

YUGOSLAV DAILY SURVEY

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA. IN AN INTERVIEW CARRIED BY BELGRADE'S DAILY VECERNJE NOVOSTI SATURDAY, KARADZIC EXPLAINED THAT IZETBEGOVIC'S THIRD TERM, TO WHICH HE HAD NO RIGHT, AS HEAD OF THE RUMP PRESIDENCY WAS EXPIRING. IN KARADZIC'S VIEW, THE BOSNIAN RUMP PRESIDENCY ALSO LACKED LEGITIMACY AS IT HAD NO LEGITIMATELY ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES OF BOSNIAN SERBS.

'NEVERTHELESS, IT IS A GOOD THING THAT SUCH A BODY EXISTS FOR NEGOTIATIONS, AS IZETBEGOVIC WAS LEFT WITHOUT ANY INSTITUTIONS: THE GOVERNMENT, THE ASSEMBLY... EVEN SO, THE SERB SIDE WILL ACCEPT, SAID KARADZIC, 'ANY NEGOTIATOR WHOM THE MOSLEMS DESIGNATE AS THEIR REPRESENTATIVE.'

'THE SERB-CROATIAN INITIATIVE ON DIVIDING BOSNIA IS NOTHING MORE THAN AN INITIATIVE FOR PEACE. BECAUSE THERE IS NO PEACE WITHOUT DIVIDING BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA INTO THREE STATES,' SAID KARADZIC. 'IF MOSLEM SIDE DOES NOT ACCEPT IT, BOTH THE CROATS AND THE SERBS WOULD EACH GO THEIR OWN WAY. THE SERBS TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE,' SAID KARADZIC.

**BOSNIA WILL BE LOOSE CONFEDERATION, SAYS LORD OWEN**

PARIS, JUNE 27 (TANJUG) - CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE ON THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA LORD OWEN HAS SAID THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CONFEDERATION IS AN EFFORT TO PRESERVE BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA AS AN INTEGRAL STATE CONSISTING OF THREE REPUBLICS. IN AN INTERVIEW TO THE PARIS WEEKLY ~~JOURNAL DU DIMANCHE~~, LORD OWEN SAID THAT IT WOULD BE A 'LOOSE UNION' AND THAT THERE IS A POSSIBILITY OF SUCH A CONFEDERATION TO BREAK UP INTO THREE PARTS.

LORD OWEN SAID THAT THERE IS A SLIM CHANCE THAT BOSNIAN MOSLEMS WILL ACCEPT THE SERBO-CROAT PLAN TO DIVIDE BOSNIA INTO THREE MINI STATES AND FORM A CONFEDERATION. THERE IS A GREAT POSSIBILITY THAT BOSNIAN MOSLEM LEADER A. IZETBEGOVIC WILL NOT COME TO GENEVA PEACETALKS THIS WEEK, SAID OWEN. LORD OWEN SAID THAT IZETBEGOVIC IS NOT PREPARED TO COMPROMISE AND SAVE PEOPLE. OWEN, HOWEVER, STRESSED THAT HE WOULD NOT LIKE IZETBEGOVIC TO BE REPLACED.

AN AGREEMENT CANNOT BE REACHED FOR AS LONG AS SARAJEVO DOES NOT WANT PEACE AND IT MAY ALSO TURN OUT THAT IZETBEGOVIC IS NOT CAPABLE OF SUCH A STEP. IT IS EXTREMELY PAINFUL FOR SOMEONE WHO ENTERED A WAR TO FIGHT AGAINST A CONFEDERATION TO NOW ACCEPT IT, SAID OWEN.

LORD OWEN ADMITTED THAT THERE IS NO AGGRESSION IN BOSNIA BUT A CIVIL WAR. HE SAID THAT IT WOULD HAVE BEEN MUCH BETTER IF CERTAIN STATES (CROATIA AND BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA) WERE NOT RECOGNIZED BEFORE A GLOBAL SOLUTION WAS REACHED FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA.

SPEAKING ABOUT ETHNIC CLEANSING, WHICH SERBS WERE THE ONLY ONES TO BE BLAMED FOR SO FAR, WE SHOULD ALSO MENTION THE ETHNIC CLEANSING OF SERBS IN WORLD WAR TWO, WHICH WAS THE WORST AFTER THE ETHNIC CLEANSING OF JEWS, SAID LORD OWEN.

OBSERVING THAT HIS PLAN DIVIDING BOSNIA INTO 10 SEMI-AUTONOMOUS PROVINCES IS ABSOLUTELY 'DEAD' AND THAT A NEGOTIATOR BELIEVES THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IS TO OBTAIN PEACE EVEN IF IT WERE LESS HONOURABLE, LORD OWEN SAID HE WAS CONFIDENT THAT EFFORTS TO RESTORE PEACE SHOULD NOT BE STOPPED WITH AN EXCUSE THAT IT WILL NOT BE PERFECT PEACE.

YUGOSLAV DAILY SURVEY

JUPPE FIRMLY OPPOSED TO ARMING MOSLEMS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

P A R I S, JUNE 26 (TANJUG) - IT IS OUR DUTY TO DO EVERYTHING SO THAT THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS MAY LEAD TO A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, BECAUSE WHAT ITS POPULATION NEEDS IS PEACE AND NOT MORE ARMS, FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER A. JUPPE WRITES IN LE FIGARO.

TO THE WEST, AN AGREEMENT WOULD ONLY BE ACCEPTABLE IF IT MEETS THREE CONDITIONS - IT MUST BE BASED ON CONSENT OF THE THREE COMMUNITIES, SECURE A VIABLE TERRITORIAL SOLUTION FOR MOSLEMS WITHIN A SOVEREIGN BOSNIA, AND HAVE A SOLID INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEE.

JUPPE POINTS OUT THAT THE WEST HAS TO MAKE UP ITS MIND BETWEEN WHAT ESSENTIALLY ARE TWO MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE STRATEGIES - ONE OF LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO FOR MOSLEMS, WHICH IMPLIES DISENGAGEMENT OF THE U.N. FORCES, AN END OF HUMANITARIAN DRIVES AND FURTHER ESCALATION OF THE CONFLICT, AND THE OTHER OF CONTINUING THE VANCE-OWEN PROCESS PATIENTLY, ALTHOUGH AT TIMES UNPRODUCTIVELY.

'IT WAS UPON THIS SECOND COURSE THAT THE EUROPEANS, AT A SPECIAL INSISTENCE OF FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN, RALLIED THEIR FORCES WITHIN BOTH THE E.C. AND THE WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION,' CONCLUDES THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER.

SOLUTION FOR BOSNIA CANNOT BE IMPOSED BY OUTSIDE FORCE,  
SAYS HURD

M A D R I D, JUNE 27 (TANJUG) - BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA IS THE SCENE OF A CIVIL WAR AND NO SOLUTION CAN BE IMPOSED THERE BY FORCE AND FROM THE OUTSIDE, BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY D. HURD SAID IN AN INTERVIEW TO THE SPANISH DAILY EL PAIS.

HURD SAID THAT THE WARRING PARTIES WERE BOSNIANS THEMSELVES, I.E. LOCAL SERBS, CROATS AND MOSLEMS. WE ARE FACED WITH A WAR IN WHICH ALL KINDS OF ATROCITIES ARE BEING COMMITTED PRECISELY BECAUSE IT IS A CIVIL WAR AND ALL THREE SIDES ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THEM, HE SAID.

HURD SAID THAT THOSE WHO BELIEVED THAT A SOLUTION COULD HAVE BEEN IMPOSED BY FORCE WERE WRONG. THIS WAS IMPOSSIBLE ALSO BECAUSE NONE OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES HAS SERIOUSLY SHOWED READINESS TO SEND ITS TROOPS TO INTERVENE.

A WESTERN MILITARY INTERVENTION IN THE BALKANS WAS NEITHER REALISTIC NOR PROBABLE. IT WOULD BE UNREALISTIC TO SEEK THAT WE SEND TROOPS TO SEIZE CONTROL IN SERBIA, CROATIA AND BOSNIA IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH PROTECTORATES THERE, SAID THE BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY.

CRISTOPHER ON SOLUTION FOR BOSNIA,  
SANCTIONS AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA

W A S H I N G T O N, JUNE 27 (TANJUG) - U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE W. CRISTOPHER SAID ON SUNDAY THAT IT WAS UP TO THE WARRING SIDES IN THE 15-MONTH-OLD WAR IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA TO ACCEPT AN UNDERSTANDING WHICH SUITED THEM BEST. CRISTOPHER TOLD THE NEW YORK TIMES THAT HE VIEWED THE PROPOSAL FROM GENEVA AS THE PARTITION INTO SECTORS OF AN INTEGRAL COUNTRY.

ASKED WHETHER THE U.S. WILL ACCEPT BOSNIA'S PARTITION WHICH EQUALS

YUGOSLAV DAILY SURVEY

THE SERBS' VICTORY, CRISTOPHER SAID THE U.S. WAS TRYING TO MAINTIAN PRESSURE ON SERBS AND ADDED THAT THE SANCTIONS WERE AFFECTING THE SERBS PROBABLY MORE THAN THE IRAQIS. HE SAID THE U.N. SANCTIONS AGAINST THE F.R.Y. WOULD REMIAN IN EFFECT FOR A LONG PERIOD.

BOUTROS-GHALI REJECTS ACCUSATIONS OF DOUBLE STANDARDS IN U.N.

CAIRO, JUNE 27 (TANJUG) - SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE U.N. B.GHALI ON SUNDAY REJECTED ACCUSATIONS BY SOME ISLAMIC AND ARAB COUNTRIES THAT THE U.N. WAS RESORTING TO DOUBLE STANDARDS IN DEALING WITH CRISES SUCH AS THOSE IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, IRAQ AND SOMALIA. 'THERE IS NO POLICY OF DOUBLE STANDARDS (IN THE U.N.). WE ARE (ONLY) MAKING EFFORTS TO ESTIMATE EACH INDIVIDUAL SITUATION ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD, MAY IT BE BOSNIA, SOMALIA, ANGOLA, CAMBODIA OR EL SALVADOR,' B.GHALI SAID IN CAIRO, WHERE HE ARRIVED FOR THE OPENING OF THE SUMMIT OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY ON MONDAY.

IN THE STATEMENT B.GHALI POINTED OUT THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO UNDERSTAND THAT ALL PROBLEMS EMERGING THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WERE DIFFERENT FROM ANYOTHER BECAUSE THEY ALL HAD THEIR SPECIFIC ASPECTS. EVERY PROBLEMS MUST THEREFORE BE DEALT WITH INDIVIDUALLY, HE SAID.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, OTHER OPTIONSMOSLEMS DO NOT WANT SARAJEVO BLOCKADE TO BE LIFTED,  
SAYS GENERAL MORILLON

PRAGUE, JUNE 25 (TANJUG) - THE AUTHORITIES IN SARAJEVO ARE THE ONES WHO DO NOT WANT THE BLOCKADE OF THE CITY TO BE LIFTED BECAUSE THE WORLD WOULD THEN LOSE INTEREST IN THE WAR IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, THE FORMER U.N. COMMANDER IN THAT WAR-RAVAGED FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC, FRENCH GEN. PH. MORILLON, TOLD THE PRAGUE DAILY ~~DOUBEDWONONYNY~~.

UNPROFOR HAS THE MEANS TO LIFT THE BLOCKADE OF SARAJEVO BUT IT HAS NOT BEEN DONE YET BECAUSE THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT REFUSES TO APPROVE IT, SAID MORILLON.

WE MUST REACH A CEASE-FIRE AT ANY PRICE, EVEN IF IT MEANS FREEZING THE STATUS QUO, BECAUSE OUR FIRST AND FOREMOST TASK IS TO END THE BLOODSHED, ADDED MORILLON. HE SAID HIS RECENT THREAT THAT UNPROFOR WOULD LEAVE BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA BECAUSE THE LOCAL LEADERS DID NOT WANT PEACE WAS MEANT TO WEAKEN THE POSITIONS OF EXTREMISTS.

MORILLON SAID THAT A MILITARY INTERVENTION IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA WOULD NEVER TAKE PLACE BECAUSE THERE WAS NO POLITICAL GOAL THAT COULD BE ACHIEVED BY MILITARY MEANS. A MILITARY SOLUTION TO THE BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA CONFLICT DOES NOT EXIST, HE WAS CATEGORICAL.

BOSNIAN MOSLEM LEADER GANIC THREATENS EUROPE WITH TERRORISM

SARAJEVO, JUNE 25 (TANJUG) - E. GANIC, A MOSLEM LEADER, ON FRIDAY THREATENED EUROPE WITH TERRORIST ACTIONS TO BE UNDERTAKEN BY BOSNIAN MOSLEMS IN CASE THEY WERE ABANDONED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. GANIC TOLD ~~FRUITERS TW~~ IN AN INTERVIEW THAT HE WOULD BE UNABLE TO STOP TERRORISM WHICH HE OTHERWISE WAS NOT ADVOCATING.

YUGOSLAV DAILY SURVEY

HE SAID THAT HE AND IZETBEGOVIĆ WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN A SESSION OF THE RUMP PRESIDENCY OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA DUE TO BE HELD IN ZAGREB, THE CAPITAL OF NEIGHBOURING CROATIA, ON FRIDAY. HE ALSO TURNED DOWN THE IDEA OF A TRIPARTITE CONFEDERATION OF THE BIH.

GANIĆ STRESSED THAT MOSLEMS IN BOSNIA WOULD GO ON ALONE DEFENDING THEMSELVES MILITARILY.

**CROATIAN PRESIDENT THREATENS TO RECONSIDER POLICY  
TOWARDS BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA**

**B E L G R A D E**, JUNE 26 (TANJUG) - PRESIDENT OF CROATIA F. TUDJMAN HAS SENT THE RUMP PRESIDENCY OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA A LETTER STATING THAT HE FOLLOWS 'WITH GREAT INDIGNATION AND CONCERN THE ARMED CLASHES BETWEEN THE CROATIAN DEFENCE COUNCIL AND THE BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA ARMY,' CROATIAN RADIO REPORTED ON SATURDAY.

TUDJMAN'S LETTER SAID THAT THE CLASHES BETWEEN THEM 'HAVE TURNED INTO AN OPEN AGGRESSION AND CRIMES OF THE MOSLEM ARMY AGAINST THE CROAT PEOPLE IN THE TERRITORIES WHERE, UNDER THE VANCE-OWEN PLAN, DEMOCRATIC AUTHORITIES SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED ACCORDING TO THE RATIO BETWEEN THE MAJORITY CROAT AND OTHER PEOPLES.'

IF THE AGGRESSION AND CRIMES OF THE MOSLEM ARMY CONTINUE, CROATIA 'WILL SERIOUSLY RECONSIDER ITS OVERALL POLICY TOWARDS BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA,' SAID TUDJMAN. HE CALLED ON THE PREDOMINANTLY MOSLEM AUTHORITIES OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA TO DO EVERYTHING FOR 'ENDING THE PERSECUTION AND SUFFERING OF ITS CROAT POPULATION.'

**ZAGREB DAILY SAYS BOSNIA MOSLEM HAVE BOMBS  
FOR CHEMICAL WARFARE**

**Z A G R E B**, JUNE 27 (TANJUG) - THE ARMY OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA 'HAS 23 AIRPLANE BOMBS WITH NERVE GAS AND OTHER CHEMICAL SUBSTANCES', THE ZAGREB DAILY '~~WJESNIK~~' SAID SUNDAY.

'VJESNIK' CLAIMS THIS WAS 'SOMEWHAT OLDER TYPE OF ARMS BUT NOT LESS LETHAL AND DANGEROUS.' THE ARMS, AS SET OUT, WERE OBTAINED IN LEBANON, TRANSFERRED TO SYRIA, AND THEN TO IRAQ. AFTER THAT THE 'BOMBS WERE LOADED ON TRUCKS WITH HUMANITARIAN AID AND RED CRESCENT INSIGNIA WAS PUT ON THE TRUCKS AS THEY PASSED THROUGH TURKEY.'

IT IS ADDED THAT FIVE SPECIALISTS FOR CHEMICAL WARFARE ARRIVED IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA TOGETHER WITH THE CHEMICAL ARMS DELIVERIES.

DUE TO SANCTIONS

**SANCTIONS BLOCK HUMANITARIAN AID FOR YUGOSLAVIA**

**G E N E V A**, JUNE 26 (TANJUG) - YUGOSLAV MINISTER OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL WELFARE V. POPOVIĆ SAID ON SATURDAY THAT HE EXPECTED THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION (WHO) TO SUPPORT EFFORTS BY THE F.R.Y. TO FREE HUMANITARIAN AID OF THE SANCTIONS. POPOVIĆ IS CURRENTLY IN GENEVA ON A FOUR-DAY VISIT TO THE WHO, THE UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND (UNICEF), THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE RED CROSS (ICRC) AND OTHER HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS BASED IN GENEVA.

YUGOSLAV DAILY SURVEY

THE YUGOSLAV MINISTER DISCUSSED WITH DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF THE WHO H. NAKAJIMA POSSIBILITIES FOR UNHINDERED FLOW OF HUMANITARIAN SUPPLIES. NAKAJIMA WILL REQUEST U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL B. GHALI TO INFLUENCE THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO MAKE EASIER THE PASSAGE OF HUMANITARIAN SUPPLIES TO THE F.R.Y. NAKAJIMA WAS ALSO REQUESTED TO SEEK THAT YUGOSLAVIA BE ALLOWED TO IMPORT FUELS AND HEATING OIL FOR EMERGENCY WARDS, SAID POPOVIC.

HE SAID THE FIRST STEP IN THAT DIRECTION HAD BEEN THE UNFREEZING OF A PART OF YUGOSLAVIA'S FUNDS BLOCKED IN FOREIGN BANKS, ESPECIALLY IN THE U.S., WHICH WOULD BE USED FOR BUYING MEDICAMENTS AND RAW MATERIALS FOR THE PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY.

CROATIA, THE R.S.K. AND THE UNPROFOR

CROATIA CALLS FOR EXTENSION OF UNPROFOR MANDATE FOR ONE MONTH

Z A G R E B, JUNE 26 (TANJUG) - CROATIA HAS PROPOSED THAT THE MANDATE OF THE UNPROFOR IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA BE EXTENDED FOR ONE MONTH, IT WAS ANNOUNCED IN ZAGREB ON SUNDAY.

THE MANDATE OF 10,000 UNPROFOR TROOPS, DEPLOYED IN THE R.S.K. WHICH WAS FORMED TWO YEARS AGO ON PREDOMINANTLY SERB-POPULATED TERRITORIES OF CROATIA, EXPIRES ON JULY 1.

THE ONE-MONTH PERIOD SHOULD BE A 'TRIAL PERIOD IN WHICH THE SERB SIDE IS TO COOPERATE WITH THE CROATIAN AUTHORITIES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE U.N. PLAN,' SAID A STATEMENT RELEASED AFTER A SESSION OF CROATIA'S NATIONAL DEFENCE COUNCIL, CHAIRED BY CROATIAN PRESIDENT F. TUDJMAN.

CROATIA IS READY TO CONSIDER THE EXTENSION OF UNPROFOR'S MANDATE FOR THREE-SIX MONTHS IF 'LOCAL SERBS SIGNED AN AGREEMENT ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE VANCE (PEACE) PLAN,' SAID THE STATEMENT.

