

REQUEST FOR THE INDICATION OF PROVISIONAL MEASURES OF PROTECTION  
SUBMITTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF  
THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

27 July 1993

To His Excellency the President, to the Judges of the International Court of Justice, the undersigned being duly authorized by the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina:

I have the honor to refer to the Application submitted to the Court on 20 March 1993 instituting proceedings by Bosnia and Herzegovina against Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) in the case of the Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)), and to the Order of this Court in that case which was dated 8 April 1993, granting provisional measures on our behalf. On behalf of Bosnia and Herzegovina, I hereby request urgently, in accordance with Article 41 of the Statute of this Court and Articles 73, 74, and 75 of the Rules of Court, that the Court indicate additional provisional measures of protection immediately, which ought to be taken forthwith to preserve the rights of the People and State of Bosnia and Herzegovina pending the determination of the issues raised by our Application. This extraordinary step is being taken because the Respondent has violated each and everyone of the three measures of protection on behalf of Bosnia and Herzegovina that were indicated by this Court on 8 April 1993, to the grave detriment of both the People and State of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In addition to continuing its campaign of genocide against the Bosnian People--whether Muslim, Christian, Jew, Croat or Serb--the Respondent is now planning, preparing, conspiring to, proposing, and negotiating the partition, dismemberment, annexation and incorporation of the sovereign state of Bosnia and Herzegovina--a Member of the United Nations Organization--by means of genocide.

After the Court issued its Order in the late afternoon of 8 April 1993, the President of the Court convened a meeting with me and the Acting Agents for the Respondent with the Registrar of the Court in attendance pursuant to Article 31 of the Rules of Court. At that time, I stated quite clearly that in the event the Respondent continued with its campaign of genocide and extermination against the People and State of Bosnia and Herzegovina, I would have no alternative but to return to the Court with another Request for additional provisional measures on behalf of the Applicant and its citizens. If I remember correctly, the President of the Court took note of my Statement. For reasons that will be explained in more detail below, the time has now come for me to carry out that commitment.

In the recent past this Court has emphasized that a Request for the indication of provisional measures "must by its very nature relate to the substance of the case since, as Article 41 [of the Statute] expressly states, their object is to preserve the

respective rights of either party" (United States Diplomatic and Consular Staff in Tehran, Provisional Measures, I.C.J. Reports 1979, p. 16, para. 28):

Article 41

1. The Court shall have the power to indicate, if it considers that circumstances so require, any provisional measures which ought to be taken to preserve the respective rights of either party.

.... [Emphasis added.]

This Request for additional measures of protection is motivated by the desire to have the Court protect the "rights" of the People and State of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Moreover, this Request for additional measures of protection is also motivated by the desire to have the Court protect the very existence of the People and State of Bosnia and Herzegovina from extermination by means of genocide, partition, dismemberment, annexation and incorporation by the Respondent. Since the Court has the legal power to protect the "rights" of Bosnia and Herzegovina, then a fortiori the Court must have the legal power to protect Bosnia and Herzegovina itself.

The sovereign right of the People and State of Bosnia and Herzegovina to their independent existence as a Member State of the United Nations Organization must certainly be among the "rights" that the Court can protect under Article 41 of the Statute, which is "an integral part" of the U.N. Charter under article 92 thereof. In essence, I am today asking the Court to act under Statute Article 41 in order to protect the very existence of a State Member of the United Nations which is also a "party" to a case that is currently pending before the Court from physical mutilation then total annihilation by the other "party" to that same case. The word "any" found in Article 41 indicates that the Court has the power to protect Bosnia and Herzegovina by all means possible from genocide, extermination, partition, dismemberment, annexation, incorporation, and ultimate destruction.

**A. Compelling Circumstances Requiring the Indication of Additional Provisional Measures of Interim Protection.**

I hereby incorporate by reference the facts set forth in our Application and Request for Provisional Measures of 20 March 1993, as well as all subsequent facts submitted to the Court--both orally and in writing--through the closure of oral proceedings on 2 April 1993, as well as all factual determinations made by this Court in its Order of 8 April 1993. In particular, I wish to draw to the attention of the Court Paragraph 48 of the Court's Order of 8 April 1993, which provides in relevant part as follows:

"... whereas from the information available to the Court it is satisfied that there is a grave risk of action being taken which may aggravate or extend the existing dispute over the prevention or punishment of the crime of genocide, or render it more difficult of solution; ..."

I hereby reaffirm and reassert each and every factual allegation and determination that has been set forth during the course of these proceedings as of 8 April 1993. Furthermore, the rapidly escalating human catastrophe in Bosnia and Herzegovina is so enormous, monstrous, and unacceptable that it cannot be adequately described in the Request as of today's date. Therefore, Bosnia and Herzegovina respectfully asks the Court to take judicial notice of the facts on the ground as they have developed and been reported by Organs of the United Nations, by foreign governments, and by reputable news media sources from 8 April 1993 up to and including when the Court finally deliberates upon this Request for the indication of additional provisional measures of protection. For the same reasons, I must hereby respectfully reserve the right to amend, supplement, or alter, this Request for additional provisional measures at any time.

On 8 April 1993 the International Court of Justice issued the following Order of Provisional Measures in this case:

"52. For these reasons,

The COURT,

Indicates, pending its final decision in the proceedings instituted on 20 March 1993 by the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), the following provisional measures:

A. (1) Unanimously,

The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) should immediately, in pursuance of its undertaking in the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of 9 December 1948, take all measures within its power to prevent commission of the crime of genocide;

(2) By 13 votes to 1,

The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) should in particular ensure that any military, paramilitary or irregular armed units which may be directed or supported by it, as well as any organizations and persons which may be subject to its control, direction, or influence, do not commit any acts of genocide, of conspiracy to commit genocide, of direct

and public incitement to commit genocide, or of complicity in genocide, whether directed against the Muslim population of Bosnia and Herzegovina or against any other national, ethnical, racial or religious group;

....

B. Unanimously,

The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina should not take any action and should ensure that no action is taken which may aggravate or extend the existing dispute over the prevention or punishment of the crime of genocide, or render it more difficult of solution."

Pursuant to its own terms, the Court directed that one original copy of its 8 April 1993 Order be transmitted "to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for transmission to the Security Council."

Nevertheless, the Respondent paid absolutely no attention whatsoever to the Court's Order, and immediately proceeded to violate each and every one of its provisions, as will be demonstrated below in Section B. Furthermore, pursuant to its campaign of genocide against the People and State of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Respondent is now proposing their partition, dismemberment, annexation, and incorporation, which will constitute the logical culmination and ultimate success of its genocidal plan to establish a "Greater Serbia" as explained in our 20 March 1993 Application and, in particular, Paragraphs 22 through 29, inter alia. If not prevented by this Court, the Respondent plans to annex and incorporate substantial portions of the sovereign territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to remove therefrom all People who recognize Bosnian citizenship irrespective of their other affiliations--whether Muslim, Christian, Jew, Serb, Croat--by means of genocide and acts of genocide in violation of the 1948 Genocide Convention and this Court's Order of 8 April 1993. Clearly, the destruction of a sovereign nation state by means of genocide by another state must fall within the prohibitions of the Genocide Convention to which both states are parties. The Respondent's proposed partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina will be the prelude to the final extinction of our State and the ultimate extermination of our People.

B. Chronology of Respondent's Violations of This Court's Order of 8 April 1993.

9 April 1993

U.S. Senator Joseph Biden, chairman of the U.S. Senate's European Affairs, described Serbian attacks on Muslim populations in Srebrenica and elsewhere as "genocide." Biden further stated:

"I will report back to my government that I believe Serbia is an aggressor, that there is no legitimate desire on the part of Mr. (Slobodan) Milosevic (the president of Serbia) for peace ... and that I believe the greater objective is a greater Serbia...women and children who are being massacred in what is a heinous policy that we thought we saw the end of at the end of World War II. It is nothing short of genocide."

"U.S. Senator Calls for U.N. to Use Force in Bosnia," Agence France Presse, 9 April 1993.

10 April 1993

Serbian General Ratko Mladic refused to allow Canadian U.N. Peacekeepers into Srebrenica for the third straight day, stating the Canadians would enter the village "over my dead body." In addition, Serb fighters turned back aid trucks from Goradze. "Serb Officer Bars U.N. Troops from Muslim Town," The Toronto Star, 10 April 1993.

An eyewitness, Mrs. Azreta Habibovic described her escape from Srebrenica:

"The Serbs threw stones at us in Zvornik. They screamed and one woman was badly hurt. But anything was worth getting out of there. The Serbs are shelling all of the time. It is hell."

"Serbs Say UN Aid in Bosnia Can Continue: Canadian Troops Will Not Be Allowed Into Srebrenica to End Siege of Town," Financial Times, 10 April 1993.

UN Peacekeepers were barred from reaching the besieged town of Srebrenica. A UN spokeswoman stated: "The Serbs are in control. We now expect to be slowed down considerably."

In addition, a diplomat added:

"The Serbs refused to sign the Vance-Owen deal. They blatantly carry on their offensive in eastern Bosnia including military activities across the Serbian border under the noses of the UN. They publicly insult the UN commander in Bosnia. They have called the bluff of the international community and it turned out to be bluff."

"Yugoslavia: Serbs Thrive on Western Disarray," Guardian, 10 April 1993.

11 April 1993

A spokesman for UNPROFOR noted that Bosnian Serbs were closing in on Srebrenica, even though the Serbs agreed to a cease-fire. Serb forces captured villages on the edge of Srebrenica. In addition, the spokesman added:

"Towns hitherto in the hands of Muslims outside of Srebrenica have indeed fallen under Serb control now. No question that the pocket has shrunk somewhat."

In other developments, U.N. officials noted that Serb forces were ringing Sarajevo with anti-aircraft batteries closer to the airport. "Diplomacy Under Fire in Eastern Bosnia; Battle of Srebrenica Tests U.N. Strategy," The Washington Post, 11 April 1993.

12 April 1993

U.N. forces were forced to cancel another aid convoy scheduled for Srebrenica. Bosnian officials stated that 8 people were killed and 24 were wounded across Bosnia in a 24-hour period. "NATO Action Won't Stop His Forces, Serb General Says; Bosnia: As Alliance Planes Prepare to Enforce 'No-Fly' Zone Today, the Rebel Leader is Defiant," Los Angeles Times, 12 April 1993.

U.N. forces stated that shells from Serbs stuck near their relief areas. In addition, after meeting with UNPROFOR commander, General Lars-Erik Wahlgren, Serbian General Ratko Mladic refused once again to allow UN troops into Srebrenica. "UN Credibility on the Line as Serbs Near Srebrenica," The Christian Science Monitor, 12 April 1993.

Three U.N. relief convoys were scrapped among a sharp increase in fighting by Serbs. UNPROFOR reported 35 civilians killed and 68 wounded in Srebrenica by Serbian shelling. Two bursts in shelling lasted 75 minutes total.

In addition, Sarajevo also came under heavy bombardment from Serb gunners. "Moslems Boycott Peace Meeting Amid Heavy Shelling," Agence France Presse, 12 April 1993.

13 April 1993

At least 56 people, 15 of them children, were killed and 106 wounded, 73 of them seriously, during mortar and howitzer shelling of Srebrenica. "U.N. Convoys Evacuate Wounded Bosnians," UPI, 13 April 1993.

The U.S. issued its seventh report on Serbian atrocities in Bosnia-Herzegovina by Serbs to the United Nations. The overwhelming preponderance of allegations concerned Serbian atrocities against Bosnian Muslims. "U.S. Presses for Proceedings on Serbian War Crimes," Washington News, 13 April 1993.

John McMillan, U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees spokesman, stated that minutes after NATO planes began enforcement of the U.N. no-fly zone, Serb launched shells against Srebrenica set to explode in mid-air to wreak the greatest havoc on people caught in the open.

In addition, one person was killed and 35 people hurt when there was an hour-long artillery assault on Sarajevo. "Bosnian truce is shattered even as NATO jets prowl the skies," Reuters, 13 April 1993.

Louis Gentile, a United Nations relief official, stated the attack on Srebrenica was the worst since the shelling began seven months ago.

In addition, the Serbian attacks on Sarajevo and Srebrenica appear to be part of a larger offensive against Bosnia. Bosnian Army reports stated that Bosnian towns of Bihac, Olovo, and Kladanj were bombarded by Serbs.

The Sarajevo attack by Serbs killed at least 10 people and required many amputations. "2-week Cease-fire Broken in Bosnia as Serbs Attack," The New York Times, 13 April 1993.

John McMillian, spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) stated the following after the Serbian attack:

"Its an attack on civilians. Anything that kills 15 children - that's criminal."

"Serb Attacks Break Truce in Bosnia," Chicago Tribune, 13 April 1993.

14 April 1993

John McMillian, UNHCR spokesman, stated:

"In their drive to conquer territory, the Serbs are willing to kill anybody to achieve their aims."

"UN Asks EC for Food Aid to Bosnia," Financial Times, 14 April 1993.

15 April 1993

Louis Gentile, a Canadian UN official and a witness to the attacks in Srebrenica stated:

"It was very clearly intended to wound as many civilians as possible. People were throwing bodies on to ox-carts or anything that would move, throwing bodies into wheelbarrows.

I say bodies because some of the people were alive and some were not. Some were not really looking like people anymore. There were parts of bodies. There were people whose intestines were falling out, people whose brains were coming out of their eyes. I saw two children who did not seem to have any faces left."

"Group of Seven: West Pins Peace Hopes on Tougher Serbian Sanctions," Guardian, 15 April 1993.

16 April 1993

Bihac suffered heavy Serb shelling, causing a U.N. military spokesman to say that the 28 March 1993 ceasefire was dead. "Bosnia's Bloody Labyrinth," The Independent, 16 April 1993.

Short wave radio operators in Srebrenica reported that former Yugoslavian army troops crossed the Drina River separating Bosnia from Serbia and had mounted their own aggressive offensive against Srebrenica. A U.N. official noted that the Serbs were closing in fast against Srebrenica. "U.N. Ready to Evacuate Srebrenica," Agence France Presse, 16 April 1993.

U.S. special envoy Reginald Bartholomew arrived in Belgrade on a peace mission. He stated that "The whole world is convinced that the Serbs carry special responsibility." "Talks of Russian and U.S. Envoys on Bosnia; U.S. Envoy Arrives in Belgrade, Is Briefed by Russian Envoy On Talks On Bosnia," British Broadcasting Corporation, 16 April 1993.

