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panic said he expected bosnia to continue being a country of mixed nationalities and religions.

moslems make up 44 percent, serbs 32 and croats 17 percent of bosnia-herzegovina's population.

panic said that the fact that yugoslavia lays no claim to the territory of bosnia-herzegovina nor any other ex-yugoslav republic is one of the most significant conditions it has met for the sanctions to be lifted.

he also mentioned other conditions yugoslavia has met - enabling and guaranteeing humanitarian aid shipments and international inspection, proving that there were no concentration camps in yugoslavia, rendering impossible the sending of arms and troops into bosnia and the offer that the united nations control yugoslav airports.

panic said he was convinced yugoslavia would regain the respect it enjoyed in the world.

senator mitchell told the journalists their talk with panic was very useful but that the delegation would reach its own conclusions about what it sees and hears.

mitchell said the delegation reiterated to panic that the u.s. considers serbia the chief aggressor, that it insists on the existing borders and that it will never agree to either serbian or croatian conquests in bosnia.

serbia does not have its own army, while the army of yugoslavia, made up of serbia and montenegro, is not taking part in the conflicts in bosnia-herzegovina. on the other hand, powerful regular armed forces of the the neighboring republic of croatia have been fighting in bosnia-herzegovina on the side of the local moslem-croatian coalition. the croatian army has practically conquered one part of bosnia-herzegovina - western herzegovina.

bosnia-herzegovina serbs control part of the bosnian territory in which they make up the majority population and which they proclaimed their republic.

senator mitchell was restrained about panic's proposal that the yugoslav army take part in demilitarizing bosnia-herzegovina but he did not reject it.

panic urges the complete demilitarization of bosnia. he proposed that turkish officers help in disarming bosnian moslems. (end) ns-jpc/ds

IZETBEGOVIC TO PROPOSE ALLEGED NOVEL MOMENTS REGARDING NATIONALITY RIGHTS IN BOSNIA

sarjaevgo, august 23 (tanjug) - moslem leader and president of the rump presidency of the former yugoslav republic of bosnia-herzegovina alija izetbegovic on sunday said he would propose at the london conference a reorganization of the republican parliament, which would prevent the danger of one nation outvoting the others, and the setting up of a human and national rights' tribunal in bosnia-herzegovina.

izetbegovic specified that decisions would be taken in the bosnia-herzegovina parliament by consensus with the right to veto, which would render impossible outvoting, ie,

the adoption of any decision which is not in the interest of all its three nations.

izetbegovic is trying to present as a novelty something that is already incorporated in the valid republican constitution, under which all important decisions in the parliament are to be taken by consensus of the representatives of all three nations.

the moslem-croatian coalition, however, had violated the constitution when it reached the decision that bosnia-herzegovina secede from yugoslavia and request international recognition, although the serbian representatives were against the decision.

the serbian democratic party, the national party of serbs in bosnia-herzegovina, had over a year ago warned of the outvoting problem and the parliament's anti-constitutional decisions.

the outvoting forced the serbs to withdraw from all state bodies of former bosnia-herzegovina.

izetbegovic said the tribunal he was proposing would be made up of domestic and foreign jurists and would deal with the problems of the respect of human and national rights in bosnia-herzegovina. (end) ns-jpc/ds

LONDON CONFERENCE A TURNING POINT, SAYS YUGOSLAV PRIME MINISTER

belgrade, aug 21 (tanjug) - yugoslav prime minister milan panic said in federal parliament on friday that he expected the london conference to be a real turning point in dealing with the problems which led to the war in bosnia-herzegovina.

'we see the london conference as the first opportunity for revealing the truth about the policy pursued by the yugoslav government,' he said.

since its inauguration, the government has devoted all its energies to finding peaceful solutions for the yugoslav crisis and to creating conditions for lifting the u.n. sanctions, said panic.

he went on to say that during that time, several conditions for lifting the sanctions had been met. the most important among them are the yugoslav army's withdrawal from bosnia-herzegovina, prevention of ethnic cleansing, recognition of slovenia and bosnia-herzegovina within the borders delineated by tito and readiness to do the same with croatia and macedonia, said panic.

speaking about the problem of serbia's southern province of kosovo-metohija whose population is predominantly ethnic albanian, panic said: 'we will not allow it to become another bosnia-herzegovina.'

the life of one ethnic albanian is more valuable to me than all books on human rights, he stressed.

kosovo, sandzak and vojvodina are our internal problems and nobody can interfere there, said panic in the federal parliament which met on friday to discuss the country's security and international position before the london conference on yugoslavia.

27-30 Aug. 1992.

Alfred Sherman believes an independent Bosnia was always a bad idea

THERE is no need for European countries to grapple with the intractable task of absorbing millions of Muslims from Bosnia. There is ample room for both them and the province's Croats and Serbs inside Bosnia. A political solution - a pre-condition for the Muslims' return and an end to the fighting - is now possible; but if the London Conference fails to deliver this political settlement, it will have done more harm than good.

President Alija Izetbegovic and his Muslim fundamentalist associates who nominally rule Bosnia have brought disaster to their people. Both before and after the Second World War, Muslims enjoyed religious freedom and top jobs within Yugoslavia. By ganging up again with the Croats against the Serbs, as they did with Hitler's blessing in 1941, the Muslims have unleashed Serbian fury against their civilian population.

Izetbegovic's objective of creating a fundamentalist Muslim Bosnia allied to Croatia is a contradiction in terms. Croatian nationalism has always sought a Greater Croatia embodying Bosnia and fundamentalism never enjoyed the support of all Muslims. Izetbegovic's dream of a "Bosnian Pakistan" has become a nightmare. Clearly, the Muslims must come to terms with the Serbs.

In Croatia, President Franjo Tudjman's alliance of ex-communists and fascists promised that

The land where three into one just will not go

with German help they would play Muslims off against Serbs to "regain" Bosnia, with the weakened Muslims playing only second fiddle. Instead, they have a long drawn out war on their hands, and find themselves having to deal with an influx of both Bosnian and Croat refugees fleeing from Serb-controlled land.

Agreement on Bosnia will be possible only if the Croats concede autonomy to the Serb-inhabited Marches which separate Croatia from Bosnia, now under the control of Serb militias. So far, President Tudjman has attempted to avoid this by double dealing - promising the Muslims help against the Serbs to maintain Bosnia's integrity, while at the same time annexing larger areas de facto. Communist-style repression in his one-party state will not silence calls for peace.

The Serbs, for their part, are learning that world opinion cannot be ignored and that no mat-

ter how they paint it, "ethnic cleansing" will not be tolerated.

The time is therefore ripe for a political solution based on the status quo. There is no alternative but to find a peace settlement which meets legitimate Serb needs for equality inside Bosnia as part of a single Serbian nation.

The Croat and Serb populated areas of Bosnia should be linked with Croatia and Serbia respectively, with open borders. Alternatively, Croat majority areas in western Herzegovina and in the Sava Valley, which contain most of Bosnia's Croats, could be annexed to Croatia, as Croats have been demanding on and off for decades. In return, Croatia would abandon its claims on Bosnia and cease interfering there, letting Serbs and Muslims work out their own salvation.

Peaceful coexistence will be possible only in a secular Bosnia where religion is a matter of personal choice. The majority of Bosnian Muslims regard themselves primarily as Yugoslavs rather than any other ethnic group. Secular identity was the

status quo till 1971, when Tito changed it for opportunistic reasons.

Cantonisation - which Izetbegovic agreed last year under EC auspices but then reneged on - and closer links with Yugoslavia would obviate calls for ethnic homogeneity and the redistribution of population, least of all in the brutal form of "ethnic cleansing".

The right of return for all refugees and restoration of their property is an essential part of a lasting peace. However, families who no longer feel safe in their old surroundings should be able to sell their homes, farms or businesses and move to live among their own kind elsewhere in Bosnia. Having played so large a part in precipitating the problem, the EC should set up a revolving fund, to purchase migrants' property and re-sell it to immigrants from other parts of Bosnia. This would save recurring humanitarian aid, which generates dependency. Bosnian Muslims would re-adjust, whereas if they were long term refugees in Europe they would become a festering sore and seedbed for terrorism.

Experience has shown that the German initiated EC promotion of an independent Muslim-dominated, anti-Serb Bosnia was a recipe for disaster. By the same token, the EC cannot turn an amalgam of provinces into a viable nation-state.

Outside military intervention, even if European public opinion allowed it, would prolong the fighting and refugee-flow. Why should helpless civilians pay the price for Chancellor Kohl's neo-Bismarkian presumptions?

▶ EUROPE - SEE PAGES 13, 14 & 15

his henchmen in Bosnia. But

The end of the Cold War has marked the beginning of a new era in international relations. If only it

7-8-92

NY TIMES INTERNATIONAL

Bosnian, Pressing for Help, Will Meet Bush in Helsinki

By JOHN F. BURNS
Special to The New York Times

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina, July 7 — With heavy mortar fire resounding only a few blocks from his office in the heart of this old European city, the President of Bosnia and Herzegovina renewed his appeal today to President Bush for American arms and ammunition to help Sarajevo's defenders avert what he called "a terrible slaughter" by the Serbian forces besieging the city.

A few hours before he was scheduled to leave Sarajevo for a meeting in Helsinki with Mr. Bush, the Bosnian President, Alija Izetbegovic, said in an interview that he would use the meeting to try to persuade the American leader of the gravity of the situation here and the consequences, for Sarajevo and "the whole civilized world," of allowing the city to fall.

Mr. Izetbegovic said his forces have less than a month's supply of ammunition left. If the fall of Sarajevo was to be averted, he said, it would take American bombing of the Serbian gun positions surrounding the city and new supplies of arms and ammunition.

"We are ready to fight for our freedom, but we don't have the weapons or the ammunition," Mr. Izetbegovic said. "So I will ask President Bush if he is ready to help us with arms."

If there were no outside military intervention, he said, the city of 400,000 residents would probably fall.

"Terrible things will happen" if the Serbian fighters take over, he predicted. "I'm afraid that the population would be subjected to a terrible slaughter as a revenge for their 100 or 200 days of resistance."

'Worst Kind of Crimes'

"People who have fired with artillery at hospitals, and at mourners at funerals, and at people lining up for bread — those are people capable of committing the worst kind of crimes," Mr. Izetbegovic said.

Referring to a Croatian city of 45,000, where large numbers of people were summarily shot after the city had been reduced to rubble by a Serbian-led army in November, he added: "What would happen here would be a Vukovar on a much larger scale."

For 94 days, Sarajevo's defenders, mostly a ragtag force of amateurs in jeans and running shoes, have held off an attacking force composed of regular units of the Yugoslav Army, transferred to the nominal control of local Serbian nationalists in Bosnia.

It has been a match-up of an army with at least 20,000 men with howitzers, tanks, mortars and rocket launchers against defenders equipped, for the most part, with rifles and pistols.

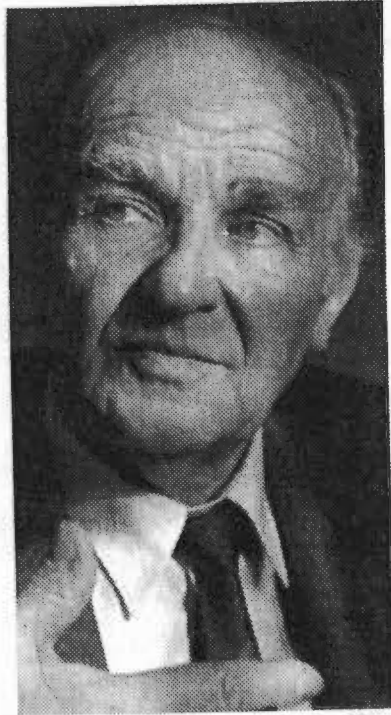
Before the siege started, Yugoslav Army commanders emptied the armories in Sarajevo, leaving the city's defenders with scant supplies of ammunition and only enough weapons to arm a force of about 5,000.

The Bosnian forces supplemented these later with fresh supplies, paid for in cash in Europe and the Middle East and smuggled in defiance of a United Nations arms embargo across mountain roads and into Sarajevo by night.

But last week, the principal source of these smuggled arms was cut off. Mate Boban, a Croatian arms dealer bent on carving a separate Croatian state out of Bosnia and Herzegovina to rival the Serbian state proclaimed by the forces besieging Sarajevo, seized truckloads of arms and ammunition at a remote mountain town west of Sarajevo.

Within days, he announced the formation of the new Croatian state and declared that there would be no further help for the Izetbegovic Government.

This created a crisis for Mr. Izetbegovic, a 66-year-old Muslim who has struggled to hold together a coalition of Muslims, Croats and Serbs around a program that calls for Bosnia and Her-



Associated Press

President Alija Izetbegovic

zegovina to be "multi-national and multi-religious," and based on a parliamentary democracy and human rights.

The Croats, Too

By contrast, the Serbian nationalists who control of two-thirds of this country, and Mr. Boban's Croatian forces, which have laid claim to the other third, want to create nationalist enclaves where Serbs and Croats have total political control.

The Bosnian Government has been left with little but Sarajevo, and now it too seems vulnerable to capture.

Mr. Izetbegovic decided to seek an urgent meeting with Mr. Bush, telephone calls were placed to the United States Embassy in Belgrade, and a letter from Mr. Bush arrived here by fax within 12 hours suggesting the meeting in Helsinki, where the two leaders will be attending a summit meeting of the 52-nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

For Mr. Izetbegovic, even getting to Helsinki is a problem. The last time he left the country, for negotiations with Serbian leaders in Lisbon early in May, he was arrested by the Serbs at Sarajevo airport on his return, and exchanged the following day for surrounded Yugoslav soldiers.

Now, United Nations troops have control of the airport, and the Bosnian leader was planning to leave aboard one of the Western military aircraft



The New York Times

As mortar fire rained on Sarajevo, Bosnia's President appealed to the United States for help.

that have braved continuing fighting around the airfield to bring in food and medicine.

As he prepared for his departure, the Bosnian leader, who spent nearly 10 years in prison during Communist rule in Yugoslavia for his Islamic beliefs, appeared unruffled by the growing sense of impending doom that has seized many others in his Government. Other officials have begun tidying up personal affairs in case they do not survive.

A Chain Smoker

Mr. Izetbegovic chain-smoked during the hourlong interview, and what he said offered little comfort.

He said he was approaching the meeting with Mr. Bush in the belief that it was his best chance to awaken world opinion to the "catastrophe" enveloping his country.

"In many places across this country, what is happening is an echo of World War II," he said, "but I have the sense that the world either doesn't know about it or hasn't noticed. I'm afraid that President Bush, too, is not aware of the scale of what is happening."

The Bosnian leader said his Government now estimated that 1.5 million people, mainly Muslims, had been driven from their homes across the republic, and that as many as 57,000 had died — 7,000 as a direct result of fighting or shelling, and 50,000 more from "ethnic cleansing" operations in areas captured by the attackers.

