

President's April 5/91

# Yugoslav army tries to stay out of politics

By Judy Dempsey

YUGOSLAVIA'S army, often perceived as the loyal supporter of Mr Slobodan Milosevic, the communist President of Serbia, appears to be distancing itself from the country's politicians by its intervention in the westerly republic of Croatia.

General Vojko Kadezovic, the defence minister, sent troops and reinforcements into Croatia on Sunday to prevent the conflict between Croats and Serbs, the country's two largest ethnic groups, from escalating into large-scale violence.

A week ago, ethnic Serbs attempted to take over Croatia's tourist resort of Plovice. Croatian police ousted the Serbs, but the army stepped in after two people were killed.

Constitutionally, the army is under the command of the collective presidency, which consists of representatives from the six republics and two prov-

...residency met ... on Sun- ... about the

...appears frustrated by the lack of unity, combined with the growing sense of paralysis in the presidency.

It was particularly confirmed by a statement by Mr Milan Babic, the nationalist leader of the ethnic Serbs in the region of Krajina in Croatia, who told Belgrade Radio that the ethnic Serbs had been promised weapons by Mr Milosevic.

If this is true, it confirms earlier suspicions that the rebellion by ethnic Serbs in Croatia has had the Serbian leader's full support. Serbs make up 11 per cent of Croatia's 4.5m population.

Last year Mr Babic declared Krsjina independent from Croatia and he now supports the idea that other ethnic Serb areas in Croatia should be united with Serbia, thus bringing the idea of a Greater Serbia closer to reality.

The Serbian parliament said on Monday it would support the Serbs in Croatia but failed to take the opportunity to endorse the unity of Serbia with Serb-inhabited regions in Croatia.

Yugoslav analysts said the army was not prepared to stand by as heavily-armed ethnic Serbs and Croats confronted each other, particularly since this could spill into neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina in which Croat, Serb and Moslem communities co-exist.

The army has given no indication how long it will remain in Croatia. Its presence denies Mr Milosevic a greater opportunity to provoke ethnic unrest in the republic.

But it may also increase resentment among Mr Babic's supporters who appear determined to unite Serbs.

Moreover, the Croatian government, led by President Franjo Tudjman, continues to oppose any army presence in the republic, saying the military does not have the authority to intervene.

Mr Tudjman's ability to contain what are still local, but intense, ethnic conflicts is also called into question by the army involvement. Furthermore, Croats believe that the army is susceptible to Serbian influence because 70 per cent of the officer corps are Serbs.

The European Community yesterday urged Yugoslavia to remain united and warned against a breakup of the factious country into independent states, AP reports.

"We came here to support the process of democracy, unity and dialogue in Yugoslavia," said Mr Jacques Poos, the EC Council chairman, and Foreign Minister of Luxembourg.

Mr Poos said the Community would take measures to aid Yugoslavia in overcoming its worst political crisis since 1945. He also implied the Community might also consider writing off part of Yugoslavia's \$17bn foreign debt to help implement a programme of reforms to transform the Communist-style economy into a free-market one.

New York Times April 5/91

## Let Yugoslavs Settle Their Own Business

To the Editor:

Boro Dropulic says of the tendencies toward fragmentation in Yugoslavia that "the U.S. has made it clear to the Yugoslav Government that it would not sit idly by if the military disrupts the democratic evolution" ("Is There a Yugoslavia?", Op-Ed, March 22).

I am confident that those interested in Balkan affairs would like to know just what does it mean that the United States "would not sit idly by"? Intervene militarily in Yugoslav domestic matters? Or, just threaten and hope everybody gets scared and complies with our vision of what Yugoslavia should be like. Or, maybe just send some tanks to the Balkans now that they are nearby in the Arabian Peninsula?

Just what does Mr. Dropulic think the United States should do other than perhaps take sides, for example, Croatia's? No, Mr. Dropulic. Let the Yugoslavs clean up their own sordid mess. No foreign power can resolve something it does not really understand. We have tried that in the past and got burned. West Europeans are smart. They want no part of it.

As for the "instances of democratic reform in other republics," Mr. Dro-

pulic speaks about, let us look at the case of Croatia.

In the Croatian elections of 1990, only 55 percent of those eligible to vote exercised their right. Of that number, only 43 percent voted for the eventual winner. That in turn means that only 25 percent of the entire Croatian electorate voted for the current Croatian administration. More important, for unknown reasons, more than one million eligible Croatians did not vote at all.

Of great concern to the United States should be the people we would have to deal with should we take upon ourselves to solve the Yugoslav puzzle. Almost all of them are freshly recycled Communists, the Serbs, the Croats, the Slovenes, the lot.

No, Mr. Dropulic, let the Yugoslavs take care of their own business. Let them work on their problems, produce new, more acceptable leaders and then, and only then, the United States should try to assist. Our action now would do nothing but further divide this troubled country. Is this in the interest of the United States?

MICHAEL MENNARD

Reston, Va., March 22, 1991

The writer is a retired Foreign Service officer.

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For Mrs. Bentley - 3 sheets -

April 22/91

New York Times  
April 20/91

## Feuds Crippling Yugoslav Economy



AP/Wide World Photos

Yugoslavia's national airline, JAT, like its economy, has suffered because of feuding among the nation's six republics. Technical workers, who went on strike

because they had not received full paychecks, stood near grounded planes at the airport in Belgrade on Tuesday. The strike has since been settled.

By STEPHEN ENGELBERG

Special to The New York Times

**BELGRADE, Yugoslavia** — When the nations of Eastern Europe began their unsteady march toward a market economy in January 1990, Yugoslavia was regarded as having some of the best prospects. Many of its worker-managed factories were already exporting goods to Western Europe, and with the largest per-capita income in the region, Yugoslavia had the most prosperous domestic market.

These days, however, the economy

is a visible casualty of the feuding among the nation's six republics, and the disintegration has left its mark on the daily lives of most of the 23 million people in Eastern Europe's second-largest nation after Poland.

Hundreds of thousands of workers have not been paid in months, and many more have received only minimum wages from the rapidly growing number of insolvent companies. Strikes are breaking out all over the country. Unemployment is at 15 percent and rising. The drop in industrial output, 18.2 percent last year, has continued to accelerate in the first quarter of 1991. The currency is so

overvalued that many Yugoslavs shop for bargains in Austria and Switzerland.

No one knows how much damage has been done to Yugoslavia's reputation in the international marketplace. But the disarray is a cautionary tale for the Soviet Union and other countries, demonstrating the extent to which nationalist factions can disrupt the push for economic change.

For months, Western diplomats have been saying that the worsening economic picture was the best chance

Continued on Page 19

Regards



Continued From First Business Page

for forcing Yugoslavia's republics to put aside their differences.

But leaders of the nation's two largest republics, Serbia and Croatia, have decided instead to push for the ouster of Prime Minister Ante Markovic.

The issue was joined on Friday when Mr. Markovic announced a 30 percent devaluation of the Yugoslav dinar and presented his new economic plan to the national Parliament. At the outset of the reform program in 1991, the Government set an exchange rate of 7 dinars to the German mark. That was devalued to 9 in January 1991 and 13 dinars on Friday.

After some early successes, the main tenets of the economic "shock therapy" reforms — including wage controls, a fixed exchange rate, free trading of the Yugoslav dinar for Western currencies — were abandoned over the last half year.

Mr. Markovic contends that the economy can be rescued only with a renewed dose of shock therapy. But it is doubtful whether he has enough political influence left to win support for that sort of rigorous program.

Senior officials in the republics contend it is too late.

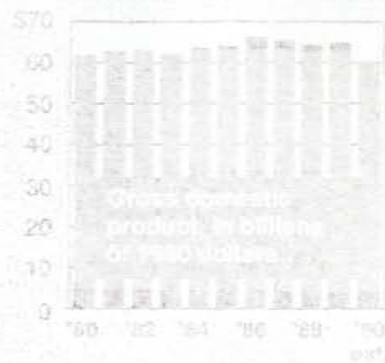
"Markovic still has hopes he can reimpose the stabilization program," said Jozse Mencinger, the economist who is vice president of the Yugoslav republic of Slovenia. "He should realize the country has already fallen apart. If you have a Government that cannot collect taxes, if you have a country in which borders can be established and customs duties imposed, it is, in economic terms, the end of the country."

## \$1 Billion Aid at Issue

If Mr. Markovic fails, the first likely consequence will be the withholding of a \$1 billion aid package from the International Monetary Fund.

For a few months last year, it looked as if Yugoslavia was on the road to economic takeoff. The initial phase of Mr. Markovic's economic program had reduced inflation from an annual rate of 2,463 percent at the end of December 1989 to a low of two-tenths of 1 percent in June 1991. It has

## The Troubled Economy of Yugoslavia



Source: *Zakonik*, World Bank



The New York Times

120 percent over the previous year.

Along with Poland, Yugoslavia was the first country in the region to allow its currency to be convertible, or freely traded for Western money like dollars and Deutsche marks. By mid-1990, Mr. Markovic succumbed to political pressure within the republics for relaxation of wage restrictions. With election campaigns under way, the leaders of the republics took full advantage, approving raises that reignited inflation.

Faced with a huge flight of money from dinars to Western currency, Yugoslavia last December became the first Eastern European country to retreat from convertibility. It devalued the dinar by 30 percent and cut off local banks from any of the remaining hard currency.

Federal officials say they had no choice. Savers had cut the nation's hard currency reserves in half, to \$3 billion, in months and the rate of withdrawals was accelerating. Still, some senior officials acknowledge that in slanting the currency window shut they hoped to build irresistible pressure on the republics to accept a new economic plan.

"The outcome is clear; we failed," said Ljubomir Madzar, an economist who is a member of the Federal Council of Economic Advisers. "We had to devalue. We had to suspend internal convertibility. All visible signs associated with the program have

as bad as when the program was launched."

The economic disarray here stems from both the legacy of the Communist years — primarily overvalued and inefficient management — and the open economic war among the nation's republics.

Federal officials attribute most of the blame to the republics, which in turn point the finger at purported flaws in the federal plan.

No one disputes that the republics have gone their own way for months. All withheld payment of federal taxes, and many funnel credits to businesses in politically volatile communities. (A strike this week of 700,000 workers in Serbia, for example, was settled when the republic's parliament voted to accede to all the demands for back wages.)

Serbia's President, Slobodan Milosevic, who was elected on a platform of preserving jobs and opposing privatization, is seen by federal officials as particularly prone to making concessions to workers. But they also blame the other republics, particularly Croatia, for such actions as the nationalization of leading industries.

## Economic Warfare

Political disputes have quickly turned economic in Yugoslavia. Serbia is boycotting goods from Slovenia, the richest republic, and recently imposed punitive taxes on goods coming

from the republics that own punitive taxes on goods from Slovenia, the richest republic, and recently imposed punitive taxes on goods coming

Most of the republics last year rejected the move to a new national banking system without implementation, with Serbia taking \$1.8 billion, by far the largest amount. "This is largely a man-made disaster," one Western diplomat said.

The effects ripple through every economic transaction, in Belgrade, which is both the capital of Yugoslavia and of Serbia, the bathrooms are now filled with the coarsest toilet paper that has always been characteristic of centrally planned economies elsewhere in the region. The reason: The company that makes Western-quality tissues is in Slovenia.

In a country once notable for its lack of queues, people now line up early in the morning at the banks in hope of getting access to some of the hard currency in their savings accounts. The few who succeed receive their precious dollars or Deutsche marks in plain brown wrappers.

Commerce has turned into an intricate game of robbing Peter to pay Paul. In addition to withholding workers' pay, companies take huge loans from banks to stay afloat. Managers delay payment on any bills they can, ballooning debts among businesses

New York Times  
April 22/91

### Albania Needs Humanitarian Aid Right Now

To the Editor:

"Not Too Late for Albanian Democracy" (editorial, April 2), urging encouragement for Albania from Western democracies, is to be commended, but is not enough. What Albania needs is not just moral support in its struggle toward democracy but real humanitarian help for food, medicine, and foreign investment.

So far only Italy has provided some minimal aid to Albania. The rest of the Western countries have pursued a policy of indifference, locked in a wall and see attitude. I don't know what it takes to convince them that Albania, after its first free elections in 88 years on March 31, is going toward real democracy. For this great transition

to take place, humanitarian aid is mandatory.

The United States should take the lead in helping Albania. After all, Albanian-American friendship dates from 1918, when President Woodrow Wilson defended Albania's territories and independence. President Wilson rescued Albania from being partitioned by neighboring countries.

Albania, although a small country in southeastern Europe, is important to the Western democracies and the United States. Stability and democratization in Albania should be encouraged and supported by all. Albania should be helped with humanitarian aid now.

MIRVET S. MUCA  
Sudbury, Conn., April 2, 1991





# Maryland

SECTION



SATURDAY

OCTOBER 3, 1992

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1992

## Bentley criticized by foe for work on behalf of Serbs

By Larry Carson  
Staff Writer

Michael C. Hickey Jr., who is waging an underdog campaign to unseat four-term incumbent U.S. Rep. Helen Delich Bentley, has demanded that she resign as president of Serb-Net Inc., a private Serbian-American public relations and lobbying group.

Mrs. Bentley, who helped found the group, said she is merely the honorary president and will not resign. She said she ceased being active president in June.

Mr. Hickey, a Harford County attorney and Democratic nominee in the second congressional race, also renewed charges yesterday that Mrs. Bentley is neglecting her local constituents and using her elected office to support Serbia's cause.

A five-person group calling them-

## SECOND

From 1B

group they are honorary president of."

"For your information I am in touch with the State Department on a daily basis to get this war stopped. I want peace there [in the former Yugoslavia] and I want everybody to have their human rights and their homes," she said, adding that anyone guilty of war crimes, Serb or not, should be tried by a war crimes tribunal and punished.

J.C. McClure, a Washington, D.C., woman who helped place the newspaper ad, charged that Mrs. Bentley has used her position to block U.S. actions against alleged Serbian aggression and raise money to enhance the Serbian regime's image in the United States.

"In mythology," the ad reads, "Medusa's glance turned people into stone. In Congress, Helen Delich Bentley's interference on behalf of Serbia helped turn Bosnia into rubble and Kosova into a prison."

The ad also charges that three of Serb-Net's 12 directors "represent various Chetnik organizations." Chetniks, it says, are linked with "terrorism, destruction, mass executions and the Nazi-like practice of ethnic cleansing."

Mrs. Bentley said the Serb-Net directors whose groups have the word "Chetnik" in their names are Americans of Serbian descent and have no links to any Serbian-Yugoslavian groups.

Mr. Hickey's charge that Mrs. Bentley is neglecting her constituents is partly based on a Serbian-American newspaper article paid for by the Bentley campaign. The article reads in part: "Serbs have only one voice in Congress — Helen Delich Bentley. She has sacrificed her career to promote and fight for Serbia and Serbs. . . . Mrs. Bentley has only two Serbs in her congressional district, yet she spends a majority of her time helping Serbs."

When asked about the article, Mrs. Bentley said, "Sometimes your friends kill you with love." She said the original text she supplied for the letter read: "Helen spends the majority of her time spent on foreign policy on Serbian issues."

Her supporter mistakenly left out the foreign policy qualification, changing the sentence's meaning, she said.

According to Federal Election Commission records, Mrs. Bentley has amassed more \$300,000 for her re-election campaign and has received at least \$80,000 from Serbian-Americans across the country.



selves The Maryland Coalition to Stop Ethnic Cleansing also has charged Mrs. Bentley with misusing her elected office. The group has paid for an advertisement scheduled to appear in

*The Sun* tomorrow.

Mrs. Bentley, who is of Serbian extraction, denied the allegations and said she has been present and voting at nearly every house roll call. She also said she routinely works 12 to 14 hours a day, and rarely misses committee sessions. If she must resign from Serb-Net Inc., she said, "Then every member of Congress would have to resign from every



# The Albanian Eagle

## Shqiponja Shqiptare

April 1990

Volume II, Number 1

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*Civic League President Joe DioGuardi meets with Dr. Ibrahim Rugova in Ljubljana, before visiting Belgrade and Kosova in February. Dr. Rugova is the founder of the Democratic Alliance, a new political party in Kosova attempting to bring democratic reforms to Yugoslavia.*

## THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

### *Eastern Europe Embraces Democracy: Will Yugoslavia Be Next?*

The long-suffering people of Eastern Europe have taken a first step towards introducing democratic governments and their timing could not be better. The Soviet grasp on Eastern Europe has been loosened and freedom loving people all across the region are forming democratic parties to gain constitutional control of their governments. Can it happen in Yugoslavia? Yes it can, but there is much work to be done.

The events in Eastern Europe have unfolded so rapidly that analysts are hard-pressed to determine when, where and if the democratic movement can be stopped. With the tumbling of the despised Ceaucescu regime in Romania, communist

states have seen their number dwindle considerably. Poland, Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and East Germany have all moved toward democratization. The "Red Tide" so long feared by the West has receded and leaves behind whole nations hungry to make economic and social changes for the fruition of a democratic government.

Slovenia and Croatia, the two most westernized Republics in the Yugoslavian Federation, attempted to begin the democratization of Yugoslavia with a call for multi-party elections. However, Serbia, the last bastion of communism in Yugoslavia, has staunchly resisted democratic reforms. It is evident that Serbian

President, Slobodan Milosevic, is content to follow communist doctrine at the expense of economic rejuvenation.

Slovenia walked out of the League of Communist Party Congress to protest Serbia's reluctance to adopt reform measures and has since moved to further embrace democratic movements. The fate of Yugoslavia hangs in the balance as democratic reformers attempt to break from the failed communist ways of the past. The next several months may prove to be the most dynamic in the history of Yugoslavia. It is, therefore, vital that ethnic Albanians participate fully in the reshaping of the Yugoslavian government. Theirs is a voice that must be heeded. □



## KOSOVA: FLAGSHIP OF DEMOCRACY

The world is changing fast. Democracy is succeeding with breathtaking speed in areas where only a few short months ago, the chains of communism exacted an unbearable burden upon the population. The masses in Eastern Europe are storming one Bastille after another. Walls are crumbling and gates are opening. The structures of the Eastern bloc are caving in, crushed by the weight of their own deceit.

In Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Romania and East Germany, the new day has already dawned. Spurred by the promise of democracy, tens of millions of people have engaged their governments to initiate reform measures giving the people the first real choices they have had since the end of World War II. The decay of the communist party is staggering in both its speed and intensity. Party membership, once the key to personal progress in the communist world, is fast becoming a roadblock to achievement.

In Yugoslavia, the Communist League is the problem! Never ratified by the people, the Constitution, which binds all Yugoslav citizens to communist rule, is being questioned for its legality, arbitrariness and capriciousness. The Communist League of Yugoslavia is a privileged oligarchy and has installed itself as the illegal trustee of the popular will. On January 22, 1990, forty-five years after the communists grabbed control of Yugoslavia, the will of the people was heard for the first time during the Yugoslavia Communist League meeting. Never before had dissent surfaced at this meeting. Slovenia and Croatia made it abundantly clear to Serbia, and anyone else following the tried-and-failed communist line, that Yugoslavia is ready to change.

This change is most evident in Kosova. It is there that nearly two million Albanians have courageously risen to protest and unmask the illegal and inhuman face of the

Yugoslavia Communist League. Albanians from all walks of life; young and old; rich and poor; men and women; are standing together to form a steadfast block of resistance against oppression. They desire freedom and democracy. They deserve no less!!

The cause of ethnic Albanians is slowly making its way into the headlines but that is a two-edged sword. As the deaths at the hands of the Serbian oppressors mount, Kosova becomes more interesting to the newspaper editors and television producers. The Serbs are *discussing* the issue of Kosova with tanks, helicopters and special police as their bargaining chips. These moves have been countered with the formation of peaceful democratic movements in Kosova such as the Democratic Alliance, headed by Doctor Ibrahim Rugova. Where only a year ago, no voice could be heard from the Albanians, the Democratic Alliance and other organizations have sounded a symphony of concerns for Kosova. They have elevated their cause to the moral high ground despite Serbia's attempts to quell the protests with violence against the ethnic Albanian population. Hundreds of Albanians have been killed but their deaths are not in vain. They have forced Serbia to recognize the change that has swept in from all across Eastern Europe. A change so complete that it is nothing short of a rebirth which will soon bring light to the darkness and a warmth to the cold.

In Kosova, the phoenix of democracy has risen from the ashes of communism. The Albanian American Civic League salutes the emergence of a democratic movement in Kosova and wishes it great success.

**Sami Repishti, Ph.D.**  
**Editor**



# KOSOVA ERUPTS IN PROTESTS AGAINST SERBIA

The Yugoslav Province of Kosova has again been rocked by violence as Serbian authorities disrupted peaceful rallies by ethnic Albanians protesting for greater democracy, the end of Martial law and the release of political prisoners. Mounting casualties were reported throughout the Province with at least 34 confirmed deaths, many more reported deaths and hundreds of injuries.

In late January, Albanians took to the streets in a desperate attempt to make the world aware of their plight. The peaceful protestors were greeted by machine gun fire from helicopter gunships, extensive use of tanks and personnel carriers and weapons fire from Serbian civilians. Kadri Krasniqi, a political leader in Malisevo, told reporters that police forces fired indiscriminately on protestors with machine guns. The violence is even worse that that which left at least 23 dead last spring after Serbia forced changes in the Yugoslav Constitution to allow for greater control over the formerly autonomous province.

Serbian supporters across Yugoslavia have called for a brutal suppression of the ethnic Albanian population by any means possible. Serbs marching through the streets of Belgrade called upon the government to give them weapons so they could go fight the Albanians in Kosova. It appears, however, that Slovenia and Croatia



While demonstrations in Kosova have often ended in the bloodshed of Albanians, the Civic League held a peaceful demonstration in New York City to pay tribute to the struggle of our brothers and sisters in Kosova (details on the next page).

will firmly stand behind the Albanian demonstrators even at the risk of further straining relations between their Republics and Serbia. Since December, Serbia has been boycotting goods to and from Slovenia in an attempt to quell the democratic reforms longed for by most of the Yugoslavian population.

The violence against the Al-

banians in Kosova has added new fuel to the debate over which way Yugoslavia will travel on the road to democracy. A victory by the ethnic Albanians in their fight to regain some control over their own Province would strengthen the democratic reform movement in Yugoslavia and give Albanians in Kosova the credit and authority they deserve. □



Joe DioGuardi addresses the crowd during our rally in New York which drew an estimated crowd of 7,000.

## CIVIC LEAGUE MARKS FIRST YEAR

It was only one short year ago that ethnic Albanians were without a voice to convey their concerns to the government of the United States. Today, the Albanian American Civic League represents the interests of thousands of ethnic Albanians all over the world. We provide timely and accurate information to the policy makers in Washington. Our efforts have resulted in an unprecedented level of awareness about the issues which affect ethnic Albanians.

