

WAY OF THE WORLD

by Peter Simple

Ranting Away

ACROSS the Atlantic, Lady Thatcher bawls for the lifting of the international arms embargo for the Bosnian Muslims. Over here, according to an opinion poll, nearly two-thirds of those questioned believe an international force should be sent to Bosnia "to ensure a peace settlement" and that British troops should take part.

These people are shocked and indignant at the slaughter of the Bosnian Muslims they see nightly on television. They would not be human if they weren't. But this nightly dose of televised horror, as is the way of television, reinforces ignorance. It arouses a hysterical hatred of the Serbs, long cast by "world opinion" as the statutory villains in this ancient three-way war in which all sides have carried out atrocities. If the Serbs have carried out more, that may be because up to now they have been the strongest.

The most merciful "solution" might be for the Serbs to win their war soon and then divide Bosnia with the Croats as they have (presumably) already agreed. To explain the historical background of this "solution" would take up the whole of this column every week for the rest of its existence. But the first thing to realise is that Bosnia has never been an independent state, or anything like one, and that the decision of the United Nations to recognise its "independence" was an absurd, even criminal, act of stupidity — or possibly something worse.

The large Serb and Croat minorities were never going to tolerate the ambition of Muslim politicians to rule them. What *are* the Bosnian Muslims whose televised misfortunes, largely the fault of those pol-

iticians, have brought them such sympathy in English homes? They are the descendants of Serbs, mainly adherents of the Bogomil heresy, who converted to Islam when the Turks conquered Bosnia 500 years ago, and made common cause in the oppression of the Christian peasant Serbs.

Such is the hornets' nest of ancient hatred which the United Nations has stirred up. Of course it is not as simple as that. Only the susceptibility of television viewers and the inflated rant of politicians are simple, and the one-sided judgment which ensures that the Serbs, a proud and warlike people, will fight even harder to defend themselves, as they have always done, against all comers.

The Sunday
Telegraph
April 18, 1993

No more Thatcher magic

The Sunday
Telegraph
April 18, 1993

PEREGRINE
WORSTHORNE'S
WEEK

MORE often than not, my mind is made up on controversial issues by noticing who the supporters are on either side. Thus I am automatically against any cause that is supported, say, by John Pilger or Ludovic Kennedy, and automatically in favour of any cause supported, say, by Irving Kristol or Conor Cruise O'Brien. On the question of Western intervention in Bosnia, however, these normally reliable guidelines are worse than useless.

Last week was particularly difficult in this respect. In Monday's *New York Herald Tribune* there was an article by Anthony Lewis passionately advocating military intervention. The whole moral influence of the United States in the world would be jeopardised unless President Clinton used force to stop the triumph of Serbian fascism, he warned.

Coming from Anthony Lewis that was a bit thick, since no one had campaigned more strongly against American military efforts to stop the triumph of communism in Vietnam. With supporters like that, the cause of intervention must be suspect.

Nor did the presence of Hugo Young, of the *Guardian*, among the interventionists do anything to allay these suspicions. For his predictably specious moralistic sabre-rattling was also a turn-off.

Then along came Lady Thatcher preaching pretty

well exactly the same sermon as had stuck in my throat when preached by Anthony Lewis and Hugo Young. I do not always agree with Lady Thatcher. But I seldom feel altogether happy when disagreeing with her. For whereas Lewis and Young are always wrong, she is usually right. In any case, I want to believe in her. She is about the only politician nowadays whose words have any meaning. No, she did not convince me, but at least she stopped me being a convinced opponent of intervention. So by the end of the week I was back again among the don't knows.

To intervene or not to intervene — this is indeed a difficult question, made all the more so by the way it is being argued. Those opposed to intervention, like Government ministers, seem resigned to ceding the high moral ground to those in favour of intervention. Thus Lady Thatcher last week was allowed to appear on the side of the angels, and Messrs Major, Hurd, Rifkind and Baroness Chalker on the side of *Realpolitik*.

This is most unjust. *Realpolitik* involves subordinating moral principles to reasons of state or to the national interest. Arguably that is what Mr Chamberlain did in 1938 in respect of Czechoslovakia. Why should Britain go to war for a far-away little country, etc? This is not what Mr Major is saying. He is saying that military intervention would do no good; would indeed almost certainly add to the harm. Innocent lives would be lost, not saved. His is not a cynical *Realpolitik* argument. It is a highly sophisticated moral one: that non-intervention is the lesser of two evils.

Not for a moment does he deny that intervention would do some short-term good. But in the longer term it would do terrible evil. This is not a conclusion based on calculations of the national interest, or on opportunism or expediency. It is a conclusion reached by an honest statesman after much searching of his conscience. Why cannot Mr Major's Government get the high-mindedness of its message across?

The answer, I fear, is its near fatal lack of rhetoric.

Almost all the failures of this Government come back to the same cause: dumbness. None of them can speak. A great orator would have turned the tables on Lady Thatcher, not by brandishing cheap epithets — as Mr Rifkind pitifully tried to do — but by demonstrating with impassioned logic the evil moral consequences of intervention. Calling for intervention, as Lady Thatcher did, required no courage. It was the easy and popular thing to do. Refusing to intervene — now that does require almost heroic restraint. O what a cheer Mr Major would have received had he found the words to make a virtue of refusing to give way to her demagogic dogmatism.

But neither he nor the Foreign and Defence Secretaries, and still less the pathetic Baroness Chalker, ever do find the right words. They always fumble and falter and prevaricate. As a result, the people of this country feel uncertain and ashamed. For if a democratic statesman is to withstand popular pressure for dramatic and ill-judged actions, he must find an inspiring substitute for them in wise and noble words. Mr Major never can; and when oratory is so consistently lacking, there can be no statesmanship.

On My Mind

A. M. ROSENTHAL

'Muslims Broke the Truce'

Early on Tuesday, United Nations headquarters in New York received a startling report from its top general in the former Yugoslavia. He said that the violation of the cease-fire that infuriated people around the world was deliberately provoked by Muslim forces — not Serbian.

Lieut. Gen. Lars Eric Wahlgren of Sweden, the U.N. commander, reported that the truce was being largely respected in Bosnia when the Muslims broke it. The motive, he said, was to keep the world's attention on Sarajevo, the besieged enclave of Srebrenica and the Bosnian Muslim cause, and to force Western intervention.

Bosnian Serbian artillery responded with contempt for the lives of Muslims once their countrymen. More than 50 died.

The report has not been made public. It is being examined and possibly amended. Previous unpublished reports sometimes blamed Serbs, sometimes Muslims or Croats for breaking cease-fires.

But in any case the Wahlgren report does not lessen Serbian responsibility for massacres, rapes, civilian shelling, ethnic cleansing and concentration camps. War is war — and atrocity is atrocity.

U.N. general's secret report, and its lesson.

But it does underline a reality that gets little attention in the U.S. All civilians who died in the war — Muslim, Serb, Croat — are victims not only of artillery shells but of stupidity, betrayal, greed, cruelty or criminal error by officials of every country involved.

The New York Times

Friday, April 16, 1993

West European officials, particularly German, encouraged the break-up of Yugoslavia, beginning with Croatia, then Slovenia and finally Bosnia. Then when Serbs predictably decided to fight the secessions by grabbing as much as they could, Western Europe, looked pained — and waited for the U.S. to settle a disaster made in Europe by Europeans.

As for Muslim leaders, they had declared the independence of a Bosnia which had not existed as a nation and in which they did not have a majority. There are no "Bosnians" — just Slavs who call themselves Serbs, Croats or Muslims.

Independence is great work if you can get it — and keep it. But Muslim leaders did not get the assurance of outside help needed to make it stick — or assumed that the Serbs would not fight very hard. It is not blaming the victim to suggest that politicians declaring independence have a responsibility to make sure that their people have a hope of living through it.

As for the U.S., under Presidents Bush and Clinton, it missed chances to put on pressure before the Serbs and Croats gobbled up most of Bosnia. They stalled too long before backing the Vance-Owen peace plan. That creates what the Muslims want — a unitary state. But it divides it into 10 Muslim, Croation and Serbian areas. Cumbersome, but to this day the only plan on the table.

Now the U.S. is stalling again — to help Boris Yeltsin win the April 25 referendum, in a Russia where there is strong support for Serbia. If the U.S. cannot speak and act its mind, that puts blackmail power in the hands of Yeltsin's enemies.

What to do? How about bombing Belgrade into darkness on April 26? Yes, Serbian defiance could bring bombing. But, pray, what happens on April 27?

The bomb-Serbs folk have earned the name hawks. They are tough only in the air. They fly off at the thought that to win a war ground troops are needed — remember Iraq? At least real hawks eat their catch. What they would do with a bombed-out Serbia and no agreed political solution, American hawks do not say and do not know.

Divide Bosnia into little Muslim, Croatian and Serbian states, as the Serbs demand — that comes from flyaway hawks hatched in bureaucracy. But Bosnian Serbs and Croats would soon join their mother states. Tiny Muslim Bosnia would hang until picked off and swallowed.

It may be too late for Vance-Owen; the Serbs smell total victory.

But this is the moment for Mr. Clinton — to fly to Belgrade and tell them to stop smelling. He could tell the "ex" Communist leaders that if they accepted Vance-Owen, Serbia could return to what is amusingly called the family of nations.

If not, he could say face to face that so help him God Serbia will exist totally cut off from the world, harassed and stoned — a pariah dog.

Bosnia's tragedy would have produced one politician who was a hero — one.

Greed rules as Muslims fight to flee the misery

● Corruption and hard-heartedness among the besieged are thwarting Western efforts to help the needy, TONY BIRTLEY reports from Srebrenica

UNDER the shadow of death, this has become a town of greed, corruption, disorder and despair, where the well-fed shun the starving and the strong trample the weak.

Velida Huic is 25 years old but looks 45. Her head is covered in a dirty scarf, her clothes torn and filthy. Her body stinks; her eyes are red from constant crying, lines of dried tears smudged down her thin cheeks. Her three-month-old daughter, Merima, whose tiny body is covered in scabies, weighs a pound less than when she was born; she was conceived when the siege of Srebrenica started a year ago.

Twice last week Velida, Merima and another daughter, Marisa, 2, were selected by Mediciens Sans Frontieres to be evacuated by UN convoy. Twice she failed, as people at the limits of endurance fought to leave this east Bosnian town. "By the time I got to the trucks they were already full," she sobbed, the MSF stamp on her hand still clearly visible. "I pushed and pulled as best I could with my children, but nobody helped, they all wanted to get on. I showed a policeman my stamp but he said he would only let me up

for DM500 [£200]. But I had no money to give."

Unconfirmed reports say that four people, including two babies, were crushed to death in the turmoil, which was compounded by the complete lack of local organisation and the proliferation of corruption.

The refugees have spoken of policemen demanding up to DM2,000 for a place. "I have no evidence to show these allegations are true," said Muhamed Abdic, the president of the town's war council. "We are conducting an investigation." But local people have been critical of this large bearded man, who has been conspicuously absent from meetings convened by officials to try to improve the refugees' plight. On the first evacuation last Monday, he was on the trucks helping up refugees, but an army commander whose family failed to get out asserted: "He was ensuring that the people who had bought a place got on. There is no such thing as compassion in Srebrenica — it is money and food that count."

The latest influx of refugees from the surrounding countryside, perhaps as many



The ones who got away: three young Muslims evacuated from Srebrenica find refuge in a camp north of Sarajevo

as 15,000, are crammed into shelled buildings and the school. With three convoys of food brought into the town in the past three weeks, each person is supposed to get 600 grams of flour, milk, sugar and oil each day. But some get only 300 grams, others nothing.

"I know there are inadequacies," said Jean Claude Amiot, the UNHCR representative here. "but what can we do? We have to leave distribution to the local people

and we don't have the staff to make accurate checks on who gets what."

An endless stream of people leaves the central warehouse in the town with boxes of food and sacks of flour. Many are soldiers. At the police commander's home, a meal of meat, cheese and vegetables was put before me. "We make do," he said without a trace of embarrassment.

In a town where most people are wafer thin, a far from small number have

fleshy faces and healthy waistlines. Sharing is not a word that appears in the vocabulary. "We are not like the Serbs," said an old man who invited me in for coffee and potato pie — a local delicacy — "they look after each other, but Muslims only take care of their family." His cupboard was stocked with at least 13 American ready-to-eat meals which had fallen by parachute close to his home. As I left the house, two young girls came to the door begging for food.

"We have nothing," he told them dismissively.

The local authorities were quite content to allow thousands of refugees to live on the streets until the UNHCR pushed and cajoled, threatened and pleaded with them to provide something better. Now Velida and her two children live in a schoolroom with 50 other people and no fire. "One night my baby was shuddering with cold," she told me, "so I tried to go into a room with a fire, but they

wouldn't let me in because there were too many people in the room." She is among the most vulnerable: her husband is on the front line around Tuzla. She cannot go out for the nightly air drops because of her children. She waits for what she is given. Without warning her daily soup and bread ration was cancelled.

"They told me there is not enough for everyone," she said, "and unless I can pay them, I must go without." She survives on bread given by others, and has a pound of milk powder left for her baby.

Velida hopes to get on the next convoy, but officials know there is no way to prevent the desperate scenes from happening again. "If we had a battalion of soldiers equipped with riot gear, barbed wire and batons, and were prepared to use them on women, children and the old to instil order, then that is about the only way we could ensure an orderly evacuation," said Commandant Mike Beary, the chief UN military observer in the town.

Velida's immediate hopes are to get enough food to keep her children alive, but she said: "Maybe I shouldn't bother, because if we don't get out of here soon, the Serbs will come and we all will be slaughtered."

Tony Birtley reports from Srebrenica for ABC News

Michel Euler

Renewed fighting feared between Moslems and Croats in the west

By Laura Silber in Mostar

COMMANDERS of the Moslem-led Bosnian army fear the eruption of renewed clashes with Croat forces in spite of pledges by both sides to support an international peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Bosnian commander Humo Esad said this week that the fractured alliance would break down completely after the declaration last weekend of the Croatian Defence Council (HVO), the military wing of Bosnia's Croatian Democratic Union, the sister of the ruling party of Croatia.

The HVO set an April 15 deadline for Moslem forces to withdraw from provinces designated to Croat control under the peace plan of Mr Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, United Nations mediators.

"We are ready to fight if we must. But it will be a dangerous political game for Croats to play now," said Cmdr Esad, who believes the HVO statement makes renewed clashes inevitable in central Bosnia.

The HVO declaration means they want Cmdr Esad and his men to withdraw from Mostar,

even though it is their home town.

"They may try to assert control in the smaller towns rather than risk fighting in Mostar," he said of Bosnia's second-biggest city which over the last year of war has shrunk to some 30,000 people, many Moslem refugees from Serb and Croat-held territory.

Some 50,000 fled the once picturesque southern city on the banks of the River Neretva,

leader, Mostar is one of three provinces which would be designated to Croat control. Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic at the weekend rejected the plan to divide Bosnia into 10 ethnic provinces despite threats of stepped-up sanctions.

Mr Boban, like Mr Karadzic, his Serbian counterpart, last year declared his own national mini-state of Herceg-Bosna.

"The HVO wants to unite

influence over the Bosnian forces because they control five of the power stations on the River Neretva.

Cmdr Esad, the second in command in Mostar, says the Croats have constantly blocked the delivery of weapons to the mostly Moslem Bosnian forces and emergency relief to Moslem refugees.

"The regular Croatian Army takes 50 per cent. The HVO then takes another 50 per cent - leaving us with next to nothing," he said bitterly. The stormy alliance collapsed but in January was patched up under a ceasefire brokered by Mr Vance and Lord Owen.

Despite the truce, the out-gunned Moslems are gloomy about the prospects for peace with the Croats and the Serbs. "Serbs are kicking down the front door and the Croats sneaking in the back," said a Bosnian soldier.

Some western diplomats fear that the failure of the international community to stop the bloodshed in Bosnia has emboldened Serb and Croat nationalists to make their land grab in Bosnia. "The Croat and Serb share a common contempt for Moslems and plan to

'Serbs are kicking down the front door and Croats are sneaking in the back,' said a Moslem soldier

where Moslems comprised 41 per cent, Croats 39 per cent and Serbs under 20 per cent.

Western diplomats believe renewed fighting between Moslem and Croat forces could deal a death blow to the Vance-Owen plan. "We will find out in the next few days," said a diplomat this week.

Under the international peace plan, endorsed by Mr Alija Izetbegovic, Bosnia's Moslem President, and Mr Mate Boban, the Croat nationalist

with Croatia. They have the same uniforms, badges and symbols. Every day there is more proof of what they are doing here," says Cmdr Esad.

The red-and-white checker-board Croatian symbol is emblazoned on flags and number plates throughout Mostar except in the ruined centre, where the blue and yellow *fleur-de-lys* marks Bosnian government control. The Croatian dinar is the most-used local currency. The HVO has added

carve up Bosnia-Herzegovina," says one.

Mr Jadranko Prlic, acting prime minister of the self-styled Croat state, claims "Moslems expected too much of Croats", smallest of Bosnia's three main ethnic groups. "Who can expect Croats, who make up just 17 per cent of the population, can deliver a free Bosnia-Herzegovina to the Moslems?" he asks.

Serb forces from the surrounding hills last year bombarded the now blackened town in which most buildings in the old Turkish centre have

been razed. Bosnian forces, backed by Croat troops, drove Serb fighters out in June.

"In a few days there will be a war between the HVO and the Bosnian army," said an electrician, a Croat who, fearing reprisal, spoke on condition of anonymity. Like many, he described the war in Bosnia as a rural-urban conflict.

"I am going to fight with the Bosnian army. This is my city and I have nowhere else to go. The Croats want to rule Mostar, but they have the villages in the hills," he said.

Financial Times
April 8, 1993

Pity the politicians pinned down by Balkan crossfire

Lady Thatcher's call to arm the Bosnians has struck a popular chord. But ministers who balk at the appalling cost of intervention deserve our sympathy, declares MAX HASTINGS

WE BRITISH like to think that we are not a militaristic people. But we are certainly a martial one. If the Gallup poll in today's *Daily Telegraph* is to be believed, a majority of the British people want to see their forces engaged in the former Yugoslavia. Lady Thatcher speaks for most of her fellow countrymen, it seems, in demanding that we should no longer stand by while Serbs slaughter Muslims. Something must be done. Today, we are passive parties to mass murder.

Television makes impassioned spectators of us all. Douglas Hurd's justifiable but incautious choice of words about "a level killing field" may hold the same ring for history as Neville Chamberlain's "quarrel in a faraway country between people of whom we know nothing". Rage towards the Serbs, whose atrocities are best-publicised, today reaches living rooms where Czechoslovakia meant nothing in 1938.

It is impossible to dismiss the would-be interventionists as ignorant and ill-informed. Among commentators, the admirable Hugo Young of the *Guardian* was among those this week who demanded international action. Our own correspondents in Yugoslavia, Robert Fox, Patrick Bishop and Alec Russell, want, to a man, to see Western forces committed. So do most of their television colleagues, such as Martin Bell of the BBC.

It needs a very hard heart not to share in a sense of guilt and shame that people are killing each other so brutally, while the civilised world does nothing effective to stop them. Yet the governments of the West, and especially that of Mr Major, deserve more understanding than they currently receive, in their passivity. They are the ones who would have to accept responsibility for committing armed forces, if armed forces are to be committed, and for all that would follow thereafter.

Mr Rifkind and Mr Hurd would have to justify the British casualties to the House of Commons. They would have to answer impassioned questions from television interviewers after British bombs aimed at

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Serb artillery positions were found to have killed Serb women and children. They would have to discover who would pay the huge bill for Britain's contribution. Above all, they are the men who, with the Prime Minister, would have to explain to the leaders of Britain's forces what exactly they were going into Yugoslavia to do.

This is the hardest question. We all want to see the killing halted. But the difficulties of defining attainable objectives are much more formidable.

Mr Hurd deserved more sympathy than he has received for his assertion that lifting the embargo of arms to the Bosnian Muslims would merely create a level killing field. Two years ago there was a faction in Britain — including many Right-wing Conservatives — who strongly supported the Germans in welcoming the break-up of Yugoslavia (like that of the Soviet Union) and in demanding recognition of the new republics. The much maligned Foreign Office argued that to recognise the republics without guaranteeing their frontiers was a formula for disaster. The Foreign Office was right, but the will of the Germans prevailed.

A year ago it was fashionable among some Right-wingers to argue for arming the Croats. Had that advice been heeded, weapons given to the Croats would today presumably be in action against the Muslims. There is overwhelming evidence that, while the Serbs are the principal aggressors, no faction in the former Yugoslavia has clean hands. It would anyway help the Muslims little, now, to give them small arms. To deal with the Serbs' heavy weapons, they would need heavy weapons of their own — and training and technical advice on how to use them, which could come only from abroad. If we are to embark

upon that route, of committing advisers, it is surely more honest and more responsible to commit forces ourselves.

The notion of using Western air forces against the Serbs, which Lady Thatcher has favoured, ignores the historic evidence that air power unsupported by ground forces is of the most limited value, especially without forward air control on the ground, which again only Western forces could provide.

All manner of gestures are open to the international community. Some of them, such as President Clinton's cruelly absurd parachute supply drops, have already been employed. Yet it seems the harshest blow of all to make empty gestures when so many lives are at stake. And it would be the height of diplomatic and moral folly to intervene in support of one faction, however deserving of sympathy. The sole credible basis for intervention is to restore and maintain an impartial peace.

THE only honest choice for the international community — as distinct from empty posturing — is between standing back and deploying only rhetoric and sanctions, and full-scale military intervention. This would have to be led by the British and French, because alone among European powers our nations possess the political will and military means to spearhead such an operation. The cost would be huge. The Americans would undoubtedly contribute. But the bulk of the bill would be open to international tender. The United Nations is broke. It is a nice question, how far the world would be prepared to go to contribute to massive peace-keeping operations when no oil is at stake.

There is little doubt that an Anglo-French-led force could throw back the Serbian army at tolerable cost.

The Serbs could indeed be punished in the fashion that so many people around the world desire. It is thereafter that the huge difficulties begin. History again suggests that, when foreign forces are interposed to separate warring factions, fighting recommences when they depart. If the great step of Western intervention were to be justified, those who go into the former Yugoslavia would have to accept responsibility for creating and imposing a lasting peace. It is the awesome difficulty of achieving this that makes so many politicians flinch, together with the knowledge that Western forces would have to remain for many years. Among those world politicians who are today most eager for action in Yugoslavia, President Clinton has yet to show that he understands either military power or international relations. Not forgetting the Falklands, Lady Thatcher was, when she bore the responsibility of office, remarkably cautious in many areas and heedful of the perils of dramatic armed initiatives.

It may yet be that the Serbs' outrages, and the reaction of world opinion to them, will force Western governments to intervene. If the Serbs attack in Macedonia, there would be no choice, because the threat to international stability would become intolerable. Yet today, however appalling the excesses we witness nightly on our television screens, it has to be said that Europe's politicians deserve sympathy for their trepidation.

Military action is always much easier to start than to finish. Walpole's line, about those who now ring bells, soon wring their hands, echoes down the ages. So many wars have started with cheering crowds, and ended with grieving mourners. The world is landmarked with repugnant societies in which unforgivable crimes are being committed by men against each other, from Iraq to Cambodia, Cairo to the Cape. It is right to care passionately, right to be enraged and repelled. But the hapless politicians who must explore the limits of the possible should not always be whipping boys for our horror and frustration.

Plea for weapons 'a Muslim strategy

BY MICHAEL EVANS
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

ARMS

Speak to a Muslim commander in Turbe, Travnik or Srebrenica and his message will be the same: "Give us weapons and we will fight our own war against the Serbs." This has been the Muslim cry ever since the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina began more than a year ago.

