

# The BOSNIAN-SERBS

NEWS RELEASE NEWS RELEASE NEWS RELEASE

*From: Dr Radovan Karadzic, Leader of the Bosnian-Serbs*

Embargo: FOR RELEASE WEDNESDAY, 30 SEPTEMBER 1992

## US HYSTERIA OVER BOSNIA IS ILL INFORMED

Whilst the serious work to deal with the problems of the Bosnia-Herzegovina civil-war are being dealt with by international agencies and the leaders of all main factions, the US political and media empires have become hysterical in their approach to a problem that neither understands.

Dr Radovan Karadzic, Leader of the Bosnian-Serbs said:

*"President Bush is being poorly advised, one gets the impression that those around him want to hide the real facts and heat up the Bosnian political tempo to serve narrow domestic political aims. This is very negative and will further distance the US from the active and constructive work that is being done by the UN and EC, both of whom have a Balkan policy."*

Responding to today's International Herald Tribune Reports, Dr Nikola Koljevic, Deputy Leader of the Bosnian-Serbs said:

*"Today's International Herald Tribune front page article 'Serbs Stop Up Cleansing of Muslims' was an outrageous fabrication, which must draw into question the newspaper's credibility as a source of accurate reporting."*

Referring to the International Herald Tribune Article, the Bosnian-serbs have pointed out that reports of huge numbers of fleeing Muslim, 3,500 on Saturday alone are a combination of sensation and invention. On Saturday for example there were no convoys, rendering this claim totally false.

All ICRC refugee convoys are escorted by Bosnian-Serb military personal and often have to fend off Muslim ambush. The convoy from Trnopolje was a recent example where en route for Karlovac there were two explosions, with no casualties, caused by a few extreme muslim commandos."

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# The BOSNIAN-SERBS

NEWS RELEASE

NEWS RELEASE NEWS RELEASE

From: Dr Radovan Karadzic, Leader of the Bosnian-Serbs

Embargo: Immediate Thursday 1 October 1992

## BOSNIAN SERBS: THE TERROR CONTINUES

According to reliable information from *Bihac*, the persecution of Bosnian-Serb civilians at the hands of Muslim extremists has been increasing and is becoming systematic.

Representatives of the ICRC, who asked to remain anonymous, have informed military authorities in *Drvar* that they have seen several dozens corpses of men, women and children in the streets of *Bihac*.

According to one member of ICRC delegation many of the victims were carrying a Serb insignia sewn onto their left sleeves as a form of ethnic identification.

The same ICRC individual said that the Red Cross had found four severed male heads impaled on poles, fixed to the bridge on the river *Una* near *Plitvicka Jezera*.

The severed heads were removed from the bridge after protest and intervention from the ICRC delegation.

The Bosnian-Serb authorities are to make a formal request, in support of one from the civilian authorities in *Ripac*, that the UNPROFOR representative and the ICRC representative from *Bihac* and *Knin* organise the evacuation of the remaining Serbs from *Bihac*, now described as a concentration camp town.

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02/10 '92 14:36

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# The BOSNIAN-SERBS

NEWS RELEASE NEWS RELEASE NEWS RELEASE

*From: Dr Radovan Karadzic, Leader of the Bosnian-Serbs*

Embargo: FOR RELEASE FRIDAY, 2 OCTOBER 1992

## BOSNIAN-SERB WOMEN RAPED BY MUSLIM SOLDIERS

The Bosnian-Serbs are to hand evidence of the systematic rape and an illegal detention of Bosnian-Serb women in the city of Sarajevo to the UN over the weekend.

There is clear and documented evidence that Bosnian-Serbs women have been rounded up in Sarajevo and taken to bordellos where they have been used as "entertainment" for elements of the Bosnian-Muslim military.

Dr Radovan Karadzic, Leader of the Bosnian-Serbs said:

*"Bosnian-Serb women are being tortured and forced in to bordellos against their will where they are raped day after day by elements of the Bosnian-Military."*

*"We have compiled a list of these places and will be forwarding them to the authorities for urgent action. We shall also point out that these actions are in breach of the Geneva Convention and that this abuse of the civilian population must stop."*

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# The BOSNIAN-SERBS

NEWS RELEASE NEWS RELEASE NEWS RELEASE

*From: Dr Radovan Karadzic, Leader of the Bosnian-Serbs*

Embargo: FOR RELEASE FRIDAY, 2 OCTOBER 1992

## WAR CRIMES COMMISSION A SORDID PR STUNT

The so-called "War-Crimes Commission" established by the Government of Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic is little more than a sordid public relations exercise claimed Dr Nikola Koljevic, Deputy Leader of the Bosnian-Serbs.

Speaking at the Bosnian peace talks in Geneva, Dr Koljevic said:

*"President Izetbegovic sets up a war crimes commission in the middle of a civil war, as one side fighting that war. I wonder, out of interest how many muslim atrocities his so-called commission has listed."*

*"In fact, we are reliably informed that this commission was the idea of a PR stunt man, rather than a serious humanitarian gesture."*

*"In order to test the independence and credibility of this commission, I challenge President Izetbegovic to publicly declare that his commission will seek the trial and prosecution of those Bosnian-Muslims who stage managed the bread-queue massacre, the funeral shelling and the attack on the children's bus."*

*"I suspect, however, this is just another example of the Bosnian-Muslim rump Government using its position to establish institutions which set one set of principles for one community and another set for the other. This is the core of the Bosnian problem."*

Dr Koljevic is currently in Geneva attending the Bosnian peace talks and can be reached on 010-41-22-733-9150

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# The BOSNIAN-SERBS

NEWS RELEASE NEWS RELEASE NEWS RELEASE

*From: Dr Radovan Karadzic, Leader of the Bosnian-Serbs*

Embargo: NOT FOR PUBLICATION BEFORE SATURDAY, 3 OCTOBER 1992

## BOSNIAN-SERB CIVILIANS ETHNICALLY CLEANSED

More details are emerging of a dedicated policy of 'ethnic-cleansing' being carried out against the Bosnian-Serb population at the hands of the Bosnian-Muslim army.

The recent terror of the civilian residents of Bukvik has been revealed by a 19 year old escapee, Blagoje Krajnovic, who tells of the day the Muslims came.

In his statement he says:

*"I, together with five of my neighbours spent the night in a small thinly covered wood. Throughout the night the plundering of homes in Bukvik continued, we could see the houses on fire, the sky was lit by flames, we were so close to what was going on that we could hear the cows mooing as the muslims stole them from our barns and drove them back to their own villages, the cows were obviously as afraid as us...."*

*"...I remained hidden for half an hour and then stole up the hill and saw two female bodies by the road. I recognised them, they were the bodies of Rajka and Milka Bretovacki both around 50 years of age...."*

The full text of Blagoje Krajnovic's statement is attached to this Press Release.

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**Statement by Blagoje Krajinovic, aged 19, resident of Bukvik near Brcko, Bosnia-Herzegovina.**

On Monday 14 September at around 3pm the village of *Vitanovici* was attacked, and although the Serbs were poorly armed they succeed in halting the attack after about half an hour. Although at first there was a feeling of relief this was soon dispelled when the Muslims returned with reinforcements, in particular they had two anti-aircraft machine-guns which were used with devastating effect against the village.

At such close range we had little defence against this artillery. In addition there were countless numbers of new Bosnian-Muslims soldiers who had arrived as if from nowhere. Within half an hour they had breached the Bosnian-Serb defences completely and our soldiers were forced to follow the civilian population who had left some minutes before and flee towards *Donjr Bukvik*.

I was one of the last to leave, as we departed through the back of the village the Muslim forces were already coming in through the other side, it was terrible to see the first houses in *Vitanovici* burning.

The Muslims followed us. They just went through the village burning everything they could, we had no choice, all of us, women, children and elderly people all fled to the centre of *Bukvik*. Not all of us made it. Since we fled I have not seen my parents and I have no idea where they are.

At 6 pm I saw the Serbian orthodox church completely engulfed in flames, many of those around me who watched were crying.

In the early evening the Bosnian-Serbs tried to stop the Muslim advance on *Donjr Bukvik*, our new refuge, however the darkness saved them the effort as the battle stopped anyway.

I, together with five of my neighbours, spent the night in a small thinly covered wood. Throughout the night the plundering of homes in *Bukvik* continued, we could see houses on fire and the sky was lit by flames, we were so close to what was going on that we could hear the cows mooing as the Muslims stole them from our barns and drove them back to their own villages, the cows were obviously afraid as well as us.

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Early the following I could hear women's cries, it was difficult to tell how far away they were.

After moving quietly for some time I got to a spot where peering through the bushes I could see what was going on. A hundred meters away, Muslim soldiers were dragging two women by their hair and swearing at them.

They compelled the women to call the Serbs to surrender. Screaming, the women did so. Around ten minutes later I heard three shots and the scream stopped.

I remained hidden for half an hour and then stole up the hill and saw two female bodies by the road. I recognised them, they were the bodies of *Rajka* and *Milka Bretovacki*, both around 50 years of age.

Further down the road we found the body of *Djoko Vidovic* a 70 year old man.

It seemed pointless staying there, I together with the whole group of others started moving slowly towards Bosnian-Serb territory.

I saw a fellow yesterday whom I had known only by sight before, he had also succeed in getting out of *Bukvik*, he told me that he had watched while they slaughtered his uncle. I think his name was *Puric*.



# The BOSNIAN-SERBS

NEWS RELEASE NEWS RELEASE NEWS RELEASE

*From: Dr Radovan Karadzic, Leader of the Bosnian-Serbs*

**Imbergo: NOT FOR PUBLICATION BEFORE SUNDAY, 4 OCTOBER 1992.**

## BOSNIAN-MUSLIMS GUILTY OF WAR-CRIMES

The Bosnian-Muslims are guilty of the most horrendous war crimes committed against the Bosnian-serb civilian population without fear or favour.

The crimes are now being catalogued on a daily basis and will be presented to international organisations so that those responsible can be brought to justice before international war-crimes tribunals at the earliest possible moment.

Typical examples of breaches in the Geneva Convention continue to flow in, today alone for example:

In Tarcin, 40 km from Sarajevo, the wife of Dragan Bratic committed suicide by hanging herself in a stable, the same stable in which Muslim soldiers had raped her several times.

After Mrs Bratic was accused of possessing a hidden radio-station she was taken away, interrogated and raped several times.

At the infamous grain silos in Tarcin, a young girl called Nada Samoukovic was also raped in a most brutal way.

The names of Nijaz Likovac, Muhammad Turcinovic and Mirsad Sabic will be sent to international bodies in connection with these atrocities.

The UN and ICRC will also be asked to make an urgent inspection of a Bosnian-Muslim torture centre that has been established in the village of Celebici, near Konjic. The former sports centre has been turned in to a place of torture for Bosnian-Serbs.

At this very moment 500 Bosnian-Serbs are detained. The most disturbing reports are of mothers separated from their children and threatened with death if they do not make statements condemning their husbands and families.

In Sarajevo reports suggest that the last supplies of blood ran out a few days ago and that Bosnian-Serbs are now having their blood taken by force. This is clearly a breach of internationally acceptable behaviour.

In Visoko and Zenica 600 Bosnian-Serbs are detained in camps run by Nedim Handzic, Samir Selimovic. Selimovic, whose speciality is throwing Serbs from the windows of high buildings. The principle executioner in Visoko prison is Harudin Halilovic.



# The BOSNIAN-SERBS

NEWS RELEASE NEWS RELEASE NEWS RELEASE

*From: Dr Radovan Karadzic, Leader of the Bosnian-Serbs*

Embargo: NONE FRIDAY, 2 OCTOBER 1992.

## BOSNIAN-SERBS APPEAL FOR TORTURE CAMP INSPECTION

The Bosnian-Serbs have named two centres that the Bosnian-Muslims have established as torture centres with the explicit purpose of detaining and terrorising the civilian Bosnian-Serb population.

These camps contain only Serbs and are a serious breach of the Geneva Convention. There is no attempt to stop what are undoubtedly War-Crimes from being committed.

The Bosnian-Serbs appeal to International organisations and the International Press to urgently visit the two worst camps within the next few days. This will make it impossible for the Muslim guards to mount an effective cover up of their crimes.

Three of the worst centres are the Silos in Tarchin which are run by Nijaz Likovac, Muhammad Turcinovic and Mirsad Sabic. All of these people have a file of evidence gathered against them which will be presented for consideration by future War-Crimes Tribunals.

The second centre that should be urgently visited is the former sports centre in the village of Celebici near Konjic. Here 500 Serbs are detained and tortured, including children.

In the villages of Visoko and Zenica 600 Bosnian-Serb civilians are in detention and there are regular killings carried out by Hajrudin Halilovic whose chosen method of execution is to throw prisoners from the window of a high building. The camp guards who will be reported to the ICRC and UN are Nedim Handzic, Samir Selimovic, and Hajrudin Halilovic.

It is essential that the International press gains access to these places within day to prevent further deliberate massacres of the Bosnian-Serb civilian population.

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# The BOSNIAN-SERBS

NEWS RELEASE NEWS RELEASE NEWS RELEASE

*From: Dr Radovan Karadzic, Leader of the Bosnian-Serbs*

Embargo: 00:01 Monday 5 October 1992

## BOSNIAN-SERB WILL IGNORE NO-FLY PLANS

Speaking in Geneva Dr Radovan Karadzic has said that the Bosnian-Serbs have no choice but to ignore any proposals for a blanket ban on flights in Bosnia & Hercegovina.

Dr Karadzic has also repeated that the Bosnia-Serbs will immediately withdraw from the UN and EC peace process if such a proposal is adopted by the UN or EC.

Dr Karadzic has written to the Secretary General of the United Nations outlining his objections. In his letter Dr Karadzic has said:

*"This morning saw the beginning of the newly agreed procedure for the protection of humanitarian flights into Sarajevo airport. Following negotiations we agreed that a total exclusion on flights would not be implemented and that instead UN officers would inform all parties, 24 hours in advance, of the arrival and departure times of UN flights. during those periods all air activity will cease."*

*"Having gone through lengthy negotiations and having reached agreement only a few days ago, it is astonishing that on the very day the new procedure comes into operation the original plan for total exclusion is being prepared for consideration by the Security Council."*



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*"It would be wrong to say that such a move is designed to protect humanitarian flights. It is now known that the Italian aircraft recently destroyed by a Stinger SAM was not destroyed either by air power, or more importantly by the Bosnian-Serbs."*

*"We have made it perfectly clear that a total exclusion zone for air traffic is unacceptable. It will give a strategic advantage to the Bosnian-Muslim forces, which will again be in breach of another London Conference decision on the delivery of humanitarian aid."*

*"In the event that the Security Council decides to override the negotiated agreement reached several days ago I must regretfully inform you that we will immediately withdraw from the London Conference and close our mission in Geneva."*

*"I am also obliged to inform the Conference that there is no question of our compliance with a total ban on air traffic which would leave our wounded stranded and many civilians without food supply lines."*

*"In the event that such a ban is implemented our aircraft will continue to operate normally although we will not hinder teams who wish to monitor air movements."*

*"Any attempt to halt air activity by force will be resisted. I would be obliged if Your Excellency would draw these serious implications to the attention of the Security Council."*

Dr Radovan Karadzic is currently in Geneva and can be reached on 010-41-22-733-9150.

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## LEADERS

## Reinventing Bosnia

**Possible: but only if three nations can share one state**

AS THE horror mounts in Bosnia, the last thing on most outsiders' minds is the fine detail of how a Bosnia at peace might reorganise itself. It should be one of the first. Having said no to sending troops to fight, the Europeans and Americans are left to pursue a strategy of peace. Yet they have shrouded their peace aims in fog. The conference on Yugoslavia in London next week, organised under the European Community and the United Nations, will not bring a settlement closer unless the Europeans and Americans are clear about what they can realistically achieve (see page 35). Otherwise, they risk getting lost in the Balkans without a compass.

Realistic peace aims have to start with an understanding of the kind of war this is. Its ferocity and complexity make for two common oversimplifications. One is to see in Bosnia a tragedy of revenge involving ancient feuds of churches and peoples, overlaid by score settling for atrocities in the second world war. It is being fought by rival militias formed from well-armed remnants of the Yugoslav army. What strategy there was to start with has degenerated into tit-for-tat. On this view, the best the world can do while the war burns itself out is to protect refugees and relief convoys, while preventing the fighting from spreading to Bosnia's neighbours.

The other oversimplification is to treat the war as a deliberate campaign of aggression run by former communists in Belgrade under Slobodan Milosevic, Serbia's president. Serbia brought war to Yugoslavia by fighting to prevent its sister republics—Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia—breaking away, or to prise off their Serb parts once secession was unstoppable. On this view, peace will come either when the Serbs are forced to desist, and when Mr Milosevic and his ex-communists are sent packing; or when the world, in exhaustion and impotence, puts its official seal on the Serbs' victory.

Both views are flawed. The Balkan-feud school underplays the extent to which the soldiers and politicians fighting this war have rational aims, which they are willing to bargain over. The Serb-aggression school lays too much stress on Serbia's current leaders in Belgrade. They are not the only Serb nationalists and, although they fomented war in Bosnia, they are no longer the sole key to ending it. The world's peace aims have therefore to pay closer attention to what the three Bosnian factions doing the killing—Serbs, Croats and Muslims—believe they are fighting about.

The passions of Bosnia's war are tangled. But its stakes are straightforward. As the old Yugoslavia collapsed, the Bosnian majority, almost all of it either Muslim or Croat, voted to break the link with Serbia. To escape an independent and, as they saw it, Muslim-run Bosnia, Bosnia's Serbs—perhaps a third of its population—then went to war to carve out their own statelet. So did many Croats. Here lay an old question of principle. When an aggrieved national minority is caught on the wrong side of an international boundary, is it better to move (a) the people; (b) the boundary; or (c) neither, while giving expression to minority aspirations some other way?

There are no off-the-shelf answers, only compromises



which heed the art of the possible. None of the solutions or part-solutions to this problem in Ireland, India, Cyprus and Lebanon is quite like the other. Yet some compromises are plainly better. These are ones that bring stable results, that offend the rights of the fewest people, and that do not reward wanton aggression. Sensible peacemakers will recognise that Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats now hold most of Bosnia's territory. They have also to remember that the easiest-looking peace is often neither the most just nor the most durable.

Armed with these principles, what sort of peace should the world be aiming for in Bosnia? The first job is to distinguish between external and internal solutions. The first sort means lopping off most of Bosnia's territory and giving it to Serbia or Croatia. This is what most people mean by dismemberment. The second solution involves keeping Bosnia's international borders as they are, while finding some way for Muslims, Croats and Serbs to live inside them.

The case for dismemberment—or international partition, to give it a politer name—is that although Bosnia's frontiers may be intact in the eyes of the world, it has ceased to exist as a state in command of its territory. Bosnia's peoples have lost the will to live in one country. In practice, Serb- and Croat-held swathes of Bosnia are already becoming provinces of Serbia or Croatia. Even if the world may insist, as it did in Croatia, on a theoretical "right of return" for refugees, few Muslims will want to go back to towns now run by Serbs or Croats.

#### That map

From a distance, dismemberment can sound like the only realistic answer. But look at the map. In practice, drawing lines that leave enough of Bosnia's Croats, Muslims and Serbs on the desired sides of new international frontiers is almost impossible. Maybe the Croat regions in western Herzegovina could be lopped off and added to Croatia itself, which adjoins them. But even after "ethnic cleansing", the rest of Bosnia does not break down into neatly partitionable regions. Thus the north-western "Bihac pocket", one of the few remaining areas under clear Muslim control, sits bang in the middle of land the Serbs have grabbed across northern Bosnia in order to connect Serbia to the Serb-held parts of Croatia.

Even if geography—and international law—did not argue against dismemberment, history would. The war has driven more than 1m Bosnians, mostly Muslims, from their homes. This is larger than the number of Palestinians displaced by Israel in 1948. A solution that denied them everything but the right of return to a tiny statelet around Sarajevo—surrounded by hostile Serbs and Croats—might sound like a realistic acceptance of facts drawn bloodily on the ground. Experience suggests that it could also be horribly unstable.

That is why, for now, Europeans and Americans are still right to press for an internal solution for Bosnia. This would keep its international borders, while recognising that Bosnia's short lived, unitary state is buried for good under rubble. A durable solution must involve a Bosnia partitioned somehow



## LEADERS

among Muslims, Croats and Serbs. In March all sides agreed to a new Bosnia made up of three "autonomous units". Some such plan, under which each national group would dominate one of three large regions, but from which the other groups would not be excluded, is still supported by Serbs and Croats. Only the Muslims, who have changed their minds and hanker again for an undivided state, are holding out. But they are in no position to insist. Among all the bad choices that face the peacemakers, autonomous units could be the least awful alternative. At the least, it would mean that a Muslim living in the Serb unit would be a citizen of Bosnia, not Serbia.

Is such a deal reachable? Bosnia's Serbs claim to control 70% of Bosnia and talk generously of keeping just under two thirds. Bosnian Croats hold much of the rest. For the Muslims to abandon the dream of a unitary state, the Serbs and Croats will have to be persuaded to give them back some ground. The world did not fight to protect Muslim towns, and will not fight

now to have them returned, but it has not lost all power of persuasion. Bosnia's Serbs are vulnerable to pressure from Serbs in Belgrade and they, in turn, are vulnerable to trade sanctions and international ostracism. Bosnia's Croats can be leant upon by Croats in Zagreb, who desperately need western financial help. If fighting stopped tomorrow, the Serbs would still need to convert their military victory into a lasting political one, accepted by their neighbours and by the outside world.

For this reason, the diplomats in London next week should resist the pressure for a quick settlement. The longer war goes on in Bosnia, the greater its risk of spreading. Yet a snap peace in Bosnia which caves in to the Serbs may encourage them to misbehave in Macedonia and Kosovo—while freeing weapons and soldiers for the work. In search of the right settlement, the world has showed patience with once hopeless-looking places such as Cambodia and Central America. It must show patience in the Balkans.

## Life without inflation

**Apart from tough government, stable money requires a state of mind which many people and firms have forgotten**

THE average inflation rate in the seven big industrial economies is back to its 1960s' level of 3%. This would have been hailed as a triumph a few years ago, but governments are still not content. Some of them have committed themselves to squashing inflation once and for all. Excellent: price stability would bring huge benefits. Achieving it is the task of governments and central banks; but achieving it quickly and with minimum pain will require the co-operation of individuals and firms. To reap the full reward of stable prices, they must rid themselves of bad habits picked up during decades of inflation.

