



ES: 6/2/92

Mike Lane is on vacation.

U.N. Peacekeeping Force Moves Into Yugoslavia

By JOHN F. BURNS
Special to The New York Times

SARAJEVO, Yugoslavia, March 14 — The first United Nations peacekeeping force to operate on the European mainland began settling into Sarajevo today, its commanders aware of the ethnic tensions among Bosnia's population of Slavic Muslims, Serbs and Croats and the risk they pose to one of the United Nations' most volatile operations ever.

Behind white jeeps flying the blue United Nations flag, the generals who will direct the operation, under Lieut. Gen. Satish Nambiar of India, set out this morning to choose a headquarters

site in the center of Sarajevo. As their motorcade swept through the cobbled streets near the site of Sarajevo's most fateful incident, the assassination in June 1914 of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife, Sophie, many among the weekend shopping crowds waved and applauded.

Major anxieties continue to press in on the United Nations venture, not the least of which concerns the choice of Sarajevo as headquarters for what is planned eventually as a 14,400-member force of troops, police and civilian monitors. While the force's main task is to separate the warring sides in Croatia, United Nations officials have taken

what amounts to a major gamble by centering their operation here.

In some respects, the situation here is evocative of the atmosphere that surrounded the 1914 assassination, which led to the outbreak of World War I. Then, the issue was the hatred of the Austro-Hungarian rulers by Serb militants, one of whom, Gavrilo Princip, shot the archduke and his wife as they drove through the city in an open car. Today, many of the region's Serbs, who account for about a third of the population of 4.3 million, are once again in a fever of discontent, this time against the Slavic Muslims and Croats who voted two weeks ago to make the re-

public independent from the Serbian-dominated remnants of Yugoslavia.

The worst fear among United Nations officials is that renewed violence here would trap the peacekeeping force's staff and re-ignite the fighting in Croatia, where the Serbian-led Yugoslav Army, supported by Serbian militias, fought a seven-month war that killed between 6,000 and 10,000 people.

General Nambiar, the 56-year-old commander of the peacekeeping force, alluded to the ethnic tensions at a news conference on Friday. "With our presence here, we are hoping the situation will be defused," the General said. Later, he met with the Bosnian leader, President Alija Izetbegovic, a Muslim, who said that the first peacekeeping arrivals had already calmed tensions.

Only a week ago, the tensions reached a new high with rival ethnic

groups setting up barricades in the center of Sarajevo. At least a dozen people were killed in incidents involving bombings and exchanges of gunfire, and the Serbian leader, Radovan Karadzic, warned of a civil war.

Subsequently, Mr. Karadzic attended a new round of negotiations with Muslim and Croat leaders in Brussels, under European Community sponsorship, and agreed to consider the latest proposals for a Swiss-style federation of cantons that would leave each ethnic group with a wide autonomy.

If the United Nations presence here eases the situation, prospects will improve for success in Croatia, where 12 infantry battalions, the largest military peacekeeping force assembled since the United Nations intervention in the Congo 30 years ago, will attempt to separate the enemy sides in four

"protected areas" that were at the center of fighting. While they work to maintain the cease-fire, European negotiators will seek a permanent peace.

General Nambiar had an opportunity to assess some of the problems first hand when the motorcade that brought him from Croatia into Bosnia halted at Novska, 50 miles southeast of Zagreb, and the General and his party, under blue United Nations flags, walked 150 yards across the no-man's land between Croat and Serb lines.

In Sarajevo, General Nambiar spoke of the need to get the full deployment of peacekeeping troops into position in the war zones as quickly as possible, something United Nations officials believe could be done as early as mid-April. In the meantime, he said, cease-fire violations, which had been frequent, appeared to be falling off.

THURSDAY, MARCH 19, 1992

THE SUN

Yugoslav republic to divide into zones

EC-brokered pact eases threat of war

Reuters

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia — Leaders of Bosnia-Herzegovina agreed yesterday to divide the breakaway Yugoslav republic into three ethnic zones, in a deal Serbs said removed the threat of civil war.

"This is a big day for Bosnia. If we respect what has been agreed, we

can say there are no reasons for civil war," said Radovan Karadzic, head of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS).

But working out finer details of the agreement and implementing ethnic autonomy appeared far from easy.

Despite the agreement, Muslims and Serbs remain bitterly divided on the republic's future.

Muslims, who voted for Bosnia's independence from Yugoslavia, said the deal, brokered by the European Community and signed in Sarajevo,

meant it was now a separate state.

But Mr. Karadzic said it meant no such thing. "This document is just the basis for further negotiations. International recognition is out of the question until a final agreement is reached," he said.

EC foreign ministers will discuss recognizing Bosnia and the southern republic of Macedonia at a meeting in Luxembourg April 6. The EC recognized Croatia and Slovenia in January. EC negotiator Jose Cutileiro said the new accord would be put to a referendum.

U.N. Peace Plan for Yugoslavia Eroded by New Croatian Demand

By CHUCK SUDETIC
Special to The New York Times

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, Jan. 30 — A United Nations proposal to send peacekeeping forces to war-ravaged Croatia edged to the brink of collapse tonight after Croatian leaders demanded fundamental changes in the plan, Western diplomats said.

A complete breakdown would certainly jeopardize the flimsy four-week cease-fire that was brokered by United Nations negotiators.

"The Croatian objections are a new obstacle coming on," said one Western diplomat.

Another described the Croatian objections, delivered to United Nations officials during talks this week, a result of "post-recognition euphoria," which he said emboldened officials in Zagreb to demand revisions after their Government gained diplomatic recognition from Germany and then from the rest of the European Community.

At Issue: Who Picks the Guards

"Tudjman is all cock-a-hoop about recognition," said the first diplomat, referring to Croatia's President, Franjo Tudjman.

Specifically, Croatia's leaders have amended their original endorsement of the plan to demand a say in the appointment of local officials and police in areas of Croatia where Serbs have established control. Under the peace-

keeping plan, these regions are designated United Nations-protected areas.

"The Croats are obviously demanding explicit recognition from the United Nations that the disputed territory is Croatian and will be Croatian and that Croatia's constitution and laws will be valid there," a Western diplomat said. "This is obviously something that the Serbs will never go along with."

"More work needs to be done," said the United Nations envoy, Marrack Goulding, before flying back to New York this morning to brief Secretary General Boutros Ghali on his four days of talks with Croatian, Serb and Yugoslav army officials.

As many as 10,000 people have died in the first seven months of the Serb-Croat war.

Croatia's and Serbia's Presidents and the former Yugoslav Defense Minister, Gen. Veljko Kadijevic, agreed a month ago to a United Nations plan for the deployment of 10,000 peacekeeping troops in three areas. The areas roughly correspond to Croatian regions that have predominantly Serb populations.

The plan calls for complete withdrawal of the pro-Serbian Yugoslav national army units and the disarming of local Serb militias.

"The longer it takes the United Nations force to come in, the less likely the cease-fire is to hold," another diplomat said. "It's just a question of when the cease-fire starts breaking down."

Helped by a cold spell, the cease-fire has generally held since Jan. 3 despite almost daily shooting incidents along the front lines.

Reported Croat Threat

While openly expressing support for the peacekeeping plan, according to one Western diplomat, Croatian officials have threatened the United Nations team that Croat forces would invade Bosnia and Herzegovina to save Croats in that multi-ethnic tinderbox republic.

Croatian officials have repeatedly warned that Zagreb will use force if

necessary to retake Serb-held areas.

"We want the occupation of Croatian territories by the aggressor's army to end," President Tudjman said at a news conference this week. "We want the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army and the disarming of the irregulars. And we want to establish the constitutional and legal system of the republic of Croatia, with guaranteed local autonomy."

Serb leaders in the disputed regions reject the idea of autonomy within Croatia.

'Out of the Question'

Croatia's Foreign Minister, Zvonimir Separovic, confirmed Serb fears that Croatia may not agree with a long-term presence of peacekeeping forces in the disputed areas.

"We are prepared to risk a certain amount of time, maybe the six months planned for the original deployment, maybe even one extension," Mr. Separovic said in an interview published Wednesday in Frankfurter Rundschau, a German newspaper. "But there is no way they will be here for 10, 15 or 20 years. That is out of the question."

Serb Opposition Is Strong

Some Serb army officers have publicly expressed reservations about the plan, and in private conversations some middle-level officers have expressed adamant opposition.

"If the high command issues any more orders that go against the will of the people," said a Yugoslav Army colonel at a command center in the Serb-held regions of Croatia, "we will no longer recognize the high command."

"The local people are not ready to surrender their weapons without reciprocal disarming of Croatia," he said, adding that the local Serbs, who account for over 80 percent of the military forces in the disputed territories, have "everything from hunting rifles to tanks."

"No one will be able to take their weapons away," he said.

Local Serb leaders have denounced the plan since soon after Serbia's leaders accepted it.

"The disarmament question is where we draw the line," said Milan Babic, president of the self-declared Serb Krajina Republic, in a telephone interview this morning. "If Croatia doesn't want to disarm, then the only solution is to put the peacekeeping force in between the forces in the areas where there have been clashes."

Serbia's President, Slobodan Milosevic, who is facing mounting domestic discontent and economic disaster as a result of the war effort, has harshly criticized Mr. Babic for not going along with the U.N. proposal.

HERMAN'S N.Y.C. WINTER FESTIVAL IN Central Park has been cancelled for Saturday Feb. 1 and rescheduled Saturday, Feb. 8, 9 A.M. to 4 P.M. — ADVT.



Objections from Croatia seem to threaten a peacekeeping plan.

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PHOTO BY JAMES KELLY

Rear Adm. Ted Shaefer, director of naval intelligence, says Iran

is negotiating for the purchase of five minisubmarines ideally suited for the control of the Straits of Hormuz. The submarines would complement two Russian-made Kilo-class subs possibly scheduled for delivery this summer. Iran also has bought North Korean subs.

Croatians Prepare To Contest War in Sky

By JASON FEER
Special to Defense News

ZAGREB, Croatia — After months of conceding control of the air to the Yugoslavian federal Air Force, the Croatian military may soon make a bid to take back the skies over Croatia.

While officials hesitate to discuss details of Croatia's efforts to build an air force, there are growing indications Croatia is close to deploying, or may have already deployed, a number of combat aircraft.

In a Feb. 7 interview, Brig. Gen. Milan Macek, commander of the Croatian Air Force Headquarters in Zagreb, said Croatia soon will challenge the air superiority the federal Air Force has enjoyed since the civil war began in July. "We have reached the point in Croatia where we will soon have combat aircraft flying missions," he said.

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has dropped hints that Croatian planes are already active. "We have the elements of all branches of the armed forces and they are ready for action," he said in a January news conference discussing Croatia's efforts to build an air force.

Macek said Croatia's first priority is to deploy planes that can provide air superiority in support of ground operations and fly air-to-air combat missions against the MiG-21 and MiG-29 aircraft flown by the federal Yugoslav Air Force.

He said that for practical purposes, the Croatian Air Force is concentrating on acquiring Soviet-designed planes in the short term. "We are first looking for MiGs because that is what our pilots know how to fly and we have technicians and spare parts for them," he said.

Croatia reportedly has 200 to 240 pilots, most of whom are Croatians who served with the Yugoslavian Air Force. Macek said most are trained to fly MiG-21 aircraft, one of the former

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Forges Strategy on Non-Lethal Warfare

strategy that endorses non-lethal technologies to achieve military objectives without the massive population, infrastructure and environmental damage

associated with conventional warfare, sources say.

The new Pentagon strategy calls for the use of non-lethal warfare as an adjunct to conventional and nuclear war. It re-

ments that will enable non-lethal, or non-destructive systems, to be integrated in the current mix of air, land, sea and space assets, government and industry sources say.

secretary of defense for acquisition; Vic Reis, director for defense research and engineering; and military operations and planning service chiefs. The effort is being coordinated by officials in

Croatians Look to the West for Modern Combat Aircraft

CROATIA, From Page 1

Soviet Union's older tactical fighters.

A few Croatian pilots are qualified to fly the MiG-29. There are currently not enough planes for the pilots, but Macek said the shortage of planes should be resolved within a month.

Macek acknowledged that some Croatian pilots are receiving training abroad and indicated that Croatia may have bought planes that will for the first time be deployed in Yugoslavia.

He refused, however, to comment on news reports of British-made Tornado fighter-bombers with the Croatian insignia around

the northern city of Pula or on reports that Croatian pilots have trained in Italy and Germany, which deploy the Tornado.

Macek said Croatia's long-term plans are to buy Western-designed aircraft.

"Our inclination is to buy Western aircraft that can meet our needs for the next 10 to 15 years," he said. He added that the Air Force would like to buy U.S.-made F-15s or F-14s. However, officials also are looking at French-made Mirage aircraft. Government observers say Croatia would have problems financing the purchase of such modern planes.

Macek said Croatia wants to have at least four squadrons of modern aircraft deployed at bases throughout Croatia. The government also is in the market for a number of ground attack planes, probably second-hand ones. The planes would be expected to serve for up to five years until modern aircraft could be brought into service.

The development of the Croatian Air Force has been accompanied by the construction of an air defense network that provides protection against low-level air threats on most Croatian cities and military targets.

"Croatia has solved the prob-

lem of antiaircraft defense up to altitudes of about 6,000 meters [19,800 feet], and we are looking for equipment that will give us protection at higher altitudes and longer ranges," said Macek.

Croatia now has a centrally controlled radar network that covers most of the country.

Croatian forces have large quantities of shoulder-fired anti-aircraft missiles, primarily of Soviet design, but some Western missiles have been purchased on the black market.

The government is interested in buying advanced anti-aircraft missiles, but officials concede that Croatia may have problems

deploying advanced systems.

"We have found some countries that seem to be willing to sell us what we want," Information Minister Branko Salaj said in an interview Jan. 23. "But they are expensive and we are having trouble finding foreign technicians that could train our crews and maintain the missiles in the meantime."

Croatian government officials say that during the next two years, Croatia will focus on buying tracking and targeting radars, modern command and control systems and advanced anti-aircraft missiles.

Pentagon Develops New Strategy To Incorporate Non-Lethal Warfare

LETHAL, From Page 1

is including in its five-year budget plan a preliminary development effort worth about \$148 million. The developmental funding program, which awaits approval by Yockey, calls for accelerated development of non-lethal technologies being worked on by scientists at the Los Alamos Laboratory in New Mexico and the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory in Livermore, Calif.

Pentagon sources say requirements from all three services will be addressed in the Pentagon-supervised development effort.

In conjunction with the acquisition program planned around the new non-lethal strategy, a se-

critical non-lethal battlefield technologies such as blinding lasers, chemical immobilizers, infrasound, non-nuclear electromagnetic pulse and relaxants could be used for immobilizing tactical systems, for denying the enemy's ability to wage offensive war and for selective destruction of strategic targets.

Results of that study are expected to be presented to Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs, in the next few weeks. A tandem effort, planned for presentation to Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, involves a study by the policy planning staff of Paul Wolfowitz.

lethal weapons and systems are a part.

"In a real sense, this emerging class of weapons and systems is a more civilized means to achieve political ends when lethal or less discriminate force would traditionally be the only option," the paper states.

The paper noted that non-lethal weapons, often referred to by members of Wolfowitz's staff as disabling weapons, are legally and morally defensible, technically feasible, and consummately affordable as a group.

Warden, a former Air Force official who developed many of the concepts used in the air cam-

ADATS Cancellation Forces U.S. Army To Reassess Strategy

ADATS, From Page 4

going to take months, not days."

With ADATS' demise, private analysts said the Army may be focusing on the various tiers of its layered air defense, and how much funding to commit to each layer in the future.

"They are not going to replace ADATS with what they've got," Larry Dickerson, an analyst with Forecast International/DMS in Newtown, Conn.,

Montgomery said the Army wants to replace ADATS with a battlefield air-defense weapon that can provide an immediate air-defense capability but still can be upgraded later.

Martin Marietta Corp.'s Electronics and Missile Group, the Army's ADATS contractor in Orlando, Fla., declined to comment last week on the ADATS cancellation.

However, ADATS' Swiss manufacturer, Oerlikon Aero-

Reflections

Yugoslavian border disputes: Biggest Euro-clash since WWII

by Jill Pearson

Senior News Editor

The opposing views on the Serbian-Croatian war in Yugoslavia, the largest European conflict since World War II, was presented by two Mankato State University professors last week.

Branko Colakovic, professor of Geography, at MSU, presented the Serbian point of view and Denis Crnkovich, professor of Russian language at MSU and Gustavus Adolphus College, presented the Croatia point of view.

Tom Effert, professor of History, at GAC and Richard Hall, professor of History at MSU were facilitators of the discussion.

The Yugoslav conflict has been referred in the press as a 1,000 year-old problem, but it's actually a, "20th Century problem," said Effert.

The Southern Slovenians had a dream of unification for a long time, Emmert said. In 1840, there was an Illyrian movement by the Croats, in order to realize "All Slavs unity in a south state," he added.

"The Serbs do not object to Croatia's desire for independence as long as they do not keep those districts where the Serbs are in majority."

Branko Colakovic

At the end of World War I the state was finally created under Serbian King Alexander, who became the King of all South Slavs. The new state was named "the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

The new state did not function well and many conflicts and disagreements followed.

Due to the violence in the national Parliament, King Alexander dissolved it for a time and changed the name of the country to Yugoslavia in 1929. After a while the parliamentary life was restored, but there was a poor relationship among politicians which continued until World War II.

During the Second World War, the Croats sided with Hitler and their Nazi style troops named

Ustashi, became notorious like SS troops. The Croatia fascist state led to the killing of 700,000 to 1 million Serbs, Jews, Gypsies and others during the war.

In 1945, Tito, a Croat, created borders in Yugoslavian borders which included many counties where Serbians were in the majority. The new socialist Yugoslavia, organized by the communists under Tito's leadership, was in existence from 1945 until recent weeks.

Since Tito died in 1980, Yugoslavia has been falling apart. This process sped up in the late 1980s with general collapse of the communist world in Eastern Europe.

Croatia elected a former communist general as president. Reformed communists were elected



This graph shows the difficulty of creating borders between Serbian and Croatia counties because of the many ethnic groups spread throughout the country of Yugoslavia.

in Slovenia, Serbia and other republics of Yugoslavia.

These leaders changed names of their parties, but in reality they were far from democracy. Soon the violence and war followed.

Croatia and Slovenia finally declared themselves as separate states. However, there was no clear solution for the Croatia border between them and the rest of Yugoslavia.

Colakovic disagrees with

Crnkovich regarding the borders of Croatia.

"Croations want independence from Yugoslavia," Crnkovich said. The Croats are not the only ones that want independence. Each national group wants it's own state.

"The Serbs do not object to Croatia's desire for independence as long as they do not keep those districts where the Serbs are in

See **Dispute**, page 5

Dispute: Serbians and Croations crossing over ethnic lines

From, page 4

majority," said Colakovic.

"Croatia was set up to get confederation and ended up in war with the Serbs," Crnkovich said.

The Croats want their territory returned from the Federal Yugoslavian army.

There is strong Serbian opposition to Croat nationalism, said Colakovic.

Crnkovich said he doesn't think the Serbs or Croats are ready to decide borders.

Borders can't be decided yet because several counties in the Krajina region in Croatia are Serb majority areas.

"Someone else should take over for a while," Crnkovich said. "The borders cannot be drawn along ethnic lines. That's a mess. A lot of Serb counties are empty," he

added.

Crnkovich called for fair intervention from Japan or elsewhere. He also suggested that the U.S. play as minor role as possible.

There are about 200,000 to 300,000 mixed marriages in Yugoslavia between Croats and Serbs, said Emmert.

Emmert added that there is a gross manipulation by a small elite at the top. "The elite has narrow

interests," said Emmert.

Colakovic said that the Serbs in the Krajina region of Croatia feel more threatened and therefore are more willing to fight than the Serbians. They are fighting for their own land, not for Croation land. Their land was unfairly included into Croatian territory, said Colakovic.

The Serbs are afraid of the past Croation genocide of the Serbs. The current war started with Croation discrimination against the Serbs in Croatia under Tudjman's government, Colakovic said. They lost jobs and their houses were burned or destroyed,

and many of them died in the current war.

The most recent internal border of Yugoslavia is not permanent. These borders, created by Tito, were never approved by any legislative body.

Croatia should keep only the areas where the Croats are majority, said Colakovic.

Crnkovich said Croations would feel they got the short end of the stick if they lose part of Slovenia because they would lose rich farming lands.

"There are bad guys on both sides. There are atrocities on both sides," said Hall.

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See reverse side.

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dumps and bridges?

Gov. CLINTON: I don't think we should rule that out. And I think that we should hear from the military experts about what the feasibility of doing that is, what the consequences of the effort are, what the likely downside is. I think all those things need to be explored. But I certainly wouldn't rule it out. I think Mrs. Thatcher has a point.

SAWYER: Would you rule out the use of ground forces by NATO troops or by the United States?

Gov. CLINTON: I don't think that we should rule that in now. I don't think we should even be discussing that. I think that's entirely premature. And particularly for me, I don't have a decision-making role in this, so I think it would be very inappropriate. I'm comfortable with the course that we're on now. I just want us to be as aggressive as we can be in trying to restore the humanitarian relief effort.

SAWYER: Governor, it's been four months of sieges now for Sarajevo. How quickly do you feel at this juncture that decisions have to be made about these things?

Gov. CLINTON: I think we need to proceed promptly. But as nearly as I can tell from what Mr. Sawroff said today, the administration is working hard to try to get the Security Council to sign off on a resolution. And I think they're moving ahead. And I think that that's what they ought to do. With all deliberate speed we should move ahead. But it appears that they are trying to do that.

SAWYER: Governor, there are some other matters that are on the agenda. The Bush-Quayle campaign has continued to come out with its news releases; today said "Bill Clinton's hidden tax plan — tax-and-spend chickens come home to roost." It appears that it's going to be a pretty tough campaign from the sound of it and nobody's going to slack off.

Gov. CLINTON: Well, let them come. You know, that's all they know to do. They don't have any credibility on the tax issue. They've taxed the living daylights out of the middle class for 12 years now and they did it even after they promised not to do it.

My tax plan, as the President well knows, raises taxes on the top two percent of the American people, but actually provides some relief for middle income folks, especially those with children, and relies very, very heavily on spending cuts to try to bring the deficit down.

So the truth will come out on that. My state has the second lowest tax burden per capita of any state in the country. I've balanced 11 budgets. They're going to have a hard time making that old dog hunt with our campaign, but I expect them to try because that's all they know to say about Democrats.

SAWYER: Governor, it's awful tough on the campaign to talk about sacrifices. It is good to talk about taxing the top two percent and hold off on discussing sacrifices for the others, but isn't it fair to say that if we're going to bring this problem under control we are all going to have to sacrifice?

