

Commitment to end the carnage

My first priority as the new prime minister of the Yugoslav Federation will be to stop the killing in Bosnia and to help establish peace there. My government will be committed to resolving all those issues that brought the sanctions of the United Nations against Serbia and Montenegro.

We will work to lift sanctions by fully cooperating with the United Nations. I have already started several actions in that direction.

In recent days, I have been in contact with both the Muslim and Serbian leaders in Bosnia. The Serbian leader, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, told me that he has ordered his men to remove heavy artillery and anti-aircraft guns from the area around

Milan Panic, a naturalized American citizen and industrialist who emigrated to the United States from Yugoslavia in 1956, has been named prime minister of the Yugoslav Federation (which comprises Serbia and Montenegro) by the Federation's President, Dobrica Cosic. (c) 1992, New Perspectives Quarterly. Distributed by Los Angeles Times Syndicate.



Sarajevo airport and that he is ready for a cease-fire in the suburb of Dobrinja. He has also pledged that his forces will not interfere with but in fact will assist the U.N. convoy carrying relief supplies overland from the port of Split to Sarajevo, by securing the road that passes through territory under control of his forces. Dr. Karadzic also pledged to assist the movement of the U.N. troops from Canada on the road from Zagreb to Sarajevo.

I have told both leaders that I want to come to see them and begin negotiations without conditions or prejudice. Both have invited me to

Sarajevo, where I intend to go shortly after my arrival in Yugoslavia.

My contact with both Dr. Karadzic and the Bosnian president, Alija Izetbegovic, has convinced me that they are exhausted by the carnage and ready to make peace.

I believe there is blame enough on all sides of this bloody conflict to share among Serbs, Muslims and Croats. However, I will not fight the U.N. sanctions, but will seek as rapidly as possible to end Serbia's isolation by complying with the United Nations by removing the causes of the sanctions.

When it imposed sanctions against Yugoslavia on May 30, the Security Council called for compliance with specific criteria, which I am prepared to do.

As I indicated, I will seek a cease-fire immediately that will be recognized by all warring parties and will seek to ensure that the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the residents of Sarajevo is in no way impeded.

The U.N. resolution says Serbia must "cooperate with the efforts of

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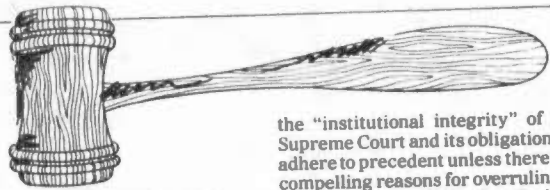
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ere a handful of moderate decisions.

The real surprises this term came in the areas of speech, religion and abortion. The court struck down a "politically correct" hate-speech ordinance that mirrored speech codes in many university campuses. And it did so by a 9-0 vote. This unanimity was especially surprising in light of the closeness — 5-4 — of the vote striking down as unconstitutional flag-burning statutes. Surely burning a cross on a specific person's front lawn is at least as offensive as burning a flag in a public place. But the reality that flag burning is more of a liberal-conservative issue than hate speech may explain the difference in the votes.

Perhaps the most surprising decision involved a non-sectarian prayer given by a Reform rabbi at a junior high school graduation. The



high court reaffirmed the separation of church and state, ruling that even so benign a prayer could not be imposed on young students at an important public school event.

The most significant decision was, however, saved for the high court's last day. In the abortion case, a 5-4 majority reaffirmed *Roe vs. Wade*, while allowing the states to impose conditions on abortion, so long as they do not create an "undue burden" on a woman's right to choose. But even more profound than the substance of this decision was the remarkable opinion jointly authored by the court's emerging center — Justices Sandra Day O'Connor, Anthony Kennedy and David Souter. That opinion focused on

the "institutional integrity" of the Supreme Court and its obligations to adhere to precedent unless there are compelling reasons for overruling it. This plurality opinion foreshadows the potentially moderate future of the court on issues that go beyond abortion — unless, of course, there are changes in personnel. As Justice Blackmun, the court's oldest member, lamented: "I am 83 years old. I cannot remain on this court forever, and when I do step down, the confirmation process for my successor well may focus on the issue before us today." That will almost certainly be the case — regardless of who is elected president. And it is a tragedy. The focus of any confirmation for a Supreme Court justice should be on broad issues of judicial philosophy, professional excellence and a commitment to the values of our Constitution, especially its Bill of Rights.

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sian revolutions. He seems to believe that if he just keeps offering compromise and good will, the revolutionaries will mutate back into liberals like himself. He appears to have not a clue to either the real mentality that motivates revolutionaries like Mr. Mandela or the realities of racial politics in South Africa and the world.

Mr. Mandela and the ANC have greeted every one of Mr. de Klerk's reforms with grousing, sneers and accusations. Mr. Mandela says abolishing racial segregation and allowing non-racial political democracy aren't enough. There must be "real equality," which he and the ANC interpret as redistribution of land, nationalization of at least some property and affirmative action programs for blacks. Mr. Mandela and the ANC don't want reform, de-

mocracy, racial harmony or freedom. What they want is power, and they know exactly how to get it from weaklings like Mr. de Klerk.

