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SIC EAA/I9G

MY TELNO 1881: BOSNIA: SAFE AREAS RESOLUTION

SUMMARY

1. SECRETARIAT CIRCULATE A CONCEPT PAPER ON SAFE AREAS DESIGNED TO LEAD TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE IDEA IS NOT VIABLE. MERIMEE AND I REMONSTRATE IN STRONG TERMS. NON-ALIGNED SAY THEY WILL BE READY TO NEGOTIATE ON THE RESOLUTION AT THE BEGINNING OF NEXT WEEK BUT WILL WANT IT AMENDED TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE SAFE AREAS ARE A TEMPORARY MEASURE. REVIVED NON-ALIGNED INTEREST IN LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO.

DETAIL

2. ON THE MORNING OF 28 MAY ARRIA (VENEZUELA) TOLD ME THAT THE NON-ALIGNED CAUCUS WANTED TO WORK WITH US ON THE FRENCH DRAFT RESOLUTION. THEY WOULD PROBABLY PUT FORWARD SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT WAYS IN WHICH IT COULD BE 'STRENGTHENED' (IE NOT AN ALTERNATIVE DRAFT). THE PAKISTANI DPR (PAKISTAN IS THE CURRENT NON-ALIGNED COORDINATOR) TOLD US THAT THEY WOULD WANT TO PUT THE RESOLUTION INTO A TIMEFRAME AND A WIDER POLITICAL FRAMEWORK, MAKING IT CLEAR THAT THE SAFE AREAS WERE TEMPORARY AND REAFFIRMING THE VOPP. WITHDRAWAL AND HEAVY WEAPONS MIGHT ALSO NEED TO BE EMPHASISED. THE PAKISTANI PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE TOLD ME HE THOUGHT THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD LAST WELL INTO NEXT WEEK AND FORESAW ADOPTION ON ABOUT 3 JUNE.

3. THE MOROCCANS ALSO TOLD US THEY THOUGHT 3 OR 4 JUNE WAS A REALISTIC TARGET. BUT THEY SAID THAT ARRIA'S MAIN FOCUS WAS TO REVIVE THE IDEA OF LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO. THE NON-ALIGNED ARE RE-WORKING THE MEMORANDUM ON BOSNIA THEY CIRCULATED TO COUNCIL MEMBERS ON 14 MAY, AND THE FRENCH BELIEVE THAT THEY ARE ALSO WORKING ON A RESOLUTION ON THE ARMS EMBARGO. JESUS (CAPE VERDE), THE ONLY MEMBER OF THE NON-ALIGNED TO OPPOSE THIS POLICY, HAS JUST RETURNED FROM A TRIP, WHICH MAY BE HELPFUL TO US. BUT WE UNDERSTAND THAT, WHEN THE NON-ALIGNED CAUCUS SAY MS ALBRIGHT (US) EARLY IN THE DAY, THEY GOT THE STRONG IMPRESSION THAT HER PERSONAL PREFERENCE WAS TO LIFT THE EMBARGO. WE HAVE HAD NO INDICATION OURSELVES FROM THE AMERICANS THAT THEIR INSTRUCTIONS TO SUPPORT THE SAFE AREAS RESOLUTION HAVE CHANGED (THOUGH THE US MISSION PRIVATELY SHOW NO ENTHUSIASM FOR IT). WHEN MS ALBRIGHT AND I DISCUSSED THE RESOLUTION, SHE SAID THAT THEY HAD NO DIFFICULTY FOR EXAMPLE WITH OP1, WHICH WE HAD TRIED TO CHANGE ON 27 MAY (AND WHICH THE FRENCH WERE FIRMLY WEDDED TO). SHE DID, HOWEVER, INDICATE THAT THE US MIGHT WANT TO CHANGE OP2 SO AS TO MAKE IT CLEARER THAT (US)

INTERVENTION WOULD BE IN SUPPORT ONLY OF UNPROFOR AND NOT OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION.

4. AGAINST THIS FRAGILE BACKGROUND, THE SUBJECT OF SAFE AREAS CAME UP IN INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE WHOLE LATER IN THE DAY. DE SOTO (SECRETARIAT) CIRCULATED A 25 PAGE WORKING PAPER, WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS AN ATTEMPT TO FACILITATE THE COUNCIL'S FURTHER REFLECTION RATHER THAN A DEFINITIVE VIEW FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL. THIS PAPER (FAXED TO THE RESIDENT CLERK, FOR UND AND EAU PLEASE) WAS NOT THE FACTUAL REPORT ON THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND REQUESTED IN THE COUNCIL CONSULTATIONS ON 27 MAY (TUR), BUT INSTEAD A FULLY-FLEDGED CONCEPT PAPER. IT IS MOREOVER A HEAVILY SLANTED PAPER, SETTING OUT A HEAVY OPTION CONCEPT OF SAFE AREAS, AND UNDOUBTEDLY DESIGNED TO LEAD TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE CONCEPT IS NOT VIABLE.

5. MARKER (PAKISTAN) AND O'BRIEN (NEW ZEALAND) BOTH THANKED THE SECRETARIAT FOR AN EXCELLENT PIECE OF WORK. RICHARDSON (I WAS AT ANOTHER MEETING) SAID THAT THIS WAS NOT WHAT HAD BEEN COMMISSIONED BY COUNCIL MEMBERS THE DAY BEFORE. WE HAD ASKED FOR A FACTUAL SITUATION REPORT. WE DID NOT NEED TO BE TOLD THAT THE SAFE AREAS CONCEPT WAS A DIFFICULT ONE. WE KNEW THAT. THE COUNCIL WOULD HAVE TO TAKE A DECISION ON WHETHER IT WAS WORTH DOING. LADSOUS (FRANCE) AGREED. HE SAID THAT FRANCE HAD PLANNED TO PUT THE DRAFT RESOLUTION INTO BLUE TODAY. HAVING CONSULTED A NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS WHO HAD ASKED FOR MORE TIME, FRANCE WOULD NOT NOW DO SO TODAY. BUT IT RESERVED THE POSSIBILITY OF DOING IT AT THE BEGINNING OF NEXT WEEK (IE 1 JUNE: 31 MAY IS A PUBLIC HOLIDAY).

