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to take part in "a severe contest between intelligence, which presses forward, and an unworthy, timid ignorance obstructing our progress."

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# BOSNIA

## The road to ruin

The outside world has accepted defeat in Bosnia. The best it hopes for now is to stop things getting worse. Could it have stopped them getting this bad? Or even have prevented the war entirely? How did Yugoslavia get into this mess?

**N**O ONE can say he was not warned. When Josip Broz Tito, the communist leader of modern Yugoslavia, died in 1980, plenty of Yugoslavs told foreign friends that their country would come bloodily apart.

A federation of six republics, its citizens included Catholic Christians (Croats and Slovenes), Orthodox Christians (Serbs), Muslims (some speaking Serbo-Croat, others who spoke and felt Albanian) and sundry other minorities. They lived in peace, in many places closely mingled together, and to many the distinctions meant little anyway. But the groups had historic scores to settle with each other, some of the nastiest no older than the second world war. And the newer divisions between communists and anti-communists, though stifled under Tito and weakened by the country's openness to the West, were not dead.

Yet nothing happened. Even sympathetic ears stopped listening. Then, late in 1990, like an overdue rockslide, the destruction of Yugoslavia began. America and most of its allies were busy with Iraq, Germany with unification, and the Soviet Union with its own looming collapse.

Though Slovenia, and then Croatia, broke away two years ago, the world—ie, chiefly Western Europe and America, work-

ing through the UN with Russian assent and Chinese compliance—did not focus seriously on Yugoslavia until last year. In August a UN/EC conference in London laid out principles for peace. The fighters agreed to them, and fought on. That autumn the EC and UN mediators drafted a peace plan for Bosnia & Hercegovina, to be policed by 60,000-75,000 peacekeepers. The fighters agreed to it in Geneva in January, and again in Athens this month. The war went on.

With outsiders now reduced to promising physical safety, no more, for the Muslim portion of Bosnia's inhabitants, the world asks itself guiltily what more it could have done. It was not outsiders who began and brutally carried on this war. The blame for that lies within ex-Yugoslavia, largely on the Serbs. But the question has to be asked.

### Three-act tragedy

The answer—so far as there is one—springs, like the arguments about it, from the complex background of these vicious wars.

The Yugoslav tragedy is in its third act. The first—after some centuries of script-writing and setting the scene—began in June 1991 with a ten-day war in Slovenia. Around 3,000 soldiers from the Yugoslav federal army were sent north on a vain mission to prevent Slovenia seceding. Around 50 died (19 during ceasefires), as did 20 Slovene militiamen.

Next came a seven-month war between Serbia and Croatia. It ended in January 1992 with a UN-monitored ceasefire. Croatia lost control of a third of its territory. But it gained international recognition. With Bosnia and Macedonia too heading for independence, though not yet recognised, Yugoslavia shrank, for practical purposes, to just two republics, Serbia and Montenegro.

Act Three opened in April 1992, as an uneven, three-sided war broke out in Bosnia among Croats, Muslims and Serbs. It flares on, despite countless local ceasefires, occasional truces and the efforts of the world to get it

stopped. The tactics used—besieging towns and terrorising villages—come down unchanged from Europe's wars of religion three and four centuries ago. Set-piece battles have been rare. Civilians are targets. Though the Bosnian Serbs, headed by the endlessly duplicitous Radovan Karadzic, have behaved worst, no one has clean hands. But it has been Muslims, set upon by Croat and Serb militiamen alike, who have suffered most.

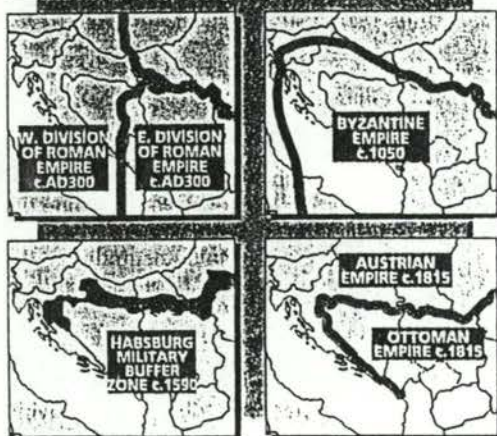
The scale of the killing in ex-Yugoslavia is disputed. But its savagery is not in doubt. In less than two years of war, many thousands—some say many tens of thousands—have died. Snipers of all sides pick off civilians, and all have murdered helpless prisoners. The Serbs have ruthlessly shelled towns, and have at times adopted rape as a method of war. Gunmen have driven countless people from their villages and seized or burned their homes. In all, says the UN, of Yugoslavia's pre-war population of 24m, some 3½m people are refugees.

### Why did it happen this way?

Even Yugoslav patriots now admit that their federation was probably unsalvageable. But why was its break-up so violent? With minor exceptions, the Soviet Union fell apart in peace. The Czech lands and Slovakia divorced with little rancour and no bloodshed at all. Why was Yugoslavia different?

The answer is tangled and tentative. The roots of this war lie in Yugoslav history (though not as deep as some claim), in the frailty of Tito's state and in three distinct sorts of nationalism that sprouted as his odd form of communism collapsed. A clue to the violence of the break-up may lie also in the balance of weaponry inside Yugoslavia. Serb officers dominated the federal army with its tanks, howitzers and mortars. But almost every Yugoslav household, espe-

### Yugoslavia past...



### ...and present



cially in the countryside, had small arms and men trained in the militia to use them.

The ferocity and complexity of the Yugoslav wars have made for two simplifications. Each contains part of the truth.

The first is to see this as a tragedy of revenge involving old feuds of churches and peoples, overlaid by score-settling for the atrocities of 1941-45. Modern Yugoslavia sat athwart fault lines of European history: the fourth-century division of the Roman empire, the 11th-century division of Christendom, the 17th-century border between the Ottoman and Habsburg empires. It is true, too, that under Hitler's occupation Croatian and Bosnian fascists butchered Serbs, Jews and Muslims, often with a nod from the Catholic clergy.

Yet Yugoslav history is not pure black. After the first world war, Croats, Bosnians, Serbs and Slovenes united freely. For all the horrors of the second world war, they lived in peace under Tito. Serbs and Croats used the same language, and readily married each other, especially in the cities. Sarajevo, Bosnia's capital, was cosmopolitan. By East European standards, communist Yugoslavia was modern, open and international.

The other simplification is to treat this as a war of Serb expansion run from Belgrade by ex-communists and their army against the new democracies of Bosnia, Croatia and Slovenia. As the first and most ruthless with force, Serbia bears the greatest blame. Its leaders have abetted horrors. Yet the Serbs of Croatia and Bosnia had legitimate demands. The election of Slobodan Milosevic as Serbia's president in December 1990 was a pity, but not undemocratic; and, whatever his past influence, he does not control Bosnia's Serbs.

Croatia must share the blame. Under Franjo Tudjman (an ex-communist general) it is no model of open government. Its troops have fought in Bosnia, and in practice Western Hercegovina is annexed to it. Mr Tudjman has often proposed splitting Bosnia between Croatia and Serbia, leaving a reservation around Sarajevo for Muslims. Bosnia's Croats, like its Serbs, have practised widespread "ethnic cleansing".

Recent history offers further clues. Tito's Yugoslavia rested on three planks. The "self-management" economy, not private but not state-centralised, worked at first. By the 1970s, it was a disaster. Foreign debt, inflation and the wealth gap between north and south all grew. Non-alignment in world affairs meant the Russians were not treading

on Yugoslavia's neck, but left it without friends to stem the chaos when it broke up. And, though Tito's slogan of "Unity and Brotherhood" implied a lid on national-Serb or Croat-feeling, state jobs were dished out on national lines. In 1974 a new constitution gave the republics more power. Muslims became, in law, a nationality.

By the time of Tito's death, in short, federal institutions were fatally weak. The communist parties of the republics were ascendant. The economy was a shambles. The one federal power was the army, and that fell ever more under Serbia's thumb.

of that year, as Serbs blocked roads and fought with Croat policemen in Krajina, the presidents of the six republics made a last stab at bargaining. Croatia and Slovenia wanted a confederation of independent states, Serbia and Montenegro a tighter union. Macedonia and Bosnia tried to mediate, in vain. Slovenia pressed for independence. Croatia reluctantly followed.

**To war**

War might still have been avoided, but for the issue of Croatia's Serbs. Though most of these lived in Zagreb, there were long strings of Serb villages in Krajina and Slavonia. When a national minority is caught the wrong side of a new frontier, is it better to move the people, the frontier, or neither, giving expression to the minority some other way? Neither Croats nor Serbs were willing to compromise. The world, scared of border changes and wary of espousing people-transfers, was no help. The Serbs were ready to fight.

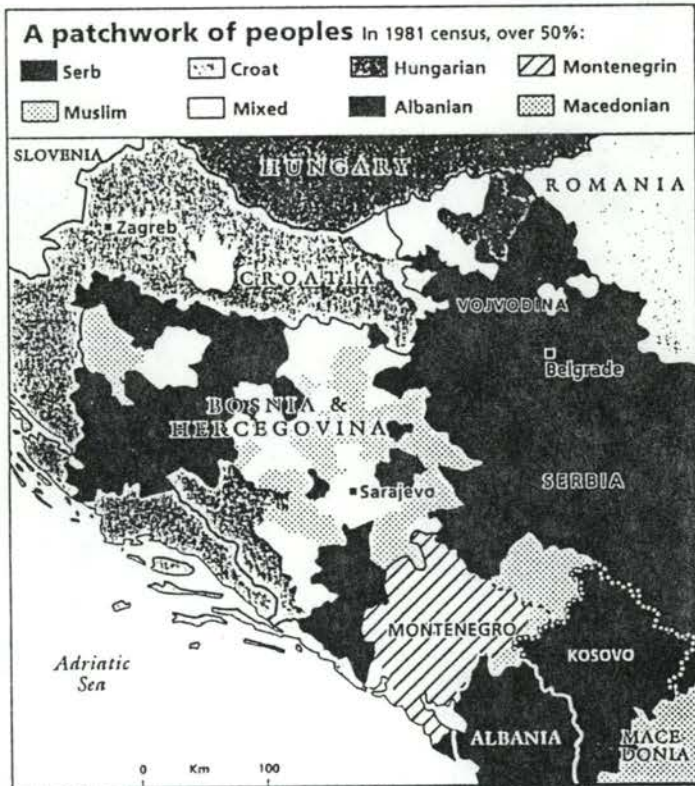
The federal army said it was holding the ring between Serb raiders and Croat policemen. Then it put two Croatian towns, ancient Dubrovnik, on the Adriatic, and Vukovar, a pretty Danube town, under siege; to punish or reverse Croatia's secession, said the army. By late autumn, it was openly backing Serb nationalists.

Though bloodier and more complex, the Bosnian war fits a similar pattern. Before it, the republic had 4.3m citizens. Of these, 40% told census-takers they were Muslims, 30% Serbs and 17% Croats. The rest, some sick of national stereotyping, listed themselves as Yugoslavs, Turks, Jews, Gypsies, Eskimos, Giraffes or Lampshades.

A seven-member collective leadership of three Muslims, two Croats and two Serbs presided over the republic. In the 1990 election, the Muslim party of Alija Izetbegovic won 86 seats in the lower house of parliament, the Serb party 72 and the Croat one 44. On big issues each nationality was meant to have a veto.

The Croatian war destroyed the fragile balance in Bosnia. Muslim and Croat politicians voted in October, 1991, despite the veto rule, to make Bosnia a state. The Serbs refused to accept Bosnian neutrality in the war next-door. They left parliament and set up "Serb autonomous regions". The aim was to join Croatian and Serbian Serbs in a Greater Serbia.

The independence of Croatia and Slovenia left Bosnians a terrible choice: staying with Serbia and Montenegro or declaring



Three sorts of nationalist strains were pulling Yugoslavia apart. First, as in many federations, the rich (Slovenes and Croats) did not like bankrolling the poor (the southern republics) or the Yugoslav army, which ate up half the federal budget. Second, many democrats became nationalists out of anti-communism. As ex-communists hung on in Serbia, many Croats and Slovenes saw independence as the fast track to democracy. Third, those ex-communists in turn used patriotism as their own lifeboat. Disliked in the cities, Mr Milosevic waved the flag in villages and market towns left at a loss by the end of the Yugoslavia they knew. He egged on—and his interior minister armed—the Serb politicians of Croatia and Bosnia, small-town professional men who fancied a chance of fame as Serb patriots.

By early 1991 the cavernous offices of the federal government in New Belgrade were empty and grass grew on the steps. In March

an independent state, sovereign and recognised but unable to defend itself. Freed from duty in Croatia by the peace of January 1992, federal troops were soon being redeployed in Bosnia as part of the Serb forces there, under General Radko Mladic.

In February 1992, Bosnia's authorities held a referendum on independence. This was Europe's condition for recognition. Croats and Muslims voted yes. Serbs refused to vote. In March, Serb members of parliament set up their own assembly at Pale, near Sarajevo. By April 1992, the Bosnian capital was under siege and the destruction of Bosnia had begun.

**Could the world have done better?**

"My apologies to Attila," Clemenceau once said, "but the art of arranging how men are to live is more complex even than the art of massacring them." Outsiders have looked hard for an arrangement for the southern Slavs. First the EC tried to mediate, through Lord Carrington, a former secretary-general of NATO. Then the EC and UN tried jointly, represented, respectively, by another Briton, Lord Owen, an ex-politician, and by America's Cyrus Vance (now replaced by a former Norwegian foreign minister, Thorvald Stoltenberg).

Nor did the world just talk. Europe and America banned arms sales to ex-Yugoslavia in mid-1991. The UN followed with a worldwide ban in September 1991. America and the EC put trade sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro in November 1991. The UN did likewise in May 1992, and that September denied them Yugoslavia's old UN seat. A UN naval blockade was imposed in November 1992, followed by full trade and diplomatic isolation in April 1993. Serbian pressure on Bosnia's Serbs to settle suggests sanctions have not wholly failed.

And, while it tried to limit the fighting, uphold, in some sense, Bosnia's right to exist, and bring a long-term settlement, the world also acted to protect the war's victims. It has sent food aid and UN troops—25,000 or so, by now, to ex-Yugoslavia as a whole—to attempt to keep the peace, though not by force. Some countries, notably Germany, have taken in tens of thousands of refugees.

Fewer lives might have been lost if Mr Milosevic and Mr Tudjman had last year been allowed to split Bosnia between them. But the world, at the London conference last August, chose principle over expediency. It repeated the familiar rules that borders may not be changed unilaterally or by force, that gains made by force should not stand and that national rights should be respected.

With those principles, Lord Owen and Mr Vance drafted their plan. Serbia would accept the Serb enclaves in Croatia as Croatian. Kosovo would be acknowledged as part of Serbia. Minority rights would be given expression somehow. Bosnia would be divided into ten provinces, with three for

each community, Sarajevo being shared by all. Peacekeepers would patrol almost every cross-road. In time, so ran the hope, the three sides could talk out lasting solutions. The Serbs would abandon (or at least postpone?) dreams of Greater Serbia. Sanctions would be ended if Serbia behaved.

In a world of reason rather than force, the Vance/Owen plan might have worked. It was, after all, accepted by Mr Milosevic and at least signed in Athens even by Mr Karadzic. It looks dead today. But no outsider offered more convincing ideas.

To say, as some have, that the world has stood by doing nothing about Yugoslavia is thus simply silly. It has often dithered and sometimes blundered, but it has never walked away. Yet should it have done still more? Could it have? Soldiers and diplomats who knew Yugoslavia well could make its complexities sound like an excuse for doing nothing at all. The world felt it must act. But how? To its cry "Something must be done", the question "What?" usually met silence or a chorus of discordant advice.

Bomb Serb gun emplacements? Bomb supply lines? Bomb key targets in Serbia itself? Arm Bosnia's Muslims? Send ground troops to enforce—not just oversee—a peace? Create safe havens for the victims of war? All these ideas have been considered recently, with caution in Washington, sceptically by NATO commanders, most often with alarm in European capitals. The disagreements were unhelpful, but not shameful. Generals, let alone politicians, could reasonably differ about the risks, costs, aims and prospects of one or other military action. Governments had legitimately differing perspectives and aims—and differing public opinions to answer to. All were dealing with a far-off, complex country of which most, even by then, still knew little.

**Errors and omissions**

That said, the outside world made some errors, and missed some opportunities.

It rushed to recognise Slovenia and Croatia, whose independence upset Yugoslavia's shaky ethnic balance. In Bosnia it recognised a state most of whose Serbs and many Croats had no interest in its survival. In neither Croatia nor Bosnia did the world heed the claims of the Serb minorities.

These errors made, the world reacted too slowly to their results, especially in Bosnia. Had a few thousand peacekeeping troops been sent there as a sign of outside concern, that war just might have been avoided.

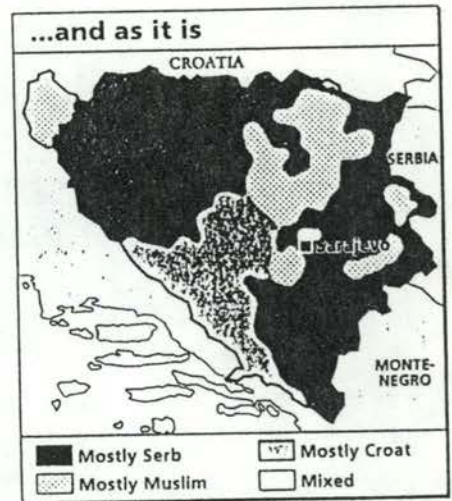
Peacemaking was botched. At the least, attacks on civilians could have been more firmly discouraged. Too many paper threats were made. In August 1992, Mr Karadzic promised to put Serb guns under UN control. They are still firing. The UN banned military flights over Bosnia in October 1992. Enforcement came only in March 1993. Last winter, Bosnian Muslims were ready for a



settlement. They reneged—prompting the Serbs to do so too—when Bill Clinton hinted they might get help from America.

Throughout, policy-makers were distracted by fears of setting precedents (for the Soviet Union, which broke up anyway) or breaking principles (non-intervention in civil wars), and by worries about their own institutions (will this or that action help or hurt the EC, the UN, NATO, etc?).

How much difference, though, did all this make? No one can be sure that wiser decisions on these points would have prevented disaster, or what would have happened if the world had adopted any of the recent proposals for the use of force. Most outsiders—this newspaper included—have had different ideas at different times of what was or was not desirable or feasible. The best guess at the truth may be that of the sceptical experts whose answer to the question "What can be done?" was, from the start: precious little. If enough people, on the spot, are determined, and armed, to make war, outsiders who are neither sufficiently determined nor—on the spot—armed to make peace cannot prevent them.





# The Woodrow Wilson Center EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

MAY - JUNE 1993

## THE YUGOSLAV WAR AS THE "REVENGER'S TRAGEDY"

*The dilemma posed by the ongoing war in Bosnia Herzegovina continues to torture Western policymakers and observers. Misha Glenny, former BBC correspondent and author of the widely praised new book *The Fall of Yugoslavia* (Penguin Books, 1992), addressed both the war and Western options with such informed erudition during his 8 April 1993 Noon Discussion that we are taking the unprecedented step of presenting his remarks verbatim with only brief omissions and minor editorial revision.*  
#81 John R. Lampe

I would like to begin with an anecdote about some friends of mine from the Croatian capital, Zagreb. Some ten weeks after the outbreak of war in Croatia in June 1991, I was visiting them and they told me of the painful week they had just spent with their seven-year-old daughter, Tihana. She returned home every evening and recounted in detail the monstrous atrocities being committed by Serbs. Denouncing all Serbs as Chetniks who were bent on killing everybody in Zagreb and in Croatia, she reasoned that the only way to deal with the problem was to unleash a preemptive strike and kill all Serbs. After several days of this, my friends felt compelled to sit their daughter down and explain that her grandparents--two of whom live in the front-line town of Benkovac, two of whom live in Zagreb--were all Serbs, that her parents were both Serbs, and that, yes, she herself was a Serb. What long-term effects this will have on Tihana and her countless peers in the former Yugoslavia, that is, on those children who belong to minority communities, or those children born of mixed marriages, or those whose parents swim against the current and refuse to define themselves primarily in terms of nationality, is anybody's guess. Given the large number of survivors of World War II atrocities among Serb and Croat military and political strategists at the outset of the June 1991 war, however, national reconciliation is unlikely.

I consider it important to stress at the outset that in contrast to the war involving Serbs, Croats, and Bosnian Muslims between 1941 and 1945, in the present northern Balkan war there is no

longer any side that is unambiguously committed to a multinational future for the emerging states of the region. National communities are now more deeply homogenized than they were during the Second World War, a development that profoundly affects both the majority populations identified specifically with the structures of state and the minorities discriminated against by those structures. In addition, there is little likelihood that the Serbs, Croats, and Bosnian Muslims are able or willing to design a mechanism similar to the repressive structures fashioned by Tito in the 1940s that forced an end to the bloodletting. It should be noted that in addition to repressing nationalists and non-Communists, Tito constructed a Yugoslav federation that was very different from the Greater Serbia of the interwar years. In stark contrast to what many Croats believe, Tito considered it essential to keep Serbia weak while gradually increasing the level of autonomy enjoyed by the republican centers: first Zagreb and Ljubljana; later Sarajevo, Skopje, and Titograd; and later still Prishtina and Novi Sad. In order to allay the fears of Serb communities in Croatia, for whom the Yugoslav state was the necessary guarantee against a revival of Croat nationalism, Serbs were given preference in party-influenced hiring and promotion.

This complex balancing act, which began to falter after Tito's death, was supported by a unique constitutional idea under which sovereignty was accorded to both the nation and the republics. Although severely battered, this concept of dual sovereignty was the most important and lasting legacy of the Tito era. It was ultimately destroyed on 15 January 1992 by German demands that Croat independence be recognized unconditionally, that is, without requiring that Zagreb be in control of all of Croatia or that the rights of the Serbian minority be protected--two criteria deemed essential by the Badinter Commission to which all European Community (EC) governments theoretically had deferred on the question of recognition.

Now that dual sovereignty--the only system of stabilizing national conflict in the northern Balkans--has been destroyed, it is possible that the

## MEETING REPORT

wars of succession that have been carried on in Croatia and Bosnia Herzegovina since June 1991 will continue in fits, starts, and new guises for some time to come. Indeed, I would go so far as to say that in the absence of a coherent and effective policy on the part of Germany, the United States, Russia, Turkey, Britain, and France, the continuation of war is quite likely. Up to now we have witnessed a limited Serb-Croat war in which the two largest national groups of the former Yugoslavia have attempted to define the borders of their new nation-states by force, squeezing the hapless Slav Muslims of Bosnia in the process. If the Bosnian war is not stopped and the Macedonian question not answered, the past two years will presage a series of wars on the Balkan peninsula that could threaten the security of Europe as profoundly as did those of the beginning of the twentieth century.

If more nationalist wars begin in the Balkans, they will be uncontrolled. Communities will react to the first signs of trouble by arming themselves. Each village and town will become a center of terrorist activity or heroic resistance, the definition varying with national identity. The force of nationalist ideology will ensure that prosecution of the war will not be limited to organized armies. Civilians will be drawn into the struggle, largely against their better judgment, but ultimately in the belief that they must join. The outcome will be catastrophic. In the almost two-year-old war currently going on in the former Yugoslavia, estimates of the dead range widely between twenty and two hundred thousand, approximately 70 percent of whom were civilians. Millions have been displaced, and there has been a high incidence of rape, largely but not exclusively committed by Serbs against Bosnian Muslim women. Retribution has been meted out against minorities in noncombat zones who are ostensibly protected by the forces of law and order. It should be remembered that these figures are the result of a limited Serb-Croat war that has only affected Bosnia and peripheral territories of Croatia. Zagreb and Belgrade have largely been spared. If the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia fails to forge an agreement between Zagreb and the Serbs in the Croat Krajina, a large-scale Serb-Croat war may begin. The Yugoslav air force can be expected to lay waste to civilian areas of Zagreb, and the newly acquired missiles of the Croat army may do the same to Belgrade.