"When the war in Croatia erupted in 1991, General Mladic was transferred to Knin, the mountain stronghold of Croatia's rebel Serbs. ... A career officer in the Yugoslav People's Army, he was picked by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic over the objections of senior officers. 'He was intentionally installed by Milosevic to supervise the war in Bosnia' one diplomat says." "Mladic scorns Western Threats," Financial Times, 16 April 1993.

17 April 1993

Helsinki Watch issued a second report regarding war crimes in Bosnia. Executive Director Jeri Laber stated:

"This report provides ample evidence of the atrocities that have been committed in Bosnia-Herzegovina....but especially by Serbian military and paramilitary forces."

"Helsinki Watch Calls for U.N. War Crimes Tribunal for Bosnia," Reuter Library Report, 17 April 1993.

Srebrenica reported heavy shelling by Serbs. People were dying as they waited for medical attention. Despite a U.N. Resolution calling Srebrenica a safe area, the Serbs ignored it. U.N. troops trying to get into Srebrenica were denied again by Serb commanders. "Srebrenica Teeters On the Brink of Collapse," CNN, 17 April 1993.



18 April 1993

Reports out of Srebrenica were that 5,000 people died as a result of the Serbian offensive since it began. U.N. officials reported heavy shelling in Srebrenica, killing several civilians in the city center. An embittered U.N. official stated that the current situation set the stage for what he called "Another chapter of ethnic cleansing."

U.N. officials also stated that "Srebrenica is dead" and that U.N. officials were turning their energies to prevent genocide by the Serbs around Srebrenica. "Struggle in the Balkans; Cease-Fire in Battered Muslim Town Seals a Key Victory for Serb Forces," The New York Times, 18 April 1993.

The United Nations imposed tighter sanctions on the rump Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). The sanctions were imposed under the theory that the rump Yugoslavia has the power to pressure Bosnian Serbs into halting their aggression. This action came after further reports of the Serbs shelling Bosnians cowering in the ruins of Srebrenica. This shelling was aimed at Muslim women, children, and the elderly, a spokesman at U.N. mission headquarters in Zagreb, Croatia said. In addition to shelling, the Serbs also launched sniper attacks at the town center. The official stated it was clear that the Serbians were targeting Bosnian civilians, where at very least twelve people were killed and were probably many more. Despite a U.N. Resolution demanding Serbian withdrawal, the Serbs failed to leave. A U.N. official stated:

"This is the second time in a week that the [U.N.] force commander has sat down with [General] Ratko Mladic and listened to his words of reason while [Mladic's] guys were at the same time firing on civilians in Srebrenica."

"Security Council Votes to Tighten Sanctions Against Serbs; Bosnia: Despite News of a Cease-Fire, U.N. Acts After Rebels Shell Civilians in Srebrenica, Russia and China Abstain," Los Angeles Times, 18 April 1993.

U.S. Ambassador Madeleine Albright said that the U.N. imposed sanctions on the rump Yugoslavia were a means of bringing home to the Bosnian Serbs and their allies in Serbia and Montenegro the price they would have to pay for their genocidal practices.

In addition, the commander of Serb forces around Srebrenica was quoted as saying everyone in Srebrenica was an extremist and should be killed. As a result, Muslim forces were reluctant to disarm themselves. The Serbian army vowed over and over to destroy the Bosnian defenders. National Public Radio (NPR), 18 April 1993.

Short wave radio operators in Srebrenica reported renewed shelling which claimed the lives of at least 20 people, injured 30 more, and set the town aflame. The reporter noted that "Every seven seconds a shell lands." Because of the shelling, there were reports that civilians in Srebrenica bled to death in the streets. Serbian snipers fired on all movement in Srebrenica.

Bosnia claimed interception of a conversation between General Ratko Mladic and an artillery officer. Mladic was quoted as telling the officer to avoid hitting a factory because "We need the machines." Mladic stated that the target of shelling was humanity. Mladic told the officer to shell: "...only the human flesh. Don't do anything but shell the human flesh." Mladic also told the officer to let Serbian snipers fire on Muslim civilians. "U.N. Votes to Punish Serbia," The Toronto Star, 18 April 1993.

Lord David Owen told BBC television: "[The Serbs] are cocky, confident, they think they can get their Greater Serbia." Owen feared current pressure on Serbian forces would not be enough to stop them from attempting to create Greater Serbia. German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel stated: "Serbian politicians do not want peace. They have deceived the international community and led it around by the nose." "Calls Mount for Air Strikes Despite New Sanctions," Reuters, 18 April 1993.

19 April 1993

Witnesses reported that Srebrenica was the victim of another coordinated bombardment attack by the Serbs. France's U.N. envoy, Jean-Benard Merimee, added that it was time to act against the Bosnia Serbs "...and their backers in Belgrade." "Bosnia: U.N. Bid to End Bosnia Horror," The Age (Melbourne), 19 April 1993.

Lord David Owen confirmed that supplies to the Bosnian Serbs were coming through Belgrade, and suggested selective bombing strikes to prevent Belgrade from giving the Bosnian Serbs logistical support. "Bosnia: Policy Disarray As Serbs Arrive," Australian Financial Review, 19 April 1993.

Lord David Owen stated that Serbs surrounding Srebrenica were doing just as they pleased, and added: "They have no right to Srebrenica--Srebrenica is a Muslim town." Owen also noted that under the Vance-Owen peace plan, Srebrenica would be part of a Muslim province. "Owen Still Recommends Military Force in Bosnia," Reuters, 19 April 1993.

20 April 1993

A U.N. military official in Tuzla was quoted as saying: "These [Serb] commanders really don't care a bit about the people in these pockets. They only care about holding and capturing territory."

In addition, reports indicated that the Serbian militias were engaged in the process of executing men of fighting age, which caused U.N. officials to fear a massacre. "U.N. Fliers Remove Trapped Bosnians," The New York Times, 20 April 1993.

Lord David Owen, when asked about the Vance-Owen plan, had the following to say:

"I'm also careful not to use the simplistic classification 'aggression' because this is both a civil war and a war of aggression....[The Bosnian Serbs] have of course been aided and abetted by Serbs outside of Bosnia-Herzegovina. And they have been substantially equipped militarily by Serbs outside Bosnia-Herzegovina."

"David Owen On the Balkans," Foreign Affairs, Spring 1993.

Belgian Foreign Minister, Willy Class, suggested the use of air strikes if the Serbs persisted in their campaign to grab land. "Bosnia-Herzegovina: New Split Over the Use of Force in Bosnia," The Age (Melbourne), 20 April 1993.

On hearings at the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Biden stated that while Milosevic was not at the peace table: "The Serbs are at the table, Mr. Karadzic is at the table, but he is a puppet of Mr. Milosevic." Biden also noted intelligence reports indicating that the Yugoslav National Army in Serbia was "directly responsible for at least part of the shelling of Srebrenica..." "Capitol Hill Hearing with Defense Department Personnel," Federal News Service, 20 April 1993.

22 April 1993

NATO reported a violation of the U.N. no-fly zone, this time appearing to be by a white cargo helicopter with no markings. A second violation was reported later, but no details were given. "NATO Reports Probable Violation of the No-fly Zone," Reuters, 22 April 1993.

Sarajevo reported renewed shelling by the Serbian forces which killed at least two people and wounded 18 others. "Srebrenica Row Piles New Pressure on U.S. in Bosnia," Reuters, 22 April 1993.

President Slobodan Milosevic of the rump Yugoslavia, boasting of new oil discoveries, stated: "Serbia will never bend to the will of the west" after the rump Yugoslavia was hit with additional economic sanctions by the U.N. Zoran Lilic, parliamentary speaker, added: "While we have food, the world cannot do anything against us." "The Balkan Conflict: Tighter Sanctions Unlikely to Hasten War's End - As the UN Prepares to Tighten the Noose Around Serbia, Laura Silber Assess the Growing Impact on the Republic's Economy and the Defiance of its Political Leaders," Financial Times, 22 April 1993.

Five shells fell on the Muslim city of Tuzla, 45 miles northwest of Srebrenica.

Radovan Karadzic, president of the Bosnian Serbs, was quoted as saying of Srebrenica: "This area is now liberated. this is now a 100 percent Serb district." "Srebrenica Disarmed, U.N. says,; Besieged Bosnians Breathe Easier with Serb Guns Silent," Chicago Tribune, 22 April 1993.

American President Bill Clinton compared the so-called "ethnic-cleansing" operations by the Serbs to the Nazi Holocaust. "Bosnia: Bosnian Croats and Muslims Agree Ceasefire," Agence Europe, 22 April 1993.

23 April 1993

Germany's Representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Detlev Graf zu Rantzau, in noting Serbian repression of the Albanian people in Kosovo, stated:

"All this means, in a word, the continuation of the Serbian policy of violence against the smaller and weaker nations in the former Yugoslavia, and above all, it means the continuation of the campaign to exterminate the Muslims."

"Kohl Calls for International Isolation of Serbia," The Week in Germany, 23 April 1993.

24 April 1993

The Security Council investigated first-hand the conflict by flying to Sarajevo. "Bosnian President Says U.N. May Need to Use Force," Reuters, 24 April 1993.

The chief of the general staff of the rump Yugoslavia, General Zivota Panic, in an interview with the German weekly Der Spiegel said that the West wanted to take away Serbia's "Lebensraum" (living space) in Bosnia. "Serbs Will Fight to the Bitter End, General Says," Reuters, 24 April 1993.

A United Nations Relief column headed to Srebrenica had tons confiscated by rebel Serbs. "Bosnian Serbs Back Further Owen Talks," The Independent, 24 April 1993.

25 April 1993

The U.N. levelled sanctions against Serbia because it is the main military and political backer of the Bosnian Serb nationalists.

Also, Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic rejected a Lord Owen peace initiative and added that the Bosnian Serbs had no intention of giving up land to the Croats. Karadzic did not want Bosnia united as a single country.

In addition, Serbs from Bosnia and Croatia took additional steps towards the creation of "Greater Serbia" by merging their parliaments, creating "one government, one army, one police, and one administration." "Serbs Spurn Bid to Save Peace Pact; Bosnian Faction Leader: 'We Have to be Separate,'" The Washington Post, 25 April 1993.

26 April 1993

A speech by Yugoslav Foreign Minister Valdislav Jovanovic attacked UN Resolution 820 as "a drastic attack on the sovereignty of our country and act of open unfriendliness to the Serbian nation." "Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; Jovanovic Tells Deputies U.N. Resolution 820 'Drastic Attack on Sovereignty,'" BBC, 26 April 1993.

27 April 1993

A UN Spokesman said that the Bosnian Serbs began to step up pressure on 150 Canadian UN force in Srebrenica. "Tougher Sanctions Slapped on Serbia," The Daily Telegraph, 27 April 1993.

Lord Owen was reported as saying "If Yugoslavia applied the United Nations resolutions and cut the Bosnian Serbs from the supply sources such a step could lead to peace fairly quickly." "Owen Urges Belgrade to Pressure Bosnian Serbs," United Press International (UPI), 27 April 1993.

28 April 1993

Serbian tanks, heavy artillery, mortars, and infantry were part of a new southward attack on Bihac, Bosnia. Much of the attack was based from Serbian positions in Croatia. This appeared to underscore the Serbian willingness to press on a campaign of territorial conquest, without regard to the wishes of the international community. At least 150 shells fell on Bihac in the attack, and additional fighting was reported in Grabez. The Bihac pocket sits amid Serb controlled lands in Croatia and Serb leaders discussed their programme to unify the two areas. A UNHCR official explained that "If the Serbian republics (self-styled mini-states in Bosnia and in Croatia) are to join, then the Bihac pocket is in the way."

In addition, two UN relief workers were badly wounded in a mortar attack between the Bosnian towns of Zenica and Tuzla. "Bosnia: Fierce Attack on Muslim Enclave Threatens 'New Srebrenica,'" Guardian, 28 April 1993.

Bosnian Serb authorities barred United Nations aid convoys from reaching the besieged Muslim enclave of Goradze for two weeks, according to a U.N. statement. Reuters, 28 April 1993.

A senior U.N. official, Cedric Thornberry, reported that 1,000 Serbs backed by 10 tanks were in the assault against Bihac. "Serbs Attack Muslim Stronghold in Northwest Bosnia," The New York Times, 28 April 1993.

A U.N. refugee agency spokesman, Peter Kessler, stated Serbs in the Bihac area ransacked on U.N. aid convoy and confiscated 20 tons of food meant for the civilians in the area. "Bosnia's Rivals Fight New Battles, Aid Effort Threatened," Reuters, 28 April 1993.

29 April 1993

Diego Arria, Venezuela's U.N. Ambassador and head of a fact-finding mission to Bosnia was quoted as saying "Slow-motion genocide is still going on" in regards to the besieged town of Srebrenica. Arria noted that water had been cut to Srebrenica by the Serbs. "U.N. Mission Calls for Expanding Safe Havens in Bosnia," Agence France Presse, 29 April 1993.

Western diplomats and analysts noted that the government in Belgrade appeared divided on the proper way to conquer Bosnia and partition it into the "Greater Serbia." "Yugoslavia: Milosevic Moves to Bend the Rebels to His Devious Will," Guardian, 29 April 1993.

Serbs threatened U.N. military commander Bob Stewart that his base would be the target for artillery strikes if the West launched air strikes against the Serbian positions.

Also, U.N. officials reported an increase in sporadic fighting around Srebrenica. "Bosnia: British Troops At Risk as West Wavers on Bosnia," Guardian, 29 April 1993.

Diego Arria, Venezuelan Ambassador to the U.N. reported that around Srebrenica:

"No water, no physicians, no electricity is, I repeat, a slow process of genocide."

In addition, the U.N. suspended Yugoslavia from the U.N. Economic and Social Council. "U.N. Group Recommends Expanding Safe Zones in Bosnia," CNN, 29 April 1993.

30 April 1993

The self-styled Bosnian Serb parliament reconsidered the Vance-Owen peace plan after receiving pressure to do so from Belgrade and Slobodan Milosevic. Belgrade apparently had confidence that the year-old plan satisfied most of the Serbs' territorial aims.

In addition, Venezuelan Ambassador to the U.N., Diego Arria, noted:

"An indication of the prevailing conditions of the city [Srebrenica] is that the mutilated remains of... children who were playing soccer when killed, are still scattered in the area."

"Bosnia: Rebel Serbs Ready to Talk on Peace Plan," Guardian, 30 April 1993.

