

FINANCIAL TIMES March 19/92

Bosnian leaders agree to an ethnic divide

By Laura Silber in Belgrade

THE LEADERS of Bosnia-Herzegovina yesterday claimed a breakthrough in European Community-sponsored talks on the future of the Yugoslav republic. They agreed in principle to an independent state divided into three separate areas along ethnic and geographic lines.

The document, called a statement of principles, appeared to pave the way for international recognition of Bosnia as an independent state. Diplomats say it is likely that the EC and the US will jointly recognise Bosnia early next month.

The accord would give the Slavic Moslems, Serbs and Croats regional control over their local economies, culture, health and education, leaving

foreign and macro-economic policy to a collective government and parliament. It appeared to be an attempt by the leaders of Bosnia's three main national groups to defuse rising ethnic tension which many fear could explode into a civil war.

But the agreement left unresolved where the new boundaries would be drawn to separate the intertwined ethnic groups in Bosnia's 4.4m population. It also did not define future control over the police and the armed forces. According to western diplomats, the Serb-controlled federal army now has an estimated 100,000 troops in Bosnia.

Diplomats in Belgrade, the Serbian and federal capital,

were cautious about the accord. "This is a little progress, but don't be deceived," said a western diplomat. "It is a journey of many miles".

Mr Jose Cutillero, a Portuguese diplomat who chaired the two-day talks, said it would take some long negotiations before a draft constitution could be drawn up.

The agreement seemed to represent a concession by Mr Alija Izetbegovic, the Moslem president of Bosnia, who has opposed the division of Bosnia into ethnic units.

Moslems, who make up 43 per cent of the population, fear the republics of Serbia and Croatia will move to annex parts of Bosnia, leaving the Moslems without a homeland.

Mr Radovan Karadzic, the leader of Bosnia's Serbs, has consistently rejected an independent Bosnia. Many Serbs have raised roadblocks in Bosnia in protest against the "yes" vote in the independence referendum on March 1.

Mr Karadzic said: "It is a great day for Bosnia. In this moment if we respect what we agreed to we can see there are no more reasons for civil war in Bosnia".

However, he also said after the talks that "undoubtedly there will be three Bosnias and it does not matter what they will be called", thus appearing to contradict an earlier pledge to respect the inviolability of the republic's borders.

FINANCIAL TIMES March 19/92

Russian soldiers join UN peace-keepers in Yugoslavia

Afghan veteran shocked by Vukovar

By Laura Silber in Dalj

"I NEVER saw anything like Vukovar in Afghanistan," said Colonel Aleksandr Khomchemkov, a Russian battalion commander of the United Nations peacekeeping troops, of the devastated town in eastern Croatia.

Col Khomchemkov, who is part of the first ever Russian peacekeeping mission, earlier this week arrived in Dalj, just 15 miles north of Vukovar. He says: "It is a second Stalingrad, a terrible scene". Just then a civilian officer, anxious to adhere to the strict UN code of neutrality, nervously interrupts to point out that Col. Khomchemkov's comparison refers only to the level of destruction and not to the nature of the conflict.

Major Kumal Budbathoki, of the Royal Nepalese army, a veteran of two previous peacekeeping missions in Lebanon, says

everyone was shocked by Vukovar, the town which bears grim witness to last year's three-month-long battle between Serb irregulars backed by the federal army and Croat national guards.

In Dalj, the scars of war are not as appalling as in Vukovar. The local school building which last August was littered with the corpses of Croat policemen and civilians and splattered in blood has been repainted. Here Col Khomchemkov and some 45 UN officers are billeted as part of a reconnaissance mission working to define the exact boundaries of the peacekeeping zone, set up communications and find accommodation for the 14,000 troops due to be despatched next month to three UN protected areas in Croatia.

Major Jan Mulder, of the Royal Dutch signal corps, said: "Five years ago I never

would have said it was impossible to be in a joint force with Russians. Now there is no enemy."

All the officers appear to agree the main task is to keep the peace. Maj Mulder did not appear concerned about the distant gunshots he heard overnight.

Despite the optimistic predictions of success from the Belgian, Dutch, Russian and Nepalese officers, they are aware of perils awaiting them. A peace-keeper, who asked to remain anonymous, said he had served in Lebanon but called the situation in eastern Croatia more dangerous. He says: "In Lebanon we were welcomed by all but a small segment of the population. Here there is a great danger of being perceived as the enemy, either by the Serbs or the Croats. Then there will be no hope at all of keeping the peace."

The Evening Sun

BALTIMORE, MONDAY, MARCH 2, 1992

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Breakaway vote leads to violence

■ At least four die following vote in Yugoslav republic.

From Wire Services

SARAJEVO, Yugoslavia — At least four people have been killed in Sarajevo in an outbreak of violence following a vote by Bosnia-Herzegovina to break away from Yugoslavia, a doctor told Sarajevo television today.

The doctor said one of the bodies was brought to his hospital and at least three others were taken to another clinic. All four died of gunshot wounds, he added.

Militant Serbs opposed to Bosnian independence threw up barricades in Sarajevo, the republic's capital, last night and today, paralyzing the city.

Violence broke out after a majority voted in favor of the republic's independence from Yugoslavia in a weekend referendum and a Serb carrying his national flag was shot to death at a wedding yesterday.

Not long after Bosnia's foreign minister announced that voters approved independence in the two-day vote, police reported that all roads leading into Sarajevo, a city of 600,000, had been blocked.

As morning broke, radio warned people to stay away from work and keep their children at home. The city appeared paralyzed.

A statement by the Serbian Democratic Party in Bosnia demanded an immediate halt to all efforts by the Bosnian government to establish independence and seek international recognition.

Its leaders called for an urgent talks between Bosnia's Muslim, Serb and Croat communities in an attempt to settle their rivalries peacefully.

They also warned police not to try to attack the barricades.

Serbs, who account for a third of Bosnia's population but claim two-thirds of its territory, boycotted the referendum which made Bosnia the fourth of the six Yugoslav republics to opt for independence.

Muslims, who make up almost 44 percent of the population, and ethnic Croats, 17 percent, voted strongly in favor.

Although the official result will not be known until tomorrow, the government said 58 percent of the electorate voted.