In the 1930s prices in Britain were broadly the same as they had been three centuries earlier. But most people alive today cannot remember a year when prices did not rise: A 60-year-old Briton has seen prices rise 4,000% during his lifetime; his American counterpart has seen them go up by 1,000%. Over time, many people have grown fond of inflation. Annual pay rises and rising house prices make them feel good, even if they mean little in reality. Having learnt to love inflation, people must now learn to live without it.

But it takes time to forget the past and accept new realities. Firms, financial markets and consumers were slow to adjust in the other direction when inflation unexpectedly soared in the 1970s. This caused widespread distortion: negative real interest rates robbed savers and blessed debtors without either realising it; inflation misleadingly flattered company results; and higher nominal earnings dragged workers into higher tax bands without government facing up to the way this demoralised them.

Unexpected disinflation will similarly befuddle workers, managers and investors, because so many of them have adapted their ways and businesses to the assumption of ever-rising prices. After suffering big losses in the 1970s, bond investors will not bet on zero inflation until they can stub their toes on it. So long as the inflation expected by investors remains above actual inflation, real long-term interest rates will remain painfully high. That is why governments should do all they can

to improve the credibility of their anti-inflation plans. Beyond being tight-fisted over budgets, they should declare central banks independent of politicians in pursuing a statutory goal of price stability.

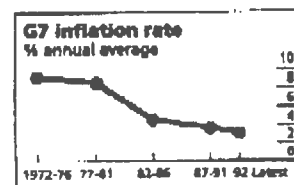
A world of zero inflation will require other changes in behaviour. In Britain, for example, rents on commercial property are prevented from falling to reconcile demand with supply by 25-year leases designed, in an inflationary era, to allow rents to move only up, never down. So a struggling shopkeeper unable to pay his rent is forced out of business, while the new shop next door pays a far lower rent on its new lease. This kind of rigidity is doing more to prolong Britain's recession than any of the allegedly malign effects of the European monetary system.

### Goodbye to all that

With inflation on its way out, companies will have to manage their affairs far more rigorously. Bosses will no longer be able to present inflation-distorted annual accounts that give their firms a deceptive gloss of health. They will have to suppress automatic annual pay rises if they hope to survive in an open-trading world. In future, the only good reason for a pay rise will be an improvement in a firm's productivity, or the particular performance of an individual. Yet, across Europe, the winning of compensation for inflation has become the basic function of trade unions. Centralised pay bargaining has been underpinned by inflation, and vice versa. They will probably have to go together if they are to go at all.

Many people came to believe, during inflationary times, that a house was the best investment you could make. Inflation eroded the real value of a mortgage, while also delivering a handsome capital gain on the house. The bigger the mortgage, the bigger the gain—or so it once foolishly seemed. In a world of price stability, credit-fuelled house-price booms will become a thing of the past. People will still buy houses to put a roof over their head, but not as a speculative investment.

When money tomorrow is expected to buy as much as it



# Cross vs. Crescent

## The Battle Lines Are Being Redrawn In Bosnia Along Old Religious Scars

By **ROGER COHEN**  
Special to The New York Times

**BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, Sept. 12** — As members of the Eastern Orthodox Church, Serbs increasingly use a religious shorthand for their enemies in the Balkan war: Islam and the Vatican. And as Serbian attacks on Muslims increase, Muslims themselves appear to be moving toward a more radical identification with their own religion.

News  
Analysis

The war that has spread in the last year from Croatia to Bosnia and Herzegovina and other parts of the Balkans began by being seen even among participants as essentially a conflict among ethnic groups that have lived in peace, if not friendship, through its recent history.

But in the last few months, new specters of ancient religious fervor are driving the ferocity of the fighting. They are accompanied by equally menacing memories and myths, which are fomenting the hatred among Muslims, Catholic Croats and Orthodox Serbs. These feelings have transformed the fighting in Bosnia into a religious conflict marked by zealotry and brutal extremism.

Religion has been a factor in dividing this region since medieval times. Indeed, the current war is being fought along the ancient divide that separated the Byzantine Empire in the east and the Roman Empire in the west. And the front line of the war in Bosnia is the same that for centuries marked the advance of Islam, through the Turkish Ottoman Empire, into the Christian Balkans.

"This is now a basically religious war," said Slavenko Terzic, a prominent Serbian historian. "On the one hand there are the Croats representing the age-old Catholic and German front of Central Europe opposed to the Orthodox Serbs whom they see as Byzantine barbarians. On the other, there is Bosnia's Muslim President Alija Izetbegovic with his vision of introducing an Islamic state into Europe."

### Serbs Take Role of Victims

This view is popular in Belgrade, the Serbian and Yugoslav capital, because it casts the Serbians in the role of victims to the new incarnations of old predatory forces in the region — Germanic expansionism, Austro-Hungarian Catholicism and Ottoman Islam.

But it represents only a partial picture in which some of the facts have been blacked out. For there is no doubt that the Serbian militiamen led by Radovan Karadzic, with their crusade for "ethnic cleansing," have done much to create the current religious polarization by tearing apart communities where people of different faiths had long lived peacefully.

Previously a highly secular group,



The New York Times

In Belgrade, the Serbian and Yugoslav capital, the Balkan conflict is seen as a religious war.

call "the green transversal" — an alleged Islamic plan of sinister scope to establish power from Bihać, south of Zagreb, all the way eastward to Albania and so, they claim, cut the Christian world in half.

"If we don't stop Islam now, fundamentalism will dominate Europe in 10 to 20 years," said one of the soldiers, Duko Kornjaca.

### An Islamic Declaration

In Belgrade, one of the most popular texts distributed by Serbs is the "Islamic Declaration" of Mr. Izetbegovic. This dates from 1970, but has only recently been distributed in the Serbian capital. The text sets out precepts for the organization of a modern Islamic state. While it has not been disavowed by Mr. Izetbegovic he has said that it does not represent a blueprint for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

For Serbs, however, it demonstrates the Islamic fanaticism they say they believe now threatens them.

One often cited passage from the declaration reads: "The media should not be allowed — as so often happens — to fall into the hands of perverted and degenerate people who then transmit

The roots go  
back to the Great  
Schism and the  
Ottoman Turks.

the aimlessness and emptiness of their own lives to others. What are we to

New York Times  
Sept 17/92

See News



the sort where mixed marriages and consumption of alcohol were not unusual, these Muslim Slavs, said one United States official, "have inevitably been turning to whomever will give them guns for survival."

As illustrated this week by the capture in Croatia of an Iranian plane in which arms and ammunition for Bosnian Muslims were concealed with relief supplies, a chief source of such arms is the world of fundamentalist Islam. With Friday religious services throughout the Middle East increasingly calling attention to what is portrayed as Christian Europe's indifference before the slaughter of Muslims in Bosnia, the war's religious nature is being underlined and intensified.

#### Results of Zealotry

The devastating results of this are evident in Bosnia. In a Serbian-controlled village like Cajnice, where mosques and churches stand side by side and diverse religious communities had coexisted, the Muslim community has been forced out. Meanwhile, local Orthodox churchmen are often seen embracing Serbian militiamen.

Previously apolitical Muslims in the area talk of turning to the Muslim Democratic Action Party of President Izetbegovic as their only defense. While the party says it wants a unitary state of multiethnic tolerance, it is a religiously-based Muslim party which, according to Western analysts, contains some fundamentalist strains.

"Mr. Izetbegovic wants a fundamentalist state in the middle of Europe," said Gen. Zivora Panic, the chief of staff of the federal Yugoslav Army. "The great mistake of the United States was to abandon Serbia and back him in order to please its Saudi and Turkish friends."

The general staff eagerly displays maps in which they pencil in what they

expect if mosque and TV transmitter aim contradictory messages at the people?"

Alluding to the execution of hundreds of thousands of Serbs by the puppet Nazi government in Croatia during World War II, the Holy Assembly of Bishops of the Serbian Orthodox Church recently said of the current war, "This is not the first time in their history that the Serbian people have experienced crucifixion."

The Assembly went on to describe the Croatian acts during the Second World War as a "genocide" and to declare, in an apparent defense of the notion of a Greater Serbia, that "our church is for the unity of the Serbian people and Serbian lands."

#### Opening Old Wounds

Last month, the Orthodox Patriarch Pavle of Belgrade alluded specifically to the notorious Croatian camps of Jadovno and Jasenovac in rebuffing allegations that the church has been supporting Serbian expansionism.

His comments illustrated how the violent history of the Balkans is present every day in modern Yugoslavia and is now contributing to religious hatred. Serbs, who fought against Nazi Germany, are angry that the Catholic Church has never disavowed the Croatian acts during the war, while Croats point to the fact that Serbian guerrilla bands called Chetniks exacted heavy reprisals.

What seems clear is that — as in Northern Ireland, Lebanon and elsewhere — the Bosnian war, increasingly nurtured by religious passions and the visceral hatreds that go with them, will be desperately hard to resolve.

"We have no Vatican behind us and no Islamic world, so we have no political friends," said Ugliese Jovanovic, a Serbian electrical engineer. "So what is left for us but to fight?"

New York Times

cont

Sept 17/92

# Bosnia

## The bloodshed and the blame

**I**t is one of the paradoxes of Yugoslavia's tragic civil war that most of the leaders of the Jewish community favour the Croats and Muslims, backed respectively by the Germans and the Islamic world, against the Serbs, who are fighting primarily to rescue Serb enclaves from what they see as ethnically and religiously alien rule.

Every Jew must shudder at the words "ethnic cleansing" or "genocide" and this agonised sensitivity has been exploited, by selective reporting and unconfirmed atrocities, to make the Serbs appear as Hitlerite aggressors. Most Serbs see themselves, on the contrary, as protectors of the Serb minorities who are living inside the internationally recognised but multi-ethnic provinces of what had been Yugoslavia, as well as acquiring the access routes to reach them.

Recognising this discrepancy in no way denies the appalling suffering imposed by the siege of Sarajevo and other contested areas, nor belittles the efforts to rescue Jews from this inferno.

But what we also need to admit is the overwhelming evidence that, although the Serbs have the heaviest and most televisable guns, they have no monopoly of the slaughter and sadism. All three

communities, Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim, incited by vicious nationalist leaders, are guilty of war crimes against hapless civilians who happen not to belong to their own ethnic group.

In this respect, President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia is no worse than President Franjo Tudjman of Croatia or President Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia.

Political and religious leaders, whether Jewish or not, cannot help being influenced by a public, enraged by daily TV news bites presented to them by reporters with no knowledge of the historical or political background and who compete against each other for the most easily accessible horrors, the bloodier the better.

Wiser judgements might prevail if the origins of the present conflict were examined. For there is good reason to suppose that the dreadful civil war need never have taken place, had it not been for German and, later, American promotion of unilateral declarations of independence by the component parts of the Yugoslav federation -- despite both the mixed ethnic composition of the populations and repeated warnings from France and Britain.

The Tito brand of Communism was already in an advanced state of decomposition and, in any case, had never been run for the benefit of the Serbs. New forms of self-

government within appropriate boundaries might, with the help of international mediators, have been negotiated, with limited acrimony and skirmishes. For when the fighting stops, the contenders, at least those who survive, will have to go on living within the same geographically narrow confines, though the present violence may have indefinitely delayed the ultimately necessary reconciliation.

The simplistic Western view is that the troubles started when Milosevic reimposed Serb rule on the Albanian-inhabited Serb province of Kosovo. Like other Communist bosses, he had recognised that he could retain power only by playing up the nationalist issue.

What the media ignore is that, in the late 1960s, Tito had transferred power from the Serbs to his Albanian cronies and, as I saw during my own visits, they built up local support by harassing and driving out the hated and vulnerable Serbs.

The Serb response was, of

*As the London peace talks conclude, Nora Beloff looks at the roots of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia and warns against simplistic judgements*





course, excessive, but so was the reaction of the Slovene and Croat nationalists who used the Kosovo issue to fuel hatred and fear of the Serbs and to incite war hysteria.

Even so, violence might have been averted had the Austrians and Germans not encouraged the rupture and fostered the belief that the struggle for independence would have international support.

German intervention was itself provocative. Jews should be the first to remember that, in 1941, after Belgrade had rebelled against allowing Yugoslavia to be incorporated into the Axis, an enraged Hitler had condemned the Serbs to rank with the Jews and gypsies as a people to be destroyed. He left the genocidal job to his Croat nominee, the extremist Ante Pavelic — whose daughter has now been readmitted to Tudjman's Croatia, where she has registered a party aiming to rehabilitate her father.

Pavelic's followers, the Ustashes, fled after the last war, but they or their descendants are now either returning to carry on the fight or staying behind to finance the best public relations firms instructed to demonise the Serbs.

In the cause of European unity, the Germans induced the British and French to recognise Croatia and Slovenia, after which, quite predictably, the rest of Yugoslavia fell apart. It was not only an exam-

ple of violence paying — and UDI is, by its nature, violent — but also showed that what was left of Yugoslavia, deprived of its main Catholic components, would have been unacceptably dominated by Serbs.

The US initially opposed the break-up of Yugoslavia but President Bush, driven by public outrage over TV horror pictures and, more rationally, by the need to stay in line with a German-dominated European Community, suddenly changed sides. The last straw may have been when the Muslims, the biggest of the three minorities of which Bosnia is composed, gave an Islamic twist to the diplomatic fray.

Bush needed his Middle Eastern friends and could not appear indifferent to the very real sufferings of the Muslims. Ignoring the fact that one-third of the Bosnian population is Serbian, he blamed the civil war on Serbian aggression and UN sanctions were duly imposed.

It doesn't require the perceptiveness of General Lewis Mackenzie, former commander of the UN peacekeepers, to recognise the fact that the Muslim leadership is desperate to keep the war going until it provokes international involvement, the only hope it has of beating the Serbs.

President Izetbegovic's record as a

peace-wrecker speaks for itself. In the summer of 1991, he not only repudiated an initiative for power-sharing between the Serbs and Muslims in the mixed areas — which he had himself helped to negotiate — but later denounced his fellow negotiators for "selling out" to the Serbs. In early 1992, he demolished the Carrington peace initiative, also after having seemed to support it, and flatly rejected a "cantonisation" plan, on the Swiss model, allowing each community to run its own affairs. Recently, he refused to enter negotiations until after the Serbs had surrendered.

The Serbs will hardly be reassured by promises of good behaviour coming from Zagreb or Sarajevo. There is barely a family among the Serb minorities that does not remember or know of wartime deportations, forcible conversions and massacres — in which the Muslim extremists were just as active as the Croats.

It is surely not for Jews to lecture Serbs on genocide: they have experienced it, too. And, like the Israelis, they prefer to fight than to accept incorporation into wider communities, where they would be in perpetual minority.

*Nora Beloff is a former chief political correspondent of the Observer, and the author of several books, including "Tito's Flawed Legacy."*

# Centuries Of Grudges Behin

By Thom

ABUSE OF cultural memory — the manipulation of long-invalid past grievances to obtain present-day advantage — rules the day in the war-torn lands of Yugoslavia. Deliberate misreadings and misrepresentations of history are destroying the future in the Balkans. The fundamental cause of Yugoslavia's terrible calamity is not just recent history, such as the infamous genocide by Croats at the Jasenovac concentration camp during World War II.

Nor is the cause rooted solely in the more distant chronicle of the Ottoman rule. Today's horrors are woven from strands of nothing less than the entire tapestry of history since the 6th-century Slavic invasion of the Balkans, with the subsequent division of Croats and Serbs between Catholicism and Orthodoxy and eventually Islam.

All these elements play a role in the minds of those destroying Bosnia. They are sick from history — from half-truths and ethnic prejudices passed from one generation to the next, through religion, political demagoguery, inflammatory tracts, and even through abuse of folk song and tales. More recently, the books of unscrupulous writers and the deliberately inaccurate speeches of unprincipled leaders have further contaminated the atmosphere.

Two years ago, at an international conference in Boston on cultural memory, I argued with an American scholar about the causes of the unfolding Yugoslav crisis. She felt that everything was traceable to 1941 and the Croatian killing of some 600,000 Serbs, Jews, and gypsies at the concentration camp of Jasenovac. (Many of these Serbs were from the Krajina area of Croatia, which is now trying to merge with Serbia.) But I felt that the roots of the current conflict between Croats and Serbs ran much deeper, at least as far back as the schism between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches in 1054 AD.

It appears we were both right. She, in that the immediate cause of the fighting between Serbs and Croats in Croatia was Serbian fear of another Jasenovac. When Franjo Tudjman, author of a book stating that Serbian losses were only one-tenth what they claimed, became president of Croatia, Serbs in Croatia saw this as a sign that they were not to expect fair and unbiased treatment in the new state. Tudjman did not offer them concrete guarantees that would have allayed their worries.

Although it was the Serbs in Krajina who provoked the outbreak of hostilities, over the long run the fighting between Serbs and Croats in Croatia and Slavonia has been fueled by culturally derived feelings of "otherness" between Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats.

Orthodox-Catholic prejudice is a powerful force. A few years ago, I visited the Orthodox monastery of Iviron on Mount Athos, Greece. While I was attending the early morning liturgy, a monk approached and asked whether I was Orthodox or Catholic. When I replied "Catholic," he told me to "go outside and pray."

The Greek Orthodox Church, like Rome, has a long memory: In the young monk's mind, I was excommunicated. The Schism in 1054 AD and the plundering of Constanti-

nople in 1204 AD by the Fourth Crusade are alive in the Orthodox mind of today and continue to affect Orthodox-Catholic relations, including those between Serbs and Croats.

This is not to say that Serbs feel justified in shelling Dubrovnik because they believe its inhabitants are schismatics, but rather that they are affected in their relations with the "Latini" by negative feelings of "otherness," the residue of doctrinal disputes of long ago. The sense of "otherness" is further exacerbated by the fact that the two peoples were ruled by different and opposing empires: the Croats by the Austro-Hungarian empire and the Serbs by the Ottoman.

As for Croatian and Serbian relations with Bosnia's Muslim population (who are actually Slavs), no one will deny that the Croats have the more harmonious dealings with their Islamic brethren.

This may be because they see the Muslims as heretics, who can be saved through baptism. In fact, Tudjman was photographed a year ago, smiling benignly at the baptism of a group of Muslim children. This drove Bosnia's Muslim president, Alija Izetbegovic, into such a frenzy that he actually made a short-lived treaty with his arch-enemy, Serbia.

Serbs, on the other hand, take a different stance toward Muslims: They see them as traitors, as well as heretics. Scratch a Muslim, they believe, and you have a Serb whose ancestor went over to the Ottoman side four or five hundred years ago, in order to keep his land.

In the Bosnian case, the situation is further complicated by the fact that great numbers of those who converted to Islam were members of a heretical Christian sect called "Bogomils" ("pleasing to God"). They were threatened by the Inquisition, and some historians have written that they invited the Ottomans in (1463), rather than face invasion by a Hungarian army blessed by the pope.

From all this came the saying: "Bosnia fell with a whisper." It wasn't until the rise of nationalism in the last decades of the 18th century that these converts to Islam and their descendants were branded "traitors." Particularly in Yugoslavia, much of the bloodshed of the 20th century may be traced to such reinterpretations of cultural memory by 19th-century historians.

The Serbian "purification" (cisecanje) of Bosnian villages of Muslim inhabitants reminds me of a similar action, described by the 19th-century Montenegrin poet Njegos in his "Mountain Wreath." The siege of the events leading up to an early 18th-century extermination of Muslims in Montenegro, directed by Danilo, the Orthodox prince-bishop of Montenegro, and motivated by fear

**'Responsibility accepted for the crime against the other, the admission of guilt, the granting of forgiveness, can start the**



# d Today's Balkans Calamity

is Butler

of contamination from within. The same paranoia may be found in Serbia today.

Even 20 years ago, long before today's civil war, such views were common. My Belgrade landlady told me then that the Albanians (Shiptars), who are mainly Muslim, were lighting bonfires at night on the hills around the city, signaling to each other. She voiced fear of their high birth rate — warning that they would inundate the Serbs, as they already have done in Kosovo, the 'holy ground' of the Serbian medieval empire.

In recent years, I heard worried talk of how Islamic fundamentalism was sweeping Bosnia and of Saudi Arabian money being used to rebuild mosques and Muslim schools. I used to smile at such stories, as indicative of excessive Serbian anxiety about Muslims. But I was wrong. Obviously, Serbian extremists played on fears of a revived Islamic state in Bosnia as a way to spur their savage war.

The fact that the Bosnian president, Izetbegovic, was the author of the Islamic Declaration, a 1970 tract calling for the moral renewal of Islam throughout the world — for which he was jailed by the Yugoslav communist government in the early 1980s — hardly reassured the Serbs.

This oppressive preoccupation with Muslims — Albanians in particular — is vividly illustrated in the war diary of a Serbian

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reservist from Valjevo, named Aleksandar Jasovic, published in a Belgrade journal this year. Jasovic served as a medic in the Serbian ranks in the fighting for

Vukovar in Croatia in 1991.

While his battery was shelling the Croats in the northeast, he recounts in his diary, he actually was preoccupied with fears about Kosovo far to the south — the cradle of the Serbian medieval kingdom and the scene of the Serbs' fateful loss to the Turks in 1389.

He writes of the Albanian Muslims, who because of a high birthrate and immigration from neighboring Albania now are a huge majority in Kosovo: 'Their Sarajevo mother supports them! Westerners may find the phrase obscure, but it illuminates what in the medic's mind seems the powerful, irrefutable, and threatening connection between the Muslims of Bosnia and those of Kosovo.'

Of Slav Macedonians, who also occupy a former Serbian medieval province, he comments: 'The Macedonians are continuing to play the fool. The time is near when we'll have to protect Kumanovo too.' Kumanovo was the scene of a major Serbian victory in the First Balkan War, 1912.

Fear of encirclement by still powerful enemies grips the medic. Not once does Jasovic ask himself whether his worries — and by extension, the worries of millions of other Serbs — are justified by the facts. Elsewhere he borrows an apocalyptic line from Njegos: 'Let there be what there cannot be,' ie, Ser-

bia may lose these ancient provinces, but not without a fight to the end.

Such thinking is at the heart of Serbian aggression and territorial aggrandizement. Will Kosovo and Macedonia be next on the list for 'purification' and 'ethnic cleansing'?

