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Concentration Camps for Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina

1. Livno (fortress - old town) - about 600 Serbs.
2. Tomislavgrad (Secondary School Center) - about 500 Serbs.
3. Tomislavgrad - the village of Rascani, all Serbs captured in the village with no food supplies, nor health care.
4. Bugojno - (house of the killed Serb Relja Lukic) - about 50 Serbs.
5. Bugojno - (the factory "Slavko Rodic") - about 700 Serbs.
6. Jajce - (the old fortress) - about 500 Serbs.
7. Bihac - (stadium of the Football Club "Jedinstvo") - about 900 Serbs.
8. Orasje - (stadium of a football club) - about 100 Serbs. The commander of the concentration camp is Pero Vinrenlic from the village of Donja Mahala.
9. Odzak - (primary school) - about 400 Serbs. The commander of the concentration camp is Mijo Barisic.
10. Odzak - (the firm "Stolit") - about 150 Serbs.
11. Odzak - (the village of Novi Grad) - about 1000 - 1500 Serbs, mostly women and children.
12. Odzak - (primary school in the village of Povljeta) - 59 Serbs.
13. Odzak - (the former military warehouse in the village of Rabici) - about 300 Serbs. The Serbs were transported from the concentration camp in the village of Poljari and Rabici in the direction of Bosanski Brod on July 1, 1992. The Serbs killed in the camp in Odzak are buried with a dredge near the Hospital in Odzak. Fuad Alijagic is in charge of that job.
14. Konjic - (the railway tunnel above the village of Bradina) - about 3000 Serbs.
15. Hadzici - (Cultural Center in the village of Pazaric) - about 150 Serbs.
16. Ilidza - (stadium of the Football Club "Famos") - about 300 Serbs, mostly women and children. Pero Sutalo from Vinkovci/Croatia, Samir Lokvancic and Halis Ciko lead the investigation).
17. Tuzla - (the stadium "Tusanj") - about 4000 Serbs.
18. Bosanski Brod - (a suburb near River Sava) - about 400 Serbs.
19. Zenica - (rooms of the House of Correction) - about 2000 Serbs. Many of them, so far, killed throwing into the blast furnace of the Ironworks "Zenica".
20. Jablanica - (the village of Celebici near Jablanicko Lake) - about 500 Serbs.
21. Kladanj - (the village of Stupari) - about 50 Serbs, every day one of them is hung.
22. Sarajevo - (the stadium "Kosevo", the Sport Hall "Zetra", the Railway Station of Sarajevo, Women's Prison, Dormitory "Mladen Stojanovic", nursery school "25. May" in the district "Pavle Goranin", "Sipad" Warehouse, House of Correction "Pofalici").

Beside the mentioned ones in Sarajevo, there are several other concentration camps. One of them is the former JNA barracks "Viktor Bubanj", where there are 750 Serbs. They live in incredible conditions. Rooms planned for one person are crowded with 10-12 persons. The chief investigator is Mile Davidovic, the former basketball referee. Among others there are 20 Arab guards. About 170 Serbs are located in the safe-deposit boxes of the bank "Privredna Banka Sarajevo". Members of a HVO (Croatian Defense Council) unit

rallied "Kvadrant", guarding this camp, call this concentration camp a "Torture Room for Serbs". Commander of the HVO unit "Kvadrant" is Zlatko Lagumdžija. Commander of the concentration camp is Dragoslav Dojcinovic, a karate expert. About 200 Serbs are located in the School for Retarded Children "Vladimir Nazor". A number of Serbs is confined in the skyscraper No. 2 in the square "Pero Kusoric". Commander of this camp is Edin Bahtic, a former soccer player. The mass murders are committed at the Cantilever bridge on the River Miljacka. Twenty seven Serbs were killed during one night. The major mass murderers are: Edin Bahtac, Safet Klepo, Omar Rezbjaj, Safet Kenic, Haris Lerzic and Uzes Saric. There are about 600 Serbs captured in the Central Prison in Sarajevo. Commander of the camp is a well known singer Safet Isovic. He is a SDA (Democratic Action Party) representative in the Assembly of the former BH. There are also concentration camps in the primary schools "Andrija Rasu" and "Prvi Maj" in Alipasino Polje, in the rooms of the local community "Ali Pasino Polje" (buildings in the "B" and "C" phase).

About 6000 Serbs have been killed up to now in the concentration camps established by the Croatian-Muslim coalition, and the number is increased every day. Most of the captured are women and children.

Prisons in Sarajevo with Serbs captured in them:

1. The Sport Center "FIS", JNA Street 3 (confirmed);
2. The Central Prison - about 600 Serbs (confirmed);
3. The School for Retarded Children "Vladimir Nazor" - about 200 Serbs (not confirmed). Its manager is Edin Bahtic;
4. The basement of the safety deposit box of the bank "Privredna Banka Sarajevo", Jovan Cvijic Street, a certain Zlatko Lagumdžija is manager - about 170 Serbs;
5. The barracks "Viktor Bubanj", District "Pavle Goranin" - about 250 Serbs;
6. Stadium "Kosevo" connected with Zetra - about 500 Serbs captured;
7. The tunnel "Velesici", Ciglane;
8. Dormitory "Mladen Stojanovic", Radiceva Street;
9. "Sipad" firm in Dzemal Bijedic Street;
10. The garage near "Privredna Banka Sarajevo", Dobrinja IV;
11. Atomic shelter in Dobrinja III;
12. Prison in Stup - the object unknown;
13. The tunnel "Kosevo Hospital";
14. Cafe "Stela";
15. The Heating Plant at Ali Pasino Polje, "B" phase;
16. The school "Aleksa Santic" - Dobrinja V;
17. Stadium "Famos" in Hrasnica;
18. The House of Correction in Pofalici, near tobacco factory;
19. The Meteorology Institute at Bjelave;
20. The Police Station at Bjelave;
21. The primary school "Pavle Goranin";
22. The railway station - about 600 Serbs.

Dragi prijatelji:

Evo parcijalnog spiska koncentracionih logora za Srbe. Izvor: News Briefs: Serbia Today, from August 5, 1992 (published by: Ministry of Information, Republic of Serbia, Nemanjina 11, 11000 Belgrade, Yugoslavia):

CONCENTRATION CAMPS FOR SERBS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

1. LIVNO (the "Stari Grad" fortress: about 600 Serbs
2. TOMISLAVGRAD (local high school): about 500 Serbs
3. TOMISLAVGRAD (the village of Rascani): All the Serbs in the village are under siege, without any food, supply or medical care.
4. BUGOJNO (the house of the murdered Serb Relja Lukic): about 50 Serbs
5. BUGOJNO (the "Slavko Rodic" factory): about 700 Serbs
6. JAJCE (the ancient fortress): about 500 Serbs
7. BIHAC (the "Jedinstvo" football club stadium): about 900 Serbs
8. ORASJE (the local football stadium): about 100 Serbs
9. ODZAK (the elementary school): about 700 Serbs
10. ODZAK (the "Stolit" factory): about 150 Serbs
11. ODZAK (the village of Novi Grad): about 1000-1500 Serbs, mostly women and children
12. ODZAK (the former military depot in the village of Rabici): about 300 Serbs
13. ODZAK (the elementary school in the village of Poljari): 59 Serbs
14. KONGJIC (the railway tunnel above the village of Bradina): about 3,000 Serbs
15. HADZICI (the Culture Hall): about 150 Serbs
16. ILIDZA (the "Famos" football club stadium): about 800 Serbs, mostly women and children
17. TUZLA (the "Tusanj" stadium): about 4,000 Serbs
18. BOSANSKI BROD (the suburbs along the bank of the river Sava): about 400 Serbs
19. ZENICA (the former jail): about 2,000 Serbs
20. JABLANICA (the village of Celebici): about 500 Serbs
21. KLADANJ (the village of Stupari): about 50 Serbs

PRISONS FOR SERBS IN SARAJEVO

1. FIS, JNA Street no. 3
2. The central city jail
3. The "Vladimir Nazor" school for retarded children
4. The underground vaults of the "Privredna Banka Sarajevo" bank
5. The "Viktor Bubanj" garrison
6. The "Kosevo" stadium
7. The "Velisici-Ciglane" tunnel
8. The "Mladen Stojanovic" student's dormitory in Radiceva Street
9. The "Sipad" plant in Dzemal Bjedic Street
10. The garage near the "Privredna Banka Sarajevo" bank
11. The atomic shelter in Dobrinja quarter
12. The jail in Stupa
13. The tunnel of the "Kosevo" hospital
14. The "Strela" restaurant
15. The "Alipasino polje" heating plant
16. The "Aleksa Santic" elementary school
17. The "Famos" football club stadium in Hrasnica
18. The Reformatory in Pofalici
19. The Meteorology Institute
20. The police station in Bjelave quarter
21. The railway station

Pozdrav od M. Milkovica

Preuzeto sa S.C.Y.

the effect of "ethnic cleansing" against Bosnian-Serbs in Bosnia & Hercegovina
 contrasted with the census of 1991)

Municipality		Bosnian-Serbs 1991		Bosnian-Serbs today
BRANICA	1	33 %	1	NONE
BRANJKA	1	15.5 %	1	4.5 %
BRANJICE	1	5 %	1	NONE
BRANJANJ	1	26 %	1	NONE
BRANOVICI	1	14 %	1	NONE
BRANESIJA	1	18 %	1	NONE
BRANAVNIK	1	11 %	1	NONE
BRANTRAVNIK	1	13.3 %	1	NONE
BRANGOJNO	1	18.9 %	1	5 %
BRANRVENTA	1	40.8 %	1	5 %
BRANBROD	1	33.8 %	1	NONE
BRANJICE	1	19.3 %	1	4 %
BRANRAJEVO	1	33 %	1	7 %
BRANBAC	1	7,000 SERBS	1	ABOUT 500
BRANVNO	1	2,800 SERBS	1	837 - ALL IN CONCENTRATION CAMP
BRANVNO	1	1,000 SERBS	1	400 - ALL IN CONCENTRATION CAMP
BRANSTAR	1	20,000 SERBS	1	ABOUT 1,000

In total around 300,000 Bosnian-Serbs have been displaced by
 "ethnic cleansing".

Bosnian Hostilities Mar U.N. Peacekeeping Initiative

By JASON FEER
Special to Defense News

CROATIA, Yugoslavia — The outbreak of widespread fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina has become the latest obstacle to United Nations plans to deploy up to 14,000 peacekeeping troops in three areas of the neighboring republic of Croatia.

When the U.N. peace plan for Croatia was drafted last Novem-

ber, U.N. officials were concerned by the rising tensions among Muslims, Serbs and Croats in neighboring Bosnia.

At the urging of some Bosnian leaders, the United Nations decided to locate the mission's headquarters and main logistics base in Bosnia in the hope that a U.N. presence there would help stabilize the situation.

However, as fighting during

the past 10 days has shown, the U.N. presence in Bosnia has had little effect and officials say the mission could be in jeopardy.

"Right now we feel ridiculous," said one U.N. official as mortar shells landed in the parking lot of the organization's headquarters in Sarajevo on April 8. "Our own safety and the future of our mission is in doubt."

The Bosnian capital of Saraje-

vo has been the scene of heavy fighting between Muslim and Serbian militias since April 5 and U.N. officials say that the mission is suffering because of the unrest. "Movement in and out of Sarajevo has been disrupted and we don't have adequate logistical support," said Anna Campino, a civilian affairs officer with the mission.

The United Nations was sup-

posed to have established its main logistics base in the northern town of Banja Luka, the main city in a Serbian region that on April 8 declared its independence from Bosnia. Roads leading to the city have been cut a number of times by fighting and by barricades erected by Serbian militants.

U.N. spokesman Fred Eckhard on April 9 said the United Nations still plans to deploy some troops in Banja Luka, but the main logistics operations will be located in the Croatian capital of Zagreb and the Serbian capital of Belgrade.

He said the decision was made to save money and denied that the change was due to the violence in Bosnia.

The fighting in Bosnia pits an informal alliance of Croats and Muslims who support independence from Yugoslavia against local Serbs, armed and supported by the Yugoslav federal military, who want Bosnia to remain part of a smaller Yugoslav federation. The civil war in Yugoslavia has left thousands dead since the middle of last year.