Balkan nationalism, unlike that of Western Europe, is untempered by democratic traditions or relative affluence, hence there is no room for the individual to contribute to the formation of national culture. The current Croatian state is a thinly disguised instrument of President Franjo Tudjman's Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ), while in Serbia Slobodan Milošević's Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) determines citizenship by means that frequently ignore claims of blood or culture. The process is reminiscent of the nineteenth-century Czech National Revival, during which self-appointed leaders pronounced this or that Czech to be *odbaven narodu* (dismissed from the nation) for alleged crimes or treason. Within the course of a two-hour tribunal, the accused ceased to be Czechs, despite their places of birth, language, and culture. The practice of *odbaven narodu* has been revived and is now widespread throughout the former Yugoslavia. In Belgrade, the leading light of Serbian fascism, Vojislav Šešelj, who controls almost one-third of the parliamentary seats in Serbia, has demanded the arraignment of President Dobrica Ćosić, who is often called the present Father of the Serb Nation. Meanwhile, President Tudjman has purged the Communist nomenclatura of Serb and liberal elements in order to create an effective system of coercion that he justifies as consistent with Croatia's national needs and goals. Tudjman's campaign strategy for election to the upper house of the *Sabor* last February consisted of invading Serb-held territories of Croatia around Maslenica, thereby risking a Balkan war. Although his actions guaranteed him an overwhelming victory, they also highlighted the decline of Croat liberalism. Serb liberalism had already experienced its greatest defeat this century in March 1991, when it failed to seize the opportunity offered by mass demonstrations in Belgrade to oust Milošević.

The failure of liberalism is rooted in the imperial legacy of the region. Although Serbs, Croats, and other Balkan nations share a medieval heritage of large, frequently unstable states with highly mutable borders, the national consciousness of the region was defined by the Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman, Russian, British, and German empires. Since 1945, Western understanding of Eastern Europe has been profoundly distorted by overreliance on the views of the urban intellectual elites of the region. This is one of the reasons that the current crisis has taken Western politicians,

diplomats, and intellectuals by surprise. They had been led to believe that the region was peopled by millions of Havelks and Michniks, who wanted nothing better than to create a market economy regulated by Christian and social democratic parties.

This attitude was particularly prevalent in the case of the former Yugoslavia because the intellectual exchanges facilitated by Tito's open-border policy were much broader than those with other East European countries. The dramatic widening of the gap in living standards between the cities and the countryside, especially in traditional strongholds of nationalism such as the Kninska Krajina and western Bosnia Herzegovina, was largely unnoticed. Tito concentrated heavy industrial development in Bosnia, and thus Muslims in Sarajevo, Mostar, Jajce, Bihać, Tuzla, and other critical industrial centers began to assume the economic characteristics of a nation. At the same time, they recognized that it was necessary to maintain good relations with the urban Serbs and Croats, as well as with Belgrade and Zagreb. In the villages, however, people continued to identify themselves in religious rather than ethnic terms. Paradoxically, even as the rural Bosnians fuel the engine of war, they also recognize that their traditional forms of self-identification coincide exactly with modern Serb, Croat, and Bosnian Muslim identities.

It is not surprising that the confessional aspect of Balkan nationalism finds its most intense expression in Bosnia, where the great empires met and fought. A glance at the map of the former Yugoslavia reveals that the greatest concentrations of Slav converts to Islam are located in the far northwest of Bosnia, in the Bihać and Cazin districts on the one hand, and in the Sandžak of Novi Pazar in Serbia, southeast of Bosnia, on the other. The Bosnian Muslim population flanks downward both left and right of Bihać until it is parallel with that of Sandžak. (This distinctive configuration is a reflection of a conscious strategic decision on the part of the Ottoman Sultan and his Sublime Porte to install an arrow-shaped Muslim population as an advance guard in Europe.) Bihać is only twenty kilometers from Karlovac, the Hapsburg military outpost nearest to Vienna. Throughout the seventeenth century, successive Hapsburg emperors strengthened and expanded the *Vojna Krajina* (Military Frontier). This enormous defensive strip, which was developed both to block Ottoman

expansion into Europe and to launch offensives against the Turks, eventually stretched across the borderlands of the Hapsburg southern possessions from Dalmatia into Transylvania.

Meanwhile, Serb and Croat national myths are most vigorously expressed in Belgrade and Zagreb. Although Serbo-Croatian has wide regional variations, nationalists on both sides insist that they speak absolutely separate languages. Croats argue that Serbs are primitive, that their language has been soiled by turkisms, and that the Serb's use of Cyrillic script is a reflection of their backwardness. Serbs maintain that Croats are congenitally genocidal and that their language has been bastardized by endless artificial reforms. These arguments are based either on the Serb conviction that Croatia is the vanguard of a plot backed by Rome and Germany to wipe out the Serbs in the Balkans in order to roll back Orthodoxy, or on the Croat belief that the Serb minority in Croatia is a Trojan horse that will facilitate an Orthodox drive to the Adriatic. Serbs and Croats are united in only one thing--their hostility toward Islam. Presidents Tudjman and Milošević have both publicly expressed the belief that the leadership of Bosnia's Muslim Party for Democratic Action (SDA) is attempting to establish a bridgehead for militant Islam in Europe. Thus they find it incomprehensible that Europe does not understand and appreciate the service that they are rendering through their campaigns in Bosnia.

The extreme nationalism of Serbs, Croats, and Bosnian Muslims could perhaps be dismissed as a tragic anachronism were it not for the fact that it strikes resonant chords both in the West and in the East. Although relatively uninterested in the Bosnian crisis, Germany has remained an outspoken supporter of Croatia. Meanwhile, Russian nationalists are exploiting the Serbian question in their efforts to oust President Yeltsin, and widespread Middle Eastern disgust with actions that many Muslims regard as a crusade against Islam may result in the introduction of still more heavy weapons into a region already supersaturated with arms. On the Balkan peninsula itself, an Orthodox axis of Greece and Serbia is crystallizing. A similar process joins Albania, Turkey, and a somewhat confused, equivocal Bulgaria, while the rest of the world wrings its hands and fails to formulate an answer to the Macedonian question. If international efforts to resolve the conflict fail, these two alliances will be pressured to go to war in order to determine

## MEETING REPORT

whether the central transit route on the southern Balkan peninsula will run from Belgrade to Thessaloniki (controlled by the Orthodox Christians), or from Durrës to Istanbul (where Islam is the dominant religion). A visitor to intellectuals belonging to the Turkish minority in Skopje, the Macedonian capital, will discover that the most popular subject of conversation is the probable timing of a forthcoming Russian intervention in the Balkans. A traveller to Moscow will be struck by how frequently the subject of Turkish imperial expansion, not just into the Balkans but into the southern region of the former Soviet Union as well, is raised. Of course, these are mere prophecies, although I must add that many of the prophecies I have heard over the past five years in the former Yugoslavia have quickly proven themselves to be self-fulfilling. Bosnia Herzegovina is the strategic heart of the northern Balkans, a fact recognized by the Ottomans and the Hapsburgs as well as by the Serbs and Croats. Likewise, no matter what the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is called--southern Serbia, Vardar Macedonia, Skopje, Western Bulgaria, or the Republic of Macedonia--it is the key to the economies of the southern Balkans. If the wars of the Yugoslav succession are struggles for territory, control of these two--Bosnia Herzegovina and Macedonia--is the greatest prize.

The Kosovo issue is, by contrast, less dangerous. Those who warn that the Serbs wish to start a war in Kosovo have either failed to recognize or do not wish to recognize that the essence of these conflicts is territorial control. Only if it wished to create general chaos in the region would Serbia initiate hostilities in a territory, such as Kosovo, that is already firmly under its control. Likewise, overstretched as they are at the moment, particularly since the threat of a full-scale Serb-Croat war remains real, the Serbs have no immediate interest in provoking war in Macedonia. The central issue in Macedonia is the quality of relations between the Slav Macedonian majority and the large Albanian minority in the west of Macedonia and in its capital, Skopje. To his credit, President Gligorov has so far managed to outwit both the separatist forces among the Albanians of Macedonia and the demagogic nationalists of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (VMRO). Gligorov's job is made all the more difficult by the informal blockade imposed by Greece, which has sent Macedonia into an

economic abyss. If unrest does break out between the Albanians and the Macedonians, it will be difficult to prevent a Balkan war which would almost certainly involve military intervention by Albanian, Serb, and Bulgarian armed forces and would greatly increase tension between Greece and Turkey.

What should the West be doing in the Balkans? First, it must be honest and admit that it has made a substantial contribution to the chaos in the region. The Western diplomatic community completely failed to anticipate a well-signalled conflict. Policymakers must recognize that the West has made serious mistakes, particularly the premature recognition of Croatia, and that it is too late to hope for a "just" solution. The West must act pragmatically because it has lost the opportunity to act in a principled fashion.

The Vance-Owen peace plan has been heavily criticized for many months. Nevertheless, it is the only coherent diplomatic attempt both to tend the bleeding wound of Bosnia and to find a cure for the disease that reopened it. Critics of the plan denounce it for appeasing aggression and legitimizing the practice of ethnic cleansing. In my view, neither of these criticisms withstands serious examination. The Bosnian conflict is a civil war resulting from the breakdown of the principle of dual sovereignty, which required that constitutional changes be agreed upon by the republic's three constituent nations. That principle was violated when the Croats and Bosnian Muslims used the encouragement offered by Germany and the EC to declare independence by means of a referendum. Within two weeks of the March 1992 referendum, Serbs and Croats (not Bosnian Muslims) were fighting one another in Posavina and Bosnia Herzegovina. The two sides were well aware of the need to gain as much territorial advantage as possible before the Bosnian Muslims became involved.

The Bosnian Serbs began the fight in order to protect their rights as a constituent nation of the republic, but they have since received substantial financial, economic, and military assistance from Serbia. Although this is a form of aggression, the war itself has been fought by Serbs from Bosnia, not by Serbs from outside the republic. Therefore, it remains a civil war. The Serb goal is straightforward--to detach approximately 70 percent of Bosnian territory from the republic and restore constitutional links with Serbia proper. The Vance-



Owen plan specifically prevents the realization of this aim. Far from legitimizing ethnic cleansing, the Vance-Owen maps require the Serbs to return 60 percent of the territory they have conquered since March 1992. Critics of Vance-Owen claim that it discriminates against the Bosnian Muslims in particular. Yet both the Croats and the Bosnian Muslims have signed it. This means that despite some reservations on the Bosnian Muslim side both believe the solution outlined by the plan is in their best interests. By contrast, Radovan Karadžić has refused to sign because the plan demands enormous concessions from the Serbs.

The thuggery with which the Bosnian Serbs have prosecuted the war cannot be justified; nor can the victims, principally Bosnian Muslims who have been crushed under boots and missiles of the primitive Chetniks, be adequately compensated. Nevertheless, the conflict cannot be resolved by formulating policy in response to the atrocities committed by Bosnian Serbs. Solutions must be informed by an understanding of the political breakdown that led to the war. Many people, particularly in the United States, are becoming impatient with the apparent inactivity of the international community in response to Serb atrocities and the continuing offensive in Eastern Bosnia. Since my arrival in Washington, I have perceived growing support for a lifting of the arms embargo against the Bosnian government. I cannot counsel strongly enough against such a precipitous move: the conflict would be internationalized overnight, and the risk of the spread of war to other parts of the Balkans, possibly implicating North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and EC members, would increase exponentially.

Since the rejection of the Vance-Owen plan by Bosnian Serbs during the weekend of 3-4 April 1993, there have been indications that with some revision of the maps, Karadžić may yet agree to the deal. The world must hope that he does. Once there are four signatures on paper--those of representatives of the Serbs, Croats, Bosnian Moslems, and Bosnia's new constituent element, the international community--there is a framework for enforcement. The use of diplomatic means to pressure the Serbs to sign the Vance-Owen plan may seem weak, but I would argue that we do not have any other option. Remember that this is the Balkans--a region not only blighted by history but also emerging from a system which has further traumatized all of its peoples. We must play an

active, interventionist role in this region, but it must have a healing effect, not one that encourages the spread of intolerance and armed conflict. This is 1993, not 1945, and it would be the greatest political folly for the United States and Europe either to ignore the Balkans or to encourage its peoples to settle their problems by force. It is not only the wounds of the Balkans and Central Europe that have been reopened by the explosion of 1989; recent events have also posed harsh questions regarding the future of Russia and Germany. If the current political gridlock in the Balkans is allowed to spread, throttling secular reforms in Russia and inciting Catholic and Islamic fundamentalism elsewhere, then I feel confident in predicting that the "Revenger's Tragedy" now playing in Sarajevo will be coming soon to a theater near you. Please remember, however, that the denouement of the current performance will not be revealed as it was in Thomas Kydd's fictional sixteenth-century Italian court--with the aid of daggers and poison. It will be communicated with conventional weapons stockpiled over the forty years of the Yalta peace, and perhaps with nuclear weapons as well. Misha Glenn

### **Bulgaria's Transition and the New "Government of Privatization" #82**

Ekaterina Nikova, a Researcher at the Institute of Balkan Studies in Sofia and a former Wilson Center Fellow, opened her Noon Discussion on 10 March with a young Bulgarian political scientist's observation that most countries deserve the government that they get, although occasionally they get a better government than they deserve. In her view, this is just what happened in Bulgaria on 30 December 1992, when the two-month-long political crisis resulting from a vote of no-confidence in the government of Filip Dimitrov was resolved by the formation of a new government headed by Professor Liuben Berov, a respected economic historian and former economic advisor to President Zheliu Zhelev. Nikova noted that much to everyone's surprise, Berov has managed to compose a government that is backed by the formerly Communist Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), elected on the mandate of Turkish-based Movement for Rights and Freedom (MRF), and is committed to fulfilling the mandate of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF). In a situation unique in Eastern Europe, a small, ethnically based movement has assumed the role of a real national party, thereby thwarting the combined efforts of UDF and BSP

## THE DEATH OF BOSNIA

Raju G. C. Thomas

Those who advocate keeping Bosnia alive, fail to understand why Bosnia is now in its death throes. It is because the sovereign independent state of Yugoslavia, a state created in 1918, was cynically taken apart by a German-led Europe. This was in violation of the Helsinki Accords of 1976 that guaranteed the territorial integrity of the states of Europe.

If Germany and the West were so quick to perceive that Yugoslavia could not be kept together, then why is it so difficult for them to perceive that Bosnia cannot be kept together either? Bosnia--the true Yugoslavia--was doomed when Yugoslavia was dismembered through the reckless recognition of Slovenia and Croatia as independent states. Bosnia did not fulfill any of the guidelines of the 1932 Montevideo Convention on the recognition of new states: (1) a government in control; (2) clearly established boundaries; (3) and a stable population. This criteria for recognition is based on reality, not morality. We cannot recognize every state that wish to be free: e.g., Tibet from China, Kashmir from India, Tamil Ealam from Sri Lanka, East Timor from Indonesia, or Quebec from Canada.

The obsession now in the West, and especially in the United States, to preserve at any cost the former internal boundaries of Yugoslavia is illogical. If Yugoslavia's 72 year-old international boundaries did not matter, then why should the less than 2 year-old boundaries of Croatia and Bosnia matter? If Croats and Muslims could refuse to live in a Serb-dominated Yugoslavia, then Serbs have the right now **not** to live in new Croatian and Muslim-dominated states either. Serbs did not choose to leave Yugoslavia but had to watch helplessly as the old state simply vanished from right under their feet.

There are two precedents in this century for redrawing the former internal boundaries of seceding provinces before granting independence. Northern Ireland was separated from Ireland and retained by Britain when Ireland seceded in 1921. The eastern part of Punjab and the western part of Bengal were separated and retained by India when Pakistan seceded in 1947.

Contrary to assertions by the nouveau Balkan experts, the current boundaries of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina did not exist for centuries. Within the Austro-Hungarian empire, Dalmatia, Krajina and Slavonia were separate from the Croatian province. Bosnia-Herzegovina was switched from the Ottoman empire to the Austrian empire in 1878. Bosnia was not recognized as a separate province in the unitary state of Yugoslavia under the Serbian monarchy during the inter-war years. It was collapsed into the Ustashe Croatian state during the Second World War under the Nazis.

I was in the Serb-controlled territory of Bosnia recently in the town of Belijina, a town with a high percentage of Muslims who mixed freely with the Serbs, and in the adjacent village of Janja which was predominantly Muslim. The reason that these Muslims were not "ethnically cleansed" was because they voted to remain within Yugoslavia. I asked the well-to-do Muslim manager of a factory there this question: Was the decision of the Bosnian Muslims to secede from Yugoslavia, following Slovenia's and Croatia's secessions, worthwhile? This was his answer:

"Our village is 70-75 percent Muslim. We are living much better than the Muslims of Muslim territories. In our village, most Muslims have cultivated their fields. Our factory is not working because of the sanctions. I cannot speak for Muslims elsewhere, but here in Janja, they prefer to remain in Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia should have suited everyone. At the end, all will see the same view. Some Muslim families from here went to Austria and Switzerland. But they did not have to do so."

Before we mourn the death of one-year old Bosnia, a state that was still-born, let us first mourn the death of 73-year old Yugoslavia, a multi-ethnic sovereign state that was destroyed by a new a form of aggression: **diplomatic recognition**. If the old Yugoslavia could have been kept alive, we might have had only a series of internal political crises there, but none of the current human tragedy.

## A VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA: OBSERVATIONS AND REFLECTIONS

by

Raju G. C. Thomas

### I. INTRODUCTION

This report is based on a fact-finding mission to Yugoslavia that was undertaken from April 8th to 11th, 1993. The mission was sponsored by the Serbian National Shield Society of Canada/Voice of Canadian Serbs. Local expenses in Belgrade were provided by the Karic Bank. Members of the mission were Emilio Benavince and Nils Jensen (both of Canada), and Raju Thomas (of the United States). Accompanying us as our guide was Mike Bojich, a Serb-Canadian.

On the night of our arrival, we had dinner and discussions with Jovan Jovicevic, Special Adviser to the President of Karic Bank. The agenda--whom we wanted to meet or interview, the places we wanted to visit--were set by the three of us. **At no time did the Karic Bank or any official of the Yugoslav government compel us to do anything that we did not want to do.** It was irrelevant to me whether the Karic Bank was pro- or anti-Milosevic. For example, I had indicated that I did not want to meet Milosevic or Karadzic or any other prominent government or other public figure but preferred to meet opposition groups, church leaders, and university professors. This request was accommodated to the best of their ability. A genuine and serious effort was made to arrange an audience with Patriarch Pavle, the head of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Indeed, a meeting time of 5-5:30 pm Sunday was set. But because of our late arrival from Novi Sad on Sunday evening, and that particular Sunday being Eastern Orthodox Palm Sunday, we missed meeting the Patriarch. They agreed to arrange meetings with university professors and students if I could stay a few days longer. However, I had to return to Marquette University by April 13th. Our visit to Yugoslavia was arranged over the 4-day Easter break at Marquette University so that I missed none of my academic commitments in Milwaukee.

The following were people whom we interviewed, or with whom discussions took place:

1. Luka Jelovac, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Energy and Industry.
2. Velibor Popovic, Minister for Labor, Social Policy and Health Care;  
Ljubica Srdic, Adviser to Minister Popovic;  
Zoran Zivucj, Chief of Cabinet;  
Ivan Stojanovic, Special Adviser to Minister Popovic.
3. Dr. Milan Bulajic, Director, Yugoslav Commission for War Crimes & Genocide.
4. Dragolub Michunovich, President of the opposition Democratic Party, and Natasa Vuckovic, Chief of Staff. (Brief Meeting.)
5. Nikola Koljovic, Vice President, Serbian Republic of Bosnia (& others).
6. Drago Vukovic, Chief of Security, Town of Beljina, District of Semberia & Modevica.
7. Muslim Manager of Factory in predominantly Muslim village. This person (whose name I forgot to write down) was interviewed by Emilio Binavince. I met him alone later briefly (with Ema Miljkovic translating).
8. Urosh Vukovic, a Serb who survived the massacre of 6 members of this family.
9. Serbian Rape Victim. (Not to be identified for security reasons).
10. A Serbian inmate of a Muslim prison camp. (Not to be identified for security reasons).
11. Zora Palengic, a woman who was "ethnically cleansed" from Croatia with her family and now lives in Hvtkovci. Zora and her husband were first fired from their jobs. Her husband was later

killed.

12. Nilorad Stanojkovic (officer in Yugoslav Army), wife Nirjana and daughter Jasmina. All were forced to flee Zagreb.

We were accompanied on our various trips by Professor Vojin Dabic, and two young Serbs in their twenties, Ema Miljkovic and Zelsko Vucurovic. We enjoyed their good-hearted company as well as that of our two drivers, Nikola and Lazar.

## II. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

I sensed a general state of bewilderment and depression among the Serbs of what is left of Yugoslavia. This is only an impression based on the few people we interviewed and from the faces I saw in various parts of Belgrade. There were few cars moving in the broad boulevards of the new city, but there were several that were parked. Most gas stations were closed. In old Belgrade there appeared to be more people around and more activity. Perhaps this impression of gloom reflects my own state of mind based on my perceptions of the conditions that Serbs face today. Since I have never been to Belgrade before, I have no means of comparison with what life here was like in the past.

Western policy and the media campaign is such that ALL Serbs are being economically and psychologically destroyed. **The word "SERBS" has been made synonymous with the word "EVIL".** So much for the fairness and objectivity of the Western media and their leaders in addressing this conflict. Even the Jewish Anti-Defamation League has become caught up in propagating a vicious campaign of defamation against the Serbs on behalf of Franjo Tudjman. Using the Jewish Holocaust as their exclusive domain and forgetting the holocaust of the Serbs, the American Jewish Congress has gone overboard in their calls to bomb the Serbs. (This is in contrast to the sense of reason and sanity provided by other Jewish figures such as Simon Wiesenthal, A.M. Rosenthal, Nora Beloff, Henry Kissinger, and others.) Most Serbs do not really understand why they have been condemned this way. The standard of living of the Serbs in Yugoslavia is being cut back drastically and dramatically through international economic sanctions. As with Serbs everywhere, they see themselves being dehumanized, demonized and punished severely for events over which they have little control. They see a situation where all sides are to blame but only they are being punished. For the actions of a few Serbs, they are all being condemned and destroyed.

The problem is not "self-pity" among the Serbs as the Western media has claimed repeatedly in several articles and commentaries. The underlying problem is the zealous self-righteousness, moral hypocrisy, and political arrogance that now permeates the Western media in the unipolar post-Cold War era. The West carry undisputed military and economic power. With that power it would be easy to presume that they are also morally right, and that the West is incapable of killing innocent civilians in the wars they undertake. Their powerful Western media has carried this message globally to the non-Christian and non-Islamic worlds, areas that do not have the resources or the interest to check their stories and interpretations of the Balkan tragedy.

The problem is not the indoctrination of the Serbs by Belgrade TV and Radio. Serbian media propaganda and public relations are woefully pathetic compared to that of the slick and high-powered Western media. Its a case of third-rate amateurs versus first-rate professionals. In any case, Serbs in the US are exposed to the Western media and not subject to Belgrade's propaganda. Yet, Serbian-Americans are virtually unanimous in their support for the maintenance of a Yugoslavia that will continue to enclose and protect most Serbs that lived in the old Yugoslavia. The problem is the clever manipulation by the Western, and especially US media. All pro-Serbian views have been shut out or are presented in weak form so that they may demolished later. Pictures and images presented are selective and deliberately provocative to whip up mass public emotion to justify "bombing the Serbs". Similar pictures

can be presented from the Serbian side but are deliberately rejected. I heard one story where Western reporters and cameramen rushed to a place where they were told atrocities against civilians had taken place. But when they discovered that the victims were innocent Serb civilians, they packed up and left. When pictures of Serbian victims are shown, their ethnicity is not identified so as to give the impression that these are Muslims or Croats. One American newspaper had the gall to take the picture of a Serbian rape victim clearly identified in a caption in a Canadian newspaper, then reprint that picture under a caption identifying her as a Muslim victim.

