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# Allies remain hesitant over air strikes

Financial  
Times  
August 6/93

**S**ENIOR NATO commanders met at the allied headquarters in Belgium yesterday to draw up logistical plans for possible air strikes to be presented to a meeting of the organisation's military committee today.

But as the diplomatic wrangling continued between the US and UN about who should control the air strikes and what their objective should be, it was still unclear whether the allies would fulfil their threats to act against the Serb forces encircling Sarajevo.

An official at the British Ministry of Defence said: "As far as we are concerned, we are ready to go in if the order is given."

"But to start military action you need a clear military objective and a clear political aim. The problem is we don't have either yet."

Under the terms of the compromise agreement hammered out after 12 hours of acrimonious discussions in Brussels three days ago, Nato has threatened to launch air strikes for two separate purposes: first, to defend UN troops in Bosnia if they come under attack; and second, to break the Serbian "stranglehold" on Sarajevo.

Under pressure from the European allies, who are determined to avoid being sucked into further military conflict, Nato diplomats yesterday stressed they would seek UN authority to bomb Bosnian Serbs if they block aid convoys, but would not interfere in battles like those taking place in the mountains around Sarajevo.

"We are essentially just fulfilling the UN humanitarian mandate. We have no other purpose there," a Nato official in Brussels yesterday said.

But recent statements from the White House have

prompted some European observers to fear that the US is considering an expanded military aim for the air strikes: to attack key Serbian positions outside Sarajevo or even target specific commanders and buildings.

Considerable disagreement between the US and the European allies persists even about what the definitions of self-defence and the UN's humanitarian mission should be.

These stem in part from the different dispositions (if any) of the troops of the western allies.

The Canadians, with ground troops in Srebrenica surrounded by Serbian forces,

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## It is still unclear if the allies will fulfil threats to act against the Serbs encircling Sarajevo, reports Gillian Tett

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were the most vociferous this week in arguing against Washington proposals for air strikes. The French, with troops in Sarajevo and recently under Serb fire, have also expressed fears that air strikes other than those launched to fend off any attacks could endanger forces on the ground.

There are also doubts in Europe about the effectiveness of air power on its own. A French military expert yesterday said that although France had agreed to the bombing of Serbian positions because the fall of Sarajevo was at stake, it had doubts about what it will really achieve.

He added that France's position was based on a desire to show support for Moslems - and on deep uncertainty,

shared by most of its allies, over what to do should Sarajevo fall.

Britain's troops are primarily located in Moslem and Croat areas, but Mr Malcolm Rifkind, British defence secretary, was yesterday at pains to stress that the protection of the troops remained at the forefront of British policy.

The allies' caution has been accompanied by anger that the American proposals for air strikes have been made without any commitment for American ground troops in Bosnia.

Echoing fears that other military officials have expressed, Dr Jonathan Eyal of the Royal United Services Institute in London yesterday said: "The fear is that the UN is merely acting as a fig leaf for the Americans. They will go in and then get out again like they did in Somalia, leaving the UN and the allies picking up the pieces."

Against this background, Mr Boutros Boutros Ghali, UN secretary general, has reiterated that he wishes to retain full control of any action in Bosnia.

UN officials, together with the French, have argued that the operations should remain under the control of the French commander of the UN forces in the former Yugoslavia, General Jean Cot.

The Americans, by contrast, are insisting that air strikes should be co-ordinated by Admiral Jeremy Boorda, commander of the Allied Forces Southern Europe.

Nato officials yesterday insisted that although they were prepared to act under a United Nations brief, Nato was the only institution with sufficient military experience to run the operations.

"The UN is a political and cultural institution. It does not have the experience to run a military operation," said a Nato official.

# Serbs offer climbdown as West readies force

FROM JOEL BRAND IN SARAJEVO AND OUR FOREIGN STAFF

RADOVAN Karadzic, leader of Bosnia's rebel Serbs, offered to surrender control of two recently captured mountains on Sarajevo's southwestern approach yesterday, apparently in an attempt to ease growing pressure for Western military action against his forces.

The UN has called for a meeting at Sarajevo airport today, between the rebel Serb military commander, General Ratko Mladic, and his Bosnian counterpart, Rasim Delic, to discuss the offer to hand control of the heights to UN peacekeepers. The Serbs may to use their withdrawal, if it happens, to free guns and troops for intensified campaigns elsewhere, possibly even on Zuc hill, to the north of Sarajevo.

In Brussels, Nato ministers last night began drafting plans for air strikes against rebel Serb positions if the

"strangulation" of Sarajevo and other areas continues, although the West is in disarray about how any action would be undertaken. The UN is to have the final say about such attack plans.

Nato strategists were drawing up an extensive list of possible Bosnian Serb military targets. The options could range from artillery and other Serb positions in the mountains surrounding Sarajevo to command and control communications facilities, officials said. Military leaders, though, would not be specifically targeted, they said.

Significantly, a spokesman said military positions of other warring factions could also be put on the hit list if they impeded humanitarian assistance to the war victims.

Warren Christopher, American Secretary of State, said in Jerusalem that he would visit Aviano air base in northern

Italy today to discuss details of the Nato decision to authorise air strikes. Boutros Boutros Ghali, the UN secretary-general, may hold talks with the Nato chief, Manfred Wöerner, in Brussels this weekend to help settle differences over the command and control of any air strikes.

Peace talks in Geneva have meanwhile been abandoned until Monday — a clear sign that the peace negotiators, Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, are having problems getting the Muslim-led government back into the negotiations.

In Sarajevo, Dr Karadzic also proposed opening two routes into the city for humanitarian supplies and commercial traffic, although the offer was greeted with scepticism.

The Times August 6/93

# Frankenstein's monster slips its chain

By EVE-ANN PRENTICE  
DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT

THE future of Bosnia is being stitched together painfully in the city which inspired Frankenstein's monster. Mary Shelley's tale was born during one of the vivid electrical storms for which Geneva is famous. In the original 1818 version, the monster's creator is plain Victor Frankenstein; it was left to Hollywood to elevate him to baron.

Today another baron and medical man, Lord Owen, is in Geneva overseeing the reshaping of a country where the disparate parts cannot live as one. The peace process being mediated by Lord Owen and Thorvald

Stoltenberg is effectively an ethnic transplant operation.

However, the initiative seems to be slipping away from Lord Owen. Serbs and Croats have won acceptance of the division of Bosnia along ethnic lines. They will probably keep the vast majority of the territory they have "ethnically cleansed", leaving the Muslim-led Bosnian government caught between two devils but with precious little access to the deep blue sea.

Having lost the struggle to prevent the partition of Bosnia, Muslims have stalled the peace talks while their forces wage vicious battles against Croats in central Bosnia. It is an attempt to salvage as much land and resources as they can before any deal is signed.

While the world is fixated with the Serb encirclement of the Bosnian capital, Sarajevo, two crucial Muslim moves have gone largely unreported. First, Muslim fighters are the main reason that Sarajevo is being starved of aid, and not the Serb advances on mountains around the city, according to the chief of staff of UN forces in Bosnia.

British Brigadier General Vere Hayes said that the Serb assault on Mount Igman had been strangling only the Bosnian military supply line into the city. Serb forces, led by

General Ratko Mladic, yesterday said they would pull back from the mountains, but it remained to be seen whether they would match words with deeds. General Hayes said the Muslim-led Bosnian army bore the main blame for

resolve their disagreements about how, where and when to strike, all that would be achieved would be the flow of more arms into the capital. If these arms eventually found their way to the Muslim front lines, continued blocking of aid convoys into the city would seem to be inevitable.

Second, Muslims have taken control of a vital power station in the central town of Jablanica. The plant controls power along vast stretches of the Croatian coast and will be a crucial bargaining-counter at the peace talks.

The Muslims, therefore, have much to gain and little to lose by stalling the peace process for as long as possible. Nonetheless, they will probably be hammered into signing some sort of deal by an impatient Lord Owen and Mr Stoltenberg sooner or later.

Lord Owen is widely regarded as the hard man of the negotiations, but he has been accused by Muslims of taking the line of least resistance. They, and some diplomats at the Palais des Nations, say he is feverishly keen to announce some sort of agreement by the end of this month, even if it means a poor deal for the weakest side — the Muslims. There has been talk in Geneva of complicated sys-

tems of tunnels and viaducts to give Muslims access between villages and towns in Serb and Croat-dominated territory. There are also believed to be complex arrangements being discussed to give the Bosnian government access to the Sava river — which it needs for trade with northern Europe — and the Adriatic.

The Muslim-led government has been offered access to the port of Neum, north of Dubrovnik, but this would need dredging if cargo vessels are to be able to use it, and it is uncertain who would pay for this, or indeed for the policing of the entire package being proposed in Geneva. A short-term deal riddled with convoluted territorial clauses is fraught with the danger of prolonging local disputes for years.

Berlin's *Tages Zeitung* reported that Lord Owen chose a new spokesman after that plan's demise because he wanted someone who would keep "dirty business" away from the press.

Mary Shelley puts the following words into the mouth of Frankenstein: "I beheld the unfortunate, the miserable monster I created." Nearly two hundred years later, the world is watching Bosnia with similar dismay.

The  
Times  
August 6  
1993

blocking relief supplies into Sarajevo. He believed the Serbs did not want to take Sarajevo. "If you are going to take the city, you have to have a massive amount of infantry, more than I believe the Serbs have got."

General Hayes's assessment raises crucial questions about the West's plans to bomb Serb positions to end the city's "strangulation". Even if Nato and the UN can

# Serbs Offer to Open 2 Roads to Sarajevo

*Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches*

PALE, Bosnia-Herzegovina — Bosnian Serbs offered Thursday to withdraw from strategic heights overlooking Sarajevo and to open two routes to let supplies enter the besieged capital.

The offer appeared to be an effort to stave off threatened Western air strikes and to salvage peace talks stalled in Geneva.

"We agreed to open the city of Sarajevo as soon as possible," the leader of the Bosnian Serbs, Radovan Karadzic, said at his headquarters here in Pale, outside Sarajevo. But he made no explicit reference to the 16-month-old Serbian siege.

Earlier this week NATO mem-

bers authorized air strikes to prevent strangulation of Sarajevo.

On Thursday, the U.S. secretary of state, Warren M. Christopher, said he would visit Aviano air base in northern Italy on Friday to discuss details of operations.

NATO's governing body is to reconvene Monday to debate whether to proceed with air strikes against Serbs near Sarajevo and other UN-protected areas, an alliance spokesman said in Brussels.

At the Geneva talks, mediators said Thursday that there would be no further sessions until Monday — a clear sign they were having problems getting the Muslim-led government back into negotiations.

The president of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegovic, a Muslim, had said he would boycott the talks until Serbian forces withdrew from the heights over the capital.

In Sarajevo, Mr. Karadzic said that routes to the city would be opened for United Nations military, relief and commercial traffic.

In addition, Mr. Karadzic said, Bosnian Serbs would relinquish strategic positions on Mount Igman and Mount Bjelasnica over the city and return to their previous positions. UN peacekeepers could take over the positions, he said, to ensure they remained neutral.

In Geneva, the Bosnian foreign minister, Haris Silajdzic, said that

if the Serbian offer proved genuine, his government would return to the negotiating table.

The Serbian proposals were announced in a statement issued after Mr. Karadzic and his army commander, General Ratko Mladic, talked with the UN troop commander here, General Francis Briquemont of Belgium.

An aide to Mr. Karadzic, Nikola Koljevic, would not say whether NATO's declared readiness to bomb Serbian positions had led to the pullback offer, but he indicated that the Serbs regarded the threat as serious.

*(Reuters, AP, AFP)*

I. H. T. August 6/93

# Serbs renew shelling of strategic link

FROM SUZANNE SABLJIC AT MASLENICA BRIDGE, CROATIA

SERB rebels shelled a vital bridge on Croatia's Adriatic coast again yesterday to press Croatian forces into yielding control of it to United Nations supervision as agreed last month.

The UN protection force protested to Serbs in the breakaway Krajina enclave near by after nine shells landed a few dozen yards away from their officials, European Community monitors and journalists on the bridge.

"If they had exploded only 30ft closer to us in the air, we would have all been dead," an EC monitor said after the group fled to bunkers.

A confrontation between the Croatian government and the Krajina Serbs has raised concern about another full-scale Serb-Croat war. Shells rained down from Serb positions on mountains above the Maslenica bridge as two divers, one from the UN and another from the Croatian navy, were getting into the water to inspect damage caused by an earlier Serb artillery barrage.

No shells appeared to have hit the bridge, part of which sank into Novigrad Bay after the first attack, but two cars and a Croatian television vehicle were wrecked. Twenty-five people who huddled in the bunkers for half an hour of shelling emerged only after UN officers behind Serb lines said Serb gunners had been ordered to stop firing. The divers were about to inspect a sunken pontoon in preparation for rebuilding the structure, which was expected to take a few days.

Maslenica's original steel suspension bridge, connecting

Croatia's main north-south highway, was destroyed in 1991 in fighting with Krajina Serbs who rebelled against Croatia's secession from federal Yugoslavia. A ceasefire in January 1992 left the Serbs in control of the bridge and the adjacent Zadar airport. However, the Croatian army took back the economically vital installations in a series of attacks across the UN ceasefire line a year later.

President Tudjman of Croatia was anxious to rebuild the bridge to relieve the isolation of the southern Dalmatian coast, but the area remained exposed to Serb artillery attacks. His government and the Serbs signed a UN-mediated agreement on July 16 under which Zagreb was to hand over the area to a 2,000-strong contingent of the UN protection force which would demilitarise it in exchange for a Serb assurance of a ceasefire.

Last week the accord collapsed after Croatia demanded the simultaneous handover of Serb heavy weaponry to UN storage depots, in line with UN Security Council resolutions on the Krajina war.

The Serbs refused and shelled the bridge on Sunday, two days after it reopened for civilian vehicles and 16 hours after the agreed deadline for Croatian withdrawal expired. Mr Tudjman ignored a new deadline set by the Serbs, prompting bombardment.

Last night Shannon Boyd, the UN protection forces spokeswoman, said in Zagreb that the mediators still hoped to salvage the July 16 agreement. (Reuter)

The  
Times  
August 6  
1993

U.N. GENERAL IN BOSNIA CRITICISES AIR STRIKE THREATS

By Paul Holmes

SARAJEVO, Aug 6 (Reuter) - The commander of U.N. forces in Bosnia, General Francis Briquemont, criticised Western capitals on Friday over threatened air strikes against Bosnian Serbs, saying they complicated the situation on the ground.

"I won't say it's easy to issue threats from outside Bosnia but it is something which is like studying maps at military headquarters," Briquemont told reporters in response to a question.

"They must come to Sarajevo to study the map with me," he said.

In Geneva, international mediator Lord Owen criticised a U.S.-inspired threat of air strikes, saying it had encouraged Bosnia's Moslem-led government to stall the peace talks.

Briquemont, a Belgian, made clear his deep concern that such threats could expose his 9,000 troops on the ground in Bosnia to retaliation.

"I am here and have to take account of the real situation on the ground," he said.

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"And I can tell you that it is a major worry for me because we are on a peacekeeping footing in an area where there has never been peace. It is easier to make threats than to carry them out," he said.

Briquemont was speaking before chairing talks at Sarajevo's U.N. controlled airport between Bosnian Serb army commander General Ratko Mladic and Moslem-led Bosnian army chief General Rasim Delic.

The talks will examine proposals by Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic for Serb troops to pull back from positions they have captured from Moslem-led forces on Bjelasnica and Igman mountains, which overlook the Serb-besieged Bosnian capital.

Success or failure of the proposal, which would involve U.N. troops monitoring the vacated ground, could decide the fate of stalled peace talks in Geneva on an end to Bosnia's 16-month-old war.

Mediators at the talks between Bosnia's rival Serb, Croat and Moslem-led government leaders have suspended the negotiations until Monday, with diplomats suggesting they might not resume until after a NATO meeting in Brussels to discuss possible air strikes against Bosnian Serbs.

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"We have no negotiations in Geneva...and everyone asks me to do my best to accompany this process of peace," Briquemont said.

"And on the other side you have other reactions. They are permanently speaking about threats and so on."

Briquemont made his remarks when a reporter asked him whether he saw a correlation between the threat of foreign military intervention in Bosnia and the apparent readiness of Karadzic and Mladic to withdraw from the two strategic mountains.

His comments were more evidence that the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia is clearly opposed to air strikes to stop the Bosnian Serb "strangulation" of Sarajevo.

British Brigadier Vere Hayes, the UNPROFOR chief of staff in Bosnia, accused the media on Wednesday of making the capture of much of Igman sound like Sarajevo was about to fall.

He said the Serb occupation of the mountain, which dominates the southwestern approaches to the city, was "strangling" only the military supply line to Sarajevo.

Hayes blamed Moslem-led forces themselves for strangling the city of humanitarian aid, saying their offensive against Croat forces in central Bosnia was blocking the only land convoy route

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to Sarajevo.

Briquemont said: "My personal point view today at 10 o'clock is that they (the Serbs) don't intend to attack Sarajevo."

He said that when he visited Bjelasnica with Mladic on Thursday he "did not have the impression that the fighting around Bjelasnica is a particular threat to the city of Sarajevo."

Briquemont said UNPROFOR had recorded 166 ceasefire violations in Bosnia since Mladic, Delic and Bosnian Croat commander General Milivoj Petkovic agreed to halt all hostilities one week ago. All three sides were equally to blame, he said.

REUTER



hamlet of Malo Polje on the south slopes of Igman was now in government hands.

The radio said a Serb attack on Wednesday night had been repulsed and "the enemy sustained losses."

The Serbs were said to be bringing up reinforcements to cut off the road between Pazaric and Tarcin, which approaches Sarajevo from the southwest.

In neighbouring Croatia tensions rose again as rebel Serbs in the Krajina enclave shelled the strategic Maslenica bridge after a deadline expired for Croatian troops to pull back.

The United Nations Protection Force protested strongly to  
PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

the Serbs after nine shells crashed down a few dozen metres (yards) from U.N. monitors, reporters and European Community observers.

"If they had exploded only 10 metres (30 feet) closer to us in the air, we would have all been dead," an EC monitor told Reuters Television after the group fled to nearby bunkers.

As NATO plotted the logistics of launching air strikes on Bosnia, a U.N. general questioned whether Serb forces were entirely responsible for "strangling" Sarajevo, and whether they wanted to capture the city at all.

Brigadier Vere Hayes, chief of staff of U.N. forces in Bosnia, said the Moslem-led Bosnian army bore the main blame for blocking relief supplies to Sarajevo.

Hayes said the current Serb assault on Mount Igman, which prompted a fresh U.S. warning of air strikes, was strangling only the Bosnian military supply line into Sarajevo.

His remarks added a new twist to an already confused situation following another chaotic day at peace talks in Geneva, which were on hold for the day.

International mediators were fighting to save the crumbling negotiations from collapse, as Moslems urged NATO air strikes against the Serbs.

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"It is looking very grim indeed," said one diplomat close to the talks. "All sides are showing a degree of intransigence and a desire to go on fighting that whatever they might agree here will have no effect on the ground."

Bosnia's Moslem president Alija Izetbegovic attempted to patch up relations with his former Croat allies by proposing a Moslem-Croat republic, within the proposed new union of three ethnic republics agreed last week.