Croatian units, particularly in the western Herzegovina region, are well equipped and appear to have large stocks of artillery, antitank weapons, shoulder-fired antiaircraft missiles and antiaircraft guns. Muslim forces are less well armed, but there are reports that they are receiving weapons and other support from Iran and Libya.

The Croatian government has publicly denied reports that it is arming and supporting Croats in Bosnia, but government sources say Croatia is providing arms, training and limited financing to Croatian forces fighting in Bosnia. The same officials confirm that Croatia is acting as a conduit for arms shipments to Croatian forces in Bosnia.

The escalating violence in Bosnia has been accompanied by a surge in fighting in Croatia.

Fighting has been especially heavy in the eastern Slavonia region, where troops from Russia, Belgium and Luxembourg are due to take up positions in a few weeks.

U.N. advance teams in the area already have come under artillery fire from Serbian and Croatian forces several times. The situation is complicated by an ongoing Croatian offensive in the area.

The operation has met with some success, but the resulting fighting has prevented the United Nations from operating freely in the region.

Friction also has developed between the United Nations and Croatia over the disarming of Serbian militias and the removal of barricades blocking access to the three U.N. protected areas.

Croatian officials say the United Nations is shirking its responsibility. They charge that because most local authorities in the protected areas will be Serbs who will probably be unwilling to disarm their compatriots, the United Nations is effectively allowing the militias to keep their arms.

60,000 Needed for Bosnia, A U.S. General Estimates

By MICHAEL R. GORDON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 11 — A representative of the Joint Chiefs of Staff told Congress today that 60,000 to 120,000 troops would be needed to insure the uninterrupted flow by land and air of food and medical supplies to Sarajevo, the besieged capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

But the official, Lieut. Gen. Barry R. McCaffrey, acknowledged under questioning that there was no plan agreed to by the United States and European countries to deploy a sizable ground force. He suggested that as a result the United Nations may need to enlist the cooperation of the warring parties in the Balkans to get the supplies through.

The estimate by General McCaffrey, a senior aide to Gen. Colin L. Powell, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and one of the top Army commanders of the Persian Gulf war, underscored the problem now facing the Bush Administration.

For days, the Administration has worked for a United Nations resolution authorizing the use of force to assure

Raising the ante is perilous, a U.N. commander says.

that aid can be delivered. But now that the United Nations Security Council is on the verge of adopting a resolution, it is unclear how United Nations members would apply force.

Washington and European nations remain reluctant to deploy ground troops, and as a result the relief effort may remain dependent on the willingness of the warring factions in Bosnia. Or as General McCaffrey put it in his Congressional testimony, "It may be that one of the prerequisites for that happening successfully is to build a permissive environment through political and diplomatic action."

Action by Senate

General McCaffrey spoke as the Senate adopted a resolution, 74 to 22, endorsing the use of force to assure that aid is delivered to the beleaguered Muslims in Bosnia, as the Bush Administration has proposed.

But the Senate measure also went beyond the Administration's position by saying explicitly that force should be used to guarantee access to detention camps and calling for the Security Council to reconsider whether the arms embargo should be lifted so that the Muslims in Bosnia could acquire the means to better defend themselves against the Serbs, who have a huge advantage in tanks, armored personnel carriers and artillery.

The Senate measure also calls for

convening a tribunal to investigate war crimes in the region and asked the United Nations to find a way to bring artillery and other heavy weapons under its supervision.

In testimony to the Senate Armed Services Committee today, Pentagon officials argued against using force to quell the fighting in Bosnia.

"It will require a very large force that would have to use violence to stop violence, and that inevitably means the death of innocent civilians," Stephen J. Hadley, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy, said. "We would have, in essence, an occupation force continually at risk."

General McCaffrey said a field army of 400,000 troops would be needed to impose a cease-fire and occupy territory in the disputed areas of the Balkans.

But virtually none of the Administration critics urging strong military action are advocating the deployment of an army to occupy and pacify what used to be Yugoslavia. Rather, some critics say the West should come to the aid of the Muslim minority in Bosnia by providing them arms and carrying out air strikes.

Risk Without Results?

Officials and others counter that air strikes and arms shipments to the Muslims would broaden the fighting without guaranteeing a resolution of the conflict.

Today, Maj. Gen. Lewis W. MacKenzie of Canada, who led the United Nations peace force in Sarajevo for five months, asserted that "there is no military solution" in Bosnia. Speaking to the Senate panel, General MacKenzie argued that it was a mistake to threaten force even if only to assure the delivery of aid, as it risked deeper military involvement and could make the Bosnian Muslims more determined to resist compromise.

"You get involved with the delivery of humanitarian aid, you'll have Americans killed, and you'll want to do something about it," he said. "And they'll up the ante, and you'll up the ante. You can't isolate it and make it nice and sanitary by just dealing with the camps and dealing with humanitarian aid."

General McCaffrey's estimate of the number of troops required to assure delivery of aid was in response to a question about the forces needed to protect the airport at Sarajevo and land deliveries of food and medicine. To do this, he said, it would be necessary to clear a 20-mile strip around the airport to prevent it from being hit by artillery and mortar fire and to deploy troops to guard the 200-mile land corridor from the Croatian port of Split to Sarajevo.

"I'd say a corps, if you want a seat-of-the-pants answer," General McCaffrey said. "It's 60,000 to 120,000 troops to provide absolute security around Sarajevo and the road into it."



Lieut. Gen. Barry R. McCaffrey, a representative of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, testified today that 60,000 to 120,000 troops would be needed to insure the uninterrupted flow of supplies to Sarajevo.

Bosnian Calls Bush's

By JOHN F. BURNS
Special to The New York Times

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Aug. 11 — The Bosnian President said today that the reported willingness of the United States and other Western powers to use military force to protect the delivery of food and medicine to Sarajevo and other beleaguered Government-held cities was a welcome "first step" that he hoped would lead to a wider commitment to use force directly against Serbian nationalist troops.

Some senior officials here had been critical of President Bush's move to have the United Nations Security Council adopt a resolution approving force in support of augmented relief efforts, calling it a half-measure that would leave Serbian troops free to continue offensives that have captured wide areas of Bosnia.

But the President, Alija Izetbegovic, said he strongly favored the development, both for what it would do to ease the plight of Bosnian civilians and be-

force later.

"In my view, this first step is a good start," Mr. Izetbegovic said. "I am sure that the United Nations will be particularly strong in its support of the United States and other Western powers. In addition to the airlift now operating from Sarajevo airport."

Soviet Denials Recalled

From the emphasis he placed on the issue, it appeared that the leader believed that the attention given abroad to reports of at least one Serb-run detention camp in Bosnia and Croatia would be particularly strong role in the eyes of Bush and other leaders.

Mr. Izetbegovic made a strong appeal for Western powers not to be "naïve" in the face of assertions that the camps were more than holding centers who have committed offenses under these conditions there are good.

Mr. Izetbegovic said he

led the United Nations to Sarajevo for five days. "There is no military solution in Bosnia. Speaking to the press, General MacKenzie said it was a mistake to threaten to assure the Serbs that it risked deeper involvement and could make them more determined to fight. "I will have American troops in Bosnia. I will want to do something. "And they'll be up to the ante. You have to make it nice and deal with the Serbs with humanitarian aid. "My estimate of the force required to assure the Serbs in response to a force needed to be at Sarajevo and to get food and medicine. "It would be necessary to strip around the city from being hit by fire and to deploy a 200-mile land corridor to Split to ensure if you want a seat. "General McCaffrey said 60,000 to 120,000 troops would be needed to insure the uninterrupted flow of supplies to Sarajevo. He said a field army of 400,000 troops would be needed to impose a cease-fire.

Lieut. Gen. Barry R. McCaffrey, a representative of the Joints Chiefs of Staff, told Congress yesterday that 60,000 to 120,000 troops would be needed to insure the uninterrupted flow of supplies to Sarajevo. He said a field army of 400,000 troops would be needed to impose a cease-fire.

Bosnian Calls Bush's Plan a Welcome 'First Step'

By JOHN F. BURNS
Special to The New York Times

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Aug. 11 — The Bosnian President said today that the reported willingness of the United States and other Western powers to use military force to protect the delivery of food and medicine to Sarajevo and other beleaguered Government-held cities was a welcome "first step" that he hoped would lead to a wider commitment to use force directly against Serbian nationalist troops.

Some senior officials here had been critical of President Bush's move to have the United Nations Security Council adopt a resolution approving force in support of augmented relief efforts, calling it a half-measure that would leave Serbian troops free to continue offensives that have captured wide areas of Bosnia.

But the President, Alija Izetbegovic, said he strongly favored the development, both for what it would do to ease the plight of Bosnian civilians and because it was "a first step" that could lead to a wider use of Western military

force later.

"In my view, this first step of introducing the use of force is very important," Mr. Izetbegovic said. An augmented United Nations relief operation here would involve overland convoys in addition to the airlift now running into Sarajevo airport.

Soviet Denials Recalled

From the emphasis he laid on the issue, it appeared that the Bosnian leader believed that the attention being given abroad to reports of deprivation at Serb-run detention camps for Muslim and Croatian residents of conquered areas of Bosnia would play a particularly strong role in the decisions of Bush and other leaders.

Mr. Izetbegovic made an impassioned appeal for Western countries not to be "naive" in the face of Serbian assertions that the camps are nothing more than holding centers for people who have committed offenses and that conditions there are good.

Mr. Izetbegovic said he was afraid that escorted press tours of some of the camps would have the same effect on

Western opinion as the Soviet denials that Siberian concentration camps existed under Stalin, denials that he said delayed Western acceptance of the reality in the Soviet Union for years.

The Bosnian leader said his own years in prison, for his advocacy of Islamic religious beliefs under Communist rule here, had taught him the worthlessness of any statements made by prisoners about their conditions when the statements were made in the presence of those detaining them.

"The statements they are giving in front of these murderers are completely unreliable," Mr. Izetbegovic said, referring to the prisoners who have been allowed to speak to reporters in the Serbian camps. "How can anyone expect them to tell the truth? The only way to know the truth is to take these people from these camps at random, question them away from those detaining them, and not return them to the camps afterward."

Request Sent to Bush

Mr. Izetbegovic said reports reaching here indicated that the Serbian leaders had already begun to move some people out of the camps to other locations while releasing others, mainly old men, women and children. He announced that his Government had written to Mr. Bush requesting that United States military satellites be used to photograph the campsites to determine exactly what was happening.

Although the United States move to obtain a new Security Council resolution was announced by Mr. Bush last week, Mr. Izetbegovic said that there had so far been "no consultation" with his Government by the United States or its allies, or by the United Nations, about the needs that an expanded relief

effort would have to meet, or on the amount of military force that might be required.

"Of course, it is surprising," said Mr. Izetbegovic, who has frequently complained that Western powers have forgotten that they have recognized his Government as the legitimate authority in Bosnia.

An aide interrupted to remind Mr. Izetbegovic that a nine-member United States relief delegation was expected here on Wednesday to discuss wider relief efforts, but the Bosnian leader made it clear that what he wanted was to be consulted not only about the places to be helped with food and medicines, but also about the scope of the military operation.

Mr. Izetbegovic said he had heard indirectly that the United States and its allies were considering opening three land "corridors" into Bosnia, from Split and Zagreb in Croatia, and Belgrade in Serbia, and that the communities to be helped would be Sarajevo and Gorazde and a region known as the Bosanski Krajina. Gorazde is a smaller Muslim city that is also surrounded by Serbian troops about 70 miles east of here and the Bosanski Krajina region is anchored on the towns of Banja Luka and Bihac in northwestern Bosnia.

The Bosnian leader dismissed suggestions that the Western nations might end up having to deploy 100,000 troops, saying that his military experts had estimated that a force of 10,000 ground troops supported by helicopters would be sufficient.

But he also said that if his Government had been asked, it would have told the Western powers that the regions they apparently proposed to help were only a part of those where civilians were in a state of extreme distress because of the fighting.



Serbs Back a U.N. Relief Force, But Warn Against Foreign Army

By CHUCK SUDETIC
Special to The New York Times

BANJA LUKA, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Aug. 11 — The leader of Bosnia's Serbs said today that his forces would accept deployment of a neutral international force to secure relief convoys to wartorn regions. But he spoke of "unpredictable consequences" if the deployment turned out to be a prelude to full-scale anti-Serbian intervention.

