

## COPYRIGHT / USAGE

Material on this site may be quoted or reproduced for **personal and educational purposes** without prior permission, provided appropriate credit is given. Any commercial use of this material is prohibited without prior permission from The Special Collections Department - Langsdale Library, University of Baltimore. Commercial requests for use of the transcript or related documentation must be submitted in writing to the address below.

When crediting the use of portions from this site or materials within that are copyrighted by us please use the citation: *Used with permission of the University of Baltimore.*

If you have any requests or questions regarding the use of the transcript or supporting documents, please contact us:

Langsdale Library  
Special Collections Department  
1420 Maryland Avenue  
Baltimore, MD 21201-5779  
<http://archives.ubalt.edu>



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
WASHINGTON, THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

19 MAY 1994

Honorable Lee H. Hamilton  
Chairman  
Committee on Foreign Affairs  
House of Representatives  
Room 2170 Rayburn House Building  
Washington, D.C. 20515-6128

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your interest in the United Nations arms embargo as it applies to Bosnia. The attached contains questions and answers concerning the implications of lifting the arms embargo which I hope will be useful to you during House consideration of legislation related to Bosnia.

Your support of the Administration's position on this issue is crucial. A peaceful settlement in Bosnia will require a multilateral approach. The support of our allies and the United Nations cannot be sustained if we unilaterally lift the embargo. Please know that we remain steadfast in our commitment to a peaceful and viable settlement in that country.

Thank you for your continued attention to this matter. I look forward to working with you on this and other policy issues.

Sincerely,

*William J. Perry*

Attachment

cc: Honorable Benjamin A. Gilman  
Ranking

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON THE  
ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST BOSNIA

Question: If the arms embargo against the Bosnian government were unilaterally lifted by the United States, what impact would such a move have on the compliance of other nations with the broad range of UN Security Council-imposed embargoes, such as economic sanctions against Serbia and sanctions against Iraq?

Answer: There is a clear danger that other nations would use the U.S. precedent as a pretext to unilaterally "lift" sanctions regimes that they found inconvenient or opposed for political or economic reasons. This could lead to a total breakdown in the ability of the UN to enforce sanctions against Serbia, Iraq, Libya and Haiti, and over time could limit the power of the UN to affect international behavior through binding resolutions.

Question: Some have argued that the arms embargo against Bosnia is not legally binding, since the embargo was imposed against the former Yugoslavia and Bosnia is not a successor state; and because the embargo violates Bosnia's right of self-defense under Article 51 of the UN Charter. What is the Administration's legal opinion on this issue?

Answer: The arms embargo was imposed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia by UN Security Council Resolution 713 (1991) and reaffirmed in later resolutions (e.g., Resolutions 724, 727, 740, 743, and 787). Resolution 713 is a mandatory decision under Chapter VII of the UN Charter and expressly provides that the embargo will remain in effect "until the Security Council decides otherwise." The Council has also made clear that the embargo applies throughout the territory of the former Yugoslavia, notwithstanding its breakup into separate states (see Resolution 727 (1992)). Thus it applies to Bosnia.

The embargo does not violate Bosnia's right of self-defense under Article 51 of the UN Charter. Any self-defense right that may exist to receive arms from other states under Article 51 is subject to the authority of the Security Council, which may take action affecting it. Thus, under Article 51, measures taken in self-defense "shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the [UN] Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security."

The Security Council may take various actions -- imposition of cease-fires, limits on armaments, and establishment of protected or demilitarized zones -- that affect a state's right of self-defense. For example, the Council may impose a cease-fire even though its immediate effect may leave an aggressor in temporary occupation of part of the defender's territory. Article 51 takes as its premise the principle that the Security Council may impose such sanctions when it judges them to be necessary, and this is an essential part of the Council's authorities to maintain and restore peace.



Question: How would a unilateral lifting of the arms embargo affect our relations with our NATO Allies and the Russian Federation?

Answer: Our Allies and the Russians are extremely concerned at the prospect of unilateral U.S. lifting of the arms embargo. They would argue that our behavior encouraged an erosion of the UN sanctions regime as an instrument of international policy. If they came to believe that unilateral U.S. lifting of the embargo had more than a symbolic effect, they might decide to pull some or all of their forces out of UNPROFOR, leading to the collapse of the humanitarian relief effort. Sarajevo, Gorazde, Srebrenica and Zepa, which are surrounded by Serb forces, would be cut off from most relief supplies. Should the Bosnian Serbs attack any remaining European forces or take them hostage, the Europeans would hold us accountable. Nations like Iran, who have standing offers to provide troops to the Bosnian government, might elect to do so, arguing that the U.S. had set a precedent for ignoring a UN resolution.

Question: If the arms embargo were lifted, what types of weapons would the Bosnian government forces need to achieve a degree of weapon equivalence with the Bosnian Serb forces? Which nations would train the Bosnian forces with these new weapons?

Answer: We presume that the Bosnian government would require large-caliber heavy weapons to match the capabilities of the Bosnian Serbs. This could include medium and heavy artillery, medium tanks, and long-range anti-tank weapons such as the Tube Launched, Optically Tracked, Anti-Tank Weapons (TOW) System. Personnel familiar with weapons provided, usually the supplier (government or industry), generally train recipients in the use, tactical employment, and maintenance of systems procured. Potential suppliers/trainers span the globe.

7

Question: How long would it take for heavy weapons to be transported to the Bosnian government forces? What are the various access routes and means of delivery? How vulnerable are these routes to attack by Serb or other hostile forces? How large a military force would it take to guard and maintain these logistical routes?

Answer: If the arms embargo were lifted by UN action and Croatia cooperated, heavy weapons could be brought into Bosnia through Croatian Adriatic ports. It would be difficult to deliver substantial amounts of equipment by air since all major Bosnian government airstrips are within Serb artillery range, and aircraft would be subject to SAM fire. Shipment by sea would require weeks and perhaps months, depending on how long it took the Bosnian government to purchase or otherwise procure the weapons. If the U.S. unilaterally lifted the arms embargo, heavy weapons could not be shipped to Bosnia without a willingness on the part of other nations to violate the UN arms embargo. If Croatia were to cooperate with the U.S. in violating the UN arms embargo, and the Bosnian government were able to purchase or otherwise obtain weapons, arms could begin reaching Bosnia in some weeks or months. It is quite possible that most, if not all, UNPROFOR forces would probably have departed by then, perhaps having had to fight its way out, and would not be available to secure routes for arms imports. The Serbs would naturally take advantage of any lag-time between international lifting of the arms embargo and provision of weapons to the Bosnian government. The incentive for the Serbs to launch an all-out final offensive before their forces were put at a disadvantage would be great. Thus the U.S. might have to undertake air strikes -- in this case, without the participation of our NATO Allies -- to help repel new Bosnian Serb aggression.



Question: How long would it take to effectively train the Bosnian government forces to use heavy weapons? Would this training require the presence of U.S. military personnel in Bosnia, or are other nations capable of training Bosnians on the U.S. military equipment that may be provided if the embargo is lifted? Should this training take place in Bosnia or out of country?

Answer: Estimating the time required to train a force to use, tactically employ and maintain sophisticated weapons is difficult without exact knowledge of the capabilities of the force to be trained. As a rough estimate, DoD notes that training time of one to six months is required to train soldiers to survive on the battlefield and properly use rudimentary weapons. Until there is a definitive plan to train a particular force, it is not possible to estimate where the training might take place.



Question: What is required in terms of logistics and maintenance to service the heavy weapons that the Bosnians would receive? Are the Bosnian government forces capable of maintaining this equipment without outside assistance?

Answer: The more sophisticated the weapon system, the more lengthy and complicated the maintenance and supply system. The following factors, inter alia, would have a direct impact on both sustenance and tempo of operations: the complexity of the weapons system, number of units to be operated, skill of the operators, the level of training, the equipment's exposure to hostilities and weather, and logistics (ammunition, parts, transportation) and infrastructure (lines of communication, facilities) capacities. If the Bosnian government acquired weapons and equipment compatible with its existing indigenous armaments production capabilities (e.g., former Soviet Union sourced), it could possibly maintain them without outside assistance.

Question: How would the Serbs (or other belligerents) react in that interim period between announcement of lifting and adequate training?

Answer: Any formal lifting of the arms embargo by the UN prior to a peace settlement would give the Serbs an obvious incentive to exploit their current military superiority before foreign arms began to be used effectively by Bosnian forces. Assuming that UNPROFOR stayed in place, its soldiers could face attack by Bosnian Serb forces. The Serbs could also be expected to halt the humanitarian relief effort. While relief could still flow into central Bosnia from the Adriatic coast through Croatia, the Serbs are currently capable of cutting off all land routes into Sarajevo, Gorazde, Zepa and Srebrenica. They could also close Sarajevo and Tuzla airports. The only possibility of supply to these areas would be through air drops. While these might sustain some of the outlying enclaves, they would be insufficient for a city the size of Sarajevo, which has at most a three-week supply of food on hand. In addition, air drop aircraft would be susceptible to anti-aircraft fire. The eastern enclaves and other isolated areas like Maglaj and Bihac would probably fall and Sarajevo would be at serious risk even if the population did not face starvation.

Question: If there is an increase in fighting, should air power be used against the Serbs during this period? What are the military risks associated with air delivery of the new weapons? Is it likely the airfields in the government-controlled areas can be kept open for such deliveries? Should Allied aircraft be expected to participate in such a air operation if we unilaterally lift the embargo? If not, would U.S. air controllers have to be put on the ground to control air strikes?

Answer: The only possible way to discourage large-scale Serb attacks on the Bosnian government or on UNPROFOR forces, or to prevent the Serbs from halting the continued supply of Sarajevo via the airport, would be through the threat of military invasion or a massive bombing campaign aimed at Bosnian Serb military and strategic infrastructure targets. Unless we were prepared to undertake such actions, the destruction of Sarajevo, the eastern enclaves, and other isolated Bosnian government positions before the arrival of weaponry would become a distinct possibility. This is why the U.S. has always linked the lifting of the arms embargo to a bombing campaign, as exemplified in the "lift and strike" proposal of May, 1993.



Question: Would UNPROFOR troops have to be withdrawn prior to the lifting of the arms embargo? How long would such a withdrawal take and what are the risks involved? Would the Serbs intercept the withdrawal and endeavor to take hostages?

Answer: Our understanding is that the key UNPROFOR contributors, most of whom are NATO Allies, would not be prepared to stay in Bosnia if the arms embargo were lifted. If UNPROFOR's departure were unopposed by the Bosnian Serbs, all UNPROFOR forces could probably leave within several weeks. The primary impediments would be logistical. If the Bosnian Serbs retaliated for a formal or unilateral lifting of the arms embargo by targeting UNPROFOR, the departure of the troops might be difficult or impossible. UNPROFOR troops, civil affairs officers and military observers are deployed widely and could not defend themselves against concerted attack. Allies might call on the U.S. to join them in sending ground forces in to rescue their troops or to launch a massive bombing campaign aimed at getting the Serbs to stop impeding UNPROFOR's departure.



Question: What impact would an UNPROFOR withdrawal have on the people now receiving their assistance?

Answer: If UNPROFOR were to leave before the Bosnian government was in a position to take the offensive on the battlefield, Sarajevo, Gorazde, Srebrenica and Zepa, which are already surrounded, would be cut off from resupply via land routes. The Serbs could also cut resupply to Sarajevo by closing down the airport. Any assistance deliveries to either Sarajevo or the eastern enclaves would have to be by air drops. Sarajevo could not survive on air drops alone, and with only a three-week supply of food.

Question: If the arms embargo were lifted against Bosnia, would it also have to be lifted against Croatia since Croatian cooperation is essential for transporting weapons to the Bosnians? What impact would lifting the arms embargo against Croatia have on the situation in Krajina? What is the likely Serb reaction?

