

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. list	White House List for Ski Spectacular (partial) (1 page)	12/12/1996	b(6)
002. cable	Fm: Amembassy Sarajevo re: Mayor (1 page)	03/14/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 20022

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia [Folder 3]

2013-0534-S

ry1548

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Refugees pleading to go home

The Serbs issue veiled threats to keep 'ethnic cleansing' of strategic corridor a reality, putting the Dayton accord in jeopardy

Angry Muslim women symbolize failures in Bosnia

By Tom Hundley
TRIBUNE STAFF WRITER

McGOVERN BASE, Bosnia-Herzegovina—U.S. Army Lt. Col. Tony Cucolo calls them the AWOBs—the Angry Women of Brcko—and he understands better than most that until they are mollified, the Dayton peace agreement is meaningless.

The AWOBs simply want to go home.

They tried last weekend. They organized several thousand refugees and set off for Brcko. But they were turned back at a Serb checkpoint, which according to the terms of Dayton shouldn't have been there in the first place.

They have vowed to keep trying.

The AWOBs are Muslim women whose families were expelled by Serbs from the predominantly Muslim city of Brcko during the early months of "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia.

Brcko, with a pre-war population of 43,000, is the key city in the four-mile wide neck of territory known as the Posavina corridor. The corridor is critical because it is the only link between the two large chunks of Bosnian Serb territory that constitute the Republika Srpska. The Serbs want the corridor widened; the Muslim-dominated Bosnian



Chicago Tribune

government wants Brcko back.

The final status of Brcko was the only issue left unresolved by the Dayton negotiators, who agreed that the city's fate would be decided by a panel of international arbitrators before the end of the year.

The Serb side has tried to solidify its grip on Brcko by flooding the city with Serb evacuees who

fled Sarajevo when the city was reunited under Bosnian government control last month.

Serb officials claim that up to 20,000 displaced Serbs soon will be resettled in Brcko. NATO officials believe the figure is closer to 3,000 or 5,000.

Either way, news of the Serb influx has stirred the former Muslim residents, who fear that the Serbs will be moving into their vacant apartments.

Caught in the middle is Lt. Col. Cucolo, commander of the 3rd Battalion of the 5th Cavalry, 1st Armored Division, which controls the Brcko sector.

In March, refugees from Brcko and their leaders began pressing Cucolo, wanting to know when they would be able to return home.

"They came to me and said they were going to march to Brcko. They said they were prepared to go home no matter what the cost," said Cucolo.

In theory, nothing is stopping them. According to the Dayton agreement, "All of Bosnia's people will have the right to move freely throughout the country without harassment or discrimination. Refugees and displaced persons will have the right to return home."

In reality, it has become increasingly clear that the Bos-

nian Serbs have no intention of living up to what was signed in their name at Dayton. The Serbs intend to keep Republika Srpska "ethnically clean."

When Cucolo informed Bosnian Serb officials in Brcko that many Muslims wished to return, the Serbs gave him the excuse that had always worked with United Nations peacekeepers: "We can't guarantee their safety."

Cucolo considered his dilemma. "If they [the Muslims] want to go back, I can't stop them. Dayton guarantees freedom of movement. But if someone goes in and gets hurt, then I'll have to shut it off, and that's exactly what the Serbs want," he said.

The success of the U.S. mission in Bosnia can be measured in several ways.

The fact that the fighting has been stopped cold is, without question, a major success that could not have been realized without the presence of U.S. troops.

The Pentagon measures success in each week that passes without an American casualty. Thus far, there have been only two U.S. ground troops killed in Bosnia, neither of them in combat.

But most analysts agree that Dayton cannot be termed a success until the 2.3 million refugees created by the war feel safe enough to return to their homes.

Or as Cucolo put it, "Until my AWOBs are happy."

Senior American military officials in Bosnia are beginning to grasp the full dimensions of the problem, and mobilizing to make sure the military doesn't get stuck with the blame.

"We're banging the drums for the civilian side to pick up the pace," said Col. Mark Brzozowski, a spokesman at the U.S. command headquarters in Tuzla.

But Carl Bildt, the designated civilian "high representative" for Bosnia, is woefully short of money and manpower. His skimpy International Police Task Force isn't up to the task of guaranteeing the safety of civilians in places like Brcko.

On his own, Cucolo has tried to bridge the gap.

Earlier this month, he arranged for the Muslim former residents of Brcko to visit their cemetery on the Serb side of the line.

The idea, he explained, is to build peace in small, local increments. It is an idea that is steadfastly resisted by the Bosnian Serb leadership in Pale, which has imposed a ban on all civilian contacts with the Muslim side.

The cemetery visit produced mixed results. A crowd of Serbs turned out to jeer the Muslims, but Serb police did prevent the situation from turning violent.

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

No Quick Fix in Bosnia

Delegations from 55 countries attended a Bosnian aid conference in Brussels last week that raised \$1.23 billion toward the \$5.1 billion that the World Bank estimates Bosnia needs if peace is to take root over the next three to four years. But this money won't do much good if Bosnia falls back into chaos after American troops, the backbone of the NATO force, withdraw in December. The fragile order in Bosnia, as in Haiti and Cambodia, shows that it takes more than short-term military interventions to construct lasting peace. A longer-term commitment to establishing the institutions of democracy is needed.

"If the civilian side goes belly-up, the possibility of peace here diminishes dramatically," Adm. Leighton W. Smith Jr., the American commander of the NATO force in Bosnia, recently told reporters. To rebuild the infrastructure, resettle tens of thousands of refugees, and employ up to 300,000 demobilized soldiers would give peace a chance. But the development of the institutions of civil society, such as a functioning judiciary, police force, and electoral system, is critical as well.

The Clinton Administration knows this work will take years, but as election day nears the President wants to be able to tell American voters that the troops will be home for Christmas. Some polls report that more than half of Americans are opposed to having U.S. troops in Bosnia.

Mr. Clinton also has learned that extended troop deployments invite disaster. When he expanded the humanitarian mission in Somalia and an American GI got dragged naked behind a pickup truck, exit strategy replaced nation-building in the President's lexicon. Today, the Somali warlords continue wreaking havoc.

After the Somali debacle, the concept of peacekeeping got a boost from the nearly \$3 billion United Nations Cambodian intervention that brought elections and was hailed as a success. But three years later, the former head of the Vietnamese-installed government, Hun Sen, is once again in charge. After losing the election, Hun Sen "negotiated" the position of Second Prime Minister. For fear of rocking the boat, the U.N. never made him release control of the police force or army. With the elected officials becoming a shadow government and with increasing political violence and corruption, there are serious questions about what the U.N. really accomplished.

In Haiti, the Clinton Administration

sent troops to stop the refugee flow. The U.S. applied the Somali lesson, avoiding mission creep for the military and departing quickly, in just over one year. Mr. Clinton claimed credit for restoring the Haitian democracy. They had an election and wrote a fine constitution, but the democracy exists mostly on paper. The rule of law is not functioning; an ill-trained police force is showing signs of corruption, and the judiciary is not independent. The Clinton Administration did not move to disarm the thugs for fear of casualties. Thousands of automatic weapons are hidden should those who once dominated wish to rise up when the U.N. departs at the end of June.

It can be argued that Bosnians, Haitians and Cambodians are at least better off than they were before the interventions. But the issue is whether these quick-fix deployments are worth the costs and risks if they do not restore effective civilian government. The job of the troops is to enforce the peace while the civilians rebuild. The forces must avoid mission creep, but if they cannot be relied upon as a longer-term backup for civilians trying to gain control of their civil institutions, backsliding is inevitable.

Bosnia cannot backslide much from where it is now come the December pull-out because it will not have progressed far. Some money has reached Bosnia but the reconstruction has not started in earnest. It is doubtful whether a civilian police force will be fully functioning in seven months. The elections, if they occur in September, will have produced a government whose first crisis will be the departure of the backbone of IFOR. And this is all complicated by the fact that Radovan Karadzic and Gen. Ratko Mladic, Bosnian-Serb leaders and indicted war criminals, are opposing parts of the process.