As the Civic League moves into its second year of operation, our efforts will continue to grow. By working with

international human rights groups and pushing the ethnic Albanian issue in the halls of Congress, the Civic League has been able to take the lead in promoting human rights for ethnic Albanians. Television, newspapers and radio across the country now turn to the Civic League for information on the situation in Kosova, as evidenced by the support of thirteen United States Senators who signed our letter to Secretary of State Baker. We look forward to a successful 1990 in which further strides are made to improve the plight of ethnic Albanians the world over. □



## CIVIC LEAGUE OBTAINS SENATORIAL SUPPORT FOR ETHNIC ALBANIANS

In the midst of the latest violence against the Albanians in Yugoslavia, the Civic League has won a major vic-

tory on Capitol Hill by enlisting the support of thirteen Senators who signed a letter to Secretary of State

James Baker. The letter expresses the concerns of the Senators about Albanians in Kosova who are "suffering extreme oppression at the hands of Serbian authorities."



*David Phillips is Director of the Congressional Human Rights Foundation. Working with Congressman Tom Lantos, David has been instrumental to the success the Civic League has enjoyed. We would like to express our special thanks to him and Congressman Lantos for all they have done on the issue of Kosova.*

### RALLY UNITES ALBANIANS FROM ACROSS THE COUNTRY

On February 28, 1990, the Albanian American Civic League staged a huge rally in New York City. Thousands of ethnic Albanians gathered to hear speeches from Joe DioGuardi and others who demanded an end to the killing in Kosova and the beginning of democratic reforms in Yugoslavia.

With signs, chants and the American flag, the demonstration made it clear to Serbia that those struggling for democracy in Kosova are not alone. The recent events in other Eastern European countries have given new hope to ethnic Albanians that the day of democracy in Yugoslavia may soon be at hand. Kosova is leading the way toward greater freedom and has pick-

ed up the support of Slovenia, one of the most powerful and progressive Republics in Yugoslavia.

The rally successfully brought together numerous Albanian communities in the United States. After concluding the speeches in front of the United Nations, the crowd marched to the Yugoslavian Consulate where the chants for freedom and democracy blanketed the streets. The dramatic conclusion of the rally came as hundreds of flowers were laid on the grounds of the Consulate in memory of the victims of the struggle in Kosova who gave their lives so that democracy and freedom would reign supreme in Yugoslavia. □

By carrying the fight of ethnic Albanians to the halls of the United States Congress, the Civic League has elevated human rights in Kosova to an issue of national importance. Freedom and democracy are the rallying cries being heard across Eastern Europe. In most nations, the cries have been listened to and acted upon. Serbia, however, has muted the cries of freedom in Kosova and only through outside intervention will these voices be heard and recognized. The thirteen Senators who signed the letter deserve our deepest thanks for their support of Albanians in Kosova. They are Bob Dole (R-KS), Al D'Amato (R-NY), Robert Byrd (D-WV), Larry Pressler (R-SD), Claiborn Pell (D-RI), Chris Dodd (D-CT), Richard Lugar (R-IN), Malcolm Wallop (R-WY), Charles Grassley (R-IA), Joseph Lieberman (D-CT), Phil Gramm (R-TX), Patrick Moynihan (D-NY), and Pete Wilson (R-CA).

At a recent Foreign Relations Committee hearing, Senator Pressler addressed the issue of Kosova during his questioning of Secretary Baker. Within hours of meeting with representatives of the Civic League, Senator Pell, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, issued a terse statement to Serbia for their violent suppression of peaceful Albanian protests. In part, Senator Pell's statement read "the people of Kosova are fighting and dying for democracy and human rights. As with other Eastern European countries, the United States must support this just cause."

By lining up Senators and Congressmen in support of ethnic Albanians, the Civic League is making significant progress toward the passage of legislation on the issue. The Civic League is now recognized as a major player in the fight for freedom and self-rule for ethnic Albanians in Kosova and will continue making the case for our "brothers and sisters in Yugoslavia." □



## EUROPE'S ALBANIANS GREET THEIR ARBRESH BROTHER

*DioGuardi presses the case for Kosova across Europe*

### KOSOVA

Congressman DioGuardi made a second successful visit to Kosova in February. He traveled with David Phillips, the Executive Director of the Congressional Human Rights Foundation. DioGuardi and Phillips met with Warren Zimmermann, the U.S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia, and other State Department officials to discuss the crisis in Kosova. Congressman DioGuardi held a well-attended press conference in Belgrade and served to heighten the awareness of the abuses being inflicted upon the Albanians by the Serbian authorities. After concluding business in Belgrade, DioGuardi made an unannounced visit to Kosova where he met with Dr. Zekeria Cana and Veton Surroi (among others), two of the leading intellectuals in Kosova and major forces behind the attempts

at human rights and democratic reforms. While in Kosova, DioGuardi also met with lawyers representing Azem Vlasi who is accused of "counterrevolutionary activity" for his support of the demonstrations last year.

### BRUSSELS

Albanians from all nations were saddened to learn of the brutal death of Enver Hadri. Mr. Hadri had worked tirelessly to present the case of Kosova to the governments of Europe. He was gunned down on the streets of Brussels in what many believe was a political assassination. Congressman DioGuardi and three other members of the Civic



*Congressman DioGuardi meets with Dr. Zekeria Cana during his February visit to Yugoslavia and is presented with a gift memorializing the trip.*

League Board of Directors, Din Derti, Sacir Gashi and Rexh Xhakli, attended the funeral. DioGuardi gave a heartfelt eulogy to thousands of Albanians at the funeral for his European counterpart and vowed to continue the fight for freedom and democracy in Kosova. While in Brussels, DioGuardi met with members of the European Commission and the European Parliament to discuss the withholding of economic aid to Yugoslavia and the introduction of a new resolution condemning Serbia for human rights abuses.

### GENEVA

Following his visit to Belgium, Congressman DioGuardi, with the advice and counsel of Ewa Brantley, a highly regarded international lawyer for human rights, delivered a list of 34 Albanians killed by Serbian authorities in peaceful rallies to the United Nations Human Rights Commission. He received the list from Mrs. Enver Hadri after it had been found on the body of her husband at the time of his assassination. The list has become a focal point of the Civic League's efforts to stop Serbian abuses in Kosova. While in Geneva, DioGuardi also held a press conference about the deterioration of the situation in Yugoslavia. Before leaving Europe, DioGuardi laid the groundwork for the establishment of relations with Albanian communities across the continent. The prospects of forming a world-wide information network of Albanian communities greatly enhances the chances for success in bringing democracy to Kosova. □



*Civic League Board of Directors members Rexh Xhakli, Congressman DioGuardi, Sacir Gashi and Din Derti (not pictured) attended the Brussels funeral of Enver Hadri.*



# The Albanian Eagle

## Shqiponja Shqiptare

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Capitol Hill  
717 Second Street, N.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20002

### Hon. Joseph J. DioGuardi

Washington, D.C.

The Albanian American Civic League, now in its second year of serving ethnic Albanians around the world, is the most effective voice Albanians have ever had in Washington, D.C. Our efforts have resulted in an extremely heightened awareness by members of Congress about issues which concern ethnic Albanians. The cost of maintaining our operations is staggering. The radio program, newsletters and issues research are only a small part of the expenditures incurred by the Civic League. In short, we need your financial support.

Below you will find a form which you can mail back to the Civic League. In the space provided, or on an attached sheet of paper, please let us know what issues you believe we should be concentrating on. After all, the Civic League is your voice in Washington and you must make us aware of your concerns. We ask that you also make as large a contribution to the Civic League as you can afford. Ethnic Albanians everywhere depend on the Civic League and we must depend on you. Please be as generous as possible.

Sincerely,



Joseph J. DioGuardi  
President, AAAL

Please cut here

**YES, I will support the efforts of the Albanian American Civic League with a contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_.**

*In order to ensure the protection of human rights for Albanians, I think the Civic League should*

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City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip Code \_\_\_\_\_

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Telephone: (     ) \_\_\_\_\_



# U.S. Deflects Pressure To Back Bosnia Peace Plan

NATIONS, From A14

have been outspoken on their uneasiness over the idea of legitimizing Serb territorial gains resulting from military aggression, terrorism and forced expulsion of non-Serbs from their homes and lands.

Vance, who was primarily responsible for drawing the borders of the proposed provinces, has argued that they represent not just regional majorities but also take into account geographic, economic and historic factors. He and Owen have pointed out that Serb aggression and ethnic cleansing in Bosnia have left 70 percent of the republic in Serb hands and that adoption of their plan would enable the Muslims to regain some lost territory by rolling back Serb-dominated areas to just over 40 percent.

However, administration officials also are extremely suspicious that the Bosnian Serbs and their nationalist patron, President Slobodan Milosevic of neighboring Serbia, cannot be trusted to keep their word. U.S. officials have said repeatedly that the Serbs—no matter what agreement they might sign—have no intention of giving up significant amounts of the land they now control in Bosnia.

That is why Christopher recently told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the United States should not place its reliance solely on the Vance-Owen plan but should investigate other options—including possible limited military intervention. In fact, the U.S. study now underway has expanded consideration of potential offensive actions in the Balkans to include such questions as how much military force would be required to relieve the Serb siege of Bosnia's capital, Sarajevo.

But administration officials also have made clear that any military action would require the active support of other countries. Until now, however, the West Europeans and Russia have opposed even such limited, largely symbolic U.S. ideas as modifying the arms embargo, bombing Serb airfields or shooting down Serb aircraft that invade the U.N.-decreed, "no-fly zone" over Bosnia.

For those reasons, Vance and Owen have been arguing, since they moved the stalled peace talks from Geneva to the United Nations over the weekend, that talk of military action is unrealistic and works against achievement of a negotiated settlement.

In particular, they contend that Bosnia's Muslims, led by President Alija Izetbegovic, are resisting acceptance of the Vance-Owen plan because they hope the United States will persuade the Security Council to modify the embargo so that they can legally import weapons and keep fighting. U.N. sources said their arguments appeared to be a key factor in prompting Britain and France to reiterate their oppo-

sition to any changes in the embargo.

It appears that one of the mediators' chief goals in abruptly adjourning the peace talks and shifting them to New York, was to give themselves a better vantage point from which to press their case with the Clinton administration and the Security Council. Talks among the three principal Bosnian factions on unsettled points in the peace proposal are expected to resume at the United Nations today.

Seeking to counter the widespread weekend impression that the talks had collapsed in failure, Vance and Owen, in an intensive blitz of briefings, have insisted that they are on the brink of an accord and need only the major European powers and the United States to pressure the factions into making final compromises.

Diplomats close to the mediations say that Russia, which historically has had close ties with the Serbs, is encouraging them to sign the proposed agreement. At the same time, however, senior CIA official George Kolt told the Senate Armed Services Committee yesterday that increasing sympathy for the Serbs within Russia could prompt Moscow to use its Security Council veto to block actions deemed hostile to Serb interests.

U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has also thrown his support behind the peace proposal. In a report to the Security Council yesterday, he said that protecting human rights in Bosnia had been a "principal goal" of the mediators, and he seconded their contention that "strict application of U.N. sanctions [to punish Serb aggression] and respect for the arms embargo are crucial" for restoring peace.

In defending his proposal, Owen has argued that none of its critics had come up with any viable alternative, since "there is no evidence that any government, including the United States, is ready to put its troops on the ground in a combatant role."

In the event an agreement is reached, the mediators have called for an increase in the U.N. forces in Bosnia from 23,000 to more than 40,000, and Owen has said he hopes they will include U.S. troops. The United States has been reluctant to commit forces to U.N. peace-keeping operations because of strong opposition within the U.S. military to putting American soldiers under command of foreign officers.

But the mediators acknowledged that their plan might, in the end, be insufficient to end the deep animosities that have subjected Bosnia to a savage factional war that has left more than 20,000 dead and turned an estimated 1.3 million people—most of them Muslims—into refugees.

"It's not the fault of the mediators if the parties do not have the will to compromise," Owen said.

*Gashko reported from Washington and Preston from the United Nations.*



# CLINTON NEUTRAL ON GENEVA PLAN FOR BOSNIA PEACE

New York  
Times  
2-4-93

## PREPARING U.S. PROPOSAL

### Won't Press Muslims to Accept Division of Nation — Faces a Diplomatic Quandary

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3 — Clinton Administration officials said today that they would not press the Bosnian Muslims to accept the peace plan put forward by Cyrus R. Vance and Lord Owen and that they were working on their own approach, which President Clinton himself would unveil "relatively soon."

The Administration will not object if all the parties are ready to agree to the Vance-Owen plan on their own, the officials said. But they said they did not expect the Bosnian Muslims to do that and would not press them to accept what they themselves view as a flawed initiative.

At a meeting today in the White House, Mr. Clinton's top national security advisers considered alternative options. These included working with Mr. Vance, Mr. Owen and the Balkan parties to make the initiative more acceptable to the Muslims, or taking a much more aggressive role in shaping the whole diplomatic process on this issue, the officials said.

#### Differences of Opinion

But they said there were still substantial differences of opinion between Mr. Clinton's advisers on how to deal with the issue. All that Mr. Clinton's spokesman, George Stephanopoulos, would say was that the President and his advisers were developing their own plan and that the President would "have an announcement relatively soon."

"But I don't have a date on that," Mr. Stephanopoulos added.

"The President," he said, "continues to work for a diplomatic solution and he does not specifically embrace or reject the Vance plan."

Such neutrality is in effect a rejection of the plan devised by the international mediators, Lord Owen, the former British Foreign Secretary, and Mr. Vance, the former Secretary of

*Continued on Page A11, Column 1*

#### Differing Views on Bosnia

The United States and Europe differ over Bosnia and other parts of the former Yugoslavia because of how they look at the conflict. Page A10.



12.28.92

Zalmay Khalilzad

## Arm the Bosnians

There is a large and growing gap between our objectives in Bosnia and our strategy for achieving them. Unless we significantly adjust our strategy, we risk undermining our interests, with far-reaching consequences.

Our strategy has failed to stop the Serbian territorial and ethnic aggression. The U.N./European Community mediation is failing because the Serbs are winning militarily. Success seems to feed the Serbian appetite. Slobodan Milosevic and his supporters in Bosnia are bent on continuing their genocidal war until they achieve the destruction of Bosnia and its non-Serb inhabitants. This may not have been their objective when they started the war, but it has become so now.

The danger that the war might spread has also increased. Kosovo in particular is a tinderbox. Milosevic—now newly victorious at the polls, which makes the situation all the more urgent—is poised to do in Kosovo what he and his surrogates have been doing in Bosnia. Of all the factors that may precipitate a conflict in Kosovo, Serbian victory in Bosnia is the single most important one. Milosevic is unlikely to want a two-front war. Success in Bosnia will free his hand to begin new brutalities in Kosovo.

Given these trends, unless we change course we will ultimately confront two alternatives: We will either have to abandon our objectives and allow the destruction of Bosnia, or we will be obliged to send a large number of U.S. and multinational forces to Bosnia for possible combat. There is still time to adjust our strategy in ways that avoid either alternative. In addition to enforcing the no-fly zone and further tightening the embargo against Serbia, we should immediately begin to arm and train the Bosnian fighters.

Arming the Bosnians was considered and rejected by our government in August. Given what has happened since then, to continue the arms embargo on the Bosnian victims of Milosevic is morally wrong and counterproductive in terms of U.S. interests. The lesson of Afghanistan is that arming the victim of aggression is a prudent and workable alternative to the dispatch of U.S. troops or to appeasement. That's because it reinforces economic and political pressures, which by themselves seldom succeed against a determined aggressor.

With weapons and training, the Bosnians can inflict substantial costs on the Serbs and have a better chance of defending themselves. The Bosnians have proven that they are willing to fight, but they are heavily outgunned. The embargo has worked against them and to the advantage of the Serbs. Milosevic has provided his local surrogates with artillery, tanks, aircraft and support, while maintaining the fiction that local Serb forces are independent.

An increased Bosnian military capability would improve prospects for a negotiated settlement. It would confront Milosevic with the choice of either negotiating a reasonable settlement or facing a long, costly war. Should he choose the latter, it would strengthen his opponents.

Arming the Bosnians would not be costly for us. As in the case of Afghanistan, the enterprise could be funded in large part by moderate Islamic states.

Those who are opposed to arming the Bosnians have raised two objections, neither of which is persuasive, especially given the risks of the alternatives. One is that the Serbs might pose more obstacles to the provision of humanitarian aid to Bosnians and the importance of current channels for distributing aid would decline. A possibility would be to use the same channels for humanitarian and military supplies. With increased military effectiveness, the Bosnians can take on increasing responsibility for protecting relief convoys. Or the responsibilities for escorts could be divided between the U.N. forces and the Bosnians. The Bosnians can be more effective than the current U.N. system in distributing aid to those intended to receive it.

A second objection has been that arming the Bosnians might result in a change in the Russian policy in favor of Milosevic. This is wrongheaded. Those who make this argument focus on historic ties between Serbs and Russians. But what is more important now in determining Russian policy is the internal power struggle. Russian democrats do not want Milosevic to win. His victory will only encourage similar forces in Russia and the other newly independent states. In fact, a setback for Milosevic will be helpful to Russian democrats. They want to join the West and would not want to be isolated from the United States on this issue, which involves fundamental norms of behavior.

Diplomacy and economic embargo have not worked with Milosevic. He continues his savage war. The time has come to increase the heat. Arming the Bosnians is the best means.

More than a decade ago we decided to arm the Afghans to confront the Soviet invaders. Unlike the Bosnians the Afghans did not face a genocidal threat. However, the Afghans faced a more formidable adversary than the Bosnians. Yet the Afghans succeeded beyond anyone's expectation. The Bosnians face a graver threat from an enemy that is less powerful. They face a choice between destruction and fighting on. They need our help to defend themselves. Morality and self-interest argue that we do so.

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*The writer was assistant undersecretary of defense for policy planning until this month. He is now at the Rand Corp.*



# U.S. Won't Back Vance Proposal if Muslims Don't

Continued From Page A1

State. Their plan would divide Bosnia and Herzegovina into 10 semi-autonomous provinces — three mostly Serb, three mostly Croat, three mostly Muslim and one mixed — with all tied together by a loose central government.

The Clinton Administration considers the plan impractical and unenforceable and maintains that it rewards so-called ethnic cleansing by assigning to the Bosnian Serbs some areas that they seized control of only

by driving out other ethnic communities.

Clinton aides say the President wants to do more toward bringing about a settlement in Bosnia fair to all parties, but in pursuing an alternative that may not exist he could be in danger of unraveling the only plan available.

In an interview on Tuesday, Lord Owen accused the President of doing just that. The plan put forward by him and Mr. Vance, he said, is "the best settlement you can get, and it's a bitter irony to see the Clinton people block it."

Asked to comment on these asser-

### 'STREAMLINING' THE STATE DEPT.

The talk of the State Department is a plan to cut dozens of deputy assistant secretary jobs. Executive Brief, page A18.

tions, the State Department spokesman, Richard A. Boucher, turned the other cheek, saying, "I don't think I want to characterize his public statements."

The Bosnian Serbs and the Bosnian Croats have signaled their willingness to accept the plan. Bosnia's Muslims, led by President Alija Izetbegovic, are resisting it, in part because they be-

lieve that Washington will soon offer a better deal.

But the Administration is having a hard time coming up with alternatives. Besides the sheer complexity of the situation in the Balkans, moving quickly is not easy for domestic reasons as well.

Having forced the Pentagon to begin taking steps to overturn the ban on homosexuals in the military, and preparing to force the Joint Chiefs of Staff to cut \$10 billion more from the military budget than proposed by President Bush, Mr. Clinton is not in a strong position to ask them to get involved militarily in Bosnia — something to which they are intensely opposed.

Gen. Colin L. Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, told Congress on Friday about their skepticism over some of the military options now being con-

sidered.

When asked whether the arms embargo on Bosnia's Muslims should be lifted, Lieut. Gen. Martin L. Brandtner answered that the result would "just be more chaos." Rear Adm. Mike W. Cramer, the top intelligence official on the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said that enforcing the no-flight ban over Bosnia-Herzegovina would make "no appreciable military difference" in limiting Serbian attacks.

Among those present at today's White House meeting on Bosnia were Anthony Lake, the national security adviser, Madeleine Albright, the United Nations representative, Les Aspin, the Defense Secretary, and Warren Christopher, the Secretary of State. Mr. Clinton did not attend.

Mr. Christopher spoke with Mr. Vance by telephone as Mr. Vance and

Mr. Owen prepared to resume their negotiations in New York with the Serbian, Croatian and Muslim factions of Bosnia.

### 'Rewarding an Aggressor'

In a related development, the State Department announced that it was restricting the movements of Radovan Karadzic, the leader of the Bosnian Serbs, during his visit to the United Nations, but Senator Alfonse D'Amato, the New York Republican, criticized the Administration for even granting him a visa.

"America must not coddle mass murderers by issuing this visa," he said. "We are rewarding an aggressor. It is unbelievable that Secretary Christopher's first official act is to grant a visa to the architect of genocide."



Aug. 4, 1992.

BALTIMORE SUN

6A

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

# THE

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## The Horror of 'Ethnic Cleansing'

Europe thought it had seen the last, 47 years ago, of exterminating people for their religion. Of kidnapping babies for their ethnicity. Of packing populations off in sealed freight cars to concentration camps. Of torturing and murdering many in those camps.

Serbian forces in occupied Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina are committing those excesses, those atrocities, those crimes against humanity.

Serbs do not hold the monopoly on brutality. They are not committing the only atrocities in Yugoslavia. But they are doing it on a larger and more consistent scale than their enemies. They are doing it to a pattern, a policy. And they are doing it in other people's countries. Serbia is the aggressor.

Europe thought it had seen the last, 47 years ago, of racist theory that could justify such atrocities and motivate otherwise reasonable people to commit, justify or excuse them. Yet this has crept into the rebirth of Serbian nationalism, its liberation from communism and pan-Yugoslav (South Slavic) nationalism.

The principal author of this rebirth is Dobrica Cosic, the writer and former Yugoslav Communist Central Committee member. Starting in 1968, he worked out the ideology that calls for all Serbs in one state, and never mind where they live or who else lives there. The former bureaucrat Slobodan Milosevic became his disciple. In June, Mr. Cosic, author of "The Time of Death," and "The Time of

Evil," became president of federal Yugoslavia. He named the immigrant American, Milan Panic, to be federal prime minister. Some said it was to prepare for the ouster of the Serbian leader, Mr. Milosevic. This has not happened. The atrocities continue.