"Military intervention can take place if it is under a United Nations flag and limited to humanitarian issues," President Radovan Karadzic, the president of the self-declared Serbian republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, said in an interview here today. "We

impede relief convoys and will open detention camps for inspection. But it also said there was no need for military intervention to support convoys.

Pledges No Problems

Gen. Milan Gvero, assistant to the Serbian Republic's military commander, said the Serbian army of Bosnia and Herzegovina would cause no problems for the transport of relief aid.

"There is a real danger that a large international force deployed to protect humanitarian aid could be easily misused," the general said. "This would be a great deception of the people who

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Some 1.8 million citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina have been forced from their homes. For the most part, their whereabouts are unknown. Forty-five percent are children: That's 810,000 children; 38 percent are elderly: That's 684,000 elderly; 25 percent are adults, mostly women: That's 450,000 adults, mostly women.

When the world learned of the Auschwitz camp, people said, "Never again. But we did not know."

It is happening again. And with all the news service and TV coverage, we do know.

What excuse will we offer when the full uncovering of this human tragedy is put before us?

PAULETTE HONEYGOSKY
Arlington

■
Congratulations to The Post for its consistently fair coverage of the Bosnian outrage and for the tone of its editorials, which avoid the mealy mouthed language of bogus impartiality. How appalling in comparison is the eerie logic of Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, who was quoted in an Aug. 4 news story as saying, "It's tragic, but the Balkans have been a hotbed of conflict and turmoil and bloodshed for centuries."

What is happening in Bosnia is not some Balkan squabble that the rest of the world can snicker at, nor are all parties guilty. Europe's oldest and largest Muslim community is about to become a memory—if that. Apparently, it isn't enough for the Serbs to drive the Bosnian Muslims out, to torture, maim and murder them. The Serbs are vaporizing mosques and libraries and eradicating cultural and religious landmarks, expunging even the memory of this community.

Legitimate concerns can be raised about the Bosnian Muslims' political conduct in both the past and the present. But for heaven's sake—what organized body of people hasn't time



ASSOCIATED PRESS

and again fallen short of its own ideals? The cult of endless, bleak revenge on "Turks" (Muslims) by a few groups of ex-communists and Balkan Christians is unjustified.

Grieve not for the American Serbs who protest in front of The Post. Instead, ask them how they intend to live with the burden of what is being done in Bosnia in their name. That is the question some religious leaders in Serbia are asking, as is the fledgling Serbian peace movement. If honor is to be restored to the Serbs, it must come from these quarters—and quickly.

Meanwhile, it looks as if the cavalry, if it comes, will be too late to save the Bosnians.

Where are the Ottomans when we really need them?

MOHAMMED ZAKARIYA
Arlington

WP: 8/11/92

WP: 8/11/92

Camp Revelations Spur Allied Action on Bosnian Relief

U.N. Resolution Also Seeks Access to Detention Sites

By Trevor Rowe
Special to The Washington Post

UNITED NATIONS, Aug. 10—The United States, Britain and France have reached agreement on a U.N. Security Council resolution that would authorize use of military force in Bosnia in the event Serb militia forces oppose international deliveries of humanitarian aid to Sarajevo, the besieged Bosnian capital, and other civilian centers in the war-torn Balkan republic.

The resolution, which diplomats here said was deliberately vague in defining the military means to be used, calls on the international community to "take all measures necessary . . . in coordination with the United Nations" to facilitate the delivery by humanitarian agencies of relief "to Sarajevo and wherever needed in other parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina."

"Basically this gives authorization to the Western European Union and NATO to coordinate procedures and to provide assistance," said a Western diplomat, referring to the two organizations grouping the United States, Canada and Western Europe. Left unclear was the structure and potential cost of such an ambitious operation and the number of troops that might be needed to enforce it.

"The numbers, the game plan, we're not aware of such a thing," said a senior Western official, who added that military planning details were outside the scope of the diplomatic effort here. One military specialist here estimated, however, that more than 100,000 troops might be needed to ensure the success of the mission. Diplomats said the decision on where the aid will go—other than Sarajevo, where the relief effort is expected to continue by airlift and truck convoy—will be determined by world relief agencies.

Much of the new international determination to play a greater role in resolving the Balkan crisis stems from recent revelations of human rights abuses at Serb-run detention camps in Bosnia, and the draft resolution also demands that immediate "unimpeded and continuous access to all camps, prisons and detention centers . . .

See NATIONS, A14, Col. 1



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Prisoners in the Serb camp at Manjaca, Bosnia, carry sacks of bread for their lunch. Many inmates from nearby Omarska were moved there.

Away From Guards, Inmates Whisper of Abuse

By Peter Maass
Special to The Washington Post

OMARSKA, Bosnia—When the camp guards looked in another direction, the prisoners at the Serb-run detention camp here broke into nervous whispers.

"There's no doctor here," one of them breathed. "As soon as you get sick you are shot."

A handwritten note was slipped to a journalist. "About 500 people have been killed here with sticks, hammers and knives," the note said. "Until August 6, there were 2,500 people. We were sleep-

ing on the concrete floor, eating only once a day, in a rush, and we were beaten while we were eating. We have been here for 75 days. Please help us. . . . Once there is no media attention focused on us, it is not known what will happen to us."

Even more than recounting the abuses they say are taking place, the Slavic Muslims imprisoned here emphasized that they believe local Serb authorities are turning Omarska into a Potemkin village.

In the past week, they said, all but 175 of several thousand inmates once held here were transferred to other facilities, and the ones left behind apparently are for show.

One prisoner said hurriedly that the meat in his lunch of bean soup was added to impress the half-dozen foreign journalists allowed to visit the camp. Mattresses and blankets also are new items, added another, who spoke as the sound of machine-gun fire rattled in the distance.

Since Thursday, Serb militia and security forces who have taken control of two-thirds of Bosnia in four months of factional fighting have permitted a handful of foreign journalists to visit several of the dozens of detention camps in which Muslim prisoners say they have been abused and

See OMARSKA, A13, Col. 1

Muslims and Croats line up in the hall of the Serb detention camp at Manjaca.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

and were influenced by Austro-Hungarian domination.

the 16th century; they speak Serbo-Croatian.

Cyrillic alphabet and were influenced by centuries of Ottoman Turkish rule.

SOURCES: Center for Strategic and International Studies; Encyclopaedia Britannica; KRT Graphics

THE WASHINGTON POST

Prisoners in Serb Camps Whisper of Abuse

OMARSKA, From A1

tortured. Some former inmates have told of executions and of brutal interrogations. No outside visitor has actually witnessed such abuses, but television pictures of emaciated prisoners and testimony by former inmates have shocked the world. In addition, relief officials have received reports that almost every Serb-controlled village and city in Bosnia has a detention center for non-Serbs—whether just a jail cell or two or an entire sports stadium.

According to Serb authorities, most of Omarska's inmates were transferred to two better facilities over the past week—a military prison in Manjaca and a "refugee camp" in Trnopolje. But many Muslims in this swath of Serb-controlled territory in northwest Bosnia near the Croatia border fear that some Omarska inmates have been shipped to still-secret camps elsewhere, or simply executed.

Residents of the nearby town of Banja Luka said they watched in horror as heavily guarded bus convoys from Omarska carrying prisoners with shaved heads passed by on their way to Manjaca, to the south. Several of the witnesses said they saw prisoners holding up three fingers—the nationalist symbol for Serbia—apparently as an act of humiliation instructed by their ethnic Serb guards.

The Muslim-led government of Bosnia has accused the ethnic Serbs of running nearly 100 "concentration camps" and holding about 70,000 prisoners. The Serbs accuse the ethnic Croats and Muslims of detaining about 40,000 Serbs in camps of their own. Relief officials treat those accusations as credible but believe the problem is more severe in the Serb-controlled territory of Bosnia.

Trnopolje, located only a few miles from Omarska, also was opened to journalists on Sunday, and, surprisingly, it was possible to talk relatively freely with some prisoners who had just arrived from Omarska. With guards watching but out of earshot, tales of horror tumbled out.

At least six prisoners said in interviews that they were severely beaten at Omarska and saw executions and piles of dead bodies. One prisoner said that almost every day he saw about 10 to 15 fresh corpses lying in a field where a truck would eventually pick them up.

The prisoners said many Omarska inmates were held in an open mining pit that had no toilets or protection from the daytime sun and evening chill. One Muslim—frail and with a shaved head—said he was held in the pit for 72 days and able to wash just once.

"It was horrible," said an 18-year-old youth, running his hands along his torso, where his

skin was stretched like a transparent scarf over his ribs and shoulder bones.

The youth said his first beating took place on the evening he arrived at Omarska. In an interrogation room, he said, he was forced to kneel on the ground and place his hands on the walls—and then was pummeled with kicks to his kidneys and rifle-butt blows to the rest of his body.

"For beatings, they used hands, bars, whips, belts, anything," he said. "A normal person cannot imagine the methods they used. It was very difficult to survive psychologically."

The prisoners said they were fed meager portions of thin soup once a day at Omarska, and that sometimes the water they drank came from a polluted river. They added that the beatings took place irregularly, though the guards had a preference for coming at midnight. And certain moments did provide a respite from the beatings.

"I am sorry to say that it was good when new people came," sighed the youth. "The guards beat them instead of us."

When Trnopolje guards were not looking, several inmates brought me into the room in a filthy school building where they sleep, crammed next to each other like sardines. Lying on the floor were two men, both with wounds allegedly suffered during beatings at Omarska.

The fetid bandage made from tissue paper on one man's limb was peeled off to show a softball-size hole. There was no skin—just crushed bone and infected tissue. The detainees said the Trnopolje guards have not given them antibiotics or disinfectants, and the man's wound is festering.

The other man lay motionless on the ground. His lips, nose and eyes were severely bruised and swollen, and there were numerous gashes on his face. He could not speak, and he could barely blink. He looked like a battered corpse.

The Muslim prisoners who spoke out would not give their names. Some voluntarily approached the journalists, but their worried expressions sent a message that they feared punishment for their actions.

A police official filmed the interviews from a distance while guards looked on and, from time to time, approached the inmates, ending the interviews. A photographer in military fatigues took pictures.

At one point, a prisoner pulled off his shirt to show me about a dozen small, fresh scars on his chest. The scars were thin and straight, as though the skin had been slashed with a razor blade. Suddenly, before the prisoner had time to explain the scars, a look of horror came over his face.

A guard was standing behind me. The interview ended.

Trnopolje is described by the Serbs who run it as a refugee camp from which anybody, including the former Omarska prisoners, can leave if they wish. There is no barbed wire around the camp, which consists of a few school buildings, a large yard with open latrines and several thousand unwashed and haggard people, mostly men.

But the detainees do not feel free. They say they cannot leave—that walking away is academic because the surrounding region is heavily militarized.

Omarska is different. It is located inside a sprawling mining center and consists of a two-story building in which the remaining 175 prisoners sleep, eat and are interrogated. It is heavily patrolled by well-armed guards in military, police and civilian clothes.

Paradoxically, the journalists' visit to the supposedly improved camp at Omarska seemed to terrify some prisoners. With guards listening, the inmates appeared unable to speak freely, except in a few stolen moments. When asked questions, they looked fearful and hung their heads low.

One Muslim, lying with a fever on a mattress, almost broke into tears when a television reporter asked whether there had been beatings. Guards were standing behind the cameraman two feet away. The prisoner managed to say no and breathed a visible sigh of relief when the camera was turned off.

Manjaca, the new home for about half of those transferred from Omarska, also was visited by journalists Saturday on a tightly escorted tour. They were shown animal stables crammed with several thousand men whom the Manjaca commandant said were Muslim and Croat soldiers captured while fighting against Serbs.

The tour of Omarska and Trnopolje was conducted by Simo Drljaca, who controls the camps and is the police chief of Prijedor, the nearest town. Drljaca flatly denied the charges of mistreatment, torture and executions.

"Interrogation is being done the same way as it is done in America and England," he said. Asked about the skeletal state of many at Omarska, he said that they were not underfed and do not even look underfed. "They are not skeletons," he boasted.

A burly Omarska guard, who had a pistol and a bowie knife strapped to his waist and an AK-47 assault rifle slung over his shoulder, smiled when asked about the alleged torture. "Why would we want to beat them?" he said.

