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Monday, January 27, 1992
2:00 P.M. – 2173 Rayburn

**MEETING WITH BORISAV JOVIC, CHAIRMAN OF THE
STATE COMMITTEE FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UN
PEACE PLAN OF YUGOSLAVIA**

Note: He is addressed as Mr. Jovic (YO-vich). In addition to being Serbia's representative on the rump Presidency of Yugoslavia, he is also Serbia's point-man for contacts and negotiations with the UN peace-keeping mission in Yugoslavia. He is President of the Socialist (formerly communist) Party and is number 2 in the power hierarchy to President Milosevic.

Mr. Jovic was in New York last week for discussions with UN Secretary General Boutros Ghali and with Special Envoy Cyrus Vance. Those discussions got nowhere, because Jovic was trying to re-write the Vance plan. UN Undersecretary Goulding went out to Belgrade this weekend to try to persuade Serbia to comply. If the UN fails with this effort, it is prepared to blame Serbia openly as the party blocking peace progress.

Jovic met with Deputy Secretary Eagleburger this morning, and had lunch with Rep. Bentley just prior to this meeting.

Suggested Questions:

1. The 15th ceasefire in Yugoslavia is fragile but mostly holding. Serb forces control about 30 percent of Croatian territory, focussed on two enclaves, called Krajinas. Mr. Milan Babic, the President of one of these Krajinas, is opposing the UN plan – agreed between the Croatians, the Yugoslav Army and Milosevic – to deploy 10,000 UN peacekeepers along the borders of these two regions as well as along Croatia's borders with Serbia and Bosnia. Babic and other Serb leaders in Croatia refuse to acknowledge their enclaves as part of Croatia and refuse to disarm their militias.

- What was the outcome of your discussions with Secretary General Ghali and Special Envoy Vance?
- What is the next step in the implementation of the UN cease-fire plan?
- Are the objections of Babic and other regional Serbian leaders the only obstacle to implementation of the UN plan?
- These regional leaders have all along been strong supporters of President Milosevic: why do they not now support Milosevic and the peace plan?
- It is difficult to believe that the Serbian leadership in Belgrade cannot persuade regional leaders to accept the UN plan. Why are you not pressing them to back the peace plan?

2. What do you see as the next step in resuming a political dialogue and achieving a negotiated settlement?

- What would you have the U.S. do that it is not now doing?
- What is your position on the EC-sponsored peace conference sponsored by Lord Carrington?
- Will you continue to participate in this peace conference?
- Do you accept that no territory can be acquired by force and that all borders must be mutually negotiated and agreed upon between the parties?
- What is your vision for the future of the republics of Yugoslavia given what has happened?

3. The Vance plan calls for the resettlement of refugees. Serbia is forcibly expelling Croatian residents from occupied territory and resettling Serbs in their homes. This is in clear contravention to the UN plan.

- Why is Serbia forcibly expelling the civilian population?
- Why are you not stopping this expulsion?
- What steps are you taking to comply with the UN plan on this point?
- Why should sanctions against Serbia be lifted when Serbia will not comply with the UN?

4. The United States and the European Community have strongly criticized Serbia's use of force to change borders and seize territory. At least 10,000 have been killed, and there are over 600,000 refugees, both Serb and Croatian.

- Why does Serbia pursue policies that continue to isolate it in the world community?
- Why has Serbia opposed the clear will of the international community, expressed in UN Security Council Resolutions?
- What steps is Serbia prepared to take to rebuild its frayed ties with the U.S., the European Community, and traditional friends Britain, France and Russia?

5. The EC countries and some 30 others have already recognized the independence of Slovenia and Croatia. Last week in the Senate, Minority Leader Bob Dole introduced a sense of the Senate resolution with 27 co-sponsors calling for prompt U.S. recognition of Slovenia and Croatia. Pressure is mounting for similar action in the House.

- What is Serbia's position on the recognition issue?
- What do you see as the impact on Serbia and the Vance plan of international recognition of Slovenia and Croatia?
- What do you see as the impact on Serbia if the U.S. recognizes Croatia and Slovenia?

6. The Yugoslav Parliament and Presidency have been boycotted by all republics except Serbia and Montenegro. These institutions are now Serb controlled. Last week Serbia unveiled a plan for creation of a new, smaller Yugoslav Federation to include Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Macedonia.

- Does such a plan have any realistic chance of success?
- The freely-elected leaders of both Bosnia and Macedonia have already rejected such a plan and are calling for full independence of their respective republics. Do you accept their call for independence, or will Serbia seek to impose a political solution on them?
- Can you provide assurances that Serbia will neither attack nor seek to partition Macedonia and Bosnia?

7. The human rights group Helsinki Watch has just issued a report accusing Serb forces of torturing and executing Croatian civilians, and wide-scale looting and destruction of civilian property, especially in Croatia. It will soon issue a report on Croatian human rights abuses.

- How do you respond to released Helsinki Watch report?
- How does Serbia expect to gain international recognition for Serbian enclaves in Croatia when (1) they have been created by force, not negotiation; and (2) they have been created through massive violations of human rights?

8. The war has gone on for seven months. More than 10,000 are dead, more than 600,000 displaced, thousands more are missing.

- How much longer can this war go on?
- On how many fronts can the Serbs fight?
- Do you see any way out of this crisis which can end the bloodshed and initiate necessary peace negotiations?

9. Many Members of Congress are deeply concerned about the continuing repression of ethnic Albanians in the Kosovo region.

- What steps is Serbia taking to restore autonomy to the Kosovo region?
- Why does Serbia continue to deny political representation and the human rights of the ethnic Albanians?
- Doesn't Serbia risk open revolt in the Kosovo, and even war between Albania and Serbia, because of its repressive policies?
- How can Serbia at the same time seek to protect the rights of the Serbian minority in Croatia, and deny those same rights to the Albanians in the Kosovo?