, IS EXCLUDED
FROM THE LIST OF POTENTIAL CANDIDATES FOR THE
ATLANTIC CLUB MEMBERSHIP, NO ONE HERE IS
SERIOUSLY CONSIDERING HAVING US AS A MEMBER...
AS FOR (OTHER) EX-SOVIET REPUBLICS, THEY CAN BE
DIVIDED INTO THOSE WHO ARE EAGER TO HIDE FROM
RUSSIA BEHIND THE MILITARY NATO STOCKADE AND
THOSE WHO, LIKE DILIGENT STUDENTS, WORK HARD TO
FULFIL THEIR PFP OBLIGATIONS."
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ACTION EUR-01

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P 131542Z JUL 95
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2009 200705105

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E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: N/A
SUBJECT: DAILY MEDIA REACTION REPORT

MOSCOW -- THURSDAY JULY 13, 1995

1. SUBJECTS COVERED IN TODAY'S REPORT

- BOSNIA
- U.S.-VIETNAM NORMALIZATION
- RUSSIA
- U.S.-CUBA POLICY

2. -- BOSNIA --

"SERBS PARALYZE NATO WAR MACHINE"

MAXIM YUSIN CONTENDED IN REFORMIST "IZVESTIA" (7/13), "WITH THE WORLD COMMUNITY DISMAYED -- AS IT HAS OFTEN BEEN DURING THE BOSNIAN WAR -- AT THE VICTORIOUS SERB OFFENSIVE AT SREBRENICA, THE UN HAS PROVED ITS UTTER HELPLESSNESS.... THE PROBLEM IS THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAS ABSOLUTELY NO WAY OF INFLUENCING THE SITUATION, NO MATTER HOW MANY RESOLUTIONS IT ADOPTS. THE HISTORY OF THE BOSNIAN WAR KNOWS OF NO INSTANCES OF EITHER OF THE WARRING PARTIES GIVING UP SEIZED TERRITORIES.... BY THREATENING TO EXECUTE CAPTURED DUTCH
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PEACEKEEPERS IN THE EVENT OF NEW AIR RAIDS, KARADZIC SEEMS TO HAVE FOR LONG PARALYZED NATO'S MILITARY ACTIVITY. IN DOING SO, HE HAS ALSO ULTIMATELY DISCREDITED HIMSELF IN THE EYES OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY. IT IS HARD TO IMAGINE A SERIOUS POLITICIAN AGREEING TO TALK TO A MAN WHO OPENLY DEFIES CIVILIZED NORMS OF BEHAVIOR."

3. "IS UN MISSION OVER?"

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ANDREI SMIRNOV OPINED ON THE FRONT PAGE OF REFORMIST, BUSINESS-ORIENTED "KOMMERSANT-DAILY" (7/13), "THE EVENTS OF THE PAST TWO DAYS MIGHT PUT AN END TO THE THREE-YEAR OLD UN PEACE MISSION IN EX-YUGOSLAVIA.... IT APPEARS THAT BY OVERRUNNING SREBRENICA AND, THEREBY, CHALLENGING THE ENTIRE WORLD COMMUNITY, THE SERBS EVEN CAME OUT THE WINNER, IN THE END."

4. "WHO RULES THE ROOST IN BOSNIA"

YELENA SHCHEDRUNOVA HELD ON THE FRONT PAGE OF REFORMIST "SEGODNYA" (7/13), "THE SLAPS THE UN HAS BEEN EXPOSED TO EVER SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL WAR IN BOSNIA ARE NOTHING COMPARED TO THE LATEST CRUSHING PUNCH. THE FALL OF SREBRENICA, A UN 'SAFE AREA,' HAS PUT A LID ON DEBATES ON WHO EXACTLY RULES THE ROOST IN BOSNIA."

5. "CONFUSION IN NATO"

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VADIM MARKUSHIN JUDGED IN CENTRIST ARMY "KRASNAYA ZVEZDA" (7/13), "THE BOSNIAN SERBS' COUNTERACTION, SUCCESSFUL IN THE TEETH OF NATO AIR ATTACKS, CAUSED CONFUSION AMONG THE MUSLIMS' SUPPORTERS, GIVING RISE TO A BROAD ANTI-SERBIAN CAMPAIGN.... THE FOCUS ... IS ON THE CAPTURE OF 32 DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS. AS A MATTER OF FACT, IT WAS THE MUSLIMS WHO OPENED HEAVY FIRE ON THE DUTCH UNIT WHEN IT WAS CAUGHT IN THE FIGHTING...."

6. -- U.S.-VIETNAM NORMALIZATION --

"CLINTON TO GO DOWN IN HISTORY"

STANISLAV KUCHER NOTED IN REFORMIST YOUTH

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"KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA" (7/13), "UNLIKE HIS

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ACTION EUR-01

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P 131542Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 3580
CIA WASHDC
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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: N/A

SUBJECT: DAILY MEDIA REACTION REPORT

PREDECESSORS (LYNDON JOHNSON AND RICHARD NIXON), CLINTON WILL GO DOWN IN HISTORY AS A POSITIVE FIGURE WHO ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE U.S. INVASION OF VIETNAM WAS A TRAGIC MISTAKE.... THERE ARE NO POLITICAL OR PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS IN VIETNAM WHICH WOULD NOW BE OPPOSED TO RENEWED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE U.S."

7. "A MOVE MADE FOR EFFECT"

NATALIA KALASHNIKOVA WROTE ON THE FRONT PAGE OF REFORMIST, BUSINESS-ORIENTED "KOMMERSANT-DAILY" (7/13), "BY ANNOUNCING A DECISION TO RESTORE FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM, PRESIDENT CLINTON ALSO, IN A QUITE EFFECTIVE WAY, TURNED A DELICATE PAGE OF HIS OWN BIOGRAPHY. NOW NO ONE WILL DARE REPROACH HIM FOR HIS STUDENT PRANKS.... HE PAID TRIBUTE TO THE VIETNAM WAR VETERANS ... BUT SORT OF DISTANCED HIMSELF FROM THEM AS A DIFFERENT GENERATION OF AMERICANS. HIS SPEECH WAS FINE, AS ALWAYS, AND CONTAINED KIND WORDS FOR EACH

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AND ALL... FROM THE GEOPOLITICAL STANDPOINT,
PLACING VIETNAM AMONG THE U.S.'S DIPLOMATIC
PARTNERS IS NO MORE THAN A SMALL COIN IN THE
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PAGE 03 MOSCOW 21959 02 OF 03 131600Z
BANK OF (U.S.) FOREIGN POLICY VICTORIES IN
SOUTH-EAST ASIA. NO DOUBT, THAT WAS A MOVE
MADE FOR EFFECT.... GREAT AMERICA NEVER DOES
THINGS FOR NOTHING. NOW IT PUNISHES THOSE WHO
VIOLATE DEMOCRACY, NOW IT PARDONS THEM. THE
FACT THAT IT WAS CLINTON WHO MADE THAT GOODWILL
GESTURE WON HIM MORE POINTS. THE REPUBLICANS,
OF COURSE, ARE UPSET, GRUMBLING THAT VIETNAM
HAS NOT CHANGED A BIT FROM THE KIND OF
CONSERVATIVE AND UNDEMOCRATIC COUNTRY IT USED
TO BE. BUT THEY ARE DOING SO VERY QUIETLY FOR
REASONS OF ECONOMIC EXPEDIENCY, SOMETHING
CLINTON DELICATELY BYPASSED IN HIS VIETNAM
SPEECH."

8. -- RUSSIA --

"DUMA IS NO THREAT TO SICK PRESIDENT"

DMITRY VOLKOV, COMMENTING ON THE DECISION OF
SEVERAL DUMA DEPUTIES TO WITHDRAW THEIR
STATEMENT ON THE BEGINNING OF THE IMPEACHMENT
PROCESS, MAINTAINED ON THE FRONT PAGE OF
REFORMIST "SEGODNYA" (7/13), "EVIDENTLY, THE
DEPUTIES GROSSLY OVERESTIMATED THE DUMA'S
ABILITY TO INFLUENCE THE PRESIDENT'S STATE OF
HEALTH. SPECULATIONS ON WHO CAN SUCCEED HIM

WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE CURRENT REGIME,
CLEARLY HAVE A FAR GREATER EFFECT ON THE
PRESIDENT THAN ANY ATTEMPTS TO SHAKE THIS
REGIME WITH THE HELP OF A PROCEDURE WHICH WAS
INCLUDED IN THE CONSTITUTION PRECISELY FOR

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PAGE 04 MOSCOW 21959 02 OF 03 131600Z
MAKING IMPEACHMENT IMPOSSIBLE."

9. "MEDIA EMBARRASS PREMIER"

GEORGY BOVT WROTE IN REFORMIST, BUSINESS-ORIENTED "KOMMERSANT-DAILY" (7/13), "WESTERN (NEWS) AGENCIES DASHED TO TICK OFF REPORTS DISCUSSING CHERNOMYRDIN AS A REAL ALTERNATIVE TO YELTSIN. FOR THEM - PRAGMATISTS - MAKING FORECASTS LIKE THAT IS A QUITE NORMAL THING. NOT SO FOR RUSSIAN OFFICIALS, WHO THINK IT A SACRILEGE. BESIDES, CHERNOMYRDIN CANNOT BUT FEEL EMBARRASSED, TOO. ALL THOSE SPECULATIONS FALL INTO THE FERTILE 'BYZANTINE' SOIL OF RUSSIAN POLITICAL TRADITIONS."

10. -- U.S.-CUBA POLICY --

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 TEDE-00 INR-00 ADS-00 NSAE-00 PA-02
PRS-01 SP-00 SSO-00 SS-00 T-00 SNIS-00 NISC-01
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P 131542Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 3581
CIA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
CIS COLLECTIVE
USMISSION USVIENNA
USMISSION USNATO
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC
SECDEF WASHDC
SECSTATE WASHDC 5819

UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 03 MOSCOW 021959

USIA

USIA FOR R/MR, EEN, WEU
STATE FOR S/NIS, PA, EUR/RUS, D
WHITE HOUSE FOR NSC (BLACKER)
NATO FOR USIS, PARIS FOR USIS, BONN FOR USIS
VIENNA FOR USIS
USVIENNA FOR USDEL OSCE

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PAGE 02 MOSCOW 21959 03 OF 03 131600Z

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: N/A
SUBJECT: DAILY MEDIA REACTION REPORT

"THE REPUBLICANS CLEAR FIRST BARRIER"

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LEONID VELIKHOV STRESSED IN REFORMIST
"SEGODNYA" (7/13), "THE REPUBLICANS, DETERMINED
TO DO AWAY WITH THE CASTRO REGIME ALONG WITH
THE WHITE HOUSE'S AMORPHOUS 'CUBAN POLICY' FULL
OF INEXPLICABLE CONTRADICTIONS, HAVE CRUSHED
THE FIRST BARRIER AND, IT SEEMS, WILL BE JUST
AS TRIUMPHANT IN CRUSHING THE OTHER BARRIERS ON
THEIR WAY.... THE REPUBLICAN STANCE ON THE
'CUBAN QUESTION' LOOKS CONVINCING BECAUSE,
UNLIKE THE STANCE OF THE DEMOCRATS IN THE WHITE
HOUSE, IT IS CONSISTENT AND PRINCIPLED."
SMITH

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PAGE 01 MADRID 07350 171530Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO LOG-00 CIAE-00 OASY-00 DODE-00 TEDE-00 INR-00 ADS-00
NSAE-00 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-00 /004W
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R 171528Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO USIA WASHDC 6995
INFO USMISSION USNATO
SECSTATE WASHDC 8555

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UNCLAS MADRID 007350

USIA

USIA FOR R/MR AND WEU (SIEFKIN)

STATE FOR EUR/WE, INR/WECA AND PA

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: SP

SUBJECT: SPAIN MEDIA REACTION FOR JULY 13, 1995

THE INTERNATIONAL NEWS COVERAGE IS MAINLY DEVOTED TO THE
SREBRENICA/S TAKE-OVER BY BOSNIA SERBS, ACCOUNTS OF EXPRESSED
INTERNATIONAL OUTRAGE AT THE ACTION AND U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL
DEMAND THAT SREBRENICA BE RESTORED AS SAFE AREA . OTHER MINOR
STORIES REPORTED ARE THE CONTINUED CRITICISM OF CHIRAC/S NUCLEAR
TESTS AND THE BREAKING UP OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT
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PAGE 02 MADRID 07350 171530Z
AND THE FIS IN ALGIERS. EDITORIAL COMMENT DEALS WITH:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2009 200705105

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BOSNIA.

1. CENTRIST DAILY /EL MUNDO/ CARRIES AN EDITORIAL ON THE CAPTURE OF SREBRENICA BY THE SERBS ENTITLED:

--
/ SREBRENICA/S HUMILIATION/

--

MAIN QUOTES FOLLOW:

/...THE TAKE-OVER OF SREBRENICA BY BOSNIAN SERBS PAVES THE WAY FOR WHAT IS LIKELY TO HAPPEN IN OTHER MUSLIM ENCLAVES IN EASTERN BOSNIA SUCH AS ZEPA, GORAZDE AND TUZLA IN VIEW OF THE PASSIVITY OF SARAJEVO CAUSED BY THE INTERNATIONAL ARMS EMBARGO ON BOSNIA... THE SERBIAN STRATEGY FOR THE NEAR FUTURE IS TO REDUCE TO THE MINIMUM THE MUSLIM CONTROLLED BOSNIAN TERRITORY AND KEEP INTERNATIONAL HELP CENTERED ON THE CITY OF SARAJEVO ALONE./

AFTER DESCRIBING THE HUMILIATION INFLICTED ON U.N. FORCES AND THE FIASCO OF NATO AIR ATTACKS, THE EDITORIALIST CONCLUDES,

/...THE OLD LESSON WHICH CAN BE LEARNED ONCE MORE FROM THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA/S DRAMA IS THAT THE STRATEGY OF CONTAINMENT IS NOT OPERATIVE WHEN CONFRONTED WITH ENEMIES SUCH AS KARADZIC
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PAGE 03 MADRID 07350 171530Z
AND MILOSEVIC WHOTHAT DESPISE THE RULES OF INTERNATIONAL FAIR PLAY. A PROMPT AND RESOLUTIVE DIPLOMATIC ACTION-- BASED ON A LIMITED, BUT FIRM UTILIZATION OF THE HUGE MILITARY SUPERIORITY OF BOTH THE U.S. AND EUROPE--COULD HAVE AVOIDED THE HUMILIATION THAT THE DEMOCRATIC COMMUNITY SUFFERED IN SREBRENICA AND THE HUMAN TRAGEDY OF BOSNIA AND THE WHOLE OF FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. /

2. CONSERVATIVE DAILY /ABC/ FEATURES AN EDITORIAL ON THE CAPTURE OF SREBRENICA UNDER THE HEADLINE:

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--
/ THE END OF THE CENTURY CRIME/

--

MAIN QUOTES FOLLOW:

/...ALTHOUGH MANY THINK THAT WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE BALKANS DOES NOT AFFECT THEIR DAILY LIVES, IT IS USEFUL TO REMEMBER THAT THE NAZI ANNEXATION OF AUSTRIA DIDN/T BOTHER THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH MUCH. ONE YEAR LATER THEIR LIVES WERE DRAMATICALLY ALTERED WHEN EUROPE SUFFERED THE WORST WAR IN ITS LONG HISTORY./

/...THE BALKANS WAR HAS LASTED FOUR YEARS AND ALTHOUGH THERE MIGHT HAVE BEEN THE POSSIBILITY OF A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION ONCE, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TODAY: THIS IS A CONFLICT IN WHICH NOT EVERYBODY CAN BE TREATED AND DEALT WITH IN THE SAME WAY, BECAUSE THERE IS ONE MAIN PERSON RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FIRST AGGRESSION

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PAGE 04 MADRID 07350 171530Z
WHO CONCEALED SUCCESSIVE ONES... U.S. ASSISTANT SECRETARY RICHARD HOLBRROK, YESTERDAY IN MADRID, DID NOT HESITATE TO INDICATE THAT IT WAS MIOSEVIC WHO STARTED EVERYTHING./

/...THE WHOLE WEST HAS A VERY SERIOUS RESPONSIBILITY FOR ITS SCANDALOUS INACTIVITY, COVERING ITSELF WITH A COAT OF /IMPARTIALITY/ TOWARD A CONFLICT OCCURRING IN THE HEART OF EUROPE./

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PAGE 01 MADRID 07272 141205Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO LOG-00 CIAE-00 OASY-00 DODE-00 TEDE-00 INR-00 ADS-00
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-----D97EF2 141205Z /38

R 141203Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO USIA WASHDC 6986
INFO USMISSION USNATO
SECSTATE WASHDC 8533

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UNCLAS MADRID 007272

USIA

USIA FOR R/MR AND WEU (SIEFKIN)

STATE FOR EUR/WE, INR/WECA AND PA

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: SP

SUBJECT: SPAIN MEDIA REACTION FOR JULY 13, 1995

THE INTERNATIONAL NEWS COVERAGE IS MAINLY DEVOTED TO THE
SREBRENICA/S TAKE-OVER BY BOSNIA SERBS, ACCOUNTS OF EXPRESSED
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PAGE 02 MADRID 07272 141205Z
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2009 200705105

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2. CONSERVATIVE DAILY /ABC/ FEATURES AN EDITORIAL ON THE CAPTURE OF SREBRENICA UNDER THE HEADLINE:

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--
/ THE END OF THE CENTURY CRIME/

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ACTION ARA-01

INFO LOG-00 CIAE-00 CPR-02 OASY-00 DODE-00 TEDE-00 INR-00
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R 212028Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY KINGSTON
TO USIA WASHDC 0006
SECSTATE WASHDC 7670

RELEASED IN FULL

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 KINGSTON 004835

USIA FOR AR, R/MR, D/P, I/RW, I/GAR, B/VOA/L, B/TVP
STATE FOR ARA/CAR

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: ODIP, OPRC, JM

SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION -- JULY 21.

SUMMARY: TODAY'S GLEANER PUBLISHED AN ARTICLE ON THE
EDITORIAL PAGE ENTITLED "BOSNIA: THE WEST'S SHAME",
AUTHORED BY JOHN RAPLEY, A LECTURER IN THE DEPARTMENT OF
GOVERNMENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES. THE
ARTICLE BEGINS WITH A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE FORMER
YUGOSLAVIA AND ENDS WITH A STINGING CRITICISM OF THE
WEST'S FAILURE TO END THE VIOLENCE. FULL TEXT FOLLOWS:

"YUGOSLAVIA WAS THE CAN OF WORMS NOBODY IN THE WEST WANTED
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2009 200705105

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OPENED. THE 'LAND OF SOUTHERN SLAVS' CAME INTO BEING IN 1918 AS A FEDERATION OF SERBS, CROATS, SLOVENES AND OTHER SLAVIC PEOPLES WHO JOINED TO RESIST FOREIGN RULERS, BE IT THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE TO THE EAST OR THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE TO THE WEST.

YET, AS HAS BEEN REMARKED OF OTHER PEOPLES, BROTHERS ARE OFTEN THE PEOPLE WHO QUARREL THE MOST. UNITED BY LANGUAGE AND ETHNICITY, THE YUGOSLAVS WERE RELIGIOUSLY AND CULTURALLY DIVIDED. THE CROATS WERE CATHOLIC AND ORIENTED TO WESTERN EUROPE; THE SERBS WERE ORTHODOX AND CLOSER TO RUSSIA; AND THERE WERE MUSLIM POPULATIONS LEFT OVER FROM THE DAYS OF OTTOMAN RULE.

SO THERE WAS ALWAYS A HG3"? 'C"QX
OAT NATIONALISTS CREATE A PUPPET STATE THAT VICIOUSLY PERSECUTED SERBS AND JEWS. NEAR THE END OF THE WAR, THOUGH, THE ASCENT TO POWER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTISANS LED BY MARSHALL TITO SEEMED TO RE-ESTABLISH THE YUGOSLAV FEDERATION. WHAT HELPED TO KEEP IT UNITED THEREAFTER WAS THE SHARED DESIRE TO WITHSTAND SOVIET EXPANSIONISM. WITH THE DEATH OF TITO AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION, NATIONALISTS ONCE AGAIN SAW THE OPPORTUNITY TO PURSUE THEIR OWN AMBITIONS. THE CROATS, SLOVENES AND MACEDONIANS SECEDED FROM YUGOSLAVIA IN THE NAME OF NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION, THE LATTER TWO PEACEFULLY. THE SERBS SOUGHT TO PRESERVE YUGOSLAVIA, AND MOVED TO CAPTURE LAND POPULATED BY SERBS AND CROATS IN BOSNIA.

THE CROATS FOUGHT BACK, BUT BOSNIA PRESENTED A DILEMMA TO
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THE WEST. UNLIKE THE OTHER NATIONALITIES IN QUESTION, THE BOSNIANS DID NOT REALLY HAVE AN ETHNIC IDENTITY. THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT SAW ITS NASCENT COUNTRY AS A PEACEFUL FEDERATION AMONG MUSLIMS AND OTHER PEOPLES. BOTH SERBS AND CROATS LAID CLAIM TO MUCH OF BOSNIA, THOUGH, AND MANY IN THE WEST QUIETLY HOPED THAT BOSNIA WOULD COLLAPSE AND BE ABSORBED BY CROATIA AND WHAT REMAINS OF YUGOSLAVIA, APPEASING THOSE COUNTRIES AND THEREBY RESOLVING THE CONFLICT.

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BUT THE BOSNIANS DIDN'T SURRENDER, AND THEIR SUFFERING AT THE HANDS OF SERBS AND, TO A LESSER DEGREE, CROATS FORGED A NATIONAL IDENTITY WHERE NONE HAD EXISTED BEFORE. AS A BOSNIAN ONCE TOLD ME, 'BEFORE, ALL YUGOSLAVS WERE UNITED; IT CAN NEVER AGAIN BE THAT WAY'.

THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA NOW PRESENTS A NO-WIN SITUATION FOR WESTERN POWERS. THERE IS NO MATERIAL GAIN FROM GETTING INVOLVED: THERE ARE FEW PRESSING ECONOMIC INTERESTS AT STAKE, AND THE CONFLICT DOES NOT THREATEN TO SPREAD BEYOND THE BORDERS OF BOSNIA OR CROATIA. THE COSTS, HOWEVER, COULD BE GREAT. PASSIONS RUN HIGH, AND THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE VOWED TO MAKE THE WEST PAY IF IT TRIES TO REVERSE THEIR GAINS. NOBODY KNOWS FOR SURE IF THESE ARE IDLE THREATS; NOBODY WANTS TO FIND OUT.

HOWEVER, THE ALTERNATIVES TO WESTERN INVOLVEMENT ARE EVEN MORE HORRIFIC THAN WHAT WE ARE SEEING NOW. THE REPUBLICANS IN THE U.S. CONGRESS FAVOUR LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO AND LETTING THE BOSNIANS, SERBS AND CROATS FIGHT IT OUT AMONG THEMSELVES. ALLOWING THE BOSNIANS ACCESS TO

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WEAPONRY MIGHT EVEN THE CONFLICT. IT WOULD ALSO DEEPEN IT.

IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, THE WEST FACES A CHOICE BETWEEN CIVILISATION AND BARBARISM. WAS ALL THAT TALK OF A NEW WORLD ORDER JUST TALK, OR WILL WE TAKE IN HAND THE IMPERATIVE TO RESOLVE CONFLICTS IN AN ORDERLY MANNER? BESIDES, THE UN. HAS PROMISES TO KEEP. IT SET UP PROTECTED AREAS IN SREBRENICA, ZEPA AND GORAZDE AS HAVENS IN THE STORMS. BOSNIANS TRUSTED THE U.N. WOULD KEEP ITS WORD AND FLOCKED FROM THE WAR ZONES IN SEARCH OF SAFETY. WHEN PUSHED TO THE WALL, THE U.N. BACKED DOWN AND ABANDONED THOUSANDS OF MUSLIMS TO THE SERBS.

THE SUFFERINGS OF THE BOSNIANS, LIKE THOSE OF RWANDA'S TUTSIS, REVEAL JUST HOW CYNICAL THE FOREIGN POLICIES OF

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ACTION ARA-01

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R 212028Z JUL 95
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SECSTATE WASHDC 7671

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 KINGSTON 004835

USIA FOR AR, R/MR, D/P, I/RW, I/GAR, B/VOA/L, B/TVP
STATE POR ARA/CAR

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: ODIP, OPRC, JM

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SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION -- JULY 21.

WESTERN COUNTRIES HAVE BECOME. WHEN WAR THREATENS THEIR STANDARD OF LIVING, AS IN THE GULF WAR, WESTERN COUNTRIES ROAR INTO ACTION. WHEN IT DOES NOT, AS IN THE BALKANS OR RWANDA, IT MATTERS LITTLE HOW TERRIBLE HUMAN SUFFERING BECOMES. THE TELEVISION CAN ALWAYS BE TURNED OFF. MANY CONSCIENTIOUS SOULS IN THE WEST FIND THEY CAN ONLY BOW THEIR HEADS IN SHAME." COLE ACTING

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PAGE 01 KINGST 04718 171917Z
ACTION ARA-01

INFO LOG-00 CIAE-00 CPR-02 OASY-00 DODE-00 TEDE-00 INR-00
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USIA WASHDC 1896

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USIA FOR AR, R/MR, D/P, I/RW, I/GAR, B/VOA/L, B/TVP
STATE FOR ARA/CAR

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: ODIP, OPRC, JM

SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION -- JULY 17.

SUMMARY: THE SATURDAY GLEANER'S JULY 15 EDITORIAL ENTITLED
"BOSNIAN CRISIS", REACTED TO RECENT REPORTS THAT BOSNIAN
MUSLIMS HAVE BEEN EXPELLED FROM THE CITY OF SREBRENICA.
FULL TEXT FOLLOWS:

"TENS OF THOUSANDS OF BOSNIAN MUSLIMS HAVE JUST BEEN
EXPELLED FROM THE CITY OF SREBRENICA, WHICH WAS DECLARED A
SAFETY AREA BY THE UNITED NATIONS TWO YEARS AGO, BY
BOSNIAN SERBS IN THEIR LATEST ACT OF 'ETHNIC CLEANSING'.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2009 200705105

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DUTCH MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPING FORCE WATCHED IMPOTENTLY AS THE SERBS HERDED WOMEN AND CHILDREN INTO BUSES FOR TRANSPORT FROM THE CITY, AND ANNOUNCED THAT ALL MALES OVER THE AGE OF SIXTEEN WOULD BE SCREENED AS POSSIBLE WAR CRIMINALS.

WITH ONE PARIS NEWSPAPER DESCRIBING THE SITUATION AS 'THE UNITED NATIONS' WATERLOO' AND THE FRENCH PRESIDENT CALLING ON THE U.N. TO DEMAND THAT THE SERBS GIVE BACK SREBRENICA, ONLY FRANCE, BRITAIN AND THE NETHERLANDS HAVE SIGNIFICANT PEACE-KEEPING FORCES IN BOSNIA. THE POST NOW HELD BY CANADIAN PEACE-KEEPERS IS WITHOUT FOOD AND EXPECTS TO RUN OUT OF WATER ANY TIME NOW.

THE UNITED STATES HAS TAKEN A BACK SEAT IN ALL THIS, ALTHOUGH PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON THIS WEEK OFFERED U.S. ASSISTANCE IN WITHDRAWING THE U.N. PEACE-KEEPING FORCES FROM BOSNIA, IF ASKED. ESTIMATES OF THE NUMBER OF U.S. SOLDIERS REQUIRED FOR SUCH AN OPERATION RANGE FROM 28,000 TO 60,000-JUST TO COVER A RETREAT. FRENCH PRESIDENT CHIRAC SAYS, 'WE CANNOT LEAVE BOSNIA WITH OUR TAILS BETWEEN OUR LEGS'.

ALL THIS DITHERING OCCURS WITH NEITHER DEMOCRATS NOR REPUBLICANS ANXIOUS TO HAVE U.S. SOLDIERS ENGAGE THE SERBS IN A SHOOTING WAR, AND WITH PRESIDENT CLINTON COMPELLED TO WATCH HIS PERSONAL POPULARITY IN THE LIGHT OF HIS RE-ELECTION BID DUE IN NOVEMBER NEXT YEAR.

A FEW WEEKS AGO THE U.N. CELEBRATED FIFTY YEARS OF EXISTENCE. THE SERBS CONTINUE TO TREAT IT AS A TOOTHLESS
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PAGE 03 KINGST 04718 171917Z
TIGER. THE QUESTION MAY SOON ARISE WHETHER THE U.N. ANY
LONGER JUSTIFIES ITS EXISTENCE. COLE ACTING

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 05652 01 OF 04 201510Z
ACTION PRM-10

INFO LOG-00 AID-00 AMAD-01 CA-02 CIAE-00 OASY-00 DODE-00
SRPP-00 EUR-01 OIGO-01 HHS-01 TEDE-00 INR-00 IO-08
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FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4781
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB

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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 04 GENEVA 005652

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PEF, UNHCR, BK, HR, SR
SUBJ: BOSNIA: HIGH COMMISSIONER OGATA'S SPEECH TO THE HLWG

1. SUMMARY. UNHCR MRS. OGATA, SPEAKING TO THE HUMANITARIAN ISSUES WORKING GROUP OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON FORMER YUGOSLAVIA ON JULY 19, STRESSED THE APPALLING HUMANITARIAN CONSEQUENCES OF THE RECENT UPSURGE IN VIOLENCE IN BOSNIA, ESPECIALLY THE REPORTS OF ATROCITIES ASSOCIATED WITH THE ETHNIC CLEANSING OF SREBRENICA. SHE SAID THAT UNHCR WILL ADJUST ITS PROGRAM TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE NEWLY DISPLACED AT TUZLA AND THAT UNHCR AND THE GOBH HAVE FORMED A JOINT TASK FORCE TO
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COORDINATE RELIEF TO TUZLA. SHE ALSO ENCOURAGED DONORS

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 11 MAR 2009 200705105

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TO CONSIDER CONTRIBUTIONS TO IMG OR THE GOBH TO ADDRESS THE LONGER-TERM ACCOMMODATION NEEDS OF THE DISPLACED AT TUZLA. SHE SINGLED OUT THE BOSNIAN SERBS FOR RESPONSIBILITY IN BLOCKING HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE CONVOYS. SHE CALLED ON COUNTRIES TO CONTINUE TO ACCEPT THOSE FLEEING THE BOSNIA CONFLICT AND TO ADOPT A MORE FLEXIBLE APPROACH TOWARD RESETTLEMENT. SHE ALSO RECOGNIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE FEDERATION AND STRESSED HER HOPE THAT THE SITUATION IN THE FEDERATION WOULD IMPROVE SO THAT AN ORGANIZED PROGRAM OF VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION COULD BEGIN, BUT THAT ADEQUATE LEAD TIME IS NECESSARY TO REBUILD MUTUAL TRUST. FULL TEXT OF HIGH COMMISSIONER STATEMENT IS REPRODUCED IN PARA 2. END SUMMARY.