Gov. CLINTON: Well, it's fair to say that we're going to have to change. There are going to have to be some dramatic changes, for example, in the financial, the health care system and the way we're spending \$200- to \$100 billion unacceptably in our health care system. It's fair to say that Americans are going to have to take more responsibility for the way they conduct themselves in the workplace, in terms of education and in terms of their own health care.

But I would remind you that the middle class has endured sacrifice for 12 years. For 12 years, most middle class Americans were working harder for less money and paying more in taxes. So that's something that no one ever wants to talk about. I mean, the folks in the middle have been sacrificing. Their wages are lower. Their work week's longer. Their tax bills are higher. What we need to do is to fundamentally reorganize this country in a way that challenges every American to change so that we can get economic growth back and opportunity back. And, yes, they'll all have to change. That doesn't mean that you should further soak the middle class with the tax burden when their taxes are already too high.

SAWYER: Governor, we want to thank you for joining us. You're going to have to go back to that bus tour, I expect. I hope the soreness is shaking out of you at this point.

Gov. CLINTON: I'm looking forward to it. Thanks.

SAWYER: Governor, thank you very much.

Yugoslavia's Prime Minister Miran Ponic (sp?) greeted soldiers at the Fort July (sp?) army barracks today, a site Bosnian officials had identified as a concentration camp. But Ponic took TV cameras with him to show that it was no more than a barracks. And Ponic said that although he has visited many of the sites the Bosnians claim are concentration camps, he has yet to find one.

ABC's Walter Rodgers managed to find one of the Serbian camps today.

WALTER RODGERS, ABC News; (voice-over) The camp commander warned us what we were about to see would be disturbing — 3,500 Muslims and Croatian prisoners of war living in cattle barns. The Manjaca detention camp in Bosnia. According to the camp commander, many of these men are held because they were engaged in a holy war against their Serbian neighbors. We were not allowed to see all of the camp. Presumably, we were shown only those in the best physical condition.

Some Serbian soldiers privately told me they were embarrassed by the misery here. But this guard showed no sympathy, echoing instead the deep religious and cultural rivalries that now divide Yugoslavia.

While we were here, these men got a piece of bread and bean soup. Most came from the Omarska detention center, where they had lived on a crust of bread and water for several weeks. At the Omarska camp, where earlier pictures showed grim conditions, many of these men have been moved and there was an effort to live up to international standards for POWs.

Still, this boy said he was arrested by the Serbs

ABC Network Show # 232 Show code WNSUN 8/9/92

merely because he was a Muslim.

[on camera] The Serbs say as bad as conditions are in their detention centers, they're much worse in Muslim camps. They showed us a videotape too grisly to show on television of executions and mutilated corpses, atrocities they allege were committed by the Muslims.

[voice-over] POW's on all sides in Yugoslavia's civil war still face a precarious future. Hatred runs so deep here no one is immune from vendettas once the international spotlight fades.

Walter Rodgers, ABC News, Omarska camp, Bosnia.

SAWYER: We'll be back in a moment.

[Commercial break]

SAWYER: In Kuwait, a U.S. helicopter crashed during military exercises today, killing its two-man crew. The cause of the crash is under investigation. The Navy says the helicopter was unarmed and it was conducting a routine training flight.

In Iraq, a new team of U.N. weapons inspectors started their mission today with a surprise inspection at a site they are still keeping secret. They managed to perform their first day of work without incident.

And on the eve of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's crucial first visit to Washington, Jewish settlers openly defied Rabin's freeze on new construction in the occupied territories.

More from ABC's Dean Reynolds.

DEAN REYNOLDS, ABC News: *[voice-over]* Jewish settlers were attempting — unsuccessfully, as it turned out — to erect a new neighborhood in the occupied West Bank today and to embarrass Prime Minister Rabin. While the settlers are angry over Rabin's decision to limit Jewish building in the disputed territories, the new Israeli government knows the move will please the White House and it may finally pave the way for billions of dollars in American loan guarantees to help resettle immigrants from the former Soviet Union.

The settlers are also anxious about Rabin's intention to give Palestinians self-rule. The plan, including elections in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, is designed to re-ignite the Middle East peace talks.

[on camera] And to improve the chances for progress, Israeli officials today said they want to amend a controversial law that bars all contact with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

YOSSI BEILIN, Deputy Foreign Minister: The amendment means that it may become an offense only if the government proves that it was their intention to harm the Israeli interests.

REYNOLDS: *[voice-over]* It has been obvious for a long time that despite the risk of jail, the Palestinian delegates for the peace talks have been taking their orders from PLO chairman Yasir Arafat. Official acknowledgement of this fact by Jerusalem would be another signal to Israeli hardliners that the times here have definitely changed.

Dean Reynolds, ABC News, Tel Aviv.

SAWYER: In a moment, how one family that can't get ahead is fighting back.

[Commercial break]

SAWYER: Bad weather permitted cameras from get pictures, but the Queen Elizabeth II is finally limping toward a Boston dry dock for repairs. Two days ago, the luxury liner hit an underwater ledge, ripping a 74-foot gash in its hull.

Economic news now. This week, the government will release the consumer price index for July. The good news is consumer prices are not expected to go up much. The bad news is that's because people can't pay the price of a lot of things, whether the price goes up or not.

Sheilah Kast looks at how one family is coping.

SHEILAH KAST, ABC News: *[voice-over]* A firefighter for 19 years, Lonnie Taylor has reached the top of the salary range in Montgomery County, Maryland. So when he's not climbing fire ladders, he's reaching for more income with his own business as a home improvement contractor. He makes only about half as much there as before the recession. Finding customers is hard.

LONNIE TAYLOR: Jobs are getting scarcer. Profits are going down. It's competitive. It's very tough out there.

KAST: *[voice-over]* That kind of pressure is one reason economists expect the government's July report to show the same small price increases that have kept inflation around three percent for the past 19 months.

MICHAEL EVANS, Economist: Well, there's a lot of businesses and there's a lot of wage earners who are dissatisfied with what they're getting now. But they realize that in a recessionary environment you can't raise prices or you're going to lose sales.

KAST: *[voice-over]* Raising three children in a home that Lonnie built, the Taylors focus more on budgeting from paycheck to paycheck than on the fact that many bills are not rising much.

KAREN TAYLOR: I mean, it's good if the inflation rate isn't high. But I think it's expensive enough to live with even with the way it is.

KAST: *[voice-over]* So, steady inflation has not changed the way Karen Taylor shops for her family. She still makes choices carefully, pays attention to coupons and waits for sales to hold the costs down.

Sheilah Kast, ABC News, Dunkirk, Maryland.

SAWYER: And ahead, Ray Gandolf with today's sports news. What's cooking tonight, Ray?

RAY GANDOLF, ABC News: Well, Forrest, the Olympics have ended and we'll have the final accounting and Dick Schaap's reflections on two weeks of the glory and the pain.

[Commercial break]

SAWYER: It's been two good weeks in Barcelona for the Americans and certainly for the Unified team. But all good things must come to an end. Ray Gandolf in sports has been watching all of it.

Ray?

GANDOLF: Thank you, Forrest. Well, it's all over but the shouting in Barcelona. On a thin final day of competition, Kwang Young Cho [sp?] of South Korea won

What Is a Team? U.N. Delays Bosnia's Olympians

By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina, July 22 — Relations between the United Nations command and the Bosnian Government, strained for several weeks, took a turn for the worse today when United Nations officials made a last-minute decision to cancel a flight carrying athletes to the Olympic Games in Barcelona.

The United Nations officials said the Bosnian delegation had to be cut to 10 members — two athletes and eight others — from 27, before the United Nations would allow a plane carrying the delegation to leave.

One of those stranded today is Mirsada Buric, 22 years old, a 3,000-meter runner who has caught the imagination of this city by daily training runs through streets pitted by artillery, mortar and sniper fire. On days when the bombardments have been especially intense, she has shifted her running to the basement passageways of the Holiday Inn.

Two Views of the War

Although the dispute seems likely to be resolved before the Games begin this weekend, it reflects the underlying animosities between the United Nations command and the Government. Maj. Gen. Lewis W. MacKenzie of Canada, the military commander, told reporters today that he was "sick and tired" of driving through the streets of Sarajevo and seeing people along the roadways sticking their fingers in the air in a gesture of hostility.

The estrangement has involved widely differing views of the political and military situation. The central issue is whether the Government, defending Sarajevo against Serbian nationalist forces who have held the city under siege for 109 days, has been a hapless victim of Serbian ruthlessness, as the Government contends, or whether it is partly responsible for Serbian attacks that have killed and wounded thousands of civilians, as United Nations officials have alleged.

Question of Who Shot First

General MacKenzie, 52, has become



Reuters

The agony of Bosnia and Herzegovina continued to unfold yesterday. A father in Sarajevo cried at the grave of his 34-year-old civilian son, who was killed by mortar fire after the latest cease-fire fell apart.

Yugoslavia accepted an invitation that limits its athletes to competing as individuals in the Olympic Games in Barcelona. Sports, page B11.

news conference in the Government press center that

General's suggestion that firing by their troops and retaliation by the Serbian forces can be equated. Their fire, the Bosnian officials say, is directed at Serbian military positions, while the Serbian attacks are mainly aimed at civilians. About 150 civilians have been killed and at least 400 wounded in the

from Yugoslavia less than five months ago, would be making its first appearance.

But the situation tonight, with both sides saying that they would not compromise, had Ms. Buric, the 3,000-meter runner, close to tears. She said over dinner that she felt the

Gift idea "C

NEW YORK

thousands of civilians, as United Nations officials have alleged.

Question of Who Shot First

General MacKenzie, 52, has become increasingly vocal in his criticism of the Government as he prepares to yield his command at the end of the month. The General has said that the decision to replace him is linked to the replacement of an 850-man Canadian mechanized battalion by French, Egyptian and Ukrainian troops. But Government officials have suggested that their dislike for the General, made known to senior United Nations officials, may have influenced the moves.

The strains came to a head on Tuesday when General MacKenzie told a

...individuals in the Olympic Games in Barcelona. Sports, page B11.

news conference in the Government press center that Government forces defending Sarajevo had provoked many of the Serbian bombardments in the last two weeks by opening fire after both sides had accepted a cease-fire.

"You sort of tickle them here and there with little attacks, and they respond with heavy weapons, then the international community condemns them for bombarding Sarajevo," the General said.

Bosnian officials do not deny that their forces have started some of the firing. But they object strongly to the

the Bosnian officials say, is directed at Serbian military positions, while the Serbian attacks are mainly aimed at civilians. About 150 civilians have been killed and at least 400 wounded in the past two weeks.

Although neither side was saying so today, it seems likely that a compromise could be reached that would allow the Olympic team, or at least some members, to fly as originally planned on one of the military aircraft that shuttles relief supplies to Sarajevo from Zagreb, the Croatian capital.

From Zagreb, the two athletes and those accompanying them could take a commercial flight to Barcelona, where the Bosnian team, representing a country that declared its independence

But the situation tonight, with both sides saying that they would not compromise, had Ms. Buric, the 3,000-meter runner, close to tears. She said over dinner that she felt that years of training to qualify for the Olympic team had been wasted, and that she would still be in Sarajevo, watching the Games on television, when her qualifying heat is run on July 31.

The dispute blew up on Monday, when United Nations officials noted that only 2 of the 27 names submitted for flight clearance — Ms. Buric and Vlado Paradzik, 24, a judo competitor — were athletes. Mik Magnusson, the British-born United Nations official who is the chief civil affairs officer here, told the Bosnians that the delegation would have to be reduced to 10 people, including the two athletes, a team doctor, an Olympic judge, two members of the Olympic Committee, an interpreter and three reporters.

Rationing the Few Seats

Mr. Magnusson, backed by General MacKenzie, said the United Nations had to be careful not to approve the use of relief aircraft by anybody not essential to the team because of arrangements under which the Sarajevo airport was opened to relief flights three weeks ago.

Before today's ruling on the size of the Olympic delegation, Serbian leaders had agreed to allow 27 members to be flown out.

After an angry meeting between General MacKenzie and senior Bosnian Government officials, Stjepan Klujic, a vice president of the Government who is chairman of the Bosnian Olympic Committee, said the issue of who would go to Barcelona involved "the dignity of the state itself."

"The Olympic Committee would prefer that the Bosnian team not compete in Barcelona rather than agreeing to strike from its delegation the 17 people excluded by the United Nations," he said. These 17 included two other reporters, three people listed as "technical escorts," meaning bodyguards, a "hostess" and two people listed as "marketing executives."

U.N. Chief Rejects Plan to Collect Bosnian Arms

By SETH FAISON

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, July 22 — Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has rejected a plan, already approved by the Security Council, for United Nations forces to locate and collect heavy weapons from three warring factions in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In a report issued today, the Secretary General cited difficulties posed by the incessant fighting, but objected most strongly to procedural issues surrounding an agreement reached in London last week by the three sides.

"After carefully considering the London agreement and the circumstances in which it was concluded," Mr. Boutros-Ghali wrote, "I have come to the conclusion that the conditions do not exist for me to recommend that the Security Council accept the request of the three parties."

Mr. Boutros-Ghali's rejection of the plan appeared to reflect the steep obstacles to peacekeeping efforts in the Balkans, as well as his differences with European members of the United Nations. He specifically criticized the London agreement.

Boutros-Ghali objects to accord approved by Security Council.

That accord, mediated by the European Community negotiator, Lord Carrington, on Friday, included a request for the United Nations to undertake the collection of heavy arms. The agreement was approved by the Security Council later that day.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali's report estimated that 1,100 more United Nations military officers would be required to carry out the agreement. The United Nations has 14,000 troops already in Croatia and 1,000 more in Sarajevo, the besieged Bosnian capital.

"The success of such an operation would be impossible without the cooperation of all the parties," Mr. Boutros-Ghali wrote, adding that United Nations forces are "already stretched to

the breaking point."

But the primary objection Mr. Boutros-Ghali raised involved the relationship between the United Nations and the European Community.

A Western diplomat said that Mr. Boutros-Ghali, who raised his concerns about the plan in a private letter to the Security Council on Monday, appeared to be upset that the London agreement was made, and approved by the Security Council, without his knowledge.

Another diplomat noted that Mr. Boutros-Ghali chose not to send a participant to the London talks, and was also absent from the Security Council's session on Friday, when the European request was approved.

In his letter on Monday, the Secretary General conceded that he had "problems of communication" in his office, apparently referring to his failure to learn about the council's decision, even though two representatives from his office attended the session.

Unlike his predecessor, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, Mr. Boutros-Ghali sometimes skips Security Council meetings, which one diplomat said he seems to find slow and time-consuming.

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BELGRADE PRESSED ON TRUCE BY VANCE

U.N. Envoy to Urge Chief of Yugoslavia's Military to Abide by Cease-Fire

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

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina, April 16 — Serb irregulars backed by Yugoslav Army tanks and infantry routed the last pockets of local Muslim-Slav resistance in the Bosnian town of Visegrad today. Later, this evening, the United Nations special envoy, Cyrus R. Vance, left here for Belgrade to press the army's top general to abide by a cease-fire, republic officials said.

Mr. Vance left Sarajevo this evening to engage in a second round of discussions in two days with Yugoslavia's Acting Defense Minister, Gen. Blagoje Adzic, the officials said.

Mr. Vance said on Wednesday that he had received a commitment from General Adzic to comply with a European Community-brokered cease-fire that has been ignored since nationalist party leaders agreed to it in Sarajevo on Sunday night.

The Yugoslav Army announced today that its forces had captured the center of Visegrad at 1 P.M. after a two-hour assault aimed at flushing out the last Muslim-Slav defenders, a Serbian news agency report said.

'Peace and Security'

The army, said Lieut. Col. Milan Simic, had acted to "insure the peace and security of Visegrad's citizens" and maintained that its assault on Visegrad was the result of an "invitation" by Visegrad's citizens.

The news agency report said one Serb had been killed in today's fighting; it did not mention how many of the town's Muslim-Slav defenders had died.

The army's assault on Visegrad began on Tuesday when a column of Serb soldiers and artillery advanced from Serbia in an operation that Western diplomats called a "foreign invasion."

Recognition of Republic

Bosnia and Herzegovina was recognized as an independent country by the United States and the European Community last week.

New fighting was reported again today around the towns of Derventa and Foca. Columns of refugees fleeing Visegrad and Foca were reported to be jamming roads leading to the town of Gorazde. In Sarajevo tonight, heavy gunfire erupted around the town, but it is unclear who or what is doing the shooting.

A former United States Secretary of State, Mr. Vance held the day of talks here with Muslim-Slav, Croat, Serb and Yugoslav Army leaders aimed at halting the ongoing clashes in this multi-ethnic republic.



As the United Nations envoy Cyrus R. Vance pressed Serbian and Yugoslav Army forces to halt their offensive in Bosnia and Herzegovina, fighting in Yugoslavia continued as a Croatian sold year-old son at his

"He is angry," said Bosnia and Herzegovina's Muslim-Slav President, Alija Izetbegovic, in an interview after his discussions today with Mr. Vance. "He is very angry."

Mr. Vance said that during his talks he repeatedly pressed Bosnia and Herzegovina's leaders to honor the Sunday cease-fire and reaffirm their commitment to European Community-sponsored talks on Bosnia and Herzegovina's political future.

Mr. Vance's mission comes as the United States and other Western countries have mounted severe pressure on Serbia and its Communist President, Slobodan Milosevic, to halt the offensive by the Serbian forces and the Yugoslav Army aimed at carving up Bosnia and Herzegovina to enlarge a Serb republic.

Serbia's Prime Minister, Radoman Bozovic, said today that Serbia would not yield to the growing international pressure to halt its attempt to cut away Bosnia and Herzegovina's territory.

Report by Foreign Ministry

Serbia's Parliament decided not to debate the United States-backed threat to expel Serbia from the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe until the republic's Foreign Ministry completes a full report.

A Serbian militant nationalist close to the republic's government today condemned the United States "ultimatum" against Serbia and called for national unity.

"The Serbian Radical Party bitterly condemns the aggressive acts of the

American Government against Serbia and the Serbian people and rejects the ultimatum," said Vojislav Seselj, the militant, a member of the republic's Parliament.

Bosnia and Herzegovina's uncompromising nationalist party leaders, especially radical Serbs opposed to its independence, have slashed through the fabric holding together this republic's patchwork of 1.9 million Muslim-Slavs, 1.4 million Eastern Orthodox Serbs and 750,000 Roman Catholic Croats.

Galvin to Leave NATO

BRUSSELS, April 16 (AP) — Gen. John R. Galvin, who commanded NATO forces during the period in which the Warsaw Pact alliance collapsed in Eastern Europe, will leave his post in June after completing a five-year tour of duty.

General Galvin, who is 62 years old, said he would become a professor at the United States Military Academy at West Point and write books on security issues.

"I know myself and I think it is about the right time," he said in a telephone interview from Paris after NATO announced his departure as Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, a post he has held since June 1987.

The NATO commander's post traditionally goes to an American, and the alliance said President Bush had been



Associated Press

via continued to take its toll. The family of a soldier yesterday mourned their 20th anniversary at his burial in the village of Ramljani.

Serbian leaders claim almost 70 percent of the republic's territory for a "Serb Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina" despite the fact that Serbs here account for only 31 percent of the republic's population. Several hundred people have died and hundreds more have been wounded in the fighting that began in Bosnia and Herzegovina over two weeks ago. United Nations relief officials estimate that approximately 150,000 people have been driven from their homes by the clashes.

NATO Command in June

Gen. Galvin asked to nominate a successor. With the fall of Communist governments in Eastern Europe in late 1989 and the subsequent dissolution of the Soviet Union, General Galvin helped redraft NATO's military strategy to fit the post-cold war era. The United States is now reducing its nuclear stockpile and its troop presence in Europe, and NATO is offering former Warsaw Pact adversaries advice on the role of the armed forces in a democracy. A native of Wakefield, Mass., General Galvin attended West Point and received his commission as a Second Lieutenant in 1954. He served as commander of the United States Southern Command in Panama before assuming his job as NATO commander.

U.S. Sends Envoy to Bosnia As Part of Wider Campaign

By DAVID BINDER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 16 — Determined to reinforce its support of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Bush Administration ordered a senior diplomat to Sarajevo today to sign documents formalizing United States recognition of the sovereignty and independence of the republic.

"We want to put a marker down to the Serbs and make our point," an Administration official said, referring to the Serbian invasion of Bosnia.

He said Ralph R. Johnson, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs, would travel on to the capitals of Croatia and Slovenia to sign documents according to those former Yugoslav republics as well. The United States announced recognition of the three breakaway republics on April 7.

Administration officials said the mission to Sarajevo is part of a larger United States strategy to pressure the leadership of Serbia and the Yugoslav Army. The plan, conceived on Tuesday, is to rally American allies behind Bosnia and against Serbia in international councils. The idea arose when Haris Silajdzic, Foreign Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina, called on Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d to make an appeal to "help stop the mass massacre" of his people by Serbian forces.

Political and Humanitarian Aid

Mr. Silajdzic raised the idea of "a humanitarian aid flight" to Sarajevo but did not specifically ask for an American airlift. Mr. Baker said he would pursue that idea, but evidently also vowed to give political support. He began telephoning European foreign ministers to build a coalition of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Mr. Johnson is to travel by commercial flight to Italy, where he will transfer at Pisa to United States Air Force C-141 transport plane carrying emergency relief supplies to Sarajevo, the first of five flights to the Bosnian capital. Serbian militiamen have blockaded the city for several days, and food supplies are reportedly running low. Administration officials said the C-141 would carry military rations, blankets and medicine.

Baker Asserts U.S. Role

Since fighting broke out in June, when Slovenia and Croatia declared their independence, the entire airspace of the former federation of six republics has been under the control of the Yugoslav Army, which is led by Serbs. Only recently has the military permitted limited civilian air traffic in and out of Slovenian and Croatian airports.

While civilian flights are occasionally allowed in and out of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the airspace over the republic has been dominated by fighters and fighter bombers of the Yugoslav Air Force, which have bombed and

strafed areas inhabited mostly by Croats and Muslim Slavs. The C-141 flight, however, has received clearance to fly from Pisa.

The State Department spokeswoman, Margaret D. Tutwiler, insisted on Wednesday that "obviously" the European Community was taking the lead in the international approach to the Yugoslav conflict, but it is now clear that Mr. Baker wants the United States to play a prominent part in dealing with Serbia and the Bosnian crisis.

On Wednesday, the State Department began a variety of diplomatic

Rallying support to counter moves by Serbia.

actions devised to rein in the Serbian leadership in Belgrade. In addition to rallying telephone calls to four European foreign ministers, Mr. Baker dispatched Assistant Secretary of State Thomas M. Niles, who has served in Yugoslavia, on a trip to a number of European capitals to coordinate action.

On Wednesday the United States delegate to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe meeting in Helsinki proposed that the organization suspend Serbia from membership in two weeks, unless its forces withdrew from Bosnia and Herzegovina. The proposal was unanimously endorsed.