If the American President is really serious about Bosnian reconstruction all this argues for an extension of the American presence past the December pull-out deadline. Otherwise, the operation will not have conferred a genuine opportunity for peace and will appear to have been a cynical effort to silence those demanding action and to claim credit for a foreign policy success in an election year.

The unpleasant truth is that the establishment of democratic institutions takes years or decades, depending upon whether there is a firm base to build on. Nation-building is an admirable endeavor, but, as with Rome, no democracy has ever been built in a day.

File Bosnia

By CARLOS A. BALL

Thursday night, Lady Thatcher delivered the keynote speech at the 50th anniversary celebration of the Foundation for Economic Education, at New York's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. Practically all the world's key supporters of free markets, property rights, and individual freedom have been at least indirectly influenced by the pioneering work of Leonard Read (1898-1983) and of FEE, the institution he established in 1946 to promote freedom, increase public understanding of market economics, and recognize the evils of government intervention.

Read, born on a Michigan farm, claimed that his economic training started when he



Leonard Read

was eight years old: "My father started me milking cows when I was still a small boy. I learned the relationship between hard work and a quart of milk. All else in economics is but an embellishment of this primary lesson."

When Read was general manager of the largest Chamber of Commerce in the country, in Los Angeles, he invited Prof. Ludwig von Mises to give lectures there in 1944. Mises believed that what "really matters is the outcome of the intellectual combat between the supporters of socialism and those of capitalism." In October 1946, Mises became a staff member of FEE, giving annual lectures to teachers, journalists, and students at its Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, headquarters.

Freedom is always a casualty of war. "Reconstruction" was then being centrally planned by the new international bureaucrats; the wisdom of welfarism, the Marshall Plan, price and wage controls was being passionately debated. My first trip to the U.S. took place in 1945; besides the Empire State Building, what surprised me most was that my mother could not buy shoes without a government voucher and that my father's coffee was served with only a minute bag of sugar. I was too young to realize that shortages are the inevitable outcome of strict government controls on the economy.

The year before, Friedrich von Hayek had published "The Road to Serfdom," showing that barbarism is the unintended consequence of fascism, communism and so-

By SHELLEY L. DAVIS

April 15 was a red letter day for reasons beyond its instant recognition as tax day. A scarlet letter "A" of Hester Prynne fame should be affixed to the U.S. Internal Revenue Service itself. The IRS's scarlet letter stands for Accountability (a lack of), Arrogance (deeply ingrained) and Abuse (of the vast resources it has been given). The IRS scores

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AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

file Bosnia



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October 16, 1996



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200 Beacon Street
Somerville

Dear Mrs. Clinton,

Your letter of the 10th reached me today at my Yale address. I hasten to reply.

I am touched by your invitation to the public announcement of humanitarian projects for Bosnia — not least because my late Mother was born in the province of Vojvodina, which later became part of Yugoslavia, and is now part of Greater Serbia.

Unfortunately, the Midwest Center of the Academy is meeting on Saturday in Chicago, and as President I am obliged to attend.

As you know from John Brademas, the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities is making good progress. I hope I can participate in the presentation of the Report, and that I may see you again at that time.

Faithfully yours,
Jaroslav Pelikan

Norton's Woods
136 Irving Street
Cambridge
Massachusetts
02138-1996 USA

J.P.

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES



Office of the First Lady
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500



December 12, 1996

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR OFFICE OF THE FIRST LADY

FROM: MATTHEW LORIN/NSC

SUBJECT: Disabled Bosnian Photo-op

On Tuesday, December 17 at 1:30PM the First Lady will meet with 9 disabled Bosnian men and women aged 17 - 38 as well as assistants, translators and representatives of the International Rescue Committee (IRC), Disabled Sports/USA (DS/USA) and ITT Sheraton.

The Bosnians will have just returned from a week as guests of Disabled Sports/USA in Breckenridge, Colorado where they will have enjoyed a week's skiing events courtesy of the ITT Hartford's annual *Ski Spectacular for Disabled Skiers*. They will also have received donated prosthesis and wheelchair equipment not available in Bosnia.

Each year, DS/USA hosts a group of guests who represent a disabled constituency in urgent need of assistance. This year, the IRC was invited to bring a group from Bosnia who have suffered war related injuries. The group was flown to the United States courtesy of United Airlines. Lodging was provided by Beaver Run Resort and Conference Center.

DS/USA, a member of the U.S. Olympic Committee, is the largest sports and recreation organization in the U.S. for the disabled. DS/USA serves 60,000 persons nationwide in 88 community-based chapters. Thousands of those members have become skiers and racers. The U.S. Disabled Ski Team, many of whom got their start at DS/USA, is consistently the best in the world.

International Rescue Committee (IRC) began in 1993 when Albert Einstein requested assistance for anti-Nazi refugees fleeing Hitler's terror. Today, IRC is the largest private, non-sectarian voluntary agency serving refugees worldwide. IRC currently operates a physical rehabilitation project in Tuzla, Bosnia.



INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE

122 East 42nd Street • New York, NY 10166-1289
Tel (212) 551-3000 Fax (212) 551-3181 Internet irc.com

BOSNIAN GUESTS AT THE SKI SPECTACULAR

December 5 - 15
Breckenridge, Colorado

At each Ski Spectacular, DS/USA hosts a group of guests who represent a disabled constituency in urgent need of assistance. This year, the International Rescue Committee was invited to bring a group of people from Bosnia who have suffered war related injuries. IRC not only identified the nine disabled Bosnians, but arranged for the necessary government documents for their travel and flew them to Frankfurt. From there, the group was flown to the U.S. as guests of United Airlines. Lodging has been provided by Beaver Run Resort and Conference Center.

The guests are:

Faruk Sabanovic, 21, Sarajevo. Before the war in his country started, Faruk studied electro-technical engineering and applied mathematics. When the war started, he joined the army with dreams of finishing his education after the war. Injured in March of 1995, Faruk spent eight months in physical rehabilitation. In November, 1995, after surgery at New York's Maimonides Medical Center, he went to the Kessler Institute in New Jersey to learn how to cope with his extensive injuries. Upon returning to Sarajevo, Faruk established a humanitarian organization called the Center for Self-Reliance to help others who are disabled.

Dzentia Fakic, 23, Sarajevo. At the age of 19, she was injured in a shelling attack while walking to get water with her sister and friends. Dzentia comes to Breckenridge with a strong desire to live her life as it was before her injury. She is employed by Radio Bosnia & Herzegovina, and has completed course in Computers and English. Her philosophy is simple "... only when something happens to you, you know how powerful you are, and then one (decides) to give up or win.

Emir Maglic, 28, Travnik. A veteran of the Bosnian army, Emir was injured in 1995 during a shelling attack. During his rehabilitation in Tuzla, Emir began playing wheelchair basketball for a team called the Veterans.

Selma Sakic, 22, Gracanica. Injured in a grenade attack in 1992, Selma has had many surgeries on her road to recovery. She plans to go back to school to finish her studies in economics.

Kadira Nukic, 29, Srebrenica. Kadira her arm in a shelling attack in 1993. In that same attack, she lost her seven year old daughter. In July of 1995 when Srebrenica was overrun by Serbian army, her husband and four of her brothers-in-law were killed. Four months later, while living in a collective center, a shell exploded outside her home, killing her five year old son.

Himzija Sehic, 38, Olovo. An army veteran, Himzija lost his arm in 1993. He worked as a foreman in a wood factory before the war. Himzija is married with two children, and hopes to return to work after the war.

Senad Selimovic, 35, Zenica. The oldest member of our group of special guests, Senad, an army veteran, was injured in 1995 when he was shot near the town of Vitez. Senad takes computer courses and works for a railroad construction firm. He is also a member of the Bosnia's champion wheelchair basketball team.

Rijad Folic, 17, Bugojno. Injured when he stepped on a land mine, Rijad is the youngest member of the Bosnian guests. He lives as refugee in Bugojno.

Edina Ijraktarevic, 26, Srebrenica. Edina works in a social center for the disabled and has a degree in computer graphics. She is also studying to be a coach for the disabled.

IRC Physical Therapist: Mary Lou Hunt

I grew up in San Antonio, Texas. Received a B.A. in liberal arts from U.T. Austin, B.S. in Physical Therapy from U.T. Health Science Center in San Antonio. I have an older brother in New York City and an older sister in San Antonio. My parents are deceased.