2. BEGIN TEXT --

- STATEMENT BY MRS. SADAKO OGATA, UNITED NATIONS
- HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES AT THE HUMANITARIAN
- ISSUES WORKING GROUP OF THE INTERNATIONAL
- CONFERENCE ON FORMER YUGOSLAVIA - GENEVA, 7/19/95

- I WOULD LIKE TO WELCOME YOU TO THIS MEETING OF THE HUMANITARIAN ISSUES WORKING GROUP OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. LET ME BEGIN BY PLACING ON RECORD MY APPRECIATION TO LORD OWEN FOR HIS EFFORTS AS CO-CHAIRMAN OF ICFY. LET ME ALSO CONGRATULATE MR. BILDT ON HIS APPOINTMENT AS THE NEW CO-CHAIRMAN OF ICFY AND WISH HIM EVERY SUCCESS IN THE CHALLENGING TASK WHICH LIES AHEAD OF HIM.

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- SINCE WE LAST MET IN NOVEMBER 1994, THE CONFLICT IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA HAS GREATLY DETERIORATED. THE GLIMMER OF HOPE OFFERED BY CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE WARRING PARTIES IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA LAST DECEMBER HAS BEEN DROWNED IN A NEW WAVE OF FIGHTING. THE EXPECTATIONS RAISED BY THE ECONOMIC AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE LOCAL SERB AUTHORITIES WERE ALSO DASHED BY THE EVENTS IN WESTERN SLAVONIA LAST MAY. THE HUMANITARIAN CONSEQUENCES OF THE UPSURGE IN VIOLENCE HAVE BEEN APPALLING.

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- I HAVE CONVENED THIS MEETING TODAY TO SHARE WITH YOU MY ASSESSMENT OF THE GRAVITY OF THE HUMANITARIAN SITUATION, AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR OUR OPERATION, ALTHOUGH IT IS DIFFICULT TO PREDICT AT THIS STAGE THE PROSPECTS AHEAD.

- I HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM TUZLA WHICH, AS YOU KNOW, RECEIVED LAST WEEK AN ESTIMATED 29,000 DISPLACED PERSONS WHO WERE EXPELLED FROM SREBRENICA BY THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY. THE PURPOSE OF MY TRIP HAS TO MEET THE VICTIMS AND REVIEW THE EFFORTS OF UNHCR AND OTHER HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS TO ASSIST THEM, IN CLOSE COOPERATION WITH THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

- WORDS CANNOT DESCRIBE THE HEART-BREAKING SCENES OF HUMAN SUFFERING I WITNESSED THERE. I HEARD FIRST-HAND ACCOUNTS OF HOW THE WOMEN, CHILDREN AND THE ELDERLY WERE BRUTALLY SEPARATED FROM THE MEN, BUSSED AWAY FROM POTOCARI AND FORCED TO WALK ACROSS A DANGEROUS FRONTLINE INTO BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT TERRITORY. AT THE TUZLA AIRBASE AND IN THE COLLECTIVE CENTRES I VISITED I SAW COUNTLESS
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WOMEN IN A STATE OF SHOCK, CRYING IN DES
PAIR BECAUSE THEY
DO NOT KNOW WHETHER THEIR MENFOLK ARE STILL ALIVE. I
BEARD ABOUT THE ATROCITIES AND VIOLENCE COMMITTED BY THE
BOSNIAN SERB ARMY. AN ELDERLY MAN HAD SEEN TWELVE MEN
BEING KILLED. A YOUNG BOY TOLD ME HIS PARENTS HAD BEEN
KILLED AND HIS BROTHER HAS MISSING. AN OLD WOMAN WEPT AS
SHE TOLD ME HOW SHE HAD LOST HER TWO SONS AND GRANDSON.
ANOTHER WOMAN SPOKE OF YOUNG GIRLS WHO WERE TAKEN BY THE
BOSNIAN SERBS. MANY HAVE BEEN DISPLACED FOR A SECOND
TIME, ALL HAD LIVED UNDER SIEGE AND SHELLING FOR THE PAST
TWO YEARS. THEY HAVE GONE THROUGH UNBELIEVABLE PHYSICAL
AND EMOTIONAL TRAUMA, MADE WORSE BY THE UNCERTAINTY OF
THE FATE OF THE FATHERS, BROTHERS AND SONS THEY WERE
FORCED TO LEAVE BEHIND.

- I AM EXTREMELY WORRIED ABOUT THE SAFETY OF
THOUSANDS OF MEN DETAINED IN SREBRENICA. I HAVE CALLED
UPON THE BOSNIAN SERBS TO ALLOW THE ICRC AND UNHCR ACCESS

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TO THE AREA TO DETERMINE THE WHEREABOUTS AND WELFARE OF THE MEN. MEANWHILE, MY OFFICE, TOGETHER WITH OTHER

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INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CA-02	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DODE-00
	SRPP-00	EUR-01	OIGO-01	HHS-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08
	L-01	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	FMP-00	DRL-09	/036W

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P 201504Z JUL 95
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4782
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 04 GENEVA 005652

E.O. 12356: N/A
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CONCERNED, WILL INTERVIEW THE DISPLACED PERSONS WHO HAVE ARRIVED IN SREBRENICA, AND FROM THAT INFORMATION ESTABLISH A LIST OF THOSE WHO ARE MISSING. I AM RELIEVED TO LEARN THAT ICRC MANAGED TO EVACUATE THE APPROXIMATELY 90 SICK AND WOUNDED WHO HAD BEEN LEFT IN POTOCARI.

- AS TO THE COORDINATION OF THE RELIEF, A JOINT TASK FORCE OF UNHCR AND THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED IN TUZLA AND HELD ITS FIRST MEETING
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YESTERDAY. UNPROFOR, UN AGENCIES AND MANY NGOS ARE ALREADY CONTRIBUTING ACTIVELY TO THE RELIEF EFFORTS UNDERWAY. UNHCR WILL CONTINUE TO HELP TO ADDRESS THEIR BASIC NEEDS AND WILL ADJUST ITS PROGRAM FOR BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA TO TAKE THE SREBRENICA VICTIMS INTO ACCOUNT. HOWEVER, IN VIEW OF THE LARGE NUMBERS OF DISPLACED PERSONS WHO HAVE BEEN RECEIVED IN TUZLA, IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO PROVIDE LONGER-TERM ACCOMMODATION BEFORE THE ONSET OF WINTER. MANY OF THE DISPLACED ARE CURRENTLY LIVING IN SCHOOL BUILDINGS WHICH WILL NEED TO BE VACATED BEFORE THE SCHOOL TERM BEGINS. AS THIS TYPE OF ASSISTANCE FALLS OUTSIDE THE PURVIEW OF UNHCR, I SHOULD LIKE TO ENCOURAGE DONORS TO CONSIDER MAKING CONTRIBUTIONS THROUGH IMG OR BILATERALLY TO THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT FOR SHELTER AND OTHER LONGER-TERM NEEDS.

- THE PLIGHT OF THE SREBRENICA VICTIMS PERSONIFIES THE DREADFUL NATURE OF THE CONFLICT IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. ON THE ONE HAND, MORE AND MORE PEOPLE ARE BEING TERRORIZED, FORCED TO FLEE THEIR HOMES OR BRUTALLY KILLED. ON THE OTHER, ACCESS TO HUMANITARIAN AID IS BEING DENIED, AND HUMANITARIAN WORKERS ARE BEING HARASSED AND THREATENED, JEOPARDIZING OUR ABILITY TO ASSIST THE EVER-INCREASING NUMBERS OF VICTIMS.

- ALLOW ME TO EXPAND ON THESE TWO POINTS.

- HUMAN SUFFERING IS BEING DELIBERATELY INTENSIFIED BY THE ACTION OF THE PARTIES TO TARGET CIVILIANS. I AM APPALLED BY THE RECENT INCREASE IN INDISCRIMINATE

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SHELLING OF URBAN CENTRES AND BOMBING OF CIVILIAN
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POPULATIONS. THESE COWARDLY ATTACKS AGAINST DEFENSELESS
MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN MUST BE CONDEMNED IN THE
STRONGEST POSSIBLE TERMS. NONE OF US HERE WILL EVER
FORGET THE PICTURE OF THE SQUARE IN TUZLA, COVERED WITH
THE BODIES OF THE DEAD AND WOUNDED. SOME 71 PERSONS WERE
KILLED AND 165 MORE INJURED IN THAT ONE TRAGIC INCIDENT
ON 25TH MAY. IN RECENT WEEKS SARAJEVO HAS EXPERIENCED
THE MOST INTENSE SHELLING SINCE THE MARKET BOMBING IN
FEBRUARY 1994. OVER 144 CIVILIANS WERE REPORTEDLY KILLED
THERE LAST MONTH. THE OTHER SAFE AREAS IN BOSNIA AND
HERZEGOVINA HAVE ALSO BEEN HEAVILY SHELLED.

- FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE 1991 THE KRAJINA SERBS
LAUNCHED ROCKET ATTACKS ON ZAGREB LAST MAY, KILLING SIX
PEOPLE AND WOUNDING ANOTHER 176. THERE HAVE BEEN REPORTS
ALLEGING THAT CROATIAN SERB REFUGEES WERE SHELLED WHILE
TRYING TO FLEE THE OFFENSIVE BY THE CROATIAN FORCES IN
WESTERN SLAVONIA AND CROSS INTO THE BANJA LUKA REGION.

- I AM DISTRESSED ALSO BY THE INCREASING WAVES OF
PEOPLE WHO ARE BEING FORCED TO FLEE THEIR HOMES. ETHNIC
TE
RROR IS BEING PRACTISED BY THE BOSNIAN SERB SIDE MORE
SYSTEMATICALLY THAN EVER BEFORE. THE RUTHLESS EFFICIENCY
WITH WHICH THEY EXPELLED THE MUSLIM POPULATION FROM
SREBRENICA SADLY CONFIRMS THE VIEW THAT "ETHNIC
CLEANSING" WAS NOT A CONSEQUENCE BUT, INDEED, THE VERY
OBJECTIVE OF OVERRUNNING THE POCKET. I FEAR THAT WE
MIGHT SOON WITNESS A SIMILAR WAVE OF EXPULSIONS FROM ZEPA.

- MEANWHILE, ETHNIC CLEANSING REMAINS PERVASIVE IN
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THE BANJA LUKA REGION. SO FAR THIS YEAR MORE THAN 3,000
PERSONS, THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THEM MUSLIMS, HAVE BEEN
COMPELLED TO LEAVE THE REGION. I HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY
DISTURBED BY THE DETERIORATION IN THE SITUATION OF THE
CROAT COMMUNITY IN NORTHERN BOSNIA FOLLOWING THE INFLUX
OF CROATIAN SERB REFUGEES FROM WESTERN SLAVONIA INTO THAT
REGION. EXTREMIST ELEMENTS AMONG THE REFUGEES HAVE
BRUTALLY ATTACKED LOCAL CROATS AND CATHOLIC RELIGIOUS
SYMBOLS. HAND GRENADES HAVE BEEN THROWN AT CROAT HOMES.
IN A PARTICULARLY TRAGIC INCIDENT, A PARISH BUILDING HAS
SET ABLAZE, BURNING ALIVE A PRIEST AND A NUN WHO WERE
INSIDE.

- PEOPLE HAVE ALSO BEEN UPROOTED BY THE RECENT
ESCALATION OF MILITARY ACTIVITY, AND THE TRAGEDY IS NOT
LIMITED TO ANY ONE SIDE. I HAVE ALREADY SPOKEN OF THE
RECENT EXPULSIONS FROM SREBRENICA. THE EVENTS OF LAST
MAY IN WESTERN SLAVONIA RESULTED IN THE EXODUS OF SOME
13,000 CROATIAN SERBS. THEY ARE NOW LIVING IN COLLECTIVE
CENTRES AND WITH HOST FAMILIES IN THE BANJA LUKA REGION
AND IN SECTOR EAST WHERE UNHCR, TOGETHER WITH OTHER AID

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INFO LOG-00 AID-00 AMAD-01 CA-02 CIAE-00 OASY-00 DODE-00
SRPP-00 EUR-01 OIGO-01 HHS-01 TEDE-00 INR-00 IO-08
L-01 ADS-00 NSAE-00 OIC-02 FMP-00 DRL-09 /036W
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P 201504Z JUL 95
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4783
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
AMEMBASSY ZAGREB

UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 04 GENEVA 005652

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREF, UNHCR, BK, HR, SR
SUBJ: BOSNIA: HIGH COMMISSIONER OGATA'S SPEECH TO THE HLWG

ORGANIZATIONS AND THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES, ARE ASSISTING THEM. MORE THAN 10,000 SERB CIVILIANS HAVE BEEN FORCED TO ABANDON THEIR HOMES TO SEEK SAFETY FROM THE MILITARY OFFENSIVES BY BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT FORCES AGAINST THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY IN DIFFERENT LOCATIONS IN NORTHERN BOSNIA.

- WHETHER UPROOTED BY ETHNIC CLEANSING OR MILITARY ACTIVITY, WHETHER MUSLIM, CROAT OR SERB, THESE VICTIMS OF UNCLASSIFIED

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VIOLENCE HAVE HAD THEIR PHYSICAL AND MENTAL STRENGTH SAPPED BY FOUR YEARS OF BLOODY WAR AND NOW FACE THE PROSPECT OF A BLEAK WINTER IN PRECARIOUS CONDITIONS.

- AS THE WAR DRAGS ON, IT IS THE INNOCENT MEN AND WOMEN WHO ARE INCREASINGLY HAVING TO PAY THE PRICE FOR THE ACTIONS OF THEIR WARRING LEADERS. I CANNOT HELP BUT ASK MYSELF: IS THERE NO LIMIT TO THE SUFFERING WHICH THOSE WHO PURSUE POLITICAL AND MILITARY OBJECTIVES ARE

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PREPARED TO INFLICT ON INNOCENT CIVILIANS?

- IT IS AGAINST THIS DEEPLY DISTRESSING PICTURE OF INTENSIFIED SUFFERING THAT I MUST ONCE AGAIN VOICE MY FRUSTRATION AND ANGER AT THE CONTINUED, INDEED, INCREASED OBSTRUCTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN OPERATION. WE HAVE BEEN VIRTUALLY HAMSTRUG BY THE INCREASING REFUSAL OF CONSENT FOR OUR HUMANITARIAN CONVOYS BY THE PARTIES, PARTICULARLY THE BOSNIAN SERBS. IN JUNE, WE WERE ONLY ABLE TO DELIVER 7,136 TONNES OF AID TO BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA. THIS REPRESENTS A MERE 30 PERCENT OF THE ASSESSED NEEDS AND IS THE LOWEST MONTHLY DELIVERY TONNAGE SINCE JANUARY 1993. THE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE AID PROGRAM AND, FOR THOSE BENEFICIARIES IN GREATEST NEED OF OUR ASSISTANCE - THOSE IN SARAJEVO, BIHAC AND THE OTHER ENCLAVES - ARE INDEED GRAVE.

- I AM PARTICULARLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE STRANGULATION OF SARAJEVO. HOW LONG CAN THE COURAGEOUS POPULATION OF THIS BESIEGED CITY SURVIVE? THE UNHCR HUMANITARIAN AID AIRLIFT REMAINS SUSPENDED SINCE 8 APRIL. IN JUNE WE WERE ABLE TO DELIVER ONLY 8 PER CENT OF THE TARGET OF 6,000
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TONNES. TO PREVENT A CATASTROPHE, AND AT UNHCR'S REQUEST, UNPROFOR PERSONNEL HAVE IN RECENT WEEKS DELIVERED LIMITED AMOUNTS OF FLOUR TO KEEP THE CENTRAL BAKERY IN SARAJEVO GOING. UNPROFOR HAS HAD TO USE THE PERILOUS MT. IGMAN ROUTE, THE ONLY ONE CURRENTLY AVAILABLE. THERE ARE SOME 100,000 VULNERABLE POPULATION IN SARAJEVO, AND OUR EFFORTS ARE TARGETED TOWARDS THEM.

- BUT IT IS THE TRAGIC STORY OF THE BIHAC ENCLAVE WHICH ILLUSTRATES MOST DRAMATICALLY AND DISASTROUSLY THE RESULT OF THE DENIAL OF HUMANITARIAN ACCESS. ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS IN THE PAST MY OFFICE HAS WARNED OF THE THREAT OF STARVATION FACED BY THE POPULATION THERE. THESE WARNINGS HAVE SYSTEMATICALLY BEEN IGNORED BY THOSE OBSTRUCTING ACCESS. A FORTNIGHT AGO I WAS SADDENED TO LEARN OF TWO HUNGER-RELATED DEATHS IN BIHAC - THE FIRST CASES SINCE THE WAR BEGAN IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA. I

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FEAR MANY MORE TO COME IF WE ARE NOT GIVEN FULL ACCESS TO REACH THE POPULATION IN NEED.

- I CANNOT MENTION OUR RELIEF EFFORTS WITHOUT ACKNOWLEDGING AND EMPHASIZING THE INVALUABLE SUPPORT PROVIDED BY UNPROFOR IN FACILITATING THE DELIVERY OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE. I AM THEREFORE VERY CONCERNED AT THE INCREASING DIFFICULTIES FACED BY UNPROFOR IN CARRYING OUT ITS MANDATE AND RESULTING CONSEQUENCES WHICH THEY MIGHT HAVE ON OUR OWN ACTIVITIES.

- MOVING NOW FROM THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA TO THAT OF THE REFUGEES OUTSIDE, LET ME MAKE

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THREE POINTS. THE FIRST IS ABOUT THE RECENT MOBILIZATION OF SERB REFUGEES BY THE LOCAL POLICE IN SERBIA, IN COLLUSION WITH KRAJINA AND BOSIAN SERB PARAMILITARY GROUPS. THAT REFUGEES SHOULD BE FORCIBLY SENT BACK TO THEIR PLACE OF ORIGIN IN ORDER TO BE CONSCRIPTED IS UTTERLY UNACCEPTABLE TO UNHCR. WE CONSIDER IT A FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF THE 1951 CONVENTION ON THE STATUS OF REFUGEES MY OFFICE HAS PROTESTED STRONGLY TO THE AUTHORITIES CONCERNED IN SERBIA AND REQUESTED THEM TO TAKE APPROPRIATE MEASURES TO PUT AN END TO THE VIOLATIONS. I AM PLEASED TO REPORT THAT, FOLLOWING OUR REPRESENTATIONS, THE NUMBERS OF REFUGEES BEING MOBILIZED HAVE STEADILY DIMINISHED AND THE SITUATION NOW APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN BROUGHT UNDER CONTROL.

- MY SECOND POINT IS ON TEMPORARY PROTECTION ABROAD. THE VORTEX OF VIOLENCE WHICH HAS GRIPPED PARTS OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA MAKE IT IMPERATIVE FOR ADJACENT COUNTRIES AS WELL AS THOSE FURTHER AFIELD TO KEEP THEIR BORDERS OPEN FOR THOSE FLEEING THIS CRUEL WAR. I AM VERY GRATEFUL TO COUNTRIES HOSTING REFUGEES FROM BOSNIA AND

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ACTION PRM-10

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	CA-02	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DODE-00
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	L-01	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	FMP-00	DRL-09	/036W
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P 201504Z JUL 95
 FM USMISSION GENEVA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4784
 INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
 EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB

UNCLAS SECTION 04 OF 04 GENEVA 005652

E.O. 12356: N/A
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HERZEGOVINA AND WOULD URGE THEM TO CONTINUE EXTENDING
 TEMPORARY PROTECTION. IT IS ENCOURAGING THAT A NUMBER OF
 COUNTRIES HAVE TAKEN STEPS TO IMPROVE THE STATUS OF THESE
 REFUGEES IN VIEW OF THEIR PROLONGED STAY. I WOULD ALSO
 LIKE TO URGE GOVERNMENTS TO ADOPT A MORE FLEXIBLE
 APPROACH TOWARDS THE ISSUE OF RESETTLEMENT OF REFUGEES
 AND COUNT ON THEM TO CONTINUE PROVIDING THESE GROUPS WITH

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TEMPORARY PROTECTION.

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- MY THIRD POINT IS ON VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION. UNFORTUNATELY, CONDITIONS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA AS WELL AS IN THE UN SECTORS IN CROATIA ARE STILL NOT CONDUCTIVE TO PROMOTE ORGANIZED VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION. THE SITUATION REMAINS FRAGILE EVEN IN THE CONTIGUOUS FEDERATION AREAS. HOWEVER, I FULLY APPRECIATE THAT THE FEDERATION IS AN IMPORTANT INSTRUMENT TO PROMOTE PEACE AND I VERY MUCH HOPE THAT THE SITUATION THERE WILL IMPROVE SO THAT AN ORGANIZED PROGRAM OF VOLUNTARY RETURN OF REFUGEES CAN GET UNDERWAY.

- WHILE EVERY EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO CREATE SUITABLE CONDITIONS FOR THE EVENTUAL RETURN OF DISPLACED PERSONS WITHIN THE FEDERATION TO THEIR HOMES, LET ME EMPHASIZE THAT THE RETURN MOVEMENT SHOULD NOT BE RUSHED. ADEQUATE LEAD TIME NEEDS TO BE DEVOTED FOR THE REBUILDING OF MUTUAL TRUST BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT COMMUNITIES; OTHERWISE, THE CONSEQUENCES COULD BE DISASTROUS.

- IN THE MIDST OF THIS PESSIMISM THERE IS ONE POSITIVE NOTE. WHEN WE LAST MET IN NOVEMBER 1994 I EXPRESSED MY SERIOUS CONCERN ABOUT THE FUNDING SITUATION FOR THE HUMANITARIAN OPERATION. I AM PLEASED TO REPORT THAT, THANKS TO GENEROUS CONTRIBUTIONS, THE FUNDING SITUATION FOR THE PROGRAM HAS CONSIDERABLY IMPROVED. HOWEVER, AS THE SITUATION IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA REMAINS DRIVEN BY CONTINGENCIES, I HOPE THAT I CAN COUNT ON YOUR CONTINUING GENEROSITY. THE RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SREBRENICA HAVE AMPLY PROVEN THE NEED TO BE PREPARED FOR NEW AND EXPECTED EMERGENCIES.

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- I HAVE GIVEN A SOMBRE ASSESSMENT OF THE CURRENT HUMANITARIAN SITUATION. IN VIEW OF THE ALARMING INCREASE IN DELIBERATE TARGETING OF INNOCENT CIVILIANS, THE CONTINUING DISPLACEMENT OF POPULATION, THE INTENSIFICATION OF ETHNIC CLEANSING AND THE GRAVE PROBLEMS FACING THE HUMANITARIAN OPERATION, I COULD NOT HAVE DONE OTHERWISE.

- ALTHOUGH TODAY THE ACTIVITIES OF MY OFFICE ARE SEVERELY HAMPERED, I BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO CONTINUE OUR WORK. WE SHOULD GO ON MAKING A DIFFERENCE BY SAVING LIVES. I AM EVEN MORE CONVINCED OF THIS AFTER MY VISIT TO TUZLA WHERE I WAS ABLE TO SEE WITH MY OWN EYES HOW OUR HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE IS HELPING TO ALLEVIATE THE ENORMOUS SUFFERING OF THE VICTIMS OF THE TRAGEDY IN SREBRENICA.

- AT THE SAME TIME, I MUST EMPHASIZE THAT MY OFFICE IS NOT PREPARED TO CONTINUE AT ANY COST. THE CONSENT OF THE PARTIES IS ESSENTIAL IF WE ARE TO GO ON WITH OUR WORK, AND I HOLD THEM ACCOUNTABLE FOR PROVIDING THAT CONSENT. THERE IS NO WINNER IN A WAR WHICH CONDEMNS THE CIVILIAN POPULATION TO DESPAIR AND DISPLACEMENT.

- TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MY MESSAGE IS AS FOLLOWS: YOUR CONTINUED GENEROUS SUPPORT FOR THE HUMANITARIAN OPERATION MUST GO HAND IN HAND WITH A DETERMINED EFFORT TO REVIVE THE PEACE PROCESS. HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE CAN HELP TO RELIEVE THE

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CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR, BUT IT CANNOT RESOLVE IT. OUR EFFORTS ALONE WILL NOT STOP ANOTHER SREBRENICA FROM HAPPENING. ONLY A NEGOTIATED POLITICAL SOLUTION CAN HALT THE UNTOLD HUMAN SUFFERING. THANK YOU. END TEXT.
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ACTION SCT-00

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AID-00	A-00	CA-02	CCO-00
	CG-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	COME-00	CTME-00	INL-01	OASY-00
	DODE-00	DOEE-00	DOTE-00	SRPP-00	DS-00	EB-01	EUR-01
	FAAE-00	FBIE-00	INLB-01	H-01	IMMC-01	TEDE-00	INR-00
	INSE-00	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NRCE-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OCS-06	OIS-01	OMB-01	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SP-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USSS-00	ASDS-01	SNIS-00	NISC-01
	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00	/050W	

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O 141030Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9361
INFO USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 3611
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
DET 1 39LG ANKARA TU//CC//
CTF PROVIDE COMFORT INCIRLIK AB TU//POLAD/C-2/CC//
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AFOSI REGION 5 RAMSTEIN AB GE//CC/EAC//
AMCONSUL ADANA
USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES IT//PIO/INTAFF//
39OSS INCIRLIK AB TU//IN//
CDRSETAF 5TH VICENZA IT//AESE-GIC//
39LG INCIRLIK AB TU//CC//
HQ USAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//POLAD//
722 ABS PIRINCLIK AS TU//SPF//
AFOSI DET 523 IZMIR TU//CC//
AFLO ANKARA TU

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19SPSS PIRINCLIK AS TU//CC//
MCC PIRINCLIK AS TU//CMCC//

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 10 MAR 2009 200705105

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AMEMBASSY LONDON
MTMC ISKENDERUN DET
CDRUSAE IZMIR TU//ACLE-ADC//
USDOCO GATAF IZMIR TU
16 AF AVIANO AB IT//XPT//
USEU BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BAKU
39WG INCIRLIK AB TU//CC/PA//
AMEMBASSY MADRID
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//POLAD//
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//POLAD//
AFOSI DET 521 ANKARA TU//CC//
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
AMEMBASSY BONN
ODC ANKARA TU//TCH//
AFOSI DET 522 INCIRLIK AB TU//CC//
AMEMBASSY PARIS
628AMSS INCIRLIK AB TU
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY YEREVAN

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 ANKARA 008058

DEPT FOR EUR/SE

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, PTER, PGOV, SCOM, TU

SUBJECT: TURKISH PRESS REVIEW: JULY 14, 1995

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4. ATHENS PROVIDES MEDICAL TREATMENT TO PKK TERRORISTS
5. GREEK CYPRIOTS BUILD NEW MILITARY POSITIONS
6. ABOW MAKES POSITIVE STATEMENTS ABOUT TURKEY
7. CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT CONTROVERSY MAY BE SOLVED

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8. DHKP/C MEMBERS RAIDED YDH'S ISTANBUL BRANCH
9. PKK TERRORISTS KILL SEVEN SECURITY MEMBERS
10. 26 PKK TERRORISTS DIE IN SECURITY OPERATIONS

1. UGUR AKINCI OF "YENI YUZYIL" WRITES FROM WASHINGTON THAT THE MONTHLY "SOLDIER OF FORTUNE" MAGAZINE CLAIMED THAT THE U.S. EMBASSY IN ANKARA BELIEVES THAT SADDAM HUSSEIN HAS BENEFITED THE MOST FROM THE TURKISH CROSS-BORDER OPERATION AGAINST THE PKK LAST MARCH IN NORTHERN IRAQ. THE ARTICLE, BY MARK H. MILSTEIN, ASSERTED THAT U.S. EMBASSY OBSERVERS THINK THAT THE TURKISH INCURSION HAS "DISPROVED THE IDEA OF A SECURE ZONE FOR KURDS AND HARMED THE BALANCES OF AUTHORITY MORE THAN THE CLASHES BETWEEN THE PUK AND KDP."

