

representatives de-
tt of the Mideast
ael and the Arab
ould resume ne-
gton next week.
d a bitter debate
ans, a diplomatic
United States,
udi Arabia, and
sraelis.
age A7.

in the name of God. They threatened
that catastrophe would befall God's
enemies.

"Open your eyes and not your
mouth," read one. "Fear the hour of
judgment, for it has come."

But while F.B.I. officials treated the
messages as a hint that Mr. Koresh
might order his followers to attack
them, they did not view the writings as
a veiled warning that he might kill
himself or his followers. In fact, they
had concluded that one thing Mr. Kor-
esh did not wish to do was subject
himself to more pain, and that he had

pound Monday, a time they say Mr.
Koresh ordered to incinerate himself
and more than 80 of his followers. And
while it was ultimately the most impor-
tant misreading of the man, it was one
of a series of seemingly flawed judg-
ments about him that helped shape the
Government's handling of the confron-
tation in Waco, beginning with the
deadly gunfight and ending with Mon-
day raid, which was far deadlier. In-
vestigators said today they had found
about 40 bodies in the charred rubble.
[Page B12.]

It may well be that nobody could
have ever really gotten through to Mr.
Koresh and induced him to surrender,
as negotiators believed they could do in
their initial weeks of talks.

Nonetheless, a calculation central to
the decision to proceed with the tear
gas attack was that Mr. Koresh was
unlikely to respond by harming him-
self. During weeks of analysis of the
cult leader, a team of experts — some
from the F.B.I.'s Behavioral Science
Unit, whose work in the field of crimi-
nal pathology was dramatized in the

tion would put forward a plan for min-
ing greenhouse gases by August. Such
limits are not expected to impose im-
mediate, significant new costs on pri-
vate industry or on the Government,
although opponents of the restrictions
on greenhouse gases say they will
raise costs in the long term and in-
crease Government regulation of busi-
ness. Many companies and Govern-
ment agencies have already started
taking steps to reduce emissions of
greenhouse gases in any case.

Though he pledged the action during
the campaign, Mr. Clinton's announce-
ment on global warming was an impor-
tant victory for Vice President Al Gore
over Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bent-
sen and Energy Secretary Hazel R.
O'Leary, who, among others, had ar-
gued that such restrictions would harm
American industry.

The dispute had continued into late
Tuesday, with Administration officials
still unsure about what to put in the
speech on reducing emissions.

The biodiversity treaty requires ap-
proval by two-thirds of the Senate, and

Vaccine Plan Creates Unusual Array of Skeptics

By JASON DePARLE
Special to The New York Times

April 21 — As
on proposes to
n a year buying
American chil-
An unusual combi-
s: not just Con-
servatives, but
cially conscious
rk the neighbor-
munization rates

dle class, giving free vaccines to
people who can already afford
them while demanding nothing
from anyone in return.

In an unusual joint Congress-
sional hearing today, legislators
from both parties called it a mat-
ter of national shame that Ameri-
ca's immunization rates inspire
comparisons with Albania and
Haiti. As many as 45 percent of
American children reach the age
of 2 without being fully immu-
nized.

Causes of Problem

Most officials agree that the
problem has multiple causes:
vaccine costs have skyrocketed,
the number of families without
health insurance is growing, pub-
lic clinics are overcrowded and
some young families, increasing-
ly headed by single parents, sim-
ply do not seek services.

The disagreements come over
emphasis. The Administration fo-
cuses on working families who
seek but cannot afford vaccines,
while its critics call attention to
the many people who already can
receive free shots through Medic-
aid or public clinics, but fail to
seek them.

Although the immunization
problem clearly stretches into the
middle class, the rates in dis-
tressed urban neighborhoods are
especially low.

Each side argues from a favor-
ite statistic.

Defending the Clinton plan be-

Continued on Page A19, Column 1

political alliance
among such odd
the complaints
is hurled today
ill hearing room
across the Ana-
de a medical van
city's poorest

s, critics argue
plan, in address-
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n problem: disor-
neglectful, par-

responsibilities
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on has chosen as
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hed light on what
meant when he
a new Democrat,
shift from the old
ward a new focus
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critics argue the
plan undermines
y creating a new
gram for the mid-

Continued on Page B13, Column 1

Continued on Page A10, Column 4

Anger Greets Croatian's Invitation To Holocaust Museum Dedication

By DIANA JEAN SCHEMO
Special to The New York Times

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

Mr. Tudjman, in a 1988 book "Waste-
land: Historical Truth," estimated that
900,000 Jews, instead of six million,
died in the Holocaust, according to
French and English translations cited
by Elie Wiesel, the Nobel Peace Prize
winner and Simon Wiesenthal, the re-
nowned Nazi hunter.

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

Croatian officials today called those
versions mistranslations, saying that
Mr. Tudjman had only questioned the
number of Jews killed in Croatia.

But Mr. Tudjman has a long history
of other statements that have also been
criticized as anti-Semitic and that he
has not repudiated, including thanking

God that neither he nor his wife were,
Jewish or Serbian.

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

State Department Advice

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

"We were advised by the State De-
partment to invite the Bosnians, the
Slovenians and the Croatians," she
said. "They told us those are the three
that should be invited, who were demo-
cratically elected. We're well aware of
Mr. Tudjman's book and statements,

Continued on Page A18, Column 4



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There were brief talks about each of these schemes, but nothing approaching serious negotiation.

Democrats had hoped that some Republicans who frequently vote with them on other issues would desert their filibuster, and tried to put heat on them

means in the Senate appear to be wavering. Some may have hoped that a deal would be struck, but none moved to make it happen.

After the Senate voted the unemployment money by unanimous consent, Mr. Dole told reporters that he believed the Clinton Administration

they are a force to be reckoned with, they have only proved to the American people that they are the guardians of gridlock," he said. "While the champagne corks are popping, millions of Americans will open a can of beans and wonder whether they are going to find a job."

Invitation to Holocaust Museum Draws Criticism

Continued From Page A1

but we're not opening the museum to preach to the choir."

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

Invitation Called 'Disgrace'

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

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

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

The controversy erupted as both rescuers and survivors gathered at Arlington National Cemetery today to

commemorate the soldiers, resistance fighters and ordinary people who risked their lives during the Holocaust to save Jews from death. On Thursday, President Clinton is scheduled to dedicate the museum near the National Mall in a ceremony with a dozen world leaders in attendance. The museum invited leaders from all European countries.

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

Estimates Called

In his book, Mr. Tudjman has been translated as writing that the estimate "of six million dead is based to the greatest extent on emotionally biased testimonies as well as on one-sided and exaggerated data on post-war calculations of war crimes and on the settling of accounts with the defeated perpetrators of war crimes."

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

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

He wrote that the "main characteristics" of Jews were "selfishness, craftiness, unreliability, miserliness, underhandedness and secrecy."

Mr. Nobile defended Mr. Tudjman's writings and said the President had made efforts to mend relations with Jewish groups. "There are a couple of

pages where he said that numbers were used for political reasons, and nobody has the right to play with numbers."

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

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

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

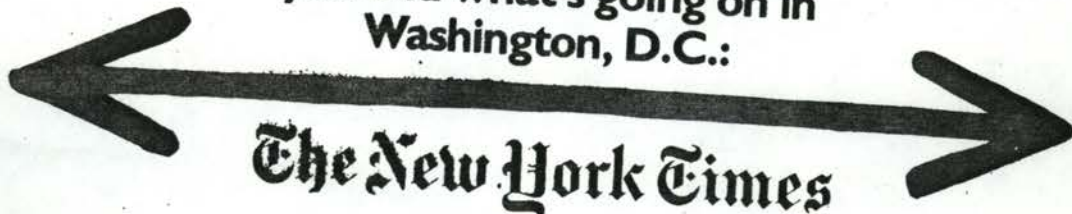
Rabbi Marvin Hier, director of the Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies in Los Angeles, disputed Mr. Nobile's claim that Serbs were the main targets of Croatian atrocities committed by the Ustachis, the , during World War II.

"If I had to rank the Ustachis, I might put them on the same ranking as Hitler's SS, if not above them for the atrocities committed against Jews and non-Jews," Rabbi Hier said, adding that he was "greatly shocked and disappointed" by the invitation to Mr. Tudjman.

Rabbi Hier said that the only justification for Mr. Tudjman's presence would be to provide a forum for a public repudiation of his remarks. "If that is not the case, the invitation is giving credence to one of the world's most famous Holocaust revisionists."

NQT: 1-22-93

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The New York Times

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...the Miranda warnings
 came down 27 years ago." Justice
 Souter said that "there is little
 reason to believe that police today
 are unable, or even generally unwilling,
 to satisfy Miranda's requirements."

Joining him in the majority, besides
 Justice White, were Justices
 Harry A. Blackmun, Anthony M.
 Kennedy and John Paul Stevens.
 Dissenting were Chief Justice William
 H. Rehnquist and Justices San-

The decision arose out of a lawsuit
 in federal court in Georgia by
 Lizzie Beatrice Easterwood, whose
 husband, Thomas, was killed in
 1988 when a CSX Transportation
 Inc. train hit his truck as it crossed
 the tracks in Cartersville, Ga.

Ms. Easterwood's suit may now
 go ahead with the claim that warn-
 ing signs at the crossing were inade-
 quate. Her claim based on the train's
 speed is blocked.

Sun: 1-22-93

Croatian leader's invitation draws criticism from Jews

Associated Press

WASHINGTON — The presence
 of Franjo Tudjman for the
 dedication of the U.S. Holocaust
 Memorial Museum drew sharp
 criticism yesterday from Jewish
 leaders. The Croatian president
 has described Israelis as "Judeo-
 Nazis" because of their treatment
 of Palestinians and has said the
 estimate of 6 million Jews killed
 in the Holocaust is inflated.

Elie Wiesel, a Holocaust survivor,
 Nobel Peace Prize winner and
 keynote speaker at today's cere-
 mony, called the invitation to Mr.
 Tudjman "a disgrace."

"This is a man whose pub-
 lished statements about the Holo-
 caust help those who deny its
 very existence," Mr. Wiesel said in
 a statement.

Holocaust historian Efraim Zu-
 roff said the presence of Mr.
 Tudjman "is likely to cast a pall
 over the entire event."

The Israeli Embassy declined
 to comment, apparently not
 wanting to deflect attention from
 today's ceremony.

But Israel has refused to extend
 diplomatic recognition to
 Croatia so long as Mr. Tudjman
 remains president.

Naomi Paiss, communications
 director for the museum, said the
 State Department recommended
 that Mr. Tudjman, as a democrati-
 cally elected leader, be given an
 invitation.

The only European leader not
 invited was Serbian President
 Slobodan Milosevic, whose gov-
 ernment has been widely accused
 of sponsoring atrocities in Bosnia.
 Among 10 heads of state here for
 the ceremony is Israeli President
 Chaim Herzog.

Mr. Zuroff said part of the con-
 cern over Mr. Tudjman relates to
 his claim that the estimates of 6
 million Holocaust victims is "exag-
 gerated."

Mr. Tudjman wrote in his
 1988 book, *Wasteland: Historical
 Truth*, that after World War II
 the Jewish people became "brutal"
 and "conducted a genocidal
 policy toward Palestinians. . . .
 They can rightly be defined as Ju-
 deo-Nazis."

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Muslim Defenders Disarmed, U.N. Says

By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina, April 21 — After hours of tension that threatened new bloodshed, United Nations officers said late today that they had met a deadline for disarming the defenders of Srebrenica, the battered enclave that is one of the last Muslim footholds in eastern Bosnia.

If the announcement proves correct, Srebrenica will have to depend for its safety on a 145-man United Nations contingent from Canada, a prospect that is causing severe anxiety. The Canadians, who have only machine-guns, assault rifles and sidearms, would be the only buffer between the tens of thousands of civilians and an aggressive force of several thousand Serbian nationalists with tanks and heavy artillery.

A cease-fire signed early Sunday by the town's Government defenders and its Serbian attackers required the United Nations to disarm the Muslim forces within 72 hours.

A Grim Prospect

But if many Muslim fighters in Srebrenica evaded the hurried weapons collection, as some senior officers fear, the scene may be set for a brutal showdown.

Serbian military commanders have warned repeatedly that any cheating on the arms roundup would voiding the agreement to demilitarize the town, and they have vowed renewed attacks if the agreement is not honored.

Last week Serbian forces pushed to the edges of the besieged town and poured mortar and artillery shells on the 20,000 to 30,000 civilians, many of them refugees from earlier Serbian attacks on other Muslim communities.

The attacks killed at least 80 people, including 20 children, and wounded nearly 200; many lost limbs.

Serb Is Skeptical

In Belgrade, the chief of staff of the Bosnian Serbian forces, Gen. Manojlo Milovanovic, said the Muslim-led forces had effectively reneged on the accord, Reuters reported. "The Muslims have given up a ridiculously small quantity of weapons," he said.

One senior United Nations official said commanders had "no contingency plans" in the event of a Serbian attack.

The Security Council, which on Friday declared Srebrenica a "safe area" under United Nations protection, had either "not thought the whole thing through," he added, or had tacitly relied on the threat of Western air strikes to deter the Serbs.

The official, who insisted that he not be named, said that during meetings with Serbian commanders, the United Nations commander in Bosnia, Lieut. Gen. Philippe Morillon of France, had not alluded to the renewed debate about possible Western military action, including bombing, to end the Serbs' "ethnic cleansing."

Looking Toward Washington

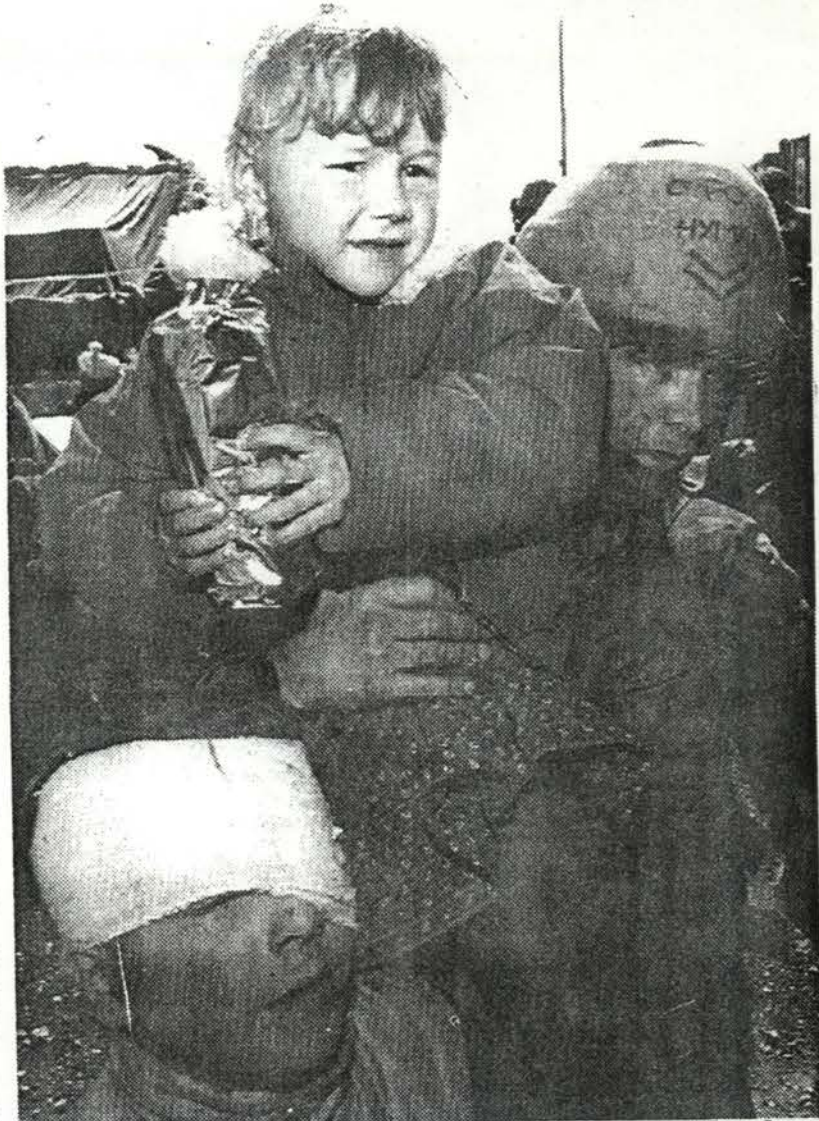
But he said everyone at the talks was aware that President Clinton had referred to the possibility on Friday, when Srebrenica appeared to be on the verge of falling to the Serbs.

"Basically, all that stands behind those Canadians in Srebrenica is Bill Clinton and the Serbian fear that he might order air strikes against their guns," the official said.

One officer in Sarajevo said the Canadian commander in Srebrenica, Lieut. Col. Tom Geburt of the Royal Canadian Regiment, was "tearing out his hair" at the prospect of having to defend the city, or even his own men.

Among the United Nations officers and at the United Nations headquarters in New York, there was disagreement on what the Canadian troops would do if the Serbs attacked.

Cmdr. Barry Frewer, the Canadian Navy officer who is the spokesman for



Agence France-Press

A British United Nations soldier helped a child yesterday in Vitez, Bosnia, where hundreds of people have been uprooted by the fighting between Croats and Muslims. The refugees were fleeing to Zenica.

the United Nations force in Bosnia, said that under the rules of engagement, the Canadians would use their weapons to try to save civilians. "We can use our weapons to protect ourselves and those who are under our protection," he said. But other officers said the Canadians would not fight the Serbs except to defend bunkers and other positions occupied by the Canadians themselves.

That appeared to be the view of senior officials in New York, who were quoted in a BBC radio report as saying that Commander Frewer was mistaken and that the Canadian troops had no authority to protect civilians, only themselves. That has been the standard position of United Nations commanders here, who have often rejected pleas for help from civilians under threat of attack, saying that the mandate of the 8,000-member force does not authorize it to protect civilians.

Rebuffing a Croat Appeal

On Tuesday the British commander of United Nations forces in an area north of Sarajevo where Muslim and Croatian forces have been killing large numbers of civilians turned down pleas for help from Croatian civilians. A United Nations report reaching Sarajevo said Croatian military commanders had asked for United Nations forces to protect Croats who they believed were being slaughtered in Zenica, a mainly Muslim city.

But the report, in a reference to the United Nations Protection Forces in the Former Yugoslavia, said, "The direct protection of the civilian population is not within Unprofor's mandate."

The United Nations had hoped to delay the disarming of the defenders of Srebrenica, but Gen. Ratko Mladic, the Serbian nationalist commander, whose heavily armed troops surround the

town, refused a three-day extension of the deadline.

Counting Guns

Even before Commander Frewer reported the completion of the disarming, officials had conceded that there was no way of knowing how many defenders there were in Srebrenica, much less any way of knowing how many weapons they had.

"I'd bet that right now there are scores of Muslims all over that town burying their weapons or hiding them in attics," one senior officer said.

Another officer noted that the Canadian commander in Srebrenica, Colonel Geburt, had reported by radio that there appeared to be very few Muslim fighters in Srebrenica, compared with United Nations estimates of 2,000 or more as recently as last weekend.

To some in the United Nations force, this suggested that many the Muslims had taken off their uniforms and had melded into the civilian population, or had fled through gaps in the siege lines into the surrounding hills.

Croat Battle Muslims

TUZLA, Bosnia and Herzegovina, April 21 (AP) — Bitter fighting between Muslims and Croats continued today in central Bosnia despite a truce accord. Cedric Thornberry, deputy head of the United Nations mission in the former Yugoslavia, said executions and massacres were being committed by both Muslims and Croats.

Company News:
Tuesday through Saturday,
Business Day

orm nation

nian Serb foreign minister, about welcome Belgrade extended to l Owen, the U.N. negotiator who yesterday with Mr. Milosevic Mr. Cosic.

Referring to Lord Owen's sugges- recently that Serbian targets be bed, Mr. Buha said, "I don't see t there is to talk about with a who publicly and persistently cates bombardment of Serbs who knows that as a negotiator ust be impartial. The time has come to ask Great ain and the European Communi- replace Lord Owen with another figure for the possible continua- of negotiations."

fr. Buha also dismissed a Rus- proposal under which the plan sed by Lord Owen and U.N. en- Cyrus R. Vance for dividing Bos- into 10 ethnic enclaves would be ified to include a corridor linking an sections of Bosnia. he Russians have offered to se- the corridor with their own OS. We don't need a strange corridor our own territory," Mr. Buha

BALKAN UPDATE

The Muslim defenders of **SREBRENICA** were reported disarmed on schedule but many of the fighters may have taken to the hills.

At the **UNITED NATIONS**, the Security Council decided to send a five-nation fact-finding mission to Bosnia, particularly to inspect Srebrenica. The group is to be dispatched today.

Bitter fighting between Muslims and Croats raged in central Bosnia despite a truce. U.N. officials accused both sides of committing wanton murders in "ethnic cleansing" operations. U.N. observers estimated at least 250 people had died in attacks around the town of **VITEZ**.

The leaders of Bosnian Serbs and the Serbs in Croatia are planning to create a new state. The first session of a joint parliament will be held Saturday at **BOSANSKI NOVI**.

International mediator Lord Owen arrived in **BELGRADE** to try to persuade Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to press Bosnian Serbs to back the U.N. peace plan but made little headway.



Danish Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Petersen said in **STRASBOURG**, France, European Community foreign ministers will discuss the question of military intervention in Bosnia when they meet in Denmark this weekend.

In **PARIS**, French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe warned the United States that lifting a U.N. arms embargo on Bosnian Muslims would draw other powers into the conflict and set the Balkans ablaze.

STAFF GRAPHIC

Town disarmed, Bosnian fighters gone, U.N. says

From Wire Reports

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — The United Nations said it disarmed the Muslim defenders of Srebrenica yesterday, but many of the fighters who held out during a year-long Serbian siege may have taken to the hills.

The demilitarization of the eastern Bosnian town, under a cease-fire worked out by Serbian and Muslim commanders, was announced by Gen. Lars-Eric Wahlgren, the commander of the U.N. Protection Force in the former Yugoslavia.

"From reports I have received from my officers in Srebrenica I can confirm that from noon today the town has been demilitarized," General Wahlgren said in a statement issued in Zagreb, the Croatian capital.

Cmdr. Barry Frewer, spokesman for U.N. forces in Sarajevo, said lightly armed Canadian peacekeeping troops deployed in the mountain enclave to protect its inhabitants had begun destroying the arms surrendered by the Muslims.

Serbian army officers flew aboard U.N. helicopters to the mountain town to watch the destruction of the weapons, which included heavy artillery and machine guns, rocket-propelled grenades, mortars and an armored personnel carrier.

Peacekeepers had asked for an extra three days to gather the arms, but Serbian leaders demanded it be completed by noon yesterday.

According to the the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug, a Bosnian Serb army leader said yesterday that Muslims had reneged on an agreement to demilitarize the town.

"The Muslims have given up a ridiculously small quantity of weapons, mostly outdated and unusable," said the Serbian chief of staff, Gen. Manojlo Milovanovic.

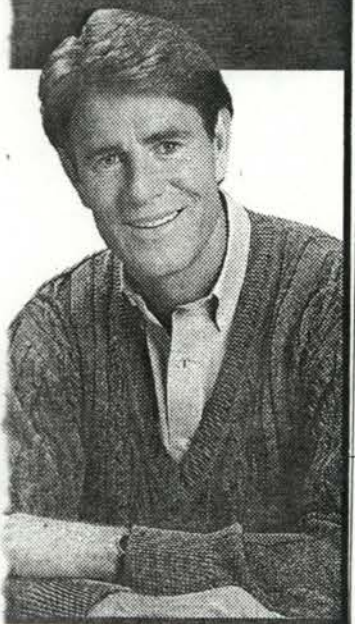
Commander Frewer said only a handful of soldiers were left in Srebrenica.

He said the other fighters may have fled to the hills. It was not clear whether they had taken their weapons with them.

Their destination was thought to be the Muslim settlement of Zepa about 25 miles to the south.

In central Bosnia, U.N. officials said sporadic clashes between Muslims and Croats continued despite a U.N.-mediated truce around the town of Vitez to halt attacks that have killed at least 250 people.

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Serbs in Croatia, Bosnia to form nation

Ethnic leaders defy U.N. sanctions

By Dusko Doder
Contributing Writer

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia — In a defiant response to tighter United Nations sanctions and the prospect of allied military strikes on Serbian targets in Bosnia, the leaders of Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia are planning to create a new common state.

A decision has already been made to form a joint parliament, which would hold its first session Saturday.

Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic have been invited to attend the session at Bosanski Novi, a Sarajevo district recently renamed Novi Grad, but there were no immediate indications that either would attend.

Nikola Koljevic, deputy to Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, said the move was needed to end the fragmentation of Serbs living outside Yugoslavia at a time of great danger.

If Serbian-held territories in Bos-

nia and Croatia are united, he said, "nobody will be able to force" Serbs to submit to Croatian or Muslim rule.

"International pressures are enormous; Yugoslavia is almost exhausted," Mr. Koljevic said. "Today we have received information about priority targets that are to be hit by NATO planes in their first attack."

Western analysts in Belgrade noted that the alliance is likely to further complicate the quest for a solution to the war in Bosnia.

"Militarily, they definitely need each other," said a diplomat speaking on condition of anonymity. "They are also afraid that Milosevic may cut a deal at their expense" in exchange for the lifting of U.N. sanctions.

The surprise move also reveals what seem to be growing tensions between the Serbs living in and outside Serbia.

In particular, the leaders of Krajina, a Serbian enclave inside Croatia, were alarmed by Serbia's lukewarm response to a recent Croatian military assault on Krajina's southern tip.

Indicative of those suspicions were comments by Aleksa Buha, the

Bosnian Serb foreign minister, about the welcome Belgrade extended to Lord Owen, the U.N. negotiator who met yesterday with Mr. Milosevic and Mr. Cosic.

Referring to Lord Owen's suggestion recently that Serbian targets be bombed, Mr. Buha said, "I don't see what there is to talk about with a man who publicly and persistently advocates bombardment of Serbs and who knows that as a negotiator he must be impartial."

"The time has come to ask Great Britain and the European Community to replace Lord Owen with another figure for the possible continuation of negotiations."

Mr. Buha also dismissed a Russian proposal under which the plan devised by Lord Owen and U.N. envoy Cyrus R. Vance for dividing Bosnia into 10 ethnic enclaves would be modified to include a corridor linking Serbian sections of Bosnia.

The Russians have offered to secure the corridor with their own troops.

"We don't need a strange corridor over our own territory," Mr. Buha said.

BALKAN UPDATE

The Muslim defenders of **SREBRENICA** were reported disarmed on schedule but many of the fighters may have taken to the hills.

At the **UNITED NATIONS**, the Security Council decided to send a five-nation fact-finding mission to Bosnia, particularly to inspect Srebrenica. The group is to be dispatched today.

Bitter fighting between Muslims and Croats raged in central Bosnia despite a truce. U.N. officials accused both sides of committing wanton murders in "ethnic cleansing" operations. U.N. observers estimated at least 250 people had died in attacks around the town of **VITEZ**.

The leaders of Bosnian Serbs and the Serbs in Croatia are planning to create a new state. The first session of a joint parliament will be held Saturday at **BOSANSKI NOVI**.

International mediator Lord Owen arrived in **BELGRADE** to try to persuade Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to press Bosnian Serbs to back the U.N. peace plan but made little headway.



Danish Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Petersen said in **STRASBOURG**, France, European Community foreign ministers will discuss the question of military intervention in Bosnia when they meet in Denmark this weekend.

In **PARIS**, French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe warned the United States that lifting a U.N. arms embargo on Bosnian Muslims would draw other powers into the conflict and set the Balkans ablaze.

STAFF GRAPHIC

Town disarmed, Bosnian fighters gone, U.N. says

From Wire Reports

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — The United Nations said it disarmed the Muslim defenders of Srebrenica yesterday, but many of the fighters who held out during a year-long Serbian siege may have taken to the hills.

The demilitarization of the eastern Bosnian town, under a cease-fire worked out by Serbian and Muslim commanders, was announced by Gen. Lars-Eric Wahlgren, the commander of the U.N. Protection Force in the former Yugoslavia.

"From reports I have received from my officers in Srebrenica I can confirm that from noon today the town has been demilitarized," General Wahlgren said in a statement issued in Zagreb, the Croatian capital.

Cmdr. Barry Frewer, spokesman for U.N. forces in Sarajevo, said lightly armed Canadian peacekeeping troops deployed in the mountain enclave to protect its inhabitants had begun destroying the arms surrendered by the Muslims.

Serbian army officers flew aboard U.N. helicopters to the mountain town to watch the destruction of the weapons, which included heavy artillery and machine guns, rocket-propelled grenades, mortars and an armored personnel carrier.

Peacekeepers had asked for an extra three days to gather the arms, but Serbian leaders demanded it be completed by noon yesterday.

According to the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug, a Bosnian Serb army leader said yesterday that Muslims had reneged on an agreement to demilitarize the town.

"The Muslims have given up a ridiculously small quantity of weapons, mostly outdated and unusable," said the Serbian chief of staff, Gen. Manolj Milovanovic.

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Jim Palmer, Hall of Fame Pitcher

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REDWOOD

"THE KINGS OF WOODEN SWINGS"

HAVE RESULTED IN A CERTAIN TURN OF EVENTS, BUT 'SINCE THE PEOPLE GREATLY FEARS THE OFFERED PROGRAMME, THE DEPUTIES DECIDED IN FAVOUR OF THE REFERENDUM.'
(END) MG-DM/BF

=====

Generalni.Servis/english:5692
From: gen.servis 26-04-93 14:55 35 line(s)
Subject: MCKENZIE, KARADZIC AGREE ON SENDING MORE CANADIAN TROOPS TO

POOL 20

MCKENZIE, KARADZIC AGREE ON SENDING MORE CANADIAN TROOPS TO SREBRENICA

BELGRADE, APRIL 26 (TANJUG) - BOSNIAN SERB LEADER RADOVAN KARADZIC AND FORMER U.N. COMMANDER IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA CANADIAN GENERAL LEWIS MCKENZIE AGREED ON MONDAY THAT TWO MORE CANADIAN COMPANIES SHOULD BE SENT FROM TUZLA TO SREBRENICA.

