

Serbian opposition figures speak out against betrayal by the West

Extraordinary and bitter condemnations of the five-power sellout of Bosnia by four Serbian opposition spokesmen covered an entire page of the French daily Le Monde on June 4, in an editorial break with that newspaper's usual blackout of criticism of the Serbian leadership and of the Anglo-French-led diplomatic appeasers. The following is a summary of the four statements:

Papic: 'Who can save Europe?'

Zarko Papic, who formerly represented the nation of Yugoslavia abroad, warns that, as a consequence of the five powers' "Joint Action Program" worked out in Washington over the May 22-23 weekend, "a third European war could easily break out. Of course, it would be difficult to believe it. However, who would have thought, in 1938, that there would be Sept. 1, 1939, who would have thought, two years ago, that 300,000 civilians (the number up to this point) would die in a country in Europe." The Joint Action Program reveals that "the principles on which basis Europe thought it existed, were only pure illusion. It has been revealed that we are much closer to a 'new world chaos,' a Europe of nationalisms, than a 'new world order.' "

Papic says that the Joint Action Program is "only the latest in a series of catastrophic errors committed by the 'international community' vis-à-vis the crisis in ex-Yugoslavia. . . . The 'international community' is acting like a little child, who fantasizes that when he puts his hand over his eyes, no one sees him, no matter what stupidity he commits." The current deal "betrays not only the Bosnians," but also "the democratic forces of Serbia and Croatia," while "nationalist aggressors have seen themselves accorded a total international legitimacy. . . . The illusion that one can guarantee peace by sacrificing the integrity of Bosnia is due to a false evaluation of the situation and of the war in this country." If that war has now taken on the character of an apparent civil war, "it was, at the beginning, nothing more than an aggression of Serbian nationalism."

Papic warns that the Joint Action Program "opens a new chapter in the war in Bosnia. . . . If Bosnia disappears little by little, is there any more hope for Europe? Less and less." Warning about the danger of a "third European war," he wonders whether "the child, after all this, 'will finally open his eyes?'"

Djuric: 'Let us prepare ourselves'

Ivan Djuric, a Serbian historian who was a candidate for President in 1990, writes that the lesson that "violence pays" will now have dire consequences in both eastern and western Europe. He goes on to charge that the five powers have virtually invited Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic to move into Kosova, thereby, ironically, creating the conditions for precisely the international conflict that they claim to want to avoid.

Djuric first tears apart the Joint Action Program:

"1) The Washington decision, instead of calming down, will rather make the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina more venomous; with the creation of 'bantustans,' their inhabitants would not only be the 'blacks' (or 'Indians,' that is to say, the Muslims), but also certainly other Bosnians (that is why it is hypocritical, for example, to speak of 380,000 inhabitants of Sarajevo as, exclusively, the Muslims, since Sarajevo also includes several thousand 'bad Serbs')."

"2) Now, the Muslims, to the great joy of Milosevic, [Croatian President Franjo] Tudjman and, if I have understood it correctly, the protagonists of Washington, will end up by becoming Muslim believers, not so much because of their taste for Islamic fundamentalism, but rather because of their expulsion from Europe; so, let us prepare ourselves for the consequences of their desperation, the least of which is not the exodus of the population, but the risk of revenge (terrorism) by the excluded."

"3) The 'Program' of Washington shows itself to be a perfect paradigm for all: Faced by Europe, violence pays off; let's wait for the consequences of this lesson, first in the East, then soon in the West."

After warning that the danger now looms of a Serb-against-Serb civil war growing out of the strengthening of Milosevic and Radical Party leader Vojislav Seselj, Djuric concludes that the five-power deal has virtually pushed Milosevic toward launching aggression into Kosova, which, until now, he was reluctant to launch:

"Milosevic, after having imposed the state of emergency in Kosova, accompanied by regular repression, preferred the maintenance of a *status quo* in this formerly autonomous province. Contrary to what he claimed, war was not suited to his interests. Besides, it is there that he disappointed the only national phantasm still alive among the Serbs of Serbia,

since he didn't respond to their desire for the re-Serbization of Kosovo. It is now, with the new gift from Washington, that we risk having there a real conflict, with all the international implications.

"The United States didn't want to send its soldiers into the Balkans. The European Community didn't want an American peace in Europe.

"Today, we are close to having GIs as well as the *Pax Americana* at the heart of the Old World."