2. ALL DAILIES HAVE FRONT PAGE COVERAGE ON THE BOSNIAN SERB OVERRUNNING OF THE UN-DECLARED SAFE ZONE OF SREBRENICA. "HURRIYET" REPORTS THAT MFA DEPUTY SPOKESMAN NURETTIN NURKAN SAID THE BOSNIAN SERBS ARE VIOLATING UN RESOLUTIONS, AND HE URGED THE UN TO ADOPT A MORE EFFECTIVE

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STANCE. NURKAN ALSO PROPOSED INCREASING THE NUMBER OF PEACE KEEPING OFFICIALS. HE URGED AN IMMEDIATE STOP TO INHUMANE ACTS TOWARDS CIVILIANS AND ASKED THE WORLD TO ACT MORE DETERMINED AND COURAGEOUSLY.

3. "CUMHURİYET" REPORTS THAT PRESIDENT SULEYMAN DEMIREL, IN A PRESS CONFERENCE IN OHRID, MACEDONIA, WARNED THE WORLD AND THE BALKANS ABOUT SERBIAN ATTACKS AGAINST BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA. DEMIREL SAID A WAR OF BELIEFS WOULD MEAN AN END OF CIVILIZATION IN EUROPE. HE ALSO SAID THAT A MUSLIM-CHRISTIAN WAR WOULD BE AN ISSUE FOR THE WORLD. IF THE WAR SPREADS TO KOSOVO AND VOJVODINA, TURKEY WOULD BE CONCERNED. DEMIREL NOTED THAT SENDING MUSLIM VOLUNTEERS WOULD BE WRONG AND THAT TURKISH TROOPS DID NOT GO TO BOSNIA UNILATERALLY, BUT WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE UN. DEMIREL SAID, "OUR POLICY IS TO ACT TOGETHER WITH THE UN."

4. "MILLİYET" REPORTS THAT AN ATHENS REPRESENTATIVE OF THE "KURDISTAN RED CRESCENT," AFFILIATED WITH THE PKK, BAHTIYAR CAN, SAID THAT 174 PKK MEMBERS WOUNDED IN CLASHES WITH

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TURKISH SOLDIERS HAVE RECEIVED MEDICAL TREATMENT AT GREEK HOSPITALS. CAN SAID THAT 37 OF THE WOUNDED WENT INTO SURGERY. HE ADDED THAT THE PKK WAS VERY MUCH PLEASED WITH

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ACTION SCT-00

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AID-00	A-00	CA-02	CCO-00
	CG-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	COME-00	CTME-00	INL-01	OASY-00
	DODE-00	DOEE-00	DOTI-00	SRPP-00	DS-00	EB-01	EUR-01
	FAAE-00	FBIE-00	INLB-01	H-01	IMMC-01	TEDE-00	INR-00
	INSE-00	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NRCE-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OCS-06	OIS-01	OMB-01	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SP-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USSS-00	ASDS-01	SNIS-00	NISC-01
	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00	/050W	

-----D97536 141030Z /38

O 141030Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9362
INFO USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 3612
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
DET 1 39LG ANKARA TU//CC//
CTF PROVIDE COMFORT INCIRLIK AB TU//POLAD/C-2/CC//
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AFOSI REGION 5 RAMSTEIN AB GE//CC/EAC//

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AMCONSUL ADANA
USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES IT//PIO/INTAFF//
39OSS INCIRLIK AB TU//IN//
CDRSETAF 5TH VICENZA IT//AESE-GIC//
39LG INCIRLIK AB TU//CC//
HQ USAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//POLAD//
722 ABS PIRINCLIK AS TU//SPF//
AFOSI DET 523 IZMIR TU//CC//
AFLO ANKARA TU

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19SPSS PIRINCLIK AS TU//CC//
MCC PIRINCLIK AS TU//CMCC//
AMEMBASSY LONDON
MTMC ISKENDERUN DET
CDRUSAE IZMIR TU//ACLE-ADC//
USDOC 6ATAF IZMIR TU
16 AF AVIANO AB IT//XPT//
USEU BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BAKU
39WG INCIRLIK AB TU//CC/PA//
AMEMBASSY MADRID
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//POLAD//
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//POLAD//
AFOSI DET 521 ANKARA TU//CC//
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL
AMEMBASSY BONN
ODC ANKARA TU//TCH//
AFOSI DET 522 INCIRLIK AB TU//CC//
AMEMBASSY PARIS
628AMSS INCIRLIK AB TU
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY YEREVAN

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 ANKARA 008058

DEPT FOR EUR/SE

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, PTER, PGOV, SCOM, TU

SUBJECT: TURKISH PRESS REVIEW: JULY 14, 1995

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GREECE'S HELP BUT THEY WOULD LIKE TO RECEIVE MORE.

5. "SABAH" REPORTS THAT THE GREEK CYPRIOT NATIONAL GUARD BEGAN BUILDING NEW MILITARY POSITIONS ALONG THE "GREEN LINE" WHICH SEPARATES THE TWO COMMUNITIES ON THE ISLAND.

6. "TDN" REPORTS THAT THE HEAD OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION'S TURKEY, CYPRUS, AND MALTA DEPARTMENT, SERGE ABOU, SAID THAT TURKEY HAD DONE A GREAT DEAL IN TERMS OF TECHNICAL HARMONIZATION FOR THE CUSTOMS UNION. ABOU WAS PLEASED WITH THE PROGRESS MADE AND HE BELIEVED THAT, FROM A TECHNICAL POINT OF VIEW, THE CUSTOMS UNION COULD HAPPEN.

7. DAILIES REPORT THAT THE INTERPARTY COMMITTEE, FORMED BY REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE DYP, CHP, ANAP, DSP, AND MHP TO FIND WAYS TO REACH A CONSENSUS ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT CONTROVERSY, MET ON JULY 13. THE COMMITTEE HAS AGREED TO HOLD CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT DEBATES ON JULY 18, BEFORE PARLIAMENT GOES INTO RECESS. THE COMMITTEE ALSO AGREED TO PRESENT A JOINT SUBMISSION OF MOTIONS CONCERNING THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT PACKAGE. "HURRIYET" REPORTS THAT DSP LEADER BULENT ECEVIT CONVINCED ANAP LEADER MESUT YILMAZ TO HOLD OPEN VOTING FOR THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS. YILMAZ SAID HE WOULD ACCEPT OPEN VOTING THIS TIME ONLY AND ADDED THAT, IN PRINCIPLE, CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS SHOULD BE DECIDED BY SECRET VOTES.

8. ALL DAILIES REPORT THAT NINE MEMBERS OF THE ILLEGAL DHKP/C (REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S LIBERATION PARTY/FRONT) ORGANIZATION RAIDED THE ISTANBUL PROVINCIAL ORGANIZATION OFFICE OF THE NEW DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT (YDH) AND TOOK YDH

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OFFICIALS HOSTAGE. POLICE RAIDED THE OFFICE BY USING TEAR
GAS AND CAPTURED NINE MILITANTS. THE HOSTAGES WERE
RELEASED UNHARMED.

9. "MILLIYET" REPORTS THAT PKK TERRORISTS ATTACKED A
SCHOOL AND HEALTH UNIT AT THE YALINCA VILLAGE OF VAN, WHERE
MILITARY UNITS ARE STATIONED, AND KILLED ONE NCO AND SIX
SOLDIERS.

10. DAILIES REPORT THAT THE STATE OF EMERGENCY REGIONAL
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE ANNOUNCED THAT 26 PKK TERRORISTS WERE
KILLED IN SECURITY OPERATIONS CONDUCTED IN SIRNAK, VAN,
MUS, AND DIYARBAKIR PROVINCES. GROSSMAN

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ACTION EUR-01

RELEASED IN FULL

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	BIB-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	CIP-01
	COME-00	CTME-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	EB-01
	FBIE-00	FCC-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08	LAB-01
	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02
	OMB-01	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00
	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	PMB-00	PRME-01	PRMC-01	DRL-09
	G-00	/036W					

-----DAODDA 171141Z /38

O 171137Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0359
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 6491

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 BELGRADE 003446

USIA
USIA FOR R/MR, I/GEU, B/VOA/ES, INFO EEN (KRAUSE);
SECSTATE FOR EUR/SCE, EUR/PA, PA

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: ECPS SCUL, PGOV, PHUM, ETTC, SR, MW
SUBJECT: BOSNIA MEDIA REACTION -- THE RECENT FALL
OF SREBRENICA AND THE WESTERN POLICY IN BOSNIA

1. THE INDEPENDENT, CENTRIST BELGRADE DAILY "NASA
BORBA" (JULY 17) CARRIES A FRONT-PAGE COMMENTARY BY
BRUSSELS CORRESPONDENT MIRKO KLARIN ON THE CURRENT
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PAGE 02 BELGRA 03446 01 OF 02 171140Z
CONSULTATIONS OF THE WESTERN ALLIES ON THE FRENCH

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 10 MAR 2009 200705105

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INITIATIVE FOR LIMITED MILITARY ACTION IN BOSNIA.

2. KLARIN WRITES: "'NATURALLY THE DETAILS OF THE FRENCH MILITARY PLANS HAVE NOT YET BEEN MADE PUBLIC, BUT ACCORDING TO THE FRENCH DEFENSE MINISTER, PARIS HAS OFFERED TWO BASIC PROPOSALS TO THE ALLIES. AFTER THE FALL OF SREBRENICA AND THE EXPECTED FALL OF ZEPA, PARIS PROPOSES DRAWING A LINE ON MLADIC'S 'EASTERN MARCH' TOWARD GORAZDE, WHILE THE SECOND AREA FOR THE ACTIVITIES OF THE 'MULTI-NATIONAL FORCES FOR COMBAT OPERATIONS' WOULD BE SARAJEVO."

3. KLARIN OBSERVES: "THE OUTCOME OF THE ABOVE FRENCH INITIATIVE MAINLY DEPENDS ON THE BRITISH RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT CHIRAC'S CALL TO ARMS. EVEN AN UNWILLING AGREEMENT OF THE BRITISH TO JOIN THE FRENCH WOULD FORCE THE AMERICANS TO SUPPORT THEIR MAIN EUROPEAN ALLIES. ALTHOUGH IT STILL WOULD NOT MEAN DIRECT ENGAGEMENT OF U.S. GROUND TROOPS IN BOSNIA, THE BRITISH AND FRENCH MILITARY CIRCLES COUNT ON A SIGNIFICANT 'AIR CONTRIBUTION FROM THE U.S. IN ADDITION TO THE COMBAT PLANES FROM NATO BASES IN ITALY AND THE CARRIERS IN THE ADRIATIC, THE U.S. CONTRIBUTION WOULD INCLUDE HEAVY TRANSPORT AND COMBAT HELICOPTERS."

4. THE WEEKEND EDITION OF "NASA BORBA" (JUL 15-16) RUNS TWO COMMENTARIES ON THE CURRENT SITUATION IN BOSNIA AND POSSIBLE FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE BALKANS. ONE IS BY FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMENTATOR
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BRANKO MILANOVIC, WHO STRESSES: "WHAT DOES THE FALL OF SREBRENICA AND POSSIBLY OTHER 'PROTECTED ZONES' IN EASTERN BOSNIA MEAN FOR THE FURTHER COURSE OF THE WAR? THE PROBLEM WHICH KARADZIC ENCOUNTERS HERE IS IN A WAY PARADOXICAL. THE MORE VICTORIES HE HAS, HUMILIATING THE UN AND NATO, THE SMALLER ARE HIS CHANCES FOR A FINAL VICTORY."

5. MILANOVIC CONTINUES: "AT THE BEGINNING, BOSNIA WAS A RELATIVELY UNIMPORTANT ISSUE FOR THE UNITED

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STATES, BUT, WITH THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS, THE CREDIBILITY OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, AND ABOVE ALL OF NATO, HAS BEEN AT STAKE. THAT MEANS THAT NATO HAS TWO OPTIONS. ONE IS AN OFFICIAL DISENGAGEMENT FROM THE BOSNIAN CONFLICT, AND THE OTHER IS TO GET INVOLVED IN IT. THE FIRST OPTION IS POSSIBLE BUT NOT VERY PROBABLE. TO MAKE A PUBLIC WITHDRAWAL IS VERY DIFFICULT POLITICALLY. ON THE OTHER HAND, WHETHER NATO WILL REALLY ENGAGE IN THE BOSNIAN CONFLICT DEPENDS ONLY ON THE U.S., SINCE IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THE EUROPEANS HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO DECIDE WHAT TO DO WITH NATO. THE ONLY PERSON, WHO CAN DO THAT IS THE U.S. PRESIDENT."

6. MILANOVIC GOES ON: "SO, ONE SHOULD LOOK CLOSELY AT PRESIDENT CLINTON'S SITUATION. IN HIS DOMESTIC POLICY, CLINTON HAS PROVEN TO BE A PRESIDENT WITHOUT ANY POLITICAL PRINCIPLES. HE TAKES STANDS ONLY IF IT IS POLITICALLY PROFITABLE TO DO SO AT THE GIVEN TIME. HE HAS PROVEN TO BE A TOTAL OPPORTUNIST, OR AS THE OLD GREEKS WOULD SAY, A DEMAGOGUE. THIS MEANS THAT

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HIS ONLY GUIDANCE IS 'WHAT THE PEOPLE WANT.' UP TO NOW, THE AMERICANS HAVE NOT BEEN PREOCCUPIED WITH BOSNIA, BUT IF THIS TENDENCY CHANGES UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE MEDIA, OR BOSNIAN SERB VICTORIES AND ETHNIC CLEANSING, PRESIDENT CLINTON'S ATTITUDE MIGHT CHANGE. MOREOVER, PRESIDENT CLINTON MIGHT DO WHAT NO U.S. PRESIDENT HAS EVER DONE SO FAR, HE MIGHT START A MILITARY ACTION RIGHT BEFORE UPCOMING ELECTIONS."

7. "NASA BORBA" (JULY 15-16) RUNS AN EDITORIAL BY EDITOR-IN-CHIEF GORDANA LOGAR, WHO SPECULATES ON THE CURRENT SITUATION IN BOSNIA. LOGAR COMPARES THE RECENT ACTION OF CROATIA IN WESTERN SLAVONIA WITH THE BOSNIAN SERB ACTION IN SREBRENICA, AND WRITES: "ON SUCH OCCASIONS, WHEN IT IS CLEAR THAT EACH OF THE WARRING PARTIES WANTS NOT ONLY TO BE QUICKER THAN THE OTHER, BUT ALSO TO ANTICIPATE ANY NEW ACTIONS OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY, EVERY ATTACK ON UNPROFOR OR MESSAGE TO BOUTROS GHALI TO USE 'ALL AVAILABLE MEANS' SOUNDS

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CYNICAL."

8. LOGAR CONTINUES: "ONE SHOULD, HOWEVER, ADMIT THAT THERE IS NOBODY, EITHER IN B-H OR KRAJINA, WHO IS READY TO NEGOTIATE, PARTICULARLY NOT WITHOUT EVER INCREASING CONDITIONS. WAR IS THEIR OPTION, AND THE

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	BIB-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	CIP-01
	COME-00	CTME-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	EB-01
	FBIE-00	FCC-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08	LAB-01
	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02
	OMB-01	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00
	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	PMB-00	PRME-01	PRMC-01	DRL-09
	G-00	/036W					

-----DAODDC 171141Z /38

O 171137Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0360
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 6492

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USIA
USIA FOR R/MR, I/GEU, B/VOA/ES, INFO EEN (KRAUSE);

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SECSTATE FOR EUR/SCE, EUR/PA, PA

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: ECPS SCUL, PGOV, PHUM, ETTC, SR, MW
SUBJECT: BOSNIA MEDIA REACTION -- THE RECENT FALL
OF SREBRENICA AND THE WESTERN POLICY IN BOSNIA

ONLY QUESTION NOW IS HOW THE WORLD COMMUNITY WILL
RESPOND -- BY RESPECTING THE CURRENT WARTIME
DIVISIONS OF THE TERRITORIES (WILLY CLAES), COUPLED
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WITH A MAXIMAL EFFORT IN NEGOTIATIONS, OR WITH A
DIRECT WAR. CONTINUATION OF THE WAR, WITH MANY
PARTIES INVOLVED, SEEMS INEVITABLE."
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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	BIB-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	CIP-01
	COME-00	CTME-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	EB-01
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	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02
	OMB-01	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00
	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	PMB-00	PRME-01	PRMC-01	DRL-09
	G-00	/036W					

-----D9CBAC 150854Z /38

O 150853Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0355
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 6472

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USIA

USIA FOR R/MR, INFO EEN (KRAUSE), B/VOA/ES, I/GEU;
SECSTATE FOR EUR/SCE, EUR/PA, PA

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: ECPS, SCUL, PGOV, PHUM, ETTC, SR, MW
SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION - THE ROLE OF UNPROFOR AFTER
THE SREBRENICA CRISIS

1. INDEPENDENT BELGRADE WEEKLY "NIN" (JULY 14)
CARRIES AN EDITORIAL BY FOREIGN EDITOR DRAGOSLAV
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RANCIC ON UNPROFOR'S ROLE IN B-H.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 10 MAR 2009 200705105

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2. RANCIC STRESSES: "IN THE EYE OF THE INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC, SREBRENICA WAS THE LAST DROP IN A CUP FULL OF BITTERNESS. THE QUESTION, HOWEVER, IS WHAT IS NOW LEFT OF THE UN CONCEPT ON PROTECTED ZONES, AS WELL AS OF UNPROFOR'S REPUTATION. THERE ARE ASSESSMENTS THAT UNPROFOR, UNABLE TO PROTECT EITHER PEACE OR ITSELF, HAS ONCE AGAIN BEEN GRAVELY HUMILIATED. ONCE AGAIN, PUNISHMENT WAS CHOSEN FOR THE BOSNIAN SERBS, BUT IT HAS NOT BROUGHT EITHER PEACE OR A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OF THE CRISIS ANY CLOSER."

3. RANCIC CONTINUES: "FOR MORE THAN A YEAR, THERE HAS BEEN NO CHANCE THAT THE WARRING PARTIES IN BOSNIA MIGHT BE BROUGHT TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. MORE AND MORE CONDITIONS AND HYPOTHETICAL CONCEPTS OF THE SITUATION HAVE BEEN OFFERED, AND THE SETTLEMENT HAS NEVER BEEN IN SIGHT. INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMATIC ACTIONS, WITH EACH NEW APPOINTMENT OF A HIGH UN OR EU OFFICIAL, HAVE BOILED DOWN TO NOTHING MORE THAN A NEW TAKING OF THE PULSE BOTH OF THE WARRING PARTIES AND THE BIG POWERS. EACH NEW PLAN OR NEW PROPOSAL USUALLY BECAME JUST A SERIOUS WARNING OR A NEW THREAT USUALLY AIMED AT THE BOSNIAN SERBS."

4. RANCIC SPECULATES ON WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF UNPROFOR WITHDREW FROM BOSNIA, AND COMMENTS: "POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES WOULD BE BOTH WIDE AND DEEP. BY WITHDRAWING UNPROFOR, THE UN WOULD CONFIRM THAT IT
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WAS UNABLE TO SOLVE COMPLEX REGIONAL CONFLICTS, AND MIGHT BE SERIOUSLY POLITICALLY DISCREDITED. WHATEVER THE U.S. INTENTIONS ARE, IT IS CLEAR THAT IF THE UN FORCES LEFT, THE ARM EMBARGO WOULD BE LIFTED FOR THE MUSLIMS. PEACE WOULD BE EVEN MORE DISTANT THAN IT IS NOW, AND THERE WOULD BE NO HOPE FOR A NEW PEACE MISSION AT ALL. THERE ARE PROGNOSSES THAT IN THAT CASE THE WAR WOULD LAST FOR A WHOLE DECADE, UNTIL TOTAL EXHAUSTION SETS IN."

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5. RANCIC CONCLUDES: "IT IS SOMETIMES BAD WITH UNPROFOR, BUT THERE IS NOTHING BETTER IN SIGHT. WHEN THEY THREATEN US WITH UNPROFOR'S WITHDRAWAL, THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE BIG POWERS ARE GIVING US A LECTURE THAT A PROLONGED WAR WOULD BE EVEN MORE BLOODY AND THE CHANCE FOR FINDING SOME NEW PEACE MAKERS WOULD NOT EVEN EXIST. SO, THE WARRING PARTIES WOULD HAVE AT THEIR DISPOSAL ONLY THE ARMS SELLERS AND THE 'DOGS OF WAR'."

6. THE INDEPENDENT, CENTRIST BELGRADE DAILY "NASA BORBA" CARRIES AN ARTICLE JULY 14 BY BRUSSELS CORRESPONDENT MIRKO KLARIN, WHO REPORTS ON EU AND NATO REACTIONS TO THE LATEST BOSNIAN SERB TAKEOVER OF THE PROTECTED MUSLIM ENCLAVE OF SREBRENICA AND ANALYZES THE FUTURE OF UNPROFOR IN BOSNIA.

7. KLARIN WRITES: "PASSING A JUDGMENT AS HAS THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF NATO THAT 'SREBRENICA HAS BEEN DEFINITELY LOST,' WILLY CLAES Poured A BUCKET OF COLD WATER ON THE HEATED RHETORIC OF FRENCH

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PRESIDENT JACQUES CHIRAC AND HIS PRIME MINISTER JUPPE. THE UNSC RESOLUTION BY WHICH BOUTROS GHALI HAS BEEN AUTHORIZED TO USE 'ALL AVAILABLE MEANS' TO REINSTATE THE 'PROTECTED' STATUS OF SREBRENICA, MOSTLY PROVOKED SKEPTICAL COMMENTARIES IN TRANS-ATLANTIC DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY CIRCLES."

8. KLARIN STRESSES: "THERE ARE ANALYSES AMONG THE EUROPEANS ABOUT THE FALL OF SREBRENICA, WHICH ARE BASED ON TWO, BY APPEARANCE PARADOXICAL, CONCLUSIONS. THE FIRST ONE IS THAT MLADIC'S 'BLITZKRIEG' AT SREBRENICA IS THE SIGN OF HIS ARMY'S WEAKNESS, RATHER THAN THE SIGN OF ITS STRENGTH. THE SOLDIERS WHO ARE HOLDING THE ENCIRCLEMENT AROUND THE EASTERN ENCLAVES ARE NECESSARY TO MLADIC ON SOME OTHER, MORE IMPORTANT FRONTS, PARTICULARLY AROUND SARAJEVO. HE ALSO NEEDED ANY KIND OF VICTORY TO RAISE HIS TROOPS' MORALE AND PROVE TO THEM THAT THEY HAVE THE INITIATIVE.

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SREBRENICA WAS THE 'EASIEST MORSEL,' AND THAT IS WHY IT WAS CHOSEN."

9. KLARIN CONTINUES: "SECONDLY, NOTWITHSTANDING THEIR HUMANITARIAN SIGNIFICANCE, THE EASTERN ENCLAVES HAVE BEEN 'AN ALBATROSS AROUND THE NECK' OF THE

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	BIB-01	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	CIP-01
	COME-00	CTME-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	EB-01
	FBIE-00	FCC-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08	LAB-01
	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NRRC-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02
	OMB-01	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00
	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	PMB-00	PRME-01	PRMC-01	DRL-09
	G-00	/036W					

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O 150853Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0356
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 6473

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 BELGRADE 003422

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USIA FOR R/MR, INFO EEN (KRAUSE), B/VOA/ES, I/GEU;
SECSTATE FOR EUR/SCE, EUR/PA, PA

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: ECPS, SCUL, PGOV, PHUM, ETTT, SR, MW

SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION - THE ROLE OF UNPROFOR AFTER
THE SREBRENICA CRISIS

BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT FORCES, AS WELL AS OF UNPROFOR.
THE FEAR OF POSSIBLE BOSNIAN SERB RETALIATION AGAINST
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PAGE 02 BELGRA 03422 02 OF 02 150854Z
THE ENCLAVES WAS A BINDING AND RESTRAINING FACTOR FOR
THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT FORCES' ACTIONS, WHILE FEW AND
DISPERSED 'BLUE HELMETS' WERE EXPOSED TO BOSNIAN SERB
ATTACKS. IN SHORT, THE LOSS OF SREBRENICA AND
POSSIBLE 'SACRIFICE OF ZEPA' MIGHT CONTRIBUTE TO A
BETTER PROTECTED 'BOSNIAN CORE' -- SARAJEVO, TUZLA,
BIHAC, AND PERHAPS EVEN GORAZDE."

10. KLARIN CONCLUDES: "CONCENTRATED ON A RELATIVELY
COMPACT AREA, STRENGTHENED BY THE RRF, SUPPLIED WITH
A BIG MOBILITY AND FIRE POWER, SAFE FROM BEING
CAPTURED OR BLACKMAILED, UNPROFOR WILL BE TAKING ITS
FINAL EXAM IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS. IF IT FAILS, THE
ONLY THING LEFT FOR IT WILL BE ITS WITHDRAWAL."
SEIDENSTRICKER

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ACTION EAP-01

INFO LOG-00 CIAE-00 OASY-00 DODE-00 TEDE-00 INR-00 ADS-00
NSAE-00 PA-02 PM-00 PRS-01 SP-00 SSO-00 SS-00
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O 291100Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY BANDAR SERI BEGAWAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4847
USIA WASHDC 0556
INFO ASEAN REGIONAL FORUM COLLECTIVE
USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI

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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 04 BANDAR SERI BEGAWAN 000807

STATE FOR EAP/PIMBS; EAP/P; EAP/RSP
ALSO FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY ATTN: WINSTON LORD
USCINCPAC FOR POLAD-AMB SALMON
USCINCPAC FOR USIA PUBLIC AFFAIRS ADVISER
USIA FOR EA, R, R/MR, I, I/RFW, I/GEA, I/TES
B/VOA/F

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: MARR, PREL, ASEAN, ARF, BX
SUBJECT: MEDIA REPORTS

1. THE SATURDAY/SUNDAY EDITION OF THE BORNEO
BULLETIN CARRIED REPORTS ON THE SPRATLYS,
VIETNAM'S ENTRY INTO ASEAN, AND ASEAN FOREIGN
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PAGE 02 BANDAR 00807 01 OF 04 291101Z
MINISTERS' STATEMENTS ON THE BOSNIAN ARMS

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 10 MAR 2009 200705105

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ISSUE.

FULL TEXT OF ALL ARTICLES FOLLOWS:

2. ASEAN CALMS DOWN THE SPRATLYS SPAT (FRONT PAGE)

PRINCE MOHAMED SPEAKS OF THE POSITIVE MOVES

BY IGNATIUS STEPHEN

ASEAN HAS SCORED A TRIUMPH THROUGH DIALOGUE AND CONSULTATION IN ITS ATTEMPT TO SOLVE THE SOUTH CHINA SEA DISPUTE, BRUNEI'S FOREIGN MINISTER, HRH PRINCE MOHAMED BOLKIAH SAID YESTERDAY.

THE PRINCE WHO IS ALSO THE CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE ASEAN MINISTERIAL MEETING, IN AN EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH TNE WEEKEND SAID, "I AM PLEASED TO NOTE THAT MOST OF THE SPRATLYS CLAIMANTS HAVE FOLLOWED THE 1982 MANILA DECLARATION IN SOLVING THE DISPUTE THROUGH DIALOGUE AND PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS."

THE PRINCE ALSO SAID THAT THE ASEAN REGIONAL FORUM IS IN ITS EARLY STAGES AND THE WHOLE IDEA IS TO BUILD UP CONFIDENCE TO BEGIN WITH. "THE QUESTION OF RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT IS TO COME LATER," HE ADDED.

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THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID THIS WHEN ASKED WHETHER HE AGREED THAT THROUGH THE EFFORTS OF ASEAN DIPLOMACY DURING HIS CHAIRMANSHIP, THAT THE POTENTIALLY EXPLOSIVE SOUTH CHINA SEA QUESTION PARTICULARLY THE SPRATLYS, HAS QUIETENED DOWN RECENTLY.

HE SAID SO FAR THE REACTION TO THE ASEAN REGIONAL FORUM (ARF) HAS BEEN VERY POSITIVE.

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"BUT THERE ARE SOME COUNTRIES WHO WANT TO GO FAST AND SOME AT A SLOWER PACE. BUT ON THE WHOLE THINGS ARE MOVING IN A SATISFACTORY WAY," THE FOREIGN MINISTER ADDED.

HE SAID HE FORESAW A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF A ONE-DAY MEETING ON TUESDAY UNDER HIS CHAIRMANSHIP.

ASKED TO COMMENT ON HIS STEWARDSHIP OF ASEAN DURING THE PAST ONE YEAR, DURING WHICH MAJOR EVENTS TOOK PLACE, FOR EXAMPLE THE ADMISSION OF VIETNAM, AND THE FREEING OF MYANMAR'S FAMOUS POLITICAL PRISONER AUNG SAN SUU KYI, THE PRINCE UNDERSCORED ASEAN'S SPIRIT OF CONSENSUS AND UNDERSTANDING AND RESPECT FOR EACH OTHER'S VIEWS.

HE SAID, NOT ONLY AT S.E. ASIA BUT ALL OVER THE WORLD A CLIMATE OF DIALOGUE AND CO-
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OPERATION HAS BECOME THE BASIS OF SETTLING DIFFERENCES.

HE, LIKE OTHER ASEAN MEMBERS FIRMLY BELIEVED THAT DIALOGUE IS THE BEST WAY TO SOLVE PROBLEMS.

MEANWHILE SOURCES AT THE SENIOR OFFICIALS MEETING SAID THAT WHEN INDONESIANS BRIEFED MEMBERS ON THEIR FOREIGN MINISTER'S VISIT TO BEIJING, CHINA IS UNDERSTOOD TO HAVE SAID THAT IT WAS WILLING TO SHELVE THE ISSUE OF SOVEREIGNTY OVER SOUTH CHINA SEA.

IT WOULD SUPPORT VARIOUS JOINT DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS INCLUDING, THOSE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF JAKARTA SPONSORED WORKSHOP, THEY ADDED.

