

NATIONAL JOURNAL 12/7/91

The Last Best Hope For Peace In Yugoslavia Is Cyrus Vance

The United Nations mission of Cyrus Vance offers the last, best hope of bringing a lasting peace to Yugoslavia. His effort deserves the support of the United States and the entire international community.

The United Nations is the only entity which all interested parties, the Yugoslav federal army, the Government of Croatia and the Government of Serbia, can view as impartial. And Mr. Vance has the trust and confidence of all parties to the conflict in his role as honest broker.

Because some in the European Community are intent on pursuing their own nationalistic interests, the EC cannot, at this point, play the role of honest broker in this conflict. The EC has forfeited its claim to objectivity, fairness and trust of all interested parties. Announcement of a rush to grant recognition to Croatia and to lift previously imposed sanctions on Yugoslavia for Croatia while continuing them for Serbia simply makes the task of Mr. Vance to achieve a lasting ceasefire which will allow introduction of U.N. peacekeeping forces and a negotiated settlement more difficult.

Mr. Vance is nevertheless making progress. His approach has been patient and even handed, yet firm. Given time and the full support of the inter-

national community there is every reason to believe he can succeed in stopping the fighting and bringing the parties to the negotiating table.

In the final analysis, however, the parties to the conflict must themselves negotiate a workable solution.



To be viable that solution must address both the legitimate concern of Serbia for the right of self-determination and security of Serbs living in Croatia as well as recognition of Croatia's right to self-determination and secession from Yugoslavia.

The genocide carried out against Serbs, Jews and Gypsies by a fascist Independent State of Croatia allied with Nazi Germany in World War II claimed more than 700,000 victims and occurred within living memory. Serbia and Serbs in Croatia will insist on a settlement that ensures the security of Serbs living within a secessionist Croatia and already experiencing intimidation and persecution when the current conflict began. The

negotiating process will not be easy, but Mr. Vance's U.N. mission offers the best hope for creating the circumstances in which a negotiated settlement can take place.

(Prepared by Wise Communications, 1250 24th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037, registered under the Foreign Agent's Registration Act with the U.S. Department of Justice as an agent for Jugopetrol, Belgrade, Yugoslavia. Copies of this material are filed with the Department of Justice where the required registration statements are available for public inspection. Registration does not indicate approval of the content of this material by the United States Government.)

Sept 11/92

VES

Vance and Owen arrive in Sarajevo

By Judy Dumpsey in Belgrade, George Graham in Washington and Laura Silber in London

MR CYRUS VANCE, the United Nations special envoy, and Lord Owen, the European Community mediator, yesterday arrived in Sarajevo after a hazardous 190-mile overland journey from the Croatian port of Split.

Mr Vance and Lord Owen, wearing blue flak jackets and helmets, immediately went to meet Mr Alija Izetbegovic, the president of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the presidency building in the centre of the besieged capital. Troops ringed and sealed off part of the city centre after an outbreak of gunfire shortly before their arrival.

Lord Owen appeared shaken by the extent of devastation in Sarajevo. He said: "You see the whole wanton destruction, tower blocks shot to smithereens, and you realise so much of it has come from the top and not from street fighting." He and Mr Vance were also expected to meet Mr Radovan Karadzic, the leader of Bosnia's Serbs, in Lukavica, the Serb army garrison just outside the city.

US administration officials and congressmen yesterday continued to rule out US military intervention in Bosnia, despite the attack on UN forces which killed two French soldiers this week.

Mr Lawrence Eagleburger, the US secretary of state, said some kind of military action, such as air cover for relief convoys bringing food and medicine to Sarajevo, remained a possibility, but "we're not there yet."

In New York, Mr Boutros Boutros Ghali, UN secretary-general, recommended an enlarged peace-keeping force to escort relief convoys in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In a report to the Security Council he gave no precise numbers but said the 1,500-strong force in Sarajevo could increase as much as fivefold. He did not recommend any air cover.

