Prominent Bosnians express concern over arms embargo, 'lost' cities

by Katharine Kanter

Between Aug. 31 and Sept. 4, as the Contact Group met in the nearby Petersberg fortress, the Göttingen Society for Endangered Peoples held a conference in Bonn, Germany, on the subject of Bosnia. During the conference, which will be covered more fully in next week's issue, *EIR* was able to interview several prominent Bosnians, including members of the Presidency. We believe that these interviews reflect very accurately, not only the concerns, but also the aims and intent of the Bosnian leadership, in particular, with respect to the arms embargo, and to the question of Srebrenica, and the other allegedly "lost" cities.

The echo of these interviews was perhaps heard in Ankara, Turkey. Emerging from meetings with American and other diplomats there on Sept. 5, Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic told the Turkish press that he would not accept partition, nor the schemes put to him on eastern Bosnia by the Contact Group: "We will never give up Zepa and Srebrenica, nor accept for the Brcko Corridor to be widened. The only State on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina, is and remains Bosnia and Hercegovina."

Interview: Muhammed Filippovic

There will be no division of Bosnia

Muhammed Filippovic is a professor at Sarajevo University, ambassador to London of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and a member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

EIR: What have you to say about the planned Geneva talks? **Filippovic:** People should start by asking Bosnia what it thinks. This, they seem to prefer not to do.

For my part, I can say: There will be no division. If there

is division, then there will be more war.

What would you say to talks, where a country is, first, plunged into war, and, whilst that war still rages, dragged to talks? Let there first be a cease-fire. Then, there can be talks.

Throughout this war, the status on the ground has been the basis on which to conduct "negotiations." Curious, don't you think?

As for the Geneva Conference on "former Yugoslavia," I believe this is the first time in history that an *international* conference has been dealing with the *internal* affairs of one country. There has been aggression, violation of *international law*, and the conference concerns itself with our Constitution, our internal affairs!

The Geneva Conference itself questions the sovereignty of a nation. And now, it is culminating in giving parts of our territory to Serbia, giving them the space to make a so-called "homogeneous" Serbia, and the right to make a confederation with Serbia—which means the dissolving of Bosnia.

The people who have worked out this "framework" are just technicians of different political wills and interests.

EIR: What about the arms embargo?

Filippovic: It is unnatural and unlawful. It is a breach of the U.N. Charter. It should be lifted.

EIR: Returning to the Contact Group plan—

Filippovic: Personally, I am against it. Bosnia is a sovereign state. We can discuss *bilaterally* with England, with France, and so forth.

The Contact Group plan was made on the supposition that we had lost the war. There is no reason for that supposition now. There is a new strategic situation, and therefore, we need a new plan.

No one knows exactly what the new proposals are. But from the rumors circulating, they are even worse than the old.

I am not for imposing peace like some magician. The will of the people can be freely expressed only when that people is free to express it. Presently, there does exist a highly unnatural situation, where our people are under enormous pressure and have not the leisure to think freely.

So, let there be a cease-fire. Let all the roads be opened,

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let the communications be restored. Let human rights be respected in the regions presently ruled by Serbia. Then we shall see.

EIR: Is it advisable that Bosnia not attend the talks at all? **Filippovic:** We cannot directly change the will of President Clinton. I am concerned that we not accept anything. We should never give into anything. It is the only defense we have.

EIR: What of the new 28th Division, "Return to Srebrenica"?

Filippovic: Three years ago, I said we should form a special force, named to be the force for restoring the authority of Bosnia-Hercegovina over the region of the Drina. I insisted, we should form a Drina Corps to declare our *strong will with military force* on our eastern border.

I am glad the 28th Division has been formed. It will fight, and I know that eastern Bosnia will be gotten back.

You see, I am from the Krajina region of Bosnia, from Banja Luka. I have often visited soldiers who come from that region, and they tell me they will not put down their arms, until we get back to Banja Luka, Prijedor, and the rest.

Interview: Stjepan Kluic

Three principles are needed for peace

Professor Kluic is a member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina and head of the Republican Party of Bosnia. He is a Catholic of Croatian origin.

EIR: What do you say to the Contact Group plan?

Kluic: Bosnia must remain sovereign. We can discuss the plan, only to the extent it be sovereign within its present international borders. We can discuss, only to the extent, there be no *Anschliessung*—no federation, neither with Serbia, nor with Croatia.

We are going on the basis that the West's intentions be good—and it is in the interest of the West, that Bosnia be a sovereign state.

