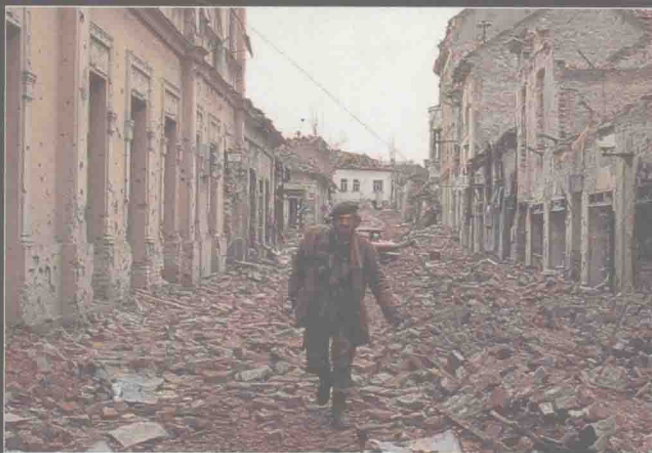


UPDATED

BALKAN ODYSSEY



AN UNCOMPROMISING PERSONAL ACCOUNT
OF THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE EFFORTS FOLLOWING
THE BREAKUP OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA



David
Owen

"Nobody can talk authoritatively about the course
of this war without engaging this text in detail."

—*New York Times Book Review*

David Owen

Balkan
Odyssey

A HARVEST BOOK

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A C E D B

Balkan Odyssey

USED

*To Cyrus Vance and Thorvald Stoltenberg
and all those from the UN and the EU
who worked with us in the
International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia*

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Map 3: Ante Markotic, Ejup Sijencic, Asin Abdurahnanovic (Bosnia-Herzegovina: Altermedia NUB, 1991).

Dramatis Personae

- Abdic, Fikret** Leader of Muslim faction in Bihac; Muslim member of Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency
- Ahrens, Geert:** ICFY Chairman of Nationalities and Minorities Working Group; formerly member of EC Peace Conference on Yugoslavia
- Ahtisaari, Martti** President of Finland 1994–; ICFY Chairman of Bosnia-Herzegovina Working Group 1992–4
- Akashi, Yasushi** UN Secretary-General's Special Representative for former Yugoslavia, 3 December 1993–October 1995
- Akmadzic, Mile** Bosnian Croat leader; Prime Minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina 1992–3
- Albright, Madeleine** US Permanent Representative to the UN 1993–
- Annan, Kofi** UN Secretary-General's Special Representative for former Yugoslavia, October 1995–
- Babic, Milan** Croatian Serb leader
- Bartholomew, Reginald** US Special Envoy to former Yugoslavia 1992–3
- Bildt, Carl** ICFY Co-Chairman of Steering Committee 1995–; former Prime Minister of Sweden
- Boban, Mate** Leader of the Bosnian Croats 1992–4
- Boras, Franjo** Bosnian Croat leader; member of Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency
- Boutros Ghali, Boutros** UN Secretary-General 1992–
- Briquemont, Francis** UNPROFOR Commander for BH, 1993
- Broek, Hans van den** EU Commissioner for External Affairs; former Dutch Foreign Minister
- Buha, Aleksa** Bosnian Serb leader specializing in foreign affairs
- Bulatovic, Momir** President of Montenegro
- Bush, George** President of the USA 1989–93
- Carrington, Peter** Chairman of EC Peace Conference on Yugoslavia 1991–2
- Charette, Hervé de** Foreign Minister of France 1995–
- Chirac, Jacques** President of France 1995–