This American media strategy of dehumanizing the Serbs--all Serbs--is to make bombing the Serbs more palatable to the American public. Selectivity of images to be conveyed to the American and global public is the key to this strategy. All the crimes committed against the Serbs are deliberately played down or passed off as Serbian atrocities through acts of omission. For example, the horrendous atrocities committed by Croats against Muslims in April 1993--the burning alive of whole Muslim families and the razing of houses and villages in Central Bosnia--have been played down, omitted, or portrayed as Serbian atrocities by failing to identify the killers as Croats. Some local TV channels in Milwaukee and Minneapolis, for instance, showed the horrific pictures of charred bodies of entire Muslim families without mentioning that the perpetrators of these crimes were Croatian soldiers. The next clip was about Serbian activities in Eastern Bosnia around Srbenica further crystallizing the impression that atrocities in Central Bosnia were committed by Serbs.

In a press conference that took place soon thereafter, President Clinton described these atrocities committed by Croats against Muslims in April 1993 as "qualitatively different" from those committed by the Serbs. How much more "qualitatively different" could atrocities be than the deliberate burning alive of whole families, or throwing grenades into homes of innocent civilian families and then shooting them dead as they run out of their homes in terror to escape the blasts? There are no words such as "anti-semitism" or "racism" to describe this attitude of total insensitivity towards all Serbs that is beginning to permeate American society from the President of the United States down. Bill Clinton is obviously President of all of the United States except of the one million whole or part Serb-Americans. This generalized hate and contempt for all Serbs that is being absorbed by most Americans is the artful and manipulative work of the American media led by the New York Times and the Washington Post.

Typical of the general Serbian character, I also sensed in Yugoslavia a mood of defiance and a willingness to accept dire hardships in pursuit of their basic goal: **a new Yugoslavia which will continue to encompass most Serbs of the old Yugoslavia.** Economic sanctions and the condemnation of all Serbs are actually driving most Serbs towards the Milosevic regime; not the reverse. Most Serbs may not approve of Milosevic and his nationalist or socialist causes but they see little choice for themselves. My guess is that most Serbs in Yugoslavia are prepared to suffer the consequences of their leaders' defiance of the United States and the West. Even if the Serbs of Serbia and Montenegro may buckle under Western pressure because their stakes are not high, the Serbs of Bosnia and Krajina will endure any hardship and fight to the death any international effort that would force them to live under Croatian or Muslim dominance. The price to be paid by Yugoslavia for standing by (but not necessarily approving) the defiance of the Bosnian Serbs will be very high--economically, psychologically and physically, especially if Western military action is pursued.

Americans would probably express shock and outrage if gasoline prices went up a dollar a gallon, or would go through extreme mental anguish if a single "loved one" died in war. After the experience of the Gulf War, the American media is willing to support the bombing of other states and people so long as the economic price is minimal (the Gulf War was paid for by other states), or so long as there are no casualties among US soldiers. But the American media fails to understand that we are dealing here with Bosnian and Krajina Serbs who are capable of suffering a great deal of pain, and who are willing to give up their lives in the pursuit of their cause to remain within Yugoslavia. Bosnian Serbs are largely poor peasants who are less educated than their kinsmen in Serbia. They occupied 60

percent of the countryside before the war began, and will not give up this land to Muslim or Croatian political control without a bloody fight.

As many Serbs rally around Milosevic and his government--mainly because of the way they are all being demonized and dehumanized by the West--this will also intensify the on-going campaign of sweeping hatred and contempt for ALL Serbs by a moralistic and self-righteous Western media. In response, Serbian defiance and resistance against this Western campaign of hate and contempt against all Serbs are also likely to increase. Amidst these conditions of gloom and prospective doom, our hosts, guides, officials and other Serbs whom we encountered in Yugoslavia remained good-hearted, good-spirited and generous. They reflected Serbian independence and resolve amidst extreme psychological, economic and physical adversity. It will not be easy for the United States and the West to subdue the Serbian spirit. Turks, Austrians and Germans have tried before and failed.

### III. INTERVIEWS WITH OFFICIALS

#### Economy

Interviews with government officials indicate that the Yugoslav economy is being brought to a standstill by international sanctions. Over the last one year, there was a drop in production of about 40 percent. In construction materials, for example, the drop in production was 70 percent. Building construction has almost ceased except for the completion of some essential projects. Yugoslavia used to produce only 20 percent of its oil and natural gas. The economy must now adjust to an 80 percent cutoff of its energy needs. Even foreign supplies of energy needed for humanitarian purposes are subject to "excuses and tricks" by the West. Although there is considerable agricultural resources in Yugoslavia, energy inputs, fertilizers and spare parts for agricultural machinery have been cut off.

About 50 percent of workers are on forced vacation on reduced salary necessary only for basic survival. Of the remaining 50 percent who come in to work, half of them have no work to do, and the other half have little work to do. Officially, the number of employed persons are only 9 percent less than last year. This is because of an official decision that nobody can be fired because of international sanctions.

However, the inflation rate is over 200 percent per month. Pensioners and the poor have been all but wiped out of their livelihood. All foreign trade has ground to a complete halt. There is some smuggling and sanctions-busting efforts, but the extent of these activities relative to the needs of the economy is minuscule. The new international sanctions may be expected to reduce the Yugoslavian economy to rubble.

Medicines, essential pharmaceutical and hospital equipment are not subject to sanctions. But the interpretation of what is or is not covered by the sanctions is determined by the exporting states. Consequently, many medical needs are subject to protracted assessments and delays, or simply denied. Even where some of these medical items are available, Yugoslavia does not have the foreign exchange to purchase them since its external trade has been cut off. Hospitals have been hit badly in some key sectors including operating theaters and medical equipment despite denials by the West. The West has simply refused to see these problems or have simply put the blame on the Milosevic regime for the suffering of the Serbian people.

#### Refugees

There are approximately 700,000 refugees in Yugoslavia from Bosnia and Croatia. Serbia houses

70 percent, and Montenegro about 30 percent. About 80 percent of these are Serbs, 9 percent Muslims, 3 percent Montenegrins, 1 percent Croats, and 7 percent "Others" that include Jews and Hungarians. In Serbia, refugees constitute about 6 percent of the total population. Most of these refugees (96 percent) are being accommodated in private homes and apartments. Much of this was done voluntarily and spontaneously by Serbs, but as the length of stay increases, friction is likely to increase. As a typical example, about 12 persons are now being accommodated in a two-bedroom apartment. Some subsidies are paid to the refugees to cover their expenses but none to the hosts for their trouble and inconvenience.

## War Crimes Issues

We questioned Nikola Koljovic, Vice President of the "Serbian Republic" of Bosnia about Western allegations of genocide and mass rape. He admitted that some atrocities had been committed by some Serbs but not on the scale alleged by the West. Moreover, atrocities had also been committed against Serbs by Muslims and Croats. In response to our questions, Koljovic claimed that the shelling of Sarajevo and Srbenica were frequently provoked by fire from the other side. He alleged that in Sarajevo the Bosnian government was forcibly putting Serb "recruits" to the Bosnian army in the front line of Serb artillery causing large-scale deaths. These Serbs were then being buried alongside Muslim soldiers in mass graves to demonstrate massacres to Western reporters. [My impression is that this practice has occurred elsewhere in Bosnia. It amounts to the virtual execution of Serbian men in Bosnian military uniform in Muslim controlled territory.] According to Koljovic, at no time did the Bosnian Serb militia control 60,000 Muslim women of rapeable age. [My own "guesstimate" is that about 5,000 were probably raped in Bosnia of which about 15-20 percent were Serbian women.]

Earlier discussions about war crimes at the Yugoslav equivalent of the "State Department" brought forth a remark by Dr. Milan Bulajic that "A crime is a crime and should be punished, especially when committed against women and children." But the general feeling in Yugoslavia is that Serbs alone are being singled out for punishment while ignoring not only the war crimes committed against Serbs in this war, but also more atrocious crimes committed elsewhere in the world in the past. Especially troubling is the creation of an ad hoc International War Crimes Tribunal to try Serbs alone. Both Milan Bulajic and Nikola Koljovic indicated that Yugoslavia would have no objection to a permanent war crimes tribunal that would examine all the crimes committed during the current war as well crimes committed elsewhere in the past, and are likely to be committed in the future. There was a question as to why an ad hoc tribunal was necessary since the accusation of war crimes against Serbia has already been submitted to the International Court of Justice.

An observation made by Emilio Binanvince with respect to the war crimes investigation and forthcoming trial is revealing: viz., the international investigators looking into the war crimes are essentially working for the prosecution; they are only looking for evidence to convict, not to acquit. Thus, the prosecutors appear also to be the judges. There appears to be no higher court of appeal for the Serbs. In the minds of the Western and especially American media, Serbs have already been tried and found guilty. They will accept no other verdict. The international legal process is a formality.

My impression of the intended international war crimes tribunal was that it violated every principle of justice and fairplay. The system and process would be thrown out as a cruel farce in any domestic Western democratic society. What is being set up is nothing more than an "Ad Hoc International Kangaroo Court" decked with the frills of respectability to pacify the hysterical and revengeful demands of an American-led Western lynch mob. There has been for some time an array of deeply prejudiced Western news reporters collecting evidence against the Serbs who have committed war crimes. Few of them are interested in listening to (let alone discovering) war crimes committed against the Serbs.

Following our talks with the Bosnian Serb Vice President and his entourage at Bosnia House in Belgrade (as well as other Serbian officials), it was impossible for us to imagine that these men and women are the "Nazis" that the Western media has described them to be. I gathered that Vice President Nikola Koljovic is an Oxford or Cambridge Ph.D. and a former professor of Shakespearean literature. He translated the entire works of Shakespeare into Serbo-Croatian. He was a visiting professor at two of the leading Ivy League universities in the United States before he was thrust into this tragic political role. Others included professors of intellectuals in sociology, economics and philosophy, and engineers and scientists. These Serbs are anything but Nazis capable of war crimes or of giving orders to men in the field that war crimes be committed.

#### **Brief Interview with Muslim Factory Manager**

Emilio Binavince conducted a lengthy interview with this Muslim manager of a factory in a predominantly Muslim village in Serb-controlled Bosnia. I met him briefly before we were headed back to Belgrade. I only had one question for him: Was the decision of the Bosnian Muslims to secede from Yugoslavia following Slovenia's and Croatia's secessions worthwhile? This was his answer (translation):

"Our village is 70-75 percent Muslim. We are living much better than the Muslims of Muslim territories. In our village, most Muslims have cultivated their fields. Our factory is not working because of the sanctions. I cannot speak for Muslims elsewhere, but here in Janja, they prefer to remain in Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia should have suited everyone. At the end, all will see the same view. Some Muslim families from here went to Austria and Switzerland. But they did not have to do so."

#### **IV. INTERVIEWS WITH SERB VICTIMS**

I have avoided giving too much details about names and places in the following summaries of our interviews. The interviews provided details of the names of persons and places. These cases represent rape, murder, massacres, beatings of prisoners in camps, and widespread ethnic cleansing. Two victims did not want to be identified because their relatives were still in the hands of the opposing forces. Nils Jensen, a specialist in Criminal Law, was particularly rigorous in ensuring that there were no discrepancies or possible falsehoods in the information provided by the interviewees. Periodic checks always proved that they were telling the truth, and that they had not been put forward to provide propaganda for the government. Everyone of these victims were genuine cases. It did not appear that any of these victims had been interviewed before. Their answers indicated that they certainly had not been coached for our interview. [The Western media is not interested in the plight of Serb victims. In Zagreb, however, Croat and Muslim victims are trundled out in organized fashion to meet the heavy demand by Western reporters for Croat and Muslim victims of the Serb demons.] My impression here is that the victims we encountered appear to represent widespread abuses and atrocities against Serbs.

#### **Rape Victim**

We interviewed a woman (born 1953) who had been beaten, raped and sodomized. At the time of the rape, her husband had already been arrested and taken to a prisoners' camp. He still remains in some jail in central Bosnia.

She, her husband and two sons aged 10 and 12 lived in a house next to her in-laws house. Because she was afraid, she and her sons slept in her in-laws house next door. On June 20th, 1992 at about 3 AM, three men in uniform broke into the house. Two of them were Muslim soldiers of the Territorial Defense Army and a third was a regular Croat soldier of the Croatian Defense Forces (HOS).



She knew of their military affiliations from their uniforms and the location of their insignia on their shoulders (Muslims) and on the chest (Croatian).

First they beat her and pulled her hair and pulled off her gold earrings. She told them that her children were sleeping. They asked if they were girls or boys. They checked that they were boys. With a knife at her throat, they asked her to take off her clothes. They threatened to kill her children if she did not. First, the two Muslims raped her one after the other in the bathroom while the Croatian soldier stood outside. Then the Croatian soldier entered the bathroom and sodomized her ferociously. Her buttocks bled severely from this attack. This atrocity took place while her two sons aged 10 and 12 huddled in fear in the adjoining room. When she was taken out of the bathroom, she found her two sons trembling and crying. She found that her father-in-law had been beaten severely. This incident took place between 3 AM and 4 AM.

Later that morning, she went with her father-in-law to the local town hall to complain to the Croatian Defense Council (HVO) and to ask for first aid. The HVO took the father-in-law back to his house, and then collected all her medical records and medicines. They came back to the Town Hall and took her to the hospital. A gynecologist examined her and she was returned to her house.

She met her husband briefly while he was being transferred from one prison to another. He advised her to leave for Serb territory. Already several of the Serbs had been driven out and their houses taken over by Muslims. Her Muslim neighbors told her that she should be slaughtered. We asked her whether she would ever like to go back to her town. She replied with tears streaming down her face that "I would like to go away far from this place and all of this." (Translation.)

The rape victim provided us with much more detail (which I have decided not to go into). She had satisfactory responses to interrogations by the two lawyers, Emilio Binavince and Nils Jensen, to convince us that she was telling the truth. She frequently broke down and cried while she narrated her story. She told us that she still suffers medical problems from the sodomizing, finds herself constantly breaking down and crying, and feels out of breath most of the time.

I believe this woman represents several hundred Serbian women who were raped by soldiers and militia of the other side. A rape victim is a rape victim. The tragedy and the trauma are the same whether this happens under conditions of war in Bosnia, or in the streets and apartments of the United States where about 50,000 rapes take place every year. It is no consolation to the several hundred/thousand Serbian women who were raped to know that several thousand Muslim women were raped. Raped Serbian women have to suffer both the trauma and humiliation of being raped, as well as the pain of neglect and condemnation by the West.

#### **Former Prisoner of a Muslim Camp**

Born in 1952, this man was a moderately well-to-do person with his own electrical repair business and a small plot of farmland which his wife cultivated. He has three teenage daughters. In June 1992, Muslim forces came and arrested him. All the men of his village between the age of 15 and 65 were arrested and taken away in groups to the local primary school. His group had about 15 men. Women and children were taken to another destination. The village, which was entirely Serb, had a total population of about 3,000 people.

At the school, they were all beaten and kicked severely. About 20 to 30 men were kept in each classroom, and they were taken one at a time to the bathroom to be beaten. There were about 6 to 7 men beating them with their guns and kicking them with their boots. When he was brought in to the bathroom, the last man was still being beaten. It was supposed to be an interrogation, but they were

not interested in the answers. He was given more severe beatings because (as he was told) he had more property than others. He was nicknamed the "Chetnik Duke." He was accused of providing money to Serbian forces for the purchase of guns. Although the beatings did not result in any broken bones on him, he was bleeding from the mouth, nose and ears, and was vomiting blood. His glasses were broken so that he could not see properly.

After the beatings, they were taken in the closed freezer containers of trucks to the prison in the main town nearby. About 500 to 600 of them were thrown into the basement of the prison which was sufficient space for all of them to stand but not to lie down. The prison had a cement floor. They were given no food only access to water and a bathroom. One group that did not include him was taken out again and beaten. After three days, they were taken to the police for more interrogation. He was interrogated by a judge who was the chief of the military court. The interrogators were both Croats and Muslims. They were then transferred to larger cells in the prison with beds. Periodically, the guards would deliberately mess up their beds and beat them up for not having made their beds. He remained in this prison from June 6th 1992 to February 19th, 1993 when he became part of a prisoner exchange of Serbs and Muslims.

He has been reunited with his family but has no work to do. Two of his three daughters had already finished school and also have no work to do. The third is now back in school. They all live on food packages given to them once a month by the Red Cross. In response to our questions, he said that he could not go back to his village because all the Serbs were driven out. Other members of the village had informed him that all their houses had been burned. His wife and three daughters managed to escape in a convoy of Serbs to Serbian controlled territory on July 12th, 1992. The journey took them 7 days.

#### **Survivor of a Family Massacre**

UV (born 1952) was a Serb who came from a town in central Bosnia which is now completely under Muslim control. He was a sales manager of an industrial plant there. He had graduated as an economist from Sarajevo University. He grew up in a nearby village which only had a few Serbs, most of whom were members of his extended family. They owned about 150 acres of land. Surrounding villages were mainly Muslim.

Problems began with the creation of national parties in the villages along ethnic lines, Muslims, Croats and Serbs. Before that everything was normal. There were no tensions among the three groups. They celebrated each other's birthdays, marriages and festivals. Mixed marriages were common. Two of his extended family members were Muslim and Croatian. We lived in complete peace and harmony.

First the Croatian national party was created and then the Muslim party. All the Serbs were fired from their jobs including himself. Muslims declared all Serbs to be snipers. Since hunting was his hobby, he had three hunting guns. And because he travelled extensively as a salesman, he also kept a pistol which he took on his sales visits. One of his office colleagues accused him of being a sniper. He offered to give up all his guns. He was told that they knew what he was, so why was he pretending to return his guns.

In June, his cousin was arrested at the family's house in the village at 1 AM. The river Bosna runs along their building. He was informed by another cousin that Muslims took him down to the river only in his underwear and tied him to one of the chestnut trees. They cursed his Chetnik mother and told him that Serbs were going to be tortured and slaughtered. Before they came back, he managed to break free and escaped down the river to Serb controlled territory. At that point, our interviewee and other Serbs sent most of their women and children to Serbia. He asked the Muslim commanders to

allow Serbs to leave peacefully. He was assured that nothing would happen to his family.

On the 19th of June, he was returning from the militia's headquarters. A Croat friend of his asked him to go with him to his house in the next village to finish some business. He stayed overnight at the Croat's house and was returning to his parent's house the next morning when he heard artillery firing and gunshots. He immediately tried to reach the Muslims at the headquarters and asked them to go and protect his family. They refused and told me that because I was a Serb I could not return to the village. He returned to the house of his Croatian friend who then went with two others to find out what had happened. He came back at about 5:30 pm and was crying. After a while, he was informed that his father, mother, brother, his brother's son, and two of his cousins were all killed. (The names and ages of all the victims were provided by this man.)

One of his brothers escaped the massacre by hiding in the stable and witnessed the whole thing. The massacre was conducted by Muslims of the Green Berets. According to his account, the Muslims entered the garden and asked for his father by name. When his father came out, they asked him whether all of this was his property. He said yes. They told him that they were too rich. His father offered to give up all his property if they could just go away. They said no; they were going to kill everybody. Then they began shooting everybody. His brother who was hiding was saved later by another Croatian friend who came by to see the situation. (Croatians were allowed to move freely; but Serbs were not).

#### **Serbs "Ethnically Cleansed" from Croatia**

ZP was born in 1948 and married in 1965. She and her husband worked in a wood factory in Croatia. They had lived in this Croatian town for about 27 years but spent an interval of 12 years working in Germany. They came back permanently from Germany in 1980. They had built a two-story house for themselves. Her daughter today is 19 years old and her son is 24. She has her daughter-in-law with her. According to the 1981 census, the town's population was about 8 percent Serbs. Together with the surrounding areas, there were about 12 percent Serbs in the area.

Before the Croatian Democratic Alliance (CDA) came in, the factory had a mixed managing team of Serbs and Croats, numbering about 30, with 7 Serb managers. In July 1991, the CDA fired all the Serb managers. The factory was quite large but she is not quite sure how large, perhaps about 1000-1700 worked at her factory, altogether 2,800 at all the branches. In August 1991, they were all forced to attend a rally to protest against the Yugoslavian Army. The Croats were shouting that all members of the Yugoslav Army should be slaughtered. They shouted abuses at her calling her a "Chetnik's Mother."

In September 1991, she was fired from her job although she had no problems earlier at the state factory. Several other Serbs were also fired. They told them that the factory had too many workers. But this was the first time that they had fired many people. She was fired without any severance pay. She was not allowed to take her savings out of the Zagreb bank because she was a young woman and could manage somehow. She had about 2,900 German Marks in the account. When she went to the Unemployment office, they refused to pay her anything.

Her husband was still working at the factory. But the remaining Serbs were not allowed to communicate with each other. Croats, who were once friendly, were afraid to talk to the Serbs. Some friendly Croats advised the Serbs to leave the town for their safety.

On Friday February 21, 1992, her husband to work on the 6 AM to 2 PM shift. On that day she was sick and asked her husband to pick up some bread on the way home from work. The factory is about 15 minutes walk from their house. When he failed to return home by 2:30 she called the police

who told her that everything in the town was normal. When she called again at midnight, they told her that they could nothing until Monday. With the help of a Croatian friend, she searched the hospitals all night. When her husband continued to remain missing, the police told her that he had joined the Chetniks. Four days after his disappearance, the factory had informed her that he had been fired. She contacted the Red Cross who advised her to go to the Croatian parliament in Zagreb to see the president of the Commission for national relations, a Serb. This Serb told her not to tell anyone that she had visited him but only that she had written to him. Several days after her husband was missing, she kept receiving phone calls with nobody answering at the other end. But she could hear the sound of police walkie-talkies in the background.

On April 26, 1992, it was Orthodox Easter, the police called her and said that they had found the dead body of her husband but asked her come in on Monday and see it. On Monday, she asked the Croatian policeman on duty to go with her to the place where her husband had died. The policeman declined but his eyes were filled with tears. She later heard that this Croatian policeman had a nervous breakdown. She went to the pathologist to get a license for his funeral. When she was allowed to see the body, it was dressed in the same clothes as when he left on the day of his disappearance. His socks were very white and clean. He had a bruise on his forehead. She was convinced that he was killed in April because the body was not decomposed. The factory refused to provide any money for his funeral. The death certificate that was issued claimed that it was suicide by hanging.

To our question, she informed us that her husband had no reason to commit suicide. She also saw no sign of hanging around the neck. He was not a union leader or a member of anything. He did not have any personal enemies. She is sure that the only reason he was killed was because he was a Serb. She informed us that a lot of Serbs were missing in that town that were never accounted for. She mentioned one specific instance where a Serb had driven to the next village to get something and was later found dead.

There were several Croats from Serbia visiting her town to exchange their houses. Croats from Serbia were allowed to come and look for houses to exchange in Croatia, but Serbs in Croatia were not allowed to go to Serbia to do the same thing. The Croat (in the house in which she now lives in Serbia) came and looked at her house and offered to exchange his house. He told her that it was almost as big with all the same quality of furniture, etc. He told her that he had a new color TV set like the one she had. When the exchange was finalized (the Croat had a thumb imprint on the document indicating that he was illiterate), she and her family moved to the Croat's house in Serbia to find that it was extremely small with a small and old Black-&-White TV set.