A senior Administration official said further steps against Serbia were being contemplated in the context of the United Nations, of which Yugoslavia is a founding member. Its seat is now in effect occupied by Serbia. "We have drawn up a provisional list of steps we can take," the official said.

The Administration's strategy is to question Serbia's legitimacy in international affairs, especially its claim to represent the legacy of Yugoslavia. In contrast to State Department usage: recently as 12 days ago, Miss Tutwiler and other Administration officials now refer to "Serbia" instead of the Belgrade leadership's preferred nomenclature of "Yugoslavia." She explained this strategy on Wednesday and today by saying, "Some countries care about legitimacy."

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UN may urge WEU to take on peace role

By Leonard Doyle
in New York
and Andrew Marshall
in London

FACED with deep-seated US reluctance to allow the United Nations to mount a peacekeeping operation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Boutros Boutros Ghali, the UN Secretary-General, is considering sub-contracting the task to the Western European Union.

The nine-member WEU is to become the defence arm of the European Community. It has no units of its own, but is able to call on units of participating nations. During the Gulf war, the WEU sent ships to the Gulf.

The WEU, reactivated in the 1980s as Europe's pillar of Nato, has little experience of military operations. The prospect of it mounting a complex peacekeeping operation among Serbs, Croats and Muslims is a daunting one, many diplomats feel.

The idea of asking the WEU to organise and pay for the dispatch of peacekeepers under a blue UN flag is seen as a clever way around

Washington's refusal to support new peacekeeping operations.

President Mitterrand discussed the WEU proposal with Mr Ghali in Paris on Tuesday and three permanent UN members, Britain, France and the US, held informal discussions in New York this week. France wants the Security Council to pass a resolution preparing for a WEU peacekeeping force, by discreetly mentioning Chapter 8 of the UN Charter under which "regional arrangements" can be made for keeping peace and security provided they have the approval of the Security Council.

Defence officials in London acknowledged that the WEU had

discussed sending forces to Bosnia but said there was no agreement. Some states were keen but others were less so, including Britain. The idea was originally proposed by Germany, which is constitutionally prohibited from deploying troops outside its own territory.

The Foreign Office did not rule out a role for the WEU yesterday. But it said the situation in Bosnia was not propitious since there was no peace to keep. Britain is not convinced of the need to use the WEU while UN peacekeeping troops operate in neighbouring Croatia.

But because of election politics in the US, the UN is being told to forgo new peacekeeping operations involving "assessed contributions", even though Washington is around \$700m (£395m) behind in its UN dues. With the US weathering an economic recession, the Bush administration wants to show it is attending to domestic problems, rather than committing more taxpayers' money to problems overseas.

Cyrus Vance, the former US secretary of state and UN special envoy for Yugoslavia, warned against mounting a peacekeeping operation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mr Ghali produced a report to the Security Council, echoing this view, on the grounds that the UN had neither money nor resources to mount another difficult peacekeeping operation.

His grim assessment that Bosnia-Herzegovina could not be assisted, although its capital city Sarajevo is the headquarters for the 14,000-strong UN force for Croatia, was seen as damaging to the UN's image.

EC monitors pull out

VIOLENCE IN the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia yesterday forced European Community monitors to withdraw from the towns of Bihac, Banja Luka, and Tuzla in the north. In the southern town of Mostar at least eight people were killed. An EC spokesman said the withdrawal would become permanent if violence continued. Altogether, several hundred people have been killed in recent weeks.

Alija Izetbegovic, Bosnia's President, finally arrived for EC-sponsored talks in Lisbon yesterday, after two days of delay, but said he could only stay a day because of the clashes in Sarajevo. In Helsinki, at a meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, Austria insisted the new Yugoslavia could not be viewed as a successor state to the old federation, and asked for its removal "for the time being" from CSCE membership. The main opposition group in the Albanian-majority province of Kosovo, which has sought to break away from Serbia, has also rejected the new Yugoslavia.

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First-floor regulars face Mostar Furies

much as it wants, but what does it matter if I don't feel like one?" a woman says, referring to charges by the army that Mostar is held by Croatian extremists.

Fifteen rockets smash into the town in as many seconds, making tremendous whizzing noises as they fly over the hotel. It is in a dangerous position. Croatian fighters use it and a nearby hospital as cover from which to fire their mortars.

On the fourth floor, some drift off to sleep. Their snores are part of the noise. "Who is shooting now?" asks a voice. Another replies: "I don't know. How can you know who your brother is on such a night?"

EC failure, page 27

are people we lived with, I can't believe they are doing this to us." "Believe it," a man replies. "Does anyone feel like a walk in the sun, the Serbian sun?" There is laughter.

For three weeks the pattern has been the same in the town, whose old bridge was once a popular tourist sight. Croats shell the army from three mortar positions in the town and the army responds by indiscriminately bombarding Mostar. No one, neither Mostar citizens nor the EC and UN monitors in the hotel, can tell who fired first.

But the first-floor dwellers are used to the bombardment by now, their voices are level even as the fury of the shelling builds up. "The army can call me an Ustashe as

From Andrej Gustincic
of Reuters

ter and shrapnel litter the streets. Trees have been uprooted, holes blown through roofs and walls and minarets are pockmarked by machine-gun and mortar fire.

Every night people shelter in the comparative safety of the Hotel Dom Penzionera, believing it will not be hit while European Community and United Nations observers are there. Twenty or so are regulars in the first-floor hallway - not so much individuals as voices in the dark.

"It's the Furies," a woman says. "These

MOSTAR - The flame of a match lighting a cigarette illuminates the frightened faces of people huddled in basements and hallways as mortar bombs and rockets crash down on Mostar, in south-western Bosnia-Herzegovina. The light flickers briefly on two young women, a middle-aged man and a row of others receding into the shadows. Their worn faces and bloodshot eyes attest to many sleepless nights.

Residents in the old Turkish capital of Hercegovina have endured the nightly attacks by the Yugoslav army, which holds the surrounding hills, since 6 April. More than 20 people have been killed and about 160 injured. Shattered glass, rubble, plas-

Hopes rise for UN peace mission

HOPES that a UN peace-keeping force could be deployed in war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina were raised after a meeting between Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and President Mitterrand.

Boutros-Ghali said that the principal obstacles to a UN role in Bosnia were logistical. Previously he had argued against a new peace-keeping mission, saying that conditions were not right to commit more than 100 soldiers to the republic. France has been lobbying



YUGOSLAVIA

for UN troops to be sent into Bosnia, where hundreds have died in fierce fighting between Serbs and Muslims.

The UN is already sending some 14,000 peace-keepers to the Serb-inhabited areas of Croatia, scenes of some of the heaviest fighting in the Yugoslav conflict. That force is due to be in place in about four weeks.

But the main fighting has moved to Bosnia, where Muslims and Croats have been pitted against Serb

forces since the republic voted for independence two months ago. Fighting continued this week, despite the three sides meeting in Lisbon to try to avert all-out war and Bosnia being on the agenda of a meeting in Helsinki of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

New Federation: Serbia and Montenegro joined together to form a new Yugoslavia, hoping to take over its predecessor's inter-

national status and foreign assets. But China was the only world power to immediately recognise the new state. Most others held off until Serbia made clear it would give up any rights over Serbs living in its newly-independent neighbouring republics.

In Washington, State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler said that the US attitude was co-ordinated with the EC, making clear that recognition would depend on "demonstrated respect for the territorial integrity of the other former Yugoslav republics". The

new Yugoslavia comprises 39 per cent of the old federation's land and 44 per cent of its population.

Refugee plight: Half a million refugees in Bosnia-Herzegovina are facing starvation because food supplies are failing to reach them, according to relief officials.

"We are looking at a looming tragedy," said Gus Konturas of the New York-based International Rescue Committee. Food can not reach refugees in the mountainous republic because roads are controlled by paramilitary units from the three Bosnian communities.

Germany leads push against recognition

By Patrick Blum and David Buchan in Oporto

GERMANY last night led a strong push inside the European Community to withhold recognition of the new joint Serb-Montenegrin state as the successor to the old Yugoslavia, in an attempt to get the Serb army out of Bosnia.

EC foreign ministers are to devote most of their meeting here today to Yugoslavia. But even at the outset of yesterday's discussions, a German spokesman said Bonn would also be seeking United Nations action on trade and oil sanctions against Serbia.

Britain echoed the general sentiment that, by declaring a new state, President Slobadan Milosevic of Serbia has given the Community a certain diplomatic leverage over him. "It would seem that Mr Milosevic is more concerned about recognition and status than he is about his economy".

Greece's prime minister, Mr Constantine Mitsotakis came in for criticism for arriving at this weekend's meeting via Belgrade where he appeared to confer de facto recognition on the new Yugoslav state.

On Macedonia, the EC ministers seemed agreed to respect Greece's strong views.

FINANCIAL TIMES

May 2-3/92

FINANCIAL TIMES
March 26/92

UN plea as six more die in Bosnia

By Laura Silber in Belgrade

AT LEAST six people were killed yesterday in fighting around Bosanski Brod, a strategic town on Bosnia-Herzegovina's frontier with Croatia, despite a UN plea to halt the conflict.

Radio Sarajevo said more than 1,000 grenades hit Bosanski Brod, a mixed town of mostly Serbs and Croats.

The town's crisis centre yesterday appealed for the despatch of UN peacekeepers "to prevent the town from total destruction."

General Satish Nambiar, the UN commander, has warned that violations of the ceasefire, which have left at least 18 dead in the last two days, could delay the deployment of 14,000 peacekeepers.

At the same time, Bosnia's Moslem leaders yesterday appeared to go back on an agreement brokered last week by the European Community among the leaders of Bosnia's national parties to divide the central republic into three separate areas which would give Moslems, Serbs and Croats local autonomy.

Kerin Hope in Athens adds: Mr Constantine Karamanlis, the Greek president, yesterday reiterated the government's unwillingness to recognise the Yugoslav republic of Macedonia. Separately, the United States and Germany are pressing Greece to open direct talks with Macedonia on their dispute over what the new republic should be called.

Toronto Star
March 26/92

Serb-Croat fighting kills seven

BELGRADE (Reuter) — Seven people were killed on the border between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina early yesterday as rival Serbs and Croats ignored a U.N. appeal to end the worst clashes in Yugoslavia this year. Fighting has killed 28 people since Sunday as advance members of a 14,000-strong U.N. peace-keeping force fanned out in Croatia to divide the warring parties.

FINANCIAL TIMES
March 25/92

Serbs and Croats continue fight

Nine people were killed yesterday in artillery duels between Serbs and Croats which spread across Croatia and into the neighbouring republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Reuter reports from Zagreb. The death toll has now reached 19 in worsening skirmishes since Sunday, just weeks before the main body of a 14,000-strong United Nations force arrives in Yugoslavia.

Vance Ends Yugoslav Trip Confident That U.N. Plan Will Proceed

By JOHN F. BURNS
Special to The New York Times

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, March 6 — Cyrus R. Vance, the United Nations envoy, concluded his latest mediating mission here today. He said he remained confident that the United Nations could proceed with its plans to deploy a 14,400-member peacekeeping force, despite ethnic tensions in the republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the threat that such unrest could pose to the task of enforcing the cease-fire in neighboring Croatia.

Mr. Vance's three-day trip opens the way for the arrival of Lieut. Gen. Satish Nambiar, the Indian commander of the peacekeeping force, who is expected in Belgrade on Sunday. The general will be accompanied by about 30 field commanders and civilians, and United Nations officials have said they will be followed within days by an initial party of about 240 troops.

About 400 soldiers are to begin arriving daily in mid-March after reconnaissance checks of areas of Croatia that are to be patrolled by the United Nations units. The full force of 12 infantry battalions, police units and civilian monitors, drawn from 30 countries, is expected to be deployed by mid-April.

Mr. Vance's visit was his sixth here since October and in some ways the most critical, since it offered the former Secretary of State what is likely to be the last opportunity to review the situation facing the United Nations troops before deployment begins.

A Difficult Operation

Mr. Vance, who is acting as a special envoy of the United Nations Secretary General, Boutros Ghali, has made no secret of the fact that he and Mr. Ghali

view the plan to send United Nations troops here as the one of the most difficult operations the organization has undertaken since peacekeeping forces were sent to the former Belgian Congo in the early 1960's. The decision pitched the United Nations troops into the middle of a bitter African war.

The key to Mr. Vance's latest trip was his visit on Thursday to Sarajevo, the capital of the ethnically mixed Bosnian republic, where ethnic tensions have arisen over an independence referendum that was held last weekend. The Serbian minority in the republic boycotted the referendum, leaving the voting to Muslims and Croats, who overwhelmingly approved independence.

The vote was accompanied and followed nonetheless by armed clashes and bomb blasts in which several people were reported to have died. Life in Sarajevo and other Bosnian centers was also disrupted by the mounting of barricades and by warnings, primarily from Serb leaders, that civil war could break out.

For United Nations officials, the Bosnian tensions pose a double threat. Sarajevo will be the headquarters for the United Nations force, and trouble there could seriously disrupt the peacekeeping operation.

Sarajevo Peace March

Fighting between the republic's ethnic groups would also risk reigniting the war in Croatia, on Bosnia's northern border, where Serbs and Croats battled each other for seven months until Mr. Vance negotiated a cease-fire.

The Croatian truce, which took effect



The head of a United Nations mediation team visited Belgrade.

on Jan. 3, was reached after an estimated 6,000 to 10,000 people died in fighting for control of regions of Croatia inhabited by Serbs.

Before leaving Belgrade today for Zagreb, where he met with the Croatian leader, President Franjo Tudjman, Mr. Vance said he was encouraged by a peace march of about 60,000 people in Sarajevo that coincided with his visit. He said the demonstration was an indication of popular discontent with the ethnic violence and economic chaos that he had detected not only in Bosnia, but also in Serbia and Croatia.

United Nations officials traveling with Mr. Vance said the leaders of all three ethnic groups in Bosnia, including the Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic, had told him that they would continue negotiations toward a peaceful Bosnian

settlement. The talks are to resume on Sunday under European Community mediation in Brussels.

Cost Cuts Demanded

Among the issues that Mr. Vance took up on Wednesday with Serbian leaders in Belgrade and today with Croatian leaders in Zagreb was the need for greater contributions from the two sides to cut the \$635 million that United Nations officials have estimated the peacekeeping operation will cost for the initial 12-month period approved by the Security Council.

Western governments, led by the United States, have demanded that the cost be reduced. Officials in Mr. Vance's party said they were hopeful that commitments by the Serbian and Croatian leaders to provide food, fuel, accommodation and vehicles, among other necessities, would help bring the cost down to about \$400 million.

After spending months last fall trying to win the Serbian leaders' consent to ending the offensive that brought about a third of Croatia under Serbian control, Mr. Vance has sought on his latest trip to confirm that they remain committed to the cease-fire and to withdrawing the Serbian-led Yugoslav Army from Croatia, as required by the United Nations plan.

According to a United Nations official, Mr. Vance found the leader of the republic of Serbia, President Slobodan Milosovic, and the commander of the Serb-led Yugoslav Army, Col. Gen. Blagoje Adzic, emphatic in their commitments.

"They will tell you flatly that the war is no longer an acceptable option," the United Nations official said.



Russian soldiers arriving yesterday at Belgrade Airport in Yugoslavia on their way to Sarajevo. They are part of the first United Nations peacekeeping force to operate on the European mainland. Associated Press

New
York
Times
March
15/92

U.N. Peacekeeping Force Moves Into Yugoslavia

By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

SARAJEVO, Yugoslavia, March 14 — The first United Nations peacekeeping force to operate on the European mainland began settling into Sarajevo today, its commanders aware of the ethnic tensions among Bosnia's population of Slavic Muslims, Serbs and Croats and the risk they pose to one of the United Nations' most volatile operations ever.

Behind white jeeps flying the blue United Nations flag, the generals who will direct the operation, under Lieut. Gen. Satish Nambiar of India, set out this morning to choose a headquarters site in the center of Sarajevo. As their motorcade swept through the cobbled streets near the site of Sarajevo's most fateful incident, the assassination in June 1914 of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife, Sophie, many among the weekend shopping crowds waved and applauded.

Major anxieties continue to press in on the United Nations venture, not the least of which concerns the choice of Sarajevo as headquarters for what is planned eventually as a 14,400-member force of troops, police and civilian monitors. While the force's main task is to separate the warring sides in Croatia, United Nations officials have taken what amounts to a major gamble by centering their operation here.

In some respects, the situation here is evocative of the atmosphere that surrounded the 1914 assassination, which led to the outbreak of World War I. Then, the issue was the hatred of the

Troops hope to keep the warring factions apart.

Austro-Hungarian rulers by Serb militants, one of whom, Gavrilo Princip, shot the archduke and his wife as they drove through the city in an open car. Today, many of the region's Serbs, who account for about a third of the population of 4.3 million, are once again in a fever of discontent, this time against the Slavic Muslims and Croats who voted two weeks ago to make the republic independent from the Serbian-dominated remnants of Yugoslavia.

The worst fear among United Nations officials is that renewed violence here would trap the peacekeeping force's staff and re-ignite the fighting in Croatia, where the Serbian-led Yugoslav Army, supported by Serbian militias, fought a seven-month war that killed between 6,000 and 10,000 people.

General Nambiar, the 56-year-old commander of the peacekeeping force, alluded to the ethnic tensions at a news conference on Friday. "With our presence here, we are hoping the situation will be defused," the General said. Later, he met with the Bosnian leader, President Alija Izetbegovic, a Muslim, who said that the first peacekeeping arrivals had already calmed tensions.

Only a week ago, the tensions reached a peak when

groups setting up barricades in the center of Sarajevo. At least a dozen people were killed in incidents involving bombings and exchanges of gunfire, and the Serbian leader, Radovan Karadzic, warned of a civil war.

Subsequently, Mr. Karadzic attended a new round of negotiations with Muslim and Croat leaders in Brussels, under European Community sponsorship, and agreed to consider the latest proposals for a Swiss-style federation of cantons that would leave each ethnic group with a wide autonomy.

If the United Nations presence here eases the situation, prospects will improve for success in Croatia, where 12 infantry battalions, the largest military peacekeeping force assembled since the United Nations intervention in the Congo 30 years ago, will attempt to separate the enemy sides in four "protected areas" that were at the center of fighting. While they work to maintain the cease-fire, European negotiators will seek a permanent peace.

General Nambiar had an opportunity to assess some of the problems first hand when the motorcade that brought him from Croatia into Bosnia halted at Novska, 50 miles southeast of Zagreb, and the General and his party, under blue United Nations flags, walked 150 yards across the no man's land between Croat and Serb lines.

In Sarajevo, General Nambiar spoke of the need to get the full deployment of peacekeeping troops into position in the war zones as quickly as possible, something United Nations officials believe

VANCE URGES U.N. TO DISPATCH FORCE TO YUGOSLAVS SOON

MORE MEN THAN EXPECTED

Special Envoy Reportedly Fears Another Truce Collapse — Croatia Is Said to Agree

By PAUL LEWIS

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, Feb. 12 — The United Nations special envoy for Yugoslavia today recommended the rapid deployment of a larger-than-expected peacekeeping force in that country, Western diplomats and United Nations officials said.

After delaying for weeks, the envoy, Cyrus R. Vance, made his recommendation to the United Nations Secretary General, Boutros Ghali, amid growing fears that the fragile cease fire will break down unless the force is rapidly dispatched. The force is now to be expanded from 10,000 soldiers to 11,500 soldiers with 500 additional police officers.

Diplomats said Mr. Vance, the former American Secretary of State, decided to push for the rapid deployment after receiving fresh assurances that President Franjo Tudjman, head of the breakaway Croatian state, will cooperate with the peacekeeping forces.

A Call From Genscher

It was now up to the Secretary General to endorse Mr. Vance's recommendation and ask the Security Council to send the force as soon as possible. Several officials and diplomats said they believe he will do so. Tuesday night, the German Foreign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, telephoned Mr. Vance from Tokyo urging him to recommend rapid deployment.

The majority of the Security Council's 15 members had already indicated that they wanted the force sent as soon as Mr. Vance judged that Yugoslavia's various factions were ready to cooperate with the peacekeepers.

The Secretary General is to meet on Thursday with the representatives of the five permanent Security Council members — Britain, France, China, the United States and Russia — to discuss

Mr. Vance's recommendation. The permanent members of the Council are expected to support Mr. Vance.

Some members said tonight the Council could start its deliberations Thursday or Friday and make a formal decision to launch this peacekeeping operation — the second largest the United Nations has ever undertaken — early next week.

Tudjman Accepts U.N. Plan

Mr. Vance made his recommendation today after receiving a new letter from President Tudjman that repeated the assurances he gave Feb. 6 that he "fully accepts all the terms of reference of the peace plan of the U.N."

Continued on Page A4, Column 5

New York Times
Feb 13/92

Vance Asks the U.N. to Send A Force to Yugoslavia Soon

Continued From Page A1

Secretary General."

The new operation is expected to cost between \$300 million and \$450 million a year. When added to the \$1 billion to \$2 billion bill expected for the new peacekeeping operation in Cambodia later this year, the sum for these two operations will more than double the United Nations' current \$700-million-a-year peacekeeping bill.

Where the money is to come from is a major headache, officials say, because the organization is now owed almost \$1 billion in unpaid assessments for both peacekeeping efforts and for its regular budget.

It is unclear what countries would provide troops for a new United Nations peacekeeping operation. The five permanent members are traditionally excluded from contributing to such forces. And the United Nations Secretariat plans to exclude forces from countries bordering Yugoslavia like Italy, Austria, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Greece.

Mr. Tudjman's letter came after Mr. Vance had asked for clarification of several interviews Mr. Tudjman gave earlier this week. In these the Croatian leader appeared to criticize some aspects of the plan, arousing doubts whether he was prepared to cooperate.

No New Demands

In the new letter, he reiterates his Feb. 6 letter accepting the plan and says that he favors "successful and fast completion" of the proposed Yugoslav peace conference. And he says "the Republic of Croatia is not making any new requirements."

But President Tudjman does raise what he describes as "a number of technical questions relating to the nor-

malization of life" in the Serbian-populated areas of Croatia, where United Nations peacekeeping forces will be deployed. These places are referred to in the plan as United Nations Protected Areas.

Officials say that while these queries are not helpful, Mr. Vance has decided to take President Tudjman's letter at its face value, to assume he is now willing to cooperate with the United Nations and to presume that these reservations are of only secondary importance.

Recognition by Germany

Although all the parties to the Yugoslav conflict accepted the United Nations plan last year and eventually put in place a fragile cease-fire, the consensus showed signs of breaking down last month after Germany pressed the 11 other European Community members to recognize Croatia and Slovenia as independent states.

Apparently emboldened by their recognition, President Tudjman started questioning a key provision of the plan he had accepted under which United Nations peacekeeping forces are to maintain law and order in 13 areas of Croatia where the majority of the population are Serbs.

The pro-Serbian Yugoslavian national army, which is currently stationed in these regions, is to withdraw. And the United Nations will preserve the existing civilian government that reflects the ethnic composition of the local population until the proposed peace conference reaches a new political agreement on Yugoslavia's future.