"I have proposed...that the future Croat and Bosnian republics within the union of republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina should be a unified territory from the (Adriatic) Sea to the River Sava (on the border with Croatia)," Izetbegovic told Sarajevo radio in Geneva.

The radio said Croatia had so far rejected the proposal and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, returning from Geneva late on Wednesday, accused Izetbegovic of forgetting that a Moslem offensive was driving Croats out of central Bosnia.

PM-YUGOSLAVIA (SCHEDULED, PICTURE)

U.N. GENERAL ASKS 'DO SERBS WANT SARAJEVO?'

By Paul Holmes

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina (Reuter) - As NATO plotted the logistics of launching air strikes on Bosnia, a U.N. general questioned whether Serb forces were entirely responsible for "strangling" Sarajevo -- or whether they wanted to capture the city at all.

British Brig.-Gen. Vere Hayes, chief of staff of U.N. forces in Bosnia, told reporters in the Bosnian capital Wednesday night that the Muslim-led Bosnian army bore the main blame for blocking relief supplies to Sarajevo.

He said the current Serb assault on Mount Igman, which prompted a fresh U.S. warning of air strikes, was strangling only the Bosnian military supply line into Sarajevo. Serb forces claimed Wednesday to have taken control of Igman.

The general's remarks added a new twist to an already confused situation following another chaotic day at the Bosnian peace talks in Geneva where diplomats said the talks were in deep trouble.

"The Serbs don't want to take Sarajevo militarily. Why  
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would they want to have Sarajevo as their responsibility? Personally I don't believe they are capable of taking Sarajevo," Hayes said.

"If you're going to take the city you have to have a massive amount of infantry -- more than I believe the Serbs have got."

In Geneva, international mediators agreed a brief break in efforts to have Muslims, Serbs and Croats negotiate an end to the 16-month war but summoned all three sides to a meeting Friday.

But there were doubts as to whether the parley would take place after a top Muslim official insisted that the terms for a full renewal of talks were a prompt withdrawal of Serb forces from strategic heights around Sarajevo.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and Croat chief Mate

Boban were angered by what they saw as Muslim delaying tactics and left for home.

NATO agreed in Brussels Tuesday to a proposal by President Clinton which could lead to air strikes on Serb positions to break the siege of Sarajevo.

In Geneva Wednesday U.S. special envoy Reginald Bartholomew said he had explained "very clearly" to Karadzic and Serb  
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President Slobodan Milosevic the threat of air strikes.

"I impressed upon them the obvious seriousness of the situation and I believe they understood it," Bartholomew said. "The Alliance decision is very clear. I relayed it very clearly."

The commander of U.N. peacekeeping forces in former Yugoslavia, Gen. Jean Cot, met NATO's southern Europe commander, Adm. Jeremy Boorda, in Zagreb to discuss coordinating air strikes.

A U.N. spokeswoman said: "Both agreed that precise coordination was the essential element of the operation. They also concurred that security for UNPROFOR troops on the ground remained of pre-eminent concern."

A Reuter correspondent reported from central Bosnia that the town of Gornji Vakuf, which recently fell to Muslim-led Bosnian government forces, had come under heavy attack by Croat forces Wednesday.

He said mortars and multiple rocket launchers were attacking Gornji Vakuf's defense lines and shelling the town center.

Trucks and buses full of Croat soldiers headed for the town all day and ambulances were later seen bringing out the wounded.

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AM-YUGOSLAVIA (SCHEDULED)

67 LINES

SARAJEVO MOUNTAIN HANDOVER TALKS HIT TROUBLE

By Paul Holmes

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina (Reuter) - U.N.-mediated talks failed Friday to secure the withdrawal of Bosnian Serb forces from two strategic mountains overlooking Sarajevo, the U.N. commander in Bosnia said.

As the rival generals met, NATO'S threat to strike at Serb forces from the air came in for more criticism and the United Nations announced a new relief mission to save up to 2 million people from possible starvation this winter.

The Bosnian Serb army commander, Gen. Ratko Mladic, and the Muslim military chief, Rasim Delic, met at Sarajevo airport for six hours under the chairmanship of the U.N. commander in Bosnia, Gen. Francis Briquemont,

The aim was to discuss details of the transfer to U.N. supervision of newly captured Serb positions on Mount Bjelasnica and Mount Igman, as promised Thursday by Bosnian Serb political leader Radovan Karadzic.

Briquemont told reporters afterward that the talks would resume Sunday.

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"The discussions were very difficult but we have decided to go on," he said. "We cannot achieve a military solution for Mount Igman and Bjelasnica because we have not the same concept about conducting control or monitoring an area."

Senior U.N. military sources said the chief sticking point was Mladic's refusal to give up control over key areas and what they said was his attempt to tell U.N. forces where to deploy.

Briquemont, reading a prepared statement, said Mladic had agreed that U.N. military observers sent to Bjelasnica this week should remain on the mountain and a second observer team would leave for Igman Saturday.

Briquemont also announced the United Nations would reopen the main land route for aid to Sarajevo and central Bosnia, which has been closed for a week by a Muslim offensive in central Bosnia.

In addition, he criticized the NATO air attack plan, saying it could bring down Serb retaliation on his 9,000 U.N. peacekeeping troops in the republic.

U.N. sources said despite Mladic's claims, the Serbs were not in full control of Igman, which dominates Serb-besieged Sarajevo's southwestern approaches and controls the only military supply route for government forces in the city.

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The Serb offer to withdraw had been seen as a key step in persuading Bosnia's beleaguered Muslim-led government to return to peace negotiations in Geneva.

International mediator David Owen told a news conference in Geneva that Bosnia's Muslim, Serb and Croat leaders had agreed to resume the talks Monday.

NATO states, which have backed a U.S. plan to launch air strikes against the Bosnian Serbs if they tighten their siege of Sarajevo, are also due to meet Monday to discuss the

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AM-YUGOSLAVIA-BANKNOTE

YUGOSLAVIA ISSUES 100-MILLION-DINAR NOTE

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia (Reuter) - Yugoslavia, whose currency has been savaged by hyperinflation, Friday issued a new 100 million dinar banknote.

Belgrade's Tanjug news agency said the note, worth a little more than \$2 at current black market rates, would lessen a shortage of cash "which has assumed dramatic proportions."

With its economy hit by sanctions imposed because of its role in the war in neighboring Bosnia, Yugoslavia's inflation rate is now about 20 percent a day and is expected to reach more than one billion percent a year.

New high-denomination notes are needed because the lower value notes soon become useless as prices spiral upwards.

Inflation in the remaining Yugoslavian republics of Serbia and Montenegro has eroded the value of most people's monthly salaries to about \$15.

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We commend the administration for finally making a commitment to do the right thing, and we expect the administration to fulfill that commitment. We can only hope and pray that doing the right thing will produce the right results, even at this eleventh hour in the conflict. The United States must make it clear to all ethnic cleansers, present and future,

## BC-YUGOSLAVIA-STRIKES (SCHEDULED)

## OPPOSITION GROWS TO WESTERN AIR STRIKES ON BOSNIA

By Patrick Worsnip, Diplomatic Correspondent

LONDON, Aug 6 (Reuter) - Opposition to proposed NATO air strikes in Bosnia mounted on Friday among United Nations peace-keeping forces, aid agencies, Yugoslavia peace mediators and some European countries.

The growing reservations cast doubt on whether a meeting of alliance ambassadors next Monday in Brussels would draw up definitive plans for strikes aimed at stopping Bosnian Serbs from "strangling" the capital Sarajevo.

Last Monday the envoys threatened the Serbs with air attacks unless they loosened their grip on Sarajevo and allowed relief convoys through. NATO said the pressure aimed to get the three Bosnian factions to agree on a deal at the Geneva peace talks.

But dissenters now say the threatened strikes could have the opposite effect -- of stalling the Geneva talks and putting at risk the U.N. troops and aid officials trying to bring supplies to Bosnia's beleaguered population.

The commander of U.N. forces in Bosnia, Belgian General Francis Briquemont, made clear on Friday his deep concern that  
PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

the threats could expose his 9,000 troops to retaliation.

"I am here and have to take account of the real situation on the ground," he told reporters. "And I can tell you that it is a major worry for me...It is easier to make threats than to carry them out."

In Geneva, peace mediator Lord Owen suggested the threats had disrupted the talks, now adjourned until Monday. Non-NATO diplomats say they believe the Bosnian Moslems are dragging their feet in the hope that NATO might bomb Serb positions.

"The most striking thing is that up until the air strikes came dominating in front of everybody...we had a better dialogue than at any time in the last year," Owen said.

NATO member Denmark said it had been persuaded by the mediators that strikes would do more harm than good.

"My opinion here and now, based among other things on remarks by Lord Owen, is that bombing would disturb the peace process. It should therefore not be carried into effect," Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Petersen told a newspaper.

In Romania, a neighbour of former Yugoslavia, President Ion Iliescu said military force "cannot offer a solution."

The UNHCR refugee agency was also opposed. "We believe whenever increased military activity takes place it makes the  
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job of providing humanitarian assistance that much riskier and more difficult," spokesman Ron Redmond said in Geneva.

The various comments highlighted the rift between Washington, which has pushed for the strikes, and allies such as Canada, Britain and France which, unlike the United States, have troops on the ground in Bosnia.

AUG-13-1993 10:06 FROM CONG. BENTLEY

TO

TOWSON P.10

Bosnian Serb forces have been closing in on Sarajevo this week, seizing two key strategic mountains, but on Friday they formally offered a handover to U.N. peacekeeping monitors.

The 16-nation NATO, which this week threatened the Serbs with air strikes if they continued their "strangulation" of Sarajevo, is set to meet on Monday to decide its next step.

The UNHCR spokesman said: "We believe whenever increased military activity takes place it makes the job of providing humanitarian assistance that much riskier and more difficult.

"We would just urge the international community to remember we are trying to take care of 2.3 million people in Bosnia."

Redmond said: "We ask that if any actions are taken that they would remember these innocent civilians and any repercussions it may have on them, because that is our mandate."

Asked whether UNHCR might withdraw some of its 550 staff in  
PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

Bosnia should NATO air strikes happen, he replied: "We always have a contingency plan in place for any of our operations."

REUTER



next Monday whether Moslem president Alija Izetbegovic would take part in the talks.

Izetbegovic on Thursday indicated he would not return until Serb forces withdrew from heights around Sarajevo -- under Serb guns since April last year -- and hand them over as promised to United Nations control.

But non-alliance diplomats -- and the Serbs and Croats -- say they suspect the Moslems were holding back in the hope that NATO might launch air strikes against Serb positions.

Owen himself made clear on Friday he had no doubt the strike  
PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

debate, launched from Washington last week as the negotiations in Geneva seemed heading towards an accord, had caused the hiatus over the past few days.

"The most striking thing is that up until the air strikes came dominating in front of everybody, for the first five or six days we had a better dialogue than at any time in the last year," he declared.

He rejected suggestions by some Western political figures and from a delegation of foreign ministers of Islamic countries that NATO should strike at the Serbs without clear U.N. approval.

"I am totally and absolutely opposed in the circumstances of Yugoslavia to be trying to work outside the framework of the U.N. and the U.N. Security Council and the Secretary-General," the mediator declared.

Over the past few days, the mediators have left no doubt that they believe any strikes against the Serbs at this stage -- except in response to direct attacks on U.N. protection forces in Bosnia -- would ring the death knell for the talks.

The immediate prospect for such action was dampened at a NATO meeting last Monday but it is to be discussed in Brussels again on August 9 and some alliance members especially Turkey,  
PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

are arguing it could go ahead without further U.N. approval.

"If NATO was to go ahead without the support of the U.N. system, never again in the life-time of this Secretary-General, and probably a lot longer, would NATO be asked in to help a U.N. operation," said Owen, a former British foreign secretary.

In interviews over the past week, Owen has made clear he felt -- in common with many Western military analysts -- that air strikes would have little or no effect on the situation on the ground and would only strengthen Serb resolve.

He argues that without massive intervention with tens of thousands of peace-enforcing troops -- a prospect from which all Western governments have shied -- the only way to peace is through a negotiated settlement.

REUTER

About a third of Croatia is held by Serb separatists.  
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9 REUTERS 08-06-93 07:35 AET  
BC-SCHEDULE

88 LINES

REUTER WORLD NEWS SCHEDULE AT 1130 GMT FRIDAY AUGUST 6

TOKYO - Japan's Liberal Democratic Party ends two days of delaying tactics that had stalled formation of new coalition government and agrees to convene parliament to elect prime minister (BC-JAPAN 2NDLD, BY IRENE KUNII, MOVED, PICTURE, GRAPHIC)

SARAJEVO - Bosnian Serb commander Mladic expected for crucial talks on whether Moslem-led forces will accept Serb offer to turn newly-captured heights over to U.N. control, effectively barring high ground to Sarajevo defenders (BC-YUGOSLAVIA 1STLD, BY PAUL HOLMES, MOVING SHORTLY, PICTURE, GRAPHIC)

GENEVA - International mediator Lord Owen, bitterly condemning calls for NATO to launch "go-it-alone" air strikes  
PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

8 REUTERS 08-06-93 07:23 AET  
BC-YUGOSLAVIA-AID

49 LINES

SARAJEVO MAY RUN OUT OF FUEL NEXT WEEK, UN WARNS

GENEVA, Aug 6 (Reuter) - Besieged Sarajevo may run out of vital fuel for water pumps and hospital generators next week unless fuel trucks are allowed to reach the Bosnian capital, a United Nations spokesman said on Friday.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) also warned that innocent lives were at risk if NATO alliance nations fulfilled a threat of air strikes against Bosnian Serbs.

Fighting in central Bosnia between Bosnian government forces and Bosnian Croats around Gornji Vakuf has prevented UNHCR convoys from reaching Sarajevo since the third week of July.

UNHCR said six fuel trucks, with enough fuel for three to four weeks, were leaving its warehouse in Metkovic, Croatia on Friday and hoped to cross into Bosnia during the day.

Another convoy with food and medical supplies was leaving Metkovic to try to reach Sarajevo on Saturday.

"Sarajevo could be running out of fuel again as early as next week," spokesman Ron Redmond told a Geneva news briefing.

"This means once again water wells will be unable to operate because there are no pumps, hospitals will be without  
PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

generating capacity and bakeries will be unable to operate," he added.

UNHCR, the chief U.N. agency in former Yugoslavia, is overseeing an international airlift, averaging 15 flights a day, which has been supplying the city of 380,000 with relief goods.

"This has been helping to keep the city alive," Redmond said.

# Geneva talks resume

*The Daily Telegraph Aug. 10/93*

By Gordon Martin in Geneva and Francis Harris at the United Nations

THE Bosnian peace talks resumed yesterday after a three-day adjournment as the United Nations said it would not launch reprisal raids for an attack on Spanish troops in Bosnia which left one dead and 17 wounded.

As the leaders of the warring factions in Bosnia assembled for the talks in Geneva, postponed last week when President Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia stormed out, Dr Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, said his forces had begun to withdraw from strategic hills overlooking the Bosnian capital, Sarajevo.

The withdrawal of the Serb forces on Mounts Igman and Bjelasnica, was a pre-condition of Mr Izetbegovic to resume the talks.

As the Bosnian leaders met, details of confidential UN messages ruling out retaliatory air strikes emerged.

The confidential discussions between UN headquarters in Zagreb and officials in New York began after the

mortar raid on a Spanish barracks at Jablanica almost a fortnight ago.

Initial suspicion focused on the Croats although the UN has not formally attributed blame.

In the wake of the attack, the UN spokesman said the raid "could be a trigger" for air attacks by the 60-aircraft Nato force based in Italy.

But privately, the organisation decided to back away from military action.

A signal from UN headquarters in Zagreb dated July 30 asked for guidance on whether air raids could be authorised if those responsible were identified. The UN said no.

UN officials were said to have argued that those responsible for attack had disappeared and that any response would not be proportionate, one of the conditions for air strikes.

But the decision places a question mark over the use of British Jaguars and other aircraft in the Nato force.

Critics say that the UN decision will offer gunmen

carte blanche in attacking peacekeepers, secure in the knowledge they will be safe from retaliation.

Two US critics of the UN's policy, were in Geneva yesterday. US Congressman Frank McCloskey arrived to meet Mr Izetbegovic, and to call on President Clinton and the West to launch air strikes on the Serbs.

If they could not be launched multilaterally, they should be launched by America he said.

He denounced Lord Owen as "the orchestrator and spokesman for craven EC inaction", who was pursuing a peace which represented not only death and burial for Bosnia, but also for the Western conscience.

Mr McCloskey was accompanied by Mr Marshall Harris, who recently resigned as head of the Bosnian Desk of the US State Department.

Mr Harris called on the West to withdraw the pressure on Bosnia to sign its own death warrant, and to find the political will to begin large-scale military action.

12/08 '93 15:32

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# THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA

NEWS RELEASE NEWS RELEASE NEWS RELEASE NEWS RELEASE

*contd...*

## *The Bosnian-Serbs*

*"I have ordered the Bosnian-Serb Chief of Staff, Milovanovic, to facilitate immediate UN/Bosnian-Serb joint inspection of any position on either mountain. We await UNPROFOR response and are prepared to act on this within the hour."*

-ends-

Contact: 010-41-22-917-1180 or 1181 (United Nations Geneva)  
010-41-22-731-1400

12/08 '93 15:31

002

**THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA****NEWS RELEASE NEWS RELEASE NEWS RELEASE NEWS RELEASE***The Bosnian-Serbs**From The President of the Republic of Srpska, Dr Radovan Karadzic.***KARADZIC CONFIRMS ALL BOSNIAN-SERB TROOPS  
WITHDRAWN TO PREVIOUS POSITIONS AROUND IGMAN**

Dr Radovan Karadzic has registered a strong protest to the United Nations following continuing inaccurate reporting of the military situation on both Mount Igman and Mount Bjelasnica around Sarajevo.

Dr Karadzic has confirmed that all Bosnian-Serb forces have withdrawn to positions previously held on 30 July 1993 in full compliance with the recent agreement to withdraw from Mount Igman and Mount Bjelasnica.

Speaking from his office at United Nations Head Quarters in Geneva at 1525 (CET) Dr Karadzic said:

*"I am protesting in the strongest terms to the UN following misleading and confused messages coming from UNPROFOR personnel regarding the military situation around Sarajevo. There has been a 100% Bosnian-Serb withdrawal to previous positions around both Mount Igman and Mount Bjelasnica. The troop withdrawal has been undertaken in full compliance with the agreement reached with the United Nations following the capture of Igman and Bjelasnica by Bosnian-Serb forces.*

*"These positions are well known to military authorities and should not cause confusion. There are categorically no Bosnian-Serb troops or artillery on the heights of Igman or Bjelasnica or beyond the previous front line.*

*"The United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) has taken control of eight of the previously agreed points on Igman and has yet to staff a further four points which are now deserted and unoccupied.*

*"UNPROFOR statements claiming full and complete withdrawal of all Bosnian-Serb forces to previous positions have not taken place are false. I challenge UNPROFOR to publish all co-ordinates on both Igman and Bjelasnica where they claim Bosnian-Serb forces are still in position. These Co-ordinates should be made publicly available immediately. I also invite UNPROFOR to publish a detailed list of any point of the recent withdrawal agreement that has not been honoured.*

*contd...*

PAIR, SARAJEVO, THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA  
TELEPHONE 01038-11-657-738, 010-38-11-662-707 OR 010-38-71-783-267/401

## PRESS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

### MOUNT IGMAN: AN ANALYSIS

Toronto, August 6 - Proponents of a military offensive against Bosnian Serb positions surrounding Sarajevo justify their stance as a desire to stop the Serbs from "conquering the city" and view the defeat of the Muslim Army on Mount Igman as a "hard blow to the Muslim defenders of Sarajevo". According to them, "with the fall of this mountain into Serb hands, the noose around the city would be tightened still further, giving the Serbs an excellent position of aim, particularly within the city centre".