These operations, continuing in places like Visegrad in the east and Gacko in the south, have involved rounding up Muslims and Croats, killing community leaders, and releasing others to flee.

"All across Bosnia and Herzegovina, in areas that are under the control of the Yugoslav national army and of the Serbian paramilitary terrorists who are their allies, non-Serbs are being forcibly separated from the Serbian population," Mr. Izetbegovic said.

"After that, the non-Serb population — and I refer here to Muslims, Croats, Jews, gypsies and others — are being ordered to leave these areas within one or two hours, and being told that they can take only what they can carry."

"In my view, this is the worst kind of evil imaginable," he said. "From a human, psychological and political view this goes beyond killing, because it attacks the very basis of civilization itself."

"Unfortunately we are not capable of resisting this evil by ourselves because we are a young nation, only three months old, and we don't have a strong army. Without the help of the international community, we can't resist this evil."

OPINION USA

Bosnian chief: 'We need military help'

INTERVIEW

President Alija Izetbegovic says Serbian troops cannot be removed without force and that aid is helpful, but more is needed.

Q: You're planning to meet President Bush at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Helsinki this week. What are you going to say to him about the need for the United States to intervene?

A: I'm going to try to describe the complete situation for President Bush to make his own conclusions on what should be done. Humanitarian relief is welcome but not satisfactory. We need military help because this evil (Serbian attacks) cannot be removed, cannot be won by anything else except force. We ourselves do not have that strength.

Q: What do you want President Bush to do militarily?

A: From the very beginning, we were asking for the heavy artillery around our town to be removed. Huge amounts of heavy weaponry all over Bosnia and Herzegovina were left here by the JNA (the Yugoslavian army). That artillery is being used (by local Serbian militia) for bombing not only Sarajevo, but other towns in the republic. JNA doesn't want to withdraw its weapons. The only way to proceed with that would be to destroy (the artillery) from the air by a bombardment by the United States or by the United Nations.

Q: Is military force the only way?

A: Primarily, we don't wish to make war. That is the first option. We would like the other side to withdraw from our country. If the United States can help, it would be good.

Q: Western leaders meeting

in Munich Monday talked about expanding relief efforts. Is enough aid getting through?

A: Humanitarian relief is arriving regularly. It's very helpful. We still have those who are starving in some parts of town because the quantities which have come so far are not enough. But you know, it's related only to Sarajevo, and Sarajevo is not the worst case in Bosnia. There are much worse cases in the republic.

Q: What else will you tell the president?

A: I am afraid that President Bush and the American public are not quite aware of the difficult situation, the scale to which the destruction of this country has reached.

Q: We see it on TV every day. Is there more death that we don't know about?

A: It's much worse. Ethnic cleansing is happening on a large scale. For instance, on June 10 in a suburb of Sarajevo, they invited all citizens to come out on the street. They divided them into two groups, one side Serbs, the other side not Serbs. The non-Serbs were ordered to leave that part of the town within an hour. The same thing has happened in hundreds of places.

Q: Have many people been killed trying to resist this segregation?

A: Thousands. People were slaughtered, literally slaughtered. I'm sure that America couldn't know that. That is the first thing I'm going to tell President Bush, and I will request an international agency to

Standing guard in Sarajevo



Reuter

ON DUTY: A U.N. soldier keeps watch as humanitarian aid is unloaded from a Russian plane.



By Marty Baumann, USA TODAY

Behind fighting in Yugoslavia

As Soviet dominance ended, Yugoslavia splintered. Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina sought independence. But the largest republic, Serbia, objected. The Serb-dominated Yugoslav army, coordinating with Serbs in the breakaway republics, began "ethnic cleansing" to drive non-Serbs from power.

come here and verify it.

Q: Does it bring to mind parallels?

A: This situation is even worse than during the Nazi era because all of this happened within a period of three months. Only three months.

Q: What's it like to be the head of a nation that's under siege. Do you feel safe?

A: No one in this town is safe. Every day we have 10 to 15 killed and about 50 wounded civilians in the town. Everybody is leading a risky life these days because at every moment, you can expect shelling. I've changed offices because the office in which I used to work was shelled in the beginning. I'm now in an office in the middle of the building.

Q: So to sum it up, what is your message to the world?

A: We are asking the world not to forget...

Critic says Bosnia has not honored agreements

"It's difficult to have a peace settlement with a leader who does not honor agreements," says George Bogdanich, director of the Serbian-American Media Center in Chicago.

Bogdanich says Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic has renounced numerous agreements, such as dividing Bosnia into autonomous ethnic enclaves to settle political differences between the parties.

"That's when the trouble began in earnest," he says.

Bogdanich calls media coverage of the ethnic conflict "extremely one-sided," and says the international focus on Sarajevo has kept the press from examining

the massacre of Serbian civilians in western Herzegovina and northern Bosnia.

He adds that if Izetbegovic wants to compare the conflict in Sarajevo with the Holocaust, he'd better check his history book.

"It was the Serbs who fought the Nazis in 1941, and the Muslim fundamentalists and Croatian fascists joined the Nazis to exterminate a large number of Serbs, Jews and Gypsies.

"The Serbs were a majority in Bosnia before the Holocaust. Today, they represent only a third of the population. So you can understand their fears as an embattled minority."

— Sharon Shahid

Alija Izetbegovic, 66, is Muslim president of the war-torn former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which declared its independence on March 1. U.N. troops now control the Sarajevo airport, assuring supplies of food and medicine to the besieged and starving capital. Today's Q&A is edited from remarks he made in a telephone interview from Sarajevo with USA TODAY's Lee Michael Katz.



AP

Izetbegovic

Bosnian head, daughter beg for help from U.N.

By Alan Ferguson
TORONTO STAR

UNITED NATIONS — In the rarefied world of international diplomacy it was an unusual sight — a father and his daughter pleading for help for their bleeding nation.

Sabina Berberovic is chief of staff to her father, Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic.

They ride to the office together in downtown Sarajevo through streets and buildings blackened by fire and holed by shells.

It was just luck they were able to hitch a plane ride last Sunday that brought them eventually to New York and the 47th General Assembly of the United Nations.

To the Bosnians, last night's General Assembly vote expelling Yugoslavia — Serbia and Montenegro — was a "purely symbolic act" of no immediate significance.

The resolution was adopted at a late-night session by a vote of 127 votes in favor, six against and 26 abstentions, Associated Press reports. The action was un-

precedented in its severity, going beyond the revocation of South Africa's voting rights in the General Assembly in 1974.

Canada, which supported the Security Council resolution, said it did so because Serbia-Montenegro had no legal grounds on which to inherit the seat.

At a news conference yesterday, Izetbegovic read out a statement prepared by a Washington public relations firm and Berberovic, who speaks better English than her father, helped translate questions about it.

The statement recounted incidents that have befallen Sarajevo since a peace conference last month in London that was supposed to be the beginning of the end to the city's ordeal.

Izetbegovic admitted he almost walked out of the London talks and agreed to stay only when Western leaders told him that to sign an agreement was the only hope for peace.

"There was a moment of dilemma, whether to continue or to leave, because we saw no guaran-

tees for the implementation of the agreement," he said.

"During the last 26 days, our worst fears have come true. The situation has not improved. The killing has not stopped. The ethnic cleansing has not ceased. Daily an average of 50 have died. More than 1,000 people have lost their lives while we wait for the Serb militants to keep their promises."

At the London talks, now continuing in Geneva under joint European Community-U.N. chairmanship, Serbian representatives said they would pull back their heavy weapons, end the siege of key towns and close their notorious detention camps.

These commitments had been violated with impunity, Izetbegovic said yesterday, reading from his press release the "record of broken promises."

An airlift organized by the U.N. to take food and medical supplies was suspended Sept. 3 after an Italian aid plane was shot down by an anti-aircraft missile.

Izetbegovic responded passionately yesterday to suggestions his own Bosnian Muslim forces were responsible for attacks on U.N. peacekeeping forces in Sarajevo as part of a strategy to blame Serbs and reap world sympathy — and, maybe, military help.

"Such accusations are completely senseless," he said. "And anyway, we haven't been expecting military intervention for a long time."

He called it a "paradox" that Bosnia was being deprived both of the collective security to which it was entitled under the U.N. charter and of the right to arms for self-defence. An international arms embargo against all former Yugoslav territories remains in effect.

Canadian brass reviews plan for 1,200 additional troops

LONDON (CP) — About 1,200 additional Canadian peacekeepers will be sent to a tense area of Bosnia-Herzegovina, according to a proposal put before Canada's military chiefs yesterday.

The United Nations plan, developed over the weekend in the Croatian capital Zagreb, would base the Canadian battalion around the Serbian-held city of Banja Luka.

The Canadians, along with three other battalions from Brit-

ain, France and Spain, would escort humanitarian aid convoys to four war-battered areas of Bosnia.

Canada prefers the Banja Luka location because it's only 150 kilometres (90 miles) south of the Croatian town of Daruvar, where 1,200 Canadian peacekeepers are already deployed, said Col. Michael Houghton of Ottawa, who is co-ordinating the Canadian deployment.

Toronto Star Sept 23/92

8

the world community was violating the rights of its citizens to life, health and healthy offspring.

In a letter it sent gorbachev on monday, the yugoslav green party compared the consequences on the yugoslav population of the embargo imposed in late may with the consequences of the chernobyl nuclear disaster.

'we will regard your silence as a loss of the moral credibility you won when you were elected president of the 'global forum' and we will dispute your right to head it in the name of the principles of the greens', the letter said. (end) sp-zk/ds

IZETBEGOVIC AGREES TO IDEA ON DEMILITARIZING SARAJEVO

geneva, sept 29 (tanjug) - bosnian moslem leader alija izetbegovic on tuesday said he agreed to the demilitarization of sarajevo.

bosnian serb leader radovan karadzic has already supported the idea, forwarded by international mediators at the geneva negotiations on the former yugoslav republic of bosnia-herzegovina, in which a civil and ethnic war has raged for nearly six months now.

izetbegovic said he and co-chairmen of the geneva conference on yugoslavia cyrus vance and david owen agreed on opening talks to demilitarize sarajevo, as the first step towards a cease-fire in bosnia-herzegovina, a newspaper reported.

after his meeting with vance and owen, izetbegovic said that unprofcor commander in sarajevo philippe morillon was discussing the idea on demilitarization of sarajevo with karadzic. 'i believe that a political agreement on that already exists and that now both the moslem and serbian sides are only to agree on effecting the demilitarization of sarajevo', izetbegovic said.

izetbegovic said that the sarajevo plan envisaged the setting up of a north and a south corridors, which would enable access to and from the city. if the demilitarization of sarajevo succeeds, then the same formula will be applied to other hotbeds in bosnia-herzegovina.

izetbegovic said on monday evening he did 'not expect much of the geneva talks'. he said that to turkish journalists at ankara airport, where he stopped on his way back from islamabad, izetbegovic asked for pakistan's and other islamic countries' support, including weapons and manpower.

this, however, did not stop him on tuesday from denying allegations that middle east volunteers were fighting alongside his troops in bosnia.

'we have many boys ready to fight. bosnia-herzegovina could have an army of 100,000 soldiers if it were able to arm them. we do not need any foreign boys', izetbegovic said.

izetbegovic will leave geneva on tuesday evening and will not attend the talks between yugoslav president dobrica cosic and croatian president franjo tudjman there on wed-

nesday. it is believed that he will stop over in zagreb on tuesday evening on his way back to sarajevo for a talk with tudjman. (end) jsg-zk/ds

SERBIAN-RUSSIAN TRADE UNION DELEGATIONS MEET IN BELGRADE

belgrade, sept 29 (tanjug) - the delegations of the trade unions of the yugoslav republic of serbia and russia said in belgrade on tuesday that the economic sanctions imposed by the u.n. security council against yugoslavia on may 30 had drastically aggravated the already critical social position of yugoslavia's workers and population.

the russian trade union delegation is visiting belgrade at the invitation the serbian trade union extended to all world trade unions, asking them to see for themselves what was really happening in yugoslavia. in addition to the russian trade union, the french cgt and romanian fracia trade unions have also accepted the invitation.

the russian delegates told their hosts they wanted to see for themselves what was happening in yugoslavia so that they could convey the truth to the russian people and government and so influence the soonest possible lifting of the blockade. (end) vp-zk/ds

RELIEF FLIGHTS TO SARAJEVO TO BE RESUMED SOON

belgrade, sept 29 (tanjug) - the u.s. is considering the possibility of the soonest possible resumption of humanitarian aid flights to sarajevo, perhaps already in the next few days, a senior official in the bush administration, who asked not to be identified, said in washington on tuesday.

the official was quoted by reuters from washington as denying today's reports from geneva which said the u.s. would in 24 hours restart the relief flights to the capital of war-torn ex-yugoslav republic of bosnia-herzegovina.

'i am confident that they (flights) will resume, but i just don't know a date yet,' said the official.

previous reports by news agencies from geneva said that the 'authoritative diplomatic sources' there asserted that the u.s. would in 24 or 48 hours renew the humanitarian airlift to sarajevo.

diplomatic sources in geneva, as news agencies reported, said that the co-chairmen of the geneva conference on yugoslavia cyrus vance and david owen, had been 'working strongly' with representatives of all 10 governments engaged in the original airlift to sarajevo, including germany, france and great britain.

the sources said that vance and owen insisted on the soonest possible resumption of humanitarian flights suspended after an italian transport plane was shot down on september 3.

the italian plane with a five-ton relief shipment, flying from the croatian port city of split, was downed west of sarajevo in a moslem-controlled area killing its four crew.

September 30, 1992

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AGENCIJA SRNA

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САРАЈЕВО

Pale, October 1, 1992

WAR IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

EMIR KUSTURICA AT IZETBEGOVIĆ'S SHOOTING LIST

Moslems abroad who had in any way opposed policy of Alija Izetbegović also became target of the Moslem extremists . The first among them is Emir Kusturica, world famous movie director.

The President of the former BH personally chose four specially trained members of "Hezbollah" to kill Emir Kusturica. "Hezbollah" is a secret terroristic organization that, on behalf of "jihad" carries out similar acts in the whole world.

Ministry of Information of the Republic of Srpska has found out from reliable foreign sources that Kusturica because of fear assassination had to leave Paris. He is hiding in a French Mediterranean town. Because of his personal security he is surrounded by life guards. Kusturica is winner of the world most important movie awards. Kusturica is afraid for his life and the lives of members of his family because of "jihad" supporters hatred in his country.

French and world public is not informed about the situation of this famous director. Kusturica is afraid that, if he reacts in public to this murderous intention of Alija Izetbegović, he will become a target to world wide "jihad" warriors, like the famous Pakistan writer Salman Rushdi.