We had a brief interview with NS born 1945, wife born 1949, and daughter born 1970. This was a highly educated and urbane family. He was a Yugoslav Army officer with an apartment in Zagreb and a summer house on one of the Croatian islands. They showed us photographs of the house on the island which was quite large and beautiful. An exchange was arranged for the tiny house of the Croatian in Serbia for his large summer house in Croatia. Again, the Croatian in Serbia was allowed to leave and visit Croatia to negotiate house exchanges, while the Serb officer could only make a one-way trip out of Croatia and accept blindly whatever was exchanged in Serbia. However, all three members of the family said that they were just grateful to get out of Croatia alive to any place in Serbia.

## V. CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

### **Serbian Attitudes Towards Western Policies**

This is not a tragedy where only Muslims and Croats have suffered. It is one where all ethnic groups have suffered in one way or another. After Minister Velibor Popovic provided the facts and

figures illustrating the economic devastation of Yugoslavia and the suffering of its people, I pointed out the far greater suffering of the Muslims of Bosnia. Thousands of Muslims have been killed, and hundreds of thousands have been rendered homeless and penniless. The Serbs of Yugoslavia do not face the same level of agony. Popovic's answer was that there is a war going on in Bosnia, there is no war going on in Yugoslavia. He suggested that it was not possible to explain to the Serbs in Yugoslavia why the civil war in Bosnia justifies the imposition of extreme penalties on them. Popovic's implication was that the wars in Bosnia and Croatia were caused by declarations of independence against the will of Serb minorities in these republics. Serbia and Montenegro did not secede from Yugoslavia.

Indeed, the tragedy of Yugoslavia was generated and compounded from the outside by an anti-Serb German media and leadership. Germany is not paying any price for the war in the former Yugoslavian territories although it was Hans-Dietrich Genscher's encouragement and push to recognize the independence of Slovenia and Croatia that created this bloody mess. Instead, Germany is being praised in the American media for having warned the world of the evil Serbs. This American gratitude towards Germany for its perceptive analysis of the problem in Yugoslavia is strange. Germany's push for recognition and the disintegration of Yugoslavia constituted a case of **diplomatic aggression**. A new method has been introduced whereby powerful Western states can dismember other sovereign states through the strategy of diplomatic recognition. Most British historians and specialists in the region would have pointed out that historically the Germanic peoples of Austria and Germany were part of the problem of the Balkans. They cannot be expected to be objective and should not have been asked to lead Europe. Asking Germany to make policy for Europe on the Balkans would be almost as bad as asking the Klu Klux Klan to make civil rights policy for the Blacks in America. Germany cannot be objective in dealing with the Serbs.

### Cuddling the Croats

There may be no war in Serbia, but Serbs have been, or are at war in Croatia and Bosnia. In Bosnia, Serbs have also experienced the tragedy of massacres, rapes and ethnic cleansing even if it is not as much as they have inflicted on the Muslims. However, the earlier war in Croatia was far more even in the level of atrocities committed by both Serbs and Croats against each other. Franjo Tudjman triggered the Serbian revolt by arousing the passions of Croatian nationalism with the symbols of the genocidal Ustashe regime--the flag, the marital music, the rehabilitation of former Ustashe members scattered worldwide, the renaming of streets with Ustashe names. There were other Croatian demands that set light to the powder keg: the declaration that Serbs would have no automatic rights in an independent Croatia, the demand that they take on loyalty oaths, the banning of the Cyrillic alphabet, the firing of most Serbs from their jobs.

It is very difficult for me to understand why Croatia and all Croats are not being punished the same way as Serbia and all Serbians. Croatia has already accomplished its "Greater Croatia" in Bosnia quietly and efficiently while the Serbs continue to fight for their "Greater Serbia" in messy and bloody fashion. The Croatian territories of Bosnia are contiguous with Croatia, about 40,000 regular units of the Croatian armed forces operate in this region, the Croatian flag flies everywhere, Croatian currency is in use, Croatian license plates are attached to all their vehicles--but there is no international hue and cry about this. The horrendous atrocities committed by Croats against Muslims may be limited but it is only because they do not have to undertake much "ethnic cleansing" themselves to achieve their ethnically pure state. Croats have been getting a free ride on the backs of world sympathy for the Muslims.

Why are no sanctions being imposed on Croatia? Why are there no calls to bomb the Croats? Why are there no monitors being called to be placed between the Croatian borders and Bosnia-Herzegovina?

## The Question of Ethnic Cleansing & Genocide

Much has been made about Serbian "ethnic cleansing." It has been equated with genocide. Actually, no more so than "Zionism is Racism." The Jews were the victims of that Arab hate propaganda. The Serbs are now the victims of this new American-Jewish hate propaganda despite protests by Simon Wiesenthal, the Jewish Nazi Hunter, that the two conditions are not the same thing. If it were, the creation of Israel must also have been a case of genocide since 800,000 Palestinians were "cleansed" out of Palestine to make room for the settlement of European Jews from another continent. At least the Bosnian Serbs are from Bosnia and belong in Bosnia. Let us also not forget that immigrants from Europe "ethnically cleansed" the native Indians to create the United States of America. Indeed, this was probably closer to genocide as native Indians were driven towards extinction by European settlers over a period of 400 years. We are all the bountiful beneficiaries today of those actions by the early European immigrants. This process is still taking place in Brazil in the Amazon rain forests. Some of the loudest voices protesting the "genocide" by the Serbs in the Balkan conflict are those of the Turks, Germans and Croats. Ironically, members of these three nationalities were responsible for the worst genocides in the 20th century.

There is almost a craving to discover genocide by the Serbs on the part of the American media and American Jews. Massacres committed by Serbs is genocide; but not massacres committed against the Serbs. Ethnic cleansing by the Serbs is genocide; but not that committed by the other side against the Serbs. Figures of Muslims and Croats killed are not just inflated but amount to lies. The American media is not going to be cheated out of their "genocide." The projected figures of the number of people who died in Croatia and Bosnia are deliberately intended to mislead. Of the 10,000 or 16,000 who died during the war in Croatia (the figure fluctuates), at least 40 percent were Serbs. The number of Muslim civilians who died in Bosnia was first projected at 17,000 in late Fall, 1992. By early January 1993, this figure was increased to 20,000 dead. But suddenly the figure ranged between 150,000 to 500,000 under a new category "dead or missing." This missing did not imply "presumed dead" but is deliberately intended to convey that impression to substantiate claims of genocide. Indeed, without any evidence, the "missing" have all now been converted to "dead" by respectable newspapers such as the Christian Science Monitor. Thus, "dead" Muslim civilians increased in a matter of weeks from 18,000 to 150,000.

Inter-ethnic strife everywhere in the world invariably leads to "ethnic cleansing" of greater or lesser degree. When Pakistan was created in 1947, 8 million Hindus and Sikhs from West Punjab and Sindh fled to India, 5 million Muslims from East Punjab fled to Pakistan. The Muslim uprising in Kashmir has led to the "ethnic cleansing" of all the 300,000 Kashmiri Hindu Pundits of the Valley, a high caste and highly educated Hindu community that had lived there since about 1000 B.C. Racial segregation in the United States could well be renamed "Inter-Ethnic Contamination Prevention" or "The Maintenance of Ethnically Cleansed Areas." Jews in Israel are not anxious to live next door to Palestinian Muslims especially when both sides still hate and kill each other. Bombing the Serbs will not make Serbs want to live peacefully with Croats and Muslims after all this violence bloodshed. The solution to inner city crime or racial strife in the US would not be to impose sanctions against all Blacks and Hispanics, or to bomb the inner cities of America. There can only be political and social solutions to such problems, not military ones.

### Bombing the Serbs

As I write this report today (April 23rd, 1993), there was leaked information to the New York Times indicating that twelve State Department officials and the US Ambassador to the UN have recommended military intervention even if its European allies do not concur. Senator Joseph Biden earlier, following a visit to Bosnia and Croatia (hearing only one side of the story as usual) declared that the Serbian military assault against defenseless women and children could be stopped through American

bombing. Biden claims that Europeans would have acted differently if the Muslims were Christians instead. As a matter of fact, Biden's deep concern for Bosnian Muslims is not because they are Muslims. It is because they are Whites. The greater victimization of Asian or African Muslims would not have raised the same level of concern. Senator Robert Dole, who has always carried a personal pathological hate for the Serbs long before this crisis erupted, has called for bombing the Serbs and for lifting the arms embargo on the Muslims. He fears the "annihilation of the Albanians" otherwise.

The deaths of innocents are the usual casualties of war, and bombing will not reduce the level of killing of innocents. For example, according to a Fall 1992 report of the New England Journal of Medicine, the American strategic bombing of Iraq may have led to the direct or indirect deaths of about 47,000 Iraqi children under the age of five. The Chicago Tribune syndicated columnist, Mike Royko, attempted to demonstrate what this actually meant: Imagine, he said, if 47,000 American children and babies under the age of five were all wired to their seats in a baseball stadium, and then an electric current was sent through the seats suddenly killing all of them. That's how many children were slowly killed in Iraq as the direct or indirect consequence of America's conduct of the Gulf War. During the war, I recall one American bomb being dropped on a shelter where American intelligence thought Saddam Hussein was hiding. It turned out that about 400 Iraqi women and children were sheltering there from American bombs. They were all killed. There were no American cameras to record the tragedy, and there was no American grief or remorse for their deaths of these women and children. It was all Saddam Hussein's fault and Americans did not have to feel guilty.

The American atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and conventional bombing of Vietnam--all to achieve strategic objectives--did not spare killing of women and children. Israeli bombing of Palestinian terrorist hideouts in the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon have always led to the deaths of many more innocents than that inflicted by Palestinian terrorists on Israelis. However, killing many more innocent civilians with bombs from American and Israeli war planes appears to be moral so long as the targets are strategic even if the bombers know in advance that many innocent civilians will be killed. There is no denying that several innocent Muslim civilians are being killed by Serbian shelling. But there is a Serbian strategic objective in the shelling of Srbenica and other towns in Bosnia. It is part of a plan to carve out contiguous territory where all Serbs can continue to live in Yugoslavia--something which was denied by the secessions of Croatia and Bosnia, and by the Vance-Owen Plan.

American military intervention may only postpone that objective. More likely, it will lead to a full-scale Balkan war where there will be no winners. It will alienate Serbs everywhere including the one million Serbs living in the US and Canada, and perhaps another million part Serbs whose passions may also be aroused. Blind and deaf to the Serbian side of the story, the American media and some of its political leadership have been wallowing in their own self-righteous morality. [Thank heavens for men like Senators John Warner, Sam Nunn, John McCain, Congressman Lee Hamilton and others for maintaining their sense of reason and pragmatism.] These nouveau military interventionists do not understand the Serbian character and their history. American Serbs have listened to the systematic vilification of ALL Serbs--men women and children--by the American media and American leaders. Their character, self-esteem and basic psyche have been decimated through the depiction of ALL Serbs as pigs, vultures, other animals, and criminals in the American media news cartoons and news reports. "Bombing the Serbs," as a hysterical and hateful American media has demanded, could lead to several unforeseen consequences in the region and abroad that could prove to be much more messy than the simple policy of avoiding external military intervention in the Balkans.

### **The Problem of Boundaries and Minorities**

The solution to the Balkan conflict is not American military intervention. You cannot bomb ethnic groups who now hate each other so much into living together in tolerance and goodwill. The

preferred solution now would be to redraw the boundaries of Croatia and Bosnia so that most Serbs remain part of Yugoslavia. If the external sovereign boundaries of the independent state of Yugoslavia can be dispensed with so easily, so can the boundaries of these two new states.

Contrary to assertions made by the new self-trained American media historians, the current boundaries of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina did not exist for centuries. Under the Austro-Hungarian empire, Dalmatia, Krajina and Slavonia were separate from the Croatian province. Bosnia-Herzegovina was switched from the Ottoman empire to the Austrian empire in 1878. Bosnia was not recognized as a separate province in the unitary state of Yugoslavia during the inter-war years. It was made part of the Ustashe Croatian state during the Second World War. There have also been precedents for separating parts of provinces that secede from the main state. When Ireland seceded in 1921, Northern Ireland was separated and retained by Great Britain. When Pakistan seceded in 1947, the eastern part of Punjab and the western part of Bengal were separated and retained by India. It is also important to note that before the extermination, conversion and expulsion of the Serbs by the Ustashe during World War Two, the Serbs were the majority ethnic group in Bosnia (about 43 percent Serbs and 8 percent "Yugoslavs"). This point should be taken into account in redrawing the boundaries, or while partitioning Bosnia into its ethnic divisions.

The Krajina area must also be separated and retained by Yugoslavia. If second-generation Croatians in the US do not socialize or communicate with second-generation Serbians (a situation that appears to be true in the cities of Milwaukee and Chicago that I am familiar with), I see little hope that Serbs will be treated fairly in Croatia. Croatia appears interested only in the territory that Serbs occupy, but not the Serbian population. Referring to the Krajina Serbs as "aggressors" merely accentuates the fact that Serbs are not part of Croatia, and that Serbs cannot live in Croatia as first class citizens. The problem is compounded by the fact that Franjo Tudjman has virtually declared that the Ustashe holocaust against the Serbs did not happen. The restoration of Ustashe symbols in the new Croatia will hardly persuade the Serbs to live as citizens of Croatia.

### **What Can and Should be Done**

Since it was a German-led Europe that decided that Croatians, Slovenians and Muslims could not and must not live in a Serbian-dominant Yugoslavia, the Serbs have every right now to refuse to live in a Croatian-dominated Croatia or a Muslim-dominated Bosnia. As in a children's quarrel, the Serbs are saying: "If you won't live with us, then we ain't gonna live with you." Its too late to have it any other way. When Yugoslavia was taken apart through Europe's cynical and cavalier recognition policy, Bosnia--the true Yugoslavia--was doomed. If Europe and the United States wish to preserve Bosnia (a state that was still born), then it must first piece Yugoslavia back together again (a state that had existed since 1918.) If they are not prepared to do this, then the objective now should be to separate the ethnic groups as civilly as possible (more "ethnic cleansing" unfortunately), redraw the international boundaries through negotiations, and then bring this horrendous civil war to an end. This is a pessimistic conclusion (written during a mood of despair) but given the total lack of communication and any semblance of goodwill among the three sides, there appear to be no other alternative. Maintaining the current boundaries is not likely to contribute to peace in the region.



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THE TRAGEDY OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA:  
THE PROBLEM AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

by

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## THE TRAGEDY OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA: THE PROBLEM AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

by

Raju G. C. Thomas

### The Problem

The causes of the Balkan conflict, the problems and the consequences are not one-sided. No doubt Serbia, the Serbian leaders Slobodan Milosevic, Radovan Karadzic, their military commanders, and many Serb irregulars bear responsibility for overreaction, excessive use of force, and generally letting matters get out of hand. Atrocities committed by various individuals and political groups, and the practice of "ethnic cleansing" must be condemned, stopped and reversed. But the world must make a distinction between the on-going symptoms of the Balkan problem and its underlying causes. Whereas the Serbs may be "mainly to blame" for the present conflict (as the Western press alleges), the blame lies largely elsewhere when examined from a long-term and comparative perspective. Whereas some tragedies may be unavoidable, it is also true that bad policies and decisions generate human tragedies that could have been avoided. Most of those decisions were made largely by Western Europe.

When dealing with the underlying causes of the conflict, the answers must be sought in the history of the region, and in the more contemporary political machinations that took place prior to the declarations of independence by Croatia and Slovenia, especially among the leaders of Germany, Austria and Croatia. President Franjo Tudjman of Croatia and President Milosevic of Serbia, both communists turned nationalists, together with the former German Foreign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, are all to blame for the Balkan tragedy.

Franjo Tudjman's Wastelands of Historical Reality and Alia Izetbegovic's more recent reiteration of his earlier Muslim Declaration provided the grounds for the revolt by Serbs living in Croatia and Bosnia. These are regions where Serbs suffered the holocaust during World War Two at the hands of Croatian Ustashe and the German Nazis. In his book, Tudjman declared: "Genocide is a natural phenomenon, in harmony with the societal and mythologically divine nature. Genocide is not only permitted, it is recommended, even commanded by the word of the Almighty, whenever it is useful for the survival or the restoration of the kingdom of the chosen nation, or for the preservation and spreading of its one and only correct faith." Izetbegovic declared: "There can be no peace or coexistence between Islamic faith and non-Islamic faith and institutions... The Islamic movement must and can take power as soon as it is morally and numerically strong enough, not only to destroy the non-Islamic power, but to build up a new Islamic one..." Tudjman's periodic remarks about race and religion suggest that his statement above is not necessarily out of context; and the re-release of Izetbegovic's Muslim Declaration in 1990 indicates that a Muslim state remains the preference of some Bosnian Muslims.

It is ironic that just before the leaders of the warring Balkan countries and factions met in London in September, 1992, Genscher (who chose to retire a few months before his end of term last year) declared that Serbs were the root cause of the evil in the Balkans. Apart from the fact that this was a deliberate attempt to sabotage the London conference, it would appear more likely that Germany, and especially Hans-Dietrich Genscher himself, constituted the root cause of the evil in the Balkans. Twice in the last 50 years Germany intervened or interfered in Yugoslavia--militarily in 1941 and politically in 1991. Both times it led to extensive inter-ethnic violence and indiscriminate bloodshed.

The tragedy has been compounded by the Western media which has taken a superficial and myopic view of the conflict bereft of an understanding of regional history and of comparisons to similar conflicts elsewhere in the world. Serbia, has been compared to Nazi Germany both in terms of its larger territorial objectives and the evil nature of the regime and its people. There have been constant references to "Munich" and to the "lessons" of the Second World War as being applicable to Serbian behavior in Europe. The fact is that Serbia is a comparatively weak state in Europe, its reactions arise from a sense of grievous injustice done to the Serbs in the former Yugoslavia of Tito, and a perception that there was new collusion among the successors of the fascist collaborators of wartime Europe who had then sought to exterminate the Serbs.

The experience and the behavior of Serbia and the Serbs parallel in some distant way that of Israel and the Jews. Jews and Serbs were victims of the holocaust. Like the Jews, the Serbs seek a state that symbolize their determination to survive. For the Serbs, this state must encompass all the Serbs of the former Yugoslavia. They will not be divided among three separate states, especially in the territories of the former Nazi puppet state of Croatia ruled by the Ustashe which had then included Bosnia. While Serbia's and Serbian reactions tend to be similar to that of Israel and the Jews everywhere, they do not command the same level of wealth, power and influence. To project Serbia as a threat to Europe, as the Western media has depicted them, is distortion.

The observations in this paper are not intended to exonerate those Serbs who are guilty of committing massacres, rapes and other atrocities in this conflict. This paper is intended to provide an alternative picture of the conflict, and to counter-balance the one-sided projections and analyses by the West. Enough has been said by anti-Serbian forces whose clients in the region have also committed atrocities and "ethnic cleansing," even if these were on a lesser scale.

The prospect of returning to the pre-disintegration, pre-war situation in Yugoslavia now appears impossible. But historians, political scientists, journalists and policy-makers should examine the full historical record of the Balkans--at least in this century. They should compare the international actions taken in the Balkans with those taken on other secessionist movements and conflicts elsewhere in world. The significant question is this: Could the territorial integrity of the sovereign state of Yugoslavia have been salvaged; or was disintegration and war inevitable? Only such a historical and comparative analytical approach will provide the insights and lessons for appropriate policy-making and implementation. A broader perspective is more likely to establish long-term stability in the Balkans.

## I. THE NATURE OF THE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN IN THE WEST

### The Prejudice of Western Media Perceptions

The Western media is not reporting and analyzing the events and conditions as impartial observers. They have become an integral part of the mutual stereotyping and the vicious cycle of hate and violence of the peoples in the Balkans. The Western media's response to the conflict in the former territories of Yugoslavia has been so perversely one-sided, that one despairs that fairness and justice will ever be done to the Serbs. Western references to "the Serbs" in itself constitute one of the major problems. Condemnations of the Serbs are generalized, sweeping, extreme and indiscriminate. Attributions of monstrosities, barbarism and evil are not directed at a few individual Serbs who may have been guilty of horrendous crimes, nor is it directed at the regime of Slobodan Milosevic, or the Serbian faction of Radovan Karadzic. It is being directed at Serbia and Serbs everywhere.

As a matter of fact, Milosevic or Karadzic are not much more guilty than President Franjo Tudjman of Croatia or President Alija Izetbegovic of the fictional state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. They are not any more guilty than Mate Boban of the Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosna, a virtual republic

which has already been carved out of Bosnia with the help of regular Croatian forces from across the Croatian border, long before Bosnian Serbs were able to accomplish their goal of an independent republic for themselves. The difference between Serbian and Croatian actions in the conflict is one of degree in military and territorial successes rather than of basic objectives, policies and actions. Moreover, the Western media has provided considerable incentives to the Croats and Muslims to show caution and restraint by certifying them as basically innocent victims. They have been given a "reputation" to uphold. The media is also attempting to make policy through intense pressures on Western governments. They demand that their governments condemn the Serbs, ignore the unlawful and violent actions of others, and to take precipitous military action against Serbia and the Serbs only.

Western projections of good versus evil in the Balkans obscures the fact that Croats and Muslims have committed similar atrocities against the Serbs, similar wholesale expulsions of Serbs, albeit on a lesser scale. Such actions are not being reported deliberately, or are being dismissed as Serbian propaganda. The bishops of parishes of Serbian Orthodox Churches in Bosnia and Croatia have documented the destruction of their churches, and the killing and expulsion of their parishioners. They will not be heard. True, the comparative levels of atrocities being committed by the Serbs are often disproportionate to what has been done to them. Serbs are not claiming that many Serbian individuals are not guilty. However, there are tragedies being experienced by all sides in the Balkan conflict. The very fact that there are nearly 700,000 Serbian refugees in Serbia implies that most of them must have been "cleansed" from somewhere in Croatia and Bosnia. These refugees (including several thousand Muslims) are being cared for by a state that is being reduced to "economic rubble" under the weight of Western dictated international economic sanctions. In the Western media's perception of "right versus wrong", there is no effort to report the plight of Serbs.

Serbs were blamed initially for the attack on the breadline in Sarajevo that killed several civilians, the attack on the funeral of the child in the cemetery, the downing of the Italian humanitarian relief plane, the killing of two French UN soldiers, and the killing of ABC correspondent, David Kaplan. Once it was discovered that the other side had committed these acts in order to provoke Western military intervention, the Western media's outrage disappeared. Retractions, if they were published at all, were in small obscure paragraphs on the inside pages. In those instances where Serbs were the victims, their ethnicity is not mentioned so as to convey the impression that these victims were also non-Serbs. Efforts to provoke Western military intervention became even more glaring in late December 1992 when Muslim forces deliberately attempted to kill General Satish Nambiar of India, the overall commander of UN forces, and General Philippe Morillon of France, the commander of the UN forces in Bosnia. As in other cases, the shelling of the UN commanders' quarters was made to appear as though this was done by the Serbs. But the source of the attack and the blame was specifically placed on the Muslim forces by General Morillon. In contrast, the killing of the Muslim Deputy Prime Minister of Bosnia in the presence of UN forces was declared by the UN to be an unfortunate independent act by a Serb soldier who suddenly went out of control while other Serbs attempted to stop him. Yet some US newspapers merely declared that a group of 40 Serb soldiers had killed the Bosnian minister without explanation of the particular circumstances.

It is surely no coincidence that nearly every major individual involved in promoting, negotiating or maintaining peace in the former Yugoslavia have shown an understanding of Serbian grievances. They have attempted to take an even-handed position despite seething condemnations of their actions by the Western media. They include past and present peace negotiators, Lord Carrington, Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance; and UN commanders in the field, General Lewis Mackenzie of Canada, General Philippe Morillon of France, and General Satish Nambiar of India.