I moved to New York City in '81. Worked for NYU Rusk Institute of Rehabilitation Medicine for 7 and 1/2 years with adults with spinal cord injuries, head trauma or stroke. In '90, I worked in St. Louis Missouri, in the University Children's Hospital. I returned to New York in '91, working for 2 and 1/2 years at First Step Early Childhood Center, an early intervention center for disabled children from birth to 5 years old.

In August '94, I came to Bosnia for 3 weeks with IRC as a volunteer to distribute wheelchairs to paraplegics and give information to medical staff about rehab management of paraplegics. The dedication of the Bosnian medical staffs in the various cities, working without proper equipment, intermittent water and electric supplies, without salary and under constant threat of shelling so impressed me that I wanted to stay and assist in their efforts. At that time IRC was committed to assisting in the rehabilitation of war victims, but did not have funding. I worked for a few months for WHO in Bosnia and Croatia. In January 95, IRC found funding but did not have an official program. Knowing IRC's depth of presence here, and their commitment to the disabled, I worked for them for several months in Mostar.

In April of '95, IRC received funding for a one year program from the British Overseas Development Association (ODA). I have been working in Tuzla since that time (thanks to a second grant from ODA). I have been blessed by having an excellent and trusted assistant, Milja Jovanovic, to help me with all things and by having a wonderful counterpart, Laura Hamilton, to develop the program with. These two and one half years have easily been the most productive and rewarding of my life.

Also included in the group are IRC Occupational Therapist Laura Hamilton, two Bosnian translators, a Bosnian ski instructor, and a Bosnian nurse who also works for IRC.

M
Number of Pages: 3
IRC Fax: 202/232-7376
Outgoing Fax Number: 202/456-9140

INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE
1825 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 314
Washington, D.C. 20009
Telephone: (202) 667-7714
Fax: (202) 232-7376

Is this a
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FACSIMILE COVER LETTER

TO: Richard Reagan/NSC

FROM: Sheppie Abramowitz

DATE: November 12, 1996

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13 Bosnians
IRC started
2 had members
United Airlines

Dear Richard,

This is a request for help- if you think it is a viable idea. I'm enclosing a description of a project of *Disabled Sports USA*. They intend to bring disabled Bosnians to an annual ski event in the U.S. The IRC is hooked to the project because the Bosnians selected to participate will be the people the IRC is helping through our rehabilitation project in Sarajevo. Our project is funded by DOS and PRM. We selected participants and will send staff to accompany. You can see from the attached all the expenses being borne by United Airlines. The disabled athletes will be in Washington the week of December 15 to attend *Christmas in Washington*.

I thought you might help facilitate a White House call on Mrs. Clinton for the group (it is possible that other eager-beavers have tried this but IRC hasn't heard about it). Could you help make the right connection for this? Is it Ambassador Shifter? The hook is the U.S. funding for the rehabilitation plus the private sector partnership. What do you think? Steve Solarz contacted IRC, he is on our Board and has the connection with *Disabled Sports USA*.

Many thanks

Sheppie

Sheppie

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**DISABLED
SPORTS**

Formerly National Handicapped Sports

"If I can do this, I can do anything!"

TO: Steve Solarz/Bobbi Avancena

FROM: Kirk Bauer

DATE: October 1, 1996

Disabled Sports USA, a member of the United States Olympic Committee, is the largest sports and recreation organization in the nation serving children and adults with physical disabilities.

DS/USA plans to host, at its annual SKI SPECTACULAR, a group of Bosnians who have been disabled by the conflict in their country. The SKI SPECTACULAR is the largest winter sports event for disabled people in the United States and will be held December 8-15, 1996, at Breckenridge Ski Resort in Colorado.

New sports wheelchairs, the latest artificial prostheses, and adapted ski equipment, worth thousands of dollars, will be given to the participants.

Each year at the SKI SPECTACULAR, DS/USA hosts a special group of guests who symbolize a disabled constituency in urgent need of assistance. In the past, this has included disabled Russian veterans from the Afghan War, innocent victims of crime who have been permanently disabled; and special need children of Vietnam veterans.

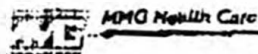
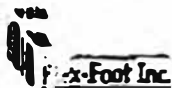
After the event on December 15, the Bosnian delegation will be flown from Denver to Washington, DC, *compliments of United Airlines*. They will attend the *Christmas in Washington* performance at the National Theater and be special guests of President Clinton and Chairman Gerald Greenwald of United Airlines, which is sponsoring Christmas in Washington.

DS/USA will provide support to the Bosnian guests, totalling \$117,000. Specifically, the following support will be provided:

- * New high tech prostheses, provided by the orthotics industry to amputee participants. The value is \$50,000.
- * Sports wheelchairs for all paraplegic participants. The value is \$8,000.

Member,
U.S. Olympic Committee

Official Airline:

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4500 Ringwood Drive
Suite 100
Rockville, MD 20850

Phone: (301) 217-0960
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Visit DS/USA on the
World Wide Web at
<http://www.dsusa.org>
or dsusa.html

OCT 02 '96 10:04 FR -

0 TO 074960005051212 P.04/04

Page Two

- * **Ski equipment adapted for paraplegics and other disabled skiers. The value is \$10,000.**
- * **Fifteen roundtrip airfares on United Airlines, from Milan, Italy, to Denver, Colorado via Washington, DC, and transportation to the ski resort. Included will be a stop over in Washington, DC, on the return trip. The value is \$25,000.**
- * **Seven days of lodging at the luxury Beaver Run Resort, adjacent to the ski slopes at Breckenridge and headquarters for the SKI SPECTACULAR. The value is \$8,400.**
- * **A week of ski lift tickets for all participants. The value is \$3,600.**
- * **A week of adapted ski instruction for disabled participants by the top instructors in the country. The value is \$3,780.**
- * **A week of training for three ski instructors in adapted skiing techniques by the top trainers in the country. The value is \$1,260.**
- * **Food for 15 guests for the week. The value is \$4,200.**
- * **Designated 12 volunteers to act as hosts for the Bosnian guests at the Dulles International Airport, Denver International Airport and Breckenridge Ski Resort. The value for food and lodging for the volunteers is \$3,360.**

DS/USA needs

- * **Assistance in identifying 15 Bosnians between the ages of 18-30 with spinal cord injury or with leg amputations.**
- * **Assistance in expediting Passport and Visa applications for the Bosnian delegation.**
- * **Transportation from Bosnia to Milan, Italy, and return to Bosnia. (United Airlines will fly them from Milan.)**
- * **[A government official to attend the SKI SPECTACULAR and help host the Bosnian guests. R (necessary?)**

Number of Pages:

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Outgoing Fax Number:

INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE

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Washington, D.C. 20009

Telephone: (202) 667-7714

Fax: (202) 232-7376

FACSIMILE COVER LETTER

TO:

Matt Lorin

FROM:

SEA

DATE:

Nov 19

RE:

456 9140

With Thanks

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

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First Lady's Office
Melanne Vermeer
OA/Box Number: 20022

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Bosnia [Folder 3]

2013-0534-S
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- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

FLORUS APPT 12/17/96
WHITE HOUSE LIST FOR SKI SPECTACULAR

TUESDAY DEC. 17th, 1996
clear in for: 1.00 pm
Arrival - East Appt. Gate
for 1:15 mtg w/ FLORUS
contact: Holly Nichols / x67561
Passport No. Issued Expires

Name DOB ID Number

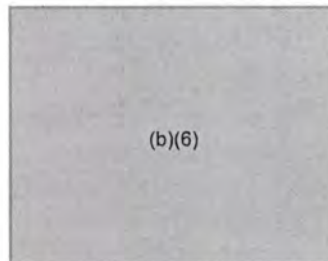
- 1) Becirbegovic, Semin
- 2) Fakic, Dzenita
- 3) Glinac, Subhija
- 4) Joguncic, Milja
- 5) Kavagic, Mersiha
- 6) Maglic, Emir
- 7) Nukic, Kadir
- 8) Polic, Rijad
- 9) Sabanovic, Faruk
- 10) Sakic, Selma
- 11) Sehic, Himzija
- 12) Selimovic, Senad
- 13) Bajrektarevic, Edina



[001]

Name DOB Social Sec. #

- 14) Laura Hamilton
- 15) Mary Lou Hunt
- 16) Karen Bennett
- 17) Emily Coffman
- 18) Kirk Bauer
- 19) Marie MacDonald
- 20) Lizabeth H. Zlatkus



DRIVER:

Dave GREVENBERG

SS#

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

DOB -

(b)(6)

1977 FORD ECONOLINE BUS
Red/wh/Blue

KY 1BK244

Flag Motif

THEIR OWN PHOTOGRAPHER?
DS/USA Press Release?