- Christopher, Warren** US Secretary of State
- Churkin, Vitaly** Russian Special Envoy to former Yugoslavia 1993–4
- Claes, Willy** Secretary-General of NATO 1994–; Foreign Minister of Belgium until 1994
- Clinton, Bill** President of the USA 1993–
- Cosic, Dobrica** Serbian writer; President of the FRY (Serbia and Montenegro) 1992–3
- Cot, Jean** Commander of UNPROFOR in former Yugoslavia 1993–4
- Cutileiro, José** Secretary-General of WEU; chaired negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina in EC Peace Conference 1992
- Demirel, Suleiman** President and former Prime Minister of Turkey
- Dole, Robert** US Senator; Republican majority leader in Senate 1995–
- Draskovic, Vuk** Leader of the Serbian opposition party SPO
- Eagleburger, Lawrence** US Secretary of State 1992–3
- Eide, Kai** ICFY negotiator between the Croatian government and the leaders of the Croatian Serbs
- Frasure, Robert, the late** US Special Envoy to former Yugoslavia and US representative on Contact Group 1994–5
- Galbraith, Peter** US Ambassador to Croatia 1993–
- Ganic, Ejup** Vice-President of Bosnia-Herzegovina; Yugoslav member of Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency; SDA leader; Vice-President of Croat-Muslim Federation of BH 1994–
- Gligorov, Kiro** President of Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
- Goldstone, Richard** Chief Prosecutor, Yugoslav War Crimes Tribunal
- Granic, Mate** Croatian Foreign Minister 1993–
- Hadzic, Goran** Croatian Serb leader
- Hall, Peter** ICFY deputy to Lord Owen 1992–3; member of EC Peace Conference on Yugoslavia; former UK Ambassador to Yugoslavia
- Hannay, David** UK Permanent Representative to the UN; retired 1995
- Helveg Petersen, Niels** Foreign Minister of Denmark 1993–
- Holbrooke, Richard** US Assistant Secretary of State 1994–
- Hurd, Douglas** UK Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; retired 1995
- Izetbegovic, Alija** President of Bosnia-Herzegovina; founding leader of SDA
- Janvier, Bernard** Commander of UNPROFOR in former Yugoslavia 1995–
- Jovanovic, Vladislav** Former Foreign Minister of FRY; former Foreign Minister of Serbia
- Juppé, Alain** Prime Minister of France 1995–; Foreign Minister of France 1994–5

- Karadzic, Radovan Leader of the Bosnian Serbs
- Kinkel, Klaus Foreign Minister of Germany
- Kljujic, Stjepan Croat member of Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, removed by Boban 1992, reinstated 1994
- Kohl, Helmut Chancellor of Germany
- Koljevic, Nikola Bosnian Serb leader; former Serb member of Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency
- Kooijmans, Peter Foreign Minister of The Netherlands 1993-4
- Kozyrev, Andrei Foreign Minister of Russian Federation
- Krajsnik, Momcilo Bosnian Serb leader; former President of the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina
- Lake, Anthony US National Security Adviser
- Lanxade, Jacques French Chief of Defence Staff
- Lapresle, Bertrand de Adviser to Carl Bildt; UNPROFOR Commander in former Yugoslavia 1994-5
- Ludlow, David Special Assistant to Lord Owen 1992-4; representative of ICFY Co-Chairmen on Contact Group 1994
- Major, John Prime Minister of the United Kingdom
- Manning, David UK representative on Contact Group 1994
- Martic, Milan Leader of the Croatian Serbs
- Masset, Jean-Pierre ICFY deputy to Lord Owen 1993-4
- Mazowiecki, Tadeusz UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in former Yugoslavia 1992-5
- Mérimée, Jean-Bernard French Permanent Representative to the UN until 1995
- Mierlo, Hans van Foreign Minister of The Netherlands 1994-
- Milosevic, Slobodan President of Serbia
- Mitsotakis, Constantine Prime Minister of Greece until 1994
- Mitterrand, François President of France until 1995
- Mladic, Ratko Commander of the Bosnian Serb army
- Morillon, Philippe Commander of UNPROFOR in Bosnia-Herzegovina 1993
- Nambiar, Satish Commander of UNPROFOR in former Yugoslavia 1992-3
- Ogata, Sadako UN High Commissioner for Refugees
- Okun, Herbert ICFY Deputy to Cyrus Vance 1992-3
- Panic, Milan Prime Minister of FRY (Serbia and Montenegro) 1992
- Papoulias, Karolos Foreign Minister of Greece
- Perry, William US Defense Secretary
- Plavsic, Biljana Bosnian Serb leader; former member of Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency
- Poos, Jacques Foreign Minister