The Muslims have always had to fight the Bosnian Serbs at a huge disadvantage. Armed with Kalashnikovs, limited stocks of ammunition, second world war anti-aircraft guns, mortars and a

handful of ancient artillery pieces, they have been relatively defenceless against the big guns that surround their surviving enclaves.

Their Bosnian Croat "allies" have more weapons but have made no moves to share them. In some Muslim defence lines, Kalashnikovs are so scarce that soldiers have to exchange them between shifts.

The appeal to arm the Muslims was first taken up by Baroness Thatcher last year but her words failed to have the same impact as

yesterday's emotional denunciation of Western policy. It has always been an option, though opposed by most Western governments. The new American administration is an exception, but even President Clinton has not yet adopted the proposal as policy.

There would be huge obstacles. First and foremost, it is difficult to imagine the Russians agreeing to support a United Nations Security Council move to lift the arms embargo in favour of the Muslims. A Russian veto because of their ties with Serbia would scupper the proposal.

However, if a partial lifting of

the ban was agreed — with Russia abstaining — the West would have to find ways of moving artillery into Muslim enclaves. Light guns, with a 105mm calibre, could be slung under helicopters.

Heavier guns would require low loaders. Either way, the West would have to commit personnel as well as equipment, both for training the Muslims and for keeping the ammunition supplies flowing. Jonathan Eyal, director of studies at the Royal United Services Institute, said that this was the strategy behind the Muslims' appeal to the West to supply arms.

to draw in Western troops'

"They ask for arms in the full knowledge that this is the one way to draw Western forces in."

To provide the Muslims with the arms they need to counter the Serbs, which would include tanks as well as artillery, shiploads of equipment would have to enter the Adriatic. Smaller arms could be flown in to Tuzla, in northeastern Bosnia. However, the risks would be high. Tuzla has been shelled on many occasions by Serb artillery. Even before Western arms arrived, the Serbs would undoubtedly preempt any such intervention by increasing their assault on the remaining Muslim enclaves in

eastern Bosnia: Srebrenica, Zepa and Gorazde. The result would be even greater slaughter.

The logistic challenge alone makes the proposal impractical. So why are the Americans — and Lady Thatcher — considering the option? A senior American diplomat explained that the US had a different perception of the war. "In Europe, the feeling is that this is a civil war but in the US there is a greater sense that it is a war of aggression and, for the Muslims, it's not a fair fight because they don't have the weapons."

The diplomat said that, unless the Muslims had the means to

defend themselves and to recover territory, the Serbs "will not negotiate sensibly". He admitted, however, that there were sound arguments against lifting the arms embargo. Arming the Muslims could lead to a "weapons free-for-all", with countries such as Iran joining in: a move that would not be welcomed in Washington.

Dr Eyal said: "Arming the Muslims might salve the conscience of the West but it would achieve nothing except more slaughter. Would it expiate the West's guilty conscience to see Serbian children as well as Muslim children being killed?"

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April 15, 1993

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The Uses Of Propaganda

The Serbs are hoodwinking the world, says a member of the U.N. Mission on Bosnia.

PAUL BENSON EDITORIAL INTERN

According to Dr. Philip J. Cohen, Serbia has successfully pulled the wool over the world's eyes, literally getting away with murder. Their propaganda, he said, seeks to blur the distinction between victims and victimizers, in an effort to paralyze the world's response.

"The Serbs want to keep the world neutral, knowing neutralism favors the aggressor," said Dr. Cohen, a member of the United Nations Mission on Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Mission's advisor on policy and public affairs, Dr. Cohen spoke to the Baltimore Jewish Council last Wednesday, warning his audience of Serbia's successful propaganda efforts. The Serbs' goal, according to Dr. Cohen: to convince the world that "there are no good guys," that a history of violence in the Balkans makes current peace efforts hopeless, and that the conflict is of no concern to "America's strategic interests."

Thus, he said, Serbia gets a green light to commit further atrocities. "Eighty-five percent of the victims are civilian," he pointed out.

Dr. Cohen, filling in for Ambassador Muhamed Sacribej, Bosnia-Herzegovina's representative to the U.N., insisted that the U.S. has three strategic reasons to oppose Belgrade's policy of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia. First, he said, "We would be sending a powerful message to the Russian right wing." Russian nationalist groups, such as Pamyat, he said, "could succeed [Russian President Boris] Yeltsin, and they are close to [Serbian leader] Slobodan Milosevic."

Secondly, Iran, he added, is currently the only nation sending arms to Bosnia. "Why give Iran a foothold?" Dr. Cohen asked. "There is no history of Islamic fundamentalism in the Balkans," he noted, adding that Bosnians "are not happy" that Iran is the only country currently sending assistance.

But third, and foremost, he believed that the greatest threat is for the violence to expand into a

regional war, "drawing Bulgaria, Turkey, Greece and Albania into the conflict."

Condemning the Vance-Owen plan, drawn up by negotiators Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen, Dr. Cohen maintained that, "It ghettoizes a multicultural nation. There is no pure ethnic area in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Everyone is together."

Further, he added, the Vance-Owen plan "legitimizes Serbian aggression."

He advocated an end to "the discriminatory arms embargo," saying that Serbia's aggression "would have stopped earlier if



Dr. Philip Cohen: Countering Serbian "propaganda."

there were no embargo." The Serbs, Dr. Cohen said, were "delighted" by it, "because it guaranteed their superiority, since they had all the weapons."

Before being invited to join the U.N. Mission on Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dr. Cohen recalled his belief in the credible use of force to check aggression. Having completed two fact-finding visits to the region since, he still does. "But the question is: whose force? Foreign governments don't want to endanger their soldiers." As a result, the British and French soldiers there, "are just taking notes."

Among the Serbian claims Dr. Cohen sought to dispel: • Yugoslavia's internal borders

were "arbitrarily drawn" by Tito when he took over the country after World War II. According to Dr. Cohen, Tito's map, and "the map of 1913 are absolutely identical, except Croatia was a little bigger."

• There are just as many Serbian refugees as there are Muslim refugees. Serbia inflates its refugee claims, says Dr. Cohen. "When the Serbians plan to ethnically cleanse a region, Serbian [civilians] are sent to Belgrade and called refugees." This obscures the plight of 2.7 Muslim refugees.

• Rape occurs on both sides. While acknowledging that Serbian women have been raped by Bosnian or Croatian soldiers, the rape of Bosnian and Croatians by Serb forces is part of Belgrade's larger, organized policy of ethnic cleansing. According to Dr. Cohen, there are 13,000 "well-documented" cases of rape, "and rape is an under-reported crime."

• Serbian exploitation of the Holocaust as propaganda. According to a report written by Dr. Cohen last year, the center of this effort is based on the claim of "one million [Serb] war victims at the hands of Croats during World War II." The fabricated numbers "originated with the post-war estimate of total demographic losses in Yugoslavia."

• A ground war involving American forces is unwinnable. "[Serbian] soldiers," said Dr. Cohen, "are mostly 17- to 19-year-olds, undisciplined, unsophisticated, and intoxicated on rape and torture," who usually retreat when encountering resistance.

The biggest problem for Americans trying to sort out the issues is "the Balkans Disease," as Dr. Cohen put it. "You can't talk about the present without delving into history."

The atrocities occurring in the Balkans, he asserted, "are not spontaneous." Dr. Cohen cited Serbian writings dating as far back as 1836, including "Nacertanije" (The Outline), written in 1944 by Ilija Garasanin, describing it as, "the blueprint of today's ethnic cleansing."

Also cited was Nikola Stojanovic, who in 1902 wrote, "There cannot be any talk about harmony [between Serbs and Croats]... This struggle must go on until the extermination, yours or ours."

Following Dr. Cohen's speech last week, the Baltimore Jewish Council issued a statement condemning the atrocities and calling for a "forceful joint international effort" with the U.S. taking a higher profile to bring peace to the region. □

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Serbs Expel 4,000 From Bosnian Town

By CHUCK SUDETIĆ
Special to The New York Times

PODGORICA, Yugoslavia, Feb. 5 — Assurances by Bosnian Serb and Yugoslav Government leaders notwithstanding, gangs of Serbian gunmen have unleashed a new wave of "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia and Herzegovina, expelling about 4,000 Bosnian Muslims from the town of Trebinje and reportedly settling Serbs in their homes.

Groups of uniformed Serbs have gone door to door through Trebinje over the last two weeks, bullying Muslims into abandoning their homes, cars and all their other property, dozens of refugees said.

The refugees, including hundreds of children, now sleep on Red Cross-supplied mattresses spread over the floors of unheated mosques here in Montenegro's capital as well in private homes, mosques, schools and motels in other towns. New busloads of Muslim families from Trebinje arrived here today.

"I saw Serbian families already starting to occupy Muslim houses," said a 33-year-old peasant woman from Trebinje who arrived by bus on Thursday morning with her two children.

"Men in khaki uniforms with Serbian-flag shoulder patches came to our house," said the woman, adding that she had no intention of moving out until someone fired a rocket-propelled grenade into her home. "The men told me they would kill my 3-year-old daughter unless we moved out."

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"Several hometown Serbs who tried to protect us were killed," said a Muslim mother of two into whose yard a hand grenade was thrown last week.

Last week, six Serbian militiamen clubbed to death a Serb in front of Trebinje's police station when he tried to defend a Muslim friend who was wounded while fighting in the Serbian Army, Serbian newspaper reports and Muslim witnesses said.

Muslim refugees here said they saw a clear link between the new mass expulsions and the release several weeks ago of a map that United Nations negotiators proposed for the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina into 10 semi-autonomous provinces.

Most of the Serbian gunmen carrying out the expulsions appeared to be from Mostar, Capljina and other towns that would become part of a Croatian-dominated province under the plan, Muslim refugees here said. Trebinje is supposed to fall under a predominantly Serbian province.

Serbs accounted for 69 percent of the Trebinje district's 30,000 people before the fighting began last year, and Mus-



The New York Times

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lims 18 percent. Many of the refugees said they were from mixed Muslim-Serb families.

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"I was in the Serbian Army until just four days ago," he said, adding that he deserted his tank unit and walked through a forest to cross into Montenegro. "When I heard that they had burned down Trebinje's mosque and that no fire brigade came to put out the fire, it was the end."

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"The local Serbian officials told us they couldn't safeguard us any more," said a 32-year-old Muslim and former Yugoslav Army reservist who was wounded and captured by the Croatian Army before returning home in time to flee the Serbs with his wife and three children. "The Bosnians treat us as traitors. The Croats consider us war criminals. And now the Serbs have thrown us out."

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Sure that they are protecting themselves and a thankless Western world from "Islamic fundamentalists," Serbian gunmen have driven hundreds of thousands of Muslims from their homes in Bosnia and Herzegovina in a 10-month campaign that has produced many accounts of wholesale killing of Muslim civilians and systematic rape of thousands of Muslim women.

Serbian fighters have carved away about two-thirds of Bosnia's territory since last April in a clear bid to link it to the new Yugoslavia.

The Serbian crusade has made a wreck of Trebinje, a former caravan stopover whose centuries-old Muslim quarter and mosques used to attract thousands of sightseers among the foreign vacationers who once flocked to the nearby Croatian city of Dubrovnik.

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Muslims here, however, said that special police units sent to the town by Bosnian Serb officials did not stop the exodus and that Trebinje's officials had exit permits already stamped and signed by Mr. Vucurovic.

More Driven From Homes

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"Muslim villagers in areas of eastern Bosnia are literally being shelled and starved out of their homes," said Peter Kessler, the Zagreb spokesman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. He said more than 5,000 people had fled from the towns of Cerska, Kamenica and Zvornik to the Muslim-held city of Tuzla.

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Vance and Owen Got It Right

By José Cutileiro

The writer, a Portuguese diplomat, was coordinator of the EC Conference on Yugoslavia chaired by Lord Carrington.

LISBON — The Bosnian question will drag on for as long as any of the three principal parties concerned remains convinced that it can achieve its aims by military means. By now Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats know that they cannot do so. They also know that they will have to accept the existence of an independent Bosnia-Herzegovina, a prospect they have never liked. Their view of the matter is simple: A Serb is a Serb; a Croat, a Croat; Bosnia was but an administrative division of Yugoslavia. But the European Community and the international community have told them in no uncertain terms that there had to be an independent Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Last March 18, the three parties agreed on constitutional principles for a highly decentralized state. The Muslim party did so reluctantly, in order to secure quick recognition; for the Serbs it was a major concession — they forfeited their design of a Greater Serbia; the Croats, more subtly, never talked of Greater Croatia, but the Croat dinar was tender in Western Herzegovina, Croat regular units patrolled the place and there was no way they could accept a unitary, Muslim-dominated Bosnia.

Recognition triggered the war. The Serbs felt confirmed in their paranoid view of history and went brutally on the offensive. The Muslims, counting on Western military help, adopted tactics of self-victimization, bungling an orderly retreat of the Yugoslav Army and starting their own limited version of urban terrorism. The Croats joined the Muslims on the ground to fight the Serbs but kept

their alliance with the Serbs at the negotiating table. In June, the Muslims reneged on the March agreement.

In August, the Carrington conference was superseded by the London conference, round-the-clock negotiations resumed in Geneva — and now we have the Vance-Owen plan.

This latest plan differs from the previous agreement-in-principle in substantial ways. But one central feature remains: Muslims, Croats and Serbs being, in the constitutional parlance of former Yugoslavia, the constituent peoples of Bosnia-Herzegovina, decisions vital to any of them have to be taken by consensus. Therefore, no centralized, unitary state is possible.

The plan may appear cumbersome, unwieldy, perhaps unfair to the Muslims. But those familiar with the question, including the 12 foreign ministers of the European Community and now the Clinton administration, know better. Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen have been rightly praised; their plan remains the basis for a final settlement.

Everybody in Bosnia-Herzegovina has suffered in this appalling war, Muslims above all. It has to be stopped. The only way to do so is a negotiated settlement.

Serbian delaying tactics cannot be tolerated. Muslim opposition to the Vance-Owen plan must also be countered. After the bombings, the killings, the rapes, it may seem callous to suggest political impositions on the Muslims.

Unfortunately, President Alija Izetbegović's reluctance to accept that the real Bosnia is utterly different from the Bosnia of his wishful thinking has contributed as much as have the dreams of Greater Serbia and of Croatian hegemony to the continuation of the war.

International Herald Tribune

International Herald Tribune Feb. 16/93

Serbs Expel 4,000 From Bosnian Town

By CHUCK SUDETIC
Special to The New York Times

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The New York Times

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SDA
The Party of the Democratic Action

SDA, Sarajevo, Marsala
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To: SDA Trebinje

Our ref.
Your Ref.

No. 52/93
Date 01/20 1993

Subject: INSTRUCTIONS ON MOVING OUT FROM TREBINJE

Since the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina is getting more complex security-wise by the hour, particularly after Karadzic and his clique from Pale accepted the Geneva documents, in order to fulfill the aspirations of all Moslems, safeguard and consolidate our state, Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is necessary to undertake the following measures as a matter of urgency, in the territory of the Commune of Trebinje:

I

Urge all Moslems, through our activists, particularly those wealthier and more distinguished, to move from Trebinje to Montenegro as soon as possible.

II

All property, movable and immovable, is to be sold or if possible, left for safekeeping with the reliable Serbs, earlier known to be friends of the Moslems and oppose Karadzic's renegade policy.

III

If necessary, pressure and force should be applied towards Moslems who fail to heed these orders.

IV

Upon arriving in Montenegro, all persons should immediately contact the SDA (The Party of Democratic Action), Merhamet and our people in the Liberal Alliance of Montenegro and await further instructions from them. All our religious institutions in Montenegro will lend help, and our brethren in Tuzi, Podgorica, Plav, Rozaj and all over Montenegro are waiting for you.

You shall be reimbursed for your property once we achieve the final goal and we will appreciate your sacrifice which is expected by all the Moslems of the world.

Respectfully,

Esselamu alejkum!

Sarajevo, 20 January 1993

Secretary of the SDA
Hasan Cengic, sgd.

Seal of the SDA, Sarajevo

Important

Transletin audited

S D A

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DEMOKRATSKA
SRPSKA

SDA - Stranka demokratske akcije - Sarajevo, ul. Maršala Tita 7a
Tel: (071) 518-945, 518-967, fax 16-771.
ŽR dionički SDK Sarajevo 10100 678-38517, deo uzi kod
PIIS Sarajevo 28731-1999-032

Prima:

SDA - TREBINJE

Naš znak: _____

Vaš znak: _____

Predmet: INSTRUKCIJA O ISELJAVANJU
IZ TREBINJA

Broj: 52/93

Datum: 20.01.1993. god.

Kako situaciju u Bosni i Hercegovini, iz časa u čas postaje u pogledu bezbjednosti složenija, osobito nakon prihvatanja Ženevskih dokumenata od strane Karadžića i njegove klike na Palama, potrebno je u cilju ootvaranja težnji svih Muslimana, očuvanja i jačanja naše države BiH, hitno poduzeti slijedeće mjere na terenu trebinjske općine:

I

Preko naših aktivista animirati sve Muslimane, osobito ugledne i imućne da u što skorijem vremenu napuste Trebinje i pređu u Crnu Goru.

II

Imovinu, pokretnu i nepokretnu, djelomično prodati, a po mogućnosti ostavljati na čuvanje provjerenim srbima, od ranije poznatim prijateljima Muslimana koji su protivnici otpadničke Karadžićeve politike.

III

Ne libiti se od pritiska, pa i primjene sile prema onim Muslimanima koji ne postupe po ovoj zapovijedi.

IV

Po dolasku u Crnu Goru povezati se sa SDA, Merhametom i našim ljudima u Liberalnom savezu Crne Gore, gdje ćete dobiti sve instrukcije za daljnje postupanje. Svaki naš vjerski objekat u Crnoj Gori će vam pružiti pomoć, a braća u Tuzima, Podgorici, Flavu, Rožaju i diljem Crne Gore vas očekuju.

V

Sva vaša imovina će biti nadoknađena kad postignemo cilj, a vašu žrtvu ćemo znati cijeniti, što Muslimani svijeta od vas očekuju.

S poštovanjem,
assalamu alejkum!

Barajevo, 20.01.1993. god.



SEKRETAR SDA

Hasan Čengić

Where we went wrong on Bosnia

FOR THE second time this century, Bosnia has become a maelstrom of world politics. The issue of armed intervention deeply divides governments and public opinion both within Nato countries and between them. A rift between the United States and its European allies cannot be ruled out, nor serious conflict with Russia. The issue could trip up Yeltsin.

The rule enunciated by the British Labour politician Denis Healey ("When you're in a hole, stop digging") fits Bosnia in spades. A political solution is indispensable. This entails identifying where things went wrong, then retracting our steps accordingly - or at least orienting ourselves to where we might have reached had we not strayed.

From the outset, the European Community's involvement has been not a cure but part of the ill. A year, 100,000 dead and two million refugees ago, Lord Carrington warned that to divide Bosnia from Yugoslavia and turn it into a Muslim-dominated sovereign state was a recipe for civil war.

However, the Germans, with wider ambitions for the Balkans and the Danube region, bulldozed the other 11 EC nations into accepting this "supinely", as Carrington put it. He then undertook a damage-limitation exercise at the Lisbon conference, where he won agreement on a form of cantonisation which shared power equally among the three communities.

But no sooner had the EC recognised the new artificial state on this basis than Bosnian Muslim President Alija Izetbegovic reneged and declared a unitary state, which predictably provoked armed Serb resistance. Those who encouraged the Muslims to go for the jackpot of a unified Muslim-dominated state share responsibility for their subsequent suffering.

Serb-Croat relations remain the key to Bosnian peace. Zagreb's refusal to envisage autonomy for the Serbs of Krajina and central Slavonia led it to cajole the Bosnian Croats into reluctantly supporting the Muslims against the Serbs. This alone gave Izetbegovic his majority and legitimised his



Alfred Sherman says Europe's Balkan 'cure' has in fact been part of the ill

pretension to speak for a majority in Bosnia. Most Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina would prefer union with Croatia - which is being imposed de facto - and to stop supporting Muslims against Serbs, whom they regard as fellow Christians. Their resentment against Zagreb's grand strategy being imposed on them finds expression in the recurrent outbursts of savage Croat-Muslim fighting. Hence there is more point in western pressure on Zagreb than on Belgrade.

No Serb government could survive if it deserted fellow Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia in an isolated pocket surrounded by hostile Croats and Muslims. Belgrade also fears that accepting a Nato diktat in Bosnia would pave the way to giving Kosovo and Sanjak to Albania, and Vojvodina to Hungary, as mooted in Bonn and Washington.

Barring an open-ended Nato conquest and occupation of Bosnia and adjacent areas, the logical way out of the impasse is to reverse the creation of a sovereign Bosnia and re-associate most of the territory with rump Yugoslavia; and possibly Croat western Herzegovina and the Sava valley with Croatia. Displaced people could return home or claim compensation in lieu.

All who thought to teach the Serbs a lesson in 1914 were toppled by the events they sparked off. The Clinton administration might do well to reflect on the lessons of history before it launches its state-of-the-art lethal technology as a substitute for policy.

The European * May 6-9, 1993

Armchair strategists

keep clear

The Times April 14/93

Full-scale occupation or a humanitarian disengagement were the only options ever open to the UN and the Western powers in the ravaged Yugoslav lands

On Monday an hour-long Serbian bombardment of Srebrenica left 56 people dead. The shelling was the Serbian commander's response to the enforcement of the United Nations "no-fly" zone over the former Yugoslavia. I suppose these 56 people would have died sooner or later. But since the no-fly zone has no military purpose, was enforced to appease the "do something" lobby in America, and was certain to produce a violent response, Monday's 56 corpses must have been part of its calculation. They are a memorial to the callousness of the Bosnian Serbs' siege tactics. They are a memorial also to the bankruptcy of armchair interventionism over the Balkans.

During the past six months, Western policy towards Serbia has been counterproductive. Every move has stoked the engine of Serbian aggrandisement, while making that aggrandisement more murderous and illiberal. Since the end of overt war between Croatia and Serbia there were only two choices open to outsiders. The first was to invade Bosnia with main force to occupy, colonise and police it village by village (the Vietnam option). The second was to leave the Serbs, Muslims and Croats to redraw their internal boundaries in their own brutal way, with outsiders picking up the casualties (the Ethiopia option). In Bosnia, the best hope for minimal bloodletting and for future coexistence lay in the civil war being short.

There was never a middle way between these options. Clever commentators have contorted themselves to pretend otherwise. Last year was the UN Year of the Euphemism: "Give diplomacy a chance", "Turn the sanctions screw a bit tighter", "Bomb Belgrade to its senses". A mountain of hindsight has piled over Western legislatures and newspaper offices, to the effect that Serbia would have "come to see reason" had "tougher action" been taken at some unspecified time in the past. Since none of this pressure did the trick, the international community must appease its guilt by being seen to "do something", however counterproductive, however daft.

We are thus seeing some of the worst policy-making ever from the UN and its

council for even tighter (which means more counterproductive) economic sanctions against Belgrade. We have the Americans goading the Russians into doing what nobody wants, overtly backing the Serbs under Slav nationalist pressure. We have the costly no-fly zone and a pointless and devastating risk to humanitarian relief in Bosnia. We have 56 fresh corpses.

At this point I must say some obsequies over the body of the Vance-Owen peace plan. This plan posed only one question: how many Bosnians would be dead before it bit the dust? Anybody can negotiate a ceasefire. Lord Carrington proved that. In civil wars, ceasefires are about regrouping, rearming, resupplying. Bosnian ceasefires simply put more bullets into guns. What was ludicrous was the idea that the Serb commanders would ever go on to accept a map that stripped them of territory

gained so bloodily. It was like asking Margaret Thatcher to hand Goose Green back to the Argentinians after the Battle of Tumbledown.