Is there any way out of the gyre of death and destruction in the Balkans? There may be, but the failure of diplomatic efforts up to now have shown that without more active US participation, nothing will happen. Western Europe's leaders seem incapable of seeing that they should act forcefully — with military power, if needed — to force a ceasefire.

The US offer of air and naval support for the UN relief effort is a first step, but even if this should bring about a ceasefire, we shall have to prepare ourselves to play a very strong role in the overall negotiations. Several European powers, particularly Britain, Germany, Italy, and Turkey, seem immobilized, perhaps by their own past history of invasion or involvement in the Balkans.

If there is ever to be a healing, it may be that it can only begin with the establishment of a unique, continuing conference of Serbian, Croatian, Muslim, and other historians, to arrive at a core of mutually-agreed upon statements regarding each group's history. Ideally, this multi-cultural convocation would face shibboleths regarding 'enemy' ethnic groups, examine national memories for their accuracy and rationality, and separate truth from prejudice. The mediation of Western experts will be vital.

Responsibility will have to be accepted for the crimes of one nation against the other. For example, Serbs will have to admit their nation's guilt for the dictatorship of King Alexander in the 1920s and '30s, which undermined the pre-war Kingdom of Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia. In the same way, Croatia will have to come clean on the holocaust of Serbs at Jasenovac. Only the admission of guilt on one side, and the granting of forgiveness on the other, can start the healing process. The same is true for the Christian relationship with the Muslims (the 'Turks'). The Muslims need to admit that their ancestors abused and lorded it over the Christians for centuries. And the Serbs especially, while granting them forgiveness, must ask in turn for their pardon for recent savagery.

We have precedents for such national confessions of guilt, in the West German acceptance of responsibility for Nazi crimes against Jews and recently (June 21) in the French intellectuals' call for their government to condemn, in the name of 'the French collective memory,' the Vichy government's persecution of Jews.

If such a healing process is to take place in the Balkans, it will be best to keep it out of the hands of religious leaders and politicians. The liturgy of reconciliation should be written by the poet, aided by others of good will. Thus the Yugoslavia that many of us in the West truly loved for its diversity may pass peacefully into history.

*Thomas Butler is author of several books, including 'Memory: History, Culture and The Mind,' and 'Monuments: Serbo-Croatian,' a bilingual anthology of Serbian and Croatian texts.*

Guardian  
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Pale, Sept. 14, 1992

САРАЈЕВО  
War in Bosnia and Herzegovina

SARAJEVO: AN UNCERTAIN NIGHT IS COMING

The latest offensive of Moslem forces on Sarajevo battlefield which has started last night and lasted whole day, is continued this evening.

Particularly intensive artillery and infantry fire of the "Green Berets" against the Serb positions in Rajlovac and Ilidza is coming from the direction of Utes, Azici, Stup and Zuc. Some mortars are falling randomly from the direction of Igman.

But, the intensity of the aggressor attacks from the direction of Igman, the occupied part of Dobrinja and hill of Mojnila against Lukavica, Vojkovici, Dobrinja, Vraca and Brbavica was reduced.

According to data disposed by the Command of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps, the Moslem side, surprised by the strong and efficient defense of the Serb soldiers and frightened by huge losses, asked through the UNPROFOR for the breach of war operations. One of reasons for such a demand is their fear that, if the war operations were continued, the Moslem side could lose some parts of the territory under their control in Sarajevo.

The Command of the Serb Army is very suspicious about this demand because the existing and now coming Moslem forces are regrouping in the area of Ilidza, Nedarici and Rajlovac, where the Moslem offensive is expected to be continued during the night.



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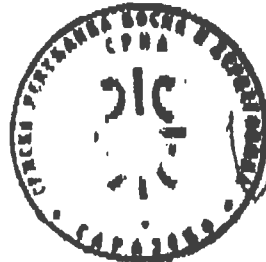
Pale, 15. 9. 1992

WAR IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

SULEJMAN UGLJANIN: "WE ARE READY FOR THE WAR AGAINST SERBS"

SRNA finds out that Mr. Sulejman Ugljanin, the leader of the Democratic Action Party of Sandžak, gave a statement to Kuwait newspaper "Al Vatan", in which he said:

"The Moslems in Sandžak, if attacked, are ready to oppose the Serbs. The people of Sandžak are trained and ready for the war but they have not got enough weapons. They can buy weapons from Serbs but they have not got enough money. After Serb crimes in BH the Moslems in Sandžak do not want to live together with Serbs any more. At Geneva Conference they will follow their demands for their own independent Republic. If they do not get their own republic they will try come into power by force. The Serbs intensify, from day to day, thir pressure at Moslems by increasing the number of thir soldiers (29.000 soldiers in Sandžak), and by TV-propaganda. For the last hundred years a million Moslems were expelled from Sandžak. This region has 453.000 inhabitants of which 73% are Moslems with Turkish origin. The London Conference -continued Mr. Ugljanin- has not achieved any approval, having in mind that the agressor in BH has not been named, and because of the disagreement about forming the International Court in order to bring the Serb criminals to trial.



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# Diplomat predicts end to fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina

By WILLIAM F. MILLER  
PLAIN DEALER REPORTER

CLEVELAND

The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina will end within one year, and Serbia's first post-war step will be to end world sanctions, a Yugoslavian diplomat said yesterday.

Radmila Milentijevic, minister-at-large for Yugoslavia, said she based her prediction on progress in negotiations between various representatives of those fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"Then Serbia must get on with its business of joining the rest of the world in moving towards democracy and a free-market economy," said Milentijevic, 60, who lives in New York and in Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

She held a news conference at Stouffer Tower City Plaza Hotel to clear up misconceptions and what she termed lies about Serbia. She said that country had been unfairly portrayed as the villain in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and before that in Croatia.

Three months ago, Milentijevic took a leave from her post as chairwoman of New York City College's history department to become a diplomat for Serbia to help her former homeland.

The war has caused 527,000 Serbian refugees in two years, she said.

She said it is difficult for the Yugoslavian government to get the Serbs and others to stop fighting.

After peace, the first concern of Serbia is to lift the world sanctions that have cut off shipment there of such vital items as food, medicine, and oil, she said.

Milentijevic blames Germany for starting the civil war by recognizing Bosnia-Herzegovina at a time when there appeared to be agreement among the Serbs, Muslims and



PD/DAVID I. ANDERSEN

## RADMILA MILENTIJEVIC:

"The killings were shown on television all over the world and falsely blamed Serbs, and later only Cable News Network acknowledged the mistake here."

Croats for a peaceful division.

She said that recognition, followed by the U.S. recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina, ended a peaceful settlement.

"Germany is continuing its historic role of supporting Croatia and trying to break the Serbs who fought them for freedom in two world wars," she said.

She also accused the news media of favoring Croatia in the civil war. She said she plans to meet with Associated Press editors in New York this week to discuss her country's complaints.

The Croats also are paying millions of dollars to a major New York public relations firm that is helping influence the news, she said.

Media reports of ethnic cleansing and death camps operated by the Serbs are exaggerated and often false, she said. She said Croats and Muslims have practiced ethnic cleansing on Serbs and have kept thousands of them in prison camps.

Milentijevic said few American readers learned that United Nations officials believe that the killings this summer of 16 people in a Sarajevo bread line were mainly the work of Muslim-defenders and not Serbs.

"The killings were shown on television all over the world and falsely blamed Serbs, and later only Cable News Network acknowledged the mistake here, although European media did carry the correction," she said.

After coming to the United States in 1954, Milentijevic received her master's and doctoral degrees in history, became an American citizen and also became involved in Democratic politics in New York City.

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## Nazi camps comparison is rejected

Agencies in Vienna and Tel Aviv

**T**HE veteran Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal rejected comparisons between detention camps in Bosnia and second world war Nazi concentration camps yesterday, saying they trivialised Nazi Germany's treatment of Jews.

"To call the camps 'concentration camps' is a minimisation of Nazi concentration camps, because not even the (Soviet) gulag camps could be compared with the Nazi camps," Mr Wiesenthal said.

Mr Wiesenthal, aged 83, has helped bring more than 1,100 Nazi war crimes suspects to trial for their role in the killing of six million Jews.

Images from the war in Bosnia have aroused emotions in Israel — both Jewish and Arab. In Washington yesterday, the prime minister, Yitzhak Rabin, called for an end to the "nightmare in Bosnia and said that Jewish people could not remain indifferent to the sort of tragedy that was taking place".

In Tel Aviv, Israeli Arab mayors demonstrated in front of the Yugoslav embassy demanding an end to the killing of Bosnian Muslims.

Leaders of the 750,000-strong Arab minority in Israel accused Western countries of neglecting Yugoslav Muslims and demanded the United Nations order the use of force against the Serbs. Some 85 per cent of Israeli Arabs are Muslims.

"I blame Europe for standing silent towards killing and slaughter on their soil," Ibrahim Nimer Hussein, mayor of Shafa Amr, said. — Reuter.

The Guardian

August 12, 1992

# Lessons for the war party

## Commentary



Edward Pearce

but then at once indicated that he had seen a whole spectrum of such places most of which were acceptable and run to standard. "In other words the idea that there are 50-odd Auschwitzes is absolute rubbish". The camps varied according to which group of local autonomous auxiliaries were in charge, but, and this is quite centrally important, *all camps run by the Serbian Army were of good standard.*

Vulliamy's report contains all the reasons for not intervening militarily. Any war here finishes as a war against all the Serbs including the Serbian government. The wrongdoing is the province of uncontrolled locals, not all such groups either, but one or two such whose fanaticism has turned into conscious neglect and murder. The immediate answer should be to stop further atrocities. The camps having been opened, and the bad seen with the good, the government in Belgrade and Mr Karadzic's local fief have an overwhelming interest in seeing that the Serbian Army takes over all camps, keeping them permanently open to the Red Cross. That should be requested and will, I believe, be speedily achieved. If the suffering is stopped in that way, the camps function only as propaganda for the anti-Serbs.

And very earnestly, as strongly as I can put it, we should not be anti-Serbian. It is significant that the two greatest criers after intervention in this country, Margaret Thatcher and David Owen, are people who always betrayed a massive science-side ignorance of, and contempt for history. David Owen tells us that there should be intervention to stop the partition of Bosnia. Bosnia is a fiction sustained by the thin wax of diplomatic approval. The Foreign Office with long-sighted wisdom resisted the recognition of Croatia, not because it shouldn't eventually happen, though with large and very fearful Serbian minorities, that state was a recipe for the fears which bring war, but because it would precipitate the Muslim neo-majority in Bosnia to create a state.

How does one spell out to people who won't look at history and who suppose that crises spring fully armed from the head of an autonomous present, that Bosnia could never be viable, something the Foreign Office understood and the Germans did not.

Despite the horrible expression "ethnic cleansing" there are no ethnic divisions among the Slavs of Yugoslavia. The Croats, the Bosnian Muslims and the Serbs are the same people. The divisions are religious and cultural. The Croats are Germanised Roman Catholics, frequently upholders of white western Christian civilisation, many of whom in the last war did their bit with crucifix and swastika. The Serbs and the Montenegrans are Orthodox, the Bosnians split unequally three ways: Muslim, Orthodox and Catholic.

Bosnia is thus very profoundly a geographical expression. If multi-confessional Yugoslavia exists Bosnia can exist, otherwise not. It has an old and complex history and anyone want-

ing to understand the place should read the fine novels and stories of Ivo Andric, a Nobel prize winner. A Bosnian Croat, who could see the Serbian point of view and cool to the Church, he offers the missing perspective. "The Devil's Yard" and "The Bridge on the Drina" are suggested, especially to Margaret Thatcher and David Owen. In his work cruel things are done by all sides and in "The Bridge on the Drina" all tragedy is played out cyclically in the same place across centuries from early Turkish days to 1914.

And that date should exercise the minds of the war party. Bosnia, lost by the Turks at Berlin in 1878, became under Austria, a sort of UN mandate minus the UN. Austrians and Serbs were drawn into deepening hostility as Austria inclined to see Bosnia as prize rather than a duty. The act of seizing Bosnia in 1908 was a major causal contribution to a war which began with an episode in Sarajevo.

Historically, the Bosnian Muslims, who are not fundamentalists (very Islamic C of E on the Turkish model), were caught in the middle. But that means caught between the Serbs who had fought the Turks in guerilla resistance even in the eighteenth century and who had emerged as a state through their own efforts alone, and the Germanised Catholic north.

When the Nazi invasion came, there was created a proto-Nazi state of Greater Croatia: effectively all Croatia and all Bosnia-Herzegovina. This state engaged in a spiritual cleansing of Serbs which leaves Omarska looking like an Agatha Christie country house murder. The photographs of the throats cut and bodies in the river then would have been crowd scenes. There was systematic endemic massacre of Serbs, one blessed by the

Church. The cull is reckoned at one fifth of all the Serbs of Croatia.

You cannot talk about what is called Bosnia without understanding that this great, flaring and abominable crime took place in Greater Croatia with Bosnia part of its territory. When the Serbs see a "Bosnia" being created behind an official Croatia, they see it as a trap of Croatia and behind that of Germany/Austria. And Serbia's experience here is not good.

When in April 1941 the Serbian Officer corps with more gallantry than self-interest, swept aside the enlightened Prince Paul who saw no alternative but unwilling submission to German threats, Hitler launched "Operation Punishment", a single-minded, six-week air war on Belgrade. It is, by the way, arguable that this delay of six weeks of spring weather in the invasion of the USSR, coupled with the detention of nine divisions in Yugoslavia against the Serbian Chetniks and Communist Partisans may have been the item in a tight balance which defeated Adolf Hitler!

The proportional losses of the Serbs 1941-45 were less only than those of the Jews; Yugoslavia as a whole, lost a tenth of its population. The Serbs were entitled to a far more sympathetic understanding of their objections to a flimsy Bosnia with Croats and Germans standing behind it and to the loss to Serbia of the 34 per cent Serbian population of Bosnia.

An enlarged Serbia is a perfectly rational thing, so is a Muslim-free city of Sarajevo, drawn generously. Both should have had western backing from the start. Behind the subterfuge of outrage, we now risk being dragged, not least as the election strategy of the abject American president, into dropping bombs to sustain the effective status quo of 1941.

# The killing fields of Bosnia

**F**IFTY years ago, the Croats took Branko Jungic from his Bosnian village and forced him to kneel on the bare earth at a place called Jasenovac. Then they cut off the Serb's head with a saw. They did it openly. They even took photographs, one showing Jungic on his knees, his left arm extended to keep his balance in the initial moments of agony, mouth open in horror as his uniformed tormentors posed around him, the saw already cutting into his flesh. In the neighbouring town of Banja Luka, they still keep the saw.

They display other implements on the site of the Jasenovac concentration camp: axes that were used to slice off the heads of women and children, a mass gallows, arm sheaths with knives attached – a German-made contraption – that allowed the Croatian Ustasha to cut the throats of their captives with the least physical effort.

The Croats and the few Serbs who joined their Nazi puppet State in World War II slaughtered their victims in hundreds of thousands at Jasenovac, Stara Gradiska, Prijedor and Banja Luka. The names are familiar again now. A second civil war is consuming the survivors of the earlier holocaust and their children on the same hectares that the Nazis turned into killing fields.

Shortly before Yugoslavia fell apart again, Lubomir Ivanic, director of the Bosanske-Krajine archives in Banja Luka, let me read some of the 50,000 German and Ustasha files abandoned in 1945. Among the archives – housed in a former Austro-Hungarian army barracks that served as a Wehrmacht intelligence office in 1942 – I found hundreds of Croatian military orders appropriating the homes and property of Serbs. "Cleansing" was the word used in the files which were written by the men who invented that dreadful expression.

It was a brutally racist phrase, which is why James Baker deliberately adopted it this year when he condemned the Serbs and why journalists should take more care before they repeat this Nazi epithet so blithely.

The horrors that took place in Bosnia between 1941 and 1945 are almost too bestial for historical comprehension. The concentration camps set up by the Nazis and the Croatians were on a much more terrible scale than the camps now being uncovered in Bosnia. Jasenovac is not a familiar name in the West, but its individual acts of savagery might surpass even Auschwitz.

Jasenovac was modelled on the concentration camp system in operation in Nazi Europe. It was the centre of a series of satellite camps along the banks of the Sava and the Una as well as the Vilići, Strug and Trebez rivers, all designed to incarcerate and destroy the enemies of Ante Pavelić's regime.

In all, 700,000 men, women and children were slaughtered in Jasenovac, almost all of them civilians, 70,000 of them Jews. Because the Nazis had started

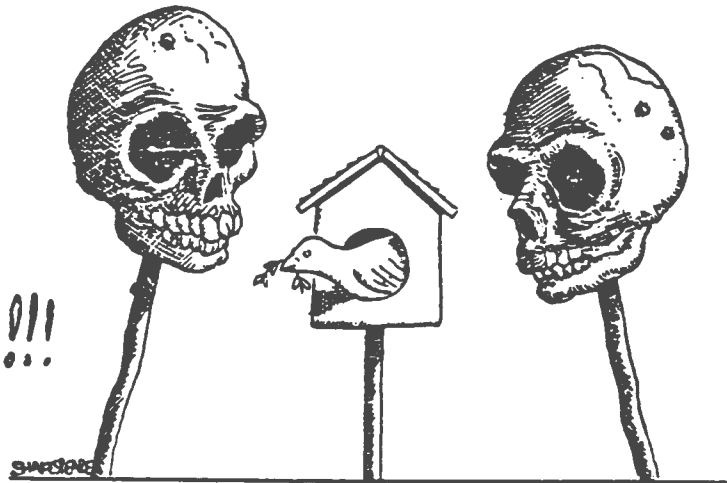
Seven hundred thousand people were slaughtered in a concentration camp called Jasenovac. Most were Serbs, their oppressors Croats and Nazis. **ROBERT FISK** puts events in Bosnia in historical perspective.

a civil war in Yugoslavia – between Serbs and Croats, but with many Muslims and left-wing Croats on the Serbian side – the murderers of Jasenovac worked with unchecked savagery.

Hundreds of men were beheaded with saws and axes or thrown into the Sava river in their thousands with concrete tied to their waists. Girls were gang raped, hundreds at a time. Lieutenant Artur Hefner, of the Wehrmacht transport corps, visited Jasenovac in February 1942, and described it in a letter to the German Foreign Ministry in Berlin as a camp "of the worst kind, equal to Dante's inferno". Photographs in the camp archives show mutilated women, one with her heart cut out. Many women were hacked to death by trained butchers.

Another survivor was Valdimir Cvijac from Zagreb: "The most terrible scene I witnessed was when the Ustasha took a group of internees from Camp IIIc. They looked more like skeletons in a state of almost total collapse, with swollen legs, complete physical and psychological wrecks after life behind barbed wire, under the open sky, in mud, with no food or water. They had been told they were going to pick plums. They passed before us with smiles on their faces, in which pity for us could be seen, because there would be plums where they were going, and that meant food. Evening came and the gentle southern breeze brought desperate screams. The killers had started 'picking plums'."

In 1942 the Wehrmacht mounted a campaign around the Kozara moun-



Ladislav Grinbaum, a Jew from Osijek, was one of the few men to survive a camp execution. "One day, 10 of us internees and 16 Ustasha guards went to Jablanac to put up an electric cable. While we were working, we noticed that the Ustasha had brought a lot of women and children and we could see what was happening. The Ustasha guards who had brought them ordered them to sit on the ground. A little later, the killers came. With knives, iron bars and mallets they attacked that helpless crowd... I do not know how many there might have been. Many women held their children tightly in their arms and were killed like that. From the post I was working on I saw with my own eyes the slaughter of my wife and children. I would have fallen off the post with horror if I had not been tied to it. I could not talk and I had difficulty talking later."

tains – across the terrain which is the scene of massacre and "ethnic cleansing" today – to smash Tito's guerilla army. More than 70,000 troops from the Wehrmacht's Army Group E rounded up every man, woman and child and transported them to Jasenovac and its satellite camps.

Most of these civilians were Serbs. Thousands of young men were hanged from gallows erected at the roadside between Banja Luka and Prijedor. Photographs taken by the Germans and Ustasha – for the latter administered most of the roadside executions – show corpses hanging like thrushes from wooden gallows. Thousands of men, women and children were herded into the brickyards at Jasenovac and beaten to death with clubs and axes. Croatian Ustasha girls mercilessly beat many of the women. A photograph exists of two pretty women, Nada

Tanic-Luburic and Maja Slomic-Buzdon, in Ustasha uniforms with the Croatian crest on their hats, posing for a photographer during their reign of terror at Stara Gradiska camp.

The partisans, mostly Serbs in this district, fought back. Politicians and soldiers contemplating operations against the Serbs might do well to read this account by Kurt Neher, a Wehrmacht officer, of the 1942 guerilla attacks on the German army. "Then came the most haunting part of all that made everyone's blood curdle. A woman started screaming hard and long and hundreds took up her call. Then women and children threw themselves with animal-like intensity against our lines. It seemed to us as if we were present at the instant of the forming of a primeval human horde with men running at us in human waves, intent on their own destruction and mindless of fear."

In the Kozara campaign, the toll of those killed in action, executed or deported reached 66,000. Most tragic of all the tales of horror must be that of the children of Kozara. They were separated from their parents and marched to railheads by Ustasha: 23,000 children in all, 11,000 of whom were to be murdered. In July 1942, hundreds of children died in railway cattle wagons between Stara Gradiska and Zagreb. The rail journey took 24 hours and older survivors recalled how the Croatian footplate crews wept for the infants dying of typhoid in the wagons.

To remember these horrors is not to excuse the cruelty of Serb or Croat today. But it provides a framework to see the civil war in a historical context. When Germany supported the new Croatian State in December last year, was it any surprise that Serbs remembered German support for an earlier Croatian State? Can the Croats, after losing so much territory to the Serbs, forget how Tito's partisans, made up mainly of Serbs, massacred their Croatian prisoners at the end of World War II?

It is tempting to suggest that the UN does have one important historical source at its disposal, a man who was an expert on the 1941-45 Yugoslav civil war and who saw it from the side opposed to the Serbs. He was a German intelligence officer attached to Army Group E, based in Banja Luka – billeted in the building that houses the Bosanske Krajine archives – and worked in an office 30 kilometres from Jasenovac. He witnessed the Kozara campaign and was decorated by Ante Pavelić with the Silver Medal of the Crown of King Zvonimir with Oak Leaves. This man referred in his Wehrmacht reports on Bosnia to "cleansing", although, four years ago, he called the operation "humanitarian resettlement". He was once the UN Secretary-General. His name is Kurt Waldheim. But that is another story.