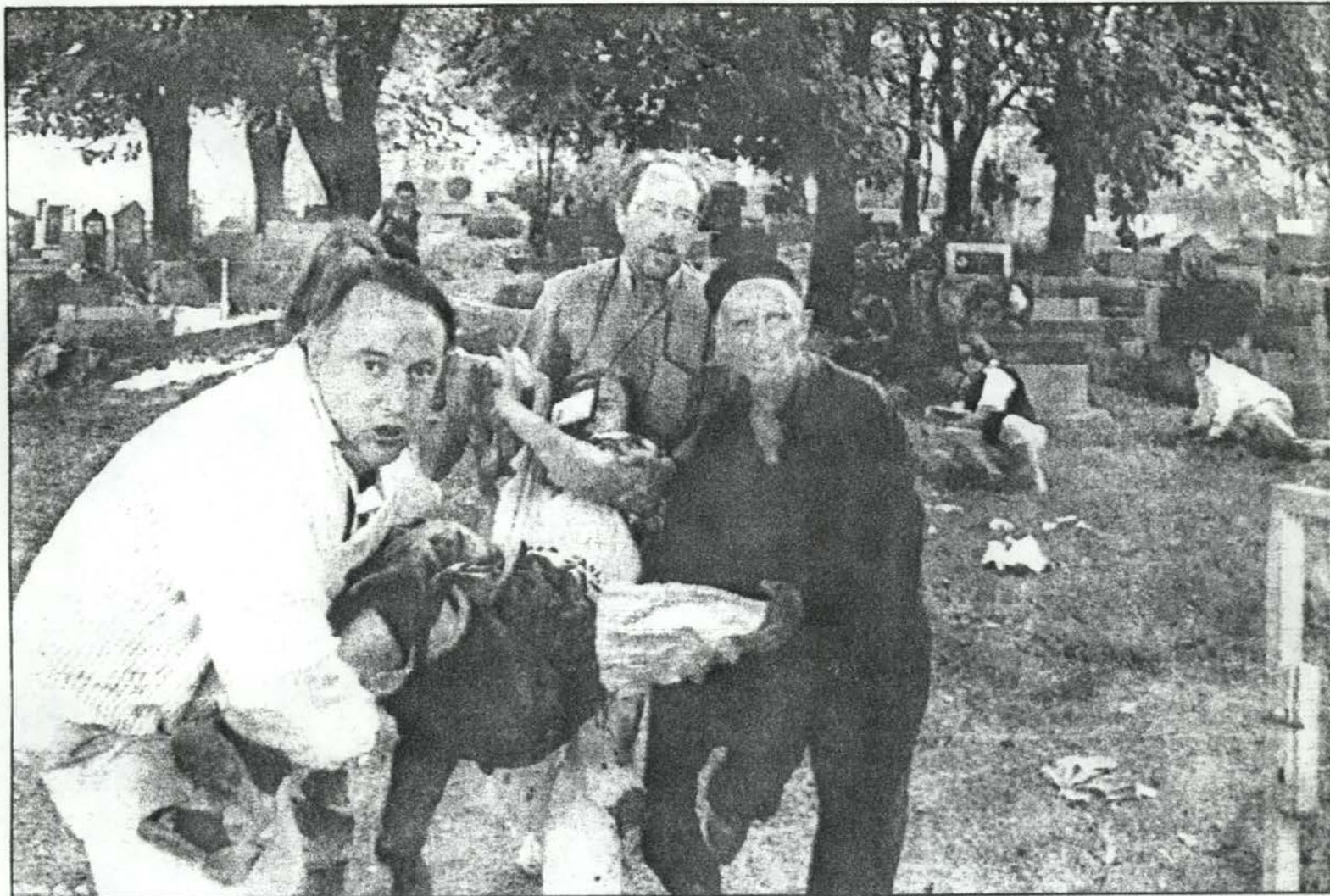
Nationalism is a positive force, summoning up the best in people. Serbs are as entitled as anyone to pride in language, culture and history and to champion this heritage in a homogenizing world. But nationalism can be employed for evil, as Hitler's German Nazism and Mussolini's Italian Fascism did. When Serbian forces, in the name of their nationalism, embrace "ethnic cleansing" to herd Muslims out of their homeland and destroy mosques, to torture and murder Muslims and Croats, to shoot babies and kidnap those with Serbian names, they create the analogy to Hitler. Mr. Panic, to his credit, said as much.

Atrocities have also been committed against Serbian people by Croatian and Bosnian Muslim forces. The recent Croatian election was held not only in Croatia but in parts of Bosnia that Croatia has quietly annexed. But Serbia is the winner. Serbia is the greater aggressor. Serbia has committed the most — and the most methodical — atrocities.

Until it stops, Serbia is an outlaw state. But it is not through. The "ethnic cleansing" has yet to deal with the Albanian majority of the ancient Serbian heartland, Kosovo. If no one or nothing stops the killing, the worst is yet to come.



# U.N. demands Serbs open camps



REUTERS

Ruza Glavas, grandmother of a child killed when Serbian gunners opened fire Saturday on a bus evacuating children from Sarajevo to Germany, is carried wounded from the child's funeral in Sarajevo after Serbian forces struck again, this time with a mortar shell.

By Mark Matthews  
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United Nations Security Council, prodded by reports of killings and torture of detainees in the former Yugoslavia, demanded last night that detention camps be opened to international inspection.

The action, a statement by the council president, was instigated by the Bush administration, which is under growing political pressure to take forceful action to prevent atrocities by Serbian forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Recent reports of Muslims and Croats being tortured and killed in the camps have thrown a harsh

## White House requests action amid reports of killings, torture

spotlight on the administration's reluctance to become deeply involved in the Yugoslav conflict beyond monitoring sanctions against Serbia and ensuring delivery of humanitarian relief.

The accounts have fueled Democratic criticism of administration caution and highlighted internal divisions between officials pressing for a more forceful American role and those who resist putting American forces into a potential quagmire.

Top administration officials decided yesterday morning to seek Security Council endorsement of a statement demanding immediate, continued and unimpeded access by the International Red Cross. The council did so about 7 p.m.

The statement carries no binding authority. It is less authoritative than U.N. resolutions, which the Yugoslav combatants have consistently defied anyway.

Maj. Gen. Lewis MacKenzie, who led U.N. peacekeepers at Sara-

jevo airport, said at the United Nations that he had received complaints from all factions of concentration camp atrocities, the Associated Press reported. The pace of allegations increased about two months ago as Serbs accelerated their "ethnic cleansing" campaign, he said.

The U.S. move roughly coincided with calls for stronger American action from Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton, running mate Al Gore and Democrats on the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

As reminders of America's inaction during the Nazi Holocaust reverberated in Washington, the

See U.N., 5A, Col. 1

*BALTIMORE SUN* 8/5/97.  
**Key index signals no recovery in '99**

By Gilbert A. Lewthwaite  
Washington Bureau

But the latest figures for new unemployment claims, for the week ending Aug. 4, were 400,000.



## YUGOSLAVIA

# U.N. demands that Serbs open detention camps

U.N., from 1A

Bush policy drew sharp criticism on Capitol Hill, and the State Department received calls from the press and public around the country, officials said.

Mr. Clinton, in a written statement issued from his campaign headquarters in Little Rock, Ark., urged U.N. action similar to that sought by the administration as a first step, but went further to include the possible use of force.

Beyond gaining access to the camps, Mr. Clinton demanded that all non-combatants be released to the Red Cross, that any detention centers be closed immediately and that military prisoners of war be held under conditions defined by international law.

In addition, Mr. Clinton's statement said: "The United Nations demands should be backed up by collective action, including the use of force, if necessary. The United States should be prepared to lend appropriate support, including military, to such an operation."

The administration lent credence to the latest accounts Monday, saying that its own information corresponded with press reports.

"We do know from our own reports, information similar to the press reports, that the Serbian forces are maintaining what they call detention centers for Croats and Muslims, and we do have our own reports similar to the reports that you've seen in the press, that there have been abuses and torture and killings taking place in those areas," said Richard Boucher, a State Department spokesman.

Yesterday, however, U.S. officials backed off



REUTERS

A Serbian soldier loads a cannon during fighting with Croatian forces in Bosnia.

this assertion, stressing that they did not have actual confirmation of such atrocities because neither American envoys nor international relief agencies had entered the camps.

"We are aware of course of the charges that the Bosnian Serbs have been operating what amount to death camps," Thomas Niles, assistant secretary of state for European Affairs, told the Foreign Affairs Committee.

But, he said, "We cannot confirm reports which were in the press this morning and yesterday that they are being used for the systematic torture and murder of the people detained." He did not deny however, that "atrocities, totally unacceptable acts by Serbian authorities" had been committed.

Despite lack of confirmation, some officials fear that the situation in the camps could be even more horrible than refugees have described it.

The United States has had trouble enlisting Security Council authorization for military action to back up the delivery of relief supplies. The Bush administration is prepared to use air and naval power, but not ground troops, for such an effort. Britain, among others, is still not sure such authorization is the best course.

Officials pressing for stronger U.S. action want to see the definition of humanitarian relief expanded beyond food and medical care to relieving conditions in the detention camps.

The dominant Bush administration view appears to oppose any action that risks military entanglement on the ground. Defense Secretary Dick Cheney told Cable News Network on Monday: "We've got to be very, very careful, when we use U.S. military force, not to fall into the trap of committing them into an uncertain situation where they don't have a clear-cut objective, where it's not clear who the enemy is and where we can't define what victory would be after we got there."

## KGB files m it had no r

By Will Englund  
Moscow Bureau

MOSCOW — The KGB kept tabs on Lee Harvey Oswald who was living in the Soviet Union, his files show that the Soviet agency had no role in President F. Kennedy's assassination, head of state security in the republic of Belarus said yesterday.

The files also suggest that Oswald was a notoriously poor marksman, said Eduard Shirkovsky, the security chief.

Those files have remained classified, but Mr. Shirkovsky told a conference in Minsk yesterday, the Parliament of Belarus could order them to be opened, the Itar-Tass news agency reported.

There appears to be plenty of information through. When Oswald defected in 1959, the KGB suspected he might be a CIA spy, so he came under intense scrutiny, Mr. Shirkovsky said.

Enough information was available on Oswald to fill six volumes, The KGB eventually decided, and other things, that he was not working for the CIA, Mr. Shirkovsky said.

It noted that Oswald had a wife while he was living in Minsk, the capital of what is now Belarus.

# WOODWARD & LOTHROP

# THURSDAY MORNING 11



IZVEŠTAJI O STRADANJIMA SRBA U BiH  
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KNINSKOG KORPUSA.

U JAMAMA NA KUPRESU PRONAĐJENO JE 54 LESBA SRBA, POKLANIH ILI  
POBIJENIH TOLJAGA, KAZJE SE U SAOPŠTENJU KOMANDE BANJALUČKOG  
KORPUSA, NAVODI DNEVNIK OD 15. APRILA.

10 KUPRESKIM SRBA UBIJENO JE U NASELJU VILINE KUĆE, 6. APRILA,  
PIŠE POLITIKA EKSPRES OD 15. APRILA POZIVAJUČI SE NA IZJAVU  
SVEDOKA MARKA MILANOVIĆA, KOJI JE PREŽIVEO MASAKRA.

PREDSEDNIK SKUPŠTINE OPŠTINE KUPRESA RADOVOJE DUVNJAK IZJAVIO  
JE DA JE NA KUPRESKOJ VISORAVNI I U BELIMA DONJI I DONJI MALOVIN  
OTKRIVENO SEDAM JAMA U KOJIMA JE PRONAĐJENO PEDESETAK LESBEVA  
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MILJADU STO JEDANEST SRBA IZ ZAPADNE HERCEGOVINE, ZATOCCENO JE U  
ZATVORIMA I LOGORIMA U LIVNU, DUVNU, TE U OKOLNIM HRVATSKIM BELIMA,  
PIŠE DNEVNIK OD 18. APRILA, POZIVAJUČI SE NA INFORMACIJE KOJIMA  
RASPOLAZJE KNINSKI KORPUS.

SARPSKA NOVINSKA AGENCIJA SRBA, POZIVAJUČI SE NA IZJAVE  
IZBEGLICA, JAVLJA DA SU PRIPADNICI ZBORA NARODNE GARDE HRVATSKE U  
ULICI HUSEINA ČENBIĆA U DERVENTI UPALI U SARPSKE STANOVE I MUČOKI  
UBILI VEĆI BROJ LJUDI, PRENOSI POLITIKA OD 25. APRILA.

PRIPADNICI HOS-A I VELENIH BERETKI UPALI SU SARPSKO SELO COARDA  
I PREMA PRICANJU PREŽIVELIH POKLALI VIŠE OD 60 NESBTANA, NAJVIŠE  
ZENA DECE I STARACA, PIŠE DNEVNIK OD 27. APRILA.

U SARAJEVU SU U NOĆI IZMEDJU 2. I 4. APRILA VELENE BERETKE  
ZAKLAE DVA SVESBTENIKA SARPSKE PRAVOBLAVNE GRUPE, PIŠE DNEVNIK OD  
5. MAJA, POZIVAJUČI SE NA INFORMACIJU SRNE.

U SREBRNICI SU MUSLIMANSKI KOLJACI LIKVIDIRALI VIŠE OD  
150 CIVILA SRBA, PIŠU VECCERNJE NOVOSTI OD 15. MAJA.  
POBJEDA OD 19 MAJA PRENOSI ISPOVEST ALIJE BELIMOVIĆA, KOJI JE  
PREMA SOPSTVENOM PRIZNANJU U BELIMA OKO BOSANSKOG BRODA ZAKLAD 117

SARBA I BILOVAČ 17 SARPSKIH DEVOJČICA. ČETVOROCLANA MUSLIMANSKA  
GRUPA KOJAJ JE ON PRIPADAO UBILA JE, PREMA NJEGOVIH RECCIMA, VIŠE  
STOTINA DECE, ZENA I STARACA, UGLAVNOM SARPSKE NACIONALNOSTI.

U SARAJEVSKOM NASELJU POPALICH POBIJENO JE 350 SRBA, SAOPŠTIO JE  
KRIZNI ŠTAB SARPSKE OPŠTINE ILIDZA, PIŠE DNEVNIK OD 22. MAJA.  
U OPŠTINI MILIČI NEĐALEKO OD VLAŠENICE, 22. MAJA IZVRŠEN JE  
MASAKR NAD OSMOU SRBA IZ BELA PODRAVANJE, JAVIO JE DOPISNIK

TANJUS-A, PRENOSI POLITIKA OD 23. MAJA.  
SARBA OD 20. MAJA PIŠE DA JE, PREMA RECCIMA KOMANDANTA ŠTABA  
TO SARPSKE OPŠTINE SARAZIJE, U DVOĐEVNIM SARBAMA U SARAZIJU  
STRADALO PREKO 300 CIVILA. KAKO JE IZJAVIO ZA SARBU, PRIPADNICI  
VELENIH BERETKI I HOS-A CELU NOĆ SU MALRETIRALI I UBIJALI  
NEĐUZINE ZENE, DECU I STARCE.

VECCERNJE NOVOSTI OD 4. JUNA PRENOSI SAOPŠTENJE SLUŽBE ZA  
INFORMISANJE SARPSKE OPŠTINE ILIDZA, U KOME SE KAZJE DA SU  
MUSLIMANSKO-HRVATSKE SNAGE NAKON OSVAJANJA BRADINE STRELJALE 17  
NAJUGLEDNIJIM SRBA IZ OVOG MESTA, POSLE STRAVIČNOS MUCCENJA.

POBJEDA OD 9. JUNA PIŠE DA U KONCENTRACIONOM LOGORU U  
LJUBUSKOM INA OKO SEDAM MILJADA SRBA IZ MOSTARA I SUSEDNIH MESTA  
DA SE NAD NJIMA SPROVODE MONSTRUJINA MUCCENJA.

MUSLIMANI IZ BELA KORITA MASAKIRALI SU 80 SRBA, IZITRIJA BELA  
CCERNI, PIŠE POLITIKA OD 14. JUNA POZIVAJUČI SE NA SVEDOCENJE  
JEDNOS OD PREŽIVELIH IZ CCERNOS I FILMSKI MATERIJAL EMITOVAN NA  
TELEVIZIJI SRBIJE - STUDIO BEOGRAD.

VECCERNJE NOVOSTI OD 24. JUNA PIŠU DA PRIPADNICI  
MUSLIMANSKO-USTASSKIH SNAGA UPALI U SARPSKO SELO RATKOVIĆE I ZAKLALI  
14 SRBA.

ZBOG NEĐOSTATKA LEKOVA U BANJALUČKOM KLINIČKOM CENTRU UMRO JE  
13 PACIJENATA, OD KOJIM 11 NOVOROĐJENČADI, SAOPŠTILI SU  
PREDSTAVNICI OVE USTANOVE, PIŠU 19. JUNA POLITIKA, VECCERNJE  
NOVOSTI I POLITIKA EKSPRES.

DNEVNIK OD 30. JUNA PIŠE DA JE NEIZVEŠNA SUĐBINA NEKOLIKO  
MILJADA ZATVORENIH SRBA U TUNELU BRADINA. LIST NAVODI DA SE I U  
BANDVIČIMA VRŠI TEROR NAD UPLEDNIM SRBIMA I DA SE VELIKI BROJ LJUDI  
NALAZI U PRIVREMENOM ZATVORU U PODRUMU IZLEZNIČKOG SARBRACHAJA.

VECCERNJE NOVOSTI OD 30. JUNA PIŠU DA SU VELENE BERETKE  
28. JUNA U BELU ZABRANI UBILI ŠEST ČLANOVA PORODICE MILOVIĆ, SVI SU  
BILIO CIVILI.

SARBA OD 3. JULA PIŠE DA SE PRE NEKOLIKO DANA, PREM  
SAOPŠTENJU KOMANDE ŠTABA TO SARPSKE OPŠTINE SKELINI, PRIPADNICI  
VELENIH BERETKI UPALI SU U SARPSKO SELO RAKOVIČI I UBILI NAJMANJ  
17 CIVILA.

ZASTAVNIK ACA ČEČEVIĆ IZ JEDINICE ZA SPECIJALNA DEJSTVA VOJSKE  
SARPSKE BiH TVRDI DA JE I DALJE NEIZVEŠNA SUĐBINA PREKO 5000 SRBA  
ZATOCCENIH NA STADIONU U TUZLI, PIŠE POLITIKA EKSPRES OD 5. JU

MUSLIMANSKO-USTASSKE SNAGE U BRATUNACCKO-SREBRNACCKOM KRAJU ZA  
NEKOLIKO DANA POBILE SU PREKO 80 SRBA, UGLAVNOM ZENA I DECE, PIŠE  
DNEVNIK OD 6. JULA.



# ДОГАЂАЈИ ДАНА

Страна 5. август 1992.  
Политика ЕКСПРЕС

АПЕЛ ВЛАДЕ СР БИХ СВЕТСКОЈ ЈАВНОСТИ ЗА ИСТИНУ

# ЛОГОРИ СМРТИ САМО ЗА СРБЕ

• У преко 40 логора заточено око 42.000 цивила • До сада ликвидирано 6.000 углавном жена и деце • На српској страни постоје само затвори за војнике

Од почетка рата до данас у БиХ муслиманско-хрватско савезне формације су на територији овог бивше југословенског републиканског државног конститутивног логора за Србе. Наименом од тих логора су у Сарајево, а друга логора у околини републиканског републике које држе муслиманско и хрватско војство. У логору је заточено око 42 хиљаде цивила различитих националности, а према изјављеном изјавом републике Владе Српске Републике Босне и Херцеговина, само у 17 логора ликвидирали су преко 6.000 - углавном жена и деце.

Ове податке саопштавају су министар у Влади СР БиХ Александар Буки, министар иностраних послова и Александар Стефановић, министар за информације, на конференцији за штампу у Београду. Саопштавајући ове информације, они су изјавили да је српској јавности на правично питање који је страна испунила у правима рату у коме је српски народ изабавио БиХ од хапшења.

Отворено писмо српској јавности о страдањима и жртвама Срба у БиХ ипутило је и Председништво СР БиХ и изабавио хрватских одреда.

Председништво Владе СР БиХ дефинише да ово питање који је био кружилом противничком рату међу муслиманско-хрватском коалицијом да су у логорима заточени муслиманци. Све друге о догађајима смрти на српским територијама где се изводи масовно убијање муслимана су без икаквог основи. На српској страни нема ни једног таквог логора. Постоје само затвори у којима су хрватским провајерима муслиманских војних формација - рекао је Александар Буки и позвао војводе да посету сва таква места и да се сми у то увере.

У БиХ су, по речима министра Буки и Стефановића, поред оружаног сукоба против српског народа воде друге врсте рата које су, међа, још страшније. У овим провајерима, поред ликвидације које се изводе у свету, на крају ни од војног статуса цивилног становништва ефикас, а прилику да се масовно у убијања на Било Милана и Милана Така и најновија су пре два дана када је ликвидирао своје жене и деце у логору који је претворено у логору за војнике на Манастиру.

Нови феномени босанско-хрватско-лиског рата су, речено је, етнички чишћење, убијање то су Срби у Сарајево. Така муслиманско страна држи, на само у логорима, него и у многим кулама и становама на догађајима ликвидације. Слично је у Царској, Зеници, Тузли, где се Срби



држе као такови како би српској јавности ствари утврди да жакт Анекс-Историјског формацијама. Етничко чишћење Срба Манастир су успели ликвидирати, ликвидираним и другачијом српског становништва на многим местима. Тако је на Централне Босне ликвидирао преко 320 хиљада Ср-

ба, и 720 хиљада је крајем догађаја убијено.

Позивајући информације о жртвама у БиХ, републиканског савезаства грађани који је хрватско у Сарајево, Буки и Стефановић су рекли да на српској страни нема никаквих одреда за војнике.



A medical official helps push a bullet-pocked ambulance into a hospital garage in Sarajevo yesterday. The driver survived a sniper attack.

AP

# Bosnia pushes U.S. for arms, money

By Terry Leonard  
ASSOCIATED PRESS

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — Bosnian officials yesterday pressed for U.S. military intervention, arms and money to help break the siege of their capital by Serb forces.

The officials said President Alija Izetbegovic would make the case for greater U.S. involvement in a meeting today with President Bush at the European security conference in Helsinki, Finland.

"President Bush can help himself," said Fikret Abdic, a Slavic Muslim who is a member of the collective presidency led by Mr. Izetbegovic. "If he is really ready to defend his new world order, here is his chance. It will either rise or fall with Sarajevo."

"It is about time America tells us if it will support us or not so we can turn to other friends in the world," said a second member of the presidency, Stjepan Kljuic, a Croat.

The officials said more than one Western government had offered to sell arms to Bosnia if the United Nations and the European Community do not intervene militarily or send

weapons. They did not specify the countries.

The United States has said it could fly air cover to ensure that relief convoys reach Sarajevo, but does not foresee deeper military involvement.

Mr. Abdic said Mr. Izetbegovic, who left Sarajevo yesterday for Helsinki, will seek to persuade President Bush to support the use of foreign air power to take out the artillery besieging Sarajevo from the surrounding hills.

He said the president would also ask for enough heavy weapons to give outgunned government forces rough parity with Serb forces.

On Tuesday night, Serbian and government forces waged the heaviest battles in days, with some Serbian shells raining on the center of the city. Light flares lit up the sky of the blacked-out city while heavy machine guns and automatic weapons rattled on a hill in the city's old town, the site of fierce overnight infantry clashes.

Sporadic artillery and heavy machine-gun fire echoed across the city as U.N. convoys shuttled food and medical supplies into Sarajevo.

Two people were reportedly killed

## Western pride in the relief effort contrasts sharply with the mood in Sarajevo.

and 29 wounded by shells from Serb positions that hit a suburb near the airport.

The U.N. high commissioner for refugees, Sadako Ogata of Japan, visited Sarajevo yesterday to assess the relief operation. She said more than 80 flights had delivered at least 990 tons of food and medical supplies.

She said aid was needed urgently in other Bosnian towns and that a proposal by Western leaders to open a land corridor to Sarajevo would help increase the flow of aid.

The Tanjug news agency quoted Biljana Plavsic, a former Serb member of Bosnia's presidency, as proposing to Miss Ogata that a corridor be opened for seven days between territories held by rival groups in Bosnia so citizens could cross to other sides.