To those familiar with the geography of the Sarajevo front, it is clear that Mount Igman, for the past fifteen months of the war, has been the strategic and logistic key for all the Muslim offensives in the ethnically Serb areas surrounding Sarajevo and the city itself.

Though Mount Igman, which spreads from Sarajevo towards the West - South West, is strategically important for Serb entrance into the city and a position which would give the Serbs excellent aim at Sarajevo, the fact has primarily propaganda value. From a military strategic aspect, it is of minor value. No officer worth his salt would send his infantry to take Sarajevo from this mountain for the simple reason that between it and the city, at the narrowest point, there are five kilometers of open terrain, and the end of which is the hill of Mojmiilo, the strongest and the best armed Muslim stronghold in Sarajevo.

According to military logic, the eventual operation for taking Sarajevo would follow a North-South axis, the North end which would be the Serb controlled hill of Zuc and does truly offer an excellent view of Sarajevo with commensurate possibilities for taking aim. On the southern side, there is the Serb quarter of Grbavica, deeply embedded in the Muslim urban heart and ideally predisposed for an eventual Serb infantry drive into the city.

Also, the Muslim positions on Mount Igman have between them and the city, a Serb ethnic zone, the largest portion of which has been in the possession of the Army of the Republic of Srpska since the start of the war.

Even a cursory glance at the lines of demarcation in Sarajevo would show the Muslims have never had territorial integrity in the city. Meanwhile, the situation on the ground portrays a totally different picture, in the centre of which we find Sarajevo airport.

The airport is located between Mount Igman and the Muslim section of the city. It was under Serb control until June 27, 1992 when it was handed over to UNPROFOR (headed by Maj.-Gen. Lewis MacKenzie), according to the terms of a special agreement between the Serb Army and UNPROFOR, its new ownership being confirmed by an appropriate Security Council Resolution. UNPROFOR guaranteed that it would be used for humanitarian purposes only, that is, for the purveyance of humanitarian aid to the city.

It soon became apparent that it was used for the arming of Muslims; the same was admitted by UNPROFOR. UN soldiers allowed the Muslims, from their logistical base in Konjic (50 km South west of Sarajevo), to bring war materiel to the city by way of Igman and through the use of airport runways. This was in serious contravention of the special agreement and the accompanying Security Council Resolution.

For the Muslims, Igman is of incalculable value but only for the purpose of breaking the agreement and as a logistical and strategic base from which to launch their offensive.

To those familiar with the geography and demographics of Sarajevo, it is apparent that below Igman are the Serbian communities of Vojkovici, Ilidza, Blazoj, Hadzici and Hrasnica, the last of which is partially under Muslim control shall be remembered for the number of Serb civilians that have been murdered there. Over 30,000 Muslim soldiers from Sarajevo had reached Igman by crossing the airport. Once there and well supplied with artillery, they proceeded to shell the Serb communities below; the major part of the military action witnessed by this section of the Sarajevo theater was committed by these very same fighters. Many hundreds of Serb civilians, primarily women, children and the elderly, in the last fifteen months of war, fell victims to Muslim snipers and artillery positioned on Mount Igman.

It is clear then that this mountain, lately the scene of fierce fighting, is not the "last stronghold" of the "Muslim defenders of Sarajevo", but the main point of embarkation of Muslim offensives directed at the Serb communities in the Sarajevo basin. With the passage of Igman into Serb hands, Sarajevo was not "defeated", though the hopes of Alija Izetbegovic to gain control of Serb communities on the western approaches of the city are definitely defeated. As well, the new situation does not enable Izetbegovic to include in his military action those who are responsible for the Sarajevo airport.

The loss of the mountain will not bring the Muslims a "new humanitarian drama" as foretold in certain circles for the simple fact that all humanitarian aid has reached the city either by air or through the Serb communities of Lukavica and Ilidza. All that reached the city through Igman was military materiel and the odd cigarette smuggler who rationalized the risk of a night crossing of airport runways with vision of profits in Deutsche Marks.

Last, but not least, the fall of Igman will not be the cause of a civilian drama either. It is estimated there are between 20 and 30,000 on this mountain. This mountain, at one time a viable tourist concern, is largely unpopulated. Even during the 1984 Olympics, considered the best tourist season in the resorts history, Igman didn't have a population of 20,000 ... until Izetbegovic sent in 30,000 of his soldiers who committed unspeakable atrocities against the civilian population on Pracsjenica and Sirenstima, Serb communities at the foot of the mountain.

## Points of view

Sir: I have belatedly received your issue of 24 July with an article, 'What is Bosnia anyway?' by Noel Malcolm. I am indeed advising Dr Karadzic in public relations, since the hate campaign against the Serbs and apologetics for Muslim fundamentalism and German expansionism by proxy are reminiscent of the demonisation of the Czechs as the main danger to peace in Europe and lauding of the Germans as reasonable and moderate which disfigured the whole British press in the late Thirties. Until recently, Mr Malcolm used the Croats as a stick with which to beat the Serbs; he has now taken up the cause of the Islamic fundamentalists and the integrity of the abstraction, Bosnia, for the same purpose. His article is full of blatant inaccuracies.

He claims that Izetbegovic and his associates are not Islamic fundamentalists, but only 'good Muslims'. All the evidence points to the contrary. The term 'Islamic fundamentalism' is a misnomer. The French expression 'integralism' is closer to the truth. Enlightened Turks simply call it *irtica*, reaction, since it is an attempt to reverse all social and political reforms — or changes if you prefer the word — introduced under European influence; for example, Atatürk's, whom Izetbegovic systematically disparages. It is no exaggeration to say that Islam is fundamentalism.

Malcolm's statement that *The Islamic Declaration* was written in 1970 is sleight of hand designed to deceive. It was republished in 1990 with additions (Mala Muslimska Biblioteka, Sarajevo) and widely sold in grocers' shops as well as bookshops. Pace Mr Malcolm's selective quotation of half a sentence, Izetbegovic argues that their aim for Bosnia must be to restore the Shariat (all-embracing Muslim law) and have Muslim religion within a Muslim society within a Muslim state, with non-Muslim institutions outlawed. How they were to overcome Christian resistance is not discussed there; but over the past 20 years their *modus operandi* has become clear. It is noteworthy that Izetbegovic chose Pakistan as his role-model precisely because it was cut out of the living flesh of British India at the cost of millions of lives. His self-assured statement that Bosnia's Muslims were highly secularised gives the impression that while Mr Malcolm knows something about south-eastern Europe, he has no first-hand or systematic knowledge of Islam, but relies on propagandist sources. (I began to study Bosnia's Muslims in 1947, from a background of Arabic and Islamic studies, but took the trouble to learn Serbo-Croat. I was struck at the turn of the decade by how impervious Bosnia's Muslims had been to modern European influence, even more

than Muslims in French North Africa, and it was obvious that if the regional balance of power changed Islam would come back into politics.)

It is quite untrue to claim that Bosnia's boundaries remained unchanged through history. Since the Turks defeated the Serbian kingdom of Bosnia in the mid-15th century, the Bosnian Pashalik's frontiers, apart from those with the Belgrade Pashalik and the Sancak of Novi Pazar, were simply the resultant at any given time of the military balance between the Ottomans, on the one hand, and the Habsburgs, Venetians and Montenegro on the other. When the Turks occupied large parts of Lika and Kordun, including the fortress of Knin, they became part of the Bosnia Pashalik. When 150 years later, these areas were liberated by the Habsburgs, they reverted to being parts of the Croatian Banovina and Dalmatia. When the Ottomans finally broke through south Dalmatian territory to the sea near Neum, it became part of Bosnia.

Malcolm misleads here not just out of ignorance but to posit some kind of Bosnian identity in order to eke out his Serbophobic brief. It does not exist. Serbs and Croats fiercely maintain their identity. Izetbegovic always claimed that the Mus-

lims were part of the Muslim 'umma', not of any geographical nation. The minority of Muslims — and, for that matter, Serbs, Croats and children of mixed marriages — who rejected Islamic identity identified themselves as Yugoslavs, not Bosnians, and opposed separatism. It was obvious that a polyethnic Bosnia could not survive except within a polyethnic Yugoslavia.

Most of Malcolm's other contentions — including his holocaust revisionism and defence of the Ulema's collaboration with Himmler — are equally open to question. Future historians will comment on the strange alliance in favour of Islamic fundamentalism and the spurious Bosnian state uniting Marxists, Masochists, Euromaniacs, Germanophiles, fellow-travellers of Islamic fundamentalism and those hungry for a cause over which to indulge their emotions. It makes me more worried for Britain than for Serbdom, which is at least healthy at heart.

Sir Alfred Sherman

14 Malvern Court,  
Onslow Gardens,  
London  
SW7

Sir: 'Where a vacuum of knowledge exists, a stream of misinformation is quickly sucked in to fill the void.' This is an accurate description of how the complex issues and facts of the Yugoslav conflict have been presented by the media to the British public. It is also the only accurate sentence written by Noel Malcolm in his article.

Everything that comes out of Serbia is propaganda according to Mr Malcolm. If so, why does he use *Borba* (a Serbian newspaper) as the source to tell us that 'no deal was made' regarding the proposals for a confederal Bosnian state? Was Mr Malcolm there? Allow me to quote Kate Boban, the Bosnian Croat leader who was there: 'The Cuteliero plan was signed by all three sides in Lisbon in March 1992. Regrettably, Mr Izetbegovic later rescinded his signature.'

Mr Malcolm's piece evidently suffers from some glaring omissions. For instance, he fails to mention that an estimated 60,000 Croatian army regulars have been and still are fighting in Bosnia's 'civil war'. They are not an expeditionary force recently sent from Zagreb. They have been active in western Hercegovina for well over a year and have proclaimed their own *de facto* part of Croatia, namely 'Hercog-Bosna'.

Mr Malcolm asserts that the 'violence between Bosnian Croats and Muslims ... is a direct result of the Vance-Owen "peace process"'. This theory reaches extraordinary heights of ignorance. The fragile Croat-Muslim military pact started its treacherous collapse in October 1992.

Mr Malcolm epitomises the ignorance amongst British pundits who pose as Balkan 'experts'. If John Major ever thought of creating a Department of Misinformation he need not look too far for the appropriate person to head it. Mr Malcolm would be an excellent choice.

Neven Lezaic

43 Shepherds Bush Road,  
London W6



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1429745

ITALY GIVES WARNING ON NATO FIREPOWER

PRIORITY: rush

Reuter World Service DATE: August 5, 1993 13:33 E.T.

BYLINE: Richard Wallis

WORD COUNT: 00369

By Richard Wallis

ROME, Aug 5 (Reuter) - Italy, where NATO warplanes have massed for possible bombing raids on Serb positions in Bosnia, said on Thursday no one in the alliance wanted such military action unless it was absolutely necessary.

Foreign Minister Beniamino Andreatta told parliament the concentration of NATO firepower in Italy was "meant to show that the international community was no longer prepared to tolerate the kind of behaviour there has been until now."

About 60 NATO ground attack planes, from Britain, France, the Netherlands and the United States, are now stationed at various Italian air bases. U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher said he would visit a base in northeast Italy on Friday for talks with NATO commanders on "what might be our contingency plans for action if we find that the Serbs continue their strangulation of Bosnia."

Andreatta said "anything could happen" when NATO planners met in Brussels on Monday to work out military options but the final decision would depend on NATO and U.N. evaluations.

"No one wants to intervene unless absolutely necessary, but I hope that all sides take our concerns into account. Maybe someone still thinks they can play around with the West's patience," he told a foreign affairs committee.

The Italian government is increasingly worried about threats to Italian security posed by the Bosnian war raging across the Adriatic and has welcomed the NATO show of force on its soil.

But officials admit the government would face a difficult task in winning round a largely pacifist parliament and public if NATO fighters launched bombing missions from Italian bases.

In a report to parliament this week, Prime Minister Carlo Azeglio Ciampi spoke repeatedly about collusion between various unnamed factions in former Yugoslavia, the Mafia and Italian right-wing extremists.

There were signs that organised crime had infiltrated border and coastal areas to handle drugs and arms smuggled in with the help of Albanians and former Yugoslavs, he said.

He added that some of the factions in former Yugoslavia might launch terrorist attacks to punish Italy for its stand over the Balkan crisis.

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CROAT TOWN GEARS FOR MOSLEM ASSAULT

PRIORITY: rush

Reuter World Service DATE: August 5, 1993 10:45 E.T.

BYLINE: Kurt Schork

WORD COUNT: 00606

By Kurt Schork

PROZOR, Bosnia, Aug 5 (Reuter) - A shadow hangs over Prozor -- a bad dream of defeat induced by geography, history and the Moslem forces massing to attack this Croat stronghold west of Sarajevo.

Soldiers clog the narrow streets while civilians huddle to discuss the latest rumours in Bosnia's 16-month civil war.

Signs of normal life -- teenage girls eating ice-cream on a street corner -- are undercut by scenes of terror: a dozen Moslem women and children driven from their homes by Croats, who were themselves evicted from another town by Moslems.

With the civil war spinning out of control, Moslem-led government troops are battling Croats for the 30 percent of Bosnia not held by Serb soldiers.

Having captured Bugojno and Gornji Vakuf to the north, Moslem forces are carrying out commando raids on Prozor to soften it up for an all-out attack.

Moslems recently destroyed two T-55 tanks parked next to the HVO (Croatian Defence Council) headquarters in town, spooking local residents into preparing for the worst.

"There is no retreat from Prozor," says 35-year old Ante Bonic, fingering a large crucifix hanging around his neck.

"We Croats are fighting for our lives against Moslem fundamentalists. We are Christians. For us it is victory or death."

Nowhere is geography more obviously destiny than here in Prozor, where the great Makljen ridge looms 400 metres (1,200 feet) above the town to the north.

Control of the ridge has always meant control of Prozor.

"Prozor must fall tonight," was one of the most famous commands issued by Yugoslav communist leader Josip Broz Tito to his partisan forces in World War Two.

Fall it did. Partisans attacked from Gornji Vakuf to the south, captured the Makljen ridge and overran Prozor. Defending Croat militia and an Italian army division were defeated.

The massacre which followed still haunts local residents.

Fifty years after Tito's victory in 1943, the fate of Prozor is once again in doubt.

"The Moslem plan is to take Prozor and break through to the (Adriatic) sea, but they will never get to the top of the Makljen ridge," says Croat brigade commander Ilija Petrovic.

Makljen bristles with Croat defenders and artillery, including howitzers, multiple rocket launchers and mortars.

Croat tanks, machine-guns and anti-aircraft cannon flank the main highway climbing from Gornji Vakuf to the ridge, a route Moslem forces must capture if they are to take Prozor.

Makljen seems impregnable, but commander Petrovic admits the Moslems fought their way into Croat trenches along the ridge last Saturday before being driven off.

Two additional HVO brigades have since been rushed to Prozor to aid in its defence.

Petrovic's office wall carries a picture of Ante Pavelic, president of the Croatian puppet state allied with Nazi Germany in World War Two.

Most Croats are fighting for their homes, not for ideology. But occasional swastikas and stiff-armed salutes are encountered here, hinting at darker currents running through the local population.

Croat soldiers at a checkpoint near Prozor recently told reporters a Moslem woman working as a translator for the United Nations was a spy. "She should be raped," one of the soldiers declared.

"I haven't raped anybody in a week," he boasted.

U.N. peacekeepers saw Croat schoolchildren outside Prozor queuing to pull the lanyard on an artillery piece being fired at Moslem positions.

"I know this is Europe," said a British U.N. soldier. "But I've seen things here I thought Europe buried with World War Two."

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SPECIAL FEATURE: International  
? logoff

# Fears on ground hit plans in the air

By Gillian Tett

NATO OFFICIALS were yesterday engaged in a feverish round of behind-the-scenes negotiations as ambassadors for the 16 alliance members met in Brussels to discuss the logistics of air strikes against Serbs in Bosnia.

But with the situation in Sarajevo confused following the partial withdrawal of Serb forces from Mount Bjelasnica, one of the strategic heights around the city, the Canadian, British and French delegations reiterated concern that air strikes could endanger troops on the ground.

Another complicating factor emerged when it was revealed French troops had been deployed on Mt Igman, parts of which are still Serb-occupied.

After a week of anxious diplomatic discussions, Nato officials yesterday said the alliance had broad agreement on the military structure for the threatened air strikes.

The US delegation hailed the agreement as a diplomatic breakthrough, although it fell short of original proposals. An official said: "This entire initiative is President Clinton's."

Later, Mr Warren Christopher, US secretary of state, warned that Nato was ready to take "forceful action" against Bosnian Serbs. "The alliance now has in place all the means necessary to take forceful action against the Serbs should

they not cease their intolerable behaviour," he said.

Nato officials said the decision was largely the result of intensive bilateral discussions between the US, Canadian, French and British in the days - and hours - up to the meeting. The draft declaration had, they added, been largely drawn up by these four countries.

Nevertheless, Nato sources yesterday pointed out that differences remained among the allies in the crucial definition of what type of action would be needed by the Serbs to avert air strikes, and what was necessary for the air strikes to go ahead.

"Everyone says that air strikes should be used as a last resort. The problem lies in agreeing the last resort," said one Nato official.

The military plan proposes a series of graduated options for air strikes and specific targets that might be attacked.

However, Nato officials yesterday refused to detail what these were, although they stressed that any response would be proportional and that the targets would only be within Bosnia, but could include targets outside the Sarajevo area.

Quentin Peel adds from Bonn: In a statement which suggested more German caution about western military intervention than apparent in recent government pronouncements, Chancellor Helmut Kohl warned that any air strikes must take into account consequences for civilians.

Any attempt to end the fighting in former Yugoslavia with military means would unleash a war with catastrophic consequences. But he supported Mr Clinton's proposal for limited air strikes against specific military targets, if backed by the UN Security Council.

Financial Times  
August 10/93



12/08 '93 15:30 ☎

001

John G. Kennedy  
9 Cork Street, Mayfair, London W1.

To: Mr Drago Pamucina  
Date: 12 August 1993  
Status: Routine

Dear Drago

Many thanks indeed for sending me the newspaper cuttings with your comments on 10 August 1993.

It appears that the US media is worse than the British media in its ability to get things completely back to front.

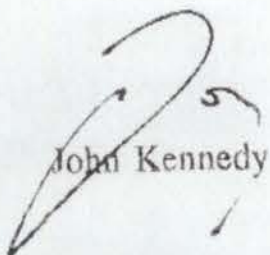
In fact RK suggested that Sarajevo should be handed over to UN control several days ago but this has been totally ignored. He has recommended demilitarisation of the area and the placing of all civil functions and policing in the hands of the United Nations.

Likewise the withdrawal from Igman and Bjelasnica has been going on for the last 3 days and was almost completed yesterday, which prompted the brave US Secretary of State to issue a warning (after the horse had bolted).

