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Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, DC 20515-2002

March 31, 1993

COMMITTEE ON  
THE BUDGET  
COMMITTEE ON  
PUBLIC WORKS AND  
TRANSPORTATION  
COMMITTEE ON  
MERCHANT MARINE  
AND FISHERIES  
SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING  
CAUCUSES:  
STEEL  
ART  
TRADE AND TOURISM  
MARITIME  
ENERGY TASK FORCE

The Honorable Bill Paxton  
1314 LHOB  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Representative Paxton:

Over the past several months, I have become increasingly concerned about the western media's one-sided portrayal of Yugoslavia's civil war as a case of Serbian aggression against Muslim neighbors. There are, very definitely, two sides to this tragic war. To ignore the Serbian side betrays a people who have been America's most loyal allies in the Balkans throughout this century.

Enclosed you will find a packet of documents that I have compiled. Although somewhat lengthy, they constitute, in my opinion, the "other side" of the story. I ask you to take some time from your busy schedules to review these documents, all from respected sources which you can easily verify independently. When you have had a chance to do so, I ask you to get back in touch with me to discuss what we can do to bring some balance to attitudes toward this conflict.

The documents clearly speak for themselves. The following, however, are some points which I invite you to consider in reviewing the documents:

1. The Yugoslav civil war is not one of pure Serbian aggression. Bosnian Serbs, comprising one-third of the population, have lived on that land for centuries. Bosnia as a political entity dates only to post 1945, when communist dictator Tito arbitrarily created it as an internal administrative border within Yugoslavia.
2. The Serbs' tainted image comes, in large part, from early reports of atrocities committed by them. The UN has since proven that many so-called Serb massacres, including the shooting of civilians in a Sarajevo bread line, were in fact perpetrated by Muslims against their own people to gain the West's sympathy.
3. "Ethnic cleansing" has been carried out by all sides. The attached documents prove ethnic cleansing of Muslims by their own leaders to provoke western intervention.

# Doctor with prescription of



WHO is this man, Radovan? The guy on the television with the bush of springy grey hair and trouble, big trouble on his plate? Dr Radovan Karadzic is under pressure, the world wants a response to the atrocities now emerging from Bosnia, the killings, the detention camps, the "ethnic cleansing".

But the leader of Bosnia's hardline Serbs has lost control of the monster he helped create and is covering his impotence by promising to punish "those disobedient people" who aren't following his orders. The military monster has grown up, pushed him aside and is running wild, drunk on power.

This monster was fathered by Slobodan Milosevic, the leader of Serbia and the man with a vision of Greater Serbia taking in the Serbs of Bosnia and Croatia — no matter what the cost. Lately, Mr Milosevic has been quiet. International pressure and economic sanctions have forced him to wash his hands of Dr Karadzic. After last week's revelations, Milosevic won't want to know the man he used to whip up fanatical nationalism and tear Bosnia apart.

Karadzic is a stooge. The men he led, the Serbian militia, have tasted blood and victory and there's no "ceasefire" on their menu. They now ignore his efforts to bring the temperature down, greeting his ceasefire attempts with the roar of mortars. A lowly detention camp official chases off the international press Karadzic invited.

As the threat of military intervention (which the Serbs were formerly taking very seriously) abates, the Serbian militia prepare to get on with the job. The commanders who ignore Dr Karadzic's PR ceasefire attempts in London are even prepared to put a date on their objectives. "We will have cleansed Gorazde and Sarajevo by

Serbian commander Juiko Kodrisasa on the outskirts of Gorazde. This is the endgame. The Serbs almost have what they want, the effective division of the country into two parts, one for big Croatia and one for Greater Serbia. Bosnia's 1,500,000 Muslims can go to hell. Most are already there: in the detention camps, stuffed into crowded transit camps, or on trains to a cold welcome in Europe.

Dr Radovan Karadzic's initial response to the allegations of ethnic cleansing and camps was to deny them. He appeared spluttering with indignation on TV channels across the world. The camps were Muslim propaganda and there was no such thing as ethnic cleansing. But as the weight of evidence grew he thanked the journalists for letting him know what was happening, said he'd check it all out. His responses are confused and contradictory, from "No, the camps don't exist — Muslim propaganda" through "Yes, they do, but the Red Cross can come in" to "We'll close them".

Meanwhile, he's due in London to be entertained at Lord Carrington's table in another round of useless ceasefire talks. Useless, because Karadzic has lost control. Milos Vasic is one of Belgrade's most respected political writers and a Serb: "He's got his back against the wall now... Sarajevo was a mistake because it focused international attention on what was happening in Bosnia and now he can't control what is happening there. The logical question Carrington should have asked is: who the hell are you representing here? The next step would have been to kindly ask Karadzic to leave the table and have someone serious sent to London in his place, someone with the authority to make the Serb fighters obey."

A man from Durmitor mountain, one of the mountain people encouraged by free flats and jobs to move into the city. Those who had taken power in 1945 were the partisans, rewarded for fighting for Tito with offices in the plush corridors of Bosnia's presidency. They brought their peasants down from the mountains. Tito's Yugoslavia railed against the intellectual elites in the towns, those who were questioning the ultimate victory of the proletariat. More peasants came, as did Karadzic, aged 15, to live on the outskirts of Sarajevo in new blocks.

"He came to Sarajevo with all the complexes of a barefooted peasant boy," says a specialist in Yugoslavian politics. "Maybe that's why he's doing this to Sarajevo now," says Nina Mulabegovic, in London exile. "Nobody in Sarajevo really knew him or had any idea what he was up to. Perhaps he's attacking the city he never felt really part of. It was like that in Sarajevo, there were the Papak, the peasants from the country with their open shirts and gold chains, and the city people, the Raja. He was real Papak. They didn't mix. There were places they didn't go to, the Literature Club, the Fine Arts Club, the Opera Club. My family was old Sarajevo stock and they didn't bother with people like Karadzic."

Dr Karadzic studied medicine, specialising in psychiatry. His colleagues maintain he was a good medical specialist. The author of three books, mainly of children's poetry, he composed music for his single-stringed Serbian lyre. Nened Pejic, the former director of Sarajevo TV, who escaped from the city in May by pretending he was seeing a friend to the airport, knew Karadzic well. Pejic remembers a six-hour meeting with Karadzic where he demanded that the staff of Sarajevo TV be divided into three ethnic groups, each broadcasting separately, with the Serbian Assembly appointing the journalists. "I asked him if that meant sending three reporters to cover each story and he said, 'Yes, we want to build a new society and a new state'."

Dr Karadzic has two children both in their twenties, both studying medicine. His wife Lijana is also a psychiatrist. They met and practised together. He worked first for the state hospitals and then for Unis, one of the country's biggest firms. He was also a doctor with Sarajevo's football team. His political fanaticism first emerged after a spell in prison. He claims he was imprisoned for anti-communist activities, those that knew him in Sarajevo say he was charged with fraud for misusing government funds for house-loans. He emerged to help found the Serbian Democratic Party in the summer of 1990. Power was concentrated in the hands of traditional Serbian intellectuals, among them the historian Milorad Ekmcric, who declared: "Not even 100,000 dead will be too many for the creation of their new (Greater Serbian) state. On paper they read like the Liberal Democrats."

Karadzic is a moderate man in most things but politics. He likes a turn at the casino, and drank red wine when he used to entertain foreigners at his seventh floor Holiday Inn Headquarters in Sarajevo. Meeting him then was like preparing for an audience with a mafia don.