CROATIA NEARING WAR OPTION - BLUE HELMETS MAY BE LEAVING

Z A G R E B, JUNE 27 (TANJUG) - CROATIA IS NEARING THE WAR OPTION AS A MEANS OF RESOLVING THE ISSUE OF THE R.S.K., WARNED THE OPPOSITION SOCIALIST PARTY OF CROATIA (SSH). THIS ASSESSMENT IS BORNE OUT ALSO BY A STATEMENT OF CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE CROATIAN ARMY, GEN. J. BOBETKO, WHO ANNOUNCED 'BIG EVENTS' AND SET OUT CROATIA HAD NOT RECONCILED ITSELF WITH 'SERB CONQUESTS'.

THE ZAGREB 'VECERNJI LIST' DAILY WRITES THAT CROATIA, UNDER THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, WAS NOT SATISFIED WITH THE U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL B. GHALI'S PROPOSAL FOR THE UNPROFOR TERM BE EXTENDED FOR ANOTHER THREE MONTHS.

THE SSH PRESIDENT, S. DEGEN, AS CROATIAN PRESS CARRIED SUNDAY, ASSESSED THAT 'REFUSING TO EXTEND THE TERM TO UNPROFOR IN CROATIA COULD RESULT IN THEIR DEPARTURE AND CONFRONTATION' OF THIS FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, SOMETHING WHICH, IN HIS VIEW, WOULD BE DETRIMENTAL FOR CROATIA.

CROATIAN PRESS CARRIED SUNDAY THE STATEMENT OF GEN. BOBETKO WHO SAID SATURDAY THAT THE SITUATION ON THE WAR FRONT NEAR THIS SLAVONIJEAN CITY, AND NOT ONLY THERE, 'WAS NOT CEASEFIRE, BUT ONLY A RESPITE BEFORE

YUGOSLAV DAILY SURVEY

BIG EVENTS AHEAD.' HE NOTED THAT CROATIA WOULD NOT RECONCILE ITSELF WITH 'SERB CONQUESTS' AND WOULD NOT WAIT 'FOR ANYONE'S MOOD TO CHANGE AS REGARDS THE SITUATION IN ITS SEIZED TERRITORIES.' CROATIA WILL TRY TO RESOLVE EVERYTHING IN A PEACEFUL WAY, AND 'SHOULD THIS NOT BE POSSIBLE, WHAT IS LEFT IS THE MILITARY OPTION.'

CROATIAN DEPUTY ACCUSES CROATS  
OF GENOCIDE AND 'ETHNIC CLEANSING'

Z A G R E B, JUNE 26 (TANJUG) - DEPUTY OF THE PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA V.BEBIC HAS ACCUSED CROATS IN BOSNIA OF CARRYING OUT GENOCIDE AND 'ETHNIC CLEANSING,' ZAGREB NEWSPAPERS SAID ON SATURDAY. BEBIC TOLD THE PARLIAMENT, WHICH MET FOR A TWO-DAY SESSION, THAT SERBS IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA COMMITTED GENOCIDE, BUT THAT CROATS AND THEN MOSLEMS FOLLOWED SUIT.

ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS, BEBIC TRIGGERED STRONG REACTIONS WHEN HE SAID THAT THE CROATIAN PEOPLE HAD 'NO CRITICAL MASS' WHICH COULD TOPPLE THE PRESIDENT AND IMPROVE THE SITUATION IN THE STATE.

U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE

U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE ENDS IN VIENNA

V I E N N A, JUNE 25 (TANJUG) - THE U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE ENDED IN VIENNA ON FRIDAY AFTER DISCUSSING INSTRUMENTS FOR THE GLOBAL IMPROVEMENT OF THE STATE OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR TWO WEEKS. THE CONFERENCE ADOPTED THE VIENNA DECLARATION AND PROGRAMME OF ACTION, REAFFIRMING THE UNIVERSALITY OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE OBLIGATION OF STATES AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO RESPECT AND PROTECT THESE RIGHTS.

IT WAS RECOMMENDED TO THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO DISCUSS AS A PRIORITY QUESTION THE APPOINTMENT OF A U.N. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WHOSE TASK WOULD BE TO MONITOR RESPECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

THE SETTING UP OF A SPECIAL INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL TO DEAL WITH VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS WAS ALSO RECOMMENDED.

AT THE INSISTANCE OF ISLAMIC COUNTRIES, A SPECIAL DECLARATION ON BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA WAS ADOPTED. AMONG OTHER THINGS, THE DECLARATION ASKS THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO FOR BOSNIAN MOSLEMS.

THE UNPROFOR

BELGIAN GENERAL TO REPLACE GEN. MORILLON  
AS UNPROFOR FORCE COMMANDER FOR BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

B E L G R A D E, JUNE 25 (TANJUG) - THE U.N. HAS ASKED BELGIUM TO APPOINT A GENERAL TO TAKE OVER THE OFFICE OF COMMANDER OF THE UNPROFOR IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA FROM FRENCH GEN.PH.MORILLON.

THE REQUEST HAS BEEN FILED THROUGH THE BELGIAN MISSION TO THE U.N., AFP REPORTED FROM BRUSSELS QUOTING SOURCES CLOSE TO THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT. THE AGENCY SAID THAT BELGIUM HAS ALREADY AGREED, BUT THAT

YUGOSLAV DAILY SURVEY

NO-ONE HAS BEEN NAMED YET.

## Columnist shows off her ignorance about Balkan war

One has to wonder, from time to time, if some of the columnists read the wire reports. How else to explain their insistent spouting of well-worn utterances as if the world stood still?

Take Georgie Anne Geyer, for example. Her Serb bashing sounds like a broken record, and I wonder where she has been during the past month or so.

She maintains in her June 10 column that the Serbs are responsible for "at the very least 95 percent of the killings." For anyone who has paid even the least amount of attention, this is preposterous on the face of it. Let us look at just two recent events.

First, the Croatian forces, according to news accounts, have engaged in some of the bloodiest ethnic cleansing of Muslims in the Vitez and Mostar areas.

Second, news reports in just the past few days show that the Muslim forces in the Travnik area have committed terrible atrocities against Croatian forces as well as civilians. These were so bad that the Croats fled to "Serb enemy territory" to be saved.

And bear in mind that Sen. Joseph Biden has maintained that the Muslims lacked arms to defend themselves.

Moreover, Croatia has 40,000 to 60,000 troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and yet no U.N. sanctions have been imposed on Croatia. Moreover, despite the arms em-



bargo on all Yugoslav combatants, Croatia has been able to obtain some of the most sophisticated armaments from Germany. And some have come to the Muslims from Islamic countries via Germany and Croatia.

Miss Geyer says that the West's "intervention" has really been on the side of the Serbs. One wonders if she has read anything about the impact of the U.N. sanctions in Serbia, the only party in the civil war against whom they have been imposed? Even though the sanctions are not supposed to apply to humanitarian aid, especially to medicines and medical equipment, the sanctions have been applied in such a way that nearly every Serbian hospital lacks the basic supplies to deal with even

emergency situations. The Serbs do not need this type of help.

Finally, when a columnist fails to take into account some background information, the result is distortion. Another of Miss Geyer's columns, on June 8, refers to Dobrica Cosic, the Yugoslav president ousted by Slobodan Milosevic, as the "ideological author of the entire Serb holocaust." What she does not tell us is that during Yugoslavia's World War II civil war, Mr. Cosic was one of the most bitter critics of Serbian nationalism. He was even a political commissar in Josip Broz Tito's communist forces!

As a dedicated communist, Mr. Cosic was understandably late in recognizing the injustices done to the Serbs by that very communist system of which he was part. It is indeed of considerable note when even a well-known, one-time communist figure admits that under communism Serbia and the Serbs got a raw deal, something that the average Serb knew from the beginning.

ALEX N. DRAGNICH  
Bowie

■ Mr. Dragnich, a retired political science professor from Vanderbilt University, is the author of the recently published book "Serbs and Croats: The Struggle in Yugoslavia."

— The Editor

June 22'93

We welcome your opinions on any topic. Letters should be signed originals. Every letter will be considered for publication, but we prefer those of fewer than 250 words, typed double-spaced. All letters may be edited for clarity and length. Please include your name, address and daytime telephone number. Send your opinion to:

Letters to the Editor,  
The Washington Times  
3600 New York Ave. NE  
Washington, D.C. 20002





VIJUK EQUIPMENT, INC.

Corporate Headquarters: 715 Church Road, Elmhurst, Illinois 60126-1442  
Telephone (708) 530-2203 TWX No. 910-254-2886 FAX 708-530-2245

Our Ref:

Your Ref:

June 22, 1993

Senator Paul Simon  
3 West Old Capitol Plaza  
Suite 1  
Springfield, IL 62701

Dear Senator Simon:

We are in receipt of your letter of May 28th, in reply to my father's letter (photocopy enclosed) of May 24th.

Senator Simon, my father, who escaped from two (2) Nazi concentration camps, wrote you a letter about saving lives in the former Yugoslavia, and my father pointed out very clearly that there are tremendous anti-Serbian lies -- yet you sent us your standard form letter stating how you are in favor of killing Serbians!

Senator Simon, was it ignorance or arrogance which prompted your outrageous reply?

Your expedient attitude, Senator Simon, is one of the major problems with our current American political system!

On what basis do you or anyone else recognize a Bosnian Islamic State as an independent country, when Bosnia-Hercegovina has never been an independent country, but rather has always been a part of Serbia or the Kingdom of Serbia -- in fact, the word "Hercegovina" means "the Duchey of St. Sava" (St. Sava was the third son of Serbian King Nemanya, 1168-1196).

While you, Senator Simon, are preparing to kill Serbians, Mr. Simon Weisenthal and Mr. Elie Wiesel are warning us that the Ustashi fascism is reborn in Croatia today.

VIJUK EQUIPMENT, INC.

The Hon. John Scanlan (former U.S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia) has stated that he has proof of heavy Croatian arming and Croatian torturing and killing of Muslims and Serbians in Bosnia, and Mr. Scanlan also states that the Croatian Nazi Government has aims of a "greater and greater Croatian Catholic-Fascist State".

The Croatians were only 11% of the population in Bosnia-Herzegovina prior to the fighting, yet today, Croatia controls more than 30% of all the territory in Bosnia!


Which boundaries do you recognize, Senator Simon -- do you recognize Hitler's Nazi boundaries of 1941 or Tito's Communist boundaries?

As you well know, Israel refuses to acknowledge the current state of Croatia, due to the fact that Croatia is a fascist state today.

Senator Simon, with all the information which my father and I have sent to you, you will not be in a position five (5) or ten (10) years from now to say that you were not aware of the correct facts in 1993 -- the truth will come out in the end and the truth will be published!

Yours truly,

VIJUK EQUIPMENT, INC.



Joseph M. Vijuk  
Secretary-Treasurer

JMV:gw  
Encl.

June 18, 1993

Mr. George Bogdanich  
Executive Director  
Serbian American Media Center  
612 N. Michigan Ave.  
Chicago, Il 60611

Dear Mr. Bogdanich:

The enclosed cartoons were done by my brother Joe Vukmirovich, an artist with the American Greeting Cards Corp. for many years, now retired. We've been mailing these out to members of the House and Senate, to newspapers and other publications. It occurred to us you might find a use for them at the Media Center, and if you do, please feel free to use them.

Cordially,



Mildred V. Nikolin

Mildred V. Nikolin

With Friends  
Like This...



Germany, Turkey, and Croatia, America's allies today, are nations that change their foreign policies and friends as often as they change their socks.

All of them committed brutal acts of genocide in the 20th century, but none more barbaric than those of Croatia in the Krajina and Bosnia-Herzegovina while under the aegis of Hitler's Third Reich.

Bosnia-Herzegovina existed before the Saxon invasion of England, and it was then 100% Serbian. The Serbian majority there ended during WW-II. How do you suppose that happened?

The Serbs are not "rebels" or "aggressors" in their own land; they have every moral and historic right to their ancestral homeland.

Respectfully,

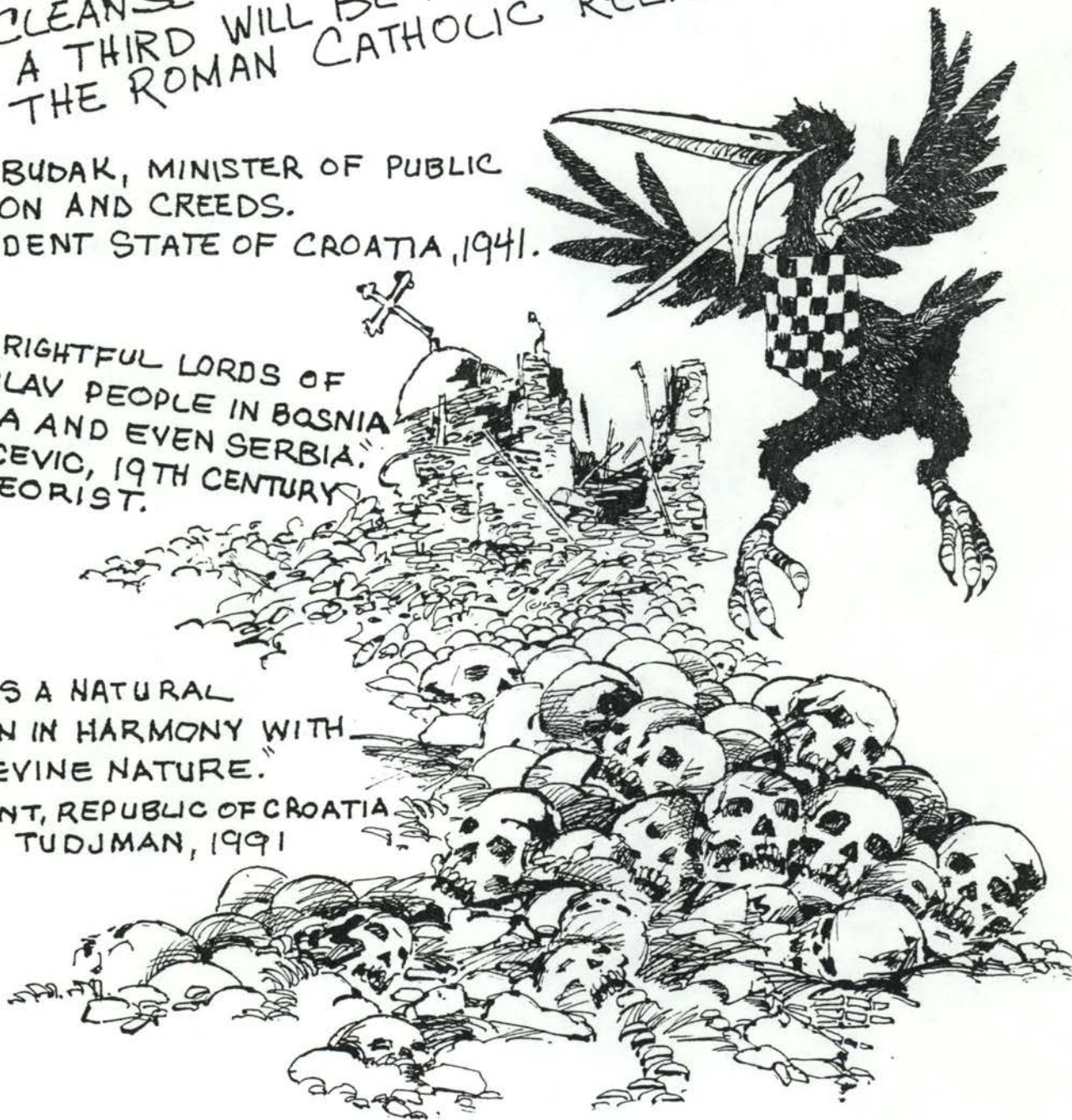
" WE SHALL KILL A THIRD OF THE SERBS,  
CLEANSE A THIRD FROM OUR LANDS AND  
A THIRD WILL BE FORCED TO EMBRACE  
THE ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION."

DR. MILE BUDAK, MINISTER OF PUBLIC  
EDUCATION AND CREEDS.  
INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA, 1941.

" CROATS ARE RIGHTFUL LORDS OF  
ALL SOUTH SLAV PEOPLE IN BOSNIA  
HERZEGOVINA AND EVEN SERBIA."  
ANTE STARCEVIC, 19TH CENTURY  
RACIAL THEORIST.

" GENOCIDE IS A NATURAL  
PHENOMENON IN HARMONY WITH  
SOCIETAL DEVINE NATURE."

PRESIDENT, REPUBLIC OF CROATIA  
FRANJO TUDJMAN, 1991



The genocide of WW-II reduced the size of the Serbian population in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina with the present result that the Serbian majority in Bosnia-Hercegovina has been significantly diminished, giving the Muslims a numerical advantage.

Croatia shrewdly gained international support, and the Serbs were stigmatized as "aggressors".

The United States, in effect, is sanctioning genocide as a method for territorial and political gain.

Respectfully,

"WE SHALL KILL A THIRD OF THE SERBS,  
CLEANSE A THIRD FROM OUR LANDS AND  
A THIRD WILL BE FORCED TO EMBRACE  
THE ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION."

DR. MILE BUDAK, MINISTER OF PUBLIC  
EDUCATION AND CREEDS.  
INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA, 1941.

"CROATS ARE RIGHTFUL LORDS OF  
ALL SOUTH SLAV PEOPLE IN BOSNIA  
HERZEGOVINA AND EVEN SERBIA."  
ANTE STARCEVIC, 19TH CENTURY  
RACIAL THEORIST.

"GENOCIDE IS A NATURAL  
PHENOMENON IN HARMONY WITH  
SOCIETAL DEVINE NATURE."

PRESIDENT, REPUBLIC OF CROATIA  
FRANJO TUDJMAN, 1991



Tudjman, Making The World Safe For Hypocrisy.

Why We're in It—Still

By ALBERT WOHLSTETTER

In response to Serbian conquest and ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia, the European Community and the United Nations, led by France, Britain and the U.S., have for 21 months kept arms from the victims, not the perpetrators, of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia.

Ostensibly to avoid a military quagmire and to stop the killing, the West has been disarming the victims further, and herding them into ethnically mixed "safe" havens circled by Serbian artillery that continues to bombard playgrounds, first-aid stations, soccer fields and other places where civilians meet and live. Such "havens" need military protection, food, sanitation and medical aid in perpetuity. So will the ethnically pure ghetto proposed (by the presidents of Serbia and Croatia and accepted by the EC) to contain all Muslim Bosnians who have not been killed or driven out of Bosnia. It is this defenseless, final residue of ethnic cleansing that the EC now urges an unwilling Bosnian government to accept.

The U.S. has refused to put American soldiers on the ground to deter continued Serbian attacks on Bosnia, a republic the U.S. recognizes as sovereign. But to deter further Serbian expansion, we are placing them on the ground in Macedonia, a for-

## THE BALKAN QUAGMIRE

### FIRST OF A SERIES

mer Yugoslavian republic we have refused to recognize because Greece objects. In the course of a deadly war that has no natural boundaries and has so far ranged from Slovenia to Croatia to Bosnia, we are adding our own soldiers, sailors and airmen incrementally to a U.N. military force nominally devoted to protecting besieged civilians, but actually authorized to protect only itself. In short, we are committing our soldiers with no clear American purpose and no clear way out. We are not escaping the quagmire. This is the quagmire.