Particularly glaring of Western media bias was the case of the sniper fire during the funeral of two-year old Vedrana Glavas in August, 1992. She was one of the two children killed by earlier sniper fire while they were being transported to Germany, killings which Serbs have denied. The cemetery

attack drew ferocious reaction from the media calling for military intervention. The Independent of London in a front page report and special front page editorial, entitled "Sarajevo's Crowning Atrocity," called for the immediate bombing of the Serbs. None of the British newspapers that reported the incident on August 5th mentioned the fact that Vedrana Glavas was a Serb, that her mother and grandmother Ruza, who were hit by "Serbian gunners", were also Serbs. None of the Western press bothered to ask why Serbian gunners would attack Serbian members of a funeral of a Serbian child being performed by a Serbian Orthodox priest, all in front of a large array of international newsmen and cameramen.

Despite consistent denials by the International Red Cross, UN officials, and Simon Wiesenthal, the Western media continues to allege that Serbs are running "concentration camps" that are almost of the same magnitude as Nazi camps during World War Two. The depiction of two skinny men with protruding bones have been shown repeatedly on Western television networks. Yet all other prisoners behind these two detainees appear healthy. The Western media have not been able to produce any other pictures of such emaciated men apart from these two prisoners. The purpose of such repeated TV broadcasts showing the same two men is surely to give the false impression that these camps were full of such starving men. This particular strategy by the Western media is intended not only to mislead the world deliberately, but to dehumanize the Serbian character in order to provoke Western bombing of the Serbs. The claim of widespread Nazi-like death camps being run by the Serbs based on the repeated showing of only two emaciated men demonstrates the dishonesty of the Western media during the Balkan conflict.

The projected figures of the number of people who died in Croatia and Bosnia are deliberately intended to mislead. Of the 16,000 who died during the war in Croatia, at least 7,000 were Serbs. The number of Muslim civilians who died in Bosnia was first projected at 17,000 in late Fall, 1992. By early January 1993, this figure was increased to 20,000 dead. But suddenly the figure ranged between 150,000 to 500,000 under a new category "dead or missing." This missing did not imply "presumed dead" but is deliberately intended to convey that impression to substantiate claims of genocide. Indeed, without any evidence, the "missing" have all now been converted to "dead" by respectable newspapers such as the Christian Science Monitor. Thus, "dead" Muslims have increased in a matter of weeks from 18,000 to 150,000.

In somewhat reverse fashion, allegations that 50,000 Muslim women were raped by Serbian soldiers was lowered to 30,000 and then to 20,000. But the most popular figure (and "popular is the right word) is 60,000 rapes of Muslim women by Serbian forces. These are only allegations. Amnesty International in its report condemned the widespread practice of rape as part of the Serbian campaign of "ethnic cleansing", but declared that there was no evidence that 20,000 women had been raped. In early January 1993, the International Red Cross claimed that 1,564 Serbs were being held in prison camps by Croats and Muslims, and that 1,360 Muslims and Croats were being held prisoners by Serbs in Bosnia. However, the State Department first claimed in the Fall of 1992 that Serbs may be holding as many as 75,000 Muslim and Croatian prisoners. In early January 1993, this claim was reduced to a total of 70,000 Muslim, Serb and Croatian prisoners being held by all sides. This figure was provided as only the "suspected" number of prisoners being held in camps. All such allegations are repeated again and again so that the mass audience in the West absorbs them eventually as facts.

In reality, the Western media has turned itself into an international lynch mob, conducting quick one-sided kangaroo trials of Serbian actions with no response or defense permitted, and determined not to let their prey get away without being bombed and sent back into the medieval ages. The editorials and writings of syndicated columnists in the New York Times have been particularly frantic and frenzied in their demands for military action. The editorial boards of major newspapers, the columnist Anthony Lewis, ex-State Department official, George Kenney, and others, have all staked their public credibility on pushing the policy of "peace through bombing," whether justified or not. Any solution other than that

would enrage them or make them lose face. In this campaign they are supported by a powerful Croatian propaganda machine that had begun their campaign long before Yugoslavia had disintegrated. They had hired some of the most effective and expensive lobbying firms in Washington. In comparison, until recently, American Serbs were divided, disoriented and disorganized.

There are no parallels in the way Serbia and Serbs are being treated by the Western media. Even after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, great care was taken to distinguish between Saddam Hussain, his regime and his military forces on the one hand, from the people and the state of Iraq on the other. Certainly, there were no sweeping generalizations being made of Arabs, Iraqis or of Iraq by the West during the Gulf crisis. Saddam Hussain's Iraq continued to be represented at the UN and other world forums where they were allowed to defend their actions. Even White South Africa had a form of representation based on observer status at the UN despite its abhorrent apartheid policies and the victimization of the Black majority. But Serbia and Serbs have no representation at the UN; no defense is allowed; only accusations against them are permitted, whether confirmed or not.

More death and destruction have been inflicted by the United States and the Soviet Union in Vietnam and Afghanistan for senseless political causes than anything that the Serbs have done in the Balkans thus far. Over a million Vietnamese died (of which the overwhelming majority were civilians) because of the US military involvement in Vietnam, and almost as many Afghans died in the war generated by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

The Western campaign of discrimination and prejudice against Serbia becomes even more glaring when examining the Western media's portrayal of Serbs as compared to the treatment of Blacks and Jews. If one were to substitute the words "Serbs" with "Blacks" or "Jews" in the reports and analyses of syndicated columnists such as Anthony Lewis, Leslie Gelb and William Safire of the New York Times, or William Pfaff of the Los Angeles Times, it would bring forth a flood of charges of extreme racism and anti-Semitism. The target of such anti-Serbian articles goes beyond the Yugoslav regime and the state, but to Serbs everywhere, whether in Serbia, Croatia or Bosnia, or in the United States, Canada, Britain, Germany or Australia where most overseas Serbs have settled. Even Bosnian Muslims are kind enough to call Serbian criminals responsible for massacres and rapes as "Chetniks" to distinguish them from Serbs in general. Surely, the criminal activities of a few thousand Serbs cannot be attributed to 12 million Serbs everywhere.

This is not merely a problem of lacking alternatives in terminology. Admittedly, it is often unavoidable to make general references to "the Germans," "the British," "the Americans," etc. For example, it has proved difficult in this paper to avoid general references to "the Croatians," "the Muslims" and even "the Serbs." But most news media references are clearly intended to vilify and even demonize the Serbian character and personality in general. Indeed, similar statements made about Blacks or Jews in the US could lead to police detention and criminal prosecution, or class action suits.

Repeated calls to "bomb the Serbs" by Anthony Lewis and George Kenney (the former State Department official) are actually intended to hurt the basic psyche of the Serbs everywhere and to destroy their morale. This pain is all the more greater for the Serbs since they fought on the side of the Western powers in two World Wars at tremendous human cost to themselves. Meanwhile, the modern-day democratic successors of the old fascist states of Germany, Austria and Italy continue to support and propagate the cause of the questionable post-1991 "democratic" successors of the old fascist state of Croatia. As against this, the Western powers have chosen to seek every effort to destroy the Serbs--politically, economically, psychologically and morally.

#### **The Attitudes of Jewish-Americans and the Catholic Church**

Most disheartening in the Western campaign of generating hate and prejudice against the Serbs

have been the attitudes and pronouncements of Jewish members of the US media and the US Congress, as well as that of the Catholic Church. Jewish-Americans who should empathize with Serbian political objectives--though clearly not some of the criminal actions of the Serbian irregulars--appear to have little understanding of the problem. This is in contrast to Israel and Israelis who appear to be more sensitive to the Serbian cause. Relative to the total populations of various ethnic groups, nearly as great a percentage of Serbs died in the Holocaust as the Jews. More than a million Serbs died during the Second World War, of which approximately 750,000 were killed by the Ustashe. Rightly or wrongly, Serbs now perceive the same coalition of Germany, Italy, Austria and Croatia rising again. Given the historical experience, Serbs now living in Croatia and Bosnia (areas once part of the World War Two fascist state of Croatia) are determined not to remain part of these newly independent states. Surely this should be understandable to Jews everywhere.

The raising of the new Croatian flag resembling the old checkered Ustashe flag, is akin to Bonn raising the Swastika as the flag of the newly united Germany. As with the Jewish terrorist organizations such as the Irgun and the Stern Gang, of which Israeli prime ministers Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir were once members, so too Serbs are willing to resort to extreme measures to preserve their own unified state. Like the Israelis, they see the defense of the new state as a struggle for survival of the Serbian people. Aggressive defensive policies and the use of excessive military force by the Serbs are not fundamentally different from Israeli policies and actions in the Middle East.

Like the Jews who see the region of Palestine as their ancient homeland, the Serbs see "Greater Serbia" as those ancestral lands where they have lived continuously for centuries. Historically, much of Bosnia constituted Serbian land. Even before the Second World War, the Serbs comprised the largest ethnic group in Bosnia. They were reduced to the second largest ethnic group after the Muslims only because of the extermination drive of the Ustashe and the flight of other Bosnian Serbs into Serbia. Surely then, the Serbs have a greater right to incorporate these regions into Serbia proper than European Jews who carved Israel out of Palestine after an absence of nearly 2,000 years. Moreover, unlike European Jews who came from another continent and usurped the land of Palestinian Arabs, the Serbs belong in this region.

The role of the Catholic Church in Croatia and sections of the Vatican have tended to aggravate rather than alleviate the conflict in the Balkans. Just as the Catholic Church in Croatia and sections of the Vatican should bear some responsibility for not condemning the slaughter of Serbs, Jews and Gypsies more forcefully and publicly during the Second World War by the fascist regime of Ante Pavelic, so too their present policy of not acknowledging past wrongs is prolonging the war in the Balkans. Along with Germany, the Vatican moved quickly to recognize the independence of Slovenia and Croatia; it was swift to call for military intervention in Bosnia. There was no call for Christian tolerance, peace and goodwill by the Catholic Church; there was no call to "love thy enemy" in this conflict. While the Serbian Orthodox Church (and the Orthodox Churches in general) may also be blamed for passivity and insufficient action, the Catholic Church, as the larger and more influential church, should take the initiative in extending the hand of peace and friendship. After all, to the belligerents at least, the war is perceived to be a conflict between two separate religious faiths although both are Christian communities. The tragedy is that the Muslims have become the main victims of this intra-Christian conflict. A declaration of solidarity and commitment to peace in the region by Catholic, Orthodox and Muslim leaders could go a long way in ending this conflict.

[Note: In a letter to the New York Times Editor (December 13, 1992), Rabbi Arthur Schneier, President of the Appeal of Conscience Foundation, described "an unprecedented summit of the heads of the three great religious communities in the former Yugoslavia: Patriarch Pavle, head of the Serbian Orthodox Church; Rais ul Ulama Jakub Selimoski of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Islamic community; and Vinko Puljic, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Sarajevo. They made a joint declaration denouncing the crimes being committed in the name of religion. The meeting which took place in early December 1992,



was not reported by most of the other major newspapers in the US. "Peace through Bombing" appears to be the determined goal of the American media.]

## II. THE ILLOGICAL POLICIES OF EUROPE AND THE US

### Early US and European Policy

The Bush Administration, along with the governments of John Major and Francois Mitterand of Britain and France, initially sought to prevent the disintegration of Yugoslavia. According to this earlier Western approach, the internal problems of Yugoslavia were best resolved through greater federalism and autonomy for the republics rather than through the secession of Slovenia and Croatia. They were thwarted and countered by the government of Helmut Kohl of Germany, led especially by German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. In retrospect, it is fashionable now for Western governments and the media to claim that Germany was right all along. According to this argument, if only the US, Britain and France had heeded the desperate pleas of Germany, Serbian "aggression" against its "neighbors" could have been prevented!

What the US and other Western governments failed to realize was that the prejudice and behavior of Germany--as with the Western media later--constituted a major part of the Balkan problem. Europe allowed Germany to dictate its Yugoslav policy forgetting that many Germans in Germany and Austria share Croatian attitudes toward the Serbs. This would be like asking Turkey to dictate Europe's policy in settling the war between Armenia and Azerbaijan, despite the historic record of animosity between Armenians and Turks. Once Europe succumbed to German pressure, the US and other European states dutifully followed suit. Germany's power and influence in Europe and the world made it much more difficult to question Bonn's political judgment and policies in the Balkans. Meanwhile, the deep German prejudice against the Serbs continues to be vented unabashedly.

### Europe's New "Instant" Recognition Policy

Thus, the severe violence and bloodshed in the former Yugoslavia was caused by Europe's (and especially Germany's) hasty and reckless recognition policy. Yugoslavia was not given even six months to sort out its problems. Under German pressure, Croatia and Slovenia were quickly recognized by Europe, such recognitions following Germany's own unilateral recognitions earlier. Given the experience in Croatia, Europe may have been expected to show greater caution in the recognition of Bosnia. Yet the same pattern of recognition followed with plans to do the same in Kosovo and Macedonia. Under German pressure and Germany's early unilateral recognition, Bosnia's independence was recognized by Europe before any group had gained control of the government thereby shattering the communal harmony that had prevailed earlier.

There have been no parallels to such swift recognition policies elsewhere in the world. Swift recognitions by some states have occurred where--for all apparent purposes--the dissident ethnic group inhabiting a particular region had clearly and irretrievably broken free. Recognition has also followed quickly where the ethnic groups and territories had seceded through the consent of the central authority. The recognition of the breakaway republics of the Soviet Union from Moscow's control in 1991, and that of the state of Bangladesh which was separated from Pakistan through civil war and armed Indian military intervention in 1971, are examples of sudden and irretrievable situations. In the case of the Soviet Union, the failed military coup of August 1991 had already set the stage for disintegration. Besides, the former Soviet republics were essentially parts of the old Czarist empire, or had been seized illegally by the Soviet Union such as the Baltic states. East and West Pakistan were divided by a thousand miles of hostile Indian territory and had little in common except religion. Czechoslovakia was

split in two by mutual consent.

Even in these cases, US recognition followed rather slowly and cautiously after several other governments had recognized the new states. However, if the manner of recognition granted to Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia were to be granted to Kashmir and Punjab in India, or Quebec province in Canada, or Tibet in China, Europe could generate "instant" aggressions and occupation forces by India, Canada and China. There have been (or still are) other bloody secessionist movements and civil wars which have lasted years but were never granted recognition. These include Catholic Christian Biafra from Muslim majority Nigeria two decades ago; the Basques areas from Spain; Northern Ireland from Britain; "Pashtunistan," "Sindhudesh" and Baluchistan from Pakistan; Assam, Nagaland and Mizoram from India; "Tamil Ealam" from Sri Lanka; Eritrea from Ethiopia, Western Sahara from Morocco, and East Timor from Indonesia. None of these states were recognized despite the intensity of the demand and their violent struggle. The successful secession of Bangladesh from Pakistan was made possible by Soviet vetoes in the UN Security Council and Indian military intervention.

To argue that the Serbian leadership in Belgrade did not deserve the same patience and constraint in the West's recognition policy as applied elsewhere, is to demonstrate the deep ethnic prejudice of some influential states in Europe towards the Serbs. There was no substantial reason to allow Croatia and Slovenia to jump the queue in various secessionist ethnic demands for state recognition. More bloody and prolonged struggles for independent states have been taking place elsewhere. Croatian and Slovenian demands should have been ignored. What made the secession of Slovenia and Croatia possible--unlike other unsuccessful secessionist movements--was the diplomatic intervention of a newly united and powerful Germany. Thus, the main culprit responsible for the Balkan catastrophe was the former German Foreign Minister, Hans Dietrich Genscher. He became the prime mover in shaping the untimely and foolhardy recognition policy of Europe in the Balkans. **In effect, Germany dismembered Yugoslavia without firing a single shot.**

By allowing Slovenia and Croatia to secede so readily and hastily, Germany and Europe violated the Helsinki Agreement of 1975 and traditional international norms regarding the territorial integrity and sovereignty of states. The Helsinki Agreement declared the following:

"The participating states will respect the territorial integrity of each of the participating states. Accordingly, they will refrain from any action...against the territorial integrity, political independence, or the unity of any participating state..." [Clause IV of the Declaration of Principles Guiding Relations Between Participating States.]

This declaration could not have been any more clear and specific. When India intervened militarily in the East Pakistan civil war in 1971 to help create the new state of Bangladesh, it did so on the grounds that 10 million refugees had been driven across the border into West Bengal, Assam and Tripura (all usually politically volatile Indian states) thereby threatening the territorial integrity of India itself. The civil war in East Bengal had thus become an Indian problem. Germany faced no such problem. There was no civil war taking place as yet in Croatia between Serbs and Croats when declarations of independence were made. The Bosnian refugee problem was the later **consequence** of Germany's successful attempt to separate Croatia and Slovenia from Yugoslavia.

Ironically, the main beneficiaries of Germany's attempt to destroy Serbian-dominant Yugoslavia were intended to be only Croatia and Slovenia. What Europe failed to realize, in following Germany's recognition policy, was the domino effect that such recognitions would produce on the remaining republics. Bosnia's Muslims and Croats voted to secede from what appeared to be essentially a "Serboslavia." Bosnian Serbs boycotted the referendum. Macedonia then chose to secede as well. The main, if not only, reason for the secessions of Bosnia and Macedonia was because Croatia and Slovenia seceded. The same pattern occurred in the Soviet Union. Secession by the Baltic states and the Ukraine

in Soviet Europe led to secessions by the Muslim republics of Soviet Central Asia, although none of these states really wanted to secede, or indeed, were prepared for secession.

### Serbian Aggression or Yugoslav Civil War?

Allegations and references to "Serbian aggression" have become commonplace. However, the alleged Serbian "aggression" in the Balkans is not the same as the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait. Iraq invaded and annexed another sovereign independent state which Iraq itself had recognized since 1960. In Yugoslavia, the problem of "aggression" arose from the disintegration of a sovereign independent state. If the new states of Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia had not been swiftly recognized by Europe because of pressure from Germany, the violent struggle in these states would have been a civil war. In the case of Slovenia where no Serbs lived, the Yugoslav Federal Army was trapped and was trying to withdraw. Serbia had no concerns in Slovenia. The Federal Army had every right to defend the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia. Remember, the United States fought a civil war at the cost of a million lives to prevent the secession of the South and to preserve its unity. Other states have used their federal forces to crush their rebellious secessionist movements, often with a great deal of brutality. In comparison, the Yugoslav Federal Army did little to stop the breakup of Yugoslavia and was more concerned with protecting Serbian minority interests.

In the various secessions from Yugoslavia, the situations in Croatia and Bosnia were different from Slovenia because of the Serbian minority problem. Significant numbers of Serbs lived in these two states. Allowing these two states to break away without settling the minority and territorial boundary problems were grave errors on the part of Europe. While the recognition of Croatia has internationalized the war between Serbia and Croatia, in Bosnia it is still a civil war between Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Muslims and Croats. They are all Bosnians. Yet Bosnian Serbs are being projected and treated as "Serbian Aggressors." Bosnian Serbs may be receiving aid from Serbia (which Serbia has denied), but civil wars everywhere have always been fuelled by outside arms. The Croats in Bosnia, for instance, are being armed by Croatia, and they too would prefer to be part of Croatia rather than Bosnia. There are reportedly some 30,000 Croatian forces operating in Bosnia, and they have been armed with the most recent weapons obtained from Germany that include tanks, armoured vehicles and artillery.

True, before the breakup of Yugoslavia, the dominant Serbian leadership in Belgrade was guilty of political short-sightedness in not accepting the earlier Croatian and Slovenian offers of a looser confederation to keep Yugoslavia together. [In retrospect, the offer by Croatia for a confederal solution would appear suspect given various separatist activities that had been going on for almost a decade.] But nearly all dominant ethnic groups in multiethnic states tend to push for greater centralization rather than decentralization--the English in Britain and the Punjabis in Pakistan, to mention just two. Once Europe decided that the various ethnic groups of Yugoslavia could not remain together, it was unreasonable to expect that Serbs, Croats and Muslims could continue to live peacefully in Bosnia as they had done so in the past. Bosnia, the true Yugoslavia, was doomed by the German-led Europe. War and civil strife became inevitable.

Particularly unfortunate was the fact that US policy, under the pressure from the American media, began to go further than that of Europe. While European leaders were trying to go slow through much of 1992, the US was trying to move ahead faster. The US began to take the initiative in expelling Belgrade from the UN, in tightening sanctions against the remnant Yugoslavia, and in enforcing the "no-fly zone" over Bosnia. The US was now at the forefront of imposing harsher measures against Yugoslavia while ignoring the same actions of Croatia in Bosnia that was being alleged against Serbia.

The West will argue, however, that all actions were sanctioned by the UN. This is a myth

because the UN has been under the control of the West since the end of the Cold War. Almost all military, and more importantly, economic power are concentrated in the West. Russia and most countries of the less developed world dared not oppose the actions of the West because they would face severe economic penalties. At stake for Russia is \$24 billion in aid from the West, and another \$70 billion in debts owed to the West for which it is seeking a write-off. Most non-Muslim Asian countries have little interest in the Balkan conflict. China has repeatedly abstained in the UN Security Council's voting, while India did so frequently. India's large Muslim minority and the on-going Kashmir crisis makes it imperative that it does not alienate the Muslim world. Even then, India has questioned the one-sided approach of the West in the dealing with the Balkan crisis. In general, issues at the UN are defined by the West, presented and pushed by the West, and implemented by the West. Obtaining UN "approval" has become a formality. Voting in the Security Council now resembles that of past voting in the presidium of the ex-Soviet Union where everything and everybody sponsored by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were always voted in by a 99 percent majority.

### **The Illogic of Western Policies**

The creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes after the First World War was in itself illogical at the time. Europe was mainly a continent of nation-states, and yet this multi-ethnic state was carved out of the remnants of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires in 1918. However, it is important to note that the Serbs had already shed the yoke of centuries of Ottoman rule in 1878. And unlike Croatia and Slovenia which were parts of the Hapsburg empire during the World War One and fought with them, Serbia was on the side of the victorious allies, fighting the Central powers till the end.

In the Paris peace talks, Serbia could have had its "Greater Serbia" (encompassing most of the Serbs into a single state) for the asking. Instead, on the desire of the Croatians and Slovenians, Serbia agreed to the larger Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. After all, this larger unit also accomplished the mission of uniting all the Serbs within a single state--a hard fought objective that was destroyed by a newly united Germany 73 years later in 1991. The new kingdom included Bosnia-Herzegovina where the Serbs were the largest single ethnic group. Until the creation of the new state (under a Serbian monarch) there was little enmity or hatred among Serbs, Croats, Slovenes and Muslims. There still appears to be little animosity between Orthodox Serbians and Catholic Slovenians.

Since the crisis began to unfold in early 1991, the Balkan policies of Europe and the US have been illogical and contradictory. Here are some of the problems. First, the Serbs having lived together under one state since the First World War are now being told to live in three separate states, whether they like it or not. When Croatia first declared its independence, President Franjo Tudjman declared that Serbs would have no rights in the new state. This statement was later rescinded under pressure from Europe but the stage had already been set for Serbia's unwillingness to accept the new boundaries of Croatia that encompassed Serb minorities. There is nothing evil about the Serbs wanting to live in one state. A "Greater Serbia" will be no greater than Germany, France, Italy, Japan or Iran where most members of the same ethnic group live within the boundaries of a single state. Indeed, Croatia has already achieved a de facto "Greater Croatia" by carving out the Croatian areas of western Bosnia-Herzegovina. Apart from regular Croatian forces operating in this region, the Croatian currency is in use here, and the Croatian flag--not the Bosnian flag--flies everywhere.