CHINA WAS WILLING TO SETTLE THE PROBLEM

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THROUGH PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS, BASED ON
INTERNATIONAL LAW, INCLUDING THE 1982 UN

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ACTION EAP-01

INFO LOG-00 CIAE-00 OASY-00 DODE-00 TEDE-00 INR-00 ADS-00
NSAE-00 PA-02 PM-00 PRS-01 SP-00 SSO-00 SS-00
PMB-00 /004W

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O 291100Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY BANDAR SERI BEGAWAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4848
USIA WASHDC 0557
INFO ASEAN REGIONAL FORUM COLLECTIVE
USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 04 BANDAR SERI BEGAWAN 00807

STATE FOR EAP/PIMBS; EAP/P; EAP/RSP
ALSO FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY ATTN: WINSTON LORD
USCINCPAC FOR POLAD-AMB SALMON
USCINCPAC FOR USIA PUBLIC AFFAIRS ADVISER

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USIA FOR EA, R, R/MR, I, I/RFW, I/GEA, I/TES
B/VOA/F

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: MARR, PREL, ASEAN, ARF, BX
SUBJECT: MEDIA REPORTS

CONVENTION ON LAW OF THE SEA, THE INDONESIANS
HAVE REPORTEDLY TOLD THEIR ASEAN COUNTERPARTS.

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PAGE 02 BANDAR 00807 02 OF 04 291101Z
3. ASEAN WELCOMES VIETNAM (FRONT PAGE)

FORMER ADVERSARY ACCEPTED WITH OPEN ARMS

BY MALAI HASSAN OTHMAN

VIETNAM'S ENTRY INTO ASEAN FOLD YESTERDAY
TAKES THE REGIONAL GROUPING A STEP CLOSER TO
REALIZING ITS VISION OF A COMMUNITY OF THE
SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS BY 21ST CENTURY.

THIS WAS STATED BY ASEAN FOREIGN MINISTERS
YESTERDAY AT A SOLEMN CEREMONY TO MARK THE
INDUCTION OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM
TO ASEAN. THEY DELIVERED STATEMENTS SOON AFTER
VIETNAM'S FOREIGN MINISTER NGUYEN MANH CAM
SEALED HIS COUNTRY'S MEMBERSHIP IN ASEAN.

VIETNAM'S ADMISSION TO ASEAN IS OF SPECIAL
SIGNIFICANCE TO THE GROUPING AND WILL BE THE
FORERUNNER OF A STRONG AND UNITED SOUTHEAST
ASIA IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE, REMARKED HIS
ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE MOHAMED BOLKIAH, BRUNEI
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

VIETNAM, HAS MUCH TO CONTRIBUTE ASEAN
DELIBERATIONS. ITS STRATEGIC LOCATION IN
SOUTHEAST ASIA NOT ONLY MEANS EXPANDED
TERRITORY BUT ALSO A BIGGER MARKET FOR THE
GROUPING, HE ADDED.

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INDONESIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ALI ALATAS, IN HIS
STATEMENT REITERATED INDONESIA'S DREAM OF
NAVING ONE SOUTHEAST ASIA AND ASEAN'S EFFORTS
TO ACHIEVE THAT GOAL.

MALAYSIA'S FOREIGN MINISTER, IN HIS STATEMENT,
SAID VIETNAM'S ENTRY IS A MOMENT TO CELEBRATE
AS ASEAN IS NOW ONE STEP CLOSER TO FULFILLING
THE VISION OF THE FOUNDING FATHERS OF ASEAN
THAT THE GROUPING SHOULD ONE DAY COMPRISE ALL
OF TNE SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES.

VIETNAM'S ENTRY WILL MEAN STRONGER ASEAN AND A
STRONGER ASEAN WOULD BE A POSITIVE FACTOR FOR
PEACE, STABILITY AND PROSPERITY OF THE WIDER
ASIA PACIFIC WHICH FORMS THE IMMEDIATE OUTER
ENVIRONMENT OF THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN SUB-REGION,
NE ADDED.

THAILAND FOREIGN MINISTER KASEM S. KASEMSRI IN
HIS STATEMENT POINTED OUT TNAT HIS COUNTRY HAS
LONG RECOGNIZED THAT ASEAN WOULD NOT BE
COMPLETE AS LONG AS THERE REMAINS A COUNTRY IN
SOUTHEAST ASIA THAT IS NOT YET A MEMBER.
WITH VIETNAM AS OUR LATEST ADDITION, ASEAN
STANDS TO BECOME STRONGER AND MORE DYNAMIC.
VIETNAM CAN NOW JOIN IN OUR COMMON EFFORTS TO
MAINTAIN AND PROMOTE PEACE, STABILITY AND
PROSPERITY IN OUR REGION, HE ADDED.

VIETNAM'S ENTRY TO ASEAN IS ALSO A GIANT
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MILESTONE ON THE ROAD CARVED OUT 28 YEARS AGO
BY ASEAN'S FOUNDING FATHERS TOWARDS A
COMMUNITY OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS, SAID
PHILIPPINE'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS SECRETARY DOMINGO
L. SAIZON.

SINGAPORE'S FOREIGN MINISTER PROFESSOR S.
JAYAKUMA SAID VIETNAM'S ENTRY OPENS THE NEXT
CHAPTER TO THE REALIZATION OF THE 1967 VISION.

WITH VIETNAM, ASEAN NOW HAS A MARKET OF 420
MILLION CONSUMERS. THIS LARGER ASEAN MARKET
WILL PROVIDE OPPORTUNITIES FOR ENHANCED INTRA-
ASEAN ECONOMIC COOPERATION, THE MINISTER
ADDED.

VIETNAM'S FOREIGN MINISTER NYUYEN MANH CAM
SAID HANOI WILL TRY HER BEST TO IMPLEMENT AN
OPEN FOREIGN POLICY OF DIVERSIFICATION AND
MULTILATERALISATION.

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ACTION EAP-01

INFO LOG-00 CIAE-00 OASY-00 DODE-00 TEDE-00 INR-00 ADS-00
NSAE-00 PA-02 PM-00 PRS-01 SP-00 SSO-00 SS-00
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O 291100Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY BANDAR SERI BEGAWAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4849
USIA WASHDC 0558
INFO ASEAN REGIONAL FORUM COLLECTIVE
USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI

UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 04 BANDAR SERI BEGAWAN 000807

STATE FOR EAP/PIMBS; EAP/P; EAP/RSP
ALSO FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY ATTN: WINSTON LORD
USCINCPAC FOR POLAD-AMB SALMON
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USIA FOR EA, R, R/MR, I, I/RFW, I/GEA, I/TES
B/VOA/F

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: MARR, PREL, ASEAN, ARF, BX
SUBJECT: MEDIA REPORTS

VIETNAM WISHES TO BEFRIEND ALL COUNTRIES IN
THE WORLD COMMUNITY, STRIVING FOR PEACE,
INDEPENDENCE AND DEVELOPMENT, HE ADDED.

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4. ASEAN SUPPORTS BOSNIA ARMS (PAGE THREE)

BY MALAI HASSAN OTHMAN

ASEAN FOREIGN MINISTERS YESTERDAY ISSUED A
STATEMENT CONDEMNING BOSNIAN SERB AGGRESSION
AND CALLED FOR THE LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO
IMPOSED ON BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA.

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THE FOREIGN MINISTERS SAID THEY CONDEMNED THE SEIZURE OF THE UNITED NATIONS SAFE AREAS OF SREBRENICA AND ZEPA BY THE BOSNIAN SERB FORCES AND THEIR ATTACKS ON THE SAFE AREAS OF BIHAC, GORAZDE AND SARAJEVO.

THEY ALSO SAID THAT THEY SUPPORT ALL INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO PUT A STOP TO THE CONTINUING AGGRESSION, THE STRANGULATION OF THE UN SAFE AREAS, ETHNIC CLEANSING AND GENOCIDE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA BY THE BOSNIAN SERB FORCES.

THE FOREIGN MINISTERS CALLED UPON THE UNITED NATIONS, IN PARTICULAR THE SECURITY COUNCIL, TO AUTHORIZE UNPROFOR TO USE ALL NECESSARY MEASURES TO PROTECT THE UN SAFE AREAS. THEY ALSO CALLED ON THE UN AND NATO TO PROTECT, DEFEND AND SECURE THE LIFELINES TO ALL UN SAFE AREAS, PARTICULARLY SARAJEVO.

ON THE RIGHT OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA TO DEFEND
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ITSELF, THE FOREIGN MINISTERS SAID THEY ACCEPT THE LEGITIMATE RIGHT OF THE COUNTRY TO REQUEST AND RECEIVE MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND THEREFORE SUPPORT THE LIFTING OF THE UN ARMS EMBARGO IMPOSED ON BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA.

THE FOREIGN MINISTERS ALSO EXPRESSED THEIR REGRET AT THE FAILURE OF THE US SECURITY COUNCIL TO FIND A JUST AND DURABLE SETTLEMENT AND CALLED UPON THE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO BRING AN END TO THE TRAGEDY AND ACHIEVE PEACE IN BOSNIA.

THE JOINT-STATEMENT ANNOUNCING THE STRONG STAND ASEAN IS TAKING ON BOSNIA WAS ISSUED ON THE SAME DAY VIETNAM ENTERS THE GROUP
ING AS
THE SEVENTH MEMBER.

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IT WAS ALSO ISSUED AMID MALAYSIA PRIME MINISTER MAMATHIR MOHAMMAD'S CALLS FOR THE SACKING OF UN SECRETARY-GENERAL, BOUTROS-GHALI; AND HIS COUNTRY'S WILLINGNESS TO SUPPLY ARMS TO BOSNIA.

DR. MOHAMMED ON WEDNESDAY HAD CHALLENGED THE WEST TO IMPOSE SANCTIONS ON MALAYSIA FOR OFFERING TO SELL ARMS TO BOSNIAN MUSLIM FORCES.

"IT APPEARS THAT THE WEST DOES NOT LIKE THE
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TRUTH TO BE HEARD OVER THE BOSNIAN ISSUE
THAT'S WHY THEY ARE THINKING OF SANCTIONS
AGAINST US, "MAHATHIR SAID IN A DPA REPORT,
STRESSING THAT ANY SUCH MOVE BY THE WEST WOULD
BE TANTAMOUNT TO CURBING A NATION'S RIGHT TO
SUPPORT A HUMANITARIAN CAUSE IN WHICH THE
UNITED NATIONS HAS MISERABLY FAILED.

THE MALAYSIAN MOVE HAS THE FULL BACKING OF THE
CABINET AND KUALA LUMPUR WOULD FIRST CONSULT
THE ORGANIZATION OF ISLAMIC CONFERENCE BEFORE
CARRYING OUT ANY SUCH SALES.

THE MALAYSIAN DECISION HAS BEEN STRONGLY
OPPOSED BY THE UNITED STATES WHICH CHARGED
THAT ANY SUCH SALES WOULD DEFY THE UN ARMS
EMBAGO AND WOULD WIDEN THE WAR IN THE BACKYARD
OF EUROPE.

5. THE INDO-CHINA LINK (PAGE 19)

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ACTION EAP-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	TEDE-00	INR-00	ADS-00
	NSAE-00	PA-02	PM-00	PRS-01	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00
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FM AMEMBASSY BANDAR SERI BEGAWAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4850
USIA WASHDC 0559
INFO ASEAN REGIONAL FORUM COLLECTIVE
USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI

UNCLAS SECTION 04 OF 04 BANDAR SERI BEGAWAN 000807

STATE FOR EAP/PIMBS; EAP/P; EAP/RSP
ALSO FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY ATTN: WINSTON LORD
USCINCPAC FOR POLAD-AMB SALMON
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B/VOA/F

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: MARR, PREL, ASEAN, ARF, BX
SUBJECT: MEDIA REPORTS

TURNING POINT FOR THE ASEAN

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BY A DPA CORRESPONDENT

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COMMUNIST VIETNAM MADE HISTORY FRIDAY WHEN IT WAS ADMITTED AS A MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH-EAST ASIAN NATIONS (ASEAN), MAKING IT THE SEVENTH MEMBER OF THE GROUP.

VIETNAM'S ENTRY WAS DESCRIBED AS A "GREAT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC VICTORY" FOR ASEAN, AN ORGANIZATION WHICH UNTIL FRIDAY BROUGHT TOGETHER SIX NATIONS WITH MARKET-BASED ECONOMIES.

ASEAN NOW HAS FORMALLY LINKED UP WITH THE INDO-CHINESE STATES.

VIETNAMESE FOREIGN MINISTER NGUYEN MANH CAM SAID HIS COUNTRY WAS PROUD TO CREATE HISTORY IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA BY JOINING ASEAN.

"AFTER MANY YEARS OF WAR, WE HAVE NOW EARNED THE CONFIDENCE OF FRIENDS IN OUR NEIGHBORHOOD WHO WILL JOINTLY HELP CHART... THE COURSE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN OUR COUNTRY," MANH CAM SAID.

VIETNAM'S ADMISSION ENDS ABOUT 20 YEARS OF STRAINED TIES WITH THE ASEAN STATES WHICH INITIALLY INCLUDED THAILAND, MALAYSIA, SINGAPORE, INDONESIA AND THE PHILIPPINES.

THE RIFT BETWEEN HANOI AND ASEAN BEGAN WHEN VIETNAMESE TROOPS INVADED CAMBODIA IN 1978.

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BUT THIS TURNED TO PROCESS OF NORMALIZATION IN 1989 AFTER HANOI WITHDREW ITS TROOPS. AFTER THE COLLAPSE OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION AND THE SIGNING OF THE 1991 PARIS PEACE ACCORDS, VIETNAM BEGAN ITS JOURNEY ALONG THE ROAD TO JOINING ASEAN.

BEFORE THE UNITED STATES WAS ROUTED IN SOUTH VLETNAM IN 1975, HANOI JOINTLY WITH CHINA USED TO CALL ASEAN AN "AMERICAN LACKEY, A RUNNING DOG OF THE BRITISH, A STOOGUE OF THE IMPERIALISTS SOON TO BE DUMPED INTO THE RUBBISH HEAP OF HISTORY."

BUT VIETNAM'S NEW POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DIRECTION TODAY IS SET TO BRING THE ENTIRE INDO-CHINESE STATES INTO THE ASEAN OLD WITH MYANMAR TAKING THE FIRST STEP ON THE ROAD TO FULL MEMBERSHIP WHEN IT FORMALLY ACCEDED THURSDAY TO THE ASEAN TREATY OF AMITY AND CO-OPERATION.

BURMESE FOREIGN MINISTER OHN GYAW, WHO ARRIVED IN BRUNEI THURSDAY, PRESENTED TO BRUNEI'S FOREIGN MINISTER PRINCE MOHAMED BOLKIAH YANGON'S FORMAL ACCEPTANCE OF ADMISSION TO THE TREATY.

ANOTHER CEREMONY WILL BE HELD LATER FRIDAY TO CONFER FULL OBSERVER STATUS ON CAMBODIA, WHICH PLANS SOON TO JOIN THE TREATY OF AMITY.

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LAOTIAN FOREIGN MINISTER SONGSAVAT LENGSAVAD INDICATED THAT VIENTIANE'S MEMBERSHIP PLANS WILL BE FINALIZED AFTER HE MEETS THE ASEAN FOREIGN MINISTERS ON A BILATERAL BASIS.

ASEAN WAS FORMED IN 1967 STRICTLY AS AN

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ECONOMIC GROUPING OF FIVE NATIONS. IN 1984 THE
OIL-RICH SULTANATE OF BRUNEI WAS ADMITTED AS
THE SIXTH MEMBER.

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	PM-00	PRS-01	SP-00	PMB-00	/016R		

DRAFTED BY: EUR/PA: MEROBINSON
APPROVED BY: EUR/PA: ARSCHWAN
PA/PRESS (INFO): PAYOUNG

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 FM SECSTATE WASHDC
 TO AMEMBASSY ALMATY IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY BAKU IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY BRATISLAVA IMMEDIATE
 EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY KIEV IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY LJUBLJANA IMMEDIATE
 AMCONSUL MARSEILLE IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY MINSK IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY RIGA IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY SARAJEVO IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY TALLINN IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY TASHKENT IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY TBILISI IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY VILNIUS IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY YEREVAN IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY ZAGREB IMMEDIATE
 INFO UNCLASSIFIED

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: FRANK H PEREZ
DATE/CASE ID: 13 MAR 2009 200705105

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UNCLAS STATE 181094

PLEASE PASS TO ALL PAOS USIA PLEASE PASS TO EU

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OPRC

SUBJECT: EUR DAILY PRESS GUIDANCE - JULY 28, 1995

PARIS ALSO FOR USOECD, ROME ALSO FOR VATICAN, USVIENNA FOR USDEL
CSCE

1. THE FOLLOWING PRESS GUIDANCE WAS PREPARED AND APPROVED BY THE BUREAU OF EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING. QUESTIONS SHOULD BE REFERRED TO ARIC SCHWAN, EUR PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

2. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: NEW APPROACH

-- FOLLOWING INTENSIVE WORK BY NATO AUTHORITIES, NATO APPROVED THE NECESSARY PLANNING TO ENSURE THAT NATO AIRPOWER WOULD BE USED IN A TIMELY AND EFFECTIVE WAY SHOULD THE BOSNIAN SERBS THREATEN OR ATTACK GORAZDE.

-- THE NATO DECISIONS DEALT SPECIFICALLY WITH GORAZDE, BUT SOME ASPECTS OF THE PLANNING CAN BE APPLIED TO OTHER SAFE AREAS. THAT IS OUR INTENT, AND OUR DESIRE. NATO MILITARY
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AUTHORITIES HAVE BEEN FOLLOWING CLOSELY DEVELOPMENTS IN THE OTHER SAFE AREAS, AND ARE FORMULATING PROPOSALS ON PROTECTING THEM, PARTICULARLY THE AREA AROUND BIHAC.

-- UN SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI HAS GIVEN HIS FULL SUPPORT TO THIS EFFORT BY DELEGATING THE AUTHORITY FOR AIR STRIKES TO HIS SENIOR MILITARY COMMANDER. THE NEW COMMAND AND CONTROL PROCEDURES PROVIDES FOR A

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MORE ROBUST AND STREAMLINED RESPONSE TO SERB
PROVOCATIONS.

3. BOSNIA/CROATIA: CONTACT GROUP

- Q: WHAT IS THE LATEST ON CONTACT GROUP EFFORTS?
- A: -- THE CONTACT GROUP OFFER OF SANCTIONS RELIEF FOR SERBIA IN EXCHANGE FOR RECOGNITION OF BOSNIA AND TIGHTER BORDER CONTROL REMAINS ON THE TABLE.
- RECENT SERB OFFENSIVES ON THE BATTLEFIELD HAVE MADE PROGRESS ON THE DIPLOMATIC FRONT MORE DIFFICULT.
- NEVERTHELESS, THE CONTACT GROUP REVIEWED THE NEGOTIATIONS OF EU ENVOY CARL BILDT WITH THE SERBIAN AND BOSNIAN GOVERNMENTS ON MUTUAL
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RECOGNITION, BORDER CONTROL, AND POSSIBLE
SANCTIONS RELIEF.

- WE EXPECT THE GROUP WILL ULTIMATELY ACHIEVE ITS DESIRED RESULT -- PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AMONG THE PARTIES BASED ON ACCEPTANCE OF THE CONTACT GROUP PLAN.
- AT THIS POINT, HOWEVER, A PACKAGE ACCEPTABLE TO SARAJEVO, BELGRADE, AND THE CONTACT GROUP REMAINS ELUSIVE.
- THE CENTRAL PROBLEM IS TO CREATE GUARANTEES THAT BELGRADE'S PLEDGED CUT-OFF OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS ENDURES IN PRACTICE.
- CARL BILDT AND SOME EUROPEAN REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE IN WASHINGTON NEXT WEEK FOR MORE TALKS.

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4. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: CROATIAN INTERVENTION

- Q: WHAT ABOUT CROATIA'S INTERVENTION?
- A: -- CROATIAN FORCES HAVE INTERVENED IN BOSNIA AT THE SARAJEVO GOVERNMENT'S REQUEST IN AN ATTEMPT TO FORESTALL THE FALL OF THE BIHAC ENCLAVE AND TO COUNTER SERB ATTACKS ELSEWHERE IN BOSNIA.

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- PAGE 05 STATE 181094 282040Z
- WE ARE EXTREMELY CONCERNED ABOUT THE SITUATION IN BIHAC, WHICH IS UNDER SIEGE BY SERBS FROM CROATIA, AS WELL AS BY BOSNIAN SERBS AND RENEGADE MUSLIMS.
- NATO IS PREPARING A CONTINGENCY PLAN.

5. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: DOLE LEGISLATION

- THE ADMINISTRATION IS DISAPPOINTED BY THE SENATE'S PASSAGE OF THE DOLE-LIEBERMAN BILL. THE PRESIDENT WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE HIS OPPOSITION CLEAR TO CONGRESS AND HE IS PREPARED TO VETO ANY LEGISLATION REQUIRING UNILATERAL LIFT THE REACHES HIS DESK.
- THE SENATE MADE A STRONG STATEMENT ON WEDNESDAY TO THE ADMINISTRATION AND OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES THAT THE TIME HAS COME TO DO SOMETHING TO STEM THE BOSNIAN SERBS' FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF UN MANDATES AND RESOLUTIONS.
- WE BELIEVE WE HAVE TAKEN THE APPROPRIATE ACTIONS TO BOLSTER UN MANDATES. NATO'S NEW COMMAND AND CONTROL ARRANGEMENTS AND THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE RAPID REACTION FORCE TO

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SECURE ROUTES INTO SARAJEVO DEMONSTRATE OUR
DETERMINATION.

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- THE ADMINISTRATION CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT A MULTILATERAL LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO IS THE BEST WAY TO ALLOW THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT TO EXERCISE ITS RIGHT TO SELF-DEFENSE.

- WE REMAIN CONVINCED THAT UNILATERAL LIFT WOULD HINDER OUR EFFORTS TO END THE CONFLICT IN BOSNIA, WIDEN THE CONFLICT, INCREASE PRESSURES FOR DIRECT U.S. MILITARY SUPPORT TO THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT, DAMAGE RELATIONS WITH OUR ALLIES, AND RISK CONFRONTATION WITH RUSSIA AND SERBIA.

- BY PROVOKING AN UNPROFOR WITHDRAWAL, THE U.S. WOULD BE BLAMED FOR THE DETERIORATING MILITARY AND HUMANITARIAN SITUATION AND PLACE US UNDER GREAT PRESSURE TO INTERVENE TO STEM THE DETERIORATING SITUATION.

6. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: SITUATION REPORT

BIHAC:

- ACCORDING TO UN REPORTS, CROATIAN SERB TROOPS GAINED GROUND THURSDAY EVENING IN AN ADVANCE FROM THE WESTERN BORDER OF BIHAC. THE TROOPS HAVE HALTED JUST 2.5 MILES FROM THE MAIN UN BASE IN THE ENCLAVE.

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- THE CROATIAN ARMY BEGAN AN OFFENSIVE THURSDAY ON THE MAIN SUPPLY ROUTE CONNECTING CROATIAN AND BOSNIAN SERB-HELD TERRITORY. THE ATTACKS HAVE HALTED ALL TRAFFIC ON THE ROUTE AND UNHCR REPORTS THAT 5,000 BOSNIAN SERB CIVILIANS HAVE FLED THE AREA.
- UN MONITORS REPORT THAT THE CROATIAN ARMY HAS DEPLOYED AN ADDITIONAL 500 TROOPS TO BOOST ITS PRESENCE ON THE WESTERN BOSNIAN FRONT TO ROUGHLY 2,500 TROOPS.
- THE UN ANNOUNCED PLANS YESTERDAY TO POST PEACEKEEPERS ON THE CROATIAN-BOSNIAN BORDER, PROVIDED THAT THEY RECEIVE THE CONSENT OF THE WARRING SIDES. SO FAR, PEACEKEEPERS HAVE BEEN BLOCKED FROM THE COMBAT ZONES.
- A JOINT SERB OFFENSIVE HAS OVERRUN 38 SQUARE MILES IN BIHAC IN THE PAST WEEK, CAUSING 8,000 BOSNIANS TO FLEE THEIR HOMES.

PLANE IN BIHAC? IF ASKED; ON BACKGROUND

- THE UN REPORTS THAT A CARGO PLANE LANDED AT CORALICI (CORE-A-LEE-CHEE) AIRFILED IN BIHAC WEDNESDAY NIGHT, IN VIOLATION OF THE "NO-FLY" ZONE OVER BOSNIA. UN OFFICIALS SAY THAT THE PLANE BROUGHT SUPPLIES FOR GOVERNMENT TROOPS.
- WE HAVE NO INFORMATION ON THE ORIGINS OF THE
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AIRCRAFT, OR OF THE CONTENT OF ITS DELIVERY.

GORAZDE:

- THERE ARE NO REPORTS OF ACTIVITY IN GORAZDE,

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NOW THE SOLE REMAINING GOVERNMENT-HELD ENCLAVE
IN EASTERN BOSNIA.

- IN RESPONSE TO THE THREAT OF NATO AIR STRIKES,
BOSNIAN SERB LEADERS HAVE SAID THEY HAVE NO
PLANS TO ATTACK THE ENCLAVE IN THE NEAR FUTURE.
- THE UNHCR REPORTED THE SUCCESSFUL DELIVERY OF
TWO AID CONVOYS TO GORAZDE EARLIER THIS WEEK.

SARAJEVO:

- THREE AID CONVOYS SUCCESSFULLY COMPLETED
DELIVERIES TO SARAJEVO THIS WEEK, ACCORDING TO
UNHCR REPORTS.

SREBRENICA:

- UNHCR REPORTS THAT THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE FROM
THE FALLEN ENCLAVE REMAIN UNACCOUNTED FOR.
- DESPITE THE BOSNIAN SERBS' PLEDGE TO ALLOW
ICRC ACCESS TO THE DETAINEES AT BRATUNAC
(BRAH-TOO-NATZ), THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE NOT
YET PERMITTED ANY AID WORKERS TO VISIT THE MEN
AND BOYS.

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TUZLA:

- UNHCR REPORTS INDICATE THAT SOME 19,000
DISPLACED PERSONS REMAIN IN THE TUZLA AREA,
WITH ROUGHLY 6,800 SHELTERED AT THE UN AIRBASE
THERE.
- THE UNHCR REPORTED THE SUCCESSFUL DELIVERY OF
ONE AID CONVOY TO TUZLA EARLIER THIS WEEK.

ZEPA

- ALTHOUGH THERE ARE STILL POCKETS OF RESISTANCE

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IN ZEPA (ZEH-PAH), UN REPORTS THAT MOST OF THE ENCLAVE HAS FALLEN INTO BOSNIAN SERB HANDS.

- THE UNHCR REPORTS THAT ALMOST 3,000 EVACUEES FROM ZEPA HAVE BEEN PROCESSED THROUGH KLADANJ (KLAH-DAH-N-YAH), A BORDER TOWN IN GOVERNMENT-HELD TERRITORY. MANY HAVE ALREADY BEEN TRANSFERRED TO THE ZENICA AREA WHERE THEY ARE BEING CARED FOR BY THE COORDINATED EFFORTS OF UNPROFOR, UNHCR, THE INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE AND OTHERS.
- TWO UNHCR OFFICERS RECEIVED PERMISSION FROM THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY TO ENTER THE ENCLAVE TO MONITOR THE MOVEMENT OF THE EVACUEES. LATEST REPORTS INDICATE THAT THEY WERE AT A CHECKPOINT AT THE ENTRY TO ZEPA.

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- UN OFFICIALS HAVE SO FAR HEARD NO REPORTS OF ATROCITIES DURING THE EVACUATION.

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TAGS: OPRC

SUBJECT: EUR DAILY PRESS GUIDANCE - JULY 7, 1995

PARIS ALSO FOR USOECD, ROME ALSO FOR VATICAN, USVIENNA FOR USDEL
CSCE

1. THE FOLLOWING PRESS GUIDANCE WAS PREPARED AND APPROVED BY THE BUREAU OF EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING. QUESTIONS SHOULD BE REFERRED TO ARIC SCHWAN, EUR PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

2. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: FIGHTING UPDATE

Q: FIGHTING UPDATE?

A: -- WIDESPREAD FIGHTING WAS REPORTED ACROSS BOSNIA YESTERDAY, WITH A HEAVY TOLL IN CIVILIAN CASUALTIES.

-- SHELLING AND SNIPER FIRE IN SARAJEVO KILLED EIGHT AND WOUNDED THIRTEEN OTHERS. ONE FAMILY OF THREE, INCLUDING A SIX-YEAR-OLD GIRL, WAS
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KILLED BY A SHELL AS THEY LINED UP FOR WATER FROM A TRUCK.

-- IN SREBRENICA (SREH-BREH-NEET-SAH), SHELLING WAS THE HEAVIEST IN TWO YEARS. FIVE CIVILIANS WERE KILLED AND 19 WOUNDED. UN OFFICIALS CONFIRMED THAT SERB SHELLS FELL ON A REFUGEE CAMP IN SREBRENICA. THE DUTCH UN CONTINGENT THERE REPORTED NO CASUALTIES AMONG ITS OWN TROOPS; HOWEVER, SERBS CONTINUE TO BLOCK TROOP

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ROTATIONS FOR THE DUTCH BATTALION.

- ANOTHER EASTERN ENCLAVE, ZEPA (ZHE-PAH), HAD FIVE CIVILIANS WOUNDED, WHILE THE WESTERN BIHAC (BEE-HACH) ENCLAVE WAS HIT BY 105 SHELLS OVERNIGHT.

3. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: HUMANITARIAN UPDATE

Q: UPDATE ON HUMANITARIAN SITUATION AND CONVOY DELIVERIES?