UNPROFOR spokesman Barry Frewer reported that a reconnaissance patrol of Canadian U.N. soldiers came under mortar and small-arms fire at a Serb checkpoint after leaving the demilitarized town of

Srebrenica. The U.N. soldiers had been attempting to reach the nearby village of Zeleni Jadar, where the Serbs besieging Srebrenica have turned off the town's water supply. Relief workers report at least 800 cases of scabies in Srebrenica, and say the water situation is desperate. "Fighting Intensifies Along Several Fronts in Bosnia," Agence France Presse, 1 May 1993.

1 May 1993

NATO reported that two military helicopters were caught operating "in areas controlled by Bosnian Serbs" in violation of the no-fly zone. One of the helicopters was escorted out of the no-fly zone into Serbia and the other landed at Zaluzani airport after being detected by NATO monitors. "NATO Reports Violations of Bosnian No-fly Zone," The Reuter Library Report, 1 May 1993

3 May 1993

At the peace negotiation in Greece, Mr. Rancic, an aide to the president of rump Yugoslavia, Dobrica Cosic, stated that, "This state [Bosnia]. It's a monster. It can't exist." "A Moment of Peace by the Aegean to Plot Another End to the War," Guardian, 3 May 1993.

4 May 1993

The U.N. High Commission for Refugees reported forcible population expulsions, under the guise of 'ethnic cleansing', were being stepped up by Serbs and Croats. Serbian forces charged \$63 per adult and \$31.50 per child to Muslims to leave Banja Luka. "UNHCR Says 'ethnic cleansing' Increasing," UPI, 4 May 1993

Alemka Lisinski, spokeswoman for the U.N. High Commission for Refugees, noted that the population of Goradze was being deprived of essential commodities and food, and many inhabitants had lost up to 30 kilograms in weight. In addition, suicides by the elderly were also reported to be on the rise. Attacks on Goradze by Serbs were also reported. "Goradze Suffering Acute Food Shortages, Suicides on the Rise: U.N.," Agence France Presse, 4 May 1993.

Bosnia reported Zepa was in flames after a severe Serb armored and mechanized attack. "Main Developments in Yugoslav Conflict," Reuters, 4 May 1993.

5 May 1993

UN officials looking to verify the damages caused by the Serbian attack on Zepa were turned away by the Serb forces surrounding the city. "US, France Agree to Send Troops if Bosnia Serbs Accept Peace Plan," The Irish Times, 5 May 1993.

In Sarajevo, Bosnian Serbs shelled the downtown area with shells exploding around 11 AM near the presidency and the Marshal Tito barracks where the Ukrainian U.N. battalion is quartered. "Karadzic Urges Serbs to Sign Peace Plan, Offensive on Zepa," Agence France Presse, 5 May 1993.

6 May 1993

Zepa was the target of Serbian attacks. Serb forces would not allow U.N. monitors to enter the city. "Congress Wants To Have Its Say," USA Today, 6 May 1993.

7 May 1993

Sarajevo radio reported a massacre in Zepa of 130 civilians. The UN could not confirm the report due to the refusal of Serbian commanders to allow UN officials into the area. "Belgrade Retaliates," Calgary Herald, 7 May 1993.

8 May 1993

Bosnian Serbs landed reinforcements on the town of Zepa, a "safe" area declared by U.N. resolution. Independent reports stated that the village of Ribnac had been torched by Serbian forces. "Bosnian Serbs Move in on UN-designated 'Safe' Area," The Montreal Gazette, 8 May 1993.

Bosnian Serbs blew up three historic mosques in the northern Bosnian town of Banja Luka. Two of the Mosques were dated 1583 and 1587, and were considered to be some of the most beautiful in the Balkans.

In addition, the rump Yugoslavia declared that it was cutting off military and logistic support for the Bosnian Serbs. "Conflict in the Balkans; 2 Major Mosques Blown up by Serbs," The New York Times, 8 May 1993.

A spokesman for the U.N. High Commissioner for refugees said that the bombing of the three mosques in an anti-Muslim terror campaign is a typical prelude to Serb "ethnic cleansing" campaigns. "West struggles for unity on Bosnia," Chicago Tribune, 9 May 1993.

Ron Redmond, a spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees noted an increase in murder, violence, and intimidation during the past month in Banja Luka as Serbs pursued acts of genocide. Mr. Redmond was quoted as saying: "As world attention focuses elsewhere, these thugs [the Serbs] come out of the woodwork." "Karadzic Accepts Muslim Havens," The Independent, 8 May 1993.



10 May 1993

UN officials finally confirmed that Zepa had been under a fierce military attack in violation of UN orders and promises of the Serb leadership. Zepa was reported as being "completely destroyed" and in the "last stages" of Serbian "ethnic cleansing" against the Muslim population. "Bosnia Ceasefire Holds as UN Observers Reach Besieged Zepa," The Times, 10 May 1993.

UNHCR official John McMillian said, in connection with the destruction of Zepa by Serbs:

"If the situation as reported in Zepa is correct then it is a human catastrophe of the greatest magnitude. If there are only 50 people wandering around in a town which had 6000 people then it boggles the mind as to what humanitarian aid will be necessary."

"Exodus Empties Bosnian Muslim Enclave," The Toronto Star, 10 May 1993.

12 May 1993

Muslims who fled Zepa after the Serbian bombardment slowly returned in search of food and shelter. Many were wearing nothing except makeshift clothes cut out of US parachutes. One UNHCR official, after hearing that a military observer at one time had dismissed the assault on Zepa as Muslim propaganda said:

"He [the observer] was wrong and Zepa was being bombed to bits."

Ron Redmond of the UNHCR reported that people returning to Zepa were in "very bad condition." Larry Hollingworth of the UNHCR, in trying to reach Zepa, was turned back by drunken Serb militiamen. "Bosnia: Starving Muslims Trickle Back to UN-protected Town," Guardian, 12 May 1993.

Bosnian Serb forces stopped two U.N. helicopters from evacuating wounded Muslims out of Zepa. "Serb Forces Stop Two U.N. Helicopters From Going to Zepa," Agence France Presse, 12 May 1993.

13 May 1993

Over a period of five hours on May 12, at least a half-dozen large tankers and a score or more of other trucks were seen crossing Serbia to the Bosnian Serb enclave of Bijeljina, which was used as a base and staging area for Serbian attacks against Bosnia. The truck traffic raised serious doubts that Slobodan Milosevic was really complying with his promise to end aid shipments to Bosnian Serbs. In any event, many observers stated that fuel and other supply trucks from the rump Yugoslavia consistently cross into Bosnia and end up in Serbian hands in Bosnia. "Serbia's Cross-

Border Embargo Far from Airtight; Fuel Tankers Roll Into Nationalist-held Bosnia," The Washington Post, 13 May 1993.

14 May 1993

The head of the rump Yugoslavian Serbian Radical Party, Vojislav Seselj, whose private militia with the skull-and-crossbones emblem had attacked Muslims in Bosnia and destroyed mosques, was quoted as saying at a Yugoslavian rally at the Bosnian-Yugoslav border:

"Brother and sister Serbs, 80% of our land in Croatia and 90% of our land in Bosnia is already liberated. Our enemies see that they cannot defeat us with weapons, so they are playing another card, which is to divide us." (Emphasis added.)

"Yugoslav Serbs Vow to Kill U.N. Troops if the West Steps In," The New York Times, 14 May 1993.

15 May 1993

The UN reported a fierce attack by Serbs against the Muslim town of Brcko. "Bickering Serbs Talk Peace As War Rages," Chicago Tribune, 15 May 1993.

16 May 1993

U.N. spokesman Commander Barry Frewer confirmed continued fighting around the town of Brcko. "More Bosnia Fighting As Voting Resumes in Peace Referendum," Reuters, 16 May 1993.

17 May 1993

U.N. spokesman Barry Frewer reported that the Serbs have launched a major offensive against the town of Brcko. Frewer reports that the Serbs are using artillery, mortars and multiple rocket launchers and calls the offensive an extremely serious violation of the cease-fire. BBC, 17 May 1993.

Frewer also reported "the first significant cease-fire violation" around the eastern Moslem enclave of Zepa, declared a "safe area" by the U.N. last week. Frewer said that snipers were firing at civilians who were trying to pick up airdropped food parcels. "Bosnian Serbs Say Peace Plan Dead," Reuters, 17 May 1993.

18 May 1993

After the rejection of the Vance-Owen peace plan, Bosnian Serbs stepped up attacks on the UN-protected "safe areas" in order to widen the strategic Posavina corridor in northern Bosnia. Commander Barry Frewer, spokesman for UNPROFOR, stated:

"In Srebrenica, air-dropped relief bundles have been landing near the line of confrontation and Serb forces have fired upon some residents as they tried to retrieve them.

General Ratko Mladic, Bosnian Serb commander, threatened terrorist attacks on Great Britain and the United States if he was bombarded.

"Serb Forces Fire At Aid Drops In 'Safe Areas,'" The Independent, 19 May 1993.

A Serb offensive was reported around the town of Brcko. In addition, diplomats suggested that military supplies were still passing from the rump Yugoslavia to the Bosnian Serbs. "Guns are Still Doing the Talking in Bosnia-Herzegovina," CNN, 18 May 1993.

Croats seized 1800 Muslim men, women, and children in Mostar and held them in a helicopter factory. This action was believed to be evidence that the Croats have turned against the Bosnians and have a secret plan to divide up Bosnia between themselves and the Serbians. "Serbians Taunt the West; Officers Mock Threats of Action," The Boston Globe, 18 May 1993.

19 May 1993

Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic refused to allow UN-observers on the Drina River because the move would highlight Belgrade's non-enforcement of a proclaimed blockade against the Bosnian Serbs.

In addition, lorries and petrol tankers were seen crossing the river from rump Yugoslavia to the Bosnian Serbs in Bosanska, Bosnia--a fact that UN observers could hardly fail to notice. Also, Radovan Karadzic told the West to refer to him as the "President" of a new Serbian state in the Balkans. "Serbs to 'Examine' Plan for Border Observers," The Independent, 19 May 1993.

20 May 1993

Croats were seen attacking Muslims in Vitez. A U.N. human rights envoy accused the Croats of committing war crimes mainly against the Muslims in Bosnia. The U.N. official, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, accused the Vance-Owen plan of encouraging war crimes. "Bosnia's factions mock peace efforts," The Washington Times, 20 May 1993.

21 May 1993

Fighting between Muslims and Serbs around Brcko was again reported. Croatia pulled back its forces into barracks. "War in Bosnia: THE COMBATANTS: Vance-Owen hopes rise on Serbs' Surprise Offer; Karadzic Tries to Edge His Way Back Into Peace process," The Daily Telegraph, 21 May 1993.

22 May 1993

Bosnian Serbs continued fighting against Government troops, despite statements by their leaders that the fighting had stopped. UN officials noted that the town of Brcko, strategically located, was the target of severe Serbian attacks. "Attacks By Serbs on Rise," Calgary Herald, 22 May 1993.

23 May 1993

Along the narrow, winding roads of Bosanska Raca, large numbers of supplies from the rump Yugoslavia to the Bosnian Serbs was witnessed. So much petrol was taken to the Bosnian Serbs, that it was actually cheaper on the Bosnian side of the river Drina than in rump Yugoslavia itself. Other commerce was seen leaving the Bosnian Serbs for the rump Yugoslavia. More than a third of the trucks had Banja Luka license plates. "Golden highway makes a joke of Bosnian Blockade," Sunday Times, 23 May 1993.

Bosnian Serb forces set up elaborate police systems and checkpoints inside Bosnia. Radovan Karadzic stated:

"Bosnia never existed, and it will never exist...there will be a Republic of Srpska once and for all. Anybody who wants to deal with us has to take into account that Serbs have decided to have their own province that will be independent."

Additional evidence that rump Yugoslavia was supplying fuel to the Bosnian Serbs is that the Serbs allowed foreign reporters in Bosnia to fill up their cars with petrol. General Milan Gvero, deputy commander of the Serbian nationalist forces, pointing out lands in the Western part of the Drina valley, stated:

"We say everybody has to live on his own territory, Muslims on Muslim territory, Serbs on Serbian. This is pure Serbian territory, and there is no power on earth that can make us surrender it."

"CONFLICT IN THE BALKANS; Exuding Confidence, Serbian Nationalists Act As if War for Bosnia is Won," The New York Times, 23 May 1993.

24 May 1993

In Kozluk, Bosnia, a Serbian soldier took pride in demolishing a Mosque in the center of the town. Muslim citizens stated that the majority of their homes had been destroyed and that the town was now almost exclusively Serbian. "Defiance; The Serbs of Bosnia Are Ready to Take on the World," Maclean's, 24 May 1993.

25 May 1993

Bosnian radio reported Bosnian Serb shelling of the town of Maglaj continued for the tenth straight day and Serb artillery also attacked Brcko. "Bosnian Serb Guns Batter Moslems as NATO Debates Strategy," Reuters, 25 May 1993.

Attacks by Serbs were reported around Brcko, Maglaj, Olovo, and Sarajevo itself. In the last 24 hours, 7 people were reported killed and 38 wounded in this latest barrage. "Fresh Fighting in Bosnia as NATO Debates Strategy," Reuters, 25 May 1993.

26 May 1993

Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, stated that observers were no longer needed to show that Yugoslavia "sealed" its borders. Milosevic refused to allow monitors on the Drina river. "Belgrade Reneges on Verification of Ban on Arming Bosnian Serbs," The New York Times, 26 May 1993.

U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher endorsed the U.N. plan for safe havens, even though earlier he had rejected it as confining the Muslims to ghettos and effectively ratify Serbian conquests elsewhere in Bosnia. "Allies Paste a Fig Leaf Over Bosnia," Sacramento Bee, 26 May 1993.

27 May 1993

A U.N. military spokesman reported that water was very scarce in Srebrenica, while Serbs pushed another offensive against the Muslims in Maglaj. "Fighting in Maglaj in Bosnia: Situation in Srebrenica Desperate," Agence France Presse, 27 May 1993.

A Reuters Television crew, witnessing the attack in Maglaj, reported that Serb artillery shells smashed into Maglaj every 10 minutes. The shells were 155mm and destroyed every house. The news agency reported that a couple walking along a bridge were cut down by shrapnel, causing both of them to lose their legs. 50 to 100 shells were reported to be landing in the town every day. Christian Mulders, a European Community monitor, said that Serbian shells landed near his team as they entered Maglaj. He added:

"That was scary for lots of us. I think the whole world should know what's happening in Maglaj, that the Serbs are continuing to try to capture the entire northern area despite a so-called ceasefire agreement."

"Serb Shells Hit Bosnian Town Every 10 Minutes," Reuters, 27 May 1993.