3.

the committee could be former u.s. secretary of state cyrus vance. end dm/bm/vs

REPRESENTATIVES OF SERBS FROM BOSNIA, CROATIA STAY AT LONDON CONFERENCE

London, August 26 (tanjug) - Lord Carrington met with leader of Bosnia-Herzegovina Serbs Radovan Karadzic and president of the Republic of Serb Krajina Goran Hadzic on Wednesday, after they indicated they might quit the London conference on Yugoslavia.

Karadzic and Hadzic objected to not being allowed to attend the conference in the main hall.

British sources claim that representatives of the Serbs from Bosnia and Croatia have agreed to stay at the conference and to 'give their full contribution.'

The Republic of Serb Krajina was formed in the territory of Croatia where Serbs are the majority population, as a reaction to Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia.

Conference organizers say that representatives of the Serbs from Croatia, the Serbs and Croats from Bosnia, the ethnic Hungarians from Vojvodina and the ethnic Albanians from Kosovo-Metohija have not been invited as official participants but 'for consultations.' end dm/bm/vs

FRENCH DAILY ON IZETBEGOVIC'S 'ISLAMIC COMMUNITY'

Paris, Aug 26 (tanjug) - Le Figaro, the daily with the largest circulation in France, said on Wednesday Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic would insist on a state modelled on the Kuran in the territory of this war-ravaged former Yugoslav Republic.

Izetbegovic, who is president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina rump presidency, said on Sunday he was going to the London conference on Yugoslavia with a political platform which insists on an integral state.

With this, the Bosnian Muslim leadership has definitely rejected the agreement reached last March in Lisbon which envisaged cantonization of Bosnia-Herzegovina along ethnic lines, as insisted by the two other constituent peoples of the Republic -- the Serbs and the Croats.

According to Izetbegovic, Bosnia should become a single Islamic community where Islam would be practised 'in all domains of private life of people, their families and society,' said Le Figaro. (end) bdm-bm/kd

GREEK OPPOSITION ON MILITARY INTERVENTION, LONDON CONFERENCE

Athens, Aug 26 (tanjug) - The Greek Socialist Party (PASOK) on Wednesday urged the government to come out with a clearer position on Serbia and to confirm that it would not participate in any military intervention in former Yugoslavia.

In a statement after a PASOK executive committee session, party leader Andreas Papandreu said he was deeply concerned about the London conference. The accent should be on 'the Greek card', said Papandreu.

Pasok also wants the Greek government to withdraw a Greek destroyer, the Kountouriotis, from NATO's naval mission in the Adriatic Sea. This would practically show that Mr Mitsotakis has no intention of involving Greece in any military intervention in former Yugoslavia, said Papandreu.

'The double-standard policy towards Serbia should be abandoned, because the fragmentation of Serbia means a stronger Turkey in the Balkans, and this is exactly what those who are madly hitting at Serbia want,' he said. (end) dm-bm/kd

RESIGNATION OF STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL OVER U.S. POLICY IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Washington, August 26 (tanjug) - The highest U.S. State Department official in charge of Yugoslav questions George Kenney, 35, has resigned from the post in protest over Washington's 'soft' policy in the Balkans, writes the Daily Washington Post on Wednesday.

Kenney, who advocates a strong arm policy towards Yugoslavia, told the paper that 'the high-level administration in the State Department and the White House does not really want to get involved.'

Kenney described the international conference on Yugoslavia, which opened in London on Wednesday, as a 'charade' whose final outcome is known in advance.

In his view, the conference is doomed to failure because of a lack of 'very strong pressures, including military, against Serbia to stop the genocide in Bosnia.' (end) ns/bm/dm

ROMANIA DENIES CHARGES OF VIOLATING BLOCKADE OF YUGOSLAVIA

London, Aug 26 (tanjug) - Romania on Wednesday at the international conference on Yugoslavia denied allegations that it was breaking the U.N. Security Council embargo on trade with Yugoslavia.

In spite of grave consequences to its own economy, Romania is abiding by the embargo and strictly enforcing all U.N. sanctions, Romania's representative at the London conference is reported to have said.

Romania has invited U.N. observers to visit all its border crossings, ports and airports to see for themselves that it was not violating the embargo.

The conference on Yugoslavia is being held behind closed doors, and only a few tidbits of information reach reporters.

It has also been learned that Canada has offered to send more troops to serve as U.N. peacekeepers in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The offer is for 1,200 extra soldiers to protect humanitarian aid convoys. end dm-bm/ps

One positive sign:
Karadzic has
been on several
interviews (included)
and did quite well -
much better than
Panic.

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AM-YUGOSLAVIA-USA-SERBS (SCHEDULED)

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SERBIAN-AMERICANS FEAR BETRAYAL BY WASHINGTON

By Andrew Stern

CHICAGO, Reuter - Feeling betrayed by what they see as U.S. bias against Serbia, leaders of the Serbian-American community said Friday their kin in past and present Yugoslavia have the right to form a unified Balkan state.

"It's just wrong for a mighty power such as America to get involved. It is a civil war, a religious war," said Milosh Milenkovich, one of the leaders who lives in Cleveland, where many of the million-member Serbian-American community reside.

Nick Trkla, the Chicago-based U.S. coordinator for Serb-Net, which communicates news to immigrant Serbs, said if President Clinton commits U.S. forces in an "adventure" in Bosnia, he would face a foe who had nothing to lose.

"The sense of resolve and sense of betrayal from the West is so great (among the Serbs), they're willing to accept collateral damage from bombs to get Clinton to realize what he's getting into," Trkla said.

"It's like an Armageddon-type of thing. They've faced this before and faced it willingly," he said, adding that he talked
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daily with his contacts in Serbia.

Reuters phoned both Trkla and Milenkovich.

Trkla said Serbia is the only country to hold a "day of defeat" to recall a 14th-century defeat at the hands of the Turks -- and to remember to never let it happen again.

Many Serbian-Americans respond to the alleged atrocities committed in the war by Serb soldiers by retracing the trail of barbaric acts and reprisals back through time.

Two of Trkla's uncles were indiscriminately slaughtered in 1941 by Muslims in Bilece, Herzogovina, he said.

"Everybody is guilty of crimes against humanity and must face equal justice. We are pushing for war crimes trials, because we think the proper perspective will be brought in a courtroom, rather than in the media," Trkla said, citing several misreported incidents where Serbs were actually the victims.

Most Serbian-Americans, like others in the West, want an end to the bloodshed, but Serbs are disappointed by the most recent peace plan -- rejected by the Bosnian-Serb parliament -- that reapportions Bosnia into Swiss-like cantons.

"The map is unjust. The map has been drawn up to prevent a contiguous land for the Serbs. It separates the Serbs from
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Serbia," Milenkovich said.

Although intermarriage among Muslims, Croats and Serbians has created diverse communities in many areas of Yugoslavia, the raging war has divided many of those families and may make

reintegration impossible, the Serbs say. Even in the United States, Serbs and Croatians, the dominant immigrant groups from Yugoslavia, have minimal contact with each other.

The only solution to the civil war, several Serbian-Americans said, is a redrawn map creating a contiguous Serbian territory.

"It would be nation of 15 million Serbs that would be a stabilizing force in the Balkans," Milenkovich said.

"Sooner or later, the international community cannot sustain itself in this original lie to try to prevent Serbs from living in one country," said Vladeta Lazarevic, a Belgrade-born Serb who immigrated to the United States in 1955 and now runs his own electronics firm in Champaign, Ill.

"What if the United States decides to bomb my brothers?" Lazarevic asked when contacted by Reuters.

"Then my attitude, which has been very supportive of the American ideals of freedom and democracy, will be that everything good between the United States and Serbs as a

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nationality will be stomped on," he said.

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JOHN MCLAUGHLIN'S ONE ON ONE

Airs May 8, 1993

(First Add)

(NOTE: THERE IS NO EMBARGO)

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x x x US/NATO forces.

MR. MCLAUGHLIN: Now, 38 of those peacekeepers have already been killed. Do you think the American people are going to be willing even to send peacekeepers over there?

Congressman Torricelli, who is bitterly opposed to your position, he says a limited number--and he's talking in terms of a few thousand, but certainly not 20,000 and the

PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

numbers range up to 35,000 American peacekeepers over there. Do you favor having that kind of ground support over there?

MR. PANIC: I believe in peacekeeping force. I don't believe in military intervention. I think we don't need another monument in Washington called Bosnian--Americans killed in Bosnian war.

MR. MCLAUGHLIN: Did you hear the distinguished Senator talk about the expansion of this conflagration and how

important it is for us to intervene? And military air strikes, presumably, would send some chills into the Serbs to cease and desist?

MR. PANIC: Why don't we discuss alternatives to killing? Why don't Americans start to talk, there must be some better way]

MR. McLAUGHLIN: Like what?

MR. PANIC: Like teaching people how to live together]

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MR. McLAUGHLIN: Do you know how long it takes to do that?

MR. PANIC: Not very long with your communication skills] If we speak about tolerance like we do in America.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: You're talking about radio-free Europe now?

MR. PANIC: I'm talking about television. Broadcasting TV for hours. Moslems, in Bosnia, I've been there, are for peace. The good Moslems. The good Croats and good Serbs. And they are there prepared to act if the world embraces and helps them build a peace. But we are failing to do that. I think that we should know the responsibility --

MR. McLAUGHLIN: Ah, now let me --

REP. LANTOS: I think Prime Minister Panic, who has a lot of good points, is way off, way off on this point. The guilt for this massacre belongs to Milosevic and the Serbian leadership that brought this nightmare to the people of

PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

Yugoslavia. Don't you blame the United States for what is unfolding there]

MR. PANIC: United States, as the leader of the world, in my view, had a perfect way to destroy communism. In 18 minutes and 30 seconds. But when communism destroyed itself, where are those brains from Aspen to Washington to New York? How to manage the peace? These people need our help]

MR. McLAUGHLIN: We understand your point. We understand your point. I have a question for you. Can you find one military planner at the Pentagon or anywhere in the United States in any think-tank who believes that military air strikes by the United States will achieve in its expectations and stated purpose?

REP. LANTOS: Well, whatever are those expectations and states purposes?

MR. McLAUGHLIN: Their purpose would be that the Serbs would cease and desist their aggression.

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REP. LANTOS: Well, the very threat of a use of force has already turned around the Serbian leader Milosevic. He recognizes that there was a danger to Serbia itself being subjected to aerial strikes.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: But you know --

REP. LANTOS: And he turned around 180 degrees.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: But you know that recalcitrant nation, now, is the Bosnian Serbs in Bosnia. Now this is --

REP. LANTOS: And if Milosevic wants to turn them around, he can close the frontier between Serbia and Bosnia and without fuel and without financing, they will not be able to carry on the blood bath.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: But this question has been posed and this point has been raised to the generals who are leading the Bosnian Serbs. Notably, General Ratko Mladic. And he said this from his hotel at the Jablanica Ski Resort, where the vote was cast. He pointed to the roof and he said, I suppose I should be
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getting away from roofs like this. They might attract American missiles, but what the hell] Let them come] An officer posted nearby shared the general's cockiness and added another twist, "the minute the first bomb lands here, we'll start firing missiles at bases in Italy and Austria. If they want war, they'll get war]"

Don't you think, therefore, that the very threat of force is stiffening the resistance, minimally, of the Bosnian Serbs and also, it's stiffening the resistance of the Serbs within what remains of Yugoslavia? In Serbia proper?

REP. LANTOS: Not at all, John. Had a NATO ultimatum been issued to them a year ago, there would have been no blood shed whatever. Do you really think that this man, having a little runt military unit, is threatening NATO? NATO, which faced down the Soviet empire? Come on, now]

MR. McLAUGHLIN: But they still have a problem with targeting. What are they going to target? I want you to tell me --

REP. LANTOS: Now, nobody's advocating war. Let's get

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that straight. Nobody's advocating war. We have made tremendous progress. We now have Serbia separated from the Serbians in Bosnia. We now have a commitment from Milosevic and we have to see to it that he lives up to it. That the borders will be closed. No more fuel, no more spare parts, no more ammunition, no more financing. And this thing will die of itself.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: What do you think? You go over regularly to Serbia. What remains of Yugoslavia. Do you think that military action by the United States would stiffen the resolve of the Serbs? Both there and in Bosnia?

MR. PANIC: Absolutely] And I don't believe in military action.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: So you disagree with him?

MR. PANIC: Absolutely. I mean, not absolutely. I just disagree with the able Congressman, because he's Californian. We're both Democrats. We just happen to live in America. So I have alternative to this concept of murder and
PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

killing people for peace. This like two guys. Two guys, one has a gun and one doesn't. And instead of taking guns from the guy who has it, we have given the other guys a gun and say, shoot him. And so they shoot each other.

The point is this --

MR. McLAUGHLIN: You want to lift the embargo?

MR. PANIC: Of course, but let me --

MR. McLAUGHLIN: You do want to lift the embargo?

MR. PANIC: I want it in the London conference in August. I asked world, including United States, and able committee of the United States with Eagleburger, to put these the inspectors, United Nations, on those borders. All borders around Bosnia. I recommend it. And Croatia.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: You want to do this with the hostilities going on?

MR. PANIC: Of course] Then, in August, I asked them
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to put United Nations forces on the border. Everybody agreed, nothing done. They claimed that the Yugoslavian airplanes were bombing Bosnia. I asked them to put inspectors to see that we don't. They did] It made good sense.

The things, like the Dubrumnick you don't hear about. There you have some success in bringing peace to the region.

REP. LANTOS: We didn't put in inspectors. We put in a no-fly zone.

MR. PANIC: No, no, no, no --

REP. LANTOS: We didn't put inspectors --

MR. PANIC: We absolutely] In Yugoslavia, we brought inspectors. We put them in. United Nations inspectors came. I was part of this. And they are at Arbree Airport and they know --

MR. McLAUGHLIN: I want to advance, but before we do so, we'll be right back.

(Announcements.)

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MR. McLAUGHLIN: The Russians and the Serbs have been historical allies and they're close. The Russians now leaning on the Serbs to go in the direction of a peace plan and so far so good.

If the United States were to bomb the Serbs, could it not inspire the Russians to send a couple of divisions by air to Belgrade and a couple of regiments of airplanes and air forces, that is, so that we might find ourselves--conceivably down the line--engaged in a battle with the Soviet Union, which is a nuclear power? Would you characterize that for us, please, that potential hypothesis?

REP. LANTOS: It's not a realistic hypothesis. Just the opposite has happened. President Clinton went out on a limb supporting Yeltsin --

MR. McLAUGHLIN: So far. So far.

REP. LANTOS: Yeltsin won the referendum and the day after, disassociated himself from the Serbs. We have no intention of going in and starting a war. We have to see to it
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that this Bosnian Serb group is controlled and now we have even Milosevic on our side.