Allies Agree on Military Force for Bosnian Relief

NATIONS, From A1

[be granted] to the [Red Cross] and other relevant humanitarian organizations and that all detainees there-in receive humane treatment, including adequate food, shelter and medical care."

In a parallel effort, the United States, Britain and France agreed on a separate draft resolution that would punish all combatants guilty of war crimes in the continuing Balkan fighting. This document calls upon all nations and humanitarian organizations "to collate substantiated information in their possession . . . relating to violations of international law, including grave breaches of the Geneva Convention" and to make this information available to the Security Council."

Some diplomats here said both resolutions were a direct result of political pressure generated around the world by television and newspaper images of starving Bosnian Muslims in Serb detention camps. "There's a tremendous head of steam out there," said one Western official.

A vote on the resolutions is scheduled for Wednesday, and some diplomats here said they hope it will provide such a firm demonstration of U.N. resolve on the issue that the ac-

tual deployment of troops may not be necessary.

Agreement on the use-of-force resolution followed what diplomatic and political sources described as difficult weekend negotiations among the three allies before the U.S. view ultimately prevailed. Diplomats here said France and Britain had favored language calling for a build-up of the U.N. peace-keeping force in Croatia, where a 14,000-member contingent is enforcing a truce in a bloody Serb-Croat war that left more than 10,000 dead last year and about a quarter of Croatia in the hands of Serb insurgents.

That force, which is under direct U.N. command, also provides the support personnel for the five-week-old international airlift to 300,000 hungry civilians in Sarajevo who have been besieged there for four months by encircling Serb forces.

U.S. negotiators supported a scaled-down Persian Gulf War-style operation in which the U.N. sanctioned use of force but left control of the troops to the member nations most directly involved in the military effort.

Some Bush administration officials had complained that the disagreement had less to do with specific language in the resolution than with a general British "effort to stall" because of London's "very extreme re-

luctance" to commit ground forces of their own and expose them as targets of retaliatory attacks by Serb militiamen or provocateurs among Bosnia's Slavic Muslim-led defense forces.

For the moment, U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has not indicated whether he intends to retain U.N. troops in Sarajevo, but Western diplomats here said the United States, Britain and France "attach great importance to their staying in place at the airport."

An indication of Boutros-Ghali's reluctance to expose U.N. troops to attacks by the warring sides in Bosnia was reflected in his opposition last week to a French proposal that the U.N. Balkan mission be strengthened. According to one official, Boutros-Ghali initially favored a U.S. proposal that "enabled him to wash his hands of Bosnia" and to pull out all U.N. forces in favor of a multilateral international coalition.

The force resolution was presented Monday afternoon to Russia and China—the other two permanent members of the Security Council—in hopes of eliciting their support, diplomats said. Russia was said to back the document, while China appeared likely to abstain.

Bosnia's ambassador here, Muhamed Sacirbey, criticized the resolution, saying it only addresses the

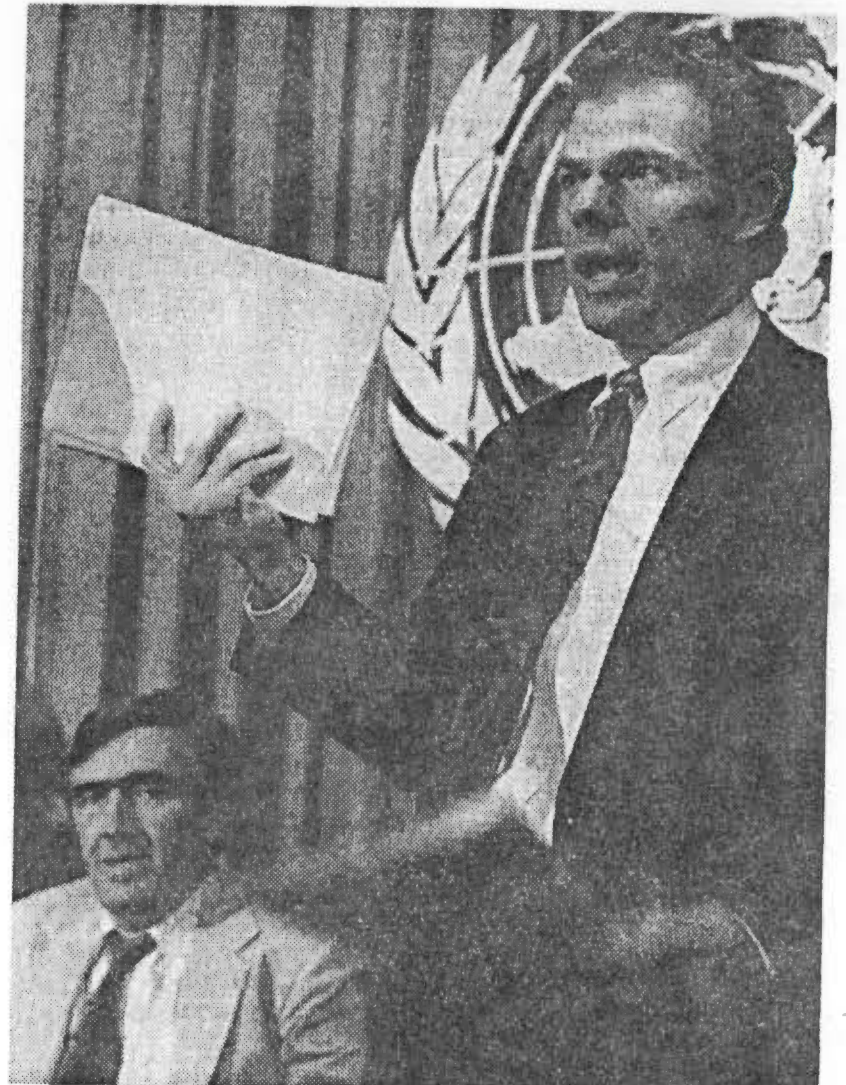
"symptoms" and not the "illness" of the factional warfare in his homeland, which he said was the Serb forces' campaign of expelling all non-Serbs from lands they control—the notorious "ethnic cleansing."

He predicted that the campaign to bring humanitarian relief would only "exacerbate" the situation and embolden Serb militiamen to greater abuses. "Cynically, I think one could say the civilian population of Bosnia-Herzegovina, under the present anticipated resolution, is being fattened up before the slaughter," Sacirbey said.

In Sarajevo, meanwhile, local officials warned that the city is running out of bread, its main food during the Serb siege, and called on Western leaders to speed their efforts to establish a protected land supply route to the city from neighboring Croatia.

The Reuter news agency reported that the sole operating bakery in the Bosnian capital has only enough flour for two more weeks of bread. "This is a matter of life and death," Sarajevo Mayor Muhamed Kresevljakovic said. "Our main food for the past four months has been bread, but the flour is ended. We don't have any more."

Staff writer Ann Devroy in Kennebunkport, Maine, and correspondent Eugene Robinson in London contributed to this story.



Bosnian Ambassador Muhamed Sacirbey criticized the use-of-force resolution. AGENCY FRANCE-PRESSE

War-, Famine-Stricken Somalia Is Called a 'Land of the Dead'

SOMALIA, From A1

or purchase large quantities of sophisticated weaponry, which added a deadly modern dimension to their

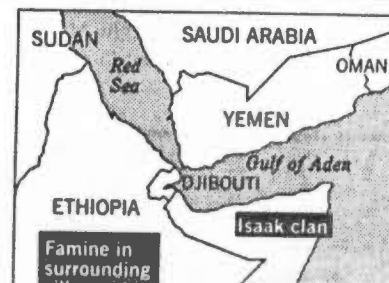
transit camp of tents that has been erected on Merca's outskirts. Those with more strength make their way to one of the Red Cross's emergency feeding centers in the

the impression that the relief agencies have the situation under control. But a brief visit to Merca illustrates how the reality of this disaster is just the opposite—the volun-

SOMALIA'S WARRING CLANS

THE PEOPLE: Somalis are a homogenous people, sharing a common language, religion (Sunni Muslim) and culture. Yet fierce rivalries among family-based clans and sub-clans have plunged the country into anarchy.

THE POWERFUL: The Hawiya clan dominates much of the central and southern regions, including the capital, Mogadishu. In the north, the Isaaks are the dominant clan. The



Protestant Group Banned In Ulster

By Eugene Robinson
Washington Post Foreign Service

ing Serbia—routinely refer to Bosnian Muslims as fundamentalists who, if given their way, would turn this war-torn former Yugoslav republic into an Iranian-style theocracy. All women, including Serb Orthodox Christians, would be forced to wear chadors, the head-toe black dress of Islamic fundamentalism.

Radio flashes warn that Bosnia's Muslim president, Alija Izetbegovic, has organized a jihad, or holy war, against the Serbs. A film that Serb militia commanders like to show foreign journalists refers to Muslim combatants as Izetbegovic's "holy followers."

lion's share. Muslims made up 44 percent, Croats 16 percent.

Serb officials have protested Western charges that the war amounts to an attempt to grab land from Bosnia's Muslims and Croats and create a "Greater Serbia" incorporating huge swaths of Bosnia and Serb-held Croatia. They profess surprise at the failure of Western Europe to "appreciate" their effort to stop Muslim fundamentalism from gaining a foothold in Europe.

Serb leaders seem to have succeeded in persuading their own people of the Islamic threat, but there are few believers outside the Balkans. Western diplomats and

federation, he championed a national plan that would have given significant local powers to each of the three major communal groups and guaranteed minority rights to all.

Sarajevo and other Bosnian cities had been models of toleration until militant local Serb leaders stirred up fears of an Islamic power grab that would deprive Serbs of their ancient rights and lands. For centuries before, Muslims, Serbs and Croats had lived side by side in the same villages and apartment buildings and paid respects to each other on their respective religious holidays.

and Croats—who converted to Islam during the region's occupation by the Ottoman Turks from the 15th century to the late 19th. The Turks were relatively tolerant of Orthodox Serbs who did not convert, but nonetheless it was not the best of times for non-Muslims.

"We are blond Muslims," said Izet Aganovic, a top official of the local Muslim relief organization Merhamet. "We are part of European culture and European civilization. About 70 percent of Bosnian Muslims don't know anything about Islam. They drink alcohol, they eat pork."

Perhaps because of that, Serb ire is largely directed at President Izet-

begovic. Local Croat leaders who are bolstering their control of large areas of southern and western Bosnia—most of the country is now in the hands of Serb and Croat militia forces—also claim that Izetbegovic has Muslim fundamentalist designs.

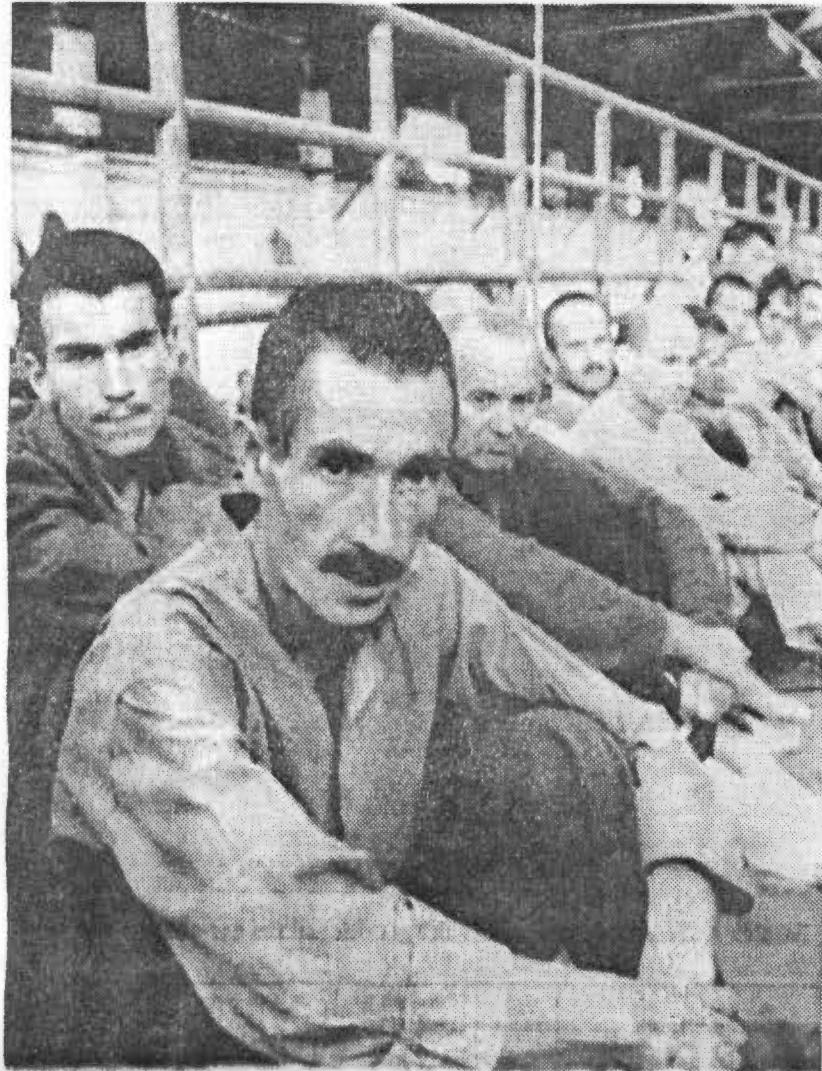
Izetbegovic serves as a useful target for polemic, diplomats say, because without a clear and menacing enemy, partition-minded politicians would have a hard time persuading local Serbs and Croats that they need to wage a war to defend themselves and their patrimony.