The Independent

The Independent August 15, 1992



Sun: 7/19/92

# There Are No Clean Hands as Yugoslavia Falls Apart



A many-sided, barbaric civil war in Yugoslavia.

By DUSKO DODER  
and LOUISE BRANSON

*Belgrade.*  
**A**s Yugoslavia disintegrates, massacres and other atrocities, including repeated rape and the burning of victims alive after dousing them with gasoline, have been committed by all sides — Serbs, Croats and Muslims — on a scale not seen in Europe since World War II.

From interviews with eyewitnesses and from signed eyewitness depositions to the Yugoslav War Crimes Commission and the Bosnian Bureau of War Crimes, we have been able to compile evidence of at least nine massacres, as well as other barbarities.

Perhaps the most brutal involves the killing of some 50 young Muslim men by Serb paramilitary forces in the eastern Bosnian town of Bratunac. The men were told they were going "voluntarily" to give blood, according to witnesses who gave sworn depositions to the Bosnian Bureau of War Crimes. All their blood was drained from them, according to an official at the Bosnian organization, Husein Kurtagic.

The United Nations secretary general has received a dramatic appeal for help in establishing factual evidence of massacres by all sides and for setting up Nuremberg-style war-crimes trials to punish those who perpetrated and ordered them. The appeal was made in a letter from a former colleague of the secretary general, the prominent Serb international lawyer Milan Bulajic.

Dr. Bulajic said in an interview

Dusko Doder and Louise Branson are independent journalists working in Yugoslavia.

that his job as newly-appointed chief of a tiny federal Commission on War Crimes is virtually impossible to carry out. He said he has been able to collate only a very small amount of sworn eyewitness evidence of massacres, and is under severe pressure to study massacres only of Serbs. He has written to Croatia's president Franjo Tudjman, but efforts to obtain evidence of massacres of Croats have failed. He has not been in contact with a Bosnian Bureau of War Crimes in Sarajevo.

Nevertheless, Mr. Kurtagic, of

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**“A crime is a crime.  
It is not just one side  
which is committing  
atrocities.”**

**Husein Kurtagic  
Bosnian Bureau of War Crimes**

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that bureau, said he fully supports Dr. Bulajic's appeal to the United Nations. "A crime is a crime," he said. "It is not just one side which is committing atrocities."

A spokesman for the U.N. High Commission for Refugees warned that collating information on massacres and atrocities was risky unless carried out on a huge and systematic scale, since patchy information could give the impression that one side was committing worse atrocities than another or that all were equally culpable.

His warning underlined the need for a U.N. investigation. The prospect of Nuremberg-style trials could also act as a major warning to all sides at all levels, both military and political, that their actions may not be carried out with impunity even if

— as in many cases — they are in revenge.

The nine massacres we have documented include four carried out by Serbs, two by Croats, one by Muslims and two by Muslims and Croats combined. Eyewitness testimony indicates that most atrocities were committed by paramilitary forces under the control of Vojislav Seselj, leader of the Serbian Radical Party, the notorious Zeljko Raznjatovic who is known as "Arkan," and Dobroslav Paraga, leader of the Croatian Party of Right.

The International Committee of the Red Cross, said one foreign aid official, "has a lot of extremely disturbing and damaging information about all sides carrying out massacres, killings and other barbarities. Perhaps one of the worst things in this war is that the international community has imposed sanctions on Serbia and is condemning only Serbia. But Croatian forces are committing the same if not worse atrocities where they are fighting in the west of Bosnia-Herzegovina. They are getting away literally with murder."

So far, the outside world has focused most attention on Serb atrocities against Muslims and Croats. Men trained by Arkan and Mr. Seselj are reportedly behind a May 7 massacre in the town of Bratunac — the same town where the young men were forced to give their blood. According to witness Fodahija Hasanovic, a 34-year-old technician, some 2,000 Muslims were rounded up and taken to the Vuk Karadjic primary school. The women were separated from the men. Men who had worked for the town council, police or in schools were singled out and killed.

See YUGOSLAVIA, 4M, Col. 1

# Yugoslavia – the crisis can only grow worse

THE CIVIL WAR in Yugoslavia has now reached a turning point which has to be faced with rigorous honesty. The next stage will be appalling to a new degree, yet seems impossible to resolve except by high-risk strategies which require either doing too little or too much.

The downing of the Italian aid plane, apparently by hostile fire, underlines the fragile nature of the only significant commitment yet made by the international community — to keep Sarajevo supplied. Even without interruption, this effort will soon prove quite inadequate as the winter sets in. Nor does it do anything to help suffering communities elsewhere in Bosnia, far less tackle the causes of the war or prompt broader answers.

The humanitarian impulse is fine, but there is only a limited point in delivering food to people who may be shot the next day. For a political solution, we are now waiting helplessly for two dubious processes to work out. One is the political struggle of Belgrade — which could as easily lead to a more, rather than a less intransigent regime. The other is the laborious apparatus of the international conference now cranking up in Geneva — both of whose co-chairmen have been at pains to emphasise that its work could take months, if not years.

Before we even tackle the politics, the humanitarian task ahead may already be beyond us. Last week the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Sadako Ogata, asked for more than \$430 million to meet critical needs until the weather warms again. Otherwise, to put it with necessary bluntness, many people will freeze before they can starve. The outlook for Sarajevo, where conditions are easiest to predict, is already extremely grim, with 60 per cent of its housing damaged by shells and a poisoned water system.

When the wet weather arrives, the unpaved roads from the coast will become impassable and the main highways will need protection. Last week the mayor of Sarajevo suggested

that 100,000 children and old people should be evacuated, preferably to western Europe. But the question of mass evacuation is one of many subjects which are skirted around for political reasons. The Bosnian government fears that its appeal to international sympathy will diminish if its most vulnerable citizens are removed to safety. And western governments — with Britain in the invidious lead — are appalled at the prospect of absorbing the evacuees.

The population of Sarajevo, and of many places whose names we do not even know, have become refugees in their own homes. Ms Ogata's appeal requires an immediate and full response — and not at the expense of other desperate aid requirements in Africa. It is the minimum that a relatively wealthy international community, whose indecisions and wrong decisions have already made the Yugoslav crisis much worse, should afford. But it will not begin to address the central problem of Yugoslavia's political crisis.

Paddy Ashdown has argued that the presumed downing of the Italian aid flight was a "defining moment" which now challenged the UN to take decisive military action. Too many similar moments have already passed (how many civilian queues have been shelled?) without any sort of decision being taken.

Unless Radovan Karadzic overplays his hand and repudiates the very limited concessions he made in London, this one too will pass. The merits of military action — beyond the minimum intervention now sanctioned by the UN — may be endlessly debated. No one, including this paper, can claim to be entirely consistent on this subject except for those who sweep aside the counter-arguments with Lady Thatcher. These include the very strong reservations of nearly all military specialists, and the worries of the Red Cross and UNHCR even about the provision of armed escorts for their convoys.

The argument in favour must be mainly based on the demonstration value of a military threat, but this has weakened as the crisis has got worse, so that a proportionately larger military commitment will have to be made. In any case the London Conference has removed such intervention from the agenda as long as Mr Karadzic plays ball. However much the co-chairmen may say that "ethnic cleansing" will never be forgiven, the lengthy time-scale which they envisage ensures that it will be condoned. Privately there is little stomach in Downing Street or anywhere else to reverse the verdicts bloodily executed by the Serbs and some Croats. There may be no alternative to peacemaking by sub-committee, but it is a device for swallowing ugly realities.

Even the short-term timetable is dismally extended. It now seems unlikely that negotiations on Bosnia will begin before the end of the month at the earliest. It may take longer to get the troops in place to "inspect" the Serbian heavy weapons (not necessarily to "control" them), which anyhow exclude tanks and many lighter but still lethal mortars. The British and other troops designated to protect the aid convoys are awaiting this week's UN resolutions. It may be snowing before they are all in place . . . and may yet spread.

This then is the dilemma unresolved by the London Conference — the choice between doing too much by blundering military intervention, and too little by tacitly accepting the division of most of Bosnia. Though the flames of Yugoslavia's destruction rise from within, we have added fuel by tardy decisions — most notably the recognition of Bosnia without a parallel commitment to defend it. There is still a chance to avoid repeating our error in Kosovo and Macedonia.

The extra dangers of an extension of fighting to southern Yugoslavia are well recognised, particularly because it could so easily suck in neighbouring countries with

long historical memories. As in Bosnia's case, the trigger would be pulled in Belgrade, but the latent ethnic tensions would quickly convert the fighting, especially in Macedonia, to something much more complex than a simple act of aggression. Bosnia has demonstrated just how quickly these tensions, long allayed by the admitted success of Tito's federation, can be translated into a civil conflict which all sides genuinely believe to be conducting in popular defence of their own people. The transition from accepting a multi-ethnic society to destroying it is all the easier in the countryside, where it has already been eroded by uneven patterns of change. In Kosovo, unlike Bosnia, rural Albanians will assault urban Serbs. This prospect should disturb Belgrade, but it may instead inspire even more savage repression from Serbs who have long regarded the Albanians with a special contempt sanctified by Serb historical myth. Milan Panic, the Yugoslav prime minister, has gone out on a lonely limb in showing some willingness to talk to the alienated Albanian majority. He needs quiet encouragement, the promise of aid for Kosovo, and more than a few OSCE observers.

In Macedonia a fragile political balance is threatened by diplomatic and economic isolation which stems from an absurd dispute over its name. Whatever a few of its congressional extremists may claim — in leaflets which feed Greek paranoia — this nation of two million cannot threaten anyone. It has met the criteria for recognition set by the EC and given additional pledges. Its recent choice of an ancient Greek symbol for its flag was foolish but came after months of frustration. It should not be beyond diplomatic wit to find an acceptable name which includes but does not consist solely of the contentious "Macedonia". Athens has to be convinced that a Macedonian buffer state to the north is in its best interests. The alternative will be a new Balkan war.

Reports pages 8 and 21



## Geneva talks fail to restart aid flights to Sarajevo

SIX months into the Serbian siege that has left about 2,000 of Sarajevo's inhabitants dead and tens of thousands wounded, the city's plight worsened on Monday with the Western aid airlift still suspended, water supplies cut off, and growing tension between the nominally allied Muslim and Croatian forces defending the city.

Fierce fighting between the Serbian besiegers and the Muslim defenders at the airport and in the west of the city lessened the chances of the airlift resuming quickly.

The United Nations secretary-general, Boutros Boutros Ghali, hinted that the airlift, frozen since an Italian transport plane was apparently shot down last week, would resume. But talks in Geneva between international mediators and the parties to the conflict failed to secure the restart of flights.

It had been expected that the meeting at the new Geneva-based peace conference on the Yugoslav conflict would order a resumption of the aid flights. However any decision was put off when the talks broke up without agreement.

Aid workers warned that the city was running short of food, adding that as the cold weather approached there was a pressing need to ferry in blankets and building materials. They expected cold weather to cause severe hardship within weeks. But only food, and not enough of that, was being delivered.

Italian officials said there would be no more aid flights until the

precise cause of last week's crash, in which four Italian crew were killed, was known. It could be several weeks before a formal investigation releases its conclusions, though UN and European Community officials openly say the plane was shot down.

There was no sign of the main political negotiations on Bosnia getting under way at Geneva.

The forum was set up at the recent London conference on former Yugoslavia which decided that a task group would, as a matter of urgency, bring together the warring parties in Bosnia to try to

**By Ian Traynor and  
Hella Pick**

hammer out a long-term settlement. That process failed to begin on schedule. It remained unclear when political negotiations would get under way.

Following a visit to the former Yugoslavia over the weekend by Marrack Goulding, the UN's head of peacekeeping, Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen — the co-chairmen of the Geneva conference — are to travel to the Balkans later this week.

On Sunday they issued an ultimatum to the Serbs to group their big guns and allow them to be monitored by UN observers.

Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb leader, pledged that he would comply with the request, in accordance with his promise in London.

Mr Karadzic said the Serbs' heavy

artillery around the four besieged towns of Sarajevo, Gorazde, Bihac, and Jajce would be collected and placed under UN supervision by the weekend.

But UN officials said that there was no sign yet that the heavy weapons pulled back from the town had been gathered and made accessible to international monitors.

In London, General Colin Powell, chairman of the US joint chiefs of staff, said on Monday that the US was prepared to join other Nato countries in considering a military response to help the United Nations in Yugoslavia.

He hinted at an expanding US role in providing military escorts for aid convoys in Bosnia.

In Belgrade, hardline loyalists of President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia backed down from their attempt to unseat the new pretender to power in Serbia, Milan Panic, the prime minister of rump Yugoslavia.

In what appeared to be a stunning victory for Mr Panic in his first big tussle with Mr Milosevic, the President's ruling Socialist Party was ordered to oppose a parliamentary vote of no confidence in the prime minister tabled by the party earlier.

The test of strength followed the Yugoslavia conference in London at which Mr Panic earned plaudits for his conciliatory stance on the post-Yugoslav conflicts and aroused Mr Milosevic's anger.

# FINANCIAL TIMES

Number One Southwark Bridge, London SE1 9JL  
Tel: 071-873 3000 Telex: 922186 Fax: 071-407 5700

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## The limits of force in Bosnia

THIS WEEK'S UN decision to authorise the dispatch to Bosnia of an additional 6,000 troops is a fitting, if belated, response to the prospect of a humanitarian calamity in the former Yugoslav republic this winter. Given the fullest commitment of food, medicine and other aid to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the reinforcements should permit a quickening of the Bosnian relief effort in coming weeks.

But it is important that the governments whose troops are now to be placed in the firing line recognise both the risks that such an operation entails, and the limits on what it can achieve. In particular, those responsible should be explaining their objectives much more clearly to their own electorates and to those caught up in the conflict. Without such clarity, there is a real danger that the western military forces protecting aid convoys could be sucked into a Lebanese-style quagmire, incurring heavy casualties and facing a choice between still heavier intervention and a humiliating retreat.

What, precisely, is the international community trying to do in Bosnia? That there is confusion is scarcely surprising given the complexity of the conflict, the seriousness of the mistakes committed by western governments over the past year, and the profound reluctance with which they have now become more directly involved.

But the question needs answering. Is the UN moving, as is being claimed in some quarters, from peace-keeping where there is no peace to keep, towards peace-making? If so, it is certain to fail. The level of forces now being committed will not suffice to raise the sieges around Bosnian towns or provide safety for for the 5m refugees uprooted by Serb forces.

Still less does this week's move bring the UN any closer to an ability to force the parties to stop fighting. A protectorate in Bosnia would require tens of thousands more troops, a commitment which neither western public opinion nor the hard-pressed UN is prepared to contemplate. The 15,000 UN troops in eastern Croatia are themselves over-stretched in keeping a peace to which the parties to the conflict have grudgingly agreed. In Bosnia, no such will to stop the fighting is yet discernible. Any extension of the UN's mandate permitting foreign troops to do more than defend themselves if attacked would rob them of the perceived impartiality which they need to carry out their job, and expose them to greater danger. It might also jeopardise the continuing Geneva peace talks.

Under such circumstances, the UN should go out of its way to draw a distinction between its military protection of humanitarian aid efforts on the one hand, and its efforts to restrain the fighting (for example, by placing all heavy weapons under UN control) on the other. Both activities - one under the UNHCR, the other overseen by Lord Owen and Mr Cyrus Vance, the EC and UN mediators - will need more manpower and resources. They will also have to be accompanied by an intensification of sanctions pressure on Serbia, and by the dispatch of more observers to Bosnia's borders to stem the flow of weapons from Croatia and Serbia.

Even determined action on all these fronts scarcely offers a prospect of rapid progress. The governments now preparing to dispatch troops had better be ready for a long haul, and concentrating in the short term on doing what they can to save lives.

Manchester Weekly  
Sept 13/92

## A German march to the East?

President Mitterrand's government argue pro-Maastricht to anchor Germany firmly into Europe. Their argument is that Maastricht must be ratified to influence German foreign policy and stop a German march to the East. Is this with the benefit of hindsight, for what is the Balkans if it is not the East?

Germany has already accomplished a dismemberment of Yugoslavia and secured considerable local power and influence by heavy investment in Slovenia and Croatia. What a pity that the French cynicism was not applied to the German pressure to recognise Croatia and Bosnia.

If any of the EC members, our own government included, had the strength of purpose and insisted on acceptable constitutions being formed in Croatia and Bosnia which provided for their ethnic minorities, before recognition, the bloodbath in former Yugoslavia could have been avoided. As it is, Germany has succeeded by wielding economic strength in 1992, as opposed to the military strength used in 1941.

Germany already has considerable interests in Albania and will doubtless strengthen these when the Serbian province of Kosovo erupts. As the EC rhetoric has been consistently anti-Serb we can expect little opposition. Germany would secure a powerful position in the crossroads to the Balkans to go further East. This will happen with or without Maastricht.

Ray Kolakovic,  
Leicester



# BEAT THE DEVIL.

## Spinning Jenny

Charges that Bush had a tryst with his aide Jennifer Fitzgerald (*The Washington Post* once coyly described her as having served under Bush in a variety of positions) in a Swiss chateau in 1984 may do the President some good, suggesting a puissant *hombre* instead of the sickly creature now at subterranean levels of public esteem.

The posthumously excavated gossip of Louis Fields, a U.S. disarmament negotiator in Geneva, appears as a footnote in Susan Trento's book *The Power House*, about influence peddling in Washington. It seems to me far from conclusive. Adjoining suites in a chateau belonging to Sadruddin Aga Khan is not automatic proof of impropriety. Fields was probably in a rage because he had to take the sheets to the laundromat, and got his own back with all this waspish surmise.

Foreign Service officers are a rum lot. A former U.S. envoy to one central African republic is, I think, still doing time, having been sent down for beating his boyfriend (the only other officer at this posting) to death in a lovers' quarrel. The tiff and ensuing fatal scrimmage took place in the communications room of the embassy and were monitored over an open mike by U.S. diplomats in an adjoining country.

Trento's footnote suggests that Bush's aide-de-camp, Adm. Daniel Murphy, had a black notebook in which, it was implied, he kept the names of women ready at a moment's notice to entertain Bush as he sped round the world in the course of his vice presidential duties. "Black notebook" is usually a reliable sign of a false story. The most fateful notebook in all fiction—that to which Gussie Fink-Nottle confided his views of Watkyn Basset and of Roderick Spode's way of eating asparagus ("It alters one's whole conception of *Man* as Nature's last word"), in *The Code of the Woosters*—was brown. Casement's diaries were black, as was the notebook in Dorothy Sayers's *Strong Poison*.

## Bad Business in Bosnia

The Serbs are taking a hammering in the press, some but not all of which is deserved. Now that Clinton has seized on Bosnia as an election issue, the Bush Administration is making muscular noises about U.N. resolutions and the use of all necessary force to alleviate the Bosnians' plight, but I doubt that Bush desires military intervention. Indeed, a few hours with a map and some history books suggests that this would be a bad idea. On this as on so many other foreign issues—Israel, Cuba, Iraq and China come readily to mind—Clinton is to the right of Bush. Old habits die hard. The Democratic Party still turns to armed global management like a dog to a fire hydrant.

The Serbs now find themselves accused of running concentration camps along Nazi lines, which appears to be untrue but has a certain ironic symmetry, since Serbs suffered to a horrifying degree from "cleansing" in the Second World War—with anywhere from 750,000 to 1.2 million killed in the pogroms organized by the Nazi puppet state of Croatia. The cleansing then was religious, just as it mostly is now, with an admixture of hatred between rural and urban Bosnians. "Eth-

nic" is the wrong adjective really, since Serbs, Croats and Bosnians are all Slavs, the Muslims among them being descended from those who converted to Islam during the centuries of occupation by the Turks.

After the suspension of bloodletting provided by the forty-odd years of Tito's quasi-Communist and federalist regime, the Serbs saw, in 1991, a unified Germany forcing upon a reluctant European Community recognition of Croatia and Slovenia, after those two republics of Yugoslavia unilaterally announced their independence in June of that year. About this June démarche U.S. reporting has been virtually nonexistent. The entire "captive nations" policy of the C.I.A. in the cold war was intended to foment exactly the sort of dismemberment and internecine strife that is now taking place. Are we to believe that U.S. covert foreign policy had no role in the Tadjman election or the Croatian declaration of independence? Was there a schism within the C.I.A. or between the C.I.A. and the State Department on this matter? Why were the Germans so rabidly insistent, with the collusion of the Catholic Church?

In the eyes of many Serbs, "Bosnia" is more than anything a political fiction to cloak the drive of Croatia to re-establish its wartime ambit, under the guidance, backing and armament of Germany. These days people talk of "Croatia" or "Bosnia and Herzegovina" or "Serbia" as though the frontiers had ancient, internationally recognized status. The present borders of those Yugoslav republics were drawn after the war by Tito, who was intent in part on punishing the Serbs, whose Chetniks had supported their wartime leader Mihailovic rather than himself. The borders of wartime Croatia are entirely different from those of Croatia today.

The British columnist Edward Pearce remarked in *The Guardian* for August 12, in an article denouncing the notion of intervention, that "if multi-confessional Yugoslavia exists, Bosnia can exist, otherwise not. . . . The Serbs were entitled to a far more sympathetic understanding of their objections to a flimsy Bosnia with Croats and Bosnians standing behind it, and to the loss to Serbia of the 34 per cent Serbian population of Bosnia. . . . Behind the subterfuge of outrage, we now risk being dragged . . . into dropping bombs to sustain the effective status quo of 1941," said status quo being the work of Hitler.

## Brief History of Cleansing

None of this is intended to excuse indisputable Serbian atrocities. Hundreds of thousands of Serbs perished in the Croatian death camp of Jasenovac in the Second World War, but that doesn't condone the Serbian killings that Bosnian and Croatian survivors have described in detail, any more than Nazi genocide of the Jews condones or justifies what Jews in Palestine did in 1948 in the way of "ethnic cleansing" (Ben-Gurion himself assured his Cabinet in the fall of that year that with a coming offensive, the Galilee would be "clean" of Arabs), or any of the other atrocities wrought upon Palestinians in the years since.

