

Le Secrétaire général

Bruxelles, le 28 août 1992

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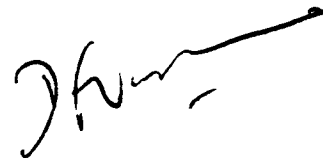
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Note à l'attention de Mmes et MM. les Membres de la Commission

**Objet : Conférence de Londres concernant l'ex-Yougoslavie, les 25-27 août 1992**

Je vous prie de bien vouloir trouver en annexe les documents finaux de la Conférence de Londres et les discours d'ouverture de MM. Major et Hurd.

En ce qui concerne la poursuite des travaux, j'attire l'attention sur la mise en place des groupes spécifiques qui s'occupent, entre autres, des questions humanitaires (y inclus l'aide et les problèmes des réfugiés) et des questions de "confidence building" et de la vérification (y inclus les sanctions).



D.F. WILLIAMSON

Annexes

Copie : Directeurs généraux  
MM. Trojan  
Burghardt

# The London Conference

LC/CI (REVISE)

25 August 1992

## RULES OF PROCEDURE

### GENERAL

1. (1) The following Rules of Procedure are established for the International Conference on the Former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

(2) The Conference shall meet in London from 26 to 28 August 1992 inclusive, under the title of the London Conference on the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

(3) The second stage of the Conference will be held at the United Nations Office at Geneva.

(4) The Conference shall hold subsequent plenary meetings at a date and place to be decided by the Co-Chairmen.

### AGENDA

2. The draft agenda for each meeting of the Conference shall be prepared by the Co-Chairmen, and shall be submitted to the meeting for approval.

### ATTENDANCE

3. The following shall be invited to attend the Conference:-

(a) the representatives of States and organisations, as well as other persons, invited by the Co-Chairmen, and

(2) The Secretariat shall:

- (a) provide and direct the staff required by the Conference and any committees which it may establish
- (b) distribute documents of the Conference and its committees
- (c) interpret speeches made at the Conference
- (d) generally perform all other work which the Conference may require.

#### LANGUAGES

7 (1) English, French and Serbo-Croat shall be the languages of the Conference and its committees.

(2) Speeches made in any of the languages of the Conference shall be interpreted into the other languages.

(3) Any participant may make a speech in a language other than the languages of the Conference. In this case, he shall himself provide for interpretation into one of the languages of the Conference. Interpretation into the other languages of the Conference by the interpreters of the Secretariat may be based on the interpretation given in the first such language.

#### RECORDS

8. The records of the meetings of the Conference and its committees shall be in such form as the Co-Chairmen decide.

#### MEETINGS

9. The meetings of the Conference and its committees shall be held in private.

(b) those persons invited by Lord Carrington, as the Chairman of the EC Conference on Yugoslavia.

#### CO-CHAIRMEN

4 (1) The Co-Chairmen of the Conference shall be the Secretary General of the United Nations and the Head of Government of the State currently holding the Presidency of the Council of Ministers of the European Community.

(2) If either of the Co-Chairmen finds it necessary to be absent during a meeting or any part thereof, he shall designate another person to take his place; any person so designated shall have the same powers and duties as the absent Co-Chairman.

5. In addition to exercising the powers conferred upon them elsewhere by these rules, the Co-Chairmen shall declare the opening and closing of each meeting, direct the discussions in meetings, ensure observance of these rules, accord the right to speak, put questions and announce decisions. They shall rule on points of order and, subject to these rules, shall have complete control of the proceedings at any meeting and over the maintenance of order thereat. The two Co-Chairmen will decide which of them shall speak on behalf of the Co-Chairmen during a particular meeting.

#### SECRETARIAT

6 (1) The Secretariat for the London Conference shall be provided by the Government of the United Kingdom; for subsequent meetings of the Conference, the Co-Chairmen shall make arrangements for the provision of a Secretariat.

(2) Where a participant makes a request that a document is circulated to the Conference, the Secretariat will circulate the document to the Conference if either of the Co-Chairmen authorises its circulation. No document will be circulated to the Conference except in accordance with this Rule.

(3) If a person other than a participant in the Conference makes a request that a document be made available to the participants in the Conference, he must likewise obtain the authorisation of either of the Co-Chairmen. The person who wishes the document to be made available shall provide the Secretariat with a sufficient number of copies of the document, and the Secretariat will place those copies at a location which the Secretariat consider suitable in or near the meeting-place of the Conference.

(4) Documents will be circulated under sub-paragraph (2) above or made available under sub-paragraph (3) above in the language in which they were submitted to the Secretariat.

#### TASK GROUPS

17. The Co-Chairmen may establish such Task Groups as they deem necessary for the performance of the functions of the Conference.

18. The Co-Chairmen of the Conference will:

- (a) choose the Chairman of any Task Group
- (b) designate the membership of the Task Group.

19. The Chairman of a Task Group shall have the same powers and duties, in relation to a Task Group, as the Co-Chairmen have in relation to the Conference under these Rules.

10. No participant may address the Conference without having previously obtained the permission of the Co-Chairmen, who shall have discretion as to the order in which they call those who have signified a desire to speak. The Co-Chairmen may call a speaker to order if his remarks are not relevant to the subject under discussion.
11. Either of the Co-Chairmen may at any time make either oral or written statements to the Conference concerning any question under consideration by it.
12. During the discussion of any matter, a participant may raise a point of order, and the point of order shall be immediately decided by the Co-Chairmen.
13. The Co-Chairmen may limit the time to be allowed to each speaker and the number of times each person may speak on any question. When the debate is limited and a speaker exceeds his allotted time, the Co-Chairmen shall call him to order without delay.
14. The Co-Chairman may allow any participant the right of reply, to be made at a time to be decided by the Co-Chairmen.
15. The Co-Chairmen may at any time:-
  - (a) close the debate on the item under discussion, whether or not any participant has signified his wish to speak
  - (b) suspend or adjourn the meeting.
- 16 (1) Any participant invited to attend the Conference may submit proposals for discussion at the Conference to the Co-Chairmen for their consideration. The basic proposals for discussion at the Conference shall be those put forward by the Co-Chairmen.