Answer: The only reliable way to deliver heavy weapons to Bosnia in large quantities is through Croatia. If the UN Security Council lifted the arms embargo against Bosnia alone, Croatia might be permitted (by resolution) to have arms transit its territory. Thanks to the Federation agreement signed in March, relations between the Croatian and Bosnian governments are relatively good. Still, it is likely that weapons bound for Bosnia through Croatia would only reach their final destination if Croatia also received arms either openly or covertly. If the arms embargo were also lifted against Croatia, and the Croats used these weapons against the Krajina Serbs (who currently control almost one third of Croatian territory) it is possible, and perhaps likely, that Serbia proper would intervene, leading to an outbreak of war between Croatia and Serbia. Lifting the embargo against Croatia would also raise questions on whether the embargo should remain in effect against Slovenia and FYROM.

(1)

**Congress of the United States**

**House of Representatives**

**Washington, DC 20515**

Dear Colleague:

May 20, 1994

We invite you to join us in upholding Bosnia's right to defend itself against aggression and genocide. Vote for the McCloskey-Gilman-Bonior-Hoyer amendment to H.R. 4301, the National Defense Authorization Act for FY 1995, to end the arms embargo against Bosnia.

Continuation of the arms embargo against Bosnia, in the face of a well-armed aggressor, is unconscionable. Against all odds, the people of Bosnia have demonstrated courage and determination in defending their homeland and their independence. We can no longer continue denying them the means to defend themselves against aggression and genocide.

By terminating the United States arms embargo against the Government of Bosnia and Hercegovina, the McCloskey-Gilman-Bonior-Hoyer amendment will make it possible for the victims of aggression to acquire the wherewithal to defend themselves. In addition, the amendment will authorize the President to provide up to \$200 million in military assistance to the Government of Bosnia and Hercegovina by means of drawdowns from the Department of Defense. Any such drawdowns will come from existing stocks, as determined by DOD, and therefore will not increase the deficit.

Ending the arms embargo will make a critical difference in Bosnia, where pro-government forces outnumber Serb soldiers at least by three-to-one, and are every bit as well-trained. What they desperately lack is the weaponry to counter Serb tanks and artillery. With the right weaponry, the Bosnian government can begin to level the playing field.



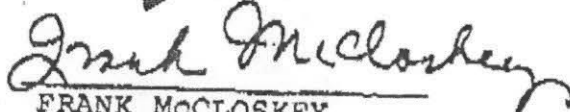
(2)  
While ending the arms embargo is a compelling and necessary step favored by the Administration, it is an item of bitter dispute within the UN Security Council. Thus the embargo, illegal in our view, remains UN policy. Congress already has found that continued imposition of the arms embargo against Bosnia and Hercegovina violates international law. This finding, along with Congress' recommendation that the President immediately end the embargo, was contained in P.L. 103-236, which the President signed into law on April 30th.

The McCloskey-Gilman-Bonior-Hoyer amendment picks up where P.L. 103-236 left off. We urge you to join us in supporting an amendment that upholds Bosnia's fundamental right to self-defense and provides it with the necessary means to act upon that right in the face of aggression and genocide.

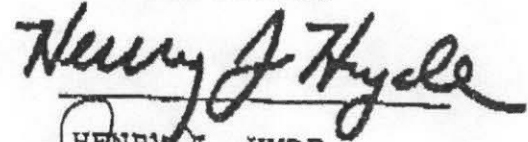
Sincerely,

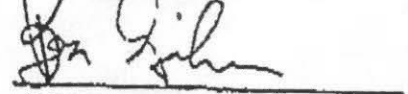
  
DAVID E. BONIOR

  
STENY H. HOYER

  
FRANK McCLOSKEY

  
NEWT GINGRICH

  
HENRY J. HYDE

  
BENJAMIN A. GILMAN

  
SUSAN MOLINARI



## A SERBIAN QUESTION

by Vojin Joksimovich\*

Despite being a kid I remember vividly the Easter Sunday of 1944 in Belgrade. We were bombed heavily by the "allies". There were heavy civilian casualties, probably heavier than those inflicted by the German Luftwaffe on April 6th, 1941.

My grandmother could not answer my questions as to why us the Belgrade Serbian kids were targeted by the Anglo-Americans. My father; whose life was ruined by the Germans three times in this century in 1914-1918, 1941-1945 and 1991-present was then serving as a prisoner of war in Germany, ordered that his son be evacuated from Belgrade. I ended up in a small town 100 kms outside Belgrade. In September 1944, the bomb has dropped on our beautiful family house killing seven close members of my family. I was the only survivor.

After the war, I asked on several occasions my communist indoctrinated teachers as to why did the allies bomb the hell out of Belgrade. The answer was, because the German Nazis occupied Belgrade. Later on I discovered that Podgorica, the capital of Montenegro, was bombed as well and there was not a single German Nazi to be found there. The communist teacher reprimanded me for asking "provocative" questions.

It was not until several years ago that I learned the real reason. Tito, one of the most brutal dictators in this century who in a bloody civil war defeated General Mihajlovich with heavy assistance from the "allies", asked the Anglo-Americans to bomb both Belgrade and Podgorica to teach the Serbs a lesson for supporting General Mihajlovich and not his communists.

In the post-communist Yugoslavia we were fed with outrageous lies and disinformation about what the communists and royalists did during the war. Croatian and Bosnian Muslim Nazis slaughter of Serbs was downplayed and we were not allowed even to talk about it.

Tito was a top-notch student of Goebbels in a similar manner like CNN and ABC News are today. Hence, I did not find out until I came to this country about the unprecedented rescue in Nazi occupied Serbia. In August 1944 General Mihajlovich saved the lives of 550 American aviators, who were shot down over Serbia by the Germans, while the Nazis were burning the Serbian villages and committing massacre over innocent Serbian women and children.

This example of General Mihajlovich's heroism was very pleasing due to my profound respect for him and for my patriotic beliefs in the Serbian nation. After-all my grand-uncle, who defended admirably General Mihajlovich before Tito's court of contemporary inquisition, rotted and died in Tito's jail because he could not stand injustice.

Again, it took me a long time to meet major Feldman, one of the American aviators whose life was saved and who served as a president of the association of American aviators saved by General Mihajlovich. To my horror, major Feldman told me that in the seventies he made the case before the U.S. Congress to authorize building a monument of General Mihajlovich in Washington. The Senate approved the resolution by 99 against zero votes. When it came to the House, however, Tito lobbied the State Department and succeeded in killing the bill.

Several days ago, the U.S. planes bombed the Serbian positions near Gorazde in Bosnia. Allegedly they did it at the request of the UN commander on the ground in Bosnia, the British General Rose. This time round, we know instantly who is behind this new Anglo-American injustice against the Serbian people.

The bombing was ordered to please, so called, Bosnian president Izetbegovich and his Muslim fundamentalists because we are determined, for some inexplicable reason, to bail them out from any desperate military situations on the ground they engineer to provoke an American involvement on their side so that they can continue the march towards the first Muslim Fundamentalist State in Europe. Their equivalent of Gaza Strip and Jericho in Europe from which they can launch further offensives to create new Muslim Fundamentalist Empire from Sarajevo to Islamabad in particular by conquering the Serbian, Greek, and Jewish lands inbetween.

What is it that Tito and Izetbegovich have in common. They both feel that the Serbs should be eradicated as they are in the way of their monstrous ambitions. After all, Izetbegovich was prosecuted and convicted twice for hate crimes against the Serbs in the former Yugoslavia. Mr. Izetbegovich, has clearly espoused his views on the world in his little known in this country Islamic Declaration. Ruder Finn, the Washington based PR mercenary, concealed this publication from the American public.

Before closing, I would like to pose a question to somebody like Former Secretary Lawrence Eagleburger as to what values do we share with a Muslim Fundamentalist whose idol is Ayatolla Khomeini and not secular Ataturk. I heard a number of explanations about our joint values with Tito. However, Mr. Eagleburger can try that explanation too. The history needs such explanations. Don't think anybody in the Clinton Administration can answer my questions. They are still struggling with the geography of the Balkans. To them Macedonia is inbetween Greece and Bosnia as President knowledgeably stated several weeks ago in his regular radio address.

\* Vojin Joksimovich is the chairman of San Diego Based Committee Against Genocide in Former Yugoslavia

Orange County  
Register

4-21-94

## Bosnian Muslims making weapons, Jane's reports

The Associated Press

LONDON — Bosnian Muslims have revived their defense industry and are producing significant quantities of weapons, Jane's Intelligence Review reports.

The government army's recent successes against Serbian and Croatian forces have been due "in no small measure to the arms and equipment produced in the Muslim-controlled part of Bosnia," the authoritative magazine says in its May issue.

Bosnian Muslims now are producing most of their small arms, anti-tank grenade launchers, small-caliber mortars, ammunition and explosives at plants in territory they control, the report said.

"The Muslims have also been able to solicit some financial and technical aid from other Muslim countries."



Ian Traynor in Zagreb and Jonathan Freedland in Washington report on Tehran's growing co-operation — including suspected arms deals in breach of a UN ban — with Bosnia's Muslims and their Croatian allies

# Iran tightens Balkan link amid Western disunity

IRAN'S gradual engagement in the Balkans in support of Bosnia's Muslims and its attempts to benefit from their sense of betrayal by the West during two years of war is causing unease in Europe and America.

Tehran's involvement was highlighted earlier this month when its foreign minister, Ali Akbar Velayati, on a trip to Croatia and Bosnia, sought to build on the thickening web of trade and co-operation deals linking the three countries. The reported arrival in Zagreb of an Iranian plane-load of arms for Bosnia's Muslims also caused concern.

Mr Velayati's visit followed several trips by Bosnian and Croat officials to Iran, including one by Croatia's prime minister, Nikica Valentic. Mr Valentic fixed up a deal worth hundreds of millions of dollars bartering Croatian-built ships

for Iranian oil. His visit at the end of last month resulted in agreement on a three-way economic commission between Iran, Bosnia and Croatia.

Within a week, the Iranian foreign minister was in Zagreb and Sarajevo, where President Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia said that Bosnian government and military officials had been in Tehran recently to finalise "certain deals".

Iran has for years maintained a diplomatic presence in Bosnia, home to Europe's biggest indigenous Muslim community. Its recent charm offensive, directed at Bosnia and Croatia, has coincided with the American diplomacy which resulted in a Croat-Muslim rapprochement and a pact on a Muslim-Croat federation in Bosnia.

Rather than attacking the United States drive, Mr Velayati described it as positive, and a Tehran radio commen-

tary threw official weight behind a Bosnian-Croatian confederation, extolling the Iranian role in "the bonding" of Croats and Muslims.

The Clinton administration denied at the weekend that there was any dovetailing with the Iranians on Balkan policy.

"I don't think that policy in any manner, shape or form is being co-ordinated with Iran," a state department official said. "We're pleased as Punch if the Iranians are happy with it, but that wasn't our intention."

Western diplomats in Zagreb say they are increasingly nervous about Iran's growing profile. They speculate that its economic deals with Zagreb include secret agreements guaranteeing access to Bosnia through Croat territory for possible arms supplies.

"There's got to be a quid pro quo," said one diplomat.

Croatia had, until recently,

been keen to keep the Muslims under-armed, since they were at war with the Bosnian Croats. But while in Tehran, Mr Valentic was quoted on Iranian radio as saying: "Croatia guarantees that it will maintain the security of the route for the dispatch of food and medicine to Bosnia." He questioned the validity of maintaining the United Nations arms embargo on the Bosnian government, a ban that Iran and the US say should be lifted.

Just before Mr Velayati visited Croatia, an Iranian air force jumbo jet landed at Zagreb airport. American press reports said it carried 60 tons of explosives for the Bosnian army, in breach of the embargo.

Croatia and Iran denied that the plane was carrying arms, while a US state department official said at the weekend: "We've not had any independent confirmation that the

plane was carrying or supplying weapons at all."

But British officials in Washington appeared to confirm that Iran was indeed supplying arms to Bosnian government forces. "Arms are reaching the Muslims. The Croats take their whack, and the rest get through," one official said.

"We don't think that it's a very good idea for the ayatollahs to organise an arms pipeline. The question is, how do you stop it?" the official said.

On the whole, the Americans have kept a low profile on the matter. In September 1992, by contrast, they blew the whistle when an Iranian plane landed at Zagreb with machine-guns for the Muslims.

