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Balkan  
News Clips

Republican Research Committee  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, DC 20515

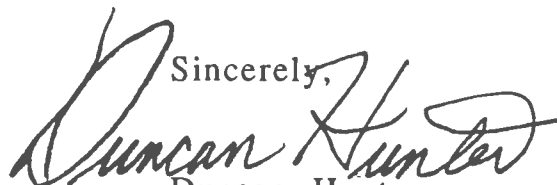
JUL 1 1993

Dear Republican Colleague:

For your information, we are pleased to provide your office with the enclosed collection of media articles concerning the Balkan crisis. Contained within this packet are various articles retrieved from national newspapers and publications including: *The Washington Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Christian Science Monitor* and *The New York Times*.

If you would like to become involved with the Republican Research Committee's Task Force on the Balkan Crisis, chaired by Rep. Susan Molinari, please contact the Research Committee at 225-0871.

Again, I would encourage and appreciate your participation. Thank you for your attention and consideration regarding this critical situation.

Sincerely,  
  
Duncan Hunter

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**TASK FORCE ON THE BALKAN CRISIS**  
**HOUSE REPUBLICAN RESEARCH COMMITTEE**

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

# BALKAN CRISIS

## NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS





ASSOCIATED PRESS

**A father and son, Bosnian Croat refugees, explain to Bosnian Muslim soldiers that they were forced by their Muslim neighbors to flee their home.**

# Serbs, Croats Intensify Pressure on Muslims

6-29 WASH POST

By Patrick Quinn  
Associated Press

SARAJEVO, Bosnia, June 28— Serb and Croat forces appeared to be cooperating to keep Bosnia's Muslim-led government off balance while peace talks took place in Geneva today.

Fighting intensified as Serb and Croat political leaders at the talks stepped up pressure on Bosnia's government to accept the partitioning of the former Yugoslav republic into three states.

Bosnian radio accused Serbs and Croats of cooperating on the battlefield "as a kind of military pressure on the negotiators to divide Bosnia."

Later today, Serbs and Croats also agreed to a broad cease-fire and troop pullback that would take effect only if all three warring factions work out a settlement of the 15-month war. The accord further isolated Bosnia's President Alija Izetbegovic, a Muslim, who has boycotted the Geneva talks.

Bosnia's 10-member presidency is to meet in Sarajevo on Tuesday, said Franjo Boras, a Croat member of the presidency. The apparent aim of the meeting would be to prod Izetbegovic to drop his boycott and bargain over the partition plan, which was unveiled by Serbs and Croats two weeks ago.

The Yugoslav news agency Tanjug reported fighting between Serbs and government troops near Brcko in the northeast, Bihac in the northwest and the central town of Trnovo.

Muslim-Croat fighting persisted in a cluster of towns in northern and central Bosnia. Skirmishes were reported around Zepce, Zavidovici and Maglaj, which form a triangle controlling roads to Zenica and Tuzla, two Muslim strongholds.

Bosnian radio said Muslim-led

forces in Maglaj, 40 miles north of Sarajevo, faced a combined Serb-Croat onslaught for the second day.

A U.N. spokesman in Sarajevo, Maj. Jose Gallegos, said U.N. observers and a patrol from the British peace-keeping base in Vitez were denied entry to Maglaj and Zepce. He said there were reports of increased shelling and "lots of street fighting in Maglaj," but they could not be confirmed.

[An antitank mine threw a 30-ton tank carrying Lt. Col. Alastair Duncan, commander of British U.N. troops in Bosnia, into the air, and unidentified forces then fired automatic weapons on Duncan's convoy, but he and his troops escaped unhurt, the Reuter news service reported.]

[The convoy was trying to reach Maglaj to monitor fighting there when the Warrior tank was hit. Two wheels were damaged and its right track was blown off.]

Croats and Muslims fought together against Serbs when war erupted 15 months ago as Bosnia seceded from Serb-dominated Yugoslavia. But their shaky alliance has collapsed recently in fierce fighting over central Bosnian territory not controlled by Serbs.

Reports have increased of local Serb-Croat alliances against government forces, especially in the two weeks since the leaders of neighboring Serbia and Croatia agreed on a plan to partition Bosnia.

Izetbegovic opposes the plan, which would give the Muslims the least land even though they constituted the biggest communal group before the war, with about 44 percent of the population. Muslims also fear the Serb state would merge with Serbia and the Croat state would be absorbed into Croatia, another breakaway Yugoslav republic.

There were no reports of major fighting in Sarajevo, Bosnia's capital.

# U.S. Joins Nonaligned in Backing Move

6-30 WASH POST

By Julia Preston  
Special to The Washington Post

UNITED NATIONS, June 29—A proposed Security Council resolution to exempt Bosnia's embattled Muslim-led government from a U.N. arms embargo was defeated tonight as nine of the 15 council members abstained from voting.

Only the United States and five nonaligned nations endorsed the resolution, thus leaving it three votes short of the nine needed for passage. The abstentions also spared permanent council members France, Britain and Russia—all of whom had strongly opposed the resolution—from using their veto power to kill the resolution. Diplomats said the large number of other countries that refrained from voting did so to demonstrate regret that the divisive measure had been put forth at all.

The nonaligned nations—Cape Verde, Djibouti, Morocco, Pakistan and Venezuela—offered the resolution knowing it would lose as a means of distancing themselves from what they view as a timid council policy on the Balkans—a policy they say has allowed heavily armed Serb and Croat nationalist forces to seize control of nearly 90 percent of Bosnia largely at the expense of the republic's Muslims. But the chief effect of the vote was to force the United States to differ conspicuously with its European allies and Russia, shaking for the first time a consensus the council had maintained through two years of searching for a way to end the bloody Balkan conflict.

The Clinton administration has said for months that it favors a "lift and strike" policy—lifting the arms embargo on the Bosnian government and its Muslim-led militia forces and using air power against Bosnian Serb forces, the most powerful in the war, to bring about an equitable settlement. In practice, however, Washington set this aside in the face of opposition from France and Britain—who have deployed large numbers of humanitarian aid troops in Bosnia—and from Russia, a centuries-old patron of the Serbs.

Washington instead joined with those three countries and Spain in supporting a plan to create six U.N. "safe havens" in Bosnia to safeguard Muslim civilians from Serb attack, but the Clinton administration has shown no enthusiasm since for this initiative, and neither has it sought to promote its earlier, more activist proposals.

U.S. diplomats did not lobby in favor of the embargo resolution, diplomats here said, even though it appeared to follow the administration's lift and strike plan closely. A draft resolution originally offered by the nonaligned members contained a clause that would have authorized the use of "all necessary measures, including air strikes" to defend the Bosnian Muslims, but the authors struck this clause at the request of the United States, which argued it was too broad.

The council imposed the arms embargo at the outset of the Balkan conflict in September 1991, covering all factions and prospective parties to what was then a Serb-Croat conflict raging in Croatia. Today's resolution would have exempted the Bosnian government from the embargo while retaining it for Bosnia's Serb and Croat factions, both of which are amply supplied with weapons by their patrons in the nationalist governments of neighboring Serbia and Croatia.

"Our views on lifting the embargo have not changed since [Secretary of State Warren Christopher] first presented them," said U.S. Ambassador Madeleine Albright after the vote, adding that the embargo "has had an unintended yet devastating effect in favor of the [Bosnian Serb] aggressor to freeze in place a vast disparity in arms."

The vote was preceded by an unusually strident, five-hour debate in which Bosnia's U.N. ambassador, Muhamed Sacirbey chastised France, Britain, Russia and Spain one by one for not supporting the measure, accusing them of putting Bosnia on a "treadmill of cynicism." "You have no more authority to demand any further concessions from us, but only to free us of the shackles that diminish our self-defense," Sacirbey declared.

Pakistani Ambassador Jamsheed Marker, one of the authors of the resolution, declared: "At every step, the Security Council has done too little and too late; its lack of decisiveness and failure to enforce its decisions . . . have emboldened the aggressors."

After working behind the scenes to sidetrack the vote, France, Britain and Russia argued that lifting the embargo would escalate the fighting and imperil the U.N. humanitarian relief effort and peace negotiations among the warring parties. British Ambassador David Hannay said it would be a "solution of despair," because new weapons would inevitably have flowed to all three factions.

# Sarajevo's Leaders Show Revived Unity

WASH 6-30

By Jonathan C. Randal and John Pomfret  
Washington Post Foreign Service

ZAGREB, Croatia, June 29—Bosnia's beleaguered 10-member government papered over a serious internal dispute today and agreed to work out a unified response to Serb and Croat nationalist forces bent on dividing the war-torn republic into separate states.

Under pressure from apparently coordinated attacks by heavily armed Serb and Croat militia units in central Bosnia, the Muslim-led collective government pledged to end its infighting, develop a unified plan to counter the de facto Serb-Croat alliance and to confer again within 10 days.

Meeting at their offices in downtown Sarajevo for the first time since last fall, the 10 leaders also established a three-member subcommittee to draw up a platform on the future of Bosnia, but they apparently failed to address the chief issue on which they are said to disagree—an accord between the Serb and Croat nationalists to partition the republic among the three warring sides, with the government and the Muslim faction it chiefly represents being allotted the smallest portion.

Speaking to reporters afterward, Vice President Ejup Ganic, a Muslim, said the leadership group "did not discuss partition" and added: "We have to find a solution that will keep the country together." Ganic—one of four Muslims in the joint leadership, along with three Serb and three Croat loyalists—was named to the platform panel, as was Croat member Miro Lasic and parliament speaker Miro Lazovic, a Serb.

"Today, the [Serb-Croat partition accord] was not that important," said Bosnian Prime Minister Mile Akmadzic, a Croat. "What was important was the fact that we sat together, face to face."

The government—or collective presidency—has been divided into opposing camps over the partition plan, proposed jointly two weeks ago by neighboring Ser-



Fikret Abdic, a Muslim member of Bosnia's collective leadership, is greeted on return to Sarajevo from Geneva talks. He joined Serb and Croat members seeking to discuss partition.

bia and Croatia, chief patrons, respectively, of the Bosnian Serb and Croat factions.

One group—made up of Ganic, President Alija Izetbegovic and government militia commander Rasim Delic—bitterly opposes partition, arguing it would bring about dissolution of Bosnia and ultimate "genocide" of the Muslims—while the six Croats and Serbs, led by Muslim member Fikret Abdic, contend that the plan should be studied as a possible basis for negotiation.

And despite today's show of unity, it was clear that the leadership was still operating in an atmosphere of suspicion. During the meeting, Izetbegovic, Ganic and Delic sat on one side of a conference table, while the other seven sat opposite. The two groups also bickered over the site of the talks; the seven wanted it held at the neutral, U.N.-controlled airport, not at government headquarters.

Just a week ago, Abdic and the six non-Muslim members challenged Izetbegovic's autocratic leadership style at a stormy meeting here in the Croatian capital and voted to fly to Geneva to hear details of the partition plan from international mediator David Owen. Later, and apparently contrary to their initial instructions, they met with Serbian President Slobodan

Milosevic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, then went on to Brussels to confer with European Community officials.

But today's meeting was designed to put all that behind them, and analysts noted that the presence of the seven dissidents in Sarajevo after months away from the Serb-besieged capital signaled their continued commitment to a united, multicultural government. For his part, Izetbegovic pledged in a statement that the government henceforth will operate "on a collective basis with all members present," a declaration the seven interpreted as meaning that all future decisions must be reached by consensus, effectively limiting Izetbegovic's day-to-day authority.

In north-central Bosnia, meanwhile, Bosnian Serb and Croat militia forces—former rivals in the 15-month-old war—continued for a fifth day to coordinate attacks on and around the Muslim outpost of Maglaj. Croat forces—formerly allied with the Muslims against the more powerful Serbs—were also said to be cooperating with Serb units in a drive on the Muslim town of Zepce, just south of Maglaj. Both towns lie along a road corridor linking Muslim strongholds in central and north-eastern Bosnia.

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# Combat unlikely for U.S. forces in Macedonia

WASH. TIMES

By Andrew Borowiec 6/30  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

U.S. troops preparing for peace-keeping duty along Macedonia's border with Serbia are likely to find themselves unemployed and bored, according to diplomatic assessments.

In a note to Russian President Boris Yeltsin and in daily telephone conversations — in English — with Greek Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has allayed their fears that Serbia might want to seize a chunk of Macedonia.

Similar assurances have been given to several European Community members by diplomats of the Yugoslav federation, now reduced to Serbia and Montenegro.

They are taken seriously because, diplomats say, Serbia is in no position to plunge into another military adventure. Besides, Serbia appears satisfied with the territorial gains by Bosnia's Serbs and is not interested in further upsetting international frontiers in the Balkans.

President Clinton has decided to dispatch a reinforced company of 300 troops to police the frontier between Macedonia and Serbia, bolstering about 700 Scandinavian peacekeepers already there.

The idea was to dissuade Serbia from any attempt to annex all or parts of Macedonia, an artificially created republic of Yugoslavia the size of New Hampshire. It forms a trapezoid-shaped area in the heart of the Balkans where Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece converge.

Macedonia became independent following a referendum in September 1991 and its name was immediately challenged by Greece, which accused Macedonian nationalists of plans to expand the new republic's territory.

Some Western experts believe Macedonia's explosive mix of Slavs, Albanians and Bulgarians is a brew made for disaster, capable of igniting the rest of the Balkans.

Now, as the U.S. infantry selected from the Berlin brigade prepare their equipment and paint their vehicles with the peacekeepers' white paint, it appears that combat action would be unlikely.

"Milosevic is achieving what he set out to do — establishing a greater Serbia" without additional problems, said an ambassador of a Balkan country.

A statement by the Yugoslav Embassy in Washington said, "We fully recognize the Macedonian nation and its right to self-determination. There are no claims to the territory of the former Yugoslav republic."

Greece and Yugoslavia agreed that any change of frontiers would be disastrous, given the Balkan tensions and historic quarrels.

Greece insists it has nothing against Macedonia — provided it does not usurp the name and the 16-ray sun, which is a symbol of the ancient Macedonian empire, and does not fuel any hostility in the area.

Maps showing a "greater Macedonia" already have been distributed, and some Macedonian nationalists bluntly announced claims to parts of Greece around the seaport of Salonika.

Such saber-rattling, Greek officials feel, has enflamed the entire Greek political spectrum and put considerable pressure on the Athens government.

"The name 'Macedonia' symbolizes 4,000 years of Greek history," said one Greek official. "Let them call themselves Slavo-Macedonia or something similar, and we will be able to live as good neighbors."

*Putting charismatic opposition leaders on trial could spark unrest, but then again, so could a decision to release them*

# Serb Leader Faces Dilemma on Dissidents

**By Jonathan S. Landay**

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

BELGRADE

PRESIDENT Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia faces a dilemma over what to do with opposition leader Vuk Draskovic and his wife, who remain under guard in a hospital a month after they were arrested and severely beaten by police.

To proceed with a show trial would risk major anti-regime protests that could provide an outlet for other grievances, such as growing economic hardships fueled by UN sanctions.

It could also prompt new international condemnation of Mr. Milosevic and hamper his efforts to build support for a plan widely seen here as a bid to carve up Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

On the other hand, the Draskovics' release would return to the political arena the one man capable of galvanizing Serbia's feud-riven opposition and its only charismatic crowd-drawer. It would also be perceived as a sign of weakness by Milosevic that could encourage demonstrations

he is anxious to avoid.

"Milosevic has a problem," says Natasha Kandic, head of the Humanitarian Law Fund, a Belgrade-based human rights monitoring group. "He knows that when Draskovic is freed, it will be a very dangerous moment."

A Western diplomat suggests: "The longer Draskovic stays in jail, the more likely he will become a rallying point."

Mr. Draskovic, the head of the Serbian Renewal Movement — known by the initials SPO — and his wife, Danica, an executive committee member and a prominent politician in her own right, were arrested hours after June 1 clashes between opposition protesters and police in downtown Belgrade in which one police officer was killed.

They were held on preliminary charges of undermining the constitutional order and interfering with the police.

The couple was seized in a pre-dawn raid by police commandos, who swarmed into the SPO headquarters without a warrant. Witnesses, including journalists, have recounted how Draskovic was handcuffed and forced to run a gantlet of officers as they kicked

and beat him with truncheons. Both he and his wife, who heads the most radical wing of the SPO, were allegedly beaten while being driven to jail.

Only after international pressure, including protests by French President François Mitterrand, and Greek and United States officials, were the couple

**'Milosevic has a problem. He knows that when Draskovic is freed, it will be a very dangerous moment.'**

*— Belgrade rights activist*

moved from Belgrade's main prison to a hospital for treatment.

