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8 AP 11-08-94 10:54 AET

65 LINES

PM-Yugoslavia, 1st Ld-Writethru, a0513,0558

Sarajevo Streetcar Targeted by Sniper Fire

Eds: Leads with five grafs to UPDATE with girl killed, four children and woman injured by sniping and mortar fire. Picks up 4th graf pvs, 'An emergency...'

AP Photos

By SRECKO LATAL=

Associated Press Writer=

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina (AP) Sniping killed one girl and a shell wounded four other children as tension over the Bosnian army's gains in the countryside boiled over onto the streets of Sarajevo today.

The shooting followed a night in which government forces and besieging Serbs traded 175 mortar rounds on the western edge of Sarajevo. Their duel injured at least nine people, drew an overflight by NATO jets and a stern warning from the United Nations.

Hospital officials said a 9-year-old girl was hit in the head by sniper fire while in her apartment in the city's center. She died on arrival at the hospital.

A mortar blast wounded four children on their way home from school and a woman, said hospital officials and witnesses. One child was reported to be in critical condition with a head wound.

Earlier in the day snipers, apparently besieging Bosnian Serbs, opened up on a Sarajevo streetcar in the neighborhood where the girl was killed. Civilians who jumped out of the streetcars used two U.N. armored personnel carriers one French and one Ukrainian as shields against the snipers.

An emergency medical team rushed to the scene along the so-called Sniper Alley, and Sarajevans shouted derisively at peacekeepers for not shooting back. Streetcar service was halted.

"Shoot back, cowards, what are you waiting for?" a Bosnian soldier in uniform yelled toward a French peacekeeper. "Give me the gun, I'll fire back."

AP photographer Rikard Larma was grazed by a bullet as he took cover behind his car. He was not seriously hurt, and there apparently were no other injuries.

The shooting reflected the heightened tension between the Bosnian government and Serb forces since the government took to the offensive throughout the former Yugoslav republic last month.

U.N. spokesman Lt. Col. Tim Spicer said a strong protest was sent to both sides over the fighting in Sarajevo. Outside the capital, he reported some gains by the Muslim-led government forces on three different battlefields.

Fierce weekend clashes in Sarajevo that endangered a relatively successful nine-month cease-fire had cooled earlier Monday. But they erupted again Monday night.

Mortar and gunfire reverberated near the U.N.-controlled airport on the west edge of Sarajevo, and NATO jets buzzed the city. U.N. officials said today the airport runway was not damaged and a humanitarian airlift was continuing.

U.N. military spokesman Lt. Col. Patrick Declety said five

civilians, two Bosnian Serb soldiers and two French peacekeepers were wounded Monday. But hospital officials and other Bosnian sources suggested there may have been more casualties.

Throughout Bosnia, government troops and their Bosnian Croat allies appear intent on grabbing as much territory as possible before winter.

Spicer reported limited gains against the Serbs along a Serb-held corridor across northern Bosnia, hill country north of Sarajevo, and north of the town of Kupres in central Bosnia.

More than 200,000 people are dead or missing in the war that began in April 1992 when minority Serbs rebelled against a Croat-Muslim decision to leave Serb-led Yugoslavia.

7 AP 11-08-94 10:04 AET

78 LINES

PM-Yugoslav-War Crimes, 4th Ld-Writethru, a0493,0684

Yugoslav War Crimes Tribunal Opens

Eds: LEADS with eight grafs UPDATE with tribunal asking Germany to turn suspect over. Picks up 9th graf pvs `` (After) Nuremberg ...''

AP Photo NY113

By MIKE CORDER=

Associated Press Writer=

THE HAGUE, Netherlands (AP) The Yugoslav War Crimes Tribunal, in the first international war crimes hearing since World War II, today asked Germany to surrender jurisdiction in a torture-murder case against a Bosnian Serb.

The panel of three judges ruled from from behind bullet-proof glass and protected by U.N. armed guards. Anti-Serb demonstrators marched outside as the hearing took place before an overflow crowd in a room rented from an insurance agency.

Presiding Judge Adolphus Karibi-Whyte of Nigeria said Germany must take all necessary steps to comply with the tribunal's request for jurisdiction in trying Dusan Tadic. The court did not ask for Tadic in person, since it has not yet indicted him.

Tadic would become the first international war crimes defendant since the Nuremberg and Tokyo war crimes trials of the 1940s.

Germany had no objections to handing Tadic's case over to the tribunal, which cannot try suspects in absentia. However, it had noted constitutional and legal barriers to surrendering Tadic's case.

Tadic, accused of murder, torture, forced evacuations and gang rape, is being held in a Munich prison, after being identified last February by a Bosnian Muslim in a German refugee center. German authorities indicted him Monday on 15 counts of genocide and 10 of murder.

Tadic's legal representative, Joeng Sklebitz, told the court his client was willing to be tried by the tribunal, but said Tadic denies the charges.

Prosecutor Richard Goldstone opened the hearing by lamenting that the Nuremberg trials of Nazi war criminals had failed to end crimes against humanity.

`` (After) Nuremberg, it was generally anticipated by the international community that a new era had begun, '' he told the court. `` It was not to be. The past five decades have witnessed some of the gravest violations of humanitarian law. ''

The Hague Tribunal is patterned on the Nuremberg and Tokyo war crimes courts, but it faces obstacles that didn't hinder victorious World War II allies who already had defendants under lock and key.

Set up by the U.N. Security Council a year ago, the tribunal has no one in custody, and wants to try suspects who for the most part are protected by their governments.

Goldstone said witnesses' statements implicate Tadic directly in atrocities committed in the northwestern Prijedor region of Bosnia in 1992.

Tadic, a 38-year-old former bar owner and karate instructor, allegedly helped create death lists of Muslim citizens and was involved in forced deportations. Tadic and a group under his command summarily executed unarmed non-Serbs, according to eyewitness accounts cited by Goldstone.

Citing a statement by American war crimes investigator Michael Keegan, Goldstone described how Tadic and others beat three prisoners at a Bosnian Serb-run concentration camp unconscious with metal rods and truncheons.

Tadic then forced a fourth prisoner to drink motor oil and bite off the testicles of the other three prisoners, who subsequently died, according to Keegan's statement.

In court today, Judge Elizabeth Odio Benito of Costa Rica noted one significant change from earlier war crimes courts.

"Rape is for the first time being considered as a crime against humanity," she said. "There will be no justice unless women are part of that justice."

On Monday, the alleged commander of a concentration camp for Bosnian Muslims became the first suspect indicted by the tribunal.

But it is unlikely the commander, Dragan Nikolic, will be tried soon. He apparently remains in Bosnian Serb territory.

Nikolic was commander of the Susica Camp set up by Bosnian Serb forces after they took over the Bosnian city of Vlasenica in April 1992. The camp was shut down the following September.

Nikolic is accused of killing eight Muslim detainees and torturing or mistreating seven others. He is also accused of illegally imprisoning 500 Bosnians and of orchestrating illegal deportations.

20 REUTERS 11-08-94 12:35 PET
BC-YUGOSLAVIA-DUTCH

30 LINES

Dutch to send 180 UN soldiers to Bihac

AMSTERDAM, Nov 8 (Reuter) - A contingent of Dutch U.N. troops serving in Bosnia are to be transferred to the Bihac enclave in the north-west where fighting has erupted between government and Serb forces, the defence ministry said on Tuesday.

A company of 180 peace-keeping troops will go to the mainly-Moslem enclave as soon as possible after the U.N. commander in Bosnia, Lieutenant-General Sir Michael Rose, requested reinforcements in the region, a ministry spokesman said.

The company is part of the Dutch air unit Dutchbat stationed in north-east Bosnia since the beginning of the year.

Its function would be to aid a unit of Bangladeshi U.N.

troops currently stationed in Bihac, who according to military experts do not have the resources to direct aircraft from the ground in case of a NATO air strike.

"The Dutch have the equipment and know-how to direct aircraft -- that's why they are needed," the spokesman said.

A Serb blockade on U.N. aid convoys has reduced relief deliveries into Bihac to almost a trickle.

A U.N. spokesman in Zagreb told Reuters on Monday that the Bangladeshi peacekeepers were in danger of running out of medical supplies as convoys had been blocked since October 27.

REUTER

18 REUTERS 11-08-94 12:33 PET

75 LINES

BC-YUGOSLAVIA-POLICY 1STLD (PVS BRUSSELS)

Embattled Serbs might reconsider peace plan - UN

(Eds: updates with U.N. disagreeing with NATO on course of war)

By Mark Heinrich

ZAGREB, Nov 8 (Reuter) - A fresh U.N.-NATO split over Bosnia emerged on Tuesday, as U.N. officials said Serb battlefield reverses could revive the peace process but NATO experts warned the fighting would probably escalate.

Bosnian Serbs, suffering setbacks after 31 months of dominance in the war, might soon reconsider their rejection of an international peace plan, the U.N.'s senior spokesman in ex-Yugoslavia said.

But diplomats and defence experts in NATO circles disagreed, saying multiple offensives by the mostly Moslem Bosnian government army were more likely to spread the war than extract Serb concessions needed for a peace pact.

U.N.-NATO divisions have handicapped international initiatives to bring the warring parties to heel in Bosnia.

NATO has long felt the presence of U.N. peacekeepers in Bosnia benefits the Serbs by effectively freezing their conquests in place, and has lobbied for air strikes against them.

The United Nations has resisted NATO's approach, fearing it would destroy the neutrality of its peacekeepers -- many of whom are from NATO nations -- and expose them to Serb reprisals.

Bosnian government troops, with some help from Bosnian Croat forces, have pushed back the Bosnian Serbs near Sarajevo and in central and northwest Bosnia over the past three weeks.

Michael Williams, spokesman for the U.N. Protection Force, said UNPROFOR officers who had met Serb leaders recently found them rattled and confused by front-line setbacks.

"We have nothing firm to go on. But the impression we have from recent meetings with the Bosnian Serb leadership is one that it is beleaguered and feels under considerable pressure," Williams told a news conference.