22mud

X6 2370

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. cable	Fm: Amembassy Sarajevo re: Mayor (1 page)	03/14/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 20022

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia [Folder 3]

2013-0534-S
ry1548

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Trial Lawyers' Triumph

THE PRESIDENT'S announcement over the weekend that he will veto product liability legislation has surprised and disappointed even senior Democrats in the Senate—and well it should. The decision is a terrible one. "He is dead wrong about this bill," said Sen. Joseph Lieberman. His colleague, Sen. Jay Rockefeller, who has devoted years to this effort, had an explanation that is not flattering: "Unfortunately, special interests and raw political considerations in the White House have overridden sound policy judgment." While the senator didn't name names, the implication is that the trial lawyers—heavy contributors to the president's campaigns—are behind this cave-in.

Legislators are justified in expressing surprise at the president's states' rights excuse for a veto. As governor of Arkansas, the president twice supported resolutions adopted by the National Governors' Association calling for federal legislation on product liability. They are right to be confounded when he talks about eliminating pain-and-suffering damages. These injuries would remain fully compensable under the legislation except in unusual situations in which there are multiple defendants, some of whom are bankrupt; in such cases, the surviving defendants would have to pay all actual damages—medical bills, lost wages and the like—but pain and suffering claims only in proportion to each defendant's responsibility for the harm done. And sponsors of the legislation are

entitled to wonder why the president dismissed as meaningless the power given to individual judges to waive the cap on punitive damages in cases of egregious conduct.

This is really a modest bill that is restricted to suits involving defective products. Legislation is needed because punitive damages are wildly unpredictable, so arbitrary as to be unfair and are awarded without any guidance to juries, which simply pick numbers out of the air.

In a recent Alabama case now before the Supreme Court, for example, a doctor sued BMW because parts of his car had been repainted prior to sale. He was awarded \$4,000 compensatory damages and \$4 million punitive damages. Two months before, a man in the same county who had a virtually identical claim had received no punitive damages at all.

These awards are not meant to be compensation to victims but penalties for serious negligence. If the pending bill became law, plaintiffs could still win millions in actual pain and suffering damages and double that amount, or \$250,000, whichever is greater, in punitive damages. But the lawyers want the sky to be the limit. They'll take a chance on winning an award out of all proportion to the harm done, and they'll threaten a multimillion-dollar suit in the hope of forcing a settlement. The president's decision to capitulate to their pressure is transparent, shortsighted and wrong.

Sarajevo's Day

TODAY IS THE day Sarajevo was meant to emerge from the war's toils as Bosnia's single, unified multi-ethnic capital. But Serbs and Muslims have seen to it that while the city is escaping from Serb occupation and terror, it is moving to single Muslim possession and control. This status cuts directly across the fundamental intent of the Dayton peace accords to put a war-divided country gradually back together again. What should have been a day of celebration is an occasion for no small despair.

It happened this way. Bosnian Serbs moved their troops out and siege guns back from Sarajevo—Dayton terms—but, to advance their underlying nationalistic ideology of ethnic incompatibility, they also whipped up fears of Muslim retaliation in the Serb-held suburbs. The resulting alarm was reinforced by alternating acts of provocation and neglect by the very Muslim police who were supposed to be protecting anxious Serbs.

Actually, it's worse. The international police presence foreseen by Dayton simply was too weak on the ground to deal with the hoodlums and arsonists now expelling Serbs from Sarajevo. And although Dayton specifically instructs the 60,000 NATO-led interna-

tional peacekeepers to observe and prevent "deliberate violence to life and person," this force has disavowed any "police" function and focused itself narrowly on separating the three Bosnian armies. This is a useful task but no longer the most important one. Meanwhile, NATO attends only by fits and starts to the further essential mission of supporting the war crimes process.

A bitter pair of ironies now marks the Sarajevo scene. "Ethnic cleansing," the defining scourge of the war, is becoming a hallmark of the peace as the Bosnian parties twist the Dayton terms to consolidate ethnic fiefdoms. (The frail American-sponsored federation of Bosnia's Muslims and Croats may yet be a further casualty.) And some of the sharpest complaints against international passivity come from the United Nations, once itself the accused, and are directed against NATO, once itself the accuser.

In this instance, the U.N. representatives are right. NATO has the power and resources and reason to move Bosnia, at a politically sustainable cost, toward a better end based on the Dayton accords, which the United States, after all, wrote.

Power Ball

A YEAR AGO both House and Senate passed bills conferring line-item veto authority on the president. It looked as if this transfer of power would be one of the first major acts of the new Republican Congress, but then the rather different bills disappeared from view. Only now, at the supposed behest of Senate majority leader and presumptive Republican presidential nominee Bob Dole, has a conference committee produced a compromise.

Only one small detail remains to be worked out: the effective date. One of the reasons the bill was set aside last year was that the Republicans, while professing to believe in the veto, were reluctant to give it to a Democratic president. They want to pass the bill—Mr. Dole wants to show he can produce—but do they give Bill Clinton the power before the election or defer it until afterward? They haven't decided.

The power question is absolutely the right one to ask. The line-item veto has been sold as a fiscal device. Just give the president this extra clout, and he will quickly tame not only the deficit but also the congressional propensity to spend that produces it. That's what Ronald Reagan used to say, and George Bush after him, and now Mr. Clinton to a lesser degree. Mr. Reagan in particular found the argument convenient; it helped him to deflect responsibility for budget deficits that his own policies had had the major role in creating. By 1995, having called for the veto for so long, the Republicans had no choice but to vote for it, even though, as the party in power, they were saying in effect, we have to save us from ourselves.

Our own sense has been that the veto likely won't

do that much to reduce the deficit—certainly not as much as its supporters claim. What it will produce instead is a huge increase in the power of the president relative to Congress in fiscal and non-fiscal affairs alike. Currently when he is sent a bill, he has to sign or veto it in its entirety. Congress has the packaging power; he can't approve the parts he likes and not the rest. The line-item bill will let him pick and choose. He will be able to single out for veto individual appropriations items, any increases in non-appropriation or entitlement spending and certain "targeted" tax cuts that have 100 or fewer beneficiaries (though the tax break language is blurry; the Republicans aren't that keen on having tax breaks vetoed).

But the deficit hasn't grown up in recent years by virtue of individual spending increases or tax cuts tucked into larger bills over presidential opposition. It is structural; it exists because of major tax and/or spending decisions that have been made over the years by both parties and both branches acting together.

What the line-item bill represents is a voluntary, statutory shift in the constitutional balance of power. Presidents are always trading for votes in Congress. Now the president's bargaining power will be much greater than before. If he turns the searchlight on a particular project, benign or not, it will require not a majority but a two-thirds vote of both houses to survive. How many individual members will be able to stand up to firepower like that? They talk about this bill as if it has to do with budgets. In fact, it has to do with a great deal more.

How Much Is Too Much?

SUPPORTERS OF campaign finance reform in the District are of the opinion that any amount above the current limits on contributions to mayoral, council and school board candidates is too much. For them, the present \$50 lid on contributions for school board and council ward races and the \$100 limit for council at-large and mayoral contests are just about right. District residents saw it the same way in November 1992 when they overwhelmingly approved the present limits in a voter-sponsored initiative. If the city council gets its way, however, those limits soon will be history.

Apparently a majority of the city council and Mayor Barry have concluded that the current limits are too low. They have made fund-raising more onerous and time-consuming, at a time when campaign expenses for such political staples as media and mailings are increasing and when collecting money on a retail basis is made all the more difficult because crime-wary citizens won't answer knocks on their doors from strangers.

