

**May 13, 1994:** In early 1994, the French general commanding the 92nd Regiment of Infantry for Unprofor at Bihac in Bosnia, gave a speech which was made available to *EIR*. It was an internal briefing intended for French officers deployed to Bosnia, and exposes the reality behind the hypocritical "impartial diplomacy" of the French government:

"The Serbian strategic aim is clear: restore the unity of the Serbian nation. They consider that such a union can be got, only by dividing Croatia and Bosnia. What has abusively been called ethnic cleansing, will allow for regrouping the populations according to their nationality and will thus make this division feasible. . . .

"The Serbian position is relatively well-grounded. . . . Bosnian unity, assuming that it did ever exist, has become a fiction. That unity is, in any case, far less legitimate than Yugoslavian unity which was quickly dropped.

"The obstinate determination to uphold that unity is mainly due to ideological reasons. But the Serbians and the Croats don't want to belong to Bosnia anymore. . . . That puts [to rest] any debate about the survival of a multi-ethnic Bosnian state.

"The Bosnian leadership will find it hard to sign a peace accord, because they bear responsibility for unleashing the war and they have attached their name to the principle of upholding Bosnian unity.

"Since the beginning, they have tried to bring the world onto their side by using the mass media very effectively, and multiplying provocations. . . . All of our dead [the French soldiers killed] were killed by the Bosnians.

"At Geneva, the Bosnians wrecked the talks deliberately by their excessive demands. Their leaders are die-hard nationalists, who are now going to have to prove just how representative they really are. They are getting more and more radical, and have reorganized their Armed Forces. Bosnia lives today under a military regime. They have been backed in that way of thinking by the U.S.A., which has played an ambiguous role toward Bosnia. . . .

"I know I may seem anti-Bosnian or pro-Serbian by saying all this . . . but *facts are facts*, and hiding them will only bring us further away from a realistic solution. . . .

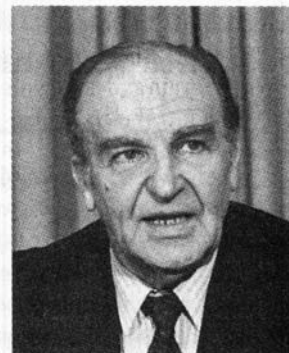
"The Muslims must be pressured to see that their idea of a unified Bosnia is dead and buried, and give in to a three-way confederation with a realistic carve-up. . . .

"At Zagreb you would think yourself in Germany or in Austria. There are a lot of Croatian emigrés in Germany, and, therefore influential pro-Croatian pressure groups in that country. They are very nationalist and high-strung. The U.N. has a bad image in Croatia, and the Croats are doing everything they can to disrupt the U.N. troops' activities. Generally speaking, they do not like us, for historical reasons (we have always been their enemy). . . . It will be very hard, not to say impossible, to change this image. Croatia, as well as Slovenia, will become the rich nations in the region, and they are both the private hunting grounds for Germany."

## Balkan leaders expose the British gameplan

*The following statements by leaders of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia reflect a very precise understanding of the perfidious role being played by the British in general, and Lord Owen in particular. The dates in boldface refer to the issue of EIR in which the statement was quoted. See also p. 31 for the Bosnian government's lawsuit against Britain for violation of the 1948 Genocide Convention.*

**Jan. 22, 1993:** President **Alija Izetbegovic** compared the Geneva Conference to the one in Munich in 1938, and the Owen-Vance mediation to the diplomacy of Neville Chamberlain. "There are many analogies to Munich," he said on Jan. 12. "Instead of Munich, today it's Geneva. Instead of Benes, it's me. Vance and Owen, in our opinion, should save Bosnia, and they are saving the conference."



*Alija Izetbegovic*

**Aug. 20, 1993:** Interview made available to *EIR*, with **Niaz Durakovic**, head of the opposition Bosnian Social Democratic Party. "In Bosnia we always said: Whenever the British come to make peace, people fight each other for the next half-century."

**Aug. 27, 1993:** Interview with Vice President **Ejup Ganic** in *Der Spiegel* magazine: "The British want to create chaos in the Balkans, and they need the Serbian cowboys for that. Germany is to be forced back."

**Nov. 26, 1993:** **Zeljko Milicevic**, a leader of the Bosnian and Croatian community in Canada, describes a speech he gave to a meeting of the ambassadors of the Organization of Islamic Countries in Ottawa:



*Zeljko Milicevic*

"Going back to the Roman Empire, '*divide et impera*' was the way of the Roman Empire. The British Empire took that and converted it into 'divide and conquer.' We know that wherever the British Empire went, blood was shed. The British Empire needed to preclude Germany from getting oil

through a pipeline from what today is called Iraq. By around 1912-13, the Germans signed treaties to exploit and pipe oil from what today is the Middle East. It was very obvious that it would be a strategic advantage to the German Empire. The British Empire found a little tiny country on the map through which part of that pipeline was going to go, and that was Serbia. And I tell you that the British created World War I and that the Serbs, through assassinating Archduke Ferdinand in Sarajevo, were an agent of British intelligence. And the British were those that drew the first map of Yugoslavia and presented it at the 1918 peace treaty in Versailles. And they re-created Yugoslavia in 1945 at Yalta, when we saw the borders of Serbia become much greater. And they are re-creating it yet today. They are now creating Yugoslavia number three.

"This is not a civil war; this is a first-degree murder of massive proportions. . . .

"The British Empire has gone underground; it is going down the drain and it is trying to drag the rest of the world with it. It operates through media. It operates under such *modus operandi* as the Tavistock Institute of psychological warfare in London, which is the institute which literally created Hitler. Today people forget, but the theory of 'pure race' was developed by British think-tanks and sold to Hitler who bought it hook, line, and sinker. I charge that the Empire still exists, that the Second World War has not ended, and that the crusades against Islam have not ended either. What you must do in Bosnia—what we must help you do—is but a first step toward saving Islam. And it must be done not because of Islam per se, but because of principles. . . .

"One of the ambassadors at the OIC meeting then asked me about one of the massacres of Muslims by Croats in Central Bosnia. I explained that the real reason that the Vance-Owen plan was introduced to begin with, was to accelerate a process of driving a wedge between Croats and Muslims in Bosnia. It was essential not only to divide Muslims and Croats but to divide Croats among themselves, and Muslims among themselves.

"I then explained to the questioner what the role had been of the Cheshire Brigade, the special British unit deployed in central Bosnia that has now been accused by both Croatians and Bosnians as having literally started the fighting between the two communities. Normally the Cheshires are deployed in Northern Ireland and are trained in psychological warfare and 'anti-terrorism.' . . ."

**Dec. 17, 1993:** At a meeting in Königswinter, Germany, Dec. 1-2 of the International Parliamentarians Against Genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina," Bosnian Vice President **Ejup Ganic** spoke: "David Owen has been going round telling people, 'Dr. Ganic can afford to refuse a deal, because he is a mathematician, and can get a job in the U.S.A. any time. But you, the Bosnian people, you have to stay there. So tell Ganic to cut the deal.' . . . When I proposed to move the talks from Geneva to New York, so that we could not be carved up in

silence, Secretary of State [Warren] Christopher said to me, 'You want to create a media zoo in New York, Dr. Ganic.' It is always through British channels that the State Department handles the media in Europe. That is what I am told. That is a big problem.