Miss Ogata also said she had conveyed concern to Serb leaders about allegations of "ethnic cleansing" — reported expulsions of Muslims and Croats from Serb-controlled areas of Bosnia.

Western pride in the relief effort, which originally aimed at eight flights a day, contrasts sharply with the mood in the presidency and on the streets of Sarajevo. There, the airlift is termed "hand-washing" by people who think the effort aims only to assuage Western guilt.

Fighting erupted in Bosnia after the country's Croats and Muslims voted for independence from Yugoslavia on Feb. 29. Muslims make up nearly half of the population but the Serbs, who account for a third of the population, now control two-thirds of the territory. Bosnian officials say more than 7,500 people have died in the fighting.

The officials, who oppose any plan to separate the country into ethnic cantons, say they will refuse to negotiate as long as Yugoslav federal troops and their heavy weapons remain in the country.

Serb-dominated Yugoslavia maintains that all federal soldiers have been withdrawn.

as their historic heartland. The province borders on Albania.

Ethnic Albanians, who make up 9 percent of Kosovo's 2 million people, point out that if war comes to the province, it no longer will pit Slavs against Slavs and is therefore bound to be more ruthless than the conflict in other parts of the former Yugoslav federation.

Albanian leaders in Kosovo said their province has become an "arm dump" for the Serbian-led Yugoslav army.

"It's a keg of dynamite that could explode any time," said Zekeria Canolli of the Kosovo Council for the Protection of Human Rights.

Joseph J. DioGuardi, a former U.S. congressman who now heads the Albanian American Civic League in Washington, charged that the big powers are trying to quell the fighting in Bosnia at the expense of Kosovo "and are ready to sell out 2 million Albanians" while Serbia continues its expansion.

If that happens, he predicted "the greatest holocaust Europe has seen since World War II."

Kosovo has been seething since large-scale secessionist riots by its Albanian majority were drowned in blood by the Yugoslav army in 1981.

Kosovo's complicated legal status, the simmering and acute animosity between its Albanian majority and Serbian minority and the dramatic disparity in their living standards further contribute to the situation.

A major emotional factor was the collapse of communism in Albania, the last country in Europe to shed that system. Albania is now a strong moral and physical backer of

# Vienna's Jewish heritage rekindled, but problems

By Mike Esterl  
REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

VIENNA, Austria — "We Shall Overcome," vows a poster inside the office of Vienna's Jewish Community.

On the narrow cobblestoned path below, a blind man emerges from the city's synagogue and, shakily gripping a cane, moves unsteadily to

elect president in May.

Austrian-Jewish relations were strained during the 1986 presidential campaign that brought victory for Mr. Waldheim despite allegations that the former U.N. secretary-general had concealed his role in Hitler's army during World War II.

"If you asked me about the future of the Jewish community in Vienna

cellor to stand up in the Austrian parliament and say that Austrians had committed war crimes," added Mr. Wiesenthal, who moved the Jewish Documentation Center to Vienna in 1961.

In 1938, some 180,000 Jews and 46 synagogues and prayer houses made Vienna a focal point of Jewish culture. After Hitler's annexation of Austria, more than 110,000 fled

Jewish community.

"Time and again we've been expelled, but we always come back. It must be something in the air," added Mr. Grosz.

After expulsions in the 15th and 17th centuries, Vienna's Jewish community finally gained full civic rights in 1867. From then on, cultural achievements flourished until





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## Silence Serbia's Big Guns

Serbia's murderous shelling of Bosnian civilians in Sarajevo and Goradze has intensified despite last Friday's cease-fire accord. The Serbs had pledged to place their artillery, mortars and other heavy weapons under United Nations supervision. Instead they have continued blasting away at Bosnia, forcing temporary suspension of food and medical relief to Sarajevo.

Thousands more will die in the heart of Europe unless the Security Council rouses itself to send the Serbs a stern warning: Let the U.N. take over Serbia's big guns or it will bomb and strafe them into submission.

That means moving beyond humanitarian assistance to armed enforcement of peace. The U.N. has the authority to do that. Now it's up to the U.S. and other members of the Security Council to supply the collective will, and collective military muscle, to end the slaughter.

Douglas Hurd, Britain's Foreign Secretary, visited stricken Sarajevo last week while the Serbs' bombardment continued without letup. He told Bosnia to put its faith in another cease-fire that neither he nor anyone else expected Serbia to honor. "No country," he said on departing, "is willing to contemplate military intervention." Now he has Serbia's reply — shelling without end.

If Britain cannot summon courage to seek

collective punishment of Serbian aggression, surely America can. It can persuade the Security Council to authorize air strikes on Serbian gun emplacements around Bosnia's cities. And it can muster the air power to carry them out.

Such military action will not only allow relief efforts to resume. It will also raise the price of aggression and bolster Bosnia's bargaining leverage at talks with Serbia and Croatia to arrange a settlement.

If the Security Council does not act soon, Goradze may succumb. The mostly Muslim Slav town of 20,000, now swelled by twice that number of refugees, could become the next victim of "ethnic cleansing" — driving out Muslims to facilitate resettlement by Serbs. That would consolidate Serbia's control over two-thirds of Bosnian territory and further isolate Sarajevo.

Failure to act now would be a disgrace for the U.N. And it would expose President Bush's new world order as an empty pretense.

Serbia's success in dismembering Bosnia is already sowing domestic instability in neighboring states. Most dangerous of all, it could inspire other petty dictators in the region to exploit nationalist resentments to seize power. Once they do, their neighbors dare not rest easy.

The blood from the Balkans is seeping under Europe's door. If Europeans won't stanch the flow, then America has to lead them in a joint rescue.

oil, as well as subsidies to Middle Eastern despots with the use of efficient and cost-saving energy alternatives. Both the Senate and the House have, to their credit, passed energy bills that would encourage greater energy efficiency and make it less risky for electric utilities to undertake construction of new base-load power plants.

As in France, Canada and Japan, such plants would help shrink oil-fired electricity production. In this country, however, oil-fired plants still account for more than 20 percent of the power produced in Florida, New York and Massachusetts.

Unfortunately, the future of the energy bills is very much in doubt. Nevada's two senators are practicing a kind of mindless ideological environmentalism, threatening a filibuster that would prevent a House-Senate conference from reconciling minor differences between the two carefully crafted bills. They oppose a provision in the House version that would allow the Energy Department to begin geological and chemical tests of Yucca Mountain, northwest of Las Vegas, to assess its suitability as a possible repository for the country's high-level radioactive waste.

Filibusters are usually practiced by people who cannot prevail by reason. In this case, the two senators want to prevent even the test of scien-

tuting electricity.

The sooner that this game of obstructionist tactics ended the better. Considering the Energy Department will need 18 permits — possibly as many as 18 during the 7 years to 10 years site characterization stud-



take, it is clear that this national program will not proceed unless Congress cuts off money on the Yucca Mountain project. MIRO M. T...

Executive Director and Engineers for Sec New York,

## Let a U.N. Commission Rule on Airline Bombs

To the Editor:

There is nothing wrong with the suggestion made by Allan Gerson in "Compensate Libya's Victims" (Op-Ed, July 1) that a United Nations commission should be created to hear the claims for compensation for the victims of the Pan Am Flight 103 crash in Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988. There is need for a United Nations commission to be set up, not only to function as a claims forum, but also as a body charged with analyzing the circumstantial evidence against Libya, and to make recommendations to the Security Council.

The bombings of Pan Am 103 and of a French Union de Transports Aer-

## Small Nations

To the Editor:

Leslie H. Gelb is right. "Curse of Nations" (column) is a violation of the Declaration of Independence's promised individual rights. National self-determination can Revolution neither confer nor legitimize legitimacy to the national state. The war does not appear once in the Constitution.

Consequently, Mr. Gelb congratulated for insuring the past time for America to abandon the worst self-determination, the unity of national self and individual liberty, and nation with elections a

## Mr Perot's Chance for Courage



## U.N. Airlift In Bosnia Resumes

### Shelling Near Airport Returns to 'Normal'

By Peter Maass  
Special to The Washington Post

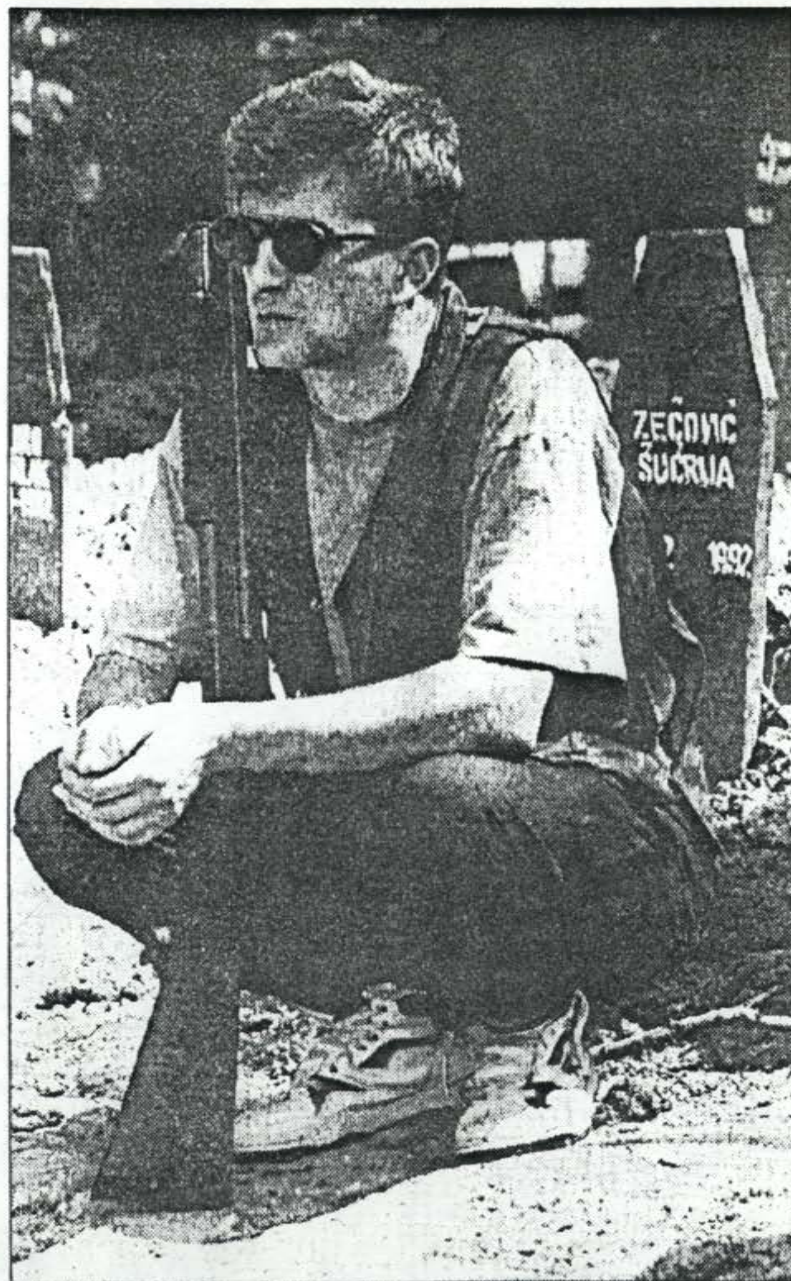
SARAJEVO, Bosnia, July 21—The French sentry sipped his *café au lait* from a tin cup, glanced through the shattered glass of his airport guard booth and listened calmly to the whiz, boom and thud of bullets and mortar shells around him. He liked what he heard.

He motioned to his right, where mortar rounds were landing among Serb militiamen camped in a clump of shell-shattered houses about 200 yards from the runway. He motioned to his left, where Serb howitzer volleys were exploding in a virtually identical patch of blight held by Muslim-led Bosnian government forces.

"Things are getting back to normal," the sentry said with a smile. Normal means that Bosnia's warring Serbs and Slavic Muslims were firing at each other and not at the U.N.-controlled airport, which one side or the other bom-

See SARAJEVO, A22, Col. 1

■ Bosnia's foreign minister urges the U.S. to increase aid. Page A22



Bosnian combatant prays at funeral in Sarajevo for five comrades slain in battle with Serbs. A truce pact, in effect since Sunday, was largely ignored.

# Baker Said Likely To Resign Post

## Shift to Bush Campaign Called Certain

By Ann Devroy  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Secretary of State James A. Baker III is likely to resign his Cabinet post rather than take a temporary leave when he goes to the White House to head President Bush's reelection effort, administration sources said yesterday.

White House, campaign and Republican sources this week said it is now a certainty that Baker will shift from directing foreign policy to become senior White House adviser to the president. Chief of Staff Samuel K. Skinner is expected to remain at the White House, but Baker, with a long personal relationship with the president and five campaigns behind him, is likely to be the architect of the reelection strategy.

Campaign sources said last week that Baker had hoped to take a leave of absence from the State Department if Bush asked him to return to the White House. Baker wanted to put Undersecretary Lawrence S. Eagleburger in charge of the State Department as acting secretary. But sources said Baker has determined that he and Bush would be criticized as politicizing foreign policy if they made such a move.

There appears to be no precedent for such an action, although there is a precedent for one official serving in top State Department

## Gingrich In Tight Primary

### Defeat or Runoff For 3 Democrats

By Kenneth J. Cooper  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), the confrontational minority whip, was in a close race with a Republican challenger in yesterday's Georgia's primary election, as reapportionment brought the political trouble predicted for the state's incumbent lawmakers. Three Democrats faced defeat or a runoff next month.

In the Georgia congressional race most watched in Washington, Gingrich led former legislator Herman Clark by fewer than 500 votes out of the 50,000 counted with 85 percent of precincts reporting



# Around Sarajevo Airport, 'They Never Stop Shooting'

SARAJEVO, From A1

barded with mortar fire on Monday, forcing its closure. The airport reopened today, and U.N. troops resumed the international airlift bringing food and medicine to the 300,000 Sarajevo civilians who have been trapped in the Bosnian capital for three months by besieging Serb militia forces.

The French sentry served with U.N. peace-keeping forces in Beirut a decade ago, so gunfire is as familiar to him as the cigarette dangling Gallic-style from the side of his mouth, but many other soldiers and relief workers are having a harder time adjusting to the madness of life here at the epicenter of the Bosnian battlefield.

"This is a crazy place; they never stop shooting," said Nils Nielsen, a Danish army officer who vowed to spread the word back home. "I don't think there will be any more Danish volunteers for this place."

Out on the tarmac, which is exposed to Serb artillery positions in nearby hills and snipers from both sides in houses a few hundred yards away, a half-dozen Canadian soldiers sat in an armored personnel carrier and picked at their packaged rations. Their morale was low following the wounding of two of their compatriots by flying shrapnel on Monday.

"This will be Canada's Vietnam if we don't get out of here," said a soldier named Eric, who had served previously with U.N. forces in Cyprus. "Cyprus was a champagne

tour. Here, they just slapped us down in the middle of a war zone."

The tarmac bore witness to the reason the relief flights were halted Monday, the first break in the airlift since it began July 3. Six U.N. trucks sat there like debris from a demolition derby, their tires blown out, their windshields shattered, their white side panels holed by machine gun fire.

A few steps from the wrecked trucks is the food storage hangar, in which U.N. officials coordinate shipments of relief supplies to different neighborhoods in Sarajevo. A mortar shell ripped through the roof Monday, leaving a wrecking-ball-sized hole. Relief workers there had fled to a bunker just minutes before the shell hit.

So far, nearly 300 paneloads of food and medicine have been flown here, mostly in lumbering C-130 cargo planes. Once here, the supplies are trucked four miles in armed convoys to five dispersal points in the city, where local authorities take charge of general distribution.

The food hangar can be a dangerous place to use the toilet. The privy is at the back of the hangar, on the left side of a long corridor, while rooms along the right side of the corridor have been vacated because sharpshooters in nearby buildings have a clear shot at them. Newcomers now get explicit directions: On the left, the toilet; on the right, the snipers.

"We get used to these things," said Lejla Somun, a relief worker who works and sleeps at the airport because the trip to her home in cen-

tral Sarajevo is too dangerous. "That's why we're here. If we could not take it calmly, we could not work."

Much of the U.N. troops' frustration here is that they do not always know who is shooting at them—Serb militiamen, Bosnian defense forces or trigger-happy vigilantes—or why they're being shot at. The U.N. forces are allowed to shoot back if their lives are in danger, but that generally excludes returning mortar fire, errant or otherwise. French army Col. Michel Forestier, who is in charge of airport security, thinks that firing back would be unwise because it would "just increase the crescendo" of incoming shells.

Forestier closed the field for about an hour this afternoon after a shell landed 20 yards from an airport building. Minutes after relief flights began arriving again, about a dozen more shells slammed into a line of houses less than 200 yards from the food storage hangar.

Relief workers in the building dashed to a makeshift shelter, but many of them ran back out in a few minutes, even though the shelling had not stopped. A Russian Galaxy cargo plane—the largest in the world—had just landed, and the workers wanted to get a look at the massive craft and take souvenir pictures.

Foolhardy though their actions might seem, there's not much that makes sense at Sarajevo airport, said Michael Wagner, a Swedish army officer who was heading home after a three-week stint here. Wagner popped open a celebratory can of beer and explained that many of the troops and relief workers here had become so completely caught up in their work that they forget about the danger. "The scary thing," he said, "is that you don't feel frightened."

## Broaden

By A. D. Horowitz  
Washington Post Foreign

The senior diplomat Bosnia-Herzegovina officials yesterday to help international relief efforts civilians besieged there militia forces determined the former Yugoslav received a sympathetic no promises of action.

Despite recent international about a greater force halt the bloody Bosnian only result has been a naval patrol in the Adriatic to monitor U.N. operations against the new Serb Yugoslav state. Today, Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic missed those patrols, smuggling is on the rise and ships should be there."

In meetings with Assistant Secretary of State John R. Bolton, several Senate leaders pleaded for limited air strikes to break the Serb sieges and to relieve heavily shelled eastern Bosnia. His proposed airdrops of food and overland deliveries from the airport—now receiving relief shipments via a military airlift—to Gorazde, a town southeast of the airport, have been under siege by Serbs for three months.

A Foreign Relations spokesman said Silajdzic made warm and sympathetic over no commitments. A resolution, cosponsored by Sen. Jon Kyl (D-Ariz.) and Sen. Joseph Lieberman (D-Conn.), to authorize U.S. forces for multinational operations has been introduced but no action has been taken.



July 22, 1992

# Broader U.S. Relief Effort Urged

By A. D. Horne  
Washington Post Foreign Service

The senior diplomat of war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina urged U.S. officials yesterday to help mount a new international relief effort to rescue civilians besieged there by Serb militia forces determined to partition the former Yugoslav republic. He received a sympathetic hearing but no promises of action.

Despite recent international rhetoric about a greater foreign effort to halt the bloody Bosnian conflict, the only result has been a nine-nation naval patrol in the Adriatic Sea, ostensibly to monitor U.N. trade sanctions against the new Serb-controlled Yugoslav state. Today, Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic dismissed those patrols, saying: "The smuggling is on the Danube; The ships should be there."

In meetings with Assistant Secretary of State John R. Bolton and several Senate leaders, Silajdzic pleaded for limited air strikes to break the Serb sieges and for efforts to relieve heavily shelled towns in eastern Bosnia. His proposals included airdrops of food or protected overland deliveries from Sarajevo airport—now receiving international relief shipments via a massive U.N. airlift—to Gorazde, a town 30 miles southeast of the airport that has been under siege by Serb forces for three months.

A Foreign Relations Committee spokesman said Silajdzic "received a warm and sympathetic welcome" but got no commitments. A Senate resolution, cosponsored by Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.) and Joseph Lieberman (D-Conn.), to authorize the use of U.S. forces for multinational relief operations has been introduced, but no action has been taken.

Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams said U.S. aid efforts continue to focus on Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, where American C-130 transports have delivered more than 400 tons of relief supplies in 38 missions this month. Defense Department officials said they prefer not to expand relief efforts beyond Sarajevo, citing risks of being drawn deeper into an intractable conflict and the lack of any logical stopping point for U.S. involvement. But the officials said that the United Nations is considering the request for relief convoys to Gorazde, and they did not rule out U.S. participation.

Silajdzic's pleas for an expanded U.S. role in Bosnia were made as other American officials met here with Milan Panic, the Serbian-American businessman who had returned to Belgrade this month as prime minister of the new two-republic Yugoslavia, an alliance of Serbia and its small satellite, Montenegro. Panic, who came to Washington yesterday after meeting Monday with U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, has promised to end Yugoslav support of Serb forces fighting in Bosnia and seeks the lifting of the U.N. sanctions.

In an interview, Silajdzic dismissed Panic's efforts, saying, "I think he has no power to do anything." He told one group of senators that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic—widely perceived for months to have masterminded the Serb aggression in Bosnia—still controls the war there.

In London last Friday, Silajdzic—representing Bosnia's Slavic Muslim-led government—signed a European Community-sponsored agreement with leaders of the republic's Serb and Croat communities that called for a two-week cease-fire and the group-

ing of all heavy weapons at sites to be monitored by U.N. observers. The agreement, which was violated two hours after it went into effect Monday, set off a dispute at the U.N.

In a letter to the Security Council that was leaked to reporters, Boutros-Ghali criticized the council for endorsing the plan despite his "serious reservations" and EC mediator Lord Carrington for ignoring his assessment that the plan was "not realistic." He also criticized the council for not requesting a technical report on implementing the plan before endorsing it.

Silajdzic, in the interview, charged that Carrington was allowing himself to be used "to legalize the [Serbs'] aggression." During the London talks, Silajdzic said, Carrington sent a written request to Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, "asking him to stop" the siege of Gorazde. Karadzic agreed, saying, "of course, we come in peace," according to Silajdzic, but "while we were talking in London, they were bringing in reinforcements . . ."

Silajdzic charged that 40 Yugoslav army tanks were brought across the border from Montenegro to step up the siege of Gorazde. He added that Yugoslav warplanes are using cluster bombs against the town's chiefly Muslim defenders, as well as against Gradacac, in northern Bosnia.

"The first, immediate thing that can be done," Silajdzic said, "is to escort the relief to the besieged towns, especially Gorazde," whose prewar population of 20,000 has tripled by refugees fleeing the Serbs. Bosnian defense officials said 70 civilians had died in Gorazde since Monday.

*Special correspondent Trevor Rowe at the United Nations and staff writer Barton Gellman contributed to this report.*

is too dangerous. We're here. If we could calmly, we could not

he U.N. troops' frustration is that they do not know who is shooting at them or trigger-happy vigilantes who are being shot at. Forces are allowed to enter their lives in danger, but generally excludes them from fire, errant or other army Col. Michel is in charge of air strikes. He thinks that firing back is wise because it would "bring the crescendo" of in-

closed the field for this afternoon after a 20 yards from an air- Minutes after relief arriving again, about a shells slammed into a s less than 200 yards storage hangar.

workers in the building makeshift shelter, but ran back out in a few n though the shelling ped. A Russian Galaxy—the largest in the just landed, and the ed to get a look at the and take souvenir pic-

though their actions there's not much that at Sarajevo airport, Wagner, a Swedish who was heading home -week stint here. Wag- open a celebratory can explained that many of nd relief workers here so completely caught work that they forget danger. "The scary aid, "is that you don't ed."