# The London Conference

LC/C4 (FINAL)  
27 August 1992

WORK PROGRAMME OF THE CONFERENCE

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20. A Task Group shall meet at the time and place decided by its Chairman.

21. Each Task Group may set up sub-groups, whose chairmanship and membership shall be decided by the Chairman of the Task Group.



# The London Conference

LC/C2 (FINAL)  
26 August 1992

## STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

Approved by the Conference on 26 August

(e) Economic Issues Working Group. The Group's task is to address the economic issues arising from the emergence of new states in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

(f) Confidence and Security-building and Verification Measures Working Group. The Group's tasks are to develop confidence-building measures covering military movements, arms control and arms transfers and limitations, and measures for their monitoring and verification.

#### ARBITRATION COMMISSION

5. The Conference will seek the continued assistance of the Arbitration Commission.

#### SECRETARIAT

6. A small Secretariat will be established at the Office of the United Nations in Geneva. It will be headed by an Executive Director. It will be staffed by personnel from the United Nations and from the European Community.

#### COSTS

7. Participants in the Conference agree to bear the costs related to the administrative implementation of this Work Programme and the provision of the Secretariat, with a scale of contributions to be approved by the Steering Committee.

## THE OFFICE OF THE CO-CHAIRMEN

3. The Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee will be assisted by the Chairmen of the Working Groups (on which see below). They will work in continuous session at the Office of the United Nations in Geneva. The Co-Chairmen will direct the Working Groups and prepare the basis for a general settlement and associated measures. They will also meet as necessary with representatives from the former Yugoslavia, who will attend meetings without preconditions.

4. There will be six Working Groups in continuous session at the Office of the United Nations in Geneva:

(a) Bosnia-Herzegovina Working Group. The Group's task is to promote a cessation of hostilities and a constitutional settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina;

(b) Humanitarian Issues Working Group. The Group's task is to promote humanitarian relief in all its aspects, including refugees;

(c) Ethnic and National Communities and Minorities Working Group. The Group's task is to recommend initiatives for resolving ethnic questions in the former Yugoslavia. A special group on the former autonomous province of Kosovo will be set up;

(d) Succession Issues Working Group. The Group's task is to resolve succession issues arising from the emergence of new states on the territory of the former Yugoslavia;

## INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

1. The International Conference on the former Yugoslavia will remain in being until a final settlement of the problems of the former Yugoslavia has been reached. It will build on the work already done by the EC Conference on Yugoslavia, especially the documents already produced, and will be guided by the provisions of the statement of principles agreed today. The Permanent Co-Chairmen will be the Head of State/Government of the Presidency of the European Community and the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The Conference will be re-convened in plenary session by the Permanent Co-Chairmen on the recommendation of the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee.

### STEERING COMMITTEE

2. A high-level Steering Committee will be set up. The Co-Chairmen will be a representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and a representative of the Presidency of the European Community. It will include representatives of the Troika of the European Community, the Troika of the CSCE, the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, and one representative from the OIC, two representatives from the neighbouring States and Lord Carrington. It will meet at the request of the Co-Chairmen to guide the work of the Conference and to coordinate its work with related work in other organizations.

(vi) total condemnation of forcible expulsions, illegal detentions and attempts to change the ethnic composition of populations, and effective promotion of the closure of detention camps, and of the safe return to their homes of all persons displaced by the hostilities who wish this;

(vii) compliance by all persons with their obligations under international humanitarian law and in particular the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and the personal responsibility of those who commit or order grave breaches of the Conventions;

(viii) the fundamental obligation to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states in the region; and to respect the inviolability of all frontiers in accordance with the UN Charter, the CSCE Final Act and the Charter of Paris. Rejection of all efforts to acquire territory and change borders by force;

(ix) the requirement that a final settlement of all questions of succession to the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia must be reached by consensus or by arbitration and the commitment of all parties to recognise each other mutually, to respect each others' status and rights under any such settlement and to share the duties and responsibilities of successor states;

(x) the obligations on all states and parties concerned to comply in full with all UN Security Council Resolutions on the crisis in the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and to do their utmost to secure their implementation;

(xi) the vital need for humanitarian aid to be provided and, under appropriate protection and with the full cooperation of the local authorities, to reach the populations in need, with special consideration for the needs of children:

## STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

The London Conference has endorsed the following principles as the basis for a negotiated settlement of the problems of former Yugoslavia:

- (i) the imperative need that all parties and others concerned should cease fighting and the use of force, should respect agreed ceasefires and restrain those who commit or seek to provoke breaches of them;
- (ii) non-recognition of all advantages gained by force or fait accompli or of any legal consequences thereof;
- (iii) the need for all parties concerned to engage actively, directly or through intermediaries, in negotiations on the basis of these principles;
- (iv) respect for the highest standards of individual rights and fundamental freedoms in a democratic society, as embodied in the International Covenants of the United Nations on Human Rights, the European Convention on Human Rights and its protocols and other instruments of the United Nations, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Council of Europe;
- (v) implementation of constitutional guarantees of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of persons belonging to ethnic and national communities and minorities, the promotion of tolerance and the right to self determination in accordance with the commitments entered into under the CSCE and in the EC Conference on Yugoslavia;

# The London Conference

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27 August 1992

SPECIFIC DECISIONS BY THE  
LONDON CONFERENCE

(xii) the obligation on all parties to cooperate wholeheartedly in the international monitoring, peacekeeping and arms control operations in the territory of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and to contribute constructively to the suppression of violence throughout the area;.

(xiii) the need to provide international guarantees to ensure the full implementation of all agreements reached within the framework of the International Conference.



4. Further confidence-building measures, covering military movements, arms limitation and verification will be urgently examined.

