

13

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS

Y 4. SE 2:103-1-10

Implementation of the Helsinki Acco...

HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

ONE HUNDRED THIRD CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

THE FATE OF THE PEOPLE OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

OCTOBER 21, 1993

Printed for the use of the
Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe

[CSCE 103-1-10]



U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1994

74-257 CC

For sale by the U.S. Government Printing Office
Superintendent of Documents, Congressional Sales Office, Washington, DC 20402

ISBN 0-16-044049-1

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THE FATE OF THE PEOPLE OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Thursday, October 21, 1993.

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE
Washington, DC.

The hearing was held in room 2360, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, DC, at 10 a.m., Hon. Dennis DeConcini, Chairman, presiding.

Commissioners present: Dennis DeConcini, Chairman, Hon. Steny H. Hoyer, Co-Chairman, Hon. Edward J. Markey, Hon. Frank McCloskey, Hon. Benjamin L. Cardin, and Hon. Hamilton Fish, Jr.

Also present: Hon. Thomas C. Sawyer, Hon. James Moran, Hon. Charles Wilson, Hon. Louise McIntosh Slaughter, and Hon. Helen Delich Bentley.

Chairman DECONCINI. The Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe will come to order. Please sit down, gentlemen.

In recent weeks, the tragedy which continues in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been overshadowed by events here at home, as well as Haiti, Somalia, and Russia. This testifies to the significance of the other events, but it also reflects a tendency to want to ignore longstanding problems.

The problem in the former Yugoslavia confronts us horribly day after day. For more than 2 years now, there is a large gap between what we know needs to be done, on the one hand, and what governments are politically willing to do, on the other. Rather than meet the challenge before it, the world shifts its focus.

This cannot be allowed to happen. People in Sarajevo, in Gorazde, and elsewhere in Bosnia are still being killed by sniper fire and by shelling. People are still being forced to flee, adding to an already tremendous refugee burden as winter approaches.

The effects of aggression and genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina will not disappear by turning off our television sets or turning to the next newspaper page. Not only will thousands more die this winter, resettlement, reconstruction, and reconciliation will take years, perhaps decades to achieve when and if such efforts can be finally undertaken.

Our hearings this morning focus on the fate of the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We hope to gain insight into whether they will survive their second winter under siege, whether they want to end the conflict no matter what principles are sacrificed, whether they want to fight on to defend what is theirs, whether they will want to return to their home village or move elsewhere in Bosnia-Herzegovina or someplace else around the world.

We have two outstanding witnesses before us this morning who can address this issue. Jose Mendiluce is a former Special Envoy of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees in the former Yugoslavia, and currently the UNHCR representative in Brussels. His expertise in refugee matters, his experience in the former Yugoslavia and his personal candor are well known.

Fred Cuny is an expert in disaster relief, who has spent most of 1993 in Bosnia-Herzegovina assisting efforts to keep an infrastructure under attack functioning so that people can survive.

Gentlemen, we welcome you here, and thank you for taking the time to be with us.

I would also like to note the presence in the audience of Ambassador Muhamed Sacirbey, the Bosnian representative to the United Nations, who has worked tirelessly to keep that organization and its members aware of the tragic plight of the Bosnian conflict.

Co-chairman Hoyer is tied up in some leadership meetings and will be joining us, and I will yield to Mr. McCloskey.

Mr. McCLOSKEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

As you know, given our friendship and experiences together, I continue to appreciate your courageous leadership in this very, very important area.

I think one thing that concerns people who care about this particular issue is that, in recent weeks, developments in Somalia, Haiti, and Russia have, in essence, pushed the suffering, the tragedy, and the devastation of the Bosnian people off the front pages and news reports. In essence, more and more placing them in the continuing danger of continuing to have to accept this terrible, terrible fate.

Just 10 days ago, Congressman Charlie Wilson and I were in Sarajevo, and I learned later from New York Times reports that, by current standards, it was a fairly lively day. 150 Serb shells struck the city that day. We could hear them periodically, and we could also hear occasional small arms, semi-automatic, and automatic weapons fire, usually seeming to be a block or two away.

When I talked to President Izetbegovic and Vice President Ganic that day, they noted the slow strangulation going on which, while at a different pace, nevertheless leads to death and devastation.

As we all know, last Saturday and Sunday thousands of shells rained down on Sarajevo—up to 2,000 on Sunday, I understand, Mr. Ganic told me that, on Sunday, 60 to 65 people were seriously wounded or horribly maimed. There were nine deaths in Sarajevo due to Serb gunners up on those hills around the capital. Yet we will hear from our witnesses today that people in various enclaves elsewhere in Bosnia probably have it even worse, particularly nutritionally.

This has to stop. I do not think there are two people who are more expert than Mrs. Cuny and Mendiluce as to the extent of the suffering in Sarajevo and elsewhere and as to what needs to be done. I appreciate their testimony, particularly the concerns from the Bosnian government for a restoration of the natural gas supply. There is currently no fuel, as I am sure we will hear. The water available is minimal, and there are great hopes that somehow UNPROFOR and the West, among other things, would open up the Tuzla airport rather than rely on a relatively small winding road

as the only means this winter to meet the needs of 800,000 to 1,000,000 refugees in that area.

This issue will not go away. It is a matter of strategic, as well as humanitarian, import, and I think the sooner our administration, the Congress, and the West wakes up to that, the better it is going to be for everyone.

So, Mr. Chairman, I thank you.

Chairman DECONCINI. Thank you.

Congressman MARKEY.

Mr. MARKEY. I thank the Senator very much, and thank you for having this hearing today. I think it is very important.

As Somalia and Haiti move this story deeper into the newspaper, in no way is the suffering of the people in this part of the world in any way diminished. The winter is arriving. Food is scarce. Homelessness is prevalent. Inflation is rampant, and the physical and psychological suffering is almost unmeasurable.

So it is absolutely imperative for us to insure that this moral and ethical responsibility, which the United States and the world community has towards this part of the world, not be lost as for the last couple of months the media moves over to a couple of new stories, because without the attention that has to be paid to it, what we are going to see is that the good work that could be done is undermined by neglect.

So we thank you both for your willingness to come here today and helping us to continue to focus on the suffering of the people of all nationalities within the former Yugoslavia.

Chairman DECONCINI. Thank you, Congressman.

Congressman SAWYER.

Mr. SAWYER. Thank you very much, Senator.

Just let me join with my colleagues in thanking you for this opportunity and to our witnesses for the messages they bring to us today.

There is little more that we can say about the sense of horror that we all share with regard to the human suffering. The work of the Helsinki Commission in that regard is signal for all of us.

I think among the most important things that we can come to understand is the suffering that we have trouble even measuring and accounting for. It is not only a symptom of disruption, dislocation, and instability, but is like a virus that has the capacity to spread. In that sense it is one of the large scale, growing, unmeasured, and unmetered human phenomena that is spreading throughout the world today.

We have greater numbers of migrants and refugees than at any time in the last 50 years. The kinds of events that are taking place in Bosnia and throughout the former Yugoslavia are mirrored in so many other places throughout the world, from Liberia to Georgia to countless other places. We have a great deal to learn from what you have to tell us today.

Thank you, Senator.

Chairman DECONCINI. Thank you, Congressman.

Congressman CARDIN.

Mr. CARDIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Let me just underscore an important point in your opening statement. There have been events in the United States that have over-

shadowed what is happening today in Bosnia. That is why I think this hearing is so important.

Our only hope of bringing about a resolution of the tragic human rights violations that are occurring in Bosnia is to continue to place a world spotlight on what is happening there. That is why I particularly appreciate the fact that the Helsinki Commission is holding these hearings and look forward to the testimony of our witnesses.

Chairman DECONCINI. Thank you, gentlemen.

Mr. Mendiluce, thank you again for being with us, and if you will proceed with your statement, your full statement will be put in the record if you would like to summarize it for us, please.

**TESTIMONY OF JOSÉ M. MENDILUCE, SPECIAL ENVOY,
UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES**

Mr. MENDILUCE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like, first of all, to congratulate you for convening this hearing. I think it is most important, and I hope it will help to clarify some ideas about the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Thank you very much also to all of the distinguished Representatives present here and all ladies and gentlemen who came to this hearing.

A text is available for all of you about what are the main ideas I wanted to present here, but if you allow me, and given the fact that the text is presented, I would like to just mention some of the crucial points in my view that have to be retained from the modest paper I was able to prepare.

First of all, in a very telegraphic way, the war was avoidable with preventive means, including clear and strong messages by the international community to those who would start this war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Everybody knew that this war was going to start, and no preventive action was taken in time, not enough attention to the early warning signs, signals were given, and this made the war unavoidable in practice, but I insist the war was avoidable with enough strength by the international community.

The second point is that the international community became involved and assumed a co-responsibility about the events in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The international community became involved through many resolutions of the Security Council, through the negotiation process, through a massive humanitarian intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and through all types of condemnations, resolutions, decisions, advice, and whatever, but without the necessary means to transform this implication or this action of the international community to stop the logic and to stop the war.

Third, the humanitarian organizations, and in particular, UNHCR, started denouncing the situation in Bosnian before the war started, but as early as May 1992, we told the international community that this tragedy, that the coming tragedy, did not have a humanitarian solution, and that we did not want to be used as an alibi or excuse for lack of political action because in a conflict like this, the humanitarians can only alleviate the problem, cannot solve and cannot stop the logic of the war.

So we say that since May 1992, and since that moment we have been insisting all the time and asking the international community

at the political level not to use us as the main basis of the international strategy towards the conflict.

Despite this, I want to mention also that unfortunately, given the continuation of the war, all of the atrocities and human suffering, the humanitarian assistance is needed, and the fact is if it is not, the solution should not be interpreted in the way that why to do humanitarian assistance. People there need humanitarian assistance, but not only humanitarian assistance.

Five is that today we cannot see any prospect of a solution. I am similarly pessimistic, as I think all those who are involved in the activities of Bosnia-Herzegovina—and probably Fred Cuny is going to elaborate on that—we are terrified about the coming winter and about the situation that has been going on in Bosnia-Herzegovina, not only Sarajevo, but also in other areas.

Six, the latest proposal presented by the Co-chairmen, whatever justification at the political level could be, implies in practice this partition proposal would imply, if accepted or if implemented, additional massive displacement of people, and I could elaborate on that in the part of questions, but it will imply no possibility for return for many of the current refugees being displaced, and it would imply that more people will be displaced by force if the interpretation that the local parties to the conflict will make of this partition is the one that has been taken since the beginning of the war.

I would like also to say that ethnic cleansing continues unabated, and there are no journalists in the Banja-luka region. My colleagues have reported that the last four mosques that were not yet blown up have been blown up during the month of September. So there is not a single mosque in the Serbian controlled territory of Banja-luka, and this is part of a genocide in terms of culture and traditions of the Bosnia Muslim people.

So Sarajevo, as we mentioned, is, once again after 18 months of war, under heavy shelling, and people are suffering as you could imagine not only by this current shelling, but by the lack of any prospect for the future, and they do not understand this. They do not understand why it is impossible to stop the massacres of Sarajevo after more than 18 months, and this time we see an end there because there are other conflicts we do not know exactly. In this case, we have been bombed by the media month after month, and we should know what is going on there. So the responsibility is even greater.

I would like to say also that apart from all of the atrocities, massacres, people killed, this war has destroyed also two other dreams probably. The first dream that this war has destroyed is the dream of the majority of the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina that even the referendum in the month of January 1992 decided to vote for democracy and decided to vote to live together and decided to vote for multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, and multi-religious society.

These people, this dream has been defeated by this war and by the incapacity of the international community to stop those who pretend to create a confessional or ethnically pure state in that country, with all of the consequences that this would have not only for Bosnia, but also as a very bad example for other parts of the world.

The other dream that this war is destroying is the dream of an international community, able to act in an energetic way to stop violations of all types of principles, international principles at the political and humanitarian level, and to abuse all types of human rights in the way that this war has been doing.

The international community has been and is being tested in this war, and I think that for the time being we can become also a casualty of this war. Many dictators, criminals worldwide are learning the lesson of the international community's incapacity to address this problem and to stop this war, and I think that we have already a few examples of some small dictators and criminals that are using our weaknesses to laugh in front of the international community and to disregard any basic principle of convenience and solidarity, and they are learning very, very quickly.

The last point for me is to say that I have the impression in all of the conferences I have been attending since I left Bosnia-Herzegovina, in meetings, discussions, that many people think it is too late. I am not sure if it is too late to save Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state, but I think it is not too late to avoid a genocide, to stop the genocide that is going on, and I would like to insist that hundreds of thousands of people could become victims and could become casualties if we do not do anything else than try with humanitarian means to save the survivors, those who are lucky enough to be still alive.

I do not think that we should say that it is too late to prevent a genocide. If we do that, I think that millions of victims of this war will never forgive us.

Thank you very much.

Chairman DECONCINI. Thank you.

Mr. MENDILUCE. Could I add that this intervention idea is on a personal basis?

Chairman DECONCINI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MENDILUCE. And on the basis of my experience in former Yugoslavia, but it does not imply that my organization fully agrees with my statement.

Thank you.

Mr. CUNY. But I think they do.

Chairman DECONCINI. Thank you.

Mr. CUNY.

TESTIMONY OF FREDERICK C. CUNY, PRESIDENT, INTERTECT

Mr. CUNY. Senator, Congressmen, distinguished guests, Mr. Mendiluce, I am extremely pleased to be given the opportunity to speak on the question of the problems in Bosnia and the former Yugoslavia, and to testify to the grave humanitarian situation that is confronting the people as we approach this next winter.

What I would like to do today is to look at the reasons why the Bosnians may have rejected the most recent peace plan and to discuss some of the humanitarian problems that are facing as a result and then to suggest some options for U.S. policy in the coming months.

In the aftermath of the Bosnians' rejection of the latest peace plan, Western policymakers seem to be at a loss about where to go next. Many observers had thought that the plan was the last best

chance that the Bosnians had, especially to try and intervene before the coming winter and to reduce the extensive humanitarian problems that are likely to be caused by the outbreak of winter conditions in the next few weeks.

Observers were very surprised when the Bosnians rejected the plan, first the Muslim assembly and later the Bosnian assembly, and when it added conditions that would make the plan unacceptable to the Serbs and the Croats, it was, in fact, a de facto rejection by the people.

The subsequent revolt by the Bihac Muslims has complicated not only the peace process, but also the humanitarian assistance program which is lagging behind in contributions of food, materials, and cash, especially in the energy and winterization sectors.

The Bosnians rejected the plan for many reasons. Some were straightforward; some represented political expediency; and some can only be seen in the context of the people's view of themselves at this point in time.

As the Bosnians see the situation, time is on their side if they can hold the republic together. They believe that the Bosnian Serbs are under tremendous pressure from Belgrade to reach a settlement so that sanctions can be lifted. They point out that the Serbs continually insist that a phased relaxation of sanctions, starting from the moment that the plan is initialed, be carried out. This has led the Bosnians to believe that sanctions are truly hurting the Serbs and that the sanctions are their main equalizer in the war.

They also know that the enforcement of sanctions has been strengthened during the summer in response to the Serbs' blockade of Sarajevo.

Second, the Bosnians believe that the Europeans will continue to pressure the Serbs into keeping the current level of military activity low in order to keep the United States from intervening militarily. Thus, while the Serbs still have strategic advantage in many areas, basic humanitarian assistance will probably be able to get through at some points to most of the enclaves, to Sarajevo, Tuzla, and to a lesser extent the central zone around Zenica.

If the enclaves do not get food or fuel now, the people will blame the U.N. since these are protected demilitarized areas. If the Serbs tighten the blockade on Sarajevo again, the Bosnians believe it will play into their hands politically.

Third, at the time they rejected the plan, the Bosnians believed that President Clinton has decided in favor of military action if the Serbs continued to attack Sarajevo in northern Bosnia. Apparently the Serbs also believed that bombing was a very real threat since top UNPROFOR officers had warned them continually in July and August that U.S. action was imminent if they did not relax the siege of Sarajevo.

The Bosnian military is opposed to ending the fighting now since its forces have been making gains in central Bosnia and western Herzegovina. In the summer they pushed the Croats out of the industrial regions of central Bosnia, for example, around Fojnica, and they are now in position to consolidate their gains in several areas.

They have a number of objectives that they believe they can attain: opening a route to the coast, reopening the route to Tuzla through Vares, and regaining control over Mostar. As they see it,

the Croatian army, or the HV, is in a poor position to support the Croatian Defense Council (HVO) because of the situation in Krajina.

Furthermore, the HVO's blockade of humanitarian assistance has hurt the Croats in central Bosnia far more than the Muslims. Thus, the Muslim dominated forces of the Bosnian presidency are likely to continue to oppose a peace settlement as long as they believe, one, that the Serbs are effectively checked, and, two, that they can take more territory from the Croats.

One incident that may have contributed to the Bosnians' belief that time is on their side is the rebellion of Serb forces in Banjaluka. Some military commanders believe that there are growing dissensions within the Bosnian Serb Army that could weaken the Serbs.

A key factor in the vote that effectively rejected the plan was related to the document itself. When the peace plan was finally presented to the Bosnians, there was widespread skepticism that the form of government proposed would work. Most Muslims accept the fact that the country will be partitioned, and once that is done, they want nothing more to do with the Serbs and to a lesser extent the Croats.

Critics of the proposed constitutional make-up of the government joined forces with the people who still support a multi-ethnic study to condemn the agreement and effectively block its acceptance. Many Bosnians think that the Serbs and Croats are preparing for another round of war. The Bosnians believe that when war breaks out, they will be courted by both sides in the conflict. At that point the Bosnians will be in a position to make a deal for some of the territory they have lost.

There is yet another intangible factor, and a major one, affecting the Bosnians' behavior. They fervently believe that they are the victims and their position is right. Therefore, they assume if they can just hold out a bit longer, they will eventually win military support from the outside. It may not seem logical to an outsider, but the belief is very real.

What do they want? To get the Bosnians back to the conference table in a mood to negotiate, several things must happen.

First, their territorial demands must be met: specifically, a corridor to the sea; contiguous borders with the eastern enclaves; defensible borders in the west; elimination of the HVO blockade at Vares; and access to the Sava River which is navigable to the Danube.

Second, their goals include stronger guarantees of NATO deployment, especially a larger and more rapid U.S. commitment to help prevent forced population transfers. They essentially are seeking repositioning of forces for rapid deployment.

The only other circumstance that would get the Bosnians back to the conference table, in my opinion, is a major change on the battlefield for the better or the worse. Pressuring Mr. Izetbegovic is unlikely to achieve any major results.

UNPROFOR and many others do not share the Bosnians' analysis of the situation. UNPROFOR's assessment is far more pessimistic. From their close contacts with the Serbs, UNPROFOR personnel believe that the Bosnians' ploys will not work. According to sen-

ior officers, the Bosnians' move has strengthened the Serb radicals, especially the Mladic faction. Rather than wait, UNPROFOR believes that the Serbs will now move to punish the Bosnians, grab more territory, and complete ethnic cleansing in several areas, especially in Banja-luka, as Mr. Mendiluce has pointed out.

While it is unclear whether they will initiate an all out assault on Sarajevo, they will certainly escalate the level of shelling and go after more territory in the north and complete the expulsion of Muslims from these other areas now under their control.

This reduces the likelihood that those areas will ever be reoccupied by their original inhabitants and will further hamper any efforts to forge a unified nation.

What is likely to happen in the next few months? In the near term, the situation is likely to remain fairly static. The Serbs will gradually tighten the blockade of Sarajevo. Sniping has resumed and will gradually become more intense.

Additionally, the Serbs are not likely to honor many of the agreements they have made over the summer with UNPROFOR and UNHCR regarding coal and firewood, restoration of electricity, and so forth. They will undoubtedly try to consolidate some territory in the north, perhaps near Maglaj on the perimeter of Tuzla, and will try to cut off the Muslims' access to Sarajevo from the south.

In the last week, the Serbs have stopped all but food and medicines from coming into Sarajevo. All winter supplies, gas and water, equipment, and even blankets, have been stopped. At the same time, political divisions among the Bosnians are likely to grow, making it more difficult to supply aid or to reach political accommodation with the Serbs and the Croats.

In short, the people of Bosnia, and especially those in Sarajevo and the various enclaves, are in for a very tough winter.

In the meantime, the Bosnians will probably agree to return to negotiations, but only to prolong the existing situation. They are gambling that the Serbs will agree to give back more territory to get the sanctions lifted. So they will continue to maneuver, holding out for more land and a more workable form of government.

A looming problem for the Bosnians is the growing factionalism among the Muslims. There are disputes among regions: Bihac versus Sarajevo, Sarajevo versus Tuzla, and between the urban Muslims and the Sandzaks, or the rural Muslims. All threaten to further weaken the Bosnians' ability to hold out and would negate any advantages they may have in the present circumstances.

What should our response be as Americans? At this point, the best approach, I believe, for the United States would be to help the Bosnians make their strategy work. It would be unwise for the United States to push a new peace plan based on the old one. The old plan was not, as some have argued, the best deal the Muslims could get. Signing on to a bad plan could limit U.S. options in the future.

Rather, we should help the Bosnians by focusing on measures that will keep the level of conflict low and allow time to work for them. Another, better, opportunity where U.S. power and leverage can be applied should arise soon.

Specifically, I would recommend the United States do the following:

First, continue to threaten the Serbs with air strikes if they resume shelling Sarajevo or attacking the other enclaves. I was extremely pleased to see the reaction of the administration over the weekend and hope that it will be strengthened in the next few days.

Since the plan was effectively rejected, the level of shelling has increased. Frequently more than several hundred shells hit per day, not just along the lines of contact, as UNPROFOR often claims, but deep inside the city. A shell went off just the other day killing a person within five meters of my office.

Second, support the Bosnians' negotiating position by further tightening sanctions' enforcement. There are many weaknesses in the sanctions' enforcement that could be closed with military action, pressure, and by more stringent enforcement of blockade at the crossing points into the country.

Third, pressure Croatia to curb the HVO. This should be done by suspending economic assistance to Croatia if the HVO fails to end its attacks on Bosnians.

Furthermore, Croatia should be pressured into giving the Bosnian refugees better treatment.

Number four, increase our diplomatic efforts to limit the growing political divisions among the Bosnians. Our American Ambassador, Mr. Victor Yakovich, has done a superb job in negotiating between the various political factions, and he should be continued to be encouraged to do so.

Number five, continue to support humanitarian assistance, especially supporting the U.N. on issues of access and freedom of movement and the supply of energy for winter heating and support for the winterization effort.

Number six, continue to press all parties on human rights. Special emphasis should be given to publicizing the human rights abuses of the Serbs and the Croats. Pressuring them publicly should tend to encourage the Bosnian leadership to take stronger measures to curb similar abuses by their troops and allow the Bosnians to regain the moral high ground that they appear to be losing. We should also give more visible U.S. support to the War Crimes Tribunal.

Mr. Chairman, there is one measure that we can take now that will show the United States' resolve in this situation. That is to ensure that the supply of natural gas to Sarajevo is restored. The Serbs have cut the gas since May. Gas is now in the lines up to Sarajevo, but has been stopped in Serb-held territory from reaching both Sarajevo and Zenica.

Under the terms of the existing sanctions, gas may be shared with Serbia only if the flow of gas to Bosnia is uninterrupted. Since gas is the principal source of fuel for Belgrade, both for heating and for running the city's industries, cutting it off would send a strong message to the Serbs, as well as demonstrating that the West is still behind Bosnia despite the breakdown of the peace process.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman DECONCINI. Mr. Cuny, thank you very much, and, gentlemen, thank you.

I want to recognize Congressman Wilson who has joined us and Congressman Moran. We will hear from them when we get to the questions.

Gentlemen, the international relief effort has been hampered as one convoy after another has been blocked or turned away. Another problem that has been so widely reported is the practice of negotiation and the reporting of paying off of those who block the passage of such convoys by either taking of cut of whatever it is or perhaps in cash.

Can either of you tell us and bring us up to date just how a problem is that, and why hasn't force been used to get aid through as is authorized under the Security Council resolution?

Mr. MENDILUCE.

Mr. MENDILUCE. Yes, thank you.

Of course, one of the main problems since the beginning of the operation in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been the problems in the barricades, checkpoints, and the front lines mainly with the Serbian side in the beginning, but now with the Croats, the HVO also from the Adriatic Coast into central Bosnia.

The policy of UNHCR, and I can guarantee in the 20 months I was there we followed this policy, was never pay any tax to any of these militia men that were asking for taxes. So this implied for us that many times our convoys were stopped for one week even or 10 days or sometimes they were forced to turn back and go to the base.

There have been some reports about units here paying taxes, and this is completely wrong. We never pay taxes. We never pay taxes to anybody in the conflict. Our position was to stay as long as necessary, but never pay taxes.

The confusion comes because part of this assistance that has been distributed by units here is also addressed to the Serbian displaced people because we do not assist only one type of victim, but all the victims without any discrimination. But we have been forced to negotiate once and again, many times about the quantities distributed to one side or the other, and we have been always very open to listen to all sides and revise our distribution targets according to new elements, new data that we could be provided and checked.

Regarding the fact of why force was not used, I think that the most important point here is that you cannot combine—and this is my personal view and experience in Bosnia—you cannot combine a humanitarian operation that is in charge with civilians with soft skin vehicles, normally with soft skin trucks, and the use of force in one or other checkpoint. If we accepted to use force or the UNPROFOR decided to use force escorting a unit or convey, let's say, entering Sarajevo, for instance, the whole operation of units here in Bosnia-Herzegovina will be at risk in the sense that we will become targets from all of the Serbia militia men or the Croats if only once force has been used in one point.

So if you decide to use force, you should use military means to distribute assistance. You cannot combine a civilian humanitarian operation operating in hostile territory and use force here or there if you are not ready to use force all around, and in that case, what

are the civilians doing? The operation should be militarized 100 percent.

This has been the contradiction since the beginning, and we knew force can be used, but the consequences were to stop all of the humanitarian operations in many areas, at least in all Serbian controlled territory, if the force was used against the Serbian side, or in all Croatian controlled territory if the action was taken against the Croats.

Thank you.

Chairman DECONCINI. Do you have anything to add, Mr. Cuny?

Mr. CUNY. Yes, I do. In fact, I am afraid I must strongly disagree with Mr. Mendiluce and correct him on a number of facts.

First of all, the Serbs routinely take a cut of supplies going through on the land convoys. They periodically halt supplies coming through at the airport and demand a third and sometimes as much as a half of all supplies coming in.

Chairman DECONCINI. From the United Nations?

Mr. CUNY. From the United Nations, from private agencies. All programs that are carried out in Sarajevo are programs that are part of the U.N.'s overall, comprehensive program because every agency working there is doing so under the UNHCR umbrella——

Chairman DECONCINI. Well, I understand that. Excuse me.