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Guardian

Aug 23/92



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Serbian commander Janko Kadic on the outskirts of Gorazde. This is the endgame. The Serbs almost have what they want, the effective division of the country into two parts, one for big Croatia and one for Greater Serbia. Bosnia's 1,500,000 Muslims can go to hell. Most are already there in the detention camps, stuffed into crowded transit camps, or on trains to a cold welcome in Europe.

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Radovan  
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in London  
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Manchester  
Guardian  
Aug 23/92

fore entering, hanging around afterwards to bring the coffee which Karadzic sugared. A genial host, a nice guy with a sting in his tail, who was paranoid about his own security. Mia Fisk, a former TV presenter on Sarajevo TV, remembers him coming into the recording studio with two bodyguards and leaving three outside. "We had our own security men, but he always brought his own," she said.

In April, he moved 20 kilometres out of Sarajevo to a mountain hotel at Pale, where the men who sat down to dinner first laid aside their Kalashnikovs at their feet. Last month, when the first threat of

Karadzic genuinely didn't know the real horror of the camps. "He is going to take the rap and I think he knows it, but what is wrong has to be put right."

Dr Karadzic has his own PR techniques which, until last week, worked. Blustering lies. The cries about ethnic struggle, and marauding Muslims, which have kept Europe and the rest of the world off his patch for almost five months. All that time he has been pumping out propaganda from his headquarters in Pale, using technical back-up from Yugoslav army technicians, transmitters stolen from Sarajevo TV, and BBC equipment picked up in the city in May when the BBC briefly abandoned ship.

Night after night the news agency of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia pumped out "news" of Muslim atrocities. Stories of the crucified bodies of Serbian babies jostled for space with with castrated Serbian men found along

the river Drina. The tragedy is that ordinary Serbs, needing to justify the actions of an army that in their names are burning their neighbours out of their homes, gobbled up this propaganda.

Zlatan Carbaravdic, who works with the BBC's Yugoslav service, describes Karadzic as "organically dishonest - he can lie into your face and look as innocent as a lamb." In an interview with the French newspaper *Le Figaro* at the beginning of the war, he was asked if he would agree to dismantle his paramilitary forces. He replied: "The Bosnian Serbs have no armed forces. Unlike the Muslims we have always asked the Serbs not to organise themselves as an armed militia." He was interviewed by the *Guardian* a month later, surrounded by militia men eating rump steak on their tea-break: he admitted to an army of 53,000 men.

He trots out the same lines with regularity. An early favourite was the one about how thousands of Albanian fundamentalists were swarming across the most secure land border in Europe to bring the jihad to Yugoslavia. He's dropped that one for another regular: "Which is the only nation with a consul in Sarajevo? Is it the British? Is it the French? No, it's the Libyans."

One wonders if he is simply mad. One Serbian intellectual, author of a new book on the former Yugoslavia thinks not. "I don't accept that he is mad... He's a highly intelligent man who chews things over." The intellectual wouldn't give his name. Few people these days want to be associated with the man now seen as an international outlaw. Milos Vasic says he's a "pathological liar and a psychopath." But his tactics have worked. Lie, deny, and cry jihad. The West thinks it's a messy ethnic war, thinks of Beirut, and says it's all too confusing to intervene. Meanwhile, the boys will get on with killing and cleansing.

Milosevic has achieved his aim, and Karadzic will have to go. The job is almost done. Sixty per cent of Bosnia has been seized, 1.6 million people have been kicked out of their homes, thousands of civilians are dead, and the elections laid out in Lord Carrington's plan come to pass, those left behind after the ethnic cleansing will exercise their democratic right to join Serbia. The Muslims, Europe's new Palestinians in the transit camps, will have no say. What will President Bush say in 1990, as Iraq moved into Kuwait: "The force must not be rewarded anywhere in the world"? Well, Slobodan Milosevic has his reward. Roll over Radovan, you've had your day.

ovan Karadzic, the man who induced the Serbian militia to war, is due in London soon for another round of ceasefire talks. But he has lost all control of his troops. Profile by Maggie O'Connell. Illustration by Peter Clarke.

military intervention sounded, he moved to an underground bunker built for Tito during the Cold War, not far from Belgrade.

It was from the Holiday Inn on the first sunny Sunday in April that he watched several thousand Sarajevo citizens - Serb, Muslim, and Croat - gather across the road in front of the Parliament to demand peace, to demand that his men dismantle the barricades they had thrown up around the city after Bosnia had voted for independence.

Dr Karadzic and his master Milosevic didn't like it. Bosnia would not break free from Yugoslavia however the vote went. Next day he turned the palms of his hands to the ceilings of his hotel suite, and said: "It only takes a few dead bodies on the street to start a war - that's the Balkan tragedy."

The first night they killed Suada Dilberovic, a 20-year-old student protesting against their paramilitary tactics. Thousands flooded in from the countryside vowing to dismantle Dr Karadzic's barricades - but as they marched on the Holiday Inn they were met by his snipers. The war in Bosnia had begun.

John Kennedy, an Englishman with Montenegrin and Serbian roots, found himself at Karadzic's side when the man came to London. Karadzic needed a local with political savvy. Initially sympathetic to the Serbian cause, Kennedy finds himself in a difficult position now it has turned so ugly: Karadzic, desperately trying to pull back, relies on Kennedy to keep him straight in the world of PR. Karadzic rang London in the small hours to tell Kennedy that he'd taken his advice and was going to open the camps. Kennedy, a former parliamentary research assistant, feels under a moral obligation to hang on in while he can influence Karadzic: "Karadzic is not an evil man. He's trying to stop things now but it's out of control."

In the name of Serbians, Karadzic has been lying to the television channels of Europe. What he said was: "Historic ethnic struggle - the Balkan Tragedy". What he meant was "Power - we want it. We, who came down from the mountains, aren't going to be shoved to the sidelines again."

"I get the feeling he's despised in Belgrade," says Zlatan Carbaravdic of the BBC World Service. "He's on the outside there, too. Not a proper Serb, because he comes from Montenegro: just Milosevic's servant. Watching him now, I get the impression he's dead scared, waiting to be dumped."

Karadzic, in the words of Kennedy, "never thought things would go this far." He believes that

# UN move angers top Serbs

## War-crime probe gains strength

Associated Press and Reuter

SARAJEVO — Serb leaders condemned Yugoslavia's almost total international isolation yesterday after it became the first state to be expelled from the United Nations General Assembly.

They also expressed anger at the threat of a UN war-crimes investigation based on allegations that Serbs have committed atrocities during fighting in Bosnia.

Radovan Karadzic, who has led a five-month-old Serb rebellion against Bosnia-Herzegovina's independence, said the expulsion from the UN was "unjustified pressure ... on Yugoslavia and the Serb people."

He also said the suspension would have no effect on the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Meanwhile, the presidents of Croatia and Bosnia announced a mutual self-defence pact to battle Serbian aggression.

The agreement was announced, ironically, just minutes before the Security Council subcommittee enforcing the arms embargo against former Yugoslav republics met to consider a plane load of Iranian weapons bound for Bosnia that Croatia impounded.

More than a million people have been driven from their homes as a result of the conflict and "ethnic cleansing" campaigns, in which one ethnic group is driven from an area to make room for another. It is the worst refugee crisis in Europe since the Second World War.

Reports by the UN have blamed all groups — Serbs, Croats and Muslims — for such outlawed tactics. But many observers single out the Serbs as the chief aggressors.

Former Polish prime minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki has urged the creation of an international commis-

sion to investigate war crimes. Croatia and Bosnia have called for international war-crimes tribunals, and Germany has demanded that Serb leaders be tried under a 1948 UN resolution that pledges signatories to prosecute those accused of genocide.