BOTH TUZLA AND SREBRENICA ARE IN THE EAST OF THE WAR-BATTERED FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA. TUZLA IS CONTROLLED BY MOSLEMS. SREBRENICA IS A U.N.-PROTECTED MOSLEM ENCLAVE IN SERB-CONTROLLED TERRITORY.

GENERAL MCKENZIE, WHO RECENTLY RETIRED FROM ACTIVE SERVICE, SAID AFTER HIS ONE-HOUR TALK WITH KARADZIC IN BELGRADE THAT HE WOULD GO TO SREBRENICA TO VISIT THE CANADIAN U.N. PEACE-KEEPERS.

MCKENZIE SAID HE MET WIT AAZCA 'A PRIVATE CITIZEN' AND NOT AS CANADIAN GOVERNMENT OR U.N. OFFICIAL.

HE SAID KARADZIC WOULD ASK THE U.N. TO DEPLOY OBSERVERS IN AND AROUND SREBRENICA BOTH ON THE SERB AND THE MOSLEM SIDE, TO CONSOLIDATE THE TRUCE SIGNED EARLIER THIS MONTH.

AFTER THE MEETING, KARADZIC SAID HE WAS VERY HAPPY THAT THE U.N. OBSERVERS WOULD BE DEPLOYED ON SERB POSITIONS TO PREVENT ANY POSSIBLE INCIDENT. HE SAID THIS WOULD BE ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT BECAUSE THE SERB SIDE HAD INFORMATION THAT THE MOSLEMS WERE PLANNING TO ATTACK SREBRENICA AND LATER BLAME IT ON THE SERBS.

THE BOSNIAN SERB LEADER SAID THAT SREBRENICA, WHICH HAS BEEN DEMILITARZDADPAED UNDER U.N. CONTROL, SHOULD SERVE AS A MODEL FOR THE OTHER FRONTS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, WHERE AN ETHNIC WAR BETWEEN THE LOCAL MOSLEMS, SERBS AND CROATS HAS BEEN RAGING FOR OVER A YEAR.

GENERAL MCKENZIE WAS COMMANDER OF THE U.N. PROTECTION FORCE IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA FROM MYT COE LAST YEAR.
(END) SP-DM/KD

=====

Generalni.Servis/english:5694
From: gen.servis 26-04-93 15:06 22 line(s)
Subject: KARADZIC, MCKENZIE MEET IN BELGRADE

POOL 16

KARADZIC, MCKENZIE MEET IN BELGRADE

BELGRADE, APRIL 26 (TANJUG) - PRESIDENT OF THE SERB REPUBLIC RADOVAN KARADZIC STARTED TALKS HERE MONDAY MORNING WITH THE FORMER COMMANDER OF THE U.N. PROTECTION FORCE FOR BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, CANADIAN GENERAL LEWIS MCKENZIE, WHO HAS RECENTLY RETIRED FROM ACTIVE SERVICE.

TESBETOF THE TALKS WAS NOT KNOWN, BUT KARADZIC TOLD THE SESSION OF THE BOSNIAN SERB PARLIAMENT ON SUNDAY EVENING THAT HE WOULD ASK TO MEET WITH GENERAL MCKNI

IN THE PART OF HIS SPEECH ON THE SITUATION AROUND SREBRENICA AND MOSLEM PLANS TO STAGE AN ARTILLERY ATTACK ON THIS MOSLEM ENCLAVE IN EAST BOSNIA WHICH WOULD LATER BE AGAIN BLAMED ON BOSNIAN SERBS, KARADZIC TOLD THE PARLIAMENT THAT HE HAD INVITED GENERAL MCKENZIE TO VISIT THE CANADIAN UNPROFOR BATTALION STATIONED IN THE REGION AND TO 'INFORM HIS COMPATRIOTS FTI OSBILITY.'

GENERAL MCKENZIE WAS THE UNPROFOR COMMANDER FOR THE FORMER BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA FROM MAY TO OCTOBER 1992.
(END) MG-DM/BF

=====
Generalni.Servis/english:5695
From: gen.servis 26-04-93 15:22 23 line(s)
Subject: CHINA REJECTS BOTH SANCTIONS AND FORCE

POOL 24

CHINA REJECTS BOTH SANCTIONS AND FORCE

PEKING, APRIL 26 (TANJUG) - 'CHINA CANNOT ACCEPT NEITHER SANCTIONS OR MILITARY ACTION,' CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTRY SPOKESMAN HAS TOLD TANJUG COMMENTIG THE LATEST EVENTS REGARDING THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA.

'WE DO NOT WANT THE SITUATION TO DETERIORATE FURTHER,' HE SAID AND ADDED THAT CHINA REMAINS CONSISTENT IN ITS BELIEF THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD MAKE EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THE CONFLICTS IN BOSNIA IN PEACEFUL WAY THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE WARRING SIDES.

HE SAID THAT CHINA 'SINCERELY HOPES THAT THE WARRINGSDSI BOSNIA WILL HALT ALL HOSTILITIES AND THAT, IN THE INTERESTS OF ALL NATIONS, THEY WILL STRIVE TO ENFORCE THE PROGRAMS FOR A POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT WHICH WILL BE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL.'

THE BOSNIAN SERB PARLIAMENT EARLY ON MONDY MORNING REJECTED THE VANCE-OWEN PLAN, BUT THE FINAL DECISION WILL BE MADE AT A REFERENDUM SCHEDULED FOR MAY 15 AND 16.

THE BOSNIAN SERB DEPUTIES THUS REJECTED AN APPEAL SENT DURING SUNDAY NIGHT BY THE PRESIDENTS OF YUGOSLAVIA, SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO - DOBRICA COSIC, SLOBODAN MILOSEI N OI ULATOVIC RESPECTIVELY.
END CCU/DM/MB

=====

FAX COVER SHEET

TO: GEORGE BEGDANICH
FROM: BOB KAPRIVICA

NUMBER OF PAGES + COVER 2

FAX # 406-723-5079

BOB & JOE'S WHOLESALE
1011 E. SECOND ST.
BUTTE, MT. 59701
PHONE (406) 723-5455

Office of senator Conrad Burns
Office of senator Max Baucus
Att. Mr. Mike Boyle

04.28.1993.
Belgrade
Yugoslavia

Dear friends

The time for decision has come. In the situation where the world has become the place of very liquid politics, USA has become the only solid rock of world jurisdiction. Place, from where a new path to the future has to be created. There is no need to prove that fact to anyone in international community it is the fact. Therefore any kind of quick decision made out of affection is going to be fatal for the authority that USA has in the world now. Wise and sound diplomacy is needed now more than ever. It can not be based on the basis of influence of any kind of lobby but only based and inspired by the essence of the only fair document in the world, the Constitution of United States of America, where it clearly states the same criteria for all. It can not follow the special interests because the stake is the interest of whole world. Foreign policy of USA should not be the policy of "Super Power" but the policy of "Super Civilization" especially in this critical moment, because all good people in the world are expecting that, and also because it could backfire and ruin this special position that USA has now.

All kinds of artificial pacts and organizations have been created in the world lately, especially in Europe. None of them have identical interests as USA simply because they are not the world in small like USA is, where all nations and all religions of the world has proven that life together is possible. Please dear friends do not make allies on the basis of common enemy because it has never proved successful. After all you do not need artificial friends and allies in your mission to set up the example of how we all should meet the twenty first century.

The longterm policy of USA can not be, and will grow only naturally by avoiding ad-hoc and to fast political decisions in the state of haste in the world.

I wouldnt think of anyone in the world who wouldnt like to move and live in the US and dream the "American dream". It just show that in every country in the world there is the part of America that live and dream the American dream. They live the romance

and we all know that the romance is the essence of hope.

Dear friends, lets not kill the romance, lets not kill the hope.

There is so much misery and tragedy in today's world, lets not allow somebody (traditional American enemy) to triumph just by misleading American foreign policy and by making trying to ruin the American moral face in front of the whole world.

From this place in Belgrade Yugoslavia I assure you that together with Mr. Bob Koprivica, with the blessing of government of USA in matter of days we can make the peace in former Yugoslavia (if we have all listened to Mr. Koprivica we would have had it much earlier), and show the whole world that romance that is still alive in USA can overcome and help to solve many problems of today's world.

Yesterday as you know the foreign minister of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in direct telephone call with Mr. Bob Koprivica and to journalists of Butte (Montana) newspapers has called for closest cooperation with the government of USA and I do not know what else one good willing man could do more in this moment, so from this place

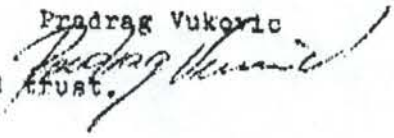
in this moment I, Mr Bob Koprivica and all people who are honestly worried for the future of the USA and the World are apealing to your wisdom and seriously take this call in consideration and we assure you that we all will have a great satisfaction and create a new chapter in America diplomacy.

I am shure that God is going to give enough power and wiesdom to our President Clinton and help him to out the Gordian knut, and rise his spirit high enough so he can see clearly and make right decisions.

Dear friends, may God bless America and all of us in this hard times for the whole world.

Sincircly

Prdrag Vukovic



PS Lets restore racionality and trust.

risk were the 31 million 19 million elderly living in those areas, whose particularly sensitive to the survey found.

WORLD DIGEST

U.S. seeks support for new constitution

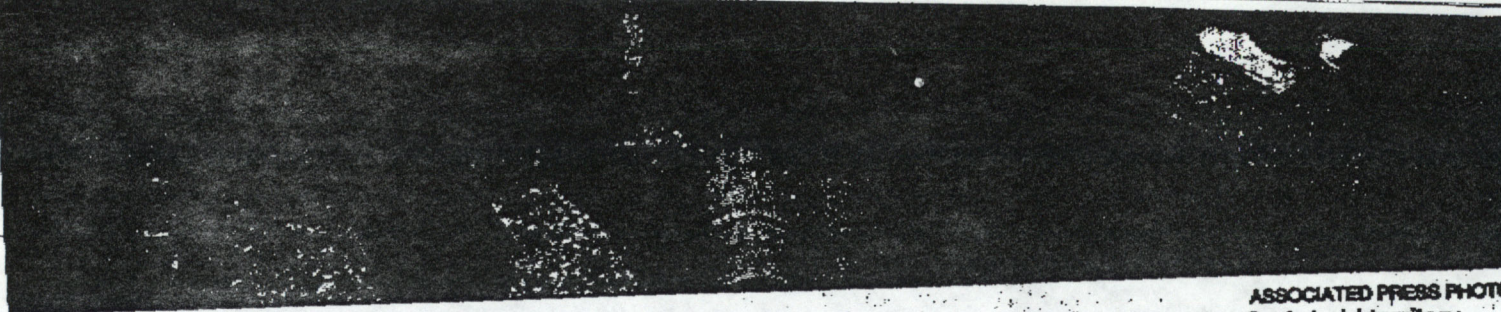
WASHINGTON — Boris Yeltsin set a motion Thursday that could allow a new Russian constitution — one of the major high-level decisions of the Russian president, flexing his muscle after winning a vote of confidence in last weekend's election. Yeltsin asked regional officials to adopt a new constitution that would be approved by the Congress of Deputies, or parliament. He also asked the leaders of Russia's republics and regions to endorse a draft proposal for a new national law, recommend changes to it, and then send delegates to a constitutional assembly.

Angola rebels turn to U.S.

WASHINGTON — An Angolan rebel leader appealed to the United States for support Thursday at peace talks that have ended government demands that the rebels immediately surrender and give up their gains. Valentin, chief delegate of the rebels, accused Angola's government of trying to prevent aid from reaching starving people in rebel-held territory. He appealed "to the United States, to President Clinton and his administration to take a stand publicly in support of humanitarian aid cannot be conditional on a political basis."

Costa Rican justices freed, captors snared

SAN JOSE, Costa Rica — Gunmen freed 18 Supreme Court justices and five court clerks Thursday after a four-day standoff, then were captured after a military raid, officials said. The Costa Rican Interior Ministry issued a



Bosnian Serb soldiers carry an elderly Serb after the man, along with over 70 other Serbs, arrived at Serb-held territory near the village of Satorovici after leaving Tuzla, Thursday. Serbs exchanged 31 Muslims from Bijeljina for 72 Serbs.

ASSOCIATED PRESS PHOTO

Captor, captured exchange roles

► The one with the upper hand now says he would not return the torture he received.

By Jullijana Mojsilovic
Associated Press writer

BANJA LUKA, Bosnia-Herzegovina — The knife scar on Milorad Pajcin's neck and his battered body testify to the treatment the Serb fighter endured during the four months he spent in Croat prison camps. Milorad Pajcin never thought he would survive, let alone get a chance for revenge against Davor Glasnovic, a man he says was one of his most sadistic torturers and who even drank his blood.

But the turbulent winds of Bosnia's war brought Pajcin and Glasnovic face to face again, this time with the tables turned.

Pajcin is a potential witness in Glasnovic's pending war-crimes trial. His testimony could determine whether Glasnovic is convicted, and whether he is sentenced to death by firing squad.

Pajcin said his captors gave the prisoners electrical shocks, forced them to eat human excrement and urine and made them rape Serb women and girls, after the females had been raped first by the Croats.

"You don't feel like a human being after all that," said Pajcin.

He recently confronted Glasnovic in Banja Luka prison, where guards kept them six feet apart. "I was not quite sure what I would have done to him if we were alone.

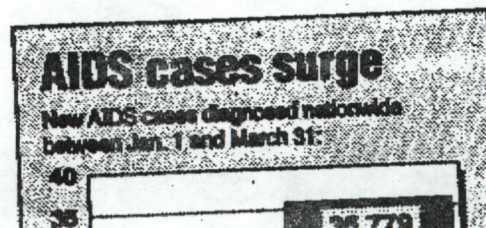
"I would not torture him," Pajcin said after a pause. "Just one bullet."

*Post-TRIBUNE 4/30/93
(N.W. Indiana paper)
SERB SIDE!
ARTICLE!
To: George + Media Center staff
from: BORKA*

Number of reported AIDS cases definitive

► Some of the increase can be blamed on a new definition of the disease.

By Loran Neergaard
Associated Press writer



HEALTH

vention. "Some of that 21 percent is a sign that the AIDS epidemic is continuing to grow."

It also means that people with HIV who have fought off AIDS with medication for several years are starting to get sick, said Lynora Williams, spokeswoman for the National Institutes of Health.

said the decision had been influenced by Serb concessions. The same would be rejected. The decision would be discussed by the leaders of the two sides who met in Belgrade. Slobodan Milosevic is the main backer.

The announcement means that Bosnia's future will be decided by the hands of the victors. But it is a sign of intense pressure from the West and its allies to force a new tough peace agreement against Yugoslavia.

It may be a sign of a new era in the Balkans. It is a sign of a new era in the Balkans. It is a sign of a new era in the Balkans. It is a sign of a new era in the Balkans.

munocytes, a meter, or person. Between 1985 and 1990, AIDS cases rose 204 percent during the old definition. Last year, cases increased.

Doctor with prescription of lies and denials



A man from Durmitor mountain, one of the mountain people encouraged by free flats and jobs to move into the city. Those who had taken power in 1945 were the partisans, rewarded for fighting for Tito with offices in the plush corridors of Bosnia's presidency. They brought their peasants down from the mountains. Tito's Yugoslavia railed against the intellectual elites in the towns, those who were questioning the ultimate victory of the proletariat. More peasants came, as did Karadzic, aged 15, to live on the outskirts of Sarajevo in new blocks. "He came to Sarajevo with all the complexes of a barefooted peasant

fore entering, hanging around afterwards to bring the coffee which Karadzic sugared. A genial host, a nice guy with a sting in his tail, who was paranoid about his own security. Mia Fish, a former TV presenter on Sarajevo TV, remembers him coming into the recording studio with two bodyguards and leaving three outside. "We had our own security men, but he always brought his own," she said.

In April, he moved 20 kilometres out of Sarajevo to a mountain hotel at Pale, where the men who sat down to dinner first laid aside their Kalashnikovs at their feet. Last month, when the first threat of

Karadzic genuinely didn't know the real horror of the camps. "He is going to take the rap and I think he knows it, but what is wrong has to be put right."

Dr Karadzic has his own PR techniques which, until last week, worked. Blustering lies. The cries about ethnic struggle, and marauding Muslims, which have kept Europe and the rest of the world off his patch for almost five months. All that time he has been pumping out propaganda from his headquarters in Pale, using technical back-up from Yugoslav army technicians, transmitters stolen from Sarajevo TV, and BBC equipment picked up in the city in May when the BBC briefly abandoned ship.

Radovan Karadzic, the man who inspired the Serbian militia to war, is due in London soon for another round of ceasefire talks. But he has lost all control of his troops. Profile by Maggie O'Kane. Illustration by Peter Clarke.

Night after night the news agency of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia pumped out "news" of Muslim atrocities. Stories of the crucified bodies of Serbian babies jostled for space with with castrated Serbian men found along the river Drina. The tragedy is that ordinary Serbs, needing to justify the actions of an army that in their names are burning their neighbours out of their homes, gobbled up this propaganda.

Zlatan Carbaravdic, who works with the BBC's Yugoslav service, describes Karadzic as "organically dishonest — he can lie into your face and look as innocent as a lamb." In an interview with the French newspaper *Le Figaro* at the beginning of the war, he was asked if he would agree to dismantle his paramilitary forces. He replied: "The Bosnian Serbs have no armed forces. Unlike the Muslims we have always asked the Serbs not to organise themselves as an armed militia." He was interviewed by the *Guardian* a month later, surrounded by militia men eating rump steak on their tea-break: he admitted to an army of 53,000 men.

He trots out the same lines with regularity. An early favourite was the one about how thousands of Albanian fundamentalists were swarming across the most secure land border in Europe to bring the jihad to Yugoslavia. He's dropped that one for another regular: "Which is the only nation with a consul in Sarajevo? Is it the British? Is it the French? No, it's the Libyans."

One wonders if he is simply mad. One Serbian intellectual, author of a new book on the former Yugoslavia thinks not. "I don't accept that he is mad... He's a highly intelligent man who chews things over." The intellectual wouldn't give his name. Few people these days want to be associated with the man now seen as an international outlaw. Milos Vasic says he's a "pathological liar and a psychopath." But his tactics have worked. Lie, deny, and cry jihad. The West thinks it's a messy ethnic war, thinks of Beirut, and says it's all too confusing to intervene. Meanwhile, the boys will get on with killing and cleansing.

Milosevic has achieved his aim, and Karadzic will have to go. The job is almost done. Sixty per cent of Bosnia has been seized, 1.6 million people have been kicked out of their homes, thousands of civilians are dead, and when the elections laid out in Lord Carrington's plan come to pass, those left behind after the ethnic cleansing will exercise their democratic right to join Serbia. The Muslims, Europe's new Palestinians in the transit camps, will have no say. What did President Bush say in 1990, as Iraq moved into Kuwait? "The use of force must not be rewarded anywhere in the world?" Well, Slobodan Milosevic has his reward. Roll over Radovan, you've had your day.

military intervention sounded, he moved to an underground bunker built for Tito during the Cold War, not far from Belgrade.

It was from the Holiday Inn on the first sunny Sunday in April that he watched several thousand Sarajevo citizens — Serb, Muslim, and Croat — gather across the road in front of the Parliament to demand peace, to demand that his men dismantle the barricades they had thrown up around the city after Bosnia had voted for independence.

Dr Karadzic and his master Milosevic didn't like it. Bosnia would not break free from Yugoslavia however the vote went. Next day he turned the palms of his hands to the ceilings of his hotel suite, and said: "It only takes a few dead bodies on the street to start a war — that's the Balkan tragedy."

The first night they killed Suada Dilberovic, a 20-year-old student protesting against their paramilitary tactics. Thousands flooded in from the countryside vowing to dismantle Dr Karadzic's barricades — but as they marched on the Holiday Inn they were met by his snipers. The war in Bosnia had begun.

John Kennedy, an Englishman with Montenegrin and Serbian roots, found himself at Karadzic's side when the man came to London. Karadzic needed a local with political savvy. Initially sympathetic to the Serbian cause, Kennedy finds himself in a difficult position now it has turned so ugly. Karadzic, desperately trying to pull back, relies on Kennedy to keep him straight in the world of PR. Karadzic rang London in the small hours to tell Kennedy that he'd taken his advice and was going to open the camps. Kennedy, a former parliamentary research assistant, feels under a moral obligation to hang on in while he can influence Karadzic: "Karadzic is not an evil man. He's trying to stop things now but it's out of control."

In the name of Serbians, Karadzic has been lying to the television channels of Europe. What he said was: "Historic ethnic struggle — the Balkan Tragedy". What he meant was "Power — we want it. We, who came down from the mountains, aren't going to be shoved to the sidelines again."

"I get the feeling he's despised in Belgrade," says Zlatan Carbaravdic of the BBC World Service. "He's on the outside there, too. Not a proper Serb, because he comes from Montenegro: just Milosevic's servant. Watching him now, I get the impression he's dead scared, waiting to be dumped."

Karadzic, in the words of Kennedy, "never thought things would go this far." He believes that

boy," says a specialist in Yugoslavian politics. "Maybe that's why he's doing this to Sarajevo now," says Nina Mulabegovic, in London exile. "Nobody in Sarajevo really knew him or had any idea what he was up to. Perhaps he's attacking the city he never felt really part of. It was like that in Sarajevo, there were the *Papak*, the peasants from the country with their open shirts and gold chains, and the city people, the *Raja*. He was real *Papak*. They didn't mix. There were places they didn't go to, the Literature Club, the Fine Arts Club, the Opera Club. My family was old Sarajevo stock and they didn't bother with people like Karadzic."

Dr Karadzic studied medicine, specialising in psychiatry. His colleagues maintain he was a good medical specialist. The author of three books, mainly of children's poetry, he composed music for his single-stringed Serbian lyre. Nened Pejic, the former director of Sarajevo TV, who escaped from the city in May by pretending he was seeing a friend to the airport, knew Karadzic well. Pejic remembers a six-hour meeting with Karadzic where he demanded that the staff of Sarajevo TV be divided into three ethnic groups, each broadcasting separately; with the Serbian Assembly appointing the journalists. "I asked him if that meant sending three reporters to cover each story and he said, 'Yes, we want to build a new society and a new state.'"

Dr Karadzic has two children both in their twenties, both studying medicine. His wife Lilyan is also a psychiatrist. They met and practised together. He worked first for the state hospitals and then for Unis, one of the country's biggest firms. He was also a doctor with Sarajevo's football team. His political fanaticism first emerged after a spell in prison. He claims he was imprisoned for anti-communist activities, those that knew him in Sarajevo say he was charged with fraud for misusing government funds for house-loans. He emerged to help found the Serbian Democratic Party in the summer of 1990. Power was concentrated in the hands of traditional Serbian intellectuals, among them the historian Milorad Ekneric, who declared: "Not even 100,000 dead will be too many for the creation of their new (Greater Serbian) state. On paper they read like the Liberal Democrats."

Karadzic is a moderate man in most things but politics. He likes a turn at the casino, and drank red wine when he used to entertain foreigners at his seventh floor Holiday Inn Headquarters in Sarajevo. Meeting him then was like preparing for an audience with a mafia don.

Young, Kalashnikov-ed men knocked on the door towards evening announcing that Dr Karadzic was ready to receive. In the Olympic suite, the boys in the anteroom frisked the visitors be-

Serbian commander Juiko Kodrisasa on the outskirts of Gorazde. This is the endgame. The Serbs almost have what they want, the effective division of the country into two parts, one for big Croatia and one for Greater Serbia. Bosnia's 1,500,000 Muslims can go to hell. Most are already there: in the detention camps, stuffed into crowded transit camps, or on trains to a cold welcome in Europe.

Dr Radovan Karadzic's initial response to the allegations of ethnic cleansing and camps was to deny them. He appeared spluttering with indignation on TV channels across the world. The camps were Muslim propaganda and there was no such thing as ethnic cleansing. But as the weight of evidence grew he thanked the journalists for letting him know what was happening, said he'd check it all out. His responses are confused and contradictory, from "No, the camps don't exist — Muslim propaganda" through "Yes, they do, but the Red Cross can come in" to "We'll close them".

Meanwhile, he's due in London to be entertained at Lord Carrington's table in another round of useless ceasefire talks. Useless, because Karadzic has lost control. Milos Vasic is one of Belgrade's most respected political writers and a Serb: "He's got his back against the wall now... Sarajevo was a mistake because it focused international attention on what was happening in Bosnia and now he can't control what is happening there. The logical question Carrington should have asked is: who the hell are you representing here? The next step would have been to kindly ask Karadzic to leave the table and have someone serious sent to London in his place, someone with the authority to make the Serb fighters obey."

Karadzic comes from Montenegro.

WHO is this man, Radovan? The guy on the television with the bush of springy grey hair and trouble, big trouble on his plate? Dr Radovan Karadzic is under pressure, the world wants a response to the atrocities now emerging from Bosnia, the killings, the detention camps, the "ethnic cleansing".

But the leader of Bosnia's hardline Serbs has lost control of the monster he helped create and is covering his impotence by promising to punish "those disobedient people" who aren't following his orders. The military monster has grown up, pushed him aside and is running wild, drunk on power.

This monster was fathered by Slobodan Milosevic, the leader of Serbia and the man with a vision of Greater Serbia taking in the Serbs of Bosnia and Croatia — no matter what the cost. Lately, Mr Milosevic has been quiet. International pressure and economic sanctions have forced him to wash his hands of Dr Karadzic. After last week's revelations, Milosevic won't want to know the man he used to whip up fanatical nationalism and tear Bosnia apart.

Karadzic is a stooge. The men he led, the Serbian militia, have tasted blood and victory and there's no "ceasefire" on their menu. They now ignore his efforts to bring the temperature down, greeting his ceasefire attempts with the roar of mortars. A lowly detention camp official chases off the international press Karadzic invited.

As the threat of military intervention (which the Serbs were formerly taking very seriously) abates, the Serbian militia prepare to get on with the job. The commanders who ignore Dr Karadzic's PR ceasefire attempts in London are even prepared to put a date on their objectives. "We will have cleansed Gorazde and Sarajevo by the end of September," says the

Financial Times
4/23/93

UK may back US on bombing Serbs

By David White and Philip Stephens in London and Liana Silber in Belgrade

BRITAIN signalled yesterday that it was ready to give reluctant backing to a move by the US administration to bomb Serbian supply lines in Bosnia or to lift the international arms embargo on the Bosnian Muslims.

As Washington continued to weigh its responses to the latest Serbian advances in the former Yugoslav province, senior British ministers said that they now judged President Bill Clinton almost certain to announce new measures against the Serbs.

The London government has drawn up detailed contingency plans to withdraw at short notice its 2,400-strong contribution to the UN humanitarian effort if the US stance brings an escalation in the fighting.

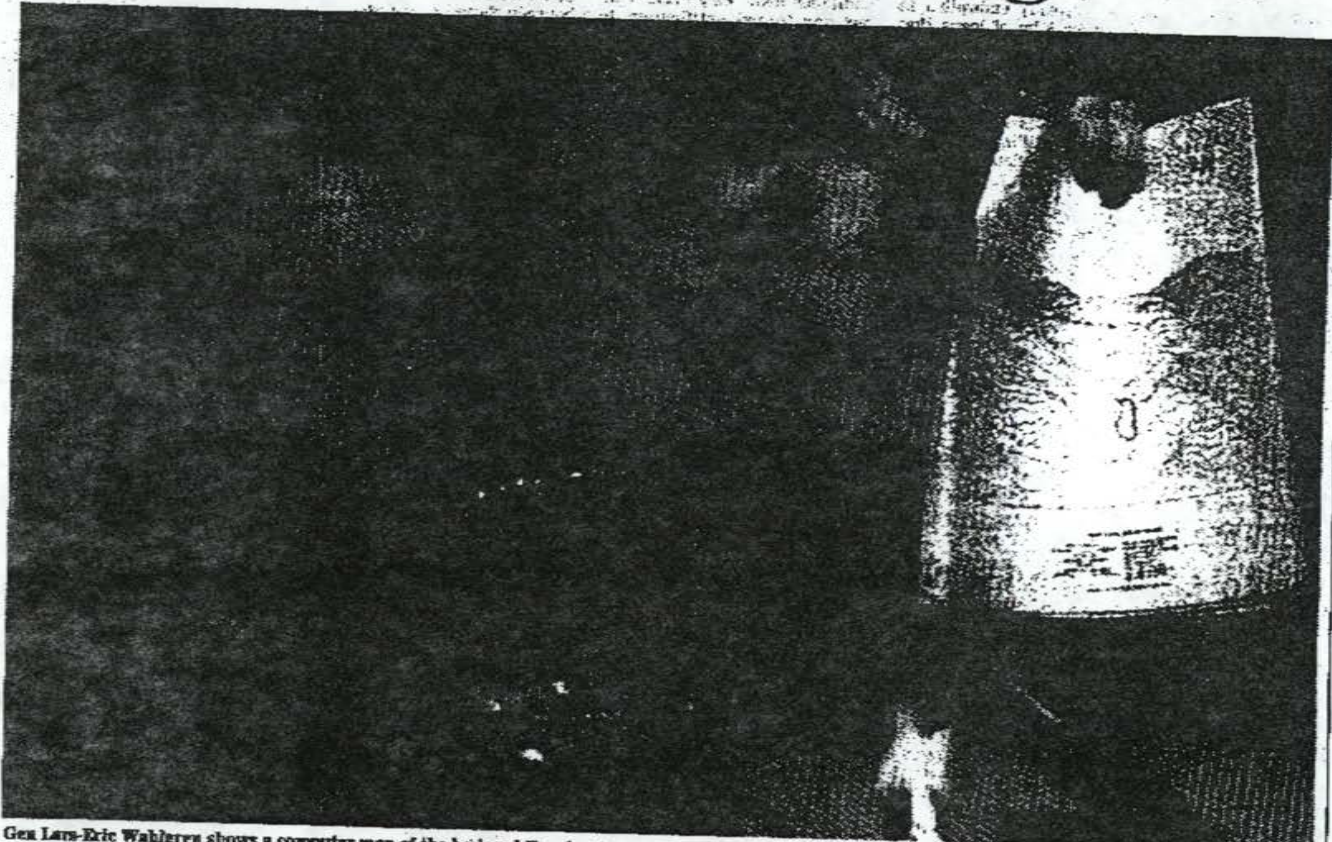
Mr Douglas Hurd, the foreign secretary, told a cabinet meeting that it was uncertain whether he would choose lifting the arms embargo or the threat of air strikes. But ministers concluded that in either case it would be impossible for Britain to stand out against such a move.