- Powell, Colin Chairman of US Joint Chiefs of Staff to 1994
- Ramcharan, Bertie Director of ICFY Secretariat
- Redman, Charles US Special Envoy to former Yugoslavia 1993–4;
member of Contact Group
- Renwick, Robin UK Ambassador to the US; retired 1995
- Roberts, Ivor Chargé d’Affaires, UK Embassy, Belgrade, 1994–
- Robinson, Michael Chargé d’Affaires, UK Embassy, Belgrade, 1992–4
- Rose, Michael Commander of UNPROFOR in Bosnia-Herzegovina
1994–5
- Rugova, Ibrahim Leader of the Kosovar Albanians
- Sacirbey, Muhamed Foreign Minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina 1995–;
BH Permanent Representative to the UN 1992–5
- Sarinic, Hrvoe Head of President Tudjman’s office; former Croatian
Prime Minister
- Sédouy, Jacques-Alain de ICFY deputy to Lord Owen 1994–5; French
representative on Contact Group
- Seselj, Vojislav Leader of Serbian Radicals and leader of Serb militia
- Shalikashvili, John US Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff; former
SACEUR
- Silajdzic, Haris Prime Minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina; former
Foreign Minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina
- Smith, Rupert Commander of UNPROFOR in Bosnia-Herzegovina
1995–
- Solana, Javier Foreign Minister of Spain
- Sommaruga, Cornelio President of the International Committee of
the Red Cross
- Steiner, Michael German representative on Contact Group
- Stojanovic, Svetovar Personal adviser to FRY President Cosic
- Stoltenberg, Thorvald ICFY Co-Chairman 1993–
- Susak, Gojko Croatian Minister of Defence
- Szasz, Paul ICFY legal adviser; representative of ICFY Co-Chairmen
on Contact Group; former deputy head of UN legal department
- Tarnoff, Peter US Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs
- Thomas, Charles US Envoy to former Yugoslavia 1994; member of
Contact Group
- Tudjman, Franjo President of Croatia
- Vance, Cyrus Personal Representative of UN Secretary-General to
former Yugoslavia 1991–2; Co-Chairman of ICFY Steering
Committee 1992–3; former US Secretary of State
- Wahlgren, Lars Eric Commander of UNPROFOR in former
Yugoslavia 1993–4
- Wilson, John UNPROFOR liaison officer on ICFY

Woerner, Manfred, the late Former NATO Secretary-General

Yeltsin, Boris President of Russian Federation

Zotov, Alexandr Russian Special Envoy to former Yugoslavia 1994–

Zubak, Kresimir Bosnian Croat; President of the Croat–Muslim
Federation 1994–

Chronology of Events

1992

- 3 *Sept* First meeting of ICFY Steering Committee, Geneva
- 9–12 *Sept* Co-Chairmen visit Zagreb, Sarajevo and Belgrade
- 12–13 *Sept* Lord Owen at EC Foreign Ministers' informal meeting, Brocket Hall
- 14 *Sept* UNSCR 776 authorizes additional UNPROFOR deployment
- 16 *Sept* Co-Chairmen meet Ibrahim Rugova, leader of Kosovar Albanians
- 18–19 *Sept* First meetings of ICFY Working Group on Bosnia-Herzegovina with parties
- 18 *Sept* Mr Vance meets Chairman of Arbitration Commission, Robert Badinter
- 22–3 *Sept* Co-Chairmen meet Greek Prime Minister Mitsotakis, Athens
- 25–6 *Sept* Co-Chairmen visit Banja Luka
- 28 *Sept* Co-Chairmen visit Belgrade
- 29 *Sept* Co-Chairmen meet President Izetbegovic, Geneva
- 30 *Sept* Presidents Tudjman and Cosic meet with Co-Chairmen, Geneva
- 3 *Oct* Lord Owen briefs Council of Europe
- 5 *Oct* Lord Owen addresses Council of Europe Assembly
- 9 *Oct* UNSCR 781 establishes no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina
- 10 *Oct* Co-Chairmen meet Foreign Minister Kozyrev, Moscow
- 13 *Oct* Lord Owen negotiates with Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic on grounding of aircraft
- 13–14 *Oct* First round of ICFY-brokered talks in Pristina; Mr Vance briefs UN Security Council on ICFY developments, New York
- 16 *Oct* Co-Chairmen meet Macedonian President Gligorov, Geneva
- 17 *Oct* Co-Chairmen meet FRY Prime Minister Panic, Geneva
- 19 *Oct* Presidents Cosic and Izetbegovic meet with Co-Chairmen, Geneva
- 20 *Oct* Second meeting of Presidents Tudjman and Cosic with Co-Chairmen, Geneva

