
Interview: Zvonimir Separovic



'We want peace and an undivided Bosnia-Hercegovina'

Prof. Zvonimir Separovic is the former foreign minister of the Republic of Croatia, and a member of the executive committee of the World Society of Victimology as well as president of its Croatian section. At the time of the Feb. 6 Sarajevo massacre, he was in the Bosnian capital for talks with the Bosnian government, aid organizations, and intellectuals on humanitarian and political questions. On Feb. 6, he participated in the Assembly of the Parliament of Bosnian Croats, along with over 700 representatives of the Croatian population of Bosnia-Hercegovina; there he argued in favor of maintaining Bosnia-Hercegovina as a unified state, and for cooperation between Croats and Muslims in Bosnia. At that conference, the Muslim side was represented by Bosnian Vice President Ejup Ganic. Professor Separovic was interviewed by telephone on Feb. 16 by Elke Fimmen on behalf of EIR, shortly after his return from Sarajevo.

EIR: You visited Sarajevo over the weekend of Feb. 5-6. On Feb. 6 the city was the scene of a gruesome massacre by Serbian bombs. What were your impressions?

Separovic: My visit was a terrible, unbelievable experience. You get there and find that your life is constantly in danger. The city has been destroyed. The road from the Holiday Inn to the city center is a line between life and death. Snipers are stationed right on the other side of the river. One of the bridges across the river was the one where [Archduke] Ferdinand of Austria and his wife were murdered in 1914.

A half-hour before the massacre, I drove by that location, and saw many people there selling every conceivable item in order to survive. These were the people who fell victim to the attack. At least 200 people were seriously injured, and almost 70 of those died. After my talks in the morning with the president of the Bosnian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Professor Hukovic, with whom I drew up a joint declaration in opposition to the war, and then with officials of the Institute for the Investigation of War Crimes, there was a concert at about noon, celebrating the 100th concert given in Sarajevo during the war. The Sarajevo String Quartet of the Repertory Theater 45 played Mozart, Grieg, and then the string quartet in D minor, the "Death and the Maiden," by Schubert. It was

dedicated to Suada Dilberovic, who was the first civilian victim of this war. Then President [Alija] Izetbegovic entered the concert hall. He waited until the quartet was over, not wanting to interrupt it, and then explained that he had arrived so late because something terrible had just happened. With great gravity he said: "More than 40 people have been killed by a grenade."

In the afternoon, I visited the site of the massacre, and watched as the Unprofor [U.N. Protection Forces] people were hosing down the pavement to wash away the blood. That's a fitting metaphor for Unprofor's role in this war: Instead of preventing or stopping something like this, they come in after it's all over, wash away the remains, and then wash their own hands.

People in the city are pale and have lost a lot of weight, but despite this they continue to show courage and inner strength. Everyone still lives together here—Croats, Muslims, and even Serbs. I have gotten to know humanitarian organizations from each of the three ethnic groups, and I am working with them on a proposal to start an airlift for Sarajevo. We met together with the bishop of Sarajevo. You can see here that it's possible to live with each other—even if some hotheads who don't want that may dispute it. I also believe that in the future, people will be able to live together with each other; this is possible, and is a part of human nature. You have to work at it.

EIR: You met with representatives of the Bosnian government in Sarajevo. What is your impression of the Bosnian side's readiness and ability to collaborate with the Croats against the Serbian aggressor?

Separovic: I had a friendly, hour-long talk with President Izetbegovic, whom I know well and regard highly. We talked not only about the humanitarian convoy, but also about the general situation in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. I told him: "My dear Mr. President, the Croats in Sarajevo have reported to me that they are being discriminated against, and that in government buildings they are being greeted with 'salaam aleikum'—which is absolutely unacceptable for a secular state. They say they are receiving less humanitarian

assistance, are being fired from their jobs, etc.” His answer was that this may be the case locally, and he promised to investigate it. He said we are still in a war, that we need time to reorganize the entire administration, etc. I also told him that the radicals on both sides—Croatian and Muslim—must disappear from the scene. At present, Boban still holds his official posts. A break must be made with the fundamentalists or the Mujaheddin who are fighting in Bosnia, so that normal people can work together and achieve peace.