Mr. CUNY. —implementing agencies.

Chairman DECONCINI. Just to make a distinction, the ones that you see, that I have seen there, are U.N. trucks that are carrying the goods into wherever, mostly Sarajevo. Are they also being taxed?

Mr. CUNY. In many cases they are, yes, sir. For example——

Chairman DECONCINI. Have you witnessed that or have you seen people witness the unloading of those supplies?

Mr. CUNY. Yes, sir, I have. For example, currently we are in the process of bringing in a number of supplies for the winterization program, including gas pipes to help people improve their connections from the gas mains in the city which we have put in to the houses. At the moment, the supplies have been blocked at the airport. The Serbs have demanded one-third of all pipes without regard to compatibility of the sizes or anything. They simply want one-third, and we have been advised by UNHCR that the only way we will get them out is to give them the one-third.

Now, what happens is that often these compromises are made to give the Serbs an equivalent amount simply to get stuff through the lines. You do not actually have it taken from a truck, though that does happen, and often more by the HVO than by the Serbs, but it does occur in many locations.

For example, when coal comes into the city, we are obliged to give the Serbs 20 percent of all the coal coming in and to deliver it to the Serb side. We were originally asked by the UNHCR representative, Mr. Land, to give one-third of the coal to them, but we negotiated another agreement that allowed us to only give one-fifth based on perceived needs.

However, I will point out that the Serbs do not have an energy problem. They have access to firewood. They have access to coal in their area. They have access to fuel in their area, and they could

be delivering it. There is no need for UNHCR to deliver energy supplies to the Serbs.

One of the problems, I think, Mr. Chairman, is that by agreeing to these things, we put ourselves in a very awful bind. I recognize that there is in reality a need to deal with the Serbs in these situations, but when we go back and say we are going to give the Serbs one-third of these materials, it legitimizes their claim that they are the victims, and I think we have to remember who is the aggressor and who is the true victim in this situation.

I do not believe that the unrestricted delivery of humanitarian assistance to the Serb side without very strict checks and balances—which I believe we do not—have is a proper way to proceed, and it is creating precedence for future operations that are going to come back to haunt us.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Chairman, could I ask a quick question?

Chairman DECONCINI. Mr. Wilson.

Mr. WILSON. Are the Croatians as demanding as the Serbs for a cut?

Mr. CUNY. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. Just as much?

Mr. CUNY. It depends on the area.

Chairman DECONCINI. Mr. Mendiluce, would you like to respond?

Mr. MENDILUCE. Yes, I would like to clarify because I think we are not 100 percent in disagreement. What I said is when I left the operation in June. I do not know how these things have been evolving and the level of blackmail suffered by UNHCR and the humanitarian organizations evolved. I imagine that it has increased, the level of blackmail and tough negotiations with 20 percent, 30 percent.

What I wanted to say is three things. Most of the cases that they take from the convoys are taken by force, and we do not have any means to stop it. The only means is not to go, stop delivering assistance to some areas.

Second, we are not in control of all the private agencies that are working there. They work, most of them, with a UNHCR ID card because this is the only way for them to move in and out in some areas, but we do not have 100 percent control of the mechanisms of negotiation and decisions they take on the ground to arrive at one point or to another.

The third thing is I have many examples of my colleagues not allowing the Serbs to take 50 or 30 percent of the loads of the trucks. We were stopped many, many times going to Srebrenica because we did not accept any assistance to the people in Rogatica, which is a point we have to cross to go to Srebrenica. We were stopped many times going to Gorazde and other Muslim enclaves because we did not accept the blackmail on the ground, and I know that is very difficult to decide.

If you have, for instance, the problem of the pipes and without an international clear position to be more coherent and aggressive against the aggressors, as mentioned, it is very difficult for us to decide. Either we want pipes in, and I do not know how you are going to solve this problem, or you do not have the pipes in for the gas supply.

So I imagine at that level of negotiations, you have to make deals. The weaker we are because we do not have any international clear backing in terms of action, the more difficult for the U.N. each year to negotiate adequate deals in the sense that I think that there are needs on the Serbian side and they are displaced. Without contradicting what Fred Cuny says about who are the aggressors and who are the victims, but they are also displaced on the Serbian side. It is difficult to have a discussion here about quantities, this and that, but this has been taken many, many times in the U.N. each year.

Chairman DECONCINI. Thank you very much.

I do want to recognize Ambassador Sacirbey, who is here, the Bosnian representative to the United Nations, who has done a tireless job of representing his country here, and I will yield to the Co-Chairman for an opening statement and questions.

Co-chairman HOYER. Mr. Chairman, I am going to wait for others to question. I am trying to catch up. I apologize for being late. I had another meeting at 10 o'clock.

I appreciate both of you being here. The tragedy that is ongoing in Bosnia and in the surrounding area is one of the most frustrating that I think that I have dealt with in terms of being unable to create a consensus for positive, productive action.

Having said that, let me yield, Mr. Chairman, to the other speakers. I have a statement that I would ask be included in the record at this time, and I will wait for the other members to ask questions, and then I will come back to questions at the end.

Chairman DECONCINI. Mr. McCloskey.

Mr. MCCLOSKEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. It is good to see you also, Mr. Hoyer.

Obviously with the expertise and with the courage and the candor that we have in these two witnesses, we could talk for hours about many of these issues, and we would not get to where we need to be, but for just several minutes, particularly, Mr. Cuny, as I understand it you have been in Sarajevo for 10 months full time, living the life. You are about to go back there.

I do not have to describe to you, given the events of last weekend, the conditions you are going to be facing personally, for that matter, as to your own safety and the uncertainty.

You said we should continue to keep the pressure on the Serbs and particularly to threaten air power. Talking to Mr. Ganic, for that matter talking to Mr. Sacirbey recently, we know that this more than slow strangulation is going on. We know that the Serb heavy tanks have been moved in, beefed up, reinforcing the positions around Sarajevo, and whether it is slow or fast, the death and destruction is going on.

At some point, just medium and random heavy artillery and sooner or later you do not have a city or a people. At what point would you recommend to the policy advisors just to take out some of those Serb heavy positions that are pounding the city?

Mr. CUNY. Congressman, I have been recommending that we take military action since last February. I believe that strong military action, or at least the threat, a credible threat, of military force, is needed to bring this conflict to an end.

Unfortunately, I have not seen the administration moving in that direction, except at two points in time, once in May when our allies blocked it and once in July when the U.N. blocked it.

I am fearful that if we do not take military action, we will see a very prolonged conflict, one with major implications not only for the region, the subregion, but also for other areas nearby. As many people have pointed out, Russia is Yugoslavia with nukes. I think that there is a direct linkage between the way that we deal with this situation and how we are going to have to deal with other situations that are far more important to us geopolitically.

I believe from my own experience in northern Iraq, in Sri Lanka, and even in Somalia that military force has a role in this situation. I also believe that if the United States were to craft a humanitarian intervention based on a massive, overwhelming threat of force to the Serbs that they would back off.

I do not believe that we should go in piecemeal. I am very much opposed to trying to deploy the peacekeeping troops, as was proposed under the last peace plan, because I believe it would take far more to bring about true peacekeeping operations than was scheduled there.

But if we were to use military force in a credible manner and threaten the key targets, the leadership, make the backers of the Serbs and the Croats aware of what we could do to them economically, as well as militarily, that we would soon see a decrease in the violence.

I would like to point out that in the time periods when we have talked about a credible military force that it has been very easy to move things into the city. Throughout the summer, with the United States talking about military intervention, we were able to move over 700 tons of very highly sophisticated and massive water supply equipment into the city. I do not believe we would have been able to do that, and the fact that now the Serbs are blocking the pipes, it is clearly because they feel that the United States is not going to take action.

Mr. McCLOSKEY. One of the attitudes that I have found during my trips to the region to talk to UNPROFOR and some other officials—and we have heard some of the worst of it expressed by General MacKenzie—is that, even if the Serbs are if not “good guys,” they are basically the best guys to work with. They are the most cooperative, the most reasonable, and so forth and so on.

The Bosnians are just being a pain, the argument goes. It also fits in with MacKenzie and, quite frankly, even some of our administration's statements fit this pattern. All of the parties are evil, all of them are bad news, they all commit atrocities, and so forth.

One can make a case that, however inadvertently, UNPROFOR is in the position of administering this ongoing war for the ultimate convenience and victory of the Serbs. Witness the 30 percent tax being exacted at the airport to feed the same Serb gunners who are firing shells on innocent people, and particularly not only what has been done physically and militarily to these people, but I think there is also a feeling that they are being starved spiritually, not even having full rights of human solace.

I find it offensive that journalists and others are searched by UNPROFOR officials at the airport on the way out and that those

carrying more than six communications or letters out of Sarajevo, Mr. Chairman, have the letters confiscated.

I also find it offensive that people with citizenship rights or the right to reside elsewhere, like one family I know with landed immigrant status in Canada, cannot get out.

Could you comment on this situation? And then I just have one short, empirical question as to supplies there.

Mr. CUNY. I would also like to give Jose a chance, as well.

Mr. MCCLOSKEY. I would welcome comments by both of you.

Mr. CUNY. Mr. Chairman, the U.N. is being asked to do with goodwill and humanitarian assistance what the NATO forces and the allies have refused to do with armies, and I think you have to give a tremendous amount of respect to the efforts of all the U.N. community there.

There are, however, some elements of the leadership of UNPROFOR which have demonstrated, I think, a remarkably pro Serb bias. If you will notice, when there is a shelling of the city, often the Bosnians are blamed for shelling their own people.

Mr. MCCLOSKEY. I keep hearing that Muslim snipers are on the streets shooting other Muslims.

Mr. CUNY. Yes, this is one of the myths. For example, the Bosnians are forced to produce their own ammunition. The only weapons they really have to defend themselves in Sarajevo are mortars, and most of the mortar bombs are homemade, and you would expect that in that situation some short rounds. Even in the U.S. Army, which has probably the best mortars in the world, approximately 5 to 10 percent of all mortar rounds land short. So when the Bosnians are firing outgoing from hill positions and they happen to go short, suddenly the United Nations says, oh, they are shelling their own people.

There is no attempt to try and understand the situation from the Bosnian side.

I have been personally dismayed over the behavior of many of the senior UNPROFOR officers in regards to taking the Serb position. The reasons for that are many. The Serbs certainly have historic ties to some of those powers. There is unfortunately an anti-Muslim strain among many of the participating UNPROFOR forces.

But I think that this can be overcome, and I think that one of the things that happens is that over a period of time, many of those officers who start off with those biases temper them. I know in the case of one British officer that I was familiar with, he came in with a very anti-Bosnian position, and by the time he left, he had become so frustrated with the Serbs not honoring their many pledges and agreements that he was ready to hang the next one he saw.

I do not think that that should temper or should color our view on the United Nations' effort there. I think the effort is constrained by the fact that they do not have the backup that is needed to force the checkpoints.

Senator DeConcini asked the question to Mr. Mendiluce about why force isn't used. UNPROFOR was not configured to use force to force checkpoints. It was originally asked to do two things: to take over the management of the airport at Sarajevo and, second,

to provide an escort for convoys for UNHCR, and it was to escort them through, not to force them through checkpoints.

The first time that we went up to a checkpoint and we were blocked, we should have either had the Security Council mandate that checkpoint be removed and NATO mandated it to back them up and to force it at that point. Had that happened, I believe we would not have this problem of access today.

I do believe, contrary to the majority thinking in UNHCR, that military force can be used to get through these areas and that the Serbs, in fact, would back off again, not taking the risk of a major confrontation with the allies in that situation.

They are in a very weak position politically and economically at the present time, and they cannot continue to operate the way they are and have any kind of economy in the next 9 months. They have either got to win the war, which they may be close to doing, or they need to back off and to try and mend their fences, and I believe that we can encourage them through coercive military force or the threat of military force to make that happen.

Mr. McCLOSKEY. Thank you.

Mr. MENDILUCE. Just to complement what Fred Cuny has said, I think one of the problems with UNPROFOR since the beginning of its deployment is that they had a military approach, and for them the Bosnian Serb army or the Serbian army, the Federal army with the uniform of Bosnian Serbs is an army, and they are used to talking with generals, colonels, and so on. So they were impressed by this army that has a lot of political people in the ranks, in the colonel level and generals. They are more political than military, and they are very able to manipulate people that are not prepared for this type of discussion.

And, on the contrary, the Bosnian people did not have a very structured army and whatever. So for military reasons, I think they were more impressed about the Serbs.

Apart from that, I fully agree with Fred Cuny that unfortunately in the Western world and in some of the countries in Europe, there is an anti-Muslim type of approach that is very, very unfortunate.

Mr. McCLOSKEY. Some people say this is driving the British Foreign Office in its policies.

Mr. MENDILUCE. May be. I do not know, but I think that one of the problems is if UNPROFOR was let alone, without sufficient back-up, without sufficient political back-up and military strength behind, and they just started losing their objectives. They had a very limited mandate, but in fact, they were adding and adding and adding tasks and activities to this mandate without a clear back-up.

One of the things I was all the time very, very surprised is to read the Security Council resolutions talking about a country called Bosnia-Herzegovina, member of the General Assembly, with a legitimate government, and listen all the time to the UNPROFOR officers talking about the parties to the conflict and referring to the Bosnian government as the Muslims, and this is absolutely unacceptable, but they did it all the time, even in public reports through the media.

On the other hand, I was also surprised by the attempt to minimize the crisis or the shelling or the attacks in different areas.

When you read some of the update reports, daily reports of UNPROFOR, we were very surprised because they would never include our reports in terms of humanitarian concerns.

For instance, a typical report of UNHCR about, let's say, Vitez is small arms fire took place during the night, but it was very limited to a neighborhood, and some six or seven explosions were heard. For us, seven explosions are seven houses that have been blow up. So seven families on the move, and this small arms fire implies civilians being killed to terrify the population and to force the people to leave.

So the difference from a military point of view was a quite calm night, from a humanitarian point of view was a catastrophe.

Yes, I think that the other problem, just to finish, is that UNPROFOR since the beginning was completely destroying—I mean was not allowed to do their job for many reasons, but the Serbs tested them, and they did not allow UNPROFOR to deploy in areas that were crucial for us, like Banja-luka. UNPROFOR never deployed in Serbian controlled areas. So they were unable to report about atrocities and crimes committed in these areas because they were not present.

But this undermined the authority since the beginning. You cannot arrive with a plan and the Serbs say no, and you accept it. Since the beginning, since the arrival, since the deployment phase, this was very, very serious, and it provoked a lot of problems for us, for you next year, and many of the atrocities were never reported officially to New York by UNPROFOR because they were not present, and this is a very serious point.

Mr. MCCLOSKEY. Just one final question on this round because there are three or four other questions I would like to ask later, but what about opening the Tuzla airport? Is that not something elemental that needs to be done?

Mr. MENDILUCE. We insisted months ago, since January or February of this year, and Mate Boban sent a request to the Secretary General to discuss it with the Security Council, under request of the Tuzla authorities and the Sarajevo authorities, and from our point of view, the fragility of the access to Tuzla, as has been proved now since the war started between the Croats following Mateboban and the Bosnian army, prove that the fragility of the access to Tuzla was enormous and that the people there——

Mr. MCCLOSKEY. Regarding the present situation?

Mr. MENDILUCE. Yes. I think it is more urgent than ever, and it is feasible. I do not have any doubt that the opening of the airport is feasible. I discussed it with many military men, and it is even easier.

Mr. MCCLOSKEY. Will the airport be opened?

Mr. MENDILUCE. I hope so.

Mr. CUNY. Yes, Mr. Chairman, I can throw some light on that. There have been negotiations for the last 2 weeks on opening Tuzla airport. The issue revolves around whose authority it will be operated under.

The Bosnian government insists that the airport is a Bosnian airport and that it should be operated as a Bosnian airfield with the U.N. being given access to the airfield for humanitarian purposes.

The U.N. has insisted that it be entirely a U.N. airfield, and that they take over all facilities on and adjacent to the airfield, with the right to close it to outside users.

The problem comes up as a result of what has been happening at the Sarajevo airport. As you know, the airport is operated by the United Nations and has been restricted to only U.N. use. No other agencies or organizations, and certainly no private or commercial traffic, is allowed to go in or out of that airfield.

The Bosnians, I think rightly, believe that it is their country and that they have the right to insist on that airfield being in their hands. The U.N. has a better case in the case of Sarajevo where the airfield straddles the lines of confrontation and, therefore, has a need to limit the access, but this is what the problem is. It is not that not everyone agrees that we need to open the airfield. It is a question of who should be in control.

Mr. McCLOSKEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, gentlemen.

Chairman DECONCINI. Congressman Markey.

Mr. MARKEY. Thank you, Senator, very much.

If I can just get to the plight of the people now in Bosnia, what their conditions are, what the prospects are for the winter, in the last week all gas, water equipment, winter supplies, blankets have been stopped; is that correct?

Mr. CUNY. That is correct.

Mr. MARKEY. All with the intention, clearly, of creating such misery that you undermine the psychological capability of the people to resist, but you also point out that there is the capacity for us, the United States, to help in cutting off the natural gas supply for Belgrade; is that correct?

Mr. CUNY. That is correct.

Mr. MARKEY. Where is that pipeline?

Mr. CUNY. The pipeline enters the country just north of Zvornik, which is an area which is under Bosnian Serb control, and then it comes down and splits into two lines. One line goes to Zenica and Sarajevo. The second goes eastward to Belgrade.

Mr. MARKEY. What would it take to cut off the supply of gas to Belgrade?

Mr. CUNY. Under the sanctions, the arrangement is that the Bosnian government makes a request that the Hungarian government turn off the valve at the pumping station on the Hungarian border.

Mr. MARKEY. So it is under Hungarian control?

Mr. CUNY. Yes, sir. The gas originates in Russia, goes through the Ukraine, and then is reboosted through a pressurization process at a plant outside of Budapest.

Mr. MARKEY. What is the likelihood that we could get the Hungarian government cooperation in taking such a step?

Mr. CUNY. They have cooperated once in the past.

Mr. MARKEY. In cutting off gas?

Mr. CUNY. Yes, sir, they did.

Mr. MARKEY. OK. So from your perspective then, to ensure that there is a paradox in play, that the people in Belgrade are put in relatively the same condition as the people in Sarajevo in that their natural gas supplies are cut off and that they are, at least for the

purpose of, say, heating or office comfort, put in a situation that has them empathizing at least with the people of Bosnia?

Mr. CUNY. Yes, sir. If I could explain the current situation, last summer or last May the Bosnian Serbs began to cut the gas off at two stations. One is near the town of Ilidza and the other is in the district of Butila. They did that by first closing a main valve and then a secondary valve, which allowed the gas to flow to the Bosnian Serb-held areas, but not into the Bosnian area.

After several weeks of negotiations and the failure of those negotiations, the government did make a request, and gas was turned off. Immediately the Serbs indicated that they would turn it back on. Gas was restored, and for several days we had gas in July, and then the valve at Butila was jammed shut with only a small amount being allowed. During the evenings, we do get gas coming into the city which pressurizes lines up to the area of the PTT building, which is on the western side of the town.

Mr. MARKEY. PTT is what?

Mr. CUNY. The post and telegraph building.

Mr. MARKEY. Oh, post and telegraph, OK.

Mr. CUNY. The engineering building that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and UNPROFOR use as their primary headquarters there.

Mr. MARKEY. OK, but in general there has been no natural gas since May?

Mr. CUNY. Since May, that is correct, sir.

Mr. MARKEY. OK. Which is tolerable during more temperate weather conditions.

Mr. CUNY. In the summertime, yes.

Mr. MARKEY. So I like your suggestion very much, and I would think that that would be the position that our government should take, in fact, almost immediately so that the paradox could be set in the early winter period now, so that they can be suffering quite similarly to the Bosnians by December or January.

I think we have to start it early enough. It should not be a long process, almost immediately it would seem to me, if we would want the civilians in Belgrade to be suffering similar to the people in Bosnia, and I would like that position. I think it is a good suggestion.

What about the conclusion that I think you, Mr. Mendiluce, came to that it is too late to save the state for the Bosnians? Is that the position that you take?

Mr. MENDILUCE. I say that it may be.

Mr. MARKEY. May be?

Mr. MENDILUCE. Yes. The international community could conceive that it is too late to save Bosnia, but I say it is not too late at least to avoid a genocide.

Mr. MARKEY. I appreciate the distinction. Do you agree with that, that it is perhaps too late to save the state, but time to prevent a genocide, or is it also time to save a state?

Co-Chairman HOYER. Can I ask if you will yield just one second?

Mr. MARKEY. Sure.

Co-Chairman HOYER. When you say it is not too late to prevent a genocide, it is my very strong premise that a genocide has been

going on for 18 months. It may be it is not too late to stop a genocide from continuing.

Mr. MENDILUCE. Yes.

Co-Chairman HOYER. I think that is important.

Mr. MENDILUCE. Excuse me. In my paper I mention cultural, political, and physical genocide. I think that we are in the process of all three, but I wanted to underline that it is not too late to save the lives of hundreds of thousands of people that are at risk.

Co-Chairman HOYER. Excuse me. I just wanted to make the point.

Mr. MARKEY. I agree with the Chairman.

So it is too late to create a state, but it is not too late to stop a genocide from being completed.

Mr. MENDILUCE. I would like to clarify this very well. I hope it is not too late to save Bosnia-Herzegovina, I hope.

Mr. MARKEY. Let me go to you then, Mr. Cuny.

Mr. CUNY. I disagree.

Mr. MARKEY. Do you feel it is too late to save the state?

Mr. CUNY. No, sir, I do not.

Mr. MARKEY. OK. How strongly do you believe that it is not too late to save the state?

Mr. CUNY. I certainly believe that the vast majority of people who would return to a country that were to be liberated from the influences of the Bosnian Serb authorities would be able to put together a workable, multi-ethnic society.

I think if you look at the migration patterns, for example, many of the people who left have not only been Muslims and Croats, but also many Serbs, and the reason those Serbs left were largely because they did not agree with the Serbs that were in control.

I believe that there is a healing process that takes place in every country, and that if the conditions are met where you do not have a climate of violence and where law and order is restored and justice is restored, that very quickly the moderate elements in a society will predominate and will be able to reclaim the state.

Mr. MARKEY. And in terms of whether or not a genocide is likely to be completed under any circumstances, do you think that that is the case, that the Bosnians right now are incapable of preventing it, or do they have sufficient resources at least for the foreseeable future to prevent the completion of this attempted genocide?

Mr. CUNY. I do not think they have sufficient resources to prevent it.

Mr. MARKEY. You do not. OK.

Mr. CUNY. They do not have the military resources, nor do they have international support.

Mr. MARKEY. So from your perspective then, what would the effect of, for example, a cutoff of gas to Belgrade achieve? Would we only at a minimum achieve the goal of them unleashing the natural gas for Sarajevo, but not accomplishing much more as long as then Belgrade was basically protected from having to suffer the consequences of their acts?

Mr. CUNY. Well, I think there are two scenarios under which we can operate. The first is the scenario that we seem to be moving along, which is a de facto partition of the country. Under the present circumstances and the lack of willingness of the inter-

national community to support the Bosnians, we are headed for that, and that is what is going to happen.

In talking with the leadership of the country last May, I was disheartened to hear the President and others say that we know what the end game is, and that is there is going to be some sort of settlement that will end up with three, large, distinctive groups of people residing in fixed areas under a pretext of a country still remaining, and after several years, the Croats will annex their areas, and the next day the Serbs will annex theirs, and just leave what is left for Bosnia.

I think there is also the other scenario, which I would hope will eventually happen, and that is that the rest of the world will realize that that should not be allowed to happen, and that we can come back in with a credible threat of military force, can stop and reverse much of the ethnic cleansing that has taken place.

I do not believe that, given the fact that as many as a third of the families are mixed marriages, the fact that the population growth is from largely the mixed families, and the fact that many people still want to live in a multi-ethnic society, that that is a dead issue. I believe that it can predominate, can be cultivated, and can nurture and reclaim its roots if it has an environment in which it can happen.

Mr. MARKEY. All right. Let me then conclude then because I want to know what your recommendation would be in terms of United States action or a position we should take in terms of insuring that there is the natural gas. I think that you are correct on that, but the food, the water, the blankets for this winter.

What should we be willing to do in order to insure that that is there? What action would we have to take, even if the U.N. or others are not willing to take a step as far as you think we should go to insure that those resources are there for the people of Bosnia?

Mr. CUNY. Congressman, I believe that there is a lack of political resolve on the part of the Europeans.

Mr. MARKEY. On the part of?

Mr. CUNY. The Europeans.

Mr. MARKEY. OK.

Mr. CUNY. And I believe that only the United States showing effective leadership, and strong and effective leadership, is going to get the Europeans to move to support the Bosnians and to find their conscience.

Mr. MARKEY. So you say there is an anti-Muslim bias that is spread throughout that European community?

Mr. CUNY. There is some of that, but I think that the problems of Europe are much deeper than that. Europe is an area where every country has minorities, has many of the same problems inherent in them that Bosnia has, and the European outlook is very different from ours. They would rather contain a conflict and let it burn itself out or just try and control it rather than intervene to change it.

I think that historically that has not worked. Certainly we witnessed what happened in World War II, but as long as the Serbs do not threaten their neighbors, we are going to find it unlikely that the Europeans are going to be willing to intervene.

I do believe that there are leaders within Europe who see the dangers, and we need to support those leaders. We need to begin supporting the resistance and the opposition within Serbia. We need to cultivate the people who oppose ethnic cleansing in all of those communities.

Mr. MARKEY. So which countries do we have the highest likelihood of forming an alliance to make sure that these resources are there throughout the winter?

Mr. CUNY. I think that we will have to influence all of the participating countries of NATO.

Mr. MARKEY. But which countries are the best bets though?

Mr. CUNY. The best bets are what may appear to be the worst, but I think certainly the British and the French can be pressured into joining.

Mr. MARKEY. And which countries are the worst bets?

Mr. CUNY. Certainly I would think Spain, Germany, and Russia are the worst.

Chairman DECONCINI. Congressman, thank you.

Mr. MARKEY. Thank you.

Chairman DECONCINI. We are going to proceed. I am going to ask members to restrict themselves to 5 minutes. I am going to first yield to members of the Commission, and then I will yield to our visitors who are with us.

Congressman FISH.

Mr. FISH. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Cuny, I am heartened by what you say, and what I say and what I ask may have already been covered. I am sorry to have arrived late, but where you rely on strong U.S. leadership interests me. After what the United States and the rest of the world has allowed to happen, do you really think there is any hope for an end either to ethnic cleansing or to shelling or to the availability of adequate preparation for the winter without either lifting the arms embargo or shelling Serbian positions around Sarajevo?