Should the international community not support this, then "peace" will be short-lived.

EIR: What has to be done now?

Kluic: My party, the Republican Party, has presented a de-

mand to the Bosnian government: For 100 years, for the next *century*, no one shall be allowed to emigrate from Bosnia. No one shall leave the country. That is, if we are to rebuild an integrated state.

There are three further principles we insist upon. First, the return of *all* refugees, regardless of their religion, to Bosnia; second, the prosecution of the war criminals; third, a Marshall Plan, for which the financial basis to rebuild our country must now be defined.

Should these principles not be respected, mark my words, war will break out again.

Should they not be respected, we will begin, *now*, to make all needful preparations in order to relaunch the war within a couple of years.

EIR: What about the Serbians in Bosnia?

Kluic: The issue is to win back over to the Bosnian side the Bosnian Serbs. With western aid to rebuild the nation, and to the extent we do respect human rights over the entire territory, it can be done.

We have got to find political leaders able to sweep away the hatred. It will take time, and neither Belgrade nor Zagreb shall be involved, because they were concerned before to divide this country.

EIR: Most observers consider England to be the principal begetter of the war. At the World Court in the Netherlands, there lies a suit against it for conspiracy to commit genocide, regrettably, now in abeyance.

Kluic: We have let the suit lie a while in abeyance, to give England a chance to change its actions. But what you say is true.

You see, Unprofor [U.N. Protection Forces] has not put the U.N. Security Council resolutions into effect, but rather, those policies of the respective governments whose troops are engaged. There has been an "Anglo-Saxon" bloc—Gen. [Louis] MacKenzie, Gen. [Michael] Rose, and now [Gen.] Rupert Smith.

One should bear in mind that war crimes have no statute of limitations. Time has not run out for us to prosecute. And the English know that time is on *our* side.

EIR: What about France?

Kluic: There were two battles to be waged at once: We had to force [Croatian President Franjo] Tudjman into war against [Serbian dictator Slobodan] Milosevic. And we have forced him to split from Milosevic, once and for all.

And then, we were much exercised to get France to break with England, through [President Jacques] Chirac.

Bosnia-Hercegovina must remain a single unified state, and every nation must be got to understand that.

EIR: Were the bombing raids this week called off too soon? Kluic: Yes. We have got to see the artillery batteries around

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Gorazde, Sarajevo, and other cities taken out. The airports at Banja Luka, as Mr. Roy Gutman has just said here, must be taken out. And the way to the capital must be cleared.

EIR: What about the Posavina Corridor?

Kluic: If Croatia throws itself 100% onto our side, we can cut the corridor. Unfortunately, the Americans are swayed by their apprehension that the Yugoslavian National Army will launch a massive onslaught were that to be attempted, or were the Croatians to move to free East Slavonia and Baranja, or to take the hinterland of Dubrovnik, i.e., Trebinje.

EIR: Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole has just said he will yet again put off the vote to lift the arms embargo.

Kluic: I say, let us have the arms now. Then, you can announce afterwards, that the embargo is lifted. We have no heavy artillery, no missiles.

Our soldiers and officer corps need these weapons now, to train. We should have had them in 1992. Let us be sent them now, then lift the embargo. Otherwise, Serbia will attack, probably at Gorazde.

Interview: Mirko Lazovic

'We believe in the existence of Bosnia'

Mirko Lazovic is a member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, president of the Parliament of the Republic, and a member of the executive, Social Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina. He is Serbian Orthodox.

EIR: I'm asking everyone the same question. What do you think of the Contact Group plan?

Lazovic: This plan is all unclear. There is talk of percentages, here and there. We cannot accept any plan which calls for dividing our republic according to ethnic criteria. We cannot accept this idea of "federations." There will be no "ethnic entities." We will allow ourselves to be bound by confederation, neither to Serbia, nor to Croatia.

Bosnia can deal with these neighboring countries, only as a sovereign State, and in no other way. I believe the Americans, and the Germans, have understood that.

Neither will we allow political division. We can let the conflictual Serbian-inhabited areas enjoy a certain degree of autonomy, but that is all, nothing like a German Land, or their own state. That is out of the question.

The same goes for the Croatian-inhabited areas: There may be intellectual ties, there may be cultural ties, but that is all.

EIR: Like Spain and Mexico?

Lazovic: Exactly.

EIR: What about the recent events in France?