- A: -- ONE FOOD CONVOY REACHED THE EASTERN ENCLAVE OF GORAZDE (GOR-AZH-DAY) ON THURSDAY, THE FIRST SINCE MAY 20.
- OVERALL, THE HUMANITARIAN SITUATION IN BOSNIA IS GETTING WORSE. THE LATEST UNHCR FIGURES SHOW THAT IN JUNE, SARAJEVO RECEIVED ONLY 1/15
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OF THE REQUIRED FOOD AID, OR 400 TONS. BIHAC RECEIVED ONLY 10 OF THE NEEDED AMOUNT, WHILE SREBRENICA RECEIVED 29 . UNHCR OFFICIALS ARE WORRIED ABOUT OBVIOUS SYMPTOMS OF MALNUTRITION AMONG BIHAC AND SREBRENICA RESIDENTS.

- WATER CONTINUES TO BE A WEAPON IN SARAJEVO. RESIDENTS CAN GET WATER FROM THE OLD BREWERY BETWEEN 7:00AM AND 7:00PM IF THEY EXPOSE THEMSELVES TO SERB FIRE EN ROUTE. THE TWO WATER PUMPS WHICH FRED CUNY HELPED TO BUILD OPERATE ONLY EVERY OTHER DAY. TWO OTHER WATER DISTRIBUTION POINTS WERE CLOSED BY THE GOVERNMENT DUE TO SERB SHELLING.

4. CROATIA

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- Q: UPDATE ON SITUATION IN CROATIA?
- A: -- NO NEW FIGHTING HAS BEEN REPORTED RECENTLY IN CROATIA. HOWEVER, THE U.S. IS DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT REPORTS THAT BOTH SIDES ARE ENGAGING IN A MILITARY BUILD-UP AS A POSSIBLE PRELUDE TO RENEWED FIGHTING.
- WE CALL ON THE PARTIES TO RETURN TO THE DIPLOMATIC TRACK AND AVOID YET ANOTHER BLOODY CHAPTER IN THIS PAINFUL PERIOD OF CROATIAN HISTORY.

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- UN FORCES ARE CURRENTLY DEPLOYED AS A BUFFER BETWEEN CROAT AND SERB FORCES. THE CURRENT MANDATE EXPIRES AT THE END OF NOVEMBER.
- THE U.S. AGAIN CALLS ON ALL SIDES IN CROATIA TO EXERCISE MAXIMUM RESTRAINT AND NOT EMBARK ON A MILITARY COURSE WHICH WILL INEVITABLY LEAD TO HIGH CIVILIAN CASUALTIES.
- WE CONTINUE TO SUPPORT A RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS LEADING TO A PEACEFUL REINTEGRATION OF THE KRAJINA REGION, WITH FULL RESPECT FOR THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF ALL RESIDENTS OF CROATIA.
- THE "ZAGREB FOUR" OR "Z-4" GROUP INCLUDING ENVOYS FROM THE U.S., RUSSIA, THE EU AND THE UN CONTINUES TO OFFER A DRAFT PLAN FOR A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN DISPUTED AREAS OF CROATIA, BASED ON SIGNIFICANT LOCAL AUTONOMY, CROATIAN TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AND HIGH STANDARDS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

5. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: RAPID REACTION FORCE: USG
POSITION ON MANDATE

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- Q. PLEASE COMMENT ON THE CLAIM BY UN MILITARY OFFICERS THAT THE RRF WILL OPERATE FORCEFULLY, UNCLASSIFIED

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WILL NOT BE SUBJECT TO A VETO BY AKASHI, AND WILL NOT BE "DUAL KEY?"

- A. -- WE WELCOME THE REPORTED STATEMENTS OF UN MILITARY OFFICERS, WHICH REFLECT OUR EXPECTATIONS FOR THE RRF. AS THE PRESIDENT HAS SAID, WE "CONTINUE TO SUPPORT A ROBUST RRF MISSION STATEMENT ..."
- WE EXPECT THAT DEPLOYMENT OF THE RRF WILL MARK A BREAK FROM "BUSINESS AS USUAL" FOR UNPROFOR IN BOSNIA. THIS WOULD MEAN THE USE OF PROPORTIONATE LEVELS OF FORCE IN APPROPRIATE CIRCUMSTANCES TO ENABLE UNPROFOR TO FULFILL ITS MANDATE AND TO DEFEND ITSELF.
- UNPROFOR, INCLUDING THE RRF, OPERATES WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF AN INTERNATIONAL EFFORT TO REACH A POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT IN BOSNIA.
- AT THE SAME TIME, COMMANDERS ON THE GROUND -- MILITARY EXPERTS IN THEIR OWN RIGHT -- ARE CAPABLE OF DECIDING HOW THE RRF CAN BEST BE UTILIZED AND HOW UNPROFOR CAN BEST IMPLEMENT ITS MANDATE.
- THE "DUAL-KEY" CONCEPT REFERS TO CLOSE UNPROFOR-NATO COORDINATION IN THE USE OF AIRPOWER OVER BOSNIA, AND APPLIES TO THE RRF AS IT DOES TO UNPROFOR AS A WHOLE.

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6. TURKISH INCURSION INTO NORTHERN IRAQ

- Q: CAN YOU GIVE US A READOUT ON TURKEY'S INCURSION INTO NORTHERN IRAQ? WAS THIS HOT PURSUIT?
- A: -- TURKISH OFFICIALS TOLD AMBASSADOR GROSSMAN THIS MORNING THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE INCURSION WAS TO PROTECT AGAINST A CROSS-BORDER ATTACK BY THE TERRORIST KURDISTAN WORKERS' PARTY (PKK). PKK ATTACKS ON JUNE 15 AND 21 HAD RESULTED IN 25 TURKISH CASUALTIES, AND TURKEY LEARNED THAT THE PKK WERE STAGING FOR ANOTHER CROSS-BORDER OPERATION.
- WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE GOT OPERATION INVOLVES 1,000-2,000 TROOPS, SUPPORTED BY AIR AND ARTILLERY UNITS, WHICH HAVE PENETRATED AS MUCH AS 6 KILOMETERS INTO NORTHERN IRAQ. CASUALTIES THUS FAR HAVE BEEN 90 PKK KILLED. WE HAVE NO WORD ON TURKISH LOSSES.
- THE GOT HAS ASSURED US THAT IT IS MAKING EVERY EFFORT TO MINIMIZE HARM TO CIVILIANS, INCLUDING USE OF FORWARD AIR CONTROLLERS AND VISUAL CONFIRMATION OF TARGETS.
- THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT HAS FURTHER STATED THAT TROOPS ARE NOW LEAVING NORTHERN IRAQ, AND
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THAT THE OPERATION SHOULD BE FINISHED IN A FEW DAYS.

- WE UNDERSTAND THAT HUMANITARIAN OPERATIONS ON BEHALF OF THE POPULATION OF NORTHERN IRAQ ARE

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CONTINUING.

Q: WHAT IS THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S VIEW OF THIS OPERATION? IS THERE A JUSTIFICATION FOR IT UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW?

A: -- AS WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY INDICATED, A COUNTRY HAS THE RIGHT, IN PRINCIPLE, TO USE FORCE TO PROTECT ITSELF FROM ATTACKS FROM A NEIGHBORING COUNTRY IF THE NEIGHBORING STATE IS UNWILLING OR UNABLE TO PREVENT THE USE OF ITS TERRITORIES FOR SUCH ATTACK. THAT RIGHT, FLOWING FROM THE RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE, IS LIMITED TO SUCH USE OF FORCE AS IS NECESSARY AND APPROPRIATE TO PROTECT ITSELF. SO LONG AS TURKEY ACTS WITHIN SUCH LIMITS, ITS ACTIONS DO NOT VIOLATE INTERNATIONAL LAW.

-- WE FULLY SUPPORT ALL LEGITIMATE GOT EFFORTS TO COMBAT THE PKK, WHICH IS A VICIOUS TERRORIST ORGANIZATION THAT POSES A GENUINE THREAT TO TURKEY. WE NOTE THAT SENIOR TURKISH OFFICIALS HAVE STATED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS THAT CIRCUMSTANCES COULD MAKE IT NECESSARY FOR THE GOT TO INITIATE ANOTHER INCURSION INTO NORTHERN IRAQ.

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-- WE URGE THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT TO KEEP ITS OPERATION LIMITED IN SCOPE, TO OBSERVE RECOGNIZED STANDARDS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, TO MAKE EVERY POSSIBLE EFFORT TO MINIMIZE HARM TO CIVILIANS, AND TO END THE OPERATION AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

-- THE USE OF US-SUPPLIED WEAPONS BY ALLIES FOR LEGITIMATE SELF-DEFENSE IS ACCEPTED UNDER US LAW.

7. TURKEY: HOLD ON CONSTITUTION CHANGES

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Q: WHAT IS THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S REACTION TO TURKISH
PM CILLER'S DECISION TO SUSPEND DEBATE ON THE
PACKAGE OF CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS?

A: -- THE UNITED STATES HAS SUPPORTED, AND CONTINUES
TO SUPPORT, TURKEY'S EFFORTS TO ENACT
DEMOCRITIZATION LEGISLATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS
REFORMS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE PROCESS OF
AMENDING A CONSTITUTION IS DIFFICULT IN ANY
COUNTRY. WE HOPE THAT TURKEY'S POLITICAL
LEADERS CAN SET ASIDE FACTIONAL CONCERNS TO
SUPPORT THESE REFORMS THAT ARE SO IMPORTANT
FOR TURKEY'S POLITICAL FUTURE.

Q: WHAT DO YOU THINK WILL BE THE IMPACT ON TURKEY'S
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CUSTOMS UNION BID OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S DECISION?

A: -- WE CANNOT SPEAK FOR EITHER THE EU OR THE
EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. WE CONTINUE TO SUPPORT
FULLY TURKEY'S ENTRY INTO THE CUSTOMS UNION.
THE MERITS FOR CUSTOMS UNION MEMBERSHIP REMAIN
CONSIDERABLE.

-- WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT THAT THE TURKISH
GOVERNMENT REMAINS COMMITTED TO
DEMOCRATIZATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS REFORM, AND
UNDERSTANDS THEIR IMPORTANCE FOR RATIFICATION
OF THE CUSTOMS UNION.

8. TURKEY: DETENTIONS AT HADEP TRIAL

Q: WHAT IS THE STATUS OF 240 INDIVIDUALS DETAINED AT
THE TRIAL YESTERDAY OF FOUR OFFICIALS OF THE
PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY PARTY (HADEP)?

A: -- WE HAVE HEARD THIS MORNING THAT MOST REMAIN IN

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DETENTION. OUR EMBASSY CONTINUES TO CHECK
REGARDING THEIR STATUS.

9. UK (NORTHERN IRELAND): U.S ROLE IN PEACE PROCESS

Q: IS THE U. S. TRYING TO PUSH THE PEACE PROCESS
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FORWARD? ARE WE PRESSURING THE UK TO CONVENE
ALL-PARTY TALKS?

A: -- THE U.S. STRONGLY SUPPORTS THE POSITIVE
DEVELOPMENTS WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN
NORTHERN IRELAND OVER THE PAST YEAR AND HOPES
THAT A LASTING POLITICAL SETTLEMENT CAN BE
REACHED.

-- HOWEVER, AS WE HAVE STATED CONSISTENTLY, THE
MECHANICS OF THE PEACE PROCESS ARE A MATTER
FOR THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS AND THE
PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND.

(IF RAISED)

Q: DID AMBASSADOR CROWE MEET RECENTLY WITH GERRY
ADAMS? WHAT DID THEY DISCUSS?

A: -- IT IS THE ROLE OF AMBASSADORS TO MAINTAIN A
WIDE RANGE OF CONTACTS WITH POLITICAL
LEADERS. IN THIS CONTEXT, AMBASSADOR CROWE
HAS MET WITH KEY FIGURES IN THE PEACE PROCESS,
INCLUDING MR. ADAMS.

-- I CANNOT COMMENT ON THE SUBJECT OF THIS OR
OTHER SUCH MEETINGS, WHICH ARE CONFIDENTIAL
DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS.

(IF NEEDED)

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POINTS ON DECOMMISSIONING AND CURRENT GOALS

- O THE PRESIDENT HAS REPEATEDLY SAID--MOST RECENTLY AT THE MAY INVESTMENT CONFERENCE--THAT PARTIES OBSERVING THE CEASEFIRE "MUST TAKE THE NEXT STEP AND BEGIN TO DISCUSS SERIOUS DECOMMISSIONING OF WEAPONS." WE HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT WE EXPECT ALL PARTIES TO MOVE FORWARD ON THIS ISSUE.
- O THE PRESIDENT ALSO CALLED ON THOSE "WHO CONTINUE TO EMPLOY VIOLENCE TO END THE PUNISHMENT BEATINGS AND THE INTIMIDATION."

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XMT AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

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BEGIN TEXT:

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MR. BURNS: GOOD AFTERNOON. WELCOME TO THE STATE
DEPARTMENT BRIEFING. FIRST QUESTION TO DON.

Q WOULD YOU LIKE TO GIVE US AN UPDATE ON BIHAC?

MR. BURNS: BE GLAD TO. WE ARE MONITORING THE
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SITUATION, AS YOU CAN IMAGINE, VERY CLOSELY. LET ME
GIVE YOU A DESCRIPTION OF WHAT WE THINK IS HAPPENING
THERE.

THE SERB ASSAULT ON BIHAC IS EXTREMELY SERIOUS AND
THREATENS TO DRAW CROATIA INTO THE WAR TO PROTECT THE
BIHAC ENCLAVE.

WE HOPE THE CONFLICT CAN BE CONTAINED TO BOSNIA.
CROATIAN MILITARY ASSISTANCE COMES AT THE REQUEST OF THE
BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT TO RELIEVE PRESSURE FROM CONTINUED
INCURSIONS BY CROATIAN SERBS ACROSS THE BORDER.

THE UNITED NATIONS REPORTS THAT THE JOINT SERB
OFFENSIVE HAS OVERRUN 38 SQUARE MILES IN THE WESTERN
ENCLAVE OF BIHAC IN THE PAST WEEK, CAUSING 8,000 PEOPLE

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FROM BIHAC TO HAVE TO FLEE THEIR HOMES.

THE MAYOR OF BIHAC HAS REPORTED THAT 58 BOSNIANS
HAVE BEEN KILLED AND 180 WOUNDED IN THE PAST FEW DAYS.

AS FOR THE OTHER SAFE AREAS, AS YOU KNOW THERE IS
CONTINUED SHELLING AND FIGHTING IN SARAJEVO WHERE THE
BOSNIAN HEALTH MINISTRY HAS REPORTED THAT TWO MORE
PEOPLE WERE KILLED YESTERDAY AND 13 MORE WOUNDED.

GORAZDE HAS BEEN FAIRLY QUIET. I WOULD NOTE THAT IN
RESPONSE TO THE NOW VERY CLEAR AND DECISIVE THREAT OF
NATO AIR STRIKES AGAINST THE BOSNIAN SERBS, THE BOSNIAN
SERB LEADERSHIP HAS SAID THAT THEY HAVE NO PLANS TO
ATTACK THE ENCLAVE IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

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WE WILL SEE. WE ARE WATCHING THAT SITUATION IN A
VERY CLOSE WAY.

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IN TUZLA, THERE ARE STILL TENS OF THOUSANDS OF
DISPLACED PEOPLE FROM THE FIGHTING IN SREBRENICA AND
ZEPA AND ELSEWHERE. IN SREBRENICA ITSELF -- DESPITE THE
PLEDGE OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS THAT THEY WOULD GIVE ACCESS
TO THE RED CROSS AND OTHERS TO THE PEOPLE WHO WERE
DETAINED THERE -- I DON'T BELIEVE THAT THAT HAS YET
HAPPENED, AND WE WOULD CALL UPON THE BOSNIAN SERBS ONCE
AGAIN TO GIVE ACCESS TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, TO
PERTINENT INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING IN THE
AREA TO MAKE SURE THAT THEY CAN CARE FOR THE PEOPLE WHO
LOST THEIR HOMES IN SREBRENICA.

ZEPA, ALTHOUGH THERE ARE STILL POCKETS OF
RESISTANCE, PEOPLE STILL FIGHTING IN ZEPA, THE UNHCR
REPORTS THAT MOST OF THE ENCLAVE HAS FALLEN INTO BOSNIAN
SERB HANDS.

THERE HAVE BEEN CONVOYS CARRYING PEOPLE, BOTH
CIVILIANS AND BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT FIGHTERS, OUT OF ZEPA,

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AND TOWARDS BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED TERRITORY. I BELIEVE SEVERAL THOUSAND PEOPLE HAVE LEFT ZEPA BY THAT MEANS.

WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE PREVENTED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS AND THE UNCLASSIFIED

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UNHCR TO MONITOR THE EVACUATION. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS VERY DISPLEASED BY THIS BECAUSE OF WHAT HAPPENED IN SREBRENICA, AND WE HAVE TO BE AWARE THAT THERE WERE GROSS ATROCITIES AND BRUTALITIES CARRIED OUT IN SREBRENICA.

THE INTENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS NOW IS TO TRY TO MONITOR THE EXODUS OF THESE PEOPLE SO THAT WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO PLAY A ROLE IN ASSURING THAT THEY ARE FAIRLY TREATED AS THEY TRY TO MAKE THEIR WAY TO BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT-HELD TERRITORY.

SO THE SITUATION THROUGHOUT BOSNIA IS QUITE CRITICAL, AS WE HAVE GONE THROUGH THE DESCRIPTION OF WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THESE ENCLAVES.

JUST ANOTHER NOTE ON ZEPA: WE HAVE SEEN THE PRESS REPORTS OF THE POSSIBLE USE OF CHEMICAL GAS OR CHEMICAL WEAPONS BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS IN THE FINAL DAYS OF THEIR MILITARY ASSAULT ON ZEPA.

WE ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO CONFIRM THESE REPORTS RIGHT NOW, BUT WE ARE CERTAINLY GOING TO URGE THE UNITED NATIONS AND OTHERS TO LOOK INTO THEM, BECAUSE WE CERTAINLY DON'T WANT TO DISCREDIT THESE REPORTS. WE WANT TO LOOK INTO THEM. THEY SEEM TO BE REPORTS BY A NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO ARE DOING THE FIGHTING INSIDE ZEPA.

Q YOUR FAIRLY GRIM REPORT ON WHAT'S GOING ON AT ALL THE DIFFERENT AREAS, DOES ANY OF THIS THEN TRIGGER THE NEW RESOLVE TO RETALIATE, TO USE NATO POWER IN THIS?

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MR. BURNS: WELL, DON, YOUR QUESTION JUST GIVES ME AN OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE A LARGER POINT BEFORE I GO AND ANSWER YOUR QUESTION DIRECTLY.

WE THINK THAT SINCE THE LONDON MEETING LAST FRIDAY, THE WEST, LED BY THE UNITED STATES, HAS TAKEN A NUMBER OF STEPS TO ACHIEVE THE OBJECTIVE THAT WE THINK IS FUNDAMENTAL TO THIS CONFLICT, AND THAT IS TO STRENGTHEN UNPROFOR.

THE LONDON CONFERENCE AGREED THAT THE UNITED NATIONS SHOULD BE REINFORCED AND THAT NATO AIR POWER SHOULD BE DEPLOYED IF NECESSARY TO DEFEND GORAZDE. WHAT WAS IMPORTANT ABOUT THE NATO CONFERENCE THAT FOLLOWED IT WAS THAT IT NOT ONLY CONFIRMED THE DECISION TO DEPLOY NATO AIR POWER AND CONFIRMED THE DECISION TO ISSUE AN ULTIMATUM, IT INSTRUCTED NATO TO PREPARE CONTINGENCY PLANS FOR POSSIBLE OPERATIONS IN THE OTHER SAFE AREAS, MOST NOTABLY BIHAC.

WE WERE ALSO ENCOURAGED TO SEE IN THE STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE UNITED NATIONS YESTERDAY, BY THE SPOKESMAN FOR SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS-GHALI, THAT THE UNITED NATIONS BELIEVES THAT NATO AND THE UNITED NATIONS OUGHT TO PREPARE CONTINGENCY EFFORTS FOR BIHAC, BECAUSE OF THE CRITICAL NATURE OF THE FIGHTING THERE. AND WE WERE VERY HAPPY TO SEE THAT BOUTROS-GHALI DECIDED YESTERDAY TO DELEGATE AUTHORITY FOR THE DUAL-KEY ARRANGEMENTS TO HIS
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MILITARY COMMANDERS ON THE GROUND.

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THIS NOW ALLOWS, HAVING TAKEN THESE DECISIONS AT LONDON AND AT BRUSSELS, AND HAVING SEEN THE RESULTS OF BOUTROS-GHALI'S DELIBERATIONS YESTERDAY, THIS NOW ALLOWS THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ALLIES NOT ONLY TO ACTIVELY IMPLEMENT THE ULTIMATUM DELIVERED TO MR. MLADIC ON SUNDAY ON GORAZDE, BUT TO CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF FURTHER ACTION ELSEWHERE.

RIGHT NOW I AM NOT AWARE THAT WE HAVE A SPECIFIC REQUEST FOR THAT TYPE OF EITHER CLOSE AIR SUPPORT OR AIR STRIKES IN BIHAC, BUT WE ARE CERTAINLY DRAWING UP THE PLANS TO UNDERTAKE THOSE ACTIVITIES SHOULD IT BE NECESSARY.

THE PROCESS FOR THAT WOULD BE FOR THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL TO RECONVENE, AND IT CAN DO SO ON A MOMENT'S NOTICE, IN BRUSSELS AND TO CONSIDER ANY REQUEST THAT DOES COME IN THE FUTURE.

Q WELL, IT SOUNDS LIKE YOU DON'T HAVE A LOT OF TIME IN BIHAC. THAT SITUATION IS DETERIORATING FAIRLY RAPIDLY, ISN'T IT?

MR. BURNS: THE SITUATION THERE IS QUITE DIFFERENT THAN THE THREAT THAT WAS POSED BY WHAT WE THOUGHT WAS AN IMMINENT BOSNIAN SERB MILITARY OFFENSIVE IN GORAZDE.

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THE SITUATION IN BIHAC IS DIFFERENT, NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF THE DIFFERENCE IN TERRAIN BUT ALSO BECAUSE OF THE PRESENCE OF FEDERATION FORCES, BOTH BOSNIAN AND CROATIAN, AND BECAUSE OF THE PRESENCE OF NOT ONLY BOSNIAN SERB ELEMENTS AND CROATIAN SERB ELEMENTS, BUT A RENEGADE REBEL MOSLEM ARMY. THE FIGHTING IS VERY CONFUSED, AND THE SITUATION IS QUITE CHAOTIC.

SO IN MILITARY TERMS, TO CALCULATE WHETHER EITHER CLOSE AIR SUPPORT OR AIR STRIKES MAKES SENSE IS SOMEWHAT MORE PROBLEMATIC IN BIHAC THAN IT HAS BEEN IN GORAZDE,

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OR EVEN IN SARAJEVO.

Q ISN'T THERE SOME CONCERN WITHIN THE ADMINISTRATION THAT IF THE ALLIES DON'T ACT QUICKLY ON BIHAC, THAT THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT WILL GET EVEN MORE INVOLVED AND THUS WIDEN THE WAR?

MR. BURNS: THE CONCERN IS THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS AND THEIR CROATIAN SERB COMPATRIOTS HAVE ON THEIR OWN DECIDED TO WIDEN THE WAR. THEY HAVE WIDENED IT BY A VERY AGGRESSIVE MILITARY CAMPAIGN AGAINST BIHAC. THEY HAVE MADE THAT DECISION. THEY TOOK THE FIRST STEP.

THERE IS A FEDERATION IN PLACE BETWEEN CROATIA AND BOSNIA. THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT REQUESTED CROATIAN MILITARY SUPPORT. WE CERTAINLY WOULD LIKE TO SEE THIS WAR CONTAINED. NO ONE WANTS TO SEE THE WAR SPILL OVER INTO CROATIA OR ANY OTHER REGION. BUT I WOULD JUST NOTE THE FACT THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS BEGAN THIS FIGHT, AND THAT THERE IS A FEDERATION IN PLACE. THERE WAS A

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REQUEST MADE, AND THE CROATIANS ARE RESPONDING TO THAT.

SO, YES, THERE IS A CONCERN ABOUT LIMITING THE WAR. I THINK THAT THE ONUS AND THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FIGHTING HAS TO BE PLACED WHERE IT SHOULD BE PROPERLY, AND THAT IS ON THE SHOULDERS OF THE SERBS AND THE VARIOUS SERB FACTIONS.

Q I JUST HAVE A FOLLOW-UP ON THAT. WHEN THE SECRETARY GENERAL DELEGATED HIS DUAL-KEY, DOES THAT APPLY ONLY TO GORAZDE, OR CAN THAT ALSO APPLY TO OTHER ENCLAVES LIKE BIHAC, OR DOES THIS ALL HAVE TO GO BACK TO THE DRAWING BOARD IF THERE IS A DIFFERENT SCENARIO?

MR. BURNS: IN READING THE STATEMENT THAT WAS ISSUED FROM NEW YORK YESTERDAY, IT IS VERY CLEAR THAT IT PERTAINS TO GORAZDE, TO SUPPORT THE DECISION TAKEN BY THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ALLIES ON GORAZDE, WITH BOTH CLOSE AIR SUPPORT AND MILITARY AIR STRIKES, BOTH BEING VERY DIFFERENT MILITARY OPERATIONS.

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THE STATEMENT DOESN'T SAY ANYTHING ABOUT THE DUAL-KEY PERTAINING TO OTHER POSSIBLE OPERATIONS THROUGHOUT BOSNIA.

Q NICK, GOING BACK TO THE POSSIBLE USE OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS, HAVE YOU BEEN ABLE TO BOUNCE IT OFF YOUR OWN EXPERTS? DO THE REPORTS HAVE A RAY OF TRUTH, ACCORDING TO YOUR PEOPLE WHO KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT THESE
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WEAPONS?

MR. BURNS: WE ARE DOING THAT NOW, JIM. AND WE ALSO WANT TO TALK TO THE UNITED NATIONS, PARTICULARLY PEOPLE WHO MAY HAVE ACCESS TO BOTH ZEPA AND ALSO THE PEOPLE WHO JUST LEFT ZEPA, THE BOSNIAN FIGHTERS, TO QUESTION THEM.

I WOULD JUST SAY THIS: ABSENT THE ABILITY TO CONFIRM RIGHT NOW, WE HAVE TO LOOK AT RECENT HISTORY. WE HAVE TO LOOK AT THE BEHAVIOR OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS THEIR BRUTAL BEHAVIOR, THEIR WILLINGNESS TO DEPLOY ANY MEANS TO CLEANSE, AS THEY SAY, ETHNICALLY CLEANSE THE AREA OF MUSLIMS. AND I CERTAINLY WOULDN'T PUT IT BEYOND THE BOSNIAN SERBS TO DEPLOY SUCH TACTICS.

WHILE WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO CONFIRM THEM, WE CERTAINLY ARE IN NO WAY DISCREDITING THESE REPORTS AND ARE TAKING THEM VERY, VERY SERIOUSLY.

Q THERE IS A NEW REPORT THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE NOW ONCE AGAIN BLOCKED THE HUMANITARIAN AID COMING INTO SARAJEVO. IS THAT THE SORT OF THING THAT WOULD TRIGGER ACTION FROM THE ARTILLERY BATTERIES MANNED BY THE BRITISH AND FRENCH?

MR. BURNS: WELL, WE HAVE SEEN REPORTS OF CONTINUED BOSNIAN SERB INTRANSIGENCE IN HONORING INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS THEY HAVE MADE TO ALLOW HUMANITARIAN CONVOYS

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INTO SARAJEVO. THEY ARE NOT HONORING THEM.
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THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY TO RESPOND TO THAT, WE THINK,
IS THE WAY THAT THE BRITISH AND THE FRENCH ARE CURRENTLY
RESPONDING, BY TRYING TO WIDEN AND OPEN UP THE MT. IGMAN
ROAD AND POSSIBLY TO OPEN UP OTHER CORRIDORS,
TRANSPORTATION CORRIDORS, INTO SARAJEVO TO HELP RELIEVE
THE SIEGE.

WE HAVE SAID ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS THAT THE UNHCR
STATISTICS FOR APRIL, MAY AND JUNE SHOW THAT SARAJEVO
AND MOST OF THE OTHER ENCLAVES ARE RECEIVING A TENTH OF
THEIR NORMAL EXPECTED FOOD AND MEDICAL DELIVERIES. WE
SIMPLY CAN'T AFFORD TO ONLY BRING A TENTH OF THESE
SUPPLIES IN AS WE APPROACH A FOURTH WINTER OF THE
BOSNIAN WAR.

SO I THINK THE WAY TO OPPOSE THE BOSNIAN SERBS IS TO
SUPPORT THE BRITISH AND THE FRENCH IN DEPLOYING THE
RAPID

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REACTION FORCE TO OPEN UP THESE CORRIDORS. AND THAT IS
WHAT THE BRITISH AND THE FRENCH HAVE SAID THAT THEY HOPE
TO ACCOMPLISH.

THE TACTIC OF CONTAINING THE BOSNIAN SERBS IN
GORAZDE IS QUITE DIFFERENT. THAT IS THE USE OF MILITARY
AIR POWER. THE TACTIC OF CONTAINING THEM ELSEWHERE, IN
BIHAC, PERHAPS IN SARAJEVO, IF THERE ARE OTHER
PROVOCATIONS -- IT REALLY MUST BE CONSIDERED IN A

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CASE-BY-CASE BASIS AND WILL BE BY THE NORTH ATLANTIC
COUNCIL SHOULD THOSE REQUESTS COME IN.