29 May 1993

Independent observers stated that, since the Bosnian war began 13 months ago, tens of thousands of Muslims had been expelled from Sandzak by Serbs. "Borderland Braces for Ethnic War; Serb Militias Active in Muslim Region," The Washington Post, 29 May 1993.

30 May 1993

Zeljko Raznatovic, known as "Arkan," arrived in Kosovo after being elected to the Serbian Parliament last December as a representative from Pristina. Arkan was cited by the U.S. and other governmental agencies as a war criminal for the acts of his militia group in Bosnia. "Fear of the Serbs Spreads in the South," The New York Times, 30 May 1993.

Witnesses describe that, in the so-called UN safe-areas in Bosnia:

1. Women sell their bodies for a single cigarette,
2. All the cemeteries are full to overflowing,
3. All the schools are closed,
4. Fire service and refuse service are not available,
5. Electricity and water services are unavailable,
6. Most have a refugee population at least 50% of the total population.

Tuzla, often cited as the Muslims' main stronghold, has 132,000 residents and 60,000 refugees. In addition to the problems described above, Tuzla's supply routes have been cut to the north and the south, and the airport has been shut due to Serb shelling. "Safe areas" appear to be little more than euphemisms for 'ghettos' or 'concentration camps.' The "safe-area" system has many Muslims fearing for a Palestinian-like existence, and sends a wrong message to other peoples in the world. "Fear of the Serbs Spreads in the South," The New York Times, 30 May 1993.

In addition, it appears clear that Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia and Franjo Tudjman of Croatia have made a secret deal to partition Bosnia between the two of them. The Bosnian Croats have formed a state which is all but in name part of Croatia proper. "Wandering in a Balkan Blunderland; Tony Barber, East Europe Editor, Explains How the West's Catalogue of Errors Has Turned a Crisis Into a Tragedy," The Independent, 30 May 1993.

Serbs initially attacked the Bosnians in Mostar by using siege artillery. New attacks, however, have been by the Croats looking to drive the remaining Muslims away. "Clinton Plan in Bosnia Hints New U.S. Policy," Chicago Tribune, 30 May 1993.

31 May 1993

Observers passing through Vlasenica in Eastern Bosnia to Zvornik on the Drina report that Muslim village after Muslim village have been burned and abandoned, their Mosques destroyed. Serbian graffiti was sprayed over the ruins. Even though the Serbian campaign ended a month ago, some Muslim houses were still burning. "Beyond Pale: Bosnia - Postcard," The New Republic, 31 May 1993.

1 June 1993

On the same day that Belgrade deputies voted to oust President Cosic of rump Yugoslavia, three children were killed and five children wounded in shelling of the Old Town district of Sarajevo. In Goradze, 30 civilians were killed in a Serbian offensive. Other Bosnian cities, Maglaj, Brcko, and their environs were targets of artillery strikes by the Serbs. "Yugoslav Parliament Ousts President Cosic," Reuters, 1 June 1993.

Peter Kessler, a U.N. Refugee official, stated publicly that Bosnian Croats were in the process of expelling Muslims from the Bosnian city of Mostar. Kessler stated that this was ethnic cleansing of "100 people a day."

In addition, U.N. officials attempting to enter the town of Goradze were turned away by the Serbs. In Srebrenica, the U.N. reported a severe water supply crisis. The Serbs have refused to allow UN officials access to the water plant which serves the city. "Bosnian Croats Breach Ceasefire Deal," The Ottawa Citizen, 1 June 1993.

Bosnian Serbs, retaliating against a successful Muslim offensive, used their artillery to shell civilian districts in central Sarajevo. Radovan Karadzic suggested that the West was interested only in a "rapid victory" by the Serbs to save them from further embarrassment. "Bosnian Muslims Capture Strategic Mountain Heights; Serbs Warn of Retaliation Against Sarajevo if Offensive Continues," The Independent, 1 June 1993.

2 June 1993

While demonstrators protesting President Milosevic's government were put down by police in Belgrade, two Serbian shells exploded in the midst of a soccer game in Sarajevo, killing at least 15 people and wounding 80. Most of the players killed were boys aged around fifteen. "President's Firing Leads to Rioting in Yugoslavia," The Financial Post, 2 June 1993.

3 June 1993

Serb forces attacked and tightened their grip on Goradze, using both artillery and infantry attacks against the city's

defenders. This attack was carried out despite the UN declaration that Goradze is a "safe area." "Serbs Close in on 'Safe Haven,'" The Guardian, 3 June 1993.

4 June 1993

The U.N. issued a report on the six U.N. declared "safe areas" to protect Muslims in Bosnia. The conditions of each were appalling at best, and deteriorating. All six were dealing with a lack of basic food and medicine, and an increase in disease. "U.N. Lists Appalling Conditions in Muslim 'Safe Areas,'" Reuters, 4 June 1993.

Military analysts reported that Serbs, intent on creating a "corridor" between Serb held areas of Bosnia, have initiated almost constant attacks around Brcko and Maglaj. "Summer Serb Offensive Seen Likely in Bosnia," Reuters, 4 June 1993.

5 June 1993

Bosnia reported severe fighting in the Goradze area, as well as shelling against the cities of Maglaj, Tuzla, Olovo, Gradacac, Bihac, and even the Old Town part of Sarajevo. U.N. observers were again turned away from Goradze by the Serbs. "Moslems report Fighting in East and North Bosnia," Reuters, 5 June 1993.

June 6 1993

40 villages around Goradze were destroyed completely by the Serbs intent on destroying the last Muslim enclave in eastern Bosnia. Fighting has left more than 138,000 people dead or missing. "Guatemala Tries to Pick a New President" (sic), St. Petersburg Times, 6 June 1993.

7 June 1993

Croatian forces of the HVO used Muslim civilians as human shields in order to stall a Muslim counterattack. "Kill All the Muslims," Newsweek, 7 June 1993.

10,000 additional Muslim refugees were reported around the Goradze area, amidst continued heavy attacks by the Serbs. Additional attacks were reported on Brcko and Gradacac. "Serbian Offensives in Northern Bosnia at Brcko; In the South-east at Goradze," BBC, 7 June 1993.

8 June 1993

Serbian TV, a governmental controlled media, reported that Serb forces "liquidated" what was termed as "Ustashe" and



"notorious Islamic terrorists." Serbs also reported several successful attacks in the Goradze area. "Bosnia-Herzegovina; Bosnian Serbs Claim Successes in Fighting in Goradze Area," BBC, 8 June 1993.

Hamed Celik, a Muslim gathering information in Sarajevo for possible war crimes violations, reports of being held in a concentration camp run by Serbs where he witnessed and suffered torture at the hands of his Serbian captors. He was required to become a human minesweeper by the Serbs, and witnessed one civilian killed by mines when used in this manner.

Starvation and recreational killings by the Serbs were also witnessed. Repeatedly, the Serbs at the camp referred to the Muslim heritage of the victims.

Helsinki Watch reported that rapes by Serbs against Muslim women numbered in the tens of thousands. Sexual mutilations by Serbs against Muslims were also reported. "The New Tribalism: Defending Human Rights in An Age of Ethnic Conflict; Case Study: Bosnia-Herzegovina; A Tragic Portrait of Civilization Gone Wrong; 'Ethnic Cleansing,' Torture and Killing Feed a Hopeless Cycle of Violence in the War-Torn Republic," Los Angeles Times, 8 June 1993.

9 June 1993

Seven civilians were wounded in Serb artillery attacks against Goradze in eastern Bosnia. Serb forces, who began the offensive two weeks ago, still refused to allow U.N. peacekeepers access to the settlement, which holds an estimated 60,000 refugees. "Radio Reports Heavy Fighting in Muslim Enclave," Reuters, 9 June 1993.

10 June 1993

Heavy fighting was reported in the Goradze area. Two people were killed and seven wounded in the latest fighting. "British Troops Rescue Trapped Croat Civilians," The Ottawa Citizen, 10 June 1993.

11 June 1993

Sarajevo was attacked after dark by Serb artillery. Hospital and mortuary officials reported 6 dead and 37 wounded. Sarajevo radio reported 3000 shells struck Goradze from Serbian artillery positions. "Convoy Ambush Sparks Fresh Bosnia Bighting," The Financial Times, 11 June 1993.

12 June 1993

In what was termed as a "quasi-alliance" of at least "short term convenience," Serbian forces released thousands of Croatian men taken prisoner. Serbs allowed the Croats to leave with their

weapons, provided that the Croats return to battle the Muslims. In addition, Goradze reported that around 400 people had been killed by Serbian shelling attacks. "WAR IN THE BALKANS: British Kill Two, UN Role in Question," The Ottawa Citizen, 12 June 1993.

A mortar shell exploded among funeral mourners in Sarajevo, killing eight and wounding five others. Radio Sarajevo reported that in the last 24 hours 57 people had been killed and 69 wounded in Goradze from Serbian attacks. "Shell Kills Eight in Sarajevo, U.N. Soldier Killed in Mostar," Agence France Presse, 12 June 1993.

13 June 1993

The U.N. commander in Bosnia, Lt.-Gen. Philippe Morillon stated that the republic had descended into a state of "total anarchy" and he added "I've never felt that we were so close to catastrophe." "Bosnia Near 'total anarchy,' Morillon Warns," The Toronto Star, 13 June 1993.

Goradze reported that 600 people had died in the two weeks since the Serbs began their offensive to capture the city. 60,000 Muslim civilians remained, trapped in the town. "Muslim Civilians Trapped in Goradze," NPR, 13 June 1993.

U.N. observers in Sarajevo logged 256 shells exploding in Sarajevo on Saturday. Overnight, Serb positions took 30 hits, while Muslims were hit with 160 incoming rounds. "Sarajevo Gunners Ignore Morillon's Warning," Reuters, 13 June 1993.

14 June 1993

Serbs erected a new checkpoint at the Sarajevo airport, cutting off road access to the airport. Serb soldiers claimed it was now a border zone. "Serbs Block Access to Sarajevo Airport," Reuters, 14 June 1993.

Shells which pounded Sarajevo were responsible for killing three people and injuring over fifty, hospital officials reported. 138,000 people are now estimated to have died since April 1992 in Bosnia, and two million people lost their homes. "Serbs pound Bosnia 'safe area', Artillery kills at least 52 at first-aid center in Muslim city," Chicago Tribune, 14 June 1993.

15 June 1993

Bosnia reports that Serbian shells struck a makeshift hospital in Goradze, killing all 50 wounded in it. The place was described as a mixture of body-parts, bricks, and plaster. "Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Reports 'mosaic of horrors' in Goradze," BBC, 15 June 1993.

16 June 1993

Sarajevo Radio reported that since the latest offensive by Serb forces against Goradze, 640 people had died and 1,500 people were wounded. Sniper fire was reported in Sarajevo. "Shelling of Goradze Continues--Sarajevo Radio," Reuters, 16 June 1993.

17 June 1993

Serbian mortar fire intensified in Goradze. Seventeen people were reported killed and many more were reported wounded. "Goradze Hospital Overflowing as Serbs Increase Artillery Fire; 17 Dead," The Gazette (Montreal), 17 June 1993.

UNPROFOR spokesman Barry Frewer reported Serbian shelling of Sarajevo and attacks which shook the UNPROFOR headquarters in western Sarajevo. "Fighting in Bosnia Day Before Ceasefire," Agence France Presse, 17 June 1993.

Presidents Franjo Tudjman of Croatia and Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia devised a plan for the partition of Bosnia into ethnic cantons. Radovan Karadzic stated that he was highly pleased with the joint Serbian-Croatian proposal. The plan proposed would unify ethnic regions of Bosnia, contiguous with Serbia and Croatia, and that the Muslim region would be cut in two and entirely encircled by the other groups. "Serbia, Croatia Proposed Scrapping UN Bosnia Plan," Chicago Tribune, 17 June 1993.

18 June 1993

Speculation rose about a covert Croat-Serbian alliance when the Serbian and Croatian presidents agreed to negotiate an ethnically based partition of Bosnia over the protest of the Bosnian government. "Peacekeeper Killed as Latest Bosnia Ceasefire Evaporates," Press Association Newsfile, 18 June 1993.

Bosnia reported very heavy Serbian attacks against Ilovaca, 10 kilometers (6 miles) south of Goradze. Sarajevo also reported the 52nd Muslim village which was burned down by the Serbs. There was also sporadic shelling of Sarajevo itself. "Fighting in Bosnia Hours Before Ceasefire," Agence France Presse, 18 June 1993.

19 June 1993

Nationalist Serb forces were reported to have carried out attacks in Bosnia, despite a ceasefire agreement. Agence France Presse, 19 June 1993.

20 June 1993

Serb forces halted a relief column - the first in a month - to the besieged town of Goradze. Goradze was in the midst of the 15th month of fighting. U.N. officials expected fighting to continue around all 'strategic areas' of Bosnia. "Bosnian Rivals Fight for Territory," Reuters, 20 June 1993.

21 June 1993

The U.N. reopened relief efforts after several days of fighting. Artillery strikes were still heard around the besieged Muslim 'safe areas.' "UN Relief Efforts Resume in Bosnia," The Christian Science Monitor, 21 June 1993.

Eleven people, including a whole family, were wounded by mortar shells in Sarajevo. Agence France Presse, 21 June 1993.

A U.N. official stated that there was no lull in the fighting in Bosnia. The official stated that Serbian nationalists were engaged in a battle for Brcko, which slices apart Serb-held territory. The official added:

"I think anyone who believes that the Serbs have stopped fighting to get themselves a corridor is being silly."

"Fighting in Bosnia is Said to Resume," The New York Times, 21 June 1993.

22 June 1993

In a step many observers believe will lead to the creation of "Greater Serbia," Serbs in Croatia voted to unite with the Bosnian Serbs' self-styled republic. Croatia vowed to use force to return those lands to Croatia, which were conquered from Croatia by Serbs in 1991. Croatian Serbs, as well as those in Bosnia, are dependent on the government in Belgrade for economic support. "Croatia Braces After Serb Vote," The Christian Science Monitor, 22 June 1993.

Alija Izetbegovic, President of Bosnia, said the following after his bid to have the arms embargo lifted was denied by Great Britain, Denmark, and Belgium:

"Those who vote [for] the embargo are practically voting for capitulation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and accepting a fait accompli and the use of force in international relations."

Cyrus Vance, co-author of the Vance-Owen plan, stated that accepting the Tudjman-Milosevic plan would be "A tragic mistake [that] will end up rewarding those who engaged in ethnic cleansing."

"War in Bosnia Overshadows EC Meeting," St. Petersburg Times, 22 June 1993.

Serb gunmen fired on NATO planes today. This was freely admitted by the government of the rump Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), and was reported by an official news agency in Belgrade. "Wrong Track," The Jerusalem Post, 22 June 1993.