## Beyond the Balkans

If the U.S. doesn't want to protect a remnant of Bosnia forever, it is right and in our interest to allow it to defend itself—to reverse our practice of keeping Bosnia more weakly armed than its attacker. Both our interests and the disasters of U.S. and EC policy in the Balkans stretch far beyond the Balkans. Our past policy encourages nationalists in other former

communist dictatorships now broken into independent states to use the pretext of defending their own minorities in these new states to threaten and prepare to recapture people, territories and strategic facilities they have lost. Before saying what else we could have done, however, and what we can do, it's essential to disentangle fact from fiction in the Balkan record.

The Vance-Owen Plan, put forward by the U.N. and the EC with U.S. support, conceded to the Serbs 40% of the territory they had conquered. The U.N. and the EC have continued to prevent Bosnia from defending its citizens and territory against conquest by the Serbs, and the Serbs have persisted in expanding their conquest.

In September 1991, even as other communist dictatorships were breaking into separate states and moving uncertainly toward democracy, private ownership and free markets, the U.S. and the EC led the U.N. to impose an arms embargo (asked for, it should be emphasized, by the Serbs), in the feckless hope of keeping together a Yugoslavian dictatorship by then under the dominance of the pan-Serbian Slobodan Milosevic.

President Clinton says he earnestly wants to lift the embargo that keeps the Bosnians defenseless against Serbian assault but can't because we agreed to it in

*Our policy encourages nationalists in other former communist dictatorships to use the pretext of defending their own minorities in these new states to threaten and prepare to recapture people, territories and strategic facilities they have lost.*

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

...but U.N. 713 is a thin pretext for inaction. Milosevic wanted U.N. 713 because a continuing monopoly of heavy guns and armor made it easier for his "federal" army to complete his program of ethnic cleansing. U.N. 713 refers to "Yugoslavia," which "welcomed" it, not to Bosnia, Croatia or any of the republics that have since been recognized by the U.S. and the EC and accepted as members by the U.N.. The U.N. Charter, it should be noted, assures all members the right to seek and receive arms for individual or collective self-defense.

We don't need a consensus of all other countries to bring an embargo to an end. The U.S. can break it alone. If this or the preceding administration had any genuine desire to let the Bosnians defend themselves, it would have simply said that no one is obliged to continue an embargo that prevents a member of the U.N. from defending itself. The many countries that oppose the embargo would follow our lead.

Moreover, since Secretary of State Warren Christopher has detailed a list of Serbian atrocities that are plainly state-directed and fit the U.N. Charter's definition of genocide, we should stress that we have the contrary obligation, under Article 1 of the Charter, *not* to aid Serbian genocide in Bosnia, but to stop it. It is those who continue to impose an embargo that maintains the Serbian monopoly of heavy artillery and armor who blatantly violate the U.N. Charter.

It's familiar wisdom that the use of military force needs to be directed to clear and useful political ends. It should be even more obvious that political acts—embargoes, negotiations, pressures and the like—need to be directed at clear, feasible and desirable political goals. But it isn't.

*James Baker and Mr. Bush, like John Major and Francois Mitterrand, wanted to hold Yugoslavia together largely because they wanted to discourage the disintegration of Gorbachev's Soviet Union.*

When James Baker went to Belgrade in June 1991, he told the pan-Serbian nationalists that the U.S. supported the integrity of Yugoslavia. Even though the Croats had voted overwhelmingly to start the long constitutional process of separation, Mr. Baker said the U.S. would not recognize Croatia or Slovenia. Long before that, Milosevic had ended the constitutional au-

tonomy of Kosovo and Vojvodina within Serbia, and used his "federal army" to aid a local violent seizure of two parts of Croatia—to be labeled the Serbian republic of Krajina and Serbian Slavonia. Five days after Mr. Baker's reassuring visit to Belgrade, the Yugoslav People's Army invaded Slovenia and, shortly after, Croatia.

Now, two years later, U.N.-EC mediators admit that they have failed totally to modify what Milosevic

has seized in Bosnia. And Mr. Christopher repeats a now widespread myth propagated by Francois Mitterrand and John Major: It was Germany's "quick recognition of Croatian and Bosnian independence," he suggests, that was responsible for the debacle.

Mr. Christopher would be closer to the truth if he said that it was U.S. and EC assurance to Belgrade that we would not recognize the secession of any republic (and so would not allow the republics to arm themselves) that encouraged three successive invasions by Milosevic's Yugoslav People's Army. By sustaining an arms embargo even after we recognized the independence of the republics, we made it likely that the conflict would continue to spread.

Mr. Baker and Mr. Bush, like John Major and Francois Mitterrand, wanted to hold Yugoslavia together largely because they wanted to discourage the disintegrated



tion of Gorbachev's Soviet Union. Yet it was neither feasible nor in the interests of the democracies to maintain Soviet rule. The collapse, then imminent, of the Soviet Union did far more to reduce Soviet military power and the threats that had preoccupied the West than any likely arms agreement. What is more, a Western-aided Serbian success in retaking territory from a sovereign state recognized by

the international community can only increase the likelihood that pan-Russian nationalists may try the same in some of the now-sovereign former Soviet republics.

This should disturb the West. It greatly disturbs the former Soviet republics. Many of them—like Estonia, which received an ominous warning from Moscow last week—regard the

Russian troops on their territory as their principal problem and Russian intervention to defend Russian minorities as their main threat. For that reason especially, Ukraine resists giving up nuclear weapons. Strobe Talbott, our principal ambassador on such matters, has said that it needn't worry; we'd be willing to mediate any conflict. After our lethal mediation in Bosnia, that must make Ukrainians feel warm all over. With such mediation in mind, they are likely to hold on to nuclear weapons for dear life.

#### Lift the Embargo

Mr. Clinton had been promising "aggressive" moves to lift the embargo and use air strikes ever since August 1992. Mr. Christopher warned the Serbs that only their deeds, not their words, would count. But the Serbs decided Mr. Christopher's warnings were just words. And they were right. On Feb. 10, when Mr. Clinton seemed on the edge of acting aggressively, Mr. Christopher intervened.

First, he pointed out that there was something in between acting unilaterally and inaction: to act multilaterally, in concert with our allies in Europe. But there is no "Europe," certainly no united Europe. For the new united Europe, as for the old United States, it seems that nobody could "do anything here." One more case of multilateral inaction.

Mr. Christopher's second joker even more obviously assured inaction. It seems

we could act to stop Milosevic only if Milosevic agreed. Mr. Christopher said in February 1992, "The best approach ... is to seek an agreement of the parties." He was repeating a point Lord Carrington made at the first EC conference to make peace in Yugoslavia in the summer of 1991. Milosevic had shortly before invaded Slovenia and then Croatia. Lord Carrington said with some impatience, "You can't have a peace conference in which people don't want to agree." Of course, if Milosevic had agreed with the Croatian and Slovenian governments that he should stop his invasions and withdraw his "federal" army, the EC wouldn't have had to bother with a conference.

France and Britain say arming the victims would endanger humanitarian aid to them. If this gives humanitarianism a bad name, neither does it help the reputation for realism of Western negotiators who think of themselves as "pragmatists." The same satellites that again and again over the past two years have transmitted from Bosnia horrifying pictures of children with missing limbs and burned-out faces have also shown the unashamed faces of these Western mediators, ever-hopeful that the next test of Milosevic's sincerity will succeed. They have been brazenly self-confident, repeatedly hopeful and repeatedly disappointed.

*Milosevic is unlikely to be satisfied by the 20% or so of Bosnia and third of Croatia he has so far grabbed. The conflict is likely to spill over into other former Yugoslavian republics and quite possibly into neighboring countries.*

It's hard to separate realpolitik from moralpolitik when the technological revolution brings both the horrors of ethnic cleansing into our living rooms and the grim farce of a mediation that only encourages the continuation of ethnic cleansing. It sometimes seems that these "realists" are out to test Milosevic's sincerity until the destruction of the last Bosnian child.

The Dane who held the rotating EC presidency last month argues that lifting the embargo to let the Bosnians defend themselves will only "lead to more fighting." Mr. Major and his ministers have been making that argument for more than a year. They should think about how the U.S. prolonged World War II all the way to 1945 by transferring ships to Britain early in 1941 and persisted in sending convoys to keep England fighting. Hitler might have ended the war handily in 1941 or '42.

The ever-hopeful realists have a hard time getting even the past straight on Bosnia. The myth that is now spreading about German war guilt in Bosnia exculpates Britain, France and the U.S. and distorts the past in a way that is likely to continue to divide the alliance.

#### Arbitrary Borders

Milosevic's program made his ethnic cleansing inevitable, given the complex history of the population of the old Yugoslavia. Under Ottoman rule for hundreds of years, subjects identified themselves not by place of residence but as

members of communities of faith: Muslims, who, of course, had primacy; Orthodox Christians; Catholics; Jews; etc. These communities existed as sets of islands, often widely separated. For Milosevic to unite all Serbs in one contiguous Greater Serbia, then, had



*Slobodan Milosevic*

to mean cleansing all the connecting areas of non-Serbs.

Yugoslavia's internal and external borders are even more arbitrary than those of Bosnia. Serbs, in 1991, made up a smaller proportion of the total Yugoslavian population—37%—than the 44% Muslim plurality in Bosnia. There is nothing in the now widespread belief that the Yugoslavian Humpty Dumpty might have stayed all in one piece if only Germany hadn't recognized the independence of Slovenia and Croatia in June 1991. (Germany didn't recognize them until six months later.)

The immense responsibility assumed by the British, French and Americans during these bloody Serbian invasions is far from over. The current proposal for partition advanced by Milosevic and pressed on Bosnia by the EC amounts to purifying Bosnia and, except for a very small dependent and defenseless remnant, dividing it between Serbia and Croatia. That partition is unlikely to stay put. It will satisfy no one.

It won't prevent Serbia from continuing to menace Croatia, the geography of which is a long and vulnerable crescent with a long thin finger on the Adriatic coast no longer separated from Serbia by what was once a substantial, undivided Bosnia-Herzegovina. And Milosevic is unlikely to be satisfied by the 70% or so of Bosnia and the third of Croatia he has so far grabbed. The conflict is likely to spill over into other former Yugoslavian republics and quite possibly also into neighboring countries. This resolution of the conflict in Bosnia resolves nothing. It has already fixed the Americans and the Europeans with a responsibility for deploying military force and aid in Macedonia as well as Bosnia and Croatia without any foreseeable end.

*Mr. Wohlstetter is University Professor Emeritus, University of Chicago.*

**Next: A Feasible Intervention**

# A BALKAN CHRONOLOGY

## 1986

**SEPTEMBER:** Serbian Academy of Sciences describes the Serbs as victims in Tito's Yugoslav Federation. It claims that Serbia's statehood is weakened by Kosovo and Vojvodina, two non-Serb autonomous regions within Serbia; that Albanians threaten the genocide of Serbs in Kosovo; that the rich republics of Slovenia and Croatia conspire to keep Serbia poor; and that Tito unjustly left many Serbs outside Serbia. All this implies a Serb claim to many Serbian enclaves far from Serbia that have never been part of Serbia.

## 1987

Milosevic seizes power in the Serbian Communist Party, exploiting the paranoid nationalism illustrated by the academy's statement.

## 1989

**MARCH:** Milosevic ends the constitutional autonomy of Kosovo and Vojvodina.

**JUNE:** Milosevic's plans for taking over Croatia begin. He stirs up street mobs and armed uprisings in Knin, capital of Krajina, a region of Croatia.

## 1990

**MARCH and APRIL:** Slovenia and Croatia hold first multiparty elections in nearly 50 years. Non-Communist democratic coalitions win. Six months later similar coalitions win in Macedonia and Bosnia.

**JULY:** Milosevic uses "federal" army to establish a Serb administration in Krajina.

**OCTOBER:** EC summit declares support for a unified Yugoslavia.

**DEC. 9 and 23:** In Serbia and Montenegro,

communists renaming themselves socialists and using ultra-nationalist appeals over controlled mass media win in multiparty elections.

**DEC. 23:** In Slovenia, 90% of eligible voters hold plebiscite authorizing Slovenian Parliament to declare independence in six months if negotiations have not yielded a new Yugoslavian confederation that would allow autonomy for a democratic Slovenia.

## 1991

**FEBRUARY:** Milosevic instigates uprisings in Slavonia, a region of Croatia.

**APRIL:** Milosevic declares the Croatian territory of Krajina an autonomous region of Serbia.

**MAY 30:** Croatia announces its intention to secede if a confederation accord is not reached by June 15, 11 days before the Slovenian deadline.

**JUNE 21:** Baker goes to Belgrade, declaring support for a unified Yugoslavia. Says U.S. will not recognize Slovenia or Croatia.

**JUNE 25:** Croatia and Slovenia declare independence.

**JUNE 27:** Croatia and Slovenia, at EC request, agree to suspend implementation of their independence for six months. On the same day, Milosevic's "federal" army invades Slovenia, which had prepared to defend itself, forcing Serbian withdrawal in less than two weeks.

**MID-JULY:** Milosevic's "federal" army invades Croatia.

**SUMMER:** First EC conference on peace in Yugoslavia.

**SEPTEMBER:** U.N. imposes arms embargo on Yugoslavia at request of its Serb-dominated government.

**SEPTEMBER:** Milosevic begins to target Bosnia. Declares several Serb autonomous regions in Bosnia.

**SEPTEMBER:** Serbs shell Croatian cities of Vukovar and Osijek.

**OCT. 7:** Serbs attack Zagreb, capital of Croatia.

**OCT. 8:** Croatia and Slovenia resume movement toward independence.

**DECEMBER:** Serbs shell Croatian city of Dubrovnik. Croatian city of Vukovar surrenders.

**DEC. 23:** Germany recognizes Slovenia and Croatia, six months after the Serbs invaded Slovenia.

## 1992

**JANUARY:** EC recognizes Slovenia and Croatia.

**\*APRIL 4 or 7:** Milosevic's surrogate Radovan Karadzic declares the Serb republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

**\*APRIL 5 or 8:** The EC and Germany recognize Bosnia on the basis of an internationally monitored plebiscite held Feb. 29.

**\*APRIL 6-7:** Serbs bombard Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia, and Serbian paramilitary forces aided by Milosevic's "federal" army invade. (Some sources say the bombing of Sarajevo started much earlier.)

**APRIL 7:** U.S. recognizes the multiethnic Republic of Bosnia.

*"While sources differ on the precise dates, it is clear that these events all happened at about the same time and in expectation of each other and so the exact order doesn't matter."*

—Albert Wohlstetter

WSJ 7-1-93

## Milosevic's Martyr

*"The Revolution is like Saturn—it eats its own children."*

—GEORG BUECHNER

"DANTON'S DEATH," 1835

The Serbians have done a good job of making their very name synonymous in history now with something quite awful. So it is worth noting a development that suggests the Serbs are not a monolith, that there is at least a crack in the face of this evil.

With the recent arrest of Serbian Renewal Movement leader Vuk Draskovic, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic seems to have embarked on a path so many dictators take when they feel their power weakening. Though in the past Milosevic has sailed confidently through elections, his recent crackdown on fellow Serbian nationalists betrays an increasing skittishness about his position.

This week the European Community condemned the treatment of Mr. Draskovic and his wife, who it said were severely beaten in police custody. They have been held on charges of "attempting to overthrow the constitutional order" since the two-day riot following Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic's ouster June 1.

The EC's condemnation in itself will not shift the political balance in Belgrade dramatically. David Owen, Francois Mitterrand and others already have protested human rights violations in connection with the Draskovic case, but have hit a brick wall. Other Serbian opposition groups have largely remained silent about the arrest. But observers in Belgrade say the EC condemnation at least has given a morale boost to Draskovic

supporters, who have been circulating petitions and staging peaceful demonstrations demanding his release.

Mr. Draskovic, a charismatic figure whose party boasts the most members of any opposition group, gained prominence before the breakup of Yugoslavia with his dramatic, crowd-pleasing appeals to Serbian nationalism. Perhaps without intending to do so, he probably contributed to Serbia's subsequent aggressiveness. But since the fighting began, he has railed against ethnic cleansing, leading many to believe that his brand of nationalism comes much closer to democratic liberalism than was evident two years ago.

Mr. Draskovic is just one of several potential threats Milosevic has tried to weed from his garden in recent weeks. Federal Army Chief of Staff General Zivota Panic was the first to go, followed by Mr. Cosic. The fact that Mr. Cosic was one of the originators of the ideology of Serbian ethnic purity did not help him once Milosevic had no further need for the relatively moderate nationalist. The ousted president responded angrily, calling Milosevic "an ideological pupil of Stalin's."

Mr. Draskovic is not yet devoured. As international disapproval and domestic hardships mount, Milosevic will likely become more nervous and opposition groups bolder. Milosevic may even find it wise to release Mr. Draskovic before public sympathy swells into hero worship. Once released, a much wiser Mr. Draskovic might be the country's best bet, however slim, in the quest for a less lethal brand of Serbian nationalism.

## Serbian Americans fund lecture tour of former UN chief in Bosnia

Dele Olojede and Roy Gutman

**T**HE former United Nations commander in Bosnia has participated in a lecture tour funded by a Serbian-American group that seeks to dispel the internationally accepted view that Serb fighters were principally responsible for the mass killings, rape and "ethnic cleansing" that have destroyed the former Yugoslav republic.

In an interview with the magazine *Newsday*, the retired Canadian Major-General Lewis MacKenzie, said he has done nothing unethical or improper in connection with last month's north American tour. Gen MacKenzie, aged 53, acknowledged last week that his tour was funded by the Serbian American National Information Network, or SerbNet but in his public appearances, including testimony before the United States Congress last month, Gen MacKenzie did not disclose SerbNet's support.

He said that he customarily receives up to \$10,000 for an appearance and that he "wouldn't be surprised" if SerbNet paid that rate

through his agent. Accepting money in this way violates no UN laws or official policies, but a top UN official, who asked not to be named, said: "We quite frankly are displeased with his lack of judgment."

Gen MacKenzie, who served in Bosnia for six months in 1992, argues that all the parties in the Balkans war are to blame for atrocities. This view puts him at odds with reports by the UN, the US and international human rights groups that have found the Serbs primarily responsible for atrocities.

SerbNet was formed by several professional, business and religious organisations representing ethnic Serbs in the US to "articulate the Serbian position".

"We were very pleased that there was someone to speak more favourably of the Serbs," said Milan Visnick, the group's treasurer.

During his trip, Gen MacKenzie questioned the value of US military intervention to rescue Bosnia's Muslims. "My position is always of objectivity because I don't blame only the Serbs," he said. "I'll continue to say things exactly the way I see them." — *Newsday*

*The Guardian June 23, 1993*

===JUN 29 '93 11:27 EMB. OF RSF OF YUGOSLAVIA

P.179

SAVEZNA REPUBLIKA JUGOSLAVIJA  
SAVEZNO MINISTARSTVO  
INOSTRANIH POSLOVA  
DIREKCIJA S I K  
BROJ: 04326  
29. JUN 1993. GODINE

YUGOSLAV DAILY SURVEY

SELECTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS AND INFORMATION DEPARTMENT  
OF THE FEDERAL MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

BELGRADE, JUNE 29, 1993

NO.353

PRESIDENT LILIC'S MESSAGE TO THE OAU

YUGOSLAVIA FIRMLY COMMITTED TO ENDING BOSNIAN WAR,  
SAYS PRESIDENT OF THE F.R.Y.