Meanwhile, Canadian UN troops in Srebrenica are prepared to use force to protect the demilitarised zone, the commander of the UN Protection Force in former Yugoslavia said yesterday.

"The order is that the [troops] protect this demilitarised zone as peacekeepers," Lt Gen Lars-Eric Wahlgren, the UN Protection Force (Unprofor) commander, said at a news conference in Zagreb. "That means that if somebody tries to enter it with force, they will use force in self-defence."

However, a UN official said the remarks by Gen Wahlgren did not imply the troops were ready to defend the eastern Bosnian town if the ceasefire broke down and Serb besiegers resumed shelling. "We have no mandate, no ability and no intention of defending Srebrenica by the use of force," the official said.

The 150-strong UN contingent consists of lightly-armed infantry soldiers with thinly-armoured personnel carriers



Gen Lars-Eric Wahlgren shows a computer map of the besieged Bosnian town of Srebrenica to the press at Unprofor headquarters in Zagreb yesterday

and a few trucks and jeeps. The nearest reinforcements are Canadian and British soldiers at Tuzla, 60km away and the other side of the confrontation line.

The cease-fire in Srebrenica which was agreed by the Bosnian Serbian and Moslem military commanders last weekend was holding and an Unprofor spokesman in Sarajevo said that UN troops had completed the destruction of weapons handed in by

the Moslem defenders of the town.

However, one of the commanders of the Serb besieging forces said that the Moslems had surrendered "a ridiculously small" quantity of "mainly obsolete and useless" arms.

In central Bosnia, Moslem and Croat forces, once allies in the struggle against the Bosnian Serbs, continued to fight for territory, breaking a brief ceasefire negotiated hours earlier.

The UN Security Council said on Wednesday that it was appalled by the atrocities against civilians in the area, "in particular the setting on fire of Moslem houses and the shooting of entire families in two villages by Bosnian Croat paramilitary units".

Some 250 people, mainly civilians, have died in the Croat-Moslem clashes over the past few days.

Moslem-controlled Sarajevo radio said Croat forces had captured the

town of Vares, 35km north of the Bosnian capital. It accused the Croats of shelling Moslem positions around Kiseljak, to the west of Sarajevo.

The radio also said that 12 people died in the shelling of Gorazde over the last 24 hours.

In western Croatia, one Czechoslovak peacekeeper was killed and two wounded in a Croat attack on Gospic, amid mounting clashes between Croat and Serb forces.

RECEIVED APR 21 1993

APR 05 '93 11:14 EMB. OF RSF OF YUGOSLAVIA

TO

AMB. WASHINGTON P.15 P.1/6

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SAVEZNA REPUBLIKA JUGOSLAVIJA
SAVEZNO MINISTARSTVO
INOSTRANIH POSLOVA
DIREKCIJA SIK
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05 APRIL 1993. GODINE

FAX

VRLO HITNO

AMBASADAMA SRJ (TELEFAKSOM): PARIZ,
BON, RIM, LISABON, ATINA, HELSINKI,
VARSAVA, BEC, BUDIMPESTA, BUKUREST,
TIKANA, ANKARA, TEL AVIV, KAIRO, ALZIR,
DAMASK, NJU DELHI, DZAKARTA, PEKING,
TOKIO, KANBERA, SEUL, GK ISTANBUL

MISIJA SRJ (TELEFEKGOM): STRAZBUR

OSTALIM DKP SRJ - RS

YUGOSLAV DAILY SURVEY

BOSNIAN SERB REPUBLIC'S PARLIAMENT

BOSNIAN SERB REPUBLIC'S PARLIAMENT ADOPTS DECLARATION ON CONTINUATION OF PEACE PROCESS

BILECA, APRIL 3 (TANJUG) - THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY OF THE BOSNIAN SERB REPUBLIC ADOPTED AT ITS SESSION IN BILECA ON APRIL 23 A DECLARATION ON THE CONTINUATION OF THE PEACE PROCESS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA. THE DECLARATION READS:

1. THE VANCE-OWEN PLAN SHOWS A DIVISION OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA ON THE ETHNIC PRINCIPLE TO BE BOTH ESSENTIAL AND POSSIBLE, WHILE A SMALLER PART OF THE TERRITORY HAS REMAINED IN DISPUTE BETWEEN THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT.

2. THE PROPOSED MAPS ARE UNACCEPTABLE IN THEIR PRESENT FORM BECAUSE THEY UNJUSTLY DIVIDE THE AREA, MINERAL RESOURCES, POWER POTENTIALS, ECONOMIC FACILITIES, COMMUNICATIONS AND INFRASTRUCTURE, ENVISAGE NON-FUNCTIONAL ENTITIES, DO NOT CORRESPOND TO THE ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION BECAUSE THEY UNJUSTIFIABLY LEAVE A MAJOR SECTION OF THE SERB PEOPLE AS A MINORITY, AND DO NOT CORRESPOND TO THE EXISTENTIAL AND POLITICAL INTERESTS OF THE SERB PEOPLE.

3. WE STRONGLY URGE AN EXTENSION OF THE CURRENT TRUCE UNTIL THE CONCLUSION OF A PEACE TREATY.

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BELGRADE, 5 April 1993

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4. THE PEACE PROCESS SHOULD CONTINUE ON THE BASIS OF THE POSITIVE ACHIEVEMENTS SO FAR. THE TIME HAS COME FOR COMPLETING THE PEACE PROCESS THROUGH DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT, WITHOUT WHICH THERE ARE NO JUST SOLUTIONS TO THE CONFLICT.

5. GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES OF THE SERB REPUBLIC WILL CONTINUE TO ENSURE THE FREE MOVEMENT OF HUMANITARIAN CONVOYS AND THE PROTECTION OF ENDANGERED CIVILIANS.

6. WE CONDEMN THE POLICY OF PRESSURE AND PUNISHMENT WHICH ECONOMICALLY THREATENS THE ENTIRE REGION OF THE BALKANS IN CASE OF THIS POLICY CONTINUING. WE SHALL INTERRUPT ALL COOPERATION WITH THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS WHICH PUNISH THE WHOLE SERBIAN PEOPLE.

7. WE REAFFIRM OUR EARLIER DECISION BANNING THE PRESENCE AND DEPLOYMENT OF FOREIGN TROOPS ON THE TERRITORY OF THE SERB REPUBLIC.

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**PARLIAMENT OF SERB REPUBLIC IN BOSNIA:
PROPOSED MAPS UNACCEPTABLE**

B I L E C A, APRIL 3 (TANJUG) - THE PARLIAMENT OF THE SERB REPUBLIC IN BOSNIA ON SATURDAY CONCLUDED THAT THE PEACE PROCESS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA SHOULD CONTINUE BUT THAT THE MAPS DRAWN UP BY INTERNATIONAL MEDIATORS C. VANCE AND LORD OWEN ARE UNACCEPTABLE IN THEIR PRESENT FORM, BECAUSE THEY DO NOT CORRESPOND TO THE EXISTENTIAL AND POLITICAL INTERESTS OF THE SERB PEOPLE. AT THE CLOSURE OF A TWO-DAY SESSION IN BILECA, 81-MEMBER BODY CONCLUDED THAT THE BOSNIA SERBS 'HAVE BEEN PRESENTED A PLAN FOR THE COMPLETE DISINTEGRATION AND DESTRUCTION OF THE SERB PEOPLE' AND EXPRESSED 'FIRM BELIEF IN PEACE AND A JUST POLITICAL SOLUTION FOR THE WAR IN BOSNIA.'

THE DECLARATION ON THE CONTINUATION OF THE PEACE PROCESS, WHICH IS BASED ON POSITIVE RESULTS ACHIEVED SO FAR URGES THE CONTINUATION OF THE CURRENT CEASEFIRE UNTIL A PEACE AGREEMENT IS REACHED.

NEGOTIATIONS AND PEACE - YES, PROPOSED MAPS IN THEIR PRESENT FORM - NO, ARE THE PARLIAMENT'S CONCLUSIONS ON THE EFFORTS OF ITS DELEGATION AT THE NEW YORK PEACE TALKS IN FEBRUARY AND MARCH AND THE PROPOSED MAPS.

**NO ROOM FOR GERMAN AIRCRAFT IN
BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA SKIES,
SAYS ASSEMBLY OF SERBIAN REPUBLIC IN RSF**

B I L E C A, APRIL 3 (TANJUG) - THE ASSEMBLY OF THE RS HAS DECIDED TO REQUEST OF THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL TO BAN GERMAN AIRCRAFT AND AIRCREWS FROM FLYING IN THEIR SPACE OVER THE TERRITORIES CONTROLLED BY FORCES OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA SERBS. THE ASSEMBLY RECALLS IN THE REQUEST TO THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL THAT GERMAN FORCES COMMITTED GENOCIDE AGAINST THE SERBIAN PEOPLE DURING WORLD WAR TWO AND THAT TRACES OF THOSE CRIMES ARE STILL TO BE FOUND IN SERBIAN TERRITORIES.

THE RS ASSEMBLY STRESSES THAT NO SECURITY WILL BE GUARANTEED TO GERMAN PLANES SHOULD THEY APPEAR OVER THE RS TERRITORY. THE RS ASSEMBLY SAID THAT ITS REQUEST IMPLIED ALSO THE GERMAN PLANES USED FOR DELIVERY OF HUMANITARIAN AID.

**KARADZIC WARNS OF DANGER OF 'MANY
NAGORNO-KARABKHS' IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA**

B I L E C A, APRIL 2 (TANJUG) - MAPS FOR THE DIVISION OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA ARE 'NOT FAIR ENOUGH' TO BE ACCEPTABLE FOR SERBS, PRESIDENT OF THE R.S. IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA R. KARADZIC SAID ON FRIDAY.

A LARGE PART OF THE MAPS DRAWN UP BY INTERNATIONAL MEDIATORS C. VANCE AND LORD OWEN IS ACCEPTABLE AND UNDISPUTABLE, KARADZIC SAID IN HIS SPEECH AT THE SERB REPUBLIC PARLIAMENT'S SESSION IN BILECA. THE DISTRIBUTION HAS BEEN FAIR AS REGARDS 'NEARLY 70-80% OF THE FORMER BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA'S TERRITORY, WHICH DENIES THE ASSERTIONS THAT

**BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA CANNOT BE DIVIDED,
KARADZIC SAID**

**SERB REPUBLIC LEADERS: SERBS NEED PEACE, NOT
TRUCE**

B I L E C A, APR 3 (TANJUG) - M. KRAJISNIK, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE R.S. HAS STATED THAT THE SERBS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA HAVE NOT RENOUNCED THE UNDISPUTABLE PARTS OF THE VANCE-OWEN PEACE PLAN. HE ADDED THAT THEY FAVOURED THE OPENING OF THE FURTHER PROSPECTS FOR NEGOTIATIONS.

'AFTER THIS SESSION, WE SHALL DEMAND FROM CO-CHAIRMEN VANCE AND OWEN THAT THE WORK ON THE CONFERENCE SHOULD CONTINUE. WE NEED PEACE, RATHER THAN A TRUCE. WE NEED THE WAR ENDED AND, THROUGH THE FULL COOPERATIVENESS, A JUST SOLUTION ARRIVED AT,' STATED KRAJISNIK.

AFTER THE END OF A SESSION OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY KRAJISNIK PROPOSED THAT ALL THE DISPUTED AREAS AND QUESTIONS BE RESOLVED AT DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE LOCAL CROATS AND MOSLEMS.

PRESIDENT OF THE R.S. R. KARADZIC SAID THAT DEBATES AND ACCORDS WERE NECESSARY ABOUT ALL DISPUTABLE AREAS, SUCH AS THE NERETVA VALLEY, THE MUNICIPALITY OF KUPRES, POSAVINA (THE SAVA VALLEY), JAJCE, DONJI VAKUF, AND ALL THOSE PLACES ABOUT WHICH THE CONFLICTING SIDES HAD NOT YET REACHED FULL ACCORD.

KARADZIC PRESENTED A PRESUMPTION THAT THERE WOULD BE MORE STRAINS, THREATS, AND PERHAPS EVEN SANCTIONS AGAINST THE SERB PEOPLE AS A WHOLE, FOLLOWING THE DECLARATION BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON SATURDAY.

TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, SAID KARADZIC, 'SERBS POSE THE QUESTIONS: WHY IS CONSENT SOUGHT FROM THE SERBS FOR WHAT THE SERBS DO NOT GIVE VOLUNTARILY? WHAT WORTH ARE ACCORDS AND SIGNATURES IF THEY ARE EXORTED BY PRESSURES AND THREATS AND PREDICTIONS OF A DISASTROUS END OF THE SERBIAN PEOPLE?'

KARADZIC POINTED OUT THAT THE USA BECAME AWARE THAT BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA, 'PATCHED UP' ACCORDING TO THE VANCE-OWEN PLAN, COULD NOT HOLD ITS NATIONS TOGETHER BY FORCE. U.S. PRESIDENT B. CLINTON HIMSELF MAINTAINED THAT IT WAS OUT OF THE QUESTION TO ACCEPT A PLAN NOT ADOPTED VOLUNTARILY BY ALL THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT, KARADZIC SAID. AMERICANS WOULD PROBABLY RETURN TO THE CONCEPT ABOUT 'THREE BOSNIA HERZEGOVINAS' OR TO THAT OF THE SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLES, SAID KARADZIC, ADDING 'WE PREFER THE LATTER.'

KARADZIC SAID THAT NATO SHOULD NOT BE CONCERNED ABOUT YUGOSLAVIA, BECAUSE THIS COUNTRY WAS NOT ITS MEMBER. IF SOME INTERNATIONAL TROOPS WERE IN THE TERRITORY UNDER THE BOSNIAN SERBS' CONTROL, THESE TROOPS WOULD BE ONLY THOSE WHICH HAD THE CONSENT BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE R.S. AND IN NO WAY THE FORCES OF THE NATO OR THE FORCES POSSIBLY DEMANDED BY MOSLEMS AND CROATS, SAID KARADZIC.

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BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINACHRISTOPHER ALLOWS OF POSSIBLE ALTERATIONS
IN PEACE PLAN FOR BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

WASHINGTON, APRIL 4 (TANJUG) - U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE W. CHRISTOPHER HAS ALLOWED OF THE POSSIBILITY OF SOME ADJUSTMENTS TO BE MADE IN THE PEACE PLAN OF VANCE AND LORD OWEN TO THE SATISFACTION OF ALL SIDES IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA. SPEAKING ON THE CNN FROM VANCOUVER, HE SAID HE THOUGHT THAT THE PLAN WAS ALWAYS OPEN TO REVISION.

CHRISTOPHER CALLED THE DECISION ON THE PLAN BY THE BOSNIAN SERB PARLIAMENT REGRETTABLE, BUT SAID THE UNITED STATES OUGHT TO CONTINUE TO TRY TO PERSUADE THE SERB SIDE TO SIGN IT.

HE SAID THAT THE RUSSIAN DIPLOMACY HAD SO FAR SUPPORTED THE AMERICAN IN BRINGING THIS TERRIBLE CONFLICT TO AN END AND HOPED THAT THE RUSSIANS WOULD CONTINUE TO COOPERATE WITH THE UNITED STATES SO FAR AS THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS YUGOSLAVIA WAS CONCERNED. RUSSIA'S CONSTRUCTIVE COOPERATION AND SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN INITIATIVES WAS A GREAT THING FOR THE U.S., POINTED OUT CHRISTOPHER, BUT ADDED IT DID NOT MEAN THAT WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW DO NOT DIFFER IN SOME OF THEIR VIEWS.

KARADZIC ENCOURAGED BY CHRISTOPHER'S
STATEMENT THAT CORRECTIONS OF MAP
ON FUTURE BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA POSSIBLE

BELGRADE, APRIL 4 (TANJUG) - R. KARADZIC, LEADER OF THE SERBIAN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA WHERE AN ETHNIC WAR IS RAGING, SAID ON SUNDAY THAT HE WAS ENCOURAGED BY U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE W. CHRISTOPHER'S STATEMENT THAT CORRECTIONS OF THE PROPOSED MAP FOR THE ETHNIC DIVISION OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA WERE POSSIBLE.

KARADZIC ASSESSED CHRISTOPHER'S STATEMENT AS A SIGN THAT THE U.S. WAS NOT READY TO ENFORCE A SOLUTION WHICH WOULD BE OPPOSED TO THE FREE WILL OF ONE OF THE THREE CONSTITUENT PEOPLES OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, IN AN INTERVIEW TO TV-REUTER.

KARADZIC DENIED CLAIMS THAT THE SERBIAN REPUBLIC IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA ASSEMBLY HAD REJECTED THE VANCE-OWEN PEACE PLAN. KARADZIC SAID HE HOPED THAT THE DECISION ADOPTED IN BILGA, WOULD BE LESS HARSH TOWARDS THE PEACE PLAN, AND UNDERSCORED THAT THE VANCE-OWEN PLAN HAD NOT BEEN REJECTED OUTHRIGHT. KARADZIC APPEALED TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO UPHOLD THE SETTING UP OF DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE THREE WARRING SIDES. HE EXPRESSED THE BELIEF THAT THE WAR IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA COULD COME TO AN END AFTER 'FACE-TO-FACE' TALKS. KARADZIC DID CAUTION THAT THERE WOULD NOT BE ANY PEACE AS LONG AS THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CONTINUED WITH PRESSURES ON ONE SIDE ONLY, WHILE ENCOURAGING THE OTHER TWO TO FIGHT.

DEMARCHEDEMARCHE AGAINST GERMAN RAILWAYS' DECISION
TO STOP SELLING TICKETS FOR YUGOSLAVIA

BELGRADE, APRIL 2 (TANJUG) - YUGOSLAVIA'S FOREIGN MINISTRY HAS LODGED A DEMARCHE WITH GERMANY'S CHARGES D'AFFAIRES IN BELGRADE BECAUSE OF GERMAN RAILWAYS' DECISION NOT TO ADMIT TICKETS SOLD BY THE YUGOSLAV RAILWAYS AND TO STOP SELLING TICKETS FOR YUGOSLAVIA. THE MEASURE IS CONTRARY TO THE INTENTIONS OF THE CSCE TO MAINTAIN COOPERATION AND UNDISTURBED CIRCULATION OF PEOPLE. IT SERIOUSLY DAMAGES ECONOMIC INTERESTS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES, THE DEMARCHE SAID.

THE MEASURE CAN IN NO WAY FALL WITH THE U.N. SANCTIONS INTRODUCED AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA, AS GERMANY TRIES TO PRESENT IT, AND MUST BE RECONSIDERED, IT SAID. THE DEMARCHE POINTED OUT THAT THE GERMAN IMMIGRATION OFFICE HAD BEEN ADVISING YUGOSLAV CITIZENS BORN IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA AND LIVING IN GERMANY TO EXTEND THE VALIDITY OF THEIR PASSPORTS IN THE SO-CALLED BOSNIAN EMBASSY IN BONN, ALTHOUGH AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THEM DO NOT RECOGNIZE THE MUSLIM STATE AND CONSIDER THEMSELVES CITIZENS OF THE F.R.G.

THE YUGOSLAV FOREIGN MINISTRY REGARDED THIS MEASURE AS PRESSURE IGNORING PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND CHOICE OF CITIZENSHIP. THE QUESTION OF THE CITIZENSHIP OF YUGOSLAVS FROM THE FORMER BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA AND THE RSK OUGHT TO BE RESOLVED IN A DEMOCRATIC WAY AS A RESULT OF THE CURRENT POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS IN NEW YORK AND GENEVA. THE DEMARCHE SAID.

INTERVIEWSMONTENEGRO PRESIDENT BULATOVIC EXPECTS
SANCTIONS TO BE LIFTED SOON

KRAGUJEVAC, APRIL 4 (TANJUG) - PRESIDENT M. BULATOVIC OF MONTENEGRO ON SUNDAY SAID YUGOSLAVIA WAS IN A QUITE DRAMATIC POSITION BUT PEACE IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA (DIN) WAS IN SIGHT AND, THEREFORE, ALSO THE LIFTING OF THE SANCTIONS INTRODUCED AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA.

"I BELIEVE THAT THE RESULTS ACHIEVED SO FAR IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS ON THE ACCEPTANCE AND SUBSEQUENT IMPLEMENTATION OF THE VANCE-OWEN PLAN ARE SO SIGNIFICANT THAT THE BIGGEST PART OF THE ROAD HAS BEEN COVERED, AND THERE IS TRULY NO NEED FOR THE POWERFUL INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO REACT NERVOUSLY BECAUSE OF A FEW DISPUTED ISSUES," BULATOVIC SAID IN A RADIO KRAGUJEVAC PROGRAMME.

"THE SITUATION IS RIPE FOR A PROCESS OF A STEPPED-UP EASING OF THE SANCTIONS. THAT POINT HAS BEEN UNDERSTOOD IN EUROPE, TOO, SINCE THE UNJUST SANCTIONS HAVE DESABILIZED THE ENTIRE REGION AND ALL OF THE BALKANS, WHICH CAN HAVE UNFORESEEABLE CONSEQUENCES," BULATOVIC SAID. "BEARING IN MIND THE DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES WHICH HAVE COME FROM ROMANIA AND GREECE AND THE CHANGED ATTITUDE OF THE EUROPEAN PUBLIC, WHICH HAS STARTED TALKING

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ABOUT THE LIFTING OF THE SANCTIONS, IT IS QUITE REALISTIC TO ASSUME THAT, SHOULD A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION BE REACHED AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF A SOMEWHAT MODIFIED VANCE OWEN PLAN UNDERTAKEN, WE FACE A PERIOD IN WHICH THE SANCTIONS WILL BE LIFTED,' THE MONTENEGRO PRESIDENT SAID.

STOLTENBERG: I WANT TO CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

B E L G R A D E, APRIL 4 (TANJUG) - NORWEGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER T. STOLTENBERG, WHO REPLACES CVANCE AS CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE CONFERENCE ON FORMER YUGOSLAVIA ON MAY 1, SAID THAT HIS DREAM AND AMBITION IS TO CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE AND THE FINDING OF SATISFACTORY SOLUTIONS FOR ALL PEOPLES OF FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. IN AN INTERVIEW PUBLISHED BY SUNDAY'S BELGRADE DAILY POLITIKA, STOLTENBERG SAID HE HAD ACCEPTED THIS DUTY BECAUSE 'IF I HAD SAID NO, I WOULD HAVE FELT REMORSE UNTIL THE END OF MY LIFE.'

THE TASK OF THE CO-PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE ON FORMER YUGOSLAVIA IS ONE OF THE MOST DIFFICULT TODAY,' BUT IF U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL BUSHAI 'BELIEVES THAT I CAN CONTRIBUTE TO A PEACEFUL SOLUTION, SUCH AN OFFER SHOULD NOT BE REJECTED,' HE SAID. ASKED WHETHER WE WILL GET PEACE, STOLTENBERG SAID YES, BECAUSE THE ALTERNATIVE IS TERRIBLE.

STOLTENBERG SAID THAT 'UNTIL THE FIGHTING BEGAN IN YUGOSLAVIA, I WOULD NOT HAVE THOUGHT THAT EVEN POSSIBLE.' I COULD NOT UNDERSTAND IT WHEN MY FRIENDS USED TO SAY LONG AGO THAT THIS COULD HAPPEN, HE SAID.

COMMENTING THE ACTIVITIES MANY NORWEGIANS IN THE MOST IMPORTANT POSITIONS IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO RESOLVE THE CRISIS IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA, STOLTENBERG SAID THAT SINCE WORLD WAR TWO THE NORWEGIANS HAD CLOSE TIES WITH THE YUGOSLAV PEOPLE, MANY OF WHOM WENT THROUGH THE MOST DIFFICULT TIME IN THEIR LIVES IN GERMAN CAMPS IN NORWAY, AND ADDED THAT THIS FRIENDSHIP WAS NURTURED AND FURTHER DEVELOPED THROUGHOUT THE YEARS. THIS IS WHY IT IS NATURAL THAT MANY NORWEGIANS ARE MUCH CONCERNED AND INTERESTED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EVENTS IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA,' HE SAID.

HUMANITARIAN CONVOY TO SREBRENICA

MOSLEMS DEMONSTRATE BECAUSE MOSLEM AUTHORITIES WILL NOT LET THEM LEAVE SREBRENICA

B R A T U N A C, APRIL 4 (TANJUG) - MOSLEMS DEMONSTRATED ON SUNDAY IN SREBRENICA, BECAUSE THE LOCAL MOSLEM AUTHORITIES DID NOT ALLOW THEM TO LEAVE, REPORTED TANJUG CORRESPONDENT FROM NEIGHBOURING BRATUNAC, CALLING ON RELIABLE SOURCES ACCORDING TO THESE SOURCES, NASER ORIC, THE COMMANDER OF THE LOCAL MOSLEM FORMATIONS DID NOT ALLOW MOSLEMS WHO WISHED TO LEAVE THE TOWN THROUGH THE MEDIATION OF THE UNHCR TO GO TO TUZLA, A TOWN MORE TO THE WEST WHICH IS HELD BY MOSLEMS. DEMONSTRATIONS BROKE OUT WHEN A

CONVOY OF EIGHT UNHCR TRUCKS WAS PREPARING TO LEAVE THE TOWN. THE PROTESTS GREW INTO DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST THE MOSLEM AUTHORITIES. A MASS OF PEOPLE GATHERED IN THE TOWN CENTRE, EXPRESSING DISSATISFACTION WITH MOSLEM LEADER ALI ZETSEGOVIC'S POLICY.

UNHCR REPRESENTATIVES TRIED TO PERSUADE THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES TO ALLOW THE DEPARTURE OF MOSLEM CIVILIANS TO TUZLA. MOSLEM FORCES OPENED FIRE FROM ARTILLERY AND HEAVY ARMS ON THE AREA WHERE THE CONVOY WAS SUPPOSED TO PASS. THREE SHELLS FELL IN THE AREA WHERE EIGHT UNHCR TRUCKS ARE WAITING TO EVACUATE THE CIVILIANS TO TUZLA.

UNHCR CONVOY FAILS TO EVACUATE MUSLIMS FROM SREBRENICA

B E L G R A D E, APRIL 4 (TANJUG) - A CONVOY OF THE UNHCR ON SUNDAY BROUGHT FOOD TO SREBRENICA, BUT LEFT THE TOWN WITHOUT EVACUATING ANY MORE REFUGEES. THE EVACUATION OF THE REFUGEES WAS NOT PERMITTED BY THE LOCAL MUSLIM AUTHORITIES, ACCORDING TO A STATEMENT MADE BY SPOKESWOMAN OF THE BELGRADE UNHCR OFFICE LEACHS TO REUTERS. SACHS SAID THE UNHCR WAS VERY DISAPPOINTED BUT WOULD CONTINUE TO TRY TO EVACUATE PEOPLE FROM SREBRENICA AND GET AID TO THEM.

LOCAL MUSLIM AUTHORITIES PREVENT DEPARTURE OF CIVILIANS FROM SREBRENICA, SAYS UNHCR OFFICIAL

B R A T U N A C, APRIL 4 (TANJUG) - THE SERBIAN SIDE DID ABSOLUTELY EVERYTHING ON SUNDAY TO MAKE POSSIBLE THE EVACUATION OF MUSLIMS FROM SREBRENICA BUT THEIR DEPARTURE FOR TUZLA WAS PREVENTED BY THE LOCAL MUSLIM AUTHORITIES, THE HEAD OF THE UNHCR CONVOY WHICH WAS TO EVACUATE THE MUSLIMS SAID.

THE HEAD OF THE CONVOY OF THE OFFICE OF THE UNHCR MADE THE STATEMENT ON RETURNING TO BRATUNAC FROM SREBRENICA, WHERE THE 16-TRUCK UNHCR CONVOY ARRIVED ON SUNDAY WITH HUMANITARIAN AID. EIGHT OF THE UNHCR TRUCKS WERE TO EVACUATE MUSLIMS WHO WANT TO GO TO THE NEARBY MUSLIM-HELD TOWN OF TUZLA. MUSLIMS IN SREBRENICA MASSIVELY PROTESTED ON SUNDAY THE DECISION OF LOCAL MUSLIM COMMANDER NASER ORIC NOT TO LET PEOPLE LEAVE THE TOWN. ACCORDING TO MEMBERS OF THE UNHCR MISSION, THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE LOUDLY DEMONSTRATED AGAINST ORIC'S DECISION AND THE POLICY OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA MUSLIM LEADER ALI ZETSEGOVIC AND HIS FOLLOWERS. WHILE UNHCR REPRESENTATIVES WERE ENGAGED IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE MUSLIM AUTHORITIES IN SREBRENICA, MUSLIM TROOPS FIRED THREE SHELLS ON THE AREA OF THE BRIDGE ON WHICH EMPTY UNHCR TRUCKS WERE WAITING. THEY FIRED AT THE BRIDGE FROM ANTI AIRCRAFT GUNS AND HEAVY MACHINE-GUNS.

TESTIMONIES**CROATIA: OVER 800 SERBS ESCAPE FROM GORSKI KOTAR**

BELGRADE, APRIL 2 (TANJUG) - OVER 800 SERBS HAVE ESCAPED FROM GORSKI KOTAR IN SOUTHWEST OF CROATIA, THE BELGRADE DAILY VECERNJE NOVOSTI REPORTS. OF THEM, 600 ARE FROM THE TOWN OF OGULIN. THE PAPER QUOTES R. KOSANOVIC, AN OFFICIAL OF THE ASSOCIATION OF SERBS IN CROATIA, AS SAYING THAT THE SERBS ESCAPED FROM THE REGION ALTHOUGH IT WAS NOT HIT BY THE WAR PROVOKED BY CROATIA'S SECESSION FROM YUGOSLAVIA. OGULIN IS THE ONLY TOWN IN GORSKI KOTAR WHERE HOUSES BELONGING TO SERBS - ABOUT 80 - WERE DEMOLISHED AND SERBS WERE CONTINUOUSLY PERSECUTED, SAID KOSANOVIC. THE LIVES AND POSSESSIONS OF SERBS IN THE REST OF GORSKI KOTAR HAVE BEEN PRESERVED SO FAR THANKS TO A TOLERANT BEHAVIOUR OF SERBS AND CROATS LIVING IN THE REGION. HE ADDED. THE VANCE-OWEN PLAN DOES NOT PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF SERBS LIVING OUTSIDE THE TERRITORY OF THE RSK AND THEY ARE FORCIBLY MOBILIZED AND FORCED TO FIGHT. AT THE SAME TIME THEY ARE DENIED CERTIFICATES OF CITIZENSHIP AND PASSPORTS, WHICH RESTRICTS THEIR FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AND FREE USE OF THEIR POSSESSIONS. THE ORTHODOX SERBS IN CROATIA ARE SUBJECT TO FORCIBLE CONVERSION TO CATHOLICISM, SAID KOSANOVIC. HE NOTED THAT THE ASSOCIATION OF SERBS IN CROATIA ADVOCATES LOYAL ATTITUDE OF THE SERBS TOWARDS THE STATE.