"There are many spy agencies in Bosnia, but only 85 registered mujahideen. I went to the 85 registered mujahideen and I said, 'You are a headache. All you 85 do is bring the attention of the Western press onto 'fundamentalism.' But we Bosnians will never be fundamentalists. As for the rest of the so-called 'mujahideen,' well, they are finely equipped and kitted out, their English is terrific, but strangely, they speak no other tongues.

"As for the conflict with the Croats, it was much supported from outside. . . .

"There is a huge operation by British intelligence to destroy the Muslims from the inside. Abdic is a creation of Lord Owen. Owen told him at Geneva, go with it! But Abdic was not able, so they had to drop it; they said to him, we gave you everything, but you didn't fly!"

**March 4, 1994:** *EIR* interview with **Zvonimir Separovic**, former foreign minister of the Republic of Croatia, and a member of the executive committee of the World Society of Victimology, as well as president of its Croatian section. On Feb. 6, he participated in the Assembly of the Parliament of Bosnian Croats, arguing for maintaining Bosnia-Herzegovina as a unified State. This



Zvonimir Separovic

was the day on which a Serbian massacre occurred, killing more than 40 people. "In the afternoon, I visited the site of the massacre, and watched as the Unprofor people were hosing down the pavement to wash away the blood. That's a fitting metaphor for Unprofor's role in this war: Instead of preventing or stopping something like this, they come in after it's all over, wash away the remains, and then wash their own hands. . . .

"Owen is a pathetic, absolutely negative person. His activities are aimed at partitioning Bosnia-Herzegovina, as is shown in his *Realpolitik* of negotiating with the Serbs over 2-3% of the territory occupied by them. The issue, however, isn't the 2-3%, but rather that the Serbs have occupied these areas, and that they are waging a war of aggression. He should not continue to act as Europe's representative on Bosnian affairs. . . .

"[As for U.N. Commissioner on Refugees Yasushi Akashi,] his first statements were: 'Everyone is at fault, all are equally bad.' That's what Cyrus Vance also said about the Croats and the Serbs in the beginning of 1992."

**July 16, 1995:** Speech by Foreign Minister **Irfan Ljubi-**

**jankic** on April 28, 1994 at the meeting in Brussels of the International Parliamentarians Against Genocide in Bosnia. Dr. Ljubijankic was killed on May 28, 1995, when his helicopter was shot down by Serbian militiamen:

“Very often the bloody curtain of current events covers the essence of the conflict.

“First of all, is it a civil war or not? We used to live together for centuries. Bosnia has never existed as an exclusive national territory. What has happened, is that those peaceful people started to fight each other. There is an answer: the dream of a Greater Serbia. The Serbian national program is more than 100 years old. It was created by academicians; it has a methodology. The methodology that is implemented in Bosnia is the methodology of creating quisling power states within sovereign states. We saw such a methodology in the Second World War, when Hitler created such states. What is the aim of such states, those creations? Nothing more than a first tactical step in annexation of territories. If the French Resistance was a civil war, then we can say that the Bosnian war is a civil war. Fortunately, it is not true; it is a clear aggression.

“The leader of the so-called Bosnian Serbs, Radovan Karadzic, saw Bosnia for the first time when he came to study at a Bosnian university. Now the international community calls him the leader of the Bosnian Serbs. He is Montenegrin; he is not Bosnian. He has never been Bosnian. If he knew Bosnia, he would never do such things.

“So what is the issue of creating a quisling power state within a sovereign state? It is a fascistic act, like the concentration camps were. The motto ‘All Serbs in one country,’ is nothing more than ‘*Ein Reich, ein Führer, ein Volk.*’ We have fascism on the scene in Bosnia, and the international community is obliged to recognize it. What concerns us, is the approach of Europe.

“Europe is based on two principles: respect for human rights and inviolability of borders. These two principles have been violated in Bosnia in the most horrible ways in the last two years. There is no justification for neutrality in Bosnia. Let us recall that [Neville] Chamberlain said, on the eve of the Second World War, that there was ‘a quarrel among faraway nations of which we know nothing.’ Today we know that that neutrality was paid for by millions of human lives.

“Let me emphasize that whenever Europe violates its own principles, catastrophe follows. The international community has acted shamefully, with a hesitating and reluctant approach in Bosnia. Sarajevo is the largest concentration camp in the world. I have to say, ‘Europe, wake up,’ recognize fascism in the very heart of Europe. We are not only defending our country; we are defending two main principles on which Europe is based: inviolability of borders and human rights.

“Let me conclude and say that peace will have to come, and we are for peace, but not for peace by any means. Negotiations under the present conditions of military imbal-

ance are nothing more than diktat. Auschwitz was not liberated by negotiations, but by force. Force recognizes force, and for us it is an honor to fight for those principles, for universal values, and we will continue. We will need help. Bosnia is a universal problem. I am sure of the final victory; it takes time, it takes blood, but we will win finally. Stay by our side, and you will have cause to be proud of us.”

**July 28, 1995:** Foreign Minister **Muhamed Sacirbey** announced on July 17 that the U.N. mission “is at an end,” and that “the U.N. framework is no longer an acceptable basis for the presence of international troops within Bosnia and Hercegovina. . . . Clearly, I think that some within the U.N. structure are more inclined to see a dead Bosnia than a live Bosnia which fights back. Explicitly, I’m not sure that anyone is willing to admit that. But the response of the United Nations and many in Europe to Bosnia’s struggle for life has been one of describing it as an inconvenient factor to the building of a new Europe.”



Muhamed Sacirbey



**LaRouche Campaign Is On the Internet!**

Lyndon LaRouche’s Democratic presidential primary campaign has established a World Wide Web site on the Internet. The “home page” brings you recent policy statements by the candidate as well as a brief biographical resumé.

**TO REACH** the LaRouche page on the Internet:

<http://www.clark.net/larouche/welcome.html>

**TO REACH** the campaign by electronic mail:

[larouche@clark.net](mailto:larouche@clark.net)

Paid for by Committee to Reverse the Accelerating Global Economic and Strategic Crisis: A LaRouche Exploratory Committee.

# Bosnia planned to sue Britain for genocide

*On Nov. 15, 1993, the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina announced its intention to sue the British government for violation of the 1948 Genocide Convention. The suit was withdrawn a year later, on Dec. 16, 1993, after massive pressure and blackmail. U.S. Rep. Frank McCloskey (D-Ind.), speaking at a press conference on Jan. 6, 1994, described his efforts to convince Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic and Vice President Ejup Ganic to go ahead with the lawsuit. "But," he said, "Lord Owen apparently got them into a room and convinced them otherwise." The following is the full text of the "Statement of Intention by the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina to issue legal proceedings against the United Kingdom before the International Court of Justice." It was published in EIR, Nov. 26, 1993.*

Nov. 15—Today, the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina hereby states our solemn intention to institute legal proceedings against the United Kingdom before the International Court of Justice for violating the terms of the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide; of the 1965 International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; and of the other sources of general international law set forth in Article 28 of the World Court's Statute. We have already issued formal instructions to that effect to our Attorneys-of-Record before the World Court. They are currently drafting an Application and a Request for Provisional Measures against the United Kingdom. We have instructed our lawyers to file these papers with the World Court as soon as physically possible. In the meantime, we hereby reserve all of our international legal rights against the United Kingdom.