Mr. CUNY. It depends under which strategy we decided to play out. If we decide to go with accept the de facto partitioning of the country, there is probably very little we are going to be able to do.

I still believe that the United States can craft a credible military threat and end the fighting.

Mr. FISH. Well, we, some of us in the Commission, met with the Bosnian Muslim President here a few months ago, just a couple of months ago, and that is what he said. He said, you know, either end the embargo or shell the Serb positions around Sarajevo, and that will open up the highways. That will allow us to get the heating facilities, the food we need, the material to rebuild the cities and prepare for winter.

Neither of those things were we willing to do, and so what is strong leadership?

Mr. CUNY. Mr. Chairman or Mr. Congressman, excuse me, the Serb checkpoint at the airport is a man and a woman in a broken down, old container. The Bosnian Serb liaison officer who is stopping everything at the airport is rotated. There are two people there that are unarmed. Many of these checkpoints are old men with rifles that are so rusty that it is probably doubtful that they could be fired safely.

Yet you will see in many cases one old man with a rifle standing in front of a column of tanks, Saracen armored cars, other vehicles, stopping this movement. We are not talking about a credible resistance on the part of the Serbs. The Serbs have a lot of weapons, and they can fire with impunity into the city, but, in fact, they're very vulnerable to the kinds of pressures that we can put on with a modern military force.

This is not Somalia. I know that there are many people in the American military establishment that would like us to think that because it is a civil war, that we are facing the same type of problems we are facing in Somalia. There are clear lines of contact in most of the areas we will be operating. If we go in on the side of the Bosnians, we do not have to worry about protecting our rear areas. We do not have to worry about our drivers coming up and shooting at us. We are going to find a population as we did in northern Iraq, the Kurds, who were extremely supportive and became, in effect, force multipliers for our troops.

Intervention in Bosnia can work.

Mr. FISH. You are talking about troops.

Mr. CUNY. It can work with air power alone, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FISH. It can work with air power alone. Thank you.

Chairman DECONCINI. Are you finished, sir?

Mr. FISH. Yes, sir. Thank you very much.

Chairman DECONCINI. Congressman Sawyer.

Mr. SAWYER. I thought you were going to go to the other members of the Commission.

Chairman DECONCINI. There are no other. These are all. We are glad to have them here and your interest, as well.

Mr. SAWYER. I am pleased to be here. Thank you, Senator.

Mr. Cuny, you spoke in your final point about the importance of the continuing human rights abuses and the importance of publicizing them and providing visible support to the War Crimes Tribunal. We face this task in the context of the coming winter.

Let me just ask you: is there a coherent inventory of humanitarian needs, on the one hand? Is there a coherent inventory of humanity in the areas that are affected as a measure of those needs, and perhaps even most importantly, is there a way to elevate war crimes and the tribunal to hold people responsible for the lives of innocent human beings?

Do we have the capacity to measure the humanitarian needs in human terms, and do we have the capacity to protect those lives?

Mr. CUNY. Thank you. Yes, sir, I believe we do.

First of all, in terms of the needs, within the Bosnian and the Croatian areas, the needs have been well documented by the UNHCR and the numerous nongovernmental organizations and the ICRC, and I think that they can be quantified, and we certainly know that there are variations in the level of need in different areas. Certainly the people in Zepa and Gorazde and the enclaves in the east have a very acute level of needs for personal supplies, for food and so forth, because they are in a restricted area, cannot freely leave to get fire wood or fuels, do not have access to farmlands to grow their own food.

Sarajevo has another level of need. It is in some ways less perhaps than the enclaves because there is a thriving cross-border

trade that has accounted for a substantial portion of the food availability there.

In the central areas, people have far more access, even in the Croatian enclaves or the Muslim enclaves, in those areas, to fuel, but far less to food. So we can quantify the needs and look at variations and, I think, very accurately target.

I think one of the things that we have to recognize is that the UNHCR has done a superb job in providing food and medical supplies. No one in the country is starving, except in the enclaves that they cannot reach. Any place that they can get to, they have done a marvelous job of getting food and the humanitarian supplies there.

The problem we have really is bullets, which do the killing, and ethnic cleansing, and the difficulties that we have in being able to reach those populations are legend. The Serbian controlled areas continue to be problematic, especially in the Banja Luka area. Up in the northwestern regions of Bosnia, the northeastern areas, are all areas where population movements continue to take place.

Beyond the War Crimes Tribunals, which are aimed mainly at the leadership of the Bosnian Serbs, I think we could do a lot more. We should be targeting the perpetrators. We know who are perpetrating these crimes, and we also know one very interesting fact, and that is there is a very high suicide level among Bosnian Serb troops. There are many people who do not like what is happening there, and I believe we should be exploiting people's conscience.

We should be going out and naming names. We should be telling the wives what their husbands are doing over in those rape camps. We should be going in and publicizing the human rights abuses and name the commanders of the units and where they came from and the villages they are tied to, and make it uncomfortable for these guys so that they start putting pressure on from the inside to stem those human rights abuses.

We can do that by using resources such as Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, organizing additional radio broadcasts, take the information, beam it back in, and help destroy the morale of that army.

Mr. SAWYER. Do we have the capacity to hold those specific people whose names are known for the lives of specific people?

Mr. CUNY. We do not have the ability to do that because we cannot capture them or control them. However, I do believe that we can put a lot of pressure on them to stop the abuses, and at some future date I would hope that we are able to bring them to justice.

Mr. SAWYER. When I say hold responsible, I mean in terms of knowing who and when and where.

Mr. CUNY. Yes, sir. The names are well known.

Mr. MENDILUCE. May I respond?

Mr. SAWYER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MENDILUCE. Briefly, I would like to add only that the names are very well known, and we have a long list of criminals that have committed crimes in different areas.

Mr. SAWYER. I am not talking just about criminals. I am also talking about victims.

Mr. MENDILUCE. I was talking about the bringing of the criminals to the War Crimes Tribunal, and the problem is that the win-

ners do not go over to War Crimes Tribunals. So if we allow these people to win, they will never be sitting in a War Crimes Tribunal.

Mr. SAWYER. I understand that.

Mr. MENDILUCE. And this is a very serious point, but the names are there. We know them and even physically we meet with them.

The other point very briefly is I fully agree with what Fred Cuny said about humanitarian needs and so on. The horrible thing is that by using all humanitarian means, we will not by using, even having access, even with the pipe supplies, with the gas supply, we will not save the problem because killings will continue. Ethnic killings will continue. So the limits of humanitarian assistance are there, are very evident.

Today it is even worse because we do not have access, because we have blackmail, because of all of these things. But even if everything works at that level, we would not stop the war. We would not stop the logic of ethnic cleansing or further displacement or destruction and killing, and this is something that we have been suffering since the beginning of the war, looking hopeless in terms of stopping this.

Mr. SAWYER. Thank you.

Chairman DECONCINI. Congressman Wilson.

Mr. WILSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

First of all, Mr. Mendiluce and Mr. Cuny, I want to congratulate you for your courage and your contributions. Sarajevo is not a very pleasant place to be, and we appreciate what you have done.

I want to get at a couple of simple things. First of all, I totally agree with Mr. Markey. I do not know whether we could prevail upon Hungary to cut that valve off or not, but I would certainly think that we ought to make our best effort.

Second, we keep struggling with the air strikes and the arms embargo. Now, I have visited with the French, and I have visited with the British, and of course, have visited with the Bosnian Muslim government. Those of us who would really like to lift the arms embargo, keep getting the threat though that the French would leave. I personally do not believe the Serbs will ever stop what they are doing until somebody hits them back, and the Bosnians cannot hit them back because they have not got anything to hit them with because, as you say, they have only got homemade mortar shells, and they are making their own rifle ammunition.

But what would happen if the French did leave? Say the U.S. unilaterally lifted the arms embargo. I mean they are just watching. What would happen?

Mr. CUNY. If the United States were to unilaterally lift the arms embargo, probably there would be a thriving arms market heading toward Serbia, as well, and the question is: can we restrict the arms through the blockade and sanctions to those other areas, as well?

Mr. WILSON. No, no, no. The fact is that the Serbs have got the arms anyway, and so I'm asking, if we're going to give the Bosnians a fighting chance? It may be a hopeless military situation, but in a hopeless military situation sometimes you don't want brave men to sell their lives too cheap, and sometimes that changes the equation.

Mr. CUNY. Congressman Wilson, my entire career has been involved in humanitarian assistance, for 25 years since Biafra on, and I have never until now advocated lifting an arms embargo, but I believe that in the situation of Bosnia that it is immoral to deny the Bosnians the right to defend themselves while effectively permitting a much better armed aggressor to pound civilians day and night.

Mr. WILSON. That is exactly what I think. However, then we get to the question that we always get back to. If we lift the arms embargo, will the British and French leave? That is what they threaten every day.

Mr. CUNY. They may leave. I doubt they would.

Co-Chairman HOYER. What would happen if they did?

Mr. WILSON. So what?

Co-Chairman HOYER. I agree, if you will yield just 1 second. That has been what we heard at the parliamentary assembly when Mr. Moran, Mr. McCloskey, Ms. Slaughter, and Mr. Cardin, who is not here, and I offered a resolution to lift the arms embargo.

That won in committee, as you probably know. It lost on the floor of the parliamentary assembly, and it was not overwhelming, but our British and French allies were principal opponents.

The fact of the matter is UNPROFOR is an observer. UNPROFOR is not protecting anybody, in my opinion, and it is certainly not confronting anybody if we have this old man with a rifle stopping convoys that are delivering humanitarian relief.

So what? So if they leave, what happens?

Mr. CUNY. Senator, I would like to follow up on that and just point out several things. I think that the British and the French have exaggerated the threats to their own forces. For example, if we were to offer military assistance, especially in the form of air strikes, we would actually increase their safety. I do not believe that we could not craft an intervention or air strikes that would give our allies time to protect themselves, to hunker down, and that what would happen is one morning the Serbs would wake up, and they would have an air show overhead, and they would not threaten our troops or the UNPROFOR troops on the ground with that going on.

I have witnessed an American military intervention in Northern Iraq. The day that we went in, we had troops placed to protect the NGOs that were already in there, the ICRC. When we went into Somalia, we adequately protected the NGOs and the humanitarian agencies before we went in, and we would do the same thing to protect the UNPROFOR forces.

It is true that some of them are in the line of fire. Certainly the Canadians in the enclaves, in Sarajevo, but if we are going to apply military force, we would do it in such a way that the Serbs would not have a chance to fire, and if they did, they would be punished very severely.

I do not believe the Serbs would run the risk of massive retaliation against unknown targets, possibly even in Serbia, to run the risk of opening fire on a U.N. headquarters. It just would not happen.

Mr. WILSON. Isn't it also likely, Mr. Cuny, that without the United States being engaged either with air strikes or with a portion

of a NATO force or without the United States being directly engaged, wouldn't that make it a lot tougher for us to talk the Hungarians into cutting off the gas or any of the rest of these things?

Mr. CUNY. I does not make it any tougher to talk to them, but I think——

Mr. WILSON. Well, I think it makes it tougher to get them to do it.

Mr. CUNY. Not in the case of the gas, but I certainly think in terms of stronger action on behalf of the Bosnians, we have to——

Mr. WILSON. Do you think that Mr. Markey's suggestion is attainable?

Mr. CUNY. Which suggestion is this?

Mr. WILSON. His suggestion, his very specific suggestion, that we persuade the Hungarians to cut off the gas.

Mr. CUNY. Oh, absolutely. Absolutely I believe it is attainable.

Mr. WILSON. What do you think it would take to attain it?

Mr. CUNY. Well, first the request has to come from the Bosnian government, and I think when it comes, we need to immediately support that and to make presentations to the Hungarians to turn it off.

Mr. WILSON. And you think they would do it?

Mr. CUNY. Absolutely.

Mr. WILSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman DECONCINI. Thank you.

Mr. MORAN. Yes?

Mr. CUNY. I am sorry. I would like to finish just one more thing in response to Senator Hoyer's comment about the vulnerability of the troops. The British troops are the ones who are actually the least in contact with the Serbs. Their biggest threat is from the Croatians. In most cases where they have forces deployed in those areas, they are out of range of the Serbs and in most cases of the Croatians, but the only credible threat to the British forces and to the forces operating in the central zone is not from the Serbs. It is from the Croatian forces.

Chairman DECONCINI. And your statement would stand as it relates to the belief that Croatian forces would not take retribution if somebody——

Mr. CUNY. Attacked the Serbs.

Chairman DECONCINI. No, no, no, did something to the Croat nationalists, say, in the Mostar area.

Mr. CUNY. Yes, I think in the Mostar area the Spanish are the forces that are the most likely to be hit there, but they are largely disengaged at the moment.

Chairman DECONCINI. I see.

Congressman MORAN.

Mr. MORAN. Mr. Chairman, I want to thank the two witnesses for their intellectual honesty and their professional conduct on this issue. It is, at the last, encouraging to hear two people speak candidly and with a sense of humanity and responsibility for what is happening.

And I am in total agreement with the tenor of the questioning of all of my colleagues, but I have the sense that we in this room are operating in something of a vacuum. Certainly there is very lit-

tle support for U.S. engagement in Bosnia. In fact, I think there is insufficient support within the Congress itself for any further engagement in Bosnia. In fact, there may even be a majority who feel that President Clinton has been unnecessarily aggressive on this issue.

I see it as a genocide, as Mr. Hoyer suggested, in fact.

We are not the only ones who recognize this is genocide, who recognize the horror that is taking place, who see the similarities with what took place on the part of Nazi Germany versus the Jews and other populations, not just the Jews in Nazi Germany.

Where is the international support? Mr. Hoyer explained briefly what took place and the CSCE problem, and that was not just one instance. It has been ongoing. Hungary is sympathetic primarily because it has so many refugees it has to deal with because of this conflict.

But where are the Muslim nations, if in fact so many tens of thousands of people are being killed because they are Muslim, even though most are certainly not fundamentalists and few even practice the religion, but why is there not more pressure? Why is it up to the United States to spearhead this?

I do not expect much from England and France. Turkey, the fact that they would not intervene on behalf of Azerbaijan indicates that they are not interested in getting involved. They would be a natural ally here.

But what are some of the other international forces? Have they attempted to pressure a lifting of the embargo, Mr. Cuny?

Mr. CUNY. Congressman, the United States policy and that of many of the Europeans has been to try to keep the Arab countries out. We have in many cases used a lot of persuasion to try and keep this from becoming a Muslim-Christian confrontation, and as such, we have emphasized in our foreign policy towards the Middle Eastern states especially that they should try and remain out or have a very low profile.

In fact, many of the Muslim governments are providing support, not only peacekeeping troops and small contingents. Certainly the Egyptians and a fairly large contingent are there, and a tremendous amount of financial support has gone to the government.

But there have been obstacles placed in front of wider participation by the Europeans and the United States.

Mr. MORAN. Mr. Cuny, I totally understand that, and that you would expect, except that there ought to be some quid pro quo. We stay out of it if you accept even a nominal amount of responsibility for fairness and protection of the Muslim populations, and you know, we have not gotten that.

It seems to me that there is more leverage on the part of those countries who would be natural allies to the Bosnians that has not been exerted. Even Israel; the Jewish organizations in the United States have been some of the most aggressive in trying to intervene and get us to stop this genocide. So there is no conflict there within the Middle Eastern countries. Why have they not exerted some diplomatic leverage here?

Mr. CUNY. Well, I would submit, first of all, that we are their natural ally. First of all, Bosnia is a multi-ethnic society. It is not a Muslim country, and if we want to try and continue to see that

country evolve, we, the West, and the democratic nations that believe in what they stand for are their natural allies and we should be their first line of defense.

What is most alarming to me is that the collective security mechanisms that were established in the aftermath of World War II, which include the United Nations, Security Council, NATO, have all failed to stop what they were designed to do.

I think we have also seen that NATO is, much to our surprise, is quite moribund in being able to meet these needs. If there was any institution that should have been able to put together a credible intervention or take the leadership in this, it should have been NATO. Yet we find that the Germans are not engaged. The French, who are not a formal member of NATO, are not participating. Britain is only committing a limited amount of support, and that leaves us with countries with very small military forces and very little influence in the region.

I think that is very alarming and that we need to not only intervene from the point of view of saving Bosnia, but also saving the collective security mechanisms that we set up to prevent this type of thing.

Mr. MORAN. Or just cutting off our support for them if they are no use when they are tested, and the fact is even though many people in NATO think they should be involved, unless you get the kind of consent that is missing, in effect, a country like England or France has veto power, and so all of that enormous, massive financial and military commitment is of no use to stop exactly the kind of situation that they were there to prevent.

I appreciate your putting that on the record, and I just, again, appreciate the fact that both of you are willing to tell it like it is. I wish that there were more people listening to what you had to say today.

Chairman DECONCINI. Thank you, Congressmen. Gentlemen, thank you.

We are going to proceed. I am going to have to leave to go for three votes. So I am going to turn the chair over to Co-Chairman Hoyer.

Ms. SLAUGHTER IS NEXT.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thanks, Jim. This one makes strange noises?

Gentlemen, I am really pleased you are here, and I also appreciate your candor. I want to start by telling you that as an observer and as a member of Congress, what has appeared to me from the outset is that U.S. policy in this area was just one colossal mistake. I look back to the early days when General MacKenzie was directing the U.N. As I recall, he was the first commander. He constantly sent back word, "Don't do anything here. You can't do anything here. It's not possible to do anything here." And so we did not. To even a casual observer it had to be apparent that every time the United States made any threat, even of the dropping of humanitarian aid, the Serbs got very nervous and raced to New York to talk.

Now, somehow our leaders failed to understand this. We were a strong enough threat to really to make them stop, yet we simply did not do it.

We were told that in order for the United States to be involved, we would have to put 250,000 troops on the ground and take total control of the situation in a hostile area or environment of mountainous terrain, where Tito had stored enough ammunition for 10 years.

And yet time after time it was proven to us that there was simply nothing that we could do; that we should not be doing anything. Those of us who watched this with absolute horror could not believe that suddenly we had become so helpless.

I really have been more and more concerned about General MacKenzie. When he came back after he was replaced, he traveled and gave lectures, and his expenses were paid by SerbNet, a group of American Serbians. It struck me that for the U.N. commander to have that kind of bias, to show it or even attempt to show it, was wrong. I have questioned that from the outset.

The U.N. involvement has been absolutely astonishing to me. Stemming from the time they were moving the Vice President of Bosnia to the airport in a U.N. carrier. It was stopped, six Serbs came over, opened the back door, and killed the Vice President in front of the U.N. observers. It should have been obvious right then, I think, that what we were doing there was of little or no concern to the Serbians.

It was a disaster that the U.N. could not get aid through, that they had to pay bribes everywhere they went and that we were totally unable, it seems, to exert any kind of force at all through the U.N.; it was embarrassing. Throughout this time the while the United States made only little threats every now and again.

I felt sadness a couple of days ago when the Secretary of State said, "Now, just remember we could hurt you if we chose to." We have made it so clear. We have done everything but write it across the sky that we are not getting involved; we are not going to do it.

While we were in Helsinki in July, the G-7 countries were meeting in Tokyo, Japan. I remember how pleased we were that they had signed a statement that none of their countries would accept enforced borders. Since that meeting ended, we have not heard another word about that. The United States was one of the signers, yet where do they really stand on whether they are going to accept enforced borders or not?

It looks as though the United States and other signers said that, but at the same time are happy not only to accept enforced borders, but will help enforce them. This is almost like Alice in Wonderland having to believe six impossible things before breakfast to really understand what has gone on here.

We obviously missed a chance, as you pointed out, to unify the large numbers of Serbs who disagreed with what was happening in their name. We have never contacted any of them as far as I know, to really start a counterforce in Serbia against what their leaders are doing.

Again, I honestly think that historians could make very good analogies between World War II and what has happened here. Yet there is no discussion about that at all. We will all look back with horror and pity at the ineffective inaction that we took in this country if that happens.

Somehow, somebody in Sarajevo heard I cared. I got a letter last week asking if I would please tell my President that they are operating on people with hacksaws, there is no anesthetic, and there is nothing to cleanse wounds. The fact that we accept that in the 1990's is so intolerable to me.

At the same time, we go into Somalia and apparently do hand-to-hand combat, or whatever it is we are doing over there. I think without question those of us in Congress, if we do nothing else, need to determine what the U.N. is going to be. Is it going to be a rapid response force that could readily go in and keep peace, or is it just going to send people over in blue berets to stand by and watch, with no force or power behind them?

I do not think we want to see this spectacle ever again. I reaffirm my commitment that enforced borders will never suit me. I am embarrassed and ashamed of the policy in this country—I do not know what the underlying reasons are. Obviously I am not a military person, but it looks to me as though the situation grew and made no sense; the best thing we thought to do was to ignore it, hoping to God it would be over soon. People of conscience really cannot accept that as a way to go.

Thank you very much for being here.

Mr. CUNY. Thank you.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. I do not want to ask you to comment on General MacKenzie. I know you have been candid, but they do not call me "Slaughter" for nothing. So I can say that.

[Laughter.]

Mr. MCCLOSKEY. And you would not deter them, even if you wanted to.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. I would not.

Co-Chairman HOYER. [presiding] Thank you very much, Congresswoman Slaughter.

I think the depth of feeling shared by everybody on this Commission and a number of our colleagues is reflected in the views that were just expressed by Ms. Slaughter.

Let me ask you a few more questions, if I can, Mr. Mendiluce.

I have read your testimony, and you may have referenced these, but I would like to highlight them. First of all, are there areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina which continue to be isolated from international relief efforts? And if so, can you identify those areas?

Mr. MENDILUCE. Yes. In all of the Serbian controlled territories, all of the minorities living there, Bosnian, Muslim, and Croats, are not reachable at all because the distribution channels are controlled by the Serbian side, and we have all proof that any assistance arriving to the real victims, Muslims and Croats in the Banjaluka region in northern Bosnia or in other areas where there are still minorities living there.

Second, regional, 100 percent regional—

Co-Chairman HOYER. So let me ask.

Mr. MENDILUCE. Yes.

Co-Chairman HOYER. There is no access to any minorities that may be in distress located in Serbian controlled areas at this point in time?

Mr. MENDILUCE. Exactly.

Co-Chairman HOYER. What about Croat controlled areas?

Mr. MENDILUCE. The same.

Co-Chairman HOYER. The same?

Mr. MENDILUCE. Yes.

Co-Chairman HOYER. So the only areas accessible at this time are Bosnian controlled areas?

Mr. MENDILUCE. Accessible for Serbs?

Co-Chairman HOYER. Yes.

Mr. MENDILUCE. You can have access for Serbs in Serbian controlled areas, but for the minorities living there, no. So in practice for the real victims of the war, access is very limited to areas like Srebrenica, Gorazde and Zepa. I have received reports that we are only authorized to bring some food, but not winter materials, no shelter, no blankets or any other type of winter materials.

Sarajevo, you know the situation and the problems to bring the assistance there, and central Bosnia, accessible, but with enormous limitations due to the negative attitude of the Croat side and of the Serbian side, for sure.

So not accessible, minorities, and then many problems also in Bihac. The access is also controlled by the Serbian side.

Co-Chairman HOYER. Can you compare for me the treatment of Bosnian refugees in Montenegro with those in Croat controlled areas or Croatia?

Mr. MENDILUCE. Well, in Montenegro, in particular, I think that the treatment received by the Bosnians Muslim refugees, was quite adequate generally speaking. In Serbia, I do not have the latest news about the treatment of non-Serb refugees coming from Bosnia.

In the case of Croatia, things have deteriorated, and there are an enormous quantity of incidents, increasing levels of harassment and discrimination towards the Bosnian refugees of Muslim origin for obvious reasons, both for the fighting between Croats and Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and we are very afraid about the future of the several, around 250,000 Bosnians from Muslim origin that are refugees in Croatia. We are very concerned about it.

In Serbia, I do not know. I do not have any concrete news, but there are very few Muslim refugees from Bosnia in Serbia. There are more in Montenegro and they are treated according to basic standards.

Co-Chairman HOYER. Mr. Cuny, would you like to comment on that question?

Mr. CUNY. Yes, I would like to support Mr. Mendiluce in his comments. I have here the latest lines of contact that were——

Mr. MENDILUCE. You have this. Sorry. My testimony you have this moment. It is available.

Mr. CUNY. Yes. They are more or less the same.

Each one of these areas which is marked is an area we are having difficulty with access in reaching populations. For example, in Mostar, there are three areas that we are having trouble reaching: in the north, Tasanj, the Maglaj area. Both areas are difficult to reach, and no humanitarian assistance except what is air-dropped into those areas is reaching them.

Certainly even large areas in the Bosnian controlled zones; Tuzla, for example, can only be reached by convoys from Belgrade,

which is very tenuous. So you have different degrees of difficulty in reaching different areas.

We have listed in our reports a total of 17 areas that are of high priority to reach as a result of the conflict and obstacles put in our way by the various combatants.

Co-Chairman HOYER. Do we have that?

Mr. CUNY. No, sir, but I could get that for you and contribute it to the record.

Co-Chairman HOYER. All right. Thank you very much.

Do you have any knowledge of the relative question? You answered the first part. In terms of relative treatment, of say Bosnian refugees in Croatia as opposed to refugees in Serbia and Montenegro? Do you have any information on that?

Mr. CUNY. I have some information on the case in Kosovo, where the treatment of the citizens of Kosovo, of course, is abominable. There have been increasing human rights abuses, disappearances of personnel.

Just yesterday I was a party to a briefing at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, where a team from Common Ground who had just returned from the Kosovo area gave us a very alarming report on human rights abuses in that area.

I also have quite a bit of information that has been provided by colleagues working with groups inside the areas around Banjaluka, that the deportations and expulsions of Muslims in those areas, as Mr. Mendiluce pointed out, has increased substantially in the last 2 weeks. There have been at least 7,000 people who have been forced to leave that area or have been put under pressure to leave.

The mosques in those areas have been demolished, and a tremendous amount of repression aimed at the Muslim population there.

Co-Chairman HOYER. With respect to the delivery of humanitarian, particularly medicine, to Serbia itself, do you have any information on that?

At a dinner I saw Princess Catherine, who apparently is of the royal family of Serbia, and she expressed a great concern about humanitarian aid, particularly medicines, getting to Serbia, that there was a real shortage there. She and I did not necessarily reach agreement on why that was, but can you comment on that? Mr. Mendiluce perhaps or either one.

Mr. CUNY. Well, just two comments that I have. I am not fully aware of the medical status there. I do know, however, that the Serbs' medicine is not proscribed by sanctions. So they have the ability to buy whatever medicines they need.

In addition to that, there have been humanitarian aid provided by numerous groups, including American Serb groups, as well as many others, and I believe also the United Nations. So I do not believe that the normal medicines that would be required in that country should be in shortage.