The state has until July 1 to decide whether to formally indict the Draskovics, seek a court-ordered extension of their incarceration pending further investigation, or let them go.

But, while the deadline is prescribed by law, the decision on how to proceed will have little to do with jurisprudence in a coun-

try that has retained its communist-designed legal system.

"The decision will not be made by a judge. It will be made in a backroom," says Jovan Koprivica, a leading criminal lawyer deeply involved in politics. "For Milosevic, peace in Serbia is most important. The situation is so unstable that a tiny conflict can provoke trouble."

Milosevic has so far reaped several important strategic benefits from the Draskovic arrests, including renewed infighting among Serbia's main opposition parties as they jockey to fill the leadership vacuum.

"The opposition is strong with Draskovic," Kandic says. "Without Draskovic, it is weak. Milosevic knows this very well."

The Serb leader exploited the opposition leadership crisis by having state-run Belgrade television, the main custodian of his power, air footage of the June 1 clashes that carefully painted the Draskovics as the chief protagonists.

"It was very good propaganda," Kandic says. "No civilian was killed. Only a policeman. Now, normal people believe the SPO is an aggressive party, and it is good

to keep Draskovic in prison."

Stjepan Gredelej, a sociologist, says the propaganda and the beatings meted out by police to the Draskovics and others during and after the clashes have further dampened overt expressions of anti-Milosevic sentiments.

"Fear is very deeply rooted now in people," Mr. Gredelej says. "People are also exhausted from the economic crash."

For these reasons, analysts speculate the regime may believe it can reach a face-saving resolution to the Draskovics' case that averts a drawn-out show trial.

Instead of indicting the couple on the more serious charge of undermining the constitutional order, which could carry up to 15 years in jail, the state may simply charge interference with the police, a misdemeanor involving a far shorter term.

Senior SPO members say they believe the regime will bow to international pressure and release the Draskovics this week.

Mr. Koprivica, however, says he believes it is unlikely Milosevic will opt for leniency. Yet, he adds, "the regime doesn't know what to do. It would be happiest if Draskovic didn't exist."



# Muslims assailed by Serbs, Croats

6-30 WASH TIMES

By Giles Elgood  
REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — Serbian and Croatian forces dealt Bosnia's Muslim-led army a battlefield setback yesterday while the collective presidency agreed to work out a new plan for the battered republic's future.

Serbs and Croats, sworn enemies until several weeks ago, joined forces against Muslim troops in central Bosnia, threatening to cut an important salient.

The Muslims said they were desperately fighting combined Serbian and Croatian forces around the towns of Zepce, Zavidovici and Maglaj, 50 miles north of Sarajevo.

And in New York the Muslims were dealt another blow. A U.S.-backed resolution to exempt embattled Bosnia from a U.N. arms embargo failed to win adoption by the Security Council yesterday.

The vote was six in favor, with none against and nine abstentions — by Brazil, Britain, China, France, Hungary, Japan, New Zealand, Russia and Spain.

A resolution requires a minimum of nine votes, and no veto, to be adopted by the 15-member council.

The salient resembles a crooked finger of territory pointing north, with Zepce at the knuckle and Maglaj at the fingertip.

Until Muslims and Croats turned on one another last month, they held the front line on three sides against Bosnia's Serbs. The main Serbian objective in the area remains a second, northern corridor linking Serbia with Serb-held areas of Bosnia.

The Muslim commander in central Bosnia, Fuad Hasanovic, accused Bosnian Croat forces of using civilians as human shields around



British U.N. troops assigned to central Bosnia hit the ground running from their Warrior armored vehicle Monday soon after it ran over an anti-tank mine near Zepce. The peacekeeping soldiers were greeted by sniper fire. AP

Zepce, where fighting has raged since last week.

He said his forces had suffered many casualties, the Muslims appeared to be on the retreat from Zepce.

Bosnia's presidency, meanwhile, agreed to work out a new proposal for the republic's future, but its members appeared to remain divided on a plan to carve it into ethnic ministates.

After a two-hour meeting in the Bosnian capital, a statement said three of the presidency's nine members — a Muslim, a Serb and a Croat — had been assigned to draw up a

new document on constitutional arrangements for the republic.

"It has been decided that the presidency is going to work on a collective basis and with all members present," it said.

The three members appointed to draw up the document were Muslim Vice President Ejup Ganic, Croatian Miro Lasic and Miro Lazovic, the Serbian president of the Bosnian assembly.

In the Croatian capital of Zagreb, Franjo Boras, a member of the Bosnian presidency, said the group had given Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic an ultimatum, telling him to

choose between representing the republic or its Muslim community.

Speaking to reporters on his return from a presidency meeting in Sarajevo, Mr. Boras said the ultimatum was given in "a brief but urgent discussion" during the session.

"Izetbegovic has to choose whether he will represent the state and presidency, or the Muslims," Mr. Boras said. "He will probably choose to represent the state together with us, the other members of the presidency, and he will probably delegate representation of the Muslims to his Party of Democratic Action."

OPINION/ESSAYS

*Serbia's crackdown in Kosovo potentially worse than in Bosnia*

# Kosovo's Plea for Help

By Bujar Bukoshi

THE deputy head of the United Nations forces in the Balkans, Cedric Thornberry, warned recently that the crisis in Kosovo, where Albanians comprise 92 percent of the population and the Serbians rule through apartheid, is potentially more dangerous than current fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The observation may seem strange to some, since international media attention for the last year has focused on the atrocities of Serbian "ethnic cleansing" against Muslims in Bosnia.

However, for three years human rights leaders have identified Kosovo, a formerly autonomous province and one of the original eight constituent units of former Yugoslavia, as the site of brutal forms of repression of 2.2 million Albanians by a handful of Serbs who control the military.

In 1989, Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic revoked Kosovo's autonomous status and launched his "ethnic cleansing" campaign, long before the first Muslim villages were attacked in Bosnia. Since then, the people of Kosovo have lived under a reign of terror, intimidation, abuse, beatings, and killings at the hands of the Belgrade regime, which has imposed martial law on our country.

Serbian authorities have abrogated virtually all of the Albanians' human, civil, and national rights. Martial law has closed Albanian-language schools and the university; severely limited access to health care for Albanians, since Albanian physicians were summarily fired; and led to 80 percent unemployment among Albanians, who were sacked because of their ethnicity. Nearly 300,000 Albanians have been forced to flee Kosovo.

In recent weeks, the Serbs have mounted a military buildup with more than 100,000 Serbian troops and heavily armed Serbian police stationed in our country. With the forced removal of Yugoslav President Cosic, the hand of the ultra-nationalist hardliners in Belgrade has been strengthened.

My government has adhered to peaceful opposition to Serbian brutality. We want to be part of the solution, not the problem. However, the patience of our people is not limitless. We must be al-



EFF DANZIGER STAFF

lowed to pursue our basic rights through freedom and democracy. Trust Territory of Kosovo for a few years. In the absence of any indication that Belgrade is willing to negotiate, Kosovo should be placed under UN protection with the understanding that at the end of the transition phase, the Albanians will exercise their right to self-determination. Under the trusteeship provided for in the UN Charter, Kosovo will be demilitarized while developing close economic and cultural links with its neighbors. The Serbian minority and Serbian cultural and religious monuments will be protected.

A UN trusteeship could be difficult for Serbia to swallow, but it is one of the best solutions to the crisis Serbia has created. Belgrade must accept the fact that its continued rule over Kosovo, in which Serbs comprise only 8 percent of the population, is untenable.

If Serbia refuses to place Kosovo under a trusteeship, the UN Security Council should declare the situation "a threat to international peace and security," while designating our country a safe haven and providing protection for Kosovars by all means necessary, as provided in the UN Charter. Such powers were invoked when Iraq attacked Kurds in southern Iraq, the Khmer Rouge refused to cooperate with the peace settlement in Cambodia, as well as in the difficult situations in Somalia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We hope the world community will adopt our approach. Either the world must stop Serbian aggression at the borders of Kosovo, or it will face a very real possibility of a wider Balkan war, which could send shock waves through Europe and Central Asia. Failure to act also would encourage ultra-nationalists elsewhere, such as the former Soviet Union, to engage in "ethnic cleansing."

The citizens of my country are unarmed, defenseless. Their only weapon is a firm commitment to freedom and democracy, with faith that the international community will act morally and courageously if our worst expectations come to pass.

■ *Bujar Bukoshi was appointed prime minister of the Republic of Kosovo by Ibrahim Rugova following Mr. Rugova's election in May 1992. The Serb government in Belgrade did not recognize the elections. Mr. Bukoshi lives in Stuttgart, Germany.*

lowed to pursue our basic rights through freedom and democracy.

We have asked that the UN immediately deploy an observer mission to Kosovo, coupled with a substantial increase in the number of Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe human rights monitors now in our country. We need more outsiders inside our country to observe firsthand the degree of repression and brutality. Humanitarian assistance is needed immediately as well.

Furthermore, NATO troops should be dispatched in sufficient numbers to maintain peace as soon as possible. Serbian heavy weapons need to be placed under international control. Serbs already have installed artillery and measured trajectories.

The no-fly zone in force over Bosnia should be expanded to include Kosovo, the roving bands of Serbian paramilitary thugs should be disbanded, and Serbia's practice of colonizing Kosovo by importing Serbs from Bosnia and Montenegro should be ended.

For the longer term, the UN should declare and administer a

# A Partition Plan for Bosnia

## The West gets closer to ratifying ethnic cleansing

For more than a year, the leaders of Europe have been wringing their hands over Bosnia; now, apparently, they've decided to wash them. Last week in Geneva, European Community mediator Lord Owen and U.N. envoy Thorvald Stoltenberg gave up all but the pretense of holding a sovereign Bosnia together and convened talks on a new "peace" plan to turn it into three ethnic ministates. The latest scheme would ratify the carve-up of an internationally recognized republic along the bloody lines of ethnic cleansing—exactly what the international community had pledged to resist. "The race is on to close the file on the Balkans," says Jonathan Eyal of London's Royal United Services Institute.

How would partitioning work? Many details still need to be hammered out, but Bosnian Serbs would get up to half of the republic and Bosnian Croats some 30 percent. Both ethnic groups would apparently be free to link up with, respectively, Serbia and Croatia. The proposed state for Muslims would consist of two separate landlocked pockets on some 20 percent of the land. How could the plan fail? Here are some of the ways:

**The proposal is unfair to Bosnia's Muslims.** The brainchild of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, the proposal, though murky in detail, is clear in intent: to reward the chief aggressors in the 15-month-old war. Muslims, 44 percent of Bosnia's prewar population, would be herded into regions that are not economically viable. While these areas do contain some functioning industry, their only outlet to the Adriatic Sea would be a route to the Croatian port of Ploce that could be opened and closed at the Croats' pleasure. "These places won't exist in 10 years," predicts Gordana Knezevic, deputy editor of Sarajevo's *Oslobodjenje* newspaper. "There is no chance for economic or community life." Instead, the Muslims would probably have to live as wards of international-aid agencies for years to come.

**Divisions within the Bosnian government may scuttle the plan.** Sarajevo has a baroque system of government—a 10-member collective presidency drawn from all three

ethnic groups—that is deeply polarized over the talks. Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic, who would have to sign off on the plan, labeled the proposal "genocide" and stormed out of the Geneva talks. At Owen's urging, seven other members of the collective presidency (six of them Croats or Serbs) stayed to hear Tudjman and Milosevic out. One of them was Fikret Abdic, the lone Muslim representative at the talks, who argued that "everyone in Bosnia

wants peace." His words ring true, especially in the relatively peaceful and prosperous Muslim Bihac pocket that he controls as head of a large-scale business network. But Abdic has little chance of pulling off a coup against Izetbegovic as long as the Bosnian army, the real power in the increasingly fragmented republic, continues to back the president.

**Partitioning might not stabilize Bosnia.** Even on the off-chance Izetbegovic signed, the republic could be thrown into chaos. Large-scale population transfers would probably take place, with the republic's 1.5 million remaining Muslims crowding into their designated territories and Serbs and Croats heading out. One international official in the region envisions a mass movement like the flight of Muslims to Pakistan and Hindus to India after the British left the Subcontinent. But in Bosnia, the transfers would still leave unclear the fate of hundreds of thousands of people of mixed ancestry or mixed marriage. Which state would they call home?

**Without international policing, the plan could be doomed.** Bill Clinton vowed to send U.S. ground troops to enforce the Vance-Owen plan, which proposed keeping Bosnia intact but dividing the country into 10 semiautonomous provinces. Since that plan is dead, the commitment no longer applies. Yet without large numbers of international soldiers to keep peace along the new boundaries, the Muslims would live in constant danger of Serb or Croat attack. Most likely, says a foreign-relief official, the Muslims "would try to arm themselves for the next round—because there will be a next round."

In fact, the mere talk of partition could trigger new hostilities any time. It's already set off a round of threats and counterthreats. Serb forces continue to besiege the eastern Bosnian enclave of Gorazde.

Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb leader, offered to trade Sarajevo to the Muslims for Gorazde. But he also said that if Izetbegovic refuses to accept partition soon, the Serbs and Croats would be that much more justified in "defeating" Muslim forces. For his part, Izetbegovic's vice president, Ejup Ganic, said there will be terrorist attacks by Bosnians in Europe if the West abandons Bosnia. It was a desperate and probably idle threat that reflects the rising desperation of Bosnia's Muslims. Lord Owen may be able to exploit their vulnerability to get some sort of peace plan at Geneva. But ultimately, partition is unlikely to heal the bleeding sore of the Balkans.

CHARLES LANE in Zagreb



ART ZAMUR—GAMMA-LIAISON

Threat, counterthreat: Serb sharpshooter in Sarajevo



50 REUTERS 07-30-93 02:51 PET  
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THE REUTER TRANSCRIPT REPORT  
STATE DEPARTMENT PAGE 23 07/30/93  
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176 LINES

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Q But it's confirmed he's talked to Douglas Hurd?

MR. MCCURRY: Hmm?

Q You mean, so that whatever happens you can call it a success?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, I -- you know, that's -- I'm not sure if that's a question or not.

Q I think this is a different subject but a related question, as you will. I don't think anybody's asked in last the few days about the recent bombings in Milan and Rome. Does the  
PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

United States have any views on that? Is there any indication this may all be related to the former Yugoslavia?

MR. MCCURRY: I don't know that we addressed that. I do believe that we had a response to the bombings the other day, indicating that we, of course, deeply condemn the violence and would be monitoring the efforts to bring to justice those responsible. But I'm not certain that there was any suggestion in our response that we had the identity of the perpetrators of the crime in mind.

Q All right. Since that response, have you done anything on this? Have you heard anything?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, we're looking at that issue all the time, but I don't know that we've developed any firm information on the identity of those who conducted the bombing itself.

Q Mike --

Q Mike?

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Q -- could you say substantively where the current discussions on Bosnia -- the proposals differ from what the Secretary took to Europe in May?

MR. MCCURRY: I've suggested what's -- I think I told you

yesterday the nature of what's under discussion dealing with the humanitarian situation in Sarajevo and surrounding cities and the need to get the political process to move ahead. Without elaborating any detail on the discussions themselves or options that might be under consideration, that's a substantially different set of issues than those were raised directly by the Secretary in his conversations with our European allies and friends during the visits in May.

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STATE DEPARTMENT PAGE 24 07/30/93

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Q Mike, just to --

Q (Inaudible) -- the Secretary at that time was  
PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

concerned with the resolution which I think was pending at the time that had -- that dealt specifically with providing humanitarian aid through the use of all necessary means.

MR. MCCURRY: Well, it's -- I think that trip they were reviewing additional measures that might be pursued, and it was, I think, then confirmed at a later date that those involved lifting the arms embargo --

Q Yeah.

MR. MCCURRY: -- which is a -- I would not want to suggest that that's the option -- the type of option that is under discussion based on what I said yesterday.

Q Well, that's exactly the --

Q (Off mike) -- Western military steps under consideration now, aren't they about the same as he was discussing in May?

MR. MCCURRY: Aren't they about the same?  
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Q Aren't they? Aren't they talking about the same things in terms of Western military response that they were talking about in May?

MR. MCCURRY: If there's a military element added to the diplomacy? If you mean in that general sense are they similar types of conversations, I guess they could be, depending on the nature of the discussions that are underway now within the US.

Q And these were steps that in May the allies were

unwilling to join us?

MR. MCCURRY: They were -- they had other options in mind, obviously the safe areas option, which is the one that was then pursued.

Q Do they have other options in mind now?

