

# Why did Milosevic Accept the Demands of NATO

by Harun ur Rashid

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ON 3rd of June President Milosevic of Yugoslavia accepted the peace plan on Kosovo of G-8 countries which was placed before him in Belgrade by Russian envoy Viktor Chernomyrdin and European Union envoy and Finnish Martti Ahtisaari. It may be recalled on May 6 the eight countries, Britain, France, Canada, Italy, Germany, Japan, the US and Russia agreed a blue print of peace on Kosovo to end the war.

The peace plan includes the withdrawal of Serb forces, presence of international armed forces in Kosovo, return of the refugees, full autonomy in Kosovo, disarmament of Kosovo Liberation Army and an interim administration under the auspices of the UN. Although the peace plan is accepted, differences remain over the command and make-up of a peace-keeping force designed to ensure the safe return of the Kosovo refugees. In any case NATO troops would constitute the core of international presence because only in that case the refugees would feel safe to return in Kosovo.

Interestingly the acceptance of the plan does not stop NATO's bombing. Only when the Serbian forces are withdrawn from Kosovo and verified, NATO will cease air campaign. The peace plan envisages that within 48 hours air defence system will be dismantled in Kosovo and within 7 days the forces will be withdrawn. He also did not get immunity from

prosecution of war crimes from NATO countries. The NATO countries are expected to prepare a resolution at the Security Council to enable to proceed with the international presence in Kosovo as soon as the Serbian forces are withdrawn. The NATO peace-keeping forces were ready in Macedonia to go into Kosovo within 24 hours.

President Milosevic could have agreed the peace plan prior to NATO's bombing on March 24 as the core demands of NATO remained the same and accepted by the President. The sticky point to President Milosevic was the proposal of the presence of international forces in Kosovo, replacing the Serb's armed forces. After 72 days of bombing he had to swallow the bitter pill and the acceptance was seen as capitulation by the President to NATO's demands. The leader of the right wing party, and Deputy Premier of Serbia, Vuk Draskovic, the dismissed deputy Prime Minister of Yugoslavia, welcomed the peace plan and considered the acceptance of the demands would usher in a new beginning for politics in his country.

The reaction of the Kosovo refugees to the peace plan appears to be indifferent. They do not trust President Milosevic and to them only action will

prove the success of the plan. Most of them want to return to Kosovo if there is a strong NATO presence in Kosovo capable of providing security guarantees for them. The Kosovo Liberation Army hold the same view.

Mr. Chernomyrdin was under severe criticism in Moscow as he was seen surrendering the interests of Serbs to the demands of NATO. However he continues to defend the criticism by stating that the presence of Russian troops will look after the interests of Serbs.

The question in every one's mind is: why did President Milosevic accept the plan now? There are several possible reasons.

President Milosevic thought that the unity of NATO would crack within a few weeks of bombing. Yugoslavia's ally Greece was a member of NATO and he had the impression that it would not support prolonged NATO bombing. The President was surprised that after 72 days of bombing the unity and solidarity with 19 countries including Greece in NATO remained strong. Even Yugoslavia's neighbours and non-NATO countries, such as

Slovenia, Romania and Bulgaria supported NATO's bombing and offered their territories for the use of NATO.

President Milosevic appears to have miscalculated the reaction of Russia to NATO's bombing. The initial sharp reaction of Russia dwindled gradually as the bombing progressed. Russia could not go against the tide of world opinion towards the Yugoslav's policy of "ethnic cleansing". President Milosevic was increasingly seen as inhuman and cruel when the TV footage displaying the horrible plight of the Kosovo women and children was beamed in every corner of the globe. On the public relations front, Yugoslavia lagged behind NATO. Furthermore the head of the UN Humanitarian Mission to Yugoslavia, Mr. A. de Mello who had spent 10 days in Kosovo and other parts in Yugoslavia gave a damaging report about the policies pursued by Yugoslavia against the Kosovars.

The heavy bombing for the last 20 days inflicted heavy damage on the military machine and infrastructures within Yugoslavia. Belgrade was without water and electric-

ity for long hours. The inhabitants of Belgrade had to queue for basic necessities of life, such as bread. About 650 or 700 sorties were carried out by NATO in 24 hours when weather was clear. Out of 72 days NATO lost about 16 or 17 days of its air operations because of bad weather. President Milosevic realised that if such heavy bombing continued, the country would be in tatters and he would be out of political power.

NATO commenced multi-pronged attacks on President Milosevic. It was reported that President Milosevic's commercial interests overseas. His assets are reported to be gradually quarantined by the West. It was reported that President's agent who used to look after his interests overseas disappeared from Cyprus in recent days. It was reported that President was visibly worried that his economic base was vulnerable to the schemes of the West.

The entry of NATO grounds troops in Kosovo before winter was seen a distinct possibility. Turkey, a member of NATO, declared that it would offer its troops for ground invasion in Kosovo, if needed. Already

NATO was able to destroy almost the entire air-defence system in Yugoslavia and as a result the sky was almost free for NATO-planes. With the days going by, the defence of Yugoslavia will be weak. It is reported that about 5000 Serbian soldiers were killed by NATO's bombing. President Milosevic thought that the time had come to accept the demands while he could remain in power in the country. Out of power, he could be transported as a war criminal to the Hague UN International Tribunal of War Crimes for Yugoslavia. The warrant of arrest was recently issued by the Chief Prosecutor of the Tribunal against President Milosevic.

The next question is: how will President Milosevic sell his acceptance to his people?

President Milosevic will attempt to present his acceptance as a victory for the people of Serbia. He will argue that the international presence in Kosovo would be under the auspices of the UN and not under NATO. Furthermore he may claim that NATO has accepted Kosovo within Serbia and accordingly a few hundred Serbian soldiers will return to the borders of Kosovo. The Russian

troops in Kosovo will monitor the activities of NATO troops so that Serbian interests are protected. He could defend that the peace plan was approved by the Serbian Parliament and he only agreed to it. How could he go against the will of the people? He may argue that he did not capitulate to NATO's demands.

He may argue that NATO could not destroy his military machine. He stood firm against the world's most efficient and massive air attacks for more than two months. He will present himself as a hero to his people.

The people in Yugoslavia was desperate for peace and this was demonstrated by the mothers of the young soldiers who protested against their son's conscription for the war. The bombing made their lives hell. It may be pointed out that media was severely controlled and the people in Yugoslavia was fed with one-sided picture. They hardly knew exactly what was going on in Kosovo. The people within the country were told that Kosovars left their homeland because of NATO's bombing. The controlled opinion was like a bush fire. It was easily started and spread rapidly within the country. The acceptance of the peace plan under the circumstances might give credit to the leadership of President Milosevic.

Another unintended consequence of NATO's bombing was that the support and popularity of President Milosevic

was strengthened. He was able to suppress the opposition forces and media within the country on the pretext of national security. Furthermore the people who at one time supported the West became anti-West because of the NATO's unintentional bombing on the hospitals, bridges and homes which resulted in the loss of innocent civilians. For a long time it appears that it will be difficult for them to forget NATO's bombing and their support for the West may decline.

Conclusion  
It appears that the peace plan is only the beginning of a gigantic task for the West to deal with. First Kosovo is almost in ruins. Before the refugees return, infrastructures and homes need to be built very rapidly. NATO countries have a huge task before them. It could be months before the refugees could return to their homeland. Second, NATO is no more a defensive security organization. It is seen to play increasingly a crucial role in restoring stability in the entire Balkan region through democracy and massive aid. The Balkan region was considered backwater of Europe and the region was long neglected by the West. Time has now come to integrate the Balkan countries with other rich and democratic European countries for the sake of peace and stability in Europe.

The author, a barrister, is former Ambassador of Bangladesh to the UN in Europe.

## Developing Growth Centre Markets in the Countryside

by M Delwar Hossain

GROWTH Centre markets are focal points for the sale and processing of rural produce, distribution of agricultural inputs and consumer goods imported into rural areas, for other economic, social, cultural, recreational, political activities. Market trade in meat, fish and other agricultural, perishable commodities, but without adequate facilities for hygiene and proper functional operations.

There is a growing trend towards diversification of agriculture, which requires more timely transportation and marketing — a more competitive internal marketing system with a greater role for the private sector and improved access for rural people to sustainable employment opportunities. Studies in Bangladesh and elsewhere have shown a strong linkage between improved rural access and market facilities, on the one hand, and increased agriculture production, employment, farm and non-farm incomes, social development and poverty alleviation on the other.

The traditional rural market network or "hats" effectively constitute the nerve centre of rural economy and facilitating trading of rural produce as well as farm inputs and consumer goods, mostly lack basic facilities (paved areas, sheds, clean water, drainage, garbage disposal etc. etc.) and good transport access, resulting in unhygienic and inefficient conditions.

The more important markets are characterized by the presence of permanent and semi-permanent structures including shops, storage facilities, crop processing enterprises, bank, post office, tahsil office (land registration) etc. Many of the more important markets are centres for trading

of a wide variety of agricultural produce and other goods, while some focus on the exchange of large quantities of particular commodities such as rice, peanut, paddy (beetle leaf), cattle, fish or locally produced cloth.

### Planning Process

The planning process basically consist assessment of the particular market, recording of the existing situation in and around the growth centre market, analysis of the survey findings and assessment of the infrastructure need from users point of view, preparation of development plan, testing of the development plans through "User Input" participatory approach, ratification of the plan, prioritizing and phasing, keeping in line with the budgetary provisions and implementation of the plan.

The "User Input" participatory approach should be applied to the detailed design of the markets, which would involve market vendors and other users in the finalization of the design. The user participation in selection and detailed design preparation will develop a sense of local ownership of the improved markets.

The benefits of participation are principally in the form of speedier project implementation and more effective use of resources or services through the project. The variety of potential benefits from participation are:

- More appropriate development interventions that fit the needs of the community and users of the facility;
- Better implementation and sustainability of development initiatives;
- More complete utilization and increased ownership of services provided;
- Greater efficiency, understanding and better planning.

based on the concerns and ideas of a wide range of participants. A better match between human capabilities and capital investments;

- Improved institutional performance because of greater transparency and accountability;
- More efficient functioning of markets because of improved information flows;
- Increased equity and empowerment through involvement of the poor, women and other disadvantaged groups;
- Strengthening capacity of the stakeholders to initiate other development activities, as a consequence of their involvement; and
- Increased commitment for policies and projects, including a willingness to share costs and an interest in sustaining the benefits.

Before undertaking any development activity in a selected growth centre, it is to be ensured that the Market Management Committee is functional and its members are trained on their duties and responsibilities. The activities of the planning process may be as follows:

The "target recipients" are to be identified in order to establish the infrastructure requirements for any growth

centre market. In the growth centre context the visitors, the traders, the vehicles and the cattle are to be considered as the recipients.

Need assessments should not be limited to the present day context. Already majority of the markets are experiencing space constraint and it is likely that in the near future there will be a pressure for expansion of the market area due to both increase in market attendance as well as expansion of trading and manufacturing activities.

In preparation of Master Plan such projection shall have to be made showing expansion area with proposed land acquisition identifying the use pattern. Or, expansion problem can be solved with vertical development where land acquisition is seriously constrained by geographical condition.

### Infrastructure Requirements: Some Suggestions

As usual, all the markets are found to be different in terms of geographical locations, space

and contributions for undertaking such development.

The market development, which provides basic facilities for hygiene and cleanliness (for drainage, garbage disposal, clean water, sale of food and perishable items under sheds on a paved platform rather than on muddy ground, provision for slaughter of animals for meat) is a valuable social investment in public health considerably benefitting the mostly poor traders and vendors who use the markets. Common demand for such developments is found in our investigations.

Broader issues on market development may be addressed in the following manner:

**Land/Site Development:** Market areas should be free from flooding and as such ground areas within the market must be raised above the recorded highest flood level. Care should be taken so that any part of the market area should not be affected by storm water. Ditch in the vicinity of the market may be filled by de-

mg. To address this potable water supply issue is to seek for alternative cheaper source. Rain water harvesting, perhaps provides great opportunity for the collection of water supply. The average rainfall in Noakhali region is much higher than the national average. The system needs a CATCHMENT AREA, a means of COLLECTION and good STORAGE facilities.

Deep tubewell may be constructed to support the supply system during the dry season.

**Public Latrines:** Design construction of public latrine is straight and simple but operation and maintenance is usually difficult. Therefore before starting to build a public communal latrine there must be clear plans for — cleaning and operation, wages of any paid staff/sweeper, paying any water charges, maintenance and repair, proper management and control, provision of overhead tank and making water available at the user end readily.

**Bio-gas Plant:** Bio-gas plant may be constructed using human excreta. The gas thus produced

desirable. Pre-cast concrete blocks may be provided at the buyer's end so that chipping on the raised floor of the meat selling shops give a sort of privacy. Provision for hanging bigger sections of meat may be at the frontage or at the sides. The meat shop should be well ventilated.

**Fish Shed:** Fish shed should be sited near to the sources of supply i.e. near to the canal or transportation system. Fish shed should be well-ventilated so that fish do not rot for lack of air flow. Natural ventilation is essential for fish market as such no walls/curtain should be provided. Easy access of continuous water supply is essential as sellers/fishermen want their fish to look fresh. Fish scaling and sizing are also part of selling process. As such provision for bins and regular cleaning must be there.

**Multi-purpose Sheds:** The sheds should be designed according to site condition covering both buyer and seller under the shed thus protecting them from sun and rain. In case of deeper depth within the shed provision for sky light may be

struct a two story structure having mezzanine floor and internal stair. This may also house other offices/banks.

**Workshop Areas/Facilities:** Creation of workshop corner within the market areas will facilitate the development of agro-based small scale industries, service industries and ensure supply of locally produced spares for rural transport, agricultural equipment and implements of household necessities. While surveying the NRIDMP growth centres the presence of blacksmiths are seen in some markets.

**Development of Service Facilities:** Some of the markets have facilities like Post office, Bank, Tahsil (land Registration) office, Union Parishad office, Agricultural Extension office, Telephone and Fax services, courier service, training centre for different trades. These may be incorporated in the development programme. Some social clubs are found active in remote market. Development of public library is also desired by some market people.

**Toll Collecting Office and Provision of Shade:** In cattle-hat: Small, temporary toll collecting office is found operating at the entry of the cattle markets. There is a desire to construct semi-permanent structure with relevant facilities. Within the cattle hat, shade trees may be planted. Also temporary devices for trying the cattle may be arranged for.

**Fire Fighting Arrangement and Other Safety Provision:** Incidents of fire in growth centre markets are not uncommon in the country's context. Provision of fire fighting stand with tubs filled with sand etc should be there. Other safety provision like place for security guards night guards may be essential.

**Community Services Like EPI Programme, Family Planning Counselling, Youth Development Programme and Training:** Geographical locations and interaction between people in the locality, the growth centre markets can work as nerve centre for all kinds of development activities and as such these provisions may be considered.

### Planning Goal

Growth Centre markets were developed over a considerable period of time as some are already old. All markets have their peculiarities, problems, limitations and opportunities. To work with the existing markets, arrange them functionally as far as possible, to set clear zoning in the development process, to set trend in the traffic inflow and outflow, delimiting environmental effects due to human activities within the markets, and, finally, creation of functionally-acceptable user-friendly environment, attributing a sense of responsible belonging, proper landscaping, planning of management and maintenance issues are the objectives of the market planner in association with other contributors, specialists, stakeholders etc.

Market planning and development is a continuous process. "Players" are to be brought in. Private initiatives are as important as anything else. Clear zoning, inclusion of private initiatives with provision of incentives are to be considered in long term perspective.

The writer is a consultant market planner.

## EMDR: The Eyes Heal It

by Dr Zahir U Ahmad

THE EMDR (Eye Movement Desensitization and Reprocessing) has to do with organizing distorted thoughts. This therapy has become very popular as it helps rapid recovery from post-traumatic stress disorder situations.

EMDR is a method of psychotherapy which uses a physiological process to accelerate information processing and enhance learning. EMDR is particularly useful in situations where information is stored in a way that interferes with a person's functioning e.g., trauma and stress disorders.

The therapist helps the patient to recall or activate the elements of traumatic events — what was seen, what was felt, what was heard, what was smelled, what was tasted. Once trauma resurfaces, EMDR restarts the normal sequences of information processing. Processing the information using normal channels changes the quality of memory and renders it more useful, allowing learning to take place.

In essence, the processed memory is stored differently and is less emotionally charged. The form of memory then connects with other knowledge, enriching the knowledge base.

EMDR is one's own private journey into the past but with an escort. The escort opens and closes the gates and points out the reminiscences to be carried

on to the next portion of the journey, yet the journey remains one's own.

The goal of treatment is to transform the abnormally stored trauma memory into a normally stored memory. Memory fragments related to the original trauma are re-engaged and information processing is resumed under conditions which do not impede the process. There is no hyperstimulation involved.

The desired outcome is the creation of normal memory of traumatic events that is less upsetting in proportion to the degree of upset experienced at the time of trauma.

As we are progressing to the next century, new traumatic events and stressful situations are arising every day e.g., biochemical warfare, automobile accidents, political and natural disaster, health hazards due to pollution and new diseases. The tense situation at present has reached such epidemic proportions that no single person could escape in its inherent stress and anxiety.

Parents worry when children are at school or out of the house playing. Fear of terrorists, rapists and acid throwers paralyze the parents' mind.