Justified or not, ordinary Bosnian Serbs like Zoran Arnaut are convinced



ALIJA IZETBEGOVIC
... Bosnian president reviled by Serbs

that it's time to get rid of the Muslims. He says he was chased from his hometown by radical Croats but that he still hates Muslims more. Asked to explain why, he used one word—jihad.



Serb Rebuffs Torture Allegations, Limits Visit by Foreign Journalists

PRIJEDOR, Bosnia—Are Serb leaders in Bosnia trying to cover up evidence of brutal prison camps?

In an effort to prove otherwise, Prijedor Police Chief Simo Drljaca escorted a group of foreign journalists to the Keratern ceramics factory, which Bosnia's Slavic Muslim-led government alleges was used as a detention and torture facility for several thousand Muslim prisoners.

Drljaca showed the journalists a workshop building that he said was used only on July 24 and 25 to house 500 captured Muslim militiamen. He laughed off allegations that thousands of Muslims had been held in factory buildings for several months and repeatedly mistreated.

But this particular building showed no signs of recent habitation. No human grime or refuse, no lingering smells of sweat or waste. Drljaca said the warehouse had been cleaned up after the prisoners were transferred, but the floor was coated with a layer of dust that seemed far too thick to have accumulated in two

weeks. It seemed, in fact, that the building had been vacant for a very long time.

Later in the day, the journalists were taken to a detention camp at Trnopolje, about 15 miles away, where several Muslim prisoners said in interviews that they had been held for two months at the ceramics factory and regularly beaten before being abruptly transferred on Aug. 6. They said about 2,000 Muslims had been interned there, and that some had died. The inmates said they were held in three storage warehouses at the Keratern factory and had never been near the workshop building that was shown to journalists.

Drljaca had refused to permit an inspection of several warehouses about 200 yards away from the workshop building. He said the warehouses were sensitive "military sites" that, for security reasons, could not be viewed or photographed by outsiders. During the journalists' visit, no military activity was visible at the warehouses.

— Peter Maass

EXECUTIVE NEWS SERVICE

RTW 08/03 1509 U.S. SAYS CIVILIANS TORTURED, MURDERED AT SERB ...

U.S. SAYS CIVILIANS TORTURED, MURDERED AT SERB DETENTION CENTRES (Eds: recasts lead, adds new details, background)

By Carol Giacomo

WASHINGTON, Aug 3, Reuter - The United States said on Monday Serbian forces have set up detention centres in which civilians have been tortured and murdered but that it planned no special consultations on the issue.

"We do know from our own reports, information similar to the press reports, that Serbian forces are maintaining what they call detention centres for Croatians and Moslems," spokesman Richard Boucher told reporters.

"And we do have our own reports, similar to the reports that you've seen in the press, that there have been abuses and torture and killings taking place in those areas."

Boucher added that Washington has "reports of Bosnians and Croatians also maintaining detention centres but we do not have similar allegations of mistreatment at those."] 1.

He said the United States was "deeply concerned" about the development and continued to condemn this process that the Serbs have called "ethnic cleansing." But he said there were no special plans to try to make an issue of the detentions, such as calling a meeting of the U.N. Security Council.

"I'm not aware of any specific round of consultations on these reports. I'm sure that when we discuss this issue with allies that anything that's important like this would be discussed. But I'm not aware of any specific consultations with some specific goal," Boucher said.

He came under repeated tough questioning about U.S. policy towards the former Yugoslavia at the briefing, telling reporters at one point:

"We're opposed to the fighting, we're opposed to the detention of innocent people, we're opposed to the forcible expulsion of people from their homes, and we think it ought to stop and people ought to be able to go home and live in peace. How much more simply can I say it?"

U.S. policy on the crisis in the former Yugoslavia has been uneven reflecting Washington's ambivalence towards becoming wined in what senior officials say is a quagmire.

At times, with Secretary of State James Baker leading the charge, the administration has spoken out forcefully and pushed to impose economic sanctions on Serbia, blamed for most of the aggression, and its ally Montenegro.

The United States, with its Western allies, has worked to get humanitarian relief to civilians but has ruled out involvement in the political conflict except through support of a U.N. negotiation effort that so far has failed.

Now, as details about detention camps are emerging, Baker is on holiday and the administration is more concerned about President George Bush's plunge in public opinion polls and chances for re-election.

New York Newsday, quoting two released prisoners, reported on Sunday that Serbs who control northern Bosnia have established two concentration camps in which thousands of civilians have been slaughtered, starved or imprisoned. The daily newspaper said it had not been able to get into the camps to verify the witnesses' accounts.] 1.

International human rights agencies have feared a systematic slaughter of ethnic Moslems and Croats but no international agency, including the Red Cross, has gained access to the two camps, in Omarska and Brcko in northern Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Boucher said the United States supported the Red Cross effort to gain access to the camps.

One witness, identified by Newsday only as a 63-year-old contractor named Mehn. said more than 1,000 Moslem and Croat civilians were being held in metal

cages without sanitation, adequate food or access to the outside world at
Omarska, a former mining complex.
REUTER CG ZH BEH

1. CONTRAST THIS WITH R. EVANS' REPORT " RED CROSS SAYS ALL SIDES VIOLATE RIGHTS IN YUGOSLAV CONFLICT "

Tue Aug 04 1992 8:39 am Page 2 of 3

RTW 08/03 1435 JEWISH GROUP URGES HALT TO ABUSES AT YUGOSLAV CAMPS

JERUSALEM, Aug 3, Reuter - Heads of Israel's main Holocaust memorial centre on Monday urged a halt to reported atrocities at detention camps in the former Yugoslavia.

Directors of Yad Vashem, a museum and documentation centre for the six million Jews murdered in World War Two, most of them in concentration camps, urged Serbs, Croats and Moslems to end their conflict.

"The Jewish people have known much suffering with millions of our people murdered during the Holocaust, therefore no one is as sensitive as us to acts of murder and atrocities against innocent people," they said in a statement carried by the Itim news agency.

The International Committee of the Red Cross said on Monday all sides in Yugoslavia were violating human rights in their treatment of civilians, and the United States said it had confirmed reports that Serbian forces had set up detention centres where Bosnian and Croatian civilians were tortured and murdered.

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RTW 08/03 1148 RED CROSS SAYS ALL SIDES VIOLATE RIGHTS IN ...

RED CROSS SAYS ALL SIDES VIOLATE RIGHTS IN YUGOSLAV CONFLICT

ROBERT EVANS

By Robert Evans

GENEVA, Aug 3, Reuter - The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) said on Monday all sides in the Yugoslav conflict were violating human rights and humanitarian law in their treatment of civilians from other ethnic groups. And relief agency sources in Geneva with access to reliable information on the situation in and around Bosnia said what were in effect concentration camps for civilians had been set up by the Croat-Moslem alliance as well as by the Serbs.

"Very serious violations of internationally-recognised humanitarian law and practice on the treatment of civilians in military conflicts are being perpetrated by all parties," ICRC spokesman Pierre Gauthier told Reuters. Gauthier said teams from the Swiss-run ICRC, set up in 1863 as a neutral intermediary to protect victims of war, had visited detention centres on both sides of the military divide and found women, children and old people held in them.

Discussion of such centres, unknown in Europe since World War Two, came to the fore at the weekend amid press reports alleging that Serbs who control northern Bosnia had set up two Nazi-style concentration camps.

A Catholic aid worker in the north Bosnian town of Banja Luka told a Reuter correspondent at the weekend that "terrible, terrible things" were happening in some Serb-run camps. "People are starving and being killed," the worker added. And released prisoners from two of the camps told New York Newsday civilians were held in metal cages with inadequate food and that there were daily executions by firing squad or throat-slitting.

Gauthier said ICRC workers, present in several parts of Bosnia and across the former Yugoslavia, had visited a total of eight detention centres and had access to over 4,000 prisoners held by all parties in the fighting.

But he said there were many places where ordinary people -- Serbs, Croats and Slav Moslems -- were being held that remained closed to ICRC teams, who inspect conditions and deliver food parcels and messages from relatives.

The ICRC was keeping up pressure to gain access to these centres, he added. And on Monday the Swiss government called on combatants in Bosnia to open them up to the humanitarian body.

In a weekend statement the ICRC, which usually works through back-stage pressure, said all the authorities involved "frequently fail to provide complete information concerning persons they are detaining."

The Geneva-based body said that, after a year of fighting and public and

private appeals, it now acknowledged that humanitarian violations by all parties
"have reached such a point that they have become common practice."
One relief agency source familiar with the situation on the ground in and
around Bosnia, where an estimated 8,000 people have died in fighting this year,
said atrocity accusations were widely used on all sides as an excuse for similar

misdeeds.

"Everyone is saying the other side is mistreating prisoners to justify what they do," this source said.

And a United Nations official with close knowledge of the conflict commented: "People think it is just the Serbs but that is not the case.

"Serb civilians who have fled, or been forced to flee, Croat and Moslem-held areas also give convincing accounts of mistreatment.

"The fact that the Serbs are better-armed and hold much more territory certainly makes the size of the problem greater where they are in control. The Serb militias are certainly ferocious but the Croat militias are no angels either."

The official asked not to be named.

In a speech last week to a U.N. conference in Geneva on the Yugoslav humanitarian crisis, which has already produced nearly 2.5 million refugees, ICRC chief Cornelio Sommaruga made clear he saw the "ethnic cleansing" sweeping the region as being practised by all sides.

Whole populations, he said, "are being terrorised, minorities intimidated and harassed, civilians interned on a massive scale, and hostages taken, while torture, deportations and summary executions are rife."

Such practices, he said, "are the attributes of all the parties involved."

REUTER RJE CR

Reborn Refugee Waits For Something, Someone To 'Cry Out'

Reprinted from *El Paso Herald-Post*,
— Thursday, July 30, 1992 —

By Peter Brock

Father Dragoljub and I are at war.

Not with each other, though we'll both admit to being unlikely allies, even bizarre combatants.

We've only "met" by telephone and through sharing some of our writings. But we are immersed in desperate conflict with the kind of war we both thought would never be waged again — ever.

We are strung out along a geographically displaced front that has no rivers or mountain ranges, no naturally fortified barriers. But we venture daily, sometimes hourly, onto the battlefields of, as he puts it, "reason, facts, truth, justice."

Our equally desperate enemies are slothful indifference, public ignorance, willful bias and negligence in the American media monolith, the monstrous belligerence of the American presidency, and the cruel and passive hostility from human beings, so-called, in their little niches of paranoid and myopic authority who politely manipulate for silence.

"But, you don't have any blood relatives over there, do you? ... What's it got to do with life here? ... After all, nobody is really interested in all this ... People are tired of your personal hang-up about it all ... It doesn't matter to anybody here ... Write about something else."

Everyone is frantic to avoid being reminded that — like Vietnam and Grenade, Panama, Nicaragua and all the other little wars of despotic imperialism — Yugoslavia is everyone's war. Yugoslavia is everyone's horrific nightmare. The killings by and of uniformed antagonists are a desecration against all. The genocidal atrocities loosed upon helpless civilians and innocent children are an unspeakable abomination.