I think the Clinton administration, so far, has handled this situation as well as it could have been.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: Let's assume, of course, that Yeltsin can control his military when passions are inflamed. When there's great economic stress and social turmoil. What do you have to say on that?

MR. PANIC: I think that where there's opportunity--I hate to even think of that as alternative.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: Is it a possibility?

MR. PANIC: But of course] When you start to play with the weapons, that's what happen. I am against any military intervention because these possibilities always exist]

MR. McLAUGHLIN: I want to thank you very much, Congressman Lantos, for being my guest. And also to you, Prime Minister Panic.

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END TRANSCRIPT

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The Reuter Transcript Report

John McLaughlin's One on One (first and final add)

Airs May 8, 1993

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JOHN McLAUGHLIN'S ONE ON ONE

Airs May 8, 1993

Guests: Former Yugoslavivan prime minister Milan Panic and Rep. Tom Lantos (D-Calif.)

(NOTE: THERE IS NO EMBARGO)

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The editor of the report is Steve Ginsburg. Tim Ahmann, Eric Beech, Melissa Bland, Willie Dunham, Peter Ramjug and Paul
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Schomer also are available to help you. If you have questions, please call 202-898-8345. For service problems call 1-800-435-0101.

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JOHN McLAUGHLIN: A vote for war. The Bosnian Serb parliament on Thursday, in a de facto vote, turned down a U.N. peace plan for Bosnia. This rejection set the stage for Western military intervention, including the U.S., and the lifting of the arms embargo on outgunned Bosnian Muslims, who are fighting for their lives against the Bosnian Serbs.

The Bosnian Serbs will hold a referendum next weekend

on the peace plan, but practically no one believes they will support it. In the wake of this snub by the Bosnian Serbs, President Clinton and Secretary of State Warren Christopher launched new efforts to convince the ambivalent American public and the wary U.S. Congress and the foot-dragging European leaders to support air strikes and the lifting of the arms
PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

embargo.

PRESIDENT CLINTON (on tape): We do have fundamental interests there, not only the United States, but particularly the United States as a member of the world community. The Serbs' actions over the last year violate the principle that internationally recognized borders must not be violated or altered by aggression from without. Their actions threaten to widen the conflict and foster instability in other parts of Europe in ways that could be exceedingly damaging. And their savage and cynical ethnic cleansing offends the world's conscience and our standards of behavior.

McLAUGHLIN: Is military intervention in the former Yugoslavia in America's best interest?

We'll ask the former prime minister of Yugoslavia, Milan Panic, a Serbian-American who was ousted from office just four months ago after being defeated by Slobadan Milosevic in an election for the Serbian presidency; and Congressman Tom Lantos, Democrat of California, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Security.

Chairman Lantos, the president says that fundamental
PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

U.S. interests are at stake in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in Serbia. Do you agree with that?

REP. TOM LANTOS (D-California): I fully agree with that. The stability of Europe has been a U.S. national interest for decades. We have gone to war twice to preserve or to restore the stability of Europe.

Continued bloodbath, bloodshed, ethnic cleansing, instability will dramatically injure our economic and political interests throughout the European continent. This war--and that's what it is, it's a civil war--can spread to Kosovo, it can spread to Macedonia, it can bring in the Greeks, it can bring in the Turks, it can bring in Bulgaria. It can be another Balkan-originated European war.

The United States' national interests are heavily involved, John.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: Do you agree with that, Prime Minister, former Prime Minister Panic?

MILAN PANIC (Former Prime Minister of Yugoslavia): I agree. I would put that slightly on a different level. I think

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that where we have economic reasons to make sure we don't have a war, of course wars are destructive, I think the fundamental issue with America today is that we are unchallenged leaders of the world. Our moral responsibilities are far greater today than they have ever been because if we do things right, the world will look right, and if we make mistakes today, the world--the responsibility of ours is so great, the world will not be as good.

I want the world to look like America, so let's use American principles in treating Europe.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: Why did the Bosnian parliament, Prime Minister Panic, reject the U.N. peace plan?

MR. PANIC: About the parliament first--

MR. McLAUGHLIN: It's the Serbian Bosnian assembly.

MR. PANIC: Serbian Bosnian assembly, which as many said, first, I don't think even have enough information what's going on in the world because there are no information coming to Bosnia. There are no information coming to Yugoslavia. These
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people in--as simply as an American could say, don't know what they are doing.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: That's why you have called for radio-free Europe to broadcast in Serbo-Croatian into both Bosnia and to Yugoslavia. Do you think it's a communications problem?

MR. PANIC: Well, to some extent it's a communications problem. But to some extent, it's a problem of Milosevic, the Serbian leader, having had a dream of greater Serbia, having whipped up nationalist passions and now being concerned--since President Clinton has held out the credible threat of force--quickly back peddling.

This past weekend we had a major victory. Milosevic, who was the principal instigator of all of this, has suddenly made a 180 degree turn. He's now a man of peace.

Now, I don't think there has been a sudden conversion, but there has been a recognition on his part that this could be very costly to Serbia. Had the previous administration, the Bush administration and the great European powers, issued an ultimatum to Milosevic a year ago, none of this would have happened.

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MR. McLAUGHLIN: Now, you know that Warren Christopher has been conducting a mission throughout the NATO countries. So far he's got Turkey on board. That's his only success.

Mitterrand down and those are the key figures and they have told him that the gap between his position and their position is so wide that it's pointless for him to stay in Europe, so he's on his way home.

MR. PANIC: That gives you a measure of European leadership. What Europe needs is a Winston Churchill and what it has is a group of Neville Chamberlain's.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: But you know better than I do, that this is the fourth civil war amongst the Bosnians, the Serbs and the Croats in this century. You know that the European nations have been burned three times. Now the United States is in there leading the force for military intervention. The Europeans are staying out. They don't even want to lift the embargo that's prevented the Bosnians to defend themselves. They certainly do not want air strikes.

In point of fact, the biggest untold story and the
PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

best kept secret is that the Europeans know that the Serbians have, for all intensive purposes, won this war. The only thing they're fighting for now is an additional 15 percent of real estate. And they're content with letting the Serbs get that real estate and not inflaming the situation by giving arms to the Bosnians, which would promote Bosnian deaths as well as prolong the war. Isn't that the realistic truth?

MR. PANIC: Not at all.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: Isn't that what's going on in their minds?

MR. PANIC: Not at all. You are completely misreading history. We won the Cold War. The Soviet empire disappeared and here was the world's largest, most capable military machine, NATO. Had NATO issued a ultimatum to Milosevic, the 175,000 dead would still be living today. The million-and-a-half displaced persons would still be living in their homes. This was basically a European problem and the leaders of Europe failed the first post Cold War test. And by the time President Clinton took office, January 20 of this year, there were no good
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solutions. That is the history of this tragedy.

What Mr. Clinton is trying to do is to reintroduce at this very late stage a credible threat of force which already pursued Milosevic to change his tune and opt for peace.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: But the sanctions are doing that with Milosevic. And the continued threat of political isolation. Why not just let the sanctions do their work? There's no proof --

MR. PANIC: They are not doing work. Sanctions are not doing work. Sanctions have never done work. Sanctions

didn't do work in Iraq and what they are doing in Serbia--and I'm coming from there--they are putting that nationalistic feelings of Serbs with propaganda of Milosevic that the world is against them behind them.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: You mean it's stiffening their resistance? Putting people behind --

MR. PANIC: It's stiffening the resistance. Putting people behind --

MR. McLAUGHLIN: We'll pursue this is in a moment.
PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

We'll be right back.
(Announcements.)

MR. McLAUGHLIN: What do you think Congress will do if Clinton brings this problem to them?

REP. LANTOS: Well, the first thing that Congress needs is a good debate on this issue. We haven't had it. We had a full debate before we decided on the Persian Gulf War. And clearly both the Congress and the American people are not yet fully aware of all of the ramifications.

My judgment is that after a full debate, the overwhelming majority of the Congress--across party lines--will support the President. You can see it right now. The Senate minority leader, Mr. Dole, the Senate Majority Leader, Mr. Mitchell, are absolutely supportive of the President. You have distinguished Republicans in the House strongly in support of his policy.

This is not a partisan issue.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: But the people, 55 percent according to the latest poll, are opposed to military air strikes by the
PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

United States. Even in consort with our NATO allies.
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PRESIDENT CLINTON AND EUROPEAN COMMUNITY OFFICIALS NEWS
CONFERENCE

May 7, 1993
(Second Add)
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x x x Prime Minister.

PRIME MINISTER POUL NYRUP RASMUSSEN (Denmark): Thank

you, President.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Thank you.

PRIME MINISTER RASMUSSEN: Mr. Prime Minister, ladies and gentlemen, I wish to join the president of the United States
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U.S. GIVES CASH AID FOR ATROCITY VICTIMS IN EX-YUGOSLAVIA
ZAGREB, May 7, Reuter - The United States said on Friday it would provide \$6.75 million in aid for victims of rape, torture and other violence in Yugoslav civil war zones.

Assistance programmes will be concentrated in the former Yugoslav republic of Croatia which is sheltering over half a million war refugees, most from neighbouring Bosnia, the U.S. embassy in the Croatian capital Zagreb said.

"The war in the former Yugoslavia has witnessed the systematic application of violence and abuse on a scale unparalleled in Europe since World War Two," the embassy said in a statement.

"Killing, torture, rape and forms of extreme violence have been widespread. Special counselling and assistance is urgently needed for the victims of rape and other trauma."

Funding for the programmes will be channelled through the U.S. Agency for International Development.

Projects in mind included the reunion of displaced children and elderly people with their families, counselling and welfare services for rape victims, training of local personnel to treat
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trauma victims, and technical aid for Croatian hospitals.

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BOSNIAN SERBS SAID TO BE POUNDING MUSLIMS IN ZEPA
By Kurt Schork

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Reuter - Bosnian Serb forces pounded the Muslim enclave of Zepa Friday in defiance of its new status as a U.N. "safe area," Sarajevo radio reported.

It said more than 200 people have been killed and 320 wounded since Tuesday when the Serbs launched their attack on Zepa, where about 40,000 civilians and refugees are trapped.

Independent confirmation of the scale of the fighting was not possible because the Bosnian Serbs have repeatedly denied access to U.N. military observers, despite promises that they would be allowed in to the eastern enclave.

In a broadcast from Zepa, amateur radio operator Fadil Heljic said Bosnian Serb tanks were pounding the mountain town and Serb fighters had advanced to within three-quarters of a

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mile of the defense lines at one point.

Authorities in the town, which U.N. aid convoys have not been able to reach for more than two months, issued an appeal for medical supplies and for food.

The Bosnian Serb military chief, Gen. Ratko Mladic, met the commander of U.N. troops in Bosnia, Gen. Philippe Morillon, but once again effectively blocked any attempt to send in unarmed military observers.

But pressure on the Bosnian Serbs was increasing as the United States and its European allies seemed close to overcoming a rift on how to tackle the war in Bosnia, with a plan which would include military action such as air strikes if necessary.

"I expect we will be able to reach a consensus fairly shortly on which approach to take and, as soon as we do, we will announce it and go forward," President Clinton said.

Intense diplomatic negotiations, including a tour of Europe by Secretary of State Warren Christopher, highlighted differences between Washington and its allies.

But diplomats said that following the rejection of a U.N.-sponsored peace plan by the self-styled Bosnian Serb parliament, the West might soon present a united front.

After talks in Rome with Italian leaders, Christopher said:

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"One of the things that was common everywhere that I've been was the need to have an assertive, effective program to deal with this problem."

Yugoslav mediator David Owen called on Washington to show its commitment to ending the Bosnian war by sending U.S. troops to join the U.N. humanitarian relief operation.

Russian envoy Vitaly Churkin held talks in Belgrade with Bosnian Serb Vice President Nikola Koljevic and Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha, who expressed misgivings about the peace plan. Churkin also met Serbian President Slobadan Milosevic.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said Serbs in Bosnia would comply with a U.N. resolution to establish "safe areas" in besieged Moslem areas of the former Yugoslav republic.

"We are going to comply fully and to coordinate with the U.N. personnel according to this resolution," he told NBC television from the Bosnian Serb stronghold of Pale.

The Security Council proclaimed Sarajevo, Zepa, Tuzla, Gorazde and Bihac to be U.N.-monitored safe areas.

Sources in the Serb-controlled north Bosnian town of Banja Luka said two 16th-century mosques were blown up in the night. U.N. relief officials condemned the attacks as an attempt by extremists to terrorize Moslems into flight.

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The Bosnian Serbs have become almost totally isolated since their leaders refused Thursday to sign the peace plan drafted by Owen and fellow-mediator Cyrus Vance to end the civil war.

Serbian President Slobadan Milosevic, whose personal plea to

the Bosnian Serb assembly to accept the plan was rebuffed, and the Serbia-led Yugoslav government promptly ordered the virtual sealing of the border with Bosnia.

Serbia, previously regarded as the Bosnian Serbs' main ally and paymaster, said only limited amounts of medicine would be allowed to cross.

It was the first public admission by Serbia, after months of denials, of the extent to which it supplied the Bosnian Serb forces.

The blockade had not yet come into force Friday. Trucks still rumbled back and forth across bridges over the Drina river dividing Serbia from Bosnia.

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55 REUTERS 05-07-93 01:40 PET

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AM-YUGOSLAVIA-BLOCKADE

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SERBS ON BOSNIAN FRONTIER SAY BLOCKADE CHANGES NOTHING

By Aidan Hartley

MALI ZVORNIK, Serbia, Reuter - Traffic rumbled back and forth across the Drina river bridges on the frontier between Bosnia and Serbia Friday despite a supply blockade declared by Yugoslavia.

Yugoslav security forces at a roadblock on a bridge in Mali Zvornik said they had not yet been given orders to apply the embargo announced Thursday by the Serb-led government in Belgrade against their Bosnian kin.

Serbs from both sides of the Drina said closing the border would be a betrayal by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic but almost all of them scoffed at the idea that the cutoff in supplies could work.

Bragging that Bosnian Serbs did not need weapons supplies from Serbia, one Bosnian Serb soldier said: "You guys have got it all wrong. We've got enough of our own guns."

"Everything except humanitarian food and medicines will have to stop going across," said a trade inspector from Belgrade, Danilo Hajduk-Veljkovic.

He said traffic had already been reduced to a bare minimum, but a steady stream of heavy trucks, cars and people on foot

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crossed the bridge as he spoke.

"We're all getting a lot poorer and not a lot has been going across anyway," he said.

Yugoslavia said Thursday it was cutting off all but humanitarian supplies after the self-styled Bosnian Serb parliament defied Milosevic and rejected an international peace plan to end Bosnia's 13-month-old civil war.

The blockade represents an about-face by Yugoslavia and Milosevic in particular, long regarded by the West as paymaster of the Bosnian Serb war machine.

It was announced after U.N. sanctions, which have brought Yugoslavia to its knees since they were imposed last May, were tightened last week.