U.S. and European diplomats said the new war-crimes resolution would be based on the 1949 Geneva Convention on the treatment of civilians in times of war. The convention outlaws mass deportations and attacks on civilians, hospitals and mercy missions.

On Tuesday, the United States turned over to the UN detailed evidence that warring ethnic groups are torturing prisoners, attacking civilians and committing other human-rights abuses.

The new resolution would set in motion a process that could eventually lead to a process similar to the 1945-49 Nuremberg trials of Nazi war criminals, one diplomat said.

In the 24-hour period that included the UN General Assembly's vote, 36 people were killed in Bosnia-Herzegovina and 238 wounded, the health ministry reported. The figures included 14 killed and 89 wounded in the Bosnian capital, Sarajevo.

Mr. Karadzic said at a news conference in Belgrade that Yugoslavia's expulsion had "no chance to influence the war in Bosnia, simply because Yugoslavia has nothing to do with that war."

The UN maintains that Yugoslavia, now comprising Serbia and Montenegro, has armed and encouraged Bosnian Serbs.

But the Yugoslav government in Belgrade — also capital for the Serbian republic — denies responsibility for the war and brutality that have shocked the world.

Mr. Karadzic said the international community could stop the war in two weeks. "It has to threaten Croatia with sanctions for its 60,000 soldiers fighting in Bosnia and to threaten Muslims with annulment of the recognition. If it doesn't do so, the war will continue," he said.

Most of Sarajevo remained without electricity yesterday. Serb shelling on Monday knocked out a transformer station that feeds power to about 80 per cent of the city, and since the station is near the front lines, repairing it is expected to take days.

*Globe & Mail  
Sept. 24/92*

*Very important*

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**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
**Washington, DC 20515**

January 19, 1993

**COMMITTEE ON  
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**SUBCOMMITTEES:**  
WATER RESOURCES  
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT  
OVERSIGHT AND INVESTIGATION

**COMMITTEE ON  
MERCHANT MARINE  
AND FISHERIES**  
**SUBCOMMITTEES:**  
MERCHANT MARINE  
PANAMA CANAL/OTHER  
CONTINENTAL SHELF  
OVERSIGHT AND INVESTIGATIONS

**SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING**

**SUBCOMMITTEE ON HEALTH  
AND LONG TERM CARE**  
**TASK FORCE ON WOMEN  
AND SOCIAL SECURITY**

Dr. Radovan Karadjic, President  
Bosnian Serbian Canton (Republic)  
Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina

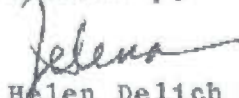
Dear Mr. President,

I understand that the Members of the Parliament of Bosnia's Serbian Republic today are voting on the Peace Plan proposed in Geneva by former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Lord Owens and accepted in principle by yourself and other negotiators for the Bosnian Serbs.

The purpose of this letter is to urge those Members of Parliament to vote in favor of the Peace Plan which, I understand, could lead to final settlement as well as be conducive to stabilizing the region.

War and destruction must come to a halt. Both the Serbian people and many other innocent victims already have suffered far more than anyone is supposed to suffer on this earth. We are praying for peace for all of you.

Sincerely,



Helen Delich Bentley  
Member of Congress

( T-10 SKIPS )

1

**HOME NEWS****BOSNIAN SERB PARLIAMENT RECEIVES TELEGRAMS OF SUPPORT**

pale, jan 19 (tanjug) - the bosnian serb parliament, which is holding a session at pale near sarajevo on tuesday to ratify the vance/owen constitutional principles on bosnia's future organization, has been receiving numerous telegrams not only from the country, but from abroad as well.

romanian president iliescu on tuesday sent a message to bosnian serb parliament president momcilo krajisnik expressing hope that the 'pms will show the necessary wisdom and adopt the decision which would end the suffering of the population'.

iliescu also said he hoped the other warring sides would 'act sensibly and realistically so that the bloodshed ends and peace is restored'.

greek parliament president athanasios tsaldaris urged the bosnian serb parliament to adopt the geneva peace plan, the athens foreign ministry said on tuesday.

this is the first time official greece, which last year recognized bosnia-herzegovina as an independent state, has directly addressed the bosnian serbs.

athens regards the vance/owen plan, to be endorsed by the bosnian serb parliament, as the 'last chance for peace' and the resumption of the geneva talks as 'a crucial question, not only for the bosnian and yugoslav crises, but for the whole balkans as well'.

bosnian serb leader radovan karadzic received a message from u.s. congressman jim moody, who said he hoped that the parliament would accept the vance/owen plan and that the american people were prepared to extend a hand of friendship to the bosnian serbs when the war ends.

helen bentley-delic, a member of the u.s. congress, said in her letter to karadzic that the serbian people and many other innocent people were victims who have suffered as no-one else in the world and that this was why war and destruction must come to an end'.

in addition to numerous messages from bosnian serb commanders and troops and eminent figures and organizations, who all expressed hope the parliament would reach a decision contributing to peace, a telegram expressing such hope was also sent by yugoslav prince tomlislav karadjordjevic. (end) jsg-nm/ds

**BOSNIAN SERBS WANT ISLAMIC STATES TO INFLUENCE BOSNIAN MOSLEMS**

pale, january 19 (tanjug) - the serbian republic in bosnia-herzegovina parliament called on islamic states on tuesday evening to protect and uphold the geneva peace talks for a new constitutional organization of the former yugoslav republic of bosnia-herzegovina.

in a letter to the organization of islamic countries (oic), the serbian republic in bosnia-herzegovina parliament appealed that this organization use 'its influence on

the moslems to abandon the war option and agree to equality with serbs and croats and the peaceful transformation of bosnia-herzegovina into a community of serb, croat and moslem provinces.'

the serbian republic in bosnia-herzegovina parliament is expected to reach a decision on tuesday on whether it accepts or rejects cyrus vance and lord owen's plan on the constitutional principles for the organization of bosnia-herzegovina which serbian republic in bosnia-herzegovina president radovan karadzic agreed to in principle on january 12, at the geneva negotiations.

the serbian republic in bosnia-herzegovina parliament underscored that 'the civil war in bosnia-herzegovina was not an anti-islamic or anti-moslem war, but had been sparked off because the moslem side had rejected the constitutional solution arrived at in lisbon on march 18, 1992.'

an agreement was reached in lisbon for bosnia-herzegovina to be a confederation of three nations, but the moslems later abandoned the idea.

the serbian republic in bosnia-herzegovina parliament underscored that the religious rights of moslems in serbian ethnic territories of the serbian republic of bosnia-herzegovina and in the federal republic of yugoslavia were guaranteed, and that all other rights were guaranteed on the basis of equality. (end) rg-jpe/sr

**BOSNIAN SERB LEADER KARADZIC CALLS ON DEPUTIES TO ACCEPT GENEVA PRINCIPLES**

pale, january 19 (tanjug) - president of the serbian republic in bosnia herzegovina (rs) radovan karadzic on tuesday evening called on the deputies of the rs parliament to accept the principles for constitutional ordering of the former yugoslav republic of bosnia-herzegovina.

the principles were put forth by co-chairmen of the conference of former yugoslavia cyrus vance and lord owen.

karadzic accepted the principles on january 12 during the talks in geneva on condition the rs parliament verified them.

in his introductory speech at the plenary session, he set out he accepted the principles as a 'realistic move and a realistic measure in realizing of that which is possible to attain today and in creating a solid opportunity for that which would be attainable tomorrow.'

karadzic assessed the geneva proposal offered to bosnian serbs as less than they had now, but, nevertheless, it opened the prospect of preserving their right to statehood. it was only the moslem side which could be opposed to it because it 'does away with that which it has no right to anyway, i.e. domination over serbs and croats.'

the debate in the rs parliament, however, began with opposition to the offered principles.

the first few deputies assessed that the proposed principles represented blackmail by the imperialist centers of the world which must not be accepted.



