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TO FLASH UKMIS NEW YORK

TELNO 693

OF 051540Z AUG 92

AND TO FLASH WASHINGTON

INFO IMMEDIATE UKDEL NATO, MODUK, ACTOR, PARIS

INFO PRIORITY OTHER EC POSTS

YOUR TELNO 2379 AND WASHINGTON TELNO 1723: YUGOSLAVIA: USE OF  
FORCE RESOLUTION

## SUMMARY

1. INSTRUCTIONS TO PURSUE WITH AMERICANS HOW THEY ENVISAGE THEIR  
PROPOSED RESOLUTION BEING FOLLOWED-UP BY ACTION.

## DETAIL

2. PLEASE NOW TALK THROUGH OUR APPROACH WITH THE AMERICANS.  
GRATEFUL IF WASHINGTON WOULD TAKE ACTION TODAY IN PARALLEL.

3. WE UNDERSTAND THE HIGH LEVEL POLITICAL PUSH BEHIND THE  
AMERICAN PROPOSED RESOLUTION. PUBLIC OPINION IN EUROPE, AS IN  
THE US, IS INCREASINGLY EXERCISED BY THE MINDLESS VIOLENCE,  
DESTRUCTION AND KILLING. WE CAN FULLY AGREE ON THE DESIRABILITY  
OF DEMONSTRATING PUBLICLY THE LIMITS OF TOLERANCE OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY?

4. WE ARE NOT, HOWEVER, CLEAR WHAT THE AMERICANS HAVE IN MIND BY  
WAY OF FOLLOW-UP. IS THE PURPOSE OF THE RESOLUTION TO INTIMIDATE  
THE SERBS AND TO PROMOTE AN ALLIANCE WITH THE BOSNIAN MUSLIMS (AS  
WITH KUWAIT - AS THE LANGUAGE SUGGESTS)? WOULD THEY ENVISAGE  
LAUNCHING A FOLLOW UP INITIATIVE IN NATO? DO THEY HAVE A  
SPECIFIC MILITARY PURPOSE IN MIND FOR ACTION BY EG NATO UNDER UN  
AUTHORITY. THE MANDATE FOR ANY ACTION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO UNPROFOR.  
WHAT RESPONSE HAVE THE AMERICANS HAD TO THESE IDEAS FROM THE UN  
SECRETARY-GENERAL? IS THERE NOT SOME RISK THAT IF THE NATURE OF  
THE UN ROLE IN BOSNIA WAS TO CHANGE SO DRAMATICALLY, THEN THE  
SECRETARY-GENERAL WOULD WISH TO WITHDRAW UNPROFOR FORTHWITH? WE  
UNDERSTAND GENERAL MACKENZIE HAS ALREADY SAID ON US TV THAT IF  
EVEN AIR COVER WAS INTRODUCED UNPROFOR WOULD WITHDRAW. WHAT  
WOULD THE US SEE AS ITS OWN CONTRIBUTION?

5. IN ADDITION, WE WOULD NEED TO CONSIDER THE EFFECT OF ANY  
OPEN-ENDED RESOLUTION ON THE HUMAITARIAN EFFORTS. AS ALREADY

SET OUT IN OUR TELNO , HEIGHTENED MILITARY ACTIVITY WOULD RUN THE RISK THAT UNHCR AND THE NGOS WOULD ALSO WITHDRAW AND IT WOULD THEN FALL TO THE MILITARY TO SUPPLANT HUMANITARIAN AGENCIES IN ORGANISING RELIEF.