In particular, President Tudjman wanted to exert Croatian sovereignty over these places, apply Croatian law and give his own central Government a say in appointing local officials and running the police and other services.

Globe & Mail Feb 13/92

Vance wants UN unit sent soon

Peacekeeping force for Yugoslavia to be larger than expected

New York Times Service

UNITED NATIONS — The United Nations special envoy for Yugoslavia recommended yesterday the rapid deployment of a larger-than-expected peacekeeping force, Western diplomats and UN officials said.

After weeks of delay, Cyrus Vance made his recommendation to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali amid growing fears that the fragile ceasefire will break down unless the force is sent quickly.

The force is now to be expanded to 11,500 soldiers with 500 additional police officers, from an earlier figure of 10,000 soldiers.

Diplomats said Mr. Vance, a former U.S. secretary of state, decided to push for the rapid deployment after receiving fresh assurances that President Franjo Tudjman, head of the breakaway republic of Croatia, will co-operate with the force.

It is now up to Mr. Boutros-Ghali to endorse Mr. Vance's recom-

mendation and ask the UN Security Council to send the force as soon as possible. Several officials said they believe he will.

The majority of the Security Council's 15 members had already indicated that they wanted the force sent as soon as Mr. Vance judged that the various factions in Yugoslavia were ready to co-operate.

Some members said last tonight that the council could start its deliberations today or tomorrow and could make a formal decision to launch the peacekeeping operation early next week.

Mr. Vance made his recommendation yesterday after receiving a letter from Mr. Tudjman repeating assurances given Feb. 6 that he "fully accepts all the terms of reference" of the UN peace plan.

Mr. Tudjman's letter arrived after Mr. Vance had asked for clarification of several interviews the Croatian President gave earlier this week. In

these, he appeared to criticize some aspects of the plan, arousing doubts about whether he was prepared to co-operate.

In the new letter, he reiterates his Feb. 6 letter accepting the plan and says that he favours "successful and fast completion" of the proposed Yugoslav peace conference.

Although all the parties to the Yugoslav conflict accepted the UN plan last year and eventually put in place a fragile ceasefire, the consensus showed signs of breaking down last month after Germany pressed the European Community to recognize Croatia and Slovenia as independent states.

Apparently emboldened by their recognition, Mr. Tudjman started questioning a key provision of the plan he had accepted, under which UN peacekeeping forces are to maintain law and order in 13 areas of Croatia where the majority of the population are Serbs.

Tokyo Star Feb 13/92

FINANCIAL POST Feb 13/92

Vance backs Yugoslav force

UNITED NATIONS (Reuter) — Special U.N. envoy Cyrus Vance, after apparently receiving assurances from Croatia, has recommended the United Nations go ahead with a peacekeeping force in Yugoslavia, diplomats said. Secretary-General Boutros

Ghali has asked the permanent members of the Security Council to discuss today whether the planned 10,000-member force should be deployed.

Peacekeepers backed

Special UN envoy Cyrus Vance, after receiving assurances from Croatia, yesterday recommended the United Nations go ahead with a peacekeeping force in Yugoslavia, diplomats said, adding that they expected Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to approve. He has called a meeting on Yugoslavia for today of the five permanent members of the Security Council — the U.S., France, Britain, Russia and China.

For Mrs. Bentley

3 sheets

Regards

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Toronto Star
March 14/92

U.N. pe

By Alan Ferguson
TORONTO STAR

BELGRADE — Thirty-one Canadians were among more than 300 officers from 25 countries who began briefings yesterday for peacekeeping duties in war-ravaged Croatia.

A total United Nations force of some 14,000 troops is to be deployed in disputed areas of the former Yugoslav republic within the next few weeks.

In an indication of the sense of urgency attached to the operation, the advance teams will spend only about 48 hours in Belgrade before leaving to scout the particular areas of Croatia to which their countries have been assigned.

Canada has been asked to deploy its troops in western Slavonia, where fierce fighting raged during an eight-month-long war between Croatian forces and ethnic Serb rebels backed by the Yugoslav army.

Sources said there was some disappointment among the Canadians that they were not given a more high-profile role.

"I think they may have preferred Osijek," said one insider, referring to the eastern Croatian city that has come under sporadic shelling despite a two-month-old ceasefire.

There were also questions about why the U.N. has seen fit to deploy no fewer than four battalions from different countries in western Slavonia. Canadian commanders had hoped the country's major contribution to the U.N. force would guarantee it sole responsibility for a particular area.

The advance teams are to meet for a final briefing tomorrow.

Globe & Mail
March
14/92

Three killed in Bosnia

BELGRADE — Three policemen were shot dead in Bosnia-Herzegovina a few hours before a visit yesterday by the commander of UN peacekeeping forces to his new headquarters there. The upsurge in violence highlighted problems facing 14,000 UN troops, due to arrive by May after eight months of fierce fighting between Croats and Serbs in the newly independent republic of Croatia.

Reuter

TORONTO SUN
March 15/92

Fighting greets UN army general

BELGRADE (CP) — The commander of UN peacekeeping forces said yesterday all warring parties in Croatia have pledged their help in ending the fighting in the republic.

But as the UN commander, Lt.-Gen. Satish Nambiar of India, spoke in Belgrade at least eight people were reported killed and 21 wounded in fighting in areas of Croatia where UN peacekeeping troops are to be deployed.

An advance 450-person UN team was scheduled to be up to strength by late yesterday. Sources said that all 14,000 UN troops were expected to arrive in Yugoslavia by April 25.

Withdrawals

Under the UN plan, Croatian forces and the federal army will withdraw from contested parts of Croatia and the regions will come under UN protection.

A group of 38 Canadian soldiers arrived in Yugoslavia Friday to join the UN force.

Canada has agreed to supply 1,200 troops to the 14,000-strong force. Canada already had 18 military personnel in Yugoslavia and Croatia.

The Canadians are being sent from Canadian Forces bases in Lahr and Baden-Soellingen in Germany and will be posted in western Slavonia, part of Croatia.

Despite frequent breaks, a Jan. 3 ceasefire has generally held in Croatia.

was in a New York hospital. Not, happily, with gunshot wounds, although it well might have been: three days earlier he had been fired on by pro-Iranian militiamen in south Lebanon while inspecting the scene of an Israeli incursion into UN-policed territory.

Mr Goulding's medical problem is more prosaic, though not unrelated to his job as UN under secretary-general in charge of peacekeeping. Two months ago he had what is normally a routine operation to correct Dupuytren's contraction, a claw-like stiffening of the hand, but he has been in pain ever since.

"I travelled too soon," he explains. "It got infected in the Western Sahara, and then I had to go straight from there to Yugoslavia and had some rather bizarre treatment in Zagreb." Is it getting better? "Not really. The medical advice is not to get stressed out..."

He gives a hollow laugh. The chance of his being able to follow this advice is clearly zero. Peacekeeping is in far too much demand these days to allow any prospect of peace and quiet for the man in charge of it. Mr Goulding has 10 such operations under his command at present, including the unprecedentedly ambitious task of bringing peace and reconstruction to Cambodia, which involves supervising both the existing administration and the election of a new one.

It is now six years since Mr Goulding ("Mig" to his friends) left the British Foreign Office in mid-career - he was 48 and had been ambassador in Angola - to join an organisation he then regarded as "probably terminally ill".

He took over from Sir Brian Urquhart, a lifelong UN servant who had built up the peacekeeping function virtually from scratch, drawing on his experience in the British army where he served right through the second world war.

Mr Goulding, by contrast, served only three months in

Marrack Goulding The UN's protector of a fragile peace

By Edward Mortimer

the Royal Artillery before being medically discharged. He has a slightly "hot and bothered" manner which contrasts with Sir Brian's legendary unflappability.

But his nerve has held under fire, and he has grown into the responsibility. His talents were rewarded earlier this month when Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the new UN secretary-general (with whom Mr Goulding clearly has an easier relationship than he did with his predecessor, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar), kept him on, in charge of an enlarged department, as one of only eight under secretaries-general where there were 17 before.

Three years ago, when Mr Perez de Cuellar separated peacekeeping from "peacemaking" (ie: political diplomacy), Mr Goulding felt slighted and frustrated that his own role was confined to the former; but now he is quite happy with the division of labour. "It would be boring," he adds, "if we were back in the bad old days when there were only five operations and nothing much was happen-

ing." But now "new peacekeeping operations are cropping up at the rate of five a year".

Even more encouraging is the fact that, unlike in the past, most of these operations can now be wound up after completing their mission according to a timetable, instead of getting bogged down and dragging on year after year.

Thus all five of those set up in 1985-89 have now been completed: those that supervised the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, the ceasefire between Iran and Iraq, the Cuban withdrawal from Angola and the independence of Namibia, plus the observer group in Central America.

Mr Goulding admits, by contrast to being "very uneasy" about Yugoslavia, which he fears may become "another Unifil" - the luckless UN force which has been in south Lebanon since 1978, and has become a target for both sides. These fears are shared by Mr Boutros-Ghali. But both came to the conclusion that the dangers of no UN force were sent to Yugo-



SPORTS

envoy Mr Issa Diallo (now head of the UN's Economic Commission for Africa) as "a disaster". Similarly, Mr Goulding feels hopeful that at least the worst pitfalls of Lebanon can be avoided in Yugoslavia because in the latter case he was able to work very closely with the special envoy, Mr Cyrus Vance, who negotiated the terms of the UN force's deployment.

Peacekeeping, as Mr Goulding himself puts it, has become "the flavour of the decade". Armenia is now calling for a UN force in Nagorno-Karabakh, and who know which other ex-Soviet republics will soon make similar demands. This is flattering, but Mr Goulding foresees problems. One is money: already there is a head-on clash over the cost of the Yugoslav operation between the Secretariat and the five permanent members of the UN Security Council which, Mr Goulding says, are "very reluctant to make available the money we say it's going to cost".

In the case of Namibia the Council drastically reduced the size of the force Mr Goulding had asked for, and he blames this for the deaths of 333 people when Swapo guerrillas swarmed across the Angolan frontier in April 1989, straight into the guns of the South African army.

The second problem he sees is the management capacity of the Secretariat itself, which is already "stretched to breaking point". "Nobody round here ever gets such a thing as a weekend, or can count on getting home before 10 or 10.30 any evening" - a fact his wife Susan ruefully confirms.

"We need more people, better financial and administrative procedures. We must have the money available when we need it. At the moment we have no authority to spend anything. We need reserves."

But Mr Goulding stresses that he is not complaining about a job which has "more than lived up to expectations". His contract has been extended for a year, but he says he would gladly serve another

FINANCIAL
TIMES
Feb 21
Mortimer

Summit to tackle urgent topics

Leaders of 15 countries gather to discuss stronger role for U.N.

By Olivia Ward
TORONTO STAR

The leaders of the 15 U.N. Security Council member countries get together in New York on Friday for their first United Nations summit meeting.

The official aim of the summit is to discuss strengthening the United Nations' role, including its peacekeeping operations.

The leaders will also rubber-stamp a draft declaration that ranges from broadening the U.N.'s role in peacemaking to warning Iraqi President Saddam Hussein that he cannot get away with continuing human rights violations. It will call on members to uphold arms control agreements and prevent the spread of chemical and nuclear weapons.

But behind the scenes the leaders will talk privately about the most urgent topics of the day, including nuclear proliferation in China and the countries of the former Soviet Union, the Middle East and the economic and security implications of the breakup of the Soviet Union.

It will be Russian President Boris Yeltsin's world diplomatic debut. Chinese Premier Li Peng will be making his first trip to the United States since the Tiananmen Square crackdown two years ago.

Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa, initially reluctant to leave Tokyo at a politically delicate time, has tentatively accepted the invitation.

The summit will bring them together with the leaders of the United States, Britain, France, India, Austria, Belgium, Hungary, Venezuela, Ecuador, Cape Verde, Morocco and Zimbabwe.

"What started out as mostly a political gesture has turned into something that could be very useful," said an American diplomat at the U.N.

"The summit should give the new secretary-general a head start in carrying out preventive diplomacy."

The draft declaration, being worked out by

diplomats, will ask Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to report to the council by May 1 on ways of strengthening the U.N. role in peacemaking and in identifying potential areas of conflict.

In the past, uncertainty about how to deal with information on erupting crises bogged down any action, and officials admitted they were discouraged from speaking out on potential threats.

Peacekeeping is also high on the summit agenda.

Countries such as Canada and Britain insist the burgeoning peace forces need to be assured of better financing, so that faithful contributors do not end up contributing more than they can afford.

"Things simply must become more rational," says a British U.N. diplomat. "We cannot go on starting up forces without having any idea if they will be paid for."

Before retiring, former secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar suggested a tough "pay as you go" scheme that would only authorize peacekeeping troops once money had been pledged by U.N. members. His plan is expected to receive more than passing interest from contributors.

But it is not only the number of missions that has increased; so have expectations for what they are to achieve.

In a recent study, the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security emphasized that peacekeeping is no longer a strictly military operation, and will become more varied in the future as more civilians take part in humanitarian and election aid, police duties and technical help to rebuild shattered countries.

The shift would allow countries such as Japan and Germany, whose military duty has been restricted, to take part in operations by sending civilian units.

The most urgent, albeit unofficial, item will be the breakup of the former Soviet Union and its impact on international security.

"It's critical to set up a regime that works," says Paul Leventhal, president of the Washington-based Nuclear Control Institute. "The U.N. Security Council must establish the authority to deal with nuclear weapons, and do it quickly."

Among the other issues the 15 will discuss:

□ **China:** U.S. Secretary of State James Baker has failed to win guarantees from Beijing in nuclear trading with developing world countries, the trade gap with the West, or in human rights. France and Britain may also bring up human rights, and China's continuing repression of dissidents and minorities.

□ **Middle East:** Boutros-Ghali will be looking for ways to protect Palestinian rights while the peace talks continue, and asking whether it is time for the U.N. to play a larger role in negotiations.

□ **Iraq:** Washington is hinting at increasing the pressure to bring down President Saddam Hussein. U.S. President George Bush will be able to test support from other council members for any future action.

□ **Yugoslavia:** Latest reports from U.N. envoy Cyrus Vance will deal with peacekeeping operations and Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall is expected to call for ways of preventing a spillover of violence across the borders of the newly recognized countries of Slovenia and Croatia.

□ **Algeria:** With a second round of elections blocked by the military, preventing the radical Islamic Salvation Front from taking power, the north African country is a tinderbox. Algeria is also said to be developing nuclear weapons with the assistance of Iran.

□ **Libya:** If President Moammar Gadhafi continues to refuse to turn over suspects terrorists in the Lockerbie bombing, as ordered by a Security Council resolution, Bush may seek further steps.

TORONTO
STAR
Jan 26/9

Stobe & Hill May 7/92

UN envoy comes under fire in Bosnia

Goulding rules out peacekeepers in the former Yugoslav republic

Reuters News Agency

SARAJEVO — Sniper bullets ricocheted around United Nations envoy Murrack Goulding and Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic yesterday when they inspected damage to the medieval sector of Sarajevo under cover of a truce between warring Muslims and Serbs.

Mr. Goulding and Mr. Izetbegovic drove off quickly to safety as UN soldiers took cover behind their vehicles.

Mr. Goulding told reporters after talks with political leaders and General Milutin Kukanjac, commander of the Serb-led Yugoslav army in Bosnia, that it was difficult to find a basis for agreement between the combatants on a UN peacekeeping force in Bosnia.

"If there is no basis for an agreement, there is no basis for a peacekeeping operation," he said.

Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva of Portugal, current president of the European Community, echoed Mr. Goulding's comments. "We have serious doubts that the United Nations will send troops to Bosnia-Herzegovina. I am almost certain that it will not take that decision," he said in Lisbon.

Mr. Izetbegovic has urged the UN to expand its peacekeeping force in Croatia into Bosnia, whose independence is contested by the Serb minority backed by the army.

The ceasefire halted four days of fighting during which Serbian artil-

lery and mortars hammered the centre of Sarajevo.

"I could understand if military targets were being attacked but this does seem to be random shelling of a largely civilian area," Mr. Goulding said.

Despite sporadic explosions and sniper activity, the ceasefire was largely respected. Both sides used the lull to recover bodies of the dead from the streets.

Western photographers counted 70 bodies, including those of 14 soldiers, at a hospital morgue. The deaths pushed the toll in two months of fighting close to 400.

Meanwhile, Muslim and Croat leaders talked to the army about Belgrade's plans to withdraw soldiers of Yugoslav nationality from Bosnia within two weeks.

Bosnian foreign minister Haris Silajdzic urged a session in Helsinki of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to brand Serbian-dominated Yugoslavia as the aggressor.

He asked the meeting to "extend military aid . . . to stop further loss of life, human suffering and destruction."

The United States, leading an attack on Serbia's perceived role in the conflict, called for Belgrade's exclusion from CSCE activities as a warning measure and for tougher action if the fighting in Bosnia continues to escalate.

TORONTO STAR May 7/92

Snipers open fire on U.N. envoy in tense Sarajevo

BELGRADE (Special) — United Nations envoy Murrack Goulding came under sniper fire yesterday as he toured the Muslim old quarter of Sarajevo, badly damaged by four days of battles between Serbian and Muslim forces.

Goulding, in Sarajevo to decide whether U.N. peacekeeping forces should be deployed in Bosnia, was hustled into his car by U.N. soldiers and driven away.

Gunfire and mortar shelling Tuesday had delayed his attempt to inspect ruined sections of the city and talk with Muslim leaders at the Bosnian presidency building.

Goulding seemed skeptical a temporary truce reached Tuesday evening in Sarajevo would hold, even though Muslim and Serbian forces managed yesterday to arrange an exchange of prisoners in the city centre.

Residents of Sarajevo took advantage of the truce to venture on to the streets in search of bread and other provisions. Supplies have been running low because of the blockade imposed on the Bosnian capital by Serbian forces surrounding the city.

Meanwhile, rescue workers

dragged corpses from the city centre, where they had lain for up to four days because sniper fire had made it too dangerous to collect them.

By late morning, people were scurrying for cover as gunfire crackled around the presidency building. Mortar shells, apparently fired by Serbian paramilitary units rather than by the Yugoslav army, exploded in other parts of the city.

The clashes underscored the likelihood that any ceasefire in the Bosnian civil war would be a short-lived affair.

Goulding is thought unlikely to recommend a U.N. peacekeeping force as long as both Serbian and Muslim forces show themselves unwilling to abide by a truce.

Although U.N. and European Community observers in Sarajevo have largely blamed the Yugoslav army and Serbian militiamen for the clashes, they hold the mainly Muslim Territorial Defence Force responsible for other incidents, such as last Sunday's ambush of a convoy of Serbian soldiers that had been guaranteed safe conduct out of the city.

Strife in Bosnia and Herzegovina Prompts U.N. to Send Observers

By DAVID BINDER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 12 — Alarmed by the widening of the Yugoslav civil war, the United Nations plans to send observers into at least two regions of Bosnia and Herzegovina, United Nations officials said today.

Several thousand soldiers of a United Nations peacekeeping contingent expected to total 14,000 have been sent to the front lines in Croatia. Their mission is included in an agreement on deployment of peacekeepers that was signed on Jan. 2 by Serbian and Croatian commanders at Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Provisions were made at the time for sending observers to possible flashpoints in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where fighting has flared in the last week.

The United Nations is planning at first to send at least 100 observers who had been designated for Croatia into the Mostar and Bihac regions of Bosnia and Herzegovina. But United Nations officials said the latest fighting had hampered them. Their headquarters, placed in Sarajevo under the January agreement, is in an area that has come under artillery fire. Their forward command post in Banja Luka is surrounded by Serbian forces, hindering movement.

A Mission for Vance

The United Nations Secretary General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, is dispatching his special envoy for the Yugoslav crisis, Cyrus R. Vance, to Sarajevo in a parallel effort to head off further combat. In Sarajevo, Mr.

Peacekeepers will be expanding their mission in a civil war.

Vance plans to meet with the leaders of the republic's three ethnic groups, Slavic Muslims, Serbs and Croats.

Last week, members of the United Nations Security Council met to discuss the Bosnia and Herzegovina situation, according to a United Nations official, who said the members had discussed the possibility of sending 10,000 peacekeeping troops to the newly independent country in addition to those for Croatia.

The United Nations, together with the European Community, has been trying to pacify Yugoslavia ever since fighting erupted last June. They concentrated their attention on Croatia, where fighting has taken 10,000 lives. But now the conflict has moved into Bosnia and Herzegovina, in what a State Department official said today



The New York Times

Ethnic tensions that led to war in Croatia are repeating themselves in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

European mediators and the Bush Administration with a new challenge. It comes one week after the European Community and the United States recognized the independence and sovereignty of Bosnia, an action that seems to have prompted fresh military moves by Croats and Serbs.

Bosnia Cease-Fire Accord

Special to The New York Times

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina, April 12 — As new firefights erupted, pitting Serbian forces against Muslim Slavs and Croats, the heads of this fractured republic's three nationalist parties agreed today to their third cease-fire in less than a week.

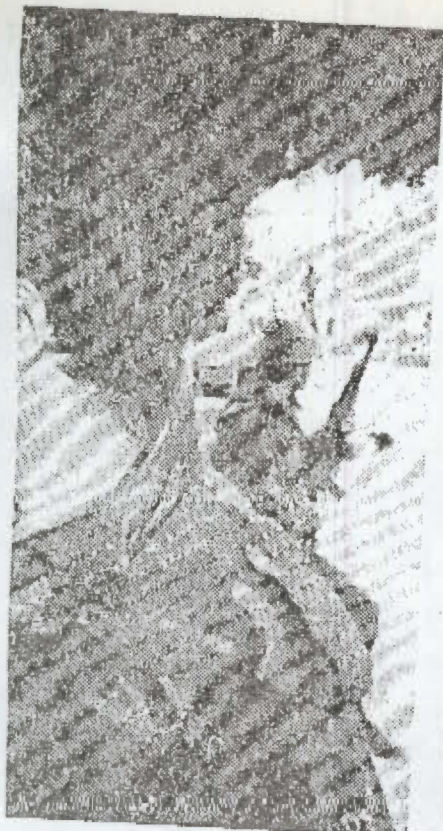
Besides pledging to adhere to the cease-fire, which begins at midnight, the leaders of the Muslim-Slav Party for Democratic Action, the Croatian Democratic Union and the Serbian Democratic Party confirmed their opposition to territorial gains obtained by force and affirmed the right of return for all refugees.

In announcing the cease-fire, Jose Guterres of Portugal, the European Community envoy, said the Yugoslav Army was not a party to the truce.

Intense fighting and border attacks erupted today near the town of Foca and Visegrad, and thousands of people fled their homes, news reports said. Yugoslav Army jet-fighters attacked the Croatian town of Siroki Brijeg for the third time this week.

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Associated Press

from the fighting in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

leather jackets brush by, repeating the mantra that has come to dominate daily life here: "Deutsche marks, Deutsche marks."

