

Tab 9

Balkan Presidents Reach Bosnia Peace Accord; NATO to Keep Peace in Divided State

End Seen to Four-Year War. The presidents of Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina Nov. 21 agreed to a pact to end a nearly four-year-old war among Croats, Moslems and Serbs in Bosnia that had claimed some 250,000 lives. The agreement would divide Bosnia into two entities, a Moslem-Croat federation and a Serb republic, that would share a central legislature and presidency, with Sarajevo as the national capital. A North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) peace-keeping force of 60,000 troops—about one-third of them from the U.S.—would be deployed in Bosnia by the end of the year to sustain the fragile peace accord. [See below, p. 810A2]

The leaders initiated the pact in an impromptu ceremony at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base near Dayton, Ohio, where they had convened Nov. 1 in U.S.-sponsored peace talks. A formal signing was scheduled to take place in Paris in mid-December.

President Alija Izetbegovic, leader of the predominantly Moslem Bosnian government, and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman initiated the treaty on behalf of their respective nations. Slobodan Milosevic, the president of Serbia, signed for the Bosnian Serbs, whom he had represented at the talks. U.S. Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher, who guided the treaty through tortuous last-minute negotiations, initiated the pact as a witness on behalf of President Clinton's administration.

The Balkan leaders and U.S. officials hailed the peace agreement as a pivotal breakthrough. President Clinton at a White House press conference expressed hope that the pact would give "the people of Bosnia... a chance to turn from the horrors of war to the promise of peace." But many observers were skeptical about whether the warring Bosnian factions, who bore deep-rooted grudges after years of war and atrocities, could coexist peacefully within the same state, as the Dayton plan stipulated.

Pact Would Oust Karadzic—The treaty would bar any persons who were indicted for war crimes from holding political office in the new state. That provision would effectively remove from power Bosnian Serb political leader Radovan Karadzic and Gen. Ratko Mladic, his military deputy. However, the pact would not require the signatory governments to turn over accused war criminals for prosecution, a safeguard that had been key to winning Croat and Serb backing for the pact.

The pact gave the estimated 2.7 million refugees who had been driven from their homes by the Bosnian war the legal right either to return to their homes or to receive compensa-

tion for lost land and property. A human-rights commission was to be appointed to monitor the treatment of refugees and related issues, but no clear mechanism for punishing rights violations or enforcing the repatriation of refugees was put in place.

Milosevic Sways Bosnian Serbs—The Bosnian Serb delegation to the Dayton talks Nov. 21 refused to initial the accord. But Karadzic and other Serb leaders Nov. 23 initialed the pact after meeting with Milosevic in Belgrade, the capital of Serbia. (Karadzic and Mladic had been unable to travel to the Dayton talks because there were outstanding international warrants for their arrest for war crimes.)

Milosevic, who was also the de facto leader of the federation of Yugoslavia, was widely blamed for having sparked the recent war in Bosnia and Croatia by throwing Serbia's financial and military support behind nationalist Serbs in those countries. Ensuing trade sanctions had strangled Serbia's economy, increasing the political pressure on Milosevic to reverse his position and support a peace plan. Most analysts concurred that the Bosnian Serbs would be unable to sustain a war in Bosnia without Milosevic's backing.

In the wake of the Dayton accords, the United Nations Security Council acted immediately to lift the sanctions against Serbia. [See below]

Parties Agree to Land Split—Central to the Nov. 21 peace pact was a U.S.-devised division of territory that would give the Moslem-Croat federation 51% of the land within Bosnia's original borders and the Bosnian Serbs, 49%. All sides in the dispute had agreed to accept the 51%-49% division formula prior to the Dayton peace summit, but wrangling over specific details of the split threatened to derail the talks from their outset. [See map below]

With a few significant exceptions, the



The division of territory in Bosnia between a Moslem-Croat federation and a Serbian republic, as agreed by negotiators in Dayton, Ohio Nov. 21.

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A forms. Werleigh was confirmed by the Senate Nov. 5 and by the Chamber of Deputies Nov. 6. She was sworn in Nov. 7, becoming Haiti's first female premier. [See p. 773E2]

Former Brig. Gen. Henri Max Mayard, who had been the fourth-highest-ranking officer in Haiti's now defunct military, Oct. 3 was murdered by unidentified gunmen in a suburb of Port-au-Prince, Haiti's capital. Mayard was one of at least 20

supporters or officials of the former military who had been killed in what international human-rights officials termed "commando-style executions" since the military junta was ousted and Aristide was restored to power in October 1994. Aristide in April had disbanded Haiti's military, which had been accused of numerous human-rights abuses during the three-year rule of the junta. [See p. 860E3] ■

able to include in the compromise bill the language from the resolution passed Nov. 16 that required the president and Congress to enact legislation that would balance the budget within seven years. However, White House negotiators succeeded in attaching a clause to the resolution that stipulated that the balanced budget must "insure Medicare solvency" and provide "adequate" funding for Medicaid, education and the environment. Republicans agreed to accept those conditions after guarantees that national defense, agriculture and veterans would receive adequate funding were added to the clause.

