

goni, and Dominic Puthuchery of Malaysia are the three co-chairmen of the International Parliamentarians against Genocide in Bosnia (IPGB). The IPGB has promoted a visit of an international delegation to Sarajevo, and is now promoting a series of initiatives and conferences in several parts of the world, including Kuala Lumpur.

That forces from the Third World, Europe, and America are joining in a political fight against the horrors of the new world order and its geopolitical dogma, is awakening hope in many quarters. Representatives of all the main religious organizations, for example, are expressing their willingness to work together to put a stop to the holocaust in Bosnia. Muslims and Catholics are in the forefront of this effort.

The historical challenge now is to create from the sacrifices and pain of this battle, a new set of relations among the nations involved in this effort, so that a just world order can finally emerge from the ashes of the Versailles and Yalta geopolitical agreements.

## Malaysian government pleads case of Bosnia

*Tan Sri Ahmad Kamil Jaafar, secretary general of the Malaysian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has been "traveling as the special envoy of the prime minister of Malaysia to plead the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina" for the last six months. During the last week in October, he visited Washington and New York City. His message was direct: "Only the United States can bring an equitable peace to Bosnia. It is immaterial whether the Americans go through the U.N. Security Council, or act unilaterally. The quickest, most efficient way is the best way; the diplomatic niceties do not matter."*

*The following excerpts of the secretary general's plea to the Clinton administration and U.S. lawmakers, were delivered at a Washington press conference Oct. 28.*

. . . A [Malaysian] journalist named K.P. Waran was in Sarajevo less than two weeks ago with an international group of parliamentarians. Here's part of what he wrote: "A drive from the Sarajevo Airport to the presidential palace about 5 kilometers away revealed a once-thriving city reduced to ruins. Shells of buildings stood—many with gaping holes and shattered glass panes while others were mere piles on the ground. Houses, no longer habitable, with collapsed roofs, partially or totally destroyed, stood as eerie portents of the final destruction. . . . Except for a sprinkling of U.N. armored personnel carriers and tanks, not a soul was about—a far cry from Sarajevo's heyday as capital and cultural center

of Bosnia-Herzegovina. . . ."

The conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina is part of the grand plan of Slobodan Milosevic—a plan well documented over the years—to bring into being a Greater Serbia. This plan is by no means supported by all Serbs.

Although most defenders of Sarajevo are Muslims, many Serbs and Croats are included in their number. This mix is also reflected in the government. They are all Bosnians. The point I am making is that the bloodshed in Bosnia is not about war between the Muslims and the rest. It is about people and certain powers with evil designs toward a once-peaceful, multi-ethnic, and multi-religious nation-state.

Today the Bosnian Muslims are confronted with the choice—either accept the tattered remnants of Bosnia-Herzegovina, or risk being wiped off the map of the world. How has this happened? Three main reasons come to mind:

- First, the European Community and the United Nations Security Council failed to respond decisively to the Bosnian government's desperate appeal for help.

- Second, Cyrus Vance and David Owen inexplicably accepted the spurious case for the "cantonization." In the Geneva negotiations, Owen has consistently ignored one of the basic principles of the London Conference—that no territory gained by force would be recognized by the international community.

- Third, a well-conceived and successful strategy to split the peoples of the newly formed country—to cause Bosnian Croats to abandon the Bosnian part of their identity and to dissolve their traditional alliance with Bosnian Muslims. . . .

In Bosnia-Herzegovina the aggressors hold sway and commit crimes with impunity. The Serbs have devoured territory through savagery. A holocaust has taken place in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The American people know well what a holocaust means: One of the largest holocaust museums in the world is right here in Washington, only a short walk from where we meet today.

### Has America lost its will for leadership?

As I visit this great country, here are questions that are on my mind: 1) Is President Clinton waiting for somebody else to set the stage for an American entry into Bosnia-Herzegovina? 2) Has America lost its will for leadership in international affairs? 3) Is Bosnia-Herzegovina so strategically unimportant to the United States—so distant—that even despicable international behavior and blatant disregard for international humanitarian law do not cause the American government to act?

Bosnia-Herzegovina is not a mere geographical hole between Serbia, Croatia, and Albania. It is one of Europe's oldest countries. The Bosnians are southern Slavs. They came into the area from central Europe at about the same time as did the Serbs and the Croats. And they settled in the territory that is now Bosnia-Herzegovina. . . . Bosnia-

Hercegovina certainly has as strong a historical claim to exist as does its neighbors.