See SARAJEVO, 5A, Col. 4

3/1/92

Bosnians Hold Independence Referendum

President Predicts Majority Support for Measure; 3 Die in Violence at Serb Roadblock

By Laura Silber

Special to the Washington Post

SARAJEVO, Yugoslavia, Feb. 29—Residents of the ethnically explosive Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina turned out in large numbers for a crucial referendum on independence today, but the voting was marred by shooting incidents that left three people dead.

The independence referendum comes as the United Nations prepares to deploy 14,000 peace-keeping troops in neighboring Croatia.

Polling officials said about 40 percent of Bosnia's 3.1 million voters had cast their ballot in the first day of the two-day referendum. Slavic Muslims and Croats, who make up nearly two-thirds of the population, are expected to vote for Bosnia to break away from Yugoslavia.

Bosnia's Muslim president, Alija Izetbegovic, predicted today that the vote would favor independence. "The people are voting for freedom and democracy for all peoples in a just Bosnia-Herzegovina, . . . for a united state of Muslims, Serbs and Croats," he said.

"The situation is not normal here. Above all there is a war psychosis, because of the recent war in Croatia and because of the great concentration of [Yugoslav] army troops here. . . . But I think a 60



BY DAVE COOK—THE WASHINGTON POST

percent vote would be satisfactory," said Izetbegovic as he voted here in the Bosnian capital.

Serbs, who make up about 31 percent of the 4.3 million population, mostly appeared to heed a boycott called by their leaders. Polling stations in several predominantly Serb villages in Bosnia did not open. Bosnia's Serb leaders say Serbs already have held their own referendum, voting against independence to remain in a Yugoslav state.

Three people were killed early

"The situation is not normal here. Above all there is a war psychosis, because of the recent war in Croatia and because of the great concentration of [Yugoslav] army troops here."

— Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic

today after Serb gunmen set up a roadblock outside Turbe, a mostly Serb village 65 miles northwest of Sarajevo. The gunmen said a Serb was killed when he tried to drive his car through the barricade. The Yugoslav news agency Tanjug said a passenger in the car later died after being wounded by gunfire. A third person was killed in an overnight gunfight at the barricade, the gunmen said.

"We put up the barricades to retaliate against the Croats. They want to join Croatia. We [Serbs]

will stay with Serbia," said one of nearly 50 masked men, armed with submachine guns and hunting knives.

Today's violence followed a bomb blast Thursday night that damaged a 450-year-old mosque in the mostly Serbian city of Banja Luka. Serbs in Banja Luka today reiterated their pledge to form a Serbian republic in Bosnia and to secede if Bosnia is granted independence.

The presence of the Yugoslav army has tended to temper Bosnia's quest for independence. But Izetbegovic said that "it will not come to armed conflict. Isolated incidents may occur . . . but the withdrawal of the Yugoslav army will be negotiated after the referendum."

Police armed with automatic weapons patrolled the flag-lined streets of Sarajevo today. The walls of the city's Ottoman-style bazaar were covered with posters saying, "Vote Yes for an independent Bosnia," or, "Keep Bosnia together."

The European Community, which recognized Croatian and Slovenian independence in January, has made the referendum, in which independence must be approved by at least 50 percent of Bosnia's registered voters, one of the EC's conditions for recognition. The first unofficial referendum results are expected Sunday night.

Tension hovers over Yugoslav balloting

By Dusan Stojanovic
THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

SARAJEVO, Yugoslavia — Muslims and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina began casting ballots yesterday in an independence referendum, but Serbs boycotted the vote, calling it illegal. Three deaths were reported in election-day violence.

Montenegro, meanwhile, prepared to vote today on whether to form a new, smaller Yugoslavia with its ally Serbia. President Momir Bulatovic said he will step down if

voters reject the plan for a joint state with Yugoslavia's largest republic.

In ethnically tense Bosnia, Serb leaders warned the two-day vote could trigger bloodshed because they want to stay within the fractured Serb-led Yugoslav federation.

Serbs want to divide Bosnia along ethnic lines. But Muslims, who make up 44 percent, and Croats, who account for 17 percent, say Bosnia must be independent with its borders intact.

European Community countries and the United States fear any frag-

mentation of Bosnia could throw the republic into a civil war worse than the fighting that killed thousands in Croatia since that republic declared independence June 25.

In Croatia, where a U.N.-sponsored cease-fire has been largely holding for almost two months now, four persons were killed and nine wounded in an attack by Serbian-led forces on the eastern Croatian stronghold of Vinkovci late Friday, local defense officials said yesterday.

If the Bosnian referendum pro-

duces the expected majority for independence, the European Community will consider formal recognition of Bosnia in March. The 12-nation EC and dozens of other states recognized the breakaway republics of Slovenia and Croatia last month.

First official results were not expected before tomorrow. About 40 percent of voters cast their ballots on the first day of voting, electoral commission officials said.

"The time has come for Bosnia-Herzegovina to become a free, sovereign state," President Alija Izet-

begovic, a Muslim, said after casting his ballot in downtown Sarajevo yesterday.

Local Serbian authorities were reported obstructing the Bosnian referendum and intimidating voters.

One person was shot dead and another later died of his injuries after an exchange of gunfire, Sarajevo Television reported. They were traveling in a car that failed to stop at a barricade set up by armed vigilantes wearing black masks near Travnik in central Bosnia.

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Kaway vote leads to violence

SARAJEVO, From 1A

Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic said: "It is the will of the citizens that we are an independent and sovereign state now."

Bosnia's government was in an emergency session. The deputy mayor of Sarajevo, Muhamed Zlutar, appealed for calm.

"We must solve this with wisdom," he said. "This is our only chance."

But there were reports from the countryside that the conflict was spreading. Reports said traffic also was blocked in Doboj, a town about 60 miles north of Sarajevo.

The violence followed months of

tension between Muslims, Croats and Serbs in the mountainous republic of more than 4.3 million people as it moves toward independence.

Political leaders said they feared that bloodshed in neighboring Croatia could spread to Bosnia. More than 6,000 people died in fighting between Croats and Serbs last year after Croatia declared its independence.

Just hours after polling ended in Bosnia yesterday, Muslims and Serbs brandishing automatic weapons threw up barricades across roads through Sarajevo.

Bursts of gunfire frequently echoed through the hills surrounding the city during the night.

Reuters and the Associated Press contributed to this story.

The route from Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina, northwards towards Croatia, is marked not only by road signs but by Serb Orthodox church domes, Moslem mosques, and Catholic spires.