President Bush's political expediency in choosing sides — the side of Croatia, as it happened — is the fatal choice of a wrong side because this is not a simple conflict that involves choosing any side. All sides must be chosen.

But what Bush has not achieved with sanctions against Iraq he is determined to prove through the repetition of sanctionable atrocities against helpless Serbian civilians and innocent Serbian children. What is not tolerated by the U.S. Constitution — domestic religious favoritism of Catholic Christianity over Orthodox Christianity — is being promoted in the ugly reality of U.S. foreign policy for Catholic Croatia against Orthodox Serbia.

Granted the tragedy of 700,000 Croatian and Bosnian refugees, gratefully being attended now with \$62 million per month from the United Nations. But what of the 400,000 refugees in Serbia who get nothing from the U.N.

which, in its zeal to imitate the White House, decrees Croatian and Bosnian refugees are worthy of blankets, clothing, food, medicine and consolation? Serbian refugees are worthy of cold, rags, hunger, disease, international sanctions, reproach and only empty echoes of reason, facts, truth and justice.

The Very Reverend Father Dragoljub (pronounced "DRA-gol-yoob") Malich, of Monroeville, Pa., is chairman of the Church Relief Committee of the Serbian Orthodox Church's Diocese of Eastern America. He has applauded and encouraged the relief efforts for Croatian and Bosnian refugees.

But he and others have been devastated by such celebrated humanitarian organizations as Ameri-Cares and Red Cross International, who've provided only deception, delays, avoidance and eventual refusals to assist in relieving the suffering of humans who happen to be Serbs.

On June 20, Malich was notified that the two 40-foot shipping containers with medical supplies could not leave the U.S. for Serbia. Other supplies sit in warehouses.

"People are using rules, regulations and policies to find ways to refuse us," said Malich, who 31 years ago walked through the hills of Western Bosnia and communist Yugoslavia, crossing into Italy on a chilly November day.

A Serb, he was born in Banja Luka, Bosnia, and was educated in Belgrade.

Only after the most prolonged agonizings — recounted and resolved over and over as he trudged across fields, down roads and between fitful moments of sleep while alone at night in the woods — he convinced himself that he would leave behind forever a deranged government milieu, a heartless society, an inhumane system.

Today, governments, societies and systems are blind and deaf to reason, facts, truth and justice — when it comes to what is officially unacknowledged as the survival of Serbia.

"I am waiting for something or someone to cry out," says Malich.

A refugee himself three decades ago, he thought to find utmost truth and justice in the pre-eminent nation of refugees.

Now, ironically reborn as a refugee again, he and a few others can only cry out across the distance and against the silence.

Peter Brock is politics editor for the *herald-Post* and recently revisited the former Yugoslav republics.

WHAT YOU WON'T READ IN C Concentration Camps For Serbs In Bo

- LIVNO (the "Stari Grad" fortress: about 600 of the river S
19. ZENIC
20. JABL
Serbs.
- TOMISLAVGRAD (local high school): about Serbs.
- TOMISLAVGRAD (the village of Rascani): All Serbs.
- BUGOJNO (the house of the murdered Serb Relja Lukic): about 50 Serbs.
- BUGOJNO (the "Slavko Rodic" factory): about 700 Serbs.
- JAJCE (the ancient fortress): about 500 Serbs.
- BIHAC (the "Jedinstvo" football club stadium): about 900 Serbs.
- ORASJE (the local football stadium): about 100 Serbs.
- ODZAK (the elementary school): about 700 Serbs.
- ODZAK (the "Stolit" factory): about 150 Serbs.
- ODZAK (the village of Novi Grad): about 1000-1500 Serbs, mostly women and children.
- ODZAK (the former military depot in the village of Rabici): about 300 Serbs.
- ODZAK (the elementary school in the village of Poljari): 59 Serbs.
- KONJIC (the railway tunnel above the village of Bradina): about 3,000 Serbs.
- HADZICI (the Culture Hall): about 150 Serbs.
- ILIDZA (the "Famos" football club stadium): about 800 Serbs, mostly women and children.
- TUZLA (the "Tusanj" stadium): about 4,000 Serbs.
- BOSANSKI BROD (the suburbs along the bank

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Muslims 'Slaughter The

BOSNIA BREAD QUEUE M
WAS PROPAGANDA PLOY

Reprinted from *The Independent* — Satu

United Nations officials and senior Western military officers believe some of the worst recent killings in Sarajevo, including the massacre of at least 16 people in a bread queue, were the work of the city's mainly-Muslim defenders — not Serb besiegers — as a propaganda ploy to win world sympathy and trigger military intervention.

The view has been expressed in confidential reports circulating at UN headquarters in New York, and in classified briefings to U.S. policymakers in Washington. All suggest that Sarajevo's defenders, mainly Muslims but including Croats and a number of Serb residents, staged several attacks on their own people in the hope of dramatising the city's plight in the face of insuperable Serbian odds.

They stress, however, that these attacks, though bloody, were a tiny minority among regular city bombardments by Serbian forces.

The reports recite a litany of gruesome events, from the bombing of a bread queue on May 27 which killed at least 16 people, to the August 4 explosion at a cemetery while two orphans were being buried in early August and a

"choreographed" mortar salvo 30 seconds after Douglas Hurd entered a building for a meeting with the Bosnian President, Alija Izetbegovic, on July 17. The mortar attack, which the Foreign Secretary played down by saying, "it wasn't as bad as the No. 10 bang," killed or wounded 10 bystanders. A Bosnian guard of honor for Mr. Hurd's security, however, had already taken cover.

UN officials believe the bullet which killed U.S. TV producer David Kaplan near Sarajevo airport on August 13 was unlikely to have been fired by a sniper from distant Serbian positions.

"That would have been impossible," one UN military officer said. "That shot came in horizontal to the ground. Somebody was down at ground level." UN officials also say a Ukrainian soldier, shot in the head and heart at Sarajevo's Marshal Tito barracks on Thursday, was killed by "small arms fire" — by implication the Bosnians.

The officials were anxious to point out that they were not trying to exonerate the Serbian side that has been besieging Sarajevo for a months, killing unknown numbers of Muslim, Croat and Serb residents, as well as

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Bosnian Serbs Pledge

Reprinted from *The Independent*

By Marcus Tu

Bosnian Serb leaders admitted for the first time yesterday that their forces have been engaged in "ethnic

of the population who wish to leave an area of high tension." But the Bosnian Serb chief did go on to denounce as invalid the widespread practice

More Heavy Shelling In Bosnia in Coating Doubt on London Talks

ABC Network Show # 232 Show code WNSUN 8/9/92

merely because he was a Muslim.

(on camera) The Serbs say as bad as conditions are in their detention centers, they're much worse in Muslim camps. They showed us a videotape too grisly to show on television of executions and mutilated corpses, atrocities they allege were committed by the Muslims.

(voice-over) POW's on all sides in Yugoslavia's civil war still face a precarious future. Hatred runs so deep here no one is immune from vendettas once the international spotlight fades.

Walter Rodgers, ABC News, Omareka camp, Bosnia.

SAWYER: We'll be back in a moment.

(Commercial break)

SAWYER: In Kuwait, a U.S. helicopter crashed during military exercises today, killing its two-man crew. The cause of the crash is under investigation. The Navy says the helicopter was unarmed and it was conducting a routine training flight.

In Iraq, a new team of U.N. weapons inspectors started their mission today with a surprise inspection at a site they are still keeping secret. They managed to perform their first day of work without incident.

And on the eve of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's crucial first visit to Washington, Jewish settlers openly defied Rabin's freeze on new construction in the occupied territories.

More from ABC's Dean Reynolds.

DEAN REYNOLDS, ABC News: *(voice-over)* Jewish settlers were attempting — unsuccessfully, as it turned out — to erect a new neighborhood in the occupied West Bank today and to embarrass Prime Minister Rabin. While the settlers are angry over Rabin's decision to limit Jewish building in the disputed territories, the new Israeli government knows the move will please the White House and it may finally pave the way for billions of dollars in American loan guarantees to help resettle immigrants from the former Soviet Union.

The settlers are also anxious about Rabin's intention to give Palestinians self-rule. The plan, including elections in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, is designed to re-ignite the Middle East peace talks.

(on camera) And to improve the chances for progress, Israeli officials today said they want to amend a controversial law that bars all contact with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

YOSSI BEILIN, Deputy Foreign Minister: The amendment means that it may become an offense only if the government proves that it was their intention to harm the Israeli interests.

REYNOLDS: *(voice-over)* It has been obvious for a long time that despite the risk of jail, the Palestinian delegates for the peace talks have been taking their orders from PLO chairman Yasir Arafat. Official acknowledgement of this fact by Jerusalem would be another signal to Israeli hardliners that the times here have definitely changed.

Dean Reynolds, ABC News, Tel Aviv.

SAWYER: In a moment, how one family that can't get ahead is fighting back.

(Commercial break)

SAWYER: Bad weather permitted cameras from get pictures, but the *Queen Elizabeth II* is finally limping toward a Boston dry dock for repairs. Two days ago, the luxury liner hit an underwater ledge, ripping a 74-foot gash in its hull.

Economic news now. This week, the government will release the consumer price index for July. The good news is consumer prices are not expected to go up much. The bad news is that's because people can't pay the price of a lot of things, whether the price goes up or not.

Sheilah Kast looks at how one family is coping.

SHEILAH KAST, ABC News: *(voice-over)* A firefighter for 19 years, Lonnie Taylor has reached the top of the salary range in Montgomery County, Maryland. So when he's not climbing fire ladders, he's reaching for more income with his own business as a home improvement contractor. He makes only about half as much there as before the recession. Finding customers is hard.

LONNIE TAYLOR: Jobs are getting scarcer. Profits are going down. It's competitive. It's very tough out there.

KAST: *(voice-over)* That kind of pressure is one reason economists expect the government's July report to show the same small price increases that have kept inflation around three percent for the past 12 months.

MICHAEL EVANS, Economist: Well, there's a lot of businesses and there's a lot of wage earners who are dissatisfied with what they're getting now. But they realize that in a recessionary environment you can't raise prices or you're going to lose sales.

KAST: *(voice-over)* Raising three children in a home that Lonnie built, the Taylors focus more on budgeting from paycheck to paycheck than on the fact that many bills are not rising much.

KAREN TAYLOR: I mean, it's good if the inflation rate isn't high. But I think it's expensive enough to live with even with the way it is.

KAST: *(voice-over)* So, steady inflation has not changed the way Karen Taylor shops for her family. She still makes choices carefully, pays attention to coupons and waits for sales to hold the costs down.

Sheilah Kast, ABC News, Dunkirk, Maryland.

SAWYER: And ahead, Ray Gandolf with today's sports news. What's cooking tonight, Ray?

RAY GANDOLF, ABC News: Well, Forrest, the Olympics have ended and we'll have the final accounting and Dick Schaap's reflections on two weeks of the glory and the pain.

(Commercial break)

SAWYER: It's been two good weeks in Barcelona for the Americans and certainly for the Unified team. But all good things must come to an end. Ray Gandolf in sports has been watching all of it.

Ray?

GANDOLF: Thank you, Forrest. Well, it's all over but the shouting in Barcelona. On a thin final day of competition, Kwang Young Cho [sp?] of South Korea won

TIME

**MUST
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ON?**

THE BALKANS
Muslim prisoners
in a Serbian
detention camp



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THE WEEK

12



NATION: A warning to Saddam



WORLD: South Africans by the tens of thousands march on Pretoria



BUSINESS: Watch out, E.C.!



HEALTH & SCIENCE: No go on the space shuttle yo-yo



A survivor reacts after two orphans were killed on his bus

20 COVER: Atrocity and Outrage

Horrific pictures and eyewitness accounts of barbarism in Bosnia have broken through the West's indifference and pose a political question too sharp for the U.S. and Europe to ignore. Now Bush and his allies have to figure out what to do.