- 21 Oct Co-Chairmen meet with President Izetbegovic
24 Oct Lord Owen meets Irish Prime Minister Reynolds, Dublin
28 Oct New constitutional proposals for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Geneva
28–30 Oct Co-Chairmen visit Belgrade, Zagreb, Pristina, Tirana, Skopje and Podgorica
31 Oct Lord Owen meets Italian Foreign Minister Andreatta, Rome
4 Nov Co-Chairmen meet Turkish Prime Minister Demirel, Ankara
5 Nov Co-Chairmen meet Bosnian Foreign Minister Silajdzic and Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic
6 Nov Lord Owen at European Parliament Foreign Affairs Committee, Brussels
7 Nov Co-Chairmen meet Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia President Gligorov
9 Nov Lord Owen at EC Foreign Affairs Council, Brussels
11–14 Nov Co-Chairmen address UN Security Council, New York
19–20 Nov Co-Chairmen visit UNPAs in Croatia
25 Nov Lord Owen meets Spanish Prime Minister Gonzales, Madrid
28–9 Nov Co-Chairmen pay private visit to President Tudjman, Brioni
30 Nov–2 Dec Co-Chairmen at Organization of the Islamic Conference Foreign Ministers' meeting, Jeddah
4 Dec Lord Owen meets NATO Secretary-General Woerner and Belgian Foreign Minister Claes, Brussels
11 Dec UNSCR 795 authorizes deployment of UNPROFOR contingent to Macedonia
14 Dec Lord Owen attends CSCE Council of Ministers in Stockholm
16 Dec Ministerial meeting of ICFY Steering Committee, Geneva
17 Dec Co-Chairmen meet Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegovic, Zagreb; Lord Owen meets Abdic, Velika Kladusa
18 Dec Mr Vance meets UN Secretary-General Boutros Ghali and Security Council, New York; meets President Bush and Secretary of State Baker, Washington
18–22 Dec Lord Owen visits Sarajevo, Kiseljak and Pale
19 Dec Mr Vance meets US President-elect Clinton's foreign policy advisers, Washington
27 Dec Co-Chairmen meet Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegovic, Geneva; meet Foreign Minister Kozyrev, Geneva
28 Dec UN Secretary-General Boutros Ghali and Co-Chairmen meet Presidents Tudjman, Izetbegovic and Cosic
29 Dec Lord Owen meets Croatian Defence Minister Susak, Zagreb
30 Dec Lord Owen meets President Milosevic and Karadzic, Belgrade