What's happening in Bosnia is awful, but the rhetoric of



war kept the world concentrating on grace, strength and speed. The victory of capitalism has shifted the focus to money. The basketball Dream Team, condemned by the media as greedy snobs, told it exactly like it was: They were in it for the gold, and much more than the puny ounces in their medals. The Unified Team were equally honest as they hustled for commercial endorsements and airfare to Disney World. Once again, the crass professionals shoved it to the naïve idealists who believed the games were about amateurism and good sportsmanship.

Certainly there were moments of sweaty drama that recalled the great Olympiads when performance combined with purpose and history to produce indelible victories. Hassiba Boulmerka's classy win in the women's 1,500-meter run—Algeria's first gold medal—was dedicated to "all Arab women" and was more of a feat because she had spent the spring organizing against the fundamentalists seeking power in her country.

If there are still gods on Olympus watching these events they must be depressed about the future. What Olympics *caudillo* Juan Antonio Samaranch has wrought is only the beginning of the end for the games as a noble and enlivening public pageant. Samaranch, a Minister of Sport under Franco, has turned the Olympics into a permanent floating theme park for multinationals and media conglomerates. It won't be long before the winner of the women's 1,500-meter run will wear the colors of Siemens or Froot Loops rather than Algeria or Fredonia. The size of the corporate yachts in the harbor, the success of product placement in every conceivable venue, is what drove these summer games. Can you imagine how much Coca-Cola will drench the spectacle next time in Atlanta?

## Bosnian Rescue?

Sensational press reports of brutal detention camps in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which human rights groups have known about for months, have raised the prospect of international intervention to relieve the beleaguered state. The war in Bosnia is a terrible and murky situation with no easy answers. One has to ask whether, unlike Somalia or East Timor, the former Yugoslav republic is simply too close to home for the West to do nothing. It is also important to consider parallels with the Gulf War, in which an aggression was reversed, but civilians suffered terribly and popular opposition forces in Iraq were crushed. But many opponents of intervention must acknowledge their silence on the war over the past year, their failure to engage in debates over reforming international security mechanisms, and their complicity in further atrocities should vague if more strictly peaceful measures for resolution fail. Action must be taken. The Bosnian conflict is a territorial one driven by Belgrade with Zagreb's full complicity. The ultimate goal is to create a Greater Serbia and a Greater Croatia. But the heterogeneous makeup of Bosnia and Herzegovina (31 percent Serbs, 19 percent Croats and 44 percent Muslims) and the long history of tolerance and coexistence—especially in Sarajevo and other major cities under siege—mean that the objective can be achieved only through mass killings and expulsions. Without intervention, there is no reason to expect this campaign to fail.

The international community also has a responsibility to aid Bosnia because its actions contributed to the fighting. In the European Community's first intervention last year, it offered Yugoslavia associate membership if the federation held together. Rather than a neutral position, this was seen as backing the designs of Belgrade and the federal army. After more than a dozen cease fires in the Serb-Croat war, the E.C., under strong German pressure, switched its support and recognized Slovenia and Croatia, despite the determination by the E.C.'s own independence commission that Croatia's maltreatment of its Serb minority disqualified it.

Recognition of the northern republics compelled Bosnia and Herzegovina to seek independence before a settlement among its nationalities could be reached. President Alija Izetbegovic, a Muslim, could certainly have done more to address Serb concerns. But the issue of independence sealed the tactical Croat-Muslim alliance against the Serbs and sparked the fighting when the E.C. and the United States recognized the republic on April 6. Under Greek pressure, however, the E.C. refused to recognize Macedonia, despite approval by the same commission. These errors have sowed future problems concerning independence and minority rights throughout the region. Macedonians and especially the patient Albanian majority in the Serb-controlled province of Kosovo have been given no idea how to proceed, and war could break out in both areas.

Finally, the E.C.'s special conference on Bosnia and Herzegovina consented to negotiations between the warring factions over a policy of settlement along ethnic lines known as cantonization. Many observers see the policy as territorial division by other means. Zdravko Grebo, a law professor at Sarajevo University, believes it tramples the people's referendum of February, which approved a unitary state (although Serbs largely boycotted it). The talks appeared to offer a green light to war.

The U.N.'s efforts, especially the deployment of Blue Helmets, have generally received higher marks. But the U.N.'s position in Sarajevo has been untenable. Gen. Lewis MacKenzie, outgoing Commander of U.N. Protection Forces in Sarajevo, was sent in to open the airport. He also sought talks among all the parties and severely criticized the Bosnian government for breaking cease-fires and refusing to negotiate. But with more than 70 percent of Bosnia's territory occupied by Serbian forces and Sarajevo under continual bombardment, it is questionable whether the U.N.'s neutral peacekeeping procedures are applicable. There is no peace to keep. International intervention would seriously complicate the Blue Helmets' standing in Bosnia and in Croatia. But in now preferring intervention over negotiation, the Bosnian government must be forgiven for being less concerned about the institutional integrity of the U.N. than about its own future existence.

The political objective of intervention must be determined before the military mandate can be defined. Humanitarian efforts in Sarajevo, other cities and the detention camps, likely to be initiated with military backing under the U.N. resolution devised by the United States, could save many lives. They might also have a psychological impact, which could reduce the violence and add new momentum to the expanded but fragile peace talks in London August 26.

Humanitarian efforts are still reactive and guilt-driven.



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however, and risk tragic delay. The only viable and long-term goal is the territorial integrity and political reconstruction of Bosnia and Herzegovina. As the legitimate and recognized government, Sarajevo asks that the arms embargo against it be lifted so it can defend itself. But after pressing for citizens-oriented peaceful means of resolution for the past year, I now believe the long-term goal will be achieved only by placing the area under some form of U.N. trusteeship. This would require a massive outside military and administrative force to build broad-based civil and political institutions and compel disarmament. However unlikely it may appear, such a commitment is imperative—and not just because the international community has a responsibility to prevent the splintering of a state it played such an unhelpful hand in creating. The Sarajevo government may have many flaws, but it is also the only hope for a multi-ethnic, non nationalist-based state, both on the immediate territory and throughout the region. If it can be saved, prospects for a comprehensive Balkan settlement and political regeneration will develop. If it cannot, division and continued bloodshed are guaranteed. ANTHONY BORDEN

*Anthony Borden directs the Institute for War and Peace Reporting, in London, which publishes WarReport/YugoFax.*

## Okinawa and Us

Once again on August 6, tens of thousands gathered in Hiroshima's Peace Memorial Park; again the tragedy was remembered around the world. It is of course wholly right to mourn the atomic victims, despite the Pacific War's larger tragedies caused by conventional weapons. What is wholly wrong—sad, disgraceful—is that virtually no mention has ever been made of the Okinawan civilians who died during the battle for their island in April, May and June 1945. More civilians were killed than 150,000, according to the best estimates—than in Hiroshima or Nagasaki. They died even more horribly than did those under the mushroom clouds, often with weeks to witness the mutilation of their children by "the typhoon of bombs and steel," as they called the immensity of U.S. firepower, or by Japanese troops when units collapsed into demoralized bands after months of sacrificially courageous defense. And if it is possible to quantify innocence, the Okinawan victims had more of it than did Japanese civilians—they bore even less responsibility for any part of the war. If ever the term "peace-loving" applied to a people, it does to the Okinawans, who for several centuries before being swallowed by Japan in 1879 maintained no arms on their tolerant, hospitable island.

The people who may have suffered proportionately more, and with less recognition, than any other in a world war continue to suffer. No attempt was made to use the Japanese home islands as one large American military base after the surrender. But practically speaking, that was done to Okinawa during the occasionally generous but more often shameful U.S. occupation, from 1945 to 1972. And although native life turned more normal after the island's reversion to Japan in 1972, collusion between Washington and Tokyo sustained the

gargantuan, dominating U.S. military presence. Even now, fifth of the island is occupied by our installations. Much of the best farmland in the densely populated, once-independent little nation lies under the concrete of U.S. runways.

Although fond of Americans personally, most Okinawans ardently wish we would quit the bases and leave them in peace. A minority do well from rents and bars; the majority suffer. Dislike and fear of everything military is in their bones. The overriding lesson of their 1945 holocaust—after the Japanese Army declared it had come to save them from the bestial Americans—was that far from protecting them, military installation on their land invite destruction from people with whom they have no quarrel. The sights and sounds of the U.S. garrison—tanks at war games, B 52s screeching overhead—make them shudder. Well before the collapse of Communism, they mockingly asked what the martial colossus was protecting them from. Most feared the Washington-Tokyo axis far more than any threat from remote Moscow.

Pentagon strategists claim there is good reason for maintaining the bases, and their planning is stiffened with sentiment: After the loss of so much American blood on and around the island in the largest of all land-sea-air battles—over 23,000 dead—there is understandable reluctance to depart. But Okinawans feel that other powers' strategic calculation are precisely what caused their suffering. After the loss of incomparably more Okinawan blood and belongings, shouldn't their feelings be considered? Whose land is it?

It takes little imagination to guess how Americans would feel if 20 percent of our country, ten of the richest states, were occupied by a foreign power for purposes we disapproved. I know what I feel when I see splendidly maintained military golf courses sprawling like feudal estates on the overcrowded island. Ignorance rather than cruelty is chiefly responsible for the enduring mistreatment of the island people. During the forty-seven years since the murderous "typhoon," Americans' lack of interest in the site of one of our hardest battles dwindled to even less interest in the largest concentration of our bases outside the continental United States. In the vacuum of public knowledge—so unlike the massive attention devoted to Hiroshima—the Pentagon continues to treat the island as its fiefdom and Okinawans continue to pay hugely for their geographic position and their powerlessness. When will they have paid enough?

GEORGE FEIFER

*George Feifer is author of Tennozai: The Battle of Okinawa and the Atomic Bomb (Ticknor and Fields).*

### ★ ON THE MODERN OLYMPICS

*I liked it best in days of old,  
Before they bought and sold the gold.*

Calvin Trillin



## WATCHING RIGHTS.

ARYEH NEIER

**A**lthough much remains to be learned about what has been going on in the infamous detention camps in Bosnia and Herzegovina, many war crimes by Serbian forces, suggesting a genocidal intent, have been well documented. On May 16 at least eighty-three Muslims were summarily executed by Serbian paramilitaries in the village of Zaklopaca in Bosnia. According to information from interviews that my colleagues in Helsinki Watch conducted with survivors, the victims included at least eleven children ranging in age from 6 to 16, and sixteen people over the age of 60. Zerina Hodzic's account of what happened to her husband is typical:

I was hiding in the barn with my husband Rifet [age 35] and our two daughters [ages 13 and 7]. Five Chetniks [Serbian paramilitaries] found us and pointed their index fingers at my husband and beckoned him toward them. One of the Chetniks shot him without ever having uttered a word.

The United Nations has seemed helpless in the face of such barbarity, but there is something useful that it could do besides dispatching troops. That is to establish a tribunal to bring to trial those who have engaged in war crimes.

Ironically, such trials have been going on in the former Yugoslavia. On July 13, Zdenko Stefanec was sentenced to death by a military court in Belgrade for war crimes. Previously, on June 26, three other men, Martin Sabljic, Zoran Sipos and Nikola Cibaric, received the same penalty. All three were members of the Croatian National Guard, and what makes their prosecution bizarre is that they were accused of committing their crimes while defending Vukovar. That city was devastated, much as Sarajevo and Gorazde are being destroyed today, by Serbian paramilitary and Yugoslav military forces during a three-month siege in which more than 3,000 civilians died, including at least 200 who were summarily executed like the residents of Zaklopaca. Another 2,000 are still missing. The Croatian guardsmen were put on trial by the victors in that battle, who bear responsibility for the great majority of the civilian deaths before and after the city's fall. Helsinki Watch has collected testimony that at least three of the four men were tortured before they confessed.

The tawdriness of the Belgrade proceedings should not, however, deter the international community from establishing a tribunal that, while adhering strictly to principles guaranteeing defendants a fair trial, would investigate, prosecute and punish those on all sides who are responsible for "grave breaches" of the 1949 Geneva Conventions and the 1977 Protocol—that is, war crimes.

The precedents, of course, are the tribunals that were set up following World War II at Nuremberg and Tokyo. Both established principles that have firm standing in international law, most prominently the concept of universal jurisdiction to try war crimes on the grounds that the authors are *hostis humani generis*—enemies of all humankind. What matters in the constitution of such a tribunal is that it secure worldwide recognition and that it proceed in a manner that acquires international acceptance for its fidelity to principles of due

process of law. Thus, it is essential that a prestigious international institution, such as the United Nations, convene this tribunal.

Inevitably, such a tribunal would be unable to try all those who have committed grave abuses in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and other parts of what once was Yugoslavia. Yet by signaling that it is concerned first and foremost with those who bear the highest level of responsibility for the most severe crimes, the tribunal would put the architects of the disaster on notice that there will be a day of reckoning. These individuals could not be confident that they would evade their day in the dock.

One candidate for prosecution would be Gen. Ratko Mladic, the commander of Serbian forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Mladic was the Yugoslav Army commander in the Serbian-controlled area of Knin in Croatia before being transferred to Bosnia to head army forces there. Following the army's nominal withdrawal from Bosnia, he stayed on as Serbian commander and was overheard on Serbian radio frequencies disregarding subordinates who questioned artillery attacks on the residential neighborhood of Velesice in Sarajevo because of the number of Serbian residents there. "Burn it all," Mladic instructed his troops, ordering them to shell the area with the heaviest weapons in the Serbian arsenal: 155-millimeter howitzers.

Even if a war crimes tribunal could not compel the prosecution of General Mladic, its very existence would put him on notice that a future government might succumb to international pressure and hand him over to stand trial. At the very least, he and his ilk would fear to travel beyond the borders of their own states lest they be taken into custody.

Certainly, crimes against humanity have also been committed in many other parts of the world in our time. The merciless devastation of Somalia by rival clan leaders, the mutilation of Mozambique by Renamo forces and the horrifying persecution of Burma's Muslim minority by the military are just a few examples from a long list. To suggest that a war crimes tribunal be established for Yugoslavia is not to depreciate the need for an appropriate international response to other great crimes. Rather, it recognizes that one of the clearest cases of international jurisdiction involves war crimes in the context of an international armed conflict such as the one in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The tribunals at Nuremberg and Tokyo established the legitimacy of such proceedings in international law. By building on those precedents, even without a military intervention that goes beyond the deployment of peacekeeping troops who have no peace to keep, the world would do more than wring its hands about this one tragedy. It would secure the means to bring to account those who are responsible.





## ALEXANDER COCKBUR

Western commentators has got entirely out of hand, with assertions of almost uniquely horrible deeds being wrought by the Serbs comparable only to Nazi genocide. The Bosnian horrors aren't even close to what happened in El Salvador and Guatemala in the 1980s. Take the massacre that occurred on May 14, 1980, on the Rio Sumpul between El Salvador and Honduras, in which the Atlacatl battalion and Honduran soldiers attacked thousands of fleeing men, women and children, killing more than 600. The U.S. press was silent on the subject for a year, despite eyewitness accounts, and then gave it only slight notice. The Carter Administration, which had commenced intervention in El Salvador to head off the possibility of threats to the existing order, suppressed information about the carnage. (Another chapter in the history of laughter and forgetting, at the recent Democratic convention Andrew Young got a big cheer when he said that in the Carter years America did not know war.) To preserve the spirit of bipartisanship, let's take also the massacre at El Mozote nineteen months later, between December 11 and 13, 1981, when the Atlacatl battalion, urged by its U.S. trainers to take the war to the guerrillas, slaughtered at least 794 people—most of them children—whose names were later recorded by a Salvadoran human rights organization. Senior Reagan officials worked feverishly, and successfully, to discredit U.S. news reports of the killings. More than a decade after the event, in late June of this year, A.P. put on the wires a good story by George Gedda about the massacre and its cover-up. Imagine the reaction of the press if massacres such as these occurred in Bosnia today, with babies—as happened on the Rio Sumpul—used for target practice and sliced to ribbons with machetes.

The hypocrisies run deep. American Jewish leaders, in the words of a *Boston Globe* front-page story on August 10, "urged world leaders to investigate the reports of [Serbian] camps and ethnic purification and, if the reports are true, to intervene." Elie Wiesel is now speeding to Bosnia. It's a pity these people don't confront as zealously a history with which they have been much more intimately entwined. For what the Serbs are doing in Bosnia is most comparable to what the Jews did in Palestine in 1948.

Some 700,000 Palestinians fled their homes in the wake of the November 1947 U.N. resolution supporting the creation of an Arab and a Jewish state in Mandatory Palestine. Recent historical research has destroyed the myth that this was an impromptu and unnecessary flight conducted on Arab orders, and instead established a pattern of deliberately inflicted Jewish terror designed to cause flight so that regions of the country could be "clean" of Arabs. In his compelling review of the work of Israeli historian Benny Morris, Norman Finkelstein, writing in the Winter 1992 *Journal of Palestine Studies*, quotes the following passage from Morris describing the Jewish attack on the Arab city of Haifa on April 22, 1948:

The 3-inch mortars "opened up on the market square [where there was] a great crowd. . . a great panic took hold. The multitudes just in front of the port, pushed aside the policemen, charged

the boats and began fleeing the town." British observers noted that "during the morning they [i.e., the Haganah] were continually shooting down on all Arabs who moved both in Wadi Nisnas and the Old City. This included completely indiscriminate and revolting machinegun fire and sniping on women and children. . . . There was considerable congestion outside the East Gate [of the port] of hysterical and terrified Arab women and children and old people on whom the Jews opened up mercilessly with fire" (interpolations in original).

On May 6 of this year—the eve of the anniversary of Israel's declaration of independence—the Hebrew-language newspaper *Ha'ir* published a lengthy article by Guy Erlich on such massacres. He relied in large part on the work of Ariy Yitzhaki, a lecturer at Bar Ilan University, also a lecturer in military history at military training schools. In the late 1960s Yitzhaki was director of the Israeli army archives. According to Yitzhaki, about twenty large massacres of Arabs and about 100 small ones took place during the war of independence, "large" being defined as having more than fifty victims. At Doucimah, an undefended town north of Hebron, at least 580 civilians—on the estimate of the mukhtar—were killed. A participant later testified that women and children had their skulls crushed with clubs and that people were blown up in their homes. Such killings, Yitzhaki told Erlich, had a profound effect on the flight of Arabs from their homes: "To many Israelis it was easy to cling to the false claim that the Arabs left the country because that was what their leaders ordered. That is a total lie. The fundamental cause for the flight of the Arabs was their fear of the Israelis' violence, and that fear had a basis in reality. From almost every report which appears in the army's archives about the occupation of Arab villages during May-July 1948, the height of the confrontation with the Arab villagers, there comes the smell of a massacre.

Yitzhaki's words are corroborated by the military historian Uri Milstein: "If Yitzhaki claims there were murders in almost every village, then I say that up to the inception of Israel, every event of fighting ended in a massacre of Arabs. As Ben-Gurion put it, in words the Serb cleansers now echo: 'For the Arabs of the Land of Israel there remains only one function: to flee.'"

Perhaps Wiesel and the other American Jewish leaders so disturbed by the events in Bosnia would retort that whatever happened in 1948, they can't do much about it now. But if the horrors of detention camps are uppermost in their minds they could certainly use their powerful voices to turn the glare of international publicity upon Ansar I, the detention camp run by the Israelis through their creature the South Lebanon Army. Through the 1980s and up until today, Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners have been held there arbitrarily, outside any legal framework, and, on numerous testimonies, tortured amid unspeakable conditions, as was most recently confirmed in an Amnesty International report published in May of this year. The Red Cross has never been permitted access. Maybe after his excursion to Bosnia, Wiesel can press on to southern Lebanon, reporters in tow.



# How to start

The West's blundering in Bosnia can only make matters worse

SIMON JENKINS

So the policy has failed. The Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic has not been toppled by Western pressure. The tightening of Douglas Hurd's noose has merely increased the flow of blood to his head: Washington's threat of war crimes charges against Serbian extremists predictably boosted them to a quarter of the seats in parliament. The American secretary of state, Lawrence Eagleburger, must be the crassest politician in the West. The election was loaded, but nobody is claiming Mr Milosevic really lost.

So stupid is Western policy towards Serbia that I rather think everybody is on Mr Milosevic's side. Politicians should repeat three times a day before breakfast: "Economic Sanctions Never Work". Sanctions against Serbia have done what sanctions always do: entrenched those in power, bred nationalism and encourage self-sufficiency. There is no case of a wicked regime, democratic or dictatorial, being brought down by sanctions, and 2 dozen cases of the opposite. (I am still waiting for Saddam to be toppled by Mr Hurd's enraged, impoverished middle classes.) The West's election policy has merely made heroes of men such as Zeljko Raznatovic, whose ghastly doings are pornographically publicised by the Western media.

Undaunted by the collapse of one ill-considered policy — the toppling of Mr Milosevic — George Bush and John Major have decided on an even more ill-considered one. It is called a no-fly zone. Mr Major unwisely identified himself with it by yesterday flying to the Adriatic.

The boy in the bomber from the carrier has suddenly become the Sir Galahad of the New World Order. His high-tech surgical strikes can "take out" Serbian fighter-bombers (none of which have flown for



In his master's Peter Brookes

weeks, but no matter. He can flatten Serbian guns. If the guns are unsportingly moved into villages, he can flatten villages as well. Two can play the ethnic cleansing game. Watch those Serb villages burn, baby, burn. That will give Mr Milosevic and his thugs a bloody nose. That will stop them trying their vile tricks on plucky Kosovo. Let's show those Serbian rapists the business end of an F-16. That is the kind of talk they like on Capitol Hill and in the New York Times. Now Mr Eagleburger can walk tall on the Georgetown dinner circuit.

That Mr Major has felt obliged to go along with this complete change of policy — from relief to war — is wretched indeed. Mr Eagleburger has even implied that relief convoys may have to stop, lest they get in the way of his possibly less than surgical bombs. Both Cyrus

Vance and the aid organisers are appalled. Not just United Nations troops but civilian truck convoys will be regarded as hostile. (The civilian drivers are the true heroes of the relief effort: at least soldiers and publicity-seeking politicians have armoured cars.)

We now have the ultimate interventionist obscenity: Sarajevans starving while Americans bomb the Bosnian countryside for the sake of prime-time footage. The policy has no sensible humanitarian goal, such as offering sanctuary to refugees. It clearly increases tension. It is that subtle shift in objective which lets weak politicians off tough decisions, but which terrifies soldiers. In this case the shift is from a delicate relief operation to fighting on one side in a civil war. An American air attack on Serbian forces will exult the hardliners

The Times  
Dec 23/92



# a world war



steps he trod... ♪

in Belgrade and sack the outside world into war.