B E L G R A D E, JUNE 28 (TANJUG) - YUGOSLAV PRESIDENT  
Z.LILIC SAID ON MONDAY THAT YUGOSLAVIA HAD BEEN RESOLUTELY  
COMMITTED TO A COMPREHENSIVE, PEACEFUL, POLITICAL AND JUST  
ENDING OF THE TRAGIC WAR IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA EVER SINCE THE  
OUTBREAK OF THE YUGOSLAV CRISIS TWO YEARS AGO.

IN A LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE 30TH SUMMIT OF THE  
ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU), LILIC SAID THAT THE LATEST  
ROUND OF THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA HAD SHOWN A  
SUBSTANTIAL CHANGE IN THE APPROACH OF THE PARTICIPANTS TO

./.

## FINDING A SOLUTION TO THE BOSNIAN CRISIS.

DESPITE THE REAL CAUSES OF THE YUGOSLAV CRISIS AND CIVIL WAR IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT IS STILL BEING BLAMED FOR THE BOSNIAN WAR AND THE YUGOSLAV PEOPLE UNJUSTLY PUNISHED FOR IT, SAID LILIC, AND ALL THIS DESPITE THE VIOLENT SECESSION OF SOME FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLICS, THEIR PREMATURE INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION, AND FOREIGN INTERFERENCE WHICH HAD ACTUALLY TRIGGERED THE CRISIS.

WE BELIEVE THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WILL RECOGNIZE THE CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH AND CONTRIBUTION OF THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT TO THE PEACE PROCESS AND SOON LIFT THE UNFAIR SANCTIONS AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA AND ENABLE IT TO RETURN TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, THE YUGOSLAV PRESIDENT SAID. THIS WOULD SIGNIFICANTLY CONTRIBUTE TO THE RESTORATION OF PEACE AND COOPERATION IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA AND ELIMINATION OF THE THREAT TO SECURITY AND PEACE IN THE BALKANS AND BEYOND, HE ADDED.

THE OAU'S UNDERSTANDING, ASSISTANCE AND CONSTRUCTIVE INVOLVEMENT... CONSTITUTE A VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE RESTORATION OF PEACE AND STRENGTHENING OF THE EFFORTS INVESTED BY THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND RESOLVING THE YUGOSLAV CRISIS, SAID LILIC.

## ON THE SANCTIONS

PRESSURES CANNOT YIELD RESULTS, SAYS SERBIAN PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC

- 3 -

V R A N J E, JUNE 28 (TANJUG) - WE ARE UNDER THE MOST INTENSIVE PRESSURE TO WHICH A PEOPLE COULD BE SUBJECTED IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, BUT THE AIMS PLANNED IN THE WEST CANNOT BE ACHIEVED IN SERBIA BY FORCE AND WITH SANCTIONS, THE PRESIDENT OF SERBIA, S.MILOSEVIC SAID IN VRANJE ON SUNDAY, AT A CELEBRATION OF THE TOWN'S 900TH ANNIVERSARY.

ADDRESSING SEVERAL THOUSAND CITIZENS AND NUMEROUS GUESTS, PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC POINTED OUT THAT ALL THOSE WHO MAINTAIN THAT U.N. SANCTIONS WILL BE LIFTED BY PLEADING AND MAKING CONCESSION ARE WRONG. THE BEST REPLY TO THE SANCTIONS, PRESSURES AND DIFFICULTIES IS THE EXAMPLE OF VRANJE. ITS ECONOMY IS INCREASING PRODUCTION, SALARIES AND EVEN INVESTMENTS. THE SANCTIONS WILL DISAPPEAR WITH PRECISELY SUCH BEHAVIOUR, MILOSEVIC ADDED.

BOSNIA - HERZEGOVINA

BOSNIA CAN ONLY BE A CONFEDERATION, SAYS BOSNIAN SERB LEADER KARADZIC

Z V O R N I K, JUNE 28 (TANJUG) - BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA CAN ONLY BE A CONFEDERATION, BOSNIAN SERB LEADER R.KARADZIC SAID WARNING THAT IF THERE IS NO CONFEDERATION THERE SHALL BE NO BOSNIA AT ALL AND THAT THERE WILL BE ONLY TWO OR THREE STATES.

HE SAID THAT THE MOSLEMS WILL HAVE TO DECIDE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE ON THIS BOSNIAN SERB'S PROPOSAL OR BOSNIA WILL VIA FACTI BE DIVIDED INTO TWO PARTS, SO A PORTION OF THE MOSLEMS WILL REMAIN WITH THE BOSNIAN SERBS AND A PORTION WITH THE BOSNIAN CROATS. WE DO NOT WANT IT OR PLAN IT, KARADZIC POINTED

./.



OUT EXPLAINING THAT THE SERB AND THE CROATIAN SIDES WILL DO NOTHING AT THE EXPENSE OF THE MOSLEM PEOPLE.

KARADZIC CALLED ON THE MOSLEMS TO UNDERTAKE A SPEEDY REORGANIZATION OF THEIR TERRITORIES AND JOIN THE ACCORD ON THE DELIMITATION WITH THE SERBS AND THE CROATS IN ORDER TO END THE WAR AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND TO ENSURE A DECENT LIVING SPACE.

KARADZIC EXPLAINED THAT UNDER THE BOSNIAN SERBS' PROPOSAL THE MOSLEMS WOULD GET AROUND 40 TOWNS, MUNICIPALITIES WITH THE MOST DEVELOPED INFRASTRUCTURE AND NATURAL RESOURCES AS WELL AS ACCESS TO THE SAVA RIVER AND THE ADRIATIC SEA, I.E. RIGHTS IN THE ADRIATIC PORT OF PLOCE AND A PORT ON THE SAVA RIVER.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA CONFEDERATION IS A REALITY, SAYS BOSNIAN SERB PARLIAMENT SPEAKER

Z V O R N I K, JUNE 28 (TANJUG) - IT IS NECESSARY THAT THE MOSLEM SIDE SAY AT THE NEW ROUND OF THE GENEVA TALKS WHETHER IT WISHES TO ACCEPT THE REALITY THAT BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA IS ALREADY A CONFEDERATE STATE, THE SPEAKER OF THE BOSNIAN SERB PARLIAMENT M. KRAJISNIK ASSESSED. IF THE MOSLEMS ACCEPT REALITY THEN THE THREE SIDES WOULD ADOPT CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES.

WE MAINTAIN THAT IT IS NECESSARY FOR EACH SIDE TO SAY WHAT IT CONSIDERS DISPUTABLE REGARDING THE PROPOSAL TO ROUND UP TERRITORIES BASED ON ACTUAL SITUATION, HE SAID POINTING OUT THAT THE SERB SIDE IS WILLING TO CARRY OUT CERTAIN EXCHANGES OF TERRITORIES TO ROUND UP TERRITORIES.

ASSESSING THAT IZETBEGOVIC HAD BEEN EXCLUSIVE AND REFUSED TO ACCEPT NEGOTIATIONS AND THAT HE HAS THUS BEEN PUSHED INTO THE BACKGROUND, KRAJISNIK EXPRESSED OPTIMISM AS REGARDS THE CONTINUATION OF THE PEACE PROCESS.

BOSNIAN CROATS AND SERBS DO NOT DIFFER ON VITAL ISSUES, SAYS BOSNIAN CROAT LEADER BOBAN

G E N E V A, JUNE 28 (TANJUG) - BOSNIAN CROAT LEADER M. BOBAN SAID ON MONDAY THAT BOSNIAN SERBS AND CROATS DO NOT DIFFER ON VITAL QUESTIONS REGARDING THE FUTURE SYSTEM OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, INCLUDING THE MILITARY ORGANIZATION.

AFTER THE TALKS WITH PRESIDENT R. KARADZIC AND LORD OWEN AND T. STOLTENBERG, BOBAN EXPLICITLY DENIED THAT TERRITORIES HAD BEEN DISCUSSED AT THE MEETING. HE ASSESSED THAT THE MAP OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA SHOULD BE DISCUSSED BY MOSLEMS, SERBS AND CROATS AFTER THE DELIMITATION COMMISSION PINPOINTS THE PROBLEMS.

BOBAN SAID THAT THE TWO CO-CHAIRMEN WOULD PROPOSE THE COMPONENTS OF THE MODIFIED VANCE-OWEN PLAN TO MOSLEMS AND URGE THEM TO ATTEND THE TALKS.

BOBAN SAID THAT THE TWO SIDES WOULD NOT TALK WITHOUT THE THIRD SIDE, AND CONCLUDED THAT HE WOULD MEET WITH THE CO-CHAIRMEN AND KARADZIC IN GENEVA AGAIN NEXT MONDAY.

STOLTENBERG PLEASED WITH TALKS WITH KARADZIC AND BOBAN

G E N E V A, JUNE 28 (TANJUG) - CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON FORMER YUGOSLAVIA T. STOLTENBERG SAID THAT IT WAS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT THAT BOSNIAN SERB AND CROAT LEADERS KARADZIC AND BOBAN HAD PRESENTED IN DETAIL THE NEW INITIATIVE FOR RESOLVING THE CRISIS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA HERE ON MONDAY. HE SPECIFIED THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO TALKS, JUST EXPLANATIONS OF PROPOSALS STEMMING FROM THE SERB-CROAT INITIATIVE.

STOLTENBERG ANNOUNCED A NEW ROUND OF TALKS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF BOSNIAN SERBS AND CROATS, BUT DID NOT NAME THE EXACT DATE. BY THE END OF THE WEEK THE BOSNIAN MOSLEM PRESIDENCY SHOULD MEET IN SARAJEVO AND THEN HOLD NEW TALKS WITH THE CO-CHAIRMEN. IT IS VERY IMPORTANT FOR THE ENTIRE BOSNIAN MOSLEM PRESIDENCY TO MEET WITH A. IZETBEGOVIC, STOLTENBERG SAID, ADDING THAT THEIR MEETING WITH THE CO-CHAIRMEN WAS NOT DEFINITE YET.

U.S. DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE ON DIFFERENCE BETWEEN BOSNIA AND IRAQ

B E L G R A D E, JUNE 28 (TANJUG) - THE U.S.' QUARREL WITH IRAQIS NOT COMPARABLE WITH ITS LOW-KEY INVOLVEMENT IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA, REUTERS NEW AGENCY ON MONDAY QUOTED U.S. DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE C. WHARTON AS SAYING. WHARTON REJECTED ACCUSATIONS OF DOUBLE STANDARDS VOICED IN SOME ISLAMIC COUNTRIES AFTER THE U.S. MISSILE ATTACK ON BAGHDAD ON SUNDAY.

'THERE IS A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A DIRECT ATTACK UPON THE U.S. AND ITS INTERNATIONAL INTERESTS AND A SITUATION IN WHICH THERE IS A COLLECTIVE APPROACH TO THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA,' SAID WHARTON.

#### DEMIREL CALLS ON U.N. TO LIFT ARMS EMBARGO FOR BOSNIAN MOSLEMS

A N K A R A, JUNE 28 (TANJUG) - TURKISH PRESIDENT S.DEMIREL ON MONDAY CALLED ON THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL TO DECIDE AT ITS TUESDAY SESSION TO LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO FOR MOSLEMS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA. DEMIREL ADDRESSED SEPARATELY PRESIDENTS OF CHINA, FRANCE AND RUSSIA, AND BRITISH PRIME MINISTER J.MAJOR, CALLING THEM TO REVIEW A PROPOSAL ON LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO FOR BOSNIAN MOSLEMS AND TO 'GIVE THESE PEOPLE A CHANCE TO DEFEND THEMSELVES FROM THE SERB AGGRESSION.'

DEMIREL WARNED THAT 'EUROPE HAS COME TO A POINT WHEN IT ACCEPTS EVERYTHING THAT IS OBTAINED BY USE OF FORCE' AND ASSESSED IT AS 'TRAGEDY.'

#### BULGARIA URGES POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OF BOSNIAN WAR

B E L G R A D E, JUNE 28 (TANJUG) - BULGARIA TAKES THE POSITION OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF AND MUTUAL RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES CREATED IN THE TERRITORY OF FORMER YUGOSLAVIA, SAID BULGARIAN PRIME MINISTER L.BEROV IN RESPONSE TO A MESSAGE FROM YUGOSLAV PRIME MINISTER R.KONTIC.

BEROV SAID THAT BULGARIA WAS REFRAINING FROM ALL ACTIONS THAT MIGHT DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY THREATEN THE QUEST FOR A PEACEFUL AND JUST SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS EXISTING IN THE TERRITORY OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAV FEDERATION.

BULGARIA HAS NO INTENTION OF JOINING IN ANY ARMED ACTION IN THE TERRITORY OF FORMER YUGOSLAVIA - NEITHER BY CONTRIBUTING TROOPS OR EQUIPMENT, NOR BY ALLOWING ANY POWER TO USE ITS TERRITORY FOR SUCH A PURPOSE. WE WOULD WELCOME IT IF SIMILAR POSITIONS WERE TO BE ADOPTED BY THE OTHER BALKAN COUNTRIES, BEROV SAID.

BULGARIA URGES AN END TO THE CONFLICT IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA AND OPENING OF A SENSIBLE POLITICAL DIALOGUE IN GOOD FAITH AMONG THE INTERESTED PARTIES, SAID BEROV AND ADDED THAT THE VITAL ROLE IN THAT PROCESS BELONGED TO THE YUGOSLAV FEDERAL UNIT SERBIA AND THE SERB COMMUNITY IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA.

A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OF THE BOSNIAN WAR WOULD BE INSTRUMENTAL TO A RELAXATION OF TENSIONS AND PREVENTION OF NEW WARS IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. BULGARIA IS SERIOUSLY CONCERNED ABOUT A POTENTIAL THREAT OF DESTABILIZATION OF THE SERBIAN PROVINCE OF KOSOVO AND THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA, SAID BEROV IN CONCLUSION.

DUE TO SANCTIONS

SANCTIONS AFFECT HEALTH OF SERBIAN CITIZENS

B E L G R A D E, JUNE 28 (TANJUG) - SANCTIONS IMPOSED AGAINST THE F.R.Y. (SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO) BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY OVER A YEAR AGO ARE SERIOUSLY AFFECTING THE HEALTH OF CITIZENS OF THE YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF SERBIA AND ARE REDUCING THE ABILITY OF THE HEALTH SERVICES TO MEET THEIR TASKS, IT WAS SAID AT THE FIRST EMERGENCY CONGRESS OF DOCTORS OF SERBIA ON MONDAY.

THE ECONOMIC BLOCKADE CAUSED A REDUCTION OF EXPENDITURE FOR HEALTH PER CAPITA IN SERBIA FROM 280 U.S. DOLLARS IN 1991 TO ONLY 37 DOLLARS LAST YEAR, WHICH RESULTED IN AN INCREASE OF INFECTIOUS DISEASES AND DEATHS CAUSED BY THEM, AS WELL AS APPEARANCE OF DISEASES WHICH WERE BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN ERADICATED, SUCH AS TUBERCULOSIS, PARTICIPANTS OF THE CONGRESS HELD IN BELGRADE SAID.

SERBIAN DOCTORS ALSO SAID THAT THE YOUNGEST PART OF THE POPULATION IS THE MOST AFFECTED.

THE NUMBER OF REGULAR MEDICAL CHECK-UPS OF SCHOOL CHILDREN HAS BEEN REDUCED BY 10 PERCENT AND OF PRE-SCHOOL CHILDREN BY CLOSE TO SEVEN PERCENT. THE NUMBER OF VACCINATED CHILDREN HAS DROPPED FROM THE AVERAGE OF 91 PERCENT BEFORE THE INTRODUCTION OF THE SANCTIONS TO BETWEEN 58 AND 84 PERCENT, DEPENDING ON THE KIND OF VACCINES. OVER 70 PERCENT OF DEATHS AMONG CHILDREN ARE CAUSED BY INFECTIOUS DISEASES.

THE TOTAL NUMBER OF DEATHS CAUSED BY INFECTIOUS DISEASES HAVE INCREASED BY 27 PERCENT LAST YEAR (272 PERSONS) AS COMPARED TO THE 1986-1990 PERIOD. THE MORTALITY INCREASED FOUR TIMES IN THE FIRST FOUR MONTHS OF THIS YEAR AS COMPARED TO THE SAME PERIOD LAST YEAR, THE FEDERAL HEALTH CARE INSTITUTE'S REPORT

- 10 -

SAID.

THE INCREASE OF ALL KINDS OF INFECTIONS, PARTICULARLY PNEUMONIA AND SEPSIS, FROM 20 TO 41 PERCENT, WAS ALSO CONFIRMED BY ACADEMICIAN V.KANJUH, WHO PRODUCED THE RESULTS OF AUTOPSY ANALYSES CARRIED OUT BEFORE AND AFTER THE INTRODUCTION OF THE SANCTIONS WHICH SHOW THAT THE CAUSE OF DEATH AFTER THE INTRODUCTION OF THE SANCTIONS WAS USUALLY A DISEASES THAT WAS NOT TREATED DUE TO THE LACK OF ANTIBIOTICS.

IT WAS ALSO SAID THAT THE NUMBER OF TUBERCULOSIS CASES INCREASED BY 8.5 PERCENT AND THAT THE MORTALITY RATE AMONG TBC PATIENTS INCREASED BY 28 PERCENT IN 1991 AS COMPARED TO THE FIVE PREVIOUS YEARS.

SERBIAN DOCTORS WARNED THAT THE COUNTRY COULD ALSO BE AFFECTED, BESIDE TUBERCULOSIS, BY A SPREADING OF OTHER CONTAGEOUS DISEASES SUCH AS ENTERIC CONTAGEOUS AND RESPIRATORY DISEASES (HEPATITIS, DIABETES).

THE FIRST EMERGENCY CONGRESS OF SERBIA'S DOCTORS IS BEING HELD UNDER A MOTTO THAT MEDICINE SHOULD NOT SERVE POLITICS BUT MAN ONLY.

SERBIA'S PROVINCE KOSOVO-METOHIIJA

ALBANIAN-LANGUAGE PAPERS WILL BE PUBLISHED ONLY IF REGISTERED, SAYS SERBIAN INFORMATION MINISTER

V R A N J E, JUNE 28 (TANJUG) - ALBANIAN-LANGUAGE

NEWSPAPERS WILL BE PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED ONLY AFTER THEY ARE OFFICIALLY REGISTERED, SERBIAN INFORMATION MINISTER M. PAVLOVIC SAID ON MONDAY. PAVLOVIC'S STATEMENT CAME AS A REACTION TO THE REFUSAL BY EDITORS OF THE ALBANIAN-LANGUAGE PAPERS BUJKU, FLJALA AND SKENDIJA TO REGISTER WITH THE SERBIAN INFORMATION MINISTRY, IN KEEPING WITH THE REPUBLIC'S LAW ON MEDIA.