31 Dec Mr Vance and UN Secretary-General Boutros Ghali visit Sarajevo

1993

2-4 Jan Co-Chairmen convene plenary meeting on Bosnia-Herzegovina, Geneva

5-6 Jan Co-Chairmen visit Belgrade and Zagreb

7 Jan Co-Chairmen meet President Gligorov of Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Geneva

10-12 Jan Second plenary session on Bosnia-Herzegovina, Geneva

13 Jan Lord Owen meets President Mitterrand, Paris

15 Jan Co-Chairmen meet Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegovic, Zagreb

20-1 Jan Co-Chairmen visit Sarajevo and Zagreb

23-30 Jan Third plenary session on Bosnia-Herzegovina, Geneva

31 Jan Lord Owen reports to the Presidency of the EC, Brussels

1 Feb Co-Chairmen meet US Secretary of State Christopher

11 Feb Co-Chairmen meet Karadzic

18 Feb Co-Chairmen meet US envoy Bartholomew and Russian envoy Churkin

22 Feb Co-Chairmen meet Greek Foreign Minister Papaconstantinou

23 Feb Co-Chairmen meet Macedonian Deputy Prime Minister Crvenkovski

2 Mar Co-Chairmen meet President Izetbegovic, Akmadzic, Boban and Karadzic, New York

3 Mar President Izetbegovic signs military agreement for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina

8 Mar Lord Owen at EC Foreign Affairs Council, Brussels

11 Mar Co-Chairmen meet President Mitterrand, Foreign Minister Dumas and President Milosevic, Paris

21 Mar Lord Owen meets Karadzic, New York

22 Mar Co-Chairmen meet permanent members of the Security Council, New York

24 Mar Co-Chairmen hold separate talks with President Izetbegovic, Karadzic and Boban, New York

25 Mar At plenary session on Bosnia-Herzegovina, President Izetbegovic and Boban sign the VOPP, New York

2 Apr Mr Stoltenberg to succeed Mr Vance, 3 May

5 Apr Lord Owen at EC Foreign Affairs Council, Luxembourg

12 Apr Co-Chairmen meet Croat and FYROM Foreign Ministers, New York

- 17 Apr UNSCR 820 imposes financial sanctions on FRY
- 21 Apr Lord Owen meets Presidents Cosic and Milosevic, Karadzic and Mladic, Belgrade
- 22 Apr Lord Owen meets President Gligorov, Skopje; meets Prime Minister Mitsotakis, Athens
- 23 Apr Lord Owen meets President Gligorov, Skopje; meets President Bulatovic, Podgorica; meets President Milosevic, Belgrade
- 24 Apr Lord Owen meets Karadzic, Krajisnik and Mladic, Belgrade; meets Presidents Izetbegovic and Tudjman, Zagreb; meets Milosevic and Karadzic, Belgrade
- 25 Apr Lord Owen holds talks with UNPROFOR Force Commander General Wahlgren to discuss implementation of the Vance-Owen Peace Plan
- 26 Apr Lord Owen meets Foreign Minister Kinkel, Bonn; meets President of the EC Council of Ministers Helveg Petersen, Copenhagen
- 27 Apr Lord Owen meets Prime Minister Balladur and Foreign Minister Juppé, Paris
- 1-2 May Plenary session on Bosnia-Herzegovina, Athens; Karadzic signs VOPP
- 5 May Lord Owen meets NATO Secretary-General Woerner, Brussels
- 6 May UNSCR 824 designates towns including Sarajevo as 'safe areas'
- 7 May Lord Owen and Mr Stoltenberg meet, London
- 10 May Lord Owen at EC Foreign Affairs Council, Brussels
- 16 May Co-Chairmen meet Foreign Minister Kozyrev, Moscow
- 18 May Co-Chairmen meet Izetbegovic and Tudjman, Medjugorje
- 19 May Co-Chairmen meet Admiral Boorda and General Shalikashvili, Naples
- 20 May Co-Chairmen visit Minsk and Kiev
- 22 May US, UK, France, Russia and Spain launch Joint Action Programme, Washington
- 25 May UNSCR 827 establishes Yugoslav War Crimes Tribunal
- 26 May Lord Owen meets Spanish Foreign Minister Solana, Geneva
- 2 June Co-Chairmen meet President Tudjman, Zagreb
- 3 June Co-Chairmen meet President Izetbegovic, Sarajevo; meet Karadzic, Pale
- 4 June UNSCR 836 enforces protection of 'safe areas'
- 8 June Lord Owen at EC Foreign Affairs Council, Luxembourg
- 9 June Co-Chairmen meet UN Secretary-General Boutros Ghali, Paris; meet President Milosevic, Belgrade
- 10-11 June Co-Chairmen meet Albanian President Berisha, Tirana;

