

ALHTER-  
GRONDEN

AFBRAAK  
TOEGO-  
SLAVIE  
III

# Vrijspraak Servië maakt einde aan juridische fictie

Een betere toekomst van de Balkan loopt niet langs gerechtelijke uitspraken. Daarom is de vrijspraak voor Servië verheugend, zegt **Raymond van den Boogaard**.

**D**at het Internationale Hof van Justitie maandag de staat Servië niet schuldig heeft verklaard aan genocide in Bosnië-Herzegovina, en de Bosnische aanspraken op herstelbetalingen heeft afgewezen, is verheugend: de uitspraak breekt met de juridische fictie dat de oorlog in ex-Joegoslavië geen burgeroorlog was, maar een door Servië geïnstigeerde oorlog tussen staten.

Deze fictie – die het uitgangspunt is van de strafzaken voor het Haagse Tribunaal – heeft altijd gewrongen. Juist de opdeling van Joegoslavië in verschillende staten was immers de inzet van het conflict. Het was, begin jaren negentig, één politieke elite die ertoe overging om in Joegoslavië de ex-communistische boedel niet langs de weg van onderhandelingen, maar met geweld op te delen, daarbij gebruikmakend van archaische etnische tegenstellingen.

Sommige Europese landen, zoals Duitsland, dragen een zware verantwoordelijkheid door in een vroeg stadium aan te dringen op

erkenning van Slovenië en Kroatië. Dit beloofde degenen die met de wapenen tot afscheiding overgingen. Het was een perfide politiek: iedereen kon weten dat de 'democratische' schaamlap – erkenning als onafhankelijke staat na een referendum – in Bosnië-Herzegovina macabere gevolgen zou hebben.

Prompt ontstond een burgeroorlog tussen drie partijen: de Bosnisch-Servische die zich tegen

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Door alle partijen  
werden misdaden  
gepleegd

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afscheiding van Joegoslavië verzetten, de moslim-oorlogspartij en de Kroatische oorlogspartij. De Bosnische oorlog was, meer nog dan de Kroatische en de korte Sloveense, een afgrijselijk conflict, waarin door alle partijen ernstige misdaden zijn gepleegd.

De vraag of sommige oorlogspartijen meer verantwoordelijkheid dragen voor het gebeurde, is geen juridische maar een politieke. Ik zou zeggen dat het beeld van een Servische oorlogspartij die onder leiding van Milosevic van meet af aan uit zou zijn geweest op een gewelddadige ontknoping, veel te

maken heeft met de perceptie van Servië als een minder 'beschaafd' of minder 'Europees' land dan Slovenië of Kroatië. Dergelijke opvattingen zijn als oorlogspropaganda te kwalificeren. Aan de andere kant heeft de opstelling van Milosevic in de jaren vóór de oorlog zeker bijgedragen tot een klimaat, waarin onderhandelen over de toekomst van Joegoslavië geen zin leek te hebben.

Dit zijn echter politieke appreciaties, waarover het oordeel niet in de rechtszaal thuishoort. Dat was al gebleken tijdens het proces tegen Milosevic in Den Haag.

De voormalige oorlogspartijen moeten hun tijd niet langer verdoen met het oprakelen van oude frustraties. Uit het drama van de oorlog is namelijk een ander drama voortgekomen: Balkanlanden die zonder burgeroorlog vermoedelijk al jaren deel hadden uitgemaakt van de EU, bestaan nu uit verarmde staten, waarvan sommige een soort internationaal protectoraat zijn.

Het ware beter als voor het laatste onopgeloste conflict, in Kosovo, zo spoedig mogelijk een oplossing door onderhandelingen wordt gevonden. In ieder geval loopt de weg naar een betere toekomst niet langs – in gerechtelijke uitspraken – gestolde rancune en herstelbetalingen.

*Raymond van den Boogaard is redacteur van NRC Handelsblad.*

**Sagittarius**

**Van:** "Despotovic, R." <despot@tiscali.nl>  
**Aan:** "Nido Steijnen" <nico.s@slobodan-milosevic.org>; "Niko Varkevisser" <nico.v@slobodan-milosevic.org>  
**Verzonden:** dinsdag 1 maart 2005 18:51  
**Onderwerp:** Fw: New Book about CIA & Al Qaida in the Balkans

----- Original Message -----

**From:** Jürgen Elsässer <[info@juergen-elsaesser.de](mailto:info@juergen-elsaesser.de)>  
**To:** <[juergen-elsaesser@gmx.de](mailto:juergen-elsaesser@gmx.de)>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 01, 2005 5:47 PM  
**Subject:** New Book about CIA & Al Qaida in the Balkans

>  
 > America's Jihad in Europe  
 >  
 > CIA and al-Qaida in the Balkans  
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 >  
 >  
 > Dear ladies and gentlemen,  
 > dear colleagues and friends,  
 >  
 > I send you the outline of the book "Wie der Dschihad nach Europa kam:  
 > Gotteskrieger und Geheimdienste auf dem Balkan", which will go on sale in  
 > Germany in the next days. You can order a copy by remail, and I can also  
 > ask  
 > my publisher to send you a free copy, if you need it to write a review. By  
 > the way: Do you know publishing houses in YOUR country which might be  
 > interested in translating and publishing my book?  
 >  
 > All the best, Juergen Elsaesser ([www.juergen-elsaesser.de](http://www.juergen-elsaesser.de))  
 >  
 > \*\*\*\*\*  
 >  
 > Outline of the book Wie der Dschihad nach Europa kam: Gotteskrieger und  
 > Geheimdienste auf dem Balkan (NP-Verlag, 240 pages, 19.90 ?)  
 >  
 >  
 > The main suspects 9/11 attacks fought during the Nineties in the Balkans.  
 > Only an hour's flight from European centers such as Vienna and Munich,  
 > they  
 > trained in merciless combat against the infidels - with the support of the  
 > CIA and other Western intelligence agencies.  
 >  
 > While the mainstream press and standard literature about al-Qaida describe  
 > the activities of the terrorists on all other continents at length, the  
 > jihadists' European deployment area has been largely ignored. In  
 > particular  
 > in the Bosnian civil war, several thousand Muslims from Arabic countries  
 > and  
 > Iran fought alongside their Muslim brethren against the Christians, i.e.  
 > Croats and Serbs. As in the Eighties in Afghanistan, the US Administration

Kosovo and Macedonia (Chapter 13).

- >
- > The bulk of these activities was financed by Saudi-American "humanitarian"
- > foundations, in which bin-Laden played only a minor role (Chapter 14).
- > Indeed, one begins to wonder whether al-Qaida is not more a PR invention
- of
- > US foreign policy than an actually active organization, especially since
- > many of the top terrorists are suspected of working Western intelligence
- > agencies as well (chapter 17). One example is the main suspects of 9/11
- > (Chapter 18), especially the two alleged masterminds of the plot (Chapter
- > 19).
- >
- > In any case, thanks to Western patronage, a terrorist bridgehead has been
- > established in Bosnia-Herzegovina that threatens the further development
- of
- > the country itself (Chapter 15), as well as the security of the whole
- > European continent (Chapter 16). Furthermore, significant movements of
- > jihadis and transports between the Balkans and Chechnya have been observed
- > for several years (Chapter 20). But this is not seen as a danger by
- Western
- > politicians and media, because the US oil lobby has already cast an eye on
- > the Russian fossil-fuel reserves (epilogue).

> For more information: [www.juergen-elsaesser.de](http://www.juergen-elsaesser.de)

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- > No virus found in this incoming message.
- > Checked by AVG Anti-Virus.
- > Version: 7.0.300 / Virus Database: 266.5.2 - Release Date: 28-2-05

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No virus found in this outgoing message.  
Checked by AVG Anti-Virus.  
Version: 7.0.300 / Virus Database: 266.5.2 - Release Date: 28-2-05

- > did a deal with the devil: in violation of the UN arms embargo, Washington
- > supplied the holy warriors with sophisticated weaponry.
- > Osama bin Laden received a passport from the 'pro-Western' government in
- > Sarajevo, and hundreds of his followers settled permanently in Bosnia and
- > Albania. From there, U.S. secret agents funneled them into Kosovo and
- > Macedonia, while others headed for Vienna and Hamburg - where they
- prepared
- > the inferno of Sept. 11th.
- >
- > The book is a result of several years of investigation, and is based on
- > Anglo-American, French, German and Serbo-Croatian sources, as well as on
- > information provided by intelligence experts on the Balkans and members of
- > the UN mission to Bosnia, and on numerous visits there.
- >
- >
- > Contents
- >
- > The 'Afghan' alliance between the USA and the mujahedin was revived in
- the
- > Balkans, and therefore it was no surprise that the main suspects of 9/11
- > obtained their baptism of fire there (Chapter 1). Because of its history,
- > Bosnia-Herzegovina offered ideal conditions for establishing a jihad front
- > (Chapter 2). But it was only due to Western interference that the radical
- > Muslims and supporters of Holy War were able to oust the moderate Muslim
- > politicians in Bosnia in the early Nineties (Chapter 3). Vienna was at
- first
- > the control center for the arms smuggling operations to support the jihad,
- > and it was there that Osama bin Laden obtained a Bosnian passport (Chapter
- > 4). The Bosnian Muslim army was formed with the help of money and
- volunteers
- > from the Islamic world; Bin Laden himself discussed the details with the
- > Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic (Chapter 5). Foreign jihadis in
- > particular committed terrible atrocities in the course of the
- > three-year-long civil war (1992-1995), and even some of the massacres
- > attributed to the Serbs may have been committed by them (Chapter 6).
- >
- > However, the combat effectiveness of the holy warriors was low at first;
- > this changed only after Bill Clinton became US President in 1993 and
- > organized the secret supply of arms them-in cooperation with the US's
- "arch
- > enemy" Iran (Chapter 7). Military men assigned to the UN peacekeeping
- > mission, who had observed the breach of the UN arms embargo, were
- pressured
- > by US intelligence to keep silent (Chapter 8). The most important player
- in
- > this "Bosniagate" was the Pentagon contractor MPRI (Chapter 9), which also
- > supervised the Bosnian Army after the Dayton Agreement of 1995 (Chapter
- 10).
- > Instead of removing the fundamentalists as the official American legend
- has
- > it, MPRI put the most able jihadis on its payroll, trained them in
- Albania,
- > which by now was also infiltrated by bin-Laden's associates (Chapters 11
- and
- > 12) and sent them to support the Albanian terrorist movement KLA [= UCK]
- in

**Sagittarius**

**Van:** "R Despotovic" <despot@tiscali.nl>  
**Aan:** "Jan Beentjes" <jbeentjes@mac.com>; "Hans Hupkes" <hans.hupkes@planet.nl>; "Meindert Stelling" <meindert.stelling@planet.nl>; "Nico Varkevisser" <nico.v@slobodan-milosevic.org>; "Nico & Neeltje Steijnen" <sagitar@hetnet.nl>  
**Verzonden:** vrijdag 15 april 2005 22:23  
**Onderwerp:** Fw: CIA & Al Qaida: Lesung i.d. serbischen Kirche

----- Original Message -----

**From:** "Jürgen Elsässer" <info@juergen-elsaesser.de>  
**To:** <juergen-elsaesser@gmx.de>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 13, 2005 10:29 PM  
**Subject:** CIA & Al Qaida: Lesung i.d. serbischen Kirche

- > CIA & Al Qaida: "Wie der Dschihad nach Europa kam", die Neuerscheinung von
- > Jürgen Elsässer - am kommenden Samstag in Berlin
- >
- > \*\*\*\*\*
- >
- > "Spannend wie ein Thriller, akribisch und detailliert beschreibt Elsässer,
- > wie die US-Geheimdienste in den neunziger Jahren auf dem Balkan islamische
- > Terrorgruppen aufbauten ... Elsässer legt mit seinem neuen Buch ein
- > Standardwerk vor über die Details westlicher Interventionspolitik auf dem
- > Balkan und ihre weitreichenden tödlichen Folgen. In der ... 9/11-Literatur
- > schließt er damit eine Lücke." (Rezension in der Tageszeitung "Junge
- > Welt",
- > Berlin)
- >
- > Das neue Buch von Jürgen Elsässers:
- >
- > "Wie der Dschihad nach Europa kam. Gotteskrieger und Geheimdienste auf dem
- > Balkan" (Inhalt siehe unten)
- >
- > wird am kommenden Sonnabend (16. April) in der serbischen Kirche in Berlin
- > vorgestellt, und zwar um 19.00 Uhr.
- >
- >
- > Das Buch erschien im März im NP-Buchverlag ([www.np-buch.at](http://www.np-buch.at)) und ist
- > selbstverständlich im Buchhandel erhältlich. Sie können das Werk aber zum
- > Ladenpreis (19.90 Euro) plus 2,50 Euro Versand ebenso direkt per Re-Mail
- > bestellen, auf Wunsch signiert. (Näheres zum Inhalt und den Gesamttext der
- > jW-Rezension - unter [www.juergen-elsaesser.de](http://www.juergen-elsaesser.de))
- >
- > Die Lesungen im April im Überblick:
- >
- > Donnerstag, 14. April, Rostock, 19.00 Uhr, Universität, Hörsaal 218
- > (Hauptgebäude)
- >
- > Samstag, 16. April, Berlin, 19.00 Uhr, serbisch-orthodoxe Kirche,
- > Ruppinerstr.28 (Berlin-Wedding, U-Bahnhof Voltastraße)
- >
- > Donnerstag, 21. April, Berlin, 19.30 Uhr, ARGUMENT-Buchhandlung,
- > Reichenbergerstr.150 (U-Bhf. Görlitzer Bahnhof)
- >
- >

> \*\*\*\*\*

> Kurzinhalt des Buches "Wie der Dschihad nach Europa kam"

> Amerikas Dschihad in Europa

> Wie die US-Geheimdienste den islamischen Terrorismus auf dem Balkan in den

> neunziger Jahren - ganz wie zuvor in Afghanistan - aufpäpkelten und

> hochrüsteten; die Rolle von CIA und BND; Osama bin Laden in Sarajevo und

> in Tirana; Mohammed Atta in Bosnien; Al Qaida im Kosovo; wie US-amerikanische

> Söldnerfirmen die Terroristen zu ihren Einsatzorten schleusten; wie

> Mudschahedin Greuelthaten inszenierten, die später Serben in die Schuhe

> geschoben wurden; das balkanisch-amerikanische Dschihad-Netzwerk beim

> ersten

> Anschlag auf das World Trade Center 1993; die balkanischen

> Moslemextremisten

> und ihre US-amerikanischen Freunde am 11. September.

>

>

> Inhaltliches Profil des Buches

>

> Die Hauptverdächtigen des 11. September waren NATO-Helfer auf dem Balkan.

> Die wichtigsten mutmaßlichen Selbstmordbomber haben in den neunziger

> Jahren

> in Südosteuropa gekämpft. Während in den vorliegenden Standardwerken zu Al

> Qaida und Osama bin Laden die Aktivitäten der Terroristen in Afghanistan

> und

> Sudan und die von ihnen durchgeführten Anschläge in Ostafrika,

> Saudi-Arabien

> und Asien ausführlich geschildert werden, blieb ausgerechnet das

> europäische

> Aufmarschgebiet der Dschihadisten bisher so gut wie unbeachtet: Vor allem im

> bosnischen Bürgerkrieg haben einige Tausend militante Moslems aus den

> arabischen Staaten und dem Iran an der Seite ihrer Glaubensbrüder gegen

> die

> ungläubigen Christen, also gegen Serben und auch gegen Kroaten, gekämpft.

> Osama bin Laden hat von der Regierung in Sarajevo einen Paß bekommen,

> viele

> seiner Getreuen haben sich dauerhaft in Bosnien und Albanien

> niedergelassen.

> Von dort führen ihre Spuren in das Kosovo, nach Mazedonien - und zu den

> Anschlägen auf das World Trade Center und das Pentagon.

>

> Die Ignorierung dieses Themas in Politik und Massenmedien hat einen Grund:

> Ebenso wie in den achtziger Jahren in Afghanistan kämpften die Heiligen

> Krieger auf dem Balkan mit Wissen und Unterstützung der USA. Unter Bruch

> des

> UN-Waffenembargos versorgten US-Transportflugzeuge die Dschihadisten mit

> modernen Waffen. Der Geheimdienst des Pentagon ging gegen UN-Blauhelme

> vor,

> die diese Mesallianz beobachtet hatten und dagegen einschreiten wollten.

> Während Washington das frühere Bündnis mit den radikalen Fundamentalisten

> in

> Afghanistan mittlerweile selbstkritisch sieht, gibt es keine Aufarbeitung

- > der ähnlichen Politik auf dem Balkan, obwohl gerade von dort heute
- > Gefahren
- > für Europa droht. "Wenn Europa seine Haltung nicht ändert, werden wir
- > Maßnahmen ergreifen und terroristische Aktionen auf europäischem
- > Territorium
- > entfesseln. Viele europäische Hauptstädte werden in Flammen stehen," sagte
- > Sefer Halilovic, Oberbefehlshaber der bosnisch-muslimischen Armee, schon
- > 1993.
- >
- >
- > Quellen
- >
- > Das Buch ist Ergebnis einer mehrjährigen Recherche und stützt sich neben
- > englischsprachigen, französischen und serbokroatischen Quellen auch auf
- > Gespräche mit Geheimdienstexperten und Mitgliedern der UN-Mission in
- > Bosnien
- > und auf zahlreiche Besuche vor Ort.
- >
- >
- > Ausführliche Inhaltsangabe
- >
- > Das "afghanische" Bündnis zwischen den USA und den Mudschahedin erlebte
- > auf
- > dem Balkan eine Neuauflage, und so war es kein Wunder, dass die
- > wichtigsten
- > Verdächtigen des 11. September dort ihre Feuertaufe erfuhren (Kapitel 1).
- > Besonders Bosnien-Herzegowina bot für den Aufbau einer Dschihad-Front
- > aufgrund seiner Geschichte günstige Voraussetzungen (Kapitel 2). Nur durch
- > westliche Einflussnahme konnte es aber gelingen, zu Beginn der neunziger
- > Jahre die dort vorherrschende gemäßigte Strömung der Muslime auszuschalten
- > und die Förderer des Heiligen Krieges an die Macht zu bringen (Kapitel 3).
- > Dabei spielte Wien als Schaltstelle des Waffenschmuggels zunächst die
- > zentrale Rolle, dort erhielt Bin Laden 1993 auch einen bosnischen Pass
- > (Kapitel 4). Mit Geldern und Kämpfern aus dem islamischen Welt wurde die
- > bosnisch-muslimische Armee aufgebaut, Bin Laden war deswegen persönlich im
- > Präsidentenpalast in Sarajevo (Kapitel 5). Vor allem die ausländischen
- > Dschihadisten verübten im Verlaufe der dreijährigen Kämpfe (1992 - 1995)
- > schreckliche Greuelthaten, und auch einige der den Serben zugeschriebenen
- > Massaker könnten auf ihr Konto gehen (Kapitel 6). Doch der Kampfwert der
- > Gotteskrieger war zunächst gering, und das änderte sich erst, als William
- > ("Bill") Clinton 1993 US-Präsident wurde und im Zusammenspiel mit dem
- > Erzfeind Iran deren Aufrüstung organisierte (Kapitel 7). Mit harten
- > Bandagen
- > brachte der US-Geheimdienst UN-Blauhelme, die diesen Bruch des
- > internationalen Waffenembargos kritisierten, zum Schweigen (Kapitel 8).
- > Die
- > vermutlich wichtigste Rolle bei diesem Bosnia-Gate spielte die
- > Pentagon-Vertragsfirma MPRI (Kapitel 9), die nach dem Friedensschluß von
- > Dayton (1995) auch die Kontrolle über die bosnische Armee übernahm
- > (Kapitel
- > 10). Statt dort, wie es die offiziellen Washingtoner Legenden wollen, die
- > Gotteskrieger auszuschalten, übernahm MPRI die fähigsten Kämpfer, bildete
- > sie in dem mittlerweile ebenfalls von Bin Laden-Vertrauten durchsetzen
- > Albanien aus (Kapitel 11 und 12) und schickte sie zur Unterstützung der
- > albanischen Terrorbewegung UCK ins Kosovo und nach Mazedonien (Kapitel
- > 13).

- > Ein Großteil dieser Aktivitäten wurde aus einem saudisch-amerikanischen
- > Spendensumpf angeblich humanitärer Organisationen finanziert, in dem Bin
- > Laden nur eine untergeordnete Rolle spielte (Kapitel 14). Ganz generell
- > stellt sich die Frage, ob Al Qaida nicht eher ein Propagandabegriff der
- > US-Außenpolitik als eine real existierende Organisation ist, zumal bei
- > vielen Topterroristen der Verdacht besteht, dass sie auch für westliche
- > Dienste arbeiten (Kapitel 17). Dies trifft auch auf die Hauptverdächtigen
- > des 11. September zu (Kapitel 18), insbesondere auf die beiden angeblichen
- > Masterminds der Anschläge (Kapitel 19).

- >
- > In jedem Fall hat sich dank westlicher Protektion in Bosnien-Herzegowina
- > ein
- > terroristischer Brückenkopf gebildet, der sowohl für die weitere
- > Entwicklung
- > des Landes (Kapitel 15), als auch für die Sicherheit in Europa insgesamt
- > ein
- > erhebliches Bedrohungspotential darstellt (Kapitel 16). Schon seit
- > geraumer
- > Zeit gibt es darüber hinaus eine erhebliche Wanderungsbewegung von
- > Dschihad-Kämpfern zwischen dem Balkan und Tschetschenien (Kapitel 20).
- > Dies
- > wird aber im Westen nicht als Gefahr gesehen, da die US-Öllobby längst die
- > russischen Energiereserven im Auge hat (Nachwort).

#### > Zur Person

- >
- > Jürgen Elsässer hat im letzten Jahrzehnt ein knappes Dutzend Bücher über
- > Geopolitik im Allgemeinen und die deutschen Interessen im Besonderen
- > verfaßt. Der ausgewiesene Balkan Kenner trat dabei als "unerbittlicher
- > Ankläger der deutschen Jugoslawienpolitik" auf, schrieb die "Frankfurter
- > Allgemeine Zeitung", und "Die Presse" aus Wien urteilte in einer
- > Buchbesprechung: "Wenn Joschka Fischer zurücktreten muß, dann hoffentlich
- > deswegen."

- >
- > Elsässer war jahrelang Redakteur des Hamburger Magazins "Konkret", schrieb
- > regelmäßig für die "Allgemeine Jüdische Wochenzeitung" und das "Kursbuch"
- > und arbeitet zur Zeit hauptsächlich für die Berliner Tageszeitung "Junge
- > Welt" und den wöchentlichen "Freitag".

#### > Bibliographie Jürgen Elsässer

- >
- > Antisemitismus - das alte Gesicht des neuen Deutschland (Dietz-Verlag,
- > Berlin, 1992)
- > Wenn das der Führer hätte erleben dürfen (KVV Konkret-Verlag, Hamburg,
- > 1995)
- > Vorwärts und vergessen? (zus. mit Sahra Wagenknecht - KVV Konkret-Verlag,
- > Hamburg, 1996)
- > Braunbuch DVU (Vorwort Jürgen Trittin, KVV-Konkret Verlag, Hamburg, 1998)
- > Nie wieder Krieg ohne uns. Das Kosovo und die neue deutsche Geopolitik
- > (KVV
- > Konkret-Verlag, Hamburg, 1999)
- > "Die Fratze der eigenen Geschichte" (zus. mit Andrei S. Markovits -
- > Elefantpress, Berlin, 1999)

- > Kriegsverbrechen. Die tödlichen Lügen der Bundesregierung und ihre Opfer
- > im
- > Kosovo-Konflikt (KVV Konkret-Verlag, Hamburg, 2000) \*
- > Make Love and War. Wie Grüne und 68er die Republik verändern
- > (Pahl-Rugenstein-Verlag, Bonn, 2002)
- > Deutschland führt Krieg. Seit dem 11. September wird zurückgeschossen (KVV
- > Konkret-Verlag, Hamburg, 2002)
- > Der deutsche Sonderweg. Historische Last und politische Herausforderung
- > (Diederichs-Verlag, München, 2003)
- > Kriegslügen. Vom Kosovokonflikt zum Milosevic-Prozeß (Kai Homilius-Verlag,
- > Berlin, 2004)\*\*
- >
- > Ausländische Lizenzausgaben
- >
- > \*Ratni Zlocini (Jasen, Beograd, April 2002)
- > \*Menzogne di guerra (La Citta del Sole, Napoli, Juli 2002)
- > \*La RFA dans la guerre au Kosovo (L'Harmattan, Paris, Dezember 2002)
- > \*\* Ratne Lazi (Jasen, Beograd, Februar 2005)
- >
- >

**Sagittarius**

**Van:** "Ruza" <despot@telfort.nl>  
**Aan:** "Nico Steijnen"  
**Verzonden:** vrijdag 17 oktober 2008 18:24  
**Onderwerp:** Fw: Minister Verhagen  
 Dit is pittig....

Groetjes van Roza

— Original Message —

**From:** Jenny Ligtenberg  
**To:** roza despotovic  
**Sent:** Friday, October 17, 2008 12:05 PM  
**Subject:** Minister Verhagen

Minister Verhagen  
 Den Haag

Jenny Ligtenberg  
 Krijtmolen 3  
 1703 NJ Heerhugowaard. Tel/fax 072-5740273

H.H.W. 09/10/08

Mijnheer Verhagen,

Sinds wanneer bent U EU vertegenwoordiger om met oorlogsmisdadiger Stepe Mesic te onderhandelen over toetreding tot de EUROPESE GEMEENSCHAP ? 07/10/08 ?

Of mag U in de voetsporen van CDA (Coalitie Duitsland Achterna) van den Broek treden die begin jaren negentig (en reeds langer) als EU commissaris samen met Genscher/Kinkel Duitsland, (het fascisme nog in de gene) de Ustacha=SSers/fascisten Tudjman/Susak/Stepe Mesic tig keren bezochten om v.h. Joegoslavië op te blazen nadat de Muur in Berlijn om zou gaan?

Ook Bush sr./Amerika ijverde zich met hetzelfde doel en vaardigde een wet uit die door de Senaat aangenomen werd en Joegoslavië het bankroet bezorgde.

Samen met de CIA en BND (Amerika/Duitsland) kwam een spionage netwerk in Europa tot stand met een hoofdkantoor in Boedapest van waaruit dollars en wapens aan Kroatië geleverd werden.

9 Nov. 1989 ging de Muur om. De internationale gemeenschap (in naam v.d. politiek/amerika) viel soeverein Joegoslavië aan met de smoes dat Kroatië zich af wilde scheiden.

Echter de Grondwet van Joegoslavië had goed onderbouwde voorzieningen getroffen wanneer een v.d. republieken zich af wilde scheiden. Conclusie: er waren dus andere, zeg maar criminele belangen in het spel die ik op mijn speurtocht achterhaald heb.

Te beginnen bij dat adder-gebroed juffr. Albright, Amerikaans ambassadeur bij de VN, die voor de verkiezingen van 1989 in Servië alle Leiders in de wereld aanklachte met de boodschap: "wanneer Milosevic tot President gekozen wordt moeten wij hem keihard aanpakken." Waarom?..... werd er niet bij vermeld. Dat..... stond in het draaiboek REEDS opgemaakt voor de jaren 1991-1996 zoals ik in mijn dagboek beschrijf.

Mijn passie voor geschiedenis lokte mij de oorlog in om achter de schermen de leugens/manipulaties v.d. Media/Politiek te ontrafelen. Het begon met een film in Kroatië waar op grove schaal met de acteurs geschummeld werd, vervolgens de graatmagere man "achter" het prikkeldraad waarmee de vergelijking getrokken werd met de concentratiekampen v.d. Joden uit WOII, die de hele wereld rondging en door CNN Ruder Finn Agency steeds herhaald werd om de zekerheid te verschaffen dat het wereldpubliek het in de

opgeslagen had. De vervalsing werd achterhaald toen het gevaar reeds geschied was. Thomas Mann werd via de Rechtspraak in het gelijk gesteld en door Paddy Ashdown bevestigd in maart 1993 na de VUT in de Valerius-kliniek, 63jr. ben ik naar de Rep. Serpska gegaan nadat ik de Minister v. Zondheid R.S. een brief geschreven had en uitgenodigd werd. Beroepsmatig kon ik mijn hulp in ziekenhuizen aanbieden, koos ervoor om mijn beroep en de politiek gescheiden te houden op mijn omgang met de blauwhelmen e.a. internationale aanwezigen na.

Stjepan Mesić en oorlogsmisdadiger pur sang, werd door de she-devil Albright bewogen om te breken met Tudjman. In de toekomst zag zij hem graag als President v. Kroatie. (niet zozeer in zijn belang als wel haar eigen belang en dat van Amerika). Ik vraag mij af of de OVSE in 2000 bij die verkiezingen aanwezig is geweest en bij de recente verkiezingen in Kroatie? Amerikaanse ambassadeur Montgomery vertelde dat zij zo graag bij de inauguratie rede wilde zijn en aldus geschiedde. Bovendien wil zij vanwege "slechte bedoelingen" de hechte band vasthouden.

Het zou mij niet verbazen vroeg of laat te vernemen dat zij samen met Verhagen 7 Oct. j.l. aanwezig is geweest. Tenslotte moest zij in Finland Attisaari bezoeken voor zijn rol als verrader van Kosovo.

Haar "slechte bedoelingen" liggen op het vlak van het doel van Clinton/Amerika.

Zijn uitspraak voor deze oorlog: "wanneer Amerika zaken wil doen met Europa is KOSOVO ons ding" (Blufpoker, Michel Collon). Clinton met de vele gezichten, bezeten van macht en een stelletje mede-boeven om hem heen (Albright, Holbrook, Wesley Clark) plus de medewerking van EU, hebben samen geheuld met Stjepan Mesić en islamfundamentalist Izetbegović. Door HUN manipulaties konden zij o.a. Europa verdeeld houden, in het Witte Huis in hun fascistisch vuistje lachen en smoezen dat "die sukkel in Europa geen leiding kunnen geven en zij.....dus.....niet buiten de hulp van Amerika kunnen gedijen" (lees: mevrouw de minister/Albright). WAT HEEFT DE EU ZICH IN DE LUREN LATEN LEGGEN!!

Daarom zoekt deze juffrouw een "medeplichtige zwakkeling" op om een vinger in de Europese pap te houden. Het werd Kroatie; voor mij HET bewijs waarom zij nog geen EU lid zijn en GOD Zij dank EU (een klein beetje nog maar) wakker geschud hebben.

Balkenende, hielenlicker van Amerika ging tegen de zin van het volk van Nederland (63-68%) naar Irak en is TE laf om kenbaar te maken WAAROM!

Zadelt de belastingbetaler op met een forse verhoging belasting... Niet alleen in Irak en

Afghanistan lopen de kosten in de miljarden dollars, de voorafgaande bombardementen door de terroristische organisatie NAVO (alweer een CDA'er a.h. hoofd gekozen door Amerika!) op Servie/Kosovo hebben de armen onder ons volk naar de voedselbanken gedreven.

Terug naar Kroatie:

Stjepan Mesić de man die met een boot vol autobanden naar de haven v. Dubrovnik voer deze in de fik stak en de Media liet vertellen dat de Serven Dubrovnik totaal verwoest hadden.

Een blauwhelm ging er heen zag wel beschadigingen maar geen verwoeste stad. En wat geleden had kwam door provokatie v.d. ustasha zelf aan wie door de internationale gemeenschap bevolen werd daarmee te stoppen.

Tot besluit:

HOE kun je als machtigste man v.d. wereld jouw vrouw aanzetten tot leugens en een onschuldig volk ervan betichten. In Tuzla, Bosnie ging Hillary op bezoek en liet het geindoctrineerde wereld publiek weten dat zij door SERVISCHE snipers belaagd werd!!

"God bless Amerika" Welke God hij, Clinton bedoelde maakte hij nooit duidelijk of ..... met zijn vele gezichten moet hij zichzelf bedoeld hebben. Aan charme geen gebrek, de dekmantel voor zijn WARE aard en die is verraderlijk/een pathologische leugenaar.

Ingesloten: enkele bijlagen.

RUBIN RUITER

MARCH 2008

In the Name of the New World Order

## Chapter 36

# The Future World Army

**"In 1945 we have started with conquering the world. NATO wasn't established to protect the poor nations against the Russians but to gain complete control over Western Europe." Gore Vidal**

The Cold War was waged for very specific reasons. Since the start of the last century, the Illuminati have developed extensive plans that are meant to lead to a world army. That is why an apocalyptic picture was painted of a Soviet threat that, in reality, never existed. The so-called Soviet threat was consistently exaggerated to justify the enormous development of a future world army<sup>1</sup>. The Cold War served another important purpose: to create global fear of a possible new world war. The whole West was obsessed with this fear, and it was this threat that paved the way for a New World Order.

In 1945, the conquest of the world began. Immediately after the Second World War, the foundation for a world army was put in place. To protect Western Europe against possible military aggression from the former Warsaw Pact states, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was founded in 1949. It is important to point out at this point that the 'big enemy', the Warsaw Pact, was not founded until 1955, six years later. NATO was not created to protect the poor people of Europe against the Russians, but to gain control over Western Europe.

According to article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty, NATO has been a defence alliance since it was founded, functionally and exclusively. Its members have promised to provide each other support in the case of an attack on one member by a non-member state, solely based on the right to individual and collective self-defence.

The fall of the communist regime in Eastern Europe made NATO obsolete. In effect, its *raison d'être* no longer existed. That is why all kinds of reasons were heard from all sides to keep NATO intact. In the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* of April 2, 1998, American Defence Minister Cohen declared that the future strategy of the alliance should focus more on the projection of power than on a rigid defence. Before long, a new version was presented: *Crisis Management of War in the name of humanitarian peace*.

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<sup>1</sup> Michel Collon, *Bluf Poker - De grootmachten, Joegoslavië en de komende oorlogen*, Berchem 2000, 166.

According to the New Strategic Concept:

- Military options that are operational for the entire spectrum of expected circumstances are the basis for the alliances possibilities, through crisis-response-deployments that do not fall under article 5 and that have to help avoid conflicts and manage crises.
- The alliance's armed forces also have to be willing to make a contribution in avoiding conflicts, and carry out crisis-response-deployments that do not fall under article 5.
- These precautionary measures allow NATO's armed forces to carry out crisis-response-deployments that do not fall under article 5, but that are a precondition for a coherent response of the allies to all possible situations.
- In the future, NATO armed forces need to be able to guarantee a collective defence and at the same time carry out effective crisis-response-deployments that do not fall under article 5.
- When they make a contribution to crisis management through the use of military force, the alliance's armed forces need to take a complex and varied spectrum of risks, situations and demands into account, including humanitarian emergencies.
- Some crisis-response-deployments that do not fall under article 5 may pose demands that are at least equal to the demands involved in some collective defence assignments.
- Size, motivation, availability and dislocation of the armed forces of the alliance have to match the nature and size of the collective defence and any crisis-response-deployment. These may sometimes be short-lived, far away from local bases, but also far outside the area covered by the alliance.
- Multinational armed forces, in particular those that can be moved quickly for the collective defence of crisis-response-deployments that do not fall under article 5, reinforce solidarity.

During a press conference on April 25, 1998 immediately after signing the New Strategic Concept, German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder stated: "We agreed that, also in the future, there can only be interventions when there is a mandate from the Security Council. Very narrowly defined exceptions will be allowed, but they can never be the rule, and they can certainly not occur when it is evident that the Security Council cannot act freely."

In a secret document written on May 19, 2000, NATO is also allowed to intervene outside the area defined in its treaty, when it is required by the situation. This extension of NATO's mandate in principle represents a transition from a defence of the allies' national territories towards a worldwide (Euro-Atlantic) representation of interests through military force. In addition, since the above-mentioned date, NATO also has the right to deploy nuclear weapons pre-emptively. All this has been drawn up in a secret document (NC-400/2), which was adopted in a silent procedure. This was confirmed in an interview with Joska Fischer, the German

Minister of Foreign Affairs. It means the erstwhile 'defence alliance' has been transformed into an offensive army.

NATO offers itself, to those who determine the world order, as a military instrument. Within the framework of NATO, overt interests can be formulated and carried out. One example of this is the protection of raw materials of the industrialised countries, which has been among the alliance's explicit tasks since the reformation of the NATO doctrine in 1992. NATO is in the process of an incremental transformation into an international police force. The idea is to create a kind of global army by merging the American army, NATO, a possible European intervention force and other individual armies of Western powers. By now, NATO is willing to take on the enemies of the New World Order through brute force. NATO does not defend moral principles or human rights, but it is deployed wherever the interests of our global elite come under threat<sup>2</sup>.

General John Craddock, Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) said: "The NATO Response Force (NRF) is a ready, agile and flexible force crucial to the health and success of our alliance in the coming years. As a key element of our NATO military culture, the NRF can enable the alliance to better meet threats to security and stability in the 21st century. From its initial steps, the NRF has been acting as the engine for transforming NATO into a much stronger and more effective military organization. The NRF, as a key element of NATO's military culture, will enable the Alliance to meet the threats to security and stability in the New World Order."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> *New York Times*, October 21, 1997.

<sup>3</sup> NATO Web Edition: [http://www.nato.int/shape/issues/shape\\_nrf/nrf\\_intro.htm](http://www.nato.int/shape/issues/shape_nrf/nrf_intro.htm). The launching of the 'NATO Response Force' initiative was announced at the Prague Summit in November 2002.

## Chapter 37

# Yugoslavia

"The small Serbia has shown that resistance is possible. This resistance was initially organised on a broad scale as a political and moral movement against the tyranny and the monopoly of the champions of the free Western world. This movement escalated and created hatred and fear and new forms of violence with which people fought the modern Western inquisition. Uranium bombs, computer manipulations, drug addicted assassins and blackmailed civil servants gave the New World Order the excuses it needed. And these are the tools of the inquisition that we eventually had to suffer. The cynical cruelty with which this happened is unparalleled in history." *Slobodan Milošević*

Beautifully phrased yet hypocritical arguments like 'the fight for democracy and human rights' fit perfectly into the devilish doctrine of lies that turns the truth upside down. The attack on a country without valid reason becomes a 'peacemaking measure', genocide is carried out to safeguard 'human rights' and the unlawful arrest or assassination of the heads of sovereign states are defended as 'democratisation'. In the press, 'war graves' are referred to as 'mass graves', and a single or isolated 'rape' is usually upgraded to 'mass rape'.

The attack on Yugoslavia was the first act of war with which NATO transformed itself from a defense army into an intervention force<sup>4</sup>. Horst Gravert, former ambassador of the German Federal Republic, made it clear what this war was all about: "Yugoslavia had served as camouflage designed to hide the actual intentions of the United States, to move one step further towards establishing the New World Order."<sup>5</sup>

The former security advisor to President Jimmy Carter, Zbigniew Brzezinski, made the following remark with regard to the war in Yugoslavia: "Above all, Europe is the inevitable geopolitical bridgehead on the Eurasian continent. The global energy consumption will increase enormously in the next two or three decades. It is a well-known fact Central Asia and the Caspian Basin hold natural gas and oil reserves that dwarf those in Kuwait, the Gulf of Mexico and the North Sea."<sup>6</sup>

One of the main reasons behind the conflict in the Balkans is the fact that Yugoslavia is situated at the crossroads of three important European transport routes: the Danube, the North-South link and the East-West link. In the future these corridors will be used to transport gas and oil to the West.

<sup>4</sup> Robin de Ruiter, *Der NATO-Krieg gegen Jugoslawien*, Durach, 2004, 91.

<sup>5</sup> Ulrich Albrecht and Paul Schäfer, *Kosovo-Krieg*, Cologne, 1999, 32.

<sup>6</sup> Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Die einzige Weltmacht*, Frankfurt a. Main, 1999, 45.

Control over the global oil supplies (Caucasus, Asia, Caspian Sea, etc.) which would be transported via these corridors and via energy connections 8/10, which have been planned to cross Croatia, Serbia, Macedonia and Albania, was the real reason behind the Balkans war. The Balkans is one of the key areas needed to build the intended New World Order. Behind the repeated NATO interventions in the Balkans there are strategic plans for the whole of Europe. Yugoslavia served as a test case and the first concrete step by the NATO armies towards its planned expansion in Central and Eastern Europe<sup>7</sup>.

The control of the entire cycle from oil source to enduser was only one of the reasons behind the war against Yugoslavia. Another reason gives us the former Minister for Defense in Germany, Willy Wimmer, who during the NATO attacks on Yugoslavia, was the vice chairman of the Parliamentary Department of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). He stated: "The war against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has also been carried out to rectify a strategic mistake made by General Eisenhower in the Second World War." By arguing that the geopolitical interests of the United States were the real reason behind NATO's attack on Yugoslavia, Wimmer referred to statements made by high-level officials in the U.S. administration during a conference that took place in Bratislava at the end of April 2000. This meeting was organised by the U.S. State Department and the U.S. Enterprise Institute (AEI). This institute is breeding ground for trigger-happy hawks and the cesspool from which representatives and leaders from 'Big Business' and the financial world are created. Important participants from this world were and are J.P. Morgan, David Rockefeller, Newt Gingrich and Richard Perle. The hawks from these communities set the tone in the U.S. Government and their activities affect virtually every aspect of U.S. politics.

The meeting organised by the AEI in the Slovakian capital Bratislava focused in particular on the Balkans and the expansion of NATO with the Eastern European countries. The U.S. was very clear about its intentions and plans for a new order in Europe. Willy Wimmer emphasised the importance of the statements made at the conference, which was attended by high-level officials, amongst who were Prime Ministers, Defense Ministers and Foreign Ministers. Wimmer was very shocked by what the U.S. had to say about the new order in Europe, and he felt he had to inform German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder about it. The letter he wrote to the Chancellor deserves every attention and publicity because the facts concerning the imperialist intentions of the United States and its NATO allies must not be limited to a small political elite. In the letter, with a response written by Rainer Rupp, we read the following<sup>8</sup>:

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<sup>7</sup> Sean Gervai, *Waarom is de NAVO in Joegoslavië* (Why is NATO in Yugoslavia), Amsterdam, 1999, 7.

<sup>8</sup> Rainer Rupp is a German investigative journalist and former NATO staff member in Brussels. He had contributed immensely to the insights reflected in my book *The Yugoslavia Tribunal - Who murdered Slobodan Milošević and...why?* Rupp worked at NATO headquarters in Brussels for more than 10 years. He had access to classified

## Conference in Bratislava 2000

### US State Department and the U.S. Enterprise Institute (AEI)

#### Attack by NATO rectifies strategic errors made by General Eisenhower

**Item one:** The organizers of the Conference (US State Department and American Enterprise Institute) demanded a speedy recognition of Kosovo, according to international law, as an independent state.

**Comment:**

This demand indicates that the Helsinki Accord with regard to European Security and Cooperation (OSCE) is considered to be of no value to the United States, despite the fact that the U.S. and all European states have signed the Accord. The main achievement of the Helsinki Accord was that all the signatories agreed that no border within Europe could be altered through violent means. The U.S. demand for a speedy recognition of an independent state of Kosovo was nothing more or less than a return to a barbaric past when Europe's borders were constantly being redrawn in blood. It would mean nothing more or less than an annulment of the Helsinki Accord, which would also jeopardize the OSCE and have far-reaching and ominous consequences for the entire continent. In view of the many unresolved disputes concerning borders and minorities on the old continent, it would open a veritable Pandora's Box, which is exactly why most European NATO partners are very sceptical about the demands of their American ally. However, the U.S. used a devious legal trick to get what they want and to circumvent European objections, as item 2 in Willy Wimmer's letter demonstrates:

**Item two:** It was explained by the organizers that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia must be kept out of every rule-of-law organ, and especially out of the Helsinki accords.

**Comment:** This legal trick would have solved Washington's problems. It would allow Kosovo to gain its independence with NATO's approval, without violating the rules of the OSCE. If Yugoslavia did not fall within the parameters specified in the Helsinki Accord, the content of that agreement did not apply to that country. The fact that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia signed the Helsinki Accord was conveniently overlooked. It would appear that the United States, as the last remaining superpower on earth, can determine, at will, which countries fall under the Helsinki Accord and which do not, in other words, which borders may be altered through violent means and which may not. This once again demonstrates the ease with which the United States ignores international agreements when their interests are at stake.

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documents and confidential information. For this book he gave permission to use the article he wrote about the conference in Bratislava.

**Item 3:** European rule of law is a hindrance to NATO. The American system of law is therefore more suitable for Europe.

**Comment:** With this statement Washington clearly reveals its imperialist and global claim to power and justice. There are remarkable parallels between the way the U.S. operates in this regard with the way Roman emperors used to claim (world) power. Even Americans critical of their government realise that the claims of their nation for global power, using American values as standard, is a quest for *The New Empire*.

**Item four:** The war against Yugoslavia was fought to rectify an incorrect decision of General Eisenhower during World War II. In this manner, because of the strategic reasons demanding the stationing of American soldiers in this region, the faulty determination has been corrected.

**Comment:** Historical research indicates that this so-called mistake made by Eisenhower has to refer to the results of allied consultation in Tehran in 1944. During this conference the allies decided to withdraw their support for the legendary royalist guerrilla leader General Draža Mihailović. Instead, they decided to back the then unknown Tito. After the war it was the communist Tito rather than, the royalist friend of the West, Mihailović who made decisions concerning the political set-up of Yugoslavia. After the war, Mihailović continued his guerrilla resistance against Tito. Eventually he fell into Tito's hands and was sentenced to death and executed. This is not the place to discuss in great detail the misinformation campaign that was mounted by the British spy James Klugmann - who also worked for Moscow - to persuade the British Government to drop Mihailović in favour of the Moscow-backed Tito during the Tehran conference. What can be said about Mihailović is not only that he was a brilliant (guerrilla) strategist, but also that he was one of the first Serbs who fought the Nazis in occupied Europe with great intensity. He was so successful that he managed to cause the Germans enormous problems in the Balkans. When Rommel was facing El Alamein, the allied commanders General Eisenhower, General Auchinlek, Air Marshall Tedder and General de Gaulle congratulated and thanked Mihailović for his help but, nevertheless, withdrew their support. The rumour spread by the Russians was that Mihailović cooperated with the Germans. As a result, Yugoslavia and the entire Balkans came under Russian control at the end of the war. After the fall of socialism in the Warsaw Pact countries and the events in the Soviet Union, elementary structures of socialist politics remained in place for a long time, first in Yugoslavia and later in Milošević-led Serbia. To an extent thanks to the strategic and economic significance of the industrially developed Serbia, the adherence to the remnants of socialism proved an obstacle for the neoliberalist new order envisaged by America and the West for the Balkans. In the end, this situation resulting was caused by the strategic error Eisenhower made when he decided to withdraw his backing for General Mihailović. This was the mistake to which the U.S. referred to at the Bratislava Conference. And it was to this same error that NATO attacked the

sovereign state of Yugoslavia and stationed U.S. troops in the Balkans. Both actions were designed to rectify the historic error.