#### Humanitarian Issues

5. The Co-Chairmen have agreed a programme of action with the parties to the conflict. This includes:

#### Effective delivery of humanitarian aid

i) Full collaboration in delivery of humanitarian relief by road throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, with the following specific steps:

- progressive development of relief missions and road convoys from Croatia and Serbia and Montenegro into all areas of Bosnia where relief is required

- priority to repairing the road and railway between Ploce, Mostar and Sarajevo

- parties to designate local representatives with whom practical arrangements for relief missions and road convoys can be made

- acceptance of and arrangements for international monitors.

ii) Parties to exercise authority over undisciplined elements in their areas.

#### Refugees

iii) Progressive return of refugees to their homes and response to the needs identified by the UN.

#### Dismantling detention camps

iv) Unconditional and unilateral release under international supervision of all civilians detained, and the closure without delay of the detention camps.

v) Parties to take responsibility for security and protection of those detained until freed under international supervision.

vi) International community to be given immediate access in order to monitor the situation of those in detention.

## SPECIFIC DECISIONS BY THE LONDON CONFERENCE

1. Acting under the principles set out in the relevant Conference documents, all parties at the Conference formally accept and agree to cooperate in a number of actions.

### Cessation of Violence

2. The overall aim is an effective and durable cessation of hostilities in the whole of the former SFRY and in particular in Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to facilitate the negotiation of a lasting political settlement. This requires urgent action including:

- early lifting of the sieges of towns and cities
- international supervision of heavy weapons
- bringing all forces, including irregulars, under central control
- withholding of direct or indirect military assistance to self-proclaimed governments and the internal components of neighbouring states
- the progressive reduction of weapons in the region under international supervision.

3. Participants agreed confidence-building measures including:

- the notification of all mortars and heavy weapons to the UN within 96 hours as a prelude to their disengagement from the conflict, which will be the first item in negotiations
- a ban on military flights
- early setting up of hot lines between local commanders and HQs
- improved contact through liaison visits
- the identification of HQs and commanders of all armed units, including para-militaries.
- the posting of observers on the Bosnian/Serbian and Bosnian/Montenegrin borders
- the deployment of observers in Bosnia to monitor heavy weapons.

- enforce sanctions on the Danube, consistent with their view that riparian states have the authority and obligation to do so

- provide practical advice, man-power and equipment to help neighbouring countries to enforce sanctions rigorously

- contribute experts to advise on the application of sanctions in all neighbouring countries to take part in the monitoring missions which will be established in the neighbouring countries to ensure full implementation of sanctions

- ask the Security Council to:

- take necessary measures to tighten up the application of sanctions in the Adriatic;

- prevent illegal transfers of financial assets to Serbia and Montenegro; and

- eliminate diversion of goods in transit.

Conference parties have asked the European Community and the CSCE to coordinate all necessary practical assistance to all neighbouring countries.

#### Violations of International Humanitarian Law

8. The Co-Chairmen have undertaken to carry forward a study of the creation of an international criminal court.

vii) Pending release and return home of those detained, urgent action by humanitarian organisations to examine temporary options.

#### Safe Areas

viii) Further examination of options including neutral zones for safe areas.

#### International Action

6. In order to promote these objectives all governments and international organisations will:

- collaborate fully with the Secretary General of the United Nations in providing to him information in implementation of UNSCR 771
- ensure the compliance by all persons with their obligations under international humanitarian law
- take all possible legal action to bring to account those responsible for committing or ordering grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions
- draw up a register of verified breaches of international humanitarian law
- set up the monitoring missions called for by the CSCE in the territories of the former SFRY and in neighbouring countries
- not consider help for the reconstruction of the Serbian economy before Serbia has complied with the demands of this Conference
- provide the means for:
  - passage and protection of humanitarian convoys at the request of the United Nations;
  - control and monitoring of heavy weapons in Bosnia-Herzegovian under the auspices of the United Nations.

#### Sanctions

7. The relevant governments have agreed that they will:

- implement an agreed action plan to ensure the rigorous application of sanctions

## STATEMENT ON BOSNIA

The participants in the London Conference on the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia condemn the continuing violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the attempts to gain territory by the use of force. They reject as inhuman and illegal the expulsion of civilian communities from their homes in order to alter the ethnic character of any area. They welcome the adoption by the United Nations Security Council of Resolution 771 and other Security Council Resolutions, and the Resolution of the UN Commission on Human Rights on the situation of human rights in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. They undertake to collate substantiated information on violations of international humanitarian law and to make this information available to the United Nations. They reaffirm that persons who commit or order the commission of grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions are individually responsible in respect of such breaches.

A political settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina must include the following provisions:

- a) a full and permanent cessation of hostilities and an end of all violence and repression, including the expulsion of populations;
- b) recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina by all the former Yugoslav Republics;
- c) respect for the integrity of present frontiers, unless changed by mutual agreement;

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27 August 1992

STATEMENT ON BOSNIA

- a) a genuine and lasting end to the conflict throughout the Republic, and return of territory taken by force;
- b) the cessation of all outside interference, in terms of personnel or material support, in the present conflict;
- c) the grouping of heavy weaponry under international control;
- d) the demilitarisation of major towns and the monitoring of them by international observers;
- e) the establishment of refugee and relief centres for those citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina who have lost or been expelled from their homes, pending their return;
- f) the extension of humanitarian relief to all areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina where supplies are needed, with the cooperation of local parties;
- g) an international peacekeeping force under UN auspices may be created by the UN Security Council to maintain the ceasefire, control military movements, and undertake other confidence building measures.

As and when parties are ready to reach a settlement on the above basis, the International Community will join with them in a major reconstruction programme to cope with humanitarian needs and to restore economic activity.

Bos.St  
slm

- d) implementation of guarantees for the rights of persons belonging to all national communities and minorities in accordance with the UN Charter and CSCE provisions;
- e) just and adequate arrangements for people who have been forcibly expelled from their homes including the right to return and compensation for their losses;
- f) democratic and legal structures which properly protect the rights of all in Bosnia and Herzegovina, including national communities and minorities;
- g) assurances of non-intervention by outside military forces whether formed units or irregulars, except as provided for in relevant UN Security Council Resolutions;
- h) respect for all international Treaties and Agreements;
- i) restoration of trade and other links with neighbouring countries.

