

ACTION PLAN OF THE EUROPEAN UNION FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA NOVEMBER 1993 - FEBRUARY 1994

Bosnia Herzegovina risks to sink into humanitarian catastrophe this winter. The war and the atrocities must be stopped at all costs. The civilian population does not want a second winter of war. Furthermore, the risk of an open conflict in the Croatian territories under UNPROFOR mandate increases steadily. We cannot be a witness to these developments without reacting.

This is why the Union, while searching for a global solution to the problems of the former Yugoslavia, is of the opinion that the following priorities are essential:

- the delivery of aid to Bosnia Herzegovina;
- a solution for Bosnia Herzegovina based on the "Geneva package";
- the establishment of a modus vivendi for the "Croatian territories under UNPROFOR mandate".

To this end, the parties to the conflict have to be brought back to the negotiating table, and the joint action regarding the delivery of aid has to be implemented urgently.

While being aware of the enormous difficulties, the Union is committed to pursuing all efforts within its responsibility and appeals to the international community to do likewise.

These positions will be communicated so as to ensure a maximum visibility and response. To this end, the European Union asks the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of ICFY to invite the leaders of all parties to a meeting in Geneva with the Union.

I. Humanitarian Aid

A. Implementation of the joint action

1)The Presidency has given a first report to the Ministers, following its contacts with UNHCR and UNPROFOR, on the choice of privileged itineraries (see attachment).

The choice of the itinerary will be left to the organisations in charge of the delivery of aid in consultation with UNPROFOR and this in function of the military situation, agreements concluded in the field, the climate and the condition of the routes.

The Council has taken note of the willingness in principle expressed by The Netherlands to supply additional troops, or logistical support to UNPROFOR as soon as the exact requirements will have been specified.

The Council agreed on the necessity for the member countries of the European Union to provide, possibly under cover of ECMM, the fifty experts indispensable for operating Tuzla airport as well as the complementary logistical and support means.

(The Council wishes that the UNPROFOR command could, in the most rapid and most efficient way, make use of all appropriate means, including aerial, as foreseen by the relevant resolutions of the Security Council).

2)Together with Lord Owen, the Presidency endeavours to obtain from the parties firm and precise undertakings, valid at all levels, on the preservation of the privileged itineraries, on the opening and the protection by UNPROFOR of Tuzla airport, as well as on the opening of air

corridors. As soon as conditions will allow, the European Union will work for the reconstruction and the reopening of the airport of Mostar.

2.1)At the meeting it will organize in Geneva, the Presidency will put forward the following positions:

-The parties will be held responsible, towards their own population and towards the international community, for the obstacles and impediments that would obstruct the delivery of humanitarian aid. Unauthorized seizures will not be tolerated.

-The International Community cannot remain indifferent to the plight of the refugees, the displaced persons and the vulnerable populations in Serbia Montenegro. In respecting the resolutions of the Security Council, the European Union does not practice any discrimination with regard to the distribution of humanitarian aid. In this spirit, the Union will intervene to obtain an accelerated and simplified processing of the notifications and requests pertaining to humanitarian aid for Serbia Montenegro.

3)As far as the definition of needs and their financial implications is concerned, the Presidency and the Commission will draft the report requested for the end of the month in order to allow the decisions on the budgetary envelope to be taken at the Council in December. The ECTF and IMG will be associated with this exercise.

B.Other aspects of humanitarian aid.

The restoration of the fuel supply will receive the highest priority. ECMM and ECTF are instructed to study this problem and to make proposals which could lead to their strengthening or adaptation.

Particular attention will be accorded to the safeguarding of access routes to the coalmines and to the supply of gas.

II.Action Plan for a political solution.

The plan below defines a global approach intended to come, in phases, to a just and durable global settlement of all the problems linked to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. In function of the progress accomplished in the framework of this gradual approach and in function of the respect by all parties of their undertakings, the question of a progressive suspension of sanctions as well as the question of the adoption by the European Union of positive measures in favour of the different components of the former Yugoslavia, will be envisaged.

A.A negotiated solution for BiH

1.The Council believes that the parties must look for a negotiated settlement based on the acquis of Geneva, as was finalised on H.M.S. Invincible on 20 September. In this context,

1.1The maintenance of the Union of Republics of Bosnia Herzegovina remains the preference of the European Union,

1.2A demilitarization, however, seems less and less probable on the terrain. Therefore, reduced military forces might be required for the implementation of the international guarantees.

2.The European Union will highlight in its discussions with the different parties the following arguments in order to encourage them to make the necessary concessions.