We also spoke with Mr. Ejup Ganic. It was a very friendly conversation. We know each other from Zagreb, when he was a professor and I was rector of the university. I told him: “Mr. Ganic, your interviews, especially in *Der Spiegel*, where you took such a strong stand against Croatia, and expressed interest in collaborating with the Serbs against the Croats, were not well received in Croatia.” He denied having taken such positions—although it is clear that he is one of the strongly fundamentalist-oriented people who perhaps are having a negative influence on the situation. But to me he spoke in a positive tone. He, too, had attended the conference of the Parliament of Croats [in Bosnia]. That was perhaps a slip-up on President Izetbegovic’s part, because Ganic is a militant fundamentalist and an anti-Croat. That didn’t have to be. So now people are cursing the Croats in Sarajevo and the conference, and are saying: “Sure, how can you have had a good conference, if someone like Ejup Ganic was there?” . . .

But I believe that we can arrive at a working arrangement, and that President Izetbegovic’s position that the Serbs are the aggressors and have occupied large parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina, is meant seriously. That is true, and people should work together against this aggression. The Muslim and Croatian population of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also both states themselves, have so much in common. For the Muslims in occupied Bosnia-Herzegovina, the road west leads through Croatia, and not through Serbia. That is why I believe there are good chances for cooperation between the two states.

EIR: During your stay in Sarajevo, you participated in a very important conference of Croats, with over 700 attendees. Can you give us a brief overview?

Separovic: It was a good conference with parliamentarians who represent the 600,000 Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina. These people are either elected parliamentarians or representatives of municipalities, largely from Bosnia. The Croats from Livno and Mostar, on the other hand, are predominantly oriented toward Herzegovina.

The most important resolution made at this conference, was to put muscle behind the results of the 1992 referendum—namely, that the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina is to be maintained—while, of course, preserving the sovereign rights of all constituent groups—and hence a state not dominated one-sidedly by the largest nationality, which in this

case is the Muslims. That was the main idea. They said: “We are Croats and for the most part Catholics, but first and foremost we are Bosnians. We want our rightful place in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian state.” That is well-grounded historically and otherwise. “In the past, we have lived together peacefully, and we want it to be that way in the future. The chief danger is the aggression of the Serbs, who started the war and who have occupied large parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina. What we need, is peace and the preservation of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Nobody has the right to divide up our homeland, and we would like to present that position ourselves in Geneva and elsewhere.”

The parliament has elected a national council under the chairmanship of Dr. Ivo Komsic. He is a remarkable person, a calm man, and a member of the Presidium of Bosnia-Herzegovina from Sarajevo. He is a loyalist, and works together with Izetbegovic; but first and foremost, he is a representative of his own people, the Croatian Bosnians. He favors a federal state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, based on modern, decentralized regionalism. His proposal provides for 17 cantons and three republics. That’s a complex state. The cantons are either directly represented in the federal parliament, or are treated as parts of their respective republics. In addition to these cantons, he proposes three zones with special status: Sarajevo, Mostar, and Banja Luka, the capitals of the three ethnic groups. These should remain somewhat like protectorates, until such time as everything has been more or less stabilized. Then there should also be a special status for Bosnia-Herzegovina’s access route to the sea. There should not be any splitting up of the Croatian coastline; rather, functional sovereignty should be granted to Neum as a port for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

An especially good feature is that 11 of the 17 cantons are to have majorities of a single nationality grouping. Each republic will have two cantons with a relative majority of other nationalities. This is necessary, because this proposal must deprive the Muslims and Croats, but also the Serbs and everyone else, of any grounds for fighting over territory.

The Serbs will have the same rights as the others, but they will not get any of the occupied areas containing an absolute majority of Croats and Muslims. Serbia will have to accept that. Pressure will have to be applied to Serbia, but also to all three, by the United States superpower, but also by Germany, Austria, the Vatican, and also the Islamic countries, in order to bring peace to Bosnia-Herzegovina and to preserve its integrity.

The HDZ, [Croatian] President Tudjman’s party, wanted to belittle the significance of this conference, by letting it be known that no one could oppose a partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina. What they really wanted to do, was to deprive this conference of its legitimacy. But the representatives in Sarajevo are more legitimate than those who held a similar conference two days later in Livno in Herzegovina. [This is

a reference to the parliament of the "Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna," founded by Mate Boban—ed.]