Despite the religious and cultural diversity of the industrial heartland of Yugoslavia, there are few political slogans or flags extolling the Bosnian parties representing these three communities. It is a world apart from the other side of the River Sava, where flags proclaim the nationalism of President Franjo Tudjman's ruling Croatian Democratic Union.

Unlike the neighbouring presidents of Serbia and Croatia, Mr Alija Izetbegovic, the Moslem president of Bosnia, has refused to play the nationalist card since winning office in November 1990. Mr Izetbegovic is astute enough to know that nationalist symbols can divide, not unite, the fractious communities over which he presides.

But holding Moslems (44 per cent of the 4.3m population), Serbs (23 per cent) and Croats (17 per cent) together in a fragile peace has been put to the test this week. Territorial ambitions by Serb and Croat nationalists in Bosnia-Herzegovina have brought the republic to the brink of civil war. Armed gangs of Serb extremists formed barricades around Sarajevo on the pretext of seeking justice for the murder of a Serb at a local wedding. In reality, they were protesting against the overwhelming vote for independence from the rump Yugoslav federation by Bosnia's Moslems and Croats.

The sight of the barricades sent ripples of panic and fear through the capital's bazaars — once ruled by the Turks, and later the Hapsburgs, and where Serbs, Croats, Moslems and Jews have co-existed for centuries. But Mr Izetbegovic, determined not to be intimidated by the Serbs, or provoked by a younger generation of Moslems urging him to take a tougher line, adopted an almost Gandhi-like, pacifist

MAN IN THE NEWS

Alija Izetbegovic

Former rebel with a pacifist cause

By Judy Dempsey

After talks with Serbian leaders, and peaceful demonstrations, the barricades were lifted. It was a telling example of how this once rebellious writer's adherence to a philosophy of patience and tolerance can cool tempers and defuse an explosive situation.

It would have been understandable had this small, soft-spoken, 66-year-old writer and lawyer used his office to seek redress for present and historical grievances against Moslems. In the mid-19th century, his ancestors were expelled from Belgrade, capital of Serbia, after a constitutional clause was enacted banning Moslems, Jews and gypsies from living in the city.

Mr Izetbegovic's grandparents settled in Samac, on the Sava, then moved to Sarajevo. There, the young Alija, born in 1926, witnessed several Serbian massacres of more than 100,000 Moslems during the second world war. At the age of 20, he had a brush with the communist authorities for his political activities for which he

received a three-year prison sentence. On release, he completed his law studies at Sarajevo university, and worked as a legal adviser for two large Bosnian enterprises.

In 1983, he was sentenced again — this time for 14 years, commuted to five — for writing the "Islamic Declaration", a political tract which sought to reconcile European democratic principles with (Sunni) Islamic teaching. He was released in November 1988 and founded the Moslem-based Party of Democratic Action which won the most seats in the republic's first free parliamentary elections in November 1990.

"He is aware of the bloody history of the Balkans," says a close friend from his university days. "He knows that instability in Bosnia-Herzegovina has always provided opportunities for satisfying the territorial ambitions of Croatia and Serbia. Both have traditionally vied for influence and expansion into this republic."

That partly explains why Mr Izetbegovic has declined to side

with either Bosnia's Serbs or Croats. "He tries to have good relations with both communities so as to preserve the traditions of co-existence in Bosnia," says another government minister. Other officials argue that the Moslems will be forced to seek their own state to protect themselves from Croat and Serbian territorial ambitions.

Mr Izetbegovic rejects this idea. "Our home is in Europe, and not in a fundamentalist state. My aim is to have an independent, democratic republic which conforms to European standards."

His friends support this view. "I used to think that Izetbegovic was politically naive, that he would be trampled upon in such a way he would be radicalised," one of them says. Another friend says: "I slowly realised that he had a different sense of time, preferring to negotiate, rather than react. He believes there is always a tomorrow, and that time is on his side."

Over the past few months, it often seemed that time was



running out for Bosnia's Moslems. President Tudjman and President Slobodan Milosevic, the Serbian leader, have been fomenting instability in Bosnia-Herzegovina so as to divide the republic among themselves, Mr Izetbegovic says simply: "This should not happen."

At the same time, the federal Yugoslav army has been withdrawing from war-torn Croatia and moving into Bosnia. The republic risks becoming a huge garrison for discontented, mainly Serbian, soldiers who might be tempted to side with Bosnia's Serbian population if there is an outbreak of violence. Mr Izetbegovic is sanguine, however. "We will talk to the generals. I am not so sure that the army will side with the Serbs."

This strategy of negotiation has paid off so far. This week, General Mihatun Kukanic, head of the federal army garrison in Sarajevo, declined to join the Serb barricades.

Mr Izetbegovic is hoping, with the army on the sidelines temporarily and a referendum to support him, that the European Community will recognise Bosnia's independence. He believes this will prevent Croatia and Serbia from trying to divide Bosnia and setting up cantons based on ethnic communities — an impractical objective given the complex ethnic patchwork of the republic.

"Our independence must be recognised, and it must be backed by the deployment of United Nations peace-keeping forces as soon as possible," Mr Izetbegovic said recently. So far, the UN is deploying 13,000 troops to keep the peace in Croatia; only the administrative headquarters will be in Sarajevo. "If the UN forces were sent, the tension would decrease," the president says.

This weekend Mr Izetbegovic will again put his case for the recognition of the republic to the EC in Brussels. "What more can we do?" asked a close colleague of the president. No doubt, he will get a sympathetic hearing. But it may be that that is all he will get.

FINANCIAL
TIMES
Market
7-8/92



FELTERS

Serbs wield machine guns while controlling traffic into Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina's capital, but later abandoned their roadblocks.

Ethnic Serbs fire on demonstrators in Sarajevo

From Wire Reports

SARAJEVO, Yugoslavia — After firing on 1,000 peaceful demonstrators in a clash yesterday over Bosnia-Herzegovina's right to seek independence, militant Serbs later abandoned their barricades, which had surrounded the republic's capital

“We are not going to accept an independent Bosnia-Herzegovina.”

RADOVAN KARADZIC
Leader of Bosnia's Serbs

out of Sarajevo, during the day because of the blockades, which came down after negotiations with Bosnian officials.

Bosnia's presidency and government had condemned the vigilante action by the militants and a senior officer of the Yugoslav federal army branded the armed uprising against

HEUTERS

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About 5,000 youthful marchers plowed through the militants' heavily armed roadblocks about 9 p.m., after three fellow protesters had been felled by gunfire and one reportedly died of those wounds. Four others were killed in earlier gun battles, hospital workers said.