Stefanovic: 'Security Council and black dogs'

Vidosav Stefanovic, a Serbian author, says that the Joint Action Program is like trying to "treat cancer with AIDS," thereby creating a "third disease."

Stefanovic begins by charging that the five-power deal has "encouraged the totalitarians and has thrown to the black dogs the peoples of the Balkans." The latest United Nations Security Council resolution is "a veritable little linguistic miracle," which seems to be being utilized by "cynical surrealists."

He goes on: "The political and mental chaos which has seized the region of former Yugoslavia seems to have won over the Five, and also the Twelve ministers [of the European Community]: They reacted with a text that can only extend this chaos to the totality of the Balkans, and then beyond. The only clear message is the following: Messrs. Warriors, do what you want and as you wish, we will stay completely out of it, completely well-intentioned. The bleeding knot in the Balkans can only be untied by the application of the ethnic principle of the creation of ethnically pure states. Try to treat cancer by AIDS. What will you get thereby, the cure, or only a third disease that you will have to again combat, by a new disease?"

Instead of a correct principle of citizenship in sovereign states being applied to the Balkans, what is being applied in the Balkans, and perhaps in all of eastern Europe, Stefanovic warns, is "the horror of ethnic cleansing, the horror of a permanent war against the civilian population, the horror of racism which coopts, for the moment, the name of nationalism. . . . Without wanting to exaggerate, this resolution of the Security Council allows for, in the Balkans, no other possibility than totalitarian states. All alternatives, all opposition becomes, because of this, practically impossible: Any independent intelligentsia—whether it be that which sustains itself, with difficulty, in the new states, or that which is in exile—sees, suddenly, its very existence threatened. The extremists see themselves offered a chance that they had never dreamed of having, and the instigators of war see the proof that they were right. The democrats have been knocked out, not by their adversaries, but by the jury."

Stefanovic concludes on this chilling note:

"There is in my book *The Snow and the Dogs* a scene where five nationalist warriors torture a little girl, roasting her over a small fire. Monstrous, isn't it? But that really

happened. How many little girls will continue to be tortured, in the current war and in future wars programmed by this resolution which, implicitly, pardons the assassins and declares to the victims, that they will remain victims? Who, in reality, has thrown us all to the black dogs, which have just left the pages of my book and are looking for new victims?"

Dizdarevic: 'Quo vadis Europa?'

Faik Dizdarevic, a former diplomat for Yugoslavia when it was a state, blasts the five-power diplomacy and likens the fight of the Bosnians to the resistance against the Nazis. He writes:

"The meeting of the Five in Washington strongly resembles the creation of a self-proclaimed world government. . . . In the first place, they situate themselves outside the legal context of the United Nations. Beyond this, their decisions, notably that for the dismantling and the disappearance of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, constitutes a brutal violation of the very principles of the Charter of the United Nations, of the Helsinki Final Act, and the Charter of Paris.

"The 'program' that was adopted demonstrates clearly, if there was any need for this, that the great powers of the West (with which Russia has associated itself), had, since the beginning of the 'Bosnian affair,' a common and coherent attitude (hidden behind numerous smokescreens), to wit: Bosnia-Herzegovina has no interest (for us); it can, therefore, be carved up and deleted from the map. The war can be circumscribed to Bosnia itself; there is no danger of extension. The war can, therefore, continue in Bosnia, but it would be required to have it done and over with as soon as possible. There are too many embarrassing witnesses. Must one recall the famous sentence pronounced by [British Foreign Secretary] Douglas Hurd after the London conference: 'Things will be decided on the ground, and not around a negotiating table.' "

Under the subhead "Resistance to Nazism," Dizdarevic goes on:

"The mistake consists in believing that the war can be confined only to Bosnia. For in the countries surrounding Bosnia-Herzegovina (and well beyond), all the conditions have come together for the unfolding, there, of wars without end. And the interests of the West will finish, well enough, by being directly called into question.

"As for Bosnia itself, there will be a ferocious resistance, which can last indefinitely. It is not easy to dismantle Bosnia-Herzegovina; the number of deaths and the devastation have proved this well. And this resistance to Nazism, because it is exactly that, will spread like the war itself, and will triumph, to the extent that Europe (before all else) will understand that it is a matter of its own survival. As an elderly Bosnian declared: 'We don't have problems any more, because we, we have understood; now it is Europe that must do the same.' "