Mr Milan Panic, Yugoslavia's prime minister, will today ask the United Nations and the European Community to send international observers to monitor air bases in Serbia and Montenegro, the two republics which form the new Yugoslav federation. He wants the monitors to be able to

The European
Sept 10-13/92

Bosnia, j'accuse says irate Dumas

Askold Krushelnycky
SPLIT

THE murder of two French soldiers at Sarajevo airport has put the United Nations under mounting pressure to change its rules of engagement.

Roland Dumas, the French foreign minister, condemned the attack as "a veritable act of war against humanitarian aid workers". He hoped it would speed up implementation of Resolution 770, allowing UN troops to shoot back if attacked.

Five other soldiers were injured, including a sergeant who said: "We are sitting ducks; everyone is telling us not to shoot back."

The French defence ministry blamed Bosnian government forces for an "intentional" attack on the lightly armed aid convoy. The French UN troops did not fire back.

The new EC chief negotiator, Lord Owen, and the UN's special envoy, Cyrus Vance, described the killings as "cold-blooded murder". They arrived on Wednesday for talks with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic and the leader of the Bosnian Serbs, Radovan Karadzic.

Many UN soldiers believe that Bosnian Muslims may have shot at the convoy to provoke international military intervention. Muslims are frustrated that UN efforts are confined to feeding the beleaguered population, rather than taking action against the Serbs. But Bosnian spokesman Emir

Ptica said: "You do not shoot at somebody who is trying to help you and bring you food. The Muslims are not guilty of the attacks. I know that the West believes that we Balkan people are devious, but we are not such monsters. Why should we want to starve our own people?"

Indeed it is the Serbs who have most to gain from the attacks, as aid is the biggest obstacle to their bringing the city to its knees. Last month they accused the UN of smuggling weapons into the besieged Muslim town of Gorazde.

Lord Owen said: "The peace process is not going to be derailed. We will hammer home to all parties the futility of this conflict."

The UN High Commissioner for Refugees is meeting representatives of countries supplying planes for relief flights to Sarajevo this week and says it may re-open the air corridor. But director Chris Thorne said: "The pilots and crews of these planes are extremely courageous but I would not ask them or expect them to fly in these circumstances."

The Bosnian government has again pleaded for the UN arms embargo to be lifted.

It is that you allow us to buy components without sanction."

prove that Yugoslavia is not supplying military back-up to Serb forces in Bosnia.

Mr Panic, who is anxious to establish his control and authority over the federation, will meet Mr Vance and Lord Owen today.

Mr Panic secured the resignation of Mr Vladislav Jovanovic, the federal foreign minister, following his warning last week that he would dismiss members of the old government.

15.00 4:56



kec

Fri Sep 25 1992 7:50 am

Page 2 of 2

in the Banja Luka area as the next stage of an agreement reached last month in London for all sides in fighting to release prisoners, said Voillat. "If the situation is really getting out of control, it might affect this operation because we cannot cross a region" in the midst of heavy fighting, he said.

Eckhard said Vance and Guen would "assess the situation on the ground and speak to representatives of the local communities and humanitarian agencies." He said the two also had summoned Geneva-based representatives of Yugoslavia and Bosnian Serbs and urged them to press for immediate steps to reduce tension in the area.

Yugoslav President Dobrica Cusic, through his Geneva representative, "pledged cooperation with the co-chairmen in their efforts to get to the root of the matter and to try to establish the facts."

Vance, the former U.S. secretary of state, talked to Radovan Karadzic, leader of Bosnian Serbs, who indicated he would fly to Banja Luka himself to join the co-chairmen and make his own assessment.

Serbian and Croatian religious leaders, meanwhile, issued a demand in Geneva that all sides in the fighting cease hostilities immediately, release all prisoners and hostages and stop the practice of ethnic cleansing.

Serbian Orthodox Patriarch Pavle of Belgrade and Cardinal Franjo Kuharic of the Croatian Roman Catholic community said they deeply regretted that Jakub Selimovski, leader of Bosnian Muslims, had been prevented by fighting in Sarajevo from joining them for their meeting in Geneva on Thursday.