At this point the intervention lobby asks, "Well what would you do instead?" as if bombing Serbs was at least a comforting thought that did not overtax the brain. The only honest answer is not to do what is being done, to revert to strictly civilian relief even if that means standing outside the theatre of war. We did not become militarily involved in Ethiopia when civil war was causing dreadful suffering. Likewise we are not fighting in Sudan or Armenia or Afghanistan. We generously plunge our charity into other people's conflicts but do not take on the burden of resolving them. We adhere scrupulously to the oldest maxim of charity, which is to avoid the use of force at all costs, even if force may offer a short cut to the needy. In Bosnia, from the moment UN

troops arrived, aid workers feared, the pressure would be on to become party to the war. America now wants to fight this war on the side of the underdog, thus merely prolonging a horrific conflict. This will postpone an inevitable settlement carving up Bosnia. It will increase the chance of murderous gangs descending on Kosovo or Macedonia.

War can always be made to seem attractive in absentia. The West can put hundreds of thousands of troops into Bosnia, into Macedonia, into the Yugoslavian province of Kosovo (which means invading Serbia). The colour of their berets would not matter: to Serbs they would be the enemies of an elected leader, who would become a Slav hero. These troops would be fighting the most awful war imaginable across the mountains and passes of the Balkans.

forming shifting alliances, accused of incessant atrocities, with no clear political or military objective.

This is the way much larger wars start. On Monday of last week in Helsinki the Russian foreign minister, Andrei Kozyrev, made a spoof speech. He pretended that Boris Yeltsin had been outvoted by conservatives at the Peoples' Congress. He declared that Russian imperialism was back. The vast and unemployed Russian army was summoned to aid the Serbian Slavs of the Balkans. Russia had taken too much humiliation from the West. The country was mobilising to seize back the Soviet empire.

The following day, to Mr Kozyrev's undoubted horror, Mr Yeltsin was indeed outvoted by the Congress. I was in Moscow and found nobody treating Mr Kozyrev's speech as funny anymore. A post-Yeltsin Russia may not plunge into a Balkans war, but do we want to take that risk? It could certainly use its UN veto against American air action if America and perhaps Nato proceeded with the present escalation outside the UN, what then?

It is never easy to choose a moment in the preliminary to a senseless war to pull back and say, this may be evil but not as great an evil as we are about to unleash. When your soldiers are not yet dying and your bombs not yet slaughtering civilians, war has the best times. Today's "thin red line of heroes" are politicians in Saracens and reporters in flak jackets. But when the guns begin to shoot the only question will be, "Who got us into this mess?"

The American historian, Francis Fukuyama, wrote last year that liberal democracy had triumphed across the globe. He appears to be changing his line. He wrote on Monday that the West must intervene to protect ethnic minorities throughout Eastern Europe, including Russians in former satellite states. "Let us hope that the West's tragic reluctance to become involved in Yugoslavia will not be repeated in the case of the former Soviet Union." What a prospect. Yet this is the voice of the new interventionism, a crusader summoning the West to try its hand at a third world war. In 1990 we thought we had averted that horror. There are times when history must die laughing.

# BLOOD ON THE SNOW

*John Simpson reports from Sarajevo on how winter has joined the other killers of the beleaguered Bosnians*

*Sarajevo*  
THE FIRST snow of the winter fell here during the night of Sunday 27 December. The city lost what little colour it still had; a sky as grey as a dirty handkerchief hung over the patchy white of parks from which the trees had been stripped for firewood, and over the black of buildings smashed by shellfire. This is not the most damaged city I have seen; nothing can match west Beirut for that. But it is the most miserable, and the snow added to the misery.

Probably no one is entirely comfortable here: even the rich are without power or water, and the poor are without proper

food. No one seems to be starving; no one, that is, that you hear about; anything could be happening behind the broken windows and tattered curtains in the darkness of a thousand blocks of socialistic flats and Austro-Hungarian stuccoed buildings. We journalists are privileged by comparison, yet our conditions are not pleasant. On the fourth floor of the hideous, artillery-damaged Holiday Inn, I slept well for the first time on the night the snow fell; paradoxically it brought a little warmth to the night, and in my room with its polythene sheet across the glassless window I found at last that my coverings were sufficient. I was

almost completely dressed in my sleeping-bag, with three blankets on me and a scarf round my head like an old Muslim market woman. Guns rumbled and chattered not far from the hotel, but someone else was getting it and it scarcely troubled my sleep.

Life for most people here is so dreadful it is hard to understand how they manage to remain law-abiding and relatively decent to each other. This is the condition Hobbes wrote about; yet people do not savage each other for scraps of food; they behave as if the rules still pertain. They present themselves at distribution centres where the UN food is parcelled out, and accept their inadequate ration as though it contains all the things it is supposed to. In fact, the bureaucrats seem to skim off large quantities; yet things are so bad in the city that the stolen food does not appear in the shops and markets for resale, but goes straight to the relatives and friends of the bureaucrats.

The worst thing is not the privations, however, but fear of sudden death. The city is running out of space for graves almost as fast as it is running out of all else. 'Stop filming!' shouted a pudgy-faced young man in a ludicrous woollen hat, as my colleagues shot pictures of people shivering in the

cold as they queued up at one of the few water-pumps in the centre of the city, at a disused beer factory. He believed the Serbs would watch these pictures and know where to aim to cause maximum casualties. No doubt he thought this was what happened at the so-called bread-queue massacre some months ago. In circumstances like those in Sarajevo, people like to feel there is a pattern even to the most random happenings. The mind shies away from contemplation of meaningless chance.

I got rid of him and looked at the raw noses, the chapped hands, the broken-down shoes slithering on the ice which had formed everywhere the water-pump had splashed it. There were old Muslim women in ankle-length skirts, and young women in expensive coats and dark glasses. Unlike the distribution of food, which seems a matter of who you know and how much you can pay, water is something everybody has to queue for. There is no rationing: some turned up with a dozen large plastic containers, others with little more than a couple of bottles or a finely-shaped Turkish vase. A peasant woman in her late forties could only carry two small orange-juice containers the two miles to her home. Her heart was bad, she said, and she moved off slowly planting her feet deliberately on the ice. Her husband was dead, her mother, shot by a sniper, had died of her wounds. What kind of soldiers, I wondered, shot women of 80 and forced those with weak hearts to carry unreasonable burdens?

The unpleasant answer is that they all do. 'Watch out for snipers!' a uniformed Serb shouted at my camera crew near the front line; he was himself carrying a sniper's rifle. They shoot anyone who passes before their crosshairs: children, women,

*The Spectator January 2, 1993*



the old. And it is not, as many like to think, merely Serbs who have somehow become war criminals. On the plane from London to Zagreb, I sat near an earnest, well-dressed man who badly wanted to get into conversation with me. Recognising the signs, I buried myself in a history of the Graeco-Persian wars and succeeded in fending him off until we had landed. Then a careless movement of the head betrayed me, and we made eye-contact. It was enough. He was the diplomatic representative of Croatia in London, and was swiftly explaining to me the shortcomings of the British media in reporting events in what used to be Yugoslavia. 'You are objective,' he said, and I prepared to be mollified; but he meant this as a serious criticism. 'You do not distinguish between good and evil,' he declared, 'you treat them as equals.'

For him, Croatia was good and Serbia evil; as simple as four legs good, two legs bad. It is not like that here at all. The Croats have done plenty of ethnic cleansing, but they were too sensible to invent the phrase. They have burned and raped and sniped, and their artillery has mown people down as effectively as the Serbs; but only the Serbs were hubristic, or open, enough to say what they were doing. As for the Muslims of Bosnia, the victims of the Serbian forces and (no doubt temporary) allies of the Croats, they have received the implicit sympathy of most journalists who work here. Understandably: the Bosnians tried to keep their tolerant, undenominational little society out of the general war, but failed last summer when the Serbs began their siege of Sarajevo.

Yet the Muslim forces (which include plenty of Croats and Serbs who want to defend their native city from attack) are responsible for their share of destruction and misery. The queues for water at the

brewery were caused at least partly by the Bosnian Muslims, who have been as guilty as the Serbs of stopping UN teams from repairing the electricity sub-stations which power the water pumps. If it were not for the Bosnian Muslims, their capital city would have running water and probably electricity by now. But they are preparing a great offensive to break the Serbian siege, and their concern is not to improve the terrible conditions Sarajevo is suffering but to reinforce their strategic position in and around the city. They shell Serbian positions around the city, and kill their fellow-citizens in doing so.

On the morning of the first snow, my colleagues and I went to an old people's home not far from the city's airport. The building lies on the Serbian front line, and the Muslim positions are very close. We drove along a narrow lane, and wooden screens hid our approach from the Muslim snipers. There was a more urgent crack of artillery, and a Serbian tank was parked as neatly in the hedgerow as a suburban car, its gun pointed at positions only 200 yards away. The old people's home had once been rather grand: 250 patients, many of them from the Yugoslav *haute bourgeoisie*, were looked after by a staff of a hundred doctors, nurses, and domestics. Now the place is badly smashed. Scarcely any of the windows are unstarred by bullet holes, and sections of it have been rendered uninhabitable by shell-hits and the cold.

A French armoured personnel carrier stood outside, and a couple of soldiers in front of it were chopping wood. They were mindful not to move too far in making their strokes and so render themselves vulnerable to the Muslim snipers who occupied a wrecked building 30 yards away.

There was a heavy smell of pea soup in the air: the French had brought in some supplies of food. Food is not, indeed, the main problem at the old people's home: cold and the fear of bullets is. There are not enough stoves, not enough fuel, not enough blankets, not enough clean sheets and above all not enough staff. There are still 120 old people in the home, though in the previous four days eight of them had died from hypothermia, but the staff of 100 had shrunk to six: a burly, grinning Serb woman and a tiny Muslim one among them. They were far too few to cope with the dozens of incontinent, bedridden patients. Only one room per floor was kept warm, and anyone who could walk was huddled there. The rest stayed in bed, and they were slowly dying.

One strange character lifted himself out of bed with staring eyes and chanted 'Good morning! *Bonjour! Buongiorno!*' He was 94, and declared that he had been born and raised in Sarajevo, and would now die there. He had, I reflected, been 16 at the time of the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand in the city; the event which created the modern world. The concrete footsteps of Gavrilo Princip as he fired his epoch-making shots from a narrow side-street at the imperial car which mistakenly crossed a little hump-backed bridge towards him — the driver's error can be said to have cost 100 million lives in the long run — have now been ripped up: Princip was a Serb, and this is not a city which likes Serbs now. But the cycle has run its course. A little war, like a distant ripple of the Great War which Princip's shots began, costs lives every day now in Sarajevo; and an old man who remembers the moment when the shots were fired is waiting to die of the cold.

# Russia Warns West Over Military Steps In Bosnia

## NATO Backs Force, UN Council to Be Asked To Impose a Solution

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

DAVOS, Switzerland — Russia said Sunday that it opposed military action against the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and a senior official warned that any such move would hurt its relations with the West.

The official, Andrei Fedorov, a vice presidential adviser, also said that a large majority of the Russian parliament favored sending thousands of volunteers to Serbia to fight alongside the Serbs in the former Yugoslavia.

Prime Minister Viktor S. Chernomyrdin confirmed Moscow's opposition to force a day after a peace mediation effort ended in disarray and participants asked the United Nations Security Council to find a solution or impose one.

Speaking with journalists at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Mr. Chernomyrdin

A move by Geneva negotiators puts the Clinton administration in a bind. Page 2.

said, "I am convinced that this conflict should be stopped by diplomatic means."

Asked if he opposed military action against

the Serbs, who have customarily been allied to the Russians, Mr. Chernomyrdin said, "Yes, of course."

[The Security Council is expected to threaten the Serbian government of President Slobodan Milosevic with tougher economic sanctions, including the possible cutting off of all transportation links with the outside world, when it meets this week with the leaders of the factions involved in the conflict. The New York Times reported from the United Nations, quoting diplomats.

[The threat would be part of a strategy that Britain and France want the council to adopt in which it would seek to convince the leaders of the Bosnian factions that the alternatives to the peace plan they have been presented with at the Geneva peace talks are worse than the plan itself.]

Manfred Wörner, secretary-general of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, said Sunday in Davos that he supported the use of military force to impose a settlement in Bosnia. "I think it has come time to show those who use military force down there that the international community is starting to become serious and to become credible," he said.

"The peace process may require the ultimate sanction of enforcement to succeed," Mr. Wörner said. "One of the main reasons a political solution in the former Yugoslavia failed is because of the obvious lack of determination to enforce."

Negotiations in Geneva to bring peace to Bosnia-Herzegovina collapsed Saturday when the Muslim-led government and its Serb enemies rejected a mediated plan to carve the multiethnic Balkan state into 10 largely autonomous provinces.

Cyrus R. Vance and Lord Owen, the diplomats who have been trying to broker a peace settlement for nearly five months, said they would go to the UN Security Council on Monday to seek imposition of the plan.

Their move is likely to increase pressure on the Clinton administration to define its policy for the region.

President Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia, speaking on Sunday in Zagreb, Croatia, renewed his

rejection of the peace plan and said he did not see an end to the war in his republic.

In Sarajevo, his foreign affairs adviser, Hajrudin Somun, said in a radio interview: "I'm glad that the negotiations in Geneva have failed. But I'm sorry that they are continuing on a higher level — the Security Council."

And in a campaign speech ahead of local elections next month, President Franjo Tudjman of Croatia served notice Saturday that he would not halt his 10-day-old offensive in southern Croatia unless Serbian rebels were disarmed and UN peacekeepers restored order.

Mr. Fedorov, adviser to the Russian vice president, Alexander V. Rutskoi, made the most explicit warning against military action by the United States or NATO in the nearly 10-month-old Bosnian conflict.

He said the use of Western force "would have very negative effects on our government, parliament and people due to the historical links between Russians and Serbs."

"Already in parliament there is a large majority which supports Serbia and which is ready to send thousands and thousands of volunteers to Serbia," Mr. Fedorov said.

(AFP, Reuters, WP)

In 77 Herald Tribune Feb. 1/93



# Russia's Pro-Serb Line Is Growing

By Joseph Fitchett

*International Herald Tribune*

PARIS — Russian objections to international military intervention could thwart Western efforts to contain the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, U.S. and European officials said Monday.

According to a U.S. official, "it's the looking-glass war in the sense that Moscow sees exactly the opposite of what we see there."

"For us, it's the proof of Western inability to control events, for them it's a Western plot to undermine Russia."

Despite concern in Moscow about the Yugoslav fighting, Russia warned publicly Sunday that it opposed military action against the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Yet Western calls for intervention have emphasized the theme of containing Serbian expansionism.

While the Yeltsin government's eagerness for Western help has guaranteed Russian cooperation in the Security Council so far, there is a growing question about Moscow's future line, as criticism mounts in Moscow that Russia has made too many diplomatic concessions to the West.

The backlash in Moscow against diplomatic cooperation with the West stretches across the political spectrum and involves a range of reactions, starting from a growing mood that the West has humiliated Russia and not compensated it for its military concessions.

More specific fears focus on the long-standing strategic ties between Russians and Serbs, fellow Slavs and Orthodox Christians who have traditionally sided with Moscow.

Now Yugoslavia's disintegration in bloody ethnic fighting looks, to many Russians, like a possible trial run for future developments in Russia itself, with Russians cast in the role of the Serbian majority trying to hold together their country and protect their countrymen who have become minorities in breakaway states.

Russians with this view worry that they could someday find themselves in a role analogous to that of the Serbs.

The Russian federation contains turbulent ethnic factions demanding independence, and the Western argument for intervention in Yugoslavia could, in the

Russian view, become a precedent for a similar situation in Russia.

"It's the unseen side of the Yugoslav war for you," a liberal Russian parliamentarian told U.S. officials in Washington last week. While declining to say so publicly lest it limit Moscow's room for maneuver, the Russian politician warned that the only interventionist sentiment in his country ran in favor of help to the Serbs, not toward punishing them.

This sentiment has been apparent for months as Russia has emerged as a major source of violations of the UN embargo against Serbia by sending weapons, oil and other supplies to the Belgrade government, according to Western officials.

For Russians, the Serbs are not the aggressors in Yugoslavia but the victims.

This Moscow mood may sound far-fetched in Western countries, where many people feel frustrated and threatened themselves by the escalating conflict.

But the upsurge of fears and criticism among politicized Russians has become a major preoccupation for the Clinton administration and European governments as they grope for stronger international ac-

## Factor in Balkan Conflict

tion on former Yugoslavia, allied officials said.

A British official said that "at a minimum we're going to have to change our presentation to stress that we are worried about a threat to stability, including Russia's stability."

Returning from Moscow meetings with Russian policymakers, a French official said: "The moralizing rhetoric of the Gorbachev era is gone. They want to know what plan we have for a country on their border."

The absence of a Western plan has been part of the problem, officials added, because German pressure pushed allied governments to recognize Croatia, and subsequent Western inaction has appeared — in Russian eyes — to condone the trend to remove Bosnia and Kosovo from Serbian control.

As a result of these suspicions in Moscow, "the question mark about Russian support could turn out to be the Clinton administration's biggest problem in trying to galvanize new international momentum," a U.S. policymaker said.

Beyond the need of Russian support in the Security Council, a major Western-led military action in former Yugoslavia — for example, the use of ground troops for preventive peacekeeping in Macedonia — would probably require Russian troops, too, for the UN force to be big enough for the job.

Ultimately at risk is the diplomatic cooperation between Russia and the West that opened the way to international action against Iraq and raised hopes of more muscular action by the United Nations to maintain international stability.

Although Russia can ill afford to be blatantly obstructive toward Western foreign-policy interests, President Boris N. Yeltsin has demonstrated increasing sensitivity to conservative criticism that Russian diplomacy has become too pro-American.

His call for the Clinton administration to show less "arrogance" than its predecessor came on the heels of Russian denunciation of the U.S. missile attack in Iraq last month, the first time in recent years that Moscow has distanced itself so fundamentally from the United States and its allies.

Int'l  
Herald  
Tribune  
Feb. 2/93

## Divide Bosnia into three

SIR—The stupidity of according international recognition to a Muslim-Croat state of Bosnia must now be clear. The complex scheme aimed at dividing Bosnia into 10 autonomous provinces could never work, as you pointed out (editorial, Jan. 28), even if boundaries were agreed.

A simpler settlement must be sought along the lines of reported pre-independence discussions among the Bosnians, which envisaged a tripartite division of the country into Serb, Croat and Muslim areas.

This would guarantee the existence of a Muslim state in the Balkans. It would also allow an extension of Croatia into the Catholic-dominated western Hercegovina. It would give the Serbs a link between Serbia and its outlying settlement of Krajina. Sarajevo would be an international city.

Denial of the Serbs — who, incidentally, were our allies in two world wars, compose one third of the population of Bosnia and have a right of self-determination — has lain at the root of EC embarrassment. The last time a racial minority of this size was forced into a state it regarded as alien was in 1919, when Sudeten demands for independence from Czechoslovakia were ignored by President Wilson and the Allies. We know what happened there 19 years later. Will we never learn?

Prof WILLIAM FRENCH  
Cambridge

The  
Daily  
Telegraph  
Feb. 3/93



# Weapons Shipment Intercepted On Way to Bosnia

By MICHAEL R. GORDON  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 25 — In a move that highlights the debate over the embargo on arms shipments to the parties in the Balkan war, Western naval forces have intercepted a large shipment of weapons bound for the Bosnian Government, American officials said today.

They said the ship, called the Dolphin One, was en route to Rijeka, Croatia, when it was intercepted by Italian warships. From Croatia, the cargo would have been carried overland to Bosnia.

The ship contained surface-to-surface rockets, Chinese-made pistols and

ammunition for Kalashnikov rifles and Toyota jeeps, all believed to have been shipped from Iran. The vessel was taken into custody by Italian destroyers and ordered to steam to an Italian port, American officials said.

The State Department has said the Clinton Administration is rethinking the arms embargo, which has locked in the overwhelming advantage that Serbian forces have enjoyed over the Bosnian Muslims, particularly in heavy weapons. The Bush Administration initially supported the arms embargo on weapons shipments only to question it in the President's last weeks in office.

Supporters of the arms embargo say

that it limits the intensity of the fighting in the Balkans. Critics say the West should provide the Muslims with the means to defend themselves.

At the same time, there have been continuing reports that United Nations economic sanctions on Yugoslavia are being circumvented.

American officials said that a Greek-owned vessel, the Dimitrakis, reached the port of Bar in Montenegro on Jan. 19 after the captain falsely declared that he was making an emergency stop for repairs, a Pentagon official said. The vessel was reported to be carrying 6,000 metric tons of petroleum coke, which officials said can be used in

refining oil.

In addition, American officials said that several convoys of tankers traveling up the Danube, bound for Serbia, refused to yield when told to halt.

### Enforcement on the Danube

A convoy of six diesel fuel tankers, guided by the tugboat Bihac, refused to heed Bulgarian calls to halt on Jan. 21, officials said. The captain of that convoy reportedly threatened to blow up the fuel when told to halt.

A convoy of 24 barges loaded with fuel also refused to stop when told to do so by Romanian officials, Clinton Administration officials said.

While the Adriatic is patrolled by ships from NATO and the Western European Union, the sanctions are enforced on the Danube only by Romanian and Bulgarian river patrols.

There have also been reports that the supplies have been sent to the Greek port of Salonika and then shipped overland through Macedonia. American officials have been concerned about the possibility of sanctions-busting by Greek companies for some time because Greece has not allowed European Community observers supervise its compliance with the restrictions.

Adding to the pressure on the Clinton Administration to take firmer action is an American assessment that as many as 70,000 detainees are being held in Serbian, Muslim and Croatian detention camps.

The State Department said today that if Red Cross officials found "the maximum number of possible prisoners in each and every possible site, the number could be as high as 70,000."



NYT  
1-26-93



The New York Times

A ship carrying arms for Bosnians was halted en route to Rijeka.

## SERBIA IS DENYING IT HOLDS BOSNIANS

Terms Article on U.S. Report Erroneous and 'Racist'

By CHUCK SUDETIC  
Special to The New York Times

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, Jan. 25 — The Serbian and Yugoslav Governments denied today that prisoners of war from Bosnia and Herzegovina were being held in detention camps on Yugoslav territory.

