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## What Kind of Peace for Bosnia?

The murder of Bosnia's Deputy Prime Minister last Friday symbolized the inadequacy of present international efforts to counter Serbian-sponsored violence. Serbian gunmen simply bullied aside a United Nations escort and pumped bullets into their defenseless victim, Hakiya Turajlic.

It now seems that the Geneva peace talks conducted by the U.N. mediator Cyrus Vance and his European Community partner, David Owen, will survive this latest provocation. But the talks are unlikely to result in an acceptable peace without more effective international efforts to equalize the military balance. Right now, Bosnia's legitimate Government is as outgunned and inadequately protected as Mr. Turajlic was on Friday afternoon.

Bosnian Serb militias, backed by Serbia's Government, shot and raped their way to these negotiations while the rest of the world acquiesced through its shameful passivity. Worse, the U.N. still hobbles Bosnia's ability to defend itself by inappropriately subjecting it to an arms embargo.

Any agreement now will in some sense ratify past aggression and "ethnic cleansing." That is the cost of past policy failures. But by moving decisively to create a more equal military balance, the international community could still make possible a more balanced environment for the negotiations and, possibly, a more acceptable peace.

The talks, which began last week, offer some glimmers of hope. All sides have now agreed in principle to a division of Bosnian territory into semi-autonomous provinces, loosely controlled by the Sarajevo Government. But there are huge and important differences over the degree of autonomy these provinces would enjoy, their boundaries and provisions for impounding the heavy weapons of the Bosnian Serb militias.

The Serbs want provinces to be free to make foreign policy deals on their own, potentially including merger with Serbia. They have also been resisting U.N. impoundment of their militia's heavy

weapons. The mediators' draft rightly concedes the Serbs neither of these points.

Meanwhile, the Bosnian Government strongly objects to the mediators' map of proposed provincial boundaries, on the ground that it would lock in the results of nine months of "ethnic cleansing."

Friday's episode points up the difficulties of getting a real peace without stronger enforcement measures. The U.S. Senate majority leader, George Mitchell, suggested reasonable steps over the weekend, including enforcement of the already enacted U.N. ban on Serbian flights over Bosnian territory, possible air strikes against Serbian artillery positions unless these are put under U.N. control, and stricter enforcement of existing economic sanctions against Serbia.

As important, though Senator Mitchell did not endorse it, would be lifting the U.N. arms embargo that perversely prevents Bosnia from legally obtaining the weapons it needs to defend itself against Serbian aggression.

Beyond that, a peace agreement will require enforceable international guarantees of Bosnia's external borders and at least temporary international protection for internal refugees.

It's far from clear whether the U.N. has the political will to insist on and enforce such terms. The main European powers, especially Britain, have long been recklessly indulgent of Serbian aggression. Washington has been right to see international intervention in Bosnia as primarily a European responsibility. But it needs to be far more forceful in demanding that Europe rise to that responsibility.

There's no way to undo the monstrous crimes that have been committed against Bosnia, or to restore the tens of thousands of dead to life. But those responsible can be identified and punished. And the survivors deserve no less than a principled peace.

The outgoing Bush and incoming Clinton administrations need to galvanize their lagging allies without further delay.



Foreign Affairs

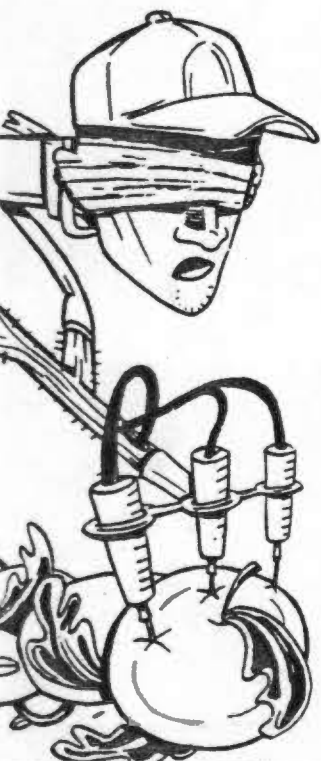
LESLIE H. GELB

A Balkan Plan

gerous to Your Health

It catches up with the technology, the FDA's approach makes more sense than the F.D.A.'s. The commercial production of genetically engineered crops, food supplements and veterinary hormones is beginning and has not been free

You'll have the F.D.A. to thank.



of controversy. In 1989 and 1990, the F.D.A. recalled a dietary supplement made by a Japanese company that used genetically engineered bacteria. The product, intended to alleviate insomnia, depression and premenstrual tension, was linked to at least 27 deaths and hundreds of cases of a potentially fatal blood disorder.

In recent years, the use of a genetically engineered growth hormone in dairy cows has been debated in Wisconsin and Minnesota. Not all consumers believe F.D.A. assurances that cows injected with the hormone would not add foreign products to milk or affect its nutritional value.

These cases warn the nation that a fast track for evaluating biotechnology products is not in the best interest of protecting the food supply.

The F.D.A. ruling does not respect the consumer's right to be informed that a product has been genetically altered, for it involves no labeling provisions. People who adhere to religious dietary laws may want to know that fish, fowl or fruit has been transformed by a gene that produces an animal protein. Individuals prone to food allergies may need to know which foreign proteins are introduced into refabricated foods.

It is a mistake to initiate genetic engineering by exempting large classes of products from a case-by-case review under the same laws that protect consumers from synthetic food additives.

Surely the new F.D.A. policy is not what business needs to build long-term public confidence. Biotechnology companies and their stockholders will find it in their interest to have genetically modified products fully evaluated and tested under strict F.D.A. guidelines instead of leaving that judgment to individual companies. □

As Serbian leaders gobble up chunks of Bosnia and Croatia, they count on one thing: that the West will not use force to stop them. If their bloody gamble proves correct — as it may well — the repercussions for Eurasia could be horrendous.

But now, for the first time, timid and self-absorbed Western leaders finally find themselves so appalled by the killings that they are considering the only action that can halt the slaughter — military intervention.

Steps to stop the slaughter.

Such murmurs can now be heard in Western capitals, though the emphasis remains on inducing popular revolt against Serbia's self-destructive leadership. The U.N. Security Council is also edging toward force. Into its Saturday resolution imposing economic sanctions on Serbia, the Council quietly and obliquely tucked the language of force. The resolution speaks of creating "the necessary conditions" for delivering humanitarian aid and of establishing "a security zone" around the embattled Bosnian capital of Sarajevo.

It is imperative that the U.N. and the West expand that thinking and move quickly. Ethnic strife in the Balkans will not spark another world war. But the Balkans is not just "another place." Slaughter in Bosnia and Herzegovina could ignite wider Balkan wars and even broader regional bloodshed, with calamitous consequences for Europe and the ex-Soviet world.

A wider Balkan war might be just around the corner. The Serbs, to protect their crumbling Yugoslav domain, could attack the Albanians of Kosovo and trigger a war with Albania. Macedonians, in pulling away from Belgrade, could provoke war with Greece.