2.1The Bosnian President will be informed that the negotiators will strive in such a way that

the latest territorial demands by them, as put forward at the eve of the meeting on board HMS Invincible, can - in a same order of magnitude - be met. If the Serbs make such an offer, the Council will let the Bosnian Presidency know the advantages of a settlement, in particular, with respect to its implementation by the international community and with respect to the reconstruction. The Council thinks that the population needs and wishes peace, and that the continuation of the war risks calling into question the support of the international community.

2.2The Serbs will be called upon to accept specific and substantial territorial adjustments, in the order of magnitude of the demands made by the Bosnian Presidency on the eve of the meeting on board HMS Invincible. The progressive suspension of sanctions will only come about as the implementation of a peace settlement in Bosnia Herzegovina and the acceptance and the implementation of a modus vivendi in the UNPAs in Croatia make progress.

2.3The Croats will be informed that the concessions they have made as regards access to the sea and port facilities are considered as an essential element in any negotiated settlement.

2.4The will of the European Union to participate in the governance of the Mostar City opstina will be confirmed.

B.Situation in the Croatian territories under UNPROFOR mandate.

The European Union is perfectly aware of the validity of the claims of Croatia and of the support that it is entitled to expect from the international community for the full implementation of the Vance Plan.

For lack of a rapid final solution, the European Union will concentrate on the adoption of a modus vivendi comprising a ceasefire and confidence-building measures in conformity with Resolution 847 of the Security Council. The aim is to eliminate the danger of a resumption of hostilities and to mark an intermediate phase towards a final solution for the Croatian territories under UNPROFOR mandate.

The Presidency will avail itself of the meeting in Geneva to communicate the following points to President Tudjman:

-The European Union is ready to contribute by its efforts to the rapid establishment of the modus vivendi on the Croatian territories under UNPROFOR mandate.

-A military action is unacceptable and could only have disastrous consequences for Croatia.

-In case the Republic of Croatia launched an offensive in the Krajinas, negative measures imposed by the international community would become inevitable.

-The process of suspension of sanctions cannot be blocked by a refusal on the part of Croatia of an acceptable modus vivendi in the Croatian territories under UNPROFOR mandate.

-The European Union is ready to actively search for every means to increase humanitarian aid to the Republic of Croatia, as it is fully aware of the burden represented by the presence on its territory of many refugees or displaced persons.

-The European Union is ready to increase its economic assistance and its cooperation with Croatia, if Croatia invests itself fully in the respect of the modus vivendi as well as in the peace settlement in Bosnia Herzegovina.

C.London Conferences

1.London II

If a solution for Bosnia Herzegovina and a modus vivendi in Croatian territories under UNPROFOR mandate is achieved, it would be the right time to consider holding in Geneva a conference on the London model ("London II"). It would have as its first objective the endorsement of the *acquis*, to give a strong impulse to the implementation of the agreement and to assure the financing of reconstruction of the destroyed territories, a plan which it would be important to coordinate with the United States, Russia, the Islamic States and other countries. Also the Conference should give a mandate to resolve problems of the ex-Yugoslavia which are still unresolved (including definitive status of the Croatian territories under the UNPROFOR mandate, rights of nationalities and national minorities).

The degree of autonomy in the areas currently under UNPROFOR mandate should be determined in consideration of the relative size of the Serb communities before the 1991 war. The Carrington proposal retains a great deal of relevance as regards the definition of the different statuses.

A broad autonomy in Kosovo also has to be re-established within the framework of the current borders. In Sandjak and in Vojvodina, specific rights must be assured, as foreseen by the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of ICFY. In this group of three regions, an international presence (for example, ECMM) appears necessary in order to monitor the respect for the rights of ethnic groups and minorities.

2. London III

It would be appropriate to give, from this moment on, a strong impulse to the search for a solution to the other unresolved problems in ex-Yugoslavia.

The real global conference dealing with all these problems will not be able to take place until the time when negotiations on the outstanding problems of the ex-Yugoslavia have been successfully resolved. This "London III" could endorse the appropriate arrangements which should also involve provisions regarding disarmament. Their implementation would lead to the full integration of Serbia and Montenegro into the

international community. This would be followed by a period of three months for the route to be reopened. Obtaining this agreement and the rehabilitation of the route and its maintenance are absolute priorities.

-Split - Duvno - Prozor - Gorni Vakuf - Vitez ("Diamond")

- Split - Duvno - Kupres - Bogojno
- Zagreb - Banja Luka - Doboj - Tuzla
- Zagreb - Banja Luka - Zenica - Sarajevo
- Belgrade - Valjevo - Titovo - Eastern Bosnia
- Bar - Uzice - Eastern Bosnia (railroad up to Uzice)
- Bar - Podgorica - Niksic - Foca.

ATTACHMENT 2

ATTACHMENT 3

