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## Bosnia-Herzegovina

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# A tank does not roll backwards from the battlefield, Mr. Clinton!

by Katharine Kanter

The first thing a big-game hunter learns when stalking a dangerous beast is either to kill it outright, or to pack up his toys and games and go home. Judging by what has happened in the last days on the Bosnian front, President Clinton had better drop trout fishing and call in some Bengali tiger hunters to handle the British.

On Feb. 28, the world rejoiced as American F-16s shot down four Serbian fighter-bombers returning to Krajina. The U.S. action was not in pursuance of the Feb. 10 NATO ultimatum to Serbia, which expired into dust on Feb. 21, but was a unilateral act, in execution of the U.N. Security Council air interdict proclaimed in March 1993. Although violated tens of thousands of times by the Serbians, never before had that interdict been put into effect. The Serbian planes were from a squadron of six, turning back from a raid on the Bosnian munitions factory at Novi Travnik. They had taken off from the Udbina military airbase in Serbian-occupied Krajina, manifestly to test U.S. reaction: The Serbians first sent up two planes, which were shot down, then two more, which were shot down, and then the third pair, which got away, or were allowed to get away.

Two days later, on March 1 in Vienna, the government of Bosnia and the Bosnian Croats signed a document entitled "Confederation Agreement," brokered by American diplomat Charles Redman, the primary and most laudable aim of which appears to be to arrive at a cease-fire between the Bosnian government and the Croatian forces inside Bosnia. Although the document, in spite of its title, is simply a treaty to create a Bosnian-Croatian federation inside Bosnia, whereas that chapter dealing with a hypothetical future confederation between the Republic of Bosnia and the Republic of Croatia remains vague in the extreme, the real question remains what the United States in fact intends to attain, from a strategic standpoint, with this agreement. At this point in time, any pressures put upon Bosnia to agree to a confederation would merely be an impotent attempt to use both Bosnia and Croatia as surrogates, in order to put the lid down on a terrifying strategic crisis into which Russia and the United States have been thrust by Great Britain.

While for Bosnia and Croatia, the key thing is to come to

a military alliance against Serbia, and to blow the whistle on the Great Game in which they are both nothing but pawns, the United States has incomparably more freedom to act than either. But nothing, absolutely nothing, has been done by the U.S. administration to lift the arms embargo against Bosnia, an act easily within its power to bring about, and which alone could change the entire course of the war and almost certainly bring about a Bosnian victory.

In any event, Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic told the German magazine *Der Spiegel* in the second week in March that he rejects the federation agreement, and his so-called foreign minister, Aleksa Buha, said, "There will be no return to a sovereign and integral Bosnia." On March 9, Redman met with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, who told him that Serbia might generously consider taking part in the Vienna talks, if all economic sanctions against Serbia are lifted. That may very well be in the cards. On March 7, a Bulgarian Danube flotilla carrying 6,000 tons of diesel fuel moved into Serbian waters; the crew radioed they would blow up the cargo if they were stopped. They were not stopped.

### A new Versailles Treaty

The fear is that the U.S. moves reported above were merely tactical, shooting into the dark to test Anglo-Russian reactions, and that some sort of secret pact has been reached between Russia, the United States, and England to draw up at the expense of the Bosnian state, a *new Versailles Treaty*, as Karadzic said in so many words to the Madrid daily *El Pais* on March 9. To *Pravda*, he said: "I would like to believe that the war will end soon, and we will create a *new border between East and West*" (emphasis added). This would mean dumping the Owen tripartition plan, for an equally immoral and unacceptable *bipartition* plan with half of Bosnia going to Serbia.

As the slaving wolf pack, led by the London *Daily Telegraph*, goes for Clinton's throat over the so-called Whitewater scandal, and as Richard Nixon, with official approval, engages in the strangest of maneuvers with the Russian opposition in Moscow, the U.S. administration appears



Bosnian Vice President Ejup Ganic (left) at a meeting in Sarajevo in October 1993.

to be signalling that its tanks may be rolled back. On March 8, when the Serbians attempted to shoot down a NATO plane over Serbian-occupied Krajina, wounding three of the five passengers, there was no retaliation by NATO, save a lame statement the following day that "greater security measures" should be taken for such overflights by bringing them up to a 15,000-foot altitude. Violent Serbian artillery attacks in the Gospic region of Croatia early this week have also met with no response.

The fear is, that the U.S. administration will compromise in order to stave off the specter of a pan-Balkan war, and accept what amounts to nothing more than a Russian promise to cool off Serbia, i.e., pie in the sky. And that to get that, the United States will allow Karadzic's new "East-West line" to be drawn through the Balkans. This time around, however, now that the British have rolled out the red carpet for Russia in Bosnia, Russia's influence will extend toward the Adriatic and the Mediterranean, the prize it never won at Yalta. As a sweetener to the United States, England has made noises about allowing Turkish troops to be moved into Bosnia under Unprofor (U.N. Protection Forces) aegis, which deployment it has successfully blocked for two years of war, under the pretext that the Turks would help the Bosnians.

### **British invasion force to be beefed up**

A few hundred Turks in Bosnia will not bother the British or the French much; Lt. Gen. Sir Michael Rose, head of Unprofor in Bosnia, an SAS man expert in secret intelligence and "counter-terrorism," spent the first week in March lobbying in the British Parliament for his country's pro-Serbian invasion force to be beefed up. Shortly, 900 troops from the Duke of Wellington Regiment, and 80 Saxon armored troop carriers, will be sent into Bosnia. The French government has agreed to send in about another 1,000 of their choirboys as well, which brings the number of the French invasion force up to 7,000 crack troops.

Meanwhile, on the blood-soaked terrain of Bosnia, the British are running the show. On March 8, it was the British ambassador to the U.N., David Hannay, who called a meeting of the 20 countries involved in Unprofor, to "see" who

might be "allowed" to contribute some of the 10,650 additional troops that *British* Lt. Gen. Sir Michael Rose demanded. The new Bosnian-Croatian Federation agreement may be the brainchild of the United States, but it is *British* troops who have been designated, as though by some mysterious force, to patrol the Bosnian-Croatian cease-fire lines. It is *British* Brig. John Reith who met with the Bosnian chiefs of staff at Gornji Vakuf to discuss the cease-fire arrangements, and, according to the *London Times*, his role as commander of forces in Bosnia has just been expanded: The *British* have created a new South-West sector, where the *British* will be commanding Spanish, Malaysian, and Canadian troops. It is the *British* who have been "masterminding," in the *Times*'s words, the handing over of Croatian and Bosnian heavy matériel to the Unprofor in pursuance of the cease-fire. It is the *British* who have decided upon 15 so-called "active weapons sites" where they will "allow" (sic) "up to six" guns to be pointed outwards, so that the Bosnians or Croats may respond in the event of an attack by Bosnian Serbs!

Again, on March 6, it was British General Rose who met with Karadzic at Pale, the site from which the Serbians have destroyed Sarajevo, and agreed with him that Russian troops would be moved into Tuzla, and that all Bosnian troops would be withdrawn from Tuzla airport, in exchange for a Serbian "promise" to allow Unprofor to reopen the airport for humanitarian flights. Tuzla is the capital of the most strategically critical province for the Bosnian war effort. Although Unprofor has had hundreds of heavily armed troops all over the airport for a year, the British have argued that they could not "protect" incoming flights—until such time as they got the Russians in on the deal the week before. But the Bosnian government had just put out an official statement, reiterated by Vice President Ejup Ganic, that they would not accept one single additional Russian soldier on the territory of Bosnia.

Once the British had achieved their aim, and the first Russian "technicians" were flown into Tuzla on March 9—the Bosnian government had removed its troops from the airport the day before—the Serbians promptly announced that they would not allow the airport to be reopened until they were satisfied about "air corridors"; U.N. spokesman Sylvana Foa chimed in that the airport could not be opened "for a week to 10 days."

### **Serbian-U.N. aggression incessant**

The situation on the ground in Bosnia is appalling. In the northern Bosnian city of Maglaj, which has been subjected to uninterrupted shelling by the Serbians, and which is about to fall, 20,000 people have been living underground for months. Forty people were killed in late February as 4,000 shells fell on the city. The last aid convoy to reach Maglaj was on Oct. 25. The only food has come from airdrops. In their X-thousandth violation of the farcical air interdict, the Serbians bombed the Maglaj bridge on the weekend of Feb.

26; NATO rushed to declare that that raid was “unconfirmed.” On March 4, the U.N. Security Council said it would “think about” declaring Maglaj a “safe area”—in 10 days time.