Serb forces blocked a U.N. relief column headed for Goradze, U.N. refugee agency spokeswoman Lyndall Sachs reported.

In addition, U.N. spokesman Maj. Pepe Gallegos reported that twelve people were killed in heavy shelling of Jablanica, about 50 miles west of Sarajevo. U.N. forces stated that Croats were responsible. "Serbs Block U.N. Relief Column For Muslims," Los Angeles Times, 22 June 1993.

Bosnian Serb leader Momcilo Krajisnik demanded control of the inner districts of Sarajevo as part of the plan to divide Bosnia. He was quoted as saying:

"We cannot permit that all riches, which we jointly gained, remain with the Muslims."

In addition, fighting continued to rage around Brcko. "Bosnia's Muslim Leaders Discuss Partition vs. War," The Orlando Sentinel, 22 June 1993.

A serious scandal broke in the United Nations, when it was learned that retired Major General Lewis MacKenzie, former commander of U.N. forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina, was in the pay of SerbNet, a Serbian-American public relations firm based in Chicago, and was paid as much as \$10,000 (U.S.) for appearances after his retirement. MacKenzie has often appeared at important governmental functions, including one visit to give testimony in front of the U.S. Foreign Relations Committee where he argued for the partition of Bosnia. George Kenney, a former U.S. State Department official, stated that MacKenzie's activities were "egregiously unethical." Muhamed Sacirbey, Bosnia's government envoy to the U.N. stated that it proves that MacKenzie was a Serbian partisan, even while a commander in Bosnia. MacKenzie was also known to have argued in favor of a "Greater Serbia" in fact, if not in name. "Serbs Bankroll Speeches By Ex-UN Commander," Newsday, 22 June 1993.

23 June 1993

Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker for the so-called Serbian Republic of Bosnia admitted meetings with the Bosnian Croats. Krajisnik proposed a confederation of Bosnia, but made territorial demands and demands for compensation for Sarajevo. Krajisnik added that no ethnic Serb territory would be the subject of haggling with either side. "Bosnian Serb and Croat Leaders Comment On Their Secret Talks In Montenegro," BBC, 23 June 1993.

Radovan Karadzic admitted that the Serbian Army and nation were assisting Croats engaged in fighting with Bosnian forces:

"At this moment the Serbian Army and the Serbian nation play a role of a substitute UN Protection Force, by allowing the civilians and the army of the Croatian Herceg-Bosna onto the territory, helping them and allowing them to return if they want to, or to proceed further."

Such statements lend credence to the claim that the Croatian and Serbian forces planned a joint partition of Bosnia. "Bosnia Serb and Croat Leaders Comment On Their Secret Talks In Montenegro," BBC, 23 June 1993.

Radovan Karadzic was also quoted as stating that a Bosnian state in the "heart of Europe...this may endanger Christianity, and that's our problem too." Karadzic asserted that "Bosnia is unable to exist as an independent and unitary state." "Slovak TV: Karadzic Says Bosnia Cannot Exist As An Independent and Unitary State," BBC, 23 June 1993.

Radovan Karadzic, after a Sunday meeting with Croat leader Mate Boban (drawing maps and plotting population exchanges), offered a scheme for Bosnia's partition, stating it was Mr. Izetbegovic's "last chance to save at least part of his people." This plan would allow the Muslims (44 per cent of the total population) only 20 per cent of the land, and less if the Muslims retained Sarajevo. "Doomed President Tries To Halt Partition," The Guardian, 23 June 1993.

Radovan Karadzic stated that "there will be no radical territorial concessions" in the division of Bosnia into three ethnic states. Karadzic stated ominously that if the Bosnians did not avail themselves of this "opportunity", it was "an opportunity they will not have again." "Bosnian Army Chief Indicates Support For Izetbegovic", Agence France Presse, 23 June 1993.

24 June 1993

United Nations officials commented that the Bosnian collective Presidency showed up to the talks in Geneva so as to appear more unified. As one U.N. official stated:

"They don't want to advertise they've come to surrender their country before they know the terms."

In addition, the new United States Ambassador to Bosnia, Victor Jackovich, after arriving in Sarajevo stated:

"I was personally shaken and very saddened by what I have seen of the city of Sarajevo in terms of how it looks physically."

During his speech, a mortar shell exploded outside the Bosnian Presidency building. "Serb-Croat Plan to Split Up Bosnia Worries Mediators", The New York Times, 24 June 1993.

Peace mediators in Geneva held private meetings with Serbian and Croatian leaders to discuss the partition of Bosnia into ethnic lines. Radovan Karadzic stated in the peace negotiations that he might be willing to give up Sarajevo to the Muslims, if Serb control was granted over the besieged towns of Goradze, Zepa, and Srebrenica. "Mediators Bring Carve-up Closer", The Daily Telegraph, 24 June 1993.

Nine people were shelled to death in Zenica in central Bosnia. Officials in the city stated that it fitted the pattern of terror directed against the civilian population. A shell fell five yards from a block of flats, decimating a group of people playing chess in the open air. "Envoys Table New Bosnian Peace Plan", The Guardian, 24 June 1993.

James Gow, military specialist at King's College, University of London, in estimating the number of troops possessed by the three forces fighting in Bosnia, noted that the Bosnian Serbs have about 60,000 troops but were reinforced by up to 20,000 soldiers from the rump Yugoslav (Serbia and Montenegro) Army. Gow also noted that at the start of the war, the Bosnian Serbs received crucial support from irregular militias based in Serbia, who were able to overrun much of northern and eastern Bosnia. Gow also noted that the Bosnian Serbs were assisted by helicopter missions flown by the Serbian led rump Yugoslav (Serbia and Montenegro) Army. "Muslim Numbers Make Up for Forces lack of Weapons", The Independent, 24 June 1993.

25 June 1993

The Vienna World Conference on Human Rights accused "Serbia-Montenegro, the Yugoslav national army, the Serbian militia and the extremist elements in the Bosnian Croatian militia forces" of committing war crimes in Bosnia. "Serbs, Croats Move To Split Bosnia Into Mini States", The Gazette (Montreal), 25 June 1993.

26 June 1993

U.N. relief efforts were only able to deliver 4,000 tons of food and relief supplies into central and northern Bosnia, compared to a regular monthly average of about 16,000. This was blamed on an increase in fighting and harassment of relief workers. "Bosnian Leader Resists Pressure To Negotiate on Partition Plan", The New York Times, 26 June 1993.

27 June 1993

Serbs turned back another relief column at Goradze. Aid workers in Goradze called the U.N. "safe area" to be a war-ravaged hell-hole with most buildings either damaged or destroyed, no fuel, and a stench permeating throughout the city from the dead and dying in Goradze's hospital. Stated Jerri Hulme, UNHCR's representative in Goradze:

"The town is the worst I've seen which is still being inhabited. There is hardly a house without damage. There is no fuel, electricity or gas. There is some potable water. The basic fuel is wood."

He added that airdrops of food landed too far away and pallets contained the wrong kinds of medicine.

In addition, a shell struck Sarajevo, killing seven children or near children. A doctor at the Kosevo Hospital stated that the youngest victim was a 4 year old boy while the oldest was a 22 year old woman. "Bosnians Meet European Chiefs as Fighting Flares", The Toronto Star, 27 June 1993.

28 June 1993

Serb and Croat forces began a coordinated offensive against the Bosnian city of Maglaj, held by Muslims, in an effort to force the Muslims to submit to partition. Croats and Serbs also strengthened their cooperation around the Muslim town of Konijc, south-west of Sarajevo. Serb forces again refused to allow relief convoys into the so-called 'safe-haven' of Goradze.

President Izetbegovic stated, with the agreement of relief workers in Bosnia, that the Serb-Croat plan of partition would require tens of thousands of people to be uprooted to make the ethnic maps work. "Muslims Pummeled To Make Them Sign; Izetbegovic Faces Military and Diplomatic Onslaught", The Guardian, 28 June 1993.

Several prominent persons in Sarajevo commented on the unjustness and problems that the partitioning of Bosnia along ethnic lines would cause. Vice-President Ejup Ganic stated:

"Some 30 to 40 percent of us come from mixed marriages. You cannot divide up the country like this. These ethnic lines would have to run through some of our bedrooms. There are about 80,000 Serbs in Sarajevo who have been defending Bosnia with us. I can't tell these people to pack up and go to Pale [the capital of the so-called Serbian Republic (Srpska) in Bosnia]. Nobody elected me to move thousands of people from one area to another. It's the end of civilization. It's fascism, a crime against humanity."

Dragon Petrovic, a Serb married to a Muslim added:

"They should decide for a united Bosnia, or it will be a 100 years' war - we will never give up."



"Prospect of Partition Provokes Bitterness Among Sarajevans", The Christian Science Monitor, 28 June 1993.

29 June 1993

Bosnian Serbs, emboldened by international support for an ethnic division of Bosnia, shelved a plan to trade Sarajevo for cities in eastern Bosnia, the Serbs have demanded an ethnic division of Sarajevo. Radovan Karadzic insisted that the Serbs retain possession of the southern part of Sarajevo. The Serbs also stated that if part of Sarajevo was not granted to the Serbs, they would retreat their armies to the suburbs of Dobrinja, Ilidza, and Vogosca. Under either plan, the Muslim held areas would be cut-off, leaving any hope for a viable Muslim state remote at best. "Two Cities Plan For Besieged Bosnian Capital Is Attacked As 'The Biggest Crime of the War'; Sarajevo Carve-up Postponed", The Daily Telegraph, 29 June 1993.

Venezuela's Ambassador Diego Arria, reflecting on the vote for lifting the arms embargo on the Bosnian Muslims called it a question of making a "political and moral statement." Referring to the U.S. invocation of Article 51 for its strike against Iraq, Arria stated:

"One is [for] an act of terrorism against the U.S. and the other an act of terrorism and the slaughtering of a nation [Bosnia]."

"Right To Self-Defense At Heart Of U.N. Debate On Bosnia", Agence France Presse, 29 June 1993.

30 June 1993

Serb and Croat forces jointly attacked Muslim forces in areas north of Zepce, while Serb tanks rolled over Muslim lines in Maglaj. U.N. officials reported that hundreds of civilians were killed, while thousands were sent as refugees. This attack appeared to coincide with Serb-Croat plans to divide up Bosnia between them, since the attack would link up strategic areas of land between the Serbs and the Croats. "War In the Balkans: Serbs, Croats Strike To Stem Muslim Advance", The Ottawa Citizen, 30 June 1993.

1 July 1993

The UNHCR announced that for Bosnia's 1.4 million refugees, their daily rations of food - already at starvation levels - would be cut in half due to an upsurge in fighting and a shortfall in contributions from donor nations. The UNHCR is down to just two days of supplies for Zepa, Goradze, and Srebrenica. "Leading Article: Leaving Them To Starve," The Guardian, 1 July 1993.

2 July 1993

Serb and Croat forces, pressing for new territory, allied to cut Bosnian army supply routes. U.N. officials in Vitez reported that Serbs and Croat forces surrounded Maglaj. This attack followed the Serbian/Croat plan to partition Bosnia, and created an enclave of over 100,000 people. Six other enclaves surrounded by the Serbs and declared by the U.N. as "safe areas" also came under sporadic attack.

In addition Peter Kessler of the UNHCR reported that a truckload of fuel destined for Sarajevo was robbed by Serbian forces. "New Setback for Muslims Scars Balkans," Press Association Newsfile, 2 June 1993.

Bosnian Serbs and Croats were reported by the U.N. to be charging "tolls" to allow relief convoys to pass through. The Croats charged up to \$20 million for one convoy, while the Serbs imposed a scale of charges ranging from \$350 each for heavy lorries and \$140 for cars. U.N. escorts must pay \$700 for tracked vehicles and \$500 for armored personnel carriers. Lyndall Sachs of the United Nations agency for refugees in Belgrade reported that Serbs would not even talk to humanitarian missions to Srebrenica until the "tolls" were paid. Sachs noted that the Serbs required no tolls for humanitarian missions destined for Serbian controlled areas.

Michael Lewington of the UNHCR in Zagreb indicated that the decision to levy tolls was made at official levels. He stated:

"We are dealing with this by talking to the Serb political authorities in Pale [the so-called 'capital' of the self-styled 'Serbian republic' in Bosnia]."

"Croats and Serbs Order Huge Tolls on U.N. Convoys," The Times, 2 June 1993.

3 July 1993

U.N. officials discussed the evacuation of the so-called "safe-area" of Srebrenica, noting that the daily ration of water for the people was only two liters. Serbs continued to refuse U.N. relief convoys from bringing tents into Srebrenica, calling them "military items", despite statements by the U.N. that these were standard issue for refugees, and not declared "military" anywhere else in the world. The Serbs refusal has forced almost all of the refugees (some 49,000 estimated at last count) to live out in the open. A U.N. official added:

"This is nothing more than an effort to make life untenable for the Muslims in Srebrenica."

In addition, the U.N. official noted that without shelter, most people would not be able to survive the winter.

"U.N. May Evacuate Bosnian Muslims from 'Safe Area'," Reuters, 3 July 1993.

4 July 1993

U.N. officials stated that the refusal to lift the arms embargo on the outgunned Bosnian government caused the fighting and the suffering of civilians to worsen rapidly in the Republic. U.N. officials added that the prospect was for "ethnic cleansing" to continue until the Serbian and Croatian forces have seized enough land for mini-states which could be annexed to Serbia and Croatia. U.N. officials suggested that the partition plan for Bosnia submitted by the leaders of Croatia and Serbia may be a ruse, disguising their more ambitious aims. Senior U.N. officials noted that what the Bosnian government had been saying for over a year may be true; that the Serbs and Croats would not rest until Bosnia itself is extinguished as a state and most of its 1.9 million Muslims killed or driven from their homes. U.N. officials stated that the Muslims would then become the "Palestinians of Europe."

In addition, Serbs underlined their demands for half of Sarajevo by unleashing one of the worst artillery bombardments in months. U.N. officials in Sarajevo stated that at least 1,200 shells fell by mid-morning, with scores wounded and a minimum of 20 people killed.

Furthermore, U.N. officials noted that Serbian and Serbian-Croat attacks against Maglaj resulted in 10,000 Muslim refugees. U.N. officials predicted that at least 100,000 more may follow. "Attacks on Bosnian Muslims Are Intensifying After Pause," The New York Times, 4 July 1993.