THE THREE PAPERS ARE PUBLISHED IN PRISTINA, THE CENTRE OF SERBIA'S SOUTHERN PROVINCE OF KOSOVO AND METOHIJA.

PAVLOVIC SAID THAT THE PUBLISHERS OF THE THREE PAPERS WOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO PRINT OR DISTRIBUTE IN SERBIA IF THEY REFUSED TO FULFILL THE LEGAL MINIMUM WHICH THEY CALLED A 'SIGN OF THE STATE ORGANS' ILL INTENTIONS' AND A GREAT-SERBIA TRICK.

PAVLOVIC SAID THAT A POSSIBLE NON-PUBLISHPMENT OF THE PAPERS SHOULD NOT BE INTERPRETED AS A 'SERB BLACKMAIL, BUT AS AN ETHNIC ALBANIAN CHOICE.'

PAVLOVIC SAID SERBIA'S LAW ON MEDIA TREATED THE 'RIGHT TO INFORMATION IN NATIVE LANGUAGES OF ALL NATIONAL MINORITIES AS PART OF THE UNIVERSAL HUMAN FREEDOMS AND RIGHTS.'

#### WAR OPERATIONS IN BOSNIA

#### UNPROFOR OFFICIALS TOUR CROAT-SHELLED TREBINJE

T R E B I N J E, JUNE 28 (TANJUG) - OFFICIALS OF THE UNPROFOR IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA ON MONDAY AFTERNOON TOURED THE TREBINJE SUBURB OF MOSTACI, WHICH WAS IN THE MORNING HIT BY A



DOZEN HIGHLY DESTRUCTIVE SHELLS FIRED FROM THE POSITIONS OF THE ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA.

THE BOMBARDMENT CAUSED EXTENSIVE DAMAGE TO CIVILIAN FACILITIES, AND SERIOUSLY INJURED ONE D.BASIC, 62, AND HER GRAND-DAUGHTER SNEZANA, AGED 2, WHEN A SHELL HIT THEIR HOUSE.

EARLY IN THE MORNING, THE CROATIAN ARMY BEGAN SHELLING FROM ARTILLERY WEAPONS AND MULTIPLE ROCKET LAUNCHERS TREBINJE SUBURBS AND SURROUNDING VILLAGES IN THE POPOVO POLJE VALLEY IN A PART OF EASTERN HERZEGOVINA WHICH IS IN THE BOSNIAN SERB REPUBLIC.

#### MOSLEMS FIRE SHELLS WITH CALCINED SODA ON SERB POSITIONS

D O B O J, JUNE 28 (TANJUG) - MOSLEM FORCES ON BATTLE FRONTS IN THE WIDER AREA OF DOBOJ IN THE NORTHERN PART OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA RESUMED ATTACKS ON SERB POSITIONS AND SETTLEMENTS USING EVEN SHELLS WITH CALCINED SODA, SERB SOURCES SAID ON MONDAY.

ON SUNDAY NIGHT AND IN THE EARLY HOURS ON MONDAY, MOSLEM UNITS FIRED MORE THAN TEN MORTAR SHELLS WITH CALCINED SODA FROM THEIR STRONGHOLDS SITUATED BETWEEN DOBOJ AND TUZLA. MOSLEM FORCES IN THAT AREA ARE GETTING REINFORCEMENT FOR NEW ATTACKS AND THEIR TERRORIST GROUP ATTEMPTED TO INFILTRATE BEHIND SERB DEFENCE LINES, SAID BOSNIAN SERB ARMY SOURCES, ADDING THAT THE ATTEMPT HAD FAILED.

MOSLEMS, CROATS FIGHT PITCHED BATTLES FOR ZEPCE IN NORTHERN BOSNIA

B E L G R A D E, JUNE 28 (TANJUG) - THE CROAT-CONTROLLED TOWN OF ZEPCE IN NORTHERN BOSNIA IS ABOUT TO SURRENDER TO THE MOSLEMS, THE MOSLEM-CONTROLLED SARAJEVO RADIO CLAIMS ON MONDAY, WHILE CROATIAN RADIO SAYS THAT THE CROAT DEFENDERS OF ZEPCE ARE SUCCESSFULLY REPELLING ALL MOSLEM ATTACKS.

BOSNIAN MOSLEMS AND CROATS HAVE BEEN FIGHTING PITCHED BATTLES OVER THE PAST FEW WEEKS FOR TERRITORIES WITH MIXED MOSLEM-CROAT POPULATIONS. BOSNIAN SERB MILITARY SOURCES SAY THAT 20 SOLDIERS OF THE HVO AND MORE THAN 100 CIVILIANS HAVE BEEN KILLED IN THE FIGHTING FOR ZEPCE SO FAR.

SARAJEVO RADIO ALSO REPORTS HEAVY CASUALTIES IN ZEPCE, BUT DOES NOT GIVE THE EXACT NUMBER.

MOSLEMS EXPEL 40.000 CROATS FROM CENTRAL BOSNIA

B E L G R A D E, JUNE 28 (TANJUG) - MOSLEMS HAVE SO FAR DRIVEN 40.000 CROATS FROM CENTRAL BOSNIA, CROATIAN RADIO ON MONDAY QUOTED A STATEMENT BY HEAD OF THE REFUGEE OFFICE IN THE CROATIAN COMMUNITY OF HERZEG-BOSNIA D.TADIC.

HVO UNITS CONTINUED TO BANISH THE NON-CROAT POPULATION FROM THE AREA OF GORNJI VAKUF, CENTRAL BOSNIA, SAID MOSLEM-CONTROLLED SARAJEVO RADIO AND ADDED THAT ALL MOSLEMS HAVE ALREADY BEEN EXPELLED FROM THE AREA.

THE SITUATION IN PROZOR IS MORE THAN CRITICAL FOR THE MOSLEMS AND ALL MEN CAPABLE OF MILITARY SERVICE HAVE BEEN LOCKED UP IN CROATIAN PRISONS, SARAJEVO RADIO REPORTED. VARIOUS CROATIAN FORMATIONS ARE COMING TO THE AREA OF PROZOR, MOSLEM RADIO SARAJEVO SAID, ADDING THAT 'HVO EXTREMISTS HAVE VIRTUALLY BEEN TERRORIZING THE MOSLEMS IN PROZOR FOR EIGHT MONTHS NOW'.

#### T E S T I M O N I E S

#### TESTIMONIES OF SUFFERING OF SERBS IN CROATIAN DEATH CAMP IN NORTHERN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

B E L G R A D E, JUNE 28 (TANJUG) - AFTER A ONE-YEAR IMPRISONMENT IN THE CAMPS FOR SERBS IN NORTHERN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, VUJADIN CECAVAC (53) WHO WAS RANSOMED FOR A LARGE SUM OF MONEY PAID BY HIS FAMILY, SAYS HE HAS GONE THROUGH HELL AND WAS RELEASED ONLY AFTER HIS TORTURERS CONVINCED THEMSELVES HE WAS PHYSICALLY AND PSYCHOLOGICALLY A RUINED MAN. VUJADIN WAS FREED ON MAY 10 THIS YEAR.

IN EARLY MAY LAST YEAR, AT THE ORDERS OF THE CROATIAN AUTHORITIES OF THE ODZAK MUNICIPALITY, OVER 1,000 CIVILIANS FROM FIVE SERB VILLAGES WERE ARRESTED AND DETAINED IN CAMPS, AND THE VILLAGES WERE BURNT. ON MAY 8, 1992, ALONE, ACCORDING TO THE SEIZED RECORDS, A TOTAL OF 728 SERBS WERE TAKEN AWAY.

AMONG THE ARRESTED WAS ALSO V. CECAVAC FROM THE VILLAGE OF DONJA DUBICA. A TALL MAN WEIGHING 110 KILOS, WHO HAD HARDLY 70

KILOS AFTER LEAVING THE DEATH CAMP AT DONJA MAHALA AS A TOTAL INVALID. HE SAYS THERE ARE 'AT THE CAMP IN DONJA MAHALA NOW 44 SERBS BEING TREATED AS PERSONS IN ISOLATION,' AND ADDS THAT HE FELT 'SORRY FOR THOSE HONORABLE MEN WHO REMAINED IN THIS HELL AND WHO ARE SURE NOT TO COME OUT OF IT ALIVE.'

'THE 15 OF US WERE KEPT IN A SEPARATE ROOM. WHOEVER GOT INTO THAT ROOM ... WAS DUE TO BE LIQUIDATED - MURDER IN THE MOST HORRIBLE MANNER,' EXPLAINS VUJADIN.

'DURING MY STAY, THEY SLIT THE THROAT OF BORANOVIC (MILUTIN) BRANKO AFTER HORRIBLE TORTURE, AND BORANOVIC (MARKO) BRANKO (52) FROM DONJA DUBICA SUCCUMBED FROM THE CONSEQUENCES OF TORTURE,' HE SAYS.

SOME OF THE INMATES DIED AS A RESULT OF TORTURE, ONLY AFTER THEY WERE EXCHANGED. ALTHOUGH FREE, AFTER TASTING HELL, THEY HAD NO STRENGTH TO GO ON LIVING.

THE TORTURES OF VUJADIN WERE CARRIED OUT BY PERO VINCETIC, CALLED KONJ (HORSE), WHO WAS CHIEF EXECUTIONER AT THE CAMP, DAMIR, CALLED DAMA, WHO OFTEN TRIED HARD TO SURPASS HIS BOSS AND THE OTHERS, SEEMED TO HAVE BEEN AIMED AT TESTING THE LIMIT OF THE VICTIM'S PHYSICAL SUFFERING AND THE LIMIT OF THE TORTURER'S BESTIALITY.

'PERO VINCETIC WOULD ORDER ME TO LAY MY PALMS ON A PLANK, AND WOULD THEN PIERCE BOTH MY HANDS WITH SCREWDRIVERS TO THE PLANK. 'HE FORBODE ME TO SHAVE MY BEARD. WHEN MY BEARD GREW LONG HE CAME OVER AND LIT IT. THE BEARD WENT UP IN FLAMES, SCORTCHING MY FACE, AND THEY WOULDN'T LET ME PUT IT OUT.'

ANOTHER TIME, SAYS VUJADIN, DAMIR CALLED DAMA BEAT HIM WITH AN OAR MADE OF HARD WOOD UNTIL HE BROKE HIS RIBS. 'HE RAN A HOT IRON BAR ALL OVER MY NAKED BODY AND MY NECK. THIS WAS NOT ENOUGH AND THEY BORE HOLES IN MY HEAD WITH A BORING MACHINE.... NO WONDER I LOOK LIKE THIS AFTER ALL THAT,' SAYS VUJADIN.

'WHEN IT WAS ORTHODOX CHRISTMAS, THERE CAME FROM OSIJEK SIX OR SEVEN MEMBERS OF THE CROATIAN NATIONAL GUARD. THEY CALLED US TO ATTENTION AND ALL HELL BROKE LOSE THEN. THEY BEAT US WITH EVERYTHING THEY COULD LAY THEIR HANDS ON, INCLUDING THEIR FEET. BLOOD FLOWED ALL OVER THE PLACE. THEN THEY DRAGGED US DOWN THE STAIRS. THE BODY AND HEAD HIT AGAINST THE STEPS. HOW MANY STEPS, SO MEANY BLOWS....'

IN THE WORLD OF CRUELTY AT THE DONJA MAHALA CAMP, GESTURES OF MERCY AND HUMANENESS WERE BANNED. WHEN THE DOCTOR GAVE US MEDICINE, ONLY IN THE MOST SERIOUS CASES, THE TORTURERS WOULD TAKE THEM AWAY. WHEN THE COLD BOSNIAN WINTER SET IN, THE RED CROSS, WHOSE REPRESENTATIVES VISITED THE CAMP, SENT BLANKETS, BUT THEY WERE TAKEN AWAY FROM THE PRISONERS.

THE PRISONERS WHOSE APPEARANCE WOULD MAKE IT EASY TO CONCLUDE TORTURE WAS WIDELY PRACTICED WERE HIDDEN FROM THE RED CROSS REPRESENTATIVES.

BY UNDERGOING HORRIBLE TORTURE, THE PRISONERS WERE FORCED TO CONFESS TO THE MURDERS THEY NEVER COMMITTED. ONE, CVIJETIN, WAS MADE TO CONFESS HE MURDERED 83 PERSONS, WOMEN AND CHILDREN, AND SLOBODAN, THAT HE RAPED 12 MOSLEM WOMEN, THEN, AFTER THE CONFESSION, TORTURE CONTINUED. 'THEN THEY BROUGHT JOURNALISTS FROM GERMANY, AND WE HAD TO CONFESS WE SLIT THE THROAT OF SOME

- 17 -

OLD LADY, KILLED OR CUT THE THROATS OF 83 PERSONS, WOMEN AND CHILDREN, RAPED 12 MOSLEM WOMEN. THE JOURNALISTS WERE TAKING THIS DOWN, WHILE THE CAMERAS ROLLED..., VUJADIN TESTIFIES.

ALL THIS WAS 'JUST PART OF THE STORY WHICH CANNOT BE TOLD IN THE FULL,' VUJADIN CONCLUDES.

FROM DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN PRESS

SPLIT AMONG MOSLEMS IN BOSNIA'S RUMP PRESIDENCY

B E L G R A D E, JUNE 28 (TANJUG) - CONFLICT AMONG MOSLEM LEADERS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA IS SO FIERCE THAT THEY THEMSELVES WOULD HAVE TO BE RECONCILED BY INTERNATIONAL MEDIATORS LORD OWEN AND T.STOLTENBERG, THE BELGRADE DAILY BORBA SAID ON MONDAY.

MOSLEM MEMBERS OF THE BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA RUMP PRESIDENCY, LEFT WITHOUT LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE REPUBLIC'S SECOND LARGEST NATION (THE SERBS), HAVE SPLIT INTO TWO FACTIONS, THE DAILY ADDED. 'ONE FACTION IS HEADED BY A.IZETBEGOVIC, WHO HAS OF LATE BEEN PREOCCUPIED WITH EFFORTS FOR LIFTING A U.N. ARMS EMBARGO ON BOSNIAN MOSLEMS, AND THE OTHER IS LED BY F.ABDIC WHO CALLS FOR PEACE AT ANY COSTS, BUT RULES OUT THE SELLING OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA.'

THE ABDIC-IZETBEGOVIC SPLIT ORIGINATES FROM THE 1990 MULTI-PARTY ELECTIONS WHEN ABDIC WON THE MAJORITY AND ALSO VOTES OF MANY SERBS AND CROATS IN BOSNIA, THE DAILY ADDED. 'HOWEVER, ABDIC GALLANTLY GAVE UP THE POST OF THE PRESIDENCY PRESIDENT. IF HE DID NOT DO SO, THE WAR IN BOSNIA WOULD HAVE MOST PROBABLY

./.

- 18 -

BEEN AVERTED. IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE ELECTIONS, ABDIC CAME UNDER ATTACK BY VERY INFLUENTIAL FIGURES IN THE MOSLEM PARTY OF DEMOCRATIC ACTION (SDA) BECAUSE OF HIS INSISTANCE THAT POLITICS SHOULD SERVE ECONOMY.

'ABDIC HAS TRIED AND MANAGED TO PRESERVE PEACE WITH SERBS IN WESTERN BOSNIA, WHILE IZETBEGOVIC LOST CONTROL OF THE DEVELOPMENTS AT THE VERY BEGINNING OF THE WAR, BEING TOTALLY DESORIENTED WITHOUT ARMS AND A WORKED-OUT STRATEGY.'

THE MOSLEM LEADERSHIP DEFINITELY DIVIDED OVER HOW TO STOP THE WAR IN BOSNIA-HEREZGOVINA, SAID BORBA. ABDIC NOW CLAIMS THAT HE DOES NOT INTEND TO REPLACE IZETBEGOVIC, BUT DOES NOT RULE OUT THAT HE WOULD ACCEPT THE POST IF HIS PEOPLE DECIDED SO.

SPANISH PAPER ON THREE REASONS AGAINST EXEMPTION OF BOSNIAN MOSLEM SIDE FROM ARMS EMBARGO

M A D R I D, JUNE 28 (TANJUB) - THERE ARE AT LEAST THREE REASONS WHY THE BOSNIAN MOSLEM SIDE SHOULD NOT BE EXEMPTED FROM THE ARMS EMBARGO, THE CHIEF ONE BEING THAT THE WAR IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA WOULD IN THAT WAY GET AN IMPETUS AND SPREAD, THE MADRID DAILY EL PAIS WROTE ON MONDAY. THE SECOND REASON IS THAT THE YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF SERBIA AND THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF CROATIA WOULD DIRECTLY TRY TO ARM THE BOSNIAN SERB AND CROAT SIDES IF THE ARMS EMBARGO WAS LIFTED FOR THE MOSLEMS. THIRDLY, THERE IS A QUESTION OF WHO WOULD COME TO BOSNIA TO SHOW MOSLEMS HOW TO OPERATE THOSE ARMS.

- G R U B I C

29.06.1993. U 15.10 VMS

RRR

SAVEZNA REPUBLIKA JUGOSLAVIJA  
SAVEZNO MINISTARSTVO  
INOSTRANIH POSLOVA  
DIREKCIJA S I K  
BROJ:04330  
30. JUN 1993. GODINE

VRLO HITNO

OTVORENI TELEGRAM

SVIM DKP SRJ

**YUGOSLAV DAILY SURVEY**

**SELECTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS AND INFORMATION  
DEPARTMENT  
OF THE FEDERAL MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

BELGRADE, JUNE 30, 1993  
No. 354

FROM THE F.R. OF YUGOSLAVIA

- STATEMENT BY THE FEDERAL MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
OF THE F.R. OF YUGOSLAVIA CONCERNING  
THE WORLD CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS
- C.S.C.E. MISSION TO YUGOSLAVIA SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO STAY,  
SERBIAN PARLIAMENT SAYS
- YUGOSLAVIA, IRAQ

BOSNIA - HERZEGOVINA

- KARADZIC SAYS SERBS AND CROATS MAY ASK  
FOR INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION
- BOSNIAN SERBS AND CROATS AGREE ON SO-CALLED  
TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS



YUGOSLAV DAILY SURVEYFROM THE F.R. OF YUGOSLAVIASTATEMENT BY THE FEDERAL MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
OF THE F.R. OF YUGOSLAVIA CONCERNING  
THE WORLD CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

THE WORLD CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS HELD IN VIENNA FROM 14-25 JUNE 1993, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UNITED NATIONS, CONCLUDED ITS WORK BY THE ADOPTION OF THE VIENNA DECLARATION AND PROGRAMME OF ACTION. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FR OF YUGOSLAVIA WERE NOT ALLOWED TO TAKE PART IN THE DELIBERATIONS OF THIS INTERNATIONAL MEETING, WHICH SHOULD HAVE HAD A UNIVERSAL CHARACTER AND WHICH DISCUSSED NUMEROUS QUESTIONS OF GREAT, DIRECT AND OVERALL, IMPORTANCE FOR THE FR OF YUGOSLAVIA.