2

vice-president of the rs biljana plavsic stressed that the principles should be turned down because the bosnian serbs would in this way give up on the minimum of national interest -- confederation as the future order for bosnia-herzegovina.

'if we adopt the principles, we are renouncing our right to constitute our state, our right to self-determination, and even this assembly which is not envisaged by the constitutional principles,' she said.

the session continues.

it is expected that more moderate deputies would take part in the debate. (end) rg jpc bb

### **BOSNIAN SERBS' PARLIAMENT CONTINUES ON WEDNESDAY DEBATE ON GENEVA PRINCIPLES**

pale, january 19 (tanjug) - the parliament of the serbian republic in bosnia-herzegovina (rs) is to continue debate on the constitutional principles for bosnia-herzegovina on wednesday at 9 a.m.

the principles were proposed during the geneva talks by co-chairmen of the conference on former yugoslavia cyrus vance and lord owen.

the rs parliamentary debate, which went long into the night on tuesday, passed in a heated confrontation of views between the deputies on whether the geneva principles should be accepted or not.

bosnian serb leader radovan karadzic in his introductory speech called on the deputies to accept the principles, which he accepted in general on january 12 in geneva and pointed out that the bosnian serbs in this way 'opted for the continuation of solving the crisis by peaceful means.'

the first few debate participants, however, opposed the offered principles and urged the preservation of the serb state in bosnia-herzegovina.

'we must not accept blackmail, because the text of the constitutional principles hid far-reaching and grave consequences to the serb people,' said the first speaker in the debate, vojislav maksimovic.

one of the vice-presidents of the rs, biljana plavsic, also opposed the principles. she said that by adopting them, the bosnian serbs would 'give up on the minimum of national interest,' which, in her view, lay in a 'confederation as the future order of bosnia-herzegovina.'

'if we accept the principles, we abolish our right to a state, our right to self-determination and even the right to this assembly, which is not envisaged by the constitutional principles,' said plavsic.

she proposed that a referendum be organized at which the bosnian serbs would decide in what sort of state they wanted to live in. this met with support from among some of the deputies, primarily from the banja luka area and the eastern herzegovina region.

the more moderate deputies, also joined criticism of the constitutional principles, but nevertheless, urged their adoption. they believe that this was a rational approach which would do no harm to the serb people.

the rs government health minister dragan kalinic said the document on constitutional principles had 'many omissions', but it also offered 'guarantees affording the serb people to defend itself and safeguard its rights.' (end) nem jpc bb

### **BOSNIAN SERB PARLIAMENT SENDS LETTER TO U.S. PRESIDENT-ELECT BILL CLINTON**

pale, january 19 (tanjug) - serbian republic in bosnia-herzegovina parliament sent a letter on tuesday evening to u.s. president-elect bill clinton, expressing hope that the now u.s. government would study the causes of the crisis in the former yugoslavia and make a turnabout with regard to the serbian question.

'peace in the balkans and yugoslavia are not possible without the full engagement of the united states of america on the basis of international law and a balanced stand towards the sides in the conflict (in bosnia-herzegovina),' said the serbian republic in bosnia-herzegovina parliament's letter to bill clinton who takes over as the new u.s. president on wednesday.

'the serbian people, whose intelligentsia was the only serious opposition to the communist dictatorship (in the former yugoslavia), have looked to america for democracy for 25 years... today this very america is completely misinformed on the serbian question,' said the letter.

the serbian people had fought on the side of the allies in the first and second world wars, and created yugoslavia after the allied victory in 1918, said the serbian republic in bosnia-herzegovina parliament.

the letter underscores that under secessionist non-initiated by germany, slovenia, croatia and bosnia-herzegovina were recognized as independent states, even though the serbs in croatia and bosnia-herzegovina had taken a plebiscitary decision opposing secession from yugoslavia.

parliament cautioned that all the nations in the former yugoslavia had been recognized the right to self-determination except the serbs, and expressed hope that clinton's new administration would make a change with regard to the serbian question. (end) nem-jpc,mt

### **BOSNIAN SERB LEADER KARADZIC UNABLE TO PREDICT PARLIAMENT DECISION**

pale, january 19 (tanjug) - president of the serbian republic in bosnia-herzegovina (rs) radovan karadzic said on tuesday evening he was unable to determine how the deputies would vote.

he said this after the first part of the rs parliament debate on constitutional principles for the future order of this former yugoslav republic.

'those who turn down the principles put forth reservations and those who accept the principles also put forth reservations - it will be very close,' he said.

karadzic accepted the constitutional principles during talks in geneva on january 12 as put forth by co-chairmen of the conference on former yugoslavia cyrus vance and lord owen but on condition the rs parliament verified them.

the debate so far showed that views differed, and while in the first part of the debate the tones and arguments opposing the principles dominated, subsequent discussion produced some ten for the most part moderate deputies, who demanded additional elaboration and stated certain reservations, but also preparedness to accept the offered document.

around 9:30 p.m. local time, the deputies took a one-hour break, after which the parliament would resume work.

asked whether it was possible for the parliament to accept the principles along with setting forth certain conditions to the world community, karadzic replied: 'we do not want to state any terms.'

the rs president assessed that the geneva paper was 'only an entry ticket to create a constitution, which we will draw up on the basis of consensus.'

'we know that moslems do now accept this paper. they accept only a unitary bosnia under their domination. we are more than clear on this,' he said, stressing that 'moslems would never obtain this, but some interim stage towards a durable solution - this is something we would be able to accept.' (end) rg jpe bb

#### **SERB REPUBLIC PARLIAMENT PRESIDENT: WE MUST TREAD BETWEEN OUR DESIRES AND THAT WHICH IS POSSIBLE**

pale, january 19 (tanjug) - 'we must not give up the strategic goals - freedom and constitutionality' but 'we must tread between the possible and the desired,' president of the parliament of the serb republic in bosnia-herzegovina momcilo krajisnik said on the eve of the debate on constitutional principles of the future organization of bosnia-herzegovina.

in a statement to the serb republic television on monday evening, krajisnik told bosnian serbs that they must have confidence in their deputies and that they will not let them down.

the serb republic parliament session on constitutional principles begins in the sarajevo serb suburb of pale at 14:00 hrs local time (13:00 gmt) on tuesday. the principles were conditionally accepted by bosnian serb leader radovan karadzic at the talks on bosnia-herzegovina in geneva.

under the proposal of conference co-chairmen cyrus vance and lord owen, bosnia-herzegovina is conceived as a decentralized state with ten provinces which have wide autonomy, and decisions by the central authorities are adopted by unanimous approval of all three peoples - moslems, serbs and croats.

the parliament session will be covered by around 150 accredited reporters and photographers, close to 100 of them from abroad.

in the interview to the serb republic television, krajisnik said that serbs in bosnia-herzegovina have arrived at 'a crossroads where they must choose the right way to reach their strategic goals, with the least consequences at a time when the serb people are exposed to severe dislike and pressure from the international community.'