Mercurially the plan has collapsed. This has forestalled its wild proposal for a UN Nato land invasion of

Bosnia to impose the new map. It was fashionable in New York last Christmas to say that Vance-Owen was "the only show in town". Even if this was true of the town of New York — not Belgrade — the signal to the Serbs could not have been clearer. They should expedite ethnic cleansing to render the map even less plausible. The only map that mattered was the one on a gunnery officer's field desk.

Precisely this has taken place over the past three months in Srebrenica and other Muslim enclaves. The UN has been drawn into the bind that it most feared, and critics predicted a year ago. Its humanitarian commitment has become biased towards the underdog. Its local commanders have become partisan — in General Morillon's case spectacularly so — but not partisan enough to make any difference. The UN's "relief" of Srebrenica was defeated by a band of unarmed Serbian women.

Already the agenda is changing. Poor Bosnia has slid from being merely a victim of its own ethnic divisions to become a symbol of America's continuing virility. From right and left come

Simon
Jenkins

The Times
April 14/93

Continued
→

an example to the world. "Nato should go into the Balkans," writes the widely syndicated American columnist William Safire, "or shut up shop." This is absurd. The vocal leader of the American war party, Anthony Lewis of *The New York Times*, announces that "the credibility of American power in the world" rests on the fate of Srebrenica. (The town is doomed: modern Americans have a genius for setting up their defeats in advance.)

We are told that diplomacy has failed in what was once Yugoslavia. It has not. Diplomacy is the projection of power by non-military means. It implies a commitment to employ leverage to achieve a political goal. Against armed might, diplomacy is relevant only if it presupposes a greater might. Britain's famous gunboat diplomacy presupposed a battleship over the horizon.

What has failed in Yugoslavia is not diplomacy but bluff. From the moment the outside world recognised Slovenia, the Serb ascendancy saw that Yugoslavia was dead and that the fight for Greater Serbia was on. That fight would be a fight for territory, and would be bloody. Sanctions, no-fly zones, bombed airports, redrawn maps and ceasefires would not stop the fight. They would embattle the Milosevic regime and push power towards the black-marketiers, nationalists and militant local warlords. Since no sane Western (or Eastern) government was going to send soldiers to garrison every village in Croatia and Bosnia against the Serbs, interventionism was a sham. Its bluff has been called, week after week.

Yet we pile on more bluff. Serbian aggression cannot be allowed to succeed, says the British government. But it is being allowed to succeed. There can be no rewarding the ethnic cleansers, says the Clinton administration. But UN trucks race around Bosnia at our expense, moving thousands of Muslims from their villages. The West is rightly not prepared to go to war with Serbia. Yet it cannot bring itself to retreat into

the humanitarian mode. It aches for the comfort of a middle way. The boundaries of Greater Serbia will be pushed to the territorial limits set by local Serb (and Croatian) commanders. Impeding these ambitions, sending arms to those defying them, impoverishing Belgrade, may delay the setting of these limits. But civil wars cease only when one side reaches exhaustion or the sea.

Since the Congo, the United Nations has sensibly kept out of places as hopeless as this. It recognised the virtue of not intervening in the internal affairs of states, as defined by their post-1945 borders. Within those borders, self-determination should apply. The principle may have left in the lurch minority rights within states; it may not always have been respected; but it played some part in decolonisation and in keeping communist expansion at bay.

The break-up of states has always sorely tested non-intervention — look at Pakistan or Nigeria. But the new American theory that countries "that fail to care decently for their citizens... forfeit invulnerability to outside political/military intervention" (*The Washington Post*) has alarming implications. Warren Christopher, the American Secretary of State, says the primary foreign policy task of the United States is "heading off the surfacing of long-suppressed ethnic and religious conflict" around the world.

Is this the new world order? Does any minority group merely need to run up the flag of oppression to have the US marines come running? In the old days, small countries or ethnic groups secured their survival by allying themselves to big neighbours. Should they now thumb their noses at the neighbours because Uncle Sam will come to their aid? Are the United States and the UN to police the ethnic maelstrom that will accompany the end of the former Soviet Union? This is madness.

The new interventionism has no political or ideological spine. It sees national self-interest, as in nuclear non-proliferation, as an immoral basis for foreign action. At its heart is merely a vague feeling of discomfort at man's inhumanity to man and a susceptibility to the pornography of grief. Like Gladstone's campaign against Turkish atrocities, it will evaporate. The outcome will be a spasmodic adventurism born of cynicism out of racism. It will thoroughly discredit the United Nations.

At this moment in the Caucasus, Azerbaijanis are being bloodily "cleansed" from what looks like becoming Greater Armenia. Thousands are dying. Is this the next test of American potency, of Nato throw-weight, of UN credibility, of the new liberal church militant? I suspect not. Summer is coming. Interventionism will dissipate. And as the Armenians and Azerbaijanis are finding, an atrocity is less atrocious when not committed on a European

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Will Iran Let Balkan Muslims Achieve Peace?

Policy analysts in several Western European governments and in the United States have expressed concern that Iranian support for the Muslim population on Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the current Balkan crisis, is being viewed by Tehran as a "test case" for expanded radical Islamic agitation throughout Europe. "It is the springboard for Tehran to push for a *jihād* — a holy war — by the Islamic people who have moved in significant numbers into Western Europe," one analyst told *Defense & Foreign Affairs Strategic Policy*. It is now generally accepted that Iran is pushing for continued escalation by the Bosnian and Herzegovina Muslims of the conflict, particularly around Sarajevo, without any thought of helping to bring about a workable peace settlement. Turkey, fearing an "end run" by Iran on Turkey's Western flank, has been forced to help support the escalation of the conflict if only to stop Iran taking control of the European Muslim dynamic. Islam in Yugoslavia experienced an unexpected renaissance since the mid-1970s when Yugoslav President Josip Broz "Tito" was wooing the Arab radical leadership for support. It was at this time that Tito declared Yugoslav Muslims "a nation" rather than a religion. Yugoslavia's Muslims, with the exception of the Albanian illegal immigrant population, are ethnically Serbian, and have been pushed by Iran since the early 1980s.

Alija Izetbegovic, the Muslim President of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who is not recognised by the country's ethnic Serb community and most of its Croat population, has long been an Iranian protégé and member of the fundamentalist *Fida'iyan-e Islam* organisation committed to the conversion of all of Bosnia and Herzegovina into an Islamic Republic, despite the fact that Muslims number only about one-third of the population. In his 1970 *Islamic Declaration*, Mr Izetbegovic said: "The Islamic movement must and can take power as soon as it is morally and numerically strong enough, not only to destroy the non-Islamic power, but to build up a new Islamic one." He made an official visit to Tehran in early May 1991, where he reiterated his views.

One of the "forward bases" of the "Islamic revolution in Europe", designated by Iran in the Autumn of 1991, is in Bulgaria, where Pan-Islamic Movement leader Hassad al-Turabi enjoys "special relations" with Dr Ibrahim Natali, a member of the Bulgarian Parliament, and member of the Bulgarian Freedom and Rights Party. In early 1992, with its support system in place, forces of the Armed Islamic Movement began assuming a growing rôle in the defence of Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and undertook special guerilla operations throughout the new country. The Movement's "International Legion" of its Islamic Jihad force is led by Afghan fighters. The Armed Islamic Movement, including its Islamic Jihad detachments, are organised, well-disciplined and well-equipped. The commander is Mahmud Abd al-Aziz, a veteran of six years' fighting in Afghanistan under Ahmad Shah Massud. As well, he has fought for Islamic causes in the Philippines and, under Turabi, in Africa. The foreign volunteers include several hundred volunteers from Iran, Algeria, Egypt, Sudan, the Persian Gulf states, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Syria and Turkey. Most are veterans who had also fought in Afghanistan with the *Jami'at-i-Islami* and especially Ahmad Shah Massud. By Autumn 1992, there were 200 to 300 such volunteers in the Travnik area of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and some 200 in the centre of Bosnia. There were several hundred in Sarajevo itself. These *mujahedin* fight the Bosnian Serbs and train the Bosnian Muslims, and also reinforce religious teachings. Volunteers from the Islamic community in the United Kingdom have also joined the fight.

Iran also maintains in Bosnia and Herzegovina a core of highly-professional members of its *Pasdaran* (Revolutionary Guard) units and from its *HizbAllah* force from Lebanon. These provide advanced training and assistance, and conduct the most sensitive covert operations (generally intelligence and terrorism related) in the Bosnia and Herzegovina conflict. Iran also continues to provide weapons to the Bosnian forces. In early November 1992, Iran sent more than 50 expert terrorists and instructors of the *HizbAllah* and *Tawhid* (the Sunni Muslim counterpart to the *HizbAllah*, under Sheikh Sha'ban) from Balbek (Lebanon) to Bosnia and Herzegovina to train local cadres. More support forces were promised to arrive soon. Iranian military assistance was exposed on September 4, 1992, when Croatian authorities in Zagreb found 4,000 machineguns and one-million rounds of ammunition along with 40 *Pasdaran* on an Iranian Air Force Boeing 747 (reg. number DLF-50), ostensibly delivering "humanitarian aid" to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Tehran complained that the particular shipment was seized because Zagreb authorities were looking for a way to please Washington. Other Iranian Air Force shipments had gone through Zagreb unhindered. [The shooting of Bosnian Muslim deputy prime minister Hakija Turajlic, in Sarajevo in January 1993, was because of an incident involving Bosnian Serb discovery of a Turkish Air Force transport load of 60 Islamic fighters coming into Sarajevo to support local Muslims.]

There has been a marked upsurge in offensive operations and carefully-staged provocations by Muslim forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina since Summer 1992. Iran will not support the Geneva peace settlement for the area, as this would end its opportunity to continue its offensive into Europe. ★

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America has real allies in Serbia

If you have any ideas about new options in Serbia and Bosnia, the president said on the phone after the summit talks, let me know. So I did.

The answer popped out: Mr. President, please get your administration and the Western allies to pay a lot more attention to Serbian democrats.

They hate what their government is doing. Put your arm around them and let the world see, give them the legitimate aid they need to be heard at home and abroad. It won't end the war in Bosnia. But if the war does end, Western attention now to the democrats against Serbia's "ex"-Communist rulers might prevent the fighting from starting all over again.

I asked President Clinton what he and President Yeltsin had said to each other about the Bosnian Serbs' rejection of the Vance-Owen peace plan. As long as that rejection stands, the peace negotiations are at a dead end; the killing goes on. He said that Yeltsin told him that he would do everything he could in the week or so ahead to persuade the Serbs to change their minds. That will take courage. His enemies back the Serbs as brother Slavs and are beating him hard with that emotional stick. But Clinton said he believed Yeltsin would carry out his word and try hard.

Meanwhile, Clinton said, the United States will take a look at its options. I had been told before Vancouver that they could include pushing Britain, France and Russia to approve lifting the arms embargo against the Bosnian Muslims and fiercely tightening the sanctions against Belgrade — maybe cutting off international communications, a deep-freeze isolation.

A.M.

Rosenthal

THE NEW YORK TIMES

No — no change in the Clinton policy of not sending U.S. ground troops except perhaps as peacekeeping forces, and that is not yet decided.

Now, American latter-day hawks deride limiting military action to peacekeeping forces. They say it is presidential passivity.

But they choose to ignore something obvious. If peacekeeping forces are

The Serbian democrats are virtually ignored.

sent, and I think that much will be essential, it carries the unavoidable risk of involving U.S. troops in fighting.

If the Serbs break the peace, U.S. troops could find themselves not on peacekeeping patrol but in peace-restoring combat.

For that reason alone, strengthening a Serbian democratic movement that would be opposed to breaking the peace becomes an American security objective.

And the movement exists. Last December it got 34 percent of the vote

against President Slobodan Milosevic, who harassed and blanketed the opposition through Election Day. It was like getting 34 percent against Mussolini.

Think of Walesa and Havel, I suggested. Without strong Western backing and day-to-day attention, could they have lived through communism, let alone moving from house arrest or jail to presidencies? They do not think so.

But for Serbian democrats, no public embrace. Since no one person is world-famous, all are virtually ignored by foreign governments and press, neatly perpetuating oblivion. When they needed a little help — a new TV transmitter so they could be heard by voters outside Belgrade — the United States turned them down.

Receive them, Mr. President, get the secretary of state or the national security adviser to receive them — with photographers. Help them tell their story to the important American Serb community. Milosevic reaches them all right, through satellite broadcasts.

The best speech of the U.S. presidential campaign, for me, was one in Milwaukee by Clinton saying that in America's interest, support for democratic movements would be basic to his foreign policy.

He ought to make that kind of speech again soon, this time specifically about Serbia. It might shake up all Westerners who search out democrats everywhere in Eastern Europe, Asia and the Middle East, everywhere but Serbia.

I did not think to make that particular suggestion to Clinton. So I am putting it in writing now, just in case I happen not to be on the phone the next time he strolls through Air Force One.

P.S.

Edward Pearce

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THAT Mrs Thatcher should speak historical ignorance and sanctimonious truculence is not surprising. That people who should know better, good colleagues here among them, should follow her, one laments.

First, Tory MP Nicholas Budgen is right; the war concerns two sets of other people who hate each other and has nothing to do with us. But a war *can* involve our interests and still be wrong. The Falklands affair, hand-crafted by British fiddle-diplomacy and involving 1,250 deaths for a sheep-run, was wrong from first headline to last post.

Second, the Bosnian war is horrid in the way that wars generally are horrid. Cities are shelled, innocent people die. During the Gulf war petrol vapour weapons were used; they asphyxiate those not scorched to death. The cryers-after that war now mourn shelled Balkan cities.

Third, there are other wars happening at this moment: in Mozambique, Angola and Azerbaijan, and in Palestine something so close to a war that it kills people all the time. It is not proposed that we intervene there. And why not? Perhaps black and brown people count for less in the trembling breasts of war-orators; kinder to say that those wars get less publicity in a remoter, more occasional focus. So people thinking with the solar plexus see less on television to stir their organ of thought.

These are arguments for a rational avoidance of any war not threatening our own quiet continuance of life. But one point specific to this war suggests we should stay out of it. All publicity and opinion has been systematically anti-Serb. The Serbs, it seems, are monsters and fascists preparing a holocaust. They are no such thing.

This fighting, for God's sake, grows in the soil of the German creation in 1941 of Greater Croatia (all Croatia enlarged with all Bosnia) and in the murder, chiefly over not much longer than a year, of a sixth of the Serbs of Croatia and a sixth of the Serbs of Bosnia. The cruelties of war now fought there are inflicted out of hand-to-hand family hatred, while G7 countries effect their cruelties through clinical but promiscuous high technology.

Yet Germany, reluctantly followed by Britain, crassly recognised first independent Croatia, then independent Bosnia. Bosnia had been redrawn by Tito in 1946 as a province, and Bosnia has never been anything but a province: Yugoslav, Austrian or Turkish. As a province it works, as a state it is a geographical expression.

In high legal form we required the Serbs to surrender the third of the population in Bosnia and the fifth in Croatia which *are* Serbian, to a German-sponsored Bosnia and Croatia when in the lifetime of a middle-aged man, Serbs were ploughed under in those places like bonemeal!

Instant pronouncement thrusts history aside for the charm of outrage. We *need* history and the south Slavs need a new map.



Serbian-American Affairs Office

Public Relations Committee of the Serbian Unity Congress

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NEWS RELEASE May 10, 1993

WIDENING RIFT BETWEEN THE U.S. AND EUROPE ON BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

" It seems increasingly apparent, American officials say, that the United States and Europe have different views of the Balkan conflict. If given a choice of widening the conflict by lifting the arms embargo and engaging air strikes, or simply letting the Serbs win, the Europeans, these officials say, would probably quietly prefer a Serb victory. They just do not want to say that out loud, the officials say." [Thomas L. Friedman, The New York Times, International, May 9, 1993.]

A CLEAR ARTICULATION OF U.S. GOALS IN BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA BECOMES MORE DIFFICULT WITH INCREASING FIGHTING BETWEEN MUSLIMS AND CROATS

" Today, in the city of Mostar, Croatian forces have been going house to house and rounding up Muslims in a campaign of 'ethnic cleansing.' [National Public Radio, May 10, 1993.]

" One hopes that the Clinton administration, as it considers an act of war (under U.N. auspices) on European soil for the first time since 1945, has a credible, step-by-step plan, including a strategy for pulling out U.S. forces. The plan should envisage life when the fighting is over, in a region -- and world -- that has not yet fully digested German unification nor Soviet disintegration: How in sum will Bosnians, Serbs Croats, Muslims and Christians ultimately live together? Is a U.N. protectorate required? If so, how long would it remain in place? American involvement followed by withdrawal a la Lebanon would spell disaster for the Balkans and for U.S. prestige in the emerging international order. It will in any case influence Europe and Washington--Moscow relations long beyond the Clinton presidency." [Wolfgang Danspeckgruber, "Balkan Web: Unraveling A Region's Tangled History." The Washington Post, Sunday, May 9, 1993. p.C2]

AS CROATIANS AND MUSLIMS INITIATE THE FIERCEST FIGHTING SINCE THEY SIGNED THE VANCE-OWEN PLAN, THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION CONTINUES TO PRESSURE ONLY THE SERBS

During the past few weeks, in direct violation of the Vance-Owen agreement that the Croats and Muslims signed, Croatian forces have been initiating some of the worst "Ethnic cleansing" of Mostar and other cities where Muslims used to live. Over 70,000 military troops from Croatia have been fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina under the pretense that they are helping the Muslims. Now, the Croats have established their own state in Bosnia-Herzegovina, while skillfully managing to avoid sanctions and receiving no reprimand from the international community. With such one-sided policies, how does the U.S. expect to find a just solution to the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

SERBIAN-AMERICANS GATHER IN CLEVELAND TO PROTEST AGAINST THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION'S BIASED POLICY AGAINST THE SERBS

On May 10, 1993, Serbian-Americans from Cleveland will gather in front of the City Club center where President Clinton is scheduled to address the American public. They intend to express their distress and sadness that the Clinton administration is promoting unfair, one-sided policies against the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and denying them their right to self-determination which was granted to other groups.

Fraternal Field Managers Association — Annual Dues/1993	20.00
Illinois Fraternal Congress — Annual Dues/1993	50.00
Oregon State Fraternal Congress — Annual Dues/1993	45.00
Pennsylvania Fraternal Congress — Annual Dues/1993	50.00
Wisconsin Fraternal Congress — Annual Dues/1993	50.00

With the conclusion of Business before the Executive Board, National President Luketich adjourns the Meeting at 12-Noon.

• JOHN P. PLESH, National Secretary/Treasurer

ATTEST:
BERNARD M. LUKETICH
JOSEPH M. BRIGICH

Croatian Business Directory 1993

NEW YORK, NY—In an attempt to promote business within our Croatian community, we have assembled the "Croatian Business Directory 1993".

The purpose of the "Croatian Business Directory 1993" is to enable the community to use the services offered by Croatians and thereby contribute to the advancement and strengthening of their business and professional activity. This in turn will strengthen our Croatian community as a whole and contribute to the preservation and pride in our Croatian identity.

In addition to business listings, we have included some of the Croatian churches, centers and clubs, where Croatians meet for social and business activity.

The criteria used to list businesses is as follows: the business is owned or run by a Croatian, or employs Croatian employees, or provides services in the Croatian language, or caters in some special way to the needs of our Croatian community.

No Croatian business is too small to be listed in the Directory free of charge. All Croatian businesses are welcome to mail their business cards to be included in the next edition of the "Croatian Business Directory 1993". If you wish to purchase the Directory, please mail a \$10 check or money order to the address below.

The directory already includes over 1,200 names, addresses and phone numbers of Croatian businesses. It consists of 77 pages of listings of local, national and international Croatian businesses, as well as several

pages of advertising. Included are businesses from California, Ohio, Illinois, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut as well as international listings from Canada, Croatia and many others.

Although the listing of a Croatian business is free, we do solicit display advertising. Advertising rates, effective for a period of 1 year, are as follows: Full page \$100, Half page \$60, Quarter page \$40 and Business card \$25.

Whereas in the past, some local Croatian directories were published, the "Croatian Business Directory 1993" is the first publication on the national and international level.

The "Croatian Business Directory 1993" belongs to every home since it also provides for the exchange of information among Croatians. Every Croatian should buy the Directory to get familiar with the Croatian community at large, which offers diversity of business along with intellectual, spiritual and cultural opportunities that can enrich our lives.

We encourage active participation concerning input to the Directory. Please spread the news and mention it to other Croatians. To accommodate new business listings, as well as changes and deletions, the "Croatian Business Directory 1993" is being updated once per month.

For your copy, please send a \$10 check or money order to: Kathy Tepesh, 110 East 84 Street, New York, NY 10028.

•Kathy Tepesh/Lodge 1990

age, Olga promises to buy fresh ingredients for this special treat. So come at 12:30 p.m. and enjoy.

Had a very friendly conversation with Ed and Hermine Sostarich who had just come back from Washington, D.C. They had gone there to visit and offer compassion to a dear friend. In maneuvering through the heavy traffic, they got lost so they confronted a traffic policeman directing the heavy flow of cars, trucks and buses. Hermine wended her way up to the officer and in a polite way, as always, asked, "Pardon me officer, can you tell me how to get to St. Mary's Hospital?" "Yes," said the officer. "Just keep standing where you are and the ambulance will pick you up and take you there!" Well, they are safely home now and eagerly awaiting our meeting date and to enjoy a piece of Olga Rocki's cake.

Brother Verlich is always so kind to give me a little space to remind our membership and others who read my column, that Sacred Heart Croatian Church is having their monthly Fish Fry on May 28. Circle the date on your calendar and come and enjoy a delicious all-you-can-eat meal with appetizing refreshments and jovial prijatelji (friends).

Members of 261, don't forget to attend our meeting on May 18 at 12:30 p.m. On the agenda is a motion to set our annual picnic date. We need your input.

•Bert Bedalov/Secretary

Lodge 40 Changes

CHICAGO, IL—All members of Hrvatska Sloga CFU Lodge 40 are hereby informed that because of Mother's Day our regular monthly meeting will be held on Sunday, May 16, starting at 1 p.m. at the Gage Park Fieldhouse, 2413 W. 55th St. (5500 South on Western Avenue) in Chicago and not on our regularly scheduled date.

Our 100th Anniversary is fast approaching, therefore, we need your suggestions for this as well as our 50-year members banquet in June.

We ask all members to take this change into consideration and come to the regular monthly meeting on Sunday, May 16. We need your input to plan both events. It would be pleasure to see more of you at the meetings.

•Charles F. Novosel/Secretary

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Pity the politicians pinned down by Balkan crossfire

Lady Thatcher's call to arm the Bosnians has struck a popular chord. But ministers who balk at the appalling cost of intervention deserve our sympathy, declares MAX HASTINGS

WE BRITISH like to think that we are not a militaristic people. But we are certainly a martial one. If the Gallup poll in today's *Daily Telegraph* is to be believed, a majority of the British people want to see their forces engaged in the former Yugoslavia. Lady Thatcher speaks for most of her fellow countrymen, it seems, in demanding that we should no longer stand by while Serbs slaughter Muslims. Something must be done. Today, we are passive parties to mass murder.

Television makes impassioned spectators of us all. Douglas Hurd's justifiable but incautious choice of words about "a level killing field" may hold the same ring for history as Neville Chamberlain's "quarrel in a faraway country between people of whom we know nothing". Rage towards the Serbs, whose atrocities are best-publicised, today reaches living rooms where Czechoslovakia meant nothing in 1938.

It is impossible to dismiss the would-be interventionists as ignorant and ill-informed. Among commentators, the admirable Hugo Young of the *Guardian* was among those this week who demanded international action. Our own correspondents in Yugoslavia, Robert Fox, Patrick Bishop and Alec Russell, want, to a man, to see Western forces committed. So do most of their television colleagues, such as Martin Bell of the BBC.