I do know that there is a shortage of dialysis supplies. There is a particular disease that is very common in the Balkans which affects the kidneys, and that dialysis is required, and there is always a shortage of that equipment in the area. Beyond that, I am not aware of specific shortages. Perhaps Jose.

Mr. MENDILUCE. May you allow me?

Co-Chairman HOYER. Yes, Mr. Mendiluce.

Mr. MENDILUCE. Yes. First of all, I think it is true that the health system and the availability of medicines and equipment has collapsed in Serbia and Montenegro, but the armies are still functioning very well. So as Mr. Cuny says, medicines are exempted from sanctions. So it is up to the political leaders in Belgrade to establish their priorities. Apparently the priority is not the health of their own people.

And I would like to elaborate a little bit more on that, on sanctions, because sanctions are affecting refugees living in Montenegro and Serbia and also the poorest in the Serbian society, but are producing enormous benefits for the Mafia in power. I can tell you that one of the most well known war criminals, Mr. Arkan, is buying all of the pharmacies in Belgrade and other areas. The pharmacies are closing because there are no normal supplies of medicine, but he is bringing through the black market medicines that probably is brought by normal channels because of the exception in the sanction, but are not appearing through the normal distribution channels, but just through the black market, and this war criminal, Mr. Arkan, is one of the leaders in making money with this.

Petrol, the price of petrol in Belgrade has been reduced 30 percent in the last 1 month, which means that fuel is available and at prices that are not astro. pricing. As you can imagine, \$3 per liter, which means maybe three times or two times the cost in a normal European country. So this could give you an idea about the volume of petrol that is going in in Serbia.

We are making a complete study about the effect of sanctions. I think it is important because sanctions are one of the crucial issues in the approach of the international community, and every truck of fuel that you can investigate very easily, which are the roads they take, gives 10,000 net profit to the Mafia that is in control of traffic, and in a situation like the situation in Belgrade, you can imagine that Mafias are not parading out of control of the politicians.

So every truck, every trailer, I mean, a ton truck is providing \$10,000 cash net in currency to the Mafia that controls this traffic, and you could imagine who is behind this Mafia.

Co-Chairman HOYER. Let me switch and just ask a couple more questions. There are a lot of questions that a lot of us could ask, but I agree with all of our members that this has been candid testimony. Unfortunately, much of it comes as no revelation to the committee. The frustration that I expressed at the beginning is that the Western world has been unwilling to act in light of the information that you have given to us and thus viewed as impotent.

Going back to Mr. Wilson's question about lifting the arms embargo, Mr. Wilson's observation that arms are getting to the Serbs in any event. The Europeans argue strenuously, and I think one of you observed that what would happen is an escalation in the arms trade, in the black market arms trade in that region.

But are we correct in concluding that this would make little, if any, practical difference to the Serbs?

Mr. CUNY. To the Serbs?

Co-Chairman HOYER. To the Serbs. In other words, the only people, from the perspective of a lot of us, that are really being hurt by the arms embargo are the Bosnians.

Mr. CUNY. I believe that if we——

Co-Chairman HOYER. But the Europeans argue, to the contrary, that the conflict would escalate very substantially because you would arm the Bosnians. The level of confrontation would escalate in terms of the kinds of weapons being used.

Mr. CUNY. Two observations on that. The first is that one of the myths that has been perpetrated by the opponents of giving more sophisticated weapons to the Bosnians is that they do not have a military tradition and will not know how to use them.

The Bosnians were the largest segment of the Yugoslav arms industry during the Yugoslav period. The biggest market for Yugoslav weapons was in the Middle East, and Mr. Tito exploited the Muslim connection to the Middle East, and many of the technicians who actually designed and developed some of the weapons, and certainly the factories that built them, were largely Muslims.

The head of the RMK arms industry, for example, is Muslim. Many of the other people that have been involved in the technical development of optical tracking devices, the missile systems, and so forth that were marketed to places like Iraq were Muslims.

Therefore, the capability of using highly sophisticated weapons that could equalize the fight is there. They know how to use them. They have designed and built them, and if we were to provide them things like "smart" mortars, anti-tank missiles and so forth, I think that they could do quite well with them.

The second thing is that the standard of the Yugoslav military is about that of the Iraqi military. It had some of the latest hardware. It did not necessarily have the latest software. The ability of the Yugoslav army to take effective countermeasures against missiles and so forth is probably not there.

So by selective arming with the kind of sophisticated weapons that we could make available, I think we could make a big difference, and I think that we could very quickly provide weapons and the training necessary so that they would be able to account for themselves very quickly before the market could come back in and make a difference on the side of the Serbs.

Co-Chairman HOYER. Mr. Mendiluce.

Mr. MENDILUCE. Yes, if I could add a more general comment, I have been very surprised since the beginning of this discussion months ago about the international attitude regarding the arms embargo because I did not understand very clearly why the international community, through the Security Council resolutions, has recognized that the Bosnia-Herzegovina country and the government and the forces loyal to the government are suffering an external aggression coming from Serbia and Montenegro. That is why the sanctions were imposed on Serbia and Montenegro. So it is recognized that a sovereign country with a legitimate government is suffering from external aggression.

How can we not protect this country or not allow this country to defend itself? So I am not an international lawyer, and I am not an expert, and I am saying that in a very, very personal way, but I do not understand the coherence of the Security Council and the

negotiation process in this level. I think it is one of the very strange cases in which we condemn a country not to have the right to defend itself.

So implicit to this is that we also are using the concept of parties to the conflict being not coherent with the fact that Bosnia-Herzegovina was recognized and is a member state of the U.N. Assembly.

Co-Chairman HOYER. Let me ask you a last hypothetical question, and then I am going to recognize Ms. Bentley for such questions as she might have, and then unless there are other compelling questions that individuals want to ask, I am going to ask Ambassador Sacirbey if he would like to say a few words.

My last question: if we bombed Serbia, if we took action, military action, against Bosnian Serb positions or Serbia itself in terms of supply lines or something of that nature, what action do you believe Croatia would take?

Mr. MENDILUCE. I cannot answer this question without asking political asylum in the United States.

[Laughter.]

Mr. CUNY. I believe that by taking unilateral action against the——

Co-Chairman HOYER. Mr. Cuny already has that, so we have to expect an answer from him.

Mr. SAWYER. We will take care of you.

[Laughter.]

Co-Chairman HOYER. Do not count on it. The United States record of taking care of it lately is pretty poor.

Mr. SAWYER. Yes.

Co-Chairman HOYER. Mr. Cuny.

Mr. CUNY. Senator, I believe that if we were to target our action against the Serbs, the Croats would very quickly get the message, and that they would back off, as well. Croats are European wannabees. They would like to be a part of the European Community. They certainly would like the economic trade, restoration of tourism, and so forth. They do not want to be painted in the same light as the Serbs.

And in the crazy mythology and self-deception that goes on in the Balkans, I think they see themselves in a very different light, and I think that we need to wake them up and make sure that they understand exactly what they are doing and bring to the attention of the government that it is not acceptable.

Certainly a message delivered tactically on the Serbs would be interpreted, I think, as a means of forcing the Croats to decide where they stand. Do they want to continue to court Mr. Milosevic and the dark side of Europe or do they want to come out into the light?

Co-Chairman HOYER. Ms. Bentley.

Ms. BENTLEY. Thank you, Mr. Hoyer. I am just going to follow up on a couple of comments and questions that were asked that I heard.

On the refugees in Serbia and Montenegro, most of those are being taken care of in people's private homes, aren't they? Because there are no camps there; so they have got 600 and some thousand, and I think you need to hear this figure, Mr. Hoyer. They have got

600 and some thousand refugees that are being taken care of in private homes there, and with the sanctions on food and that there, it has been very difficult, and they have been taking care of these.

Ninety thousand of them are not Serbians. They are Muslims and Croats who are being taken care of in these homes. I think the record should show that, that they have been very empathetic there.

On the matter of the—I am glad you mentioned about the criminal Arkan because this is a very critical result of what these sanctions have been doing. They have allowed the Mafia to mushroom. The poor people are really suffering. You have got two or three retirees, pensioners every day committing suicide because they cannot get food. They are starving, and these bums—I call them other language in private circles—are making out like millionaires and are buying up the whole thing.

This is part of the problem. The wrong people are the ones who are being hurt. Are you seeing that, Mr. Mendiluce, or not?

Mr. MENDILUCE. Yes, I fully share this point of view. It is difficult to say that as a consequence the international community should lift the sanctions because it would be interpreted in a very wrong way probably.

Ms. BENTLEY. I know.

Mr. MENDILUCE. But I think that after the experience of Iraq and after the experience of Serbia and after the experience of my own country when the international community declared an embargo against Franco, and General Franco was fortified for 20 more years because he was able to use the Nationalistic speech that everybody is against us, so the people should be united; these types of sanctions, at least the way in which sanctions are designed and implemented, should be revised by the international community.

For the time being, Milosevic, if he was the target of the sanctions, is not suffering, and I do not think that we can detect that the plans of the Bosnian Serbs have been affected in a serious way by the sanctions, and the pros and cons should be evaluated because the people that are suffering, and even the refugees that are there, some Muslims, but also normal people that are normal citizens, they are hopeless.

Ms. BENTLEY. The little guys.

Mr. MENDILUCE. Yes.

Ms. BENTLEY. The little guys are the ones that are really suffering under it.

You mentioned convoys going from Belgrade into Bosnia. What kind of convoys are going from there?

Mr. MENDILUCE. Humanitarian convoys, you say?

Ms. BENTLEY. You said that convoys. I did not get the whole. You said convoys, yes, humanitarian convoys. I think you were referring of going from Belgrade into Bosnia.

Mr. MENDILUCE. Yes.

Ms. BENTLEY. What kind of convoys?

Mr. MENDILUCE. Well, we send different sizes of convoys, ten, 12 trucks.

Ms. BENTLEY. Why are they going from Belgrade? That is my question.

Mr. MENDILUCE. From Belgrade because it is easier to reach the enclaves, the Bosnian enclaves, of Srebrenica and Gorazde from the Serbian side, and as much as we can use these roads, it is the only available road to reach these areas.

Also for Tuzla, given the difficulties with the Croats from the Adriatic Coast into central Bosnia, it is also easier if we can reach Tuzla from the Serbian side. So that is the reason. It is a logistical one and to keep open as many options as possible.

Ms. BENTLEY. They have not been trying to block those?

Mr. MENDILUCE. Yes, every day, every week, I mean, and that is very important. We are not allowed to bring into these enclaves any material apart from food, and this is absolutely horrendous in terms of the coming winter and the situation of these protected areas that are more like refugee camps or detention centers than protected areas.

Ms. BENTLEY. I have seen some things on potential internal civil wars both up in Bosnia between the two Muslim groups. Is there a group that—and maybe the Ambassador can tell us about that—against Izetbegovic, another one of his—Bihac, yes. That was the name I was reaching for. What is that situation in your eyes?

Mr. MENDILUCE. Well, I think I should not elaborate on the political side. Maybe the Ambassador would like to explain the point. From a humanitarian point of view, well, any additional conflict or tension in any area is affecting even more the capacity of delivery and distribution of aid, and my colleagues report from Bihac that the tensions in the area are affecting our capacity to deliver and to have access to everybody.

Ms. BENTLEY. And yesterday—I do not know whether you know it, Mr. Chairman—Milosevic dissolved the parliament in Serbia, called for a new election on December 19th. I do not know what that portends. I do know there is a strong opposition group trying to form against him, but I am afraid that one of those opposition groups may be the wrong one that may get in power.

You laugh. You know what I am talking about.

Co-Chairman HOYER. Yes.

Ms. BENTLEY. Well, I think you referred to it Mr. Mendiluce. There is so much going on there, chaos on all sides, that I think it would be very difficult to determine who are we going to help. It is a sad situation.

Mr. CUNY. May I make a comment about sanctions?

Co-Chairman HOYER. Mr. Cuny, if you can make that briefly. Unfortunately I have to leave at 12:30, but if you will make a brief comment.

Mr. CUNY. The whole idea of sanctions assumes that there is a collective responsibility for aggression by a society; that we are making the society and the country pay for the actions, and there is an assumption that the sanctions will penalize that country, as a country, for taking those actions.

And when sanctions are imposed, then it becomes incumbent on the leadership to decide how it wants to spend its money. Does it want to continue to prosecute a war, or does it want to divert the monies it has to buy humanitarian aid, food, and other supplies for its population.

And how a country responds to that, I think, is very paramount in our view. As Mr. Mendiluce pointed out, it is not beyond Mr. Milosevic to deny the procurement of medical supplies and so forth to his own population in order to prosecute the war, and I think that the populations of that country need to know that that is what is happening, and I think that is part of the process that we need to stay the course on sanctions and not be tempted to release them simply because some of the poor people are being hurt.

The society does have a collective responsibility for that, and unfortunately it means that we have to wage economic war on them for doing that, but I think we have made that decision as a government, and other nations have backed us in this, and the United Nations Security Council has supported that, and to start trying to break the sanctions by providing humanitarian aid ourselves is defeating the purpose.

Ms. BENTLEY. Well, isn't some humanitarian aid supposed to be exempt, food?

Mr. CUNY. It is exempted, but they are expected to buy it, not for us to give it to them.

Ms. BENTLEY. Yes. Well, the people do not have the money.

Co-Chairman HOYER. Mr. Mendiluce?

Mr. MENDILUCE. May I comment very briefly?

Co-Chairman HOYER. Yes.

Mr. MENDILUCE. I strongly disagree with Mr. Cuny on this point. I think that to establish that a whole country that is suffering from a dictatorship is collectively responsible for what its leadership is doing is strongly wrong politically and socially and, of course, at the humanitarian level.

I fully disagree. My country, one million people were killed by Franco, and we were collectively made responsible and instead of being liberated by the allies, we were kept with the Franco regime, and then we were sanctioned after one million people were killed and one million refugees went outside of Spain.

So I do not accept this type of approach because I was a victim of this, and I had to suffer Franco for 25 years of my life, thanks to this sanction approach. So we can discuss long hours about sanctions. I think that the way in which sanctions are being designed today are reinforcing the power of the extremists, those who are in power, and even worse, those who are growing thanks to the Nationalistic speech that they can present to their people.

Unfortunately, the people do not have access to information. The information they receive is manipulated, and maybe if we are able to invade with the radios and TV chains to have an influence and tell the truth, we can discuss it, but for the time being, every Serbian citizen is completely brainwashed by the media under the control of Milosevic. So they cannot be made responsible. I do not accept this from any point of view. Sorry.

Thank you.

Mr. CUNY. If I could come back, UNPROFOR estimates \$1.6 million per day was spent on shelling. The value of the humanitarian aid that we are providing directly and indirectly to Serbia is 1.5 million.

Co-Chairman HOYER. Per day?

Mr. CUNY. Per day.

Co-Chairman HOYER. The problem, of course, is the alternatives. The international community has opted for economic sanctions in many different areas because of the desire not to resort to military action, and essentially they are the two alternatives available to the international community to effect change in actions which are contrary to international law and human rights and humanitarian concerns.

I understand your position, and I think it is certainly a rational position, and probably as a practical matter is absolutely correct in terms of who is hurt, whether the sanctions be in Haiti or they be in any other place, but the fact is the alternative, if you want to effect action, is something that the international community is very loathe to take, that is, military direct action against Milosevic or who is the general in Haiti? Cedras.

That is our problem. I want to thank both of you very much, and I think you have been candid and very helpful. We probably ought to have a hearing like this daily.

Mr. McCLOSKEY. Mr. Chairman, if I might.

Co-Chairman HOYER. Mrs. Howard, it is always good to see you. Everybody ought to know Frances Howard, whose brother, Hubert Humphrey, was probably, in my opinion, one of the greatest public servants this country has ever had, and she is, as well.

Thank you for being with us. We appreciate it very much.

Mr. McCLOSKEY.

Mr. McCLOSKEY. I just wanted to say I think this is one of the best, the most factual and informative we have had even if, as you say, we know much, but not all of the information already, and I sincerely wish that the major leaders, people with names like Major, Clinton and Mitterand, could sit down with these two gentlemen for an hour, particular with Mr. Cuny's 10 months on the ground in Sarajevo and elsewhere in Bosnia, and just listen to the truth and think about acting on the truth.

So it has been an invaluable day for us, I think.

Co-Chairman HOYER. Thank you for that observation.

I want to say that I think there is going to be two, perhaps more, hopefully more, two direct actions that are going to be taken out of this hearing. I think both Mr. Markey, Mr. Wilson and myself, and I am sure we will be joined by others, are going to take immediate action on the gas question which may have some impact.

Mr. CUNY. Thank you.

Co-Chairman HOYER. Again, it goes back to your issue. If you cut off the gas, who do you hurt? Probably those that are in power can get alternative supplies. The overwhelming majority of the populous will not be able to do so, and they will be the ones who will suffer, obviously the premise being, as Mr. Cuny has stated it, that you have an alternative application of resources.

At some point in time the populous will become so distressed that they cannot support even the military effort that is isolated to some degree from what is going on in the civilian sector.

And the second thing is—the Chairman and I were discussing the publication of and the granting of infamy to those persons who you say we know clearly are committing atrocities, and the publication of those both in print and in broadcast through RFE, Radio Liberty, and other outlets that we have available.

I think that you make a good point in terms of, if nothing else, at least of denying them the anonymity that covers their actions. Again, thank you very much for being here.

Mr. CUNY. Thank you.

Co-Chairman HOYER. We appreciate it very much.

Mr. Ambassador, if you would like to say a few words, I think we have about 10 minutes.

Ambassador SACIRBEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Co-Chairman HOYER. And I apologize. Well, I do not apologize. You were not on the schedule, but we are glad to have you speak.

Ambassador SACIRBEY. Well, I am not either sorry. I think that I must commend, even though I am not supposed to, I think, by protocol, must commend the two witnesses for the detail of information. Obviously it makes my comments, by definition, less lengthy, and I will try to add some breadth to what was said from a different perspective rather than to emphasize their points.

First and foremost, the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is grateful for the support of you, Congressmen and Congresswomen, who obviously are now bringing the issue of Bosnia back at a critical time, when the winter is coming, and when I think of those who had conducted this aggression would look for winter to be an accomplice in a continuing murder and genocide.

The situation in Bosnia, I think, conveniently has been forgotten by some because for a while things seemed to get a little bit better, but, of course, those of us who are knowledgeable knew that what certain aggressors were waiting for was the winter, which could be as effective in committing genocide as shells or bullets.

Also, if I may add, we continue to pursue the negotiated option to provide peace. We also are committed to the concept of peace in a multi-cultural society not just as a form of rhetoric, as a way of trying to gain support within this capital and other capitals, but also because we believe that a free and democratic society is at a relative advantage during a peaceful period and is at a disadvantage during war.

Conversely, I think the same can be said about a fascist society or dictatorship, that it is at an advantage during war and a disadvantage during peace.

Therefore, one of our options for winning the war and one of our strategies for winning the war is peace, and I think this administration and other capitals should be aware of how committed we are to this strategy.

Second, under what conditions would we, in fact, accept a negotiated settlement? Well, of course, by what I just said, it has to be a real peace, a viable peace, because if it is not a real peace or viable peace, then our strategy is not one that can succeed and our state is not one that can survive and our people are not in a position to survive a genocide.

What are these specific conditions in great detail? Well, first, the viability of the state that may be carved out of any partition plan would be critical. We cannot do something that is already unjust and flawed in and of itself, which is ethnic partition, and then compound the flaw by providing for a remaining Bosnian state that is not viable and that continues to be threatened economically, politically and obviously militarily by the same aggressor.

And second, we need to have credible implementation and enforcement procedures if, in fact, a peace agreement is signed. Some of the latest global events lead us to doubt that, in fact, there is a strong commitment for an implementation and enforcement effort, one that I think this country would need to be actively involved in, and now we are back to square one, trying to evaluate all of our options.

As the winter comes, it is important for us to focus on the humanitarian issue. For a long time over the last 6 months, there has been a lot of talk of lifting of the arms embargo. We strongly are in favor of this option, the lifting of the arms embargo, because we believe it is necessary for us to defend ourselves and to try to produce the type of environment that would allow for credible negotiations.

But right now, with winter coming, we really need to do what is necessary with the greatest haste to minimize the suffering of the population, and in this context, we must, I think, face the reality that is a very unpleasant one that the humanitarian effort, in fact, has now been usurped to serve political goals, the political goals of those countries that have failed to take the necessary steps in Bosnia to stop the war.

What do I mean by that? That despite the efforts of the committed and brave individuals, the brave individuals of UNHCR, that the humanitarian effort is being maintained at a threshold level that is just sufficient to forestall any resolute action to stop the war. Effectively, the remedies that are being provided are designed to forestall actions designed to bring about a cure.

Finally, in this context, I am convinced, as is our government, that the objective of many governments in Europe is not to bring about a peace in Bosnia necessarily or to bring about the victory of justice, the rule of law over the forces of aggression and the forces that would use genocide as a weapon. Their objective is the surrender of a country and a people.

In fact, consistent with some of the comments made, it seems that the victim now, in fact, is being further victimized because we are not willing to accept our fate as losers. We know that, in fact—even we accept that fate—that we cannot depend upon either the mercy of our enemies or the goodwill and good faith of those who supposedly are there to help us.

In this context, I would like to just add one point that I think is relevant in view of the issues discussed. The nature of the U.N. mandate in Bosnia and how it has been usurped, I think, has done tremendous harm to the entire U.N. structure. The usurpation of the humanitarian agenda of UNHCR, I think, is very unfortunate, very damaging, and when we see the results on the ground sometimes, we see young men and women who have been sent there, particularly young soldiers as part of UNPROFOR, who are being told that there are no good guys or bad guys here; that there are no victims and aggressors; that this is a very confusing situation, and before we know it, many of these individuals now who are there to help our people are involved in the black market, prostitution, sometimes to engage in terrible crimes against our people, including the crime of rape.

What is a credible strategy? Well, the threat of air strikes, in fact, has produced some tangible results. It seems that every time there was a threat that was perceived as being real, we saw positive consequences for the people of Bosnia.

But what I am concerned about right now is that as the threat of air strikes has been forgotten over the last few months, that the threshold under which air strikes would be undertaken is not adequately robust to stop the strangulation of Sarajevo, that is, that the line that has been drawn in the sand is one that does not reflect the true suffering of the people of Sarajevo and other Bosnian cities, and that by the time that the international community may react with air strikes, that, in fact, the work may have already been done by those who would use slow strangulation as a weapon against our people.

In my opinion, the threat of air strikes needs to be pro active rather than reactive. What I mean by that is we need to demand that the siege of Sarajevo and other safe areas be lifted and use the threat of air strikes to accomplish this result.

Now, some may say, well, we should not threaten; the United States and NATO should not threaten air strikes unless they are serious about using those air strikes, and the answer is, in fact, I believe if you do not continue to emphasize greater demands to improve the status of the population, that not only will the population continue to suffer greater and greater hardships, but also that, in fact, the air strikes are more likely to be used because the threat will be forgotten and will be tested by those at whom it is directed.

In this context, if I may just add, there is a newspaper article from the London Financial Times yesterday, and I would just like to read one very small paragraph that describes the latest onslaught of the Serbian force of the regime shelling on Sarajevo.

It says, and I quote, "This latest onslaught marks any attempt to maintain a semblance of normal life in the valley below. Efforts by the U.N. to clear the rubble-strewn streets, restore power, water, and the telephone lines or repair the tram lines in the devastated city appear utterly absurd given the Serbs' ability to strike at any moment."

They can strike at any moment because they are allowed to maintain their heavy weapons around the hills of Sarajevo and other areas. Therefore, any attempts at normalcy, any attempts to say that the strangulation of Sarajevo has stopped until those heavy weapons are removed, I think, are erroneous and obviously go against the interests of the Bosnian people.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you for the time. Congressmen and Congresswomen, thank you very much.

Co-Chairman HOYER. Mr. Ambassador, let me ask you one question, and, Mr. McCloskey, if you want to ask additional questions, I want to turn this over to you. In any event, let me ask you a question.

The lifting of the arms embargo seems to be a principal, if not the principal, objective in the short term. Has the Bosnian government made a formal request to the United States to take such action either unilaterally or take actions within the U.N. Security Council to lift the embargo?

Ambassador SACIRBEY. We certainly have to the United Nations, Mr. Chairman, and we, of course, have been in some detailed discussion with the United States administration about the unilateral lifting of the arms embargo. Of course, we are not encouraged as to these efforts.

Co-Chairman HOYER. Were not encouraged?

Ambassador SACIRBEY. We are not encouraged to pursue these efforts.

Co-Chairman HOYER. OK. My apologies, but I am going to have to leave. Before I do, I will recognize Ms. Bentley.

Ms. BENTLEY. I just have one question, Mr. Ambassador, that I asked earlier. What is the struggler or what the press has been talking about between Abdic and Izetbegovic?

Ambassador SACIRBEY. If I may give you a more detailed answer, which I think you deserve, first, in a society where the rule of law is being abandoned and it is being abandoned by the international community, and where the legitimate government of Bosnia is not in a position to enforce its authority vis-a-vis the defense of its own people, we can expect fragmentation to happen. Obviously it has happened.

But I do not believe that Mr. Abdic is a real threat. Mr. Abdic has shown himself to be an opportunist who is interested in some sort of warlord status.

Ms. BENTLEY. One of those.

Ambassador SACIRBEY. And we know a few of them that are already thriving. He is interested in the Bihac area, but even there luckily we have almost the entire Bosnian military supporting the government in Sarajevo, and therefore, Mr. Abdic's rebellion is very limited.

Of course, politically it is damaging because it comes to the attention of individuals such as you, and these issues are brought up, but I think it should be the objective of any international body interested in peace in Bosnia to try to keep Bosnia from fragmenting, and of course, over time we can expect that these types of tests will be presented to the Sarajevo government, and at some point the Sarajevo government may no longer be able to withstand them as its credibility is damaged by the lack of international support to stop the war and, of course, by the lack of international support to give the Bosnians the ability to stop the war themselves.

Ms. BENTLEY. You mentioned warlords. That is one of the problems in this whole mess over there, isn't it, that there are a number of warlords around, each of whom want to proclaim their little kingdom and they are going to go on and do—not on all sides. I am not talking about just on the Bosnian side.

Ambassador SACIRBEY. Well, I think we should, again, make a distinction between symptoms and causes. The warlords are not the causes. They are the symptoms. In my opinion, the causes are an overbuilt military structure in Serbia, propaganda, bureaucracy that is surviving from the old communist period, and these people are looking to perpetuate power, and the only way they have seen the light to perpetuate power is to convert their philosophy from communism to effectively fascism.

Until you move to change the Serbian regime, effectively dissolve this military, dissolve this unnecessary bureaucracy-propaganda

machine, I do not think you will have stability in the Balkans, and I know of great interest to you, I do not think you will have peace for the Serbian people.