But council members want it known that they weren't just thinking of themselves this month when they tentatively voted to reverse the November 1992 decision and raise contributions limits tenfold. If it's tough on well-known officials such as themselves to raise money, just think of the poor unknown challengers who need to gather even more funds to get their names before the public. The current skimpy limits

mean that newcomers, instead of addressing issues, must spend more time trying to scrape together enough funds to mount a credible campaign.

Of course, the council isn't exactly being selfless. Hiking the limits up to the proposed level of \$500 in ward races, \$1,000 in at-large council contests and \$2,000 for mayor will make it easier for incumbents to amass their war chests.

If this sounds like a case for keeping the current limits or keeping hands off the law because it was adopted at the polls, it's not meant to be. And we've said before that the current contribution limits work to the disadvantage of challengers and the advantage of political action committees, or PACs, which aren't constrained by limits on individual contributions. As the last mayoral race illustrated, special interests and PACs have an affinity for each other.

When the council overturned the expensive right-to-shelter initiative in the late 1980s, it struck us as a reasonable action. Something should be done in this case. Individual limits can be raised without doing violence to the goal of keeping elected office within reach of candidates of modest means. There is no standard or conforming rule to be followed in setting contribution limits in local races. A rule of reasonableness ought to govern. Ultimately the voter—who has the choice of either putting the issue back on the fall ballot or of supporting the council's actions—will decide which it will be. That too is as it should be.

U.S. first lady set to visit Greece

By ANTHEE CARASSAVAS=

ATHENS, March 13 (UPI) U.S. first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton plans to visit Greece later this month to attend celebrations marking the 100th anniversary of the Olympic Games, officials said Wednesday.

"We invited her and the initial White House response relayed to us through the Foreign Ministry is that she's coming," Athens municipal spokesman Vassilis Tsalamangas told United Press International.

U.S. diplomats in Athens said they "anticipate to soon have a detailed schedule of her trip."

Greece plans to re-enact the 1896 Olympics in Athens April 6 as part of celebrations marking the centennial of the Games' revival.

The re-enactment marks the pinnacle of events set to begin March 30 with the traditional lighting of the Olympic flame by the sun's rays at the ancient city of Olympia, some 100 miles (180 kilometers) west of Athens.

"This is the event Mrs. Clinton will most likely attend," a U.S. diplomat said.

Her visit to Greece will come two months after U.S. President Bill Clinton intervened in a near-war episode between Athens and Ankara over claims to a rocky, uninhabited islet in the southeast Aegean Sea.

On Tuesday, officials in Ankara said Mrs. Clinton would visit Turkey by the end of the month but declined to say whether her trip would precede or follow attendance of the Olympic celebrations in Greece.

The Olympic Games get their name from an ancient festival celebrated with competitions in athletics, poetry and music every four years at Olympia in honor of the mythological god Zeus.

Athens was chosen to host the first Olympiad in 1896 when the Games were revived.

For years, Athens held a bitter grudge over its loss to Atlanta of the 1996 centennial games. Only this year did it set aside its bitterness by bidding to host the 2004 Olympics.

**** filed by:UPI(--) on 03/13/96 at 05:51EST ****

**** printed by:WHPR(JEL) on 03/13/96 at 08:50EST ****

Melanne Verveco,

Suggested language for
Greece-Turkey portion of trip.

John Schmitt
NSC

file
Greece

file Bosnia

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS FOR BOSNIAN HUMANITARIAN EVENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
JANUARY 29, 1996**

[Acknowledgments]

I am grateful to have this opportunity to join all of you here at the White House for an event that offers so much hope for the people of Bosnia and for the world.

This gathering represents an extraordinary commitment of religious and non-denominational organizations to humanitarian relief in the region. As a Methodist, I am proud that my own church is one of those involved.

Every day the world bears witness to the terrible legacy of war in the former Yugoslavia. As you arrived here today, you may have seen the World Vision exhibit of drawings and photographs by Bosnian children that is on display downstairs. These pictures are at once remarkable, and heartbreaking.

To see the conflict through children's eyes reminds us that children bear a special burden in war. Not only are they robbed of their loved ones, and of their homes, schools, and communities, they are robbed of their spirit. Today, the children of Bosnia are truly the world's orphans.

Thankfully, the process of reconciliation and rebuilding -- and the process of healing -- has begun.

When my husband returned from Bosnia earlier this month, he was extremely encouraged by what he had seen there -- not just the presence of the NATO peace-keeping forces, but the prospects for peace that the United States helped negotiate in Dayton, which appear to be taking root.

We all know that a permanent peace will not come easily to a place where neighbors have turned against neighbors and hatreds among different groups have undermined the larger Bosnian community.

The war claimed thousands of lives. Countless people have been brutally victimized because of their ancestry. Like children, women have endured particularly tragic consequences of the conflict in Bosnia. Rape is an ugly face of every war; but in Bosnia, women were purposely branded and violated -- raped as a

tactic of war.

Now the people of Bosnia must cope with the scars of that particularly vicious form of physical and emotional violence.

That we can be hopeful at all about the future of Bosnia is in part a measure of the contributions your organizations are making on the ground there every day. The process of rebuilding, and healing, would be much harder without non-governmental organizations and private voluntary organizations working at the grassroots level to provide food, clothing, medicine, and other services to people whose lives have been shattered by war.

Women's groups and organizations, in particular, have undertaken special efforts to help rape victims begin to rebuild their lives and the lives of their families.

I think I speak for all Americans when I thank you for your ongoing commitments to so many important projects. We admire and applaud the talent, energy, skill and resources of all the organizations represented here have lent to help repair a country and a people so badly in need.

Just as you recognize the work that still remains to be done on many fronts in Bosnia, so does our government. Today I am pleased to announce that, through the United States Agency for International Development and the State Department's Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration, the United States will support a new relief initiative in Bosnia focusing on children and families.

Our partners in this effort will be the Catholic Relief Services and the International Orthodox Christian Charities. This marks the first time these two groups have embarked on a project together. Their participation, along with church groups, Islamic associations, local NGOs, and professional associations is a crucial step in promoting religious reconciliation in Bosnia.

The religious charities are committed to providing relief not simply to one religious group or another, not to one community or another, but to all people in Bosnia who need assistance.

It is this kind of courageous cooperation that must be emulated throughout the region if peace is to hold. CRS and IOCC deserve our thanks and support for pledging to work together on behalf of people of all faiths.

The new initiative that the United States has agreed to support will expand the Psychosocial Trauma Recovery Project that Catholic Relief Services has been operating for one year. The project already has provided skills for para-professionals

working in refugee centers in Sarajevo. It has helped psychologists and social workers there treat war-related psychological trauma. And it has allowed for the selection and training of 17 professionals who, in turn, will train others in Tuzla and Sarajevo, two areas with large populations suffering the effects of war-related trauma.

It is sometimes easy, for those of us who are not working on the front lines every day, to forget how difficult the process of healing is in a place so ravaged by war and hatred. And it's easy, in the comfort of our own secure lives, to overlook the desperation that greets the people of Bosnia as they go about their daily business.

Imagine, for a moment, what life must be like now for a 13-year-old boy I read about recently. During the war, he had been forced to watch as soldiers beat and hanged his father, and then as they raped his younger sister and mother.

An entire generation of children -- and families -- in Bosnia have been subjected to this kind of emotional and psychological devastation.

So again, I thank all of you for your efforts to help the people of Bosnia regain some semblance of comfort, security and hope for the future. I thank Catholic Relief Services and the International Orthodox Christian Charities for helping pave the way to reconciliation and rebuild the trust that has been broken in Bosnia.

As Americans, we can be proud to join in their efforts.

Thank you very much.