"Much of the pressure now is military on various fronts of Bosnia but it's also political pressure due to the Yugoslav sanctions," said Williams, spokesman for the civilian chief of UNPROFOR, U.N. special envoy Yasushi Akashi.

"It is our hope, even if it is an outside chance, that the Bosnian Serb leadership might now reassess the situation, taking

cognizance of the deterioration of the military situation from their point of view and look again at the Contact Group initiative, which remains the only game in town."

The five big powers comprising the group -- the United States, Britain, France, Germany and Russia -- offered the Serbs 49 percent of Bosnia and allied Moslems and Croats the rest.

The plan was accepted by Moslems and Croats but rebuffed by the Serbs, who hold more than two-thirds of Bosnia.

Akashi said in Geneva on Monday that the Bosnian Serbs might be more amenable to reopening talks on the peace plan if resurgent Moslems and Croats achieved a military balance.

But in Brussels, diplomatic and defence experts were convinced that Bosnian government offensives were more likely to spread the conflict than prompt the Serbs to sue for peace.

They said Yugoslavia might eventually be forced to intervene, either openly or surreptitiously, if Bosnian Serb losses snowballed into a full-blown retreat.

"What Akashi said is nonsense, pure wishful thinking, nobody (none of the combatants) is now interested in signing an agreement," said Jonathan Eyal, director of studies at London's Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies.

A NATO source added: "Everyone, even Akashi I think, knows the Moslems only said they would sign because they knew the Serbs would not. Even, if the Serbs now said they would, the Moslems would not."

Fighting has dramatically intensified with Moslem and Croat forces smuggling in ever more sophisticated weaponry through a porous U.N. arms embargo while the Serbs struggle with worsening fuel and manpower shortages.

REUTER

17 REUTERS 11-08-94 11:52 AET

77 LINES

BC-YUGOSLAVIA-OFFENSIVE (SCHEDULED)

Bosnian army readies attack on Donji Vakuf

By Kurt Schork

ROVNA, Bosnia, Nov 8 (Reuter) - Artillery thumped in the distance as three Moslem soldiers smoked in a meadow in Rovna overlooking Serb-held Donji Vakuf, the next objective of the suddenly formidable Bosnian government army.

"We have to take Donji Vakuf and we have to take it soon," said Emir, his blonde beard sparkling in the early morning sun.

"The Serb villages were up in the hills but the town always belonged to the Moslems. Look, in the centre there was a mosque, but now it's a parking lot."

Donji Vakuf is within clear sight, but not yet within the grasp of the Moslem-led government forces.

As Emir, Siki and Mirsad walk the narrow, rutted lanes of Rovna past farmhouses scarred by shrapnel, the question in their minds was not whether, but when the attack would begin.

"The men of our Bosnian army cannot be happy until their mothers and fathers return to Donji Vakuf," explained Siki, a garrulous soldier in his mid-twenties.

Moslem forces hold high ground overlooking the town to the south and southwest. Serbs hold even higher positions to the

northwest and northeast.

The battle for Donji Vakuf will be fought and won on these steep, forested ridgelines and not in the town itself, which appears virtually deserted when viewed through field glasses.

Captured by Serb forces early in the 31-month Bosnian war, Donji Vakuf once had a population of about 25,000 people -- 50 per cent of them Moslem and the rest Serb and Croat.

Bosnian soldiers say only about 30 Moslem families remain in the town, all of them elderly. They report most Moslem homes and businesses have been destroyed, as was the main mosque.

"Donji Vakuf is the logical next step for the Bosnian army if they want to keep pressure on the Serbs," said a U.N. officer who asked not to be named.

"Their problem is logistics. The terrain is difficult. The weather is getting worse and they don't have much (logistics) capability to begin with. They need to get a lot of men and ammunition in place for an attack of this magnitude."

Two unknowns cloud the military situation around Donji Vakuf: Serb determination to hold the town and Croat willingness to help their Moslem allies in battle.

The Bosnian Serb army has used its superiority in tanks and artillery to capture 70 per cent of the country. Relatively short of infantry, there has always been some doubt Bosnian Serbs could hold all that territory against a determined foe.

Serbs, who this time last week were still boasting they had never lost a town to government forces, are now under heavy pressure on a number of fronts for the first time in the war.

When it became clear on Thursday that Bosnian troops were in a position to seriously contest Kupres, the Serbs withdrew without much of a fight. The same could happen in Donji Vakuf.

Equally open to speculation is the strength of the off-again, on-again Moslem-Croat alliance in Bosnia.

The alliance received a major boost when the combined Moslem-Croat forces captured Kupres in the first major government victory of the war.

The Croats supplied Bosnian army troops with ammunition during the Kupres offensive and have delivered additional convoys of military supplies to Moslems in the days since.

Moslem and Croat artillery pounded Serb positions north of Kupres and west of Donji Vakuf on Monday in what some saw as a sign of increasing cooperation between the two armies.

"The HVO (Croatian Defense Council) are pretty feeble fighters but they have very strong artillery," said Emir.

He and his comrades seem confident the Croats will do their bit to take Donji Vakuf because it is a stepping stone to Jajce -- a town further north coveted by both Moslems and Croats.

"The Croats must fight with us to get to Jajce because the main route to Jajce is through Donji Vakuf," said Mirsad, the Moslem commander in Rovna. "It's going to be a very big fight once we get there."

REUTER

Mediators to see Serbia's Milosevic

GENEVA, Nov 8 (Reuter) - International mediators Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg will make a one-day visit to Belgrade on Wednesday for talks with Serbia's President Slobodan Milosevic, diplomats said on Tuesday.

They said the meeting will focus on prospects for an eventual peace in Bosnia, where there has been an upsurge of fighting between a Moslem-Croat alliance and Serb forces, as well as relations between the rump Yugoslavia and Croatia.

Last week the mediators, who represent the European Union and the United Nations, were in Zagreb for talks with Croatia's President Franjo Tudjman.

REUTER

8 REUTERS 11-08-94 08:49 AET

77 LINES

BC-YUGOSLAVIA-POLICY

Moslem army attacks highlight diplomatic disarray

By Jonathan Clayton

BRUSSELS, Nov 8 (Reuter) - An offensive by the Moslem-led Bosnian government army has highlighted diplomatic disarray over policy in former Yugoslavia and raised fears of widening the conflict, diplomats and defence experts say.

"It would be very dangerous to see this fighting continuing," said one Russian diplomat. "It is most dangerous to think more fighting could bring about a long-term solution of the conflict."

His remarks, similar to those of other NATO sources, were in sharp contrast to comments voiced by the U.N.'s special envoy to Yugoslavia, Yasushi Akashi, who said on Monday a new military balance might encourage the Bosnian Serbs to talk peace.

"What Akashi said is nonsense, pure wishful thinking, nobody (none of the combatants) is now interested in signing an agreement," said Jonathan Ayle, director of studies at London's Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies.

Ayle said the fighting in which the Moslems have enjoyed their most significant gains in 31 months of war had simply shown up divisions among the five nations in the international contact group on Bosnia.

Moscow, which has strong traditional ties with the Serbs, has blamed Washington's pressure to lift an arms embargo on the Moslems for the offensive, which effectively scuppered a plan that would have left the Serbs with 49 per cent of Bosnia.

"The Moslems obviously think: 'If we are talking about lifting the embargo, it means it's time to step up our attacks.' This worries Russia a great deal," Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev said on Sunday.

Washington, under mounting pressure from Congress, has long been uneasy about being seen to "reward aggression."

France and Britain, concerned about the safety of their peacemaking troops on the ground, are exasperated about a lack of progress, but neither want a more aggressive peacekeeping approach nor a risky withdrawal.

"Unity in the contact group was skin deep while there was essentially a lull (in the fighting), now it has started again

(when) the differences have re-emerged," Ayle added.

The group's members -- The United States, Russia, France, Germany and Britain -- have been trying to persuade Bosnian Serbs to accept a map dividing up Bosnia.

Last week, the Bosnian government forces overran Serb positions to take the central town of Kupres. They have also captured territory in the northwest and around Sarajevo.

Akashi was speaking in Geneva on Monday after meeting U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and senior U.N. aides to discuss the U.N. response to the recent escalation in fighting.

"At the moment, as you know, the Bosnian Serb attitude is no to the contact group (peace) proposal. But with the change of attitude they may become more amenable to talking with the contact group," he said.

Defence experts said the argument did not hold water and, pointing to the support of Bosnian Croats for the Moslems, argue fighting was more likely to spread. Rebel Serbs in Croatia have already mobilised 2,000 fighters to help the Bosnian Serbs.

"Everyone, even Akashi I think, knows the Moslems only said they would sign because they knew the Serbs would not. Even, if the Serbs now said they would, the Moslems would not," said a NATO source, who asked not to be identified.

Diplomats and analysts also fear Serbia may eventually be forced to intervene, either openly or surreptitiously, if the fighting continues to escalate and the Bosnian Serbs suffer more setbacks.

They say Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, who froze his support to his Bosnian kin to try and pressure them to accept the peace deal, cannot or will not watch them be defeated.

"At the moment, he will sit back and say 'I told you so, you should have accepted it' but the question is how long before this develops into something else. Either way, peace is a long way off," said a western defence expert.

REUTER

7 INTERFAX 11-03-94 04:02 PET

35 LINES

KOZYREV: NATO MILITARY OPERATIONS IN BOSNIA WOULD DESTABILIZE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Russia's Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev has said military operations by NATO in Bosnia would seriously destabilize the international situation.

"That would affect Russia, too. Our ultra-nationalists trying to stage a domestic revanche would certainly take advantage of such ill-considered steps as hasty expansion of NATO membership or the alliance's bombing strikes in Bosnia," Kozyrev said after his meeting with NATO Deputy Secretary General Gerhardt von Moltke in Moscow on Thursday.

Kozyrev said he was satisfied with the fact that the US President Bill Clinton in one of his recent public statements described the conflict in Bosnia Herzegovina as a civil war. "It is common knowledge that in a civil war nobody is right and nobody is wrong," Kozyrev said.

He believes that if Moscow succeeds in keeping the West in the

regime of partnership, that would be ``its contribution to the further stabilization and democratic development of Russia''.