The Serbian militants left Sarajevo as swiftly as they had appeared 24 hours earlier to defy a weekend referendum in which Muslims and Croats overwhelmingly endorsed secession of Bosnia-Herzegovina from the Yugoslav federation.

Muslims and Croats together account for more than 60 percent of the republic's population.

The retreat eased fears that Yugoslavia's civil war was about to consume volatile Bosnia-Herzegovina.

“We are not going to accept an independent Bosnia-Herzegovina.”

RADOVAN KARADZIC
Leader of Bosnia's Serbs

But tensions remained high and Serb political leaders warned that ethnic warfare was unavoidable.

The Serbs, who make up a third of Bosnia-Herzegovina's population, want to retain ties with Serbia and Montenegro, the only former Yugoslav republics that want to retain the Yugoslav federation that unraveled as communist rule collapsed.

“We are not going to accept an independent Bosnia-Herzegovina,” Radovan Karadzic, head of Bosnia's Serbs, told Sarajevo TV from Belgrade, the Serbian capital.

If Bosnia is recognized as independent, “I am afraid that we could not avoid an inter-ethnic war,” he said. “Let this be a warning.”

The first march began about 7 p.m. About 1,000 people, some carrying

rying children, marched on the Serbs' biggest barricade, which blocked Sarajevo's main Marshal Tito Boulevard.

They brought loaves of bread in a peace offering, shouted “We will live together,” and called on the militants to release Sarajevo but were met by automatic gunfire.

The protesters then regrouped, swelling to at least 5,000, and marched down Marshal Tito Boulevard again, chanting support for ethnic unity.

“It was the strength of the people that broke them,” Esko Hadzimatovic, a proud 19-year-old law student, declared as he and other youths celebrated the removal of the militant Serbs' barricades.

No traffic had been allowed in an

out of Sarajevo during the day because of the blockades, which came down after negotiations with Bosnian officials.

Bosnia's presidency and government had condemned the vigilante action by the militants and a senior officer of the Yugoslav federal army branded the armed uprising against secession “sheer banditry.”

The militants' well-coordinated effort was clearly intended as a signal that they were not only dissatisfied with the vote for secession but that they were also ready to stall or derail it.

Muslim Slavs and Croats are eager to have the European Community recognize Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent country. With the departure of Slovenia and Croatia from Yugoslavia, they fear the prospect of being left behind in what is certain to be a Serb-dominated state.

Election committee officials announced that, with about 80 percent of the vote counted, well over 90 percent had voted for independence. Turnout was 68 percent, with many Serbian voters boycotting

3/1/92

Tension hovers over Yugoslav balloting

By Dusan Stojanovic
THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

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One person was shot dead and another later died of his injuries after an exchange of gunfire, Sarajevo Television reported. They were traveling in a car that failed to stop at a barricade set up by armed vigilantes wearing black masks near Travnik in central Bosnia.

Son of extradited Yugoslav calls dead father's war crimes bogus

By Jerry Seper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A Los Angeles stockbroker, whose father was extradited by U.S. officials to Yugoslavia in 1986 as a war criminal, yesterday said records show that his father was convicted of crimes that never occurred.

Radoslav Artukovic said the records, found in Croatia and turned over this week to the Justice Department, prove evidence used to extradite his father, Andrija, was false and U.S. prosecutors were aware of it.

"These documents confirm that the Office of Special Investigations [OSI] had prior knowledge concerning the fraudulent nature of the investigation it presented to a U.S. district court in 1984 in the Artukovic extradition case," he said.

Mr. Artukovic, a governor of the Pacific Stock Exchange, said the OSI — the country's Nazi hunters — withheld the records from the court. He said an extradition order signed in Los Angeles "was based solely on false affidavits alleging the commission of fictitious crimes."

In 1988, Andrija Artukovic, then 88, died of natural causes in a Yugoslav prison while awaiting execution

by a firing squad. A former interior minister for the Ustasha government, he was convicted of being a member of a Nazi puppet regime and held responsible for the death of 5,500 Jews.

Mr. Artukovic said the records were located in late 1990 by research historian Henry L. deZeng in the state archives in Zagreb, the capital of Croatia. The Yugoslav republic declared its independence in June 1991.

He said he waited until now to release the documents because he was told by Justice Department officials that allegations of OSI misconduct in the case were being examined and he did not want to compromise the inquiry.

"I am now convinced that nothing is being done and the so-called 'investigation' is merely a whitewash," Mr. Artukovic said. "Everyone should know of OSI's willingness to use anything it has, including false evidence, to win a conviction."

Justice Department spokesman G. Douglas Tillett said yesterday only that "the matter is under review."

The documents include a Dec. 9, 1952, report by Yugoslav prosecutor Milivoj Rukavina, who said allega-

tions by Artukovic's chief accuser, Bajro Avdic, a convicted war criminal, were "inaccurate" and "cannot be utilized as a provable statement of fact."

A July 30, 1952, affidavit by Avdic himself — taken when he was attempting to win early release from a 20-year prison sentence — contradicts statements he made 32 years later to OSI investigators.

Milan Bulajic, a former top Justice official in Yugoslavia who was in charge of prosecuting war criminals, published a book in 1988 saying the massacres for which Artukovic was convicted never occurred.

Mr. deZeng said he found the documents after searching through nine boxes of records at the archives in Zagreb. The Winter Springs, Fla., researcher said OSI officials had searched through the same boxes June 10, 1983 — according to archives employees.

"The records show they photocopied three boxes of documents and had them delivered to the U.S. consulate in Zagreb. They read the same contradictory information," Mr. deZeng said. "But they had publicly targeted Artukovic and it was too late to stop, even after they found out they lacked a case."

Wash. Times: 2/26/92

Yugoslav army says retirements near

2/26/97
Wash Times

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia — The Serbian-led federal army announced yesterday that many of its senior officers would be retired. It appeared to be an attempt to purge the army's remaining non-Serbian military leaders.

No details were offered in the brief dispatch by the Tanjug news agency.

During the war in Croatia, which the army entered ostensibly to separate warring factions but stayed to fight the Croats, the institution suffered high rates of defection and a poor rate of response to call-ups in Serbia. Many non-Serbian officers have already quit.