Second, the sovereign international frontiers of the old Yugoslavia having been discarded in cavalier fashion by a German-led Europe, the Serbs were then told that the former internal boundaries of Yugoslavia drawn by the half-Croatian half-Slovenian communist dictator, Tito, are carved in granite. The Croatian and Muslim minorities were given the right to secede from the old sovereign state of Yugoslavia, but the Serb minorities living in Croatia and Bosnia are being told that they have no such rights. Recall that when Ireland seceded from Britain in 1922, the British government separated and retained Protestant majority Northern Ireland from the new Irish Republic. Then why cannot the

Serbian areas of Croatia and Bosnia be retained in the remnant Yugoslavia? Indeed, in the present phase of Serbian-Croatian hatred, it makes little sense to ask Serbs living in the Croatian republic to declare themselves to be "Croatian" nationals.

Third, Albanians living in Kosovo and Macedonia are being encouraged to secede, although Kosovo has always been as much a part of Serbia as Asian majority Southall has been of England or Watts of the US. The transformation of Kosovo from a Serb majority province to an Albanian majority province was in itself a major case of "ethnic cleansing." In the past, Albanian Muslims (with the encouragement of Tito) steadily drove all Serbs out of Kosovo, a province that was historically the "Mecca" and "Vatican" of Serbian Orthodox Christianity. Imagine a Mecca today with an Israeli-Jewish majority, or a Vatican with an Iranian-Muslim majority, and the world will begin to understand one of the many great injustices that have been done to the Serbs in this century.

"Ethnic cleansing" did not begin with Serbian policies in 1992. European Jews did it in Palestine, the Arab countries emptied all Jews from their states thereafter. Jews are still being "ethnically cleansed" in a slow and subtle manner in the former communist republics of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Nearly all the Hindus were cleansed out of Pakistan after partition in 1947, and now Kashmiri Muslims with Pakistani support have driven out all of the half million Kashmiri Hindu Pandits who had lived in the Kashmir Valley since about 1000 BC. The American Indians have been reduced to a few hundred thousand in North America over a period of 400 years by European immigrants. The Indians of the Amazon forests in Brazil are still being ethnically cleansed by intruding Brazilian and Western corporations. More pertinent is the fact that the Croatian Ustashe sought to resolve their Serbian problem through their policy of "kill a third, convert a third (to Catholicism), and expel a third" during World War Two. Ethnic conflict everywhere invariably tends to generate "ethnic cleansing" to a greater or lesser degree. Some tend to be more organized and brutal than others. This observation is not intended to justify such practices but is merely intended to portray the reality.

One of the main Serb grievances is that the half-Croatian half-Slovenian communist dictator, Joseph Broz Tito, had pursued a national integration policy on the principle that "A Weak Serbia makes a Strong Yugoslavia." Thus, the economies of Croatia and Slovenia were advanced at the expense of the Serbian economy. By the 1980s, the per capita incomes of Slovenians and Croatians were 70 to 100 percent higher than in Serbia. This makes mockery of the Croatian claim that Serbia had discriminated against Croatia. Indeed, just the opposite. It was not in the power of the Serbs to do so under Tito. As in any divorce, surely there should have been an economic settlement before Croatia and Slovenia were allowed to separate from Yugoslavia. However, as with the former internal boundaries of Yugoslavia and the status of Serb minorities in Croatia and Bosnia, the US and Europe were unwilling to push for an equitable economic settlement either.

### III. THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION AND POLICY OPTIONS IN THE BALKANS

#### The Clinton Administration's Options

During the 1992 presidential campaign, President Clinton's rhetoric on the Balkans was much more belligerent than that of President Bush. However, it is difficult to see how the new administration is going to take military action against the Serbs given the prevailing opposition in the Pentagon, and especially that of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Colin Powell. It is also difficult to see what kind of US military actions may be deemed possible in Bosnia and Serbia that would resolve the problem. However, there is enough bipartisan Congressional support building up for military action of some sort, even if it were to be a token demonstration of resolve. Indeed, if President Bush had been returned to power, the old administration may have felt more free to take military action given the rising

bipartisan support on this issue. However, the situation may be quite different for a new Democratic administration whatever the past campaign rhetoric may have been. Indeed, towards the end of the presidential campaign, Clinton had toned down his aggressive rhetoric, and following his election, claimed that bringing peace to Yugoslavia would be a high priority.

President Clinton's response will have to be conditioned by several factors: his own earlier opposition to the Vietnam War; the experience of President Kennedy who undertook to implement the earlier Eisenhower administration's military plan of invading the Bay of Pigs in Cuba; and the experience of President Johnson in pushing through the Gulf of Tonkin resolution in Congress and engaging the US in a major military involvement in Vietnam. Hasty presidential actions such as these soon after taking office have invariably proved to be military disasters. Like President Bush who had to counter allegations of being a "wimp" which may have increased his motivation to intervene in the Persian Gulf, the newly elected President Clinton may feel a certain pressure to show that he is capable of sending US forces into war as Commander-in-Chief to counter his pacifist image during the Vietnam war. To do so would be a grave error. President Clinton will trigger exactly the same kind of senseless and prolonged war that he had opposed during his university student days in the late 1960s.

This is a war of Serbian nationalism, just as the Vietnamese War was one of Vietnamese nationalism. Serbian reactions were provoked by deep-rooted fears and historic claims to the region, and Serbs are not likely to give up without a bloody fight. The terrain of Yugoslavia, like Vietnam, is conducive for guerrilla warfare. All of this is quite unlike the motivation of Iraqis to fight back during the 1991 Gulf War, and the flat desert terrain on which the Iraqi forces had to fight. Although Saddam Hussain's seizure of Kuwait may have aroused Arab and Muslim nationalism, it did not necessarily arouse "Iraqi" nationalism. Iraqis were split on the issue among Sunni and Shia Arabs, and the Kurds. In fact, the Arab and Muslim worlds were also divided in their support or opposition to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, all of which made the allied assault on Iraq winnable. Again, American military intervention in Somalia carry different stakes and risks from the proposed intervention in the Balkans. Somalia has been reduced to anarchy with roaming bands of armed warlords preying on a starving population. There are no regional or international political stakes. The Balkan crisis involves an intense inter-ethnic struggle which could suck in other states in the region, and eventually draw in the rest of Europe, the Muslim world, and the great powers.

At an incalculable human cost to themselves, the Serbs fought to live within the boundaries of a single state against Austrians and Germans in two world wars. The Austrians and the Germans failed to prevent that Serbian objective. American bombing is not likely to do this either whether or not Slobodan Milosevic and Radovan Karadjic are eliminated. In all likelihood, US military intervention may not exceed support for humanitarian relief supplies into Bosnia. Search and destroy missions that so badly failed in Vietnam should not be attempted again against forces and terrain that are well suited for prolonged guerrilla warfare. The clamor in the Western media and among some politicians for bombing missions into Serbia--especially on its capital Belgrade and other "strategic" targets (a replication of the assault on Iraq)--is not likely to make the Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia give up their aims and their gains. Serbia may have influence over Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia much like Iran has influence over the Hizbollah and the Islamic Jihad in Lebanon; but Belgrade does not have ultimate control over their actions. The bombing of Belgrade would be an act of senseless American despair that would inflict death and destruction on innocent people, but it will accomplish little else.

Even US military missions on the ground and in the air in support of humanitarian relief supplies will carry some complications although these risks may have to be taken. In the first place, Croat and, especially, Muslim forces may attack these relief supply missions deliberately in order to invite Western military retaliation against the Serbs who are likely to be blamed. As noted earlier, this was the case in the bloody attack on the breadline in Sarajevo killing several Muslims, the sniper fire on the funeral of the child killed by sniper bullets while being transported to Germany, the missile attack on

an Italian plane carrying humanitarian supplies, and the killing of two French UN soldiers through a sustained attack. In all of these cases, there was an outcry in the West when the Serbs were thought to be responsible, but the outrage immediately disappeared when it was discovered that the other side had committed these acts. The fact is that the Serbs have every motivation now to end the war and consolidate their territorial gains, while the Muslims and Croats have every motivation to provoke Western military intervention against the Serbs.

In the second place, attempted Western military retaliation against the attackers of humanitarian relief supplies may prove to be difficult since the attackers will have melted away and disappeared. In which case, how far must the Western military sweep (i.e., the Vietnamese-type "search and destroy" missions) be extended to contain such attacks on humanitarian supply missions? Western military retaliation against such attacks, therefore, carry the danger of escalation, of entering into an even wider war, and the possibility of getting bogged down in a veritable military quagmire.

Rather than seeking a military solution to the Balkan conflict, the US and the West would be best advised to address the underlying causes of the problem instead of trying to merely patch up the bloody mess created by Europe's blind support to German-, Austrian- and Italian-backed Croatia. In addressing the underlying causes, the West must pay attention first to the historic grievances of all the parties to the conflict, especially that of the Serbs. The Serbs suffered the slaughter of 350-750,000 men, women and children during the Second World War. (The pre-1990 estimates of Serbs killed by the Ustashe vary. The 750,000 that Serbs claim is a Nazi estimate. The Holocaust Museum puts it at about 500,000.) These crimes must be acknowledged and redressed even at this late stage in whatever appropriate manner. Basically, all that the Serbs are asking for is an acknowledgement of the crimes committed against them during the World War Two, and an apology from those who had supported or harbored the perpetrators of these crimes.

Second, the West must understand the injustices done to the Serbs during the Tito regime. The Serbs were economically exploited under Tito with much of the benefits accruing to Croatia and Slovenia. They must be given appropriate economic compensation as the price for the secession of Croatia and Slovenia. Third, the Serbs living in the territories of Croatia and Bosnia must either be given full autonomy within these states or allowed to secede (and accede to Yugoslavia if they so desire.) The right of secession from Yugoslavia granted to Croatians and Muslims must be assumed, at least in theory, to apply to Serbs as well. Undoubtedly, the repercussions of allowing the Serb territories of Croatia and Bosnia to rejoin Yugoslavia may have repercussions in the Russian inhabited areas of the former Soviet republics. But this is an eventuality that will need to be faced later. Fourth, the spiritual and special emotional ties of the Serbs to Kosovo must be respected and their historical rights to this province must be recognized. Much of their churches, monasteries and holy places lie in Kosovo. The Serbs were, after all, "ethnically cleansed" out of Kosovo.

If nothing else, the above issues must be reconsidered by the West and opened for negotiations. There are two basic questions that President Clinton must address. First, is it better to get the remnant Yugoslavia and the Serbs to comply through escalating international punishments or through the offer of negotiations and incentives? It was clear by late 1992 that sanctions were merely driving the Serbs into the arms of Slobodan Milosevic and eroding the credibility of moderate opponents. The hardline ex-communists are likely to be the main beneficiaries of US policies. As in the case of sanctions against Iraq, international reaction born out of frustration and the need to do something, was merely hurting the average Serb who cannot easily determine who their leaders will be or define the course of events in their country. Expecting them to overthrow their leaders and government at a bloody cost to themselves, is unreasonable and impractical. The average citizen anywhere in the world is not anxious to be an imprisoned, crippled or dead hero--except when faced with protecting one's territory, home and family as evident among the Serbs of Bosnia and Krajina.

Second, what control does the remnant Yugoslavia have over the actions of Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia? The Clinton administration should remember that it was in these regions that the Serbs were slaughtered by the Croatian Ustashi that included several Muslim collaborators. Belgrade may have some influence but not control. Arms may be sent across the Serbian border into Bosnia unofficially by Serbian sympathizers for their fellow Serbs, but such actions may be difficult to prevent by the government in Belgrade. As Radovan Karadjic pointed out in an interview in November 1992, sanctions were imposed on Yugoslavia after the Federal army had withdrawn.

The Serbian perception everywhere (including that of Serbian-Americans in the US) is that no matter what Serbs do, they will be punished. Yugoslavia and the Serbs (and indeed, this author) have no clear idea as to what exactly is to be done for the sanctions to be lifted. Serbs have been told that they are "mainly to blame" for the conflict, but they are being given 100 percent of the punishment by the West. Punishment for punishment's sake because the US and the West feel frustrated does not make good policy, nor will it lead to a lasting peace in the region.

There are the two basic dilemmas that must be addressed in the Balkans. (1) If the West manages to enforce the existing boundaries of the new states of Croatia and Bosnia, these states will have to live with Serb minorities that will forever wage a war to secede. The Serbs will not live under Croatian or Muslim rule willingly. Croatia and Bosnia will not have any peace for a long time. Israel's experience on the West Bank will pale in comparison. (2) If the Serbs of Croatia and Bosnia seceded and joined Serbia, the newly created "Greater Serbia" obtained through armed force will have to contend with hostile neighbors and international sanctions indefinitely. Serbia will not have any peace either, and it will not progress economically relative to the rest of Europe.

President Clinton, therefore, must push for a compromise between these two dismal prospects faced by the opposing warring parties. Neither side can have it entirely their own way. The solution would be to create highly decentralized confederations in Croatia and Bosnia where the Serbs in these states would possess a high degree of autonomy with close links with Serbia. A similar solution will also have to be sought for the Albanians in the Serbian province of Kosovo who must be granted autonomy and links with their ethnic kinsmen across the border in Albania. The former states of Yugoslavia cannot be wholly separated from their past history. Nor can common nationalities be irretrievably separated from each other through the breakup of old states.

### **The Owen-Vance Proposal**

The Owen-Vance Proposal dividing Bosnia into ten autonomous cantons partly meets the possible settlement outlined above. But the plan also tends to divide the Serbs even further. Serbs have not only been divided and dispersed in the former provinces of Yugoslavia because of the recognition of new states, they are now being divided and dispersed even further in the proposed cantons of Bosnia.

The Serb cantons now being proposed in Bosnia by the Owen-Vance plan are not all contiguous to each other, and therefore poses a major problem. This is unlike the two large Croatian cantons that are not only contiguous to each other, but also to Croatia itself. For all practical purposes, a "Greater Croatia" which had been carved out long before the Serbs managed to accomplish a "Greater Serbia" for themselves, will in effect be perpetuated by the Owen-Vance plan. Croats with only 16 percent of the population will control nearly 30 percent of Bosnian territory and can operate as a defacto territory of Croatia. Indeed, more than 40,000 regular Croatian forces are stationed in the Croatian-held areas of Bosnia, the Croatian currency is widely in use, and the chequered Croatian flag--not the Bosnian flag--flies everywhere.

The 44 percent Muslims of Bosnia, mainly bureaucrats and businessmen, lived in apartments in the cities and, consequently, occupied less than 20 percent of the land. Their territorial control has been



increased in the plan. On the other hand, Bosnian Serbs (mainly farmers and peasants) who constituted 33 percent of the population but occupied 60 percent of the land before 1991 (and 70 percent through war) are being confined to 43 percent of the land under the Owen-Vance plan. Thus, the Croats obtained all they wanted and were quick to accept the plan.

While the Western media portrays the Croats and Muslims as having made significant concessions, it is the Serbs who are being asked to give up the most under the threat of severe bombing. Attempting to equate populations sizes to land distribution would constitute a loss for the Serbs and a gain for the Muslims. Certainly, during the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan in 1947 the proportion of population to land was not taken into account but only the occupation of territories where Muslims were a majority. This gave Pakistan a greater proportion of land. Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance must convince the Serbs why their proposal would amount to a fair solution. Otherwise a settlement is unlikely to last.

What the Clinton administration needs to provide the Serbs is a rational explanation as to why the dispersal of the Serbs in different countries and cantons is considered to be a fair and just solution to the Balkan problem. This is not a case of Serbian irredentism against other countries similar to German irredentism prior and during the Second World War. As noted earlier, the Serbs have been living within the boundaries of a single state since 1918. They are now being ordered to live in different countries against their will because Croatia and Bosnia were recognized before a settlement of minorities and boundaries was reached. Thus, the Vance-Owen proposal should not only give autonomy to the Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia, but should provide sufficient territorial contiguity of these regions with the remnant Yugoslavia. Otherwise Serbs living in a hostile Croatia and Bosnia may be permanently cut off in the future from Serbia proper. They will be unable to travel or communicate with their kinsmen across the newly created international frontiers.

### **Serbia's Obligations and Options**

The remnant Yugoslavia must now attempt to resolve all its disputes with its neighbors by peaceful means. Serbs living overseas must back parties and prospective regimes in Serbia that are committed to democracy. Not that Milosevic's fears and actions were entirely wrong. He stood up for the Serbs and aroused Serbian nationalism. His behavior was hardly any different from that of Franjo Tudjman of Croatia and Milan Kucan of Slovenia.

However, Milosevic failed badly on the "public relations" front, while Tudjman's public relations succeeded with the help of Germany, Austria and overseas Croats. By the same token, Panic's proposals and policies were not entirely in the interests of Serbia either. He had a tendency to concede all Western demands without adopting a bargaining posture. His backing by the West gave the appearance of external interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs, precisely the type of actions that destroyed Yugoslavia. But Panic was winning handsomely on the public relations front and seemed capable of getting Yugoslavia out of the present catastrophe through compromise. On the other hand, the clear electoral victory of Milosevic, and the confidence that most Serbs have in him, suggest that he would have greater authority to make concessions at the bargaining table. Indeed, he has already done this by accepting the Owen-Vance proposal on behalf of Serbia. Meanwhile, Serbia must shed its communist past as Russia did, and convince the world that it has done so. In the ultimate analysis, it is only the policies that Serbia can "sell" to the world that matter and which will deliver it from the destruction that it is heading towards. Serbia must admit its many mistakes: its hasty resort to excessive force, the unnecessary shelling of Dubrovnik, and the slaughter of innocent Muslims.

The minimum objective that Serbia must achieve is the protection and well-being of Serb minorities in the newly recognized states of Croatia and Bosnia. But correspondingly, it must also ensure the security and well-being of Muslim and Albanian minorities in Serbia. At the maximum,

Serbia must seek to redraw the former internal boundaries of the disintegrated Yugoslavia so that as many Serbs are encompassed in the new Yugoslavia. No doubt, negotiations to redraw boundaries should have been undertaken before Croatia and Bosnia were allowed to declare their independence. It is going to be much more difficult now to achieve the maximum objective through a negotiated settlement. The West has already decided that it was alright to undo the sovereign state of Yugoslavia, but it is not alright to undo the newly recognized states of Croatia and Bosnia.

The alternative would be for Serbs to retain the territories gained on the battlefield in Croatia and Bosnia, but this would be at tremendous economic cost to all Serbs in the former territories of Yugoslavia. Serbia will remain virtually isolated for decades to come. It will face the extreme hostility of its neighbors and continued economic sanctions from the rest of the world. The Muslim world will continue its "jihad" against Serbia. Unlike Israel which has powerful and wealthy Jewish and non-Jewish supporters overseas, Serbia will have no such backing. With continuing sanctions and isolation for decades to come, Serbia will drift back into the 19th century while the rest of Europe moves economic light years ahead.

Finally, Yugoslavia and the Serbs must recognize that much of their fears together with the various policies adopted accordingly, tend to be backward-looking rather than forward-looking. The Serbian experience of the past suggests that the perceived new collusion among Croatia, Germany, Austria and Italy--the fascist partners during the Second World War--calls for ruthless and uncompromising military measures against Croatia and Bosnia. Whatever the justification for present Serbia actions based on their historical experience, it is also true that the world has changed since the Second World War. The fascist states of the Second World War may still carry traces of their past, but they are not the same today as some pessimists may imagine. To assume that the present is not substantially different from the past, and to act accordingly will prove self-destructive for Serbia. Serbia must recognize that the global and regional struggles for power are on the economic battlefield, not the military. Higher levels of productivity, economic growth and competitiveness in the international marketplace are far more important for the modern state than absolute or relative military power.

In sum, the Serbs must make every effort to end the war to lift the sanctions, and then **afterwards** continue to press for recognition of their grievances, both past and present. They must regain their standing, respect and integrity in the world. They must do justice to those who were harmed irrespective of the injustice done to them. Serbs everywhere must reflect on these dilemmas and obligations and eventually do the right thing.

SAVEZNA REPUBLIKA JUGOSLAVIJA  
SAVEZNO MINISTARSTVO  
INOSTRANIH POSLOVA  
DIREKCIJA S I K  
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BOSNIA - HERZEGOVINA

KARADZIC: BOSN AN SERBS AND CROATS AGREE CONFEDERATION

GENEVA, JUNE 24 (TANJUG) - SERBS AND CROATS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA (BIH) HAVE DEFINITELY REACHED ACCORD THAT THIS EX-YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC MUST BE A CONFEDERATION, SAID PRESIDENT OF THE SERB REPUBLIC (S.R.) R. KARADZIC ON THURSDAY. IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF BOSNIAN MUSLIMS TO ACCEPT SUCH A SOLUTION AT THE SOONEST, COME TO A CONFERENCE TABLE AND MATERIALIZE THEIR RIGHTS, SAID KARADZIC RIGHT AFTER HIS TALKS WITH BOSNIAN CROAT

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- 2 -

LEADER M. BOBAN.

KARADZIC REAFFIRMED THAT IT WAS AGREED WITH CROATS TO HIBE THREE REPUBLICS FORMED WITHIN EX-BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA. HE EXPECTED SERBS AND CROATS WOULD AGREE SOON ALSO ABOUT OTHER POINTS, PARTICULARLY ABOUT A PARITY BASIS TO SET UP CENTRALIZED BODIES. HE SAID IT WAS NOW ON THE MUSLIM PRESIDENCY TO COME UP WITH ITS OWN PROPOSAL.

SERBS AND CROATS MAKE UP AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY IN THE BIH, NOTED KARADZIC, ADDING 'WHAT WE RECOGNIZE TO OURSELVES WE DO RECOGNIZE TO MUSLIMS, TOO. ALL NATIONS ARE ENTITLED TO DEMAND THEIR RIGHTS, BUT THE MUSLIMS MAY NOT DEMAND TO DOMINATE THE SERBS AND THE CROATS.'

AS FOR THE TERRITORIAL ASPECT OF THE SERB AND CROAT PARTS OF THE BIH, KARADZIC SAID THERE WAS NO DETAILED CONSIDERATION OF THE FEW DISPUTED POINTS, BUT 'ABOUT THEM, WE SHALL CERTAINLY NOT FIGHT ANY LONGER, BUT WILL FIND AGREEMENT.'

'WE DO NOT MAKE A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN IZETBEGOVIC AND ABDIC, AND WILL ACCEPT ANY ONE NOMINATED BY MUSLIMS AS THEIR NEGOTIATORS,' SAID KARADZIC, WARNING THAT THIS SHOULD BE AT THE SOONEST BECAUSE TIME WAS EXPIRING AND SO WAS THE PATIENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

'THIS TIME, MUSLIMS WOULD CLEARLY BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DELAYING OF A SOLUTION,' HE ADDED.

BOSNIAN SERBS WILLING TO EXCHANGE SARAJEVO FOR GORAZDE AND SREBRENICA

P A R I S, JUNE 24 (TANJUG) - BOSNIAN SERB LEADER R.KARADZIC ON THURSDAY TOLD FRANCE 2 TELEVISION THAT SERBS WERE WILLING TO GIVE UP SARAJEVO IN EXCHANGE FOR GORAZDE AND SREBRENICA, TWO MOSLEM ENCLAVES IN EASTERN BOSNIA.

NOTING THAT THIS WOULD ELIMINATE THE CAUSES OF FURTHER RIFTS BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNITIES AND HELP THE SERBS AND MOSLEMS CONSOLIDATE THEIR TERRITORIES, KARADZIC SAID THAT THE SERB SIDE WAS ALSO PREPARED TO ACCEPT OTHER EXCHANGES IF ACCEPTED IMMEDIATELY.