With the world distracted by the Balkans, others could take the opportunity to crush ethnic adversaries. Armenians could step up fighting against Azerbaijanis, embroiling Turkey. Armed Russian units could hit harder against Romanians in Moldova, involving Romania. Western Europe could be faced with insurmountable refugee and humanitarian problems. These in turn could derail economic

efforts to help the ex-Soviet empire and undermine fragile democracies.

Western leaders are just beginning to glimpse these broader ramifications and see what they now must do; the U.N. resolution is a good start. But they need to move much more urgently and with a comprehensive plan, perhaps along the following lines:

1. Call an immediate meeting at the foreign minister level of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Virtually all the countries of Eurasia are C.S.C.E. members, and they will be most affected by Balkan tragedies. The C.S.C.E. in turn should call for negotiations among all former parts of Yugoslavia, as the Serbs have requested, if the latest truce holds. These talks should address a general political settlement and territorial adjustments.

2. The C.S.C.E. should call upon the International Court of Justice in the Hague to set up a special tribunal to try cases of crimes against humanity along the lines of the post-World War II Nuremberg rules. The tribunal should be empowered to issue international arrest warrants against military and civilian leaders who violate the cease-fire arrangements.

3. The U.N. Security Council should amend Saturday's resolution to extend economic sanctions for no less than five years. Right now, the Serbs assume that once they have accomplished their aims, the world will quietly resume business as usual. With a tougher resolution, the Serbs and others who break the cease-fire will know the long-run consequences of more war: if they keep waging their wars and then agree to a cease-fire, the world community still will not allow them to enjoy the fruits of victory.

4. NATO, acting under Saturday's U.N. mandate to create conditions for humanitarian operations, should start planning military action now. To begin with, NATO should announce it will use its air power to close the skies to Serbian military aircraft. And then, act if necessary. If that does not stop the fighting, NATO should announce it will strike Serbian airfields and military bases. And then, do so if necessary. Deployment of ground troops should be avoided if at all possible, though NATO would be wise to discuss this issue in detail.

For the chain reaction of regional horrors it could set off, the Balkans is not simply another place. Will Western leaders understand this fully, and act now? □

us C.E.O.'s

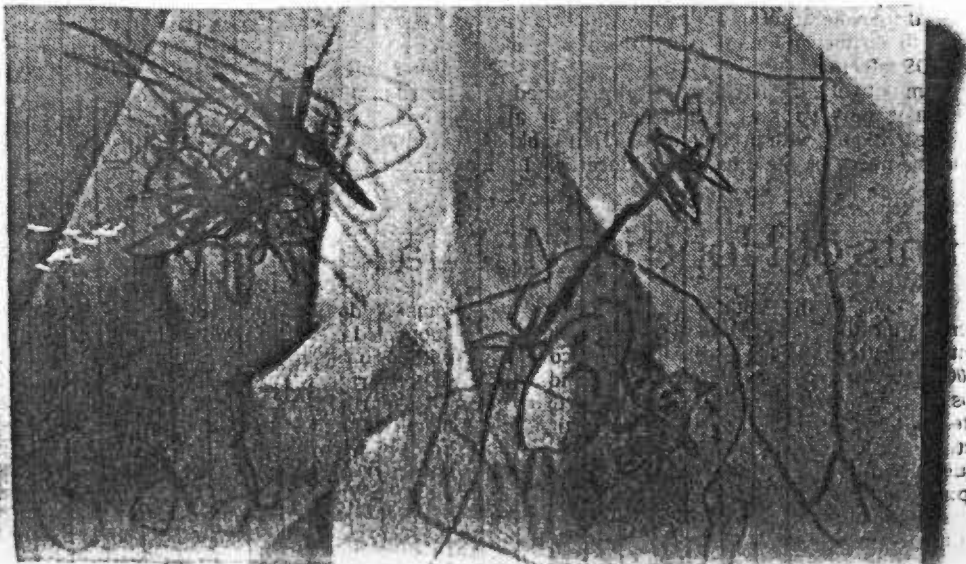
McSchools aren't the answer.

The Whittle schools depend on reading the voucher system where taxpayers can transfer their dollars from public to private education. To run a healthy bottom line, however, these schools must cut expenses by relying on computers and television. The impact is not difficult to predict. Those who despair or are impatient with public education — and who is not? — will turn to them, siphoning off precious energies and monies from public schooling. A new network of profit-making schools, however, will not rectify, vast educational inequalities. The affluent will supplement their voucher dollars to enroll their children in traditional private schools; others will send their children to less expensive schools with ripped-down staffs and batteries of television monitors. In the mall, McSchool franchises will promise a complete education for pennies; in fancy suburbs educational boutiques with high fees will sprout.

America's finest achievement, its public educational system, verges on collapse. It was always imperfect, a

democratic dream to which the past generation of college presidents committed themselves. Woodrow Wilson left Princeton protesting its exclusiveness and dependence on big money. This generation of college presidents seems more preoccupied with managing careers and less vocal about educational democracy. Finally, one acts as an educational visionary. And what is the vision? A national chain of profit-making schools. □

y Deepens



to decorate the captain's cab-

## Wise Counsel on Macedonia

NUT: 11-23-92

Diplomacy still has a chance to prevent the Balkan firestorm from spreading to the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia. President Bush ought to heed the advice of Senator Dennis DeConcini and Representative Frank McCloskey, just back from a trip to Macedonia sponsored by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Their recommendation: "International recognition of that country would be the right thing to do, and ... it should be done immediately."

Last January, a European Community commission found that Macedonia met Europe's formal standards for recognition. Yet 10 months later, Macedonia remains unrecognized by most of the West. The reason? Greece's unjustified demand that the republic change its name.

In ancient times, Macedonia, homeland of Alexander the Great, was culturally Greek. More recently, rival claimants have fought over and divided it. The Republic of Macedonia renounced all claims to what is now Greek Macedonia, as Athens rightfully insisted.

But Greece invites bloody mischief by pressuring Macedonia to renounce the name that defines it

as a distinct country with established boundaries.

That could tempt Serbia or Bulgaria to assert old territorial claims. Even a name like Slavic Macedonia could antagonize the non-Slavic Albanians who make up a third of the population. Having seen what happened to Bosnia, Macedonia is desperately determined to avoid being partitioned or swallowed by expansionist neighbors.

Greece's demand is not supported by any recognized doctrine of international law or practice. Until now, Greece's fellow members of the European Community have deferred to its wishes out of diplomatic courtesy, and the U.S. has gone along in deference to its NATO links with Athens. But the stakes have grown too high for this diplomatic minuet; the risk of war spreading to Macedonia grows frighteningly real.

Smaller European countries now talk about breaking ranks and recognizing Macedonia. A move by President Bush could encourage the main European powers to do the same. Recognition alone won't guarantee the republic's peace. But, as Senator DeConcini and Representative McCloskey point out, it's an essential first step.



11-28-92  
NYT

# Closing Our Eyes?

DALLAS

President Bush's offer to send a substantial military force to Somalia is twice blessed. It offers hope to the starving there. And it raises the possibility that Mr. Bush will at last take firm action on that other human and political disaster, Bosnia.