Serbian president declares end to war with Croatia, welcomes U.N. troops

By Dusko Doder
Contributing Writer

BELGRADE — Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has formally abandoned the seven-month war with Croatia that has left some 10,000 people dead and devastated the economics of both Yugoslav republics.

Speaking yesterday to an unruly Parliament, the Serbian president, who had hoped to create a greater Serbia, welcomed the imminent deployment of U.N. peacekeeping forces. He suggested that this was a part of his policy to secure international protection for Serbs in Croatia and to "create preconditions for a just peace."

"This was the most that could have been achieved under these conditions," he told the Serbian Parliament in which his Socialist (formerly Communist) Party controls more than three-fourths of the seats.

Some 14,000 U.N. troops are expected to arrive in Croatia in the latter half of March, but final arrangements have yet to be reached.

In another sign of peace, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman ordered the demobilization of 20,000 reservists, news agencies reported. An aide said the order would take effect immediately and was the first step in a plan to rebuild war-torn Croatia.

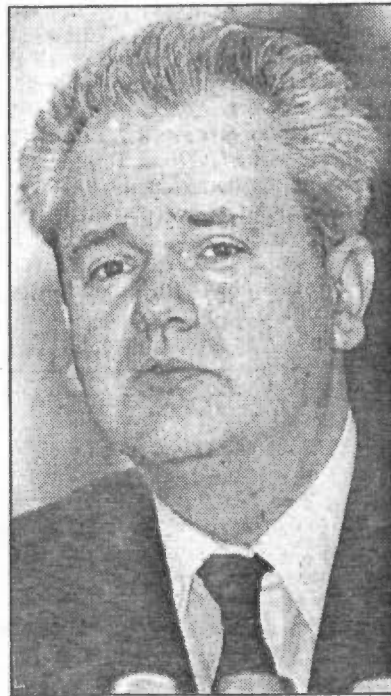
It remained to be seen whether Serb militants would go along with Mr. Milosevic. Croats reported several violations of the cease-fire on yesterday. But most of the insurgents are dependent on Serbia for supplies, and the federal army is dominated by Serbia.

The 600,000 Serbs in Croatia say they fear persecution in an independent Croatia, calling its nationalist government the spiritual successor to a Nazi puppet regime that massacred Serbs in World War II. Serbs retaliated at that war's end.

"We do not consider war as a solution," Mr. Milosevic told Parliament, pledging that Serbia would fight only if attacked. "The soldiers can finally return to their homes, and Serbia will finally be able to deal with its economic problems."

But despite his unusually conciliatory tone, Mr. Milosevic came under a scathing attack for the first time from opposition parties, which blamed him for economic and social disaster and repeatedly demanded his resignation.

Dragoljub Micunovic, head of the opposition Democratic Party, told



REUTERS

"We do not consider war as a solution."

SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC

Mr. Milosevic during the parliamentary session: "Maybe you played well. But you lost the game. So, it should be understood that in every man's life, power is a temporary thing."

The non-Communist opposition's move came against a background of growing discontent with Mr. Milosevic's rule.

The economy has collapsed. Unemployment is rampant. Inflation at the moment is running 300 percent per month. Official figures show that annual per capita income in Serbia now stands at less than \$1,000, compared to \$2,500 last year.

Mass demonstrations are scheduled by the opposition for March 9, the first anniversary of an uprising against Mr. Milosevic that almost brought him down last year.

Diplomats here believe that Mr. Milosevic may be more vulnerable than a year ago and that the prospect of workers joining in the March 9 demonstration may explain his conciliatory posture yesterday.

Yet he warned the opposition yesterday to "behave responsibly," adding that "there is a danger that our multiparty system may be compro-

mised."

Opposition deputies, on the other hand, sought to illustrate the failure of Mr. Milosevic's policies by quoting from hard-line declarations only a few months ago when he said that foreign soldiers would never be allowed on Yugoslavia soil. His vision of a Greater Serbia in which all Serbs — including those living in enclaves in Croatia — would live together is now in shambles.

They argued that Mr. Milosevic's undeclared war against Croatia was an effort to salvage the privileges of his crypto-Communist Party and the federal army by provoking a groundswell of Serbian nationalism. His rule, several said, had "plunged Serbia into a spiritual, moral and economic chaos."

Mr. Milosevic admitted yesterday for the first time publicly that his regime had helped Serbian rebels in Croatia "directly" during the war because they were "subjected to violence" by Croatian authorities.

Until yesterday he had never acknowledged supplying arms to the insurgents despite evidence that he was. He told Parliament that Serbia helped Croatia's Serbs "first economically and politically . . . but finally, when all this proved insufficient with arms."

He suggested that Serbia would become "greater" by joining together with its cousin republic of Montenegro to form a smaller Yugoslavia.

"Even a small Yugoslavia is a much better solution for the Serbian national question than a republic of Serbia alone," he said.

Leaders of the two republics have declared they would like to band together in a smaller Yugoslavia while the other four republics go their own way. A referendum on the issue is scheduled in Montenegro on Sunday.

Western diplomats speculated that Mr. Milosevic may hope to annex some land in eastern Croatia in U.N. and European Community-sponsored negotiations following the U.N. troop deployment.

An EC plan for a Swiss-style division of the central republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina — into areas populated mainly by either Serbs or Croats or Muslims — would also enable Mr. Milosevic and Serbia to influence Serb cantons.

Bosnia-Herzegovina is holding its independence referendum tomorrow and Sunday.

The Associated Press and Reuters contributed to this article.

Serbian Leader Adopts Tone Of Conciliation

By Dusan Stojanovic
Associated Press

BELGRADE, Feb. 27—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, whose Yugoslav republic has been involved in a bloody nationalistic conflict with neighboring Croatia since last June, conceded today that Serbs could not achieve their political ends by fighting and called for swift settlement of the Balkan war.

"We do not consider war as a solution," he said in a rare speech to the Serbian parliament, and he pledged that henceforth Serbia would fight only if attacked. "The soldiers can finally return to their homes, and Serbia will finally be able to deal with its [economic] problems," he said. "Today, we can say that most of the agony of our country is over and that conditions now exist for the peaceful and democratic solution of the Yugoslav crisis."

Political analysts said the 30-minute address was an apparent effort to blunt growing opposition here to Milosevic's left-wing government, which many Serbs blame for leading the republic into a war that has brought it political and economic chaos. Over the past 10 days, about 325,000 Serbs have signed a petition circulated by the opposition Democratic Party demanding Milosevic's ouster.

In his speech, Milosevic also acknowledged for the first time that Serbia had armed insurgents among Croatia's Serb minority whose guerrilla attacks on Croatian forces were a major part of the first phase of the war. He said Serbia had helped the Serbs in Croatia "first economically and politically . . . but finally, when all this proved insufficient, with arms." At the same time, however, he rejected accusations that Serbia and the Serb-dominated Yugoslav army had been aggressors against Croatia, whose right-wing



Serbian President Milosevic, left, confers with Prime Minister Radoman Bozovic at parliament.

government he denounced as "totalitarian and chauvinistic."

Milosevic also seemed to back away from his previous insistence that Serb-populated regions in Croatia and other neighboring republics be allowed to unite with Serbia, saying that "the best option" would be a union of Serbia—the largest republic in the original six-member Yugoslav federation—with Montenegro—the smallest—to form a new, smaller federation. "Even a small Yugoslavia is a much better solution for the Serbian national question than a republic of Serbia alone," he added.

Montenegro will hold a referendum Sunday in which it is expected to vote for a continued federal relationship with Serbia. The republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, a volatile ethnic mixture of Slavic Muslims, Serbs and Croats, has also scheduled a referendum for

this weekend, in which it is expected to join Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia in voting formally to separate from Yugoslavia.

The war erupted last summer when Croatia declared independence from Yugoslavia—a move that outraged Croatia's large Serb minority, many of whom feared repression by Croatia's new nationalist government. Supported by Serbia and the Yugoslav army, Serb insurgents in Croatia seized control of nearly a third of the republic in fighting that has left at least 10,000 people dead—most of them Croats—and more than a half-million homeless.

The fighting has abated since a U.N.-brokered cease-fire took effect in January and most West European countries formally recognized Croatian independence. U.N. peacekeeping troops are to begin arriving in Croatian war zones soon.

Symbols help perpetuate war between Serbs, Croats

By Andrew Borowiec
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

When 70-year-old Ankica Konjuh was burned alive in the Yugoslav village of Petrinja in December, the relentless propaganda war between Serbs and Croats received a new and ominous symbol.

Mrs. Konjuh was not only a Serb, but also an apparent victim of a Croatian soldier's fury. Further, she was a survivor of the notorious World War II Jasenovac concentration camp in Croatia, one of the worst death camps of the Nazi era.

To the Serbian protagonists of the Yugoslav civil war, Jasenovac has a particularly grim significance. Its victims were Serbs, Jews and Gypsies. The executioners were Croats, members of the fascist militia of the Croatian puppet state.

Today, faced with a fragile cease-fire and awaiting the expected deployment of U.N. peacekeeping troops, Serbs have made the fascist chapter of Croatia's history their main propaganda weapon.

"Serbs fear Croatian return to fascism," proclaim full-page ads in selected Western newspapers, paid for by Serbian activists and emigre businessmen.

"Croatian fascists killed 700,000 Serbs, Jews and Gypsies in World War II. Today, Serbs fear that, once Croatia is independent, their families will suffer the same genocide as their ancestors," the ads say.

Documents and memories of that infamous period in Croatia's history now are being revived to justify the resistance of the Serbian minority to an independent Croatian regime and the federal army's attack on Croatia

after its declaration of independence in June.

Because of the hundreds of thousands of aging survivors of the war, no Croat can deny the atrocities. But much as in postwar Germany, where a minority was faulted, the atrocities in Croatia are blamed on "Ustasha" collaborators who did not reflect the feelings of the majority.

At the international conference on Yugoslavia in the Hague in November, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman stated formally that "20,000 victims, all in all not only Serbs but also Jews, Croats and anti-fascists, perished in that Jasenovac."

Some Serbian sources use the figure of 1 million victims of the Ustasha regime. Reliable Western sources — British, French and the Encyclopedia of the Holocaust — say about 600,000 people were killed in Jasenovac between 1941 and 1945, the lifetime of the Croatian puppet state.

Before they died, many were tortured in a manner which shocked even Nazi generals, according to their reports to Berlin.

Just before the camp complex on the banks of the Sava River south of Zagreb was freed by communist guerrillas of Marshal Josip Broz Tito in 1945, fleeing Ustasha guards blew up most barracks and killed the remaining prisoners.

Under Tito's rule, Jasenovac was turned into a shrine, "the resting place of the dead, and also a warning and a lesson to the living."

Now the Serbian authorities are accusing the fledgling army of secessionist Croatia of "ruthlessly desecrating the shrine," destroying buildings which contained various

exhibits and removing evidence of the atrocities.

The camp site was seized by the Serbian-led federal army after a relatively brief occupation by Croatian forces.

In the uncertain period during which the republics of the former Yugoslav federation are searching for a way out of the current crisis, for Serbians, Jasenovac has become the watchword justifying their struggle.

Old documents dealing with that period have been dusted off. Films depicting the forced conversion of Serbs to Catholicism are screened daily in Belgrade. Some show the mass graves of children, thousands of whom were slaughtered in the Jasenovac death complex.

Every Serbian child knows by heart the phrase of the wartime Croatian minister who said: "We shall kill one-third of the Serbs, we shall expel another third, and the rest will be forced to embrace Roman Catholicism."

Accusations of atrocities in the recent conflict have been made by both sides and confirmed by various international organizations. While the Croatian charges against Serbs dominated the propaganda scene, the human rights group Helsinki Watch accused the Croatian army and police Feb. 14 of "violations of the laws of war."

The New York-based organization spoke of summary executions of civilian and military prisoners, massive expulsions of ethnic Serbs and the seizure of their property.

Earlier, Helsinki Watch claimed that Serbian irregulars had killed at least 200 Croats in various incidents.

3/6/92

Thousands parade for peace in Bosnia

From Wire Reports

SARAJEVO, Yugoslavia — Tens of thousands of Serbs, Croats and Muslims chanting, "We want peace," put aside their differences to hold peaceful rallies across Bosnia-Herzegovina yesterday to try to avert civil war.

A few days after Serb gunmen erected barricades around Sarajevo and other Bosnian towns, the Yugoslav republic's rival national groups gathered in the capital and at least seven other towns in a show of solidarity.

It was one of the biggest anti-war rallies in Yugoslavia since fighting broke out in the neighboring republic of Croatia more than eight months ago.