# Aid but Not Homes Offered To Refugees From Balkans

By HENRY KAMM  
Special to The New York Times

GENEVA, July 29 — Officials from 61 nations joined today in condemning the warfare that has driven 2.3 million people from their homes in the former Yugoslavia, but they had difficulty agreeing on any proposals to shelter the refugees or to help them return. However the United Nations received a \$114.5 million more in pledges to help deal with the exodus, Europe's biggest refugee crisis since World War II.

"I think this has been a good day for refugees, the displaced and the distressed people of former Yugoslavia," said the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Sadako Ogata, who organized the international conference and is leading the relief effort.

### Emphasizing a Return Home

Mrs. Ogata said the meeting had called the world's attention to the plight of the refugees, most of whom have been driven from their homes by fighting and ethnic animosities in the newly independent republics of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Nations attending the conference generally agreed to help displaced people return home rather than to resettle them abroad.

Germany, however, proposed that other countries admit refugees on the basis of "international burden-sharing." Germany has already given temporary asylum to 200,000 former residents of Yugoslavia, by far the largest number.

But the British Minister of Overseas Development, Baroness Chalker of Wallasey, speaking for the European Community, said the members stood "11 to 1" against Germany's proposal. She said such a plan would serve largely to encourage those seeking to force certain ethnic groups from their homes.

In a speech that drew praise from many participants, Mrs. Ogata emphasized that the exodus from was not incidental to the war, but a result of a deliberate campaign to drive out members of specific ethnic groups.

"The policy of establishing ethnically pure zones — 'ethnic cleansing,' as it has been referred to — lies at the heart of this conflict," she said. "Displacement seems to be the goal, not just the result of the war, with the motive being clearly ethnic relocation."

While most speakers, including Mrs. Ogata, refrained from accusing Serbia, which has been the most consistent offender in this campaign, Interior Minister Rudolph Seiters of Germany did not mince words.

"The present wave of refugees is not a natural disaster," he said. "It is the result of a deliberate, systematic policy of conquest and expulsion, of terror inflicted on the civilian population that does not stop even at outright murder."

extremists who have been encouraged, armed and equipped by Belgrade and can continue to count on the support of those responsible in Belgrade."

### Aid Is First Priority, U.S. Says

A United States Assistant Secretary of State, John R. Bolton, said in his speech that the first goal of the international community must be, "above all, getting assistance in, even if it means overcoming resistance."

More than 20 United Nations trucks loaded with food and medicine arrived today in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in a convoy from the port of Split, Croatia.

It was the largest convoy to reach Sarajevo, which has been encircled and barraged for weeks by heavily armed Serbian forces. The United Nations is hoping the route may eventually replace the airlift that has been the main channel of aid to civilians trapped by the Serbian siege.

The United States was not among the countries that pledged additional financial aid today. Mr. Bolton said Washington had contributed \$51 million so far. The biggest additional pledges to-

## Faced with a flow of immigrants, Europe balks.

day came from Germany, \$32.5 million; Norway, \$20 million; Italy, \$18.5 million, and Denmark, \$17 million.

### Rights Committee Formed

Special to The New York Times

LONDON, July 29 — The 10th round of peace talks sponsored by the European Community with leaders of Muslim, Serbian and Croatian parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina ended today with a modest agreement to form a committee in the field to try to deal with human rights violations.

But there was no agreement on the underlying political issues.

For example the Muslim representative, Haris Silajdzic, who is the Foreign Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina, refused to discuss community proposals for a partition of the country into three separate zones.

The committee to be established will be led by Commandant Colm Doyle, an Irish Army officer. It will include representatives of all three groups, the United Nations and the Red Cross and will work toward establishing a ceasefire, making sure humanitarian aid gets to the refugees for whom it is intended and freeing all people held in camps or prisons.



Tim Zielenbach for The New York Times

announcing the establishment of a new military base led by the residents of the violence-torn township

## Peace Criminal Trial

but is rather an is right and just,"

World War II, Mr. of the core of Com-East Germany. By he had emerged as a someday succeed Ulbricht. e to the position of the ruling Politburo, y he directed conlin wall in 1961. the Politburo de-tr. Ulbricht and in-er in his place. ecret Police

wer, Mr. Honecker of many East Ger-en unhappy with Mr. ule. But he revealed tional hard-line Com-s principal weapon a-Stasi, that maina-estimated 6 million of

adjust to Mr. Gorbachev's liberalized form of Communism, which found favor with many East Germans. Popular dissatisfaction with Mr. Honecker's leadership grew during the 1980's, and broke into the open with a series of mass rallies in 1989.

The Politburo, seeking to prevent a collapse of the Communist system, voted on October 18, 1989, to oust Mr. Honecker. They proved to have acted too late. The Berlin wall was breached three weeks later, the Communist government was swept away, and in October 1990, under terms of a unification treaty with West Germany, the East German state ceased to exist.

At the prison where Mr. Honecker was held tonight, a spokesman said he would be treated like any other prisoner. He will not be allowed to speak privately with other inmates, who include Willi Stoph, his former Prime Minister, and Heinz Kessler, his former Defense Minister. Both are facing trial for crimes they are charged with



*Olga B. Markovich*

A14

INTERNATI

## Canadian combat battalion could move to Sarajevo soon

• From Page A1

She urged all parties in the conflict "to co-operate with the United Nations in creating the conditions necessary to begin delivery of relief supplies to those so much in need."

If the Canadian troops are redeployed to the Sarajevo airport, they would have to travel about 300 kilometres over a road that has been the scene of frequent armed clashes between Serbs and members of other groups, including Croats and Muslims.

The Canadian soldiers, members of a unit originally based in Lahr, Germany, have heavy trucks and armoured personnel carriers. They are armed with light weapons and are authorized to return fire to defend themselves.

The Sarajevo airport has been damaged in recent shelling and repair work would have to be done before relief flights could land, a senior Canadian official said.

The Canadian soldiers would provide the core of the peacekeeping forces at the airport. The Force commander is providing up to 300 troops.

Canadian military officials in Belgrade, in eastern Croatia, arrived yesterday to complete deployment plans. "We are considering all options and possibilities," said Captain Doug Martin, a spokesman for the Canadian infantry.

A UN convoy was attacked on the

outskirts of Sarajevo yesterday, local journalists said. Sarajevo radio said one person was injured as the convoy was ambushed after it left central Sarajevo to join another UN convoy with peacekeepers who arrived after a day-long drive through Bosnia's war zone.

The radio, quoting correspondents of the republic's B-H Press news agency at the scene, said the tires of all of the UN vehicles were punctured in the assault. It did not identify the attackers.

No further details of the reported attack were available and it was not immediately possible to confirm it independently. Telephone links between Sarajevo and the outside world have largely collapsed.

Sarajevo's 400,000 people — about half its peacetime population — endured another day of artillery explosions and rocket attacks. Bosnian news media said 31 people have died and 129 have been wounded since Tuesday.

Belgrade TV showed pictures of bodies hanging from cars demolished by explosions, and hospital workers treating elderly people for serious burns and gaping shrapnel wounds.

"Sarajevo exists no longer as a city," Belgrade radio proclaimed. "It is a heap of rubble."

Flames engulfed numerous buildings, including some in the old Turkish quarters of Bascarsija.

Canada has about 1,200 peacekeepers in neighbouring Croatia — including about 840 infantry and 280 military engineers based in Daruvar. The engineers are clearing mines and setting up bases for UN forces.

To punish Serbia for its part in fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the UN stopped Serbian-dominated Yugoslavia with trade, oil and air transport sanctions on May 30.

Serbia's Red Cross began handing out free food to pensioners, jobless refugees and others, indicating that the costs of the war are starting to weigh on Belgrade.

Pensioners and others on fixed incomes have been hit especially hard by hyperinflation that followed the Serbian government's extensive printing of money to finance the federal army campaigns in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

At the UN, the United States told its allies yesterday it wants to block Serbia and Montenegro, the two remaining Yugoslav republics, from taking over the old Yugoslav seat in the UN and other world bodies.

But Russia's and China's collective recognition of Serbia and Montenegro as the continuation of Yugoslavia is a stumbling block, he said.

In Washington, Republican Senator Richard Lugar suggested yesterday that U.S. President George Bush should threaten Serbia and Montenegro with "sufficient military force" unless they yield to Bosnian fighting.



# Serb leader shrugs off 'butcher of the E

**BELGRADE** — The man who has been called the Saddam Hussein of Europe is a baby-faced charmer who smiles serenely as an international storm swirls around him.

Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic wryly shrugs off taunts like "butcher of the Balkans" and vehemently refuses to read anything personal into the fact the United Nations is blaming his nation for the bloody warfare in independent Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"On my side is only the truth," the 50-year-old said in an interview this week. In his stilted but fluent English, he mused that it "can be hidden, but after a while the truth will be accessible."

By seeking to aggrandize Serbs at the expense of other Yugoslavs, Milosevic has brought his nation to its greatest humiliation: UN sanctions have cut international trade, oil imports and air links. And more than any other leader of former Yugoslavia, he now bears the blame for the federation's violent breakup.

Still, according to Slavolub Djukic, whose critical biography of Milosevic is Serbia's top bestseller, the president "believes that God himself has sent him to save the Serbian people."

Milosevic became Serbia's Communist leader in 1987 and, ironically it was his success in increasing the republic's power that led to the rise of nationalist politics in the other five states.



**KITTY MCKINSEY**  
SOUTHAM NEWS

But his intransigence in insisting on his own vision of Yugoslavia drove out republics, like Slovenia, that were prepared to negotiate a looser confederation.

As the country began to unravel, for instance, Milosevic demanded that all Serbs — scattered throughout the country — live in one state. His rallying cry was interpreted in other republics to mean a Greater Serbia carved out at their expense, a view Milosevic strenuously denies.

Serbia, he says, never wanted "one square inch of territory" that didn't belong to it. In any case, the strategy backfired.

"All the Serbs were living in one state until Milosevic made that his goal," Belgrade businessman Vitoimir Radojevic observed bitterly.

Far from shouldering the blame for Yugoslavia's breakup, Milosevic points to "separatist" politicians in other republics as the villains and claims the European

Community sparked the war in Bosnia by "premature" recognition of its independence.

"We did our best to preserve Yugoslavia, but we were not using force for that at all," he said. "Serbia... wasn't at war with anybody. We didn't even have any armed forces."

This is disingenuous and sidesteps the fact that the Yugoslav federal army was dominated by Serbs and actively fought on the side of Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia.

Since Serbia and Montenegro — the only republics left in Yugoslavia — recalled their nationals from Bosnia, Milosevic is able to distance himself from the fighting there.

"What is happening in Bosnia is a civil war among three communities. There is no aggression from the side of Serbia."

He admits sending money, food, clothes and medical supplies to Bosnian Serbs but denies controlling Serbian irregulars there.

"We are not their masters or their commanders. We are elected as the authorities of Serbia, not of the Serbian people all around Yugoslavia."

Milosevic, educated as a lawyer, worked as a businessman and banker until rising from political obscurity in the mid-'80s.

After a highly publicized intervention on behalf of minority Serbs in Albanian-dominated Kosovo province in April 1987, Milosevic

saw that nationalism was a powerful force he could harness for his own ends. He soon became a demigod supported by hundreds of thousands of street demonstrators.

Despite his reputation, Milosevic says he has never been a nationalist: "Nationalism doesn't have anything in common with the end of the 20th century. It belongs to the Middle Ages."

Curiously, his critics agree he's no nationalist.

"He's a communist and an autocrat," said Djukic. "He hasn't any opinion except power. He just played the card that was the strongest one."

More than one Western diplomat has labelled Milosevic an accomplished liar, but nonetheless he wins grudging admiration even from his political foes.

Vojislav Kostunica, vice-president of the opposition Democratic Party, describes him as a masterful politician.

These days, Milosevic is coming under increasing attack by Belgrade intellectuals, former political allies and even the Serbian Orthodox Church.

But in the countryside, where people rely almost entirely on Milosevic-controlled television for information, support remains high.

"If Milosevic were not the leader, we (in Serbia) would have begun to kill each other like dogs. He united us," said pensioner Trajan Hedjan, an ethnic Romanian.

For Mrs Bentley 14 Sheets  
Kitty McKinsey

JUN 11 '92 18:54

416 267 8029 PAGE 001

FROM : Olga B. Markovitch

PHONE NO. : 416 267 8039

P01



# US senator urges force to curb Serbia

A SENIOR US Senator yesterday warned that military action might be needed to curb Serbia's territorial ambitions, writes Jurek Martin in Washington.

Senator Richard Lugar, the Republican from Indiana, urged the Bush administration to take the lead in getting the United Nations and Nato to

bring about "a stern enforcement" of a ceasefire in Yugoslavia and, failing all else, to be ready to use force against the regime in Belgrade.

"The time for drawing the line has come," he said. "The UN should authorise nation states to use force. Nato should draw up plans for a comprehensive use of force as thor-

ough as that formulated for air, sea and ground forces in Desert Storm."

"A final demand," he went on, "should be made for a ceasefire followed by diplomatic resolution of claims and boundaries, with the UN or Nato, in some combination, providing peacekeeping forces." If Serbia did not yield,

he said, "it should face sufficient military force to ensure its certain and swift defeat."

Senator Lugar's intervention is an attempt to break the logjam of US political indifference to events in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Senate foreign relations committee is to take public discussion further today in special hearings.

## Canada set to send soldiers to Sarajevo

### Security Council approval needed

BY JEFF SALLOT  
The Globe and Mail  
With CP, AP and Reuter

Canada is ready to send 850 soldiers as part of a United Nations plan to open and secure the airport in Sarajevo, the besieged capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

If the mission gets a final go-ahead from the UN Security Council, the Canadian combat battalion could be redeployed from Croatia to Sarajevo as early as next week, senior federal officials said last night.

Canada is urging the Security Council to approve the plan so that relief supplies, medicines and food can be flown to Sarajevo.

Road and air access to the Bosnian capital has been periodically cut off because of fierce fighting in the latest phase of the Yugoslav civil war.

A contingent of about 60 UN peacekeepers, led by Canadian Brigadier-General Lewis MacKenzie, is in Sarajevo now to see if Serbian fighters and other groups will abide by a ceasefire and allow heavy weapons, such as tanks, cannon and mortars, to be placed under UN guard to prevent further attacks on the airport. The job of protecting the airport is potentially more dangerous than the policing operations that have been carried out by Canadian soldiers assigned by the UN to Croatia.

The UN asked Canada whether there were any objections to the redeployment several days ago, and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and key cabinet ministers gave their approval Tuesday, government sources say.

The decision was announced in the House of Commons yesterday by External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall.

Please see CANADIAN—A14

*Globe & Mail  
June 11/92*



## WORLD

# THE PRICE OF WAR

**L**ineups for gasoline snaked around city blocks, angry commuters waited for buses that never arrived and desperate shoppers hoarded food. As battles raged in neighboring Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia began to feel the heavy price of Yugoslavia's ethnic war for the first time. Isolated by a United Nations oil and trade embargo imposed on May 30, Serbians awoke last week to an atmosphere of gloom and paranoia. "Imagine getting up one morning and finding your future has been axed, that there is no point in planning for more than a day or two in advance," said Belgrade film-maker Srdjan Sapor. Other residents of the Serbian capital were even more pessimistic. "What about the bombing, when is it going to start?" asked a young mother, referring to rampant—unsubstantiated—rumors that UN sanctions are a prelude to a military attack on the scale of the allied offensive against Iraq. "I mean, this isn't Baghdad, is it?"

The UN sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, the two republics that proclaimed a new, truncated Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on April 27, were aimed at stopping Serbian aggression in breakaway Bosnia-Herzegovina. Experts say that the sanctions, including an oil embargo, a freeze on foreign assets and a ban on trade, air and sports links, will seriously undermine the economy of the new Yugoslav state. And as outside pressure increased, 50,000 demonstrators in Belgrade protested the violence and demanded the resignation of Slobodan Milošević, Serbia's nationalist president. Although many Serbs support their embattled leader and feel unjustly tarnished by the United Nations—Croatian military involvement in Bosnia, they say, has gone unpunished—they express shock at the carnage in the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo and anger at their government for failing to avoid the sanctions.

Last week, Serbian opposition leaders, headed by Vuk Drasković, stepped up the pressure on Milošević by announcing a series of street protests later this month. Drasković maintains that the departure of Milošević, 50, president since 1989 and Serbia's Communist party chief for three years before that, could open the way for a cooling of hatreds in the former Yugoslav

## SERBIA BECOMES A PARIAS AS THE UNITED NATIONS USES SANCTIONS IN RESPONSE TO ETHNIC FIGHTING

republics. "Peace is not possible with those associated with this bloody war," said Drasković. "They came from the past and should return to it."

The pressure on Milošević came from as far away as Ottawa, where Yugoslavian Ambassador Goran Kapetanović, a native of besieged Sarajevo, resigned in protest after urging the president to step down. And Western diplomats in Belgrade warned that war could come full circle to Serbia if the Milošević regime remains intransigent in the face of mounting opposition. They said that conflict in Serbia, particularly with the ethnic Albanian majority in southern Kosovo province where Serbia has been strengthening its garrisons in recent weeks, could quickly spread across international frontiers, igniting the Balkan powder keg for the second time this century—the first time, in 1914, led to the First World War.

But Milošević refused to bend. His initial public reaction to the UN sanctions was to describe them as "the price Serbia has to pay for helping Serbs outside the republic"—a reference to Serbian minorities in breakaway Croatia and Bosnia. And he again denied that his government was supporting the fighting in Bosnia, claiming vindication from an unlikely source: UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. In a report released last week after sanctions were imposed, Boutros-Ghali

referred to Serbian irregular forces in Bosnia, who are battling secessionist Croats and Muslims, as "independent actors."

Indeed, Belgrade officials assert that Serbian militias in Bosnia have rebuffed their repeated appeals for a truce. But many analysts expressed skepticism. They say that Milošević and other nationalists still harbor a dream of a Greater Serbia, including territory in Croatia, Bosnia and Macedonia.

As a measure of his support, Milošević last week pointed to the results of a controversial parliamentary election in the new federal republic. His ruling Socialist (formerly Communist) party took 73 seats in the 138-seat Chamber of Citizens. The nationalist Serbian Radical Party came second with 33 seats, and Montenegro's Democratic Party of Socialists, also made up of former Communists, won 23 seats. But all of the main opposition parties boycotted the election. And many Western governments, which do not recognize the new Yugoslav state, dismissed the poll as undemocratic.

As the UN sanctions began to bite last week, Western and Yugoslav economists predicted



YOUNG GAVAN, FOR EXPRESS





## World Notes

### KEEPING THE PEACE

For the first time in its 43-year history, NATO has gone beyond the defence of its 16 member states to take on a new peacekeeping role in Europe. At a meeting in Oslo, NATO Secretary General Manfred Wörner said that the military alliance will provide supplies, transport or even troops for peacekeeping missions if requested by the 52-nation Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

### ARAFAT RECUPERATES

In Jordan, PLO chairman Yasser Arafat underwent surgery to remove a cerebral blood clot caused by head bruises sustained in an April plane crash. After the 90-minute operation, neurologist Ashraf al-Kurdi said that Arafat was in a "perfect mental and intellectual state."

### THE RACE IS ON

Arkansas Gov. William Clinton swept six primaries on June 2, giving him well over the 2,145 delegates he needs to win the Democratic presidential nomination. But Clinton's victory was overshadowed by independent candidate Ross Perot, who is outpolling both Clinton and President George Bush in several surveys anticipating the November election. Perot announced the hiring of veteran strategists Hamilton Jordan and Ed Rollins to manage his campaign to unseat Bush. Jordan ran Jimmy Carter's 1976 campaign, and Rollins directed Ronald Reagan's in 1984.

### RETURN TO SENDER

By a margin of 851,000 write-in votes to 277,000, fans chose an image of the young Elvis Presley over an older one for a new 29-cent stamp honoring the singer. A spokesman for the U.S. Postal Service, which conducted the poll, said that it expects collectors to buy up to \$20 million in Elvis stamps.

### LOST AND FOUND

Thirty years after he defected to the Soviet Union, U.S. investigators discovered 73-year-old Victor Hamilton, a former code analyst dismissed from the U.S. National Security Agency, languishing in a Russian psychiatric prison.

### RAMOS TRIUMPHS

Former Philippine defence chief Fidel Ramos declared victory in the May 11 presidential poll after the watchdog Commission on Elections said that he had an unbeatable total of 5.2 million votes. Several of the other six candidates alleged electoral fraud in the race to succeed retiring President Corazon Aquino.



War damage in Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina; Milošević (below): a powder keg

devastating effects to come. The embargo is the latest blow to an economy that had been mismanaged for decades under Communist rule and ravaged by recent ethnic fighting. Over the past 11 months, the secessions of Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina have stripped Serbia of its closest trading partners. Monthly inflation hit a record 81 per cent in April, industrial output is down 25 per cent compared with a year ago and exports have crumbled. The UN oil ban will further exacerbate the situation because Yugoslavia produces just 25 per cent of the oil it uses. Said Božo Jovanović, the country's minister for foreign economic relations: "Some sectors of the economy will come to a complete standstill, and the entire economy will be forced just to survive."

At the same time, foreign governments began freezing Yugoslavia's overseas assets last week. Washington identified about \$480 million worth of bank deposits and property in the United States, Britain began seizing \$660 million in assets and Canada about \$200 million. Ottawa also began to implement sanctions in the fields of science, technology and sport.

Of all the UN sanctions, the ban on international athletic competition seemed to touch the

deepest emotions among sports-loving Serbians. Yugoslavia's soccer team had been scheduled to compete this week at the European Championships in Sweden. And its basketball team, which won a silver medal at the 1988 Olympics in Seoul, was poised to battle the Americans for gold at the Barcelona Summer Olympics. "We can survive without gasoline and fancy imported goods," said Belgrade pensioner Mile Mitic, "but without soccer and basketball, I don't know."

The sports ban was particularly hard on Vlade Divac, the Los Angeles Lakers' seven-foot, one-inch centre. Planning to play for Yugoslavia's national basketball team in Barcelona, Divac, a 24-year-old Serb, could not contain his disappointment. "We are not politicians and warriors," he said. "We are only sportsmen, and sports should not mix with politics." But that distinction was lost on the war-weary residents of Sarajevo, site of the 1984 Winter Olympics, who huddled in dark basements last week as Serbian artillery shells rained death and destruction on their once-peaceful town.

ANDREW BILSKI with  
MICHAEL MONTGOMERY in Belgrade



# UN paves the way for supply troops in Sarajevo

By Judy Dempsey in Belgrade and Jurek Martin in Washington

UNITED NATIONS military officers arrived in Sarajevo yesterday to prepare the way for 1,000 UN troops who hope to lift the siege on the city's airport and allow the transport of supplies for thousands of residents.

The officials hope to arrange the removal of all anti-aircraft weapon systems held by Serb irregulars surrounding the airport and oversee their withdrawal from the vicinity.

UN officials stressed that the operation "was highly dangerous" since it depends on all sides honouring a ceasefire. They also warned that they did not have the means to provide air cover for the troops.