IRANIAN DIPLOMATS TORTURED IN CROAT-CONTROLLED PRISON AT BUSOVACA

BELGRADE, APRIL 3 (TANJUG) - TWO IRANIAN DIPLOMATS, WHO HAVE BEEN HELD PRISONERS IN CROAT-CONTROLLED PRISON AT BUSOVACA FOR TWO MONTHS, BECAME INVALIDS AFTER BEING EXPOSED TO SYSTEMATIC TORTURING. THEIR TESTIMONIES ABOUT TORTURES THEY HAD EXPERIENCED IN PRISON WERE PUBLISHED BY DAILY JUMHOORI ISLAM IN LATE MARCH. THE TWO CIVIL SERVANTS OF THE IRANIAN MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, SEMAN SHUSHKA AND MEHRAN DARIYAYE, IN EARLY JANUARY HEADED FOR BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, CARRYING DIPLOMATIC PASSPORTS AND OFFICIAL LETTERS FROM THEIR MINISTRY.

INSTEAD OF REACHING THE MOSLEM SIDE, WHICH WAS THEIR DESTINATION, THEY HAD ENDED UP IN THE 'ALLIED' CROATIAN TERRITORY IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA. THE LOCAL CROATIAN AUTHORITIES HAD ARRESTED THEM AND ESCORTED THEM TO THE PRISON AT BUSOVACA. THE IRANIAN DIPLOMATS HAVE BEEN EXPOSED TO SYSTEMATIC TORTURING OVER THE TWO-MONTH PRISONMENT. CROATIAN WARDENS HAD TAKEN THEM OUT FOR EXECUTION SEVERAL TIMES, AND HAD EVEN TRIED TO PERSUADE THEM TO TRY TO ESCAPE. WHILE THE ENTIRE 'SCENARIO' WAS FILMED. ACCORDING TO THE TESTIMONIES OF THE TWO EX-PRISONERS, THEY WERE TO BE SHOT DEAD WHILE TRYING TO ESCAPE. BUT, THEY HAD REFUSED TO DO SO, THE DAILY WROTE. THE IRANIAN DIPLOMATS DID NOT WANT TO REVEAL WHEN AND WHERE THEY HAD BEEN EXCHANGED FOLLOWING THE IRANIAN

GOVERNMENTS LONG AND PERSISTENT INTERVENTION WITH THE CROATIAN AUTHORITIES. THEY ARE BOTH IN TEHRAN NOW, BUT, AS PERMANENTLY DISABLED PERSONS, THE DAILY WROTE.

FROM THE FOREIGN PRESS**SERBIA COULD HELP PUT AN END TO BOSNIAN CONFLICT (F.W. NEAL)**

IF THERE IS ANY SOLUTION AT ALL TO THE CRUEL CONFLICT IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, IT IS ALMOST CERTAINLY SOMETHING ALONG THE LINES OF THE VANCE-OWEN PLAN FOR DIVIDING THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC INTO SEPARATE MUSLIM, SERB AND CROAT STATES. THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION SEEMS RELUCTANTLY TO HAVE COME TO THIS CONCLUSION. IT IS LESS CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT ADMINISTRATION POLICIES ARE CONTRIBUTING TO THE NECESSARY AGREEMENT AMONG THE 3 WARRING PARTIES.

UN PROMOVING A SETTLEMENT, THE SERBIAN REPUBLIC CAN PLAY AN IMPORTANTLY USEFUL ROLE. THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT BELGRADE IS ANXIOUS TO HAVE THE CONFLICT END BUT APPARENT BY ADMINISTRATION PLANS TO FORCE SERBIA TO INFLUENCE THE SERBIAN LEADERS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA ARE ALMOST CERTAINLY TO BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE.

FIRST, IT IS NECESSARY TO DRAW A CLEAR DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE SERBIAN REPUBLIC, WITH ITS CAPITAL IN BELGRADE AND THE SERBIAN NATIONALIST FORCES IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT YUGOSLAV FORCES, IN WHICH THE YUGOSLAV SERBS PLAY A DOMINANT ROLE, WERE INTIMATELY INVOLVED IN THE INITIAL STAGES OF THE BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA CONFLICT. INDEED, THEY DID NOT INITIATE IT, BUT FOR A YEAR NEAR, BELGRADE HAS PLAYED NO DIRECT ROLE IN IT.

SECOND, THERE ARE STRONG INDICATIONS THAT S. MILOSEVIC, PRESIDENT OF THE SERBIAN REPUBLIC, WANTS AN AGREEMENT TO END THE CONFLICT IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA. MILOSEVIC HAS HAD VERY BAD PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES ALTHOUGH A STRONG SERBIAN NATIONALIST. HE IS BY NO MEANS THE MOST EXTREME NATIONALIST AMONG THE SERBIAN POLITICIANS. ALL SERBS ARE NATIONALIST, IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER BUT MILOSEVIC IS AN INTELLIGENT MAN AND, COMPARATIVELY, BY SERBIAN STANDARDS, SOMETHING OF A MODERATE. AND HE IS CONCERNED ABOUT SERBIA'S STANDING IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

APPROACHED PROPERLY, THERE IS REASON TO BELIEVE THAT MILOSEVIC WOULD USE HIS INFLUENCE WITH LEADERS OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS TO COMPROMISE MORE THAN THEY HAVE TO DATE ON ETHNIC BOUNDARIES ENVISIONED IN THE VANCE-OWEN PROPOSALS.

THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION'S THINKING SEEMS NOW TO BE THAT MILOSEVIC CAN BE FORCED TO PLAY SUCH A ROLE BY THREATENING TO TIGHTEN THE UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC SANCTIONS ON THE TRUNCATED YUGOSLAVIA (SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO) IF HE DOES NOT COMPLY. ALMOST CERTAINLY, SUCH AN APPROACH WOULD BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE.

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IN THE FIRST PLACE, WHILE THE SANCTIONS HAVE POSED PROBLEMS FOR SERBIA, THEIR EFFECT OVERALL HAS BEEN LIMITED AND IS MORE PSYCHOLOGICAL THAN OTHERWISE. MORE IMPORTANT IS THE NATURE OF THE SERBS. THEY ARE AN UNUSUALLY TIGHT KNOT, HOMOGENEOUS NATION, WHO HAVE PROVED IN TWO WORLD WARS THEIR ABILITY TO STAND TOGETHER AND PERSEVERE AGAINST ENORMOUS ODDS. INDEED, THEIR HISTORY INDICATES THAT THE GREATER THE OUTSIDE OPPOSITION, THE MORE UNITED THEY BECOME. NO SERBIAN POLITICIAN COULD POSSIBLY STAY IN OFFICE WERE HE TO COME OUT PUBLICLY AGAINST SERBS ANYWHERE ESPECIALLY IF THIS WERE PERCEIVED TO BE THE RESULT OF OUTSIDE PRESSURE.

NEVERTHELESS, MILOSEVIC AND SERBIA CAN PLAY A USEFUL AND IMPORTANT ROLE VIS-A-VIS THE BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA SERB LEADER. IT WOULD, HOWEVER, HAVE TO BE WITH QUIET DIPLOMACY. THE BEST WAY FOR THE UNITED STATES AND THE UN TO ENCOURAGE THIS WOULD BE TO REMOVE THE MORE OR LESS INEFFECTIVE SANCTIONS ALTOGETHER. IF THIS WERE DONE, THERE IS REASON TO BELIEVE THAT MILOSEVIC COULD BE PERSUADED TO MAKE QUIET AND EFFECTIVE PRESSURE ON HIS COMPATRIOTS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA TO COMPROMISE IN REGARD TO BOUNDARIES OF THE VANCOUVER PLAN.

AT THE SAME TIME, THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD HAVE TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT IT HAS THUS FAR TO THE BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA MUSLIM POLITICIANS THAT THERE WILL BE NO INTERVENTION OR OTHER MILITARY ASSISTANCE IN THEIR BEHALF. IT IS IMPORTANT TO KEEP IN MIND THAT THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA NATIONALISM, IN THE SENSE THAT NATIONALISM EXISTS IN, SAY, CROATIA.

THE BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA MUSLIMS ARE ALL ETHNICALLY SERBS OR CROATS. THE MUSLIMS POLITICANS UNDERSTANDABLY ARE RELUCTANT TO AGREE TO ANY PLAN WHICH LEGITIMATES DIMINUTION OF THEIR AUTHORITY, BUT IN FACT THEY HAVE ALREADY IRRETRIEVABLY LOST THAT AUTHORITY AS FAR AS THE WHOLE OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IS CONCERNED. AND SINCE THE CROATS HAVE ALREADY AGREED TO A DIVISION, THE MUSLIM LEADERS CAN NO LONGER CLAIM TO REPRESENT A MAJORITY IN THE REPUBLIC.

THE SUCH A REALISTIC POLICY IS REPUGNANT TO THOSE WHO FEEL ANY AGREEMENT REWARDS THAT AGGRESSION ETHNIC CLEANSING OF THE BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA SERBS IS UNDERSTANDABLE. BUT IF OUR OBJECTIVE IS TO END THE KILLING AND REDUCE HUMAN SUFFERING IN THIS BENEIGHTED REGION THESE SEEMS TO BE NO ALTERNATIVE (CHURCH, CALIFORNIA, 24 MARCH 1993)

6:30-7:00 PM

ABC

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Segment: Profile: Perspective to the question of **rape** in former Yugoslavia

Cost: \$012.00

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PETER JENNINGS, anchor:

We want to try this evening to add a little more perspective to the question of **rape** in the former Yugoslavia; that is to say in Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Serbia. For more than a year we've been hearing that this monstrous crime against women is infinitely worse than it has been in previous wars. Some of the reporting about **rape** is certainly true. Some of it is still incomplete.

The many individual stories tell of something far beyond sexual exploitation. Serbian forces particularly are accused of using **rape** to terrify Muslims and drive them from their homes forever. Jerry Laber of Helsinki Watch has been monitoring human rights in the region for a dozen years.

Ms. JERRY LABER: Most frequently, we did hear about women who were raped in the most humiliating and public fashions, in a way to set an example to the villagers or the people in the town or the neighbors to say this will happen to all of you if you don't get out of here, and get out of here quickly.

JENNINGS: The hard part is to assess the scale of **rape,** particularly if many women are too humiliated to speak of it. For more than a year, however, Croatian and Muslim sources have reported 30,000 or 50,000 women systematically raped by Serbs, and then in many cases forced to bear children fathered by their enemies.

Do you believe the numbers are credible?

Ms. LABER: They seem very high to me. And I don't believe the sources because as I've investigated them, you get them--they always go back to one government or another.

JENNINGS: Amnesty International agrees. Moreover, the same stories are often passed from human rights investigators to the press and back again. But **rape** has certainly become a symbol in this conflict of how evil one's enemies are.

This woman is a Croatian.

Unidentified Woman #1: (Through translator) Their aim wasn't to impregnate us or **rape** us for the hell of it, their aim was to humiliate us and to hurt us as individuals and as women.

JENNINGS: This woman is a Muslim.

Unidentified Woman #2: (Through translator) This is the way to break up our Muslim nationhood. We could survive the shelling, but what they are

doing to our family, to Muslim women, I think Muslim women will never forget.

JENNINGS: ****Rape**** has also become a rallying cry in a vicious propaganda war among the three sides. The Serbian high command is accused by Croats and Muslims of ordering its men to ****rape****--very hard to prove.

Ms. LABER: I've not found any evidence of that; however, they certainly must know by now the attention this is getting, and I have not heard of one case of ****rape**** on any side, Serb or Croatian, that has been brought to any kind of a tribunal or--or punishment.

JENNINGS: The Serbs believe they are losing the propaganda war, and that as a result, the world pays no attention to how their women have suffered. In the Serbian capital, Belgrade, when we asked about ****rape****, Serbian officials rushed to present their victims.

Unidentified Woman #3: (Through translator) I was raped by a Croatian who had been my neighbor. He raped me in front of other men, and he laughed.

JENNINGS: Here is something very different from other wars. In so many cases, men knew the women and girls they brutalized.

Ms. LABER: It was a woman being raped by a man who knew her husband, who forced the husband to watch.

JENNINGS: Beyond the individual devastation which all sides are inflicting on the others' women, human rights activists worry what will happen if the world decides the scale of it all has been exaggerated.

Ms. LABER: I've seen this happen in other cases of human disaster, and what happens is that sooner or later, someone pricks that little escalating balloon of numbers and says, 'This is ridiculous. It couldn't have happened.' And then public opinion tends to discount the entire crime and says, 'Well, they're all a bunch of liars, so let's not pay any attention to this. It bro--it didn't happen.'

JENNINGS: At the moment, this does not appear to be the case. In fact, the overall measure of violence against innocent civilians in this conflict has served to increase pressure on the outside world to do something.

Back in just a moment.

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U.N. Accuses All Sides of Rape

WP 1-30-93 Reuter

GENEVA, Jan. 29—A U.N. team found strong evidence of large-scale rape during the war in the Balkans, but its medical experts saw no reliable way of determining how many women and girls had been victims, the United Nations said today.

"The crime of rape has been committed by combatants on all sides of the conflict in former Yugoslavia," it said in a statement on the mission's visit to Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia from Jan. 12 to 23.

"Solid evidence was found that Croatian, Moslem and Serbian women have been ... repeatedly raped."

The U.N. team, including four medical experts, was sent by for-

mer Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, special investigator for the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, to probe allegations concerning all three warring factions.

The one-page statement said the majority of documented rapes were committed against Moslem women of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In that republic, as well as in Croatia, it said, "rape has been used as an instrument of ethnic cleansing."

But it added: there was "no reliable method of establishing ... figures" for rape victims.

European Community investigators submitted a report to the U.N. this week, saying that 20,000 Moslem women and girls had been raped as part of a terror campaign by Bosnian Serb soldiers.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Doubts about Serbian rapes

SIR—It is high time that the blood-curdling allegations of Bosnian Serbs raping Muslim women as a deliberate policy of intimidation were challenged. My own inquiries have led to an admission from a senior German official that there is no direct evidence to support the wild figures of rape victims.

The EC first espoused the rape atrocity issue at the EC Edinburgh summit last month and, according to Danish and British participants, the initiative and the dossier were exclusively German.

Frau Wild, who is in charge of the Bosnian desk in the German Foreign Affairs Ministry, says the material came partly from the Izetbegovic government and partly from the Catholic charity Caritas: that is, from Muslim and Croat sources.

No effort has been made to seek corroboration from more impartial sources. All that we do know is that, in this dreadful civil war, women from all three communities have been raped.

The figures vary considerably. Patrick Bishop says that "35,000 Muslim women have been violated, according to conservative estimates" (article, Jan. 17). Dame Anne Warburton puts the figure at 20,000, and Shirley Williams 50,000. Such stories have con-

tributed more than anything else to the American and European enthusiasm for war against Serbia.

The Foreign Office's press department concedes that these figures are totally uncorroborated. When I suggested that it should issue a denial, it referred me to the Danes, currently chairing the EC.

Copenhagen agreed that the reports were unsubstantiated, but this seems not to have bothered Danish politicians. Belgrade has even asked for the Danish Foreign Minister, Mr Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, to be replaced by somebody less anti-Serb.

The most likely explanation for German behaviour is that they need to "satanise" the Serbs in order to cover their own responsibility for pitching Yugoslavia into civil war. In the interests of EC consensus at the time of signing the Maastricht Treaty, the British Government endorsed the break-up of Yugoslavia without consulting the Yugoslav electorate.

If Labour or the anti-Maastricht Tories had been more effective, the Government would never have been allowed to grovel to the Germans, and Lance-Corporal Edwards would still be alive.

NORA BELOFF
London NW6

Nora Beloff is a former chief political correspondent of the OBSERVER, and the author of several books on Eastern Europe, including "Tito's Flowed Legacy."

Serbian women gang-raped by their Croat neighbours

Militias extract brutal vengeance on former friends, writes Yigal Chazan in Novigrad

LJUBICA LESIC, aged 37, is one of dozens of Serbian women claiming to have been gang-raped and beaten by Croat neighbours who joined local militia units responsible for a two-month reign of terror in the northern Bosnian town of Novigrad. "They lined the four of us up, then each of them did it twice — cursing and hitting us all the time," she said.

Hundreds of women and children were herded into Novigrad as the Croatian army swept south in the early stages of the war, attempting to cut the Serbian corridor linking the town of Banja Luka in the north-west with Belgrade.

Serbian men captured in the offensive said they were repeatedly tortured and humiliated while held as prisoners-of-war at the Strolit industrial plant in the neighbouring village of Odzak, which along with Novigrad fell to the Serbs last month.

Many women and children were initially transferred to Odzak in the second week of May, where they said they were treated well. But when efforts to exchange them for Croatian civilians failed, they were ordered to return to Novigrad and their horrifying ordeal began.

The women were so terrified of nightly raids by bands of militiamen that they huddled together in their homes for protection. They said that Croatian army soldiers took no part in the beatings and rapes, and insisted that the crimes were committed by their neighbours.

Descriptions of the harrowing events in Novigrad have been provided by three Serbian peasant women, currently undergoing gynaecological treatment. At first they were reluctant to be interviewed, but their dispa-

sionate accounts, remarkably free of bitterness or self-pity, appear credible.

Ljubica Lesic and her two young sons sought shelter with a group of women soon after returning from an interrogation in Odzak. One night, their neighbours came round just after midnight, accusing them of hiding Chetniks (Serbian irregulars). The following evening, Mrs Lesic and three other women were taken to a nearby house where 15 men in battle fatigues were waiting for them.

"They started mistreating us. Then they said we want to see you naked. They told us that the Chetniks had raped 150 women and now they were going to do the same to us. Seven men raped us, one after the other — we were abused for five hours.

"They were all neighbours of mine. I've known these people 15 years. I think they didn't beat me too much because I kept yelling their first names as they were doing it. When they finished, the men fired over the heads of the three other women who were forced to run naked through the streets."

Mrs Lesic was driven home where she collected her son, aged six, and set off for the doctor. "I was in terrible pain and kept falling down. Then a car with Croatian soldiers came by. I was terrified but they said, 'Good morning, madam,' and asked me whether there was anything wrong. I almost fainted but managed to give them the names of the men."

The next night, a group of uniformed men again burst into Mrs Lesic's house, this time taking away her friend Smilja, aged 37, who was dragged into a car driven by an old friend of hers.

The militiamen had searched a number of houses,

finding Smilja and another woman, aged 45, whom they bundled into the back of the van. At one point they were intercepted by Croatian military police, who had heard the women's screams. Gunfights broke out, but the van sped off. Eventually, it stopped near a wood. Smilja said that she was repeatedly raped in the back of the van, while the other woman was taken away.

"Eight of them sang anti-Chetnik songs as they abused me. I thought they had killed the other woman but she returned later looking terrible. Finally, they drove off leaving us with only a few clothes. I still can't believe what happened. These were people I used to work with."

Gordana, aged 36, said she had also moved in with other Serbian women because she was "too scared to sleep alone", but again the precaution failed to save her from the rapists. "A group of drunken men wearing camouflage uniforms broke in. One of them grabbed me by the hair and put a gun to my back. They told the older women to shut up and took me into a nearby house where three of them raped me.

"They tried to make me yell that I was having a good time. When I screamed, one of them smashed my head against the floor. It all lasted three hours. Afterwards they said I would have an Ustashe (Croatian Fascist) child.

A Serbian doctor in the neighbouring town of Modrica said he was looking after men from the Strolit camp in Odzak, where Croatian guards regularly beat and humiliated Serb captives, according to two former inmates.

Scars left by numerous beatings are clearly visible on Vojislav Tosic's back. Three of his ribs were broken by the guards who, he said, routinely kicked him to the ground and dug pitchforks into his back.

Bosnian falsehoods on rape -- rejected

"Rape has become part of a vicious propaganda campaign..."

-- ABC Peter Jennings

False Charges

In December of 1992, the Muslim-led government of Bosnia charged that to 50,000 Muslim women were held in Bosnian-Serb "rape-camps".

In its December cover story, Newsweek stated that "estimates range from 30,000 to 50,000" rapes in Bosnia -- numbers echoed by the Washington Post and the Today show.

A draft report by the EC, using a German source, charged that 20,000 Muslim women had been raped by Serbian soldiers.

The New York Times (11/29/92) and other publications carried charges that Bosnian Serbs were ordered to carry out rapes.

Nightline, the CBS Morning News and other news organizations now concede that rapes have been committed by all sides in the war, but, they charge -- without credible evidence -- that "most" of the complaints have been made against Serbian forces.

Millions of Americans have now read and heard blatant falsehoods endlessly repeated about the civil war in Bosnia. As we condemn those on all sides who have committed atrocities, we also call for an end to falsehoods and skewed reporting that drive ethnic hatred. We note that increasingly, respected journalists and historians have publicly criticized the one-sided reporting and that has slanted the coverage against the Serbs. These include BBC reporter and author Misha Glenny, New York Times reporter David Binder, British reporter Quentin Peel, H.D.S. Greenaway of the Boston Globe, Peter Brock of the El Paso Herald Post, Bill Mandel of the San Francisco Chronicle, British Historian Nora Beloff, French reporter Gerard Cher, Russian reporter Vladimir Kondratyeff, Japanese historian Nabuhiro Shiba and others. We challenge news organizations to insist on balance and accuracy that have been victims of this terrible war.

Facts

"There is no evidence such camps exist or ever existed," states Phillip Miserez of the International Committee of the Red Cross. He notes that the maximum number of POW's held in Bosnia by all three sides (Muslim, Croats and Serbs) was 10,000 in July of 1992. These were overwhelmingly male.

In an interview with National Public Radio, Newsweek's own researcher, Alexandra Stiglmyer, conceded she could not confirm the numbers used in the article.

A January 21 report from Amnesty International states there is "no evidence" to support these numbers and that "all sides" have committed rapes in Bosnia.

Asked by ABC's Peter Jennings if soldiers were ordered by the Serbian High Command to commit rapes, Helsinki Watch Director Jeri Laber answered: "I don't have any evidence of that."

As this is written, the only report on rapes, accepted and distributed as an official UN document (S/ 24991), was submitted by the Yugoslav Commission on War Crimes. This report is based on the depositions of 800 Bosnian Serb rape victims.

2-7-93



Agence France-Presse

A Serbian soldier stopped yesterday by graves of Serbian soldiers killed in fighting in Croatia.

Aspin, in Europe, Seeks a New Balkan Accord

By ERIC SCHMITT
Special to The New York Times

MUNICH, Germany, Feb. 6 — Seeking to reach accord on a new Balkan policy, Defense Secretary Les Aspin met today with Western defense ministers to discuss how to proceed in dealing with the former Yugoslavia.

Officials declined to give details about the options that the United States is favoring over an agreement negotiated by former Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance and Lord Owen, a former British Foreign Secretary who represents the European Community. Clinton Administration officials said this week that they were setting aside for now the idea of using military force and were preparing an alternative diplomatic plan. Officials also said they were considering naming a negotiator.

Mr. Aspin, on his first overseas visit since his appointment, met privately with Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany as well as the Defense Ministers of Germany, France, Britain, Belgium, Canada and the Netherlands. He also met with the NATO Secretary General, Manfred Wörner, and is to meet the Italian Defense Minister on Sunday before returning to Washington.

Other Issues Discussed

Mr. Kohl, who regards the Vance-Owen plan as practical, said, "The longer the conflict continues, the more

likely it is to spread to neighboring regions."

The ministers are here as part of the Munich Conference on Security Policy, an annual symposium on European security issues.

Mr. Aspin spent much of the day discussing Iraq, Somalia, the future of the NATO alliance and military budget cuts. The fate of the former Yugoslavia, however, dominated the sessions as Mr. Aspin listened to his counterparts, many of whom support the Vance-Owen plan, and then outlined the flaws the Clinton Administration sees and why Washington believes an alternative might be more effective. En route to the conference, Mr. Aspin told reporters that President Clinton was likely to announce the Administration's proposal sometime next week.

Mr. Clinton, joined by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada, reiterated on Friday the Administration's opposition to the Vance-Owen plan, which would create 10 semi-autonomous provinces in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Administration contends that the plan could put Bosnian Muslims at a disadvantage. The meetings today also centered on preventing the fighting in Bosnia from spreading.

Most of the nations represented here support the Vance-Owen plan, in part because many have troops on the ground assisting the delivery of relief

supplies and believe that more muscular options, like bombing Serbian artillery batteries, could further jeopardize the safety of their forces.

'Not That Far Apart'

There were hints, however, that the differences between American and European positions were narrowing.

"We're not that far apart," Defense Minister Volker Rühle of Germany said in a brief interview.

Defense Minister Ruus ter Beek of the Netherlands said after his meeting with Mr. Aspin that the Administration's plan called for "exerting more pressure on Serbia," but he declined to give details.

Defense Department officials accompanying Mr. Aspin said, "While disagreements may remain when the President's plan is announced next week, none of the allies can say they were not consulted."

Administration officials have said their diplomatic initiative would probably combine stepped-up aid for Bosnia and perhaps a tightening of the embargo against Belgrade.

Quotation of the Day,
page 2, every day,
in the News Summary.
The New York Times.

American policy may derail the Owen-Vance plan

BY ROGER BOYES

President Clinton's decision to go ahead with humanitarian air drops over Bosnia-Herzegovina has radically reordered the peace process and opened up rifts that may eventually derail the Vance-Owen plan.

The United Nations and European Community sponsored plan, drawn up by Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance, set clear priorities in the Balkans: diplomatic pressure was to be applied to all the warring sides to agree on a map and constitution for the future Bosnia. Later a big UN force, with American involvement, would move in to implement the plan, disarm militias and, if necessary, silence the guns around beleaguered cities.

These priorities are about to be reversed. The air drops still stop short of a military operation but they have immediately changed the vocabulary of the conflict. Now the talk is of load-delivery ratio, of the relative vulnerability of army cargo aircraft, of how best to dodge surface-to-air missiles. The diplomatic quest to sign up the Bosnian Muslims and the Bosnian Serbs continues but there is a sense that little will be achieved while the airborne missions are under way.

When President Clinton grudgingly agreed to the Vance-Owen format for peace, the question of enforcing the no-fly zone over Bosnia was

put on the back burner.

There were good reasons for this. If policing the air meant strafing Serbian gun emplacements, then British and French ground troops would be dangerously exposed. If Awacs reconnaissance planes were to be used to spot targets, then the German crews, constitutionally barred from combat, might refuse to fly.

Now, however, command of the skies has become important again. President Clinton's approach to the military appears to be to tread softly, step by step. It is now agreed that the aid planes will fly high, at 12,000 ft, out of range

of surface-to-air missiles. Everyone realises that this may make a nonsense of the operation: strong, changing winds are a particular feature of eastern Bosnia. Soon, therefore, the cargo planes are likely to come lower to drop their loads with more precision. That suggests either the need for fighter support or an enforced no-fly zone.

The military risks of low altitude delivery are perhaps not quite as high as they are being pitched by the military establishment. Weapons and supplies were flown through heavy German flak to Poland during the Warsaw uprising and there were remarkably few casualties. The political risks, however, are indeed high. If a Serb missile shoots down an aid plane, the United States will immediately be confronted with the problem of how to retaliate.

If a Muslim fighter — perhaps trying to provoke a military intervention — poses as a Serb and knocks out a plane, the relationship between America and the Bosnian government will be ruptured. Nor, in the Balkan context, is it out of the question for a Serb to pose as a Muslim posing as a Serb to discredit the Muslims.

Yet, if all goes well, the air drops may prove useful to the peace process. First, they will maintain the level of public anger about Serb behaviour. The air drops would after all be unnecessary if the Serbs unblocked the approach roads to eastern Bosnia. Second, if the air drops are accompanied by intensive on-the-ground diplomacy, an important new precedent may be set. Too much bargaining has been left to the unskilled UN aid team stuck in frozen trucks. The full force of Western and Russian diplomacy could be deployed to persuade the Serbs and the Bosnian Muslims to hold their fire during the aid delivery. Finally, Serbian public opinion itself — though it is swayed by tightly controlled media — may swing against the Bosnian Serb militia.

The Times Feb. 26/93

There will be no Nuremberg here

The Security Council decision to set up a war crimes tribunal for former Yugoslavia is a political charade — but perhaps it is a necessary one, says
Conor Cruise O'Brien

The UN Security Council decision to set up a war crimes tribunal for crimes committed in former Yugoslavia is being presented by its — mainly American — champions as a historic breakthrough. Certainly, it is the first such international tribunal to be established since the Nuremberg (November, 1945 to October, 1946) and Tokyo (May 1946 to November 1948) war crimes trials. But the contrasts between those earlier proceedings and the tribunal constituted this week are so vast as to render this a clear case of "the first time as tragedy, the second as farce".

In the earlier cases, a war had been fought and won. The victorious powers who set up the tribunals held the leaders of the losers as their prisoners, had occupied their countries, and were in a position to execute the verdicts of their own tribunals. Those who set up the present war crimes tribunal have not fought any war in former Yugoslavia, let alone won one. They occupy no territory and hold no prisoners. The principal persons at whom the Security Council decision is believed

to be aimed — the leader of the Serbs, Slobodan Milosevic, and the leader of the Bosnian Serbs, Radovan Karadzic — are not merely still at large and politically active; their co-operation is being actively sought by the very people — primarily the Americans and the British — who moved to set up the tribunal that is supposed to put them and others on trial.