With a new currency devaluation of more than 50 percent today, the official exchange rate is well over 250 dinars to the dollar, up from 18 dinars per dollar in early 1991. On the black market, the rate has topped 700.

Here in the capital the other day, striking teachers demonstrated outside Parliament, angry about 50 percent pay cuts imposed in some schools. They shouted slogans, but seemed pessimistic about their chances of effecting change in the Government.

Asked whether there would be a repetition of last year's protests against Mr. Milosevic, a 52-year old teacher, replied: "I don't think so. The cream of our nation, the young ones, are dead or injured or abroad escaping a war they do not support."

Another reason that the economic turmoil has not been translated into social unrest is that many in Serbia have relatives on farms. They get the basics of life without paying, and can survive even if their salaries are slashed or suspended for months. A brisk underground economy flourishes.

Mr. Milosevic appears to be betting that the new war in Bosnia and Herzegovina will revive feelings of nationalism that have sustained his Government until now.

As the striking teachers shouted beneath his window, Zeljko Simic, an adviser to Mr. Milosevic, insisted that he had no fears of civil unrest. "We'll stick together," he said. "That's why we don't express our bad mood regarding the economic situation. We are solving a much more important

New York Times

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far remain on schedule.

"We're fully conscious of the difficulties," said Francois Giuliani, spokesman for the United Nations in New York. "The difficulties would be much greater if we didn't deploy. We will use every means at our disposal, but the solution of the political problem is not in the U.N. camp. This is for the European Community. They are to come up with the political solution, and we are there for peacekeeping. Until a political solution is reached, peacekeeping will be difficult."

Political solutions have proved elusive so far in Yugoslavia, once a country of 17 million. The former republics of Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina have been recognized as independent nations. Macedonia has voted to become independent. The largest remaining chunk, a nation of 10 million, is made up of Serbia and Montenegro.

Fighting in Yugoslavia began last year after the two wealthiest republics, Slovenia and Croatia, seceded. The Slovenes were allowed to leave after a brief skirmish with the Yugoslav National Army, but Croatia, with 600,000 Serbs, became a battleground.

Secession of the Serbs

When Croatia declared independence, Serbs said they would never live as a minority in a foreign country, and seceded. The army moved into Croatia soon after, helping Serb irregulars take control over about one-third of the country. Some had hoped to go even further, but by December 1991, the army's advance was blunted, both by Croatian resistance and defections of soldiers with little stomach for the battle.

Diplomatically isolated by European Community sanctions, and unable to fight a multi-front war, Serbia accepted a plan under which the army would leave Croatia and be replaced by peacekeepers. Sovereignty over the territories is still to be worked out.

When the United Nations plan was prepared, Bosnia was still peaceful and there were hopes it would remain that way. To forestall fighting, the United Nations put its peacekeeping headquarters in Sarajevo, Bosnia's capital.

The latest violence began just before the United States and the European Community, reportedly at Washington's urging, recognized Bosnia and Herzegovina's independence this week. Serbs, who comprise a third of Bosnia's population, seceded.

Diplomats said that some of the major fighting in Bosnia was instigated by radical Serb and Croat militias from outside the country, although an attack on unarmed peace marchers in Sarajevo appeared to be the work of the local Serbian party. Forces from Croatia were also said to be involved in the attack on the Bosnian town of Kupres, and were driven out by a Yugoslav Army counterattack.

"If you thought it was the end of the war, you were really wrong," Zeljko Simic, an adviser to the Serbian President, Slobodan Milosevic, said today. "I'm very pessimistic about the blue helmets," Mr. Simic added, using the nickname for United Nations troops. "They cannot come if there is such kind of war and war is a reality in Bosnia. This recognition means nothing."



Diplomats and officials in Belgrade said efforts to end the Yugoslav civil war are in jeopardy.

mobilizing young men for military duty throughout this week, and a long column of trucks was seen leaving the city on the highway to Bosnia.

Now essentially a Serbian force, the army already has an estimated 100,000 soldiers in Bosnia, and its commanding officer said that they intend to stay there for at least five more years.

Witnesses said that about 8,000 Muslim-Slavs from Zvornik have been encamped with little food or water on a hilltop outside the town for two days. In a televised appeal tonight, an official from the United Nations High Commission on Refugees appealed for the violence to stop so help could be administered to those who have fled Zvornik.

The streets of Zvornik were nearly deserted today and men were picking up bodies from the streets and loading them into trucks, witnesses said.

The Serbian flag, not the Yugoslav flag, was flying over Zvornik's police station, witnesses said.

Muslim-Slav defenders in the town of

U.N. deployment of peacekeepers is jeopardized.

Visegrad today warned that they will blow up a Drina River dam and flood Serbian lands below if the Serb offensive in Bosnia is not called off.

Serb guerrillas today bombarded Sarajevo for the sixth day running. Fierce machine-gun fire and loud explosions erupted early this morning and tonight, and bullets struck a pensioner's home where United Nations peacekeeping personnel are being quartered, United Nations officials said.

Mario Nobile, a senior Croatian official, charged today that the fighting in both Bosnia and his country was a last-ditch attempt by Serb radicals to block deployment of United Nations forces.

"Obviously, they are trying to discourage the blue helmets," he said. "I doubt they will succeed."

Mr. Nobile confirmed that Croatian commanders had broken the truce in Eastern Croatia, mounting an unauthorized counterattack to what he said was repeated shelling by Serbian gunners of the Croatian city of Osijek. He said the local commanders involved in the incident were dismissed.

If the peacekeeping mission collapses, and full-scale war breaks out in Bosnia, Mr. Nobile predicted Serbia would soon face further strife, either from Croatia or from the nearly two million Albanians within Serbia.

"If they launch a real war in Bosnia, they will be defeated."

New York Times

Coat ③

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U.N. Council Favors Plan To Send Force to Yugoslavia

Continued From Page A1

sentative, Yuli M. Vorontsov, said afterward. "We should not lose the opportunity because the window of opportunity is very, very small and we have to get there while the cease-fire is still holding."

By giving the peacekeeping force an initial yearlong mandate instead of the usual six months, the Secretary General argued, the Council would signal its determination for compliance and would send a message to local leaders that they cannot expect the troops to withdraw quickly before a political settlement is in place.

Authorizing deployment of the peacekeeping force for only six months, diplomats said, would arouse fears among the Serbian minority that Croatia might demand the withdrawal of the force before a political agreement is complete, leaving the Serbs unprotected.

Croatia's leader, Franjo Tudjman, has said in recent interviews that he wants the force to stay only six months.

In the letter he sent Wednesday endorsing the United Nations plan, he spoke of "technical questions" regarding the rights of the peacekeepers in Serbian enclaves of Croatia after the Serb-dominated Yugoslav Army withdraws.

Diplomats say he still appears unhappy with the United Nations plan to preserve the existing Serb-controlled local authorities in these areas until a new settlement is reached.

Milan Babic, the leader of Krajina, one of the largest of these Serbian areas in Croatia, continues to oppose the plan, although he has been overruled by his local assembly.

Once the permanent Council members endorsed the decision, the Secretariat immediately started to seek troops.

The senior official in charge of peacekeeping operations, Under Secretary General Marrack Goulding, told representatives of some 30 countries that he now favors a total force of 13,000, the second-largest ever de-

ployed. The largest force, 20,000 troops, was dispatched in 1960 to the newly independent Congo, now Zaire.

This would be the first peacekeeping force to be sent to the European mainland, but there has been a small force on Cyprus for years.

Financing Uncertain

The force in Yugoslavia would consist of 12 infantry battalions of up to 900 troops, separate communication and logistic groups and several hundred police monitors.

The initial plan was for 10,000 soldiers and 600 police monitors, at a cost estimated at between \$350 million and \$400 million for a year.

The permanent Council members pay just over half the cost of peacekeeping operations, with the United States picking up 30 per cent of the bill.

Where this money will come from remains unclear because member nations already owe the United Nations nearly \$1 billion in unpaid dues for past

Doubts about intervention still linger in Croatia.

peacekeeping operations and the regular budget. The United States accounts for nearly half the balance.

But President Bush has asked Congress to establish a \$700 million contingency peacekeeping fund to pay the American share of unanticipated costs.

Countries invited to the meeting on forming the force included Ghana, Ireland, Pakistan, Poland, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Denmark, Belgium, Egypt, Kenya, Argentina, Brazil, Malta, Venezuela and Nepal.

No countries have made a firm commitment to send forces. But officials hope to have the first units moving into Yugoslavia about two to three weeks after the Council authorizes the force, which could occur early next week.

Croats Remain Suspicious

Special to The New York Times

ZAGREB, Croatia, Feb. 13 — Reports that the United Nations Secretary General would recommend deployment of peacekeeping forces in Yugoslavia was the news of the night in Croatia, topping evening news broadcasts and all Friday morning newspapers.

Many Croats, including many political leaders, are suspicious of the plan, fearing that it may lead to a long-term deployment that will allow rebel Serbs to maintain political control of the third of Croatia's territory they now hold.



especially among Serbian leaders who face multiplying economic problems and growing popular discontent as a result of the seven-month war.

The top Security Council members back a plan to send peacekeeping troops to Yugoslavia.

COUNCIL SUPPORTS U.N. PEACEKEEPERS FOR YUGOSLAV WAR

13,000 TROOPS PLANNED

Final Approval Expected Soon — Force Would Be in Place for Minimum of a Year

By PAUL LEWIS

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, Feb. 13 — The

United Nations Security Council moved ahead today with plans for its first peacekeeping operation on the European mainland, in which a 13,000-member international force will be sent to bolster the fragile cease-fire in Yugoslavia.

Secretary General Boutros Ghali won the broad backing of the five permanent Council members for his plan. Mr. Ghali, acting on a proposal by his mediator in the area, Cyrus R. Vance, a former Secretary of State, told Council members the force should be sent for at least a full year.

At a meeting with the representatives of Britain, France, the United States, China and Russia, Mr. Ghali said he was still unsure that all factions in the Yugoslav war really wanted to preserve the cease-fire and cooperate with the peace plan, diplomats and United Nations officials said.

Risks of Involvement

But despite the risk that the peacekeepers might become embroiled in a shooting war between the breakaway Croatian state and its Serbian foes, the Secretary General argued that the United Nations must move ahead rapidly to strengthen the truce and allow Yugoslav factions to work out the political future at a peace conference planned in Brussels.

The representatives of the permanent members appeared to support the plan, diplomats said, although the last word rests with their Governments. "We are all for it," Russia's repre-

Continued on Page A8, Column 1

UN troops set to march to different tunes

Judy Dempsey and Laura Silber on conflicting Yugoslav views about the forces' goal

BARRING a complete breakdown of the ceasefire, more than 10,000 United Nations peacekeeping troops will soon be on their way to the former Yugoslav republic of Croatia.

Mr Cyrus Vance, the UN envoy, has managed to secure agreement for their deployment from Serbia's President Slobodan Milosevic, Croatia's President Franjo Tudjman, and the federal army. Mr Milan Babic, head of the self-proclaimed Serbian republic of Krajina in south-western Croatia, has yet to fully commit himself.

Under terms proposed last December, it was suggested that the UN force would consist of about 10 infantry battalions, 100 military observers, 500 police monitors, and necessary civilian and military support. These would be deployed in three areas in Croatia to be designated as UN Protected Areas (UNPAs).

It is in these regions - eastern and western Slavonia, eastern and central Croatia, and the Serb enclave of Krajina - where Serbs form either a majority or a substantial minority, and where tensions between Serbs and Croats have led to local civil wars.

As a means of stabilising the areas, the UN wants to demilitarise them rapidly; withdraw, disband, or demobilise all armed forces; and protect people living there from attack.

The UN is insisting that Croatia's territorial defence units, and other units in the UNPAs, must hand over all

weapons to the federal army; Croatia's National Guard, or to UN forces; that all units of the federal army be relocated outside Croatia; and that all Serbian territorial, paramilitary, irregular and volunteer units not from the region withdraw from Croatia.

Finally, the maintenance of

public order in the UNPAs will be the responsibility of local police forces who would reflect the national composition of the local population, and who lived in the region before the conflict broke out on June 25.

Having learned from the 14 ceasefires brokered by the European Community, UN

negotiators have ironed out all possible ambiguities in the text for deploying troops. Nevertheless, all sides in the conflict hold different views about the UN's goals.

The Croatian government wants the troops in the republic for a minimum period to restore stability which would

facilitate local, parliamentary and presidential elections. The UN has said its mandate will be reviewed every six months.

Croat officials also believe that any extended UN presence would cement the gains of Serb militants and Serbia at the expense of regaining for Croatia that third of its territory held by the federal army.

For this reason, Zagreb wants the UN mandate to go to include helping Croatia regain all its territory. The UN has repeatedly stated that any deployment of troops "would not prejudice the outcome of political negotiations for a comprehensive settlement of the Yugoslav crisis". That remains the EC's task.

Serbia wants the UN troops deployed not only because maintaining the federal army has become too expensive, but also because Mr Milosevic believes the UN will consolidate some Serbian gains.

However, the growing consensus among Croat and Serb liberals is that Serb militants in certain regions in Croatia are likely to quit once the federal army, their supporters, have withdrawn.

As for Mr Babic, he fears for the safety of Serbs in Krajina if local Serbs disarm. In a letter sent yesterday to Mr Boutros Ghali, UN secretary-general, he warned the safety of UN troops could not be guaranteed.

Western diplomats in Belgrade believe the longer the delay in deploying the troops the greater the chance of the ceasefire collapsing, and all sides hardening.



For Mrs. Bentley 4 sheets Report, etc

UN prepares to send force to Yugoslavia

By Michael Littlejohns in New York

THE first United Nations peacekeeping operation in continental Europe could get underway in a few weeks after Mr Boutros Boutros Ghali, the UN secretary-general, announced last night that he would recommend that the Security Council despatch a 10,000 strong force to Yugoslavia.

The first contingent could be in place within 15 days of the formal decision by the Council - which may be taken as soon as the end of next week.

Mr Boutros Ghali's move, after weeks of hesitation during which he repeatedly insisted the time was not ripe for UN military intervention, virtually assured Council agreement. He discussed the

matter yesterday with representatives of the US, Britain, France, Russia and China, the Council's permanent members, before making the statement.

The force, expected to be largely made up of European contingents, would be the largest such UN operation since the intervention in the Congo in the 1960s. It is likely to cost \$400m for the first year of operations.

In a statement issued last night, Mr Boutros Ghali mentioned "a number of unanswered questions concerning this operation". He said he felt strongly that its success was "predicated upon the full co-operation and support of all the parties in Yugoslavia". He agreed, however, with Mr

Cyrus Vance, his special envoy, that the risks of not intervening were greater and that the ceasefire might collapse if the UN failed to move fast.

Only last week, Mr Boutros Ghali advised the Security Council that quick action was needed to prevent an unravelling of the truce. But at the time he said that it still was not possible to recommend deployment of a large UN force.

Mr Franjo Tudjman, president of Croatia, has subsequently assured Mr Vance that he "fully accepts all the terms of reference of the peace plan" prepared by the secretary-general. Mr Milan Babic, head of the self-proclaimed

Serb Republic of Krajina in southern Croatia, who earlier refused to permit the deployment of UN peacekeepers there, is said to have now been brought into line under pressure from other Serbian leaders.

Under the UN plan the Serb-dominated Federal Army would be withdrawn from Croatian territory and all paramilitary forces, including Serbian units, would be disarmed.

Mr Murrack Golding, the UN undersecretary-general in charge of peacekeeping, last night met the ambassadors of some 30 countries that might contribute troops. The countries bordering Yugoslavia are not expected to be asked to help.

The case for action

THE London conference on the former Yugoslavia had one overriding purpose: to find ways of bringing peace to Bosnia and stability to the Balkans without the use of external force. Ultimately, this may prove to be impossible. But it is up to the United Nations and the European Community to implement all its conclusions with the utmost sense of urgency. The conference agreed on four documents which they will try to start implementing in Geneva later this week. But if the documents are to have any meaning, time is of the essence — as confirmed by the Serb bombardment of Sarajevo at the weekend.

First, the UN Security Council must quickly amend the mandate of the UN forces in Bosnia. All humanitarian aid convoys must be accompanied by armoured personnel carriers, and protected by troops committed by Canada, France, Spain and the UK. These convoys must be ready to move in and keep the aid rolling when the Serbs lift their sieges of Bosnia's towns.

If there is any time lag, the Bosnian government forces will, understandably, try to regain territory seized by the Serbs. This will encourage the Serbs to continue the war. Backed by a military machine from Serbia proper, they are in a position to do so.

The UN must also be ready to place all Serb artillery and heavy weaponry under its control. There is no point in believing that Mr Radovan Karadzic, head of the Bosnian Serbs, will order his

without international monitors on the ground.

The UN should commit itself to a specific timetable as to when these monitors will be sent, how the flow of reinforcements from Serbia into Bosnia can be stemmed, when the ban on all military flights over the republic will be implemented, and when tougher sanctions will be imposed on Serbia. A lax timetable, or none at all, would be a recipe for failure.

Banning military flights should be coupled with placing all military aircraft in Bosnia under international control. In Geneva, there must be moves towards raining in Serbia's own military machine. If this is not done, there is no reason to doubt that Serbia will use its aircraft and tanks against the ethnic Albanians in the southern province of Kosovo.

Were that to happen, then Macedonia, whose independence has still to be recognised by the EC, will be dragged into the war: its own ethnic Albanian minority will defend their *compatriotes* in Kosovo. Since the UN and EC are not prepared to arm the Moslems or back the documents with force, this form of containment is essential.

The UN and EC must then draw up a financial package to provide shelter for the tens of thousands of Bosnians whose homes have been destroyed by the Serbs. There is also a need to create safe havens within Bosnia. Without action now, the London Conference will have failed to stop the war, and failed to stop it from spreading.

Cor 16

Drooglio UN urged to consider military action

By David Barchard

THE UN should be prepared to consider military intervention to halt the fighting in Bosnia Hercegovina, Turkey said yesterday, adding it would be willing to contribute troops if asked to do so.

Mr Hikmet Çetin, the Turkish foreign minister attending the London conference, said it was difficult to explain to the Turkish public why the west wanted Turkey's help for military intervention in Iraq if it was not also willing to intervene in Bosnia.

He said feelings in Turkey were running high because there were 3m people in Turkey of Bosnian origin and an estimated 30,000 Bosnian refugees had fled there.

Mr Çetin said Turkey would not be drawn into any regional conflicts in the Balkans, whether in Bosnia or in Kosovo or Macedonia. "Turkey will not act alone."

However, he criticised the EC for not recognising Macedonia because of Greek objections to its name.

He also denied reports that Turkey had put its application for full membership of the European Community, originally made in 1987, on the backburner.



ity, nationalism, and identity throughout the Balkans is a long term process.

Geneva is a long way from Sarajevo and Kosovo, from the fighting and the tension on the ground. Many of the ethnic communities in the former Yugoslavia are looking for a clearer sign of help from the west than is likely to be provided by another round of negotiations in a distant capital.

The conference has given momentum to the search for peace. But there is widespread fear that if the three-pronged strategy has no military force to underpin it, the roar of Balkan mortar could again devour the western diplomatic effort.

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U.N. chief to seek team for Yugoslavia

UNITED NATIONS (Reuter) — U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Ghali intends to recommend a small contingent of peacekeepers be sent to Yugoslavia shortly, sources at the United Nations said yesterday.

But Ghali, in a report expected to be delivered to the Security Council today or tomorrow, does not intend to commit the United Nations to a 10,000-member peacekeeping force until he is convinced the current ceasefire will hold and until Yugoslav leaders agree to U.N. terms for deployment of the force, the sources said.

The contingent is expected to be no more than 50 observers added to the 20 military and civilian personnel already in Yugoslavia.

They will probably fan out through Croatia to report on the ceasefire and possible deployment of the larger force.

U.N. envoy Cyrus Vance returned from his fifth trip to Yugoslavia Saturday having brokered a ceasefire which went into effect Friday.

Despite isolated clashes, the ceasefire appears to be holding. But Vance, who conferred with Ghali yesterday and Saturday, told reporters one needed to "watch over a period of days and perhaps even weeks."

The United Nations will not recruit officers and troops from members countries until guns are silent in the embattled country where the war has cost thousands of lives and displaced at

least 600,000 people. Canada has pledged to participate in any peacekeeping operation.

U.N. plans are to send forces to Serbian enclaves within Croatia and Vance had secured agreement for these plans from most Serbian and Croatian political and military leaders.

But diplomats said a major problem remained Milan Babic, president of the Serb enclave of Krajina, who has rejected deployment of U.N. troops in the territory itself and said they could only be stationed on its borders.

Krajina is a huge wedge of territory in the heart of Croatia which unilaterally declared its independence from the republic last month. It calls itself the "Serbian Republic of Krajina."

In a message to Vance, Babic said Serb irregulars in Krajina would not lay down their arms while Croatia's National Guard retained theirs.

He also questioned why units of the Serb-dominated federal army had to be withdrawn — another key element in the U.N. peace plan.

"We would remind everyone that the internal arrangement and the maintenance of public order is exclusively within the competence of . . . Krajina and no one has any right to settle those matters in a different way."

Vance would not comment on Babic's position, but diplomats said the main U.N. force would probably not be dispatched until the Krajina dispute had been resolved.

TORONTO STAR

Jan 6/92



dings as they walked past a barricade in the Croatian city of Karlovac.

*New York Times
can't
Jan 6/92*

and Herzegovina and Macedonia -- are seeking recognition as independent countries.

Yugoslav Cease-Fire Holds

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

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, Jan. 5 — Except for minor shooting incidents, Croatian and Yugoslav Army forces were reported today to be respecting the cease-fire in all the embattled Croatian regions, improving chances that the United Nations Security Council will send a peacekeeping force to Yugoslavia.

Federal army and Croatian officials reported that Saturday night was the most peaceful in months along the 350-mile battlefield, and no serious violations were noted today.

Croatian and Serbian forces have also begun setting up liaison teams to investigate and stop truce violations to prevent a resumption of fighting, a Yugoslav news agency report said.

It is unknown how long the present cease-fire has to remain in effect before the Security Council will risk sending in the main peacekeeping force.

But Mr. Vance, the Secretary General's special envoy, offered a general standard of success before he left Yugoslavia for New York this weekend. "One can tell if you watch over a period of days, and perhaps a period of weeks, as to whether or not it is going to stick," he said.

The war, which began days after Croatia declared independence from Yugoslavia on June 25, has taken thousands of lives and inflicted destruction on a huge scale across Croatia, where



The New York Times

The U.N. will be asked to send a peacekeeping force to Croatia

Thursday's agreement provides for the creation of a liaison network and for methods of observation to resolve problems before widespread fighting erupts.

The latest accord also appears to have the support of most political and military leaders, but ethnic Serbian leaders in Croatia have begun complaining about the plan.