Further urgent steps are now required to achieve a settlement. The participants in the London Conference urge all parties immediately and without preconditions to resume negotiations on future constitutional arrangements within the framework of the Conference. All parties involved must participate in these negotiations with a genuine will to secure peace and a respect for the interest of the other parties.

The negotiations will also need to cover the following arrangements:

Bos.St  
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## PAPER ON SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO

We welcome the fact that all participants in the Conference have subscribed to the Statement on Bosnia-Herzegovina. All participants must fulfil the obligations to which they have agreed. In particular, Serbia and Montenegro face a clear choice. They have undertaken to:

- cease intervention across their borders with Bosnia and Croatia;
- to the best of their ability restrain the Bosnian Serbs from taking territory by force and expelling the local populations;
- restore in full the civil and constitutional rights of the inhabitants of the Kosovo and Vojvodina and also to ensure must also ensure the civil rights of the inhabitants of the Sandjak;
- use their influence with the Bosnian Serbs to obtain the closure of their detention camps, to comply with their obligations under international humanitarian law and in particular the Geneva conventions, and to permit the return of refugees to their homes. The Bosnian Croats and Muslims have given similar undertakings;
- fully observe the relevant resolutions of the UN Security Council;
- declare that they fully respect the integrity of present frontiers;
- guarantee the rights of ethnic and national communities and minorities within the borders of Serbia and Montenegro in accordance with the UN Charter, the CSCE and the draft convention of the EC Conference on Yugoslavia;

## The London Conference

At a meeting with FCO Minister of State Douglas Hogg, Drs Karadzic and Koljevic representing the Bosnian Serbs signified their agreement to the following:

i That the Bosnian Serb side would notify to the UN within 96 hours the positions of all heavy weaponry to be grouped around the 4 towns of Sarajevo, Bihac, Goradze and Jajce, this grouping to be completed within a period of 7 days. The weaponry once grouped would be put under the continuous supervision of permanent UN observers. The Bosnian Serb side would expect the Bosnian Government to take reciprocal action, but would not impose this as a precondition for their own action, which would be unilateral. The Bosnian Serb side further undertook with immediate effect not to initiate fire from any of this heavy weaponry.

ii That the Bosnian Serb side recognised that in negotiations between the three Bosnian parties, they would agree to withdraw from a substantial portion of the territory now under the control of their forces.

*Miss Hogg*  
*27/08/92*

*Bozidar Djindjic*  
*Dr. Karadzic*  
*Dr. Koljevic*  
*Korac*

Conference Document produced by the  
Co-Chairmen on the basis of extensive  
consultation with Delegations on  
26-27 August 1992

FINAL VERSION

27 August 1992

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE FORMER SOCIALIST FEDERAL  
REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA  
CONFIDENCE, SECURITY BUILDING AND VERIFICATION

I Purpose

1. There is an urgent need to identify and promote steps in the military sphere in all or part of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) which could underpin a cessation of hostilities and a durable political settlement. To this end, the Conference has taken some immediate decisions and set up a Working Group to develop confidence-building measures, covering military movements and arms transfers and limitations, as well as measures for their monitoring and verification. This work will be under the direction of the co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee (see Work Programme). The results of this work will be compatible with action authorised by the Security Council in respect of the United Nations peacekeeping operations in the former SFRY.

2. Such military measures need to be seen in the context of measures of a political and humanitarian nature, including, for example, convoys under UNHCR auspices, and exchanges of prisoners of war under ICRC auspices.

II Immediate Decisions of the Conference

3. The most immediate task is to alleviate the suffering in Bosnia-Herzegovina through a permanent cessation of hostilities and safe delivery of humanitarian assistance. Achievement of these aims can be facilitated considerably through agreement of measures aimed at clarifying the military situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and increasing the possibilities for liaison and verification. As a first step, the Conference has decided to adopt the following measures with regard to Bosnia-Herzegovina:

- improved communications between the parties, including direct and immediate liaison between commanders on forward deployment lines, for example by local radio and

- work for the normalisation of the situation in Croatia, for implementation of the Vance Plan and for acceptance by the Serbs in the Krajina of special status as foreseen in the draft convention of the EC Conference on Yugoslavia;
- respect all relevant international treaties and agreements.

If, as suggested by Mr Panic's recent letter to the President of the Security Council of the UN, Serbia and Montenegro do intend to fulfil these obligations in deed as well as word they will resume a respected position in the international community. They will be enabled to trade, to receive assistance and to enjoy the full cooperation of all members of the international community. If they do not comply the Security Council will be invited to apply stringent sanctions leading to their total international isolation.

- advance notification of movements of personnel, or movements/transfers of equipment;
- information on personnel levels of formations and units above a given strength;
- extension of observer missions both on inter-republican borders and within certain republics;
- short-notice on-site inspection (within 24 hours) in the event of suspect activities.

7. In addition, though perhaps on a different timescale, other measures should be considered in the former SFRY, including:

- restrictions on the movement of paramilitary or military forces;
- no acquisition of certain types of equipment;
- measures of demilitarisation, for example declaring that areas around specific locations, such as refugee camps or major cities, should be free from certain categories of equipment;
- other verification measures, for example assessment visits by parties to evaluate compliance with agreed provisions, or overflights by outside states;
- more systematic liaison provisions, for example establishment of local standing liaison commissions, involving outside observers such as EC Monitors or UN Military Observers;
- other arms limitation measures.

8. Although the group will focus on new measures, it will also be important to ensure that existing obligations under the terms of the Vienna Document 92 in respect of provision of information are fully implemented. Consideration should also be given to applying in the former SFRY some of the mechanisms of the Vienna Document which are designed to enhance transparency, for example the unusual military activity, verification and border tours measures.