Who knows why Hotel Igman was burnt down. This does however mean that it cannot now be used as a barracks in the event of the Mountain being captured by one side or the other, making occupation by Serb or Muslim forces during winter months impossible. Maybe it will be a blessing in disguise!

Did you get Harold's press release of yesterday's date regarding Marshall Harris? Do you know if it has received any coverage in the United States? This man is a menace and is causing unnecessary complications and hassle for Lord Owen.

With best wishes

  
John Kennedy

071 522 0498 BANQUE INDOCHINE

## Not First on the List

Regarding "Demilitarize Bosnia or the Storm Will Spread South" (Opinion, July 31) by Misha Glenny:

Mr. Glenny's statement that "the resolutely pro-Serb ... Sir Alfred Sherman ... attributes the war in Bosnia solely to what he imagines to be the Islamic world's determination to establish a bridgehead in Europe" is wholly untrue, and suggests that he has never troubled to read what I have written.

By my calculations, the Yugo-Muslims and their supporters come third or fourth on the list of those responsible for the carnage. First by a long way are the Germans. Second is Franjo Tudjman, encouraged by Hans-Dietrich Genscher to overplay his hand, working toward the traditional Croatian-nationalist dream of a greater Croatia.

I am "pro-Serb" only insofar as I consider that the Serbs have been the target of governmental and media hate campaigns and distortion reminiscent of that waged by Neville Chamberlain and the tame British press against Czechoslovakia and in favor of Germany in the 1930s.

Long-term defense of Serbian rights entails balancing and accommodating the legitimate claims of all ethnic groups and religions. I fear that U.S. policies, which unlike Germany's are not based on *raison d'état* or national interest, will prolong and intensify violence, to the detriment of all concerned, particularly the innocent.

ALFRED SHERMAN.  
London.

International  
Herald  
Tribune  
August 13/93

Nato ready for air strike as Bosnian Serb

# Karadzic ignores Owen's deadline to quit Igman

By EDWARD LUCE  
IN GENEVA AND  
EVE-ANN PRENTICE

BOSNIAN Serb forces failed to withdraw fully from Mount Igman overlooking Sarajevo yesterday, breaking a deadline set by the Geneva peace negotiators and heightening the risk of Nato air strikes.

The failure to satisfy the demands made by Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg to pull out by mid-morning yesterday also delayed attempts to revive the Geneva negotiations.

The international mediators summoned Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb leader, for evening talks to try to press him to honour promises that his troops would pull back. Last night John Mills, the spokesman for the negotiators, said that UN and Serb generals would meet today to agree a demarcation line beyond which Serb forces must withdraw.

President Izetbegovic of Bosnia-Herzegovina said after a two-hour morning session with the mediators: "We ask that Serbs be pushed from the mountains today, not tomorrow but today."

Preparations for possible Nato attacks on Serb positions gathered pace. General Francis Briquemont, the com-

mander of United Nations troops in Bosnia, met Nato officers at an air base at Vicenza in northern Italy to discuss the air strike plans. The general, who has expressed concern for the safety of 9,000 UN peacekeepers in the event of air strikes, had four hours of talks with officers, a Nato spokesman said.

Earlier yesterday, General Jean Cot, commander of the UN Protection Force, said in Zagreb that General Briquemont's talks focused on the urgent need for tight co-ordination between Nato pilots and UN ground troops to minimise casualties.

In Geneva, Dr Karadzic insisted that the Bosnian Serb forces had pulled back to lines they occupied before a July 30 ceasefire and blamed the UN for the muddle. As the battle of nerves and war of words widened, Haris Silajdzic, the Bosnian foreign minister, accused Serb forces of positioning new rocket launchers on Mount Igman. Rasim Delic, the commander of the Bosnian

army, said the launchers appeared to be anti-aircraft missiles to be used in retaliation, perhaps, in the event of Nato air strikes. "We have information that on Igman some rocket systems are installed, probably anti-aircraft missiles, in order to act maybe against air strikes," he said in Sarajevo.

Mr Izetbegovic meanwhile retreated from a threat to leave the Geneva negotiations and said he was prepared to stay in Geneva for "one day, two days, I don't know how long".

Behind the scenes in Geneva, sources in the Serb delegation said Dr Karadzic had a "furious" telephone conversation with his commanders in Bosnia. The sources said there was growing pressure on Dr Karadzic to replace General Ratko Mladic, who has led the Bosnian Serb forces in seizing more than 70 per cent of territory in the former Yugoslav republic.

Mate Boban, the leader of the Bosnian Croat delegation,

added to the confusion in Geneva when he said the Bosnian Serb forces had completely evacuated the high ground above Sarajevo. "There is no reason to delay talking any longer," Mr Boban said. "We can only resolve our disagreements through negotiations not through military means," he said.

In Sarajevo, some people believe the UN is deliberately moving French troops into the Mount Igman area, in the hope that their presence could deter air strikes. "The UN is getting suckered into a game they want to get suckered into", an analyst, who would not be identified, said. "They know very well what they are doing."

□ Vienna: A spokesman for Dr Karadzic last night denied a report circulated by an Austrian news agency that he had threatened Europe with nuclear strikes if the West decided on military intervention. The agency had quoted him as telling *Der Standard*: "It is no problem to buy nuclear weapons on the world market. We will really carry it [the attack] through." (Reuters)

CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN

# Two UNs at war with each other

THERE are at present two UNs on divergent courses. There is the UN in New York, under increasing US pressure to authorise Nato air strikes against Serbian positions around Sarajevo. And there is the UN in Bosnia, which shares with the Serbs an anxiety to avert air strikes, which would threaten not only the Serbs but also the mainly British and French UN troops. Deployed for humanitarian purposes, they would be ill-prepared to sustain Serbian revenge attacks following on from the air strikes.

This week the UN leadership in Bosnia has been engaged in the tricky business of using the threat of air strikes to get the Serbs to back away from the siege of Sarajevo, to a perceptible extent. The Serbs take those threats, coming ultimately from the direction of New York, seriously enough to make tactical concessions likely to delay and even avert air strikes, without abandoning their strategic objectives.

So a deal has been concluded between the Serbs and the UN (Bosnia), under which the Serbs withdraw from their recently conquered positions in the Mount Igman area, and will hand over these to UN forces. And it does appear that Serbs are withdrawing in significant numbers from these positions, even Lord Owen has doubts about the reality of the withdrawal. This development will strengthen, at least for the time being, the hands of the many officials and others, not only in Britain and France but also in the United States, who

fear, and with good reason, that air strikes might make conditions in former Yugoslavia worse than they are now.

I share those misgivings, but I am not in the least reassured by the Mount Igman *détente*. I fear that the UN negotiators did not bring with them a long enough spoon when they sat down to sup with the Serbian commander on the spot, the formidable General Ratko Mladic. For there is a Serbian condition to the deal, which the UN (Bosnia) is not in a position to meet, though its representatives have apparently refrained from saying so. That condition is that the UN must assume "total control over the area" to ensure that "the Turks" (which is what the Serbs call the Bosnian Muslims) do not return to any part of the area evacuated by the Serbs.

The UN cannot discharge this responsibility. As a report in this newspaper by Marcus Tanner in Sarajevo yesterday stated: "The task [of controlling the whole Mount Igman area] is way beyond the UN's already stretched manpower resources."

General Mladic, of course, knows this very well already. But the UN (Bosnia) will at some point, and quite soon, have to acknowledge this incapacity to meet the precondition for full Serbian withdrawal from the area. The general can be relied on to be understanding about this. He will say in effect: "Take your time, we can wait. But in the meantime, we shall have to ensure that the old Turk doesn't move

back into the area that your forces are not yet in a position to control."

This will mean that the Mount Igman area will be policed, for an indefinite period, by the UN forces and Serbian forces jointly, with the latter in greater force and with recent combat experience. Inevitably, the Serbs will see the UN forces as their hostages against air strikes. In the mess, over their *slivovitz*, they must be cracking many a gory joke over that one. But they should not laugh too long. While the UN (Bosnia) has played into their hands, the real danger to them — and it is a growing one despite the Mount Igman *détente* — comes from the UN (New York). New York will not take its signals from the UN (Bosnia) because a far more powerful signal is reaching it from Washington, and the UN (New York) does not control Washington. The boot is very much on the other foot.

The present state of the relationship between the United States and the United Nations is dangerously ambiguous. The US, as sole remaining superpower, dominates the UN and sets the course for its various "peace-keeping" operations. This is the actual nature, though not the proclaimed one, of the New World Order.

The United States associates itself with the various UN operations, but on its own terms, according to its own agenda, and conserving its autonomy, while nominally acting under the authority of the UN. Thus in Somalia, the storming of General Mohamed Farah Aidood's house was in reality a US-planned operation designed to boost President Bill Clinton's ratings in the polls. But ostensibly it was a United Nations operation, and UN personnel as well as aid workers were placed in jeopardy by it.

How the US currently regards its relations with the UN is dramatically revealed in a leaked document published by the *Washington Post* last week. According to that newspaper, the document — a classified draft of a Clinton directive — "endorses the United Nations as a world policeman and commits Washington to support multinational peace-making and peace-keeping operations, 'politically, militarily and financially'". It goes on: "But the document rejects any open-ended US commitments and directs American military commanders to disobey UN orders they judge illegal or militarily imprudent."

In theory, of course, it is the Secretary-

General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who alone has the authority to authorise Nato air strikes. In practice, no secretary-general, since the foundation of the UN (and even throughout the Cold War), has refused to co-operate with Washington on an issue in which a US president considered vital US interests to be involved. I do not believe Mr Boutros-Ghali is an exception.

If he is, and if he opposes air strikes (as endangering the UN forces deployed in Bosnia), then he has one resource available to him. He can put the matter before the Security Council, where (judging by recent statements) Russia would probably veto it. But even that would not end the matter. The US would bring the matter back to Nato, urging that Nato is not bound by a Russian veto. In short, the White House alone will determine whether or not there will be air strikes.

I fear that these are coming at some point, that they will increase the chaos, with serious casualties among UN humanitarian forces, and be followed by full-scale military intervention. After that will come the long quagmire, with eventual withdrawal, leaving behind far greater destruction than if the civil war had been left to burn itself out, horrible though that is.

*The Independent August 13, 1993*



The Guardian August 7, 1993

# Paperchase in a lethal game of cartography

## Commentary



Edward Pearce

**W**E have made mistakes before. Surely we are about to make a bigger one. Inherent in the Yugoslav imbroglio is the inability either of the United Nations or the powers involved to acknowledge their own limitations. The floor is strewn with rose petals at the idea of an integrated multi-national Bosnian state. It was a higher abstraction of the kind which declaration-drafting folk are very keen on. The fact that Serbs and Croats hate each other and that both despise the Muslims was seen as a condition from which they must be liberated.

Anyone who knew anything about the country would have told you that Serbs wouldn't let Croats get away with ruling Serbs and that the two of them would treat Bosnia as territory which they would dispute. The Germans should not have recognised Croatia, recognition of which triggered the Bosnian state. And Bosnia should never

have been recognised without the assent of her stronger neighbours.

It would have been vastly dangerous, as well as none of our business, to have sent troops into Bosnia, but the implication of recognition and UN posturing was that we always might. This is an incoherence of the kind at which committees excel. We had no help to give but permitted the possibility of help to float like an invocation to war over the emerging battlefield.

Far and away the most merciful act available to the powers or the windy composite in Turtle Bay, New York, was to tell the Bosnians that their state was unreal and that in no circumstances would arms or troops be forthcoming. Then they would have had to negotiate with their stronger neighbours and their people would have stayed alive. Anything else was an invitation to fight and lose, or to fight, suffer and die and still lose.

And are we not about to do the same thing in another racially unharmonious, quarrelling and killing country: South Africa? I have kept out of debate about the country because to the left and liberal side of Western politics, it is fairly ground. Here are the inexpressibly evil racist whites maintaining a morally forbidden racial hegemony, and here are black people necessarily good and dreadfully oppressed. Here is Nelson Mandela, very nearly God. Come the trumpet and the day, and a government of rough-and-ready freedom for "the blacks", the Africans, the people we sympathise with, joyfully follows. It's all a bit like Mrs Osborne, awful John's awful mother, speaking to Paul Robeson: "Oh Mr Robinson he does feel so sorry for you darlings."

Correct views on South Africa are *de rigueur* views, and until the day before yesterday, they included a cloud-nine optimism about the instant splendour of the solution once the whites withdrew.

Now the Afrikaner regime was ugly and oppressive (as the Israeli regime over Palestinians is ugly, only we don't say that) and Nelson Mandela is a sufficiently noble figure to deserve wiser admirers than he has in the West. Ironically, the Communism of which government spokesmen regularly accused the elder ANC leadership, although entirely the truth, was something rather creditable. They became Communists in a spirit of disinterest and never had the chance to be corrupted by its power structures. Those older men were thus oddly pure in their abstract notions and vastly superior to the men ruling the commonly tattered demagogic regimes of independent black Africa. Dreadful Nigeria, hideous Zaire, impossible Zambia, monomaniacal Malawi stand there saying something about black men as tyrants.

But the virtue of Mandela, the badness of the Malan-to-Botha governments, are not enough to make the future operable the way people demand it on paper. The hatred between the tribes of southern Africa is as real and deeper than that between Serbs and Croats. Very broadly, people who have been massacred take against it, and people who have done the massacring feel inclined to give it another go rather than be massacred themselves next time.

Nice people must take it into their heads to understand that in the early 19th century, the Zulus killed everybody who got in their way (a minimum of a million without guns), and bossed the eastern part of Southern Africa in a fashion which might be called decisive.

The views of Tswana and Xhosa were made up for them then. Very roughly, the Tswana want to stay out of trouble and alive, and the Xhosa (the ANC nation) want to take over the bossing. The idea that these peoples can or should live together; worse, that they should be made to buy a treaty recognised and ratified by the UN, is a crime in the making. The synthetic notion of a multi-

ethnic society is the sort of paper dream to which the people on the ground will not, cannot conform.

Thousands are killed every year, by the street quarrels, settlement raids and bombs of civilian life. That is done without the sophisticated means available in Yugoslavia. After a treaty has been signed, the real killing will begin. These, incidentally, unlike Serbs and Croats, are different peoples. They are divided by race and will kill for it. Zulus mean never, either in pride or for safety, to submit to the rule of what must be Xhosa domination. They will be quite right. The civilised image of Nelson Mandela is true enough... of Nelson Mandela. It probably also represents the ardent wish of most mothers of sons. But is an impossible etiolation and attenuation of the true tribal spirit.

And that spirit has not merely been sweetened by Christianity and Marxism, it has been made more savage and more brutal along different channels by the ironically detribalised street boys of the cities. This is the country where "necklace" is an active verb, the hanging of a tyre filled with petrol round a suspect's neck followed by its ignition, roughly what we did for an unsound view of Our Lord and Saviour in the Age of Faith.

We don't like what happened in Bosnia; we don't want it to happen again. Then in respect of South Africa, no external pressure should be exerted through the UN or any individual power to put together what is not intended to be together. Western notions of statehood have little relevance in a territory where there are at least five tribes, the three major African groups, the whites and the urban mob.

The drawing of maps and the laying down of what should be is a labour for fools. Each group in South Africa will identify what it can hold and will carve for itself. The civil war will be longer or shorter the sooner the workable boundaries of the half-dozen or more states and sub-states are discovered in practice.

The choice is one for the peoples of that land and them alone: a choice to die together or to live as well apart as their wits will take them.

# SERBIAN SHELLS ON THE SEASHORE

The Guardian August 10, 1993

*Dubrovnik was  
paradise, until  
the war began.  
Lucy Hooker  
reports from  
a ghost town*



**D**UBROVNIK still sits as it has for centuries, like a walled paradise, high on the limestone rocks overlooking the shiny blue Adriatic. Not a shell breaks the silence and there's not a sniper to disturb the peace.

But the silence itself can be a little disturbing. It is the eeriness of a city that is more accustomed to thousands of tourists consuming gallons of ice-cream and beer, and downing scampi by the dozen. Now, the two score tourists which the town boasts on a good weekend rattle about like spare parts. Dubrovnik is a ghost town — its tourist industry is another victim of the war in the former Yugoslavia.

"Nobody comes here any more because they think it is dangerous," says a local bartender. In the café opposite, yet another journalist conducts yet another interview. These

days, you can generally assume that the people who are not wearing combat gear and have enough money to drink beer are journalists. After all, no one else comes here any more.

The Croatian government successfully cut off its nose to spite its face when it railed against the Serbs' onslaught on Dubrovnik. Zagreb's pleas to the West conjured up images of a town that had been razed to the ground — on the scale of Dresden in 1945. It is no wonder that Dubrovnik is low on the list of favourite holiday destinations this year.

The damage is there if you look for it. Several historic buildings have been destroyed by bombs and fire. The shiny, paved pedestrian street is pock-marked with shell holes. But the damage is not on the scale announced by the propaganda. The charm of the city remains intact.

The Croatian government is eager

to bring back tourists to the area. It has even hired an image consultant to help with the job. It should not be a hard sell.

Meanwhile, the people who live in the town are still victims of the war. Terrified by an eight-month siege, they have not only been left dazed but without a livelihood. Booking a room in advance is no longer necessary. Landladies almost beg you to stay and you can name your price — as low as £3 a night for a room in the centre of the old town. Tourists have deserted the stylish hotels that are dotted up and down the Dalmatian coast. Now, the hotels house refugees and the war wounded, who are convalescing in some of Europe's most picturesque holiday resorts.

At night, Dubrovnik fills up again with squaddies from the base down the road; three days at the front, three days rest. One of them, Andrej, is boasting that he has been thorough in his attempts to track down a Serbian woman. According to the Serbian woman's Croatian mother-in-law, she beat her own children because they sang Croatian songs. "But I didn't kill her," he says. "I met a young girl soldier, beautiful, aged about 18, and she said I won't let you kill her — because I want to do it myself." Another squaddie named Darko gives away his soldier's cap as a present. "You'll be safe with that," he says.

Is it dangerous? The northern Dalmatian coast is completely safe. The further south you go, the closer you are to Bosnia, but the cheaper and the quieter it gets.



## Sure lines 1 Dubrovnik

**How to get there:** take the boat from Rijeka, easily reached by train from Zagreb or Vienna. The trip takes a good day and a half, but is spectacular.

**Bargains:** fresh seafood, local wines, bed and breakfasts.

**What not to say:** "I'm sorry, I don't speak Serbo-Croat."

**Likely response:** "Neither do we, you idiot."

**What else not to say:** "Yugoslav," "Ustashe." And, as Monty Python once recommended: "Don't mention the war."

**What not to wear:** flak jackets should only be worn if you are with a television film crew.

**Right-on friends will say:** "You shouldn't support the economy of an aggressive, war-mongering nation."

**Advice:** find out exactly where the front is located before you make any excursions.

# The Co-Chairmen Did Not Back the Serbs' Claims

I.H.T.

By David Owen

Aug. 12/93

GENEVA — "Lord Owen's betrayal," as Jim Hoagland's article on this page yesterday might have been entitled, is founded on an untruth of a deep and unpleasant kind.

It is very clear from a report which Thorvald Stoltenberg and I wrote to the Security Council, and which was given to the press in Geneva on Saturday, that we did not feel it justified to ask President Alija Izetbegovic to accept the Serbian proposals.