Mr Cedric Thornberry, the UN's chief negotiator said: "Ceasefires come and go, but we have to keep trying."

Last weekend Mr Thornberry forged an agreement between the Bosnian presidency and the Bosnian Serb army, led by General Ratko Mladic and Mr Radovan Karadzic, to reopen the airport.

A senior US Senator warned that military action might be needed to curb Serbia's territorial ambitions.

In Washington, Senator Richard Lugar, the Republican from Indiana, said: "The time for

Continued on Page 16  
Calm before the storm, Page 14

## UN officers in Sarajevo

Continued from Page 1

drawing the line has come."

"The UN should authorise nation states to use force. Nato should draw up plans for a comprehensive use of force as thorough as that formulated for air, sea and ground forces in Desert Storm."

Senator Lugar's intervention is an attempt to break the logjam of US political indifference to events in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This afternoon the Senate foreign relations committee is to take public discussion further in special hearings.

A convoy of 41 UN cars, trucks and an armoured personnel carrier left Belgrade on the rugged 300km drive to Sarajevo, where 300,000 residents are trapped by fighting and face starvation.

Rival militias have continued shelling and battling in the streets of the Bosnian capital.

The UN troops, drawn from Canada's Royal 22nd Regiment, are already preparing to leave Sector D, the UN protected area in central Croatia, where they have been deployed for some weeks.

They will be equipped with 80 armoured personnel carriers to safeguard the flow of humanitarian relief supplies through the airport into Sarajevo.

Under the terms of the agreement, the airport can only be opened once all anti-aircraft weapon systems have withdrawn from areas around the airport. Those areas will then be placed under UN supervision. In addition, all artillery, mortar and ground-to-ground missile systems and tanks within range of the airport will be concentrated in areas agreed by the UN.

If these conditions are met, the airport will be brought under UN supervision.



Peace protest: More than 3,000 students held a demonstration in Belgrade calling for the resignation of Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic as Serb forces continued to shell Sarajevo

*FINANCIAL Times Jan 11/92*



## U.N. Officials Arrive in Sarajevo In Bid to Reopen Airport for Aid

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, June 10 (Reuters) — As the shelling of Sarajevo continued today, United Nations peacekeepers arrived in the Bosnian capital hoping to reopen the airport to flights carrying emergency aid for the city's besieged people.

The people remaining in the city, which had a population of 560,000 before the fighting began, are running out of food and medicine after a two-month siege by Serbian militias fighting to carve Serbian enclaves out of the newly independent republic.

The first of two United Nations convoys reached Sarajevo late this afternoon and the second was not far behind after a 12-hour, 180-mile journey from Belgrade through rugged country dotted with Serbian roadblocks, a United Nations spokeswoman said.

The United Nations peacekeeping team will try to persuade Serbian forces to relinquish the airport and agree to a truce around its perimeter to allow flights carrying humanitarian aid to land.

"To open the airport in 7 to 10 days would be a remarkable feat and require the full cooperation of all parties involved," said Shannon Boyd, a United Nations spokeswoman in Belgrade.

As more than three dozen United Nations vehicles neared Sarajevo, Serbian militia forces commanding the heights overlooking the city resumed bombarding residential districts, Sarajevo radio said.

Buildings housing Sarajevo's main daily newspaper, and university residence halls were hit, it reported.

A tentative agreement to open the airport that was mediated by the United Nations last week was followed by

three days of the heaviest Serbian bombardments to date.

### Senate Urges U.S. Action

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 10 — A growing number of Republican and Democratic Senators are pressing the Bush Administration to consider military intervention to end the siege of Sarajevo, but White House officials were cool to their proposals today.

A resolution calling on President Bush to ask the United Nations to prepare a plan for international intervention to halt the fighting in Bosnia and Herzegovina is expected to be adopted on Thursday by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a Senate official said.

The resolution, introduced by Senator Carl M. Levin, Democrat of Michigan, is endorsed by Senators George J. Mitchell, Democrat of Maine, and Robert J. Dole, Republican of Kansas.

Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr., Democrat of Delaware, is convening the subcommittee on European affairs on Thursday to discuss his own draft resolution on "using military force to resolve the crisis" in Yugoslavia.

Speaking today in anticipation of the Biden resolution, which he intends to endorse, Senator Richard G. Lugar, Republican of Indiana, said, "The time for drawing the line has come."

Asked about Senator Lugar's remarks, Marlin Fitzwater, the White House spokesman, said, "We believe that the U.N. is the right forum to do this and we are working with the U.N. and are part of their deliberations."

## War in the Balkans Creates a Bitter U.S. Front

By DEBORAH SONTAG

Special to The New York Times

NEW YORK, June 10 — With a cigarette dangling from his lips, Vladimir Radojicic, a 34-year-old photographer, projected an unflappable cool during a late-night gathering of Yugoslav immigrants in Manhattan. But when the evening's video began, a taped tour of downtown Belgrade, the tears rolled quietly down his face.

Mr. Radojicic, son of a Croatian mother and a Serbian father, is caught quite personally between the warring ethnic factions in his native land.

Drafted by both the Serbian and the Croatian armies last fall, he fled instead to the United States. Here, the tensions causing the Balkans to implode have revived Old World rivalries among the more than a million Americans of Balkan descent.

Outside Detroit, rival Yugoslavian and Albanian youth gangs, the "Yugos" and "Albos," have traded fists and sticks in mall parking lots. In Cleveland, Serbian and Croatian soccer teams have canceled matches because violence during games was escalating. In the Chicago area, a Serbian

monastery was defaced with anti-Serbian vulgarities, while a Croatian cultural center was spray-painted with anti-Croatian slogans. The Chicago Commission on Human Rights reported death threats and bomb threats to Serbian community leaders.

So Mr. Radojicic did not exactly escape the bloody war he tried to leave behind.

"I could not choose to go fight the family of my mother or to go fight the family of my father, so I chose out."

Continued on Page A8, Column 1



and the rump Yugoslav army to stop fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Second, in a less explicit way, western governments hoped that sanctions would lead to the overthrow of the Milosevic regime through anti-government demonstrations, and the subsequent installation of a pro-European democratic government in Belgrade.

So far, there are no signs that the guns will fall silent in war-torn Bosnia. Serbian irregulars continue to expel Moslems from villages with the aim of creating ethnically pure regions. Croatian forces continue to try to form bridgeheads between Croatia and Croat-populated areas of Bosnia. The population of Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, is on the verge of starvation following a two-month siege imposed by the Serb irregulars and the Yugoslav army.

Even if there is a formal end to the war, the desire for revenge among Bosnia's three ethnic groups means that the killing is likely to continue - although perhaps not so systematically - in that republic.

In an attempt to distance Serbia from the war in Bosnia, to end the UN sanctions, Mr Milosevic is now disowning the Bosnian Serbs, whom he once supported. He has said that Serbia is not involved in the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. His government ministers repeatedly claim that the sanctions are unjust because Serbia is not the only guilty partner.

At the same time, the sanctions have not yet galvanised the opposition into effective action against the Milosevic regime. This is because the opposition is fragmented between nationalists and liberals, and both groups are too weak to attract public support in their attempt to topple Mr Milosevic.

For example, the armed, ultra-nationalist Serbian Radical party,

Djindjic, one of the Democratic party's most articulate leaders, says that speaking openly about democracy in Serbia - which includes granting ethnic rights to the Albanians in Kosovo, the Moslems in Sanjak in south-western Serbia, and the ethnic Hungarians in Vojvodina, northern Serbia - would amount to electoral suicide.

"The civil society is very weak here. Serbs do not reflect about democracy and its implications," said Mr Djindjic. A senior Democratic party official said: "Serbs simply do not care about the ethnic minorities, particularly the Albanians. They despise them."

**N**evertheless, in spite of such evidence of a weak attachment to democratic political traditions in Serbia, the Democratic party wants to form a transitional government of national consensus which would include Mr Milosevic's ruling Serbian Socialist party. Although members of the Socialist party are beginning to try to distance themselves from Mr Milosevic's regime, his support is still strong enough for him to dictate the terms of any power-sharing arrangement.

Mr Djindjic said last week a coalition government would prepare for free, democratic elections, monitored by international observers. He admitted that, by including socialists in any coalition government, the Democratic party's supporters would accuse it of selling out to the Milosevic regime. He also said that the Serbian president would try to use that government to remain in power, or even to pre-empt efforts to bring democracy and stability to the republic by fomenting civil war.

"The ingredients for war are all here in Serbia," explained Mr Djind-



Slobodan Milosevic  
Serbian president

Vojislav Seselj  
Serbian Radical party

Vuk Draskovic  
Serbian Renewal party

ic. He said thousands of Yugoslav federal army officers and their families had withdrawn into Serbia when they were forced to leave the other republics under the terms of the UN agreement in Croatia; 500,000 refugees had fled to Serbia from Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina; and the extreme nationalists were jockeying for power.

Given this atmosphere of recrimination and rivalry, the Democratic party is increasingly concerned that any delay in setting up a coalition government will give Mr Milosevic an opportunity to orchestrate unrest in order for the socialists to remain in power.

"Milosevic always finds a crisis to generate a conflict as a means of deflecting Serbia's problems," explained Mr James Gow, a specialist on the Yugoslav army at King's College, London.

But unlike previous occasions, Mr Milosevic can no longer rely on fomenting unrest in neighbouring republics to deflect attention from the republic's own problems: unemployment is about 20 per cent, industrial production is down about 20 per cent in the first quarter of this year compared with the same period of 1991; inflation is 150 per cent a month, on top of a rate of 1,000 per cent for 1991.

in the republic - including the ethnic Albanians. Yet no stability in Serbia is possible without granting ethnic rights to the minorities.

The possibility of war in Kosovo is of increasing concern to western governments, particularly the US. American diplomats say that Albania would support its fellow ethnic Albanians in Kosovo if nationalists around Mr Seselj or Mr Milosevic provoked a war in the province, or indeed, if the ethnic Albanians themselves attempted to rebel against their Serb government.

In such an event, the ethnic Albanians in neighbouring Macedonia, who make up 20 per cent of the population, and the government of Turkey would probably support Kosovo as well. "Turkey has had enough of the slaughter of their fellow Moslems in Bosnia. They won't stand idly by next time. They might arm the ethnic Albanians," a diplomat said.

However, few diplomats, or liberal intellectuals in Belgrade, can see a way out of the impasse. They fear that instability triggered by an outbreak of war in Kosovo will spread throughout the Balkans in a conflict which could last for many years.

Western governments have so far ruled out military intervention, either in Sarajevo or to protect Kosovo's Albanians, because they are unsure what such a move would achieve. They are not even certain that sanctions, even if they stay in place against Serbia for many months, will force the Serbian leadership into starting negotiations with its ethnic Albanians. With Mr Milosevic at the helm, and ultra-nationalists waiting for him to falter, the depressing likelihood remains that things will get worse rather than better.

PHONE NO. : 416 267 8039

FROM : Olga B. Markovich

P04

416 267 8039

JUN 11 1992



In the balmy heat of Belgrade, the Serbian capital, the impact of the United Nations sanctions imposed on Serbia and its ally, Montenegro, a week ago appear as far removed as the fighting and killing in neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Young and old sip Turkish coffees and smoke western cigarettes in the outdoor cafés. Smartly dressed drivers in their BMWs and Mercedes speed up and down the main boulevards. There is little to disturb the peace in Belgrade. Unlike Croatia, or Bosnia, war has never touched the people of Serbia.

Yet many in the capital are afraid that the republic will soon be engulfed in civil war – a fear heightened by the imposition of sanctions. Those who have the money are beginning to stockpile food and other provisions in their cellars. Petrol is now rationed, with private car owners limited to 30 litres a month per car. Prices of basic goods have doubled in the past week. The country's steel mills are running out of coke and iron ore imported from Latin America and eastern Europe. Even the mint in Serbia is unable to print money. It is running out of dinars, the unit of currency, because the watermark and paper are imported from the republic of Slovenia, which has also brought sanctions against Serbia.

The sanctions, which include a complete trade embargo on everything from textiles to cigarettes, the banning of all flights in and out of Serbia, a freeze on the republic's assets held abroad, and the reduction of diplomatic staff in embassies, were imposed by the UN on Serbia for two reasons.

First, they were aimed at forcing the Serbian president, Mr Slobodan Milosevic, to order Serb irregulars

# No shelter from the storm

## Imposition of UN sanctions against Serbia is exacerbating fears that the civil war will spread to the republic, says Judy Dempsey

led by Mr Vojislav Seselj, regards as traitors anyone who opposes the creation of a Greater Serbia, who wants a free press, or who advocates rights for the ethnic minorities in Serbia. The party enjoys considerable support in the countryside and in parts of Belgrade.

Another opposition movement, the Serbian Renewal party, based in one of Belgrade's more fashionable suburbs, is a motley collection of nationalists, conservatives and monarchists. Led by Mr Vuk Draskovic, one of the few Serb politicians who spoke out against the war in Croatia and Bosnia, the Renewal party also believes in a Greater Serbia and the re-establishment of the former Yugoslavia on the lines of a confederation.

Hopes that the Democratic party, the most liberal of all the Serbian opposition movements, will emerge as a viable force against the Milosevic government remain misplaced.

Politically, its leaders want a democratic Serbia. But Mr Zoran

### The Balkan tragedy



Desperation at being boxed in may, however, make the Serbian president more unpredictable in the measures he takes to stay in power. United Nations peace-keeping troops have been deployed in Croatia. The Yugoslav federal army has withdrawn from the independent republic of Macedonia. What remains is Kosovo, which is the president's trump card, or potentially his Achilles' heel, as he calculates his next move.

It was in this wretchedly poor province of 2m ethnic Albanians that Mr Milosevic began his rise to power in 1987. By using the rhetoric of nationalism, he accused the Albanians of persecuting the small Serb and Montenegrin ethnic minorities.

By exploiting Serbia's historical claim on Kosovo, once the cradle of Serbia's medieval empire, he rallied enough support to incorporate the province forcibly into Serbia in 1990. Since then, Kosovo has been run by Belgrade like a police state, and the civil rights of the Albanians – who make up 90 per cent of the population – have been suppressed.

Despite this violation, the ethnic (Moslem) Albanians, led by Mr Vettin Surroi and Mr Ibrahim Rugova, have adopted a policy of non-violence. But western diplomats doubt that this policy can continue.

"The tension is building up in Serbia because it is sitting on a time bomb – in Kosovo, its own back garden. Milosevic cannot hope for any stability in the new Yugoslavia as long as he continues to repress the Albanians," a western diplomat said.

But Serbia is saddled with a paradox: no party in Serbia can win at the ballot box if it guarantees to protect the civil rights of minorities

See next page



Montreal Gazette can't June 11/92

# Balkans' taunts



Slobodan Milosevic: "On my side is only the truth".

FROM : 0193 B. Markovich

PHONE NO. : 416 267 8039

P02

JUN 11 1992 18:55

416 267 8039 PAGE.002



# Prevent Nuclear War, Invade Yugoslavia

Wall St. Journal  
4/28/93

By EUGENE V. ROSTOW

The dire implications of the expanding Balkan war came out in a statement recently made at a conference in Washington by P.Y. Felgenhauer, a Russian military analyst. Mr. Felgenhauer reported that Russian military expenditures were increasing again, after a year or two of slight stability or decline. The increases were largely in the nuclear sector. He then commented on the war between Armenia and Azerbaijan. With Russian advisers and equipment behind them, the Armenians were clearly winning. But Turkey had recently moved troops to positions along its border with Armenia. The Russians were concerned, because Armenia is protected by a security treaty with Russia. Thus Turkish intervention in the war would present Russia with what he called a "difficult dilemma."

Since most of the Russian army is not battle-ready, Mr. Felgenhauer remarked, some Russian officers were talking about the possibility of using nuclear weapons, rather than fail to uphold a Russian security treaty. Turkey, it is hardly necessary to recall, is a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and that organization's treaty says that "an attack on one is an attack on all."

Mr. Felgenhauer's statement applies not only to the Caucasus but to the Balkan war as well. It was a polite but unmistakable warning about not letting the war in Bosnia go on. If the Serbs conquer Bosnia and then move against Kosovo and Macedonia, Turkey may be forced to react. Such a development

would be extremely difficult for the U.S. or NATO to control.

It would challenge several of Russia's security treaties with its neighbors. If some Russian officials are contemplating the actual use of nuclear weapons to the degree Mr. Felgenhauer implied, then threshold states such as North Korea, Iraq, Pakistan, Iran and Libya will in turn redouble their efforts to prepare for nuclear war. That would make the problem of nuclear proliferation—by far the most urgent item on President Clinton's foreign-policy calendar—nearly unmanageable.

Words like Mr. Felgenhauer's reveal the ultimate folly of President Clinton's refusals to use ground force in the former Yugoslavia. Observers of the U.S. already detect a new pattern in American foreign policy. George Bush's failure to insist on a decisive victory in the Gulf War, Bush and Clinton mistakes in the Yugoslav affair and the excessive pace of reductions in the American military budget have encouraged governments all over the world to suspect and fear that the U.S. is withdrawing from the Truman policy of American leadership in halting aggression.

For observers, the president's behavior raises the question of whether he is prepared to carry out measures of what is known as collective self-defense against aggression. That is, they wonder whether the president feels he cannot proceed in Yugoslavia without the blessing of the U.N. Security Council. President Bush, of course, had Security Council support for the Iraq invasion—but, as

he made clear at the time, he did not need it. President Clinton, by contrast, appears to be spending serious energy on obtaining consensus in a Security Council that may soon be paralyzed by a Russian or Chinese veto.

The world's growing concern about the reliability of American guarantees is having startling consequences. It is reported, for example, that a number of "moderate" states in Central Europe—including, by some reports, Poland—are attempting to buy nuclear weapons from Ukraine or Uzbekistan so that, if worse came to worst, they could start a war the U.S. would have to finish.

Why has it taken so long for the U.S. and its allies to realize that they cannot safely ignore Serbia's aggression? President Bush prolonged the problem when, early on, he remitted the issue to the European Community and the European Security Council. Up to now, neither institution appears capable of handling it. The EC has no forces behind it; in situations of this kind, Frederick the Great remarked, "diplomacy without force behind it is music without instruments." The Security Council is useless because Britain, France, and the U.S. cannot agree on a Yugoslavia policy. The result is the current macabre scenario in Yugoslavia.

There are deeper reasons why U.S. presidents have recoiled from undertaking serious diplomacy in this conflict. The first is a false recollection of Yugoslav resistance to Germany during World War II; analysts worry about what they perceive as endless difficulties involved in fighting

guerrillas on Yugoslavia's mountainous terrain. In World War II, though, Germany took Yugoslavia with little trouble during its initial invasion; its difficulties with the guerrillas came later. Announcing plans to liberate Yugoslavia from Slobodan Milosevic would help the military effort. The Serbs are by no means united behind Milosevic's policy of xenophobia and genocide. Many observers are convinced that few Serbs would actually fire on the flags of Britain, France and the U.S.—even though Serbs have resisted the U.N. In the Serbs' eyes, the U.N. may be impotent, but NATO is not.

The specter of Vietnam also looms in many Western minds. In fact, though, the idea that an alliance that prepared for 45 years to fight the forces of the Red Army at its peak could not cope with the organized forces of Serbia is hardly serious. The American military leadership has taken to heart the main military lesson of our failure in Vietnam without recalling our successes in Korea. If one set of military leaders fails, replace them with officers endowed with the insight and skill of Gen. Matthew Ridgway, who turned the Korean War around within weeks of taking command. Clearly, however, the political leadership of both parties has forgotten the moral of Gen. Ridgway's brilliant success in Korea some 40 years ago.

President Clinton is a big advocate of multilateralism. But his focus on the U.N. Security Council is a dangerous one. He should remember that, under Article 51 of the U.N. Charter, the U.S. and NATO can exercise their "inherent" right of collective self-defense against Serbian aggression without obtaining Security Council approval. Rather than worrying about negotiations in the Security Council, President Clinton should proceed.

Mr. Rostow, former undersecretary of state for political affairs (under President Nixon), is author of a new book, "Toward Managed Peace" (Yale University Press).

Teletypewriter 7017; 4-28-93; 9:47AM; 312 755 0393; # 1



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THE SERBIAN REPUBLIC  
MINISTRY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS  
NATIONAL SECURITY SERVICE  
WAR DEPARTMENT ILIDZA

No. 810/92  
Date: 5 October 1992  
Processed by: A 15  
PM.

OFFICIAL MEMO

Pursuant to a suggestion from the National Security Service, a deposition was taken from Nada Jovović which gravely incriminates Hamdo Šasić and three members of Juka's army for the rape and possible murder of Sanja Ikić in her flat at No. 1, Oteška Street.

Nada Jovović has also given a statement for television Belgrade and Novi Sad to their correspondent from Ilidza. That story, as well as a story on the rescue of Croats from Oteš, has been shelved until the rescue action is finished. This job was done in cooperation with military security bodies and the military police of the Ilidza brigade and a report thereon will be submitted on its completion.

Note: Nada Jovović's deposition is attached herewith.

(Signed) Srdjan SEHOVAC



MINUTES

Citizen NADA JOVOVIĆ, born on 7 June 1969, father Novica and mother Dragica, nee Todorović, agricultural technologist, single, permanent residence at No. 34 Darovalaca krvi Street, Sarajevo, commune of Novo Sarajevo, C.Reg. No. 0706969177668, has made the following statement.

On 30 September 1992, around 9 p.m., Hamdo Šašić, MP commander for the city of Sarajevo, accompanied by two members of "Juka's army", came to the apartment of Sanja Ikić at No. 1, Oteska Street, block 1. They asked me and Sanja Ikić what we had done at Joze Oroz's place, how had Stjepan Kalem, nicknamed Pepo, gone and why he had not taken us with him. They cursed our Cetnik mothers and verbally abused us. Hamdo Šašić asked me where my brother and brother-in-law were. We did not respond to any of his provocations. At a certain point a third member of the so-called "Juka's army" arrived and addressed Hamdo Šašić with the words: "That is not how things are done, my brother, but like this". Having said that, this member of "Juka's army" took Sanja Ikić by the hand and took her to the adjoining room. The two other members of "Juka's army" joined them. After that I only heard screams and sounds of Sanja Ikić struggling to wrest herself free. I stayed in the room with Hamdo Šašić and, tearful and scared, asked him: "Why are you doing this to me when I am guilty of nothing". I begged him to go into the room and to make them let her go. He replied: "No, Nada, we must make Moslem children". At that moment one Juka's soldier entered the room buttoning up his black coveralls and said to Hamdo Šašić: "Our business is done". Three Juka's soldiers went towards the front door and I ran to the room in which my friend was. I found Sanja on the floor, naked, her body was red, especially her neck. Her face was white as a sheet and she was frothing at the mouth. I went to her and took her by the shoulders, I called her name, but she did not respond. I could not ascertain whether she was dead or alive. I ran towards the front door seeking to escape, but Hamdo Šašić caught up with me, grabbed my shoulder and turned me to face him.

Through tears I begged him to let me go but he would not let go of me. I started screaming and Hamdo hit me with his head, drawing blood from my nose and mouth. He lightly pushed me towards the floor. I fell on the floor and Hamdo Šašić said to me: "Tomorrow night you will be raped by me and you will bear a Moslem".