MR. MCCURRY: They -- not -- I'm not aware of any different type of solution other than the pursuit of safe areas and the effort to make the safe areas safe.

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Q So is the United States and its allies then -- would you characterize them as closer now than they were in May?

MR. MCCURRY: I think that they -- I think I would characterize the work going on on the issue as being cooperative work in which there is certainly difference of views but a common sense of purpose as it relates to the deteriorating situation in Sarajevo.

.ETX

STATE DEPARTMENT PAGE 25 07/30/93

.STX

Q Following up, I believe -- Mike, you said, I think, yesterday -- it may have been the day before, but I think you said it yesterday, as recently as yesterday, that the US preferred option is still the one that the US has always had as its preferred option. But today you said you wouldn't want to lead us to believe that lifting the arms embargo was under  
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consideration. Does that mean the US, in effect, is --

MR. MCCURRY: What -- I'm sorry. Say the question again.

Q I think you said as recently as yesterday that the US preferred option for dealing militarily with Bosnia was the one that it has long held as its preferred option, namely the combined lift-and-strike --

MR. MCCURRY: I'm not aware that I said that yesterday.

Q Okay. Well, we can -- the record's there. I could be corrected. In any case, are you suggesting now that the United States is -- feels it's better to go with a less-preferred option?

Q A different option?

Q A different option that is maybe second-best or something -- third-best or --

MR. MCCURRY: Look, let me just draw back a little bit. I  
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mean, we're fencing around the same issue in a way here, that there are discussions underway. They, you know, could very well lead to different types of options. But because they're underway, I really don't have anything more I can tell you about it right now.

Q Yeah, but I think we're trying to get a feel for whether the US --

MR. MCCURRY: I know you're trying --

Q -- feels it's settling for something that's not as good as what the US really thinks ought to be done here or whether the US thinks the situation has changed so that a new option is really the preferred option.

MORE

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49 REUTERS 07-30-93 02:49 PET 19 LINES

BC-YUGOSLAVIA-MILOSEVIC-PREDICTION -2 BELGRADE

Milosevic said he hoped the Geneva accord would lead quickly to the lifting of international sanctions against rump Yugoslavia, whose economy is crippled by hyper-inflation.

"Every citizen is well aware of the burden borne by Serbia in its assistance and solidarity with our people outside Serbia. It turned out that all that we have had to go through in these past few years was worth it," he said.

"I hope we are on the threshold of a process of full normalisation, and that the staunchest protagonists of the imposition of sanctions against Yugoslavia will finally lose all their arguments for keeping up sanctions."

He said the solution being reached in Geneva to the 16-month-old conflict was "realistic, serious and fair" and would protect the interests of all three peoples.

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48 REUTERS 07-30-93 02:43 PET 40 LINES  
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BC-YUGOSLAVIA-TALKS 3RDLD -2 GENEVA

Izetbegovic, who has been under intense international pressure to negotiate in Geneva, left the talks with just a brief wave to reporters.

But the accord received a fulsome welcome from Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, the two Balkan power-brokers invited to sit in on the negotiations.

"It is the biggest step towards peace we have ever made since the beginning of the war," Milosevic told reporters.

"In this constitutional agreement there is not a single quote that is not accepted by all sides," he added.

Tudjman said the accord created the basis "for the solution of all the remaining crises in the former Yugoslavia" -- including Croatia's own problem with its Serb minority.

It was therefore, he said, also "conducive to the normalisation of relations between Serbia and Croatia," which have long been strained by the problem of the Croatian Serbs and by conflicting nationalist sentiments.

Both Milosevic and Tudjman were due to leave Geneva either later on Friday or early on Saturday, but they said Izetbegovic, Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and Mate Boban, head of the  
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Bosnian Croats, would continue without them until an overall settlement was reached.

"We suggested there should be no interruption," said Milosevic. "The negotiations should be continued until the end."

Whether an eventual accord can be properly implemented remains open to question. Many Bosnian Moslems, in particular, are still set against any ethnic "carve-up" of their internationally-recognised state.

But shortly after the Geneva accord was announced, news came from Sarajevo that the military commanders had agreed to implement the ceasefire called for by their political leaders.

According to Croat commander Milivoj Petkovic, the ceasefire was to come into immediate effect across the country.

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47 REUTERS 07-30-93 02:38 PET

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AM-YUGOSLAVIA (SCHEDULED)

BOSNIA SHELLING KILLS EIGHT, WOUNDS NEARLY 50

By Paul Holmes

PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina (Reuter) - Shellfire killed eight people and wounded 47 Friday as generals in Sarajevo tried to implement a cease-fire and politicians in Geneva thrashed out agreement on a new constitution for Bosnia.

Among the casualties were Spanish U.N. peacekeepers -- one



killed and 17 wounded when their base and sleeping quarters in the southwest of the former Yugoslav republic were blasted.

Shelling later erupted in Sarajevo, killing seven people and wounding 30, mostly civilians, according to the besieged capital's three hospitals.

Gunners also blasted the area around Zuc, a strategic hill overlooking the city, where fierce battles have raged for days between encircling Serb forces and Muslim-led government troops.

Sarajevo radio said battles continued around the northern town of Brcko, where Muslim-led government troops faced Serb infantry attacks.

It reported shelling of the eastern enclave of Gorazde, like Sarajevo a U.N.-designated "safe area." And it said Serb and Croat units attacked Muslim forces in the central Bosnian town of Maglaj.

Several hours before dawn, a Spanish peacekeeping soldier became the latest U.N. fatality when his base at Jablanica was  
PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

shelled, wounding 17 other men in the unit's sleeping quarters.

U.N. troops did not return fire.

When French U.N. soldiers were shelled in Sarajevo last weekend the commander of U.N. forces, Gen. Francis Briquemont, warned that next time the peacekeepers would shoot back.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, who initially accused Muslim forces of staging that attack, said Friday that Serb gunners may have fired at the French by mistake.

"The commander of the brigade which operates in the area from which the attack was possibly launched has already been discharged and at this moment the persons who are suspected to be responsible are being arrested," Karadzic said in a letter to world leaders.

At Sarajevo airport, Bosnian Serb Gen. Ratko Mladic, Bosnian Croat Gen. Milivoj Petkovic and Rasim Delic, commander of the Muslim-led Bosnian government forces met Friday to try to nail down a lasting cease-fire.

Briquemont said negotiators in Geneva had asked that while the peace talks continued the three military leaders and the U.N. command should meet every day to determine who was responsible for any truce violations.

"Today is the day that combat activities are to cease. The  
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investigation into the shelling incident in Jablanica should be a first test of the cooperation of each party to participate in this process," Briquemont said.

In Geneva, international mediators David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg announced that Bosnia's Muslim, Serb and Croat political leaders agreed on a constitution providing for three republics in a new union state.

A statement from the mediators said the agreement would form part of an overall peace settlement for the 16-month-old war which has left tens of thousands dead.

"After intensive discussion on a number of drafts, with

amendments agreed by all three parties, there is now a Constitutional Agreement for the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina which will form part of an overall peace settlement," the statement said.

But the statement made clear that agreement on a map delineating the territory of the three ethnic republics still had to be resolved.

Discussions would continue on the map Saturday, it said.

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PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

46 REUTERS 07-30-93 02:34 PET

61 LINES

AE-FORMER YUGOSLAVIA/UN:

IZETBEGOVIC REJECTS THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL PLAN FOR BOSNIA - A SPANISH BLUE HELMET KILLED AND 17 INJURED - THE COURT OF THE HAGUE TO STUDY BOSNIA'S CALL FOR "INTERIM MEASURES OF PROTECTION" ON 25 AUGUST

GENEVA/SARAJEVO/BELGRADE/NEW

Alija Izetbegovic

said in Geneva on Friday that the Bosnian collegial presidency refused the new draft constitution as presented, Thursday, by the UN and European Community mediators to the different Bosnian parties. Asked whether he accepted these proposals, the Bosnian president replied: "No, we have our own plan". EUROPE recalls that the draft constitution drawn up by the mediators David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, entitled "Union of the United Bosnian Republics", is in fact a synthesis between the Serbo-Croat plan aimed at setting up three confederate ethnic states and that of the Muslims' providing for the creation of a federation.

Meanwhile, violent fighting continued Thursday night, with as the most spectacular incident, the bombing of an

PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

UNPROFOR base in Jablanica (souther Bosnia), in which a Spanish Blue Helmet was killed and 17 others injured (six seriously). A spokesperson for UNPROFOR said that a shell had made a direct hit on a dormitory housing the Spanish contingent. In Geneva, Radovan Karadzic admitted that his troops were "very probably" the authors of the attack on a base of French Blue Helmets last weekend. "The commander responsible for the brigade operating in the region has been dismissed and those responsible arrested," he said.

In The Hague, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) announced that on 25 August it would hold its first hearing on the new request for "interim measures of protection" submitted by Bosnia-Herzegovina on Tuesday against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (made up of Serbia and Montenegro). Bosnia indeed called on the Court to take such emergency measures because, according to Bosnia, "other than continuing its campaign of genocide against the Bosnian people (...), the Yugoslav Republic

is planning, conspiring and negotiating, through genocide, the partition, dismemberment, annexation or incorporation" of Bosnia.

In Zagreb, the Croatian Government has called for an emergency meeting of the UN Security Council to put an end to  
PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

the "extremist Muslim aggression" against the majority Bosnian people in Croatia.

In The Hague, Peter Kooijmans, Dutch Foreign Minister, speaking before the member of the Lower House, said that he supported the idea, envisaged by the Belgian presidency, of holding a special meeting of the Twelve to discuss the situation in former Yugoslavia and progress in the Geneva negotiations, while hinting that other European capitals were much less enthusiastic. For their part, the Defence Ministers of the Nordic countries are to meet in Stockholm next week to discuss sending a joint force to Bosnia.

45 REUTERS 07-30-93 02:20 PET  
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97 LINES

THE REUTER TRANSCRIPT REPORT  
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41 REUTERS 07-30-93 12:44 PET  
AM-YUGOSLAVIA-UN

26 LINES

U.S. NOMINATES JUDGE FOR WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

UNITED NATIONS (Reuter) - The United States Friday nominated former U.S. District Court Judge Gabrielle Kirk McDonald of Texas as a candidate for the 11-member U.N. war crimes tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.

The Security Council voted unanimously May 25 to set up an international tribunal at The Hague to try people accused of murder, rape, torture and other atrocities in the former Balkan federation.

McDonald was appointed by then-President Jimmy Carter to the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Texas in 1979. She was that state's first black federal judge.

She returned to private practice in 1988 and has also taught at law schools in Texas.

Each of the United Nations' 184 members, as well as countries with U.N. observer status, such as Switzerland, may nominate up to two candidates by an Aug. 3 deadline.

The Security Council is to whittle this down to between 22 and 33 names, ensuring adequate representation of the world's main legal systems, and the General Assembly will then elect 11  
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judges from that list.  
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40 REUTERS 07-30-93 12:43 PET 55 LINES  
AM-LEBANON-USA (SCHEDULED)

LEBANON CEASE-FIRE POSSIBLE SOON - EGYPT ENVOY

By Deborah Zabarenko

WASHINGTON (Reuter) - A U.S.-brokered cease-fire in Lebanon is possible within hours but Secretary of State Warren Christopher may delay his trip to the Mideast for several days, Egypt's ambassador to the United States said Friday,

"We do hope that by the end of the day quiet will be restored and the situation will be normalized and all the refugees ... will be allowed to return forthwith," Egyptian Ambassador Ahmed Maher El Sayed said.

Sayed said the U.S. government was pursuing "vigorous" contacts with all parties involved in the Lebanon conflict and "The last word I have is that the American government is hopeful that the result of the contacts ... will be apparent in the next few hours."

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42

42 REUTERS 07-30-93 01:09 PET 30 LINES  
BC-YUGOSLAVIA-FRANCE

FRANCE STEPS UP CALLS FOR BOSNIA AIR PROTECTION

PARIS, July 30 (Reuter) - France on Friday renewed its demand for immediate air protection for U.N. peacekeeping forces in Bosnia after an attack on Spanish troops killed one soldier and injured 17.

Foreign Minister Alain Juppe said in a statement that France would support any initiative taken by U.N. forces in response to the attack.

Juppe also called for an emergency European Community meeting to show solidarity with Spain and discuss concrete action in line with decisions at an EC summit last month at which EC leaders offered troops and cash to help to defend Moslem safe havens. He did not elaborate.

France, with the largest contingent of U.N. soldiers in former Yugoslavia, has added 1,000 troops to help to defend the designated Moslem safe havens.

After two attacks on French peacekeeping troops in Sarajevo this week, France urged that air cover should be provided as soon as possible.

"(France) recalls moves it has made this week at the United  
PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

Nations and NATO to ensure the air operation provided for by (Security Council) resolution 836 becomes fully operational," Juppe said.

He noted that NATO agreed last month that air protection would cover all U.N. forces' missions in ex-Yugoslavia.

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41 REUTERS 07-30-93 12:44 PET

26 LINES

AM-YUGOSLAVIA-UN

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PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

38 REUTERS 07-30-93 11:57 AET

69 LINES

BC-YUGOSLAVIA-CROATIA-BRIDGE (SCHEDULED, PICTURE)

TRAFFIC CROWDS NEW CROATIAN BRIDGE UNDER SERB GUNS

By Davor Huic

MASLENICA BRIDGE, Croatia, July 30 (Reuter) - Traffic poured across a new pontoon bridge restoring Croatia's old coastal highway on Friday as Serb gunners watched and U.N. mediators worked to avert renewed war in the area.

Serbs in the nearby breakaway Krajina enclave have vowed to bombard the Maslenica bridge unless Croatian government troops yield the zone to U.N. supervision by Saturday under a demilitarisation accord signed by both sides on July 16.

Tensions surged this week after the Croatian government backpedalled from the deal by adding a condition that Serbs must put their heavy weapons in U.N. depots at the same time as Croatian troops pull back.

In Zagreb, a U.N. Protection Force spokesman said UNPROFOR peacekeeping units had moved into position to take charge of Maslenica and the adjoining Zemunik airport from Saturday.

Eleventh-hour shuttle negotiations with Croatian and Serb authorities were continuing to patch up the Erdut Agreement and preserve calm around Maslenica, he told Reuters.

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The Serbs on Thursday offered a ceasefire in the region, plagued by random shelling, if Zagreb stuck to its withdrawal commitment. There was no direct Croatian response.

Croatian Defence Minister Gojko Susak accorded the Serbs rare praise on Friday for muzzling their guns so far but he insisted that they must hand over their artillery.

"They acted correctly by not bombing us when we opened the bridge and we consider that a gesture of goodwill," he said.

There were no signs of impending conflict as cars, buses and trucks lined up to cross the new pontoon span, dedicated with a fanfare by President Franjo Tudjman on July 18 and opened on

Thursday.

The bridge, stretching 279 metres (920 feet) between the craggy shores of the Maslenica inlet within sight of Serb artillery batteries on mountain heights inland, seemed to defy the laws of both physics and politics.

Croatian engineers who assembled the bridge in two weeks said it was the longest of its kind in the world. "I personally don't know of anything quite like it," said Ante Saric, an engineer with Croatia's state roadworks company.

The bridge consists of five, 2,000-tonne barges anchored in the slender sea channel and linked by 10-metre (33-foot)

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segments of bridge covered with asphalt tarmac just a couple of metres (six feet) above the waves.

The bridge, reconnecting the economically vital highway between northern Croatia and the southern Dalmatian coast, could help Zagreb to revive a once lucrative tourist industry there.

Maslenica's original suspension span was destroyed in Croatia's 1991 war of independence from Serb-led Yugoslavia and now lies submerged, a tangle of orange steel beams under the dark blue sea.

Neither Croatian soldiers nor motorists seemed perturbed about the Serbs and their big guns on the mountains surrounding Novigrad Bay to the east of the channel.

Soldiers displayed no enthusiasm for handing Maslenica over to UNPROFOR and suggested they had no pending orders to leave despite Saturday's deadline.

"What, withdrawal? Are you crazy?" one told Reuters. "We can dress soldiers in civilian clothes if needed."

"How can you withdraw from your own country?" asked a military policeman.

Those using the bridge included a Croatian "guest worker" returning from Germany, a passenger bus heading to Istanbul and a family from Zagreb going to the Dalmatian coast on holiday.