### I.

Both the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina and the United Kingdom are contracting parties to the 1948 Genocide Convention. Article IX of the Genocide Convention provides as follows: "Disputes between the Contracting Parties relating to the interpretation, application or fulfillment of the present Convention, including those relating to the responsibility of State for genocide or for any of the other acts enumerated in Article III, shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice at the request of any of the parties to the dispute."

We will sue the United Kingdom for violating the follow-

ing provisions of the Genocide Convention, *inter alia*:

First, in our Application and Request to the World Court, we will charge that the United Kingdom has failed in their affirmative obligation and refused "to prevent" genocide against the People and State of Bosnia and Hercegovina in violation of Article I of the Genocide Convention, which provides as follows: "The Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in the time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and to punish."

Second, in our Application and Request to the World Court, we will charge that the United Kingdom has illegally imposed and maintained an arms embargo upon the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina in violation of U.N. Charter Article 51 while acting in its capacity as a Permanent Member of the United Nations Security Council. The United Kingdom has also aided and abetted the ongoing genocide against the People and State of Bosnia and Hercegovina by actively opposing all of the efforts by other States to "lift" this illegal arms embargo. For these reasons, we will charge that the United Kingdom has violated Article III, paragraph (e) of the Genocide Convention that expressly prohibits "complicity in genocide." The legal basis for this charge has been developed at length by Judge *ad hoc* Elihu Lauterpacht in his Separate Opinion attached to the World Court's Order of 13 September 1993 in the Case Concerning Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (*Bosnia and Hercegovina v. Yugoslavia* [Serbia and Montenegro]), which is currently pending.

Finally, in our Application and Request to the World Court, we will charge that the United Kingdom is both jointly and severally liable for all of the harm that has been inflicted upon the People and State of Bosnia and Hercegovina because the United Kingdom is an aider and abettor to genocide under the Genocide Convention and international criminal law.

In drafting these legal pleadings for the World Court, and during the course of the subsequent proceedings, our lawyers will also name and implicate other Member States of the U.N. Security Council that have supported this illegal arms embargo in violation of U.N. Charter Article 51, as aiders and abettors to genocide against the People and State of Bosnia and Hercegovina. We will not sue these other States at this time.

We also serve notice upon all of the more than 100 Contracting Parties to the Genocide Convention that each and every one of them has a solemn legal and moral obligation "to prevent" the commission of genocide in and against the People and State of the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina as required by Article I.

### II.

Both the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina and the United Kingdom are also contracting parties to the 1965 Inter-

national Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. Article 22 thereof provides as follows: "Any dispute between two or more States Parties over the interpretation or application of this Convention, which is not settled by negotiation or by the procedures expressly provided for in this Convention, shall at the request of any of the parties to the dispute be referred to the International Court of Justice for decision, unless the disputants agree to another mode of settlement."

The United Kingdom has promoted options, ostensibly as solutions to the aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina, that are inconsistent with the terms of this treaty.

## Barisic: British sparked Bosnian-Croatian conflict

*Early in the Serbian war of aggression in the Balkans, ethnic Croats and Muslims were allied against the common aggressor. Then, that changed. Journalist Marko Barisic, writing in the Croatian newspaper Danas, exposed the role of the British in fomenting the Croatian-Bosnian conflicts. In an article on July 16, 1993, he reported, "The first massacres in Muslim-Croat conflicts were committed by units commanded by British mercenaries, the first pictures of victims were sent to the world by British journalists." The following excerpts from the article are reprinted with the permission of Danas. The full text appeared in EIR, Aug. 27, 1993.*

Seven months ago, in a routine check of a bus on the route from Zagreb to Travnik, the Croatian police discovered 22 British citizens, their hair cut very short and wearing sports clothes. They claimed that their intention was to join the Croatian Defense Forces (HOS), an irregular formation of the Croatian Party of Rights (HSP) in central Bosnia. They were all legionnaires, professional veterans mostly from the Royal Navy, who, according to them, wanted to offer their experience in the fight against the Serbs in Bosnia. They were led by a certain Suad Vrazenica, and had been recruited in Paris. As a strong motive for coming, they talked more about their wish to "fight for the right cause," of which they were convinced through the media, and less about adventure or money as a reason. After arresting them, the Croatian police did not know what to do with them. . . . There were no clashes between the Muslims and Croats at that time, and the organizational channel that they came through was then unknown. The fact that they gave the HOS headquarters in Travnik as their destination raised suspicion. After they were stopped, the guide Suad offered money to the policemen to let them go, and was surprised when the police declined. The British were deported, and the BBC reacted with the speed of light. Two

days later a TV story on those mercenaries aired, and journalists expressed wonder over what the Croats did, rejecting help from the westerners. And the Croatian policemen were even more astonished when they saw how much attention and tenderness the official British media were giving to a handful of mercenaries.

The wonder disappeared when, a few months later, Dan Damon, for *Sky News*, prepared a story on Norry Phillips, a British mercenary and former member of the Royal Navy, who, as stated in the story, had come to Croatia two years earlier to train Croatian soldiers. Upon the arrival of Unprofor in Croatia, Phillips joined the Croat Defense Council (the Tudjman party militia, HVO), and when the clashes between Croats and Muslims started in Mostar, Norry shifted to the Muslim side. There would be nothing strange in that if he himself were not the one who tried to persuade the HVO commanders to take action against the Muslims. "Mostar cannot be a town with two armies," he used to say. "Let us deal with the Bosnian Army in two days, and the world will accept that."

People from the HVO found it strange that he was suggesting this, while, at the same time, selling weapons to the Muslims. Phillips was a man with strong connections in weapons supply deals and "import" of mercenaries. When it seemed impossible to get weapons and ammunition, all one had to do was to talk to him, deposit enough money in a foreign account, and the goods would arrive. He usually sent the new mercenaries to central Bosnia with the task of training the chosen members of the Croatian HVO and the Bosnian Army to be merciless commandos who would infiltrate a Serb-controlled territory as commando-terrorist groups. The British were usually leaders of those groups, which never started a single action against the Serbs. Instead, these groups of trained commandos, Croats and Muslims, turned against each other, both sides under British command.

### British mujahideen

The massacre in the Muslim village of Ahmici, near Vitez, was carried out by one of those groups commanded by a British citizen. The desecration of the Croatian monastery Guca Gora and the massacre in the village of the same name was executed by a group of mujahideen, commanded by a mercenary named Rose—a British citizen. Immediately after a massacre, the British "blue berets" [U.N. forces] would enter those villages along with British journalists, who would send out horrible pictures of war and civilian suffering to the world, all the while stressing that what was going on between the Croats and Muslims were not "sporadic clashes" but a real war. Pictures of mutual massacres and burned-out villages created, among both Croats and the Muslims, a mutual feeling of hate, to the point that they became a greater enemy to each other than to the real aggressor, and an impression was created among the international public that everybody was fighting against everybody in Bosnia and Hercegovina,



that it was no longer an aggression by Serbia but a civil war.