The ANC strategy is a political version of the strategy for guerrilla war devised by Mao Tse-tung: When the enemy retreats, we attack. When Mr. de Klerk offers compromises and negotiates, the ANC escalates its demands. The ANC in fact has no reason to compromise. If it doesn't control a majority of blacks in South Africa, it does control a lot of them, and it's ready and able to use force to cow the others as well as intimidate the white government.

Moreover, it has the ear of the Western world, which, frightened of appearing to appease "racism" in any form, is ever prepared to side with Mr. Mandela against the white minority. That minority, meanwhile, looks at the outright confiscation of white land in neighboring Zimbabwe and understandably begins to contract a case of the willies about hand-

ing power to the ANC.

What Mr. de Klerk wants in the new constitution are mechanisms to protect the civil and property rights of the whites, mechanisms that several other black African states also established in their own constitutions. That's fine, but the mechanisms didn't work. It's symptomatic of naifs like Mr. de Klerk that they think writing a constitution down on paper means it's real.

There is nothing to be done for South Africa now. Mr. de Klerk, with a lot of help from the United States and the West in the form of sanctions, has set himself and his country up for chaos and the tyranny that follows chaos. Apartheid cannot be restored, and those most likely to come to power in a democratized South Africa don't believe in democracy. It's a textbook case of how "exporting democracy" to countries and cultures not prepared for it is a disaster for those who really have to live with it.

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the European Community to bring about a negotiated political solution respecting the principle that any change of borders by force is not acceptable." I will work with the European Community and the two parties in Bosnia to develop both short-term and long-term constitutional arrangements that can ensure ethnic peace.

All parties in Bosnia are required by the U.N. resolution to "ensure that the forcible expulsion of persons from the areas where they live in an attempt to change the ethnic composition of the population must cease." I pledge that my government will assist in the voluntary return of displaced persons to the homes from

which they have been displaced in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Finally, the most difficult demand to accomplish will be disbanding and disarming all irregular forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Here it is necessary to find a way to ensure that, if the Serbs disarm and disband, so do the Croats and the Bosnian Muslims.

This will require a strong U.N. presence. Indeed, it might be feasible for the leadership of these irregular forces to be placed under the supervision of the U.N. forces.

As far as I am concerned, the settling of disputes by killing each other's families is past. Extremists on all sides who insist on pursuing violent means to achieve their ends will not be tolerated and should be imprisoned. But I will need U.N. assistance to carry out this policy vigor-

ously and objectively.

My government will act in good faith on all these issues. It is my fervent hope then that the effort by the United States and others to unseat Yugoslavia from the United Nations and other international organizations will cease. By immediately calling for new elections, free and fair, at all levels of Yugoslavia within the next six months, my government will assure the world that a democratic Yugoslavia deserves its place in the international community.

In the meantime, I will immediately set to work with our president, the Serbian writer Dobrica Cosic, on preparing a bill of rights and a constitution modeled on that of United States. After decades under totalitarianism, Yugoslavia must start with the fundamentals of democracy that I have so dearly embraced

in America, where I am a naturalized citizen.

This ancient land of Yugoslavia must start over with the basics — pluralism, respect for diversity and opposing points of views, contending political parties within a constitutional framework, and checks and balances on executive power.

On the economic side, I will pursue a rapid policy of privatization modeled on the highly successful example of Galenika, which is now the subsidiary of my California-based corporation, ICN Pharmaceuticals. We made 5,000 new capitalists out of the workers by giving them shares in the company. Despite the present turmoil, Galenika, which produces more than 300 drugs for distribution throughout the Balkan region and Eastern Europe, operates at full capacity.

In the months ahead, my government also will pursue an initiative to bring all the newly independent states of the former Yugoslavia back into an economic union. Collectively, all the states owe \$14 billion in foreign debt. Six billion dollars is owed by Serbia and the other \$8 billion by the rest.

After Serbia reviews its assets and eliminates its debt, as a gesture of good will I intend to propose that we also pay off the debt of the others — Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia. It is my hope that such an initiative will set the Balkan Peninsula on a new course where politically independent states recognize that their future prosperity depends on their economic interdependence.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, Yugoslavia needs to learn from America's genius for relatively

peaceful multicultural coexistence. My dream is that the whole of the Balkan Peninsula will come to share my vision of the future that resulted from the experience of emigrating to the United States.

For an immigrant to be accepted and recognized means that he is part of a tremendous vision of the future — a future in which nobody cares where others come from as long as they contribute something to the life of everyone else.

My hope for Yugoslavia, and for the whole world now so caught up in ethnic hatreds, is that we can all live like immigrants in America. That vision is the fresh angle on ancient rivalries that I believe I can bring to the deeply troubled country where I was born. It is a vision of peace that I think my countrymen are more than ready to embrace.