

nations, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Muslims and Croats, have not been able to defend themselves properly due to the arms embargo, and secondly, because there has been no connection, no "Entente Cordiale," no proper unity among those who are in danger. They have been separated. [Bosnian President] Izetbegovic said at the time of [the battle over the Croatian town of] Vukovar, "It is not our war." And he was so wrong, because the war was coming close to Bosnia, unfortunately. He was afraid of Belgrade, and he himself and his Muslims, part of the three nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, became victims by not being prepared for the war and aggression that had been coming closer and closer to Sarajevo and Muslims and Bosnia-Herzegovina as a whole. So the second reason that this succeeded was that the attacked and endangered nations were unarmed and were not unified, not organized on their own territory against the evil threatening all of them.

The world community wouldn't act

And the third reason this was possible, is that the world community has lacked the will to undertake energetic military action, has still not shown the will to stop the aggression. It has continued to rely on palliative measures such as limited humanitarian aid operations, sending medical help and food, parachuting in some help—which is ineffective—and expensive monitoring systems and the so-called peacekeeping forces, the Unprofor, which are also ineffective and just there for *not* taking proper actions.

What I suggest here to you are the following three or four proposals:

First, one should say that there is aggression, and to name the aggressor.

Second, the aggressor, which is Serbia, should be most urgently, immediately stopped in its policy of conquest. And this is to be achieved by the destruction of its military and economic power, the strict implementation of the toughest sanctions, and the implementation of Chapter 7 of the U.N. Charter. A limited military intervention has to be used, accompanied by the disarmament of Serbia and the deployment of the U.N. peacekeeping forces and other international forces in Serbia.

Third, an international tribunal for war crimes, which is to be most urgently established—and we are approaching this—should collect the evidence and bring charges against the war criminals. Some of them have been named by international sources, ensuring that they are going to be brought to court when the necessary conditions are met.

And finally, I would like to propose to you that we, a humanitarian people, Christian Democrats and people of liberal convictions, should work to get the international public to exert pressure on Serbia and the leadership of Montenegro, urging them to dismantle all the concentration camps, to release all the prisoners, and to disclose the disposition of the hundreds of thousands of missing persons.

Open Letter From Bosnia

Who is responsible for this tragedy?

Following are excerpts from an open letter read to the conference, by Prof. Lamija Tanović, University of Sarajevo, Bosnia, a visiting scientist at the Niels Bohr Institute, University of Copenhagen. The letter is to Niels Helveg Peterson, president of the Ministry Council of the European Community and Danish minister of foreign affairs.

Dear Mr. Peterson,

By not supporting the defense of the civil multiconfessional democracy in the sovereign state of Bosnia against the apartheid and fascist nationalistic regimes run from Belgrade and inspired by a clear territorial greed from Serbia and subsequently from Croatia, you are telling the European people and the world that your New United Europe is not standing firmly behind the principles of democracy, and you are openly supporting the position of the aggressors on Bosnia. You are allowing Mr. Owen of England to run the show regarding the Bosnian crisis both in Europe and the United Nations.

The old Bosnian cities, towns, and villages with Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant churches, mosques, and synagogues standing side by side, for five and six centuries, cherishing such a unique culture of intermingled faiths, were proclaimed to be "Serbian" or "Croat" and even "Muslim." Inspired by that European support for creating Greater Serbia in principle, the Serbian nationalists sent the Serbian criminals and hitmen to destroy Bosnia, and the Serbian nationalists' propaganda helped by the European dishonest leadership, finished the job. The recent clashes between the Bosnian Army and Croatian nationalists is a direct consequence of the Vance-Owen maps.

How can the New United Europe, which pretends to create the greatest democracy on earth, the largest multi-ethnic, multiconfessional, and multiracial society on earth, support apartheid and ethnic division based on religious differences in a small country, the only little country in Europe that has proved by 1,000 years of its continuous existence that people of four or five different religions can live together in tolerance, love, and respect? How can your highest politicians say things like "centuries-old hatreds and conflicts"? Don't you know the history of the Balkans? Those whose advice you are taking know nothing about Bosnia.