Over the last eight months Serbian aggressors have killed thousands of Bosnians, and driven hundreds of thousands from their homes, solely because of their religion. They are Muslims, and on that ground the Serbs have treated them as sub-human: *Untermenschen*, in Nazi parlance.

Anyone who thinks the Nazi comparison with what the Serbs are doing is exaggerated should read David Rieff's Letter from Bosnia in *The New Yorker* of Nov. 23. Read it, and think of the victims as Jews instead

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## Nazi methods in Bosnia.

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of Muslims.

Banja Luka was the second city of Bosnia, with fine hotels, theater, churches and mosques. Its mixed population — Serb, Croat, Muslim — lived in peace. Last spring, when Serbian forces began attacking in Bosnia, they took over Banja Luka. Quickly, Mr. Rieff writes, they expelled all non-Serbs from jobs where they could make "independent decisions." That meant managers, foremen, bookkeepers and on down.

The Nazi regime in Germany began by barring Jews from many jobs. And Mr. Rieff says that from the beginning in humiliation and impoverishment the Serbian process of "ethnic cleansing" progressed to expulsion and killing.

The Muslims of Bosnia are Slavs, just as the Serbs are. How, then, to identify a Muslim man? Make him drop his trousers. Muslims, like Jews, are circumcised.

Serbian military attacks in what was Yugoslavia have been going on for more than a year now: first against Croatia, then starting last spring against Bosnia. More than 14,000 Bosnians have been killed. The Serbs, who have plenty of weapons from the former Yugoslav Army, have captured about 70 percent of Bosnia.

I get letters from people of Serbian

heritage charging me with unfairness in criticizing Serbian aggression. For them I have simple questions: Why are Serbian gunmen still attacking in Bosnia? Why are they shelling civilians? Why are they cutting the throats of Muslim children and Muslim clerics?

For nearly eight months now Serbian gunners have had the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo under siege. The city has been ruined by shelling, 2,800 people killed, almost 50,000 injured. What political cause can justify such savagery?

Europe's response to all this has been pathetic in its inadequacy. The major countries have even refused to accept Yugoslav refugees in any significant number — with the signal exception of Germany, which has taken nearly 250,000.

As for the United States, the Bush Administration has done its best to keep the Bosnian tragedy at arm's length. It has helped in relief operations and joined a United Nations resolution to stop Serbian military planes flying over Bosnia. But it has accepted few refugees and rejected the idea of military action against the Serbs, explaining that the U.S. has no "national interest" at stake there.

That explanation has grown increasingly threadbare. The number of Yugoslav refugees in Germany no doubt contributed to the right-wing outrages there. The religious persecution and killing in Bosnia threaten stability in much of Eastern and Central Europe — stability in which the U.S. has a deep interest.

Even Henry Kissinger, with his disdain for moral concerns in the making of foreign policy, has now said that we should not permit an extension of Serbian "ethnic cleansing" to the mainly Muslim region of Kosovo in Serbia. On NBC's "Meet the Press" he said, "we are getting to the edge of what is tolerable, and the Serbs must be told that another move will produce intervention."

Is killing Bosnians "tolerable"? It certainly has been tolerated. Serbian aircraft violate the U.N. resolution, and no one does anything. Serbs shell refugees, in violation of repeated promises, and the American Government says not a word.

American action is crucial now, immediately, before cold and hunger complete the work of guns and knives in Bosnia. I still believe that President Bush can be moved to act. The alternative is to be remembered as are those who closed their eyes to Nazi persecution and murder. □

NHT:  
11-29-92

# Operation Balkan Storm: Here's a Plan

By George Kenney and  
Michael J. Dugan

WASHINGTON

Here's how the Balkan crisis could unfold.

It is late January 1993. President Clinton decides it is in the American security

interest to oppose Serbian aggression in the Balkans with force, in particular to permit the Bosnians to defend themselves. His advisers believe there is a third option beyond the choices President Bush claimed he faced — either doing nothing or sending in hundreds of thousands of ground troops. Mr. Clinton's advisers develop a three-step plan based on the use of American competitive advantages.

The first step is coalition building. The U.S. should not act unilaterally — that was the mistake we made in Vietnam — yet the U.N. Security Council is deadlocked on the use of force, as is NATO. A coalition is possible only through ad-hoc arrange-

*George Kenney is a consultant to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Michael J. Dugan is a retired Air Force general and former Air Force chief of staff.*

ments. Three allies, Great Britain, France and Italy, must be included; they provide staging bases and a limited number of air, naval and ground forces which support a U.S.-dominated air power operation. The coalition arms and trains Bosnian forces, who conduct unconventional operations on the ground to recover their country.

President Clinton persuades several allies to agree to this plan. Here, Russia is a key player. Were Russia to disapprove at the start, the coalition would still keep it fully informed, while leaving the door open for co-operation. There is reason to believe Russia could be talked into participating: it has a natural interest in being seen as a player on the world stage in this peace-making effort.

The second step is insuring coordination with United Nations operations and deliveries of humanitarian relief. U.N. personnel become Serbian targets so the U.N. suspends its convoys. The U.N. operations are thus subordinated to larger war aims.

But with coalition support, the armed Bosnians are as able as the U.N. to deliver aid. In addition, the United States drops food packages on refugee areas from planes flying above ground fire. Bosnian forces create "safe haven" areas, which help prevent the depopulation of Bosnia and save tens of thousands of lives. The havens also keep hundreds

of thousands of refugees out of Western Europe.

The third step is active belligerency, in two phases: first, destroying Serbian forces in Bosnia and, second, using concentrated force against Serbia itself.

In phase one, the U.S. uses Awacs aircraft and F-15 fighters to establish

## How an air war can destroy Serbian forces.

visible allied air supremacy over all the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Next, Serbian heavy artillery and armored units in Bosnia are prime targets for air strikes. British and French infiltration teams deploy anti-battery radar to locate Serbian artillery positions near areas under siege.

From bases in Italy and from one carrier in the Adriatic, U.S. F-15's, F-16's, F-18's and F-111's systematically neutralize the Serbian artillery units with precision-guided bombs and missiles. Using the Joint Surveillance Target Attack Radar System — Jstars — or other sophisticated moni-

toring systems, the U.S. finds Serbian armored units; fighter aircraft destroy them. Where necessary, A-10 ground-attack aircraft help escort Bosnian convoys carrying relief supplies. Lacking heavy weapons and facing a resurgent Bosnian force, Serbian forces begin to fall back.

At this point, the Serbian Government in Belgrade could either up the ante or back off. Desperation, however, may drive the Serbs to test the coalition's resolve by sending new forces into Bosnia from bases in Serbia and Montenegro, by renewing the conflict in Croatia, or by starting a diversionary war in Kosovo, or any combination of the above.

Such action would prompt phase two: U.S. aircraft and Tomahawk missiles destroy centers of gravity in

Serbia's electricity grid, without destroying it, so that once hostilities cease power may be restored.