Asked if Washington was turning a blind eye to Iranian-Croatian efforts to arm the Muslims, the state department official said: "If, indeed, a blind eye is being turned, it's not the

US that's turning it — it's everybody." It was British and French troops, led by a British general, Sir Michael Rose, and not Americans, who were on the ground, she said.

Sarajevo's ambassador to Croatia, Biseru Turkovic, who was said to have accompanied the plane's cargo in a road convoy to Bosnia, said the aircraft brought only humanitarian goods. The convoy she accompanied was taking "mining equipment" to Visoko, north-west of Sarajevo, and did not include any of the Iranian deliveries, she said.

● The Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic, said last night that he was ready to begin immediate negotiations for a UN-proposed ceasefire. But he added that he would prefer a lasting rather than a temporary truce, a condition that has put him on a collision course with the Muslims.



# Iran Said to Send Weapons to Bosnia Shipment Going Via Croatia

By John Pomfret  
*Washington Post Service*

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — In a conspicuous violation of the arms embargo on the nations of the former Yugoslavia, an Iranian Air Force transport plane loaded with at least 60 tons of explosives and other raw materials for weapons production landed in Zagreb last week as part of a deal between Croatia and Bosnia to resume cooperation for more fighting in the Balkans, Western and Bosnian sources say.

The arrival of the 747 cargo plane on May 4, two days before the Iranian foreign minister, Ali Akbar Velayati, visited the capitals of Bosnia and Croatia, is a strong signal of Iran's enduring commitment to Bosnia's Muslims and its desire to influence events in the region.

Mr. Velayati presented the Bosnian president, Alija Izetbegovic, with a check for \$1 million and credits for 10,000 tons of diesel fuel.

Mr. Izetbegovic told reporters that "while we cannot tell all the details now," the Bosnian government's "fight for freedom" would be "less successful if there was no Iran and its aid."

The shipment, which foreign diplomats and Bosnian Muslim sources said was the first in a series of intended weapons-related technology transfers from Iran, provided a potent illustration that despite Western efforts, the arms embargo

on Bosnia and Croatia has sprung leaks.

With the recent rapprochement between Croatia and Bosnia, several senior Western officials said they believed these leaks could turn into a stream.

Infantry assault weapons from Brazil and a Chilean-made anti-tank guns are among other items also turning up in Bosnia from unknown sources.

An open question is whether such weapons will be able to change the course of the war. But Muslim officers say that even the small amount of weaponry entering Bosnia has improved the situation for them on the ground.

"Tanks are not a problem for us any more," said a high-ranking Muslim officer, citing recent battles in northwestern Bosnia where Muslim forces claimed to have pushed back Serbian troops. The officer brushed off a recent Muslim defeat in Gorazde, spearheaded by a Serbian tank assault.

According to Bosnian and Western sources, the Iranian Air Force plane arrived in Zagreb carrying 40 containers of explosives, fusing equipment and other raw materials for the production of mortars and different types of ammunition. The boxes were marked "Humanitarian Aid" and "No Smoking."

The Croatian defense minister denied that the goods were weapons-related, insisting that they were humanitarian aid.

A phalanx of Croatian Interior Ministry personnel surrounded the

International  
Herald Tribune  
May 13, 1994

plane, witnesses said, adding that it was similar to an Iranian aircraft that tried but failed to deliver weapons to Bosnia's Muslim fighters in September 1992.

At that time, the cargo plane reportedly landed with 4,000 machine-guns and a million rounds of ammunition but was not unloaded immediately. American officials confronted Croatian authorities and persuaded them to impound the arms.

The first plane's cargo dallied in Zagreb because relations between Croatia and Bosnia were rapidly deteriorating, leading to arguments over who would get how many guns. Less than a month after the incident, war erupted in central Bosnia between Croats and Muslims.

On May 4, however, no such problems occurred. The plane was unloaded quickly and the cargo taken away in Croatian trucks.

Under an accord hammered out in Washington in March, Bosnia's Croatian and Muslim factions agreed to stop their yearlong war and form a federation with a joint government and a joint military command.

Bosnian military sources said these agreements, bolstered by another accord signed in Zagreb weeks later, set the basis for renewed cooperation on getting around the arms embargo.



Thursday, April 28, 1994



### ROSE SAYS MUSLIMS FLED FROM ATTACK

The U.N. commander in Bosnia, Lt. Gen. Sir Michael Rose of Great Britain, on Wednesday accused Muslim forces in Gorazde of running away from a Serb attack and leaving the United Nations to clear the mess.

On a visit to the Muslim enclave in eastern Bosnia, he made clear on a U.N. videotape released in Sarajevo that he was not impressed with the military capabilities of the defenders of Gorazde.

"They think we should be fighting their wars for them," he said. "They basically turned and ran and left us to pick up the bits. They weren't that interested."

— Reuters

an expanded U.N. operation in the former Yugoslavia.

The United States has a few troops in Macedonia but has refused to send ground troops to Bosnia. France has more than 6,000 troops, more than any other nation, in Bosnia.

U.S. Ambassador Madeleine K. Albright said the United States is giving the peacekeeping operation "full support."

She said air power alone cannot protect the designated safe areas.

"Our resolve to deter aggression is more than matched by our resolve to offer a hand to those willing to make peace," she told the council.

Muslim nations, meanwhile, repeated a call for the world body to exempt the outgunned Muslim-led Bosnian government from a U.N. arms embargo.

A key group of the 50-member Organization of the Islamic Conference held an emergency meeting at the world body to make the appeal. The nations are Pakistan, Egypt, Iran, Malaysia, Tunisia, Turkey, Senegal and Saudi Arabia.

Later, Islamic nations repeated their call to the Security Council. No action was expected.

► **SERBS:** Offensive expected despite U.N. threat of airstrikes. Page 3



THE TIMES THURSDAY MAY 26 1994

# General Rose says Muslims cannot win Bosnian war

BY EVE-ANN PRENTICE, DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT,  
AND IAN BRODIE IN WASHINGTON

LEADERS of the Muslim-led Bosnian government were incensed last night, after Lieutenant-General Sir Michael Rose, the British commander of peacekeeping troops in the republic, said that the Muslims had no chance of winning a decisive victory in the war.

The Muslims had no hope of regaining territory lost to the Bosnian Serbs, General Rose said, and to continue fighting was "pointless". His comments are likely to anger America, which wants to see the arms embargo against the Bosnian Muslims lifted. President Clinton nonetheless argued forcefully yesterday against America ignoring the embargo. To remove the ban, he said, would dash the chances for peace in Bosnia-

Herzegovina and hurt America's ties with Europe. His words were a rebuke to critics in the US Senate, which has narrowly passed resolutions calling for an end to the embargo, and a warning to the House of Representatives, which is considering a similar, non-binding resolution.

If the United States did lift the arms ban unilaterally, the President said: "It would kill the peace process and sour relationships with our Nato allies, undermine the partnership we are trying to build with Russia over broad areas and undermine UN embargoes such as against Saddam Hussein and Raoul Cedras in Haiti."

General Rose's remarks are meanwhile expected to have

caused outrage among Bosnian government leaders taking part in peace talks at Talloires, the French Alpine resort on Lake Annecy near the Swiss border. Representatives from the so-called contact group from Britain, France, Germany, Russia and the United States separately met Bosnian Serb, Muslim and Croat leaders and were believed to be trying to persuade them to agree to a four-month ceasefire.

Alain Juppé, the French Foreign Minister, again threatened to withdraw French peacekeeping troops from Bosnia by the end of the year if the warring sides rejected a contact group scheme to divide Bosnia, with the Serbs getting 49 per cent and the Muslim-Croat federation 51 per cent. The plan is already in trouble, however, with the federation insisting on having 58 per cent of the republic's territory.

General Rose's remarks that the Muslim fight was pointless were made during a visit to Bosnia by Admiral Leighton Smith, the commander of Nato for southern Europe, on Tuesday. The fighting in Bosnia now consisted of "minor skirmishes", General Rose said, and he expected little ground to change hands if the war continued. "There's a lot of clamour, but no results."

Muslim forces nonetheless yesterday pressed on with an offensive against Serbs west of Tesanj, in the north of the country. They are pushing westwards towards the Serb-held town of Teslic, possibly to seize strategic heights and bolster their defensive positions.



# The Muslim Defence Industry in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Dr Milan Vego

## Introduction

In recent months, the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) has achieved some notable successes against Serbian and Croatian forces. This has been due, in no small measure, to the arms and equipment produced in the Muslim controlled part of Bosnia. In fact, the Bosnian Muslims have sufficient technicians and skilled workers to produce most of the BiH's requirements. After the recently agreed confederation with Croatia, the Muslim's ability to arm and equip its forces in the field is almost certain to be enhanced.

## Defence Industries in April 1992

Before the current hostilities, about 55 per cent of the former Yugoslav defence industry was located in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The largest military industrial complex was the 'United Specific Purpose Industry' (UNIS) in Sarajevo. UNIS was established in 1968 and eventually had about 60 large and small plants located throughout the former Yugoslavia. These included plants like 'Igman' in Konjic, 'Pobjeda' in Gorazde, PRETIS in Vogosca, 'Slavko Rodic' in Bugojno, and 'Slobodan Princip Seljo' (SPS) in Vitez. The UNIS plants produced charges for artillery ammunition of 20-76 mm calibre and higher, as well as cartridges, fuses, caps and unguided rockets. The UNIS commercial sites also supplied spare parts for the Sarajevo Automobile Factory (TAS).

The 'Bratstvo' (Brotherhood) plant in Novi Travnik was one of the main manufacturers of guns, howitzers and multiple rocket launchers (MRLs) in the former Yugoslavia. It also produced parts for M-84 tanks.

The 'Iron and Steel Works' in Zenica produced parts for gun carriages and gun barrels shorter than six metres. The 'Zrak' plant located in the subterranean halls of Mount Zuc produced precision mechanics, laser rangefinders and other optical instruments. Two smaller plants in Teslic and Ivancici produced similar items for commercial use. The Motor Factory (FAMOS) in Sarajevo produced engines for tanks, combat vehicles and armoured personnel carriers. FAMOS also had plants in Hrasnica, at Pale (KORAN), Rogatica, and Sanski Most, as well as a casting factory in Odzaci

(STROLIT).

One of the largest and most efficient enterprises in the former Yugoslavia was the 'Energoinvest' plant in Sarajevo. This enterprise was atypical because many of its activities were for the civilian sector. However, the 'Energoinvest' factory played a crucial role in the defence industry of the former Yugoslavia, with the most important production capacities being located in the Sarajevo and Tuzla basins, and in the Bosna river valley. The 'Energoinvest' site in the Tuzla area produced mortar barrels and guns. Special steel was produced in Zenica and casting in Jelsingrad near Banja Luka.

## Transformation of the Defence Industry

Shortly after the war started, the Serbs and Croats took control of many defence plants on their territory. For example, the Serbs commandeered the large 'Rudi Cajevac' electronics plant and the 'Kozmos' aerospace repair facility in Banja Luka. The latter produced all types of guided missiles. The Serbs also took control of almost all of the FAMOS plant, as well as the large 'Orao' aircraft engineering plant in Rajlovac near Sarajevo. The large 'Soko' (Hawk) aircraft factory in Mostar and a plant for producing ammunition and explosives in Vitez are now controlled by the Croats.

However, despite huge losses of territory and general unpreparedness for war, the Bosnian Muslims succeeded gradually in re-establishing some semblance of defence production. This has been achieved by virtue of the fact that some of the most important defence plants were originally located in central Bosnia.

Currently, the 'Industry of Special Purpose Products' or defence industry employs about 15 000 people. The minister for defence production in Sarajevo is responsible for the work of the defence plants and the co-operation in defence matters with foreign countries. The closest co-operation is reportedly with the 'Pakistani Ordnance Factories'.

One Croatian source has claimed that, so far, the Bosnian Muslims have produced about 20 000 automatic rifles; 10 000 mortar mines of 120 mm, 60 000 of 82 mm, and 120 000 of 60 mm calibres; 5000 shells for recoilless guns, 190 000 mines for anti-tank grenade

launchers, 50 000 hand grenades, 2.5 million 7.92 mm bullets, and 11 million bullets for hand guns.