THIS WAS THE SECOND WORLD CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS SO FAR WHICH WAS TO DETERMINE THE BASIC DIRECTIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS DEVELOPMENT IN THE DECADES TO COME. UNLIKE THE FIRST CONFERENCE HELD IN TEHRAN IN 1968, WHICH MARKED A TURNING POINT IN THIS FIELD AND ENDED WITH THE ADOPTION OF NUMEROUS CONVENTIONS OF ESSENTIAL IMPORTANCE FOR THE FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS, THE VIENNA CONFERENCE AND THE ADOPTED DOCUMENTS ARE NOT A FOUNDATION ON WHICH THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM OF HUMAN RIGHTS PROTECTION CAN BE FURTHER BUILT AND PROMOTED. THE CONFERENCE WHICH HAD SUCH LOFTY AND NOBLE GOALS YIELDED TO PRESSURES OF THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH VIEWED IT EXCLUSIVELY AS A POLITICAL FORUM TO PROMOTE THEIR INTERESTS. THE ADOPTED APPEAL TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON "GENOCIDE" IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA AND PARTICULARLY THE SPECIAL DECLARATION ON BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA DEMANDING THE LIFTING OF ARMS EMBARGO FOR BOSNIAN MUSLIMS CANNOT SERVE THE PROTECTION AND PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, FOR THEY CAN BE PROTECTED SOLELY BY LEGAL MEANS, RATHER THAN BY ARMS AND VIOLENCE. IT WAS POSSIBLE TO EXPECT THAT SOME COUNTRIES WOULD PROPOSE SUCH MEASURES "OF HUMAN RIGHTS PROTECTION" BUT NOT THE HOST COUNTRY, WHICH WAS EXPECTED TO DEMONSTRATE THE HIGHEST DEGREE OF IMPARTIALITY, OBJECTIVITY AND RESPECT FOR THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THE ENTIRE SYSTEM OF THE RESPECT FOR, AND PROTECTION OF, HUMAN RIGHTS WAS CREATED, PRIMARILY IN THE FRAMEWORKS OF WESTERN DEMOCRACY. NAMELY, OF ALL WESTERN COUNTRIES AUSTRIA WAS THE ONLY ONE TO VOTE IN FAVOUR OF THE DECLARATION ON BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA. FURTHERMORE, THE HOST COUNTRY ALLOWED AND INCITED THAT THIS MEETING AND NUMEROUS SIMULTANEOUS MANIFESTATIONS AND ACTIVITIES BE ABUSED FOR PROPAGANDA PURPOSES AGAINST THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA AND THE ENTIRE SERBIAN PEOPLE.

IT IS DEPLORABLE THAT THE CONFERENCE DID NOT LIVE UP TO THE HIGH DEMANDS AND EXPECTATIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS MEMBER STATES.

BELGRADE, 29 JUNE 1993

YUGOSLAV DAILY SURVEY**C.S.C.E. MISSION TO YUGOSLAVIA SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO STAY,  
SERBIAN PARLIAMENT SAYS**

B E L G R A D E, JUNE 29 (TANJUG) - THE SERBIAN PARLIAMENT'S COMMITTEE FOR INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS RECOMMENDED TO THE YUGOSLAV MINISTRY FOR HUMAN AND MINORITY RIGHTS TO RENEW, ON CERTAIN CONDITIONS, THE PERMIT OF THE MISSION OF THE C.S.C.E. TO THE YUGOSLAV REGIONS OF KOSOVO-METOHIIJA, SANDZAK AND VOJVODINA.

THE COMMITTEE EXPRESSED DISSATISFACTION WITH THE WORK OF THE MISSION, WHICH WAS SENDING BIASED REPORTS AND INCITING MINORITIES AGAINST SERBIA AND YUGOSLAVIA.

SIMILAR MISSIONS SHOULD IN THE FUTURE INCLUDE REPRESENTATIVES OF YUGOSLAVIA, WHILE OFFICIALS FROM GERMANY, AUSTRIA, HUNGARY, ALBANIA AND TURKEY SHOULD BE DENIED FURTHER HOSPITALITY, IT WAS HEARD AT THE SESSION OF THE COMMITTEE.

IN THE FUTURE, MISSIONS SHOULD BE PERMITTED TO WORK ONLY IN THE SERBIAN AND YUGOSLAV CAPITAL OF BELGRADE, PRISTINA, SUBOTICA AND NOVI PAZAR, AND WOULD REQUIRE SPECIAL PERMISSION TO VISIT OTHER PLACES.

THE COMMITTEE SAID THAT IN THE FUTURE, MISSIONS SHOULD SUBMIT COPIES OF THEIR REPORTS TO THE YUGOSLAV MINISTRY FOR HUMAN AND MINORITY RIGHTS.

**YUGOSLAVIA, IRAQ**

B E L G R A D E, JUNE 29 (TANJUG) - THE F.R. OF YUGOSLAVIA HAS WITH GREAT SURPRISE LEARNED ABOUT THE U.S. MISSILE ATTACK ON BAGHDAD AND STATED REGRET OVER THE INNOCENT VICTIMS AMONG THE CIVILIANS POPULATION AND OVER THE GREAT DAMAGE INCURRED.

IN A TALK WITH IRAQI CHARGE D'AFFAIRES IN BELGRADE ABDUL LATIF ABDUL AZIZA TUESDAY, DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER RADOSLAV BULAJIC REPEATED THE F.R.Y.'S PRINCIPLED STAND FOR ALL INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS AND DISAGREEMENTS TO BE RESOLVED BY PEACEFUL AND POLITICAL MEANS WITHOUT THE USE OF FORCE.

AS SET OUT, THE IRAQI CHARGE D'AFFAIRES INFORMED THE YUGOSLAV OFFICIAL WITH THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE U.S. MISSILE ATTACK ON BAGHDAD.

**BOSNIA - HERZEGOVINA****KARADZIC SAYS SERBS AND CROATS MAY ASK  
FOR INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION**

S O F I A, JUNE 29 (TANJUG) - UNLESS THERE WAS PROGRESS IN THE GENEVA TALKS, SERBS AND CROATS WOULD WITHDRAW THEIR PROPOSAL ON A CONFEDERATION AND WOULD ASK THAT THEIR RESPECTIVE STATES IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA BE INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED, SAID PRESIDENT OF THE SERBIAN REPUBLIC IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA R. KARADZIC TO THE SOFIA PAPER 'DEMOKRACIJA'.

YUGOSLAV DAILY SURVEY

KARADZIC SAID SUFFICIENT TIME WOULD BE LEFT FOR THE MOSLEMS TO MAKE UP THEIR MINDS, BUT WARNED THAT SERBS HAD NO REASON TO WAIT FOR TOO LONG FOR THE MOSLEMS TO 'COMPREHEND REALITY.'

'THE SEVEN-MEMBER BOSNIAN PRESIDENCY IS MORE REALISTIC THAT MR IZETBEGOVIC AND UNDERSTANDS FULL WELL THAT MOSLEMS HAVE AT THIS TIME GOOD REASONS TO CONCLUDE PEACE AS BY WAY OF NEGOTIATIONS THEY STOOD TO GAIN MUCH MORE TERRITORY THAN AFTER WAR, WHICH THEY COULD LOSE,' ASSESSED KARADZIC.

REFERRING TO THE WORDS OF THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE R.S.ARMY, GEN. R.MLADIC, THAT SERBS WOULD NOT CONCEDE AN INCH OF THE TERRITORIES THEY CONTROLLED, KARADZIC SPECIFIED THAT THIS MEANT REJECTING THOSE CONCESSIONS WHICH LACKED POLITICAL AGREEMENT. SERBS WERE PREPARED TO GIVE CERTAIN TERRITORIES, AND EXCHANGE OTHERS, SO AS TO ENABLE THE MOSLEMS TO ESTABLISH A 'QUALITY STATE', CAPABLE OF FUNCTIONING IN A FUTURE CONFEDERATION.

**BOSNIAN SERBS AND CROATS AGREE ON SO-CALLED  
TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS**

GENEVA, JUNE 29 (TANJUG) - THE DOCUMENT ON SO-CALLED TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA SPECIFIES THE ROLE AND ORGANIZATION OF A COORDINATING BODY, A BORDERS COMMISSION, FUTURE INTERNATIONAL BORDERS, THE POLICE FORCE, AN INTERNATIONAL ACCESS AUTHORITY FOR REGULATING FULL FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, AND THE FINAL DEFINING OF MECHANISMS FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND RESTORING THE STATUS QUO THAT HAD EXISTED IN CERTAIN AREAS BEFORE ETHNIC CLEANSING OPERATIONS HAD BEEN CARRIED OUT.

THE COORDINATING BODY - WHICH WILL HAVE NINE MEMBERS, THREE EACH FROM THE SERB REPUBLIC, THE CROAT COMMUNITY OF HERZEG-BOSNIA AND THE MOSLEM REPUBLIC - WOULD BE ORGANIZED ON A PARITY PRINCIPLE AND ADOPT MAJOR DECISIONS BY CONSENSUS.

DURING THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION, THE COORDINATING BODY WILL APPOINT A PERSON WHO WILL ACT AS FOREIGN MINISTER FOR THE JOINT INTERESTS OF THE MEMBER-STATES OF THE CONFEDERATION. A DIFFERENT MINISTER WILL BE APPOINTED EVERY FOUR MONTHS SO THAT ALL THREE REPUBLICS OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA HAVE A REPRESENTATIVE IN THIS OFFICE IN THE COURSE OF ONE YEAR.

THE THREE SIDES AND THE TWO CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON FORMER YUGOSLAVIA WILL HAVE A REPRESENTATIVE EACH ON THE BORDERS COMMISSION, WHICH SHOULD CARRY OUT DEMARCATION ON THE BASIS OF GIVEN MAPS AND RESOLVE MARGINAL TERRITORIAL DISPUTES.

SAVEZNA REPUBLIKA JUGOSLAVIJA  
SAVEZNO MINISTARSTVO  
INOSTRANIH POSLOVA  
DIREKCIJA S I K  
BROJ: 04334  
1. JUL 1993. GODINE

VRLO HITNO

OTVORENI TELEGRAM

SVIM DKP SRJ

**YUGOSLAV DAILY SURVEY**

**SELECTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS AND INFORMATION  
DEPARTMENT  
OF THE FEDERAL MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

BELGRADE, July 1, 1993  
No.355

- YUGOSLAVIA NOT TO ALLOW WORK OF MAZOWIECKI'S ENVOYS IN ITS  
TERRITORY

- YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR ON LIFTING ARMS EMBARGO TO BOSNIAN MOSLEMS

- BOSNIAN SERBS SHOULD ALSO HAVE ACCESS TO ADRIATIC SEA, KARADZIC  
SAYS

THE R.S.K. (UNPA)

- R.S.K. PRIME MINISTER ACCUSES CROATIA, DENIES ALLEGATION BY  
CROATIAN PRIME MINISTER

DUE TO SANCTIONS

- YUGOSLAV HEALTH MINISTER EXPECTS IMPORTS OF MEDICAMENTS  
TO BE ALLOWED

- SERBIAN RED CROSS SENDS OUT DRAMATIC APPEAL FOR HELP

FROM THE FOREIGN PRESS

- MILLIYET: IZETBEGOVIC TO MOVE TO TURKEY

YUGOSLAVIA NOT TO ALLOW WORK OF MAZOWIECKI'S ENVOYS  
IN ITS TERRITORY

G E N E V A, JUNE 30 (TANJUG) - THE GOVERNMENT OF THE F.R.OF YUGOSLAVIA ON TUESDAY REJECTED A PROPOSAL BY THE UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS CENTRE TO ALLOW IN ITS TERRITORY THE WORK OF ENVOYS OF U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS RAPPORTEUR TADEUSZ MAZOWIECKI.

IN A LETTER HANDED OVER TO THE U.N. CENTRE BY HEAD OF THE YUGOSLAV MISSION IN THE U.N. GENEVA HEADQUARTERS VLADIMIR PAVICEVIC, THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT SAID THAT THE NEGATIVE RESPONSE RESULTED FROM MAZOWIECKI'S ONE-SIDED AND MALICIOUS REPORTS ABOUT THE SITUATION CONCERNING HUMAN RIGHTS IN YUGOSLAVIA AND ABOUT THE SERBIAN NATION AS A WHOLE DURING HIS EARLIER MISSIONS IN YUGOSLAVIA.

SUCH AN ATTITUDE ON MAZOWIECKI'S PART HAS DISCREDITED THE RESPONSIBLE DUTY OF RAPPORTEUR BECAUSE HE WAS NOT GUIDED BY MORAL AND ETHICAL PRINCIPLES IN CARRYING OUT HIS DUTIES, THE GOVERNMENT SAID IN THE LETTER.

'DOUBLE STANDARDS IN VIEW OF THE F.R.Y. CAN BE SEEN IN THE FACT THAT YUGOSLAVIA IS ASKED TO SHOW COOPERATIVENESS IN A SITUATION WHEN IT IS BEING UNFOUNDEDLY ACCUSED OF MASSIVE VIOLATION OF HUMAN AND MINORITY RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW WHILE AT THE SAME TIME IT IS BEING DENIED THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE WORK OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, AS WELL AS IN THE RECENT HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE IN VIENNA AND NOW IN A SESSION OF THE U.N. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL,' THE LETTER SAYS.

RECALLING THAT THE U.N. HAS PREVENTED YUGOSLAVIA FROM PARTICIPATING IN THE WORK OF ITS BODIES IN KEEPING WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY, THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT SAID THAT THE WORK OF MAZOWIECKI'S ENVOYS WOULD BE ALLOWED ONLY AFTER THE RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED NATIONS HAVE NORMALIZED.

YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR ON LIFTING ARMS EMBARGO TO BOSNIAN MOSLEMS

U.N., JUNE 30 (TANJUG) - YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR AT THE U.N. DRAGOMIR DJOKIC SAID IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE THAT THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT 'STRONGLY OPPOSES EXEMPTING ONE SIDE INVOLVED IN THE CIVIL WAR IN

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA FROM THE ARMS EMBARGO.... AS AN EXAMPLE OF POLITICAL MYOPIA.'

NOT ONLY IS IT 'UNACCEPTABLE BUT FRAUGHT WITH DANGERS AND WOULD RESULT IN CONTINUATION AND FURTHER ESCALATION OF THE CIVIL, INTER-ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS WAR IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA,' THE AMBASSADOR WARNED.

IN HIS VIEW, 'SHOULD THE PROPOSED DRAFT RESOLUTION BE ADOPTED, THE SECURITY COUNCIL WOULD UNDER FALSE PRETEXT OF PROTECTING THE EXERCISE OF INHERENT RIGHT TO SELF-DEFENSE ONLY CONTRAVENE ITS PAST EFFORTS TO CONTAIN THE CRISIS AND FIND A LASTING POLITICAL SOLUTION. AS A RESULT, BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, WHICH IS ALREADY REplete WITH ARMS WOULD BE ENGULFED WITH EVEN MORE WEAPONS AND DESTRUCTION RESULTING IN FURTHER KILLINGS, ATROCITIES AND SUFFERING OF THE INNOCENT.'

'IT WOULD BE ERRONEOUS TO ASSUME THAT THE ARMING OF THE MOSLEM FORCES IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA CAN LEAD TO PEACE. ON THE CONTRARY, IT WOULD SURELY REPRESENT A SERIOUS SET BACK FOR A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT,' SAID DJOKIC ADDING THAT 'THOSE SPONSORING THE DRAFT RESOLUTION ARE EVIDENTLY NOT COMMITTED TO A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT BUT ARE INSTEAD TRYING TO ACHIEVE THEIR OWN LIMITED POLITICAL OBJECTIVES.'

THE YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR POINTED OUT THAT 'IT IS PARTICULARLY DISTURBING AND SAD THAT THIS INITIATIVE IS COMING AT A TIME WHEN THE PEACE PROCESS AFTER A LONG STALEMATE IS SHOWING SIGNS OF PROGRESS TOWARDS THE SETTLEMENT THAT WOULD BE BASED ON THE VITAL INTERESTS OF ALL THREE SIDES.'

HE SET OUT THAT THE 'F.R. OF YUGOSLAVIA IS RENDERING ITS FULL CONTRIBUTION TO A PEACEFUL AND JUST RESOLUTION OF THE CRISIS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA', ADDING THAT IT WOULD CONTINUE DOING SO 'DESPITE UNFAIR AND INHUMANE SANCTIONS' AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA, 'WHICH IS NOT A PARTY TO THE CIVIL WAR IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA.'

POINTING OUT THAT THE PROPOSED RESOLUTION TEXT WAS A RESOLUTION 'OF WAR RATHER THAN PEACE,' DJOKIC CONCLUDED THAT THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL SHOULD BE GOVERNED BY THE PRINCIPLES OF THE U.N. CHARTER AND NOT ADOPT THE PROPOSED DRAFT.

#### BOSNIAN SERBS SHOULD ALSO HAVE ACCESS TO ADRIATIC SEA, KARADZIC SAYS

B E L G R A D E, JUNE 30 (TANJUG) - BOSNIAN SERB LEADER RADOVAN KARADZIC SAYS THAT INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS FOR BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, PROPOSED BY THE SERBS AND CROATS, ENVISAGE FOR GIVING MOSLEMS ACCESS TO THE SAVA RIVER IN THE NORTH AND THE ADRIATIC SEA IN THE SOUTH.

IN A STATEMENT TO THE BELGRADE DAILY POLITIKA CARRIED IN THE THURSDAY ISSUE, KARADZIC SAID IT HAD BEEN AGREED TO GIVE THE MOSLEMS FREE ZONES IN THE ADRIATIC PORT OF PLOCE AND IN A PORT ON THE RIVER SAVA, PROBABLY BRCKO.

THE BOSNIAN SERB LEADER EXPLAINED THAT THE MOSLEMS WOULD HAVE FREE USE OF A PART OF THE PORT FOR FREE SHIPMENT OF THEIR GOODS AND OTHER TRAFFIC, ON THE LINES APPLIED TO FORMER YUGOSLAVIA IN THE GREEK PORT OF SALONIKA.

BOSNIAN SERBS' DEMAND FOR ACCESS TO THE ADRIATIC SEA WAS ALSO DISCUSSED, BUT NO AGREEMENT WAS REACHED, SAID KARADZIC.

A CERTAIN DEGREE OF AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED ON GIVING THE CROATS CONTROL OF SOME TERRITORIES IN THE HINTERLAND OF DUBROVNIK, IN RETURN FOR WHICH BOSNIAN SERBS WOULD BE GIVEN ACCESS TO THE SEA ALONG

THE BORDER WITH MONTENEGRO, IN THE AREA OF THE PREVLAKA PENINSULA, HE SAID.

THE BOSNIAN SERB LEADER SAID THAT FIGHTING WAS RAGING, ESPECIALLY BETWEEN MOSLEMS AND CROATS IN CENTRAL BOSNIA, AND THAT MOSLEMS WERE TRYING TO ROUND OFF THEIR TERRITORIES, WHICH WAS HAMPERING THE PEACE PROCESS.

KARADZIC REFUTED ACCUSATIONS THAT SERBS AND CROATS HAD JOINED FORCES AGAINST THE MOSLEMS. 'WE ARE ONLY HELPING THE CROATS IN SOME AREAS TO AVOID TOTAL EXTERMINATION,' HE SAID.