'i am convinced that our deputies will adopt their decision fully rationally and conscientiously with the least consequences, leaving the door open to the future in which they will be able to preserve the unity of their state,' krajisnik said.

bosnian serbs formed the serb republic in april last year after the european community (e.c.) recognized the independence of bosnia-herzegovina at the insistence of the moslem-croat coalition and contrary to the will of serbs, one of the three constitutive peoples in this former yugoslav republic. (end) mb-dm/dg

#### **BOSNIAN SERB LEADER KARADZIC RECOMMENDS TO PARLIAMENT TO VERIFY GENEVA PRINCIPLES**

pale, january 19 (tanjug) - president of the serbian republic in bosnia-herzegovina (rs) recommended on tuesday evening to the rs parliament to accept the constitutional principles on the future order of bosnia-herzegovina proposed by co-chairmen of the conference of former yugoslavia cyrus vance and lord owen.

karadzic accepted these principles on january 12 in geneva during talks on bosnia-herzegovina on condition the rs parliament verified them.

'by opting for this paper, we opt for a continuation of solving the crisis by political means,' said karadzic in his introductory speech at the rs parliament plenary session.

the rs president pointed out that the document containing the constitutional principles underwent a small, 'but very significant modification,' because at the insistence of the serb side, the first principle was supplemented with a phrase saying that the bosnia-herzegovina constitution would recognize three constituent peoples (serbs, moslems and croats).

karadzic asserted that in this way 'that which made the moslem side wage the war - and that is a unitary bosnia-herzegovina of the civic type' dominated by moslems, 'would be dismissed for all time.'

'although the paper offered less than we now have, it, nevertheless, opens the prospect for preserving our right to our own state and our unity, culture, tradition, religion, education - the paper does not offer many possibilities for the central authority to dominate us,' he added.

'the moslem side alone can be against this paper, because the paper abolishes that which it has no right to anyhow - domination over serbs and croats,' stated karadzic and went on to say that the 'international community, although it does not say so, sees that the moslem side is interested in war.'

the rs president stated the hope that the international community, in the event the rs parliament accepted the geneva principles, would alter its unjust attitude towards the bosnian serbs and especially towards the federal republic of yugoslavia, 'which, completely innocent, is suffering because of its solidarity with us. it is suffering sanctions, threats and dragging into mire.'

karadzic pointed out that 'by way of brutal diplomacy and violation of all norms of the international law' the serbs

4

in bosnia-herzegovina were forced into a situation in which they have to fight for their bare existence and a minimum of their rights.

'the question is whether the serb people should accept any kind of political talks carried out under pressures and threats. anyhow, this is the sole path at this time towards a political solution to the crisis,' said karadzic.

noting that the bosnian serbs have at the military level achieved their goals - protection of serbs from a repeated genocide and protection of their territories - karadzic said that now the geneva paper 'offered the opportunity to attain the remainder of our rights through political means'

inviting the deputies to accept the geneva principles, karadzic repeated several times that at this time the maps dividing bosnia-herzegovina into 10 provinces should be 'left aside' because they were not an integral part of the paper on the constitutional principles and that reaching an accord on them was yet to be carried out.

'the rs leadership is not satisfied with the proposed maps,' said karadzic and added that 'there was in them a certain arbitrariness, such as josip broz tito (late communist president of the former yugoslavia) applied, who arbitrarily drew the maps of the yugoslav republics,' without taking into account the ethnic principle.

pointing up that the rs 'would not accept an undemocratic method in drawing the maps,' karadzic, nevertheless, asked the deputies 'at this time' to leave aside the maps and accept the constitutional principles, because, as he set out, they 'enabled us to achieve our goal.' (end) nem-jpe/bh

#### **BOSNIAN SERB LEADER RADOVAN KARADZIC: MOSLEMS SLOW IN ACCUSING CROATIA OF AGGRESSION**

pale, january 19 (tanjug) - bosnian serb leader radovan karadzic said on tuesday evening that moslem president of the former bosnia-herzegovina alija izetbegovic 'had been slow in accusing croatia of aggression,' and pointed out that izetbegovic had remained silent when the croatian army had attacked serbian territories in bosnia-herzegovina.

the civil war in bosnia-herzegovina started in march 1992 after an incursion by croatian soldiers from the neighbouring croatian republic into town of bosanski brod (northern bosnia), where croatian soldiers helped moslems in the showdown with serbian police in the town.

'we are also a part of the bosnia attacked by croats, but it never occurred to izetbegovic to accuse croatia of aggression at the time,' as karadzic told tanjug.

bosnian moslem leader alija izetbegovic said on monday that he would ask the united nations security council to condemn croatia's aggression against bosnia-herzegovina.

croats and moslems were allies in the now ten months long war against bosnian serbs, but they started fighting among themselves last week.

the fighting escalated after moslem forces in the provinces which are supposed to be allocated to bosnian croats under the geneva maps, refused to place themselves

under the command of the croatian defence council (hvo), the bosnian croats army.

commenting izetbegovic's statement that the geneva document on the constitutional principles for the future organization of bosnia-herzegovina 'confirmed the survival of a civic state' in which moslems would dominate, karadzic underscored that izetbegovic was wrong.

'the first principle states clearly that the constitution of the future bosnia-herzegovina recognizes three constituent nations and there is no mention of a civic state. this is confirmed by the principle under which the basic functions of authority will be carried out by the provinces, which is also a confederal element,' said karadzic.

'therefore, izetbegovic is wrong. he's just trying to console himself,' said karadzic. (end) nem-jpe/sr

#### **BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: FIGHTING IN SARAJEVO AND HERZEGOVINA**

pale, bileca, january 19 (tanjug) - moslem forces on tuesday morning continued last night's attack on the serb settlement of ilijas, 15 km from sarajevo, said bosnian serb military sources.

sarajevo's serb suburb of rajlovac was attacked on monday night with rifle-launched grenades and 10 mortars fell on the serb settlement of vojkovici, said the sources.

bosnia-herzegovina radio, controlled by the moslem-croatian authorities of the former yugoslav republic of bosnia-herzegovina, reported sporadic fighting along the demarcation line in sarajevo and in sarajevo's serb suburb of vogosca where 'snipers are also active.'

the army of the former yugoslav republic of croatia opened infantry fire on bosnian serb military positions in the regions of trebinje, mostar and Nevesinje during last night, while mortar fire was opened in the capljina and stolac regions in eastern herzegovina, bosnian serb military sources said.

a croatian air force plane on a reconnaissance mission was sighted near popovo polje in eastern herzegovina, the sources said.

croatian combat aircraft daily violate the no-fly zone over bosnia-herzegovina, say western intelligence agencies and the united nations peace-keeping forces. (end) vu/dm/bz

#### **SERBIAN REPUBLIC PARLIAMENT SESSION BEGINS**

pale, january 19 (tanjug) - a session of the parliament of the serbian republic in bosnia-herzegovina, which is to decide whether to accept the constitutional principles for the future organization of the former bosnia-herzegovina proposed in geneva, began in pale on tuesday at 2 p.m. local time (13:00 gmt).

the session began behind closed doors, while a plenary session is scheduled to start at 4 p.m. and will be open to the public until the crucial moment - the formulation of the conclusions.

\* HDB -  
F.Y.I.  
- Rolf



European Division

## HIGHLIGHTS: SERBIAN / CROATIAN / SLOVENE - MARCH 19

### CONGRESSWOMAN BENTLY

VOA Serbian/Croatian/and Slovene carried most of the house-issued reports dealing with the crisis in Bosnia, Herzegovina and the former Yugoslavia. The Serbian and Croatian Services also excerpted a State Department briefing on U.S. air drops to Bosnia, American military involvement there, and the UN-sponsored talks in New York. State's briefing reports were also placed on Radio 101 in Zagreb.

