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ACTION NODS-00

INFO LOG-00 CCOE-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 /000W  
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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5890

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BELGRADE 002419

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DECAPTIONED

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMB FRASURE

EUR FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE

E.O. 12356: DECL: 5/19/05

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, SR

SUBJECT: THE MILOSEVIC DISCUSSIONS - AN ANALYSIS

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT

2. AS YOU REVIEW THE TEXT OF THE THREE PIECES OF PAPER  
THAT I NEGOTIATED WITH MILOSEVIC, I THINK IT MAY BE  
USEFUL FOR YOU TO HAVE MY THOUGHTS ON THE CONTEXT AND  
EBB AND FLOW OF MY DISCUSSIONS OUT HERE.

3. FROM THE BEGINNING, I SENSED THAT MILOSEVIC WANTED  
TO REACH AN AGREEMENT. HE UNDERSTOOD CLEARLY THAT HE  
HAD TO DEAL PRIMARILY WITH THE AMERICANS IN ORDER TO DO

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
REVIEW AUTHORITY: MARTIN MCLEAN  
DATE/CASE ID: 25 JUN 2010 200703885

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SO AND HE SEEMED TO ENJOY THE INCREASING IRRELEVANCE OF OTHERS, I.E., HE WAS GLEEFULLY DISMISSIVE DURING OUR HUNTING LODGE TALKS OF THE ANXIOUS PHONE CALLS FROM THE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR WHO DEMANDED TO KNOW WHAT WAS HAPPENING. (MILOSEVIC ADDED THAT HE HAD GOTTEN A "HYSTERICAL" MESSAGE FROM KOZYREV.) MILOSEVIC ALSO CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD MY "WE ARE AT A CROSSROADS" RHETORIC IN WHICH I SAID AN UNPROFOR ROCKSLIDE/NATO EXTRACTION WILL TURN BOSNIA THIS FALL INTO A WILD, DANGEROUS AND UNCONTROLLABLE GAME.

4. AS WAS THE CASE IN MY DISCUSSIONS WITH HIM LAST WEEKEND, MILOSEVIC'S MAIN FOCUS WAS HOW TO DEAL WITH ALL OF THIS IN A BROAD SERBIAN DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONTEXT. AS BEFITS THE MAYOR DALEY OF THE BALKANS, HE WANTED TO MAXIMIZE HIS MOMENTUM TO HAVE A PEACE PROCESS/END OF SANCTIONS PUBLIC GAME THAT WILL ALLOW HIM TO "SINK"--AS HE PUT IT--KARADZIC AND HIS OWN EXTREME NATIONALIST OPPONENTS. (I KNOW IT IS HARD TO BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE MORE RABID NATIONALISTS IN BELGRADE THAN MILOSEVIC, BUT IT IS TRUE.) CONSTANTLY MIXING HIS METAPHORS, AS WE DEBATED THE ISSUES, MILOSEVIC WOULD SAY TO ME: "DON'T ASK ME TO JUMP THE CANYON IN TWO STEPS. DON'T ASK ME TO RIDE A DEAD HORSE."

5. MILOSEVIC'S BOTTOM LINES GRADUALLY EMERGED IN THAT SETTING:

-- WHILE UNDERSTANDING THAT WE NEEDED A NO RUSSIAN VETO SANCTIONS REVOCATION MECHANISM, HE NEEDED TO AVOID SOMETHING THAT MADE SANCTIONS RELIEF LOOK "TEMPORARY",

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E.G., 6 MONTH RENEWAL. (NEEDLESS TO SAY HE WANTED LIFT UP FRONT, WHILE I INSISTED THAT COULD ONLY BEGIN WHEN PALE ACCEPTS THE CONTACT GROUP PLAN.)

-- HE NEEDED SOMETHING ON OIL AND WAS WILLING TO ACCEPT THE MAINTENANCE OF THE TOUGHER UN STRATEGIC LIST IN ORDER TO GET IT. THE MOST VISABLE SIGN OF SANCTIONS IN THIS COUNTRY IS THE ROADSIDE SALE OF PLASTIC JUGS OF GASOLINE. AS PART OF HIS POLITICAL MOMENTUM APPROACH,

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-- THIRDLY HE WANTED GREATER SPECIFICITY ON ACTUAL LIFT AS THE CG PLAN IS HOPEFULLY IMPLEMENTED IN BOSNIA, AGAIN IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO SAY PUBLICLY HOW ALL OF THIS WILL END SANCTIONS AND THE WAR. I RECOGNIZE OUR CROATIA PROBLEMS ON THIS ONE. BUT THE SANCTIONS WERE A RESULT OF WHAT HAPPENED IN BOSNIA AND WE CANNOT CONTINUE TO PROMISE TO SELL THE SAME HORSE TWICE.