## Military Research

The Bosnian Muslims reportedly operate institutes for defence research in Sarajevo and Zenica. These institutes are involved in the design of new weapons, modification of existing weaponry and defence co-operation with foreign countries. In addition, the Department for Military Engineering at the Sarajevo Faculty for Mechanical Engineering organises special courses in artillery, missiles and engines.

## Small Arms

Production has been restarted of the older Yugoslav-designed semi-automatic and automatic assault rifles and relatively new *Kobra* (Cobra) assault rifle, M69/M75 hand grenades, and NSB-1/3 sights. The Muslims also produce Yugoslav-designed 44 mm, M57 60 mm and the Soviet-designed RPG-7 grenade launchers, as well as M60/M66 mines for anti-tank grenade launchers, and M62 smoke mines.

## Guns and Mortars

The Bosnian Muslims are thought to have resumed production of guns, howitzers, mortars and MRLs in the 'Bratstvo' plant in Novi Travnik. This plant probably produces 82 mm recoilless guns, in addition to 60 mm, 82 mm and 120 mm calibre mortars.

Future plans include the production of 76 mm, 100 mm and 122 mm guns. The plant is capable of producing the 282 mm *Orkan* (KOL 15) and the 128 mm *Oganj* MRLs, 82 mm recoilless guns, 105 mm and 122 mm howitzers, 125 mm tank cannons and 152 mm guns. However, there is no reliable information as to whether these weapons are actually in production today.

## Mines

The 'Slavko Rodic' plant in Bugojno is reported to be producing all types of anti-tank and anti-personnel mines, mortar fuses and hand grenades.



## Ammunition

The Bosnian Muslims were probably most successful in satisfying the needs for ammunition for small arms and guns. The largest ammunition plant in their hands is 'Igman' near Konjic. This plant was built in 1963 and is located entirely underground. It covers about 20 000 m<sup>2</sup>, and consists of five galleries and five parallel tunnels. A similar structure, covering 6000 m<sup>2</sup>, is built nearby at Ljuta and serves as a command post.

The 'Igman' plant reportedly produces ammunition up to 20 mm calibre and mines for 82 mm and 120 mm mortars. This plant resumed production recently after a long pause because of the lack of raw materials. The Muslim controlled plant in Vogosca near Sarajevo can produce artillery ammunition and rockets of 76 mm calibre and higher.

The Bosnian Muslims were successful in modifying the Zenica 'Iron and Steel Works' for the production of ammunition for guns and howitzers of 105 mm, 122 mm, 130 mm and 152 mm calibres. The NATRON plant in Maglaj currently produces the cardboard cones for packaging ammunition.

## Explosives

Explosives are currently produced in Tuzla and Sarajevo. The HAK (Chemical Alkaline Integrated) plant in Tuzla produces components for powder and

explosives. Ammonium perchlorate is produced by the 'Azotora' plant in Vitkovici.

The Muslims control the 'Pobjeda' (Victory) factory at Kopači in the Gorazde enclave. This plant, built in the 1960s, is located entirely underground and covers between 12 000 and 14 000 m<sup>2</sup>. Prior to the war, the plant produced caps and pyrotechnics.

There are two explosives' plants in Vitez, a town strongly fought over by both Muslims and Croats. The SPS plant is responsible for the production of explosives for military purposes while the nearby 'Vitezit' plant at Kruscica Mountain produces explosives for commercial use. The SPS plant is equipped with French-designed machinery and produces all types of powder for heavy artillery, the *Plamen* and *Orkan* MRLs, 57 mm and 128 mm air-to-ground rockets, the Soviet-designed *Malyutka* anti-tank guided weapons, and the SA-7 *Strela* shoulder-launched missiles. SPS also produces plastic explosive. At the plant is stored about 1000 t of powder — sufficient for the production of one billion cartridges for rifles or 400 000 shells for 122 mm howitzers. If the confederation between Bosnian Muslims and Croats is realised, the SPS plant will undoubtedly play a large role in the proposed joint armed forces.

## Conclusions

Despite the war and UN imposed arms

embargo, the Bosnian Muslims have succeeded in re-establishing the defence plants on their territory. They have also converted several commercial plants to produce defence equipment, thanks to the large number of technicians and skilled workers with experience in defence production in the former Yugoslavia. The Muslims have also been able to solicit some financial and technical aid from other Muslim countries.

Because the BiH has received sufficient quantities of weapons, equipment and ammunition, it has been able to offer increasingly successful resistance to its Serbian and Croatian opponents. Most of the small arms, anti-tank grenade launchers, small calibre mortars, and almost all ammunition and explosives have been produced domestically.

The Bosnian Muslims will probably continue to strengthen their existing defence production capacities if the confederation with Croatia holds. They can rely on defence plants located on the Croatian-controlled territory in Bosnia and Herzegovina and on much more developed defence industries in Croatia. Perhaps, more important confederal agreements will allow the Bosnian Muslims free and unhindered access to the Adriatic and thereby to their friends in the Muslim world.

*Dr Milan Vego teaches East European history and politics as well as operational art. A full list of references used in this article can be obtained from the editor.*

Defence Plants in the Muslim Part of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Mar 94)

Name	Location	Purpose	Status
'Energoinvest' Automobile Factory Sarajevo (TAS)	Sarajevo	Company HQ	Inactive
FAMOS	Sarajevo	Military trucks and combat vehicles; mortars and mines	Inactive
- ? Plant	Rogatica	Company HQ	Inactive
- STROLIT	Odzaći	Combat vehicles	Inactive
UNIS		Casting steel	Inactive
- PRETIS	Sarajevo	Company HQ	Inactive
- 'Igman'	Vogošća		
- 'Pobjeda'	Konjic	Ammunition for guns; mines for mortars	Active
- 'Bratstvo'	Kopači	Ammunition; caps and pyrotechnics	Active?
- 'Slavko Rodic'	Novi Travnik	60 mm, 82 mm and 120 mm mortars; AK-47 assault rifles?	Active
- 'Zrak'	Bugojno	Mortar fuses; guns, air-to-ground rockets; grenade detonators;	Active
- Plant	Zuč Mountain	anti-tank mines; anti-personnel mines; hand grenades	Active
- Plant	Teslic	Precision mechanics; laser rangefinders; optical instruments	Inactive
Iron and Steel Works	Ivančići	Precision mechanics	
Unknown	Zenica	Optical instruments	
Unknown	Tuzla	Special steel: turrets for tanks; gun barrels longer than 6 m; small arms; ammunition to 105 mm and 122 mm guns	Active
Unknown	Tešanj	Mortars and mines	Active
Unknown	Travnik	Mortars and mines	Active
RMK 'Promet'		Large repair plant for infantry weapons	
'Azotara'	Zenica	Unknown	
NATRON	Vitkovici	Ammonium perchlorate	Active
HAK	Maglaj	Cardboard cones for packaging ammunition	Active
	Tuzla	Components for powder and explosives	Active



## Students attack U.N. mission in Tehran

Reuters

TEHRAN, Iran — Iranian students protesting U.N. failure to help fellow Muslims in Bosnia attacked the world body's office in Tehran on Saturday, hurling rocks and smashing windows before being dispersed by police.

Mickel Schulenburg, head of the U.N. mission in Iran, told Reuters from his office that a group of demonstrators attacked the building "and most of our front windows are gone."

"The police acted quickly, cleared up the street and dispersed the crowd," he said.

He said a second group of about 1,000 students was demonstrating peacefully outside the office. "There is enough police protection outside the building, so there is no problem."

The official Iranian news agency IRNA earlier said a rally staged by thousands of students "turned violent when the marchers began to throw stones and eggs at the office."

IRNA said demonstrators, condemning what they called the double standards of the United Nations and certain Western countries, burned the U.S. flag outside the U.N. office and called for a halt to crimes committed by Serbs in Bosnia.

Demonstrations against the United Nations were staged in other Iranian cities Saturday, residents said.

Iranian officials have launched a campaign in recent days to help Bosnian Muslims and have contacted several Muslim and European states to try to end the war in Bosnia.



# PROGRAM...

## THE 'HALYARD MISSION RESCUE OPERATION' CELEBRATION

WILL OPEN THE 5-DAY WORLD WAR II D-DAY COMMEMORATION  
FESTIVITIES

PROMPTLY AT NOON TUESDAY MAY 31, 1994  
AT DALEY PLAZA  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS U.S.A.  
BY THE ETERNAL FLAME

The Daley Plaza Ceremony will include:

Ceremonial Presentation of Colors  
The National Anthem  
Benediction by Serbian Orthodox Priests  
Welcoming Address  
Laying of the Wreath at the Eternal Flame in Honor  
of the American and Serbian Protagonists  
of the 'Halyard Mission'

especially  
the Americans who gave their lives  
and those who never made it back...  
concluding with

The Playing of 'TAPS'

THIS CEREMONY WILL INCLUDE AMERICAN WORLD WAR II PILOTS  
WHO LIVE TO TELL THE STORY OF THE  
MISSIONS AND OPERATIONS THAT HELPED CONQUER THE  
TERROR OF NAZI FASCIST TYRANNY  
AND WHO HAVE DEDICATED THEIR LIFE'S WORK  
TO TELLING THIS STORY.

\*\*\*

THE CELEBRATION WILL CONTINUE  
AT THE SWISS HOTEL

With a Social Hour beginning at 1:00 p.m.

A BANQUET LUNCHEON BEGINNING AT 2:00 p.m.

and

SPECIAL COMMEMORATIVE PROGRAM

BEGINNING PROMPTLY AT 2:45 p.m.

THE PROGRAM INCLUDES:

CEREMONIAL PRESENTATION

WELCOMING ADDRESS

REMARKS BY COLONEL KENNETH A. PLUMMER ON THE MEANING  
OF THE 5-DAY CELEBRATION

REMARKS BY SOME PROMINENT AMERICAN OFFICIALS  
REGARDING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF 'HALYARD'

and

THE 50th ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATION

PRESENTATION OF THE 'GEORGE S. MUSULIN' AWARD

MAIN ADDRESS BY A HIGH RANKING MILITARY OFFICIAL

AND CLOSING REMARKS BY ONE OF THE AMERICAN PILOTS  
CLOSEST TO THE 'HALYARD MISSION RESCUE OPERATION'

THE CEREMONY WILL BE AN UNFORGETTABLE AND MEMORABLE EVENT  
HONORING ONE OF THE GREATEST MOMENTS  
IN THE HISTORY OF THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM  
IN OUR TIME.

\*\*\*\*\*



## THE BOSNIAN CONFLICT

# Why Gorazde is important

Bosnian Serbs are moving into Gorazde, one of six 'safe havens' for Bosnian Muslims proclaimed by the United Nations. Serbs want Gorazde to sever a major smuggling route for weapons, materials and volunteers to Muslims that starts in Albania and snakes through Kosovo and Sandzak, two majority-Muslim regions in Serbia and Montenegro. It would also give Serbs control of the Drina River and a major north-south road through eastern Bosnia.



Reuters

**GORAZDE FIGHTING:** A Bosnian Serb protects his ears Sunday as his comrade fires his machine gun at Muslim positions on the outskirts of Gorazde.



### How NATO's Involvement in Bosnia went from threat to air strikes:

- Feb. 9** NATO gives Bosnian Serbs ultimatum to move guns from Sarajevo. Cease-fire begins.
- Feb. 21** Serbs meet NATO deadline to move heavy weapons from Sarajevo or put them under U.N. control.
- Feb. 28** U.S. F-16 planes shoot down four Serb aircraft near Banja Luka in the first military action ever by NATO.
- March 13** NATO planes buzz Serb positions around Maglaj to protect U.N. military observers.
- March 20** U.N. aid convoy enters Maglaj.
- March 21** Humanitarian flight lands in Tuzla.
- March 29** Serbs begin new offensive against Gorazde; U.N. suspends aid convoys to Banja Luka to protest Serb seizures of food.
- April 3** Defense Secretary William Perry says NATO not certain to use force to stop Gorazde from being overrun.
- April 11** U.S. planes bomb Serbs attacking Gorazde.
- April 12** U.S. planes again strike at Serbs, but only one of four bombs hits target. Muslim troops attack Serbs in area.
- April 13** Serb troops begin holding U.N. personnel as hostages. U.S. reports Serb shelling of Gorazde.
- April 15** British peacekeeper dies from Serb shelling of Gorazde. French plane hit by Serb gunfire.
- April 16** British plane downed over Gorazde by Serb missile.
- April 17** Serbs agree to cease-fire around Gorazde, then renew attack within the hour. NATO holds off air strike due to bad weather.