We are asked to believe that the fear of being prosecuted for war crimes will put these people on their best behaviour and induce them to play the roles assigned to them in the Vance-Owen peace plan, or whatever variant of that chimera may be eventually agreed. An American commentator this week attributed to "the Europeans" ... "the hope that the threat of an international war crimes tribunal and tighter economic sanctions will force the factions to lay down their weapons and accept a negotiated agreement".

There may be academics in some of the more remote schools of "peace studies" and "conflict resolution" who cherish such a hope; but none of the practitioners, whether European or American, can seriously entertain it. War criminals, whatever else they may be, are tough people and not easily intimidated. Those at the top constantly risk assassination; the rank and file are absorbed in the daily routine of killing. The unlikely and contingent prospect of being put on trial before a war crimes tribunal will not hold many terrors for them. Moreover, their political leaders have by this time sufficient experience in international diplomacy to be aware

that the war crimes tribunal is unlikely ever to try anybody for anything.

As well as a move towards justice, this Security Council decision is also being presented as a breakthrough towards effective maintenance of international peace and security. On the contrary, what it reflects is an ominous waning in great power consensus over former Yugoslavia, and, potentially, over other matters as well.

The political background to the decision to set up a war crimes tribunal is as follows: early this month in New York, David Owen lauded the Vance-Owen peace plan for the division of Bosnia into 10 autonomous zones, with provision for international policing of these arrangements. The Americans extended a cautious general welcome, but with the explicit reservation that the plan conceded too much Bosnian territory to the Serbs, thus rewarding aggression. A more rooted objection, less clearly voiced, was that the plan provides for the contribution of American ground forces to the policing of Bosnia. This goes against not only Mr Clinton's campaign pledges, but also the advice of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The Americans gave a non-committal blessing to the general principles of Vance-Owen, with the understanding that its existing provisos would be revised

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to the detriment of the Serbs. President Clinton then sounded out the Russians, knowing that they would want the plan, if acceptable at all, to be revised in a pro-Serbian sense.

On 18 February, the Russian parliament voted "to ask the United Nations to lift sanctions on Serbia and impose them on Croatia". The official position of the Russian government is more subtly expressed but aimed in the same direction. It calls for "the imposition of UN sanctions against Croatia, if the Zagreb government continues to attack Serbian-controlled enclaves in the republic".

The Russian statement says that Russia supports the idea of a multinational force to help carry out the Vance-Owen plan. There follows the throw-away line: "Russia is considering the possibility of including a Russian contingent in such forces."

With these words, the Vance-Owen dream turns to nightmare. With American and Russian contingents engaged in policing Vance-Owen, the police force would be divided within itself over who were the victims, to be defended, and who the criminals, to be resisted and over-

come. The Americans would be helping the Muslims, the Russians the Serbs. The European contributing countries, under strong German influence, would be partial to the Croats. The police force, which is supposed to end the Bosnian civil war, would be sucked into that war on different sides.

Fortunately, that will probably not happen because the fundamental disagreement between the Americans and Russians over former Yugoslavia is likely to avert major external military intervention. Whatever feeble breath remained in the lungs of the Vance-Owen peace plan has been forced out of them by the approving hug of the Russian bear.

This is the general political context in which the Security Council decided to set up the tribunal. That decision is a simulacrum of, and substitute for, the consensus in the council that existed in the late Gorbachev and early Yeltsin years. Now Russia, under growing internal pressure, is beginning to withdraw from that consensus. The war crimes resolution (differently understood by America, Russia and Western Europe) carries the reassuring message to all that the villains of the piece are about to be punished. The villains are

differently identified by different publics. But that will not bother the tribunal since (if it ever meets) it will never be able to agree on identifying the villains and (if it ever did) could never catch them.

The war crimes tribunal is a charade, but that does not mean that it serves no useful purpose. When governments are under pressure from public opinion — "Don't just sit there, do something!" — a harmless diversion may be a more sensible response than a far-reaching but foolish initiative, like policing the Vance-Owen plan. Much of the external side of international politics consists of a series of charades, designed to keep the children quiet.

Mr Clinton, despite his fairly bellicose posture, wants to keep out of a probable quagmire in former Yugoslavia. Vance-Owen was presented as a clever way around the quagmire. It never was; it was a roundabout way in. Mr Clinton intends his airdrop as a way of keeping Americans out of the quagmire. Unfortunately, it may also increase the risk for the European forces already there. The real need is to substitute a policy of holding the ring around the civil wars in former Yugoslavia, for the policy of progressive intervention that has prevailed up to now. But if that shift of policy should need to be disguised by more charades, then let us have more charades.

Dangers abound for relief pilots

By MICHAEL EVANS
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

THE pilot of the C130 Hercules transport aircraft approaches the drop zone with his missile warning equipment primed and the decoy chaff aluminium strips ready to divert fire away from the lumbering 98ft-long plane flying at low altitude at 120 knots. He is prepared to face a hail of small-arms fire, anti-aircraft cannon and heat-seeking missiles.

This scenario is based on a realistic threat assessment for the proposed air drops planned by the US Air Force for distributing food and medicine over Bosnia. The environment is unpredictable. Whatever local commanders or politicians promise by way of safe conduct for humanitarian flights, nothing can be guaranteed. Anything flying is vulnerable to fire from Serb, Muslim or Croat gunners.

Nato forces who have had troops escorting aid convoys since November recognise the potential dangers of flying helicopters or fixed-wing aircraft over Bosnia. The RAF has four Sea King helicopters based at Split in Croatia but only in the past four weeks have they begun making the occasional "proving flights" to Kiseljak, the United Nations protection force headquarters in central Bosnia. The helicopters venture into the area only after extensive negotiations with all the warring factions. The first two approved flights had to be abandoned.

The Americans plan to start air drops using Hercules within a few days, covering mountainous and forested terrain that provides ideal ambush locations. The Americans do not need reminding that it was

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from that altitude would miss their target points by more than two miles.

British pilots say that a drop from 15,000ft could be made more accurate by a proper assessment of the wind levels. But that would require several runs over the target to make calculations. Over hostile terrain this would have to be ruled out, forcing pilots to run a gauntlet of potential fire from above or below.

Some of the Serb gun positions on the route to Tuzla in northeastern Bosnia are on mountains as high as Snowdon, which is 3,500ft. Although firing down is less accurate and more complex, this threat to low-level flights cannot be excluded.

1,000 yards. A German aid plane attacked on February 7 was hit by 23mm cannon fire, probably a ZU23.

Pilots of Hercules aircraft explain the dangers of flying into potential ambush zones with mountains on either side. The Hercules is manoeuvrable, but in the run up to the drop zone, they have to hold the plane steady on a straight course. The ideal speed for a low run is about 120 knots. Double the speed and there is a danger the supplies will break up on landing.

The Americans talk of dropping the supplies from 15,000ft to avoid the maximum range of missiles and cannon. But US Air Force manuals suggest that drops

ing navigation radars. American sources said. However, whether they use high technology or flights by Hercules at high or low level, the threat will be the same.

The weapons that could potentially target the flights include Serbian ZU23 twin-barrelled 23mm anti-aircraft cannon, which have a range of up to 2,500 yards and can fire 800-1,000 rounds a minute. Sa7, Redeye and Stinger surface-to-air missiles fired from the shoulder with a range of 3,000-5,000 yards; a 20mm cannon with a range of 1,200 yards; heavy machineguns with a range of 1,000 yards; and Dragunov sniper rifles based on the Kalashnikov with a practical range under

a Muslim anti-aircraft missile that shot down a Italian G222 transport plane last September with the loss of the four crew.

Aid flights to Sarajevo have been running for months and the local warlords have become accustomed to routine take-offs and landings. Although aircraft are still occasionally targeted, the risks are regarded as acceptable. New aid flights over other parts of Bosnia, where aircraft and helicopters are not expected, could be viewed in a more hostile light.

The Americans might be forced to use special forces to fly high-speed, low-altitude delivery missions under cover of darkness in planes equipped with terrain-bug-

8 EUROPEAN NEWS

Yugoslav army predicts Americans will join fighting

Muslims applaud US air-drop decision

Hella Fick
Diplomatic Editor

THE Bosnian president, Alija Izetbegovic, considers the prospect of US air-drops of aid for besieged communities in eastern Bosnia as possibly the best news he has had since the conflict in his republic began 10 months ago, one of his aides said yesterday.

He does not share the misgivings of many Western political and military analysts who warn that the US enterprise could trigger an escalation of the fighting.

On the contrary, the Muslims discern hope for their cause.

"The Americans are in the game and they can't leave," the Bosnian vice-president, Zlatko Lagumdzija, said yesterday. "The star has walked on to the court and decided to play with the good guys."

The Yugoslav federal army's general staff also predicts that the relief drops will lead to US military intervention on behalf of the Muslims. They yesterday called the US plan was "deeply provocative and unbearable".

The Yugoslav army commanders said in a statement that one of the US transport planes was bound to be shot down "by one of the combatants" and that this would create "an excuse for broader

American involvement in the conflict."

The Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic, forecast yesterday that the Muslims would soon seek to create an incident over the air-drops with the aim of provoking the Americans to bring in their fighter planes.

Beleaguered and outgunned, President Izetbegovic had long clung to the belief that Western military intervention was the Muslims' best chance of salvation. Finding stiff resistance in western Europe, he concentrated on the United States, where he was able to rally considerable support for the Bosnian Muslims' appeals for military support — or at least an easing of the arms embargo on Bosnia — especially among congressional leaders and media commentators.

The United Nations Protection Forces in Bosnia have also accumulated a body of evidence that the Muslims have often provoked attacks on them as part of their tactic of securing external intervention. The Italian cargo plane shot down last year was hit by either Croat or Muslim missiles.

Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, the international mediators, are convinced that the Muslims could last year have restored water and electricity supplies to Sarajevo but deliberately refrained in the belief that the worsening plight of the people

of Sarajevo would entice the West to liberate the city.

Russia publicly confirmed yesterday that it was prepared to join with Nato in assembling a UN peacekeeping force for Bosnia to monitor implementation of the Vance-Owen plan, if and when it is adopted.

In an eight-point plan for ending the Yugoslav conflict, Moscow also called for a tightening of the arms embargo on Bosnia, warned that Russia might press for sanctions against Croatia if the fighting over the Serb enclaves continued, and stressed that the UN war crimes tribunal to be set up by the UN must act objectively.

Moscow also expressed support yesterday for the US air-drop initiative, but urged President Clinton not to provide air cover. Russia, with Britain and France, made plain it was not prepared to join the US relief mission.

Mark Tran adds in New York: The UN security council last night stepped up the pressure on the warring parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina to start serious negotiations in New York. The council urged the three Bosnian leaders to immediately resume discussions under the auspices of Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance.

President Izetbegovic and Mr Karadzic are both expected to participate in the talks starting Monday.

The Guardian Feb. 25/93

AM-Yugoslavia-Convoy, 1st Ld-Writethru, a0593,0882

Perilous Journey Ends in Dangerous Destination Sarajevo

Eds: LEADS with 12 grafs to ADD more background on Serbian reaction to sanctions, suspicion of outsiders. Pick up 11th graf pvs, 'In Tuzla...'

EDITOR'S NOTE: In Bosnia's civil war, even U.N. and Red Cross relief convoys are subject to attack. The writer of this story made the harrowing journey to Sarajevo with a U.N. convoy. Here is his report.

By SLOBODAN LEKIC=
Associated Press Writer=

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina (AP) Three mortar rounds slammed into a hillside beside the road where the convoy had just passed, sending gray plumes of smoke into the air. It was one narrow escape on a journey filled with danger.

The United Nations convoy of 21 trucks and jeeps, accompanied by French troops and three armored personnel carriers, arrived Thursday in the battered Bosnian capital of Sarajevo after a 30-hour ordeal on the front lines of Bosnia-Herzegovina's civil war.

In peacetime, the trip from Belgrade to Sarajevo takes four hours. But to avoid the hotly contested main highway, the convoy inched along winding mountain trails leading south to Sarajevo.

Sent to supply a contingent of 100 U.N. troops, the convoy completed its journey without casualties. But on preceding days, relief workers were killed and wounded while traveling in U.N. and Red Cross convoys.

The near miss with the mortar rounds came near Tuzla, a city of 100,000 people 50 miles northeast of Sarajevo. As is so often the case in this war, it was impossible to tell who was doing the shooting.

At last count, there were 17 separate Serb, Muslim and Croat factions fighting in the area, said Lt. Col. Richard Gray of New Zealand.

'Each of those groups pursues a different agenda, and what these are nobody can fathom,' he said.

The convoy, which left Belgrade early Wednesday morning, was the first to cross Bosnia since the imposition of U.N. sanctions against Serb-dominated Yugoslavia over the weekend.

Serb fighters, angry about the sanctions, shook their fists and jeered as the U.N. vehicles drove past their positions and into Muslim-held territory. 'Bandits!' some yelled.

But Muslim villagers and shepherds gathered to cheer and wave the convoy, and girls threw flowers on the road.

In many conflicts, humanitarian groups and international observers are spared by the combatants. But some Serb fighters believe the sanctions make the United Nations an enemy.

Many Serbs feel misunderstood by outsiders, and that feeling has been compounded by what they view as the Western world's inability to understand their motives in the conflict. And some believe humanitarian aid to Bosnia does not take into account the suffering of Serbs in the collapse of the Yugoslav federation.

In Tuzla, Serb irregulars and Muslim defenders clashed just before the convoy arrived. An elderly man lay dead on the sidewalk in front of a wrecked cafe, a little dog sitting by his side.

Smashed cars were overturned in the ditch, and the engine of a

bullet-riddled truck, all of its tires shot out, purred softly and spewed oil onto the street.

Many of the blue-helmeted French soldiers gazed anxiously at the devastation.

"The old hands among us who have been to Beirut and other hot spots are used to this," said the chief of the convoy, Pasquale Pauly. "But the youngsters are clearly worried."

In the village of Simin Han on the outskirts of Tuzla, the convoy was held up for two hours as it sought to cross the line between Serb-held territory and the Muslim enclave to the south.

Lt. Col. Bernard Vialatte marched through a tense no-man's land with a group of six soldiers, rifles slung across their chests, to negotiate the removal of anti-tank obstacles and mines on the road.

In the sweltering heat, tempers flared. "This is my country, don't you dare order me around]" yelled a Serb insurgent.

After much confusion, the convoy was allowed to continue on toward Sarajevo.

The U.N. force still in the Bosnian capital is the remnant of a larger force at what was to be the headquarters for peacekeeping forces for neighboring Croatia, where up to 10,000 people have died in clashes between Serbs and Croats.

But it was forced to move from its Sarajevo headquarters last month after the war spilled into Bosnia and Serb fighters started shelling the city, which hosted the 1984 Winter Olympics.

On Wednesday, with dusk falling, the convoy stopped for the night near a mountain street rather than risk trying to maneuver through more roadblocks.

Tired, dirty soldiers cast off their uniforms and splashed about freezing water before preparing dinner and settling down for the night.

At 5 a.m. Thursday, the voyage resumed. After repeated negotiations with different militias, the convoy reached the outskirts of Sarajevo just before 11 a.m.

But before arriving at U.N. headquarters in the city, it came under fire once more, this time from an abandoned factory. The U.N. soldiers took cover on the side of the road.

When the fire halted a few minutes later, the U.N. vehicles raced off toward Muslim lines.

"Hurry] Hurry]" a Muslim soldier shouted.

Зедним Нису само Срби криви

Тек после изрицања казних мера против СРЈ у америчким медијима јављају се информације да и Хрвати и Муслимани врше масовне злочине у Босни. – Западни дипломати покушавају да заташнају значај извештаја Бутроса Галија којим се доводи у питање основа за изрицање санкција против Београда

Је очигледна чињеница коме учествују најмање ја пребачени су на СРЈ, олу

ржали смо предлог руководства овог народа да се аеродром у Сарајеву милитаризује и стави под контролу ОУН, и да се цело подручје града стави под надзор свесветске организације. То је њено и у писму Б. Костича генералном секретару УН. Да би то што пре постало јавно, јавно смо снажно осуђивали напад бомбардовања Сарајева као безобичан чин оних којима до мира није стало и тежали да српско руководство у БиХ лак успостави контролу над свим нерарним српским групама и појединцима (а најоштрије покрене питање њихове одговорности за ово бомбардовање).

Обзиром на шири проблем неконтролног деловања делова војних снага сва конститутивна народа и имплементације а то може имати за последицу споразум примирју и перманентне успостављања мира, председник Републике Србије Зоран Милошевић затражио је, у личном писму председнику Борису Јељцину и председнику Џорџу Бушу, помоћ Русија и Д за успостављање заједничке команде и свим оружаним формацијама у БиХ. У јулу таквог решавања овог проблема ишла би се и прагматична решења за тешкооружане и питање војно индустрије у Је раније ЈНА оставила у БиХ.

Имајући у виду да је криза у БиХ само актуелнији део шире југословенске кризисне ситуације услед једностраног отцепљења при југословенске републике, потпредседник Б. Костич је у посебном писму генералном секретару Б. Галију предложио, међу осталог, скоро одржавање међуродне конференције о Југославији на којој, поред југословенских учесника, учествовали и представници свих сталних чланова Савета безбедности, представник нејавног секретара ОУН, лорд Карингтон, као председавајући конференције о Југославији, представник земље председавајућег ЕЗ и представник земље председавајућег КЕБС-а.

Наде и очекивања најшире јавности

Указујемо да је Председништво Југославије чврсто опредељено да конкретна доживљаја враћања мира у БиХ, јуче јавно изјавио српско руководство у БиХ да одмах позове представнике УНПРОФОР-а да јузују сарајевски аеродром под своју контролу, да одмах спрече свако бомбаровање Сарајева са територије коју контролише, да затражи присуство посматрача УНПРОФОР-а у свим својим јединицама зди непосредне провере поштовања пририја и да, на територији коју контролише, обезбеди и пружи гаранције за несметан долазак сваке хуманитарне помоћи. Истовремено, изражено је очекивање да ће међународна заједница паралелно утицати на муслиманску и хрватску страну да се понашају на исти начин и да, са своје стране, сприне су прејиду непријатељства.

Упознајући вас са нашим ставовима и акретним активностима и доприносима у превладавању садашње тешке, сложене и опасне ситуације створене ескалацијом грађанског рата у БиХ и ескалацијом

(Од нашег сталног дописника)

Њујорк, 4. јуна
Први пут после дужег времена „Њујорк тајмс“ у извештају из Сарајева наводи да нису само Срби криви за оно што се догађа у овој републици већ да су и Муслимани и Хрвати у много случајева починили нечувене злочине над српским становништвом, посебно у селима.

Прошле недеље муслиманско-хрватске јединице извале су „операцију масовног чишћења“ у шест српских села у близини Сарајева, наводи „Тајмс“ и пише: „Побили су Србе, мушкарце, пошто су их претходно натерали да вичу „Алах је велики...“

Жене, деца и старци у тунелу

Извештач даље наводи сведочења Срба да су исти злочинци покупили преживели део становништва ових села и држали их три до пет дана затворене у друском тунелу. „Није још сасвим јасно шта се догодило са несрећницима после пуштања из тунела код Иван-седла у непосредној близини места Брадича, око четрдесет километара југозападно од Сарајева. Многи Срби са којима смо разговарали кажу да су чули да су заточеници отерани у концентрациониске логоре смештене у областима које контролишу муслиманске снаге.“

Лист, такође, пише да су ове вести могле само индиректно да се проверавају, али да су, ипак, потврђене. Наиме, када су представници Уједињених нација тражили да босанска влада интервенише да се Срби цусте из тунела одговорно им је после два дана да су пуштени из тунела. Према накнадним налазима у тунелу је било на стотине жена, деце и старих људи.

Извештаји који стижу о убијању Срба од стране Муслимана и Хрвата показују да су почињени олични злочини какви су раније приписивани само Србима“, наводи „Тајмс“ и наставља: „Прошле недеље управо су извештаји о злочинима који су приписивани Србима одиграли одлучујућу улогу у решености Савета безбедности да казни Србију најтежим до сада изреченим економским и другим санкцијама. Извештаји који данас стижу од Срба из околине Брадича потврђују чињеницу да су муслиманске и хрватске јединице, које оперишу заједнички против српских снага, прикључиле мере етничког чишћења и протеривале српско цивилно становништво из појединих области у Републици.“

за администрацију да у Савету безбедности инсистира на најоштријим мерама.

Вероватно је да је на извесно мењање тона у штампи и на телевизији и указивање да су у босанско-хрватској сукоб умешане регуларне хрватске јединице утицао и, најжалост касно објављени, извештај генералног секретара Бутроса Галија. Само два сата после усваја-

ОТКРИПЕ ФРАНЦУСКОГ ТВ КАНАЛА

Нови Галијев извештај био сакривен?

Париз, 4. јуна (Тајмс)

Други програм француске телевизије је у данашњој првој поподневној информативној емисији признао да је извештај Бутроса Галија „држан по страни док нису изгласане санкције против Србије и Црне Горе“. ТВ водитељ је додато да је то изјавио лично генерални секретар УН.

Реч је, како се подсећа, о извештају у коме је генерални секретар оптужио Хрватску, као и муслиманске снаге да су такође одговорни за рат у БиХ.

Други, приватни, програм француске телевизије је у информативној емисији прво дао реч шефу муслиманске дипломатије Хариту Силајџићу који је позвао целу међународну заједницу да „спасе Босну“, поистовећујући је са Алијом Изетбеговићем. Затим је следила серија снимака о даљем „српском рушењу Сарајева“, да би се, уз жалбе, пошто је откривено манипулације извештајем Бутроса Галија, признало да сада „Слободан Милошевић може сваког у свету да зашита на чијој је страни правда“ и зар се „тако ствари пакују чак и у Уједињеним нацијама“.

Из извештаја француске телевизије је остало нејасно зашто Гали није интервенисао на свом састанку када се одлучивало о ембаргу.

на казнене резолуције, засноване на закључивој претпоставци да Србија и Црна Гора врше спољну агресију на БиХ, објављен је тај документ у коме се јасно наводи и доказује да Београд нема стварну контролу над јединицама босанских Срба који ратују у Босни.

имена кандидата за ministre, a да ће, не испуни ли се то, дати оставку на ту дужност.

До данас није ни предложена листа нове владе Врх нити је Јуре

ту, хирургији и интерном одељењу полуђено је 40 тона кисеоника, што би, ако успе да се превезе за дан-два, одговарало потребама бањалучких клиника за наредна три ме-

узимања командне групе под српском војском у Крајини позвао Крајишнике на јединство као предузет да се одбрани, како је нагласио: „сваки педаљ наше републике“.

- доброво
Босанску
ду да се
новог ген
тије прети

ИСПОВЕСТ ЖЕЉКА ГЛИГОРИЈЕВИЋА О СУДБИНИ СРБА У СЕЛУ БРАДИНИ

Три хиљаде заточеника у тунелу

Српске жене и деца као живи штит да Коњиц не би био бомбардован. — Три дана живота у мраку земунце и бекство у слободу

Илџа, 4. јуна

На врело Босне (Српска општина Илџа), после пређених 120 километара по шумским беспућима Бјелашнице и Игмана, пре неколико дана дошла су осморица Срба из Брадине, српског села код Коњица. Њихово село су после потпуне тромесечне блокаде 25. маја окупирани локални Муслимани из села која окружују Брадину (Шуње, Зукићи и Реповци), уз помоћ припадника ХОС и ХВО. У овом идиличном насељу на врелу реке Босне, тик испод Игмана, једино смо затекли рањеног Брадинана Жељка Глигоријевића (28), док су његови другови из ове авантуре зване онстапак после неколико дана одмора нашли место у редовима војске српске БиХ, у Хаџићима крај Сарајева.

У нападу на Брадину 25. маја хрватске и муслиманске снаге су искључиво користиле дум-дум метке. По Жељковим речима, у нападу на Брадину су учествовале и девојке у маскираним униформама, а после упада у село уследила је бездушна плачка свега покретног, почев од трактора и аутомобила... Читав Брадина је горела (стотинак кућа), док су једино поштеђене три хрватске куће и десетак српских које нису биле изграђене докраја. Чуло се како под теретом топлоте пуца цреп на кућама.

Заједно са још двадесет људи Жељко је тог пакленог дана успео да се склопи у претходно припре-

љену земунцу у храстовој шуми, у близини Брадине, иначе јавности најпознатија као место рођења Анте Павелића. За три дана, колико су се крили у тој осмушци, Жељко се неколико пута улачио у село, доносећи храну и млеко за једногодишњу бебу која је непрестано плакала. „Војали смо се да нас децији плач не открије.“ Остали Срби из Брадине, заједно са избеглицама које су се ту нашле, нали су у руке зеленим береткама, припадницима ХОС и ХВО, док је један део наставио да се крије по шумама у околини, где су они избегавали да залазе.

Њих отприлике три хиљаде је затворило у некадашњи железнички тунел дуг 1.770 метара који се налази изнад Коњица. Три дана су трајали преговори о судбини тих људи између српске стране и заменика команданта ТО БиХ Шибера, уз асистенцију УНПРОФОР-а. Исход преговора био је никакав, тј. послужило је хрватско-муслиманској страни да заробљенике из тунела преместе на нове локације: мушкарце у логор у селу Бутуроњи Поље („Унисова“ фабрика заковница), а жене и децу у Челебиће и сам Коњиц, да би тако имали гаранцију да град неће бити бомбардован са околних српских положаја.

УНПРОФОР-у и пуковнику Вилсону уопште није дозвољено да уђу у Брадину. „Разлог је пакао који су оставили иза себе“, каже Жељко.

„Пакао повалених кућа, штала у којима је горела стока, угледног домаћина Пере Мркаља којег су испред тунела полили бензином и запалили.“ А неколико недеља пре тога Перо Мркаљ преговарао је са локалним Муслиманима о рату и миру.

После три дана проведена у земунци Жељко је са још седморицом одраслих мушкараца одлучио да оду из земунце, јер су услови за даљи живот били несносни. Пошли су шумским путем према Сарајеву, а остали нису видели другу могућност сем предаје. „Без оружја кретали смо се опрезно и споро по непознатим шумама. Непрестано смо напето ослушкивали, јер смо знали да су Игман и Бјелашница пуни Муслимана. Првог дана пута, 28. маја увече, стигли смо на један од бјелашничких врхова. Запалили смо ватру и заспали не одређивши стражаре, а ујутро смо у даљини видели сарајевско поље. Карнули смо у правцу тог оријентира“ — каже Жељко Глигоријевић.

— Умор, глад, жеђ и непознати гласови... Месо и хлеб које смо појели из Брадине су брзо поједени, а знали смо да на Бјелашници нема извора воде. Лизали смо росу и кишне капи с листова дрвећа.

Знали су да су спасени онога тренутка кад су угледали обриси православне цркве у Влажују, близу врела Босне где Жељко сада лечи ране које му је на бутини направила противпешадијска мина. О својима зна само да му је отац ухапшен, а да се мајка и трудна сестра вероватно и сада крију у некој од шума.

Новинар „Њујорк тајмса“ је, разговарајући заједно са нама, у Жељковим очима видео да говори истину.

Горан Малухан

ЛУЧЕ, У ОДБРАМБЕНИМ СНАГАМА КРАЈИНЕ

Генерал Торбица преузео команду

Квин, 4. јуна (Танјуг)

Командант главног штаба Територијалне одбране Републике Српска Крајина генерал-потпуковник Милан Торбица преузео је команду над одбрамбеним снагама Крајине.

Генерал Торбица је у часу пре-

ДР РАДОВИ

Све
Д— рекао
САО Хор

На почетку Скупштине славницама ван Караџић и генерал-дант српске — Дошло је но знали и

ПРВИ
У Би
и не

Сара
Према
ма Репуб
ба за здри
безбеднос
дана рата
востало
њених је
сто цивил
хваћено
аве репуб

велика реп
рата, иста
ности под
српском
су се прева
се два и
тиском же
Гору.

Караџић
треби хитне
ганизације
БиХ, као и

ИЗ

Да ли ће
не у Боса
Ср

Откако је
ље (23. ма
команде
ских зема
гледској, Н
многим др
Срби, голо
љују се он
стари крај
српским за
Глигоријевић

ПРЕМА ЈУЧЕРАШЊОЈ ИЗЈАВИ СТЕПАНА КЉУИЋА

У наредних 48 сати БиХ ће добити нову владу

Кљуић није могао да каже ко ће бити нови премијер и министри

Сарајево, 4. јуна (Танјуг)

Босна и Херцеговина ће најкасније у наредних 48 сати добити нову владу, саопштио је данас у Међународном прес-центру у Сарајеву члан непотпуног републичког Председништва Стјепан Кљуић.

Он није могао ништа детаљније рећи ко ће бити нови премијер, нити пак о попуни појединих ресора.

Мандатар Јуре Пеливан недавно је на истом месту изјавио да само чека попуни Председништва Републике.

су до овог тренутка користиле само трећину електричне енергије у односу на стање од пре рата, сада подлежу под готово тоталну редукцију. Због тога, у Бањалуци, на пример, нема ни воде.