#### THE R.S.K. (UNPA)

#### R.S.K. PRIME MINISTER ACCUSES CROATIA, DENIES ALLEGATION BY CROATIAN PRIME MINISTER

BELGRADE, JUNE 30 (TANJUG) - PRIME MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERB KRAJINA DJORDJE BJEGOVIC ON WEDNESDAY SENT A LETTER TO U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL BOUTROS-GHALI IN WHICH HE ACCUSED THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF CROATIA OF ABUSING ITS MEMBERSHIP IN THE WORLD ORGANIZATION BY SUPPLYING IT WITH FALSE INFORMATION AND DISTORTED HISTORICAL REPORTS.

TO CORROBORATE HIS ALLEGATION, BJEGOVIC CITED A LETTER BY CROATIAN PRIME MINISTER NIKICA VALENTIC, WHICH WAS SENT TO THE U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL NINE DAYS AGO. BJEGOVIC DENIED VALENTIC'S ALLEGATION ABOUT 250,000 CROAT REFUGEES FROM THE R.S.K. AND SAID THAT A FAR SMALLER NUMBER OF CROATS HAD LIVED IN KRAJINA IN THE PERIOD BEFORE 1991.

HE ALSO SAID THAT AROUND 300,000 SERBS HAD BEEN EXPELLED FROM CROATIAN TOWNS AND THAT ALL THEIR PROPERTY HAD BEEN CONFISCATED.

#### DUE TO SANCTIONS

#### YUGOSLAV HEALTH MINISTER EXPECTS IMPORTS OF MEDICAMENTS TO BE ALLOWED

BELGRADE, JUNE 30 (TANJUG) - THE YUGOSLAV MINISTER OF LABOUR, HEALTH AND SOCIAL WELFARE VELIBOR POPOVIC SAID AFTER RETURNING FROM GENEVA ON WEDNESDAY THAT HE HAD RECEIVED ASSURANCES FROM INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS THAT THEY WOULD DO EVERYTHING IN THEIR POWER TO HELP LIFT THE SANCTION IN THE AREA OF HEALTH SERVICES, AT LEAST PARTIALLY.

'DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF THE WHO HIROSHI NAKAJIMA HAS PROMISED TO SUPPORT AN INITIATIVE TO ALLOW THE F.R.Y. TO IMPORT THE MOST NEEDED MEDICAMENTS AND RAW MATERIALS FOR THEIR PRODUCTION,' POPOVIC TOLD A PRESS CONFERENCE.

HE SAID A MOVE IN THE POSITIVE DIRECTION COULD BE EXPECTED IN THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL AND ITS SANCTIONS COMMITTEE, WHICH IS TO MAKE POSSIBLE THE USE OF YUGOSLAV FUNDS, CURRENTLY FROZEN IN INTERNATIONAL BANKS, FOR PURCHASING NECESSARY MEDICAMENTS.

#### SERBIAN RED CROSS SENDS OUT DRAMATIC APPEAL FOR HELP

G E N E V A, JUNE 30 (TANJUG) - THE RED CROSS OF THE YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF SERBIA WARNS OF THE DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES OF SANCTION FOR THE PEOPLE OF YUGOSLAVIA AND REFUGEES ACCOMMODATED IN THAT COUNTRY, AND APPEALS TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FOR AID IN FOOD, MEDICINE, CLOTHING AND CLEANSING AGENTS.

VLADIMIR PAVICEVIC, HEAD OF THE YUGOSLAV PERMANENT MISSION TO THE U.N. IN GENEVA, COMMUNICATED THE APPEAL TO OFFICIALS OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN ORGANISATIONS ON WEDNESDAY.

SERBIAN FAMILIES HAVE RECEIVED 500,000 REFUGEES, 10,000 BABIES HAVE BEEN BORN AND 15,000 WOUNDED HAVE BEEN TREATED IN SERBIAN HOSPITALS. CHILDREN BELOW THE AGE OF 14 ACCOUNT FOR ONE-HALF OF THE NUMBER OF REFUGEES.

THE SERBIAN RED CROSS ALSO SAID THAT ONE OUT OF THREE YUGOSLAVS HAD LOST THEIR JOBS SINCE THE IMPOSITION OF THE SANCTIONS, THAT MEDICAL SUPPLIES IN HOSPITALS AND PHARMACIES WERE RUNNING OUT AND THAT THE NATIONAL PRODUCT HAD REACHED A LEVEL WHERE IT COULD NO LONGER GUARANTEE SURVIVAL TO THE PEOPLE.

THE LATEST TIGHTENING OF THE SANCTIONS HAS EXACERBATED THE ALREADY DIFFICULT SITUATION AND THREATENS TO RAISE THE MORTALITY RATE FOR CHILDREN AND CHRONICALLY ILL PEOPLE AND TO MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE TO CONTAIN INFECTIOUS DISEASES, THE RED CROSS SAID.

#### FROM THE FOREIGN PRESS

##### MILLIYET: IZETBEGOVIC TO MOVE TO TURKEY

A N K A R A, JUNE 30 (TANJUG) - BOSNIAN MOSLEM LEADER ALIJA IZETBEGOVIC WILL MOVE TO TURKEY WITH HIS WIFE, THE TURKISH DAILY MILLIYET SAID ON TUESDAY.

THE ISTANBUL BASED DAILY SAID THAT IZETBEGOVIC DECIDED TO SEND 15 MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY TO LIVE IN BURSA, BUT DID NOT SPECIFY WHO THEY WERE.

IZETBEGOVIC'S DAUGHTER SABINA HAS BEEN LIVING WITH HER FAMILY ON THE ADRIATIC ISLAND OF BRAC IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF CROATIA FOR SOME TIME NOW, BUT SHE IS PROTECTED BY MUJAHEDINS.

MILLIYET SAID THAT IZETBEGOVIC IS 'TIRED OF THE WAR AND THE NEW DEVELOPMENTS WHICH ARE NOT IN HIS FAVOR,' ADDING THAT THE RUMP BOSNIAN PRESIDENCY 'DID NOT TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION HIS OBJECTIONS TO THE PLAN FOR A CONFEDERAL BOSNIA, BUT WAS STUDYING IT CAREFULLY.'



Institute for the Study of  
**SERBIAN HISTORY and CULTURE**

---

TO: ALL MEMBERS, INTERESTED PERSONS

SUBJECT: NEXT MEETING: **Tuesday, July 6, 1993 - 7:30 p.m.**  
**1612 Redesdale Ave. - Silverlake**

The next meeting will take place at the date, time, and location indicated above. A map is provided on the back of this page.

\* \* \* \* \*

Excerpt from the Los Angeles Times of June 11, 1993 (page 1):

Frantic with fear, the [Croatian] family raced out of the house with the clothes on their backs, away from the Muslims who had been their allies through more than a year of war, and into the arms of their Serbian enemies, who sheltered them during a freezing night on a nearby hillside.

Some of the old and weak people who couldn't leave were left behind, they couldn't believe this was really happening, Jurisic recalled. "Half an hour after we left, the [Muslims] *moujahedeen* came in and just slaughtered them. The soldiers told us they heard "Allah Alkar!" and then they heard screaming. They were being massacred."

A soldier of the HVO, the Bosnian Croat Army, who had been helping Croatian civilians fleeing nearby Travnik toward Serbian lines surrendered himself to his former Serbian enemies. . .

"Naturally, I was very afraid. But when I saw the way the Serbian soldier addressed me, I had some confidence. He said, "Welcome to the Republic of Serbska. You will be treated according to the Geneva Convention and you will be treated correctly in this territory because you have surrendered without fighting the Serbs." They kept their word, and we came out safe."

\* \* \* \* \*

There are a number of excellent Serbian organizations and sources of information in this country. The Srbobran has in the past few months increased the quality and quantity of coverage of events in the Balkans. In addition, the Serbian Unity Congress is now sending its members a weekly summary of events in the Balkans. The first enclosed article is a recent statement of Radovan Karadzic about his view of the future of Bosnia, which was distributed by the Serbian Unity Congress.

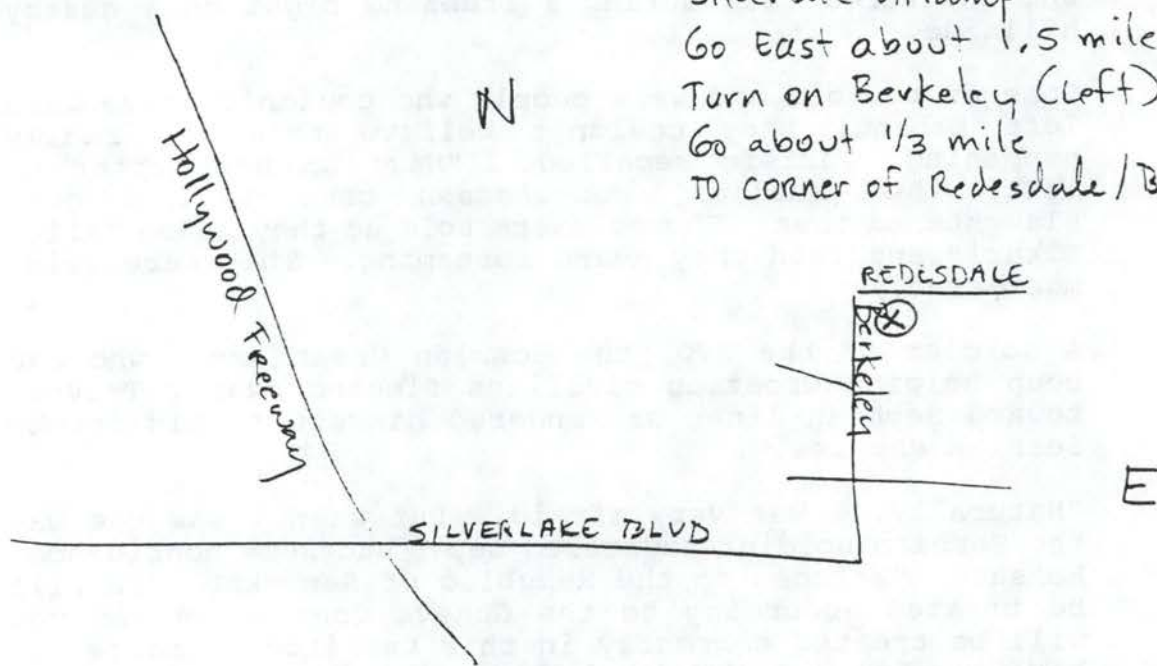
OVER

The next article is from the Jewish-Serbian Friendship Society, which has active chapters in several cities. This particular mailing was from the chapter in Chicago, and it deals with the dedication of the Holocaust Museum in Washington.

The last article, published in the New York Times, may be of some historical importance in future years. It documents the origination of the now common phrase "ethnic cleansing." This article proves that the term actually originated with Croatian acts against the Serbs. Please keep the article, as it may be useful in your future arguments with friends and foes, especially as it was not written by a Serb.

\* \* \* \* \*

1612 Redesdale Ave  
Hollywood Freeway  
Silverlake offramp  
Go East about 1.5 miles  
Turn on Berkeley (Left)  
Go about 1/3 mile  
TO CORNER of Redesdale / Berkeley



Downtown LA

S

Personal View

"Future must be settled from within"

An ignorant world supposes that the Serbs are triumphant. It is true that we have won a difficult victory. We have survived and have not been beaten. But there have been no prizes. Today we need a settlement as much as the Moslems and the Croats. Zagreb gloats as the Serbian nation rots under economic sanctions which Germany would never allow to apply to Croatia whatever were done in its name. When will Washington, London and Paris concede that this disastrous war stems from a false and fatal consent by the US and the EC to German ideas about Yugoslavia?

Who imposed Bosnia's catastrophic "sovereignty"? A committee decided to partition Yugoslavia, a committee of politicians which miscalls itself the European Council and which is responsible to no parliament. It consisted of people wholly ignorant about Yugoslavia. Yet this is a political detail. The effective demand for the partition of Yugoslavia came from Germany alone when it was the first EC country to recognize a separate Croatia in December 1991, unchecked by its reluctant European partners.

Who suffers most today? The Bosnian Moslems lured into their grab for supremacy; the Bosnian Serbs pushed into a war they wanted to avoid; the entire Serbian nation condemned to poverty for the crime of a minimal solidarity with their brothers in Bosnia; the Macedonians whose economy is smashed; the Greeks, Bulgars, and Romanians whose economies are hammered by the loss of trade through sanctions on Serbia.

Bosnia is not "Europe's backyard" - to employ the favorite expression of the interventionists. A backyard is something intimately familiar. But no European politician - I mean those on the Brussels circuit - and few EC journalists can speak about Bosnia for two minutes without making ludicrous errors of fact. The proposition "Bosnia is Europe's backyard" is more than stupid; it stinks of neo-imperialist arrogance, resembling the most preposterous claims of the imperialists of 100 years ago.

What then is Bosnia? We can only start from its pre-war status. It was part of Yugoslavia. The world does not want to understand Serbian motives in Bosnia. But we must explain them until the world starts to listen. The Serbs are a nation whose desire for unity was and is as strong as that of any people in Europe. Yet we once consented to be divided, within Yugoslavia, provided that a degree of Serbian solidarity remained available to us.

We never lived in a state called Bosnia, we lived in Yugoslav Bosnia. To take away Yugoslavia was to take away all the compromises which held Bosnia together. Even today we do not insist on being in Serbia, but we will always insist on being with Serbia.

Well-meaning foreigners must not suppose this is fanaticism just because it is inconvenient. We in Bosnia have never considered ourselves other than Serbs, Croats and Moslems. There is no Bosnian patriotism. There is no Bosnian nation. There is just a common home for three peoples. We know the Moslems and the Croats of Bosnia far better than the foreign journalists.

We ask the Moslems and the Croats these questions: do you think we Serbs have no right to distrust you with your record during the second world war? Do you think we will accept the dismemberment of Yugoslavia and the division of the Serbian nation without setting up our own state to live in safety? Why not start talking to us now?

The Moslems ask today whether they are expected to live as virtual prisoners on tiny reservations? The Serbian answer is no, not at all. But when did the Moslems negotiate with the Serbs about a division of territory? Did we refuse to examine the question of eastern Bosnia with them?

No Serb can deny that the Moslems need a secure home in Bosnia; no thoughtful Serb imagines that there can be peace without them. Not everything has been destroyed by this latest hurricane of history that has swept through Bosnia. There is goodwill on our side, as I am sure there is goodwill among Moslems. We are our Slav brothers. They did well in Yugoslavia and suffered terribly once their leaders told them they had a better future outside. They now require not only peace, but also institutional safeguards. The old Yugoslavia has gone. Bosnia, or most of it, could still be recreated, perhaps as a confederation, and joined at some stage to the remainder of Yugoslavia. Whatever the future, it cannot be settled from the outside, and it should not be shaped by the force of arms. The future must be negotiated among ourselves, and the time to do so is now.



THE JEWISH-SERBIAN FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY OF AMERICA  
CHICAGO CHAPTER  
1872 North Clybourn, Chicago, Illinois 60614  
(312) 327-8521

May 1, 1993

As I write this the clock is ticking toward perhaps a third world conflict in the Balkans. It is a paradox that the most traditionally peaceful leadership has now become part of the chorus of "war-mongers". Invoking the Holocaust and "genocide", some now label the Serbs as "the new Nazis". How ironic! These are some of the same people who have now revised history and have omitted the Serbs their rightful place among the heroes and martyrs of the Holocaust of fifty years ago. "Never forget"? These are apparently empty words to those who have chosen not only to ignore history, but who apparently wish to impose that same history upon the Serbian people again! It seems the world only likes the Jews and Serbs when they are victimized, martyred or threatened. It is apparently not acceptable for some that we survive or defend ourselves!

In regard to this, our Society has found the need to respond. Our chapters and members have sent messages in protest to organizational and government leadership who have been unfair to the Serbian people. The recent invitation of Croatian president Franjo Tudjman and the omission of Serbian representation to the opening of the United States Holocaust Museum in Washington D.C., was especially disturbing. We are concerned about the lack of factual and complete reporting regarding the war in former Yugoslavia, especially the acts of violence and abuse against the Serbian population. Why has the world community virtually ignored the Islamic fundamentalist leadership of Izetbegović or the presence of thousands of "Black Legion" fighters from Croatia and elsewhere who have overran western and central Bosnia? Many of them give the Nazi salute and proudly wear the Nazi Iron Cross. When they destroy Serb or Moslem villages, they leave their Ustasha "U" symbol behind as identification. Yet the world seems to turn their eyes to these insults! These issues directly affect the Serbian and Jewish people. It is of no use to ignore their impact or importance to our past and future.

We shall plan to have a general MEETING concerning these and other ISSUES in LATE MAY or EARLY JUNE at a time and place convenient to our community. PLEASE PLAN TO ATTEND AND CONTRIBUTE YOUR ENERGY! OUR PEOPLE DEPEND ON IT!

Mir/Shalom,  
*Betsy LaLich*  
Betsy LaLich  
President

## NOTE:

The following article shows that the origins of the term "ethnic cleansing," stem from the Serbian characterization of the expulsion of Serbs from their jobs and political positions in Croatia.

Later, this term was used by the Croatian government in promoting propaganda against Serbia, and was subsequently repeated by John Burns of the New York Times. Yet, the U.S. State Department and numerous journalists, analysts, and others speaking on the Yugoslav conflict, claim that the Serbs themselves used the term to describe their own actions!

**E**LEAN WORDS CAN mask dirty deeds.

The word adopted by the Nazi Reinhard (The Hangman) Heydrich to describe the planned extermination of Jews was *Endlösung*, which was translated into the English phrase "final solution." The language soon endows the bureaucratic euphemism with a sinister overtone that has a greater impact than the phrase it replaces: *final solution* induced more shudders than the straightforward "mass murder," just as *liquidation* is more sinister than "killing" and the icily bureaucratic *termination with extreme prejudice*, even if fictional, carries a more chilling connotation than "assassination."

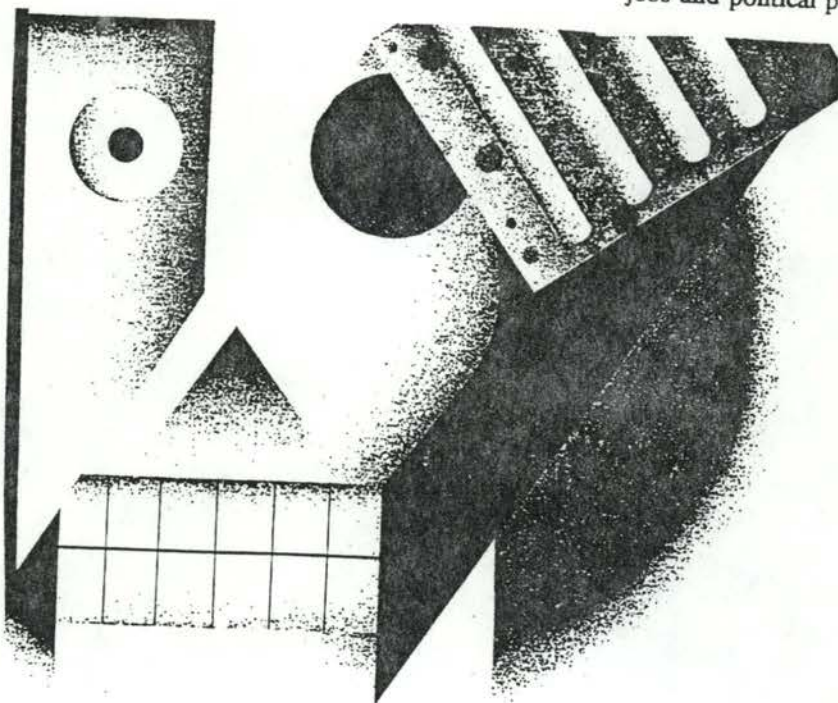
This generation's entry in the mass-murder category is *ethnic cleansing*. Because it has become a major coinage, now used without quotation marks or handled without the tongs of so-called, the phrase's etymology deserves close examination.