- meet President Bulatovic, Podgorica; meet President Milosevic, Belgrade
- 14 *June* Co-Chairmen meet Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Kinkel, Bonn
- 16 *June* Co-Chairmen meet Presidents Milosevic, Tudjman and Izetbegovic
- 18 *June* UNSCR 844 provides for implementation of 'safe areas' Resolution and for reinforcement of UNPROFOR
- 19 *June* Lord Owen meets Prime Minister Major, London
- 22 *June* Lord Owen at European Council, Copenhagen
- 23 *June* Co-Chairmen meet members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, Geneva; meet Presidents Milosevic, Tudjman and Bulatovic, and Karadzic and Boban, Geneva
- 28 *June* Co-Chairmen meet Karadzic and Boban and members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, Geneva
- 8 *July* Co-Chairmen meet President Milosevic and members of Draskovic's party (SPO)
- 9 *July* Lord Owen meets President Tudjman and Croatian Defence Minister Susak, Zagreb; Mr Stoltenberg meets President Milosevic, Belgrade
- 10 *July* Co-Chairmen meet President Tudjman and Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, Zagreb
- 12 *July* Mr Stoltenberg meets UN Secretary-General Boutros Ghali and UN Security Council and OIC representatives, New York
- 19 *July* Lord Owen at Foreign Affairs Council, Brussels
- 26 *July* Co-Chairmen have dinner with President Izetbegovic, Geneva
- 27–30 *July* Plenary session on Bosnia-Herzegovina; Co-Chairmen meet Presidents Milosevic, Tudjman, Izetbegovic and Bulatovic, and Karadzic and Boban, Geneva
- 3 *Aug* Co-Chairmen meet Presidents Milosevic, Tudjman, Izetbegovic and Bulatovic, Geneva
- 11 *Aug* Charles Redman replaces Reginald Bartholomew as US Special Envoy to former Yugoslavia
- 20 *Aug* Co-Chairmen issue package containing the constitutional papers and maps agreed upon during negotiations
- 31 *Aug* Co-Chairmen meet Presidents Izetbegovic, Milosevic, Tudjman and Bulatovic, also Karadzic and Boban, Geneva
- 11 *Sept* Lord Owen attends EC Foreign Ministers' informal meeting, Alden Bissen
- 17 *Sept* Co-Chairmen meet President Izetbegovic and Krajisnik; Muslim–Serb joint statement issued; Co-Chairmen meet Turkish Foreign Minister Cetin, Istanbul; meet President Gligorov, Skopje;

- visit UNPROFOR on border with Serbia
- 18–19 Sept Co-Chairmen visit Neum area; meet President Tudjman, Split
- 20 Sept Co-Chairmen meet Presidents Milosevic, Bulatovic, Tudjman and Izetbegovic, and Karadzic and Boban, on HMS *Invincible*
- 22 Sept Co-Chairmen at North Atlantic Council meeting, Brussels
- 29 Sept Bosnian Assembly votes for HMS *Invincible* peace plan, but rejects map
- 4 Oct Co-Chairmen at Foreign Affairs Council, Luxembourg
- 11 Oct Lord Owen meets Foreign Minister Kinkel, Bonn
- 15 Oct Lord Owen meets His Holiness the Pope and Foreign Minister Andreatta, Rome
- 17 Oct Co-Chairmen meet President Milosevic and Foreign Minister Jovanovic, Belgrade
- 21 Oct Lord Owen meets Foreign Minister Kooijmans, The Hague
- 25 Oct Lord Owen meets Foreign Minister Papoulias, Athens
- 26 Oct Lord Owen briefs Foreign Affairs Council, Luxembourg
- 28–31 Oct Mr Stoltenberg in Zagreb and Belgrade
- 11 Nov Lord Owen meets Croatian Defence Minister Susak, London
- 17 Nov Lord Owen meets President Mitterrand, Paris
- 18 Nov Co-Chairmen meet Silajdzic, Karadzic and Boban, Geneva
- 22 Nov Lord Owen attends FAC, attended by Generals Cot and Briquemont
- 29 Nov EC Foreign Ministers meet Presidents Milosevic, Bulatovic, Tudjman and Izetbegovic, and Karadzic and Boban, Geneva
- 3 Dec Mr Akashi appointed UN Secretary-General's Special Representative for former Yugoslavia
- 6 Dec Lord Owen attends FAC, Brussels
- 9 Dec Co-Chairmen meet President Milosevic and Karadzic outside Belgrade
- 10 Dec Lord Owen briefs EC Directorate-General for External Affairs, Brussels
- 21 Dec Co-Chairmen meet Presidents Milosevic, Bulatovic, Tudjman and Izetbegovic, and Karadzic and Boban, Geneva
- 22 Dec Co-Chairmen and EU ministers meet Presidents Milosevic, Bulatovic, Tudjman and Izetbegovic, and Karadzic and Boban, Brussels

1994

- 8 Jan Co-Chairmen meet Presidents Izetbegovic and Tudjman, Petersberg