If I may just deviate a little bit from your question, there was a talk of whether or not sanctions against Serbia are effective, and the answer is, of course, they hurt the little man, and they hurt in particular the other minorities in Serbia, not just the poor Serbs.

But I think intellectually you have to be prepared to adopt one of two options, which is a direct military confrontation with the Serbian military, and that is obviously the most effective way of dealing with the cause of this war, or try to undermine it with its own population through the sanctions.

A gentleman that I consider to be a great Serbian patriot, Srdja Popovich, made a comment on television on a show that I was with him, and I understand the reasons for his comment. He said, "I feel like a clairvoyant German in 1941. The best thing that can happen to Serbia is for this military regime to be defeated on the battlefield."

I understand the reasons for his comment because what is happening is the sanctions are destroying the little man, destroying the fabric of society, strengthening the Mafia, strengthening the extremists, and of course, this is not only at the expense of Bosnia, but the expense of Serbia.

Ms. BENTLEY. That is a very good analysis. Thank you.

Mr. MCCLOSKEY. Thank you, Ms. Bentley.

Mr. Ambassador, can you comment on the likelihood and the possible utility of an all Balkan conference to address not only Bosnia, but the pending crises in Croatia, Kosovo, Sandjak, Macedonia, et al.?

As I read in a newspaper account yesterday, it is not at all unlikely that we could see civil war between the Montenegrans and Serbs and different Serbian and Montenegrans within Montenegro, and the point is that unless this problem is stemmed, it just goes on, in essence, forever. It won't burn itself out in the short term.

Ambassador SACIRBEY. This is an important message that I have for the international community, and I am acting now on instructions from Sarajevo.

We do favor an international conference on the entire Balkan region. However, we are dismayed by some of the reports that we have received regarding this conference.

Let me emphasize we not only favor the conference. We would very much like to see it happen because we believe that the issues in Bosnia are interrelated to issues relating to our neighbors. But what concerns us is now there is talk of a conference that effectively would be stacked against those entities that would represent justice and some semblance of a fair peace settlement in Bosnia, and that, in fact, this conference would be run by those countries that have been responsible for the absurdity and the tragedy and the crime that is the current situation in Bosnia.

We think that is——

Mr. MCCLOSKEY. Do you want to state those countries for the record?

Ambassador SACIRBEY. Well, I have done it before, so why not again? Britain and France.

Mr. MCCLOSKEY. OK.

Ambassador SACIRBEY. In particular, Britain.

I think it is unfortunate that we would adopt the analogy of taking a patient who has been badly mangled on the operating table by an incompetent doctor, taking him back to the same doctor so that the doctor can finish the job. It seems to us that the doctor here would be more interested in protecting his own reputation and finding ways to blame the patient for the blotched operation, rather than trying to correct the situation.

In this context, again acting on instructions, we deem it essential that the participation of this conference be broad, include all of the members of the Security Council, include all members who are neighboring in the former Yugoslavia include nations contributing to UNPROFOR, and I think this is critical in view of the fact in the past certain European countries have stated that they somehow believe that they are the only ones contributing to UNPROFOR troops in Bosnia, and that is not the case. There are many others, and certainly many others would like to come in.

It is important that the United States be represented at the highest level. I note for your record that Acting Secretary of State Eagleburger was representing the United States at the last international conference. Of course, any lower representation at this point in time might be seen as a step back by the United States on this problem.

That would be unfortunate when, in fact, the current United States administration has signaled to our nation that they are more than previous administrations committed to the cause of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Finally, I think if, in fact, we are to have NATO committed in the form of peacekeeping or peace making in Bosnia, we think it is essential that NATO be invited to the table since their both practical as well as political view of any settlement would be important.

We have found that some of the promises made to us in the past regarding peacekeeping and peace making efforts to have been not fulfilled, to say the least.

Mr. MCCLOSKEY. To say the least, yes.

Ambassador SACIRBEY. And we think that obviously that who will be called upon to fulfill those commitments should be at the table from day one.

Thank you.

Mr. MCCLOSKEY. Thank you very much.

I want to thank everyone, particularly all of the panelists. Thank you so much.

The hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:43 p.m., the hearing in the above-entitled matter was adjourned.]

APPENDIX

STATEMENT OF SENATOR DENNIS DECONCINI, CHAIRMAN

**Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe
Hearing on the Fate of the People of Bosnia-Herzegovina
Rayburn House Office Building, Room 2360
Thursday, October 21, 1993**

In recent weeks, the tragedy which continues in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been overshadowed by events here at home, as well as in Haiti, Somalia and Russia. This testifies to the significance of these other events, but it also reflects a tendency to want to ignore long-standing problems. The problems in the former Yugoslavia confront us horribly day-after-day for more than two years now. There is a large gap between what we know needs to be done on the one hand, and what governments are politically willing to do on the other. Rather than meet the challenge before it, the world shifts it focus.

This cannot be allowed to happen. People in Sarajevo, in Gorazde and elsewhere in Bosnia-Herzegovina are still being killed by sniper fire and by shelling. People are still being forced to flee, adding to an already tremendous refugee burden as winter approaches.

The effects of aggression and genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina will not disappear by turning off our television sets or turning to the next newspaper page. Not only will thousands more die this winter; resettlement, reconstruction and reconciliation will take years, perhaps decades, to achieve, when and if such efforts can be finally undertaken.

Our hearing this morning focuses on the fate of the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We hope to gain insights into whether they will survive their second winter under siege, whether they want to end the conflict no matter what principles are sacrificed, whether they want to fight on to defend what is theirs, whether they will want to return to their home villages or move elsewhere, in Bosnia-Herzegovina or around the world.

We have two outstanding witnesses before us this morning who can address these issues. Jose Mendiluce is the former special envoy of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in the former Yugoslavia, and currently the UNHCR representative in Brussels. His expertise in refugee matters, his experience in the former Yugoslavia and his personal candor are well known. Fred Cuny is an expert in disaster relief who has spent most of 1993 in Bosnia-Herzegovina, assisting efforts to keep an infrastructure under attack functioning so that people can survive.

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE STENY H. HOYER, CO-CHAIRMAN

Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe
Hearing on the Fate of the People of Bosnia-Herzegovina
Rayburn House Office Building, Room 2360
Thursday, October 21, 1993

Mr. Chairman, for eight and one-half years now I have been chairing or co-chairing this Helsinki Commission, which has traditionally focused not on political, military or economic affairs in East-Central Europe and the former Soviet Union, but on people -- on people and their rights as individuals. There have been, during this time period, much frustration and anger over the denial of human rights and violation of humanitarian provisions of the Helsinki Final Act.

Never, however, have we on the Helsinki Commission had to agonize and express such outrage over what was happening, and being allowed to happen, than in regard to Bosnia-Herzegovina during this last year and one-half. I think it is fortunate that we have this Commission to look at this tragedy regularly, to make aware and inform ourselves and the American public about what is happening. It is equally unfortunate that we have had to do so, and that the aggression and genocide occurring in Bosnia-Herzegovina was not stopped a long time ago, as many of us strongly advocated. Perhaps the only redeeming value of all of this is the chance to meet people with courage and people who care, like the two witnesses we have before us.

I would like to point out, Mr. Chairman, that there was one other such person who was invited to present testimony but was unfortunately unable to appear, Roy Gutman, the Pulitzer-prize winning *Newsday* journalist who first exposed the systematic implementation by militant Serbs of the policy of ethnic cleansing, including the detention camps. His commitments as a journalist covering the former Yugoslavia precluded his presence here, but in responding to our invitation, he said that, if he were here, his main point would be to get all the information out on what has happened in Bosnia-Herzegovina, information which inevitably leads to the conclusion that this is genocide. Our State Department has released some of this information in eight reports to the United Nations, but, Mr. Gutman reports, there is more that can and should be released as well.

I take the effort to establish an international war crimes tribunal seriously, and hope that this information can be used to prosecute those responsible, from the camp guards, murderers and rapists freely roaming the hills of Bosnia-Herzegovina, to the political leaders in Pale and Belgrade which devised and directed the larger strategy of which they were a part. I have said many times before that an important, long-term factor affecting the fate of the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina, including their chances for reconciliation, is the satisfaction and deterring example of justice served. It is also important to do this for the sake of those engaged in relief operations, who are frequently attacked in Bosnia-Herzegovina in contravention of international humanitarian law. Given the willingness to tolerate or even deny the existence of genocide, I am somewhat skeptical of the willingness of the international community to prosecute those responsible for it. But a prosecutor, a Venezuelan, has just been nominated by the Secretary General, and, subject to his approval, I think our government should do all that it can to assist and encourage him in his job. Certainly, this Commission is strongly behind such an effort.

I look forward to hearing what our witness have to say about this, and about the needs of the Bosnian people for the coming winter. I hope, however, that they can also focus on their direct experiences in Sarajevo and elsewhere in Bosnia-Herzegovina and give us some sense of what these people are thinking, and what they want. In the end, it is their fate with which we are concerned, and I believe strongly that we must help them to the fullest extent possible.

Commission on
Security and Cooperation in Europe

Presentation by

José Maria Mendiluce
Former Special Envoy of the High Commissioner in Former Yugoslavia
(United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees)

Hearing, 21 October 1993

(to be checked against delivery)

1. 18 months have passed since the war started in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Today, we live a scenario not even the more pessimistic could have predicted. A scenario of hatred, displacement, destruction, systematic human rights violations and atrocities, of civilians killed, wounded, taken hostage, trapped or in detention/concentration camps, a situation that constitutes one of the most dramatic humanitarian tragedies of recent times.
2. At the time of preparing this hearing, no perspective of peace can be detected and we are approaching a second winter. Deliberate attacks on humanitarian convoys and staff, lack of access, open hostility, increasing numbers of displaced persons, lack of respect for the humanitarian character of UNHCR activities, ... are creating additional problems for the operation led by UNHCR in cooperation with UNPROFOR.
3. In view of the prevailing situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, it seems appropriate to analyse what was wrong in the approach of the International Community to confront the crisis. More than 200,000 people killed (many of them civilians); 4,2 million victims (among them more than 3 million refugees and displaced, hundred of thousands trapped, under siege and shelling), hundreds of villages destroyed, thousands of women raped, are signals impressive enough to seriously question the "success" of a strategy based on a massive humanitarian operation and a process of negotiations without the readiness to intervene in a more decisive manner.
4. The divisions at the international level on how to address the crisis, both within the UN and the EC and the lack of sufficiently developed preventive diplomatic means contributed to the developments as they evolved. So did the lack of significant or sufficient analysis on the early warning signals from the ground together with the difficulties confronted in different key countries in terms of electoral processes. Other internal and external elements on domestic agendas, along with additional issues that could be added to this list, made in fact and in reality apparently impossible for the international community to address the problem in a preventive way.
5. One of the key elements that was absent in the process was a clear decision by the international community, to confront the crisis not only with diplomatic and humanitarian means, but also with the necessary strength and coherence to show that it was ready to negotiate and act in a more decisive way to stop the process of territorial gains and ethnic cleansing. This process had already started in Croatia and set the trend that was going to follow in the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina.
6. Since the war in Croatia and mainly once war started in Bosnia, as early as April 1992, it became obvious to UNHCR that one of the basic characteristics of the conflict was that the civilian displacement was not a consequence but an objective of the war (a finding which we reported early on). For this reason, UNHCR insisted on assisting the victims as close to their homes as possible. We deployed staff to negotiate the prevention of expulsions of civilians in some areas. Such "preventive protection" did not succeed, as figures show, to prevent displacement, neither in Bosnia Herzegovina nor in Croatia (UNPAS).

7. But it was also evident (as the High Commissioner rightly reported as early as June 1992) that this humanitarian tragedy, with all the foreseeable consequences, did not have a humanitarian solution, but a political one. Since the beginning, when UNHCR defined the policy of the aggressors as "ethnic cleansing", we knew that whatever we were going to do, was not going to avoid the tragedy. We were forced to be realistic in our objectives, and concentrate our efforts in saving as many lives as possible while waiting for a peace settlement. The fact that the International Community based its strategy, primarily, on humanitarian assistance, instead of on more decisive political action, forced UNHCR to desperately attempt to avoid the worst, well knowing (and predicting) the consequences in humanitarian terms, of this incomplete strategy to prevent or stop the war.

8. The approach referred above using humanitarian work as main strategy of the International Community's response, generated a great deal of contradictions. UNHCR has been subjected to all sorts of manipulation attempts by many of the actors involved (local and international).

9. How to solve the dilemma between the right to stay and the right to leave, with ethnic cleansing as main policy of those who were winning the war? How to protect the rights of the people without being an instrument of ethnic cleansing? How can one qualify as "success" our ability to cross front lines to feed the people in enclaves, besieged areas, etc, while at the same time the same people were killed under shelling, sniper fire, were raped, and terrified? How to accept the tendency to consider our role more or less as a trucking and airline company, reducing our objectives just to feed those persons lucky enough to survive?

10. From our humanitarian perspective, only a very pragmatic and flexible approach has helped us to address the very complex issues in the middle of all these contradictions. While trying to protect and assist people where they were, we help them to evacuate in some cases (Bosanski Novi, Srebrenica, ...) and negotiate to keep the borders open for those who needed asylum or protection abroad (assisting them as "refugees"). Ethnic cleansing was a two-fold strategy: killing and expulsion. For us, the debate was finished early in June 92: We decided to help people to survive. We choose to have more displaced or refugees than more bodies; But we suffered all the time of attempts to manipulate us or to use us as an instrument by all sides to avoid or to assist in displacement. In many cases the victims were hostages of their own military and civilian authorities.

11. The "safe area" concept has been another element of debate for UNHCR for many months and the future of some of these areas is a matter of serious concern. Without a just political settlement and good-will from the Serbian side, the "safe areas" have become de facto large refugee camps, totally dependent on international assistance and their situation is rapidly deteriorating at all levels. Surrounded by enemy forces, without basic shelter, medical care, infrastructure conditions, isolated and with almost all the families with members missing, separated, killed, living under sporadic shelling or sniper fire, these areas are becoming more and more a sort of detention centers administered by the UN and

assisted by UNHCR. These are the risks of decisions taken in good faith and in the assumption of a political process of solution that never takes place. Srebrenica, Zepa, Gorazde are already in this situation described above. Bihacs is still cut off, Sarajevo is a shame for humanity and so is Mostar. Bosnia is more complex than Northern Iraq. And never was the commitment of the International Community comparable to the one of the Allied Forces in that country.

12. UNHCR staff in the field have felt more and more trapped, together with UNPROFOR, in a no-win situation, confronted with a growing tragedy that could not be stopped or reversed without the use of all necessary (other) means. And this has been reported systematically since the beginning of the war. To use our presence in the field and our relative "successes" in feeding the victims, to justify the lack of political decision to confront the crisis, or even worse, to use us as human shields against any sort of international military action should not be acceptable. The seriousness of the crisis and the responsibilities of the International Community require decisions without using or abusing the humanitarian organisations to justify political unwillingness to intervene.

13. The last proposal of partition, whatever political justification there might be, will imply (if ever accepted and implemented) more displacement of those living on "other's" territory and of those who are not ready to live in totalitarian, ethnically pure or confessional states (democrates, mixed marriages, etc.). Many Bosnians of the three nationalities have been fighting and losing a war to protect their right to live together : they are the casualties of this war. We abandoned them. They will not have any space to stay or to return to (for those who have fled) without a just political settlement, based on basic principles and respect for human rights, and this constitutes a dream no-one seems to believe in today.

14. These elements of analysis are an attempt to show that there are many contradictions between principles and pragmatism, between political proposals and humanitarian concerns (displacement, right to return, ...) and human rights (non-discrimination, freedom of movement, religious freedom, etc) that are not duly addressed in the political process.

15. Regarding sanctions, UNHCR experience in Former Yugoslavia has shown that sanctions imposed to end a conflict can, if not properly designed and implemented, affect the ability of humanitarian organisations to respond effectively to the victims of the same conflict, penalizing most those who suffer and reducing the willingness of people and countries to provide asylum or refuge. In this sense, the situation of refugees in Serbia and Montenegro is of serious concern and UNHCR plans to assist them, in an area where many nationals are living in even worse conditions, which could provoke rejection and even violence. On the other hand, Security Council resolutions adopting sanctions rarely mention humanitarian mandates and adequate exception procedures. We think it advisable to revise the "sanctions policy" in light of some recent experiences.

16. It is probably too late to save Bosnia-Herzegovina, but it should not be too late to stop the process of destruction and genocide (political, cultural, almost physical) of the Bosnian people. With the current lack of political progress, based on a lack of political will of the international community, more people will die, by killings or through starvation in the coming winter. There are no prospects for return for the Muslims, nor for the Serbs and Croats loyal to the Bosnian authorities. More displacement will take place by force (ethnic cleansing continues in many areas) as well as due to the lack of basic supplies. The horror of shelling and sniper fire with which people in Sarajevo live and die will continue. We are condemning millions of women and children to desperation. They will never forgive us.

CHRONOLOGY OF SOME SIGNIFICANT EVENTS
IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

1 9 9 1

- June 25 Croatia and Slovenia proclaim independence. Fighting breaks out
- Sep 07 European Community establishes the Peace Conference on Yugoslavia chaired by Lord Carrington
- Oct 08 UN Secretary-General appoints Cyrus Vance as his Personal Envoy
- Oct 08 At EXCOM Fed. Government of Yugoslavia requests UNHCR assistance
- Oct 25 UN Secretary-general asks UNHCR to assist displaced persons in Yugoslavia as lead humanitarian agency
- Nov 26 UNHCR dispatches assessment mission and then Special Envoy to Former Yugoslavia
- Dec 17 First UNHCR relief shipments reach Belgrade and Zagreb
- Dec 23 Germany announces that it will recognize Croatia and Slovenia

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- Jan 02 Cyrus Vance negotiates Sarajevo Accord, the first lasting cease-fire in the war in Croatia
- Jan 15 The European Community recognizes Croatia and Slovenia
- Feb 29 More than 99 per cent of those voting in a referendum in Bosnia and Herzegovina cast ballots in favour of independence. Bosnian Serbs boycott the vote. Barricades erected in Sarajevo.
- Mar 03 Bosnia and Herzegovina proclaims independence
- Mar 20 First large scale displacements occur in northern Bosnia. Zagreb Office dispatches aid to influx point in Croatia.
- Mar 27 The UN High Commissioner for Refugees appeals to all parties to refrain from action that causes new displacement of civilian populations
- Apr 07 European Community and US recognize Bosnia and Herzegovina as independent. Fighting in eastern Bosnia intensifies
- Apr 07 SC Resolution 749 authorizes the full deployment of UNPROFOR to UNPAA
- Apr 11 UNHCR begins distributing food aid to displaced persons from the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Apr 11 UNHCR in Sarajevo issues emergency appeal
- Apr 15 Five UNHCR trucks hijacked on the way from Belgrade to Sarajevo

- Apr 27 Yugoslavia's Serbian-led parliament proclaims the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)
- Apr 30 High Commissioner writes to Foreign Ministers of Group of 27 appealing for funds and stating that unless energetic action is taken up to 500,000 people could become displaced as a result of the conflict
- May 16 UNHCR temporarily evacuates staff from Sarajevo as the capital becomes engulfed in the conflict
- May 18 An ICRC delegate is killed in a mortar attack on a convoy entering Sarajevo
- May 24 ICRC announces temporary withdrawal from Bosnia and Herzegovina
- May 30 Security Council Resolution 757 mandatory sanctions against Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)
- Jun 09 UNPROFOR becomes fully operational in all of the UNPAs
- Jun 16 Croatia tightens border restrictions for those fleeing the war in Bosnia
- Jun 16 UNHCR resumes operations in Bosnia with land deliveries to Sarajevo, Mostar and Banja-Luka. Office reopened in Sarajevo
- Jun 29 President Mitterand of France visits Sarajevo
- Jun 29 Security Council Resolution 761 authorizes reinforcement of UNPROFOR to ensure security and functioning of Sarajevo airport and the delivery of humanitarian assistance
- Jun 29 UNHCR airlift of humanitarian assistance to Sarajevo begins
- July 01 First UNHCR organized evacuation of Muslims and Croats from Banja-Luka area (Bosansky Novi)
- July 07 G7 leaders threaten use of force to ensure that relief reaches Sarajevo
- July 09 President Izetbegovic reports 60,000 Bosnians killed by Serb forces and 1.4 million displaced
- July 29 UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Sadako Ogata, convenes a ministerial-level international meeting in Geneva. More than 2 million are said to have been displaced. A comprehensive humanitarian strategy is adopted centred on access to safety and assistance for survival.
- Aug 13 Security Council Resolutions 770 and 771 foreshadow the use of force as last resort to ensure relief aid for Bosnia and compliance with its call for a halt to "ethnic cleansing"

- Aug 13 Following reports of atrocious living conditions in detention camps, the international community denounces crimes against humanity at an extraordinary session of the UN Human Rights Commission which appoints Tadeusz Mazowiecki to investigate human rights violations
- Aug 15 First UNHCR convoy since May successfully reaches Gorasde
- Aug 26 UN Secretary-General and UK Prime Minister, John Major, as President of the EC Council of Ministers, co-chair International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia in London. A framework for an overall political settlement is established and a Steering Committee is set up. Lord Carrington steps down as EC mediator and is replaced by Lord Owen
- Sep 03 Shooting down of a UNHCR/Italian relief plane and death of four crew members leads to month-long suspension of Sarajevo airlift
- Sep 03 The Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia opens in Geneva under the co-chairmanship of Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen
- Sep 10 UN Secretary-General requests Security Council to enlarge UNPROFOR's mandate to include the protection of humanitarian assistance provided by UNHCR and others
- Sep 29 UNHCR High Commissioner for Refugees predicts that 400,000 could die during the winter without political measures, emergency aid and resumption of the airlift
- Oct 03 Resumption of the Sarajevo airlift suspended since 3 September
- Oct 05 Cyrus Vance criticises the slow deployment of UN forces to protect relief convoys. UNHCR estimates at three million the number of refugees, internally displaced and besieged populations requiring assistance
- Oct 09 SC Resolution 781 imposes a ban on military flights over Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Oct 15 Fighting erupts between Croats and Muslims in Central Bosnia. UNHCR becomes actively involved in cease fire negotiations
- Nov 04 Croatia turns back hundreds of Bosnian Muslim refugees, saying they can absorb no more
- Nov 12 Expanded UNPROFOR assumes operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Nov 16 Security Council Resolution asks the Secretary-General, in consultation with UNHCR, to study the establishment of safe havens for affected populations
- Nov 29 A UNHCR convoy reaches the Muslim town of Srebrenica, cut off since April by Serbian forces

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- Jan 11 Peace talks resume in Geneva in the framework of the International Conference on former Yugoslavia and a comprehensive peace plan is put forward by the co-chairman, the so-called "Vance-Owen Plan"
- Feb 02 A UNHCR local staff member is killed in an attack on a relief convoy
- Feb 09 Peace talks resume at UN Headquarters in New York
- Feb 17 UNHCR temporarily suspends many of its operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina in face of widespread blockages of humanitarian assistance and resumes on Feb 22
- Feb 27 US Airdrop operation starts in Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Mar 03 Security Council votes resolution 816 enforcing the "no-fly zone" over Bosnia
- Apr 02 Stoltenberg named to succeed Cyrus Vance with effect from 1 May
- Apr 08 UNHCR evacuates 150 vulnerable people from Srebrenica
- Apr 16 Security Council Resolution 819 requesting increase in UNPROFOR presence in Srebrenica and to treat it as a safe area
- May 06 Security Council adopts resolution 824 demanding that any taking of territory by force cease immediately, declaring Sarajevo, Tuzla, Zepa, Gorasde, Bihacj and Srebrenica as safe areas
- May 08 Heavy fighting erupts in Mostar between Croats and Muslims and spreads north
- May 19 Vance-Owen Peace Plan rejected by Bosnian-Serb referendum of 15-16 May
- June 01 UNHCR convoy hit by shells killing 2 Danish drivers and a local interpreter and wounding 4 other Danish staff
- June 17 EC warns of the "explosive mixture" of "the intensification of war, the absence of a decisive political breakthrough, the restriction on asylum and the virtual depletion of resources for the humanitarian efforts"
- June 17 Lord Owen concedes that Vance Owen Peace Plan is no longer of any use
- June 19 Secret meeting occurs in Montenegro seaside resort between Karadzic, Boban and maps
- June 22 First UNHCR convoy in 4 weeks reaches Gorasde

- July 16 At meeting of the Humanitarian issues Working Group of the International Conference on former Yugoslavia, donor countries make pledges for another \$126 million for the UN operation in former Yugoslavia, of which \$63 million is pledged to UNHCR. In the High Commissioner's own words "As long as the victims have hope, we cannot and must not give up"
- July 27 Peace negotiations between the 3 warring factions resume in Geneva
- July 30 Technical Meeting : Shelter and Infrastructure in Bosnia and Herzegovina . convenes in Palais des Nations, Geneva. Tentatively decide to create a management structure to act as coordinating body for shelter, energy and infrastructure activities in BiH.
- Aug 05 Peace talks in Geneva stall after Serbs overrun Mounts Igman and Bjelasnica overlooking Sarajevo
- Aug 09 NATO approves plans for air strikes on Bosnian Serbs if they don't lift siege on Sarajevo
- Aug 14 UNHCR staff member, Boris Zeravcic, shot and killed in Vitez
- Aug 16 Peace negotiations scheduled to resume in Geneva

LIST OF SELECTED SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS

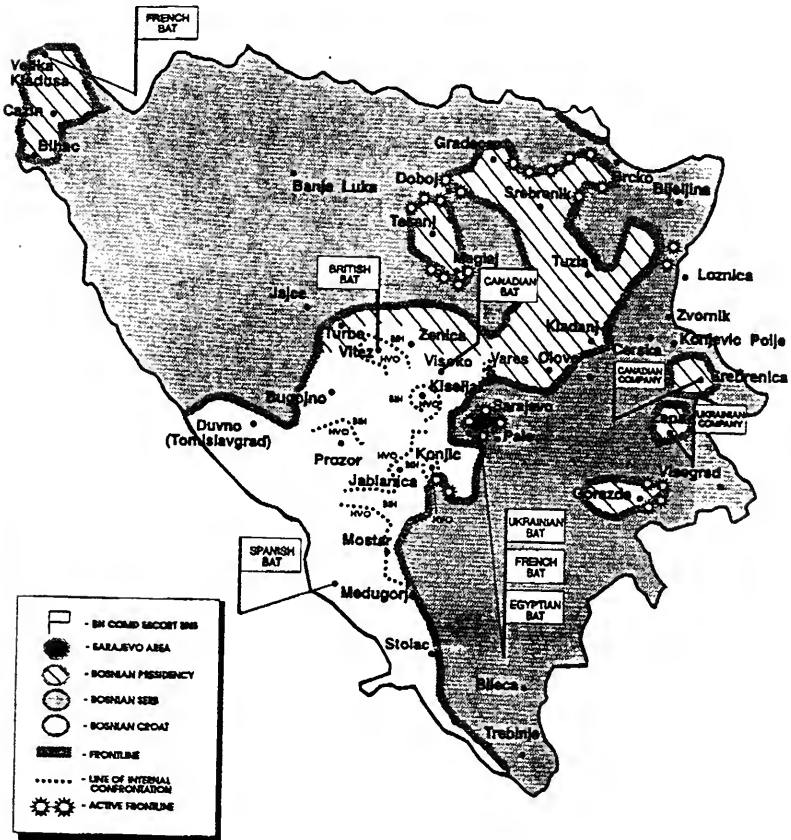
1. - GA RES 43/131 of 8 December 1988, Humanitarian assistance to victims of disasters and similar emergency situations.
2. - GA RES 45/100 of 14 December 1990, Humanitarian assistance to victims of disasters and similar emergency situations.
3. - SC RES/688 of 5 April 1991 insists that Iraq allow access by international humanitarian organizations to all those in need of assistance in all parts of Iraq and to make available all necessary facilities for their operations.
4. - GA RES 46/182 of 19 December 1991 - reaffirms respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity of all States and allows humanitarian assistance to be provided with the consent, but not necessarily with the request of the affected country.
5. - A/Res/46/219 of 14 April 1992 on the operational activities of the United Nations system.
6. - A/RES/47/120 of 10 February 1993 on "An Agenda for Peace: preventive diplomacy and related matters".
7. - S/RES/724 of 15 December 1991, acting under Chapter VII, decided to establish a Committee of the Security Council to recommend appropriate measures concerning violations of the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Yugoslavia.
8. - S/RES 752 of 15 May 1992, fully supports the current efforts to deliver humanitarian aid to all the victims of the conflict in former Yugoslavia.
9. - S/RES/757 of 30 May 1992, acting under chapter VII, increased actions of sanctions against Yugoslavia.
10. - S/RES/758 of 8 June 1992, extending UNPROFOR's responsibilities, including the establishment of a security zone encompassing Sarajevo and its airport.
11. - S/RES/760 of 18 June 1992 establishing a "no objection" procedure for essential humanitarian needs.
12. - S/RES/764 of 13 July 1992 reaffirms that persons who commit or order the Commission of grave breaches of the (humanitarian law) conventions are individually responsible.
13. - S/RES/769 of 7 August 1992 acting under Chapter VII calls upon States to take national or through regional agencies or arrangements all necessary measures to facilitate delivery of humanitarian assistance.
14. - S/RES/770 of 13 August 1992, allowed the possibility of invoking military force under Chapter VII, either collectively or individually, through regional agencies or arrangements, to ensure unimpeded delivery of humanitarian aid.
15. - S/RES/771 of 13 August 1992 called upon States and humanitarian organizations to provide informations on violations of humanitarian law.
16. - S/RES/776 of 14 September 1993 in which the Security Council was "noting with appreciation the offers made by a number of States, ..., to make available military personnel to facilitate the delivery by relevant United Nations humanitarian organizations and others of humanitarian assistance to Sarajevo and wherever needed in other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, such personnel to made available to the United Nations without cost to the Organization", stressing the importance of air measures and of reinforcing the security of humanitarian activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, authorized the enlargement of UNPROFOR's mandate and strength in Bosnia-Herzegovina, "including the protection of convoys of released detainees if requested by the International Committee of the Red Cross".