Живот седам беба из инкубатора у бањалучком породилишту продужен је од јутрог за два дана. Наиме, толико је стигло боца са кисеоником које су донели приватници и представници неких колектива из Босанске крајине. Из добојске општинске бањалучком породилиш-

што се таји, а ХСП-у се забрањује да се бори за свој народ – тврди лидер ХСП-а и ХОС-а

Загреб, 3. јуна
 – Очигледно долази до инфлације оптужница против Хрватске странке права од стране јавног тужиоца и оног ко му даје налоге, а то је председник Туђман, без чије ријечи ни влас с главе не може неком да фаши.
 Тим речима започео је данашњу прес конференцију председник ХСП Доброслав Парага, сазвану поводом подизања оптужница против њега због олања и организовања страначких јединица ХОС-а на ратиште у Босну и Херцеговину.
 Подсетивши да је недавно оптужен и због „вербалног деликта“

ко бити осуђен, као и да је ХДЗ потпуно изневерила очекивања народа, па би била нова предизборна парламентарна гласа – зна се – изневерили су.“
 – Ми ћемо се борити до коначне побједе, борит ćemo се за Сарајево као што би се борили за Загреб, било то коме право или криво. Слободно нека ме ставе у притвор, али ми не бих препоручио, јер би се могло десити да сутра дођу у притвор они који су нас ту ставили – рекао је такође Парага, најавивши да ће на заседану Сабора (које почиње сутра) ХСП заступници захтевати „смењивање“ Владимира

ПОЛИТИКА, 4. 6. 92
 КОНФЕРЕНЦИЈА ЗА НОВинаРЕ У Хрватској СТРАНИЦА ПРАВА
Парага оптужује Туђмана за велико издају
 У БиХ има много генерала и бојника хрватске војске, што се таји, а ХСП-у се забрањује да се бори за свој народ – тврди лидер ХСП-а и ХОС-а

ИСТРАГА НАД МИЛОРАДОМ ПУПОВЦЕМ У ОКРУЖНОМ СУДУ У ЗАГРЕБУ

Брани се ћутањем

Загреб, 3. јуна
 Други сусрет председника Српског демократског форума из Загреба др Милорада Пуповца са истражним судијом загребачког Округлног суда није трајао дуже него онај пре десетак дана. Осумњичен по већ фамозном члану 197 због „ширења лажних вјести“, тј. за вербални деликт (који је скоро истовремено покренут и против неколико шаловита изјављивача новинара и све то кад је на функцију републикански јавни тужилац дошао Владимир Шекс), Пуповац је данас пред истражним судијом Сашком Новом изјавио да није ништа знао о томе за шта је осумњичен, али не и да се брани. О томе је рекао:
 – Ја желим да ти изјавим о односу на криминалну која ми се ставља на терет, али не желим износити своју одбрану, јер сматрам да немам од чега да се браним.
 Тако је Пуповац, којег ипак брани познати загребачки адвокат Владимир Иковић, Силвије Деген и

јер је још почетком године изјавио да је Туђман издао источну Славонију, Парага је рекао да остаје код те изјаве и још је проширује – „Издао је и средишњу Хрватску“, напомиње Парага, зато што је дозволио успостављање српске аутономије у општинама Книн и Глина.
 Парага је, између осталог, истакао да ХСП, тј. ХОС „редовно шаље борце из Хрватске и цијелог свијета на бојиште у Херцег-Босну“, а „сви који су ницирали ову оптужницу – од председника Туђмана па даље – починили су велико издају, јер Хрвати не живе само у авијској Хрватској“. – „Нас не може више нико зауставити – ми идемо до граница на Дрину, за НДХ, а ко се пред Европом обвезао на нешто друго, нека се своји криво чело“ – ронио је такође Парага, додавши и ово:
 – У Босни и Херцеговини има много генерала и бојника хрватске војске, што се таји. Добро је да их има, јер свако има право да се бори за свој народ и то се не може забранити ником, па ни ХСП-у.
 Парага такође тврди да се „ради о обрачуна председника Републике Туђмана са председником ХСП-а Парагом“, да „Туђман одлучује ко ће ићи на суд, ко ће и коли-

Шекса са функције републичког јавног тужиоца.“
 „Правашки“ челик за војна питања Миле Дедаковић Јастреб говорио је о акцијама јединица ХОС-а у БиХ, тврдећи да потискују противника на свим линијама.
 – „Постројбе ХВО прелазе у наше редове, немамо довољно приступница колики је интерес. Ових дана око 10.000 прелазе у наше редове“ – тврди овај бивши заповедник „обране Вуковара“ и напомиње:
 – ХОС иде даље – све док Србе не протерамо преко Дрине. Чињеница је да гдје нема ХОС-а, нема ни озбиљне борбе.
 Адвокат ХСП-а Звонимир Ходак, између осталог, подсетио је на решење Врховног суда Хрватске по којем јединице ХОС-а нису паравојне формације, већ су у оквиру и под командом хрватске војске, а могу да носе своје ознаке, па у вези са том чињеницом, како је објаснио, не стоји тврдња у најновијој оптужници против Параге која говори о ХОС-у као паравојци.
 Шеф промоције (пропаганде) ХСП-а Марио Михаљевић пренео је став странке која „диже глас за слободу тиска“ и осуђује оптуживање новинара за вербални деликт.
 Р. Арсенић

THE UNSUNG HEROES IN NAZI OCCUPIED EUROPE:
THE ANTIDOTE FOR EVIL*

Samuel P. Oliner

Introduction

As we pick up a newspaper, listen to the radio, or watch the news, the information we get stands out in our minds and brings the sensitive soul a step closer to despair. Although on rare occasions we learn that someone has been kind, unselfish, and even heroic, much reporting vividly projects violence, war, hate, greed, avarice, etc. In this current age of spiritual bankruptcy, loss of community, instant gratification, individual entitlements, "I want-it-all-now," "me generations," the possibility of nuclear catastrophe, the rise of neo-nazism, and dozens of hate groups, racial and ethnic polarization, there is an urgent need for efforts to stop this road to social, cultural, spiritual, moral and physical suicide. One possible approach might be to focus on the decent people: those who loved, those who cared, those who gave so much selflessly, those who risked much, including their lives, to save their fellow human beings. With this in mind my purpose here is to describe briefly a few heroic acts in Europe during the Nazi occupation, to suggest some reasons that motivated the rescuers (altruists) who risked so much to help victims, and to draw a profile of the altruist. Altruism, for our purposes is defined as aid given to others who are in great need and which entails very high risk for which the altruist rescuer does not expect any external reward.

It should be remembered that Yad Vashem in Jerusalem has about 4,000 names of heroic Righteous Gentiles who helped victims of the Nazi Holocaust survive. I have reviewed the stories of only 500 rescuers. Most of these 500 heroic episodes are permanently deposited at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem.¹ Some of the 500 stories I obtained myself in 1979 and in 1982 by interviewing rescued persons as well as a few rescuers now living in the U.S.,

*This article is part of a current study sponsored by The American Jewish Committee which involves interviewing rescuers in France, Germany, Poland, Italy and Holland.

1. Yad Vashem, *The Martyrs and Heroes Remembrance Authority*, Jerusalem, has gathered hundreds of stories of heroic gentiles who have been involved in saving hundreds of Jewish lives. The Institute of Righteous Gentiles, part of the Judah Magness Museum in Berkeley has also a number of stories dealing with rescue during the Holocaust years in Europe.

Canada and Israel. The rest of the accounts come from previously published sources.²

The rescuers came from all walks of life. It is estimated that about 200,000 lives were saved by men and women of every nationality — French, Danes, Bulgarians, Belgians, Swedes and Norwegians, Italians and Poles, Czechs, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Russians, Greeks, Yugoslavs, and others. In Berlin itself, over 5,000 Jews were saved right under the noses of the Gestapo and the S.S. by some 50,000 Germans who had victims moved from hiding place to hiding place in order to fool the Gestapo. I have broken down some characteristics of this 500 non-random sample of rescuers involved in this study by sex and profession.

Professionals	100 Males	50 Females
White Collar	68 Males	31 Females
Blue Collar	53 Males	19 Females
Profession or Trade		
Unknown	97 Males	82 Females
Total by sex:	318 Males	182 Females
Grand total: 500		

In addition I have differentiated between the kind of assistance they gave to the rescued, which was based on the amount of effort, costs, duration of assistance and the degree of risk involved, as well as whether the rescuer did the rescuing alone or with the help of a mate, friend, family member, rescue network such as resistance movement etc . . .

There is no need to discuss at great length the various decrees issued by the Nazis to the population warning them of certain death if caught for the crime of: sheltering Jews, supplying food to them, and even selling food to them. There were many cases where a gentile family received the death penalty for saving Jews. Thus, by degree of risk, sheltering and giving food to victims would be considered a very great risk. An example of lesser risk might be forewarning the Jews that the Gestapo was on its way to arrest them. Most of the individuals of this sample of 500 had taken very great risk.

In a poor and occupied country such as Poland, for example, to house, clothe and feed an individual or group of individuals was prohibitive financially, often resulting in extra hardship for the rescuers. Frequently, the rescuers had to work extra hard or even borrow money in order to save the victim from certain death. The cost and hardship was very great for the res-

2. These stories are from sources deposited in the Institute for Righteous Gentiles at the Judah Magness Memorial Museum, Berkeley, California (See also in the bibliography: Bartoszewski, Bauminger, Bejski, Bierman, Coopersmith, Fender, Fieldman, Grossmann, Gruber, Hallie, Hellman, Huneke, Iranek-Osmecki, Kent, Keneally, London, Oliner, Tec).

cuer. There were cases where the rescuer's own children went undernourished in order to feed Jewish children who were near death from starvation.

Different types of rescues took place. One dramatic example is that of a peasant woman in the mountains of Southern Poland who alone saved four people by hiding them in the stable attic. Most often, however, people were saved by couples or son/mother, brother/brother, etc. There appeared to be no significant differences in the amount of risk taken by sex of rescuer. Finally, though there were a number of rescues performed by a single individual, most were accomplished with the assistance of others. Typically a husband was assisted by a wife or other member of the family, or a priest or minister was assisted by some parishioner, or a nun assisted by other nuns in the monastery. There were also cases of resistance movements that did rescuing in most of the countries mentioned above. A note of caution is in order at this point. In light of the absence of a random sample of rescuers, much less the thousands of rescuers who are still unknown and unreported, we do not know for certain whether most rescues occurred through the efforts of individuals or teams of rescuers. Still, we can point to some countries where there were almost national efforts to save their Jewish countrymen. One dramatic example is that of Denmark, where the entire nation became aroused by this tragic injustice and saved most of its Jewish citizens.

Some Episodes of Rescue

The following are a few brief examples of outstanding episodes of heroism undertaken successfully by these individuals:

1) In the vicinity of Lemberg (Lwow), a number of Ukrainians risked their lives by bringing food to the forest to feed about 70 Jews who lived in bunkers. I have spoken to a number of survivors from this group who currently reside in Israel and Los Angeles, California.

2) In France, Pastor André Trocme and his wife Magda at Le Chambon, France, saved many by helping them across the border of Spain, Switzerland as well as hiding hundreds of Jews in the village of Le Chambon and vicinity.

3) Herman Graebe in Eastern Europe saved hundreds from certain death.

4) Oskar Schindler saved several hundred Polish Jews. (See Schindler's list).

5) A Belgian countess hid 100 women and children and cooked kosher food for them.

6) Elizabeth Abegg of Strassburg, who lived in a small apartment with a bedridden mother and who suffered herself from arthritis, cooked dinner for victims hiding in the woods and railroad washrooms.

7) A chief air warden in the city of Katowice, Poland, built false walls in an empty barber shop and kept three Jews hidden there.

8) An S.S. officer, whose living quarters were directly above the S.S. Center in Berlin, kept a Jewish couple concealed until the end of the war.

9) A Dutch school teacher safely and secretly brought Jews over the border to France.

10) Dr. Franz Kauffmann, a non-Jew, worked tirelessly to help the innocent victims and was killed for his love and kindness by the Gestapo in Berlin.

11) In Austria, Anton Schmidt was in charge of a German supply depot in Vilna. He saved the lives of a number of Austrian Jews who worked for him and his house became the headquarters of the Jewish Underground. He was finally caught by the Gestapo, tortured and executed.

12) In Belgium, Paul Duysenx, an antique dealer, and his wife gave refuge to Jewish child, Benjamin Yair, for two years. His parents and a sister perished, but a surviving sister took Benjamin to Israel where Mr. and Mrs. Duysenx visited them.

13) In Poland, Dr. Wiktor Strusinska kept a Dr. Goldstein, his wife and three other Jews hidden in her cellar for 18 months until the Liberation. She recently visited the Goldsteins in Israel.

14) Also in Poland, Maria Babicz aided a number of Jews in the ghetto of Rowna. For four years she looked after the only surviving child of the Ossipow family, entrusted to her by the mother who died. When the father returned from the war, he emigrated to Israel with the child and Miss Babicz.

15) In Czechoslovakia, Klara Andelova-Weiss was a dressmaker in Prague. During the occupation, her house was a refuge for Jews and members of the anti-Nazi underground who ran a clandestine printing press on the premises. She was arrested and spent years in a number of concentration camps where her fellow prisoners gave her the name of "The Angel" because of her many acts of Kindness. Mrs. Weiss settled in Israel with her family in 1949.

16) In Britain, Charles Coward, worked as a prisoner-of-war in the I.G. Farben chemical plant near Auschwitz. He was also a Red Cross "trustee" which enabled him to obtain civilian clothes and work permits for Jews condemned to the gas chambers, thereby helping them to escape.

17) In Lithuania, Ona Shumaite held an important post at the University of Vilna before the war. When the Jews of the city were confined to a ghetto by the Nazis, she managed to obtain an entry permit on the pretext that she had to collect valuable books belonging to the university. Through

this stratagem she became an intermediary between the Jews in the ghetto and the partisans outside. When the ghetto was finally liquidated in 1944, she helped Jewish children to escape. She was caught and tortured by the Gestapo, transported to Dachau and eventually to France where she was released after the Liberation.

18) In Belgium, Leon Plateau, recently the Director-General of the Belgian Foreign Ministry, was engaged in legal negotiations with the German occupation authorities during the war. In this capacity, he worked unceasingly to rescue Jews. He provided false identity cards, passports and other documents for many.

19) In Holland, Elkje Lentinck De Boer was headmistress of a school for seamstresses. During the occupation, she gave refuge in her home to twelve Jews, including two children. She later transferred them to the care of parish priests. She was arrested by the Gestapo and sent to Ravensbrueck camp where she was the subject of infamous "medical" experiments by Nazi doctors. She survived but remains an invalid.

20) In Denmark, Age Bertelsen was a teacher and writer of Aarhus. When the Nazis tried to liquidate the Jewish community of Denmark, he raised funds and chartered boats which enabled the Jews to escape to Sweden. Mr. Bertelsen received widespread support in this work of mercy from thousands of Danes who risked their own lives in the process.

21) In Hungary, Gabor Stello, a Protestant minister, set up two homes for Jewish children during the last stages of the liquidation of the Jews of Budapest in 1944. He also provided food for many Jews in hiding. The children's homes were repeatedly searched by the Nazis, but Mr. Stello concealed the children on each occasion. He was warned by the Minister of the Interior to desist from his pro-Jewish activities but continued to protect the Jews in his care. He was responsible for saving hundreds of Jewish lives by his actions.

22) In Poland, Gertruda Boblinska was a teacher who saved Michael Stolowicki, a child whose parents perished. She promised them she would take the boy to Eretz Israel after the war. Her own husband died fighting with the partisans and Mrs. Boblinska eventually reached Israel with the boy in 1948 after being turned back on the S.S. Exodus.

23) In Bulgaria, Reuben Asen Dimitrov, nicknamed "Bicko," saved many Jews from the Nazis. He kept scores of them hidden in his cellar in Sofia and also supplied food and clothing to Jews in labour camps. He was brutally tortured by the Gestapo, as a result of which his eyes are still affected. During a recent visit to Israel, he was treated by specialists.

24) In Yugoslavia, Ilona Elias, a Roman Catholic, gave shelter to and saved many Jews. She now lives in Tel-Aviv.

25) In Belgium, Emilie and Alphonse Gossette looked after Simon Weissblum, a two-year old Jewish child, after his mother was transported to Auschwitz. They returned the child to the mother after her release.

26) In Italy, Giovanni Palatuchi, Chief of Police in Fiume during the German occupation, saved hundreds of refugee Austrian and Hungarian Jews. He was arrested by the Gestapo in 1944, transported to Dachau and killed the following year on the eve of liberation. A street in Ramat Gan in Israel bears his name.

Motivations

It is virtually impossible to attribute one specific reason that accounts for or explains why individuals and/or groups were motivated to risk their lives and those of their loved ones in order to save others from certain death. I reviewed the relevant literature currently available in the behavioral and social sciences and found approximately 40 different explanations for altruistic behavior. These 40 explanatory hypotheses throw light on why and under what conditions people will lend assistance to victims in extreme need or distress of one sort or another. The explanations range from the evangelical designs fulfilling the mandate of Christianity, to helpers (used here interchangeably with altruists, savers or rescuers) enjoying the real fantasy of performing heroic deeds.

For my purposes I have collapsed those 40 explanations for altruistic behavior into five because, with certain minor variations, they are quite similar.

- a) People will help because of their love of humanity. This is internalized by them from significant others (like a parent) and from their social environment.³
- b) Under stress more individuals are drawn together and are concerned with helping others. Catastrophic or emergency situations seem to trigger empathy in those individuals that have a predisposition to help, and in those who actually witness distress rather than those who just hear about it.
- c) People who know the victim or the victim's family and are culturally similar are more likely to help than if the victim was a total "outsider" or stranger. For example: In many cases, perhaps over 75%, the rescued individuals reported that they were saved by some one whom they personally knew or by members of their respective families who knew each other. This certainly was true in my own experience, where "Mrs. P," who was a

3. The explanation that love of humanity and socialization by a parent or a significant other is a paramount factor in helping others.

Order The Ukrainians of Maryland (519 pages) from UKRAINIAN EDUCATION ASS'N OF MD., Inc., 407 Towson Avenue, Lutherville, MD 21093. \$10.95 postpaid.

small peasant farmer and who rescued me, knew my father (who like her had a small farm in the same village). Because both "Mrs. P" and my father lived and worked in the same village for a number of years, they acquired similar values towards life, work and politics. Here we do not mean to imply that rescue of total strangers has not taken place.

- d) People are more likely to help if they are in a situation where they have the physical and financial ability to do so. They need to have a place to hide the victim and/or be financially able to arrange it so that the victim can be helped.
- e) The marginal or deviant person is frequently found among the rescuers. By marginal-deviant is meant an individual who does not "fit" right into the community in which he/she finds himself/herself. The individual may be considered an "alien" in the community's midst or be of a different ethnic-cultural-religious blend. An example would be the Seven Day Adventists who were regarded by the dominant society as 'outsiders' with 'strange' beliefs. This type of rescuer has either not internalized the values and the bigotry of his community or else has rejected it.⁴

There were, of course, other savers whose motivation was not necessarily altruistic, however. Some saved people because they received handsome payment or were promised rewards after the war. Others helped Jews, not because they loved them, but because they wanted to help defeat the Nazi occupiers.

There is no single reason that explains rescue, especially the kind of rescue that involves great personal risk. Yet I can extrapolate from the 500 accounts of rescuers that they acted heroically because of one or more or possibly a combination of the above 5 reasons given. Looking closely at the stories of rescue it is possible to compile a profile of the altruist. The altruist (1) is a confident person, (2) has high self-esteem, (3) is a person capable of empathy and compassion, (4) has a feeling of well-being and has a stable personality, (5) takes social responsibility seriously and is concerned with morality and justice, (6) is more often than not a spiritual and religious person and, (7) is much less capable of internalizing prejudice and stereotypes about "outsiders." A specific example of this was that rescuers of Jews were not likely to be anti-Semitic, unlike many of their neighbors, especially in some parts of the eastern European countries.

The implication for us in our society is clear. There is an immediate and urgent need to spare no effort in giving young people a moral-ethical education. It has been said that the future is doomed if we can't learn from the

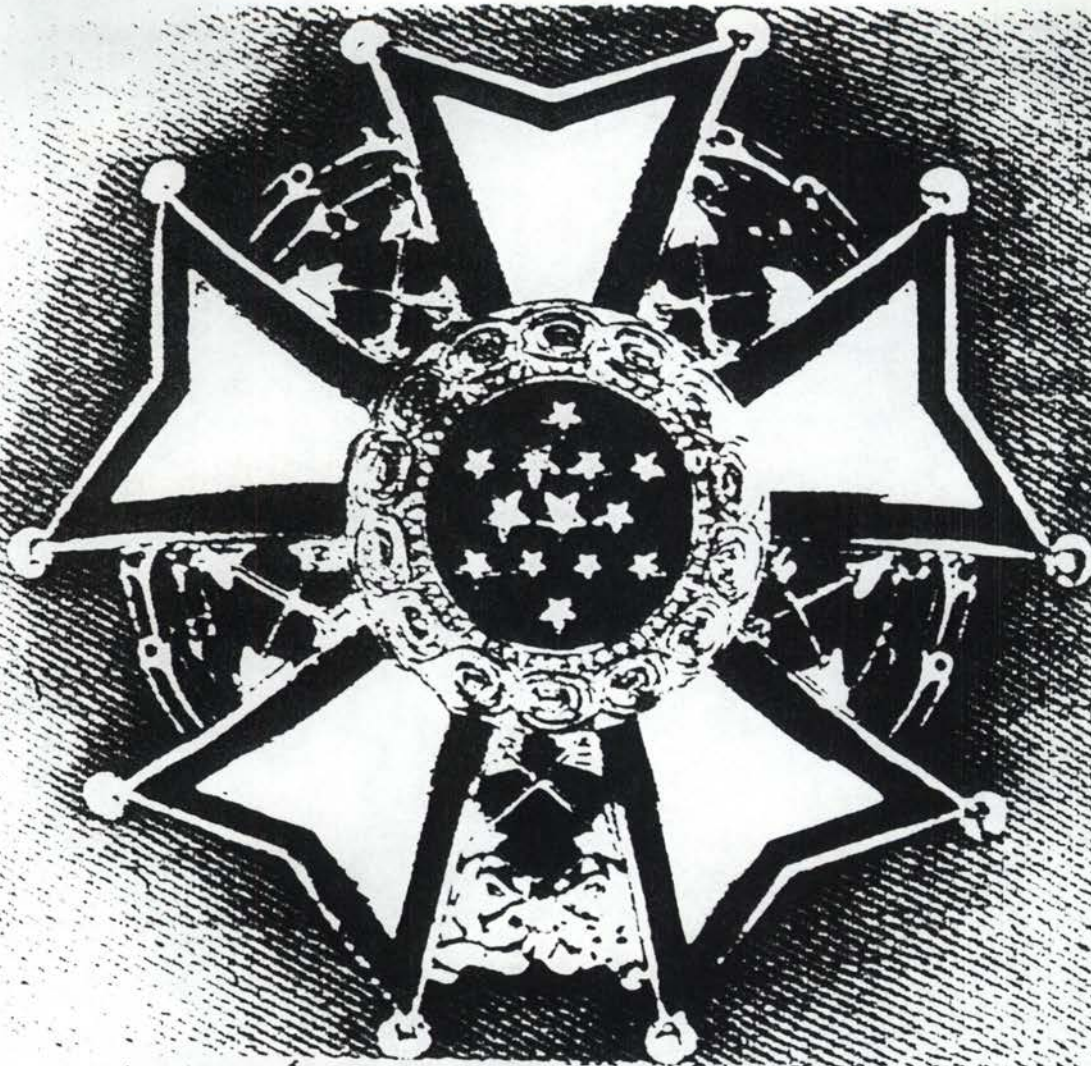
4. Most authors do not regard this type of behavior as altruistic.

past. There is a monumental lesson in the Holocaust. Auschwitz represents the totality of evil and perversion that humanity can stoop to. The Righteous Gentiles stood up to the evil during these years, and said "no" to tyranny and saved lives. It is said in the Talmud, "Whoever saves one life is as though he has preserved the existence of the entire world." It is because of the deeds of the Righteous Gentiles and non-gentiles that the world has a chance to survive. It is imperative that, along with knowing such evil names as Himmler, Hitler, Eichman, Klaus Barbie we should also know the names of Roslan, Graebe, Schindler, Trocme and dozens of other heroic people who made a difference. Elementary and secondary schools should restructure their curriculum to include stories of pro-social behavior of those individuals including the unselfish high-risk that they took and sacrifices that they made on behalf of their fellow human beings. Along with the horrors of Auschwitz and the banality of evil, we should teach our young generations about the character and heroism of righteous gentiles and non-gentiles. Doing so will act as a counter balance to the general behavior of humanity in that period. It may also assure that such diabolic history as represented by Nazism will not be permitted to repeat itself. This can be achieved in part if we hold up these rescuers as moral role models to emulate. And if we attempt to understand how they differed from the majority. If this is done then perhaps we can begin to hope that humanity shall inherit a better future.

The following is from the chapter "Ukrainians and Jews in Europe and in Maryland" in The Ukrainians of Maryland:

The sustained work of the Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky during World War II in interceding in behalf of Jews endangered by the Nazis is well known. Pinchas Lapide, a former Israeli diplomat, records some of the Metropolitan's actions in behalf of Jews as follows in *Three Popes and the Jews*:

After the Rohatin massacre, he wrote an indignant letter to Himmler, protesting the employment of Ukrainian police in such actions. But he did not content himself with interventions and pastoral letters. In his cathedral in Lvov he hid fifteen Jewish children and six adults, including Rabbi Dr. David Kahane, who, after the liberation of Poland, was appointed Chief Rabbi of the Polish Army. Twenty-eight others he disguised in monks' cowls in the monastery of St. Basileus. On orders from the Metropolitan, 156 Jews, most of them children, were hidden in convents of the Order of the Studites in Eastern Galicia. Approximately 500 monks and nuns had knowledge of these facts, but in spite of the death penalty for sheltering Jews and financial rewards for all informers, none of the Metropolitan's wards fell into Nazi hands. His ringing appeals must have had some impact on a great many peasants and workmen, clerics and priests. By the end of 1943, some 650 Jewish children in Warsaw were hidden in various municipal, church and social institutions.¹⁷



LEGION OF MERIT CHIEF COMMANDER

General Dragoljub Mihailovich distinguished himself in an outstanding manner as Commander-in-Chief of the Yugoslavian Army Forces and later as Minister of War by organizing and leading important resistance forces against the enemy which occupied Yugoslavia, from December 1941 to December 1944. Through the undaunted efforts of his troops, many United States airmen were rescued and returned safely to friendly control. General Mihailovich and his forces, although lacking adequate supplies, and fighting under extreme hardships, contributed materially to the Allied cause, and were instrumental in obtaining a final Allied Victory.

March 29, 1948.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NEDJELJNE VIJESTI

IZDAJE HRVATSKO NOVINARSKO DRUŠTVO

100. L - BR. 32

ZAŠTAMPANO PONEDELUK 15. PROSINCA 1941.

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HRVATSKA JE STUPILA U RAT protiv Engleske i Sjedinjenih država

NA STRANI VELEVLASTI I OSTALIH DRŽAVA TROJNOG PAKTA

IZJAVIJEVAJUći svoju priključnost i podršku Engleskoj i Sjedinjenim Državama, Hrvatska je danas stupila u rat protiv ostalih država Trojnog Pakta. Ovo je prvi put u historiji da se Hrvatska pridružuje jednoj od dvije strane u ovom ratu. Hrvatska je tako postala članicom osamostaljeničke vlade u Zagrebu, koja se opredjelila za neutralnost. Ovo je prvi put u historiji da se Hrvatska pridružuje jednoj od dvije strane u ovom ratu. Hrvatska je tako postala članicom osamostaljeničke vlade u Zagrebu, koja se opredjelila za neutralnost.

ODLUKA HRVATSKJE DRŽAVNE VLADE

U ime Hrvatske Državne Vlade izjavljujem da se Hrvatska pridružuje jednoj od dvije strane u ovom ratu. Ovo je prvi put u historiji da se Hrvatska pridružuje jednoj od dvije strane u ovom ratu. Hrvatska je tako postala članicom osamostaljeničke vlade u Zagrebu, koja se opredjelila za neutralnost.



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

GROATIA 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.

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Thursday, April 9, 1992

Greece and the Macedonia question

Globe + Mail
April 9/92

WHAT'S in a name? Rather a lot, it seems, if the name is Macedonia.

Nestled in the heart of the Balkan peninsula, Macedonia is the odd man out among the disunited former republics of Yugoslavia. Since the multi-ethnic Yugoslav federation began to disintegrate last year, all five of its other republics have achieved some kind of international standing. Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina have become independent states, recognized by a growing parade of nations — including Canada, which recognized the former two in January and the latter yesterday. Serbia and Montenegro have become partners in a Serb-dominated Yugoslavian rump state. But only four countries have recognized the Macedonian government since a referendum in September overwhelmingly approved independence.

The problem is the republic's insistence on keeping the name Tito gave it nearly 50 years ago: Macedonia. This infuriates neighbouring Greece, which argues that Macedonia is a Greek name from classical times that no foreign government has the right to adopt. It contends that the name implies a potential territorial claim to the northern region of Greece that is also called Macedonia. Athens has blocked recognition of the republic by the all-important European Community, and refuses to change its mind unless Macedonia changes its name.

With no trace of whimsy, some Greek officials have suggested Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov call his new state the Republic of Vardar, after the river that runs through the capital, Skopje. Others propose the Slavic Republic of Macedonia, to differentiate it from Greek Macedonia. Mr. Gligorov is adamant: the name stays.

Though the passion of Greece's stand is impressive — carrying even to the shores of this country, where protesters wave signs saying "Macedonia is in Greece" — the logic is not. Mr. Gligo-

rov has repeatedly assured foreign governments that he has no claim on the territory of his neighbours. French Judge Robert Badinter, head of the European Commission's arbitration commission on Yugoslavia, was satisfied enough with these assurances to report in January that Macedonia met all the conditions for recognition as an independent state.

Even if Mr. Gligorov's government did harbour secret designs on Greek Macedonia, it would be hard pressed to do anything about them. Macedonia is a tiny state of 2.1 million. The poorest of Yugoslavia's former republics, it has severe economic and ethnic problems, and no army to speak of. Greece, by contrast, is a member of NATO with a substantial army and a population of 10 million.

The Greeks are right to say that independent Macedonia could, if it wished, try to stir up nationalism among Macedonians in Greece. There is evidence that some private groups in Macedonia are already spreading propaganda calling for Macedonians to unify and cast off Greek "oppression." But if, as Athens claims, its Macedonian population is perfectly content with things as they are, this should pose little threat to Greek unity.

That leaves the historical argument. In the Balkans, where every hill has a story, this cannot be glibly dismissed. Macedonia has been the cause of two wars this century among Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia. Greek pride in the Macedonian strand of its history is strong. Alexander the Great, the Macedonian warrior-king, spread Hellenistic culture around the known world in the fourth century B.C.

But Greek pride is no justification for denying Macedonia its statehood. Nor is historical mistrust. The problem of the Balkans is that its peoples blame each other for the sins of their fathers. If Greece is the modern, forward-looking European nation it claims to be, it must help to break this pattern, not repeat it.