There were no conflicts in Bosnia except when they were brought in from the outside, inspired by territorial greed and

by European countries that do not understand multiconfessional societies. Serbian nationalists have tried to create Greater Serbia precisely four times, using four world-shaking events:

- 1) the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the rise of nationalisms in 19th-century Europe, ending in 1912;
- 2) the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, i.e., World War I, 1914-1918;
- 3) the rise of fascism, i.e., World War II, 1941-1945; and
- 4) the fall of communism, 1991. . . .

The international community can change the outcome. It can save Bosnia and its 4 million people. Only about 10% of its people have been directly involved in making this hell. The others are praying and waiting for their help. They will fight, they will deliver the aid, they will rebuild their homeland from the ruins, just give them arms and moral support. It is all up to you. We all know that. My people in Sarajevo know that. The European "leaders," who are leading Europe to a disaster, know that. Unfortunately, some of them are the naive, narrow-minded Europeans who do not foresee the future. In Bosnia, western moral, global human values, and the future of our civilization are at stake. Bosnia is not Europe's backyard, it is the meeting place of western and eastern civilizations. The European future is at stake.

The people of Sarajevo survived the last winter's cold by cutting all the trees for firewood. They cannot survive another one, for there are no trees left. It will take more than 100 years to grow those trees again. Are you going to let those 380,000 people who are still in Sarajevo, most of the time left without food, electricity, and water, die from bullets and mortar shells launched from the hills? Not even a cat can go in or out of the town without a permit from the U.N. or the Chetniks. The people are free inside, working, living, fighting for survival and helping each other in the most heroic ways. But Sarajevo is the biggest concentration camp since the siege of Leningrad, run by United Nations forces and the Chetniks. Over 100 tanks and several hundred heavy artillery weapons are distributed around the mountains of Sarajevo. . . .

Every tenth person in Sarajevo has been either killed or wounded during this aggression, nine out of ten of whom are civilians. Among them are my relatives, friends, colleagues, and neighbors of all religions. The shells do not ask which way you pray to God, before they explode. They simply kill. The city of over 600,000 people, the city that welcomed the whole world in the 1984 Winter Olympics, the city with an open heart where churches, mosques, and synagogues have stood next to each other for more than 500 years, the city in which, in 1537, a library was established with 120 book-borrowing stands all around the town, the city with the first running water system in all of Europe . . . a city whose values are a rare mixture of the best traditions of different civilizations, whose people cherish the best influences of both East and West, is being destroyed before the eyes of the whole world. . . .

The Balkan war is not a TV soap opera

by Srečko Jurđana

Srečko Jurđana of Zagreb Croatia is a journalist who writes for Vecernij List and Slobodna Dalmacija.

As we all know, in analyzing the prospects for peace in Europe, what is usually called former Yugoslavia has been burning in the flames of war for three years, and nobody in the world has so far been willing to extinguish it.

This war of aggression, this unprovoked Serbian attack on Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is going on undisturbed and already has taken 300-400,000 human lives, determines the military-political future of Europe as a whole, and redefines—so to speak—the political, psychological, ethical standards of all humanity.

For never before, never in the history of mankind, has an isolated event, an isolated genocidal aggression been produced in the core of the civilized world, in the midst of Europe, and been allowed to grow freely and to become—through television and other media—a part of everyday family lives all over the world. People live their daily routine, come home from their jobs, after lunch take, perhaps, an afternoon nap, then they switch on the television and look at other people, people like themselves, living perhaps only a few hundred miles away, who are being killed, their children slaughtered, wives raped, husbands turned into invalids, homes burned and destroyed. . . .

This is not normal, and Europe cannot psychologically tolerate such a situation. Day after day, the world's TV networks broadcast the systematic destruction of the most beautiful urban culture in the Christian world, the destruction of cities like Vukovar, Dubrovnik, Sibenik, Zadar, Osijek, the systematic annihilation of the Olympic city of Sarajevo.

Skyscrapers vanish in fire, buildings fall down, people who stood in a line for bread are suddenly dying on the street, hit by a Serbian grenade, children missing an arm or leg or eyes cry in a hospital, and all this goes on unopposed, like some unreal TV serial from another planet. Yet, this serial is very real, and it does not come from another planet, although we all subconsciously tend to refuse to accept it as a reality from our neighborhood. What we have now in Europe is an actual warfare against Croatia and Bosnia, and psychological warfare, through the media, against humanity.

This monstrous TV show of Serbian genocide over people, over cities, over culture and civilization, provokes questions, of course. Why is it so? Why doesn't somebody do