A handful of Yugoslav soldiers and police man the roadblock on the two bridges at Mali Zvornik. They laughed when asked if they had made any preparations for possible air strikes by the West.

"No chance. Not even the kids are scared of that," said a police corporal.

A crowd of children coming out of school on the Bosnian side walked across the bridges to their homes in Serbia -- showing how few regard this as a border at all.

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54 REUTERS 05-07-93 01:10 PET 88 LINES

BC-YUGOSLAVIA 2NDLD (SCHEDULED)

BOSNIAN SERBS SAID TO BE POUNDING MOSLEMS IN ZEPA

(Eds: updates, writes through)

By Kurt Schork

SARAJEVO, May 7; Reuter - Bosnian Serb forces pounded the Moslem enclave of Zepa in eastern Bosnia on Friday in defiance of its new status as United Nations "safe area," Sarajevo radio reported.

It said more than 200 people had been killed and 320 wounded since the Serbs launched their attack on Zepa, where about 40,000 civilians and refugees are trapped, on Tuesday.

Independent confirmation of the scale of the fighting was not possible because the Bosnian Serbs have repeatedly denied access to U.N. military observers, despite promises that they would be allowed in.

The West, meanwhile, was considering military action if Belgrade failed to fulfil its pledge to cut off supplies to the

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43 REUTERS 05-07-93 11:05 AET 40 LINES

AM-YUGOSLAVIA-MOSQUES

TWO MORE MOSQUES BLOWN UP IN BOSNIA

By Paul Holmes

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, Reuter - Two 16th century mosques were blown up in the Bosnian Serb stronghold of Banja Luka Friday in an attack condemned by the United Nations as an attempt by extremists to terrorize Muslims into flight.

Sources in the northern Bosnian town, who did not want to be identified for fear of reprisals, said police sealed the area around the Ferhad-Pasha and Arnaudija mosques following two powerful blasts.

The lavishly decorated Ferhad-Pasha mosque, renowned as one of the most beautiful in former Yugoslavia, was built in 1583 and the Arnaudija mosque in 1587.

A spokesman for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, or

UNHCR, said both mosques apparently had been flattened.

"Our sources said the mosques had been completely leveled aside from the minarets but these won't be able to stand for long without their supporting structure," UNHCR spokesman Peter Kessler told Reuters in Zagreb.

He said a third Banja Luka mosque used to house displaced
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Muslims may also have been damaged by explosions.

The destruction of mosques has been a feature of Bosnia's civil war and has usually been blamed on followers of Serbian radical leader Vojislav Seselj.

Five mosques were blown up in a single night in March in the northern Bosnian town of Bijeljina, apparently by Serb soldiers angered by the killing of comrades in a Muslim ambush.

Banja Luka, controlled by hard-line radicals, commands the corridor Serb forces control across northern Bosnia. Thousands of Muslims and Croats have been driven from their homes in the region by Serb "ethnic cleansing" operations.

In Geneva, UNHCR spokesman Ron Redmond said of Friday's blasts: "This, to the UNHCR, just underscores the ethnic hatred in Banja Luka and the extreme elements who are working there are still trying to frighten the population."

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35 REUTERS 05-07-93 10:05 AET
BC-YUGOSLAVIA-MOSQUES 2NDLD (SCHEDULED)

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HISTORIC BOSNIAN MOSQUES "FLATTENED" BY EXPLOSION

(Eds: Updates with new details, Yugoslav condemnation)

BELGRADE, May 7, Reuter - Two famed 16th century mosques were blown up in the Bosnian Serb stronghold of Banja Luka on Friday in an attack condemned by the United Nations as an attempt by extremists to terrorise Moslems into flight.

Sources in the northern Bosnian town, who did not want to be identified for fear of reprisals, said police sealed off the area around the Ferhad-Pasha and Arnaudija mosques following two powerful blasts at three a.m. (0100 GMT).

Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic called the attacks an act of barbarity and said they were "the final warning to all reasonable and responsible people" in Bosnia to end the 13-month civil war between Serbs, Moslems and Croats.

The lavishly decorated Ferhad-Pasha mosque, renowned as one of the most beautiful in former Yugoslavia, was built in 1583 and the Arnaudija mosque in 1587.

The historic buildings were attacked hours after Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic cut off aid to Bosnian Serbs in response to their refusal to sign an international peace plan.

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A spokesman for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) said both mosques had apparently been flattened.

"Our sources said the mosques had been completely levelled aside from the minarets but these won't be able to stand for long without their supporting structure," UNHCR spokesman Peter Kessler told Reuters in Zagreb.

He said a third Banja Luka mosque used to house displaced Moslems may also have been damaged by explosions.

The destruction of mosques has been a feature of Bosnia's civil war and has usually been blamed on followers of Serbian radical leader Vojeslav Seselj.

Five mosques were blown up in a single night last March in the north Bosnian town of Bijeljina, apparently by Serb soldiers angered by the killing of comrades in a Moslem ambush.

Banja Luka, controlled by hardline radicals, commands the corridor Serb forces control across northern Bosnia. Thousands of Moslems and Croats have been driven from their homes in the region by "ethnic cleansing" operations conducted by the Serbs.

In Geneva, UNHCR spokesman Ron Redmond said of Friday's blasts:

"This, to UNHCR, just underscores the ethnic hatred in
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Banja Luka and the extreme elements who are working there are still trying to frighten the population."

Cosic said the "fury of madness" in Bosnia had witnessed atrocities and the destruction of places of worship by all three ethnic communities. But he went on:

"The destruction of the Ferhad-Pasha mosque and the Arnaudija mosque represent the final warning to all reasonable and responsible people in all warring nations to resolutely, with all means and immediately halt the war and destruction.

"I expect that the authorities in Banja Luka will undertake everything to discover and punish the perpetrators of this barbaric act." His statement was carried by the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug.

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34 REUTERS 05-07-93 09:56 AET

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BC-OUTLOOK

REUTER WORLD NEWS OUTLOOK

The following stories are expected today during the AM cycle. All times EDT. Questions can be directed to the Newsdesk,
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33 REUTERS 05-07-93 09:54 AET

79 LINES

BC-YUGOSLAVIA-BACKING (NEWS ANALYSIS, SCHEDULED)

EUROPE GETS 11TH-HOUR BELGRADE BACKING FOR UN PLAN

By Patrick Worsnip, Diplomatic Correspondent

LONDON, May 7, Reuter - With Belgrade's decision to cut aid to the Bosnian Serbs, Western Europe has got what it wants -- the active backing of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. But it may be too late to avoid some kind of military intervention.

Throughout the Bosnian crisis, European politicians have eagerly followed the advice of international mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen that the key lay with Serbia.

Get Milosevic on board, they said, with the carrot of international recognition and the stick of U.N. sanctions against Serbia, and the intransigence of the Bosnian Serbs will collapse.

That theory is now about to be put to the test.

Belgrade announced on Thursday evening that aid to the Bosnian Serbs would be limited to food and medicine after their parliament humiliated Milosevic by rejecting his advice to accept the Vance-Owen peace plan for the republic.

Vance and Owen themselves insist military options should be postponed until Milosevic has had a chance to prove his good
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faith. This could include his allowing the U.N. to put monitors on the Serbia-Bosnia border to check no military supplies are getting through.

"We're living in very early days," Owen told a news conference on Friday. "This announcement from the Serbian government and the federal republic of Yugoslavia was only made late last night. Let its impact take effect."

But critical as a Serbian blockade of Bosnia might have been a few months ago, it comes now at a time when the ponderous U.S. policy-making machine has finally geared itself up for action and is unlikely to brook much more delay.

Nearly two years after the Yugoslav civil war began, and one year since it spread to Bosnia, Washington has proposed air strikes to counter any further Serb attacks and the lifting of an arms embargo to allow Moslems to fight back more effectively.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher has been touring Europe this week trying to win support for the policy, which President Bill Clinton will not carry out alone.

The Europeans have been dragging their feet. But NATO sources in Brussels indicate a compromise could be emerging whereby air strikes would be used just to protect Moslem "safe havens" declared by the U.N. Security Council on Thursday.
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The sources also suggested the Europeans could agree to a partial lifting of the arms embargo, although one Western diplomat noted this might have the effect of healing the new rift between Belgrade and the Bosnian Serbs.

In the past, European governments have been eager to clutch at anything that would provide an argument for delaying the use of military force and giving the peace process more time.

The apparent break between Milosevic and the Bosnian Serbs is another such instance, and Western diplomats have frequently cited the precedent of Krajina, a Serb enclave in Croatia, as

proof that Serbian pressure does work.

The Serb president of Krajina, Milan Babic, was forced to drop his opposition to a U.N.-brokered peace agreement for Croatia in February last year, apparently under pressure from Milosevic who had decided it was time to stop the war there.

But the Bosnian Serbs may be a different proposition, especially their tough army commander General Ratko Mladic, who is widely credited with having swayed the parliament to reject the Vance-Owen plan this week.

Clinton has said he is only prepared to give a few days to see whether the Bosnian Serbs can be brought to heel.

With the exception of Russia, all the big powers have
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dismissed as a delaying tactic the proposed Bosnian Serb referendum to vote once again on the Vance-Owen plan on May 15-16.

The Europeans clearly want Milosevic to believe he has little time left to wield his political clout and bring his Bosnian allies round to the peace plan.

They are still hoping the combination of the Serbian president's influence and the threat of Western bombing may yet stampede the Bosnian Serbs into accepting the plan and prevent the military option actually having to be used.

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32 REUTERS 05-07-93 09:45 AET 68 LINES

BC-YUGOSLAVIA-OWEN 1STLD (SCHEDULED, PICTURE)

OWEN SAYS U.S. SHOULD SEND GROUND FORCES TO BOSNIA

(Eds: Adds details, Stoltenberg comments)

By Sue Baker

LONDON, May 7, Reuter - International mediator Lord Owen called on the United States on Friday to demonstrate its commitment to ending the war in Bosnia by sending ground forces
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to join the U.N. humanitarian operation there.

"If the United States wants to have a firmer response and a greater involvement, there could be no more powerful statement than to make available two, three, four thousand contributors to the (U.N.) force with a humanitarian mandate," Owen said.

"Europe, I think, is entitled to say..." "Let's be partners on the ground as well as in the air and in the sea..."

Owen, co-author of a peace plan rejected on Thursday by the Bosnian Serb parliament, told a news conference there had not yet been a "meeting of minds" between Washington and its allies on stronger action, possibly military, if the Bosnian Serbs continued to reject the peace settlement.

But he hailed what he called the "brave decision" by Serbian-led Yugoslavia to cut off supplies to its Bosnian Serb allies and said this had to be given time to work.

Flanked by his new co-mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg, who

recently took over from former U.S. secretary of state Cyrus Vance, Owen said: "We're living in very early days. This announcement from the Serbian government and the federal republic of Yugoslavia was only made late last night. Let its impact take effect."

Stoltenberg said he was acutely aware that every passing
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moment meant more suffering and killing in Bosnia.

But he said: "I see no better way out of this than to devote all of our work...to the implementation of the peace plan."

Owen said the Bosnian Serbs would have to reverse their parliament's decision. "The Bosnian Serbs will have to listen to their fellow Serbs...and they cannot put at risk the whole of the Balkans in the way they are currently doing," he said.

The former British foreign secretary said the two main U.S. options being considered -- air strikes on Bosnian Serbs and lifting an arms embargo on the Moslem-led Bosnian government -- carried grave risks.

Owen said there was a European consensus that lifting the embargo to arm the Moslems would be "adding fuel to the fire."

On air strikes, he said European governments, especially Britain and France which have large numbers of ground troops in Bosnia, were concerned about retaliation against their forces if Bosnian Serb positions were hit.

Owen reiterated his reservations about the effectiveness of establishing safe areas for Bosnian Moslems, as the U.N. Security Council voted to do on Thursday. He said the U.N. troops in Bosnia were already stretched to the limit and there

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was also a danger that forces could be drawn into the conflict.

Stoltenberg and Owen were holding their first lengthy, private consultation since the former Norwegian foreign minister, officially took over from Vance.

The mediators said their immediate plans were not clear.

But Owen said he would be in Brussels on Monday to attend an EC foreign affairs meeting and then fly to New York for talks on the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia. He also held open the possibility of visiting Belgrade but he set no date.

Stoltenberg said he would probably visit Geneva, the Croatian capital Zagreb and some of the countries which are permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, before flying back to New York.

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31 REUTERS 05-07-93 09:36 AET
BC-TEXT-NIGHTLINE/KARADZIC

209 LINES

ABC NEWS NIGHTLINE

Guest: Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic

PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

Aired May 6, 1993

Time: 11:30 p.m. EDT

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The editor of the report is Steve Ginsburg. Tim Ahmann, Eric Beech, Melissa Bland, Peter Ramjug and Paul Schomer also are available to help you. If you have questions, please call 202-898-8345. For service problems call 1-800-435-0101.

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KOPPEL: Only four days ago you were in Athens, Dr. Karadzic. You initialled the Vance-Owen agreement. Now it looks as though it's down the drain. Why?

KARADZIC: Well, there was a tremendous pressure upon me to give a sort of (unintelligible) to be approved in our assembly, and I did, trying to persuade our representatives to adopt it, but they could not decide for themselves because it's too much of a responsibility. So they decided to go for the
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referendum that the whole nation decide about it.

KOPPEL: In the form that it's in right now, do you think it will be passed?

KARADZIC: No, absolutely not. There will be no--a single percentage of the Serbian population voting for this plan, despite all the dangers that are against us right now.

KOPPEL: I don't quite understand. How could you even initial a plan four days ago that you now say with such confidence cannot possibly be passed?

KARADZIC: Because I know the state of mind of our people. They simply don't accept that kind of plan. The plan is leaving 50 percent of the Serbian population under Muslims or Croatian domination, another 50 percent supposed to live in a few enclaves like in a Nagorno-Karabakh. So Serbian people think they are finished if they accept this plan as it is right now.

KOPPEL: Now, this evening, as you well know, your
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people, the Bosnian Serbs, have come under even greater pressure because you have now been cut off from all military supplies and fuel supplies by the Serbian government in Belgrade. What difference is that going to make?

KARADZIC: Well, it will make some troubles, but we don't need any ammunition or argument from them. We would need some food and some fuel from them, but still we have enough food, and we do hope that we'll manage somehow. I am very sorry they did it, but I understand then--I believe they would not do that if they didn't have to. If it's going to help them, that's okay with us.

KOPPEL: Well, I don't quite understand how they can be helped at the same time that you don't reach an agreement. Ultimately you folks have to come to an agreement with the Croats and with the Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina. How is that going to happen?

KARADZIC: It may happen if the plan is equally bad for SERBs, Croats and Muslims, or equally good for three antagonized nations. But this plan is supposed to be very, very
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good for the Croats, good enough for the Muslims, and terribly bad for the Serbs. And that's why the Serbian people can't accept it.