Lazovic: I feel a certain optimism about [President Jacques] Chirac. France has made it clear that [Bosnian Serb leader Radovan] Karadzic's Serbs must accept the existence of Bosnia-Hercegovina. France—that was not the case under [former President François] Mitterrand—has said that it considers it French interest to uphold a multi-ethnic Bosnia.

England is now very much occupied to avoid being alone in a corner—with Russia! And, of course, it is much occupied to prevent America and Germany from having any influence here. It is she who wants the status quo, because of her interests.

EIR: You have seen terrible things. How have you kept such a high morale and such grandeur?

Lazovic: We believe in the existence of Bosnia-Hercegovina. It exists as a State, and it will continue to exist. I was born in this country. During this war, I have become very deeply conscious of what it means, not to have a State and not to belong anywhere.

I have to find this strength, for myself, and for my children. Over the past centuries, Bosnia has known wars, and it has suffered. But it exists.

I believe in a civil State, in which all those of Bosnia and Hercegovina shall live, no matter whether Catholic, Muslim, or Orthodox.

This country has been a land of great tolerance for centuries. And we did not start this war. It was started from outside.

The people of this country will surely find a way to work together again, much more swiftly than their politicians. A great number of secular political bodies will doubtless spring up, in which people will not be organized on a so-called "ethnic" basis. You know, I'm a leader of the Social Democratic Party.

EIR: You are Serbian Orthodox. The British press speaks of Bosnia as a "Muslim State."

Lazovic: Such affirmations are simply, untrue. Western politicians speak of a "Muslim \$tate," so they can get on with dividing Bosnia.

It is perfectly logical that there should be a greater number of Muslims in the Army or other institutions. But the Army is not fighting for "Muslim interests" alone. They are fighting for our State, in which all religions will freely share.

EIR: What do you want from the U.S.A.?

Lazovic: We need America's help. The Serbian artillery must be silenced, period—whether by more bombing raids, or by diplomacy, but it must be silenced.

And we need material aid to rebuild our country.

EIR: What has to be done in eastern Bosnia?

Lazovic: Grabbing Srebrenica and Zepa was a great mistake by Serbia. Because not only did Croatia then recover the Krajina—it moved on Bosanko Grahovo and Glamoc where the Serbians had been the majority before.

I repeat: No part of this country can be joined to Serbia.

Interview: Jovan Diviak

We cannot accept the Contact Group plan

Jovan Diviak is a general of the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina. General Diviak is Serbian Orthodox.

EIR: What do you think about the Contact Group Plan? Diviak: Eighteen months ago, perhaps we entertained the idea it might just possibly work. The Serbians rejected it. Our President was put under enormous pressure, also by the Americans, to accept it. He said, under that pressure, that

At that time also, the Bosnian Army was very weak, and there was no unity in the Islamic world about what to do for our country.

But it is now clear to everyone that the Contact Group plan is a terrible plan. It is negative for the victims of this war of aggression. The aggression of a sovereign State would be rewarded. The aggressor State, would be granted territories, over which it never before in history has ruled!

Today, the situation is totally different. We cannot accept this plan. The Twelve Point Proposal put forward by our President, Alija Izetbegovic, is a better basis upon which negotiations may be conducted.

EIR: How do you see the next weeks?

perhaps he would.

Diviak: Both the government, and the Army, are favorable to the idea of putting an end to the war. This means, we would prefer a political, to a military option.

Since Croatia recovered the Krajina, our own military posture is to some degree, unfortunately, worse. Srebrenica

and Zepa fell, and the Serbian Armed Forces were freed up, to take up positions around Gorazde. Thirty thousand, I repeat, 30,000 heavily armed and fresh Serbian troops, were brought into Bosnia from the Krajina.

Write this down, so that your readers remember these details, because they are important: We have no heavy weapons. The Serbian Armed Forces have 400 tanks, we have but 60. The Serbians have over 2,000 pieces of heavy artillery, missile-launchers, vehicle-based mine launchers, and so on. We have less than 400. The Serbians have 40 helicopters. We have but four.

We need anti-aircraft guns, heavy artillery, and tanks. We need transport material, military logistics, mountain gear, bivouac gear.

We need this to win the war.

EIR: How are things with Croatia?

Diviak: It could be better. For example, I ask what will happen at Bosansko Grahovo and Glamoc. After they recovered the Krajina, the Croatians took those Bosnian cities from the Serbians. But do the Croatians understand, that this is the territory of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina? There is talk about putting there, Croatians who have been forced by the Serbians to flee Vojvodina.