The assertion that Bosnian prisoners may be detained in Serbia came in a document prepared by United States Government intelligence agencies. The document said that as many as 135 prison camps are being operated by Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Serbia itself, and that these camps hold the vast majority of the total number of prisoners held by the Serbian, Muslim and Croatian factions in the Bosnian war.

The report's estimated total for all sides' prisoners, ranging up to 70,000, is many times higher than the 2,750 prisoners registered and visited by representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Officials of international relief agencies said they had no knowledge of prisoners from Bosnia and Herzegovina being held in Serbia, but they repeated an appeal to all sides in the conflict to open their detention camps to Red Cross representatives. The United States Government report said the Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats might be operating as many as 33 camps.

### Red Cross Seeks Visits

"We do not pretend that all sides in the Bosnian conflict are giving us the opportunity to visit all the prisoners they are holding," said a Red Cross official in Belgrade who asked to remain anonymous. "We want them to give us the facilities to carry out such visits."

United States officials said they recently gave the report to the United Nations special representative for the Balkans, Cyrus R. Vance, and to officials of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and the International Committee of the Red Cross. Officials of the Red Cross confirmed the receipt today.

Yugoslavia has been under stiff international pressure, including United Nations economic sanctions and threats of armed intervention, for supporting the Serbian rebels who have carved away about two-thirds of Bosnia and Herzegovina's territory in the nine-month-old war there.

The Yugoslav Government criticized an article about the intelligence report that appeared in The New York Times on Sunday, describing the article as an erroneous and "racist" attack on Serbia and the Serbian people.

"The State Department notified Yugoslav diplomats on Jan. 16," it said, "that in early January the State Department spokesman, Richard A. Boucher, cited a completely erroneous estimate of 70,000 prisoners on Yugoslavia's territory."

The State Department said that if Red Cross officials found "the maximum number of possible prisoners in each and every possible site, the number could be as high as 70,000." Administration officials had said earlier that the estimate of 70,000 prisoners was based on an assumption that 45 of the camps might be occupied at one time.

The Serbian Government said in its statement that "the American daily The New York Times, relying on unidentified sources in the United States, has repeated earlier assertions on the alleged existence of prison camps on Serbia's territory which have never been proved."

The Serbian Government called the Times article a "contribution to a dishonorable campaign led by some American news organizations in recent days to apply media pressure on the new United States Administration and United Nations to decide to intervene militarily in the territory of the former Yugoslavia."

"Not one of the many international missions to visit Serbia recently confirmed the existence of such camps,"

United States diplomats in Belgrade declined to comment on the intelligence report or the article in The Times.

In its list of "probable" camps in Serbia, the American report included a Yugoslav Army air base and a police station in the village of Batajnica, a federal prison in the town of Sremska Mitrovica, a military prison in the Belgrade suburb of Zemun and an undescribed site in the central Serbian town of Rudnik.

Accounts that thousands of Muslims from Bosnia and Herzegovina are being held at the Batajnica airfield have been circulating for at least seven months, but no proof of their existence has ever been turned up by international relief agencies or Western journalists in their visits to the base.

Officials of army and federal Government of Yugoslavia — which now comprises the republics of Serbia and Montenegro — did not respond to a request to visit the installations today.



# Clashes Persist on Yugoslav Coast; Croats Report Pushing Back Serbs

NPT  
1-26-93

By CHUCK SUDETIĆ  
Special to The New York Times

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, Jan. 25 — In a fourth day of clashes near Zadar, on the Croatian coast, the Croatian Army recaptured a military and civilian airport today, forcing out Serbian militiamen who had held the site for more than 18 months, local news reports said.

Heavy combat was reported in villages east of the airport, at Zemunik, as Serbian forces struggled to halt a Croatian advance near the borders of areas under the protection of United Nations peacekeeping forces, the reports said.

Two French soldiers with the peacekeeping force were killed this afternoon and three others wounded when artillery shells exploded near their position, United Nations and French Government officials said. The officials did not indicate which side had fired the shells.

[The United Nations Security Council condemned the offensive and demanded that attacks on areas patrolled by the peacekeepers be halted immediately. Russia, a permanent member of the Security Council, said it would demand a trade embargo against Croatia if the attack continued.]

The deaths brought to 11 the number of French soldiers killed in the former

## A year-old cease-fire seems to be in tatters.

Yugoslavia; a total of 26 peacekeepers have been killed since the operation got under way in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina last spring.

The fighting, which erupted on Friday when Croatian forces launched attacks on the Serbs, is the most serious disruption of a United Nations-supervised cease-fire that was put in place last January to stop a seven-month war between Croatia and rebellious Serbs in a region of Croatia called Krajina.

Over the weekend, President Franjo Tudjman of Croatia said he had called a halt to military operations near Zadar after his forces regained the Maslenica bridge and an adjacent Serbian-held stretch of the coastal highway. The bridge and highway connect the Croatian heartland with its Dalmatian coastal lands to the south.

Today, however, the Croatian Navy commander said his country's forces would again honor the cease-fire if the Serbs withdrew to a line 13 miles southeast of their previous positions. It is unclear how far that line is from the current battle front, but if the Serbs complied, the withdrawal would take

them out of artillery range of Zadar and the Adriatic highway.

"The Serbs should withdraw south-east of that line and the Croats will not fire any more," said the commander, Adm. Sveto Letica, a liaison with the United Nations in the Zadar area.

Yugoslav Army units went on a heightened state of combat readiness today after the President of Yugoslavia and its top army officer warned on Sunday that their forces would intervene if the United Nations failed to bring peace. The Supreme Defense Council said after an emergency meeting in Belgrade that "all necessary measures" would be taken to deal with the crisis.

## Map Is Becoming Clearer

By DAVID BINDER  
Special to The New York Times

GENEVA, Jan. 25 — Negotiators seeking to end the war in Bosnia reported today that they had made some headway on dividing the republic into 10 largely self-governing but ethnically mixed provinces.

The borders of the proposed map are the last major stumbling block to agreement on a political settlement. The leaders of Bosnia's Muslims, Serbs and Croats have all publicly accepted the nine underlying principles on which a peace settlement would be based.

Croats and Muslims here said they had reached broad agreement on boundaries in the central region, northwest of Sarajevo, where their populations are almost equal in size. In recent weeks there have been sharp clashes between Croatian and Muslim forces in the area.

### One Optimist, One Pessimist

"Today I am optimistic," said Mile Ahmadzic, a Croat who is Prime Minister of Bosnia, after describing the agreements reached on the borders.

That evaluation was disputed by Alija Izetbegovic, the Muslim President of the republic. "I have seen no progress," he said at a news conference.

But Mr. Izetbegovic then disclosed that he had made a key concession: After demanding for weeks that Muslims should have "ethnic corridors" to the edges of the republic in the north, the southeast and the southwest, he said today, "There is no need for any corridors in Bosnia and Herzegovina."

The Bosnian Serbs' leader, Radovan Karadzic, also made some concessions, saying the Serbs would give up their claims to Jajce, a city west of Travnik, and permit it to be governed by Croats and Muslims.

The peace talks are in "a very fluid" state, said Fred Eckhard, the conference spokesman, with no fixed schedule and many bilateral meetings.



# Compromise Likely to Take Macedonia Into U.N.

By PAUL LEWIS  
Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, Jan. 25 — A yearlong international controversy over the name under which a former Yugoslav republic should be admitted to the United Nations appears close to resolution on the basis of an awkward-looking compromise.

Foreign Minister Michael Papaconstantinou of Greece said today that his Government was ready in principle to accept a plan drawn up by France, Britain and Spain, the three European Community members of the Security Council, under which the Council would offer Macedonia membership in the United Nations as the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

At the same time as the United Nations accepts Macedonia under this name, the European plan calls for the Security Council to instruct the Macedonian and Greek Governments to negotiate a compromise to their dispute.

Greece has been blocking the admission of Macedonia to the United Nations as an independent nation as well as its diplomatic recognition by most of the world under that name, arguing that its use implies a territorial claim on the northeastern region of Greece also known as Macedonia.

## Greeks Demonstrate

Up to a million Greeks have demonstrated in the center of Athens against the former Yugoslav republic calling itself Macedonia.

The conservative Greek Government of Premier Constantin Mitsotakis has told other European governments it could be driven from office if the international community recognized an independent state of Macedonia.

Mr. Papaconstantinou said in an interview that a compromise along the lines suggested by France, Britain and Spain would be acceptable to Athens, pointing out that Macedonia had al-



The New York Times

An accord seems near on how Macedonia should be admitted to the United Nations.

ready been admitted to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank as the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and that this was the name also used by the European Community and at the Yugoslav peace conference in Geneva.

"If the Security Council agrees to that then we will agree to it-too," the Foreign Minister said.

Macedonia is expected to accept such a compromise, diplomats here say, since it has agreed to join other international organizations under that name. But in the past the Macedonian President, Kiro Gligorov, has turned down any suggestion Macedonia negotiate a compromise to its quarrel with Greece.

The Greek Foreign Minister asked the Security Council today to seek "confidence building measures" from Macedonia as part of any agreement on United Nations membership, includ-

## An awkward name could settle a bitter dispute.

ing deletion of clauses in its Constitution that Greece says imply claims on its territory, removal of Hellenic symbols from its flag and stamps and an end to what he termed "hostile propaganda."

After approval by the Security Council, Macedonia's application for United Nations membership would be sent to the General Assembly, where approval appears a foregone conclusion.

Greece's successful campaign to block recognition of Macedonia has irritated other European countries who fear that without increased international legitimacy this tiny, desperately poor country of only two million people that does not even have an army may soon be swallowed up by its predatory neighbors, creating a new ethnic con-

flagration in the Balkans.

Last November, the Security Council dispatched an infantry battalion and a group of police observers to monitor Macedonia's borders and prevent any incursions that might lead to a widening of the Balkan conflict.

About a quarter of Macedonia's population are ethnic Albanian Muslims who live mainly in the west of the country. Any attempt by the dissatisfied Albanian majority in the neighboring Serbian province of Kosovo to break away and set up a greater Albania could lead to a separatist drive by Macedonia's Albanians as well.

Bulgaria, which once included present-day Macedonia, has recognized the country's frontiers but not the existence of a separate state with them.

As a result there are fears that any fresh outbreak of ethnic unrest among the region's Albanian minority might be seized as a pretext by nationalists in Bulgaria to press for annexation of the rest of Macedonia to recreate a greater Bulgaria.

## Ex-Communists Keep Key Posts in Slovenia

Special to The New York Times

GENEVA, Jan. 25 — Slovenia got a new coalition Government today, approved by the 90-member Parliament constituted by national elections last month.

Politicians in Ljubljana reached by telephone said that the key members of the Cabinet are all former Communists whose program is essentially the same as that of the Slovenian leadership of three years ago, when the republic was still part of the Yugoslav federation.

The Prime Minister, Janez Drnovsek, who held the same post previously, was in 1989 one of the last Communist

presidents of Yugoslavia.

Mr. Drnovsek has retained the portfolio for the Slovenian secret police, leaving the newly chosen Interior Minister, Ivan Bizjak of the Christian Democratic Party, with authority over little more than Slovenia's traffic police, a Slovenian official said today.

The sole important Cabinet post given to a politician with a non-Communist background is that of Foreign Minister, which was given to Lojze Peterle, a Christian Democrat. All of the key economic posts went to former Communists.



Agence France-Presse

Croatian military policemen left their car to check the body of a Serbian soldier who died in fighting near the coastal city of Zadar.



Charles Krauthammer

## The Best Plan for Bosnia

Why is the Clinton administration blocking the best chance for peace in Bosnia? That chance is embodied in the peace plan offered by Cyrus Vance and David Owen dividing Bosnia into 10 highly independent ethnic cantons. The Europeans have endorsed the plan. The Croats have accepted it. But the Bosnian Serbs and Muslims have refused to sign. That prompted Vance and Owen to bring the plan to the United Nations and ask the Security Council to endorse and impose it.

Its fate now hinges on the United States. Without U.S. support, it dies. Secretary of State Warren Christopher has been killing it softly.

*Q: Does the United States support the peace plan...?*

*Christopher: Well, we've been supportive of the process in the hope that the parties would come into agreement on the process. That's as far as I'm prepared to go... (Press conference, Feb. 1)*

Christopher, it seems, is all for peace processes. Peace plans—the concrete stuff that can put an end to war and, alas, to peace processes—are quite another thing.

*Christopher: We hope that the process can continue with the parties meeting here in New York, and [we'll] pursue the process as we have in the past. We've thought the process itself is desirable... I found Mr. Vance and Mr. Owen quite understanding that we're in the midst of a policy process. As I say, I urged them to continue their*

*process. (Remarks, same day, after meeting with Vance and Owen.)*

This would all be comic were it not so tragic: For Bosnia, process means continued war.

Why is Christopher resisting? "Some Administration officials," reports the New York Times, "said [the plan] was flawed because it specifically abolishes the legitimate government of an internationally recognized state and replaces it with an ethnically based nine-member council that divides power among the Muslims now in power and the Croats and Serbs."

What is wrong with dividing power in an ethnically divided land? Muslims are Bosnia's largest minority, but still a minority. What makes their sectarian, minority government so sacrosanct? It might have international legitimacy, but it has no legitimacy among the majority of Bosnians who are non-Muslim and who wish not to be ruled by a Muslim government.

Does Christopher have a better idea for settling the conflict? If so, what is it? More process?

Critics say the Vance plan is unenforceable. How do they know? And how enforceable is Bosnia's current unitary state? Totally unenforceable, short of massive Western military intervention to roll the Serbs and Croats out of Bosnia.

The Vance plan is at least potentially enforceable because it is realistic. Unlike the alternative, it recognizes the irreconcilable ethnic

divisions in Bosnia. It gives up the unitary state, a bloody fantasy that cannot be put right without enormous human costs. Western and Yugoslav. The new reference point is a different but real Bosnia: a country with a very loose central government where the ethnic groups live within highly independent provinces.

What to do?

(1) Declare full U.S. support for the Vance-Owen plan.

(2) Sponsor, with Russia, a Security Council resolution accepting the plan as the only basis for solving the war in Bosnia (just as Resolution 242 is the benchmark for peacemaking in the Middle East).

(3) Announce Security Council measures to enforce the plan. First, European and Russian ground troops—it is their back yard—to ensure the separation of forces. Second, American air power to enforce disarmament. The Vance-Owen plan calls for the U.N.-monitored withdrawal of heavy weapons within five days from Sarajevo, 15 days for the rest of the country. Those weapons not removed the United States will destroy.

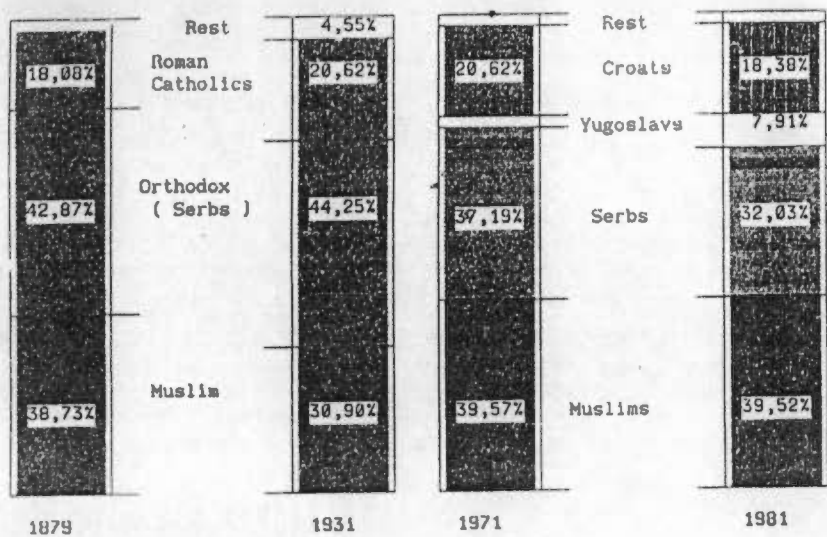
(4) Treat all parties according to their cooperation with the plan. If the Serbs resist, they get bombed. If they cooperate, sanctions are gradually lifted. If Muslims cooperate, they get the protection of Great Power troops. If they resist, they face isolation.

*The Washington Post - Thursday  
February 4, 1993*

What is the alternative? The alternative being pushed by Bosnia hawks in the United States is punitive intervention—bombing the Serbs, arming the Muslims—to shore up the present Bosnian government and punish the Serbs. That might make us feel better, but at the cost of countless Yugoslav lives lost pointlessly in a prolonged war.

Punitive intervention is not just mindless moralism. It is bad strategy. It happens that Russia, for reasons of history and strategy, is linked to Serbia. Consider the irony. For 50 years, NATO never once went to war against a fiercely hostile Soviet Union or its European allies. Not for Hungary, not for Czechoslovakia, not for Poland. Now that Russia has declared peace and adopted the most pro-Western foreign policy in three centuries, will NATO's first engagement on the ground be a punitive war against a Russian ally? That is a hell of a way to kick off the new era of friendship between Russia and the West.

What is our national interest in Bosnia? We have no interest in how the lines are drawn in Bosnia. Our only interest is that the lines be drawn, that the rival groups be secure behind them and that the war end. That is what the Vance-Owen plan offers. "It's the best settlement you can get, and it's a bitter irony to see the Clinton people block it," said Owen. "What do they want down there, a war that goes on and on?"



POPULATION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA  
According to the Censuses

Prvoslav Ralić, Ph.D.

WHO'S WHO  
IN  
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA



## WHO'S WHO IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

**Bosnia and Herzegovina and the "Serbian question"  
Who is at war in Bosnia and Herzegovina ? Who does it belong to ?**

*We are faced with questions which reveal that, for various reasons, little is known about Bosnia in the world at large. Even some basic information is lacking. This is often the cause of confusion and misperception.*

*These are the questions most frequently asked about Bosnia and Herzegovina abroad:*

*- What is what and who is who in the tragic war in Bosnia and Herzegovina ?*

*- What is the ethnic composition of Bosnia and Herzegovina ? Whose is this land: Moslem, Serbian, Croatian ?*

*- Why are there Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina ? Who are the Moslems living there ? Are they Turks ? What are the Croats doing there? What is the relationship in percentages among these people ? What is the history of the people and ideas in these areas? What is the role of religions there?*

## INTRODUCTION

The problem of Bosnia and Herzegovina is the problem of the former Yugoslavia repeated on a smaller scale. The breakup of Yugoslavia has as its natural consequence the breakup of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This process is now developing.

Why is this the same as the problem of the former Yugoslavia? Because both the Serb-Croat and the Serb-Moslem questions are unresolved in this former Yugoslav republic. Three religions, and their respective church organizations, are present in local history, sometimes attempting to cooperate, more often in conflict. In Bosnia and Herzegovina there is a mix of Serbian Orthodoxy, Croat Catholicism and Islam, the last of which, especially today, has the character of a political movement.

Three peoples live in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Moslems, Croats and Serbs. According to history and religion, according to the very nature of things, Bosnia and Herzegovina is not exclusively a Moslem, Serb or Croat land; it is Moslem, Serb and Croat. Over the centuries, both from without and within, conflict and hatred among these peoples was fomented. This was the way Bosnia and Herzegovina was ruled, or ruled over, in the past as well as today.

## AREA AND HISTORY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Bosnia is the central area of former Yugoslavia. Today, it borders with Serbia, Croatia and Montenegro. Wholly or in parts, Bosnia was at various times part of the Serbian or Croatian state. A separate Bosnian state did not appear until the 12th century. Even then, it was generally a Serbian state, as the Serb populace was at that time dominant in this area.

Most Yugoslav states first came into existence as geographic communities. While Serbia and Croatia took on tribal characteristics very quickly, Bosnia, during its entire existence, was a state with regional characteristics, precisely because of its mixed national structure. This can be seen, for example, from the fact that the Bosnian ruler Tvrtko, crowned in 1377, was first king of Bosnia and Serbia, and later, after expanding to the east at the expense of the Serbs, and to the west at the expense of the Croats, was proclaimed king of "the Serbs, Bosnia, Dalmatia, Croatia and the coastal areas". Tvrtko thus became the first king of both the Serbs and the Croats. There were no Moslems there at the time. Tvrtko was the first to attempt a solution for the national question in the Bosnian area. His idea was for Bosnia to become a political link between the Serb and Croat peoples, as they lived geographically intermingled there. This ideal also surfaced at later points, but, as we know, it did not stand up to the test of history.

## THE SERBS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Before the Turkish conquests, two peoples lived in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Serbs and Croats. At this time, there were no Moslems in this region.

The larger part of Bosnia and Herzegovina is Serb land. Serbs did not come to Bosnia from Serbia, in the remote past or recently, as some misinformed people seem to think, but have been living in it for centuries as a majority people. Despite Islamization and the appearance of Slavic Moslems (not Turks), during the period of Turkish rule, the Serbs were the most numerous ethnic and religious community in these parts.

According to the census taken after the Austro-Hungarian occupation, in 1879 Bosnia and Herzegovina had 1,158,164 inhabitants; 496,485 (42.87%) were of the Orthodox confession (Serbs), 448,613 (38.73%) were of the Islamic confession (today's Moslems), 209,391 (18.08%) of the Catholic confession (Croats and other Catholics), and 3,675 belonged to other confessions, mostly the Jewish.

According to 1931 statistics, there were 2,323,555 inhabitants in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Orthodox numbered 1,028,139, or 44.25%, the Moslems 718,079, or 30.9%, and Catholics 547,949, or 20.3%. According to this same census, if we look at Herzegovina and Bosnia separately, the situation was as follows: Bosnia had 2,018,220 people - 929,947 Orthodox (46.1%), 648,038 Moslems (32.1%) and 410,809 Catholics (20.3); Herzegovina had 137,140 Catholics (44.8%), 98,190 Orthodox (32%) and 70,041 Moslems (22.8%).

Therefore, we see that the Serbian population constituted a stable majority throughout the larger part of the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It did not turn without reserve to Serbia's capital, Belgrade, even though it kept up spiritual ties. On the other hand, the Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina always looked to Croatia's capital, Zagreb, voicing separatist ideas about linking parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the Croat state. The Moslems were in a constant search for their identity, and for their political and spiritual movement; they were always looking for a leader.