**Item five:** The European allies took part in the war against Yugoslavia in order to, de facto, overcome the dilemma which presented itself after the acceptance of the 'new strategic concept' of the Alliance in April 1999, and to overcome the inclination of the Europeans to secure a previous mandate of the United Nations or the Organization for European Security and Cooperation.

**Comment:** NATO's New Strategic Concept was signed on April 28<sup>th</sup> 1999, by the heads of state and government leaders of the NATO members, during a festive summit celebrating the organization's fiftieth birthday. In addition to the territorial boundaries of its member states, the 'New' NATO now also 'defends' various kinds of vaguely defined security interests, including the explicitly-mentioned, 'access to raw materials'. The 'interests' are defended aggressively and are outside of NATO's traditional transatlantic mandate. The area it covers ranges from the Caspian Sea via the Persian Gulf to North Africa and the Atlantic Ocean. NATO reserves the right, as in the case of Kosovo, to give itself a military mandate and use the cover of 'humanitarian intervention' to secure the less humanitarian 'access to raw materials', as can be read in Article 24. Incidentally, by signing the Concept on April 28<sup>th</sup> 1999, the German Chancellor also breathed new life into an ancient imperialist ideology in Germany.

**Item six:** European allies may legalistically reason that this war against Yugoslavia, which was outside the treaty's domain, was an exception. However, it is clear that this is a precedent, which they can and will call upon at any moment.

**Comment:** The statements made by Bündnis90/Die Grünen and the SPD to the effect that the attack on Yugoslavia was an 'exception' demonstrated a limited sense of reality and certainly did not reflect the political reality of NATO and the European Intervention Forces, where it is assumed that there will be more 'exceptions' and that the necessary military preparations were being made for such events.

**Item seven:** NATO should now fill the area between the Baltic and Anatolia, as Roman forces filled it during the height of the Roman Empire.

**No comment.**

**Item 8:** In addition, Poland must be surrounded from the north and the south by its democratic neighbor states Bulgaria and Romania. It should provide the territorial connection to Turkey and, in the long run, Serbia must be kept out of European development (probably to further the safety of the American military presence).

**Comment:** Since the United States have, by now, managed to buy themselves a government in Belgrade that has adopted a pro-Western outlook, the second item in the hypothesis is no longer relevant.

**Item nine:** North of Poland, it is important to establish complete control of all access routes from St Petersburg to the Baltic Sea.

**Comment:** Apparently, the U.S. finds it difficult to rid itself of the hostile image it has of the Russians. Russia, under Putin's leadership, has begun to refocus vigorously on its own security interests, once more needs to be kept on a tight leash.

**Item ten:** In each process, the right for people's self determination should be given priority before all other regulations or rules of the international law.

**Comment:** In this way, virtually any state can be destroyed, since there are ethnic or other minorities presenting themselves as such everywhere. When the West awards these minorities the 'right to self-determination', it provides itself with a legal figleaf that allows it to invade any state that finds itself in the crosshairs of the West.

**Item eleven:** The statement that NATO's war against Yugoslavia was a violation of all relevant regulations and rules of international law did not encounter any opposition.

**Comment:** This item refers to the apparent response of the participants of the conference to the personal position of Willy Wimmers, who opposed NATO's actions. His criticism that NATO's attack violated international agreements, in particular the integrity of a sovereign state, failed to receive neither objection nor response from the U.S. The United States thus clearly demonstrated that, as a superpower, they do not feel bound by international agreements. At the end of his letter to Chancellor Schröder, Willy Wimmers shared his vision of the decisions that were made during the Bratislava Conference, when he wrote: "It would appear that the U.S. camp is deliberately circumventing the international legal order that was designed so meticulously after two world wars, at a global level and in pursuit of its own objectives. Might is right. Whenever international law gets in their way, they simply brush it aside. When a similar development affected the League of Nations, the Second World War was not far away. Any ideology that makes self interest absolute can only be characterised as totalitarian."

**Sagittarius**

**Van:** "R Despotovic" <despot@tiscali.nl>  
**Aan:** "Nico & Neeltje" <sagitar@hetnet.nl>; "Hans Hupkes" <hans.hupkes@planet.nl>; "Jenny Ligtenberg" <jl@planet.nl>  
**Verzonden:** donderdag 28 februari 2008 0:27  
**Bijlage:** adlog.php\_bannerid=4551&clientid=3161&zoneid=71&source=&block=0&capping=6&cb=7f10f584209f&...  
**Onderwerp:** Bosniers dagen Kroatie voor Europees Hof  
Bosniers dagen Kroatie voor Europees Hof  
woensdag 27 februari 2008 om 16:25

BANJA LUKA (ANP) - Ruim 7000 Bosniers hebben bij het Europese Hof voor de Rechten van de Mens een klacht ingediend tegen Kroatie. Het gaat om mensen die in de Tweede Wereldoorlog in Kroatische concentratiekampen hebben gezeten en nu schadevergoeding eisen.

Dat heeft het hoofd van een vereniging van ex-gedetineerden woensdag laten weten. De klagers zijn voornamelijk etnische Serven, maar ook moslims, Joden en Kroaten.

Onder het fascistische Ustasa-bewind werden tijdens WO II in Kroatie honderdduizenden Serven, Joden, zigeuners en antifascisten vermoord in concentratiekampen als Jasenovac.

Van: "Jenny Ligtenberg"  
Aan: "nico steynen" <sagitar@hetnet.nl>  
Verzonden: vrijdag 1 februari 2008 15:57  
Onderwerp: Fw: Who is next ?]  
proficiat nico! gelijk met Jola jarig! veel lees plezier

— Original Message —

From: Jenny Ligtenberg  
To: hillary clinton  
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2008 3:54 PM  
Subject: Fw: Who is next ?]

I think I have to send you this article: Your husband lady-killer/butcher of the Balkan/pathological liar BILL had the same friends ustasha=fascists the lady described below.  
As I know he was lying to you: "I have had no sex with that lady" (many times the Duch TV repeat it and shows that ugly face of the cunny fox) so I doubt if he ever told you the real story about his criminal acts during the Yugoslav war 1992-1996? His, and now your adviser snake Albright was super in finding out false scenario's like Srebrenica, Racak (Kosovo), Rambouillet and so on. I know a lot while working for three years in Yugoslavia that time. Not any respect for war criminals!

— Original Message —

From:  
To: Jenny Ligtenberg  
Sent: Wednesday, January 30, 2008 10:35 PM  
Subject: Fw: Who is next ?]

— Original Message —

From: Darkita  
To: undisclosed-recipients:  
Sent: Wednesday, January 30, 2008 1:26 PM  
Subject: [Fwd: Who is next ?]

January 28, 2008  
An Open Letter  
Published in *The American Srbobran*  
and on Serbian websites

Ms. Brenda Brkusic  
Channel Manager  
KOCE-TV  
17011 Beach Blvd, Suite 1550  
Huntington Beach, CA 92647

Dear Ms. Brkusic:

Two days before you aired *Freedom From Despair*, I called KOCE to lodge a complaint. When I asked to whom I should direct my views you said I should give them to you. When I asked your name I discovered you were not only the producer of this film, you were also the station manager. This was like a fox guarding the hen house. I will be lucky if my correspondence makes it to the nearest round file—that is why I have prepared an 'open letter' to be published in the Serbian press, placed on Serbian websites, distributed to PBS executives and sent to members of the U.S. House and Senate.

You assured me in our telephone conversation that I "*had nothing to be worried about,*" because, as you asserted, "*your documentary was about your father and his escape from communist Yugoslavia.*" That remark was as transparent as glass once I watched the program. Your film was shameless bigoted propaganda. How outrageous that KOCE, a member of PBS, would provide a platform for racism,

information, ethnic slander and historical revisionism. This makes a mockery of tax-supported broadcasting.

Your program began with the assertion that, "700 Roman Catholic priests were murdered by the Communist." Yet you cleverly omitted the fact that in 1945 some 740 Roman priests fled through the "Vatican Ratline" for Argentina. These were war criminal priests who joined the Ustashe and murdered tens of thousands of Serbs, Jews and Gypsies with their own hands and escaped justice—their crimes make the current crop of pedophile Catholic priests pale in comparison.

In 1941, Fr. Ivan Raguz was only one of dozens of Catholic priests who yelled from the pulpit: "**Kill all Serbs and Jews, including children, so that not even the seeds of the beast are left.**" This was the very foundation, the pretext and the horror of Jasenovac, a sick mentality that exists today in Croatia.

You also omitted any reference that Croatian Nazi collaborators (the overwhelming majority of the population), created the *Jasenovac Concentration Camp system*, one of the largest camps during the Holocaust, where Croats put to death an estimated 700,000 Serbs, 30,000 Jews and 70,000 Roma gypsies. They also put to death 60 rabbis. You can run from historical accuracy Ms. Brkusic, but you can't hide! Not a single Croatian war criminal was brought to justice at Nuremberg or since the Holocaust.

"**If you cannot kill a Serb or a Jew, you are an enemy of the Croatian State,**" were the words uttered by Andrija Artukovic, Minister of the Interior, Independent State of Croatia, 1941. This is the same war criminal who escaped justice by entering the United States dressed as a Roman Catholic priest with a false passport—he remained in the U.S. on a tourist visa for over 3 decades, protected by Catholic circles including Mrs. Dorothy Chandler who owned the Los Angeles Times.

Artukovic was finally extradited in 1986 to stand trial, not for Genocide of a half million Serbs, but for a lesser crime, killing his driver. He was found guilty and died in jail. At his extradition trial, Cardinal Manning of Los Angeles called Artukovic, "A great good man." That 'great good man' put to death hundreds of thousands of people. Michael McAdams in your film testified in Artukovic's behalf as well—I remember that hearing, I was sitting in the courtroom and the unused jury box was filled with Catholic priests.

I remind you of the words of one of the 87 survivors of Jasenovac, a Croat by the name of Antun Miletich, from his book *Concentration Camp Jasenovac, 1941-45*. Belgrade, 1986, pg.7:

*"There is not a pen capable of describing the horror and terror of the atmosphere at Jasenovac. It surpasses any human fantasy. Imagine Hell, the Inquisition, a terror more dreadful than any that ever before existed anywhere, run by bloodthirsty wild animals whose most hidden and disgusting instincts had come to the surface in a way never before seen in human beings—and still, you have not said enough."*

The Croatian Commission on November 15, 1945 said the following: "... *The exact number of victims swallowed by the camp of Jasenovac will never be established, but that on the basis of investigation led by the Commission, it can be concluded that the number of around 500,000 to 600,000 conforms to reality.*"

You spout the Nazi party line Ms. Burksic, just like President Franjo Tudjman of Croatia who was quoted in the *Jerusalem Post* in 1991 as saying: "*I am a doubly lucky man, my wife is neither a Serb nor a Jew,*" and boasted in 1992: "*only about 80,000 Serbs were put to death at Jasenovac.*" Most Croats in the U.S. repeat this stupid remark as though liquidating 80,000 people is a proud accomplishment, considering that most of their victims were defenseless women and children.

Your presentation about "Goli Otok," (The Naked Island) was pure revisionism. That island was used for political prisoners who were hard-liner pro-Soviet or anti-Tito communists—so, if you had a relative on Goli Otok he must have been one or the other. However, most of the prisoners on Goli Otok were Serbs from Lika and Montenegrins and only a few hundred Croats. Your presentation was deliberately misleading. And who cares if Tito spoke a strange dialect? He was a miserable Croatian bastard, and it must eat away at you at not being able to blame this monster on Serbian ethnicity.

one of the best Washington testimonies I found in doing research for my 1991 book, *Serbian Genocide 1941-45*, (co-written with David Martin and Michael Lees), was by Senator Herbert H. Lehman, New York, October 20, 1951: "*For centuries the Serbian people have stood in the Balkans as the bulwark of Christian civilization against invaders and oppressors. As a consequence of their stand, great losses have been inflicted on them in the course of centuries... Genocide in its worst and most destructive form, however, was inflicted upon the Serbs in 1941-45 by the members of the Croatian Fascist movement, the Ustasha. The massacres carried out in the Serbian Orthodox Church in Glina, 1941, belong undoubtedly, to the darkest chapters of human depravity in modern times.*"

The Ustashe converted over 500,000 Serbian Orthodox to Catholicism. Those Serbs believe this would save their lives—but it only accelerated their demise as the Nazis were able to discover who the Serbs were among them. On August 21, 1941 in the Serbian church in Glina 1,030 gather for what they believed was yet another forced 'conversion' to Catholicism. A baby was baptized and a picture remains as evidence of this hideous war crime. The chief of the Zagreb police, Bozidar Corouski, entered the church and proclaimed: "*Now that you are all Roman Catholics, I guarantee you that I can save your souls, but I cannot save your bodies.*" The doors were suddenly locked from outside and the Ustashi goons and thugs entered the church and in a macabre fashion slit the throats of 1,029 Serb victims. Only one man survived to tell this grim story, his name was Ljuban Jednak. In 1991, Ljuban was warned that his name appeared on a list of Serbs to be exterminated. His house was shot from all sides one night, but Jednak had already escaped from Croatia and the Balkans. He died in 1997 of natural causes.

Your deception in the production of this film was clear, Ms. Brkusic. You went out of your way to omit that Roman Catholic nuns at Jasenovac used toxic soda to murder over 100,000 Serbian children to save bullets. This was 3 years before the end of WWII and before there was even a thought of a communist regime on which to blame your depraved behavior. So what excuse did the Croatians have for killing their Serbian neighbors? This was "democracy," Croatian style.

During the current Civil Wars, Croatia murdered thousands of Serbs, destroyed 98 Serbian churches and ethnically cleansed 12% of the Serb population. Less than 4% have been allowed to return in the past dozen years. Of those who have returned, more than half have fled again from continued Croat persecution. You used this film to blame everyone but yourselves for perpetrating such ethnic hatred.

Serbophobia has deep roots in the Croatian people. During the First World War when it became obvious that the Allies would crush the Austrian Empire, Croats fled into the arms of their Serbian enemies like rats fleeing a sinking ship. Serbia, an internationally recognized nation at the Congress of Berlin in 1878 gave up its statehood to form the *Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes* in 1918. This shotgun marriage was forced on the Serbs by the major powers. Ungrateful Croats who were vassals of the Austrians for centuries became obstructionists from the outset of the new Balkan state. For over a thousand years there was no such thing as a "Croatian state" in Europe. But once Croats moved in with their Serbian hosts it only took two generations to evict Serbs from land on which they lived since the 15<sup>th</sup> century. As the Jews say, "What Chutzpah!"

The Serbian Krajina is my ancestral land from the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The very word Krajina means "Frontier Zone" and it was land granted by the Austrian Empire to the Serbs in exchange for protecting their borders. The Krajina was never part of Croatia until Tito came to power and made that territory a part of the Croat Republic, just like he dictated Albanian autonomy in Kosovo in 1974. Tito went out of his way to destroy any Serb unity and history shows that in spite of Croat and Bosnian claims of "Serbian oppression," the Serbs ranked 4<sup>th</sup> place in political positions throughout the Tito regime. Since the turn of the last century Serbs have become a minority in their own country.

When the war started in 1991 the president of Yugoslavia was not Milosevic as most are led to believe—it was Ante Markovic, a Croat who order Serbian troops to attack Croatia, then he resigned, knowing full well what he had unleashed.

Fascism also runs deep in the U.S. Croatian community. In White Plains, New York, the *Archbishop Stepinac High School* is named for a Croatian Archbishop who was convicted of Holocaust war crimes by the

...lies. He was sent to prison for 13 years, then spent the remainder of his life under what amounted to house arrest. The Croat Catholics have convinced the Vatican to make this thug a Catholic Saint. Is there no shame?

The readers of this 'open letter' need to be reminded that Serbs were murdered by their Croat neighbors and local Roman Catholic priests who led the lynch mobs. They join with the SS Hanjar the 20,000 strong Muslim Nazi Division in trying to eradicate Serbs from the Balkans. Your film demonstrated an immoral desire to eradicate the truth.

As an example, historical documents disclose that Fr. Miroslav Filipovic Majstorovic, a Franciscan friar, entered the Serbian village of Drakulic on February 7, 1942 under the leadership of the Ustashe. Over 2,300 Serbian adults, mostly women and 551 children were murdered. Would you like a list of their names and ages, Ms. Brkusic?

The torture began by cutting off noses, ears and genitals of these children—body parts that allowed the victims to remain alive for hours through their rape and tortures. The most hideous crime of all was the decapitation of these children—their heads thrown into the laps of their mothers, who, in shocked horror, were then murdered. Pregnant women had their bellies slit open and the fetus removed, a horrific form of death to both mother and child.

Ante Pavelic, who was brought to power by Hitler, set up the First Independent State of Croatia in 1941, a Nazi puppet state where Pavelic set up 34 "summary" courts throughout Croatia that year. He empowered every Croatian to arrest and kill Serbs without being charged with a crime. Any Croat could sit on these so-called "courts," including former convicts. Mobile court units roamed the countryside in which Serbs were arrested, tried, convicted and hanged—within hours. Hundreds of photographs from this period show thousands of Serbs hanging from trees and light posts throughout Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. How dare you portray Croats as victims? Your film is shocking and appalling exploitation!

Apparently Ms. Brkusic, you never counted on any authors or Balkan historians seeing this visual garbage. In your self-serving effort you were able to raise the \$100,000 dollars in the Croatian community to produce this shameful film in an attempt to hoodwink an ignorant American audience.

Croats have shown that they will even steal heroic Serbian figures like Nikola Tesla, by constantly claiming he was a Croatian. A hideous lie as Tesla was the son of a Serbian Orthodox priest. The village in which Tesla was born was in Austria and did not become part of former Yugoslavia until 30 years after Tesla immigrated to the United States where he invented the radio and AC electrical power.

In the village of Vojnic, Croatia where my father was born, 97 Serbs were locked inside their church in 1941 and it was burned to the ground. Seventeen of those victims were my relatives. In 1972, I photographed the remains of that church. President Tudjman had the site bulldozed in 1992 just as he bulldozed the museum and buildings at the Jasenovac Concentration Camp in order to destroy the evidence of their crimes.

If a country cannot own up to its failures then that nation is doomed to repeat them, and Croatia has by creating an ethnically pure state, fulfilling their Nazi dreams.

During "Operation Storm" in August, 1995 when 250,000 Serbs were cleansed from Croatia—the last 5 relatives of my name were too old and too sick to flee. I was notified a month later they were found with their throats slit. In my lifetime, I have been a double victim of Croat inspired Genocide. These immoral crimes against humanity demonstrate the contempt you have for the truth, Ms. Brkusic. Your claim that "Tito killed 10,000 Croats in a decade" was not only a gross exaggeration, it pales in comparison to Croats killing 700,000 Serbs, 30,000 Jews and 70,000 Roma gypsies for which no one has been held responsible.

I suggest that you visit a library from time to time, if you can read. You might also spend some time in the military archives of the United States and Great Britain before giving us a display of your ignorance and lack of integrity. Your film was an amateurish endeavor that betrayed history at the expense of the Serbs. Be

careful Ms. Brkusic, your bigotry and intolerance is showing!

Today there are 1.2 million Serbian refugees from Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo. That is twice the combine number of Croat and Muslim refugees. So stop the propaganda ploy. It is now quite obvious who excels at 'ethnic cleansing' in the Balkans. KOCE should be ashamed of participating in this ugly whitewash of history. In whose interest do they work so diligently, it certainly is not historical accuracy?

Just a few days ago on January 23, 2008, the Serbian Orthodox Church in Croatia said it received a written message threatening Serbs and Jews living in Croatia with "extermination." The message was signed by supporters of 'Hajduk Split,' a leading Croatian soccer club. In the past several years Croat fans at soccer games formed a large Swastika with their bodies in the stands and use the Sieg Heil salute. Recently a Neo-Nazi Croat Rock group came to the United States. This group has been ban in several European countries for singing songs that praise the Ustashe regime in Croatia. Therefore, your crocodile tears in this documentary was obviously intended for naïve Americans, most of whom know less about European history then they do their own history.

It has become more than clear that the Croats have established an ethnic and religiously pure Croatian State while you speak of "democracy" with a forked tongue. But this is nothing new. I quote the views of the famous Roman Catholic author, Avro Manhattan who wrote *Vatican Imperialism in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century* (1965):

*"The lessons we have learned from the emergence of the Independent State of Croatia, where the religious and political totalitarianism of Catholicism was not only made to work, but put to death more than one million Serbian Orthodox Christians, should never be forgotten. For it happened in our times, when the Catholic Church—then as now, posing as a victim of religious intolerance—was clamoring for freedom, while at the same time suppressing that same freedom for which she was vociferating so loudly, in a tiny state where she had set up her kind of freedom, Catholic freedom: i.e., freedom for herself to eliminate whatever and whoever dared to resist her embrace."*

As for the explanation by Michael McAdams in your film regarding the Croatian "checkerboard symbol dating to the 15<sup>th</sup> century," you make no apologies that the same symbol was used during the Holocaust to put to death nearly one million people. I remind Mr. McAdams that the Swastika is a symbol from the Bonze Age. It's not about when these symbols were created, it is about what they represent. What is apparent is that the Croats are not interested in how much they offend or insult others or how insensitive it was to use this Nazi symbol on their flag—they are far more interested in brainwashing the world about their Nazi past as they cover up their bigoted presence.

Who is next on the Croatian hate list, and whom will Croats blame for their dysfunctional society when the Serbs are no longer their Achilles heel? Real history has shown that Croats, like their former Nazi Albanian neighbors, cannot survive without hating someone.

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William Dorich is the author of 5 books on Balkan history including his 1991 book, *Serbian Genocide 1941-45*, co written by the late David Martin, author of *The Web of Disinformation* (1989) and the late Michael Lees, author of *The Rape of Serbia* (1989). His 1992 book, *Kosovo* raise over \$200,000 to aid the more than 30,000 Serbian orphans from the current Civil Wars. He is the recipient of *The Order of St. Sava*, the highest recognition given to a layperson by the Holy Synod of Serbian Orthodox Bishops and An Award of Merit from the Serbian Bar Association of America. His articles have appeared in numerous publications including *The International Herald Tribune*, *The Chicago Tribune*, *The Washington Times* and in the Serbian media.

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*Kanselier Kohl krijgt voor mekaar wat Keizer Wilhelm  
of Hitler niet vermochten.*  
De Beierse minister van Binnenlandse Zaken in 1992<sup>1</sup>

Tijdens heel de Joegoslavische crisis doet Duitsland alsof zijn houding een reactie is, de 'erkenning' van een 'spontane' vraag van Kroatië en Slovenië. Die versie is door de meeste media en auteurs overgenomen. Maar is het wel geloofwaardig dat Duitsland zulke zwaarwichtige beslissing zou improviseren en daarbij ook nog eens zou ingaan tegen de wil van al zijn traditionele partners? Om dat te weten te komen, gaan we even terug in de tijd...

Al in 1991 stipte de Franse generaal Gallois 'aan dat Duitsland sinds het begin van het jaar - en waarschijnlijk al langer - wapens leverde aan Kroatië via Italië, Hongarije en Tsjecho-Slowakije. Meer dan duizend vrachtwagens vervoerden lichte wapens, maar ook antitank- en luchtafweergeschut, munitie en mobiele herstelplaatsen'.<sup>2</sup> Zes maanden voor de eerste gevechten uitbraken waren er dus al wapenleveringen.

Zo beschikte ook Slovenië vanaf zijn korte oorlog met het Joegoslavische leger (JNA) over een aantal wapens die niet tot de normale uitrusting van de plaatselijke 'territoriale troepen' behoorden en die dus clandestien waren ingevoerd voor het conflict uitbrak. De Belgische journalist George Berghezan komt tot die vaststelling in een studie over de schendingen van het wapenembargo: 'We zien dat er tegen de tanks van het JNA op een doeltreffende manier gebruik gemaakt is van antitankwapens van het type Armbrust. Het is een wapensysteem dat tot begin 1980 door de Duitse firma Messerschmitt-Bolko-, Blohm (MBB), een dochteronderneming van Mercedes, geproduceerd werd.'<sup>2bis</sup>

Maar als we nog verder teruggaan in de tijd komen we nog meer te weten...

## Twaalf jaar eerder, de mollen van Kinkel...

In 1979 komt een zekere Klaus Kinkel aan het hoofd van de BND (Bundes Nachrichten Dienst, Duits equivalent van de CIA). Dertien jaar later wordt hij minister van Buitenlandse Zaken. Wat heeft hij bij de BND gedaan? Een boek<sup>3</sup> van een oud BND-agent, Erich Schmidt-Eenboom, maakt duidelijk dat hij er het uiteenvallen van Joegoslavië zeer actief heeft voorbereid.

De kern van zijn werk staat eruit om twee elementen met elkaar in contact te brengen en te verbinden: enerzijds de 'communisten' uit Zagreb wier stellingen steeds minder communistisch en steeds meer nationalistisch worden; anderzijds de verschillende uiterst-rechtse Kroatische bewegingen in ballingschap. Na de nederlaag van 1945 en de installatie van het Titoregime vluchtten zeer veel Kroatische fascistische naar de Verenigde Staten, Canada en naar verschillende Europese landen...

Om die geheime activiteit in Joegoslavië te organiseren wordt Klaus Dörner door Kinkel in Belgrado gestationeerd. Dörner is een agent die nauwe banden heeft met de nationalistische Kroatische kringen, onder meer met Bruno Busic, de ideoloog van het 'Groot-Kroatië', en met Ernest Bauer, die ooit de geheime dienst commandeerde van de fascistische Oostachistaat, een van Hitlers bondgenoten tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog. In 1981 gaat Dörner op bezoek bij de toekomstige leider van het 'onafhankelijke' Kroatië, Franjo Tudjman, die dan voor de tweede maal gevangen zit omwille van zijn nationalistische separatistische activiteiten. Het is de start van een mediacampagne in Duitsland voor de vrijlating van Tudjman.

Het boek van Erich Schmidt-Eenboom geeft aan dat er een honderdtal agenten van de BND onder bevel van Kinkel actief zijn in Joegoslavië. Kinkel moedigt ook de terugkeer aan van de Kroatische Oostachi's, die Joegoslavië na de

## Wie heeft Slovenië bewapend?

In een interview verklaart de Sloveense schrijfster Marina Vogric dat de Sloveense machthebbers tijdens de staking van de vuilnismanen in Ljubljana vuilniskarren gevuld met wapens uit Oostenrijk hebben ingevoerd. Ze beschuldigt de Oostenrijkse christen-democratie en 'sommige Duitse politici' ervan anti-tankversperringen en allerlei andere wapens geleverd te hebben.

Ze zegt dat er tijdens de Sloveense lente (die de uitroeping van de onafhankelijkheid voorafging) zoveel schandalen rond wapensmokkel geweest zijn, dat 'onze kinderen er ganse encyclopedieën mee zouden kunnen vullen' en dat de voorzitter van de parlementaire commissie die klaarheid over die smokkel moest brengen 'zich erover beklaagde op een echte muur van stilzwijgen te botsen, omdat de wapenhandel tot staatsgeheim verheven werd. Hij is er van overtuigd dat er pas klaarheid zal komen na het "fiat" van de Verenigde Staten en de CIA'.<sup>1</sup>

1. *Dialogue* (Frankrijk), Parijs, september 1996.

oorlog ontvluchtten. Onder hen Tomislav Milic, die chef 'speciale missies' zal worden van de politie van Zagreb.

De mensen die Kinkel rekruteert zijn de rechtstreekse erfgenamen van de fascistische Oestachi's. In verschillende Europese landen hebben ze terreur gezaaid met bomaanslagen en met bloedige executies van linkse 'vijanden'. Maar die 'goede' terroristen worden in Duitsland niet verontrust. Ook al hebben ze nauwe banden met Duitse en internationale fascistische groepen, en ook al bereiden ze zich al lang voor op een militaire interventie in Kroatië. Het is trouwens in die kringen dat begin jaren '90 de 'doodsekkaders' gerekruteerd worden. En zelfs Kroatische kranten zullen die vergelijken met 'Zuid-Amerikaanse toestanden'.

Maar noch Kinkel, noch zijn opvolgers zijn al te kieskeurig wat betreft de democratische overtuiging van de 'opposanten' die ze steunen. Het bewijs? In 1978 stelt Belgrado voor vier Duitse terroristen van de Rote Armee Fraktion uit te wisselen tegen twee Kroatische Oestachi's die hun toevlucht in Duitsland zochten. Bonn weigert, ondanks het hysterisch klimaat dat toen tegen die RAF geschapen werd. Bonn hecht veel meer waarde aan het behoud van het wapen van het Oestachi-nationalisme om Joegoslavië op te blazen.

Hebben die voorbereidingen een belangrijke rol gespeeld in de afscheuring? 'Ja, antwoordt de Duitse journalist Jürgen Elsässer, hoofdredacteur van het linkse dagblad *Junge Welt* en specialist in de balkanproblematiek. Dankzij de BND verwierven de Kroatische geheime diensten vanaf de jaren '70-'80 een onafhankelijke positie ten opzichte van hun Joegoslavische collega's. Die Kroatische diensten hebben de afscheuring praktisch georganiseerd. Ze hebben zich beziggehouden met de levering van wapens. Ze waren diplomatiek zeer actief in de jaren 1990 en 1991. En het waren die diensten die de pro-Joegoslavische politici in 1991 lieten arresteren.

Kinkel was erin geslaagd twee stromingen binnen die geheime diensten te doen samenwerken: een nationaal-communistische (of eerder nationaal-titoïstische) stroming en de oestachistrekking. Vandaag heeft de oestachistrekking het gehaald. Tudjman is nog de enige vertegenwoordiger van de nationaal-titoïsten. Al zijn medestanders hebben zich teruggetrokken of hebben, zoals Stipe Mesic, zwakkere partijen opgericht.<sup>4</sup>

Nochtans zijn geheime diensten nooit meer dan uitvoerders. Zij hebben het uiteenspatten van Joegoslavië voorbereid, maar de grote beslissingen berusten in laatste instantie bij de economische machten. Franz Josef Strauss, een van de belangrijkste naoorlogse politici in Duitsland, zei: 'Eerst de economische overheersing, dan de politieke en dan de militaire.'<sup>5</sup> Wij onderzoeken nu hoe Duitsland het aanpakte om in de Balkan eerst zijn economische, dan zijn politieke en tenslotte zijn militaire overheersing te vergroten...

### Eerst, de economische overheersing...

Vanaf 1989 steekt Duitsland zijn Amerikaanse en Europese rivalen voorbij in de wedloop voor de Joegoslavische markt. Amerika is dan nog maar goed voor 5% van de Joegoslavische invoer en 7% van de uitvoer. De EEG respectievelijk voor 37% en 38%.<sup>6</sup> De helft van dat Europese deel wordt door Duitsland ingepalmd. In 1990 draait de helft van de Joegoslavische industrie met Duitse machines. Meer dan 150 Duitse bedrijven (Hoechst, Siemens, AEG...) zijn actief in Slovenië en controleren er 70% van de handel.<sup>7</sup> Het Oostenrijkse kapitaal, dat zeer dikwijls maar een tussenschakel is voor zijn grote broer (zie p.94-95), is ook zeer actief. Verschillende Oostenrijkse bedrijven maakten zich op om in Slovenië een bedrijf voor de verwerking van toxisch afval op te richten.<sup>8</sup>

Het is het Duitse kapitaal dat de regering Kohl ertoe zal aanzetten Joegoslavië definitief op te blazen. In de zomer van '91 verkondigt die regering nog haar 'gehechtheid aan de integriteit van Joegoslavië', dus aan de lijn van de Europese Unie.

## Kroatische en Duitse geheime diensten

*Erich Schmidt-Eenboom, oud agent van de BND (Duits equivalent van de CIA) onthult de namen van de plaatselijke agenten van de geheime dienst uit Bonn:*

'Met de federalisering van het land (1974, nvda) werden de geheime diensten gesplitst. In Kroatië was de sleutelfiguur Ivan Krajacic, codenaam "Stevo".<sup>1</sup> Hij had de vrije hand om beslissingen te nemen. (...) "Ik ben een nationalist en daar valt niet over te praten", zegt hij tijdens een gesprek met Duhacek, de verantwoordelijke voor de Joegoslavische geheime dienst.

Het centrum van Krajacic in Zagreb kon onbelemmerd gedurende de hele periode van de jaren zestig functioneren. In zijn villa in de chique wijk van Tuskanac, ontving hij zijn vrienden en medewerkers en bereidde hij zijn geliefkoosd scenario voor: de gelijktijdige afscheuring van Kroatië en van Bosnië-Herzegovina met als doel een onafhankelijke staat te vormen.

Hij werkte niet rechtstreeks in de Kroatische dienst UDBA (de Joegoslavische geheime dienst, nvda) maar was erin geslaagd een 'huis in het huis' op te richten. In elke afdeling had hij een parallelle dienst op poten gezet onder zijn controle. Dat gold overigens ook voor de internationale contacten die fel verbeterd waren, vooral dan met de Duitse en Oostenrijkse geheime diensten.

Omwille van zijn gevorderde leeftijd en zijn ziekte bereidde Krajacic zijn opvolging voor onder een kleine kring van intimi: Josip Manolic, Josip Boljkovac, Franjo Tudjman en Stjepan Stipe Mesic. Die vier waren toen de belangrijkste wegbereiders van de Kroatische afscheuring.

De man van de Duitse BND, Klaus Dörner, nam deze nieuwe boegbeelden als contactpersonen. Hij organiseerde zowel in Kroatië zelf als in Duitsland en in Oostenrijk verschillende geheime ontmoetingen om een band te smeden tussen de nationaal-communisten en de Oestachi-emigratie.'

1. Erich Schmidt-Eenboom, 'De schaduwbokser, Klaus Kinkel en de BND', p.213-216.

Maar in de *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, de belangrijkste spreekbuis van de Duitse zakenwereld staat plots te lezen dat de Joegoslavische staat een 'misgeboorte' is. Vijftig jaar eerder was letterlijk dezelfde uitdrukking gebruikt door een Duits leider, namelijk Hitler himself. De socialistische partij SPD zingt mee in het koor door te beweren dat er nooit een eengemaakt democratisch Joegoslavië bestaan heeft.

Het is de economische politiek die de weg opent (zie hiernaast). Vanaf juli 1991 schaft Bonn de garanties af die de handel met Joegoslavië beschermen. De kredietlijnen die daarvoor bestemd waren, worden geblokkeerd. Gezien de torenhoge schuld die het land heeft, komt dat neer op de faillietverklaring van het land. En op het moment dat de verschillende republieken hun uiterste best doen om precies die schuld af te wentelen op de andere republieken, opent Bonn op 5 augustus kredietlijnen voor die republieken die zich willen afscheuren. Die twee maatregelen samen zijn het startsein voor de eindexplosie. Lang voor de officiële regeringsbeslissingen.

Het Duitse kapitaal heeft de echte controle over Kroatië overgenomen. Het gaat koudweg om een uitbreiding van de zone van de D-Mark. 'Duitsland', zegt nog Elsässer, 'controleert 40% van de Kroatische buitenlandse handel. En een groot deel van de deviezen die Joegoslavië binnenkomen, is al lang afkomstig van Kroatische migranten die in Duitsland wonen. Mochten de Kroatische leiders zich ooit tegen Bonn verzetten, dan beschikt Duitsland over duidelijke chantagemiddelen.' Dat klopt: 35% van de buitenlandse investeringen zijn afkomstig uit Duitsland.

Waarom is Duitsland zo geïnteresseerd in Kroatië? Niet alleen voor zijn Dalmatische kust (een droomgebied voor de Duitse toeristische industrie), ook niet alleen voor de bauxietmijnen of voor zijn scheepsindustrie, maar vooral voor de toegang tot de Middellandse Zee via de havens van Split en Rijeka. Zij kunnen die eeuwenoude Duitse droom waarmaken: heersen van de Baltische tot de Middellandse Zee. Anderzijds vormt Joegoslavië de belangrijkste doorgangsroute van Europa naar het Midden-Oosten.

Daarom 'schenkt' Duitsland in januari 1993 twaalf miljoen D-mark om de brug van Maslenica te herbouwen, die tijdens de gevechten vernietigd werd. Niet uit humanitaire bekommernis voor de plaatselijke bevolking, maar omdat die brug het doorgangspunt is tussen het noorden en het zuiden van Dalmatie, en omdat, zo legt een Franse krant uit, 'in werkelijkheid, de autoweg Budapest-Split, waarvan sommige stukken al in aanbouw zijn, geen schijn van kans maakt indien Zagreb zijn controle over dat sleutelgebied niet herstelt'.<sup>9</sup> Duitsland, dat Budapest al controleerde, verzekerde zich zo van de laatste ontbrekende schakel in een wegennetwerk om de goederenstroom van noord naar zuid uit te breiden...

### Dan de politieke overheersing...

Na de verdwijning van de USSR, verzinkt Duitsland in het 'politieke vacuüm' waardoor de Duitse burgerij in staat is haar economische successen politiek te verzilveren. De buitenlandse politiek heroriënteert zich volgens een traditie die in het verleden haar deugdelijkheid al bewees: het principe van de 'nationaliteit' gebruiken om staten te doen uiteenspatten zodat men van de brokstukken vazalstaatjes kan maken. Zo ontstaat opnieuw het *Mittleuropa-concept*, een grote scharnierzone tussen West- en Oost-Europa onder Duitse leiding (dat spreekt voor zich) en die het land toelaat het hele continent te controleren.

Hans-Dieter Genscher, minister van Buitenlandse Zaken, beschrijft de mogelijkheden van dat *Mittleuropa*: 'Het is best te begrijpen dat de volkeren van Centraal-, Oost- en Zuidoost-Europa, na tientallen jaren van onderdrukking, hun nationale identiteit en waarden weer tot uitdrukking willen brengen. Daarom moeten we Europese structuren scheppen'.<sup>10</sup>

## Slovenië en Kroatië werden aangemoedigd

*Hoe hebben de westerse media de oorlog in Joegoslavië voorgesteld? Als een gevolg van de Servische agressie waarop Slovenië en Kroatië 'reageerden' terwijl Duitsland er zich toe beperkte beide 'slachtoffers' te helpen. De Amerikaanse professor Gervasi weerlegt die uitleg over wat in 1991 gebeurde...*

In dat kruisvat van de Balkan hebben twee daden de huidige oorlog veroorzaakt: de Sloveense en Kroatische afscheuring en de tussenkomst van de Europese Gemeenschap. Het eerste had zonder het tweede niet gekund. Het is duidelijk dat Slovenië en Kroatië naar onafhankelijkheid gedreven werden, lang voor de gevechten tussen het Nationale Joegoslavische leger en de Sloveense territoriale strijdkrachten in de lente van 1991 uitbraken. Hun separatistische aspiraties werden zonder schroom door verschillende Europese mogendheden aangemoedigd, vooral dan door Duitsland en Oostenrijk, en dat geruime tijd voor de vijandelijkheden uitbraken. In maart, toen het duidelijk was dat Kroatië zich wilde afscheuren, begonnen de confrontaties tussen de Kroaten en de Servische minderheden. De Kroatische nationalistische organisaties organiseerden geweldadige betogingen in Split en ze belegerden een militaire basis in Cospic. Op 5 mei gaf de federale regering het leger de toestemming in Kroatië tussenbeide te komen. Van dan af begon de Europese Gemeenschap druk uit te oefenen op Joegoslavië.

Toen Slovenië en Kroatië hun onafhankelijkheid uitriepen op 25 juni 1991, kwam de Europese Gemeenschap opnieuw tussen om openlijk het separatisme aan te moedigen. Drie dagen nadat het Joegoslavische leger troepen gestuurd had naar de twee republieken, dreigde de Europese Gemeenschap ermee de voorziene hulp van 1 miljard dollar af te schaffen, tenzij Joegoslavië de Europese bemiddeling zou aanvaarden. Als dat niet gebeurde was, zouden Slovenië en Kroatië bezet zijn door Joegoslavische troepen en zou de afscheuring gestopt zijn.<sup>1</sup>

1. Tijdschrift *Couvert Action* (vs), winter '92-'93, (onze samenvatting).

En Genscher suggereert om 'de uiteengevallen staten niet aan hun lot over te laten'. Vertaling: laten we ze met alle mogelijke middelen aanhechten bij Duitsland.

'De nationale identiteit tot uitdrukking brengen?' Op het ogenblik van die verklaring is de burgeroorlog tussen Kroaten en Serviërs al uitgebroken en heeft het uiteenvallen van de USSR verschrikkelijke burgeroorlogen ontketent. Je moet dus maar durven, of veeleer machiavellistisch zijn, om op zo'n manier de lof te zingen van het chauvinisme en het etnicisme! In feite rekent Genscher erop dat die oorlogen de buurstaten zullen verzwakken en dat ze dan kunnen ingepalmd worden.

De burens verzwakken, dat is de Duitse strategie die achter dat officiële discours verborgen gaat. Alle economen begrijpen dat de onafhankelijkheid van Slovenië en Kroatië beide staten economisch verzwakte. Ze verloren immers hun afzetmarkten, net als hun bron van goedkope grondstoffen die zich allebei in de rest van Joegoslavië bevonden. Volgens de vice-voorzitter van de Wereldbank, 'staat het voor ons buiten kijf dat op korte en middellange termijn geen enkel deel van Joegoslavië voordeel zal halen uit de desintegratie van Joegoslavië of van zijn economie.'<sup>11</sup> Het is echter wel duidelijk dat het verbreken van die economische banden de ministaatjes nog meer in de armen van Oostenrijk en Duitsland zal drijven.

Het bewijs? In januari 1993 titelt *Danas*, een Kroatische krant, 'Siemens koopt Kroatië'... voor drie miljard dollar. De Duitse reus heeft inderdaad onlangs voor dat enorm bedrag obligaties van de nieuwe staat verworven. Siemens verwerft zo niet alleen het monopolie over de energie, over de levering van computers, de telecommunicatie en de andere moderne technologie; het verwerft ronduit de Kroatische staat. In een verhelderend interview legt de Kroatische directeur van Siemens zijn motieven uit: 'Siemens komt en wijst alle anderen de te volgen weg aan. Dat wil zeggen dat Kroatië zijn economie internationaliseert. Het wordt een deel van de wereld. Dat wil zeggen dat het er in de toekomst zeker van kan zijn niet meer bloot te staan aan agressie... In Koeweit zou men nooit tot efficiënte actie gekomen zijn zonder de noodzaak de economische en financiële belangen te verdedigen die in de regio vertegenwoordigd zijn.'

Duitsland werd dus helemaal niet verrast door de Joegoslavische crisis. En de Duitse reactie op de burgeroorlog was alles behalve geïmproviseerd. Bonn tekende zelf de grote lijnen uit van het scenario voor haar economische en politieke overheersing van die streek. (Over de militaire politiek, zie hoofdstuk 5)

Maar geen enkele grootmacht ter wereld kan zich openlijk expansionistisch noemen. Ten behoeve van de publieke opinie moest de zaak dus anders worden verpakt...

### Wat dat mooie woord 'zelfbeschikking' verhult...

Washington, Parijs en Londen gaven de voorkeur aan een verenigd Joegoslavië dat zich definitief in het westers kapitalisme zou integreren. Maar voor Bonn was dat niet voldoende. De staat zelf moest verdwijnen.

Waarom? Omdat een verenigd Joegoslavië over meer economische, politieke en ook militaire middelen zou beschikken om aan de Duitse expansie in de Balkan te weerstaan. Des te meer als dat Joegoslavië onder Servische dominante bleef omdat de Serviërs traditioneel pro-Russisch en anti-Duits zijn. Dat gehate Joegoslavië vervangen door een reeks van kleine, zwakke, en dus afhankelijke staatjes (in de Middeleeuwen noemde men dat "vazallen"), was al zeer lang een fundamentele doelstelling van Bonn.

Maar omdat je dat soort ware motieven niet zomaar open en bloot kan toegeven, moet je de publieke opinie bewerken met hoogstaande morele verklaringen. Zo stelt kanselier Kohl: 'Het is onaanvaardbaar dat het recht op zelfbeschikking plots geen enkel belang meer heeft.'<sup>12</sup>

## Ze waren gewaarschuwd

'In april 1990 bezoekt de stafchef van het Franse leger zijn Joegoslavische tegenpartij. Laatstgenoemde legt hem tot in de details een catastrofescenario uit dat zich veertien maanden later zal voltrekken: afscheuring van Slovenië en Kroatië, reactie van het federale leger en van de Servische minderheden in Kroatië en Bosnië. Vele jaren voor het drama waren de westerse hoofdsteden dus al op de hoogte van wat gebeuren kon.'<sup>1</sup>

Niemand kan beweren... 'er hat es nicht gewusst'.

1. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 6 augustus 1995.

Karl Lamers, co-verantwoordelijke voor buitenlandse politieke vraagstukken verklaart: 'Wij hebben altijd het principe van de zelfbeschikking verdedigd. Dat recht op zelfbeschikking hield ook het recht op afsplitsing in. Men zal in de toekomst meer rekening moeten houden met de rechten van minderheden en erover moeten waken dat ze worden gerespecteerd.'<sup>13</sup>

In werkelijkheid is dat pleidooi voor zelfbeschikking bij de Duitse leiders zeer selectief. In de zomer van 1991 verklaren ze dat de 19% Kroaten het heilige recht heeft zich van Joegoslavië af te splitsen onder het voorwendsel dat ze er door de 36% Serviërs worden onderdrukt. Enkele maanden later zullen diezelfde Duitse leiders oordelen dat het 'misdadig' is dat 31% Serviërs zich wil losmaken uit een Bosnië dat door 43% Moslims wordt gedomineerd! Waar zit hier de logica?