6. WE ARE FAXING SEPARATELY TO YOU AND TO WASHINGTON A COPY OF A PAPER PREPARED FOR THE PRIME MINISTER WHICH SETS OUT THE IMPLICATIONS OF ALTERNATIVE MILITARY OPTIONS. IN POSING THE ABOVE QUESTIONS TO THE AMERICANS, YOU MAY WISH TO DRAW ON THIS. IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO EXPLORE WITH THEM THE MERITS OF A GRADUATED APPROACH WHICH WAS NOT SO TIGHTLY LINKED TO SUPPORT FOR THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT. (LORD CARRINGTON'S REPRESENTATIVE IN SARAJEVO, DOYLE, HAS REPORTED THAT THE CLEAR AIM OF THE BOSNIAN PRESIDENCY IS TO GET UNPROFOR OUT SO THERE WOULD THEN BE NO (NO) EXCUSE FOR THE WEST NOT TO INTERVENE). UNDER SUCH A SCENARIO, AND BASED FIRMLY ON HUMANITARIAN CRITERIA, ONE COULD BEGIN WITH AN EXPANDED MANDATE FOR UNPROFOR TO COVER LIGHT MILITARY PROTECTION AND A MINE CLEARANCE FACILITY IN ESCORTING MILITARY CONVOYS, I.E. THE APPLICATION OF THE SARAJEVO CONVOY MODEL TO OTHER PARTS OF BOSNIA. A SECOND PART OF THE RESOLUTION COULD GO ON TO AUTHORISE MEMBER STATES, IN CONJUNCTION WITH UNPROFOR AND OTHER UN AGENCIES, TO USE ANY NECESSARY MEASURES OR SUCH MEANS AS NECESSARY FOR THE FULFILMENT OF ITS MANDATE FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE HUMANITARIAN RELIEF CONVOYS AND THE PROTECTION OF RELIEF ZONES, IF ESTABLISHED. THIS WOULD SEEM TO US TO HAVE THE ADVANTAGE OF CONVINCING PUBLIC OPINION THAT ACTION WAS IN HAND, WITHOUT THE PROBLEMS IMPLICIT IN THE MORE OPEN ENDED US APPROACH AND WITHOUT UNDERMINING THE EXISTING HUMANITARIAN EFFORT. AN ADDITIONAL ELEMENT, ON WHICH WE SHOULD WELCOME US VIEWS, IS POSSIBLE SCR AUTHORITY FOR MEMBER STATES, AGAIN ONLY IN CONSULTATION WITH UNPROFOR AND UN AGENCIES, TO TAKE THE STEPS NECESSARY TO SECURE HUMANITARIAN OPERATIONS INTO SARAJEVO AIRPORT.

7. YOU SHOULD BE AWARE THAT THE TURKS HAVE MADE A STRONG PITCH TO US TODAY (TO BE REPORTED SEPARATELY) FOR A LIMITED MILITARY STRIKE TO INDUCE SERBS TO COME MORE READILY TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. THEY ARE SEEKING WIDE INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR THIS CONCEPT.

8. AS YOU WILL KNOW, DESPITE PRESS REPORTING, THERE IS AT LEAST A MEASURE OF DOUBT AS TO WHETHER SOME OF THE MORE BLOOD THIRSTY INCIDENTS HAVE BEEN LAUNCHED BY SERBS OR BY THE MUSLIMS. GENERAL MACKENZIE HAS CERTAINLY SPOKEN PUBLICLY ABOUT ATTACKS BY

BOTH PARTIES ON THEIR OWN SIDES.

9. GRATEFUL ALSO IF YOU WOULD PROVIDE AN URGENT ASSESSMENT AS TO HOW YOUR COUNCIL COLLEAGUES WILL LINE UP ON THE US PRESENT DRAFT. WOULD THEY PREFER THE ALTERNATIVE APPROACH WE HAVE OUTLINED? IF THE UNSG GETS FEEDBACK FROM UNHCR AND GENERAL NAMBIAR THAT LIGHT PROTECTION AND SOME THREATENING LANGUAGE WOULD HELP, IS HE LIKELY TO BE SUPPORTIVE?

10. GREENSTOCK, INCIDENTALLY, SPOKE TO BLOT (QUAI) ON THE TELEPHONE THIS MORNING TO GO OVER SOME OF THIS GROUND. BLOT'S ANALYSIS AND REACTION SHOWED THAT THE QUAI'S THINKING IS VERY CLOSE TO OURS OVER ALL THIS GROUND, VIZ THEY REMAIN AS OPPOSED AS EVER TO LARGE SCALE MILITARY ACTION, THEY REGARD THE LONDON CONFERENCE AS DESIGNED EXCLUSIVELY FOR POLITICAL ACTION AND THEY ARE PREPARED TO CONTEMPLATE POLITICAL ACTION AT THE UN ALONG AMERICAN LINES IF (IF) IT IS BASED ON HUMANITARIAN CRITERIA. BLOT WILL BRIEF MERIMEE ALONG THESE LINES.

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