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EPISCOPAL NEWS SERVICE

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James Solheim, News Director
Jeffrey Penn, Assistant News Director

3 August 1992

To whom it may concern:

There was something cruelly ironic about your ad on the OpEd pages of the New York Times this morning. And outrageous.

Of course there is enough blame to go around in the dissolution of Yugoslavia. But the story of Serbian atrocities coming to light in recent days is absolutely sickening--cattle cars and concentration camps that can be compared only with Nazi Germany. "Ethnic cleansing," snipers shooting children on buses trying to escape the violence, forbidding Serbian children to seek safety. And of course the criminal bombardment of Sarajevo and its civilians.

This is barbarism and the Serbs are getting by with it, as the Nazis did in the prelude before World War II, because the cowardice of the rest of the world, especially those who tout a New Europe. How many times must we repeat this frightening chapter of human history. Was it Sartre or Camus who said that all it takes for injustice to succeed is for good people to remain silent?

You are writing a new chapter in the crowded annals of man's inhumanity to man. Congratulations.

Jim Solheim

IT WOULD
GET ONE OF
THE SERBIAN
CLERGY TO
ANSWER THIS
LETTER

WHO SENT
THIS TO YOU-
IS IT A
GOOD SOURCE?

MICK

Rep. Helen Delich Bentley
200 East Joppa Road, Suite 400
Towson, Maryland 21204

SEP 04 1992

June 28, 1992

After World War II, a group of Vatican officials, under the direction of Pope Pious XII and Monsignor Giovanni Montini (later Pope Paul VI), coordinated a mass evacuation of notorious Nazi war criminals to the United States, Canada, Australia, and South America through a clandestine network named *Operation Ratline*. The operation headquarters at the Vatican was the Croatian College of San Girolamo. The central figure was a Croat priest, Father Krunoslav Draganovic, who had been a secretary to the Catholic Bishop of Sarajevo, known as the *Hangman of the Serbs* during Croatia's bloody massacres in Bosnia. Father Draganovic, assisted by the Franciscans and the Jesuits, provided forged Red Cross passports to the Nazis collected by Catholic clerics throughout Europe, sheltered the Nazis in the Vatican, and escorted them in diplomatic vehicles to Genoa. There, another Croat priest, a former concentration camp official, Father Petranovic, arranged their voyage to the final destination. The Ratline network lasted for a decade, and conveyed tens of thousands of prominent Nazis, such as Adolf Eichman, Josef Mengele, Klaus Barbie, Martin Bormann, Franz Stangl, Gustav Wagner, and Walter Rauff. Over 35,000 Croatian Ustashi criminals from the British zone of Austria were also smuggled to safety. Croatia had been particularly favored by the Nazis for zealously solving the Jewish and the Serbian problem, and by the Vatican for its role as a *shield of Catholicism* against the Eastern Orthodox Church. In the presence of Papal Nuncio Marconi, the Croatian Ustashi government had outlawed the Orthodox Church and created a program of extermination of the Serbian minority. In the Jasenovac concentration camp, commanded by a Franciscan friar, the Croats had butchered and mutilated 700,000 Serbs and 60,000 Jews. The primitive brutality of the Croats had appalled even the visiting Nazi officers. The Vatican Ratline rescued not only influential demons like Ante Pavelic, the head of the Croatian state, who had proudly displayed in his offices kegs full of Serbian eyes and other organs, and Andrija Artukovic, the interior minister and architect of Croatia's bloody genocide, but also thousands of deranged murderers like Ljubo Milos, known for the ritual slaughter of Jews while impersonating a physician in the Jasenovac infirmary.

The Vatican Ratline was created in 1945, in cooperation with De Gaulle and the French Secret Service, to recruit "freedom fighters" for a clandestine *Intermarium Organization*, originally founded in 1920. The objective of Intermarium was to force the detachment of Catholic Slavs from their Orthodox and Protestant countrymen, ensuring the collapse of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and large parts of the Soviet Union. Directed by the Slovene Jesuits at the Vatican, Intermarium had collaborated closely with Adolf Hitler and Nazi intelligence during the war. After the war, its leadership dominated by German, Croat, Slovene, Slovak, and Ukrainian Nazis, Intermarium promoted a Catholic Central European Pan-Danubian Confederation, between the Baltic, the Adriatic, and the Black Sea, as a bastion of "civilized" Catholic Europe against the presumed Christian Orthodox and Russian menace. By 1946, the British Secret Intelligence Service (MI6) took from the French the initiative with Intermarium and the Vatican Ratline, aiming to establish a Confederation of Central European Nations under London's influence, as conceived by Churchill in early 1944. The French and the British had separate plans, but shared at least two major points of agreement. To destabilize and dismember Yugoslavia, they enlisted Nazis and Croatian Ustashi, and established terrorist centers for covert Balkan activities. They adopted the principle of "Europe for the Europeans, without Russians and Americans. Make the United States fight the Russians, and exploit the victory".

By 1947, the Vatican felt it was losing control of Intermarium and the Ratline, and turned to the Americans for help. President Truman declined all collaboration with the Nazis. But, *Allen Dulles* and James Angleton, eager to use the Intermarium network in the Cold War, established within the US State Department an ultra-secret intelligence organization under the cover of the Document Disposal Unit. While the CIA was hunting Nazis, Allen Dulles was recruiting them and supplying them with money and weapons laundered through the Vatican. By 1953, when he

became the head of CIA under President Eisenhower, Dulles had brought into the United States some 10,000 Nazi war criminals through the Vatican Ratline and an illegal immigration pipeline codenamed *Operation Bloodstone*. Allen Dulles, who had been an American lawyer for many prominent Nazi banks before the outbreak of the war, was further implicated in laundering stolen Nazi treasures through Swiss, Vatican, and South American banks for the funding of West Germany's great economic miracle of 1948 to 1951. The US Treasury Department investigation of Allen Dulles was promptly taken over by the State Department and quietly dropped.

Allen Dulles had particular talent for spawning "great Americans" from the ranks of his covert networks. Dulles's most important recruit was *Richard M. Nixon*, a young Navy officer employed in the review of captured Nazi records. Nixon was selected to run for Congress, allegedly with extreme right wing funding. In 1951, Nixon diverted Senator McCarthy from investigating Dulles's organizations for communist agents. In 1953, Nixon became Eisenhower's Vice President and intelligence liaison to Allen Dulles, the new head of CIA, and John Foster Dulles, the new Secretary of State. As Vice President, Nixon warmly endorsed the Intermarium *Freedom Fighter* project, authorized Allen Dulles's clandestine activities, and personally received in the White House prominent Nazi fugitives. During Nixon's presidency, the Australian government asked the State Department how to handle problems with their Croatian Ustashi residents. The reply was that the Nixon administration did nothing about Ustashi extremists because their support was important in turning out Catholic and East European ethnic votes in five key states. Nixon apparently relied on the US Nazi network to avoid ever losing another close election. In the 1970s, Congress began investigating reports of Nazi war criminals living in America. Nixon's State Department committed outright perjury by reporting it had no knowledge, while its security computers had detailed information on war crimes committed by its Fascist employees. Shortly before the Watergate scandal forced Nixon out of office, the State Department transferred its most sensitive war criminals to the Pentagon. Nixon's Nazi *experts on anticommunism* remained on government payroll as *consultants on special operations*.

William Casey was another Allen Dulles recruit, engaged in supervising the *International Rescue Committee*, a front group which helped Nazi fugitives with US immigration problems. William Casey was the American end of the Vatican Ratline. Having learned how the game was played, Casey became the head of CIA under President Reagan in 1980. Applying Allen Dulles's methods, Casey hired Nixon-era Nazis, and created within the CIA an ultra-secret *Special Operations Division (SOD)*, which armed and trained terrorist death squads in Central America. William Casey's covert operations, such as the illegal US support of the Contra rebels, were conceived and carried out behind the back of Congress and the CIA, and funded by former US Army General John Singlaub's enormous network of intergovernmental contributors.

A young movie actor named *Ronald Reagan* was one of Allen Dulles's first recruits. In the early 1950s, Ronald Reagan was a spokesman and fund-raiser for Dulles's front group, the *Crusade for Freedom*, which laundered money to Fascist Intermarium "freedom fighters". As Governor of California, Ronald Reagan publicly proclaimed April 10 a *Croat ethnic holiday*. April 10 was the date on which Adolf Hitler recognized the Independent State of Croatia. As President, Ronald Reagan continued to invite known Nazis to the White House, even those recognized by the State Department as notorious war criminals. One of these was Yaroslav Stetsko, the fanatical leader of the Ukraine during the German occupation, who had organized massacres of hundreds of thousands of Jews and Orthodox Christians. Stetsko also associated with General Singlaub, a key figure in the Iran-Contra scandal. In 1985, despite strong protests from the Senate, President Reagan saw fit to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War at the German military cemetery in Bitburg, where Himmler's Waffen-SS men are buried. Reagan's response to worldwide criticism suggested profound implications. He declared that "those young men are victims of Nazism also... They were victims, just as surely as the victims in the concentration camps... (the Germans) have a guilt feeling that's been imposed on them, and I just think it's unnecessary."

In 1983, Vice President *George Bush* headed a planning group to reform William Casey's

SOD, which had collapsed amidst financial scandal. By April 1984, the new organization was authorized to draft the report of The Vice President's Task Force on Terrorism, but its covert mission was to coordinate William Casey's secret wars with the British intelligence. George Bush's National Security adviser, Donald Gregg, assembled a team to liaise with the British; Senator *Dan Quayle's* assistant was made the secret courier to Britain; a young colonel named Oliver North was attached to Bush's office on William Casey's recommendation; and the groundwork was set for the Iran-Contra operation, which laundered money and weapons through Monzer Al Kassar's PLO terrorist organizations and General Singlaub's Nazi riddled networks. There can be little doubt that Vice President George Bush was aware of the principal activities of his own office, but there can be no doubt that Presidential Candidate George Bush knew quite a lot about Nazis and Croat Ustashi in America. In 1988, when six former Fascists were exposed on the Bush campaign staff, the roster of the 138 members of Bush's *ethnic outreach* group was quickly and permanently suppressed. While running for President, Bush heeded Nixon's experience that East European Nazis can deliver crucial Catholic and ethnic votes. His campaign calendar listed April 10 as *Croatian Independence Day*. Is it possible that George Bush did not know that he had not yet made Croatia an independent country? The more things appear to change, the more they remain the same.

Detailed documentation on the lasting cooperation between the post-war Republican administrations and the Nazis, East European Fascists and Croat Ustashi is available in: Mark Aarons and John Loftus, *Unholy Trinity* (St. Martin's Press, 1992); Richard Evans, *In Hitler's Shadow* (Pantheon Books, 1989); Allan Ryan, Jr., *Quiet Neighbors* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovic, 1984).

The perpetuation of Nazi and Intermarium objectives is today painfully obvious in the Bush administration's policies in the Balkans. Not so long ago, the United States, Britain, and France expressed the conviction that the anti-Serbian position of the German dominated European Community would inevitably result in civil war, unless the recognition of the secessionist republics were associated with an overall Yugoslav solution. This conviction recognized that *the Serbs could not quietly surrender one third of their population to enemy governments* and yet another reign of oppression, genocide, and Catholic conversion – the third one in this century. United Germany, Austria, Italy, and the Vatican forced a premature recognition of Slovenia and Croatia, and invented the country of Bosnia, intent on implementing the ancient Germanic objective of intruding into the Balkans, suffocating Serbia, and seizing control of the only land and river routes connecting Central Europe with the Ukraine and the Middle East. To uphold his image as the leader of world leaders, and to sustain solidarity with runaway Germany, George Bush simply surrendered to the well organized German initiative against Serbia. He declared an abrupt change of mind about the Yugoslav problem, proclaimed Serbia the aggressor, recognized the secessionist republics, and condemned the Serbian nation to the same Teutonic and Catholic scheme of disintegration which had been attempted in the two world wars. While engaged in the dismemberment of Yugoslavia, Bush insisted on the preservation of the old internal administrative borders, originally drawn by the Croatian communist dictator Tito to the great benefit of Croatia and detriment of Serbia. The recognition of these artificial borders, which do not reflect the boundaries of national majorities, *sentenced millions of Serbs to exile from their own motherland and to subdivision into four separate countries*. Bush opposed the partition of Bosnia, demanding that the Serbs be forced to accept the uncompromising Moslem and Croat rule within the small framework of "independent" Bosnia, although he had just acknowledged that the Croats and the Moslems could not bear to coexist with the Serbs within the larger framework of federal Yugoslavia. Bush openly encouraged the secession of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia through political, financial, and military support, often in direct violation of international conventions and the UN arms embargo on all former Yugoslav republics. Meanwhile, *he punished Serbia's legitimate desire to maintain its nation under one government* with unprecedented economic sanctions and diplomatic isolation. The Bush administration and the German dominated European Community have not missed an opportunity to inflame ethnic hatreds in former Yugoslavia, and escalate the civil war they had predicted. Then, they have used the civil war as a source of vicious propaganda to discredit the Serbian struggle for self-determination, and a motive for instigating international economic and military action against Serbia.

To justify their assault on Serbia, the Bush administration and the truncated German dominated European Community have unleashed a malignant Nazi-style disinformation campaign, employing transparent lies, insults, and even obscenities to present Serbia as a subhuman aggressor on the innocent Croat and Bosnian population. They conceal the continuity of Ustashi and Nazi groups in the West, which have, for decades, seeded secessionist ideology and hatred for the Orthodox Serbs through the Catholic Church in Slovenia and Croatia. They conceal that the new Independent Croatia, which boasts a democratic constitution, bears the same checkerboard flag as the previous Nazi-Ustashi government, and denies much of its population citizenship and the right to vote because of Serbian or mixed marriage origins. They conceal that the first acts of the Tadjman regime were to forbid the use of the Serbian alphabet, to prohibit Serbian cultural and professional organizations, to deprive the Serbs of the right to public assembly, and to eliminate the Serbian minority from government, police and education. They conceal that the Slovenes and the Croats initiated the hostilities by besieging and assaulting Yugoslav Army barracks, many of which housed teenage trainees and army wives and children. They conceal that the Croats were the first to begin a program of ethnic purification with gruesome massacres and systematic torture of the Serbian civilians in Croatia and Bosnia, which have resulted in over half a million Serbian refugees. They conceal that hundreds of Serbian villages have been razed by Croat and Bosnian Ustashi, and that tens of thousands of Serbian women, children, and elderly suffer appalling conditions in concentration camps in Bosnia. They conceal ongoing Croatian offensives in Posavina, Hercegovina, and the region of Knin, which violate UN sponsored peace agreements. They conceal the constant infiltration of Croatian men, armor, and heavy artillery across the Sava River, and the presence of nearly fifty thousand Croatian Army regulars in Bosnia. They conceal that Croatia threatens the Moslem dominated government of "independent" Bosnia with the secession of the Croat enclave of Herzeg-Bosnia, unless Bosnia joins Croatia in a confederation. They conceal numerous reports by the UN forces, EC observers, and journalists that *Croatia and Bosnia share the responsibility for starting the civil war in Yugoslavia, and for escalating the conflict in the hope of involving Western forces against Serbia*. They do all this not because they lack information or historical perspective, but in spite of it.

With German guidance, the Bush administration's position on the Yugoslav crisis has become singularly biased, undemocratic, and conspiratorial. It is founded on the absurd *reverse thinking* proposition that Slovenian, Croatian, and Bosnian secession was caused by Serbian nationalism. Consequently, all ethnic groups in the former Yugoslavia became entitled to separatism and Western support, but Serbian appeals for protection under a single state were proclaimed as imperialist attempts to carve out a "Greater Serbia". Bush's efforts to push through the UN Security Council a vote for comprehensive sanctions against Serbia coincided with US economic rewards for three of the four reluctant member states. The report by the *UN Mission in Bosnia*, which observed that the Croats and the Bosnians equally share the guilt in the Yugoslav civil war, was held up for two days, and released only one hour after the vote for sanctions against Serbia. *UN Secretary General Boutros Ghali's* report on Yugoslavia, dated one day before the vote, denied the very premise of the sanctions against Serbia. Its distribution to the council members was delayed by four days. The report stated that international observers documented Croatian Army Units operating and holding territory within Bosnia and Herzegovina, despite denials by the Croatian government; that the withdrawal of the besieged Yugoslav Army in Bosnia was intentionally obstructed by Bosnian military formations; and that there was no objective evidence that Belgrade controls the Serbian forces in Bosnia. Subsequent reports from the highest authorities persistently contradict George Bush's allegation that Serbia is the main aggressor in the Yugoslav civil war. *French President Mitterrand* distinctly recalls Bosnian sniper fire on his entourage at the Sarajevo airport during his remarkable peace mission. *Lord Carrington*, who mediated the latest Bosnian truce, condemned the Bosnian government of Alija Izetbegovic for being "as much, if not more, responsible" for the failure of the cease-fire accord. It was widely reported that President Izetbegovic refused to negotiate in the hope that continued hostilities in Bosnia would draw Western powers into war with Serbia. Bosnia and Croatia then signed a military cooperation agreement against Serbia, indicating that neither plans on genuine participation in international peace efforts. *Canadian General Lewis MacKenzie*, the UN commander in Sarajevo, blamed the Croat and the Bosnian forces equally for the continuation of the civil war.

He reported evidence that the Bosnians have been shelling their own positions to breach cease-fire agreements, victimize themselves before the Western media, and elicit condemnation of Serbia. General MacKenzie also accused the Bosnian military of violating the conventions of war by hiding behind the civilian population, and placing artillery and sniper positions close to hospitals, schools, apartment complexes, and even the UN headquarters, in order to draw return fire toward unacceptable targets. *Prime Minister John Major's* view, according to the BBC on June 25, is that the action of the international community against the new Yugoslavia is not based on international law or international legal precedents; it is based on "cooperative behavior". Evidently, President Bush and Germany are unable to produce legal arguments why the Serbian minority in Croatia and Bosnia should be forced to secede from its own motherland, or why the Serbian Republic should not assist its own beleaguered nationals in their struggle to remain citizens of the country in which they were born. President Bush and Germany have to resort to tarnishing the image of Serbia with purely one sided media coverage of the civil war, coverup of objective UN reports, and lynch-mob politics to condemn a tiny nation which declined an impolite offer to be divided.

The post-war Republican administrations left the Nazi coverup as a lasting legacy to the American people. Eisenhower, Nixon, Reagan, and Bush maintained close cooperation with Nazi, Croat Ustashi, and Eastern European Fascist movements. From these groups were recruited "experts" and "consultants", who still operate in the very highest circles of Western governments, and who were engaged in fabricating paranoid intolerance between the West and the East, and maintaining an atmosphere of constant crisis. The same minds which conceived and carried out mass exterminations of Orthodox Slavs and Jews in the Second World War hatched the horrors of the modern era, like the South American death squads, the Cold War, nuclear proliferation, and the principle of mutual assured destruction. Their activities brought into question the integrity of the US foreign policy, the American democratic process, and even the survival of our species. They are now promoting the "new" German policy against Serbia, identical to the Nazi policy of the Second World War, and the Austrian policy of the First World War. In the name of old cliches, *culture* and *civilization*, which Serbia presumably lacks, but Germany, Austria, and Croatia allegedly possess, they seek to rob millions of Serbs within the administrative borders of Croatia and Bosnia of citizenship, the right to self-determination, and homelands which they inhabit for twenty generations. They further seek to discredit and dismember the new Yugoslavia by silencing its voice in international organizations, and by exploiting nationalist tensions in Montenegro, Sandzak, Kosovo and Vojvodina.

Peace in Yugoslavia can be secured only by the application of equal economic and political pressure on all three warring sides, and by genuinely impartial, UN supervised, territorial division along the lines of national majorities. But, the New World Order, which George Bush borrowed from the lips of Adolf Hitler, demands a vision of the Balkans controlled by German allies, Croatia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey. Lasting peace that satisfies historic boundaries and national sentiments would simply invalidate repeated German intrusions into the internal affairs of independent Balkan states. Hence, the Western world may look forward to an ever greater flood of delirious anti-Serbian propaganda and a graduated escalation of military activity against Serbia. The Serbs can not abandon their homelands to enemy governments, and will not quietly subject themselves to another extermination. The war against the Serbian nation will be as malicious and savage as the previous two, and shall have a similar outcome.

Like his predecessors, George Bush may think he is designing the future of the world on a scale so grand that it is incomprehensible to common men. Like his predecessors, he may think that the glory of the end justifies all means, even the enlistment of Nazi and Ustashi criminals in the service of "American interests". But, German and Croat experts in evil have never served our interests. We have served theirs. And, George Bush is not designing the future of the world. He is simply preventing it from being different than the past.

V.S.

EMBASSY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA

2410 CALIFORNIA STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20008-1679

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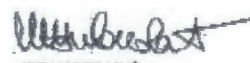
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Datum/Date: 8. 10. 1992.

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Kopija / CC			
Od / From			
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PORUKA / MESSAGE:

Please find enclosed the english version of the interview given to the French newspaper Le Point by Lord Carington upon his resignation.


ZIVKOVIC

YUGOSLAVIA---THE TWO MISTAKES OF EUROPE

For twelve months, Lord Carrington, 73, former British Minister of Foreign Affairs and of Defense, has tried in the name of the EEC to arrive at a negotiated solution to the civil war in Yugoslavia. After a year of efforts and thirty cease-fires which never lasted for more than a few days, he ended up by throwing in the towel. On the eve of the meeting in London on the subject of Yugoslavia, he handed over the torch to Lord Owen, the man whom, such is the irony of careers, he had succeeded at the Foreign Office when he became Minister to Margaret Thatcher.

Replying to Point during one of the rare interviews he has granted since his resignation, he first of all confirmed the fact that bitterness is not a sentiment worthy of a lord.

Lord Carrington: Bitter, me? No. But, disappointed, yes. You know, if I resigned it was above all because the EEC wished to have the chief of the peace mission stay in Geneva and this would have been incompatible with my duties as president of Christie's International.. (Lord Carrington resigned from his position of president of Christie's on September 12.

Le Point: The United Nations have just decided to send 5,000 more soldiers to Yugoslavia. Is this the prelude to an actual military intervention?

L.C. With the arrival of winter, the objective is to make sure that food and medicine reach the population of the regions which have been

for a long time inaccessible to help. But, without wishing to appear cynical, one could ask oneself whether the fighting won't stop automatically anyway because of winter.

Le Point Aren't we entering, with the sending of these new contingents, into this logic of war of which Francois Mitterand spoke of apropos of the Gulf War?

L.C. I don't think that the heads of the different communities are ready to begin firing on the UN troops. Even though, given the nature of this country and the complexity of the situation, nothing can surprise me. One must, moreover, ask oneself whether the responsible parties of three nationalities truly control the situation on the ground. The acts of violence are the doing of private militias and a result of individual acts. This is especially true as far as the Serbs are concerned. Moreover, there are acts of provocation on the part of the Moslems against the United Nation Organization (ONU) aimed at forcing the hand of an armed international action.

J.P. You speak of uncontrolled actions of local militias; does that mean that the Serbian president, Milosevic, shouldn't be held responsible for the bombings of Sarajevo?

L.C. Karađzic, the chief of the local Serbian militia, is personally certainly responsible. And, at the very least, one could say that Milosevic exerts a great influence on him. This is not the case with the new Prime Minister, Milan Panic. He has the advantage of really believing what he says. But he doesn't have any real support in the interior of the country even though his personal popularity is rising in Belgrade. Because, if there were to be an election tomorrow in Serbia, Milosevic would win it because he is

strongly supported in the rest of the country.

L.P. Don't you, who acted as its mediator during a period of twelve months, find that the EEC proved its powerlessness in this affair?

L.C. The problem for governments is to keep a level head, to not react emotionally, but, rather, realistically. To get involved too deeply because of the horrors happening in Bosnia is to risk falling into quicksand. And, since the Community would like to avoid getting involved in a dangerous web, it gives the impression of feebleness. Consequently, ~~XXX~~ two scenarios are possible.

1) One could try to stop the fighting by actually getting involved in the war. But, before doing so, it is necessary to define the military methods that are to be employed and the objectives that are to be pursued. Knowing that the protagonists in Bosnia, as in the rest of Yugoslavia, are not people to whom one can dictate anything other than a provisional solution.

2) The other solution is to pursue in the way we are doing presently the route of sanctions-negotiations. If the sanctions, in particular the oil embargo, begin to make themselves felt, there could be political changes in Serbia resulting in a government ready to make peace. However, I am not persuaded that it would exert sufficient authority on the Serbian leaders of Bosnia or of Krajina to stop the war. In any case, I think that this drama will only end when the belligerent forces are all tired out and decide to stop fighting because they believe themselves to be satisfied with the territories they control. The Serbians of Bosnia have perhaps reached this stage today.

Le Point In fact, as in Lebanon, is it necessary to wait for a kind of catharsis before peace is reached?

L.06 I don't think that this will last fifteen years as it has in Lebanon. But the repercussions are to be feared. Today, all eyes are riveted on Bosnia, even though there exist also two other situations potentially as explosive. The first one is in Krajina, a region of Croatia which is principally Serbian. The UN has received a mandate to disarm the local militias and to permit the return of Croats expelled by the Serbs. However, not only have the militias not been disarmed, but the Croatian inhabitants have not been able to return to their homes. The Serbs would rather stay under the protection of the UN than to accept the special status which I conceived for them under Croatian sovereignty. But President Tudjman, the Croatian chief of state is becoming impatient. Because, along with a part of Slovenia, which finds itself in the same situation, this concerns a good one third of the Croatian territory. And the risk is that the peace-keeping effort will evaporate because he will refuse to sign the renewal of the UN mandate at the beginning of ~~the next~~ year.

The other critical situation is that of Kosovo (population 1 million Albanians as opposed to 200,000 Serbs). The Serbs refuse to discuss the situation of Kosovo both in the setting of the UN and in that of the EEC because they claim that it concerns a problem which is purely internal. If Kosovo were to proclaim its independence, it would give rise to the risk of an international conflict with the intervention of Albania and of Greece.

Le Point Why didn't they succeed in preventing the inevitable breaking out of this civil war?

LC In retrospect, I think that it would have been better if Europe had recognized earlier the disappearance of Yugoslavia. In the plan that I proposed in the summer of 1991, the six republics were identified, such as they were, with more or less tight ties to each other, on the one hand, ~~to~~ and to the center, on the other hand. Some of these republics declared themselves ready for an association of this kind. But the EEC didn't listen to me because it feared that this plan would create a precedent for the breaking up of the federation of Russia.

The other error of Europe was to recognize Croatia and Slovenia. The European Conference which I presided over was created with the idea that this double independence would not be validated as long as there wasn't a global agreement with the Yugoslavia republics. The double recognition undermined the bases of our work which was reduced to simple bilateral negotiations. Especially since, concurrently, they felt obliged to ask Bosnia whether it, too, wished to become independent. Clearly, its president, Alija Izedbegovic, had no choice but to answer affirmatively. I advised the directors of the EEC that a scenario of this sort, unacceptable for the Serbs of Bosnia, would lead to civil war. This was a tragic error!

Le Point Do you hold that the responsibility for the conflict is equally shared among its principal actors?

LC If one were to go back to the origins of the war, one could say that it was the Croatians who set the whole thing off by promulgating a constitution which didn't make allowances for the special position of the Serbs of Croatia. If one remembers the massacres of 1941,

one can understand the uneasiness of the Serbs of Serbia towards their coreligionists. But one cannot tolerate their reaction and excuse the invasion of Croatia, the obliteration of Vukovar, the bombardment of Dubrovnik, not to speak of the detention camps and the operations of "ethnic purification". That is not to say that the other side is innocent either.

Le Point You are well acquainted with all the main participants in the conflict. What impression do you have of them?

LC Milosevic and Tudjman are men coming from a pure communist tradition. Milosevic, an apparatchik, Tudjman, a police general. Izedbegovic has nothing to do with Titoism, but he manipulated the constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina in such a way that it was necessary to have the consensus of three nationalities to proclaim independence. What more can one say on the subject? Yes, I can say this: I found it particularly frustrating and depressing to have interlocutors who, without exception, were ready each day to accept proposals without having the least intention of applying them the following day.!

Facsimile Cover Sheet

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**Pages including this
cover page:** 3

2526 South Second Avenue
Arcadia, CA 91006
October 8, 1992

The Honorable Lawrence Eagleburger
Secretary of State
Department of State
2201 C Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary,

Helen Bentley suggested that I go to Washington, D.C. and tell you what I know of the allegation that 3000 Muslims were killed in a concentration camp in Brcko.

In order to better understand what is presently happening in Croatia and Bosna-Hercegovina where Serbs are living outside of Serbia and why we are having this terrible civil war, it is necessary to know about the genocide of the Serbs in that area from April, 1941 to 1945.

Since you were the United States Ambassador to Yugoslavia and spent a number of years in Belgrade, I know that you are familiar with the above-mentioned genocide. However, because of my first-hand experience I believe that only those people who were in that area during the genocide period and survived can know what kinds of massacres happened.

I was born in Brcko and I am one of those survivors. I saw the massacre of Serbs in Brcko with my own eyes. When I escaped from Brcko to Belgrade, my Serbian friends in Belgrade were unable to believe that a genocide had happened let alone the extent and ferocity of it that I was able to relate as an on-site witness. On April 10, 1941, the Yugoslav Government capitulated and as a reserve officer I was attached to the Yugoslav Government. I was lucky to have carried civilian clothes in my car and was, therefore, not taken as a prisoner of war in Sarajevo where I happened to be at the time. Returning from Sarajevo to Belgrade, I decided to stop in Brcko to visit my parents. I was immediately arrested on entering Brcko and imprisoned by a group of Ustashi and Muslims all of whom were my boyhood friends. There were many Serbs in the prison. An Ustashi officer announced that we were all to be executed. Before my escape, I personally witnessed the torture and killing of many Serbs by the Ustashi and Muslims. Half of my family were killed. It's a long story on how I succeeded to escape, but I did and returned to Belgrade.

Two weeks ago, I was in Belgrade especially to take care of members of my family who had escaped from Brcko to Belgrade. During my eight-day stay, I saw many Serbs and some Croats from Brcko who had fled to Belgrade, including my aunt who twice returned to Brcko during my stay in Belgrade to retrieve some of her belongings. Everyone I talked to who had escaped from Brcko, Serbs and Croats and my aunt, were shocked to learn of the allegation of the massacre of 3000 Muslims in Brcko. I am personally very familiar with the brick factory and pig farm mentioned in the allegation. It is physically impossible to hold more than approximately a hundred people in these two locations. As far as the story goes that the prisoners were taken in groups of fifty to be executed and cremated, it is impossible to believe that no one in the small town of Brcko would have been aware of this. This is why I mentioned to Helen Bentley that this alleged massacre must be Muslim-Ustashi propaganda such as those recent instances recently reported in the press. The purpose, of course, is to put additional blame on the Serbs. I discussed this matter with President Dobrica Cosic and with Prime Minister Milan Panic. Both said the authorities in Belgrade had started an investigation into the matter.

Of course, in a civil war killing is happening where both sides can be blamed for atrocities, but, in my opinion, it is truly an exaggeration to claim that 3000 Muslims were killed in Brcko without the populace being aware of it. Therefore, I do not believe the story of the two eye witnesses who claim to have escaped this killing. It is easy to find well-briefed Muslims to travel to Washington, D.C. to make such claims.

If you wish to know a little more about me and my work concerning Yugoslavia, please feel free to contact Ambassador Zimmerman who knows me well.

Sincerely,

B. Milinovic

Branko Milinovic

OCT 16 1992

Ioan Pop(e), Frankfurt High School
Box 30 , APO, AE 09228

To Honorable Helen Delich Bentley
Washington DC

Madam ,

I have sent the attached letter to The President of the United States Mr. Bush .It is the result of an agonizing period in which I have seen one of the most gentle nations in Europe treated with the most blatant forms of discriminations and persecutions.

I simply had to do something. In two world wars they have been attacked, massacred and persecuted by the same people who today renewed their attacks using different methods but with the same deadly results.

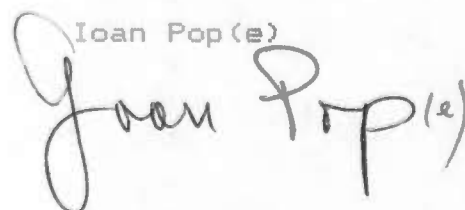
Again the victims of yesterday are asked to pay a tribute in blood for the right to exist. I am asking myself who is going to be next and I am wandering at the lack of vision and at the blindness of the civilized nations of the world.

I will be sending the same materials to The Washington Post and to The American Sirbobran with the hope that they might help my voice be heard. I am humbly hoping for your help too. I am ready to use any advice or suggestion that you might be kind enough to grant me.

I am also attaching a letter of introduction from The Serbien Humanitarian Fond in Frankfurt, Germany.

Please forgive my daring and rest assured of my deep consideration

Truly

Ioan Pop(e)


Frankfurt High School
Box 30
APO AE 09228
October 9, 1992

Open Letter to Mr. George Bush
The President of the United States

RE: The situation in Yugoslavia

Dear Mr. President:

I have quite a few reasons for writing this letter. One of them is the fact that one of the Presidential Candidates in this year's elections declared that he would use the military might of our country in an area of the world he obviously doesn't know much about. This might create a Vietnam of nightmarish proportions from which the division of our country and the loss of prestige would be irreparable.

Another reason for writing is the fact that you personally, Mr. President, have exercised wise restraint in dealing with this problem despite the international pressure of interested groups which wanted our country to practically do their dirty work.

The last, and in no way the least, is the fact that I am very well informed about the situation in the Balkans. I am fluent in the language and I have been in direct contact with the Yugoslavian realities for the last twelve years. Every year I spent my vacation in a country where my friendships included Croats, Moslems and Serbs.

For more than a year, the beautiful lands of what once was known as Yugoslavia are suffering the most horrible bloodshed the world has known since World War II. There is an amazing consensus in the international community about who is to blame. The Serbs have become almost overnight the pariah of Europe, the terrorist of the Balkans and the Butchers of Yugoslavia. They are through and through the bad guys with absolutely nothing good; while the Croats and the Bosnian Moslems are the "good guys", the lambs, the victims.

What is even more amazing is that all the reports and news feeding the European media are constantly coming from the same sources--Zagreb, Sarajevo, Bonn,

Even Khadafi and Sadam Hussein in their darkest days of conflict with us and the world enjoyed more media exposure than the Serbs. They spoke their mind in front of the cameras and entered in every American home and throughout the world unhindered, while the Serbs don't even exist anymore except on the battle fields where according to Zagreb, Sarajevo and Bonn they commit incredible atrocities. This amazing consensus of the West motivated me to verify the facts. It was too beautiful, too convincing.

This is what I discovered in my research. During World War II Croatia was a free state with a mighty powerful protector, Nazi Germany. It had the blessing of a mighty church. The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Zagreb publicly welcomed the creation of the puppet Nazi State of Croatia and nobody in the Vatican thought of admonishing him despite the fact that in the Croatian concentration camps (like the one at Jesenovac) 60,000 Jews, 30,000 Gypsies and almost 700,000 Serbs have been mercilessly and systematically murdered. (Encyclopedia of the Holocaust, Vol. 1, page 323, Macmillan, 1990) Was it a coincidence that in 1992 a freshly reunited Germany used its authority to the utmost to force the EC to recognize the break away republics of Croatia and Slovenia?

German diplomacy wasn't much bothered by the fact that especially in Croatia nobody addressed the very important problem of minorities. One of these minorities were the more than one million Serbs; many of them the sons and daughters of those killed fifty years ago in camps like Jesenovac. They weren't going to expect a better treatment from the Croats who were backed up with different methods but with the same fanatic dedication by the government of a freshly reunited Germany.

Everything was in place exactly like during the past war and the Serbs were supposed to accept the situation without a murmur. Their country, which gave them a certain degree of security was disintegrated and they weren't supposed to even protest. It is amazing how the German diplomacy applied so much pressure on the new allies in order to protect an old and loyal ally against one of its more troublesome former enemies. It might be useful to remember that Nazi Germany had more than 30 divisions permanently blocked in Yugoslavia during WWII. I believe those divisions could have turned the fate of the war if the Nazis could have used them either on the eastern or the western fronts.

It is even more amazing that Yugoslavia's former allies didn't think of that when without any reservation joined Germany, not only in total condemnation of the Serbs but in denying them something they grant to any criminal in their countries--due process.

Germany proved to be the only country in Europe that remained loyal to its friends. No wonder that the popular press in Italy came up with headlines: "Now Berlin is Giving the Orders" or "The German Nightmare Shakes Europe".

Mr. Bush, you are the best informed leader of the world but there are still details that escape our intelligence service. One of the State Department officials resigned in sign of protest because our country didn't march in Yugoslavia to smash the Serbs. Why that? How much did he really know about that country and its people. Did he ever talk to the average citizens in that country? Did he ever share magic moments with Serbs, Croats or Moslems eating local food around a campfire on the seaside as I have.

A few years ago when Yugoslavia was still under the illusion of unity, the Serbs from the province of Kosovo began living the nightmare which was to swallow their country. Hundreds of thousands of them had to run for their

lives out of Kosovo where the persecution exhorted by the Albanians started actually what is now known as the "ethnic cleansing". Nobody defended the Serbs because the state authority in Yugoslavia was in the hands of the Slovenians and Croats.

Facts easy to verify: (a) The great majority of the Yugoslavian ambassadors (especially the important stations) were recruited from Slovenia. (b) Almost all the high ranking officials in the state apparatus, army and intelligence services were Croats.

This was the legacy left behind by Tito whose parents were from Slovenia and Croatia. It is the same Tito who during WWI fought as a soldier in the Austro-Hungarian army against Serbia. Mr. Tudjman, "the democratic" president of Croatia was the Chief of Staff in Tito's Army; a function infinitely more communistic than anything Mr. Miloshevic occupied until becoming president of Serbia. I do not defend Mr. Miloshevic, that is for the Serbs to judge, but it makes one wonder why no one mentioned Mr. Tudjman's past. Nobody wants to see that Croatia is practically a one party political landscape, a country where political dissidents disappear and Nazi style military groups are openly saluting each other on the streets with the old Nazi salute.

I am sure that when the clouds of military conflict dissipate there will be very many honest Croats who will suffer because of these original recipes in democratic leadership. Was that a sample of the objectivity of the European media?

The persecutions and the harassment directed against the Serbs in all the Yugoslavian territories where they were a minority, gradually raised the specter of the Serbian nationalism as a defensive weapon against those persecutions. As they became more aware of the real political picture in Yugoslavia the Serbs started claiming their rights to sharing the political power. For the Slovenians and the Croats, who together couldn't match in numbers the Serbs, it became clear that their days of glory were numbered. It was time to become independent!

Old friends who took care of the Croatian emigrants abroad helped them return home armed and financed and put the European Community under pressure not only to recognize Croatia but to close any source of information that could tell the world about the Serbian side of the story.

In so doing they deprived their own population of the right to be informed. The truth became a one-sided truth. The Germans again were put in the situation of later saying, "We didn't have any idea that this was going on." Their media and their government took the task of thinking for them, of deciding what they should know. The Germans are highly intelligent people who deserve the fair chance to make up their own mind.

Consider the following facts observed on various German TV stations:

(1) One station has presented a man in a non-definite military fatigue without any signs of recognition, shooting somebody in the head with a pistol. The commentator indicated that the killer was a Serb killing a Croat. There was absolutely no element to identify either the murderer nor the victim. For anybody with a little objectivity it could have been exactly the opposite but the German commentator told them what to believe.

(2) Countless times the German TV stations presented the horrible scene of corpses strewn around in the obvious hold of a violent death. The German commentator advised the audience to observe these poor Moslems slaughtered by the Serbs. Carefully observing such scenes I arrived at the conclusion that there was very little to categorically indicate the victims as being Moslem. The only element that in such a situation could have identified the victims was the fact that the Serbs are not circumcised.

(3) All the German TV stations presented the fall of Vucover with civilians pouring out of their hiding holes with haggard, weary faces, many crying while the Serbian soldiers were directing them towards help centers. Again the German commentator advised his audience to observe these poor Croats who have been terrorized for more than two months by the Serbian bombing. Strangely though "the poor Croats" were speaking with the best Serbian accent and many of them were embracing their tormentors.

(4) There is almost no material about the war in Yugoslavia without the presence of children. It is true that children are the main victims of this horrible war. It is strange though that only Moslem and Croatian children are suffering! The European audience never sees a Serbian child suffering or dying. A bus loaded with children left Sarajevo without making it clear to all parties that in the bus are only children. On the way somebody shot the bus full of holes and two children were killed. There was no serious research of the incident to establish beyond a reasonable doubt whose guilt this was. The Serbs were apriori guilty. Nobody wanted to even consider the possibility that maybe the Croats or the Moslems might have been the shooters.

This incident was copiously exploited and waves of indignation rattled all the democratic establishments of Europe; while in Vucover 42 children, none older than five years, were found behind the hospital building with their throats cut. Nobody bothered to investigate this crime. There was no publicity. Nobody wanted to know about it.

In Paris an exhibition with pictures from Vucover presented the world another opinion about the war, the extremely well organized Croatian demonstrators claiming this to be a provocation blocked the exhibition and nobody asked questions. Meanwhile the 42 children from Vucover went into oblivion and the great Democracies of Europe never bothered to put a lonely flower on their grave. Categorically they were Serbian Children. Could anybody imagine the outcry stirred if they would have been anything but Serbs?

(5) Everybody is taking turns at condemning the Serbian concentration camps. Newspapers publish inflammatory articles with titles like: "The Horrors of the Serbian Camps". I don't wish to be misunderstood. A concentration camp for human beings is bad no matter who is organizing it. However the use of the term horror indicates more the desire of the author to incite and stir than to objectively reflect a reality. The same authors document their material with facts like beatings, starving and mention undocumented cases of shooting. I believe them because in times of war just about every participant perpetrates such acts, but if they use the term horror now, what is left for them to use when describing documented torture chambers, extermination camps like the ones at

Treblinka and Maidanec or concentration camps where special instruments were devised to crack prisoners' skulls in order to spare ammunition, devices used by the Croats at Jesenovac.

The Serbs have camps. They have opened them to international scrutiny. Why is it that nobody mentions the Croatian or the Moslem camps. Nobody wants to see them. (I attach a list of actual and probable such camps in which Serbs are kept.)

The Western European democracies have failed their democracy test in their unilateral, selective and biased reporting. Communism at its worst wouldn't have done better.

Nobody mentions the hundreds of thousands of refugees, many of them Moslem who found refuge in Serbia. Nobody wants to offer them any help. Nobody has interviewed them to see how are they treated. Nobody wants to acknowledge the fact that two hundred thousand Croats are living in Belgrade and nobody does them any harm.

The Holy Father while visiting Hungary a little less than a year ago spoke in favor of the Croatian independence but later His office was silent about the children from Vucovar and never investigated the claims of the Serbs for truth. If half of what the Serbs are saying is true, a formidable guilt will take hold of all the democracies of Europe. The Serbs are saying that entire Serbian villages were wiped out and the population murdered. They tell of incredible rape stories, of tortures of thousands of civilians who had their fingers, ears and noses cut before somebody mercifully slashed their throats.

They are telling of the dogs of war from all over the world coming and joyfully taking part in the terrible orgy of blood from Yugoslavia. Some returned home and told in front of the TV audiences about their exploits but until this day no one was accused of war crimes. (I attach a copy from the German magazine "Stern", an exception to the general German media picture. I am also attaching two additional and lonely articles which appeared in the Stars and Stripes and in The European.)

As I am writing efforts are made to start the fire in Kosovo. The ingredients are there including a population easy to manipulate as it was the case in Bosnia. Maybe if all the powers to be in Europe would have manifested just a little objectivity all these horrible realities would not have happened. If these powers persist in their erring, who is going to be next? Poland or Slovakia because some of their territories are disputed? The Rumanians because they turned arms against the wrong guys? The Jews because they seem to be such a convenient explanation for all the evils of the world? The Gypsies, the Kurds, the Armenians, the...? There wasn't much done about the very real danger of the Post-Nazi movement.

In Germany the price for killing a black from Africa is two to four years in jail. (Attached is the material from The European, 17-20 Sep, 1992)

The Czech population of what used to be Sudetenland were announced that "We are already digging your graves." (Attached material from The European 24-27 Sep 1992)

Jewish cemeteries are already being vandalized in Germany, France and Hungary and in all this time incredible efforts are made to discredit, isolate and annihilate the Serbs. The United Nations removed them from the family of nations. At the same time Bosnia, which never was a country or a nation is present there.

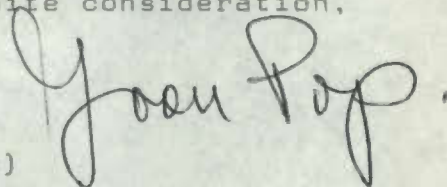
Is it possible that nobody in the world knows that the Moslems of Bosnia are in fact the Serbs who a couple of hundred years ago, during the Turkish rule had to embrace the Moslem belief? Is it possible that nobody knows that this is a fratricid war in which the religious beliefs are defining the enemies?

It reminds one of the Inquisition times when excommunication was a death sentence for the one involved. Do we want to turn the wheel of history no more or no less than five hundred years ago? If we want to build a better world we must foster the truth and create a climate of trust and security for this world. Europe wants to unite but at the same time does its best to desmembrate a family of Slavic nations.

Would they act the same if Bavaria would want to separate from Germany, the Basques from Spain, or the Scotch from U.K.?

I am American and I don't have a drop of Serbian blood in me. I am also Catholic. I write this letter because, as every living person in this world, I am one of the Lord's children and I believe that we might cover the eyes of the world but we'll never cover the Lord's eyes.

With infinite consideration,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Ioan Pop". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the typed name.

Ioan Pop(e)

PS. I wrote this letter in utmost sincerity and honesty. I signed it but I must insist that my whereabouts be kept from public knowledge in order to avoid eventual revengeful actions. Thank you.

SERBISCHER HUMANITÄRER FONDS e.V.
СРПСКИ ХУМАНИТАРНИ ФОНД

6000 Frankfurt/M.
Schillerstraße 18 / 219

Tel : 069 / 1310271
Fax: 069 / 1310272

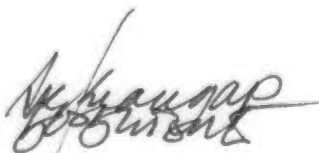
Поштована госпођо Делић - Бентли !

Господин Џон Поп је пријатељ нашега друштва и поред редовне помоћи коју нам пружа, латио се и одговорног посла да као амерички грађанин напише писмо своје председнику, у којем износи своје виђење актуелних проблема.

Слична писма је упутио господину Милану Панићу и Вама лично.

Молимо Вас, поштована госпођо Бентли да благонаклоно примите к знању поруку господина Попа.

С најсрдачнијим поздравима и жељама за успех у Вашем раду,



Александар Ђорђевић,
секретар Српског хуманитарног фонда.

Sept. 6 - 1992

News flash to the media and EC: It's Yugoslavia, period



JOHN CROSSETTE

The media are wrong about the crisis in Yugoslavia. The transformation of a united, relatively prosperous and peaceful country into chaos and carnage is not the fault of the Serbs, the Croats, the Moslems or the "international community." It is the direct result of the first major foreign policy initiative of the European Community under the leadership of a united Germany.

The hasty recognition of Slovenia and Croatia, under pressure from the traditional enemies of the Yugoslav state, was a misguided and irresponsible act. The recognition of Bosnia (a nation that does not, did not and never will exist) was historical nonsense. The tragic consequences should have been predictable to EC governments and to the most naive Eurocrat.

The Yugoslav state is the result of two centuries of turbulent evolution and was the most peaceful organization of peoples that the Balkans have known. Its fate should not have been so recklessly decided. In the centuries before the creation of Yugoslavia, the Slavic ethnic groups of the area were merely the despised subjects of their Austrian, Italian, Hungarian and Turkish overlords. Prosperity was a by-product of unity.

The initial American lead in attempting to maintain the integrity of Yugoslavia was sound diplomacy and a sound reading of history. President Bush's

warnings to Europe not to confuse freedom with independence were repeatedly brushed aside by the EC as "sending the wrong signal." The EC made no effort to involve the U.S. or the rest of the international community until the enormity of their miscalculation became apparent.

The motives for the EC destruction of the Yugoslav state can only be conjectured. While the creation of economically (and, therefore, politically) dependent states in Eastern Europe serve certain Western interests, this alone did not justify the initiative. The paramount motive appears to have been the EC desire to demonstrate independence from decades of American diplomatic tutelage during the year of Maastricht. The defense that the EC was merely obeying the demands of various ethnic leaders in the area ignores the enormous political and economic muscle, and the consequent responsibility, that the organization possesses throughout Eastern Europe.

The apparent philosophical basis for the EC intervention is the right of self-determination, not for peoples or countries, but for historical administrative provinces. In promoting such a theory in ethnically mixed eastern Europe, the EC has unleashed an ideology more insidious, more violent and more permanently destructive than the Marxism-Leninism it replaces. It will not remain confined to Yugoslavia, and its consequences may well shape the future of post-Cold War Europe.

Self-determination, in this narrow EC sense, forms little part of the Western experience. The EC shows little inclination to promote, for example, an independent Basque Republic, South Tyrol or Flanders. (The American Civil War was perhaps the ultimate denial of the right of sectional self-determination.) When such a theory has been effectively implemented, as in postwar Czechoslovakia, "ethnic cleansing" has often been the logical consequence.

As a regular visitor to Eastern Europe over 25 years, both as an academic and as an interested tourist, I have frequently been confronted with certain historical imperatives. One of these is that after five centuries of Ottoman oppression, Serbs will never again willingly submit to Muslim rule. Another is that after their experience with the savagery of the last German-sponsored Croatian state, Serbs will never again willingly submit to undiluted Croatian rule. These, along with additional Croatian, Muslim, Hungarian, Albanian, Montenegrin, Vlach and Macadonian consider-

ations, gave strength and tenacity to the Yugoslav idea.

Given the complexity of the Balkan dilemma, armed Western intervention in this conflict would be historically, politically and morally wrong. More than that, it would fail. At this point, in what could well be the beginning of a general Balkan war, armed intervention will have no other aim than reverse ethnic cleansing. It will not bring peace or save lives. The combatants want guns, not food and medicine.

As Charles de Gaulle proved in Algeria, even the most intractable problem can be solved by a man of vision and courage. It is clear from the recent statements of American and European politicians that the only player in the game capable of both is George Bush. Extraordinary courage will be necessary to resist the call to arms by the American Left, which sees votes in the crisis, and the media, which sees sensation. Courage will also be required to openly distance the U.S. from its European allies.

The vision must include a massive diplomatic effort, of Middle Eastern dimensions, involving all (and only) Balkan ethnic groups and regions, to re-examine and redefine, without preconditions or sanctions, the entire Balkan dilemma. The U.S., despite the misguided sanctions crusade, still possesses the credibility to be the honest broker. (The EC-sponsored negotiations, which are doomed to failure, are designed not to confront and resolve the Balkan catastrophe but to address the problem of Western disarray.)

Although historical comparisons are never easy to sustain, it is of interest that World War I began in Sarajevo with the assassination of an Austrian by a Serb over the question of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The world was propelled into conflict not by the assassination itself but by the reckless European diplomatic reaction. At that critical juncture, the U.S. lacked vision and courage. It was content to sit and watch, until dragged into the conflict in defense of its friends.

John Crossette works in Grafenwöhr, Germany.

Send in your column, plus a photo of yourself, to: **Be Our Guest, SUNDAY** magazine, The Stars and Stripes, APO 09211 or Postfach 11 14 37, D-6100 Darmstadt 11, Germany.



Shattered dream: the London conference is unlikely to be able to put the Bosnian pieces together

THE EUROPEAN - 27-30 Aug. 1992

Alfred Sherman believes an independent Bosnia was always a bad idea

THERE is no need for European countries to grapple with the intractable task of absorbing millions of Muslims from Bosnia. There is ample room for both them and the province's Croats and Serbs inside Bosnia. A political solution – a pre-condition for the Muslims' return and an end to the fighting – is now possible; but if the London Conference fails to deliver this political settlement, it will have done more harm than good.

President Alija Izetbegovic and his Muslim fundamentalist associates who nominally rule Bosnia have brought disaster to their people. Both before and after the Second World War, Muslims enjoyed religious freedom and top jobs within Yugoslavia. By ganging up again with the Croats against the Serbs, as they did with Hitler's blessing in 1941, the Muslims have unleashed Serbian fury against their civilian population.

Izetbegovic's objective of creating a fundamentalist Muslim Bosnia allied to Croatia is a contradiction in terms. Croatian nationalism has always sought a Greater Croatia embodying Bosnia and fundamentalism never enjoyed the support of all Muslims. Izetbegovic's dream of a "Bosnian Pakistan" has become a nightmare. Clearly, the Muslims must come to terms with the Serbs.

In Croatia, President Franjo Tudjman's alliance of ex-communists and fascists promised that

The land where three into one just will not go

with German help they would play Muslims off against Serbs to "regain" Bosnia, with the weakened Muslims playing only second fiddle. Instead, they have a long drawn out war on their hands, and find themselves having to deal with an influx of both Bosnian and Croat refugees fleeing from Serb-controlled land.

Agreement on Bosnia will be possible only if the Croats concede autonomy to the Serb-inhabited Marches which separate Croatia from Bosnia, now under the control of Serb militias. So far, President Tudjman has attempted to avoid this by double dealing – promising the Muslims help against the Serbs to maintain Bosnia's integrity, while at the same time annexing larger areas de facto. Communist-style repression in his one-party state will not silence calls for peace.

The Serbs, for their part, are learning that world opinion cannot be ignored and that no mat-

ter how they paint it, "ethnic cleansing" will not be tolerated.

The time is therefore ripe for a political solution based on the status quo. There is no alternative but to find a peace settlement which meets legitimate Serb needs for equality inside Bosnia as part of a single Serbian nation.

The Croat and Serb populated areas of Bosnia should be linked with Croatia and Serbia respectively, with open borders. Alternatively, Croat majority areas in western Herzegovina and in the Sava Valley, which contain most of Bosnia's Croats, could be annexed to Croatia, as Croats have been demanding on and off for decades. In return, Croatia would abandon its claims on Bosnia and cease interfering there, letting Serbs and Muslims work out their own salvation.

Peaceful coexistence will be possible only in a secular Bosnia where religion is a matter of personal choice. The majority of Bosnian Muslims regard themselves primarily as Yugoslavs rather than any other ethnic group. Secular identity was the

they already are by growing doubts over the wisdom of yielding monetary and economic sovereignty to Brussels. If we cannot act together more and more people may conclude it is just as well that we stay apart. "Balkanisation" may not remain restricted to the Balkans.

Josef Joffe is columnist and editorial-page editor of the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*

status quo till 1971, when Tito changed it for opportunistic reasons.

Cantonisation – which Izetbegovic agreed last year under EC auspices but then reneged on – and closer links with Yugoslavia would obviate calls for ethnic homogeneity and the redistribution of population, least of all in the brutal form of "ethnic cleansing".

The right of return for all refugees and restoration of their property is an essential part of a lasting peace. However, families who no longer feel safe in their old surroundings should be able to sell their homes, farms or businesses and move to live among their own kind elsewhere in Bosnia. Having played so large a part in precipitating the problem, the EC should set up a revolving fund, to purchase migrants' property and re-sell it to immigrants from other parts of Bosnia. This would save recurring humanitarian aid, which generates dependency. Bosnian Muslims would re-adjust, whereas if they were long term refugees in Europe they would become a festering sore and seedbed for terrorism.

Experience has shown that the German initiated EC promotion of an independent Muslim-dominated, anti-Serb Bosnia was a recipe for disaster. By the same token, the EC cannot turn an amalgam of provinces into a viable nation-state.

Outside military intervention, even if European public opinion allowed it, would prolong the fighting and refugee-flow. Why should helpless civilians pay the price for Chancellor Kohl's neo-Bismarkian presumptions?

IN EUROPE – SEE PAGES 13, 14 & 15

CONCENTRATION CAMPS FOR SERBS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

1. LIVNO (the "Stari Grad" fortress) about 600 Serbs;
2. TOMISLAVGRAD (local high school) about 500 Serbs;
3. TOMISLAVGRAD (the village of Rascani. All the Serbs in the village are under siege, without any food supply or medical care);
4. BUGOJNO (the house of the murdered Serb Rajka Lukic) about 50 Serbs;
5. BUGOJNO (the "Slavko Kacic" factory) about 700 Serbs;
6. JAJCE (the ancient fortress) about 500 Serbs;
7. ZINAC (the "Jedinstvo" football club stadium) about 900 Serbs;
8. ORASJE (the local football stadium) about 100 Serbs;
9. ODZAK (the elementary school) about 700 Serbs;
10. ODZAK (the "Stolit" factory) about 150 Serbs;
11. ODZAK (the village of Novi Grad) about 1000-1500 Serbs, mostly women and children;
12. ODZAK (the former military depot in the village of Rabcici) about 300 Serbs;
13. ODZAK (the elementary school in the village of Poljari) 59 Serbs;
14. KONJIC (the railway tunnel above the village of Bradina) about 3000 Serbs;
15. HADZICI (the Culture Hall) about 150 Serbs;
16. ILIDZA (the "Famos" football club stadium) about 800 Serbs, mostly women and children;
17. TUSLA (the "Tusanj" stadium) about 4000 Serbs;
18. BOSANSKI BROD (the suburbs along the bank of the river Sava) about 400 Serbs;
19. ZENICA (the former jail) about 2000 Serbs;
20. JABLANICA (the village of Celebici) about 500 Serbs;
21. KLADANJ (the village of Stupari) about 50 Serbs;

PRISONS FOR SERBS IN SARAJEVO

1. PLO, UNA BILJEZIC (not known);
2. The Central City Jail;
3. The "Vladimir Nazor" School for retarded children;
4. The underground vaults of the "Privredna Banka Sarajevo" bank;
5. The "Viktor Bubanj" garrison;
6. The "Kosevo" stadium;
7. The "Velisici-Ciglane" tunnel;
8. The "Mladen Stojanovic" students' dormitory in Radiceva street.
9. The "sipac" plant in Dzemal Bjedica street;
10. The garage near the "Privredna Banka Sarajevo" bank.
11. The atomic shelter in Dobrnja quarter;
12. The jail in Stupa;
13. The tunnel of the "Kosevo" Hospital;
14. The "Strelna" restaurant;
15. The "Alipasino Polje" heating plant;
16. The "Aleksa Santic" elementary school;
17. The "FAMOS" football club stadium in Hrasnica;
18. The Reformatory in Pofalici;





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European - 24-27 Sept. 92.

Threats open war wounds

A SINISTER overnight visit has reopened ugly war-wounds for the residents of the tiny Czech village of Dubi, near the German border.

The villagers - who live in the centre of what was once known as Sudetenland - awoke on Wednesday to find their streets littered with German leaflets.

"Save and repair our houses! We are already digging your graves. We will no longer dilly-dally with you. This is the land of our fathers and children," proclaimed the anonymous authors. But local people are in little doubt as to what these mailshots refer to.

Under the 1938 Munich Agreement, the Sudeten region of Czechoslovakia, which was predominantly inhabited by ethnic Germans - the Sudetendeutschen - was handed over to Hitler's Germany.

When the war ended in 1945, between 20,000 and 40,000 ethnic Germans, including some who had opposed Hitler, were massacred and about 2.5 million Sudetendeutschen were expelled from their homes and farms.

Dubi's village mayor tried to avert panic by saying the leaflet incident was probably nothing more than a "stupid youngsters' prank". But local police are not so sure.

There are growing fears that the campaign by the Sudetendeutschen and their children to force Prague into

Michael Moran
BAVARIA

paying compensation for the property they lost more than a generation ago may now be taking a nasty turn.

The group is a potent political force in the southern German state of Bavaria, which borders the Czech republic and where many of the refugees settled after the expulsions.

A row over reparations broke out during the negotiation of a friendship treaty between Czechoslovakia and Germany this summer. Bavarian government representatives wanted Chancellor Kohl to make reparation demands, while Czech representatives reminded the German government that they could make a few claims of their own in return, over the occupation of their country and the extermination of Czech Jewry.

So far, the Sudetendeutschen Landsmannschaft, the organisation backing the refugee group, has stuck to political means. But the leaflets worried some Czechs in Dubi.

"In some ways, I am sorry for them," Jan Plevsec, a Dubi resident, said of those expelled from the land. "Then I think of the war, and Hitler, and I say, 'What about everyone who died? They can't even demand their lives back. So I think what is over should be over.'"

How Germans urge Kohl

CHANCELLOR Helmut Kohl appears to be suffering from political paralysis as Germany lurches deeper into the worst crisis of its post-war history. Burdened by the rocketing cost of reunification and powerless to cope with popular resentment of asylum seekers that has spawned widespread racial violence, the federal government in Bonn has become a prisoner of the Chancellor's refusal to take firm action.

At a time when both the nation and the Christian Democratic Union which he has headed for 19 years are crying out for leadership, observers in Bonn say that Kohl remains reluctant to do anything that might upset powerful pressure groups among his supporters.

The bizarre state of affairs was well illustrated during this week's budget debate in Parliament when members of a ruling coalition that has been in power for 10 years blamed the opposition for the country's woes. The Chancellor's growing band of critics within the ruling coalition are now attacking his "do nothing" mentality and his failure to get a grip on the economy.

In public, such critics support Kohl's insistence on identifying the national malaise solely with the problem of the asylum seekers and the threat that Germany will be "flooded" with foreigners. But old political ties within the coalition are beginning to fray as the neo-Nazi extreme Right postures on the political stage unchallenged by Bonn. Kohl no longer has the authority - or the will - to stop the aimless public debate within the CDU about how to finance further investment in the east.

"He seems to have sunk into a fit of depression," says one Chancellery insider. And according to this week's *Der Spiegel* magazine senior figures in the Christian Democrat Party are almost ready to revolt. At a meeting of parliamentary leaders last week, one is quoted as saying that if the

Anton Katz
BONN

"financial chaos" is not sorted out soon not only will the Bonn coalition be acutely endangered "it will become a question of the existence of the CDU as a mass party".

The Chancellor's inaction is considered all the more extraordinary since Germany faces a range of acute social and economic problems including a severe lack of housing, a real level of unemployment that rises to 50 per cent in the eastern sector and above all a disastrous investment policy in the east.

In the two years since reunification Dm170 billion (Ecu84 bn) a year has been poured into the region. Two thirds of that sum subsidises consumption since it is being spent on job creation schemes and other social programmes that stoke inflationary pressures. Such pressures have prompted the mighty Bundesbank to keep interest rates painfully high with consequences for all of Europe.

It is because the Chancellor has no answer to these problems and merely promises to wave the magic wand of constitutional reform to solve the refugee crisis that the political mood throughout the country has become explosive. The Mayor of Munich, Georg Kronawitter, a Social Democrat, spelled out this week how his rich city sees it.

"We have 10,000 homeless, about 50,000 dependent on supplementary benefit payments and 120,000 living on the poverty line," he said. "A worker can hardly afford housing because of the insane explosion in rents. And then we have to give free accommodation to 8,000 asylum seekers as well as paying them social security. That causes bad blood and not just in Rostock."

Kronawitter is one of those Social Democrats who agree with the government that the constitution has to

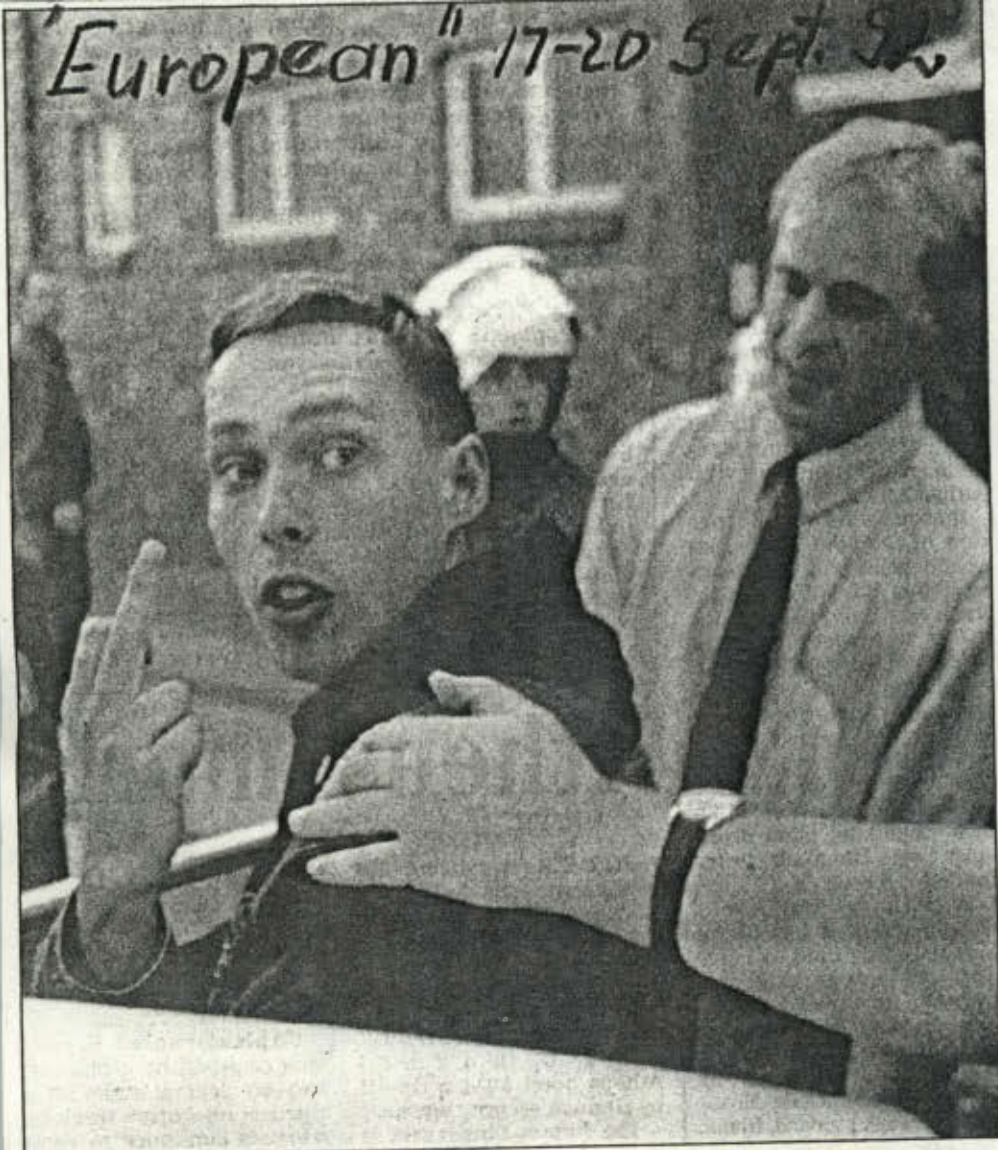
INSIDE

RURAL IDYLL

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Defiant: one of five neo-Nazis convicted of brutal assault makes his views plain

Killer neo-Nazi sneers at justice

FIVE east German skin-heads, who beat and kicked an Angolan guest worker to death in a racist attack two years ago, were sentenced to jail terms ranging from two to four years.

The five were found guilty of brutally assaulting Amadeu Antonio, 29, during a so-called "nigger bashing" attack on a pub in the east German town of Eberswalde on 24 November last year. Antonio died in hospital eleven days later from head injuries.

The five maintained throughout their trial that they had not intended to kill their victim. Passing sentence, Judge Hartmut Kamp said the five, aged between 19 and 21, came from "normal family backgrounds" and that political and social conditions in east Germany had also played a role.

He sentenced them under juvenile law, which gives priority to education rather than deterrence, because of their "retarded maturity".

Antonio's German girlfriend later described the verdict as "too mild". Fur-



GERMANY

ther neo-Nazi attacks against asylum seekers continued this week.

Authorities evacuated 80 foreign refugees from a hostel in the east German town of Quedlinburg and near the west German town of Heidelberg.

Two Yugoslav refugee children aged four and six suffered severe burns when their hostel was firebombed.

At least 20 other refugee hostels in east and west Germany were also attacked at the weekend. Official statistics show there have been 970 acts of neo-Nazi violence in Germany leaving 700 people injured and 10 dead since the beginning of 1992.

SPD U-turn: The opposition Social Democratic Party signalled a major policy switch over immigration, likely to result in the tightening of the country's liberal asylum laws.

At a special party leadership meeting in Bad Sul-

zuffeln at the weekend, the SPD said it had obtained a clear majority in favour of restricting the right of asylum and at the same time introducing limited immigration. The SPD is to finalise its position at a full party conference in November.

SPD opposition to changing Germany's constitutionally enshrined asylum laws has so far blocked all moves to tighten them.

Work cry: Economics Minister Jürgen Möllemann called on Germans to start their careers earlier and retire later to help improve the country's flagging industrial competitiveness.

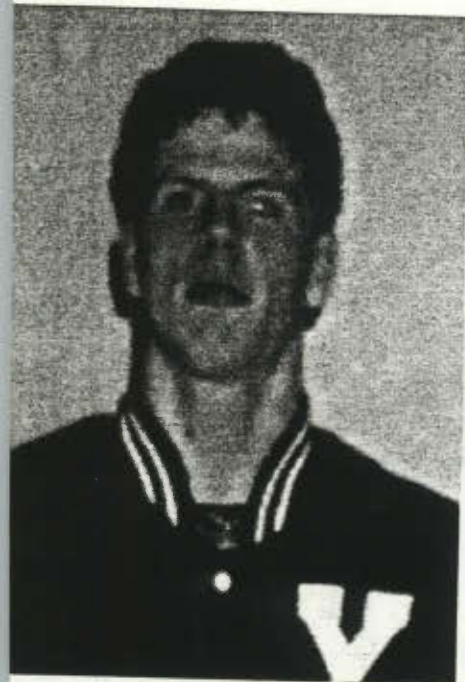
Amid signs that economic recession is beginning to take hold in western Germany, Möllemann said the changes in lifestyle were necessary to put the country on a more secure footing.

Outlining a strategy paper entitled "Economic policy in the 1990s" he said students should end their studies by the age of 25 and that employees should be given incentives to work beyond the age of 65.

Handlanger des Krieges

Rechtsradikale, Militaristen und Abenteurer aus aller Welt schießen als Söldner im jugoslawischen Bürgerkrieg – auch Deutsche greifen zu den Waffen

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THE LACKEYS OF WAR
Right radicals, militarists and adventurers from all over the world are shooting as mercenaries in the Yugoslav civil war; even Germans are grabbing the weapons.

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Rechtsradikale, verkrachte Existenzen. »Es gibt in diesem Krieg 1200 kriminelle Typen aus dem Ausland«, sagt Milan Panić, Ministerpräsident von Rumpf-Jugoslawien, »auf allen Seiten.«

Insider schätzen, daß es noch mehr sind. Die Militärs der Kriegsparteien schweigen über ihre Söldner, in den Medien tauchen nur Einzelfälle auf. Nach Angaben der Belgrader Tageszeitung »Politika« wurden vorige Woche in Tuzla fünf »Terroristen« gefaßt, die im »Zentrum für Carabinieri« im italienischen Parma ausgebildet worden seien, um für Kroatien zu kämpfen. Anfang August verhafteten Militärs in Montenegro vier Marokkaner, die für ihre moslemischen Glaubensbrüder in Bosnien Kopf und Kragen riskieren wollten. Für die Serben hat ein 28-jähriger Geschäftsmann aus New York drei Monate in Bosnien-Herzegowina gekämpft: »Ich wollte mehr tun als die anderen 10 000 Exil-Serben in New York.«

Auch Hans Hendrik Brauser aus Sachsen wollte etwas tun. »Die serbische Mörderbande muß beseitigt werden«, sagte er, »die Kroaten sind fleißiger als die Serben. Die sind dem Deutschen näher.« Brauser, 33, früher Soldat der NVA, stammt aus Wolfen bei Bitterfeld. Nach der Wende jobbte er in Stuttgart als Kraftfahrer, wurde arbeitslos und verdingte sich als Söldner in Kroatien, trat der »Schwarzen Legion« bei.

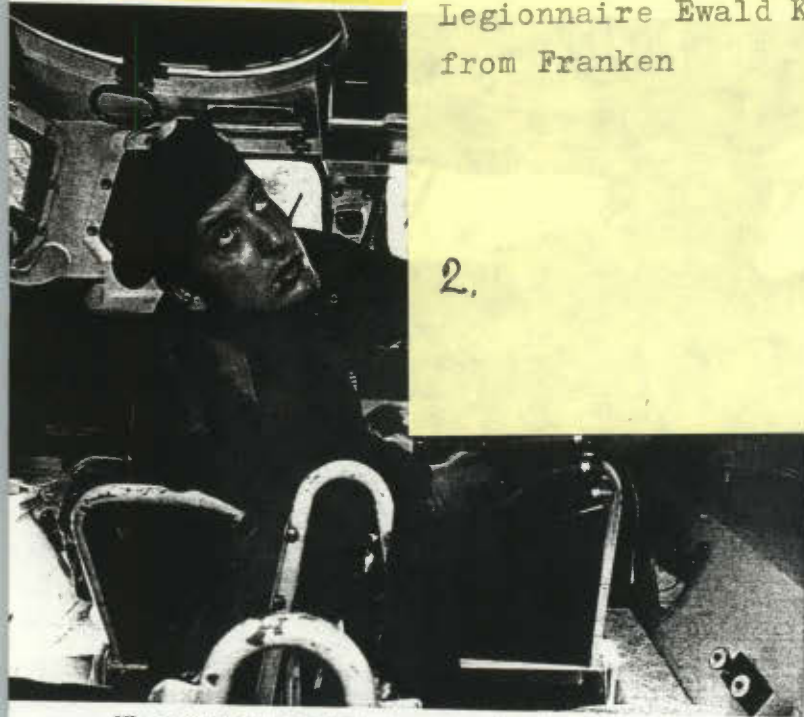
Die berühmtesten Schwarzhemden gehören zu den HOS-Milizen, dem militäri-

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»Ich hab' 54 Serben erwischt«, behauptet der Kroatien-Legionär Ewald Krammel aus Franken

I've snuffed 54 Serbs declares the Croatian Legionnaire Ewald Krammel from Franken

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Klar zum Gefecht: Der Automechaniker Sascha Cipetić aus Aachen rückt in der Heimat seiner Eltern gegen die Serben aus – auf seiten der rechtsextremen HOS-Miliz

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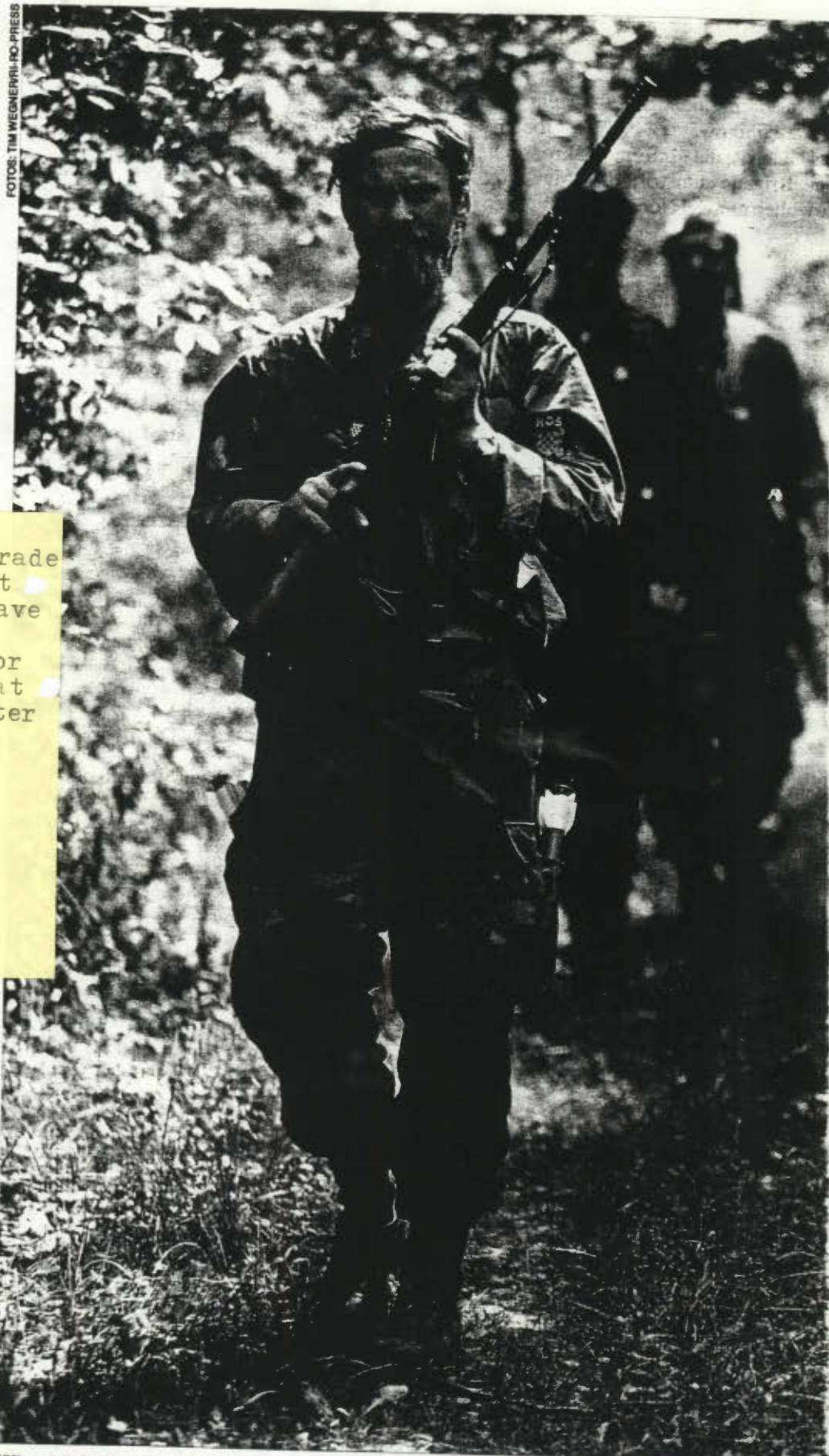
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Andreas Vjszaszi, ein Un-

FOTOS: TIM WEGNER/FO-PRESS



As indicated in the Belgrade newspaper "Politica" last week five "terrorists" have been captured in Tuzla . They have been trained for the fighting in Croatia at Police Academy (The Center for Carabinieri) in the Italian city of Parma .

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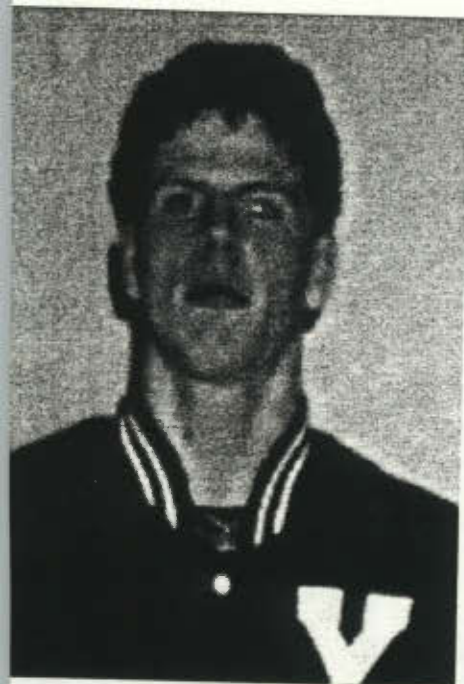
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Mit entschierter Kalaschnikow führt der Deutsch-Ungar Andreas Vjszaszi Kameraden an die Front im bosnisch-kroatischen Grenzgebiet. Früher war er in der Fremdenlegion, heute kämpft er gegen die Serben – »wie mein Großvater damals in der Wehrmacht«

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Er steht am Ende des langen Ganges, wie ein Schuljunge, den der Lehrer in die Ecke gestellt hat; dicht vor der Wand, den Blick auf seine Schuhe gesenkt, die Hände auf dem Rücken gefaltet. Der Wächter ruft: »Horst.« Das hört sich an wie ein Knurren.

Horst Bernsen*, der aus Niedersachsen auszog in den jugoslawischen Bürgerkrieg, um für die Kroaten zu kämpfen, wird uns in einem Militärgefängnis vorgeführt, eine Autostunde von Belgrad entfernt. Der Kommandeur, der hier 487 Kriegsgefangene der Serben bewacht, sagt: »Eigentlich hätten wir ihn gleich umlegen sollen. Er war ein Söld-

* Zum Schutz des Betroffenen wurde der Name von der Redaktion geändert.

ner.« Dann läßt er uns mit dem Häftling in seinem Dienstzimmer allein.

Der Mann mit dem ausgeglichenen Gesicht zeigt keinerlei Regung. Von selbst sagt er nichts, antwortet nur monoton auf Fragen.

»Wie geht es Ihnen gesundheitlich?« – »Ich bin etwas schwach.« – »Wie ist Ihre psychische Verfassung?« – »Ich kann mich selbst nicht beurteilen.« – »Mit wie vielen Leuten sind Sie in einer Zelle?« – »Ich habe sie nicht gezählt.« – »Wie sind die Verhöre?« – »Ja, ich werde verhört.« – »Können wir irgend etwas für Sie tun?« – »Nein. Ich glaube, es ist gut so, wie es ist.«

Der Wächter kehrt zurück. Sofort springt Bernsen auf und stellt sich an die Wand. Der Wächter knurrt wieder »Horst« und zeigt zur Tür. Der Gefangene geht über den blankpolierten Korridor zur Zelle.

Horst Bernsen hat in Deutschland seine Familie zurückgelassen. Mitte Oktober verschwand er ohne Abschied. Nur seinen Job bei der Post kündigte er ordnungsgemäß. Dann fuhr er mit dem Zug nach Zagreb und wurde zwei Wochen in einem Spezialcamp mit anderen Söldnern für den Bürgerkrieg gedrillt. Anschließend ging es an die Front nach Osijek und Vukovar. Mitte Dezember geriet er in serbische Gefangenschaft.

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Andreas Vjszaszi, ein Ungar mit Wohnsitz in Nürnberg, ist mit 37 Jahren der Älteste der HOS-Truppe in Kostajnica. Früher war er in der Fremdenlegion, hat im Tschad und in Angola gekämpft. »Jetzt kämpfe ich gegen die verdammten Serben. Wie mein Großvater damals in der Wehrmacht.«

Der Krieg auf dem Balkan ist ein Tummelplatz für Rechtsextreme aus der ganzen Welt. Das Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz hat Erkenntnisse über »mehrere deutsche Neonazis«, die »in kroatischen Einheiten gedient« haben. Michel Faci, Ex-Mitstreiter des französischen Front-National-Chefs Le Pen, sagt, bei den HOS-Milizen seien 100 ausländische Freiwillige, unter ihnen etwa 25 Deutsche und Österreicher.

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FOTOS: TIM WEGNER/RII-RO-PRESS



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Yugoslavia Is Europe's Business

By Fareed Zakaria

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts — The motley crew of critics condemning the Bush administration's policy in the Yugoslav republics has upped the ante. Right-wingers and left-wingers alike are urging America to intervene militarily in the conflict. With every fresh television broadcast out of Bosnia, one more congressman rises in indignation and demands that the president send in the troops.

Before the United States makes such a critical commitment of force, it is worth asking what principles would underlie its action.

The "realist" case for caution is simple. First, the United States has no strategic interests in the area. There is no danger of a general European war erupting out of the Yugoslav caldron. The brutality in Bosnia is truly heartrending, as is brutality all over the world. But even if it knew how to stop ethnic groups from hating and killing one another, the U.S. government does not have a mandate from its people to expend their lives and treasure trying to resolve these ancient blood feuds.

Second, Europeans, who have direct interests and ample armies to intervene in the Balkans, would certainly prefer to see the United States

*The great moral principle
the United States is asked
to fight for is justice
for Europeans alone.*

do their dirty work for them — as they have for the last 40 years. They would naturally prefer the free ride if the United States signals that it will take responsibility for this problem.

Third, the nature of the conflict and Yugoslavia's terrain make it unlikely that military intervention would resolve matters. Recall that Hitler sent 37 divisions into this area du

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World War II and was still unable to conquer it. General Lewis MacKenzie, the UN commander in the region, told ABC News "Nightline" that to solve this problem militarily would require an operation that would "make Desert Storm pale in comparison."

Cold-blooded logic, cry the critics. Foreign policy must be guided not just by a concern for America's interests but by moral principles. This school of thought, historically called "liberal internationalism" and associated with Woodrow Wilson, argues that politics abroad is like politics at home and must be guided by abstract notions of justice and liberty rather than prudence and calculation.

The most important aspect of a moral principle is its universal nature, what Kant called the categorical imperative. Justice and liberty cannot be applied in one case and denied in another, for might cannot make one thing more right than another. What is the universal moral precept for which the United States must join battle in the Balkans? The answer has been flashed on television screens for the last few weeks: the murder of civilians and of one ethnic group by another.

Yet that same tragedy is occurring nightly in several parts of the world, from Nigeria and Somalia in Africa to Azerbaijan and Armenia in Central Asia. Statistics are hard to come by, but clearly many more civilians have died in those countries than in the Yugoslav republics. The interventionists who rage with anger at the bloodshed in Bosnia are silent about these bloodier ethnic wars. The television cameras are strangely absent when these children die.

One is forced to conclude that the great moral principle that the United States is being asked to fight for in the former Yugoslavia is not justice — but justice for Europeans alone. Orphans are killed by rival ethnic groups all over the world. White orphans are dying only in the Balkans.

Throw away the hypocrisy and the posturing and it becomes clear that the solution to the nightmare lies in Europe, not America.

Forty years of calm — brought by bipolarity and nuclear weapons, not some advance in civilization — has deluded the Europeans into thinking they can get peace and stability without paying prices and bearing burdens. The United States can best ensure the long-term security of Europe by making clear to the great powers of the Continent that they must once again return to the painful business of creating and maintaining peace.

The writer, a fellow at the Olin Institute for Strategic Studies at Harvard University, contributed this comment to The New York Times.