Onder het voorwendsel van 'democratie' en 'vrijheid' hemeemt Bonn in feite de strategie die een Duits diplomaat op het einde van de jaren dertig onomwonden als volgt omschreef: 'Het komt erop aan een toestand te scheppen waarin iedereen tegen iedereen vecht'. Maar dat vulgaire 'verdeel en heers' wordt aan de publieke opinie verkocht als 'steun aan het zelfbeschikkingsrecht der volkeren'... Komaan zeg! Tot wat voor zelfbeschikking bracht men onmogelijke staatjes zoals Slovenië (1,9 miljoen inwoners), Montenegro (0,6 miljoen) of Macedonië (2 miljoen)? Men heeft geen staten geschapen die over zichzelf beschikken: men heeft enkel nieuwe klanten gemaakt, en makkelijke prooiën.

### 'Een strijd van allen tegen iedereen'

Dat is niet nieuw. In het begin van de 20e eeuw noemde men die strategie de 'balkanisering'. Toen reeds vochten de grootmachten - Engeland, Frankrijk, Rusland en Duitsland - ook al voor de controle over de Balkan. De economisch, en dus politiek zwakke staatjes dienden in de regio als pionnen. Die balkanisering (zie hiernaast), die botsing tussen grootmachten, was een van de uiteindelijke aanleidingen tot de Eerste Wereldoorlog.

De balkanisering is niet verdwenen. Ze is opnieuw tekenend voor de Duitse politiek van de voorbije jaren in Oost- en in Zuidoost-Europa: Joegoslavië, Tsjecho-Slowakije, de Baltische staten... zijn allemaal uiteengevallen.

'Zelfbeschikking' in de mond van het Duitse establishment verdient dat de Nobelprijs voor schijnheiligheid. Als de Koerden aan de fascistische terreur van het Turkse regime willen ontsnappen (taalverbod, dorpen platgebrand of chemische gebombardeerd; mannen, vrouwen, kinderen en ouderlingen zonder mededogen afgeslacht), als die Koerden dus zelfbeschikking eisen, antwoordt Duitsland dat het 'terroristen' zijn en levert het wapens aan de Turkse regering om de slachtpartij verder te zetten. Maar als Tudjman en Izetbegovic zelfbeschikking eisen - een eis die onvermijdelijk tot een burgeroorlog zal leiden en tot de onderdrukking van de Servische minderheden (en van de Joegoslavische, de joodse en de zigeuners) - dan gaat het voor datzelfde Duitse establishment over een 'heilig recht'!

Die 'zelfbeschikking' is uiteindelijk maar een term voor 'mediatiek' gebruik die de belangen van het Duitse establishment moet dienen (zie hiernaast). Het Turkse regime is een bondgenoot van het Westen, lid van de NAVO, en het mag dus naar believen zijn nationale minderheden afslachten. Zijn fascistische methoden zijn geen hinderpaal en beletten niet dat Turkije met open armen ontvangen wordt in de 'democratische' NAVO. Maar de Servische leiders leken zich te willen verzetten tegen de Duitse expansie in de streek. Servië werd dus een satansland terwijl de fascist Tudjman tot 'democraat' werd omgedoopt en de integrist Izetbegovic veranderde in een 'multi-etnist' en dit alles in weerwil van het meest flagrante feitenmateriaal (zie hoofdstuk 14 en 15).

De Duitse pers lanceerde als eerste de verkettering van de Serviërs. Alle Europese media volgden *in globo* van zodra hun regeringen zich aan de zijde van Bonn hadden geschaard.

## De balkanisering

*Het Griekse tijdschrift A-Synechia wijst op een traditie van inmenging door de grootmachten in de Balkan:*

'In de voorbije eeuw en in het begin van de twintigste eeuw is de vorming van de Balkanstaten op eena weinig "reguliere" manier verlopen. Grenzen werden getrokken, en opnieuw getrokken en de imperialistische grootmachten bemoeiden er zich op verschillende manieren rechtstreeks mee. Zij hitsten de nationalistische bewegingen op, bakenden invloedssferen af, vielen aan via tussenpersonen, voerden een militaire aanwezigheidspolitiek, legden economische en militaire embargo's op, enz. De staten uit de regio werden dan ook gevormd op basis van arbitrair getrokken grenzen die de nieuwe staten opzadelden met enorme problemen van nationale minderheden. Dat kon dan weer, mocht het nodig zijn, als voorwendsel dienen om de belangen van de grootmachten veilig te stellen en militair te interveniëren. Het is op basis van die ervaring dat de term "balkanisering" in verschillende delen van de wereld gebruikt is om de procedure te beschrijven van het manipuleren van de etnische problemen en de inter-imperialistische tegenstellingen.'<sup>1</sup>

*Elke gelijkenis met een huidige toestand... is niet toevallig.*

1. De balkanisering van de Balkan, tijdschrift A-Syne(c)hia (Griekenland), 3 juni 1993.

# Omtrent zelfbeschikking

door Samir Amin

'De crisis van de bezitsofstapelings op lokale nationale schaal, samen met die van de wereldwijde kapitalistische opstapelings, is verantwoordelijk voor de crisis waaraan het Joegoslavisch regime - net als dat van de USSR - ten onder ging. De hoop op een economische groei die zonder al te veel moeilijkheden een uitweg zou bieden voor de vraag naar werk op alle niveaus, de emigratie van het platteland naar de stad, de vraag naar sociale vooruitgang... werd door de accumulatiecrisis de grond ingeboord. De leidende groepen die er tot dan toe waren in geslaagd hun macht te doen aanvaarden omdat ze er een concrete tegenprestatie voor boden, zagen hun middelen plots verdwijnen. In die crisissituatie sneuvelt ook hun eenheid. Elke groep die uit die wan-orde ontstaat, poogt zijn legitimiteit te herstellen en een nieuw maatschappelijk steunpunt te verwerven. Op zo'n moment wordt de 'nationale' troefkaart getrokken (ook 'etnisch' of in Afrika 'tribaal' genoemd) om dat doel te bereiken. (...)

Op dat eigenste ogenblik ontdekken de Westerse mogendheden dat het systeem in zijn geheel te recupereren is. Dat de leidende klassen die de toekomst van hun volkeren in handen hebben ten einde raad zijn. Zij spelen dan, met het stilzwijgend akkoord van die leidende klassen, de kaart van het nationalisme en etnicisme ten volle uit. En dan duiken plots de zogenaamde 'onafhankelijke' media op die aan deze dimensie het absolute overwicht geven op alle andere facetten.

Plots bestaat er geen enkel probleem meer in Joegoslavië, de Kaukasus, in Centraal-Azië, in Rusland. Er zijn enkel nog Serviërs, Kroaten, Azeri's, Armeniërs, Turken, Russen enz. Men schudt zeer gemakkelijk herinneringen wakker aan het verleden. Meteen verdedigen 'humanitaire organisaties', hier zowel als in Ethiopië, vurig het recht van de volkeren. Zij doen dat, bewust of onbewust, in dienst van het Duitse plan dat van de verbodsbreuk gebruik wil maken om in Oost-Europa een nieuw Latijns Amerika te scheppen ten dienste van het eigen expansionisme...

Technisch gesproken leidt Bonn de operatie. Op basis van verwarde verkiezingen, zonder grondwettelijke basis voor de afscheuring, beslissen Slovenië en Kroatië om hun onafhankelijkheid uit te roepen. In de hele periode die vooraf ging had 'men' hen gezegd dat ze, eenmaal onafhankelijk, toegelaten zouden worden tot de EEG en dus plotsklaps zouden kunnen genieten van de West-Europese levensstandaard! De federale regering vond dat de zaak onderhandeld moest worden. Men heeft ze brutaal het zelfbeschikkingsrecht van de volkeren onder de neus geschoven. Een zelfbeschikkingsrecht dat werd verdedigd door personaliteiten die het nooit in hun hoofd zouden halen om bijvoorbeeld dezelfde vraag op dezelfde toon aan de Engelsen in Ierland te stellen.'

*Uittreksel uit 'L'Ethnie a l'assaut des nations', door Samir Amin, econoom, L'Harmattan, Parijs, 1994, p.70-72.*

## 'Recht van de volkeren op zelfbeschikking'?

door Ludo Martens

'Wij zien tegengestelde en op het eerste gezicht onbegrijpelijke fenomenen. Het grootkapitaal is meer en meer geïnternationaliseerd: het Amerikaans, Duits en Japans imperialisme strekken hun tentakels uit over de hele planeet. Maar het grootkapitaal, deze bij uitstek internationale kracht, duwt eveneens naar de opdeling, de verkrummeling en de balkanisering van grote landen die het wil controleren. Het internationalisme van het grootkapitaal en het lokalisme van mini-nationaliteiten zijn nochtans twee zijden van eenzelfde realiteit: deze van de dictatuur van de grote burgerij. De grote burgerij organiseert de verkrummeling van landen waarover zij haar openlijke dictatuur wil vestigen.

Het nieuwe opkomende imperialisme in Europa, dat van Groot Duitsland, gebruikt het "zelfbeschikkingsrecht van de volkeren" om haar tegenstanders, te weten de landen die zich tegen haar overheersing verzetten, te verdeelen. Met de slogan "de rechten van de volkeren" bevestigt Duitsland dat de landen niet langer soeverein zijn, dat zij niet langer meester zijn over hun interne aangele-

gheden. Het meest vraatzuchtige imperialisme kan voortaan "het recht van de volkeren" invoeren om etnische, nationale en religieuze conflicten aan te wakkeren, om sommige krachten op te jatten tegen andere, om zich in de binnenlandse aangelegenheden te mengen en landen uit elkaar te doen spatten om ze te onderwerpen. In de huidige omstandigheden gebruiken de marxisten en de onderdrukte massa's het ordewoord van zelfbeschikking van de volkeren uitsluitend in het algemene kader van de anti-imperialistische strijd. De volkeren moeten tot zelfbeschikking komen in verhouding met hun voornaamste vijand, het imperialisme. In de anti-imperialistische en antikapitalistische strijd moeten de volkeren voor alles de vlag van de eenheid en de solidariteit hoog houden. Dat is wat genoemd wordt het proletarisch internationalisme tegenover het internationalisme van de burgerij plaatsen.'

*Uittreksel uit 'Europa 1993, oorlog en crisis' door Ludo Martens, voorzitter van de Partij van de Arbeid, Solidair (België), 5 mei 1993.*

Om de Servische weerstand te breken riep men het 'zelfbeschikkingsrecht' van Kroatië, Slovenië, Bosnië en Macedonië in. Morgen, als de toestand opnieuw verzuurt, zal men allicht de 'zelfbeschikking' van Kosovo, of zelfs van Voïvodina, van Sandjak of van Montenegro invoeren [Michel Collon schreef dit in 1997... nvdv].

Afhankelijk van de sociale klasse die het naar voor schuift, krijgt het principe van de zelfbeschikking van de volkeren een heel andere inhoud. De grootburgerij heeft het soms ingeroepen als het erom ging zich te bevrijden van een sterkere, buitenlandse burgerij die hun land bezette. Maar vandaag gebruikt ze het thema om landen en streken die ze wil onderwerpen te verdelen. Soms eisen de grootmachten de zelfbeschikking op voor volkeren, en soms ondersteunen ze het tegenovergestelde principe. De soevereiniteit van staten, de onaantastbaarheid van grenzen: alles staat in functie van hun egoïstische belangen. De arbeiders en het volk moeten dus in elk concreet geval oordelen of de zelfbeschikking hun eigen strijd, eenheid en solidariteit al dan niet ten goede komt.

### Bonn drijft Kroatië naar de onafhankelijkheid, dus naar oorlog...

Rond 1990 is de Servische minderheid (12%) die in Kroatië leeft zeer veront- rust over het vooruitzicht van een 'onafhankelijk Kroatië'. Terecht. Het nieuwe regime wordt gedomineerd door de nationalistische partij HDZ van Franjo Tudj- man, waarvan de ideologie een sinister verleden oproept... want de enige Kro- atische staat die vroeger ooit bestaan heeft, was die van de Oestachi. Zij werden aan de macht gebracht door Hitler en waren verantwoordelijk voor een mon- sterlijke volkerenmoord waarin ongeveer een miljoen mensen werden uitger- oeid: joden, zigeuners en vooral Serviërs. De officiële politiek bestond erin 'een derde van de Serviërs te doden, een derde te bekeren en een derde te verja- gen'. En dat is precies wat ze gedaan hebben!

Als je Servische mensen ontmoet, in Joegoslavië of in de emigratie, dan heeft bijna elk van hen minstens één familielid in verschrikkelijke omstandigheden verloren bij die volkerenmoord door de Kroatische fascistie. Vijftig jaar later is dat trauma nog aanwezig alsof het gisteren gebeurde. Joegoslavië verdelen en de Serviërs verplichten onder een nationalistisch Kroatisch regime te leven moest onvermijdelijk op een catastrofe uitdraaien.

In 1991 is de bekommernis van de Serviërs des te groter omdat de nieuwe Kro- atische leider, Tudjman, openlijk voor zijn racisme uitkomt: 'Ik ben blij dat mijn vrouw niet Servisch noch joods is.' Hij doet aan historisch revisionisme door de verantwoordelijkheid van Hitler te minimaliseren en de schuld bij de joden te leggen... Als vlag en munt van de nieuwe staat kopieert Tudjman simpelweg die van de fascistie van 1941-1945; hij zal de straten en pleinen die roemrijke antifascistische namen dragen herdopen en de naam geven van verschillende Kroatische oorlogsmisdadigers (zie hoofdstuk 14).

In december 1990 vaardigt de nieuwe Grondwet 'De nationale staat van het Kroatische volk en de anderen' uit. Daarmee worden de Serviërs (12%), de joden, de zigeuners en de moslims openlijk verlaagd tot tweederangsburgers. Vanaf april 1990 zal Tudjman, die de verkiezingen in Kroatië wint, kleur beken- nen: 'De Serviërs van Krajina zijn niet tevreden? Dat ze dan vertrekken!' <sup>14</sup> Na het uitroepen van de onafhankelijkheid (juni 1991) regent het discriminaties tegen de Serviërs van Krajina: jobverlies, afschaffing van burgerlijke en politie- ke rechten, vernieling van huizen... Vier jaar later zal Tudjman zijn programma verwezenlijken: de Serviërs worden met moord en terreur uit de Krajina ver- jaagd, waarbij Tudjman zelfs colonnes vluchtende burgers laat bombarderen!

Dat alles belet Genscher, Duits minister van Buitenlandse Zaken, niet de druk voor de afscheuring op te voeren. Al op 5 juli 1991 betreurt hij 'dat de EG er niet

## Wie is begonnen?

*De officiële mediaversie stelde altijd de Serviërs verantwoordelijk voor het uitbreken van de oorlog. Lord Carrington, die nochtans door de grootmachten zelf aangeduid werd als bemidde- laar, denkt daar helemaal anders over:*

*'Als men zich beperkt tot de oorsprong van de oorlog, dan zijn het de Kroaten die het vuur aan de lont gestoken hebben door een grond- wet uit te vaardigen die geen rekening hield met het standpunt van de Serviërs uit Kro- atië...'*<sup>1</sup>

1. *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 28 september 1992

mee bedreigd heeft Slovenië en Kroatië te erkennen als het Joegoslavische leger zijn wangedrag niet stopzet.<sup>15</sup> In die tijd stellen de Europese media dit voor als een gewoon 'meningsverschil' tussen Europese naties over de tactiek die best gevolgd wordt om de vrede te bewaren.

Slechts een handvol lucide waarnemers begrijpt dat er iets ergers aan de hand is, dat Duitsland systematisch olie op het vuur gooit. Een van hen is Zarko Puhovski, hoogleraar politieke filosofie in Zagreb: 'Alleen al het feit van in de herfst van 1991 Servië te bedreigen met de erkenning van Slovenië en Kroatië, was een signaal voor de Kroaten: "Als jullie dapper strijden, zullen we jullie erkennen".' Hetzelfde oordeel vernemen we aan het International Institute for Strategie Studies in Londen: 'Gezien Duitsland het zo welwillend had over een erkenning "tenzij de oorlog in Kroatië ophield", was het duidelijk dat hoe bloediger die oorlog zou zijn, hoe groter ook de kansen op erkenning.'<sup>16</sup>

Nochtans waarschuwt de secretaris-generaal van de\*Verenigde Naties, Javier Perez de Cuellar: 'Ik vrees dat een snelle erkenning van sommige Joegoslavische republieken een uitbreiding van het huidige conflict zal veroorzaken en de toch al explosieve toestand in Bosnië-Herzegovina en in Macedonië zal verergeren.'<sup>17</sup> Niemand zal kunnen beweren dat hij niet verwittigd was!

Verloren moeite! Amper zes dagen na die profetische waarschuwing van Perez de Cuellar kondigt Kohl aan dat Duitsland de scheurmakers zal erkennen. Dit is een duidelijk bewijs: Bonn wil geen vrede, maar enkel de versteviging van zijn heerschappij.

...en doet dat nog eens over met Bosnië!

Enkele maanden later stuurt Duitsland - gevolgd door andere Westerse mogendheden - aan op een nieuwe afscheuring: die van Bosnië-Herzegovina. Nochtans leidt het scheppen van die mini-staatjes - of eerder van die pseudo-staatjes zonder historische legitimiteit, zonder volkslegitimiteit en zonder leefbaarheid - onvermijdelijk tot burgeroorlogen. En zelfs al wik je je woorden, kan je niet anders dan vaststellen dat Bonn een misdadige politiek voert.

Inderdaad, de moorddadige burgeroorlog tussen Kroatië en zijn Servische minderheid (12%) is nog maar pas voorbij of men doet het nog eens over door Bosnië tot onafhankelijkheid aan te moedigen. En dat is nog explosiever: er wonen immers 43% Moslims, 31% Serviërs en 17% Kroaten!

Trouwens, zo herinnert ons Michael Thumann (redacteur verantwoordelijk voor Oost-Duitsland bij de Duitse krant *Die Zeit*), Bosniërs en Macedoniërs hadden zich in 1991 verzet tegen de erkenning van Slovenië en Kroatië.

Waarom? 'Omdat ze wisten dat ze dan geen andere keuze zouden hebben dan ook zelf hun onafhankelijkheid uit te roepen. Dat zou vooral in Bosnië verschrikkelijke gevolgen hebben omdat de Serviërs (31% van de bevolking) zich verzetten tegen elke formele breuk met Servië. Natuurlijk waren er voor de onafhankelijkheid plaatselijke botsingen geweest tussen Moslims, Kroaten en Serviërs. Maar het vooruitzicht op een erkenning heeft de strijd tussen de partijen ongetwijfeld verscherpt. Het uiteenvallen van Joegoslavië aanvaarden en tegelijk een multinationaal Bosnië trachten te behouden, was al helemaal tegenstrijdig.'<sup>18</sup>

Zowel in Bosnië als in Kroatië hebben de Serviërs alle redenen om een herhaling van de geschiedenis te vrezen. Vijftig jaar eerder had Hitler Bosnië aan het fascistische Kroatië 'geschonken'. Bosnische moslimbataljons zouden de 13e *Waffen SS Division Handchar* gaan vormen en uitmunten door hun monsterlijke wreedheid jegens de Servische bevolking. Betekenisvol symbool: het huidige Izetbegovic-regime gaf dezelfde naam 'Handchar' (betekent mes om de keel over te snijden) aan een van zijn moslimbrigades, opgeleid door Amerikaanse en Iraanse instructeurs.

## Het gedachtegoed van Izetbegovic

*Duitsland, daarin gevolgd door de andere westerse landen, stuurt aan op de afsplitsing van Bosnië onder bewind van de Moslim Izetbegovic. Maar wat is diens doctrine?*

'Ons doel: islamisering van de Moslims. Onze leuze: geloven en strijden.' 'Alles wat we ons uit de geschiedenis van de moslimvolkeren herinneren als groots en waardevol kwam er onder de bescherming van de Islam. Turkije heeft als islamitisch land over de wereld geregeerd. Turkije, als Europees afkooksel, is een derderangland zoals er honderden zijn.' 'De islamitische beweging moet en mag de macht grijpen zodra ze daar de numerieke en morele kracht voor heeft, niet alleen om de niet-islamitische macht te breken. De belangrijkste conclusie is dat er geen vrede en coëxistentie kan bestaan tussen het islamitische geloof en de niet-islamitische politieke en sociale instellingen.'<sup>1</sup>

1. Uittreksels uit de 'Islamitische verklaring' van Alija Izetbegovic, gepubliceerd in 1970 en heruitgegeven in Sarajevo in 1990. Vertaling tijdschrift *Dialogue* (Frankrijk 1992) dat de integrale tekst publiceerde. (Zie ook hoofdstuk 14.)

Een andere geraffineerde provocatie: op welke datum 'erkent' Bonn de onafhankelijkheid van Bosnië? Op 6 april 1991. Dat is dag op dag vijftig jaar na het bombardement op Belgrado door fascistisch Duitsland. Cynisch commentaar van de linkse Duitse auteur, Stefan Eggerdinger: 'dat is pas Duitse *Gründlichkeit*, tot in de kleinste details!'

Waarom zal de onafhankelijkheid van Bosnië onvermijdelijk tot een burgeroorlog leiden? Omdat de verkiezingen gewonnen werden door de drie nationalistische partijen - Moslims, Serviërs en Kroaten - die aan nationalistisch propaganda-opbod hebben gedaan.

Izetbegovic bijvoorbeeld geeft zijn beroemde 'Islamitische verklaring' van 1970 opnieuw uit. 'De belangrijkste conclusie, zegt het document, is dat er geen vrede en coëxistentie kan zijn tussen het islamitisch geloof en niet-islamitische politieke en sociale instellingen.' Wat is dat anders dan de belofte van nieuwe 'godsdienstoorlogen' (zie onze volledige analyse van dat document in hoofdstuk 15). Begin 1992 verklaart Izetbegovic zelfs openlijk dat 'hij de vrede zal opofferen voor een soeverein Bosnië.'<sup>19</sup>

Als men het bekijkt vanuit het internationaal recht, dan is het uitroepen van de Bosnische onafhankelijkheid op een volledig illegale manier gebeurd. Enerzijds voorziet de Joegoslavische Grondwet dat afsplitsingen voorafgegaan moeten worden door een raadpleging in de verschillende republieken. Anderzijds voorzien de Bosnische wetten zelf dat er een akkoord moet zijn van alle nationaliteiten - Moslims, Serviërs en Kroaten - om tot een afsplitsing over te gaan.

Maar Bonn eist dat de 41% Bosnische Moslims het recht moeten hebben zich af te scheuren en een nieuwe staat te leiden. Het lapt daarbij zowel het internationaal als het Joegoslavisch recht aan zijn laars. Anderzijds verbiedt het de 31% Serviërs die nieuwe staat te weigeren die gedomineerd wordt door de Islamitische SDA!

Duitsers en Europeanen werden nochtans verwittigd door de Europese bemiddelaar lord Carrington: 'Milosevic was zeer duidelijk: als de Bosnische onafhankelijkheid erkend wordt vooraleer er een akkoord bestaat tussen de drie gemeenschappen, is een burgeroorlog niet te vermijden.'<sup>20</sup> Drie jaar later zal diezelfde lord Carrington, als hij de balans maakt van de dramatische gebeurtenissen 'de verantwoordelijkheid voor de burgeroorlog in Bosnië zonder meer bij de Europese Unie leggen na Maastricht. In een wanhopige poging te bewijzen dat ze een gemeenschappelijke politiek volgde, heeft deze Bosnië hals over kop erkend met de desastreuze gevolgen die we vandaag zien.' Volgens Carrington bracht de 'internationale tussenkomst nog meer lijden over de Joegoslaven, voor veel langer en bijgevolg met nog meer etnische zuiveringen en dodelijke slachtoffers.'<sup>21</sup>

## Een embargo is een gijzelneming

Vanaf het begin van de oorlog geeft de anti-Servische lijn van Bonn de toon aan. Eerst door de Westerse grootmachten tot zeer zware economische sancties aan te sporen tegen wat er van Joegoslavië overblijft: Servië en Montenegro.

De levensstandaard, die al zeer laag was door het bankroet van het titoïstisch economisch systeem, daalt nog eens dramatisch. Voedsel en gezondheidszorg worden voor velen onbetaalbaar. Zoals bij elk embargo worden ook hier de zwaksten en minstbedeelden het zwaarst getroffen (zie volgende bladzijde). Ook zij die het Westen beweert te beschermen! Want, en dat vergeet men te zeggen, Servië zorgt ook voor de grootste opvang van... oorlogsvluchtelingen.

Het sterftecijfer bij bejaarden die de middelen niet meer hebben om zich te verzorgen, stijgt aanzienlijk. In 1993 pleegt om de twee dagen één bejaarde zelfmoord in Belgrado.<sup>22</sup>

## De erkenning leidde tot de oorlog

*Verskillende vooraanstaande personaliteiten die een belangrijke rol speelden tijdens de onderhandelingen van 1991 hebben - na enige tijd - bevestigd dat Duitsland de oorlog veroorzaakte of hem op zijn minst in de tijd heeft uitgesponnen...*

- Lord Carrington, toenmalig Europees bemiddelaar: 'de politiek van de erkenning was een tragische vergissing.' (september 1992)<sup>1</sup>
- Warren Christopher, toenmalig Amerikaans minister van Buitenlandse zaken: 'De Duitsers dragen een bijzondere verantwoordelijkheid. De problemen die we daar nu hebben zijn begonnen met de erkenning van Kroatië.' (17 juni 1993)<sup>2</sup>
- Henry Wynaendts, toen vertegenwoordiger in Joegoslavië van het (Nederlands) voorzitterschap van de Europese Gemeenschap: De ministers van de Twaalf komen op 5 oktober samen. De discussie is hard. Genscher laat verstaan dat Duitsland desnoods z'n eigen weg zal gaan. De druk van Duitsland om de Twaalf ertoe te brengen Slovenië en Kroatië te erkennen, bleef aanhouden...<sup>3</sup>
- Roland Dumas, toenmalig Frans minister van Buitenlandse Zaken: 'Omwille van interne meningsverschillen, heeft de EG voorbarig en overhaast de republieken van ex-Joegoslavië erkend, zonder in te schatten dat men in die omstandigheden noodgedwongen afstevende op de ontploffing van het miniatuur-Joegoslavië: Bosnië-Herzegovina (...) Door hun druk ten gunste van een onafhankelijk Kroatië en Bosnië, is het duidelijk dat Duitsland en het Vaticaan een verpletterende verantwoordelijkheid dragen.' (juni 1993)<sup>4</sup>
- Herbert Okun, toen raadgever van de Amerikaanse bemiddelaar Cyrus Vance: 'Door de voorbarige erkenning van Slovenië en Kroatië zonder enig project, is Genscher mee verantwoordelijk voor wat er op volgde en onder meer voor de oorlog in Bosnië.'<sup>5</sup>

1. *Liberation*, 21 juni 1993.

2. *Solidair*, 21 oktober 1995.

3. Henry Wynaendts, 'L'Engrenage', Parijs, 1993, p. 121, 150.

4. *Liberation*, 21 juni 1993.

5. *Tageszeitung* (Duitsland), 6 april 1993.

## Embargo: de zwaksten worden het hardst getroffen...

*'Men moet ter plaatse geweest zijn om de gevolgen van het embargo echt te kunnen inschatten', zegt Marcel Maaskant, gewezen Naamse schepen van Sociale Zaken. Hij heeft van 1992 tot 1994 het zenden van humanitaire hulp naar Servië op poten gezet. 500 ton voedingsmiddelen, kleren, medicamenten... Zijn medewerker, Claude Berote, ging er negen keer heen...*

- *Wie wordt het meest getroffen door het embargo?*
- **M. Maaskant.** De zwaksten. In drie jaar tijd hebben we echt vreselijke toestanden gezien.
- *Wordt het embargo niet omzeild?*
- **C. Berote.** Bepaalde goederen komen inderdaad toch op de markt terecht maar voor gewone mensen zijn ze onbetaalbaar: 20 fr voor twee of drie bananen als je maar 2.000 fr per maand verdient... Toen we in '93 met 20 ton aardappelen toekwamen, onthaalden ze ons als de grote redders. Een uitgeputte soldaat die terugkwam van de oorlog, vroeg me vijf of zes aardappelen om mee te nemen voor zijn vrouw, hét cadeau...
- *Wat zijn de grootste tekorten (op gezondheidsgebied, nvda)?*
- **C. Berote.** Antibiotica, verdovingsmiddelen, klein ope-

ratiemateriaal. Het was nochtans een goed ontwikkeld land: ik zag de oogoperatiezaal in Subotica, zo iets hebben we in België niet! Wie vandaag een operatie wil die niet dringend is, moet zelf zowat zijn operatie-kit meenemen. En elektrische batterijen: er gaan mensen dood omdat hun pace-maker niet meer werkt. Zo'n batterij kost zeven mark: een fortuin! Ook gewone dingen ontbreken. 165 mentaal gehandicapte wezen zonder luiers. Ik heb dan oude lakens aangevoerd maar ze hadden zelfs niets om ze mee te wassen.

- *Ondervonden jullie geen problemen door de 'slechte Serviërs' te helpen?*

- **C. Berote.** Ja. Duitsland weigerde transitvisa voor de kinderen die we in Namen hebben opgevangen. En 'Causes Communes' (een Belgische politiek-humanitaire organisatie, nvda) (vgl. met 'Balkan Actie', nvdu) steunde ons na een tijdje niet meer. Ik ben weggegaan bij Causes Communes, zij doen aan politiek, niet aan humanitaire hulp. Ik ben niet pro-Servisch, ik probeer onpartijdig te zijn en mensen te helpen.'<sup>1</sup>

1. *Solidair* (België), 21 oktober 1995.

## De westerse sancties hebben op zijn minst twintigduizend Joegoslaven gedood

*In september 1995 bezocht dokter Stef Vanthuyne van de Belgische organisatie Geneeskunde voor de Derde Wereld Servië in het kader van een humanitaire actie. Doel: de gevolgen van het embargo op de gezondheidszorg nagaan. Uittreksels uit zijn verslag over het bezoek aan het moederhuis en kinderziekenhuis van Belgrado...*

'Hebt u het niet koud?' vraagt de kinderdokter en hartspecialist Djordje Hercog. Hij verwelkomt ons in het ziekenhuis voor moeders en kinderen in Belgrado. 'Tot de 15e oktober is hier geen verwarming. Want er is geen stookolie ten gevolge van het embargo.' Zo worden wij direct geconfronteerd met de realiteit van de UNO-sancties. In een speciale afdeling van het ziekenhuis zien we totaal verbrande kinderen. Mijn vriend Peter Darwin valt bijna flauw. 'Ze werden zwaar gekwetst door de ontploffing van een gasfles. De mensen moeten zich overal in Joegoslavië behelpen met installaties die ze zelf rap-rap in elkaar geknutseld hebben. Dit is het resultaat.'

Het embargo richt echte ravages aan onder onze kinderen. 'Tot in 1991 bleef het sterftcijfer in onze dienst constant: rond de 2%. Maar na twee jaar UNO-sancties zitten we al aan 3,33%. En die cijfers vind je overal in Joegoslavië. Een collega van mij heeft berekend dat er ten gevolge van het embargo per jaar 5.500 doden méér zijn. Volwassenen en kinderen.'

Professor Bogdanovic brengt ons naar de wetenschappelijke bibliotheek van het ziekenhuis. 'Voor het embargo kregen wij van overal medische tijdschriften. Maar

zoals jullie zien dateren de laatste nummers van 1992. Sindsdien kunnen wij ons niet meer op de hoogte houden van de ontwikkelingen in de medische wetenschap. Een catastrofe die het gevolg is van de UNO-sancties.'

De chirurg Hercog leidt ons rond in de andere afdelingen van het ziekenhuis. 'Sinds 1993 is het aantal te vroeg geboren gestegen met 8,4%. Dat komt door de slechte leefomstandigheden. Moeders eten gewoonlijk nog maar één keer per dag. Want fabrieken liggen stil bij gebrek aan olie en grondstoffen. En de mensen leven natuurlijk in angst voor de oorlog. Een zwangere vrouw is heel kwetsbaar. Er is niet veel nodig voor een voortijdige bevalling.'

Wij gaan naar de afdeling intensieve zorgen. 'Sinds 1993 hebben wij een tekort aan vaccins. Voordien konden wij die invoeren. Er is nu opnieuw kinderverlamming en tetanus (klem). In Joegoslavië waren die ziekten al lang uitgeroeid.' (...)

Als wij bij de operatiekamer komen, wordt onze gids heel bitter. 'Er is niet genoeg materiaal. Daardoor kan ik maar één patiënt op drie opereren. Bovendien zijn onze instrumenten die de vitale functies van de patiënt tijdens de operatie moeten volgen kapot. Dat komt omdat wij geen wisselstukken meer kunnen krijgen.'

Dan komen wij aan in de apotheek. Die is nagenoeg leeg. 'Joegoslavië had vroeger een heel goeie farmaceutische industrie. Maar door het embargo krijgen wij geen grondstoffen meer.'

1. *Solidair* (België), 18 oktober 1995.

De sociale aftakeling wakkert natuurlijk drugsgebruik en jeugd-delinquentie aan. De ontmoedigende levensvoorwaarden veroorzaken een belangrijke exodus: wetenschappelijke kaders, beoefenaars van intellectuele beroepen en gekwalificeerde technici emigreren massaal. Een hele generatie kaderpersoneel wordt zo ernstig aangetast. Op lange termijn zal deze braindrain niet in te schatten gevolgen hebben voor de ontwikkeling van het land. Maar dat is wel degelijk het strategisch objectief: Servië blijvend verzwakken...

Officieel dient het embargo om 'de vrede op te leggen'... Maar men hoeft er zich wel voor de Westerse publieke opinie uit te leggen dat Servië geen enkele soldaat heeft in Bosnisch oorlogsgebied. In tegenstelling tot Zagreb, wiens troepen wel aanwezig en actief zijn op Bosnisch grondgebied. Maar geen enkele grootmacht die zich daarover druk maakt. Natuurlijk steunt Belgrado - in elk geval toch in het begin - de Bosnische Serviërs. Maar ook Zagreb steunt de Bosnische Kroaten, meer bepaald de nationalistische milities van Mate Boban die ook afschuwelijke wrede heden begaan, onder meer in de streek van Mostar. Waarom dan wel een embargo tegen Belgrado en geen tegen Zagreb?

Omdat Servië Bonn in de weg loopt, terwijl Kroatië de Duitse beschermeling is. Om die weerzinwekkende willekeur te verbergen, zaaien de Westerse media verwarring. Zoals we reeds aangaven laten ze ons geloven dat de Serviërs 'van buitenaf' komen (t.t.z. uit Servië, hoofdstad Belgrado) om Bosnië aan te vallen. De media houden verborgen dat die Serviërs mensen zijn die al eeuwen onafgebroken in Bosnië wonen (het zijn bijna allemaal boeren) en dat ook zij aangevallen worden (door het leger en de moslimmilities). Men zaait deze verwarring met het allergrofst bedrog: de Moslims uit Bosnië noemt men 'Bosniërs', terwijl men de Serviërs uit Bosnië 'Serviërs' noemt. En dat om ons te doen geloven dat 'de Serviërs' de indringers zijn en de Moslims het slachtoffer van een invasie...

### 'Leve de vernietigende Blitz-aanval'

Vanaf het begin van de oorlog in Bosnië is het ook Duitsland dat het felst aandringt op westerse militaire interventie: 'Allicht kan het conflict slechts door een militair optreden opgelost worden', benadrukt de *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.<sup>23</sup> Kinkel, de nieuwe Duitse minister van Buitenlandse Zaken, vraagt een militaire tussenkomst van Europa en de Verenigde Staten en op de eerste plaats in Sarajevo. De vice-voorzitter van de parlementaire CDU-fractie staat een 'vernietigende blitz-aanval' voor.<sup>24</sup> De socialistische partij volgt het voorbeeld en stelt in juli 1992 dat 'een massale luchtaanval de gevechten zal doen luwen'.<sup>25</sup> De toekomst zal de onzin van die stelling aantonen.

Het echte objectief van de Duitsers is drieledig. 1. De Serviërs een militaire nederlaag toedienen waardoor in Belgrado een pro-Duitse regering geïnstalleerd kan worden. 2. Het recht opleggen van de NAVO om buiten de verdragszone militair op te treden. 3. Zelf aan die operaties deelnemen.

Op 25 september 1991 verbiedt de Veiligheidsraad van de VN unaniem elke wapenlevering aan elk van de uit Joegoslavië ontstane landen. Duitsland doet alsof het dat embargo naleeft maar zal het systematisch schenden zonder dat de media daar veel aandacht aan besteden...

De Duitse pers had al zorgvuldig de militaire betrokkenheid van Bonn bij het Sloveense afscheidingsproces voor het publiek verborgen gehouden. Enkel een klein communistisch weekblad meldde dat in januari 1991 (vijf maanden voor het uitbreken van de gevechten!), 'Duitse antitankraketten van het type "Armbrust" in het geheim aan Slovenië werden geleverd. Bovendien verzorgden veertig instructeurs van de *Bundeswehr* de opleiding van de gewapende Sloveense militia. Op 10 januari begaven vier officieren van de *Bundeswehr* zich naar Slovenië om de bewapening van die militia te organiseren.'<sup>26</sup>

## Kredieten om ...oorlog te voeren

In maart 1995 worden verschillende economische projecten opgestart tussen vertegenwoordigers van de Duitse regering, Siemens, Beierse banken en Kroatische partners. Half april kent Beieren dertig miljoen D-mark hulp toe aan Kroatië voor de bouw van woningen. Spranger, (csu) minister van Ontwikkeling van Beieren, maakt het akkoord met de Kroatische regering hard.<sup>1</sup>

Let wel: die woningen moeten gebouwd worden in... de Krajina, een streek die dan nog onder Servisch toezicht staat! Is dat geen duidelijke aansporing tot oorlog? En twee weken later lanceert het Kroatische leger inderdaad een bloedig offensief tegen de Krajina. De begane wrede heden zijn van die aard dat zelfs Europees bemiddelaar Bildt verklaart: 'We staan hier alweer voor een humanitaire tragedie. President Tudjman zou als oorlogsmisdadiger vervolgd kunnen worden.'<sup>2</sup>

1 *Junge Welt* (Duitsland), 11 juli 1995.

2 *News Briefs Serbia Today*, 5 augustus 1995; War Report, Londen, januari 1993.

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Omdat Servië Bonn in de weg loopt, terwijl Kroatië de Duitse beschermeling is. Om die weerzinwekkende willekeur te verbergen, zaaien de Westerse media verwarring. Zoals we reeds aangaven laten ze ons geloven dat de Serviërs 'van buitenaf' komen (i.t.z. uit Servië, hoofdstad Belgrado) om Bosnië aan te vallen. De media houden verborgen dat die Serviërs mensen zijn die al eeuwen onafgebroken in Bosnië wonen (het zijn bijna allemaal boeren) en dat ook zij aangevallen worden (door het leger en de moslimmilities). Men zaait deze verwarring met het allergrofste bedrog: de Moslims uit Bosnië noemt men 'Bosniërs', terwijl men de Serviërs uit Bosnië 'Serviërs' noemt. En dat om ons te doen geloven dat 'de Serviërs' de indringers zijn en de Moslims het slachtoffer van een invasie...

### 'Leve de vernietigende Blitz-aanval'

Vanaf het begin van de oorlog in Bosnië is het ook Duitsland dat het felst aandringt op westerse militaire interventie: 'Allicht kan het conflict slechts door een militair optreden opgelost worden', benadrukt de *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.<sup>23</sup> Kinkel, de nieuwe Duitse minister van Buitenlandse Zaken, vraagt een militaire tussenkomst van Europa en de Verenigde Staten en op de eerste plaats in Sarajevo. De vice-voorzitter van de parlementaire CDU-fractie staat een 'vernietigende blitz-aanval' voor.<sup>24</sup> De socialistische partij volgt het voorbeeld en stelt in juli 1992 dat 'een massale luchtaanval de gevechten zal doen luwen'.<sup>25</sup> De toekomst zal de onzin van die stelling aantonen.

Het echte objectief van de Duitsers is drieledig. 1. De Serviërs een militaire nederlaag toedienen waardoor in Belgrado een pro-Duitse regering geïnstalleerd kan worden. 2. Het recht opleggen van de NAVO om buiten de verdragszone militair op te treden. 3. Zelf aan die operaties deelnemen.

Op 25 september 1991 verbiedt de Veiligheidsraad van de VN unaniem elke wapenlevering aan elk van de uit Joegoslavië ontstane landen. Duitsland doet alsof het dat embargo naleeft maar zal het systematisch schenden zonder dat de media daar veel aandacht aan besteden...

De Duitse pers had al zorgvuldig de militaire betrokkenheid van Bonn bij het Sloveense afscheidingsproces voor het publiek verborgen gehouden. Enkel een klein communistisch weekblad meldde dat in januari 1991 (vijf maanden voor het uitbreken van de gevechten!), 'Duitse antitankraketten van het type "Armbrust" in het geheim aan Slovenië werden geleverd. Bovendien verzorgden veertig instructeurs van de *Bundeswehr* de opleiding van de gewapende Sloveense milizie. Op 10 januari begaven vier officieren van de *Bundeswehr* zich naar Slovenië om de bewapening van die milizie te organiseren.'<sup>26</sup>

## Kredieten om ...oorlog te voeren

In maart 1995 worden verschillende economische projecten opgestart tussen vertegenwoordigers van de Duitse regering, Siemens, Beierse banken en Kroatische partners. Half april kent Beieren dertig miljoen D-mark hulp toe aan Kroatië voor de bouw van woningen. Spranger, (csu) minister van Ontwikkeling van Beieren, maakt het akkoord met de Kroatische regering hard.<sup>1</sup>

Let wel: die woningen moeten gebouwd worden in... de Krajina, een streek die dan nog onder Servisch toezicht staat! Is dat geen duidelijke aansporing tot oorlog? En twee weken later lanceert het Kroatische leger inderdaad een bloedig offensief tegen de Krajina. De begane wredeheden zijn van die aard dat zelfs Europees bemiddelaar Bildt verklaart: 'We staan hier alweer voor een humanitaire tragedie. President Tudjman zou als oorlogsmisdadiger vervolgd kunnen worden.'<sup>2</sup>

1. *Junge Welt* (Duitsland), 11 juli 1995.

2. *News Briefs Serbia Today*, 5 augustus 1995; War Report, Londen, januari 1993.

## 'Humanitaire' wapens

*Zo'n grootschalige wapentrafiëk kan alleen maar georganiseerd worden op initiatief - of minstens met het medeweten - van de geheime diensten.*

Karl-Heinz Schulz, een belangrijk wapenhandelaar (kantoren in Antwerpen en Berlijn) heeft voor de televisie toegegeven 'concrete vragen voor wapens vanuit de strijdende Kroatische partijen in Kroatië, via de Duitse inlichtingendienst BND, gunstig te hebben beantwoord'.<sup>1</sup>

Sommige zogenaamde 'humanitaire' organisaties dienden als dekmantel voor die merkwaardige export. Getuige daarvan dit interview met een Kroatisch militielid in juni 1992...

- Wat is het verschil tussen de HOS-militie en de Kroatische nationale wacht?
- Zeer simpel: hetzelfde als tussen de SS en de Wehrmacht.
- Is het materiaal goed?
- Niets te klagen over de uitrusting. Schoenen van Honecker (EX-DDR, nvda) en wapens van Caritas.

Het bewijs: hij haalt munitie uit zijn zak, allemaal afkomstig van het voormalige Duitse leger, en in kisten met daarop het kenteken van de katholieke 'organisatie voor het in praktijk brengen van de christelijke naastenliefde' en de tekst 'gift van Duitsland aan Kroatië'.<sup>2</sup>

1. *War Report*, Londen, januari 1993.

2. *DieZeit*, 26 juni 1992.

Maar de gevechten in Slovenië waren van korte duur. Vooral richting Kroatië zet Duitsland een illegale wapentrafiëk op via lucht, land en zee. Die trafiëk verloopt vooral via landen die al sterk onder de Duitse invloedssfeer staan: Oostenrijk, Hongarije...

Over het algemeen blijven de Duitse en Europese media, op enkele uitzonderingen na, zeer diskreet over deze wapensmokkel. Vooral in het begin van het conflict. Als de *New York Times* op 2 juli 1991 bekend maakt dat de christelijke militie in Libanon als doorgeefluik dienen voor wapens die voor Kroatië bestemd zijn, zwijgen alle Duitse kranten daarover.<sup>27</sup> En als er dan hier of daar toch iets over verschijnt, wordt die trafiëk toegeschreven aan tussenpersonen en niet aan de Duitse verantwoordelijken zelf.<sup>28</sup> Het is echter duidelijk dat wapensmokkel op zulke grote schaal onmogelijk is zonder de medeplichtigheid van de geheime diensten. En de *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* verbergt de praktijk maar looft wel de idee: 'Elke staat zou het als een eer moeten beschouwen wapens te sturen naar Kroatië'.<sup>29</sup>

In de zomer van 1992 doet de belangrijkste Griekse (conservatieve) krant *Katimerini* een zeer verhelderende enquête: 'Volledig volgens plan "K" van januari 1991 stuurt Duitsland ononderbroken wapens naar Kroatië. Tot vandaag leverde het al 80 stukken geschut, 40.000 uniformen, zes 155 mm kanonnen, vier artilleriebatterijen van elk vijf stuks en 1.500 laders. Ook 1.010 Stinger-raketten, 100.000 automatische wapens AK-47 en 2.550 antitankraketten zijn al gedeeltelijk geleverd.'

In juli 92 wordt de Berlijnse correspondent van die Griekse krant in vertrouwen genomen: 'Een officier van de Duitse luchtmacht, belast met de luchtbrug naar Zagreb, heeft me gezegd dat op dit ogenblik de modernste wapens verscheept worden naar mijnheer Tudjman.'