2

17. - S/RES/780 of 6 October 1992 expressing grave alarm about mass killings and the continuance of the practice of "ethnic cleansing".
18. - S/RES/781 of 9 October 1992 establishing a ban for military flights in the air space of Bosnia-Herzegovina "for the safety of the delivery of humanitarian assistance and a decisive step for the cessation of hostilities in Bosnia-Herzegovina.
19. - S/RES/816 of 31 March 1993 authorized Member States acting nationally or through regional organizations to take all necessary measures to ensure compliance with the ban of flights over Bosnia-Herzegovina.
20. - S/RES/819 of 16 April 1993, acting under Chapter VII demanded the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance to all parts in Bosnia-Herzegovina.
21. - S/RES/820 of 17 April 1993, demanding full respect for the right of the UNPROFOR and the international humanitarian agencies to free and unimpeded access to all areas in the area of Bosnia-Herzegovina and further strenghtening of sanctions.
22. - S/RES/824 of 6 May 1993, acting under Chapter VII, declared Sarajevo and other threatened areas, in particular the towns of Tuzla, Zepa, Gorazde, Bihac, as well as Strebienica as safe areas.
23. - S/RES/827 of 25 May 1993 deciding to establish an international tribunal to prosecute persons responsible for humanitarian violations.
24. - S/RES/836 of 4 June 1993, acting under Chapter VII, decided to ensure full respect for the safe areas referred to in S/RES/824.

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA FRONTLINES

ANNEX 3



25 August 1993

UNHCR OFFICES IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA



(🏠) UNHCR Office / Presence

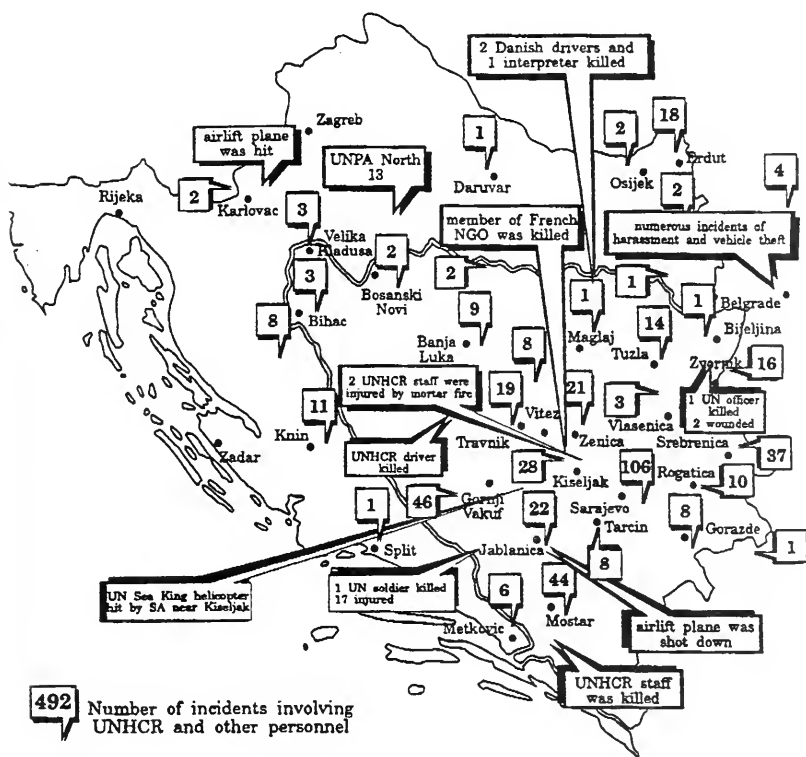
▭ UN Protected Areas (UNPAs)

* Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

August 1993

SECURITY INCIDENTS (3 September 1992 - 27 August 1993)

ANNEX 36



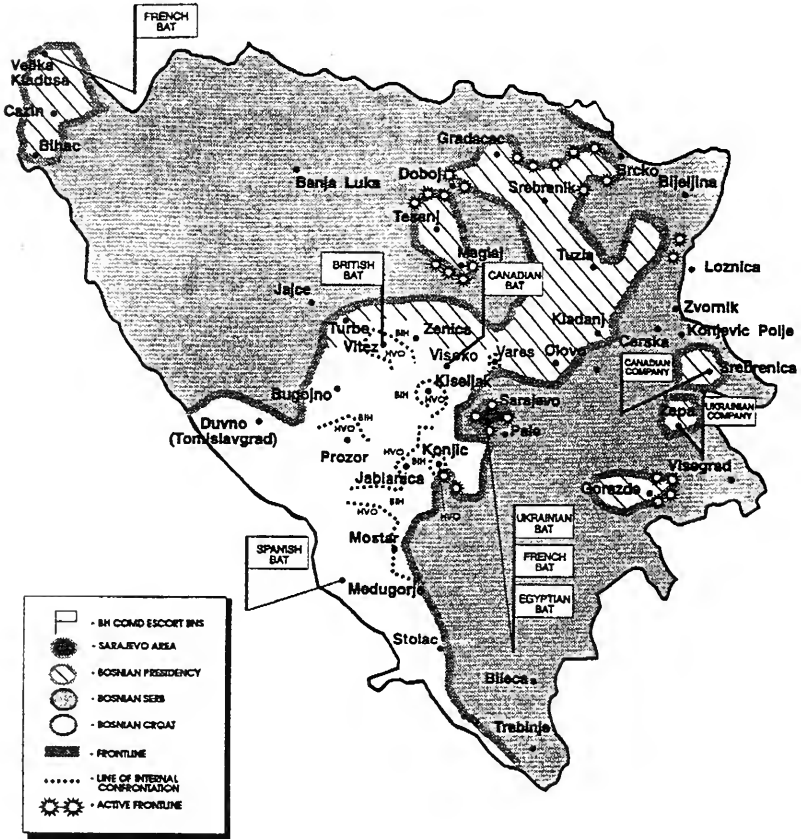
Notes: Not all incidents have been reported to UNHCR thus the above map only shows a partial picture of the security problem.

By 27 August, 56 soldiers had been killed - 29 in war related incidents - since the deployment of UNPROFOR.

Since the start of the war 34 journalists were killed (+2 missing)

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA FRONTLINES

ANNEX 3c



25 August 1993

REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS WITHIN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

PRESENT LOCATION	FROM CROATIA	FROM BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA	TOTAL	
CROATIA	247,000	280,000 *	527,000	R
UNPAs	N/A	N/A	87,000	E
SERBIA	160,000	300,000	460,000	R
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA	N/A	N/A	2,280,000 **E	
MONTENEGRO	N/A	N/A	59,000	R
SLOVENIA	N/A	N/A	32,000	R
FYR MACEDONIA	3,000	29,000	32,000	R
GRAND TOTALS	N/A	N/A	3,477,000 ***	

R - REGISTERED E - ESTIMATED N/A - NOT AVAILABLE/APPLICABLE

- * includes also refugees from other republics of former Yugoslavia as well as an estimated number of unregistered refugees
- ** estimated number of beneficiaries including refugees, displaced and other vulnerable groups
- *** does not include some other 128,000 persons estimated to be in need of humanitarian assistance

Remarks:

- A. All figures are rounded to the next thousand
- B. Source of information:
- Croatia - Office for displaced persons and refugees (ODPR)
 - UNPAs - UNHCR Field Offices
 - Serbia - Serbian Red Cross (through UNHCR Office in Belgrade)
 - Bosnia and Herzegovina - UNHCR Offices
 - Montenegro - Montenegrin Red Cross (through UNHCR Office in Belgrade)
 - Slovenia - Slovenian Red Cross (through UNHCR Office in Ljubljana)
 - FYR Macedonia - Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Red Cross (through UNHCR Office in Skopje)

BOSNIA: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Mr. Chairman, Senators, distinguished guests:

I am extremely pleased to have been given the opportunity to testify today on the grave humanitarian and political situation in Bosnia.

In the aftermath of the Bosnians' rejection of the latest peace plan, Western policy-makers seem to be at a loss for what to do next. Many observers had thought that the plan was the last, best hope to halt the war before the winter and believed that the Bosnians would agree to the plan in order to secure the deployment of NATO troops, something that has been a key element of the Bosnians' foreign policy. Observers were therefore surprised by the rejection of the plan, first by the Muslim (Bosnjak) Assembly and later, in effect, by the Bosnian Assembly, when it added conditions that would make the plan unacceptable to the Serbs and Croats. The *de facto* rejection of the plan, and the subsequent revolt by the Bihać Muslims, has complicated not only the peace process but also the humanitarian assistance program, which is lagging behind in contributions of food, materials, and cash, especially in the energy and winterization sectors.

Why the Bosnians rejected the peace plan:

The Bosnians rejected the plan for many reasons; some were straightforward, some represented political expediency, and some can only be seen in the context of the people's view of themselves at this point in time.

As the Bosnians see the situation, time is on their side, if they can hold the republic together. They believe that the Bosnian Serbs are under tremendous pressure from Belgrade to reach a settlement so that sanctions can be lifted. They point out that Serbs continually insisted that a phased relaxation of sanctions starting from the moment that the plan was initiated. This has led the Bosnians to believe that the sanctions are truly hurting the Serbs and that the sanctions are their main "equalizer" in the war. They also know that the enforcement of sanctions was strengthened during the summer as a response to the Serbs' blockade of Sarajevo.

Second, the Bosnians believe that the Europeans will continue to pressure the Serbs into keeping the current level of military activity low to keep the United States from intervening militarily. Thus, while the Serbs will still have strategic advantage in many areas, basic humanitarian assistance will be able to get through to Sarajevo, most of the enclaves, Tuzla, and to a lesser extent, the central zone (Zenica). If the enclaves don't get food or fuel now, the people will blame the UN, since these are protected, demilitarized areas. If the Serbs tighten the blockade on Sarajevo again, it will play into the Bosnians' hands politically.

Third, at the time they rejected the plan, the Bosnians believed President Clinton had decided in favor of military action if the Serbs continued to attack Sarajevo and northern Bosnia. (Apparently, the Serbs also believed that bombing was a real threat, since top UNPROFOR officers warned them last August that U.S. action was imminent if they did not relax the siege of

Sarajevo. However, recent events in Somalia may have tempered this view, making it more difficult to assess how likely the Serbs believe military intervention is.)

The Bosnian military is opposed to ending the fighting now, since its forces have been making gains in Central Bosnia and in western Herzegovina. In the summer, they pushed the Croats out of the industrial regions of central Bosnia (e.g., Fojnica), and they are now in position to consolidate their gains in several areas. They have a number of objectives they believe they can attain: opening a route to the coast, reopening the route to Tuzla through Vareš, and regaining control over Mostar. As they see it, the Croatian Army (HV) is in a poor position to support the Croatian Defense Council (HVO) because of the situation in the Krajina. Furthermore, the HVO's blockade of humanitarian assistance has hurt the Croats in Central Bosnia more than the Muslims. Thus, the Muslim-dominated forces of the Bosnian Presidency are likely to continue to oppose a peace settlement as long as they believe (1) the Serbs are effectively "checked" and (2) they can take more territory from the Croats.

One incident may have contributed to the Bosnians' belief that time is on their side: the rebellion of Serb forces in Banja Luka. Some military commanders believe there are growing dissensions within the Bosnian Serb Army that could weaken the Serbs.

A key factor in the vote that effectively rejected the plan was related to the document itself. When the peace plan was finally presented to the Bosnians, there was widespread skepticism that the form of government proposed would work. Most Muslims accept that fact that the country will be partitioned, but once that is done, they want nothing more to do with the Serbs -- and, to a lesser extent, the Croats. Critics of the proposed constitutional makeup of the government joined forces with the people who still support a multi-ethnic state to condemn the agreement and effectively block its acceptance.

Many Bosnians think that both the Serbs and the Croats are preparing for another round of war. The Bosnians believe that when the war breaks out, they will be courted by both sides in the conflict. At that point, the Bosnians will be in a position to make a deal for some of the territory they have lost.

There is yet another, intangible factor -- a major one -- affecting the Bosnians' behavior: they fervently believe that they are the victims, that their position is "right." Therefore, they assume that if they can just hold out a bit longer, that they will eventually win military support from the outside. It may not seem logical to an outsider, but the belief is very real.

What they want:

To get the Bosnians back to the conference table in a mood to negotiate, several things must happen. First, their territorial demands must be met, specifically:

- a corridor to the sea;

- contiguous borders with the eastern enclaves;
- defensible borders in the west;
- elimination of the HVO blockade at Vareš;
- access to the Sava River.¹

Second, their goals include stronger guarantees of NATO deployment, especially a larger and more rapid U.S. commitment to help prevent forced population transfers. (Pre-positioning of forces for rapid deployment is the key.)

The only other circumstance that would get the Bosnians back to the peace negotiations would be a change in the military situation on the ground -- for the better or the worse. Pressuring Alija Izetbegovic is unlikely to achieve any major results.

A different view:

UNPROFOR does not share the Bosnians' analysis. UNPROFOR's assessment is far more pessimistic. From their close contacts with the Serbs, UNPROFOR personnel believe that the Bosnians' ploy will not work. According to senior officers, the Bosnians' move has strengthened the Serb radicals and the Mladić faction. Rather than wait, they will now move to punish the Bosnians, grab more territory, and complete ethnic cleansing in several areas. While it is unclear whether they will initiate an all-out assault on Sarajevo, they will certainly go after more territory in the north and complete the expulsion of Muslims from Banja Luka and other areas now under their control.² This reduces the likelihood that those areas will ever be reoccupied by their original inhabitants and will further hamper any efforts to forge a unified nation.

What is likely to happen for the next few months:

In the near term, the situation is likely to remain fairly static. The Serbs will gradually tighten the blockade of Sarajevo, but are unlikely to resume prolonged, full-scale shelling, as they did last winter and in May-June. Sniping has resumed and will gradually become more intense. Additionally, the Serbs are not likely to honor many of the agreements they have made with UNPROFOR and UNHCR regarding coal and firewood, restoration of electricity, etcetera. They will undoubtedly try to consolidate some territory in the north, perhaps near Maglaj and the

¹ The Sava is navigable to the Danube for barge traffic.

² UNHCR recently reported new incidents of violence against the estimated 40,000 Muslims and Croats in Banja Luka. Additional mosques in the area have been destroyed and Muslim religious and political leaders arrested. Two sixty-five-year-old women were raped and two middle-aged women were kidnapped and severely beaten. An elderly man was shot to death in front of his young granddaughter, another old man was tortured and an 80-year-old woman was stripped naked.

perimeter of Tuzla and will try to cut off the Muslims' access to Sarajevo from the south. In the last week, the Serbs have stopped all but food and medicines from coming into Sarajevo -- all winter supplies, gas and water equipment, and even blankets have been stopped. At the same time, political divisions among the Bosnians are likely to grow, making it more difficult to supply aid or to reach a political accommodation with the Serbs or Croats. In short, the people of Bosnia and especially those in Sarajevo and the various enclaves are in for a tough winter.

In the meantime, the Bosnians will probably agree to return to the negotiations but only to prolong the existing situation. They are gambling that the Serbs will agree to give back more territory to get the sanctions lifted, so they will continue to maneuver, holding out for more land and a more workable form of government.

A looming problem for the Bosnians is the growing factionalism among the Muslims. There are disputes among regions -- Bihać versus Sarajevo³, Sarajevo versus Tuzla -- and between the urban Muslims and the Sandjaks (rural Muslims). All threaten to further weaken the Bosnians' ability to hold out and could negate any advantages they may have in the present circumstances.

What the U.S. response should be:

At this point, the best approach for the United States would be to help the Bosnians make their strategy work. It would be unwise for the United States to push a new peace plan based on the old one. The old plan was not, as some have argued, the best deal the Muslims could get; signing on to a bad plan could limit U.S. options in the future. Rather, we should help the Bosnians by focusing on measures that will keep the level of conflict low and allow time to work for them. Another, better opportunity, where U.S. power and leverage can be applied, should arise sooner or later.

Specifically, the United States should do the following:

1. Continue to threaten the Serbs with air strikes if they resume shelling Sarajevo or attacking other enclaves. (Since the plan was effectively rejected, the level of shelling has increased; frequently more than a hundred shells per day hit the city.)
2. Support the Bosnians' negotiating position by further tightening sanctions enforcement.
3. Pressure Croatia into curbing the HVO. This could be done by suspending economic assistance to Croatia if the HVO fails to end its attacks on the Bosnians. Croatia should also be pressured into giving Bosnian refugees better treatment.

³ When the peace accord was effectively rejected by the assembly in Sarajevo, Bihać declared itself an "autonomous republic."

4. Increase our diplomatic efforts to limit the growing political divisions among the Bosnians. This is the time they need unity.
5. Continue to support humanitarian assistance, especially supporting the UN on issues of access and freedom of movement and the supply of energy for winter heating.
6. Continue to press all parties on human rights. Special emphasis should be given to (a) publicizing the human rights abuses of the Serbs and Croats (pressuring them publicly should tend to encourage the Bosnian leadership to take stronger measures to curb similar abuses by their troops and allow the Bosnians to regain the moral high ground) and (b) giving more visible U.S. support to the war crimes tribunal.

Measures we can take now:

The most important immediate step the United States can take is to ensure that the supply of natural gas to Sarajevo is restored. The Serbs have cut off the gas since May. Gas is now in the lines up to Sarajevo but has been stopped in Serb-held territory from reaching both Sarajevo and Zenica. Under the terms of the sanctions, gas may be shared with Serbia only if the flow of gas to Bosnia is uninterrupted. Since gas is the principal source of fuel for Belgrade, both for heating and for running the city's industries, cutting it off would send a strong message to the Serbs -- as well as demonstrating that the West is still behind Bosnia despite the breakdown of the peace process.

Frederick C. Cuny
October 13, 1993

HIGH PRIORITY SITES FOR ASSISTANCE

Submitted for the Record by Frederick C. Cuny,
Intertect Relief and Reconstruction Corp.

1. Sarajevo
2. Vitez
3. Zenica
4. Tuzla
5. Maglaj
6. Gorni Vakuf
7. Banja Luka
8. Bihac
9. Mostar
10. Srebrenica
11. Zepa
12. Gorazde
13. Doboj
14. Cerska
15. Prijedor
16. Bijela



October 20, 1993

Senator Dennis DeConcini, Chairman
Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe
237 Ford House Office Bldg.,
Washington, DC 20515

re: **Hearing on the Fate of the People of
Bosnia-Herzegovina**

Dear Chairman DeConcini,

Veterans For Peace, Inc. (VFP) has been trying to evacuate war-wounded Bosnian children since April of this year. On May 25, 1993, we notified Ms. Norma Tinio, UNICEF Emergency Programs Officer, in New York, that we had obtained written commitments for pro bono hospital space, services and medical treatment in the United States sufficient to treat more than 50 wounded Bosnian children. Ms. Tinio acknowledged our offer on June 2, 1993, in writing.

We notified Manual Fontaine, UNICEF-Sarajevo, of this offer by fax on May 26. Kai Schubert of UNHCR-Sarajevo acknowledged our offer on May 28, 1993, in writing.

On June 3, 1993, I received a fax from Ms. Norma Tinio urging me to contact Dr. Daniel Wiener, Chair of the International Rescue Committee's Medical Advisory Board in New York. I was on the phone with Dr. Wiener for about an hour and a half. During that time, Dr. Wiener tried to persuade me that VFP should stop requesting assistance from hospitals and physicians in the United States because: a) medical aid is getting through, b) all necessary surgery is being performed locally, and c) it isn't practical to evacuate the wounded to the United States. I told Dr. Wiener that what we were being told by physicians in Bosnian hospitals was in direct conflict with his assertions, and that we would continue our efforts.

On June 11, Congressman Tom Andrews (D-ME) notified Mr. Albert Peters, UNHCR-New York, that VFP had secured pro bono hospital space and service

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for over 100 wounded Bosnian children. Mr. Peters acknowledged Congressman Andrews' letter on June 15, in writing, suggesting that Rene Van Rooyen, UNHCR-New York, was the proper individual to notify. Congressman Andrews sent a similar letter to Rene Van Yooyen on June 28, 1993.

On June 18, I visited the UNHCR office in Split, Croatia, and requested a UNHCR pass authorizing me to enter Sarajevo to assess the need for additional hospital space in the United States, and to help facilitate the evacuation of wounded children from Bosnia. UNHCR Chief of Mission Anne Shephard-Dawson denied my request for a pass. Appeals to UNHCR-Zagreb and UNHCR-Geneva were also denied even though, days earlier, two historians were allowed to enter Sarajevo to assess the damage to historical buildings.

On August 8, 1993, the picture of 5-year-old Irma Hadzimuratovic appeared on the front page of newspapers, and on the screens of televisions, around the world. She had been wounded eleven days earlier and was dying, but her physician, a Dr. Jarganjac of Kosevo Hospital in Sarajevo, was unable to get the UN Medical Evacuation Committee to approve her evacuation until he notified the media of her plight. She was then evacuated immediately to London. You will recall that Irma's case created a public outcry in the United States and UNHCR officials found it necessary to defend their past decisions and inaction. During the next three days, on CNN, ABC's Good Morning America, and other national news programs, Peter Kessler of UNHCR-Sarajevo, Sylvana Foa of UNHCR-Geneva, and Barbara Frances of UNHCR-Wash DC, all insisted that they would have evacuated Irma and many others much sooner, but no hospitals in the United States or western Europe had offered to accept them.

To date, we have, in cooperation with the International Organization for Migration, successfully evacuated four wounded Bosnian children (see attached). Two of them were evacuated by a British nurse, Sally Becker, overland from Mostar to Croatia. Ms. Becker had asked for UN assistance, but was denied. We believe one was evacuated by British UN forces, also overland to Croatia. And one was evacuated by Dutch UN forces, and was approved by the UN Med Evac Committee. We suspect the committee approved this case only because national ABC-TV news cameras were documenting the plight of this wounded 14-year-old boy who is now being

treated at Brighton Medical Center, Portland, Maine. Immediately following his evacuation, UNHCR-Zagreb advised all UNHCR field personnel in Bosnia, in writing, that "this little project is not a formal UNHCR Medevac program".

According to a June 24 communique from Professor Dusko Tomic of the First Children's Embassy in Sarajevo, there were 13,204 wounded children in Bosnia. Professor Smikavic of the University of Sarajevo reported that there are 2,846 severely wounded children in Sarajevo alone who should be evacuated.

According to the Red Cross of Nova Bila, Bosnia and Herzegovina, "Since June (1993), approximately 3,000 displaced people have taken refuge in Travnik, in the territory of Nova Bila. Of those 3,000, 850 are children, and there are also as many children who are native population of this area. Since June, there have been 137 wounded babies in the Franciscan makeshift hospital in Nova Bila. Our children have, therefore, been living without electricity and water during this period of four months. All medical assistance has been taken away, as there is only one doctor in the Franciscan hospital, and no specialist for children's illnesses. Because of the use of well water, cases of enterocolitis and hepatitis have appeared and a large number have gotten skin rashes. Due to the unhygienic conditions of life, we fear other epidemiological problems as well. . . we ask that the evacuation of these children to a safe area be immediately effected".

According to a Reuters news story dated October 6, 1993, "Since April, the United Nations has flown out 193 patients, 43 of them children, from Sarajevo."