It needs a very hard heart not to share in a sense of guilt and shame that people are killing each other so brutally, while the civilised world does nothing effective to stop them. Yet the governments of the West, and especially that of Mr Major, deserve more understanding than they currently receive, in their passivity. They are the ones who would have to accept responsibility for committing armed forces, if armed forces are to be committed, and for all that would follow thereafter.

Mr Rifkind and Mr Hurd would have to justify the British casualties to the House of Commons. They would have to answer impassioned questions from television interviewers after British bombs aimed at

The Daily
Telegraph
April 15, 1993

Serb artillery positions were found to have killed Serb women and children. They would have to discover who would pay the huge bill for Britain's contribution. Above all, they are the men who, with the Prime Minister, would have to explain to the leaders of Britain's forces what exactly they were going into Yugoslavia to do.

This is the hardest question. We all want to see the killing halted. But the difficulties of defining attainable objectives are much more formidable.

Mr Hurd deserved more sympathy than he has received for his assertion that lifting the embargo of arms to the Bosnian Muslims would merely create a level killing field. Two years ago there was a faction in Britain — including many Right-wing Conservatives — who strongly supported the Germans in welcoming the break-up of Yugoslavia (like that of the Soviet Union) and in demanding recognition of the new republics. The much maligned Foreign Office argued that to recognise the republics without guaranteeing their frontiers was a formula for disaster. The Foreign Office was right, but the will of the Germans prevailed.

A year ago it was fashionable among some Right-wingers to argue for arming the Croats. Had that advice been heeded, weapons given to the Croats would today presumably be in action against the Muslims. There is overwhelming evidence that, while the Serbs are the principal aggressors, no faction in the former Yugoslavia has clean hands. It would anyway help the Muslims little, now, to give them small arms. To deal with the Serbs' heavy weapons, they would need heavy weapons of their own — and training and technical advice on how to use them, which could come only from abroad. If we are to embark

→



upon that route, of committing advisers, it is surely more honest and more responsible to commit forces ourselves.

The notion of using Western air forces against the Serbs, which Lady Thatcher has favoured, ignores the historic evidence that air power unsupported by ground forces is of the most limited value, especially without forward air control on the ground, which again only Western forces could provide.

All manner of gestures are open to the international community. Some of them, such as President Clinton's cruelly absurd parachute supply drops, have already been employed. Yet it seems the harshest blow of all to make empty gestures when so many lives are at stake. And it would be the height of diplomatic and moral folly to intervene in support of one faction, however deserving of sympathy. The sole credible basis for intervention is to restore and maintain an impartial peace.

THE only honest choice for the international community — as distinct from empty posturing — is between standing back and deploying only rhetoric and sanctions, and full-scale military intervention. This would have to be led by the British and French, because alone among European powers our nations possess the political will and military means to spearhead such an operation. The cost would be huge. The Americans would undoubtedly contribute. But the bulk of the bill would be open to international tender. The United Nations is broke. It is a nice question, how far the world would be prepared to go to contribute to massive peace-keeping operations when no oil is at stake.

There is little doubt that an Anglo-French-led force could throw back the Serbian army at tolerable cost.

The Serbs could indeed be punished in the fashion that so many people around the world desire. It is thereafter that the huge difficulties begin. History again suggests that, when foreign forces are interposed to separate warring factions, fighting recommences when they depart. If the great step of Western intervention were to be justified, those who go into the former Yugoslavia would have to accept responsibility for creating and imposing a lasting peace. It is the awesome difficulty of achieving this that makes so many politicians flinch, together with the knowledge that Western forces would have to remain for many years. Among those world politicians who are today most eager for action in Yugoslavia, President Clinton has yet to show that he understands either military power or international relations. Not forgetting the Falklands, Lady Thatcher was, when she bore the responsibility of office, remarkably cautious in many areas and heedful of the perils of dramatic armed initiatives.

It may yet be that the Serbs' outrages, and the reaction of world opinion to them, will force Western governments to intervene. If the Serbs attack in Macedonia, there would be no choice, because the threat to international stability would become intolerable. Yet today, however appalling the excesses we witness nightly on our television screens, it has to be said that Europe's politicians deserve sympathy for their trepidation.

Military action is always much easier to start than to finish. Walpole's line, about those who now ring bells, soon wring their hands, echoes down the ages. So many wars have started with cheering crowds, and ended with grieving mourners. The world is landmarked with repugnant societies in which unforgivable crimes are being committed by men against each other, from Iraq to Cambodia, Cairo to the Cape. It is right to care passionately, right to be enraged and repelled. But the hapless politicians who must explore the limits of the possible should not always be whipping boys for our horror and frustration.

DOT's Pena Meets with Maritime To Understand Industry Problems

In an evident attempt to get a sense of the problems within maritime, Secretary of Transportation Federico Pena met on March 2 with representatives of the vessel operating industry, shipbuilding companies and maritime labor. Michael Sacco represented the SIU at the two-hour meeting.

The session was called at the request of Secretary Pena in order to develop an understanding about the views of the individual industry components as well as explain where the Clinton administration stands on the subject.

Reports from the meeting said Pena proposes to unveil between mid-April and early May the administration's legislative package to revive the U.S.-flag mer-

chant fleet. He told the group that the administration plans to place the same energy into helping maritime that it is using to fight foreign subsidies within the airline industry.

The secretary announced he would create an industry-government committee on U.S.-flag maritime revival. The committee would be made up of three officials from the Department of Transportation and two representatives each from maritime labor, shipbuilding, liner operators and bulk operators. The group will be asked to have a legislative proposal ready for Pena's review by the April/May deadline he announced.

During the meeting, several executives representing U.S.-flag

shipping companies renewed their threats to go foreign flag if a program is not passed by 1995. (The Bush administration, led by former Transportation Secretary Andrew Card, proposed a maritime revival package last summer after executives from Sea-Land and American President Lines threatened to go foreign flag.)

Those who attended the meeting stated Pena was well versed about maritime and asked many questions. They said they were impressed by how quickly Pena plans to act on the problem.

A spokesperson at the department said there was "a consensus among all parties that the goal is a sound and revitalized U.S. maritime industry."

"QUOTES"

Rep. Gerry Studds

The new chairman of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee declared, "We have got to operate U.S.-flag vessels and have got to operate more of them! We need new tonnage under the U.S. flag."

Rep. Richard Gephardt

Concerned about the nation's economic future, the House Majority Leader announced, "We need an industrial and technological policy that includes a maritime and shipbuilding policy!"

Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan

Speaking before the MTD executive board, the Senate Finance Committee chairman blasted runaway flags, saying "this Liberian and Panamanian business has got to come to an end!"

Congressional Leaders Tell MTD Board Of Support for U.S.-Flag Ship Program

Three key members of Congress, addressing the AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Department (MTD) executive board meeting last month, urged adoption of a U.S.-flag shipping program.

Senate Finance Committee Chairman Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee Chairman Gerry Studds (D-Mass.) and House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.) all noted the need to pass a U.S.-flag maritime revival package during this session of Congress.

Rebuilding the U.S. merchant fleet became the theme of the two-day meeting of the MTD, which is made up of 42 autonomous unions containing 8.5 million members. The board passed a number of resolutions of concern to the maritime industry on the Jones Act, workplace safety and cargo preference.

Another of those resolutions called on President Bill Clinton to issue "an executive order that underlines the nation's historical needs for and its legal mandate to maintain an adequate American-flag merchant fleet and a domestic shipyard mobilization base." The board also called on all sections within the industry—organized

labor, business and government—to meet to develop a consensus approach to new legislation to aid maritime.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland added the support of the national organized trade labor movement to the cause.

"The Persian Gulf served as a stark reminder of what our merchant fleet means," Kirkland told the body. "We pledge our support as you try to enact a sensible maritime policy under Bill Clinton."

New Technology

Speaking to the group on February 11, Moynihan noted a recent visit he had made aboard the Aegis-class missile cruiser *Valley Forge*. He described how the engineroom looked more like an operating room and talked about the changes associated with it. "At 25 knots, [the vessel] can stop in three ship's lengths and reverse," the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee said.

"We need to put that kind of technology into merchant shipbuilding. If we can do it on cruisers, then we can do it on containerships."

Moynihan also pointed out that while the United States "has

the largest Navy in the world, we have one of the smallest merchant marines. It is time we tended to this issue. Revision of the American merchant marine must be part of the national economic policy."

The chairman of the Senate Finance Committee called on the Clinton administration to include a rollback on foreign countries subsidizing new shipping which puts the U.S. fleet at a disadvantage when the U.S. Trade

Representative asks European Community representatives to reduce its subsidized airline program, Airbus.

"What's fair is fair," Moynihan added. "We cannot compete against shipping that has been subsidized by their governments. Shipbuilding subsidies will be part of the negotiations."

When he addressed the MTD on February 12, Studds recounted meeting with President Clinton to discuss the priorities for his con-

gressional committee for this session.

"I told him two things: clean water and the American merchant marine," the 11-term representative said. "We need to re-establish the merchant marine for national security, trade and to produce jobs. He told me, 'I didn't come [to Washington] to veto bills. I want to make things happen.'"

Studds noted it was too soon to discuss details about any maritime revival package. However, any plan must include building vessels within the United States, he stated.

"Our skilled shipbuilders can build vessels for the same cost as in Europe," he told the audience. "We don't have the management or engineering experience. There is nothing wrong with our labor, but we have to import our engineers. There is no excuse for that."

"We need to get our members bread to the table of our members and ensure that they are going to have the kinds of programs that we so desperately need."

"For the first time in 12 years, we are able to take our issues to the White House," he added. "But we have a lot of enemies who are upset that we have access."

Health Care Struggle

McGlotten pointed out that national health care reform—a plan proposed for years by the AFL-CIO—faces strong opposition in Washington, despite the fact that the labor-supported family leave bill was passed and signed into law during the first month of the new administration.

He mentioned some proposals circulating around the Capitol include taxing health care benefits. "Our members have the best health care programs in the country built through collective bargaining. Taxation of benefits will destroy collective bargaining as we know it today. It would be very destructive."

Union members already are paying extra into the nation's health care systems because "we are the only ones with health care," McGlotten said. "The system is broke. We didn't break it, but we are willing to help fix it. We should not have to pay for what has been done to the system."

McGlotten stated trade unions

It would be hard to conceive of a more inaccurate technique for delivering cargo than pushing it out of the rear door of an aircraft, at a height of 10,000 feet, at night, over narrow, snowbound, forest valleys.

When the RAF do supply-drops from their Hercules they fly at between 15 (yes, 15!) and 50 feet.

Why don't the USAAF try it? Presumably for the very reason that the Pentagon have always been opposed to the whole idea.

The aircraft would be shot at — not by Serbs but by Muslims desperate to provoke an 'incident'.

We now know that the prime suspect for placing the World Trade Centre bomb in New York, and afterwards telephoning and claiming credit for a (non-existent) Serbian organisation, was a

Way off target in Bosnia

Muslim. Just as it is now accepted that it was a Muslim shell which landed on that bread queue in Sarajevo last summer with such sickening results.

Yet we have this strange paradox that every well-intentioned Western commentator seems determined to involve us, shedding our servicemen's blood if necessary, in establishing a Muslim fundamentalist state in the centre of Europe.

And siding against the small Christian peasant society that is trying to prevent this happening.

— by Alan Clark, former UK defense minister.
The Mail on Sunday March 7, 1993

General finds no atrocities but refugees die by the dozen

by Michela Wrong, Sarajevo and Louise Branson, Belgrade

APPALLED aid workers who reached a besieged town in eastern Bosnia yesterday found Muslim refugees dying at the rate of up to 30 a day. But General Philippe Morillon, the commander of United Nations peace-keeping forces, announced he had found no evidence of atrocities or massacres in Cerska.

the nearby blockaded settlement whose fate has attracted worldwide concern.

Srebrenica, the main centre of Muslim resistance in the blockaded border area where American planes have been dropping aid, contains at least 2,000 sick and wounded people dying at the rate of 20 to 30 a day, according to a British doctor, Simon Mardel, of the World Health Organisation. Hundreds were suffering from ailments ranging from pneumonia to malnutrition, and at least 200 were severely wounded.

Speaking in an urgent radio call to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees officials in the British-patrolled town of Tuzla, Mardel said the number of women and children to be evacuated from Srebrenica could reach 18,000. The town has been blockaded for nearly a year.

Mardel had penetrated the region on Friday as part of a team led by Morillon, who yesterday finally reached the settlement of Cerska, about 30 miles north of Srebrenica, where thousands more Muslims are trapped.

Morillon, protected by British troops, said that when he was allowed into Cerska by besieging Serbs he found evidence of battles but no massacre of civilians. "Thanks to God there have been no atrocities there. War, but not atrocities," Morillon also revealed that he had found no evidence of starvation in Konjevic Polje, a settlement nearby where many refugees had fled. "They are suffering from deprivation but not too much hunger."

There are still fears for refugees who have fled into the countryside, however. "There are probably a lot of people on the road or in the woods in bad condition," said Tony Lamb, of the UNHCR in Sarajevo.

There have also been widespread reports of atrocities: a Muslim refugee identified as Besim Topalovic reported by radio on Friday that he had survived a massacre by Serbs because corpses fell on top of him. Topalovic said he

was in a column of about 100 refugees trying to reach Tuzla when men in white caps opened fire on them with machineguns and grenades near Konjevic Polje. He was one of only three survivors.

Morillon began his personal fact-finding mission on Friday after the Bosnian Serb general, Ratko Mladic, offered to open up two evacuation corridors from the region. "The number one question is whether an evacuation corridor has been opened," said Commander Barry Frewer of the United Nations Protection Force (Unprofor) in Sarajevo.

Muslims reported from the area by radio yesterday that they had found 23 pallets of food and medicine dropped



Morillon: stopped at checkpoint

by American planes on Thursday night and 16 dropped earlier in the week. "The operation has been a great success this time around," said one radio operator.

But a UNHCR convoy was still halted at the Serbia-Bosnia border yesterday, ready to deliver food and medicine and evacuate refugees. Mladic, outraged by a rocket and machine gun attack on a Serbian orthodox church convoy in the Bosnian-controlled outskirts of Sarajevo on Friday, said he could not guarantee its safety.

Specially-trained Swedish firemen and paramedics in the 11 trucks stuck in the snowswept town of Banja Koviljaca were still hoping to



carry out the wounded from a fresh and brutal wave of Serbian ethnic cleansing. "This is an impossible situation," said one.

But the Serbs seemed determined not to bow to world pressure, particularly from the Americans, and to press on with what they regard as the strategic vital capture of Cerska, and to secure the left bank of the Drina river. They are well on the way to scoring three major victories in eastern Bosnia:

- Forcing the UN to cooperate in ethnic cleansing: the UN has agreed to take any refugees who want to flee.

- Grabbing territory which they can claim as theirs as talks continue in New York on the division of Bosnia into semi-autonomous ethnic regions.

- Forcing negotiators closer to a solution where UN troops would patrol present confrontation lines, as they do in neighbouring Croatia, where UN control of disputed areas has consolidated Serbian gains.

"There is nothing the Serbs would like better than to see the UN now move in to Eastern Bosnia and patrol it," said a frustrated Western diplomat in Belgrade. "The only solution that could bring a certain measure of peace would be to accept the reality, which is that Serbs and Croats have already divided Bosnia up between them. But we can't do that since it would be tantamount to condoning the genocide against the Muslims."

In New York UN negotiators continued to press Muslim and Serb representatives to agree to the Owen-Vance peace plan; while in Washington details were awaited of President Bill Clinton's promised strengthening of action against the Serbs.

*March 7/93
The Sunday Times*

Getting the Facts Straight on Bosnia

It is not through intellectual inadequacy that George Kenney, in his Feb. 24 editorial-page article "Clinton's Other Test: Intervention in Bosnia," advocates war against Serbia, but ignorance of the situation in former Yugoslavia.

One cannot overlook the fact that Serbs have lived in the Krajina region for the best part of 600 years. Mr. Kenney's article undermines the efforts of Cyrus Vance, which resulted in the UNPROFOR mandate after the initial outbreak in 1991 of the Serbo-Croat conflict.

The Vance-Owen plan specified that the deployment of a peacekeeping force in Croatia would not predicate the eventual outcome of a political settlement between the Croatian authorities and the representatives of the Krajina Serbs regarding the U.N. protectorate zones.

Not only has Mr. Kenney evidently decided the outcome of the war, he has also legitimized Croatia's unwarranted aggression against Krajina without considering what actually awaits the "rebel" Serbs in Knin should they ever be forcibly absorbed under Croatian totalitarian and alien rule.

NEVEN LEZAJIC

London

* * *

The Wall Street
Journal Europe
March 9, 1993

Mr. Kenney's article does your paper little credit, as it is based on pure bias rather than on fact and research. What worries me even more is Mr. Kenney's position as consultant to the influential Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and his appointment in the U.S. State Department as Yugoslav desk officer, from which he resigned in 1992. I dread such power when it is in the hands of those who lack total objectivity.

The Serbs in general support democracy and human rights—along with the rest of mankind. Does Mr. Kenney really think that numerous lives are lost for no other reason but sheer intransigence? Does he not recognize the Bosnian Serb or the Krajina Serb's self-determination when faced with brutal opposition by their new would-be "democratic" masters, such as Alija Izetbegovic or Franjo Tudjman?

Mr. Kenney writes that "the U.S. should arm the Bosnians, use air strikes against Serbian positions in Bosnia, give Croatia support to oust Serbian occupiers . . ." Those who truly study the present day situation in the Balkans know that the Serb/Yugoslav army is not involved in Bosnia, though many Serb volunteers are. The Serbs that Mr. Kenney therefore refers to must be the Bosnian Serbs, who are fighting for nothing less but their democratic rights.

Mr. Kenney speaks of "Serbian thugery." Admittedly, there are countless unspeakable crimes committed in this bloody civil war, but crimes have been committed by all of the warring sides.

Please Mr. Kenney, look to the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. If we are to serve the true principles of democracy, then surely, we must not settle for anything less!

C. PARAJOTVIC

London

Serbs clamour to leave Muslim 'city of fear'

By Patrick Bishop in Tuzla

SERBS in the Muslim-dominated city of Tuzla are clamouring to leave, despite claims by the authorities that the area is Bosnia's last outpost of ethnic harmony.

Demonstrators gathered yesterday outside a hotel used by journalists and the city's main Serbian Orthodox church to advertise their plight.

The protests were sparked by news that Bosnian Serb leaders were demanding free passage for up to 12,000 Serbs still living in the area in return for allowing an evacuation of the sick and wounded from besieged Muslim areas in eastern Bosnia.

Tuzla Serbs claimed they had been living in a climate of intimidation and fear since the Bosnian war began 10 months ago.

"We have no security here," said a 35-year-old man who refused to give his name for fear of official reprisals.

"The situation changes every day, every minute, as the government gets more and more extreme. All the Muslims hate the Serbs." He

said he would like to go to Belgrade. But he claimed his application to go had been blocked by the local Muslim authorities.

"Ninety per cent of the Serbs here want to go. Seven thousand forms have been filled in, but no one has been allowed to leave," he said.

The Serbs' allegations run completely counter to the claims of the local military and civil authorities, who present Tuzla as a symbol of the old Bosnian ideal of unity.

Yesterday, at a press conference, Mr Sejad Atic, mayor of Tuzla, denounced propaganda attempts to equate the plight of the city's Serbs with that of Muslims in Serb-held areas.

● Michael Montgomery in Belgrade writes: A UN medical convoy preparing to evacuate sick and wounded from the besieged Muslim enclave of Konjevic Polje remained halted at the Bosnian border, with Serbian commanders demanding that Serb civilians first be allowed to leave parts of the republic controlled by Bosnian government troops.

The Daily Telegraph March 10/93

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR**No simple way to consensus**

SIR—Your EC correspondent suggests that Lord Owen has proposed that the “isolation of Dr Karadzic” could be a tool that would lead to the acceptance, by the Bosnian-Serbs, of the proposed maps which divide Bosnia-Herzegovina into 10 semi-autonomous regions (report, March 9).

If your reporting is accurate, it charts a curious strategy. This war is not between three individuals — myself, Izetbegovic and Boban — but between three antagonised and divided peoples. It is wishful thinking to believe that by isolating any one person, consensus will suddenly sweep through the hearts and minds of the Bosnian-Serb population and that they will somehow then be willing to accept maps that to date have been unacceptable.

The reality of my position, and that of my government, is that we are faced with a daily task of convincing the Bosnian-Serb civilian population that they can ultimately gain from a negotiated settlement. While it may

or may not be possible to remove us from office, the alternative would be a radical alternative brought about by the failure of the peace process.

The Bosnian-Serb population is frustrated at being forced to accept a formula for a country of which it is a constituent part. The maps, the final stumbling block to peace, are acceptable neither to the Serbs nor Muslims. We should recognise that fact and not believe that assent can be imposed. Equally, we cannot imagine that any settlement requiring the presence of 50,000 foreign troops to underwrite it would either be lasting or safe.

The only sensible way forward is to look at the whole question of maps again and redefine the 10 provinces, based on consensus, historical precedent and common sense. Only in this way can the mistakes of premature recognition be overcome.

Dr RADOVAN KARADZIC
Leader of the Bosnian Serbs
Belgrade

The Daily Telegraph March 11/93

Compromise is the only solution in Bosnia

THE accusations against the Serbs — "hegemonistic ambitions, aggression" etc — in your leader (A carve up, 5 March) do not fit known facts.

The Serbs were the largest single ethnic community in Bosnia-Herzegovina until the Second World War when, under Hitler's aegis, the Croat fascist Government which had incorporated Bosnia, with help from Moslem militias, killed off about a third of the Serbs and forced many others to flee for their lives into Old Serbia. Both Roman Catholic and Moslem religious hierarchies connived at the slaughter.

The Serbs remained the principal agricultural population in Bosnia, while the Moslems formed an urban ruling class; hence the Serbs own and occupy roughly two-thirds of the land, and would fight for it rather than fall back under Moslem misrule from which they were liberated a century ago.

Alija Izetbegovic, President of the EC creation of Independent Bosnia with no historical antecedents, is a fanatical Islamic fundamentalist, whose avowed plans for Bosnia-Herzegovina are

to turn it into a Koranic state, with no distinction between religious and civil institutions and where non-Islamic institutions would be banned. Naturally, the Serbs are fighting against this.

Hence hatred and bloodshed which feed on themselves. The only end to the bloodshed, in which innocent Moslems suffer from the misdeeds of their representatives together with Serbs and Croats, lies in a political solution.

The German-inspired creation of an independent unitary Bosnia must give way to a loose collection of cantons, *a la Suisse*, linked with what remains of Yugoslavia. Lord Carrington came towards this position; thereupon the Germans worked to get him out and replaced by Lord Owen, who had already come out for bombing the Serbs.

However, first-hand experience has modified Owen's views, and edged him towards compromise in the interests of peace. You would do well to follow. — Sir Alfred Sherman, Onslow Square, South Kensington.

The
Evening
Standard
March 10/93
(London)

THE TIMES MONDAY MARCH 8 1993

Relief workers wait in anger for Serbs to release refugees

■ The old and sick are being prevented from leaving Srebrenica. Aid teams fear far more than the current 20 deaths daily

—FROM BILL FROST IN TUZLA

A vast empty sports hall in Tuzla, northern Bosnia, bore witness yesterday to the failure of the United Nations to secure the release of thousands of refugees trapped by increasingly fierce fighting around Muslim-held enclaves.

Relief workers made no attempt to disguise their anger and disappointment that Serb commanders had refused to allow the elderly, the sick and the wounded to leave the beleaguered pocket of Srebrenica. Just hours earlier, they had filled the Tuzla sports hall with mattresses, emergency rations and medical supplies in the hope that General Philippe Morillon, the UN commander in Bosnia-Herzegovina, could negotiate a deal.