The toppling of Mate Boban may have been the result of these conferences. His resignation was an absolutely positive step. Whether this is a sign of a change in Tudjman's policies toward Bosnia-Hercegovina, no one can tell. But one thing is sure: Cooperation already exists between Muslims and Croats.

I consider this development to be very positive, and this also goes for the Croatian population, insofar as they are not under the strong sway of the mass media—particularly television—or have not themselves fallen victim to the war between Muslims and Croats. The others are thinking along these lines, and are saying: "We can and must live together, and we have already lived together in past times."

It is clear that the Geneva declaration made by [Serbian President] Milosevic and Tudjman, and their cooperation with each other, was understood by all as going in the direction of partition. That is bad, and it shouldn't be. Maybe we'll see new developments. But it's certain that people outside of these official circles, people from the academies, from public life, opposition parties, etc., are in favor of peaceful coexistence of Croats and Muslims—and also with the Serbs, of course, since we need peace.

But as I already said once in Bonn, the aggressor must learn that it is not worth it. It is contrary to all the aims of the United Nations Organization, against international criminal law, and against justice, to violently alter borders and to occupy other people's areas, to carry out ethnic cleansings, etc.; that cannot and must not be accepted. In order to pre-

Croatia policy to shift?

On Feb. 6, at a major convention in Sarajevo with 700 participants, the "Assembly/Parliament of Croats of Bosnia and Hercegovina" was founded under the leadership of Komsic, a Bosnian Croat. The new association's policy can be summed up in three points: 1) The tripartite division of Bosnia-Hercegovina is vehemently rejected; the republic must remain a unified state, subdivided into cantons. 2) Unity between Croats and Muslims must be regarded as the basic condition of the survival of both Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. 3) Croatian President Franjo Tudjman policy's of rapprochement to Serbia is rejected.

One day before the founding convention, on Feb. 5, a Serbian mortar shell hit the market in Sarajevo, causing a bloodbath in which 68 people died and some 200 were wounded.

Many participants in the Assembly were already in Sarajevo when this occurred, among them former Croatian Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic (see interview).

The participants included Bosnian Croats who had been elected in the 1990 elections to the Parliament of the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina and to the Presidency, chairmen and vice-chairmen of local and community assemblies, members of the central and main boards of Croatian political parties, the main office of the Croatian Cultural Society Napredak, representatives of the Catholic Church, the Assembly of Croats of the Bosnian Posavina region and central Bosnian region state organizations, as well as eminent Croats from a number of cultural, scien-

tific, economic, medical, and educational institutions.

The newly founded body released an official declaration on Feb. 6 which we excerpt here below (the statement was received in English and we quote verbatim, excepting minor spelling corrections):

"1) According to the political will of Croats of Bosnia and Hercegovina, stated at referendum on 29th February 1992, the Assembly as a supreme political representative body of Croatian people of Bosnia and Hercegovina confirms that the entirety of the State of Bosnia and Hercegovina is [in the] vital interest of Croatian people. That entirety is conditional on historical, geographical, economical, traditional, ethnic, and political reasons, but also on [the] interest of each of its nations. All of that is confirmed by the act of international recognition of Bosnia and Hercegovina.

"The Assembly requires an urgent and absolute cessation of all war operations in all battlefields. That is the first condition to solve [the] Bosnia and Hercegovinian crisis by negotiations, and to assume stability of the country of Bosnia and Hercegovina in the future by parity and proportional participation of each of the nations in political life and authority on the basis of modern democracy and basic rights of people and nations. . . .

"6) The Assembly refuses every solution of the crisis in Bosnia if it would sanction previous ethnic exiles and enable continuation of ethnic cleansing, so-called humane moving of nations, and if it would satisfy occupier and aggressor, and disavow [the] standpoint of U.N. and European Community that any territorial situations gained by force and occupation can not be accepted. The Assembly points out that for [the] Croats of Bosnia and Hercegovina territorial occupations and their legalizations, whoever legalizes them, are unacceptable.

clude and stop things like this, there must be military intervention against the Serbs' military capabilities. For this reason, air attacks against military positions around Sarajevo are not enough; one must also think about destroying the military might of those who actually caused everything in the first place, and who control two-thirds of Bosnia-Herzegovina and one-third of Croatia.

EIR: What would a solution for Bosnia look like?