Q BUT I'M A LITTLE CONFUSED AT YOUR ANSWER TO A
PREVIOUS QUESTION ABOUT THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S
STATEMENT.

IS THERE SOME CONFUSION OVER WHETHER HE WAS
REFERRING TO HE DUAL-KEY ARRANGEMENT APPLYING ONLY TO
GORAZDE AND NOT TO THE OTHER SAFE AREAS?

MR. BURNS: I DON'T THINK THERE IS CONFUSION. THE
FUNDAMENTAL DECISION THAT HAD TO BE MADE AT LONDON AND
CONFIRMED AT BRUSSELS WAS HOW SHOULD THE LEADING WESTERN
COUNTRIES DEPLOY MILITARY POWER TO PROTECT GORAZDE AND
TO DETER A BOSNIAN SERB ADVANCE. AND THERE WERE A

NUMBER OF PROPOSALS MADE. THE ONCE THAT WAS AGREED TO
WAS THE AMERICAN PROPOSAL FOR AIR POWER.

IN MAKING THAT PROPOSAL AND IN MAKING THE DECISION,
NATO FORMALLY REQUESTED THAT THE UNITED NATIONS'
SECRETARY GENERAL, MR. BOUTROS-GHALI, RELINQUISH HIS
CIVILIAN CONTROL OVER THE DUAL-KEY AND DELEGATE THAT TO
U.N. COMMANDERS ON THE GROUND, FOR THE SPECIFIC EXAMPLE
OF GORAZDE, BOTH FOR CLOSE AIR SUPPORT TO PROTECT THE
U.N. PEACEKEEPERS IN GORAZDE, THE BRITISH, AND ALSO FOR
MILITARY AIR STRIKES TO CONTAIN THE BOSNIAN SERBS OR TO
THREATEN THEM SHOULD THEY EITHER ADVANCE AGAINST THE
CITY OR MASS TANKS OR FIGHTERS IN AN ATTEMPT TO MAKE AN
ADVANCE UPON THE CITY. AND BOTH CATEGORIES WOULD

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APPLY. AND SO THE DUAL-KEY -- THE RELINQUISHMENT OF
CIVILIAN CONTROL CERTAINLY PERTAINS TO GORAZDE, AND THE
STATEMENT WAS VERY CLEAR ABOUT THAT.

I DO NOT SEE, MYSELF, ANYTHING IN THE STATEMENT THAT
WAS SPECIFIC ABOUT WIDER AIR ACTIONS BEYOND THOSE THAT

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WOULD BE CLOSE TO THE FIGHTING PERTAINING TO OTHER PARTS OF BOSNIA. I THINK IT'S A QUESTION THAT NEEDS TO BE ANSWERED PERHAPS FROM THE UNITED NATIONS.

BUT THE MOST PERTINENT MILITARY QUESTION IN DELIVERING THE ULTIMATUM WAS GORAZDE, AND THAT'S THE ONE WE NEEDED ANSWERED NOW TO MAKE THE ULTIMATUM EFFECTIVE.

Q HAS THE UNITED STATES OR NATO SOUGHT THIS CLARIFICATION AS TO JUST WHAT IS BOUTROS-GHALI TALKING

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ABOUT? IS HE TALKING ABOUT ONLY GORAZDE, OR IS HE TALKING ABOUT OTHER ACTIONS IN BOSNIA?

MR. BURNS: WE'RE CERTAINLY GOING TO CONTINUE OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH THE U.N. WE WORK WITH THEM EVERY DAY, AND SO THAT PROCESS WILL CONTINUE.

BETSY.

Q SO, NICK, IT DOESN'T SOUND LIKE IT'S AS EASY -- IF THE COMMANDERS ON THE GROUND CALL FOR SUPPORT IN BIHAC, IT'S NOT AS EASY AS GOING TO NAC AND GETTING AN
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OVERNIGHT OKAY OR PLAN OF ACTION IF YOU'VE GOT TO GO BACK TO BOUTROS-GHALI AND GET THAT CHANGE IN THE DUAL-KEY EXTENDED.

MR. BURNS: OUR ASSUMPTION IS THAT IF THERE IS A NECESSITY FOR NATO TO BECOME INVOLVED IN OTHER ENCLAVES ALONG THE LINES OF THE PLAN FOR GORAZDE -- THAT IS, CLOSE AIR SUPPORT OR MILITARY AIRSTRIKES -- OUR ASSUMPTION IS THAT THE CHANGE IN THE DUAL-KEY WOULD BE IN PLACE.

I WAS JUST TRYING TO BE VERY FACTUAL ABOUT ANSWERING A SPECIFIC QUESTION ABOUT WHAT WAS IN THE STATEMENT YESTERDAY AND WHAT WAS NOT. BUT CERTAINLY OUR ASSUMPTION WOULD BE THAT THAT WOULD BE EXTENDED TO THE

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OTHER AREAS.

IN RESPONDING TO ANY REQUEST TO DETER A THREAT AGAINST BIHAC OR ANY PLACE ELSE, WE BELIEVE THAT THE PROCESS WOULD BE QUITE SIMPLE AND FLEXIBLE. IT WOULD BE A NATO PROCESS, A DECISION FOR NATO COUNTRIES TO TAKE IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL. WE DON'T BELIEVE THAT WE'D HAVE TO GO BACK FOR A U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION OR FOR A U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING.

SO I DO THINK THAT THE STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL YESTERDAY WAS QUITE CLEAR. IT WAS VERY PROMISING AND VERY SUPPORTIVE IN OUR EFFORT TO HAVE THE U.N. AND NATO WORK WELL TOGETHER.

CHARLIE.

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Q WHAT ABOUT EXTENDING THE U.N.'S DUAL-KEY TO THE FRENCH GENERAL AND NOT THE BRITISH GENERAL, AS YOU HAD TALKED ABOUT AND HAD PREFERRED, WE BELIEVE. DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT ON THE SECRETARY GENERAL --

MR. BURNS: THE PRIMARY EFFORT HERE WAS TO CONVINCING THE UNITED NATIONS THAT IT REALLY MADE MORE TACTICAL MILITARY SENSE TO HAVE THE DECISION IN THE PLACE OF MILITARY COMMANDERS, AND THAT WAS OUR PRIMARY OBJECTIVE.

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A NUMBER OF AMERICAN OFFICIALS SAID -- AND I THINK WE EVEN SAID PUBLICLY -- THAT PERHAPS OUR FIRST DESIRE WOULD BE TO HAVE THE TWO SMITHS BE THE PEOPLE WITH THE KEYS IN THEIR HAND, BUT WE'RE VERY PLEASED THAT THE DECISION IS MADE -- THAT CIVILIANS WILL NOT BE TURNING

THE KEY OR PREVENTING THE TURNING OF THE KEY, AND THAT IT WILL BE MILITARY PEOPLE ON THE GROUND.

WE HAVE A VERY GOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH GENERAL JANVIER, AS DO A NUMBER OF THE NATO MILITARY PEOPLE THAT

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WILL BE INVOLVED IN THIS PROCESS.

TOM.

Q ARE WE READY FOR ANOTHER PART OF THE WORLD YET?

MR. BURNS: I THINK WE'LL STAY ON BOSNIA AND THEN GO
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-- JUDD.

Q I HAVE A QUESTION ON YESTERDAY'S SENATE VOTE.
HOW CONCERNED IS THE ADMINISTRATION THAT THE MESSAGE --
IF THE EMBARGO WERE TO BE UNILATERALLY LIFTED, IF THE
PROCESS WOULD BE COMPLETED -- WHAT THE MESSAGE MIGHT BE
REGARDING OTHER U.S.-BACKED SANCTIONS, SUCH AS IN IRAQ?

MR. BURNS: THAT'S AN EXCELLENT QUESTION. (LAUGHTER)

Q WHAT YOU'VE TALKED ABOUT BEFORE, BUT I'D LIKE
YOU TO TALK ABOUT AGAIN.

MR. BURNS: IT'S AN EXCELLENT QUESTION BECAUSE -- I
THINK THERE ARE TWO POINTS TO BE MADE HERE JUDD. ONE
IS THAT I KNOW A NUMBER OF PEOPLE THAT HAVE TRIED TO
ANALYZE YESTERDAY'S SENATE VOTE BY SAYING, "IT REALLY
DOESN'T MAKE A DIFFERENCE; IT WAS ONLY A SYMBOLIC
GESTURE, AND IT'S NOT GOING TO AFFECT THE SITUATION ON
THE GROUND."

THAT'S NOT THE WAY THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION SEES
THAT VOTE. OUR ALLIES HAVE TOLD US PRIVATELY -- NOT
JUST FOR PUBLIC PURPOSES, BUT PRIVATELY IN THE LAST
SEVERAL DAYS THAT A UNILATERAL UNITED STATES ELIMINATION
OF THE EMBARGO OR A LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO WOULD HAVE A
PROFOUND EFFECT ON THEIR ABILITY TO KEEP THEIR FORCES IN
THE FIELD. WE TAKE THAT VERY SERIOUSLY.

WE MAKE THE CALCULATION THAT WE CANNOT AFFORD TO
HAVE THE UNITED NATIONS CONTINUE TO FAIL IN THE FIELD,
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AND THAT IT IS OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO WORK WITH OUR ALLIES, BECAUSE THEY HAVE MADE THE DECISION TO AUGMENT THEIR FORCES, TO STRENGTHEN THEM. AND I'D MAKE THE ARGUMENT THAT HAVING GONE TO LONDON AND MADE A DECISION TO ISSUE AN ULTIMATUM, HAVING THEN TRANSFERRED THE DISCUSSION TO BRUSSELS AND HAVING HAD NATO CONFIRM THAT DECISION AND GET READY TO IMPLEMENT IT,

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HAVING NATO MAKE CONTINGENCY PLANS NOW FOR BIHAC AND OTHER AREAS IS A DRAMATIC STRENGTHENING OF UNPROFOR IN A VERY DIFFICULT SITUATION WHERE UNPROFOR NEEDS HELP.

WE DON'T THINK IT'S RIGHT THAT THE UNITED STATES SIMPLY WALK OUT ON ITS NATO ALLIES AT A TIME WHEN THEY NEED HELP, AND THAT IS THE FUNDAMENTAL WAY THAT WE VIEW YESTERDAY'S SENATE RESOLUTION.

BUT TO GO TO THE OTHER POINT, JUDD, I THINK YOU'RE ABSOLUTELY RIGHT THAT THE UNITED STATES AS A LEADING MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, A FOUNDING MEMBER, THE HOST COUNTRY AND A MEMBER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, CANNOT TREAT U.N. RESOLUTIONS AS IT WISHES. THERE ARE U.N. RESOLUTIONS THAT WE CARE VERY DEEPLY ABOUT PERTAINING TO IRAQ.

WE CERTAINLY WOULDN'T WANT TO SEE ONE OF OUR PARTNERS UNILATERALLY ADVOCATE OR IGNORE THOSE RESOLUTIONS. OUR PARTNERS WANT US TO TAKE THE U.N. ARMS
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EMBARGO ON BOSNIA AND ON CROATIA AND ON THE OTHER

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COUNTRIES SERIOUSLY, AND WE INTEND TO DO THAT.

SO WE TAKE THE VOTE YESTERDAY AS A VERY SERIOUS VOTE. WE OPPOSE WHAT HAPPENED, AND WE'LL DO EVERYTHING WE CAN TO MAKE SURE THAT THIS DOES NOT BECOME THE LAW OF THE LAND.

Q CAN I FOLLOW ON THAT, ON THE FIRST PART OF YOUR ANSWER. WHEN THE ALLIES HAVE TOLD YOU PRIVATELY THAT THEY -- IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR THEM TO KEEP THEIR TROOPS IN THE FIELD, IS THAT CONDITIONED ON THE HEDGES IN THE BILL -- THE FACT THAT THE BILL DOES NOT REQUIRE UNILATERAL LIFT UNTIL A CERTAIN NUMBER OF THINGS HAPPEN DOWN THE ROAD? DO THEY UNDERSTAND THAT DISTINCTION, OR ARE THEY NOT MAKING --

MR. BURNS: I THINK THE ALLIES UNDERSTAND. THEY ALL HAVE VERY GOOD EMBASSIES IN WASHINGTON. I THINK THEY FULLY UNDERSTAND WHAT THE CONDITIONS ARE HERE. I THINK WHAT BOTHERS THEM AND WHAT BOTHERS US IS THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE SAYING IN A VERY LOUD VOICE, IF THIS LAW PASSES AND BECOMES THE LAW OF THE LAND, WE'RE WALKING OUT.

THE UNITED NATIONS HAS FAILED. THE SITUATION IS TOO TOUGH FOR US. WE'RE GOING TO LEAVE, AND WE'RE GOING TO LET THE PARTIES FIGHT IT OUT. THAT'S NOT A MESSAGE THAT WILL HELP OUR ALLIES KEEP THEIR TROOPS IN THE FIELD. IT'S NOT GOING TO DO ANY GOOD IN SUPPORTING WHAT MOST AMERICANS SUPPORT, WHICH IS JUSTICE FOR THE MUSLIMS WHO
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ARE BEING BRUTALIZED BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS, BECAUSE IT WILL WIDEN THE WAR.

WHO WILL BE LEFT IN BOSNIA TO DEFEND GORAZDE AND TO DEFEND THE OTHER SAFE AREAS SHOULD THEY NEED AIR POWER TO BE

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DEFENDED? WHO WILL BE LEFT TO CARE FOR THE NOW OVER

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60,000 REFUGEES THAT HAVE BEEN PRODUCED BY THE FIGHTING, JUST OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF WEEKS. THERE ARE 200,000 PEOPLE IN BIHAC. WHO'S GOING TO CARE FOR THOSE PEOPLE IF THEY'RE DRIVEN OUT BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS?

THESE ARE THE QUESTIONS THAT WE HAVE RAISED WITH THOSE WHO VOTED FOR THIS AMENDMENT IN THE UNITED SENATE, AND IT WILL CONTINUE TO RAISE. WE UNDERSTAND THE MORAL OUTRAGE. WE UNDERSTAND THE FRUSTRATION THAT PEOPLE FEEL ABOUT WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN BOSNIA OVER THE LAST FOUR YEARS. WE ALL SHARE IT. WE SHARE IT AS A GOVERNMENT, AND THE PRESIDENT HAS SPOKEN TO THIS AS WELL AS THE SECRETARY. WE SHARE IT PERSONALLY.

BUT THE ANSWER IS NOT TO WALK AWAY, THROW UP YOUR ARMS AND SAY, "WE CAN'T DO ANYTHING." THE ANSWER IS, "SUPPORT OUR ALLIES. SUPPORT THE UNITED NATIONS. DO WHAT WE CAN NOW THAT WE'VE STRENGTHENED THE UNITED NATIONS. DEPLOY NATO AIR POWER, IF NECESSARY, TO DETER, CONTAIN AND PUNISH THE BOSNIAN SERBS." THAT'S THE ANSWER.

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Q HOW DO YOU RESPOND THEN TO THE PRIME MINISTER OF BOSNIA WHO HAS A VERY DIFFERENT VIEW OF THIS THAN THE ADMINISTRATION DOES?

MR. BURNS: I KNOW THE PRIME MINISTER OF BOSNIA DOES HAVE A DIFFERENT VIEW. WE HAVE A DISAGREEMENT WITH HIM ON THIS. I WOULD NOTE THAT THERE ARE OTHER PEOPLE IN THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT WHO ARE NOT MAKING SUCH DRAMATIC PUBLIC STATEMENTS, AND THERE ARE OTHER PEOPLE WHO WANT

US TO STAY AND WHO WANT -- AND I THINK HAVE APPLAUDED THE ACTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES IN LEADING THE WESTERN CONSENSUS TOWARDS A FIRMER LINE AGAINST THE BOSNIAN SERBS, JUST IN THE LAST WEEK.

WE DO HAVE A DISAGREEMENT WITH HIM. WE HAVE GREAT RESPECT FOR HIM. WE CERTAINLY UNDERSTAND THE MOST DIFFICULT POSITION THAT HE IS IN.

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Q DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT ON THE RESIGNATION OF THE U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS INVESTIGATOR, THE FORMER POLISH PRIME MINISTER?

MR. BURNS: WE'VE SEEN THE STATEMENT THAT MR. MAZOWIECKI MADE THIS MORNING. HE IS SOMEONE WE CERTAINLY HAVE HIGH RESPECT FOR, GIVEN HIS ROLE IN LEADING POLAND TOWARDS DEMOCRACY BUT ALSO THE ROLE THAT HE'S PLAYED WITH THE UNITED NATIONS OVER THE LAST SEVERAL MONTHS. WE REGRET HIS RESIGNATION, BECAUSE HE WAS PLAYING AN IMPORTANT ROLE.

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LAURA.

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Q THIS IS A TECHNICAL QUESTION CONCERNING THE WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL. NOW THAT GENERAL MLADIC AND MR. KARADZIC HAVE BEEN CHARGED, WHAT AUTHORITY IS ACTUALLY NEEDED TO APPREHEND THESE TWO MEN?

MR. BURNS: THEY WERE INVESTIGATED OVER A PERIOD OF SEVERAL MONTHS. THEY'VE NOW BEEN INDICTED BY THE WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL, AND THE WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL WOULD LIKE TO PROCEED TO TRIAL. TO BRING THEM TO TRIAL, THEY MUST BE APPREHENDED. I THINK THE PRACTICAL EFFECT OF THE INDICTMENT IS THAT BOTH GENTLEMEN OUGHT NOT TO BE MAKING RESERVATIONS FOR SUMMER VACATIONS OUTSIDE OF THEIR AREA; THAT ALL MEMBER GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS WOULD HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO SEEK THEIR DETENTION, SHOULD THEY TRAVEL OUTSIDE OF THE AREA IN WHICH THEY NOW RESIDE. I THINK THAT'S THE PRACTICAL EFFECT.

WHAT IS MORE COMPLICATING, OF COURSE, TO BE REALISTIC ABOUT THIS IS HOW ONE WOULD APPREHEND THEM SHOULD THEY NOT LEAVE PALE AND ITS SURROUNDINGS. THAT'S A MUCH MORE DIFFICULT QUESTION. I THINK THAT THERE HAVE

BEEN A NUMBER OF STATEMENTS FROM THE TRIBUNAL TO THE

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EFFECT THAT THESE INDICTMENTS NOW HAVING BEEN MADE,
WE'RE NOT QUITE SURE WHEN THE TRIALS WILL BEGIN, BECAUSE
WE'RE NOT QUITE SURE WHEN THESE GENTLEMEN WILL BE ABLE
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TO BE DETAINED. BUT THAT CERTAINLY IS THE OBJECTIVE OF
THE TRIBUNAL, AND, AS WE HAVE NOTED, THE UNITED STATES
FULLY SUPPORTS BOTH THE CREATION OF THE TRIBUNAL AND ITS
ACTIONS, AND WE'LL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT IT.

Q NICK, WHAT IF YOU WANT TO HOLD (INAUDIBLE).
CAN KARADZIC GO?

MR. BURNS: IF WE FACE THE PROSPECT IN THE NEXT
COUPLE OF MONTHS OF AN INTERNATIONAL PEACE CONFERENCE
OUTSIDE OF BOSNIA, I THINK WE'D BE VERY PLEASED INDEED,
CONSIDERING THE SITUATION AS WE'VE JUST DESCRIBED IT
THIS MORNING ON THE GROUND.

THEY ARE VERY, VERY FAR FROM AN INTERNATIONAL PEACE
CONFERENCE. THEY'VE SHOWN NO WILLINGNESS TO SIT DOWN
WITH ANYBODY TO TALK ABOUT PEACE. THEY SIMPLY WANT TO
TALK ABOUT WAR. WAR FAVORS THEM. PEACE DOES NOT FAVOR
THEM.

BETSY.

Q DIFFERENT QUESTION?

MR. BURNS: STILL ON BOSNIA?

Q SAME SUBJECT.

MR. BURNS: DAVID.

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Q FORGIVE ME IF YOU'VE BEEN ASKED THIS, BECAUSE I WAS A BIT LATE, BUT AT WHAT POINT DO YOU EXPECT TO BE ABLE TO EXTEND THE SAME KINDS OF WARNINGS AS YOU HAVE OVER GORAZDE TO BIHAC?

MR. BURNS: THAT'S THE QUESTION OF THE DAY. IT'S A VERY IMPORTANT QUESTION, GIVEN THE FACT THAT THE MOST INTENSE FIGHTING RIGHT NOW IS IN BIHAC, NOT IN GORAZDE, NOT IN TUZLA. THE SITUATION IS EXTREMELY CONFUSED, PARTLY BECAUSE OF THE TERRAIN, PARTLY BECAUSE OF THE FACT ON BOTH SIDES YOU HAVE A NUMBER OF ARMIES FIGHTING.

ON THE ATTACKING SIDE, THE PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS ARE CROATIAN SERBS AND BOSNIAN SERBS AND THE REBEL MUSLIM ARMY. ON THE DEFENDING SIDE YOU HAVE THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT, THE CITIZENS OF BIHAC -- 200,000 OF THEM -- AND THE CROATIAN ARMY, WHICH HAS A FEDERATION WITH BOSNIA AND WHICH HAS BEEN REQUESTED TO INTERVENE BY THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT.

IT'S CONFUSED, AND SO IT'S NOT AN EASY SITUATION AROUND WHICH ONE CAN PLAN EFFECTIVE USE OF AIR POWER TO DETER THE ATTACKERS, AS IT CLEARLY IS IN GORAZDE, WHICH IS SURROUNDED BY THE ATTACKERS. THE BATTLE LINES ARE DRAWN SOMEWHAT HAPHAZARDLY IN THIS CASE.

Q DOES THAT MEAN AIR POWER WOULD BE OF NO USE IN BIHAC -- THE THREAT OF AIR POWER WOULD BE OF NO USE?

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MR. BURNS: IT DOESN'T NECESSARILY MEAN THAT AT ALL, DAVID. IT JUST MEANS THAT RIGHT NOW THERE IS NO CONSENSUS, I THINK, ON THE PART OF THE DEFENDERS OR OF THE NATO COUNTRIES THAT HAVE TROOPS ON THE GROUND, THAT THAT IS A DECISION THAT WE SHOULD MAKE RIGHT NOW TO

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DEPLOY AIR POWER.

I THINK, FRANKLY, MOST PEOPLE BELIEVE THAT BIHAC CAN BE DEFENDED AND WILL BE DEFENDED BECAUSE OF THE STRENGTH OF THE FEDERATION BETWEEN BOSNIA AND CROATIA. HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR THAT FEDERATION, HAD THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT BEEN LEFT TO ITS OWN DEVICES TO FACE THESE MARAUDING ARMIES I THINK IT WOULD BE A VERY, VERY DIFFERENT PICTURE, PERHAPS AKIN TO THE ONE THAT THEY FACED IN SREBRENICA SEVERAL WEEKS AGO. BUT I THINK THAT MOST ANALYSTS WOULD SAY THAT THE INCLUSION NOW OF -- THE ADDITION OF THE CROATIAN MILITARY FORCES WILL MAKE A DIFFERENCE -- A DECISIVE DIFFERENCE FOR THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT.

Q DO YOU THEREFORE WELCOME THE INCLUSION OF THE CROATIAN FORCES?

MR. BURNS: WE HAVE SAID THAT WE DO NOT FAVOR A WIDENING OF THIS WAR. THE BOSNIAN SERBS, THE CROATIAN SERBS

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AND THE MUSLIM -- THE RENEGADE MUSLIM ARMY HAVE WIDENED THE WAR. THE RESPONSIBILITY RESTS ON THEIR SHOULDERS
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FOR HAVING DONE SO.

WE'VE ALSO NOTED THAT THERE IS A FEDERATION IN PLACE; THAT ONE MEMBER OF THE FEDERATION, BOSNIA, REQUESTED THE ASSISTANCE OF THE OTHER, AND THE OTHER HAS COME TO ITS RESCUE. I THINK THAT'S AN ADEQUATE DESCRIPTION -- AN ACCURATE DESCRIPTION OF THE AMERICAN POSITION.

Q HAS ANY U.S. OFFICIAL MAKE ANY CONTACT WITH THE PRESIDENT OF (INAUDIBLE) FOR THE LAST COUPLE OF DAYS CONCERNING THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO OF BOSNIA?

MR. BURNS: THERE WAS A CONTACT GROUP MEETING

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YESTERDAY IN LONDON. BOB FRASURE -- AMBASSADOR BOB FRASURE REPRESENTED THE UNITED STATES. I UNDERSTAND THAT THE EUROPEAN UNION NEGOTIATOR CARL BILD'T REPORTED TO THE CONTACT GROUP ABOUT THE QUESTION THAT YOU ASKED -- THE STATUS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS ON RECOGNITION THAT DO INVOLVE THE GOVERNMENT IN BELGRADE.

AS YOU KNOW, THERE'S BEEN A LOT OF BACK AND FORTH ABOUT THIS. THIS WAS ORIGINALLY A NEGOTIATION IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT -- NAMELY, AMBASSADOR BOB FRASURE -- PLAYED THE LEADING ROLE. IN THE LAST COUPLE OF WEEKS, THAT ROLE HAS BEEN PLAYED BY MR. BILD'T.

IT'S OUR POSITION THAT THE TIME IS NOT YET RIPE FOR THE CONCLUSION OF THIS AGREEMENT. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT RECOGNITION OF BOSNIA WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT. WE ALSO BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT IN ORDER
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FOR THIS RECOGNITION TO HAVE REAL MEANING, ADDITIONAL STEPS MUST BE TAKEN TO STABILIZE THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND AND SEAL THE BORDER BETWEEN BOSNIA AND SERBIA.

AS WE DISCUSSED THIS ISSUE IN LONDON LAST FRIDAY NIGHT WITH OUR NATO ALLIES AND CONTACT GROUP MEMBER -- ALLIES -- IT WAS VERY CLEAR THAT NOT ALL OF THE ISSUES HAD BEEN RESOLVED. THERE WAS AN ISSUE OF FROZEN ASSETS THAT HAD NOT BEEN RESOLVED, AND WE'VE ALWAYS TALKED ABOUT MUTUAL RECOGNITION BETWEEN BOSNIA AND THE GOVERNMENT IN BELGRADE.

IT WAS NOT AT ALL CLEAR LAST WEEKEND IN LONDON THAT THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT WAS SATISFIED AND WAS WILLING TO TAKE THE STEPS TO RECOGNIZE. SO IT'S THE POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES THAT WE SHOULD CONTINUE THIS DIALOGUE;

THAT THIS WOULD BE A VERY IMPORTANT ACCOMPLISHMENT, BUT IT IS NOT YET RIPE FOR ACCOMPLISHMENT.

Q NEW SUBJECT?

MR. BURNS: FINE.

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Q CHINA. DID YOU SEE THE HARRY WU TAPE, AND DO YOU HAVE ANY REACTION TO IT?

MR. BURNS: I UNDERSTAND THAT OUR EMBASSY IN BEIJING HAS OBTAINED A COPY OF THIS TAPE THAT MANY OF US SAW ON UNCLASSIFIED

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TELEVISION THIS MORNING. BUT WE HAVE NOT YET RECEIVED A REPORT FROM THE EMBASSY ABOUT ITS ANALYSIS OF THIS TAPE. I WOULD SIMPLY SAY THIS: IT'S VERY DIFFICULT FOR US, WATCHING TELEVISION HERE IN WASHINGTON, TO DETERMINE WHAT THIS TAPE IS, WHO PRODUCED THE TAPE, HOW IT FELL INTO THE HANDS OF COMMERCIAL BROADCASTING COMPANIES FOR A PRICE, AND I WOULD JUST NOTE THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO OFFICIAL STATEMENT OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT THAT THEY HAVE IN FACT ISSUED THIS TAPE OR CONFIRMING THAT THE PERSON ON THE TAPE IS HARRY WU AND CONFIRMING WHAT HE MAY OR MAY NOT BE SAYING.

THE CENTRAL QUESTION FOR US ON THIS CASE, SINCE JUNE 23, THE DAY WE WERE ADVISED THAT HARRY WU WAS UNDER DETENTION, HAS BEEN THIS: HE'S AN AMERICAN CITIZENS WITH A VALID CHINESE VISA IN HIS VALID AMERICAN PASSPORT. HE OUGHT TO BE RELEASED ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS.

I NOTICE THAT MUCH OF THE COMMENTARY COMING OUT OF CHINA TALKS ABOUT THE LEGAL BASIS FOR THIS AND THE TRIAL, AND WHAT CRIMES MAY OR MAY NOT HAVE BEEN (COMMITTED), AND CONFESSIONS THIS MORNING. THAT'S NOT THE PERTINENT QUESTION FOR US. THE PERTINENT QUESTION IS, HE OUGHT TO BE RELEASED, AND HE OUGHT TO BE RELEASED IMMEDIATELY.

IT'S THAT MESSAGE THAT WE WILL CONTINUE TO EXTEND AND SEND TO THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT.

Q (INAUDIBLE) ABOUT CHINESE INTENTIONS IF THIS IS UNCLASSIFIED

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AS IT'S PURPORTED TO BE, A TAPE BEING RELEASED BY A
BRANCH OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT?

MR. BURNS: WE SIMPLY DON'T KNOW. I THINK YOU COULD
PROBABLY MAKE A CASE EITHER WAY. IT COULD BE GOOD NEWS;
IT COULD BE NEGATIVE NEWS. WE SIMPLY DON'T KNOW,
BECAUSE WE DON'T KNOW WHO PRODUCED THIS TAPE. IT HAS
NOT BEEN CLAIMED AS -- THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT HAS NOT
YET CLAIMED OWNERSHIP, AND THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT
OFFICIALLY -- THE FOREIGN MINISTRY AT LEAST -- HAS NOT
MADE STATEMENTS ABOUT THESE SO-CALLED CONFESSIONS THAT
THE TAPE DISCUSSES; AND THAT NEWS AGENCIES AND NEWS
REPORTS HAVE DISCUSSED FROM CHINA.