Sir Donald Acheson, a special representative for the World Health Organisation, described conditions in Srebrenica as appalling. "We know that at least 20 people a day are dying of hunger and disease. There is no morphine, and Serb gunners are deliberately targeting makeshift hospitals.

"Something must be done to get these people out, and done very quickly. Otherwise a lot of civilians are going to be dead in Srebrenica," he said in Tuzla yesterday.

At least 2,000 sick and wounded are in the enclave, according to reports reaching Tuzla yesterday. In a ham radio broadcast, Dr Simon Mardell, a British doctor working behind Muslim lines, told relief workers in Tuzla that the mortality rate, excluding

war casualties, was running at between 20 and 30 people a day. He said that thousands of refugees had

recently arrived from the neighbouring Cerska area, which is now in Serb hands.

Dr Mardell, who went through the line by himself on foot, said that the siege of Srebrenica appeared to have tightened yesterday. The enclave was under increasingly fierce bombardment.

Ham radio operators heard in Tuzla described how Serb forces had been mopping up the last of Cerska's Muslim defenders. Those who had sought shelter in cellars or ruined buildings were "flushed out" by dogs or with teargas bombs. The Muslim fighters, along with women and children, were then killed.

Over the weekend, General Morillon visited Cerska and afterwards said he found no evidence of any Serb atrocities or mass starvation either there or in Konjevic Polje. Serb soldiers were in complete control and there were no civilians left in Cerska, he said on Saturday. "Cerska has been heavily shelled and many

houses burnt, but there are no signs of a massacre," he said. "I am an old soldier. I have experience with the smell of death and I did not smell it there."

The French general was the first Western observer to reach Cerska since its capture. His failure to uncover evidence of any atrocities contradicts reports before the enclave's fall from ham radio operators in eastern Bosnia, which apparently influenced President Clinton's desire to intensify sanctions against the rump Yugoslavia.

Relief workers yesterday remained to be convinced. "The general was not there for long enough, and was only shown what the Serbs wanted him to see. We have had persistent, similar and altogether credible accounts of massacres from many different sources," one aid worker said yesterday.

A ham radio operator broadcasting from the edge of the Cerska area yesterday described the general's mission as "a tourist trip". He said that 100 grenades had landed on his village just that morning and 70 people had been wounded.

The operator, who identified himself as Sardik, said: "Please let somebody come so the wounded can be taken out. General Morillon was on a tourist trip at the weekend. He was shown two destroyed houses, I could show him 24 more like that in our village. Someone must come before it is too late."

The conditions demanded by Serb commanders before they will release the tens of thousands trapped by the offensive in eastern Bosnia include safe passage for their own people trapped behind Muslim lines. They have asked General Morillon to arrange that they be allowed to visit the Tuzla area to see how Serbs are being treated by the Muslim authorities.

While some military observers see the request as a cynical delaying tactic while the offensive continues, others point out that Serbs behind Muslim lines have already found themselves in a crossfire. There are reports that should they refuse to fight against their own, the Serbs are compelled to dig trenches on the front line.

While the negotiations continue and fighting intensifies, the sports hall in Tuzla remains empty. "All sides make promises only to break them. And while the haggling goes on, hundreds of innocent people are dying, hundreds we could save if only there was even the spark of a will for peace," said one relief worker as the rumble of a distant artillery duel echoed across the mountains.

UN peace talks in balance

Suffering eclipses Bosnia diplomacy

FROM ADAM LEBOR IN BELGRADE

THE diplomatic dance around the wreckage of Bosnia was suspended temporarily at the weekend as Alija Izetbegovic, the Bosnian president, said he was returning from peace talks at the United Nations to Sarajevo to consult colleagues.

Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb leader, also announced he would be leaving New York to return to Serb-occupied Bosnia for consultations. "We are going home to think everything over to try to find possibilities for further compromise," he said.

In Bosnia, the carnage and destruction continued, making the minutiae of the Owen-Vance peace plan, which would divide Bosnia into ten provinces, a bizarre sideshow.

United Nations officials in Belgrade painted a horrific picture of conditions in the besieged village of Konjevic Polje, where many refugees are waiting to flee, probably to the northern city of Tuzla. A temporary hospital has been

set up in Konjevic Polje to try to cope with more than 70 casualties.

Wounded civilians in the village are having their limbs amputated, Lyndall Sachs, for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Belgrade, said. "People have been severely wounded by mines, shrapnel, bullets and grenades. They have lost limbs and there are very few antibiotics and bandages."

UN officials claim that many civilians have fled to Konjevic Polje from the Muslim town of Cerska, which fell to the Serbs at the end of last week. Until aid officials are allowed freely into the region, it will be impossible to find out what happened in Cerska.

Serbs say that they believe a campaign of demonisation is being organised against them so successfully that much of the world now believes they are capable of anything no matter how bestial. All last week UN officials in Belgrade were quoting a handful of

Muslim ham radio operators in eastern Bosnia, who claimed that Serbs were massacring their way across the country, even using poison and teargas.

The 1,500 wounded civilians said last week to be sheltering in Konjevic Polje now appear to number just 70 seriously injured. Aid officials say their priority is to move them. "The figures are not important. What matters is the principle of free access to them," Ms Sachs said.

□ Rome: The Pope said yesterday that the Bosnian war was an insult to God. Calling for an end to the fighting, he added: "It is never too late to repair the damage done and build a new country."

The war was the product of a culture that was in danger of putting the rights of man before those of God. "Allow me to shout it out loud," he said, "we have an immense need for God." (Reuters)

Relief stepped up, page 1

The Times March 8, 1993

Peace talks spark bout of spring ethnic cleansing

Zenica

Victoria Clark

LOAD the old granules in the back with their ragged baggage, then the two little girls with their dolls and one mother with her eyes puffy red from crying. Quick, up you get; five in the back, one in the front.

Quick, because an officious Croat soldier has sauntered up from his checkpoint, wanting to know what we are doing parked in the middle of a country lane, bundling six Muslim refugees, all women and children, into the back of our armoured jeep. He wants to see papers.

'We're taking them to Zenica.'

He looks away embarrassed but satisfied because Zenica is Muslim territory, where they belong, according to his crude interpretation of the Vance-Owen peace plan map.

The map and the talks in New York and the thaw in snowy central Bosnia are provoking a renewed burst of ethnic spring-cleansing.

There are 30,000 more Muslims to flush out of the Banja Luka area and as many as 70,000 from the Muslim enclaves in eastern Bosnia where the Americans are air-dropping aid. The Serbs are bussing some 4,000 Muslims into the no man's land near Travnik this week. Last week a

vanguard of 3,000 were fired on as they stumbled along in the snow.

West of Sarajevo, under the noses of the British UN battalion, the Croats are busy too.

Our passengers, already refugees from Doboj in northern Bosnia, squatting in some Serb's weekend cottage, had been visited by two Croats that morning, handed a permission to travel to Zenica signed by the local Croat police chief, and told to leave. They were a mile or so into the 12-mile trek to Zenica when we met them.

'Nasa' — our people, said one of the women, smiling for the first time, at the first Muslim checkpoint on the outskirts of Zenica. Teeming with refugees, the city is dilapidated now and as grim as a nineteenth-century Lancashire mill town.

There are 24,000 refugees there already — 80 per cent of them billeted with local families, the rest in 'collective centres', Jorge de la Mota, head of the local UNHCR, says: 'This area can't be filled indefinitely — it's going to end up like a Palestinian refugee camp.'

Because of the recent fighting between Muslims and Croats the economy is on its knees, which means that the local population is often no better off than the refugees. The UNHCR is having to double, even triple, its food supplies to the area. De la Mota reckons that almost a

million people are living off UNHCR aid.

Zenica cannot take any more refugees. The city authorities have protested at the International Red Cross dumping more mouths to feed. De la Mota's remedy is to ease the pressure on towns like Zenica and Travnik by arranging for villages to accept quotas of refugees. But even that would only create another problem: 'You would need more than an army to tackle the distribution of food,' he sighs.

He can contemplate 30,000 more displaced people from the Banja Luka area with some degree of calm, but not the prospect of 70,000 refugees arriving from the besieged Muslim enclaves in eastern Bosnia. 'They have been living in bad conditions — they will need special attention as well as food.'

The only hope is a swift peace settlement, he thinks. But what kind of hope is that? What use is a loosening up of road routes and a dismantling of checkpoints, when there is no money, nothing being produced, nothing to trade?

The future for the people of Bosnia, even if it is the final burst of ethnic cleansing in advance of a peace settlement, is blackly empty.

Zejna, sitting cross-legged on a mattress in a classroom in Travnik while a sobbing toddler

vomits a thin yellow stream into a plastic bowl, has been cleansed from her village in central Bosnia.

Unlike many other refugees in this school-cum-refugee camp in Travnik, she can give her name because she has no family left to protect. Her husband and son were both killed one night last September, when some Serb neighbours herded them into the nearby forest and shot them. Zejna escaped death by jumping down on top of them before they shot her.

There is a horrible sense of *dajd vu* in Bosnia. Ethnic cleansing was the foul flavour of last year's summer months, we thought. We were wrong.

The Americans are air-dropping aid to enclaves that are on the verge of falling and being cleansed. The British soldiers stand by in suppressed fury with tears in their eyes and silent guns while Serb militiamen jeer at struggling lines of refugees they are shunting across to no man's land.

At the British base in Vitez a young captain whiles away hours painting a picture of a Warrior armoured vehicle which will hang in the officers' mess. At the UN command in Kiseljak the army doctor is killing time removing unwanted moles for members of the UN forces — cosmetic surgery, as cosmetic as the world's assistance to Bosnia.

The Observer March 7, 1993

4-6-93

On My Mind

A. M. ROSENTHAL

America's Allies in Serbia

If you have any ideas about new options in Serbia and Bosnia, the President said on the phone after the summit talks, let me know. So I did.

The answer popped out: Mr. President, please get your Administration and the Western allies to pay a lot more attention to Serbian democrats.

They hate what their government is doing. Put your arm around them and let the world see, give them the legitimate aid they need to be heard at home and abroad. It won't end the war in Bosnia. But if the war does end, Western attention now to the democrats against Serbia's "ex"-Communist rulers might prevent the fighting from starting all over again.

I had been speaking from New York to a Government official on Air Force One just after it took off from Vancouver when the President walked into the compartment. He picked up the phone so I could ask about the summit. I do not want to hear another press complaint about lack of access to the President, not one more word!

I asked what he and President Yeltsin had said to each other about the

For Clinton, a Presidential option.

Bosnian Serbs' rejection of the Vance-Owen peace plan. As long as that rejection stands, the peace negotiations are at a dead end; the killing goes on.

Mr. Clinton said that Mr. Yeltsin told him that he would do everything he could in the week or so ahead to persuade the Serbs to change their mind. That will take courage. His enemies back the Serbs as brother Slavs and are beating him hard with that emotional stick. But Mr. Clinton said he believed Mr. Yeltsin would carry out his word and try hard.

Meanwhile, President Clinton said, the U.S. will take a look at its options. I had been told before Vancouver that they could include pushing Britain, France and Russia to approve lifting the arms embargo against the Bosnian Muslims and fiercely tightening the sanctions against Belgrade — maybe cutting off international communications, a deep-freeze isolation.

No — no change in the Clinton policy of not sending U.S. ground troops except perhaps as peacekeeping forces, and that is not yet decided.

Now, American latter-day hawks deride limiting military action to peacekeeping forces. They say it is Presidential passivity.

But they choose to ignore something obvious. If peacekeeping forces are sent, and I think that much will be essential, it carries the unavoidable risk of involving U.S. troops in fighting.

If the Serbs break the peace U.S. troops could find themselves not on peacekeeping patrol but in peace-restoring combat.

For that reason alone, strengthening a Serbian democratic movement that would be opposed to breaking the peace becomes an American security objective.

And the movement exists. Last December it got 34 percent of the vote against President Slobodan Milosevic, who harassed and blanketed the opposition through Election Day. It was like getting 34 percent against Mussolini.

Think of Walesa and Havel, I suggested. Without strong Western backing and day-to-day attention, could they have lived through Communism, let alone moving from house arrest or jail to presidencies? They do not think so.

But for Serbian democrats, no public embrace. Since no one person is world-famous, all are virtually ignored by foreign governments and press, neatly perpetuating oblivion. When they needed a little help — a new TV transmitter so they could be heard by voters outside Belgrade — the U.S. turned them down.

Receive them, Mr. President, get the Secretary of State or the national security adviser to receive them — with photographers. Help them tell their story to the important American Serb community. Milosevic reaches them all right, through satellite broadcasts.

The best speech of the U.S. Presidential campaign, for me, was one in Milwaukee by Mr. Clinton saying that in America's interest, support for democratic movements would be basic to his foreign policy.

He ought to make that kind of speech again soon, this time specifically about Serbia. It might shake up all Westerners who search out democrats everywhere in Eastern Europe, Asia and the Middle East, everywhere but Serbia.

I did not think to make that particular suggestion to Mr. Clinton. So I am putting it in writing now, just in case I happen not to be on the phone the next time he strolls through Air Force One.

Old and sick pay price of sanctions

FROM ADAM LEBOR IN BELGRADE

THE old woman shook with cold as she sat hunched over a cardboard box on Terazije, the main shopping street of Belgrade. A few dinar notes fluttered in the box. She kept her face covered, tearful and ashamed that, in the sunset of her years, she must beg to survive.

But with an annual inflation rate of more than 20,000 per cent and the virtual collapse of much of the Yugoslav economy, she and many others on fixed incomes have no choice if they are not to starve.

Belgrade's citizens say the blockade is hitting the elderly, the sick and the poor, while political leaders responsible for the mess remain unscathed. Vera, 60, a stallholder in Belgrade's market, grows vegetables in her garden for sale. "If I didn't have this I would starve to death." Her pension of 30,000 dinars is now worth less than £1.

Yugoslavia's economic crisis began before UN sanctions, with the collapse of communist regimes and markets in Eastern Europe,

said Oskar Kovac, economics professor at Belgrade University. "Now Yugoslavia has also lost its market in the Muslim countries because of the Bosnian war and the sanctions are causing the most serious slowdown of the economy.

"Inflation is the price of keeping schools and hospitals functioning by printing money. The question is, how long can it go on?"

Hospitals are struggling. "The medicine we have paid for is stuck at the border for weeks and nobody tells us why," said Dr Spasoje Petkovic, head of gynaecology at Belgrade University Hospital. Medical equipment vital for delivering premature babies such as scanners cannot be used because Western companies have broken maintenance contracts, he added. "We feel tricked and betrayed. Europe should be ashamed."

Other Serbs say the sanctions strengthen President Milosevic's hold on Serbia, with the blockade providing an easy target on which to pin Belgrade's troubles.

The Times
March 12, 1993

Globe + Mail Aug 19/92

Serb terror campaign effective

'Ethnic cleansing' largely accomplished, U.S. reports

Associated Press

WASHINGTON — A campaign of terror that includes both random and targeted murders has largely accomplished the "ethnic cleansing" of Muslims out of the Serb-controlled majority of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a U.S. congressional report released yesterday says.

The document, the first official U.S. government report on the horrors, includes graphic witness descriptions of how Serb irregulars brutally forced Muslims from their homes in the region adjacent to [redacted].

One [redacted] from the town of Kozarac told investigators from the Senate foreign relations committee of taking food to her parents in a nearby village, only to find a young Serb neighbour outside their house.

Dressed in a camouflage uniform, he ordered them out, and the couple emerged hand in hand. "Please don't. We are not guilty," the father pleaded, according to her account. The neighbour, the 21-year-old son of a local Serb militant, slit both parents' throats.

The woman escaped, but never learned the fate of her brother and son, both of whom lived with the elderly couple.

"There is every reason to believe these individual accounts are part of a story repeated throughout Muslim Bosnia-Herzegovina in April, May and June," the report said.

The result is that roughly 70 per cent of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina has been substantially cleared of its Muslim inhabitants, who were formerly the majority, leaving exclusively Serbs in the region next to Serbia.

Two committee aides said they interviewed scores of refugees, including survivors and witnesses to atrocities, as well as United Nations, Red Cross, U.S. embassy and local government officials and workers for humanitarian and human-rights groups.

The Muslim charity organization Mehamet has videotaped more than 1,000 witness accounts of atrocities in the ethnic-cleansing campaign and collected them in its bureau in Zagreb, Croatia, the report noted.

But putting together a comprehensive picture of the process, including confirmation of the individual stories, is a mammoth job and becoming more difficult. "We fear some witnesses may be killed and that other evidence is being manipulated or will remain inaccessible," the report said.

Separate intelligence figures obtained by The Associated Press indicate that some 2.3 million Muslims already have fled Bosnia, about one-third of them to Western Europe. Leading refugees are Austria, Germany, Hungary, Sweden and Switzerland. More than 600,000 have fled to Croatia, and nearly that many remain in the non-Serb-controlled portions of Bosnia, the figures

showed.

Among other key findings in the report:

- The death toll associated with the forcible removal of Muslims from their Bosnian villages far exceeds the numbers killed either in death camps or in artillery shelling of cities, but has received less international attention.
- There is widespread evidence of "organized killings" in detention camps run by Serbs, as well as rapes, beatings and starvation. "Killings in the camps often appear to be recreational and sadistic. There is evidence that paramilitary groups from Serbia and Montenegro have entered certain camps, often drunk and by night, for the purpose of torturing, killing and raping."
- Bosnian Serbs have made a "major effort" to keep visitors, including the press, away from the sites of the worst atrocities.
- The government of Serbia-Montenegro shares responsibility for the campaign of ethnic cleansing even though it does not directly control actions of Bosnian Serbs. When Serbia withdrew from Bosnia in May, it left behind 85 per cent of the Yugoslav People's Army, which has formed the core military strength of the Bosnian Serbs.
- While Serbs have also been subjected to violence at the hands of Muslims and Croats, "in no sense does the violence against the Serbs compare to the atrocities inflicted on the Muslims."

Vance-Owen plan to blatantly an in that it institutionalizes for Serbian aggression and while trampling on the city of Bosnia-Herzegovina. points of Warren Christopher t the U.S. will be joining and ing the Vance-Owen diplo- onstrosity, perhaps with inor modifications. The representative will sit at the le and talk politely with war and mass murderers such an Karadzic and others. worse, the sending of U.S. es in the service of the



amento, CA, from left Presi- and Mary C. Rooney, were of of their 50-year member-

den Members

s, introduced the 50 year s as follows: Rudy DePolo, iljat, Mary C. Rooney, Lucille ter Kraljev, Leonora Mallegni, sh, Norma Jean Pezelj, and n Hoban.

unately, some of the could not be present. Asked ent, all the honorees present ed their appreciation and ersonal remarks about their golden status. we had a large gathering and w faces, brother Markov had e stand and introduce ves. We must say, everyone festive mood, and d good s had by all.

clusion, everyone wanted to hen the next banquet was be held and now I want to ny congratulations to all of ear members and wish them ore years of good health and ss. We are proud of all of you.

•Tony Markov/President

forced) into Croatia allowed Serbia to transfer forces out of Croatia and Bosnia in order to wage war there. The Vance-Owen Geneva Conference has opened a new armed conflict between Bosnian Muslims and Croats, who had been allies. Unprofor and the U.N. soldiers around Sarajevo function as a de facto auxiliary for the Serbians. Americans cannot want to join in such ignominy. The implementation of the Vance-Owen plan would buy overextended Serbia precious time to re-organize and regroup for future genocide in Kosova, Makedonija, and Vojvodina. The Serbian goal of wider "ethnic cleansing" conquests could be implemented as soon as Serbia seals a pact with a new pan-Orthodox anti-western regime in Moscow during the coming months.

Russian presence grows

Russian "volunteers" organized by General Filatov are already serving as pilots, officers, and advisers with Serbian units in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Without Russian logistical support, the Serbs could not hold their gains within the occupied areas of Bosnia. Although the Russians are not prepared to respond right now, to the degree that anti-western forces gain strength in Moscow, Russian involvement on the side of Serbia can only increase.

It is therefore imperative to put an end to the conflict before it becomes a focal point of U.S.-Russian strategic confrontation. Future Serbian moves are likely to embroil Makedonija, Albania, Greece, Turkey, Hungary, Romania, and perhaps even Austria and Italy. Serbian missiles can now strike Rome, Berlin, Athens, and other NATO capitals. This state of war must not be kept in suspended animation, ready to begin again at any time. It must be rapidly and decisively ended.

The United States must therefore identify Serbia not only as an aggressor, but as a U.S. strategic enemy and a direct threat to U.S. national security. U.S. policy must be the quick restoration of the territorial status quo ante, obliging the Serbs to retreat to their own borders, and restoring the sovereignty of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina over all their own territory.

Serbia is currently overextended and exceedingly vulnerable to determined U.S. countermeasures. The myth of Serbian invincibility has no basis in fact, but is the result of psychological warfare and British-inspired propaganda. Serbia has come close to military catastrophe several times since 1991, especially during the siege of Vukovar, when

(Continued on Page 18)

CDP Helps The Croatian Cause

WASHINGTON, DC—The Croatian Democracy Project (CDP) arranged the first bilateral agreement between the governments of Croatia and the United States.

Yes, we're working hard for Croatia, actively promoting her cause. Yet, the credit belongs to you, brothers and sisters, and all our supporters for making this important work possible.

In addition to following through on our current projects to build a strong democracy and economy in Croatia, I want to share with you what we are doing about Serbian atrocities.

In response, we are developing a range of programs, including pressuring the U.N. and the Clinton Administration, networking with other humanitarian groups who are helping the rape victims, as well as developing programs to deliver emergency medical assistance to the Mother & Child Hospital and treatment for psychologically distressed children.

Last summer, the Croatian Democracy Project opened an office in Washington, D.C. in response to increasing interest by the Washington community in the political, economic and humanitarian developments occurring in Croatia and the region and as a reflection of the organization's steady growth. This office coordinates CDP activities with the Center for Democracy in Zagreb.

Located on Capitol Hill, the fully staffed office is responsible for identifying and garnering support for democratic initiatives; expanding to Croatia democracy building programs underway in other East and Central European countries; responding to requests for information on the region; and managing existing programs. The Center for Democracy in Zagreb will continue to ascertain and prioritize Croatia's needs and coordinate in-country activities and programs.

With offices in both Zagreb and Washington, the CDP is the only incorporated U.S. organization equipped to channel and administer a full range of private sector and U.S. Government assistance programs to Croatia on a daily basis. The office is easily accessible and we welcome visitors.

The Washington office is located at 200 G Street NE, Suite 300, Washington, DC 20002, telephone 202/785-1309 and FAX 202/546-5488. The address of the Zagreb, Croatia office is Vlaske 86, 4100 Zagreb, Croatia, telephone 011-38-41-419-766 and FAX is the

same as the phone number.

This writer, Max Primorac, a member of CFU Lodge 1976, was elected president of CDP, taking over from Tia Pausic who is now Executive Director of the Center for Democracy in Zagreb. We also welcome David Edwards, president of Partners in International Development, as a member of the CDP Board of Advisors.

We are redoubling our efforts. For this, we need your continued support. Together, we will fight the U.N.'s tacit support for Serbia while we strive to build the best democracy in the former communist bloc.

Memberships are available in CDP at \$50 to \$99; patrons, \$100 to \$499 and benefactors, \$500 and above. All contributions are tax deductible. Please send your contributions, along with your name, address and telephone number to Croatian Democracy Project, 200 G Street NE, Suite 300, Washington, DC 20002.