[Introduce next speaker]

file Bosnia

Women and the Bosnian Peace Process

Resources: Barbara Smith, Mary Diaz, Jane Olson, Nancy Rubin

International Rescue Committee

Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children

Barbara & Mary 212/551-3089 (Barbara is expert in the health field and is in Bosnia until early April)

Jane Olson 818/792-0250 (has visited Bosnia dozens of times and is involved in hands-on projects with women refugees)

Nancy Rubin 202/244-8247 (leaving soon for Bosnia)

Lael Staegall Delphi AID grantee 202/544-5111 (home number)

The Delphi International STAR Project has number of community programs in Bosnia such as cooperative laundries

Jock Covey, Senior Foreign Service Officer, Chief of Staff to Carl Bildt High Representative for Peace Implementation Process located in Sarajevo

Julia Cohen State Dept. Population Refugee Migration Bureau

- o Women and girls constitute the vast majority (up to 80%) of the nation's 2.7 million refugees. Some 60% of the women are widows.
- o A majority of the reconstruction money is going to infrastructure projects. The former Yugoslavia has a high percentage of female architects and engineers (higher than in the US). Most of the construction projects funded by humanitarian aid during the war did not include women. There are no indications that local construction companies hired to do building projects will seek to include women. Similar to race conditionality tied to US aid to South Africa, the US could condition its aid to Bosnia to bringing women into the infrastructure projects.
- o Humanitarian aid supplied by Saudi Arabia and Iran reportedly is conditioned with reference to women and employment, dress, and decorum. It is important that US aid be conditioned to balance this.
- o Women kept the schools open during the war and started a large number of mental health projects. Women without professional credentials were trained to teach and to be counselors. Efforts should be made not to displace these women with persons who do have credentials but no war-time experience at the community level.
- o Women's economic status is particularly important since there are large number of women-headed households in Bosnia now due to the high rate of divorce during the war couple with the death of soldiers.
- o There is an increased alcohol supply in Bosnia now and with it an increase in domestic violence. At least some of the International Police Training Force monitors who supervise training should be qualified to deal with domestic violence and rape.

Women and the Bosnia Peace Process
page 2

- o Among the responsibilities of the Commission for Displaced Persons is the return of property. It is important that the Commission ensure women's legal status and the right jto own property and/or obtain compensation in their own names. This is particularly important because so many women will be returning alone to their homes.
- o There are still many landmines in the the former Yugoslavia and women and children are vulnerable as well as combattants are victimized.

Attachments:

- letter to TLoar from Intl League for Human Rights re police training 3 pgs
- letter to Jock Covey from Jill Merrick with list of women NGOs in former Yugoslavia 9 pgs
- letter to Jock Covey from Jill Merrick & co with concerns re women and peace accords 4pgs
- informal note to TLoar from Barbara Smith with refugee concerns 2 pgs

11 March 1996

Ms. Theresa Loar
The Interagency Council on Women
The White House
New Executive Office Building, Suite 3212
Washington, D.C. 20503

Dear Theresa,

As you know, representatives from a number of human rights organizations have raised concerns with Ambassador Albright about the lack of adequate training for law enforcement personnel responsible for protecting women who have been or fear they will be victims of violence in the new civilian police of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We would very much appreciate a meeting with Robert Gelbard and any other appropriate United States officials to discuss our concerns in greater detail and to offer assistance.

Consistent with IPTF's responsibilities to advise and train law enforcement personnel, we wish to encourage United States officials to take action in five problem areas.

1. At least some high-level United States IPTF monitors who supervise training should be expert on the subject of violence against women:

A. Rape

Systematic rape, used as a weapon during the war, has a complex set of dynamics rooted in the culture of this particular conflict and in a more general pattern of male/female relationships of power and domination. It is important that police trainers both understand the elements of the crime of rape and of the context for rape within the particular circumstances of the war.

B. Domestic Violence

We face the almost certain prospect of increased domestic violence in the coming months. Frustrated by the political accommodations of the Dayton Accords, faced with an economy in shambles and accustomed to violence, soldiers and other able-bodied men are reuniting with wives, children, siblings, and parents. During the years of war, some women suffered rape, others have borne the children of rape, all have experienced an immutable trauma that forever separates the past from the present. No person in the family is who he or she was before the war and the clash of expectations, hopes, and furies will certainly lead to new violence.

2. All IPTF police monitors assigned to deliver training who lack expertise in understanding, addressing, combating and arresting violence against women should themselves receive comprehensive training.

Reducing violence against women is central to the future of a peaceful society in the region. Women are key to reviving family networks that constitute the basic infrastructure of the social system. It is around women that the family gathers, and it is among women that the regular production and distribution of food, succor, and new, healing, emotional relationships will be born.

3. The IPTF monitors should help to develop and to advise on the utilization of an investigative protocol that assures the elimination of perpetrators of violence against women in the selection of the new police force.

The fairness and accessibility of the police, and the commitment to justice requires elimination of people associated with the earlier violence, or those who practice violence in their own homes. An investigative protocol to screen out those who are perceived to have collaborated as well as those who actually did protects the appearance of fairness. The inquiry into violence in the home is important as both a selection criterion and also as a way of underscoring the seriousness of that conduct and of the obligation to support laws and victims of domestic violence.

4. Some substantial percent of the IPTF monitors sent by the United States and other countries should be female. Moreover, a substantial proportion of the new civilian police force should be female. Every effort should be made that every police station have at least two women officers available to receive complaints of rape and domestic violence.

The inclusion of women in the police force at every level is important not only as a matter of human rights and gender equality, but also because women are an important counter force to the use of violence by the police. This was underscored by the Report of the Independent Commission on the Los Angeles Police Force 83-88 (1991) chaired by Warren Christopher to investigate the use of excessive force in the wake of the Rodney King case. The Commission found persuasive evidence that most female officers use a style of policing that minimizes the use of excessive force and inappropriate confrontations, [such that] the continued existence of discrimination against female officers can deprive the Department of specific skills thereby contribute to the problem of excessive force. The Commission also noted that female officers are more communicative, more skilled at deescalating potentially violent situations and less confrontational...the statistics indicate that female officers are not reluctant to use force, but that they are not nearly as likely to be involved in use of excessive force...

In addition, including a significant number of women on the police force signals to women in the community a new commitment to the full participation of women in the public institutions and heretofore restricted public life of the

society. If women do not present themselves in sufficient numbers, the importance of including women calls for affirmative measures of outreach.

5. IPTF police monitors and trainers should seek out and work with local groups of women that are providing services, especially health services and counseling, to those women raped during the war.

These groups have developed skills and knowledge about the dynamics of sexual abuse and its cultural ramifications otherwise not readily accessible. Such groups provide a critical access for integrating the needs of women survivors into training and operational protocols.

As a subcommittee of the New York-New Jersey and Washington working group, we look forward to the opportunity to expand on the above points and to answer your questions at a mutually convenient time in the new future.

Sincerely,

Rhonda Copelon
International Women's Human Rights Law Clinic (CUNY)

Felice Gaer
Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights

Anne Goldstein
International Women Judges Foundation

Marjorie Lightman
International League for Human Rights

(Affiliations for the purpose of identification.)



February 22, 1996

Mr. Jock Covey
Chief of Staff
Office at the High Representative of the
Peace Implementation Conference
Sarajevo

Dear Mr. Covey,

I am enclosing a list of women's groups active in the former Yugoslavia as a resource you might draw on. I was given this list by Delphi International who through their STAR Project, funded by USAID, has been working with these groups, diverse in culture, religion and ethnicity. Delphi is pleased to supply these names, but asks that they not be released to the press.

STAR's Co-Director resides in Zagreb: Jill Benderley, Delphi/STAR Project Zagreb Office, Kneza Mislava #11, 4th floor, 4100 Zagreb, Croatia. Telephone: 385-1-413-848, FAX: 385-1-413-490.

If I can be of further help, please feel free to call on me.

Cordially,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Jill Merrick'. The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

Jill Merrick
Director of Communications and Public Policy

Delphi/STAR: Identified Women's Independent NGOs

ANNOTATED LIST OF LOCAL, NON-NATIONALIST, ADVOCACY-ORIENTED WOMEN'S NGOs in the Yugoslav Successor states (Identified as of January 1996)

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

Medica Zenica

The Women's Therapy Center "Medica" in Zenica, Central Bosnia, is an independent non-governmental women's organization that began its work caring for war traumatized women and girls in April 1993.

Zena 21, Sarajevo

Sarajevo-based women's magazine and club of professionals and activists. Monthly magazine spotlights profiles of individual women and advice from medical, legal and psychological experts. Currently prints 5,000 copies, with a much greater demand than availability.

