and attitude of the U.N., you agreed with us and accepted our complaints.

"Actually, your agreement with our view on this issue was the basis for your resignation. We see your resignation as a revolt of a man of humanity and morality and that of a fighter who does not make compromises vis-à-vis the inert and bureaucratic organization of the U.N., which inevitably must be transformed as soon as possible, especially after the shame and dishonor they called on themselves in Bosnia. We express our regret that this transformation started with your resignation and *not* with the resignation of Mr. Yasushi Akashi, who was the one secretly negotiating with the criminals; the fact was referred to in your report. The same applies to Mr. Boutros-Ghali, who approved these secret negotiations. We think about the immoral trade between the [kidnapped] soldiers of Unprofor in exchange for the U.N. tolerance of mass expulsion of refugees from Bosnia."

On July 31, the Bosnian President Izetbegovic expressed his feelings to Mazowiecki in a personal letter: "We in Bosnia understand your decision to resign as the expression of authentic dignity and the unbreakable conscience of an intellectual. By refusing to participate in the chorus of indifference toward clear crimes and toward unexpressible human suffering, you are encouraging our determination to defend truth and justice despite everything. . . ."

Interview: Tadeusz Mazowiecki

Without a shakeup, no peace in Bosnia

Tadeusz Mazowiecki became prime minister of Poland in August 1989, the first non-communist prime minister in 45 years. He was chairman of the Democratic Union (now the Freedom Union), a post-Solidarity party. He is currently a deputy in the Polish Parliament. He was interviewed on July 31 by Umberto Pascali and Anna Kaczor-Wei.

EIR: Would you agree that the policy of the leadership of the United Nations toward the Bosnian Serbs reminds one of Neville Chamberlain toward Hitler in the 1930s?

Mazowiecki: I do not know why you refer only to the leadership of the United Nations. I think that the U.N. can do only as much as is decided by the states which can make decisions, and at the moment the U.N. is a sort of a whipping boy. The U.N. is not a force on its own, and it can do only what the decisive countries say. Of course, I have a critical view of the long-term policy of the main leaders of the U.N., because

it has certain shortcomings. But I could express the same kind of criticism toward not only the U.N., but also the leaders of many countries.

EIR: How will the situation in Bosnia develop now?

Mazowiecki: I do not make forecasts and I am not a prophet: I think that peace is the goal, but only a just peace. However, I think that we have reached the point at which negotiations and a just peace cannot be accomplished without some shakeup, because the side of the Bosnian Serbs has signed various agreements—for example at the first London conference—but it has not fulfilled them. We have reached a point that this group [the Bosnian Serbs], I would say, is blackmailing the whole international community, and, without a shakeup, there will be no peace there, no just peace.

EIR: What do you think about the recent statement by Pope John Paul II, who condemned what is going on in Bosnia? You talked about a shakeup, what do you mean by this? Mazowiecki: I know the statement of the pope you referred to, and I can say that it reflects the pope's great concern, which I am familiar with, and secondly, his awareness that this is a threat to certain basic principles of our civilization. I also think that we have reached the point at which this war is no longer only being conducted against Bosnia, but against certain principles of the international order.

Concerning the second part of your question, I will answer it the following way: The most important problem, in my opinion, is that the main western democratic countries be able to finally establish a unified and consistent stand. What I think is the worst, is this cacophony of voices which took place at the conference in London, and, frankly speaking, throughout those three years, when somebody said—for example, the American President-that there is a need for a decisive reaction, immediately you could hear a voice of some American general saying that an intervention is not possible. And the other way around: When somebody from the military forces would say that there is a necessity for a more decisive reaction and another kind of mandate, then politicians would respond in the spirit of, "We do not want to die for Sarajevo." We have a situation in which a small group of people, namely, Serbian leaders in Bosnia, are shaking superpowers. I can only say that without a unified stand, without a consistent stand, without a certain determination, there will be no peace there.

EIR: Is there anything else you would like to say?

Mazowiecki: I would like to add that I treat my resignation precisely as a protest against that helplessness and against the reconciliation with this helplessness. I think that we have reached a very dangerous point and that the international community cannot treat this as some sort of exotic matter which is far away from them, because the principles of international coexistence have been threatened.

36 International EIR August 11, 1995