Other technology allows us to turn petroleum products in refineries and storage tanks into useless jelly, without destroying the facilities. We destroy Serbian communication installations. At the same time, we take over Serbian air waves to make our intentions to end the war clear to the Serbian people.

That is a war the Serbians cannot win.

Such an operation need not involve huge forces. This would be a joint Air Force-Navy operation of moderate difficulty. The U.S. would need, approximately: one carrier battle group with about 60 aircraft in the Adriatic; plus 3 Awacs, 1 Jstar, 5 to 10 KC-135 tankers, 24 A-10's, 24 F-15's, 18 F-111's and 24 F-16's with assorted stand-off and precision-guided weapons.

The operation would not be free, but United States costs in blood and treasure would be modest compared with that of the Bosnian trauma. Moreover, there are indications that, if asked, Saudi Arabia would be willing to consider paying a substantial share of these costs. Other states would also likely contribute.

A win in the Balkans would establish U.S. leadership in the post-war world in a way that Operation Desert Storm never could.



Serbia. We instruct Serbian troops to stay in their barracks; if they do not, we track their movements with Jstars and hit them with air strikes. Technology using carbon-fiber strands allows us to render useless



# Still closing our eyes to horrors in Bosnia

By Anthony Lewis  
The New York Times

Dallas  
President Bush's offer to send a substantial military force to Somalia is twice blessed. It offers hope to the starving there. And it raises the possibility that Bush will at last take firm action on that other human and political disaster, Bosnia.

Over the last eight months Serbian aggressors have killed thousands of Bosnians and driven hundreds of thousands from their homes, solely because of their religion. They are Muslims, and on that ground the Serbs have treated them as subhuman *Untermenschen*, in Nazi parlance.

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Associated Press

Muslim prisoners last summer in a camp in Bosnia: U.S. action is crucial now.

70 percent of Bosnia.

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Minneapolis Tribune: 11-30-92

# Stop Negotiating With Serbia

By Zalmay Khalilzad

**T**he United Nations negotiations on Bosnia, including those scheduled to resume in Geneva Sunday, have been a failure. Cyrus Vance, the U.N. special envoy, and Lord Owen, the European Community's representative, hope to resolve the crisis through diplomacy alone. But their approach is so seriously flawed that it will not stop Serbian aggression in Bosnia or prevent its spread to Kosovo.

President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia and his Bosnian surrogates have continually duped Mr. Vance and Mr. Owen. They prolong negotiations with promises, which they break, and the aggression is renewed. Then they make new promises and start the cycle of lies again. Mr. Milosevic has convinced the negotiators that the peace process would be harmed if the West took military action or provided arms to the Bosnians.

In August, Serbia agreed to put its heavy weapons, including artillery and tanks, under U.N. control. It also agreed to end the siege of four Bosnian cities — Sarajevo, Gorazde, Bihać and Jajce — and to withdraw from "substantial portions" of occupied territories. Once this was completed, negotiations for a more permanent settlement were to begin.

Mr. Vance was to see that these promises were carried out. Sadly, he has nothing to show on any of Serbia's commitments. Serbia has taken control of more towns and areas. Jajce was occupied in October. Gorazde and Travnik are in danger of falling and the siege of Sarajevo continues. Despite all this, Mr. Vance and Lord Owen continue a policy of negotiation that amounts to appeasement. They have given up on Mr. Milosevic's August agreement, and last week in Geneva they proposed, in effect, the cantonization of Bosnia along religious lines. The plan contains much of what Serbia has been seeking. (Indeed, the U.S. rejected a similar proposal this summer, arguing that it rewarded aggression.) Worse, it would allow the Serbians to keep their weapons while they negotiate.

Meanwhile, Bosnia's Muslims are negotiating with a knife to their throats and are being pressed to accept conditions that could lead to their destruction. Mr. Vance and Mr. Owen tell them not to try to break the siege of Sarajevo. Do the diplomats

## Only a threat of force can prevent a wider Balkan war.

see their role as arranging for the Bosnians' surrender to Mr. Milosevic?

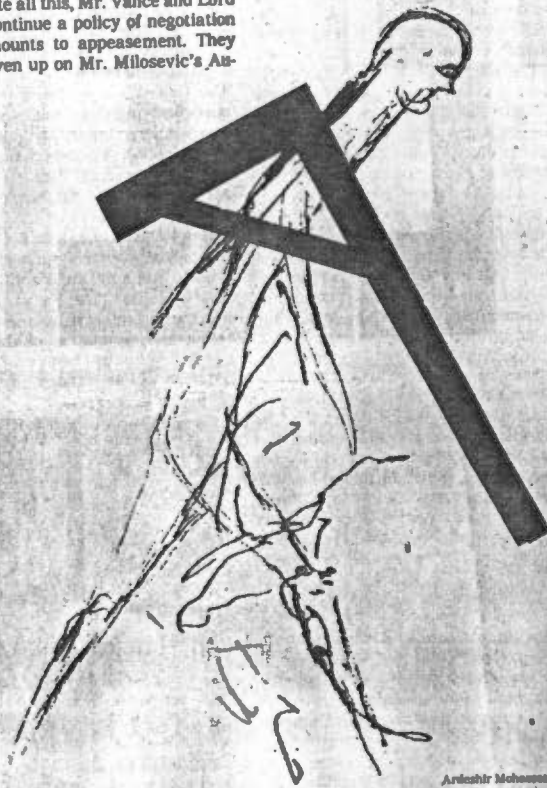
Negotiations between heavily armed Serbians and defenseless Bosnians cannot produce a fair and lasting settlement. To bring some balance, we must demand the fulfillment of the August commitments. If they are not met in two weeks, the U.N. should enforce a no-fly zone and begin to arm and train the Bosnians.

Similarly, we should insist that Mr. Milosevic begin negotiating with Kosovo's leaders to guarantee autonomy for ethnic Albanians. It should be made clear that if he begins "ethnic cleansing," we will send arms and perhaps offer air support to the Kosovars and the Bosnians.

President Bush's recent warning to Mr. Milosevic not to spread the war to Kosovo was welcome. Significantly, Britain and France support the threat; Russia is likely to remain neutral. At last, Mr. Milosevic faces a serious prospect of punishing force.

Neutralizing him without going to war will require that our threat is real. Stopping him in Kosovo will mean stopping him first in Bosnia. If we appease him now, Serbian nationalists' sentiments will rise further, fueled by the belief that Kosovo, unlike Bosnia, is their historical homeland. To further demonstrate our credibility, President Bush's warning should be followed by sending NATO or Western forces to Albania as soon as possible. It's quite likely this is a decision President-elect Clinton will have to make.

Negotiations and sanctions may have seemed right in April, when the war started, but they have not worked. Serbia must know that it will have to pay a price for its barbarism. □



Ardashir Mehosani



# Beware of Munich

BOSTON

Cyrus Vance is one of the great American public servants of recent decades, a man of courage and unwavering honor. But I and some others who admire him are increasingly puzzled by where he is going in his search for a negotiated end to the war in Bosnia.