Kozyrev did not rule out that Russia's tough response to plans for the hasty expansion of NATO may complicate its relations with some countries in Central and Eastern Europe. ``However, it would be far better to have a frank discussion of burning issues today than confrontation tomorrow,'' Kozyrev said.

He explained that in principle Moscow was not against the admission of new members in NATO. ``Probably, Russia itself will become a member of that organization with time,'' he said. ``We are against leaping over natural phases of establishing closer relations, though,'' he added.

Kozyrev said that he ``prefers to consider how to continue along the road of cooperation with the West, rather than what we can do in the political and military terms in response to unfriendly steps. And we can do a great deal in this respect,'' he said.

Hope things are going well.

Warmest regards.
OJ + Bsh

4 COMMENT

The Sunday Sun, July 23, 1995

THE WORLD

Bosnia is another battle the west should have left alone

Walking into the wrong war

At the height of the Vietnam war, many who felt America was wrong to be fighting in Indochina tended to ascribe all sorts of virtues to the North Vietnamese.

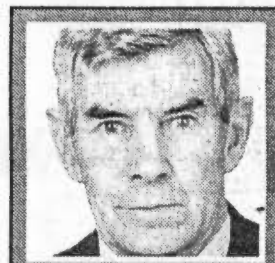
Because they felt America was wrong, they assumed those opposing America must be right. And the South Vietnamese, by being America's allies, were also branded as villainous.

The public was inundated with tales of Saigon's corruption, cowardice and infamous "tiger cages" in which North Vietnamese prisoners were abused. That sort of stuff. And, of course, there was the Tet Offensive, portrayed as a Vietcong triumph when in fact it was a military disaster.

My Lai, an American atrocity, came to symbolize or typify the sort of war America was waging, while the Northern massacre of Hue was ignored, downplayed or justified as understandable reaction to American perfidy. We had the charming, giggling image of Jane Fonda visiting Hanoi and aiming an anti-aircraft gun at imaginary American jets for Hanoi's TV cameras.

When the U.S. abandoned its erstwhile ally and the North won, Western media had difficulty understanding why South Vietnamese would choose to risk the China Sea in small boats rather than relish the joys of "liberation."

In one of the media's shabbier moments, Voice of America propaganda was blamed for needlessly panicking South Vietnamese to flee.



Peter WORTHINGTON



...at gunpoint, magnifying American jets for Hanoi's TV cameras.
When the U.S. abandoned its erstwhile ally and the North won, Western media had difficulty understanding why South Vietnamese would choose to risk the China Sea in small boats rather than relish the joys of "liberation."

In one of the media's shabbier moments, Voice of America propaganda was blamed for needlessly panicking South Vietnamese to flee.

Throughout the whole Vietnamese war, Western anti-war elements couldn't understand — nor did they question — why refugees always headed south towards what to the Jane Fonda-Bill Clinton mentality was repression, and not north to liberation.

Now that the passions of those days are history, we can see that however bad the South was, the North was worse. It was still the wrong war for America, but not because it was immoral or anything, but because it was a losing war and one which the politicians would not allow their military to win.

The lesson is that we in the west like heroes and villains — white hats and black hats, good guys and bad guys. Nowhere is this syndrome so evident as in Bosnia, where we (meaning the west, including the media) tend to ascribe every wickedness to Serbs and every virtue to whoever opposes Serbs.

In truth, there are no saints in the Balkans. But it does a disservice to understanding to mislead — something I feel is unwittingly or unwittingly underway in much of the coverage.

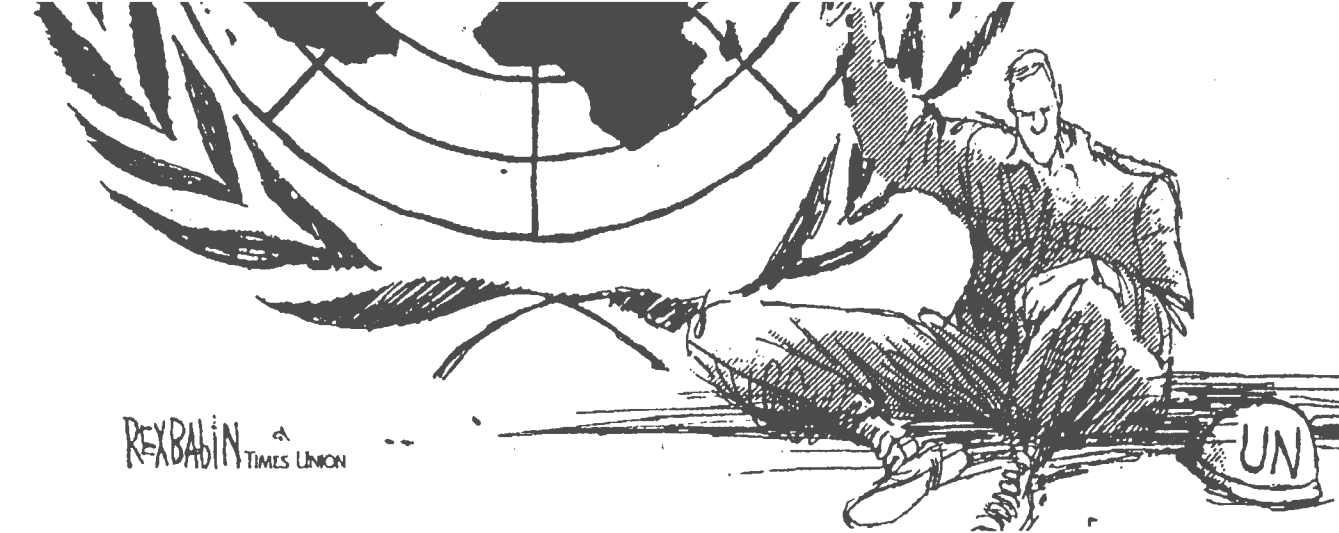
It's legitimate to sympathize with Bosnia, even while feeling its recognition by the west (led by Germany) was impetuous, ill-advised and destined for disaster. Bosnia's most passionate defender at the *Sun* is Eric Margolis whose affection for Bosnia seems matched only by his hostility towards anything Serbian.

Last Sunday he offered an analysis which, in my gentle view, is out to lunch, although it may have popular appeal. Some points:

- Margolis says Bosnia is not a civil war but "an aggression every bit as egregious as Iraq's invasion of Kuwait." This is simply wrong. Bosnian Serbs live in the territory they are fighting over, inhabit the valleys, fields and villages along with Muslims and Croats; for many, the war is over their farms and fears of what will happen to them. As for Kuwait, Iraq was a foreign power invading a weak but rich neighbor.

- "Ethnic cleansing" has become a synonym for genocide (another over-used word) when in fact it usually means "refugees." All wars produce refugees, but "ethnic cleansing" has become such a pejorative term that in areas of the disputed Krajina, for instance, people in both Croatian and Serbian hamlets are prevented from fleeing to safety because neither side wants to be accused of ethnic cleansing.

- As for 25,000 Muslim women being gang-raped, this is



something no one really knows and is mindful of all the nuns supposedly raped in the Congo 35 years ago. Rape and torture are endemic to civil wars — and are also useful propaganda. One wonders if the 25,000 figure includes the three mythical Muslim women Maj. Gen. Lew MacKenzie was accused of raping when he commanded UN forces in Sarajevo.

- The idea that the "shameful collapse of the UN effort" (an accurate assessment) "now threatens a wider conflict" has legitimacy only by constant repetition. No one in their right mind will go to war over the Balkans. What "wider conflict?" Bosnia will remain a Balkan issue, to be settled one way or another by Balkan people.

- The popular view that the UN can't easily "get out" of the Balkans and that "Bosnia is not Somalia," is probably more mythology. Why can't they get out? Ours are trained soldiers and it should be no great trick to get them out — although it'd likely mean sacrificing equipment (which in Canada's case is something of a virtue because most of our stuff is so ancient and inadequate that it'd do our military a favor to abandon or destroy it). Croatia no longer needs the UN protection, nor do Serbs; by ending the arms embargo, Bosnians can fight their own war.

- To suggest that two million Bosnian refugees threaten to become the Palestinians of Europe, and turn their "fury ... against the Europeans, notably Britain who secretly condones and even abetted these crimes by the Serbs" is ludicrous on several counts.

If there are huge refugee camps in the Balkans, no one has found them. And to say Britain aids or encourages atrocities is silly — despite Britain's shameful record of sending millions of Slavic people to certain death by forcibly repatriating them to Stalin and Tito after World War II. That was then — this is now.

- To suggest the "Islamic World grows more furious by the day" and will vent anger on western countries "who have done little to help the Bosnians," seems unrealistic. What "Islamic" governments do to their own people and co-religionists matches anything happening in the Balkans. Without Israel to hate, Arabs would always be at one another's throats — as they've been at the throat of Palestinians from time to time.

- To propagate the view that Moscow wants a "Greater Serbia" as a "secure base to build its power in East Europe and frustrate expansion by NATO" defies logic. For 40 years all nationalities in what used to be Yugoslavia have opposed colonization by Moscow (even communist elements). Russia is so plagued by internal problems today that it hardly needs to attempt to tame Serbia for its own imperialistic goals. Isn't it Russia that wants to join NATO these days?

None of this is to suggest the Serbs haven't done terrible things in this ongoing war — as have Croats and Muslims, albeit on a lesser scale. But history shows that force rarely intimidates Serbs. If (when) the UN leaves it's unlikely there'll be the genocide that some expect, but rather a return to guarded co-existence that's been the custom through centuries of prickly relations.

Historically, Balkans have always fought one another — and invaders. But genocide is not their trait, unlike the Khmer Rouge, Nazis or even Soviets. War, per se, is not genocide, but who will dominate — establishing a winner and a loser.

In the Balkans, it would seem that Serbs are poised to win. Air attacks, boycotts or disapproval are unlikely to change this reality.

Finally, when Margolis says Bosnia expected NATO or the UN to protect its independence, it inadvertently reveals another weakness — that it's unrealistic to expect others to fight your battles, something North Vietnam proved 20 years ago.

German and US Involvement in the Balkans: A Careful Coincidence of National Policies?