KOPPEL: The U.S. secretary of state, Warren Christopher, has already indicated that if your people--well, first of all, I think he dismissed the referendum altogether, but he has made it clear that if this Owen-Vance peace plan does not go through, then the SERBIANS in Bosnia will face military action. What is your reaction to that?

KARADZIC: I don't understand why anyone would interfere in this civil war by taking one side. Why America or Europe would come here and help Muslims to establish their own domination over Serbian people and establish the first Islamic state in Europe? We do believe that somebody may come here and kill us, but we can't help it; simply we don't have any other choice. We are in desperate position. And you can imagine how desperate acts may be acted by desperate people.

KOPPEL: What kind of reaction could we expect if, for example, there were to be, as has been projected, a 70,000-man
PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

NATO/U.N. peacekeeping force?

KARADZIC: If we accepted the plan as it is right now, Serbian people assume that it would be a long, long occupation by NATO forces. If we don't accept the plan and some troops come here or air strikes happen, then Serbian people think that they are in danger, jeopardized, and they will help to defend themselves. These people have a long experience of guerrilla against--for instance, against also Hungaria, for four years, or against Hitler's Germany for four years. The main war event

shave happened exactly in Bosnia.

KOPPEL: When you say that, you seem to be suggesting--you're doing more than suggesting, you are saying flat out that they would fight the NATO forces.

KARADZIC: Well, anyone who may attack Serbian people, would be resisted, because people have the right to defend themselves. We would avoid any conflict that is avoidable. As a matter of fact, we didn't have any single conflict with the UNPROFOR so far, while Muslims and Croats did have. But if we are not able to avoid some conflicts, then it's going to be
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chaotic or organized defense against the aggressors.

KOPPEL: If a force--and the number that has been used is something in the neighborhood of 70,000 troops--if a force of 70,000 troops comes into Bosnia-Herzegovina for the sake of peacekeeping, for the sake of keeping the parties separate, away from one another, would that be regarded as a provocation and one that would cause Serbian resistance?

KARADZIC: Well, if they come to separate the sides to the conflict, then we should all agree, and if it is agreed by Serbian side there would be no single incident.

KOPPEL: But you have not agreed, and you have just told me that you don't think that the Bosnian Serbs will agree to the Vance-Owen agreement.

KARADZIC: Well, they can't come according to this plan because this plan is not acceptable for the SERbian people, and unless it is changed and corrected, Serbian people can't accept it.

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KOPPEL: I must say, Dr. Karadzic, you seem very casual about the embargo that the SERbian government in Belgrade is now imposing on you and your people. It can't be quite that trivial an event to you. It must have an impact.

KARADZIC: It is going to have an impact in our souls as well as in material things. This is something very, very sad. But we know that Yugoslavia is squeezed, and we know that they have to do it, but we will manage somehow.

KOPPEL: Will it move you any closer to a peace agreement?

KARADZIC: No, sir, because people ill decide about it, and if people decide to be hungry and to fight for freedom, then they will decide for themselves and nobody else will be

responsible for that. They will resist and they will survive, if they decide it.

KOPPEL: But one other option that we have not spoken about are those of air strikes against Serbian positions and also the possibility of lifting the arms embargo against Muslim
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forces. What would the reaction be to those two options?

KARADZIC: Well, air strikes would cause us casualties, but people would survive. Concerning lifting the arms embargo, the Muslims are already very well armed and if they arm themselves additionally, then Serbian people would have to arm themselves additionally, and more save fights are inevitable.

KOPPEL: But it seems to me that with the new blockade now by the Yugoslav government, the arming is going to be more difficult than it's ever been in the past.

KOPPEL: No, sir. We got more armament through Croatia than through SERbia. You can find (unintelligible) for the armament; in this world you can buy armaments anywhere.

KOPPEL: So you have no worries about getting all the arms and all the ammunition and all the fuel you need.

KARADZIC: We'll have a lot of that because the main storage in Bosnia-Herzegovina, or JNA, Yugoslav army, were here,
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and some of them are in our hands. So there will be no problem about it. All nations in Bosnia have enough armament, and if they get some sophisticated armament, then SERbs will have to buy sophisticated armaments, and that means escalation and more killing.

KOPPEL: I must say, based on this brief conversation with you, I don't see a whole lot of hope. Am I missing something?

KARADZIC: Well, you are right, sir. We are in desperate position, but the hope would be to correct the Vance-Owen plan or to have another plan that would be equally just for all three constituent nations in Bosnia or equally bad for all of them.

KOPPEL: Dr. Karadzic, thank you very much indeed. I appreciate your taking the time to talk to us.

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BC-YUGOSLAVIA-KARADZIC 1STLD (PVS NEW YORK)

KARADZIC VOWS TO COMPLY WITH U.N. ``SAFE HAVENS''

WASHINGTON, May 7, Reuter - Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said on Friday that Serbs in the former Yugoslav republic would comply with a United Nations resolution to establish ``safe areas'' in besieged Moslem cities.

Speaking to NBC television from Pale, Bosnia, Karadzic said: ``We are going to comply fully and to coordinate with the U.N. personnel according to this resolution.''

``We do think it would be better to find final political settlement, not safe havens, but...we will comply and help the realisation of this resolution,''

he told NBC's ``Today Show'' The U.N. Security Council voted on Thursday to declare ``safe areas'' around Bosnia's capital Sarajevo and five other Moslem towns besieged by Serbs.

Karadzic repeated a prediction that Bosnian Serbs would vote down a U.N.-brokered peace plan in a May 15-16 referendum.

Karadzic said the plan drawn up by mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen to divide Bosnia-Herzegovina into 10 provinces based on ethnicity was ``absolutely unacceptable.''

He said Owen was no longer impartial in the conflict since
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he had spoken out in favour of military intervention.

``He seems to Serbian people to be very partial taking the Bosnian side against the Serbs,''

he said. The Bosnian Serb leader said his people would suffer under a supply blockade, imposed by Serbian-led Yugoslavia after the Bosnian Serb parliament voted down the peace plan, but they would survive.

``It is going to hurt my people a lot, but we will survive,''

Karadzic said, adding that Bosnian Serbs still had ammunition and fuel reserves. He said the Bosnian Serbs could not understand why the United States was ``taking sides in this civil war'' and warned that use of air strikes to force Bosnian Serbs to end their attacks against Moslems would escalate the war.

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28 REUTERS 05-07-93 09:22 AET 28 LINES

BC-YUGOSLAVIA-BULGARIA

BULGARIA TIGHTENS SANCTIONS ON RUMP YUGOSLAVIA

SOFIA, May 7, Reuter - Bulgaria on Friday tightened economic
PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER ANOTHER REQUEST.

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26 REUTERS 05-07-93 09:12 AET 48 LINES

BC-YUGOSLAVIA-MLADIC

WEST WANTS TO ANNIHILATE US, SAYS SERB GENERAL

BELGRADE, May 7, Reuter - The hardline commander of the

Bosnian Serb army, General Ratko Mladic, made a savage assault on the West on Friday, saying it was bent on annihilating the Orthodox Christian world.

In an interview in the Belgrade newspaper Vecernje Novosti, he said the war in Bosnia could spread to the mainly Moslem Sandzak and Kosovo areas of former Yugoslavia as the West pursued what he called "its infernal plan."

Mladic was reported to have been instrumental in swinging the self-styled Bosnian Serb parliament to reject the U.N.-backed peace plan for Bosnia.

Thursday's defiant vote has increased pressure on the West to consider military action against the Bosnian Serbs to end the their 13-month civil war with Moslems and Catholic Croats.

Mladic said his address to the session was a call for reason rather than war and said a vote in favour would not have influenced Western powers or the international community to alter the peace plan.

"It is my conviction, on the basis of experience so far,
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that nothing would have changed. What is at stake is an attempt to disunite the Orthodox world, even to (the point of) complete annihilation," Mladic said.

"Regardless of what we decide, the West will continue to implement its infernal plan," he said.

The peace plan drafted by mediators Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance would require the Bosnian Serbs to withdraw from more than one third of the land they have seized in Bosnia. The republic's Moslems and Croats have already endorsed it.

Mladic said an example of the West's plan was Srebrenica, a Moslem enclave in eastern Bosnia declared a U.N. "safe area" under military protection last month after its virtual fall to Serb forces.

The Security Council declared five more Serb-besieged areas of Bosnia including the capital Sarajevo "safe areas" on Thursday.

"The West is introducing its forces (in Srebrenica) allegedly to resolve the conflict peacefully, but is actually rescuing the Moslems who have militarily been totally defeated," Mladic said.

"How it will be in the future I don't know. I think that very soon Russia will be the main target, before that Sandzak
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and Kosovo," he said.
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25 REUTERS 05-07-93 08:38 AET
BC-TEXT-GMA/PANIC

90 LINES

ABC'S GOOD MORNING AMERICA
Guest: Former Serbian president Milan Panic

May 7, 1993

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The editor of the report is Steve Ginsburg. Tim Ahmann, Eric Beech, Melissa Bland, Will Dunham, Peter Ramjug and Paul Schomer also are available to help you. If you have questions, please call 202-898-8345. For service problems call 1-800-435-0101.

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22 REUTERS 05-07-93 08:14 AET
BC-TEXT-CBS/KARADZIC

133 LINES

CBS THIS MORNING INTERVIEW

Guest: Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic

May 7, 1993

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The editor of the report is Steve Ginsburg. Tim Ahmann, Eric Beech, Melissa Bland, Will Dunham, Peter Ramjug and Paul Schomer also are available to help you. If you have questions, please call 202-898-8345. For service problems call 1-800-435-0101.

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PAULA ZAHN: Radovan Karadzic is the leader of the Serbs in Bosnia. He joins us from Pale. Good morning, sir. Thank you very much for being with us.

Even the government of Yugoslavia now says it's going

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to cut off support to Bosnia Serbs, your forces, and you virtually have no support among any nations in the world. What justification do you have to continue this war?

RADOVAN KARADZIC (Bosnian Serb leader): Well, we don't have support because of pressure. If there is no pressure in the practice of the international community, we would have support. And as a matter of fact, Chinese and Japanese people and Greek people and Russian people, Rumanian, Bulgarian and many other understand us very well and we are seeking American people to understand that we don't want anything but right for self-determination.

Q: Do you believe the U.S., along with its allies, will eventually launch air strikes against Bosnia?

KARADZIC: Well, we do count on this possibility and people are preparing to protect and to defend, but we do not understand and we do not believe that America should come here and take one side in this terrible civil war, why America would help Muslims to establish Muslim state in the Balkans, why America should not help all of us to separate and to make final
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political settlement of three constituent states for three constituent nations.

Q: When you talk about protecting and defending your territories, exactly what are you talking about doing?

KARADZIC: We have to undertake all measures necessary to protect people and territory, and these people here have the experience of good and long fights in guerrilla against the Austro-Hungary during First World War and against Hitler during Second World War. We have to protect ourselves, although we would avoid any conflict that is avoidable.

Q: After your parliament rejected the Vance-Owen peace plan, one of your military leaders was quoted as saying that if the U.S. launched air strikes, your forces would retaliate and fire missiles at Western Europe. Is that a real threat?

KARADZIC: Well, I don't know who said that. We would not like to harm any Western country. We have to protect ourselves, but how people are going to protect, nobody knows. If
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we are attacked, we may lose unified command and then local commanders may act independently because that would be very heavy fight and attack on small nation.

Q: Are you saying this morning that there will be no peace unless you can maintain control of the lands that you have seized in Bosnia?

KARADZIC: Well, we didn't siege Muslim and Croatian land. We own, in terms of private ownership and live as a majority on 64 percent of territory. We do not claim for all of 64 percent of territory, but we do claim to have territorial links between our provinces, because people do not feel safe and secure in the Muslim or Croatian surrounding.

What we demand is quite understandable and can be justified.

Q: Dr. Karadzic, you, as you know, have been reported to say that you would quit if the self-styled Bosnian Serb parliament would reject the peace plan. Are you going to make good and step down?

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KARADZIC: Well, I offered them the representatives and they said we don't reject and don't accept this plan. Simply we can't take that responsibility, so we convey to the people to decide. So they didn't reject the plan. They just want people to decide because it's too much responsibility on this decision.

Q: So you will continue to stay in control of the Bosnian Serbs. You will not step down, even though the peace plan was rejected.

KARADZIC: Yes. If they want me, I will resign any time, but they didn't reject the plan. They want people to decide on the referendum. That's a quite democratic means. And we should be supported by the international community.

Q: You know that a lot of people are accusing you of using a delaying tactic by going ahead and asking for this referendum. What assurances can you give the rest of the world that this vote that will take place among Bosnian Serbs on May 15 and 16 will, in fact, be a fair vote?

KARADZIC: I invite the monitors from all over the
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world to see and to monitor this referendum. We do not need any delaying tactics because I will tell you, we are not going to take any single step of Bosnian territory. We only defend ourselves and we will not only make any counter-offensive. We do not fight almost. We are almost quiet. Muslims and Croats who signed this plan are fighting savagely every day. So it says that this plan is not viable and this plan should be changed.

Q: Dr. Karadzic, thank you so much for joining us this morning.

KARADZIC: Thank you for the opportunity.

END INTERVIEW

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The Reuter Transcript Report

Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic interview (CBS This Morning)

May 7, 1993

REUTER

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20 REUTERS 05-07-93 08:12 AET

153 LINES

BC-TEXT-TODAY/KARADZIC

NBC TODAY SHOW INTERVIEW

Guest: Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic

May 7, 1993

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The editor of the report is Steve Ginsburg. Tim Ahmann, Eric Beech, Melissa Bland, Will Dunham, Peter Ramjug and Paul Schomer also are available to help you. If you have questions, please call 202-898-8345. For service problems call 1-800-435-0101.

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BRYANT GUMBEL: Although the U.N. peace accord is slated to be put to a referendum a week from Saturday, it's given little, if any, chance of passage. The leader of the
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Bosnian Serbs, Radovan Karadzic, gives it no chance at all. He's in Pale, Yugoslavia this morning. Good morning, sir.

RADOVAN KARADZIC (Bosnian Serb leader): Good morning.

Q: In an interview last night you said the referendum had no chance of passage. Why not?

KARADZIC: Because those maps are absolutely unacceptable for the Serbian people. Not only that they are pushing our people into misery, in terms of economy, not only it takes out of us one-third of Serbian territory, but because one-half of Serbian population would live under Muslim operation and control and other half would live in Nagorno-Karabakh's many enclaves that would be cause of permanent destability and tension in this area. Serbian people are scared to accept it and they can't accept maps unless they are corrected.

Q: But those maps were acceptable to you as recently as last weekend, and on Monday you told us that you were hopeful the maps could be redrawn while the peace was being implemented.