In a recent interview with BBC, Lord Owen explained: "The Americans thought at the beginning that the problem in Bosnia was a simple one: One party is the aggressor, the others are the victims. We knew from the beginning that the problem was more complex since it was not aggression, but a civil war." Even an experienced diplomat such as Owen gave himself away with such a statement. The Croat-Muslim conflicts came to him as "God's gift," as a confirmation of his initial thesis, with which he arrived at the position of a peace mediator, while the aim of the thesis was to have no decisive measures taken against Serbia, let alone to punish Serbia by military action because of the aggression.

Since at that time there were no conflicts between Croats and Muslims, it was hard to resist the efforts of the United States to start a Balkan rerun of Desert Storm. After conflicts started, everybody agreed that one should avoid getting involved in such a war, a civil war, at any price. However, the fact that the first massacres were performed by units commanded by British mercenaries and that British journalists sent the first pictures of the massacred people to the world, brings a new dimension to the entire story about the war in Bosnia and Hercegovina.

### **MI-6 in the Balkans**

The territory of former Yugoslavia, that is, the Balkans, is strategically the shortest land-route to the East. That is why the area is divided by spheres of influence among European and world powers which, on top of that, want to control the nearest access to warm-water ports. That is why, in conflicts and wars in this area, their interests always interweave; when it was impossible for those powers to realize their interests through political means or economic power, their secret services were activated, and through their men or instrumentation of a certain political or military group, they would prepare events that would change history. It is known today that the demonstrations that led to the fall of the Yugoslav government on March 27, 1941, were directed by the British Intelligence Service. . . . During the entire war there were British intelligence officers with Tito. British officers and mercenaries are also active in the war against Croatia, and especially now in the war in Bosnia. There are also British soldiers within Unprofor, weapons dealers, who present themselves as businessmen, as well as journalists, who, due to the nature of their work, can legally collect information. Some of these people are part of British Intelligence abroad, Military Intelligence Six, in short, MI-6.

Today, serious analysts put MI-6 at the very top of the intelligence services. Some estimate it to be equal to the American CIA, and some say that in certain departments it is even superior. They also remind us of the "glorious" past of British agents. During the entire course of World War II, MI-6 had its men at the very top of the Wehrmacht and among the top Russian officers. MI-6 is divided into departments.

For a long time, especially during the Cold War, the strongest one was the Russian department and, therefore, when Kim Philby, the chief of that department, defected to Russia, it was one of the heaviest blows to that service. Philby, as a chief, was a Russian agent. . . . The British Intelligence Service is not as large as the KGB, it does not expose itself to the public as does the CIA. Officially, it does not even exist. . . . Its aim is to act imperceptibly. It uses subtle methods, and acts through people who hold high positions. Its aim is to acquire quality information for British politics and economy so that they can act successfully. They want Britain to be an honored factor in the world, but from what is left of the British Empire, MI-6 is the only honored item in the world. The attention of that organization has been mostly focused, after Russia, on the regions which were traditionally British spheres of interest: Africa, the Middle East, and, lately, Asia.

### **Termination of German influence**

In the European department of MI-6 there is a Balkan sub-department, which used to be important to Britain for control of the route through Suez. Today, the aim of that sub-department is to stop the influence of Germany in the Balkans. That is also obvious in the statements of politicians on a high level. For example, German Minister of Foreign Affairs Klaus Kinkel told his allies on July 6 that "it is not the right time for the introduction of penalties against Croatia despite the conflicts between Bosnian Croats and Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina." On July 14, British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd told Parliament: "We believe that the time has come for the European Community—on Monday, perhaps—to consider the introduction of economic measures against Croatia as long as Croatia is involved in activities contrary to the international codes." Minister Hurd said this at a time of fierce military action by the Muslim army in central Bosnia and northern Hercegovina. A large part of the responsibility for Hurd's statement belongs to British intelligence agents, whose aim is to prevent a breakthrough of German interests and to provoke conflicts between Croats and Muslims.

Together with directly recruited VIPs, the main tools of the British intelligence service are journalists, businessmen, and mercenaries. MI-6 transmits its information to the world through BBC, which broadcasts in 60 languages. Just for the sake of comparison, the Voice of America broadcasts in only 16 languages. However, America is economically much stronger; it can use satellites and various listening devices for collecting information, while British MI-6 is still focused on classical methods of information gathering, in which the human factor is important.

Along with the political reasons for certain service activities, there are also market reasons. It happened, not once, that two African tribes ended up in a war after British mediation, both of them armed with British weapons. Bosnian Muslims also buy mainly British weaponry through the black market and dealers. The connection is completely logical. The major-

ity of the Arab countries buy their weaponry from Britain and, in overseas Muslim funds, most of the money is Arab. Even Norry Phillips, British mercenary in Mostar, was providing mainly British weaponry. British politicians were against lifting the embargo on weapons and against military intervention against the Bosnian Serbs from the beginning. "That would mean choosing war, and we have been seeking peace until now. We are doing everything in our power to stop the fighting and not to prolong it. We have often discussed the matter with the European 12 and the opinion prevailed that the embargo should not be lifted," Douglas Hurd told *Le Monde*. Britain has not been doing everything in order to achieve peace, otherwise it would not have sent its mercenaries, who only stirred up the war, and would not have conduited large quantities of its weapons through the black market. Commander Rose, leader of the mujahideen in Travnik, the group which committed massacres in surrounding Croat villages, is completely aware of that. "I command them," Rose proudly stated into the camera of a British journalist. He set up his military headquarters in a church.

### The role of Unprofor

Britain has steadfastly and strongly opposed military intervention against the Serbs. When American aircraft cruised the Somalian sky, many thought that Clinton would keep his pre-election promise. Then, however, the statements of the determined Douglas Hurd were heard again: "Activities of the warlords in Somalia are making the humanitarian action impossible. . . . In Bosnia and Hercegovina there is a civil war supported from outside by the Serbs from Belgrade." This statement was made on Dec. 9 of last year when there were only sporadic clashes between the Croats and Muslims. For Hurd, it was civil war, even then. Since it did not escalate, his intelligence service MI-6 took care of it. Anyhow, it is very significant that the first conflicts between the Croats and Muslims occurred in the area where British Unprofor forces were located, in central Bosnia around Vitez. And long before, in November of last year, in his interview for Channel 4, Lord Owen advocated the introduction of economic sanctions against Croatia. Now, Secretary Hurd brings this issue up again.

Today, after fierce and bloody Croat-Muslim conflicts, there must be delight at MI-6 headquarters. They have successfully performed a job for the politicians of their country. They remained friends with Serbia, prevented the breakthrough of German interests, and are, above all, selling enormous amounts of weapons to the warring parties. Norry Phillips also exults. The conflicts are developing quite all right, and when the going gets tough, he will again change sides and will survive this conflict as he has survived many previous ones. MI-6 especially appreciates the human factor. It is not without reason considered the most elite intelligence service in the world. In Bosnia and Hercegovina they did a good job. The graves confirm this. . . .

## Jurdana: Appeasement of Serbia led to war

*Srecko Jurdana is a Croatian journalist who has contributed frequently to the newspaper Vjesnik in Zagreb and Vecernji List. He was present at the Serbian siege of Vukovar, Croatia, in the fall of 1991, and he covered the war in central Bosnia in 1992. In February 1993, he visited political prisoner Lyndon LaRouche in prison, after which he gave the speech excerpted here, to the Schiller Institute in Leesburg, Virginia on Feb. 10. The full speech was published in EIR, Feb. 26, 1993.*

Let me give you a review of the principal events in the war against Croatia and Bosnia. In order to understand how this war might end, we must know what preceded it. In 1988 or 1989, one of the leading generals of the federal Yugoslav Army, Branko Mamula, who was minister of defense, visited London, and there he met with some key people who influenced British policy, among them, of course, Mr. Fitzroy Maclean, all Tito's friends during the course of World War II. At this meeting, Mr. Mamula said clearly, that the only way to stop the expansion of Germany would be through Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia is the principal obstacle to German influence. That is the intention of these people—and it didn't take much intelligence to predict that this was a clear indication of an imminent war in Yugoslavia.

It was also very clear how this war would start: a Serbian rebellion in the Croatian provinces, where Serbs make up a significant part of the population. According to some estimates, 20% is the limit, over which Serbs tend to show an inclination to rebel. The center of this was Knin, a Serbian stronghold in Croatia. In 1989-90, people put first barricades on the roads in order to stop the traffic between the northern part and southern part of Croatia. This happened during the Mediterranean Games, drawing the attention of the world's media. Many tourists were on their way back home to Europe and had to pass through the barricades, and this was an opportunity for them to attract as much attention as they could.

At this time I wrote an article for *Vecernji List*, in which I rather sharply attacked the hesitation of [President Franjo] Tudjman's cabinet. I said: It won't get you anywhere to do nothing. What you should do is to create a re-blockade of the Serbs, to encircle Knin and the places with barricades, with Croatia militia forces, and to establish a 20-kilometer cordon, a kind of no man's land, in between.

In this way, the connection with Serbia would be broken, but it wouldn't cause a direct confrontation between Croats and Serbs. It would demonstrate Croatian strength toward the Serbs, a determination not to allow the rebellion, without direct confrontation. Instead of this, the Croatian government

## How Serbia could have been defeated in 1993



*Croatian journalist Srečko Jurđana put forward a plan, published in EIR, Feb. 26, 1993, by which U.S. bombing missions could have knocked out Serbian military strongholds and ended the war within 1-2 months.*

did nothing, waiting for something to happen next.

Very predictably, the next thing was Banja. These are all well-known places from World War II. The principal demand from the Serbian side after the general Serbian attack on Croatia became obvious, was that the territory of the Republic of Croatia must be reduced to the line Karlobag-Virovitica.

Karlobag is on the Adriatic coast, and Virovitica is a small city near the Hungarian border. This line, according to Serbian pretensions, would be the border of reduced Croatia.

The rest of the territory—that is, western Slavonia and eastern Slavonia, the coastal and interior regions of Croatia—would become Greater Serbia.



This was the principal aim of the war.

But the war did not come instantly; it was well planned a long time ago. And I will tell you how it was planned.

### A long-term Serbian strategy

The federal Yugoslav Army, in its strategic plans, developed a so-called defensive line of very strong military facilities—barracks, underground storage facilities—and accumulated huge quantities of weapons, ammunition, and anything else that would be needed for a huge war, against anybody, exactly on this line. The principal barracks of the federal Yugoslav Army were lined up at Virovitica, Bjelovar, Petrinja, Karlovac, and Knin, of course. This area was covered with military facilities of the federal Yugoslav Army, on the pretext that this would be the main defensive line against a presupposed attack from the *Austrian* side! Very interesting. Very clever. The name of the game was to create a Serbian stronghold, for when the time would become ripe for a general Serbian attack on Croatia. . . .

Now, when it was obvious that the war was imminent, the war was spreading against Croatia, the Croatian government was still hesitating, because strong pressure, parallel political activity from abroad, came along with the Serbian attacks. That is, the stronger the Serbian attacks were, the stronger were the British and French accusations against Croatia for its fascism, Ustasha crimes, and so on, in order to politically disarm Croatia, to deny it the right to defend itself. And when Croatia started to organize its defense, it was said, “No, Croatia is going to commit genocide against the Serbs; they are right, because you are Ustashes, you are connected to the Nazis,” and so on. And so all these Serbian moves went on without any moves from the Croatian side.

The Serbs saw that they had in fact a free hand from the international community, from the British and French. They decided to hit very hard. So an organized attack started from Vojvodina, previously annexed to Serbia, over the Danube River.

This general attack on Croatia in eastern Slavonia, which

## LaRouche: Define a policy to win peace in Bosnia

The following are excerpts from a Feb. 8, 1993 “EIR Talks” radio interview with Lyndon LaRouche, who was then a political prisoner. LaRouche was asked whether U.S. military intervention would be necessary in the Balkans.



Lyndon LaRouche

A military policy pure and simple is always a piece of idiocy, because when you

go out to shoot somebody, you say, what are you shooting him for? “Well, we have our objections to what he is doing, and that’s a good enough reason for us to shoot him.”

But we should know, by studying history—those of us who have: Never get into a war, unless you have first studied very carefully the issue of justified warfare as posed by St. Augustine in his writings on the subject.

Don’t go so quickly into warfare. First of all, you have to define what your *peace objectives* are, and what the problems standing in the way of peace are, and your commitment to conduct war if at all for the purpose of furthering those peace objectives. Then you must state clearly

what those peace objectives are, because your object of warfare is to bring about peace, when peace in fact no longer exists.

Peace in fact no longer exists in the Balkans. The first thing to be done, which neither Cyrus Vance nor Lord David Owen have done, is to state, from the standpoint of *morality*, what is immoral in the situation in the Balkans and what are the moral conditions which must be satisfied to bring about peace.

Then, if you have to go to warfare, you say that we may have to go warfare. If we do so, it will be for the following *peaceful objectives*. And as soon as somebody accepts these peaceful objectives, the war is ended. And only under those conditions, is war a moral alternative. Even in desperate situations, you must not go to war, even to save your own life, unless you have met those conditions.

So, that’s our situation in the Balkans. We have war criminals who are worse than the Nazis under the command of Milosevic, the leader of the Serbian communist-fascist bloc (not the Serbians as a whole, but these people have dominated Serbians with their machine and they are conducting the war).