FROM : 0199 B. Markovich

PHONE NO. : 416 267 8039

P05

15.00 4:56

FINANCIAL TIMES 29/92

Vance and Owen tackle Serbs on ethnic cleansing

By Laura Silber in Belgrade

THE international mediators, Mr Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, confronted Serbian and Yugoslav officials in Belgrade yesterday with fresh allegations of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and tried to bolster the Geneva peace process.

Mr Vance, the United Nations envoy, and Lord Owen, the European Community envoy, were expected to discuss reports of ethnic cleansing of Croats and Muslims by Serb forces, as well as stepped-up air attacks which are seen as part of the campaign to force non-Serbs to flee from Serb-controlled regions of Bosnia.

Sarajevo radio yesterday warned the inhabitants of the besieged Bosnian capital of imminent air attacks.

The co-chairmen of the Geneva conference held closed door talks with Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic and General Zivota Panic, the commander of the Yugoslav army.

Diplomats in Belgrade said the two envoys would seek an accord on the demilitarisation of Prevlaka, a strategic peninsula on Croatia's southern Adriatic coastline which is controlled by the Yugoslav army.

An accord on Prevlaka would unblock access to Dubrovnik, the Croatian port.

The two envoys were also expected to take up the creation of safe passages for civilians in Bosnia and the return of Croatian refugees to UN peacekeeping zones in Croatia, said UN officials.

They were due to discuss the reopening of the Belgrade-Zagreb motorway, closed since last August.

Thousands of Croats have threatened to stage a march on

Three people were killed and more than 20 injured when a shell hit a cemetery during a funeral in Sarajevo, Bosnian radio said, Reuter reports from Sarajevo.

The radio blamed Serb irregulars for firing the shell but there was no proof of who was responsible. The city's French hospital confirmed casualty figures and said many of those wounded were in a serious condition.

The previous attack, on August 4, occurred during the funeral of two orphans. The grandmother of one of the children and four other people were injured but no one was killed on that occasion.

Bosnian radio said tank, mortar and artillery fire on the town of Gradacac, in northern Bosnia, had left at least four people dead.

their former homes in Baranja, north-eastern Croatia, many of which are housing Serb refugees from Croatia.

The envoys met Mr Radoje Kontic, the deputy prime minister of Yugoslavia, instead of the prime minister, Mr Milan Panic, who was still in the US.

Later yesterday they were due to meet Mr Slobodan Milosevic, the president of Serbia.

UN peacekeepers put intense pressure on the Croatian government yesterday to prevent thousands of refugees from going ahead with a "march to their deaths" into Serb-held territory, Reuter reports from Zagreb. One UN official said yesterday that the threatened march into the Baranja region of eastern Slavonia by up to 10,000 unarmoured refugees impatient to reclaim homes before the start of winter would be a "Balkan Chernobyl".

Turkey criticises allies of Bosnia

By Robert Mauthner in New York

TURKEY yesterday attacked the major powers and the international community as a whole for their failure to use military force to counter "Serbian aggression" in Bosnia.

Mr Hikmet Celik, the Turkish foreign minister, told a news conference during a meeting of the UN General Assembly that his government was becoming "increasingly discouraged" by the ineffectiveness of UN and EC efforts to stop the slaughter and persecution of Bosnian Muslims.

In a clear reference to the extreme reluctance of the UN and other members of the Security Council to contemplate the use of military force in Bosnia, Mr Celik said that merely served to encourage aggressors.

Turkey advocated "limited military intervention" under UN control, essentially involving limited air strikes against the Serb militias, which were refusing to implement the agreements reached at the recent London conference.

It was also in the imposition of an... zone over Bosnia... as prepared to con... international action... than conflict in any... red appropriate by... Council, Mr Celik

generated his govern... tion that, though... thousands of Bos... had taken refuge... try, Turkey would

meantime, Turkey... anue to urge the... al community to... odshed in Bosnia... r means it takes".

s outburst coin... an interview with... lin Powell, pub... New York Times... chairman of the... of staff strongly... the most limited... tary intervention

ce should be used... was a clear under... the political objec... tended to achieve... sive victory by... could be attained... ll said.

