Josiah,

This is a MUST READ cable from Galbraith.

According to the Genocide convention, genocide has been committed when three criteria are met:

1. specified acts are committed:
   - killing
   - causing serious bodily or mental harm
   - deliberately inflicting conditions of life calculated to bring about physical destruction in whole or in part
   - imposing measures intended to prevent births, or forcibly transferring children to another group.

2. these acts are committed against members of a national, ethnic, racial or religious group and

3. they are committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, the group as such.

This, in essence, is what is happening now in Banja Luka (three of the five specified acts listed above). This is not mere political pressure.
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2. WITHIN THE LAST 60 DAYS, BESIEGED TOWNS SUCH AS SARAJEVO AND MOSTAR HAVE BEEN SUBJECTED TO AN INCREASE IN CONSTANT INDISCRIMINATE SHELLING AND GUNFIRE, WHICH HAVE TAKEN A HEAVY TOLL AMONG THE CIVILIAN POPULATION AS WELL AS COMBATANTS. CIVILIANS IN THE CROAT-HELD AREA OF Vitez/Busovaca have borne the brunt of the escalating hostilities there which, it is feared, may now spread to the Kiseljak area. Conditions for the inhabitants of the Naglja/Tesanj and Tarcin/Konic/Jablanica regions have become increasingly difficult. In Northern Bosnia and many areas of central Bosnia, minority groups are being harassed and subjected to pressure in an attempt to force them to leave. The deadlock in negotiations at the political level has led to an obvious hardening of the positions on the ground. Despite the meetings in Vienna and Bonn between representatives of the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and of the Republic of Croatia, at which they even envisaged the return of people displaced from the Mostar area.

ICRC MAINTAINS LOGISTICS CAPACITY

3. ICRC DELEGATES IN THE FIELD HAVE MAINTAINED THEIR CONTACT WITH ALL THREE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT WHILE SUBSTANTIALLY BUILDING UP THE ICRC'S LOGISTICS CAPACITY SO AS TO BE IN A POSITION TO DELIVER THE NECESSARY ASSISTANCE AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE. ICRC AIRCRAFT HAVE DELIVERED OVER 2,800 TONS OF RELIEF SUPPLIES TO SARAJEVO SINCE LAST NOVEMBER.

PROTECTING THE CIVILIAN POPULATION

4. THE ICRC HAS CONTINUED ITS REPRESENTATION TO ALL THE WARRING PARTIES, BOTH AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL AND IN THE FIELD, URGING THEM TO SHOW GREATER RESPECT FOR THE CIVILIAN POPULATION, DESPITE A REPORT ON SUCH INCIDENTS (SENT TO THE U.N. IN DEC. 93). THE ICRC HAD TO ISSUE A PRESS RELEASE REMINDING THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT OF THEIR OBLIGATIONS AFTER THE PREMISES OF THE LOCAL RED CROSS IN SARAJEVO WERE HIT BY AN ARTILLERY SHELL ON 11 JAN. 94. THE PARTIES WERE ALSO APPROACHED WHILE IN VIENNA TO ATTEND THE ICY MEETINGS, AND TALKS WERE HELD IN JANUARY IN PALE, MOSTAR, AND SARAJEVO. THE ICRC FEELS THAT EVERYTHING POSSIBLE MUST BE DONE TO PUT A STOP TO THE INDISCRIMINATE SHELLING AND FIRING THAT IS A DAILY OCCURRENCE IN SARAJEVO AND MOSTAR AND TO BRING AN IMMEDIATE END TO THE FORCED DISPLACEMENT OF TENS OF THOUSANDS OF CIVILIANS. THE ICRC ALSO VOICED ITS CONCERN ABOUT BOSNIAN CROAT CIVILIANS LIVING IN THE Vitez/Busovaca and Kiseljak areas if the present offensives continue.
5. The ICRC pursued its efforts to obtain access to all persons detained in connection with the conflict, and to improve their conditions of detention when necessary. Special steps were taken to put an end to a practice whereby the three parties systematically use detainees to do dangerous work on the front lines. There have been fewer cases of this type in recent months, but the practice has not been abandoned completely.

6. Following the negotiations initiated in October 1993, the ICRC tried to obtain the release of all persons detained by the three parties to the conflict. In accordance with the commitments the latter had made on 14 and 16 September 1993, a total of 1,001 people were freed in October and 2,146 in December 1993. Thanks to an agreement reached between the Bosnian Croat and Bosnian government authorities in October, and to a unilateral move by the Bosnian Croat authorities in December, most of the released detainees wished to stay in Herzegovina and were transferred to the places of their choice, ascertained during private interviews with ICRC delegates.

7. Negotiations between Bosnian Serb and Bosnian government authorities, on the other hand, reached deadlock because both parties linked the issue with other matters, such as elucidating the fate of persons reported missing and population exchanges. The only progress made was the unilateral release by the Bosnian Serbs of 13 detainees from the Kula Butmir prison at the end of December 1993. The ICRC, nevertheless, continued its representations to the three parties to the conflict in order to obtain the release of all detainees. The matter was pursued during regular discussions in Mostar and Medjugorje (in parallel with the Vienna and Bonn negotiations), and during weekly meetings in Sarajevo between the Bosnian Serb and Bosnian government authorities. Humanitarian issues were also discussed at a meeting in Sarajevo between Mr. Siladžić and Mr. Krajišnik, in the presence of ICRC delegates. At the end of January 1994, the ICRC was still visiting about 3,500 detainees in B-H.

HUMANITARIAN CONVOYS

8. For the month of January 1994, the ICRC had planned to dispatch 89 convoys of relief supplies from its logistics bases in Zagreb and Belgrade to B-H and the UNPAS, and to launch an airlift with one to two daily flights to Sarajevo, owing to the hostilities, and to exceptionally serious security incidents (ICRC vehicles fired upon, shelling of Sarajevo airport). The ICRC was able to implement only 60 percent of its plans for January, bringing in 3,800 tons of aid by road and 850 by air. Many approaches have been made to the three parties with a view to improving security conditions for ICRC teams in the field and increasing the number of convoys in B-H. The ICRC received new guarantees from the Bosnian Serb authorities in Pale on 27 January, which allowed it to resume work in the Banja Luka area where all activities had been suspended following the blowing up of an ICRC vehicle on 17 January.

9. On 21 January an attempt was also made to send a road convoy to Tarcin, south of Sarajevo. Despite the authorizations received from all parties concerned, the convoy did not get through. It was held up by a group of women demonstrators in the village of Raduči, an area controlled by Bosnian Serb forces. The ICRC is pursuing its efforts to bring assistance to this region. Representations are also being made to the Bosnian government and Bosnian Croat authorities with a view to obtaining permission for the ICRC to use the roads between Split and Zenica, and between Mostar and Jablanica.

ICRC APPEALS TO SEPARATE POLITICS AND RELIEF

10. There is now a very real danger of further deterioration in the military situation. Once again, the ICRC appeals to all parties concerned to keep political and military considerations separate from humanitarian action, which must on no account be obstructed. (Note: three days after this report was published, 84 civilians died and over 200 were injured in a mortar attack on the Sarajevo market.)

CONCLUSION

11. Incidents described in this report are factual. Other NGOs report similar experiences and worse. Some NGOs have considered reducing their presence in high-danger areas to a minimal staff; others have considered ceasing activity altogether. All agree that the situation has taken a rather sharp turn for the worse, and adversely impacts their ability to carry out their mandates.

GALBRAITH