It is genocide. We should call it *genocide*. It is aggressive war—we should call it that. We should state that we will not tolerate that. We should stop this nonsense about the Croats “provoking” the Serbs. We should send into something like Coventry [an insane asylum in Britain], people like Douglas Hurd, particularly Nicholas Ridley or Conor Cruise O’Brien, who say this war was started by

was followed by the famous battle of Vukovar, could have been very simply prevented, if only the Croatian government had had some courage to do this. The Danube River is very wide here, very hard to cross—for an untrained federal army, almost impossible to cross. There are only two bridges here; these bridges could be mined; they could be blown up without any problem. In fact, the local people knew what was going to happen, and they made all the preparations, got explosives, everything was there on the spot, and they got on the telephone to Zagreb and said, “We have prepared everything, we can stop them, just give us a nod to blow these bridges up.” Zagreb gave the strictest orders *not* to do this, because it could *provoke* the Serbs to attack.

Finally, when the government started to contemplate the possibility of blowing the bridges up, the Serbs already had five divisions on the Croatian side. The battle of Vukovar had begun. . . .

Serbs suffered terrible losses in the battle for Vukovar. My estimation then was that they were on the edge of complete

Germany or said that there was a threat that Germany would become a Fourth Reich—a lot of nonsense. People who mouth that stuff, should be treated with contempt.

In other words, the first thing to do, is to organize political-moral force for the right peace objectives, and then, if there is no other way to do that but military means, and military means are capable of doing that, then do it. Because you have to. We should prepare for that contingency. But, what I fear is that some slopheads will get us into a shooting war with no clear workable peace objectives, and that would make a worse mess than we already have.

**EIR:** Is there anything in terms of the immediate situation that can be done? The Vance-Owen plan talks about a cantonization policy for Bosnia and there is opposition in Bosnia to that, and yet the Bosnians are facing a life and death situation. Should the embargo be lifted?

**LaRouche:** The United States government and the Europeans should simply say, that whatever Boutros Boutros-Ghali and his crew in the United Nations, along with Vance, think they are doing, in setting up a United Nations world empire, that we are not going to tolerate it.

We should say clearly what is the truth, that Vance and Owen, and Carrington before Owen, are worse criminals than Neville Chamberlain and Edouard Daladier at Munich in 1938. This is a far worse crime that Owen and Vance are doing—continuing the policy of Carrington—than was done by Neville Chamberlain and Edouard Daladier at Munich in 1938. We should treat that with contempt and give no moral support to it whatsoever: It stinks.

defeat—not technically, but psychologically. I thought, “They’re losing tanks, vehicles, artillery, weapons, people. They’re losing everything, yet they’re attacking on and on. They’re losing generals, the most important officers. They’re developing the Gallipoli syndrome! Regardless of losses, they have to take this town.” It was something stronger than reason. I said to myself, “If we manage to break them here, they will never psychologically recover from it; they will never get the psychological strength to go on with the war.” This thinking you could note also in the Croatian Army, which had managed to establish itself by then.

That was the end of October and the beginning of November 1991. A major breakthrough operation from the Croatian side started toward Vukovar from Vinkovci, in order to break the Serbian encirclement. The operation was a successful one. Croatian forces managed in a rather short time to get to the suburbs of Vukovar, to the point named Marinci, a small village near Vukovar. That was basically the Serbian defeat. When they got to Marinci, the Serbs knew they were losing, they were finished. We needed perhaps one day or two to get into Vukovar—the major Croatian forces—and in Vukovar, to connect with the defending forces there, and it would all be over. The Serbian losses of 10,000 people, a couple of hundred tanks, and big airplanes, and so forth, would have been in vain.

### **Betrayal by the West**

What happened there? An interesting thing. A telephone call from [European Community negotiator Lord] Carrington to Mr. Tudjman. He demanded an immediate interruption of this breakthrough operation. He said, “No! You are expanding the war. We want *peace*. We want a peaceful solution. You should let the Red Cross convoy enter Vukovar, not your army. Let the Red Cross convoy evacuate the wounded from the Vukovar hospital.” It took some time, but basically Mr. Tudjman obeyed the demand of Mr. Carrington and Mr. Vance, and he ordered that the operation be interrupted. Croatian forces stopped on the road to Vukovar. The Serbs relaxed. They started to joke around. They wouldn’t let the Red Cross convoy in. But after the fifth try, after the convoy evacuated 400 people from the Vukovar hospital and returned to Zagreb, in the process of allowing the Red Cross convoy into Vukovar, Serbian forces—there was a strict cease-fire then—went in immediately after it, and quickly linked up with the military headquarters in Vukovar. That was basically the fall of Vukovar.

There was another time that Serbia was facing complete defeat, and was saved only by intervention from outside. Croats, without an army, without anything, had started spontaneously to attack Serbian military facilities in Croatia. It was amazing how quickly these barracks were taken. The Serbs did not have any organized defense of these barracks. This was in summer 1991. A general attack on Serbian military

barracks started in Croatia. In some days, Croatians managed to get enormous quantities of weapons out of these barracks. Belgrade felt very threatened by this process, and another phone call came, from Mr. Vance and Mr. Carrington, to Mr. Tudjman, and they said, "No you can't attack barracks any more. We will impose a peaceful solution to this problem. If you go on with your attack, you will be sanctioned, you will not be recognized as a state." The attack on the barracks was, of course, interrupted, and the cease-fire in Igalo—on the Croatian-Montenegrin border, at Tito's famous villa—was signed by Mr. Kadijevic, Mr. Tudjman, Mr. Milosevic, and Mr. Vance—a cease-fire which implied immediate interruption of Croatian operations. The Serbs did not honor the cease-fire, but proceeded with the war, but in the negotiation process, they managed to save all the remaining weapons, which were enormous quantities of tanks, vehicles, missiles, guns, artillery, rockets, ammunition, anything from these barracks, and deployed them to critical points on the battlefield in Croatia and at strategic positions in Bosnia.

### The road to Bosnia

So it was the weapons taken out of the Croatian barracks, taken out by the direct order of the famous tandem, that enabled the Serbs to conduct a general attack on Bosnia. Of course the Bosnian government, led by Mr. Izetbegovic, observed silently the placement of these weapons at strategic mountain positions, and, just as Tudjman had, declared that they have no quarrel with Serbs, they're honest Yugoslavs, they have good relations with the federal Army, and there is no reason for this Army to attack them. It *won't* attack them, because it is basically a Croatian-Serbian war, and the Muslims don't have anything to do with it.

But the Muslims *did* have something to do with it, since all of Bosnia was serving as a logistical base for the attack on Croatia. Croatia was attacked from points throughout Bosnia. Without Bosnia, the Serbs would not have been able to create this kind of general war. Yet, the interpretation of Mr. Izetbegovic was, "I have nothing to do with it." He was very well warned what Serbs might do to Muslims—not only by the obvious example of what was going on in Croatia, but from his own historical experience. During World War II, Muslims suffered terrible casualties from Serbs. They committed genocide against Muslims during World War II. This wasn't enough for the Muslims; they said, "No, this won't happen again. It's not possible in these times; this is over."

We know, of course, what happened, immediately after the Unprofor [U.N. "peacekeeping" forces] took over in Croatia. The coming of Unprofor was a precondition for a general Serbian attack on Bosnia, because Unprofor kept guard over the Serbian occupied territory in Croatia, so the Serbs had a free hand to reconcentrate and regroup their troops for an attack on Bosnia, and also to use tanks and artillery otherwise needed in Croatia, to be transferred to Bosnia and start the offensive that is now going on.

## Bosnian peace requires economic development

*Helga Zepp LaRouche, the founder of the Schiller Institute, delivered the speech excerpted here to a conference of the International Parliamentarians Against Genocide in Bosnia, held at the European Parliament in Brussels on April 28, 1994. The full text was published in EIR, May 13, 1994.*



*Helga Zepp LaRouche*

... An effective peace policy for the Balkans today must fundamentally consist—in addition to pushing the Serbs back to within the borders as they were before the war broke out—of a program for economic development such as my husband, Lyndon LaRouche, proposed in November 1989 when the borders of Europe opened. The central feature of the program of the so-called "Productive Triangle Paris-Berlin-Vienna" as the centerpiece of a Eurasian infrastructure program, is based on the fact that this region, which encompasses parts of France, Germany, and Central Europe, represents the greatest concentration of industrial capacities and highly skilled labor power in the world.

It would have been very simple to apply principles similar to those of the reconstruction of Germany after World War II, to create project-linked credits to bring

In my opinion, there were two crucial moments. One was the cease-fire at Igalo, which interrupted the attack on military facilities, and the other, the siege of Vukovar and the Red Cross convoy. At these moments, Croatia had a clear victory in its hands. The federal Yugoslav Army was much overestimated. It was weak, in fact. It was very strong in appearance—plenty of weapons, plenty of everything. But it was weak in structure, because many officers were not Serbs, many soldiers were not Serbs and could not be trusted. Pilots, particularly, were not Serbs. And the motives were not clear. Milosevic was after an all-out war against Croatia and others in order to create Greater Serbia. The general commanding structure still had some "Yugoslav" thoughts in their heads—Kadijevic and others. It wasn't clear whether they were really, exclusively for the Greater Serbia idea, or did they want, perhaps, some kind of Yugoslavia. Perhaps some "Titoism"

about technological improvement of existing industries and achieve productive full employment by means of new investments.

The increase in production and productivity which would have been achieved by such dirigistic methods in the tradition of Friedrich List, not only could have become the motor of the transfer of improved technologies into eastern and southeastern Europe, and ultimately Asia, but it could have become the locomotive for the entire world economy, which was already in depression at that time.

The Balkans were to be completely integrated into this Eurasian infrastructure program as a bridge to the Northeast, and, particularly after completion of the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal, shipping on the Danube would have taken on a crucial function for the economic development of the states of former Yugoslavia. . . .

When, at the end of 1989, Lyndon LaRouche, at that time already a political prisoner of the Bush administration as the Gorbachov government had demanded, proposed the Productive Triangle, western states capitulated to the pressures of Bush and Thatcher. . . .

We must turn to the principles of physical economy, principles which have always been predominant wherever there was successful economic development anywhere in the world. That means in particular that we must use the advantages of modern technology to the benefit of all people on this planet.

An economic reconstruction program for the nations of former Yugoslavia on the foundation of physical economy is ultimately the only possible basis for an effective peace plan. Only in that way may the natural advantages of these countries, historically and geographically, come to bear, and bring about the economic and political regeneration of these regions.

In view of the boundless horror experienced daily by the people of Croatia and particularly Bosnia, it is probably difficult to imagine common economic cooperation in the future, after the reestablishment of the pre-war borders. But if we consider the situation in the Middle East, where the Rabin-Peres government and the PLO under the leadership of Yasser Arafat are attempting to overcome a half-century-old adversary relationship by means of economic development in common, then it becomes clear where the only positive way out of the crisis lies.

Similar ideas of an "Oasis Peace Plan" were considered already in 1975 under the Peres government, but were sabotaged when the hawks around Sharon took power. Today everything depends on achieving a real development of labor power in this region, against powerful forces domestically and abroad who are attempting to sabotage this development.

The situation in Croatia, Bosnia, and Serbia is indeed different to the extent that, unfortunately, in Serbia, there does not seem to be any opposition to the committed genocide. There are parallels to the situation in the Middle East as far as the embitterment of the victims is concerned. But there must come a point in time when the bitterness is overcome, and the way is made free for peace. If the bitterness continues, it means perpetual death. A real order of peace must offer a way out to all people concerned. To reverse the policy of Thatcher and Bush of 1989, therefore, means not only to drop the idea of a de facto tolerated Greater Serbia, it must also entail dissolving the sub-organizations of the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and instead to launch massive economic development with western help in the Balkans, but just as urgently in Russia, Ukraine, and the other states of the former Warsaw Pact.

remained in their heads. The situation was rather unclear at these moments.

### **Decisive action was needed**

What was needed, then, was to react decisively. To attack the federal Army, not to give it the necessary time to transform itself into a Serbian Army, which would act only according to Milosevic's ideas. The Army was a mastodon. It appeared very strong, but was structurally very weak, very slow, and you had to attack it swiftly, not to give it time to accommodate to the war situation.

Unfortunately, the people who organized this war, Carington and others, knew this very well. They put strong pressure on Croatia to give this necessary time to the federal Army, to transform itself into a Serbian one. This happened, and when this transformation was finished, together with the

successful pulling out of weapons from the Croatian barracks, then Serbia clearly had an advantage. But it could have been prevented from the very beginning. . . .

## **Von Kielmansegg: There is a military solution**

*General Count Hanno von Kielmansegg's last assignment before retiring was Chief of Staff of the NATO Army Group North in Mönchengladbach, Germany. He also served as head of the U.N. Protection Forces (Unprofor) in Bosnia. The article excerpted below originally appeared in the daily Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung of Feb. 11, 1994. Permission*

## Cardinal Kuharic: We don't want shock therapy

*In an interview with EIR published on Feb. 7, 1992, Cardinal Franjo Kuharic of Zagreb, Croatia, underlined the importance of an economic development policy for the Balkans. The following is an excerpt:*

The Pope wrote clearly in the encyclical *Centesimus Annus*, that we must follow neither socialism, nor unbridled capitalism, but that also in economics a new model must be found, in which man, the human person, will be the norm for justice; and hence the individual will be the subject of the economic system, and not be overwhelmed, and dominated. Today modern society, after communism, after the experience of collectivism which has had so many negative results, but also after the experience of unbridled capitalism, this society must rethink how to organize social life so that it may be truly just, in favor of the dignity of the individual human being, of the family, of life. Today we must study more attentively the social doctrine of the church.

**EIR:** The government of ex-Yugoslavia hired Jeffrey Sachs with his "economic shock therapy."

**Kuharic:** Let us hope that we do not have to follow these models. I hope that Croatia will be cautious. I think that Croatia will try to find its way.

*to translate it from German and publish it in EIR was kindly provided by Count Kielmansegg. The full text appeared in EIR of Feb. 25, 1994. Subheads have been added.*

The country of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its predominantly Muslim population will not survive the war of annihilation waged against it by Serbian, and now also in part Croatian attackers, without military help from the outside. The result of the previous policy of negotiating and appeasing is known. Like the policy of the western powers in 1938, this policy is characterized by a shocking degree of naiveté, indifference, and national egoism. That means that genocide is taking place. Not only have western attempts to secure the peace against the Serbs, who pursue and accomplish their political aims with brutal violence and disrespect of all law, been completely ineffective since the beginning of the war; these attempts de facto, and in part also *per intentionem*, support the aggressor.