6. I REJOINED THE MEETING AT THIS POINT AND DEMANDED TO KNOW WHY THE SECRETARIAT HAD PRODUCED A DIFFERENT PAPER FROM THE ONE THEY HAD BEEN ASKED TO PRODUCE. DE SOTO SAID THAT CERTAIN MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL HAD ASKED FOR IT, AND MENTIONED MOROCCO. MARKER (PAKISTAN) SAID THAT THE PAPER WAS EXACTLY WHAT HE AND MOST MEMBERS OF THE CAUCUS WANTED. (COMMENT: BUT AS THE RECORD IN TUR MAKES CLEAR, THIS WAS NOT WHAT THEY HAD IN FACT ASKED FOR IN YESTERDAY'S CONSULTATIONS.)

7. THE MEETING THEN ADJOURNED. MERIMEE AND I IMMEDIATELY SAW DE SOTO PRIVATELY

MERIMEE SAID HE HAD A MIND TO WRITE A LETTER OF PROTEST TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL: HE WAS PARTICULARLY INCENSED BY A JUDGEMENT IN THE PAPER THAT ONE DISADVANTAGE OF SAFE AREAS WAS THAT THEY WOULD 'LEGITIMISE ETHNIC CLEANSING'. DE SOTO ADMITTED THAT THIS WAS INFELICITOUS, AND AGREED TO SAY WHEN COUNCIL MEMBERS NEXT MET THAT THE PAPER WAS NOT A CONSIDERED STATEMENT OF THE SECRETARIAT'S OPINIONS.

8. WHEN THE INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS RESUMED PEDAUYE (SPAIN) ASKED TO WHAT EXTENT THE PAPER REFLECTED THE VIEWS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND THE SECRETARIAT. WHAT WAS ITS PRECISE STATUS? DE SOTO SAID THAT IT WAS A WORKING DOCUMENT ONLY. IT WAS NOT A DECLARATION OF THE SECRETARIAT'S OPINIONS ON THE COMPLEX ISSUES WHICH WERE BEFORE THE COUNCIL. THE SECRETARIAT HAD UNDERSTOOD THERE TO HAVE BEEN REQUESTS FROM MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL FOR A SUMMARY OF THE CURRENT SITUATION IN THE SAFE AREAS, AND FOR HELP IN DEFINING THE CONCEPT OF SAFE AREAS. ON THE LATTER IT WAS VERY DIFFICULT TO PRODUCE A DOCUMENT WHICH DID NOT INCLUDE ELEMENTS WHICH IMPLIED THAT THE SECRETARIAT WAS MAKING A VALUE JUDGEMENT. WITH A BIT MORE TIME THE SECRETARIAT MIGHT HAVE PREPARED SOMETHING DIFFERENT. NEITHER THEY NOR THE SECRETARY-GENERAL WERE PUTTING FORWARD VALUE

JUDGEMENTS. THAT WAS THE PROVINCE OF THE COUNCIL.

9. MARKER (PAKISTAN) THEN SAID THAT THE NON-ALIGNED CAUCUS WOULD ENTER INTO SERIOUS NEGOTIATION WITH THE SPONSORS OF THE SAFE AREAS RESOLUTION ON THE AFTERNOON OF 1 JUNE. HE RECALLED HOWEVER THAT THE NON-ALIGNED HAD THEIR OWN DRAFT RESOLUTION AND HOPED THAT MEMBERS WOULD STUDY THIS CAREFULLY. THERE WAS NO NEED TO RUSH INTO BLUE ON EITHER.

10. THE NON-ALIGNED APPARENTLY WORKED HARD ON MS ALBRIGHT ON THE VOPP IN THEIR MEETING WITH HER. THE FRENCH HAVE DRAFTED THE FOLLOWING REVISION OF PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH J (TEXT IN MY TELNO 1882 REFERS) TO MEET THE NON-ALIGNED CONCERNS:

'NOTING THAT THE CONCEPT OF SAFE AREAS IN THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, AS FRANCE (S/25800) AND OTHERS HAVE PROPOSED, COULD MAKE A VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION, AND SHOULD NOT IN ANY WAY BE TAKEN AS AN END IN ITSELF, BUT AS A PART OF THE VANCE-OWEN PROCESS AND AS A FIRST STEP TOWARDS A JUST AND LASTING POLITICAL SOLUTION,'

PPL WOULD THEN BE DELETED. AFTER CLEARING THIS WITH THE CO-SPONSORS THE FRENCH HAVE PUT IT TO THE NON-ALIGNED.

COMMENT

11. NOT A GOOD DAY. THE SCANDALOUSLY SLANTED SECRETARIAT PAPER CIRCULATED BY DE SOTO WAS ALMOST CERTAINLY THE WORK OF THAROOR, ANNAN'S SPECIAL ADVISER FOR UNPROFOR, WHO IS CLEARLY KEEN TO SCOTCH THE SAFE AREAS DRAFT. BUT MARKER'S STATEMENT AT THE END OF THE DAY THAT THE NON-ALIGNED SHOULD BE READY TO NEGOTIATE ON THE DRAFT AT THE BEGINNING OF NEXT WEEK WAS CLEAR ENOUGH AND THE PACE CAN BE EXPECTED TO PICK UP THEN.

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