There seems to be, on the part of the Americans, the perception that Bosnia-Hercegovina is a European affair, that this agony is a problem to be left to the Europeans to solve. I am most concerned about a tendency of the United States to see this situation mainly through British eyes.

The United States cannot afford to allow this saga of death and destruction to continue. It has the capacity to disrupt irreversibly the very foundations of international peace and security. If we, the international community, leave the fate of the Bosnian Muslims to the Serbs and the Croats, there will be repercussions far beyond the Balkans. We will have set the stage for disorder well into the future.

The official position of the European members of the U.N. Security Council on the case of Bosnia-Hercegovina, in my view, is based on short-term considerations of *realpolitik*. Forget the merits of the case. Forget peace and stability in Europe as a whole. And, I submit, forget the long-term global interests of the United States as well.

I have been traveling as the special envoy of the prime minister of Malaysia to plead the case of Bosnia-Hercegovina. I have been to the European capitals. I can tell you that there is no unity of support for the European Community's official position, such as it is, regarding Bosnia. There is great dissatisfaction with the Owen peace package. There is great dissatisfaction with Owen's lack of consultation with the EC—which appointed him and whose creature he is supposed to be. . . . Thus, among the leaders of Europe and elsewhere, there is a constituency for effective international action on Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is potentially a huge constituency.

That body of opinion can be mobilized, and it can be led. . . . Only the United States has the proven record—look at the miracle of the Middle East. . . .

Immediately, Tuzla Airport must be opened to enable food, blankets, and other essential needs to reach the major towns. . . . I cannot see any logic for the continued closure of Tuzla Airport except to give strategic advantages to those who are bent upon crushing the will of a people and a nation called Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Security Council must now demand, and must be prepared to back its demands by the use of force if necessary—not mere threats but actual force—to make the aggressors comply with certain critical requirements. Among others: 1) The siege of Sarajevo must be lifted forthwith, particularly by removing the Serbian guns on the hills around the city; 2) the delivery of humanitarian assistance must be allowed to be effected without disruption; 3) the International Committee of the Red Cross must be given free access to all detention camps. . . .

We must consider exempting Bosnia-Hercegovina from the U.N. arms embargo. Bosnia-Hercegovina has a legiti-

mate right of self-defense inherent in Article 51 of the U.N. Charter. This right must be restored to that sovereign state. If the Security Council is unable to defend Bosnia-Hercegovina, it is absolutely immoral to prevent the Bosnians from defending themselves. It is immoral for all of us to delude ourselves that the issue of Bosnia-Hercegovina is the story of a simple civil war. It is, behind the thinnest of disguises, external aggression.

---

## Documentation

---

### Parliamentarians attack capitulation to Serbs

#### German MP Stefan Schwarz

*From the International Herald Tribune on Oct. 26:*

“One of the youngest members of Germany's lower house of parliament, Mr. Schwarz, 34, entered the limelight in December with a passionate 10-minute speech that compared the West's indifference to Serbian atrocities in Bosnia to its tragic appeasement of Nazism in the 1930s. That speech, his first, ended on the words: ‘I say we should intervene, I'm tired of keeping quiet,’ to thunderous applause.

“Ever since, the down-to-earth Christian Democrat from Rhineland-Palatinate has been speaking his mind freely—and to the overwhelming approval of Germans infuriated by the West's do-nothing role in the Bosnian conflict. ‘Everywhere the clock seems to be turning backward. . . . This is about principles, not just national interests.’ . . .

“‘The Bosnians are paying the price for Britain's balance-of-power politics,’ he said, accusing the British, and to a lesser extent France, of rewarding Serbia for its support of the Allies during World War II. This idea might sound outlandish were it not also advanced elsewhere—for instance, in a recent front-page editorial in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, a conservative Swiss daily.

“Schwarz's answer to the Bosnian conflict, which relies heavily on U.S.-German initiative, is [to] ‘isolate the Brits and keep the French neutral’ while striking Serbian military targets and aiding civilians.”

#### Italian MP Roberto Formigoni

*From the German daily Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung on Oct. 26:*

“The well-known Italian Christian Democrat Roberto