The European Community's own peace conference on Yugoslavia is scheduled to resume this week.

Serbs denounce the European Community recognition plan as a violation of Yugoslavia's territorial integrity and their right to decide whether they will remain in a rump Yugoslav state.

Croatia charges Serbia and the Yugoslav Army with mounting an offensive war against Croatia, aimed at creating a Greater Serbia. Croatian leaders insist that they will not cede a

U.N. CHIEF TO SEEK TEAM OF MONITORS TO AID YUGOSLAVIA

TRUCE VITAL TO NEXT STEP

No Large Peacekeeping Forces Are to Be Dispatched Until Cease-Fire has Jelled

By PAUL LEWIS

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, Jan. 5 — In an effort to encourage Yugoslavia's warring factions to respect their fragile cease-fire, the new United Nations Secretary General, Boutros Ghali, will ask the Security Council on Monday to send about 50 military observers there as quickly as possible.

But Mr. Ghali will not ask the Council to send a proposed 10,000-member peacekeeping force to Yugoslavia until he has clearer evidence that the truce that went into effect Friday continues in force and until the civilian leaders of Serbian-occupied regions of Croatia agree to cooperate with a peacekeeping operation, diplomats and other officials say.

Approval Is Expected

The officials say the proposal, which the Security Council is expected to approve early this week, is intended to press all sides in the Yugoslav conflict to exercise restraint.

It builds on an earlier United Nations pact accepted by all the factions in Geneva on Nov. 28 and spells out exactly what the various armed forces may and may not do.

The United Nations mediator in Yugoslavia, former Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance, expressed satisfaction today that the cease-fire, the 15th in the civil war, appears to be holding reasonably well. Mr. Vance, who just returned from his fifth trip to Yugoslavia, worked with the Secretary General on the report on prospects for peace that they will present to the Security Council on Monday.

He said he would ask all the Yugoslav combatants to stick by this latest

New York Times
Jan 6/92

U.N. HEAD SEEKING YUGOSLAVIA TEAM

Continued From Page 1

truce agreement.

At his request, the 12 European Community countries have also agreed to assign the roughly 200 observers they sent to Yugoslavia under an earlier cease-fire plan to monitor the new truce agreement. Vance and military leaders worked out this latest plan in the Bosnian city of Sarajevo on Thursday.

Mr. Vance also expressed concern about the rapidly growing number of people driven from their homes by the fighting. He estimated the number of people displaced at more than 600,000.

"This is one of the greatest tragedies of all of this," he said. "As winter comes on, it is getting worse and worse. It is very cold there now. In Sarajevo, the temperature was down to 10, 15, 16 below zero."

He praised the efforts of the Red Cross, the United Nations Children's Fund, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and private charities to care for the civilian victims of the fighting and the displaced.

Merely a Token

Although the Yugoslav national Government, as well as the breakaway leadership in the republics of Croatia and Slovenia have asked the U.N. for a major peacekeeping operation, officials say that the Secretary General is now proposing only a token force as a way of signaling the combatants that they must prove they really want to end the fighting.

In particular, the Secretary General wants Milan Babic, who has proclaimed an ethnic Serbian republic of Krajina inside Croatia, and other Serbian minority leaders, to agree to cooperate with a United Nations operation before a force is sent.

On Saturday, Mr. Babic was quoted as assailing the peace plan because it requires the Serbian-dominated Yugoslav Army to withdraw from Croatia when a United Nations force is dispatched.

Under the plan, the armed peace-



Passersby looking at damaged built

keeping force will establish 22 protected areas in predominantly Serbian regions of Croatia that have a history of ethnic violence. Thirteen of these areas would be in Krajina.

Largest U.N. Operation in Years

When local conditions permit, the United Nations proposes to assign its main peace force to patrol the 22 sectors and prevent military units from entering or smugglers from bringing in arms. The soldiers would be accompanied by about 500 police observers and various civilian experts.

The operation would be the largest the United Nations has undertaken since the Congolese civil war in the early 1960's and is expected to cost more than \$200 million a year.

An advance group of about 20 civilians and military personnel was dispatched by the United Nations to prepare the way for the larger forces.

In addition to Croatia and Slovenia, two other Yugoslav republics — Bosn'

Yugoslav Army Chief Pledges Support for U.N. Plan

By CHUCK SUDETIĆ
Special to The New York Times

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, Jan. 11 — Yugoslavia's new acting Defense Minister pledged the Serbian-led army's continued support today for the United Nations peace plan to halt the Yugoslav civil war.

Gen. Blagoje Adzic, the Yugoslav Army chief of staff and regarded as a hard-liner among the army's top commanders, denied reports that the resignation of Gen. Veljko Kadijevic as Defense Minister signaled an end to the Serbian-led army's support for the United Nations plan.

Under the plan, worked out by Cyrus R. Vance, the special United Nations envoy, with Serbian and Croatian leaders along with General Kadijevic, a cease-fire would lead to the deployment of peacekeeping forces in Croatia to separate the warring sides.

Devote Efforts to Cease-Fire

"The army's leadership will, as it has to date, devote its maximum efforts to preserve the cease-fire that has been achieved, to solidify the truce and to create conditions that will prepare the way for the arrival, as soon as possible, of U.N. peacekeeping forces to the crisis areas in Croatia," General Adzic said today in an interview with Yugoslavia's news agency.

"We believe that the United Nations, an unbiased, universal world forum, will help us create peace," General Adzic said. "In these difficult circumstances, this is the only correct way out of the present crisis that is in the interests of all this country's people and the interests of the Serb people in Croatia for the realization of their legitimate rights."

"Let's give peace a chance," he said. "The army will honor all international obligations that General Kadijevic undertook in its name."

General Adzic, who warned last summer that the army would unleash "terrible destructive forces" to crush inde-

pendence moves by Croatia and Slovenia, has been Acting Defense Minister since General Kadijevic resigned a day after Yugoslav Air Force jets shot down a European Community helicopter over Croatia, killing five cease-fire monitors.

Health Reasons Cited

General Kadijevic said in his resignation letter that deteriorating health forced him to quit. But Western diplomats speculated that the downing of the helicopter and General Kadijevic's departure signaled a clash in the Army between officers who agree with the United Nations peace plan and those who oppose it.

"The helicopter downing was not the responsibility of two pilots acting alone," said one Western diplomat who declined to be named. "The only question is how high up the chain of command the decision was made."

On Friday, the Defense Ministry announced that it has begun criminal and disciplinary proceedings against five Air Force officers in connection with the helicopter incident. Their names have not been released.

The Serbian and Croatian Governments, Yugoslavia's rump presidency and the army all endorsed the United Nations plan, which calls for the introduction of 10,000 peacekeeping troops and police monitors to separate the warring factions. It also requires the withdrawal of all other military forces, including the Serbian-led Yugoslav Army, and the disarming of all militias except local police.

U.N. Monitors Due

An advance party of 50 United Nations monitors is scheduled to arrive in Yugoslavia on Tuesday, a day before the European Community countries are to announce whether they will grant diplomatic recognition to Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

General Adzic's statement of support for the United Nations peacekeep-

ing force leaves the leaders of the Serbian minority in Croatia, who have declared independence for the areas of Croatia their forces control and named it the Krajina Republic.

Neither Serbia nor Yugoslavia's

Federal Government have recognized Krajina, however, and in what will likely be perceived as an insult by Krajina's leaders, General Adzic referred to the region as Croatia rather than Krajina in today's interview.

New York Times Jan 12/92

Globe & Mail Aug 29/92

Mystery surrounds attack on UN airlift

Relief supplies to resume in Sarajevo after shots halted aid for a day

New York Times Service

ZAGREB — After a one-day halt, the United Nations said yesterday that it was resuming its airlift to Sarajevo. But a mystery developed over what had earlier been described as a possible attack on a British transport plane that had brought relief supplies to the besieged city.

The incident had forced the first suspension of the flights to the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina since the UN authorized the use of force to protect aid shipments last Thursday. It also raised anxieties among relief officials about whether the effort could continue.

Although there has been much attention focused on Serbian attacks on Sarajevo that have disrupted aid flows, recent events have underscored fears that the out-gunned Muslims and Croats might also be

attacking the aid missions to provoke the Serbs or prompt Western military intervention.

Several questions surround the reported attack on the plane.

Shortly before 9 a.m. Tuesday, a British C-130 transport plane lifted off from Sarajevo and headed east after delivering relief supplies.

In a mountainous region nominally controlled by two Croatian militias, a radar indicator picked up something that seemed hostile. The crew later reported seeing two puffs of smoke from the ground, possibly signs that artillery was fired.

The plane was not hit.

Shortly afterward, UN officials said, the control tower in Sarajevo received a call from a person purporting to represent Serbian forces, taking responsibility for the attack because the plane was aiding their

enemies, the Muslims and Croats.

The charge was denied by the UN, and an official then suggested that the call may not have come from the Serbian side.

The UN has begun what is likely to be a large-scale, land-and-air program to deliver food to Bosnia, and officials have warned that 200,000 to 300,000 could die this winter in epidemics or from exposure if the aid does not get through.

UN officials say that in the days leading up to the resolution authorizing the use of force and in the immediate aftermath, Serbs have permitted more food to reach some cities. One was Gorazde, which had been cut off since April.

But on its return from Gorazde, one convoy ran into a minefield that had to be cleared by French engineers. UN officials suspect Muslim

forces were responsible, although the assessment is based more on inference than on evidence.

Serbs, with vastly greater arms supplies, hold the upper hand in the war and occupy as much as 70 per cent of Bosnia. Blocked by a UN embargo from buying weapons on the world market, the Croatian and Muslim forces stand to benefit most from Western military action.

German foreign minister Klaus Kinkel demanded yesterday that Serb leaders be tried on genocide charges under a 1948 UN convention drawn up to prevent horrors like the Nazi Holocaust.

In an effort to mute Western criticism, the Yugoslav government sent a dozen trucks yesterday carrying 70 tonnes of food and medicine toward Sarajevo and the besieged town of Gorazde.

Fearing Attack by All Sides, U.N. Halts Sarajevo Airlift

By STEPHEN ENGELBERG

Special to The New York Times

ZAGREB, Croatia, Aug. 18 - The United Nations suspended its airlift to the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina today, and officials voiced suspicions that the outgunned Muslim and Croatian forces in the area might be engaging in attacks in an effort to provoke Western military intervention.

Five days after the United Nations authorized the use of force to guarantee deliveries of food and medicine to civilians in Bosnia and Herzegovina, airborne and overland aid efforts have been challenged by forces in a conflict with a multitude of militias.

Today's incident involved the airlift to Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital.

Shortly after takeoff this morning, a

ating in Bosnia, their command and control is informal at best. Even if it were proven that one or another local commander had ordered an attack, it would not necessarily follow that the orders had come from the political leadership of the Muslims, Serbs or Croats.

Last week, the United Nations approved a resolution authorizing force to assure delivery of food and medicine to hundreds of thousands of beleaguered Bosnians in the war zone.

Most of the civilians under siege are Muslims, and would benefit most from relief operations. At the same time, however, Muslim and Croatian forces are hard-pressed by the better-equipped Serbs and would benefit from just about any Western military activity, particularly if protection of relief efforts drew the West into the fighting.

A spokesman in Zagreb for the British forces participating in the airlift said today that the radar detectors on a British C-130 transport plane lit up shortly after takeoff from Sarajevo at 8:57 A.M. Radar detectors show when another radar, like that on an anti-aircraft battery, has "locked on" to the plane.

Frightening Puffs of Smoke

According to the United Nations official, the pilot saw puffs of smoke from the ground. Fearing a missile attack, the pilot set off flares and released chaff to fool the radar, an American official said. The plane was not hit, and officials could not confirm that the plane had been attacked.

The incidents threaten a United Nations effort to feed hundreds of thousands of people in Bosnia under siege by Serbian forces. Sarajevo has received more than 700 flights carrying about 250,000 tons of relief supplies.

Truck convoys have also begun to negotiate passage to other besieged towns. Bihac, a city in western Bosnia with as many as 350,000 refugees, and Gorazde, a city in the east with an estimated 70,000 refugees, have both benefited from truck deliveries.

United Nations convoys to Gorazde, which had received no food since April, raised what United Nations officials say are some of the most troubling questions about the intentions of the Bosnian Government.

Two Convoys to Gorazde

An earlier attempt to reach Gorazde had failed when a convoy, led by a Serbian armored personnel carrier, ran into a mine field and came under small-arms fire.

When the United Nations made a second effort on Saturday, United Nations soldiers spotted what they believed to be people in Bosnian uniforms planting a mine on the side of the road. On the return trip, the entire road had



The New York Times

In Karlovac, Croatia, refugees from Bosnia were pressed into military service to fight the Serbs.

British C-130 transport plane reported what appeared to be hostile fire from an anti-aircraft battery.

The circumstances are under investigation. But a United Nations official said the aiming of anti-aircraft radar at the plane, and the planting of mines over the weekend along the route of a United Nations convoy, did not appear to be the work of Serbian forces.

According to the United Nations official, the British plane was 31 miles due west of Sarajevo, over an area exclusively controlled by Croatian forces, and the mining took place in an area that is in the hands of Muslims.

"There is virtually no doubt that the mining was done by presidential forces," the official said, referring to the Muslim-dominated Government of the Bosnian President, Alija Izetbegovic. "Today's alleged shooting, if it took place, came from Croatian territory."

The United Nations official said the conclusions about the two incidents were preliminary, and he noted the difficulties in assessing blame.

The Pentagon estimates that as

New York

Pages

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MILAN PANIC: Yugoslav premier wants captured territory returned.

U.N. in Sarajevo hit by mortar

SARAJEVO (AP) — Mortars rained down on U.N. barracks in the Bosnian capital last night, setting fuel drums ablaze and injuring at least four peacekeepers in one of the worst attacks on United Nations personnel in the city, officials said.

The raid came as Sarajevo's Muslim-led defenders were waging a desperate and costly offensive to break the five-month Serbian siege of the city, where dwindling supplies of clean water raised fears of epidemics.

The offensive — launched on the eve of a new round of peace

talks — failed to punch through Bosnian Serbian lines and left many casualties. A U.N. official estimated one Bosnian fighter was lost for each two metres of ground gained.

Bosnian government soldiers share the compound with U.N. peacekeepers from Egypt. But it wasn't clear who shelled the building. Fred Eckhard, U.N. spokesperson in Sarajevo, said an Egyptian soldier was hurt and three French firefighters injured trying to control the blaze.

Izumi Nakamitsu, chief the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees operations, postponed

an aid convoy taking food and medicine to Gorazde because of heavy fighting. Last week, Serbian officials promised to end their siege of the city.

In Serbia, backers of federal Premier Milan Panic and Serbian republic leader Slobodan Milosevic demanded that their foe resign. Some Serbs fear differences between the two men, which intensified after Panic committed the Serbs to surrendering Bosnian territory at a London peace conference last week, could push Serbia itself into civil war.

A new round of talks spon-

r barrage

sored by the United Nations and the European Community are scheduled to begin in Geneva tomorrow.

Marrack Goulding, head of U.N. peacekeeping operations, was due in Sarajevo tomorrow to begin trying to place artillery around Sarajevo under U.N. supervision, as agreed to at the London talks, officials said.

Bosnian health officials reported 20 people killed and 218 wounded across the republic in a 24-hour period ending early yesterday, including 13 dead and 119 wounded in the war-ravaged capital.

Toronto Star

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The Globe and Mail, Thursday, May 14, 1992

Fighting forces UN workers to quit Sarajevo for Belgrade

Those left in Bosnian capital will run listening post.

Canadian Press

SARAJEVO — Unable to support its peacekeepers, most of the United Nations headquarters staff in Sarajevo will soon move out of Bosnia and Herzegovina's war-torn capital, a Canadian general said yesterday.

Brigadier-General Lewis MacKenzie, the headquarters chief of staff, said 200 of the 300 soldiers based there should complete their move to Belgrade, the Yugoslav capital, by the middle of next week.

"We are not giving up [on Sarajevo]," Gen. MacKenzie said in an interview from his headquarters office. "The intention is to leave that cell [100 staff] here so that if the situation stabilizes, we can come back in with the full headquarters."

Those who stay will maintain a listening post and carry on humanitarian work, he said.

Gen. MacKenzie was commenting after the UN released a report by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali recommending that the headquarters be temporarily moved until the fierce fighting in Sarajevo subsides.

The headquarters was placed in Sarajevo to direct the deployment of 14,000 UN peacekeepers to neigh-

bouring Croatia. About 1,200 Canadian soldiers have already arrived in the republic.

Gen. MacKenzie said events in Bosnia are preventing the UN staff from attending to the peacekeepers in Croatia.

"We're supposed to clothe them, feed them, provide them with fuel. We're supposed to give them directions," he said. "We're supposed to tell them what to do, and we're not doing that here."

Another factor is that the UN takes over responsibility tomorrow for one of four protection zones being set up in Croatia. The zone is in eastern Croatia.

Gen. MacKenzie said headquarters should be up and running efficiently in Belgrade as soon as the staff completes the move.

The general and all 12 Canadian soldiers at headquarters will move to Belgrade. Staff staying in Sarajevo will be a cross-section from the more than 20 countries involved in the Croatia mission.

Bosnia's Serbs called on Tuesday for new peace talks, and announced a unilateral ceasefire that took effect yesterday morning. The shaky ceasefire appeared to be holding.

Gen. MacKenzie said that yesterday was the quietest day for a month in Sarajevo and he hoped the ceasefire would allow peace talks to take root.

The Belgrade-based Tanjug news agency, however, reported fierce clashes between the towns of Derвента and Doboj. The news agency said that in the village of Grabska, Muslim Croats had "suffered a total defeat" at the hands of Serbs but no casualty figures were given.

Tanjug said up to 10,000 Serb refugees were moving in a column from the area around Bosanski Brod on the Croatian border.

Fighting in Bosnia has claimed an estimated 1,300 lives and created 700,000 refugees since Bosnian Croats and Muslims voted for secession on Feb. 29.

Serbs, who make up about one-third of Bosnia's 4.3 million people, strongly opposed secession and boycotted the referendum. They have been backed by the Serb-led Yugoslav army.

The conflict is the latest in the violent breakup of Yugoslavia. Only Serbia and Montenegro remain in a federation that in the past year has lost Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as Slovenia, Croatia and Macedonia.

U.N. Chief Rules Out Role For Peace Force in Bosnia

Continued From Page A1

nions protected areas in Croatia want to be included in those areas and are threatening to resist the authority of the Croatian Government if they are not given United Nations protection. But the Croatian Government of President Franjo Tudjman refuses to increase the size of the area the United Nations will oversee, and the dispute threatens to lead to renewed fighting.

At the same time, Serbia and Montenegro have said they will only withdraw from the protected areas soldiers who are citizens of the new Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which the two republics formed last month. Those of other ethnic backgrounds will be left there for demobilization or to join local forces.

This means that the United Nations must disarm and demobilize a larger number of soldiers than it had expected in order to demilitarize these areas as it takes control of them.

"Developments since the Security Council approved the plan for the United Nations peacekeeping operations in Croatia have raised new doubts about the practicality of that operation," Mr. Boutros-Ghali said in today's report.

Setback for U.N.

The admission that the United Nations is losing control of events in the Balkan conflict represents a setback for the organization and its new Secretary General in their efforts to use the opportunities created by the cold war's end to settle regional disputes.

Western diplomats here say there are still some disputes that are simply not amenable to resolution by the United Nations because the parties involved do not want to settle their differences and stop fighting. Some diplomats said that the problems in the Balkans raise the possibility that another major United Nations peacekeeping operation, in Cambodia, might also falter if the Khmer Rouge resumes fighting.

The Secretary General blamed the Serbian forces for the continued ethnic fighting in Bosnia and Herzegovina and concluded that the only hope for a settlement now lies with the European Community-sponsored peace talks. Those talks, which are now suspended, had sought to divide the newly independent country into separate ethnic cantons for Serbs, Croats and Muslim Slavs, the three ethnic groups of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

He said Serbs and Croats appeared to be planning "a carve-up of Bosnia and Herzegovina" that would leave "minimal territory" for the Muslim Slavic community, which accounts for 44 percent of the population.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali acknowledged the

of all parties to the dispute, neither of which has proved achievable so far.

The Secretary General ruled out deployment of an "intervention force," as requested by President Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to enforce an end to the fighting. He said this is unpractical because it would mean sending in "many tens of thousands of troops equipped for potential combat with heavily armed and determined adversaries."

Mr. Boutros-Ghali also said it would be too dangerous for the United Nations to protect humanitarian relief convoys carrying supplies to the more than 500,000 people driven from their homes by the violence and which have been repeatedly robbed and harassed by the irregular forces.

On Monday, the 12 European Community countries withdrew their Ambassadors from Belgrade and called for the withdrawal of the Serbian-led Yugoslav Army from Bosnia and Herzegovina in an effort to force Serbian leaders to use their influence to halt the fighting there. The United States recalled its Ambassador on Tuesday.

Further diplomatic action against the Belgrade Government was taken by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, which voted to exclude Belgrade from certain discussions.

Sanctions Deemed Useless

The Europeans have discussed the possibility of trying to use trade sanctions to end the fighting, but without much enthusiasm so far. European diplomats said that it would be impossible to prevent goods sent to one former Yugoslav republic from being forwarded to Serbia.

On Tuesday, the European Community pulled most of its monitors out of Sarajevo, saying conditions had become too dangerous. Today, the Secretary General said he is also moving the headquarters of the United Nations peacekeeping operation from Sarajevo to Belgrade because of the deteriorating situation. However a small group of peacekeepers will remain in Bosnia and Herzegovina to encourage a cease-fire.

The Bush Administration has shown little interest in getting directly involved in the Balkan crisis, preferring to leave peace efforts there to the Europeans at a time when the President is being criticized for neglecting domestic issues in the election campaign. Moreover, the ethnic disputes between Croats and Serbs have had political ramifications in the United States, in effect discouraging Congress from speaking against one or the other side.

The Secretary General obliquely acknowledged Washington's desire to

New York Times print

May 14/92

slay out of the crisis today by saying that even if it becomes possible to deploy a peacekeeping force in Bosnia and Herzegovina it might be "more appropriate" for the Europeans rather than the United Nations to mount the operation.

U.S. Campaign an Issue

This suggestion, officials say, alludes to the Bush Administration's reluctance to ask Congress to pay for any new peacekeeping operations during the Presidential campaign. In talks with Mr. Boutros-Ghali at the White House on Tuesday, President Bush made clear that the United States is unlikely to find any more money for the organization until after the election.

In a talk in Washington today, Mr. Boutros-Ghali also alluded to the rising cost of peacekeeping efforts, saying the bill will soar from \$421 million last year to \$2.7 billion in 1992. But he argued that this is still cheap compared to the \$1 trillion the world spent

United Nations' helplessness in the present situation, saying he cannot deploy a peacekeeping force without a truce in the fighting and the agreement



The New York Times Violence subsided as a cease-fire

Toronto Star
May 14/92

'Harassed' in Yugoslavia

U.N. studies pullout of peace troops

UNITED NATIONS (Reuter) — Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali says the future of the massive U.N. peacekeeping operation in what was Yugoslavia is in jeopardy.