5 July 1993

In the Sarajevo attack of 4 July 1993, the effects were reported as follows: eleven children were wounded and an 11 year old girl was killed. The children were hit in the Sarajevo district of Buca Potok, where an adult was also wounded. A doctor added he believed the children were victims of white phosphorus shells, a chemical bomb which causes a blinding flash and agonizing burns for the victims. Dr. Abdullah Nakas added:

"It seems there was phosphorus in the bombs because some of the children have bad burns. There are some serious eye injuries as well."

The attack came at a bad time for the hospital, because the power plant for Sarajevo had been inoperative for a month, and there was a critical shortage of such basics as water.

U.N. officials in Sarajevo stated that 1,400 children under the age of 14 have been killed since the siege began. Another 13,000 have been wounded, with 2,000 expected to be permanently disabled. "Children Hit In Sarajevo Mortar Attack", Reuters, 5 July 1993.

Serbs continued their reign of terror in the Banja Luka area. Four more mosques were blown up, two dating back to the 16th century. Ten out of the sixteen mosques in the Banja Luka area were destroyed by Serbs in the past year. "Serb Artillery Shells Sarajevo", Financial Times, 5 July 1993.

6 July 1993

U.N. officials stated that the Croatian forces of the HVO began another attack on Maglaj. They were supported by at least seven Serb tanks and an estimated 10 armored vehicles, so as to isolate the area.

When the press entered Zavidovici - another Muslim stronghold under attack by Serbs and Croats - the shelling stopped. The shelling was estimated before as being 600 a day. Speculation was that the Serbs and Croats did not want their attack on Zavidovici to be documented. "U.N. Impotent as Land-Grab in Bosnia Gathers Pace; With No Prospect of International Intervention and Aid Convoys Halted, Bosnian Serbs and Croats are Closing In On the Maglaj 'Finger'," The Independent, 6 July 1993.

Lyndall Sachs of the U.N. stated that Serbs broke their promise to allow aid convoys into Srebrenica. Sachs stated that the U.N. obtained a broad authorization from the Bosnian Serbs to allow passage of aid convoys, but the Serbs still demanded road tolls.

In Sarajevo, Tony Land of the UNHCR stated:

"Except for the period of last December and January, when we had serious doubts as to how the city [Sarajevo] would survive, I would say that this is the most serious time we have seen. With no water and the inability to process food, we face the possible inability to sustain human life."

In addition, radio reports stated that Maglaj came under renewed shelling and was now, literally, burning to the ground. "Serbs and Croats Attack Besieged Bosnian Town," The New York Times, 6 July 1993.

7 July 1993

Bosnian Serbian and Croatian generals refused to meet with the new U.N. General in Bosnia, further underlining their lack of respect for the U.N. military presence in Bosnia. Furthermore, Radovan Karadzic again threatened the Bosnian Muslims by stating:

"If they [the Muslims] do not want to accept the Serb-Croatian confederal project...the (Bosnian) Serb republic will close its borders, reinforce them, and seek international recognition without any territorial concessions and absolutely within the present borders."

"Serb and Croatian Brass Snub New UN General in Bosnia," Chicago Tribune, 7 July 1993.

8 July 1993

9 July 1993

Dr. Jo Asvall of the World Health Organization (WHO) stated that due to the deteriorating conditions in Sarajevo, thousands of civilians would die of hepatitis A, dysentery, and typhoid. Medical staff in Sarajevo reported the situation so desperate that people were beginning to boil sewage. "Despair Grows Over Bosnia", The Guardian, 9 July 1993.

10 July 1993

The situation in Sarajevo was reported by an American disaster relief team as being so bad it was "the world's largest concentration camp" because there was no drinking water or fuel. President Clinton of the United States was so disturbed by the situation in Sarajevo that he called the State Department in an effort to help provide the city with food, medicine, and water.

In addition, the United States government reported that the U.N. mediators and the European Community were seeking to have the U.N. pull out of Bosnia altogether in an effort to pressure the Bosnian Government to accept the partition plan set forth by Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman. Sadako Ogata of the UNHCR stated that two mediators told her that if the Bosnian Government refused to accept the partition plan, they would recommend to Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali that the U.N. withdraw from Bosnia. If the U.N. withdrew, the UNHCR would be part of that withdrawal, Ogata added. "Bosnia Threatened With U.N. Pullout, 2 U.S. Reports Say", The New York Times, 10 July 1993.

11 July 1993

The U.N. suspended aid convoys for 72 hours due to fighting in central Bosnia. In an area of Shippergai where Muslims and Serbs used to live together in peace, Serb forces began new rounds of so-called "ethnic cleansing." Muslims were forced at gunpoint to sign statements indicating they left "voluntarily", but Muslims were forced to turn over their valuables with no compensation. Furthermore, Serbs destroyed the Mosque in the center of the town. NPR, 11 July 1993.

12 July 1993

Sadako Ogata of the UNHCR reported that 750 new cases of typhus were reported in Sarajevo, with thousands more on the way. With only three weeks of supplies to feed two million people, Ogata

predicted "disaster" for Bosnian civilians. "Two Million in Bosnia Are On the Brink of Starvation", The Independent, 12 July 1993.

13 July 1993

The Belgrade-based news agency Tanjug reported that the Serbs had captured Trnovo, Tosici, Tureivi, and Godinje. This unit, personally led by Serbian General Ratko Mladic, cut the last link between Sarajevo and Goradze. "Muslims Attack, Sarajevo's Suffering Deepens," Reuters, 13 July 1993.

Warren Zimmerman, director for the Bureau for Refugee Programs (U.S.) and former U.S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia, called Bosnia:

"A humanitarian crisis of a scale we have not seen in Europe since World War II."

The U.S. State Department estimated that 600,000 Muslims would be forced to leave their homes under the Milosevic-Tudjman partition plan.

In addition, Frederick C. Cuny, a U.S. refugee consultant added that under the partition plan:

"If you use the Milosevic map, the Muslims get a raw deal...The Serbs, of course, benefit the most and, in effect, the Bosnians would become economically dependent on Serbia."

Cuny added that while the Bosnians would receive 53% of the coal reserves, the coal is of low quality and since the Bosnians would receive no steel mills, the coal would be of little use anyway.

Bill Frelick, a senior analyst for the United States Committee for Refugees stated that as a result of the partition, Bosnia would become the ground for "genocidal-type killing", mass exodus of refugees, and the creation of Palestinian-like camps for the Bosnian Muslims. "U.S. Fears a Sharp Rise In Balkan Refugee Flow", The New York Times, 13 July 1993.

A mortar shell fired by Bosnian Serbs struck a crowd of people in Sarajevo lining up for fresh water, killing twelve people outright and wounding 15 others. Doctors had to work on the wounded without anesthetics, due to a lack of medicinal supplies. "Bosnia Attack Adds To Tension On Peace Talks," The New York Times, 13 July 1993.

14 July 1993

United Nations diplomats stated that the decision to negotiate on the Milosevic-Tudjman partition plan has led to the deteriorating conditions in Bosnia. One diplomat stated:

"What this [the partition plan] amounts to is negotiating with terrorists. By backing off [on Vance-Owen], that was a signal that the West was weak and unwilling to act."

Diplomats added that the Bosnian Government was left with no choice but to fight harder so as to gain additional bargaining leverage.

In addition, Bosnian Serbs cut off water supply to the 30,000 residents remaining in Srebrenica. Bosnian Serbs refused UN aid convoys fuel needed to bring relief to the people in Sarajevo. "UN Aid Efforts in Yugoslavia Verge On Collapse," The Christian Science Monitor, 14 July 1993.

15 July 1993

UNPROFOR reported that the Serbs launched a fierce attack on the Bosnian town of Brcko, and stepped up their shelling of Sarajevo. UNPROFOR stated that 35 shells landed in Brcko in a 35 minute period. In addition, Barry Frewer in Srebrenica reported that the Serbs fired six shells on the town. "Serbs Launch Offensive In Northern Bosnia and Shell Sarajevo," Agence France Presse, 15 July 1993.

16 July 1993

Sadako Ogata of the UNHCR stated that the humanitarian situation in Srebrenica, Zepa, and Goradze was "disastrous." Ogata stated:

"Evacuation of the civilian population, particularly from Srebrenica where conditions are most dire, may soon prove to be the only life-saving alternative."

"West Pledges Cash For U.N. Bosnia Relief," Reuters, 16 July 1993.

Barbara Francis, spokeswoman for UNHCR, stated that 4 million people had been displaced in the former Yugoslavia, 2.2 million of them in Bosnia alone. UPI, 16 July 1993.

17 July 1993

Sadako Ogata of UNHCR again warned of human catastrophe in Bosnia. She stated:

"If we are unable to alleviate the plight of thousands of victims now, I fear the worst for the months to come, particularly when the autumn and winter set in."

Ogata feared for the lives of civilians in Bosnia if there was another winter of war. "U.N. Aid Agency Warns of Bosnia 'Catastrophe'," Financial Times, 17 July 1993.

18 July 1993

Dr. Radovan Karadzic indicated that he would push to destroy the Muslims as a people by dividing Bosnia into Serbian and Croatian states. Karadzic indicated he believed that a two-way

division would "decrease the danger of the spreading of Islamic militancy." Karadzic suggested Muslim autonomous regions would be set up with separate Serbian and Croatian states around Zenica.

In addition, Radislav Starcevic, Serbian mayor of Pale stated:

"If the world doesn't stick its finger into this, the war will be over soon for the Muslims, and they will have to accept what the Serbs and Croats offer them. We have offered the Muslims territory which should satisfy them. But the stubborn Muslim leadership has refused to accept it. Now, they will have to face the consequences."

Starcevic's comments followed other more militant statements made by the Bosnian Serbs, indicating a willingness to strip the Muslims of Bosnia of all political influence and keep them from having their own state. "Serbian Plan Would Deny the Muslims Any State," The New York Times, 18 July 1993.

19 July 1993

Two more mosques were blown up by Serbs in Banja Luka, meaning that 12 of the 16 historic mosques in Banja Luka have been destroyed forever. Meanwhile the Serbs in Banja Luka have been deporting Muslims 500 at a time, stealing their property and forcing them to pay an "exit tax." Of Banja Luka's pre-war population of 45,000 Muslims, only 15,000 remain. The totals are even worse in neighboring Prijedor, whose pre-war population of 76,000 Muslims have been reduced to 7,000. "War In the Balkans: Dark Deeds Are Hidden By Curfew; Town's Muslims and Mosques Gone," The Ottawa Citizen, 19 July 1993.

The U.S. State Department estimated that a complete ethnic carve-up of Bosnia would require the resettlement of 1.5 to 2.5 million people. Evidence from the partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 suggested that such transfers would without doubt be accompanied by violence. "Failure On Every Front," Financial Times, 19 July 1993.

Serbs began a fierce offensive against Bosnian Government forces on Mount Igman, overlooking Sarajevo. UNHCR spokesman Peter Kessler stated that a Serb victory in the battle would bring 30,000 people across the Sarajevo airport, where they would be exposed to Serbian sniper fire.

In addition, Serbs attacked Muslim forces around Tuzla. U.N. aid convoys reported that Serbs refused to allow aid convoys into Goradze for the eighth straight day. "Bosnia Calls For Peace as Serbs and Croats Hammer Government Forces," Agence France Presse, 19 July 1993.

20 July 1993

The Serbian assault on Mount Igman was stated as "unprecedented" and the most severe since the war began. Serb



forces used at least 25 tanks in the attack, and helicopters for transport services. One UNHCR official stated that a Serbian victory would be "very tragic" for people in the area. "Serbs Wage Fierce Assault," Sacramento Bee, 20 July 1993.

C. The Respondent Has Officially Admitted Its Responsibility for Arming, Equipping, and Supplying the Serbian Army and Militia Forces, Paramilitary and Irregular Armed Units Operating in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

During the course of the 2 April 1993 Oral Proceedings held by the Court on Bosnia's 20 March 1993 Request for Provisional Measures, the Acting Agents for the Respondent told the Court that their government was not responsible to any extent for the conduct of the Serbian military, paramilitary, militia or irregular armed units operating in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The entire World now knows that the Acting Agents for the Respondent were lying to the Court on behalf of their government when they made these statements, inter alia. Here I must quote from some of the relevant portions of the uncorrected version of the Verbatim Record of the Oral Proceedings held before the Court on 2 April 1993 in this case--CR 93/13. This is because I do not yet have an official copy of the corrected version:

....

The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is represented by:

Mr. Ljubinko Zivkovic, Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, The Hague,

Mr. Shabtai Rosenne, Professor of International Law, University of Haifa; Member of the Israel Bar; Member of the Institute of International Law; Honorary Member of the American Society of International Law,

as Acting Agents. (p.4)

....

Mr. ZIVKOVIC: ... (p.6)

....

That also brings us to one of the key arguments in this case brought by the Government in Sarajevo against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, i.e., the contention that we are here dealing with a situation of an aggression of one State against the other. There are no grounds for this assertion. (p.6)

....

... In the Constitutional Declaration of 27 April 1992, the Parliament of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has clearly stated that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has no territorial claims towards the former Yugoslav republics that have seceded from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

- the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia does not have a single soldier on the territory of the "Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina";
- the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia does not militarily support any side in this international and inter-religious armed conflict;
- the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia does not support, in any way, the committing of serious crimes that are being done in this former Yugoslav republic and that are listed in the Application within these proceedings. On the contrary, it has stated publicly, on numerous occasions, its indignation at all the crimes against humanity committed in this civil war, whether it is so-called ethnic cleansing, or just plain murder, and without regard to who has committed them. It has also taken concrete steps to prove its commitments to this effect. (p.7)

....

Mr. ROSENNE: ... (p.10)

.....

There is no ground for accepting the request for the provisional measures as contained in paragraph 1 of that document. The Federal Government of Yugoslavia and its subordinate bodies, including the military, have not committed and are not committing any of the acts to which Article III of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide refers. Since the beginning of the inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflicts in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Federal Government of Yugoslavia has consistently sought a peaceful resolution of the crisis. ... The allegations made against the Federal Republic in the stream of documents that have been sent to the Court by the other side are unsupported by any hard evidence. Press reports, often tendentious, are not adequate as a basis for such serious charges against a sovereign State. (pp.32-33)

....

On one central point, I wish to reiterate the view of the Federal Government of Yugoslavia that the situation which has developed in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a situation of civil war with all which that entails. In that connection, it is

our impression that the Applicants are persisting in their inability to see a distinction between the actions of the Federal Government and the standpoint of the Federal Government of Yugoslavia itself, and the actions and the standpoints of the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina. ... (p.52)

Nevertheless, despite these pious and mendacious protestations of innocence that were solemnly uttered to this Court by the Respondent's Acting Agents on the afternoon of Friday, 2 April 1993, five weeks later the rump Yugoslav government officially and publicly announced that it was cutting off military and logistical support for the Bosnian Serb forces. See "Conflict in the Balkans; 2 Major Mosques Blown up by Serbs," The New York Times, 8 May 1993.