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KARADZIC: Well, we had some hopes that new explanations would make us able to correct the maps, but unfortunately it was said that no changes in the maps. Unconditional acceptance of these maps would be suicide for the Serbian population in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Q: We understand that Lord Owen is en route to your country but has no intention of reopening negotiations. Is there anything he might say or do to satisfy those who now oppose the agreement?

KARADZIC: Well, not really. Lord Owen is not impartial any longer. He is claiming for some time for military intervention and Serbian people do not believe that Lord Owen can be impartial any longer. What he can do is to identify what's Serbian territory in Bosnia and to allow Serbs to enjoy their own territory. Otherwise they would not vote for that nap. That maps are absolutely unjust and impossible for the Serbian people.

Q: Are you saying that you no longer view Lord Owen as a credible broker of peace in the region?
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KARADZIC: Well, not credible but he seems to Serbian people to be very partial, taking the Muslim and Croatian side against the Serbs.

Q: In response to the actions of this week, President Milosevic, as you well know, has cut off all aid with the exception of humanitarian aid to your people and your region. How much is that going to hurt your people and your war effort?

KARADZIC: Well, it is going to hurt my people a lot, but we will survive. We have our own economy and we have survived four years of guerilla war against the Hitler without any help from abroad. So we will survive and we'll do our own way.

Q: How long can your troops fight on without being resupplied?

KARADZIC: Well, we have our own reserves and we do not make any offensive actions so we do not need too many ammunition, and we produce some and we have big storages of
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Yugoslav army remained in Bosnia. There will be no problem, although it hurts us a lot in our souls that Serbia has turned their back to us and that's something that we didn't expect, but we understand that they had to do it.

Q: How are you viewing the latest U.N. resolution, declaring six cities as safe havens? Have you any intention of abiding by that resolution?

KARADZIC: Well, we are going to comply fully and to coordinate with the U.N. personnel according to this resolution. We do think that it was much better if we find final political settlement, not to make safe havens. But if it is passed in Security Council, we will comply and help the realization of this resolution.

Q: It's been reported that many of your people, including those in your armed forces, are openly mocking the threat of Western action, that many think Western force will never really be used. They're saying that if they had any intention of ever using it, they would have done so by now. What do you think?

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KARADZIC: Well, I read some article from Italian press that said that the war is big business for Western countries and there may be war, whatever Serbian side do in Bosnia. I do believe that there can be (unintelligible) intervention and our people is aware of that and they are preparing to defend themselves and to survive, although I do hope that nobody will come here and take side in this civil war. We don't understand why America should take Muslim side against the Serbs, since it is civil war.

There's a confusion in America, as if we came from Serbia to conquer Bosnia, but that is not the case. We live in Bosnia for centuries as the oldest population here, and we would like America to help all of us to find a solution.

Anyway, we would like America to support our right for self-determination. That's something that we have to be recognized, like Slovenia and Croats.

Q: In this country U.S. air strikes are being debated. What effect, if any, do you think those strikes would have on the war?

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KARADZIC: That will be an escalation and that would be also very bad, but we would survive. We have to be prepared for any possibility. Although we still don't understand why America would punish Serbs and help Muslims. Nobody here don't understand it because we have hoped that America will help us to achieve democracy after 45 years of communist dictatorship. We have been always having friendly feelings and hopes towards America. Now America is threatening us and we don't understand why.

Q: Radovan Karadzic, thank you very much, sir.

END TRANSCRIPT

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The Reuter Transcript Report

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic interview (Today Show)

May 7, 1993

REUTER

LETTERS

Speaking for Serbia

Sir: Noel Malcolm has recourse to abuse to eke out a weak case (Letters, 1 May). I am allegedly silly; yet in light of my warnings from the mid-Eighties onwards that the hurried break-up of Yugoslavia, *a fortiori* along the line of Tito's anti-Serb borders, would generate self-perpetuating bloodshed and refugee flows, surely 'tis folly to be wise along Malcolm's Serbophobe lines. He argues by syllogism that since Chamberlain's reminder in 1938 of the truth that Czechoslovakia was indeed an artificial construction was a prelude to Munich, it is wrong to say the same about the EEC's (read: Germany's!) creation, the Bosnian state. But truth is truth. Neither Czechoslovakia nor Yugoslavia should have been created in the first place; but their destruction by Germany, in 1938 in the one case, and in 1938 and 1991 in the other, made things much much worse. So indeed has Lord Owen's division of Bosnia into ten parts, a plan which launched a thousand missiles.

In 1991, 11 out of 12 EEC governments favoured keeping Yugoslavia together, and were ready to give aid and trade facilities to that end. Germany opposed this and instead pushed towards break-up and the establishment of unviable states, which Lord Carrington warned would be a recipe for war. But Germany had its way for reasons which had nothing to do with the merits of the case. Mr Malcolm would go on fighting this war till Serbia is supine and partitioned, large numbers of people die in the process, and the seeds of world war three are sown. Could that conceivably be wisdom?

Sir Alfred Sherman

14 Malvern Court,
Onslow Square,
London SW7

The
Spectator
May 8 1993

The Times May 7, 1993

British MPs wary of military option

By PETER RIDDELL, POLITICAL EDITOR

MINIMALISM is still the prevailing mood in London. If, or now perhaps when, military action is taken against the Bosnian Serbs, any British participation will be only with serious reservations. It will be primarily in order to maintain the unity of the international community and to avoid breaches in the transatlantic alliance rather than because of any belief that the use of force will halt the Bosnian war.

Anyone listening to the public comments of ministers or exchanges in the Commons yesterday will have detected hardly any enthusiasm for the options which Warren Christopher, the American Secretary of State, has been discussing this week with European leaders. Even yesterday the government was still looking to President Milosevic of Serbia to put pressure on the Bosnian Serbs

rather than to military action. The British hope is that the gap between the Belgrade regime and the Bosnian Serbs can be exploited, and that the Serbian president can be persuaded to use his leverage by closing the border, cutting off supplies of weapons and other equipment and apply other



pressure. The fear in London is that precipitate military action might bring Belgrade and the Bosnian Serbs back together without stopping the fighting.

Douglas Hogg, the Foreign Office minister, underlined Britain's continuing strong opposition to any relaxation of the arms embargo on the Bosnian Muslims and, its doubts, somewhat less strongly expressed, about limited air

attacks. These are balanced by worries about the appearance of disunity between Washington and European capitals. It remains the rule that private impatience with America must never affect public policy.

The one option absolutely excluded by ministers is the commitment of ground troops to end the fighting, as opposed to policing an agreement reached by the parties over the Vance-Owen plan. There is, however, the dangerous grey area of defending any "safe havens".

What is clear is the continuing apprehension among Conservative MPs about any steps which would endanger the British troops now involved in the humanitarian effort. There are few hawks on the Tory benches and it is significant that the leading defence specialists are almost all doves. Several believe that

the British contingent should be withdrawn if air attacks are ordered. With only a few exceptions on the Labour left, the opposition's line is more hawkish than the government's solely in urging that the United Nations should threaten air attacks as part of an ultimatum.

The government is near what Douglas Hurd, the foreign secretary, has called "a fork in the road". It has to decide how far to go along with American pressure for military action despite its own doubts shared by key allies, such as France and the worries of its own supporters. British policy is being shifted by American pressure and by the deteriorating situation in Bosnia, beyond what ministers were railing out only two or three weeks ago. But there is no enthusiasm for the likely new approach.

The Daily Telegraph

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TRAFFORD PARK MANCHESTER M17 1SL TEL: 061 872 5939

May 7, 1995

On the Serbian rack

THE BOSNIAN Serbs have given another twist to the rack on which they are tormenting the Western allies. By rejecting the Vance-Owen peace plan, their parliament has called the West's bluff. Though not convinced that President Milosevic could dictate a settlement to the Bosnian Serbs, the allies cherished hopes that his voice would be decisive, as it had proved before, over Croatia. Mr Milosevic's failure this time, stems partly from the fact that the Serbs have not yet fulfilled their territorial ambitions in Bosnia-Herzegovina; and partly also from their belief, born of months of Western hawing, that the world lacks the will to stop them.

Whatever the precise motives for their defiance, it confronts the allies with an agonising decision. Should they await the referendum which the Bosnian Serbs have called in 10 days' time? Should they intensify the pressure on Mr Milosevic, demanding even stronger measures than those he has already announced to halt military support from Serbia? Or should they begin immediately to bomb Serbian supply lines and artillery positions?

The first option can be dismissed out of hand. The Bosnian Serbs are again playing for time. Even if they were not, the West could hardly endorse a referendum in territory subject to ethnic cleansing by terror. Keeping Mr Milosevic up to the mark in applying the embargo he announced last night might seem more promising. The leadership in Belgrade has apparently concluded that further defiance of the West over Bosnia will prove counter-productive. However, placing too much reliance on the Serbian president to deliver the goods would reflect Western desperation. It is unclear whether he is genuinely at odds with the Bosnian Serbs, or whether they are secretly colluding to frustrate Western policy-makers. There remain anyway the practical difficulties of imposing an effective arms embargo in wooded and mountainous terrain. Finally, Mr

Milosevic remains under pressure from his own extremists. The Vance-Owen plan, after all, requires the Bosnian Serbs to give up about 30 per cent of the land they have conquered. It is difficult not to conclude that relying on the Milosevic option reflects wishful thinking.

Which brings us back to military intervention: We have now reached a position in which Western governments, by their rhetoric, have exposed themselves to humiliation by a ragbag of Serb politicians and their murderous henchmen. We remain opposed to the favoured American option, providing arms for the Muslims and Croats. This might salve Western consciences, but it could intensify the conflict and provoke its extension into a wholesale Balkan war. Its only merit is that it would keep Western forces out of combat. Any Western action, including lifting the arms embargo, is likely to mean a halt to humanitarian aid operations.

The open defiance by the Bosnian Serbs of warnings from Washington, London and Paris invites the brutal question: can the West any longer afford not to respond to Serb behaviour with a demonstration of force? We return to the question we have always asked: do we believe that Western military operations can be undertaken in Bosnia with definable and attainable objectives, at tolerable cost, with the likelihood of bringing lasting benefit to the suffering innocents on the ground? Our answer a week ago was "no". It remains "no" today. All that has changed in the past week is that feverish Western diplomacy has raised the profile of Western embarrassment and Western impotence.

There should be no military gestures in Bosnia, and all-out military commitment remains a daunting proposition that could create an unwelcome precedent. As Anthony Eden and the British people learnt in 1956, embarrassment can be preferable to dramatic but unsustainable action.

The Guardian: COMMENT

119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER
Friday May 7 1993

Bad news with a few good chances

THE SERBIAN NO from Bosnia is gloomy and thunderous, but it may yet clear the air. It comes from a group which has defied the advice of two leaders, of Serbia and Greece, as well as its own increasingly flimsy chieftain. It is isolated. The line-up of those for and against the Vance-Owen Plan may not be morally very palatable but it could be an important new political reality. Lord Owen, at the pit-head face of black realism, put things very simply yesterday. The world is now relying on President Slobodan Milosevic to bring peace to Bosnia. Last night he seemed to be delivering deeds as well as hot words.

The judgment on how the world has reached such a sorry position will be made over and again. It is a miserable story. But the irony of relying on Mr Milosevic, the prime mover and chief architect of ethnic tension in former Yugoslavia, should not be over-stressed. He is the leader of a country against which extensive sanctions have been applied over the past year, and most recently stepped up, with the aim of inducing different behaviour. If he now behaves differently as a consequence of international action, we may well throw up our hands in a brief moment of horrified realisation. But that

was the *whole purpose* of sanctions. They're working. If Mr Milosevic is to be corralled within constraints which he previously rejected, cutting supplies that previously flowed, that may also be good news for the Kosovans and others who feature in the Greater Serbian design.

The "twin track" approach now being adopted still covers a significant difference of emphasis between President Clinton and the European governments. Guided by Lord Owen, Europe is placing all its diplomatic bets on the strategy of persuading Mr Milosevic to close the borders, or at least seal off supplies from Bosnian Serbia. The picture of unarmed UN monitors being protected by Mr Milosevic's police from Bosnian Serb marauders is bizarre — but not now completely implausible. It would probably also require more permanent guarantees from Belgrade and the replacement of its most extreme military voices before sanctions could be eased.

Is this supping with the devil? Let those who have a better idea speak now. Mr Clinton's moral outrage is fine enough, but we have long been outraged. Perhaps the uncertainty of the US loose cannon has some effect on some Bosnian Serbs. But the balance is with the disreputable Radovan Karadzic, whose point has been made by almost every observer — and now Lord Owen. Armed intervention in Bosnia would probably lead to bloody martyrdom by the Bosnian Serbs bringing many more deaths to others as well.

Within Bosnia itself, the UN must not wait on others. General Morillon should be encouraged to make another strong personal intervention if access to Zepa is denied. The Belgian officer who said yesterday that the UN stop "applying for permission" to do its job was absolutely right. And even without acceptance of Vance-Owen, a crucial truth bears more repetition. The UN needs more peace-keepers on the spot. Now.

live out in the shires, whereas it's all so concentrated here, there's so much history and it doesn't take much to bring it out.' I made a silent vow that if Britain failed to ratify Maastricht and subsequently became involved in a war with either France or Germany, then I would concede that the ambassador had a point.

Whether he is right or wrong, the real reason for the American government's sudden threat to use military force to make the Serbs sign peace terms in Athens was not grand State Department strategy à la Scitz but simply the television pictures of children being blown to bits in Srebrenica. Isn't it CNN which has dictated policy? Scitz sighed deeply, sending cigarette smoke — something banned in the Clintons' politically correct White House — billowing across the room. 'Well, of course, there is some truth in that. People watching wars on television in real time is a new aspect of international affairs whose implications we don't yet appreciate. America being America, we already have a name for it. It's called "the CNN curve". It measures the amount of television exposure and the pressure it produces on government.

'Television sets the agenda, leading to the editorial pieces, leading to the congressman going back to his constituency and the people saying to him, "How the hell can you let this go on?"; so the congressman steams back to Washington, and that's how an issue is made. But it's arbitrary. There's a great outcry about Bosnia, but not about Angola, for example. Perhaps it's because people are white in Bosnia.'

Whatever the reason for the American people's focus on Bosnia, it has led the United States government to the verge of bombing the Serbian aggressor, and it may yet come to that if the Bosnian Serbs do not observe the Vance-Owen peace plan. The American military seems divided, very publicly, on the feasibility of so-called 'surgical strikes'. General Colin Powell has ridiculed them; General McPeak, the Chief of Staff of the US Air Force, has extolled them. Ambassador Scitz seems to side with the air force militarily, if not politically.