Mr. Vance and Lord Owen of Britain are co-chairmen of a Geneva conference on the conflict. When the latest session adjourned this week, they

The draft agreement put forward at Geneva by Mr. Vance and Lord Owen would divide Bosnia into 10 autonomous provinces. There would be a theoretical Bosnian state, but the agreement does not describe it as "sovereign."

The agreement calls on those who have heavy weapons — that is, the Serbs — to put them where they can be "monitored" by the United Nations. But there is no effective enforcement mechanism.

There is no provision for protection of minorities in the various provinces. A special court would investigate alleged war crimes, but it would have no power to impose penalties.

With an agreement like that, what Bosnian Muslim would return to a province from which the Serbs had driven his family and butchered his friends? In effect, the Serbs will have accomplished the aim of their murderous "ethnic cleansing."

Yet Mr. Izetbegovic and his colleagues have gone far toward accepting the agreement. They are negotiating with a superior Serbian force, represented at the table by another accused war criminal, the Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic. If they say no, what hope do they have that anyone will save them from utter destruction?

Why would Cy Vance be pressing the victims to accept such an arrangement? My guess is that he thinks it is the best he can do for the victims, something that may at least stop the killing in Bosnia.

But to come to that conclusion is to ratify appeasement. For a year now Western Europe and the United States have appeased Mr. Milosevic and his killers, refusing to draw the line. Mr. Vance may simply think it is too late to expect firmness. But I fear that he has let himself be drawn further and further into negotiation for negotiation's sake.

The fact is that American resolve will be essential no matter what the outcome of Mr. Vance's efforts. Or even if the Bosnian parties accept his draft, it will be meaningless unless the West is prepared to enforce the terms. And that means American leadership. There is no way to escape the responsibility.

The responsibility will be Bill Clinton's, and it should be his first foreign-policy concern on taking office: to make clear to the Serbs that if they do not end their siege of Sarajevo and other military attacks, he will call for the use of force. Appeasing aggression exacts too terrible a price. □

## Appeasement won't make peace for Bosnia.

flew to Belgrade to ask the Serbian President, Slobodan Milosevic, to help bring about peace. Afterward Mr. Vance said Mr. Milosevic had promised "he would do everything possible."

A promise from Mr. Milosevic? He promised last summer to turn heavy weapons over to the United Nations — and has done nothing about that or a dozen other promises. He started the Serbian aggression in Bosnia and elsewhere. Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger has listed him as a possible war criminal.

Then Mr. Vance asked Secretary Eagleburger not to meet the President of Bosnia, Alija Izetbegovic, who is visiting this country. Mr. Vance feared that such a meeting might upset his negotiating efforts.

A small thing, one might believe. But think of the symbol. Here is the President of a small country that has been cruelly attacked, 100,000 of its people killed, 1.5 million driven from their homes, thousands of women raped. And American officials should refuse to meet him?

Secretary Eagleburger at first said he would not see Mr. Izetbegovic. But he changed his mind when the story got out, no doubt because it looked so shameful.

The suggested scorning of Mr. Izetbegovic matches what seems to me to be happening in the peace negotiations. The Bosnian Muslims, the largest group in the country and the victims of Serbian aggression, are essentially being pressed to accept the results of the aggression, thinly disguised as a political solution.



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Morning Edition

# THE



# SUN

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LETTERS TO

## Nearer the Brink in Bosnia

Circumspect as he tried to be, Defense secretary-designate Les Aspin casually suggested at his Senate confirmation hearing that the lessons of Vietnam about military interventions may no longer apply since the Cold War is over. He was raising the possibility of the U.S. bombing Serbian invaders in Bosnia or of arming Bosnian Muslims for defense. "Maybe you can use force, and if it doesn't work, the backing off of it hasn't got the same kind of international concerns the way it did," was his inelegant way of ditching the win-or-stay-out doctrine so sacred for the past two decades.

This does not clarify what the embryo Clinton administration might do about the human catastrophe in Bosnia. It is, instead, admission that the regime still taking shape about Mr. Clinton is starting to think the unthinkable as Serbian aggressors continue to do the unspeakable. "If the world does nothing about what's going on in Bosnia," Mr. Aspin asked, "what kind of a signal does that send to other places in the former Soviet Union and other places, where similar things might erupt?"

The drift toward action is pushed by incessant news of greater atrocity in Bosnia, none of it surprising but confirming predictions of relief workers months ago. Old people in unheated homes are freezing to death in large numbers. The humani-

tarian effort is switching priorities from food to fuel. But the chief United Nations relief official there, Jose-Maria Mendiluce, said the problem is already larger than humanitarian efforts can cope with. "There is only a political solution," he said, meaning an end to the war that was launched to achieve precisely this atrocity of ethnic cleansing.

European Community investigators reported 20,000 Bosnian women have been raped by Serbian soldiers — part of the "ethnic cleansing." As Irish Foreign Minister David Andrews said, rape has "become an instrument and not a byproduct of the war." Further provocation was Serbian troops' execution of Bosnia's deputy prime minister, Hakiya Turalic, after seizing him from his U.N. escort.

For the reasons of humanitarian outrage that drove American forces to Somalia, it is becoming impossible to remain detached about Bosnia. Small wonder that Washington was uncomfortable at the uninvited visit of Bosnia's president desperately seeking aid. The arguments against bombing — especially from France and Britain which have ground troops vulnerable to reprisal — remain powerful. But with every rape and starvation and freezing, Serbian forces mock the law of nations. They are making the intervention about which Mr. Aspin speculated more difficult to avoid.

## Brave New World for UM Regents

Finally, the regents of the University of Maryland have decided to take firm control of that public institution's destiny by chopping off 100 academic

program cuts. For once, the regents were prepared to move faster and go further than the campus presidents. They targeted programs that generally at-

## Teen-age

That a day-care center is being established for infants and toddlers of teen-age students at Baltimore County's Kenwood High School comes as welcome news. Co-incidentally, a similar program is in the planning stages for Baltimore City's Southwestern High.

In both locations the laudable objective is to enable young mothers to complete their education and become proud, productive members of society.

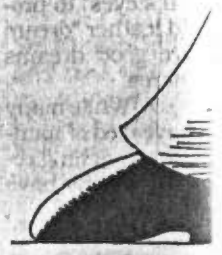
Intervention with Parents and Children Together is the agency selected to set up and operate the facility at Southwestern. Established a little over a decade ago, PACT has instituted an effective program of quality care for infants and toddlers with birth or post-natal defects.

In branching out from its successful therapeutic service for the very young, PACT became involved in day care for children with special needs. Its venture into this field, which began about four years ago, now includes two day-care and two Head Start programs.

Faced with a high dropout rate as result of teen pregnancies at Southwestern, PACT seeks to reverse that trend by providing comprehensive care for 12 infants and 12 toddlers. In cooperation with other agencies, it will offer counsel and health services along with stimulating childhood experiences.

Funds for operation of the center have already been committed,

currently in the pr funds for renovat ment.