B UNITED STATES

Clinton Signs Second Stopgap Funding Bill

Compromise Temporarily Ends Impasse. President Clinton Nov. 20 signed into law a continuing resolution, also known as a stopgap measure, that would fund the federal government through Dec. 15. The bill contained language that committed the president and Congress to balancing the federal budget by the fiscal year 2002 and to providing adequate funding for education, the environment and various federal "entitlement" benefit programs. The stopgap bill's enactment ended a six-day shutdown of the federal government, the longest in U.S. history. [See below, p. 852E1]

C A continuing resolution was needed to keep the federal government operating because only six of the 13 appropriations bills that funded the federal government had been passed as of Nov. 22. A previous continuing resolution had expired Nov. 13. Clinton the same day had vetoed another stopgap measure, saying he objected to a clause in the bill that required an increase in Medicare premiums. The resulting funding gap forced temporary closings of national parks and museums and placed more than three quarters of a million federal employees on furlough.

D The battle over the stopgap bill was seen by many as a prelude to what promised to be grueling negotiations between the White House and Congress over a massive budget reconciliation bill that had cleared the Senate and House Nov. 17 and Nov. 18, respectively. That bill authorized funding for government entitlement programs, which collectively accounted for about two-thirds of all federal outlays. Clinton had vowed to veto the bill. [See p. 813F1]

F **Tense Negotiations Preceded Deal**—In the days following the Nov. 13 veto of the earlier stopgap bill, the White House and Republican congressional leaders engaged in a series of tense negotiations in an attempt to reach a compromise on a new continuing resolution. Negotiations broke off several times before an agreement was reached.

G Meanwhile, the House Nov. 16, by a vote of 277-151, approved a new stopgap measure. Only three Republicans voted against the measure, while 48 Democrats voted for it. Later in the day seven Senate Democrats joined with all the Senate Republicans to pass the measure, 60-37. The bill did not contain the Medicare provision to which Clinton had objected, but it did include language requiring the pres-

ident to commit to balancing the federal budget within seven years and to using Congressional Budget Office (CBO) economic forecasts in White House calculations of deficit reductions. Clinton said he objected to both conditions and vowed to veto the bill.

Though both the Senate and House votes on the bill had fallen short of the two-thirds majority needed to override a presidential veto, the number of Democratic defections revealed a weakness in the support for the president's stance on the budget and provided additional incentive for him to reach a compromise with Republicans.

Gingrich 'Snub' Affects Talks—Republicans were given added incentive to reach a settlement with the White House as a result of a Nov. 15 remark made by House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R, Ga.). Gingrich said that he had placed a number of restrictive provisions into the stopgap bill that Clinton had vetoed Nov. 13 because he had felt slighted by the president when the two men flew together on Air Force One, the presidential jet, to the funeral of assassinated Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. [See p. 833A1]

E Gingrich complained that the president had refused to negotiate on the budget crisis during the 10-hour return flight from Israel Nov. 6 and that Clinton had made Senate Majority Leader Robert J. Dole (R, Kan.) and himself exit from the rear of the plane, rather than from the front as was usual for important guests.

Democrats quickly seized upon Gingrich's comments and attempted to portray the speaker as having shut down the federal government out of spite. Some of them Nov. 16 brought to the House floor an enlarged copy of a banner headline from the *New York Daily News* that read, in part, "CRY BABY Newt's Tantrum."

Observers said that Gingrich's remarks weakened his bargaining position by making him appear obstructive.

The president appeared to be winning the battle for public support in the budget dispute. A *Washington Post/ABC News* opinion poll taken Nov. 19 showed that 71% of the public disapproved of the way Republicans were handling the budget standoff; 42% faulted Clinton's stance.

Details of Stopgap Agreement—White House and Republican leaders finally reached an agreement on a continuing resolution late Nov. 19. Republicans were

A compromise was also reached on the methods used to calculate deficit projections. The agreement required Congress and the White House to use CBO estimates, but only after the CBO had consulted with the White House Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and "other government and private experts." The Clinton administration, which relied on OMB economic estimates, had said that the CBO projections were too pessimistic.

The stopgap bill stipulated that all government programs and agencies whose spending bills had not yet been enacted would receive funding at 75% of fiscal 1995 levels. The stopgap bill that had expired Nov. 13 had provided funding at 90% of 1995 levels.

The stopgap measure also required that all federal employees who had been furloughed during the federal shutdown receive back pay, and provided funds for that purpose.

In a rare Sunday session Nov. 19, the Senate approved the compromise stopgap measure, by voice vote. The House approved the bill Nov. 20 by a vote of 421-4. Clinton signed the bill later in the day. (A one-day stopgap bill was passed late Nov. 19 by the House and Senate and signed that day by the president, allowing federal employees to return to work the morning of Nov. 20. Both chambers passed the bill by voice vote.)

No Agreement on Debt Limit—The continuing resolution contained no provision that would increase the federal debt limit. Earlier in November, Secretary of the Treasury Robert E. Rubin had tapped into several government trust funds in order to prevent the U.S. from defaulting on its debts after Clinton had vetoed a bill that would have raised the federal debt limit. Clinton had objected to the bill because it contained provisions committing him to a seven-year timetable for balancing the budget using CBO projections. [See p. 852E1]

Standard & Poor's Corp., a leading international credit-rating agency, Nov. 10 issued a statement to the U.S. government, warning it that investors' faith in the U.S.'s ability to pay back its debts been "diminished" as a result of the impasse over the debt limit. The agency said it would not reduce the U.S.'s triple-A credit rating—the highest it granted—but it held out the possibility that it would do so if the U.S. defaulted on any of its pay-