The best way to rebut the false charges made and for readers to understand the complex issues involved is to quote in full from that part of our report which relates to Sarajevo:

**SARAJEVO:** This was the most contentious issue during discussions on the future map, with positions deeply entrenched. The passions aroused are intense. The local loyalties, mainly Muslim and Serb, though also Croat, of those living in the city itself and in the surrounding settlements are fierce, and have been heightened by more than a year of fighting. For any side, reaching a compromise by taking a decision to give up territory which has been held by their people through these months is an intensely difficult and emotive issue.

The Serbs proposed that all of the inner city of Sarajevo would be in the Muslim majority republic, and to make this possible, they are prepared to leave the area of Grbavica which they currently hold. They believe, however, that they need to compensate for this by having the housing estate at Nedarici, which they hold, and the whole of the Dobrinja housing estate, the center of which the

Bosnian government holds, in the Serb majority republic.

Both the Muslim majority republic and the Serb majority republic would have access to the airport, with the boundary between the two republics running down the center of the runway. The Muslim majority republic's access to the airport would be through Stup, to the north of the airport. The Serb side would have access to Ilidza, Iljas and Hadzici, all areas which they wish to retain, from the south of the airport. Road access from Pale to the airport would initially be via a thoroughway running along the transit route through the south of the city. The Serbs intend to build a bypass as soon as possible.

The Serbs propose that in order to provide guaranteed access to the city from the north, Vogosca, which is currently held by the Serbs, and the area around it would become part of the Muslim majority republic.

Of the settlements surrounding Sarajevo, the Serb-held areas of Iljas, Rajlovac and Ilidza would form part of the Serb majority republic. In order to link the Serb-held areas of Ilidza and Lukavica, which have a majority Serb population, the settlements of Butmir, currently held by the Bosnian government, and Hrasnica, parts of which are held by the government, would come within the Serb majority republic.

The railways running into the city from the north and south would cross

over the proposed boundaries a number of times, and since it is in the interests of all parties to allow the free flow of traffic on them, they would be under the Access Authority.

The Serb side would undertake to construct a bypass on the territory of the Muslim majority republic linking the main Mostar road to the Zenica road and would be responsible for building another bypass linking the Zenica road to the main Tuzla-Sarajevo road east of Iljas.

It has been agreed by all sides that the main road running south from Sarajevo to just above Travno would be an Access Authority thoroughway, also that Sarajevo airport would come under the Access Authority.

For President Izetbegovic, and many among the presidency and the opposition leaders who attended the talks in Geneva, the very idea of dividing the area surrounding Sarajevo from the city itself in any way is inconceivable. They believe that having fought for the idea of a united country, they cannot live with a solution which, regardless of what happens in the rest of the country, divides their capital city. They sense that they have world opinion on their side on this issue.

On the other hand, the Serb side is equally adamant that Sarajevo is surrounded by areas which have been traditionally Serb for centuries, and which throughout the war have remained in Serb hands, and

that these areas should be in the Serb majority republic. They intend that the capital of the Serb majority republic would be built around the Serb settlement of Ilidza.

This dilemma over Sarajevo is not new to the co-chairmen. During these last 10 days many of the concepts which had previously come up during the negotiations on the Vance-Owen peace plan were gone over yet again in considerable detail. These included all of the parties sharing the administration of the whole of Sarajevo (the 3-3-3 concept developed during the Vance-Owen negotiations), a small capital building area coming under joint administration, and other similar schemes on which agreement is unlikely to be reached.

The Serb proposal which eventually emerged after long and difficult discussions with the co-chairmen, who warned them that it would present great difficulties to the other parties, was not acceptable to President Izetbegovic and a majority of the presidency. It raised a number of problems, above and beyond the fundamental criticism of splitting the valley in which Sarajevo city itself nestles between the mountains.

They had doubts over access from the city to the rest of the Muslim majority republic which was vital, although the Serb side had reluctantly agreed to give up the Vogosca area. They were also concerned about the Rajlovac area, which overlooks the road and rail access routes running to and from the city center.

Under these circumstances, the co-chairmen are driven to the belief that it may not be possible to negotiate a permanent solution in Sarajevo for some time. Time may be needed for the wounds of the war to heal. Time to restore the damage done to communications and buildings in the Serb, Muslim and Croat areas. Time during which the three republics will learn to live and cooperate together and for the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina to rediscover mutual respect and tolerance.

Sarajevo is already designated a UN Safe Area. The co-chairmen believe that the Security Council and the international community will have to consider whether a temporary solution might have to be found which may have to last one or more years. During this time it could be easier for both sides to move toward a permanent settlement, compatible with the constitutional agreement which has been a major product of the present period of negotiations.

International Herald Tribune

**CROATIANS GET NEW MONEY:** Croatia plans to replace the dinar with the kuna, a currency that evokes the republic's history as a Nazi puppet state. A date for the switch and a new exchange rate weren't specified. Skins of kuna—a small animal valued for its fur—were used in the 10th-century barter economy. The kuna became medieval Croatia's monetary unit and was reintroduced in the World War II fascist state. One kuna will consist of 100 lipas, Serbo-Croatian for lime trees.

*The Wall Street Journal Europe*  
*August 10, 1993*

2 — THURSDAY, 5 AUGUST, 1993

*Evening Standard*

# We'll end siege of Sarajevo, say Serbs

SERB commanders today offered to lift the siege of Sarajevo.

But the move, apparently prompted by Serbian fears of Western military intervention, provoked a sceptical response from the Bosnian government.

A Bosnian official said: "We will believe it when we see it."

The pledge was also seen as an attempt to rescue the Geneva peace talks from collapse.

Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic has vowed to stay away from the negotiating table until the Serbs pull back from the mountains above the city and allow

by MARTIN DELGADO

humanitarian aid through. Deputy Serb leader Nikola Koljevic said: "We have agreed to deblock Sarajevo. With this we are removing all the obstacles that have hindered the Geneva talks."

The agreement was reached at a meeting in Pale between Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and the head of UN peacekeepers in Bosnia, General Francis Briguemont.

The powerful Bosnian Serb military commander General Ratko

Mladic was also present. UN officials reacted by saying if the move went ahead, air strikes on Serb positions would be "completely unnecessary".

A spokesman said: "We still want the threat of air strikes as a deterrent. But if the Serbs pull out as they say, they are not needed at this time."

"We must now wait to see how serious the Serbs are."

The UN also revealed that British peacekeeping troops have shot dead Moslem and Croat snipers after being fired upon in repeated incidents during the past few

weeks. Shannon Boyd of the UN Protection Force said: "Snipers have been clearly identified, targeted and eliminated. It's quite clear if UN personnel are shot at, they will shoot back and shoot to kill."

"A not insignificant number have been killed in the past several weeks."

More than 40 UN troops have been killed since being sent into Bosnia 16 months ago.

The number of sniping incidents against UN vehicles and personnel in central Bosnia has risen markedly in recent weeks.



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BANQUE INDOSIEZ

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WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 4, 1993

## The Daily Telegraph

## COMMENTARY

FRANK  
JOHNSONThe importance  
of being August

THE ERM's collapse proves that important events nearly always happen in August. On newspapers, the opposite is much believed. August is the silly season — time to spot the Loch Ness Monster, killer bees, Martin Bormann or Lord Lucan.

But both world wars started in August. So too did the century's biggest financial crisis (1931). The Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia in August 1968. President Nixon resigned in August 1974. More recently, the failed coup against Mr Gorbachev which hastened the end of the Soviet Union took place in August 1991.

August is influential as well as eventful. The late Barbara Tuchman's book on 1914, *The Guns of August* — moving, persuasive, exciting and wrong — influenced President Kennedy, among others, into thinking that world wars start by accident. An archduke is assassinated at Sarajevo and the next thing we know, there is a world war.

President Kennedy was therefore convinced that a third world war might start as a result of some accident in Berlin, Cuba, or the Congo and that it could best be averted by arms agreements with the Soviet Union. An American, Patrick Glynn, has called this, to quote the title of his essay on the subject, *The Sarajevo Fallacy*.

Mr Glynn showed that the First World War would have happened had there

been no assassination at Sarajevo. It would simply have broken out over something else. Mr Glynn wrote his essay to show that world wars were not caused by "arms races", which was what the left, and much received wisdom, argued throughout the Cold War. World wars were caused by one great power being more troublesome than the others: Germany in 1914 and 1939, and later, unless it was armed against, rather than disarmed with, the Soviet Union.

SO AUGUST is a time for not drawing the wrong conclusions about wars, which often means keeping out of them. August 1993 has not just started with a financial crisis but, as in 1914, with a crisis concerning the capital of Bosnia, Sarajevo.

In 1914, Bosnia was part of the Austro-Hungarian empire. The crisis provoked by the assassination there in June of the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne — at the hand of a Bosnian Serb fanatic who wanted Bosnia to be part of Serbia — would have passed had not Germany used it to cause wider trouble. It wanted to provoke a war with its great rival: Serbia's protector, Russia. Previous Balkan crises had not drawn in the great powers.

Today, an alliance of otherwise incompatibles — President Clinton, Lady Thatcher and *The Independent* — seems to want out-

side powers to make war on the Bosnian Serbs, and if necessary Serbia itself, in order to "save" Sarajevo.

*The Independent*, presumably under the leadership of its editor, Andreas Whittam Smith, appealed to readers for support for this campaign. On Monday it covered its front page with the names of 2,000 who had responded.

IN THE Spanish civil war, anti-Franco American intellectuals fought in Spain in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and British in the Clement Attlee Brigade — Attlee being then suitably left-wing to inspire such a title. That was impressive.

Monday's *Independent* list would also have been impressive had it been that of the first 2,000 of the Fallen from the Whittam Smith Brigade: *Independent* readers who, to fight in Bosnia, had given up their humble jobs as television directors, art dealers, up-market wine merchants and polytechnic lecturers in media studies. But anyone can send in their names to a newspaper in support of military action at no sacrifice to themselves.

"The *Independent* believes that 1,800 UN troops, instructed to shoot if they need to, can open the Mostar road, the vital supply route to Sarajevo," the paper confidently announced. Not since Lord Northcliffe in the First World War has a British paper been so bellicose.

Presumably, this strategic analysis was arrived at after much poring over of maps by Field Marshal Whittam Smith, the travel editor having informed him of the whereabouts of the Mostar Road, and perhaps of Bosnia. But I like to think that Mr Whittam Smith will himself be going out to fight — telling his deputy, in a moving last conversation, what to do "if anything should happen".

"You mean, to you?"

"No, to the circulation. If it goes down any more, think up another scheme to get 2,000 names on the front page. They'll all buy our paper."

# Serbs Offer to Open 2 Roads to Sarajevo

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

PALE, Bosnia-Herzegovina — Bosnian Serbs offered Thursday to withdraw from strategic heights overlooking Sarajevo and to open two routes to let supplies enter the besieged capital.

The offer appeared to be an effort to stave off threatened Western air strikes and to salvage peace talks stalled in Geneva.

"We agreed to open the city of Sarajevo as soon as possible," the leader of the Bosnian Serbs, Radovan Karadzic, said at his headquarters here in Pale, outside Sarajevo. But he made no explicit reference to the 16-month-old Serbian siege.

Earlier this week NATO mem-

bers authorized air strikes to prevent strangulation of Sarajevo.

On Thursday, the U.S. secretary of state, Warren M. Christopher, said he would visit Aviano air base in northern Italy on Friday to discuss details of operations.

NATO's governing body is to reconvene Monday to debate whether to proceed with air strikes against Serbs near Sarajevo and other UN-protected areas, an alliance spokesman said in Brussels.

At the Geneva talks, mediators said Thursday that there would be no further sessions until Monday — a clear sign they were having problems getting the Muslim-led government back into negotiations.

The president of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegovic, a Muslim, had said he would boycott the talks until Serbian forces withdrew from the heights over the capital.

In Sarajevo, Mr. Karadzic said that routes to the city would be opened for United Nations military, relief and commercial traffic.

In addition, Mr. Karadzic said, Bosnian Serbs would relinquish strategic positions on Mount Igman and Mount Bjelasnica over the city and return to their previous positions. UN peacekeepers could take over the positions, he said, to ensure they remained neutral.

In Geneva, the Bosnian foreign minister, Haris Silajdzic, said that

if the Serbian offer proved genuine, his government would return to the negotiating table.

The Serbian proposals were announced in a statement issued after Mr. Karadzic and his army commander, General Ratko Mladic, talked with the UN troop commander here, General Francis Briquemont of Belgium.

An aide to Mr. Karadzic, Nikola Koljevic, would not say whether NATO's declared readiness to bomb Serbian positions had led to the pullback offer, but he indicated that the Serbs regarded the threat as serious.

(Reuters, AP, AFP)

I. H. T. August 6/93

Република Србија  
МИНИСТАРСТВО ЗА НАУКУ И  
ТЕХНОЛОГИЈУ  
07. 04. 1993. године  
Београд

RECEIVED AUG 13 1993

Поштовани колега,

Министарство за науку и технологију Републике Србије, ценећи значај и неопходност правовремених и квалитетних информација, а посебно потребу за обезбеђивањем истинитих и правих информација о науци, покренуло је издавање информативног билтена под називом "Вести".

Основни циљ билтена је да периодично информише домаћу и страну јавност о науци и технолошком развоју у Србији. Поред актуелних тема о научно-технолошкој политици и реализацији те политике, билтен има и више сталних рубрика, као што су: текући и нови пројекти, међународна сарадња, престојећи значајни догађаји у научноистраживачкој делатности, значајније нове публикације.

Билтен "Вести" намењен је како научницима и стручњацима у научноистраживачким институтима, факултетима, привредним организацијама, и другим научним и стручним асоцијацијама у земљи, тако и нашим научницима и стручњацима у иностранству, страним студентима који су дипломирали или били на усавршавању у нашој земљи, као и другим страним партнерима.

Билтен треба да подстакне на сарадњу, међусобно информисање и ширење информација о науци и технолошком развоју у Србији. У време блокаде, која је обухватила и област науке, достављање билтена нашим научницима и стручњацима, као и другим научницима у иностранству, представља својеврсни мост за настављање међународне научно-технолошке сарадње и основу за успостављање нових облика сарадње.

Достављајући Вам први број информативног билтена "Вести" позивамо Вас на сарадњу, која ће бити отворена током целе године, како за конкретне прилоге из Ваше области рада, тако и за све предлоге који ће допринети бољем квалитету билтена, бољој међусобној информисаности и бољој сарадњи.

Билтен ћемо Вам и убудуће слати бесплатно.

Молимо Вас да са садржајем билтена упознате и своје колеге, или да нам доставите њихову адресу (на приложеном обрасцу у билтену) уколико желе да добијају "Вести".



ЗА УРЕДНИШТВО

Др Ратко Узуновић

*[Handwritten signature]*





### Уводна реч уредништва

У савременом свету, свету моћних информационих технологија, информација представља не само основ повезивања људи, стицања знања већ и претпоставку научно-технолошког развоја, а тиме предност и моћ у рукама оних који је поседују.

Данас на нашем простору у времену свеобухватне југословенске кризе, суочени смо и са чињеницом да ускраћивање информација представља и средство уцена и притисака.

Недостатак правих, истинитих, научних и стручних информација представља значајну слабост како у повезивању научника, развоју науке и технологије, тако и у својеврсном медијском рату који се данас води против наше земље.

Полазећи од потреба за обезбеђивање истинитих и правих информација о науци, Министарство за науку и технологију Републике Србије је покренуло издавање периодичних, актуелних информација о науци у Србији под називом: "Вести"

Овај информативни билтен има за циљ да периодично информише домаћу и страну јавност о новостима у науци и технолошком развоју у Србији.

Замишљено је да овај информативни билтен, поред актуелних тема о научнотехнолошкој политици, и реализацији те политике, има и више сталних рубрика, као што су:

- текући и нови пројекти,
- међународна сарадња,
- предстојећи значајни догађаји у научноистраживачкој делатности,
- значајније публикације.

Билтен "Вести" је намењен домаћој јавности, (научноистраживачким институцијама, универзитетима, научницима и стручњацима) и иностраној јавности (нашим научницима у иностранству, стручњацима и страним студентима који су се школовали, усавршавали и радили у Југославији, као и другим страним партнерима, институцијама, научницима и стручњацима).

Очекујемо да ће овај билтен подстаћи на сарадњу, међусобно информисање и ширење информација о науци у Србији.

### Editorial foreword

In the modern world of powerful information technologies, the information is considered to be not only a basis of human communication and knowledge acquirement, but also a prerogative for development of science and technology thus being an advantage, a powerful tool in hands of those who have it.

Today, at the time of a global Yugoslav crisis, we are faced with the fact that withholding information has turned to be the means for blackmails and various pressures.

The lack of a real, true and timely scientific and professional information is, therefore, a serious weakness in connecting scientists, developing science and technology, as well as in fighting the unique media war that is going on against our country today.

Being aware of its responsibility to provide true and exact information on science, the Ministry for Science and Technology of the Republic of Serbia has initiated the periodic publication "News" that is to include current information on Serbian scientific endeavors.

The objective of this publication of a bulletin type is to periodically inform the domestic and international scientific community of what is going on in Serbian science and Technological Development.

In order to meet this objective, we planned this bulletin to include topics pertaining to the current S&T policy issues as well as the standing columns, as follows:

- ongoing projects and new proposals
- international cooperation activities
- coming events in the field of Science and Technology
- review of the latest publications

"News" is meant for domestic audience (scientific research institutions, universities, administrations, other interested institutions, scientists and professionals), as well as for the international community (Yugoslav scientists abroad, experts and foreign students that attended Yugoslav graduate and post-graduate studies, and others including foreign partners, cooperating institutions, scientists and professionals).

We expect this bulletin to have a stimulating effect, to enhance cooperation and exchange of information, as well as to help us spread the word on what is really going on in today's science of Serbia.

## АПЕЛ СВЕТСКОЈ НАУЧНОЈ ЈАВНОСТИ ПРОТИВ САНКЦИЈА У НАУЦИ

—Некада је Србија требала вама, сада сте ви потребни њој—

"... Наука је доспела до месеца, подарила свету ласер, компјутер, телевизију, лек против запаљења мозга..."

(G.M.Lederman, izveštaj za AAAS Directorate for Science and Policy Programs)

У последњих педесет година, водеће земље света базирају свој напредак на суштински међународном карактеру науке, технологије и образовања.

Развијене земље света су схватиле да је већа подршка међународној научној и технолошкој сарадњи од кључне важности сада када се човечанство примиче 21.-ом веку.

Уједињене нације су до сада увек подржавале све програме који су укључивали науку као једну од главних покретача међународног развоја који је изнад и изван политике, без граница и ограничавања.

Ово је први пут у историји да су наука и научници једне земље обухваћени санкцијама Уједињених нација.

Ово је први пут у новијој историји да су интелектуалци и пацифисти из једне земље, и то наше земље која је у протеклих 50 година дала значајан и признат допринос светској ризници знања, на тај начин стављени у "затвор" из политичких разлога.

Ми желимо да потсетимо оне земље које су већ деценијама највећи поборници људских права и интелектуалних слобода, да су, овде и сада, оне те које ограничавају фундаментална права и слободе научника, најмање политизоване групе људи у нашој земљи, оне групе која је у време када ни једна друга земља у Источној Европи није могла успоставити научни идентитет, водила и добила битку за слободну размену знања, информација, идеја.