Pennsylvania Avenue

By Morton M. Kondracke

Clinton, Too, May Stand By While Yugoslavia Bleeds

Confirmation hearings starting today on Rep. Les Aspin's (D-Wis) nomination to be Secretary of Defense may offer the first hint of how President-elect Bill Clinton plans to handle the war in Yugoslavia. And despite his tough talk during the presidential campaign, indications are that Clinton will be no more forceful than President Bush has been in stopping Serbia's horrific slaughter of innocents.

Clinton's new foreign policy team has been intensively reviewing options on Yugoslavia to prepare Aspin and other nominees to "sing from the same songbook" when they answer questions about the matter in Senate hearings. Secretary of State-designate Warren Christopher testifies next week.

Exactly what the Clinton tune will be remains unclear, but it's likely that Clinton will merely second President Bush's Dec. 27 warning to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic that the US might use force if Serbians expand "ethnic cleansing" to the province of Kosovo or if they harm United Nations relief forces in Bosnia.

Administration officials say Bush signaled Milosevic that Serbia itself might be bombed if Milosevic fails to comply with Bush's warnings, but advocates of more forceful action note that Bush's threats do nothing to halt the Serbian aggression currently underway.

There's a growing chorus of experts who urge Clinton to take a stronger stance. Jim-

my Carter's former national security advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski, advocates immediate enforcement of the UN-declared "no fly zone" over Bosnia, enabling Bosnian Muslim defenders to arm themselves, and placement of peacekeeping troops in Kosovo and Macedonia, where communal unrest could lead to intervention from Albania, Bulgaria, and Greece.

Retired Gen. William Odom, former head of the National Security Agency and now a scholar at the Hudson Institute, has even proposed — at least for discussion — that NATO invade Yugoslavia with six to ten armored divisions, one or two of them American, to block further Serbian expansion. That's 300,000 to 400,000 troops, including about 50,000 Americans. Odom says NATO should announce it is prepared to stay for 15 years if necessary — mainly to scare the Serbs into negotiations.

Meantime, former Air Force chief of staff Michael Dugan and resigned foreign service officer George Kenney have proposed bombing Serbian forces in Bosnia, and, if necessary, Serbian industrial and communications targets.

But while they are recommending force, some of these advocates — and others on Congressional staffs — are skeptical that Clinton's foreign policy team actually will do anything more decisive than Bush has.

They say that Christopher and his incoming team at State are naturally force-averse. Christopher was Jimmy Carter's deputy secretary of state and is still close to former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, who as chief UN peace negotiator for Yugoslavia is dead set against Western military intervention.

Incoming Deputy Secretary of State Clif-

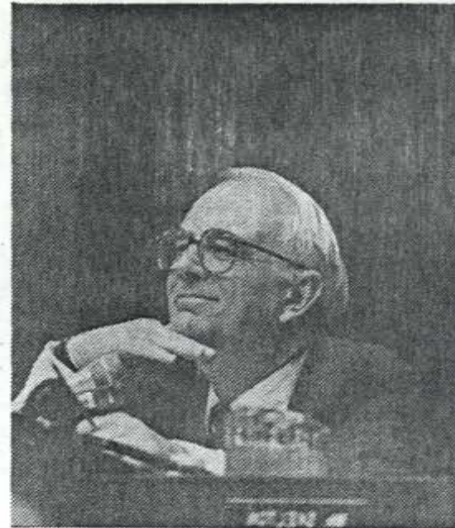


Photo by Maureen Keating

Hearings today on Aspin's nomination as Defense Secretary may offer a first hint of Clinton policy on Yugoslavia.

ton Wharton is a pension fund manager with little practical experience in national security policy. And Peter Tarnoff, president of the Council on Foreign Relations and rumored No. 3 man at State, is considered another Vancian.

Advocates of force also doubt Anthony Lake, Clinton's national security advisor, will be as willing to push intervention in office as he was during the campaign. And Aspin, though he hinted in one speech that limited force might be used, has not expanded on his views.

To order US forces into action, Clinton would also have to overcome the objections of Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who has been waging a public campaign against intervention. Aides to Aspin say that, in spite of philo-

sophical differences, Powell and Aspin are both "sophisticated pragmatists," which suggests that Aspin won't cross Powell.

Various Clinton advisors, asked to look into aspects of the Yugoslav problem, are beginning to see complexities that lead them to support the Powell view. Among them is the fact that Milosevic, despite charges of election fraud, was just resoundingly elected as president of Serbia and can no longer be considered a mere communist dictator. The election also elevated Serbian nationalists even more ruthless and extreme than Milosevic.

Another factor is that the Serbs have between 50,000 and 60,000 troops and security forces in and around Kosovo who could wreak havoc on the unarmed local population if provoked.

And a third factor — probably the dominant one — is that Clinton was elected to be a domestic policy president and does not want to get bogged down in a messy Balkan war in his first year in office.

Odom, however, argues that the stability of Europe and the well-being of the world economy are at stake in Yugoslavia, which makes it in America's vital national interest to intervene through NATO.

He sets out his plan in a recent Hudson briefing paper, arguing that Western Europe's shaky economic and political cohesion will dissolve if its people watch Yugoslavs perish by the hundreds of thousands and their leaders do nothing. This will happen, he says, if the United States does not lead and if NATO does not have a new mission now that the Soviet threat has disappeared.

Also, Odom says, other Eastern Europe-

Continued on page 28

CANON COPIERS

ks Waiver to Save Panel on Africa

In an interview yesterday, Payne said Foley had agreed to support the waiver, which would allow Foreign Affairs to keep seven subcommittees, while Hamilton said he would not oppose it. But the waiver must first be approved by the committee on organization, study, and review and then ratified by the full Democratic Caucus. Payne said yesterday he expects opposition within the OSR but believes the waiver will ultimately be granted.

Foley spokesman Jeff Biggs said the matter will be taken up when Congress returns later this month and that, given the expected focus of Washington on domestic policy, the Speaker feels "it is important to have a [single] subcommittee which oversees that large a portion of the world." Rep.

Harry Johnston (D-Fla) is expected to become chairman of the Africa panel.

Foreign Affairs currently has eight subcommittees and is required to eliminate two. A reorganization plan being floated by Hamilton called for merging Africa with the Western Hemisphere subcommittee.

The other subcommittee proposed for elimination is human rights, one of four "functional" subcommittees, the duties of which would be divided up among the regional subcommittees.

CBC chairman Mfume on Tuesday said he and other African-American Members had protested "in the strongest possible way" the proposed move. Africa, he said, "is a major continent in the world, and particularly at this time in its own history

should not be relegated to share its significance, its importance, its stature with another country, another region, or for that matter another hemisphere."

Kondracke: Bush Exit Won't End Yugoslavia Stall

Continued from page 8

ans may follow Serbia's example and begin "ethnic cleansing" operations of their own, threatening democracy and economic development there. "Brown Reds" — ultra-nationalist former communists — may come to power in Russia, he warns, menacing Eastern Europe.

Odom says the trend can be stopped if a large NATO armored force occupies areas of Yugoslavia, including Serbia, to prevent aggression. He says German and French forces need to participate along with other NATO armies, and he would invite Russian participation, as well.

Once installed, the force would not need to "pacify" the country Vietnam-style, or engage in "search and destroy" missions. It could occupy reasonably safe fortresses and venture out only as needed to block large-scale Serbian aggression. Odom admits that the economic cost of the operation would be "huge," though he does not think casualties would be, especially if negotiations ensued promptly.

His plan may not be the best solution available, Odom acknowledges, but he says he wants to force discussion on alternatives. My guess is that the Clinton Administration, like the Bush Administration, will prefer hand-wringing and half-steps.

Names His Own Aide Gore as Tenn. Senator

ered by McWherter for appointment to the Gore seat.

But Cooper, who was conspicuously passed over by McWherter for the appointment despite heavy lobbying and the editorial endorsements of several major Tennessee newspapers, remains the frontrunner for 1994. He has already formed an exploratory committee for the race, spokesman David Withrow said.

Withrow said Cooper was "maybe a little bit surprised" that he was not higher on McWherter's list but added, "He's looking forward to winning the seat outright."

Cooper, a Rhodes Scholar who was elected to Congress in 1982 at the age of 28, "is very well regarded around Tennessee, not only by Democrats but by a lot of the state's leaders and opinion makers in general," Smith, the newsletter publisher, said.

Other names mentioned as possible Democratic primary contenders in 1994 include Rep. Bart Gordon; Peaches Simpkins, chair of the Tennessee Higher Education Commission and wife of the Nashville Banner newspaper publisher; and Nashville Mayor Phil Bredesen.

Republicans mentioned include Nashville attorney Steve Gill, Nashville businesswoman Marguerite Sallee, and Fred Thompson, who was minority counsel on the Watergate committee in 1974 and has since gone on to local fame as the star of Chevrolet pickup truck commercials.

Outgoing Education Secretary Lamar Alexander, a former Tennessee governor and the state's best-known Republican, is reported to be considering a run for president in 1996 and will not seek the Senate nomination.

Richards's Pick for Senate Expects Competition From Left and Right

Continued from page 10

and Krueger. By last weekend, sources said, Chapman and Krueger were the only two still in the running, but key elements of Richards's coalition, in particular gay rights groups, did not want the conservative Chapman chosen.

Elizabethan literature, Krueger had taken time out to run his family's hosiery mill and was a partner in the Krueger Brangus Ranch.

He won in a staunchly conservative, largely rural south Texas district in 1974 after a come-from-behind primary runoff

incumbent by Krueger supporters. In the end, Tower won narrowly, 49.8 to 49.3 percent.

And when Krueger, who served as a US ambassador-at-large for Mexican affairs after leaving the House, tried for a rematch six years later against Tower, he didn't

N.Y. TIMES

S/LETTERS MONDAY, JANUARY 4, 1993

We Need to Know What's Happening in Bosnia

To the Editor:

"A Diary of Disgrace" (editorial, Dec. 20) sets forth in devastating detail the pattern of avoidance and denial that has characterized our response to the Serbian Government-sponsored blockade of Sarajevo. May I note that the United States Government has imposed a blockade of its own? In this case, designed to prevent members of Congress from seeing the horror for themselves.

In late November I managed even so to make it through. The Canadians flew me in one day, the British out the next. Only to be greeted by a European Community cable canceling further United States Government cooperation with my trip. (A plane was to fly me to Kosovo and Macedonia.)

Our Government does not want us to know what is going on in Bosnia. I was first in Sarajevo more than 40 years ago. The city is still recognizable; the people are not. After seven months of siege, there is no food left. What gets through one day is eaten the next.

Jeremy Blade, a former captain in the Gurkha Regiment, with two other officials of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, is trying to feed a third of a million people. He can't. As things are, they will die, from starvation or from the incessant shelling and machine gun fire. They stand about in the streets. Waiting.

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN
U.S. Senator from New York
Washington, Dec. 28, 1992

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THE NEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL THURSDAY, JANUARY 7, 1993

U.N. ENVOY WINS PLEDGE FROM SERB

Republic's Chief Vows to 'Do Everything in My Power' to End Bosnian War

By DAVID BINDER
Special to The New York Times

ZAGREB, Croatia, Jan. 6 — Cyrus R. Vance, the United Nations envoy who is trying to negotiate an end to the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, met with President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia today and said later that the Serbian leader had agreed to help.

Mr. Milosevic is widely held to be a principal instigator of the fighting that has swept through three republics of former Yugoslavia in the last 18 months, but Mr. Vance noted that the Serbian had kept a similar vow a little over a year ago to end the war between Croatia and Serbia.

According to participants in their talks in Belgrade, Mr. Milosevic told Mr. Vance: "Peace is in our vital interest. I will do everything in my power."

The participants said Mr. Milosevic asserted that he had already put pressure on Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb leader, who refused earlier this week to accept a three-way peace agreement for the multi-ethnic Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Mr. Milosevic told Mr. Vance, who with Lord Owen of Britain is a co-chairman of a Geneva-based international mediation effort in the Balkans, that he would continue to apply pressure until Dr. Karadzic acceded to the peace agreement.

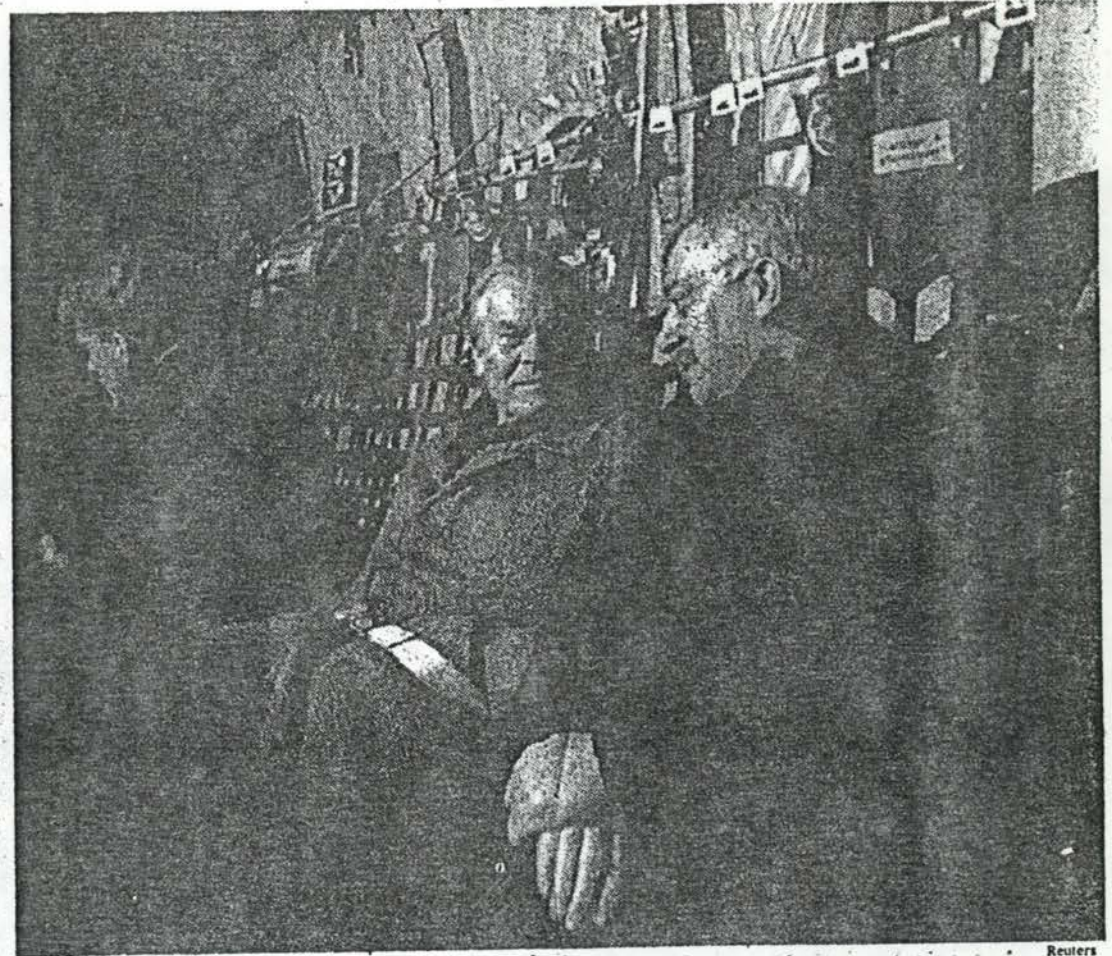
Seeks a Separate State

As the undisputed chieftain of Serbia, the largest of the former Yugoslav republics and the most powerfully armed, President Milosevic is in a position to deny weapons, ammunition, food, medicines and even electrical power to the Bosnian Serb forces.

Until now, Dr. Karadzic, a psychiatrist by profession, has insisted on the establishment of a separate Serbian state within Bosnia. This has been rejected by Mr. Vance and Lord Owen.

Remarks in public by Dr. Karadzic in the last three days indicate that his resolve in turning down the Geneva peace agreement is weakening.

On Monday, the draft agreement for a comprehensive peace settlement among the Muslims, Serbs and Croats who have been fighting in Bosnia and Herzegovina for nine months was for-



Reuters

Talks in Belgrade yesterday elicited a pledge from President Slobodan Milosevic to help end the fighting in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Lord Owen of Britain, center, special envoy of the European

Community to the former Yugoslavia, and Foreign Minister Uffe-Ellemann Jensen of Denmark, the head of the European Community Council, conferred during the flight to Belgrade for the meeting.

mally presented in Geneva by Mr. Vance and Lord Owen. It was accepted in whole or in part by Alija Izetbegovic, the leader of the Bosnian Muslims, and by Mate Boban, leader of the Bosnian Croats, leaving Dr. Karadzic as the sole holdout.

But doubts about Mr. Izetbegovic's commitment to the settlement rose today when the Bosnian President left Geneva for Washington, reportedly to try to meet with President Bush and President-elect Clinton. The Bosnian Muslims have repeatedly urged the United States to intervene militarily in the war and to lift an arms embargo against their Government.

Worried that Mr. Izetbegovic might abandon the peace negotiations in Geneva, which are scheduled to resume on Sunday after a five-day recess, Mr. Vance telephoned Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger to ask for his

intercession.

At his request, Mr. Eagleburger said he would not receive Mr. Izetbegovic in Washington, would make sure that he was not received at the White House and would send a message to the Bosnian leader urging him to be in Geneva in time for the resumption of peace talks.

No Meeting Scheduled

Aides said Mr. Vance, a former Secretary of State, also planned to telephone his former deputy, Warren Christopher, who is Mr. Clinton's choice as the next Secretary of State, to ask him not to permit anyone on the Clinton team to receive Mr. Izetbegovic.

A senior Administration official official confirmed tonight that Mr. Izetbegovic had requested a meeting with Mr. Bush and Mr. Eagleburger, but that no meeting was scheduled.

The Izetbegovic trip was initiated by George Kenney, a former Foreign Service officer who quit his post as the temporary desk officer for Yugoslavia last summer as a protest against what he termed the unacceptably weak policy of the Bush Administration in the Bosnian war.

Mr. Kenney visited the former Yugoslavia last month for the first time and in Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, made the suggestion that Mr. Izetbegovic go to Washington as a guest of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Accompanied by his Foreign Minister, Haris Silajdzic, who is more fluent in English than he is, Mr. Izetbegovic was persuaded that he could conduct a kind of media blitz on behalf of the Bosnian Muslims in Washington and in New York, informed officials said tonight.

... their Croatian currency ... men Croatian troops.

... able showing of a ... ngness to punish Serbian ... pression, Serbian forces ... and expand the bloodshed ... h into Kosovo, a Serbian- ... trolled region populated ... nly by ethnic Albanians, ... o are mostly Muslims, and ... Macedonia, the former ... goslav republic that has ... lared itself an independent ... e. There are fears that such ... ansion could inter- ... ionalize the crisis by ... ng in Greece, Turkey, ... garia and Albania.

... their Croatian currency ... men Croatian troops.

This is in Bosnian-Herzegovina!

Say — Sec. Eagleburger ... when do you push for sanctions and embargoes versus Croatia?

Srbobran 12-20-92

Is U.S. State Dept. — One-Sided?

Yugoslav Seamen Stranded On Ships

Reprinted from Tribune-Review, Thurs., Dec. 24, 1992

NEW ORLEANS (AP) — Milic Djokica stood on the bridge of the 10-story cargo ship and stared at the paddleboat full of tourists chugging by far below.

Across the other side of the ship drifted the high-pitched whistle music of a dockside steamboat. Djokica shook his head and shrugged.

It's just another day on the Mississippi for the Yugoslavian seaman. And the Christmas holidays will be no different.

Because of the U.S. embargo against Yugoslavia, Djokica's ship, the *Zeta*, has been anchored at New Orleans for six months. Two other ships full of Yugoslavian crewmen also are idled on the river, waiting for word on which they can continue. Forty-nine seamen in all are

stranded on the three vessels.

"We don't know what we'll do," said Djokica, 34. "It's not an easy life. We cannot work. We haven't any money."

Djokica, who is the *Zeta's* second mate, and some of his fellow seamen said they're worried their jobs aren't going to last much longer if the embargo continues. Their paychecks rarely arrive now, and when they do, they contain only portions of their contracted salaries.

Since the ships are anchored in the middle of the river to avoid wharf fees, seamen can go ashore only if they pay a tug \$5 each way. Most men try to go ashore once a week to walk the French Quarter for a few hours and, if they can afford it, but tapes or a few drinks.

"It's not fair," Djokica said. "The American people are

good, but your government is not so good. America is good for one thing — music. Rock music."

Milena Ship Management Co. operates the *Zeta* and the *Moslevina* in New Orleans and three other vessels in New York, Baltimore and Charleston, S.C., that are forbidden to leave U.S. shores under the embargo. Rigel Ship Management handles the *Bar*, the third ship full of Yugoslavian crewmen anchored here.

The company urges that all its ships sail under Maltese flags and have no connection with the former Yugoslavian government or its two remaining provinces of Serbia and Montenegro.

But a federal judge in August rejected that claim in light of the company's

connection with Jugoslovanska Oceanska Plovidba, a Montenegro company.

A month before the government imposed sanctions on May 30, JOP moved most of its employees and operations to Malta and started Milena. The company's 22 ships were also sold and reflagged.

Milena is appealing its case. Meanwhile, its attorney, Jack Clegg said the U.S. government is unfairly burdening the company by expecting it to maintain the crew and ships without aid.

Djokica said he is normally paid about \$1,000 a month but has received only \$200 a month.

Petar Vukic, the ship's chief engineer, said he has been aboard for a year and hasn't been paid in six months.

Sanctions Biting, But Targets Still In Powe

Reprinted from USA Today - Mon., Nov. 30, 1992

— By Tom Squitieri, USA Today —

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia — Nearly six months of U.N.-imposed sanctions against Yugoslavia have forced some citizens into a healthier lifestyle by eliminating cigarettes and red meat. But the sanctions also have wiped out many people's life savings and put their futures in doubt.

The sanctions have driven the Yugoslavian economy into Third World status and have isolated Serbs from the rest of the world, but have yet to achieve one of their main objectives: forcing Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic from office.

Despite porous borders with Romania and Bulgaria, the sanctions are biting in Yugoslavia:

- At least 2.5 million people are unemployed, about 20% of the population. Another 300,000 were put on compulsory leave this summer and have yet to be returned to their jobs. Another 1.1 million workers are now on pensions.

- Each month more and more factories and other industries close or slow down. From September to October, Yugoslavia's industrial output dropped 25%. That was the biggest drop since a 35.5% decline from June to July, when the U.N. sanctions took hold.

- State economists say industrial output for 1992, already down 40% on Sept. 1, is likely to plunge 66.5% by the end of the year.

Among the recent shutdowns: the Crena Zastava factory in Kragujeva, where assembly lines produced the

Yugo automobile. No one assembly line at remains active: one weapons.

Even if Yugos are being produced, none would be sold. The Central Statistics Bureau says a Yugo, which once afforded transport working men and women costs an average citizen years' salary.

Serbia's official Union says the average of four needs 340 dinars for basic needs each. But the nation's average is 95 dinars a month.

And family is getting hit from directions: Empty cutting wages, and losing value through

Even cigarettes, only extravagance nearly out of reach: pay used to buy 40 cigarettes; now it buys 10.

Columnist Luka writing in the newspaper *Politika* says sanctions have produced good for Belgrade:

"We have repaired bicycles in our basements and now better about a half he writes. "The cigarettes in t

because cigarette be imported and can be bought on market are too ex

Other newspaper regular "Life Blockade" column

(Continued on

By WILLIAM PFAFF

Aftermath of an Empire's Fall

Paris.

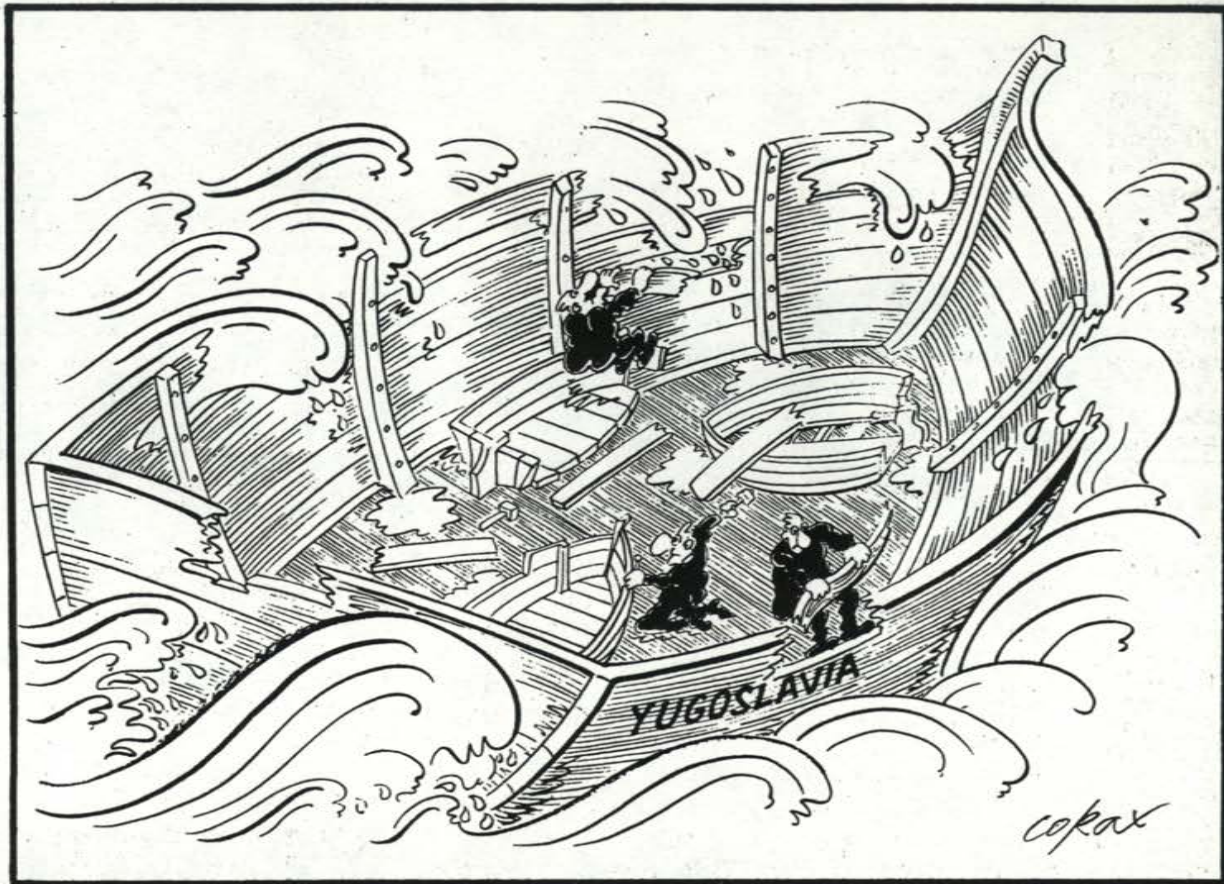
The world has yet to find an answer to the end of empire. No one regretted empires' going, but no one appreciated the ruins they would leave behind.

Three great empires were destroyed by World War I, the Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman and Russian. Four more fell as a consequence of World War II. Most of the people who were subjects of those empires have probably lived worse lives since. Most have not even been free, despite their "national liberation."

The people of Balkan and Eastern Europe expected to be better off with the Hapsburgs and Ottomans gone. Whether they eventually will be so is not yet possible to say. Stalinism froze them in totalitarianism for a half-century.

The fundamental condition of this region is of nationalism without nations. Nowhere are national boundaries solidly established, universally recognized, coterminous with the geographical implantation of particular peoples: singular ethnic and language communities which consider themselves nations. Poland is perhaps the closest — after vast killings and population transfers — but there still are ethnic Germans in Poland and trouble about them. Hungary is itself coherent as a nation, but a large number of Hungarians live in Romania, and some in Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia is breaking down because of its national contradictions. Woodrow Wilson's idea had been that ex-imperial Balkan and Eastern Europe, and the Middle East, could be parceled out into distinct nations. Millennia of westward migrations by the European peoples, however, had left the region in such a condition that was impossible: so eventually everything had to be approximation. The situation was worsened by romantic nationalisms that held a given nation to possess a redemptive mission to mankind and



Corax—Borba, Belgrade, Yugoslavia

thus to be superior to others.

The United States and the European democracies have decided to oppose the current breakup of Yugoslavia and they have refused to give recognition to Slovenia's and Croatia's independence. This is a defensible policy which rests on the belief that to do otherwise would speed the disintegration not only of Yugoslavia, but of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, bringing unforeseeable and frightening risks.

In Yugoslavia, however, this Western policy encourages Serbia to use force to hold the two dissident nations inside the union. Hence it encourages violence, even though

Washington and all the European governments are doing their best to make the Yugoslavs negotiate their crisis.

But Yugoslavia was an artificial grouping of nations from the start. Conflict was built into it because of the country's three hostile religions (Orthodox, Catholic, Muslim) and the ancient Serbo-Croatian rivalry that the new Yugoslavia internalized. As Paul Lendvai remarked in the journal *International Affairs* this spring, "Yugoslavia is a country without Yugoslavs." Only 5 percent of the population so identified itself in the 1981 census. The rest identify themselves with the individual

republics or as Muslims.

If the several Yugoslav nations will not coexist, then their separation has to be negotiated — or adjudicated. It is a fact to remember that more Yugoslavs died during World War II fighting one another than fighting against the German and Italian occupying armies.

An important proposal has recently been made by the former justice minister of France, Robert Badinter, now head of the French constitutional court. He argues that the international community should do its best to get not only these Yugoslav disputes of sovereignty and territory, but also the much wider

The Sun July 1, 1991

This is what rescued
Armen said then
and do now



Another of the many rescued allied fliers.

" . . . Among the hundreds of eyewitnesses, all American heroes of the air, coming from different parts of our country, who have had direct contact with what I have called the forgotten army of General Mihailovich, perhaps Lt. John N. Scroggs, of Kansas City, has voiced their sentiments best. 'Those of us who know the real circumstances in Serbia', writes Lieutenant Scroggs, 'are enraged at the unfair attacks against the Chetniks and their leaders. If only someone could open the poor blind eyes of the spoiled American public, a wonderful group of people might receive their due recognition. Unfortunately, those of us who lived with these people are few and far between but believe you me, never will we forget how the men and women of Serbia unquestioningly risked their very lives for us, fed us, clothed us, and gave us shelter when they themselves were ill-clad, cold, and hungry * * * I vowed to myself that if I could ever possibly repay those people for all they had done for me, I wouldn't hesitate to do so. I suffer with them, in their present plight, and in the injustices rendered to them by the American press as well as the American and British Governments . . .'"