Senator DeConcini, we still have more than 100 pro bono hospital beds waiting for wounded Bosnian children. Hospitals that have heard about our program through National Public Radio or the American Hospital Association publication are contacting us almost daily and we are confident that we could increase that number to 200 within ten days. We would be most grateful for any assistance you may be able to provide in persuading the United Nations and its agencies to provide the medical assistance that is necessary to save the lives and limbs of the wounded in Bosnia, or begin mass evacuations from Bosnia immediately.



Armored UNPROFOR personnel carriers can safely transport the wounded to Sarajevo where they can be airlifted out to points in western Europe and the United States. I have spoken with U.S. military pilots who have assured me that 20 to 30 cargo planes deliver humanitarian aid to Sarajevo daily and that each of these planes can be rigged to evacuate 2 or 3 wounded. They also assert that this would require each plane to be on the ground in Sarajevo not more than an additional ten minutes.

Respectfully,

Jerry Genesio
Chairman/Executive Director

pc: VFP President COL James Burkholder, USA (Ret), Tucson, AZ
 VFP Exec Vice President Louis Sinclair, Waterville, ME
 VFP Vice Pres for UN Affairs Ben Weintraub, Staten Island, NY
 VFP Secretary Susan Rettig, R.N., Philadelphia, PA
 VFP Treasurer LtCOL Robert Taft, USA (Ret), Ft Ashby, WV
 VFP Directors
 Charles Bonner, Lancaster, PA
 CPL Stephen Fournier, USMC (Disab Ret), N. Yarmouth, ME
 Edwin Hart, Esq., Huntsville, AL
 Ted Heselton, W. Kennebunk, ME
 Sanford Kelson, Esq., Pittsburgh, PA
 Charles Nixon, Los Angeles, CA
 Peggy Tuxen-Akers, R.N., Ann Arbor, MI
 VADM Ralph Weymouth, USN (Ret), Wonalancet, NH

encl: (a) VFP Children of War Rescue Project (CWRP) Fact Sheet
 (b) VFP-CWRP September 25, 1993 Update
 (c) About Veterans For Peace
 (d) About the International Organization for Migration (IOM)
 (e) IOM letter dated June 29, 1993



VETERANS FOR PEACE

CHILDREN OF WAR RESCUE PROJECT (CWRP)

In September of 1992, Veterans For Peace, Inc. (VFP) UN-NGO Representative Ben Weintraub informed VFP's National Board of Directors that UNICEF officials had requested assistance in delivering humanitarian aid to remote villages in the mountains of Bosnia-Herzegovina (B-H). VFP quickly organized several teams of its members, including truck drivers and logistics experts, who volunteered to assist in that effort. However, due to the limited number of truck convoys that were allowed to enter B-H, UN Peacekeeping military commanders were able to provide a sufficient number of personnel for that portion of the mission that was eventually accomplished. In addition, VFP members nationally have been collecting medical and humanitarian aid for shipment to B-H in cooperation with the Brothers' Brother Foundation of Pittsburgh, PA.

In April of this year, the VFP National Board learned of the Medical Evacuation Program for Victims of Conflict in the Former Yugoslavia being conducted by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), and similar efforts organized by other international agencies. VFP National Executive Director Jerry Genesio of Portland, ME, contacted IOM officials in Washington, DC, and offered to organize a national VFP project designed to assist in their efforts. Sanford Kelson of Pittsburgh, PA, who is an attorney and a member of the VFP National Board, volunteered to go to Croatia and B-H and, from April 20-28, 1993, Kelson met with officials of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, the French contingent of UN Peacekeeping forces, and U.S. Embassy personnel in the region to coordinate the IOM/VFP effort. During this period, Genesio began coordinating the efforts of VFP's 77 chapters around the country to identify medical institutions and physicians interested in participating in the project and, from June 16-20, Genesio also visited the region and met with U.N. officials in an attempt to expedite the evacuation of wounded Bosnian children.

All evacuees are first transported to Andrews AFB in Maryland. They are then flown by commercial carrier or, if necessary, by a US Air Force medevac plane, to cities where *pro bono* hospital space, services and medical treatment have been offered.

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Ph (207) 773-1431 Fax (207) 773-0804

Each of the children evacuated will be accompanied by a parent or guardian. In addition to locating hospital space and services, VFP chapters and members are organizing local community efforts to provide appropriate accommodations, hospitality and local transportation. Individuals fluent in the Serbo-Croatian language are also being sought to serve as interpreters for local healthcare professionals and hosts. Volunteers who wish to participate in or provide funding for local efforts are urged to contact VFP Executive Director Jerry Genesio, or VFP Maine State Chairman Jack Bussell, at the VFP National Office, P.O. Box 3881, Portland, ME 04104, Ph: (207) 773-1431.

During the last week of May, 1993, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees and UNICEF were informed that more than 50 beds were available and, as of June 1, 1993, commitments to provide *pro bono* hospital space, services and medical treatment for 100 wounded children had been received from medical centers around the country. We anticipate that negotiations currently in progress with still other institutions will be successful and expect that the total number of wounded children VFP will be able to accommodate at any given point in time should approach 200. Pediatric specialty services offered include Plastic Reconstructive Surgery, Orthopedic Surgery, Eye Surgery, Neurosurgery, Urological Surgery, Gastroenterological treatment and treatment for severe malnutrition. It is anticipated that children selected for treatment will remain in the United States for an average of 12 weeks and, following medical release, they will be returned to refugee camps in Europe or to their homes in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina if hostilities have ceased.

On September 8, 1993, three wounded children evacuated from the Bosnian city of Mostar to Croatia by a British nurse arrived at Andrews AFB. Two are being treated in Maine and one in Maryland. Six days later a fourth child, evacuated from Zenica arrived in the US and is also being treated in the state of Maine. We have been anticipating the evacuation of several wounded children from Belgrade since September 15 but, to date, we have received no assistance from the United Nations Medical Evacuation Committee in Sarajevo though reliable sources have reported that there are hundreds, perhaps even thousands of wounded Bosnian children who would benefit by evacuation, and many who might not otherwise survive.



**VETERANS FOR PEACE
CHILDREN OF WAR RESCUE PROJECT**

September 25, 1993

Nermina Omeragic, 13, was preparing medical supplies for distribution to the wounded in Mostar on August 14, 1993 when she was hit by mortar shell fragments. Her lower right leg was shattered and several inches of the tibia were destroyed. She was evacuated by a British nurse, Sally Becker, and was flown to Andrews AFB near Washington, DC by the US Air Force on September 8. Nermina was to be medevaced to Maine on September 12 but, following her arrival, a USAF flight surgeon determined that her wounds were badly infected and saving her leg became a race with time. An emergency flight was arranged and Nermina arrived in Maine on September 9 for immediate surgery at Maine Medical Center, Portland. A week later, muscle and blood vessels from her abdomen were transplanted to her lower, right leg. In about 8 weeks she will undergo a bone graft. Prognosis is very good. Nermina is accompanied by her brother, Nermin, 15.

Maja Kazacic, 16, of Mostar was hit by mortar shell fragments that severely wounded both of her legs and her left wrist. She underwent immediate surgery in a makeshift field hospital where her lower left leg was amputated without anesthesia. She was also evacuated by Sally Becker and flown to Andrews AFB by the USAF arriving on September 8. Her wounds were also badly infected. VFP members met the plane and took her to Memorial Medical Center, Cumberland, Maryland by ambulance for immediate surgery. Prognosis is very good. She is accompanied by her aunt, Mijda Paunovic.

Arnel Martinovic, 17, of Mostar was hit by artillery shell fragments causing major head wounds. We understand that he was evacuated by British forces without UN assistance. He was flown to Maine on September 12 by the USAF for possible neurosurgery at Central Maine Medical Center, Lewiston. Prognosis is guarded but optimistic. Arnel's father and 22-year-old brother were captured by Bosnian-Croat forces about six months ago. No word has been received from them since. They do not know that Arnel has been injured and is now in the United States with his mother, Zinetta.

Edin Mehinovic, 14, of Zenica was hit by mortar shell fragments on May 26, 1993. He suffered major damage to his left kidney, spinal cord and chest including laceration of the inferior vena cava. The vein was patched and his left kidney was surgically removed at Zenica. IOM and VFP have been trying to evacuate him since early June. On August 13, UNHCR-Zagreb reluctantly acquiesced to the evacuation but issued a statement emphasizing "that this little project is not a formal UNHCR Medevac program." Six other children also scheduled for evacuation from Zenica had, in the meantime, died. British troops finally evacuated Edin to Sarajevo on September 14 and he was medevaced to Italy the same day. On his arrival at Andrews AFB on

September 15 it was determined that he had received no pain killers for the past 6-8 weeks and was in a state of extreme mental anguish. He was transported by emergency medevac airlift to Brighton Medical Center, Portland, Maine on September 16. Prognosis is guarded but optimistic. He is accompanied by his mother, Hazemina, and brother, Esmir, 11.

Danijela Djokic, 14; Boban Stankovic, 13; and Svetlana Miljkovic, 12, all Serbian children suffering from gunshot wounds to the spinal column, are scheduled for evacuation from Belgrade to the US under the VFP Children of War Rescue Project within 2-3 weeks. Danijela and Svetlana have been accepted for treatment at Portsmouth Regional Hospital, Portsmouth, NH; Shriners Hospital for Crippled Children, Chicago, IL; and St. Mary's Regional Medical Center, Lewiston, ME, respectively.



ABOUT VETERANS FOR PEACE, INC. (VFP)

VFP is an organization of military veterans engaged in educational and humanitarian activities. It was founded and incorporated in the state of Maine on 8 July 1985, and was approved as a non-profit, tax-exempt organization under IRS Code 501(c)93 on 31 December 1986. VFP was granted official United Nations' Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) status on 20 November 1990. To date we have enrolled nearly 4,000 members in 50 states, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, and we have established 77 chapters nationally. In addition, we maintain a close working relationship with similar groups of military veterans in Canada, El Salvador, Great Britain, France, Israel, Japan, Hungary, Russia and Ghana.

Major VFP sponsored and organized projects include: a) A 17 member Fact-Finding Delegation to Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua in 1987; b) The Nicaragua Environmental Science Project which tested drinking water sources in rural villages to identify and correct or replace contaminated supplies in the interest of reducing the infant mortality rate; c) The Central America War Relief Project delivering medical and humanitarian aid to war torn communities in Nicaragua, Guatemala and El Salvador; d) A 50 member official Election Monitoring Team sent to monitor the 25 February 1990 Nicaraguan Presidential election; e) the Children of War Rescue Project (operated in cooperation with the International Organization for Migration of Washington, DC) identifying hospitals and physicians throughout the United States that will provide pro bono space and services for child war victims of the conflicts in the former Yugoslav republics; and f) educational activities and publications related to our prior military and ongoing humanitarian experiences. Other projects endorsed and supported by VFP include: a) Aktion Friedensdorf (Peace Village) at Oberhausen, Germany; b) The Alliance for Our Common Future; c) the Washington, DC VFP chapter's Stand For Peace Project; and d) the Albany, NY VFP chapter's SE Asia Medical Aid Project.

Full VFP membership is open to U.S. military veterans of all eras, military veterans of foreign nations who reside permanently in the U.S., and non-veterans who have served with the U.S. military in a professional capacity during a time and in an area of conflict. Immediate relatives of veterans are eligible for Associate membership.



ABOUT THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRATION
(IOM)

The IOM is an independent, non-profit, humanitarian organization founded in Brussels, Belgium in 1951. It later established its international headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland. Its purpose is to assist in and coordinate the relocation of refugees to areas where essential life support systems exist. The IOM has 50 offices around the world, including one in Washington, DC, and is supported by 46 member nations. Its work is coordinated with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and other international and national agencies.

The IOM has modeled its Medical Evacuation Program for Victims of Conflict in the Former Yugoslavia after its efforts, carried out over the last several years, in the rescue of victims of the Afghan war with the former Soviet Union, and the Kurdish people immediately following the recent Persian Gulf War. The IOM has already placed many victims of the conflicts in the former Yugoslav republics in Finland, Hungary, Norway and Switzerland where hospitals and healthcare professionals are providing critically needed care that is not available locally due to the ongoing war in that region. Germany and Italy are also preparing to receive patients under this program.

IOM funding for certain transportation and administrative costs is provided by a grant from the U.S. State Department Bureau for Refugee Programs. Additional transportation capacity is contributed by the U.S. Air Force Medical Airlift System through the Office of Global Affairs at the Pentagon. However, the largest source of support for the program in the United States comes from private hospitals and physicians around the country. All hospital space and medical treatment is offered on a *pro bono* (free-of-charge) basis.

For additional information concerning the IOM program, contact Nidia Foley, Alex Lupis or Clarissa Azkoul at IOM, 1750 K Street, NW, Suite 1110, Washington, DC 20006, Ph: (202) 862-1826.



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June 29, 1993

Jerry Genesio
 CEO/Executive Director
 VETERANS FOR PEACE
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 FAX: (207) 773-0804

Dear Mr. Genesio:

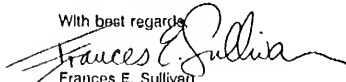
I wanted to take the time and write to you personally, on behalf of the International Organization for Migration (IOM), to thank you for the enormous efforts you have made in lining up hospital space for the wounded children of the former Yugoslavia. Your time and energy in this respect are crucial to the success of our Special Medical Program.

As we have discussed, the conditions in Sarajevo present a great many logistical and security challenges. Trying to carry out any program in a war zone situation is dangerous, but it becomes even more tenuous when trying to move people, injured people, out of harm's way to temporary medical care in another country. Due to these concerns, an evacuation from Sarajevo seems to be taking longer to organize than expected. We are experiencing the same situation in our attempted screening of nearly 200 identified medical cases in Tuzla, originally planned for June 13, but postponed to a later date, since the heavy fighting in the area precluded the IOM team from travelling to that city.

Although I know it has been difficult keeping the interest and commitment of hospitals in place through these many weeks of uncertainty about the projected evacuation of victims of war directly from Bosnia, I hope we can ask you and your hospitals to remain on board while IOM continues to pursue possibilities of evacuating some of these victims out of the conflict areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the end, the only way we can move them is if we can count on people like you to confirm that free hospital care and community support is ready and waiting.

Again, let me express our sincere appreciation for all your hard work to date, especially given the extremely difficult circumstances surrounding this program. I only hope you will be able to keep this wonderful effort going for a while, and that IOM will continue to be able to count on you and the members of your organization to help in this worthwhile humanitarian program. Thank you again.

With best regards


 Frances E. Sullivan
 Chief of Mission

WASHINGTON MISSION

International Emergency Medical Response Agency

I E M R A

IEMRA is a non-profit, international humanitarian aid organization that is providing urgently needed medical support to the former Yugoslavia. In order to continue and expand its mission of aid IEMRA is seeking the support of individuals, organizations and governments.

CONCEPTION

The International Emergency Medical Response Agency (IEMRA) was conceived in direct response to the current conflict in the former Yugoslavia, with the sole purpose of providing effective and efficient support to the regional medical infrastructures serving populations devastated by the conflict.

IEMRA was formed to address an unfulfilled niche in the overall aid effort, namely the supply of specific, urgently needed medicines and medical equipment to the exact points of need. In this way the aid supplied has the maximum effect on life and health.

STRATEGY

In Europe and the United States, IEMRA has generated funds from the public, private and business sectors. Support is also available from government funding bodies and other philanthropic organizations.

Through a compact, non-bureaucratic structure these funds are used in the most efficient and effective way possible to provide medical relief to the former Yugoslavia. IEMRA takes a 'marketing' approach to the business of international aid - finding out exactly what is needed, obtaining it and delivering it exactly where it is needed. This targeted approach allows IEMRA to keep the percentage of funds spent directly on aid relatively high, (a minimum of 70% of donated funds is spent on medical aid) and allows the costs of delivering aid to be kept to a minimum.

Discussions with the seven national associations of the U.S. pharmaceutical industry have resulted in an agreement whereby short dated pharmaceuticals will be donated to IEMRA for humanitarian use. However, this agreement will not be brought to action until the State Department approves the transport of IEMRA's U.S. originated aid to Europe by the Department of Defense, Humanitarian Affairs section.

IEMRA has received encouragement for its activities in the former Yugoslavia from State Department humanitarian funding offices. This is in response to operations already carried out, and IEMRA's increasing ability to provide specific aid to specific points in the Yugoslavia. There is also interest in the potential for IEMRA to deliver aid to areas and towns in parts of former Yugoslavia that have been cut off from aid for long periods. This at a fraction of the current cost of the international air drops being conducted in these areas.

METHOD

Medical shortages are assessed in the hospitals, clinics and refugee centres. This information is relayed to Munich, Germany where information from other aid organizations is also taken into account in order to prevent delivery of redundant aid, and lists of priority medicines and medical equipment are drawn up. To date IEMRA has been supplying medical aid to the Sarajevo hospitals, but with expanding resources will target over 60 hospitals and clinics in Bosnia alone, as well as many others throughout the former Yugoslavia.

These medical supplies are obtained either from doctors and organizations collecting medicines for the former Yugoslavia, or are purchased at discount from pharmaceutical and medical supply companies. For example, IEMRA's relationship with Bayer AG (Germany) allows pharmaceuticals and other medical supplies to be bought at cost. In addition, Bayer provides a 30% of volume donation on top of the order. In one operation IEMRA flew in a consignment of post-operative antibiotics that had not been available in Sarajevo in over a year.

STRUCTURE

Once established as a Foundation IEMRA will be headquartered in Cologne, Germany, convenient to pharmaceutical corporations, government and military air bases. This will be the centre of management, finance and buying, co-ordinating and controlling all of IEMRA's activities.

The centre of operations will be in Zagreb, Croatia, where all activities from need identification to aid distribution operations will be coordinated. At full planned size in the former Yugoslavia there will also be three mobile field offices providing extended control and support for operational activities. These will be staffed and operated by international medical and logistics personnel.

The United States program (IEMRA U.S.A.) will be a financial and physical aid generation branch of IEMRA, registered under its own auspices and involved in its own autonomous aid generation programs. The potential impact on aid provision to the former Yugoslavia of IEMRA's current discussions and agreements in the United States is huge, and represents a new channel of humanitarian aid if tapped.

The current situation in the Balkans is characterised by extreme uncertainty. The international community, led by the United States, Britain, France and Russia is trying to establish a frame work for bringing

about peace and hopefully long term resolution of the tensions in the region.

No matter how quickly peace comes, the medical infrastructures in Croatia, Bosnia and Serbia have been almost destroyed and are *entirely* dependent on outside support.

Despite the uncertain political and social future of the region, there should be no question as to what the international communities' obligation is. Those suffering in this conflict have a strong moral claim to international generosity.

The potential that IEMRA has created for providing medical aid to these people in the manner planned can make a substantial difference to the lives of the victims of this crisis. To link the different elements, and realize the potential of this project, requires positive steps in Washington DC from a few key people, and the support of those who want more done in the former Yugoslavia.

- IEMRA -

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SURVIVING SARAJEVO

Shocked at the situation in Bosnia and the world's inaction, a Munich-based photographer establishes an international foundation to provide medical relief.

by Ian McMaster and Anne Midgette

When John Ashton arrived in Sarajevo in July, 1992, he hadn't thought much about the war in the former Yugoslavia. He was there, in fact, as the result of a chance meeting at a reception in Vienna. Invited by an official from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees to come along and see what was happening, Ashton arranged to visit Sarajevo for two days and send photographs of the war back to American magazines. As a photographer, Ashton had seen wars before: six of them, in fact, from Beirut to Afghanistan. But nothing had prepared him for what was waiting in Sarajevo. On his way to the airport for his flight out on the second day, he stopped by one of the city's hospitals to take a few photographs.

"What I saw," he says, "was shocking. Forty-seven victims arrived in a 20-minute period, almost all of them women and children, brutally wounded by mortar rounds. The screaming, the moans, the dying, were almost unbearable." He put his cameras down and started cutting the clothes off the wounded with a pair of scissors. Once the situation was stable, a young doctor invited him into the operating theater to watch the surgeries. "I stayed for six hours, watching operation after operation with no oxygen or anesthesia. I asked Dr. Abdullah Nakash, the Chief of Surgery, why they were not using oxygen. He replied, 'We ran out of everything five days ago.'"

Some people would be paralyzed in such a situation. John Ashton was spurred to action. The 37-year-old American, once a chef in Washington, D.C., had received paramedical training when he was in the Coast Guard in the early 1970s, and saw a way to help. Abandoning his job as a celebrity photographer in New York, he opted to stay in Bosnia.

The hospital became his home for the next nine months. Working in the emergency room, he helped stabilize the con-



War Torn: the bewildered gaze of a Bosnian child, safe now in a refugee camp, reflects the horrors of war.

dition of incoming patients, probing the extent of their wounds, draining blood from wounded lungs and performing minor operations on arm and leg injuries. At night, he worked on the wards; by day, he took photos and helped with local medical logistics. One of his first actions was to collect all the empty oxygen bottles so that, with the help of the UN, they could be flown out and refilled. And he returned to Germany once a month to pick up essential medicines for hospitals and refugee camps, and to build up a network of supporters and suppliers in Europe and the United States.

But there's a limit to how much one person, working alone, can do. Even though he was driving medical supplies through dangerous territory, saving lives by performing emergency procedures at the hospital, and bringing in medicines from Germany, Ashton felt there had to be a better way to help. Plus, the constant risk imperils individual action. "If I'm killed," says Ashton, "I can't help these people any more."

The risk was brought home to him soon after his arrival when running across an intersection targeted by Sarajevo's omnipresent Serbian snipers. Ashton was shot through the leg. They get a reward for killing journalists," he says. "Four friends of mine went in front of me, and I could see the snipers on the bridge, talking and not doing anything. Then I started across with my camera, and there was a quick movement on the bridge of a man taking aim." One of the whizzing bullets went through his leg, as he raised himself on his arms, another bullet passed within inches of his stomach. On the same day, CNN journalist Margaret Moth was shot in the face near the airport. "If you're there," Ashton says, "it's only a matter of time."

Ashton was lucky; the surgeon in Sarajevo had specialized in ski-team injuries, and repaired the tendons in his ugly wound one by one. Doctors had said he'd never walk again; but, after a month of recuperation in Munich's Bogenhausen hospital, Ashton was back at work in Sarajevo. However, the experience opened his eyes to

the danger. After a close colleague was killed on Christmas Day trying to help John get out of a dangerous situation, the pleas of the doctors at the Sarajevo hospital that he could help more by mobilizing support from abroad than by being murdered on the front line began to sound convincing.

What was needed was an organization which could administer aid relief on the

"Death and violence are nothing more than television novelties to most people; but scratch their BMWs, walk up the steps too noisily after 10:00 p.m., and you've committed a horrendous crime."

—John Ashton, Sarajevo journal

intimate scale. Ashton was already providing bringing desperately-needed supplies and equipment directly to the hospitals which had requested them. The problem with most existing organizations, says Ashton, is that they operate on too large a scale, providing hospitals with huge quantities of a single item, but not necessarily the item that hospital needs. "The main problem is the sheer scale of the disaster," he explains. Praising the efforts of the UNHCR, the International Red Cross (IRC), Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF), and the World Health Organization (WHO), he adds that the tragedy is so large that "they simply can't cope."

Thus, on January 2, 1993, in Munich, the International Emergency Medical Response Agency (IEMRA) was born. To-

gether with New Zealander Tony Gardner, whom he had met during his recovery in Munich last August, Ashton co-founded the organization as a way officially to continue the work he had begun. Currently operating out of a Munich apartment, IEMRA has already flown in small loads of medical supplies, including antibiotics, which have been unavailable for a year in some hospitals. Firms such as Bayer Leverkusen soon agreed to contribute, and the Marburger Bund, a German medical association noted for its support of aid organizations, is fully behind the effort.

"We're filling a specific niche," says Tony Gardner, who brings a background in business and market consulting to his post as business manager of IEMRA. "Our small size and unburgeaucratic nature mean we can be much more flexible and supply hospitals directly with the most urgently-needed medicines at the time they need them. Our Zagreb office will receive requests directly from the hospitals and pass the information on to us." Ashton adds that there's no question of competition between the aid organizations. "The others are happy to have all the help they can get. And we're happy to take their supplies to hospitals, too, if we can help. All that matters is getting the stuff where it's needed, regardless of who does what."

Shellshock: most drivers are afraid to use this empty street, which often comes under heavy fire. Surrounded by wreckage, a boy on a bicycle takes the risk.



Survivors: one of the concerns of the aid organization I.E.M.R.A is the fate of the civilian population in war-torn Bosnia after the actual conflict is over.

Of late, activity at IEMRA has gained momentum, preparatory to the opening of its new headquarters in Cologne this August. Together with the Munich-based enterprise Famosa Consulting, a start-up and development adviser group for charities, Ashton and Gardner have drawn up a busi-

"One woman in Sarajevo said, 'I remember watching T.V. coverage of Lebanon 12 years ago, knowing nothing like that could ever happen here, to us.'"

—John Ashton, Sarajevo

ness plan showing how the foundation will be set up and expanded in coming years. Among other things, the plan calls for a U.S. office to organize fund-raising; in the meantime, IEMRA is being financed through donations and the personal savings of its two co-founders. Determined to keep their administrative costs at a minimum, Ashton and Gardner are exploring every possible source of financing in an effort to raise the

Continued on page 32

SUPPORTING SERBIANS
Continued from page 23

money they need to be in a "official" form, they are organized as a foundation. Most of the money is used to lease the vehicles to start digging roads out from Split and Zagreb. The first trucks have the first tracks on the road by the end of August.

With the infrastructure they've drawn up, Ashton and Gardner hope to create an organization capable of providing help on a world-wide basis, wherever it's needed, even

At a Serbian checkpoint:

"It is extremely hard to face these men and smile at their jokes, because you know they have murdered unarmed people in cold blood."

—John Ashton, Sarajevo journal

after the terrible Balkan war is finally over. And "even if the war ends tomorrow," says Ashton, "it will require a further three to five years to deal with the mountain of physical and psychological problems that will be left behind."

Performing an arterial bypass on a six-year-old boy without anaesthetic, just to keep him alive long enough to get him into the operating room for his other wounds, watching doctors amputate the leg of a young woman, one month pregnant, who rushed out of shelter to try to help the victim of a shelling, only to be hit herself by the next round, seeing people bleed to death in the emergency room from relatively minor injuries, because there aren't enough doctors to attend to them all, comforting a woman who pleads with the doctors to save her life as her intestines spill out on the hospital bed. John Ashton has seen enough of the horrors of war in the former Yugoslavia. And he's working to try to alleviate them, to prevent the deaths that can be avoided and convince Sarajevo's citizens that not everyone in the world has turned their backs.