Separovic: The plan presented at the Sarajevo congress of Croats is a solution which I support. Archbishop of Sarajevo Kulic has stated: "When you draw up maps, don't forget the people." One must be cautious. I believe that Bosnia-Herzegovina should absolutely not be partitioned. You cannot cut this country into three pieces, as the prevailing philos-

"The Assembly requires assurance of the return of all exited and refugees from [the] entire territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Every peace treaty must assure that right and anticipate international guarantees for their realization.

"9) The Assembly requires that their elected representatives are included in all the future negotiations about solving the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina and that nobody is [the] authorized person to sign the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and if somebody signs, it will be considered invalid."

With the founding of this Assembly/Parliament the central Bosnian Croats have sharply separated themselves from the Herzegovinian Croats, who see themselves represented by the "Parliament of the Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna" and have always tried to lean closely on the regime in Zagreb. Their chieftain, Mate Boban, calls for an ethnic partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina and thus bears the blame for the conflict between Muslims and Croats. Not only the central Bosnian Croats, but also the opposition in Zagreb, such as the Croatian Social Liberal Party (HSLP) under Budisha, have consistently criticized the Tadjman regime's unilateral support for the Mate Boban-led Herzegovinian Croats, which has left the central Bosnian Croats largely in the lurch.

It is all the more remarkable that two days after the Assembly/Parliament was founded in Sarajevo, on Feb. 8, in Livno at the Croatian-Herzegovinian border, a special session of this "Parliament" was convoked. In the presence of Croatian Foreign Minister Granic and opposition leader Budisha, Mate Boban's resignation as chief negotiator for the Croats in the peace talks was announced. Boban's successor is allegedly more favorable to Muslim-Croatian understanding.—*Gabriele Liebig*

ophy is currently dictating, without getting new ethnic cleansings and new injustices. Everything must therefore be done in order to preserve the integrity of the entire state, while of course upholding all rights for all sovereign peoples. The international community must get itself better oriented in this area.

I am in complete agreement with what Count von Kielmansegg said recently in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* on the role being played by certain NATO countries' nationalist political interests in connection with the Balkan war. I see that even though there are certain changes in France concerning NATO air attacks, the English and circles in France are for a continued strengthening of Serbia, are for maintaining Yugoslavia in one form or another, and are for a lesser Yugoslavia, a confederation or something in that direction. That is a pipe-dream of those who still hope for a single Yugoslavia, and who in any event want a weak Croatia and a weakened Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Geopolitical interests are being expressed via Lord Owen and also [Thorwald] Stoltenberg. Owen is a pathetic, absolutely negative person. His activities are aimed at partitioning Bosnia-Herzegovina, as is shown in his *Realpolitik* of negotiating with the Serbs over 2-3% of the territory occupied by them. The issue, however, isn't the 2-3%, but rather the principle that the Serbs have occupied these areas, and that they are waging a war of aggression. He should not continue to act as Europe's representative on Bosnian affairs. We need new people, new voices, and a new understanding of this region. We need people who are completely detached from their own national interests and from the geopolitical interests of certain circles.

I don't know what Mr. Akashi, the representative of [U.N. Secretary General Boutros] Boutros-Ghali, is doing right now. The decision to intervene militarily rests with him. But just because he may have been successful in other cases, such as in Cambodia, does not give us grounds to assume that he can keep the situation in hand in this case, too. He's going everywhere—to Belgrade, Pale, Knin, and also Zagreb and Sarajevo. His first statements were: "Everyone is at fault, all are equally bad." That's what Cyrus Vance also said about the Croats and the Serbs in the beginning of 1992. Because of that, we got these UNPA [United Nations Protection Areas] zones with 15,000 soldiers, who are very expensive, completely inefficient, and who are also not exactly independent from the Serbian side. They are actually defending the occupation of Croatian territory.

Earlier we mentioned the nationalist interests of certain NATO states. There is something more than that, namely, Russia and the Moscow-Belgrade-Athens axis. This axis is religious—Orthodox—with political and historical roots. This was recently highlighted once again in statements by Zhirinovskiy, but also by Yeltsin and Kozyrev, who are actively engaged in the former Yugoslavia, especially in Serbia

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and Montenegro. Therein lies a great danger. The world must therefore be very careful, and must closely follow developments in Russia—not only Zhirinovskiy, who, I hope, will never come to power. Here lies a danger for this part of the world—for Croatia, for the Muslims, for all of southeastern Europe. This must be watched; here we have a geopolitical danger of the greatest proportions.