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NWT

# The Clinton Doctrine?

BOSTON

The classic reason for the use of American military force has been to protect our vital interests. In one pregnant sentence of his Inaugural Address, President Clinton added another.

"When our vital interests are challenged," he said, "or the will and conscience of the international community is defied, we will act, with peaceful diplomacy whenever possible, with force when necessary." (Emphasis added.)

If that important new doctrine is to have any meaning — if it is to be respected as the Clinton Doctrine — the place to apply it is at hand in Bosnia. And the time is now.

That Serbian aggression in Bosnia defies the conscience of the international community cannot be in doubt. Not unless at the end of the 20th century the world accepts mass murder, rape and terror directed at one ethnic group.

"It borders on genocide," Patricia Diaz Dennis, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights, said of Serbian behavior as she released the annual State Department report on human rights around the world. The Serbs' "ethnic cleansing," the report said, was "on a scale that dwarfs anything seen in Europe since Nazi times."

What can and should President Clinton do to stop the horror? He may be tempted to postpone the hard decisions because Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen are seeming to make progress in their negotiations on Bosnia. But that would be a disastrous mistake, morally and politically.

The singular fact about the Vance-

## Bosnia is where to apply it.

Owen effort is that while it has gone on, over many months, the Serbs have continued their killing. They are still besieging Sarajevo and other cities, lobbing shells at civilians. And they will go right on, as things look now.

The Bosnian Serbs' "assembly" voted this week to accept the Vance-Owen plan for a Bosnia with 10 autonomous provinces. But the Serbs, though that plan would reward their aggression, insisted that they would keep working for their ultimate aim: a Bosnian Serb republic.

Even if all the parties sincerely accepted the Vance-Owen principles — a huge if — the borders of the autonomous provinces still have to be negotiated. And while that difficult business goes on, the Vance-Owen approach allows the Serbs to continue their slaughter.

To earn any respect, this "peace process" would at a minimum require that the Serbs immediately stop their siege of Sarajevo and other Bosnian cities. Even under their own aggressive theories, what possible excuse do the Serbs have for shelling and starving a capital that has never been a Serbian city?

That is where President Clinton must act: to stop the killing while peace negotiations go on. He can do so with great effect by speaking directly and strongly to the warring parties in

Bosnia. These are some of the things he should say:

- The siege of Sarajevo must end at once.
- Aid to civilians elsewhere must get through. Any further interruptions of relief convoys will not be tolerated.
- Military attacks on civilians must stop.

President Clinton would of course work with our European allies and with the United Nations. But if there was at last some forceful American leadership, it would quickly have its effect. For one thing, he could urge on the British and French, and the United Nations, a change in the rules for their peacekeeping forces on the scene allowing them to use their weapons if there are any further attempts to block relief convoys.

Moreover, the President would have many ways to signal the Serbs that he means business. He could act to tighten the economic embargo, for example. He could reduce the number of U.S. diplomats in Belgrade.

And he could prepare to act militarily. After 14 months of American dithering and evasion on the Serbian attacks, military action is more difficult. But at a minimum the United States could join in setting up and protecting safe havens for the Bosnian Muslim population now threatened with genocide.

The stakes are high: for Bill Clinton's credibility abroad as a decisive President, and more broadly for the world's safety. Continued appeasement of the worst calculated atrocities in Europe since the Nazis would exact a terrible price. □



hair are engulfed in flames, his face is distorted. As he worked on it, Miro wrote to his friend Pierre Matisse that the painting "will sum up my whole life". In 1960, though, he felt compelled to return to the painting. Then living in isolation in Majorca, an "internal exile" from the Franco regime, he got a friend to print a full-size copy of the original, which he worked over in his new style.

The simplicity of his later work—he died

on Christmas Day in 1983—has given him the reputation of being a spontaneous artist. But the preparatory sketches he made throughout his life, 300 of which are on display at this exhibition, show that a careful process of synthesis lay behind each work. Miro once said that everything in his paintings and sculptures was derived from something he saw. "For me, conquering freedom means conquering simplicity".

Alex F4I Bew

## The death of Yugoslavia

# The case for saying it was murder

THE DESTRUCTION OF YUGOSLAVIA. By Branka Magas. Verso; 366 pages; £39.95 and £12.95 (paper); \$19.95 (paper)

BALKAN GHOSTS. By Robert D. Kaplan. St Martin's Press; 307 pages; \$22.95

THANKS to the efforts of thousands of persistent and courageous newsmen from all over the world, the war in ex-Yugoslavia that started in June 1991 may already be the most closely reported and copiously documented conflict in history. But the myriad electronic images and printed words that pour in daily from the Balkan war zone cannot convey the whole truth about what is going on there. They may even get in the way of understanding it. They need to be decoded. The decoding requires a grasp of the political and territorial aims that shape the seemingly spontaneous acts of age-old ethnic hate committed by drunken fanatics and terrified boys. It takes intelligent illumination to peer through the fog generated by so much detail.

"The Destruction of Yugoslavia" provides just such illumination. Its author, a historian who comes from former Yugoslavia but now lives in Britain, has gathered in one volume her writings published between 1981 and the end of 1991. She prefaces her book with an attempt to sum up the whole hideous story. The reader thus gets both the historian's-eye view and a stage-by-stage account of the death of the multinational federation that Tito set up in 1945 and ruled until his death in 1980.

Ms Magas, who is a Croat, argues that "Yugoslavia did not die a natural death"; it was "destroyed for the cause of Greater Serbia". Its destroyer, she says, was an unholy alliance of nationalists bent on creating a racially homogeneous Serbian state and ex-communists longing to stay in power. The leadership was provided by Slobodan Milosevic, a previously little-known party apparatchik anxious to broaden his power-base by co-opting Serbian nationalism into it. The military muscle came from the large and predominantly Serb-officered Yugoslav National Army, which wanted to keep as many of its privileges as possible.

The time—after Tito's death, but while the cold war still kept the superpowers ner-

vous—seemed propitious. What Serbia had failed to achieve earlier in the 20th century suddenly looked within reach. Leaders of the "armed counter-revolution", as Ms Magas calls it, rejected all compromises that might have preserved the outlines of Yugoslavia while giving something to the non-Serbs. These included a Croat-Slovene proposal (backed by Bosnia and Macedonia) for Yugoslavia's transformation into an association of sovereign states. The seemingly boundless confidence of Mr Milosevic and his allies was not unconnected with the fact that until 1991 most of the rest of the world still seemed to reject any loosening of

the bonds—controlled by the Serbs—that kept the existing Yugoslavia together.

The third Balkan war of the century happened, as wars usually do, because of miscalculation—in this case by the Greater Serbia people, who had underestimated the readiness of non-Serbs to defend themselves. But the cost of resistance has been high in blood, in material destruction, in local misery and humiliating international paralysis. Bosnia still burns, and the world still dithers. Ms Magas had predicted it all. It is a notable achievement, especially for a left-wing "class-firster"; but Ms Magas understands that in places like ex-Yugoslavia—and perhaps not only there—nation still matters more than class.