**BY T. W. ("BILL") CARR,
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER,
DEFENSE & FOREIGN AFFAIRS PUBLICATIONS,
LONDON.**

**PRESENTED AT THE
SYMPOSIUM ON THE BALKAN WAR
YUGOSLAVIA: PAST AND PRESENT**

CHICAGO, AUGUST 31-SEPTEMBER 1, 1995

Introduction

On June 12, 1994, US President William Clinton made a "symbolic" speech at the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin in which he made it clear to the world that a reunited Germany was the United States' key European partner in bringing about a new world order. At associated meetings he referred to Chancellor Helmut Kohl as: "Helmut is my principal partner in Europe" . . . and "A reunited Germany will be the leader of a united Europe". President Clinton projected a vision of a reunited, rebuilt Berlin as the centre of a united Europe with Germany moving the continent forward in peace and economic progress.

The facts however deny the realisation of such a Utopean vision. Many European leaders and analysts have noted that Germany's actions since the fall of the Berlin Wall have been largely self-serving and frequently destabilising within Europe, rather than furthering European unity and continental stability. The hundreds of thousands of people killed, maimed, made homeless and turned into refugees in the former Yugoslavia bear witness to Germany's apparent agenda in the Balkans, aided both wittingly and unwittingly since 1991 by two successive US Governments.

The economy of the Balkans has been put back at least 30 years, and enough new hatred generated to last for decades. Far from being a forward looking foreign policy as projected by President Clinton, Germany has reverted to some of its traditional strategic goals, albeit presented in a modern idiom. If new maps were to be produced of Europe which depict current zones of German economic dominance and military influence, they would bear a striking similarity to maps of the Holy Roman Empire,

the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and, more recently, to those made a temporary reality by Adolf Hitler's Third Reich in the 1940s.

However, south of the "German Zone", in a swathe which runs from Albania in the West through Macedonia, Bulgaria, Romania, Moldavia, to the Ukraine in the East, is another zone to which the United States is paying special attention. It appears that the US Government views this Southern Belt as its area of economic interest. It is not yet certain whether there is an agreement between Germany and the US to carve Europe into two main zones, but there is strong circumstantial evidence from their actions in the Balkans and in the Southern belt to support the supposition of a carving up of Europe by two superpowers of the next century.

The Former Yugoslavia

In order to trace German and US involvement in the Balkans in recent years, it is essential to understand the circumstances which made this possible, and to briefly profile the three main protagonists in the former Yugoslavia, namely, Presidents Milošević of Serbia, Tudjman of Croatia and Izetbegović of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The death of the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia President Tito in 1980, and then that of his protégé and successor, Vladimir Bakarić, in 1983, produced a void in the leadership of the Yugoslavia. As a result, throughout the remainder of the 1980s, Yugoslavia suffered from a declining economy, increasing rivalry between individuals and states, and the rebirth of nationalism closely allied to one of three religions, Christian Roman Catholicism, Christian Orthodoxy and Islam.

1989 proved to be a pivotal year with a number of factors facilitating far reaching change, not only in Yugoslavia, but also throughout Europe, and in the world at large.

In 1989, the demise of the USSR and Eastern European communism, removed any remaining inhibitions against radical change in the political make up and structure of the Yugoslav Federation. Inhibitions disappeared also against change in the strategic political and military alliances, frozen throughout the period of the "Cold War". It was judged by many as an opportunity to create a better world, a time for US President George Bush's "New World Order"; a time to reap the peace dividend. Those with a more informed knowledge of history, however, feared otherwise, perceiving that the end of the relatively simple-to-understand, polarized, East-West, communism *versus* capitalism confrontation, would probably mean a return to the complex, devious, and frequently covert, geopolitics

practiced by the major powers in the 19th Century and the first half of the 20th Century.

The last decade of the 20th Century has thus become a period in which the world's great powers can implement new policies formulated to advance national interests. In many current situations, implementation can be achieved more easily than in the past, and given a cloak of international respectability, by manipulating the United Nations Security Council, and using the Trans-Atlantic/European organisations which had been developed to counter the military and economic strength of communism from 1945 to 1990.

Milošević, Izetbegović & Tudjman: The Bid For Power

Three leaders emerged within the collapsing Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia. Each used the emotive appeal of patriotism (nationalism), history and religious heritage in their bid for political control of one of three "nation states", Orthodox Christian Serbia, Roman Catholic Christian Croatia and Islamic Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Slobodan Milošević

On June 28, 1989, Serbian leader Slobodan Milošević marked the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo against the "Ottoman Islamist Empire" at Gazimestan by addressing more than one-million Serbs, recounting the heroism of the Serbian nation and their Christian Orthodox faith in resisting the spread of Islam into Europe. He reassured his audience, that the Autonomous Province of Kosovo would remain an integral part of Serbia and Yugoslavia, despite the then current and often violent, problem of separatism demanded by the Muslim Albanian majority living in Kosovo.

In the Serbian presidential election on November 12, 1989, Mr Milošević won 65.3 percent of the vote, his nearest rival, Mr Vuk Drasković, polled only 16.4 of the votes cast.

Alija Izetbegović

At the same time, Alija Izetbegović, who had been released early from jail in 1988 (serving only six years of a 14 year sentence for pro-Islamic, anti-state activities), visited Islamic fundamentalist states in the Middle East, returning to Bosnia-Herzegovina to found the SDA (Muslim Party of Democratic Action). His 1970 manifesto, "Islamic Declaration", advocating the spread of radical pan-Islamism — politicised Islam — through-

out the world, by force if necessary, was reissued in Sarajevo at this time. His *Islamic Declaration* is imbued with intolerance towards Western religion, culture and economic systems. This is also the theme projected in his book, *Islam between East and West*, first published in the US in 1984, and in Serbo-Croat in 1988, shortly after he was released from prison in the former Yugoslavia. In his writings he states that Islam cannot co-exist with other religions in the same nation other than as a short-term expediency measure. In the longer term, as and when Muslims become strong enough in any country, then they must seize power and form a truly Islamic state.

In the multi-party elections held in Bosnia-Herzegovina on November 18, 1990, the population voted almost exclusively along communal lines. The Muslim Democratic Action Party secured 86 seats, the Serbian Democratic Party 72, and the Croatian Democratic Union (ie: union with Croatia) Party 44 seats. As the leader of the largest political party, Mr Izetbegović, became the first President of Bosnia-Herzegovina, albeit for just one year, for under the new constitution of B-H, the presidency was to revolve each year between the three parties, each of which represented one ethnic community.

Under constitutional law, in January 1992, Mr Izetbegović should have handed over the Presidency to Mr Radovan Karadzic, the Serbian Democratic Party leader. He failed to honour the constitution and being true to his writings, he seized power, acting undemocratically and illegally. Therefore, at no time since January 1992 should Mr Izetbegović have been acknowledged by the international community as the legal President of B-H.

Franjo Tudjman

Towards the end of World War II, while still a young man, Franjo Tudjman took the pragmatic option and joined the communist *Partisans*. He had probably realised that Germany could not win the war and that Tito and his *Partisans* would gain control of Yugoslavia, with the full support of both the Soviets and the British Prime Minister Sir Winston Churchill.

Some time after the end of World War II, Tudjman joined the communist Yugoslav National Army as a regular officer and rose to the rank of Major-General during the early part of President Tito's period of office.

During the late 1960s and in 1970, ultra right wing fascism began to re-surface in Croatia, showing the same World War II fascist face of nationalism and the requirement that a nation state must be racially pure.

This was the first attempt anywhere in Europe to resurrect German National Socialism following the fall of the Third Reich in 1944. Hitler created Croatia when his forces over-ran Yugoslavia in 1941, installing as Fuhrer, Ante Pavelic, leader of the fascist Croatian *Ustase* movement. Pavelic had spent the previous 10 years in exile in Italy as head of a Croatian terrorist group, shielded by the Vatican and the Italian Fascist Party.

Mr Tudjman was deeply involved in the attempted revival of fascism, allowing his national socialism ethos to come to the fore with the publication of his treatise, *The Wastelands*. In it he attempted to re-write major sections of the history of World War II, downplaying the Holocaust, and with it, the more than one-million Jews, Serbs and Gypsies murdered by the Croatian ultra-nationalist *Ustase*, which included priests of the Holy Roman Church, at the Croatian *Ustase* concentration camp of Jasenovac and at other locations within Yugoslavia.

For his nationalistic, anti-state activities at this time, Mr Tudjman went to jail for three years. After being released from jail, Mr Tudjman was politically low key for a few years, but re-emerged on the scene when President Tito died in 1980, gradually building a power base among the Croatian right wing and creating the HDZ Party.

In the multi-party elections held in Croatia in May 1990, Mr Tudjman's HDZ Party won control of the *Sabor* (Croatian Parliament) and Mr Tudjman became President of Croatia when it was still part of the Yugoslav Federation.

The Rebirth Of German Expansionist Aims

The demise of the USSR and communism in Eastern Europe in 1989, removed a 40 year old threat which had curtailed successive West German governments from pursuing policies independent of other West European countries, the US and Canada. The collapse of communism in the East basically spelled the end of the post-World War II era and the constraints imposed on the defeated Germany by the victors of that war.

In 1989, West German Chancellor Kohl suddenly had the opportunity to re-unite the two parts of Germany, and to formulate policies which would make Germany the dominant power in Europe, with the economic and financial capabilities to control the European Union from within. At the same time, a resurgent, united Germany would also have the financial and economic strength to exercise a large measure of control over the former East European satellite states of the USSR.

German Foreign Policy After Reunification

The German Government anticipated reunification, and, with the benefit of hindsight, it is possible now to discern that a new far-reaching strategic policy was being formulated as early as 1987. In the September of that year, the then communist leader of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), General Secretary Erich Honecker, crossed over into the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), visiting the Federal Government and making a symbolic trip to his birthplace in the Saar. This was the first time that an East German communist leader had ever held talks with his counterpart in West Germany. There is ample circumstantial evidence to support the conclusion that the shaping of a united Germany was discussed at that meeting: Honecker never stood trial for his crimes against the German people; after four months sanctuary in Russia he returned to Germany but was allowed to move to Chile on "health grounds". It is apparent that from that point onwards the German Government began to be more assertive in foreign affairs, particularly so in its dealings in Europe, within the European Community (EC), in the Middle East and at the United Nations.