After that Hamdo took the key and locked the door from the outside, taking the key with him. Through the window of the flat, which was on the first floor above the "Hollywood" pizzeria, I climbed down to the street across some sandbags, then I ran to the other side of the street and went into building L near the railway track. There I spent the night and the next morning at 9 a.m. crossed the river Željeznica and into Vreoca.

Statement given by

(Signed) JOVOVIĆ, Nada

Minutes kept by

(Signed) (illegible)

Statement taken by

(Signed) (illegible)

/...



Deposition made by S. K. on 6 November 1992 at  
the Gynaecology-Obstetrics Clinic in Belgrade,  
26 Visegradska Street

My name is S. K. I was born 11 July 1968, in Nisic, municipality of Ilijas.

I was captured on 26 May 1992 in the forest near my house. I was with two other refugee girls from Visoko - J. and N. R. We were captured by 10 men in camouflage uniforms; they had "lily" insignia on their caps. They put us in a truck and took off in an unknown direction. They drove us to Breza camp. We were detained in a basement with small windows; it was a dirty, damp and cold place. They raped us immediately on arrival; groups of them raped and beat us. I remained there two days.

I was then moved to another building, another room where there were five women and girls: two Nadas, Rosa, Mira and Olja. I was in that room until our release on 15 August 1992.

We were in the room almost all the time, except when we were taken out to watch prisoners being beaten up, tortured and executed. The torture consisted of slaughter, tearing of bodies bit by bit, drowning in a pool which looked like a swimming pool - what else was in it besides water, that I do not know.

Prisoners were forced to do hard labour and we were taken out from our room only to watch killings and tortures, or to clean and do the gardening. I did not know other prisoners; they were from Breza, Visoko and Vares.

We were repeatedly beaten and raped by scores of men; sometimes as many as 20 of them violated me one after the other. When we fainted, they poured water on us.

We did not have a bath. There was a bathroom but we were not allowed to have a bath or take a shower. There was a wash-basin where we could wash our faces, and if we managed we could wash ourselves speedily.

We were tortured simply by taking us to watch other prisoners being tortured. Once, they forced a father to rape his daughter who was about 17 years old. They beat them but both father and daughter refused to do what they were told. It was only when they pressed a knife to his throat that his daughter cried and begged him to do so in order not to be killed. He eventually did it and I do not know whether he was killed later on, but anyone who leaves that prison is a living death.

We were fed by pieces of mouldy bread or macaroni, probably leftovers, and a soup which was in fact slops.

We girls and women, occupying that room, could not talk to each other since we were never alone; there was always some one of them with us both when we worked and when we were in the room.



They constantly mentioned a name Kula, probably an alias. They kept asking themselves whether he would be satisfied by the way and how much they beat and raped us. They laughed as they did so.

Later on, when I returned home, I heard that Kula was the warden and that he was from Semizovci. I never saw him.

When I was freed, the five girls who were with me in the room were also released. Two of them committed suicide immediately after their release and the rest of them left the village with their parents. They set us free because we were pregnant and their purpose was to make us pregnant.

I am horrified of confined spaces and I wish to go back home as soon as possible.

Deposition recorded by

Zorica Stevic  
Senior Stenographer  
at the Federal Assembly

Deposition made by

S. K.



Deposition made by S. K. from Sarajevo, Belesici,  
on 23 November 1992 at the Gynaecology-Obstetrics  
Clinic in Belgrade

I was born 7 February 1972 in Sarajevo, where I lived until the outbreak of the war. When it broke out, I was taken to prison last April at the time when the roadblocks began to be set up.

I completed elementary school and the high hairdressers' course.

I worked in a private hairdresser's lounge, "Buba-Mara", and was a part-time student of the Faculty of Physical Education (I completed two years).

While I was returning home from my job, I was stopped by four armed members of the green berets who pushed me into a car, blindfolded me and drove me to a basement (I do not know where it was located). When we arrived there, I was put, together with a 16-year-old girl named Jelena, in a small partitioned corridor having no windows or ventilation.

On the first night, 12 men wearing black overalls, which served as a kind of their uniforms, came. They first molested Jelena and then forced themselves upon me. I did not know any of them; I only heard that they called one of them "Alibaba". He tore all my clothes and, since I was virgo in tacta, he was very brutal, he slapped me and made me have both oral sex with him and intercourse. Then the other two came who pinned me down on the floor while Ismet Bajramovic, known as Celo (I later found out what his name was), led the rape. He was the leader of the group. He has an organization of his own which still operates in Sarajevo. He assaulted me first, then the others took their turn and the whole ordeal was repeated throughout the night: I had to have oral sex and intercourse with them. I found out his name during my 25-day detention with Jelena in that corridor. Jelena stayed behind when I left. As I could see later on, it was a smaller apartment building which had a basement where the two of us were detained. The basement space next to us resounded with cries and screams of other women. During those 25 days I was there, I was repeatedly abused day in day out; both of us were forced to have oral sex and intercourse. All those who did that to us said that Serbs were doing the same to their Moslem sisters. This was their pretext, a justification for what they did.

On my last, 25th, day there, Ismet Bajramovic-Celo came and told me he had to let me go because of the strings pulled on my behalf, advising me to forget all about what happened to me there for my own sake.

The husband of a friend of mine, a Moslem, used his connections to find out where I was and get me out. He told me that the building I had been in was in Pofalici. Everything has been pulverized and there is no Serb house left in that suburb now.

I left in the same manner I was brought in - blindfolded. They drove me to KOKAVSKA RDO, a Moslem-controlled sector of Sarajevo, opened the door and



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The psychological ill-treatment was directed at destroying the motivation regarding safety, self-confidence and affiliation. At the same time the torturers tried to develop with the prisoners the feeling of uncertainty, helplessness, fear, anxiety and even the feeling of losing one's own identity.

Social pressure was directed at degradation of personality by destroying basic human dignity. The characteristics of the psycho-social ill-treatment were animal hatred against the victim, sadism up to bestiality and extreme cruelty.

We consider such treatment of prisoners as a crime against humanity and that it is necessary to inform the domestic and international public of this fact so as to observe all this in the light of international war law and conventions regarding prisoners of war and victims of war in general.

We suggest that a medical check-up of other groups of released prisoners be done, especially of the Armed Forces personnel, by the team of doctors - forensic specialists, neuro-psychiatrists and psychologists.

Head of the Institute for Mental Health and  
Military Psychology,

Colonel, Professor Bratislav Petrović, Ph.D

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threw me out. I walked to a friend, Emir Tufekcic, whose wife Radmila is a Serb.

Since I was mentally disturbed, my friend Emir Tufekcic, who was not a member of the green berets at the time but had to comply with a work order, and his wife Radmila helped me to go to the psychiatric clinic "Kosevo" in Kosevo, to see a Dr. Haris, whose surname I do not know. I found out what his name was while I was treated at the clinic: they called him Haris there. I was hospitalized for 28 days. Having left the clinic, I stayed with Emir and Radmila Tufekcic who hid me in their home.

After a month I felt sickness, I vomited, which indicated pregnancy. I went again to "Kosevo" clinic intending to have an abortion. They said that I could have it only if I said to the journalists that I was raped by Serbs. I indignantly refused, since I could not besmirch my people, the religion I belong to, and myself. They have no humanity or compassion; they salute each other with "Selam alekum and merhaba". So, I decided: if there was no chance for me to have an abortion, I would give birth to the child and strangle it. I hope one can understand such thoughts in such moments. The child was not a fruit of love; I would feel only hatred and rage for it and it would always remind me of the awful and horrible things I went through.

I was still with my friends Emir and Radmila Tufekcic, who fed me and gave me clothes, since I did not have any clothes of my own. There was no chance for me to pass to the Serb-controlled territory. I was with them until 15 November (midnight). They helped me to be included in the list of people to be evacuated to Serbia. The list began to be compiled in July, but it was not until November that the convoy of evacuees left for Serbia. The convoy departed Sarajevo on 15 November and reached Belgrade on 17 November 1992. I arrived in Belgrade at midnight, where I slept and a day later I was admitted to the Gynaecology-Obstetrics Clinic, where I gave birth.

Deposition taken by

Milica Dunic  
Senior Stenographer  
at the Federal Assembly

Belgrade, 24 November 1992

Deposition made by

S. K.



Deposition made by M. R. of her own accord

I was born on 16 March 1954, in the village of Visori on Mount Majevisa and lived in the village of Brezje, also on Majevisa. I am a peasant farmer.

At that time, my brother-in-law Drago was on the battlefield, and my husband too. We took our children to Sremska Mitrovica along with other children from our village.

It happened early in June, one afternoon. They simply raided the village of Brezje. It is a small village. They surrounded it. Three men stood outside each house so it was not possible to escape or step out for a single moment. They singled out 36 youngsters and took them away. Women and girls were divided into groups.

Some were raped outside their homes. Ljubomir of Gornje Brezje, I cannot remember his surname, killed himself because they raped his wife and daughter in front of his home. They classified men as well and left the elderly people, so that nothing is presently known of their fates, whether they are still alive or dead, and no one can reach them. My father and mother stayed behind. I do not know anything about them.

They took things out of houses, they even tore our doors and windows and transported them to Srebrnik. Later on, they set fire to the houses. I know that they first slaughtered Stokan Djukić and his wife Kata, who was Croatian. They were the first victims. The attackers were armed and wore greenish, patterned disguise uniforms. They also killed Stojan Djukić. They forced Ilija Mihajlović to dig up a hole for himself and then to cover it with earth again. Later on, they made a big wooden cross for him, fixed him alive onto it and left him like that.

Our village is a small one, so that no one could run away and the entire population was killed. We received no news that people escaped or at least saved their lives and property of any significance. They looted everything and burned whatever was left.

They separated women from men, put us into covered trucks, similar to vans, where there was no air, and took us to a camp. It was in the afternoon, I was wearing the blouse and a skirt that I had on at home. They took us to Tuzla; they put us into a tunnel, women only. It was dark inside, no light from anywhere. There were guards watching us and we were not even allowed to talk for fear of mistreatment.

I spent more than five months in the camp. We were exchanged some 10 days ago. There were two other elderly women from our village, Danica and Petra, who were also exchanged.

During all that time, five months, they never took us outside. They gave us food and a plastic bowl with water to drink. I still wore the same clothes in which I left the house. We could neither wash ourselves nor our clothes.



We were 10 women. There was a partition in the tunnel, but somewhere there was not. They separated girls from women. It is unimaginable what they did. I cannot even talk about it. When they came to rape us, they first blindfolded us, so that we could not recognize them. You could neither see who approached you nor what he was doing to you, to prevent you from perhaps recognizing your neighbour.

They changed one after the other, doing whatever they pleased. They came whenever they wanted; sometimes there were three on one woman. For this to happen it was enough to utter a word during mealtime. They asked me what caused me most pain and where my husband was. I could not say he was on the front, so I said I did not know. Then they said: "You do not know where he is? You are hiding him". Then they asked me where my children were. They knew I had a brother-in-law, Drago, and a husband, saying that they knew that they were on the opposite side. They joined the Army, they said, adding that they won't be able to do anything on that side. They will just die like the rest of the Serbs until they were so few that they can all sit at one dining-table. They wore camouflage uniforms and were disguised so as not to be recognized.

They said that Serbian women should no longer give birth to Serbian children, but to Moslem and Croatian. They did not allow me to be exchanged before my pregnancy was well advanced.

I thought a lot about everything, I even thought of suicide. Some people went insane and lost self-control, for not everyone can endure all those tortures. I wanted to kill myself, but the thought of my two children, whom I have to support because my husband is on the front, made me stop. They told me: "Milosevic will not be with you, we will put you on trial".

They did not want to take their own people who surrendered. There were dozens of them waiting to be exchanged, but they did not want them; they said - since they surrendered, you may do with them whatever you want, we do not need them.

All information about us, camp inmates, was obtained from our neighbours, inhabitants of the neighbouring Muslim village of Hunci. I never did any harm to anyone from that village. When the exchange was to be effected among myself, two other women and one man, they were asked who should be exchanged. There was a separate part of the camp for men. The man who was released with us was Nenad Kojo. His brother, Sima Kojo, remained in the camp. He told us that red-hot wire was pushed through his nose while he was forced to walk down the corridor and wherever there was a drop of blood, his brother had to lick it. That was the first exchange of prisoners from our camp. There were 17 Muslims to be exchanged for four of us. They blindfolded us again, put us in a van and took us to Sibosnica, where they left us. From Sibosnica to Piper we were driven in a car; there we were taken over by our crisis team. My village of Brezje is on the slopes of Mt. Majeвица and belongs to the Municipality of Lopare. I have two children. My son was born in 1978 and my daughter in 1982. I suffer very much because I haven't seen them for six



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months, nor have I fed them or given them anything to wear; I don't know how they are. My husband is on the front. I lost everything, but my relatives will take me here, and I will do any work anywhere in order to support my children.

Belgrade, 16 November 1992

Deposition made by  
(Signed) M. R.

Stenographer: Roza Mitrović  
Stenographer at the Federal Assembly



A testimony of a Serbian woman who was a slave  
in the brothel for Alija's warriors for more  
than five months

G. T., a 28-year-old housewife from the Serbian village of Blagaj near Kupres, spent more than five months besieged in a brothel at Livno and the "Ciglane" area in Sarajevo.

She is five months pregnant and wishes to abort the unwanted foetus at any expense. She is the mother of two girls: one is 11 and the other is 7 years old. Fortunately, she sent both daughters to her brother's in Belgrade. She was reluctant to leave without her husband, who was among the first in their village to join the JNA units.

At the beginning of April, early in the morning, her school friend from Kupres, Mensur Zujkić, appeared at the door followed by a group of armed men.

That April morning, Mensur Zujkić grabbed her like a wild beast, abused her, pulled her out of the house and without any explanation took her to Livno. From that morning she was in hell.

In a large, luxuriously equipped house at Livno, every morning G. had to serve as a source of pleasure to her schoolmate, thus paying the price of her seemingly happy youth.

There were other women in that house too, said G. Younger and older ones, ranging from 18 to 40. All of them were Serbian women, except one who was Ruthenian. When they brought me there, it seemed that they were already used to their misfortune and despair. None of them would even scream or cry. They accepted the soldiers bluntly, as if it were happening to someone else. I saw them rarely, but once, when I got permission to go outside to feel the sun, one of the women seriously scorned me: "Why are you complaining, necessity is a must when the devil drives. Your screams disturb us and those beasts as well, and then they abuse us longer. It then takes them longer. Persevere, be silent. God help us, they'll let us go." I feel like dying, when the doorknob turns. Lying on that bed I pray for death. It seemed to me that the attic was falling on top of us, as if it were cracking with my children and my husband peeping through and watching those shameful and obscene acts.

G. had to belong only to Mensur Zujkić. When he left Livno and went to Sarajevo in late June, he took her along. As the front moved, Zujkić dragged her as well all over Sarajevo, and finally put her to a brothel in the "Ciglane" area, where again she was only his property.

"Ciglane" is a dreadful place, G. remembers. Very young girls are there too. I could drop dead immediately from what I saw. Young girls stretched out with 7 to 8 Muslims taking their turns on them. I thought of my younger daughter. These girls were not older than 10 or 12 ... "Ciglane" had good security, so no one was allowed to make a sound.



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The days which G. spent in the "Ciglane" area, where Alija's main military headquarters for the defence of Sarajevo are situated, seemed to have lasted forever. Drunk Croat and Muslim warriors and some "mercenaries" were coming in and out, firing on and off. They shouted: "We are making Serbian women bastards!" Like the one I now want to get rid of. I have to, G. said nervously.

God forgive me, this must have about five months, as if she were talking about cancer. If only someone would remove it ... If not, I'll get rid of it myself. I'm not even sure that "it" would be normal, considering everything I went through. I'm no longer normal either. Let only my and my husband's children be living and healthy, whatever may happen to me.



Brothels with Serb women established by Moslem and Croatian forces:

1. Sarajevo: "Zagreb" hotel, about 40 to 50 Serb women are placed in the cellars, and they are maltreated by members of the Moslem Territorial Defence of BH;
2. Sarajevo: "Bjelave" dormitory, about 30 women of Serbian nationality;
3. Sarajevo: "Zetra" Sports Centre, about 30 women of Serbian nationality;
4. Sarajevo: "Borsalino" cafe, about 10 women of Serbian nationality;
5. Sarajevo: District of "Ciglane", former premises of the "Djordjevic" firm, about 30 women of Serbian nationality;
6. Sarajevo: School of civil engineering, about 100 women of Serbian nationality; the manager of the brothel is Mirza Delibasic, a famous basketball player;
7. Hadzici: The village of Urduk near Pazaric, about 10 women of Serbian nationality;
8. Hadzici: Primary school in the village of Tarcin, about 50 women of Serbian nationality;
9. Tuzla: Secondary school premises, about 100 women of Serbian nationality;
10. Tuzla: Private house on the road towards Srebrenik, near Previla, about 15 women of Serbian nationality;
11. Bugojno: House of the killed Serb Relja Lukić, about 15 women of Serbian nationality;
12. Bugojno: "Rostovo" ski centre, about 30 women of Serbian nationality;
13. Konjic: In the village of Buturovic Polje, about 50 women of Serbian nationality;
14. Konjic: "Amadeus" cafe in the centre of the town, about 20 women of Serbian nationality;
15. Bihać: House owned and managed by Mustafa Vukovic, about 30 women of Serbian nationality.

Apart from these 15 brothels, on which we have gathered information and where about 800 women of Serbian nationality are being raped by members of the Moslem TD of BH and Croatian Army, an unprecedented terror of women and girls of Serbian nationality is carried out in all concentration camps for Serbs.



## ANNEX II

### Analysis of the medical-psychological examinations of one group of people released through the exchange of prisoners

#### I. INTRODUCTION

A team of experts from the Institute for Mental Health and Military Psychology at the Military Medical Academy, made up of two physicians-neuropsychiatrists and two psychologists, examined the whole group of people released through the exchange of prisoners. The group of 380 members of the Croatian paramilitary formations was returned in exchange for this group of 41 prisoners. The exchange took place on 27 March 1992, and the medical-psychological examinations were made on 28 March 1992.

Our purpose was both to establish their actual psycho-physical conditions and determine all the forms of brutal physical and mental treatment and violence on the basis of general medical examinations, semi-standardized psychological-psychiatric interviews and verbal statements of the prisoners examined.

#### II. BASIC DEMOGRAPHIC AND OTHER IMPORTANT DATA

All the prisoners from the group exchanged were of the average age of 48. The youngest was 24 and the oldest 73. There were 5 women with an average age of 44, out of which 4 were housewives and 1 an unqualified worker. Among the male members of the group, most of them were farmers, workers, pensioners, two technicians and one professor, among which 9 were members of the Armed Forces - 4 Territorial Defence members, 2 volunteers (aged 37 and 62), 2 reservists and 1 JNA Junior Officer. They were arrested between 6 November 1991 and 13 March 1992.

The circumstances under which these people were deprived of their liberty were different, ranging from those most common - in their houses while watching television, or in the streets - to even more unusual, on the highway, on their return from a wedding (R. P., aged 42) or on their way back to the village from the medical examination (B. C., aged 73 suffering from an ulcer). Some of them were ambushed by the Croatian Ministry of the Interior (B. B., aged 66) or captured in the field while gathering corn (K. T., aged 57) or plums (I. S., aged 56). The only one JNA member, a junior officer (Z. S., aged 49), a Serb, married to a Croatian woman, was arrested on his leave, while sleeping.

Almost all the prisoners, after being interrogated for 3 to 10 days in Vinkovci, Sisak, Slavonska Drahovica, Slavonska Požega, Podravska Slatina, Džakovo, Novska, Našice, etc., were taken to prisoner camps in Osijek or Zagreb (in Zagreb to Kerestinac and Gaj). The most brutal and cruel physical



and mental treatment by depriving them even of their basic physiological needs (water, food, sleep, movement) was committed during the "inquiry". Throughout their captivity, they were exposed to some more mild forms of physical, mental and social torture. Torturing continued even on the buses, on the way from the prison in Osijek to the determined point of exchange. That was testified by the cases of T. R., aged 32, and J. M., aged 55, who got fresh bloody swellings in the region of the right cheek-bone, i.e. lower jaw.

### III. MOST FREQUENT FORMS OF PHYSICAL TREATMENT

Classification into physical and psychological, i.e. psycho-social, forms of treatment is of a relative character, because these forms cannot be easily distinguished, one from the others. Some of the most often forms of physical torture registered are:

- deprivation of basic physiological needs, for instance, leaving prisoners five days without water and food or forbidding them to relieve themselves while being tied to hot radiators (I. S., aged 56);
- hitting the heads of the prisoners against the wall until they faint (B. B., aged 66);
- beating with truncheons, wire ropes, butts of guns, broomsticks till the loss of consciousness;
- electrocution with electro shocks, electric wires tied to the wrists in the region of the neck, heavy thighs and even to the genitals;
- "coming to life" of fainted prisoners by brutal physical torture, for instance by pouring vinegar, brandy or even urine into the mouth;
- kicking prisoners with boots while lying on the concrete, blindfolded as not to see faces of their torturers;
- "demonstration" of gouging the eyes of Serbs by sticking fingers into the eye sockets;
- permanent jumping from a bench or a table onto the stomachs of the victims lied on their back on the concrete, until they get hernia (K. T., aged 53, with a hernia large as a human head; C. M., aged 42, with a bit smaller hernia);
- tying men with spread legs and beating them with truncheons on the genitals;
- raping of women with their arms and legs tied in a so-called "black room" for days (M. R., aged 38, lost 25 kg for three months);



- stripping them naked and beating them with boots, truncheons until they faint;
- extinguishing butts of cigarettes into the mouth of victims, forcing them to swallow them;
- swallowing extinguished butts previously plunged into urine;
- chaining the left arm to the left leg (Z. M., aged 43);
- trampling with both legs, fixing the neck with one leg and kicking in the region of the heart with the other one;
- plucking hair and forcing prisoners to eat it (J. W., aged 38);
- extracting teeth, mostly with a barrel of a revolver (two teeth: M. G., aged 42);
- nailing handcuffed prisoners to a fixed hook on a wall, then beating till the loss of consciousness and leaving them in a such position;
- trampling with boots upon the surgical scar from the operation for gastric ulcer (operated on 10 November, arrested on 30 December 1991, D. W., aged 38);
- putting bags over the head, roping around the neck, knocking down to the concrete and then savagely kicking with boots, truncheons, etc.;
- striking on the head with a big metal ladle of 1 m until they faint;
- striking with a "hammer" made of 1-2 kg salt folded in a sheet, knotted and plunged into water so as to gain in weight;
- tying to a tree, in winter at -15° C and watering prisoners in order to hasten their freezing;
- carrying bags full of sand from one side of the camp to the other without any reason under threats: "Who's told you to do that, take it back!", without any end to it;
- forcing to relieve themselves in the room where they sleep, on the floor because there are no buckets;
- forcing to take shower with cold and hot water alternately so as to suffer burns;
- tying the prisoners to a tree for two days and nights in snow in winter, depriving them of water and food and beating them (N. G., aged 35, permanently relieved from military duty because of illness);



- cutting ears with a knife and forcing prisoners to lick knives under threats of being slaughtered;
- carving the skin on the back with a knife and pouring salt in a wound;
- beating with steel cable on the bare feet;
- there is a case when torturers started to slaughter a prisoner (D. N., aged 42) when, by accident, he was saved by the Commander of the Ministry of the Interior, his school friend from the elementary school.