•Max Primorac/Lodge 1976

Easter Bake Sale In Washington

WASHINGTON, DC—CFU Lodge 1976 is having their first Easter Bake, Book and Rummage Sale on Saturday, April 3 from 9:30 a.m. to 3 p.m., at the Croatian Catholic Mission, 1359 Monroe St. N.E., Washington, DC. The Mission is near the Shrine, Catholic University and the Brookland Metro Station.

Featured at this fundraiser for refugees will be the ever-popular nut and poppyseed rolls, kiflice and homemade sausage. The rummage, "treasures" to some, is always popular and very inexpensive.

We invite any visitors to Washington, and especially the students attending the various local universities and colleges, to join us. The coffee is free!

•Anne L. Pavlich/Secretary/Treasurer

CORRECTION

The Concert/Dance sponsored by Montreal, Quebec Lodges 739, 866 and 990 is scheduled for Saturday, March 6, at the Croatian Center in Montreal, and not March 16 as was inadvertently published in the "Z". Our apologies to the Montreal lodges for this error and hope that it didn't cause too much confusion.

•E.V.

Best To Share Blame For Balkans

The following story appeared in the San Francisco Examiner on Sunday, February 7, 1993. It was written by Thomas Shanker of the Chicago Tribune. (S:)

WASHINGTON—When the final history of the war in the former Yugoslavia is written, the Bush administration and its closest partners in other capitals will share blame for the Serbian regime in Belgrade for the bloodiest conflict in Europe since World War II.

The West missed numerous opportunities first to prevent and then to end the war, and in fact made political mistakes that hastened it.

Perhaps the most damning flaw of American diplomacy was a campaign to win the support of many leaders of nations in the region—particularly then-President George Bush—to define away the United States' interest in the Balkan peninsula.

They could not have been more wrong.

Over 10 million war refugees scattered across southeastern and Central Europe have created a social and economic nightmare not witnessed since the closing days of World War II. The burden of their care threatens to destabilize emerging democracies in the former communist bloc.

Even more critical is the situation in Germany, which has taken in more than 10 million Muslims and Serbs than any other country outside the borders of the old Yugoslavia. These refugees only add to an existing crisis over the costs of reunification and anguish over anti-Serbian violence. These elements are combining to prevent Germany from taking its place as the political cornerstone of a stable, unified Europe.

The Wrong Message

By doing nothing to halt carnage in Bosnia, the Bush White House sent a message to every authoritarian regime around the globe: If heinous massacres unwanted minorities, and sends men into concentration camps and rapes women, the United States will look the other way. If internationally recognized borders have to be crossed in order to reunify ethnic kin with a neighboring state, well, never mind.

The refusal to endorse lifesaving action in Bosnia is now linked in the Arabic press with the bombings of Iraq as proof of Western (read American) indifference to the slaughter of Muslims. The United States is losing the influence needed

simple land grab?

In one of its first acts, the new Clinton administration convened a National Security Council panel to argue just these questions and draft a new strategy for the Balkans.

In retrospect, it is clear that the Bush administration clung for far too long to the hollow ideal of a united Yugoslavia. This encouraged the Serbs to believe that the United States was bestowing its blessing on the Yugoslav National Army to hammer the crumbling state together again, at any cost.

The key moment was June 1991, when former Secretary of State James Baker, after meeting the Yugoslavian leadership in Belgrade, issued a warning to independence-minded leaders in Slovenia and Croatia to expect no U.S. recognition if they seceded.

The correct policy would have been to recognize the inevitability of the breakup of Yugoslavia, insist that it be properly negotiated, and threaten sanctions against anyone—Croat, Muslim or Serb—proposing to use arms or to declare unilateral independence.

Also complicating peace efforts was the fact that Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Greece, among others, could not agree on a common approach to solving a crisis developing in their back yard.

EC Not Strong Enough

This proved that the European Community simply is not mature enough to share the mantle of world leadership with the United States. Whether to intervene militarily, whether to enforce the U.N. no-fly zone over Bosnia, whether to lift the arms embargo to aid the outgunned Muslims, whether to strengthen the leaky trade ban against Serbia—all this is still being debated.

An Action Of Deceit By Serbia

(The following story appeared in the OP-ED section of *The New York Times* on Feb. 25, written by Elie Wiesel, who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1986.)

In addition to everything else, this tale is about lies, misleading pledges, and broken promises.

It began, for me, last summer when I received a letter from President Dobrica Cosic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, inviting me to head a

All the malingering allowed Belgrade to pursue designs for "Greater Serbia," safe in the knowledge that there would be no united world front to stop them.

Sadly, the crisis in the former Yugoslavia proves the failure of traditional, "liberal" Western diplomacy dealing with the primal national hatreds unleashed in the post-Cold War world.

By all definitions of diplomatic theory, even an irrational international actor can be made to act rationally being warned that his vital national interests could be sacrificed.

Playing by these rules, even the Kremlin could be counted on to keep its word during its most aggressive and obstreperous days. It knew continued trade, guaranteed currency loans and predictability of the nuclear balance served its national interests.

Not so with the parties in the former Yugoslavia.

Empty Threats

Peace envoys Cyrus Vance of the United States and David Owen of Great Britain have hammered together a package of embargo, sanctions, denunciations and threats. None of them have deterred the actions of Serbia.

Likewise, Croatia has been told to let Serbs do the dirty work in Bosnia while local Croats stake claim to western Herzegovina as ominous, the Croatian army in recent days has broken the year-long cease-fire with Serbia to reclaim territory.

For their part, the Muslims have been unwilling to help complete a peace pact. They hope the slaughter eventually will force the West to intervene and tip the balance of forces in their favor.

to rest at All Souls Cemetery in Chardon.

To her husband, John, her children, Nada, Donna and Joseph, we extend our sincere sympathy and to our member, sister Ann Klepac, we wish Eternal Peace. Vječna ja pomja.

•Goldie Malone/Secretary

In Memoriam: Of Cardinal Stepinac

CLEVELAND, OH—On Feb. 10, Croats in the Domovina and all over the world have commemorated the thirty-third anniversary of the death of Cardinal-martyr Stepinac. On this same day, President Bill Clinton and Secretary of State Warren Christopher announced the new U.S. policy on war atrocities in former Yugoslavia. Also, Phil Donahue dedicated his entire Feb. 10 TV program to the tragic plight of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

President Clinton's Town Meeting in Detroit and Phil Donahue's talk show have urged me to honor the 33rd anniversary of Cardinal Stepinac's death by sending my book, *Archbishop Stepinac in His Country's Church-State Relations*, with the following dedications:

"To: Mr. Bill Clinton, President of the United States: Admiring the eloquence and statesmanship, displayed by you on this memorable day in Detroit on the U.S. economy and also on the tragic plight of Bosnia-Herzegovina, accept this book as a token of my deep-felt gratitude."

"To: Phil Cohen, M.D.: Admiring the courageous stand, displayed by you on this memorable day on the Donahue TV program against the Nazi-type slaughter of Bosnia-Herzegovina, accept this book as a token of my gratitude."

I hope that the two above messages will inspire many Croats to purchase my history-filled but concise book about Cardinal Stepinac and his Croatia and send it either on their own or through me to various statesmen and other renowned personalities. The book can be purchased by sending 7 US Dollars (this includes the postage) to the following address:

•John Prcela/Lodge 995
4037 Monticello Blvd.
Cleveland, Ohio 44121

ПОЛИТИКА субота 10. април 1993.

POLITIKA

APRIL 10, 1993.

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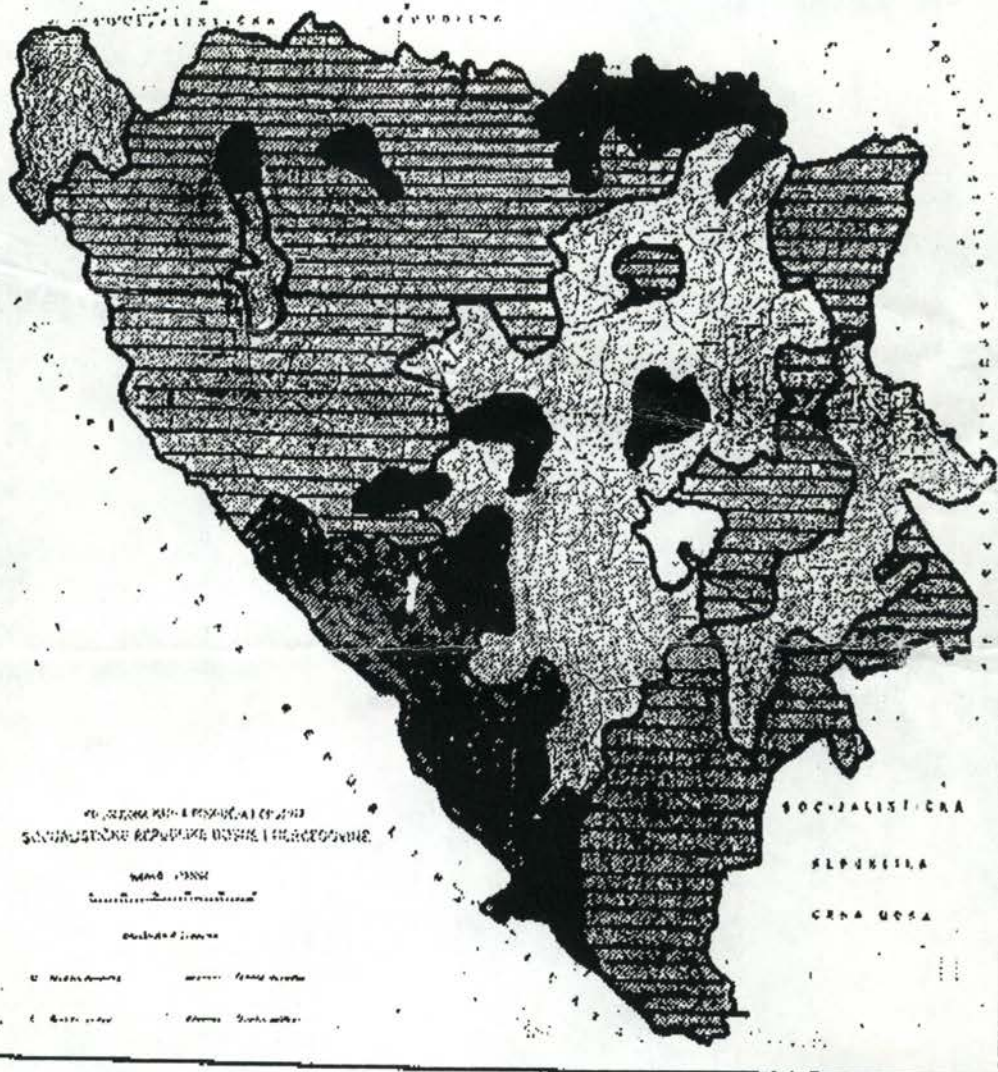
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У ИЗЈАВИ ЗА ТАЊУГ

Др Кољевић: Мир у Босни и Херцеговини ближи него икад

Зворник,
9. априла
(Тањуг)

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них послова Ру-
сије Виталиј
Чуркин дошао



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најавио и господин Кристофер, па
се надамо да то није само руска
иницијатива, сматра др Кољевић.

ник Републике Српске је одгово-
рио: „Сада смо далеко ближе мјру
и, по неким саветима из Њујорка,
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смо за што хитнији наставак разго-
вора.“

Потпредседник Кољевић је ма-

REINHART, BOERNER, VAN DEUREN, NORRIS & RIESELBACH

S.C.

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KEVIN J. HOWLEY
ANTHONY J. HANDZLIK

May 7, 1992

Ms. Lori Kettish
c/o Hon. Helen Delich Bentley
U.S. House of Representatives
1610 Longworth Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Lori:

I continue to work to encourage the Serbian Unity Congress to cooperate with Serb Net, despite some occasional resistance.

Most recently, apparently there are rumors that Bob Stone, who is associated with Helen in Serb Net, has been subject to disciplinary proceedings by an insurance commissioner or removed from his office at SAVA. Whether there is any truth to these rumors or not, they are detracting from ability to support Serb Net.

Is Helen aware of any such actions? I would appreciate your letting me know.

Best regards,



David A. Erne

DAE: SAM

NEDJELJNE VIJESTI

IZDAJE HRVATSKO NOVINARSKO DRUŠTVO

NO. 1 - 1941 X

ZAGREB, PONEDJELJAK 15. PROSINCA 1941.

CIJENA 2 KUNA

HRVATSKA JE STUPILA U RAT protiv Engleske i Sjedinjenih država

NA STRANI VELEVLASTI I OSTALI DRŽAVA TROJNE PAKTA

U ime naroda Hrvatske
i svih njenih država
i podanosti, a protiv
Engleske i Sjedinjenih
Država, Hrvatska je
od danas stupila u rat
na strani Velevlasti i
ostalih država Trojne
Pakta.

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ODLUKA HRVATSKE DRŽAVNE VLADE

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PHOTOGRAPH BY AP/WIDEWORLD

This Croatian newspaper *Nedeljne Vijesti*, Zagreb, Dec. 15, 1941, bears the headline:

GROVIA DECLARES WAR against England and United States [of America] on the side of Great Powers and other States of the Axis.

The picture on the photograph shows The Poglavnik Pavelic reading the DECLARATION OF WAR over Radio Station Zagreb in presence of Andrija Artukovic (living now in Los Angeles, Calif.) and other ministers of his government.

From book "Conversion or Deceit",
by Edmund Paris

Handwritten notes in the left margin, including "Etat of e Axis, epinac Axis, th the", "at the ile one on] is ble to Cath- omises", and "same vs: poles. aning an is justice,".

Commonwealth of Pennsylvania



Governor's Office

PROCLAMATION

VUK STEFANOVIC KARADZIC DAY
November 6, 1990

Vuk Stefanovic Karadzic, recognized as the "Father of Serbian Culture," was born in Trsic, now Yugoslavia, November 6, 1787.

A folklorist, philologist, poet and scholar, Karadzic revolutionized the Serbian language. Among his long list of accomplishments can be numbered his introduction of phonetic spelling into the Serbian language; the invention of new letters in the Cyrillic alphabet; a grammar of vernacular Serbian and the publication in 1818 of a Serbian dictionary.

His interests went beyond simple linguistics and philology, however. A published poet, he produced 10 volumes of Serbian folk poetry. In 1847 he translated the New Testament into Serbian for the British and Foreign Bible Society. A collector of tales and customs, his wide range of interests and achievements earned him an appointment as Serbia's first Minister of Education.

His death in 1864 marked the passing of a great intellect and a patron of culture.

Therefore, I, Robert P. Casey, Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, do hereby proclaim November 6, 1990, as VUK STEFANOVIC KARADZIC DAY in Pennsylvania.

GIVEN under my hand and the Seal of the Governor, at the City of Harrisburg, this first day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and ninety, and of the Commonwealth the two hundred and fifteenth.



Robert P. Casey
Robert P. Casey
Governor

For local Serbs, pain & anger inescapable

BOSTON SUNDAY HERALD, APRIL 4, 1993

RECEIVED APR 2 1 1993

By PETER SLAVIN

A Holy Cross professor who left Serbia 18 years ago says he's learned to "keep my mouth shut" about politics to avoid "very unpleasant arguments."

A retired chemist who emigrated here from Belgrade in 1968 hasn't spoken to her best friend, a Croatian, for a year.

And a 4-year-old girl asks her Serbian-American mother, "Mommy, are we the bad Serbs?"

They are far away from the war ravaging their splintered country, but that doesn't keep Boston's Serbs and Serbian-Americans from reeling from its effects.

"We feel we don't exist here," said Dragana Lazich, the Lynnfield chemist. There is a sense of "sorrow, desperation, and most of all, anger."

"It's difficult when a whole nation is called names," she explained. "You are afraid to say you're Serb."

The 400-strong Serbian community here is made of both professionals who emigrated years ago and students and others who arrived more recently, many to escape the fighting.

The war preoccupies them: It undermines their connections with the local Croatian community and isolates them from other Americans who associate their ethnic group with atrocities and aggression.

"I get upset when someone comes on (the air) and says, 'those murderous Serbs,'" said Ivan Lazich, Dragana's son, who is a Northeastern student. Born and raised here, Lazich passionately defended his heritage.

"I'm a Serbian. I'm not a Serb killer. I'm not a bigot," he said. "I'm very proud of where I come from."

Others are afraid of revealing their nationality. Branislav "Brian" Andjelic, who heads a local Serbian-American group, sees that as a fearful sign.

"Serbs are beginning to feel like an oppressed

Families & lives torn apart

Gordona Todorov, a mathematics professor at Northeastern, has seen parts of her world crumble. Until the war, each year she and her two children used to visit her parents in Belgrade all summer, and her parents would come to spend the entire winter with them at their home in Newton.

Now they have no prospect of seeing them.

The kids miss their grandparents a lot. Nine-year-old Gregory spoke of them in a letter about the war that he wrote to the president, and 4-year-old Sonja talks about them frequently.

"Sonja probably mentions them every other day," Todorov said.

Last year when it looked as if the embargo against Serbia would extend to communications, Sonja was telling people, "My mother is worried because they want to cut the telephone, so I can't talk to my grandmother and grandfather."

Todorov's family has gained something from the war as well. Her 20-year-old second cousin came to live with them last fall after her parents got her out of Sarajevo. The children now call her their sister.

Still, the war has cost Todorov her native country and her identity.

"I was Yugoslavian. I wasn't Serbian," she said. "It's very sad. I feel very cheated because I believe in Yugoslavia."

For months To-



FAMILY'S FEAR: Gordona Todorov of Newton, with her son, Gregory, fears she will never again see her parents in Belgrade. Herald photo by John Bohn

dorov has been writing letters to newspapers. She has met with U.S. Rep. Barney Frank and aides to Sens. John F. Kerry and Edward M. Kennedy.

But the lack of results has sorely disap-

pointed her.

"She has been known to break into tears lately for no reason at all..." says an acquaintance.

"She must have lost 20 pounds." □

— PETER SLAVIN

"persona non grata" in the Serbian community because he was highly critical of Serbia at the war's outset. He has no relatives left in Serbia but "many close friends, Serb and Croat."

He remembered a Harvard panel he attended early in the war: "It got ugly. People in the audience started calling each other names. I got up and asked people to behave in a civilized manner. That infuriated some."

Now he says he is "a bit more sympathetic" to the Serb cause and sends money to a family there. But, to avoid arguments, he still won't discuss the war with Serb friends because they are more nationalistic than he.

He keeps in contact with only one of his former Croatian friends — and he won't tell his Serbian friends about even that.

Others have had to give up their Croatian friends.

"The few Croat friends I had have let me know that I'm an aggressor now," said Brenka Milosevic, an architect unrelated to Serbia's president.

Gordona Todorov, a Northeastern math professor, has lost two American friends over the war.

She said she found both friends indifferent to the suffering the war has caused her relatives in Serbia — including loss of jobs and inability to obtain treatment for cancer — even though one friend had come to supper when her mother visited.

"People just don't consider Serbs to be people any more," she said. "They just don't want to hear that Serbs are suffering."

Dragana Lazich looks at the war through the eyes of someone with a foot in two camps. She and her husband Tscan, a physician, emigrated from Belgrade in 1968. He is Serbian on both sides, but her father was Croatian.

Her father is now 86 and her mother 83. Both live in Belgrade and she

people in this country, and they're beginning to act like it," the Cambridge resident said. "The talk among the Serbs is we are a lesser

people in this country. I'm not saying we are oppressed. We are beginning to feel oppressed.

"I don't think we should have to be ashamed to be

Serbs. A lot of us are."

The war has also harmed friendships here.

George Kostich, who left Serbia in 1965 for political reasons, says he is

worries what will happen if either becomes ill. Little medicine is available, and some hospitals have closed. She has made trips to Belgrade twice since the war began and plans to go back this spring.

"In between Serbs and Croats, any struggle really hurts me badly," she said. "I didn't want to see what was happening for a long time. I just refused. I defended both sides. I didn't want to hear what people were saying about Serbs, about Croats."

"We lost a lot of friends just because they were Croats and we were Serbs."

She hasn't spoken to her best friend, a Croatian woman, for a year. "We stopped seeing each other, because things became too painful and we couldn't avoid talking about (the war)." It was a way, she said, to protect their friendship.

Lazich sees herself as a Yugoslav. The country's breakup was a blow to her family.

"We lost our heritage," she said.

She sides with the Serbs in the war because the media have made the Serbs the villains, she said. They have "already decided Serbs are guilty," she said, "and even American Serbs are guilty."

It is the media's portrayal of the war that most disturbs local Serbs.

"When I open the newspaper and I see a monster and they write 'Serb' under the monster, it's very painful," said Todorov, referring to political cartoons.

Added Kostich, "We do not read about atrocities committed by the other side. We read only about atrocities committed by the Serbs."

Serbs also argue ethnic cleansing was started by Croats and Moslems. And they protest that millions of ordinary Serbs are being villified for the actions of the Milosevic government and paramilitary forces.

Unlike the Persian Gulf crisis, when the West condemned Saddam Hussein



'It's difficult when a whole nation is called names. You are afraid to say you're Serb.'

Dragana Lazich

SUFFERING: Dragana Lazich says she lost friends 'because they were Croats and we were Serbs.'

Herald photo by John Bonn

but not ordinary Iraqis, they say no such distinction has been made between the government and people of Serbia.

Boston Serbs say not only have Serbs been singled out unfairly for blame in the war, but when they try to argue their case to politicians and the press, no one listens. Politicians lecture them and talk shows interrupt them.

"When anyone starts making a point for Serbia, and it's a valid point, a good point, they get cut off," said Ivan Lazich.

Trying to help themselves, last year Boston Serbs banded together to restore their good name and formed the Serbian-American Alliance of New England.

The alliance has worked to establish a Serbian Orthodox Church in

Boston, sent some 20 tons of food, clothing and medicine to all sides in the war and encouraged Serbs to phone each other and vent their anger after they view television programs they find unfair.

"It was when we all felt lonely and alone," said Todorov. "We all felt like we needed each other."

Despite the suffering, both here and abroad,

some Serbs remain philosophical about the situation.

Kostich sees the war as the latest round of a struggle between Moslems, Serbs and Croats that has been fought since the Ottoman Empire conquered the Balkans 600 years ago.

He sees no end. "The guns will go silent," he said. "And then it will begin again." □

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Official wisdom on Serbia

SIR—It is easy to understand the frustration which leads Noel Malcolm to suggest that we should lift the arms embargo in Bosnia in favour of the Muslims only (article, April 2).

The proposal has often been looked at, most recently by President Clinton and his team. At first sight it seems an act of justice, but I do not think it would work out that way. As Mr Malcolm admits, we and other European countries would then have to withdraw our troops from the successful escorting of humanitarian convoys, particularly in central Bosnia, which has kept alive many thousands of Bosnians whom the experts predicted would by now be dead.

The whole United Nations humanitarian effort would probably come to an end. The friends of the Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats would have little compunction in re-arming them. We would in effect be saying "Here are the arms: fight it out". That is the policy of the level killing field.

I agree that keeping people alive through humanitarian relief is not a full answer, though it is better than letting them die. The Security Council, the EC, the new American Administration and, with difficulty, the Russians, support Lord Owen and Mr Cyrus Vance in what they are attempting — a plan which would

enable Bosnians to live together in one country divided into provinces while respecting the autonomy of the different communities.

The plan will not work without pressure. The main obstacle is the Bosnian Serbs, backed by Belgrade. Mr Malcolm accuses me of bullying the Bosnian government into surrender. But it is the Serbs who face economic sanctions which have produced a 9,000 per cent inflation rate.

We have now agreed to the enforcement of the No Fly Zone and are contributing to it. We are pursuing in New York and elsewhere the tightening of existing sanctions and the imposition of a final round.

Meanwhile the horrors continue. From outside we have not been able to stop them. They cannot, in fact, be ended from outside. But we must not close our minds to new pressures on those mainly responsible. The fighting will not end by a clear-out military victory, however many arms flow in.