'Yes, there is such a thing as a surgical strike. What is the probability of our planes being able to hit this Serbian artillery emplacement, that Serbian ammunition dump, those bridges? It is a very high probability at a very low risk. If you ask our air force to take out the bridges across the Drina river, yes, we can do that, and the collateral damage, as it's called, will be minimal. But [and here the ambassador took over from bomber command] that is utterly devoid of political content. What is the purpose? And then what do you do if it doesn't achieve that purpose? Vietnam taught us not that bombing doesn't work, but that it is not enough on its own.'

Ah, Vietnam; the shiver that runs down the spine of every American over 40. And so I had to ask Ambassador Scitz as I left Grosvenor Square. 'Isn't it weird that America might be asked to take military action in Bosnia by a commander-in-chief who 25 years ago demonstrated outside

this very building against American involvement in Vietnam?'

'It has a poetic balance. But it's not germane.' The ambassador took a final pull at his best Virginia. 'I wasn't particularly happy with Vietnam, and I'm sitting here in Grosvenor Square.'

'BOSNIA IS EUROPE'S PROBLEM'

Dominic Lawson meets the American Ambassador, and receives a barrage of home truths from abroad

THE FLAG behind the chair of the Ambassador of the United States of America to the Court of St James's is not the Stars and Stripes. Seeing my confusion, Raymond Seitz, who last month was reappointed ambassador by the Clinton administration despite the unprecedented support of the British political establishment, laughed quietly.

'You're wondering, "Where am I? What country is this?"' The flag, he explained, was that of the 26th Infantry Regiment of the First Division of the US Army. 'We call it "The Big Red One". It's one of our finest regiments.' It also happened to be the one commanded by General John Seitz during the second world war. The general's son ran his hand across the flag as he pointed out streamers attached to it, with the names of famous battles. 'My father made his preparations in England for the Normandy landing at Omaha Beach. Eventually he met up with the Soviet army on the Elbe.' On closer inspection, one could see that the pole supporting the flag was studded with the general's medals.

The point of this, I think, is that although Ambassador Seitz is a Yale man and State Department backroom boy of long standing — working closely with both Henry Kissinger and George Shultz — he also has a vivid personal idea of the risks about to be endured by the US military as they prepare to keep the peace in Bosnia.

Did the general's son think that solving the problem of Bosnia justified the loss of a single American soldier?

'It's hard to say. There are strategic aspects to it: the need to avoid the conflict widening to a Balkan war, for example. But that would be extremely difficult to explain to the bereaved parents of some kid from Montana or Kentucky.'

Yet if the Vance-Owen plan is put into operation, the US will be expected to contribute about 25,000 men to the UN peace-keeping force. I reminded Seitz of the last time America took the dominant role in clearing up a civil war: the Lebanon, where 241 US Marines were blown up by a single bomb.

'You can never rule out something like that happening again. Nobody is minimis-

ing the risks. But first, before we even start to send in any troops, we had better be damned sure that the Athens agreement is a genuine peace, rather than another one of the illusions which has characterised the negotiations in this conflict.'

Seitz was talking to me the day after the Athens agreement. But in America there was already gloomy morning-after speculation that the implementation of the Vance-Owen plan would lead to American soldiers being bogged down for a decade



keeping the peace in Bosnia. Their man in London — naturally enough — doesn't buy that.

'It's not in our mind that we would be there for a long time. We are prepared for the effort, but if after a year or 18 months we are still there, it will mean that the settlement has broken down. If after a year or 18 months we still have a large-scale military presence, then it means things have gone wrong.'

'But you won't know till you get there.'

'That's exactly the risk. But the United States has no intention of allowing Bosnia to become our problem. Bosnia is

Europe's problem, and we are going to keep that firmly in mind at all times. We can't rule out a terrible outcome to this effort, but if it turned out that way, it's not just us who'll be in the soup. Everybody will be in the soup.'

Like most Americans, Seitz appears to see the problems in the former Yugoslavia not as an aberration, but as something quintessentially European, and a reminder to many of his countrymen of just why their ancestors left the old continent for the new. 'You must recognise that there may be some contagion here, that Europe has got a long and unhappy history of this sort of thing, and that in many respects the horror in Bosnia is a mirror held up to Europe's soul.'

In which case why should 20th-century America get involved in 19th-century Europe? The answer, although the diplomat will not state it baldly, is that 'Europe' failed abysmally to handle the problem on its own. As Seitz recalls, painstakingly going over recent history, 'At the outset we were hesitant to get involved... there was indeed a strong attitude on all sides that this was something that Europe can and should deal with, and in fact Europe, in the headiness of Maastricht, grabbed it, and said, "Yes, this is European, being dealt with at a European level, and, by God, we've reached a new level of maturity, and we are talking about a common foreign and security policy, so we'd rather handle this" and we tended to say "OK". But if you look at the efforts of the European Community to deal with this issue, with what we regarded as the precipitate recognition [of Croatia and Slovenia], that in many respects pushed us all over a cliff; but at the same time we failed to recognise Macedonia because of the Greek veto. It was not... [the ambassador searched for the diplomatic *mot juste*]... distinguished. So there is a belief in Washington, much of it unfair, some of it not, that Europe failed.'

What failed, in fact, was not 'Europe', but the great ideal of a common European foreign policy, the hallmark of the European federalists. And given that in the past there has been no more avid supporter of moves towards European integration than the United States, didn't the ambassador think that American nudges in this direction, particularly in the British rib-cage, were a great mistake?

'No. My personal conclusion is that Bosnia reminds everyone that Europe has long suffered an intensity of nationalism that periodically has brought it to grief, and that therefore institutions which tend to attenuate nationalism are good to have around.'

'So would an institution which tended to attenuate American nationalism be a good thing?'

'Well, we don't have that much of a record in going to war with our neighbours. Because we don't have many neighbours. We're a suburban country, you know, we

tion Desert Storm had to be sold to the nation, by a confident commander-in-chief comfortable in sending his troops to battle, and by a Pentagon command united behind a clear military objective. Who can forget General Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, explaining what he was going to do to Saddam Hussein's army: 'First we're going to cut it off, then we're going to kill it.' In the past few weeks, it seems, America's generals have spoken only to contradict each other.

General Powell has maintained a rather sullen silence since his last detailed analysis of the military options in the Balkans last autumn, when he was moved to criticise Lady Thatcher's demand for limited offensive military action.

'As soon as they tell me it is limited, it means they do not care whether you achieve a result or not. As soon as you tell me surgical, I head for the bunker,' the general said last September. Since then he has maintained his opposition to any offensive military options, and has not tried to disguise his misgivings about the possibility of multilateral peacekeeping efforts.

Foreign policy debate in the United States tends to be an élite affair, but the Bosnian problem has been almost entirely confined to the editorial pages and the Washington think-tanks. Only the pundits believe that this is an American, rather than a European, problem.

In this respect William Safire of the *New York Times* surpassed himself on Monday as he celebrated the spectacle of the Serbs bucking under Uncle Sam's boot. His was a magisterial column, headlined 'What took us so long?' 'Forget talk of Europeans "approving" air strikes while vetoing the US plan to arm the Bosnians if the Serbs don't stop killing them,' Safire thundered. 'The European leaders have taken as their symbol a herd of sheep huddling under the wing of a superpower eagle.'

On the editorial page of the *New York Times*, Mr Clinton has been transformed miraculously from student peacenik to a principled crusader. The trouble is that few in the Pentagon share that view, and that in the country, fewer still see the Balkans as the appropriate setting for an American crusade.

Mr Clinton's Balkan policy developed last year essentially as a campaign strategy to neutralise George Bush's foreign policy experience. Being 'tough' on foreign policy — tougher even than the hero of Desert Storm — was part of Mr Clinton's political reinvention as a 'new type of Democrat', a hawk in the tradition of Lyndon Johnson rather than a Michael Dukakis or a Jimmy Carter.

Foreign policy only rarely surfaced as a campaign issue, but Mr Clinton did call upon Mr Bush to show 'real leadership' in the Balkans. A full nine months ago, he suggested: 'We may have to use military force. I would begin with air power against the Serbs to try to restore the basic condi-

tions of humanity.'

Mr Bush chose a magnificently inappropriate occasion to respond to the challenger's 'recklessness', a campaign rally in a Michigan biscuit factory. 'The American people need to know that the man who answers the phone has the experience, the seasoning, the guts, to do the right thing,' he replied from a platform festooned with boxes of wafers and Rice Krispie bars.

But the Clinton strategy succeeded at least in establishing a *cordon sanitaire* of new Democrat conservatism around the ticket, and rebut any charges that he was somehow 'soft on defence'. Once in office, however, Mr Clinton appointed as Secretary of State Warren Christopher, an old Carter hand and former deputy to Cyrus Vance, who had shown himself instinctively opposed to the use of force.

Bosnia was — is — the last thing Mr Clinton wanted to think about in his first three months in the White House. But the issue would not go away, especially when David Owen and Cyrus Vance came to Washington and pronounced their plan to be 'the only show in town'.

Many in the Clinton administration, especially Vice-President Al Gore, never liked the Vance-Owen plan on moral grounds. The Pentagon worried about implementation, and fretted that 75,000 troops would not suffice to hold the existing Bosnian boundaries, never mind win back the stolen territory.

Now Mr Clinton is in a bind. By shaming Europe into taking a stand which appears to have impressed the Bosnian Serbs enough for them to seek compromise, he

has made possible the implementation of a settlement he instinctively distrusts.

Congress will need to be consulted, and probably to vote, on authorising so large a deployment of American troops. Many on Capitol Hill fail to see why American boys should do what the Bosnian Defence Force might be able to achieve with guns and US air cover. The administration probably shares this view. Unfortunately it is anathema to the European leaders, whose veto Clinton has observed.

For the military, it is an operation without the potential of glory, and with the possibility of disaster along the way. American or European ground troops may not face Lebanese suicide bombers. But keeping the peace in Bosnia is simultaneously boring and dangerously unpredictable.

Mr Clinton has succeeded in defining the appropriate moral argument in favour of stopping what he has called a 'mass, deliberate, systematic extermination' of civilians. But thus far he has not even tried to define a US strategic interest in the Balkans. There will come a time when Americans demand to know what that is.

Stephen Robinson is Washington bureau chief of the Daily Telegraph.

THE PEACEKEEPING THAT PASSETH UNDERSTANDING

Stephen Robinson argues that the American people have yet to be given a good reason why they should be militarily involved in Bosnia

Washington
JUST AFTER dawn on 23 October 1983, a Muslim fanatic drove a lorry loaded with high explosives through the fence at the temporary US Marine barracks near Beirut airport.

The explosion reduced the four-storey building to a heap of shattered cement, killing scores of Marines outright, and burying dozens more under rubble. When the last of the bodies had been retrieved, the death toll had climbed to 241 men. More American servicemen died on that day than in any single operation during the Vietnam war.

The talk on both sides of the Atlantic this week has been of a Balkan quagmire, but in many respects Bosnia is less like Vietnam, more like Lebanon. Ronald Reagan had committed a contingent of US Marines to Beirut as part of a joint multinational force to act as a buffer while PLO guerrillas withdrew from Lebanon. That much is almost forgotten, but the famous photograph showing Ronald and Nancy Reagan standing in front of a pitifully long row of flag-draped coffins, their faces wracked in uncomprehending despair, is not.

The national revulsion was acute, not so much because these Marines had died so violently, but because they died so pointlessly, not for their country, but for 'a process'.

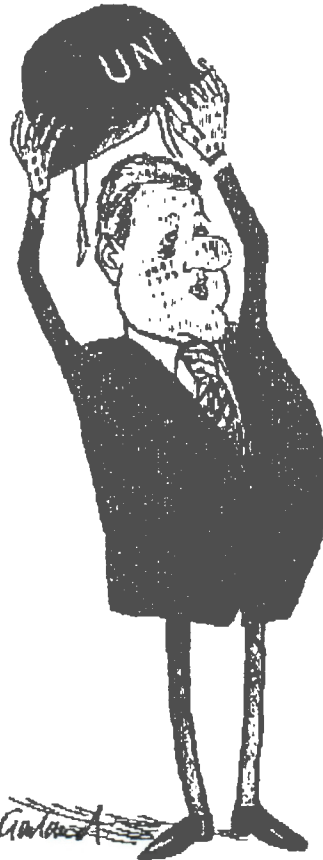
Not even the Great Communicator could adequately explain during a sombre televised address to the nation why the Marines had been there: 'The multinational force was created to help stabilise the situation in Lebanon until a government could be established and the Lebanese army mobilised to restore Lebanese sovereignty over its own soil as the foreign forces withdraw.'

Change Lebanon to Bosnia in that sentence, and this all begins to sound uncomfortably familiar. On Monday, Bill Clinton indicated he would provide ground troops to the Balkans as part of the American contribution to the implementation of the Vance-Owen plan. Nato commanders suggest the American commitment could be as

many as 20,000 troops, or roughly one quarter of the likely force.

Mr Clinton appears to have succeeded, where European leaders have failed, in making the Bosnian Serbs fear western resolve. But there remains the problem of selling the peacekeeping plan to Americans.

I drove through three Southern states



last week and it was immediately clear there no enthusiasm for a Balkan adventure, either through air strikes, or as part of a peace keeping force. I visited an American Legion post in Mississippi to see how military veterans viewed the prospect of American intervention.

The last time I was inside an American Legion post, in the Pennsylvania rust belt, was in the final weeks before the Gulf war. The view among the regular drinkers in the bar then was unanimously in favour of action: the time, as one Vietnam vet put it to wild guffaws of approval, was right for 'kicking Ay-rab ass'.

The contrast last week could not have been more complete. Perhaps it does not help that the victims in Bosnia are Muslims. Mr Clinton's manifest shortcomings as a commander-in-chief, especially compared to George Bush, who was shot down as a young navy pilot in the Pacific in the second world war, do not help either. Nor does his bungled effort to lift the ban on homosexuals serving in the military, a move that has united serving officers and veterans in opposition.

But it is not that those veterans, or indeed Americans at large, are refusing to rise to the challenge confronting the world's only superpower. It is that no one knows what is demanded of them, that the political or military objectives remain undefined.

In the Legion bar in Mississippi, one of the most unabashedly conservative and patriotic parts of the country, not one voice was raised in support of an effort to stop ethnic cleansing. 'If you want to stop rape and pillage, you don't have to go all the way to Yugoslavia,' one retired Marine rebuked me. 'Just drive up the road to Memphis — go and look at the rape and pillage there.' He had a point. No fewer than 198 people were murdered last year in Memphis, a city of only 600,000 people.

Americans are upset by the television pictures from Bosnia, appalled and astonished that European governments have done nothing to stop the war. (One of the lesser noted consequences of the Bosnian war has been a change in Americans' generally favourable impression of the ideal of European union.) They are staggered by western Europe's inaction, but they do not see it as America's problem.

Opinion polls have shown consistently that Americans reject military involvement in Bosnia by more than two to one. Opera-