#### IV Working Group Organisation

9. It will be for the co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee to decide how to develop work on these lines as soon as possible.

- telephone hot lines;
- improvements in contacts between the parties, for example by liaison visits, and by establishing joint teams to resolve local incidents;
  - immediate acceptance of reconnaissance teams to prepare for the deployment of observers around designated locations;
  - posting of observers on the Bosnian/Serbian, Bosnian/Montenegrin and Bosnian/Croatian borders;
  - immediate acceptance of the principle that all mortars and heavy weapons will be subject to international supervision and, as a first step, should be notified to the UN by type and location within 96 hours, as a prelude to their disengagement from the conflict;
  - no military use of aircraft or helicopters;
  - information exchange on command structure, identifying HQ locations and names of commanders, covering all armed units, including paramilitary units.

4. It will be for the co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee to recommend how these measures should be implemented, taking account of international peace-keeping and other related activities in progress in the region. Breaches of agreed measures will be reported (with, where possible, an indication of who is responsible) by the co-Chairmen to the Conference, and, where appropriate, by the Secretary General of the United Nations to the Security Council.

5. Priority should be given to assuring that there is immediate follow-up to the agreement on international supervision of all mortars and heavy weapons in Bosnia-Herzegovina, proceeding by agreed steps, which could include tagging, monitoring, deactivation, corralling under local supervision and eventually centralisation of such weapons. It will be for the co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee to decide whether this work would more appropriately be done by the Working Group on confidence, security-building and verification or the one on Bosnia-Herzegovina.

### III Working Group Programme

6. The Working Group should seek early agreement on measures aimed to enhance transparency between the parties in the former SFRY. The purpose of these provisions would be to build confidence and to ensure that any cease-fire is durable. Such measures may include, inter alia:

- information exchange on numbers and location of certain categories of equipment (to be defined) held by the parties;

## CONCLUSIONS ON IMPLEMENTATION OF EXISTING SANCTIONS

1. The London Conference welcomes the steps taken by the international community to implement United Nations Security Council Resolutions 713 and 757 imposing mandatory sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, but regrets that there remain gaps in implementation. The following proposals deal with the gaps identified so far.

### Compliance with UNSCR 757: need for enforcement

2. The Conference notes that many countries are cooperating with the UN Sanctions Committee but is concerned that compliance remains incomplete. The Conference calls on all governments forthwith to comply fully with the requirements of UNSCR 757. All governments should respond to the appeal issued by the UN Sanctions Committee for information regarding violations of the sanctions regime.

3. The Conference recommends that the Security Council should consider any requests made to it under Article 50 of the UN Charter by any state which considers that it is confronted by special economic problems arising from carrying out the requirements of UNSCR 757.

### Enforcement of sanctions by neighbouring states

4. Neighbouring states are encountering practical problems in the enforcement of sanctions. The Conference notes with approval the fact that the Romanian government invited experts to give advice on ways of overcoming difficulties in the application of sanctions and that officials from a number of Conference countries will shortly go to Romania to help the Romanian authorities with enforcement. Further missions are currently visiting Hungary and Bulgaria with the same purpose. The Conference looks forward to similar missions taking place to all other neighbouring countries, and welcomes the offer of assistance by the Conference on

# The London Conference

LC/C8

27 August 1992

CONCLUSIONS ON IMPLEMENTATION  
OF EXISTING SANCTIONS



prevent this diversion and to report violations to the UN Sanctions Committee. The Conference also invites the UN Security Council to ask the Sanctions Committee to define more precisely its guidelines on the subject of transit traffic.

#### Strengthening the legal framework

9. The Conference invites the Security Council to take such further measures as may be necessary to ensure the full implementation of UNSCRs 713 and 757. Existing sanctions are possibly being breached by maritime traffic in the Adriatic Sea. The Security Council is therefore invited to consider further measures to ensure rigorous implementation of sanctions in the Adriatic.

#### Follow up to the Conference

10. The Conference agrees that member states of the European Community and of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe will keep the UN Sanctions Committee informed on a regular basis about the action they have committed themselves to take to enforce sanctions rigorously, including any problems that may be encountered. In addition, as part of the follow-up to the Conference, the Representatives of the Co-Chairmen on the Steering Committee will take action necessary to remedy defects in enforcement and generally to ensure rigorous application of sanctions in accordance with SCR 757.

27 August 1992

Security and Cooperation in Europe to these countries. It also welcomes the intention to establish monitoring missions from representatives of individual Conference countries to assist in the implementation of sanctions in neighbouring countries. The Conference invites the European Community and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to coordinate these activities.

#### The Danube

5. The Conference notes that Article 103 of the UN Charter obliges the riparian states of the Danube to do whatever is necessary, including the stopping and searching of vessels, to prevent the use of the River Danube for the purposes of circumventing or breaking the sanctions imposed in UNSCR Resolutions 713 and 757, notwithstanding the provisions of the Belgrade Convention.

6. The Conference calls upon the riparian countries to prevent sanctions being broken or circumvented by trade along the Danube. Individual Conference countries will provide expertise, technical assistance and equipment to the governments concerned to help with enforcement.

#### Unauthorized transfers of Serbian and Montenegrin assets

7. The Conference is concerned that financial transfers for the benefit of Serbia and Montenegro in breach of UNSCR 757 are taking place. The Conference countries reaffirm their commitment to prevent such transfers and call on other states to do the same. The Conference invites the UN Sanctions Committee to consider whether its guidelines need to be tightened for this purpose.