It will end when all the combatants, particularly the Bosnian Serbs, realise that they cannot secure a stable and accepted future for themselves and their children by killing their neighbours.

DOUGLAS HURD
Foreign Secretary
Jakarta, Indonesia

The Daily Telegraph April 5, 1993

BEARING WITNESS

In Bosnia, soap-opera star Elizabeth Hubbard discovers the real-life tragedies of war

SUDDENLY THE BOEING 737 TAKES A SHARP lunge, and Elizabeth Hubbard—better known to millions of daytime drama fans as wicked, wily Lucinda Walsh on CBS's *As the World Turns*—makes a fast grab for the cup of mineral water about to spill on her lap. Three days earlier, Hubbard had stepped out of a stretch limousine to attend the Feb. 26 *Soap Opera Digest* Awards in Beverly Hills. The blue-silk Giorgio Armani dress she wore to the event has been ditched in her Manhattan apartment. Now, Hubbard is on Croatian Airlines flight 380 bound for Split, Croatia—and, frankly, a silk parachute might be more appropriate. Shelling from Serbian guerrillas, who are fighting for control of parts of Croatia and the central republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has made the overland route dangerous between Zagreb and Hubbard's ultimate destination of Mostar, 50 miles southwest of Sarajevo. To avoid fire the pilot flies along the Adriatic Sea, his plane lurching wildly in the strong coastal winds. Hubbard, however, betrays no nerves. "What's the point?" she asks with a shrug.

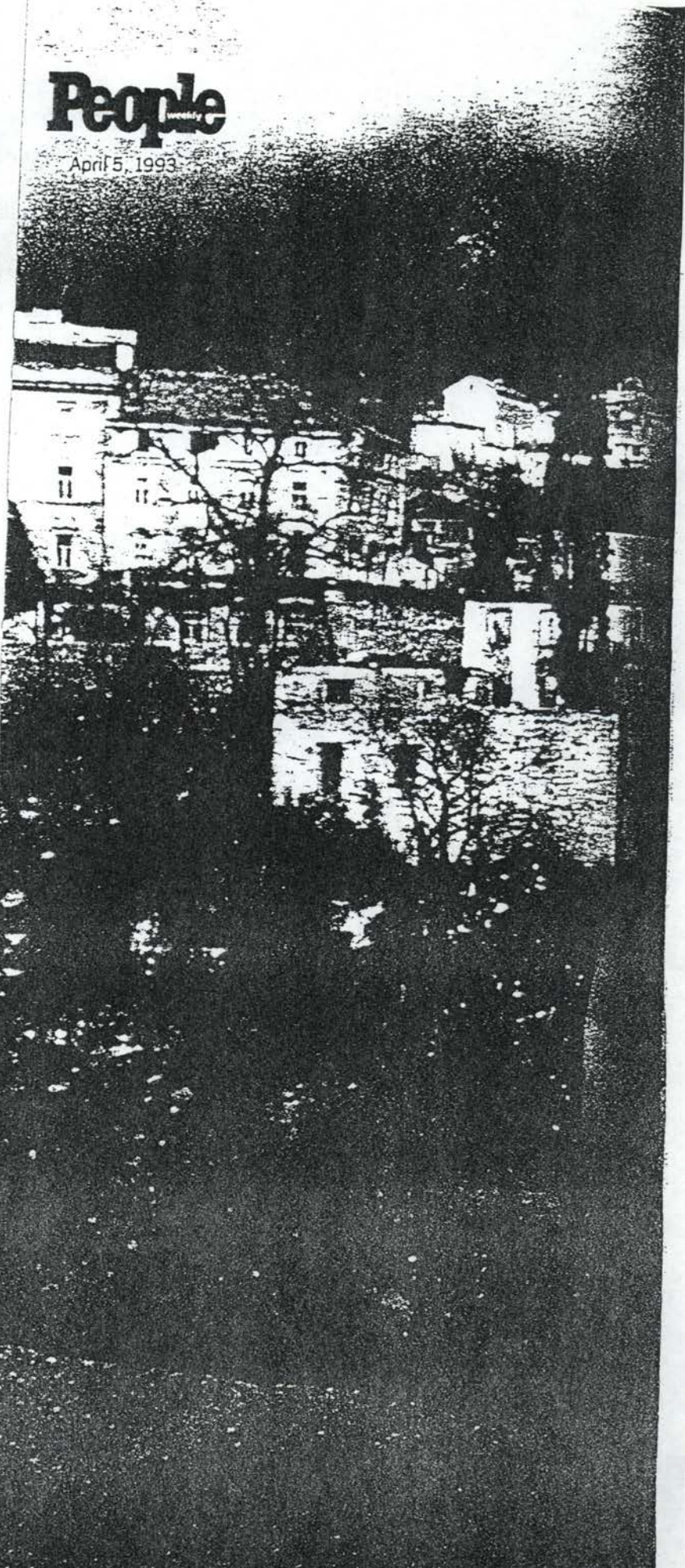
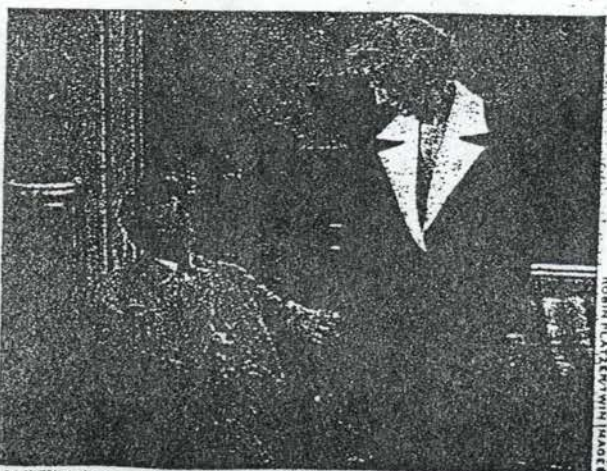
It is a question one might well put to Hubbard herself: What is a soap-opera star doing

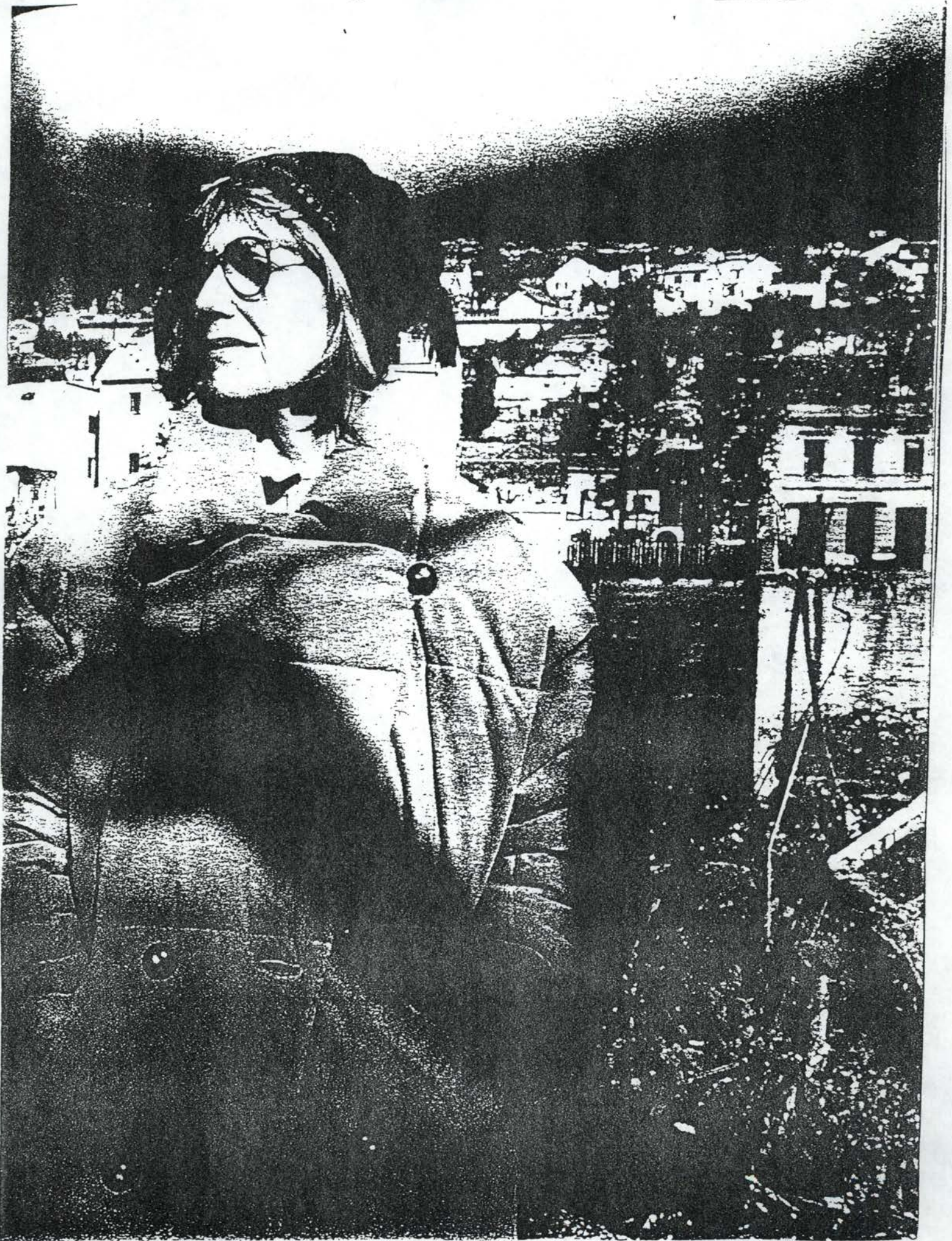
Y Hubbard (with Patrick Tovatt) is Lucinda Walsh on *As the World Turns*.

> "I didn't want to stay home and weep," says Hubbard (in Mostar).

People

April 5, 1993







◀ "If I had any fear, it was way over in the corner," says Hubbard (arriving at the airfield in Split, in southern Croatia) of her decision to visit the war zone.

▼ For many of Mostar's children, like 3-year-old Mustafa Padvezlje (below, right, at a refugee home) and his brother, Harris, 5, guns have become toys. "When I play war," says one little boy, "I kill the Serbians."





▲ Hubbard (in glasses, with translator Adla Dizdarevic, far left) listens as women who have been raped by Serbian soldiers talk about their pain. Says one victim: "We need to cure ourselves so we can help the others."

◀ "Even with all the fear and confusion of this war, every child in the community is cared for and loved," says Hubbard, playing with year-old Amila Greljo, whose mother, Swada (in background), was a rape victim.

in the middle of war-torn Bosnia? For Hubbard, the answer is obvious: a simple but strong "humanitarian impulse." Last year, deeply disturbed by the stories of cruelty and suffering in what was once Yugoslavia, Hubbard joined the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, whose mission is to gather first-hand information about the living conditions of refugees. When staff director Mary Anne Schwalbe proposed a trip to Bosnia, Hubbard didn't think twice. She bought herself a \$900 round-trip ticket from New York and arranged to travel to Mostar, a city with a large Muslim refugee community. What could an American actress do in Bosnia? Hubbard wasn't sure, except to do her small part to publicize the plight of women and children. And to learn what kind of help was needed from the U.S. "After looking at photos of the suffering in Bosnia, I just had to go there," she says. "To do anything I could. Just to talk. To listen. God knows, I can listen."

The 100-mile road between Split and Mostar, carved into steep mountains, yields breathtaking vistas. But this trip, in a rented blue van, is slowed by convoys of trucks delivering relief supplies to the besieged towns inland and takes more than three hours. Rather than travel after dark, Hubbard and her companions—including a commission member, a guide and an interpreter—stop for the night at the Annamaria hotel in Medugorje, a village blessed, locals say, by visits from the Virgin Mary. Once a bustling tourist stop, the hotel is now nearly empty. The owner, whose family fled to the safety of the coast, joins Hubbard for dinner. "Hitler was a song in comparison to what the Serbians are doing here," he says.

The next morning, Hubbard meets a 7-year-old boy in the streets of Mostar. "My name is Nenad," he says, kicking at rifle shells that litter the ground. Not even a year has passed since the Serbs, trying to gain control of the strategic city, were beaten back by the Bosnian and Croatian armies. Today, from a stronghold on top of nearby Mount Velez, Serbian guerrillas continue to lob artillery shells into the town. So far 1,700 people have been killed, and one third of its 120,000 residents have fled. Going outside, Nenad knows, is dangerous. Still, with no school there is little for him to do but wander the narrow cobblestone streets.

"Where are you from?" asks Hubbard. The boy's family, says Hubbard's translator, is Serbian. Although "ethnic cleansing" is directed mostly against Muslims, more than a half million Serbs have been killed, imprisoned or forced to flee their homes by fellow Serbs for various acts of disloyalty—from refusing to join Serbian forces to sheltering Muslim neighbors. Nenad's parents came to Mostar from Eastern Herzegovina to stay with an aunt. Because he is a Serb, he has few friends, he says, but beyond that he wishes to remain silent. "I am just a child," he says.

Later, Hubbard visits a boarding school that has become an emergency home to 500 women, children and old men. Outside, a young Bosnian soldier approaches her, eager to make contact with the American visitor. "I like Michael Jackson," he says in halting English.



"Really," says Hubbard, smiling. "that's interesting. And I like opera." She waves goodbye, then goes inside. Though there has been no heat in the building for two midwinter weeks, relief agencies have provided enough bottled gas for cooking. In the kitchen, kept spotless by residents, ravioli boils in steel vats. Upstairs, two brothers, Harris, 5, and Mustafa, 3, draw with crayons in the small, cold room that has been home to their family since their father, a Muslim from a nearby town, left to fight with the Bosnians. After a while the boys put down their pictures, borrow loaded guns from soldiers wandering the hallways and play war. Their mother and their several aunts look on, restless.

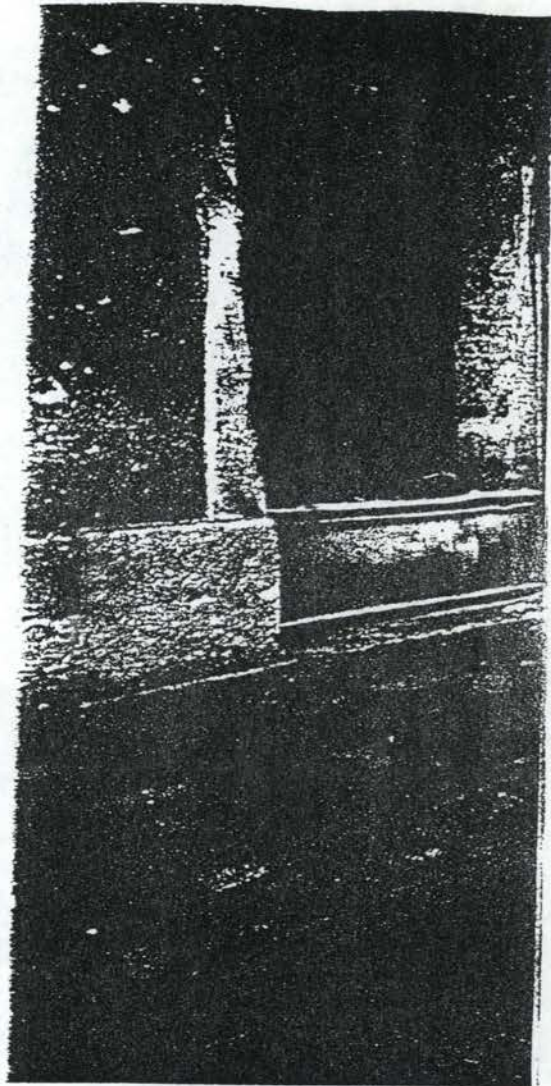
A revelation for Hubbard is that some refugees actually have too much of at least two things: time and clothing. With a seemingly endless supply of donated sweat-shirts, pants and underwear at their disposal, the people simply throw their dirty garments away. "At first, you think, 'My God, get out the washing powder and get to it,'" says Hubbard. "But then you realize, they are completely demoralized. How many times can anyone clean clothes or wash the floor?"

In one refugee camp Hubbard visits, the boredom is more palpable than the fear. One girl has papered her wall with photos of Michael J. Fox, though she has no idea who he is. "The posters came in with the relief supplies," she says. Other girls, says British social worker Ruby Belchamber, paint their faces with makeup and wander the streets. They flirt with the soldiers, she explains, offering sexual favors just to stave off the boredom. International Rescue Committee worker Patricia Gruenberg notes that, besides the usual medical supplies, "we need antidepressants."

Night is falling. Hubbard and Dr. Saric Sehad, 34, a gynecologist from Gacko, a Serbian-controlled city 50 miles south of Sarajevo, are driving quickly through Mostar to get eight women home before curfew. Several months ago, the women, 20 to 40 years old, were imprisoned by Serbs in a school outside Gacko while their

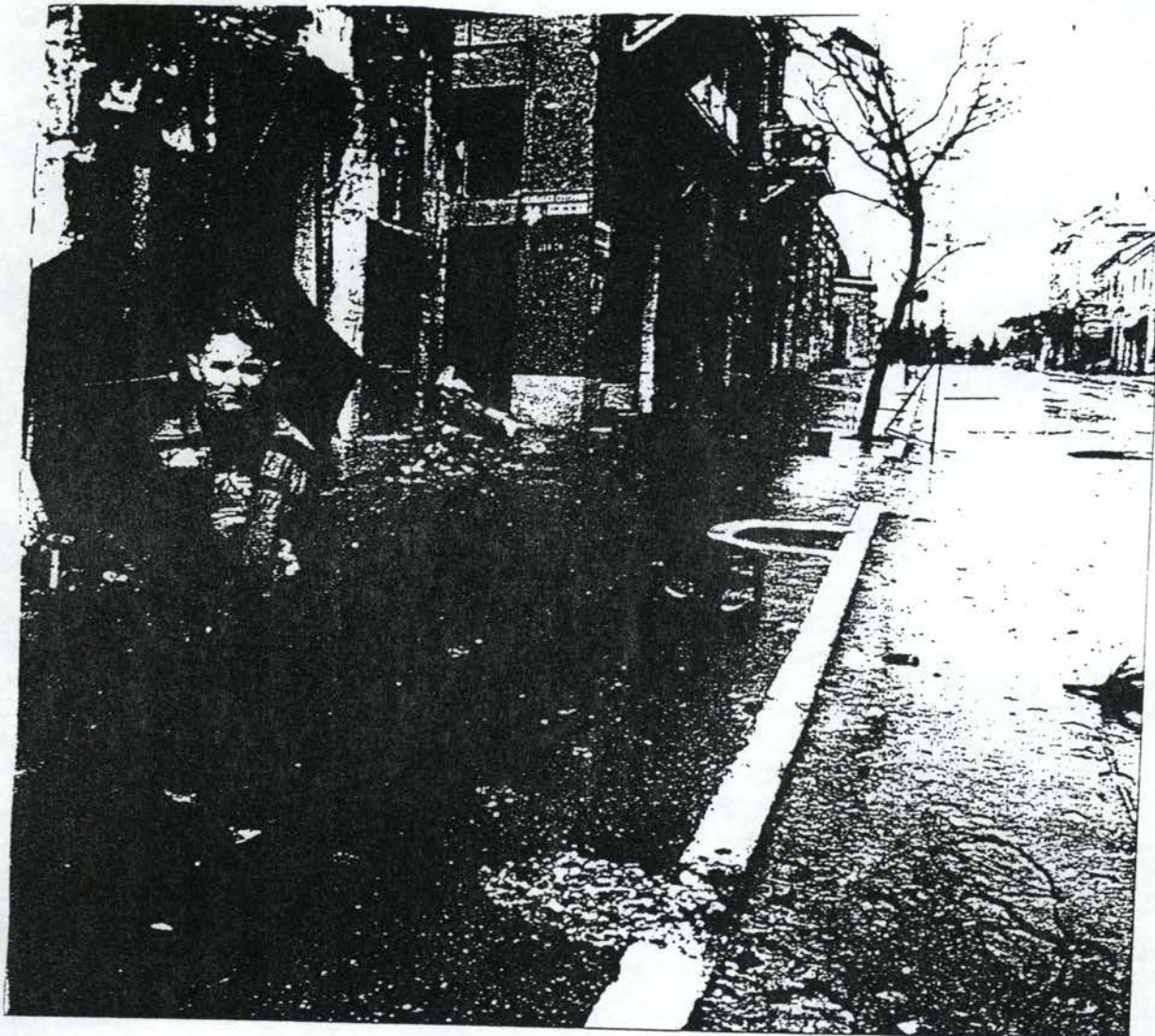
◀ "I want people to feel that they as individuals can matter," says Hubbard, embracing one of the rape victims who spoke about her feelings of anguish, anger and shame. Says one woman: "All our lives we will have nightmares."

➤ Though Nenad, 7, is Serbian, his family deplores the violence against Muslims. Walking the empty streets, he feels protected by the distant sounds of the Bosnian soldiers firing against the Serbs. "Those are our guns," he says.



husbands fought for the Bosnian cause. Each night at 11 p.m., the women say, they were marshaled into squalid bathrooms where soldiers forced them to have sex. Sometimes their children were in the next room, screaming. A number of the imprisoned women became pregnant. Dr. Sehad performed abortions for those who asked. At the Mostar office of the International Rescue Committee, Sehad leads a newly formed self-help group for rape victims. "It's very hard to talk to the girls who were virgins," he says. Indeed, for the Muslim women, whose faith teaches that modesty and chastity are measures of their human value, sexual abuse is an almost impossibly difficult topic. "We have lost ourselves," one of the women tells Hubbard. "We have no identity." Together, she and the others chain-smoke cigarettes with trembling hands, taking comfort and strength from each other's presence. "Silence is the greatest healer," says Hubbard. "They'll get to talking later. Right now they just have to survive."

Sitting quietly off to the side during Dr. Sehad's meeting, Zeema Greljo, a refugee in her early 40s, teeters on the brink of despair. "Nobody can help us," she says, weeping. Released in August from a detention camp in Banja Luka in exchange for imprisoned Serbian women, Greljo says her most pressing concern is her 17-year-old daughter, Armella. Like many other young girls, Armella was not freed with her mother. Though no one has confirmed



Y In Mostar's Liska Park, now a cemetery for 400, red crescents mark the graves of Muslims, white crosses are for Serbs, and plain wooden crosses identify Croats. Says Hubbard: "I've never visited a graveyard where everyone died in one year"—1992.

her suspicion. Zeema fears that Armella, and the girl's 13-year-old cousin Jasmina, are in the besieged town of Foca, kept behind to serve the sexual whims of their Serbian captors. "I cannot heal until she comes home," Greljo says, wiping tears from her eyes. "Please," she begs, "help me find my daughter."

In the New York City studio of *As the World Turns*, a week after she departed, Hubbard is back in character as Lucinda, plotting her next misdeed. In real life, however, the actress is remembering the words of Dr. Sehad: "Many people are touched by the people they see here, but no one has helped them." Hubbard is working every angle she can think of, exhorting anyone who will listen to send relief. In just a few days she's gotten seeds from gardening clubs, and she is working to facilitate the distribution of shampoo, soap and toothpaste from her show's sponsor, Proctor & Gamble. Meanwhile she and the other members of the Women's Commission are putting the final touches on a report about what they saw in Bosnia—and what they believe can be done to help there—to be delivered shortly to the United Nations and members of Congress. "I don't want to be another useless actress who comes home and just says, 'They need safety pins.'" says Hubbard. "I intend to make something happen."

■ KAREY S. SCHNEIDER

■ SUE CARSWELL in *Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia*



The Daily Telegraph
April 16/93

Churchill doubts on intervention

SIR—While Lady Thatcher is entitled to her views on the appalling situation in Bosnia, she should not support her argument by the belief that Churchill would have supplied arms to the Muslims, which is implicit in her comparison of the present inaction with the courage of Churchill during the Battle of Britain.