## U.S. is a land of violence

The article "Same threads run through world's crises" [news, April 24] included Rwanda, Ulster, Israel, Germany, and Bosnia. It seems there was an important omission: a nation where a homicide occurs every 20 minutes, a brutal rape every 16 seconds, a car theft every 22 seconds, and where, if the car-jacker doesn't like your face he blows it away, and where to walk alone at night is an invitation to mugging, rape, or homicide. I, of course, refer to the United States of America, by far the least free and most violent of any developed nation.

Perhaps we should bear these statistics in mind when we go forth preaching to the world about democracy and the freedoms that are so blatantly lacking here.

Peter Hume  
Lake Forest

The Orange County Register **OPINION**

Thursday, April 28, 1994

# Bosnian air strikes will prolong the agony

**C**AMBRIDGE, Mass. — Although the Clinton-NATO ultimatum on Bosnia has led to a Serb pullback from Gorazde, it has put compassion on a collision course with reality.

While the United States and Russia pledged Tuesday to strive for a diplomatic solution to the war, that solution must recognize the Serbs' supremacy on the battlefield.

Spreading the protective wing of NATO airpower over the Muslim enclaves has ended the slaughter at Gorazde, as it did at Sarajevo. But the move is strategically and militarily irrelevant.

A Serb cease-fire will not change the fact that the Serbs, in a well-planned and executed strategy, have "cleansed" eastern Bosnia of their Muslim enemies. The Serbs drove the Muslims from their land and penned them in valley towns surrounded by Serb-controlled mountains.

Gorazde and the other towns where the Muslims cluster are called "safe havens" but really are prisoner-of-war camps. Even though the Serbs have stopped shooting into them, the Muslims' plight has not changed.

The Muslims depend on humanitarian aid delivered by U.N. forces. But to provide it, the poorly armed blue helmets must negotiate passage with the Serbs. Even under air attacks, the Serbs can impede, even stop, substantial aid from reaching the "safe havens."

There is no need for the Serbs to capture the isolated towns. Sooner or later, the difficulty of sustaining the aid will make it necessary to evacuate the Muslims to Muslim territory further West.

The sooner this deal can be struck, the better. Air attacks won't help.

## BERNARD E. TRAINOR

The Serbs are canny fighters. They can disperse and hide heavy weapons. Supply dumps and command posts can be hidden or located near cultural — churches or museums — or civilian sites, which are off-limits to bombing.

The Serbs also can strike back. Anti-aircraft ambushes can be expected in the mountains, and aircraft will be shot down, as a British Harrier was. The harder the Serbs are hit from the air, the more they will have an incentive to retaliate against U.N. soldiers on the ground.

Despite Clinton's disclaimers, U.N. and NATO losses in the air and on the ground might well create an irresistible impulse to introduce ground combat forces. We could end up in the very war we have sought to avoid.

Clinton and Secretary of State Warren Christopher both indicated that air strikes are intended to inflict pain on the Serbs in order to bring them to their senses.

History tells us such thinking is a pipe dream. Since the advent of air power, bombing alone has only stiffened the resolve of a resolute enemy. No political objective has ever been achieved by air power alone.

Misapplication of force can be worse

**The harder the Serbs  
are hit from the air,  
the more they will  
have an incentive to  
retaliate against U.N.  
soldiers on the ground.**

than no force at all. Not only is an air campaign likely to be ineffective, it is bound to raise the Muslims' hopes that NATO, the United Nations, and United States will join the fray in their behalf.

Having suffered and lost so much, they are unlikely to negotiate a settlement based on the status quo if they think the international community will enter the war on their side, especially if Clinton's proposal to lift the arms embargo comes to pass.

It is a certain prescription for a longer and bloodier civil war.

The Serbs have won that war. The best we can hope is to convince them to settle for their gains and to press the Bosnians to accept their defeat. Allied energies should focus on that goal, not prolong the agony through bombing.

The argument that the United Nations, NATO, and United States lose credibility in proportion to the size of a Serb victory is nonsense. The Persian Gulf War is ample evidence of credibility when military action stands a chance of success. That is not the case in Bosnia.

The failure of a just peace is no defeat for the international community. Rather, it is the defeat of the notion that outside powers can pacify a bankrupt state festering with age-old animosities.

Not only is Clinton in danger of making the United States a party to a civil war, but by drawing the sword on behalf of the Muslims he would make us morally responsible for the defense and well-being of a million people for a long time to come.

Mr. Trainor, a retired Marine general, is director of national security programs at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government.



# Bosnian lies fuel Senate's rash voting

By Vojin Joksimovich

Ninety-two U.S. senators voted for lifting the U.N. arms embargo against Bosnian Muslims. Fifty of them, led by Sen. Bob Dole, R-Kan., voted for the unilateral lifting, and the rest of them, led by Sen. George Mitchell, D-Maine, voted for the embargo to be lifted with the consent of the allies. Dole and Sen. Joseph Lieberman, D-Conn., received letters from Bosnia's prime minister urging the Senate to act.

The French secretary of state, Alain Juppe, characterized the lifting of the arms embargo as the worst option of all, one that would result in the automatic withdrawal of the French peacekeepers from Bosnia.

The British defense secretary has indicated that Great Britain would also withdraw its peacekeepers and that Russia would be forced to arm the Bosnian Serbs.

The lower house of the Russian Parliament, the Duma, recommended to President Boris Yeltsin to unilaterally lift the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro should the United States lift unilaterally the arms embargo.

The Washington Post, which lately is beginning to restore credibility to its previously biased coverage of the Bosnian civil war, reported Iranian delivery of 60 tons of weapons to the Bosnian Muslims on May 4 with knowledge of the U.S. government, and quoted a Muslim government source regarding routine violations of the 1991 U.N.-imposed embargo including shipments of American-made anti-tank rockets.

This, of course, was no news to the Serbian-American community, but it was encouraging that a representative of the so-called national media, which has acted in the past as a mouthpiece for Bosnian Muslim propaganda, is at long last beginning to tell the truth.

While the secretaries of state representing the United States, Russia, Great Britain, France, Germany, Greece and Belgium were meeting in Geneva to unify their policies on Bosnia, another meeting took place in Geneva.

Fifty-one members of the Islamic Conference were offering to replace the French troops. Previously Iran on its own offered to send 10,000 "peacekeepers" to Bosnia.

In Geneva, the major powers agreed on a framework for a settlement calling for a four-month cease-fire, negotiations toward a settlement to divide Bosnia about equally between the Serbs and a Muslim-Croat federation, and a gradual phaseout of the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro.

In no time, the Bosnian Muslims denounced the proposal as legitimizing the Serb conquests.

Does the above suggest a Serbian aggression or a repelled Islamic aggression led by the militants in the Islamic world, such as Iran and Turkey, with regretful support from the United States in the name of the new world order that contemplates creation of a Muslim state in Europe over the Serbian lands?

The president of Bosnia stated on the record in his Islamic Declaration that there could be no coexistence between his fellow Muslims and the Christian citizens of Bosnia.

The Serbs have no alternative but to fight, even a war of attrition, in order to stay on the lands they have owned for centuries. They don't have an alternative country to go to.

They will win ultimately either on their own or with the support of the Orthodox world, primarily Greece and Russia, but with many more innocent people suffering and much more devastation.

There is a consensus in Europe that an inability to contain hostilities in Bosnia would destabilize Europe. The traditional Serbian allies, France and Great Britain, must defend stability in Europe, since they have no alternative lands to go to either.

Other European countries, such as Italy, are beginning to realize that it is in their interest for the war to be terminated as soon as possible and that the United States is prolonging the war to keep the militant Muslims happy.

A stable, rather than a destabilized Europe, has always been in the interests of the United States.

President Clinton, whose foreign policy is in total disarray and who has relegated our status from the position of superpower to stupidpower, is also often willing to bail out disastrous Bosnian Muslim military adventures, such as Gorazde.

Given that fewer than 5 percent of the American public is interested in what is going on in Bosnia, and that those 5 percent have little interest in destabilizing Europe, the Clinton administration and Dole are ignoring the electorate and reacting to the special interests of the militant Muslim world, led by Iran and Turkey. Is this a case of incompetence, irresponsibility or even conceivably outright corruption?

Vojin Joksimovich, an Escondido resident, is chairman of the Committee Against Genocide in Former Yugoslavia.





# Let Congress vote on war in Bosnia

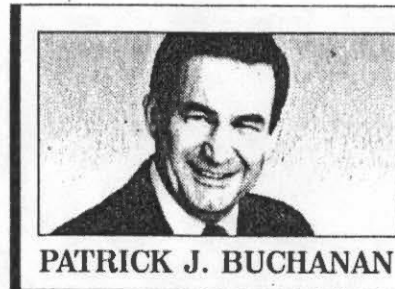
**A**ppalled at the gratuitous carnage of Gen. Ratko Mladic's Serb troops in Gorazde, derided as a Neville Chamberlain, Bill Clinton has placed a second foot on the slippery slope to war in Bosnia. And a more reluctant warrior than this president at his Wednesday press conference is difficult to imagine.

Clinton is hoping, nay praying, that his threat of heavy air strikes will persuade the Serbs not to do again what his pinprick air strikes failed to persuade them not to do in Gorazde. And let us pray he is not wrong again. For the consequences of U.S. air strikes killing Bosnia's Serbs are considerable. One wonders if our hawks cawing, "Lift and Strike!" — i.e. lift the arms embargo on the Muslims and bring U.S. air power in on their side — have thought them all through.

Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., a hero of Vietnam, has called for congressional debate and authorization before the United States goes to war. McCain is right. No more undeclared wars. Those who would plunge America into the Balkan bloodbath should be held accountable.

One potential early casualty of air strikes may be Boris Yeltsin. Russia is the ancient ally of the Serbs, the Big Brother of the Slav peoples. With nationalists breathing down his neck, Yeltsin cannot bless U.S. strikes on his Serb cousins. How Moscow would respond, if exposed as an impotent ally by NATO's pounding of the Serbs, is an open and interesting question.

A second casualty could be NATO itself. Neither the Brits nor the Canadians have been enthusiastic about air strikes or lifting the arms embargo. Both have troops among the 23,000 U.N. personnel; both fear that if NATO planes kill Serbs from the sky, Serbs will take revenge on



**PATRICK J. BUCHANAN**

NATO troops on the ground. That these NATO soldiers ride in snow-white U.N. vehicles is unlikely to inhibit Gen. Mladic's irregulars. And if the Serbs do start shooting NATO troops, rather than just "detaining" them, what do we do then, especially we Americans who have refused to join the Canadians and Brits on the ground?

Lifting the arms embargo and giving Bosnia's Muslims heavy weapons and the training to defend themselves has the attraction of making this seem a "fair fight" without risking American lives. But lifting that embargo is not risk-free. To the Serbs, this, along with air strikes, means NATO is entering the war on the Muslims' side.

The Serbs would face a choice: Drive to total victory now, or prepare for a long and bloody war of attrition and retreat from land for which they have already paid in blood. The Serbs are not likely to sit quietly and watch tanks and guns pour down the road from Croatia. And if they react by shutting off U.N. convoys into the "safe havens" and starving the Muslims, what do we do then? Air power can't feed starving people.

NATO's dilemma: While the Serbs are not a great power, they are willing to fight and die, on and off, for decades to achieve their dream of a greater Serbia

where all Serbs are ruled by Belgrade. And while NATO is a mighty alliance, no NATO ally is willing to fight a long and bloody war to maintain an independent Bosnia.

Clinton's dilemma: While the American people react with horror and rage at such atrocities as the shelling of the Sarajevo market and a tank firing point-blank into the hospital at Gorazde, our anger passes quickly. Public support is simply not there for a sustained campaign of bombing Serbs to prevent their holding onto Bosnia or Kosovo or taking back Macedonia. Can anyone believe this nation has the same staying power in the Balkans as Serbs who have lived there, fought there, and died there for centuries?