The Serbian Service also originated several U.S. press packages on the civil war in Bosnia, reported on a press conference organized by Congresswoman Helen Delich Bently from Maryland, aimed at aiding Mrs. Shayna Lazarevic regain custody of her two children (who remain in Serbia with her former husband.) Congresswoman Bently was joined in her humanitarian effort by Congressmen Frank Wolf of Virginia and Randy Cunningham of California. The service also scripted a feature on television's coverage of the war crimes trial in Sarajevo, basing its report on a press release from the Court TV Channel.

### DEPUTY - PRESIDENT PEJNOVIC

VOA Croatian interviewed Veselin Pejnovic, deputy - president of the Serbian National Party of Croatia which recognizes Croatia and represents the Serbian majority there. In the interview, Mr. Pejnovic expressed concern that Serbs in Croatia are not being represented at international peace-talk tables and claimed that the Serbian delegation at the Croatian talks in Geneva does not include Serbs residing from Croatia. The service fashioned a feature on the "Pavich Family Farms," organic vine-growers from California whose ancestors emigrated from Croatia three generations ago. The unique reportage aired in the "Croatian-American Connections" time-slot.

VOA Croatian fed a package of press editorials culled from The Daily News, The Oregonian, and Newsday to Radio 101 in Zagreb, and to Glas Slavonije, the main daily in Osijek.

### RADIO & TELEVISION

VOA Slovene interviewed: Jozse Plesnar, editor of the BBC's Slovene Section; Franc Cakarnis, of Ljubljana Radio and Television (Channel A); and Tadeja Krecic, Radio Slovenia -Cultural Section. The Slovene Service aired their popular weekly "Slovene-American Community News" show and sported a spot on NBA basketball.

TK3/10/93

Bosnia

# Filibuster here, terror there

FROM OUR BELGRADE CORRESPONDENT

WHEN the history books come to be written, Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, may earn a reputation as the man who conducted the longest, bloodiest and most successful filibuster ever. At peace talks in New York, Mr Karadzic says that he is against "ethnic cleansing", and that after the war all refugees should return to their homes. He also says, however, that there is a lot more negotiating to be done before he can sign the Vance-Owen peace plan. That is because there is still a lot more ethnic cleansing to be done on the ground.

The first Bosnian town to fall to Serb forces last spring was Bijeljina, in the north-east. A third of the area's population at the time was Muslim. Some reports say as many

as half of these Muslims are still there. Till when? On March 13th and 14th the town's mosques were dynamited. Council workers moved in rapidly to clear up the mess and plant saplings. A town without mosques is destined to be one without Muslims.

Refugees from Bijeljina stuck on the border of Serbia and Hungary say that for months armed Serbs had been terrorising them and turfing them out of their homes. Most had lost their jobs when the war began. The UN estimates that, despite their flight, the town's population has now swollen from its pre-war figure of 96,000 to 120,000. Most of the newcomers are Serbs from Muslim- and Croat-controlled territory to the south, including the town of Tuzla.



The Economist  
March 27, 1993

Bosnian Serbs have recently been saying that Serbs must be allowed to leave Tuzla, where there may be 10,000 or more. The UN says it has not been "bombarded" with requests to leave, but bus-loads of people have been discreetly exchanged between Tuzla and Bijeljina. Serb politicians—unlike local Serb soldiers—are also happy to let French and British helicopters evacuate wounded Muslims from besieged Srebrenica, in eastern Bosnia: it leaves fewer Muslims for the Serbs to kick out.

The tacit Serbo-Croat partition plan for Bosnia & Herzegovina has always envisaged that the Muslims would be crowded into a reservation bounded by the cities of Tuzla, Zenica and Sarajevo. In areas that had large concentrations of Muslims, such as northern Bosnia, whole towns such as Kozarac and Pudin Han have been reduced to rubble to make sure their inhabitants never return. This has made Serbs in other areas targets of hatred and revenge.

That does not worry the politicians. Once Bosnia's mixed population has been untangled, greater Serbia can arise from the ruins. Greater Croatia too. Where Muslims

have objected to Croatian rule, Croat ethnic cleansers with guns blazing have moved in.

After the killings of 1939-45, there were few Serbs in Croat areas of western Herzegovina. Those few have now fled. Around Trebinje, in eastern Herzegovina, even Muslims who had taken Serb names and fought on the Serb side were recently expelled. Banja Luka is another town to watch; it is one of few in Serb hands where many Croats and Muslims remain. In Zenica, it is Muslim paramilitaries who roam the town, grabbing Serb flats and houses.

The UN reckons that 1.8m Bosnians—40% of the population—are already refugees. They are unlikely ever to get back to their homes, even if these are still standing.

Speaking at the funeral of some Serbs massacred in eastern Bosnia, Biljana Plavsic, a senior Bosnian Serb leader, said that Serbian borders were where "our heroes were killed and where your graves are." In the proposed Vance-Owen map of post-war Bosnia, the area where she was speaking would be dominated by Muslims. Mrs Plavsic knows better. She added that Serbs would never again live together with Muslims and Croats. She means it: she was saying it before the war began, when her Sarajevo office was just down the corridor from that of Bosnia's Muslim and Croat leaders.

Meanwhile, at least 60% of the Serbs who used to live in Croatia have fled, or now live in its Serb-controlled Krajina region. There only a handful of elderly Croats remain. Mr Karadzic knows that he can safely talk about the return of refugees, with the experience of the UN in Krajina behind him. Not a single Croat refugee has returned there. Far from it, the remaining Croats want to leave, and the UN escorts them out.

## LETTER FROM BELGRADE

The bar in Belgrade's old town was crowded and noisy. The sound of Queen blared out. People drank and danced, and the opening night was a loud and lively success.

Until the group of thugs suddenly appeared at the window, leering and shouting. One of the owners quickly shut the entrance, but that did not stop them. A couple kicked their way in, smashing the door with their boots. Their friends jumped through the window, scattering shards of glass across the customers.

"Don't speak, don't say anything in English," our Belgrade friends hissed under their breath. So we stayed silent and fearful, while one of the crew-cut bootboys hit the owner several times in the face. Then, as suddenly as the violence had erupted, it stopped, and they ran off into the night.

Once one of the safest and most cosmopolitan cities in the Balkans, if not in all of Europe, Belgrade is now a place with an undercurrent of menace, where bar doormen frisk customers for guns before they are granted entrance. Crime is increasing and often involves weapons, now easily available. One disturbed veteran returning from the front started a shoot-out at Belgrade's train station—now patrolled by menacing-looking Serb militiamen, kitted out in body armour, machine pistols at the ready.

Many people venture out rarely, partly because they cannot afford to, and partly because they no longer feel safe. With petrol out of reach of most pockets, most families must use public transport, where the tensions of the war often erupt into violence.

Gangs compete on the streets, demanding protection money from bar and restaur-

ant owners, or a share in the business. Non-payment or refusal is a bad idea; a shooting of perhaps a hand-grenade soon follows. After a few weeks in Belgrade, I asked another foreign correspondent—who has been beaten up and had his flat ransacked—if we could try a different restaurant. He reeled off a list of once-popular bars and cafes, each one now a charred wreck.

But not everyone is suffering in the new Chicago of the Balkans. While the majority struggle to survive 20,000 per cent annual inflation, for others, war is good business. Profiteers flaunt their moony, pistols stuffed down their trousers, in the bars and restaurants that still function. They strut past old ladies begging in the streets, huddled over cardboard boxes where a few low denomination notes flutter in the freezing wind. Those on fixed incomes, with pensions worth a couple of pounds a month, are also victims of the war, almost as much as the 500,000-plus refugees (mainly Serbs) sheltering in Serbia and tiny Montenegro.