#### Transit traffic

8. Illegal diversion of goods in transit across Serbia and Montenegro is taking place. The Conference calls on the authorities of bordering countries to do all they can to

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# The London Conference

LC/C9

27 August 1992

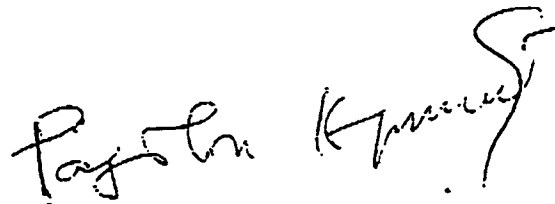
PROGRAMME OF ACTION ON HUMANITARIAN ISSUES  
AGREED BETWEEN THE CO-CHAIRMEN  
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vii) that all such action should be in accordance with the agreement with the parties reached in Geneva on 22 May under auspices of the ICRC;

viii) that the provision of humanitarian assistance should be carried out impartially and on a non-political basis for the benefit of all those affected by the conflict.

The representatives of the Co-Chairmen also noted the following points made by the parties:

- a. that humanitarian assistance should be carried out impartially to the benefit of all those in need.
- b. that no party can be expected to give guarantees of security on behalf of the other parties to the conflict.
- c. that in granting safe access to the international humanitarian organisations there would be a clear understanding that no party would gain military advantage.



Radovan Karadzic

- temporary refuge in third countries.

e. The international humanitarian agencies will explore urgently with the parties all possible ways to secure the safe release of those detained.

f. In the meantime, the parties undertook to ensure that arrangements are made to ensure that those in detention are cared for and protected, until such time as their safe release is feasible, and accepted that the international community will monitor the situation closely to ensure that the security and well being of those held in detention is assured. To this end, they undertook to give free access to representatives of the international community including the UN, ICRC, EC and CSCE.

g. In light of the need for the immediate evacuation of critical medical cases under ICRC supervision, the parties agreed to arrange security guarantees to permit the use of Banja Luka airport for this purpose. The evacuation would take place with the shortest delay. The parties undertook to identify the names of local commanders/authorities who would make the arrangements with the ICRC delegate. In close coordination with the UN, and who would be individually responsible for the safe passage and security of those to be evacuated.

3. In carrying out the Programme of Action, the parties to the conflict undertook to abide by the following provisions:

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ii) all the parties to the conflict have the responsibility to exercise full authority over undisciplined elements within their areas so as to avoid anarchy, breaches of international humanitarian law and human rights abuse.

iii) that refugees and displaced persons should be allowed to return voluntarily and safely to their places of origin.

iv) all practices involving forcible displacement, all forms of harassment, humiliation or intimidation. Confiscation and destruction of property and all acts involved in the practice of ethnic cleansing are abhorrent and should cease forthwith.

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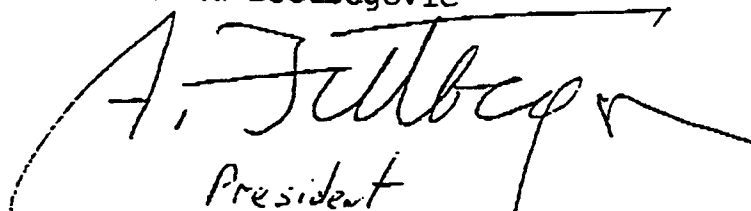
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Alia Izetbegovic



President  
Presidency of the Republic  
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Mate Boban



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- 2 -

represent have been appalled by the destruction, the killing, the maiming, the sheer cruelty which has disfigured Yugoslavia. We seek a just peace. Against that background, it seemed to the Secretary General and to me that the UN and the EC should join in holding this Conference.

Fortunately, we are not starting our work from scratch. The European Community has given monitors and sponsored a peace conference. Lord Carrington - to whom I pay a warm tribute - has made substantial progress and we should build on this. The United Nations has passed Resolutions bringing in an arms embargo on Serbia and

**SPEECH BY THE RT HON JOHN MAJOR MP  
AT THE LONDON CONFERENCE  
ON WEDNESDAY, 26 AUGUST 1992**

The tragedy of Yugoslavia unfolds daily. Throughout the world people see the waste, the despair, and the growing danger of the conflict.

In this room are gathered people who could stop this war. End this bloodshed. Reach a lasting settlement. I do not believe world opinion will readily forgive anyone who impedes that work. The people whom we

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would still be involved in hunger, sickness and desperation, which are bound to deepen as winter approaches. The UNHCR estimates that some 2.5 million people remain in the former Yugoslavia: over 1.3 million of these will depend on outside help with shelter, food and medicines to see them through the coming winter. Without that help many may not survive. This is not a natural disaster. It is a man made disaster. It needs a man made solution.

We must ensure that humanitarian supplies are distributed to the tragic victims of this conflict, particularly those still trapped in war zones in Bosnia. The humanitarian agencies have done an

- 3 -

Montenegro. Ten days ago, the Security Council agreed that "all necessary measures" could be used to deliver humanitarian aid. The UN agencies have supplied and distributed emergency aid and cared for refugees. And individual countries too have contributed -- often by taking in large numbers of refugees.

But we have all felt that the time has come to broaden and intensify our work. Let me suggest as co-Chairman how I believe we should tackle the task.

First, humanitarian help. Even if peace were achieved tomorrow, hundreds of thousands of people



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Violation of international humanitarian law must stop. I welcome the Security Council Resolution condemning human rights violations. This conference must call on all parties to respect human rights regardless of nationality or religion.

At present, that is not happening. Civilians are detained against their will and subjected to ill-treatment, especially in Bosnia. Those detention camps must be shut. But while they exist, humanitarian agencies should have immediate, unimpeded and constant access to them. Individuals must accept their responsibilities for war crimes they commit or order.

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outstanding job. They have put their lives on the line for the survival of others. UN Security Council Resolution 770 is the guarantee given by the international community that we will not leave the UN and its agencies without help and protection in their task. It cannot be done by force but it must be done in safety. That is why my country and others are willing to provide armed escorts to help the relief convoys on their missions of mercy. We have no hostile intent towards any party in Bosnia. But we will not be deflected from our determination to deliver aid where it is needed.

Second, we must tackle respect for human rights.

- 8 -

cure, though they may ease, the basic problem.

Thirdly, therefore, we must work for peace with justice with as much energy as we relieve those already suffering from war with injustice. It is clear that we need a peace process and that this should be coupled with the necessary international pressure to bring success.