German reunification commenced on July 1, 1990, when the two economies and currencies merged. West Germany created a US\$71-billion unity fund to facilitate the reunification. However, other member nations of the EC also have been made to pay for German reunification. Without consulting other EC governments, Chancellor Kohl equated the deutschmark of his economically strong West Germany with that of the economically weak former communist East Germany. High interest rates were implemented by the Bundesbank in order to maintain the strength of the combined East/West deutschmark at the international level of the West German mark. This however pushed other EC countries faster into a recession which was clearly affecting them to varying degrees at that time. Obligated to maintain their currencies within the Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) bandwidths, Germany's European partners were forced to follow the Bundesbank in maintaining (or in some cases even increasing) high interest rates. This was at the time when they desperately needed to lower interest rates as a method of stimulating economic growth and reversing rising unemployment.

It has been estimated that in 1994, the former East Germany received at least 176-billion deutschmarks in investment and income/pension support of the 16-million population. This has been paid for from higher taxation levied on the citizens of what was West Germany, and by higher levels of unemployment in other EC member states. There can be little doubt that the German Government reunification policy was self-serving, and to the detriment of most EC member states.

German Foreign Policy towards the UK

The UK is somewhat of a special case as far as Germany is concerned, both historically, when, allied with the Serbs, she was twice instrumental in defeating German expansionism, and currently, when the UK impedes Germany's domination of the EC. However, from the end of World War II until the demise of communism, Germany needed the UK as an ally to help defend its Eastern border. Geopolitical circumstances changed in 1989, the communist threat evaporated, and once again, German Government actions indicate that the UK is seen as an impediment to Germany's strategic ambitions. Germany has taken steps to undermine the UK's financial standing, and its credibility within the EU, NATO and the North Atlantic Alliance.

When the pound sterling came under pressure from speculators, no support was forthcoming from the German Finance Ministry and the Bundesbank. Indeed they increased the degree of speculation, saying the pound was overvalued. Despite spending millions of pounds trying to maintain the international value of sterling, the British Government was forced to withdraw the pound from the European Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM). UK Prime Minister John Major was made to appear politically weak and not in control of the British economy. On the other hand, the German financial institutions reinforced their already formidable international reputation, and the deutschmark was perceived as the most powerful currency within the EU and indeed in Europe.

In similar circumstances, Chancellor Kohl gave massive financial support to the French Government when the French franc came under speculative pressure. A partial explanation of the difference in treatment meted out to the two countries by Germany is the fact that the French Government had followed Germany's dictate and made the Bank of France independent of the French Ministry of Finance. In so doing, the French Government moved closer to Germany, but at the same time, it effectively made the Bank of France subordinate to the Bundesbank. A similar dictate to John Major was promptly turned down as the British Prime Minister knew only too well that such a move would weaken his Government's control of the British economy to the benefit of Germany. However, because of Germany's growing strength within the European Community, the British Prime Minister was unable to prevent the new European Central Bank being established in Frankfurt, rather than in the City of London, the traditional international financial centre for Europe.

At the same time Germany persuaded France to join with it to form the Eurocorps, a joint Franco-German military formation destined to be a 40,000 strong force not under the control of NATO. Only German and French would be used by the new formation, unlike NATO which uses

English as its prime language. As mentioned previously, when Europe went into economic recession, Germany refused to lower its interest rate as a method of stimulating the EU's economies, in effect making EU states fund the re-unification of Germany. Through these and many other actions, Chancellor Kohl attempted to weaken the UK Government's economic position and its influence in all the European institutions. Germany is now actively seeking a seat at the United Nations Security Council, even if this turns out to be at the expense of the UK's seat.

It should be remembered, that by breaking up the former Yugoslavia, Germany has created four new member states at the United Nations in New York, all four of these new states will vote in favour of Germany being given a seat on the UN Security Council. For its part, Germany is playing an active rôle to gain EU membership for Croatia and Slovenia. In Slovenia's first multi-party government following secession from Yugoslavia, no less than six Ministers were of German descent.

Germany and Croatia: Resurrection of the "Pure" Croatian Nation State

Reliable intelligence sources claimed in 1990, that in 1988, Mr Tudjman paid a secret visit to the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and met with Chancellor Kohl and other senior Government Ministers. It was said that the aim of the visit was to formulate a joint policy to break-up Yugoslavia, leading to the re-creation of a new independent State of Croatia with international borders in the form originally set up by the German Chancellor, Adolf Hitler, in 1941. At a secret meeting in Bonn, the German Government pledged its political, financial, and covert military support for Croatia's secession from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The intelligence source claimed such an action fitted neatly into Germany's strategic objectives in respect of the Balkans, which included bringing Roman Catholic Croatia and Slovenia within the German economic zone, gaining direct access to the Adriatic and Mediterranean, and securing a favoured nation status with the oil and gas producing Arab states. The latter to be enhanced by recognising Bosnia-Herzegovina as a predominantly Muslim nation state, an entrée to modern Europe for Islam along a traditional path from Turkey via Albania and the Serbian areas of Kosovo and the Sandzak occupied by Muslim majorities.

In the period leading up to Croatian secession there were signs that indicated the re-emergence of the historical axis previously seen in the days of the Holy Roman Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Third Reich. There is no "conspiracy theory" in this: merely the re-appearance of a geopolitical pattern.

Evidence of the axis in action occurred on October 4, 1990, when, even though still a part of Yugoslavia, Croatia was covertly provided with a US\$2-billion interest-free loan, repayable in full after 10 years and a day. The loan was provided by the *Ordre Souverain et Militaire de Saint-Jean de Jerusalem, Chevaliers-Hospitaliers de Malte*. This ancient Order of Roman Catholic Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem was based in Malta during the Christian Crusades against the Islamic forces in Jerusalem. Today, the headquarters building of the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem is located at 61 Via Nizza in Rome from where these modern Catholic Knights wield the influential power of high finance. There is a known strong link between the headquarters in Rome and Germany, with reports indicating the organisation is even directed by German nationals. Ostensibly the loan was to fund priority civil engineering projects with a statement of condition that the loan should not be used to fund military projects. However, well-placed sources said the loan freed-up other finances earmarked for civil projects, thus enabling the money to be redirected to equip armament factories and to purchase weapons. The same source said that despite the "no funding of military projects" condition, a significant percentage of the US\$2-billion loan was misused on armaments. Signatories to the contract on behalf of the Croats were Vice President Dr Mate Babic and Madame Maksa Zelen Mirjana, Counselor at the Ministry of Finance authorised to act on behalf of the Minister of Finance.

This US\$2-billion loan has never appeared in any Croatian Government financial statement. When Waterman Associates, on behalf of the Croatian Embassy in Washington DC, sent out a press release in 1994 purporting to show a very low amount of foreign debt/loans, I challenged their figures, mentioning the US\$2-billion loan from the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem. The embassy said they had no knowledge of the loan, so I offered to send them a complete copy of the "Object du Financement". My offer was declined as they said such a document did not exist.

It should be remembered, that this loan was made to Croatia prior to secession. A time when Croatia was still part of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and obliged under the Federal Constitution to disclose any such transaction.

The reunification of the two Germanies and modernisation of the East German armed forces, made available a substantial pool of weapons and military instructors for the arming and training of a Croatian militia. During late 1989, and throughout 1990, arms flowed from Germany to Croatia to equip militia units. After his HDZ party (Croatian Democratic Union) won control of the Sabor in the May 30, 1990, multi-party elections, the newly elected President Tudjman formed a National Guard Corps (ZNG). In effect, the ZNG was not a "national" force in the accepted

meaning of the word, rather it was the ultra-nationalist, neo-Ustaše military wing of Tudjman's HDZ political party, in the same way that the "Brownshirts" of the 1930s acted as the vanguard enforcement wing of Hitler's National Socialist Party.

It has been asked why did the Yugoslav Government in Belgrade not prevent the formation of the ZNG. The answer is quite simple. At the time, all the senior positions in the federal internal security organisations, and many senior posts in the General Staff of the JNA, were held by Croats. For instance, Croatia's first Minister of Defence, Martin Spegeļj, was a senior general in the Yugoslav Armed Forces at the time of secession.

With the full support of Germany, and against the wishes of other members of the EC, the HDZ ruling party declared Croatian sovereignty in the *Sabor* on December 22, 1990, despite strong objections raised by the opposition parties.

Shortly after the declaration, President Tudjman introduced a new Croatian constitution which defined Croatia as the national state of the Croatian people and others, pointedly relegating the Serbs, Jews, Gypsies and Muslims to a second class status. This was an exact repeat of what had happened in 1941 when nazi Germany invaded Yugoslavia and set up Croatia as the national state of the Croatian people and others. After the HDZ dominated Government passed the new constitution, discrimination against the Serbs began immediately. Serbs lost government jobs in the civil service, police, local authorities etc. ... they were evicted from their homes, many lost the ownership of their own businesses, and Serb newspapers were closed down etc. ... A special property tax applicable only to Serbs was introduced, and Croatian militia openly looted and closed down Serb shops selling expensive products such as jewelry. These measures clearly indicated to the Serbs living within the administrative borders of Croatia that they must leave the land where they had lived for three centuries, or, face the consequences of staying.

One of the most sinister changes was that every identified Serb in Croatia was issued with a new identity card which incorporated the figure 3 as the eighth figure in the identity number. The figure 3 thus became the Croatian equivalent for Serbs as nazi Germany's Star of David was for all Jews residing in countries dominated by Germany. When the time came for ethnic cleansing to start, the figure 3 would ensure no Serb would escape.