"The people are on the streets together. The war psychosis has gone," said a joyful taxi driver approaching a rally attended by more than 10,000 people in front of the Bosnian parliament in Sarajevo.

"We want peace, not war. We want to live side by side in peace," said a woman walking with her child a short distance from where a man

"I think the way it is being dealt with now is very sound, namely to have three-party talks."

CYRUS VANCE
U.N. envoy

was shot dead at a barricade Sunday night.

The barricades have gone, and the Muslims, Serbs and Croats have pledged to work together for peace. But the Serbs have not dropped their main demand — to halt the republic's break from the Yugoslav federation until the three groups reach agreement.

Muslims and Croats, two-thirds of Bosnia's population, voted over the weekend for independence, which is opposed by Serbs.

In a sign of how much tension has eased in the past few days, Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic strolled through central Sarajevo,

stopping to chat with pedestrians. His bodyguards kept a low profile.

Sarajevo radio said rallies also took place in the towns of Doboj, Jajce, Banja Luka, Bosanski Novi, Iljjas, Derventa and Mostar.

Earlier in the day, U.N. envoy Cyrus Vance urged leaders of Bosnia's rival ethnic communities to show restraint and avert open conflict.

After talks with Muslim, Serb and Croat politicians in Sarajevo, Mr. Vance said he was encouraged that they had agreed to join European Community peace talks over the weekend.

"The situation remains tense, but I am confident that with the leadership of the president and with the others, this can be moved in a progressive way," Mr. Vance said. "I think the way it is being dealt with now is very sound, namely to have three-party talks."

The EC talks, being held in Brussels, Belgium, are aimed at providing political structures that will enable Bosnia's different nationalities to co-exist peacefully.

Mr. Vance's appeal for restraint followed a warning yesterday by Serbian leader Radovan Karadzic that Bosnia's vote for independence could provoke civil war, especially if the EC recognizes the republic.

Mr. Karadzic said that the Serbian-dominated federal army must take control of Bosnia to prevent more ethnic violence and that President Izetbegovic's policies were "leading to chaos." Tens of thousands of federal troops are stationed throughout Bosnia, making the status of the military force a crucial issue.

Sarajevo^{ES: 3/3/92} barricades are down

■ Militants relent
but tension still
runs high.

Associated Press

SARAJEVO, Yugoslavia — Serb militants dismantled barricades in Sarajevo today but sporadic gunfire still rang out in the Bosnia-Herzegovina capital, which simmered with tension after a vote to secede from Yugoslavia.

Serb gunmen fired on peace marchers from behind bus and truck barricades late yesterday, wounding at least three people, but the blockades were later removed under a political agreement and traffic began to flow.

The barricades were put up by ethnic Serbs yesterday, paralyzing the capital after word came that voters, mostly Muslim Slavs and ethnic Croats, had overwhelmingly backed independence in a weekend referendum.

Ethnic Serbs account for a third of the 4.1 million people in Bosnia and the vast majority boycotted the referendum. They want to stay linked to Serbia, the largest and long-dominant republic in a federation now all but dissolved.

At least five people have been killed in Sarajevo since Saturday, according to news reports. In addition, tensions are reported high in much of the countryside, with rival ethnic militants facing off behind roadblocks.

The agreement on striking the barricades came between the government and the main Serbian party, which vehemently opposes secession. But it was unclear whether that meant hard-line ethnic Serbs were accepting divorce from Serbia.

"I am afraid that we could not avoid an inter-ethnic war" if Bosnia moves ahead with independence, said Serb leader Radovan Karadzic.

All sides predict a war in Bosnia, which is wedged between rivals Croatia and Serbia, would be far deadlier than the six-month conflict in Croatia that was halted by a cease-fire a month ago.

As many as 10,000 people were killed in Croatia, where the Serb-led federal army and Serb irregulars battled Croats after the republic declared independence on June 25.

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Croatia was recognized by the European Community in mid-January and Bosnia's foreign minister said Sunday that his republic had met conditions for EC recognition by approving independence in the referendum.

Sarajevo was an armed camp yesterday, with snipers wearing black stocking masks positioned in some buildings and barricades. One fired a submachine-gun burst into the air and shouted, "This is my answer to Bosnia's independence!"

Muslims also built barricades in Sarajevo, but police took control of

Police, Serb-led army join to patrol Sarajevo

From Wire Reports

SARAJEVO, Yugoslavia — In an effort to prevent more ethnic violence, police teamed up with the Serb-led army yesterday to patrol streets that separate Serb and Muslim neighborhoods in Sarajevo.

U.N. envoy Cyrus Vance, arriving in the Serbian and federal capital Belgrade, said the scattered violence in the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina would not affect the scheduled deployment of thousands of U.N. peacekeepers this month for Croatia nor would extra troops be sent to Bosnia.

But Mr. Vance said he would go to the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo today.

"It's a very tense situation," he told reporters. "I find it absolutely necessary to go down there and talk to the leaders [of the ethnic groups] and President Alija Izetbegovic."

The Sarajevo government sent senior ministers to trouble zones yesterday to calm ethnic conflicts that have flared since two-thirds of Bosnian voters opted for independence from Yugoslavia in an election over the weekend.

Muslims and Croats, who together make up a majority of the population, voted for independence. Serbs, who make up a third of Bosnia's 4.4 million people, oppose independence and boycotted the vote.

Mr. Izetbegovic expressed confidence a tense peace in his republic could hold.

"We are midway between war and peace, in a sort of cold war which will last for some time" the Muslim president was quoted as telling the French daily *Le Figaro*. "There is a balance of fear, and I believe that for the moment, fear is conducive to peace."

All sides in Bosnia are well-armed, and say their traditional animosities ensure any conflict would be much bloodier than the civil war in Croatia that has claimed up to 10,000 lives. Of the six Yugoslav republics, only Serbia and Montenegro want to remain part of the federation.

Sarajevo, blockaded twice by Serb and Muslim gunmen since the weekend, was quiet yesterday after police and Yugoslav troops supervised the destruction of barricades that went up Tuesday night.

Mr. Izetbegovic, who made a joint appeal with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic that calmed Sarajevo Tuesday night, was quoted as telling *Le Figaro* that Bosnia had come "very close to catastrophe."

"But I think civil war can be ruled out," Mr. Izetbegovic added. "After Croatia's experience, no one will dare start again here. The extremist elements don't have enough weight to launch a war."