In oktober 93 zal Jacques Merlino, adjunct-hoofdredacteur van *France 2* gewag maken van tal van nauwkeurige documenten over o.a. de betrokkenheid van de Dresdener Bank, de Deutsche Bank en de Bank van het Vaticaan...

Later is men te weten gekomen dat drie Duitse geheim agenten vanaf 1993 actief waren bij de Waarnemersmissie van de Europese Unie in Kroatië en Bosnië. Dat hebben twee reportages van het programma *Monitor* op het eerste Duitse kanaal (ARD), aan het licht gebracht.<sup>30</sup> Het gaat over de leider van de Duitse delegatie, Kristof von Bezold, over Eduard Lischke en over Arnd Grapengeter, adjunct-verantwoordelijke voor militaire vraagstukken. Zij hielden zich met spionage en met de wapenleveringen bezig. Zij hebben de invoer van een dertigtal MIG-21 jachtbommenwerpers uit de ex-DDR op punt gesteld en uitgevoerd. Een Brits expert heeft er op gewezen dat 'zonder de hulp van de Duitse geheime dienst, een groot deel van de wapentrafiëk op ex-Joegoslavische bodem absoluut onmogelijk zou zijn geweest'.<sup>31</sup>

## Bonn bewapent Slovenië, Kroatië, Bosnië...

Duitsland is zeker niet het enige land dat wapens levert en het embargo schendt. In december 1991 meldt *Le Monde* een mislukte smokkel van elf ton wapens vanuit Chili. De zoon van generaal Pinochet zou erbij betrokken zijn.<sup>32</sup> In april 1992 onthult de *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* een Nederlandse trafiëk. Wij kregen ook een document in handen over de betrokkenheid van de Franse firma 'Avia Sud' bij de levering van Albatros helikopters.<sup>33</sup>

Maar het is zonder twijfel Duitsland dat het leeuwendeel voor zijn rekening neemt. Het blad *Jane's Defence Weekly*, dat over het algemeen als autoriteit op militair vlak beschouwd wordt, berekent dat Bonn tussen april 1992 en april 1994 voor 320 miljoen dollar aan zwaar militair materiaal naar Kroatië uitvoerde en voor 6 miljoen dollar naar Bosnië.

Dit fundamentele feit blijft geheim voor het publiek: Duitsland heeft eerst Kroatië bewapend en daarna Bosnië. Zo heeft het de oorlog én het lijden van die volkeren verlengd.

De regering van Belgrado mag dan al een zeer gedetailleerd memorandum overmaken aan de Verenigde Naties en melden dat 'de Kroatische minister van Defensie 61 miljoen dollar heeft gestort op rekening van *Die Erste Osterreichische Sparkasse* voor de aankoop van T-72 tanks.' Of 'op 7 oktober landt in Sarajevo een DC-9 van Adria Airways vanuit Oostenrijk. Het vliegtuig heeft een grote hoeveelheid automatische wapens van het type Hackler aan boord, bestemd voor het Bosnisch ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken'... elke reactie blijft uit. Jacques Merlino (*France 2*) mag dat dan wel allemaal mooi opschrijven in zijn boek uit 1993 *Les Vérités yougoslaves ne sont pas toutes bonnes à dire*<sup>34</sup> ['Niet alle waarheden over Joegoslavië worden graag gehoord', nvdv]... het stilzwijgen van de media bevestigt alleen maar de titel van zijn boek!

In augustus 1995, na het bloedige offensief van het Kroatische leger tegen Krajina, schrijft het Franse weekblad *Le nouvel Observateur* heel gewoontjes: 'De experts wisten dat de Duitsers MIG-21 toestellen van de EX-DDR aan de Kroaten hadden verkocht.'<sup>35</sup> En waarom werd het publiek daarover dan niet ingelicht? Opdat het verder zou blijven geloven dat 'er niets gedaan is om de arme slachtoffers van de Serviërs te helpen, en dat we wapens hadden moeten sturen?' En waarom praat men er nu dan wel over? Omdat het kwaad al is geschied, en omdat Tudjman zijn doel, de verovering van Krajina, heeft kunnen verwezenlijken.

Zoals we aantoonen in ons voorgaand boek 'Attention, médias!' moet iedereen die zich een eerlijk en klaar beeld wil vormen over een internationaal conflict ermee beginnen de officiële versies in vraag te stellen en op zoek gaan naar wat men voor hem verbergt.

Tientallen duizenden mensen zijn in die oorlog gedood. Velen van hen met Duitse wapens. Maar alle slachtoffers, van welk kamp ook, werden opzettelijk de dood ingejaagd voor Duitslands weerwraak (revanchisme, nvdv AF) en zijn machtsuitbreiding tot aan de Adriatische Zee. Bonn heeft heel bewust op oorlog aangestuurd. En Europa is medeplichtig, want het kende ook de risico's. Laat dit voor altijd een les zijn over de geloofwaardigheid van het 'ethisch' vertoog der grootmachten...

## Izetbegovic bewapende zich al zes maanden vóór de oorlog...

*De Belgische journalist Georges Berghezan publiceerde een studie waarin hij aantoonde dat 'het wapenembargo tegen ex-Joegoslavië waarschijnlijk van alle embargo's het minst nageleefd is':<sup>1</sup>*

Tijdens het eerste deel van de oorlog (april '92-maart '94) waren berichten over een mogelijke schending van het embargo door de Bosnische Moslims eerder zeldzaam. De media legden meestal de nadruk op de enorme wanverhouding tussen de slagkracht van Moslims en hun Servische en Kroatische tegenstanders en op de bijna volledige terreinblokkade die ze ondergingen sinds het begin van de vijandelijkheden met de Kroaten in de lente van 1993.

Nochtans draaide de oorlog vanaf de herfst van 1993 in Centraal-Bosnië uit in het voordeel van de Sarajevo-getrouwen. Ze konden dus onmogelijk zo clichématig onbewapend zijn geweest. Bovendien verklaarde president Izetbegovic, nog steeds in 1993, voor de Bosnische televisie: "We zijn erin geslaagd dertigduizend geweren en mitrailleurs aan te schaffen, twintigduizend kogels, zevenendertigduizend mijnen en zesveertigduizend antitankraketten."

Een van de eerste wapenleveringen aan de autoriteiten van Sarajevo zou plaats gehad hebben op 7 oktober 1991, een half jaar voor de oorlog dus. Een DC-9 uit Oostenrijk ontscheepde er een grote hoeveelheid automatische geweren van het type Heckler die bestemd waren voor het ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken. In de zomer van 1992 werd meer dan driehonderdduizend dollar gestort bij een Duits bankfiliaal in Frankfurt: voor wapenbestellingen.<sup>2</sup> In 1992 is er sprake van verschillende wapenleveringen, met Iraanse Boeings 747 via Slovenië, Kroatië of rechtstreeks naar Sarajevo.<sup>3</sup>

1. Georges Berghezan, 'Ex-Joegoslavië, l'embargo sur les armes et le réarmement actuel', *Rapports du GRP*, oktober 1997, p.2, 11-12
2. Jacques Merlino, op. cit.
3. David Owen, 'Balkan Odyssey', Londen, 1996.

1. *Fürstentelbrucker Neueste Nachrichten*, 5 augustus 1992.
2. *Quotidien de Paris*, 28 januari 1993.
3. Erich Schmidt-Eenboom, 'Schnüffler ohne Nase' (De schaduwbokser, Klaus Kinkel en de and).
4. Persoonlijk onderhoud, december, 1995.
5. Geciteerd in Stefan Eggerdinger, 'Grossdeutschland auf dem Balkan - neue Kriegsgefahr?', München, 1995.
6. Eurostat, Statistisch jaarverslag buitenlandse handel, 1991, p.140.
7. *Le Monde Diplomatique*, september 1991.
8. *Courrier International*, 20 februari 1992.
9. *Le Figaro* (Frankrijk), 29 januari 1993.
10. *Welt am Sonntag*, 6 oktober 1991.
11. Geciteerd in Meurer, Vollner, Hochberger, 'Die Intervention der BRD in den jugoslawischen Bürgerkrieg', Keulen, 1992, p.31.
12. 28 juni 1991, geciteerd door Peter Praet in *Marxistische Studies*, 4/92, p. 14.
13. Interview in *Le Soir*, 13 oktober 1993.
14. Geciteerd in Ch. Chiclet, *Universalia*, 1994, p.165.
15. Zametica, 'The Yugoslav conflict', *Adelphipaper*, Londen, 1992, p.64.
16. *Idem*, p.19.
17. *Le Soir*, 14 december 1992.
18. Michael Thumann, 'Germany's Balkan Policy, 1991-1994', in het tijdschrift *Eurobalkans* (Griekenland), herfst 94, p.40.
19. Verklaring van 26 januari 1992, geciteerd in *Yugoslav Mirror* (vs), p.5.
20. Wynaendts, 'L'Engrenage', Parijs, 1993, p.150.
21. Geciteerd in *Intelligence Digest*, 25 maart 1994.
22. Persbericht AIM, 22 september 1993.
23. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 15 juni 1992.
24. *L'Humanité* (Frankrijk), 6 augustus 1992.
25. Geciteerd in *AK*(Duitsland), 23 september 1992.
26. *AZ*, 8 juli 1991.
27. Geciteerd door D. Razumovsky, in 'Serben müssen sterben', Berlijn, juli 1994.
28. Bijvoorbeeld, *Le Soir*, 12 mei 1992.
29. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 26 juni 1992.
30. *Monitor* (ARD), september 1996, februari 1997; *Balkan-Infos* (Frankrijk), nr. 12, april 1997.
31. *Idem*.
32. *Idem*.
33. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 14 april 1992.
34. Jacques Merlino, op.cit., p.82-83.
35. *Le nouvel Observateur* (Frankrijk), 17 augustus 1995.

# Duitse inmenging in Joegoslavië (1988-1991)

1988

Franjo Tudjman, toekomstig president van Kroatië, ontmoet in het geheim kanselier Kohl en diens belangrijkste ministers. Ze stellen een gezamenlijke politiek op punt om Joegoslavië te ontwrichten en een nieuwe onafhankelijke Kroatische staat te stichten.<sup>1</sup>

1989

**18 december.** De presidenten van Kroatië en Slovenië ontmoeten elkaar en vragen een 'Joegoslavische conferentie in de buurt van Frankfort en onder de bescherming van Duitsland', zo meldt *Der Spiegel*. In diezelfde periode worden vanuit Duitsland wapens naar Kroatië gestuurd om er de milities mee uit te rusten.<sup>2</sup>

1990

De Oostenrijkse minister van Buitenlandse Zaken, Erhard Busek, gaat naar Ljubljana op een niet nader bepaalde datum. Doel van de reis? 'De afscheuring op gang brengen' zal zijn toenmalig Italiaans collega, De Michelis, later verklaren.<sup>3</sup>

**22 april.** Het HDZ (de nationalistische partij van Franjo Tudjman) wint de Kroatische verkiezingen. Via de Duitse geheime dienst heeft Bonn zijn verkiezingscampagne georganiseerd en gefinancierd.

**14 augustus.** Teltschik, afgevaardigd minister van kanselier Kohl, ontmoet in Bonn Ivan Milas, persoonlijk raadgever van de Kroatische president Tudjman. Hij vraagt nauwe samenwerking met Duitsland.<sup>4</sup>

**September.** Een docent aan de Duitse Militaire Hogeschool vraagt dat men Hitlers Balkanpolitiek historisch zou bestuderen 'omdat die bijzonder waardevol kan zijn'.

**22 december.** De nieuwe Grondwet degradeert ostentatief de Serviërs (12%), de joden, de zigeuners en de moslims tot tweederangsburgers. De Serviërs die in Krajina wonen (Kroatië) laten hun ongerustheid blijken. Daarop reageert Tudjman: 'Dat ze vertrekken!'<sup>5</sup> Ondanks die racistische discriminatie steunen de Duitse media de nationalisten uit Zagreb steeds openlijker.

1991

**Maart.** De Sloveense president Kucan wordt in Bonn ontvangen. Een maand later krijgt hij financiële hulp van de Duitse deelstaat Baden-Württemberg.

**23 juni.** De twaalf landen van de Europese Unie beslissen de onafhankelijkheid van Slovenië en Kroatië niet te erkennen (en alle contact op hoog niveau te weigeren) indien de twee republieken eenzijdig uit de Joegoslavische federatie stappen. Maar de Duitse pers wakkert dagelijks de anti-Servische gevoelens aan en eist bijstand voor de Kroaten en Slovenen.

**25 juni.** Slovenië en Kroatië roepen hun onafhankelijkheid uit. Ze storten hun financiële bijdragen niet langer aan de centrale Joegoslavische staat, maar houden die voor zich. Kroatië kiest dezelfde vlag als ten tijde van het fascistische Oestachiregime.

**26 juni.** De Deutsche Bank, helemaal niet verrast, laat onmiddellijk weten: 'Door hun onafhankelijkheid verliezen Slovenië en Kroatië hun afzetmarkt en hun grondstoffenbron. Wij zijn bereid om tussen te komen en ze te helpen.'<sup>6</sup>

Washington, Londen en Parijs laten weten dat ze de nieuwe republieken niet zullen erkennen. Maar Genscher, Duits minister van Buitenlandse Zaken, verklaart dat zijn land 'niet kan aanvaarden dat het zelfbeschikkingsrecht van de volkeren en de rechten van de minderheden niet zouden geëerbiedigd worden'.

**27-30 juni.** Europese top in Luxemburg. Kohl dringt erop aan dat Slovenië en Kroatië zouden erkend worden. Mitterrand is daar tegen en krijgt de tien andere delegaties achter zich. De Europese Commissie stuurt een 'vrede commissie', de 'troika'.

**28 juni.** In Slovenië kondigt het federale Joegoslavische leger een eenzijdig staakt-het-vuren af dat stilaan algemeen wordt.

**1 juli.** Stipe Mesic wordt verkozen tot president van het collegiaal presidentschap van de Joegoslavische federatie. Die Kroaat, lid van de HDZ-partij die in Zagreb aan de macht is, en al lang medewerker van de Duitse geheime dienst (zie p.51) heeft herhaaldelijk verklaard: 'Ik zal de laatste president van Joegoslavië zijn.'

**5 juli.** De Duitse minister van Buitenlandse Zaken, Genscher, 'betreurt dat de Europese Unie er niet mee bedreigd heeft Slovenië en Kroatië te erkennen'.<sup>7</sup> Lord Carrington, Europees bemiddelaar, betreurt dat die Duitse houding zijn onderhandelingen ondermijnt.

Waarover Stercken, voorzitter van de commissie Buitenlandse Zaken van het Duitse parlement, zich dan weer verheugt: 'Dankzij Genscher zijn we zover dat de Duitse buitenlandse politiek niet meer in alle omstandigheden afhangt van een gezamenlijk standpunt van alle partners van de Europese Unie.' Het idee van een Duits 'soloslim' tekent zich af.

**18 juli.** Terwijl Duitsland de Europese Unie voorziet, wordt de Kroatische president Tudjman met toeters en bellen door Kohl en Genscher in Bonn ontvangen.

**5 augustus.** Lamers, woordvoerder voor Buitenlandse Zaken van de CDU-fractie, verklaart: 'Er werden richtlijnen gegeven om de bedreigde republieken ter hulp te komen, met wapengeweld indien nodig.'<sup>8</sup> Diezelfde maand ver-

biedt de Duitse minister van Economische Zaken de uitvoer naar Joegoslavië.

**7 augustus.** Genscher vraagt 'dat een interministeriële werkgroep Duitse maatregelen zou treffen opdat we over alle nodige middelen zouden beschikken in geval dat - wat ik overigens niet wens - ons objectief niet verwezenlijkt zou worden in de schoot van de Europese Unie.'

In klare taal: 'Duitsland zal er alles aan doen om zijn partners over de brug te krijgen, maar het voelt zich geenszins gebonden door enige Europese discipline. De term interministerieel houdt 'Defensie' in, dus ook militaire hulp aan de scheurmakers.

**7 oktober.** De presidenten van Kroatië en Slovenië onderzoeken de toestand, samen met de Duitse regering. De twee republieken hebben het staakt-het-vuren niet nageleefd en de Duitse regering belooft hen met de belofte ze te zullen erkennen. De escalatie van de gevechten laat niet op zich wachten.

**November.** Genscher ontmoet de paus 'onder vier ogen'. Het Vaticaan zal, na Duitsland, de tweede staat zijn die Kroatië erkent. Mario Nobile, woordvoerder van de regering Tudjman, verklaart: 'Zonder de hulp van de Duitsers hadden we het nooit kunnen volhouden.'<sup>9</sup>

**4 december.** De Duitse regering legt een volledig embargo op de handel naar Servië en Montenegro. Kohl ontvangt opnieuw de Kroatische en Sloveense presidenten opnieuw en belooft hen de erkenning voor Kerstmis. Bonn levert de Kroaten wapens van Duitse makelij: Leopard tanks en Messerschmitt obussen.<sup>10</sup>

**9 december.** Lord Carrington waarschuwt: als de onafhankelijkheid erkend wordt voor er een akkoord is tussen de drie gemeenschappen, wordt een burgeroorlog onvermijdelijk. Hij wil de dreiging van de erkenning van Kroatië gebruiken als drukkingsmiddel om een hervorming van de Joegoslavische federatie te bekomen. Als Genscher en Kohl Europa dwingen Kroatië te erkennen, verliest Carrington dat middel. Later zal hij daar verbitterd zijn beklag over doen door te verklaren dat 'de erkenning een tragische fout was, het startschot voor de burgeroorlog'.<sup>11</sup>

**10 december.** Javier Perez de Cuellar, secretaris generaal van de VN, waarschuwt de EU in een brief: 'Ik vrees dat een snelle

erkenning van sommige Joegoslavische republieken nog een uitbreiding van het huidige conflict zal veroorzaken en de toch al explosieve toestand in Bosnië en Macedonië zal verergeren.'<sup>12</sup>

Zimmerman, toenmalig vs-ambassadeur in Joegoslavië, zegt later over die beslissende dagen: 'We hebben daarna ontdekt dat Genscher dagelijks in contact stond met zijn Kroatische ambtgenoot. Hij moedigde de Kroaten aan de federatie te verlaten en hun onafhankelijkheid uit te roepen terwijl wij allemaal op zoek waren naar een gemeenschappelijke aanpak.'<sup>13</sup>

**17 december.** Europese top in Maastricht. Elf landen van de twaalf verzetten zich tegen het uiteenspatten van Joegoslavië. Enkel Duitsland wil dat? Maar de 17e, om 4 uur 's morgens wordt het Duitse standpunt aanvaard. Later vernemen we onder welke voorwaarden... In ruil kreeg Mitterrand de steun van de Bundesbank voor de Franse frank die door speculatie bedreigd werd. Terwijl Major het recht kreeg het 'sociaal luik' van Maastricht niet te moeten ondertekenen.<sup>14</sup>

Europa bezwijkt voor de Duitse druk en beslist de afgescheurde republieken na een proeftijd te erkennen 'als ze de rechten van de minderheden vrijwaren'. Kohl verwelkomt die beslissing als een 'grote politieke overwinning voor Duitsland'.<sup>15</sup> Aan de andere kant van de Atlantische Oceaan wordt die diagnose gedeeld: Boucher, woordvoerder van de Verenigde Staten voor Buitenlandse Aangelegenheden, merkt bitter op dat 'de belangrijkste voorvechters van de erkenning - Duitsland, Italië, Oostenrijk en Hongarije - precies dezelfde landen zijn als die welke het fascistische Kroatië steunden tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog'.<sup>16</sup>

Zo wordt Duitsland de overheersende macht in Europa, die in staat is zijn wil op te leggen aan alle andere leden van de Unie.

**23 december.** Zonder de termijn die door de EU vastgelegd werd (15 januari 1992) af te wachten, erkent Duitsland eenzijdig Kroatië en Slovenië.

De andere Europese landen zullen weldra volgen hoewel de Commissie van de EU vastgesteld heeft dat de rechten van de minderheden in Kroatië niet gewaarborgd zijn. Enkele dagen later gooit Genscher de telefoon neer tijdens een oproep van de laatste kans door de Bush-administratie.<sup>17</sup> De Verenigde Staten staan voor een voldongen feit maar zullen pas in april 1992 toegeven.

(De verwijzingen bij dit overzicht zijn slechts werknota's van de auteur en daarom niet steeds even volledig, nvdv.)

1. Geciteerd door Sean Gervasi in een hoofdstuk van zijn boek 'Forging a new Balkan Order' (onuitgegeven).
2. *Der Spiegel*, nr.15, 1992.
3. Interview *Europeo*.
4. Tagebuch H. Teltschik, Sieder Verlag, 1991.
5. Ch. Chiclet, *Universalia*, 1994, p.165.
6. Geciteerd in 'Der Balkankrieg', München, september 1995, p.5-6.
7. Zametica, 'The Yugoslav conflict', *Adelphi paper* 270, Londen, 1992, p.64.

8. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 6 augustus 1991.

9. *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 18 november 1991.

10. Geciteerd in 'Der Balkankrieg', op. cit. p.5-6.

11. *Der Spiegel* nr.26, 1995.

12. *Le Soir*, 14 december 1991.

13. Geciteerd door Sean Gervasi, in *Covert Action* (vs), winter 1992-93.

14. *Solidair* (België), nr.37, 1995.

15. *cdU Parteitag*, 17 december 1991.

16. *Der Spiegel*, 23 december 1991.

17. *International Herald Tribune*, 13 november 1992.



## Verslag van het 14<sup>e</sup> Congres van de F.I.R.

19 en 20 oktober 2007 in de Universiteit van Athene

Aanwezig waren (tussen haakjes het aantal organisaties van dat land): Griekse organisaties (4), Cyprus, Portugal, Bulgarije, Rusland (veteranen), Oekraïne (partizanen), Hongarije, Servië, België (2), Duitsland (4), Denemarken, World Federation of Democratic Youth WFDY (Cuba).

Vertegenwoordigers van Albanië en de Voormalige Joegoslavische Republiek Macedonië kregen geen inreisvisum in het EU-land Griekenland. Naar aanleiding daarvan zal Secretaris-generaal, Ulrich Schneider, een protest indienen bij de EU. Afwezig (met melding of ingezonden stuk): Spanje, Italië, Oostenrijk en Frankrijk (2). Namens de AFVN/BvA was Piet Schouten gedelegeerde op het congres.

Persoonlijke directe contacten zijn versterkt – in naam van de AFVN/BvA met:

- 1 Michel Vanderborght, voorzitter FIR;
- 2 Jean Cardoen, directeur van het Instituut van Veteranen en Oorlogsinvaliden, slachtoffers van de oorlog; IV-INIG (Ministerie van Defensie, België)
- 3 Ulrich Schneider, Secretaris-generaal van de FIR;
- 4 VvN/BdA (<http://www.vvn-bda.de/bund/start.php3>) Spanienkämpfer, <http://www.spanienkaempfer.de/>);
- 5 RombergPark Komitee <http://www.wir-falken.de/impressum.html>
- 6 Arelio Santos van Portugese Antifascisten

Duitsland, Portugal en Griekenland hadden een jeugdige afgevaardigde.



*Dr. Ulrich Schneider, secr. gen. van de FIR*

Het congres werd vrijdag 19 oktober geopend met inleiding, begroetingen en financieel verslag. Er was voor elke organisatie een map een headset voor de vertaling. Ieder land kon een spreker leveren met spreektijd van 10 minuten. Daar na sprak Ulrich Schneider met een begroeting van o.a. de VN, die helaas niet aanwezig was, wel de FIR feliciteerde met het 20-jarig bestaan als Vredesboodschapper van de VN!

Voor de pauze speelde een Grieks ensemble antifascistische liederen (uit volle borst zongen de Grieken mee en anderen volgden). Dezelfde avond speelden ze nog gedurende een kwartier lang en brachten volop stemming in het congres. De avond werd voortgezet met een welkomtspeech van Michel Vanderborght, voorzitter van de FIR.

De 2<sup>e</sup> Congresdag stond in het teken van de politieke debatten en voorstellen (zie verklaring van de FIR). De bij-

drage namens de AFVN/BvA bevatte voorstellen en verklaring over de vreemdelingenhaat (xenofobie), met name over de stemmingmakerij tegen moslims, de situatie in Nederland en het gevaar van extreemrechtse, populistische partijen zoals van Wilders en Verdonk. Met instemming werd door het Congres een clause over xenofobie in de FIR verklaring ingebracht. Wederom werd een appel gedaan aan de jongeren in alle landen om in de nationale verenigingen actief te worden.

Van: "R Despotovic" <despot@tiscali.nl>  
 Aan: "Nico & Neeltje" <sagitar@hetnet.nl>; "Jenny Ligtenberg"  
 Verzonden: zondag 28 oktober 2007 16:56  
 Onderwerp: Coming Balkan Caliphate

<http://www.antiwar.com/deliso/?articleid=11773>

## New Information and Key Trends Regarding Islamic Extremist Groups in the Balkans

by Christopher Deliso  
[balkananalysis.com](http://balkananalysis.com)

19 October 2007

*The following adapted speech, presenting findings from the author's new book, The Coming Balkan Caliphate, was given on October 5, 2007 in Athens, Greece, at the University of Indianapolis international campus. It was sponsored by that university and the Research Institute for European and American Studies (RIEAS).*

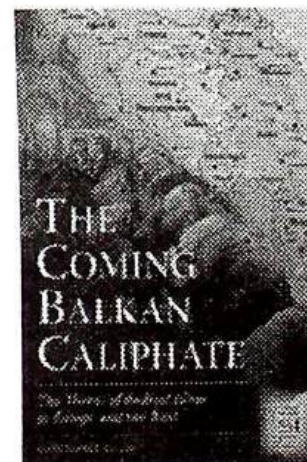
As everyone here is aware, the threat of instability in the Balkans remains, even though the Wars of Yugoslav Secession are long behind us. The issue today is to understand the precise nature of present and future threats. Over the past 6 years, I have conducted significant research which has been published in newspapers, private security journals and websites, including [antiwar.com](http://antiwar.com) and my website, [balkananalysis.com](http://balkananalysis.com), which has a large archive of articles on these subjects.

Part of the difficulty of presenting this information in the form of a book was to write a book that would be useful both for general readers and for experts. It was thus necessary to provide some context first about the last 17 years of Western interventions and events in the Balkans, for those readers who might have little or no prior knowledge of the region. At the same time, I sought to present information, both little-known key details and analyses of broader trends, which professionals specializing in Balkan security issues would find useful. I believe that I was by and large successful in achieving this goal.

So what I'd like to do first is to present a brief introduction to the chapters, there are eight, and then continue by elaborating further on the recurring themes that emerged in my research and to discuss the nature of future threats from Islamic extremists in the region. Finally, since this is a mostly Greek audience, I would also like to present some thoughts regarding what kind of constructive role Greece could play in the future in dealing with these threats, and how Greece's international stature could in fact be enhanced by this role.

But first, about the title. *The Coming Balkan Caliphate* is a good title, marketing-wise, in that gets people curious to open the book. Of course, I'm not arguing that there will be some sort of a geographical spread ruled by Islamic law, a caliphate as is traditionally known, in the Balkans someday. Although some small pockets do seem to be heading in that direction. Actually, with the role of technology today, distances and geographical contiguity are not really relevant for terrorist groups.

Chapter 1 examines the role of Bosnia in international terrorism, both the recent history and some



of the warning signs now occurring, which indicate the significant threat from this country for the future. To some extent this is an old story, one which has received tremendous media attention ever since the Bosnian War in the 1990's. It is certainly the single most important event for the arrival of foreign Islamic mujahedin, and Arab-style Islam, neither of which had any previous place in the country. What happened was in 1991, 1992 and later the Clinton administration was determined to support the side of the Bosnian Muslim government against the Bosnian Serbs, thus picking one side in a very complex civil war. To do so, they had to go around the UN arms embargo on the various parties, however, and so Clinton decided to allow Iran, Saudi Arabia and Sudan, which was then hosting Osama bin Laden, to import and arm thousands of mujahedin fighters, many of them veterans from the jihad against the Russians in Afghanistan, which the US had of course supported also. According to the sources I cite, the decision to allow the mujahedin in was made at the highest levels, the idea being hatched between Bill Clinton and then-National Security Advisor Anthony Lake. The CIA, Pentagon and others allegedly didn't even know about it in the beginning. Key players in facilitating the movement and equipping of the mujahedin were the intelligence services of allies like Croatia, Germany and Austria.

The American decision to use the mujahedin to surreptitiously fight the Serbs was a classic case of short-sighted policy planning. These fighters were all supposed to have left with the signing of the Dayton Agreement peace treaty in 1995, and the Iranian terrorist training camps shut down. Many did leave. However, many others didn't, marrying local women and setting up shop in villages that became extremely conservative Muslim. You may have heard in the past year about the attempts of the Bush Administration to pressure the Bosnian Muslim government to get rid of the last of these people, and the resistance they have faced. One of the interesting things that has happened in this time has been the disappearance of former mujahedin who have gone 'underground' in the Balkans, according to regional intelligence sources to places like Sandzak in Serbia, Albania and Kosovo, or even further to Turkey and Chechnya. What is interesting to note is that the spread of radical Islamist groups in the Balkans has created a network of 'safe houses' and underground channels by which wanted terrorists or extremists are being circulated.

Since the Clinton administration, and a good section of the media that supported it, was so heavily in favor of the Muslim side during the fighting in Bosnia, it's no surprise that the direct connections between Bosnia and major terrorist attacks, including 9/11, has been underreported. The arrival of mujahedin fighters in Bosnia in the early 1990's involved the installment of various networks – financial, charities and other NGOs – in Western European countries as well as in Bosnia itself. These organizations, some of which were destroyed after 2001, but not all, allowed terrorists more options for 'cover' and have provided sources of religious propaganda and publishing that are currently a major source for Wahhabi organizations' propaganda material in the Balkans.

You may have heard of the arrest, a few days ago, of two Bosnians planning to bomb the US Embassy in Vienna. There have been other plots involving Bosnians thwarted in the last couple years as well. These sort of things could not have happened without, first and foremost, the Clinton administration's giving the green light for the Saudi-Iranian mujahedin importing adventure in Bosnia.

So enough of that for now. Chapter 2 discusses the recent past of Albania, mainly the exploits of various Islamic radicals and groups like Egyptian Islamic Jihad in the 1990s. However, I also argue that while those actors have left the stage, the danger in Albania is by no means over- actually, it has changed shape, as I explain in my book.

Basically, what happened? In 1990, Albania was emerging from Communism after the death of dictator Enver Hoxha five years before. The US was naturally very eager to bring it out of Communism and nurture the 'pro-democratic' political elements. This involved supporting the campaign of Sali Berisha of the Democratic Party, and even parading him around America at events with William Ryerson, who would become the first American ambassador to Albania since the Communists took over after Berisha won, and who is now an Albanian lobbyist.

Berisha, who is again in power right now, was a classic opportunist, presiding over a very poor country that obviously needed all the help it could get. He got aid from the West, the US, the EU and NATO, but also from the Islamic world. In fact, under his initiative Albania even joined the Organization of Islamic Conferences (OIC), the only country in Europe to have done so, and without parliamentary approval. Iran, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and other countries started making major investments, setting up banks, etc, but also building hundreds of mosques and inviting Albanian students to study Islamic theology in their countries.

At the same time, the US was training the Albanian secret service, the SHIK, which was headed by a hardcore Islamist, Bashkim Gazidede, who had been the president of an Islamic group in Tirana previously. Gazidede was very sympathetic to the Islamist cause and under his tenure extremist and terrorist groups related to bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri were allowed to enter Albania and flourish. So at the same time the CIA was training its Albanian colleagues and modernizing their service, it was also allowing anti-American forces to set up shop. Because of Albania's lawlessness and poverty, the jihadists, many of whom were on the run from authorities in countries like Egypt, considered the country a 'safe hotel' where they could plot undisturbed. The CIA actually ordered various operations against these characters, but it was somewhat self-defeating, since important figures in the Albanian leadership were supporting the same people the US was trying to take action against.

On this note it's interesting to point out that, though the Bush administration is frequently accused of being the creator of the 'rendition' program by which terrorists suspects are kidnapped and flown off to undisclosed locations where they are interrogated and sometimes tortured, this program was actually pioneered in Albania in the mid-1990's. And maybe you recall Abu Omar, the unfortunate Muslim cleric kidnapped by the CIA off of a Milan street in 2004. He had actually been part of these Islamic groups in Albania during the period when that program was being set up.

Chapter 3 takes a look at the unfolding situation in Kosovo, especially since the UN began its peacekeeping mission there in July 1999. This is a long and sordid story of incompetence, corruption and a blind policy where nobody from the side of the UN officials wanted to 'rock the boat' by speaking about terrorist groups in the province, as this was not in the interest of people there solely to benefit their diplomatic careers and get promoted to nicer places than Kosovo.

Although the Albanian Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) tried to distance itself from them, foreign mujahedin did manage to join their fight against the Serbs, as numerous eyewitness sources from the time attest. But the more serious problem was after the war, when Arab charities arrived and starting establishing the ultra-conservative Saudi Wahhabi form of Islam, which was very much against the traditional style of more moderate Islam inherited from the Ottoman Turks. Although a majority of local Albanians were not interested in them, the Saudis flooded the province with cash, to build mosques and to subsidize the building of Wahhabi mosques. In this pursuit, they destroyed centuries-old Ottoman structures and cemeteries because they supposedly represented idolatry and generally a non-correct interpretation of Islam.

In Kosovo no one knew what was going on with these groups, charities and cultural organizations mostly. The Saudi and other Arab charities did not communicate, or attend the regular meetings of international organizations that were held every week or month in this very multinational mission. In fact, not even the 'pro-American' Arab governments knew what was going on. They were the ones whom the US was at first relying on to get information. For example, in 2003, staunch US ally Jordan had to resort to intimidating its own citizens to get agents who could provide information on the Wahhabis to pass on to their American friends, however, these attempts were by and large not successful and resulted in the passage of disinformation purported to be intelligence, because the Wahhabi groups were so secretive. It was just too hard. This shows the extent of the inability to penetrate these cautious and well funded Saudi groups. Worst of all, as we will discuss later, when there were leads or investigations into radical groups by committed international officials, they were routinely quashed by higher-ups for political reasons.

Today, while it's by no means appealing to a majority of Albanians, Wahhabi Islam is increasing its grip on Kosovo, especially in the rural areas that have been by and large neglected by international donors, where the Islamic banking system and loans from Arab countries to local businessmen have been pioneered. Some of these areas were also hotbeds of nationalism and centers of the KLA uprising in 1999. Cleverly, the Saudis foresee that nationalist extremism can be re-channelled into religious extremism eventually, and certainly the resolution of the 'Albanian question' with the independence of Kosovo will diminish ethnic nationalism. There have already been warning signs, in the form of sectarian threats and even murders, that point to a coming clash between Albanian Muslims and Catholics in Kosovo, just as in Albania.

Part of what I do in *The Coming Balkan Caliphate* is to bring previously unknown details to the surface. One of the most explosive and mysterious of these relates to Kosovo, where in August of 2001 several Albanian-American radical imams were touring the villages, preaching against America and stating that America would soon be attacked. My book cites a security official present at the meeting discussing this in mid-September of that year. Apparently the men were connected to a wealthy mafia figure in Albanian-populated South Mitrovica. They were detained by UN police, however, they were soon inexplicably released. This detail revealing the apparent foreknowledge of several Albanian American radicals about the 9/11 attacks is something which has never been reported before.

Chapter 4 discusses the curious case of Wahhabi Islam in the (former Yugoslav) Republic of Macedonia, and the existence of several groups there that were of interest to the military intelligence services of Italy and France, among others, but have never before been reported in the media. This is a very interesting case because it is so unknown. The existence of a small number of radicals, and groups such as the Pakistani Tablighi Jamaat, among the minority Slavic Torbeshi Muslims comes as a surprise to not only foreigners but also locals. Such groups and their connections between diaspora Muslims from the country and Wahhabi groups in places like Italy and Austria, where they work, was closely watched by the foreign services and even manifested in a few detentions in the Trieste area last year, during an investigation of al Qaeda-linked networks in northern Italy.

What has been more in the news here were the goings-on within the Islamic Community in Skopje, which passed through a turbulent period from about 1999-2005, when the leadership of the community was taken over by violent Wahhabi sympathizers. Although the unrest seems to be over, and the 'moderates' restored to power, the Wahhabis remain and in fact have their people inserted at various levels in the IC administration and in the mosques. Western counterterrorism officials also have played close attention to the growth of Wahhabi groups in Skopje and other cities with Albanian population such as Tetovo.

Chapter 5 talks about the Ottoman Turkish legacy in the Balkans, with a bit of info on radical Islamic trends in the Slavic Muslim Pomak and Turkish communities in Bulgaria. Most of this chapter is devoted, however, to the considerable role of the Turkish government in the international heroin trade from Afghanistan and the Turkish government's creation of an Islamic group, the Turkish Hezbollah, as a proxy army against the Kurdish PKK, according to the model of America's brilliant idea to create bin Laden and the Afghan mujahedin to fight the Russians. Eventually, the Turkish Hezbollah grew out of control and threatened state interests, and so had to be liquidated. Ironically, today some of these former fighters who left when the group was destroyed are today in Iran and Iraq, fighting American soldiers there.

An interesting dimension of this chapter is the implications of the Turkish Ottoman legacy for the future of the Balkans- a very big question. For some Muslims among the Albanian, Turkish Bosnian and other Slavic Muslim communities, the Ottoman days represent some sort of golden age, the natural order of civilization in the Balkans. For the majority Balkan Christians, however, the Ottoman occupation was a very unfortunate and socially retarding aberration from prior Byzantine Christian civilization. The ramifications of this differing view can be seen today in things like the

denationalization process. After Communism, the various Balkan governments are supposed to give property back to prior owners, and a lot of properties were owned by the church or the Islamic authorities. Under the Ottomans, many churches were turned into mosques. Different claimants hold up different property documents, decrees from different historical rulers and justifications for why the property is 'really' theirs. The Islamic Community in Skopje, for example, considers itself entitled to half a billion dollars in property reparations.

This is clearly a big issue, and with the addition into the mix of Wahhabi groups, we have a fascinating situation going on. For example, in Struga, on Lake Ohrid, a large Wahhabi mosque has been built over a former Ottoman one, which itself was built over a Byzantine church. Which, if any, is 'appropriate' for the country? The answer to questions like this will be increasingly contentious in the future.

Chapter 6 of *The Coming Balkan Caliphate* is perhaps my favorite. It describes, based on numerous interviews on and off the record with various security officials from the UN mission, OSCE, European intelligence experts, the CIA, MI6, etc, the reason for the intelligence failures that have led to the present poor situation, especially in Kosovo. This chapter indicates both the lack of intelligence sharing and the outcomes of the failed execution of counterterrorism work in Kosovo, and how this has aided the rise of fundamentalist Islam there. It has been a classic case of 'don't rock the boat, nothing to see here.' People motivated more by career aspirations than by a search for terrorists. We will talk about this more soon.

Chapter 7 is in some respects the most searching of chapters. It talks about the complex and weighty issues of the nexus between high political figures and decision-making, high-level corruption and the economics of terrorism. With testimony from individuals like former FBI translator and whistleblower Sibel Edmonds, it reveals, in more detail than previously known, how the US government has been infiltrated with foreign spies, especially in the State Department, the Pentagon, the nuclear laboratories, in the process compromising the security of the US and the world. It is a sordid story of how everything is for sale to the highest bidder, from military technology to nuclear secrets.

Finally, chapter 8 discusses emerging threats- the changing shape of jihad and jihadist groups, and the role of technology in future terrorist attacks. Maybe some of you saw the recent CNN special on how a hacking attack could shut down power supply stations with devastating and chaotic effects. Through testimony from technology industry experts I describe the precise scenarios by which such attacks could be carried out.

Most specifically, along these lines in the Balkans, the chapter provides an assessment of uses of technology by existing Islamist groups in the Balkans, both as a means of communication, information dissemination and contact with foreign Islamists, and as an organizing tool for attacks that have so far luckily been stopped in time. I lay out specific scenarios by which terrorists in Albania, Kosovo, Bosnia or in fact anywhere could disrupt global transport, communication and financial services virtually, from afar. I also discuss the growing role of the so-called 'white devils,' European converts and white-skinned Balkan Muslims, who can evade more easily the Western countries' policy of racial profiling, which sad to say is the system they tend to follow.

So those are the chapters and what they cover. Now, most fundamentally, let's ask, what have the problems in counterterrorism efforts been? I argue that these are flaws of both policy and execution. First, the flawed policy of the Clinton administration allowed thousands of mujahedin into Bosnia and thus Western Europe. This is to some extent ancient history, though the links between Bosnia-based terrorists and the 9/11 attacks, the attacks in Madrid and the failed attack on the funeral of Pope John Paul II indicate the folly of this policy. And in places like Albania during the first Berisha government, the US was supporting the very people flooding the country with suspected terrorists. In the Kosovo war, Britain encouraged jihadis from its own Muslim population to join the fight on the Albanian side. So clearly this short-sighted policy is to blame first and

foremost, because without it the non-traditional foreign Islamists would not have been able to entrench themselves.

As for the second problem, execution, the best example here that we can single out has been the UN mission in Kosovo. Interviews with numerous security officials keep coming back to the same problem: there was little or no action against extremist groups for political reasons. All the international officials wanted to say everything was OK, to sweep any bad news under the rug, so that they could get positive reports from higher-ups and move onwards and upwards with their careers in places better than Kosovo. Even when presented with concrete information, such as photos and police reports indicating the presence of groups like the Kuwaiti RIHS, Revival of Islamic Heritage Society, the international security bosses were not very interested. This is a group that has been blacklisted by the Bush administration in places like Pakistan and Afghanistan for links with al Qaeda, a group involved with 500 simultaneous bombings in Bangladesh on August 18, 2005. Yet they were allowed to flourish in Kosovo.

Besides sluggishness and careerism, another problem with execution is structural. By this I mean the proliferation of so many different security agencies within countries- say in Germany, you have the intelligence, the military intelligence, the police, justice and so on. And each country in Europe has a similar number, all with their own rivalries and agendas, and all withholding information from one another out of competitiveness.

Compounding this confusion, there are the EU agencies, and then those within the UN in Kosovo, within NATO, the OSCE, the Americans and so on. There are simply too many people involved and too many rivals withholding intelligence. The lack of 'intelligence sharing' has become sort of a cliché in official explanations in America of why 9/11 happened. It can't be used to explain everything, but in a place like Kosovo, run by an unaccountable and amorphous international administration, the problem becomes really acute, as in the March 2004 riots, when the German BND intelligence service withheld vital information from the German military peacekeepers. In short, they knew from their surveillance that the riots would happen, and they didn't share this information, meaning the military was taken by surprise and couldn't protect the Serbs from the rioting Albanians.

Of course, the US has taken steps to ameliorate the problem in general with the establishment of the DHS, and I suspect Greece is going to go the same way. However, despite this recent experiment, the same problems still remain and it is unclear whether it will ever improve. The terrorists, on the other hand, have no institutional limitations, greater secrecy, a lighter and more flexibility organization structure, and so on. The current situation is like trying to break water with a rock. It is a very difficult situation.

Unfortunately, it seems that the disastrous policy inherited from the Clinton administration has not changed. The US seeks to make an independent Kosovo for the Albanians, something which is rightly perceived by several European countries, including Greece, as a threat to Balkan stability. One of the problems in uniting a country and preparing it for independence has been the factionalism of Albanian clan chiefs and rival political leaders, all of whom have their own individual intelligence services. The quest to unify these mutually mistrustful intelligence bodies by the US and Britain was reported a couple of years ago, I think, by Jane's Intelligence Digest. Most recently, and this was not reported, one month ago in Tirana, the CIA held special meetings with the Kosovo Albanian leaders in an attempt to unify their services, as is seen as a prerequisite to having a modern state.

This brings us to an interesting point in terms of execution. The US has ended up having to rely for information on Islamist groups from these mafia-connected and paramilitary controlling Albanian clan leaders. The latter promise hot information and use this as a point of leverage and to win favor with the Americans, however most of the time it is just disinformation that they're providing, as testimony from international security officials in Kosovo reveals.

The reason the US has found itself in this unenviable position, according to currently serving counter-terrorism officials and military personnel, is because due to shipping out its best assets to places like Iraq and Afghanistan, it has essentially 'farmed out' its intelligence-gathering operations in Kosovo to Romanian and Ukrainian underlings in the NATO mission there. As all of you know, these Christian countries are perceived as sympathetic to the Serbs, and so are disliked by the Albanians. Thus they are in no position to get useful information. Worse, on February 10, 2007, two Albanian protestors were shot dead by UN police firing rubber bullets at a crowd of demonstrators. The police were Romanian, and this effectively ended whatever effect these people could have had for US efforts. Indeed, as a Kosovo Serbian resident added afterwards, 'now, you can't find a Romanian living outside of Gracanica', the main Serbian enclave in central Kosovo.

So it seems the disastrous policies that led us to this stage remain, and will continue to remain. Now I don't want to dwell on politics too much, but considering that the Balkan interventions were undertaken aggressively by the previous Clinton administration, I fear that it will only get worse if Hilary Clinton is elected president. Most of the people around her who are likely to crawl out of the woodwork and take up positions of power, like Richard Holbrooke, Wesley Clark, Madeleine Albright and their assistants have direct responsibility for the failed policies that have created such a dangerous situation today. They are certainly not going to acknowledge or apologize for this, of course.

This brings us to an interesting dilemma: that is, the role of Greece in foreign policy in the Balkans and the 'war on terror.' I believe it is correct to say that most Greeks do not agree with the Western policy that has been unfolding in the Balkans since 1991. Most Greeks did not agree with the importing of mujahedin into Bosnia, or with the war against Serbia over Kosovo in 1999. Nor do they agree with the Western goal of making Kosovo independent. Yet all too often, the Greek government has either gone along with the plan, not wishing to upset their American allies, or concentrated on more minute political issues, such as the Macedonia name issue, obsessions which have so far not brought any perceivable strategic benefits for the Hellenic Republic.