The peace process must be based on certain fundamental principles. The first is that frontiers cannot be altered by force. The international Community will not accept that Bosnia can be partitioned by conquest. Those who suppose that

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Some action has already been taken. I welcome the recent rapporteur missions to investigate detention centres throughout the former Yugoslavia and attacks on civilians in Croatia and Bosnia.

And I warmly support the UN decision to appoint a Special Rapporteur to investigate allegations of human rights abuses in particular within Bosnia-Herzegovina. The human rights situation throughout former Yugoslavia must continue to be closely monitored.

But humanitarian help and greater respect for human rights, however desperately needed, do not

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sets out the basic international standards which must govern a settlement. I cannot believe that any of us here today will not be able to subscribe to it. What counts, of course is not just the acceptance of these principles but their application. They are in reality not being completely fulfilled by any of the main parties to the crisis.

We must therefore help parties to come closer to doing so. That is the purpose of the work set out in the Action Programme. This Conference will remain in being - and active. Its work will be handled in partnership by the United Nations and the Presidency of the European Community. In addition, we

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they can secure international acceptance of military advantages gained by force are wrong.

The second principle is that within those fixed frontiers minorities are entitled to full protection and respect for their civil rights. This applies universally whether within Bosnia, or Croatia, or Serbia.

These two principles go together. Neither can be effective without the other.

The principles, and how we hope to achieve them, are set out in the two key documents which I hope the Conference will adopt. The Statement of Principles

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to adopt them. Like the statement of principles they should be uncontentious. We believe that they are consistent with Mr Panic's recent letter to the UN Security Council. This struck a note of realism and moderation. It is essential that this is followed up in deed as well as word. If all the Yugoslav parties at this Conference, including Serbia, are prepared to subscribe to the draft statements this will be an encouraging sign. If not, the world will be entitled to doubt the good will of those who stand out against it, and to draw the appropriate conclusions.

Those conclusions must mean bringing pressure to bear on governments or factions which do not abide

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urgently need a high-level international task group to tackle each main problem we face. The task groups will build on the work already done by the EC Peace Conference and the United Nations. They must then get down to work energetically and unremittingly on the problems they have been set. We must also strive for further practical progress during the Conference on the key questions of humanitarian issues, confidence-building measures and implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions.

We shall also be looking at two further documents. These are the draft statements, one on Serbia, the other on Bosnia. I hope that all parties will be able



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and of the world community.

In this conference, and beyond it, we are ready to work with the republics of the former Yugoslavia to settle the final new constitutional arrangements in accordance with the principles I set out. Our aim is to take into account the legitimate interests of all parties.

Parties who choose to ignore settlement by negotiation will find no support from other governments or international organisations. All the countries and organisations who have a role to play are represented here. They will all set out their own

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by these principles. That in turn means sanctions. We need to enforce them more effectively and, if necessary, intensify them. This will be an inevitable issue at the Conference.

No-one should underestimate the anguish that is felt around the world at the events that unfold daily.

The different former Yugoslav delegations, and in particular those from Serbia and Montenegro, must ask themselves this question: do you wish to be considered as part of Europe? Do you wish to belong to the world community? If so, good. But that means accepting the standards of the rest of Europe

recognise their legitimate wish that their past autonomy should be restored. Serbia should refrain from further repression and engage in serious dialogue with representatives of this territory. At the same time the Kosovars should understand that they must proceed by negotiation and that the international community cannot accept the alteration of international frontiers by force. We welcome the CSCE's plan to station observers in Kosovo, and also in Vojvodina and the Sanjak, to deter violence and help to restore confidence.

The immediate focus - rightly - has been on ensuring the prompt and effective delivery of humanitarian aid. The international agencies face a formidable task. Thousands are still trapped in the conflict zones. Their suffering is made worse by the widespread disregard for basic humanitarian principles shown by some combatants. Violations of international humanitarian laws must stop. All detention camps should be shut. While they do continue to exist, international humanitarian agencies, notably the Red Cross, should, as UN Security Council Resolution 771 puts it, have "immediate, unimpeded and constant access" to them. We support the parallel initiative for the CSCE in close cooperation with the Red Cross and the UNHCR to ensure that all detention centres are inspected as soon as possible.

**LONDON CONFERENCE: PRESIDENCY INTERVENTION DELIVERED BY THE  
FOREIGN SECRETARY**

War in the former Yugoslavia is a tragedy - thousands have been killed, millions have been driven from their homes. It is not the only such tragedy occurring in the world, but this tragedy of Yugoslavia is a particular reproach to the whole of Europe - the prison and refugee camps, the mortar bombs falling on funerals, the ethnic cleansing, challenge the principles of international law and decent behaviour, and thus challenge us who claim to defend these principles and that behaviour.

The Community and its member states strongly condemn the continuing violence. No party to the conflict is blameless. But the greatest responsibility falls on the Serbian leadership and on the Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia. The immediate step forward is clear. The Serbs and all other parties should immediately respond to the terms of successive mandatory Security Council resolutions and implement and observe the agreement signed by all the Bosnian parties signed on 17 July at the EC Conference.

Sadly, there might be still greater suffering. The Kosovar Albanians have shown admirable restraint in the face of the consistent denial of their basic human rights. We

- 16 -

even tougher sanctions, even more rigorously policed. No trade. No aid. No international recognition or role. Economic, cultural, political and diplomatic isolation.

So I see our task at this Conference as ensuring humanitarian help, restoring respect for human rights, and setting in hand a process which will lead to a just and enduring peace - by agreeing on the necessary principles, on the pressures needed to put these principles into effect, and on the intensive programme of work needed to bring our process to success.

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view but I believe there is a common determination.

For those who accept negotiation - and that means a willingness to make concessions and a genuine desire to find compromises - we have everything to offer.

We will speed up your integration into the international community. We will begin with reconstruction aid. We will offer economic help through trade agreements, through export credits, through a full partnership in Europe.