Апелујемо на научнике света да гласно кажу и покажу да су свесни колико је важна универзална међузависност науке и научника, и то у време неупоредивих промена и изазова, а за добробит науке уопште и људи било на којој се страни они налазили.

Апелујемо на вас да нам помогнете да потсетимо ваше пријатеље, колеге, ваша средства информација, ваше научне администраторе, као и све поборнике интелектуалних и људских слобода да, уколико неко спречава међународну научну сарадњу због своје политике, то чини и на уштрб сопствених научних интереса, и тиме сигурно наноси штету на претку науке уопште.

Ви сви знате да научни приступ представља модел рационалног размишљања и заједничке културе која међународне кругове научника повезује у једну заједницу.

Подигните свој глас и помозите нам да покажемо да је то **истина**.

## APPEAL TO THE INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY

—Once you needed Serbia, today and now Serbia needs you—

"... Science went to the moon, gave to the world the laser, computer, TV and the cure for polio..."

(Mr.M.Lederman, report to AAAS Directorate for Science and Policy Programs)

For the last fifty years, the leading countries of the world have been building on the fundamentally international character of science, technology and education.

The developed countries of the world have realized that a more vigorous policy toward international cooperation in science and technology is essential as the human kind moves into the 21st century.

The United Nations have so far encouraged all the programs that include science as one of the major motors of the international development, above and beyond politics, with no boundaries and no limitations.

This is the first time in history that the science, scientists and scientific communities of one country have been included in the U.N. sanctions.

This is the first time in newer history that one country's intellectuals and pacifists that for the last 50 years made significant and recognized contribution to the world's scientific knowledge, have been "imprisoned" for purely political reasons.

We want to remind the countries that are for many decades the strongest supporters of human rights and intellectual freedom, that they are, now and here, limiting fundamental rights and freedom of the least politicized group in Serbia, of the group that during the time when no other country in Eastern Europe was able to even establish scientific credentials, was fighting and winning the battle for free exchange of knowledge, information, ideas and visions.

We appeal to the scientists of the world to voice their awareness of universal interdependence of scientific communities during this time of unparallel change and challenge to the lasting benefit of global science and peoples of all sides.

We appeal to you to help us remind your friends, your colleagues and neighbours, your media, science administrators and the promoters of intellectual and human freedom that, if anybody inhibits international scientific cooperation for reasons of foreign policy only, they may be doing so at the expense of their own scientific progress.

You all know that the success of a scientific method has made it a model for rational thought and common culture that binds together an international community of scientists.

Raise your voice and help us prove it **true**.

## НИКОЛА ТЕСЛА — НЕНАДМАШНИ ГЕНИЈЕ

— поводом обележавања 50.те годишњице смрти —

На животном делу Николе Тесле, великог проналазача, научника и ненадмашног генија, како га многи називају, готово свакодневно нас подсећају резултати његових проналазака чије плодове сви користимо. Значај његових радова и проналазака од непроцењиве је вредности за нашу науку и науку уопште. Пореклом Србин, Југословен, што је често с' поносом наглашавао, он је пре свега био научник и проналазач, а то значи човек целог света, човек науке која не познаје границе.

Сећајући се његовог дела и животне филозофије, која више од сто година узбуђује и инспирише научнике, стручњаке и многе друге обичне људе, наука и струка у нашој земљи најбоље му се одужују настављајући његова дела или стварајући другима услове за то, као и ширећи научна сазнања, посебно међу младима.

У овој години, када се навршава 50 година од смрти Николе Тесле, с посебним пијететом и пажњом припремају се и одвијају нове или настављају започете активности на изучавању дела овог великана наше и светске науке. Низ информативних емисија у оквиру научних програма радија и телевизије, током јануара месеца врло успешно су приказале Теслин живот и рад. У музеју "Никола Тесла" као и на телевизији, приказан је новоснимљени филм РТВ Београд о животу и раду Николе Тесле, први од планираних шест у серији. Снимљена је и значајна грађа за преосталих пет.

Свечана академија одржана је 7. јануара 1993. године у Београду у Дому инжењера и техничара, на дан када је преминуо Никола Тесла. Академију су организовали Југословенско и Српско друштво за ширење научних сазнања "Никола Тесла", Савез инжењера и техничара Југославије и Србије, Фонд "Никола Тесла" и Музеј "Никола Тесла". Том приликом је о Теслином животу и раду говорио проф. др Александар Маринчић, директор Музеја "Никола Тесла" у Београду. На академији је обављено свечано уручење "Теслиних награда" за научно-техничко стваралаштво у 1992. години, које додељује Фонд "Никола Тесла". Теслина награда установљена је као највише друштвено признање у земљи за врхунска достигнућа односно научна и техничка остварења у областима за које се додељује.

Фонд "Никола Тесла" основан је 1979. године са циљем да стимулише развој научно-техничког стваралаштва и да подстиче иновативну делатност.

На предлог посебног жирија за доделу Теслиних награда, који су чинили угледни научни радници и професори универзитета, а у изузетно јакој конкуренцији, Теслину награду за 1992. годину добили су:

1. Проф. др Александар Маринчић - за научна остварења у природним и техничко-технолошким наукама;
2. Проф. др Драгутин Величковић - за врхунско инжењерско остварење;
3. Илија Доинчевић - за проналазаштво;
4. мр Петар Тодоровић - за новаторство;
5. Милован Банић - за рационализаторство;
6. Министарство за науку и технологију Републике Србије - за остварење циљева Фонда "Никола Тесла";
7. мр Предраг Пејовић, Срђан Митровић, Ратомир Стаматовић, Душан Машуловић и Слободан Петричевић - за стваралаштво младих (до 27 година старости);

На свечаној академији је обављена и промоција обновљеног издања књиге "Ненадмашни геније - живот и дело Николе Тесле", аутора Џона О'Нила, чији је издавач Југословенски савез друштава за ширење научних сазнања "Никола Тесла" и Музеј "Никола Тесла".

## NIKOLA TESLA — THE PRODIGAL GENIUS

— on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of his death —

Nikola Tesla, the great inventor, scientist and --according to many people-- the prodigal genius, is permanently present among us since we all use the results of his life work day in, day out. The significance of his work and his inventions is of unmeasurable value for our science and for the science in general. A Serb, a Yugoslav by origin --as he used to proudly emphasize-- he was primarily a scientist and an inventor, the citizen of the world, a man of science - the same science that recognizes no boundaries whatsoever.

Remembering his work and his life credo that for more than 100 years intrigue and inspire the scientists, experts as well as the common public, the scientists and professional of Yugoslavia are paying their respects by continuing his work, spreading his scientific findings and by creating conditions for the young people to do so as well.

This year, fifty year from the death of Nikola Tesla, there have been careful preparations for new and continued activities that would help us understand and remember the personality and work of this man, great name of both our and international science. During the month of January, the informative series, part of the TV and Radio Science Broadcasting, had very successfully featured Tesla's life and work. The "Nikola Tesla" Museum and the TV Belgrade showed the first of the six planned movies made in Yugoslavia that depicted Tesla's life and his opus. The material for the remaining five has been almost completed as well.

On January 7, 1993, on the day Nikola Tesla died 50 years ago, there was a formal ceremony held at the House of Engineers and Technicians, organized by the "Nikola Tesla" Yugoslav and Serbian Society for Promotion of Science Knowledge, the Yugoslav and Serbian Engineers and Technicians Association, "Nikola Tesla" Fund and the "Nikola Tesla" Museum. On that occasion, Tesla's life and work was presented to the audience by Dr. Aleksandar Marinčić, Director of the "Nikola Tesla" Museum. That occasion was also marked by the presentation of the 1992 Tesla's Award for scientific and technical accomplishments, sponsored by the "Nikola Tesla" Fund. The Tesla's Award has been established as a top social acknowledgement for outstanding scientific and technical accomplishments in the corresponding professional fields.

The "Nikola Tesla" Fund has been established in order to stimulate development of the scientific and technical endeavors and to enhance innovative activities.

At the proposal of a special Tesla's Award Nominating Committee, comprised of the eminent scientists and university professors, the Tesla's 1992 Awards were presented to:

1. Dr. Aleksandar Marinčić - for his accomplishments in the field of natural and technical-technological sciences;
2. Prof. dr. Dragutin Veličković - for his outstanding results in engineering;
3. Ilija Doinčević - for his inventions;
4. Petar Todorović, M.Sc. - for his innovations;
5. Milovan Banić - for his work in rationalization research;
6. The Ministry for Science and Technology of the Republic of Serbia - for its achievements in accomplishing goals of the "Nikola Tesla" Fund.
7. P. Pejović, M.Sc., S. Mitrović, R. Stamatović, D. Mašulović, and S. Petričević - for their scientific creativity in the category of young scientists (up to 27 years of age).

The second edition of the book "The Prodigal Genius - Life and Work of Nikola Tesla" by John O'Neal, co-published by the "Nikola Tesla" Yugoslav Association for Propagation of Scientific Knowledge and the "Nikola Tesla" Museum, was presented to the public on the same occasion.

У овој години, која је проглашена годином Николе Тесле, планиран је и низ других активности на настављању и популарисању његових дела. Фонд "Никола Тесла" ће у договору са већим бројем научних института, факултета и привредних организација у земљи, отворити међународну перманентну награду акцију на изучавању идеја и патената Николе Тесле и проучавању његове заоставштине. Подстицаће израду магистарских и докторских теза, које ће потврђивати (или оспоравати) и даље развијати огроман број његових фантастичних замисли, као и настојати да обезбеди и један број међународних стипендија за младе научнике и да успостави чвршће везе са многим клубовима и друштвима "Никола Тесла" у свету.

### **ПРОЈЕКАТ "НАШИ НАУЧНИЦИ И СТРУЧЊАЦИ У ИНОСТРАНСТВУ"**

Схватајући значај повезивања са научницима нашег порекла који живе и раде у иностранству, као и чињеницу да је у последње време, под утицајем бројних фактора на друштвено-политичком и економском плану, дошло до израженијег одласка наших научника и стручњака у иностранство, Министарство за науку и технологију је иницирало пројекат "Наши научници и стручњаци у иностранству". Пројекат обухвата припрему следећих прегледа, односно база података у оквиру Система научних и технолошких информација (СНТИС):

- a) преглед научника српског/југословенског порекла који живе и раде у иностранству, са прегледом институција у којима су запослени;
- b) преглед њихових научних радова и пројеката на којима раде;
- v) преглед страних студената, стручњака и научника који су били на школовању и усавршавању у Србији.

Обезбеђивањем наведених прегледа, односно база података, у оквиру јединственог информационог система "Наши научници и стручњаци у иностранству" створиће се основа за информисање о актуелностима у науци у Србији, као и за успостављање контаката са научницима и стручњацима ван земље, а тиме дати основа за унапређење међународне научно-технолошке сарадње.

Пројекат, с обзиром на његов значај и карактер, биће трајна активност, с тим што ће се у 1993. години реализовати прва фаза обједињавањем свих постојећих база података и прегледа, допуњавањем и иновирањем база, као и израдом периодичних и компаративних анализа.

Глобални носилац рада - координатор је Министарство за науку и технологију Србије у сарадњи са институтима, академијама наука, универзитетима.

Реализатори непосредних активности су Институт за међународну политику и привреду у Београду, Народна библиотека Србије и Републички завод за међународну научну, техничку, културну и просветну сарадњу.

Резултати пројекта биће у оквиру система научно-технолошких информација Србије/Југославије широко коришћени од стране савезног и републичког Министарства за науку и технологију, научно-истраживачких института, академија наука, индивидуалних научника, као и других заинтересованих институција, обезбеђујући неопходну заштиту података.

Имајући у виду садржај и циљ пројекта, молимо све научноистраживачке институције, као и појединце-научнике, стручњаке, да податке о себи и другима, (упитник у билтену) којима располажу, доставе Министарству за науку и технологију Србије (тел: 38(0)11/687-480, телефакс: 659-681, Љ. Драговић), или Институту за међународну политику и привреду, Македонска 25, Београд, (тел: 38(0)11/321-433 и 325-611, факс: 324-013, др Владимир Гречић).

The series of other activities pertaining to continuation and popularization of Tesla's work has been scheduled to take place this year as well. The "Nikola Tesla" Fund is also trying --in agreement with a number of scientific institutes, faculties and industrial organizations in the country-- to open an international competition for the grants in the field of investigating Tesla's ideas, patents and heritage, as well as in preparing master's and PhD theses that would confirm (or argue) the vast number of his fantastic ideas.

This action includes the attempts to get a number of international scholarships for young scientists, as well as establishing tighter contacts with many "Nikola Tesla" clubs and societies existing all over the world.

### **PROJECT "OUR SCIENTISTS AND PROFESSIONALS ABROAD"**

This project has been initiated by the Ministry for Science and Technology of Serbia that became fully aware how important is to establish, re-establish and maintain permanent contacts with the scientists of our origin who live and work abroad. This effort is gaining in its importance with the increasing brain drain caused by the current social, political and economic factors. This project is scheduled to include the preparation of the data base, within the System of Scientific and Technological Information of Serbia, as follows:

- a) Directories/lists of the scientists of Serbian/Yugoslav origin, which will include their institutions' address.
- b) Their bibliographies and the list of the projects they are actively involved in.
- c) Directory/List of the foreign students, professionals and experts that studied and/or specialized in Serbia.

Once the above data base is completed and included in the global information system entitled: "Our Scientists and Professionals Abroad", the basis for a constant flow of the current scientific information from Serbia, as well as the basis for establishing contacts with our scientists overseas, would be provided and further used for improvement of the international S&T cooperation.

This project, due to its character and importance, will be a permanent activity. In course of 1993 this project will cover completing editing and updating of the already existing data base and preparation of the periodical and comparative analyses.

The project's coordinator is the Ministry for Science and Technology of Serbia, in cooperation with the research institutes, science academies and the universities.

The project activities are to be conducted by the Institute for International Politics and Economy, Belgrade, the National Library of Serbia and the Republic Administration for International Scientific, Technical, Cultural and Educational Cooperation.

The project results are to be widely used within the S&T information system of Serbia/Yugoslavia, by the Federal and Republic Ministry for Science and Technology, the scientific-research institutes, science academies and individual scientists, and by the other interested personnel and institutions.

*In light of the content and importance of this project we kindly request all the science-research institutions, individual scientists, professionals and the other pertinent personnel to send the data required for this effort (as in the attached questionnaire) to the Ministry for S&T of Serbia, tel: 38(0)11/687-480; fax: 38(0)11/ 659-681, or directly to: the Institute of International Politics and Economy, Makedonska 25, 11000 Belgrade; tel: 38(0)11/321-433 and 325-611; fax: 38(0)11/324-013 Att. Dr. Vladimir Grečić.*

"ON-LINE"  
ИНФОРМАЦИОНИ СЕРВИС  
МИНИСТАРСТВА  
ЗА НАУКУ И ТЕХНОЛОГИЈУ

У склопу развоја инфраструктуре науке и технологије у Републици Србији, у току 1991. године Министарство за науку и технологију Републике Србије започело је активности на координираном и усмереном развоју Система научних и технолошких информација у Републици Србији (СНТИС). Овај систем је заснован на савременим рачунарским и комуникационим технологијама и има задатак да обухвати процесе прикупљања, селекције, обраде, анализе и дисиминације информација о знањима важним за развој науке и технологије у Републици Србији. СНТИС је отворен систем који се састоји од скупа институција које се на основу заједничког интереса за развој и коришћење информационих система у области науке и технологије организују у подсистеме (логичке мреже), које се међусобно повезују преко развијене технолошке инфраструктуре, рачунарских мрежа. На основу дефинисане и усвојене концепције СНТИС, у овом тренутку покренуте су активности у правцу развоја следећих логичких мрежа:

- Мрежа за непосредну комуникацију и трансфер знања (Интернет мрежа за Србију);
- Библиотека мрежа;
- Мрежа специјализованих система, и
- Мрежа за управљање развојем СНТИС.

Као важан сегмент мреже за управљање развојем СНТИС, подразумевају се и активности на развоју информационог система Министарства за науку и технологију.

У оквиру развоја информационог система Министарства за науку и технологију почетком септембра 1992. год, пуштен је у експериментални рад on-line информациони сервис Министарства за науку и технологију. Циљ овог информационог сервиса је да омогући свим научноистраживачким организацијама да путем рачунара и модемских веза остваре комуникацију са Министарством за науку и технологију и добију релевантне информације о раду и плановима који се остварују у оквиру Министарства за науку и технологију. Информациони сервис омогућава коришћење постојећих база података у Министарству и рачунарску комуникацију научноистраживачких организација међусобно. У експерименталној фази овај систем користи тренутно тридесетак научно - истраживачких организација и појединаца из Београда, Новог Сада и Ниша.

Рачунарски информациони сервис Министарства за науку и технологију обезбеђује следеће основне функције:

- Електронске билтене,
- Електронску пошту,
- Електронске конференције,
- Трансфер података и датотека,
- Chat on-line разговор,

као и неколико функција релевантних искључиво за рад Министарства (централна штампа на ласерском принтеру, факс сервер и сл.).

Електронски билтени са информацијама подразумевају текст фајлове релевантне за рад Министарства који су доступни свим корисницима информационог сервиса. У овом тренутку корисницима су расположиви следећи електронски билтени:

- основни подаци о Министарству за науку и технологију,
- преглед чланова Савета и комисија Министарства за науку и технологију,

MINISTRY FOR SCIENCE  
AND TECHNOLOGY  
ON-LINE  
INFORMATION SERVICE

In 1991, the Ministry for Science and Technology of the Republic of Serbia initiated the series of activities targeted towards a coordinated and directed development of the System of Scientific and Technological Information in the Republic of Serbia (SSTIS) as part of the S&T infrastructure development. This system has been based on the modern computer and communication technologies and is meant to include the process of gathering, selection, processing, analysis and dissemination of information on the knowledge important for the development of science and technology in Serbia. SSTIS is an open system comprising a number of institutions that are --based on common interest in development and utilization of information systems in the field of science and technology-- organized in subsystems (logical networks) that are inter-connected through a developed technological infrastructure - the computer networks. Based on a defined and adopted concept of the SSTIS, we have already started activities oriented towards the following logical networks:

- Direct communication and transfer of knowledge network ("Internet" system for Serbia)
- The library network
- The specialized systems network, and
- The network for management of the SSTIS development. An important segment of this last network are the activities pertaining to the development of an information system of the Ministry for Science and Technology.

As part of the development of an information system of the Ministry for S&T, an experimental on-line information service became operational in September 1992. The task of this service is to enable computer and modem communication between the scientific-research institutions and the Ministry for S&T through which the institutes will get information related to the activities and programs of the Ministry. Institutes can use the data-base available at the Ministry and can communicate between themselves, all through this service. The present, experimental phase, includes about 30 science-research institutions and individual users from Belgrade, Novi Sad and Niš.

The Computer Information Service of the Ministry for S&T provides the basic functions, as follows:

- Electronic bulletins;
- E-mail;
- E-conferences;
- File transfer;
- A Chat-on Line;

well as several functions reserved exclusively for Ministry (central print shop - laser printer, fax server, etc.).

*Electronic bulletins with information include the text files relevant to the Ministry's activities, accessible to all the users of this information service. Presently, the following bulletins are available:*

- basic data on the Ministry for S&T
- directory of the S&T Ministry Council and Commission members;

- преглед пројеката у току,
- преглед и текстови конкурса у току и,
- адресар научно истраживачких организација и факултета.