Another potential casualty of the United States entering this war is the Clinton presidency. There is simply no enthusiasm in this country for a Balkan war, either to block Serb ambitions, or prevent some wider war involving Albania, Kosovo, Macedonia, or Greece. And those who vote us into such a war may find themselves voted out.

As we look to the Balkans, perhaps we should look back to our own history. Sensitive Europeans must have viewed with horror young America's treatment of the Indians, President James K. Polk's imperial war that tore off California and the Southwest from Mexico, and Lincoln's four-year bloodbath to preserve the Union. But there was nothing the great powers of Europe could do to prevent America from attaining her Manifest Destiny — in her own way.

In this post-Cold War world, we are going to find that we, too, though we may be the last Superpower on Earth, cannot stop the tides of history, bloody though they may be, from running their appointed course.

Mr. Buchanan is a syndicated columnist.



6-10-94

## And Still Another Phony Peace Plan

During President Clinton's recent visit to France, the United States renewed its commitment to a peace plan assigning 51% of Bosnia-Herzegovina to its Muslim-Croat majority and 49% to its Serb minority. Inconveniently, the Bosnian Serbs now hold not 49% but 72% of Bosnia's territory, which leaves one-fifth of the country in dispute. The Serbs are not going to give the disputed territory back. The French and Americans are not going to take it back. So much for the agreement.

At a tense meeting this week in Geneva, the belligerents agreed to a one-month cease-fire. This is inconsequential. Real forward movement is not likely to come either in wrangling over the details of the partition map or in the making and breaking of cease-fires.

In a daring economic move, Serbia has made its dinar convertible with the German mark. Some predict that after a brief boom, Belgrade—which has only a few months' hard-currency reserves—will face a devastating

economic collapse. Others, however, claim that this move coupled with a weakening European will to maintain the economic sanctions imposed by the United Nations on Serbia has made the sanctions moot. If the latter view is correct (and the next few months will tell), then the threat of lifting the sanctions is also moot as a form of pressure on the Muslims and Croats.

Meanwhile, U.S. congressional pressure for a unilateral U.S. breach of the arms embargo on the former Yugoslav republics continues to grow. On Thursday, ignoring pleas from the White House, the House of Representatives voted by a strong 244-178 margin to lift the embargo. The Senate has already voted 50-49 for the same action. Neither chamber is likely to override a Clinton veto, but Clinton may find the political cost of a veto prohibitive.

If both the sanctions and the embargo are abandoned, the Balkans war may evolve into a new kind of civil war pitting Serbia against a

rearming alliance of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and, unofficially, Slovenia—with a fifth column of ethnic Hungarians and Albanians within Serbia. "The Geneva agreement is merely a one-month calm before an unprecedented storm and a prelude to total conflict," the Bosnian Serb leadership's SRNA news agency said late Wednesday.

The partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina has been urged as the best possible outcome under the circumstances. But since no coalition of major powers intends to impose the partition, this outcome becomes as moot as the sanctions and the embargo. In short, the war is overwhelmingly likely to escalate. And in that case, an unpleasant question could begin to become inescapable: Which side should the United States support? The current paradox is that all the major powers, by refusing to intervene and insisting on negotiations, have made negotiations virtually meaningless and neutrality increasingly difficult to maintain.

### ORANGE COUNTY PERSPECTIVE

## Open-Space Battle Lost, War Goes On

The recession made it more difficult for developers to get money to build houses and made them more willing to sell their land to groups wanting to preserve it as open space. However, this same economic slowdown made voters unwilling to incur more debt to buy the fields, lakes and canyons. That is wholly understandable.

Even so, Tuesday's rejection of Proposition 180, the California Parks and Wildlife Initiative, was an especially hard blow to Laguna Beach and to the Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy. But neither should throw in the towel on worthwhile projects because of the setback at the polls. It is time again to approach private donors and to look even harder for federal and state funds.

Laguna Beach was counting on Proposition 180 to provide \$25 million, the bulk of a \$33-million final payment due the Irvine Co. next year

for a marvelous 2,150-acre property known as Laguna Laurel. About 1,500 local volunteers, an impressive number, gathered signatures to get the initiative on the ballot and worked to solicit voter support.

Laguna Laurel would be part of a wilderness park stretching several miles inland from the coast. The city already has paid most of the \$78-million total purchase price but needed help from the initiative to buy the final 189 acres, which still conceivably could wind up as the site of 1,500 houses.

The initiative's defeat also cost the Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy more than \$85 million sought for the acquisition of open land in the Santa Monica Mountains. Now its executive director says it and a sister agency will have to lay off workers and put property purchases on hold. The conservancy will also have to

come up with nearly \$6 million to complete its purchase of Canyon Oaks Estates in Topanga Canyon.

Although the specific plots of land are of course most accessible to residents of Laguna Beach and Topanga, they and similar parcels are assets to the entire region. Hikers from San Bernardino trek in the Santa Monica Mountains; San Diego residents and tourists enjoy the Laguna Beach coast and canyons.

It is time for initiative backers to huddle with property owners to see what can be worked out. An Irvine Co. executive accurately labeled Laguna Laurel proponents "resourceful and determined people." So are Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy supporters. Voters may have felt tapped out in the face of a \$2-billion initiative, but this is no time for supporters of parks and wilderness to just fold their tents.



# ACTION COUNCIL FOR PEACE IN THE BALKANS

May 24, 1994

The Honorable Helen Delich Bentley  
The U.S. House of Representatives  
1610 Longworth House Office Building  
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Representative Bentley:

We are writing to urge you to vote for the McCloskey/Gilman/Bonior/Hoyer amendment (131) to the House Defense Authorization Bill (HR 4301) to end the U.S. arms embargo against the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

As indicated in the attached summary of the Action Council's Legal Memorandum on the arms embargo, the embargo against Bosnia is legally invalid and does not continue in force. Our reasons for seeking your support for the McCloskey/Gilman amendment, however, go beyond merely wanting the United States to bring itself into compliance with international law and the United Nations Charter.

For two years, the international community has prohibited all of the former Yugoslavia from importing weapons in the vain hope that this would contain the war and limit the casualties. Tragically, by denying the Bosnian Government the means to defend its borders and civilians, we have protected a Serbian monopoly on heavy weapons and facilitated genocide and aggression. Under the Clinton Administration's definition of the embargo, Serbia is responsible for massive violations by providing its surrogates in Bosnia with weapons and supplies.

As a result, Serbian forces have waged a two-year assault on Bosnia's citizens. They have murdered over 200,000 innocents and committed tens of thousands of rapes and other atrocities. While many argue that the war is now in its "end game" -- therefore making it futile to end the embargo -- we have been hearing the same such argument for the entire two years. Tens of thousands of civilians have since died in the endless Bosnian "end game."

The Clinton administration has committed the United States to bringing an end to the violence in Bosnia, but its determination to reach a quick, negotiated settlement is inadvertently leading to a further victimization of Bosnia at the surrender table. It is also likely to lead us toward the introduction of U.S. ground troops into a violent theatre with -- as the systematic refusal of the UN to protect UN personnel even under a limited mandate shows -- nebulous and potentially dangerous command and control arrangements. Our clear national and humanitarian interests are not in victimizing the Bosnians further, but rather in stopping



Serbian aggression and helping to create a sustainable peace in Bosnia.

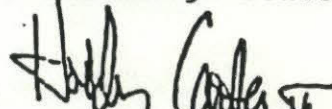
Robust NATO air strikes against the Serbian forces that are responsible for the genocide in Bosnia are clearly called for. As many in the Senate have pointed out in recent weeks, however, air strikes alone cannot ensure an end to Serbian aggression. In addition, the United Nations continues to demonstrate that it is more concerned with negotiating with and accommodating Serbian military and political leaders responsible for war crimes than in protecting even the "safe areas" it established almost one year ago.

Until the Bosnian Government has the means to defend its own borders and citizens, Serbian forces will continue to threaten the life of every Bosnian and even the very existence of Bosnia as a UN member state. Further Serbian victories in Bosnia -- and the rewarding of such conquests with an ethnic partition agreement -- would only serve to embolden Serbian extremists and actively promote Serbian expansion southward.

We urge that you offer your full support and vote for an immediate end to the U.S. arms embargo against Bosnia. It is time the U.S. did what is just and sensible in bringing Serbian aggression and the war in Bosnia to an end. It is time to lift the UN-imposed death sentence on Bosnia and let the Bosnians defend their families, their homes, and their sovereign state.

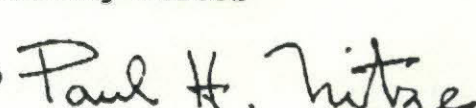
  
Zbigniew Brzezinski

  
Frank Carlucci


  
Hodding Carter

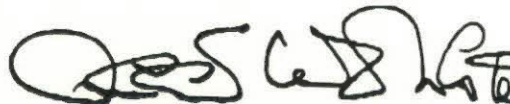
  
Max Kampelman

  
Jeane Kirkpatrick

  
Paul Nitze

  
Norman Podhoretz

  
George Shultz

  
Albert Wohlstetter

  
Elmo Zumwalt

Steering Committee, the Action Council for Peace in the Balkans

Attachment: Summary of Action Council Legal Memorandum



**LEGAL MEMORANDUM • EXECUTIVE SUMMARY****The Arms Embargo against Bosnia-Herzegovina Violates the Inherent Right to Self-Defense.**

Application of the United Nations' arms embargo against the former Yugoslavia to the sovereign state of Bosnia-Herzegovina violates the inherent right to self-defense. When the Security Council acts in violation of this pre-eminent right, member states may declare the actions of the Security Council invalid and act accordingly. The destruction of the state of Bosnia and its nationals constitutes such special circumstances.

The arms embargo violates Bosnia's territorial integrity and inherent right to the self-defense of that territory.

- A nation's inherent right to self-defense, as codified in articles 2(4) and 51 of the United Nations Charter, is a pre-eminent right of international law, and may not be abridged by actions of the Security Council. Denial of Bosnia's right to acquire weapons, defend itself against aggression, prevent the destruction of the state of Bosnia, and prevent genocide against Bosnian nationals clearly violates Bosnia's international right to self-defense.
- The arms embargo was appropriately applied to the sub-state entity of Bosnia at the time of its adoption, but it cannot be legitimately applied to Bosnia without its consent after the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the admission of Bosnia in its own right into the United Nations. Upon admission to the United Nations, Bosnia became unquestionably entitled to the right of self-defense under the UN Charter.
- In abridging Bosnia's right to self-defense, the UN Security Council undertook to provide for the country's peace and international security. For two years, however, the Security Council has not taken measures necessary to maintain that peace and security in Bosnia. Accordingly, the United Nations Charter's provision of Bosnia's right to self-defense through the acquisition of defensive arms becomes pre-eminent.
- The inherent right of individual or collective self-defense does not necessarily equate with a right to receive arms. However, Serbian forces continue their campaign of aggression to conquer Bosnian territory and continue their assaults on Bosnian civilians. This aggression is supplied, financed, and resupplied and substantially controlled from Serbia. Therefore, acquisition of defensive arms is necessary for Bosnia to preserve its territorial integrity and

carry out its right of self-defense, as Bosnia has been brought to the brink of extinction with more than 70% of its territory being occupied by forces seeking its partition and destruction.

Continued application of the arms embargo to Bosnia conflicts with the obligations of the United Nations member states under the United Nations Convention on Genocide, numerous UNSC resolutions, and UNGA resolution 48/42.