The Revived Political Role of the Croatian Bishops

On February 1, 1991, the Croatian Roman Catholic bishops sent an open letter to the bishops of the world, and then to the entire Catholic church

worldwide. In the letter, the Croatian bishops said that Belgrade, supported by the Orthodox Church, was advocating that socialism of the communist type be preserved in Yugoslavia. The letter also stated that the Serb-dominated government and army in Belgrade were centralist, and were firmly opposing the western cultural and democratic traditions to be found in the republics with a pronounced West European tradition ... ie: Croatia and Slovenia. This theme, that the Serbs were undemocratic communists and Belgrade was the last bastion of communism in Europe, while the Croats were anti-communist democrats aligned with western values, culture and free-market economic structures, became the golden bullet fired constantly by the Croatian propaganda machine. It struck home all over the Western world, particularly in the United States, and it quickly became a major driving force behind US policy in Yugoslavia. It also struck home with much of the world's media, thereby setting the scene for the anti-Serb reporting that persist to this day.

Pope John Paul II received President Tudjman on May 25, 1991, just as Pope Pius XII received Ante Pavelic, the Ustase leader of the Independent State of Croatia on May 18, 1941

On May 28, 1991, in the Zagreb football stadium, President Tudjman held a military rally reminiscent of Hitler's pre-World War II rallies in Germany. The National Guard Corps, now a large and fully equipped military force paraded before the political and religious leadership of the new Croatia. The parading troops wore the same insignia as the fascist *Ustase* in 1941 and, as in 1941, received the public blessing of the Roman Catholic Church before going out into the towns and countryside to commence the ethnic cleansing of Serbs. An official UN report by UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali stated that more than 250,000 Serbs were driven out of Croatia and thousands killed during 1991 and 1992 by Croatian ethnic cleansing operations.

Somehow the Western media failed to pay much attention to the actions against the Serbs; only when the Yugoslav Army attacked Croatian territory in an attempt to free 5,000 Serbs imprisoned and being killed at Vukovar did the TV cameras appear on the scene to tell the world of barbaric Serbian aggression launched against freedom-loving democratic Croatia. The root causes of the problem were ignored, history was ignored, objectivity was left behind in the modern vision-bite of instant TV reporting. The Balkans was too complex for a mass audience to comprehend, so keep it simple, paint it black and white and produce exciting, emotive newscasts. The Balkans replaced the Gulf War in the battle for TV ratings. The Serbs were immediately cast simultaneously as communists and evil bearded, drunken *četniks*. Anyone with even a vague knowledge of the Balkans would know this was a contradiction, the

Serbian Nationalists fighting the Germans in World War II — often miscalled *četniks* — were Royalists not communists.

Germany Forced The European Community To Recognise Croatia At Maastricht

On June June 25, 1991, both the Slovenian and Croatian parliaments declared independence, seceding from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Fighting between Croatian and Slavonian militia units with the confused, poorly-led JNA erupted in many places with the result that on June 29, the EC dispatched the so-called Troika peace mission to Yugoslavia. On July 7, under the auspices of the EC, the Brioni Declaration was adopted: the decisions of Slovenia and Croatia to secede were suspended for three months in an attempt to secure peace and to maintain the unity of Yugoslavia, albeit probably in a revised federal structure.

From May 1991 onwards, the Western media was full of biased, anti-Serb reporting, frequently claiming that the communist Yugoslav National Army from Serbia was conducting naked aggression against the innocent, democratic, pro-western people of Croatia and Slovenia. Germany played the major role in projecting and reinforcing this view of events. At 05.00 hrs on July 9, 1991, the then German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hans Dietrich Genscher, telephoned the US Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs James Baker, demanding resolute action by the UN Security Council and the Western Alliance against the Serbian terror in Croatia. During his early morning telephone call, Herr Genscher pushed hard for economic sanctions to be placed on Serbia and Montenegro, and that Croatia and Slovenia be recognised as independent states.

Here again, it can be seen that Germany was striving to bring about the break-up of Yugoslavia in pursuit of its own strategic objectives, and at the same time positioning itself alongside the United States. In this Germany was aided by Austria. For instance, the Grand Duke Otto von Hapsburg, son of the last Emperor of Austro-Hungary, and now a German Member of the European Parliament, spoke strongly in favour of the Croats. In the French newspaper *Le Figaro* on August 15, 1991, he is reported as saying: "Croats, being the civilised part of Europe, have nothing in common with Serbian primitivism the Balkans. Croatia's future lies in a European Confederation to which the former Austro-Hungary could serve as the model to be followed." On the other hand, in contrast to the German and Austrian strategy, at this stage, the EC was still trying to bring about a peaceful resolution of the situation and to maintain the unity of Yugoslavia.

However, the fighting continued. In an attempt to slow down the fighting, the UN voted on September 25 to impose an arms embargo on all factions in Yugoslavia: Germany ignored the embargo and continued to covertly supply Croatia with arms and ammunition. Fighting intensified, particularly in Croatia. During October 1991, more than 25,000 Serbs were ethnically cleansed from Western Slavonija. At the same time, 24 Serbian villages were razed to the ground in the area around Slavonska Pezega and more than 10,000 Serbs were driven across the border into Bosnia by Croatian ethnic cleansing operations.

In December 1991, EC heads of state and senior ministers gathered for a crucial meeting at Maastricht. Their task was to agree a treaty that would be a blueprint for the future development of the European Community, including across-the-board integration of economic and monetary affairs, a timetable for achieving political cohesion, a far-reaching social policy and moves towards a common policy on foreign affairs and security. Some member states, particularly the UK, knew they would be unable to gain acceptance from their own parliaments for the complete package of proposed measures and therefore pressed for an opt-out clause on some of the measures. Western European Union document 1342 Part two, dated November 6, 1992, indicates, that at the Maastricht meeting, the unity of the EC was maintained at the expense of the unity of Yugoslavia. In the course of heated discussions on European security and a common policy on foreign affairs, Germany injected the problems in Yugoslavia.

From a position where the EC members were 11 to one in favour of maintaining the unity of Yugoslavia, Germany succeeded at 04.00 hrs in forcing approval for the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia as independent states. The Maastricht Treaty was signed, complete with all its opt-out clauses, and it was claimed in a press statement issued at the end of the conference that the EC was united on the way forward on all major policy matters.

The WEU document reads:

“The Maastricht process therefore influenced the Twelve’s reactions to the Yugoslav crisis, while that crisis influenced the process of the European Union...it should be underlined that any undertaking that did not have the consent of all member states of the Community would have significantly weakened Europe just when it was negotiating the Maastricht Treaty and then proceeding to ratify it”.

In effect, Yugoslav unity was sacrificed to maintain EC unity. By its actions, Germany had proved it had become the dominant power in the European Community and was prepared to use its economic strength to achieve strategic goals in the post cold war era. A few days after the

conclusion of the Maastricht meeting, on December 23, 1991, Germany recognised Roman Catholic Croatia and Slovenia as independent states effective from January 15, 1992. Germany also gave a promise to gain for them membership of the United Nations; this was effected just five months later on May 22, 1992.

German Actions Destablise Yugoslavia And The US Steps In To Assist

A major destabilising effect of Germany's recognition of Croatia came the day after on December 24, 1991. The Serb areas within the administrative boundaries of Croatia exercised their right to self-determination, just as the Croats had done in seceding from Yugoslavia. They came together in a single republic independent of Croatia and Serbia, but the EC refused to acknowledge their right of self-determination, stating that the territories were part of Croatia. This was a fundamental error of judgment that led to four years of conflict, the death of thousands of innocent Serb civilians and the Croatian ethnic cleansing of West Slavonia and the Krajina in May and August 1995.

On January 13, 1992, in his capacity as Head of the Vatican State, the Pope became the first Head of State (alongside Chancellor Kohl of Germany) to recognise the new Croatian nation state. He was even ahead of EC member countries, they collectively recognised Croatia on January 15, 1992. The outcome of recognising Croatia as an independent state within whose international borders the international community forced thousands of Serbs to live as second class citizens was an intensification of the fighting.

At a meeting in Lisbon in February 1992, the EC proposed a Swiss-style, canton-based solution for the running of Bosnia-Herzegovina which had declared it would secede from the Yugoslav Federation, despite the objections of the Serbs who constituted 34 percent of the population. Ignoring the EC proposal, the Bosnian Muslim and Bosnian Croatian Deputies ordered a referendum on February 29, 1992, which was boycotted by the Serbs. The result therefore was 99 percent in favor of seceding from the Yugoslav Federation. Germany and the US encouraged President Izetbegović to declare independence with promises of recognition and financial aid. Heavy fighting broke out, but towards the end of March 1992, it appeared that a breakthrough had been achieved when, despite reservations on some of the detail, all three sides apparently verbally accepted the EC canton-style solution proposed some weeks earlier in February. Yet only two days later, the Bosnian Muslims rejected the plan following an assurance from the US and Germany that Bosnia-Herzegovina would be recognised, given UN membership, and, that they

could get a better deal than was currently on offer from the EC/UN Peace Envoys.

Germany forced through EC recognition of B-H on April 6, 1992, the very anniversary of Germany's invasion of Yugoslavia in 1941. This was done against all the advice and warnings of the conflict that would occur in B-H from knowledgeable statesman, including Lord Carrington who resigned his post as EC Peace Negotiator. Just a few hours after Germany's recognition of B-H, the US took the same step on April 7. The next day, on April 8, the Muslim-Croat dominated Bosnian Government announced the immediate formation of a single national militia (army) under the control of the Minister of the Interior, a radical Muslim. In response, the Bosnian Serb Deputies declared an Independent Serbian Republic (Republic of Srpska) on April 7/8, 1992, declaring the 34 percent Serb population had as much right to self-determination as the Bosnian Muslims and Croats, particularly since the Serbs in Bosnia held legal title to at least 65 percent of the land.