-- FINALLY, THE STATE CONTINUITY ISSUE IS ESSENTIAL TO HIM. HE NEEDS TO SAY THAT YUGOSLAVIA CONTINUED IN SOME WAY, WITHOUT DEALING RIGHT NOW WITH THE DIVISION OF ASSETS ASPECT.

6. FOR OUR PART WE MAINTAINED THE FIREWALL BETWEEN SUSPENSION AND ACTUAL LIFT, I.E. NO LIFT UNTIL PALE ACCEPTS THE PLAN, NO FINAL LIFT UNTIL A SETTLEMENT IS IN PLACE IN BOSNIA. (I TOLD HIM I WOULD PASS ALONG HIS PLEA ON SPORTS SANCTIONS BUT FELT WE WOULD NOT AGREE.) FROZEN ASSETS REMAIN FROZEN AND WE HAVE THE TOUGHER  
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STRATEGIC LIST, I.E., THE UN RATHER THAN THE EU. THE OSCE ARRANGEMENT COULD BE USEFUL TO US ON BOTH THE BORDER ISSUE (A CENTRAL BOSNIAN CONCERN) AND ON KOSOVO (A HILL CONCERN).

7. CLEARLY WE ARE FACED WITH A BITTERLY IRONICAL SITUATION. WE HAVE DECIDED THAT MILOSEVIC--THE MAN WHO STARTED SO MUCH OF THIS BLOODY MAYHEM--IS THE ONLY MAN NOW WHO CAN BEGIN TO BRING IT TO A CONCLUSION. IN ORDER TO DO THAT, WE MUST SWALLOW HARD AND GIVE HIM THE NECESSARY TOOLS. I RECOGNIZE FULLY THAT YOU MUST JUDGE ALL OF THIS IN A TOTALITY OF CIRCUMSTANCES. BUT I WOULD ADD QUITE FRANKLY THAT WE SHOULD NOT OPT FOR MORE IDEAL GOALS AT THE EXPENSE OF SUSTAINABLE, IF DISTASTEFUL, SOLUTIONS.

8. OBVIOUSLY THERE WILL BE THINGS IN THESE PACKAGES WHICH MIGHT BE IMPROVED, E.G., THE REIMPOSITION

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MECHANISM, AND I AM HAPPY TO STAY OUT HERE TO GET INSTRUCTIONS ON HOW TO DO THAT. BUT WE SHOULD NOT BE PENNY WISE/POUND FOOLISH IN OUR ANALYSIS. AND WE CANNOT LOSE SIGHT OF THE FACT THAT OUR OVERALL PURPOSES ARE TO AVOID AN UNPROFOR DISASTER AND TO BRING THE BOSNIAN TRAGEDY TO A REASONABLE DECENT, SUSTAINABLE CONCLUSION. I WOULD ADD, HOWEVER, THAT IF WE CHOOSE TO RENEGOTIATE THESE PACKAGES IN A VERY SUBSTANTIAL MANNER, WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO SEND OUT SOMEONE FROM WASHINGTON AS I WILL NO LONGER BE A CREDIBLE INTERLOCUTOR HERE.

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9. A FINAL NOTE. MILOSEVIC AND I AGREED THAT, IF WE CAN REACH AGREEMENT ON THESE PACKAGES, IT IS VITALLY IMPORTANT TO BEGIN TO RACHET DOWN THE VIOLENCE LEVELS AROUND SARAJEVO. ALTHOUGH HE EXPECTS A POLITICAL EXPLOSION IN PALE WHICH MAY ALREADY HAVE BEGUN, HE IS TALKING TO MLADIC WHO WILL BE HERE THIS WEEKEND. HE BELIEVED THAT MLADIC WOULD BUY THE OVERALL DEAL AND WOULD DOWNSIZE THE VIOLENCE. SIMILARLY WE NEED TO TALK TO THE BOSNIAN AUTHORITIES ABOUT BOTH THE VIOLENCE ISSUE AND TO BRIEF THEM ON WHERE WE ARE HEADING. PERINA

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