- UN-member states enforcing the arms embargo deny the Bosnian government the means to protect its nationals from genocide, violate their own obligations to prevent genocide, and are responsible for complicity in genocide, a punishable crime under the Genocide Convention.
- Application of the arms embargo conflicts with Bosnia's right under several United Nations Security Council resolutions to ensure the delivery of humanitarian aid to its nationals, to ensure the protection of its personnel delivering humanitarian aid, to protect its population located in United Nations declared safe areas, and to exercise its right to self-defense. Continued application of the arms embargo is inconsistent with UN-member states' obligations under these resolutions.
- In accordance with international law, the United States may unilaterally seek to end the embargo by declaring the embargo invalid, refusing to participate in the enforcement of the embargo, and supplying arms to the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The United States should increase the force and effect of its actions by seeking to take these measures in conjunction with other countries.
- Declaration of the arms embargo against Bosnia-Herzegovina as unlawful would not result in the invalidity of the economic and arms embargoes against such states as Serbia and Iraq. Unlike these states, Bosnia-Herzegovina is under direct military attack sponsored by a neighboring state; more than 70% of Bosnia's territory is occupied by hostile forces seeking its partition and destruction. Bosnia's population is subject to mass killings, rapes, forcible relocations, and crimes of genocide; and Bosnia does not possess a sufficient supply of defensive arms to meet minimal requirements for self-defense. These differences are determinative for a legal finding that an arms embargo violates a state's right to self-defense.

In light of these imperatives, the United States should make an explicit and unilateral declaration of the invalidity of the arms embargo, cease enforcement, and take immediate action to provide for Bosnia's defense. The United States can and should encourage other member states to take similar action.



Key Votes on Bosnia Expected Today; Amendments to the National Defense Authorization Act - FY 1995  
Vote Yes on McCloskey Amendment - Vote No on Hamilton Amendment

# Bosnia Task Force, USA

Muslims in America Unite in Solidarity with Bosnia  
National Capitol Station; P.O. Box 1876; Washington, D.C. 20013  
Tel: (202) 333-2823 (703) 264-0263 Fax: (703) 715-8472

May 24, 1994

## National Office:

843 W. Van Buren  
Suite 375  
Chicago, IL 60607  
tel: 312/829-0087  
fax: 312/829-0089

National Coordinator  
A. Malik Mujahid

## Member Groups:

Islamic Society  
of North America  
Plainfield, IN

Islamic Circle  
of North America  
Jamaica, NY

National  
Association  
of Muslim Women  
Great Falls, VA

Ministry of Imam  
W. Deen Mohammed  
Chicago, IL

The National  
Community  
Atlanta, GA

Bosnia Action  
Com. of Chicago

Majlis Shura  
New York

American  
Muslim Council  
Washington, DC

Michigan  
Islamic Council

Balkan Muslim  
Association  
Princeton, NJ

Washington Staff

Washington Rep.  
Issa Smith

Newsletter Editor  
Andrew L. Eiva

Cong. Liaison  
Paul A. Clark

Dear Congressman:

The Bosnia Task Force, USA, a coalition of ten organizations (see left) representing about 6 million Muslim Americans, asks you to help Bosnia defend itself against genocide by voting:

- 1) Yes on the McCloskey-Gilman-Bonior-Hoyer Amendment
- 2) No on Hamilton Amendment, which, under the arcane "King of the Hill" rule, would supercede and delete the McCloskey Amendment even if it passes by a higher margin

A key difference between McCloskey and Hamilton amendments is in opposite preconditions to send U.S. ground troops to Bosnia.

@ The Hamilton Amendment endorses current administration performance on Bosnia, including a plan to deploy US ground forces to Bosnia Herzegovina after "consultation with Congress". Hamilton's proposal to send ground troops to Bosnia but denying Bosnia the means to self-defense defies "common sense."

@ The McCloskey Amendment allows Bosnia to defend itself before the US sends ground forces.

The Hamilton Amendment is also harmful for additional reasons:

1) Promotes Serbian ultranationalist genocide of Bosnia at low cost by continuing to intervene to disarm the victim. The Hamilton amendment keeps the Bosnia embargo issue in the UN Security Council, where French, British, and Russian diplomats can use the veto to keep the Bosnian embargo against the wishes of the UN majority, leaving Bosnia disarmed against genocide.

2) Pointlessly endangers US (and NATO) pilots. Hamilton amendment keeps US air strikes under control of UN officials, who sent our pilots to hunt ridiculous targets at low level, exposing them to Serb machine guns while the White House slept.

3) Promotes flawed settlement in Bosnia rewarding war criminals. The first paragraph of the Hamilton amendment appears to endorse US diplomacy awarding 49% of Bosnia to the gang doing the raping and murdering. The aggressor remains armed and unpunished. The victim remains disarmed and vulnerable. The only peace likely under this amendment is the peace of consummated genocide.

The McCloskey Amendment benefits US interests in Bosnia:

1) SUPPORTS A KEY MULTI-ETHNIC INSTITUTION OF BOSNIA, ITS ARMY. The McCloskey amendment closes a gap in the recent US-proposed alliance of Bosnians and Croats which overlooked about 200,000 Serbs of good will still loyal to Bosnia, with about 10,000 in the Army, including General Jovan Diviak, the deputy commander. Serbs of good will are key to Bosnia's peaceful future, and the arms will help the army protect Bosnia's multi-ethnic society.

2) PROTECTS "NEVER AGAIN" AS AN AMERICAN VALUE. Holocaust survivors and specialists believe the American response to Bosnia will prove whether "Never Again" represents an American value or empty rhetoric. They lead the way in word and deed:

@ Elie Weisel used the dedication of the Holocaust Museum to confront Clinton on Bosnia.

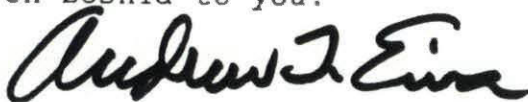
@ Rep. Tom Lantos' passionate invocation of the Holocaust swayed the winning margin (24-15) during a Foreign Affairs Committee vote to arm Bosnia last July, according to witnesses.

@ Steven Spielberg said Bosnia motivated him to make "Schindler's List" a year sooner (Los Angeles Jewish Journal De 3, '93)

@ George Soros, philanthropist and holocaust survivor, sacrificed \$50 million to aid Bosnia

3) CORRECTS MORAL MYOPIA IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT. Five foreign service officers resigned to expose the coverup of genocide and related State Department misconduct on Bosnia, reminiscent of systematic State Department deceit during the Holocaust to prevent an effective American response.

CONCLUSION: Your vote for McCloskey and against Hamilton insures that the lesson of the Holocaust was not in vain. It vindicates the heroic foreign service officers who sacrificed their livelihood to expose the immoral conduct of the State Department on Bosnia to you.



Andrew L. Eiva  
Congressional Relations  
(202) 333-2823



JUN - 1 1994

March 23, 1994

Dear Editor:

Perhaps it would be an understatement to say that my writings are of a dissident kind; therefore, can not be published by a press controlled by the Military-Industrial Complex (MIC), the same Complex that President Eisenhower warned us against.

I have no illusion that university presses are not controlled by MIC -- universities depend greatly on MIC's grants and research contracts -- but student periodicals may still be more free than others. That is my hope; therefore, I am writing to you.

You have noticed that since the very beginning of the civil war in Yugoslavia, in June 1991, the American press has branded Serbs as "aggressors" and accused them of atrocities without any confirmation of their allegations and without ever giving a chance for rebuttal to the Serbian side. This totally one-sided attitude and some incidents from that time indicate that "balkanization" of Yugoslavia was a well-planned and well-executed effort by a very powerful organization.

One of the organizations powerful enough and willing to undertake such murderous "balkanization," as it proved to be, is MIC whose *raison d'être* is sale and destruction of arms, so that arms can be sold again. The best and shortest path to that goal is war. Consequently, MIC's business is war; provocation and maintenance of wars around the globe under all possible euphemistic names: "Feeding the Hungry" in Somalia, "Preventing Spread of Communism" in Grenada, "Stopping Flow of Drugs" in Panama, "Punishing Terrorists" in Libya, "Stopping a Ruthless Aggressor" in Iraq, "Peace" in the Balkans, etc.

Probability that you have never published the Serbian side of the civil war in former Yugoslavia is high, as it is the probability that your sources of news about the events in Yugoslavia are local newspapers and television stations, national periodicals and television networks. But, instead of actual and impartial news, they all usually produce only anti-Serbian brainwashing propaganda, considerably more one-sided and single-minded than the anti-American propaganda in Nazi Germany ever was, or the anti-capitalistic propaganda in Communist Yugoslavia.

The objective of this letter is to suggest that you publish a Serbian response to each "news-item" or commentary about former Yugoslavia. I offer to provide that response free of charge or for a subscription to your periodical. And/or I could send you copies of my essays that the MIC-controlled press has refused to publish.

I am not a student in your school; therefore, possibly not eligible to write for your periodical. In that case, may I suggest that you still publish above Serbian responses to be written by a Serbian-born fellow student of yours who speaks Serbian and can read Serbian periodicals and other Serbian publications printed in the United States (e.g., Glasnik of the Serbian Academic Club in Chicago) or in Serbia.

I am a Serbian-American, a naturalized U.S. citizen, a Registered P.E., writing as an individual and not as member of an organized group. My concern is a fair and objective picture of my country of origin and its people.

Sincerely,

WALTER VOJISLAV MEDENICA  
4601 BARBARA DRIVE  
BELTSVILLE, MD 20705



# Support the Bosnia Arms Embargo

## Oppose the McCloskey-Gilman-Bonior-Hoyer Amendment

June 6, 1994

Dear Representative:

The daily reports about the war in the former Yugoslavia compel our country to take action to minimize the bloodshed and end the war there.

**Therefore, we urge you to vote against the McCloskey-Gilman-Bonior-Hoyer amendment to the defense authorization bill, which would unilaterally lift the arms embargo against Bosnia and provide military aid to the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina.**

Lifting the arms embargo and arming soldiers in the war in Bosnia at this time would **increase** the killing. It would prolong the war, endanger the U.N. troops there, and possibly scuttle the peace process.

Also, taking such action alone, against the wishes of key NATO allies, would undermine future U.S. efforts to create multilateral solutions to security threats. It would "Americanize" the war, so that the United States would be viewed as responsible for the fate of the Bosnian Muslims.

As Chairman Lee Hamilton and Chairman Claiborne Pell recently wrote in opposition to lifting the arms embargo, "Our frustration with the peace process should not compel us to choose a course that would prolong, intensify and widen the war."

Again, on behalf of our organizations' thousands of members and supporters, we urge you to oppose the McCloskey-Gilman-Bonior-Hoyer amendment.

Sincerely,

Robert Z. Alpern, Director  
Unitarian Universalist Association, Washington Office

Tim Barner, Executive Director  
World Federalist Association

Ambassador Jonathan Dean, Arms Control Adviser  
Union of Concerned Scientists

Ken Martens Friesen, Acting Director  
Mennonite Central Committee, Washington Office

(over, please)

(page two)

Monica Green, Executive Director  
Peace Action

John Isaacs, President  
Council for a Livable World

Timothy A. McElwee, Director  
Church of the Brethren, Washington, DC

Dan Plesch, Director  
British American Security Information Council

Caleb S. Rossiter, Director  
Project on Demilitarization and Democracy

Edith Villastrigo, Legislative Director  
Women Strike for Peace



House  
 REPUBLICAN  
 Conference

# FloorPrep

---

 Legislative Digest

 June 7, 1994
 

---

Dick Arney  
 Chairman  
 26th District, Texas

## *Amendment Update*

### Department of Defense Authorization H.R. 4301

Committee on Armed Services  
 H.Rept. 103-499  
 Introduced by Mr. Dellums on April 26, 1994

---

#### Floor Situation

The House is scheduled to resume consideration of amendments to H.R. 4301 on Wednesday, June 8. Chairman Dellums is expected to bundle 24 remaining amendments from part I of the second rule into an *en bloc* amendment. Approximately 17 additional part I amendments may also be considered. The House is also expected to consider two amendments dealing with lifting the arms embargo on Bosnia. Finally, the rule provides one motion to recommit with or without instructions. For information on amendments already considered, see *Congressional Record* May 18, 1994, pp. H3539-H3665; May 19, 1994, pp. H3736-46; May 23, 1994, pp. H3851-65 and H3869-81; and May 24, 1994, pp. H3906-55.

---

#### Amendments

##### *Part I - En Bloc Amendments*

Armed Services Committee Chairman Dellums or his designee is expected to bundle the following amendments and offer them *en bloc*. Under the rule, *en bloc* amendments are unamendable, indivisible and debatable for 20 minutes.