For further information about IEMRA and details of how you can help, contact IEMRA, c/o Marburger Band, Reichler Straße 6, 50668 Köln (tel. 0221/73 31 73). Donations can be sent by check (payable to IEMRA) or transferred to the foundation's account at the Deutsche Apotheke- und Arztebank Köln e.G. BLZ 370 606 15, account number 000 368 1629.

Spotlight

HERAUSGEBER Spotlight Verlag GmbH

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des Chefredakteurs) Elisabeth Erpf, Peter Gimm
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Dienst)

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(USA/Kanada), John Smithback

GESTALTUNG Gisela Wenberger

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München/Postfach 50, 80786 Giesing
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VERTRIEB HANDEL/MZV/Belecker Str. 5
63386 Eschweg, Bernd Zoell, Tel. (089) 31900627

DRUCK Manpress Reiter Druck und Verlag
Aachen GmbH & Co. KG, 51084 Würzburg

LITHO Reproduktions-Kammer, 80799 München

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Tel. (089) 8 54 82-13 ANZEIGENVERLEUF Egon F.
Naber, MS, Wiesbaden, 1 49082 Oberndorf, Tel.
(0541) 5 23 93-4 Fax: 5 53 28, Verlagsservice H.-J.
West, Fulda, 11 23994 Lohr, Tel. (0451) 30 69 70 Fax: 30 31 06, Nielsen I und VI
Egon F. Naber, MS, Nielsen II und III, Verlag Meda
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60313 Frankfurt/Main, Tel. (069) 28 83 57 Fax: 28
02 95, Nielsen IIIA, Medienbüro Petra Zouek,
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Steinb. 6, CH-8002 Zürich, Tel. (0641) 1 202 3091
Fax: 022 6261, (Schweiz)

Anglo-Amerikan, Steinhilf, ISSN: 0722-0206
erscheint monatlich, jeweils am letzten Mittwoch des
Vormonats. Zur Zeit ist Anzeigenpreisliste Nr. 8 ab
Ausgabe 193 gültig. Satz, Druck und Aufnahme
ohne Verbindlichkeit. Abonnementpreis im
Postvertrieb jährlich DM 89,- GS 89,- SFR 89,-. Der
Abonnementvertrag beginnt im Juni. Das Abonnement
verlängert sich automatisch um ein weiteres Jahr,
wenn es nicht 2 Monate vor Ablauf schriftlich
gekündigt wird. Bei Nichtzustellung im Fall typischer
Gewalt, bei Störungen des Betriebes, bei
Anschlußstreit (Strom, Auslieferung) besteht keine
Ansprüche gegen den Verlag. Für unentgeltliche
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Raffineriebahn, Zionsberg 40, (BLZ 700 166 19),
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Postsparkasse München, (BLZ 700 100 100),
Konto-Nr. 3 738 35485
Schweizer Kreditanstalt Zürich
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1x S, 55 1x S, 70 BIA 1x S, 10 1x S, 50 1x S, 63
Conlast 1x S, 5 1x S, 40, Engemeyer 1x S, 17
S. Fischer Verlag 1x S, 70 B. Herold 1x S, 5 enter
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1x S, 29, Okabe 1x S, 51, rrr 1x S, 70 J. Rubin/
JB Pictures, Foca 2x S, 52 2x S, 93 Superbooster
Verlag 1x S, 20 1x S, 21, K. Teusch 1x S, 50
1x S, 51 L. Turner 1x S, 12

Er war Matrose, Koch und Schickeria-Fotograf. Bis er vor einem Jahr aus der New Yorker Szene in das Grauen auf dem Balkan geriet und statt geflühter Stars verstümmelte Leichen ablichtete. John Ashton resignierte nicht, sondern wurde aktiv.

SPOTLIGHT: John, what exactly is the International Emergency Medical Response Agency, IEMRA?
ASHTON: It's an organization that responds to the immediate needs of hospitals in areas of war or extreme poverty. We supply specialized medicines for victims or other patients.

SPOTLIGHT: What is the background to the organization? How and why did you get it set up?

ASHTON: I worked in former Yugoslavia in Sarajevo and in central Bosnia, and I made contact with the hospitals in Croatian and Serbian territory. And I found out that these hospitals were just not receiving even half of what they actually needed from the other organizations.

SPOTLIGHT: How did you come to be in former Yugoslavia in the first place?

ASHTON: I went down there as a photojournalist, and I only planned to go for two days. But then I walked into a hospital and saw the situation. I have a paramedical background, so when I saw surgeries being done without anesthesia and without oxygen [I was shocked]. I realized that these are simple things to get to former Yugoslavia. So I went to the UN and I helped them come up with a plan to get the oxygen bottles out, and this is what started my interest in the hospital system there. Sometimes we had over 100 victims in a one-hour period, and we could not cope with the situation. We'd run out of simple things. We would boil the gauze and re-use it on another patient. And we'd do the same with needles and plastic gloves. Everything we'd boil and re-use if we could do it. I was coming to Germany every three weeks for maybe a week's rest, and I met people here in the German community who were willing to help, sending small

amounts of medicine, giving small amounts of money for me to buy medicine. That worked quite well. But it was only supplying enough for a couple of days each time I went back in. And the situation became so dangerous, because I was still trying to make a living as a photographer. Come Christmas time, when my friends were starting to get wounded and killed around me, I decided to get out and do something from the outside, bringing medical supplies in to hospitals in former Yugoslavia.

SPOTLIGHT: A large number of organizations are already working in the Balkan war area, as you mentioned, including the United Nations, the International Red Cross and the World Health Organization. Is another organization really necessary?

ASHTON: Absolutely. The problem is, many of these organizations are spread out around the world. What we have decided to do is to start with former Yugoslavia and work with one problem at a time. And we approached these organizations and talked to them about the problems they were having, and how we could fill a certain niche in their programme. And they were very happy to have someone else come in with trucks, with medicines, because they cannot handle it all themselves.

SPOTLIGHT: And how can you be sure that the medicines you send to former Yugoslavia reach the hospitals that they're meant for?

ASHTON: We put everything into the system immediately. It goes straight to our warehouses in Zagreb and Split, and straight on a truck as the hospital calls for it. Within two to three days the hospital can have their supplies — as opposed to the other organizations that often take three to four weeks. What we're planning to do is

ENCOUNTER

have each truck manifested and have the chief of each hospital sign for his manifest, and also to [notify] the donors who give large donations that he has received their goods.

SPOTLIGHT: A lot of readers will have read in recent weeks about the collapse of the near collapse of the United Nations' aid efforts. You're convinced that IEMRA can succeed despite these difficulties?

ASHTON: Absolutely. I've worked with the local commanders. I've travelled through their front lines many a time, and I've established a good relationship with them, so that we can travel without the UN. But at the same time we have to give their hospitals medication, and it has to be a very diplomatic operation. They're all very upset with the United Nations, because they expected the UN to come in and stop the war, which was not the United Nations' mandate. So they harass the convoys and make it very difficult for the UN to get through, whereas private donors get their supplies through. The Red Cross doesn't even use UN escorts. They talk to local commanders and deal with local doctors.

SPOTLIGHT: You've worked as a photographer in a number of war areas, including Lebanon and Afghanistan. How does the situation in former Yugoslavia compare?

ASHTON: This war is the most inhumane, immoral war I've ever seen in my life. Here everything is being completely burned, everyone is being slaughtered because of their ethnic background. Every woman who is captured basically is raped



John Ashton, executive director of the International Emergency Medical Response Agency (IEMRA), talks to Ian McMaster.

in some sectors of this war. 4.8 million people have had to leave their homes, more than 386,000 — almost 400,000 — people have died in one year in Bosnia alone. It's appalling what's happening there. And the international community just doesn't seem to be standing up to its promises to try to halt this conflict.

SPOTLIGHT: How long do you anticipate that IEMRA will be working in former Yugoslavia?

ASHTON: If the war stopped tomorrow, I imagine we would probably have to work there another five years just to get the infrastructure back up to a sub-standard level, where it can function without support. We're taking four per cent of our donations and putting them aside in a special ac-

count. After the war is over we will donate this money to the reconstruction or re-equipping of hospitals. These hospitals in former Yugoslavia were very much like the modern hospitals in America or Germany. All the hospitals had Siemens X-ray equipment and IBM technology. But they're deliberately targeted as military targets, and this has destroyed a lot of the equipment there. They're using car headlights, with car batteries, over the operating table. That's the only light available for surgery. It's very easy to make a mistake under these conditions.

SPOTLIGHT: John, thank you very much for talking to SPOTLIGHT, and good luck with your project.

ASHTON: Thank you very much.

agency | eidzəns | — Agentur
to respond — reagieren
poetry — Poesie
victim — Opfer
background — Hintergrund
surgeon — Chirurgie, hier: Operation
anaesthetic | ˌænzˌθetɪk | — Narkose
oxygen | ˈɒksɪdʒən | — Sauerstoff
to cope with — fertig werden mit
gaze — Gaze
community — Gemeinschaft, Gemeinde
wounded — verwundet
warehouse — (Waren-)Lager
as opposed to — im Gegensatz zu
to manifest — hier: verzeichnen in einer Liste
führen, registrieren
to notify — informieren, benachrichtigen

donor — Spender(in)
aid — Hilfe
dispute — Streit
upset — aufgebracht, verärgert
to harass | hærəs | — stören, hier: angreifen
to slaughter | slɔːlə | — abschlachten
medicament —
to capture — gefangennehmen
to rape — vergewaltigen
appalling — erschreckend, entsetzlich
to anticipate — erwarten
to equip — ausrüsten, ausstatten, einrichten
X-ray — Röntgenstrahlen
deliberate | dɪləˈberət | — vorsätzlich, bewußt
to target — zur Zielscheibe machen
headlamp — (Auto-)Scheinwerfer

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733 173). Donations to IEMRA can
be sent by cheque or transferred
to their account at the Deutsche
Apotheker- und Ärztebank Köln e.G.,
BLZ 37060615, account number
000 368 1629.**

You can hear the original
version of this interview on
this month's SPOTLIGHT
cassette.

Spotlight 67

International Emergency Medical
Response Agency

- *IEMRA* -

Business Plan

(Summary)

(Revised 3.09.93 - English)

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CHARTER

The International Emergency Medical Response Agency offers immediate medical assistance to populations in distress and institutions serving those populations.

The International Emergency Medical Response Agency is an independent, highly responsive, non-bureaucratic, non-profit humanitarian aid organization with the charter of providing specific, urgently needed medical aid to site specific locations.

The International Emergency Medical Response Agency follows a policy of strict neutrality and impartiality. We support the universal right to humanitarian aid and demand unhindered freedom of action in pursuit of the fulfillment of this charter.

MISSION STATEMENT

IEMRA's first and current mission is to respond to urgent requests for specific medical aid from hospitals, clinics, refugee centers and other medical aid organizations in the former Yugoslavia.

Distribution of aid is executed by IEMRA directly to those points of need according to prenegotiated agreements with all sides in the conflict. IEMRA recognizes the right of the victims of this conflict to humanitarian aid, to request assistance, and demand freedom of activity in pursuit of this mission.

IEMRA's increasing ability to quickly and consistently deliver specific medical supplies fulfills a role unable to be met by other aid organizations operating in the former Yugoslavia. In addition, IEMRA will take an active role in the rebuilding of the region's the medical infrastructure in the post-conflict period.

Background

Working in the front line hospital system in the former Yugoslavia for almost nine months, I witnessed the degeneration of the most advanced medical system in Eastern Europe. Many of the hospitals were comparable to those in western countries, but have been reduced to a level of care that would not be accepted in the west because of heavy shelling, lack of medical supplies, and often no water or electricity.

Delivery is part of the problem, but simply procuring specifically needed items seems to be a difficult task for even the most experienced of the international organizations. Through discussions with the medical communities in Germany and the United States, I have discovered that getting those supplies is possible.

I have established an excellent relationship with most of the Non-Government Organizations and parties involved in the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, in doing so recognizing a weakness in the aid effort and a niche that IEMRA has been designed to fill.

John Ashton
Executive Director.

Strategic Plan

IEMRA's underlying philosophy is to provide requested medical aid to site specific locations. Conceptually, this can be seen as 'aid marketing' - finding out exactly what is needed where, and ensuring it gets to those points of need. To achieve this goal consistently, IEMRA will limit its number of commitments, focusing on the former Yugoslavia in the foreseeable future.

Situation Analysis

The current situation in the former Yugoslavia region is characterised by uncertainty. The international community, led by the United States, Britain, France and Russia is trying to establish a framework for bringing about peace and hopefully long term resolution of the conflict and tensions in the former Yugoslavia.

Events in the region obviously effect IEMRA directly, hindering or helping aid efforts. However, the medical infrastructure in Croatia, Bosnia and Serbia has already been severely damaged and is entirely dependent on outside support. Further conflict only increases damage to the system, the amount of resources necessary to support and restore its capabilities, and the urgency of IEMRA's mission.

Regardless of immediate peace or continued conflict, it is imperative that health and medical support to the region increases. IEMRA is dedicated to support of the health system in the former Yugoslavia during and after this conflict, hence while each development potentially influences IEMRA's operational activities and short term goals, medium and long term goals of support remain unchanged.

IEMRA's role in the overall aid effort in the former Yugoslavia is filling a niche in the supply of specific, urgently needed medical supplies. The United Nations group of organizations and other Non-Government Organisations (NGO's) are doing much to address both medical and non-medical needs, however they are not able to fully meet general needs and there is a particular deficiency in the supply of requested and specific aid. IEMRA operates in a targeted manner, supplying specifically needed items to 'site specific' locations, and works closely with other organizations active in the region. There is a real and recognized need for further help and IEMRA's expansion will have a synergistic effect on the aid effort.

Aid Generation and Distribution

Traditionally humanitarian aid is generated largely through financial support for the aid organization, which then uses the funds to operate and purchase the necessary aid. This is supplemented by physical donations. Given the expense of aid, particularly medical aid, decreasing the reliance on financial procurement and opening up a direct link between the medical industry and the aid community would substantially benefit aid efforts.

IEMRA is negotiating with the American pharmaceutical industry to make available pharmaceuticals to IEMRA for humanitarian use. Motivated by humanitarian concern, this agreement will also provide public relations and financial benefits to the industry and frees financial resources for IEMRA to use in procuring other aid more difficult to obtain.

IEMRA's logistical strategy in the conflict zone is to use its own transport infrastructure to ensure that requested and specific aid is delivered to site specific locations in accordance with prenegotiated agreements with all parties involved, international and those in conflict. Operations will be conducted from three locations, specifically Zagreb, Split and Belgrade to provide different options for gaining access to specific locations.

Form and Growth

The charter IEMRA has defined is the effective and efficient support of medical structures serving populations devastated by disaster and conflict. The goals of IEMRA are not short, term and it is planned to change focus from the former Yugoslavia with time. However, for current purposes the situation in the former Yugoslavia is IEMRA's 'raison d'être'. In order to best approach this and future missions it is necessary to examine; 1) the resources necessary to operate effectively

and efficiently; and 2) the form of organization most suited to the task and to organizational goals.

The resources necessary to effectively and efficiently carry out the stated charter and mission are organizational, physical, and financial. IEMRA is currently establishing the organizational structure to facilitate the coordination and control of the mission. (This is dealt with more fully under Structure). Physical resources are the means for carrying out the tasks required and will be obtained as they are needed. The most important single resource is financial, hence a considerable part of IEMRA's activities are directed at generating the necessary funds. As outlined in the Programs section, IEMRA is fund raising via a number of methods; the principle being application to private and government funding bodies, working with the medical manufacturing community, the running of mass fund raising campaigns, and approaching individuals and organizations. Given the difficulty of funding humanitarian aid efforts and the general cost of medicines, IEMRA is placing an emphasis on the relationship with the U.S. pharmaceutical industry to ease the reliance on financial support.

In order to attract essential resources outlined above, the organizational form must be substantial and secure, and operations effective and efficient. Through knowledge and experience IEMRA is establishing a structure that can provide support to the medical field in the former Yugoslavia, and other regions in the future. *The key task, then, is to establish an organization with these capabilities and to attract those essential resources.*

Based in Germany, the form taken must conform to German law. IEMRA is registering in Germany as a 'Stiftung' (literally a Foundation), which in Germany is a secure and respected type of institution. This security is largely based on the capital investment requirement which must remain intact while the Foundation operates. The benefits to IEMRA of this legal form are financial security which ensures stability, and the fact that the inherent qualities of a Foundation are well suited to attracting the necessary resources.

IEMRA is in the process of legalization and registration in Germany, Switzerland, and the U.S. Until full legal status is granted, IEMRA will continue to operate under the auspices of the German medical association Marburger Bund, itself a Foundation in Europe, and is negotiating the same arrangement with the American Medical Association in the U.S.

The urgent situation in the former Yugoslavia has persuaded IEMRA to pursue a dual path of growth; primarily establishing the Foundation in Germany and aid generation branch in the U.S., but also expanding operations to provide whatever relief possible. With establishment and growth IEMRA will expand according to a strategic plan of increasing resources and capabilities with the constant goal of planning and implementing an effective and efficient aid mechanism that will significantly and positively effect human health.

Structure

IEMRA will be headquartered in Cologne, Germany, convenient to pharmaceutical corporations, government, and logistics facilities that will be utilised. This will be the center of management, finance and procurement, co-ordination, and control of all IEMRA activities.

The Zagreb office will be the operations center in the former Yugoslavia, coordinating the aid distribution process. Field staff will include Medical Officers, Escort Officers, drivers and warehouse personnel. Three mobile field offices, staffed and operated by medical and logistics personnel, are also planned for the former Yugoslavia.

The United States program will be an aid generation branch of IEMRA, based in Washington D.C., registered under its own auspices, and involved in autonomous aid generation programs, though under the direction of Cologne. This office will have responsibility for all activity in North America.

IEMRA is being staffed by a compact core of professionals in a 'flat', team oriented structure in three locations; Cologne, Washington and the former Yugoslavia. With responsibility in the hands of those carrying out the tasks, IEMRA will operate as effectively and directly as possible, avoiding administrative and bureaucratic inefficiencies.

Growth

The expansion of IEMRA will follow a precise path that will establish the Head Office in Cologne and aid generation capabilities in the U.S., expand humanitarian aid operations in the former Yugoslavia, and then further increase aid generation activities in Europe and the U.S.

As a scale for expansion, amount of finance available for growth is the most appropriate as this is the greatest variable in the growth equation. After establishing the Cologne Office, funds will be allocated as laid out in the Finance section, between activity costs and actual aid.

Personnel

IEMRA is recruiting a small number of people, experienced in the areas in which they will work, to form a compact and effective team. The unusual circumstances in the former Yugoslavia have produced a specific job market where experience is extremely important. The region has skilled and knowledgeable logistics and medical personnel, and it is from this group that IEMRA will recruit international and local staff to fill the necessary roles.

Former Yugoslavia

The current crisis in the former Yugoslavia is IEMRA's first mission, with the goal of immediate and future support of the medical field in the former Yugoslavia. Realized in the first instance through the provision of medical aid to the hospitals, clinics, refugee centers and other aid agencies active in the region, and in the medium and long term support in rebuilding the regional infrastructure.

IEMRA's role is strictly neutral, with no partiality shown to any side in the conflict, and IEMRA calls on the universal right to humanitarian aid, to request assistance, and to demand freedom of action in this humanitarian mission.

Zagreb Office

The Zagreb operations office will be staffed by internationals and locals with specific experience in the relevant areas. This office will co-ordinate the activities of the Zagreb, Belgrade, and Split warehouses that will provide logistical capabilities from different geographical directions to the different areas in need.

Finance

IEMRA's finances will be centered in Cologne, Germany, where the Financial Manager will control the flow and accounting of funds. Funds generated outside of Germany will be transferred there, with the exception of operating and procurement funds required in the U.S., which will be retained by that office from funds generated there.

Budgeting

The budget per se has not been included in the Business Plan, however two budget summaries follow. The first refers to the initial capital IEMRA requires to establish the Cologne office and begin regular aid operations. The second summary refers to IEMRA at full planned size, *to achieve this will require a building process (dealt with under Growth) and budgets during that process will be considerably smaller, based on the growth steps planned.*

Budget Summaries - Europe (Conversion Rate DM > US .5917 as at 2.09.93)

I: Initial Capital Requirements

Equipment and Establishment.....	US	23,076
Operating (per month).....	US	18,936

NB: These operating costs are as accurate as possible for this operating level, however this is still only a projection of costs.

II : IEMRA at Full Planned Size - Europe and the U.S.

Total Capital (Start-up) Requirements	US	4.000,526
Total (Monthly) Operating Requirements	US	465,668
Total (Monthly) Medical Aid	US	1.420,080
Total (Monthly) Funding Requirements	US	1.885,748
Annual aid per victim.....	US	5,56

Banking

Bank accounts in Germany will be the central mechanism for allocating funds to the different aspects of operating. This will include an account that will hold a percentage of donations to be allocated after the conflict for regeneration of the health care infrastructure in the former Yugoslavia. The Deutsche Apotheker- und Ärztebank e.G will provide the required banking services in Germany.

Legal

IEMRA is being registered under German law as a non-profit Stiftung (Foundation), in the legal district of Cologne. This status entitles IEMRA to tax free benefits and allows the issue of tax deduction certificates to donors and sponsors. The U.S. branch will be registered in America under its own {IEMRA (U.S.A.)} auspices as a non-profit organization, under U.S. / IRS 501C3 registration. Legal establishment as a non-profit humanitarian organization will also be carried out in Switzerland to provide legal representation in that country where much of the world's peace and humanitarian community resides.

The required legal structure of IEMRA includes a Board of Trustees, Executive Board and nominated management. The two Boards are the ultimate sources of authority and legal representation of the organization. Authority necessary to manage the organization and represent it legally will be conferred by the Boards onto management staff.

Programs

Activities related to the generation of funds and aid are classified as Programs, while activities aimed at the distribution of aid are classified as Operations. IEMRA's primary focus in aid generation is funds, as this is the most flexible form of aid and can be used to buy the specific medical supplies that will be needed. To generate the necessary funds IEMRA uses a number of methods of fund raising;



- 1) Formal Funding Proposals
Various government and private organizations in Europe and the United States that provide funding for humanitarian organizations.
- 2) Advertising and Direct Marketing
Given the seriousness of the Yugoslav crisis and extensive and in-depth media coverage it is cost effective to fund raise through targeted appeals to different groups in the community using advertising and direct marketing.
- 3) Networking
Being in contact with a large number and wide variety of organizations and individuals has resulted in an ever growing network that provides support to IEMRA in a number of ways, including funding.

The U.S. Pharmaceutical Program is a primary aid generation program, with goals of physical and financial support. As outlined under Strategy, this program is based on benefits to both the industry and IEMRA and has the goal of providing a direct link between the producers of pharmaceuticals and those who need them urgently.

An important aspect of fund raising is the offering of the possibility of tax deductions to donors. Due to the nature of IEMRA, the Cologne legal district has granted IEMRA the right to a provisional tax number prior to having its full legal capital requirement in place. Related to this is the increase in tax deductions available when a donor enters into a sponsorship type relationship with IEMRA in Germany, an option that will be used in our relations with larger donors in this country. In the U.S., the IRS 501C3 status will allow tax deduction benefits to donors.

Operations - Former Yugoslavia

Operations are a process that begins with need identification, procuring the required medical aid, and distribution of that aid to the site specific points of need. The Cologne office will be active in each phase and will co-ordinate with both Zagreb and the U.S. with regard to their roles.

Cologne

The Cologne Office will be the center of all activities; carrying out central financial, fund raising, public relations and management functions. This office will guide and support the Zagreb operational office and the U.S. fund raising branch.

Zagreb

IEMRA's office in Zagreb will be the coordination and control center for the entire aid distribution logistics system in the former Yugoslavia region. It will support and advise the operations out of Split, Belgrade and the three mobile field offices currently planned for Sarajevo, Pale and Zenica. This office will control finances in the former Yugoslavia and work closely in coordination with Cologne.

Aid Distribution

Through this mission, IEMRA will provide aid to as many medical institutions in the former Yugoslavia as it can effectively and efficiently support while achieving its goal of targeted provision of aid. Over sixty medical institutions in Bosnia have been identified and the Croatian Ministry of Health is compiling a similar list of Croatian institutions for IEMRA. A policy of targeting specific aid where it is needed means IEMRA will not attempt to provide blanket coverage of all needs, but rather focused medical support where it is most needed.

Identification and Ordering of Medical Supplies

Medical Officers in the field will be the primary mechanism for identifying and assessing medical needs. This information will be combined with that collected by Escort Drivers on delivery of supplies, requests from the institutions themselves and information provided by the International Committee of Voluntary Agencies (ICVA), to prioritize medical needs. Ordering of medical supplies needed will then be referred to Cologne by Zagreb. At this stage the possible sources of particular supplies will be approached, in Europe and the U.S., and those supplies procured as quickly as possible.

Logistics

If procured in the U.S. the supplies will be transported via commercial or military aircraft to Germany or directly to the former Yugoslavia. If procured in Germany, the aid will be flown or trucked to the same warehouses in Zagreb or Split. From these locations IEMRA's own vehicles will transport the aid to the institutions that need it, ensuring site specific provision of the aid.

This logistical system will rely on a fleet of trucks and vans of different types to transport aid to the different destinations. In potentially dangerous areas international drivers will be used, and where safe, local drivers will be contracted. Warehouses will hold transit goods, and be the staging points for convoys.

To gain access to these areas IEMRA will prenegotiate agreements with all parties concerned. By observing strict impartiality, and travelling independently, IEMRA will avoid many of the access difficulties experienced by the United Nations because of their unavoidable political associations. In risk areas deliveries will be accompanied by Escort Drivers in order to provide support and representation for the delivery. However, it is a goal of IEMRA's to be accepted by the United Nations as eligible to travel inside UN protected convoys when conditions make this necessary or advisable.

Performance Evaluation

To fulfil its stated mission of effectively and efficiently meeting the immediate needs of the medical field in the former Yugoslavia, IEMRA must constantly evaluate its activities. This will be done at two levels; the organizational, and at the individual level. The organizational evaluation will be based on financial measures involving percentages of funds used for aid and for costs, and budget comparisons. The

individual evaluations will be based on assessment of quality of work in a relatively informal manner made possible by IEMRA 's compact size. As well, it will be a responsibility of key people to constantly assess whether operations and systems can be improved, and if so how. Overall responsibility for performance will rest with the Business Director.

Organization Culture and Values

IEMRA is an independent, compact, responsive, non-bureaucratic, non-profit humanitarian organisation with no interests other than the provision of medical aid to save and improve lives. We are a team in which each member, through their particular role, has the responsibility of supporting the effort of supplying aid as efficiently as possible to populations in distress. Given the nature of our mission, everyone must accept responsibility and decision making, with the formal structure of the organization supporting effectiveness, communication and initiative.

International Emergency Medical Response Agency

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ISBN 0-16-044049-1