If we do not get cooperation, the pressure will inexorably increase. Condemnation, isolation.

Parties who stand in the way of agreement can expect

necessary measures in coordination with the UN. Our aim remains to deliver aid where it is needed. Help is getting in by land as well as by air. We now need to increase the scale and scope of these operations so that they get to all places where relief is needed, including the camps.

Until there is progress on all these points the UN sanctions regime should remain in force. We shall work for its strict enforcement and, if necessary, strengthening. We shall also work to extinguish the Yugoslav seat at the UN.

Suffering in the former Yugoslavia is not some act of God. It is a direct result of blatant aggression and the failure of the leaders principally concerned to agree how their peoples should live together. Relieving suffering, however important, is not enough. We must help - and where necessary bring pressure on - those leaders to remove the cause of that suffering.

This is not easy. There are real limits on what any outsider can do. Ancient hatreds are not easily soothed by outsiders. Political leaders are not necessarily in full command of local warlords.

At the same time, we are conscious, as the Community, of the extent to which Yugoslavia is a European problem.

All parties to the conflict are bound to comply with international humanitarian law and in particular the Geneva Conventions. SCR 771 reaffirmed that obligation. The Bosnian Serbs' attempt forcibly to expel 25,000 people from Bihac flew in the face of that obligation, the latest in a long line of such expulsions. We shall take careful note of the perpetrators of these criminal acts and shall do all we can to bring them to account.

As part of this effort, the Community and its member states support two separate courses of action. It is right that the UN Human Rights Commission should have appointed a special rapporteur to investigate human rights abuses. We shall give Mr Mazowiecki all possible support. We also took the initiative in invoking the CSCE mission which will now investigate the treatment of unarmed civilians by all sides.

The UN Humanitarian Agencies and the International Committee of the Red Cross have done an outstanding job, working against the odds in increasingly dangerous circumstances. They will continue to get our support. The Community has so far pledged 48.5 MECU for emergency humanitarian aid since November 1991, and is now discussing a further 120 MECU.

We welcome UN Security Council Resolution 770 which reinforces the humanitarian effort by authorising use of all



against the undertaking which Mr Panic has made. If it does not abide by them it will drag Yugoslavia into ever increasing isolation.

Against this background what does the Community and its member states hope to see as the outcome of this Conference?

The aim must be to intensify and broaden international pressure on the parties to work wholeheartedly for political settlement. It will be important to build on the firm foundation already established by the excellent work of Lord Carrington. I pay tribute to his untiring and ingenious efforts over the past year. He has not only laboured unremittingly to bring about successive ceasefires. He has also produced an admirable basis for a draft agreement. He deserves the heartfelt thanks of all of us here today. This will continue within the new conference framework.

As he found so clearly, broking agreements entails convincing awkward and highly distrustful people that their interests will be best served by compromise. There are no guarantees that our efforts will succeed in establishing a lasting peace in the region. But we must take maximum advantage of every channel available.

The key mechanisms for future work are set out in the

These areas of conflicts border with two member states, the fleeing refugees are arriving in several member states. There are risks of the fighting spreading to engulf the wider Balkan region. The Community therefore carries a particular responsibility.

The Community and its member states will not accept that Bosnia can be partitioned by force. Its inhabitants have voted in a referendum for independence: it has been internationally recognised and admitted to the UN. We cannot accept that outside countries should carve it up. We must work for an early ceasefire and for progress on a political solution. This must be based on respect for the existing frontiers and on a political arrangement which satisfies all three ethnic communities. The follow-up work to this conference should address these questions right away. We need not specify what constitutional arrangement they should reach. But that there should be one is clear.

Yugoslavia in general and Serbia in particular face a sombre choice. The Serbs must abandon the policies which have brought the region to disaster. Mr Panic has given clear promises to do so. I am encouraged to hear it. But Serbia must agree that it will be bound by this. It says that the federation is responsible for its foreign relations: in that case Serbia must comply with the federation's policies. Serbia's behaviour will be measured

coordinate with other international organisations. It should also meet, as necessary, with the Republics of the former Yugoslavia. It will be the focus of all our combined efforts for peace.

Close liaison between those primarily involved in negotiation in capitals, and those active on the ground will be essential. The work of the Conference must not duplicate or undermine the operations of the UN or other international bodies, which will remain the proper fora for action in their particular areas of competence.

To work, these arrangements will need the full support of everyone gathered at this Conference. If we cannot present a united approach, we only make ourselves vulnerable to those who seek to achieve their ends by force. We urge the Conference to endorse the draft statement of principles as the basis of our approach. This sets out, in simple and forceful terms, the basic principles for a negotiated settlement. The essentials are clear; the fighting and "ethnic cleansing" must stop: human rights must be respected; the rights of minorities must be guaranteed; frontiers cannot be changed by force, only by mutual agreement; sanctions must be maintained; and, perhaps most importantly, all parties must engage actively in negotiations to resolve their differences, rather than resort to force.

draft action programme. Clearly, we need a task group to deal with Bosnia, which poses the most difficult and the most immediate problems. With the help of that group the three communities must resume talks on a new constitution so that they are enabled to live peacefully together. The task group must also negotiate political conditions to allow humanitarian activities to be undertaken safely. It should, finally, work to establish a durable ceasefire. A key part of that ceasefire will be bringing heavy weapons belonging to all sides under international supervision.

Secondly, work on the status of the various minorities must be taken forward rapidly. The minorities in the Kosovo, Krajina, Vojvodina, Sandjak and in the former Yugoslave Republic of Macedonia - all need a special status within their respective republics which guarantees their rights and enables them to live in confidence.

A high-level body will be needed to ensure that our efforts are coherent and speedy. It should we believe, be composed of eminent people who are willing to dedicate considerable time and energy to the task and should bring together the Chairmen of the task groups and representatives of the UN, the EC, the CSCE, and perhaps others with valuable influence to contribute. The body should meet frequently to keep progress in the task groups under close review, to prepare the basis for an overall settlement and