I am not interested in discussing this issue now, but incidentally it does open a window for understanding the entire complexity of the phenomenon of Islamic extremism in the Balkans. The Turkish government has been able to create a very favorable position in the (former Yugoslav) Republic of Macedonia due to the Greek name dispute with Skopje, to the extent that it has since the 1990s been funding municipalities where live minority Turks – or alleged Turks – Slavic Muslims who do not speak the Turkish language, but who are happy to take money and fly the Turkish flag since they have been neglected by the government, not being Orthodox Christians or Albanian. So, with antagonisms continuing to exist with Greece, Turkey has found its strategic advantage here.

The upshot of this is that, though it was definitely not the Turkish intention, some of these villages in the western area of the country, in the Debar-Kicevo area, have become among the most radical Islamist villages in the Balkans. This information is very new and comes from international security officials who've undertaken research in these villages.

Greece faces numerous challenges in its intelligence-gathering capabilities in the Balkans, and this has on occasion allowed other, rival powers to take the lead. In Kosovo, the perceived favoritism of Greeks towards the Serbs means the Albanians mistrust the Greeks, making it very difficult for Greeks to get proper information. This is even deadly, as was attested by the assassination of the Greek intelligence station chief in Pristina a couple of years ago. It is clearly a very difficult task for Greece to get valuable intelligence in a place like Kosovo, where Greek troops are essentially relegated to guarding Serbian shrines from vandals or attackers.

However, despite the challenges, Greece can enhance its political stature vis-a-vis its Western allies, and especially the US, and this has some relation with the 'war on terror.' By enhancing its on-the-ground intelligence gathering role, Greece can become a more valued partner for the US in

identifying Balkan extremist groups and preventing terrorist attacks. As you all know, this can confer political benefits in the long run. However, it does require considerable investments in time, money, personnel and analysis.

Now, I don't wish to ruffle any feathers among the professionals seated here today, but I do need to add that in my research the testimony of American counter-terrorism officials has indicated that the United States views Turkey as a much more valuable ally than Greece in the fight against terrorist groups. Naturally, the Turks because of their Islamic religion, geographic location bordering on the Middle East and knowledge are always going to have some advantage here. However, in the Balkans Greece can do more to enhance its strategic capacities.

On a positive note, Greece has avoided the kind of problems neighboring countries have faced because it has not allowed wealthy Arab funders to subsidize extremist groups and charities in Greece- due mostly to the strong and positive role of the Greek Orthodox Church, which has helped influence government policy to prevent such groups from getting established and trying to 'convert' local Muslims. This has been a very important and successful factor.

We frequently hear from Greek officials that Greece is the leader in the Balkans, but most often this is justified by citing Greek economic investment in the region. While this is certainly important, however, it is certainly not the only or even the most important factor. For real leadership involves taking an active role in the most important issues of the day and in this era one of the most important, certainly, is terrorism. Greece has certain advantages here, with its placement geographically in the Balkans, and because of its historically good relations with the countries of the Middle East.

In short, by enhancing its capacities in intelligence-gathering and by providing a more accurate and objective assessment of what's going on in the region, Greece can at the same time increase its value as a strategic partner to America and the West in the ongoing fight against terrorism, and thus be regarded as a true leader in the Balkans. But this requires investment in personnel, technology, time and money, as well as political commitment. I think that there is already reason to believe that this commitment exists. But it will become an issue that can translate into policy and action only when the Greek voting public is educated as to the full severity of the threat of extremist groups in their neighborhood, the Balkans.

**Van:** "R Despotovic" <despot@tiscali.nl>  
**Aan:** "Nico & Neeltje" <sagitar@hetnet.nl>  
**Verzonden:** vrijdag 12 oktober 2007 21:51  
**Onderwerp:** Fw: [Yugoslav Reports] NATO Stages a War Provocation in the

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## NATO Stages a War Provocation in the Balkans

by Jared Israel.

Research by Jared Israel and Samantha Criscione

[Oct. 11, 2007]

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As you probably are not aware, on October 1st NATO began twelve-days of special forces maneuvers on land and in the air and sea, on the Yugoslav side of the Adriatic. Thirteen countries are participating, including twelve NATO members plus Croatia, which is hosting the maneuvers even though it is not a member - a first. Albania and Montenegro, also not members, are observing. Serbia is not.

These military maneuvers, positioning Croatia as NATO's command center in the Adriatic Sea area, with coastal states Albania and Montenegro as deputies (see [map](#)), are being held

after a year of escalating clerical-fascist activity in Croatia, activity to which NATO, by presenting Croatia as a model Adriatic state, has given its blessing.

Croatia's year of clerical-fascism was:

- A) Set up in October 2006 by the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs with an international display of Balkans Holocaust denial and mockery of Serbian victims of the Holocaust in the 'Independent' State of Croatia;
- B) Advised, steered, prodded and mis-described by the US State Department, through various operatives, and the *New York Times*;
- C) Aggressively promoted by the Croatian Catholic hierarchy and by the Vatican itself, which, despite its posture of other-worldliness, is a very powerful - if not the most powerful - single political force in the earthly region of Europe, East and West.

If you don't know about the maneuvers it is because your local media, at least if it is French, English, Italian, German, Spanish or Dutch, has been nearly silent. The *BBC Monitoring* service has been sending Croatian news agency dispatches on the maneuvers to its many thousands of media customers. (We have set up a page so you can see three of the *BBC Monitoring* dispatches [1].) But besides military websites, all we can find as of today (October 10th) are a photo with caption in *US News and World Report* [2] and a brief mention in the newspaper *La Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno* in Puglia, Italy, and on a Puglia TV news program [3]. Other than that, nothing.

And yet, the maneuvers are manifestly important.

First of all, they are big, involving:

"8,000 [special - J.I.] troops, 40 ships, six submarines, 40 aircraft, and a dozen helicopters..."

-- *US News and World Reports*, Oct.. 7, 2007

See footnote [2]

Second of all, somebody got shot. Croatia's HINA news agency reported:

"An Italian Marine suffered gunshot injuries to the lower legs in an accident that occurred on Monday afternoon during mobile target practice as part of the NATO exercise "Noble Midas 07" on the Croatian

Army training ground at Slunj... An investigation was under way."

-- "Italian soldier wounded in NATO exercise in Croatia,"  
*BBC Monitoring Europe*, Oct. 2, 2007 [4]

We could find only one report of the shooting in the Italian media. And nobody anywhere has reported the outcome of the investigation. [5]

Third of all, NATO is not holding the maneuvers in some neutral location but in the battlegrounds of the war-plagued Balkans: the Dalmatian coast, an area that host-Croatia seized during the 1990s, and a few inland locations. One is the city of Knin [6], formerly capital of the Krajina Serbian Republic (RSK). Croatia drove the RSK's entire population of more than 250,000 from their homes into refugee status, or killed them, in 1995. By approving Knin as a location for Croatian-hosted maneuvers, NATO legitimizes this genocide.

NATO describes the maneuvers as preparation for "Peace Enforcement" [7] but they seem more like 'rubbing salt in a wound' to me.

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## Peace is War

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Which brings us to the fourth point.

The media is supposed to draw the public's attention to important connections between events. Reporters and editors may recall a recent decade of war in the Balkans - clue: it was called 'the 90s' - that began with Croatia's violent 1991 secession from Yugoslavia. They may recall that NATO massively bombed the Bosnian Serbs in the fall of 1995 and Serbia proper in 1999. Why hasn't the media reported that the same *Croatia* is hosting military maneuvers for the same *NATO* in the identical *Balkans*, pointing out the most obvious connection, that this is either preparation for war or a provocation that could lead to war.

A week before the maneuvers started, NATO put out a press release with the headline:

"NATO NRF Exercises Peace Enforcement In  
Adriatic Sea"

-- NATO press release, September 25, 2007

The press release stated that:

Politie,

Hoogachtend, DE MINISTER VAN BINNENLANDSE ZAKEN, voor deze, de Directeur

"This live [? - J.I.] maritime and amphibious

exercise will focus on NATO RESPONSE FORCE

(NRF) operations supported from the sea."

-- See footnote [7]

The NRF is a new creation. According to NATO, the maneuvers are being held in order to prepare for the NRF's use:

"where NATO is appointed by the UN to build up an immediate reaction in a fictitious country on the brink of civil war."

-- See footnote [7]

Ah. "Peace enforcement" in a "fictitious country" in the Adriatic region "on the brink of civil war." Let's consider this.

First, there is no way to 'enforce peace' in a country supposedly on the verge of civil war without boosting some forces and hurting (or crushing) others. And indeed, no power would get involved in such a quagmire unless it was allied with - or sponsoring - one side.

Second, even if there is no real "brink," big powers can always manufacture the appearance of one using false media reports and/or incidents staged by local proxies, of which the NATO countries have plenty in the Adriatic region.

And third, if NATO were really worried about avoiding civil strife, why provoke it by showcasing Croatia, Albania and Montenegro, which are governed by forces that promote anti-Serb racism, celebrate the breakup of Yugoslavia and advocate further attacks on the Serbs and consolidation of the breakup?

Croatia, most powerful of the anti-Serbian states, covets all of Bosnia. Albania covets Kosovo. And as for Montenegro, the greatly respected, independent Magistrates of Italy are likely, according to the Montenegrin media, soon to indict former Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic and twelve associates from the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS), which still rules and which Djukanovic still leads. The charge: massive, mafia-linked [8] cigarette smuggling. To give you an idea of the scale of the smuggling, the Montenegrin newspaper *Vijesti* reports that:

"Italian prosecutors say that they discovered a secret [Djukanovic-linked - J.I.] account in a Cyprus bank

with 500m euros and that that money was reinvested in Montenegro."

-- "Montenegrin officials reject Italian prosecutors' tobacco-smuggling accusations," *Vijesti*, June 24, 2007  
(For full text see footnote [9])

So, spitting in the face of the Italian judiciary, NATO has invited a government accused of mafia-linked, Adriatic smuggling to observe Adriatic military maneuvers. Why? So that the Montenegrin leaders can learn new tricks about evading capture? Or perhaps they will patrol the coast?

Politically, Montenegro is sharply divided; its government would like to suppress the large part of the population that wishes to return to close relations with Serbia and believes in Yugoslav unity.

By inviting Montenegro and Albania to maneuvers hosted by Croatia, NATO is in effect assembling a NATO-backed local alliance under Croatian leadership against Serbia and in control of the coast.

In the '90s, when NATO intervened to support - and sponsor - military action against Serbia and the Bosnian and Krajina Serb states, NATO justified it on the grounds that they were just trying to preserve the peace in the face of supposedly power-hungry, expansionist Serbian leaders.

To gauge the credibility of that claim, consider that in holding the current, provocatively anti-Serb maneuvers, NATO is likewise claiming they are intended to preserve the peace. Consider that today most of the top leaders of the Bosnian Serbs, and of their Bosnian Muslim and Krajina Serb allies, are dead, in jail or in hiding. 500,000 or more Serbs have been driven from Croatia and adjacent areas. Serbia's former ally, Montenegro, has split away from Serbia and is run by Serb-baiters. Republika Srpska is part of a Bosnian 'state,' which it shares with the same Muslim-Croat federation the Serbs and their Muslim allies once fought, a state dictatorially controlled by the NATO powers. In Serbia itself, Milosevic is dead. The top political parties (both in power and in the opposition) passively supported or participated in the NATO-directed coup of March 2000. While the charge that under Milosevic Serbia was a violently expansionist state was always a lie - Milosevic was in fact an appeaser, although he fooled many people, including me, with his rhetoric, and as for the Bosnian and Krajina Serb Republics, they always had defensive strategies - the charge that Serbia is an aggressive threat *today* is simply preposterous.

NATO's real policy was never directed against supposedly aggressive Serbian leaders; it was directed against the Serbs *as a people* because:

A) The Serbs were the keystone of Yugoslavia;

B) For nearly a hundred years the Serbs have resisted German and Vatican attempts to keep the Balkans divided into tiny states, have resisted the fomenting of divide-and-conquer racism and religious fanaticism and, starting in the 1930s, resisted the fusion of racism and religious fanaticism known as 'clerical-fascism.' That is a major reason why, in the first half of the twentieth century (that is, until the end of World War II) and starting again in the 1980s and 1990s, Germany and the Vatican made crushing the Serbs and other pro-Yugoslav forces (e.g., in the 1990s, the Bosnian Muslims under Fikret Abdic [10]) their practical goal in the Balkans.

Since Germany and the Vatican are the US establishment's primary allies in Europe, this anti-Serbian goal became US policy as well. Became, and still is. Because even today, after all that has happened, the Serbs remain a substantial presence in the Balkans, and are not politically broken. Most have been driven from their homes in Kosovo and the Krajina, but large Serbian populations remain in Bosnia and of course Serbia. The bombed, terrorized, whittled down and betrayed 'entity' that is the remains of Republika Srpska (in Bosnia) still holds government-authorized conferences defending the truth about the Jasenovac death camp complex, speaking the unspeakable, that is, linking the Holocaust to German and Vatican policies past *and present*.

As a group, the Serbs have refused to forget, to give up. (This despite great effort to 'turn' them, such as: 1) Since the coup in October 2000, local Serbian media have deluged ordinary people with propaganda blaming the Balkans war on the Serbs; and 2) starting in 1992 there has been a carefully crafted effort to sell all Slavs the lie that the Jewish people are supposedly the cause of Western military and media attacks on the Serbs. Despite some ideal conditions for the development of antisemitic fascist ideology - including two decades of seemingly inexplicable attacks causing immense suffering - the Serbs have not succumbed to fascism.)

The Serbs' remarkable stubbornness of principle is a large part of the reason for the Austro-Hungarian slogan of ninety years ago, "Serbia must die." A large part of the reason why, after Germany invaded Yugoslavia in April 1941, a German officer told the *New York Times*, concerning the Serbs, who were the *only* ones in Europe who dared to overthrow a pro-Nazi German

government in March 1941, when Hitler seemed to be sweeping all the world before him:

"'They must be taught a lesson they will never forget,' said a German Oberlieutenant, who outlined the German program for defeated Serbians. ... 'We shall deal with the Serbs as Nordic conquerors must deal with vain inferiors who opposed them.'"

-- "Nazis Held Ready to Crush Serb Guerrillas and Jews," *New York Times*, May 11, 1941 [11]

(Notice that the *New York Times* headline refers to crushing Serbian *guerrillas*. However, the article itself makes clear that Germany's target was the Serbs *as a people*. See footnote [11]. - J.I.)

The Serbs' stubborn adherence to principle is a large part of the reason why the German leadership did not stop the attempt by the Croatian Ustasha fascists, from 1941 to 1945, to eliminate the Serbs, even though the Ustashe's unspeakably brutal mass murder drove tens of thousands of Serbs to join the Partisans and the Cetnik guerrillas, and therefore was, from a purely military point of view, a big problem for Germany.

It is a large part of the reason why, according to the *Manchester Guardian*, in August 1992 German Minister of Foreign Affairs Klaus Kinkel felt:

"helpless rage at the inability of the EC to undertake concrete measures to 'force Serbia to its knees.'"

-- "Germany Seeks to Assert Itself," by David Gow, *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, August 2, 1992

And it is a large part of the reason why NATO is holding these maneuvers today.

Because the Serbs, not some government or political party, but the Serbs as a people, pose, *by their very existence as a political force*, the possibility of Slavic unity against Germany and the Vatican and other predators in the Balkans.

However, there is more involved in the attack on the Serbs and others who uphold Yugoslavia. It is not simply a practical measure, instigated by Germany and the Roman Catholic church, to crush those who embody the threat of creating Yugoslav unity and who oppose racism. It is a means to a more ambitious end. What end do they have in mind? To help us understand that question we will need to examine what has been happening in recent times - we will focus on the past twelve months - in Croatia.

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## To understand NATO better, examine Croatia

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Announcing the upcoming maneuvers, the Croatian weekly *Nacional*, which I am told is close to Croatian President Mesic, wrote:

"Indicative of just how important this exercise is, [is] the fact that it will, for the first time in NATO history, be held in a non-member country, a precedent for the alliance and which on the other hand speaks volumes of how strategically vital Croatia's maritime position is and of its future role in preserving security on the Mediterranean [of which the Adriatic Sea is a section - J.I.]."

-- *Nacional*, May 9, 2007 [12]

When institutions have been around a long time, people begin to think of them as inevitable parts of the social landscape. But there is nothing inevitable about NATO, a military machine created by allies in a clear-cut conflict: the cold war.

The cold war is over, so why does NATO still exist? Why is it expanding?

Alliances are formed to a purpose. What is the goal of this one now that there is no Soviet bloc? To achieve security? How has the destruction of Yugoslavia increased security? How do the current maneuvers, not just showcasing the Serbs' regional enemies but including in the itinerary the city of Knin, site of a terrible tragedy for the Serbian people - how can this possibly increase security? Surely 'security' is a euphemism, but *for what?*

By choosing to break precedent to allow Croatia to host these maneuvers; by holding them in prime criminal locations of Croatia's 1990s "Homeland war"; and by giving Croatia the appearance of guarantor of Adriatic security - NATO has boosted Croatia's world standing and its ability to politically influence and menace others in the Adriatic *in pursuit of what Croatia wants.*

Therefore, if we examine what the dominant forces in and around NATO *have been molding Croatia to want*, it may help us understand *what these forces are trying to secure and how they plan to secure it*, especially as regards the countries that

resisted Germany and the Vatican in the past - the countries that formed the now-defunct Socialist bloc and/or those that have a tradition of massive democratic and/or anti-fascist movements, such as Yugoslavia and Italy.

Let's look at what has been happening in Croatia.

*To be continued.*

**Jared Israel**  
**Editor, Emperor's Clothes**

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## Footnotes and Further Reading

[1] For *BBC Monitoring* dispatches on the maneuvers go to <http://tenc.net/a/oct10.htm>

[2] *U.S. News and World Report*, "The Day in Photos," Oct. 5, 2007, at <http://tinyurl.com/2jqfel>

[3] *La Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno*, 25 Sept. 2007, "Nato-games in Adriatico," at <http://tinyurl.com/25n3am>  
and

"Marina Militare: Fuciliere Pugliese Ferito in Croazia, Buone Condizioni," *Telenorba*, Oct. 2, 2007, at <http://tinyurl.com/2xnw44>

[4] "Italian soldier wounded in NATO exercise in Croatia," *BBC Monitoring Europe*, Oct. 2, 2007 at <http://tenc.net/a/oct10.htm#wound>

[5] "Marina Militare," see footnote [3], above.

[6] See <http://tenc.net/a/oct10.htm#knin>

[7] "NATO NRF Exercises Peace Enforcement In Adriatic Sea," NATO press release, September 25, 2007  
At <http://tinyurl.com/2am7ss>  
Archived at <http://www.tenc.net/a/pr-midas.htm>

[8] See "In Dec. 2004, Italy's Supreme Court Ruled: Jail Prime Minister Djukanovic," including Summary and background information on Supreme Court ruling, explanation of legal

terms, notes on Italian judicial system and English translation of ANSA's report,' by Samantha Criscione  
<http://emperors-clothes.com/yr/ansa070105.htm>

[9] "Montenegrin officials reject Italian prosecutors' tobacco-smuggling accusations" can be read in full at  
<http://tenc.net/a/oct10.htm#vij>

[10] Regarding Fikret Abdic, see "Pro-Yugoslav Muslim Leader Put on Trial" at  
<http://emperors-clothes.com/docs/abdic.htm>

[11] A longer excerpt from the 1942 *Times* article with my comment about whether the Germans were threatening to attack Serbian guerrillas, or the Serbian population as whole is posted at  
<http://tenc.net/a/oct10.htm#brock>

[12] "9,000 NATO Commandos in Adriatic Operation," *Nacional*, May 9, 2007, at  
<http://www.nacional.hr/en/articles/view/34257/18/>  
Archived at  
<http://www.tenc.net/a/9000.htm>

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Dit is het tweede deel van de vertaling van een artikel over de Nieuwe Imperialistische Strategie van de Verenigde Staten. Deel 1, waarin werkwijze en doel van deze nieuwe strategie werden toegelicht, verscheen in Manifest 11. Deel 3 volgt in Manifest 13 en gaat met name in op hoe de VS de nieuwe strategie in Venezuela willen inzetten.

Carolus Wimmer (\*)

De nieuwe imperialistische strategie van Washington werd voor het eerst toegepast in Joegoslavië, in Servië om precies te zijn. (Zie ook commentaar Manifest bij deel 1). Sindsdien hebben de VS deze strategie ook uitgevoerd in andere landen, in een poging het enorme succes van de 'Servische ervaring' te herhalen. Het is niet moeilijk te begrijpen waarom.

Nadat de regering Milosevic ten val was gebracht was de weg vrij voor massale privatiseringen. Alles wat was overgebleven van het voormalig socialistische land, inclusief een aantal van Europa's grootste voorraden van natuurlijke grondstoffen, viel al snel in handen van de VS en internationale investeerders. De strategische 'deel geraffineerd'. Met het uiteindelijk doel om een voor de belangen van de VS onwenselijke regering te vervangen, zetten de VS zich in voor het versterken en verenigen van de oppositie tegen de betreffende regering.

Dat betekent onder meer het sponsoren van politieke oppositiepartijen en het creëren van non-gouvernementele organisaties (ngo's), die zich richten op de omverwerping van de regering. Indien nodig huren de VS politieke adviseurs en enquêtebureaus in, om hun favoriete kandidaat aan een verkiezingsoverwinning

te helpen. In de gevallen dat de favoriete kandidaat van de VS de verkiezingen toch niet wint, wordt via vervalde peilingen twijfel gezaaid over de officiële verkiezingsuitslagen en kan de oppositie vervolgens verkiezingsfraude claimen. Door middel van massale protesten en negatieve berichtgeving in de media wordt druk uitgeoefend op de zittende of verkozen regering om af te treden of toe te geven aan de eisen van de oppositie. [2]

Hoe onwaarschijnlijk dit ook moge klinken, dit is exact de strategie waarmee Slobodan Milosevic in 2000 in Servië ten val is gebracht. Nadat was gebleken dat de oorlog in Kosovo en NAVO-bombardementen niet hadden gezorgd voor een regeringswijziging in Servië, zetten de VS in op het versterken van de binenlandse tegenstanders van Milosevic, door ze te verenigen rond één kandidaat, Vojislav Kostunica. Vervolgens spendeerden de VS ongeveer 40 miljoen dollar aan zijn verkiezingscampagne. [3] Door de VS gesponsorde ngo's en verkiezingsadviseurs hielpen mee aan een propaagandacampagne rond de verkiezingen en werkten achter de schermen mee aan het organiseren van massaal verzet tegen de regering Milosevic. [4]

Door de VS getrainde 'verkiezingsvrijwilligers' werden op de dag van de verkiezingen verspreid over Servië ingezet om de resultaten te controleren. De VS leverden zelfs jonge activisten met duizenden spuitbussen vers met campagnestickers, om het hele land vol te spuiten en te plakken met anti-Milosevic slogans. [5] Volgens de officiële resultaten van de eerste ronde in de verkiezingen had geen van de kandidaten de meerderheid van de stemmen gekregen, er was dus een tweede verkiezingsronde nodig.

Maar waarom hadden de VS Servië aangevallen, in het bijzonder de kleine provincie Kosovo? Het



de politieke onafhankelijkheid van de Joegoslavische Federatie kon alleen worden gebroken door Milosevic ten val te brengen en naar Den Haag te ontvoeren. Dit scenario is al een aantal malen elders met wisselend succes - uitgevoerd en er zijn tekenen dat de VS ook in Venezuela tracht een 'fluwelen contra-revolutie' door te voeren.

Maar VS-adviseurs publiceerden hun eigen 'verkiezingsuitslagen', waarbij Kostunica een enorme overwinning behaald zou hebben. Milosevic weigerde die uitslag te erkennen. [6] De oppositie beweerde dat er verkiezingsfraude was gepleegd en door de VS gesteunde groepen organiseerden geweldloze verzetacties om de regering onder druk te zetten. Gewapende groepen bestormden het parlementgebouw en het hoofdkantoor van de staatsrevisie. [7] Massale protesten en opstanden dwongen Milosevic af te treden. Er kwam geen tweede verkiezingsronde meer en Washington's kandidaat Vojislav Kostunica greep de macht. De strategie had gewerkt.

Maar waarom hadden de VS Servië aangevallen, in het bijzonder de kleine provincie Kosovo? Het



ling Former Yugoslavia, Recolonizing Bosnia-Herzegovina', Global Research, 19 February 2002, <http://www.globalresearch.ca/articledetail.asp?idarticle=370>

[14] Jonathan Mowat, 'Coup d'état in Disguise: Washington's New World Order' "Democratization" Template',

de bedrijven met arbeidersonderzoek - liet geen ruimte voor buitenlandse investeringen en VS-kapitaal. In de moderne kapitalistische globalisering is dit een doordozende.

Michael Parenti zegt daarover het volgende: "Joegoslavië was het enige land in Oost-Europa dat niet bereid was zijn welvaartsstaat en de publieke staats-economie af te breken. Het was het enige land in Oost-Europa dat niet smeekte om toe te mogen treden tot de NAVO en het volgende een eigen onafhankelijke koers - en wat er nog van over is doet dat nog steeds - die niet in overeenstemming was met de Nieuwe Wereldorde." [9]

Het opdelen van het land in kleine, onafhankelijke staten en het vernietigen van de economie in de publieke sector was het uiteindelijke doel van de VS. En Milosevic, bewonderaar van de socialist Tito, was de enige die hen in de weg stond. De beloning voor hun inspanningen was groot. Toen Milosevic eenmaal van het toneel verdwenen was, was een van de eerste daden van de nieuwe regering het herroepen van de privatiseringswet uit 1997, die het mogelijk maakte om 70 procent van een bedrijf te verkopen aan buitenlandse investeerders. [10]

In 2004 maakte de VN-missie in Kosovo bekend dat 500 bedrijven werden geprivatiseerd, de Amerikaanse ondernemingen waren de grote winnaars. Philip Morris kocht voor 580 miljoen dollar een tabakfabriek, US Steel sloot een deal voor 250 miljoen dollar met een staalproducent, CocaCola kocht voor 21 miljoen een fabriek waar water in flessen werd gedaan voor de verkoop. De lijst is nog veel langer. [11]

ovendien kregen westerse steeders nu toegang tot wat New York Times de 'glinste oorlogsprijs' noemde: de rijkdom na grootste koloniale van Europa en grote voorraad in lood, zink, goud, zilver en olie. [12] Maar het werk 'juweel' tenslotte lag in de provincie Kosovo: het enorme bca mijnencomplex, waarde er dan 5 miljard dollar, dat in den kon komen van de hoogbieder. [13]

succes van de strategie in vië was een belangrijke leor de beleidsmakers in Washington. De VS hebben de strategie daarna nog verschilderen toegepast in Oost-Europalanden of gebieden zoals Georgië (2003), Oekraïne (2004), Argentinië (2005) en Wit-Rusland (in 2001, zonder succes). Tijdens wat bekend werd als de 'Gele Kleurde Revoluties' werd steed een regime verdreven door eerd door de VS gesteunde en betaalde beweging, in ruil voor beleid van de nieuwe regering dat gunstiger was voor het 'vrije markt'-beleid van Washington. [14]

Deze nieuwe vorm van geweldloos verzet is voor de VS de meest wenselijke strategie geworden als zij een regeringswijziging willen bewerkstelligen. En nu heeft het imperium zijn aandacht verlegd naar Latijns-Amerika, waar zich plotseling een nieuwe dreiging voor het wereldkapitalisme heeft ontpopt.

#### Bronnen

- [2] Op Znet staat een reeks van vier artikelen waarin deze strategie nog gedetailleerder wordt uitgelegd: <http://www.zmag.org/content/showarticle.cfm?itemID=10987>
- [3] Michael A. Cohen en Maria Figueroa Kupf, 'Privatizing Foreign Policy', World Policy Journal, Volume XII, nr. 3, najaar 2005 [http://www.worldpolicy.org/journal/articles/wpj1053-cohen.html](http://worldpolicy.org/journal/articles/wpj1053-cohen.html)
- [4] Chulfa, Sreeram, "Democratization, Colour Revolutions and the Role of the NGO's: Catalysts or Saboteurs?", Global Research, 25 december 2005, <http://www.globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=viewArticle&code=20051225&articleid=1638>
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- [6] Ian Traynor legt uit hoe 'verkiezingspeilingen' van de oppositie strategisch zijn gebruikt om regeringen in Oost-Europa te verzwakken of omver te werpen. Zie zijn artikel in The
- [7] Chris Marsden, 'How the West organised Milosevic's downfall', World Socialist Web Site, 13 oktober 2000, <http://www.wsws.org/articledetail2000/oct2000/yugo-o13.pn.shtml>
- [8] Finley, Brooke, 'Remembering Yugoslavia: Managed News and Weapons of Mass Destruction', from the book Censored 2005, Project Censored, Seven Stories Press, 2004.
- [9] Michael Parenti, 'The Media and Their Atrocities, You Are Being Lied To', pg. 53, The Disinformation Company Ltd., 2001
- [10] Neil Clark, 'The Spoils of Another War - NATO's Kosovo Privatizations', Znet, 21 september 2004, <http://www.zmag.org/content/showarticle.cfm?itemID=6275>
- [11] Elise Hugs, 'Eight Years After NATO's Humanitarian War - Serbia's new "third way"', Nunc magazine, April 2007, Volume 20 Nummer 4, <http://zmagiste.zmag.org/Apr2007/hug050407.html>
- [12] Hedgcs, C., 'Kosovo War's Gilt-tied Prize Rests Underground', New York Times, 8 augustus 1998
- [13] Michel Chossudovsky, 'Dismant-

## Het voorbeeld Joegoslavië: een model voor regeringswisseling

14 Juni 2007

Van: "Michel Collon"  
 Aan: <nico.s@slobodan-milosevic.org>  
 Verzonden: donderdag 4 mei 2006 8:39  
 Onderwerp: Forbidden to reveal a war crime

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## Will the Whistleblower Who Revealed the First War Crime in Yugoslavia Go to Jail Soon ?

**GEORGES BERGHEZAN**

June 25, 1991: Slovenia and Croatia unilaterally proclaim their independence, the Yugoslav army is deployed at the country's international borders. Three days later, in the village of Holmec, at the Slovene-Austrian border, three young conscripts, attacked by Slovene police who had encircled their tank, waved a white flag and surrendered. They were killed in cold blood by the police in the presence of a cameraman from the Austrian TV network ORF. It was the first documented war crime in a conflict that would continue spilling blood in the former Yugoslavia for the next eight years.

These facts were kept secret for the next seven years until the ORF footage showing the surrender and the execution of the three soldiers -- two Serbs and one Croat -- was finally broadcast on Slovenian television. Pressured by the Slovene branch of the NGO Helsinki Monitor and its president, Neva Miklavcic Predan, an official inquiry was conducted, but it concluded in 1999 that no war crimes at all had been committed (the soldiers would have simulated their execution and they would have been killed shortly afterward in combat).

Things probably could have stayed there -- and the affair could have continued to be completely ignored by the international media -- if Slobodan Milosevic, the former Serbian president, during his cross-examination of the Slovene President, Milan Kucan, who had been summoned by The Hague Tribunal in May 2003 to testify against Milosevic, had not posed several troubling questions to his adversary and brought several supplementary pieces of information to the case, which included the death certificates of the aforementioned soldiers. Visibly caught off guard, Kucan gave assurances that the case had not been closed, all the while denying that the conscripts had been executed. A few days later, Neva Miklavcic Predan held a press conference in Ljubljana in which she cast a shadow of doubt on Kucan testimony. The statements made at this press conference sparked a defamation lawsuit filed by twenty-six Slovene war veterans whose "feelings were profoundly hurt" by her allegation of war crime.

At the same time, a Slovenian court closed the case once again at the beginning of April 2006, reiterating that no war crime had taken place in Holmec, basing its decision on the 1999 inquiry. On the other hand, in Belgrade, a special tribunal for war crimes finally decided to open an inquest on the matter. At The Hague, despite the evidence provided by Miklavcic Predan, and then by Milosevic, there still does not seem to be any interest in what appears to be the first war crime committed in the Yugoslav wars. For Neva Miklavcic Predan, however, the case has not been closed. The complaint filed by the war veterans has gone its course and resulted in the trial now taking place. She risks being sentenced to two years imprisonment and the next hearing has been set for May 30. During the first two hearings, the accusations relied on a gross falsification of the ORF video that tries to make one believe that the Slovene police did not fire upon the Yugoslav conscripts.

Furthermore, she is accused of having tried to bribe a government official in order to obtain citizenship for a Roma. This second trial has now been suspended. She could be sentenced to three years more in prison as a result of the proceedings. Finally, a judge in Ljubljana, feeling offended by a remark that Miklavcic Predan made, has also filed a complaint. She is subject to three months' imprisonment if she is sentenced.

Neva Miklavcic Predan considers herself to be the victim of political trials intended to punish her for having cast a shadow over the mini-war of independence waged by Slovenia, which has often been characterized as a model among the new members of the European Union. Even if the affair starts making headlines throughout the former Yugoslavia, it still remains unknown beyond. However, the World Organization

Against Torture (OMCT) and the International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH) have initiated a campaign of support and have requested writing to the Slovene authorities in order to stop the harassment of the president of Helsinki Monitor. We have taken up their appeal, which we reproduce below.

**Action requested:**

Please write to the Slovenian authorities and ask them to:

- i. Put an end to any kind of harassment against Mrs. Neva Miklavcic-Predan, and ensure that her right to a fair and impartial trial be guaranteed in any circumstances;
- ii. Conform with the provisions of the Declaration on Humans Rights Defenders, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 9, 1998, in particular article 1, which states that "everyone has the right, individually or in association with others, to promote the protection and realisation of human rights and fundamental freedoms at the national and international levels", and article 12.2, which states that "the State shall take all necessary measures to ensure the protection by the competent authorities of everyone, individually and in association with others, against any violence, threats, retaliation, de facto or de jure adverse discrimination, pressure or any other arbitrary action as a consequence of his or her legitimate exercise of the rights referred to in the present Declaration";
- iii. More generally, conform with the provisions of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, and with all other international human rights instruments binding **Slovenia**.

**Addresses:**

- President of the Republic of Slovenia, Dr. Janez Drnovsek, Erjavceva 17, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia, Tel.: 00 386 1 478-10-00, Fax: 00 386 1 478-12-00, Email: janez.drnovsek@up-rs.si; gp.uprs@up-rs.si
- Premier of the Republic of Slovenia, Janez Jansa, Gregorciceva 20, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia, Tel.: 00 386 1 478-10-00, Fax: 00 386 1 478-17-21, Email: janez.jansa@gov.si; gp.upv@upr-rs.si
- Minister of Justice of the Republic of Slovenia, Dr. Lovro Sturm, Zupanciceva 3, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia, Tel.: 00 386 1 369-52-72, Fax: 00 386 1 369-52-76, Email: lovro.sturm@gov.si
- Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Dimitrij Rupel, Presernova 25, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia, Tel.: 00386 1 478-23-73, Fax: 00386 1 478-21-70, Email: dimitrij.rupel@gov.si
- Supreme State Prosecutor, Barbara Brezigar, Dunajska 22, Ljubljana, Slovenia, Tel.: 00 386 1 434-19-35, Fax: 00 386 1, Email: bbrezigar@dt-rs.si
- District Court of Ljubljana, president, Tavcarjeva 9, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia, Tel.: 00 386 1 366-44-44, Fax: 00 386 1 366-45-18, Email: marjan.pogacnik@sodisce.si
- Local Court of Ljubljana, President Vesna Pavlic Pivk, Miklosiceva 12, 1000 Ljubljana. Slovenia, Tel.: 00 386 1 47 47.701, Fax: 00 386 1 47-47-705, Email: urad.@sodisce.si
- Higher Court in Ljubljana, President Jernej Potocar, Tavcarjeva 9, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia, Tel.: 00 386 1 366-40-00, Fax: 00 386 1 366-40-70, Email: jernej.potocar@sodisce.si
- Supreme Court of the Republic of Slovenia, President Franc Testen, Tavcarjeva 9, Ljubljana, Slovenia, Tel.: 00 386 1 336-42-02, Fax: 00 386 1 336-43-01, Email: urad.vhrs@sodisce.si
- Constitutional Court of the Republic of Slovenia, President Janez Cebulj, Betthovnova 10, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia, Tel: 00 386 1 477-64-00, Fax: 00 386 1 251-04-51, Email: info@us-rs.si
- Ambassador Mr. Aljaz Gosnar, Permanent Mission of Slovenia to the United Nations in Geneva, rue de Lausanne 147, 1202 Geneva, Switzerland, Tel: + 41 22 716 17 80, Fax: + 41 22 738 66 65, Email: mge@mzz-dpk.gov.si
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**MORE** : See chapter "*Medialies*" in the book *Liar's Poker -Yugoslavia, the great powers and the next wars.*  
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**MORE ABOUT YUGOSLAVIA, MEDIA-LIES? HIDDEN US and GERMAN STRAGIES...**

**Sagittarius**

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Zivadin Jovanovic

US AND NATO MILITARY BASES PROLONGED HAND OF GLOBAL SYSTEM  
AND CORPORATE CAPITAL

(Notes at the European panel held in Athens, 5<sup>th</sup> of May 2006)

Honorable Mr. Chairman,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,  
Dear friends,

Allow me, please, first express my sincere thanks to the organizers of this important panel - the Greek Committee for International Détente and Peace (EEDYE) and World Peace Council (WPC) for the invitation, friendliness and for the warm hospitality. The Belgrade Forum for the World of Equals is honored indeed to be represented here and able to offer its views on the topics of the agenda. The Panteion University as a temple of science, education and human values is certainly the most appropriate venue for this international exchange of views.

First of all I would like to convey sincere regards and the best wishes of the Board and all members of Belgrade forum to you and to all friends in Athens and Greece. Let me remind that the Belgrade forum for the world of Equals has been established seven years ago as an independent, non-partisan association of intellectuals of Serbia and Montenegro. Our aims are promotion of peace, equality among nations, states and individuals, cooperation, respect of international laws and human rights including economic, social, cultural, political and all other rights in their totality. Since its foundation the Forum has organized many national and international conferences and has published over 20 books on national and international problems.

Let me also recall that the Belgrade forum started its activities immediately after the end of NATO aggression against Yugoslavia in 1999. That aggression took over 3.000 human lives, including many children and other disable persons. It had provoked unprecedented destruction of the economy, roads, railways, refineries, electricity transport lines, homes, schools, hospitals, bridges... It had inflicted damages to the natural and human environment, especially by the use of depleted uranium missiles, with extremely dangerous consequences to last millions of years ahead.

NATO aggression was conducted in contravention of the basic principles of international Laws, including the violation of the UN Charter. It was prepared by the Clinton's theory of "limited sovereignty" and "the right to humanitarian interventions". To obtain the public support to intervene militarily, the western propaganda machinery was manipulating with events like "the Racak massacre", or Serbian Government's ill intentions, like "horse shoe plan". They followed propaganda patterns developed during

civil war in Bosnia. Remember bomb blasts in Sarajevo's Vase Miskin Street and Merkale Market, or the "hunger exhausted Muslim prisoner" in "Serbian concentration camp" in

The consequences of US-NATO aggression against Yugoslavia today, seven years after, are not felt only in Serbia, Montenegro and the Balkans. They are felt world wide. For example, we have always claimed that aggression against Yugoslavia was undertaken in order to set the precedent for aggressions in other parts of the world contrary to the UN Charter and without the UN Security Council's approval. US wanted to have this precedent inaugurated at NATO summit commemorating the 50-th anniversary of the Alliance's foundation in April 1999 in Washington. Some thought that the this claim was a mere Yugoslav tactic to divert attention for its own responsibilities, for not signing the "Rambouillet Agreement". What we witnessed in the meantime were military interventions in Afganistan, and then in Irak, first under the pretext of the struggle against Al Quaeda terrorism, second under the pretext to stop alleged production of the armament for massive destruction. It is only several days ago that the American State Secretary has declared that United States could attack Iran even without authorization of the UN Security Council. To substantiate this she recalled US-NATO attack against Yugoslavia (Kosovo) in 1999, conducted without approval of UN Security Council.

In closing of this part of my statement, May I reaffirm to you and to friends all over Greece our sincere gratitude for the unique moral support, solidarity and humanitarian assistance during the most difficult period of Serbian history, during the years of uncivilized sanctions, during and after the US-NATO aggression. This has enriched the best pages of the glorious history of relations between Serbian and Greek peoples. Let these relations strengthen in the future for the benefit of peace and prosperity in the Balkans and Europe.

Dear Friends,

The theme of the panel is comprehensive indeed. May I be permitted to comment only on one topic – that is on the NATO and USA military basis in the Balkans.

The number of US and NATO basis in the Balkans and surrounding countries is rapidly growing. The pace has been particularly intensified by recent agreements to establish USA military basis in Romania and Bulgaria – four in each country. Although at this particular moment there are no precise statistic data, all available information show that in our region there will be between 20 and 25 USA and NATO basis. It appears that considering relatively modest territory, the Balkans have become the region of the highest density of foreign military basis and military arsenal in Europe and probably in the world. Also, that the Balkan is hosting the one of the biggest USA military base in Europe – Bondstil in the Serbian autonomous province of Kosovo and Metohija.

Speaking of the militarization, in addition of the military basis we ought to pay the attention to additional three aspects. First, peace missions in the territory of former Yugoslavia have brought to our region tens of thousands of international, mainly

American and NATO troops which continue to be based in Bosnia, Serbia (Kosovo and Metohija) and FYROM. These troops are not considered to be formally stationed in military basis, but in fact almost each national contingent has own base with own military hardware, equipment, loggings and commands. This is at least in the case of Kosovo and Metohija where, for example, French, Italian and German contingents within KFOR have their own areas of responsibility and therefore their own basis. The tragic events from March 14 to 18<sup>th</sup>, 2004, when national contingents behaved different way, ones trying to stop massive Albanian terrorist attacks on Serbs and Serbian churches and monasteries while the others just turning blind eyes, like German contingent, confirm that national contingents and national military basis do not follow unique instructions and unique procedures, what one would expect them to do being parts of KFOR, but their own.

The recent switch from NATO to WEU troops in Bosnia, and prospects of similar change in Kosovo and Metohija, does not affect essence of the spread of foreign military forces in the area. Second, in the last several years, mainly after the aggression against Yugoslavia in 1999, USA and NATO have concluded the whole set of military agreements with the countries of the region providing all kind of facilities and concessions from unlimited use of national infrastructures, to stationing, manoeuvring and exercising. And third, the peace missions in the region have not only failed to disarm various armed and terrorist gropes, especially those in Kosovo and Metohija, but have objectively served as a cover to continuous smuggling of armament. Today, according to many well informed analysts, Kosovo and Metohija disposes with astonishing number of illegally brought sophisticated armament and military equipment without precedent, numbering about 300.000 long arms.

Proliferation of US and NATO military basis in the Balkans may be considered in three phases. First, up to the beginning of the Yugoslav crisis in 1990, second from 1991 to the end of NATO aggression against Yugoslavia in 1999, and the third stage from 2.000 up to the present days.

In the first phase marked by the cold war confrontation of the two military blocks, USA and NATO maintained military basis only in Turkey and Greece as its member countries. The whole space of the former Yugoslavia (SFRY), which is today covered by five separate states (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, FYROM and Serbia and Montenegro) was free of any foreign military basis.

The beginning of Yugoslav crisis in 90-ies, especially eruption of civil wars in Bosnia and in Croatia, was marked by the growing foreign military presence in the western Balkans. While it was formally covered by the decisions of UN Security Council and conducted under the auspices of United Nations, essentially it was USA led operations. Even NATO member countries had no much say in UNPROFOR, SFOR and UNPREDEP planning and activities in Bosnia, Croatia and FYROM, not to mention others, including Russia of Boris Yeltsin. Their main roll was to give appearance of legitimate collective peace action. Although at the beginning it was presented as a temporary mission to counter alleged aggression of Yugoslav Peoples Army (JNA), protect "good" Muslims from "bad" Serbs and to pacify the region of ethnic conflicts, in

fact it ended as a cover of the strategic shift of USA and NATO potentials from Central Europe to the East and South East of our Continent. This second stage may also be considered as preparatory for establishing of the lasting USA basis, first in Tuzla, Bosnia, then in Krivolak near Skopje, Saint George in Albania and others.

The third phase began with the NATO aggression against Yugoslavia seven years ago. Countries bordering former Yugoslavia by assisting the USA and NATO forces during the 78 days of continuous bombardment, by offering them facilities and logistics during bombardments have qualified themselves as loyal "partners for peace" and for the membership of NATO. This has in turn served as background for establishment of a USA and NATO basis in Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania. The process of foreign militarization of the Balkans still continues without foreseeable end.

It is noted that the growth of the number of USA and NATO bases in the Balkans went parallel with the growth of the number of small (puppet) states as a result of the fragmentation of former Yugoslavia, as well as with the spread of "democratic regimes" dependant of the USA. Another parallel process has been drastic reduction of the national defense forces of the countries in the region, almost equaling to their destruction. This has been conducted under the pretext of "reforms of the military" and explained as saving of the budgetary expenditure and leading to the "better life" of the general public. In Serbia and Montenegro, at least, this process has been supervised, if not imposed and controlled, by Anglo-American military and financial advisers. Just opposite of weakening of the national armies, it is obvious process of enormous strengthening of police in each country. This is another proof that the creators of the global system have no trust in national armies, but in global military power, in basis under unique, centralized command and in strong police forces capable to suppress social unrest and keep security of the corporate capital.

**Objectivs.** What may be the objectives of the spread of USA and NATO basis in the Balkan? The public is usually told, equally by domestic leaders and by USA and NATO representatives that joining NATO, whether through Partnership for peace or through full membership, accepting USA and NATO basis serves at least three objectives: promoting peace, stability and development, struggle against international terrorism and growing foreign investments.