He recommended that the U.N. command headquarters in the besieged Bosnian capital of Sarajevo be withdrawn, at least temporarily.

Sarajevo has been under constant attack by Serbian guerrillas, the army and some Croatian forces.

"U.N. personnel are routinely harassed, the organization's property stolen and its emblems and uniforms misappropriated," Boutros-Ghali said. "These are not the conditions that permit a U.N. peacekeeping operation to make an effective contribution."

In a report to the Security Council yesterday, he also rejected a new peacekeeping force for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

And he said the existing 14,000-member U.N. operation in neighboring Croatia is in deep trouble.

The United Nations is creating protected areas within Croatia to guard the Serbian minority. But Boutros-Ghali noted that many Serbs living outside these areas fear "genocide" from Croatian authorities once the Serb-dominated Yugoslav army withdraws.

The U.N. failed, however, to get Croatia's permission to enlarge the protected areas or persuade Serbs they

would be safe when Croatian authority was restored, the report said. Boutros-Ghali fears militias may not only refuse to demobilize but increase their numbers by adding Serbs released by a withdrawing Yugoslav army.

"Failure to demobilize would thus make the U.N. Protection Force's mandate unimplementable (and) the force's future would have to be reconsidered," he said.

Boutros-Ghali described the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina as "tragic, dangerous, violent and confused."

He said he was instructing the peacekeeping mission's commander, Gen. Satish Nambiar of India, to pull most of his staff out of Sarajevo until calm was restored to the capital.

McDougall worried for Canadians/A19

MM
HW

FINANCIAL TIMES May 14/92

UN staff told to pull out of Sarajevo

By Laura Silber in Belgrade and Michael Littlejohns in New York

THE UN peacekeeping headquarters for Croatia, which is based in Sarajevo, in neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina, has been urged to withdraw because of the fighting in the Bosnian capital.

The call yesterday from Mr Boutros Boutros Ghali, United Nations secretary-general, coincided with a lull in the fighting in Sarajevo as Serb irregulars from the surrounding hills, who have besieged the city, declared a five-day ceasefire. Shops and cafes reopened and people emerged from their cellars.

In a report to the UN Security Council, Mr Boutros Ghali said: "I am convinced by the operational and security arguments in favour of the temporary relocation of the bulk of the force's HQ staff from Sarajevo". His report also questioned the future of UN peace plan for Croatia.

He added that he would instruct General Satish Nambiar, commander of UN forces in the former Yugoslav republics, to relocate "pending the restoration of calm in the city".

Mr Ghali also ruled out the possibility of expanding peacekeeping operations to Bosnia, where Serb irregulars, backed by the federal army, have seized control of half the territory.

But in a further apparent setback for UN operations in the region, the report cast doubt on the future of the UN peacekeeping plan for Croatia.

The plan calls for the withdrawal of the Serb-led federal army, and the demilitarisation of three UN Protected Areas after the deployment of 14,000 peacekeepers, which had been scheduled for later this month.

"Since the Security Council approved the plan, the developments have raised doubts about the practicability of the operation", he said.

UN officials say local Serb leaders in Croatia have refused to

demobilise reservists if the UNPAs are not extended to include other regions populated by Serbs in Croatia.

The 11-page report said failure to demobilise would make it impossible to implement the UN operations. The recommendations were based on a fact-finding mission by Mr Marrack Goulding, the UN under-secretary, who last week met Serb, Croat and Muslim leaders.

Mr Boutros Ghali warned that renewed hostilities in Croatia could not be ruled out and said that, if this happened, the deployment of the UN forces would have to be reconsidered.

The Yugoslav news agency Tanjug, meanwhile, reported some scattered fighting in north-east Bosnia. It also said that 10,000 Serb refugees had abandoned their homes around Bosanski Brod and headed for Serb-run areas in a nine-mile convoy.

New York Times
May 14/92

U.N. Rules Out A Force to Halt Bosnia Fighting

By PAUL LEWIS

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, May 13 — In a pessimistic report to the Security Council, the United Nations Secretary General today ruled out sending peacekeeping forces to end the fighting in Bosnia and Herzegovina and even raised the possibility of pulling back from the plan to station some 14,000 troops to keep the peace in Croatia because of new disputes there.

Serbian militias, accused of being the main instigators in the fighting, began a cease-fire this morning, and the Bosnian capital, Sarajevo, had its quietest day in the last 10. [Page A6.]

But the Secretary General, Boutros Boutros Ghali, said it is "not at present feasible" for the world organization to undertake any new peacekeeping efforts in Bosnia and Herzegovina because of the level of fighting and the refusal of the factions to agree to a truce. He described the security of the United Nations personnel deployed there as "already precarious."

At the same time, he warned that the United Nations peacekeeping operation in Croatia, where about 10,000 of the 14,000-strong force are already deployed, is in jeopardy because of new disputes over the Serbian minority that broke out after the United Nations agreed to protect them as part of a cease-fire agreement.

Serbs living outside the United Na-

DIE ZEIT

While each side in the Yugoslav civil war counts its dead and avenges the losses, the country's economy is falling apart. "We are ruining ourselves," says Oskar Kovac, a former minister of the economy. A Western diplomat put aside the language of protocol for a moment and remarked, "This country is going slowly but surely down the tubes."

Even before the first shot was fired in the civil war, the Yugoslavs had unleashed an economic war. As early as a year and a half ago, the republics of Slovenia and Croatia had stopped making payments to the federal fund to aid underdeveloped regions. In a counterattack, the Serbs boycotted goods from both republics. This war escalated, although no blood was spilled.

It is impossible to separate the good guys from the bad ones in the economic feud. The republics are so closely tied economically that they are pulling one another into ruin. The average income of Yugoslavs will fall at least 20 percent this year—and the figure could rise to 50 percent, depending on how long the war continues. Tourist revenues will fall to almost zero. Most of the hotels in Dubrovnik, where in most summers every cobblestone had a tourist standing on it, have closed. Smaller places on the coast, which depend entirely on tourism, have become ghost towns. For Croatia, with its long coast, the loss of tourists will especially be a disaster.

But it would be a mistake to think that if not for this war, Yugoslavia would have a booming economy. The situation used to be grim; now it is grimmer. These blows are coming at a time when the economy is especially vulnerable, in transition from central planning to a market system.

There was a brief burst of hope at the beginning of 1990. Yugoslavia had just pulled through a year marked by 2,660-percent inflation, and someone finally seemed prepared to step on the brakes. Prime Minister Ante Markovic stabilized the exchange rate of the dinar, and inflation fell. He promised to force the pace

of privatization. Everyone was talking about Yugoslavia's joining the European Community.

But nothing has really changed in the economy's basic, and rotten, structure. The privatization plan has achieved nothing. Unemployment is almost 20 percent, and tens of thousands of people have not received a paycheck for months. Those who have lost their jobs live on the black market, which, it is estimated, contributes at least 20 percent of the gross national product. The shops have Benetton sweaters and Dior perfumes; people buy imported goods on credit, while the nation's foreign-currency re-

"The republics are so closely tied economically that they are pulling one another into ruin."

serves shrink. The standard of living is falling, but almost everyone is getting by somehow.

Still, Slovenia and Croatia want to leave the federated Yugoslavia because they see the eastern republics as hindrances to their prosperity. Above all, the Slovenians, who earn almost twice as much as average Yugoslavs, feel that they are being kept from achieving a European standard of living. And they believe that they have contributed a disproportionately high amount to the federal budget and to the national fund used to develop backward regions.

Serbian nationalists, however, argue that Slovenia and Croatia were able to get their people into high government positions after World War II, and these officials favored their home regions. As a result, some Serbs say, prices for raw materials and energy—which come almost entirely from the poor eastern republics—were kept low. Slovenia and Croatia were thus able to manufacture

goods cheaply and sell them at high prices within Yugoslavia.

Although the Slovenians are the economic champions of Yugoslavia, that does not mean that they are ready for European competition. For the republic's economy, too, is on the edge of ruin. Ski producer Elan—the pride of Slovenia—is bankrupt, and many other companies will be hard to save. Privatization is not proceeding any faster in Slovenia than anywhere else.

With independence, 2 million Slovenians would lose their market of 20 million Yugoslav consumers. Access to cheap fuel and raw materials might vanish. And with each new casualty in the civil war, the chances for a Yugoslav economic union evaporate further. Jože Mencinger, a professor of economics at the University of Ljubljana, estimates that the standard of living in Slovenia might rapidly sink 30-40 percent. That would be, literally, the price of independence. □

Collective Security and the United Nations: An Old Promise in a New Era

The end of the Cold War has reduced ideological posturing and energized the United Nations in pursuit of maintaining international peace and security. Yet the end of East-West conflict has not meant the end of Cold War thinking.

Twenty-one conference participants met to discuss these issues and examine how security could be attained beyond simple military means.

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By Dirk Kurbjuweit; from the liberal weekly "Die Zeit" of Hamburg.

Before the Council began its deliberations, the Hungarian Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Andr f Erdos, told correspondents that "a possible scenario" could be an operation where the command and control functions could be played by the United States and where strong institutional links could be secured between the United Nations and the United States.

He said the difference between "Desert Storm" in the Persian Gulf war and a possible operation in Somalia was that the latter would strengthen and make more visible United Nations authority, as recommended by the Secretary-General. According to his plan, United Nations staff would be assigned to the operation both at Headquarters and in the field and an ad hoc committee of the Security Council would visit Somalia and report regularly on developments there.

The Secretary-General's recommendations on how to secure the humanitarian relief operations in Somalia were published yesterday in a letter by Mr. Boutros-Ghali addressed to the Security Council.

* * *

The United Nations Human Rights Commission, concluding a two-day special session in Geneva today, called on all States to consider the extent to which acts committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia constitute genocide. The resolution was approved by 45 countries, with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) opposing it and Cuba abstaining.

The Commission condemned ethnic cleansing and put the blame mainly on the Serbian leadership in Bosnia, the Yugoslav army and the political leadership of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). It called on all parties, particularly the Serbian leadership in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), to use whatever influence they have to put an end to ethnic cleansing and to reverse the effects of the practice by allowing refugees to return to their homes.

It also called for the closure of detention camps, the opening of humanitarian relief corridors and the creation of security zones to protect displaced people.

The special session - the Commission's second such session this year to consider the human rights situation in the former Yugoslav republics - was called at the request of the Governments of Turkey and the United States.

* * *

A political settlement of the situation in the territories needed to be reached in stages, the first of which was autonomy, the representative of Israel said this morning in the General Assembly. Speaking in the Assembly's continuing debate on the question of Palestine, he said the Israeli Government had proposed a democratically elected Palestinian administrative council which

(more)

Round-up of Session

HR/CN/397
2 December 1992

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION CONDEMNS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA,
DEMANDS END TO ETHNIC CLEANSING, PUNISHMENT OF GUILTY

Concludes Special Two-Day Session

GENEVA, 1 December (UN Information Service) -- The Commission on Human Rights this evening concluded a two-day extraordinary session in Geneva on the human rights situation in the former Yugoslavia by adopting a resolution condemning all violations of human rights including killings, torture, disappearances, mass rapes and other acts or threats of violence.

The resolution demanded an end to "ethnic cleansing" in particular in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It called upon all parties in the former Yugoslavia, and especially those most responsible, to cease violations of human rights and to take appropriate steps to apprehend and punish those guilty of perpetrating them.

The special session was convened at the request of the Governments of Turkey and the United States to consider the report of the Commission's Special Rapporteur, Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

This afternoon, a number of non-governmental organizations took the floor to express concern over continued violations of the human rights of the civilian population. Statements were made by the International Progress Organization, World Federalist Movement, International Federation of Human Rights, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Caritas Internationalis and the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The representatives of Sudan, Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), Russian Federation, Pakistan and Iran made statements before the vote, and the representatives of China, India, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Turkey spoke after the vote on the resolution.

Statements

A. GURBARTALLA (Sudan) expressed his hope that the measures to be taken by the international community would dramatically alleviate the sufferings of

(more)

the Bosnian people and punish their aggressors. The Commission should ask the Security Council to take action to stop the "ethnic cleansing", which amounted to genocide, and the perpetrators of the aggression should be tried before a competent court. He also favoured protection of the sovereignty of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of its people.

E.M. BARKI, of the International Progress Organization, said that Serbs were applying all types of violence in order to reach their objectives. The economic embargo had severely affected the lives of people in Bosnia and Herzegovina and should be lifted. He urged the setting up of a special tribunal to try those who committed atrocities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. All those who incited genocide and those who committed it should be brought before a high court. A military intervention should be organized in order to assure the legitimate rights and sovereignty of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was being subject to aggression by Serbia.

M. MILOSEVIC, of the World Federalist Movement, stated that Serbians were suffering from the civil war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and were victims of ethnic cleansing, summary executions, hostage-taking and other violations of human rights being perpetrated by the Muslim and Croat-controlled forces there. In addition, the economic sanctions imposed against the Serbians of Yugoslavia mainly affected the civilian population, including children and the sick. The reports of the Special Rapporteur were based on investigations carried out in Serbian territory and not in the areas controlled by Muslims and Croats. The Special Rapporteur had also, without foundation, accused the Serbian authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina for not cooperating with the representatives of United Nations organizations.

S. ZMERLI, of the International Federation of Human Rights, said humanitarian action alone could not stop the perpetrators of human rights violations from continuing to carry out their activities. The Commission should urgently establish a fact-finding mission to see to the prosecution and sentencing of perpetrators of war crimes. That mission should work in close coordination with the Special Rapporteur.

B. LOCHBIHLER, of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, said it was regrettable that measures had not been taken early on to help the former Yugoslavia dismantle itself more peacefully. She spoke of the systematic rape of more than 35,000 women and girls in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the past six months and hoped that those acts would be declared a crime against humanity and punished as a war crime.

R. QUINLAN, of Caritas Internationalis, speaking also on behalf of the International Catholic Child Bureau, said his organization had provided aid valued at \$30 million from July 1991 through November of this year, and that did not include bilateral aid delivered by some of its member organizations. He appealed that all parties refrain from deliberate interference with the delivery of humanitarian assistance and allow the humanitarian agencies to carry out their vital work. All those who interfered with the delivery of humanitarian assistance should be condemned, he said.

(more)

R. WADLOW, of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, said the position of those individuals within all the countries of the former Yugoslavia who were working for a compromise settlement to the conflict should be strengthened. The situation in the former Yugoslavia had highlighted in a tragic way the failure of the notion of "collective rights". There had been endless and futile discussions on the right and status of "minorities" or "people" or "nationalities", each person defining the term to his own advantage. The task of the Commission was to see that human rights were not sacrificed in the efforts to find a compromise ending to the conflicts.

V. PAVITCEVIC (Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)), speaking in reply to earlier statements, said it was deplorable that there had been no words of compassion for the Serbian victims of the war. Turkey's statements were patronizing, given its questionable human rights record, namely, with Armenians, Kurds and Cypriots. As for the comments made by Albania, his Government had attempted to establish the framework of a dialogue with Albanian representatives in Kosovo to solve the problems plaguing their relations. The Albanians did not want to talk, he said, and were also the ones preventing their children from attending school.

Action on Resolution

The resolution on the situation of human rights in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, was approved by a roll-call vote of 45 in favour to 1 against (Yugoslavia), with 1 abstention (Cuba).

It condemned in the strongest terms all violations of human rights in the former Yugoslavia, including killings, torture, beatings, rape, disappearances, destruction of houses and other acts or threats of violence aimed at forcing individuals to leave their homes, as identified by the Special Rapporteur. It categorically condemned the ethnic cleansing being carried out, in particular in Bosnia and Herzegovina, recognizing that the Serbian leadership in territories under their control in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Yugoslav army and the political leadership of the Republic of Serbia bore primary responsibility for that reprehensible practice.

The resolution demanded an immediate end to the practice of ethnic cleansing, and in particular that Serbia use its influence with the self-proclaimed Serbian authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia to bring that practice to an immediate end and to reverse its effects. It emphasized the rights of refugees, displaced persons and other victims of ethnic cleansing to return to their homes and the invalidity of acts made under duress.

Under the terms of the resolution, the Commission affirmed that States were to be held accountable for violations of human rights which their agents committed upon the territory of another State. It called upon all parties in the former Yugoslavia, and especially those most responsible, to cease violations of human rights and international humanitarian law immediately and to take appropriate steps to apprehend and punish those guilty of perpetrating or authorizing them.

(more)

The Commission welcomed the establishment by the Security Council of a Commission of Experts to examine and analyse information relating to violations of international humanitarian law and encouraged the closest possible cooperation between the Special Rapporteur and that Commission; recommended that the Commission be granted the staff and resources necessary to enable it to act effectively, and requested it to provide its conclusions to the Secretary-General in order to allow the Security Council to consider further appropriate steps towards bringing those accused to justice.

The Commission further called upon all States to consider the extent to which the acts committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Croatia constituted genocide, in accordance with the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. It urged the Commission of Experts to arrange for an immediate and urgent investigation by qualified experts of a mass grave near Vukovar and other mass grave sites and places where mass killings were reported to have taken place, and requested the General Assembly to provide the resources necessary for that undertaking.

In addition, the Commission expressed grave concern at the information contained in the third report of the Special Rapporteur (document A/47/666 - S/24809) on the dangerous situation in Kosovo, Sandzak and Vojvodina, and urged all parties in those areas to engage in a meaningful dialogue under the auspices of the International Conference on the former Yugoslavia, to act with utmost restraint and to settle disputes in full compliance with human rights and freedoms. It called on the Serbian authorities to refrain from the use of force and immediately to stop the practice of ethnic cleansing, and to respect fully the rights of persons belong to ethnic communities or minorities in order to prevent the extension of the conflict to other parts of the former Yugoslavia.

The resolution affirmed that all the parties in the former Yugoslavia shared the responsibility for finding peaceful solutions through negotiations under the auspices of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, and welcomed the acceptance by the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina of the constitutional proposals of the Co-Chairmen as a basis for negotiations. It requested the Special Rapporteur to continue his efforts, especially by carrying out such further missions to the former Yugoslavia as he deemed necessary, to call on other existing mechanisms of the Commission on Human Rights to assist him and to report his findings and recommendations at its forty-ninth session. It requested the Secretary-General to continue to make the reports of the Special Rapporteur available to the Security Council.

The roll-call vote was as follows:

In favour: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bangladesh, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, France, Gabon, Germany, Ghana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Libya, Madagascar, Mauritania, Mexico, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Russian Federation, Senegal, Sri Lanka, Syria, Tunisia, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela and Zambia.

Against: Yugoslavia.

Abstentions: Cuba.

(more)

Explanations of Vote

V. PAVITCEVIC (Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)), speaking before the vote, said he rejected the draft resolution because he disagreed with various provisions.

E. MAKEYEV (Russian Federation) said he appreciated that many elements suggested by his country had been included in the resolution. However, he regretted that there were controversial points in the draft, whereby responsibility was allocated essentially to one party, the Serbs. It seemed the resolution was to be adopted hastily. There should have been greater cooperation in its drafting.

A. KAMAL (Pakistan) said that the resolution was deficient on two points: the genocide was too mildly described in comparison with what the reality was in the former Yugoslavia, and the use of force to enforce peace was not mentioned. Despite those shortcomings, he would vote in favour of the resolution.

S. NASSERI (Iran) said that the rights being violated in the former Yugoslavia were the rights of all Members of the United Nations. The resolution was too weak, which explained why Iran was not a co-sponsor, but he would none the less vote in favour of the proposed text.

Speaking after the vote, Y. TIN (China) urged the parties concerned in Bosnia and Herzegovina to observe a cease-fire and cooperate with the international community to settle their conflict peacefully. His delegation had voted in favour of the resolution, despite the fact that it had certain reservations with regard to items in the text.

A. KAMAL (India) said his affirmative vote had been essentially dictated by the tragic events prevailing in the former Yugoslavia.

A. BEBLER (Slovenia) expressed satisfaction that the resolution had been adopted by an overwhelming majority. The Serbian authorities were the primary perpetrators of the genocidal policies of ethnic cleansing and of gross violations of international human rights laws, he said. A clear condemnation of grave infringements on fundamental human rights expressed the determination of the international community not to stand idle.

M. BIJEDIC (Bosnia and Herzegovina) said that the overwhelming majority in favour of the resolution demonstrated the international community's resolve to stop the genocide prevailing in the former Yugoslavia. Some countries were still reluctant to accept the fact that genocide was actually happening, especially some of more powerful nations. It was a terrible surprise that some countries still showed hesitancy in the face of the tragic reality that was unfolding daily in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He none the less welcomed the adoption of the resolution as a measure to halt the continuation of the tragedy.

(more)

N. MADEY (Croatia), expressing satisfaction with the Commission's action, said it would provide additional inspiration towards the resolution of the crisis. None the less, certain points in the resolution did not necessarily reflect the desires of his country. He noted, however, that the majority of the parties in the area were trying to solve the problem through negotiations.

G. AKTAN (Turkey) said he appreciated the spirit of cooperation of the United States and the support of Member States for their participation in this initiative. The aggressor was now publicly known and should face up to its responsibilities rather than blaming others and regressively living in history, he said.

* * * * *

Home sweet homeland

From Bosnia to South Africa to Russia, self-determination is proving to be a dead end

The right of self-determination lies at the heart of the United Nations charter and at the heart of struggles for freedom around the world. But self-determination also has become an excuse for "ethnic cleansing," dictatorship and greed. In South Africa, both white supremacists and black autocrats are demanding self-rule. In the Balkans, Serbs and Croats are trying to herd Bosnia's 2 million Muslims into fragmented, impoverished homelands. In a decaying Russia, a dozen or more regions are distancing themselves from Moscow.

The demands for self-government in Russia's provinces are powered largely by economic self-interest. Nothing so high-minded is at work in Bosnia-Herzegovina or in South Africa.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Oblivion or twilight

At a meeting last year, Alija Izetbegovic, the Muslim president of Bosnia-Herzegovina, explained to Yasir Arafat why his government could not accept the latest United Nations peace proposals. "How much land are they offering you?" Arafat is said to have asked. "Thirty percent," Izetbegovic replied. "Take it," said Arafat, "or within a generation your people will have nothing."

Izetbegovic ignored Arafat's advice —



another catastrophic miscalculation. More than 100,000 Muslims are estimated to have died in the 16-month conflict, and today, Bosnia's 2 million Muslims are facing a stark choice between oblivion and a twilight existence in a fragmented homeland that occupies 15 or 20 percent of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Either way, as any hope of Western military intervention dies and Western aid dries up, the Muslims' fate now depends entirely on Serbian and Croatian largess.