Four days after the formation of the Bosnian Muslim Army, President Izetbegovic ordered his troops to attack all the barracks of the Yugoslav Army in Bosnia. Two weeks later, the Yugoslav Government declared it would respect the territorial integrity of B-H and that the JNA would commence to withdraw to Serbia on May 19, all the JNA had withdrawn by June 6, 1992. Despite the JNA clearly demonstrating it was withdrawing, on May 30, the UN, led by the US and Germany branded Yugoslavia the aggressor in B-H and in the disputed territory on the Croatian-Serb border. No account was taken by the US and Germany of the fact that the JNA had withdrawn from its barracks in Slovenia and Macedonia, and was half way through a withdrawal from B-H...Yugoslavia was still branded the aggressor. Later on the same day, May 30, 1992, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 757, imposing economic sanctions on Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). On July 2, the Bosnian Croats who accounted for 17 percent of the population of B-H, declared a separate state within B-H, calling it Croatia Herzeg-Bosnia. This territory rapidly became a part of greater Croatia, adopting the same flag, currency, car number plates etc. ... as used in Croatia and Croatian Government troops were deployed in this part of B-H. No action has ever been taken against Croatia by the UN in respect of these flagrant acts of aggression, a sharp contrast to Yugoslavia which suffers UN sanctions despite having no troops deployed in B-H.

The US and Germany again took the lead against Serbia by taking action at the UN with the passing of UN Resolution 816 on October 9, 1992, declaring the air space above B-H to be a no-fly zone. The US said the objective was to prevent munitions and war supplies from reaching all three sides, and to prevent air strikes being employed by one side against

another.. However, because the Bosnian Serbs had by far the largest air force, the real effect impinged on one side only. In addition, the no-fly zone was used by the US to allow the Bosnian Muslim and Croat forces to use helicopters and fixed wing aircraft without them being attacked by Bosnian fighter aircraft. Between October 1992 and today, UN observers have reported thousands of violations of the no-fly zone, the vast majority by Bosnian Muslim and Croatian aircraft, and yet, only Bosnian Serb aircraft, airfields, radars and communication centres have been targeted by NATO aircraft. It should not be forgotten that within the NATO structure in the region, most of the senior officers in control of air and naval operations are US personnel, and the aircraft used in the air strikes have been predominantly US.

US Attempted Three Times To Control Belgrade

As noted earlier, the perception in the US is that Belgrade is the last bastion of communism in Europe, and that President Milošević of Serbia is the last communist leader holding power in Europe. As a result of these perceptions, constantly reinforced by Germany, the US has taken a number of actions to gain control of Yugoslavia and in so doing to unseat President Milošević.

In July 1992, with the blessing and backing of the US State Department, and an invitation from the Yugoslav leadership, a naturalised US citizen, Milan Panic, returned to Belgrade. He had left Serbia in the early 1950s as a poor young man and carved out a multi-million dollar pharmaceutical business empire in California. Milan Panic was therefore the embodiment of the American Dream, and a potent symbol for capitalism over communism. Accompanied by a host of US advisers, his mission appeared to be that of peacemaker, with the Yugoslav leadership hoping that his presence in their capital would result in better relations with the US and the lifting of UN sanctions. On July 14, 1992, while still a US citizen, Mr Panic was appointed as the first Prime Minister of of the new Yugoslavia.

Under US law, citizens of the US are not permitted to hold office in, or participate in, any foreign government; in the past, people even voting in a foreign election have lost their US citizenship. Yet Milan Panic was allowed by the US State Department to become the Prime Minister of Yugoslavia, a country on which the US had been the prime mover in imposing UN sanctions. It can only be assumed, as subsequent events seem to confirm, that the State Department hoped Mr Panic would displace "communist" leader Mr Milošević. After which, Mr Panic would be in a strong position to terminate the Balkans' conflict on US and German terms, and bring Yugoslavia under US and German economic influence.

On August 11, 1992, Mr Panic made his first tentative move to sideline President Milosevic. Together with the then recently elected Yugoslav President, Mr Dobrica Cosic, Prime Minister Panic met with Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance in Geneva. Following the meeting, a joint statement was issued on future Yugoslav relations with Croatia and B-H. It varied somewhat with previous positions adopted by President Milosevic.

On September 1, Prime Minister Panic startled the Yugoslav population by stating during a Belgrade TV interview: "The world sees Mr Milošević as a man who does not keep his word." President Milošević brought a vote of no confidence against Panic. On September 10, 1992, the Yugoslav Foreign Minister resigned his post during peace talks in Geneva, saying Mr Panic was continuing to work against the interests of the Serbian people. Another vote of no confidence was brought against Mr Panic in November, and though it failed by one vote in the upper chamber, it effectively crippled Mr Panic's administration.

The Yugoslav Federal Prime Minister then made his third move, announcing he would run against Mr Milošević for the Presidency of Serbia. At the election on December 20, Mr Milošević polled 56.21 percent of votes, and Mr Panic 33.95 (the remainder went to right wing nationalist candidates). Many independent observers of the election said the US Government's transparent tactics of threatening the Serbs with military intervention if Mr Panic was not elected, backfired by pushing a large proportion of the population into voting for Mr Milošević. His mission a failure, Mr Panic returned to the US to pursue his business interests.

The second occasion took place when US Secretary of State Warren Christopher visited Belgrade as part of his round Europe diplomatic effort, made soon after President Clinton had taken over from President George Bush. Though his tone was diplomatic, nevertheless he went to Belgrade more to preach and harangue, rather than to listen to another point of view and work more objectively. Interviewed by the US CBS Television Network on March 28, 1993, Secretary of State Warren Christopher said: "If the Bosnian Serbs do not sign, we will take measures to tighten sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, increase humanitarian aid to Bosnia, take further steps for establishing an international war crimes tribunal and, hopefully, have a resolution enforcing the no-fly zone in Bosnia next week. The US is also considering a lifting of the embargo on delivering arms to Bosnian Muslims."

The third time pressure was applied by the US took place in April 1993. In an attempt to show EC member states that strong talking and threats was the way to deal with Serbs, President Clinton sent to Belgrade a US Special Peace Envoy, Mr Ralph Bartholomew, accompanied by State

Resigned

Department officials and senior US Armed Forces officers. Their publicly-stated mission was to hold discussions on how to progress the peace process with the Yugoslav Government. On arrival, they tried to drive a wedge between the military and political leadership by insisting on separate meetings. At a series of meetings, in a most confrontational manner, the Americans demanded the Bosnian Serbs be made to sign the Vance-Owen Plan immediately.

At the meeting with the then JNA Chief of General Staff, General Panic, and his senior officers, the Americans made it very clear they had not come to negotiate. When the JNA officers tried to put forward the Serbian viewpoint they were told to shut up and listen. The Americans said they were not interested in history and had come to deliver an ultimatum. The meeting was filled with threats of massive US military action against Serbs throughout Yugoslavia unless the Yugoslav Government agreed immediately to US and UN terms for the peace settlement in Bosnia and Croatia.

A senior US officer was introduced as having a wide experience of the Vietnam war, and that his armoured units in the Gulf war had destroyed seven Iraqi armoured divisions. The threat was made to send him to the Balkans to do a similar destruction job on the JNA. General Panic explained there were no JNA forces in Bosnia but there were 40,000 Croatian Government troops deployed in Bosnia, so he trusted the Americans would be even-handed and attack and destroy the Croatian invasion force in Bosnia. Despite having been told not to argue by General Panic, the JNA Chief of Military Intelligence could not resist saying that the US officer had lost in Vietnam, and he would find the mountains of Bosnia and Serbia defended by Serbian fighting men much tougher to attack than a bunch of Muslims in a flat desert. That evening, the US Embassy in Belgrade very pointedly held a cocktail reception just for the political parties and newspaper editors opposed to Mr Milošević. It perhaps needs no saying that the US Delegation left Belgrade without any concessions from the Yugoslav side.

Throughout the remainder of 1993 and into 1994, while the EC and UN Special Envoys tried to achieve a peaceful resolution in the former Yugoslavia, Germany continued to supply arms to Croatia and the Bosnian Muslims. Other than Germany, EC member states resisted efforts to lift the arms embargo on only one side in the Bosnian civil war. President Clinton therefore abandoned his efforts to lift the arms embargo on the Bosnian Muslims. It is clear now that the US Government changed tactics at this point.

US Government Co-ordinates Croat And Muslim Actions Against the Serbs

Peace negotiations reconvened in Geneva during the second week of February 1994 in an atmosphere charged with emotion and anti-Serb feeling as a result of the Markale market explosion, claimed erroneously to be a Serb mortar shell. Prior to this round of talks in Geneva, President Clinton and his administration had made it clear they had little faith in the EC/UN peace negotiating process. Quite remarkably, on February 11, 1994, in front of TV cameras in Geneva, US Special Envoy to the Peace Talks, Charles Redman, stood side by side with a very happy looking Bosnian Prime Minister, Haris Silajdzic, and declared that: "The United States now intends to help the Bosnian Muslims get what they are demanding. We want to help the Bosnian Government to come to a substantive settlement. We want to reinvigorate the negotiations and produce the results the Bosnians have been looking for". In plain English, Mr Redman was stating the US Government is going to take sides in a civil war and is going to intervene in the internal affairs of another country, taking the side of the Muslims against the Orthodox Christians.

From this point on it is possible to discern a much greater overt and covert US involvement in B-H, in a pattern reminiscent of the early days of the Vietnam war. In addition to increasing the flow of arms to the Croats and Muslims, the US went further and devised a policy to bring the Croats and Bosnian Muslims together in a co-ordinated strategy to defeat the Bosnian Serbs and the Krajina Serbs. In March 1994, talks were held in Washington DC between the Bosnian Muslim and Bosnian Croat leadership, accompanied by President Tudjman of Croatia. The two sides agreed a ceasefire, the forging of a Croat-Muslim alliance, and the formation of a federal Bosnia, with the Bosnian Croatian Republic confederated with Croatia itself.

In May 1994, I wrote in a *Defense & Foreign Affairs* publication, that: "President Tudjman admitted that in return for agreeing to this proposal, the US had promised that the Serbs in the Krajina, and in other Croatian territories, would be forced to concede the territories are part of Croatia. Pressure would be exerted by the US, using its influence in NATO and the UN Security Council, and its economic leverage with Russia, to force a settlement on the Krajina Serb Republic. Sanctions would remain on Yugoslavia as a means of pressuring President Milošović into forcing the Krajina Serbs to agree the US position." Recent ethnic cleansing of Serbs from their homelands in West Slavonia and the Krajina has demonstrated the truth of President Tudjman's statement about the support promised by the US Government a year ago. When UNPROFOR soldiers were killed by the Croats, and were being used as human shields to deter the Krajina Serbs from shooting at advancing Croatian troops, US Air Force ground

attack aircraft went into action. Not as one would expect to attack the Croatian force, but rather they attacked and destroyed a "Serb radar system", which the US spokesman claimed had locked onto the aircraft. It turned out of course that the ground installation hit and destroyed by the US aircraft was the Serb communication centre linking the area under Croat attack around Knin with other parts of the Serb Krajina.