WE WANT TO BE VERY CAREFUL NOT TO JUMP TO ANY
CONCLUSIONS UNTIL WE ARE ABLE TO TALK SPECIFICALLY AND
DIRECTLY TO THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT ABOUT WHAT THEY THINK
IS HAPPENING.

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I WOULD ALSO SAY THAT WE HAVE AN OBVIOUS INTEREST IN
SEEING HARRY WU. WE HAVE NOT SEEN HIM IN A NUMBER OF
WEEKS. WE BELIEVE THAT IT MAKES SENSE FOR US TO HAVE
ACCESS TO HIM, TO ASSURE OURSELVES THAT HE'S OKAY, THAT
HE'S WELL, AND TO CONTINUE TO MAKE THE CASE DIRECTLY TO
THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT THAT HE OUGHT TO BE RELEASED.

Q HAVE YOU BEEN GIVEN ASSURANCES THAT YOU'LL GET
YOUR MONTHLY VISIT AT LEAST, AND WHEN WOULD THAT BE?
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MR. BURNS: I THINK THE CHINESE HAVE ASSURED US THAT WE'LL GET OUR MONTHLY VISIT. WE HAVE ASKED THEM FOR MORE FREQUENT VISITS.

Q WHEN WILL THAT BE, IF IT IS AT THE ABSOLUTELY OUTSIDE LIMIT?

MR. BURNS: I BELIEVE IT'S AROUND AUGUST 9, 10 OR 11, SOMEWHERE IN THAT NEIGHBORHOOD. I CAN CHECK ON THAT EXACT DATE. I BELIEVE MR. MACIAS, OUR CONSUL GENERAL, VISITED HIM IN WUHAN AROUND JULY 9, 10 OR 11 -- ONE OF THOSE DAYS.

Q NICK, IS THIS GOING TO AFFECT THE AGENDA OR THE TONE OF THE MEETINGS THAT MR. CHRISTOPHER IS GOING TO HAVE IN BRUNEI WITH THE CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER?

MR. BURNS: IT IS CERTAINLY AN ISSUE IN U S.-CHINA RELATIONS AND WILL REMAIN AN ISSUE UNTIL MR. WU IS RETURNED SAFELY, TO HIS HOME IN CALIFORNIA. THE AGENDA IS PRETTY WELL SET. THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA HAVE A VERY IMPORTANT RELATIONSHIP. WE HAVE SECURITY, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ISSUES ON THAT AGENDA. A NUMBER OF THEM HAVE GREAT CONSEQUENCE FOR THE FUTURE OF BOTH OF OUR COUNTRIES, AS PACIFIC COUNTRIES, AS PACIFIC POWERS.

THAT'S THE AGENDA: TO LOOK AT ALL THE MAJOR ISSUES IN THE RELATIONSHIP, AND TO SEE IF THERE'S A WAY TO SURMOUNT THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE LAST COUPLE OF MONTHS TO PROVIDE A MORE STABLE FOOTING AND FOUNDATION FOR THE
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U.S.-CHINA RELATIONSHIP. THAT'S WHAT SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER HOPES TO DO.

I WOULD JUST REMIND YOU, HE'LL BE AT THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB TOMORROW. HE'LL BE GIVING A MAJOR ADDRESS ON ASIA POLICY, WHICH, OF COURSE, WILL COVER OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH CHINA.

Q BUT TO CLARIFY, DOES THAT MEAN THAT THE

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MESSAGE THE SECRETARY WILL BE TAKING TO BRUNEI IS THAT AS LONG AS HARRY WU IS DETAINED, U.S.-CHINESE RELATIONS CAN'T BE IMPROVED?

MR. BURNS: THE MESSAGE IS THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA MUST HAVE A GOOD RELATIONSHIP. THEY MUST HAVE THE

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ABILITY TO WORK THROUGH BOTH OUR DIFFERENCES AND ALSO THOSE ISSUES WHERE WE CAN COOPERATE AND MOVE FORWARD TOGETHER. HARRY WU IS, OF COURSE, A MAJOR CASE ON THE U.S.-CHINESE AGENDA. IT WILL REMAIN SO UNTIL HE'S RELEASED.

WE'RE MAKING NO THREATS HERE. WE'RE NOT MAKING ANYTHING CONTINGENT ON ANYTHING ELSE. WE'RE SIMPLY SAYING THIS IS AN ISSUE THAT MATTERS TO US. HIS FREEDOM MATTERS TO US, AND WE'LL CONTINUE TO ASSERT THAT. WE'RE ALSO SAYING THAT THE RELATIONSHIP MATTERS, AND THAT BOTH OF US BEAR RESPONSIBILITY FOR IMPROVING THE RELATIONSHIP.

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TOM.

Q WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE DEPUTY SECRETARY'S TRIP TO HAITI?

Q COULD WE STAY ON CHINA?

MR. BURNS: TOM, MAYBE WE'LL STAY ON CHINA.

Q I'M SORRY. I THOUGHT YOU HAD FINISHED WITH CHINA. I BEG YOUR PARDON.

MR. BURNS: WE'LL GO DIRECTLY TO YOU AFTER WE FINISH IN CHINA.

Q DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT ON A XINHUA REPORT, DESCRIBING WHAT HARRY WU MAY HAVE DONE 30 YEARS AGO OR

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20 YEARS AGO? YOU KNOW, THAT THE CHINESE HAVE DISCLOSED THAT HE COMMITTED THEFT -- GRAND THEFT, RAPE AND SWINDLED MONEY BEFORE HE WAS FIRST THROWN INTO PRISON? DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT ON THAT?

MR. BURNS: UNLESS I'M MISTAKEN, IT'S NOT NORMAL FOR A NEWS AGENCY TO SPEAK ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT. I THINK WE HAVE TO WAIT AND SEE WHAT THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT HAS TO SAY ABOUT THOSE CHARGES.

I WOULD JUST NOTE, THOUGH, IN ANSWER TO YOUR QUESTION -- BECAUSE I DO WANT TO BE HELPFUL TO YOU -- HAD THEY HAD THOSE CONCERNS, WHY THEN DID THEY ISSUE HIM
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SEVERAL VISAS TO ENTER CHINA AFTER HE BECAME A NATURALIZED AMERICAN CITIZEN.

HARRY WU IS A GREAT CHAMPION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. HE'S A MAN WHO HAS SUFFERED GREATLY IN HIS LIFE, WHO HAS SPOKEN ELOQUENTLY ABOUT THOSE SUFFERINGS AND ABOUT THE SUFFERINGS OF A MUCH WIDER GROUP OF PEOPLE -- HUMAN RIGHTS DISSIDENTS IN CHINA. HE DESERVES AND HAS OUR RESPECT.

Q WHEN SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER MEETS FOREIGN MINISTER QIAN, IS THE SECRETARY LIKELY TO EXTEND ON BEHALF

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OF PRESIDENT CLINTON AN INVITATION FOR THE CHINESE PRESIDENT TO COME HERE FOR A SUMMIT?

MR. BURNS: I SIMPLY DON'T KNOW. THE U.S.-CHINA AGENDA IS VERY FULL. WE WANT TO HAVE A GOOD

RELATIONSHIP. WE WANT TO HAVE FREQUENT MEETINGS AND HIGH-LEVEL MEETINGS. THE QUESTION OF A PRESIDENTIAL MEETING IS A QUESTION FOR PRESIDENTS TO DECIDE, AND OUR PRESIDENT IS BILL CLINTON, AND HE HAS TO MAKE THAT DECISION.

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SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER WILL BE CARRYING A VERY BROAD MESSAGE FROM THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, AND THAT IS THAT WE HAVE GOT TO GET THIS RELATIONSHIP BACK ON UNCLASSIFIED

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TRACK. WE'VE GOT TO RESOLVE PROBLEMS, AND WE'VE GOT TO DO IT IN A CONSTRUCTIVE WAY.

DAVID.

Q ON THE TAPE, ONE OF THE MOST INTERESTING THINGS IN IT IS WHERE HARRY WU IS BEING QUESTIONED AND IS REALLY CRITICIZING THE BBC, BUT THE MAIN CHARGE AGAINST HIM IS STEALING STATE SECRETS. DOES THE DEPARTMENT HAVE ANY GREATER UNDERSTANDING THAN IT USED TO OF -- OR EXACTLY WHAT THE CHARGES ARE, WHAT THEY'RE BASED ON AT THIS POINT?

MR. BURNS: NO, WE DO NOT.

Q WHAT SECRETS HE STOLE?

MR. BURNS: NO, WE DO NOT. WE'VE RECEIVED VERY LITTLE INFORMATION FROM THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT. I BELIEVE WE'VE REPORTED TO YOU IN FACT THE EXTENT OF OUR UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT THE CHARGES ARE AS HE FACES A POSSIBLE TRIAL IN THE FUTURE.

HE IS IN A PRETRIAL PERIOD NOW, AS DESCRIBED BY THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT, WHERE THEY ARE INVESTIGATING CHARGES MADE AGAINST HIM FOR ALLEGED CRIMES AND DETERMINING WHETHER OR NOT TO BRING HIM TO TRIAL. WE HAVE NOT BEEN GIVEN ANY SPECIFIC INFORMATION ABOUT THE DETAILS OF ANY ALLEGED VIOLATIONS OF THE LAW THAT HE MAY OR MAY NOT HAVE COMMITTED.

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I WOULD JUST NOTE THAT WE HAVE NOT ESTABLISHED THE
VALIDITY OF THESE TAPES. IF THEY ARE VALID, I THINK
EVERYBODY UNDERSTANDS THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH SUCH
TAPES ARE MADE. HARRY WU HAS BEEN A TIRELESS ADVOCATE
OF HUMAN RIGHTS. HE HAS SPOKEN VERY CLEARLY UNDER
ADVERSE CIRCUMSTANCES ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS IN
CHINA, AND THEREFORE WE WOULD LOOK AT SUCH TAPES WITH A
GREAT DEAL SKEPTICISM.

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Q NICK, WOULD THE EMBASSY HAVE TO PAY THE
REPORTED \$3,000 THAT OTHER NEWS AGENCIES WERE CHARGED,
APPARENTLY IN OBTAINING THE TAPE.

MR. BURNS: I CERTAINLY HOPE NOT. (LAUGHTER) I
CAN'T BELIEVE THAT THE EMBASSY WOULD. I THINK IT'S
APPALLING THAT ANYBODY WOULD SELL SUCH A TAPE. IN THE
FIRST PLACE, I CAN'T BELIEVE THAT THE EMBASSY WOULD
AGREE TO PURCHASE ONE. IT'S A GOOD QUESTION, THOUGH.

WE'RE OFF CHINA. TOM.

Q WHY IS THE DEPUTY SECRETARY IN HAITI? AND THE
SECOND PART OF THE QUESTION IS WHAT'S THE SIGNIFICANCE
AND THE TIMING OF MR. REMY'S RESIGNATION?

MR. BURNS: DEPUTY SECRETARY STROBE TALBOTT IS IN
HAITI BECAUSE HE HAS HAD A REGULAR SERIES OF MEETINGS
WITH THE HAITIAN LEADERSHIP, INCLUDING WITH PRESIDENT
ARISTIDE. HE'S BEEN ACCOMPANIED DOWN TO HAITI TODAY --

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IT'S A ONE-DAY VISIT -- BY BRIAN ATWOOD, THE DIRECTOR OF
USAID, AND BY JAN LODAL, WHO IS DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY
OF DEFENSE.

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STROBE TALBOTT HAS SINCE WELL BEFORE LAST SEPTEMBER, WHEN DEMOCRACY RETURNED TO HAITI, TAKEN A LEADING ROLE IN THE ADMINISTRATION ON THIS POLICY. HE'S TAKEN A GREAT PERSONAL INTEREST IN THE ISSUE AND IN BUILDING A NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH THE HAITIAN GOVERNMENT AND HE HAS A VERY CLOSE, I THINK, UNDERSTANDING AND A GOOD UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROBLEMS THERE.

SO HE'S GONE DOWN TO TALK ABOUT OUR RELATIONSHIP. HE'S GONE DOWN TO TALK ABOUT THE CHALLENGE FOR THE HAITIAN GOVERNMENT TO BOLSTER ITS ELECTORAL MACHINERY AND BOLSTER ITS CAPABILITIES TO HOLD FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS IN THE FUTURE. ALSO TO DISCUSS A NUMBER OF OTHER PROBLEMS PERTAINING TO THE CHALLENGES OF BUILDING DEMOCRACY IN HAITI.

Q WHILE HE WAS IN THE AIR, MR. REMY RESIGNED. WHAT DO YOU MAKE OF THE TIMING OF THAT?

MR. BURNS: I BELIEVE IT MUST BE COINCIDENTAL. I

CAN'T IMAGINE THAT THERE WOULD BE ANY CONNECTION BETWEEN THIS TRIP AND A RESIGNATION BY SOMEONE IN HAITI.

Q (INAUDIBLE) (LAUGHTER)A

MR. BURNS: THANK YOU, TOM. DO YOU HAVE A FOLLOW-UP
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QUESTION?

Q NO.

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MR. BURNS: OKAY.

Q HAMAS TERRORISTS IN NEW YORK. DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ON THE FELLOW WHO WAS DETAINED AT KENNEDY ON TUESDAY, AND PARTICULARLY DO YOU HAVE ANY INFORMATION ON HOW THE AUTHORITIES GOT WIND OF HIM? WAS THERE A TIP FROM THE ISRAELIS?

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MR. BURNS: I BELIEVE I'M GOING TO HAVE TO REFER YOU TO JUSTICE ON THIS PARTICULAR CASE. I HAVE VERY LITTLE INFORMATION ABOUT THIS INDIVIDUAL. I CAN TELL YOU THAT THE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE DETAINED MUSA ABU MARZUK TUESDAY AT THE KENNEDY INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT IN NEW YORK, THAT HIS IMMIGRATION STATUS IS CURRENTLY UNDER REVIEW, AND ANY FURTHER QUESTIONS HAVE TO BE REFERRED TO THE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE ON HIM.

I AM NOT IN A POSITION TO GIVE YOU ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON THIS PARTICULAR CASE.

Q THE HOUSE PASSED YESTERDAY THE BILL TO FUND -- TO PAY YOUR SALARIES ESSENTIALLY -- THE STATE DEPARTMENT AUTHORIZATION BILL, APPROPRIATIONS BILL. THE PRESIDENT SAID YESTERDAY THAT HE WOULD VETO THE SENATE

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AUTHORIZATION BILL BY JESSE HELMS, WHICH MANDATES THE RESTRUCTURING OF THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS AGENCIES.

IS THE ADMINISTRATION GOING TO VETO THE HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS BILL FOR THE STATE DEPARTMENT?

MR. BURNS: THAT'S A DECISION THAT ONLY THE PRESIDENT CAN MAKE. THE PRESIDENT EXERCISES THAT RIGHT, AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE, OF COURSE, WILL ADVISE HIM

IN THAT MATTER, WOULD BE ONE OF THE PEOPLE WHO DOES. BUT I DON'T WANT TO PUT MYSELF INTO THAT PLACE TO TALK ABOUT THAT PUBLICLY OR TO PREDICT WHAT MIGHT HAPPEN PUBLICLY.

CLEARLY, AS YOU KNOW, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS A VERY STRONG OBJECTION TO PROPOSED LEGISLATION THAT WOULD COMPEL THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE TO TAKE UNDER ITS WINGS THREE AGENCIES OF THE U. S. GOVERNMENT.

WE ALSO HAVE A STRONG OBJECTION TO THE FACT THAT NOT ONLY OUR OPERATING BUDGET, BUT AMERICAN ECONOMIC

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ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS HAVE BEEN CUT TO THE BONE, BEYOND WHAT IS RATIONAL, AND BEYOND WHAT IS IN THE INTERESTS OF THIS COUNTRY IN MEETING AND ADVANCING OUR INTEREST OVERSEAS.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY HAVE BOTH SPOKEN TO THAT IN THE LAST COUPLE OF DAYS, AND THEY HAVE SENT LETTERS TO THE CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP ON BOTH ISSUES.

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Q JUST TO FOLLOW-UP ON THAT, THE HOUSE BILL YESTERDAY ALSO INCLUDED AN AMENDMENT TO PREVENT SPENDING ANY MONEY TO CREATE AN EMBASSY, TO EXPAND THE PRESENT DIPLOMATIC STRUCTURE IN HANOI, AND TO ESTABLISH AN EMBASSY, I BELIEVE.

DO YOU HAVE ANY REACTION TO THAT MOVE?

MR. BURNS: WE VERY MUCH DISAGREE WITH IT AND OPPOSE IT AND WILL CONTINUE TO OPPOSE IT. THE PRESIDENT HAS MADE A DECISION THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL NORMALIZE ITS RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM. HE HAS DONE THAT. WE HAVE FORMAL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS IN PLACE.

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER ON AUGUST 5TH AND 6TH WILL OPEN THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY IN HANOI. HE WILL BEGIN A RELATIONSHIP WITH HIS COUNTERPARTS, THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF VIETNAM. HE WILL GO THERE TO TALK ABOUT THE ISSUE THAT CONCERNS ALL OF US, THE REMAINS OF OUR POWS AND MIAS THAT MAY BE HANDED OVER -- SOME OF WHICH MAY BE HANDED OVER TO SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER ON HIS TRIP, AND THE FATE OF THOSE WHO DISAPPEARED FROM THE WAR AND WHOM WE HAVE NO RECORD.

THAT IS THE CENTRAL ISSUE IN OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH VIETNAM.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY HAVE MADE A DETERMINATION BASED ON ALL OF THE WORK THAT THE UNITED

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STATES GOVERNMENT HAS DONE WITH THE VIETNAMESE DATING
BACK TO THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION, INCLUDING MOST
NOTABLY THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION, THAT OUR ABILITY TO
MAKE PROGRESS ON POW/MIAS IS GOING TO BE MUCH STRONGER
IF WE HAVE AN ON-GOING RELATIONSHIP WITH VIETNAM THAN IT
WILL BE IF WE FAIL TO TAKE THE STEPS TO NORMALIZE OUR
RELATIONS.

WE FEEL VERY CONFIDENT THAT THIS IS THE RIGHT
DECISION FOR THE UNITED STATES AND WE ARE GOING TO
CONTINUE TO ASSERT THE POINT WITH THE CONGRESS THAT WE
HAVE OPENED THE EMBASSY. WE HAVE BEGUN DIPLOMATIC
RELATIONS, AND WE CAN'T STOP ONCE WE HAVE BEGUN, AND WE
SHOULD NOT STOP ONCE WE HAVE BEGUN.

Q YOU ARE DESCRIBED ON THE OP-ED PAGE OF THE
WASHINGTON POST THIS MORNING --

MR. BURNS: I SAW THAT.

Q -- AS THE ABLE SPOKESMAN FOR THE STATE
DEPARTMENT. AN ARTICLE THAT ALSO SAYS THAT YOU WERE
MISLED BY YOUR SOUTH ASIAN COLLEAGUES IN THE
DEPARTMENT. WOULD YOU LIKE TO COMMENT ON THAT?

MR. BURNS: I THINK IT IS A MOST UNFAIR
CHARACTERIZATION OF MY COLLEAGUES IN THE SOUTH ASIA
BUREAU WHO ARE AMONG THE BEST COLLEAGUES THAT I HAVE IN
THIS

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BUILDING, INCLUDING THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROBIN RAPHEL AND INCLUDING A NUMBER OF OTHERS. THEY ARE VERY, VERY ACCOMPLISHED PROFESSIONALS, SO I DO TAKE ISSUE WITH THAT.

I WOULD JUST SAY, ON THIS GENERAL QUESTION -- LET'S GO TO THE SUBSTANCE -- WE BELIEVE THAT PAKISTAN HAS NO INTEREST IN SEEING IRAN ACQUIRE NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND WE ARE UNAWARE OF ANY CURRENT PAKISTANI ASSISTANCE TO IRAN'S NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROGRAM.

WE HAVE SEEN REPORTS THAT THE FORMER CHIEF OF

PAKISTAN'S ARMY STAFF, GENERAL BEG, MAY HAVE BEEN INTERESTED IN THE PAST, BEFORE THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT TOOK OFFICE, IN NUCLEAR COOPERATION WITH IRAN. WE ARE UNAWARE OF ANY OFFICIAL COOPERATION HAVING TAKEN PLACE, ALTHOUGH WE OBVIOUSLY CANNOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF UNAUTHORIZED CONTACTS THAT MAY HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THE PAST.

SO I AM MAKING A DISTINCTION HERE BETWEEN WHAT WE THINK COULD POSSIBLY HAVE HAPPENED, THEORETICALLY IN THE PAST, AND WHAT WE BELIEVE TO BE THE CASE NOW. THAT IS, THE GOVERNMENT IN PLACE NOW, THE GOVERNMENT OF PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO, IS NOT EXTENDING NUCLEAR ASSISTANCE TO IRAN.

Q ANY REPORTS OF THE MISSILES FROM CHINA, WHICH ARE ALSO MENTIONED IN THE SAME ARTICLE?

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MR. BURNS: YES. I WOULD JUST STICK BY THE STATEMENT THAT I HAVE MADE.

Q OKAY. THANK YOU.

END TEXT. CHRISTOPHER

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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OPRC

SUBJECT: EUR DAILY PRESS GUIDANCE - JULY 6, 1995

PARIS ALSO FOR USOECD, ROME ALSO FOR VATICAN, USVIENNA FOR USDEL
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1. THE OLLOWING PRESS GUIDANCE WAS PREPARED AND APPROVED
BY THE BUREAU OF EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE
DEPARTMENT BRIEFING. QUESTIONS SHOULD BE REFERRED TO
ARIC SCHWAN OR DALE BAKER, EUR PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

2. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: FIGHTING UPDATE

Q: FIGHTING UPDATE?

A: -- FIGHTING ERUPTED IN SARAJEVO OVERNIGHT,
LEAVING TWO DEAD AND 17 WOUNDED. THERE HAVE
BEEN ADDITIONAL CASUALTIES TODAY.

-- HEAVY FIGHTING BROKE OUT THURSDAY MORNING IN
THE EASTERN ENCLAVE OF SREBRENICA
(SREH-BREH-NEET-SAH). THE UN REPORTS THAT SIX
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SERB ROCKETS HIT THE TOWN, FOLLOWED BY HEAVY
FIGHTING IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE ENCLAVE.
BOSNIAN RADIO REPORTED FIVE CIVILIANS
WOUNDED. TWO DUTCH UN CHECKPOINTS WERE
REPORTEDLY SHELLED.

-- IN MOSTAR (MOH-STAR), ONE SERB SHELL LANDED
SEVERAL HUNDRED METERS FROM THE SITE OF TALKS
BETWEEN EU ENVOY CARL BILDT AND BOSNIAN CROAT
LEADER KRESIMIR ZUBAK (KRESH-EE-MEER

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ZOO-BOK) . NO ONE WAS INJURED .

-- THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION REPORTS THAT CIVILIAN CAUSALTIES IN BOSNIA DOUBLED IN JUNE COMPARED TO MAY, REACHING 144 DEAD AND 608 WOUNDED .

Q: UPDATE ON FRENCH UN CONVOY DELIVERIES?

A: -- WE SALUTE THE BRAVERY AND DETERMINATION OF THE FRENCH AND OTHER PEACEKEEPERS WHO ARE SUBJECTING THEMSELVES TO GREAT DANGER TO GET ESSENTIAL SUPPLIES THROUGH TO SARAJEVO. I WOULD NOTE THAT UN FORCES ARE AUTHORIZED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO USE WHATEVER MEANS NECESSARY TO GET AID THROUGH.

-- THE THIRD CONVOY SINCE MONDAY ARRIVED IN SARAJEVO WEDNESDAY NIGHT, BRINGING ANOTHER 60 TONS OF FLOUR. THIS AID WAS TRANSPORTED OVER THE DANGEROUS MOUNT IGMAN ROAD FROM JABLANICA
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(YAH-BLAH-NEET-SAH), 30 MILES SOUTHWEST OF SARAJEVO.

-- ONE FOOD CONVOY REACHED THE WESTERN ENCLAVE OF BIHAC (BEE-HACH) YESTERDAY, SLIGHTLY ALLEVIATING THE DIRE FOOD SHORTAGE THERE. HOWEVER, SEVERAL OTHER CONVOYS DESTINED FOR BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT-HELD ENCLAVES WERE REFUSED PERMISSION TO PROCEED BY THE BOSNIAN SERBS.

3. DEMONSTRATIONS IN SERBIA AGAINST FORCED ROUNDUPS

Q: COMMENT ON DEMONSTRATIONS IN SERBIA AGAINST FORCED ROUNDUPS OF SERB REFUGEES FROM CROATIA AND BOSNIA?

A: -- THE U.S. SYMPATHIZES WITH THE PLIGHT OF THE FAMILIES OF THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN ROUNDED UP IN

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THE LAST FEW WEEKS AND FORCIBLY REPATRIATED TO BOSNIA AND CROATIA. AS WE HAVE SAID BEFORE, THESE ROUNDUPS ARE A CONCERN ON TWO FRONTS:

- FIRST, IT IS A VIOLATION OF THE GENEVA CONVENTION ON REFUGEES TO REPATRIATE FORCIBLY ANYONE WHO HAS CROSSED AN INTERNATIONAL BORDER DUE TO A WELL-FOUNDED FEAR OF PERSECUTION.
- AT A MINIMUM, AS SERBIAN HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS HAVE DEMANDED, THERE SHOULD BE DUE PROCESS AND OPEN HEARINGS REGARDING THE

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RESIDENCE STATUS OF THESE REFUGEES IN SERBIA. INSTEAD, THEY ARE ROUNDED UP IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NIGHT AND HAULED AWAY WITH NO LEGAL RECOURSE.

- SECOND, SERBIAN GOVERNMENT COMPLICITY IN THESE ROUNDUPS RUNS COUNTER TO MILOSEVIC'S PLEDGE LAST FALL TO CUT OFF ALL MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO THE BOSNIAN AND KRAJINA SERBS.
- AS AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT NOTED YESTERDAY AT THE SECURITY COUNCIL, THE U.S. WILL CONTINUE TO PAY CLOSE ATTENTION TO THESE AND OTHER ISSUES RELATED TO BELGRADE'S COMMITMENT TO IMPLEMENT THE BORDER CLOSURE WITH BOSNIA, BETWEEN NOW AND THE NEXT SANCTIONS SUSPENSION RENEWAL ON SEPTEMBER 18.

Q: HAS THE U.S. RAISED THIS ISSUE WITH THE SERBIAN GOVERNMENT?

A: -- U.S. EMBASSY OFFICIALS IN BELGRADE HAVE RAISED THIS ISSUE WITH SERBIAN OFFICIALS ON BOTH HUMAN RIGHTS AND SANCTIONS GROUNDS.

(NOTE: INTERNATIONAL NGO'S FOLLOWING THIS ISSUE IN BELGRADE ESTIMATE THE NUMBER OF YOUNG MEN ROUNDED UP BETWEEN SEVERAL HUNDRED AND 2,000. THERE IS NO

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EVIDENCE FOR THE UP TO 40,000 FIGURE MENTIONED IN TODAY'S NYT).

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4. BOSNIA: NO-FLY ZONE

Q: AFTER YESTERDAY'S SERB AIRSTRIKE IN BIHAC, IS THE NO-FLY ZONE STILL IN OPERATION?

A: -- THE NO-FLY ZONE AND OPERATION DENY FLIGHT ARE STILL IN FORCE.

-- NATO PLANES DID NOT INTERCEPT ANY FIXED-WING AIRCRAFT OVER BOSNIA YESTERDAY. NATO RECEIVED A REPORT OF A FIXED-WING AIRCRAFT VIOLATING THE NO-FLY ZONE ON JULY 5. NATO HAS NO OBSERVATION RECORDS TO CONFIRM THE REPORT AND IS INVESTIGATING THE MATTER. NATO DENY FLIGHT PLANES ABLE TO INTERCEPT SUCH AN AIRCRAFT TAKING MILITARILY SIGNIFICANT ACTION ARE AUTHORIZED TO FORCE IT TO LAND OR TO SHOOT IT DOWN WITHOUT DUAL KEY PROCEDURES.

Q: DID THE UN REQUEST NATO AIRSTRIKES YESTERDAY?

A: -- NO. NATO DID NOT RECEIVE ANY REQUEST FROM THE UN IN CONNECTION WITH THIS INCIDENT.

Q: DID THE DUAL KEY APPLY IN THIS SITUATION?

A: -- DUAL KEY DOES NOT APPLY IF NATO PLANES INTERCEPT A NO-FLY ZONE VIOLATOR ENGAGED IN MILITARILY SIGNIFICANT ACTIVITY.