In this regard, what follows are the actual texts of two official communiqués--one by the so-called Republic of Serbia, the other by the rump Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)--proclaiming this cut-off. At my specific request, these two communiqués were provided to me as is in English and in conjunction with each other on one page via facsimile transmission from the Respondent's so-called "Mission" in New York City. For this reason, I believe them to be valid and authentic. As proof thereof, I have attached the original of this one page document sent to me by the Respondent's "Mission" in New York to the end of this Request and hereby incorporate it in full by reference and as an integral part of this Request. See Attachment.

The so-called "Serb Republic" to which these documents refer is the self-styled "Republic of Srpska" that was illegally proclaimed by Bosnian Serbs acting at the behest of the Respondent. This so-called "Republic" has not been recognized by any state in the world community. Indeed, its self-styled "President," Radovan Karadzic, has been publicly identified as a war criminal by the United States government.

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AFTER THE SESSION OF THE GOVERNMENT  
OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA DISCUSSED THE REPORT, PREPARED BY PRIME MINISTER N. SAINOVIC, ON THE RESULTS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS PROCESS FOR PEACE IN FORMER BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, AND OF THE SESSION OF THE SERB REPUBLIC PARLIAMENT.

THE GOVERNMENT REACHED THE FOLLOWING CONCLUSIONS:

FIRMLY BELIEVING THAT A JUST BATTLE FOR FREEDOM AND THE EQUALITY OF THE SERBIAN PEOPLE IS BEING CONDUCTED IN THE SERB REPUBLIC, THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA HAS BEEN UNRESERVEDLY AND GENEROUSLY HELPING THE SERB REPUBLIC, IN SPITE OF THE ENORMOUS PROBLEMS IT HAD TO FACE DUE TO THE SANCTIONS INTRODUCED AGAINST IT BY THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL.

AT THE SAME TIME, THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA GREATLY CONTRIBUTED TO THE PEACE WITHIN THE UN EFFORTS, WITH THE INTENTION OF SECURING INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES FOR A JUST AND HONORABLE

PEACE, ENSURING THE SECURITY, THE TERRITORIES AND THE CONSTITUENT STATUS OF THE SERBIAN PEOPLE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.

THE GOVERNMENT BELIEVES THAT SUCH CONDITIONS HAVE BEEN MET AFTER THE ENHANCEMENT OF THE VANCE-OWEN PLAN AT THE ATHENS MEETING.

TAKING PART IN THE SESSION OF THE SERB REPUBLIC PARLIAMENT S. MILOSEVIC, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA, N. SAINOVIC, PRIME MINISTER OF SERBIA AND Z. LILIC, PRESIDENT OF THE SERBIAN PARLIAMENT, PRESENTED NUMEROUS ELEMENTS AND FACTS, IN ORDER TO HELP THE DEPUTIES OF THE SERB REPUBLIC PARLIAMENT APPROVE THE VANCE-OWEN PLAN, NOT AS A FINAL SOLUTION, BUT CERTAINLY AS A GOOD BASIS FOR PREVENTING, WITHIN THE PEACE PROCESS, THE LOSS OF LIVES, AS WELL AS TO ENSURE A LASTING PEACE AND THE JUST OBJECTIVES OF THE SERBIAN PEOPLE.

THE GOVERNMENT REACHED THE CONCLUSION THAT THE DECISION OF THE SERB REPUBLIC PARLIAMENT, I.E. TO TRANSFER THE FINAL DECISION REGARDING THE VANCE-OWEN PLAN TO THE PEOPLE, REPRESENTS AN IRRESPONSIBLE ACT, SINCE THE PEOPLE DID NOT TAKE PART IN THE NEGOTIATIONS THAT LASTED SEVERAL MONTHS, AND THEY SHOULD NOT BE USED AS A SCREEN BY THE LEADERS FACED WITH CRITICAL DECISIONS, SINCE THE LEADERS ARE OBLIGED TO MAKE DECISIONS AND TO CONSEQUENTLY ANSWER TO THE PEOPLE FOR THEIR ACTIONS.

SINCE THE CONDITIONS FOR SPACE HAVE BEEN MET, THE GOVERNMENT ALSO AGREED, THAT ANY FURTHER ECONOMIC DEPLETION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA IS NOW UNJUSTIFIED AND UNSUPPORTABLE, AND THAT FUTURE AID TO THE SERB REPUBLIC SHOULD BE LIMITED TO FOOD AND MEDICINES IN SUCH QUANTITIES AS THE COMPETENT MINISTRIES WILL DETERMINE. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA ALSO BELIEVES THAT, AS THE CONDITIONS FOR ESTABLISHING PEACE HAVE BEEN REACHED, ANY FURTHER AID IN FUNDS, FUEL, RAW MATERIALS ETC., PROVIDED UNTIL NOW WITH GREAT SACRIFICES BY THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA ITSELF, IS NOT JUSTIFIED ANY MORE.

THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA WILL ALWAYS UNRESERVEDLY OFFER SHELTER TO THE WOUNDED, REFUGEES, AND ALL THREATENED PERSONS FROM FORMER BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, BUT IT CAN NOT TOLERATE THAT CERTAIN OFFICIALS FROM THAT AREA LIVE COMFORTABLY AND IMMODESTLY IN BELGRADE, WHILE THEY OFFER ONLY A HARSH POLICY OF SACRIFICES AND POVERTY TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SERB REPUBLIC.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA UNDERSCORES ITS DEEP APPRECIATION FOR THE EFFORTS, INTENDED TO HELP THE PEACE PROCESS IN LOCO WITH POLITICAL MEANS AND PERSONAL ENGAGEMENT, MADE BY THE GREEK GOVERNMENT, AND ESPECIALLY BY PRIME MINISTER MITZOTACKIS.

#### FEDERAL GOVERNMENT- COMMUNIQUE

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA REVIEWED TODAY THE CONSEQUENCES RESULTING FROM THE DECISION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA AT PALE NOT TO ACCEPT THE VANCE-OWEN PLAN BUT TO LEAVE THE FINAL DECISION TO THE SERB PEOPLE IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA TO BE TAKEN AT A REFERENDUM.

IN THIS CONNECTION, THE GOVERNMENT EXPRESSED ITS INDIGNATION AND PROFOUND CONCERN ON ACCOUNT OF SUCH A DECISION AND THE POSSIBLE COURSE SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS COULD TAKE AS WELL AS

ON ACCOUNT OF THE FAILURE OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE UNDENIABLE ARGUMENTS ADVOCATED ON BEHALF OF THE F.R.Y. BY PRESIDENTS COSIC, MILOSEVIC AND BULATOVIC.

BEARING IN MIND THE IMMEDIATE ADVERSE EFFECTS OF UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 820 ON THE ECONOMIC POWER OF THE F.R.Y. AND THE SOCIAL POSITION OF THE MAJORITY OF ITS CITIZENS, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS FORCED TO ADJUST ALL FUTURE AID TO THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA WITH ITS OBJECTIVE ECONOMIC POSSIBILITIES AND TO REDUCE IT EXCLUSIVELY TO CONTINGENTS OF FOOD AND MEDICAMENTS.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS INSTRUCTED THE APPROPRIATE MINISTRIES TO ENSURE THE STRICT IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS DECISION.

[Emphasis added.]

Notice that the first communiqué by the "Republic of Serbia"-- which is the predominant part of the rump Yugoslavia, consisting of Serbia and Montenegro--shamelessly but forthrightly proclaimed that the campaign of genocide by Serbs in Bosnia is "a just battle for freedom and the equality of Serbian People." In other words, the Republic of Serbia has fully endorsed and approved what the Bosnian Serbs have done: genocide and acts of genocide in violation of the 1948 Genocide Convention. The Republic of Serbia then admitted that it "has been unreservedly and generously helping" the Bosnian Serbs in violation of the express will of the United Nations Security Council. In the concluding part of the communiqué, the Republic of Serbia also freely admitted that it has been providing "funds, fuel, raw materials etc.," to the Serbs in Bosnia at the cost of its "economic depletion."

The second communiqué by the government of the rump Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) was provided to me as part of the same document with the first communiqué. Therefore, both communiqués must be read in conjunction with each other. In the second communiqué, the rump Yugoslav government admitted that it has provided "aid" to the Bosnian Serbs in violation of the express will of the United Nations Security Council. Unlike the first communiqué, however, this one does not specify what this "aid" is precisely; but the second communiqué admitted that this "aid" was much more than "food and medicaments." Since these two communiqués were issued in conjunction with each other by the Respondent, however, it is fair to conclude that the rump Yugoslav government has admitted that such aid consists of the "funds, fuel, raw materials etc.," referred to in the first communiqué by the Republic of Serbia. In other words, the Respondent has legally conceded that it too has supplied "funds, fuel, raw materials etc.," to the Serbs in Bosnia up to and including at least 11 May 1993. Thus, the Respondent has admitted that it grossly violated this Court's Order of 8 April 1993 for at least five weeks.

The Respondent's supply of "funds, fuel, raw materials" to the Serbs in Bosnia to support their campaign of genocide against the People and State of Bosnia and Herzegovina is more than enough to establish Respondent's responsibility under international law for violating the 1948 Genocide Convention and all three operative

provisions of this Court's Order of 8 April 1993 found in Paragraph 52 thereof as quoted above. But the first communiqué's use of the abbreviation "ETC.," raises the far more serious and ominous implication that the Respondent has been providing military weapons, equipment, supplies, and troops to Serbian forces in Bosnia who, in turn, have used these instruments of war to inflict acts of genocide upon the People and State of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is made quite clear by all of the facts introduced into evidence so far in this case. Furthermore, this conclusion can be confirmed by a Statement given by Mr. Slobodan Milosevic, President of the Republic of Serbia and de facto ruler and dictator of the rump Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), that was issued in conjunction with the promulgation of the two above-quoted communiqués. Hence, all three of these official Statements must be read and interpreted together and in conjunction with each other.

Thus, on 11 May 1993, the President of the so-called Republic of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, received the Director-General of the semi-official Tanjug News Service, Slobodan Jovanovic, in Belgrade, and on that occasion made the following Statement for public release. Apparently, the original Statement was released by the Yugoslav Telegraph Service in the Serbo-Croatian language at 15:53 hours gmt on 11 May 1993. What follows is the text of the Statement provided by the British Broadcasting Corporation, Summary of World Broadcasts, 13 May 1993, Thursday. I have obtained this BBC Report from the Lexis-Nexis Legal Research Service of Mead Data Central, Inc. The Lexis-Nexis Legal Research Service is routinely relied upon by lawyers and judges in the United States of America during the course of legal proceedings as an official and authoritative source for both texts and citations. Therefore, I believe the following text to be valid and authentic as well as an accurate translation of Mr. Milosevic's Statement:

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Summary of World Broadcasts

May 13, 1993, Thursday

SECTION: Part 2 Eastern Europe; C.1 SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT;

PAGE: EE/1687/C1

LENGTH: 812 words

HEADLINE: FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA;  
MILOSEVIC ARGUES FOR ACCEPTANCE OF BOSNIAN PEACE PLAN: "SERBIA  
NEEDS PEACE"

SOURCE: Yugoslav Telegraph Service in Serbo-Croat 1553 gmt 11 May  
93

BODY:

Text of report of statement by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to Tanjug news agency datelined Belgrade, 11th May

The president of the Republic of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, today received Tanjug Director-General Slobodan Jovanovic, and on that occasion he made the following statement:

In the past two years, the Republic of Serbia - by assisting Serbs outside Serbia - has forced its economy to make massive efforts and its citizens to make substantial sacrifices. These efforts and these sacrifices are now reaching the limits of endurance. Most of the assistance was sent to people and fighters in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but a substantial amount of aid was given to the 500,000 refugees in Serbia. At the same time, because of its solidarity with and assistance to the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbia is subjected to brutal international sanctions. Today there can be no comparison between us and any other country in the world, or very few countries, in terms of the economic and general difficulties we face. Clearly, we were aware we would face these difficulties when deciding to provide assistance to Serbs who were at war.

Now conditions for peace in Bosnia have been created. Following a year of war and long-term peace negotiations, the Serbs have gained their freedom and have regained the equality taken from them when the war started. Most of the territory in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina belongs now to Serb provinces. This is a sufficient reason to halt the war, and to remove further misunderstandings through negotiations and by peaceful means.

The signing of the peace plan is an act of goodwill, which ends the war and opens up peaceful negotiations between the three warring sides in Bosnia and the neighbouring republics of former Yugoslavia and the international community. This is not an end to negotiations about relations between Serbs, Muslims and Croats, but it is an end to the war. Hence we in Yugoslavia and Serbia have appealed to the Serbs in Bosnia to support an end to the war and to embark on the road to peace by signing the plan. Serbs in Bosnia, as well as Serbs and all other citizens of Serbia, now really do need peace.

Serbia finds it difficult to sustain the burden of the great assistance which goes to Bosnia, and of the sanctions which have been imposed on Serbia because of its solidarity with the Serbs outside Serbia, and there is no reason for it to sustain the burden if the war in Bosnia stops. We have of course not excluded further humanitarian aid to the population of Bosnia-Hercegovina, but the people there will in peace-time become capable of rebuilding their economy and taking care of their own lives.

Serbia urgently needs peace in Bosnia. When the current great sacrifices are over and the sanctions are lifted, Serbia will soon recover - tensions will ease, the standard of living will increase, the burden of uncertainty and fear from war and poverty will be removed from the citizens. The interests of 10 million citizens of

Serbia must now have priority. These interests cannot be made use of for the sake of some other interests, especially if these interests of Serbia's citizens are of vital importance and are in extreme jeopardy.

Serbia has lent a great, great deal of assistance to the Serbs in Bosnia. Owing to that assistance they have achieved most of what they wanted. Now Serbia has to start taking care of itself - concentrating primarily on the revival and the development of its industry and economy, increasing the living standard of its citizens and protecting them from violence and crime which are also a consequence of the war and of the great and uncontrolled flow of people between the two republics. I therefore believe that support for the peace plan is real support for peace which is of the greatest vital importance for Serbia, for its citizens, for every citizen of Serbia. Only someone who is not moved by the interests of Serbia and its people, but by some other personal or group interests cannot see and not accept this. No one who considers the interests of Serbia and its citizens as subordinate to his own interests can count on our understanding and our support.