How good it is, to be a U.N. “safe area,” such as Srebrenica, which was declared such on May 3, 1993! The city is about to fall. The suburbs, the villages of Ljeskovik, Ureici, Klocjevac, Susice, Jasenovno and Podravanje fell after U.N. troops *withdrew* from the area in early March. Communications between Srebrenica and Zepa (also a “safe area”) have been cut. Fresh Serbian troops are pouring into the area. On the night of March 4, according to the Bosnian Information Center in London, 1,000 refugees who had been moved by U.N. troops into a “safe” camp at Slatovici, had to flee before the Serbian assault.

Since Feb. 6, another city critical to Bosnian defenses, Bihac, has been under relentless shelling by the Serbians, because it lies between Serbian-occupied Krajina and those parts of Bosnia they have seized. On March 1 alone, Unprofor troops stood around whistling, and counting, as heavy artillery fire rained down *500 times* on that one day upon the city. Unprofor has confirmed that the Serbians are having a field day with the air interdict, using Gazelle helicopters to fire missiles at villages on the Grabez plateau. Between February and early March, the Bosnian defense lines have been forced back by five or more kilometers.

Western military observers (“voyeurs” would be a more appropriate epithet), have confirmed that 3,000 fresh Serbian troops have been moved up from Pale, Prijedor, Banja Luka, and Sarajevo—from the latter city, thanks to the Russian relief column replacing them. In a criss-cross movement, and not by coincidence, given the fingertip British control over Unprofor, at least 2,000 U.N. troops were moved up to Sarajevo to “police” the cease-fire there—needless to say, it has already been broken with impunity by the Serbians—thus stripping the areas under immediate Serbian attack of their supposed defenders; meanwhile, the Serbians were able to bring their heavy matériel and an unknown number of men out of the Sarajevo area up onto other lines. Volunteers are now pouring into the Bihac region over the border directly from Serbia, and General Mladic, commander of the Serbian forces in Bosnia, has just visited the region.

Could it be plainer, that the Bosnians themselves count for nothing in the Great Game? As the Paris daily *Le Figaro*'s correspondent Isabelle Lasserre wrote: “In Bihac, Bosnian Commander Dudakovic dreams on. He still thinks NATO will step in!” The French commander in the area, Colonel Légrier, told Lasserre that Dudakovic “is *over-dramatizing* when he says he can only hold out three weeks. He is just trying to get the Unprofor onto his side and convince NATO to help.” A man whose leg, but not his sense of humor, had been blown off by a Serbian shell, said to the French daily: “Things here are great, just great. We are under U.N. protection—think how awful it would be if we weren't!”

## ADL is messing with German elections

by Rainer Apel

Last autumn, a massive slander campaign launched by the entire political left of Germany, including the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the World Jewish Congress, brought the candidacy of Christian Democrat Steffen Heitmann for President in the May 23 elections to an abrupt end.

### Heitmann forced out

Heitmann became a target because he broke a taboo of postwar German politics when he questioned the phony “anti-fascism” of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith and co-propagandists in East and West, and their self-proclaimed right to interfere in German politics. He said it was not acceptable for Germany's reputation to be determined forever by debates on the Nazi Holocaust against the Jews; he said that it should finally be acknowledged that postwar democratic Germany, especially since unification in 1990, had nothing in common with the Nazi Reich.

Heitmann received no backing from his Christian Democratic Union party (CDU) against the attacks, which labeled him a “neo-Nazi,” and even Chancellor Helmut Kohl told him it would be better for the atmosphere at home and abroad if he were to pull out of the race—which he did.

The affair had the smell of the black propaganda campaigns that East bloc disinformation specialists used to launch against West Germany. The broad mobilization of leftist forces against Heitmann also gave a foretaste of bigger things to come.

The national party convention of the SPD in Wiesbaden last November provided the first hint that “anti-fascism” was being planned as a major theme for the 19 different election campaigns in 1994, as a tool against the government of the CDU and Kohl. “Fight the Rise of New Heitmanns,” “Stop the New Nazis,” and other slogans that dominated the debate at the SPD congress, indicated that the super-election year of 1994 would become a troubled one.

### Economic program lacking

For the SPD, the “anti-fascism” or *antifa* tack also provided an opportunity to compensate for the lack of a convincing economic program. This method has a long tradition, and because it worked in the case of Heitmann, the leftist Social