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5. SERBIA: SANCTIONS RESOLUTION: USG POSITION

Q. WHAT HAPPENED AT THE SECURITY COUNCIL YESTERDAY ON THE RENEWAL OF FRY SANCTIONS RELIEF?

- A. -- THE COUNCIL PASSED RESOLUTION 1003, WHICH EXTENDS EXISTING SANCTIONS RELIEF TOWARD THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA (FRY) FOR AN ADDITIONAL 75 DAYS TO SEPTEMBER 18.
- THE RELIEF INCLUDES CONTINUED RELAXATION OF PROHIBITIONS AGAINST TRAVEL, CULTURAL, AND SPORTING EXCHANGES WITH THE FRY. ALL OTHER ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST THE FRY REMAIN IN EFFECT.
- WE VOTED IN FAVOR OF THE RESOLUTION. THE FRY HAS MADE PROGRESS IN CLOSING THE BORDER BETWEEN SERBIA AND BOSNIA.
- AT THE SAME TIME, AS AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT INDICATED FOLLOWING THE VOTE, THE U.S. IS CONCERNED ABOUT REPORTS OF MILITARY COOPERATION BETWEEN BELGRADE AND THE PALE SERBS. WE WILL CONTINUE TO LOOK VERY CLOSELY AT THIS ISSUE OVER THE NEXT 75 DAYS TO DETERMINE WHETHER FURTHER EXTENSION OF SANCTIONS RELIEF WOULD BE WARRANTED.

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6. CROATIAN HUMAN RIGHTS IN WESTERN SLAVONIA

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- Q: HOW WOULD THE U.S. CHARACTERIZE CROATIA'S HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE IN WESTERN SLAVONIA IN THE WAKE OF THE MAY MILITARY ACTION THERE?
- A: -- IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE MAY 1 CROATIAN MILITARY ACTION IN WESTERN SLAVONIA, U.S. EMBASSY OFFICIALS IN ZAGREB BEGAN REGULAR VISITS TO THE AREA TO MONITOR THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION.
- THE EMBASSY FOUND THAT THE CROATIAN ARMY'S OVERALL RECORD ON TREATMENT OF LOCAL SERB RESIDENTS WAS GOOD.
- THERE WERE, HOWEVER, CLEAR INCIDENTS OF LOOTING OR MISSING PRIVATE PROPERTY. CROATIAN OFFICIALS WERE OFTEN SLOW TO ACT ON CLAIMS FOR COMPENSATION AND CROATIAN IDENTITY DOCUMENTS FOR SERB RESIDENTS THERE. THERE WERE ALSO ISOLATED REPORTS OF MISTREATMENT OF LOCAL SERBS WHICH NEED TO BE INVESTIGATED.
- THE U.S. HAS RAISED SEVERAL KEY ISSUES WITH THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT REGARDING THE NEED TO ACHIEVE A HIGHER STANDARD OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN WESTERN SLAVONIA. THESE INCLUDE DISREPARANCIES
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REGARDING THE NUMBER AND LOCATION OF SOME CASUALTIES, AND INDIVIDUALS STILL IN DETENTION.
- THE U.S. HAS ALSO ENCOURAGED THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT TO PROCEED WITH THE SPEEDY ISSUANCE OF CROATIAN PASSPORTS TO LOCAL SERBS, TO REINFORCE THE PRINCIPLE THAT SERBS WHO LIVED IN FORMER UN SECTOR WEST ARE NOT SECOND CLASS CITIZENS.

7. ARMS CONTROL: HEU AGREEMENT

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- Q. CAN YOU PROVIDE MORE DETAILS ON THE AGREEMENT REACHED AT THE GORE-CHERNOMYRDIN MEETING ON U.S. PURCHASES OF HEU?
- A. -- THE HEU PROTOCOL, "IN FURTHERANCE OF THE INITIAL IMPLEMENTING CONTRACT FOR THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION CONCERNING THE DISPOSITION OF HIGHLY ENRICHED URANIUM EXTRACTED FROM NUCLEAR WEAPONS, WAS SIGNED JUNE 30.
- THE PROTOCOL IS A DEMONSTRATION OF THE COMMITMENT OF BOTH SIDES TO THE SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HEU CONTRACT, WHICH WAS SIGNED JANUARY 14, 1994.

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- THE HEU CONTRACT CURRENTLY STIPULATES THAT THE EXECUTIVE AGENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION, TECHSNABEXPORT (TENEX) WOULD ONLY RECEIVE PAYMENT FOR ABOUT TWO-THIRDS OF THE TOTAL VALUE OF THE LOW ENRICHED URANIUM UPON DELIVERY. PAYMENT FOR THE NATURAL URANIUM COMPONENT WOULD BE MADE UPON USING OR SELLING THIS MATERIAL.
- THIS NEW PROTOCOL COMMITS THE USG, IN COOPERATION WITH ITS EXECUTIVE AGENT, THE UNITED STATES ENRICHMENT CORPORATION (USEC), TO WORK TO IMPLEMENT A PROCESS BY WHICH TENEX WOULD RECEIVE FULL PAYMENT FOR BOTH THE ENRICHED AND NATURAL URANIUM COMPONENTS UPON DELIVERY OF THIS MATERIAL TO USEC.
- THE U.S. WILL UNDERTAKE ACTIONS TO ENABLE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF A TIERED SALES APPROACH FOR THE FAIR AND BALANCED INTRODUCTION OF THE NATURAL URANIUM COMPONENT OF LEU IN THE U.S. MARKETPLACE AND WILL SEEK THE ENACTMENT OF LEGISLATION NECESSARY TO AUTHORIZE

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PRESIDENTIAL WAIVER AUTHORITY OF DUTIES AND RELEVANT TRADE RESTRICTIONS, SPECIFICALLY AND ONLY FOR THE NATURAL URANIUM COMPONENT OF THE HEU AGREEMENT.

Q. WAS THERE ALSO AN AGREEMENT ON AN ADVANCE TO RUSSIA?

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A. -- THE PROTOCOL ALSO RECORDS AN AGREEMENT TO ADVANCE 100 MILLION TO RUSSIA TO HELP FINANCE THE PROVISION OF NUCLEAR REACTOR FUEL TO UKRAINE IN IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TRILATERAL STATEMENT WHICH PROVIDES FOR THE TRANSFER OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM UKRAINE TO RUSSIA FOR DISMANTLEMENT.

-- THIS 100 MILLION WILL BE ADVANCED BY USEC, AND BE REPAID THROUGH DELIVERIES OF ENRICHED URANIUM UNDER THE HEU CONTRACT.

8. AEGEAN TENSION

Q: WHAT IS THE U.S. DOING TO DEFUSE GROWING TENSION IN THE AEGEAN? HAVE WE SENT A SPECIAL ENVOY TO ANKARA AND ATHENS?

A: -- THE U.S. IS CONCERNED ABOUT STATEMENTS IN BOTH ANKARA AND ATHENS WHICH HAVE INCREASED TENSION.

-- WE HAVE URGED BOTH PARTIES TO AVOID STATEMENTS OR ACTIONS WHICH MIGHT BE PROVOCATIVE AND TO ENGAGE IN SERIOUS DIALOGUE ON THE ISSUES ABOUT WHICH THEY DISAGREE.

-- WE HAVE NO PLANS TO SEND A SPECIAL ENVOY TO ANKARA AND ATHENS. WE HAVE EMBASSIES HEADED BY EXCELLENT AMBASSADORS IN BOTH CAPITALS

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WHICH CARRY OUT U.S. POLICY.

9. UK (NORTHERN IRELAND): SINN FEIN ALLEGED TO BE
 BEHIND DISTURBANCES

Q: ANY COMMENT ON THE CLAIM BY THE CATHOLIC WEST
 BELFAST MP JOE HENDRON (SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC AND
 LABOR PARTY) THAT SINN FEIN AND GERRY ADAMS
 ORCHESTRATED THE RECENT CIVIL DISTURBANCES IN
 BELFAST AND LONDONDERRY?

A: -- WE HAVE NO KNOWLEDGE OF ANY DIRECT INVOLVEMENT
 BY SINN FEIN IN ORCHESTRATING THE CIVIL
 DISTURBANCES IN NORTHERN IRELAND, AND WE NOTE
 THAT MR. ADAMS HAS ISSUED AN APPEAL FOR CALM.

 -- WE CALL ON ALL PARTIES TO THE CEASEFIRE TO
 REFRAIN FROM VIOLENCE AND ACTIVELY WORK TO
 PREVENT ANY RETURN TO VIOLENCE.

 -- THE PLACE FOR ALL PARTIES TO DEAL WITH THEIR
 DIFFERENCES IS IN TALKS.

10. IRAQ: TURKISH INCURSION

Q: DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ON A NEW TURKISH INCURSION
 INTO NORTHERN IRAQ?

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A: -- AFP HAS REPORTED SUCH AN INCURSION, AS HAS CNN.

-- THE TURKISH GENERAL STAFF HAS CONFIRMED THAT
WHAT THEY CHARACTERIZE AS A "SMALL OPERATION"
TOOK PLACE YESTERDAY.

-- THEY HAVE ALSO SAID THAT 48 PKK FIGHTERS WERE
KILLED.

Q: HAVE TURKISH TROOPS DEPARTED NORTHERN IRAQ?

A: -- WE HAVE ASKED OUR EMBASSY TO CHECK ON THIS; AT
THIS POINT, WE CANNOT CONFIRM WHETHER OR NOT
THE TURKISH TROOPS HAVE DEPARTED.

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TAGS: OPRC

SUBJECT: EUR DAILY PRESS GUIDANCE - JULY 10, 1995

PARIS ALSO FOR USOECD, ROME ALSO FOR VATICAN, USVIENNA FOR USDEL
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1. THE FOLLOWING PRESS GUIDANCE WAS PREPARED AND APPROVED BY THE BUREAU OF EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE DEPARTMENT BRIEFING. QUESTIONS SHOULD BE REFERRED TO ARIC SCHWAN, EUR PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

2. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: FIGHTING UPDATE

Q: CRISIS IN SREBENICA?

A: -- THE CRISIS IN THE EASTERN ENCLAVE OF SREBENICA (SREH-BREH-NEET-SAH) HAS COME TO A HEAD. THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY ADVANCED ON THE UN DESIGNATED "SAFE AREA" OVER THE WEEKEND, APPROACHING TO WITHIN A MILE AND A HALF OF THE CITY AND CAPTURING 3 UN OBSERVATION POSTS.

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-- A PLATOON OF DUTCH PEACEKEEPERS ARMED WITH ANTITANK WEAPONS BLOCKS THE CITY'S SOUTHERN PERIMETER. THE UN HAS THREATENED NATO AIRSTRIKES IF THE BOSNIAN SERBS ATTACK THE DUTCH POSITION. IN RESPONSE TO THE UN THREAT, BOSNIAN SERBS SEIZED 15 DUTCH UN PEACEKEEPERS ON SATURDAY DURING ATTACKS ON TWO UN CAMPS. ANOTHER 15 UN PEACEKEEPERS WERE TAKEN HOSTAGE ON SUNDAY.

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- UN OFFICIALS REPORT THAT SEVEN OF THE PEACEKEEPERS WERE TAKEN TO THE SERB-HELD TOWN OF BRATUNAC (BRAH-TOO-NATZ) AND EIGHT REMAIN WITH BOSNIAN SERB TROOPS IN AN OVERRUN UN POSITION. THE WHEREABOUTS OF THE REMAINING UN HOSTAGES ARE NOT KNOWN.

- ONE DUTCH UN PEACEKEEPER WAS KILLED IN THE CROSSFIRE BETWEEN BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT TROOPS AND THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY AS HIS UNIT WITHDREW FROM ITS POST. THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT HAS REPORTED THAT AT LEAST 8 CIVILIANS HAVE BEEN KILLED AND 27 WOUNDED DURING THE FIGHTING.

Q: FIGHTING UPDATE ELSEWHERE IN BOSNIA?

- A: -- IN SARAJEVO, ONE FRENCH UN PEACEKEEPER WAS WOUNDED IN SNIPER FIRE ON SUNDAY. SHELLING OF THE CITY OVER THE WEEKEND LEFT 2 CIVILIANS DEAD AND 11 WOUNDED. FIGHTING EARLIER TODAY WAS ALSO REPORTED IN ZEPA (ZHE-PAH), SOUTH OF
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SREBRENICA.

3. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: HUMANITARIAN UPDATE

- Q: UPDATE ON HUMANITARIAN SITUATION AND CONVOY DELIVERIES?

- A: -- THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE SAID THEY WILL PERMIT HUMANITARIAN AID CONVOYS TO ENTER SARAJEVO TODAY. THESE WOULD BE THE FIRST RELIEF EFFORTS THAT THE SERBS HAVE ALLOWED TO ENTER THE BESIEGED CITY IN MORE THAN TWO WEEKS. THE UN HAS HAD TO DELIVER AID AT NIGHT ALONG THE DANGEROUS MOUNT IGMAN ROAD, OFTEN UNDER FIRE FROM BOSNIAN SERB TROOPS.

- THE UNHCR REPORTED THAT IN THE PAST WEEK THEY

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HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DELIVER AID TO THE BOSNIAN CITIES OF ZENICA AND TUZLA, BUT REBEL FORCES HAVE STILL BLOCKED ACCESS TO MANY OF THE ENCLAVES. ONLY ONE CONVOY, CARRYING 50 METRIC TONS OF AID, REACHED ZEPA DURING THE MONTH OF JUNE AND LAST WEEK GORAZDE (GOR-AHZ-DAY) RECEIVED ITS FIRST AID CONVOY SINCE MAY 20.

-- IN THE WESTERN ENCLAVE OF BIHAC (BEE-HACH), WHERE THERE HAVE BEEN TWO CONFIRMED CASES OF DEATH BY MALNUTRITION, THE UN WAS ONLY ABLE TO DELIVER THREE CONVOYS OF AID LAST WEEK, FAR
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SHORT OF THE NEEDS OF THE POPULATION. DURING THE MONTH OF JUNE, LESS THAN 10 PERCENT OF FOOD AID NEEDS WERE MET.

4. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: INTERNATIONAL VOLUNTEERS

Q: REACTION TO BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT REQUEST FOR INTERNATIONAL VOLUNTEERS?

A: -- WE SUPPORT THE EFFORTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO BRING PEACE TO BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA AND BELIEVE THAT STRENGTHENING THE UN MISSION WITH THE RAPID REACTION FORCE IS THE BEST WAY TO FULFILL THAT MISSION.

-- INTERNATIONAL VOLUNTEERS OPERATING OUTSIDE OF THE UNITED NATIONS WILL BE NEITHER AN EFFECTIVE NOR A PRACTICAL MEANS TO ACHIEVE THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT'S DESIRE TO END THE CONFLICT.

5. BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: BALKAN DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS

Q: WHAT IS THE STATUS OF DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS: BILDT'S

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RECENT TALKS? ANY CONTACT GROUP MEETINGS PLANNED?

A: -- CARL BILDT, NEWLY-NAMED EUROPEAN UNION
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MEDIATOR FOR FORMER YUGOSLAVIA, RECENTLY
TOURED THE REGION TO MEET THE LEADERS OF ALL
THE PARTIES TO THE BALKAN CONFLICT AND DISCUSS
PROSPECTS FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT.

-- THE CONTACT GROUP IS SCHEDULED TO MEET IN
LONDON ON WEDNESDAY TO HEAR BILDT'S REPORT AND
DISCUSS NEXT STEPS IN WINNING ACCEPTANCE OF
ITS PLAN FOR PEACE IN BOSNIA.

-- WE PREFER TO WAIT TO COMMENT UNTIL AFTER THOSE
SESSIONS.

6. BOSNIA: NATO AND SREBRENICA

Q: UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS WOULD NATO UNDERTAKE
AIRSTRIKES AGAINST BOSNIAN SERB FORCES AROUND
SREBRENICA?

A: -- NATO COULD LAUNCH AIRSTRIKES, OR PROVIDE CLOSE
AIR SUPPORT TO UN FORCES, IF REQUESTED TO DO
SO BY THE UN. NATO HAS NOT RECEIVED ANY SUCH
REQUEST.

Q: IF AIRSTRIKES HAVE NOT BEEN REQUESTED, WHY DID
NATO PLANES FLY OVER SREBRENICA THIS WEEKEND?

A: -- THE UN DID REQUEST NATO AIR PRESENCE OVER
SREBRENICA ON SATURDAY. NATO RESPONDED TO THE
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UN REQUEST BY FLYING MULTIPLE AIRCRAFT OVER
THE AREA FOR A PERIOD OF ABOUT ONE HOUR, AFTER
WHICH THE UN WITHDREW THE REQUEST.

7. UN REPORT ON HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN CROATIA

Q: WHAT IS YOUR COMMENT ON THE DRAFT UN REPORT ON
HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS BY THE CROATIAN ARMY IN
WESTERN SLAVONIA?

A: -- WE HAVE NOT SEEN THE DRAFT UN REPORT, BUT WE
ENCOURAGE ALL EFFORTS TO DEVELOP AN ACCURATE
PICTURE OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN
CROATIA.

-- IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE MAY 1 CROATIAN
MILITARY ACTION IN WESTERN SLAVONIA, U.S.
EMBASSY OFFICIALS IN ZAGREB BEGAN REGULAR
VISITS TO THE AREA TO MONITOR THE HUMAN RIGHTS
SITUATION, AND THESE VISITS CONTINUE.

-- THE EMBASSY FOUND THAT CROATIAN ARMY POLICY
WAS TO TREAT CIVILIANS AND POW'S IN ACCORDANCE
WITH INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS STANDARDS AND
THAT THIS POLICY WAS GENERALLY CARRIED OUT IN
PRACTICE.

-- THERE WERE, HOWEVER, REPORTS OF MISTREATMENT
OF INDIVIDUAL SERBS, WHICH NEED TO BE
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INVESTIGATED AND, WHERE WARRANTED,
PROSECUTED. THESE INCLUDE ALLEGATIONS OF
BEATINGS AND INCIDENTS OF LOOTING AND THEFT.

-- IN ADDITION, CROATIAN OFFICIALS WERE OFTEN

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SLOW TO ACT ON CLAIMS FOR COMPENSATION AND FOR CROATIAN IDENTITY DOCUMENTS FOR SERB RESIDENTS.

- THE U.S. HAS RAISED WITH THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT THE NEED TO ENSURE THE HIGHEST STANDARDS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN WESTERN SLAVONIA. THIS INCLUDES FULL COOPERATION WITH THE UN AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS SEEKING TO INVESTIGATE DISCREPANCIES REGARDING THE NUMBER AND LOCATION OF CASUALTIES AND INDIVIDUALS STILL IN DETENTION.

8. FRANCE: SEIZURE OF GREENPEACE VESSEL

Q: ANY REACTION TO THE SEIZURE OF THE "RAINBOW WARRIOR II" BY FRENCH COMMANDOS?

A: -- WE VIEW THE INCIDENT AS UNFORTUNATE. ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS, THE GREENPEACE VESSEL VIOLATED FRENCH TERRITORIAL WATERS, PRECIPITATING THE SEIZURE.

- WE BELIEVE IT IS PREFERABLE TO RESOLVE DISPUTES THROUGH PEACEFUL, LEGAL MEANS.
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- AS WE STATED PREVIOUSLY, WE REGRET THE FRENCH DECISION TO RESUME NUCLEAR TESTING AND CONTINUE TO URGE ALL OF THE NUCLEAR POWERS, INCLUDING FRANCE, TO JOIN IN A GLOBAL MORATORIUM AS WE WORK TO COMPLETE A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN (CTB) TREATY AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE TIME. FRANCE IS COMMITTED TO END TESTING NO LATER THAN MAY 1996 AND TO SIGN A CTB TREATY NO LATER THAN THE FALL OF 1996.
- WE WILL CONTINUE TO WORK WITH FRANCE AND ALL THE OTHER STATES PARTICIPATING IN THE CTB

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NEGOTIATIONS TO ENSURE THAT A TREATY IS READY
FOR SIGNATURE AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE.

9. TURKEY: EU REPORT ON HUMAN RIGHTS

- WILL NOT COMMENT ON REPORTS WE HAVE NOT SEEN.
- US CONTINUES TO SUPPORT TURKEY'S SERIOUS
EFFORT TO ENACT DEMOCRATIZATION LEGISLATION
AND HUMAN RIGHTS REFORMS.
- TURKEY HAS HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS BUT IS
ATTEMPTING TO ADDRESS THEM.
- WE CONTINUE TO FULLY SUPPORT TURKEY'S ENTRY
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INTO THE CUSTOMS UNION WHICH WOULD STRENGTHEN
BOTH TURKISH DEMOCRACY AND ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT.

10. TURKEY/IRAQ: INCURSION INTO NORTHERN IRAQ

Q: WHAT IS THE LATEST ON TURKEY'S INCURSION INTO
NORTHERN IRAQ?

- A:
- ACCORDING TO TURKISH SOURCES, THE OPERATION
HAS ACCOMPLISHED ITS OBJECTIVES AND UNITS ARE
RETURNING FROM NORTHERN IRAQ. MILITARY
AUTHORITIES ARE REPORTING 146 PKK KILLED
AGAINST A LOSS OF SIX TURKISH SOLDIERS.
 - WE CONTINUE TO URGE THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT TO
KEEP ITS OPERATION LIMITED IN SCOPE, TO
OBSERVE RECOGNIZED STANDARDS OF HUMAN RIGHTS,
TO MAKE EVERY POSSIBLE EFFORT TO MINIMIZE HARM
TO CIVILIANS, AND TO END THE OPERATION AS SOON
AS POSSIBLE.

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-- BUT WE DEFEND TURKEY'S RIGHT TO PROTECT ITSELF.

11. TURKEY/IRAQ: INCURSION: PM CILLER'S STATEMENT

Q: WHAT IS THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S REACTION TO PM
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CILLER'S STATEMENT THAT TURKEY WILL CONTINUE
MILITARY ACTION IN NOTHERN IRAQ AS LONG AS
NECESSARY?

A: -- WE ARE NOT YET IN A POSITION TO COMMENT ON THE
PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT. WE ARE LOOKING
INTO THE MATTER.

12. TURKEY: HOLD ON CONSTITUTION CHANGES

Q: WHAT IS THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S REACTION TO TURKISH
PM CILLER'S DECISION TO SUSPEND DEBATE ON THE
PACKAGE OF CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS?

A: -- THE UNITED STATES HAS SUPPORTED, AND CONTINUES
TO SUPPORT, TURKEY'S EFFORTS TO ENACT
DEMOCRATIZATION LEGISLATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS
REFORMS. WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT CONSIDERATION
OF DEMOCRATIZATION MEASURES WILL RESUME THIS
FALL IF NOT EARLIER.

-- ALTHOUGH FORMAL DEBATE HAS BEEN TEMPORARILY
SUSPENDED, CONSIDERATION OF IMPORTANT REFORMS
CONTINUES. THESE INCLUDE: AMENDING THE 1982
CONSTITUTION TO BROADEN POLITICAL
PARTICIPATION; MODIFYING ARTICLE 8 OF THE
ANTI-TERROR LAW; BEGINNING TO WIND DOWN THE
EMERGENCY RULE REGIME; AND FOSTERING LOCAL
DEMOCRACY.

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-- THESE ARE FATEFUL MEASURES WHICH DEMAND
SERIOUS AND SUSTAINED CONSIDERATION BUT WHICH
CAN ALSO BE AFFECTED BY PARTISAN POLITICAL
CALCULATIONS. THE PROCESS OF ENACTING THEM IS
IN ITSELF AN EXERCISE OF DEMOCRACY IN TURKEY.
WE HOPE THAT TURKEY'S POLITICAL LEADERS CAN
SET ASIDE FACTIONAL CONCERNS TO SUPPORT THESE
REFORMS THAT ARE SO IMPORTANT FOR TURKEY'S
POLITICAL FUTURE.

13. TURKEY: DETENTIONS AT HADEP TRIAL

Q: WHAT IS THE STATUS OF 240 INDIVIDUALS DETAINED AT
THE JULY 6 TRIAL OF FOUR OFFICIALS OF THE PEOPLE'S
DEMOCRACY PARTY (HADEP)?

A: -- OUR EMBASSY ADVISED THIS MORNING THAT TURKISH
AUTHORITIES HAVE RELEASED 125 SINCE FRIDAY,
INCLUDING WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

-- SOME 117 REPORTEDLY REMAIN IN CUSTODY, AND OUR
EMBASSY CONTINUES TO CHECK ON THEIR STATUS.

14. GREECE: THREAT TO EMBASSY

Q: HAS THERE BEEN A THREAT AGAINST THE U.S. EMBASSY
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IN ATHENS? WHAT HAS HAPPENED?

- A: -- THE GREEK POLICE TODAY RECEIVED AN ANONYMOUS CALL THAT THE U.S. EMBASSY WOULD BE ATTACKED THIS AFTERNOON. THIS REPORT WAS PASSED TO THE EMBASSY. THE EMBASSY HAS NOT BEEN ATTACKED, AND THE DEADLINE HAS PASSED.
- THE EMBASSY WAS EVACUATED, THE BUILDING SWEEPED. NO BOMB WAS FOUND.
- IT WILL BE OPEN FOR BUSINESS TOMORROW.

15. CANADA: ALASKA FERRY INCIDENT

- BACKGROUND: THE CANADIAN UNITED FISHERMAN AND ALLIED WORKERS UNION (UFAWU) ORGANIZED A PROTEST INVOLVING AN ESTIMATED 150 TO 300 FISHING VESSELS AND OBSTRUCTED THE FERRY "TAKU," OWNED BY THE ALASKA MARINE HIGHWAY, FROM ENTERING THE PORT OF PRINCE RUPERT, BRITISH COLUMBIA, ON JULY 9. THE INCIDENT TOOK PLACE OVER A THREE-HOUR PERIOD, BUT EVENTUALLY DELAYED THE FERRY SCHEDULE BY ONLY ONE HOUR. THE DEMONSTRATORS STATED THEY WERE PROTESTING ALASKA'S LACK OF COOPERATION IN THE U.S.-CANADIAN NEGOTIATIONS ON SALMON CATCH QUOTAS. INTERNATIONAL MARITIME LAW PROHIBITS INTENTIONAL IMPEDING OF A VESSEL'S PASSAGE.
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- THE EMBASSY IN OTTAWA MADE A DEMARCHE TO THE CANADIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY EARLY ON JULY 9 TO CONVEY OUR EXPECTATION THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA WOULD ENSURE THE TAKU'S SAFETY, AS WELL AS ITS SAFE AND UNIMPEDED PASSAGE THROUGH CANADIAN WATERS.
- THE ISSUE OF CATCH QUOTAS UNDER THE PACIFIC

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SALMON TREATY HAS BEEN UNRESOLVED FOR SEVERAL YEARS. IN DECEMBER 1994, THE U.S. PROPOSED AN ABUNDANCE-BASED APPROACH WHICH PUT MANAGEMENT OF PACIFIC COAST SALMON FISHERIES ON A SCIENTIFIC BASIS THAT ATTEMPTS TO MEET CONSERVATION AND OPTIMUM PRODUCTION REQUIREMENTS. ALTHOUGH WE AND THE CANADIANS HAVE NOT AGREED ON THIS OR ANY OTHER APPROACH, U.S. POLICY REMAINS CENTERED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF CONSERVATION.

- Q: DID CANADIAN FISHERMEN OBSTRUCT THE PASSAGE OF AN ALASKAN FERRY OVER THE WEEKEND?
- A: -- AN ORGANIZATION OF CANADIAN FISHERMEN STAGED A PROTEST IN WHICH THEY OBSTRUCTED THE ENTRY OF AN ALASKAN FERRY INTO THE PORT AT PRINCE RUPERT, BRITISH COLUMBIA THE AFTERNOON OF JULY 9. THE FISHERMEN WERE PROTESTING THE LACK OF PROGRESS ON REACHING AN AGREEMENT ON MANAGING THE PACIFIC SALMON FISHERIES. THE PROTEST WAS PEACEFUL, AND THE FERRY DEPARTED AN HOUR
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BEHIND SCHEDULE.

- Q: WHAT IS THE U.S. RESPONSE TO THIS INCIDENT?
- A: -- THE U.S. REGRETS THE INCIDENT. IN ACCORDANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL MARITIME LAW, WE EXPECT THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT TO ENSURE THE SAFETY OF U.S. VESSELS AND THEIR UNIMPEDED PASSAGE THROUGH CANADIAN WATERS. THE U.S. REMAINS COMMITTED TO A LONG-TERM SOLUTION TO THE MANAGEMENT OF PACIFIC SALMON FISHERIES.
- Q: DID THE U.S. GOVERNMENT APPROACH THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT?
- A: -- (IF ASKED) YES, WE WERE IN CONTACT WITH CANADIAN OFFICIALS THROUGHOUT THE DAY ON JULY 9 AND MADE OUR VIEWS KNOWN OFFICIALLY TO THE

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GOVERNMENT OF CANADA.

-- THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA MADE CLEAR THAT THIS WAS A PRIVATE DEMONSTRATION THAT DID NOT HAVE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT SANCTION OR SUPPORT OF ANY KIND. THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT ASSURED US THAT IT WOULD TAKE ALL NECESSARY ACTION TO ENSURE THAT THE INCIDENT REMAINED PEACEFUL.

Q: WHAT IS THE STATUS OF THE PACIFIC SALMON NEGOTIATIONS?

A: -- (IF ASKED) U.S.-CANADA NEGOTIATION ON FISHERY UNCLASSIFIED

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REGIMES FOR 1995 UNDER THE PACIFIC SALMON TREATY STALLED IN LATE JUNE WHEN WE COULD NOT REACH AGREEMENT ON HOW TO CONSERVE AND REBUILD CHINOOK SALMON STOCKS.

Q: WHAT IS U.S. POLICY?

A: -- THE UNITED STATES WANTS TO WORK COOPERATIVELY WITH CANADA TO MANAGE THE SALMON FISHERIES THIS YEAR AND TO REACH A LONG-TERM AGREEMENT. THE U.S. REMAINS COMMITTED TO A MANAGEMENT REGIME THAT TAKES CONSERVATION AUTOMATICALLY INTO ACCOUNT AND ALLOCATES THE CATCH OF SALMON FAIRLY BETWEEN FISHERMEN OF THE TWO COUNTRIES.

MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
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