A joint Serbian-Croatian partition plan put forward in Geneva would divide Bosnia-Herzegovina into three regions linked in a loose confederation. The Muslims would be left with four separate enclaves. Sarajevo would be split in two and cut off from other Muslim areas. The Muslim "state" would be indefensible, economically unviable and surrounded by Serbs and Croats. "In effect it would be a reservation," says



Unsafe havens. A huge international aid and

Martin Macauley of London University's School of Slavonic and East European Studies. "It would have no sovereignty and no future."

To put this ethnic partition into effect, as many as 1 million Muslims who now live outside the borders of the proposed Muslim area would be herded into it, and perhaps half a million Serbs and Croats also would move to new regions. A huge U.N. monitoring operation would be required, and every town in the four Muslim homelands would require massive amounts of food, medicine and aid for years to come. "Nobody will feel secure, and everyone will seek revenge," says Macauley.

For now, Izetbegovic and his key military aides remain adamantly opposed to such a deal, which they consider "tantamount to genocide." Many local Muslim commanders vow to fight on, but time is not on their side. Law and order in Mus-



onitoring effort would be needed to bring about the partitioning of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

lim areas is collapsing, aid supplies are faltering, morale is at rock bottom and a pro-peace faction in the Bosnian leadership is pressuring Izetbegovic to step down. And having ditched the U.N.'s original 10-province peace plan, Western governments now say they will accept the partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina if the Muslims agree and each region is viable. No one, however, has tried to define viability.

But even if the Muslims eventually agree to it, partition is unlikely to bring peace to Bosnia-Herzegovina. While Serbian and Croatian forces continue to make gains on the ground, the hopelessly outgunned Muslim forces retain superiority in numbers. Several hundred mujaheddin from Afghanistan, Libya and other Arab states have succeeded in radicalizing substantial numbers of previously apathetic young Muslims. And central Bosnia is tailor-made for guerril-

la warfare. "We are just setting the stage for a long-term war of skirmishes," a U.N. official in Sarajevo said last week. "There will be nothing to do in these enclaves except riot or rot."

That is of little concern to the Serbs. Buoyed by the collapse of the original U.N. peace plan and the West's failure to intervene, they make no secret of their determination to stamp out forever the prospect of an Islamic-dominated state in the heart of the Balkans. On July 6, they gave the Muslims 20 days to agree to partition or face "total defeat." "The only reason that we are willing to stay in a confederation with a Muslim state is so that we can control it," says their leader, Radovan Karadzic.

Experts such as Macauley concur. "The Serbs will use military force to suppress the Muslims and to block off their contacts with the world," he says. "They acknowledge that the Muslims

exist, but as slaves, not equals. They have no future in Europe."

Bosnia's Muslims have no tradition of fighting alone. Some help might arrive from Islamic states that last week pledged at least 7,600 troops to protect six U.N.-designated "safe areas" of Bosnia occupied mainly by Muslims. But Izetbegovic's dream of a multiethnic, Muslim-dominated Bosnia-Herzegovina is dead. Instead, the Bosnian leader and his people must choose between abandoning their homes for a Muslim diaspora and living in a Muslim homeland in central Bosnia dependent on the whims of Serbs and Croats.

BOPHUTHATSWANA

From refuge to battleground

In 1977, while Grand Apartheid with its passbooks, "Whites Only" signs and brutal repression was at its height in South Africa, the Batswana who inhabited the country's western Transvaal region were given their "independence" by Pretoria. The residents of the black homeland called Bophuthatswana were able to buy land, start businesses and elect their own president, Lucas Mangope, a former schoolteacher. "It was a new era, and Mangope was a kind of Moses," recalls A. S. Khutsoane, the director of the homeland's National Library Service.



But Khutsoane was suspended from his post last month after criticizing the Mangope government. Rather than becoming an apartheid-free oasis, Bophuthatswana has evolved into a repressive autocracy that is unrecognized by any nation except South Africa and depends on Pretoria for half its budget. Its experience is a cautionary tale for other groups that hope to escape political and economic oppression by carving out homelands of their own.

While blacks across the unmarked border in South Africa gain more and more freedom as the country's main political parties move toward agreement on a transition to multiracial rule, the Bophuthatswana government continues to suppress opposition politics and stymie the negotiations process in an attempt to enter the new South Africa with its apartheid-era powers intact.

"We will only change once we know what the alternative is," says Bophuthatswana's most powerful cabinet min-



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SMIP:KABINET MIP, SEKTOR MULTILATERALE, DIREKCIJA ZA UN

Message:
Poruka:

U prilogu dostavljamo novi nacrt rezolucije SB, koji
pripremila kontakt-grupa OIK za BIH.

Dragomir Djokic
Ambassador
Charge d'Affaires

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE AND CESSATION
OF HOSTILITIES IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

The Security Council,

Recalling all its previous resolutions on the conflict in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina,

Recognizing that the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a sovereign, independent state and a member of the United Nations,

Reaffirming that the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a State Member of the United Nations, enjoys the rights provided for in the Charter of the UN,

Noting that the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has continued to be subjected to armed hostilities in contravention of Security Council resolution 713 (1991) and other relevant Security Council resolutions and that, despite all efforts by the UN as well as regional organization and arrangements, the Bosnian Serb party continues to refuse to comply with all relevant resolutions in flagrant contempt of the Security Council,

Expressing alarm at the deteriorating situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, arising primarily from Serbian aggression and acts of crime and genocide perpetrated by the Serbs,

Condemning the extremist Croatian military elements for their aggressive acts against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to acquire territory by the use of force; detention and forced expulsion of the Muslim population from their homes in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in particular Herzegovina and Central Bosnia,

Recalling the principles for a political solution adopted by the London Conference on former Yugoslavia,

Commending the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina for its constructive and responsible policies as manifested in its acceptance of all the documents negotiated in the peace process,

Affirming that the international community has the responsibility to secure fully the independence, territorial integrity and unity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as to prevent acts of genocide and of crimes against humanity,

Reaffirming once again its total and complete rejection of the acquisition of territory through the use of force and the practice of "ethnic cleansing",

Stressing that the continuation of aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a serious impediment to the peace process,

Mindful of its duties and responsibilities under the Charter of the UN for the maintenance and preservation of international peace and security,

Determining that the grave situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina continues to be a threat to international peace and security,

Rejecting any plans designed to partition the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a sovereign member state of the United Nations,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter,

1. Calls for an immediate ceasefire and cessation of hostilities in Bosnia and Herzegovina as an essential prerequisite for achieving a just and equitable political solution to the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina through peaceful negotiations.

2. Affirms that a solution to the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina must be in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law in particular, the following principles:

- a) non-recognition of acquisition of territory by use of force and immediate and unconditional vacation of territories acquired by use of force and ethnic cleansing;
- b) the reversal of the consequences of aggression and ethnic cleansing;
- c) recognition and respect for the right of all Bosnian refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour including their right to receive compensation;
- d) full restoration of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina;

3. Further affirms individual responsibility for the perpetration of crimes against humanity committed in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina;

4. Also recognizes the right of the government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to seek and receive reparations for the war damages caused by the aggression;

5. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

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Датум 11. 4. 1993 год.

П А П Р

Pale, April 11, 1993

War in Bosnia and Herzegovina

PROTEST TO BOUTROS BOUTROS GHALI FROM THE GOVERNMENT
OF THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA: THE ARMING OF THE MUSLIMS
AND CROATIANS UNDER THE COVER OF HUMANITARIAN ACTIONS

SERB SARAJEVO, April 11 /SRNA/ - We most energetically protest against the violation of the fundamental principles of humanitarian organizations, as well as the principles underlying the UNPROFDR mission, is stated in the letter of protest of the Government of the Republic of srpska sent to Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali. The immediate cause of the note was the transport of ammunition, by UNHCR trucks, for the Muslim units in Sarajevo suburbs Rutmir, Bobaljevic Kolonija and Hrasnica.

"With deepest regret we note that this is not the first case of the use of humanitarian action for military purposes", is stated in the letter of protest signed by Dr. Vladimir Lukic, Prime minister of the Republic of Srpska.

Dr Lukic reminds Mr. Boutros Ghali that he had been informed on many occasions of numerous examples of this unacceptable practice.

The Government of the Republic of Srpska has pointed out the fact that with the delivery of humanitarian aid, there has developed the practice of the arming of the Croatian and Muslim formations. On the other hand, the Serbs are required to guarantee undisturbed passage for the convoys and their escort.

"The most serious incident up to now, occurring two days ago at Sarajevo airport, evokes a deeply felt bitterness in our people, and we are now faced with an expression of that feeling, warns Dr Lukic. Further to this he adds that "continued misuse of humanitarian actions compromises the principle of humanitarian aid, and threatens to paralyze further aid efforts". For this dilemma the Government of the Republic of Srpska faults the Croa-

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tian and Muslim sides, as well as the UNHCR.

"We have done everything to improve our cooperation, but we can not accept UNPROFOR and UNHCR to tolerate the transport of military equipment", is stated in the protest letter sent to Boutros Ghali by the Government of the Republic of Srpska. Further to this the protest letter warns Mr. Ghali that the government of the Republic of Srpska ordered the Supreme HQ of the Serb Army to "make a strict control of the humanitarian convoys".

The UNPROFOR and UNHCR are reminded that if the weapons and ammunition are found in their trucks they will be seized and the escort will be treated fully in accordance with the legislation of the Republic of Srpska.

It is also noted in the protest letter, sent to Mr. Boutros Ghali, that the Government of the Republic of Srpska is preparing a Letter of Intent with regard to future cooperation with the humanitarian organizations.

Protic warned that angry clients of the bank who feared they had lost their life savings could provoke riots in Belgrade and elsewhere in Serbia. ``We have been drawn into a game by factors within and outside Yugoslavia to destabilise the country,`` he said.

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BC-YUGOSLAVIA 2NDLD (SCHEDULED)

U.N. TRIES TO HALT SERB OFFENSIVE ON SREBRENICA

By Gordana Kukic

MALI ZVORNIK, Serbia, March 18, Reuter - U.N. peace-keepers attempted to halt a Bosnian Serb offensive on Thursday on the Moslem town of Srebrenica where 60,000 starving civilians are trapped.

PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

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BC-YUGOSLAVIA-CROATIA (SCHEDULED)

U.N. SAYS CROATIAN ARMY BREACHES TRUCE LINE

By Mark Heinrich

ZAGREB, March 18, Reuter - Croatian troops have breached a U.N.-monitored ceasefire line along the Sava river southeast of Zagreb and Serb rebels have threatened to respond, a U.N. peace-keeping force spokesman said on Thursday.

No fighting had broken out but the Croatian move was dangerous when viewed against the renewal of war in the Serb-held Krajina enclave after Croatian troops overran a U.N. truce line there, the spokesman said.

John Mills of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) headquartered in Croatia's capital Zagreb said a platoon-sized Croatian unit of about 30 men crossed the Sava to its southern bank on March 11 and set up a beachhead in a so-called U.N. ``pink zone.``

UNPROFOR set up such buffer strips around four enclaves of Croatia occupied and populated by minority Serbs in January 1992 under a ceasefire that ended the republic's war of independence from Serbian-dominated Yugoslavia.

Mills said the Croatian army unit that crossed the Sava was
PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

hunkered down between the villages of Bljinski Kut and Gradusa Posavska, some 40 km (25 miles) southeast of Zagreb.

Local Serb militia commanders had set three deadlines for Croatian troops to withdraw or be attacked but let them expire without action, Mills told a news conference in Zagreb.

The Croatian incursion was ``a very disturbing development`` because it had aggravated tensions in the region.

``This is a serious breach by the Croatians because it risks an escalation of the conflict at a time when both sides are negotiating, with the hope of good faith, to resolve the problems of Sector South (Krajina),`` Mills said.

the concessions, Morillon was overheard telling him: ``I am the commander of UNPROFOR. You don't have to agree but you are under my command. It is an order. We have to get the convoy going.''

A U.N. spokesman said in Zagreb the convoy's route on the Bosnian empty trucks Saturday.

Morillon intervened personally after a Yugoslav armored car and a troop carrier blocked the convoy's initial route out of Mali Zvornik, where it had been stalled for nine days, Friday morning.

Troops on the barricade said they had no information that the convoy was coming and ignored protests from van Dijk that ``this is pure obstruction.''

Morillon insisted to local officials that he had authorization from Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

Lyndall Sachs, a UNHCR official in Belgrade, said the agency was insisting it be allowed to send regular convoys to Srebrenica in the future.

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``We have to have regular convoys. One a week would be an absolute minimum,''' she said.

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*22 REUTERS 03-19-93 12:23 PET

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BC-YUGOSLAVIA-KRAJINA

KRAJINA SERBS SET TO ACCEPT PEACE PLAN

By Philippe Naughton

GENEVA, March 19, Reuter - Croatia's rebel Serbs signalled acceptance on Friday of a U.N.-brokered plan to end two months of fighting in the Krajina region and officials said mediators hoped to persuade Croatian officials to do the same.

Goran Hadzic, president of the self-styled Serbian Republic of Krajina, said the Serbs agreed to put their heavy weapons under United Nations control as a region,''' Hadzic told a news conference after talks with international mediators.

Officials at the Geneva conference on former Yugoslavia said the mediators would be meeting a Croatian delegation headed by presidential adviser Zvonimir Lerotic on Saturday morning.

``We hope the Croatians will sign up,''' one official said.

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``It's not sure but it's the closest we've come to an agreement in a month of talks.''

The mediators, representing conference co-chairmen Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, have held a series of separate meetings with the two sides over the past week to hammer out a ceasefire accord.

As well as ending the stand-off in Krajina, where diplomats say fighting has escalated in recent days, an accord would allow the United Nations to extend the mandate of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Croatia. The peacekeepers' mandate expires on March 31.

The fighting erupted in late January when Croatian forces broke a year-old ceasefire and captured key areas in the Serb-dominated Krajina enclave in a move that provoked fears of a full-scale resumption of the Serb-Croatian war of 1991.

Serbs retaliated with heavy weapons that had been placed under nominal U.N. control under the January 1992 ceasefire.

Diplomats said that under the draft agreement hammered out in three rounds of talks, Croatians would return to their original ceasefire positions.

The Serbs, for their part, agreed that three key areas -- Zemunik airport, the Maslenica bridge and the PerucadeUDA-PERU PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

REINSERCIÓN NO SOLUCIONA AUN COMPLEJA ESTRUCTURA DE DEUDA LIMA, mar 19 (Reuter) - La reinserción del Perú en la comunidad financiera internacional no resuelve todavía la pesada carga que significa la deuda externa, pero facilitará las negociaciones con el Club de París y la banca comercial, dijeron hoy analistas económicos.

Javier Silva Ruete, ex director del Banco Central de Reserva dijo que "esto no es la reinserción total del país. Es un paso importante que 4.000 millones de dólares y que en abril se reunirán con

representantes de bancos extranjeros acreedores para estudiar fórmulas para reestructurar una deuda de 5.500 millones.

Perú retornó el jueves al seno de la comunidad financiera internacional tras seis años de alejamiento, al saldar deudas atrasadas con el Fondo Monetario Internacional y el Banco Mundial, que le abrieron líneas de créditos por casi 2.500 millones de dólares.

Ruete sugirió que es importante llegar a un acuerdo con la banca privada internacional a fin de obtener créditos frescos de ese sector.

"Una empresa peruana no puede pedirle un préstamo a un banco extranjero porque ese banco PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

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16 REUTERS 03-19-93 08:16 AET

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BC-YUGOSLAVIA-GERMANY

GERMANY YET TO DECIDE ON JOINING BOSNIA AIRDROP

BONN, March 19, Reuter - Germany, responding to protests from Bosnian Serbs, said on Friday it had made no decision on whether to join U.S. humanitarian airdrops to eastern Bosnia.

Bosnian Serbs protested to the United Nations and U.S. military commanders about Germany joining the airdrop after German air force crews and planes began training with U.S. forces this week.

"So far no decision has been made by the chancellor, the cabinet or any other body in the government about whether German planes will or will not join the airdrop," Chancellor Helmut Kohl's spokesman Dieter Vogel told a news conference.

A Bosnian Serb statement said they objected because of memories of Nazi Germany's occupation of Yugoslavia during World

From the Killing Fields

Regarding the two editorials under the heading, "The Bosnian Question" (Oct. 17), I am serving as an officer in the Canadian contingent to the UN Protection Force in southern Croatia. It would be fantastic if the quagmire here were as easily solved as your article suggests. Real-life complexities preclude sweeping success. In particular, The New York Times comments that "British, French and Canadian troops have been slow to move in as promised." This statement is groundless. Canadian troops were in Bosnia, at the Sarajevo airport. These troops were in turn relieved by French soldiers.

Furthermore, negotiations between UN forces and the indigenous Bosnian population have proven fruitless. The second group of 1,200 Canadian troops to deploy to former Yugoslavia — this time to Banja Luka in Bosnia — have been delayed, not by UN sluggishness, but because Bosnians have refused to let them cross the Sava River into Bosnia from Croatia.

To be sure, there are problems with UN forces' activities in the Balkans, and results may appear slow in coming. I sympathize with other peace lovers who are frustrated. However, when I read the suggestion that the solution to the Bosnian question lies in repealing the arms embargo, thereby making deadly weapons even easier to acquire, I am nothing short of dismayed.

C. P. ANKERSEN
UN Protection Force
in Southern Croatia.

International
Herald
Tribune
November 19, 1992

U.N. Accuses All Sides of Rape

WP: 1-30-93 Reuter

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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POUR LES REFUGIES



UNITED NATIONS
THE HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR REFUGEES

Geneva 1000
CH-1211 Geneva 2, Switzerland

17 July 1992

Sir,

During my visit to Yugoslavia in the week of 4 July, I had the opportunity to witness at first hand the terrible consequences of the conflict which has produced the largest number of refugees and displaced persons in Europe since the Second World War. In addition to the some two million people already displaced, thousands more are fleeing each day. The burden on the host countries is becoming unbearable. The plight of the displaced is increasingly desperate as solutions, and notably hope of return, become more elusive with the passage of time.

My visit left me deeply impressed by the generosity of Yugoslavia and the other host countries as well as by that of the tens of thousands of families who have received the refugees. I was equally impressed by the fortitude and resilience of the refugees themselves. I felt proud to be part of the humanitarian efforts of UNHCR and other organizations, strongly supported by UNPROFUR, all of whom are working under extremely dangerous security conditions. But, at the same time, the dimension and complexity of the refugee problem made it clear to me that there is a need for the international community to take a decisive humanitarian initiative to contain the current crisis and to reactivate the search for lasting solutions to the plight of refugees.

AS PROMISED -
ONE OF THE PROMISED
ASSIGNMENTS

His Excellency
Mr. Vladislav Jovanovic
Minister for Foreign Affairs
of Yugoslavia
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Kneza Milosa 34
11000 Belgrade, Yugoslavia

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Since my return, I have consulted the Secretary-General of the United Nations and a number of countries on what further action we might take. Following these consultations, I should now like to invite you to an International Meeting on Humanitarian Aid for Victims of the Conflict in the Former Yugoslavia. The meeting, to be held at ministerial level, will bring together on an open-ended and informal basis all Governments concerned and other interested parties. It will be held in Room XIX at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, Switzerland on 29 July 1992. Its objectives would be:

- (i) to review the feasibility of solutions as originally envisaged, i.e. return, and devise further measures for their pursuit as well as for the protection of refugees and displaced persons; and
- (ii) to mobilize international support for the relief programme and draw attention to future reconstruction needs.

I hope that the meeting would agree on a follow-up mechanism that would allow my Office to pursue the humanitarian objectives immediately, in close consultation and cooperation with the most affected countries and a few other Governments.

Humanitarian action cannot be a substitute for a political settlement. But decisive humanitarian efforts may, in addition to relieving human suffering and burdens on host countries, help promote initiatives in other areas. I trust that the proposed meeting on 29 July will serve such a purpose, and I count on your participation to make this possible.

The attached Annex provides information on arrangements for the meeting. In view of the need to make the necessary conference arrangements at such short notice, I would be most grateful for an early indication of your intention to participate. In due course, my Office will be providing you with relevant documentation.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of my highest consideration.



Srdan Djokic

New York Times
Feb 28/92

Serbian Leader, Facing Pressure, Backs U.N. Troops for Yugoslavia

By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to the New York Times

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, Feb. 27 — Faced with widespread discontent among Serbs over the civil war with Croatia and the resulting damage to Yugoslavia's economy, President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia said today that he regarded the impending deployment of United Nations troops in Serbian-held areas of Croatia as "the beginning of a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis."

Mr. Milosevic's hard-line posture toward Croatia, especially after the public declared independence in June, was a major factor in setting off the civil war. And before a United Nations-brokered cease-fire took hold on Jan. 3, the Serb-led Yugoslav Army had seized one-third of Croatia. But in his first speech since the cease-fire, delivered in a televised address today, Mr. Milosevic appeared eager to present himself as conciliatory.

In Serbia, public opinion has been divided between those who celebrate what the government calls the "liberation" of Serbian-inhabited enclaves in Croatia and those who believe that Serbia should have sought a peaceful solution. Between 6,000 and 10,000 people are believed to have died in the fighting, including many Serbian civilians. The fighting destroyed dozens of towns and villages in Croatia and disrupted an economy that once made Yugoslavia the most prosperous country in Eastern Europe.

Addressing Serbian Parliament

Mr. Milosevic, a 48-year-old veteran of Yugoslavia's Communist Party, used his 40-minute speech to the Serbian parliament to strike an uneasy balance. By invoking a peaceful solution and heralding the plan to send more than 14,000 United Nations peacekeepers, he reached out to opponents who bitterly criticized him last year when he rejected the presence of foreign soldiers on Yugoslav territory. He relented only after Yugoslav troops and Serbian militias had seized Croatian areas where nearly 600,000 Serbs lived before the fighting started.

At the same time, Mr. Milosevic demanded that opposition groups in Serbia behave with what he called "re-



The New York Times

The President of Serbia made a conciliatory televised speech on the crisis in Yugoslavia.

sponsibility," and he warned that failure to do so could threaten the multi-party system that has succeeded Communism here. Diplomats said this appeared to be a warning to the opposition groups that are planning a mass demonstration against his government in central Belgrade on March 9. The protest will mark the first anniversary of a mass protest in a central Belgrade square last year that drew government gunfire, killing two demonstrators.

Mr. Milosevic insisted that Serbia would continue to press for a new federal state in Yugoslavia, to be formed by Serbia, its ally Montenegro and any other territory that wished to join. But in making the assertion, he did not repeat his insistence that all Serbs had the right to live in a single Yugoslav state. This, too, had a possible conciliatory connotation, since it came on the eve of the weekend referendum in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a republic where Serbs, who form 40 percent of the population, have pressed for annexation of their enclaves by Serbia.

With the main Serbian political groups in Bosnia urging a boycott, the referendum is expected to bring a strong endorsement for independence, leaving only Serbia and Montenegro, among the six republics of what was Yugoslavia, committed to maintaining a federal state. Results of the vote are expected next week.