Begin with the word *ethnic*. This came from the Scots, meaning "heathen, pagan," who got it from the Greek *ethnos*, which the Barnhart Dictionary of Etymology defines as "a people, nation, Gentiles, a translation of Hebrew *goyim*, plural of *goy*."

Now to its modern application as *ethnic group*. Julian Sorell Huxley and Alfred Cort Haddon, in their 1935 book, "We Europeans," coined that phrase with authority: "Nowhere does a human group now exist which corresponds closely to a systematic sub-species in animals. . . . For existing populations, the noncommittal term *ethnic group* should be used." The authors referred later to a "special type of *ethnic grouping* of which the Jews form the best-known example."

*Ethnic* as a noun referring to members of a group, but along racial lines, was first used by the sociologists W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt in 1941; a 1945 study by Warner and Leo Srole applied the noun to groups like the Irish and the Jews. By the time David Riesman used *ethnicity* in 1953, the meaning was "identification with a national and cultural group," especially among second-generation Americans. The power of ethnicity — both racial and national, covering "the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York City" — was explored in "Beyond the Melting Pot," a 1963 book by Daniel P. Moynihan and Nathan Glazer.

*Ethnic* as an adjective received its baptism of fire in politics when Jimmy Carter referred to *ethnic purity* in his winning 1976 campaign: his usage was probably intended to refer to the pride of groups within a neighborhood, but got him in hot water with those who saw in *ethnic purity* a veiled reference to support of housing segregation.



## Ethnic Cleansing

Now to *ethnic cleansing*. (It takes etymologists a while to get there, but getting there is half the fun. I will skip the roots of *cleansing*, except to note that this gerund developed from the pre-1200 verb *cleansen*, derived from the Old English root of *clean*.)

In 1988, well before the Soviet Union came apart, clashes broke out between Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the autonomous enclave of Azerbaijan known as Nagorno-Karabakh. According to Sol Steinmetz, executive editor of Random House dictionaries, who cites Serbo-Croatian sources, the attempt by one group to drive out the other was called by Soviet officials *etnicheskoye chishcheniye*, "ethnic cleansing."

On July 9, 1991, a Serbian building supervisor named Zarko Cubrilo told Tim Judah, a Times of London reporter: "Many of us have been sacked because they want an *ethnically clean Croatia*." On July 31 of that year, as Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats began the conflict that led to the breakup of Yugoslavia, we had the first English use of the phrase in its gerund form: Croatia's Supreme Council was quoted by Donald Forbes, a Reuters reporter in Belgrade, as charging, "The aim of this expulsion is obviously the *ethnic cleansing* of the critical areas . . . to be annexed to Serbia."

A year later, journalists in the battle zone picked up the phrase: John F. Burns, in The New York Times on July 26, 1992, described the movement for a "Greater Serbia," observing that "the

precondition for its creation lies in the purging — '*ethnic cleansing*' in the perpetrators' lexicon — of wide areas of Bosnia of all but like-minded Serbs."

That's the first take at a big phrase that is likely to be with us for a while. If the practice is not stopped, the term will continue in active use; if the world forces the forcible separation and killing to end, the phrase *ethnic cleansing* will evoke a shudder a generation hence much as *final solution* does today — as a phrase frozen in history, a terrible manifestation of ethnocentrism gone wild.



THE JEWISH-SERBIAN FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY OF AMERICA  
CHICAGO CHAPTER  
1872 North Clybourn, Chicago, Illinois 60614  
(312) 327-8521

## Wiesenthal Warns About The Rebirth Of Fascism In Croatia

ROME, April 1 (Tanjug) — "While the world satanizes Belgrade, Ustashi fascism is being reborn in Croatia," well-known hunter of Nazi war criminals Simon Wiesenthal said in an interview carried by the Milan daily Corriere Della Sera on Thursday, April 1, 1993.

Wiesenthal said that the world has forgotten that the first refugees of the present war were Serbs, that about 40,000 of them were forced to leave Croatia following its decision of December 22, 1990 to reduce the status of the Serbian people to that of a minority. In former Yugoslavia, Serbs had the status of a constituent people.

Wiesenthal also said it all began with the burning of Orthodox churches and synagogues and with the desecration of Jewish cemeteries in Croatia.

Furthermore, the Zagreb squares named after Partisans, members of the anti-fascist resistance movement during World War II, had been renamed after Ustashi leaders. The Ustashi were Croatian fascists who ruled the Independent State of Croatia (NDH), the puppet state created by Hitler's Germany following division of Yugoslavia in 1941.

Stressing that the fear Serbs feel from a resurrection of the Ustashi NDH was justified, Wiesenthal said that Serbs still remember the Jasenovac concentration camps, where 700,000 Serbs, together with Jews and Gypsies, were brutally killed during World War II.

If one could refer to Serbia as Bolshevik then Croatia could be defined as fascist, Wiesenthal said. It is enough to read Croatian President Franjo Tudjman's anti-

Semitic texts, said Wiesenthal. Wiesenthal said that the United Nations' recognition of the former Yugoslav Republics of Slovenia and Croatia was a mistake, made under great pressure exerted by Germany, Austria and the Vatican, Croatia's historic allies. The population in the West of former Yugoslavia (Slovenia and Croatia) is predominantly Catholic, and in the East it is predominantly Orthodox. Wiesenthal also said that the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia, in particular, was baleful, because it happened during the negotiations on a peaceful division of Yugoslavia, and interrupted the dialogue leading directly into a war.

Wiesenthal believed that a possible foreign military intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina would not only be unthinkable, but unsuccessful as well.

"They would meet the same fate as Nazi Germany did in World War II, because they would be faced with the people who are familiar with the terrain and trained for guerrilla warfare. At least 250,000 NATO or U.N. troops would be necessary to fight against Serbs. That is why a war could never be a solution," Wiesenthal said.

The man who has brought over 1,100 Nazis to trial said that a new Nuremberg, applied to the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and other parts of former Yugoslavia, was not possible, because the intention is to put only one side on trial. "How can only Serb leaders be put in trial and not Croatian and Muslim leaders, who are also responsible for the genocide," asked Wiesenthal and concluded that no one had clean hands in this cruel civil war.

London, April 22, 1993

The Honorable William Clinton  
President of the United States of America  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I was deeply saddened by the news that no representatives of the Serbian people have been invited to the ceremony at the opening of the Holocaust Museum in Washington.

As you are undoubtedly aware, the Serbs were staunch allies of the United States in both world wars. Furthermore, hundreds of thousands of Serb civilians were victims of genocide in the Nazi-sponsored "Independent State of Croatia," alongside many Jews and Gypsies. This is a matter of historical record, irrespective of current political events or discredited attempts by some contemporary Balkan politicians to rewrite history and deny tragedy.

On several occasions I have been assured by the officials in Washington that "the United States has a problem with the government in Belgrade, and not with the Serbian people." Accordingly, if it was deemed unsuitable to invite government representatives from Serbia to the Holocaust Museum ceremony, alternatives should have been considered. An invitation could be forwarded to some of the non-political, national or religious institutions of the Serbian people. In this manner the United States would have reconfirmed its commitment to justice and fairness.

There can be and should be no collective guilt or punishment of an entire nation for the perceived misdeeds of its leaders. For the sake of innocent victims of all wars, from all nations, I hope and trust, Mr. President, that you will not allow the solemn occasion next Thursday to be marred by an act of injustice to my people.

Respectfully,

— H.R.H. Crown Prince Alexander of Yugoslavia

## Anger Greet's Croatian's Invitation To Holocaust Museum Dedication

Reprinted from The New York Times International, Thursday, April 22, 1993

By Diana Jean Schemo, Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 21 — As world leaders gathered for the opening of the Holocaust Memorial Museum here, Holocaust survivors and historians today condemned an invitation to the Croatian President, Franjo Tudjman, who has said that fewer than a million Jews died in the Holocaust.

Mr. Tudjman, (pronounced TOODGE-man) in a 1988 book "Wasteland: Historical Truth," estimated that 900,000 Jews, instead of six million, died in the Holocaust, according to French and English translations cited by Elie Wiesel, the Nobel Peace Prize winner and Simon Wiesenthal, the renowned Nazi hunter.

Mr. Tudjman's book also says that Jews were among those who ran a Croatian concentration camp, said Mr. Wiesenthal, who commissioned his own translation.

Croatian officials today called those versions mistranslations by political opponents, saying that Mr. Tudjman had only questioned the number of Jews killed in Croatia, which became a nominally independent state allied with Nazi Germany after it dismembered Yugoslavia in 1941.

The officials said they could not immediately obtain a copy of the book in Croatian.

But Mr. Tudjman has a long history of other statements that have also been criticized as anti-Semitic and that he has not repudiated, including thanking God that neither he nor his wife were Jewish or Serbian.

"Tell me who asked Tudjman to come to Washington for the opening of the museum," Mr. Wiesenthal said. "I think a man who makes such remarks in his book should not be invited to be at the opening of such a museum."

Naomi Paiss, the museum's director of communications, said the museum knew about Mr. Tudjman's writings but decided to invite the Croatian President despite them.

"We were advised by the State Department to invite the Bosnians, the Slovenes and the Croats," she said. "They

told us those are the three that should be invited, who were democratically elected. We're well aware of Mr. Tudjman's book and statements, but we're not opening the museum to preach to the choir."

A State Department official, who would speak only on the condition of not being identified, said museum officials had sought advice on which leaders had been democratically elected in Eastern Europe. "We did not advise or encourage or make any specific recommendation about inviting him," the official said. "We also made sure that they understood about his previous writings."

### Invitation Called 'Disgrace'

Mr. Wiesel, who is a Holocaust survivor and has served as chairman of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, added his voice to a chorus of outrage over the invitation today. "Were it not for the solemnity of the occasion and homage to the dead and their memory, I would speak out in outrage at the dedication ceremony tomorrow," he said in an interview at a reception on the South Lawn of the White House.

"His presence in the midst of survivors is a disgrace," Mr. Wiesel said. He added that Mr. Tudjman's book would fuel the arguments of historical revisionists who deny that the Holocaust occurred.

Mr. Tudjman, who Croatian officials say has arrived in Washington for the ceremonies, has defended his record as an anti-fascist fighter during World War II. He has said his remarks were mistranslated by Serbian academics seeking to justify Serbia's policy of ethnic cleansing.

The controversy erupted as both rescuers and survivors gathered at Arlington National Cemetery today to commemorate the soldiers, resistance fighters and ordinary people who risked their lives during the Holocaust to save Jews from death. On Thursday, President Clinton is scheduled to dedicate the museum near

the National Mall in a ceremony with a dozen world leaders in attendance. The museum invited leaders from all European countries.

From the outcry today over Mr. Tudjman, his presence seems sure to open wounds among survivors gathered to find solace in a monument to their memories.

### Estimates Called

A translation of Mr. Tudjman's book says that the estimate "of six million dead is based to the greatest extent on emotionally biased testimonies as well as on one-sided and exaggerated data on post-war calculations of war crimes and on the settling of accounts with the defeated perpetrators of war crimes."

In other translations of his writings, provided by The Associated Press, Mr. Tudjman is quoted as saying, "In the mid-1980's, world Jewry still has the need to recall its 'holocaust' even by trying to prevent the election of the former U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim as president of Austria."

Mr. Tudjman also wrote that after World War II the Jewish people became "brutal" and "conducted a genocidal policy towards Palestinians," adding, "They can rightly be defined as Judeo-Nazis."

Mario Nobile, Croatia's Ambassador to the United Nations, defended Mr. Tudjman had made efforts to mend relations with Jewish groups. "There are a couple of pages where he said that numbers were used for

political reasons, and nobody has the right to play with numbers."

While Mr. Nobile said that a Serbian translation had distorted Mr. Tudjman's remarks on the subject, he agreed that Mr. Tudjman had estimated the number of Jews killed at 900,000. At the same time, Mr. Nobile said that Mr. Tudjman "never undermined the number of Jews being killed in Europe."

"Of course, most of the people who were killed in Croatia were Serbs," he added. "Anti-Semitism has never been an issue in Croatia."

Mr. Wiesel said, however, that he had read translations of Mr. Tudjman's work in French and English and found the same kinds of statements. Israel has also refused to recognize Croatia as long as Mr. Tudjman is its leader, but the Israeli Embassy made no comment on the dispute yesterday.

Rabbi Marvin Hier, director of the Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies in Los Angeles, disputed Mr. Nobile's claim that Serbs were the main targets of Croatian atrocities committed by the Ustashi, members of an independence movement associated with fascist Italy from the mid-1930's through World War II.

"If I had to rank the Ustashi, I might put them on the same ranking as Hitler's SS, if not above them for the atrocities committed against Jews and non-Jews," Rabbi Hier said.

# A Different Guest

Reprinted from *The Washington Post*,  
— Tuesday, April 20, 1993 —

It is awkward but necessary to single out one of the guests invited to the opening of the Holocaust Museum, which memorializes the 6 million Jews and others who were victims of Nazi Germany. We refer to Croatia's president, Franjo Tudjman, who arrives under the cloud spun by his own public, recent and freshly reaffirmed remarks on Jews.

In 1988 Mr. Tudjman, a former Communist general who had become a historian and a leading voice of Croatian nationalism, published what he presented as a philosophical treatise called "Wilderness of Historical Reality." Soon after, as Croatia asserted its independence and he became its first and elected president, the book started generating the storm that is swirling still.

The passages most at issue suggest that "special features" of the Jews' religion and mentality provoked attacks on them, that Jews used "emotional biased testimonies" and "exaggerate" their Holocaust losses, that their beliefs sanction "genocide" for Jewish purposes (against Palestinians) and so on. In short, not trivial antisemitism but truly heavy stuff.

Mr. Tudjman appears insensitive to the resonances of

it. He explains wearily that challenges to his book spring from mistranslations and excerpts taken out of context. He has repeatedly asserted his goodwill toward Jews and his personal probity as one who fought Nazis and was jailed by Communists. But he does not take back what he said. Rather, in the conspiracy-tinged Balkan fashion, he sees in the questions about his book the sinister hand of two nemeses, Serbs and Communists, bent on humiliating Croatia. His government has prepared its own 250-page rebuttal, "An Analysis of Serbian Propaganda."

The lands where the destiny of European Jewry was determined include countries still working their way out from under the debris of Hitlerism and Communism.

The Holocaust Museum people invited to the opening the leaders of all of them not currently violating human rights. Serbia alone was adjudged not to meet that standard. Croatia sought a place in the charmed circle, and, with public attention fixed mostly on Serbia, got in.

More than most, however, Mr. Tudjman has cause to ponder deeply the purpose — remembering, thinking, coming to terms — of the event at which he is a guest.

Thursday, April 29, 1993

## Chicago Tribune

### Serbiens insulted

BRISTOL, Wis.—The editorial cartoon of April 16, portraying Serbian vultures sitting on a tank with the letter "s" of the word "Serbia" shown as a swastika, can only be described as vulgar and offensive. Yet, even with all of this criticism, including the cartoon portraying the Serbian people as swine wallowing in manure, we have been able to maintain our dignity and our pride in ourselves, our history and our culture. This new insult, however, shows not only the one-sided bias of media coverage against the Serbian people, but also shows that the media organizations in this country are ignorant of history.

In 1941 when Hitler's armies rolled across the Balkans, only two groups opposed his advance, the Serbs and the Greeks. The other peoples of the Balkans allied themselves with Hitler in order to carry out their dreams of carving up Serbia and Greece for themselves. Croatia, with their Bosnian Muslim allies, were willing partners in Hitler's plans for the region. The Serbs suffered much at the hands of Hitler and his fascist allies, fighting that swastika and what it represented.

To paint us now with the symbol we most despise shows how ignorant your cartoonist (Jeff) MacNelly, and your organization as a whole, really is. You don't have to be sensitive towards us, because we seek nobody's sympathy, but at least represent history truthfully.  
Milan Savic

## Mr. President, Do Not Bomb the victims of Nazi/Croatian genocide

Over 700,000 Serbs and 60,000 Jews were murdered (according to Simon Wiesenthal) by Nazi Croats and Bosnian Muslims in WW II. Many died in Croatia's Jasenovac death camp. Muslim SS units joined in slaughtering Serbs, Jews and Gypsies in Bosnia (then part of the Nazi puppet state of Croatia). This genocide is why Serbs are no longer Bosnia's largest group.

The Serbs have suffered enough. The brutalized people of the Balkans do not need more arms or additional violence from the sky. U.S. generals say that will only increase killings, stop peace talks and may draw U.S. ground troops into a Balkan quagmire.

Jews and Serbs, whose ashes mingled in the crematoria of Jasenovac, were outraged when Croatia's leader Franjo Tudjman was recently invited to the Holocaust Museum and White House. Tudjman, who is quoted as saying that he is glad his wife is "neither a Serb nor a Jew", wrote in his 1989 book: "The establishment of Hitler's new European order can be justified by the need to be rid of the Jews (undesirable more or less in all European countries)...". Using the term "judeo-nazism" he also claims that 900,000 Jews, not six million, died in the Holocaust.

TODAY, with no sanctions, Tudjman is creating an ethnically cleansed "Greater Croatia", including 30% of Bosnia, where Croat troops use "Sieg Heil" salutes and wear symbols from their Nazi WW II era. (Financial Times, April 15).

Mr. President, we condemn violence and atrocities, committed by all sides. Please look beyond the propaganda and scrutinize the arguments of those who say that war is peace. Call upon the three Bosnian factions to find a solution together. Summon their leaders to a peace conference in Washington.

## Evenhanded treatment of the parties can bring peace, threats or bombing cannot.

### SOME BACKGROUND FACTS:

- 45 years of coexistence ended when Muslims and Croats again tried to force the Serbs under their rule. The Constitutional rights of 1.5 million Bosnian Serbs were violated.
- Serbs owned over 60 per cent of Bosnia's territory before this war. The current Vance-Owen plan puts them in barren, isolated enclaves, surrounded by the people who massacred their families in WW II.
- The Muslim leader, Izetbegovic, in his Islamic Declaration (1990, p. 42) calls for strict Islamic control over the media. His side is accused of staging atrocities on its own people, including the Sarajevo "bread line massacre", to get the U.S. to attack the Serbs (U.S. Congress' Terrorism Task Force report, p.5).
- The first victims of ethnic cleansing were 40,000 Serbs in Croatia (Wiesenthal).
- All sides have committed atrocities. But Serbian victims are not reported. Where were the TV cameras during the January offensive, when hundreds of Serbs were slaughtered by Muslims near Srebrenica? Why no interviews with Serbian rape victims? Instead the media is pushing for another war, omitting facts that don't fit their stereotypes.

Contact: John Ranz, Chairman, Survivors of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, USA.  
1636 Third Ave., Suite 108, New York, N.Y. 10128