**Ms. Schroeder** may offer an amendment changing the allocation of funding among several defense reinvestment programs. The amendment reduces funding for the dual-use partnership program by \$60 million and increases funding for the commercial military integration partnerships, the regional technology alliances and the defense manufacturing extension programs by \$30 million each. *Staff contact: Chris Aldridge, x5-7740.*

**Ms. DeLauro** may offer an amendment authorizing \$3 million for DOD to provide in-kind support for the Special Olympics World Games to be held in New Haven, Connecticut in July 1995. *Staff contact: Mary Ann Cappiello, x5-3661.*

**Mr. Underwood** may offer an amendment establishing Restoration Advisory Boards and authorizing grants to promote citizen participation. The sponsor feels that his amendment will reduce future litigation costs and improve civilian and military relations. DOD supports this amendment. *Staff contact: David Goodfriend, x5-1188.*

**Mr. Peterson (FL) and Johnson (TX)** may offer an amendment requiring disclosure of information on U.S. personnel who at any time were classified as POW or MIA during the Korean conflict. *Staff contact: Mark Soltes, x5-5235.*

**Mr. Solomon** may offer an amendment expressing the sense of Congress that the U.S. should take action against North Korea, including seeking international sanctions and resuming "Team Spirit" military exercises, if the inspection controversy at Yongbyon nuclear facility is not resolved satisfactorily. *Staff contact: Dave Lonie, x5-7985.*

**Mr. Berman** may offer an amendment authorizing assistance under the defense conversion adjustment program to workers impacted by reduced arms sales abroad. *Staff contact: Bob Blumenfield, x5-4695.*

**Ms. Kaptur** may offer an amendment authorizing \$25 million from the Stockpile Transaction Fund for the integration of defense and commercial applications of Beryllium. The amendment stipulates that this project must develop manufacturing technologies that result in the fabrication of high quality standard alloys that have both commercial and military applications. The amendment authorizes the use of \$25 million from the National Defense Stockpile Transaction Fund for these activities. *Staff contact: Ed Garza, x5-4146.*

**Mr. Evans** may offer an amendment making a technical correction to Section 851 of the bill (Factories and Arsenals: manufacture at). Additional information on this amendment was unavailable at press time. *Staff contact: Tom O'Donnell, x5-5905.*

**Mr. Miller (CA)** may offer an amendment transferring title to certain dredge ponds and non-tidal areas in Mare Island Shipyard to the City of Vallejo, California. *Staff contact: Colleen Kavanaugh, x5-2095.*

**Mr. Kennedy** may offer an amendment expressing the sense of Congress that it supports the president's efforts in seeking an indefinite extension of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. *Staff contact: Bill Spencer, x5-5111.*

**Mr. Stark** may offer an amendment requiring DOD and DOE, by June 1, 1995, to report on the costs and benefits of fueling future naval nuclear reactors with low-enriched uranium (LEU). The sponsor argues that using LEU in future naval reactors would (1) put the U.S. in a better position to discourage other countries from producing highly enriched uranium (HEU) for nuclear purposes, (2) give the U.S. a long-term secure supply of fuel for our naval reactors, and (3) enable the U.S. to sell off a portion of our HEU stockpile, realizing budget savings. *Staff contact: Tom Goldstein, x5-5065.*



**Mr. Dellums** may offer an amendment authorizing three defense acquisition pilot programs: Fire Support Combined Arms Tactical Trainer (TSCATT), Joint Direct Attack Munitions (JDAM I) and the Commercial Derivative Aircraft. The amendment waives the applicability of certain provisions of procurement law for these three programs. *Staff contact: Cathy Garman, x5-6704.*

**Ms. Furse** may offer an amendment prohibiting disclosure of personal information obtained through the Hanford Health Information Network that could identify anyone who may have been exposed to radiation released from the Hanford Nuclear Reservation. The amendment stipulates that information may be disclosed only if written consent is given by the affected individual. The Hanford Health Information Network was established in 1991 by the states of Washington, Oregon and Idaho to develop health and support programs for persons who may have been exposed to radiation released from the Hanford Nuclear Reservation in Washington state between 1944 and 1972. *Staff contact: Marie Rietmann, x5-0855.*

**Mr. Hall (OH)** may offer an amendment adding transportation to the list of services needed to benefit the historical collection of the armed services and which may be exchanged for unneeded historical items. Additional information on this amendment was unavailable at press time. *Staff contact: Michael Gessel, x5-6465.*

**Mr. Hall (OH)** may offer an amendment permitting recipients of closed military bases to rent facilities directly to government agencies without first leasing the facilities to the General Services Administration. *Staff contact: Michael Gessel, x5-6465.*

**Mr. Hamilton** may offer an amendment giving the president authority to provide disaster relief assistance in case of a natural or man-made disaster occurring outside the U.S. *Staff contact: Mara Rudman, x5-7705.*

**Mr. Farr** may offer an amendment authorizing DOD to enter into a cooperative agreement with the National Defense Center for Environmental Excellence and the University of California to foster the development of environmental remediation technologies. *Staff contact: Dave Borden, x5-2861.*

**Messrs. Michel, Gingrich, Hyde, Spence and Gilman** may offer an amendment prohibiting the use of DOD funds to pay for the U.S.-assessed share of U.N. peacekeeping costs (these costs are currently paid for by the State Department). *Staff contact: Len Swinehart (Gingrich), x50197 and Stephen Rademaker (Gilman), x5-6735.*

**Mr. Quillen** may offer an amendment making exceptions to the prohibition against disposal of nondefense toxic and hazardous materials at military installations. Additional information on this amendment was unavailable at press time. *Staff contact: Sheryl Bonifer, x5-6356.*

**Mr. Oberstar** may offer an amendment authorizing \$500,000 for the Navy to establish a program for taconite processing technology. *Staff contact: Chip Gardiner, x5-6211.*

**Mr. Menendez** may offer an amendment establishing a green ports program to assist with demonstration projects for environmentally secure containment and decontamination of dredged materials, dual use port cargo handling, and innovative environmental processes technology. The amendment stipulates that DOD's Advanced Research Project Agency would carry out specified activities as part of defense conversion, base closing and environmental restoration responsibilities. *Staff contact: Brian O'Malley, x5-7919.*

**Ms. McKinney** may offer an amendment requiring DOD to report on the potential threat of foreign armed forces to U.S. forces operating independently, or as part of peacekeeping or peace enforcement with other forces. The amendment requires DOD to report to Congress annually with an annual assessment of the threat posed to U.S. armed forces and national security interests in each region of the world. *Staff contact: Mario Chapman or Andrea Young, x5-1605.*

**Mr. Fazio** may offer an amendment including the Air Force in a pilot program which allows Army and Navy depots to form partnerships with private entities in order to commercialize the depots' activities. *Staff contact: Tim Terry, x5-5716.*

**Mr. Fazio, Mr. Hoyer and Mr. Mazzoli** may offer an amendment authorizing the secretary of each service to sell articles and services produced by a working-capital funded service industrial facility, including arsenals, to eligible persons outside DOD. *Staff contact: Tim Terry (Fazio), x5-5716.*

### *Part I - Other*

The following amendments are unamendable and debatable for 10 minutes each.

**Ms. Pelosi** may offer an amendment requiring DOD to give preference in making contracts for environmental restoration and other activities under the Base Closure and Realignment Account to residents in the vicinity of the closing or realigned base. *Staff contact: Judy Lemons, x5-4965.*

**Mr. Hamburg** may offer an amendment requiring DOD to give local hiring preference for construction services within 30 miles of a military installation approved for closure or realignment. *Staff contact: Paul Anderson, x5-3311.*

**Mr. Hamilton** may offer an amendment stating that the U.S. should work actively with the U.N. Security Council, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), U.S. allies and other members of the international community to secure North Korea's full compliance with the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and the IAEA nuclear safeguards agreement. *Staff contacts: Robert Hathaway, x5-6701 and David Barton, x5-8926.*

**Mr. Sisisky** may offer an amendment requiring DOD to designate one official as the contact for individuals seeking information about any unaccounted for POW/MIA from the Korean conflict. *Staff contact: Warren Nelson, x5-4151.*

**Mr. Kopetski** may offer an amendment applauding the president for maintaining the U.S. nuclear testing ban and taking a leadership role towards negotiating a comprehensive test ban treaty. The amendment also urges the Conference on Disarmament to make all possible progress toward a comprehensive test ban treaty by the end of 1994. *Staff contact: Ben McMakin, x5-4636.*

**Mr. Kyl** may offer an amendment prohibiting obligation of Cooperative Threat Reduction funds until the president has certified that Russia has terminated its offensive biological weapons program. *Staff contact: Jeanine Esperne, x5-3361.*

**Mr. Hamilton** may offer an amendment authorizing \$45.8 million for military-to-military- contracts and comparable activities designed to assist the military forces of other countries in understanding the appropriate role of military forces in a democratic society. *Staff contact: Chris Kojm, x5-7376.*



**Mr. Reed** may offer an amendment requiring GAO, within 12 months of enactment, to report to Congress on the top 20 executive salaries among companies with at least 75 percent of their revenues derived from DOD contracts. *Staff contact: Neil Campbell, x5-2735.*

**Mr. Lewis (GA)** may offer an amendment authorizing an additional \$9.4 million within the Army operation and maintenance account to the Army Environmental Policy Institute in Georgia. Of this amount, \$3 million is to be used to address policy implications of new and emerging technologies for disposal of obsolete conventional munitions and \$5 million is to be used to address policies concerning management of nuclear materials by states of the former Soviet Union. The amendment makes offsetting cuts of \$3 million from the authorization for conventional demilitarization and \$5 million from the cooperative threat reduction program. *Staff contact: George Dusenbury, x5-3801.*

**Mr. Hamilton** and **Mr. Boucher** may offer an amendment authorizing the Army to enter into agreements with the Farmers Home Administration (FHA) and the Rural Development Administration (RDA) to establish loan guarantee programs for the Armament Retooling and Manufacturing Support (ARMS) initiative. ARMS is a program through which private companies can enter into contracts to use idle or underutilized facilities at ammunition manufacturing plants. The amendment permits guarantees for loans up to \$20 million for terms of no more than 10 years, and would be funded through previous appropriations. The loan subsidy cost for guarantees issued in FY 1995 would be capped at \$43 million, which would fund guarantees for roughly \$1 billion in loans. The amendment permits the Army to enter into agreements with the Agriculture Department under which USDA lending agencies would process applications and otherwise operate the loan guarantee program. *Staff contact: Jonathon Friedman (Hamilton), x5-5315 and Roger Goodman (Boucher), x5-3861.*

**Mr. Traficant** and **Mr. Hunter** may offer an amendment permitting DOD to redeploy personnel now stationed in Europe to U.S. borders to assist the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Border Patrol. The sponsors point out that the U.S. has hundreds of thousands of troops deployed throughout the world protecting European, Asian and Latin American nations at the same time approximately three million illegal aliens cross our borders annually — many of whom bring drugs and take jobs away from Americans. *Staff contact: Dan Blair, x5-5261.*

**Mr. Dicks** may offer an amendment restoring \$52.3 million for the Advanced Capability (ADCAP) modification program for the MK-48 torpedo. The bill authorizes no funds for this program. *Staff contact: Terry Freese, x5-5916.*

**Mr. Dellums** may offer an add-back amendment that would increase the authorization levels for various programs in the bill using savings achieved by other amendments that reduce authorizations. Additional information on this amendment was unavailable at press time.

**Ms. Harman** may offer an amendment striking section 534 of the bill requiring that servicemembers classified as “permanently nonworldwide assignable” because of a medical condition (e.g., cancer, heart disease, diabetes or HIV) be discharged if DOD determines retention would adversely affect the service carrying out its mission. The sponsor asserts that Congress should not punish the sick when DOD already has the authority to discharge anyone medically unfit for duty. The member also points out that DOD has not asked for additional authority in this area and that the bill’s language, without amendment, will result in 3,500 current servicemembers losing their jobs. Opponents of the amendment counter that at a time when military manpower levels are being reduced to minimum levels,