Vive Zene, Tuzla

(Center for traumatized Women and Children)

Tuzla organization providing self-help groups for traumatized women, similar to Medica Zenica.

NPA Center for Women, Zenica

Norwegian People's Aid psychosocial center for traumatized women.

ZAR, Sarajevo

Union of thirty-eight women's associations of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Marie Stopes, Mostar

Local women's health NGO formed with support of British NGO, Marie Stopes International.

CROATIA

Klub Zene Pakrac (Pakrac's Women's Club)

The goal of the project is to support women who can respond in a positive way to the difficult conditions they are faced with in Pakrac. To empower the women in Pakrac towards normalization.

Osijek Center for Peace, Nonviolence, Human Rights Women's Project

The Center for Peace, Nonviolence and Human rights is a non-governmental, non-profit citizen's association. The aim of this association is to protect human rights and freedom along with promoting and applying nonviolent methods of resolving problems and conflicts on individual, group, and political levels.

Tara, Pula

The primary goal of Tara is to empower women and girls to take action on issues which are of concern to them with a particular emphasis on the human rights of women and on women's health.

Zenska Grupa Porec

Women's human rights group developed out of Citizen's Committee for Human Rights.

Suncokret, Rijeka

Women's project working with refugees, project of an NGO that works on developing a culture of peace and nonviolence, solidarity and protection of human rights.

Ariadna, Rijeka

Women's workshop Ariadna is a non-governmental, non-profit and humanitarian association. The aim of this organization is to help women in need and women suffering from the war in Croatia and Bosnia by giving them opportunities for self help and support by creative activities.

DOS, Split - Women's Section

Women's section of Dalmatian Solidarity Committee, an NGO that protects human rights, opposes evictions, etc.

Rosa Kuca

House for refugee women and children, subproject of Center for Women War Victims, located in the Zagreb suburb.

SOS Telephone, Zagreb

Hotline for women and children victims of violence.

Women's Group, Split

Group working with refugee women from Bosnia: self-help groups, music and occupational therapy. Starting a women's travel agency as income-generating project.

Autonomous Women's House, Zagreb

Autonomous Women's House is a shelter for women leaving home due to domestic violence. First women's shelter in Eastern Europe founded in 1990.

Center for Women War Victims/Centar za zene zrtve rata, Zagreb

The Center for Women War Victims (CWWV) helps women refugees and victims of the war to survive and regain control over their lives in the specific circumstances in which they currently live. They provide group and individual counseling, practical assistance in finding jobs and housing, legal assistance and direct material aid. New projects include women's health screening and Rosa Kuca (a residence for refugees).

Women's Infoteka/Zenska Infoteka, Zagreb

Gathers historical and statistical data about women, including information about the women's movement, medical and other statistics, and women's representation in the media. Also maintains a women's library and publishes a journal.

B.a.B.e. (Be active, Be emancipated), Zagreb

B.a.B.e. is a human rights center for women, located in Zagreb and initiated by the Zagreb Women's Lobby. Its mission is to enhance understanding and foster the spirit and principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in ways that are culturally relevant and integral to women's lives in Croatia. Advocacy, monitoring, and education activities are used to increase the visibility and understanding of women's human rights at the grassroots level, to expand pressure for government accountability and to encourage women to assume leadership roles in the policy decisions which affect their lives. B.a.B.e. also runs a women's legal hotline and houses Electronic Witches, a computer and email training program.

MALI KORAK (Small Step Centre for Culture of Peace and Nonviolence), Zagreb

Small Step is a nonprofit, nongovernmental organization founded in 1993 and is a member organization in the Antiwar Campaign Croatia. Small Step organizes workshops, seminars and trainings on nonviolent conflict resolution, mediation and facilitation, and publishes materials on nonviolent conflict resolution and communication skills.

Women's Studies Project, Zagreb

Women's studies center in Zagreb brings together scholars and activists to develop, disseminate and strengthen feminist research, activism and awareness.

MACEDONIA**League of Albanian Women in Macedonia**

Promotes women's rights through education and family planning. Active in villages outside the urban centers. Wants to focus on community health education project.

SOS Hotline, Skopje

SOS Telephone for women and children victims of violence has been founded by Women Organization of Skopje and it functions as a part of this organization. SOS started its work in August 1994 with its primary response as a stand against the violence which women and children are suffering, and to make it visible and to protect those who are its victims.

Women's Media Project

Just starting in winter of 1995, with a focus on media monitoring, radio programming, etc.

Majka Women's Organization, Kumanovo

Humanitarian women's organization distribute's aid, raises money for women in need.

Humanitarian Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and Equality of Women, Skopje

HASESE was founded in June 1994, in Skopje in order to prepare a pilot project for the situation of women in Republic of Macedonia. The main aims are emancipation and improvement of the situation of women.

Women's Organization of Kriva Palanka

Branch of Women's Union of Macedonia

Organization of Roma Women Skopje

The members of Daja hold self-help groups, conduct literacy education, distribute humanitarian aid in their communities and provide support and counsel for individual women with problems in their families.

Women's Union of Macedonia

The organization of Women in Skopje is a non-governmental, non-political and non-lucrative organization with the main aim to protect women and their human rights. Specifically, their rights to have a complete respect of women's individual personality and integrity, free of every kind of violence and discrimination despite national, religious and racial belonging.

Zdruzite na samohrani majki Stip

(Single Mothers of Stip)

In 1994, a group of eight single mothers in Stip formed the organization for self-help. Some women were divorced from abusive husbands, some had never been married. Since its foundation, the group has involved over 70 women.

Vlach Women's Organization

Promotes Vlach culture and provides social support for Vlach women.

Women's Organization for Humanitarian Cultural Activity

Branch of the Women's Union of Macedonia

VOJVODINA**Pokret za mir Vojvodina**

Peace movement, works against war, counsels draft resisters.

Centar za zene Isidora

A women's center in Pancevo devoted to the possibilities for women's freedom and autonomy. Women's club, library, documentation center, classes in foreign languages, gymnastics, arts, handicrafts workshops for refugees and impoverished women, legal counseling.

KOSOVA**Center for Health Protection "Mikja", Prishtine**

Proposed center for women's groups to meet, develop cooperation and determine long-term strategies; to provide gynecological and other women-specific medical care, pediatric care, and psychological counseling; and to collect documentation on human rights issues affecting women. While the center would focus on the 90% of the population which is ethnic Albanian, the founders have pledged to hold a non-nationalist, feminist, and humanitarian philosophy.

Group of Women Artists and Veterans of Education

Stages cultural events throughout Kosova.

Women's Forum

Women's section of Kosova Democratic League ("reigning" Albanian political party.)

Qiriazl Sisters/ Motrat Qiriazl

(Literacy Project)

Motrat Qirazi is a society for education of women. It began its work in the ethnographic region of "Has" (an isolated region in western Kosova) which suffers under the domination of many oppressive patriarchal traditions. It is the only region in Kosova where more than 50% of the girls are promised in marriage by the time they finish primary school. Motrat Qiriazl organizes literacy classes in rural areas, through which women's lives are discussed.

Women's League of Kosova

Women's humanitarian organization. Wishing to create a ministry for women's rights in a future Albanian government in Kosova. Runs live radio programs for children in schools.

SERBIA**Women in Black Against War/Zene u crnom protiv rata**

Women's pacifist group that protests in silence and in black against the regime, war, militarism, nationalism, and violence against women. Projects for women in refugee camps, and publications.

SOS Hotline and Centre for Girls, Belgrade

The Center and Hotline is a voluntary, non-professional non-hierarchical women's service established through the efforts of several SOS Hotline for Women and Women and Child Victims of Violence volunteers. The organization deals with solving and eliminating all kinds of violence to which young girls are submitted. The telephone hotline operates every evening while the center is open daily as a gathering place for young women and girls. SOS also runs a women's shelter for survivors of violence and has recently started two income-generating projects: a second-hand shop and an egg-laying chicken project.

Autonomous Women's Center Against Sexual Violence

The Center works with women and children in refugee camps, self-help, material aid and income-generation. Work also with teenage girls, homeless women and gypsy women; offer advice on contraception and abortion; and publishes material on women and human rights.