Little illumination is provided by "Balkan Ghosts", a travelogue rather self-consciously modelled on Rebecca West's classic about her trip to Yugoslavia in 1937, "Black Lamb and Grey Falcon". The author, an American journalist, has travelled widely in the Balkans, and has lived in Greece. He sees the region as "the original third world, long before the western media coined the term". Here, according to Mr Kaplan, "men have been isolated by poverty and ethnic rivalry, dooming them to hate", and "politics has been reduced to a level of near-anarchy."

He paints an undifferentiated picture of doom and gloom, of villainy, treachery and intolerance. He has no heroes, except perhaps Kemal Ataturk, the stern maker of modern, secular Turkey, whose discoloured photograph he saw at a Turkish border post.

But even Ataturk is described as resembling "an Aryan Dracula... in a black dinner-jacket, peering down on me with heavy eyebrows, a widow's peak of blond hair indicating a mixed Macedonian birth".

Some of Mr Kaplan's strictures are bizarre, for example when he echoes Rebecca West's hostility to the Austro-Hungarian empire. He writes that, having "grabbed" Bosnia at the Congress of Berlin in 1878, the Habsburgs "soon demonstrated that they could rule just as viciously as the Turks." The Turks were not quite as bad as many hostile western historians have painted them. As for the mild, ramshackle Austro-Hungarian empire, it gave Bosnia peace and reasonably humane government for a few decades, until Austria-Hungary itself was broken up in 1918—to the regret, quite soon, of many of its erstwhile subjects.

Mr Kaplan's best chapters are those on Romania and Greece, which he knows well. But read his encounter, at the Serbian Orthodox monastery of Grachanitsa, with Mother Tatiana, a tough Serbian nun. Having slugged back a glass of plum brandy, she says: "I'm a good Christian, but I'll not turn the other cheek if some Albanian



The day the tanks went into Croatia

## A British object

SOME of the world's most enduring stories are about the disturbingly sudden appearance of a Savage Outsider in a community that regards itself as settled and, by its own lights, civilised. The 19th-century legend of Kaspar Hauser, that strange boy with no origins and no language, who appeared as if from nowhere, has in recent years reappeared in a film by Werner Herzog and in the poetry of Georg Trakl. Who was he, and where had he come from? Was he a visionary? A wolf boy? A child of God?

An Australian novelist, David Malouf, has tapped the same source of fathomless fear in "Remembering Babylon"\*. A creature, filthy and in rags, appears in a freshly settled rural community in 19th-century Queensland. No one knows whether he is black, white or in-be-



tween. "Do not shoot!" says the creature. "I am a British object." The words spring unbidden to his mind; the language he once knew has slipped from his grasp. But they contain more plain truth than he is able to recognise. He is indeed more object than subject, both to himself and to those among whom he has arrived.

Little by little, the story pieces together the trials of this greedy and repulsive rag of a man, who assumes the name of Gemmy Fairley: his terrible early life as a rat-catcher's assistant in England, where he had been treated as little better than a beast of burden by his loathed master, Willett; how he managed to survive as a stowaway on board ship in order to escape the consequences of the revenge that he wreaked upon his master; his arrival in Australia and his early life there, lived

among the aborigines.

He is part-aboriginal by nurture and white by nature; and the mixture shakes the white settlers to their roots. They become a prey to nameless and often unspoken fears. Is he in league with the aborigines? Is he an infiltrator—or even a spy? It is what he represents, not what he is, that matters: the Bogeyman; the Coal Man; Absolute Night . . . And the settlers, precariously rooted in this new and strange land, must come to terms with whatever his presence among them represents.

"Remembering Babylon", plainly told, is a novel about the colonial heritage; about human endurance and human brutality; about loneliness, neighbourliness, the anguish of childhood; but above all about the definition of humanness. David Malouf is a poet as well as a novelist, but the best of his poetry is in the prose of a novel like this.

\* Chatto & Windus; 200 pages; £14.99. Pantheon; \$21

plucks out the eyes of a fellow Serb, or rapes a little girl, or castrates a 12-year-old Serbian boy . . ." After this horrifying war, which the Serbs started and in which they committed most of the horrors, people will want to ponder how such things came to be said.

### Newspaper publishing

## The Indifferent

PAPER DREAMS: THE STORY OF THE INDEPENDENT AND THE INDEPENDENT ON SUNDAY. By Stephen Glover. Jonathan Cape; 328 pages; £17.99

FOR many of their peers, it proved what a noble calling all journalists pursued. In October 1986 three journalists launched a daily newspaper in Britain, the *Independent*, whose very title was meant to signal scorn for allegiance to any political party and freedom from the machinations of a meddling proprietor.

High-minded, worthy and earnest, the *Independent* thrived at first, an impressive

achievement in Britain's crowded newspaper market. But it is now in financial trouble. And this month it looked like losing any semblance of true commercial independence when its two biggest shareholders, Spain's *El Pais* and Italy's *La Repubblica* newspaper groups, said they may be forced to increase their joint stake to 50% by investing more money in it. To judge from this book, the most surprising thing about the paper is that it did not collapse long ago.

Stephen Glover could have taken either of two "angles": a bitchy, scandal-strewn insider's account, which might have appealed to a small audience of fellow scribblers and media junkies; or a description of what it takes to launch a high-profile business in the teeth of fierce competition, which might have interested those thousands of readers who do not drink at London's Groucho Club. By feebly pursuing both at once, he has produced a peculiar hotch-potch.

Mr Glover bears a grudge. He left the *Independent* in a huff in 1991 when the staff of its Sunday edition, of which he was the editor, was merged with the staff of the daily. This alone would make his book suspect. What makes it unbelievable is the stilted,

mannered tone of his writing and his wholly implausible description of how the *Independent* was launched and managed.

Mr Glover portrays the paper's three founders—Andreas Whittam Smith, its editor, Matthew Symonds, his deputy, and Mr Glover himself—as sleepwalking their way to entrepreneurial success, forever bewildered by the quaint lingo of fast-talking advertising executives and investment bankers. At one point he describes his two colleagues as cheerfully admitting that they could not write very well. At another he speculates that none of them knew much about news or editing. Most meetings are punctuated with champagne toasts, many are held in expensive restaurants. During one meandering discussion Mr Glover wonders aloud why the trio are huddled in a fancy hotel, instead of talking to each other back at the office, like less exalted folk.

Mr Whittam Smith, the newspaper's chief executive as well as its editor, may not be the world's cleverest businessman. After all, he spoiled the *Independent's* early success by foolishly launching a Sunday edition just as recession hit Britain. But it is hard to believe that three such bumblers could ever have got the paper off the ground.

The book ends with a flurry of "I really never expected to be treated in this way by you" accusations and counter-accusations. Aw, c'mon. This is implausibly pompous, and not how business is conducted even in Britain, where civility too often excuses a multitude of sins. There is nothing to learn from reading this book except, perhaps, how vain and self-regarding some journalists are. And who needs a book to tell him that?

# It is. Are you.



Will it still be?