The language of weapons—we may think it regrettable, but that is how reality is—is the only language in this situation which the Serbian aggressor will understand and respect.

Croatia can probably be moved by political and economic pressure (particularly from Germany) to cease its attacks against Bosnia-Herzegovina. . . .

The most crucial action, now as well as previously, is to lift the conditionless weapons embargo against the defender, even at the risk that one or another shipment might fall into the wrong hands. This is, indeed, really a political option, but it has far-reaching military consequences (in the positive sense) for Bosnia-Herzegovina. By this means, a thorough military balance can be established, and Bosnia-Herzegovina can successfully defend itself. Fewer U.N. ground forces will be required.

The argument that this would have an escalating effect is not valid. Things can hardly become worse for the country concerned and its population. To be sure, Serbian attackers will be casualties if they do not cease attacking, but hundreds of thousands of Bosnians (not only Muslims) of the civilian population would be protected. Weapons supplies would have to encompass the following:

- command and reconnaissance systems
- artillery and mortars
- anti-tank missiles
- armored vehicles of all categories
- ammunition and fuel
- field hospitals

if required, combat helicopters in addition, if necessary, instructors, and replacement parts—i.e., logistics inclusive of medical care.

### Military options for Bosnia

If necessary, humanitarian aid has to be carried out by force. The current U.N. Protection Force is sufficient to that end, if it receives the mission to do so; if necessary, of course, rapid reenforcement with heavy weaponry and air support must be possible. A further necessity is the destruction of the mass of heavy weaponry (artillery, tanks), command centers, resupply bases of the Serbian aggressor from the air.

This is possible. The positions have been located, or can be located (at least to a considerable extent). For all practical purposes, the West has air supremacy. The risk is slight, the attacker has available little air defense, in part antiquated. The precision of modern air-assault weapons is so high, that damage to the civilian environment can be kept small. NATO bases in the Adriatic area (especially Italy), and the aircraft, and/or an American aircraft carrier group, are sufficient for such operations, also repeated ones.

Combat helicopters are suitable, particularly the American Apache, stationed in Europe, especially in Germany. Otherwise, all air-assault forces can be repositioned anywhere in a brief time (a few days).

Another aim to seek to accomplish: hermetically sealing off all roads over which Serbian fighters in Bosnia-Herzegovina are supplied from Serbia. These are fewer than people think (some six to ten main connecting arteries). Here the



difficult terrain is a disadvantage to the attacker, it also channels his supply movements; he cannot simply go over the mountains. This, too, can be done from the air. It might be, if operations become extended, that ground forces in the strength of some divisions will be necessary. In that case, the attacker will "dry himself out" quickly.

Deployment of Special Forces, chiefly by air, but also on the ground, for swift, surgical operations, is possible, without having to hold terrain for extended periods of time. This includes destruction of combat posts, supply bases, heavy weapons positions, but also freeing the inhabitants of concentration camps. To that end, units in, respectively, company and battalion strength are required, in total up to two to three brigades with the requisite air-support, including transport helicopters, i.e., relatively meager forces which are available in the NATO countries.

Reinforcement of the Bosnian lines of defense everywhere, where they can not hold them themselves, with U.N. ground forces in addition to the just-mentioned options, would be a further, but more costly, operation (up to 100,000 soldiers). But, it should not be excluded as the last possibility to stop genocide. In principle, the requisite forces (land, air, sea) can be made available. In order to achieve an effect most likely ending the war, the cited options on the whole would not require more than a fraction of the forces made available in the [Persian] Gulf.

All of the suggested options are in reference to the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Other options are conceivable and militarily possible: Whether they are politically purposeful is something which has to be thought through; for example, surgical air-assaults upon Serbia itself, which, despite all claims to the contrary, is a country that is waging a war of conquest. One key to peace lies in Belgrade. The others lie in Washington, Moscow, Paris, and especially in London. Even preventive protection of Macedonia and Kosova against war, ethnic cleansing, expulsions, and partition may become necessary.

### **Military goals to support peace**

*Summa summarum:* The Serbs are not invincible. Their superiority is based on their supremacy in heavy weapons (10:1 or greater), in their freedom of movement, in their completely undisturbed resupply, especially from Serbia itself, and an equally undisrupted chain of command.

At issue is not a war of conquest against the Serbian motherland, nor a wide-ranging, comprehensive occupation of territories. To stop the misery, that is not at all necessary. At issue are limited military goals solely aimed at meaningful support of a policy to establish peace, the consequence of which must be freedom and justice. To that end, only limited military means are necessary. They can be made available.

The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina is being conducted conventionally. As in every war, there are discernible, if only fragmented and shifting fronts. A typical partisan war is not

what is going on. The danger that that would emerge in the case of a military intervention of the United Nations or NATO, is slight. Partisans need support from the population the way a fish needs water. They would not obtain this support: to the contrary. Otherwise, even partisans and snipers can be fought, although at considerable cost. They do not decide wars.

It will not be possible to provide military protection for Bosnia-Herzegovina without incurring losses. That must not be covered up. But, if the operations are correctly planned and carried out with the necessary matériel, these losses will probably be considerably less than often claimed, particularly in the air operations. And the total operation will presumably be of much shorter duration than feared. The psychological shock alone, that the West is finally acting, energetically and resolutely, and in correspondence with its moral and lawful traditions, responsibilities, and promises, will probably bring the aggressor back to the negotiating table, quickly, and now under acceptable conditions, and lead to a stop in the fighting. The aggressor must understand that he can not obtain his goal by force. But whoever wants full security without any risk to his soldiers, has not understood what is at issue here. I.e., this is the full risk born by Bosnia-Herzegovina, and therewith its end. At the same time, it can have undeniable consequences for world peace. It is war, a horrible war, which is why one sends soldiers, not the Technische Hilfswerk [Germany's equivalent of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers].

Logistical support of all operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina would be considerably easier than in the Gulf war. NATO, with all of its bases, is right at the door. In case of military intervention, the blue helmets will be best protected if they are reinforced. Only weakness is vulnerable. But they are also fully capable of effectively defending themselves now. The testimony of military commanders on the ground confirms this. . . .

The later effective military actions are effected, the higher will be the price for all concerned. For those dead, tortured, the made refugees, raped, it is already too late. But for the life and the dignity of many, and also for the salvation of moral and political rationality, it does not yet seem to be too late. Europe will also be destroyed in Bosnia-Herzegovina, by its own complicity.

The pursuit of nationalist political interests by some NATO countries, especially England and France, the pretext of having to contain other political influences (chiefly the Germans), is, in view of the misery we have to stop, absurd and cynical. This implies not only an amoral policy as in the nineteenth century and in the first half of the twentieth century: It is also extremely damaging to the reputation and credibility of the countries in question. The policy pursued by the West, and also by Russia, up to now, has not only been a failure, it has made a new holocaust possible. Stopping this by means of resolute military aid is legitimate, possible, and promises to be successful.