ABOUT 100,000 SERBS ARE CURRENTLY LIVING IN SARAJEVO, SAID KARADZIC AND ADDED THAT IF THEY REMAINED THERE, THE CITY WOULD HAVE TO BE DIVIDED BETWEEN THE SERBS AND MOSLEMS.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA PRESIDENCY TO SECURE EQUALITY OF ALL THREE PEOPLES

G E N E V A, JUNE 24 (TANJUG) - THE PRESIDENCY OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA IS OPEN TO ALL INITIATIVES FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF THE BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA CONFLICT. IT WILL ESPECIALLY SUPPORT THE INITIATIVE SECURING THE EQUALITY OF ALL THREE PEOPLES IN THE FUTURE POLITICAL ORGANISATION OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC, CROAT DELEGATE ON THE PRESIDENCY F.BORAS SAID IN GENEVA ON THURSDAY.

THE PRESIDENCY, WHICH DOES NOT INCLUDE LEGALLY ELECTED BOSNIAN SERB REPRESENTATIVES, WILL NOT ACCEPT IMPOSED SOLUTIONS,

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ESPECIALLY NOT THOSE CONCERNING THE TERRITORIES TAKEN BY FORCE, OR WILL HAVE TO DO SO WITH A HEAVY HEART, BORAS SAID.

ACCORDING TO BORAS, THE NEW SERB-CROAT INITIATIVE FOR ORGANIZING BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA ON A CONFEDERAL PRINCIPLE, WHICH THE PRESIDENCY DISCUSSED ON WEDNESDAY WITH SERBIAN PRESIDENT S.MILOSEVIC, MONTENEGRIN PRESIDENT M.BULJTOVIC AND CROATIAN PRESIDENT F.TUDJMAN, DIFFERS CONSIDERABLY FROM THE VANCE-OWEN PLAN.

BORAS DESCRIBED THE SUMMIT TALKS IN GENEVA ON WEDNESDAY AS USEFUL AND SAID THAT IN BRUSSELS NEXT SATURDAY THE PRESIDENCY WOULD MEET WITH THE EUROPEAN TROIKA - THE FORMER, CURRENT AND FUTURE PRESIDENTS OF THE E.C.

HE DENIED REPORTS ABOUT A COUP D'ETAT IN SARAJEVO AND SAID IT WAS A REGULAR CONSTITUTIONAL PROCEDURE, ARGUING THAT UNDER THE CONSTITUTION AND BY THE PRESIDENCY'S RULES OF PROCEDURE, IN THE ABSENCE OF A.IZETBEGOVIC THE PRESIDENCY IS CHAIRED BY F.ABDIC. SINCE ABDIC DECLINED THE OFFER, THE PRESIDENCY WILL BE CHAIRED IN THE ABSENCE OF IZETBEGOVIC BY F.BORAS.

LORD OWEN ON KARADZIC AND ZOBAN PROPOSALS

B E L G R A D E, JUNE 24 (TANJUG) - CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON FORMER YUGOSLAVIA LORD OWEN SAID IN GENEVA ON THURSDAY THAT HE REGRETTED THAT BOSNIAN SERB AND CROAT LEADERS R.KARADZIC AND M.BOBAN HAD NOT PROPOSED MORE PRECISE MAPS OF THE DIVISION OF BOSNIA TODAY. 'AS YET, THERE ARE NO MAPS OR SKETCHES ON PIECES OF PAPER,' LO

REPORTERS.

'WE SHALL CONSIDER ALL THE PROPOSALS THAT WE HEARD ABOUT A NEW WAY OF LOOKING AT THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA,' PRESIDENCY MEMBER F.ABDIC TOLD HINA, AS REPORTED BY REUTERS. 'WE ARE OPEN TO ALL NEW IDEAS, SUGGESTIONS AND PROPOSALS,' ABDIC SAID. 'OUR MAIN GOAL IS TO ESTABLISH PEACE AND IMPLEMENT THE CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER IN BOSNIA.' HE ADDED THAT THE PRESIDENCY HAD URGED THAT IZETBEGOVIC, AFTER THE MEETING ON FRIDAY, TRAVEL TO BRUSSELS FOR A MEETING WITH THE TROIKA OF E.C. FOREIGN MINISTERS, AND THEN GO TO GENEVA FOR THE RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS ON BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA SCHEDULED FOR MONDAY.

WASHINGTON WILL NOT PLAY ACTIVE ROLE IN BOSNIA EFFORTS

WASHINGTON, JUNE 24 (TANJUG) - THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION DOES NOT INTEND TO PLAY A MORE ACTIVE PART AT THE PRESENT STAGE IN THE SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION TO THE BOSNIAN CRISIS, SPOKESMAN FOR THE STATE DEPARTMENT M.MACCURRY SAID ON WEDNESDAY. HE SAID THE U.S. WAS READY TO PLAY AN ADEQUATE PART IN THE BOSNIA PEACE PROCESS AND EXPLAINED THAT U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ENVOY R.BARTHOLOMEW WOULD BE MONITORING FROM WASHINGTON THE TALKS AMONG THE THREE SIDES TO THE CONFLICT - MUSLIMS, SERBS AND CROATS - AS PRESIDENT B.CLINTON HAD DECIDED NOT TO SEND HIM TO GENEVA.

THE U.S. WILL ACCEPT ANY SOLUTION AGREED UPON BY THE THREE SIDES, SAID MACCURRY.

FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER EXPECTS POLITICAL AGREEMENT ON BOSNIA

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WITHIN NEXT FEW WEEKS

PARIS, JUNE 24 (TANJUG) - FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER A.JUPPE SAID ON THURSDAY THAT A POLITICAL SOLUTION FOR BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA SHOULD BE FOUND 'WITHIN THE NEXT TWO OR THREE WEEKS, AND NOT WITHIN THE NEXT THREE MONTHS.'

JUPPE TOLD REPORTERS AFTER HE ADDRESSED THE SENATE THAT THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA WAS SUCH THAT IT REQUIRED AN URGENT POLITICAL SOLUTION.

HE SAID THAT HE HOPED THE ADDITIONAL ENGAGEMENT OF FRANCE IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA - 800 MORE TROOPS - WOULD BE EFFICIENT, AND IF IT DID NOT YIELD ANY RESULTS, THAT THE ENTIRE MATTER 97)\* 503, 23 135 59 :0-, :3 - THE UNPROFOR WOULD WITHDRAW AND THE ARMS EMBARGO WOULD BE LIFTED FOR BOSNIAN MUSLIMS.

JUPPE ONCE AGAIN CRITICIZED AMERICANS AND RUSSIANS FOR REFUSING TO SEND TROOPS TO BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA. THEY CANNOT SIGN THE JOINT ACTIONS PLAN IN WASHINGTON AND AT THE SAME TIME CONTINUE URGING THE LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO, SAID THE FRENCH MINISTER, EVIDENTLY ALLUDING TO THE URGING OF THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION THAT BOSNIAN MUSLIMS BE ARMED.

THE R.S.K. - UNPA

RS0 CROAT TALKS CLOSE IN GENEVA

DELEGATIONS OF THE R.S.K. AND CROATIA ENDED AFTER THREE DAYS HERE ON THURSDAY WITH AN AGREEMENT TO RESUME ALSO IN GENEVA ON JULY 6.

PRIOR TO THE RESUMPTION OF THE TALKS, STOLTENBERG TOLD TANJUG THAT IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO ACHIEVE A CEASEFIRE, START THE IMPLEMENTATION OF OTHER PROVISIONS OF THE VANCE PLWF AND PAVE THE WAY FOR A POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC NORMALIZATION OF KNIN-ZAGREB RELATIONS.

ACCORDING TO RSK FOREIGN MINISTER SLOBODAN JARCEVIC, THE SERB SIDE IS READY TO ACCEPT THE AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH THE CROATIAN SIDE IN GENEVA ON APRIL 6, PROVIDED THAT THE RSK POLICE AND ADMINISTRATION ARE REESTABLISHED IN THE RSK TERRITORIES FROM WHICH THE CROATIAN TROOPS ARE TO WITHDRAW.

FOLLOWING THE CONCLUSION OF THE MEETING, RSK DELEGATION MEMBER D. STAREVIC SAID THAT THE CROATIAN SIDE HAD TRIED TO KEEP THE DISCUSSION ON KRAJINA CONFINED TO THE WORKING GROUP ON MINORITY QUESTIONS AND POINTED OUT THAT THE RSK WAS PREPARED TO DISCUSS ALL QUESTION BUT ON AN EQUAL BASIS. THIS MEANS THAT NEITHER CROATIA, NOR THE RSK ARE DENIED THEIR RIGHTS TO ELEMENTS OF STATEHOOD, HE ADDED.

STAREVIC ASSESSED AS FAVOURABLE THE FIRST DIRECT CONTACT BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES. THE FACT THAT WE SAT AT THE SAME TABLE FACING EACH OTHER SHOWS THAT WE HAVE BEGAN TO DISCUSS MUTUAL PROBLEMS IN A DIFFERENT WAY. HOWEVER, THE BRINGING OF OUR VIEWS ON SUBSTANTIAL MATTERS CLOSER TOGETHER IS STILL FAR AWAY AND MUCH DISCUSSION ON FORMAL QUESTIONS WILL BE NEEDED BEFORE WE CAN TOUCH THE ESSENCE, STAREVIC POINTED OUT.

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THE RSK AND CROATIAN DELEGATIONS ARE TO MEET AGAIN ON JULY 6 TO DISCUSS AN AGREEMENT ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 802 CALLING FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF CROATIAN TROOPS TO THE POSITIONS THEY OCCUPIED BEFORE THE AGGRESSION ON THE UNPA.

#### PEACEFUL INITIATIVES

GREECE OFFERS 'GOOD OFFICES' TO BELGRADE-TIRANA

A T H E N S, JUNE 24 (TANJUG) - THE GREEK GOVERNMENT ON THURSDAY OFFERED ITS 'GOOD OFFICES' TO BELGRADE AND TIRANA TO AVERT THE POSSIBLE SPREAD OF CONFLICT FROM THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA TO THE SOUTHERN SERBIAN PROVINCE OF KOSOVO-METOHIIJA. GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN V. MANGHINAS SAID THAT GREECE WAS ABOUT TO 'PLAY A PROTAGONIST ROLE' IN THE BALKANS AND WAS READY TO 'OFFER ITS GOOD OFFICES TO AVERT THE CONFLICT SPREADING TO KOSOVO. GREECE WOULD DO THIS USING ITS TRADITIONAL BONDS WITH SERBIA AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH ALBANIA.'

SPOKESMAN MANGHINAS STRESSED THAT THE GREEK GOVERNMENT 'IS AT ALL TIMES PREPARED TO HELP THE YUGOSLAV CRISIS BE SOLVED PEACEFULLY.' IN HIS WORDS, THE GOVERNMENT IN ATHENS WAS FAVOURABLY LOOKING AT SERBIA AND CROATIA GETTING CLOSER TOGETHER IN THE SETTLEMENT OF BOSNIA'S CRISIS AND WAS LOOKING FORWARD TOWARDS THE BOSNIAN MOSLEMS EVENTUALLY POSITIVELY ANSWERING THE SERBO-CROAT INITIATIVE TO DIVIDE BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA (BIH) INTO THREE NATIONAL COMMUNITIES ORGANIZED ON THE CONFEDERAL

## APPLICATION OF THE SANCTIONS

### U.N. SANCTIONS COMMITTEE WARNS MACEDONIA, GREECE

W A S H I N G T O N, JUNE 24 (TANJUG) - THE CHAIRMAN OF THE U.N.'S SANCTIONS COMMITTEE, BRAZILIAN AMBASSADOR R.SARDENBERG, HAS SENT A LETTER TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA (F.Y.R.M.) AND GREECE, WARNING THEM AGAINST THEIR FLAGRANT VIOLATIONS OF U.N. SANCTIONS AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA.

THE LETTER, CONSIDERED BY U.N. DIPLOMATS AS HARSH, WAS SENT ON WEDNESDAY AND DEMANDS A REPLY FROM SKOPJE AND ATHENS WITHIN TWO WEEKS. IN CASE OF THEIR FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH THE DEMAND, THE SECURITY COUNCIL THREATENS TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST BOTH COUNTRIES.

THE COMMITTEE'S WARNING CAME AFTER THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION HAD MENTIONED MACEDONIA AND GREECE BY NAME IN ITS SPECIAL REPORT ON THE APPLICATION OF THE SANCTIONS, SUBMITTED TO THE COMMITTEE ON TUESDAY.

THE REPORT SAID THAT GOODS TRAINS AND TRUCKS ALLEGEDLY CARRYING FUEL, CHEMICALS, AND INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS FROM GREECE WERE CROSSING FREELY INTO SERBIA, IN DEFIANCE OF THE SANCTIONS.

### BULGARIA SEEKS FREE TRANSIT THROUGH SERBIA

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B E L G R A D E, JUNE 24 (TANJUG) - BULGARIA WILL CONTINUE PRESSURE ON THE U.N. TO ALLOW IT A FREE TRANSIT CORRIDOR THROUGH SERBIA'S TERRITORY, SAID BULGARIAN PRIME MINISTER L.BEROV ON THURSDAY.

BULGARIA'S PRINCIPAL TRUNK ROAD AND RAILWAY ROUTES TOWARDS WESTERN EUROPE RUN THROUGH SERBIA, WHILE COMMUNICATION LINES BETWEEN THE MIDDLE EAST AND EUROPE ALSO GO THROUGH SERBIA AND BULGARIA.

BEROV WAS QUOTED BY REUTERS AS HOPING THE U.N. WOULD FIND A BETTER SOLUTION, FOR HE WAS DISCONTENT WITH THE U.N.'S ANSWER TO BULGARIA'S APPEAL ONE MONTH EARLIER. BEROV SAID UNOFFICIAL INDICATIONS OBTAINED FROM THE U.N. SHOWED THAT A TRANSIT CORRIDOR, IF ALLOWED, WOULD GO BY SIDE ROADS NOT SUITED FOR HEAVY LORRIES.

BEROV SENT A LETTER TO YUGOSLAV PRIME MINISTER R.KONTIC TELLING HIM THAT BULGARIA ASKED FOR A TRANSIT CORRIDOR FOR IT WAS SEEKING WAYS TO MAKE UP FOR ITS THREE BILLION DOLLAR LOSSES INCURRED BY U.N. SANCTIONS. BULGARIA WAS NOT INTERFERING IN THE YUGOSLAV CONFLICT, BEROV SAID IN THE LETTER.

### HUMAN RIGHTS

HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE ADOPTS ISLAMIC COUNTRIES' DECLARATION ON BOSNIA

V I E N N A, JUNE 24 (TANJUG) - THE U.N. CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN VIENNA ADOPTED ON THURSDAY A SPECIAL DECLARATION ON

DECLARATION PROPOSED BY THE ISLAMIC COUNTRIES WHICH CALLS FOR LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO FOR BOSNIAN MOSLEMS.

88 COUNTRIES VOTED FOR THE DECLARATION WHILE 55 (INCLUDING WESTERN COUNTRIES) ABSTAINED. RUSSIA ALONE VOTED AGAINST.

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES, HEADED BY THE U.S., REPEATED ON THURSDAY THAT THE ISLAMIC DEMAND WAS UNACCEPTABLE. THEY HELD THAT THE SPECIAL DECLARATION CONTAINS POLITICAL DEMANDS WHICH HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH THE CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

HUMANITARIAN AID TO THE SAFE ARIAS IN BOSNIA

NATO INCREASES ARMS DELIVERIES TO MOSLEMS

T R E B I N J E, JUNE 24 (TANJUG) - NATO TRANSPORT PLANES HAVE STEPPED UP ARMS DELIVERIES TO BOSNIAN MOSLEMS IN THE GORAZDE AREA IN THE PAST FEW DAYS, THE BOSNIAN SERB ARMY COMMAND IN HERZEGOVINA SAID ON THURSDAY. IN ADDITION, NATO FIGHTER-BOMBERS HAVE INCREASED THE FREQUENCY OF THEIR OVERFLIGHTS OF BOSNIAN SERB ARMY POSITIONS IN THE AREA, THE SOURCE SAID.

IN FEBRUARY, U.S., GERMAN AND FRENCH TRANSPORT PLANES BEGAN AN U.N.-SPONSORED AIRDROP OPERATION DESIGNED TO DROP HUMANITARIAN SUPPLIES TO THE MOSLEM ENCLAVES IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, ESPECIALLY GORAZDE. ON APRIL 12, A NUMBER OF NATO COUNTRIES MOUNTED OPERATION DENY FLIGHT, DESIGNED TO ENFORCE THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL'S RESOLUTION WHICH ESTABLISHED A NO-FLY ZONE OVER BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA.

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THE UNPROFOR

GEN. WAHLGREN SAYS NEWS OF HIS DISMISSAL WAS UNEXPECTED

B E L G R A D E, JUNE 24 (TANJUG) - SWEDISH GENERAL L.E. WAHLGREN SAID ON THURSDAY THE NEWS ABOUT HIS REPLACEMENT AS HEAD OF THE UNPROFOR IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA HAD COME UNEXPECTEDLY. 'IT CAME A LITTLE SUDDENLY AND I WAS NOT FOREWARNED,' THE REUTERS QUOTES WAHLGREN AS SAYING ON SWEDISH RADIO.

FRENCH DEFENCE MINISTER F. LEOTARD ANNOUNCED ON WEDNESDAY THAT WAHLGREN, WHO HAS COMMANDED THE UNPROFOR IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA FOR FOUR MONTHS, WOULD BE REPLACED BY FRENCH GENERAL J. COT. LEOTARD SAID THE MOVE TO REPLACE WAHLGREN AS WELL AS MORILLON, THE U.N. COMMANDER FOR BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, WAS DECIDED BY THE U.N.

SWEDEN HAS ASKED THE U.N. TO EXPLAIN WHY IT WAS NOT NOTIFIED IN ADVANCE ABOUT THE DECISION TO REPLACE WAHLGREN. 'WE RECEIVED THE NEWS THAT WAHLGREN WOULD BE REPLACED VIA FRENCH TV,' SWEDISH DEFENCE MINISTRY SPOKESMAN K. GOEHE TOLD REUTERS ON THURSDAY. 'WHEN WE HAVE RECEIVED INFORMATION FROM THE U.N., WE WILL DECIDE HOW THIS WILL AFFECT OUR U.N. PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS.'

GEN. MERCIER: 1,250 MORE FRENCH TROOPS FOR BOSNIA

P A R I S, JUNE 24 (TANJUG) - TOTAL ADDITIONAL REINFORCEMENTS OF



... IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA WILL AMOUNT TO 1,250  
... WILL BE READY OPERATIVELY BY JULY 20, GENERAL  
PH. MERCIER SAID ON THURSDAY. GEN. MERCIER, WHO IS IN CHARGE OF  
THIS OPERATION AT THE FRENCH ARMY'S GENERAL HEADQUARTERS  
SPECIFIED THAT IN ADDITION TO THE CONTINGENT OF 800 TROOPS  
INDICATED BY FRENCH PRIME MINISTER E. BALADUR ON WEDNESDAY,  
FRANCE WILL ALSO SEND AIR FORCE COMMANDOS TO FORMER YUGOSLAVIA  
TO PROTECT SARAJEVO AIRPORT, AND WILL INCREASE THE NUMBER OF  
LIGHT ARMORED VEHICLES IN THAT CITY.

THE FIRST CONTINGENT OF FRENCH TROOPS (350-400 MEN) SHOULD  
ARRIVE IN THE CROATIAN PORT OF SPLIT BY JULY 4TH, AND THE OTHERS  
WILL ARRIVE BY MID-JULY. FRANCE WILL THEN HAVE A TOTAL OF 6,300  
TROOPS IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA, THE LARGEST CONTINGENT WITHIN THE  
UNPROFOR.

NO NEW SPANISH BLUE HELMETS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, SPANISH  
DEFENCE MINISTER SAYS

M A D R I D, JUNE 24 (TANJUG) - CONCERNED ABOUT INCREASINGLY  
FREQUENT CASUALTIES AMONG THE SPANISH CONTINGENT WITHIN UNPROFOR  
IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, SPANISH DEFENCE MINISTER G. VARGAS HAS  
SAID HE HOPES THERE WILL BE NO NEED FOR SPAIN TO SEND MORE  
PEACEKEEPING TROOPS TO BOSNIA BECAUSE OF THE FAVOURABLE  
PROSPECTS FOR RESTORING PEACE THERE BY NEXT AUTUMN. THE MANDATE  
OF THE SPANISH UNPROFOR BATTALION IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA IS DUE  
TO EXPIRE IN OCTOBER.

THE SPANISH COMMAND WILL RE-GROUP ITS BLUE HELMETS IN THE AREA  
OF HERZEGOVINA FOR SECURITY REASONS, BECAUSE OF THE GROWING

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RISKS THEY ARE FACING, SAID VARGAS. HE NOTED THAT BECAUSE OF  
THEIR CONTINUED POLICY OF ETHNIC CLEANSING, SOME OF THE  
CONFLICTING SIDES APPARENTLY DID NOT WANT U.N. TROOPS AS  
WITNESSES.

BOSNIA - WAR FIGHTING

WAR BETWEEN MOSLEMS AND CROATS - NEW WARFRONT OPENS IN CENTRAL  
BOSNIA

B E L X R A D E, JUNE 24 (TANJUG) - MOSLEM FORCES AND MUJAHEDDIN  
HAVE LAUNCHED AN ATTACK FROM THE DIRECTION OF ZENICA ON THE  
HITHERTO QUIET CENTRAL BOSNIAN TOWN OF ZEPCE, CROATIAN RADIO  
REPORTED ON THURSDAY NIGHT.

MOSLEM RADIO SARAJEVO REPORTED THAT THE SITUATION IN CENTRAL  
BOSNIA WAS WORSENING. ON WEDNESDAY, IT SAID, 20 TRUCKS WITH  
ARMED CROATIAN SOLDIERS ARRIVED IN KISELJAK, SO THAT IN THIS  
AREA ONE MIGHT EXPECT A CROATIAN ATTACK ON MOSLEM POSITIONS.

CROATIAN RADIO SAID MOSLEM UNITS CONTINUED ATTACKING  
CROATIAN-POPULATED SETTLEMENTS IN THE KONJIC REGION IN NORTHERN  
HERZEGOVINA.

FROM FOREIGN PRESS

MOSLEM LEADER IZETBEOVIC WANTS WAR TO GO ON

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Z A G R E B, JUNE 24 (TANJUG) - WITH HIS CONTINUED INSISTENCE ON AN UNDIVIDED BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA AND FOR EXEMPTING THE MOSLEMS FROM THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL'S EMBARGO ON ARMS SALES TO FORMER YUGOSLAVIA, ALTHOUGH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY VOCIFEROUS IN ITS DEMANFS FOR A CONFEDERAL BOSNIA, MOSLEM LEADER A.IZETBEGOVIC IS IN FACT ADVOCATING AN INDEFINITE PROLONGATION OF THE CURRENT WAR, THE ZAGREB DAILY VECERNJI LIST WRITES ON THURSDAY.

SINCE MANY IN BOKNIA-HERZEGOVINA HAVE HAD ENOUGH WAR, ONE HAS TO WONDER WHOM IZETBEGOVIC IS REPRESENTING, WRITES THE DAILY AND EMPHASISES THAT HE IS CERTAINLY NOT REPRESENTING THE LOCAL CROATS. HIS BELLIGERENCE IS NOT SUPPORTED BY MOST OF THE MOSLEMS, EITHER, AND THE PROLONGATION OF THE BOSNIAN WAR AND A MOSLEM-DOMINATED BOSNIAN STATE ARE LTILL DESIRED ONLY BY A HANDFUL OF EXTREMISTS, WRITES VECERNJI LIST.

WASHINGTON POST: IZETBEGOVIC HAS TO CONCEDE DEFEAT

W A S H I N G T O N, JUNE 24 (TANJUG) - THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT OF A.IZETBEGOVIC NOW HAS TON WDLAID DBORATEGY OF CONTROLLABLE DEFEAT INSTEAD OF INSISTING ON VICTORY, WRITES THE WASHINGTON POST DAILY.