Sanctions and the costs of the war have helped cause the implosion of the economy,

already weakened by the collapse of eastern-bloc markets for Yugoslav goods. Hospitals are short of drugs, and vital medical equipment lies damaged and unrepaired, say Belgrade doctors, because western companies have broken their maintenance contracts.

Serbs believe that such is the international campaign of demonisation being waged against them, the world now thinks them capable of anything, no matter how bestial. At the same time, they say, the media closes its eyes to Serbia's forgotten victims.

"The world does not see the Serb refugees and the Serbs in the camps, and pretends that this is only a tragedy for Croats and Muslims," says Radmilla, a Serb refugee from Mostar, a town in western Bosnia now under joint Bosnian Croat-Muslim control. Radmilla is hardly a Serb nationalist. A 33-year-

old lawyer, she took refuge for months with her Croat and Muslim neighbours, while the Yugoslav and then the Bosnian Serb army bombarded her home town. When the Bosnian war started, Radmilla plastered the walls of her home with pictures of Tito in a defiant gesture of multi-nationalism—even while her husband was an officer in the Yugoslav army on the other side of the frontline.

But her gesture proved no defence against the forces of Balkan nationalism, and the family had to leave. "I never felt like a Serb,

but they decided for me. All through the war I tried to keep my identity as a person, not by nationality or religion. I did not want to leave my city and my friends." Now Radmilla lives in Belgrade, where she and other Serb refugees say they face prejudice from Serbs who do not want to employ them, even

though most are billeted in strangers' houses rather than camps.

As the capital of the former Yugoslavia, Belgrade once exemplified Tito's multi-national ideal. It was the archetypal melting pot, where ethnic Albanians and Bosnians, Croats and Serbs lived side by side. But now Muslims avoid the mosque, which has been repeatedly attacked; and sensible Croats keep quiet about their ethnic origin. Tito's dream has turned into a nationalist nightmare, both here and in Croatia.

But still it is mourned by many like Radmilla, and especially by non-Serbs, such as the Mufti of Belgrade's mosque, Jusuf Spahic. "By religion and nationality I am Muslim, because my Bosnian nationality is not recognised," says the Mufti, from the Bosnian town of Gornji Vakuf. "But I never had another homeland than Yugoslavia. The old Yugoslavia kept the peace. Only now can we see how much Tito meant to us, because under him there was no war."

Adam LeBar

Adam LeBar is Berlin correspondent for the Times

New Statesman & Society April 2, 1993

# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## Official wisdom on Serbia

SIR—It is easy to understand the frustration which leads Noel Malcolm to suggest that we should lift the arms embargo in Bosnia in favour of the Muslims only (article, April 2).

The proposal has often been looked at, most recently by President Clinton and his team. At first sight it seems an act of justice, but I do not think it would work out that way. As Mr. Malcolm admits, we and other European countries would then have to withdraw our troops from the successful escorting of humanitarian convoys, particularly in central Bosnia, which has kept alive many thousands of Bosnians whom the experts predicted would by now be dead.

The whole United Nations humanitarian effort would probably come to an end. The friends of the Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats would have little compunction in re-arming them. We would in effect be saying "Here are the arms: fight it out". That is the policy of the level killing field.

I agree that keeping people alive through humanitarian relief is not a full answer, though it is better than letting them die. The Security Council, the EC, the new American Administration and, with difficulty, the Russians, support Lord Owen and Mr. Cyrus Vance in what they are attempting — a plan which would

enable Bosnians to live together in one country divided into provinces while respecting the autonomy of the different communities.

The plan will not work without pressure. The main obstacle is the Bosnian Serbs, backed by Belgrade. Mr Malcolm accuses me of bullying the Bosnian government into surrender. But it is the Serbs who face economic sanctions which have produced a 9,000 per cent inflation rate.

We have now agreed to the enforcement of the No Fly Zone and are contributing to it. We are pursuing in New York and elsewhere the tightening of existing sanctions and the imposition of a final round.

Meanwhile the horrors continue. From outside we have not been able to stop them. They cannot, in fact, be ended from outside. But we must not close our minds to new pressures on those mainly responsible. The fighting will not end by a clear-out military victory, however many arms flow in.

It will end when all the combatants, particularly the Bosnian Serbs, realise that they cannot secure a stable and accepted future for themselves and their children by killing their neighbours.

**DOUGLAS HURD**  
Foreign Secretary  
Jakarta, Indonesia

*The Daily Telegraph April 5, 1993*

# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

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The Times  
April 2, 1993

Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb leader, reacted angrily yesterday to the UN resolution to enforce the no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina. "The one-sided punishing of the Serbian people can only have negative consequences," he said. "The highest organs of the UN continue to demonstrate a lack of understanding of the Bosnian knot."

Western diplomats in Belgrade fear that Mr Karadzic's reaction is not mere rhetoric but contains much truth. They point out that the UN has consistently remained silent about Croat and Muslim violations of the ban.

One senior Western diplomat said yesterday that, although the resolution was directed at the Serbs, the real test was whether Muslim and

Croat planes violating the ban would also be shot down. He said he believed that much information concerning Croat and Muslim violations was being filtered out for political reasons at the UN's headquarters in Zagreb.



including selling smuggled petrol for hard currency at petrol stations around Belgrade. Ever the post-modern Prince of Darkness, Arkan has launched himself into celebrity franchising. In Serbian farmhouses in eastern Slavonia, the icon you are most likely to see beside an image of Saint Sava is a large coloured calendar, with a different picture of Arkan for every month of the year.

At the anti-Milosevic demonstrations in Belgrade on 9 March, who should appear, cruising through the middle of the crowd in his Cherokee Chief, but this smiling killer in a smart sheepskin jacket, waving suavely to left and right, obviously revelling in his provocation of Belgrade's impotent peace party.

Croatians will tell you that Arkan is proof that Serbia is a fascist state, but there are warlords on the Croatian side too, if not in Zagreb, then in the front-line towns like Osijek, run by town council president and local party boss,

Rinnimir Glavas. When you join the town in Glavas's jeep, it is like being with a spectacularly popular local politician in a small

life is nasty, brutish and short. In the state of nature, the man with a Zastovo machine pistol and a Cherokee Chief is king. For he can provide the two commodities everybody here craves: security and vengeance.

Once the Yugoslav Communist state began to spin apart into its constituent national particles, the key questions soon became: will the local Croat policemen protect me if I am a Serb? Will I keep my job in the soap factory if my new boss is a Serb or a Muslim? The answer to these questions was No, because no state remained to enforce the old inter-ethnic bargain. As a result, every individual rushed, pell-mell, to the next available source of protection — the warlord.

For the warlord not only offers protection, he offers a solution. He tells his people: if we cannot trust our neighbours, we must rid ourselves of them. If we cannot live together in a single state, we must create clean states of our own.

The basis of ethnic cleansing is not just motivated by nationalist hatred. Cleansing is the warlord's coldly rational solution to the Hobbesian war of all against all. If you are one of your neighbours, the warlord says, and you no longer have to fear them. Live among your own, and you can live in peace. With me and my boys to protect you.

American town. He comes across a local wedding and the band serenades him. The bridegroom asks him to kiss the bride, the revellers hand him bottles to sample. It is hard to remember that this man is leader of the Glavas Unit, a paramilitary group held responsible not merely for the defence of Osijek but for the cleansing of Serbian villages and for the murder of Croatian policemen who sought to maintain good relations with Serbs.