SOS Hotline, Nis

Telephone service for women and children survivors of violence.

SOS Hotline, Kraljevo

Main sources of women's opposition to war and violence outside capital city.

Telephone service for women and children survivors of violence.

Center for Nonviolent Conflict Resolution

Conducts workshops on conflict resolution and tries to promote peace culture in Southern Serbia.

SOS za Zene i Decu Zrtve Nasilja, Leskovac

Telephone service for women and children victims of violence.

Center for Girls, Beograd

Center was founded by SOS experts to work with young women and girls. Runs SOS hotline for girls, self-help groups, classes, drop-in center, counseling, and sex education.

Women's Publishing House

Published and distributes books by women in Yugoslavia and translations of international women's texts.

Center for Women's Studies and Communication

Educational, interdisciplinary women's project that seeks to open critical analysis of patriarchal and feminist knowledge from different points of view. Classes four times a week. Founded in 1992.

Arkadia

Lesbian/gay support group, works for lesbian/gay visibility and rights.

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Tel 0171 574 7400
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Dennis Lynn Deane • Charles J. Frazee • Lady Catherine
 Lane and Lady Harman • Anna Scheraga • 1970s 1980s John Peterson
 Christopher & B. Slater • (Mrs) Shuchman at 19 000
 the Peter Rasmussen • Come here • The first 1970s 1980s at 190
 The 1970s 1980s at 190 • Anna Scheraga
 Dr. Henry Scheraga • 1970s 1980s at 190 • 1970s 1980s
 Anna Scheraga • 1970s 1980s at 190 • 1970s 1980s

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WORKING WITH WOMEN ON THE ROAD TO PEACE & RECONCILIATION

The Dayton peace agreement envisages a process of reconciliation in which people who have been driven from their homes now have the right to return. However, for the vast majority of the two million refugees - 80% of whom are women and children - the ideals of the accord are an impossible dream. Indeed, the beginning of peace will initiate new trauma.

Most of the refugees from the territories now occupied by the Bosnian Serbs will never return. Some are newly exiled after the final stages of ethnic cleansing. Others have spent over three years in enforced idleness in cramped collective centers with no end to their refugee condition in sight. Yet others, already displaced several times, face further involuntary resettlement in areas where they have no roots. Country people are being placed in overcrowded towns, urban people in isolated villages. For these women and their families, the cycle of disorientation and suffering is relentless.

Even for those from areas now liberated, the prospect of return is no simple matter. The dread of finding one's home destroyed beyond repair or occupied by another family poses an impossible dilemma. Neira's case is typical. She is the mother of three young children living in a single room in a refugee center on the Dalmatian Coast. Should she continue in this dependent and claustrophobic environment for the sake of guaranteed meals and schooling for her children? Or should she take her family back to their village in Bosnia and try to rebuild their home, meanwhile subjecting them to a life without basic amenities, in an area littered with landmines, and where the chances of employment are minimal?

For women trapped in the besieged cities such as Sarajevo, Gorazde and Bihac, the main preoccupation during the war was physical survival for themselves and their families. Now the shelling and sniping has ceased and they have time to reflect on their shattered lives. It is not surprising that the symptoms of trauma are surfacing and chronic depression is setting in. The World Health Organization already reports an increase in the number of mental health problems and suicides in Sarajevo since the cease-fire, and predicts further growth in post-traumatic stress disorders following the peace agreement.

Meanwhile, with the breakdown in social structures and community life, there is an escalation of prostitution, domestic violence and unplanned pregnancies, particularly among teenagers - a phenomenon virtually unknown before the war. Teenage girls, mere children when the war began, have had scant access to reproductive health education, let alone contraceptives. These problems will be exacerbated as the men, jobless and demoralized, return from the frontline.

Bereavement, sexual abuse, months of continual shelling and sniping, loss of home and livelihood - all have taken their psychological toll on women. Yet many have had to take on an additional burden as single parent and family head. Some will have to readjust yet

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again as their men return. Others must continue in this role, their men killed or missing. "Mixed" marriages have been put under great strain; often the couple has separated and again the woman finds herself in the unfamiliar and onerous role of single parent. Whatever their circumstances, women need to be emotionally strong if they are to help themselves and their families rebuild their lives.

Prolonged trauma and social disorder are major obstacles on the road to peace-building and rapprochement. Psycho-social programs have a crucial role in helping women to renew their lives and those of their families, and start their communities on the long road back to reconciliation.

February 21, 1996

Mr. Jock Covey
Chief of Staff
Office at the High Representative of the
Peace Implementation Conference
Sarajevo

Dear Mr. Covey,

Because of your central responsibilities in the implementation of the Dayton Peace Accords, we write to bring your attention to several critical issues affecting women in the former Yugoslavia. We are particularly concerned that nowhere do the Accords specifically address women's needs or rights. Yet, so many women have been ravaged by ethnic cleansing, conflict and dislocation, and human rights abuses, including forced pregnancies and torture by rape. Women's groups in the region have been among the most active and vocal forces for peace. In the months and years ahead women's full participation in the peace process and reconstruction is essential for their success. The following are a few areas where your attention to women's rights can make an enormous contribution to reconciliation and a lasting peace.

Police Monitors: Making women's physical and mental security a main objective of the peace process is crucial to rebuilding society. Women have not only been traumatized in war, but have reason to fear local, increased incidences of violence, including domestic violence and further abuses by the police. For example, when the UN Protected Areas were demilitarized, soldiers simply changed uniforms from green to blue and were issued new badges, often continuing their campaign of terror. Similar re-badging took place in Sarajevo's exclusion zone. We hope that the international police monitors can help forestall abusive actions by the new "local police." In this connection, we wish to inquire whether plans have been made to assure that the civilian police monitors are skilled and experienced in dealing with trauma victims, including survivors of rape? What portion of these civilian police monitors are women? Which other personnel have received training in dealing with gender-related abuses, including inter alia domestic violence?

War Crimes Tribunal: We are troubled by the early efforts of the High Representative seeking the release of suspected war criminals and at the same time arguing that his role is merely that of "monitoring" the peace accords. We wish to know how the Office of the High Representative will fully cooperate in the international effort to detain and arrest indicted war criminals for delivery to Tribunal authorities. Your involvement here is essential and a key to restoring confidence among the potential war crimes tribunal witnesses, many of whom are women who were traumatized by gender-specific abuses.

Refugees: Of the region's 2.7 million refugees, an estimated 2 million are women and girls. We would like to know what actions the Office of the High Representative is taking to secure asylum, and prevent the forced return of those traumatized women who fear returning home either to renewed violence, or to the trauma of revisiting the site of their persecution? For those who want to try to reestablish their lives in their home villages, towns and cities, what protections will be given them? And, how will the rights of those women who want to reclaim their property that may have been registered in their husbands' or parents' names be secured?

Women's Rights in the Reconstruction Process: As the women in the former Yugoslavia try to reconstruct their lives and reverse the economic dislocation they have experienced, we urge your office to assure that productive resources and international humanitarian, financial and other aid will be made available in a non-discriminatory way, to ensure the full participation of women. We urge you to be guided by international obligations to take positive measures to this end. Women's non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the former Yugoslavia can provide your office with knowledgeable guidance and contacts in their communities. These women's NGOs have economic and legal expertise, have been working in conflict resolution, democracy initiatives, election campaigning, training, and in women's health, including programs existing since pre-war that address violence against women. As civil society begins to rebuild, we hope you will turn to the local women's groups to assure that women actively participate in the electoral process, policy making at every level, and in leading local reconciliation efforts.

For further background on these issues we have attached to this letter an earlier letter sent to Ambassador Madeleine Albright that addresses our concerns comprehensively. These issues were discussed with Ambassador Albright over the course of two conference calls. During the second call, the suggestion was made that we raise them directly with you.

We look forward to learning where your efforts stand with respect to the issues raised in this letter and attachments. We hope to open a channel for regular communication with you on issues vital to women and the future of all Bosnians. Some of the undersigned have considerable experience in conducting programs that address violence against women, and we are ready to assist you in any way in your efforts.

Sincerely,

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