#### IV. MOST FREQUENT FORMS OF MENTAL ILL-TREATMENT

The forms of mental ill-treatment ranged from bullying, threats, blackmail, recruitment and humiliation to brutal maltreatment, homosexual and heterosexual abuse. We present herewith the most frequent forms of mental ill-treatment:

- putting the pistol barrel into the prisoner's mouth and a knife under his neck threatening him that he would be "slaughtered as all members of his family had already been";
- prisoners were told that their children had been already slaughtered; that it was their turn; that that was the way of "solving the Chetniks problem";
- the prisoners were forced to cross themselves and to bow down with curses before the photo of S. Milošević;
- the prisoners were forced to masturbate before Tito's picture;
- "night dances" - the prisoners were forced to dance with the music turned on loudly and in the presence of drunken Ustashes. During the dance the male and female prisoners were half naked so to be "stimulated". Afterwards they went to the dark room where the torturers raped the young female prisoners, whose arms and legs were tied and stretched;
- the group of male prisoners was forced to masturbate in front of the half-naked older female prisoners. This was followed by the brutal verbal humiliation and music which add to the physical and psychological ill-treatment;
- the young female prisoners were forced to bathe in the morning and then to swallow the sperm of 10 to 20 Ustashes;
- the young male prisoner was requested to make oral sex on an older male person;



- anal heterosexual intercourse with a victim who was then forced to make oral sex and to swallow the sperm;
- group masturbation; then a wife of one prisoner was forced to make oral sex on a prisoner while her husband was watching;
- "special dance" - naked male and female prisoners were forced to dance permanently for 4 to 5 hours until completely exhausted and then they underwent the "process of reanimation";
- "games without frontiers" - the prisoners were carrying plates with hot water on their heads and then forced to run so that the water could splash out and cause the burns;
- the prisoner was requested to write a statement, several pages long and then to eat it (C. M., 44 years old);
- a prisoner was made to move on his knees and elbows while another one was riding him. While doing this they had to repeat permanently: "Živjela vječna Hrvatska" (Long live the everlasting Croatia!) but if they pronounced the word "živjela" in a different way (like "živila" or "živela") they underwent additional ill-treatment;
- the prisoners were questioned: "Who is the Croat?" The answer was: "Sir". "Who is the Serb?" - "The gypsy";
- the prisoners were shown the tapes with the massacred wounded persons and corpses in order to see "what Chetniks do to the Croats";
- the prisoners were made to sing some new songs like "Milan Martić, the son of a bitch";
- the prisoners were requested to say the evening prayer: "Mother of Lord, the Serbian vagina wishes you good night ...";
- "riddles": How can you hold your ears with one hand? The answer: "This can be done if an Ustasha cut one of your ears and put it in your hand";
- deliberate exposure to death (O. M., 37 years old, together with other prisoners, was sent into the streets of Osijek to collect the garbage while vigorous combat was in course. The Ustashas with snipers watched them in order to prevent them from finding shelter);
- the prisoners were put in chains and taken from one restaurant to another presented as "Milosević's Chetniks";



- while grinding the bullet in front of the prisoner (J. N., 51 years old) the torturer explained that the death would be easier for him;
- the prisoner (M. C., 33 years old) was forced to sing "Lily Marlene".

#### V. PHYSICAL AND MENTAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE ILL-TREATMENT

By the medical check-up we found the following: fresh blood bruises on lower jaw, cheek-bones, hand, wrists where there were also scars made by hanging the victims with handcuffs on their hands on hooks fixed in the wall, scars on the hand, wrists, necks and legs made by electric devices.

Difficulties in opening the mouth were also registered as the prisoner's broken jaw was not treated medically (T. M., 38 years old). In fact, this prisoner refused the surgery intervention in Zagreb for fear of being killed. Two large hernias were found caused by the ill-treatment as described in the above text. The patients suffer from pains in the chest, they expectorate lymph, there are traces of blood in their urine and stool. There are visible scars on the forehead and other parts of the prisoners' heads which are obviously the result of cuts made by a sharp object. The patients complained of pains in the hand, chest, breasts and wrists.

The most prominent mental discomforts were: insomnia, increased sweating, emotional disturbance, anxiety, fear, nightmares with permanent reminiscences of experienced and seen trauma scenes, apathy, crying mood, lack of appetite, arrhythmia, psycho-motoric disturbance, headaches, feeling that it was impossible to breathe, anxious and depressive reactions with all female patients.

The persons that underwent the medical check-up expressed, although they had been exposed to prolonged strong stress situations and humiliation, mature consideration for their own state and unexpected mental resistance to intensity and duration of stress events. Some of them expressed even some sort of pride that they "did not knuckle under pressure". Some of the patients were given the necessary medicaments and it was suggested that they undergo other necessary medical treatment. We must point out that the medical check-ups were completed in the morning hours some 15 hours after the exchange. Owing to this fact it is possible to expect some delayed reactions to stress as post-trauma stress disturbance. Because of this it is necessary to continue with following the psychological adaptability of the patients as well as to undertake available mental-hygiene and medical measures.

#### VI. CONCLUSION

The analysis of the medical and psychological check-ups of one group of prisoners released by exchange exposed the fact that those individuals had been exposed to severe physical torture, ill-treatment and criminal activities.



THE



SUN®

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## Relief for Sarajevo

United Nations presence with 14,000 peacekeepers in Croatia brought respite to that war-racked republic. The U.N. can do the same for tragically torn Bosnia-Herzegovina, but only providing that Serbia-dominated Yugoslavia is willing. What is proposed is a takeover of Sarajevo airport by 1,100 U.N. personnel after initial inspection by 60, to insure movement of humanitarian supplies and to prevent starvation.

The U.N. Security Council has imposed economic sanctions against Yugoslavia for the invasions of Croatia and Bosnia. Yet the Security Council simultaneously cooperates with Yugoslavia in peace-keeping. Americans who want the world community to do more should keep in mind the distinction between peace-keeping and intervention.

Peace-keeping is a third-party role when warring camps have made a peace to be kept. It cannot be done without their agreement. Intervention means taking one side, fighting, what the U.S. did in the Persian Gulf war.

Because the U.N. Security Council has contemplated peace-keeping and not intervention, the takeover of the airport may not proceed until further authorization, after assurance that a cease-fire is in place. Even so, the past record of cease-fires is so poor that many fear the U.N. forces would need to defend themselves.

The Serbian onslaughts against Croatia and Bosnia have shocked the world. Serbians will pay because the U.N. sanctions will reduce their standard of living and isolate and ostracize them. Yet there is no stomach for intervention in the countries that were first to recognize the sovereignty of Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia. These governments

want to stop Yugoslavs from being killed; they do not want to kill Yugoslavs.

For outsiders to watch this is frustrating. Serbs should be even more frustrated. They are ostracized. They find no sympathy. They now witness an international conference in Zagreb, capital of Croatia, where European powers and international agencies are meeting with sovereign Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia on the refugee crisis.

So even when greater Serbia wins, it loses. It can recoup by withdrawing forces to the new, smaller Yugoslavia. Many Serbs know that, but have yet to find a way to tell their government.

## Aiding Serbia

This is a painful time for Serbian-Americans. They are right to be proud of their heritage, distressed at the dismemberment of Yugoslavia, mindful of past atrocities against their kin.

Yet they know that the Serbian government of Slobodan Milosevic is committing atrocities against Croats and Muslim Slavs that outrage the world. They know that nothing done to Serbs in the past justifies the destruction of Sarajevo.

It was not surprising that Maryland Rep. Helen Delich Bentley went to bat for a Serbian regime, much as other American politicians have done for other ethnicities. But she has been betrayed by the Milosevic atrocities. And as she continues to act as that outlaw regime's voice on Capitol Hill, she knows that her Baltimore County and Harford County constituents will judge her for it. They are likely to be appalled at what she defends.

AND WED LIKE TO REMIND YOU  
THAT OUR REDUCED AIR  
FARES WON'T IN ANY WAY  
AFFECT THE SERVICE YOU'VE  
COME TO EXPECT FROM US



### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Where's Bentley?

Your editorial entitled "Pander Bears Fuel Mustard Scare" (May 17) was revealing in that it is apparent that the editorial staff has not taken the time to acquaint itself with the facts about the incinerator proposed for Aberdeen Proving Ground.

However, even more disturbing was the writer's assumption that Rep. Helen Bentley is pursuing the

### To Our Writers

The Sun welcomes contributions. Some tips: the shorter the letter, the better; you must include your name, address and a daytime telephone number; be sure the letter is legible.

We reserve the right to edit all letters.



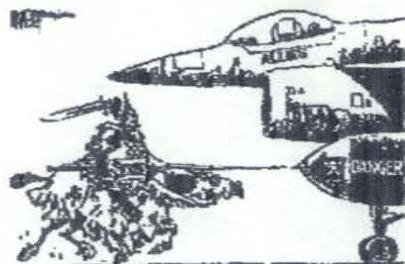
# OPINIONS

Friday, May 14, 1993

THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC



## The BOSNIAN ABYSS



# Don't blame Serbs for what's happening in Bosnia

By Bob Djurdjevic

**F**inally, the masks have fallen. The world's leading moral prostitutes are all condemning the Bosnian Serbs' refusal to become the world's sacrificial lambs.

Clinton, Milosevic, Yeltsin, Major, Kohl, *The New York Times*, Cosic, Mitterand, Izetbegovic, Dole, *The Washington Post*, Tudjman, Thatcher — each of whom has left some high moral principles at the doorstep of a higher office. The mere fact that all these "odd bedfellows" are now suddenly in bed together should be reason enough for the world to smell a rat. And to worry.

A member of the Bosnian Serb parliament told CNN on May 6 that, "if Clinton bombs us, he'll be shooting at democracy." Insisting on their right of self-determination, the Bosnian Serbs have also demonstrated to the world how grass-roots democracy works. The representative assembly overturned a decision by its leader, Dr. Radovan Karadzic. And it has also snubbed Milosevic, who has never faced such opposition in Serbia.

What happened at Pale on May 6 was people's power. Isn't that "democracy" —

## GUEST COLUMN

by definition? Yet, it scared the West to death!

Meanwhile, have you ever heard of the Bosnian Muslim or Croat parliaments? Don't worry if you have not. They do not exist. These two factions are being ruled by the two men, Alija Izetbegovic and Mate Boban, who have never known democracy except as a code word for American help.

The Bosnian Muslims and the Croats both signed the Vance-Owen plan, then went back home to burn, pilfer and massacre each other in Central Bosnia. Yet, all this is pointedly being ignored by the "world community," bent on punishing only the Serbs.

If the Bosnian Muslim and Croat leaders are the people for whom President Clinton would risk our sons' and daughters' lives, that's worse than Vietnam. That's like sending our troops to protect Ho Chi Minh's Communists!

No wonder Sen. John McCain, a decorated Vietnam war veteran, is leery of our military involvement in Bosnia. He's

not alone. A vast majority (about two-thirds) of the American people are against it.

Unlike the Muslims, Croats or the Serbian/Yugoslav presidents Milosevic/Cosic, the Bosnian Serbs have perhaps acted stupidly, but nevertheless honorably. They refused to go along with a plan which was designed not just to weaken them, but to destroy them in the long run.

Even if the West prevails militarily, which is far from certain, it will be a victory of the evil over the good. As Berlin, Rome and the Kremlin have proven, "evil empires" can only last for a while. Eventually, their own venom, if not some external force, destroys them.

That's why the Western diplomats must be careful not to take themselves too seriously. Lord Owen is now against bombing of the Serbs, but not because he is concerned about the needless loss of life, as a real "peacemaker" or a humanitarian might be. He is against it because he fears that it may once again reunite the Serbs.

Nor is Clinton's record any better. The May 4 *Wall Street Journal* editorial said, "Here is a president, with hardly a domestic achievement to date being

hustled toward intervening in a centuries-old ethnic conflict abroad by a circle of 'dawks' ("deeply committed doves — who suddenly have assumed the plumage and cry of Balkan hawks") advisers and their media megaphones for reasons totally at odds with their pacifist principles.

"In short, Mr. Clinton is getting the wrong advice, from the wrong people, in the wrong place at the wrong time."

There is one thing, which is even more worrisome. The lack of morals. How can the "Clintonites" expect the country to follow them into war, when so few of them have kept their words on lesser issues? Remember the "slick Willie" phrase? It was not invented by Republican campaigners. It is what the Arkansas man nicknamed their governor prior to sending him to Washington.

We can only hope now that our president, who will probably go down a history as the "slippery Hillary," does not also justify his new nickname by accidentally starting World War III while fidgeting with the red button.

Bob Djurdjevic is the founder of Truth in Media, a Phoenix-based non-profit organization.



# On the Balkans it's Al Gore, hawk, vs. State Dept. doves

**T**HE most insistent hawk in White House meetings on the Balkans, ever pushing for military intervention, has been Vice President Al Gore.

State Department officials trying to press a more dovish position on President Clinton are exasperated by Gore's tenacity. Every time they think Clinton is easing off, the vice president breaks in and stiffens the U.S. stance.

Contributing to Gore's hawkishness, in the opinion of State Department officers, is his main foreign policy adviser, Leon Fuerth. A former foreign service officer, he left State in 1969, joined the staff of the House Intelligence Committee in 1979 and became a Gore aide in 1985.

TELEPHONE calls poured into Senate Republican Leader Robert Dole's office protesting what listeners heard Wednesday when President Clinton appeared on Don Imus' popular New York City radio talk show.

Clinton was heard laughing when the irreverent Imus joked about Dole having a pen in his hand. That hand was crippled during World War II when Dole was badly wounded in Italy, and the senator always holds a pen in it. The protesting callers, including many disabled persons, said the president should have defended Dole or told Imus he was in bad taste.

At this writing, Dole has not brought the matter up with the White House, and the White House has not contacted him. But he has been invited to appear on the Imus program and may accept.

HAROLD Ickes Jr., who was eliminated as prospective White House deputy chief of staff because of his association with an unsavory labor union, is deeply though covertly involved as an adviser to President Clinton.

Ickes, a shrewd and politically experienced left-wing Democrat from Massachusetts, has a White House pass and often has the

## INSIDE REPORT

**ROBERT D. NOVAK**



use of an office there. He is influential in internal discussions but as a private citizen is removed from public scrutiny.

The son of Franklin D. Roosevelt's secretary of the interior was an early Clinton backer and seemed destined for a key spot in the new administration. But he dropped out after the surfacing of his role as counsel of the allegedly mob-infested Local 100 of the Restaurant and Hotel Workers union.

FORMER Republican National Chairman Frank Fahrenkopf, attending his first meeting as a board member of the International Republican Institute (IRI), made a furious but unsuccessful effort to prevent a socialist from being named director of the GOP's outreach organization to the rest of the world.

Fahrenkopf argued hard that the government-funded IRI, part of the National Endowment for Democracy, should have a Republican as its full-time head. But he convinced only former Rep. Robert Lagomarsino of California. The rest of the board went along with the insistence by the IRI chairman, Sen. John McCain, that the job go to R. Bruce McCollm, who only recently switched his allegiance from the Social Democrats to the Republicans.

Candidates for the job included many qualified Republicans, such as former Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams and ex-U.S. Information Agency Associate Director Paula Dobriansky. But McCain wanted McCollm, who heads the Freedom House international human rights operation in New York City, and persuaded the IRI board to elect him.



## READERS' LETTERS

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### MOSLEM ANTISEMITISM

Sir, - The sensitive Israeli reaction to German neo-Nazism is understandable. It hardly needs explanation. But it would be dangerous in the extreme for Jewry to overlook the fact that Arab/Moslem anti-Jewishness is infinitely more dangerous than German neo-Nazism because:

1. It is on Israel's doorstep;
2. It engulfs practically the entire Arab/Moslem population; this is far from being the case in Germany;
3. It is legal and official in the Arab world, while in Germany it is punishable by anti-racist laws. Thus, for example, while publication of the notorious *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* is illegal in Germany, in the Arab countries it is highly appreciated and available in public libraries. Likewise, *Sturmer*-type cartoons appear daily throughout the Arab world.

Considering the present Arab state of mind and the fundamentalist influence upon it, it is a dangerous fallacy to believe that terri-

torial concessions will blunt its racist character. On the contrary, every "meaningful" territorial concession will incrementally weaken the Israeli army's deterrent character and defensive capability: this will, in turn, increase the Arab/Moslem appetite and aggressiveness. Territorial concessions under present circumstances will bring war nearer.

Therefore, if, God forbid, the Arab-Israel conflict were to end with an Israeli military defeat, an Arab version of the Holocaust would, unfortunately, be a realistic possibility especially in view of the fundamentalist proclivity to violence. The Western media, blinded to Moslem antisemitism by their anti-Israel obsession, and the Western "friends," with their pressure on Israel to be "courageous and take risks" and to take "bold steps," will both be judged to have been substantial contributors to such a tragic development.

PAUL LAX

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# Why the U.S. has no business in Bosnia

## PUBLIC NUISANCES



commanded a mixed force dominated by Croats but with a much smaller contingent of Moslems. Most Moslems were dead or departed.

So these Moslems now fighting Topic, where have they come from?

My sources tell me that a month or so ago the president of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegovic, began sending some 35,000 Moslems from

eastern Bosnia into the area as provocateurs and to repopulate the city so that it would qualify as Moslem territory during future negotiations. Many have been armed by Serbian forces whose artillery positions have been under pressure from the Croats for months.

I get other reports that those opposing the Croats are really Serbs claiming to be Moslems.

Are my sources sound? I do not know, but I am certain that the news reports are inaccurate, and that Bosnia-Herzegovina is a complex chowder.

The modern American habit is to ignore history and to see people as infi-

nitely pliable. President Clinton is now planning vast diplomatic schemes and even a number of military ventures to tranquilize the historically chaotic and bloody Balkans. It would be better for us all if he had more

*It's hard to tell who's on whose side.*

respect for history, his and that of the Balkans.

Bill Clinton's history is that of an anti-military idealist. His antipathy for the military has been repeatedly evinced, from

the extraordinary attempts to avoid military service in his youth to the insouciance he has shown toward military traditions and practices.

Despite the advice of a presidential commission, he has ordered that women serve in combat. And he has attempted to lift the military ban against homosexuals. He is cutting the military budget by far more than was his campaign promise. He has frozen military pay and ordered that future pay raises be beneath those of the private sector.

Now he is talking not only about air strikes against bellicose Serbs but also about sending in

ground forces. This is his Wilsonian idealism acting up.

Were he respectful of history, he might recognize that the values he embodies brought us to Vietnam. Moreover, it was the idealistic civilians who were the first to cut from Vietnam, leaving the military and the hawks to fulfill our diplomatic and geopolitical responsibilities.

History, geography, military science and present political conditions worldwide suggest that the Balkans are no place for any American ground troops. The American people are not ready, the Europeans are not, President Yeltsin is not, and American forces should be sent only to conquer, not to serve as peacekeeping targets.

NY POST May 15-93



# Mercenaries recruited to fight in Bosnia

MAY 14 1993

Newport News Daily Press

NEWPORT NEWS, Va. — A private group says it is recruiting U.S. combat veterans and plans to stage a covert military operation soon to force action by the United Nations in Bosnia.

Combat veterans say they have been approached by acquaintances and provided a Washington telephone number. Calling the number gets a recording asking for "freedom fighters" to "neutralize Serbian artillery attacking Sarajevo."

"Wimps not needed nor wanted. Women and gays are welcome," says the recording, which asks interested callers to leave their names, telephone numbers and details of military experience.

A spokesman for the privately financed group in Washington said organizers plan an attack on Serbian artillery soon.

"The offensive is a short, sweet, short and quick offensive," said Ron Pettiford, who said he was hired to be a spokesman for the group, which he said does not have a formal name.

"They're only planning to fight up to a week. They're not over there to end the war; they're not over there to take on the whole Bosnia republic. They're only there to make a statement," he said.

The group began planning its operation at the beginning of the year because it thinks the United States and other governments have been

'They're only planning to fight up to a week. They're not over there to end the war; they're not over there to take on the whole Bosnia republic. They're only there to make a statement.'

— Spokesman Ron Pettiford

slow in resolving the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Pettiford said.

"It's an effort to force the U.N. to step in," Pettiford said yesterday, responding to a message left on the D.C. answering machine by a reporter. Pettiford said the group is not taking political sides but thinks it was pushed into action "because this killing is ridiculous."

A spokesman for Americans for Bosnia Task Force, a Washington lobby group for the Bosnian independents, said that he had never heard of the effort to recruit mercenaries and that the "freedom fighters" were not wanted.

"Bosnians don't need anybody to go fight their war," said Abdu Alkebsi, assistant executive director for the task force, which he said is a collaboration of U.S. Muslim, Arab and Jewish organizations.

Because the former Yugoslavian nation re-

quired all its male citizens to serve at least two years in the army, the Bosnian independents have more than 200,000 supporters trained for combat, Alkebsi said.

What they need is something to fight with, Alkebsi said. Because of a U.N. arms embargo, the Bosnian Muslims have been unable to get arms to fight the Serbian-backed forces, he said.

Spokesmen for the State and Treasury departments said the United States has no prohibitions against U.S. citizens acting on their own in Bosnia unless they violate the arms embargo or economic sanctions imposed on Serbia.

Pettiford said the freedom fighters have been recruited since early this year by word of mouth among veterans of the Vietnam and Persian Gulf wars and former special forces veterans.

The recording offers \$10,000 to each person accepted as qualified for the Bosnian effort, with a \$5,000 "victory bonus" and "all expenses, weapons and ammo" supplied.

The volunteers, who include women, are undergoing three weeks' training, including a one-week combat refresher. Pettiford would not say where the training is being conducted except that it is at more than one site.

He also would not say how many men and women had been recruited, saying it might compromise the security of the operation. "It is substantial, I can tell you that," he said.

## LEXINGTON HERALD-LEADER

LEWIS OWENS, *President and Publisher*

A Knight-Ridder newspaper, published by the Lexington Herald-Leader Co., 100 Midland Avenue, Lexington, Kentucky 40508. Editorials reflect the opinion of the editorial board. Members are Lewis Owens; Timothy M. Kelly; David Holwerk; Bill Bishop; editorial writers Bob Fain, Steve Henderson, Maria Henson, Larry Dale Keeling and Art Jester, and cartoonist Joel Pett.

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PS. If you can't find out who is financing "freedom fighters", you should be at least intelligent enough to make a good guess. Muslim Bosnian Government doesn't have money. None of American companies nor any American real citizen have any

interest in Bosnia. The finance resources are probably the same ones that financed The World Trade Center bombing in New York. They will pay to establish first fundamentalistic muslim state in the heart of Serbian homeland, while Mr. Clinton will be now and forever responsible for establishing this terrorist state in Europe.

*Dear Mrs Delich - Bentley*

*Please ~~let~~ don't let it happen! McKinnon*



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