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Leno and Arsenio star in a low-blow battle of talk-show hosts

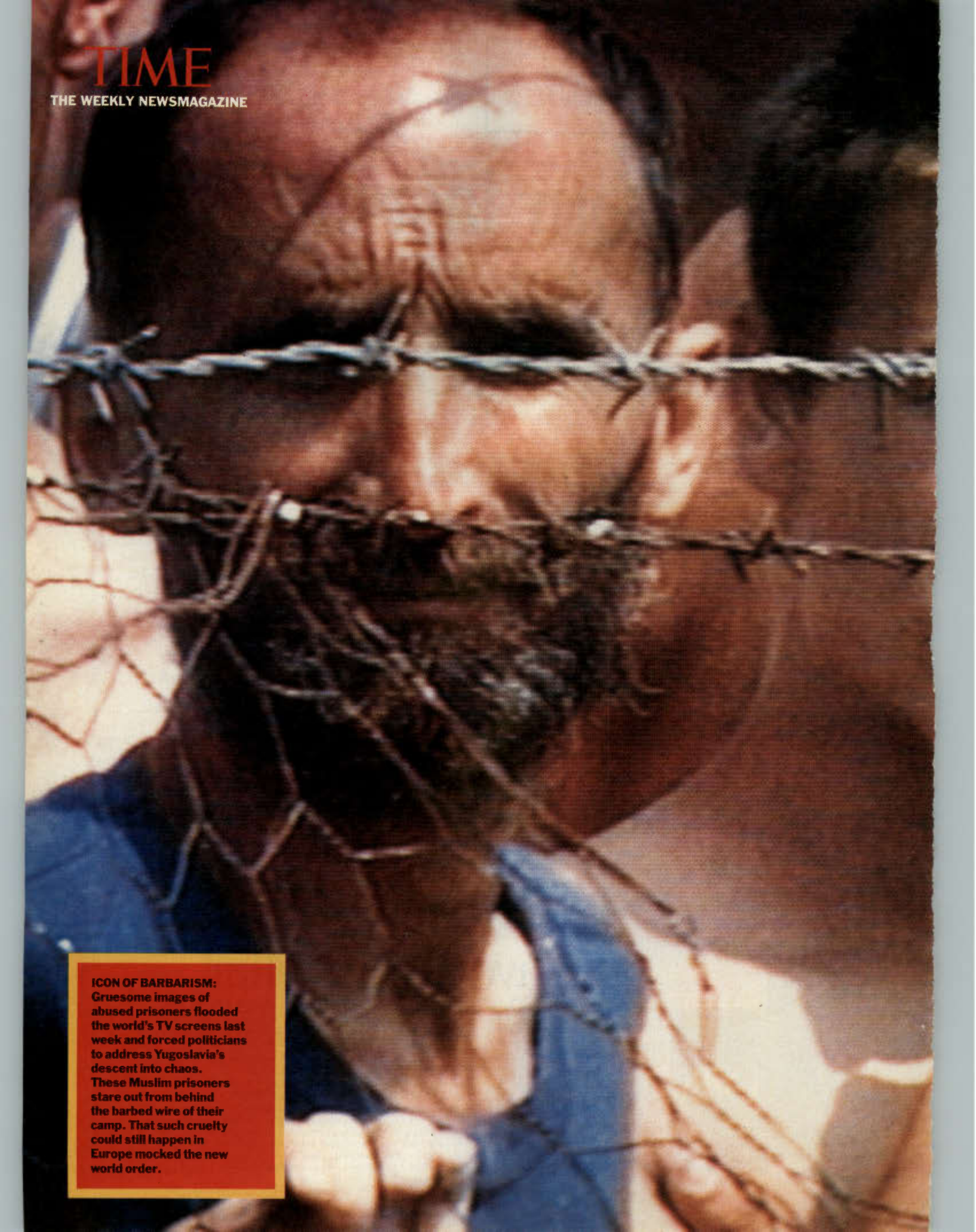
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COVER: Photograph from ITN/Rex

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ICON OF BARBARISM: Gruesome images of abused prisoners flooded the world's TV screens last week and forced politicians to address Yugoslavia's descent into chaos. These Muslim prisoners stare out from behind the barbed wire of their camp. That such cruelty could still happen in Europe mocked the new world order.

ATROCITY

And Outrage

Specters of barbarism in Bosnia compel the U.S. and Europe to ponder: Is it time to intervene?

By J.F.O. MCALLISTER WASHINGTON

THE SHOCK OF RECOGNITION IS acute. Skeletal figures behind barbed wire. Murdered babies in a bus. Two and a half million people driven from their homes in an orgy of "ethnic cleansing." Detention camps, maybe even concentration camps. Surely these pictures and stories come from another time—the Dark Ages, the Thirty Years' War, Hitler's heyday. Psychic defenses struggle to minimize, to deny, to forget. Not here; not now. Europeans were supposed to have learned from the last terrible war on their soil not to murder their neighbors. Educated people, on the verge of the 21st century, in a relatively prosperous country that is a party to multiple human-rights treaties, do not drive innocents from their homes, shoot orphans, build detention camps.

But the evidence, accumulating for months, is now inescapable: like an addiction, hatred is consuming the people who used to call themselves Yugoslavs. Every throat slit makes someone else thirst for blood. "They killed my husband and son," says a tearful Bosnian refugee. "They burned our home. But they can never rest easy, because one day we will do the same to them, or worse. My children will get their revenge, or their children." No one anywhere can pretend any longer not to know what barbarity has engulfed the people of the former Yugoslavia.

The ghastly images in newspapers and on television screens last week also conjured up another discomfiting memory: the world sitting by, eager for peace at any price, as Adolf Hitler marched into Austria, carved up Czechoslovakia. For months, leaders in Europe and the U.S. have been wringing their hands over the human trage-

dy in the Balkans, yet have shied away from facing the hard choices that any effort to stop the killing would entail. Clearly, there is no simple solution, diplomatic or military. Economic sanctions, mediation and U.N. peacekeepers have been tried without stopping the fighting. No case for armed intervention appeals to any President, Prime Minister or people. Frustrated, Western leaders have averted their gaze while first Slovenia, then Croatia, now Bosnia descended into chaos.

Finally last week the cruelty captured in powerful pictures of dead children and imprisoned adults succeeded in rousing moral outrage. Like it or not, the world looks to the U.S. to lead an international response. In Washington the curious alchemy of press coverage, public opinion and a presidential campaign abruptly transformed the distant saga of suffering into a political question too sharp to ignore: Is it wise for the West—or is it required of the West—to intervene with military force in the Balkans? Does the new world order that George Bush espouses encompass a minimal moral code, starting with the command of the Holocaust-inspired international convention on genocide to "prevent and to punish" mass killings of ethnic groups? Or is Secretary of State James Baker right to argue that in Yugoslavia—and by extension in other bloody ethnic conflicts in countries not central to the immediate stability of the West—"we don't have a dog in that fight"?

This is not a conflict in which civilian casualties are a secondary consequence of regular warfare: civilians *are* prime targets, and every method to terrorize, displace or, if need be, kill them is part of the arsenal on all sides. The fundamental objective of the war is Serbian "ethnic cleansing"—practiced by ethnic irregulars

TIME



CIVILIANS ARE THE TARGET:
Casualties like this girl being rushed to a Sarajevo medical center are common as Serb militias use terror and violence to "cleanse" Bosnia of all Croats and Muslims.

armed and supported by the Serbian government of Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade—of large swaths of Bosnian territory to expel Muslims and Croats so that Serbs may move in. Croats under the harshly nationalist leadership of President Franjo Tudjman have joined in to grab their share of territory, and Bosnian Muslims, fighting at the raw level of their rivals, are likewise guilty of barbarism—and of inflating horror stories about the Serbs to win sympathy and support. But the Serb militiamen appear to be the worst offenders. “It is in the Serbian interest to terrorize civilians,” says Andreas Khol, an Austrian politician who frequently visits Yugoslavia. “It is part and parcel of the plan for a Greater Serbia.” Detention camps are just a way station before permanent expulsion.

For most refugees, the inducement to flee is fear of imminent death. Topcagic Muharem says he is the only Muslim survivor from the village of Koritnik. On June 20, he claims, Serb militiamen herded 57 Muslim men, women and children into a basement and tossed in hand grenades, then joked that the screams of the dying sounded “just like a mosque.” Ferid Omerovic, 37, is one of 9,000 from the Bosnian city of Bosanski Novi who reached a Croatian refugee camp in a U.N. convoy. “Life turned to hell two months ago,” he says. “All Muslims were

fired from their jobs, we had no money to buy food, and we couldn’t get humanitarian help. Our houses were looted by Serbs—our neighbors.” He was detained in a stadium with hundreds of other men; left for days without food or water, they subsisted on grass. Eleven-year-old Lenida Konjic, who was among the group, says that “at night we were so scared we couldn’t sleep. We would just wait to be slaughtered.” It is not surprising that in exchange for a place in the refugee convoy, 4,000 inhabitants of Bosanski Novi waited in line for days to sign documents renouncing their property and pledging never to return.

What sparked the political uproar in Europe and the U.S. last week were emotional new charges that each faction in Bosnia is running a network of internment camps where beatings, torture, starvation and even murder are commonplace. International observers have been scrambling to investigate the claims, most of which come from interested parties, but inspectors have largely been kept out of the places they most want to see. Until they get unhampered access, sorting out reality from propoganda will be impossible.

So far, there is no evidence of genocide or systematic extermination; actual proof of individual murders is still rare. But there are numerous accounts of starvation, beatings, interrogation and miserable sanitation. Western diplomats think many of the camps will turn out to be similar to the few they have been allowed to see: harsh but not murderous detention sites where enemies, civilian and military, are warehoused before expulsion or exchange. Yet there is the fear that other camps could be much worse.

Bosnian officials, who present the most detailed bill of particulars, claim that Serbs are running at least 105 camps, through which 260,000 people have passed since April, with 17,000 deaths. At least 130,000 remain incarcerated. How bad are the camps? A Bosnian report, possibly exaggerated, tells of the Vuk Karadzic primary school in Bratunac, where Serbs are accused of bleeding 500 Muslims to death so wounded Serbs could get transfusions; at a café-pension named Sonje in the town of Vogosca, a Serb group led by one Jovan Tintor was said to have hanged prisoners by the legs and gouged out their eyes with special hooks. Serbs deny such stories and countercharge that Muslims and Croats are running 40 camps of their own where more than 6,000 Serbs have died.



As a child is buried, shrapnel wounds the grandmother

Journalists have visited some of the camps and pieced together eyewitness accounts from refugees and escapees. At the Omarska iron-mining complex in north-west Bosnia, according to a former prisoner interviewed in the New York newspaper *Newsday*, more than a thousand Muslim and Croat civilians were held by Serbs in metal cages stacked four high, without food or water. He said groups of 10 to 15 were removed every few days and shot; many others were beaten to death. British television footage of an open-air jail at Trnopolje showed thousands of prisoners who were dirty, dazed and emaciated. The camera team found evidence of beatings, torture, dysentery and scurvy. Red Cross or U.N. observation of the camps, now being demanded by the U.N. Security Council, would check some abuses. But there are also “impromptu killing grounds,” says a Western diplomat, “where massacres take place, then the killers move on. This is not the kind of murder the U.N. or Red Cross can monitor.”

THE WORLD’S REVULSION AT ALL this is genuine and appropriate. But so far, the responses have been confused and tentative. As often happens, political considerations are at odds with military realities. What can outsiders do?

Overwhelmingly, U.S. and European military experts warn against getting involved. Yugoslavia is almost custom designed to frustrate any peacekeeping, or peacemaking, force. The terrain is mountainous, perfect for ambushes and hit-and-run operations. Many of the irregulars are well trained and are skilled in guerrilla warfare. The weapons they would use against an intervening force are small, portable and abundant. Western analysts point out that the fathers and grandfathers of today’s fighters tied down 30 Axis divisions for four years during World War II. The generals would prefer another Desert

A Lexicon of Horrors

Newspapers screamed of death camps. President Bush warned of Nazi-style genocide. But these emotionally freighted words obscured the fact that such phrases have precise historical meanings, and their misuse is often an act of propoganda. A glossary:

DEATH CAMPS. Nazi sites, such as Auschwitz and Treblinka, for the slaughter of 6 million Jews and others in World War II. Later outlawed by the Geneva conventions.

CONCENTRATION CAMPS. First used by the British during the Boer War for civilians imprisoned under brutal conditions. The term later referred to Nazi prison and slave-labor camps, like Dachau. Similar camps were known as gulags in the Soviet Union. Also illegal under the Geneva conventions.

INTERNMENT CAMPS. Where civilians are held in wartime for security reasons. The U.S. interned 110,000 Japanese-Americans during World War II. In 1988 Congress called this “a grave injustice.”