It should be noted however that peace, stability and development could hardly be real and lasting if have to be promoted by military means - rockets, submarines, bombs, military bases. Sooner or later, military factors and forces either show weakness to cope with problems (social unrests, for example), or have to change priorities. The question is what they leave behind. This question is of particular importance in the situations when USA and NATO impose by force unsustainable solutions, solutions contrary to the international laws, damaging the legitimate interests of one nation and favoring the interests of other nation(s). Such a case, for example, appears to be in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where Anglo-Americans are trying to impose solutions contrary to the Dayton/Paris Peace Agreement, favoring unitary system and domination of Muslims and ignoring legitimate interests of Serbian people, particularly in the Republica Srpska. The

current pressure of Anglo-Americans over Serbia to accept the independence of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija goes by the same pattern – to deprive Serbia and Serbian people of the state territory and to please Albanian separatists even by violating the basic principles of the international Laws, the principles of UN Charter, Final Helsinki Act, as well as concrete decisions of the UN Security Council, such as its resolution 1244 (1999). Attempts to redraw the international borders in the Balkans, whatever pretexts, represent paramount danger not only for Serbia, but for many other countries of the region, including Greece, and in fact for the whole of Europe.. If such a policy aims at appearing friendly to the Muslim world so that they start believing in good Anglo-American intentions in Afganistan, Irak and Iran, that in our opinion would be vary naïve. What is beyond any doubt however, such a policy is very dangerous for the Balkan and Europe. European Union could hardly be isolated from consequences should this policy be continued. Lasting peace and stability therefore have far better chances if based on compromise, mutual interests, cooperation and integration of regional countries. European perspective of the countries of the Western Balkan cannot be compensation for fragmentation, border changes or any other unjust, imposed solutions.

As for the struggle against international terrorism it is hardly to believe that this danger could be eradicated by proliferation of US and NATO military basis. One should look first to the causes which in many cases will be found in socio-economic backwardness, foreign overexploitation of natural resources and various other injustices. Getting rid of double standards toward various brands of terrorism is precondition for successful struggle against international terrorism. Finally, there should not be any kind of monopoly in fighting international terrorism, nor double standards policy. This struggle has to be conducted under UN sponsorship where each member country has to contribute according to mutually accepted plans and responsibilities. The Balkan countries, Serbia including, do certainly commend important capacities and experiences very useful in the struggle against terrorism and do not need foreign military bases to for that purpose.

Expansion of US and NATO military bases in the Balkans in the last decade and a half, in our opinion has other objectives than those proclaimed. This is primarily a consequence of the US-NATO strategy of expansion toward Russia, Caspian Sea Region, Middle East, Siberia, Central Asia and China. Essentially, this strategy aims at establishing a control of the most important reservoirs of oil, gas, strategic minerals and markets. Consequently the basis in the Balkan would serve as a protection of the planned oil and gas pipelines reaching Adriatic and other outlets in the Mediterranean Sea. They also provide security to the corporate capital being invested in the region. As the exploitation and poverty, growing gap between handful of rich and great many living in poverty and misery can not be tolerated, the military basis have the role of discouraging social unrest and turmoil, being ready even to intervene in order to protect the interests of their masters. These basis also play a role of support for the military interventions in the Middle East, current ones, and those likely to follow.

**Consequences** of the proliferation of military basis in the Balkan are known, the others are easy to predict. Firstly, they come as a result of strengthening of the military factors and their growing roll in national and international politics in general. Although initiated

from the military-industrial complex of USA and NATO countries, such a tendency could hardly be limited to the West. Inevitably, this provokes reactions from other sides, primarily from Russia and China. If, in one hand, we witness enormous growth of the military expenditure in the USA, efforts to expand and strengthen NATO justified by the need to fight international terrorism, on the other side Russia, China and the group of the Central Asian countries, faced with decades prolonged separatism and terrorism, have joined hands and have made strategic partnership, both bilaterally and multilaterally. The Shanghai Alliance has already become a new strategic factor which certainly could not be ignored. At the end, it looks like we are witnessing a beginning of a new arms race. Whether it may lead to a new Cold War, or not, remains to be seen. But what is certain is that the arms race has started, military expenditure is growing, social problems too. The struggle for oil, gas, strategic minerals and markets has moved from diplomatic and economic fields to military ones.

Secondly, as NATO is no longer only defensive, but since the aggression against Yugoslavia and April 1999 Washington Summit also offensive organization, USA and NATO military basis may put the host countries in jeopardy of being involved in wars and interventions against their will and contrary to their interests.

Thirdly, military basis, as the experiences show, do attract various kinds of international organized crimes such as the drug, arms, and human beings trafficking, destruction of the natural environment, unpredictable incidents and even tragedies. All these, often have very negative consequences for the national economies, social life and culture of the host countries.

In closing, may I once again say that the obvious expansion of the USA and NATO military bases as well as all other forms militarization is a consequence of the strategy of the global system, ideology of globalism, whose objective is to promote and protect the interest of the corporate kapital. This system in fact is leading to a new colonization producing poverty, unemployment, degradation of culture, humanity and moral standards. That is why it should be rejected.

The peoples of the Balkans are not in need of foreign military basis, of foreign troops and hardware in general. They are not looking for the opportunities to exploit nations from other continents, but to be masters of their own wealth. They are in need of overall cooperation, integration, national and human dignity and social justice.

Thank you.

**Sagittarius**

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THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIAN KRAYINA

GOVERNMENT IN EXILE

11080 Zemun, Magistratski trg 3

Tel. 3077-028, fax: 316-46-79, [vladarsk@yubc.net](mailto:vladarsk@yubc.net)

No.224/06 – 13-4-2006

The government of the Republic of the Serbian Krayina in exile is honored to salute the Mission of Observers of the European Union in Serbia and Montenegro and would like to request that it conveys to the Council of Ministers in Luxembourg our expression of gratitude for the message sent to the government of the Republic of Croatia in order to make it begin to remedy the consequences of the expulsion of the Serbian population from 1990 to 1995

The government of Krayina was informed of this procedure by the issue of the newspaper *Politika* of April 11<sup>th</sup> 2006 and we regret that the 25 members of the European Union did not consult the legal institutions of the Republic of Serbian Krayina that is the representative of the expelled Serbian people. We remind all the interested that the constitution of the Parliament of the Republic of Serbian Krayina is the same as it was after the democratic elections in 1993 when Krayina was under the protectorate of the United Nations' Security Council. The European Union does not do enough for the expelled Serbian population deprived from its rights. That's why the government of Krayina is convinced that the procedure will have very little influence on the government and the parliament of the Republic of Croatia, and also that Croatia will maintain the same policy it had for ten years which is to deny the expelled Serbs all their rights.

The government of Krayina takes the liberty to remind the Mission of Observers that for the period between 1990 to 1995, not only the Croatian separatist armed groups are responsible for the ethnic cleansing of the Serbian population, but also those who helped these forces – particularly the states members of the European Union. Consequently, the governments of the European countries have a moral responsibility to do more than give advices to Croatia; it should demand the immediate and full application of the Declaration of Sarajevo.

The government of Krayina informs the Mission of Observers of the European Union that this letter has the character of an open letter because of the blockade by the states and the media in Europe regarding the expelled Serbian population.

On this occasion, the government of the Serbian Krayina expresses to the European Mission in Belgrade for Serbia and Montenegro its high consideration.

REPUBLIC OF SERBIAN KRAYINA

GOVERNMENT IN EXILE

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No.219/06 – 7 . 4 . 2004

The government of the Republic of the Serbian Krayina is honored to salute the diplomatic-consular bodies in Serbia and Montenegro and, on this occasion, to remind them that the civil war between 1990 and 1995 in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was caused by the anti-constitutional secession of the Republic of Slovenia and the Republic of Croatia resulting in the same separatism of the Muslim and the Roman Catholic political parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Before the civil war Slovenia and Croatia had already begun the violation of the human rights and had committed criminal actions including the killing of some military personnel and civilians of Serbian and other nationalities. The government of the Republic of Serbian Krayina calls the attention of the diplomatic-consular representatives on the fact that the Slovenian paramilitary forces committed the first crimes in June 1991. These forces were under the direct command of the President of the Republic of Slovenia, Milan Kuchan who had never to answer for his responsibility as a commandant. The details of the first crime by the Slovenian paramilitary groups have been published in the newspaper *Politika* on April 6<sup>th</sup> 2006. Only then was divulged that the Slovenes shot the soldiers that had surrendered. The assassination was video recorded by an Austrian television camera; however the truth about the civil war in Yugoslavia had not yet found its way to the public.

The government of the Republic of Serbian Krayina draws the attention to this hidden crime in Slovenia because the same way are hidden the crimes committed by the Croats on the Serbs from 1990 to 1995. That's why the Croats still have not been accused for the ethnic cleansing of 400.000 Serbs from the Croatian cities. The ethnic cleansing was done mainly from 1990 to 1993 and the then United Nations' General Secretary, Boutros-Boutros Galhi, informed the Security Council about it on May 15<sup>th</sup> 1993. It is clear that the consequences of the genocide of the Croats on the Serbs cannot be overcome if the truth is not revealed and the perpetrators of the crime uncovered. The disclosure of the killing of the soldiers in Slovenia (Homec, June 28<sup>th</sup> 1991) shows once more the passivity of the European states relating to all the crimes committed.

The government of the Serbian Krayina would like the diplomatic-consular representatives to request from their respective governments that they turn more their attention on what really triggered the civil war in Yugoslavia and on the fact that the first crimes were not caused by the Serbian state men nor by the Serbian political parties.

The government of the Republic of Serbian Krayina, on this occasion, expresses to the diplomatic-consular representatives its high esteem.

THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIAN KRAYINA

GOVERNMENT IN EXILE

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No.223/06-April 11<sup>th</sup> 2006

ASSOCIATION OF THE JOURNALISTS OF SERBIA AND  
THE INDEPENDENT JOURNALISTS OF SERBIA

Honorable Gentlemen,

The government of the Republic of Serbian Krayina in exile is referring the Association of the Journalists of Serbia and Montenegro and the Independent Association of the Journalists of Serbia to our letter No.59/05 of May 15<sup>th</sup> 2005, by which we let know that most of the editorial personnel employed by the state media and the private media hide from the public information of high interest for the state and for the nation.

**We remind you that this procedure violates the definition of the United Nations' Resolution No.260 A (III) of December 9<sup>th</sup> 1948 on the prevention of a crime of genocide or its punishment.** This violation is because you have refused since February 2005 to publish information on the crime of genocide committed on the Serbian population (1990-1995) in the Republic of Serbian Krayina and in the Republic of Croatia, as well as information concerning the genocide committed by the Croats during W.W.II

The government of Krayina also reminds the two Associations that its Parliament is again working since February 26<sup>th</sup> 2005. The representatives of this Parliament had been elected in 1993 in the course of democratic elections in the Republic of Serbian Krayina under the protectorate of the United Nations' Security Council. On the occasion of the February session, the Parliament has elected new members of the government. Regrettably, no media had previously reported the Parliament's session of August 4<sup>th</sup> 2005, for the 10 year anniversary of the expulsion of the Serbs from the Republic of Serbian Krayina. Meanwhile, the Parliament of the European Council, on January 26<sup>th</sup> 2006, published a document "**Declaration on the situation of the Serbs expelled from the Republic of Serbian Krayina (region under the United Nations' protectorate) and on the Republic of Croatia between 1990 and 1995.**" An advice was completing this Declaration that Croatia should have again the status of a bi-national state like it had before 1990 as the state of the Croats and the Serbs. The European Union and the OEBS have reminded Croatia of its obligation to allow the return of the expelled Serbs and give them back their status of citizens of Croatia; also to reconstitute their properties and compensate them for their losses.

The government of the Serbian Krayina in exile considers that the blockade of the media is the violation of the codex of the journalists in Serbia and Montenegro and that it is inadmissible; it considers also that the two Associations of Journalists should suggest to give a report on the third session of the Parliament of the Serbian Krayina which will take place in Zemun, Kosovska 9, April 16<sup>th</sup> 2006 at 11:00 am.

Respectfully,

For the government of RSK,

Ratko Litchina, minister

ASSOCIATION OF THE JOURNALISTS OF SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO  
CROATIAN ASSOCIATION OF JOURNALISTS  
NO. 59/05 OF MAY 15<sup>TH</sup> 2005

15-5-06

**Sagittarius**

**Van:** "Ian Johnson" <i-johnson@lineone.net>  
**Aan:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>  
**Verzonden:** donderdag 11 mei 2006 20:18  
**Onderwerp:** CDSM: US & Nato Goals in the Balkans - Lenora

<http://www.iacenter.org/warcrime/lfoerstl.htm>

International Action Center

**U.S. and NATO Goals in the Balkans**

by Lenora Foerstel

The wars begun by U.S. and German interests in the Balkans have not yet ended. With the aid of NATO, these two countries intend to use the Balkans as a corridor to Eurasia and to move all the way to the Caspian Sea. Equally important is their goal to build capitalist economies dependent on western aid in all of the former socialist nations.

NATO expansion relates to what Washington calls a "new strategic concept," which seeks to have NATO, under U.S. leadership, become the key global player protecting U.S. interests. Expansion will bring NATO troops to Eastern Europe – right up to the borders of Russia – and will help western corporations take over the oil-rich area around the Caspian Sea. Top U.S. government officials are assisting the corporations in their drive for control over the Caspian territories. Led by Amoco and Penzoil, U.S. oil companies and their supporters in Congress are mobilizing to increase awareness of the stakes in the Caspian basin. This region has an estimated \$4 trillion in oil reserves and it has attracted a prestigious group of U.S. prospectors.

Involved in this effort—and bent on winning a stake in the bonanza for themselves and their companies—are two former national security advisors, Brent Scowcroft and Zbigniew Brzezinski. Scowcroft was paid \$100,000 in 1996 by Penzoil Company for consulting on special international projects. He also earned a \$30,000 director's fee from the Azerbaijani International Operating Company (AIOC)—an oil consortium operating in the Caspian Sea. Brzezinski is a consultant to Amoco, another AIOC partner, advising the firm on Caspian oil matters. Also interested in the potential profit from the Caspian Sea are President Bush's former White House chief of staff John Sununu, Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, and Secretary of State James Baker, as well as President Clinton's former Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen—all of whom have worked with the Azerbaijani government. Bentsen also is a shareholder in Frontera Resources, an oil service company working in Azerbaijan.

Former National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski states, "A power that dominates Eurasia would control two of the world's most advanced and economically productive regions." The control of Eurasia would almost automatically entail Africa's subordination and give access to the major resources of Oceania as well as access to the world's central continent. The Eurasian Balkans hold an enormous concentration of natural gas and oil reserves as well as important minerals, including gold.

Brzezinski points out that most of the Eurasian countries suffer from serious internal difficulties. Each has frontiers that are either the object of claims by neighbors or are zones of ethnic resentment. For example, Armenia and Azerbaijan are in conflict over Nagorno Karabakh. It is of interest that President Haidar Aliyev received a personal message from President Clinton concerning the Karabakh issue, and Secretary of State Madeline Albright invited President Aliyev to attend NATO's anniversary celebration. (Global Intelligence, April 15, 1999.)

The U.S. is also courting Georgia and the Ukraine. Azerbaijan, Georgia and the Ukraine held military exercises on April 16, 1999 under the auspices of NATO's Partnership for Peace Program. They are also involved in preparing for possible emergencies along the Baku-Supsa oil pipelines. Russia is, of course, threatened by these alliances along her borders and by the growing influence of NATO in the Caucasus. After U.S. military officials toured the Azerbaijan Nasosnaya Air Base, Azerbaijan offered this base to U.S., Turkey and NATO forces. Russia's Ambassador to Azerbaijan, Alexander Bolkhin, warned that "if NATO is not taking Russia into account, their nuclear warheads and armed forces will create a grave danger to these smaller countries". (Global Intelligence April 15, 1999).

Armenian people clearly remember the brutal forced migration from Armenia into Syria and Mesopotamia during World War I. This operation, carried out by the Turks in 1915, caused the deaths and massacre of about 600,000 Armenians. They have declared that the deployment of Turkish or any other NATO forces to Azerbaijan is "impossible." Russia is now building up forces in Armenia, while Turkey and the Azerbaijan International Operating Company (AIOC), the international consortium developing Azerbaijan's Caspian oil resources, are nearing agreement on the construction of a

eline from Baku to Ceylon, Turkey. (Global Intelligence April 15, 1999)

As the U.S. uses NATO troops to take over the Balkan countries, western corporations meet and hold conferences on how to change former socialist nations into capitalist economies. On July 29, 1999, The Balkan Assistance and Reconstruction Conference, was held in Washington, D.C. The Center for Reconstruction and Development, which sponsored the conference, is a division of Equity International Inc., an international business organization which focuses on the long-term economic development of "Southeastern Europe," the term now used for the Balkans.

Among the approximately 100 government, business, and diplomatic delegates at the conference was keynote speaker Dino Asanaj, representative of the Provisional Government of Kosovo. Also in attendance were the ambassadors from Albania, Macedonia and Bulgaria, and senior executives from such corporations as Caterpillar, Halliburton/Brown & Root, International Paper, and Mitsubishi, all of which are negotiating large and lucrative "reconstruction" or "development" deals with all nations affected by the war (except Serbia).

Following Asanaj's statement blaming the United Nations for "causing friction by continuing Milosevic's policies," Macedonian Ambassador Ljubica Acevska quoted Tom Cruise from his film Jerry Maguire in which he said, "Show us the money." Acevska was the only speaker to mention the effects of the war on her country, noting that Macedonia had been burdened with 50,000 refugees. She added that Macedonia had suffered severe economic consequences due to the loss of an important partner in trade -Yugoslavia.

Janusz Bugajski, representing conference co-sponsor Center for Strategic and International Studies, introduced former U.S. Ambassador Marisa Lino, saying that she would "speak about the prospects for a Balkan bonanza."

The conference made clear that the U.S. expects the European Union to bear the major burden of reconstruction in the Balkans. The U.S., on the other hand, plans to bring in corporations and banking investors as their contribution to change. The terms "Transitional Nations" and "Regulatory Governments" were frequently employed by conference participants. "Transitional Nations" are former socialist countries that are moving into capitalism. "Regulatory Governments" are the new governments the U.S. plans to set up in order to ensure that there exists a legal basis for private companies to operate (e.g. contract laws, bankruptcy laws, etc.). Tax and custom levels will also have to be adjusted to guarantee incentives for private sector development.

The need to develop a new "mind set" in Southeastern Europe was constantly emphasized in the conference. One got the feeling that the people of the Balkans were still in a primitive, pre-industrial stage and that it was essential that they be re-educated on how to live under a democratic, ie. capitalist, government. The idea was to make these benighted people understand that there could be no democracy without capitalism. Highly paid Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's) will be sent to the Balkans to instruct government officials on the process of privatization. Every opportunity will be exploited to involve opinion-makers from private and public newspapers, journals, TV, and radio in order to disseminate the lessons on how to conduct competitive capitalism.

In 1996, the World Bank Institute launched a program to bring privatization to Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, Romania and Bulgaria. Today, Bosnia-Herzegovina is run by the IMF, the World Bank and International NGOs. It has been turned into a feudal system. Unemployment has become devastatingly high, not only in Bosnia, but in Romania, Bulgaria, and Albania as well. To the West, this constitutes success in the region, since all of these Balkan nations can now provide cheap labor and natural resources to all foreign investors.

**Sagittarius**

**Van:** "R Despotovic" <despot@tiscali.nl>  
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**Verzonden:** vrijdag 12 mei 2006 0:23  
**Onderwerp:** "They will laugh when it is all over"

"We cannot say that we are not satisfied with the course of talks, but neither side has shown sufficient seriousness. In the last round of talks in Vienna we had the impression that we were in a circus, since both sides made fun and laughed at the stance of the other side. We hope that they will laugh when it is all over,"

Latest news:

<http://news.google.be/news?hl=en&ned=us&ie=ISO-8859-1&q=Kosovo+>

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[http://today.reuters.co.uk/news/newsArticle.aspx?type=worldNews&storyID=2006-05-10T125509Z\\_01\\_L1062156\\_RTRUKOC\\_0\\_UK-SERBIAMONTENEGRO-KOSOVO.xml&archived=False](http://today.reuters.co.uk/news/newsArticle.aspx?type=worldNews&storyID=2006-05-10T125509Z_01_L1062156_RTRUKOC_0_UK-SERBIAMONTENEGRO-KOSOVO.xml&archived=False)

**Tension in Kosovo Escalates**

<http://www.focus-fen.net/index.php?catid=125&ch=0&newsid=88131>

**Statement of the international donors on the University of Pristina**

<http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/HMYT-6PNQ3Y?OpenDocument&rc=4&cc=scm>

"I am very happy with the great work he has done up here"

[http://www.unmikonline.org/DPI/PressRelease.nsf/0/0B8F92A400F2ED8EC125716B00257823/\\$FILE/pr1557.pdf](http://www.unmikonline.org/DPI/PressRelease.nsf/0/0B8F92A400F2ED8EC125716B00257823/$FILE/pr1557.pdf)

"Status Determination Will Build Regional Security"

[http://www.unpo.org/news\\_detail.php?arg=32&par=4444](http://www.unpo.org/news_detail.php?arg=32&par=4444)

"Kosovo During and After the Talks"

<http://kosovareport.blogspot.com/2006/05/contact-group-to-make-status-decision.html>

"Which doors must be knocked on to exert pressure"

<http://kosovareport.blogspot.com/2006/05/ahtisaari-preparing-china-and-russia.html>

**When the time is appropriate**

[http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/en\\_GB/features/setimes/features/2006/05/10/feature-02](http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/en_GB/features/setimes/features/2006/05/10/feature-02)

.....  
<http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/opinion/oped/bal-op.kosovo10may10,0,3995677.story?coll=bal-oped-headlines>

The Baltimore Sun

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**Botched Kosovo intervention dims hopes for peace**

By Christopher Deliso

May 10, 2006

SKOPJE, MACEDONIA – Averting a humanitarian catastrophe was NATO's stated justification for bombing Serbia and its Kosovo province in 1999. But initial successes quickly succumbed to the reverse ethnic cleansing of more than 200,000 Serbs and other minorities by Albanian militants.

Now, despite seven years of U.N. policing and donor largess, Kosovo's remaining minorities still live in fear, and the economy and infrastructure remain in shambles.

Behind their façade of optimism, Western leaders negotiating Kosovo's future status are panicking. Realizing that Albanians will violently contest any continued affiliation with Serbia, they believe independence alone can ensure peace. Yet Kosovo is a classic quagmire, one with ominous repercussions for peace.

Deciding Kosovo's rightful ownership is difficult. It pits two peoples, and two hallowed principles, against each another. Albanians - 90 percent of the population - invoke self-determination to justify independence. Yet Serbian cultural legacy goes back seven centuries in Kosovo, which was only independent when Adolf Hitler's Albanian allies briefly enjoyed their Nazi puppet state. Further, U.N. Resolution 1244 in 1999 affirmed Yugoslav sovereignty.

Kosovo's independence will be conditional, promises the West, on its treatment of minorities. Yet nothing can realistically enforce compliance. If the Albanians continue intimidating Serbs, penalizing them by delaying NATO or European Union accession will have little impact; an advanced Balkan candidate, Macedonia, won't enter NATO before 2008, or the EU before 2013.

A well-informed international official predicts remaining Serbs will flee within 10 years of Kosovo's independence. So by the time Kosovo gets anywhere near NATO or EU accession, the minority issue will be moot.

Albanian attacks against Serbs still occur amid an atmosphere of a siege mentality. If the last Serbs are expelled, Belgrade's remaining argument for possession will vanish. Its first argument, for cultural heritage, no longer applies because since 1999, over 100 Orthodox churches, some 700 years old, have been damaged or destroyed by Albanians - thus eliminating Kosovo's most lucrative tourist attractions.

Further, the United Nations dismayed Kosovo's minorities by making a man who once terrorized them prime minister. Albanian war veteran Agim Ceku, whose name was removed from Interpol's wanted list after fierce U.N. lobbying, is accused of widespread atrocities while serving in Croatia's military and while leading the Kosovo Liberation Army in 1999.

Mr. Ceku's close associate and another veteran, Ramush Haradinaj, was indicted by the Hague Tribunal. Nevertheless, Mr. Haradinaj is now free to participate in Kosovo politics though he's technically an indicted war criminal awaiting trial.

Such privileged treatment reveals the fatal flaw of the U.N. mission. Canadian police Detective Stu Kellock, who headed the U.N. Regional Serious Crimes Unit in 2000 and 2001, says investigations implicating Albanian politicians or their associates were routinely blocked. The orders came directly from Washington, London and Brussels. Mr. Ceku and Mr. Haradinaj control Kosovo's militant factions and are considered heroes by Albanians. An anxious United Nations continually has sought to stay on their good side through appeasement.

Independence is a mere panacea for Kosovo's Albanians. They will remain poor. Erstwhile Albanian refugee workers - Kosovo's real breadwinners - will be sent home by European governments sensitive to popular anti-immigrant sentiments. Minorities will flee as nationalist militants remobilize to purge Serbs and annex Albanian-inhabited areas of Macedonia and Montenegro.

Bosnian Serbs, as well as Bosnian Muslims in Serbia's Sandjak region, also could demand self-determination.

Alarmingly, the West has no Plan B for ensuring Balkan peace. Plan A - open borders through eventual NATO and EU membership for all - is far off and ignores the anti-expansion sentiment among EU electorates. Membership may never arrive. The Balkans might well drift aimlessly.

In early 1999, Kosovo was a brutal but contained local conflict, relegated to villages. Botched Western intervention has made it a potential precedent for multiregional warfare.

Christopher Deliso is an American freelance journalist in Macedonia and director of an independent Balkan-interest Web site. His e-mail is [cdeliso@balkananalysis.com](mailto:cdeliso@balkananalysis.com).

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**Ivo H. Daalder: Getting to Dayton.** *The Making of America's Bosnia Policy.* Brookings Institution Press, 204 blz. f40,90

**Ivo H. Daalder en Michael E. O'Hanlon: Winning Ugly.** *NATO's War to Save Kosovo.* Brookings Institution Press, 343 blz. f64,15

**Petra Pinzler en Günther Wessel: George W. Bush.** *Wende in Amerika.* Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 223 blz. f19,25

*De strijd in Washington over ingrijpen op de Balkan*

## Madeleine's oorlogen

Zonder Madeleine Albright zou Milosevic nu mogelijk niet gevangen zitten. Albright was de drijvende kracht achter het NAVO-ingrijpen in Bosnië en Kosovo, zo blijkt uit studies van de Nederlandse insider Ivo Daalder.

**Ronald Havenaar**

Zou Milosevic in zijn cel of in zijn ziekenhuisbed wel eens aan Madeleine Albright denken? Zonder haar was hij daar mogelijk nooit terecht gekomen. Zij nam als Amerikaans minister van Buitenlandse Zaken twee jaar geleden het initiatief tot de NAVO-luchtaanvallen die Milosevic dwongen zijn troepen uit Kosovo terug te trekken. De Servische economie raakte door de bombardementen ontwricht. De bevolking kreeg genoeg van hem, verving hem door Kostunica, die Milosevic liet arresteren. Een paar maanden na haar aftreden had Madeleine hem te pakken, zij het dat hij (nog) niet in de Haagse, maar in de Servische kerker terecht kwam. Albright wekte de indruk de wereld aan te kunnen. Dat ze altijd goed was voor een bijtende oneliner, riep ook kritiek op. Probeerde zij niet met haar bluf een gebrek aan intellectuele diepgang te verhullen? Maar als minister zou Albright bewijzen dat in haar functie intelligentie niet de meest gevraagde eigenschap is. 'A lot of clever people have got everything but judgment', zei de

NRC Webpagina's  
13 APRIL 2001

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Britse premier Attlee eens. Ook al was Albright misschien niet de intelligentste, aan een uitgesproken oordeel ontbrak het haar niet. 'My mindset is Munich, not Vietnam', zo vatte zij haar credo eens bondig samen. Als kind had zij met haar ouders haar geboorteland Tsjechoslowakije eerst voor Hitler en daarna voor Stalin moeten ontvluchten. In Milosevic herkende zij, veel eerder dan anderen, het soort politieke gangster dat slechts luisterde naar de taal van het militaire geweld.

Albright had ook al tijdens de kwestie-Bosnië ('92-'95), toen zij nog Amerikaans afgezant in de VN-Veilighedsraad was, een groot aandeel gehad in het verzet tegen Servische agressie. Dat blijkt uit het boek van Ivo Daalder over de Amerikaanse Bosnië-politiek, *Getting to Dayton*. Deze Nederlander zat erbij en keek ernaar: in de jaren '95 en '96 was hij als Director for European Affairs verbonden aan Clintons nationale veiligheidsraad en nauw betrokken bij de besluitvorming op het hoogste niveau. Zijn boek is een poging om de indruk te corrigeren dat Richard Holbrooke, die als Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs de bureaucratische rivaal was van Daalder, een beslissende rol speelde in het besluit tot gewapende interventie. Nationaal veiligheidsadviseur Anthony Lake speelde volgens Daalder een grotere rol. Slagvaardig bijgestaan door zijn Nederlandse assistent, aldus *Getting to Dayton*, was het Lake die in de zomer van 1995 Clinton zover kreeg om met een forse bombardementscampagne de Bosnische Serviërs tot inkeer te brengen. Juist die hoofdrol van zijn veiligheidsadviseur bracht de president ertoe het makkende State Department een troostprijs toe te kennen door Holbrooke de onderhandelingen met Milosevic te laten voeren.

Meer nog dan Lake was VN-ambassadeur Albright de drijvende kracht achter de omslag die zich in de zomer van 1995 in Washington voltrok, zo blijkt uit Daalder's boek. Zij was al in een vroeg stadium voorstander van luchtaanvallen op de Bosnische Serviërs, zelfs als Amerika die alleen moest uitvoeren. Zij was er steeds van overtuigd dat onderhandelingen met de Servische leiders alleen zin hadden met deze stok achter de deur.

## Wapenleveranties

Het was vooral op haar aandrang dat Clinton besloot tot gewapend ingrijpen, na jaren van aarzelingen. Wat waren zijn motieven om deze stap uiteindelijk toch te zetten? Het antwoord van Daalder is even complex als overtuigend. In Europa stond het voortbestaan van de NAVO op het spel, in Bosnië begonnen begin augustus de kansen te keren dankzij een Kroatisch offensief dat mede door Amerikaanse wapenleveranties mogelijk was gemaakt. Maar het belangrijkste waren de politieke verhoudingen in Amerika zelf. In het Congres, dat aanvankelijk fel was gekant tegen elke inmenging, was de stemming omgeslagen. De CNN-factor bracht de Servische gruweldaden aan de Amerikaanse eettafels. Veel kiezers maakten hun afgevaardigden duidelijk dat dit zo niet kon doorgaan.

Deze interventie, zo concludeert Daalder, betekende een ommekeer in de Amerikaanse Europapolitiek. Het idee dat de Europeanen na het einde van de Koude Oorlog hun

eigen rommel konden en moesten opruimen was van de baan. Dit ingrijpen legde bovendien de politieke basis voor de NAVO-actie waarmee bijna vier jaar later Kosovo werd bevrijd van de terreur die Milosevic daar uitoefende.

Een half jaar na het verschijnen van *Getting to Dayton* heeft de productieve Daalder, inmiddels in dienst van het prestigieuze Brookingsinstituut, ook over deze operatie een boek gepubliceerd, ditmaal samen met zijn collega Michael O'Hanlon. *Winning Ugly* (is het mogelijk een oorlog op een nette manier te winnen?) laat zien hoezeer Albright domineerde. Zij maakte deze interventie mogelijk door in Amerika zelf en bij de bondgenoten de onmisbare steun te werven. En zij hield de geallieerden bij elkaar toen de actie eenmaal begonnen was en het gewenste resultaat op zich liet wachten. Bovendien had ze de leiding, actief geassisteerd door de Duitse minister Joschka Fischer, van de diplomatieke inspanningen die Moskou afhielden van steun aan Milosevic. En het was tenslotte ook weer Albright die op het idee kwam om de Finse president Martti Ahtisaari naar Belgrado te sturen om Milosevic tot inkeer te brengen. Ze maakte fouten, vooral door te verwachten dat het karwei binnen een paar dagen, hooguit weken, geklaard zou zijn. Maar toen ook in Washington de twijfel toesloeg over de effectiviteit van de luchtaanvallen, bleef zij een monument van zelfvertrouwen. Met haar devies dat er geen alternatief was voor volhouden en doorzetten, dwong ze respect af.

## Kritiek

Het boek van Daalder en O'Hanlon is geschreven in de stijl van een strenge beleidsnota. Kritiek wordt niet geschuwd. De auteurs menen dat de Amerikaanse regering met deze interventie te laat kwam en te weinig deed. Hun bezwaren overtuigen niet. Uit hun eigen relaas blijkt dat eerder handelen en meer doen vrijwel onmogelijk was. Al in maart 1998 had Albright in het openbaar gewaarschuwd dat Amerika geen tweede Bosnië zou accepteren. De Servische terreurmachine begon toen al warm te draaien: tot het begin van de NAVO-actie, een jaar later, werden driehonderdduizend Kosovaren uit hun huizen verjaagd. Tweeduizend werden er vermoord. Lange tijd, zo schrijven Daalder en O'Hanlon, kreeg Albright met haar pleidooi actie te ondernemen in Washington geen voet aan de grond. De oppositie in het Congres nam pas af na januari 1999, toen Servische troepen in het dorp Racak een moordpartij aanrichtten die veel publiciteit trok. Hetzelfde patroon dus als in de kwestie Bosnië: voordat het Congres een militaire actie wilde ondersteunen, moesten de zaken eerst veel erger worden, vooral visueel.

Snel handelen bleef echter ook toen onmogelijk. Want Albright moest niet alleen het voorzichtige Pentagon en de aarzelende veiligheidsadviseur Berger meekrijgen, maar ook nog de NAVO-bondgenoten. Die waren pas na de mislukte conferentie in Rambouillet, in maart '99, overtuigd van de noodzaak tot gemeenschappelijk ingrijpen. Daalder en O'Hanlon maken in hun boek korte metten met de mythe dat deze bijeenkomst stukliep op de voor Milosevic vermederende eis de NAVO-troepen die in Kosovo zouden worden gestationeerd, het recht op vrije doorgang over Servisch grondgebied te geven. In werkelijkheid kon dit verlangen hem niet worden voorgelegd omdat Belgrado

hoe dan ook niet bereid was de NAVO tot Kosovo toe te laten. Was dat laatste wel het geval geweest, dan had het bondgenootschap de onderhandelingen onmogelijk kunnen laten stuklopen op de eis dat de Westerse troepen zich ongehinderd door Servië zouden kunnen bewegen.

Trok Amerika ten strijde om het lot van de Kosovaren te verlichten, terwille van humanitaire doelstellingen dus? Zo ja, was deze interventie dan niet in hoge mate de oorlog van een vrouw die niet Vietnam maar wel München in haar hoofd had? Deze vragen leiden naar de veelbesproken kwestie of met de vervanging van Clinton/Albright door Bush/Powell alles anders is geworden. Petra Pinzler, correspondent van *Die Zeit* in Washington, relativeert in het samen met Günther Wessel geschreven *George W. Bush. Wende in Amerika* deze verwachting. Nationaal belang in plaats van humanitaire waarden? De tegenstelling is een versimpeling waar ook Albright zich tegen keerde. De NAVO had in Kosovo net als in Bosnië de taak haar bestaansrecht te bewijzen als de organisatie die garant staat voor de stabiliteit in Europa. Daar lag voor de Amerikanen een belang dat ver uitreikte boven het lot van de verjaagde Kosovaren. Pinzler wijst op uitspraken van Condoleezza Rice, de veiligheidsadviseur van Bush, die dit standpunt bevestigen.

Tegelijkertijd kan uit de kwesties Bosnië en Kosovo worden afgeleid dat een interventie in bijvoorbeeld Macedonië pas mogelijk zal zijn als de zaken dermate uit de hand lopen dat publieke opinie en volksvertegenwoordiging geen andere uitweg meer zien. En ook dan moeten de risico's beperkt blijven. Uit de boeken van Daalder valt vooral de conclusie te trekken hoezeer het Congres, met zijn wisselende stemmingen, zijn macht heeft uitgebreid. Het verzet tegen de grote Koude Oorlogsvijand is als anker weggevallen. Prioriteiten worden bepaald door de publicitair-parlementaire waan van de dag. Het pleidooi van Bush - uitvoerig besproken door Pinzler - om in navolging van Nixon en Kissinger het nationale belang tot leidraad te maken van de buitenlandse politiek is niet bedoeld om afstand te nemen van transatlantische verplichtingen. Het is veel meer een poging om lijn aan te brengen in de wirwar van taken die de speelbal van congressionele bemoeizucht zijn. Kissinger kan navertellen dat succes niet verzekerd is.

Bovenkant

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## Sagittarius

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### CIA in Yugoslavia

By [Marko Lopusina](#)

Washington did not attribute much significance to the intelligence system of its country until the price was paid at the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. In the course of the Second World War, the Americans began to create, first in the military, and later in the federal police structure, their own intelligence system, the OSS, based on the model of the English intelligence corps. The Office of Strategic Services, had as its objective, providing intelligence support to the army. The first chief of the OSS was a then 57 year old infantry colonel, William Donovan, and the budget for this endearing U.S. military corps in 1941 was only \$210. Four years later, in 1945 the OSS welcomed the end of the war with 23 intelligence centers situated in and around Europe, from Moscow through London, Madrid, Algiers, Cairo and Istanbul, to Bari, the nearest center to what was then Yugoslavia. The system acquired its true and final shape after the war, with political relations with the USSR strained, creating the CIA, and when in accordance with the Truman Doctrine, the U.S., along with the Western nations, began to insist on their own protection from the "Communist danger". That stirred a total reorganization of their intelligence corps in Western countries, which were the most effective instrument for shadowing and controlling the opposing Communist side.

A key role in creating the American intelligence corps, first of all the CIA, was played by Richard Gehlen, the German chief of secret police, who after the Second World War handed over complete documents to the U.S. pertaining to the network of the Hitler-era German intelligence corps with lists of intelligence centers and German agents throughout the world, complete with the agency network in the countries of Eastern Europe, and in Yugoslavia itself. Leaning on the organization, work methods, espionage network and experience of the German intelligence corps, the CIA very quickly progressed and developed its own intelligence corps worldwide. So it happened that the CIA built its first spy centers toward Yugoslavia in the cities which Germans, and later Italians, used as spy nests – Vienna, Munich, Udine and Salonika.

The initiative to create a U.S. intelligence system came from president Roosevelt. In 1942 he established the Joint Intelligence Committee, as an organ of the new general staff. The implementation of the president's plan took two years after the end of the war, when Harry Truman had become president. The working principles of American intelligence agents were personally set by President Truman, who in 1946 created a Central Intelligence Group under the sponsorship of the National Intelligence Management. A year later, with the termination of these organizations, the Central Intelligence Agency was formed. It at once became the head office and coordinator of all the remaining 12 intelligence and secret security corps of the U.S. Admiral Rayborn once declared that American intelligence demands are of world proportion. Defined in this way, the conditions and interests of the U.S. dictated the creation of the CIA and its mission, March 12, 1947, when the Law on National Security was promulgated.

The law also defined five basic functions for the Central Intelligence Agency. The first was to extend its opinions and assessments to the National Security Council, to the president and vice-president of the U.S., Secretaries of State and Defense and to the Director of the Office for Mobilization, for all needs of intelligence nature related to state security. Secondly, to provide recommendations for the National Security Council with regard to coordination of intelligence activities of government agencies and departments. Thirdly, to compare and analyze intelligence material and information within the government and its institutions. Fourth, on the demand of the National Security Council, to manage all intelligence affairs in a centralized way. Fifth, to cover remaining functions for the protection of U.S. security and beyond national boundaries. The list of states in which the U.S. has intervened through the CIA is rather extensive. The unsuccessful anti-Communist actions of the CIA's 50 years in Albania, Poland, the Ukraine, and then in China, as well as in Indonesia, Chile, Guatemala, Congo, Laos, Vietnam, Brazil, Peru, the Philippines, Angola, Ethiopia, Sudan, Honduras, Costa Rica, Salvador, Argentina, and Burma are well known. In the 80s the CIA was active in Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Thailand, Taiwan, and Ireland. In the '90's, by the estimate of John Joyce, former director of the CIA, U.S. intelligence agents performed "good work" in Poland, by aiding Lech Walesa and "Solidarnost"; padding the "Velvet Revolution" in Czechoslovakia; in Colombia, in Sudan, and in the former Yugoslavia, where the civil war was put on hold. The above cases are all proof that interventionism for America has been neither unusual nor rare, and why even

Yugoslavia could not have been an exception from the activities of the CIA.

### Bill Clinton's Disciples

The signs of Yugoslavia's imminent breakup became apparent during the tenure of William Webster. He was not a "tiger of the Cold War," as Casey had been called, but he was a man who saw the end of the USSR, followed the destruction of the Berlin wall, and broke the Russians in Afghanistan. His signature stands on a CIA report of 1990 about the disintegration of the SFRY and the outbreak of a civil war. Webster denied news reports that the CIA conveyed the disintegration to the Yugoslav Ambassador in the U.S., Mujezinovic, but he did not deny that it would come to war. He was relieved of his post in 1991.

He was succeeded by Robert Gates, who played a key role in the selection of tactics to destroy communism in the Balkans. Gates was chosen by George Bush, the new American president and former CIA director, who knew that Gates stood in for Casey, and later for Webster. Later he also served as a deputy advisor for Brent Scowcroft in the National Security Council. Robert Gates received his Master Degree in Russian History, and went to work for the CIA in 1965. Ten years later, he moved to the National Security Council. At 47, he became the youngest director of the largest secret service in the world. When he took over the CIA, he said that it is imperative for the CIA have capable people in the field who understand and follow how individual societies function and develop. In his view, Americans had been making mistakes in this area in the Middle East and the Balkans, and thought that they would pay a high price for such a short-sighted approach. Along with Colby, who formulated the idea that the communist system and the USSR itself should be left alone, to collapse from within, Gates is remembered in the CIA as the originator of the idea that communism and especially Eastern Orthodoxy be attacked with infiltration by pro-Western sects. Jehovah's Witnesses and the Church of Scientology are two political-intelligence organizations which succeeded in penetrating into the societies of Russia, Rumania and Yugoslavia.

Since 1993 the CIA has had five new directors. James Woolsey, ran the CIA only for 22 months, taking over the director's chair from Robert Gates in 1993, and handing over his resignation in December 1995 with the discovery of the Soviet "mole" Aldrich Ames. Woolsey was hand picked by Bill Clinton. A journalist and lawyer by trade, he had studied at Stanford and Yale. Born in 1941, he completed military service in the late '60's. He began his diplomatic career in the late '70's in the Department of Defense, as an advisor on arms issues, and later went to Vienna for nuclear arms negotiations with the Russians and Europeans. Clinton then tasked Woolsey to find a new general secretary for NATO. The CIA wanted Javier Solana in that capacity. On November 30, 1995, Javier Solana's candidacy was officially submitted and chosen. He came to lead NATO in a moment when the organization found itself before one of the greatest and most difficult challenges in its history: to implement the Dayton Peace Plan and to send 60,000 troops into Bosnia-Herzegovina in support of that plan.

Woolsey was replaced when it was discovered that the CIA had in its Department for Soviet Analyses a head KGB spy. Then Bill Clinton in March 1995 hurriedly named Air Force General Michael Kearns as new director. He had been coordinator of humanitarian shipments from the U.S. to Bosnia, and commanding officer who participated in the bombing of Iraqis during the Gulf War. However the FBI had obtained information that he had violated U.S. immigration law by employing an illegal alien as household help; consequently he turned in his irrevocable resignation. The president then, on May 10, 1995, simply ordered John Mark Deutch, deputy secretary of defense under William Perry, to take over the functions of the CIA director. Although Dr. Deutch had once refused this offer in February, this time he chose not to challenge Bill Clinton.

Dr. John Deutch, born in Brussels on July 27, 1938, became U.S. citizen after his emigration in 1945. Educated in private schools, having studied history and economics, and then chemistry at Lowell University and Northeastern University, he was first employed at the Pentagon, during Kennedy's presidency when Robert McNamara ran the Department of Defense. When the army entered its Vietnam adventure in 1965, he left to teach chemistry at Princeton. He returned to politics in 1977 during Carter's administration, when he got to lead the research sector of the Department of Energy. His specialty was the quest for alternative petroleum technologies and tracking the development of the nuclear programs. He remained at the Pentagon under Bush and Reagan, although he was at the same time a dean at MIT.

The new director replaced some thirty managers in the CIA, including the Director of Special Operations. It was Deutch's task to find new work for the CIA, first of all through collaboration with the DIA and NSA. His other aims included combating narcotics producers and smugglers, nuclear sabotage, terrorism, local wars, the struggle for human rights, economic espionage and events in China, Russia and the Balkans. For Deutch, and especially for Clinton, intervention in Bosnia was an opportunity to pull the CIA out of a crisis.

Bill Clinton invited Dr. John Deutch to join the government for the first time in 1993, to be deputy secretary of defense under Les Aspen, and later under William Perry. He had confidence in Deutch, who had a reputation as a wise and excellent steady second. A Belgian Jew and member of the enigmatic Trilateral Commission, he found himself simultaneously at many important functions in Washington. John Deutch left the CIA director post in 1996, at the end of Clinton's first term. The unofficial version, however, links his decision to the unsuccessful secret missions in Iraq and the discovery of American intelligence operatives in Germany and France. During his term, news emerged about the violations of human rights and CIA abuses in Latin American countries, and Deutch was forced to dismiss nearly a

thousand of his agents in Guatemala, Chile, and Nicaragua. The crowning event in a series of unpleasant CIA happenings during 1996 was the unresolved suicide/murder of William Colby, former CIA director and originator of the doctrine on "internal collapse of the political system of the USSR and states of the Soviet camp," which proved itself to be so successful in 1991.