To pray in aid what Churchill might have done does not support her case. It is quite clear from *The Gathering Storm* that he favoured neutrality in the Spanish Civil War despite the horrors which he recounts.

He did not agree with the policy of non-intervention because it was not observed by some of the Great Powers. He stated: "It would have been more reasonable to follow the normal course and to have recognised the belligerency of both sides as was done in the American Civil War from 1860-65."

The British Government must support the efforts of the United Nations in supplying humanitarian aid. It must not take sides or offer military support to either party.

G. W. F. ARCHER
Oxford

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Applying sense to Serbia

SIR—Mark Almond asks whether I am saying that "ethnic cleansing" is "justified" (Peterborough, April 15). The question is misleading.

I am simply saying that as long as the fighting in Bosnia is in full career there is no chance of patching up some kind of peace settlement; and that this will become possible only when the fighting ends in a new equilibrium of power.

The quickest way to a new equilibrium of power as things stand is for the Serbians to finish off the process of taking all the territory they want.

The most effective way of delaying such an equilibrium of power, and with it the chances of peace, is to aid the Bosnian Muslims, thereby prolonging the struggle.

This is a matter of the dynamics of war: "justice" or "justification" do not come into it.

I accused Mr Almond of "sheer Pilgerite bleeding of the heart". Now we have Lady Thatcher, fierce of eye, telling us that the Serbian atrocities make her "angry".

But when did anger serve as a

sound guide to judgment? If we put in air strikes, what would the Serbs do in response? And what would we do in response to that?

Clausewitz pointed out that in war action provokes reaction, which in turn provokes further action, and so on in a continuous process of sharpening the conflict towards extremes.

Either we put limits on what we do and accept failure and futility, or we finish up with an international army group of 100,000 men. These would be fighting a prolonged campaign in difficult country and with enormous complications in terms of logistics and lines of communication — all because of a Balkan civil war that does not threaten the security of the United Kingdom, the European Community or Nato.

I profoundly hope therefore that the Government will continue to be guided by sober appraisal of operational realities, and not give way to popular gut emotion.

CORRELLI BARNETT
Cambridge

The Bosnian refugees - a dilemma of conscience

The arrival on February 16 of 83 war-weary Bosnian Moslem refugees - some carrying children while struggling with their meager belongings - has been posing a dilemma of conscience for the country's Arab community.

Six months earlier, a delegation of Israeli Arabs traveled to the former Yugoslavia.

They offered help to the thousands made homeless by the fighting who were forced to scratch an existence in refugee camps on the border of Bosnia and neighboring Croatia.

The delegation, composed of council heads and members of the Islamic Movement, brought nearly \$100,000 raised by the Arab community here to help buy clothes, food and medicine.

The delegates added that the Arab community in this country was willing to take in as many as 6,000 Moslem families - and especially children who had been orphaned.

While the Bosnian authorities considered the proposals, Arab leaders appealed to the government here to admit Moslem refugees and allow local Arabs to adopt them.

They said the Foreign Ministry had agreed in principle, but no approval was forthcoming from the Interior Ministry. In the meantime, the Bosnian authorities rejected the idea of sending refugees so far from their country.

Negotiations continued, and the government announced that it was willing to admit 100 Bosnian Moslems.

Arab leaders here initially welcomed the government's decision, but also demanded the immediate return of all the Hamas and Islamic Jihad deportees from their makeshift tent camp in southern Lebanon, citing similar humanitarian reasons.

At a meeting of the so-called monitoring committee of the local Arab hierarchy a few days before the refugees arrived, however, it was decided

not to cooperate with the government because the Bosnian authorities opposed the airlift. Participants also accused the government here of trying to make political capital out of what should have been a humanitarian act.

"Our position has not changed," declared Ibrahim Sarsur, head of the Kafr Kassem local council, who visited the former Yugoslavia last September.

"During that visit we met with Bosnian Vice President Salem Shavit, as well as the minister responsible for refugees. The Bosnian position, as we heard from these two officials, was that they wanted their people to remain close to the borders of the country and not be scattered throughout the world.

"In spite of this decision, we openly declared we would be glad to help as much as possible, if or when the Bosnian authorities changed their position.... Unfortunately, the Interior Ministry [here] denied our request.

"Then, suddenly, we heard that the government had changed its mind... and was ready to accept this surprising number of 101 Bosnian refugees, compared to the 6,000 orphans and families we had wanted to adopt.

"Initially we were ready to help, and the mayors of Tira and Umm el-Fahm said they would let the refugees live near their towns. But through the contacts made by the delegates who visited Bosnia, we were shocked to learn that the Bosnian government knew nothing about this proposal.

"The last official information we received from the Bosnian government said they were opposed to what they described as the illegitimate and unacceptable act of kidnapping their people."

NEVERTHELESS, 83 refugees arrived on February 16 from Zagreb. Eighteen others who had been

David Rudge



Father and son soon after arriving in Israel. (Israel 58)

scheduled to make the trip pulled out at the last minute, apparently after hearing radio and press reports of the Israeli Arab leadership's decision not to accept them.

Those who came were given a warm welcome by dozens of Israeli Arabs who had waited for hours at the Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel's field school near Kibbutz Ma'agan Michael, where they are scheduled to stay for their first month here.

"I don't agree with the refusal of the monitoring committee to accept these poor people who have suffered so much," declared Dr. Khalid Diab, who comes from Tamra village

in Lower Galilee.

"The face of Islam is humanitarian, and there is no greater value than in helping another human being," said Diab, who offered to house the newcomers on 60 dunams of his land in Tamra.

"There is no reason to link this humanitarian act with political issues."

Diab, a general practitioner, said he differentiated between providing a safe haven for the refugees and the deportation of Hamas and Islamic Jihad activists to south Lebanon.

"We are the Arabs of 1948 who fought to stay on our lands, and now we, Arabs and Jews, have to fight with all legal means against the deportations. There's no connection between the two matters.

"I'm fighting against the deportations from the legal and humanitarian point of view. It's inconceivable that a person should be taken [from his home and family] and exiled without being put on trial. The Jewish people, especially, should not do such things after all the exiles they have been through," he said.

The Arab academics' society has also criticized the decision of the Israeli Arab leadership.

Sarsur said that although the leadership and the vast majority of Israeli Arabs were opposed to the way the government had handled the matter, the fact remains that the refugees are here.

"If we are convinced that these people came to Israel willingly, we will be ready to accept them and help them and take them into our towns and villages and our homes," he said.

"If it transpires that the position of the Bosnian government has not changed, we will try to persuade the [Bosnian] authorities not to allow others to go abroad. The position of Palestinians in Israel concerning this humanitarian problem, however, is the same.

"We want to be able to perform

this sacred mission of helping the refugees, regardless of whether they are secular or religious, provided it is with the blessing of the Bosnian authorities."

The forum of Arab Council Heads scheduled a meeting to decide on its position in light of the arrival of the refugees.

For the refugees, the dilemma is less acute. They have made the transition from war to comparative comfort and safety.

"It feels good to be here and away from the fighting," said 17-year-old Aissa Yakuovitch, who came with her mother, father and younger brother. They left their home in a village in Bosnia following heavy fighting in their area.

"The [Serbian] soldiers came into our town and took some of the people away and others were told to go. We left our home with just the clothes we were wearing and whatever we could carry. We are happy to be here, where we hope it will be quieter and safer," she said.

"I hope the war will stop and we will be able to go back to our home in Bosnia. We hope our home is still standing. We were lucky it was not hit. Many houses and many villages were destroyed," she said.

The feelings of the newcomers was perhaps best summed up by a young man.

"I think I like it here. Up to now, everything has been okay. It was our choice - my parents and sister - to come here.

"We were in a war. We had to run away and run away to Croatia, where we had to work very hard for money and food. That's why we used this chance - the first chance for all of us to be together in another country.

"I know some things about Israel, but not much. I know it's a lovely country and people are happy. I know there are some problems between the Israelis and the Moslems, but I think it's okay here," he added.

The Bosnian Moslems given sanctuary last week at Kibbutz Ma'agan Michael may find the peaceful Middle East setting eerie after escaping the snow-covered hell of their homeland.

But if they venture down the coast they will find something eerier still - remnants of a Bosnian village like the ones they left.

The old city of Caesarea, 8 km south of the kibbutz, was from 1882 to 1948 the home of an earlier group of Bosnian Moslem refugees fleeing the religious tensions in the Balkans. Unlike the present group, the first Bosnians had come to settle, and their descendants are still here.

The European map was rearranged at the Congress of Berlin in 1878. Bosnia was transferred from Ottoman hands to the administration of the Austro-Hungarian empire.

A small number of Moslem residents who preferred not to live under Christian rule appealed to the sultan, Abdul Hamid, for transfer to his domain.

The sultan agreed - partly in his role as defender of the faith, but also for geopolitical reasons.

The Bosnians would be transplanted to fill an underpopulated territory on the Palestinian coast in the area of today's Caesarea and Pardess Hanna.

The several hundred transplanted Bosnians would owe the sultan loyalty, which he needed to help stabilize his increasingly unruly empire.

In the same year, the sultan was transplanting groups of Moslem Cir-

Bosnian Moslems have fled here before

Abraham Rabinovich

University of Jerusalem's geography department. "It was the seat of the district governor, and there was a prison and a marketplace."

IN TIME, Bosnian immigrants filled the government jobs, including that of district governor. A Bosnian named Ahmed Beck, governor during World War I, played a part in the Nili affair, in which members of a Jewish group from nearby Zichron Ya'acov spying for the British were captured by the Turks.

"There is a story," says Aaronsohn, who is a descendant of Aharon Aaronsohn, leader of the Nili group, "that the group was uncovered when someone shot a pigeon for Ahmed Beck's lunch and they found a note tied to the bird's leg."

Some of the Bosnians took up farming, and remains of their farmhouses can still be found in the area. According to Ya'acov Shimoni, who described the Bosnian community in a book written in 1946, *Aravi Eretz Yisrael (Arabs of the Land of Israel)*, most of the Bosnians had small stores and workshops.

The last census before World War II indicated their number as between 200 and 300, but by 1946 only 12 families remained at Caesarea. They

left during the War of Independence.

"Until the [Second World] war, they maintained contact with their families in Bosnia," Shimoni writes. "The elders among them still speak their native tongue among themselves. The youth speak only Arabic, and in dress and customs are almost no different than the Arabs."

A number of the original Bosnian families or their descendants returned to Turkey. Israeli archeologists recall being told by the visiting head of the Turkish Antiquities Authority some years ago that his grandfather is buried in the small Bosnian cemetery just north of the Crusader walls.

In time, Shimoni writes, the Bosnians sold most of their land and used the money to buy property in towns or for their sons' education. "Their education level is relatively high. Many are government clerks."

Much of the land was purchased at the turn of the century by Baron Edmond de Rothschild and the Jewish Colonization Association for development.

In 1940, Kibbutz Sdot Yam was founded on a tract south of the port. After the War of Independence other tracts were given to the development town of Or Akiva, the villa community of Caesarea and a golf course. Most of the houses of the Bosnian village within the Crusader walls were leveled when the site was

excavated by archeologists in the 1950s and '60s.

Some of the original Bosnian immigrants were settled, not on the coastal plain but in the hills of Samaria, particularly in the village of Yanuv near Nablus. These were assimilated into the Arab culture around them more rapidly than were the Bosnians of Caesarea.

The family name of Bushnak was often the only indication of Balkan origin. Shimoni notes that while most of the Bosnians avoided politics, some were among the outstanding Palestinian nationalist leaders. He cites in particular the lawyer Ottoman Bushnak of Tulikarm.

Aaronsohn says Bosnian families can be found today in a village near Ramallah, in Israeli Arab villages and one family in Hadera.

"They're assimilated but are still conscious of their history," he says.

The Yishuv would become aware of the role of Moslems in Bosnia during World War II. They fought in an SS division and played an enthusiastic role in the extermination of Jews, Serbs and Gypsies.

History, however, has taken such dizzying spins in recent years that national scores have been laid aside by this country in favor of authentic humanitarian sentiment and calculated political interests.

The refugees themselves may dwell on the ironies of history when they see the minaret of Caesarea and learn that they were not the first of their people to have been washed up on this distant shore.

Morillon takes flak in his finest hour

by Janine di Giovanni
Sarajevo

THE Saviour of Srebrenica was in an ebullient mood as he cracked open the champagne in his 19th-century villa-turned-bunker in Sarajevo. "Srebrenica is safe," exclaimed General Philippe Morillon, proposing a toast for peace.

"In Srebrenica, there was a street called Marshal Tito. Now it is called Philippe Morillon Street," joked the general, the United Nations commander in Bosnia, lighting one of his small cigars. "Poor Marshal Tito."

It was his finest hour. He was fresh back from Srebrenica, where, after he broke through the Serbian encirclement, the Muslims held up placards reading: "Uncle Morillon, We Love You."

French journalists have made him a cult figure. But the four-star general's detractors say he does not share the privations of those around him and seeks personal glory. British troops in Bosnia call him "Our Father", and his return to Sarajevo with the message that the war is nearly over was greeted with cynicism. A joke in Sarajevo plays on Morillon's dramatic pledge to the people of Srebrenica: "I will never leave you... *mais au revoir!*"

One UN official said: "He's like an unguided missile. He has big hands on a small map. He sees the problem and says, 'I want to do it', and — *voilà!* He thinks it's that simple."

Others recall last month's debacle in the besieged town of Cerska — which he inspected for only an hour to emerge claiming he saw no signs of atrocities — and the difficult period last December when he spoke enthusiastically of peace even while

Sarajevo was being shelled. Morillon admitted: "I am always going to be criticised. I am not asking for gratitude. I am only asking for peace."

Morillon, 57, has served in Algeria and was based at Metz in the first French army until last September. He says he came to Sarajevo against his advisers' wishes.



Morillon: "I'll always be criticised"

Although he does employ a private chef, and did have his own package air-dropped into Srebrenica, Morillon has always been credited for his bravery, for remaining in Sarajevo while mortars landed near his residence, for travelling throughout the city without a flak jacket, and for breaking the Srebrenica siege.

Critics assert, however, that he headed for Srebrenica with wounded pride because Sadako Ogata, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, had suspended aid operations to eastern and central Bosnia without his prior knowledge. "That was when he decided he would go in and do the job himself," said a UN source.

Morillon denied it. "Last

month I had the feeling that a tragedy would occur in Srebrenica, and this tragedy could put all the peace process in pieces." He gave a dramatic shrug. "And so I decided to go there to avoid it."

Last January, Morillon was heavily criticised for reporting on the Serbian mass graves near Kamenica. The discovery is believed to have fuelled the offensive on Srebrenica.

"It was an unpopular thing to say, but probably the reason I am respected is that I have never agreed to speak a diplomatic language, but to speak the truth," he said emphatically. "The only way to be seen as impartial, is just to know the truth and to tell it."

He also knows that by evacuating refugees from eastern Bosnia he is accused of aiding ethnic cleansing. "I still say that we are just in a situation of assisting persons," he said.

Since his arrival in October, he has conducted more than 200 meetings "with leaders, both political and military, from the highest level to the ground, with local commanders". He concluded: "The reason I have some influence is that I wanted to hear what they said."

Morillon said his greatest challenge, however, was establishing the extent of the UN mandate: to escort humanitarian aid and assist in the cessation of hostilities while having to convince the people that "we were not here as saviours for Bosnia-Herzegovina. We can only help them to establish peace".

War: a boy's own story,
section 2, page 5

IT COMES as no surprise that the Vance-Owen plan has been "accepted eagerly by Bosnia's Croats and reluctantly by the Muslims" (leader, April 6). Under the plan, the Bosnian Croats get far more territory than they could have possibly expected. To the Bosnian Muslims, the plan represents the best prospect for foreign military intervention. The cost to the Muslims, however, has been the abandonment of their goal of a unitary state.

The Bosnian Serbs object to the Vance-Owen plan on two points: first, the map leaves large numbers of Serbs in areas dominated by Muslims and Croats and second, it denies the

Serbs a land corridor between the large Serb-inhabited region in north-western Bosnia and Serbia itself.

Given the present animosity between the Bosnian Serbs and the Bosnian Croats and Muslims, an isolated Serb region in Bosnia would become the Nagorno-Karabakh of Europe. It is inconceivable that the Serbs would voluntarily accept this arrangement.

Nevertheless, the West is attempting to force the Bosnian Serbs to accept the Vance-Owen plan. For the second time in a year, the US and EC are attempting to impose a flawed settlement on Bosnia's 1.5 million Serbs. A year ago, the "independence" of Bosnia was recognised by the West despite the objections of the Bosnian Serbs.

The Serbs, who constitute a third of Bosnia's population and inhabit 60 per cent of its territory, opposed independence prior to an agreement on constitutional principles. Predictably, they took up arms to resist being forcibly incorporated in an inherently hostile state. The consequences of their rebellion have been dreadful.

Although the Vance-Owen plan goes a long way toward recognising the right of all three Bosnian groups, including the Bosnian Serbs, it stops short of an equitable and lasting solution. Adjustment must be made to the Vance-Owen plan to ensure that it is fair to all Bosnians. Otherwise, the country will be condemned to decades of misery.

George Tintor.
London EC2.

The Guardian

April 8, 1993

Clinton Faces Crisis In Balkan Conflict

In one of his final acts as president, George Bush succumbed to Greek threats and helped block UN recognition for the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia, deepening the Balkan crisis.

International recognition might insulate the fledgling state from Serbian "ethnic cleansing." But Athens warned Washington that such a move would doom the first pro-American Greek government in decades and replace it with a hostile left-wing regime.

State Department experts correctly argued that the danger of mainly Muslim Macedonia failing to gain sovereignty and falling under Serbian gunights far outweighs the danger of a Greek government collapse. But in the final hours before power changed hands Wednesday, Bush's White House advisers convinced him not to take the risk.

Greece's rationale for denying Macedonia its right to sovereignty is simply its name: Ancient Macedonia, home of Alexander the conqueror and a different place from the former Yugoslav republic, was part of Greece. That plumbs emotional depths among Greeks.

No European state wants to antagonize Greece, a member of NATO and the European Community. What's more, U.S. officials describe a French "deal" with Greece: In return for France's help in delaying recognition of Macedonia, Greece backs France on agricultural protectionism.

Nevertheless, if the United States had forced the issue in the United Nations, it probably could have easily won Macedonian recognition.

But Bush did not pick up the telephone to make an appeal. Instead, the United States told foreign governments in a confidential diplomatic cable last week that if Macedonian membership came up in the UN Security Council, the United States might vote yes but in all probability would abstain.

That got other UN countries off the hook.

Bush's failure to pursue support for Macedonia in his last hours may be traced to the fact that he spent so much U.S. influence squeezing allies to back his eleventh hour attacks on Saddam Hussein.

All this is bad news for the new president, who is far more beholden than Bush to the U.S. Greek lobby. Clinton may decide that at the outset of his presidency he dare not risk confrontation with a large minority that voted heavily for him on Nov. 3. Greek American leaders count on him for support, limiting his political options in dealing with the Macedonian question.

Now, with neither the United States nor Serbia's European neighbors taking a hard stand against Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic, the ethnic cleansing that has tortured, maimed and killed tens of thousands of Bosnian and Croatian nationalists is likely soon to turn to adjacent regions. First on the list is Macedonia, where Serbia demands political rights that the government would not consider relinquishing.

Milosevic's top political aides are known to have discussed the possibility of annexing its Muslim neighbor outright. Macedonia cannot defend itself against Serbia. But as a recognized sovereign state, it could at least appeal for protection to the United Nations or seek treaties and guarantees to guard against Serbia.

That might conceivably deter Serbia from an aggression against Macedonia that would be apt to ignite full-scale war. If it comes, that will be one of many ongoing conflicts in former Soviet and Yugoslav lands that George Bush failed to stop but will soon be known as Bill Clinton's war.

Evans & Novak are nationally syndicated columnists of the Chicago Sun-Times.



**Rowland Evans &
Robert Novak**

EDITORIAL

BY MORTIMER B. ZUCKERMAN
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

BEWARE OF RELIGIOUS STALINISTS

The seven leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood, meeting with a group of journalists in Amman, Jordan, seemed reasonable at first. Then we heard the message. Their holy obligation, they told us, is to recover all the land once under Muslim rule. The only solution to the Palestinian problem is to destroy Israel through jihad, a holy war. Why not then, they were asked, go further afield—to Spain and to India where Muslim rule once prevailed? “One step at a time,” they responded. Israel, it became clear, is not merely an occupier of land but a symbol of the Western values that these religious Stalinists seek to put to the sword.

We were face to face with the fanaticism that seems the polar opposite of the Western ideal’s sanctity for individual life. Is it any wonder that we have failed to understand the zealot’s capacity for blind terror? We have consistently failed to appreciate—even after the bombings of U.S. targets in Lebanon—the malign power of Muslim fundamentalism. In the name of ancient injunctions to acquire honor or wipe out shame, these radicals will condone murder or brutality as just, honorable or manly. Innocent Americans are killed at the World Trade Center, Jews and Palestinians are murdered by Hamas in the West Bank. These are no mere novelties of the ’90s. The vast majority of Muslims are neither radical nor violent, but Islam’s militant strain is on the verge of replacing communism as the principal opponent of Western liberal democracy and the values it enshrines.

The origins of this baleful force are in part religious. In the secularized societies of the West, we separate religion and politics. In most of the Muslim world, politics is religion and religion is politics. Militant Muslims feel that foreign ideologies, such as liberalism, socialism and nationalism—led by Muslim apostates and, even worse, by infidels—have caused Muslims to forsake the God-given law of the Koran and the religious life vouchsafed to them.

Then there are the grievances of the past. A Muslim world dominant for a thousand years was surpassed by the West, whose systems proved more powerful in organization, science, industry and military technology. This

domination bred a deep resentment and sense of powerlessness. The leading Islamic historian, Bernard Lewis, has pointed out that the Muslim has suffered successive stages of defeat: first, his loss of domination of others; then, the undermining of his authority in his own country through an invasion of foreign ideas, laws and ways of life, sometimes even resulting in foreign rule. These changes would have been stressful enough if Muslim governments had been wise and just; but many were corrupt. Repression and poverty became the lot of their subjects. On top of all this, the traditional Muslim has had to contend with the challenge to the mastery in his

own home from the emancipation of women and a rebellion of children. For many it has been too much.

One can understand why Muslim fundamentalists should want to purify Islamic society by returning to its origins in the hope that Muhammad’s message, unchanged by time and thought, dress and education, would provide the answers today as it did in the golden era. One can understand why this might appeal to people frustrated by the failure of their own systems and their leaders. But in the Muslim world, this nostalgia has smoothed the way for something no Western society has endured—the radicalism of

“God’s fanatics” whose doctrines guarantee backwardness and self-destruction and a Manichaean war between the “good” Muslim world and the “evil” West.

This is what the crisis in the Middle East is fundamentally all about. Now not only Israel but the whole West faces the menace of random violence and the crimes that fanaticism can produce. In the Koran, Satan is the adversary, enticing mankind away from the true faith. That is why the Ayatollah Khomeini called America “the Great Satan.” We are in the front line of a struggle that goes back hundreds of years, the principal obstacle to the extremists’ desire to drive nefarious Western values into the sea, just as they once did with the Crusaders.

The gulf war was just one paragraph in the long conflict between the West and radical Islam; the World Trade Center bombing, just a sentence. We are in for a long struggle not amenable to reasoned dialogue. We will need to nurture our own faith and resolution. ■

‘The gulf war was just a paragraph, the World Trade Center bombing a sentence, in the long war between the West and radical Islam.’