As early as immediately after World War I, there was a certain lack of energy and a fragmentation of the Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This was the price of heavy persecution and suffering. Certain Serbian areas, and especially Serbian homes, lived through a veritable catastrophe. Political disunity among the Serbs was on the rise.

After World War II, primarily because of the Ustaša genocide against the Serbs, in which both Croat and Moslem Ustašas took part, but also in part because of the forced relocation of Serbs from Bosnia and Herzegovina to Serbia, the number of Serbs in the population dropped significantly. An inversion of the relationship between the Moslems and Serbs took place. Now it was the Moslems who made up the relative, albeit small, majority. Coalition games between the Moslems and the Croats took place,



with the aim of devising an anti-Serbian political majority in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

All this led to the state of affairs in 1971, when the census revealed that in Bosnia and Herzegovina there were 39.57% Moslems, 37.19% Serbs and 20.62% Croats. For political reasons, the category of "Yugoslavs" also appeared, comprising at that time 1.17% of the population.

Ten years later, in 1981, the census showed a stabilization of the percentage of Moslems (39.52%), a marked decline in the number of Serbs (32.03%) and Croats (18.38%), and an increase in the number of Yugoslavs (7.9%) and others (2.13%).

The facts show that the real number of Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina is larger than that shown by the 1981 census. Namely, under strong anti-Serb communist propaganda, many Serbs, especially in the cities, began to declare themselves (often hiding in this way) as "Yugoslavs". Most of the "Yugoslavs" are Serbs. In many places where none of the three peoples has an absolute majority, adding up the number of Serbs and "Yugoslavs" will yield such a majority. Of course, among the "Yugoslavs" there are also those who are the children of mixed marriages, or individual Moslems and Croats (very few) who believed that a "Yugoslav nation" was possible.

The following fact is also important: taking into account the population centres where they live and the territory they inhabit, the Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina even today have a dominant place in the ethnic and territorial make-up of Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to the 1981 census, Serbs are an absolute majority in 2,439 out of a total of 5,857 inhabited places. Population centres dominated by Serbian inhabitants take up 27,255.2 sq.km, or 53.3% of the total territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina (51,129 sq.km). As we can see, population centres with Moslem or Croat domination take up far less space.

These facts show that the idea behind the political plan for, and the national right to, the cantonization of Bosnia and Herzegovina is deeply founded. Cantonization is the best way for the future equal coexistence of the peoples in these areas, with full rights for all for autonomous and sovereign participation in all spheres of society, from culture to politics.

#### MOSLEMS AND CROATS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

As we have seen, the Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina, although a minority people, are a people who have always lived in these areas with their autonomous and constitutional rights.

On the other hand, where do the Moslems in Bosnia and Herzegovina come from? This is a question often posed abroad by those who possess little elementary information about Bosnia and Herzegovina.

There were no Moslems in the ancient Bosnian state. They began to appear with

the Turkish arrival and conquest in Bosnia, in the 15th and 16th centuries. As the heart of Slavic territory, Bosnia was strategically important for the Turks. It was also a border area with the Austrians and Venetians. At the same time, it was a base for military action against the West, and, to a lesser extent, against the North. This is why the Turks wanted to have a firm hold on this area and its population. All the main cities in Bosnia were built by the Turks not for economic or social reasons, even less for national ones, but rather for strategic purposes. With the Turks, urban life started to develop. In this respect, they influenced some of our people, Serbs, and to a lesser extent the Croats, who converted to Islam and adopted the urban customs and culture of the Turks.

With the arrival of the Turks, the composition and relationships of the population were significantly changed. The basic reason was the Islamization of a portion of the Slavs - mostly Serbs. Most of those who adopted Islam did so for various reasons: for profit, in order to adapt better and have more privileges; out of fear; as resistance to the former authorities. Historians have determined that many Moslems, although with Serb or Croat roots, felt, with the passage of time, more like Turks. This was so because they shared religion, power and privileges with the occupiers, creating a special way of life and a separate culture. Istanbul was closer to their hearts than Belgrade or Zagreb.

The Bosnian Moslems, therefore, are not descendants of the Turks, as some misinformed people abroad seem to think, probably on the basis of the solidarity between modern Turkey and the Moslems of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This solidarity is not based on ethnic roots (to repeat, Bosnian Moslems are of Slavic origin), but in modern great-Moslem, fundamentalist, expansionist attitudes towards the West. Where the Turks were once stopped, and where they once found a temporary historic harbour, from that place they now wish to continue the conquest of the West. Many people do not see this, and even view it as preposterous. No doubt, they shall soon see.

#### RELIGIONS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

For a long time there have been three religious confessions in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Orthodox Christian, Roman Catholic and Moslem (panislamistic in policy).

Even at first glance it is clear that the similarities among these religions are slight, and the differences vast. Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism are both Christian confessions (they worship the same God, but with differences in teaching and ritual. Orthodoxy is the repository of original Christianity, tradition, Christian culture and spiritual consciousness. Roman Catholicism is the outgrowth of Christianity as it developed in Rome, in the Vatican, with the contemporary interests of its leaders and countries, as well as its mundane political aims as its driving forces. All Orthodox churches are organized along national lines and are independent (the Orthodox Church

in Bosnia and Herzegovina belongs to the Serbian Orthodox Church), while Roman Catholic churches are subject to one centre: the Vatican. While Orthodoxy focuses on the "kingdom of Heaven", Roman Catholicism pays more attention to questions which are of this world. While it is less centralized, the basis of Orthodoxy is in the sovereignty of Christ the Saviour, and the faith and obedience of its believers to Christ, while the basis of Roman Catholicism can be found in its ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Islam in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a product of acculturation, of taking over an alien religion with which a process of identification takes place over time. It is a characteristic of Islam in Bosnia and Herzegovina that religion is tied in to the political interests and economic status of the believers. This is why the Moslem segment of the population is in a constant dilemma over its national consciousness: whether of Serb or Croat origin, its members are believers in Islam. It was only during Tito's rule that the religious affiliation of the Moslems was transformed, for political reasons, in 1971, into a "nationality", and it is only from that point on that Moslems are referred to as a "nation". Naturally, throughout history, there were attempts by the ideologues of Islam in Bosnia and Herzegovina to define the whole of the "Bosnian spirit" through Islam. This religious, and not only religious, expansionism is alive even today.

The differences and conflicts between these religions in Bosnia and Herzegovina are important factors in the explanation of the present political and military situation in these areas.

#### ALIJA IZETBEGOVIĆ- MOSLEM FUNDAMENTALIST

Many people in the world do not know that Alija Izetbegović, currently presiding member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina (not President of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as he says and behaves), is also the author of the well-known political tract "The Islamic Declaration" - a document of radical Islam.

Some uninformed people, or those who have political interests antagonistic to those of the Serbs - like Warren Zimmerman, until recently U.S. Ambassador to Belgrade - claim that Alija Izetbegović was a fundamentalist "only in his past", and that he is not one today, because he, as they say, does not want to create an Islamic state in which the other nationalities are relegated to the lesser position of national minorities, but is only a man who defends the rights of Moslems (who is he defending them from if they are the majority?), and wants to create a democratic multi-ethnic state in Bosnia (how can he legally create such a state without the constitutionally mandated agreement of the Serbs, who are one of Bosnia's three "constitutional" peoples?)

What are Izetbegović's main positions in the "Islamic Declaration"? His main aim, as he puts it, is the "islamization of Moslems". He thinks, and puts it down in italics, that both the West and the East are against the Moslems, that their aim is to keep them in

a state of spiritual and material dependence (that is what the man who constantly plays up to the West actually thinks and writes of it). There will be no Islam if ideas and plans are not converted into action. He cites an important example: "As an Islamic country, Turkey ruled the world. As a copy of Europe, Turkey is a third-rate country, of the likes of which there are hundreds more in the world." The message of Alija Izetbegović is clear from the very beginning: without radical Islam, there will be no Islamic domination of the world. What is the name of this position? This is what the West, which is now negotiating with Izetbegović, has forgotten. They have forgotten that Izetbegović, in word and action, links "Islamic society and Islamic rule". For him, a Moslem does not exist as an individual, but only as an order. Is this the modern idea of the West, is this the humanism of the western world?

Alija Izetbegović concludes that "Islam and non-Islamic systems are disparate". How, then, does he envisage the equality of Moslems in Bosnia and Herzegovina? He does not, really, because he has other ideas: "There can be no peace or coexistence between the Islamic faith and non-Islamic social and political institutions". These are his clear words. And here are some more: "Islam is the ideology of the Moslem community, panislamism is its policy"; "An Islamic revival cannot start without a religious revolution, and it cannot be successfully carried out without a political one".

As a parallel, Alija Izetbegović coherently leads his political and philosophical actions. He wrote that "we must be first preachers, then soldiers". As he wrote, so he did. He is now the supreme commander not of a "multi-ethnic" state, but of a Moslem army. In the "Islamic Declaration" he writes: "The Islamic movement should and can take over power as soon as it is morally and numerically strong enough to not only pull down the existing non-Islamic structures of power, but also to erect new, Islamic ones." These days, Alija Izetbegović, in front of the eyes of Europe, is building a new Islamic structure of power with the assistance of Turkey, which is asking for military intervention against non-Moslems in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Yugoslavia.

Who are the people who do not understand this, and why is it all being hidden? How can the Roman Catholic countries of the West protect a man who wrote that "the Divine announcement in Christianity is some points deformed" simply because it is not Islamic? How can one say that he is a man of European outlook when with all his being, with his words and with his writings, he is an "Islamic patriot"? Yes, "Islamic patriotism" are his words, the ones Europe does not hear, or pretends not to hear. Europe and the US choose to ignore that he refers to international factors as the "powerful forces of the Jahilliyet".

No East, no West, Islam is the best - this is the condensed message of the writings and actions of Alija Izetbegović, formulated after the model of Khomeini. The Moslem community shall spread from Morocco, over Bosnia and Turkey, far to the East. Europe will pay dearly, as it once already has, for its indifference towards the new absolute: Islamic fundamentalism. It does not see this absolute because it is too busy with its "new European order". How is this order even possible in the form of



disintegration, support for separatism and the spiritual and cultural weakening of other, smaller, peoples? Can Europe, the cradle of the individual and the protector of the individual rights of man, go hand in hand with a religion which negates the individual through political violence and seeks Moslem unification?

#### WHO IS WHO IN THE WAR IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Nowadays in Bosnia and Herzegovina three national armies - the Serb, Croat and Moslem ones - are at war. This is a political, religious and civil war. It is now clear that the simplistic old European schemes which divide the conflicting parties into the "aggressor" Serbs and the "attacked" Moslems and Croats are no longer valid. The Serbs did not come to Bosnia and Herzegovina from Serbia, but have been living there for centuries on their own territories. The JNA (Yugoslav National Army) did not come to Bosnia and Herzegovina from Belgrade - from 1945 until recently it was stationed there as the armed forces of a unified federal Yugoslavia. There is no longer in Bosnia and Herzegovina today any JNA, there is no JNA any more at all; there are only Serbs from Bosnia and Herzegovina who were members of this army, and who are now defending their people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as their ethnic enclaves.

The world has correctly understood that the Moslems are inimical to the JNA because it is mostly made up of Serbs. The Serbs "dominate" in this army not because this is their will, but rather because they are simply the numerically largest nation in Yugoslavia. There are no more Serbs from Serbia in the Serb army in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but only Serbs from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Therefore, it is understandable why the enmity of the Moslems towards the Serb army in Bosnia and Herzegovina is still respected. Why, however according to the same logic, should not equal respect be accorded to the enmity of the Serbs from Bosnia and Herzegovina towards the Territorial Defense (TO), which is, in fact, a Moslem army - the so-called "green berets", the army of the ruling Moslem party and other Moslems in Bosnia and Herzegovina?

The Croatian army in Bosnia and Herzegovina is not indigenous, it does not consist of a majority of Croats from Bosnia and Herzegovina; it has mostly arrived from Croatia, with the well-documented aim of "ethnically cleansing" Bosnia and Herzegovina of Serbs, through a genocide upon them, through the destruction of Serbian homes and culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is, in fact, a continuation of the operation started in Croatia in 1991. Mate Boban, a leader of the Croatian ruling party - the Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ) - recently said that units under the control of his party control 30% of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to data supplied by the Croatian side itself, more than 40,000 armed Croats have embarked upon an offensive for the "final annihilation of Serbs" in Bosnia and Herzegovina. None

of the Western powers is trying to stop the war of conquest of Croatia against Bosnia and Herzegovina. Even UN reports evidencing this are ignored - or have been ignored until quite recently.

The accusation that Serbia does not want to influence the Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina to stop the war is unjust and illogical, and also serves the blind material interests of some power brokers. Serbia does not have the ability to do this, but nobody seems to want to see and to understand this. Even if it could, through various individuals, exert some influence on the Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia cannot forbid anyone to defend themselves, to save their very lives.

The Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a "constitutional" people, do not want to be relegated to the status of national minority in a unitary state under Moslem domination. This is the basic cause of the war between the Serbs and the Moslems. Bosnia and Herzegovina can be divided without war into ethnic cantons in order to ensure equality and to remove the possibility of domination by any side over another. Alija Izetbegović, however, clearly does not want this; he misuses Europe and America's lack of understanding of events in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and relies on their momentary interests. That is why there is war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, for the first time in their history, are resisting, having learned from bitter experience in the painful days of 1941-1945, when they were herded en during the night, killed and expelled. Even today, the same is being done to Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Instead of seeing the whole truth, the world sees only part of it. A veritable avalanche of accusations is burying the misunderstood Serbs, claiming, inter alia, that they kill. Yes, they do kill. The Serbs of Bosnia and Herzegovina are being victimized and killed according to old, trustworthy recipes, and must defend themselves and their families. They are merely asking for their right as a "politically constitutive", a "constitutional" people, to be asked in what kind of joint life they will exist. But nobody is asking them this, even though it is a basic human, historical, cultural and, not to mention constitutional right. The matter here is the survival of Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbs generally, and not their opposition to the rights of Moslems and Croats.

The tyranny of the national majority can be seen at any time in Bosnia and Herzegovina - in Sarajevo and Mostar, in Tuzla and Banja Luka. There are Serbs, especially in Sarajevo, who dare not say that they are Serbs, for fear of the "democratic majority"; instead, in front of Moslems they say that they are "Bosnians" (which suits the Moslems), Yugoslavs, Europeans, pacifists, cosmopolitans. Of course, there are also Moslems, in areas dominated by Serbs, who, for conformist reasons and for fear of the majority, declare themselves as "Yugoslavs", as people of international spirit. All this is an irrational product of a wartime situation.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina everybody remembers their own history. This is why a realistic framework for equality must be found today. The Serbs know, even without reading the works of the renowned Russian historian Hilferding, that for centuries they

were the numerically dominant people in Bosnia, that, at the beginning of the last century, they constituted 60% of the population. But, even at that time, there were occurrences of forced Catholicization of Serbs in Široki Brijeg, Kreševo, Čapljina, Livno, Duvno. The Serbs remember especially well the genocide in World War II. Their numbers were radically reduced, and from a majority, they became a minority people. Who committed this legislated genocide? Ustašas of the Moslem and Roman Catholic faith.

It is also the objective, historic truth that during the course of World War II some Moslems - innocent Moslem civilians - were exposed to crimes of revenge at the hands of certain Serb formations. ( Unlike the Holocaust against the Serbs, these revenge killings, small in number, were the acts of anguished individual Serbs - they were in no way legislated or condoned by law, nor were they official state policy. Also unlike the mass crimes committed by the Croat and Moslem Ustasha, those who were caught were prosecuted and punished - not rewarded by the state authorities). The Moslems remember these acts of retaliation. This is why today, in an example of switching premises, they call the Serbian freedom fighters "Četniks", in order to link them to their enemies of W.W.II, and to degrade them. However, these are not Četniks, but the regular army of the Serb people in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Croats also remember that Bosnia used to be part of the Croatian state (it was a state of the Serbs and Croats, or the territory belonged to a power which also ruled over the Croats), so today, by fighting against the Serbs, they are openly trying to conquer parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina as their own, Croatian, territories, thus "restoring" what they would like to consider Croatia's "heartland". With the help of German weaponry, the Croats are once again trying to push back, expel and destroy the Serbs.

The Moslem army is entering into unprincipled coalitions with the Croatian army, with the exclusive aim being to destroy the Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina - forgetting that the price which the "Croatian liberators" will exact might be high, costing them their freedom, independence, equality and, especially, their unique identity.

#### WHO IS BEHIND THE "BALKAN CHAOS" ?

Those behind this unnecessary chaos are all those in Bosnia and Herzegovina, meaning the Moslem ruling party and Alija Izetbegović, who are hiding their great-Moslem and fundamentalist intentions behind the idea of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a sovereign, independent state governed by the rule of law, all those who do not want to see that Bosnia and Herzegovina is an equally multinational, multiconfessional and multicultural community, and that there can no longer be any peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina in these times without an ethnic division. The war in

Bosnia and Herzegovina was also caused by all those who rushed to recognize its secession from Yugoslavia, prior to the resolution basic questions of national equality and separateness. It was forgotten, it was not seen, or there was no desire to see, that there was no other way for Bosnia and Herzegovina than to cantonize it ethnically its as a precondition for a possible joint state of all those living in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Europe and the U.S. forgot that Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which this tragic war is now raging, was once a part of the fascist Independent State of Croatia (NDH), in which numerous Moslem, and not only Croat, Ustashes unleashed a gruesome but well-documented extermination of the Serbs, in an unprecedented Balkan genocide. The largest number of victims of the Croatian fascist concentration camp in Jasenovac, where 700,000 people found their death, were Serbs from Bosnia. Only the preservation of a unified Yugoslavia managed to keep this matter repressed, but after the breakup of Yugoslavia (which the West provoked), Yugoslav federal laws no longer protect the Serbs in Bosnia, the Serbs saw a familiar pattern of behaviour repeating itself, this question is now open, and it can in no way be resolved by a unitary Bosnian state.

Dr. Svetozar Stojanović, the well-known Serbian political philosopher, familiar to University circles in the West, published in the German weekly Der Spiegel an article titled "The Yugoslav tragedy and the Serbian question". Towards the end of this article, he wrote:

"Foreign analyses of the Yugoslav tragedy do not devote nearly enough attention to the fact that, since the start of armed conflicts, there has been a constant struggle for control over the JNA. It is even less taken into account that, to a certain extent, the JNA represented an independent factor, and that as such it waged a war for its own survival. Meaning a war for the definition and securing of territories of a state to which its members and their families could retreat. The leaders of the Slovenes, Croats and Slavic Moslems tried to forcibly prevent them from this, in order to lay their hands on as much weaponry as possible, and, also, in order to make the remnant of the expelled JNA as weak as possible. To verify the weight of the factors mentioned, we luckily have the test case of Macedonia, in which there was no war, as the authorities allowed the JNA to withdraw peacefully.

"How come that the West is full of understanding for the gradual multi-year withdrawal of Soviet forces from East Germany, and, at the same time, demands from the JNA that it withdraw from Bosnia overnight, even without using its enormous superiority in firepower to protect itself? Of course, the occasional irresponsible and exaggerated use of this firepower in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia is to be deplored. Also, the West should know that there is a significant difference in the position of Serbs from Serbia and other Serbs in the JNA. On what grounds can Serbian officers and soldiers born in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and who always lived there, be asked to withdraw out of their homeland into Serbia and Montenegro, or to disarm



before the Slavic Moslems and the Croats have done the same? Why was not the same demanded from Slovenes, Croats, Slavic Moslems and Macedonians in the JNA? On the contrary, it was considered quite natural that they should stay "on their doorsteps", and even become the bases for the armies of their new, sovereign states. Does the West know that many of them were citizens of Serbia and Montenegro, as all Yugoslavs realized their federal citizenship only through their republican citizenship, which was determined on the basis of their parents' residency in 1948? And how many inhabitants of Serbia and Montenegro have citizenship in Bosnia and Herzegovina, thus acquiring the "right" to go there and join some of the military or paramilitary formations?

"I do not understand why the Serb people are being so vehemently attacked, when they were the victim of a genocide, and why are they expected to sacrifice and renounce their interests now for the common good. I would think that a people with such a history should rather deserve a special status, including special guarantees from the international community. Why shouldn't the West, when it has already shown itself to be ineffective in stopping our war - partially due to clumsiness and haste, partially due to selfishness (Yugoslavia was not accepted as an associate member of the EEC several years ago even though it was in quite a good state) and partially due to lack of principle in enforcing the new Balkan order as part of the "new world order" - and carries itself part of the responsibility for the Yugoslav tragedy, why shouldn't it then try to show more understanding, support and positive measures for the Serbs, and less threats and punishment? It is a great fallacy to believe that the Yugoslav, and, therefore, the potential general Balkan crisis, can be brought to a peaceful end if the Serbian national question is not solved more or less justly."

In order to solve this question justly, it is necessary to rectify the mistake of the EEC, which violated the principle of consensus in Bosnia and Herzegovina with its premature recognition. U.N. Special envoy Cyrus Vance understood this, but his advice against untimely recognition was apparently ignored. It is impossible that Serbia is the only responsible party, or the most responsible party, in a conflict in which at least three parties are in violent dispute. At best, it can only share part of the responsibility.

The following is important: the Serbs did not start this war and their interests (neither of the Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, nor of the Serbs in Serbia), today or tomorrow, are not served by this war. This war was caused by Moslems and Croats, who, with the help of the EEC, violated the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and who are pushing for a unitary state, not a negotiated settlement as the Serbs desire, at all costs. This is why the Moslems and Croats so often provoke conflict - in order to prolong the war, with Western sympathy, and curry foreign impatience. They understand that with such sympathy and impatience comes the increased likelihood that the Western world will impose that state of affairs on Bosnia and Herzegovina which the Moslems and Croats most favour - even if this means long-term injustice and instability for

Southeast Europe.

The solution lies in an agreement which must be reached by the Moslem, Serb and Croat sides. Without such an agreement, which the Serbs have repeatedly stressed they are for, there can be no stopping the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and no real, as opposed to the present, merely formal, recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The character of the statehood of Bosnia and Herzegovina must be based on the principle of peoples as political subjects, and on their full equality. This is why the political legitimacy of the Serbs, Moslems and Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina and their agreement on this matter must be first sought and respected; the form of the state and the modalities for ruling it come on the agenda only afterwards.

Written and prepared by:  
Prvoslav Ralić, Ph.D.

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