EIR: You have taken over the protection of humanitarian convoys from Croatia into Bosnia. Can you report anything more to us about this initiative?

Separovic: This was one of my reasons for coming to Sarajevo. In Zagreb, I am the president of a committee of intellectuals, academics, and others for the support of humanitarian convoys. This time, unlike previous initiatives, it was a joint action by two different religions and their respective humanitarian organizations, Mehmet and Caritas. . . . These convoys bear the name "Humanitarian Roads to Peace and Love for Bosnia-Herzegovina." The first of four convoys is currently moving out of Split toward central Bosnia, and we hope that we will be finished by the end of [the Muslim holy month of] Ramadan on March 13. The convoys are going into central Bosnia in order to provide assistance to all who live there. They will drive to Zenica to meet the Muslims there, and to Nova Bila and Nova Travnik, where the Croatian population lives.

It is remarkable that two leading religious figures are traveling with this convoy—an important guardian of the Franciscan Order in Bosnia, Fra Angelovic, and an imam, Zerko Omarbagic. They are heading up the convoy. In the event that Croats or Muslims shoot at this convoy, one or both of them would be hit. We hope that this will provide protection. We would like to make this convoy fully international, so that organizations from other countries—from Germany, Austria, Italy, Hungary—also take part. That way, we would get through more easily, and it would also receive more publicity. We have virtually everything by way of goods; what we lack is trucks. I asked the German ambassador in Zagreb for help. He answered that he has nothing available; because he has already made many trucks available to the humanitarian organizations that come into Croatia. But maybe we should just try one more time. . . .

President Izetbegovic has accepted our action. He agreed, and promised that the Muslim side would not give us any trouble and would do everything to ensure that these convoys would get through. . . . Thanks to a few well-meaning people from Unprofor in Zagreb, I was able to take 100,000 deutschemarks worth of medications along with me to Sarajevo—antiseptics, especially valuable antibiotics, and blood plasma. Normally you can only take 30 kilograms of luggage along with you on the Unprofor flights, but this was more than 100 kilograms. In an embargo-like situation, where outside of UNHCR [High Commission for Refugees] you can't bring anything, or virtually anything, into Sarajevo, something like this is very important. I handed these medications over to the director of the Kosevo Hospital only hours before the massacre. This very famous hospital is taking care of the worst cases, which will then be cared for in other places around the world.

After my visit to the hospital and my talks with the humanitarian organizations (Caritas, Mehmet, and the Serbian humanitarian organization Dobrotvor), I came to the conclusion that the world must do something for Sarajevo. People are dying here, not only from bombs, but also from hunger and lack of medical supplies. There are 7,115 children on a list of people with life-threatening conditions, and on top of that there are those needing dialysis or who have other diseases, such as anemia and diabetes. All these people's lives are at risk. After I made this proposal for an airlift last Sunday at the parliamentary session of the Croats of Sarajevo, the Catholic bishop of Sarajevo, Dr. Sudan, organized a meeting with all three humanitarian organizations; a minister of the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the American ambassador were also present. They agreed to work on the idea. Perhaps the situation is changing now. I hope that the whole world, and especially the United States and Germany, will support this idea.

EIR: What do you have to say about the NATO ultimatum? Isn't it necessary to link it up with a lifting of the arms embargo for Croatia and Bosnia?

Separovic: The NATO ultimatum is the least that can be done at this point. We shouldn't wait for a new massacre of hundreds and thousands of people, because so many horrible

things have happened already. The lifting of the arms embargo is necessary, but it has a dangerous aspect to it. It could bear out what those are saying, along with Douglas Hurd: "Let the people kill each other off, and then there will be an cease-fire and peace." That would be bad. But otherwise, the lifting of the embargo is part of the concept of self-defense and the rights of the individual as well as of a people or a state. The fact remains that the Serbs have been able to proceed so strongly against Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina by using large military forces out of the arsenal of the former Yugoslavian People's Army. The Muslims and Croats had almost no weapons, and had no real defense.

A lifting of the arms embargo is not the most important thing at this moment. Pressure against the Serbian military power is much more necessary than such a measure. I fear that this might perhaps strengthen more radical circles among the Muslims. The situation of the Croats in central Bosnia is very weak. The radicals—and there are radicals on all sides, but right now I'm speaking about those on the Bosnian and Serbian side—would try anything to attack the weakest flank, and that is the Croats; and this would in turn tempt Croatia to enter the country in order to protect its own people. That is a very dangerous situation. I believe that at present, we are talking here about volunteers to the Croatian forces in Bosnia, even though the rest of the world thinks otherwise. I hope that the Croatian government sees the danger of sanctions, and will learn the lesson that it is too dangerous for Croatia, and that it will act accordingly—i.e., that it will also see to it that the volunteer soldiers return back home.

EIR: What are your perspectives for the re-establishment of Croatia's sovereignty, after one-third of Croatia's territory has been occupied either directly or by the Unprofor troops?
Separovic: I recently held a public discussion in Zagreb on the topic "The Evidence of War," which will now be continued every Saturday. I began by discussing how the cultural treasure-house city of Vukovar [in Croatia] was destroyed. My next topic will be the situation in Promina, part of Dalmatia. Since Unprofor moved into there, 36 people have been killed. This is the Unprofor people's fault, at the very least because they neglected to provide protection for these people. They can also be held responsible for neglect in the eyes of criminal and international law. We are going to prepare a formal indictment against Unprofor. Cedric Thornberry, the second most important person for Unprofor, was responsible for civilian affairs. We know what the Serbs and the Chetniks have done. What isn't known, is that everything happened in the presence of these expensive, inefficient, partisan Unprofor military forces. We will hold a public meeting every Saturday, each time on a different topic. For example, we will talk about the destroyed churches. Those who were imprisoned will report about the terror and the unbelievable atrocities they experienced in Knin and other Serbian prison

camp. We are also collecting this evidence for an international war crimes tribunal to be held at The Hague.

With these events, we also want to protest against the visit to Zagreb this week of the vice president of the so-called federal state of Yugoslavia, Mr. Simic. They're acting as if nothing had happened. Now they're talking about a normalization of relations between Serbia and Croatia. Normalization is of course positive—peace, too. But when, where? That is the question. In 1992, when Mr. Kozyrev, this little man with blue eyes, came to Zagreb for the first time to inquire about the future of Serbian-Croatian relations, I told him: "Sir colleague, normalization, yes. We cannot and do not want to change neighbors. We must have peace sometime—the quicker, the better—but under certain preconditions. First: recognition of Croatia in its pre-war borders. Second: ascertaining the fate of missing persons. Third: return of refugees. On top of that come reparations payments, making war criminals answer for their crimes, etc. The first three principles are the preconditions for any normalization."

Now we have the Serbs here. In March, Foreign Minister Granic is going to Belgrade, and it is said that today Tudjman might meet with Milosevic in Romania. That is foolish. It is necessary to have trust between two peoples; but how can you put any trust in politicians such as Milosevic who have done so many terrible things? How can you open up an office here at a time when Chetniks are only four bus-stops away from here, at a time when Serbs are still in Vukovar, Knin, etc., and have occupied a part of Croatia? Normalization affects telephone connections, the Belgrade-Zagreb highway—those serve the Serbs' interests. Now, when Milosevic is at the end of his tether, is in trouble because of the sanctions, and has a bad image following the massacres in Sarajevo, Tudjman shows him a friendly face, at a time when so-called Yugoslavia—i.e., Serbia—is not recognized by the world, and when even Croatia is not formally recognized by Serbia. That is very tragic and negative, because the preconditions do not exist for an otherwise positive normalization. People should be more cautious than President Tudjman has been on this matter.

According to the call for the institution of an airlift into Sarajevo, UNHCR is currently bringing in only 40% of the amount of relief actually required in Sarajevo. The organization insists that there is not sufficient capacity at the Sarajevo Airport for additional flights, and is shutting out other humanitarian organizations. According to the June 5, 1992 agreement for the use of the airport at Sarajevo, free deliveries from all humanitarian organizations should be conducted under the control of Unprofor. A few more flights per day above and beyond the current 21 per day limit could be worked in. There are adequate supplies of relief goods stockpiled in Frankfurt, Ancona, Zagreb, and Split, which could be flown in. The American government should be willing to make freight aircraft available.