The decision on the peace plan concerns the interests of Yugoslavia, Serbia and Montenegro, Krajina [in Croatia] and the Serbian Republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina], all citizens and the whole of the Serbian nation - not only the Assembly and the citizens of the Serbian Republic.

I therefore believe that the decision on this cannot be made only by the citizens of the Serbian Republic, but by all the people's representatives elected to the parliaments of Yugoslavia, Serbia, Montenegro, Krajina and the Serbian Republic - equally and with full respect for the interests of their citizens and the Serbian nation for peace, freedom, equality, and against war and violence.

[Emphasis added.]

Notice that Mr. Milosevic, acting in his official capacity as President of Serbia, the predominant part of the rump Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), which is the Respondent in this case, admitted that the Republic of Serbia has been "assisting Serbs outside of Serbia" for "the past two years." He furthermore admitted that "Most of the assistance was sent to people and fighters in Bosnia-Herzegovina." (Emphasis added.) Hence, he admitted that the Republic of Serbia was supporting "fighters in Bosnia-Herzegovina" with substantial amounts of "assistance." He also admitted that such assistance was provided in express violation of the will of the United Nations Security Council.

Even more astonishingly, Mr. Milosevic took pride in the fact that such assistance by the Republic of Serbia to the Bosnian Serbs is responsible for the fact that "Most of the territory in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina belongs now to Serb provinces." Hence, he concludes, that owing to the assistance provided by the Republic



of Serbia, the Bosnian Serbs "have achieved most of what they wanted."

The above three documents speak for themselves. They need no elaborate interpretation by me. The rump Yugoslavia has admitted that it supplied weapons, equipment, supplies etc. to Serbian military, paramilitary, militia and irregular armed units operating in the sovereign state of Bosnia and Herzegovina until at least 11 May 1993. This support clearly violated the terms of the 1948 Genocide Convention and this Court's Order of 8 April 1993 that was based upon the Genocide Convention.

Furthermore, as indicated above in Section B, all informed observers, foreign governments, and reputable news media sources--including eye-witness accounts--agree that despite the three above-quoted Statements, the rump Yugoslavia has continued to provide weapons, equipment and supplies to Serbian military, militia, paramilitary forces and irregular armed units operating in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 11 May 1993 until today in violation of the Genocide Convention and this Court's Order of 8 April 1993. That is precisely why the rump Yugoslavia rejected its prior offer to permit the stationing of U.N. Monitors along its border with Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to verify the so-called cut-off. The Court will recall that the Acting Agent for the rump Yugoslavia, Mr. Zivkovic, touted this offer before the Court during the course of the Oral Proceedings on 2 April 1993 as some indication of the Respondent's supposed peaceful intentions towards Bosnia and Herzegovina. See CR 93/13, at pp. 7-8. Everything the Acting Agents for the rump Yugoslavia told the Court on 2 April 1993 was a bald-faced lie. Respondent's three Statements quoted above testify to the true facts in this case. These three Statements also indicate why the Court must grant our Request for the additional provisional measures of protection that are set forth below.

**D. The Consequences Sought to be Avoided by Provisional Measures.**

The overriding objective of this Request is to prevent the further loss of human life and further acts of genocide against the People of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as to prevent the partition, dismemberment, annexation, incorporation and final destruction of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina itself, a sovereign state and Member of the United Nations Organization. The continuance and deterioration of the situation that is the subject of the present Request will continue to expose hundreds of thousands of innocent human beings to the certainty of death, starvation, malnutrition, severe bodily injury, torture, physical and mental harm, as well as the mass rape of women and the systematic abuse of children. The provisional measures to be indicated are thus compelled by the most fundamental humanitarian concerns.

The legal rights to be protected by the requested indication of provisional measures are:

- (a) The right of the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina physically to survive as a People and as a State;
- (b) The rights of the People of Bosnia and Herzegovina to life, liberty, security, and bodily and mental integrity, as well as the other basic human rights specified in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
- (c) The right of the People and State of Bosnia and Herzegovina to be free at all times from genocide and other genocidal acts perpetrated upon Them by Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), acting together with its agents and surrogates in Bosnia and elsewhere;
- (d) The right of the People and State of Bosnia and Herzegovina to be free at all times from the use or threat of force directed against Them by a foreign state acting in conjunction with its agents and surrogates on Their sovereign territory and elsewhere;
- (e) The right of Bosnia and Herzegovina to conduct its affairs and to determine matters within its domestic jurisdiction without interference or intervention by any foreign state acting directly or by means of agents and surrogates, or both;
- (f) The right of self-determination of the People of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- (g) The basic right of sovereign existence for the People and State of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- (h) The right of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to continue to exist as a Member State of the United Nations Organization itself.

The Respondent's gross, systematic, and consistent violation of these basic international legal rights pertaining to the People and State of Bosnia and Herzegovina can never be adequately compensated for by the payment of monetary reparations should the Court ultimately decide in favor of Bosnia and Herzegovina's claims as set forth in our Application of 20 March 1993.

Pending the Court's decision on the merits, it is imperative that the Respondent's criminal and genocidal behavior be terminated forthwith by additional provisional measures. Otherwise, Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and its agents and surrogates will inflict immediate and irreparable harm upon the People and State of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Only by granting the provisional measures set forth below can the rights of the People and State of Bosnia and Herzegovina be protected and preserved. Failure to grant these additional provisional measures will prevent the vindication of the rights asserted by Bosnia and Herzegovina in

this case if the Court should ultimately decide in favor of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the merits of its claims.

Indeed, if the Court does not grant the additional provisional measures indicated below, then Bosnia and Herzegovina will not be able to argue its case on the merits to the Court. I hereby certify this fact to be true in my capacities as General Agent for the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina before the Court with Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Powers, as a Professor of International Law, as a Member of the Bar of the Supreme Court of the United States of America, as a Member of the Bar of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and as an Officer of the Court in these and other Federal Courts in the United States of America. This Court must not allow the Respondent to win this case by means of exterminating the People and State of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Court must act to protect us immediately, fully, and effectively from genocide, extermination, partition, dismemberment, annexation, incorporation and destruction of our existence as a sovereign People and State and Member of the United Nations Organization by the Respondent.

Otherwise, what good is the rule of international law, the United Nations Charter, and this Court itself? Is the law of the jungle to prevail? Can the strong do what they will, and the weak suffer what they must?

This Court must not stand by and watch the People and State of Bosnia and Herzegovina--a Member of the United Nations Organization and a Party to a case that is currently pending before the Court--to be destroyed before your very eyes, to perish from the face of the earth forever. The foregoing recitals sufficiently indicate the urgent need for the provisional measures requested below to be granted forthwith by the Court. The very lives, well-being, health, safety, physical, mental and bodily integrity, homes, property and personal possessions of hundreds of thousands of completely innocent People in Bosnia and Herzegovina are right now at stake, hanging in the balance, awaiting the next order of this Court.

Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and its agents and surrogates have given no indication that they are willing to desist from their criminal and genocidal actions. Indeed, the Respondent is already in manifest and gross violation of this Court's Order of 8 April 1993. And now the Respondent is planning, preparing, proposing, conspiring, and negotiating with other states to partition, dismember, annex and incorporate the sovereign territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina itself, and then driving all non-Serb Bosnians and even pro-Bosnian Serbs out of their own homes and traditional lands by means of genocide and acts of genocide. There are no limits to the rapacity, cruelty, ambitions, and bloodlust of the Respondent. Only the provisional measures requested below can restrain the rump Yugoslavia from totally annihilating both the People and State of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**E. Provisional Measures Requested.**

Given that the Court's jurisdiction in this case is already prima facie established under the Genocide Convention, and given that the Court has already indicated provisional measures on our behalf in its 8 April 1993 Order, Bosnia and Herzegovina submits that there are no impediments to indicating additional provisional measures in light of the aforementioned developments since 8 April 1993. Accordingly, Bosnia and Herzegovina respectfully requests that the Court indicate the following additional provisional measures to be in effect while the Court is seized of this case:

1. That Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) must immediately cease and desist from providing, directly or indirectly, any type of support--including training, weapons, arms, ammunition, supplies, assistance, finances, direction or any other form of support--to any nation, group, organization, movement, military, militia or paramilitary force, irregular armed unit, or individual in Bosnia and Herzegovina for any reason or purpose whatsoever.
2. That Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and all of its public officials--including and especially the President of Serbia, Mr. Slobodan Milosevic--must immediately cease and desist from any and all efforts, plans, plots, schemes, proposals or negotiations to partition, dismember, annex or incorporate the sovereign territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
3. That the annexation or incorporation of any sovereign territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) by any means or for any reason shall be deemed illegal, null, and void ab initio.
4. That the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina must have the means "to prevent" the commission of acts of genocide against its own People as required by Article I of the Genocide Convention.
5. That all Contracting Parties to the Genocide Convention are obliged by Article I thereof "to prevent" the commission of acts of genocide against the People and State of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
6. That the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina must have the means to defend the People and State of Bosnia and Herzegovina from acts of genocide and partition and dismemberment by means of genocide.
7. That all Contracting Parties to the Genocide Convention have the obligation thereunder "to prevent" acts of genocide, and partition and dismemberment by means of genocide, against the People and State of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

8. That in order to fulfill its obligations under the Genocide Convention under the current circumstance, the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina must have the ability to obtain military weapons, equipment, and supplies from other Contracting Parties.
9. That in order to fulfill their obligations under the Genocide Convention under the current circumstances, all Contracting Parties thereto must have the ability to provide military weapons, equipment, supplies and armed forces (soldiers, sailors, airpeople) to the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina at its request.
10. That United Nations Peacekeeping Forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina (i.e., UNPROFOR) must do all in their power to ensure the flow of humanitarian relief supplies to the Bosnian People through the Bosnian city of Tuzla.

**F. The Court Should Also Indicate Provisional Measures Proprio Motu.**

In addition to indicating the aforementioned provisional measures, the procedure laid down in Article 75 of the Rules of Court would also seem to be particularly appropriate for the Court to apply at this time:

"1. The Court may at any time decide to examine proprio motu whether the circumstances of the case require the indication of provisional measures which ought to be taken or complied with by any or all of the parties."

We hereby urgently ask the Court to fashion whatever type of relief the Judges deem to be necessary and sufficient to protect both the People and the State of Bosnia and Herzegovina from extermination and annihilation by means of genocide and other genocidal acts such as partition, dismemberment, annexation and incorporation by the Respondent.

In these circumstances, the Court will no doubt see fit to call upon the Respondent (1) to ensure the prevention of any act which might prejudice our rights, including our right to the implementation of such judgment as the Court may deliver on the merits; (2) to ensure that a stop is put to any act of whatsoever description which might aggravate or extend the dispute submitted to the Court and to specify such acts by name; (3) to obey the Order of this Court dated 8 April 1993; and (4) to grant such other and further relief as the Court may deem to be just, proper, necessary and sufficient. In this regard, the Court might wish to reexamine and to reconsider the six measures of provisional protection set forth in our previous Request to that effect, which was dated 20 March 1993.

Finally, concerning Article 75 of the Rules of Court, we must most respectfully request that the Members of this Court continuously keep the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina under daily review for as long as this case is pending on the General List: "The Court may at any time decide to examine proprio motu whether the circumstances of the case require the indication of provisional measures..." (Emphasis added.) Should the Court decide "at any time" in the indefinite future that "the circumstances" in Bosnia and Herzegovina warrant the indication of even more provisional measures, then we hereby request in advance that the Court exercise its powers under Statute Article 41 and Rules Article 75(1) to indicate proprio motu whatever additional provisional measures the Court deems to be just, proper, necessary and sufficient without waiting for us to file another written request.

I must make this extraordinary request at this time because of the extreme difficulties I have experienced in trying to communicate with my Government in Sarajevo. Needless to say, these "difficulties" have been purposefully created by the illegal and criminal acts perpetrated upon us by the rump Yugoslavia in gross violation of the United Nations Charter, the Genocide Convention, and this Court's Order of 8 April 1993. The Court must not permit the Respondent to benefit in any way from its own illegal activities that directly violate the very rules of international law that are at issue in this lawsuit.

Therefore, we most respectfully suggest that this problem can be solved by the Court keeping the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina under active and constant review for the purpose of indicating provisional measures proprio motu for as long as this case shall appear on the General List. And in regard to this latter point, I must today most respectfully request in advance that the Court thoroughly and carefully examine and inquire into any request or attempt to remove this case from the General List for any reason. The rump Yugoslavia has continuously perpetrated the most extreme measures of compulsion, coercion, and duress against the People, State and Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the very moment of our Declaration of Independence on 6 March 1992 until today. The Respondent seeks to destroy all traces of our independent existence--including this lawsuit.

#### G. Conclusion.

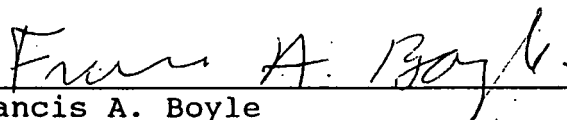
In view of the seriousness of the present situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Applicant urges that this Request be treated as a matter of the most extreme urgency. Accordingly, Bosnia and Herzegovina most respectfully requests that the Court convene immediately upon receipt of this Request, and that immediately upon the convening of a quorum of the Court, that the Court, pursuant to Articles 74(1) and 74(3) of the Rules of the Court, set a hearing on this Request no later than twenty-four (24) hours after the filing of this Request as of today's date and time. This extraordinary procedure should be followed (1) because of the

urgent and compelling reasons set forth above in this Request; and (2) because the Respondent is already in manifest and gross violation of this Court's Order of 8 April 1993; and (3) because one of the Respondent's Acting Agents is its self-styled "Chargé d' Affaires a.i.," who is already present in The Hague. Time is of the essence for the People and State of Bosnia and Herzegovina!

In the meantime, Bosnia and Herzegovina respectfully requests that pursuant to the terms of Article 74, paragraph 4 of the Rules of Court, that the President of the Court immediately and personally contact the President and Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and the President of the Republic of Serbia and inform them that they and their governments must immediately cease and desist from planning, preparing, proposing, conspiring, and negotiating to partition, dismember, annex or incorporate any portion of the sovereign territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**Make no mistake about it: This will be the last opportunity that this Court shall have to save both the People and State of Bosnia and Herzegovina from extermination and annihilation by means of genocide by the Respondent. God will record your response to our Request for the rest of eternity.**

Respectfully submitted by,



Francis A. Boyle  
Professor of International Law  
General Agent for the Republic of  
Bosnia and Herzegovina Before the  
International Court of Justice.

Attachment

FILE:B-H.REQ