Arising from the formation of the Croat-Muslim Federation in Bosnia, during the second half of 1994, the US created a joint Croatian and Bosnian Muslim Military Command. At the same time, the US Government dispatched to Croatia, Bosnia, Albania and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, a number of "recently retired" US Army officers as "advisers". These advisers developed a coordinated military strategy to defeat the Krajina Serbs and to secure the demands of the Bosnian Muslim Government. In other words, to devise the method and organisation required to fulfill the promises made to President Tudjman in Washington DC, and those given to the Bosnian Muslim Prime Minister, Haris Silajdžić, by US Special Envoy Charles Redman in Geneva.

The US advisers also trained Croatian and Bosnian Muslim officer cadres which in turn trained their own troops. In the case of the Bosnian Muslims, the US advisers were assisted by Turkish officers. While this training was in progress, intelligence sources claim the advisers brought in US Special Forces trained as communications specialists. Their task was to provide sophisticated Communications, Command, Control and Intelligence (C³I) links for the new, joint Croat-Muslim Military Command, and to deploy with ground troops as forward air controllers (FACs) capable of calling in, and controlling, air strikes against ground targets. Though initially denied, the deployment of the US Special Forces was later admitted by a US Government spokesman who said: "These communication specialists have been sent to B-H to provide communication links covering the possible withdrawal of UNPROFOR".

In addition to the US Special Forces units, an increasing number of mujahedin began to arrive in the region. Many of the *mujahedin* were seasoned Afghan fighters accompanied by Islamist religious police to begin the radical Islamisation of Bosnia. During the making of a BBC documentary featuring General Sir Michael Rose, two of these black uniformed religious police appeared and tried to prevent filming.

The US Strategy In Action; April to August 1995

In April this year, the Bosnian Muslim units in and around Sarajevo began to bring out of hiding heavy weapons whose existence UNPROFOR was not aware of. French troops kept a log of many of the events and submitted

it to UNPROFOR Command in Sarajevo. When UNPROFOR troops tried to investigate, the Bosnian Muslim forces blocked all UNPROFOR operations in the Sarajevo area while they moved the weapons into position. At the same time, large numbers of Bosnian Muslim forces began to gather in rear of the hills surrounding Sarajevo, and US-built C-130 *Hercules* began to arrive at Tuzla airport at a rate of four per day. The transport aircraft were unmarked but were manned by US crews; the Bosnian Serbs recorded the crews' voices and say there is no doubt whatsoever that the crews were American. It is reported that the aircraft brought in arms and ammunition for use by the Bosnian Muslim forces gathering around Sarajevo. It is estimated that at least 90,000 troops arrived, including the very best Muslim Special Forces units, with the exception of the Bosnian 5th Corps Special Forces which remained at Bihac. Despite protests made by the Bosnian Serb Government, no action was taken against the heavy weapons sited within the exclusion zone and the UN Safe Haven of Sarajevo, which should be a demilitarised city.

As an act of provocation designed to trigger NATO air strikes against the Bosnian Serb forces, Bosnian Muslim snipers killed two UNPROFOR soldiers serving with the French contingent in Sarajevo. However, this event happened during the French Presidential campaign which overshadowed media coverage of the killing, plus the fact that UNPROFOR commanders no longer attribute all such killings to the Bosnian Serbs. UNPROFOR commanders on the spot now seem to display a much more questioning attitude towards events that occur just before a significant stage in the peace process. This questioning attitude however seems to have little effect in achieving more objective news coverage of events that happen within the UN Safe Havens. Emotive TV reporting of another alleged Serb mortar attack on Sarajevo in which more than 30 people have died is being shown even as this paper was being written.

On May 3, 1995, the Bosnian Muslim troops launched a major offensive at 06.00 hrs and at 10.00 hrs, NATO air strikes were made against Bosnian Serb positions ahead of the Bosnian Muslim advance. The aircraft making the strikes were mainly USAF F-16 fighters supported by USAF F-111s reportedly acting in an air defense suppression rôle. In addition, the Bosnian Serb forces say that a small number of French, Spanish and Dutch aircraft took part in the air strikes. The air strikes ceased only after the Bosnian Serbs took UN troops hostage. Bosnian Serb intelligence says that the hostages were only handcuffed to posts for a very brief period to allow TV cameras to film footage for distribution in the West. All those involved were well treated; on Spain's national day, Spanish TV filmed their troops held hostage telephoning home to parents, wives and girl friends. The British troops said they had been well treated and that they understood the military situation which caused their detention, however

on their way out through Serbia and since, they have not been permitted to make any comment to the media.

Unknown to the Bosnian Muslims and their US Advisers, Bosnian Serb intelligence had secured a copy of the planned Muslim offensive three days before it took place. Its main objectives were to secure Mt. Igman, to destroy a major portion of the Bosnian Serb Army and lift the siege on Sarajevo. Attacks were launched from a number of locations towards Sarajevo, including three major thrusts from Vares, Visoko and Pazaric. Another line of attack moved behind Mt Igman across Mt. Bjelasnici and Mt. Treskavica before one column hooked left towards Sarajevo, and a second column headed for Trnovo in an attempt to secure the road and tunnel linking Sarajevo and Kallinovik. At the same time, the Croats attacked Livno and Drvar in an attempt to drive a wedge between the Krajina Serbs and Bosnian Serbs. According to the Bosnian Serbs, it was quite clearly a two front attack coordinated by the joint Croat-Muslim Command headquarters.

At the Sarajevo battle, the Bosnian Serbs fell back to prepared positions giving the impression that the Muslim forces had them on the run. Indeed, at the time, some Western media reported an outstanding success had been achieved, the Serbs had been routed, and went on to speculate that this offensive, by a well-equipped Muslim army, could be a turning point in the war in favour of the Bosnian Muslim Government. According to Bosnian Serb intelligence, the man who planned and executed the Muslim offensive was former US Army General John Galvin, recently retired and now advising the Bosnian Muslim Government in Sarajevo. Last year he was in charge of the US Army's famous military academy, West Point. Sadly for the Muslims they fell into a classic military ploy. The Bosnian Serbs enticed them into a large valley by retreating rapidly as the Muslim Special Forces pressed home their attack. When the valley was full of Muslim troops the Bosnian Serbs opened up from the surrounding hills with heavy artillery, mortars and machine guns. According to one quietly spoken Bosnian Serb colonel it was horrific, he said: "It was a slaughter. Even though I know they had come to slaughter us, I cannot be joyful at so many deaths which could have been avoided if only we had been allowed to remain united in Yugoslavia. In past times we lived together in peace, all of us, Serbs, Croats and Muslims. The Americans and Germans broke up Yugoslavia, for what? Now they prolong the war, setting the Croats and Muslims together against us, planning the war for them, arming them and importing mujahedin into my country. If he wants to manipulate land, tell President Clinton to go back to Arkansas. I asked the colonel how many Bosnian Muslim troops had been killed in the May offensive. He said: "There were two offensives, not one.

It is difficult to judge how many died eventually, as the Muslim Government imposed a curfew on Sarajevo on the excuse that Serb snipers were in action, but this was to prevent the people finding out what had happened. They set up field hospitals but I think they could not cope with all the casualties and many must have died of wounds. What I do know is that the Bosnian Muslims lost many thousands of their Special Forces who were spearheading the attack. In that one valley there must have been more than 10,000 Bosnian Muslim troops killed, and those were their best men". He went on to say: "You know, even after such a defeat, the Muslim politicians still wanted more blood to be shed. They gave orders immediately for the Muslim units in the enclaves to launch attacks from Srebrenica, Gorazde, Tuzla and Bihac. From Srebrenica they launched three attacks in early June in which 12 Serbs were killed and many houses burnt. They made another two attacks from Srebrenica and Zepa using about 640 troops. The villages were not expecting the attack and many Serbs were killed.

From Gorazde they made two attacks towards Rogateca and burnt Serb villages. In Gorazde the Muslims surrounded the Ukrainian UNPROFOR unit and took their weapons and Armoured Personnel Carriers. From Tuzla there were three attacks towards Majevisa, and from Bihac the Muslim Special Forces made four attacks in the direction of Petrovac and one towards Novigrad". He concluded by saying: "The Muslims wanted to provoke us into attacking the enclaves so that the Muslim Government could demand that NATO must protect the safe havens with air strikes and use the Rapid Reaction Force to fight Bosnian Serbs at Gorazde, Zepa, Srebrenica etc...Because the Muslims lost heavily at Sarajevo using an American strategy, I believe the Muslims expected the Americans to use NATO air strikes to punish Serbs. I don't think we have seen the end yet, we are awaiting another Muslim offensive and another staged incident by the Muslims on Muslims in order to give the Americans an excuse to send in NATO warplanes."

Summary

In conclusion I would just like to say that I think the recent ethnic cleansing of more than 250,000 Krajina Serbs, and before that of some 13,000 Serbs from West Slavonia, has shown to the world the true face of Croatia today. It bears striking similarities to the face it showed in 1941 with Germany as midwife on both occasions. The difference this second time is that the United States of America has abandoned its ally of two major world wars, Serbia, and has chosen instead to back a former enemy and its satellite states on the one hand, and its most dangerous current enemy, radical Islamist fundamentalism, on the other. Significantly, even President Husni Mubarak of Egypt, a Muslim state, opposed the US by saying

recently that the arms embargo against Bosnia-Herzegovina should not be lifted. Egypt knows full well that Islamism — radical, political terrorism using the face of Islam to legitimise itself — is no friend of the moderate Islamic states nor of the West.

The United States will find in the not too distant future that its actions in the former Yugoslavia have opened a green route for Islamic fundamentalists into the heart of Europe. A route down which drugs are already flowing in increasing quantities.