DETENTION CAMPS. Where civilians are held before transfer elsewhere, like the U.S. camp for Haitian refugees at Guantánamo Bay.



"ETHNIC CLEANSING": Serbs are expelling Muslims and Croats from swaths of Bosnia
DETENTION CAMPS: At scores of sites, all three sides are alleged to jail rivals
STARVATION: Four cities including Sarajevo are besieged and ill-supplied

Storm: an obvious enemy, a clear military objective, wide-open terrain suited to air attacks and fast armor sweeps, an overwhelming preponderance of force. What they see in Bosnia is Vietnam, Lebanon, a quagmire of murky goals and slogging infantry combat, where air power cannot be decisive and enemies, allies and civilians are indistinguishable.

Aware of these constraints, some military and political leaders are calling for unconventional approaches. Former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher argues for arming Bosnian irregulars, who are badly outgunned by the Serbs, much as Washington helped the Afghan *mujahedin*. Colonel William Taylor, senior military analyst at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, thinks an air attack on power plants, fuel tanks and

military posts in Belgrade could take the heart out of the Serbs' fight. Others advocate an allied threat to destroy any Serbian plane, tank or piece of artillery that moves.

All such approaches are risky; whether they are worth taking depends on what the West deems its interest in the former Yugoslavia to be. In the realpolitik calculus of international affairs, Bosnia does not fit into any of the categories that demand intervention. No communist dominoes are at stake. Human-rights violations are gruesome but are not something for which any country wants to sacrifice its own soldiers. It is true that Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and other former Yugoslav republics are now independent countries, but Europe and the U.S. tend to regard Serbian aggression against them as internal ethnic strife, not the kind of cross-border invasion that breaches international law.

But the chaos in the Balkans carries threats to European security. The tidal wave of refugees driven from Croatia and Bosnia is choking the absorptive capacity of neighboring nations. Since those who have driven away the exiles have no intention of letting them return, a more or less permanent and costly place must be found for several million embittered, possibly disruptive people—the Palestinians of the 1990s.

More worrisome is the possibility of further Serbian aggression provoking wider conflict. Serbs loathe, and oppress, the ethnic Albanians of Kosovo province, which is also home to 209,000 Serbs; some analysts predict that the Albanians there will rebel or that Belgrade will try to drive them out as soon as the Bosnian question is settled. Either eventuality could spur Albania to intervene. Hungary has massed

troops at its southern border to protect 385,000 ethnic Hungarians in the Serbian province of Vojvodina. A Serbian effort to annex parts of Macedonia could prompt a response by Russia, Bulgaria or even Turkey.

None of this is good news for George Bush. On the eve of the Republican Convention, down to his lowest approval rating in the opinion polls, any false move could tarnish the President's claim that he is uniquely qualified to lead the U.S. through the world's dangerous waters. Up to now, his caution has been considered reasonable; after this week it could be judged timid and indecisive. In this highly charged atmosphere, Democratic campaign rivals and Republicans in Congress are pushing Bush to reconsider his policies. Yet voters could easily see a military commitment in Bosnia—or anywhere else—as an electoral gimmick. At the same time, Bush has proclaimed himself the master of the new world order, and many are watching to see how well he fulfills that role.

ALL OF WHICH EXPLAINS THE gyrations in Washington last week. One day a senior State Department official testified that economic sanctions against Serbia were working fine; two days later, after Bill Clinton said Bush should "do whatever it takes to stop the slaughter of civilians," the President was driven to announce a flurry of new measures—full diplomatic recognition of Slovenia and Bosnia, international monitoring of Balkan borders and a call for a U.N. resolution authorizing force to deliver humanitarian aid—but hardly enough to frighten away Milosevic and his henchmen.

In Europe there is even less enthusiasm for military intervention. Leftists who filled the streets to protest the deployment of Pershing missiles are oddly silent about the human-rights disaster occurring a few hundred miles away. Britain and France are queasy over Bush's idea of a U.N. resolution that would empower national armies to help deliver relief supplies, preferring to keep this job with the U.N. peacekeepers already in Sarajevo.

Even so, as the images of atrocity flicker across the world's television screens, the U.S. and its allies find themselves forced to mull over the unattractive military options available that might put a crimp in Serbian aggression—or at least send a message of retribution to Belgrade. In the long run, the international community must develop a new ethic, and new institutions to match, concerned less with the sanctity of borders than with the rights of people. Until it does, the dilemma posed in Bosnia is likely to be repeated elsewhere, again and again.

—Reported by Jasmina Kuzmanovic/Zagreb, William Rademaekers/Vienna and Bruce van Voorst/Washington

What the world could do . . . And why it hesitates

Provide arms to the Bosnians so they could hold off Serb aggression.

Western weaponry would probably not be useful to Bosnians without special training and a flow of ammunition and spare parts. It could also prolong the fighting.

Bomb the hills around Sarajevo to quell Serb mortar and artillery fire and protect relief flights.

The Serbs' weapons are mostly light and portable. Air strikes would be unable to locate and knock them all out, leaving the airport open to renewed attack.

Use ground troops to seize Sarajevo and enough surrounding territory to protect the airport against artillery attacks.

U.S. defense experts say this would require at least 50,000 troops and involve holding a perimeter 25 miles outside the city.

Occupy Sarajevo and control a ground corridor to the port city of Split so that supplies could enter Bosnia by road.

An operation of this size would call for about 100,000 troops on the ground and a large air umbrella to provide cover for truck convoys, but would do nothing to halt the war itself.

Bomb military and industrial targets in Serbia to force the Serbs to call off the fighting in Bosnia.

Strikes of this kind could cause heavy civilian casualties in Serbia and might mean the loss of some of the attacking planes. Nor is it certain that Slobodan Milosevic and the Serbian government would or could order the irregulars in Bosnia to stop fighting.

HATRED

Ten Times Over

The U.N.'s outgoing man in Sarajevo, General Lewis MacKenzie, is not optimistic

By DANIEL BENJAMIN NEW YORK

Q. Sarajevo airport was shut down again this week. Has the U.N.'s authority in Sarajevo been exhausted?

A. I've always said the agreement to protect the airport from ground attack was hanging by a very fine thread. When you start taking mortar fire on the bunkers our people are living in and on the tarmac, that is a serious escalation. Before, we were able to justify putting our finger in the flame despite fighting going on close to the airport. The odd round dropping short can be rationalized, but not when the airport is being directly targeted.

Q. What do you think it would take to impose peace on Sarajevo itself?

A. Well, from the tactical point of view, having to control and occupy and dominate all the features around Sarajevo and the city itself. Cities are famous for gobbling up soldiers. I haven't done the detailed analysis, but a figure of 75,000 would probably be modest, if there is resistance. And the resistance has to be handled 24 hours a day by people on the ground. Air power can assist, but it can't



PATRICK ROBERT—SPINA FOR TIME

stop people from reoccupying positions.

Q. *That's assuming that the act of bringing in a large military force itself wouldn't have a powerful psychological impact.*

A. Yes. It's also presupposing that the peacemakers can stay for a long time. Because what happens when they leave? Everything goes back to the way it was because so much hate has been generated. And then you have a force that is isolated. You don't have secure communications. You're sitting in the middle of a very, very hilly country.

Q. *What would be the difference between an operation in Bosnia and the Gulf War?*

A. The same characteristic that dominates every military operation: the ground. In Desert Storm there was a relatively sophisticated infrastructure on which to develop your force. There were tremendous areas of land on which to put it together and to train and sort out problems—and that took four months. Where are you going to do that in Bosnia?

Q. *You would not be able to wage tank warfare, as in the Middle East?*

A. No, you're talking infantry battles. You're talking about classic, classic guerrilla country.

Q. *Do you think the Serbs, Croats and Bosnian Muslims would fight in the face of a huge force?*

A. If I put myself in their shoes, there is no option. You are talking about backing the Serbs into a corner. And if you read history, it's not a very good idea. You're talking about an organization with a significant capacity to fight and with a significant amount of equipment. Serbia/Montenegro must be one of the most densely militarized areas of the world now.

Q. *To "pacify" all of Bosnia-Herzegovina, what size military operation would be needed?*

A. Well, the Germans gave it a try with 30 divisions, and they weren't successful. A lot of people were killed. If there were resistance throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina and you had to occupy it, you could be talking up to 1 million troops.

Q. *Why not bomb artillery positions and send in helicopter gunships?*

A. You wouldn't be able to find all the weapons systems that are doing the damage. Mortars are the favored weapon in Bosnia, and they're hidden very easily and carried around in everything from school buses to cars. What's much more important is that if you do that, then the U.N. peacekeeping force is, whether it likes it or not, affiliated with the side not being attacked. Therefore you have sitting there 1,600 [U.N. soldier] hostages.

Q. *Can't you remove those troops in advance of any action?*

A. If you do, that's an indication something big is going to happen. So you've got yourself a very nice cul-de-sac, unless you're prepared to sacrifice 1,600 people. I wouldn't think that would be a particularly good idea.

Q. *Is there anything that would rapidly improve the situation in Bosnia?*

A. Yes—and the presidency [of Bosnia] will hate to hear me say this: negotiations with the Serbian side within Bosnia. The presidency will not talk to the other side because they say this is a war of aggression controlled by Belgrade. They feel that if they start to talk, the status quo will be frozen, and they don't have a lot of territory. If you don't want to talk, then there's only one solution: one side wins, one side loses

Even if only 10% of what each side accuses the other of doing is true, in the minds of the people it has grown to horrendous proportions

and a lot of people get killed in between. So my feeling is that pressure has to be brought to bear to get them to the table. The Serbs will talk any time, any place, at any level because they probably have what they want. It seems to me talking could get the Bosnian Muslims territory.

Q. *Is anyone in the different leaderships really calling the shots? Or is much of the fighting being driven at the grass roots by units that decide they just want to fire their mortars?*

A. You're absolutely right, there are large numbers of individuals and units that are out of control. But they are out of control within a defined chain of command. There's ample evidence of units operating on their own agenda—today. Maybe tomorrow they'll operate on a common agenda. There are some individuals and small organizations in Sarajevo who are paid to kill. They get a bonus. Journalists are favorite targets in Sarajevo. There are no video games in Sarajevo, so the next best thing is to fire at a TV car going by.

Q. *Is the word genocide appropriate for Yugoslavia?*

A. I can't comment in detail on that be-

cause my mandate was limited to Sarajevo. However, let me assure you that I have a pound of paper for each hand of protests from one side accusing the other of running detention camps, concentration camps, prisoner-of-war camps.

Q. *You don't entirely blame the Serbs?*

A. When people ask me whom do you blame, I say, "Give me the day and the month, and I'll tell you." What the Serbs did three months ago was totally unacceptable: the city was bombarded, civilians were targeted. Today it is more complex. What we now see from the Bosnian presidency's side is that it's in their interest to keep the thing going and get the Serbs to retaliate in order to convince the international community that intervention is a good idea. So I blame both sides.

Q. *You have had nine peacekeeping tours in places like Gaza, Nicaragua and Cyprus. How does this compare?*

A. You can take the hate from all those previous tours and multiply by 10. I've never seen anything close to that. Even if only 10% of what each side accuses the other of doing is true, in the minds of the people it has grown to horrendous proportions. If the leadership said, "O.K., let's sit down and sort this thing out," I'm not sure whether people would accept that because there is so much hate for the other side. Really deep, gut-wrenching hate. Once you start calling them baby killers, pregnant-women killers, and talk about cooking babies, those are not good grounds for negotiations.

Q. *What difference did that make for your work?*

A. On any of those previous tours, when you brokered a deal, it was followed through. And if somebody along the line didn't follow through, they were put in their place. It's relatively easy to broker a deal in Bosnia. It's the execution that is impossible.

Q. *After your experience in Sarajevo, do you think there is still a clear line between peacekeeping and peacemaking?*

A. Yes, there is a clear line. It became cloudy in Sarajevo only because we went there with good intentions and then the war started, and that put us in an absolutely unique position.

Peace imposition is war fighting. It's going in, taking on somebody and beating them. In order to use a peacekeeping force, you have to have a cease-fire. But we got ourselves into this bind by having a war start around us.

Q. *So you're a pessimist?*

A. I used to use the term guarded optimism, but I've dropped even that from my vocabulary. I still have hope. But I won't be optimistic until they start to talk. ■