EMDR therapy in these situations will be helpful as it allows people to remain calm and

adjust to stressful conditions. The reaction of this therapy is desensitization to stress and anxiety so that people can perform their normal daily duties in spite of the tense environment.

EMDR therapy unlocks the frozen and distorted memory which reprocessed in a guideline as an applicable form. This was first started in the US with Vietnam war veterans who returned home with stressed and phobic conditions. Most of them were not regular soldiers, therefore, the burden of war was too much for them to bear. These people had seen their friends and partners die in front of them or were injured themselves. Back in the US, lack of jobs and proper rehabilitation made way for mental and mental agony. They started abusing drugs, alcohol and involved themselves in criminal activities which affected the entire society. But after the use of EMDR therapy the situation came under control.

In Bangladesh EMDR was introduced by the UNICEF. Trainers from USA and other countries trained our participants who were mostly psychologists and psychiatrists; a total of 150 people were trained as EMDR therapists.

The EMDR is a simple process of therapy that allows

patient to relax in stressful conditions. The process is very easy for both the client and the therapist. The whole programme takes about one and a half hour. After expressing the primary stress condition, the client follows the hand movement of the therapist and feels relaxed after few sets of eye movements.

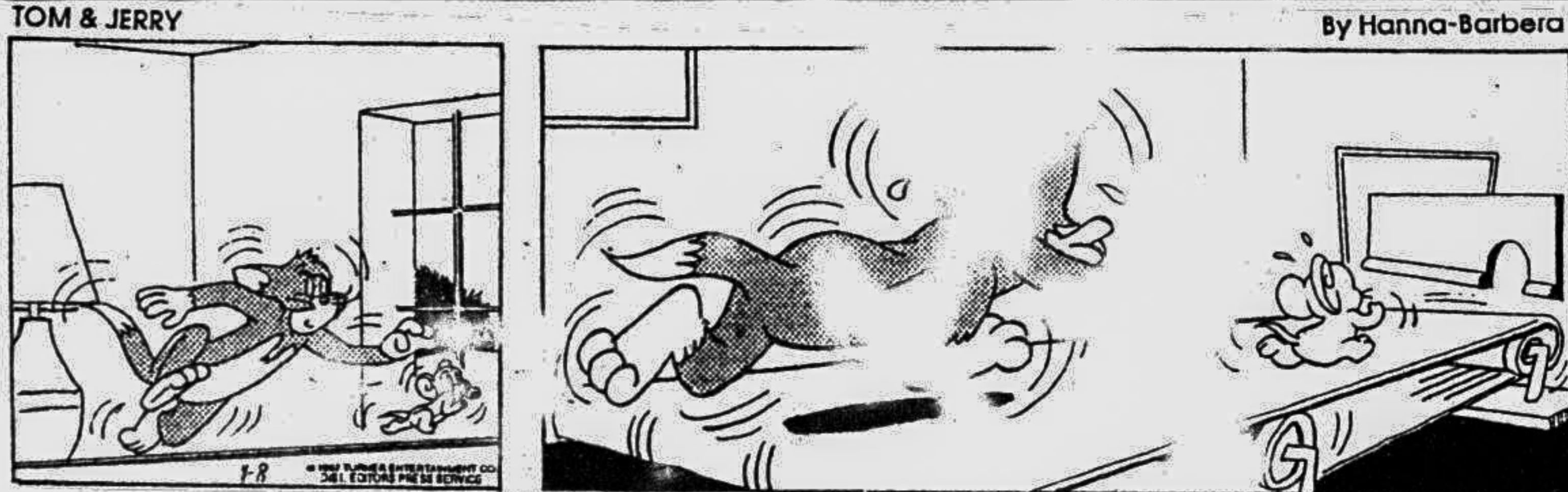
There are also taps and tones for those who are blind or unable to track the eye movement, or lightbars and music to follow the alternate beats. This simple method of therapy helps victims of rape, burn or terrorism victims to restore their normal behaviour.

EMDR therapy has been proved to cure phantom limb syndrome which means that the patient feels pain where the limb was though the wound had long healed, and Carpal, the pain which has no pathological findings.

This therapy is useful for the abused people who have disturbed thought and behaviour and feeling of funny sensations throughout the body. As days go by we confront new problems of stress and anxiety. EMDR could help us in this regard. "Don't worry be happy."

The writer is a consultant psychiatrist at Holy Family Red Crescent Hospital, Dhaka.

By Hanna-Barbera



James Bond

BY IAN FLEMING

DRAWING BY HORAK

