February 22, 1993

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President,

We, the undersigned, are gravely concerned about the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia. We appreciate the first steps your Administration has taken to become involved in negotiations to resolve the crisis, and we support your efforts to improve upon the Vance-Owen plan.

We believe, however, that diplomatic measures alone will not be enough to bring peace to the Balkans, as evidenced by the failure of the Vance plan in Croatia, signed over one year ago. The United Nations' failure to enforce the Vance plan has in effect conceded one third of Croatia's territory to less than two percent of its population. The Vance plan was to disarm the Serbs; it has not done so. Under the eyes of the United Nations, Serbian aggression has been rewarded.

Throughout this war, the Serbians have signed many agreements and have, to date, abided by none. We fear that the failure of the Vance plan in Croatia, coupled with an unenforced Vance-Owen plan in Bosnia, will ultimately leave the United States with only two options: to let Serbian aggression stand -- which is morally and politically unacceptable -- or to mount a full scale military intervention in the Balkans.

The slaughter and starvation of thousands of civilians in Bosnia and Croatia may pave the way to an expanded and protracted conflict. If unchecked, Serbia will next turn toward Kosovo and Macedonia to carve out its vision of Greater Serbia. Such a move could draw neighboring nations into the conflict, including Albania, Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey.

To prevent wider-scale war in the Balkans and to affirm the territorial integrity of nation-states, we urge you, Mr. President, to support the following actions:

1. The United States should supervise the return of occupied territories to the proper legal authority of the Republic of Croatia, and guarantee that all parties adhere to the terms of the Vance-Owen plan in Bosnia.

- 2. Serbia should be warned that failure to disarm in Bosnia and Croatia will result in strategic air strikes against munitions factories, military installations, oil refineries, roadways linking Serbia to Bosnia, and possibly Serbia's capital, Belgrade.
- 3. If the Serbians do not adhere to the terms of the Vance-Owen agreement, the arms embargo must be lifted to allow Muslims and Croatians to defend themselves against Serbian aggression.
- 4. The no-fly zone must be immediately enforced.
- 5. An international war crimes tribunal must be convened to bring to justice those guilty of genocide and other crimes against humanity, including the widely reported summary execution of civilians, instances of premeditated mass rape, the ethnic cleansing of Muslim and Croatian civilian populations, and the wanton destruction of Croatian and Bosnian churches, mosques, museums, libraries and other repositories of national culture.

Mr. President, this Serbian war began overtly in June of 1991, to the detriment of millions. The bully on the block will only understand its own language -- force. We must, as the United States, negotiate from a position of strength. This is the new course; this is the change in direction that is mandated. Through the above actions, we believe you can achieve a just and lasting peace.

We will support you to this end.

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