REUTERS

h mourns his father, killed in Yugoslavian ethnic violence.

Sum: 2/5/92

A War That's Killing the Principle of Sovereignty

By WILLIAM PFAFF

in Bosnia-Herzegovina. describe Yugoslavia as a Euro- problem even though the Unit- ions currently has taken over e-maker's role, with Cyrus missions there in recent and the decision by the Se- council to send a peacekeep- c — a decision which may ne too late. so because the European- at's internal problems no are subject to superpower ent. The Soviet Union, ilenced Balkan and East Eu- internal conflict for a half- . is finished. The United o longer has the will to in- in European affairs. current presidential cam- n the U.S. makes it plain American preoccupations They scarcely reach to Yu-

goslavia. The Yugoslav affair — and those like it in the future — will be dealt with either by the other Euro- pean powers or by no one. The best that should be expected from the United States is support for Europe- an initiatives. Ethnic and national conflict in the ex-Soviet Union will, for sound reasons, attract much greater American attention. There is, how- ever, little or nothing the United States can do about war between Armenians and Azerbaijani. Things can be done about wars among the Yugoslav successor states. They are vulnerable, and in the center of Eu- rope. Even now, what was done to halt or block enlargement of the Serbo- Croat war was unprecedented. It had nothing in common with the Iraq-Kuwait intervention, which

conformed to the U.N.'s action in Korea in 1950. International aggres- sion had taken place. The League of Nation's economic sanctions against Italy in 1933, after Italy's invasion of Ethiopia, were similar measures of international reprisal. Uninvited international interven- tion into the internal affairs of a state is another matter entirely. Un- til now it has been held an unac- ceptable attack upon the principle of unlimited state sovereignty. The Yugoslav crisis was pro- duced by the secession from Yugo- slavia of two component-states, Slo- venia and Croatia. International intervention and the dispatch of Eu- ropean Community observers pre- ceded EC recognition of the two states' independence, which Serbia continues to contest in exactly the name of Yugoslav sovereignty.

These EC and U.N. actions have been in marked contrast to the con- duct of the European powers during the last Balkan Wars, in 1912-13. Then, Serbian military expansion was tolerated by the international community, contributing to the ten- sions that exploded into world war in 1914. Today's international interven- tion, tentative as it has been, marks a step forward in the democracies' assumption of collective responsibil- ity for peace and human rights within the areas they can reason- ably expect to influence, and which are of the greatest concern to them. The Helsinki Final Act of 1975, with its seemingly innocuous guar- antees of human rights, and the in- trusive "process" that followed to support those guarantees, proved an extremely important initiative in

this respect, and had a powerful lib- eralizing influence inside the Com- munist bloc. Now the European Community and the United Nations are "inter- fering" in Yugoslavia's national dis- integration. What they have thus far done has been improvisation, and not particularly successful, but it is a start on something new. We now are in a situation where improvisation and experiment are essential, in contrast to the big pro- grammatic reforms of 1918 and 1945, the League of Nations and United Nations. Both those had their limited successes, but both rested on flawed assumptions of universal membership. The "world community" does not exist. A democratic community does exist. So does a North Atlantic Com- munity. So does the European Com- munity. All are based on common value commitments. It is from them that constructive reform now must come. William Pfaff is a syndicated col- umnist.

A War That's Killing the Principle of Sovereignty

Sum: 2/57

By WILLIAM PFAFF

Paris.
Slowly, too slowly, the great mutation occurs. The principle of absolute national sovereignty is being overturned. It has governed international life since early in the 19th Century, when the church's claim to an authority superior to that of the crown foundered in the collapse of the Holy Roman Empire and the rise of the secular nation-state.

The civil war in Yugoslavia has rendered this service to us. Coming just after the international mobilization to rescue Kuwait from Iraq's aggression, the wanton and futile Serbo-Croatian war has forced the European governments to confront the question of whether aggression and ethnic war can any longer be tolerated on a continent which has gone through what Europe experienced between 1914 and 1989.

They have not delivered an answer. At this moment, it looks very much as if there may shortly be a second Yugoslavian war. The effort to instigate one has already begun in the charming and tragic city of

Sarajevo, in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

I describe Yugoslavia as a European problem even though the United Nations currently has taken over the peace-maker's role, with Cyrus Vance's missions there in recent weeks, and the decision by the Security Council to send a peacekeeping force — a decision which may have come too late.

I do so because the European continent's internal problems no longer are subject to superpower settlement. The Soviet Union, which silenced Balkan and East European internal conflict for a half-century, is finished. The United States no longer has the will to intervene in European affairs.

The current presidential campaign in the U.S. makes it plain where American preoccupations now lie. They scarcely reach to Yu-

goslavia. The Yugoslav affair — and those like it in the future — will be dealt with either by the other European powers or by no one. The best that should be expected from the United States is support for European initiatives.

Ethnic and national conflict in the ex-Soviet Union will, for sound reasons, attract much greater American attention. There is, however, little or nothing the United States can do about war between Armenians and Azerbaijanis. Things can be done about wars among the Yugoslav successor states. They are vulnerable, and in the center of Europe.

Even now, what was done to halt or block enlargement of the Serbo-Croat war was unprecedented.

It had nothing in common with the Iraq-Kuwait intervention, which

conformed to the U.N.'s action in Korea in 1950. International aggression had taken place. The League of Nation's economic sanctions against Italy in 1933, after Italy's invasion of Ethiopia, were similar measures of international reprisal.

Uninvited international intervention into the internal affairs of a state is another matter entirely. Until now it has been held an unacceptable attack upon the principle of unlimited state sovereignty.

The Yugoslav crisis was produced by the secession from Yugoslavia of two component-states, Slovenia and Croatia. International intervention and the dispatch of European Community observers preceded EC recognition of the two states' independence, which Serbia continues to contest in exactly the name of Yugoslav sovereignty.

These EC and U.N. actions have been in marked contrast to the conduct of the European powers during the last Balkan Wars, in 1912. Then, Serbian military expansion was tolerated by the international community, contributing to the tensions that exploded into world war in 1914.

Today's international intervention, tentative as it has been, is a step forward in the democratic assumption of collective responsibility for peace and human rights within the areas they can reasonably expect to influence, and which are of the greatest concern to the world.

The Helsinki Final Act of 1975, with its seemingly innocuous guarantees of human rights, and the trustive "process" that followed, support these guarantees, providing an extremely important initiative.