### The Trigger-happy Newcomer

On the threshold of 1997, the newly inaugurated president Bill Clinton nominated Anthony Lake, his secretary of national security who at one time had warned President Bill Clinton that the Bosnian Serbs were a two-sided danger in the world. First, he argued, their defensive stance on matters of redesigning Yugoslavia's internal borders by outside powers and adherence to the principles of national sovereignty could embolden other nations to oppose the advances of the New World Order. Secondly, he argued, because the outcome of the war in Bosnia would determine the essence of the American foreign policy for decades ahead. Such arguments seem to have paved the way to Lake's and Clinton's decision to bomb the Bosnian Serbs in 1995, cemented the non-compromising U.S. attitude toward Yugoslavia in general and crystallized the ultimate goal of bringing Serbia to her knees. Concurrently Lake warned Clinton against admitting publicly which NATO country sent the airplanes. It appears that the entire career of Anthony Lake represented a rehearsal for this important inner circle position. After three decades of trying to reconcile American power and principles, Lake came to responsibility in a moment that looked exceptionally appropriate, when the U.S. was about to embark on its new role of the policeman of the world. During 1995 and 1996, it seemed to Lake that the U.S. had only one problem: the Bosnian policy. Events in Bosnia revived the conflict that tormented him throughout his unusual career - the conflict between ideals and interests so relentlessly present in the U.S. foreign policy, in places from Chechnya to Yugoslavia to China. Next to the president and vice-president, Lake was, at the time of the decision to bomb the Bosnian Serbs, perhaps the most influential person in the U.S. foreign policy team.

Lake joined Kissinger's staff in June 1969. He immediately achieved an exceptional trust, and attended the Paris peace talks when he was only 30. Lake approached Kissinger's intellect with fascination, and was convinced that he would choose to end the war. Later Lake worked in the presidential campaign of Sen. Edmund Muskie in 1972, completed his doctorate, and worked as director of the International Friends Service. His political career was revived during the campaign of Jimmy Carter, for whom he managed the Policy Planning Office of the State Department. During and Bush's tenure he taught international relations at Mount Holyoke College in Massachusetts. One November afternoon in 1991 he drove to Boston, where his old colleague from the State Department, Samuel Berger volunteered to introduce him to Clinton. By mid-'90s Lake would find himself in what was once the job of his mentor, Kissinger.

This meeting, which culminated in a brief conversation with a leader who was not particularly interested in foreign policy matters, could have resembled some kind of ominous foreboding. As a candidate, however, Clinton, made use of foreign policy very skillfully, in general thanks to Lake, who had nearly become his leading unpaid advisor. Clinton needed someone who was able to tell him "be concerned about this," and Lake did just that, helping Clinton to position himself on questions like Haiti, Bosnia and China better than his Republican counterpart George Bush. Demonstrating his ambition, Lake took over the role of a public diplomat, after which he immediately insisted that the security advisor must never usurp the function of the Secretary of State. In 1995 Anthony Lake led a delegation on a European tour, which was supposed to result in finding a solution for Bosnia, and which was accompanied by muttering to try to circumvent the State Department. The second and totally different example of Lake's personal investment can be seen in his strong support of expanding NATO to the East, opposed to those who advised that it was necessary to show consideration for Russian sensitivity.

Anthony Lake urged the United Nations to respond to the Serbian position in Bosnia by undertaking air attacks, but he came upon strong opposition of the allies, who were concerned that peacekeepers may be taken hostage. "In our opinion, security is greater if the Serbs believe that we are serious," he said. "However, the French and British think that that is easy for us to say, since we do not have our own soldiers on the ground there." Lake opted out from undertaking air strikes, so that he could swiftly join the opponents of the idea, when the Bosnian Serbs took UN soldiers as hostages in 1995. Again the U.S. policy in Bosnia was weak and conflicted in its effect. Some American analysts hold that it was Anthony Lake who showed that Bosnia in fact provided a stimulus to the Clinton campaign. When in July 1992 reports of concentration camps began to come in, Clinton criticized Bush's inactivity, and sought that air strikes be undertaken, in order to assist humanitarian efforts. That event, however, also pointed out the ambivalence of Lake himself. He insisted that Clinton's statement must convey precision, writing that American efforts perhaps in this phase would not bear fruit, but that they must do at least what they reasonably could.

### The Turning Point

With Clinton in the office the U.S. policy toward Yugoslavia, hitherto mumbled and confusing, took an aggressive course, coordinating the intelligence, military, and public relations components into one decisive Sturm und Drang against Yugoslavia. From 1993 on everything went according to the script, entailing direct air assaults, overexposure of Serbian "atrocities" in the U.S. media, with the aim of gaining domestic public support. It also included clandestine operations such as approving Iranian arms smuggling to the Bosnian Muslims in 1993-94, training and arming the Croatian army for retaking Krajina in 1995, and preparing the KLA for its Kosovo debut in 1998.

The arms smuggling was allegedly kept secret even from the CIA by Clinton's inner circle. Anthony Lake in 1997 had to

testify to the American Senate Intelligence Committee in the matter. He had for two full years been concealing from Congress that the White House had approved the import of Iranian arms into Bosnia for the Muslim army, with the US ambassador in Croatia, Peter Galbraith as an intermediary. Regardless of whether this questioning was a part of the political game of Republicans, who wanted to test the strength of Clinton as a Democratic president, the American public was visibly upset at the disclosure of yet another secret operation of the U.S. administration in Europe. Having assessed the issue as too dangerous to the integrity of the American president, and having been put through a strenuous interrogation before the Senate, Anthony Lake in early March 1997 declined Bill Clinton's offer to nominate him as director of the CIA.

Finding himself cornered on the issue of naming a new CIA director, the president took Anthony Lake's advice, and on March 20, 1997 nominated George John Tenet. Prior to that, while in the National Security Council, George Tenet worked on coordinating U.S. secret operations abroad, and on projecting Clinton's presidential directives on intelligence priorities from the White House into the world, what made him a trusted man within the administration. For a period of time he was also Inspector General for the CIA. Officially, George J. Tenet joined the CIA on July 3, 1995. He assembled a team for Clinton's personal security for his traveling throughout the world. The Republicans, who hold the majority in the Senate and House, accepted the candidacy of George Tenet as a political compromise on the issue of the U.S. violations of the UN arms embargo, and the endorsement by the Clinton Administration to secretly arm Muslims in Bosnia. The continuity of American secret intelligence activities abroad, and especially in the regions of the Balkans and Yugoslavia remained intact.

### The Role of the State Department

Americans in the former Yugoslavia had two diplomatic missions: the embassy in Belgrade and general consulate in Zagreb. In Belgrade, of some 70 American officials, 35 had diplomatic status and immunity. There were also 220 Yugoslav civilians working on the embassy grounds, the majority of them permanently. In accordance with the existing political and diplomatic practice, America always sent people to Yugoslavia who were educated and well-versed in history and culture of Eastern Europe, the Balkans, and Yugoslavia. Before they would start their assignments in Belgrade, many American diplomats served in the Zagreb consulate, as did the last ambassador, Warren Zimmerman. The popular State Department wisdom held that for the U.S. diplomats Belgrade was often a window to Moscow.

The U.S. embassy was established in 1945, by when Americans already had an organized classic intelligence network coming into contact with the remnants of the defeated parties and collaborationists during World War II. The U.S. was not only openly developing its espionage, but also organizing concrete terrorist actions, assassinations, diversions, sabotage and infiltrating unfriendly groups from abroad. During 1946, several trials took place in which the espionage activity of individual U.S. diplomats was uncovered, and the role of the U.S. embassy was discredited.

These trials forced the Americans to change their intelligence work. At the beginning of 1947, the CIA transferred its center for "covering" Yugoslavia abroad, while the U.S. legalized gathering data on Yugoslavia. John Gabet summed up the previous U.S. espionage record in his confidential report to the State Department on June 7, 1947 that was intercepted by the Yugoslav State Security, as "Bandit methods, cloak and dagger methods a' la Pridonof and Clause compromised the entire embassy. It is my impression that we can secure the same amount of information with decent behavior and winning the trust of the Yugoslav government." Messrs. Pridonof and Clause were diplomat-spies who were expelled from Yugoslavia in 1946.

According to Gen. Vidan Markovic, an expert on counterintelligence at Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Americans began to gather information by legal means in Yugoslavia from 1952 on, as they concluded that this way they could accomplish more than through an agency relying on a motley crew of hostile Yugoslav emigrants. Depending on the needs of the CIA, they never completely renounced undercover agent work in Yugoslavia. Among the embassy personnel there has always been a number of professional intelligence agents of the CIA and DIA. Covered by diplomatic status, they worked exclusively on espionage. Before arriving to Yugoslavia, these agents would be trained at U.S. intelligence centers in Germany. The most well-known is Garmisch-Partenkirchen in the Bavarian Alps. Along with professionals, the rest of the embassy or consulate staff periodically engaged in intelligence gathering activities. Their task was to find individual Yugoslavs willing to be connected with the embassy, agree to travel to the U.S., and who would ultimately agree to work for the CIA or DIA. These people were more frequently sought among intellectuals of the scientific, artistic world and the media. These official CIA collaborators were engaged in receiving and forwarding agents' reports from Belgrade and Zagreb toward the U.S., in cases when regular communications channels were not secure. Individual officials were sent into the target areas to photograph certain structures and training areas, and with their presence, to create an alibi and conditions for the work of CIA and DIA professionals. Finally, there were a number of intelligence analysts at the U.S. embassy, who were covering research issues of priority interest to the CIA and the U.S. government.

The first American ambassador, Cavendish W. Cannon arrived in Belgrade in July 1947. He witnessed the Russian-Yugoslav communist rift and the political persecution of Cominform supporters. As the representative of the U.S. state and diplomacy, Cannon had the difficult task of igniting the Cold War on Yugoslav territories, and lead that effort until the end of January 1950, when he was replaced by ambassador George V. Allen. Ambassador Allen was also a patron and pioneer of the American military aid effort to Yugoslavia, which he later continued to oversee. There was also James W. Riddleberger, who took over as ambassador on November 16, 1953. He witnessed the Russian-Yugoslav

reconciliation and the arrival of Nikita Khrushchev on an official visit to Josip Broz. At the end of February 1958, the U.S. delegated Karl L. Rankin as its ambassador to Belgrade; he was an observer at the First Conference of Unaligned Nations in 1961, after which Yugoslavia was perceived by the U.S. as a country moving away from America and becoming an "anti-American factor" in the third world. The ambassador for the historic period from 1961 to 1963 was the leading kremlinologist and theoretician of the Cold War George F. Kennan, one of the most renowned American diplomats.

He was followed in March of 1963 by Charles B. Elbrick, an ambassador with a full six years experience in Belgrade. He was a witness to the straining of relations between Belgrade and Moscow again, in 1968, after the Czech events, and the first larger internal unrest in Yugoslavia after the outbreak of student demonstrations. At that time, among the junior embassy staff was one Warren Zimmermann. In June 1969 Elbrick was replaced by Kempton K. Lonehart. He had only one priority - to prepare the first official visit of Richard Nixon to Yugoslavia in 1970. On his return home to Washington, Nixon took Ambassador Lonehart with him, and Malcolm Toon, took over in October 1971. While he was regarded as a relatively calm and serious diplomat, the same could not be said for his successor, Laurence Hirsch Silberman.

As soon as he assumed ambassadorial duties in 1975, Silberman began to publicly criticize the Yugoslav self-reliance and the alleged violation of human rights, as not honoring the Helsinki Convention. In official Yugoslav circles, that was interpreted as an effort to provoke Yugoslavia and to create instability. Josip Broz publicly accused the American ambassador of anti-Yugoslav activities, overstepping his diplomatic mandate. Silberman introduced considerable change in the style of work of the intelligence center for the U.S. embassy. He brought in Mr. Steiner as his special advisor, advocating the replacement of the military delegation in Belgrade, and demanding that someone should be brought in to put intelligence matters in order. His stay in Washington and insistence on changes led to, after eight months, the removal of the military envoy Kalas, and later Mahr. The embassy from then on worked as an intelligence center in the same way Ambassador Silberman has envisioned.

Although ambassador Silberman earned credit for arranging the visit of the second American president, Gerald Ford to Yugoslavia in 1975, he was declared undesirable, and Washington officially withdrew him from Belgrade in the summer of 1977. The U.S. then dispatched Lawrence Eagleburger, whose task included smoothing out diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia. The new ambassador made efforts to the extent of mediating in Yugoslav economic affairs in the U.S. Eagleburger allegedly was the patron of investment for the automobile "Yugo Florida" in the U.S. He was an expert on political scene in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana, informing Washington about the illness of Josip Broz Tito and his possible successor. After Tito's death in September 1980, the new American ambassador was David Anderson who remained in Belgrade for a full five years, witnessed the first signs of disintegration of Yugoslavia. The ambassadorial experience from Yugoslavia helped him later, upon return to the U.S. to become the strongest expert of the Aspen Institute of Berlin for the Balkans. Anderson was replaced in July 1985 by John D. Scanlan, a former diplomat from the U.S. embassy in Belgrade. He spoke good Serbo-Croatian, and was open to collaboration with Yugoslav politicians and economists. While a second-in-command at the U.S. embassy at 50 Knez Milos Street, he was also responsible to run CIA affairs, states Col. Boza Spasic, former inspector of the State Security Corps of Yugoslavia.

### The Last American Ambassador

Warren Zimmermann also spoke Serbo-Croatian, but it seems that he was less inclined to be friendly toward Belgrade and the Serbs than was his predecessor. He took the ambassadorial post in 1989 and left Belgrade of his own will in 1992, after which America sent to the Yugoslavia only a chargé d'affaires. The last accredited American ambassador in Yugoslavia, Warren Zimmermann previously represented the U.S. in Caracas, Moscow, Madrid, Paris, Geneva and Vienna, and served in Belgrade from 1965 to 1968. After leaving Yugoslavia in 1992, Zimmermann became the director of the World Program for refugees in the American government, but two years later he left diplomacy and returned to his professor's calling and to journalism. He wrote his memoirs, *Origins of a Catastrophe: Yugoslavia and its Destroyers*, in which he acknowledged that he did reports for the CIA:

"By the end of 1990, we didn't have any more illusions. We knew that Yugoslavia, if it didn't survive, would disappear in a sea of blood. So we made it a priority to try to find a democratic solution for the survival of Yugoslavia, and I stress, a democratic solution. The protection of territorial integrity and democratization we experienced as elements which complement each other, which do not have prospects for survival without each other. We knew that if we took togetherness without democracy - for example, "unity" by Serbian understanding, or in the manner that the JNA would create it - that there would be no place for democracy. In the long run, that would not protect the integrity of the country. On the other hand, we were convinced that the secession of Slovenia and Croatia in that moment was not a true solution for the promotion of democratic principles, since it would, regardless of good intentions, lead to war; and war and its consequences never favored democratic atmosphere. That is what in fact happened. In the name of democracy and self-determination, Yugoslavia was shattered, and it is very debatable that it contributed to the realization of true democracy, except partially in Slovenia, and to a lesser extent in Macedonia."

As the U.S. ambassador in Belgrade Warren Zimmermann by official duty the coordinated and managed the total intelligence-reconnaissance activities carried out from the U.S. embassy, whether by means of the so-called lethal possibilities or other methods. According to Yugoslav State Security experts in charge of the surveillance of the

intelligence activities at the U.S. embassy, matters were handled somewhat differently when they concerned intelligence-subversive activities. Three levels of intelligence-security corps worked simultaneously at the embassy, and their work was coordinated by the ambassador and the intelligence committee, so that the CIA and the State Department intelligence jointly comprised the civilian portion of the intelligence center. On the second level was the relatively independent military-intelligence center, lead by a military representative of the Department of Defense, as a rule a DIA officer. In that center various envoys were employed – from the army, navy, air force – as well as their assistants, in charge of the intelligence administration of the respective branches. On the third level FBI officials were responsible for the security of the embassy and personnel who worked there.

Zimmermann's role in triggering the Bosnian war is yet to attract full scrutiny. It is a matter of record that Izetbegovic reneged on the already signed Lisbon Accord brokered in March 1992 by European Community negotiator Jose Cutileiro, following Zimmermann's suggestion. There is general understanding that prior to Zimmermann's alleged remark "Why sign it if you don't like it?" the Bosnian issue could have been resolved peacefully. Zimmermann in his book plays down the importance of the signed Lisbon accord: it was not even included in the index of the book. The references to the agreement itself by Zimmermann are rather contradictory: "At our meeting on February 25 Karadzic was ecstatic over developments in Lisbon.." (p.189), while "..the Bosnian Serbs never accepted Cutileiro's map.." (p.190-91). He refers to it as only "Cutileiro's plan" or the "Lisbon approach." To circumvent the already signed agreement, Zimmermann encouraged Izetbegovic to forge ahead with the referendum on independence while being fully aware that it will result in a violent response from the Bosnian Serbs. Thus, creating a new situation rendering the Lisbon agreement obsolete and void was clearly part of the damage control after Izetbegovic's signature. Zimmermann believed "that early Western recognition, right after the expected referendum majority for independence, might present Milosevic and Karadzic with a fait accompli difficult for them to overturn," while being mindful "that there is some chance of violence if Bosnia wins recognition.", yet he denies that Western recognition provoked "that aggressive strategy, nor would the lack of Western recognition have deterred it."

#### The Diplomatic Cover of Military Envoys

Occasionally the CIA and DIA had conflicts over jurisdiction, but that would be resolved on the level of the intelligence committee of the embassy and the arbitration of the ambassador. It was rare for these relatively independent intelligence centers to differ in their assessments of the status of current affairs in the country, although it would happen. Some indicative information shows that, allegedly, the difference in positions has been related to the newest situation in Yugoslavia. A professional rivalry was present between the civil (CIA and State Department) and military intelligence centers of the embassy, while the FBI as a rule remained outside of these conflicts. As is known, U.S. Ambassador Warren Zimmermann left Yugoslavia before sanctions from Resolution 757 of the UN Security Council went to effect.

#### The Spy Nest

The U.S. military mission at the American embassy was an important center of intelligence gathering work. At the end of 1975, for example, the mission had nine employed officers: three representatives of the branches of the American armed services, one sergeant, a secretary of the military mission, two code-clerks, one civilian and an administrative secretary. They were high-ranking and well-educated officers. Characterizing one of them, American Col. John Klingelhofer, the Yugoslav Counterintelligence Col. Bane Modusan, assigned to tracking the activities of the U.S. agent, wrote,

"Before coming to Belgrade, in 1968 Col. Klingelhofer was envoy of the military mission for communication with the Soviets in Potsdam, East Germany, systems analyst for data locating; in 1971, chief of staff of the 1st marine helicopter division in Vietnam; and DIA chief for the USSR in the Pentagon in 1972. He completed 14 military schools, from School for Military Personnel Management in 1948, to School for Maintenance of Parachute Units, through Defense Language Institute for Serbian in 1973, Intelligence School for Envoys and Military Institute for Eastern Europe to Command-staff Academy and War College. Of civilian schools, Col. Klingelhofer completed Advanced School of Military Sciences, Advanced School of International Relations, and American University in Washington. During Col. Klingelhofer's assignment in Belgrade, the primary public method of gathering information was traveling through the country. During 1976, the DIA planned 48 intelligence trips in the course of 129 days, primarily through Croatia and Slovenia, then through Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Montenegro, and then Macedonia, Vojvodina, Kosovo, and Istria."

The CIA and other intelligence corps were working against Yugoslavia from the inside and from the outside, especially from Austria, Italy, West Germany and Greece. On Yugoslav territory, special attention should be given to intelligence activity carried out through the diplomatic-consular offices – claims Dusan Vilic. In 1986 the Yugoslav presidency and military high command began to move with the assessment that a special war was being waged in Slovenia, and that the CIA wanted to exploit the nationalist emotions of the Slovenian youth and break up Yugoslavia.

One of the top-ranking specialists on the CIA in Yugoslavia is Dr. Petar Knezevic, a military-political commentator and former head of the Analytical Department in General Staff of Yugoslav Army, and the Security Management Department of the Federal Ministry of National Defense. In all analyses, Dr. Knezevic encountered examples of CIA activities in the world while he followed its activities in the Balkans as an analyst at Counterintelligence Corps of the

Yugoslav Army.

Due to its geopolitical and geostrategic position, the former SRFY was continuously in the sphere of interest of the intelligence corps of alliances, and especially of the leading states of NATO and the Warsaw agreement, as well as some neighboring countries who had and still have territorial claims to parts of the former Yugoslavia, such as Albania and Hungary. Emboldened by Western support they are now pursuing their goal of re-drawing the borders of Yugoslavia with renewed aggressiveness, in violation of existing international norms, as in case of Kosovo. The intelligence-subversive activity on the territory of the former Yugoslavia and especially Serbia is now in service of the current policy of the European Union, NATO, the U.S. and some neighboring states and their connections with secessionist parties and movements in country. The CIA intensified its intelligence-subversive activity during the '90's and by the time of ending the NATO war over Kosovo in 1999, pursues its goals almost openly.

The CIA is a significant lever of American policy in attaining its goals abroad, and in fact, the only one authorized to carry out so-called secret actions. Of course, on the territory of the former Yugoslavia and Serbia the CIA collaborated most closely with the intelligence corps of other NATO countries, especially Great Britain, Germany and Italy. After the disintegration of the Warsaw pact and the changes that happened in the former USSR, we would not dare to claim that the CIA did not attain certain collaboration with the former KGB in relation to the newly formed intelligence institutions of the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States). Therefore, the increased intelligence-subversive activity on the territory of Yugoslavia is the reality we must count on in evaluating the political-security situation and the overcoming of the state of crisis in Yugoslavia.

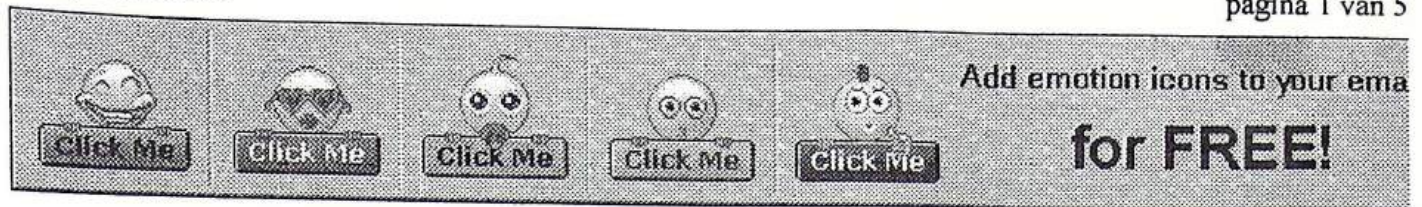
Considering that the U.S. after the Gulf War and the disintegration of the USSR is de facto the only superpower in the world, it may seem natural that today only Americans have and pursue global policy. However, this puts any other state on the defensive by default. The CIA has grown into a powerful secret corps on the back of an economically, financially and politically strong America. It has succeeded in breaking communism and enforcing a New World Order. Its basic task today is how to protect the primary interests of the U.S. in the existing power relationships in the world, and to ensure that that New World Order continues its development. The CIA long ago outgrew the boundaries of America itself, but has never been a supranational intelligence organization. This agency has only had and held the leading place in the U.S. intelligence community and the Western states gathered under NATO. With this, its responsibility to protect the security of America and the Western military alliance has also grown, or in other words, its task to prevent all possible enemy political and militant surprises on all parts of the world. That forces the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency to further develop itself and to become the largest, strongest and most powerful intelligence corps in the history of human kind, which then hardly anyone will be able to control.

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The United States agreed to provide a force of approximately 7,000 US personnel as part of the NATO KFOR to help maintain a capable military force in Kosovo and to ensure the safe return of Kosovar refugees. The US supports KFOR by providing the headquarters and troops for one of the four NATO sectors. The US also provides personnel, units and equipment to other components of the KFOR organization.

Camp Bondsteel [CBS] is quite large: 955 acres or 360,000 square meters. If you were to run the outer perimeter, it is about 7 miles. Bondsteel is located on rolling hills and farmland near the city of Ferizaj/Urosevac. There are two dining facilities at Camp Bondsteel: one in North town and one in South town. The food is very well prepared and there are always a variety of main and side dishes to choose from. There are also salad bars, potato bars and multiple dessert offerings. Due to General Order #1, only alcohol-free beer is served, but it is better than nothing! There are set hours for meals, but each dining facility also has a 24-hour section for sandwiches, coffee, fruit, and continental breakfast items.

Soldiers live in SEA (Southeast Asia) Huts. There are about 250 SEA Huts for living quarters and offices. The buildings have five living areas that house up to six soldiers each. Each building has one large bathroom with multiple shower and bathroom stalls. A few buildings have smaller bathroom facilities as well. Female and male sea huts are separate. The beds are comfortable and each room has its own heating/air conditioning unit. Soldiers get their own wall-locker for personal storage, and most opt to purchase a small set of plastic bins for additional storage. You can buy almost anything from the PX to make your living space more comfortable, such as TVs, DVD

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players, coffee makers and sound systems. Rooms are routinely inspected to make sure they adhere to fire and safety codes. The best way to improve the safety of your room is to purchase an approved surge protector for European voltage, and plug all of your lights and equipment into that. Adaptors are also available so you can plug your 220-compatible devices, like laptops, into the European outlets.

The Bondsteel PX offers soldiers the latest CDs, DVDs, electronics, souvenirs, clothing, uniforms and everything to make your stay in Kosovo comfortable. With two stories of merchandise, the PX draws lots of multinational soldiers from throughout Kosovo. Also located at CBS are Burger King, Anthony's Pizza and a Cappuccino bar.

There are Morale Welfare and Recreation (MWR) buildings in North town and South town. The facilities offer billiards, ping-pong, video games, internet access and a video teleconference room. They also offer movies to check out and watch on several TVs in the MWR facilities. There are a total of three gyms at CBS. Two gyms (north and south) have basketball/volleyball courts, exercise

equipment, weight machines and free weights. The third gym is strictly a weight room.

There are two chapels on Bondsteel, North and South, and one on Camp Monteith. All Chapels offer services in several denominations. The Laura Bush education center offers a variety of college courses to suit your needs. Want to learn Albanian, Serbian, or German? Improve your computer skills? The variety of college credit and certificate courses is staggering. There are two colleges represented at US base camps: the University of Maryland and Chicago University. For those with easy access to the Internet, online courses are offered too.

The US sector is in southeast Kosovo. Headquarters for US forces is located at Camp Bondsteel, built on 750 acres of former farmland near Urosevic. Bondsteel has about a 6-mile perimeter. The 1,000-acre camp was built from the ground up on a former field. Basecamps Bondsteel and Monteith were established in June 1999 in Kosovo to be used as staging points for the bulk of US forces stationed in the Multi National Brigade-East. About 4,000 US service members were stationed at Camp Bondsteel in the farm fields near Urosevac, and another 2,000 were at Camp Monteith, near Gnjilane. Both camps are named after medal of honor recipients, Army Staff Sgt. James L. Bondsteel, honored for heroism in Vietnam, and Army 1st Lt. Jimmie W. Monteith Jr, honored for heroism in France during World War II. Camp Able Sentry, located near the Skopje Airport, Macedonia, serves as a point of entry for supplies and personnel into Kosovo. Another 500 Americans support the operation from Camp Able Sentry in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The US contingent is known as Task Force Falcon. There are a number of locations within Kosovo, other than the base camps, at which US soldiers maintain a presence.

US forces entered Kosovo in June 1999 following NATO Operation Allied Force. Since then, military officials worked to rapidly improve service members' quality of life. At the outset, planners wanted to use the lessons learned in Bosnia and convinced decision makers to reach base-camp "end state" as quickly as possible. Because of uncertainty about the Bosnian mission's duration, when the Army moved across the Sava River into Bosnia in 1995, soldiers were housed first in tents - in the winter! Only years later were they moved to semipermanent Southeast Asia (SEA) huts (a theater-of-operations design that first made its debut in Vietnam) on base camps. Engineer planners knew it was much more cost effective to forego this gradual approach in Kosovo in favor of building end-state SEA huts right away, and operational commanders agreed with this approach.

In contrast to the Bosnia peacekeeping mission where troops lived in tents for many months before moving into hardened structures, DoD decided to erect the SEAhuts from the start. The single-story SEAhut wooden structures were first used in Southeast Asia and then in Bosnia. The military redesigned the SEAhuts specifically for Kosovo. Each wooden structure has a male and a female latrine and six rooms housing six service members each. The huts have heat, hot water, air conditioning, plumbing, electricity and telephones.

Effective force protection is critical for Camp Bondsteel, which is situated on a series of rolling hills with nearby woods on several boundaries. After the 9th Engineer Battalion (Mechanized) used its armored combat earthmovers to create a hasty perimeter, the 94th ECB(H) and Brown & Root Services Corporation jointly completed a 2.5-meter-high earthen berm around the entire perimeter. They removed trees to allow sufficient fields of fire and built nine wooden guard towers around the perimeter. Due to soil, pests, and line-of-sight requirements, the battalion modified the towers by placing each on a concrete pad and adding safer and more accessible entrance ladders. Five of the nine towers were placed on two MILVANS welded together to allow greater visibility. The added elevation enables soldiers to view the area from 18 feet aboveground rather than from the usual eight feet.

Because of the topography and population of the camp, it eventually had two independently serviced life-support areas, with semipermanent wooden buildings known as Davidson-style Southeast Asian huts (SEA huts) (see article). The battalion also created SOCCE huts (modified for the Special Operations Command and Control Element) and officer/senior noncommissioned officer SEA huts that have 10 rooms with separate latrine facilities for each pair of rooms.

The 94th ECB(H) created Camp Bondsteel's road system, which was critical to alleviate blinding dust storms and enable mobility when torrential rains made the clay soil impassable. They built the hardstand for the camp's hospital, created the road to the military and civilian materials yard, and laid a double-base surface of bitumen on the camp's eastern access road. The battalion upgraded the main briefing room and other areas throughout Task Force Falcon's command center. It also created a storage system for confiscated weapons and built floors for 200 tents, so soldiers would be out of the mud while SEA huts were being constructed.

To create life-support areas, the 94th ECB(H) transformed the topography of Camp Bondsteel to maximize use of the ground. The primary earthmoving mission, dubbed Operation Wolverine Mountain after the battalion's mascot, required that more than 150,000 cubic meters of earth be moved and redistributed. That is equivalent to the area of one football field that is 100 feet deep. To save time, the battalion lowered the two major hills in Camp Bondsteel and simultaneously filled the large ravine between them. Combining the efforts of all four organic companies, the battalion worked two shifts totaling 20 hours per day. At times twelve 621B scrapers, eight D7G dozers,

three 130G graders, and six vibratory and sheepsfoot compactors operated on the hills. In 30 days, the battalion widened the life-support areas, created areas for the camp's wash rack and more than half of the camp's motor pools, and built a foundation for the northern access road.

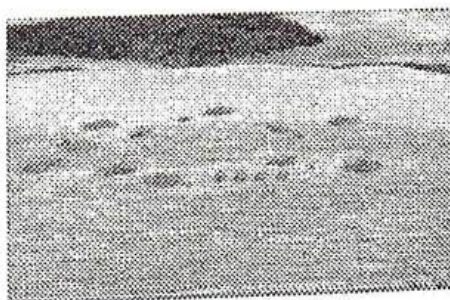
Simultaneously, the battalion created the hardstand for the American logistical supply support activity. This 600- by 160-meter area, which required 70,000 cubic meters of earthen cut-and-fill operations, will eventually include a chapel, a morale and welfare tent, the Army and Air Force Exchange Service, and a barbershop. Equipment and operators from nine Wolverine platoons worked around the clock to complete the project.

Shortly after site preparation began at Camp Bondsteel, a 36-inch natural-gas pipeline was discovered under the camp – right where we wanted to make a 3-foot cut! It was easier to redesign the camp around the pipeline than dig it out, and that's why today a "no-construction" strip of land runs northwest to southeast among the SEA huts. The total absence of civilian sewage-treatment facilities in Kosovo forced early diversion of critical horizontal equipment to build sewage lagoons. This project is environmentally critical since there were no sewage-treatment plants in Kosovo, and local people (including those serving military units) emptied raw sewage into streams. The lagoon is a technically challenging mission that requires all four of the 200- by 300-meter areas to have depth deviations from final design grade of no more than 3 inches. Led by the 535th and 568th Engineer Companies (CSE), the first area completed has a maximum deviation of only two inches across its entire 60,000-square-meter area.

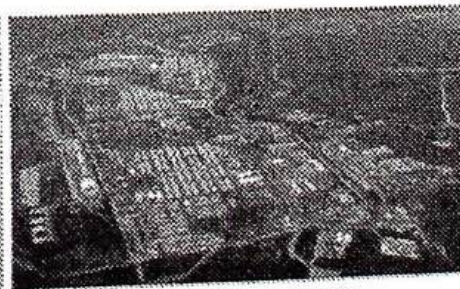
Camp Bondsteel has an improved detention facility, with a 250 by 350 foot temporary structure composed of tents with plywood sidewalls and floors, electricity, heat, and lights. The project also includes a separate shower point and security measures - perimeter fencing, triple-standard concertina wire, locking gates, and an upgraded guard tower. The facility replaced an interim holding cell at Bondsteel and provides space for persons detained in incidents throughout the US sector in Kosovo.

In August 1999 the 9th Combat Engineer Battalion (Mechanized) at Camp Bondsteel altered the southwest perimeter at Camp Bondsteel to make room for the new helicopter landing zone. Engineers reworked triple-standard concertina wire to pull it out farther from the area targeted for landings. To make this change to the perimeter, engineers first had to cut down several trees both to make room and to afford proper line of sight from the guard tower. They worked with Civil Affairs to coordinate the tree removal with local villagers whose property adjoins the area.

In August 1999 the helicopter landing area used since Camp Bondsteel opened moved from the command operations area to a site on the post's south perimeter. Five new helipads made of AM2 aluminum matting handled helicopter landings for a few months until an expanded aviation area was completed with 52 helipads. The 94th Engineer Battalion also completed separate areas for landing sling loads and Chinooks (CH47s). The vacated landing site allowed engineers to expand the main access road and prepare the ground for erecting four clamshells, which are temporary frame-and-fabric structures. The plan was to transition all aircraft from Camp Able Sentry, Macedonia, to Camp Bondsteel as a home base.



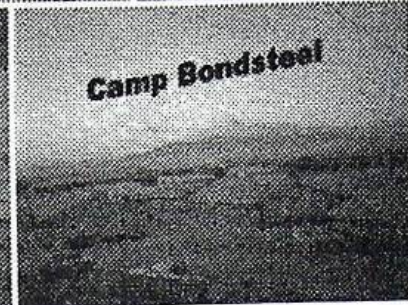
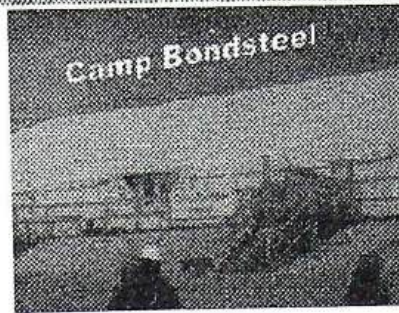
Camp Bondsteel, 15 June 1999



Camp Bondsteel, 18 October 1999



Camp Bondsteel, 20 November 1999



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## Despite Tales, the War in Kosovo Was Savage, but Wasn't Genocide

By **DANIEL PEARL** and **ROBERT BLOCK**  
Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

TREPCA, Yugoslavia -- When the blanket-covered trucks rolled toward the mining complex near this northern Kosovo town in April, Bexhet Kurti didn't give them much thought. The Yugoslav army had a military base there, after all.

It was in July, after the fighting ended and Mr. Kurti returned to battle-scarred Trepca, that the young house painter started hearing the whispers. "Did you hear there are 700 bodies in the mine?" asked one acquaintance in the hilltop cafe above the mine-shaft tower. "No, not in the mine, but in the furnace" on the other side of the mountain, said another.

By late summer, stories about a Nazi-like body-disposal facility were so widespread that investigators sent a three-man French Gendarmerie team spelunking half a mile down the mine to search for bodies. They found none. Another team analyzed ashes in the furnace. They found no teeth or other signs of burnt bodies.

In Kosovo last spring, Yugoslav forces did heinous things. They expelled hundreds of thousands of ethnic Albanians, burning houses and committing summary executions. It may well be enough to justify the North Atlantic Treaty Organization bombing campaign and the war crimes indictment of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic.

But other allegations -- indiscriminate mass murder, rape camps, crematoriums, mutilation of the dead -- haven't been borne out in the six months since NATO troops entered Kosovo. Ethnic-Albanian militants, humanitarian organizations, NATO and the news media fed off each other to give genocide rumors credibility. Now, a different picture is emerging.

### Selective Terror

"Rwanda was a true genocide. Kosovo was ethnic cleansing light," says Emilio Pere Pujol, a Spanish pathologist who exhumed bodies after both conflicts. In his sector of western Kosovo, he says, the United Nations told him to expect as many as 2,000 victims. His team found 187 corpses, none of which showed evidence to confirm local accou-

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mutilations.

Some human-rights researchers now say that most killings and burnings occurred in where the separatist Kosovo Liberation Army had been active, or in urban streets that backed into rural areas where KLA fighters could infiltrate. They say the Serbs were trying to clear out areas of KLA support, using selective terror, robberies and sporadic killings.

"We believed NATO was using the KLA as its invasion force," says retired Gen. Ra Radinovic, a former chief strategist for the Yugoslav Army who advised military plans during the war with NATO. Gen. Radinovic says individuals may have committed atrocities while killing "thousands" of KLA guerrillas. (A successor organization to the KLA has lost 2,400 dead over two years.)

#### Official Estimates

British and American officials still maintain that 10,000 or more ethnic-Albanian civilians died at Serb hands during the fighting in Kosovo. The U.N.'s International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia has accused Serbs of covering up war crimes by moving bodies. It has begun its own military analysis of the Serb offensive.

But the number of bodies discovered so far is much lower -- 2,108 as of November, not all of them necessarily war-crimes victims. While more than 300 reported grave sites remain to be investigated, the tribunal has checked the largest reported sites first, and found most to contain no more than five bodies, suggesting intimate acts of barbarity rather than mass murder.

The KLA helped form the West's wartime image of Kosovo. International human-rights groups say officials of the guerrilla force served on the Kosovo-based Council for the Defence of Human Rights and Freedoms, whose activists were often the first to interview refugees arriving in Macedonia. Journalists later cited the council's missing-persons support theories about how many people died in Kosovo, and the State Department this month echoed the council's recent estimate of 10,000 missing. But the number has to be taken on faith: Western investigators say the council won't share its list of missing persons.

#### Reports From the Field

Even more closely connected to the KLA was Radio Free Kosova, set up in January 1998. Outsiders were cut off from Kosovo hot spots. A former correspondent for the radio, Qemal Aliu, says he and five other journalists holed up with the KLA in the central Kosovo mountains, using satellite phones to take reports from KLA regional command. The radio broadcasts were just strong enough to reach the provincial capital, Pristina, where a correspondent translated the reports into English for the KLA's Kosova Press Internet site.

When the guerrilla encampment had electricity, Mr. Aliu watched NATO briefings. "Many times we saw Jamie Shea talking about the number of people killed, and many times they were the numbers from Kosova Press," he says.

NATO says Mr. Shea, its spokesman, didn't get information directly from Kosova Press. But officials acknowledge that NATO's member governments had little independent information about what was happening on the ground. "We were all hamstrung," a NATO official says. As the war dragged on, he says, NATO saw a fatigued press corps drift toward the contrarian story: civilians killed by NATO's bombs. NATO stepped up its

claims about Serb "killing fields."

Human-rights groups fed the information chain directly. As human-rights researcher assembled in neighboring Macedonia and Albania to interview refugees, State Department officials handed them proposed survey forms, trying to get everybody to ask standard questions about violence to aid war-crimes cases. Among the groups cooperating were Physicians for Human Rights, which had long been calling for a ground force to protect ethnic Albanians.

Kosovo was a "genocide to come," warned Holly Burkhalter, Washington director of Physicians for Human Rights, in a National Public Radio commentary in April. "I was wrong," she says now. "But if you wait until it's proved to you six ways to Sunday, you haven't prevented it, have you?"

Human-rights groups at least used some scientific rigor, asking refugees what they personally saw. The news media's standards were more mixed. Many journalists had experience in Bosnia, where the mass slaughter of an estimated 7,000 men from the "Bosnian genocide area" at Srebrenica in 1995 was a warning not to be too skeptical about reports of Serb atrocities. Bosnia yielded three Pulitzer Prizes for reporters who proved atrocities. Kosovo was finally opened to the foreign press in June, "fixers" cruising through the lobby of Pristina's Grand Hotel offered to take correspondents to burial sites.

#### Incident at Ljubenic

An example of the mass-grave obsession is Ljubenic, a poor western-Kosovo village of 200-odd homes below the Cursed Mountains, which KLA fighters had used as a supply route. On the morning of April 1, Serb forces surrounded the town, villagers say, and heavily armed militiamen walked up the village's main dirt road. They say the Serbs corralled village men at a crossroads, questioning them about weapons and the KLA. Villagers who spoke up were shot. One of the Serbs then said, "The KLA killed my brother," and the Serbs started mowing down the men with machine guns, survivors

Eleven wounded men later staggered away in two groups, says survivor Sadik Jahmu who adds that his group found a KLA hospital in the hills a day later. When a KLA commander asked how many were killed, "the others were in a panic and said '150 to 200.' I said, 'No, that can't be. One hundred at the most.' "

Over the next weeks, Mr. Jahmurataj and others told their stories to investigators from several human-rights groups. And after the war, returning villagers, who found 12 bodies scattered around Ljubenic, told Italian peacekeeping troops that 350 people were still missing from Ljubenic and the surrounding hamlets. One villager told of seeing women coming from the ground in a field where the grass was unusually short.

On July 9, after getting an "operations report" from the Italians, Dutch Army Maj. Jaap Joosten mentioned during a regular press briefing in Pristina that a suspected grave had been found, and there could be as many as 350 bodies. He says journalists started packing their bags for Ljubenic before he even finished. "Biggest grave site holds 350 victims," London's Independent newspaper proclaimed the next day. Concern Worldwide, a charity working in Ljubenic, claimed that three-fourths of families lost their main wage-earners.

In fact, investigators found no bodies in the field. It now appears that the number killed in Ljubenic was about 65. That is how many names are listed in KLA-printed memorial posters.

#### Plea for Remembrance

Mr. Jahmurataj, sitting on the lawn beside the Concern Worldwide tent, says villagers who weren't there distorted the story. When a U.N. van pulls up, Mr. Jahmurataj trot to greet Alistair Graham, a war-crimes-tribunal official who had interviewed him in an Albanian refugee camp. Mr. Graham is just dropping off candy for children, but Mr. Jahmurataj pleads with him to continue the investigation.

"If other people exaggerated, that's bad," Mr. Jahmurataj says. "But everything I told was exactly true." Mr. Graham says the tribunal will return in the spring.

Kosovo would be easier to investigate if it had the huge killing fields some investigators were led to expect. Instead, the pattern is of scattered killings. Many cases defy simple explanation: two blanket-covered bodies pulled out of a farmer's yard in a village where nobody was missing; a body that a child discovered by chance along a river; a semicircular torture victim.

Human-rights groups didn't give so much attention to the small killings. From Macedonia a researcher for Human Rights Watch, Benjamin Ward, wrote a report about the slaying of two youths during a Serb-ordered exodus from the southeast-Kosovo village of Mali Zveqane. Townspeople say Serb gunmen forced 20 or so young men to lie face-down in a field and fired a machine gun inches from their heads demanding information about the KLA fight and killed two teenagers who trotted up the road from a nearby village. But Mr. Ward's report never left his computer; he says "it wasn't compelling" when reports of bigger massacres arrived.

#### **Serbs' Own Inquiries**

Meanwhile, the Yugoslav government in Belgrade is pursuing its own investigations into war-crimes trials, which skeptics regard as either an effort to deflect blame from President Slobodan Milosevic or a warning to disaffected Serbian reservists to stay in line lest they be accused.

In one trial, Serbian police reservist Boban Petkovic is accused of murdering four ethnic Albanians in the western-Kosovo village of Rija on May 9, and policeman Djordje Simic is charged as an accomplice. The prosecution's documents charge that Mr. Petkovic, during a battle with the KLA, saw an ethnic Albanian running toward the forest and was grabbed by a Yugoslav soldier.

"Petkovic, believing the man to be a captured terrorist, approached the prisoner, took a sidearm from Mr. Simic, and shot the man in the head," the documents charge. They say Mr. Petkovic later heard voices from a house, and, "believing they were terrorists, Petkovic took his machine gun and killed all three people inside." The prosecution says the victims were "obviously civilians."

Mr. Petkovic's defense is that he was in battle, and that the chronic stress from being under attack by KLA terrorists affected his judgment. Mr. Simic says his gun was used without his permission.

#### **The Mine-Shaft Story**

Though brutal, these incidents don't have the impact of accounts of Serbs rounding up Albanian men and dumping their corpses down a mine shaft. The world may owe that image to Halit Berani, head of a branch of the Council for the Defence of Human Rights and Freedoms in the city of Mitrovica. Mr. Berani is a former actor with a Karl Marx beard who summarizes Serb war crimes by showing a photo of a baby with a smashed skull.

Mr. Berani spent the war moving from village to village with his manual typewriter, calling in reports to foreign radio services and diplomats with his daily allotment of 15 minutes on a KLA satellite phone. He says he heard from villagers near Trepca that trucks were rolling in full and rolling out empty, and that a strange smell was coming from the mine complex. He phoned in a report in early April suggesting that the mines had been used as a body-disposal site, and Deutsche Welle, a Germany-based radio service, carried the report in Albanian.


The story spread. In June, Kosova Press's Internet site quoted a U.S. embassy official in Athens as saying there are "witnesses and still photos" of trucks carrying bodies. Two journalists phoned the embassy, but a spokeswoman said she couldn't find the support source.

London's Observer ran a similar story, citing a KLA commander, a girl who got a call from an elderly resident, and a Kosovar who heard the story from refugees. A Pentagon spokesman, quizzed about Trepca at the time, said, "There have been several reports throughout the last 10 weeks of bodies being burned in former industrial sites in Kosovo. Some commentators stated the theory as fact."