# Serbian Barbarism — and Ours

By Peter Schneider

**N**o one denies the facts. In the midst of Europe, within sight and sound of Italy, Austria and Greece, a war is being waged with the explicit goal of driving out and destroying civilian populations. The civilian victims are not just the necessary cost of carrying out military operations. The aggressors view them as the real enemy they need to defeat. They intend as best they can to "free" the conquered territories of undesirable minorities.

Night after night, television brings scenes of starving, maimed, raped, mangled civilians into the living rooms of Europe. These images of war are even more horrific than those that sent millions of Europeans into the street 25 years ago. Whatever the language, whatever the ideology, in those days the slogan was simple: Stop the war in Vietnam! These days,

*Peter Schneider is author, most recently, of "The German Comedy," a collection of essays. His forthcoming novel is "Couplings." This was translated from the German by Leigh Hafrey.*

the outrage is limited to a low sigh before the TV screen.

European politicians are numbing their citizens' revulsion with declarations that lead nowhere. We've lost count now of all the truces and peace accords violated before the ink was dry by new acts of conquest and murder. The all-too-betelated attempt by the United States to unite its European allies for joint military action against the Serbs has run afoul of a European inclination that diplomats would politely call "agreeing to disagree" — "cynicism" might be a more appropriate word.

Mesmerized, the world hangs on the lips of a Serbian leader who until recently swore he wasn't supplying weapons to his Bosnian clansmen and now swears he will halt these shipments immediately.

The joint plan of action agreed on by the United States and Europe on May 24 shows them bobbing in the wake of the former Soviet Union, whose policies traditionally placed might over minority rights. The program of action no longer invokes the Vance-Owen plan; it amounts to a de facto recognition of Serbian territorial gains and the confinement of the Muslim population to so-called safe havens.

It can't really be pure chance that the conquerors were the first to wel-

come the plan: For the Serbs, bluffing is a safe technique when there is no one there to call your bluff. Since the birth of European union at Maastricht, in the Netherlands, Europe has turned its face to the future — the baby face of a faun, smiling only on those who already have what they need.

The Germans stand out among their European partners in disinclination only on a couple of odd points, points uniquely theirs. One wouldn't have to make much of these matters if the Germans were really and primarily interested in the practicalities of intervention: What goals could be achieved? How many United Nations troops would be necessary? Why would German participation be counterproductive?

Yet every argument you have, and for that matter half the politicians' statements on TV talk shows, prove

Germans, if  
anyone, should set  
a moral example.

that these aren't the real questions.

The terms of the debate are set by moral guidelines, supposed lessons from the past, that shape our view of the possibility of intervening. And it's hard to miss the claim that Germany should play a special role, set a moral example. Horst Eberhard Richter, a leader of the peace movement and a professor of psychology, put it most succinctly in a television talk: Because of the special burden of their past, Germans have an opportunity to show the world the impossibility of solving today's problems through war.

In a heated debate with an opponent of intervention who had just celebrated his 60th birthday, I reached the point of asking him whether Germans have any principle they ought to be willing to defend with their lives. His only response was to hum a Nazi song that celebrated the spilling of blood for folk and Fatherland. He had had to learn it when he was a schoolboy. His hummed response seemed to speak for itself. The man with the mustache, the life-hater, had used

phrases of that kind to lead Germans into a bloodbath that cost 50 million lives.

No more war, no more uniforms, no more weapons — to the children of those who had prosecuted the war, this seems the only viable response to their elders' jingoism. The message seems so obvious that people overlook the flaw in it: it is incomplete. The victims of Nazi aggression and their children — Jews, Poles, Russians, Czechs, French, Britons — never could or would draw the same conclusion from their wartime experiences. Their parents had no choice but to take up arms and wage war against the German aggressors.

**O**nly in the land of the aggressor can one share in the widespread inclination to lump aggression and the armed struggle against aggression in a simple, catch-all rejection of "war." As a philosophy, it doesn't square with the experiences of those who fought Fascism.

The Israeli author Amos Oz shocked members of the German peace movement by commenting that aggression, not war, was the ultimate evil. My guess is that the moral confusion and lameness of many Germans can be explained by the fact that they haven't lived Amos Oz's comment: We Germans learned only from our parents — the aggressors — not from their victims.

Is this really the lesson to be learned from Nazi Fascism, that since we are responsible for the worst war crimes in history, we have the moral duty (and privilege) to restrict ourselves for all eternity to taking care of business, leaving other people to offer their lives for human rights? It just doesn't happen very often in history that the most convenient and least threatening stance — ringing one's hands over a massacre — turns out to be morally the most noble.

At this point in the debate, someone invariably sounds the warning that effectively stops all thought and feeling: One can't and shouldn't compare the Bosnian horror to the crimes of the Nazis. A curious argument, only half-right: If Auschwitz is our standard of measurement, there's no point intervening anywhere in the world, because none of the crimes currently being committed against human rights attains the scale of Auschwitz.

On the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, its last surviving commander, Marek Edelman, noted that "in Bosnia, we are witnessing mass slaughter, and Europe is behaving the way it did toward the

resistance in the Ghetto." When a survivor of Nazi mayhem can say that, cautionary statements by guilt-ridden Germans sound rather odd. Even the distress caused among German intellectuals by the admittedly problematic comparison of Saddam Hussein to Hitler can be explained by a kind of negative megalomania: How dare anyone compare this upstart, mustachioed Arab sheik to our own incomparable monster, Hitler!

Even the often-expressed opinion that we don't know friend from foe in Bosnia turns out to be a feeble excuse for inaction. This much we do know: Not only the Serbs, but to a lesser extent the Croats, and in some cases even the Muslims are carrying out ethnic cleansings in their ancestral lands or in the lands they have conquered.

Like most wars, the war in what was once Yugoslavia doesn't permit a clear distinction between good and evil, but it does allow us to distinguish between criminal aggressors and victims who also commit crimes.

The Serbs are waging a barbaric war of conquest and have vastly increased their territory. The Croats have lost a considerable portion of their territory to the Serbs and are now trying, by ever more brutal means, to increase their hold in Bosnia at the expense of the Muslims.

We learned only  
from our parents,  
not their victims.

The Muslims have lost almost everything.

Besides, the issue for Europeans has never been choosing between Serbs and Croats. Now and always, we must side with the victims of aggression: first it was the Croats; it was and still is the almost defenseless Muslims; it was and is the civilian population on all sides. The first and most important assignment in any intervention should be to separate the warring parties and stop the killing. It worked in Cyprus. People seem to forget that the United Nations still has troops in Cyprus. And it has become clear that we will not stop the killing in Bosnia unless we send in ground troops who are free to stop the aggressors by military means.

The cost of such intervention would be high, certainly higher than the Europeans and Americans have so far been willing to contemplate. Not only Germans but democracies the world over face the question of what it's worth to them to re-establish democracy in a country where what needs defending is human rights, not oil.

We can't ask others to answer for us. A supporter of intervention has to ask how much he is willing to sacrifice. Those peoples who decide the risk is too high ought also to say what they will tolerate: the triumph of barbarism in this part of Europe. □