Електронска пошта омогућава размену порука свих корисника укључених у систем међусобно, као и са запосленим радницима у Министарству. Електронске конференције су посебан вид електронске поште која омогућава рачунарску размену знања и порука по појединим областима рада између заинтересованих учесника у научно-истраживачком раду. У овом тренутку највеће интересовање постоји за конференцију Новости из Министарства у којој се објављују најинтересантније ствари везане за планове Министарства, нове програме и пројекте и сл.

Трансфер података и датотека омогућава пренос података, датотека и програма корисника система на сервер и обратно. Ова функција омогућава, на пример, кориснику да добије on-line комуникацијом различите текстове конкурса и извештаја релевантних за реализацију програма Министарства, а такође пружа могућност и да своје извештаје о пројектима и на овај начин доставља Министарству.

"Chat-on line" разговор подразумева тренутну и непосредну комуникацију два корисника који су истовремено на систему, тако што се екран монитора подели на два дела и сваки од корисника куца поруку другом.

Од 1. априла 1993 године рачунарски информациони сервис Министарства за науку и технологију почиње редован рад и све научно истраживачке организације могу се прикључити и отпочети са коришћењем услуга овог информационог сервиса.

Више информација о информационом сервису Министарства за науку и технологију и начина укључења у рад може се добити у Одељењу за информатику Министарства за науку и технологију (тел: 38(0)11/658-755/лок. 1909, мр М. Ивковић).

### ПРОГРАМ ВЛАДЕ РЕПУБЛИКЕ СРБИЈЕ ЗА УНАПРЕЂЕЊЕ КВАЛИТЕТА

Министарство за науку и технологију Републике Србије је, полазећи од искустава развијених земаља у погледу бриге за квалитет производа и услуга на нивоу државе, као и резултата истраживања у оквиру научноистраживачког пројекта "Развој и унапређивање квалитета, метрологије, стандардизације и контроле квалитета у Србији", у сарадњи са домаћим стручњацима-експертима Европске организације за квалитет, припремило Програм владе Републике Србије за унапређење квалитета. Прилике у којима се налазимо треба искористити за неопходне организационе промене и технолошка прилагођавања у привреди за увођење међународних стандарда у области квалитета (серије ИСО 9000 и ЕН 45000), за шта имамо довољно научних и стручних знања.

Сматрајући се најодговорнијом за мобилизацију свих развојних потенцијала и стварање широког покрета за квалитет у друштву, Влада Републике Србије је 9. децембра 1992. године донела Програм унапређења квалитета, у оквиру кога је усвојила и посебну Декларацију о политици квалитета и на тај начин уврстила квалитет у ред својих приоритетних трајних активности.

У Декларацији је посебно наглашено да у амбијенту конкурентности и приватизације, који убрзано градиво, само онај менаџмент који прихвати квалитет као свој приоритетни задатак, може бити носилац промене културе рада и допринети ефикасности и успешности предузећа на тржишту. Производи са ознаком "Made in Yugoslavia" морају достићи светски ниво квалитета и бити препознатљиви и цењени у свету.

- the ongoing project review;
- the ongoing competitive programs review and texts;
- science-research institutions and colleges/faculties address file.

E-mail enables the exchange of messages between users and with the Ministry personnel.

Electronic conferences are the specific form of E-mail that enables a computer exchange of knowledge and messages per individual fields of work between the interested participants. Right now, the biggest interest is in the News from the Ministry that brings the issues connected with plans of the Ministry as well as with the new programs, projects, etc.

"File" transfer enables the transfer of the user's data, data files and programs to the server and vice versa. This function makes it possible for the user to get --via an on-line communication-- different announcements, reports and information on the programs of the Ministry, as well as to send the project reports to the Ministry.

A "Chat-on line" is an immediate, direct communication of two users plugged in the system simultaneously, sharing the screen of the monitor, typing the messages to each other.

On April 1, 1993, the Computer Information Service of the S&T Ministry should be fully operational, and all the science-research institutions will be able to plug-in and start using its services.

More detailed information on the S&T Ministry Information Service, as well as on the methods of joining it could be obtained at the Department of Informatics, Ministry for Science and Technology, tel: 38(0)11/658-755/1909. Attn. M. Ivković, M.Sc..

### THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA GOVERNMENT PROGRAM ON IMPROVING QUALITY

The Ministry for Science and Technology of the Republic of Serbia has drafted "The Serbian Government Program on Improving Quality" based on the experiences of developed countries at the state level, and implementing the results of a research project "Development and Improvement of Quality; Metrology, Standardization and the Quality Control in Serbia" that had been done in cooperation with our professionals - experts of the European Organization. In proposing this program, the Ministry considered the fact that the present circumstances in our country could be used for the necessary organizational changes and technological adaptations to the international quality standards (ISO 9000 and EN 45000).

On December 9, 1992, The Government of the Republic of Serbia has --with full responsibility in mobilizing all the development potentials to create a wide-scale action for improving quality-- adopted the Program of Improving Quality with the special Declaration on the Policy of Quality, thereby including the issue of quality in its permanent priority agenda.

The Declaration has stressed that in the ambient of competitiveness and privatization that is being built, only a management that accepts the quality as its task number one, can and may implement the change in our business culture thus achieving total efficiency and success of a company. Products and services labeled "Made in Yugoslavia" will have to reach the world-class level in order to become known and appreciated.

## ПОЗИВ НА САРАДЊУ

Уважени колега/колегинице,  
Попуњавајући овај упитник редовно ћете бесплатно примати публикацију "Вести"  
о науци у Републици Србији.

Очекујући Вашу сарадњу,  
срдечно Вас поздрављамо,  
Уредништво

### УПИТНИК

( за научнике и стручњаке у иностранству)

Презиме и име: \_\_\_\_\_

Година, место и земља рођења: \_\_\_\_\_

Кућна адреса: \_\_\_\_\_

Квалификација: \_\_\_\_\_

а) Факултет (и одсек или група): \_\_\_\_\_

б) Постдипломске студије (област): \_\_\_\_\_

ц) Докторат (назив тезе): \_\_\_\_\_

Звање: \_\_\_\_\_

Назив фирме у којој ради (и адреса): \_\_\_\_\_

Телефон: \_\_\_\_\_ Телефакс: \_\_\_\_\_ Електронска пошта: \_\_\_\_\_

Делатност: \_\_\_\_\_

Радно место и функција: \_\_\_\_\_

Објављене књиге, регистровани патенти и иновације (додајте по потреби посебан лист): \_\_\_\_\_

#### ЗА ЈУГОСЛОВЕНСКЕ ИМИГРАНТЕ:

Година одласка из Југославије \_\_\_\_\_ Генерација имиграната \_\_\_\_\_

НА КОЈУ АДРЕСУ ЖЕЛИТЕ ДА ПРИМАТЕ "ВЕСТИ": \_\_\_\_\_

УПИТНИК ВРАТИТИ НА АДРЕСУ:

МИНИСТАРСТВО ЗА НАУКУ И ТЕХНОЛОГИЈУ, 11000 БЕОГРАД, НЕМАЊИНА 22-26

## CALL FOR COOPERATION

*Distinguished Colleague,  
Filling in this Questionnaire you shall regularly receive free of charge our publication "News" in  
science of the Republic of Serbia.*

*Looking forward to receiving your  
response we remain sincerely yours  
Editor*

## QUESTIONNAIRE

(For our scientists and professionals abroad)

FIRST AND FAMILY NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

DATE, PLACE AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH: \_\_\_\_\_

HOME ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_

EDUCATION: \_\_\_\_\_

A) UNIVERSITY DEGREE (Dept. or Group): \_\_\_\_\_

B) POST-GRADUATE STUDIES (Field): \_\_\_\_\_

C) Ph.D.: THESIS (Title): \_\_\_\_\_

PROFESSION: \_\_\_\_\_

NAME AND ADDRESS OF EMPLOYER: \_\_\_\_\_

Tel.: \_\_\_\_\_ Fax: \_\_\_\_\_ E-mail: \_\_\_\_\_

Field of Activity: \_\_\_\_\_

TITLE OF PRESENT POST: \_\_\_\_\_

PUBLISHED WORKS, PATENTS & INNOVATIONS (Attach a list if necessary): \_\_\_\_\_

### FOR YUGOSLAV IMMIGRANTS ONLY

Year of Departure from Yugoslavia: \_\_\_\_\_ (Generation of Immigrants): \_\_\_\_\_

NOTIFY ADDRESS TO RECEIVE "NEWS" \_\_\_\_\_

**PLEASE RETURN THIS QUESTIONNAIRE TO:  
MINISTRY FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, NEMANJINA 24-26, 11000 BELGRADE.**



Ради стварања претпоставки за интегрисање квалитета у све сфере живота и пословања, Програмом Владе Републике Србије за унапређење квалитета предвиђен је низ активности, тако да брига за квалитет постаје приоритетан задатак не само предузећа већ и државних органа, образовних и научних институција, привредних, професионалних и струковних асоцијација и средстава информисања.

Конкретно ова опредељења ће бити спроведена у живот реализацијом већег броја мера, од којих је најзначајније истаћи следеће:

- Влада ће образовати Савет за квалитет као експертско-стручно тело, са задатком да предлаже политику у области унапређења квалитета у Србији, као и механизме и мере за њихово спровођење;

- Савет ће програмирати активности на развоју ресурса за подршку систему квалитета путем доградње законске регулативе и њеног усаглашавања са међународним прописима, укључивања квалитета у процес образовања на свим нивоима, развоја инспекцијских служби за контролу квалитета и популаризацију квалитета у средствима информисања.

- Савет ће, такође, предлагати активности на нивоу Југославије у циљу: стварања југословенског акредитационог тела и спровођења програма сертификације система квалитета који би били међународно признати, стварања система акредитованих лабораторија, развоја метролошке базе према међународним захтевима и др.

У циљу спровођења политике и Програма унапређења квалитета обезбеђена су средства у буџету Републике Србије за 1993. год., којима ће се на основу предлога Савета за квалитет учествовати у финансирању планираних активности.

Подстицајним средствима ће се првенствено стимулирати увођење, атестирање и сертификација система квалитета као и консултантске услуге специјализованих организација, образовање пословног и стручног кадра у циљу формирања активног односа према квалитету и изради докумената везаних за увођење система квалитета по ЈУС ИСО 9000, као и стручне пропагандне публикације за извођење програма образовања и промовисања ширег покрета за обезбеђење квалитета.

Посебно је предвиђена доградња пореске политике, као и подстицање увођења система квалитета кредитним средствима Фонда за развој Републике Србије.

Привредна комора Србије има посебну улогу у промовисању квалитета у пословању, пре свега кроз организовање специјализованих семинара за пословне и стручне кадрове.

Реализацијом Програма квалитета Влада преузима свој део одговорности за подизање нивоа квалитета привређивања и постаје највећи савезник квалитету. Она дакле не уводи на директан начин систем квалитета, већ ствара одговарајући амбијент, односно климу у друштву за подизање нивоа и интеграцију квалитета у све области привређивања.

## ТЕКУЋИ И НОВИ ПРОЈЕКТИ

Реализација истраживачких програма

Савети републичких и покрајинских фондова за науку и технолошки развој, на основу расписаног конкурса у току 1991 године извршили су избор програма у области основних истраживања за период до 1995. године и пројеката од интереса за технолошки развој (у трајању до 3 године).

Овакав начин избора и уговарања истраживачких пројеката (у оквиру четири независна фонда), довео је до финансирања сличних пројеката и паралелних истра-

**The Serbian Government Program on Improving Quality** is scheduled to enable establishment of the organizational system prerogatives for integrating quality in all the spheres of life and business, so improving quality becomes the priority task of the management, state authorities, educational and scientific institutions, economic and professional and expert associations and media.

The positions stated in this Program will be brought to life by accomplishing the number of activities among which the following:

- The Government will form **A Quality Council**, an expert-professional body with a task to propose the policy for improving quality in Serbia, together with the mechanisms and measures of its implementation.

- The Council will program activities for development of resources to support the system of quality production, regarding the legislative regulations to harmonize with international ones, as well as those pertaining to including quality in educational processes at all levels, in order to create a culture of the quality and education, development of the inspection services for quality control, and the popularization of the quality media.

- The Council will also propose the activities related to improving quality, that are to be coordinated at the national level, primarily when forming a Yugoslav credential body and in implementing the program of certifying the quality systems that are to be internationally recognized, as well as in creating the accredited laboratories, development of the meteorological base according to the international requirements, etc.

For implementation of the policy and the Program on Improving Quality, the Government has approved the appropriate financial resources for 1993.

These resources will be used primarily for: introducing, attestation and certifying of the quality systems; consulting services of the specialized organizations; forming of the managing and professional personnel in order to create an active attitude towards quality; preparation of the documents pertinent to the introduction of the quality system according to JUS ISO 9000, preparations for the professional advertising publication that is to be used in implementing an education program, as well as for the promotion of a wider quality movement.

The Government also stipulated amending of the tax policy as well as stimulating introduction of the quality systems by giving support from a Fund for Development of the Republic of Serbia.

The Chamber of Economy of Serbia has a special role in promoting the quality and in supporting economy and its efforts to introduce the quality systems.

By implementing the Program on Quality, the Government takes over its share of responsibility for improvement of the quality, and becomes the greatest "ally" of the quality. It does not itself introduce the quality systems, but only creates the appropriate environment and social climate adequate for integrating quality in all the areas of economic production.

## ONGOING PROJECTS AND NEW PROPOSALS

Research Programs Implementation

Based on the 1991 competition for grant support, the Councils of the Republic and Province Funds for Science and Technological Development selected the programs in the area of fundamental research for the period through 1995. They also reviewed and approved projects related to the technological development of Serbia (for the duration up to three years).

живања. Укидањем фондова у 1992. години, Министарство за науку и технологију Републике Србије наставило је да финансира све усвојене пројекте, који се ових дана рецензирају од стране експертских група, на основу анализе достављених извештаја. Укупан број финансираних пројеката у оквиру базних истраживања је 436, а у технолошком развоју 301.

Према процени експертских група, које чине угледни научни радници за сваку област истраживања, оцена пројеката по утврђеној методологији и израда експертских извештаја, биће завршени у марту ове године. Стручне службе Министарства ће одмах после овога извршити анализу свих резултата истраживања и предложити мере за рационалније финансирање, као и начине за ефикаснију примену знања и постигнутих резултата.

Користећи експерте и савете Министарства, планира се иновација програма у базичним истраживањима и технолошком развоју. Ове измене ће ићи у следећим основним правцима:

- 1) усмеравање фундаменталних и примењених истраживања која су оријентисана ка постављеном циљу;
- 2) елиминација паралелних истраживања;
- 3) усвајање групе пројеката чији резултат треба да буде супституција материјала, производа и технологија данас нетипичних али атрактивних на дужи период.

Министарство планира да у сарадњи са Владом (министарства: индустрије, енергетике и рударства, пољопривреде, здравства, екологије и за економске односе са иностранством) расписује позивни конкурс за један број стратешких интегралних пројеката, са унапред дефинисаним циљем (односно пројектним задатком), на који би конкурисале компетентне научноистраживачке организације и факултети, уз евентуалну сарадњу заинтересованих привредних организација.

Министарство за науку и технологију на овај начин жели да анимира Владу и остала Министарства да дефинишу захтеве за решавање проблема развоја, уз помоћ научноистраживачких организација и науке. Овим би се постигло ефикасније коришћење природних ресурса, као и врхунских људских капацитета и потенцијала Србије, уз максималну ефикасност и рационалност утрошка финансијских средстава.

Очекује се да ће овај позивни конкурс Министарства за науку и технологију бити припремљен и објављен у априлу 1993. године.

## МЕЂУНАРОДНА НАУЧНО-ТЕХНОЛОШКА САРАДЊА

### Стратешки правци деловања

Основу за стратешка полазишта у међународној научно-технолошкој сарадњи чине планови и програми научног и технолошког развоја Србије.

Полазећи од садашњег стања међународне научно-технолошке сарадње, и потребе да она буде у функцији научно-технолошке политике, циљ је да се ова сарадња организовано усмери у правцу постављених приоритета путем одговарајуће селекције и евалуације у погледу квалитета постигнутих резултата. У том смислу утврђени су следећи правци деловања:

- стимулисање сарадње која је на линији приоритета научно-технолошког развоја и оне у којој су постигнути

This mechanism of selecting and approving research projects through an independent procedure of four independent Funds has resulted in financing a number of similar projects and parallel research. Therefore, such a mechanism was cancelled in 1992, but the Ministry for Science and Technology continued to support all the approved projects - 436 in the area of fundamental research and 301 in the area of technological development.

Review and rating of the projects and reports that is being done by eminent scientists for every field of research using the appropriate methodology, is to be finished in March this year. Immediately after that, the professional staff of the Ministry will analyze all the research results and propose the measures for rational and cost-effective financing and a more adequate application of knowledge and results.

Improving and updating of the fundamental research and technological development programs is to be based on advice received from the experts and the Ministry. It is planned to be accomplished by:

- 1) directing the targeted fundamental and applied research;
- 2) eliminating parallel research; and
- 3) adopting the group of projects oriented towards substituting materials, products and technologies that are nowadays atypical but attractive on a long-term basis.

The Ministry has planned to --in cooperation with the Government (the Ministries for Industry, Energy, Mining, Agriculture, Health, Ecology and the Ministry for International Economic Relations)-- announce a competition for grant support of a certain number of strategic projects with defined objectives (targeted research).

This way the Ministry for Science and Technology wishes to animate the Government (and other Ministries) to define their requirements in solving scientific problems of development with a help of science-research organization and science in general. That would lead to creating a model for accomplishing the efficient utilization of natural resources and top human capacities and potentials of Serbia, combined with maximum efficiency and rationalization of supporting funds.

The Ministry's Announcement of a Competition for Grant Support is to be prepared in April 1993.

## THE INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION

### Basic Strategic Orientation

The basis for strategic approaches is included in the programs of S&T development of the Republic of Serbia.

Starting from the present state of the international cooperation and the necessity to put it in function of the S&T policy, it is our objective to orient all our efforts towards an organized, selective evaluation of the achieved results, as related to the defined S&T priorities of the Republic. Therefore, the following action guidelines have been established.

- Encouragement of the cooperative projects that match S&T priorities to include those that have already produced

значајни резултати. Сарадња успостављена у областима које нису приоритетне неће се спречавати већ ће се подржавати у границама могућности, остављајући заинтересованим институцијама иницијативу у обезбеђивању средстава;

- широко и ефикасно информисање о свим видовима сарадње, могућностима проширивања и успостављања нових облика сарадње;

- у области базичних истраживања стимулисаће се међународна сарадња врхунских научника и најквалитетнијих младих истраживача;

- посветиће се максимална пажња усмереним, основним истраживањима које су основ развоја високих технологија, у којима наша земља највише заостаје за светском науком;

- међународна сарадња у области примењених наука и развојних истраживања усмераваће се ка увођењу нових технологија у производњу, модернизовању, аутоматизацији и повећању продуктивности постојеће производње;

- приступиће се усвајању међународних система обезбеђења квалитета и увођењу међународних стандарда;

- тежиће се настављању и проширењу билатералне сарадње на програмима и пројектима са земљама Европе и САД, а посебно ће се стимулисати сарадња са пријатељским и суседним земљама, са земљама далеког истока, као и мултилатерална сарадња кроз програме УН, ОЕЦД, ЕЗ (PHARE, TEMPUS).

