

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

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

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

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

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

## Croatia policy to shift?

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

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

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

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

tific, economic, medical, and educational institutions.

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

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

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

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

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

**EIR:** What would a solution for Bosnia look like?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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