FOR MES

9x2

BBC Radio... that 2 helicop... way to Zagreb... at - 20 miles

tonight... their... shot... of Zagreb.

Dwen
on
sing

Turkey criticises allies on Bosnia

By Robert Mauthner
in New York

TURKEY yesterday attacked the major powers and the international community as a whole for their failure to use military force to counter "the Serbian aggression" in Bosnia.

Mr Hikmet Cetin, the Turkish foreign minister, told a news conference during a meeting of the UN General Assembly that his government was becoming "increasingly discouraged" by the ineffectiveness of UN and EC efforts to stop the slaughter and persecution of Bosnian Moslems.

In a clear reference to the extreme reluctance of the US and other members of the Security Council to contemplate the use of military force in Bosnia, Mr Cetin said this was a serious mistake which merely served to encourage the aggressors.

Turkey advocated "limited military intervention" under UN control, essentially involving limited air strikes against the Serb militias, which were refusing to implement the agreements reached at the recent London conference on

Yugoslavia. It was also in favour of the imposition of an air-exclusion zone over Bosnia.

Turkey was prepared to contribute to international action in the Bosnian conflict in any way considered appropriate by the Security Council, Mr Cetin said.

But he reiterated his government's position that, though hundreds of thousands of Bosnian Moslems had taken refuge in his country, Turkey would not act alone.

In the meantime, Turkey would continue to urge the international community to stop the bloodshed in Bosnia "by whatever means it takes".

Mr Cetin's outburst coincided with an interview with General Colin Powell, published in the New York Times, in which the chairman of the US joint chiefs of staff strongly opposed even the most limited form of military intervention in Bosnia.

Military force should be used only if there was a clear understanding of the political objective it was intended to achieve and if a decisive victory by force of arms could be attained, General Powell said.

were killed and injured when a cemetery during a Sarajevo, Bosnian

lamed Serb irraging the shell but proof of who was the city's French firmed casualty ld many of those re in a serious

ous attack, on rred during the o orphans. The of one of the our other people but no one was occasion.

ldo said tank, rtillery fire on Gradacac, in ula, had left at ole dead.

omes in Baranja, Croatia, many of using Serb refuta

met Mr Radoje deputy prime goslavia, instead minister, Mr who was still in

day they were r Slobodan Mil- sident of Serbs ers put iten e Croatian gov- day to prevent refugees from th a "march to into Serb-held er reports from N official said the threatened Baranja region sia by up to refugees impa homes before ater would be a ville".

FOR MRS Bentley

9x2

Regards
Ry

BBC Radio reported tonight that 2 helicopters on their way to Zagreb were shot at - 20 miles south of Zagreb.

Give peacemaker Vance a chance in Bosnia

H.D.S. GREENWAY

Secretary of State Warren Christopher has said Bosnia will receive the new administration's "highest-priority attention," and a number of commentators and opinion makers are clamoring for US military intervention against the Serbs.

At this writing, the fiercest fighting is taking place not in Bosnia, but in Croatia, where Croatian forces are attacking Serbs in a clear violation of the UN-sponsored cease-fire. The United Nations has protested, but the Croatian offensive continues.

Yet Croats would argue that the cease-fire left Serbs in control of the "pink zones," in which Serbs were never a majority, effectively cutting Croatia in half.

The Croatian offensive illustrates the cloudy nature of the Balkan crisis. If we were involved militarily this week, whom would we be fighting against? In Bosnia, Croats have been fighting this week against their Muslim allies as well as Serbs. How would outside military force be applied in this mix of aggression, legitimate concerns and broken promises?

Should UN sanctions, now applied solely to Serbia, also be applied to Croats, who have done their share of ethnic cleansing?

As Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has written: "Deeper military involvement beyond humanitarian purposes requires great care and a full examination of possible outcomes." Much of the reporting on the subject has not given a balanced picture of the complexities involved.

For example, a recent Associated Press dispatch reported that "Serbs who made up one-third of Bosnia's prewar population have seized 70 percent of its territory." The dispatch failed to mention that Serbs controlled and lived on approximately 60 percent of Bosnia's land before the fighting began.

The New York Times correspondent in Belgrade this week reported that Yugoslavia has been under international pressure for "supporting the Serbian rebels who have carved away about two-thirds of Bosnia and Herzegovina's territory in the nine months of war there." Again, the Times gives the impression that Serbs "carved away" two-thirds of Bosnia when in reality they lived on almost two-thirds of its territory in the first place.

It is not to excuse Serbian aggression or atrocities to point out that Serbs have lived in Bosnia for centuries and are not simply conquerors from another country who can be sent packing by force of arms as if they were a German army in France.

One answer, which the Serbs favor, would be partition, which has been used before to divide irreconcilable peoples: Jews and Arabs in Palestine, Hindus and Muslims in India, Turks and Greeks in Cyprus. All three of these divisions were accompanied by ethnic cleansing. In Bosnia, the United Nations is trying to work out a compromise under the good offices of Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen to keep the territorial integrity of Bosnia intact under a loose, decentralized system that would give Muslims, Croats and Serbs some measure of control and safety in the areas where they live.

Yet The New Republic recently editorialized that "the Vance-Owen peace plan is essentially a device to reward Serbian aggression and stall rather than prevent the destruction of an entire country." In fact, the Vance-Owen plan calls for Serbs to control only about 43

percent of the territory -- a considerable rollback.

In the end, Vance has said, there has to be a negotiated solution that takes into account minority rights, ends the fighting and protects all civilians, especially the Muslim majority, who are suffering more than anyone else this winter.

Yet the calls for intervention grow louder. "Clinton should ready himself for an early, decisive use of force," says The New Republic, without any clue as to what would be decisive in such a cauldron of conflicting interests, ethnic hatreds and genuine concerns. The threat of force may be more persuasive than the use of force, because the first shot would drown all calls to reason and compromise in a sea of patriotism and passion.

The Vance-Owen peace plan may seem like a long shot in these dark days, but it should be given every chance to succeed, and the international community should not give the impression to any of the parties that military intervention is going to negate the necessity of compromise.

H.D.S. Greenway is senior associate editor of the Globe.

The Owen show is the only one left

The Guardian Feb. 2/93

LORD OWEN is at least half right about Bosnia — a problem which most people have got completely wrong. On his way to the UN, he is insisting that a peace deal is close and that the world should refrain from military action, further sanctions or exempting the Sarajevo government from the arms embargo. His optimism about a deal is surely misplaced. He is heading for New York with the acceptance of only one side — the Croats, who are simultaneously defying the UN in the Krajina. The Serbs have accepted the division of Bosnia but not the need to disarm. The Bosnian president accepts neither and refuses to attend the UN. But the Owen-Vance team are absolutely right to warn against loose talk of zapping the Serbs or arming the Muslims or seeking any other facile solutions in a situation where none exist. The peace plan is now the only alternative to something much worse.

The mediators are worried that the Clinton administration is giving much more serious thought to the use of military force and related gestures. It is not just the re-floating of quick-fix ideas like air strikes against Serbian guns and airfields. The deeper concern is that Warren

Christopher and his team seem to be questioning the whole basis of the Vance-Owen plan. The point which Bosnia has now reached is far short of that which the majority of its people who wished to live in peace, in a unitary state, deserve. But it is the result of a process of disintegration which has already taken place without effective counteraction by the international community, including the US. It is much too late in the day now, and quite impractical, to wind back the clock to a year ago when the world recognised Bosnia's independence but did nothing to guarantee it. Similarly it is the reverse of appropriate for Germany — whose unilateral decision to recognise Croatia did so much harm — to lobby now for the lifting of the UN arms embargo and precipitate still more bloodshed. If these varied and confusing noises are merely intended to put pressure upon the contestants to seek peace, they may have entirely the opposite effect.