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37 REUTERS 07-30-93 11:52 AET

74 LINES

BC-YUGOSLAVIA 3RDL (SCHEDULED, PICTURE)

SEVEN DIE IN SARAJEVO AS BOSNIA AWAITS TRUCE

(Eds: updates with shelling, Sarajevo toll)

By Paul Holmes

SARAJEVO, July 30 (Reuter) - Shellfire boomed over the battlefields of Bosnia on Friday as top military commanders thrashed out details of a truce and political leaders wrangled over the constitution of a new, ethnically divided state.

Shelling erupted in Sarajevo, where generals of the three warring sides were meeting, killing seven people and wounding 30 others, mostly civilians, according to the besieged capital's three hospitals.

Gunners also blasted the area around Zuc, a strategic hill overlooking the city, where fierce battles have raged for days between Serb besiegers and Moslem-led government forces.

Bosnia's top-ranking Serb, Moslem and Croat generals, hosted by the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), met at  
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30 REUTERS 07-30-93 10:43 AET

36 LINES

BC-YUGOSLAVIA-MAZOWIECKI

U.N. RAPPORTEUR FEARS CATASTROPHE IN BOSNIAN SAFE AREAS

WARSAW, July 30 (Reuter) - United Nations human rights investigator Tadeusz Mazowiecki has appealed to the U.N. to make safe areas in Bosnia more secure to avert a human rights catastrophe.

In a letter to U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali dated July 29, Mazowiecki accused Serb and Croat forces in the former Yugoslav republic of relentless attacks on the six safe areas created by the U.N. Security Council.

He urged Boutros-Ghali to widen the areas around Sarajevo, Gorazde, Srebrenica, Tuzla, Zepa and Bihac and to deploy enough UNPROFOR peacekeeping troops to defend them.

"I am writing to voice my fears for the people who live in the safe havens of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the thousands of displaced persons who have sought refuge with them," said the letter, distributed to reporters in Warsaw.

"I believe they are fast being drawn into a catastrophe, while their elementary human rights are constantly being violated," wrote Mazowiecki, a former Polish prime minister.

Mazowiecki listed a number of attacks on the areas in recent  
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weeks and said they had become isolated because of obstacles which have limited access to them by U.N. relief convoys.

He blamed the areas' problems on "relentless military action" by Bosnian Serbs and Croats but said it was the international community's responsibility to make them secure.

"Urgent steps are needed to make them truly secure, such as widening of their boundaries to make them economically viable, and the deployment of an adequate number of UNPROFOR troops with appropriate guidelines for the use of defensive force."

Mazowiecki has been special rapporteur on human rights in former Yugoslavia for the United Nations since August 1992.

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29 REUTERS 07-30-93 10:03 AET

77 LINES

PROGRAMA

NOTICIAS PRINCIPALES DE REUTER PARA LOS MATUTINOS DEL SABADO 31 DE JULIO. UN PROGRAMA ACTUALIZADO SERA TRANSMITIDO A LAS 1900 GMT.

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28 REUTERS 07-30-93 10:02 AET  
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34 LINES

NORDIC DEFENCE MINISTERS TO DISCUSS BOSNIA FORCE

STOCKHOLM, July 30 (Reuter) - Nordic defence ministers will meet in Stockholm next week to discuss sending a joint force under U.N. colours to Bosnia, a defence ministry spokesman said on Friday.

Kjell Gothe said Swedish Defence Minister Anders Bjorck would meet his Danish counterpart Hans Haekkerup, Jorgen Kosmo of Norway and Finland's Elisabeth Rehn next Friday.

Sweden has already trained nearly 900 people and is waiting for a formal go-ahead from the United Nations to contribute forces to supervise a plan to end the bloodshed in former Yugoslavia.

"We have our battalion ready to go and we think it would be a good idea to have a Nordic contribution," Gothe said.

The Swedish news agency TT said Denmark was also likely to send a battalion, which would include tanks, to Bosnia while Norway's contribution would be smaller, possibly consisting of infantry and communications specialists.

Finland, it added, would probably send equipment and supplies but no troops. Finnish law does not allow it to send

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troops where they might be involved in combat.

Swedish defence sources said the most likely location for a Nordic force would be in the area of Tuzla, northeastern Bosnia, where British troops are already working.

Asked about the timing of any deployment Gothe said: "If we receive a request in the next few weeks, then we should be able to have our troops on the ground in September."

The Nordic countries already have a joint U.N. peacekeeping unit in Macedonia, another former Yugoslav republic.

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27 REUTERS 07-30-93 09:57 AET

87 LINES

BC-YUGOSLAVIA 2NDLD (SCHEDULED)

SPANISH SOLDIER KILLED AS BOSNIA GENERALS MEET ON TRUCE

(Eds: Updates with generals meeting)

By Paul Holmes

SARAJEVO, July 30 (Reuter) - Military commanders of Bosnia's three warring factions met to discuss imposing the latest ceasefire shortly after a Spanish peacekeeping soldier died and 17 others were wounded in an artillery attack on Friday.

PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

26 REUTERS 07-30-93 09:18 AET

73 LINES

AM-YUGOSLAVIA-CROATIA-REFUGEES (SCHEDULED)

CROATIA DETAINING MOSLEM REFUGEES - DIPLOMATS

By Mark Heinrich

ZAGREB, (Reuter) - Croatia is rounding up and apparently



deporting Moslem refugees to embattled Bosnia following a Bosnian army offensive against Croat towns, diplomats said Friday.

A Croatian interior ministry spokesman said illegal refugees would have to be "repatriated" if they had no third-country visa. He denied any would be forcibly deported.

But a Zagreb-based diplomat said: "All our evidence is that they are being singled out because they are Moslems. We believe they may be deporting people to Bosnia."

The interior ministry said it had begun to check the status of 277,000 Bosnian refugees in Croatia some time ago and about 10 per cent were believed to lack proper documents.

Ministry spokesman Mladen Lackovic could not immediately say whether Moslem refugees were being targeted or detained.

German and American diplomats, including U.S. Ambassador Peter Galbraith, and U.N. refugee officials went to a Zagreb sports centre on Thursday night after receiving reports that  
PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

scores of Bosnian refugees had been detained there.

Galbraith said police at the centre refused to let him go in and speak with the refugees and he planned to meet Interior Minister Ivan Jarnjak later on Friday to address the problem.

"We are very concerned that people not be deported to a war zone," Galbraith told Reuters.

"We are very concerned also that bona fide refugees under international law are being picked up in this operation. I know of at least one such young man, 18 years old, who has not been returned to his family."

In Sarajevo, the Moslem-led Bosnian government accused Croatia of indiscriminately arresting Moslem refugees in Zagreb and the Adriatic ports of Rijeka and Split in recent days.

"Croatian police have detained (some) in a sports centre in Zagreb. Around 100 men, women and children were rounded up in front of our embassy's consular section," Bosnian radio said.

It said Croatia apparently intended to exchange them for rebel Bosnian Croat soldiers held prisoner by the government army, which launched an offensive against rebel Croat-held territory in central Bosnia in early June.

Bosnian Vice President Ejup Ganic, a Moslem, said in a statement he was "shocked and stunned" by the reported  
PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

detentions and hoped Moslem refugees would not be used as "bargaining chips."

Diplomats who monitored the Zagreb sports centre saw one bus packed with Bosnian refugees leaving for an undetermined destination around midnight.

"An interior ministry official at the scene told us that some of the people were being sent back to Bosnia, but only illegal aliens without valid papers," a diplomat said.

Despite an economy crippled by its 1991 war of independence from federal Yugoslavia, Croatia accepted over half a million refugees from the ensuing Bosnian civil war next door.

They were overwhelmingly Moslems uprooted or expelled by Serb insurgents who overran 70 per cent of Bosnia after that republic's Moslems and Croats voted to secede from Yugoslavia.

Moslem refugees were welcome in Croatia as long as Croats and Moslems jointly fought the Serbs in Bosnia.

But this changed when the Serbs stopped contesting remaining Croat or Moslem-held territory in central Bosnia early this year, prompting Croats and Moslems to turn on each for control of the ethnically mixed area.

Government troops on a counter-offensive since early June have seized several major towns and put many thousands of Croat  
PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

inhabitants to flight in fresh episodes of "ethnic cleansing."

Croat forces have meanwhile been reported by U.N. relief officials to be expelling Moslems en masse from southwest towns near the Croatian border, including Mostar.

REUTER

25 REUTERS 07-30-93 09:13 AET 73 LINES

BC-YUGOSLAVIA-CROATIA-REFUGEES (SCHEDULED)  
CROATIA DETAINING MOSLEM REFUGEES - DIPLOMATS

By Mark Heinrich

ZAGREB, July 30 (Reuter) - Croatia is rounding up and apparently deporting Moslem refugees to embattled Bosnia following a Bosnian army offensive against Croat towns, diplomats said on Friday.

A Croatian interior ministry spokesman said illegal refugees would have to be "repatriated" if they had no third-country visa. He denied any would be forcibly deported.

But a Zagreb-based diplomat said: "All our evidence is that they are being singled out because they are Moslems. We believe they may be deporting people to Bosnia."

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15 REUTERS 07-30-93 06:26 AET 36 LINES

BC-TURKEY-ORTHODOX  
ORTHODOX LEADERS DISCUSS CHURCH PROBLEMS

ISTANBUL, July 30 (Reuter) - Orthodox church leaders met in Turkey on Friday to discuss friction between the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and other Orthodox communities, a church official said.

Archbishop Bartholomeos, spiritual leader of the world's 200 million Orthodox Christians, chaired the meeting which will discuss charges that Jerusalem's archbishop, Patriarch Diodoros, had been interfering in the affairs of other communities.

Patriarch Diodoros, who was not present at the meeting, has complained of the increased power of Istanbul Patriarch Bartholomeos in the Orthodox world community following the collapse of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

"Church leaders will discuss problems between the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and other churches," Metropolitan

Bishop Meliton, spokesman of Istanbul Patriarchate's 12-member holy synod, told Reuters.

"Other churches have complained that Patriarchate of Jerusalem has been interfering in their affairs," he said.

Bartholomeos is considered the ecumenical patriarch and as  
PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

such is recognised as "first among equals" among Orthodox church archbishops but his congregation in Turkey is tiny.

"Bartholomeos is attempting to rule the church like the Pope," the Anatolian news agency quoted Diodoros as saying on Thursday in a report from Athens.

The archbishops of Alexandria, Greece, the United States, Australia and England, and metropolitan bishops from Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Sweden, Italy and Austria are attending the two-day mini summit at the Orthodox Church Patriarchate

Only 4,000 Orthodox Greeks remain in the Turkey, once homeland for more than 1.5 million Greeks.

REUTER

14 REUTERS 07-30-93 06:17 AET

32 LINES

BC-YUGOSLAVIA-COURT

WORLD COURT TO HEAR URGENT BOSNIA PLEA NEXT MONTH

THE HAGUE, July 30 (Reuter) - The International Court of Justice set August 25 as the date on which it will hear an urgent request by Bosnia to prevent its annexation by Serbia, a court official said on Friday.

PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

18 AP 07-30-93 02:35 PET

80 LINES

AM-Yugoslavia-Summit, Bjt,0651

Bosnian Warring Factions Agree to Slice Country Into Ethnic States With AM-Yugoslavia, Bjt

AP Photo GEV101

By CLARE NULLIS=

Associated Press Writer=

GENEVA (AP) Bosnia's outgunned Muslim-led government apparently abandoned its efforts to hold the region together and agreed Friday to divide the former Yugoslav republic into three ethnic states.

The preliminary accord sets a framework for division favored by ethnic Serbs and Croats, who control nearly all of Bosnia after more than 16 months of civil war that has claimed between 140,000 and 200,000 lives and left the capital, Sarajevo, in ruins.

The agreement appeared to be one of the most solid chances for a settlement to the war, but many other cease-fires have quickly fallen apart. Battles raged on several fronts across Bosnia on Friday.

Only hours before the pact was reached, Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic rejected a plan for division. But strong-arm pressure from his foes apparently forced the major concession.

PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

International mediators said government, Croat and Serb delegates would meet Saturday to discuss maps of the future states.

Other details of the agreement were not immediately known, including whether some form of central control will survive.

Izetbegovic, a Muslim, left the session without comment. But mediators said they had amended the proposal Izetbegovic earlier rejected.

Copies of the new draft were not immediately available and it was unclear what amendments had been made. But given the strength of the Serbs and Croats at the negotiating table and on the battlefield, it was unlikely the revisions were significant.

"After intensive discussion on a number of drafts with amendments agreed by all three parties, there is now a Constitutional Agreement for the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina which will form part of an overall peace settlement," the mediators' statement said.

President Franjo Tudjman of Croatia, one of the region's power brokers, pronounced himself satisfied by the pact and said he was confident a complete peace settlement would be ready for signing

as

early as Monday.

All 10 members of Bosnia's collective presidency agreed to the amended plan, he said.

PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

The original partition proposal put forward at the talks by international mediators Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg largely met Serb and Croat demands for three ethnic states in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Izetbegovic's collective presidency had fought partition, fearing Muslims would be landlocked in a small pocket between Serb and Croat states that would eventually merge with Serbia and Croatia.

On Friday morning, they presented a set of counter-proposals to the Owen-Stoltenberg plan giving much stronger powers to the central government. But with the weakest hand in the negotiations, they didn't have much clout to bargain for a single state without ethnic divisions.

The war has left the Serbs with about 70 percent of Bosnian territory and the Croats with much of the rest. Fighting broke out after Bosnia's Muslims and Croats voted to break away from Serb-dominated Yugoslavia, over the objection of ethnic Serbs.

Izetbegovic, Tudjman, President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia, Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and Bosnian Croat leader Mate Boban attended the fourth day of talks.

A draft of the original Owen-Stoltenberg plan called for a union of three separate states, guarantees of minority rights and a weak  
PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

central government to handle international affairs and foreign trade.

The Bosnian presidency's amendments gave the central government

strongpowers, including responsibility for territorial integrity, foreign and economic affairs and human rights. They also had safeguards to make it difficult for Serb- and Croat-held lands to merge with Serbia and Croatia. No maps had been published, but Serb leader Karadzic suggested Thursday that Muslims would gain nearly 30 percent of the land "that would be the best part of country," with almost 60 percent of Bosnia's wealth and access to the Adriatic and the Sava River in the north.

17 AP 07-30-93 02:01 PET 239 LINES  
BC-DEP-FUT USA94 VISTAZO COMPLETO,0964

Vistazo completo a las eliminatorias de la Copa Mundial de fDutbol

LONDRES (AP) - Vistazo completo a las eliminatorias de la Copa Mundial de fDutbol de 1994 (locales primero)  
EUROPA

PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

3 AP 07-30-93 06:59 AET 34 LINES  
PM-Yugoslavia-Croatia-Money,0302

Croatia To Restore Old Currency

ZAGREB, Croatia (AP) Parliament has voted to replace the Croatian dinar with a new currency, the kuna, a name associated both with the republic's medieval period and its history as a

World

War II Nazi puppet state.

The decision Thursday is likely to further alienate the republic's Serbs, who were persecuted by the Fascist state of Croatia during World War II and revolted in 1991 because of fears that an independent Croatia would return to the same policies.

They now hold about one-third of Croatia.

"We're just giving another excuse to our enemies to bash us," said Ivan Jakovic of the oppositional Istrian Democratic Party, who opposed the name change.

Skins of kuna, Croatian for the marten a small animal valued for its fur were used in the 10th century in the barter economy. Kuna became the monetary unit in medieval Croatia. It was reintroduced by the Fascists during World War II.

Jozo Radic, vice president of the main opposition Social Liberals, said use of the kuna currency by the Nazi puppet state was the main reason it should not be used now.

PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

But supporters of the idea focused on medieval history.

"The issue may be sensitive, but kuna is the original Croatian currency of a long time ago," said historian Mate Rupic. "After all, did Germany turn away from German marks, or Italy from liras after the World War II?"

Parliament did not indicate when the currency would be

introduced, or what the exchange rate would be. The Croatian  
dinar,  
introduced in January 1991 to replace the Yugoslav dinar, has been  
battered by the effects of war and the breakup of Yugoslavia. It  
now is trading at about 3,900 to the dollar.

2 AP 07-30-93 05:53 AET

69 LINES

PM-Yugoslavia,0559

One Killed, 17 Hurt as Shells Slam Into Spanish Barracks  
With PM-Bosnia-Air Cover

By DAVID CRARY=

Associated Press Writer=

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina (AP) Shells slammed into a U.N.  
barracks in southwest Bosnia as Spanish peacekeepers slept early  
today, killing a private and wounding 17 other soldiers, U.N.

PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

# U.S. EYES A MILITARY NO-FLY ZONE OVER BOSNIA

Post Wire Services

WASHINGTON — The United States is considering a ban on Yugoslav military flights over bloodied Bosnia and already is consulting with its allies on how it could be implemented, a Bush-administration official revealed yesterday.

One purpose of the "no-fly" zone would be to prevent Serbian warplanes from shadowing Western relief flights to Sarajevo, the official said.

It also would be a step toward U.S. military involvement in the conflict in the former Yugoslav republic, and would "get the attention" of the Serbian militia that has been attacking Bosnia's Muslims for six months.

"We are looking quite actively and hard at it," said

**Such a zone could prevent Serbian warplanes from shadowing Western relief flights to Sarajevo.**

the official, who spoke to a group of State Department correspondents under rules that prohibited release of his identity.

A similar ban was placed on Iraqi military flights over an area populated by Shiite Muslims, and has ef-

fectively shielded them from further Iraqi attack.

France has called for a no-fly zone over Bosnia, and the United States is talking with its allies at the United Nations about going ahead with the proposal.

The official said the no-fly zone would help avoid cases of mistaken identity of planes, since only relief planes would be permitted in the airspace.

But he cautioned that such a zone would not guarantee that humanitarian flights would not be shot down. An Italian relief plane was shot down last week by a ground-fired missile.

"It quite obviously could prevent the use of Serbian aircraft in support of Bosnian Serb ground forces,"

the official said. "It would have that beneficial effect."

But, he added, "It is not the silver bullet that we've either been loathe to fire, or we've just discovered."

The Bush administration has moved cautiously in its approach to the ethnic conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina and other former Yugoslav republics.

Last month, at a conference in London, a Western diplomatic initiative produced promises from Bosnian Serbs to end their

siege of Sarajevo and other Bosnian cities, turn over their heavy weapons to U.N. monitors and shut down detention centers.

State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said yesterday the shadowing of humanitarian flights by Bosnian Serb combat aircraft presents a serious threat.

"We condemn this practice in the strongest terms," Boucher said. "There is no reason to do this shadowing of humanitarian flights."

# U.S. SEEKS FULL BAN ON YUGOSLAV TRADE BY THE U.N. COUNCIL

## WINS BACKING OF 3 ALLIES

### Embargo on Oil and a Freeze on Assets Abroad — Russia or China May Block Move

By PAUL LEWIS

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, May 28 — The United States pressed the United Nations Security Council today to impose an immediate and virtually total economic embargo, including a ban on all oil sales, on the rump Yugoslav Government in Belgrade to get it to end Serbian intervention in neighboring Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Britain, France and Belgium, the Council's three European Community members, accepted the American position in consultations at the Security Council today after earlier favoring a weaker plan for imposing sanctions in stages. But Russia and China, two permanent Council members with a veto, which are also Serbia's principal oil suppliers, have appeared reluctant about sanctions in the past and it was not certain that they would accept the embargo plan being pushed by Washington.

The sanctions the United States now wants are as comprehensive as those imposed on Iraq before the Persian Gulf war and include a ban on trade, with the exception of medicine and approved supplies of food.

## Severing of Air Links

They require the severing of all air links with Serbia, the freezing of its external bank accounts and other financial assets, an end to cultural, scientific and sporting contacts and "significant" cuts in the size of its diplomatic missions abroad.

The United States, with the support of Britain and Belgium, also wants the Council to rule that the Belgrade Government cannot automatically take over the old Yugoslav seat in the United Nations, but instead must apply for membership. This would give the United States a veto over its eventual readmission. However, France has not yet agreed to this.

Islamic nations, which have been angered by Serbian attacks on Bosnia and Herzegovina's Muslim population, were reported today to be urging Russia and China to support the tough sanctions. The United States is expected to have the majority of the 15-nation Council in support of the sanctions, and therefore the only suspense was whether Moscow and Beijing, which have gone along with a series of tough Council resolutions on Iraq in the past two years, would break with their recent practice.

## U.S. Hardens Stand

The American move, which followed Wednesday's bloody mortar attack in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, that killed 16 civilians, represented a hardening in Washington's position. The Bush Administration had earlier seemed ready to support the European plan for a two-stage sanctions package with an oil embargo delayed until the second stage. In Brussels on Wednesday, the 12-nation Euro-

Continued on Page A10, Column 3

## Church Pressure in Serbia

The Serbian Orthodox Church urged the President of Serbia to step aside and backed a boycott of elections for a new parliament. Page A10.

IDE



# Audience Listening to Prince in the Wings

By CRAIG R. WHITNEY

Special to The New York Times

LONDON, May 28 — Ignored by most Western governments while his country fell apart and descended into civil war, the heir to the toppled throne of Yugoslavia has been heard at last by officials of both the United States and Britain.

The decisions by Washington and London to receive the heir, Crown Prince Alexander, was a symbol of a change in their policies. On May 21, he talked in the White House with President Bush's national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft, and in the State Department with Assistant Secretary of State Thomas M. T. Niles; three days earlier, he had been received in London by Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd.

In an interview today, Prince Alexander said he had argued unsuccessfully against the imposition of international sanctions against Serbia. Its Government, led by Slobodan Milosevic, is being blamed by the United Nations and the European Community for instigating violence against Muslims and Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the current focal point of the Yugoslav civil war.

But the Prince said a trade embargo would hurt the Serbian people more than it would hurt their "unworthy" leaders.

"The great majority of Serbs are fed up with Milosevic," he said. "I



Associated Press

Crown Prince Alexander

feel we should separate the Serbian people from his regime, which has used every trick to maintain its power base. But by imposing sanctions, we are hurting the people and polarizing them to support him out of desperation.

"Sanctions are a signal, but one must try to avoid putting too much pressure on the people."

Instead of sanctions, he said, the West should support leaders of the

## More diplomacy, maybe a throne, but not sanctions.

democratic opposition and nurture a free press.

He said that withdrawing ambassadors from Belgrade, as the United States has done, could put pressure on the Serbian leadership to reconsider its policies. "They're very vain people," said the Prince, who is a Serb.

### A Long Absence

"The only solution," he said, "is a national coalition Government of salvation in Belgrade, consisting of personalities from the opposition, intellectuals and members of the former Communist party who believe in democracy."

Prince Alexander has proposed a constitutional monarchy, with himself at its head, but neither the United States nor Britain has endorsed this.

Prince Alexander was born in London in 1945, four years after his father, King Peter II, was forced into exile. The Prince has been in Yugoslavia only once, for a three-day visit to the Belgrade area last October, but was warmly received by a crowd estimated at 70,000.

# U.S. Presses for a Stringent Embargo on Belgrade

Continued From Page A1

pean Community imposed a limited economic embargo on the Belgrade Government, but left a decision on a ban on oil sales to the United Nations Security Council.

The sanctions the United States is seeking include an embargo on all trade with the rump Yugoslavia except in food and medicine, the severing of all air links, the freezing of the Belgrade Government's external bank accounts and other financial assets, an end to cultural, scientific and sporting contacts and cuts in the size of its diplomatic missions abroad.

"We are going for comprehensive economic sanctions against Serbia including a trade embargo, an oil embargo, a break on all air links with Serbia and a freeze of all Yugoslavian assets abroad," State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said in Washington.

## Criticism of Europeans

The new American pressure came just a week after Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d seized the lead in organizing resistance to the bloodshed in Bosnia from the European Community, accusing it of moving too slowly, calling for punitive measures against Belgrade and warning that military intervention might prove necessary.

Appearing on the NBC News program "Today" this morning, the United States Ambassador in Belgrade, Warren Zimmermann, who was recently withdrawn as a sign of protest, accused Slobodan Milosevic, who as President of Serbia is the dominant figure in the new Yugoslavia, of "waging a war of aggression" against Bosnia and Herzegovina. Mr. Zimmermann said that the Serbs who constitute one third of the population in Bosnia and Herzegovina are now "trying to take over two-thirds of the country" by driving other ethnic groups from their homes.

He said the mortar bombs which struck a civilian bread line in Sarajevo on Wednesday probably came from Serbian attackers in the hills outside the city. And he warned that if conditions worsen further the international community will have to consider "some kind of multilateral use of force."

## Disgust Over Attack

American officials said the Administration is toughening its stance partly out of disgust with Wednesday's Sarajevo attack, which was widely shown on television around the world on Wednesday night.

They accused the Belgrade Government of double-crossing the world by seeking to carve a Greater Serbia out

of the wreckage of the defunct Yugoslav federation by force while outwardly professing to want peace. The old federation has been broken up into independent states: Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the rump Yugoslavia, which includes the Serbia and Montenegro. Macedonia has also declared independence but has not yet received worldwide recognition.

Many foreign diplomats here speculated that political factors entered into the the Bush Administration's sudden decision to take the lead in forcing Belgrade to cease its interference in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

These include a desire for President Bush to appear decisive, with six primary elections scheduled for next Tuesday. In addition, the Bush Administration, unhappy over the decision of France and Germany to create the nucleus of their own joint force outside of NATO, may also be seeking to take

the lead among the Western powers, in effect showing the Europeans that only Washington has the will to be decisive. The aim of the sanctions the United States favors is to force the Belgrade Government to carry out the peace proposals the Security Council adopted earlier this month for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The draft sanctions resolution starts by condemning Serbia and the Yugoslav National Army for failing to cease their interference in Bosnia and Herzegovina and demands that all elements of the Croatian Army also withdraw from that republic.

Acting under Chapter Seven of the United Nations Charter, the resolution then imposes a list of sanctions on Serbia that would stay in force until the Security Council decides it has fully complied with the earlier peace terms.

This means Belgrade must use its

influence to promote an immediate cease-fire in Bosnia and Herzegovina, disband and disarm elements of the Yugoslavian Army there, end the forced displacement of ethnic groups, disarm all irregular forces and grant free access for United Nations and other humanitarian agencies.

Finally, the Security Council has demanded that all communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina take part in talks on a new constitution for the independent republic that the European Community mediators want to organize.

The 21-paragraph resolution then forbids all trade and financial dealings with Serbia except for sales of medicine and approved supplies of humanitarian foodstuffs.

It freezes outside financial assets, but allows Greece and other countries that transship goods through Serbia to continue to do so.

# ASSAILS BELGRADE

## Urges the President to Resign and Joins Opposition Call for Election Boycott

By **CHUCK SUDETIC**  
Special to The New York Times

**BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, May 28** — The Serbian Orthodox Church called on President Slobodan Milosevic today to step aside and supported calls by opposition leaders for a boycott of elections for the Parliament of the new rump Yugoslav state this weekend.

It was the church's sharpest criticism of any Belgrade Government since before the Communist era.

In its statement, the church called for "the creation of a government of national unity and salvation that will enjoy the confidence of all the people."

"We remind all those in power, especially in Serbia, that no one's armchair is more important than the destiny and freedom of the entire people and that no one has a monopoly over the people and the future of our children," the statement says.

A Western diplomat said: "This is a direct assault on Milosevic. The church is rejecting Milosevic's claim to speak for the Serbs. This is certainly the furthest they have ever gone."

### Opposition Boycotts Vote

The church's statement backed a call by opposition leaders for voters in the Serbian-Montenegrin state not to take part in the elections.

"The Serbian Church ultimately takes exception to and distances herself from this and such authorities and their standard-bearers, from the Constitution which was adopted without the people's consent, as well as from the planned elections," it says.

"The ruling parties in Serbia and Montenegro, inheriting the structures and organs as well as the means and principles of the postwar Communist system, even today do not make possible equal rights for a democratic dialogue in society," the bishops' statement says. "The authorities promise to correct historical injustices and attacks upon the church and the consciences of men, but in practice do not fulfill a single essential promise."

The Orthodox Church, which preserved the Serbs' national identity during centuries of foreign domination, is the most influential nongovernmental institution in Serbia. Indeed, the principal defining characteristic of traditional Serbian culture is Christian Orthodoxy.

But the church's power waned significantly in the postwar era because the Communists confiscated church lands, banned parochial schools and discriminated against churchgoers in the allocation of jobs, and no precise figure for church membership exists. The Western diplomat said it remained to be seen whether the statement would significantly increase support for the election boycott among the 6.5 million Serbs in the rump Yugoslavia.

"Serbia is not Poland," the diplomat said, alluding to the political strength of the Roman Catholic Church there



The New York Times

The Government television in Belgrade made no mention of criticism from church leaders.

Serbian opposition leaders called for the election boycott because the Communist Government in Belgrade monopolizes the nation's television. A long report by Belgrade television tonight on the church's statement did not mention the bishops' criticism of the Government.

The bishops also lashed out at the European Community, saying it was singling out the Serbian people, rather than the Governments of Serbia or Croatia, for responsibility for the wars in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The European Community and the United Nations are preparing to impose economic sanctions on Serbia, assigning Belgrade the lion's share of responsibility for the fighting in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which has left more

than 2,300 people dead and displaced more than 750,000.

"The European Community," the eight-page bishops' memorandum says, "apparently identifies the Serbian people with the regime which ruled over them and in large part still rules today."

"It would be dishonorable and shortsighted to ascribe to any people, especially the Serbian people, the evils committed in our days on the part of Broz's generals on both sides of the front," the statement says, referring to Tito, the longtime leader of postwar Yugoslavia, by his real name, Josip Broz. "It was not necessary for them to turn their incompetence in negotiations and inability to reach agreement into a war between peoples who were finally being liberated from Communist slavery and degradation."

### Appeal by Milosevic

Tonight, President Milosevic appealed to Serbs to rally behind the month-old Yugoslav state despite mounting international pressure and the impending imposition of sanctions.

"These pressures are primarily designed to destabilize Yugoslavia," Mr. Milosevic said in a 45-minute televised interview.

"Is this new world order one in which some nations rule and others are ruled?" he asked. "We shall have no foreign overlords."

"Some powers are doubtless dictating solutions and their relationship toward us," the Serbian President said.

"This cannot last for long."

Taken together, Mr. Milosevic's appeal to patriotism and the Orthodox Church's criticism of his Government highlighted a yawning rift between pro-

## An expression of a growing rift among Serbs.

and anti-Government forces in Serbian society, a rift that many people here say portends civil war in Serbia itself.

### 10 Killed in Bosnia

At least 10 people died in violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina overnight and today. The Sarajevo radio reported tonight that Serbian forces were firing rockets at the city from positions on the mountainsides above it.

The bishops repeated their support for unification of all Serbs in a single state and blamed Yugoslavia's Communists for dividing the Serbian population with republican borders that the European Community, the United States and the United Nations have in recent months recognized as international frontiers between Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the new rump Yugoslavia consisting of Serbia and Montenegro. A sixth republic of the old Yugoslav federation, Macedonia, has declared independence but has not received international recognition.

While favoring the unification of the Serbian nation in a single state, the church distanced itself from the use of violence to attain that national goal.

"Our church favors the unity of the Serbian people and Serbian lands but also supports a just solution of the national rights and existential problems of all people with whom the Serbs live," the statement said.

# The Yugoslav Crisis: Why U.S. Is Bearing Down

By DAVID BINDER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 26 — The immediate motive for sharper United States words and actions against the authorities in Belgrade in the Yugoslav conflict is revulsion at the killing of civilians and other violence by Serbian forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**News Analysis** Beyond this, Administration officials said today, is the growing perception that the war in the Balkans has become a test for the United States and its principal allies on how to deal with security threats in post-Communist Europe.

## Baker Calls for Action

"The biggest factor is the events on the ground, the atrocities against civilians, the ethnic purification drive by the Serbs in Bosnia," said a senior Administration official long involved in Balkan affairs. "But it has also become a defining moment on what kind of European security system we are going to have. There is an absence of U.S. power, an absence of power generally. People are worried that the whole area is going to pot."

Over the last year, the Bush Administration's policy toward the Yugoslav conflict has been on-again, off-again, seeming to be involved and then turning away, sometimes for months.

At the moment, with calls by Secretary of State James M. Baker 3d for international action to stop Serbian ag-

## Beyond the violence, the crisis is seen as a security test.

gression in Bosnia and Herzegovina and with unilateral punitive moves by the United States against Belgrade, it is clearly in the on-again phase.

In London and again in Lisbon over the weekend, Mr. Baker said that some kind of international military intervention might even have to be considered if all else failed to stop the killing. But the Pentagon has not been asked to prepare for intervention.

Another factor behind the increased United States pressure on the Serbian leadership is the perception here that the 12-member European Community has failed to intercede effectively in the Yugoslav crisis in the last 11 months and remains divided over what to do next.

## 'Shift in U.S. Policy'

"It is fairly clear that Washington has lost patience with letting Europe stay up front," a State Department official said in explaining Mr. Baker's latest moves.