When French troops took over the mines, they reported to the tribunal that they had found well-scrubbed vats and piles of clothing. Tribunal investigators weren't impressed: "Clothes are found everywhere in trash-strewn Kosovo, and why would the Serbs clean the vats but not burn clothes? After the fruitless search, "we don't see any need to do further investigation at this point," a tribunal official says.

Mr. Berani doesn't completely stand by his story. "I told everybody it was supposition, not confirmed information," he says. But he adds, "For the Serbs, everything is possible."

*Updated December 31, 1999*

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Serbia & Montenegro: **The Indictment of a People**  
 Posted on Tuesday, April 04 @ 06:00:00 EST by CDeliso

By Robert Leifels\*

The politicians and intellectuals have missed the boat regarding the death of former Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. I would like to give them the benefit of the doubt and label their Wall Street Opening Bell-like screaming as a rush to judgment. It is quite natural for them to worship at the shrine of the perceived beauty of their own words; a need to sell newspapers and so on. After all, a scorpion can't help himself for being what he is. But the "judgment" they blabber on about was already passed down years ago. I know because I witnessed it while it was happening.

Mr. Milosevic, according to Western law, was to be considered innocent until proven guilty beyond a reasonable doubt. Yet he was found dead before his case was finished. So one can say that according to the rule of law, when Milosevic died he was innocent.

All the journalists who heralded the trumpet of freedom and democracy in denying this condition have therefore forgotten this basic principle of Western law. And the Hague judges too have most certainly lost their way in their quest for self-glorification. Mr. Milosevic's corpse wasn't even through rigor mortis yet when the Bench declared he was "probably" going to be found guilty anyway. In America, such a statement made by a sitting judge would be grounds for a mistrial, were the defendant alive.

#### Respect for the System

Throughout twenty years of service as a New York City police officer, I and my colleagues were constantly under scrutiny. Sometimes oversight verging on the fanatical, we thought, was enforced to ensure that the power of law enforcement entrusted to us and those we served with was not abused. It is well known that power unchecked will lead to abuse, and the truism that "absolute power corrupts absolutely" can apply to anyone in a position of power, not just to high politicians. Most of the time, the feeling of being under a microscope was unpleasant and it was resented. But fundamentally, such oversight was a good thing; there were indeed times when justice did prevail and "the system worked."

On the other side of things, one individual I once arrested for robbery was swiftly bought before a judge, and soon after pleaded guilty and was sentenced. About a year later, it was discovered during a hearing that the defendant had given a false name - in fact, he had given the name of his brother! It is standard procedure to record the name of the arrested defendant on all documents as given by the defendant. Fingerprints are then sent through channels to state record offices and to the F.B.I. If there are any other names found for the defendant during this process then they will be added as A.K.A.'s, "Also Known As."

In this matter nothing of the sort was discovered. However, during the hearing it was proven that this guilty defendant who had a long record had managed to slip through the cracks in the system, and was doing time using his brother's name. His brother was attending college during this time, and had never had any brushes with the law. So when he graduated he would have had, unbeknownst to him, a felony record. Imagine the nightmare he would have lived through, trying to prove he hadn't been in prison!

#### "Business is Business"

Tempered by my years on the force, inspired by my deep love of "the American Way," I ended up working in Bosnia in 1997, as a Police Monitor with the International Police Task Force. There I performed my duties as a professional police officer and walked and rode my "beat." The first thing one learns as a young beat officer in New York is not to take sides. For many reasons it is just bad business. One can think what one likes, but as the wise old saying goes, "business is business."

5-4-06

I soon learned, however, that in the Balkans fairness and objectivity had no place. I was labeled by some unscrupulous sorts as a "Serb lover." OK, your honor. I found the Serbian people to be, by and large, good and honest people. Even though this observation did not affect my conduct, I guess I have to plead guilty. "Order in the Court!"

I soon found that the American rule of law and supposed adherence to a sense of fairness that I was accustomed to were not respected in the Balkans, because of the preordained policy "from above" that we were supposed to honor. It was this policy from the UN bosses, the Western governments, that most hampered our efforts to be fair. After three years in Bosnia and Croatia, I came to realize that those vaunted ideals will not even get the chance to be buried in some "mass grave," as they never were even living on the side of the International Community in the first place.

#### A Provocation

There were numerous occasions during my time in the Balkans upon which this was driven home. Here is one example.

One night while patrolling the Zone of Separation between the Bosnian Federation and the Republika Srpska, it was made quite evident that the UN believed the Serbs were to be punished at every instance available, while Bosniaks were not to be touched. The latter knew this, and they took advantage of the situation to launch provocations against the Serbs. If there was no reaction, they would at least get to enjoy a good and malicious laugh, but if there was a reaction, it would become an international incident that the Bosnian Muslims could hold up to the world as yet another example of Serb aggression.

Such a scenario could have materialized on that night, except for the notable restraint of the Serb police supervisor. In the first moment, two Bosniak police confronted RS police on the International Entity Border Line, spouting numerous insults. It was quite evident that the Muslim police were drunk. It was also quite evident that the RS police were not. According to anyone's conception of basic police procedure, officers are not to be inebriated while on the beat.

Furthermore, the Dayton Agreement stipulated that local police were only to patrol the ZOS accompanied by International Police Task Force (IPTF) officers. The Bosniak police were, however, by themselves, whereas the RS police were accompanied by officers, in this case myself and another IPTF monitor.

Being clearly in violation of the Dayton Agreement, the intoxicated Bosnian Federation police were ordered out of the ZOS. Yet they refused. In fact, they responded insolently by using obscene language and actually put one foot over the accepted line of separation in defiance. To the Bosnian Serb supervisor's credit he ordered his men to leave the area rather than take the bait.

However, by morning the reality that I had seen during the night had been twisted completely. The IPTF commander informed the Zvornik Station Commander that he was infuriated, having learned that RS police had provoked an incident during the night. Who could have made such a story up? And how could it have found such a credulous audience, willing to pass judgment before having verified the facts?

Fortunately, once the commander read my official report attesting to the clear violation of Dayton by Bosnian Federation police, he dropped the whole matter. Later, during my patrol, the RS supervisor mentioned above told me that he was glad I saw first-hand the incident and the tactics that he said were commonly used by the Bosnian Federation Muslim officers. Little by little, one provocation would lead to another, until finally the Serbs would be put into a situation where they had to defend themselves. Then the media and International Community entities would use the provoked incident as more "evidence" of the Serbian propensity for evil.

#### Haunting Memories

The murder of radio and television personnel in Belgrade during the 1999 NATO bombing remains in my mind, and it will never go away. I watched Serbian television and I saw the announcers and broadcasters visibly shaken while speaking. I learned that they were asking Wesley Clark and NATO not to kill them while they were trying to do their job and report the news. A few days later they were blown to bits for the crime of freedom of speech. They were just working people, like you or I, though to Wesley Clark they were part of the Serbian military machine and a legitimate target. It was not the first time that NATO had bombed a Serbian media outlet, as readers of Richard Holbrooke's self-satisfied memoir know.

My ancestors fought in several wars to defending our American values and way of life. I devoted twenty years of service to upholding the rule of law, while trying to make a better and safer New York for all of its citizens. In recent years, however, American power has been misused, at radical variance from our values, employed to run Serbian families out of their homes by the hundreds of thousands. Almost

everyday, Serbs and non-Albanian Kosovars are dying at the hands of thugs protected by NATO and KFOR. In winter, the elderly die from an enforced lack of heating in Kosovo enclaves. Now that Kosovo appears headed for independence, the situation is only going to get worse.

Sixty years ago, my father fought against the Nazis, only for his son to witness the extermination of the Serbs - once America's best Balkan ally in the fight against the Nazis. Now America is helping to ensure the ethnic cleansing of the Serbs, which means rewarding the still militant descendants of the very people who fought against America, on the side of fascism, committing untold atrocities in the process. The US and the EU are accomplishing something right now that even Hitler could not.

The way it appears, my country might just as well be formally converted to fundamentalist Islam. Collectively, the United States had already beheaded an entire people.

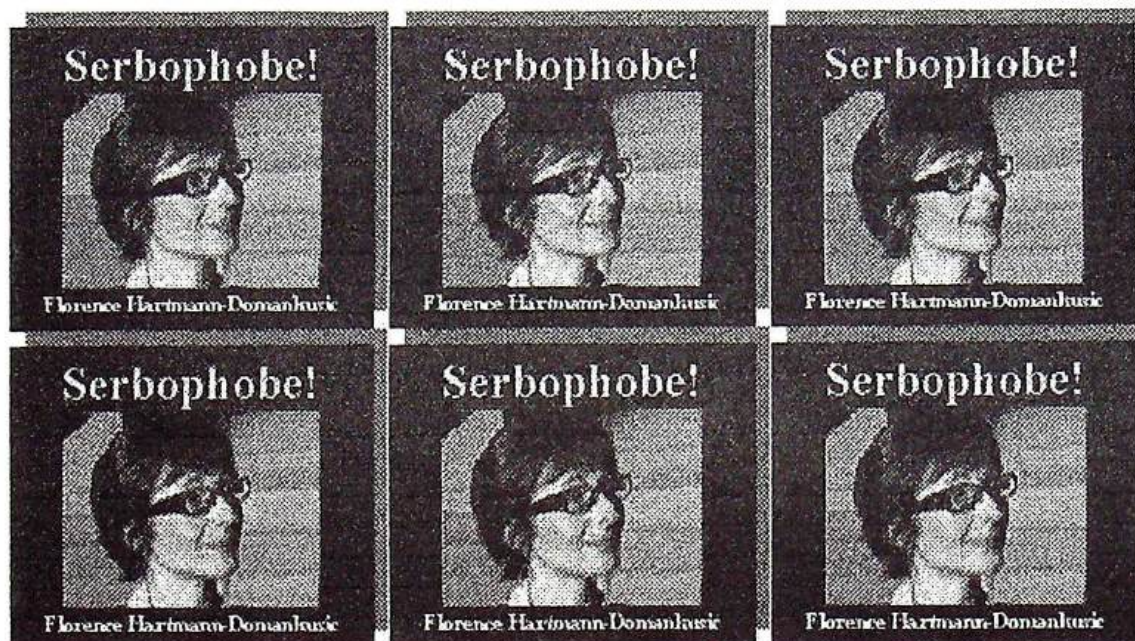
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\*56 year-old Robert Leifels is a former Marine who served as a Lieutenant in the New York City Police Department for twenty years, from 1973-1993. He worked as a Police Monitor in the International Police Task Force, both with the United Nations and the OSCE, from June 1997-April 2000 in Bosnia and Croatia. The mission included an assignment as Operations Officer in the Zvornik region in 1997, which included Srebrenica.

Mr. Leifels is currently residing in Ukraine, where he is researching Russian Martial Arts as practiced in that country.

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**Verzonden:** woensdag 5 april 2006 23:24  
**Onderwerp:** Florence Hartman-Domankusic book Milosevic and Hitler



Hartmann, a French citizen and a former Le Monde Belgrade correspondent, is a piece of work, according to our sources in Serbia. Many Serbs think she has been picked as the Hague prosecutor's spokeswoman because of her proven Serbophobic reports as a journalist. Married to a Croat from Srem (a district in Serbia west of Belgrade that borders Croatia), Hartmann "distinguished" herself as one of very rare foreign reporters to whom the Yugoslav government refused to renew a visa.

Here's an excerpt from a story about her from a Feb. 24, 2001 issue of "Ilustrovana Politika," a Belgrade magazine, which also quoted a fellow-French journalist's opinion of Hartmann:

"[...] Like an angry Smurf, at press conferences held every day, she [Hartmann] lifts her finger and points at the southeast of Europe:

"The Yugoslav government must not delay extradition of persons accused of war crimes. This preparation of a law on cooperation with the international tribunal seems like a bid to buy time. If cooperation doesn't begin within the foreseeable future, we will request the reinstatement of sanctions against Yugoslavia. Some of those sanctions were only temporarily suspended anyway until we see what the new government is going to do." [...]

#### **Warning from Paris**

Dr. Marisa Marie Matei of the Paris "Teleobjektif" recently wrote an open letter of warning to the

"How is it possible that no one has bothered to investigate Florence Hartmann-Domankusic's methods of work during the time that she was "Le Monde's" correspondent in Belgrade? To what extent she is objective and neutral, and consequently, the Hague tribunal as well, can best be seen by her articles on Gaspic and Vukovar (a city in Croatia whose residents were 67 percent Serb before it was taken over by Croat Tomislav Mercep) before the bombing, as well as on Marin Selo and Pakracka Poljana, Paulin Dvor... while at the same time she searched Vojvodina with a magnifying glass looking to find a Croatian victim somewhere; and when she would find one, she would show all her foreign reporter colleagues whom she personally met and "joined" regularly at Belgrade Airport after learning of their arrival from her husband, one of the airport's directors.

Isn't it strange that the file on the murder of Serbs in Gaspic in 1991 disappeared from the tribunal archives at the same time that Mrs. Hartmann-Domankusic became Carla del Ponte's press assistant?"

Mrs. Matei has a point; in the West, one's previous work is a very important determinant to one's further career. [...] But let's take a look whether it is indeed Florence Hartmann-Domankusic who is threatening us with sanctions...

This 37 year-old lady, who carries a French passport, received her first identity card for foreigners in Belgrade on June 2, 1989 as the wife of Engineer Emil Domankusic, employed at Belgrade Airport in Surcin. Emil is the son of General Stjepan Domankusic, a native of Slobodnica near Slavonski Brod /Croatia/, who served as deputy chief of the Security Department of the [COMMUNIST YUGOSLAVIA'S! - TiM Ed.] State Defense Council, who as a counter-intelligence officer was known in certain circles by the codename of Omega.

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**So it looks like it's "all in the family," doesn't it? Spooks Galore, Inc. at work in the Balkans against the Serbs - the designated culprits.**

**So don't expect any time soon the Washington flunkies, like Hartmann or her Madam Kangaroo boss whose salaries the U.S. is paying, to bite the hand that feeds them and file war crimes charges against Clinton et. al. But the latest Washington "blowback" does have a twist of irony. The Serb victims' greatest defendant turns out to be their former Croat henchman.**

**Who says that only the Milosevic trial would put the New World Order on trial?**

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# FOOLS' CRUSADE Yugoslavia, NATO and Western Delusions

by Diana Johnstone

Book Excerpt

May 26, 2003



Diana Johnstone, *FOOLS' CRUSADE Yugoslavia, NATO and Western Delusions*, Monthly Review Press, New York, N.Y., 2002; ISBN 1-58367-084-X. \$19.95 paper; 288 pp. This book was simultaneously published in the United Kingdom by Pluto Press, London, Sept. 2002; ISBN 0745319505. £14.99 paper; 328 pp.

[Ed. note: This excerpt – the full introduction of the book, p. 1-14, MRP edition – is published by permission of the author and publishers. We have kept the European punctuation; in addition, we have made use of *Java Script* for the notes so that they appear in a bullet when readers slide their mouse pointer over the note#. Readers who do not have Java enabled in their browser can click on the note# and they will be transferred to the notes that are also appended to the bottom of this excerpt.]

## Introduction

### TURNING POINTS

At the end of November 1999, an important new movement against "globalization"

emerged in massive protests against the World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle. Strangely enough, only months earlier, when NATO launched its first aggressive war by bombing Yugoslavia, there had been remarkably little protest. Yet NATO's violent advance into southeast Europe was precisely related to the globalization process opposed in Seattle. Few seemed to grasp the connection. Was it really plausible that overwhelming military power was being wielded more benevolently than overwhelming economic power? Or that the two were not in some way promoting the same interests and the same "world order"?

Apparently, many people on the left, who would normally defend peace and justice, were fooled or confused by the claim that the "Kosovo war" was waged for purely humanitarian reasons. The altruistic pretensions of NATO's Kosovo war served to gain public acceptance of war as the appropriate instrument of policy. This opened the way for the United States, in the wake of 11 September 2001, to attack Afghanistan as the opening phase of a new, long-term "war against terrorism".

The bombing of Yugoslavia marked a turning point in the expansion of U.S. military hegemony. For the first time, a European country was subjected to the type of U.S. intervention usually reserved for Central America. It also marked the end of Germany's postwar inhibition about foreign military intervention, and saw Germans returning to the scene of Nazi crimes with a clear conscience. For the first time, NATO abandoned its defensive posture and attacked a country that posed no threat to its member states, outside the NATO treaty area, and without seeking UN Security Council authorization. International law was circumvented in the name of an alleged higher moral imperative. A precedent was set. When the United States subsequently arrogated the right to bomb and invade Afghanistan on moral grounds, its NATO allies could only meekly offer to tag along. In a world with no more legal barriers to might proclaiming itself right, there was nothing to stop a U.S. president from using military force to crush every conceivable adversary.

For all its dubious origins, the 1991 Gulf war against Iraq was waged against a militarized single-party dictatorship, condemned by the United Nations for invading another country. And yet, remarkably, the war against Yugoslavia aroused less public protest than the war against Iraq. (1) A significant difference was that the war against Yugoslavia was waged by the political center-left. The NATO governments were mostly led by liberals and "Third Way" social democrats. The attack on Serbia was endorsed by politicians and intellectuals identified with the left, who exhorted the public to believe that the United States and its allies no longer made war to advance selfish interests, but might be coaxed into using their overwhelming military might to protect innocent victims from evil dictators. This caused considerable confusion in the very segments of public opinion that would normally be expected to oppose war. In most Western countries, only a few drastically weakened fragments of left-wing movements and isolated individuals still remembered that humanitarian intervention, far from being the harbinger of a brave new century, was the standard pretext for all the Western imperialist conquests of the past. The left was too confused, feeble, or

isolated to provide a vigorous challenge to the official claim that the NATO war against Yugoslavia marked a new era in global morality. On the contrary, much of the most pertinent challenge came from right-wing analysts, whose minds were kept relatively clear, either by awareness of traditional *realpolitik* or by libertarian suspicion of official propaganda. Not since the Socialist Parties of Europe rallied to their governments' war programs in 1914 has the left opposition to war collapsed so ignominiously and with such good conscience.

## WAR REHABILITATED

The message that war was once again an acceptable instrument of politics was all the more resounding in that it was delivered by center-left governments composed of those very political parties -- Social Democrats and Greens -- which in the 1980s had attained a large measure of ideological hegemony within their generation in both Eastern and Western Europe by holding out the promise of a peaceful world. On the eve of the Soviet implosion, there was talk of a "peace dividend" in the form of resources that could henceforth be diverted from military production to meeting social needs. With the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the big Western peace movements of the 1980s seemed to consider that their job was done. Because the period of superpower stand-off had been called the *Cold War*, the expectation was widespread that ending it would bring a new era of peace and disarmament.

This turned out to be a brief mirage. A decade after the fall of the Berlin Wall, U.S. military spending again resumed its upward spiral, "Star Wars" was back on the agenda, Washington was pressuring its allies to spend more on armaments, NATO was expanding eastwards, and the United States was using military diplomacy to gain influence across the southernmost tier of the former Soviet Union.

Recently rewarded with a peerage and the post of NATO Secretary General for his incomparable performance as British defense secretary during the Kosovo conflict, former Labour Party disarmament advocate George Robertson declared on 2 December 1999: "The time for a peace dividend is over because there is no permanent peace in Europe or elsewhere." This acceptance of war was couched in moral terms: war was not only inevitable, it was good. NATO had taken it upon itself to overrule the postwar international legal order set up around the United Nations and decree unilaterally that war was no longer the scourge of mankind, the worst of all "humanitarian catastrophes", but rather, when employed by enlightened Western powers, the proper means to protect "human rights" and punish the wicked. The last war of the twentieth century was a promise of more war in the century to come. That promise was fulfilled with a vengeance with the attack on Afghanistan and President Bush's vow to pursue war against "evil", with no end in sight.

"During the Cold War, we would not have gotten ourselves involved in a dispute like the one in Kosovo", one commentator observed. (2) "In the days when the Soviet

Union contained us, power realities would have kept the U.S. from interfering. It is because we are now free to indulge in backing up our ideals and sympathies with cruise missiles that we are there." In choosing to get involved, without any obligation to do so, and in disregard of the UN Charter and international law, "the United States is not serving any particular interest of its own. It is acting out of altruism. This is a new kind of approach to the use of power in world politics. It was called for by a line of U.S. presidents, from Wilson to Bush to Clinton, who consider this to be a new era in world politics, in which the rules have changed."

In Kosovo, wrote a mainstream American columnist, the United States and its allies "intervened without UN authorization, in violation of Serbian sovereignty and probably of international law". But this was nothing to be "hung up" about, since "Sometimes the only way to stop bad men from doing bad things is with force. Lawyers won't get the job done." (3) The scenario is straight out of a classic Western movie: "bad men" must be stopped from doing "bad things", presumably by "good men" -- and women, of course. A "new era in world politics"? Or the same old story?

#### THE HUMANITARIAN ILLUSION

For years, a chorus of non-governmental organizations and commentators reproached the United Nations, Europe, and the U.S. government for failing to take action, which came to be understood as *military* action. As a result, NATO intervention appeared to be a response to public demand. NATO's 1999 war was presented to the public as a happy ending to the serial drama of Yugoslavia as recounted by the media throughout the previous decade. Many significant factors were systematically ignored. Other elements, sometimes distorted and sometimes simply untrue, were constantly repeated. The result was a collective fiction told and retold, written and rewritten, by very many people, including reporters under pressure to meet deadlines, editors further simplifying the story for readers assumed to be both ignorant and impatient, paid propagandists and public relations officers, pontificating commentators, prejudiced editorialists, ambitious politicians, outright liars -- as well as by talented opportunists and conformists sensitive to the direction the wind was blowing and the buttered side of the bread. Endlessly repeated, this collective fiction has become a formidable myth perpetuated by the powerful institutions and individuals whose own credibility is at stake in its maintenance. The fictional saga of Yugoslavia in the 1990s goes something like this:

**Yugoslavia was a "prison of peoples" where the Serbs oppressed all the others. It was destroyed by the rise of an evil leader, Slobodan Milosevic, who set out to create a "Greater Serbia" by eliminating other peoples in a process called "ethnic cleansing". Those other peoples sought to escape, by creating their own independent states. The Yugoslav army, actually Serbian, invaded them. In Bosnia, the invading Serbs tried to drive out the Muslims, who wanted to perpetuate an exemplary multi-ethnic society. The Serb ethnic cleansing killed 200,000 unarmed Muslims while the international community looked on and**

even prevented the Muslims from arming in self-defense. At Srebrenica, the United Nations allowed the Serbs to commit genocide. Only U.S. bombing forced Milosevic to come to the negotiating table at Dayton. The resulting agreement brought peace and democracy to multi-ethnic Bosnia. However, the international community had failed to save the Albanian majority in Kosovo from apartheid. In 1998 Madeleine Albright warned that NATO must intervene to keep Milosevic from "doing in Kosovo what he could no longer get away with in Bosnia" (4) In January 1999 Serbian security forces massacred defenseless civilians in the Kosovo village of Racak, awakening the NATO governments to the need to act to stop genocide. After the turning point of Racak, the Serbs were summoned to peace negotiations in Rambouillet, in France. Milosevic stubbornly refused to negotiate. NATO had no choice but to start bombing Yugoslavia. Masses of Albanians were deliberately driven out according to a preconceived plan called "Operation Horseshoe". Finally, Milosevic gave in, and NATO liberated the Kosovars from their oppressors. Conclusion: from now on, humanitarian intervention constitutes a principal mission for NATO, as the military arm of an international community henceforth committed to protection of human rights.

Almost everything about this tale is false. Unfortunately, disproving falsehoods, especially established falsehoods, is a hard task. What has been repeated over and over becomes "obviously true". Very many facts challenging the dominant myth have been reported by news agencies. But such reports are not the ones that major mainstream media highlight. They mostly end up in the wastebaskets of editorial rooms or deleted from computer screens. Those who have believed and helped spread such belief by public advocacy cannot easily reverse themselves. The collective fiction creates its own collective defense. Once the Yugoslav imbroglio was dramatized as a new version of the Nazi Holocaust, any effort to return to reality was stigmatized as the equivalent of "Holocaust denial", and critics were dismissed as "revisionists" and "negationists", comparable to apologists for Nazi crimes.

## GLOBALIZATION AS U.S. HEGEMONY

The economic and institutional factors that animated the Cold War in the United States remained as vigorous as ever after the collapse of the Soviet Union. More so, in fact. The military-industrial complex was intact and triumphant. It no longer had to counter domestic fears that an arms race could lead to war with the other nuclear superpower. While one superpower, exhausted, dropped out of the arms race, the other looked ahead to unlimited opportunities. In the words of Madeleine Albright, "What's the point of having this superb military ... if we can't use it?" (5) The use of military power had to be justified, however. There was to be no "conversion" of military industry to production of civilian goods. The only conversion was ideological: the identification of new enemies and threats.

With the Soviet communist challenge to the capitalist system lying in ruins, U.S. leaders had no reason to accept the sort of "historic compromise" with socialism

apparently imagined by the discarded transition leader Mikhail Gorbachev and various European social democrats. Soviet-style political command of the economy had been discredited by incompetence, corruption, and the absence of democratic control or even availability of accurate information. The former Soviet Bloc countries became "transition" countries, as they scrambled to learn how to play the liberal capitalist game. A minority of well-placed individuals made fortunes. Millions of people in the former Soviet Bloc lost their jobs as well as security as basic social services disintegrated. (6)

The elimination of the Soviet system was seen as the triumph of a single dominant model of social, political, and economic organization, imposed by the United States. The uncontested hegemony of the U.S. model is the meaning of "globalization" as it is being carried out by Western transnational corporations, supported by "this superb military".

Globalization has meant worldwide empowerment of the transnational private sphere, dominated by ever more powerful corporations, financial institutions, and wealthy individuals. (7) The function of government is reduced to creating conditions favorable to private investment. This is accomplished by deregulation, privatization of public service, and cutbacks in public spending for social welfare. Every activity must offer prospects for competitive return on investment capital or be abandoned. Throughout the world, government policies are judged, approved, or condemned decisively not by their populations but by "the markets", meaning the financial markets, movements of investment capital outside all political control. Foreign investors rather than domestic voters decide policy.

As the ability of nation-states to protect the interests of their citizens declines, the importance of citizenship diminishes in turn. The democratic process is unable to provide citizens with the protection they need to earn a decent living, stay healthy, and educate their children. In compensation, group identities of all kinds offer the prospect of mutual assistance, protection, or at least solace to populations struggling to cope with changes beyond their control. People turn to identity groups -- national, religious, "ethnic", etc. -- for protection. It is surely not by chance that in the post-communist era one of the most successful forms of socioeconomic organization has been the cross-border Mafia, based on national or ethnic loyalty.

Meanwhile, regulatory functions are transferred to a new international bureaucracy, totally outside any democratic process. Globalization is advanced institutionally by such bodies as the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization, which set the rules and arbitrate between the dominant economic powers. These institutions severely limit the power of governments to protect public interests, whether citizens' welfare or the environment, from the demands of private business. The stalled "Multilateral Agreement on Investment" (MAI) would go even further in shifting vital political decision-making power to the private sector, acting in obscure, non-elected bureaucratic tribunals.

## CONVERSION OF THE THREAT

In a mono-polar world, a "threat" is anything that might weaken the hegemony of the single superpower. Under President George W. Bush, this has been made explicit. However, the main thrust of U.S. foreign policy has been essentially the same for over half a century. The gist is that the liberal capitalist model favored by the United States is the only permissible model for future development. Large parts of the world may lag far behind, but there must be no viable attractive alternative. Chaos is preferable to the wrong kind of order. Elimination of any viable alternative model of economic development is the essence of "globalization", just as it was the prime motive for the protracted war against communism. Communism was only one form of the basic, intolerable alternative: a government of a sovereign state determined to control its own resources and markets. The existence of the communist "threat" was an ideological asset to the United States, which could use certain aspects of the Soviet system, notably its harsh repression of political dissent, as the justification for its own intervention, even in places such as Central America where U.S. intervention was already the rule before communism existed. Control of oil resources, not "communism", was the reason why the CIA engineered the military overthrow of the bourgeois reformist government of Mohammed Mossadegh in Iran in 1953. Control of the fruit plantations was the reason why the CIA engineered the overthrow of the reformist government of Guatemala in 1954. The communist threat was an all-purpose ideological excuse.

In Vietnam, the United States failed in its most ambitious project: to impose a Western-style, Catholic-led satellite regime on the territory of an Asian nation whose population was already fully mobilized to liberate itself from a century of colonial oppression. The project failed ignominiously. Nevertheless, the destruction wrought by bombs, napalm, and chemical defoliants, followed by economic sanctions and a cynical alliance with China, prevented Vietnam from emerging as an attractive alternative model of development. After the semi-failure in Vietnam, a shift took place, toward a mixture of edifying rhetoric and destructive action. The great lesson of Vietnam drawn by American strategists was that it was easier to arm a guerrilla movement than to combat one, and easier to destroy an unfriendly state than to build a friendly one. Nation-building was abandoned in favor of destruction pure and simple. The following period was marked by the use of every possible means to sabotage undesirable regimes: criminal mercenaries, drug traffickers, obscurantist religious fanatics. Jonas Savimbi in Angola, the Contras in Nicaragua, death squads throughout Latin America, even Pol Pot after his defeat by the Vietnamese benefited from more or less covert aid from the CIA, while American diplomats preached the gospel of human rights to the world. The *chef d'œuvre* of that policy of destruction was undoubtedly the use of Islamic mujahidins in Afghanistan to entrap the Soviet Union -- the declared goal of Jimmy Carter's openly cynical advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski. (8)

Gorbachev was already in power and seeking an historic compromise with the West and a way out of Afghanistan when the United States dramatically reinforced the mujahidin in 1986 by supplying them with Stinger missiles able to shoot down Soviet planes. The only U.S. aim was to humiliate the Soviets as much as possible, afterwards abandoning Afghanistan to chaos and misery, and at the mercy of obscurantist tribal warlords.

Between Democratic and Republican administrations there is no fundamental difference, even though the Democrats often prefer to stress positive and ambitious goals such as "nation-building" and "human rights". Republicans tend to stress national interests and threats from enemies: communists, the Evil Empire and, starting with Reagan, the "war against terrorism". Presidents come and go but the continuity of U.S. policy is ensured by a small elite of policy-makers who remain outside party politics -- and often outside public view. An influential member of this foreign policy establishment is Morton Abramowitz, whose career has involved him with both the Afghan mujahidin and Kosovo Albanian rebels. In 1986, as assistant secretary of state for intelligence and research in the Reagan administration, Abramowitz helped arrange delivery of the Stinger missiles. The collapse of the Soviet Union obliged U.S. policy-makers to redefine the "threat" justifying foreign intervention. The "war on terrorism", launched by President Reagan in the early 1980s, was suffering by the end of the decade from a dearth of active terrorists. As president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in the early 1990s, Abramowitz headed a project to develop a new U.S. foreign policy for the post-Cold War era. (9) Rather than simply identifying "threats", especially at a time when few threats could be seen, a successful new policy needed to combine promotion of U.S. interests with proclamation of American "ideals".

"American ideals and self-interest merge when the United States supports the spread of democracy around the globe -- or what we prefer to call 'limited' constitutional democracy, meaning rule by a government that has been legitimized by free elections", was the conclusion of the Carnegie experts, summed up in the Endowment's 1992 publication *Self-Determination in the New World Order*. "The vision of a 'new world order' since 1990 has been a world with one superpower -- the United States -- in which the rule of law supplants the rule of the jungle, disputes are settled peacefully, aggression is firmly met by collective resistance, and all people are justly treated." This future "rule of law" is not to be confused with existing international law. Rather, it will be developed under U.S. influence. "International law -- as it always has done -- will respond and adjust to the behavior of nations and the actions of multilateral institutions." (10) A major feature of this "new world order" will be the weakening, even the destruction, of national sovereignty, the basis of existing international law. The sovereignty of the single superpower cannot be seriously challenged, but for other nations, the concept may be outdated.

The sovereign nation is being broken down subtly by the pressures of economic

globalization. It may also be undermined from within, by domestic insurgencies. In the post-Cold War world, the Carnegie Endowment study noted, "groups within states are staking claims to independence, greater autonomy, or the overthrow of an existing government, all in the name of self-determination". In regard to these conflicts, "American interests and ideals compel a more active role." This may go so far as military intervention when self-determination claims or internal repression of such claims lead to "humanitarian calamities". (11) In the future, the authors announced in 1992, "humanitarian interventions will become increasingly unavoidable". The United States will have the final word as to when and how to intervene. "The United States should seek to build a consensus within regional and international organizations for its position, but should not sacrifice its own judgment and principles if such a consensus fails to materialize."

This text is significant because it expressed the vision of precisely the people who later led the United States and NATO into the Kosovo war. The selected experts included Richard Holbrooke and Madeleine Albright, among others, who were to become senior officials in the Clinton administration. One of the two co-authors of *Self-Determination in the New World Order*, David Scheffer, became Albright's special ambassador for war crimes issues. The other, Morton Halperin, served as the State Department policy planning director, offering advice on war with Serbia. Another participant in the Carnegie project, Leon Fuerth, former Vice President Al Gore's foreign policy expert, was put in charge of administering sanctions against Serbia.

Abramowitz continued to act from behind the scenes as an eminence grise for Albright. He helped found the high-level International Crisis Group, a chief policy designer for Bosnia and Kosovo. He was omnipresent behind the scenes of the Kosovo drama, both in making policy and in shaping elite business, government, and media opinion. He acted as an advisor to the Kosovo Albanian delegation at the Rambouillet talks, whose programmed breakdown provided the pretext for NATO bombing.

The same group of advisors that theorized military intervention for "humanitarian" reasons went on to make it happen. Events in Kosovo were influenced and interpreted to fit the pattern of a "humanitarian calamity" requiring U.S. military intervention. Perhaps this was sincere, in line with the psychological tendency to see, in an obscure field of vision, whatever one expects to see. One way or another, the prophets fulfilled their own prophecy.

The relationship between Afghanistan in 1979 and Kosovo in 1999 is uncanny. In both cases, out in front there was the discourse on human rights, and in the background, drug traffickers, retrograde clan warlords, and even Osama bin Laden. It is noteworthy that until the 11 September attacks, the United States had consistently chosen to ally with the most obscurantist fundamentalist Islamic fanatics, whose center is Saudi Arabia, against nationalist secular governments. Islamic

fundamentalism is compatible with U.S. globalization in that it cares nothing for national boundaries and does not threaten to establish national governments that can serve as a progressive model of alternative development. The plight of Afghan women was of no concern to the Western champions of "human rights" so long as the enemy was the Soviet Union, whose support of the education of girls and women incurred the murderous wrath of the U.S.-backed "freedom fighters".

Osama bin Laden belongs to the same category of enemies as the former Panama strongman Manuel Noriega: discarded assets. After being used to serve U.S. aims, they turned out to have aims of their own. But a superpower can use almost everything. The war against discarded assets provides an opportunity to strike moral poses against the crimes formerly tolerated or encouraged by the United States in its fight against the other category of enemies: potential alternatives.

In a way, Yugoslavia became an enemy *both* as a discarded asset *and* as a potential alternative. When the Soviet Bloc collapsed, non-aligned Yugoslavia lost its value to the West as a strategic asset. As a nominally socialist country with considerable Third World relationships thanks to its leading role in the Non-Aligned Movement, Yugoslavia could be seen as a potential alternative model. If the country held together, it might stand in the way of Western plans for the region. Perhaps the potential Yugoslav "threat" was an illusion. But its disintegration settled the matter, and destroying the country provided a useful exercise for future operations.

## HUMANITARIAN MISSIONARIES

The United States had intervened aggressively abroad before there was a "communist threat" and would continue to do so afterwards. Both imperialism and anti-imperialism existed over a century ago, before there were any communist parties. But in the 1990s, much of what remained of the left had forgotten the critique of imperialism, abandoned all critical scrutiny of geostrategic *realpolitik*, and focused on moral and ideological issues related to "identity politics". (12) With no clear economic policy of their own, left-wing parties were reduced to providing the "human face" for neoliberalism. This took the form of receptiveness to cultural diversity and opposition to racism. In Western Europe, a Eurocentric campaign celebrating "human rights" was used to discredit "Third Worldism". The adversary was no longer social injustice caused by unchecked economic power, but evil caused by bad people who adopted wrong ideas. The catch was that this approach, applied to foreign countries, can all too easily be used to justify intervention, leading back to imperialism at its most aggressive.

The exclusive focus on moral and humanitarian issues, with an emphasis on victims, was fostered by a certain privatization of progressive activism during the last quarter of the twentieth century. As political parties and mass movements declined, single-issue movements grew. These in turn engendered non-governmental organizations

(NGOs) taking the form of small (or in some cases large) businesses using advertising to "sell" their good works to donors, whether private or public. The requirements of fund-raising favor consensual causes with immediate emotional appeal. Moreover, while NGOs may benefit from the aura of relative innocence related to being "non-governmental", all of them are by no means strictly "non-governmental". Many depend on contracts from governments. Some ostensible "NGOs" are set up by governments to intervene in the political affairs of other countries.

An important example is the National Endowment for Democracy. Created in 1983 by the Reagan administration, the NED receives an annual tax-exempt appropriation from the Congress, and funds citizens of foreign nations working to make their countries more "democratic" according to American "free market" standards. In Yugoslavia, the NED generously funded Albanian separatists in Kosovo and the anti-Milosevic opposition in Serbia. Human Rights Watch, closely linked to U.S. policy-making, repeatedly launched inflammatory and unsubstantiated accusations against the Yugoslav government. Internationally active humanitarian NGOs were in the forefront of the demand for "humanitarian intervention". The fact that the calls for military intervention seem to come initially not from any government but from private voices of conscience in the media, in humanitarian NGOs, and in policy advisory groups helps preserve the illusion that eventual military action must be a disinterested response to moral imperatives. Suspicion of governments contributes to the credibility of these private entities, which, however, may be less open than government agencies to public scrutiny or democratic decision-making. Operating across borders, some charitable groups tend to perceive national sovereignty as little more than an obstacle to their own operations. Based in the rich NATO countries, operating in poorer countries, the direction of their intervention is the same as that of NATO, acting as policeman of the new world order. Such NGOs risk playing a role similar to that played in the past by Christian missionaries, as both a pretext and justification for military expeditions and imperialist conquests. (13) When, as in Bosnia-Herzegovina or Kosovo, military intervention leads to an international protectorate, Western NGOs are granted a prominent role in local administration and receive a large share of public and private donations.

Such are some of the factors that contributed to a readiness on the part of the public in general and the left in particular to accept, even to demand, NATO military intervention in Yugoslavia. The notion that the end of the Cold War had saved the world from the danger of war, that democracy was victorious, and that only a little more effort was needed to rid the world of "evil", distorted the ability to understand what was really happening in Yugoslavia and what was really at stake.

## ABOUT THIS BOOK

The purpose of this book is to provide information and analysis to dispute the belief that NATO intervention in Yugoslavia was beneficial. This requires calling attention

to aspects of the Yugoslav crisis and conflicts that are either distorted or neglected in mainstream commentary. The objective is not to recount the whole story (impossible in a book of this length), but to put the story in perspective. The inevitable selectivity may be reproached as evidence of a "pro-Serb" bias. Inasmuch as the dominant mainstream bias has been blatantly anti-Serb, this is unavoidable in an effort to recover a fair balance. However, for what it is worth, I can state at the outset that I am not "for" or "against" any people as such. All peoples have their own variants, their own ways of expressing human qualities and weaknesses. I am "pro-Serb" only if that means that I consider the Serbs to be human beings like everybody else, neither better nor worse. I have no personal connection with any party to the Yugoslav conflicts. The only thing that may have inspired a special sympathy for Serbs is the fact that they have been subjected in recent years to an altogether extraordinary campaign of racist calumny by commentators and politicians in NATO countries. The slander of an entire people is an injustice for which there is no court of appeal other than public opinion.

My main thesis is that the intervention of the NATO powers in Yugoslavia, far from being a last-minute rescue, was from the start a major driving factor in the tragic course of events. At best, the Great Powers intruded with all the helpfulness of bulls in a china shop. At worst, they deliberately stirred up fear and hatred in order to serve their own interests. Because of the constant interplay of past and present events in the Balkans, I have chosen an order that is not strictly chronological. Thus in the first two chapters, I plunge into the most burning issues: first, the responsibility for the wars of disintegration, and second, the question of criminal justice. In the third chapter, I describe the differences between various forms of nationalism within Yugoslavia. The fourth chapter is devoted primarily to the role of Germany. The fifth chapter analyzes the interplay between the Albanian nationalist movement in Kosovo and the Western powers, leading to NATO military intervention. In the final chapter, I draw attention to factors putting the Yugoslav events into the context of ongoing world conflicts.

Diana Johnstone, *FOOLS' CRUSADE Yugoslavia, NATO and Western Delusions*, Monthly Review Press, New York, N.Y., 2002; ISBN 1-58367-084-X, and Pluto Press, London, U.K., Sept. 2002; ISBN 0745319505.

The book can be ordered on-line directly from Monthly Review Press at, <http://www.monthlyreview.org/storefmt.htm>.

It can also be ordered on-line directly from Pluto Press at, [https://secure.metronet.co.uk/pluto/cgi-bin/web\\_store/web\\_store.cgi?sc\\_query\\_subject=International%20Studies](https://secure.metronet.co.uk/pluto/cgi-bin/web_store/web_store.cgi?sc_query_subject=International%20Studies).

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[Diana Johnstone And The Demise Of 'Yugoslavism' - Book Review by Gilles d'Aymery](#)

## The Balkans and Yugoslavia on Swans

## Notes

1. The military action against Iraq aroused widespread opposition, even if the protests were muted by mainstream media. There was the beginning of a strong anti-war movement in the United States itself nipped in the bud only by the extremely rapid announcement that the war was over. Thereafter, however, the United States and its British ally managed to go on bombing Iraq for years without arousing serious domestic opposition. ([back](#))
2. David Fromkin, *Kosovo Crossing: American Ideals Meet Reality on the Balkan Battle fields*, The Free Press, New York, 1999, pp.164-5. ([back](#))
3. Fred Hiatt, "A Standing War Crimes Tribunal Could Do Harm", *Washington Post/International Herald Tribune*, 20 June 2000. ([back](#))
4. On 7 March 1998, Madeleine Albright told Italian prime minister Lamberto Dini: "We are not going to stand by and watch the Serbian authorities do in Kosovo what they can no longer get away with doing in Bosnia" (Barton Gellman, "The Path to Crisis: How the United States and Allies Went to War", *Washington Post*, 18 April 1999; p. A1). ([back](#))
5. In 1993, when General Colin Powell questioned the usefulness of air strikes against Bosnian Serbs, Albright, then U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, retorted angrily: "What's the point of having this superb military that you're always talking about if we can't use it?" Colin Powell, *My American Journey*, Random House, New York, 1995, p. 576. ([back](#))
6. A report presented to President Vladimir Putin in October 2000 by Russian health minister Yury Shevchenko showed that Russia's population shrank by more than half a million people in the first eight months of the year, the steepest drop ever during peacetime. According to the study, Russians were dying younger and having fewer children due to rising rates of poverty, illness, stress, alcoholism, civil conflict, and industrial accidents. Drug abuse and sexually-transmitted diseases also contributed to the drastic decline of male life expectancy from 64 years in the 1980s to less than 59 years. The birth rate of 1.17 children per Russian woman was far below the 2.5 rate required to maintain the population. Shevchenko told a press conference: "The Russian nation is literally dying out." Fred Weir, "Russia May Soon be Empty of People", *Hindustan Times*, 26 October 2000. ([back](#))
7. A study entitled "Top 200: The Rise of Corporate Global Power", released in January 2001 by the Washington-based Institute for Policy Studies, confirmed that the balance of global economic power has shifted from governments to corporate boardrooms. The study, based on a

comparison of corporate sales and gross domestic product, showed that 51 of the largest 100 economies in the world are corporations, not countries. As an example, General Motors Corporation has more economic power than Denmark, IBM is bigger than Singapore, and Sony is bigger than Pakistan. ([back](#))

8. Interviewed by the French weekly *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 12 January 1998, Zbigniew Brzezinski revealed that the "official version" of history, according to which the CIA began to aid the mujahidin in 1980 after the Soviet Army invaded Afghanistan, was false. In reality, months earlier, on 3 July 1979, President Carter signed the first directive on clandestine aid to the Islamic rebels opposed to the pro-Soviet government in Kabul. At the time, Brzezinski said he had explained to Carter that this would trigger Soviet military intervention. That secret operation was "an excellent idea" because it sucked the Russians into the "Afghan trap", Brzezinski concluded. The former presidential National Security advisor made these revelations in Paris apparently as part of the promotion of the French edition of his book, *The Great Chessboard: American Primacy and its Geostrategic Imperatives*, Basic Books, New York, 1997. ([back](#))

9. John B. Roberts II, "Roots of Allied Farce", *The American Spectator*, June 1999. Roberts, a writer and television producer, was asked in February 1992 to design a publicity campaign to gain public support for the Carnegie Endowment's commission. In this connection he was invited to attend closed-door meetings of the commission, which organized its work to influence the next Democratic president, whoever he might be. ([back](#))

10. Morton H. Halperin and David J. Scheffer, with Patricia L. Small, *Self-Determination in the New World Order*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1992, Washington, D.C., p. 3. ([back](#))

11. *Ibid.*, p. 108. ([back](#))

12. See the retrospective critique of the inward-looking campus left of the early 1990s by Naomi Klein: "In this new globalized context, the victories of identity politics have amounted to a rearranging of the furniture while the house burned down." *No Logo*, Flamingo, London, 2000, pp. 121-4. ([back](#))

13. It is fair to note that in the last half of the twentieth century, a number of Catholic missionaries risked their lives to take the side of the poor victims of U.S. imperialism in Latin America. There is a permanent tension between humanitarian organizations and the powers that use them as a pretext for intervention. ([back](#))

**Diana Johnstone** is a widely-published essayist and columnist who has written extensively on European and international politics. She is the author of *The Politics of Euromissiles: Europe's Role in America's World* (Verso, 1985). Her writings have been published in many publications such as *New Left Review*, *In These Times*, *The Nation*, *Counterpunch*, and *Covert Action Quarterly*. This excerpt is published with the kind authorization of the author and the publishers.

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