Имајући у виду ове основне правце деловања, међународна научнотехнолошка сарадња усмериће се ка остваривању следећих глобалних активности:

- Дефинисање циљева, одређивање приоритета и програмирање међународне научно-технолошке сарадње на основу професионалног праћења научно-истраживачке политике развијених земаља и процене комплементарности и могућности нашег укључивања у одговарајуће активности;
- Дограђање и функционисање система у области научних и технолошких информација у Србији (СНТИС) и повезивање у светске и европске информационе мреже (EARN, BITNET и сл.)
- Остваривање приоритетних облика међународне сарадње као што су:

- информисање међународне јавности (публикација за међународну јавност "Наука и технологија у Србији", монографије, часописи и билтени на страном језику и периодичне информације о актуелностима у различитим областима науке);

- организована и рационална набавка међународних часописа и литературе;

- подржавање индивидуалног учешћа научних радника на међународним скуповима и састанцима;

- укључивање југословенских научних и стручних удружења у одговарајуће међународне асоцијације невладиног карактера и обезбеђивање континуитета учешћа југословенских научника у тим асоцијацијама;

- усавршавање научних кадрова у иностранству;

- организовање националних научних скупова уз учешће представника из иностранства и стимулисање организовања међународних скупова у нашој земљи;

- организовање посета за истакнуте стране научнике и позитивно оријентисане партнере у сарадњи;

- Праћење реализације и коришћење резултата стварањем система за праћење и евалуацију програмских активности путем периодичних евалуација од стране стручних тимова по областима и компјутеризовано праћење ефеката и резултата сарадње. На основу евалуације припремаће се одговарајући

significant results. The cooperative projects outside of the priority fields will not be discouraged, but their funding will be a concern of the interested/participating institutions;

- Wide and efficient information on all the aspects of cooperation, as well as on the possibilities to expand the existing and establish the new aspects of cooperation;

- Stimulation of the international collaboration of top scientists and highly qualified young researchers in the field of basic research;

- Maximal attention given to the basic research crucial for high technologies that are in our country underdeveloped in comparison with those in the world;

- Supporting international cooperation in the field of applied and developmental research that will be directed towards introducing new technologies into the production processes, modernization, automatization and increased productivity of the existing production;

- Adoption of the international quality control and standardization systems;

- Continuation and expanding of bilateral cooperative programs and projects with the European countries and the United States, and especially with friendly, neighbouring and Far East countries; and multilateral cooperation under auspices of the UN, OECD, EEC, (PHARE and TEMPUS) programs.

Connected with these basic activities, the international S&T cooperation will also be directed towards the following global activities:

- **Defining the objectives, identification of the priorities and programming** of the international S&T cooperation based on a professional monitoring of the S&T policy of the developed countries; all to include the assessment of our possibilities to participate in the corresponding activities.
- **Building-up and functioning of an information system** in the area of S&T information in Serbia, and including it in the already existing world and European information networks (EARN, BITNET, etc.).
- **Implementing the priority forms of international cooperation**, such as:

- providing information to the international public (by publishing a brochure "Science and Technology in Serbia", monographs, magazines and bulletins, as well as periodicals on current activities in various science fields - all in foreign languages);

- organization of a rational purchase of international magazines and the other scientific literature;

- supporting individual scientists' participation in international conferences/symposia;

- including Yugoslav scientific-professional societies in the corresponding international non-government associations, and maintaining a continued participation of Yugoslav scientists in such associations;

- organizing and supporting the specialization of the scientific personnel abroad;

- organization of the national scientific meetings to include participation of foreign scientists and supporting the organization of international meetings in our country;

- organizing visits of the eminent foreign scientists and the positively oriented partners.

- **Monitoring of the performance and utilization of results** is to be done through a system for monitoring and evaluation of program activities, that will include periodical reviews done by expert teams and an ap-

предлози даљих мера и активности са циљем унапређења међународне сарадње у појединим областима у функцији развоја науке и технологије.

## НАЈНОВИЈЕ ПУБЛИКАЦИЈЕ

Циљ ове рубрике је да се информише домаћа и иностранна научна јавност о неким најновијим и значајнијим издатим делима у нашој науци.

"ФРАНЦУСКА И ТУРСКА 1687-1691", аутора: мр Николе Самарџића; у издању Историјског института САНУ, Београд.

Дело је резултат рада у оквиру пројекта "Историја Србије и српског народа".

"У средишту пишчеве пажње су политички, дипломатски и економски односи Француске и Турске, али с обзиром на значај тих држава, као савезника у тадашњој Европи, није било могуће заобићи и друге државе од Енглеске и Шпаније, Пољске и Русије и њихов утицај на збивања на балканском односно српском етничком простору од Скопља до Сент Андреје. Врло успешно Самарџић је повезивао све сложене дипломатске игре у тадашњој Европи и на Леванту, добро уочавајући и етничке и верске проблеме, променљивост интереса и тактике појединих дворова, којима су подређивани интереси и судбине балканских народа, народа Угарске, Ердеља и наравно српског народа, ма колико изгледало да је овај последњи у том колоплету био скоро занемарљив..."  
Из рецензије академика проф. др Славка Гавриловића.

"SCORDISCI AND AUTOCHTHONS - Скордисци и староседеоци", аутора: Проф. Н. Тешић, др. Б. Јовановић, др. П. Поповић, и други; у издању Балканошког института, САНУ, Београд.

Дело је издато у оквиру акције Савета за културну сарадњу Савета Европе - за 1992 годину - "Путевима Келта". Издавање дела суфинансирано је заједно са Министарством културе Републике Србије и РЕМЕС-ом.

Дугогодишња истраживања протоисторијског периода подунавља и Централног Балкана унела су нова схватања о историји Источних Келта. Утврђено је да су Скордисци - оснивачи Београда - током последња три века старе ере, били најзначајнија војна и културна снага у овом делу Европе. Одавде, из Доњег Поморавља и Подунавља, покренута је велика миграција која доводи Келте до Мале Азије где оснивају своју једину државу ван европског тла - чувену Галатију. Велике келтске некрополе са Карабурме и код Костолца, као и утрђена насеља Скордиска, изменили су досадашњу слику прве паневропске цивилизације на Балкану.

Ови резултати изложени су у енциклопедијској монографији: "Келти, прва Европа", издатај поводом истоимене свеевропске изложбе у Венецији у оквиру године "Путевима Келта". Публикација о Скордисцима је интердисциплинарни преглед археологије и историје ове значајне популације Источних Келта.

Ради бржег и потпунијег информисања очекујемо да у оквиру ове рубрике, научне институције обавештавају ово Министарство о значајним објављеним делима, без обзира да ли су резултат рада на пројекту из програма Министарства за науку и технологију или не, (тел: 38(0)11/658-755/лок. 12-53, В. Подбој).

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## Uredništvo (Editorial Board):

Dr Ratko Uzunović, Vera Lapčević-Petković, Borislava Jakšić, Ljiljana Dragović, mr Miodrag Ivković, Ana Družetić (prevodilac i lektor).

appropriate questionnaire system, both to be used for computerized monitoring of the cooperative effects and results. Based on the assessment results, the appropriate proposals for further activities to improve international cooperation in individual fields --all in function of S&T development-- will be prepared.

## THE LATEST PUBLICATIONS

The aim of this column is to inform domestic and international scientific community of the latest significant papers published in Yugoslavia.

"FRANCE AND TURKEY 1687-1691" by N. Samardžić, M.Sc.; published by the SANU Institute of History, Belgrade.

This paper resulted from the project entitled: "The History of Serbia and Serbian Nation"

"... The author's attention is focused on the political, diplomatic and economic relations between France and Turkey, but due to the importance of these ally-countries of the Europe of that time, it was impossible to exclude the other countries, from England and Spain to Poland and Russia, that all influenced the situation at Balkans, i.e. the Serbian ethnic space, from Skopje to Sent Andrea. Samardžić has very successfully identified all the complex diplomatic games in Europe and Levant of the seventeen century. He has clearly presented all the ethnic and religious problems, the change in the individual Courts' interests and tactics that dominated the interests and dictated the fate of Balkan nations, the peoples of Hungaria, Erdelj and, ultimately, the Serbian people, no matter how marginally important it was in that vicious circle..."

As reviewed by the Academician Slavko Gavrilović

"SCORDISCI AND THE AUTOCHTHONS", authored by Prof. N. Tešić, Dr. B. Jovanović, Dr. Petar Popović, et al.; published by the SANU Institute of Balkan Studies.

This paper was published as part of the 1992 action "On the Roads of Ancient Kelts" supported by the Council for Cultural Cooperation of the Council of Europe. It was co-financed by the Serbian Ministry for Culture and RAISECTC.

Multi-year investigations of the proto-historic period of the Danube Basin and the Central Balkans have contributed to the new understanding of the history of Eastern Kelts. It was found that the Scordisci - the founders of Belgrade - had, during the last three centuries B.C., been the most prominent military and cultural power in this part of Europe. The great migration of Kelts had started from here - the Lower Morava Basin and the Danube Basin - and had taken them all the way to Asia Minor where they established the only state they had outside the European lands - the famous Galatia. The great Celtic necropolises found at Karaburma (Belgrade) and near the town of Kostolac, together with the fortified settlements of Scordisci, have changed the ideas on the first pan-European civilization at Balkans.

These results are described in the encyclopedic monograph: "Kelts - the First Europe", published on the occasion of the pan-European exhibition in Venice, as part of the "On the Roads of Ancient Kelts" year. The above publication on Scordisci, summarized above, is an interdisciplinary review of the archaeology and history of this important population of Eastern Kelts.

In order to improve and complete this column, we invite all the scientific institutions to send information of interesting publications to this Ministry (Attn. V. Podboj; tel: 38(0)11/658-755/home 1253), no matter whether or not the results published were part of the projects sponsored by the Ministry for Science and Technology.



BOSNIA

# BLOOD, THREATS AND FEARS

**It's decision time. Will NATO launch air attacks? Can the Serbs avoid being bombed by pulling back? Will the Bosnians agree to partition their country?**

By BRUCE W. NELAN

THE BRITISH DIPLOMAT GRUMBLED sarcastically: "Full marks for Clinton for appalling timing." Visibly angry, he was also speaking for most of his NATO colleagues. As Europeans saw it, they had the besieged Bosnian government just where they wanted. President Alija Izetbegovic was ready to capitulate to a plan to partition Bosnia and Herzegovina into three ethnic zones, with the largest slice going to the biggest aggressors, the Serbs. However distasteful, it was a settlement that might end the war with a "negotiated," face-saving way out for the West.

That was the precise moment Bill Clinton chose to threaten to bomb the Serbian forces that were "strangling" Sarajevo. Encouraged, possibly believing that U.S. military intervention could still save him, Izetbegovic bolted from the talks in Geneva. When Clinton's renewed determination to mount air strikes hit the NATO council in Brussels, it set off a 12-hour meeting so acrimonious that some participants feared the alliance itself was in danger of breaking apart over what would be the first offensive military action in its 44-year history.

The U.S. threat has catalyzed events in

a way that forces all sides into critical decisions this week: NATO will have to decide what to bomb and under whose command. In order to avoid being bombed, the Serbs must demonstrate that they will live up to their promise to pull back a step from Sarajevo. Izetbegovic and the Bosnians will have to choose between defeat at Geneva and extinction. And all these decisions must be made at roughly the same time.

In spite of what resentful European allies think, Washington was not trying to complicate the Geneva negotiations. The proximate cause of war talk was a report in early July from the World Health Organization, saying Sarajevo faced potential catastrophe because of shortages of food, fuel and electricity. Worried by that—and by the political beating the Administration would take for "losing" Sarajevo—U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher joined hawkish National Security Adviser Anthony Lake in ordering an analysis of air power to break the Serbian choke hold on the capital. That surprised many policymakers unused to seeing Christopher push the government toward the use of force in Bosnia. But the Secretary of State felt badly stung by the failure of his attempts in May to push NATO into military intervention, and was worried that U.S. diplomatic credibility had been eroded by months of vacillation. As a result, he seemed determined not to be blamed if Sarajevo fell. He may also have felt disgust at the bad faith of the Serbs, who promised once again last week to lift the siege, then immediately started squabbling about exactly where their front line had been.

Clinton accepted the plan and told leaders of the NATO states about it in personal letters on July 30. Christopher fol-

**UNDER SIEGE: Serb guns ring Brcko, above, just as they encircle Sarajevo**

lowed up with letters of his own to foreign ministers of the NATO countries, Russia and U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. The U.S., said Christopher, intended to use military force not only to relieve Sarajevo but also to push the warring parties toward a negotiated settlement.

When the alliance council met in Brussels last week to debate the U.S. proposition built quickly. Washington's plan to issue an ultimatum to the Bosnia Serbs was rejected. So was the suggestion that the Serbs' headquarters should be a bombing target. The British, French and Canadians, all of whom have troops at risk on peacekeeping duty in Bosnia, staunchly opposed any action other than the most limited retaliation for attacks on U.N. forces. Eventually the allies cobbled together a compromise committing the alliance to prepare air strikes but not specifying when or how to undertake them. The left undecided knotty issues of whether the U.N. or NATO would command the strikes, the range of acceptable targets and the degree of Serb aggression necessary to trigger the raids.

If the NATO plan seemed less than clear-cut, it was concrete enough to produce results—desired or not. "It was bound to raise false hopes among the Muslims," snapped the senior British diplomat. Sure enough, Izetbegovic announced that he was boycotting the talks until the Serbs halted the offensive that had seized the last two important mountaintops around Sarajevo. "Air attacks won't save the Muslims," said a conference official in Geneva. "They must talk or die."

The Serbs also reacted, with a promise to ease off. Saying he takes the threat of air attacks "very seriously," Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic pledged his forces would withdraw from newly captured mountains and allow free flow of aid convoys into the city. Similar commitments have gone unfulfilled in the past, but this time hard-line Serb military commander General Ratko Mladic stood next to Karadzic and said, "Everything which is agreed will be carried out." The U.N. commander in Bosnia, Belgian Lieut. General Francis Briquemont, was still skeptical. Said he: "Actions speak louder than words." On Friday he and Mladic talked for six hours at Sarajevo airport without reaching agreement on handing Serb positions on the mountains over to U.N. peacekeepers. Briquemont said he and Mladic "did not have the same concept about conditions, control or monitoring an area."

Izetbegovic had little choice but to agree to return to the talks, which were to resume in Geneva this week. If he had refused, he would have risked being labeled the obstacle to peace. Moreover, the U.S. told him flatly that no bombing of Serb positions would be considered unless the Bosnian government had returned to good-faith negotiations. "We're making it very, very clear to him," said a senior official. "The cavalry is not coming to take back his country for him." The co-chairmen of the negotiations, Thorvald Stoltenberg representing the U.N. and Lord Owen for the European Community, say they are committed to allocating 30% of Bosnia and Herzegovina's territory to Muslims, even though they hold only about 10% now. Izetbegovic considers 30% insufficient. "There is no final map yet," said Owen.

At the same time, NATO was to meet again in Brussels to try to resolve the outstanding issues on who would control the air strikes and how they would be carried out. The U.S. is still trying to persuade its allies that bombs and rockets, if used, should be directed not just at Serbian troops who endanger U.N. peacekeepers but also at ammunition dumps, roads, bridges and communications. Once such questions are settled, says an Administration official, the allies "may or may not be at the point at which a political decision is made to authorize strikes." To be ready, NATO ground controllers are moving into position in Bosnia equipped with radar and laser targeting systems and digitalized maps accurate to within 50 ft.

Washington officials say their bombing policy is primarily intended to spur negotiations by warning the Serbs that they cannot hope for total victory and reassuring the Muslims that the U.S. can be counted on for serious peacekeeping efforts after an agreement is signed. What precisely that portends has not been spelled out, and even Clinton may not

know. Reflecting the mixed messages that have characterized his Bosnia policy all along, the President told a Congressman on Capitol Hill, "I will not let Sarajevo fall." Then, as he walked away, Clinton turned and added, "Don't take that as an absolute. I'll do my part."

In this phase of the Bosnian endgame, the U.S. and its allies—whether they admit it or not—are disputing methods rather than objectives. The international community is not talking about rolling back the victorious Serbs and restoring a multiethnic Bosnia and Herzegovina to its former territory. The most that may happen is that

Serbian victors would face a tribunal for war crimes. But even a conviction could not remake the map. "The fundamental purpose of all this," says a congressional staff expert, "is to achieve the partition of Bosnia in the Geneva talks." Senior Administration officials do not challenge that grim prescription. "Our effort," says one, "is serious, but it's also limited." With luck the U.S. and Europe will get a signed agreement at Geneva they can endorse, no matter how distasteful it may be—and never have to bomb at all.

—Reported by  
James L. Graff/Vienna and J.F.O. McAllister and  
Bruce van Voorst/Washington

## A CASUALTY OF LEVEL-10 FRUSTRATION

IN THIS AGE OF SCANDAL, GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS MORE OFTEN QUIT IN SHAME than resign over principle. So Washington took notice last week when Marshall Harris, a 32-year-old desk officer at the State Department, publicly left his post after reaching "level-10 frustration" at the Clinton Administration's erratic Bosnia policy. "I thought about resigning last month when Secretary Christopher said the U.S. was doing all it could," he says. "But the real kicker came when I found out we were putting heavy pressure on the Muslims to come to an agreement in Geneva, and using the threat of withholding air strikes around Sarajevo as part of that pressure. It's wrong to pressure a legitimately elected government to agree to a dismemberment that has been forced by a brutal campaign of aggression that we could have stopped and can still stop."

Like George Kenney, who resigned as the State Department's Yugoslav-affairs officer in August 1992 to protest George Bush's supine Bosnia policy, Harris could not stomach Clinton's inaction "against genocide and the Serbs who perpetrate it." Now that the U.S. is ready to send in the Air Force, it would seem an odd time for a dramatic stand. But not to Harris, who considers the Administration's role a tawdry sellout.

Trained as a maritime lawyer, Harris served as a diplomat in England, Bulgaria and Macedonia. He liked Bill Clinton's campaign promises to do more for Bosnia, and thought something would come of Christopher's maiden speech decrying the dangers of Serb aggression. But he and other working-level officers who had to write the daily press guidance reconciling Bosnia's brutal carnage with a stand-back American policy grew increasingly dismayed as Clinton backed away from using force.

Harris' path to resignation was anything but straight. "There have been so many twists and turns in our policy that it's been a real roller-coaster ride," he says. Considered energetic and capable by his superiors, he proved unusually outspoken for a mid-level Foreign Service officer. In April he and 11 colleagues wrote a letter to Christopher urging military intervention to help the Muslims; the misssive somehow leaked to the *New York Times*. In May, when Christopher asked the allies to lift the arms embargo against the Bosnian government and bomb Serb targets, "we were excited that the U.S. was finally moving the right way. That went straight to hell in a matter of days," he says, when Christopher returned empty-handed. Last week's bomb-or-not-to-bomb contortions made up his mind. "I had to leave because my conscience wouldn't allow me to keep advocating and implementing policies that will bring about the partition of Bosnia," he says. "I could have just turned in a resignation letter and walked out the door, but I did it publicly because I hope it won't be just a quixotic gesture." Representative Frank McCloskey, an opponent of Clinton's Bosnia policy, hired Harris immediately. ■



RESIGNED: Marshall Harris