(Senator Hugh Butler, February 12, 1944)



In the plane departing for Bari, Italy.

4

"... Different zones of military operations will become different spheres of influence. One of the consequences of the agreements negotiated at Teheran is that Yugoslavia has lost her independence, just as Poland has; that for the first time in modern history British influence has been eliminated from the Balkans (with the exception of Greece); that the balance of power in Europe has not been restored by the war; and that new gigantic problems have been created for Great Britain."

(Hon. Burton K. Wheeler in the Senate, March 29, 1945)



3

"... Of all the dirt thrown at Mihailovich for more than a year, not one spot has stuck. Not one of the charges against him has been proved. He emerges as a man of exceptional foresight, of iron courage and conviction, of purest patriotism, and of unstained honor . . ."

(Hon. Burton K. Wheeler in the Senate, March 29, 1945)

Preparing for departure—Pranjani, August 12, 1944



*Rescued Fliers brought by Peasants and Chetniks to
the Supreme Headquarters*

"... By the middle of this summer the number of airmen gathered around Mihailovich's headquarters amounted to several hundred, and the problem for the general was how to return them safely back to their respective units in Italy. As it was practically impossible to reach the sea-coast through the occupied country General Mihailovich's men built an air field in southwestern Serbia, near the village of Pr——, on which the American planes could land in order to evacuate their comrades. With no bulldozers and modern equipment at their disposal, Mihailovich's men built this air field by the use of their bare hands and what primitive equipment they possessed.

"On July 17, I was informed by General Mihailovich that the airfield was completed, and that they were ready to receive the American transport planes. He stated that his army would take full protection of the landing and evacuation operations. The next day I conveyed this information to the proper authorities in Washington, who in turn made the further necessary arrangements with General Mihailovich's airfield and evacuated the first group of 254 airmen. Further evacuation continued, until all were brought safely home . . ."

(Senator Hugh Butler, February 12, 1944)

Shall This Be His Monument?

40

JOURNAL—AMERICAN
New York, N. Y.

APRIL 27, 1946.



Shall This Be His Monument?

can and British support, in arms and funds and advisers, were sent to him.

Gen. Billy Mitchell's sister was in Yugoslavia, the close friend and adviser of Mihailovic. American flyers aided him.

Yet, suddenly he was dropped. He was dropped by Great Britain and the United States. They withdrew their friendship and support. They smeared his name. They associated him with the Nazi.

The reason for this unscrupulous betrayal of a noble hero was that by the Tehran and Yalta, agreements, Yugoslavia was put in the Russian sphere of influence.

Yugoslavia, which stood up more manfully than many greater and more powerful European nations against Nazi enslavement, was, by order of her friends and allies and the so-called liberty-loving countries, forced to accept Russian enslavement.

Josip Broz, a Communist, once a soldier in the Russian Red Army, now called Tito, became the agent of Soviet imperialism in Yugoslavia.

And the United States and Great Britain permitted the enslavement by recognizing and aiding Tito.

MIHAILOVIC was sacrificed to a deal.

Like Robert Bruce, he took to the hills. He and his Chetniks continued the struggle for the liberty of their people.

As during the war, they had rebelled against German enslavement. so after V-E Day they rebelled against Russian enslavement.

Americans have always loved the man who loved freedom, who gave his life for the liberty of his people.

Mihailovic has now been caught by Tito in a Bosnian cave, a wreck of a man, tired, despairing, hopeless.

Shall we, after Tito has shot him erect a monument to his memory as we have erected monuments to other heroes in the battle for liberty? To Pulaski and Kosciusko?

Shall we hold requiems for him after Tito has slaughtered him?

Or shall we speak now, today, for justice and the right?

When Mihailovic is no more, let it not be said that his blood is upon America—that Americans deserted and forgot a friend,

WHEN the Allied cause was at its lowest ebb and Russia was still in alliance with Germany. Draja Mihailovic aroused his countrymen to fight for their liberty.

It was 15,000,000 poorly armed, heroic Yugoslavs against what at that moment seemed to be a conquering, victorious Germany.

So enthusiastic was all the anti-Nazi world that Ralph Ingersoll, to mention one American journalist, wrote on March 28, 1941:

"There is a great happiness in the world today—and the Yugoslavs have made it . . . Adolph Hitler did not make a single mistake and yet he has lost. He lost because the common people, the plain people of Yugoslavia love liberty more than

they fear death. That is a very large statement—that when the Yugoslavs overthrew their appeasing Government they proved that they loved liberty more than they feared death . . ."

The hero of this liberty-loving movement was Draja Mihailovic, leader of the patriotic Chetniks. He inspired his people, almost with bare hands, to resist.

The civilized world applauded his courage and daring.

TIME passed. Hitler attacked Soviet Russia. Stalin became the ally of the United States and Great Britain.

The focus changed from liberty to power, from democracy to the Big Three.

Yet Mihailovic carried on. Ameri-



'Saved Us, We'll Save Him, Is Veterans' Slogan

(See Picture Section.)

BY WILLIAM KERR.

"He saved our lives. We'll save his!"

With that purpose, a group of American fliers today had banded together to help Gen. Draja Mihailovic, leader of Yugoslavia's Chetnik army.

Ten men met in the Stevens Hotel last night at the invitation of Mitchell Ducich of Gary, Ind., president of the Serbian National Defense Council of America, praised Mihailovic and the Chetniks and took three steps:

1—Adopted the slogan: "He saved our lives. We'll save his" as the rallying cry for 432 Yank airmen who owe Mihailovic their lives.

2—Agreed to contact all by telephone, telegram or special delivery letter and seek their permission for the local group to act in the name of all.

3—Took initial steps to have Mihailovic, reportedly under arrest by Yugoslavia's communist-

YANKS SHOW GRATITUDE . . . American airmen who were snatched from Nazi clutches in Yugoslavia during war pledge effort to save their rescuer, Gen. Mihailovic, from Red trial farce. Displaying slogan at Stevens Hotel rally are (from left) John Scroggs, Kansas City; Robert Eckman, David O'Connell, Don Parkerson, John Fox, Peoria; Capt. Nick Lalich, Cleveland; Fred Zuecher, Milwaukee; William Rogers, Manteno; Thomas Pettigrew, David Labissoniers, Milwaukee; Del Salmon, Charles Gracz, Neal Janosky, Milwaukee.

controlled puppet leader, Marshal Tito, tried before an allied tribunal. The general has been accused by Tito of treason.

ACCUSES TITO, REDS.

Capt. Nick Lalich of Cleveland, O., former Office of Strategic Services leader in Yugoslavia, who

personally evacuated 432 Americans, charged that Tito had demanded of the M. S. State Department that no help be given Yank airmen "because it would mean delivery of rifles and ammunition to the Chetniks."

He also charged:

"Somewhere along the line, perhaps even in our own State

Continued on Page 2, Column 7.

A PARTIAL COLLECTION OF PRESS CLIPPINGS COMPILED BY THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF AMERICAN AIRMEN TO AID GEN. DRAZA MIHAILOVICH AND THE SERBIAN PEOPLE, FOR OUR TRIP TO WASHINGTON, D. C. PUBLISHED IN CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, APRIL 27, '46.

AIRMEN'S EFFORTS AND INTERVIEWS:

U.S. MILITARY MISSION AND OSS OFFICERS VIEWS:

EDITORIALS, COLUMNISTS, FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS:



"I'M ALIVE TODAY BECAUSE OF MIHAILOVIC—HE'S NO TRAITOR," SAYS CHICAGOAN Former flier, David J. O'Connell Jr. (1) defends Yugoslav leader (2). (Photo of Yanks and Chetniks taken during war rescue.)

OUR MOTTO:

HE SAVED OUR LIVES,
WE'LL SAVE HIS!

TEMPORARY HDQTS:
ROOM 907,
5 N. WABASH AVE.
CHICAGO, 2, ILL.

Flier Tells Rescue by Gen. Mihailovic

"Gen. Mihailovic is not traitor in my book—not after saving my life and the lives of at least 190 other Americans I know about. I think he's getting a raw deal and I'd like to help him. I'm willing to go back to Yugoslavia if it would do him any service."

The speaker was David J. O'Connell Jr., 24, who, seated in the home of his parents at 7553 S. Union av., early today, defended the leader of the Chetniks who is under arrest as a "traitor" and is being held by the forces of his rival, Marshal Tito.

Gen. Mihailovic is facing death; some reports say he already is dead.

FORCED TO BAIL OUT.

O'Connell, former staff sergeant with the Army Air Forces, was forced to parachute from his plane with other crewmen over Yugoslavia, June 6, 1944.

He told how, when briefed, they had been supplied with money and told to expect Marshal Tito's men to help if they landed in their territory.

Instead, O'Connell went on, it was Gen. Mihailovic's men who saved them, kept them under

cover, moved them from village to village, and finally assembled the group of some 190.

GUARDED RESCUE PLANES.

Gen. Mihailovic's men had carved an air strip, out of a meadow. On the night of Aug. 10, 1944, with Chetniks standing guard, American planes swooped in, took the Yanks aboard and returned them to bases in Italy.

O'Connell was lavish in his praise of the Chetniks and Gen. Mihailovic, whom he remembered as a "robust, active, determined man."

The Chetniks, O'Connell said, fought the Germans, "indicating they certainly weren't traitors."

The former sergeant said Gen. Mihailovic was asked why he was fighting Tito as well as the Germans. The general replied simply, O'Connell said, "because Tito is fighting me."

GENERAL DRAGOLJUB (DRAZA) MIHAILOVICH HONORED BY ALLIED AIRMEN ON AMERICAN SOIL

The 44th anniversary of the tragic death of General Dragoljub Mihailovich had a very special significance this year for the Serbian people and allied airmen he rescued during World War II.

On Sunday, July 15, a plaque honoring General Mihailovich was dedicated by the allied airmen at the Serbian Orthodox Chapel and cemetery in Colma, California, a suburb of San Francisco.

Opening the dedication ceremony was a procession of the clergy led by His Eminence, Metropolitan Iriney who flew in from Chicago to offer his blessings on this historic occasion.

Also in attendance were hundreds of members of California's Serbian community and many World War II airmen from the United States, Canada, Great Britain and Poland. Those in uniform stood at attention while six Serbian Orthodox priests, dressed in their multi-colored vestments said prayers and a small choir sang Serbian hymns.

An honor guard consisting of personnel and flags from dif-

ferent allied nations was also present throughout the ceremony.

Unveiling the handsome bronze plaque was Squadron Leader Norman Reid of the Royal Canadian Air Force representing the allied airmen and retired United States Air Force Major Richard Felman representing the American airmen. Over 700 American and allied airmen were rescued by General Mihailovich, the Chetniks and

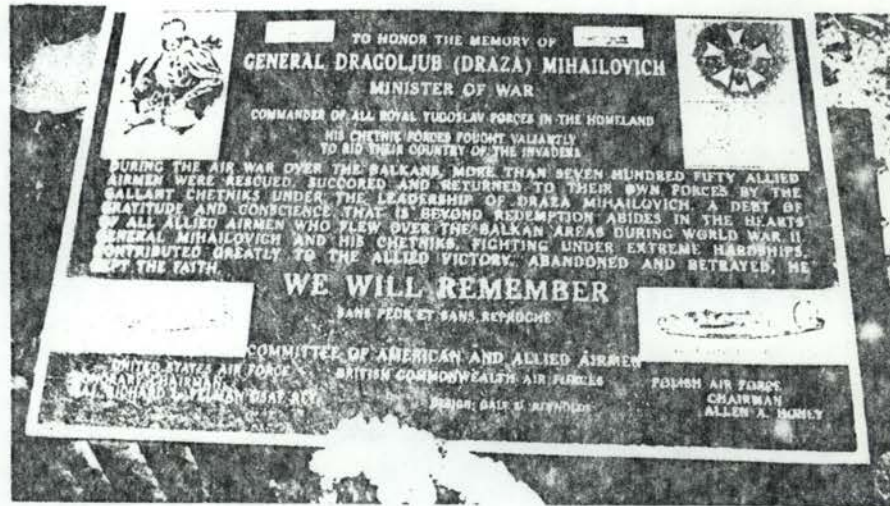
the Serbian people during World War II.

At the conclusion of the solemn ceremony a Chetnik bugler, Stevan Kakarigi, blew Serbian taps and Teodor Manjuk, a Polish army veteran, blew American taps.

After the dedication a dinner commemorating this historic day was held at the Hyatt Hotel in Palo Alto at which His Eminence Metropolitan Iriney gave the benediction.

Besides the stirring speeches given by a number of distinguished guests, it was an opportunity for many emotional reunions between the Chetniks and allied airmen, many of whom had not seen each other since they fought together in the Serbian hills during World War II.

Major Richard Felman
USAF (Ret)



A Plaque for General Dragoljub Mihailovich in Colma, Cal.

Mihailovich Monument Underway in Minnesota Funding Drive Begins

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Photos above, from left to right:

Major General Donald Smith, USAF-Ret.
Chairman, National Committee of American Airmen Rescued by General Mihailovich, Inc.

Major Richard Feldman, USAF-Ret.
President, National Committee of American Airmen Rescued by General Mihailovich, Inc.



The crew of the Lucky Strike were shot down over Nazi-occupied Yugoslavia on April 15, 1944. Rescued by General Mihailovich's forces, they were safely returned to Italy.

COMING EVENTS

1991 BOWLING TOURNAMENT

- October 25-27
- St. Simeon Mirotocivi Church
- South Chicago, IL

SOCA SEMINAR

—Dates to be announced

Bosnia melting pot simmers with fear

Laura Silber in Sarajevo finds the capital rife with rumours and paralysed by panic

THE price of grenades has fallen from DM150 (\$60) to DM20 over the past week in Sarajevo, the capital of the Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The peace agreement between Serbs, Croats and Moslems is not what has reduced the price. It is that supplies of weapons are now more abundant as the fear of civil war permeates the city.

Sarajevo's inhabitants are on the verge of panic. All flights out of the city are fully booked. Rumours abound - Serbs have massacred three Moslems, the Moslems have killed a Serb baby.

Last night, Moslems for the second night in a row massed in fear amid rumours that Serbs were marching on the capital.

The medley of minarets and church spires in Basarsija, the old Turkish bazaar, was once seen as a monument to peace among the republic's Slavic, Moslems, Serbs and Croats. But the image of Sarajevo as Yugoslavia's melting pot has been destroyed.

Everyone now seems to be armed. On the streets young men jump out of VW Golfs, toting machine guns and hunting rifles. They vow to defend their homes. Many are wearing maroon berets and military uniforms. They are all prepared for another cold night on the barricades.

All the self-styled protectors blame someone else for the crisis. A Serb blames the Moslems, the Croats and the European Community. Moslems say Serb leaders are destroying Bosnia. But all sides agree that a conflict in Bosnia would be much bloodier and more brutal than the war in Croatia, which claimed at least 10,000 lives.

"Croatia is a gentle mother compared to what would happen here. God forbid it ever



Moslem mourners at a traditional funeral in Sarajevo carry the coffin of 17 year-old Kenan Demirovic, who died in last weekend's clashes between Serbs and Moslems in the capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina

starts in Bosnia," said one Serb gunman sipping Turkish coffee at a barricade on the road to Pale, a Serb village which lies amid snow-flecked mountains eight miles from Sarajevo. His comrades laugh, not unkindly, when a gun goes off and I look frantically for cover.

On another road Paja, a Moslem and a towering bear of a

man, warns of a massacre if the Serb-dominated federal army tries to take over Bosnia. "Bosnia is not like Croatia. We have got mountains, tunnels and bridges. We can stop the army very easily. We can block them, destroying the tunnels and bridges. Tanks can't fly," he says, directing his men to take up positions.

Bosnian television desperately appeals for calm. The president of Bosnia says people should step outside and enjoy the sunshine. But in this climate of deepening hysteria, the president's appeal is seen as a veiled call to arms.

Back in the safety of my hotel I ask a man for a light. He pulls out a revolver. His

friends, gesturing with their own pistols, laugh.

Outside gunshots pierce the twilight in Sarajevo's neighbourhoods, where Serbs live across the street from Moslems who live next door to Croats, people prepare for another night of uncertainty. Others head towards the barricades or the airport.

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For Mrs. Bentley

3 streets

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Vance mission to calm Bosnia tensions

By Laura Silber in Sarajevo

MR Cyrus Vance, the United Nations special envoy, yesterday returned to Yugoslavia in an emergency mission to calm ethnic tensions among the three main national groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Mr Vance's mission follows a weekend referendum in which Moslems and Croats, who make up 71 per cent of the population, voted to break away from Yugoslavia. The remainder, Serbs, refuse to leave the remnants of the Yugoslav federation.

Mr Vance was expected to arrive in Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia, today after meeting

Serbian and Yugoslav army leaders in Belgrade, the Serbian and federal capital. Sarajevo was designated the headquarters for UN peacekeepers, but many fear the tensions in Bosnia could jeopardise the UN initiative to despatch 14,000 peacekeepers to neighbouring Croatia.

Barricades have been erected, intermittently disrupting Sarajevo, as well as Visoko, Pale and Romanija, predominantly Serb villages outside the capital. But federal armoured vehicles yesterday rumbled through the city to prevent militants from blocking main roads. Joint

police and army patrols were part of the peace agreement reached late on Tuesday night which staved off the threat of open warfare between Serbs and Moslems.

A statement yesterday from the Serb headquarters, however, said: "People here have lost faith in the possibility of a political agreement with the Moslem people."

In northern Bosnia an agreement yesterday between Serb and Croat political parties was reported to have halted fighting in Bosanski Brod, where 60 mortar bombs hit the town in an overnight attack.

The 33,000 population of the town, which borders Croatia, is 41 per cent Croat and 33 per cent Serb. Most spent Tuesday night in underground shelters.

Radio Sarajevo reported two people were killed on Tuesday night in Gacko, southern Bosnia.

● The Commonwealth of Independent States, itself beset by ethnic turbulence, has decided to send 900 volunteers to join UN peacekeeping forces in Yugoslavia, Leyla Boulton writes from Moscow.

Colonel Viktor Loginov, an Afghan veteran, will command the infantry battalion made up of elite paratroopers.

FINANCIAL TIMES
March 5/92

Police, army patrol Sarajevo streets

SARAJEVO, Yugoslavia (AP) — In an effort to prevent more ethnic violence, police teamed up with the Serbian-dominated army yesterday to patrol streets that separate Serbian and Muslim neighbourhoods in the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo. U.N. envoy Cyrus Vance said in Belgrade said the violence in Bosnia-Herzegovina will not affect the scheduled deployment of thousands of U.N. peacekeepers this month.

TORONTO STAR
March 5/92

Tense peace proclaimed

SARAJEVO, Yugoslavia — In a bid to prevent more ethnic violence, police teamed up with the Serbian-led army yesterday to patrol streets that separate Orthodox Serbian and Muslim neighbourhoods in Sarajevo. United Nations envoy Cyrus Vance said the scattered violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina will not affect the scheduled deployment of thousands of UN peacekeepers this month. And Bosnia's Muslim president, Alija Izetbegovic, expressed confidence that a tense peace among Muslims, Serbs and Croats will hold. AP

Globe & Mail
March 5/92

From : M-D FIUAC - RC SAD

PHONE No. : 414 453 1209

Feb. 27 1992 7:16PM F02

Dear President Bush:

You have been entrusted with an enormous responsibility: thousands, perhaps millions of innocent human beings may have to live and die in chaos, if you don't recognize Croatia. Surely, by now you have recognized numerous acts of aggression, pro-



paganda, hideous lies and distortions Milosevic is enforcing (while) Imitating Hitler, Stalin and Saddam.

Hitler's demands "All Germans in one country" was met by a policy of appeasement and neglect. Broadcasting on Sept. 27, 1938 Chamberlain said: "How horrible, fantastic, incredible it is that we should be digging trenches and trying gas masks here because of a quarrel in a faraway country between people of whom we know nothing."

On Sept. 30, 1938, Germany, United Kingdom, France and Italy signed the "Munich Agreement", thus collectively gave a blessing to Hitler's intention to occupy Czechoslovakia. In order to "protect" the Sudeten Germans.

On Aug. 31, 1939, a fictitious "Polish" assault on a German radio station at Gleiwitz resulted in Hitler's invasion of Poland Sept. 1, 1939.

Sept. 17, 1939, Stalin to "liberate and protect" Ukrainian and white Russian minorities began occupation of Poland.

On Nov. 30, 1939, the Russians invented a lie that the Finns had fired on a Russian border patrol, bombed Helsinki to "liberate the Finns from

their capitalistic oppressors."

"No one has ever achieved what I have achieved", boasted a madman, Hitler, prior to attacking and conquering most of Europe, in his "historical mission to protect"

Half a century later, Milosevic, the fourth aggressor of the 20th century, is killing the Croatian population, burning and destroying sacral and secular monuments, schools and hospitals throughout Croatia to "protect" Serbian minority and here we should not forget only recently Milosevic declared "wherever the Serbs live, there is Serbia."

Would ardent megalomaniac Milosevic stop if you let him conquer Croatia? Would Hitler or Saddam ever have stopped?

According to the contemporary sources, the Croats inhabited the same territory from 7th century A.D. and become an independent kingdom during the 10th century. Please do not duplicate Chamberlain's and his contemporaries error, and let Croatia disappear at the end of the 20th century.

I beg of you to visualize the triumphant Chamberlain returning to London, waving the text of the "Munich pact" announcing "peace in our time".

One "peace in our time" is one too many.

I, and millions of concerned and terrified individuals appeal to you: please use the position of your office to save Croatia from complete destruction.

•Barbara Seselj, MA/Lodge 638
Windsor, Ont., Canada

ZAJEDNICA
Feb. 19, 1992

Croatia Accepts Peacekeepers

2/11
The Croatian government issued a communique Tuesday on the sessions of Feb. 9 and 11, stating that "the Croatian government has decided not to undertake any new obligations outside of the basic framework established by the U.N. peacekeeping plan, since through various interpretations of the Peacekeeping plan and certain provisions, there have been attempts to impose new obligations upon the Croatian side." The communique also stated that "Resolution 740 has rejected the unfounded accusations of the alleged obstruction of the U.N. peacekeeping plan by the Croatian government", adding that "the Republic of Croatia accepts the deployment of the United Nations peacekeeping forces as one of the methods of ensuring peace and stability in the temporarily occupied territories of Croatia."

The government pointed out that the Republic of Serbia and the Yugoslav Army undertook obligations to force the insurgent Serbian leaders to accept the U.N. peacekeeping plan. The Croatian government demands that Serbia and the Yugoslav Army be requested to fulfil the obligations they have undertaken.

During today's discussion on the U.N. Security Council Resolution 740, Minister Dražen Budiša resigned from his position in the Croatian government.

In order to facilitate the peacekeeping efforts, the government instructed the Ministry of Justice and Administration to prepare a draft document for the forming of a Croatian Government Office for the U.N. Peacekeeping Operation before the next governmental session.

The Croatian government expressed its expectation that the United Nations, the U.N. Security Council, and the Peace Conference, chaired by Lord Carrington, will take into consideration, in all their future mediation efforts, the fact that Croatia and other countries of the former Yugoslavia have been internationally recognized. In accordance to this, the government demands that all of the aforementioned institutions respect the Opinion No. 3 of the Peace Conference Arbitration Committee, which established that the borders of the Republic of Croatia, set after the second World War, are considered state borders according to international law.

Croatia Recognizes Macedonia

2/11
In Tuesday's session, the Croatian government decided to suggest to the Croatian Parliament that it recognize the Republic of Macedonia as a independent state in its existing constitutional borders.
... establish the Embassy of the Republic

From : M/D FIVAC - RC SAD

PHONE No. : 414 453 1289

Feb. 27 1992 7:21PM P04

ZAJEDNICAR / FEBRUARY 19, 1992 / PAGE 25

News From The Old Homeland

(The following news items were sent by the Ministry of Information, Republic of Croatia.)

Croatia Clarifies Warplane Purchases

Croatian officials denied allegations that the Croatian government has purchased or been responsible for the purchasing of warplanes. Croatian Air Force Brigadier Milan Maček denied allegations lodged in the February 11th article of *The Guardian* titled "Official admits to arms-buying spree since EC recognition last month." The article claims that "the republic has bought combat aircraft abroad and its procurement of ground and anti-aircraft has soared since the European Community recognized Croatia's independence." He continued by saying, "we started our defense empty-handed. We established our army, seizing weapons from the Yugoslav Army".

Brigadier Maček, in a press conference on Monday, February 10th, speaking about the plans of the Croatian Air Force said, "we expect in the near future to have combat aircraft in the Croatian Air Force." Clarifying his comments, he explained that in his judgement the arms embargo will be lifted within one month, and this would allow Croatia's legal purchase of weapons and warplanes.

Referring to rumors of Hungary's alleged involvement in arms transportation to Croatia, *The Guardian* article falsely quotes President Tudjman as saying that arms were flowing into Croatia "via Hungary and via a great many other countries." What President Tudjman had actually said was: "Croatia had to obtain arms, but most certainly not from Hungary, and not with the official blessing of the Croatian and Hungarian governments." Referring to unofficial arms transports via Hungary or any other country, he said that this is "a different matter" and gave no confirmation that arms transports had taken place.

Asked if Croatia is, at this stage, stronger and more able to defend itself, President Tudjman responded, "We are... Because we succeeded to constitute a Croatian Army, because all Croatian people were ready to fight for freedom, for Croatian territorial integrity, and for the Croatian future."

Tudjman Explains Peacekeeping Role

Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman sent a letter today to Mr. Cyrus Vance, the Personal Envoy of the U.N. Secretary General, responding to concerns about the official Croatian position on the U.N. peacekeeping plan. Mr. Vance had sent a letter to President Tudjman on Monday, February 10, expressing concern after news reports had claimed that the Croatian President has renewed objection to the U.N. plan. President Tudjman's letter reads:

Dear Mr. Vance,

In replying to your letter faxed to me on February 10, 1992, I would like to reiterate the view presented in my letter on February 6, 1992, i.e. that Croatia fully accepts all the terms of reference of the Peace Plan of the U.N. Secretary General, which also includes our complete and unconditional acceptance of Paragraph 19, Annex III, of the report of the Secretary General of December 11, 1991.

I take advantage of this opportunity to explain some of my comments presented in the interview given to the reporters of the *Washington Post* and the *Guardian* on Feb. 8, 1991.

In this interview I wanted to emphasize that the Peace Plan also envisages the signing of "agreements concerning the status, immunity and facilities to be used by the operation and its members in the implementation of their missions, and particularly concerning the complete freedom of movement and communication." This means that such agreements have to resolve a number of technical questions related to the normalization of life in these areas— from traffic, trade, banking, protection of property, maintenance of public law and order, to the return of the refugees and the reconstruction of their homes— and similar questions meant to contribute to the full success of the peace-keeping operation, in order to implement the Draft Convention on the Final Settlement of Nov. 4, 1991, and to provide for a successful and fast completion of the Peace Conference, and also suggested in item 9 of the Report of the U.N. Secretary General of Feb. 4, 1992.

Thereby the Republic of Croatia is not making any new requirements but, rather, expects that these matters be regulated between the U.N. and the Republic of Croatia in the agreements mentioned under Items 6 and 1 of the Peace Plan.

Very respectfully yours,
Dr. Franjo Tudjman

11 27 12 Feb, 92 ?

ECONOMIC REFORMS IN EAST EUROPE

Yugoslavian premier claims support

By Judy Dempsey, East Europe Correspondent

MR Ante Markovic, the Yugoslav prime minister, has claimed the support of western governments for his economic reforms and his attempts to hold the country together, in the face of growing international opposition.

Some of the Yugoslav republics, notably Croatia and Serbia, remain determined to topple him. They will try to do so again on Friday when Mr Markovic will ask the federal parliament who is for or against the reforms.

Despite this dark shadow hanging over his future, Mr Markovic remains an optimist.

"We have succeeded in passing through this difficult period. The recent pledge of support - particularly from the United States and the European Community - means that Yugoslavia now has a greater chance at becoming integrated eventually into Europe," he said.

President George Bush last month sent a letter to Mr Markovic, backing his reforms.

In an interview with the Financial Times in London, where he is attending the inauguration of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Mr Markovic, prime minister for the past two years, said that without western support, the country would disintegrate.

"Such a Yugoslavia is in no western government's interest. For some time, western gov-

ernments adopted a 'see no evil' attitude. This played into the hands of separatists who have exploited this lack of western support for the federal government. It would have isolated Yugoslavia completely from Europe, and from the main financial institutions which are necessary for the reforms to succeed."

Mr Markovic admitted that his reforms have had little effect over the past year. His attempts to impose a strict monetary policy have been undermined by Serbia which earlier this year printed money to prop up loss-making enterprises. Other republics were imposing higher taxes on enterprises to finance their budgets.

"Under these circumstances, capital investment was cut back and industrial production was falling. It will fall a further 20 per cent this year," he said.

Earnings from tourism, which total \$2bn a year, are likely to plummet following a spate of ethnic unrest, the virtual collapse of JAT, the Yugoslav airline, and overpriced hotels and restaurants.

Mr Markovic believes that the present struggle waged by some of the republics against the federal government is not about whether Yugoslavia should remain a federation, or a confederation of loose states.

"This comparison is merely a facade. A struggle against the

reforms is taking place. It is a struggle for power - and especially totalitarian power, which caused a great setback for the reforms. We are now paying for it."

Mr Markovic believes the reforms are being hampered, not only by nationalism, but by the absence of clearly defined property rights.

Last year, he had planned to replace socially owned property, a nebulous system devised by the late President Tito which placed property outside the hands of the state and individuals. "The basic conflict now is between those who support and oppose private ownership," he said.

The republic of Croatia, for instance, wants to transfer socially-owned property to the state, while the republic of Serbia is against individual ownership rights.

"The new governments know that if they support private ownership, they will lose their power. That is why they want to have property in the hands of the state," he said.

Mr Markovic added that "sooner or later, the republics will have to address why state property is inefficient. If it was not, then the other countries in eastern Europe would not be trying to move state property into private ownership. Without this kind of ownership, we will not be able to develop democracy."



Ante Markovic: wit