THE DAILY BELIEVES THAT THE IZETBEGOVIC GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO RESCUE WHAT CAN BE RESCUED FROM UNDER THE DEBRIS OF THE NATIONAL DREAM - THE MULTI-ETHNIC BOSNIA WHERE BOSNIAN MOSLEMS, SERBS AND CROATS WOULD LIVE PEACEFULLY. AT THE MOST, IZETBEGOVIC MAY NOW HOPE FOR THE CONTROL OF A PIECE OF BOSNIAN LAND, SAYS THE PAPER.

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THE PAPER SAYS THE WEST RUDELY AND DIRECTLY SUGGESTS TO IZETBEGOVIC THAT IT IS TIME TO ACCEPT THE DEFEAT AND STEP DOWN IN PEACE, AND SERBS AND CROATS WILL BE PRESSURED TO GUARANTEE HIM A FEW CRUMBS OF SOVEREIGNTY IN RETURN, SO IF HE GOES ON, HE WILL MOST PROBABLY LOSE ALL.

THE WAR IN BOSNIA HAS LASTED LONGER THAN MANY EXPECTED, WHILE NOW GOOD PROSPECTS EXIST IT WILL END, BUT ITS AFTERMATH MAY OVERSHADOW ALL HITHERTO SUFFERINGS OF THE UNHAPPY BOSNIAN VICTIMS, SAYS THE PAPER AND ADDS THAT THE DEFEAT OF BOSNIA WILL COME ABOUT SOON, WHILE ITS EFFECTS WILL LAST LONG.

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## □ THE PUBLISHER'S LETTER □

*Serbia at home and abroad*

### The Balkanization of the Mind

Every society has a "Serbian" element. We are painfully aware that the concept of "ethnic cleansing" is not unique to the Balkans. It was experienced by the victims of German and Japanese fascism.

The mode of thought that allows the Serbians to commit atrocities and yet not see them arises in part from their lack of a sense of history and movement. The Serbians make no distinction between the past and the present. Nothing is ever resolved. All struggles are continuous. The Serbs are still fighting in the present all the enemies they fought in the past. We are told that Serbian news depicts the slaughter of women and children in a Serbian village, failing to mention that the event took place 50 years ago.

While it appears that Serbians have a historical memory, they really have no concept of history. History is the story of change over the course of time. If the world appears as an unchanging constant, rather than a sense of history, you have a sense of yesterday, a yesterday that is alive in every day of the present.

One of the effects of having a sense of the past without a sense of history is that it shapes the psyche into seeing the world in dualistic terms. Simply put, if you are not me or like me, you are an enemy, a heathen, a barbarian, a heretic, you are unclean. It reduces everything to the most fundamental understanding of right and wrong, good and evil, as they apply to any subject. It drives out the idea that there are areas of gray as well as black and white, that there might be a third way. In fact, the dissolution of Yugoslavia is the dissolution of the third way. It is multiplicity reduced to simplicity, a victory of the literal over the symbolic, the provincial over the cosmopolitan.

In our society there are institutions designed to resist and prevent the Balkanization of our minds—public schools, universities, museums, and libraries. We could not have arts, letters, and science in the way we do if the provincial mind prevailed. Only folk culture would exist, and that folk culture would be easily manipulated by the darkest political elements.

It is easier to champion the literal against the symbolic when one has no sense of historical pro-

gression. Recently Octavio Paz decried the current lack of universal ideas like those that guided the French revolution, or gave us Utopian visions. In their place we have, horror of horrors to Paz, the late 20th-century reemergence of narrow nationalism.

We must resist the Balkanization of the world and the intellect. A significant portion of American and Western European history is the struggle to gain tolerance and access to the machinery of the state. Historically, the genius of American politics was to seize on lofty principles that were parochially applied. For example, the Puritans sought refuge for their own beliefs, not for all ideas. The bourgeoisie of England and France fought for rights for their own class.

At the end of these struggles the more literal demands were generalized and expanded to include all people. Ultimately, they became "the universal rights of man." They are now codified in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, although they sprouted in the narrow garden of sectarian and class interest. What we defined as progress was the movement from the literal to the abstract, just as language evolves from words directly representative of an object to a broader abstract concept.

Our libraries and educational institutions preserve the documentation of that progress, and teach it to each generation and to citizens new to our nation. It took centuries to build those archives of human progress toward understanding and tolerance.

The war in the Balkans is an undoing of that progress, a taking apart of the symbolic, the abstract, the cosmopolitan. What threatens us now is not the white glare of nuclear holocaust but rather the darkness of primitive forces that go to war over narrow interests of nationalism, ethnicity, and turf.



Fred Ciporen, Publisher

SAVEZNA REPUBLIKA JUGOSLAVIJA  
SAVEZNO MINISTARSTVO  
INOSTRANIH POSLOVA  
DIREKCIJA S I K  
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## **YUGOSLAV DAILY SURVEY**

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**BELGRADE, JUNE 28, 1993  
No.352**

### ZORAN LILIC THE NEW YUGOSLAV PRESIDENT

#### **ZORAN LILIC INAUGURATED AS NEW YUGOSLAV PRESIDENT**

**B E L G R A D E, JUNE 25 (TANJUG) - Z.LILIC WAS ON FRIDAY INAUGURATED AS THE NEW PRESIDENT OF THE F.R.Y. AT A JOINT SESSION OF BOTH HOUSES OF THE YUGOSLAV PARLIAMENT. LILIC, UP TILL NOW THE SPEAKER OF THE SERBIAN PARLIAMENT, WAS NOMINATED BY THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF SERBIA (SPS).**

**THE CHAMBER OF CITIZENS UPHELD LILIC'S NOMINATION WITH 92 VOTES FOR, 11 AGAINST AND FIVE INVALID VOTES. OF THE 40 DEPUTIES IN THE CHAMBER OF REPUBLICS, 34 VOTED FOR LILIC AND THREE VOTES WERE INVALID.**

**LILIC'S INAUGURATION WAS ATTENDED BY PRESIDENTS OF SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO S.MILOSEVIC AND M.BULATOVIC, FEDERAL PRIME MINISTER R.KONTIC, AND REPUBLICAN PRIME MINISTERS N.SAINOVIC AND M.DJUKANOVIC.**

#### **ZORAN LILIC ELECTED NEW YUGOSLAV PRESIDENT - BIOGRAPHY**

**B E L G R A D E, JUNE 25 (TANJUG) - ZORAN LILIC, A SERB, WAS BORN IN BRZA PALANKA, IN THE YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF SERBIA, ON AUGUST 27, 1953. HE HOLDS A DEGREE IN TECHNOLOGY.**

**BEFORE HE WAS ELECTED SPEAKER OF THE SERBIAN PARLIAMENT IN JANUARY 1993, LILIC HEADED BELGRADE'S REKORD TYRE AND TUBE FACTORY. HE WAS ELECTED CHAIRMAN OF THE ECONOMIC COUNCIL OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY'S MAIN BOARD IN MAY 1993.**

#### **YUGOSLAV PRESIDENT LILIC: YUGOSLAVIA FOR PEACE AND COOPERATION WITH THE WORLD**

**B E L G R A D E, JUNE 25 (TANJUG) - PRESIDENT OF THE F.R.Y. Z.LILIC HAS STATED IN HIS ACCEPTANCE SPEECH THAT THE POLICY OF PEACE WILL REMAIN THE FUNDAMENTAL COMMITMENT OF HIS COUNTRY AND HOPED THAT EUROPE AND THE WORLD WOULD EVENTUALLY ACKNOWLEDGE THE CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE OF THE F.R.Y.**

YUGOSLAV DAILY SURVEY

LILIC TOLD PARLIAMENT HE WOULD DO HIS UTMOST INTERNATIONALLY FOR THE UNJUST U.N. SANCTIONS AGAINST THE F.R.Y. TO BE LIFTED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY OF RIGHTS, NOT TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE STATE'S NATIONAL INTEREST.

'THE F.R.Y. HAS ALWAYS BEEN OPEN TO ALL FORMS OF COOPERATION WITH ALL THE STATES AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY REGARDING THE RESOLVING OF ALL PROBLEMS IT CAN REALISTICALLY INFLUENCE, ACCORDING TO THE PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY AND RESPECT FOR SOVEREIGNTY,' SAID THE NEW HEAD OF THE YUGOSLAV STATE.

PRESIDENT LILIC UNDERSCORED THAT IN THESE TRYING TIMES FOR THE F.R.Y. AND ITS CITIZENS, HE WOULD MAKE EVERY EFFORT TOWARDS THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE, NATIONAL INTEREST, INTEGRITY AND SECURITY OF THE COUNTRY, THE PROMOTION OF THE RULE OF LAW AND RESPECT OF RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS OF CITIZENS, AND THE CREATION OF A SUCCESSFUL AND MODERN ECONOMY.

ASSESSING THAT THE 1992 CONSTITUTION HAD NOT CREATED A NEW YUGOSLAV STATE, BUT THAT ONLY THE WILL OF SERBIA'S AND MONTENEGRO'S CITIZENS WAS CONFIRMED TO ORGANIZE THE STATE OF YUGOSLAVIA IN A NEW WAY, MAINTAINING ITS CONTINUITY, LILIC RECALLED THAT THE CONSTITUTIONAL LAWS FOR THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE F.R.Y. BE JOINED BY SOME OTHER STATES WHICH EMERGED WHEN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA COLLAPSED.

LILIC INSISTED ON THE NEED TO SECURE A MINIMUM POLITICAL CONSENSUS IN THE COUNTRY WHICH WAS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY FOR THE PROTECTION OF NATIONAL INTEREST AND F.R.Y. CITIZENS.

LILIC SAID THE F.R.Y. WOULD HAVE TO USE ITS OWN CAPACITIES, NOT TO EXPECT ASSISTANCE FROM ABROAD, FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF ITS DIFFICULT ECONOMIC CRISIS WHICH WAS WORSENED BY THE SANCTIONS, INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION, DISINTEGRATION OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAV MARKET, AND BY INTERNAL FAILURES IN THE ECONOMIC POLICY. 'WE SHOULD ALSO LEARN FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF OTHER COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE PINNED THEIR HOPES ON OUTSIDE FACTORS BUT HAVE FAILED TO SEE RESULTS, THE CONSEQUENCES OF WHICH THEY MIGHT NOT FEEL NOW BUT WILL CERTINLY DO SO IN THE NEAR FUTURE,' SAID HE.

PRESIDENT LILIC UNDERLINED THAT THE FUNCTIONING OF A STATE RULED BY LAW WAS A PRIME NATIONAL OBJECTIVE, WHILE THE OBSERVANCE OF THE CONSTITUTION AND LAW WAS NOT AND COULD NOT BE ANYONE'S IDEOLOGICAL OR PARTY POLITICAL INTEREST OR SUBJECT TO ANYONE'S PARTICULAR INTERPRETATION.

YUGOSLAV FOREIGN MINISTER IN RUSSIA

YUGOSLAV FOREIGN MINISTER CALLS FOR 'FREEZING' OF SANCTIONS DURING TALKS ON BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

M O S C O W, JUNE 26 (TANJUG) - YUGOSLAV FOREIGN MINISTER AND VICE-PREMIER V. JOVANOVIC ASSESSED POSITIVELY HIS VISIT TO MOSCOW, DURING WHICH HE INFORMED RUSSIA'S HIGH OFFICIALS OF HIS PROPOSAL TO 'FREEZE' SANCTIONS AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA DURING THE PEACETALKS ON BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA.

JOVANOVIC SAID THAT HE INFORMED THE RUSSIAN OFFICIALS ABOUT THE

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ESSENCE OF THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE CONFLICT IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, AND ABOUT YUGOSLAVIA'S WISH TO INCLUDE RUSSIA IN THE PROCESS.

WE EXPLAINED THAT THE PEACE TALKS ARE DISCUSSING A MODIFICATION OF THE PEACE PLAN DRAWN UP BY C.VANCE AND D.OWEN AND THE WASHINGTON PLAN AGREED BY FIVE MEMBER STATES OF THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL (U.S., RUSSIA, GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE AND SPAIN), AND WE INFORMED OUR COLLOCUTORS ABOUT THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF A CONFEDERAL SYSTEM IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA. WE STRESSED THAT THIS IS A CONTINUATION OF THE PEACE TALKS. WE ALSO EXPECT THE MOSLEM SIDE TO TAKE PART IN THESE TALKS, JOVANOVIC SAID.

JOVANOVIC SAID THAT RUSSIA POSITIVELY ASSESSED YUGOSLAVIA'S EFFORTS OVER THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS TO SETTLE THE CONFLICT, PARTICULARLY YUGOSLAVIA'S EFFORTS TO UNBLOCK THE PEACE PROCESS.

JOVANOVIC SAID THAT THE MOSCOW TALKS ALSO DISCUSSED THE BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN YUGOSLAVIA AND RUSSIA. WE POINTED OUT THE HISTORICAL ROOTS OF OUR RELATIONS AND ASSESSED THAT THE SANCTIONS LIMIT, BUT NOT ABSOLUTELY, OUR COOPERATION.

WE UNDERLINED THE FACT THAT YUGOSLAVIA IS NOT A PARTICIPANT IN THE CONFLICT IN BOSNIA AND THAT IT IS FULFILLING ITS OBLIGATIONS. WE HAVE MET ALL THE CONDITIONS FOR LIFTING OF THE SANCTIONS AND WE EXPECT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO ACT ACCORDINGLY, JOVANOVIC SAID.

JOVANOVIC ALSO SAID THAT HE RENEWED THE YUGOSLAV LEADERSHIP'S INVITATION TO RUSSIAN PRESIDENT B.YELTZIN, FOREIGN MINISTER A.KOZYREV AND OTHER OFFICIALS TO VISIT YUGOSLAVIA.

KOZYREV-JOVANOVIC TALKS

M O S C O W, JUNE 25 (TANJUG) - RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER A.KOZYREV SAID ON FRIDAY THAT SANCTIONS AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA MIGHT BE LIFTED AND THE COUNTRY MIGHT RETURN TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IF A SOLUTION SATISFACTORY TO ALL THREE SIDES IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA WAS FOUND AND IF ITS TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY WAS PRESERVED. ANNOUNCING THIS POSSIBILITY TO REPORTERS AFTER A ONE-HOUR TALK WITH YUGOSLAV FOREIGN MINISTER V.JOVANOVIC, KOZYREV SAID THAT IN THAT CASE AND UNDER THESE CONDITIONS, YUGOSLAVIA MIGHT COUNT ON RUSSIA'S SUPPORT.

THE DURATION OF THE SANCTIONS DEPENDS ON THE WASHINGTON ACTION PLAN FOR BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA AND THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS CURRENTLY UNDER WAY IN GENEVA IN WHICH SERBIAN PRESIDENT S.MILOSEVIC PLAYS AN ACTIVE AND POSITIVE ROLE, SAID KOZYREV.

BOSNIAN MOSLEMS SHOULD BE MORE REALISTIC, KOZYREV ADDED IN A REFERENCE TO THE REFUSAL OF BOSNIAN MOSLEM LEADER A.IZETBEGOVIC TO ATTEND THE RESUMPTION OF THE BOSNIAN PEACE TALKS IN GENEVA.

THE RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER SAID HE HOPED THAT THE YUGOSLAV LEADERSHIP WOULD DO ITS BEST TO AVOID CONFLICTS IN THE SERBIAN PROVINCE OF KOSOVO-METOHIIJA, WHERE NATIONAL MINORITIES WOULD ENJOY ALL RIGHTS WITHIN A SINGLE YUGOSLAVIA AND SERBIA.

THE YUGOSLAV FOREIGN MINISTER PRAISED RUSSIA'S ROLE IN RESOLVING THE CONFLICT IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. JOVANOVIC SAID THAT THE RUSSIAN DIPLOMACY HAD URGED IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS A PRINCIPLED AND PEACEFUL

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SETTLEMENT OF CONFLICTS IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. HE ALSO SAID HE HOPED THAT RUSSIA WOULD JOIN IN THE CURRENT NEGOTIATING PROCESS FOR FINDING A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT.

**SANCTIONS AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA UNJUSTIFIED,  
SAYS RUSSIAN SUPREME SOVIET**

M O S C O W, JUNE 25 (TANJUG) - E.AMBARTSUMOV, PRESIDENT OF THE COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF THE RUSSIAN SUPREME SOVIET, SAID ON FRIDAY THE SUPREME SOVIET HAD ALWAYS MAINTAINED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAD UNJUSTIFIABLY IMPOSED SANCTIONS AGAINST THE F.R.Y. 'THERE IS NOT JUST ONE GUILTY PARTY IN THE YUGOSLAV CONFLICT. YET THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS UNFAIRLY PUNISHING ONLY ONE SIDE,' AMBARTSUMOV TOLD YUGOSLAV FOREIGN MINISTER V.JOVANOVIC WHO ARRIVED ON A ONE-DAY WORKING VISIT TO MOSCOW ON THURSDAY AFTERNOON. OPPOSITION DEPUTY S.BABURIN, WHO ALSO ATTENDED THE AMBARTSUMOV-JOVANOVIC MEETING, SAID THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WAS APPLYING DOUBLE STANDARDS TO THE YUGOSLAV CRISIS WHICH WAS LEADING THE ENTIRE WORLD AS TRAY. THE SANCTIONS WERE SENT TO THE WRONG ADDRESS AND DID NOT ACHIEVE THE DESIRED EFFECT, SAID BABURIN.

I N T E R V I E W

**SANCTIONS, PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PROPAGANDA WAR  
AIMED AT DESTRUCTION OF YUGOSLAVIA**

M O S C O W, JUNE 25 (TANJUG) - DEFENSE MINISTER OF THE F.R.Y. P.BULATOVIC HAS ASSESSED THAT NUMEROUS FORMS OF AGGRESSION - ECONOMIC SANCTIONS, GENERAL BLOCKADE, PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PROPAGANDA WAR, HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA OVER THE ONE YEAR OF ITS EXISTENCE IN ORDER TO DESTROY THE COMMON STATE OF SERBS AND MONTENEGRINS.

IN HIS INTERVIEW PUBLISHED IN THE RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY'S MAGAZINE ~~KRASNAYA ZVEZDA~~ ON THURSDAY, BULATOVIC SAID THAT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SANCTIONS AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA IS UNFAIR BECAUSE IT IS NOT PARTICIPATING IN THE CIVIL WAR IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA. 'THAT IS WHY WE INTERPRET THIS AS AN EXPRESSION OF HATRED TOWARDS SERBS AND AS A REVENGE OF THOSE WHO WERE DEFEATED IN THE PAST WARS,' SAID BULATOVIC. 'HOW CAN ONE BE AN AGGRESSOR IN A CIVIL WAR OR AT HIS OWN HOME,' SAID BULATOVIC ASSESSING AS ABSURD THE ACCUSATIONS THAT YUGOSLAVIA IS AN AGGRESSOR. BULATOVIC ALSO SAID THAT THE CIVIL, RELIGIOUS AND ETHNIC WAR CAN END ONLY WITH AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN ALL THREE PEOPLES LIVING THERE.

BULATOVIC SAID THAT YUGOSLAVIA'S MILITARY DOCTRINE IS A DEFENSE WAR DOCTRINE BASED ON A MODERN, WELL ORGANIZED, PREPARED AND EQUIPPED ARMY. 'THE POLITICAL AIM OF SUCH A DOCTRINE IS PROTECTION OF FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AS WELL AS THE CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER OF A COUNTRY.'

BULATOVIC WAS VERY CRITICAL ABOUT NATO'S ACTIVITIES AND SAID THAT, UNDER THE COVER OF THE U.N., NATO IS CARRYING OUT ACTIVITIES AGAINST COUNTRIES WHICH ARE NOT MEMBERS OF NATO. 'I AM AFRAID THAT THIS CANNOT BE THE WAY TOWARDS UNIVERSAL SAFETY AND PEACE,' HE ADDED THAT NATO HAS

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USURPED THE RIGHT TO INTERFERE IN YUGOSLAVIA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS BY SENDING ITS OBSERVERS TO SERBIA'S PROVINCES OF KOSOVO-METOHIIJA AND VOJVODINA.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, POLITICAL OPTIONSCONFEDERAL PRINCIPLES FOR BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

GENEVA, JUNE 25 (TANJUG) - BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA WOULD BECOME A CONFEDERATION OF THE THREE CONSTITUTIONALLY RECOGNIZED CONSTITUENT NATIONS, ACCORDING TO A SERBO-CROAT PROPOSAL. THE PROPOSAL, THE PRINCIPLES OF WHICH HAVE BEEN AGREED IN PRINCIPLE AFTER AT THE TWO LATEST SUMMITS IN GENEVA, WOULD VEST MOST OF THE GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS WITH THE REPUBLIC STATES OF BOSNIA'S CROATS, SERBS AND MOSLEMS, IT IS LEARNED FROM A WELL-INFORMED SOURCE IN GENEVA.

THE BIH CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES FORBID ANY OF THE CONFEDERAL REPUBLICS TO MAKE TREATIES WITH OTHER STATES OR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IF THESE TREATIES WOULD HARM THE INTERESTS OF OTHER CONFEDERAL REPUBLICS. ALL MATTERS VITAL TO ANY OF THE CONSTITUENT NATIONS AND REPUBLICS WOULD BE DETERMINED BY REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTIONS AND BY A TRIPARTITE CONSTITUTIONAL AGREEMENT ON CONFEDERATION, SUBJECT TO CHANGE ONLY BY CONSENSUS.

THE REPUBLICS WOULD HAVE DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED LEGISLATIVE BODIES, THE MAIN BODY OF EXECUTIVE AUTHORITIES, AND INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY.

THE PRESIDENCY OF THE CONFEDERATION WOULD HAVE THREE PRESIDENTS, ONE FROM EACH OF THE REPUBLICS. THE MINISTERIAL COUNCIL OF THE CONFEDERATION WOULD HAVE NINE MEMBERS, THREE FROM EACH OF THE REPUBLICS. APPOINTED TO THE COUNCIL OF THE CONFEDERATION THERE WOULD BE THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, WHEREAS THIS COUNCIL WOULD BE PRESIDED BY THE PRIME MINISTER.

THE THREE REPUBLICS WOULD AGREE AS TO THE INTERVALS AT WHICH THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS WOULD BE ROTATED.

THE LEGISLATIVE BODIES OF THE REPUBLICS WOULD INDIRECTLY ELECT MPS FOR THE CONFEDERAL PARLIAMENT. THE FIRST ELECTIONS WOULD BE HELD MONITORED BY THE U.N., E.C. AND CSCE. DISPUTES BETWEEN THE REPUBLICS AND THE CONFEDERATION, AND THOSE BETWEEN THEIR BODIES, WOULD BE SETTLED BY THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT ON WHICH ALL THE THREE REPUBLICS WOULD BE REPRESENTED.

THE PROPOSAL ALSO PROVIDES FOR A STEPWISE DEMILITARIZATION OF THE BIH UNDER U.N.-E.C. SUPERVISION.

THE CONSTITUTION WOULD WARRANT THE HUMAN RIGHTS ACCORDING TO THE TOP INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS AND WOULD ENSURE THEIR EXERCISE THROUGH DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL MECHANISMS.

KARADZIC SAYS IZETBEGOVIC ILLEGITIMATE PRESIDENT

BELGRADE, JUNE 26 (TANJUG) - PRESIDENT OF THE SERBIAN REPUBLIC IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA R.KARADZIC DENIED LEGITIMACY OF MOSLEM LEADER A.IZETBEGOVIC AS PRESIDENT OF THE SO-CALLED PRESIDENCY OF