There is a long way to go in the other direction even if all three participants eventually accept all three parts of the accord: general principles, detailed map, and a ceasefire. The constitutional arrangements which follow, circulated yesterday by Lord Owen, are themselves only "interim". But all these draft agreements presuppose an international presence on a very large scale to supervise the ceasefire, monitor the provincial borders and control the road "throughways" which will be entrusted to a new "international access authority". Like the plan to provide a peace-keeping ring around Sarajevo under discussion yesterday in Paris, these schemes require large numbers of blue helmets under full UN control, and adequate funding. If Mr Clinton wants to make a positive start, this should be his first pledge to Bosnia.

Owen Prods U.S. to Back Bosnia

By R.W. Apple Jr.

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Lord Owen, one of the two international mediators in the Balkans, charged Tuesday that the Clinton administration's reluctance to back the effort threatened to "scuttle the chances of ending the war" in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"Against all the odds, even against my own expectations, we have more or less got a settlement," the former British foreign secretary said in an interview. "But we have a problem: We can't get the Muslims on board. And that's largely the fault of the Americans, because the Muslims won't budge while they think Washington may come into it on their side any day now."

"What do they want down there, a war that goes on and on? This isn't just the best act in town, it's the only act in town, it's the best settlement you can get, and it's a bitter irony to see the Clinton people block it."

Cyrus R. Vance, the former U.S. secretary of state, who represents the United Nations, and Lord Owen, who represents the European Community, moved the talks to the United Nations from Geneva this week. They tried to persuade

Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher on Monday to endorse their peace plan, but he pointedly declined, confining himself to praise for their "tireless, courageous effort."

Two of the three factions involved in the war, the Serbs and the Croats, have agreed to a plan that divides Bosnia and Herzegovina into 10 autonomous republics—in effect, ethnic enclaves. Russia and the EC have also endorsed it. The Muslim-dominated government headed by President Alija Izetbegovic has held out.

A senior administration official,

speaking on condition of anonymity, said that Mr. Clinton continued to have questions not only about the practicality of the plan, such as whether it could be enforced, but also about the justice of embedding in any agreement what he called "ill-gotten Serbian gains that result from ethnic cleansing."

Nevertheless, there were veiled suggestions in Washington that Mr. Clinton and Mr. Christopher might be preparing to work toward an accommodation with the negotiators, perhaps trying to further reduce the conquests the Serbs are permitted to keep, rather than seek-

Int'l Herald

Tribune

Feb. 3/93

Plan as 'Only Act in Town'

ing UN authorization for lifting the embargo on arms shipments to the Bosnian government or committing the United States to air strikes on Serbian supply lines.

Lord Owen said he had the feeling that Mr. Christopher "didn't really hear what I was saying." His sense, he said, was that because Mr. Clinton had promised bolder action in Bosnia during the campaign, "and because they've had to pull back on so much already, they're afraid to do so on this, too."

But he said he and Mr. Vance continued to hope that "eventually, they'll get it and help us."

Britain, France and Russia would probably veto any attempt to win Security Council approval for arms shipments to Bosnia, Lord Owen argued, and if not, such shipments would trigger arms shipments from Russia and Belarus to the Bosnian Serbs.

While he did not oppose air strikes to enforce an eventual agreement, he said, Western military intervention before such an agreement would constitute "an irresponsible tilting of the balance."

"This could be the big prize for Clinton," Lord Owen said. "If he wants a new policy, then he should

stop all this loose talk about using force, make it clear to Izetbegovic that he's got no real alternative to the negotiations, work with us on improving the map, and then send American troops in there under NATO auspices."

■ U.S. Gives Karadzic a Visa

The State Department said Tuesday that it had granted Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb leader who it wants to put on trial for war crimes, a visa so he can take part in talks at the United Nations. Reuters reported from Washington.