Another Administration official with a background in Balkan affairs said: "Baker is telling the Europeans that something has to be done, but the Unit-

ed States is not going to police their neck of the woods. Europe has to take the first step if it is a matter of military action."

"We're looking at the first time since the 1930's that the United States deliberately stayed out of a European conflict," the official added. "It is a shift in U.S. policy. Earlier when confronting a security crisis, we would have become involved quite deeply."

"Our vital interests are not what they used to be. The third Balkan war in this century introduces the security problem of the future and there is no institution for defense or security to deal with it."

Still another factor is the reaction of the Administration, Mr. Baker in particular, to a recent tide of criticism of United States policy on Yugoslavia in American newspaper editorials and by columnists. "They respond to opinion makers to a degree you wouldn't believe," an Administration official said of the Baker State Department.

Administration officials say that diplomatic messages from Ambassador Warren Zimmermann, who was recalled from his post in Belgrade on May 16 as a sign of disapproval of the Belgrade leadership, also played a role in persuading Secretary Baker to take a stronger stand against the Serbian President, Slobodan Milosevic.

State Department specialists on the Balkans accused Lawrence S. Eagleburger, the Deputy Secretary of State, and the national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft, both of whom served in Belgrade, of holding on too long to

the idea of a federal Yugoslavia even after it was clearly doomed by nationalist rivalry. Mr. Zimmermann is also criticized on this count.

"Scowcroft and Eagleburger were obstacles," said a middle-ranking State Department official. "Because of that, we held on to Yugoslavia with our fingernails when it was already doomed."

## 'Comfortable' With Policy

But three Administration officials involved in formulating Yugoslav policy said Mr. Eagleburger was among those pushing for increased pressure on the Serbs in the last month.

"Larry is totally comfortable with the escalation policy," a colleague said. "In fact he was very much a leading part of it." Another official said, "He took a lead in the formulation and implementation of the latest policy."

Mr. Eagleburger, a former Ambassador to Yugoslavia, has been accused recently of being soft on the Serbs, a charge the policy makers say is off the mark although he himself acknowledges that he misread Mr. Milosevic when he dealt with him a decade ago.

Some members of Congress and some Croatian-American organizations have also accused Mr. Eagleburger of catering to Serbia because of business connections he maintained while in private life as president of Kissinger Associates, the New York consulting firm created by the former Secretary of State, Henry A. Kissinger, whom Mr. Eagleburger served in the 1970's.

## on Belgrade

During his time in New York, Mr. Eagleburger was on the board of directors of the now defunct American subsidiary of the Yugo automobile company, which was based in Serbia. He was also associated with the Ljubljana Bank of Slovenia.

At the time of his confirmation hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1989, when his business connections were exhaustively explored, Mr. Eagleburger recused himself from any United States policy involvements with Yugoslavia for a year. He told friends and colleagues that he was reluctant to resume working on Yugoslav issues afterward but was gradually drawn into them by Mr. Baker.

New  
York  
TIMES  
May 27/92

TORONTO STAR cont May 25/92

# Police hold American c

Continued from page A1

support their cause, there is a crucial difference between Kosovo, a Serbian province, and other former members of the Yugoslav federation that have broken away. Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia-Herzegovina have long-established borders with Serbia and histories as independent states. An independent Kosovo would involve changing the borders of Serbia and Western governments have made it a pillar of their policy in the Balkans that borders are inviolable and guaranteed.

Documented abuses of human rights in Kosovo, however, earned Serbia international condemnation long before it unleashed the Serb-dominated Yugoslav army on Ljubljana, Dubrovnik and Sarajevo. The abuses continued yesterday, according to eyewitness reports by foreign observers in Kosovo.

Two members of the U.S. Congressional Human Rights Foundation, Max Primorac and Paul Dehrends, told The Star how they were seized at gunpoint by Serbian

police as they drove into the outskirts of Prizren.

"We were escorted to the police station with a 50-calibre machinegun pointed at us," they said. "Of course we were scared. When you have a weapon pointed at you and you have no control, what would you feel?"

During almost two hours of detention, the two Americans said they saw one badly beaten Albanian dragged into the police station and two others who had been arrested.

"We saw police coming in with bags of votes they had stolen from polling stations," they said. "Four ballot boxes were brought in while we were there, right in front of us."

The delegates said they had been promised safe passage by the Serbian foreign ministry in Belgrade and would be making a strong protest.

"We were effectively prevented from seeing anything," said Primorac. "But the Albanians told us this is the kind of ha-

## observers at gunpoint

arrassment they suffer every day. It is shocking."

Election officials in the Kosovo capital of Pristina reported widespread incidents of harassment during the day's voting. In Prizren, a city of 180,000, reporters witnessed a dogged determination to hold the vote, despite police attempts to stop it.

In a whispered conversation at an outdoor cafe in the centre of town, patrolled by police armed with machineguns, a nervous young Albanian beckoned three Western correspondents to follow him.

In a dusty, deserted sidestreet we were put into a beaten-up car and driven up steep, winding alleys and into a crumbling ghetto with open sewers and mud streets. Lookouts were posted to warn of approaching police.

Police had shut down a polling station at a local school and election officials had set up green ballot boxes on a table in the courtyard of a 17th-century mosque.

As we approached, a crowd of about 500 cheering men and children parted to let us

through. They were banging on *loda* -- traditional drums -- and blowing trumpet-like *surlas*.

In the centre of the throng, a man in traditional costume danced in the saddle of a white horse, pounding on his drum.

Chairs were brought from the mosque to seat the correspondents and sweet Turkish coffee and soft drinks were served by young women bearing silver trays.

"This is the start of a republic of Kosovo," election co-ordinator Fatmir Pirecci shouted above the cacophony. "We expect the Serbs to attack us. But nothing will prevent it. No one can stop this now."

"They can come to massacre us and we have no arms to defend ourselves. But the European parliament and the United States will help us."

The blind faith that the world's democracies will come to their aid in the event of a Serb attack was shared by all those present.

"We hope that what happened in Bosnia will help us," said a leading woman politician, Suzana Dida. 38.

New York Times March 12/92

# U.S. SET TO ACCEPT YUGOSLAV BREAKUP

## Bush Said to Back a Move to Recognize Independence of 4 Breakaway Lands

By DAVID BINDER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 11 — The United States plans to recognize four newly independent Yugoslav republics, possibly as early as next month, following the lead of the European Community.

Administration officials said President Bush approved the plan last week after nearly two months of deliberation.

In contrast to its approach with the republics that have emerged from the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Administration has stayed at arm's length from the four republics that have arisen from the ruins of the Yugoslav civil war.

The Administration's rationale was that it would serve no purpose to extend recognition until the United Nations had completed plans for inserting a peacekeeping force of 14,000 into the war zones of Croatia and some outstanding disputes among the republics had been resolved.

### Europe's Signal to U.S.

Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d said Tuesday in Brussels that the Administration would move toward recognition of the republics after consultation with the 112-member community. He was in Brussels to coordinate United States policies with European allies.

The foreign ministers of the European Community are scheduled to meet on April 6 to discuss Yugoslav issues and possibly to extend recognition at that time to the republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia. That would be the signal for the United States to recognize those two together, along with Slovenia and Croatia, which the Community recognized



The New York Times

The U.S. Ambassador, still based in Belgrade, often travels to the capitals of the republics.

in January, a senior Administration official said.

American policymakers have decided not to act until after the European Community deals with sensitive and complex recognition issues involving the republics of Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

"First the E.C. moves on these two and only then will the United States move on any or all," an Administration official specialized in Eastern Europe said.

Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a volatile population mixture of Slavic Muslims, Serbs and Croats, completed a referendum approving independence and sovereignty on March 1. The vote was largely boycotted by the republic's Serbs, who make up 31 percent of the population and whose leaders continue to oppose establishment of an independent republic.

The independence and sovereignty of

the Macedonian republic was accepted and endorsed by a European Community commission in December. But Greece refused to acknowledge an independent Slavic Macedonia and continues to dispute its use of the name "Macedonia," which it claims for itself as a purely Greek usage.

Mr. Baker said in Brussels that the United States was prepared to give "rapid and positive consideration" to recognition of Slovenia and Croatia. But officials said that statement was intended to bring American policy into closer alignment with that of the European Community.

There will be no separate, early action on Croatia and Slovenia, the officials said, despite rising pressure in Congress and from ethnic communities. They said Secretary Baker was still smarting from what he regarded as devious treatment by Croatia and Slovenia when he conferred in Belgrade with leaders of all six Yugoslav republics on June 21.

### 'They Lied to Him'

"Baker doesn't want to reward the Croats or the Slovenes," an Administration official said. "It still burns him that they promised him to take no unilateral steps when he went there and five days later turned around and declared secession, that they lied to him."

Mr. Baker hinted at that in testimony to a Senate Commerce subcommittee last Thursday, when he was asked why the United States had not moved to recognize the independence of the breakaway republics.

Alluding to his discussions in June, he said: "It is not sufficient in our view for countries to simply declare their independence and then forcefully seize border posts or customs posts in order to implement that declaration and thereby trigger a civil war. And that's what happened in Yugoslavia."

United States diplomatic relations with the republics are being led in the interim by Ambassador Warren Zimmerman. He is based in Belgrade, the capital of the old Yugoslav federation as well as of the Serbian Republic, but he travels frequently to the other republican capitals.



## America Abroad

Strobe Talbott

# The Ultimate Troubleshooter

**N**ext week several hundred blue-helmeted United Nations troops are due to arrive in Yugoslavia. They are the vanguard of 14,000 soldiers from 30 countries, the first U.N. peacekeeping force ever deployed in Europe. Their mandate is to disarm the warring militias, monitor the withdrawal of the Serbian-dominated federal army from Croatia and protect the Serb minority in the breakaway republic.

The disintegration of Yugoslavia has already cost at least 6,000 lives, driven 650,000 people out of their homes and thwarted 14 cease-fires. No. 15 has been in effect since Jan. 3. Last week Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic said, "The conditions now exist for a peaceful and democratic solution." That is thanks largely to four outsiders: Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, the former U.N. Secretary-General, who laid the ground for the intervention last fall; his successor, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who engineered the Security Council's decision two weeks ago to dispatch the troops; Lord Carrington, the chief envoy in the European Community's effort to broker an overall political settlement among the pieces of the shattered Yugoslav federation; and Cyrus Vance, who has labored for five months as the personal envoy of the Secretary-General to negotiate a cessation of hostilities durable enough to put the peacekeepers in place.

Vance, who will turn 75 this month, is the ultimate troubleshooter: fair-minded and tenacious, self-confident yet self-effacing, and utterly dedicated to the musty idea that a private citizen should engage in public service. Soon after World War II, he joined the old-line Wall Street law firm of Simpson Thacher & Bartlett. For decades, his partners have been granting him leaves so that he can devote long, unbillable hours to difficult tasks. His career is a monument to the concept of *pro bono publico*. As compensation for his current assignment, he has asked the U.N. for \$1.

He first distinguished himself as a mediator in 1967, when looting and burning broke out in Detroit's ghettos. Vance had just resigned as U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense because of a ruptured disk. President Lyndon B. Johnson asked him to take command of the troops he was sending to quell the riots. Vance's back trouble was so incapacitating that he had to take his wife Gay with him to tie his shoelaces. His management of that crisis became a model for leaders in other American cities during those long hot summers.

Later L.B.J. sent him to the eastern Mediterranean to head off a war between Turkey and Greece over Cyprus, then to Seoul to restrain President Park Chung Hee from retaliating against North Korea for a series of attacks against the South. In the spring of 1968, he helped keep the lid on Washington when the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. touched off racial conflict.

I covered Vance in the late '70s when he was President Jimmy Carter's Secretary of State. He was the most quotable public figure I had ever encountered. He still is. He is allergic to the first person singular and prone to wooden understatement. He has little knack for explaining what he is up to in terms of grand theories of history, strategy or geopolitics. After a breakthrough in the nuclear arms talks, all Vance could muster for the press was that diplomatic progress was achieved "brick by brick, inch by inch."

In 1980 Vance tried to dissuade Carter from dispatching a military task force to rescue the U.S. hostages in Iran. Af-



Vance works his magic with Croatia's Tudjman

ter the mission ended in a debacle, he resigned on principle, one of the few American statesmen ever to do so. He left a solid legacy. The much maligned SALT II talks regulated the U.S.-Soviet missile rivalry until the end of the U.S.S.R. last December. Vance also played a key part in negotiating the Camp David agreements on the Middle East, and helped transform Rhodesia into Zimbabwe.

But lots of luck in getting him to say so. When I spoke to him at his law office for this column, he first tried to talk me out of writing it, then launched into a long encomium to his right-hand man for Yugoslavia, Herbert Okun, an old friend and veteran U.S. diplomat.

Vance's secretary, Elva Murphy, who has been with him for nearly 24 years, told me she was worried about his safety during five trips to the Yugoslav war zone. Once he had to cross a heavily mined no-man's-land in a minivan. When I asked him about the episode, he looked pained, then insisted that he had never been in real danger since his driver was skilled at spotting the filaments that trigger the mines.

What makes Vance a tough interviewer makes him a good mediator. Because he has so little interest in getting credit, the contending parties are more likely to trust him. He knows virtually everyone: he worked on the Camp David accords with Boutros-Ghali, then a senior Egyptian official, and on Rhodesia with Carrington, who was British Foreign Secretary. Vance is on a first-name basis with others in the Yugoslav drama, including Serbia's Milosevic and German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. (Croatia's Franjo Tudjman prefers to be called "Mr. President.")

Vance's recipe for arbitration is "Master the facts of the situation; listen exhaustively to both sides; understand their positions; make sure they understand the principles that must dictate a solution; and don't give up." It doesn't exactly sing, but it works. If peace comes to the Balkans, Vance will have earned, in addition to his fee, a Nobel Peace Prize. ■

FINANCIAL POST  
March 19/92

# Bush sending mixed foreign policy signals

ALMOST EVERYONE understands that George Bush has broad experience, knowledge and interest in foreign affairs. Moreover, in the gulf war he showed himself capable of decisive, effective leadership. Nevertheless, the



Jeane Kirkpatrick

WORLD VIEWS

president has a major foreign policy problem. It is the same problem that affects other aspects of his administration — that of failing to articulate goals.

Only rarely does George Bush tell Americans that public purposes are being served by the foreign policies he adopts in their name. He does not

explain, for example, what interests he intends to serve by protecting China's most-favored-nation status and trade privileges regardless of that country's human rights abuses. Neither does he explain what overriding principle or interest causes him to veto the bill that would link trade and human rights, nor why he refuses to join other western democracies in sponsoring a resolution in the United Nations Human Rights Commission that would address China's repression of Tibet.

There may be compelling reasons. Former senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson and former president Richard Nixon, both foreign policy heavyweights, believed there were overriding strategic interests in maintaining a "co-operative" relationship with the Chinese government. But that was when Cold War tensions made the "China card" necessary to a winning hand. Such strategic imperatives died with the Cold War.

A parallel issue is raised by administration policy regarding Yugoslavia. With the Cold War over, there is no Soviet threat to the independence of Yugoslavia, and no reasonable chance that the Yugoslav spark could ignite a divided Europe.

Why then was America's national interest served by the administration's long refusal to recognize Croatia and Slovenia, a refusal

that lasted for months after most of Europe had already done so?

Americans have no stake in the preservation of a communist China or of Serbian hegemony in what was Yugoslavia. But it does have a major stake in encouraging civilized standards of respect for human rights, and peaceful settlements of the issues of ethnic separatism and nationalism. It has a major stake in democratic outcomes.

Are these merely problems in communication — as the president is said to believe — or are the problems the goals themselves?

I believe the major foreign policy problems grow from the lack of a centre of gravity, an ordering principle or goal that the administration is seeking to achieve. They grow from the administration's failure to give adequate priority to the U.S. national interest in preserving democratic governments and extending democracy.

## Freezing settlements

As with China and Yugoslavia, these problems can also be observed in the administration's inadequate support for democracy in Russia. Richard Nixon wrote recently that the preservation of democracy in Russia should be the centrepiece of American foreign policy.

"If freedom fails in Russia, we will see the tide of freedom that has been sweeping over the world begin to ebb, and dictatorship rather than democracy will be the wave of the future," he said.

In the Middle East, Bush and Secretary of State James Baker embrace the kind of linkage between assistance and foreign policy that they oppose for China. The decision to link loan guarantees for housing Soviet emigrés to freezing settlements has already brought down one Israeli government.

Bush and Baker appear to attach little or no importance to the political character of regimes with which the U.S. deals. This makes political goals seem unrelated to deeply held political values and America's public purposes.