The relations between the HVO [Croatian Army] and the Bosnian Army are not good enough. We need infantry support, infantry engagement, from the HVO, and we are not getting it. That is also the question of the Posavina Corridor. And that is one of the reasons why our operation to break the siege of the capital is not good enough. I fear that Croatia is not sufficiently concerned with the fate of our capital. I fear that it may be satisfied with what its late victories have brought it.

EIR: You are of Serbian origin. What do you say to the western press prattling on about the "Muslim State"?

Diviak: The territories which are under the control of the government of Bosnia, are presently in their majority populated by Muslims. It is therefore understandable, that the Muslims should be a majority in the Army. In the Fifth Corps, about 95% of the troops are Muslims.

But there are units, where between 10 and 15% of the troops are Serbian. There are many Serbians in our Interior Ministry. In the Second Corps, there is an HVO unit, which is 70% Croatian. In the units of the Interior Ministry, there is a still higher percentage of Serbians, up to 14%. In the Bosnian Army as a whole, 4% of the troops are Serbian. There is one battalion in the capital, which is 20% Serbian, and the battalion called Dobrinja, also in the capital, is 12% Serbian.

Many Serbians have been decorated for valor. In the Army, there prevails religious freedom; those who practice, observe the religious holidays of their own belief. Of course,

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there are hotheads, there are clashes now and then, but on the whole, it is good.

EIR: What happened at the eastern enclaves?

Diviak: All those governments which took part in the London Conference in July, bear the guilt for the fall of Srebrenica and Zepa. Those governments acted in a partisan way. They were partial to the Serbian side. They delivered up those cities to the forces of Gen. [Ratko] Mladic.

EIR: Do you think that most Serbians in Serbia are pleased with the war?

Diviak: Three hundred thousand men of science, learned men, have left Serbia in the last two years alone. There are a great many deserters from the Army. A great many Serbs know that they can perfectly well live alongside the Muslims.

There are also many who protest in the Serbian-occupied parts of Bosnia against Radovan Karadzic's regime. They protest. But they are under pressure and they are not able to say what they think.

To wage this war, the Serbians were forced to bring in many people from other parts, especially, for example, from Montenegro. Because it was not easy to make the Serbians born in Bosnia to fight against their country.

Interview: Francis Boyle

Supply arms to Bosnia in the fastest way

Francis Boyle is Professor of International Law at the University of Illinois at Champaign.

EIR: Senator Dole has just put off the vote on the arms embargo again.

Boyle: If people really want to get those arms into Bosnia, the easiest, the fastest way, is to tack on an amendment to the Defense Appropriations Bill. It cannot be vetoed, or the entire defense budget goes. I think we just missed the boat on that one.

Or, the bill to fund the entire government is coming up. Half a billion dollars to buy weapons for Bosnia-Hercegovina could be tacked on.

This would require leadership from Mr. Dole and Mr. [Jesse] Helms [R-N.C., chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee], but it can be done.

First Lady takes Beijing by storm

by William Jones

Mrs. Hillary Clinton accomplished a diplomatic tour de force in her first visit to the Chinese capital on the occasion of the U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women that opened in Beijing on Sept. 5, Her address to the Beijing international women's conference denounced the attempts to impose a United Nations Organization-agencies dictatorship to intervene in the internal affairs of families within nations. "What we are learning around the world, is that, if women are healthy and educated, their families will flourish. . . . And when families flourish, communities and nations will flourish," Mrs. Clinton said.

Her attack on human rights violations against women was also a clear swipe at practices supported by anti-population non-governmental organizations, although the news media chose to interpret it as simply against China. "It is a violation of human rights when women are denied the right to plan their own families, and that includes being forced to have abortions or being sterilized against their will," Mrs. Clinton said.

She also attacked it as a violation of human rights "when women are raped in their own communities and when thousands of women are subjected to rape as a tactic or prize of war," the hardly veiled target of which was the Bosnian Serb leadership.

The speech garnered significant approval from such a strong right-to-life Republican as Rep. Chris Smith (R-N.J.), who characterized it as "eloquent."

A pleasant surprise

A few weeks prior to the Beijing conference, things looked pretty dim for any possibility of having her attend the conference, in spite of intense lobbying by the Chinese to get her there. By August, relations with the Chinese government had fallen to their lowest point in years after an explosive and rather disproportionate Chinese reaction to the private visit of Taiwan's President Lee Teng-hui to the United States last June.

The Clinton administration had given President Lee permission to come to the United States strictly on a private basis to attend a class reunion at his alma mater, Cornell University. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman