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volunteers from Muslim countries were instrumental in transforming the Bosnian Muslim forces into not only a professional army (a feat where the experience and expertise of many Muslim JNA veterans was instrumental) but also impart the zeal of revolutionary militant Islam on an originally secular manpower pool. There were also noticeable improvements in the army's equipment. The small arms and medium size weapons were standardized, and a flow of ammunition secured. The Bosnian Muslims also began to introduce into combat heavy artillery and even tanks from concealed and recently acquired stockpiles.

The Croatian Armed Forces virtually absorbed the Bosnian Croat forces (HVO) into their ranks. The "militarized" HVO is about 50,000 strong, and is comprised of 6-8 brigades equipped with 130 tanks, 150 artillery pieces, and an assortment of helicopters and light transports. However, the key to the Croat military capabilities in Herzeg-Bosna is the Croatian expeditionary force which size varies on the basis of the conditions in the theater. At its peak, it was 10-12 brigades strong (on top of the HVO's). The Croat Armed Forces are constantly improving, absorbing most modern heavy weapons (including tanks, artillery, and missiles) from both East and West. In 1995, some of the best equipped units deployed to western B-H as part of the assault on Krajina and in preparations for a major offensive into central Bosnia.

In contrast, there is an on-going degradation in the Bosnian Serb military capabilities. The main reason is the continued attrition of its manpower to battlefield casualties and migration. Between 1993 and early 1995, the Bosnian Serb forces shrunk from about 110,000 troops to 80,000. Deficiencies in maintenance and availability of spares continue to reduce the serviceability of the once vaunted arsenal of some 1,000 artillery pieces, some 500 tanks, and some 300 APCs (data prior to the US-led NATO bombing). Shortages of fuel have worsened by the embargo imposed by Milosevic. The NATO bombing of ammunition depots and production facilities further eroded the Bosnian Serb military capabilities. Until early 1995, the Bosnian Serbs conducted their military operations convinced that the JNA would rush to their aid in case of a setback of significance. Milosevic's decision not to intervene on behalf of the Krajina Serbs (to be discussed in detail below) jolted Pale -- causing a major reassessment of the Bosnian Serb military potential. However, the Bosnian Serb forces still enjoy the most professional and competent command structure in B-H, and they prove capable of meeting the challenges of the new posture.

Meanwhile, the overall military activities during PHASE 2 were mainly sporadic clashes between the Bosnian Muslim forces and both Serbs and Croats in order to increase tension both in the region and all over the world, as well as keep the Sarajevo issue alive. Sarajevo's primary objective at this stage was the stalling of the advance of the Croat and Serb forces through the infliction of unacceptable losses. Toward this end, the Bosnian Muslims acquired large quantities of modern ATGMs [Anti-Tank

Guided Missiles], some long range tube artillery and MBRLs [Multiple-Barrel Rocket Launchers]. These weapons, served by expert volunteer crews, enabled the Muslim forces to stabilize their lines and even make several localized tactical gains.

In addition, the Bosnian Muslim forces carried out two distinct major operations -- one against the Serbs and one against the Croats. These operations were strategic-political in nature and were not intended to deliver tangible military gains. Their primary objective was to serve as test-runs for the forthcoming escalation that still characterizes PHASE 3. Further more, the main issue tested was the extent of the West's, and especially Washington's, susceptibility to, and cooperation with, Sarajevo's audacious provocations and aggression.

The fighting around Srebrenica in the spring of 1993 was the first Bosnian Muslim offensive that was used as a provocation aimed at instigating a Serb counter-offensive and siege. Muslim propaganda would then present the Serb reaction as onslaught on and atrocities against civilians, thus justifying international military intervention. For Sarajevo, the Srebrenica gambit failed militarily because Gen. Morillon intervened, and while saving the town from a Serbian occupation in a counter-offensive, also insisted on the disarming of the local Bosnian Muslim forces so that they could no longer provoke a Serbian assault.

However, the Srebrenica operation proved a great success from political point of view because the Western media coverage reported exactly the disinformation themes stressed by Sarajevo and the Western political reaction did not deviate from these themes as well. This phenomena, convinced Sarajevo that it would be indeed possible to conduct strategic-level provocation and disinformation campaigns in order to instigate massive military intervention from the West, especially the US. Moreover, the Bosnian Muslim military capitalized on the Srebrenica incident to establish Tuzla as a base for the UN, and thus justified the build-up of Bosnian Muslim capabilities there. Thus, in retrospect, Srebrenica served as a "test run" for the series of offensives-provocations the Bosnian Muslims would launch starting the spring of 1994.

The other "test run" in the spring and summer of 1993 was aimed to serve as a deterrence to the Croats not to actively challenge the growing might and Islamist character of the Bosnian forces. Sarajevo was determined to ensure that the Croats gave up on co-existence with the Bosnian Muslims irrespective of the political rhetoric on the federation and other Croat-Muslim political arrangements.

This deterrence was achieved by unleashing the Islamist Mujahideen forces on Travnik and Varež where they intentionally committed atrocities against the Croat civilian population. In the summer of 1993, the now better organized and reequipped Bosnian Muslim forces, led by Mujahideen forces, launched a

series of offensives aimed at tilting the strategic balance of forces in central Bosnia. They stormed the Travnik and Vitez areas, committing vicious and unprecedented atrocities against the Croat civilian population and seized numerous Croats as hostages.

As the slaughter spread, several Croat civilians escaped across Serb lines where they received food, medical help and transportation across Croat lines. The "Islamic fanatics" were directly responsible for the "slaughter" of Croats in Travnik, explained Davor Kolenda, a senior HVO official. "That is why we decided to talk to the commanders of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Sparska, and to our satisfaction we successfully came to an agreement on saving our civilians from the invasion of Islamic evil." In the aftermath of slaughter in central B-H, Kolenda stressed, the HVO leadership and all area's Croats concluded that "there can be no more co-existence with the Muslims." And this notion is exactly what Sarajevo has sought to impress upon the Croats.

PHASE 3 -- as of the spring of 1994. This phase has been dominated by the Bosnian Muslim launching of a series of localized offensives -- primarily provocations launched from UN-designated safe zones against the Serbs. These offensives were not aimed to deliver military achievements, but rather instigate massive military intervention by the West, especially the US, in order to save and consolidate the Sarajevo regime throughout B-H.

Taken together, the still unfolding PHASE 3 constitutes a coherent and sophisticated strategic-political offensive, albeit comprised of a series of smaller and discrete military incidents, optimized to compel and convince the US, and the West as a whole, to intervene militarily in Bosnia in order to consolidate Sarajevo's rule over the entire B-H as well as defeat the Serb forces for the Sarajevo regime. In principle, the main military activity during PHASE 3 has been a series of Bosnian Muslim offensives aimed to, and ultimately succeeding in, instigating massive Serb counter-offensives. These Serbian overreactions have in turn been capitalized on by Sarajevo as an excuse and pretext for its urging the West for a marked expansion of its direct military involvement in B-H against the Serbs.

PHASE 3 started with a self-inflicted major terrorist provocation. On 5 February 1994, a major explosion rocked the Markale -- Sarajevo's main market place -- causing heavy casualties. What was immediately described as the ubiquitous "Serb mortar shell" was actually a special charge designed and built with help from HizbAllah experts and then most likely dropped from a near-by roof top onto the crowd of shoppers. Video cameras at the ready recorded this expertly staged spectacle of gore, while dozens of corpses of Bosnian Muslim troops killed in action that had been exchanged the day before were paraded in front of cameras to raise the casualty counts.

This callous self-killing was designed to shock the West, especially sentimental and gullible Washington, in order to raise the level of Western sympathy to the Bosnian Muslims and further demonize the Serbs so that Western governments will be more supportive of Sarajevo's forthcoming aggressive moves, and perhaps even finally intervene militarily. On the eve of PHASE 3, it was imperative for Sarajevo to make the West/US even more predisposed to escalating their military intervention in B-H -- from tacitly assisting in the wholesale violation of the arms embargo on the Bosnian Muslims, to launching NATO air strikes against the Serb forces, to actually deploying major forces and taking over fighting the Serbs from the Bosnian Muslims. Amazingly, Sarajevo's cynical strategy almost succeeded more than once.

A key by-product, ostensibly of humanitarian nature but actually of great military importance stemming out of the Markale self-inflicted terrorism was the establishment of the safe-areas and exclusion zones. These areas were established by the UN in order to protect Bosnian Muslim civilian population from the Serbs. In reality, these zones became the core of Sarajevo's offensive military system. Moreover, the Bosnian Muslims periodically moved forces from one safe area to another in order to concentrate forces for offensives, using the UN and NATO, their troops and air power, as protectors of the other safe areas -- all in the name of humanitarian considerations.

The key military activities during PHASE 3 are the fierce fighting around Muslim cities in B-H starting with the Gorazde crisis in the spring of 1994. Each of these crises started as a surprise offensive launched by the Bosnian Muslim armed forces from a sanctuary -- UN designated safe zones established in early 1994 to protect Muslim civilians. As a rule, when the Bosnian Serb forces blocked the offensive, counter-attacked and pushed the Muslim forces back, Sarajevo's propaganda machine transformed the event from a military confrontation to an international humanitarian crisis. The Western media instigated international outcry for Serb attacks on indefensible refugees in internationally protected sanctuaries, urging the UN/US to use force against the Bosnian Serbs (which manifested itself in pin-prick NATO bombings). That the Bosnian Serb forces tended to over-react and use massive fire power to contain and destroy the numerically superior Bosnian Muslim infantry forces did not help Pale's case and image.

However, the fact remains that in launching these offensives, Sarajevo grossly violated the conditions governing the UN-designated safe zone -- conditions clearly and explicitly spelled in legal agreements Sarajevo had signed. In the spring of 1994, in the aftermath of Gorazde, Dutch Brig.Gen. G.J.M. Bastiaans, the Head of the UN Military Observers (UNMO) in the former Yugoslavia, stressed this issue. "It was the Muslims who provoked the Serbian attack on Gorazde. The Serbs perhaps reacted 'excessively.' But ultimately it was the Muslims who pushed the

Bosnian Serb Army to the bloodbath of the civilian population of Gorazde with continual provocations." Brig.Gen. Bastiaans attributed the Western reaction to a "propaganda campaign" waged by Sarajevo and the West's willfulness to follow cue. "Everyone, including NATO, had walked into it with open eyes," he stressed. "The Muslims provoked the Serbs with shootings and harassment to such a point that they had little option other than using the heavy weapons." US/UN/NATO hypocrisy was extreme throughout the Gorazde crisis. The Bosnian Muslims' mere use of force in Gorazde was never questioned, let alone criticized. However, "officially, the Muslims in the safe areas must surrender their weapons," Brig.Gen. Bastiaans noted.

The West continued to ignore the realities in B-H, and concentrated instead on the "humanitarian" aspect of the escalating war as depicted by Sarajevo and the Sarajevo-based media. Although the West resisted a massive military intervention, the symbolic actions spoke volumes. Whenever possible, NATO air strikes and other UN activities were designed to demonstrate (even if symbolically) explicit international support for the Bosnian Muslims. The recently established UN Rapid Reaction Force is specifically aimed against the Bosnian Serbs. Little wonder, therefore, that Sarajevo has since launched a series of such offensives since the spring of 1994 -- the main attacks against Serbs being Gorazde, Bihac, Sarajevo, Tuzla (of a lesser magnitude) and most recently Srebrenitsa, and main attacks against the Croats being Mostar and Vitez.

It is clear that from pure military point of view, the Bosnian Muslim forces had little or no chance to defeat the Bosnian Serb forces in any of these offensives. The Muslim forces could, and did, inflict heavy casualties on the increasingly exhausted Bosnian Serb forces. But the impact of these losses on Pale has been a far cry from being able to decide the fate of the war. Sarajevo's High Command, made of highly professional officers such as Dalic, could not have had such unrealistic and false expectations. Indeed, the primary objective of these offensive was not the Serb forces -- it was the Clinton Administration in Washington D.C.. By subjecting its civilian population to the inevitable Serb excessive use of firepower during their counter-offensives, Sarajevo sought to build accumulating international pressure that would ultimately lead to a massive Western military intervention that would finally defeat the Serbs.

Although the West did not intervene militarily in a massive manner other than the air campaign launched in late August 1995, all other developments in B-H during PHASE 3 clearly confirmed the correctness of Sarajevo's cynical strategy. The military activities of both UNPROFOR and NATO have become distinctly pro-Muslim, the US/NATO now formally acknowledged their tacit support for the outright violation of the embargo on Bosnia-Herzegovina, and, more recently, the US began to directly supply the Bosnian Muslim forces with weapons.

In 1994, the US and the UN tolerated the mounting flow of weapons from Iran and other Muslim states into Croatia. Due to the intentionally vague definition of the federative arrangements, these weapons found their way to the Bosnian Muslim forces. As of February 1995, on the eve of the first major Bosnian Muslim surge in Tuzla, there began an intensive and direct supply by air. UN officials complained formally in late February that earlier that month there were several flights of unidentified C-130s into the Tuzla area. Nevertheless, the frequency of such flights continued to grow to the point that on June 30, a senior French military officer formally accused the US of supplying weapons, combat intelligence, as well as military know how and expertise to the Bosnian Muslim forces in violation of the embargo. US officials privately acknowledged to European counterparts that the C-130s were from Turkey and other Muslim states but not American.

That the West ignored the Bosnian Muslim sniper killing of French troops in Sarajevo, and the killing of a Dutch soldier in Srebrenica, only to point finger at the Bosnian Serbs could not have but confirmed Sarajevo's cynical view of the West. Indeed, instead of ultimately containing the crisis and violence, the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina seems to be escalating out of control. Because the essence of Sarajevo's strategy has remained to instigate a massive foreign military intervention against the Serbs, the level and audacity of the Bosnian Muslim provocations continue to escalate. Consequently, the current Bosnian crisis is far more dangerous because greater dynamics increasingly shape events in the Balkans.

#### \* The Outsiders \*

The specter of a global eruption as a result of fighting in the Balkans is increasingly dangerous because of the rise, and direct involvement in the Balkans, of two major players from outside the traditional European power equation and dynamics -- the United States of America and the Islamic Republic of Iran. By their mere intervention in a pure European dynamics and power polity, these two external players are tremendously complicating the Balkan crisis, and especially the situation in B-H, and consequently pushing Europe, and the rest of the world, into a new cataclysmic eruption -- perhaps a world war.

The United States -- the very young naive giant still incapable of coping with the post-Cold War world that is driven by history, religion and ethno-nationalism. Washington is zigzagging between emotional gut-reaction to manipulations by the visual media, and desperate effort to dominate the new-old world despite Washington's inability to realize, let alone reverse, the changes in the global power structure. Ultimately, the shallowness of the current Clinton Administration makes it so vulnerable to the great provocations of the most virulently anti-American players in the Balkan power-play.

It is so befitting Washington's shallowness and culpability, that

the Clinton Administration's Balkans policy is based on, and aimed to please, the establishment media. For its part, the Western visual media -- the repeated specter of civilian casualties and sufferings -- has become Sarajevo's primary instrument of instigating Western massive military intervention. It is toward this end that the Bosnian Muslims have committed a series of horrendous terrorist strikes against their own people (which the media unflinchingly attributed to the Serbs), prevented many of their own citizens from receiving humanitarian aid, and, more recently, launched a series of offensive from UN-designated safe areas in order to compel the West to save them. The Clinton Administration has been eager to act.

To-date, the only damper of Washington's eagerness to intervene militarily on the side of the Bosnian Muslims and against the Serbs has been Washington's reluctance to break the NATO consensus with the West Europeans. Meanwhile, Western Europe, that provides the bulk of the troops and officers of UNPROFOR, has belatedly recognized the Bosnian Muslim machinations. Presently, the Europeans -- both directly and through NATO and UNPROFOR -- are resisting Washington's pressure to be dragged into a wider war by falling into Sarajevo's provocations. "It is not part of our mission to impose any solution through force of arms. We are neither mandated nor deployed for this," Lt.Gen. Sir Michael Rose (then, the UNPROFOR commander in Sarajevo) stressed in the fall of 1994. Across the board, Europe is determined not to deliver a victory for Sarajevo.

However, while constrained in its daily activities by the Europeans' resolute stand, the Clinton Administration remains determined to ultimately deliver Bosnian Muslim victory against the demonized Serbs. At the same time, the United States is also striving to reassert its leadership position in Europe by emerging as the peace-maker of the Balkans. Consequently, observed General Boyd, "US approach to the war in Bosnia is torn by a fundamental contradiction. The United States says that its objective is to end the war through a negotiated settlement, but in reality what it wants is to influence the outcome in favor of the Muslims. ... This duplicity, so crude and obvious to all in Europe, has weakened America's moral authority to provide any kind of effective diplomatic leadership. Worse, because of this, the impact of US action has been to prolong the conflict while bringing it no closer to resolution."

Consequently and bizarrely, it is the United States -- the Islamists' "Great Satan" -- that has now become the most active and zealot participant in the Islamists' grand design. Completely disregarding the realities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the US is relentlessly pursuing unilateral policies that not only contradict the declared position of the UN, but, as of the fall of 1994, have also turned against America's closest allies in both NATO and Western Europe. The great bafflement is that the Clinton Administration's policy, if continued, will ultimately lead to a European war, perhaps a World War, that serves nobody's



Pakistani intelligence services and military establishment are the most active players inside B-H. As a geo-strategic bloc of immense economic might of the Pacific Rim, the vested interest of the Trans-Asian Axis is to surge economically. Europe's self-destruction in crisis and war will greatly enhance this chances. This global vision is essentially the modernized phrasing of China's historic vision of the role of the Middle Kingdom. In more pragmatic terms, the Chinese, Japanese, and the other rising economic powers of the Pacific Rim are determined to slow down and counter-balance the Russo-German surge into the Heart of Asia. An expedient way to prevent a too great a Russo-German embrace is by instigating a crisis in Europe in which vital interests of Russia and Germany will clash. Hence, the centrality of the struggle in Sarajevo.

\* The Bosnian Jihad \*

Thus, it is global strategic interests far beyond the immediate European scene that make it imperative for the Islamists -- from Tehran's Islamic Bloc to the Sarajevo regime -- to escalate the war in B-H as well as increasingly give it a distinct Islamist character. Indeed, the primary military modernization and build-up programs in B-H currently underway are Islamist, and the key to foreign reinforcements and weapons supplies is in the Muslim World. Moreover, important segments of this build-up take place in the context of world wide Islamist activities largely associated with international terrorism.

Indeed, the build-up of new Islamist units has been completed in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the spring of 1995. These forces are closely associated with the Armed Islamist Movement and Islamist international terrorism, and include the first organized deployment of martyrdom forces (that is, suicide terrorists) -- both veteran Arabs and newly trained Bosnians. These recent activities are already conducted under the new Islamist headquarters in Tehran and Karachi decided upon during the PAIC Conference convened in Khartoum in the first days of April 1995 which decided to establish "new Islamist representative offices" for the international Islamist movement. The new regional center in Tehran will be responsible for Islamist activities (training, equipping, operational support, etc.) in B-H (as well as other politically-sensitive hot spots), while the comparable new center in Karachi will be responsible for Islamist activities in Albania (including Kosovo). Further more, this overall Islamist effort and build-up is not just to cope with the situation in the Balkans, but also to be used as a sound base for the Islamists' ability to expand operations into western Europe -- mainly France, the UK and Germany -- in revenge for any military or diplomatic setback for the Sarajevo regime.

Meanwhile, the leadership of the Armed Islamic Movement (AIM) was formally notified in mid May 1995 that the "Mujahideen Battalion is an officially recognized army battalion of the Bosnian army, it is comprised of non-Bosnian volunteers, called Ansar, along

interests but that of Iran and the Islamists. They are determined to capitalize on such a war to finally destroy the Great Satan.

Unlike the West, for Iran and the Islamic Bloc it is heading, the struggle for and in B-H is but a small phase, albeit of crucial significance, in a historical and global Jihad -- an uncompromising struggle between the West and revivalist Islam. The Islamists -- states, organizations and individuals -- persistently tailor their specific roles in B-H to fit the overall long-term strategy. Consequently, by the mid 1990s, the Islamists in B-H have emerged as the western-most segment and eager instrument of the virulently anti-American Tehran-led Islamic Bloc. The Islamists consider the mere presence of Western values in the Muslim World a threat to the very existence of Islam. Therefore, since no compromise or even co-existence are possible between the US-led West and Islam, a cataclysmic clash with the US is inevitable. Iran and its allies consider Bosnia-Herzegovina to be their springboard into Western Europe -- the next primary theater in this Jihad.

Sarajevo's Islamist allies have no illusions about the true nature and potential of the current fighting in B-H. Tehran sees two possible outcomes of the crisis in B-H:

The first, and most likely, possibility is that the inevitable suppression of the Bosnian Muslims by the West will serve, according to Tehran's grand design, the last proof for the vehement anti-Islamic posture of the West. Consequently, the millions of Muslim migrants in Western Europe, and even America, will take on their "tormentors" -- the Western liberal states -- and begin the apocalyptic clash between Islam and the West. The massive arrests of Islamist militants recently conducted in France, the UK, and even Germany, clearly demonstrate that the Western powers of Europe are fully aware of the growing threat of militant Islam.

The second, and increasingly remote, possibility is that the Bosnian Muslims will ultimately be able to drag the Western powers, and especially the US, into a fratricidal European war over the Balkans, and ultimately a World War. The Islamists' hope is that in such a World War the West will have attrited and exhausted itself to the extent that it would no longer be able to resist the surge of revolutionary Islam. The Izetbegovic regime in Sarajevo is the strongest proponent of this vision. Sarajevo is committed to revive Islam's surge into Europe -- last stopped in the 17th century -- by manipulating the Western powers into self-destruction.

These Islamist grand designs are of global strategic importance far exceeding the specter of a future European war. By the mid 1990s, the Islamists have emerged as the western-most segment and eager instrument of the Trans-Asian Axis that is virulently anti-American. In the Balkans, the Tehran-led Islamic Bloc is spearheading the Beijing-led Trans-Asian Axis. The Iranian and

with Bosnian Mujahideen." The formal name of the units is "ARMIJA REPUBLIKE BH 3, KORPUS ODRED 'EL-MUDZAHIDIN.'" The commander, an Arab 'Afghan,' was identified as "Ameer Kateebat al-Mujahideen Abu al-Ma'ali" -- a religious-military title and a nom-de-guerre. The Islamist force is based in the Travnik area in central Bosnia.

The AIM senior officials in Sarajevo included in their report to the supreme leadership of AIM a strategic analysis of the situation in B-H and the general context of the importance of the Mujahideen forces. They wrote that "[the] Mujahideen are preparing for major battles, expected to escalate this summer. Military readiness is at maximum and the Bosnian army is planning to take back its Muslim land from the occupiers." In order to facilitate this escalation, total mobilization has been declared in Sarajevo.

The AIM senior officials stress that Sarajevo is anticipating an all out war against both the Serbs and the Croats. "Bosnian-Croatian federal unity is becoming more fragile as a result of Croatian actions at the political and military levels. Croatian forces threatened several Mujahideen brothers while on their way to Hajj, and are continuing their atrocities in the occupied Muslim city of Mostar. There are strong indications that the Croats will back-stab Muslim forces." Despite the seemingly overwhelming odds against the Muslim forces, Sarajevo is confident that the time is ripe for such an escalation.

The AIM report emphasizes that both they -- the AIM senior officials in Sarajevo -- and the Sarajevo regime are considering the forthcoming escalatory offensive as "a Jihad to defend their religion and sacreds (Hurumat) against this crazed spiteful Crusade." Therefore, they assure their superiors that the Islamists worldwide will do their utmost to support the Bosnian Muslim forces in this endeavor.

The National Islamic Front (NIF) -- the political umbrella organization AIM answers to -- did not take long to look for the appropriate solutions for the challenges in Bosnia-Hercegovina. In mid August 1995, at the height of the American peace drive, the approach of the Islamist leadership in Khartoum and Sarajevo has been clarified. NIF examined the situation in B-H in the context of other major theaters of Islamist revolutionary struggle against hostile non-Muslim forces. Khartoum believes that the Muslims of Bosnia share fate and challenge with the Muslims of Kashmir and Palestine, and that path of Jihad against their non-Muslim oppressors is essentially identical.

Being a theologically driven movement, the NIF supreme leadership sought legal precedents to serve as guide-line for the nature of Jihad they believe should be waged in Bosnia, Palestine, and Kashmir. In mid August, Khartoum informed the AIM senior officials in the front line -- in such places as Sarajevo, Muzaffarabad (Pakistan), and Damascus -- of the precedent found.

The NIF leadership pointed to the text of a FATWA originally issued by the Islamic Religious Conference held in El-Obaeid, State of Kordofan (Sudan), on 27 April 1993. It is presently used in Khartoum, at the highest levels of NIF, as the precedent-setting text for legislating relations between Muslims and non-Muslims in areas where the infidels are not willing to be simply subdued by the Muslim forces. The following places -- Palestine, Bosnia, and Kashmir -- are stated explicitly as areas to where the principles outlined by this FATWA are most applicable.

The FATWA does not distinguish very much between Muslims seeking co-existence with non-Muslims and secular state authorities, and the non-Muslims resisting the imposition of a Muslim state upon them. "Therefore, the rebels who are Muslims and are fighting against the [Muslim] state are hereby declared apostates from Islam, and the non-Muslims are hereby declared Kaffirs [infidels] who have been standing up against the efforts of preaching, proselytization, and spreading Islam into Africa. However, Islam has justified the fighting and the killing of both categories without any hesitation whatsoever..." The April 1993 FATWA is a lengthy legal document stipulating in great detail, while citing evidence from the Quran, that there is no viable and legal alternative to a most bloody Jihad. Thus, the NIF leadership is not wrong, from Islamic legal point of view, in selecting this FATWA as a guideline for the Islamist Jihad strategy in Kashmir, Palestine, and Bosnia.

Meanwhile, Sarajevo's apocalyptic view of the future fits closely with the Islamists' growing anticipation of "gloom and doom" in their relations with the West. Having repeatedly and desperately tried to compel or induce the US-led West to intervene in the Balkan war and endure the brunt of the fighting against the Serbs, Sarajevo is increasingly doubtful about the likelihood of such an eventuality. The Islamist leadership interprets the overall situation in the Balkans as yet another proof of the West's implacable hostility toward Islam, urging Sarajevo to increase its involvement in the avenging Holy War. It is under these conditions that Bosnia's role as the European springboard for Islamist terrorism is being consolidated further. The activation of the new Mujahideen units are but the very beginning.

The AIM senior officials in Sarajevo reported in mid May 1995 the completion of "a new camp called 'Martyrs' Detachment,' in order to absorb many newly arriving Mujahideen." These suicide terrorists, including at least a dozen Bosnian Muslims, graduated an intensive course in training camps in Afghanistan and Pakistan in the early spring of 1995. These Bosnians along with Arab 'Afghans' deployed to B-H for both operations in the Balkans as well as, should the need arise, operations in Western Europe (specifically France, the UK, Italy, and Belgium.) High level Arab sources in the Middle East stressed that these Bosnia-based Mujahideen, especially the suicide terrorists, are being

organized as a new force, forming a center for operations throughout Europe. Moreover, by the summer, the Islamist infrastructure in B-H has already constituted the core of a new training center for European Muslims.

This alarming terrorist build-up was not lost on the European security forces. However, hampered by constraints because of political sensitivities, efforts by West European security services proved too little too late. In early June 1995, Italian authorities arrested a dozen Algerian Islamists, some of them 'Afghans', who were running a country-wide terrorism support network. This network was living off a sound base in B-H. The exposure of this Algerian Islamist network was a major program that took a year to complete. In late June, the French security authorities arrested over 140 Islamist terrorists, mostly Algerian and Tunisian. This network was planning to unleash a wave of terrorism sponsored and controlled by Iranian intelligence that would be presented as Algerian-motivated. Paris hoped that a wave of Islamist terrorism was prevented at the last minute because of these arrests.

But this was not to be. The new cells of Bosnia-based Islamist terrorists deployed since the spring of 1995 have kept away from the veteran European networks and were thus not affected by the arrests. Instead, these terrorists operate in smaller VEVAK-run networks which rely on combat hardened and thoroughly vetted 'Afghan' and 'Bosniak' veterans. The operatives themselves, mostly European Muslims, deploy from B-H at the last minute. In June, such a small detachment of Algerian 'Afghans' deployed from Bosnia to Paris in order to assassinate "enemies" of Islamist causes and "punish the French government" for its support for the Algerian Government. The still unfolding spate of bombings in Paris, as of late July 1995, may have very well been this punishment. By now, there is no doubt that the recent bombing in Paris are but the beginning of a new wave of Islamist terrorism in Western Europe -- the work of locally-based networks deriving their support from installations in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Although these acts of Islamist terrorism are aimed primarily to serve the long-term objectives of Tehran, Sudan, and their allies in the Islamic Bloc and are presented as being motivated by localized causes (Algeria, Palestine, etc.), Sarajevo is far from being an unwilling party or even a passive player in this Islamist terrorist offensive. Back in 1992, when the initial build-up of Islamist terrorist infrastructure was completed in B-H, Sarajevo already clarified its role in the endeavor. Sarajevo is convinced that the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina is the primary catalyst of the Islamist Jihad in and against Western Europe. Moreover, the Bosnian Muslims have repeatedly threatened to use terrorism against Western targets if their demands were not met. Most reliable was the threat made in late January 1993 by Sefer Halilovic, then the Commander in Chief of the Bosnian Army: "If Europe does not change its attitude, we will take steps and unleash terrorist actions on its territories. Many European

capitals will be ablaze."

Meanwhile, European Muslim leaders continue to stress that the "absolute priority" of the Islamists of Western Europe is "participation in the fighting of the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina." As the still growing Islamist terrorist infrastructure in Western Europe demonstrates, Tehran and its allies are already well underway to incite and exploit the B-H factor in order to further their designs for an escalation of their Jihad in Western Europe.

The growing influence of the situation in B-H, including the reverberation of the spirit of the FATWA, are already felt in various Islamist communities all over the world, even in such tolerant places as London. The Declaration published in mid August 1995 by Hizb al-Tahrir, the key Islamist organization in Britain, rejects the notion of a Muslim community being a part of a modern liberal state. "Muslims do not believe in integration... Muslims must continue to present their Islamic identity therefore the only reference point for Muslims is the Shari'ah (divine law based upon the Quran and the Sunnah of the Prophet). In fact we are Muslims in Britain and we are not British Muslims."

In contrast, the Declaration stresses that the Muslim community in the UK should, and does, consider itself part of the world-wide Islamist struggle. "The victories, struggles, success or pain of all Muslims globally are those of the Muslims in Britain and will continue to motivate the Muslims here to strive for success in liberating occupied Muslim lands such as Kashmir, Chechnya, Palestine and Bosnia and for the establishment of the Islamic State (Khilafah) in the Muslims lands." As such, Hizb al-Tahrir decrees, the various FATWAs issued by appropriate and legitimate Islamist authorities concerning waging of Jihad and similar issues apply to the Muslims in the UK even if they are not affected by these struggles directly. Hizb al-Tahrir recognizes the authority of NIF.

In late August, with a distinctly pro-Sarajevo US peace plan being pushed on the former Yugoslavia. Sarajevo's staunch Islamist supporters expressed their opinion concerning the peace process as a whole. The highest Islamist legal and ideological authorities continue to issue background material to their followers so they can better understand NIF's position over a peaceful solution in Bosnia as well as relations between Muslims and the modern Western state.

The Islamist leadership rejects off hand any peaceful solution for the Bosnia crisis involving the UN and the key Western powers (specifically the US, the UK, and France) because of their inherent hatred of Islam. A background study on the UN and the new world order stresses the emerging threat to the Muslims of Bosnia, and, ultimately, to the entire Muslim World. Significantly, the authors of this study sign under the group pen-name Shehadah which means both "Testimony" and "Martyrdom."

The Islamists insist that the UN has become an instrument of US foreign policy, and that the US is using the UN as a vehicle to impose a new international law that legitimizes crimes against Muslims including "allowing] the Serbs to commit the ongoing genocide in Bosnia and preventing the Muslims from the basic right to defend themselves." The study warns against expecting anything from the members of the Security Council because "America, Britain and France are nothing but rabid wolves, savage beast and conquering states." The only viable way to deal with the West is confrontation.

Having rejected the present world order as inherently anti-Muslim, the Shehadah authors call for the establishment of an alternative, Muslim-dominated, world order. They are fully aware that this is a tall order that is not likely to be implemented anytime soon. Therefore, as practical instructions, they urge the Islamists to embark on an all out confrontation with the US-led West until the pan-Islamic dream is realized. The Islamist leadership decrees that "this kind of confrontation with the US is not only possible but it is a must. It is not an option but a necessity, because the more we surrender to the will of the US and any colonial power the higher will be the price which we pay. We are not going to be saved if we surrender, nor we are going to get our rights by bagging the US. The US does not want to share any thing with any one, even its allies, so either we fight for our rights or we accept to give up every thing and live like slaves."

Another major document issued by the highest Islamist legal and ideological authorities is a judgment decree issued by Sayyid Muhammad Qutb one of the leading Egyptian Islamist thinkers who was executed in 1965. Qutb is especially renowned for his milestone judgment decrees concerning the relationship between the believer and modern secular state (both in the Muslim world and in the West). Most important is Qutb's identification of the modern state as "Jahiliyyah" -- barbarity -- against which Muslims are obliged to fight.

Now, in late August 1995, the NIF leadership is reviving the call for the implementation of Qutb's call for arm against the Jahiliyyah, particularly in the modern states where large Muslim communities are presently obligated to live under non-Muslim or secular regimes. Qutb's judgment decree, which the NIF leadership decrees to be both valid and timely, leaves little doubt as to what has to be done:

"It is not the function of Islam to compromise with the concepts of Jahiliyyah which are current in the world or to co-exist in the same land together with a jahili system. This was not the case when it first appeared in the world, nor will it be today or in the future. Jahiliyyah, to whatever period it belongs, is Jahiliyyah; that is, deviation from the worship of One Allah and the way of life prescribed by Allah."

According to Qutb, a political entity can be identified and defined as Jahiliyyah by its striving to legislate and enforce man-decreed laws: "Jahiliyyah is the worship of some people by others; that is to say, some people become dominant and make laws for others, regardless of whether these laws are against Allah's injunctions and without caring for the use or misuse of their authority." Thus, any secular modern state that enacts its own laws is by definition a Jahiliyyah. By that definition, the Sarajevo regime the US/UN peace plan is trying to impose on B-H already falls within the definition of Jahilliyah, and is therefore unacceptable.

Qutb decreed, and NIF presently concurs, that there can be no co-existence between Muslims and jahili authorities or a jahili system. "Islam cannot accept any mixing with Jahiliyyah. Either Islam will remain, or Jahiliyyah; no half-half situation is possible." Qutb saw no alternative to an all out armed struggle to free the Believers from servitude to the jahiliyya. "The foremost duty of Islam is to depose Jahiliyyah from the leadership of man, with the intention of raising human beings to that high position which Allah has chosen for him."

Significantly, Qutb used as a religious and legal precedent for the obligation to fight against Jahiliyya the case of the Muslim-Arab armies march on Persia. The armed struggle against the Jahiliyyah, Qutb decreed, "is explained by Rabai Bin Amer, when he replied to the Commander in Chief of the Persian army, Rustum. Rustum asked, 'For what purpose have you come?' Rabai answered, 'Allah has sent us to bring anyone who wishes from servitude to men into the service of Allah alone, from the narrowness of this world into the vastness of this world and the Hereafter, from the tyranny of religions into the justice of Islam.'"

In its present connotations, this example used by Qutb is most important to the understanding of the position of NIF's highest Islamist legal and ideological authorities. Qutb's example and precedent can be interpreted as a justification and legitimization of active intervention by Islamists from other countries, including the use of arms, in the removal by force of a jahili system or jahili authorities off the backs of the local Believers. In modern terms -- the Laws of Islam permit and demand Islamist "volunteers" to join the ranks of local Islamist terrorist and subversive groups to fight against the local state authorities. This decree also applies to the overthrowing of sinful Arab Governments (Egypt, Algeria, etc.), destroying of oppressive non-Muslim regimes (Israel, India, and a future "secular government" in Sarajevo as demanded by the West), as well as punishing the Western enemies of Islam (US, UK, France, etc.) through the use of international terrorism. As a theologically driven organization, NIF has the right and obligation to participate in this sacred world-wide struggle against Jahiliyyah. "The foremost duty of Islam is to depose Jahiliyyah from the leadership of man," Qutb decreed and NIF



concur.

\* Manipulating Washington \*

Meanwhile, and at the very same time it is emerging as springboard for anti-Western Islamist militancy, Sarajevo shows no inclination of giving up easily on the possibility of a US-led Western massive military intervention. The Sarajevo regime is most interested in NATO delivering massive air strikes against the Serbs. Such an air campaign will serve Sarajevo's ultimate objective to establish Muslim control over entire B-H.

However, Sarajevo is sufficiently realistic to know that Western Europe is increasingly reluctant to establish a Muslim state in Europe. The near term and attainable objective is to revive in the US and Western Europe the emotional sympathy toward the suffering of Bosnian Muslim women and children -- the ubiquitous victims of Serb ethnic cleansing and atrocities. As the war unfolds, Sarajevo identifies a dire need to strengthen and solidify supportive public opinion -- which is fueled by emotion wrenching images rather than solid factual presentation and analysis -- in order to restrain Western governments from drastically changing their Balkan policies. Sarajevo is fully aware that as the true character of their policy, strategy and war aims -- including sponsorship of and participation in Islamist international terrorism at the heart of Europe -- becomes apparent, Western Governments will pause to reexamine their policies. It is therefore of crucial importance for Sarajevo to generate domestic pressure in the West that will restrain governments' ability to follow facts alone. Sarajevo's primary instrument in this strategy is the UN because of the dominant role of the US -- specifically Ambassador Albright -- in New York.

Hence the Bosnian Muslim strategy in the fall of 1994, and especially in the early summer of 1995. Back in the fall of 1994, in the aftermath of the crisis in Sarajevo, the Bosnian Muslim government tried once again to instigate a US intervention. At the very least, Sarajevo sought, to transform UNPROFOR into a distinctly pro-Muslim force. Sarajevo's supporters in the US and NATO began pushing for replacing UNPROFOR with a militarily effective fighting force which would explicitly take sides in the war. The proponents of the idea sought a NATO task force that will take on and defeat the Serbs.

The Bosnian Muslim military strategy was optimized to serve such a move. Most important were the Bosnian Muslim offensives in Sarajevo -- the center of world media attention -- first in the fall of 1994 and again in the spring of 1995 which were designed to compel the West to escalate its direct military intervention in order to save the innocent civilians trapped in Sarajevo. Indeed, by the early summer this objective was realized with the establishment and initial deployment of the UN's Rapid Reaction Force to keep the road to Sarajevo open and in so doing

consolidate the Bosnian Muslim hold over the city. This move formally establish UNPROFOR as having explicitly and officially taking sides with the Bosnian Muslims against the Serbs. This is a fundamental transformation of the role of the UN from a neutral peace keeping entity to a body empowered to, and entrusted with, saving and consolidating the Sarajevo regime.

By the summer of 1995, the time was ripe for Sarajevo to capitalize on the change in the UN's posture and make it irreversible. Sarajevo's objective is to ensure that any future peaceful and diplomatic solution to the war falling short of empowering the Bosnian Muslim regime on the Christian majority in B-H be politically inconceivable in the West. Therefore, the Bosnian Muslims forces launched a series of provocation offensives out of the safe areas in eastern B-H, as well as key strategic spots in central B-H. The military logic behind the latter attacks was to stretch Serb lines and distribution of forces.

The key offensives have been designed to create humanitarian disasters -- particularly in Srebrenica and Zepa -- which will induce and compel the West to intervene. These offensives constitute major gambles with the lives and well being of innocent Muslim civilian population solely in order to generate US/Western support as well as ensure the continued demonization of the Serbs. Sarajevo's calculations prove correct for irrespective of the true nature of the war, the fact that the well armed and numerically vastly superior Bosnian Muslim forces are on the offensive all over B-H, that the initial Bosnian Muslim attacks were launched through UN lines (with the Muslim forces killing and wounding the Dutch peacekeepers in Srebrenica in the process), the images of defenseless Muslim refugees dominate Washington's policy formulation and decision making. Indeed, the US is trying to generate air strikes against the Serbs which can only help the Bosnian Muslim offensives.

Sarajevo is determined to keep the humanitarian issue alive through the airing by Western media of the lingering impact of the self-abuse of civilians in Sarajevo. The Bosnian Muslim regime is abusing its own population by denial of food (convoy blocking by breaking agreements with the Serbs and UNPROFOR) and water (refusing to utilize the water purification factory donated by the philanthropist Soros), all the way to the periodic self-inflicted terrorism as means of generating Western sympathy and support. The Western preoccupation with Sarajevo is diverting attention from Sarajevo's growing military might and instigating Western military intervention ranging from wider NATO aerial bombings (which had already happened) to outright military operations with massive forces (which the US is pushing the UN and NATO into undertaking). Sarajevo is so successful because the mounting outcries in the West "to do something" in B-H are based on emotional reaction to the increased number of images of a few civilian casualties and unproven allegations of atrocities.

However, Sarajevo no longer anticipates a major or strategic outcome of the Western intervention, if one comes. In the summer of 1995, with hopes of a massive intervention fading because of US-vs-Europe policy issue, there begun a new phase in the evolution of Bosnian Muslim strategy. Militarily, Sarajevo intends to use its numerical superiority in order to launch a series of offensives developing into protracted clashes of attrition. These clashes, Sarajevo is convinced, will compel Bosnian Serb and Croat forces onto the defensive. At this point, Sarajevo believes, Washington will rally the West into imposing on the attritiated and exhausted Bosnian Serbs and Croats, through both political pressure and the use of force, a political solution adverse to their vital interests.

\* Between Belgrade and Zagreb \*

Meanwhile, the Bosnian Muslim grand designs were not ignored by the local powers. Fearing the horrendous ramifications of a surge of Bosnian Muslim militancy, let alone consolidation of political and territorial gains by force of arms, Zagreb is determined to transform the war -- and its inevitable and quite imminent resolution -- back into its original Serb-vs-Croat character. Hence, faced with the possible empowerment of the Bosnian Muslim by massive US military assistance (trainers, intelligence, and weapons), Zagreb seriously studied already in the fall of 1994 the possibility of flaring up the Krajina. Zagreb believed that such an attack would immediately regionalize the Serb-vs-Croat war, making it a clear confrontation between Zagreb and Belgrade. The mere existence of such a wide war throughout the former Yugoslavia would then compel the world to recognize any agreement between Zagreb and Belgrade as the sole viable option for ending the new Balkan war before it became a wider European war. In such an agreement, Zagreb was convinced, Sarajevo would disappear as a political entity.

Senior officials in both Zagreb and Belgrade are aware of this, essentially still valid, scenario. As of the fall of 1994, they have been so determined to prevent the rise of a viable Bosnian Muslim entity in Sarajevo, that they have resigned to the specter of an essentially useless and needless Serb-Croat War as the only means of compelling Europe and particularly the US to accept the destiny of the peoples of the former Yugoslavia as they desire it to be.

In mid January 1995, Zagreb took significant steps that strongly suggested it was determined to quickly reach a settlement with Belgrade over the future of the former Yugoslavia, even if the road to such a resolution would necessitate the realization of Zagreb's own worst-case scenario -- an all-out war with Serbia.

By the spring of 1995, the Krajina issue no longer dominated Zagreb's regional policy. Determined as it remained to recovering the Serb-held territory, Zagreb was painfully aware of the looming long-term threat of the Islamicization of B-H. Therefore,

Zagreb has realized that beyond the presently burning Krajina issue, it has common long-term interests with Belgrade. However, the lingering existence of the Krajina issue continued to drive the Croats to confrontation with the Serbs. The ramifications of this situation were most adverse in B-H where the artificial bi-polarization of the conflict (largely because of the Western/US pressure) put the Croats alongside the Bosnian Muslims they fear and hate so much and against the Serbs they would like to reach strategic solution with.

This complex and self-contradictory web of interests cannot but yield ambiguous, confused and confusing policy from Zagreb. In early May 1995, Croatia launched "limited offensive" to destroy Pakrac pocket in Western Slavonia -- a lightning offensive followed by eviction of the Serb population (ethnic cleansing and atrocities included). However, this Croat offensive in Slavonia was immediately followed by a major gesture toward Belgrade -- the opening of the Zagreb-Belgrade Highway No. 70 (which passes through the destroyed pocket) not only as a sign of normalization of relations between Croatia and Yugoslavia/Serbia, but also an instrument of breaking sanctions against Yugoslavia via Croatia. But then, virtually immediately, Zagreb moved to revive the threat of a major war with Yugoslavia/Serbia. In the summer of 1995, fearing no alternative to the cataclysmic war, Zagreb revived its claims that JNA troops and generals were involved in the Krajina and Bihac. The meaning of these claims was that any eruption of fighting, even if localized, would be considered by Zagreb to be directed against Belgrade.

However, these signals were misunderstood in the West, and especially by the Clinton Administration. Instead of realizing the extent of Zagreb's determination to re-transform the crisis in the former Yugoslavia into a bi-polar confrontation for which there is a political outcome, Washington saw in Zagreb's assertive militancy a golden instrument to "punish the Serbs" and humiliate Milosevic, thus making him more vulnerable to American pressure. Therefore, as the Croatian military preparations for a major offensive progressed, Washington tacitly encouraged Zagreb to go for an all out offensive to completely destroy the Krajina Serbs. At the same time, Washington pressured and enticed Belgrade to acquiesce to the destruction of brethren Serbs in the Krajina in return for vague political promises the Clinton Administration had never had any intention of fulfilling, and in the face of real military threats against the new Yugoslavia.

In July-August 1995, encouraged into action by Washington and Berlin, Zagreb decided to initiate the drastic altering of the situation in the former Yugoslavia. Zagreb's instrument of choice was a ruthless offensive against the Krajina Serbs. Within a few days, the massive Croat forces destroyed the Krajina as Serb forces virtually collapsed, presenting little resistance. The Croats then sent about quarter of a million Serb refugees fleeing into northern Bosnia and Serbia -- the largest population dislocation of the wars in the former Yugoslavia, and

significantly larger than the entire ethnic cleansing against Muslims together. The far reaching ramifications of the Croat offensives comes not from the devastating rout of the Krajina Serbs, but from the conditions prior to the beginning of the offensive. The Croat offensive was launched with the foreknowledge and tacit blessing of Washington -- circumstances that overshadowed all other consideration for a more vigorous reaction from other Serb forces.

Because of these circumstances -- Washington's clear endorsement of the Croat onslaught -- Belgrade was deterred from interfering beyond some symbolic troops movements. Consequently, Belgrade not only abandoned the Krajina Serbs that had trusted them, but shattered the overall belief in Serb unity, as well as overall Serb morale and resolve. Belgrade's inaction was the outcome of intense deliberations. Belgrade is torn between the lure of "real politik" and ideological commitment and responsibility to all Serbs. Belgrade's reading of "real politik" is that the removal of the Krajina issue off the table (even if in such a drastic form) will now create the circumstances for a meaningful rapprochement between Zagreb and Belgrade, leading to the joint consolidation of a Serbia-Croatia condominium over, and at the expense of, Sarajevo.

But Zagreb would not let Belgrade off the hook. When the growing use of Croatian Armed Forces in offensives against the Bosnian Serbs failed to incite the Yugoslav Armed Forces to intervene in the war, Zagreb created an implied threat to a vital interest of Yugoslavia -- the strategic port and airport facilities in Tivat. Using the excuse of Serb artillery fire on Dubrovnik, itself provoked by Croatian shelling, Croatia concentrated large forces in the area in late August. Fully aware of Zagreb's real intentions, Belgrade warned that recent Croat military activities around Dubrovnik suggest that Croatia "might try to draw Yugoslavia into a war around the port of Dubrovnik." And although senior Yugoslav officers stress that Belgrade is urging restraint even in the face of massive destruction wrought upon their Serbian brethren just across the border, it is clear in Belgrade that Zagreb is pushing for an escalation.

More over, under US pressure to build pressure on the Bosnian Serbs, the Croatian forces, along with freshly resupplied Bosnian-Muslim forces, prepare for a two-prong offensive on Banja Luka. The specter of such a major escalation looms ahead because all key players consider the offensive a panacea for their present strategic deadlock. Zagreb is convinced that such a devastating defeat of the Bosnian Serbs as the loss of western Bosnia will finally bring the JNA to the battleground. Washington is convinced that with a still restrained Milosevic, the defeated Bosnian Serbs will be forced to accept the horrendous and discriminatory "peace plan." Sarajevo is convinced that such an offensive will cause Serbs and Croats to attritiate themselves, leaving the field open for a US-imposed solution in which the Izetbegovic regime is forced upon a "unified" Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Meanwhile, Belgrade cannot erase the negative consequences of its failure to live up-to the ideological expectations -- saving the Krajina Serbs virtually at all cost. The weakness and hesitation demonstrated by Belgrade left a strong impression of overall Serb vulnerability among friends and foes alike -- an impression that no pragmatic commitment to a long-term political solution is bound to erase. Just as all major power centers involved in the Yugoslavia crisis were resigning themselves to the notion that the Serb-Croat solution was inevitable, the Serb self-imposed military and morale weakness, far more than the Croat resolve and might, revived the hopes that it might still be possible to defeat the demonized Serbs. Therefore, the Serb defeat in the Krajina which was supposed to lead to a Serb-Croat compromise ends up serving as an encouragement for the Muslims, and even the Croats, to continue and rely on the military option in order to vastly improve their strategic positions.

The place where the apparent Serb vulnerability and lack of resolve might be effectively exploited is Kosovo. Until recently, the lingering fear of inevitable and ruthless Serb reaction to any encroachment of their hallowed grounds in Kosovo served as a restraining factor for all Islamist factions striving to liberate the Albanians of Kosovo, let alone capitalize on their plight in order to escalate and widen the war against the Serbs. Presently, however, the mere existence of Kosovo as a potentially unresolved issue serves as a catalyst for a growing crisis engulfing the entire Albanian population of the Balkans. The core of the Albanian issue the growing Islamicization of the Kosovo problem. This, in turn, enhances the potential of exploiting militant Islamism against not only Yugoslavia but also secular and increasingly Westernized Albania, as well as Macedonia. Because of the presence of Americans and US forces, the distabilization of Albanians by the Islamists emerges as an ideal way of dragging the US into active participation in the Balkan wars even if the B-H crisis is resolved or is no longer considered valid international-political justification for such an intervention.

\* The Summer of 1995 \*

And so, the specter of a revived regional war directly involving the two local powers -- Croatia and (the new) Yugoslavia -- has returned to dominate the current dynamics. The Balkans are thus on the verge of a turning point -- a dramatic breakout. All major players -- that is, the local powers, the Europeans and the international players (the US and Iran) -- are fully aware of the situation and the gravity of the impending event.

Both Zagreb and Belgrade are determined to bring about a situation that would compel the Europeans, and perhaps even the US, to acquiesce to a peaceful settlement between Croats and Serbs (at the expense of the Bosnian Muslims) even if such a settlement includes carving of B-H and other changes of current borders. Despite its stunning victory at the Krajina, Zagreb is still pessimistic, convinced that only a cataclysmic Serbo-Croat

war will bring about such a change. Amazingly, Belgrade remains optimistic, still hoping that a daring diplomatic initiative might still prevent the bloodshed. Belgrade still hopes that the Serbian defeat in the Krajina will create conducive conditions for negotiations with Zagreb over the carving up of Bosnia. Reluctant to get involved in a major escalation, as well as increasingly fearful of Sarajevo and the US support, the Europeans are inclined to support an audacious peaceful settlement between Zagreb and Belgrade.

Sarajevo, fully aware of this dynamics, is determined to prevent it all cost. Instigating a major escalation in the fighting in B-H, especially drawing in UN/US forces to saving it, is Sarajevo's preferable method. The Bosnian Muslims are convinced that such an intervention will create a political/diplomatic situation in which key Western countries become committed, if only by the mere deployment of forces to the battlefield, to the existence of a Muslim B-H in present borders.

Presently, Washington is at the very least supportive of Sarajevo's schemes to prevent any Belgrade-Zagreb Agreement. The Europeans (mainly French, British, German Governments) are convinced that the Clinton Administration is in all likelihood the brains and power behind Sarajevo's schemes, and that Sarajevo would not have dared risk its lifeline via Croatia without American guarantees and encouragement. Moreover, the Europeans are petrified by the growing Islamist militancy of Sarajevo and the Mujahideen terrorist infrastructure in B-H because these have direct and negative impact on the stability of the Muslim emigre communities in Western Europe, not to speak of the ramifications of the bombings in Paris.

Therefore, the Europeans have a vested interest to suppress Sarajevo. Further more, the European powers have religious and historic sentiments and attachments to the Serbs and Croats (not to speak of Russian-Serb solidarity), and these historic roots and legacy increasingly affect the present day policies toward Zagreb and Belgrade. Thus, the emergence of a peaceful settlement between the Serbs and Croats increasingly appeals to the Europeans even if the US is adamantly against it (perhaps because...).

But even if historically doomed to fail, Washington's commitment to Sarajevo cannot be ignored. Consequently, the other, albeit presently increasingly remote, specter hanging over the Balkans -- a massive military intervention by US-led NATO forces against the Serbs -- cannot be ignored either. Sarajevo is still making a tremendous effort to exploit its latest provocations in the safe areas and Sarajevo as excuses and justification for such a development. The US-led NATO bombing unleashed on August 30, unprecedented in their magnitude and ferocity, still fall short of the Bosnian Muslims' objective -- the deployment of a massive ground forces (both Western and Muslim forces) to fight on their side. If Sarajevo is successful, the ensuing escalation might

turn out to be the start of a new world war. Moreover, such an intervention will deliver the spark the Islamists are waiting for.

Even the current American feverish effort to push through a peace plan is exploited by Sarajevo as an instigation for a wider war. In late August, Sarajevo introduced Izetbegovic's 12 Point Peace Plan -- a document intentionally written so as not be accepted by the Serbs under any circumstances. With the US providing tacit support for the plan, there is no reason why Sarajevo should compromise on its extremist position. Instead, Sarajevo issued an ultimatum to Washington. Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbey told Secretary of State Christopher that Sarajevo would give the US peace initiative had only two months to make progress. If nothing tangible happens, the Muslims would commit themselves to a military solution to the conflict. Sarajevo believes that it would be possible to get UNPROFOR and NATO forces to then join the fighting in order to "compel the Serbs to accept peace" on Sarajevo's conditions. Egypt's President Mubarak alluded to the Bosnian designs when he rejected an offensive role for the Egyptian forces with UNPROFOR. "They are forces to keep peace. They are not forces to fight and recapture lands," Mubarak explained.

However, Sarajevo remains convinced that the US would create for it the favorable conditions for an escalation of the war. Since the early spring of 1995, Sarajevo and Zagreb have concluded that the Clinton Administration is so committed to the Sarajevo solution that it might decide to unilaterally intervene on behalf of the Bosnian Muslim forces for humanitarian reasons -- using air power to save Gorazde, for example. The NATO bombing campaign launched in late August 1995 ostensibly to avenge the "Serbian mortar shell" clearly proves the accuracy of Sarajevo's calculations and planning. As predicted by Sarajevo for several months now, the implementation of what can only be described as the US-Iranian strategy will initially prevent the cessation of the violence in the former Yugoslavia and the consolidation of a stable if tense Serbian-Croatian condominium. Sarajevo is convinced that rhetoric notwithstanding, the Clinton Administration will soon "succumb" to Congressional pressure and unilaterally lift the embargo to enable the Bosnian Muslims to withstand Serb-Croat onslaught. Sarajevo plans to ultimately seize the initiative and realize what Delic's strategy of "liberating all Bosnian territory" by force of arms.

The Clinton Administration's Balkans policy will ultimately and inevitably fail simply because the policies pursued are contrary to the long-term historic and geo-strategic dynamics. Left to be resolved is the extent of the price the world -- primarily the Western World (including the US itself) -- will have to pay for the present American short-sightedness.

The unilateral official lifting of the embargo on the Bosnian Muslims -- an embargo that is essentially non-existent



considering the flow of arms through Croatia -- will only give Moscow the formal excuse to lift the embargo on the Serbs, and permit the Germans to markedly increase their already massive military help to the Croats. Moreover, such a surge of military supplies to both Serbs and Croats will come at a time when both Zagreb and Belgrade will find themselves compelled to markedly escalate the war despite their inherent reluctance to do so.

\* Between Moscow and Berlin \*

The global and lasting significance of these developments can be understood only in the context of the long-term developments in both Germany and Russia. Ultimately, the future of Yugoslavia is in the hands of Berlin and Moscow -- the truly dominant powers in the region.

Germany is fast becoming the dominant power in Europe, rediscovering and reviving its chauvinism and demons. The elite of both the "old Germany," and particularly the "young Germany," are convinced that the key to the future of Germany lies in looking eastward. The disappointment of the dreams of a European unity recognizing German dominance has led to the marked revival of eastern politics. A new Rapallo, preferably with France as a secondary player so that England and US are isolated and hurt, is now perceived as the best course for the unified Germany. The elite of the "old Germany" seeks to economically confront and contain the US and Japan, while the elite of the "young Germany" also virtually hate the United States and are intensely hostile to Western political and economic ideals.

Significantly, it is the younger elite of Germany -- a myriad of ideologies stretching from the extreme left, including the Greens, to the extreme right, including "establishment" neo-fascist -- who strongly believe in the return to the East. For them, Germany's heritage and manifest destiny cannot flourish or be realized within the confines of a Western democracy. They revive the ideas of Ernst Niekisch as a guiding light. "Germany will not recover unless it supports in Europe a Russian-Asian thrust/upsurge," Niekisch wrote in 1930. It is this vision of the future of Germany fulcrum of an anti-West, particularly anti-Anglo-Saxon, strategic and economic bloc encompassing the Euro-Asian heartlands that drives German grand strategy. In the immediate future, the primary challenge is to consolidate and cement the German-Russian hegemony over central and eastern Europe -- thus creating the Euro-Asian bloc that will challenge the West for world primacy.

Russia sees its future in Slavic revivalism and the realization of its historic mission -- the relentless drive into the Orient. Moscow is convinced that this resurgence cannot be realized, at least in the foreseeable future, but through an alliance with an assertive Germany over shared hegemony in Europe. For Moscow, the paramount global strategic development is the consolidation of Russo-Islamic hegemonic "understanding" and "co-existence" in

which Moscow is both the dominant power but also recognizes the special role of Tehran's Islamic bloc in the heart of Asia but not in Europe. Since 1992, this strategy has been defined under the concept of Eurasianism [Yevrazist].

Eurasianism is a rejuvenated trend in Russian historical thought and historiography that provides the historical foundations and support for Moscow's grand strategy. Lev Nikolayevich Gumilev, one of its leading advocates, emphasizes that the history of Russ, its rise to global prominence, was characterized by "an ancient union, a union of the Slavs and the Turkic steppes," which "was founded on mutual respect and not assimilation or absorption." Leading local politicians and intellectuals in Muslim Central Asia support Eurasianism as an outlet that reconciles and permits both their aspirations for a pan-Islamic empire and the continued acquiescence to Russian hegemony. There should be no doubt as to the ultimate strategic objective of this historic trend. Indeed, Georgian leaders acknowledged in early 1992, "Russia and the Muslim World are natural allies since they both oppose the West."

The complex and convoluted relations between Moscow and Tehran remain the key to the viability and success of the Eurasianism strategy. There has been a major development in Russian-Iranian relations as of the spring of 1995, when Iran committed itself to seek a closer strategic alliance with Russia (an elaboration of the alliance consolidated in the fall of 1987). Tehran made this fateful decision as a result of its reading of both the regional posture and domestic dynamics. Moreover, the IRGC High Command wants Iran to reformulate its military doctrine, de-Americanizing it and model it largely after the Russian Art of War. Iran is therefore committed to signing long-term political, military and economic agreements with Russia -- ranging from working toward switching the entire arsenal from American to Russian armaments to the construction of several nuclear reactor.

In mid May 1995, a high level Iranian team headed by Hassan Rouhani, an influential cleric who serves as the National Defense Council's secretary-general and vice chairman, visited Moscow to put finishing touches on the strategic alliance. Russia conditioned its whole hearted cooperation on Iran's support for, or at least silence about, Russia's suppression of Chechniya and growing military involvement in Tajikistan and northern Afghanistan. Moscow warned the visiting Iranians that lack of Tehran's cooperation would significantly harm their joint objective of blocking American and Turkish hegemony in the Caucasus and Central Asia. Indeed, Iran has since kept largely quiet about, and refrained from massive military aid to, the Islamist forces in Chechniya, even at the height of the crisis.

Little wonder, therefore, that Moscow is convinced that once a credible strategic posture emerges in the former Yugoslavia it would be able "to deliver" Tehran.

Thus, the only power capable of containing the Islamic Bloc in case a of destruction of a Muslim Bosnia is Russia. Using strategic incentives, Moscow will direct the rage and wrath of Tehran and the Islamists against the West -- both western Europe and the US -- and away from central Europe. Moreover, appropriate economic and technological "incentives" from Germany will be most effective in further pacifying Iran.

Ultimately, Berlin and Moscow see in the emergence of their joint Euro-Asian bloc the key to their future grand strategic and economic upsurge. This is their manifest destiny in the post-cold war world. Presently, the only event that prevents the rapid consolidation of this bloc is the fierce confrontation of their close proteges -- the Croats and Serbs -- in the former Yugoslavia. Neither Moscow nor Berlin can afford to let their proteges lose. Nor can they afford to let this fratricidal struggle continue for too long, let alone get out of hand, and delay their long term strategic designs. United in their anti-West fervor, both Berlin and Moscow will therefore compel their proteges to reach an agreement and establish tenuous co-existence -- thus consolidating a strategic posture in Europe in which the United States will be the primary loser.

\* What Next \*

The escalatory potential of the war in B-H into a European War, and even a World War is a direct by-product of the huge strategic stakes Russia, Germany, and the Iran-led Islamists have in the regional dynamics as contrasted by the American reckless use of force. Thus, even a limited and localized escalation involving Western NATO forces against the Serbs, definitely if American ground forces take part, might be sufficient a catalyst to escalate the war in B-H beyond control. Immersed in a fierce nationalistic revival, Russia will not be able to withstand the crushing of the Serbs by a combination of NATO forces, Americans and Islamists. The Russians will intervene and tilt the scale for the Serbs, and, by default, against the Croats. This, in turn, will bring the Croats as well as their German and East European allies into the war. By now, the US will have railroaded Western Europe, through NATO, into joining the war against the Serbs.

Moreover, the Croats consider the rise of militant Islam a threat greater than a Serbian ascension. Similarly, Germany dreads the consolidation of American hegemony in the Balkans. Thus, the war in the former Yugoslavia will escalate into a series of fierce clashes between the three sides and their supporting patrons.

Ultimately, after a brief yet intense war, the Russians and Germans will find themselves in a tenuous alliance to preserve their gains in Serbia and Croatia respectively. Their shared manifest destiny -- a common hold over Eastern Europe and the joint surge to the Orient -- are far more important for both Berlin and Moscow than the relative position of their proteges in the Balkans. Moreover, since these proteges -- the Croats and

Serbs -- themselves yearn for a compromise they can live with, Moscow and Berlin have a vested interest in quickly reaching a working solution. The Bosnian Muslims will be crushed in the process, and their supporters -- the US and its West European allies (other than Germany) -- will be considered everybody's enemies. For the Islamists, this will be the final proof of the inherent and uncompromising anti-Islam stand of the West -- thus, a justification for the marked escalation of Jihad at the heart of the West.

By now, if the fighting throughout the former Yugoslavia continue to smolder, there exists a possibility -- a realistic worst case scenario -- of the wars in the former Yugoslavia instigating a new world war. Despaired at the US-led West's prevention of a genuine and lasting solution for the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, all protagonists will have brought the war home to the heart of Europe, and even the US, through international terrorism and subversion. In Western Europe, Islamist terrorism will soon engulf the vast emigre communities, transforming the revenge of Bosnia into a large-scale popular uprising -- an intifadah -- against the Western Governments. Consequently, the inevitable spread of Islamist terrorism and violence throughout Western Europe will compel Britain and France to send forces back into the Orient to save Western Europe from the rise of militant Islam. Such a surge will in turn constitute a challenge to the vital interests of Russia, Germany, and the Trans-Asian Axis. And so, the new European War will quickly evolve into a World War in which the United States is everybody's arch enemy.

\* Lest We Forget the Former Yugoslavia \*

The apprehension of a catastrophic escalation and apocalyptic expansion of the war of the Balkans should not obscure the reality that the peoples of Yugoslavia are still waging a historically belated surge of religious wars. Irrespective of the global ramifications of their struggles, they remain determined to settle their historical of grievances in the foreseeable future irrespective of the price.

Old Yugoslavia was fractured by a surge of quest for religious and ethno-centrist self-determination by all segments of the population. The population's ethnic zeal is clearly expressed in the horrendous "ethnic cleansing" exercised by all sides. Gradually and grudgingly, the West was willing to recognize the fracturing of Yugoslavia but only in the context of the Republics' official frontiers. However, these frontiers were originally drawn in the late-1940s by Tito's communist regime with the specific intent to fracture and suppress the country's nationalities so that they would not be able to mobilize and endanger Tito's central government. Special attention was paid to the castration of Serbia because of the Serbs' support for the Monarchist Chetniks, and not Tito's Partizans, during World War II. Therefore, until there is a reconciliation between the genuine popular rejuvenation on ethno-centrist grounds and the

confinement of the population to obsolete and meaningless boundaries, peace will not come to the Balkans.

The West must realize and recognize that the peoples of the former Yugoslavia are waging a historically belated surge of religious wars, determined to settle a millennia of grievances by force of arms. Presently, however, the West continues to insist on these peoples' casting aside these outbursts of quintessential emotions in the name of imposing a New World Order that is both alien to their culture and incapable of solving their inherent problems. The imposition of simple solutions based on conventional political formulas in order to ensure a semblance of peace and stability has long been Washington's preferred solution to complex problems. Thus, with the US-led West insisting on the inviolability of Tito's map-makings, imposing sanctions and threatening military actions in the process, Yugoslavia's prostrate population would ultimately turn on the West as their cause of their agony.

Throughout their history, the Serbs have been the victims of oppression by big powers that used military power to achieve their goals. Therefore, the Serbs have seen no other way of realizing their national aspirations and gaining their freedom but through war. "If Serbia wants to live in honor, she can do so only by this war. This war is determined by our obligation to our traditions and our culture. This war derives from the duty of our race which will not permit us to be assimilated," stressed a Serb nationalist intellectual. Foreign observers have no doubt that such a Balkan war is likely to expand beyond its original confines. "Serbia may some day set Europe by the ears and bring about a universal conflict on the Continent," warned the British Ambassador. "It will be lucky if Europe succeeds in avoiding war as a result of the present crisis."

As it was, Colonel Dragutin Dimitrievich Apis defined Serbia's destiny in May 1912, and Sir Fairfax Cartwright wrote his prophetic warning in January 1913. Having since gone through two European wars transformed into world wars, with the first beginning in Sarajevo lest we forget, must the Clinton Administration instigate and head toward a third world war?

# Yugoslav News Bulletin



"TRUTH IN MEDIA"  
Phoenix, Arizona  
U.S.A.

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*Two More Articles From Trips Through Serbia, Hungary: Of Cabs and Laptops, Plus... "Truth in Media's" First*

AMERICA'S "HALLS OF SHAME and FAME"

*"Meet" the People Who Heeded/Spurned Our Humanitarian Appeals  
NEW YORK TIMES, WASHINGTON TIMES Soften Their Stand a Bit?*

## *Truth in Media's* 1993 "Halls of Fame and Shame"

*PHOENIX* - Following this writer's return from a recent trip to Bosnia and Serbia, he and the TIM volunteer staff have tried to spread the word around America's media and governmental circles about the humanitarian tragedy which is unfolding as a result of the U.N. sanctions. In the course of this work, we discovered another humanitarian tragedy right here, in America. "Nobody cares!"

Well, not quite. Some people did show concern. Those are now the first inductees into the "Truth in Media" (TIM) "Hall of Fame." But, the vast majority, especially the media, showed no interest whatsoever. Those are the people we are now inducting,

### "Hall of Fame"

There some exceptions to the general apathy which most people displayed about the situation in the former Yugoslavia. Among them are Senators Conrad Burns of Montana and John McCain of Arizona, for example,

with whom this writer met in person during a recent visit to Washington. And Congressmen like Jon Kyl of Arizona, with whom we met in Phoenix. These are some of the people we are pleased to induct into the TIM "Hall of Fame." There are also two individuals who also rate an "honorable mention."

### Truth in Media's "Hall of Fame"

#### Preeesenting...



- Senator Conrad Burns (R-MT)
- Congressman Jon Kyl (R-AZ)
- Senator John McCain (R-AZ)

*Honorable Mention:* Preston Westmoreland/KTAR Radio; Warren Zimmermann/State Dept.

also for the first time, into the TIM "Hall of Shame."

also two individuals who also rate an "honorable mention."

First, Preston Westmoreland, a host of a popular news radio talk show in Phoenix, expressed to us his interest and sincere concern about the situation in Serbia. The second person, perhaps surprisingly so, is the former U.S. ambassador to Yugoslavia, Warren Zimmermann. You see, during our trip we discovered that Zimmermann is intensely hated by many people in Belgrade and elsewhere for his allegedly anti-Serbian stance. As the U.S. ambassador for refugees, he is now responsible for hundreds of thousands of displaced people in the former Yugoslavia, too. But, more importantly, he is responsible for expediting

the approval procedures of the U.N. Sanctions Committee which now give priority to humanitarian aid. Also, some of you may be surprised to learn that the State Department has actually sent its own people and systems to help improve the turnaround at the U.N. of shipment request approvals.

**"Hall of Shame"**

In total, we've sent our six articles in over 160 FAX-es to editors of leading publications, and in over 40 FAX-es to top producers of major TV/radio

networks. And we've made over 130 calls to these people to en-

certainly the folks now being in-

ducted into the TIM "Hall of Shame" did not seem worked up about the hundreds of thousands of innocent Serbian civilians who were quietly dying due to lack of medicines.

And in the boxes on subsequent pages you will also find some government officials who reacted the same way - "not interested," "too busy..."

If you would want to let all these new "Hall of Shamers" know how you feel about what the sanctions are doing to the Serbian people, just ask us for their mailing addresses.

During our trip to Washington

we've also discovered who the central figure is behind the sanctions' enforcement in the Clinton Administration. To you, of course, the name Leon Fuerth, the foreign policy advisor to the Vice President, Al Gore, should not be a surprise. He is the person who figured prominently as one of the villains in our article **"Lift the Sanctions. Now."** (see YU NEWS 93-10). For Mr. Fuerth, we have reserved a place at the top of the heap of our government inductees to the TIM

sure that they've each personally reviewed our materials before deciding on what to do about them. We've been told that they have, sometimes politely (e.g., Larry King, Dan Rather), at other times rudely (e.g., Ted Koppel). But in no cases the "I never saw your FAX"-excuse applies. In some instances, we've FAX-ed the information more than once - at the request of particular parties.

Yet, the aggregate result of all this effort was - **ZERO!** Why? Because nobody cared? Well,

Truth in Media's *"Hall of Shame"*



*Shame Parade Grand Marshall: Leon Fuerth*

*(any actual likeness with above figure is coincidental)*

*"Hall of Shame" Cheerleaders:*

National/Intl. Electronic Media:

<b>Robert Boilen</b>	<i>NPR Radio</i>	<b>"All Things Cons."</b>
<b>Tom Brokaw</b>	<i>NBC News</i>	<b>Anchor</b>
<b>Gail Evans</b>	<i>CNN News</i>	<b>VP &amp; Producer</b>
<b>Tom Johnson</b>	<i>CNN News</i>	<b>President</b>
<b>Terry Gross</b>	<i>NPR Radio</i>	<b>"Fresh Air" Show</b>
<b>Peter Jennings</b>	<i>ABC News</i>	<b>Anchor</b>
<b>Robert Jobbins</b>	<i>BBC World Service</i>	<b>(British)</b>
<b>Larry King</b>	<i>CNN</i>	<b>"Larry King Live"</b>
<b>Jim Lehrer</b>	<i>PBS</i>	<b>Anchor</b>
<b>Ted Koppel</b>	<i>ABC News</i>	<b>"Nightline" Host</b>
<b>Jamie McFerren</b>	<i>KTAR Radio</i>	<b>Talk Show Host</b>
<b>Mike Nolan</b>	<i>ITN News</i>	<b>Editor (British)</b>
<b>Dan Rather</b>	<i>CBS News</i>	<b>Anchor</b>

"Hall of Shame" - as the "Grand Marshall of the Shame Parade."

### A Letter from Serbia

## Pensioners Starving?

The following is an excerpt from a FAX we received today from a retired Belgrade University professor (a translation from Serbian):

*BELGRADE, Serbia, Nov. 19, 1993, 04:23 PM - "Over here, the situation is getting more difficult. They have not completely abolished our pensions, but it feels as if they might as well have. My wife and I are now getting combined pensions of about DM15-16 per month (\$9-\$10). We are expecting them soon to drop to DM1 (\$0.59), which means that they will be practically abolished. No wonder that 109 Belgrade citizens, mostly pensioners, committed suicide during the first nine months of this year, according to "DUGA". And there were more than 50 additional unsuccessful suicide attempts.*

*Here is another "real life" story for you. My sister, M., got up early to line up for bread. She had to. She has two children and a husband who has just had cancer surgery. While waiting in line she met one of her high school teachers, now also a retired lady. Once the two of them reached the counter, they discovered that the price of bread had*

<sup>1</sup>"DUGA" is a weekly magazine.

*jumped sharply that morning. The old teacher did not have enough money even for half a kilo (about one pound) of bread. M. tried in vain to loan her former teacher the money. "But, I could never repay you," the old teacher explained. "So, I don't wish to borrow money." She went home without the bread, her head hanging low."*

By the way, some State Department officials told this writer that they believe that Slobodan Milosevic is deliberately withholding fuel and other necessities from the Serbian citizens in order to exacerbate the crisis, and to fuel the people's ire at the West and its sanctions.

**Editorial Comment:** *We certainly would not put something like this past Milosevic on humanitarian grounds. But, Milosevic is first and foremost a selfish person and a pragmatic politician. We don't see what he would stand to gain by deliberately fanning the people's ire. If the anger were to explode in civil unrest, for example, "The West" would be nowhere to be found on Belgrade streets. But Milosevic's people would. So, we find it hard to believe that a cunning politician would deliberately set a trap for himself. To us, such State Department attitudes typify the irrational foreign policies which contributed to the Yugoslav tragedy in the first place. And provide a smoke screen for inaction on humanitarian grounds.*

### A Letter from Bosnia

## Where Coal Heating Is a Luxury

*SERB SARAJEVO, Bosnia, Nov. 19 - "I hear you've been having lots of snow?" TIM asked a friend today at the other end of the telephone line in Pale, Bosnia. "Actually, the snow is not so bad," he replied. "Only about 15 cm (about six inches). But, it is very cold." "What sort of heat do you have?" we asked. Our friend said that they've been using some wood-burning stoves. "But, the wood burns fast," he lamented. "Now we're trying to get some coal."*

**Editorial Comment.** *I could not help but contemplate that, as we were debating NAFTA in this country and other issues of the "Third Wave<sup>2</sup>" economies, here are some people in the heart of Europe who consider coal heating a luxury!*

"But, things are better now," our friend added. "We've been without electricity for three to four days." The heavy snow had apparently cut some power lines.

**Editorial Comment.** *Here's a "sanction busting" idea: why not send Leon Fuerth, along with his esteemed State Dept. and Pentagon colleagues, the newly-inducted "Hall of Shamers," for a visit to Belgrade and Pale? I'd only set one condition: that they live there for at least a week the way the ordinary people do.*

<sup>2</sup>The "Third Wave" is a 1980 book by Alvin Toffler about the new, "knowledge-based" jobs.



## Are Some U.S. Papers Softening Their Anti-Serb Stances?

**PHOENIX** - There seems to be a slight softening in the editorial stances of some U.S. papers which have been rabidly anti-

Serbian in the last several years. For example, even the notorious NEW YORK TIMES (NYT) has recently printed this writer's letter about a "quiet genocide" which the "civilized West" is perpetrating in Serbia (see page 12), along with a letter from Michael Djordjevich of San Francisco, also objecting to an OpEd piece by the NYT columnist, Anthony Lewis. The NYT has also pulled its Sarajevo correspondent, John Burns, who had spent 17 months in close proximity

of the Bosnian Muslim government, and who frequently filed blatantly anti-Serbian prose (also see our letter to the NYT dated November 15 on page 13).

Yet at the same time, like a dog who just can't let go of the

bone, Anthony Lewis continues his anti-Serbian harangue. In the opening paragraph of his OpEd piece dated October 29, which partially reacted to this writer's letter, Lewis writes from Boston:

*"A pathetic byproduct of the genocide in Bosnia has been the attempt by some Americans of Serbian ancestry to deny the*

*largely inflicted on the Muslims by their own Government."*

Mr. Lewis, of course, proceeds to argue against such a thesis, using the opportunity to once again invoke the alleged Serbian "ethnic cleansing."

Meanwhile, we used the opportunity of Mr. Lewis' column being carried by a number of other papers

around the country to get our message about the "quiet genocide" published as well. We argued with the editors of these papers that it was unfair to publish Mr. Lewis' column's reaction to our letter and not to publish the letter itself. So, the SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE, for example, published this writer's letter (shown here on page 12) on November 8 under the headline "A Quiet 'Genocide'."

Similarly, Mr. Lewis' column October 29 drew other reactions, too. On November 19, a San Diego

paper published a letter by Vojin Joksimovich, entitled "Lewis column is shunned." In it, the Serbian-American correspondent argues, in part, that, "all in all, (Mr.) Lewis has ceased to be a journalist and has chosen to be

### Truth in Media's "Hall of Shame"



#### Shame Parade Grand Marshall: Leon Fuerth

*(any actual likeness with above figure is coincidental)*

#### Shame Cheerleaders:

##### Federal Government:

<b>Karan English</b>	<i>Rep. D-AZ</i>	"Too busy"
<b>Arlen Specter</b>	<i>Sen. R-PA</i>	"Too busy"
<b>Dick Gephardt</b>	<i>Rep. D-MO</i>	"Too busy"
<b>Warren Christopher</b>	<i>Secretary of State</i>	"Too busy"
<b>Anthony Lake</b>	<i>NSC Advisor</i>	"Too busy"
<b>J. Shalikashvili</b>	<i>Pentagon Chief</i>	"Too busy"

##### Arizona Electronic Media:

<b>Dave Patterson</b>	<i>CBS News/Ch 10</i>	<b>Anchor</b>
<b>Larry Klein</b>	<i>CBS News/Ch 10</i>	<b>Producer</b>
<b>Graham Robertson</b>	<i>KPHO News/Ch 5</i>	<b>News Dir.</b>
<b>Phil Alvarez</b>	<i>ABC News/Ch 3</i>	<b>News Dir.</b>
<b>Al Masies</b>	<i>NBC News/Ch 12</i>	<b>News Ed.</b>

*reality of the Serbian aggression there."*

*"What's happening in Bosnia," Bob Djurdjevic of Phoenix wrote to The New York Times the other day, 'is not a 'genocide.' It is a tragedy*

*the carrier of a propaganda for special interests, which has led some people to conclude that The New York Times has evolved*

Dragnich's column "Misdiagnoses result in bad Balkan medicines" was published on November 2 by the

Truth in Media's "Hall of Shame"



**Shame Parade Grand Marshall: Leon Fuerth**

*(any actual likeness with above figure is coincidental)*

**Shame Cheerleaders:**

**National/Intl. Print Media:**

Jodie Allen	Washington Post	Features Ed
Martha Brandt	Wall Street Journal	Eur OpEd Ed
Brigid Callaghan	Times of London	OpEd Ed
Richard Cattani	Christian Science Monitor	Ed.
Warren Clements	Globe and Mail	OpEd Ed
Bob Donahue	Intl. Herald Tribune	OpEd Ed.
Fred Edwards	Toronto Star	OpEd Ed.
James Ferguson	The European	Features Ed.
Ken Ikenberry	Washington Post	OpEd Ed.
Michael Levitas	New York Times	OpEd Ed.
Jane Marshall	Houston Chronicle	Features Ed.
Ken McIntyre	Washington Times	Features Ed.
R. Muller-Wright	San Francisco Chron	Features Ed.
Patricia Nelson	The News (Mexico)	Editor
Glen Nishimura	USA TODAY	OpEd Ed.
Bob Berger	Los Angeles Times	OpEd Ed.
Jane Sarkin	Vanity Fair	Feature Ed.
Ruby Scott	Chicago Tribune	OpEd Ed.
Amity Schlaes	Wall Street Journal	OpEd Ed.
Mike Smith	Arizona Republic	OpEd Ed.
A. Whittam-Smith	The Independent	Editor
Owen Youngman	Chicago Tribune	Features Ed.

*into The West Riyadh Times" (also see YU NEWS 93-08, 7/23/93, page 9).*

*In another sign of possibly softening editorial attitudes, Alex*

*conservative WASHINGTON TIMES. In his piece, Dragnich properly argues that, "it may well be that in its early stages, the Yugoslav affair might have been*

*resolved quietly by diplomacy, but the failure of Western leaders to make a proper diagnosis is at the crux of the problem" (see page 14).*

*Separately, you will also find our October 29 letters to the FORBES and U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT magazines reacting to their commentaries about the future role of NATO (see page 15).*

*Washington Post*  
**Writes About Kosovo Albanian Drug Clans**

*PHOENIX - The November 15-21 WASHINGTON POST national weekly edition contained a revealing story filed by a WP reporter from Amsterdam entitled "The Balkan Heroin." The story traces the drug trails which lead through Kosovo, the southern Serbian province which is populated 90% by ethnic Albanians.*

*"According to Pierre Duc, head of the anti-drug force in Lausanne, Switzerland, ethnic Albanians from the Serbian province of Kosovo have captured up to 70 percent of the heroin market in Switzerland. About 2,000 Albanians from Kosovo are being held in Swiss jails on charges of arms and drug smuggling," writes William Drozdiak.*

*The WP story provides a detailed map of heroin drug routes, which originate in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran, and lead through Turkey into Kosovo.*

***Editorial Comment.*** *What's particularly interesting to us about this WP story is that the Albanian drug weapons trafficking is not a recent phenomenon. The Serbian President Milosevic told this writer in a January 1990 meeting at his office in Belgrade, for example, that Kosovo was a major part of the drug trade into Western Europe, and that the Serbian police had been capturing large quantities of smuggled drugs and arms. Yet, instead of exposing such criminal activities to the public, the Western politicians who have been visiting Kosovo, such as Senators Bob Dole or Dennis DeConcini, for example, only complained publicly about the alleged human rights violations against ethnic Albanians. Why did they stay mum on drug trafficking by the Kosovo Albanians? Why did the WP choose to write about an old news story - NOW?*

The WP story quotes the Swiss anti-drug official as saying that the Kosovo clans had sold heroin and bought Kalashnikov assault rifles and the Uzi submachine guns over the past three years. "We know that a lot of money is now leaving Switzerland for the former Yugoslavia," Duc says. "But we don't know exactly who is getting it, or where the weapons have ended up. These Albanians in jail rarely talk with us and seem to be a part of the disciplined mafia."

In view of these remarks, isn't it interesting that the WP editors chose to headline the story "The

Balkan Heroin," rather than "The Albanian Kosovo Heroin," or "The Albanian Kosovo Mafia," as might have been more appropriate by the copy?

We've also found it amusing that the WP calls Ibrahim Rugova, a Kosovo Albanian separatist leader, a "pacifist." Yet, in the same paragraph, the WP story points out that the Hungarian police have recently intercepted trucks full of small arms that experts believe were bound for Kosovo.

***Editorial comment.*** *And all this arms and drug smuggling is happening at a time of the world's tightest U.N. sanctions? Mr. Fuerth, would you care to explain where on your priority list for import approvals the Kalashnikovs and heroin rank? Are they above or below aspirin, for example? We already suspect that they are above bread and below cigarettes. You see, we've just learned that the U.N. Sanctions Committee has just approved a large quantity of cigarettes for import into Serbia.*

Meanwhile, poison and death aren't just the commodities in demand in the Balkans. The WP story reported that, the glut of drugs in Western Europe "is raising fears among police and social workers about a generation of addicts becoming victims of.. a United Nations of drug smugglers involved in the trade into Europe."

***Editorial Comment.*** *Anybody still wondering why even our friends in Western Europe resent our pro-Muslim, pro-Albanian foreign policy?*

## *1943 U.S. Map Details Crimes Against the Serbs*

### September Massacre of Lika Serbs Documented by UNPROFOR

**PHOENIX** - The Foreign Ministry of the Serb Krajina Republic has provided extensive evidence of the massacres of Serbian population in the Lika villages committed by the Croatian troops in early September. As you have seen (see YU NEWS 93-10), despite the corroboration by the UNPROFOR forces about these acts of barbarism, Croatia received a mere slap on the wrist by the EC. And the U.N. Security Council (read the U.S. government) used the occasion to expand the sanctions against Serbia.

Meanwhile, what we found particularly interesting among the reams of materials which we have received from the RSK was an old map of Yugoslavia. This map was drawn up by the American OSS people (the CIA predecessors) in 1943. It puts the number of Serbs killed just between April 1941 and August 1942 at 744,000, about 600,000 of whom were murdered by the Croatian "ustashi" pro-Nazi puppet government (see page 16). This makes a mockery of the recent NEW YORK TIMES anti-Croatian editorial which, even as it chastises Franjo Tudjman and his pro-"ustashi" henchmen, puts the number of Serbian victims at "only" "tens of thousands."

The RSK documentation also includes an October 30 letter to His Excellency, Ronaldo Mota Sardenberg, President of the U.N. Security Council, which provides more statistics about the dislocations ("ethnic cleansing?") of the Serb population carried out by the Tudjman government, still a full-fledged member of the so-called "world community."

## Maher on Wiesel

CHICAGO - "At 1 p.m. on Wednesday, 20 October 1993, Elie Wiesel spoke at the Chicago Illini Union of the University of Chicago," writes Ret. Prof. Peter Maher of Chicago, IL. Answering a question by a member of the audience, Wiesel, one of "The 100 Liars" (see YU NEWS 93-09 and the WALL STREET JOURNAL letter co-signed by Wiesel), said that he "should not have done that." "I never saw the text of the letter," Maher quotes Wiesel as saying (please refer to pages 17-18 for more details on this event).

***Editorial Comment.*** *If that's how easy it was to dupe a Nobel Prize laureate, what chance does an average American have who is used to believing what he/she sees in print or on TV/radio?*

## Poles Appeal for Fairness to Serbs

PHOENIX - In an October 30 letter to the "Staff Writers" of the NEW YORK TIMES, the Board of Directors of The World Pol-

ish Community and the Eastern European Forum appealed for fairness in the treatment of the Serbs.

*"It appears that the goal of the media is to reduce Serbia into a tiny country. It is obvious that balanced news has not been emitted from the pens of your Fifth Estate. However, numerous kind family oriented staff writers of the TIMES also know that there is no viable reason to keep food and medical supplies from the millions of starving Serbian women and children.*

*I ask and plead with those of you who have kind hearts to mention that it was Serbia who has saved Europe; that it was Serbia who shed blood to save Jews (and others); that news about Serbia be more balanced."*

## "Islam's New Drive Into Europe"

by Sir Alfred Sherman

PHOENIX - As you read this insightful piece about the real aims and goals of Islam in Europe, keep in mind that its author is a former confidant and advisor to the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher (see pages 19-22).

Also see a response we've received from The Carter Center of Emory University when we appealed to this former U.S. president, who once seemed so engrossed with human rights issues, to help the civilians in Serbia (see page 22).

## *Belgrade Cabs:*

## Caught Between a Rock and a Hard Place

© 1993 by Bob Djurdjevic  
BELGRADE, Serbia - An excerpt from a FAX sent home on September 13:

*"A curiosity item: The taxi drivers here are either out of gas; or are trying to gouge the customer without using a meter; or are simply not driving. At one point, I had to wait more than 30 min. at the hotel for a cab to arrive. For the five rides I took during the day, all roughly the same distance, I had paid 1.0, 0.5, 2.5, 2.0 and 1.0 BILLION dinars reach!! I also turned down one at Slavija Square who, seeing me in my navy-blue business suit, asked for 10.0 billion (dinars)."*

*When I tried to get a cab to go the French Embassy, none were to be found in front of the Belgrade Hotel Intercontinental. This has never happened to me before, so I asked the staff what was going on. "I think that they are on strike," said the doormen on duty. "They have to buy fuel at DM3 per liter (roughly \$8 per gallon), while their fares are regulated by the government." "In other words, they lose money from the moment they turn the meter on?" I asked. "Something like that," the doorman replied. "Well, I can understand why they are on strike. I would be, too."*

*I noticed that there was a young lady also waiting for a cab. She was very pretty, with a*

dark, curly hair, and looked like a model. "Was she here before me?" I asked the doorman. He nodded affirmatively. "Where are you going?" I asked the woman, figuring we might share a ride under the circumstances. "I'll get my own cab," she answered speaking abruptly. I looked at her in disbelief. I was just trying to be practical. "Did she think I was trying to pick her up?" I wondered. "Preposterous!" I concluded. "Women always KNOW when someone is making a pass at them." So, I shook my head and wondered whatever happened to civility in this country. I went inside to call the French Embassy and tell my host that I'd be late.

When I went outside, the "model" was getting into a cab who had dropped off a passenger at the hotel. I observed her talking to the driver for a minute or two. Suddenly she got out. She looked angry. "What's the matter?" the doorman asked. "He does not want to turn the meter on. Wants a flat, two billion-dinar fare. So, I refused it as a matter of principle."

"Aren't you a prize!" I thought. For, that was a pretty stupid thing to do. After all, it's not the cabbies' fault that they were getting screwed by the Milosevic government. And even if she didn't care about that, didn't she need to get to wherever it was she was going anyway? But, before I was able to halt him, the cab driver drove off. I guess, he must have thought that all Hotel Intercontinental guests were as

stupid and rude as this young woman.

By the way, I saw her later on making calls to some friends who came to pick her up. I hoped that they took their time getting here. Then I realized that was also mean. The evil was getting contagious. I was glad I caught myself. I smiled and brushed aside such mean thoughts.

Eventually I made it to the French Embassy, albeit quite late. Fortunately, my hosts were quite gracious about it. I guess they are used to such things by now.

Later on the same evening, I tried to get a cab in front of the Hotel Slavija in downtown Belgrade. The driver looked at me dressed in my pin-striped navy blue suit and probably figured, "here comes a fool." "How much to the Hotel Intercontinental?" I asked him right away without waiting for him to tell me that he would not want to use the meter and why. "Ten billion," he replied. That was about five times as much as I paid coming into the city this afternoon (two billion), and about 20 times as much as I had paid on an earlier ride today (500 million). I just shook my head and walked on. After a few minutes, I flagged another cab and got to my hotel for one billion dinars - 10 times less than the Slavija cabbie wanted! It was an example of how free markets work - this one unwittingly brought about by the U.N. sanctions.

I have always found the Belgrade taxi drivers to be a good source of information about all sorts of things, none of which

had anything directly to do with their job. Ever since the incident with the young "model," however, I've taken care to be extra nice to them, even if they looked vile or angry when I first got into the cab. "I hear you're having a hard time buying gas?" I'd say to start up a conversation. That's all it took. After that, even the most evil looking drivers opened up, and gushed out with their problems. There were no exceptions in my six days of riding cabs in Belgrade! I figured there were no bad cabbies; only bad models... And bad politicians...

### Budapest, Hungary: Of Laptops, Castles and Coups, Too

© 1993 by Bob Djurdjevic  
BUDAPEST, Hungary - The Belgrade Hotel Intercontinental staff who booked my Budapest hotel told me that the Hotel Forum was the best one in the Hungarian capital. That it was snobbish became evident as soon as I stepped into its lobby. One could hardly hear any Hungarian. Even the people who "looked Hungarian" spoke English or German. Just to show off, I suppose?

As soon as I checked in, I asked the concierge if I could have an adapter from an American to a Hungarian telephone jack. I wanted to transmit something from my laptop computer to my Phoenix office (as I had been doing from Belgrade and elsewhere, for example), and needed the

physical hook up for it. "Okay, Sir, I'll send a technician right away," a front desk clerk replied in perfect English (which is a rarity in Hungary). "Wait a minute!" I said "You don't understand. I don't need a technician. I just need an adapter." I even showed him the sample cable with the U.S. jack I had brought along anticipating that I might have to deal with some morons. "I am afraid I don't know anything about that," the clerk said, sounding as if I had just handed him a piece of paper with a death threat. "I'll have a technician in your room right away, Sir."

A few minutes later, a nice, young technician indeed showed up. The trouble was, he could, at best, manage only broken English. Using the hand and eye signals, however, I was able to explain to him what I needed. He proceeded to take my Yugoslav adapter apart which I showed him as a sample. "What are you doing that for?" I asked, obviously alarmed. "(Because we have) no Magyar (Hungarian) adapters," he replied. "(I'll have to) hard-wire your adapter (into the hotel's)." "But if you do that, I won't have any telephone service," I said. "How will I be able to TALK? Is there another set?"

I started looking frantically around the room. There was no other set in sight. I thought of my suite in Belgrade where I had

no less than four sets and two telephone lines, each equipped with an American telephone jack, not just the Yugoslav one. And that was in the country under the U.N. embargo! Here, in this supposedly bustling bastion of Eastern European free enterprise, they had to emasculate my Yugoslav jack for me to use my computer. Maybe...

It was obvious that the technician did not understand the reason for my alarm. "You (will) have telephone," he tried

decided I'd give him all the time in the world he needed to make his contraption work.

After he was done, I hooked up my computer and tried to send a message to Phoenix. "NO DIAL TONE," my computer said. I showed the technician the message on the screen. He looked perplexed. He then unscrewed his contraption in the wall, and re-wired it. We tried again. The same message.

"Are you sure this cable is good?" he asked me. "I used it in Yugoslavia," I replied. "So I figure it must be."

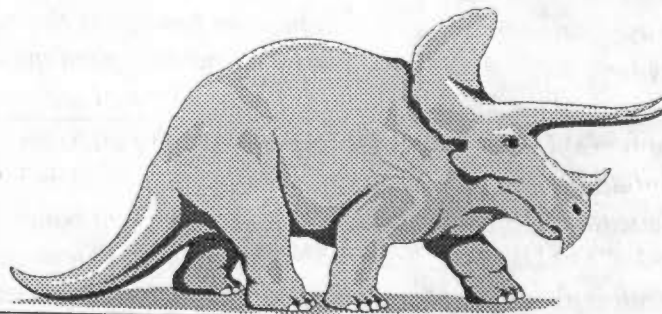
The technician excused himself to take it to their lab and have the cable tested.

After about 15 minutes he came back and confirmed that it was okay. I thought I'd say "I

told you so," but changed my mind. This was a nice man. He was just trying to be thorough, even if in a primitive way.

"Let's try again," I said, starting to feel sorry for the technician. Of course, the stubborn computer came back with the same message - "NO DIAL TONE." "Maybe it's that our telephone system is analog?" the technician said sheepishly. "Of course, that's what it is," I said. "Why did you not say it in the first place?" It could have saved us all this trouble. "Does your hotel have any digital lines?" I asked. "Maybe in the Business Center?" the technician speculated.

### Hungarian PTT: Making Progress



to assure me in his pidgin English. "I will?" I asked. "Okay," I decided to calm down. "Go ahead and do what you think is right. I'll wait to see what you're doing." He struggled with my Yugoslav jack, but was eventually able to hook it up. He wired the computer jack parallel to the hotel telephone, so that both were sharing the same line. It was not a perfect solution, but it would do, I thought. I could see though, that I wasn't dealing with a dummy (as I had in some other places in the world, including Germany or Britain, for example), even if he could not speak English very well. I

I called the Business Center. A female voice answered the phone. "Do you have a digital line?" I asked. "No, we don't," she replied. I looked at the technician and told him what I was being told. He was shaking his head. "I installed it just the other day," he said. "Okay," I said, "let's you and I go there together. You can show me where the digital line is."

The nice, young lady in the Business Center took us to where her computer was. We hooked up my laptop to the phone line and tried again. You guessed it, "NO DIAL TONE" was the message my computer repeated. "Have you ever used this line before for computer transmissions?" I asked the lady. "Of course," she replied. "Would you mind doing it right now from your computer?" She tried. And failed. "NO DIAL TONE" was the stubborn message her computer gave her, too. "Well?" I asked, hoping for, but not really expecting miracles. The truth came out sheepishly, in dribbles. "Our hotel line is digital, but the outside Budapest city exchange is still analog," she said. "We have a very antiquated system," she admitted, sounding ashamed. I felt sorry for her. "Thank you very much for all your efforts," I said and walked out.

Then I thought: Why did they not tell me right off the bat that their telephone system was unsuitable for computer use? Was I the first person ever to try to use a laptop modem in the best hotel of the most

progressive Eastern European country?

#### Buda Castle

After all these frustrations, I decided it was time for some

On my walk back, I reflected about a similar walk I had two weeks before in Vienna. Here's an excerpt from a FAX I sent home afterward:

#### Vienna, Austria, Sept. 8:

This evening, I went for a walk around the old Vienna. As I looked again at those magnificent buildings where the Austrian royalty lived, I was reminded of the fact that even the greatest glory is but a fleeting moment in the history of mankind. And that none of us must take ourselves too seriously. Less than 100 years ago, this was one of the most powerful empires on the face of the Earth. Now, all these buildings don't just look like museums; they ARE museums! I could not help but wonder, therefore, if, in 100 years or so, Washington may not also end up looking like a "museum town," as the new center of world power shifts elsewhere, perhaps to China or Russia?

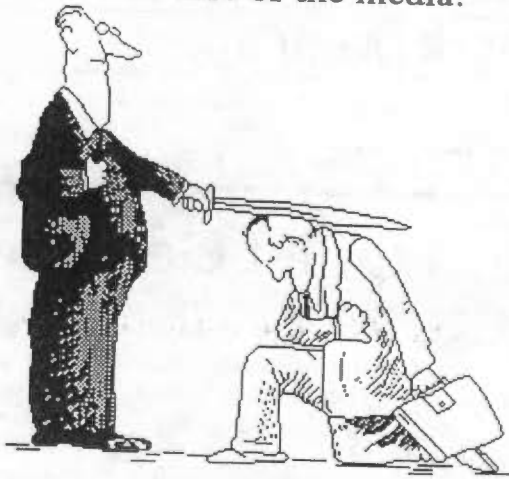
R&R. After walking across the beautiful old Danube suspension bridge, I took an ancient cable car to the Buda Castle, the residence of the former Hungarian royalty. The Buda Castle and the gorgeous baroque-style Hungarian Parliament Buildings, are but two of the reminders of the greatness which this small nation of Asian nomads once enjoyed. As best as I could make out from the Hungarian script, the Buda Castle was constructed in the 17th century during the reign of Eugen of Savoy. I was particularly struck by the beauty of a 20-foot wall sculpture in the interior courtyard which depicted a hunting scene. Even after three centuries, the dogs looked as if they were still barking. And the felled deer was still howling in final agony.

#### Yeltsin's Coup d'État

Once I got back to my hotel, I had dinner, and then went back to my room. From a corner of my eye, I caught a glimpse of Yeltsin on CNN. I turned up the sound and learned of the coup d'état which he launched barely an hour ago. "Here we go..." I thought. "Some democrat he is. As one of his first steps, he banned the Communist Party in 1991! Now, he is unconstitutionally dissolving the Parliament! What will come next? A Yeltsin dictatorship instead of the Communist one?" Time will tell, I suppose...

The only thing I was reasonably confident of was that the Eastern European telephone systems will probably progress faster than Yeltsin's democracy. I hope the Western leaders have a "Plan B"...

Yeltsin: I hereby pronounce you a new democrat! Now, I'll dissolve the Parliament and the Supreme Court; you take care of the media.



*SRNA News Selections*

## Tudjman Criticized by Zagreb Weekly

*SERB SARAJEVO* [based on *SRNA*] November 7 - In an unusual example of free press, the Zagreb weekly, *GLOBUS* quoted Willy de Clerk, a member of the European Parliament, as saying that, "(Franjo) Tudjman's policy is hypocritical and full of deceit." The European parliamentarian also charged that Tudjman "does not want to negotiate seriously about a peaceful solution of the war crises on the territory of former Yugoslavia."

Separately, *GLOBUS* also reported that the leader of the Slovenian National Party, Zmago Jelincic, accused Croatia of "wanting to compensate in Slovenia for the territories it had lost in the war against the Serbs. Referring to a recent poll by the Slovenian paper, *MLADINA*,

Jelincic said that 31% of Slovenians think that a war can easily break out between Croatia and Slovenia.

## UNPROFOR Confirms Serbs Did Not Shell School

*SERB SARAJEVO* [based on *SRNA*] November 10 - The UNPROFOR spokesman in Sarajevo confirmed that the Serb forces did not shell the Sarajevo primary school, "Prvi Maj," in which three children were killed and 20 wounded. When the story originally broke out, the American media had widely pinned the blame for the incident on the Serbs (also see letters to the *NYT* on page 12).

## Izetbegovic Lashes Out at Croats

*SERB SARAJEVO* [based on *SRNA*] November 15 - The

Bosnian Muslim president, Alija Izetbegovic, lashed out at his Croat rival, Mate Boban, during a visit to a predominantly Muslim city of Zenica in central Bosnia. "We will not talk peace till the government in Zagreb renounces Mate Boban, president of Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia," Izetbegovic said. The Bosnian Muslim president said that his forces were not prepared to fight on two fronts, which is why he had not earlier accused Croatia as an aggressor.

*Editorial Comment. Is Alija Izetbegovic running the U.N. Security Council? One gets the impression that all he needed to do was accuse Serbia of this, and not accuse Croatia of that, and the U.N. slapped the sanctions on the former but not the latter.*

Izetbegovic also threatened that his government would recognize the Republic of Serb Krajina as a part of retaliation for Croatia's recent policies toward the Muslims.

Reminiscing about one of his conversations with Lord Peter Carrington before the outbreak of war in Bosnia, Izetbegovic said that Carrington advised him to sign a peace accord with the Serbs. "You have no chance in fighting against the Serb Army," Carrington said. "And 100,000 Muslims will get killed. Do not play with the fate of your nation. You will be ruined."

Best regards,

Bob Djurdjevic



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# The New York Times

**EDITORIALS/LETTERS** THURSDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1993

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## Meanwhile in Serbia, a Quiet Genocide Goes On

To the Editor:

Anthony Lewis, in "The Siege Is Over" (column, Oct. 18) feels sorry for the 300,000 Sarajevo civilians who have to endure a new outbreak of fighting. And who wouldn't? But he shows no empathy for the far greater suffering that United Nations sanctions are causing in Serbia.

What's happening in Bosnia and Herzegovina is war. People get killed in wars. The Bosnian Muslim Government, which started the war, had a chance to put a stop to it in late September. But it rejected the Geneva peace agreement. Mr. Lewis also fails to point out that the Serbs only fired back in retaliation for Muslim attacks in Sarajevo. The United Nations protection force has corroborated this.

What's happening in Bosnia is not a "genocide," as Mr. Lewis alleges. It is a tragedy largely inflicted on the Muslims by their own Government. But, what's happening in Serbia is a quiet genocide — perpetrated by the "civilized" West. We are depriving 10 million people of access to medicines. I have just returned from a 12-day

journey through Serbia and Bosnia, which included visits to hospitals, where people are dying from curable diseases. I had to bring aspirin to my own 83-year-old mother.

"There is a crime of quiet extermination of 150,000 patients with cancer, and 500,000 chronic patients going on," Miodrag Djordjevic, head of the Belgrade Institute of Oncology and Radiology, wrote in a letter to the World Health Organization.

What's happening in Bosnia is not genocide. What's happening in Serbia is.

BOB DJURDJEVIC  
Phoenix, Oct. 22, 1993

### Attacks by Muslims

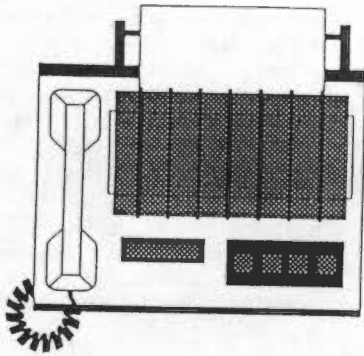
To the Editor:

Anthony Lewis castigates the Serbs in "The Siege Is Over" (column, Oct. 18) for "a devastating artillery barrage" on Sarajevo on Oct. 16. Also, he calls Radovan Karadzic, the Serbian leader in Bosnia, a "mass murderer" and accuses him of new lies for recently stating that the Serbs would not renew attacks on the Muslims.

Mr. Lewis must be aware of the

report issued Oct. 17 by the United Nations protection force headquarters in Sarajevo. It states in part that the Muslims made attacks on Serbian positions southwest of Sarajevo and "provoked the Serbian shelling." By calling for widening of the war and our involvement in the Balkan quagmire, Mr. Lewis is more biased than objective. MICHAEL DJORDJEVICH  
San Francisco, Oct. 21, 1993

5110 North 40<sup>th</sup> Street, Phoenix, Arizona, USA 85018 ♦ TEL: (602) 956-8586 ♦ FAX: (602) 952-2058



## A FAX from Bob Djurdjevic

Total No. of pages incl. this one: /

COPY

Date: November 15, 1993 Time: 9:39 pm (MST)

→ Yu Media Com  
FAXED  
22:25

**Bob Barzilay,**

*Editor/Letters to the Editor*  
NEW YORK TIMES

FAX: 212/556-3690

TEL: 212/556-1234

=====  
Subject: Letter to the Editor re. John Burns' reporting on Bosnia (November 14/15)  
=====

Dear Mr. Barzilay:

Hasn't someone from the Council on Foreign Relations briefed John Burns - that satanizing the Serbs is no longer in vogue? His final articles on Bosnia (*NYT November 14 and 15*), were fraught with the same bias and editorial news manipulations as had most of his earlier pieces during his 17-month assignment in Bosnia.

You see, I traveled to Bosnia in September. I visited with Dr. Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb president. He was not at all "ill at ease," or "pallid and nervous," as Mr. Burns describes him. I saw the same villages your reporter claims to have visited. God knows, I may have even talked to the same people he had. I witnessed an incredible unity among the Bosnian Serbs in the face of the world's harshest sanctions ever imposed on them by man. And despite the efforts by the West and Milosevic to sow discord among them (*e.g., the Banjaluka September 10 rebellion*), I even saw compassion for the enemy (*the Muslims*). And I had no trouble getting ordinary soldiers or the civilians to pour their souls out for me.

Mr. Burns says he has seen demoralized Bosnian Serbs, who were living in an "atmosphere like Russia in Stalin's time." Maybe he ought to look in the mirror. If anything may have jaded the Serbs' natural openness, it may be the anti-Serbian distortions of the truth which the Western reporters like himself spoon-fed to the unsuspecting American public. Before casting stones at the Serb civilians who seemed fearful while talking to him, Mr. Burns should contemplate what would happen on America's Main Streets to most people who publicly swore their allegiance to folks like Hitler, Stalin, Castro, Ayatollah Khomeini or Saddam. You see, that's the image American reporters have in Bosnia. It takes two to tango, Mr. Burns...

Sincerely,

Bob Djurdjevic

ALEX DRAGNICH

# Misdiagnoses result in bad Balkan medicines

A doctor's prescribed remedy is rarely effective unless it is based on a correct diagnosis.

Judged by this maxim, most prescriptions by columnists for dealing with the outgrowth of the Yugoslav problem suggest that they would be failures. Some of them even state that President Clinton should dump his secretary of state, Warren Christopher, and appoint a leading Republican from the Reagan or Bush administrations. And some of them want NATO to adopt the goal of removing the present regime in Serbia. If we are to look around the globe for comparable situations, I wonder how many other regimes we would need to target?

These commentators are right, however, in suggesting that neither the Democrats nor Republicans had policy alternatives in place in case communist systems should collapse. But their views of the Yugoslav situation and how the West should have dealt with it are not only simplistic but also dead wrong.

It may very well be that in its early stages, the Yugoslav affair might have been resolved quietly by diplomacy, but the failure of Western leaders to make a proper diagnosis is at the crux of the problem.

Most of the columnists that I have read are in good company with Western leaders in knowing little or nothing

about Yugoslavia. Their legalistic citations from the Charter of the United Nations rest on the contention that the conflict in Yugoslavia is one of Serbian aggression and not a civil war. That argument is difficult to sustain on several counts.

First, if we are to stick with legalisms, the secessionist republics did not adhere to the Yugoslav constitution, or to the Helsinki Accords proviso about not changing the boundaries of internationally recognized states by force. Moreover, the Western powers that recognized the secessionist republics aided and abetted them in violating those charters.

Secondly, the civil war began before the recognitions. In addition, not a single fighter has engaged in warfare outside Yugoslavia's boundaries, and not a single shot was fired outside those borders.

Thirdly, it needs to be asked: By what international law or usage can the world community justify cavalierly recognizing seceding parts of an internationally recognized state, in this case Yugoslavia, a charter member of the League of Nations and the United Nations?

Fourth, while some columnists cite Article 2(7) of the U.N. Charter that authorizes the United Nations to take enforcement measures in certain conflicts that are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a state, they fail to point out that Article 33 provides that resolution of disputes should first be sought by pacific means, including arbitration and judicial settlement. The latter were never employed by the United Nations prior to the imposition of

sanctions against Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

Finally, what about two international acts (Treaty of London of 1915, and the Versailles treaties of St. Germain and Trianon) of which Serbia is the beneficiary? The first promised Serbia and Montenegro important territorial gains, including all of Bosnia-Herzegovina, a considerable part of Dalmatia (Montenegro was to get the port of Dubrovnik and sur-

*It may very well be that in its early stages, the Yugoslav affair might have been resolved quietly by diplomacy.*

rounding areas), and large parts of present day Croatia. The second treated the new Yugoslav state as the successor state of Serbia, to which these and other areas were conveyed. Moreover, all international agreements to which Serbia was a party were transferred to the Yugoslav state. It seems to me that such international acts simply cannot be ignored.

It cannot be too often repeated that where Western policy went off the track initially was in the failure to take into account the rights and grievances of the Serbs, the largest ethnic group in Yugoslavia and the strongest supporter of the common state. If Serbian leaders were assured, even as the West was recognizing the secessionist republics, that in any final settlement their interests would be honored and respected, there is reason to believe most of the bloodshed could have been avoided.

Some commentators worry about the future of our prospective entente with Russia, and are bothered by reports of Russian "volunteers" fighting with the Serbs, but they seem not at all worry about reports of a far greater number of warriors from Muslim countries fighting with the Bosnian Muslims.

As I stated at the beginning, a doctor's prescription cannot be worth much if the diagnosis is wrong.

*Alex N. Dragnich, a former professor of political science at Vanderbilt University, is the author of the recently-published book "Serbs and Croats: The Struggle in Yugoslavia."*

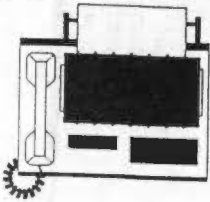
*Washington Times*  
Nov. 2, 1993

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# "TRUTH IN MEDIA"

(a non-profit organization)

5110 North 40th Street, Phoenix, Arizona 85018  
TEL: (602) 956-8592 FAX: (602) 952-2058



# A FAX

## From Bob Djurdjevic

No. of pages including this one: 2

Date: October 29, 1993 Time: 10:08 pm (PDT)

### Malcolm S. Forbes, Jr.,

Editor-in-Chief  
FORBES MAGAZINE  
FAX: 212/620-2374

TEL: 212/620-2200

→ You Media C  
FAXED  
22:13

Subject: Letter to the Editor

Dear Steve:

Your October 25, 1993 piece, "Why We Need NATO - Still" is barking up the wrong tree. If NATO dies, which seems to distress your editor, it will die a natural death. Had NATO gotten involved in Yugoslavia, for example, it would have been "killed in battle." It's a lose-lose proposition either way. Just like it was for the dinosaur keepers. Do you feed them, or do you save the food for the more progressive species? In the end, natural selections take place anyway. NATO's death will be only a matter of time. That's because we (*the State Department*) managed to alienate too many of our European allies with the amateurish Machiavellian schemes. The Yugoslav tragedy was only one of them. NATO - R.I.P.! Long live the American taxpayer!

Sincerely,

Bob Djurdjevic  
Founder

RSD/ar

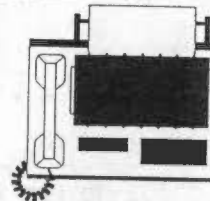
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# A FAX

## From Bob Djurdjevic

No. of pages including this one: 2

Date: October 29, 1993 Time: 10:02 pm (PDT)

### Mortimer B. Zuckerman,

Chairman & Editor-in-Chief  
US NEWS & WORLD REPORT  
FAX: 202/955-2685

TEL: 202/955-2608

→ You Media C  
FAXED  
22:10

Subject: Letter to the Editor

Dear Mr. Zuckerman:

Your "Outlook" piece, "Can a nation's death revivify an old idea?" (*your Nov. 1, 1993 issue*), is barking up the wrong tree. If NATO dies, which seems to distress your writer, it will die a natural death. Had NATO gotten involved in Yugoslavia, for example, it would have been "killed in battle." It's a lose-lose proposition either way. Just like it was for the dinosaur keepers. Do you feed them, or do you save the food for the more progressive species? In the end, natural selections take place anyway. NATO's death will be only a matter of time. That's because we (*the State Department*) managed to alienate too many of our European allies with the amateurish Machiavellian schemes. The Yugoslav tragedy was only one of them. NATO - R.I.P.! Long live the American taxpayer!

Sincerely,

Bob Djurdjevic  
Founder

RSD/ar

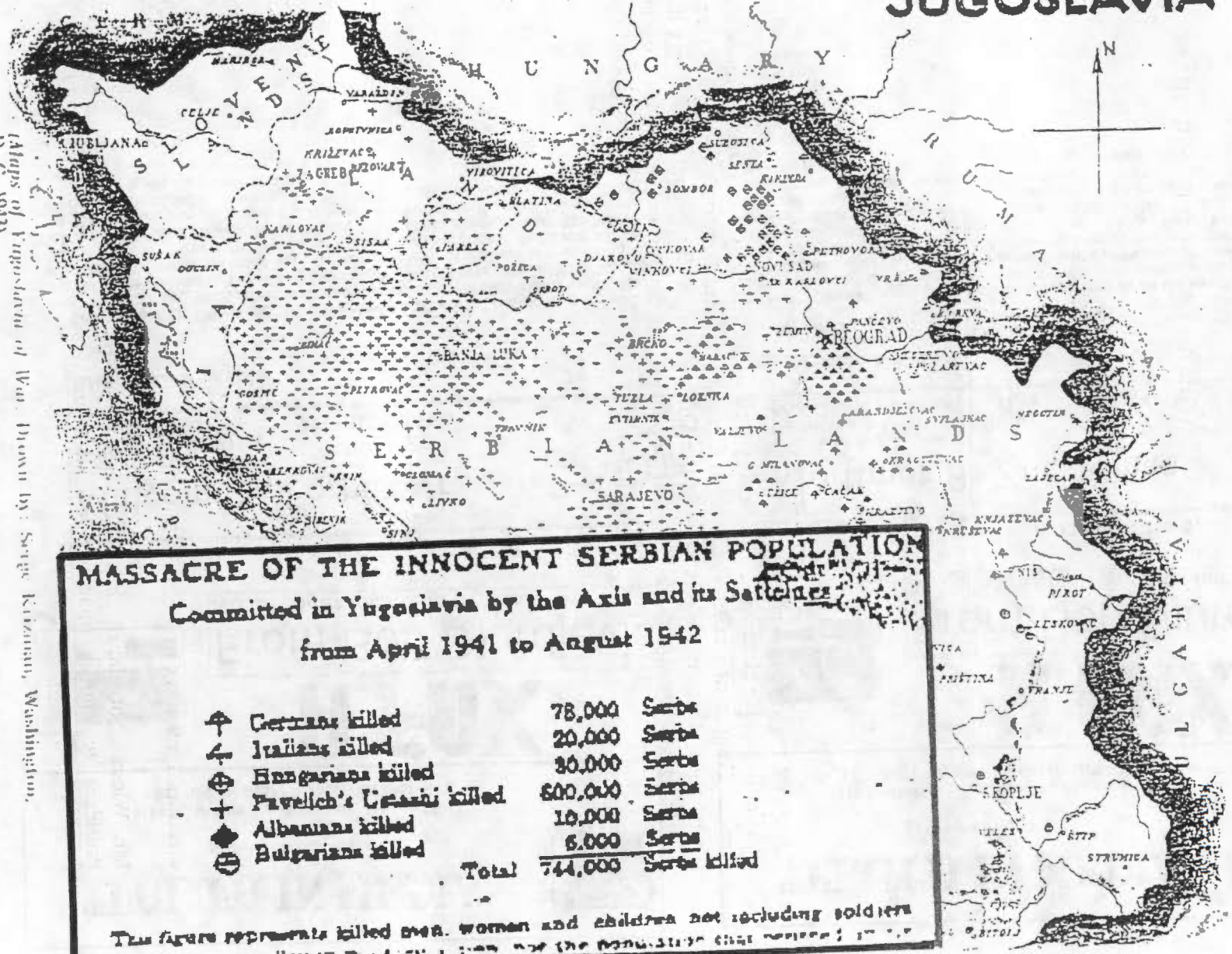
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15.

CHART ISSUED BY THE AMERICAN OSS IN 1943. DOES NOT INCLUDE ALL SERBIAN VICTIMS OF GENOCIDE

# JUGOSLAVIA



(Maps of Yugoslavia of War shown by Serge Kozman, Washington, D. C. 1943)

14.

PTD H447-2 Nov. 01 1943

FORM: THE REPUBLICAN SERBIAN M44-1144

## NOBEL LAUREATE ELI WIESEL ON PEACE & ETHICS

At 1 p. m. on Wednesday, 20 October 1993, Eli Wiesel spoke at the Chicago Illini Union of the University of Illinois at Chicago. The list of sponsors included 21 university departments, Forest Hospital, and a half dozen individual donors. An audience of over 200 turned out to hear and see the winner of the 1986 Nobel Peace Prize. However, by accident or plan, the hall was not equipped with microphones for questions and comments from the floor. Because of that almost no one in the audience could hear the comments and questions. To remedy this Mr. Wiesel did try to repeat the questions on his microphone.

His topic was "A moral society and the health sciences". According to the announcement Mr. Wiesel was to speak on "peace, ethics, and human rights as they relate to the practice of medicine and other health sciences". I emphasize the words "peace" and "ethics".

Wiesel is lionized in the media, just as the Russian writer Solzhenitsyn was in the 1970s. Both men have been victims. However, as one Israeli activist has put it, being a victim does not make you a saint. Solzhenitsyn was a victim in Stalin's Gulag and Wiesel was a victim in Hitler's Holocaust. Solzhenitsyn, though a victim, was not thereby made a great writer. Competent students of Russian literature find Solzhenitsyn's writing less than the great stuff it was made out to be in the Cold War, though the man himself was heroic. Wiesel was dragged with his family to Auschwitz. His mother and one of his three sisters did not get out alive. He was a victim. But although he is a victim, Mr. Wiesel has his victims, too, the Serb people. And despite his prize and the blurb for his lecture, Wiesel does not emerge as a credible judge of peace, or human rights, much less ethics.

Mr. Wiesel raised one good ethical question: how could medical doctors in Hitler Germany, such as Dr. Mengele, do what they did? A medical doctor friend of mine, a Czech living in Dublin, gave me the answer. Hitler's medics did not have to learn any new tricks. My Czech friend showed me his files on abuses in medical history, a history replete with horrors, some old, some going on today, even in "ethical" countries like the USA.

Otherwise Wiesel's talk was intellectually shallow. It was certainly not on a level for a high-powered university audience. His solution for the war in Yugoslavia is the Camp David model: lock all the protagonists in a room and don't let them out till they reach an agreement. And said room should be in Sarajevo. (Why not in Gospić, Pakrac, or Bratunac?)<sup>1</sup> Wiesel and like thinkers, if you call that thinking, is for "leaders" to dream up some solution behind closed doors and impose it on the people affected. "Shut up and obey! Your votes do not count." --- Wiesel's concept of human rights and peace is sheer dictatorship. Is this what gets you the Nobel Peace Prize?

Mr. Wiesel got almost rhapsodic when he spoke of walking through Sarajevo with President Izetbegović. "Imagine a Jew defending Muslims!" he said. My thought was "why

<sup>1</sup> Sites, respectively, where Serbs were slaughtered in Croatia by Croatian government troops in 1991 and between Christmas 1992 and Easter 1993 by Muslim forces in Eastern Bosnia, near Srebrenica.

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defend one ethnic group? Why not defend victims, all of them, and why not attack the instigators of the war, all of them?" Certainly the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina was fomented by the author of the *Islamic declaration*, whether President Izetbegović himself really wrote that booklet or he fronted for some fundamentalist trained in Libya or Iran.

Why are things in Bosnia-Herzegovina going as they are? This question was inadvertently answered by Mr. Wiesel in another part of his talk: "racism is no longer fashionable," he said. Let me add: it is no longer fashionable for racists to bash Jews or Blacks, but today we have an open hunting season on Serbs. In today's fashion you can have a people to hate, if it's Serbs. No one will think you are a racist. The USA, the "West" can impose a holocaust of sanctions against the children of Cuba, Iraq, and Serbia. — It is no longer fashionable to burn witches. If it were, there would be a shortage of fire wood. — It is politically correct to hate and slander Serbs. It's today's fashion. Mr. Wiesel was right, it is all fashion. But these were all thoughts I kept in my head.

The event really got interesting after a questioner asked Mr. Wiesel what to do about what he called "ethnic cleansing in Serbia." At that moment Beba Bjelopetrović stood up and corrected the man's misinformation. In Serbia there is no ethnic cleansing.

Dušanka Krstić then rose to make some points, such as the presence of Croatian Franjo Tudjman at the inauguration of the Holocaust Museum in Washington, and Mr. Wiesel accordingly denounced Croatian President Tudjman because he denies that the holocaust occurred.

But the high point of the day came when Mrs. Krstić asked the Nobel Peace Prize Winner why he signed his name to a letter in *The Wall Street Journal* demanding that the USA should bomb the Serbs. Wiesel's words were in effect: "I should not have done that. I never saw the text of the letter. I was traveling when I received a phone call asking me if I would put my signature to this. I asked 'who else is signing?... You can put my name to it'."

As I told you, this talk was given by a man who won the Nobel Peace Prize and who was lecturing an audience of learned physicians and surgeons on ethics.

J. P. Maher Ph. D.  
Emeritus  
Chicago

## **Islam's New Drive Into Europe**

**By Sir Alfred Sherman**

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There is a Muslim threat to Christian Europe. It is developing slowly and could still be checked, but the policies of the Western powers have done almost everything possible to help it grow. The factors that created the threat were:

1. Totally irresponsible immigration policies in Western and Central Europe, which have rapidly created an increasingly militant minority of 15 million Muslims there.

2. The alienation of Turkey by the European Community, which rejected Turkey's sincere efforts to join the E.E.C., virtually compelling it to seek identification with a Muslim world it was trying to escape from.

3. Germany's aggressive policy in the Balkans, calculated to break up Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, suppress Serbia and achieve hegemony in the region with Hungarian help.

4. Vatican support for this policy and the Pope's persistent counting of Arab states regardless of the interests of their Christian minorities.

5. The failure of the United States, ostensibly a supra-ethnic and supra-religious political entity, to understand the historical depth and the power of ethnic nationalism and religious conflicts.



The gradual Muslim colonization of Western and Central Europe owes much to social and spiritual disorientation there. Immigration policies were often the function of welfare policies and efforts to create full employment by monetary expansion, which in practice led to the coexistence of labor shortages and mass unemployment. Weak Governments, reluctant to deal with the situation by less generous welfare policies, labor saving and realistic wages, preferred the easy short-term expedient of importing cheap Third-World labor, which perpetuates its own need.

Another factor was the decline of Christian and Western values caused by the unlearning of Western history, including the threat from Islam. In essence, pro-Islam -like pro-Third Worldism and (until recently) pro-Sovietism- are symptoms of the collapse of belief in their own values among the West's intellectuals and politicians.

The Yugoslav civil war demonstrated that the New World Order announced by ex-President Bush has become an ugly reality remote from the democratic utopia marketed to the naive. The U.N. is now a kind of super-state, able to destroy existing states and to create new ones. It engages in military operations and economic warfare. It has virtually destroyed the Serb economy, on the flimsiest of excuses. A great power controlling the majority of U.N. votes can apply similar treatment to all but the strongest of states. Pretexts are always available. I saw how the "bandwagon effect" worked. It was not dissimilar from the anti-Czech hysteria of the 1930s, when Hitler was presented as a moderate and reasonable man.

The Bosnian Serbs were isolated. They could not even rely on Serbia and Montenegro. Seemingly, they stood no chance against Germany, the United States and the Muslim world. The widely held view that Russia is supporting them has no basis in fact. Russian public opinion is pro-Serb but public opinion does not make policy in Russia. Today, Russia seeks to ally itself with Third-World states, including Iran and the Arabs, for the sake of money (especially markets for arms) and influence, while relying on aid from the U.S. and the European community. A few million Serbs are of no importance in this equation. Indeed, Russia has signed a minorities agreement with Hungary, directed against Rumania, Slovakia and Serbia and has an informal agreement with Germany dividing Eastern Europe into sphere of influence. The German sphere includes the Balkans, as well as Poland, the Czech republic, Slovakia,

Hungary and Rumania. Russia is left with the Baltic states, Belarus and the Ukraine.

In France, considerable support for Serbia across the entire political spectrum is held in check by Government reluctance to confront Germany and thus hamper European unification. In Britain, the media are aggressively pro-Muslim and erstwhile pro-Soviet pacifists have been converted to bombing Serbs. However, the Government is aware of the dangers of the German-U.S. policies, and in particular of the counter-productive nature of bombing threats. Its actions tend to confront the line of the media and the Serbophobe lobby, but are somewhat inhibited by a strong sense of commitment to the European Community.

In the United States, Arab money talks. Arab states spend millions of dollars annually on high-powered public relations and even larger amounts on campaign contributions and other means of buying influence. It could be said that while the Japanese are buying up American real estate, the Arabs are buying up politicians, universities and the media. The manner in which some State Department officials have called for tougher action against Serbs - and then resigned to take up high paid posts in Arab-financed bodies - speaks for itself.

The main factors preventing Western military intervention against the Serbs and causing the Western switch to promoting a division of Bosnia into Croat Muslim and Serb provinces were the tough stand of the Serbs themselves (which convinced all and sundry including the U.N., that fighting them would cost heavy casualties) and the opposition of France and Britain. A subsidiary factor was the increasingly obvious fact that the fighting between Muslim and Croat forces was at least as brutal as that between the Muslims and the Serbs. Finally, Western media had little choice but to give Croat and Muslim atrocities some attention. Croatia - the darling of Germany and the Vatican - had to be protected from harm. But the phrase "the Christian majority in Bosnia- Hercegovina" is still a taboo in the West.

The Zagreb Government faces a dilemma of its own making. Three and a half million Croats live in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. Many of them have no stomach for fighting, especially against the Serbs in Krajina. Croatia cannot sustain a war on two fronts against the Serbs in Krajina and against the Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Croats in Bosnia almost unanimously desire an alliance with the Serbs, in order to defend Croat-inhabited areas under attack and reconquer those already lost. But the former Ustashi groups inside Croatia (especially in Slavonia) insist on fighting the Serbs. President Tudjman, encouraged by ex-Foreign

Minister Gensolmer of Germany to raise false expectations of a Greater Croatia including both Serb and Muslim territories, now finds it difficult to withdraw from either commitment. With Western and German policy towards the Croat-Muslim conflict becoming ambiguous, Tudjman faces serious difficulties.

Despite the military setbacks of the Muslims in Bosnia, the Yugoslav civil war represents a break-through for militant Islam. For the first time, it has mobilized international support - not only from the U.N. Security Council but from Germany, the U.S. and the European Community. The Muslim state in Bosnia may remain small. But the possibility that it may expand to the Sanjak of Novi Pazar, Kosovo, as well as part of Macedonia and Montenegro exists. The more likely scenario hat these areas may be linked with Albania (already a member of the Islamic Conference) - should worry Christian Europe no less. And this brings us to Turkey.

The key questions are whether Turkey intends to exploit the Yugoslav crisis and its aftermath to resuscitate its pre-1683 role as the dominant power in the Balkans and, if so, whether this will be part of a re-Islamization process within Turkey itself. In 1683, the Ottoman armies were defeated and turned back at the very gates of Vienna. Today, a still secular Turkey has been rejected by the E.E.C. to which it wanted to belong and is finding cooperation with the ex-Soviet Muslim republics increasingly difficult due to Arab and Iranian attempts to promote Islam there and U.S. discouragement of Russo-Turkish cooperation to prevent this. During the last three decades there were signs that Ataturk's reforms did not bite deeply enough into the Turkish national psyche. Yet there can be no doubt that German and American encouragement for a more aggressive role for Turkey in the Balkans would reinforce the other factors straightening neo-Ottomanism and Islamic fundamentalism in Turkey. If this kills Turkish secularism and drives Turkey to exploit Islam for the expansion of its political influence - not least in the Balkans - the West will only have itself to blame.

The former Greek Prime Minister, Andreas Papandreu, writes in *The Daily Yomiuri*, Tokyo, of 19 June 1993, that President Sali Berisha of Albania wants to place the Serbian province of Kosovo under U.N. or NATO control. Papandreu fears that the presence of NATO troops will encourage the Kosovo Albanians to revolt and that the Serbs will fight bitterly to retain the province. He claims that Albania is being supported by Saudi Arabia and Turkey, but that "another consequence of the German leadership of Europe and the Vatican vision of a Catholic Europe" is the revival of ties between Orthodox Serbia, Bulgaria, Rumania and Greece. He

concluded: "Don't torch Kosovo, otherwise we shall all be in flames."

The German-Vatican assault on the Eastern Orthodox churches and nations is manifested on several levels. Support for Croatian chauvinism, whose genocidal policies in the 1940s evoked no criticism from the Vatican at the time or subsequently, is matched by a new version of the Nazi claim to be defending Western civilization against eastern barbarism. Willi Claes, the Foreign Minister of Belgium, which is now a German satellite, recently announced at an international seminar that societies where the Western churches prevailed were basically democratic and peaceful, whereas the Byzantine legacy invariably produced communism or despotism. Predictably, the authoritarian nature of all existing Muslim regimes except secular Turkey was left unmentioned.

The Albanians, unlike the Bosnian Muslims, are not Slavs. Kosovo, where the proportion of Albanian Muslims gradually grew to 90%, was the cradle of Serb nationalism, but was subjected to waves of "ethnic cleansing" (of Slavs) since the 15th century. During both World Wars, the German-Austrian-Italian occupiers engaged in such "ethnic cleansing", since the Serbs were their enemies. Tito, whose parents were Croat and Slovene respectively, not only failed to repatriate Albanians illegally settled in Kosovo during World War II to Albania or to facilitate the return of the expelled Serbs but continued the "ethnic cleansing" process, intensifying it in the 1960s and again in the 1970s when his non-alignment policies required the courting of Muslims.

Papandreu is right to assume that Kosovo is a powder-keg only the Serbs can defuse and that the Yugoslav civil war has accentuated the role of religion as the prime factor in European internal strife - and not only in the Balkans. From the viewpoint of Iran, the Arab states and possibly even Turkey, ethnic considerations have become subsidiary to Islamic considerations.

Due to foolish immigration policies, there are some 15 million Muslims in Europe. Their higher birth rates and further immigration increase their weight steadily, while the number of Europeans in Africa and Asia is dwindling. Muslims are the largest religious minority in France, Germany, Britain and the Benelux states. The number of Muslims in France is approaching 5 million. In Britain, there are already 2 million and more people attend services in mosques than in Christian churches. The creation of a fundamentalist Muslim state in Bosnia has raised the level of Islamic interest in matters European. The facile assumption that during a period of history when agnosticism is on the rise among

Christians and Jews, while Islamic fundamentalism is on the rise among Muslims, the latter will want to embrace the culture of the former is false. Western culture is not yet in danger in Europe, but the danger is just around the corner. It will become serious if no steps are taken to avert it. Yugoslavia has been a prime example of Western and Christian - irresponsibility.

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OF EMORY UNIVERSITY



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October 28, 1993

Mr. Bob Djurdjevic  
5110 North 40th Street  
Phoenix, Arizona 85018

Dear Mr. Djurdjevic:

Thank you for your recent letter and material on your visit to Serbia and Bosnia that you sent to President Carter. He has shared it with the Conflict Resolution Program, and I am happy to respond.

The article that you have written on your experiences in Serbia and Bosnia was interesting and informative. We are very concerned about the situation in the former Yugoslavia and held a working session meeting at our annual Consultation that focused on the conflicts in Macedonia and Kosovo.

Again, thank you for your correspondence and your interest in the Carter Center. If you have any other information that you feel would be of assistance to us, please feel free to share it.

Sincerely,

Joyce Neu, Ph.D.  
Associate/Acting Director  
Conflict Resolution Program

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