Glavas flashes a policeman's badge at the police checkpoints, as well as a military pass at the front line. The limits of his power are as imprecise as they are pervasive. He has translated the nefarious glamour of the warlord into peacetime power, yet he assures you with a snap of his fingers that he could remobilise his paramilitaries overnight. Thirty kilometres away, across the front line in Serb-held Vukovar, there is Mr Kojic, the Serbian equivalent of Mr Glavas. Same jeep, same courteous manner. Same

...ists, but their convictions are uninteresting. They are technicians of violence, rather than ideologists. Everybody else, they understood that ethnic nationalism had delivered the ordinary people of the Balkans straight back to Hobbes, to the pre-political state of nature where

Michael Ignatieff

# Warlords rule in a Hobbesian world

THEIR vehicle of choice is a four-wheel-drive Cherokee Chief, with a policeman's blue light on the roof to flash when speeding through a checkpoint. They pack a pistol, but leave vulgar intimidation to the bodyguards in the back of the jeep, the ones with shades, designer jeans and Zastovo machine pistols. They themselves dress in the leather jackets, floral ties and pressed corduroy trousers favoured by German television producers. They bear no resemblance whatever to Rambo. The ones I've met were short, stubby men who in a former life had been small-time hoods, small-town cops or both. Spend a day with them and you'd hardly know that most of them are serial killers.

These are the modern warlords. They appear wherever nation states disintegrate: in the Lebanon, Somalia, northern India, Armenia, Georgia, and Yugoslavia. With their carphones, faxes and exquisite personal weaponry, they look post-modern, but the reality is pure early medieval.

Back in 1989, we thought the new world opened up by the breaching of the Berlin Wall would be ruled by philosopher kings, dissident heroes and shipyard electricians.

We looked forward to a new order of nation states, released from the senile grip of the Soviets. We assumed that

national self-determination had to mean freedom and that nationalism had to mean nation building. As usual we were wrong. We hoped for order. We got pandemonium.

In the name of nationalism, dozens of viable nation states have been shattered beyond repair. In the name of state building, we have returned large portions of Europe to the pre-political chaos prior to the emergence of the modern state.

If UN helicopters are being bombed as they lift off the injured from Srebrenica, it will have been a warlord who ordered it. It is fatuous to reproach him for want of pity and human feeling. Pity is not a tradeable currency in a warlord's world. In Srebrenica, authority, as in gangland, depends entirely on reliable displays of ruthlessness. What more efficient display of ruthlessness could there be than

If power is splintering in the Balkans, returning to its primal source, the barrel of a gun, who can be sure that the Vance-Owen plan can deliver any durable peace? Who can say what divisions Milosevic or Karadzic actually command? For Serbian Bosnia is no longer ruled by either of them, if ever it was. Power has slipped away to the violent men in armoured four-wheel drives.

Warlords not only dominate the war-zones, they also have

worked their way to the heart of power in the authoritarian single-party states of Croatia and Serbia alike.

War criminals are celebrities in the Balkans. They have seats in the Serbian Parliament. One of them, Vojislav Seselj, the self-styled Duke of the Serbian chetniks, runs his own party as well as a full-time paramilitary unit. Another, Zeljko Raznatovic, aka Arkan, controls an 800-strong paramilitary unit, called the Tigers, who raped and tortured their way through Eastern Slavonia in the Croatian war of 1991. This odious thug, on the run from an Interpol warrant for an attempted murder in Sweden, is a parliamentary deputy and operates a number of immensely profitable sanctions-busting businesses.

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*In the state of nature,  
the man with a  
Zastovo machine  
pistol and a Cherokee  
Chief is king.*

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*The  
Observer  
April 4, 1993*

## RIP free press of Split

Croatia is now the only state in Europe without a free press. Following a protracted campaign against Slobodna Dalmacija (Free Dalmatia), the government in Zagreb dismissed the paper's senior editors and writers last month. The Split-based paper has been relaunched with a new board and a new editor-in-chief; a similar operation took place last October at Danas, a weekly magazine.

Slobodna's original editorial team were on strike in protest at government interference. With a circulation of 100,000, the paper was Croatia's last remaining forum for intellectual and critical assessment of developments in the new republic. Dailies Vjesak and Vecerni List and the broadcast media tend to toe the Zagreb government line. Slobodna's new editor-in-chief already has plans for a drastic change of direction; Dino Mikulandra, aged 33, a former communist youth worker, is regarded by colleagues as someone well-connected in Zagreb who has boarded the nationalist bandwagon.

Yet, the offensive against Slobodna Dalmacija was mild compared to the treatment meted out 18 months ago to Glas Slavonije. Branimir Glavas, the HDZ (Croatian Democratic Community) commissar for Osijek, burst into that paper's offices with 10 armed guards and proclaimed himself director. According to the London-based Balkan War Report, the future of the media in Croatia depends on ownership. The state owns the three biggest dailies, one of the two political weeklies, the only radio network and the only television station. With Zagreb giving Slobodna Dalmacija an ideological dusting down, most of Croatia's best journalists are "resting", "technologically redundant" or just out of work.

**DOMINIQUE JACKSON**

*The Guardian April 5, 1993*

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P. 6  
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Pale, April 3, 1993

War in Bosnia and Herzegovina

**DR RADOVAN KARADZIC: GERMANY IS MAIN CULPRIT FOR THE WAR**

BILECA, April 3/SRNA/ - "Germany is the main culprit for the war in these areas", stated Dr Radovan Karadzic, President at the Press conference in Bileca on Saturday after completion of the session of the National Assembly of the Republic of Srpska.

Pointing out to the fact that Turkey is also responsible for the ethnic conflicts in the former BH he expressed his expectation that so-called "German block" will "severely oppose" the resolution on continuation of the peace negotiations of the National Assembly of the Republic of Srpska, but he is convinced that some other European countries, such are the Great Britain and France, will thoroughly consider the fact why the proposed Vance-Owen's maps are unacceptable for the Serb people.

"We are not the member of NATO Pact and we shall be against the arrival of their troops to our areas", said Dr Karadzic, repeating once again the Serb attitude that the soldiers from the countries showing any political or military interests toward the territory of the former BH should not come to the warring territories.



# CINDY ADAMS

**D**R. RADOVAN KARADZIC, president of Serbian-controlled Bosnia Herzegovina, called to say he wants to return here.

"I don't know much about President Clinton, but I hope to meet him. He inherited bad information about us from the previous administration. I pray he does not have a quick trigger.

"I must tell him my country can only exist if we have green lines separating the ethnic antagonists. It is not a final solution but at least it can stop war as it did in Cypress. There is too much hatred. We may survive only under separate national communities or bloodshed will continue indefinitely. We will become like Lebanon.

"We are not cats and dogs to be put into a box to fight forever. We should be like the Italian, French and German language communities in Switzerland. We should be allowed to live with our own, amongst our own, in borders drawn according to ethnic lines.

"This war in Yugoslavia is over boundaries. Tito was a dictator. He divided up the borders arbitrarily. Now that he is gone and Communism is gone, we must live with what he did. He did not do it properly.

"Tito threw us together. We were like oil and water. While he shook us, we stayed together. Once we were left alone, we separated."

And what does he want for himself?

"To return to total anonymity with news of my country on page 15, not on the front page. In New York, my wife bought herself a black shoulder-bag, shoes for our daughter, and I bought books on the Balkans. But that is all we were permitted to do.

"I could not enjoy a simple life as I did before when I was a poet living in New York. I could not go to a restaurant. Nor a theater. It would be my dream to see Broadway and off-Broadway, but we could not. Security would not allow this. Too many dangers surround me.

*"Please inform your government, without these green lines we will forever be like the Arabs and Israelis and the English and the Irish. This killing will never never stop."*