Foreign policy is an activity that can only be legitimately undertaken in the public good and never for private purposes. Americans will support a foreign policy when they understand it is a means to shared ends. They will not support policy they do not understand.

JEANE KIRKPATRICK, former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, is currently Leavelle professor at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. Copyright, 1991, Los Angeles Times Syndicate.



For Mrs Bentley

Regards of

Notes from Belgrade News - May 6/92

- Milosevic attended Conference on Yugoslavia in Brussels

- Alija Izetbegovic not there

Milosevic: Serbia & Montenegro will send 1 delegate in future

new Yugoslav constitution has better clause about minority rights than rest of Europe  
conference on Bosnia/Herzegovina must reach a consensus of all people living there

Carrington's assistant visit Kosovo soon



(nb)

CSCE meeting

- Austria wants Yugoslavia excluded from CSCE
- when Yugo rep spoke - Austria - Croatia - Slovenian reps walked out
- US using heavy pressure to exclude Yugo from CSCE
  - Kornblum pressuring Russia & EC
  - Russian vs exclusion
- USA & Austria asking for exclusion
  - old Yugo extinct - new Yugo not recognized
- Gmy & Portugal (EC) agree Serbs resp for B/H war
  - have reservations on expulsion

Boucher - State Dept - expulsion not reflecting  
on diplomatic recognition  
US embassy working ~~secretly~~ normally

Serbian delegate from B/H at CSCE  
Nikola Koljevic (Rebecca West translator)

BH asked military aid from CSCE countries  
CSCE meeting continues tomorrow

(nb\*) Karadzic met with Tudjman's representative  
secretly in Graz Austria  
- after meeting Karadzic flew to Belgrade  
- told Austrian TV - BH will be divided into  
ethnic autonomous regions by May 15

Yugoslav Parliament = <sup>new</sup> Yugoslavia is making  
regular payments on old Yugo's \$3B debt

(nb) Serbian Parliament = voted to send Serb delegation  
to USA

Goulding at press conf: horrified at Bosnian  
attack on convoy & disregard of safe passage

EC reps in Vojvodina talking to minorities

Revised Dra

# Congressman Backs Decision To Give Witness Anonymity

By **CLIFFORD KRAUSS**  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 11 — The co-chairman of a Congressional panel has defended his decision to conceal the identity of a teen-age Kuwaiti girl whose account of Iraqi atrocities helped to stir American opinion in favor of the Persian Gulf war, arguing that the fact that her father was the Kuwaiti Ambassador to the United States did not alter her credibility.

An article on the Op-Ed page of The New York Times on Monday asserted that it was irresponsible for the Congressional Human Rights Caucus to propagate the accusation that Iraqi soldiers had removed scores of babies from Kuwaiti hospital incubators and left them to die without identifying the young woman beyond her first name, Nayirah.

The girl's account, which was later disputed by independent human rights monitors, created a furor that helped convince several Senators to vote in favor of authorizing military action against Iraq.

## Kuwaiti girl told panel of atrocities by Iraqis.

In the article, John R. MacArthur, publisher of Harper's Magazine, also criticized the Congressional panel for not demanding proof that the young woman had witnessed the atrocities she described.

### Sought to Protect Relatives

Representative Tom Lantos, Democrat of California and co-chairman of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, confirmed in an interview Tuesday the assertion that he obeyed the wishes of Saud Nasir al-Sabah, Kuwait's Ambassador to Washington, to conceal the 15-year-old's identity, saying he did so to protect relatives and friends living in Kuwait at the time.

"The notion that any of the witnesses brought to the caucus through the Kuwaiti Embassy would not be credible did not cross my mind," Mr. Lantos said. "I have no basis for assuming that her story is not true, but the point goes beyond that. If one hypothesizes that the woman's story is fictitious from A to Z, that in no way diminishes the avalanche of human rights violations."

Representative John E. Porter of Illinois, the Republican co-chairman of the caucus, said that Mr. Lantos had not revealed the woman's identity to him either, but that he was not disturbed. "The media happened to focus

on her," he said. "If she hadn't testified, they would have focused on something else."

In a statement, Ambassador Sabah said that his daughter had witnessed the atrocities she described, and that her presence in Kuwait at the time can be verified by the United States Embassy in Kuwait.

### Donations by Kuwaiti Lobby

Mr. MacArthur, who has written a book on censorship and propaganda during the Gulf war, suggested in his article that Mr. Lantos and Mr. Porter did not choose to verify the teen-ager's accusation partly because of their close connections to Hill and Knowlton, a public relations company hired by Citizens for a Free Kuwait, a Kuwait-financed group that lobbied Congress for United States military intervention. Hill and Knowlton helped select the witnesses heard by the caucus.

The article also said that the Congressional Human Rights Foundation, a private group founded by Mr. Lantos and Mr. Porter in 1985 to promote human rights, had its offices in Hill and Knowlton's Washington headquarters and that the public relations company provided a \$3,000 rent reduction to the foundation. Furthermore, Hill and Knowlton's client, Citizens for a Free Kuwait, had donated \$50,000 to the foundation.

Mr. Lantos categorically denied that such donations had any relationship to his caucus's October 1990 hearing, saying it had also held hearings criticizing human rights violations by the Indonesian Government, another Hill and Knowlton client.

Unlike Congressional committees, the human rights caucus does not originate legislation. Designed to highlight human rights abuses, the caucus receives its financing from funds appropriated to the offices of individual members of Congress.

## Russia to Turn Clocks Ahead

MOSCOW, Jan. 11 (Reuters) — Russia will move clocks forward by one hour on Jan. 19, reversing a correction made last year, Tass reported today. The decision means that Moscow and western Russia will be three hours ahead of Greenwich Mean Time instead of two hours, and eight hours ahead of Eastern standard time instead of seven hours. The goal is to save electricity by prolonging daylight in the evening hours, the press agency said. Clocks will move forward by another hour on March 29 as Russia moves to summer time, Tass said.

*New York Times*

*Jan 12/92*

One year ago the United States Department of State said that the borders of Yugoslavia are inviolable and that any break-up of Yugoslavia should occur through a peace conference with negotiated borders.

The United States and 11 of the 12 EC nations were opposed to recognizing Croatia and Slovenia because it would lead to blood shed. Germany ignored this position and ~~the~~ recognized Croatia and Slovenia. The other 11 EC nations followed suit and bloodshed was ~~and~~ accelerated in the region.

Regretably the US has not only followed suit but has now also taken the extreme step of recognizing Bosnia knowing that further bloodshed would follow.

The US now complains of what it well knew would be set in motion by this recognition.

By recognizing these "new" countries, the US is implicitly recognizing their presently claimed borders, an act contrary to the US position that borders should only be adjusted by a peace conference.

The United States should delay implementation of any diplomatic relations and use its best efforts to convene a peace conference w/ the parties involved to negotiate an overall political settlement.

News from Senator

**BOB DOLE**

(R - Kansas)

SH 141 Hart Building, Washington, D.C. 20510

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
SEPTEMBER 20, 1990CONTACT: WALT RIKER  
(202) 224-5358**YUGOSLAVIA****YUGOSLAVIA: FLEDGLING DEMOCRACY TO OLD-LINE COMMUNISM:  
DOLE REPORTS ON "EYE-OPENING" SENATE DELEGATION VISIT TO KOSOVA**

DURING THE AUGUST RECESS, I LED A SENATE DELEGATION ON AN EYE-OPENING TRIP TO FOUR COUNTRIES IN EASTERN EUROPE--YUGOSLAVIA, BULGARIA, ROMANIA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA-- AS WELL AS THE SOVIET UNION.

EACH COUNTRY WAS FASCINATING IN ITS OWN RIGHT -- EACH STRUGGLING WITH FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. BUT, I THINK ALL OF US IN THE DELEGATION WOULD AGREE THAT NO COUNTRY PROVIDED US WITH A MORE DIVERSE AND PROFOUND EXPERIENCE THAN YUGOSLAVIA.

INDEED, THERE IS SERIOUS QUESTION WHETHER YUGOSLAVIA, AS A COUNTRY, WILL LONG EXIST. RIGHT NOW, IT IS A CONGLOMERATION OF EIGHT DISPARATE REPUBLICS AND AUTONOMOUS PROVINCES, AND EIGHT MAJOR ETHNIC GROUPS, HELD TOGETHER WITH THE GEOPOLITICAL EQUIVALENT OF BALING WIRE. TWO OF ITS REPUBLICS -- CROATIA AND SLOVENIA -- HAVE ALREADY STRUCK OUT ON THE PATH TOWARD DEMOCRACY AND FREE ENTERPRISE. ONE OF ITS REPUBLICS REMAINS MIRED IN THE HARD-LINE COMMUNIST MOLD. AND, THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT IN BELGRADE SEEMS INCREASINGLY IRRELEVANT TO THE REAL CRITICAL POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AND PROBLEMS AT THE REPUBLIC LEVEL; IT SEEKS TO PUT TOGETHER AN ECONOMIC STRATEGY TO MOVE FROM COMMUNIST STATISM TO FREE MARKETS, A PROCESS THAT IT HOPES WILL SOMEHOW SERVE TO BIND TOGETHER THE WHOLE COUNTRY.

**LAST BASTION OF TOTALITARIANISM**

TRAVELLING FROM INCREASINGLY DEMOCRATIC CROATIA TO COMMUNIST SERBIA, AS WE DID, IS LIKE TRAVELLING THROUGH A TIME-WARP -- BACK TO THE DAYS BEFORE THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION BEGAN TO SEEP THROUGH THE COMMUNIST BLOC; BACK TO THE DAYS WHEN BRUTAL DICTATORSHIPS OF THE CENTER RULED WITH AN IRON HAND OVER PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE DOMAIN.

NOW, LET ME MAKE CLEAR: WE DID NOT GO TO YUGOSLAVIA TO MAKE THE CASE FOR ANY ONE REPUBLIC, OR ANY ONE ETHNIC GROUP. WE WENT TO LEARN THE TRUTH ABOUT EVENTS IN YUGOSLAVIA, AND TO DELIVER THE MESSAGE THAT THE UNITED STATES WAS SQUARELY ON THE SIDE OF DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREE ENTERPRISE FOR ALL THE PEOPLE OF YUGOSLAVIA.

THE TRUTH WE DISCOVERED IN SERBIA -- ESPECIALLY IN THE ETHNICALLY ALBANIAN PROVINCE OF KOSOVA -- WAS A HARSH TRUTH, INDEED.

**SERBIAN PERCONDITIONS**

IN FACT, SERBIAN AUTHORITIES DID THEIR BEST TO KEEP US OUT OF KOSOVA ENTIRELY. THE SERBIAN PRIME MINISTER IN BELGRADE, AT THE VERY START OF OUR MEETING, TRIED TO SET LAST MINUTE AND UNACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS ON OUR TRAVEL TO PRISTINA. HE WANTED US TO TAKE A GOVERNMENT "HOST" WITH US, IN EFFECT A "POLITICAL WATCHDOG" TO INTIMIDATE THOSE WITH WHOM WE WERE MEETING. WE REFUSED TO GO UNDER ANY SUCH CONDITIONS; WE STRESSED THAT WE WERE AN INDEPENDENT DELEGATION AND THAT WE VIEWED THESE LATE-HOUR MANEUVERINGS FOR WHAT THEY WERE: ATTEMPTS TO KEEP US FROM GOING TO KOSOVA.

WHILE IN BELGRADE THAT MORNING, WE LEARNED FROM EMBASSY STAFF ON THE GROUND IN PRISTINA, THAT THOUSANDS OF ALBANIANS WERE ALREADY WAITING FOR US IN THE STREETS CHANTING, "USA, USA." WE ALSO LEARNED THAT THE POLICE WERE FORCIBLY DISPERSING THESE PEACEFUL CROWDS AND THAT TEAR GAS WAS BEING USED.

**KOSOVA NIGHTMARE**

WHEN WE FINALLY GOT TO KOSOVA NONETHELESS, WE FOUND OUT JUST WHY THE SERBIANS TRIED SO HARD TO KEEP US AWAY. THEY DIDN'T WANT US TO SEE THAT THE PEOPLE OF KOSOVA LIVE IN A POLICE STATE. BUT, WE SAW EXACTLY THAT DESPITE THE FACT THAT THEY DROVE OUR BUS AT BREAKNECK SPEEDS INTO PRISTINA.

WE COULDN'T HELP BUT NOTICE THE HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE RUNNING ACROSS THE FIELDS TO WAVE TO OUR BUS. AND, WE COULDN'T HELP BUT NOTICE POLICE WIELDING GUNS AND CLUBS CHASING THESE PEOPLE.

AS WE GOT CLOSER TO PRISTINA, WE SAW MORE PEOPLE AND MORE POLICE. AND, ALTHOUGH WE ENTERED THE CITY BY WAY OF BACK ROADS, WE WERE STILL ABLE TO SEE THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE IN THE STREETS; AND, WE WERE STILL ABLE TO SEE CLOUDS OF TEAR GAS.

ONCE WE ARRIVED IN DOWNTOWN PRISTINA, THE CROWDS HAD BEEN CLEARED AWAY FROM THE HOTEL IN WHICH WE WERE HOLDING OUR MEETINGS.

ONCE THERE, WE MET WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ALBANIAN COMMUNITY, INCLUDING DR. IBRAHIM RUGOVA, THE LEADER OF THE ALBANIAN DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE AND OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS. DR. RUGOVA PRESENTED US WITH A DECLARATION, SIGNED BY THE LEADERS OF THE ALBANIAN COMMUNITY, WHICH ADVOCATED DEMOCRACY AND PEACEFUL CHANGE AND STATED THEIR OPPOSITION TO THE USE OF VIOLENCE.

(MORE)

-2-

**SHOCKING OPPRESSION**

IN THIS MEETING WE LEARNED THE FOLLOWING:

-- A YOUNG MAN WAS BRUTALLY BEATEN THAT MORNING BY THE SERBIAN POLICE; WE BROUGHT HIS PHOTO BACK WITH US, ALONG WITH PHOTOS OF PEOPLE WHO WERE BEING LED AWAY BY POLICE, PEOPLE WHOSE "CRIME" WAS WAITING TO SEE OUR DELEGATION, PEOPLE WHOSE "CRIME" WAS RAISING THEIR HANDS UP AND MAKING A "V" SIGN.

--ALBANIAN RADIO AND TV PROGRAMS AND STATIONS HAVE BEEN SHUT DOWN.  
-- 6,000 ALBANIANS HAVE BEEN FIRED BECAUSE OF THEIR POLITICAL VIEWS AND OPEN SUPPORT OF DEMOCRACY.

--ALBANIAN DOCTORS HAVE ALSO LOST THEIR JOBS AND HAVE BEEN REPLACED BY SERBIANS WHO CAN'T COMMUNICATE WITH THEIR ALBANIAN PATIENTS.

--AN ALBANIAN LABOR LEADER IS IN JAIL FOR CALLING A STRIKE.

THE LIST GOES ON AND ON. THE ALBANIANS IN KOSOVA DO NOT HAVE FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY, DO NOT HAVE FREEDOM OF SPEECH, DO NOT HAVE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS. YET, THE HARD-LINE SERBIAN AUTHORITIES DENY THAT THE RIGHTS OF ALBANIANS ARE BEING VIOLATED. INSTEAD, THEY CLAIM THAT NO MINORITY HAS MORE RIGHTS THAN THE ALBANIANS IN YUGOSLAVIA. MOREOVER, THIS LINE WAS ECHOED BY THE PRESIDENT OF YUGOSLAVIA AND OTHER FEDERAL OFFICIALS IN BELGRADE.

WHILE IN PRISTINA, WE ALSO MET WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SERBIAN COMMUNITY IN KOSOVA, INCLUDING CLERGY FROM THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH.

WE MADE IT CLEAR THAT WE DID NOT COME TO KOSOVA TO ADVOCATE A PARTICULAR VIEW OR ETHNIC GROUP, BUT TO SHOW SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS AND INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL THE PEOPLE OF KOSOVA AND FOR ALL THE PEOPLE OF YUGOSLAVIA.

IT WAS CLEAR FROM OUR MEETING WITH THE SERBS OF KOSOVA THAT TENSIONS ARE HIGH AND THAT THE POLICE-STATE ATMOSPHERE IS WEARING HEAVY ON THEIR COMMUNITY, AS WELL.

**AMERICAN ARRESTED**

OUR DELEGATION HAS BEEN BACK FOR TWO WEEKS AND NOTHING HAS CHANGED; COMMUNIST REPRESSION LIVES ON IN KOSOVA. BUT, IT IS NOT ONLY DIRECTED TOWARD THOSE WHO LIVE THERE, BUT TOWARDS AMERICAN CITIZENS, AS WELL.

UPON OUR RETURN, WE LEARNED THAT ON THE DAY OUR DELEGATION VISITED PRISTINA, A 19 YEAR-OLD AMERICAN WAS ARRESTED BY SERBIAN POLICE IN PRISTINA-- SHABAN KASTRATI WAS BORN IN THE UNITED STATES; HIS MOTHER IS CROATIAN AND HIS FATHER IS AN ALBANIAN FROM KOSOVA. SHABAN WAS VISITING HIS GRANDPARENTS AND ON AUGUST 29--THE DAY OF OUR VISIT--WAS RIDING IN A CAR WITH HIS RELATIVES WHEN THE CAR WAS PULLED OVER BY POLICE WHO DEMANDED IDENTIFICATION. WHEN THE POLICEMAN SAW SHABAN'S U.S. PASSPORT, HE STRUCK HIM AND ARRESTED HIM. SINCE THAT DAY, SHABAN KASTRATI HAS BEEN SERVING A 60-DAY SENTENCE IN A PRISON NEAR PRISTINA, UNDER WHAT OUR STATE DEPARTMENT BELIEVES ARE FALSE CHARGES. ALTHOUGH OUR AMBASSADOR HAS DELIVERED PROTESTS TO THE SERBIAN GOVERNMENT, THESE DIPLOMATIC PROTESTS HAVE YIELDED NO RESULTS.

**ACT ON ALBANIAN RESOLUTION NOW**

FOUR MONTHS AGO SENATOR FELL AND I COSPONSORED A SENSE OF CONGRESS RESOLUTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES AGAINST THE ALBANIAN POPULATION IN KOSOVA. IN JUNE, THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE REPORTED THE RESOLUTION OUT. IT HAS BEEN ON THE CALENDAR EVER SINCE, BUT SOME OF MY COLLEAGUES HAVE BLOCKED ACTION ON IT.

NOW IS THE TIME TO ACT ON THIS RESOLUTION. NOW IS THE TIME TO TAKE A STRONG AND VOCAL STAND IN SUPPORT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY IN YUGOSLAVIA. NOW IS THE TIME TO CHOOSE SIDES--NOT AGAINST ANY OF THE NATIONS WHO MAKE UP YUGOSLAVIA, BUT AGAINST COMMUNIST TYRANNY.

WE HAVE TO THINK NOT ONLY OF THE SUFFERING PEOPLE OF KOSOVA, BUT OF SHABAN KASTRATI, AS WELL. ALBANIANS, CROATIANS, SLOVENES AND SERBS ALL DESERVE THE FREEDOMS THAT COME WITH DEMOCRACY. AND AMERICAN CITIZENS WHO TRAVEL TO YUGOSLAVIA DESERVE TO HAVE THEIR RIGHTS RESPECTED.

THE SITUATION IN KOSOVA IS WORSENING. SEVEN SENATORS GOT A FIRST-HAND LOOK AT THE GRIM REALITY OF LIFE IN KOSOVA. THE SERBIAN GOVERNMENT IS RUNNING A POLICE STATE WITH THE ACQUIESCENCE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF YUGOSLAVIA. THE UNITED STATES CANNOT SIT THIS OUT ON THE SIDE-LINES, WE HAVE A MORAL OBLIGATION TO TAKE A STRONG STAND IN DEFENSE OF THE INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS OF ALBANIANS AND ALL OF THE PEOPLE OF YUGOSLAVIA.

IN THE COMING DAYS, I WILL BE IN TOUCH WITH THOSE SENATORS WHO DO NOT WISH THE CONGRESS TO VOICE ITS CONCERNS ABOUT THE TRAGIC HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN KOSOVA.

BUT, I URGE MY COLLEAGUES, ESPECIALLY THE SKEPTICAL ONES TO GO TO KOSOVA--TO SEE FOR THEMSELVES--THE GRIM REALITY THERE. SIX SENATORS TRAVELLED WITH ME--NONE WERE AWARE OF THE SITUATION IN KOSOVA PRIOR TO OUR TRIP--ALL RETURNED GRAVELY CONCERNED ABOUT THE HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES THERE AND WITH THE VIEW THAT THE UNITED STATES MUST SPEAK OUT CLEARLY ON THIS TRAGEDY.

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BY JOHN SHATLAN, FREE-LANCE WRITER

BELGRADE, JULY 8--"I'M SO ANGRY I DONT CARE IF I EVER GO BACK THERE," SAID THE FEISTY AMERICAN WOMAN REFERRING TO THE U.S. EMBASSY IN BELGRADE, YUGOSLAVIA. MARGARET ANN JEVTIC, 53, WHO WAS BORN IN ARIZONA, LIVED IN CALIFORNIA, BUT WHO FLED WAR-STRICKEN SARAJEVO RECENTLY WITH HER HUSBAND RAJKO AND THEIR YORKSHIRE TERRIER, TOSHIA, SAID HER VISIT JULY 1 WITH THE U.S. EMBASSY'S COUNSEL GENERAL ROBERT TYNES TRIGGERED SHOCK, ANGER AND TEARS. MRS. JEVTIC SAYS TYNES SAID IT WAS HIS RECOMMENDATION THAT ALL AMERICANS LEAVE YUGOSLAVIA. AND HE RECOMMENDED THAT SHE ALSO LEAVE.

"HIS AGGRESSIVE, ARROGANT ATTITUDE CAUGHT ME OFF GUARD," SHE SAID. HE BLAMED EVERYTHING ON THE SERBS AND DIDN'T WANT TO HEAR ABOUT INJUSTICES COMMITTED BY OTHERS. "IF SERBIA IS SO BAD, WHAT ARE YOU (TYNES) STILL DOING HERE," SHE THOUGHT.

I WENT THERE AS AN AMERICAN CITIZEN TO SEE WHAT HELP THEY COULD OFFER ME AS A REFUGEE FROM THE OLD SECTION OF SARAJEVO AND TO REPORT ON MUSLIM INJUSTICES, SHE SAID. (THE JEVTICS WERE FORCED FROM THEIR SARAJEVO HOME IN MAY DUE TO DETERIORATING EVENTS: THEIR LIVES WERE THREATENED BY A MUSLIM CIVILIAN. THEY WERE HARASSED BY SOME MUSLIM POLICE. THEIR FAMILY KIOSK GRILL BUSINESS WAS DESTROYED. AND THEIR CAR BADLY DAMAGED. RECENTLY MRS. JEVTIC LEARNED A MORTAR SHELL PENETRATED THE ROOF OF THEIR SARAJEVO HOUSE BUT LUCKILY THE SHELL DID NOT EXPLODE. ANOTHER SHELL KILLED THEIR BOSNIAN HUNTING DOG.)

I TOLD TYNES MUSLIM POLICE MOVED MUSLIMS INTO OUR HOME IN SARAJEVO, AS WELL AS MOVING FOUR MUSLIM FAMILIES INTO MY BROTHER-IN-LAW'S HOME THERE. MRS. JEVTIC SAID TYNES' ANSWER OF WHAT COULD BE DONE ABOUT THAT WAS: "...WRITE TO IZETBEGOVIC, WRITE TO BUSH, WRITE TO TUDJMAN AND WRITE TO KARADZIC." I TOLD HIM THAT THE SERBS WERENT THE ONLY ONES FIGHTING IN BOSNIA, BUT HE SAID "YES, THEY ARE."

I COULD SEE SOLDIERS FIRING MORTARS FROM A PARK IN SARAJEVO CONTROLLED BY MUCLIMC, BUT HE CAID "THAT IS NOT TRUE". MRS. JEVTIC, WHO IS NOW LIVING WITH HER HUSBANDS RELATIVES IN BELGRADE, CLAIMS TYNES TOLD HER THE SERBIANS ARE THE ONLY ONES THAT HAVE THOSE GUNS AND ARE SHELLING APARTMENT BUILDINGS, HOSPITALS, ETC. IN SARAJEVO.

"WHAT ABOUT THE CROATIANS SHELLING TREBINJE," SHE ASKED. "I DONT WANT TO HEAR ABOUT THAT," TYNES REPORTEDLY SAID.

HE (TYNES) TELLS ME ONLY THE SERBS HAVE THOSE GUNS AND I KNOW THE MUSLIMS SHELLED OSMICE, A SMALL PRIVATE HOTEL IN SARAJEVO, FOR FOUR DAYS BECAUSE THEY CLAIMED CHETNIKS WERE THERE.

SHE SAID TYNES TOLD HER: "THERE ARE BARBARIANS IN THE HILLS AROUND SARAJEVO."

APPARENTLY THE COUNSEL GENERAL OF THE U.S. EMBASSY ONLY BELIEVES THE WESTERN PRESS, SHE SAID. MRS. JEVTIC THINKS THERE IS FAR TOO MUCH BIAS AGAINST THE SERBS IN THE MEDIA. FOR EXAMPLE, "DAN DAMON OF SKY NEWS, IN MY OPINION, IS NOT A FAIR REPORTER," SHE SAID, "AS HE OFTEN ONLY REPORTS FROM ONE SIDE." SHE RECALLED SKY NEWS APOLOGIZED FOR INCORRECTLY REPORTING THAT SERBS HAD KILLED MUSLIMS IN THE VILLAGE OF OLOVO, (WHEN THE REVERSE WAS TRUE), THOUGH THE DAMAGE TO SERBIA HAD ALREADY BEEN DONE. EARLIER REPORTS THAT THE SARAJEVO HOSPITAL HAD BEEN BOMBED WERE ALSO INACCURATE, MRS. JEVTIC SAID, AS SHE CALLED A RELATIVE WHO WAS A PATIENT THERE WHO SAID IT HAD NOT BEEN.

ACCORDING TO MRS. JEVTIC, TYNES TOLD HER: "SERBS ARE MAKING MUSLIMS LEAVE THEIR VILLAGES OF 500 TO 600 YEARS." SHE RESPONDED BY SAYING SERBS HAVE LIVED THERE EQUALLY AS LONG AND THAT HER HUSBANDS FAMILY WAS IN SARAJEVO OVER 350 YEARS. "THE SERBS ARE ENTITLED TO AS MUCH AREA AS THE MUSLIMS," MRS. JEVTIC SAID, "BOSNA IS NOT JUST A MUSLIM AREA."



"BEFORE THE EMBARGO AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA, WHY WAS BOUTROS GHALI'S LETTER SHARING BLAME HELD BACK FOR TWO DAYS BEFORE THE U.N. VOTE." MRS. JEVTIC ASKED. SHE THOUGHT IT WAS TOO MUCH OF A COINCIDENCE WHEN T.V. CAMERAS JUST HAPPENED TO BE AT THE SITE OF TWO RECENT BOMBINGS--THE BREADLINE AND TITOV ST. TRAGEDIES--IN SARAJEVO. MRS. JEVTIC IS ONE OF THE FEW AMERICANS WHO EXPERIENCED THE WAR IN SARAJEVO. THE WAR BROKE OUT THERE APRIL 10 AND THE JEVTICS ESCAPED BY CAR TO NEARBY PALE BEFORE ARRIVING IN SERBIA ON MAY 19.

BUT WHEN IT COMES TO THE U.S. EMBASSY IN BELGRADE, MRS. JEVTIC HAS NO INTENTIONS OF GOING BACK SOON. BECAUSE SHE DOESNT FEEL THAT SHE WAS TREATED FAIRLY. "I CRIED FOR TWO DAYS AFTER VISITING THERE," SHE SAID. "WHEN IM ANGRY, I CRY.

(JOHN SHATLAN IS A FREE-LANCE WRITER LIVING IN BELGRADE, YUGOSLAVIA.)

the conflicts in the former yugoslavia began on late june 1991 after slovenia's unilateral secession from yugoslavia, whereby the internationally recognized borders and territorial integrity of yugoslavia were forcibly changed.

the fire of war then spread to croatia, where after unilateral secession from yugoslavia the practice of 'ethnic cleansing' began of territories populated by the orthodox, serb people, which was denied by the croatian authorities the right to self-determination thus reducing its status to one of national minority.

in the third yugoslav republic which opted for unilateral secession - bosnia-herzegovina - the civil, ethnic and religious war has raged for ten months between the local moslems, serbs (orthodox) and croats (catholics), over the attempts on the part of the moslem leadership to create an islamic state in the heart of europe.

in a talk with turkish journalists in the airplane on his way to dakar for a conference of islamic countries, ozal said that in dakar the 'islamic world would exert pressure on the west for assistance' to the bosnian moslems.

once more he repeated the known turkish stand that the bosnian moslems should be excluded from the arms embargo on bosnia so as to 'prevent serb superiority.'

ozal also said turkey 'would not intervene on its own' in bosnia, but that it would offer its air force to the u.s., if the u.s. decided to intervene.

the turkish president assessed that an 'intervention in bosnia would be much more easier than the intervention in iraq', but failed to offer any fact on which such a claim was based. (end) nem dm bb

### **RUSSIA MIGHT VETO USE OF FORCE AGAINST SERBS, AUSTRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER SAYS**

vienna, january 11 (tanjug) - russia might easily veto a u.n. security council resolution on the use of force against bosnian serbs and the yugoslav republic of serbia, austrian foreign minister alois mock said.

mock is planning to meet with his russian counterpart andrei kozyrev soon to persuade him not to oppose the west's military action against bosnian serbs and serbia.

praising the french for being prepared to intervene, mock told die presse on monday: 'it will be easier to convince the russians now, than the english who hinder an armed intervention.'

'a military intervention is all that is left in an effort to stop the war in bosnia,' mock said, disregarding the peace talks between the leaders of the bosnian moslems, serbs and croats currently held in geneva.

a moslem-croat coalition, helped by 60,000 regular troops of the former yugoslav republic of croatia, has been fighting bosnian serbs in bosnia-herzegovina for the past ten months. (end) rg-dm/fg

### **IRAN CONSIDERS MEASURES FOR PROTECTING BOSNIAN MOSLEMS**

vienna, january 11 (tanjug) - iranian foreign minister ali akhbar velayati said here on monday that iran was con-

sidering measures it could apply independently to 'protect moslems' in the war-battered former yugoslav republic of bosnia-herzegovina.

after meeting with austrian foreign minister alois mock, velayati said that a foreign military intervention was the only way of ending the war in bosnia-herzegovina.

mock fully agreed with velayati, adding that coercive measures were necessary to show to belgrade that the international community would not tolerate 'crimes unprecedented in the history of europe.'

velayati reiterated the demand that bosnian moslems be exempted from the embargo on arms deliveries to bosnia-herzegovina.

over the past ten months, bosnia-herzegovina has been the scene of a bloody ethnic war between the moslem-croat coalition, assisted by at least 60,000 troops of the regular army of the former yugoslav republic of croatia and mercenaries from islamic countries, and bosnian serbs.

velayati's and mock's statements coincided with the resumption of talks in geneva, where representatives of the three warring sides in bosnia and those of the federal republic of yugoslavia (including the presidents of the republics of serbia and montenegro) and the republic of croatia are making utmost efforts to secure a peaceful end of the bosnian drama. (end) jsg-nm/dm

### **CLINTON INFORMED ABOUT PROTEST OF AMERICANS OF SERB ORIGIN IN PHOENIX AGAINST BIASED REPORTING OF LOCAL PAPER**

washington, jan 11 (tanjug) - bob djurdjevic, a u.s. businessman of serb origin, has cautioned u.s. president-elect bill clinton that a possible dispatch of u.s. troops to former yugoslavia would result in their unnecessary deaths, as it had previously happened in vietnam, lebanon, panama and kuwait.

djurdjevic sent a letter to clinton, the former governor of the state of arizona, informing him about a rally staged in phoenix by americans of serb origin to protest against the biased reporting of the local paper 'arizona republic' about the developments in former yugoslavia.

the participants in the rally demanded a more balanced reporting about the war in former yugoslavia and announced that, if everything remained unchanged in the paper's editorial policy, they would organize larger rallies.

the protest of over 200 people, held on christian orthodox christmas, was the biggest-ever rally staged outside the arizona republic building, said the phoenix police.

at the rally, djurdjevic, who is a writer and founder of the group 'truth in media', accused the paper of shameful articles in which all the serbs alone were blamed for the developments in former yugoslavia.

djurdjevic said that he had offered last year ten articles on events in former yugoslavia but that the paper had refused to publish them although some of them were published by other, renowned american papers, such as the washington post and the new york times.

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