

## **EIR**Feature

# Launch a new Marshall Plan to rebuild Bosnia

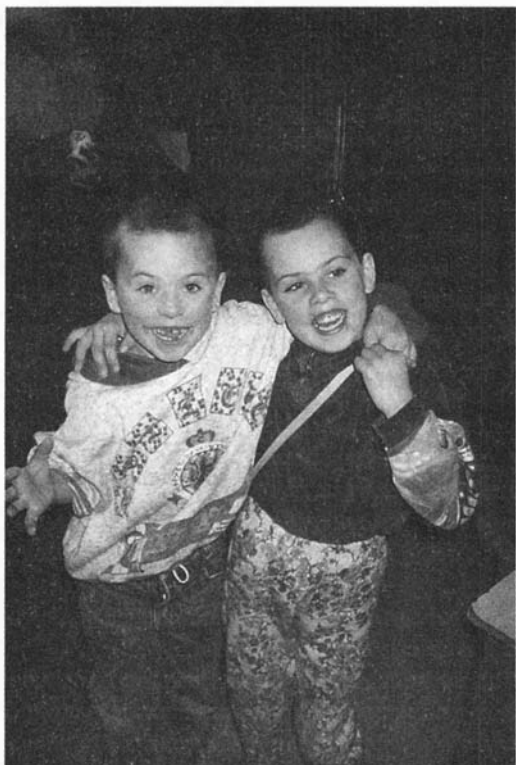
by Susan Welsh

At a press conference in Washington, D.C. on May 2, members of the Schiller Institute's Committee to Save the Children in Bosnia-Herzegovina called for the United States to launch a program for reconstruction of the devastated Bosnian economy, a "new Marshall Plan" like that which rebuilt Europe after World War II. Unless this is done, they said, the situation could quickly deteriorate, bringing with it the danger of a new world war.

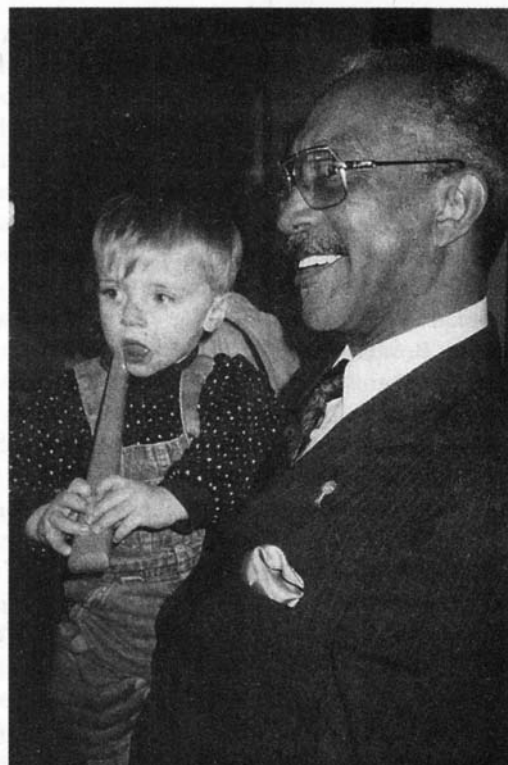
Four committee members gave a first-hand report on the situation in Bosnia and Croatia, following a visit there April 12-19. The full delegation was comprised of Nihad E. Dzinovic, chairman of the Bosnia Relief Organization in California and member of the National Advisory Board for Humanitarian Aid; James Mann, former U.S. Congressman from South Carolina; Dr. Jozef Miklosko, the president of the committee, and former vice prime minister of post-communist Czechoslovakia; Theo W. Mitchell, former state senator from South Carolina; Benjamin Swan, state representative from Massachusetts; the Schiller Institute's Elke Fimmen and Paolo Raimondi; and Umberto Pascali of the Schiller Institute and secretary of the International Parliamentarians Against Genocide in Bosnia.

Addressing the press conference, Nihad Dzinovic emphasized that there is no real peace now, because Bosnia has not been allowed to have economic reconstruction, productive jobs, and dignity. There is 90% unemployment in Sarajevo, he said, and it is even worse outside the capital city. He outlined the Schiller Institute's five-point plan for securing Bosnia's productive economy and national sovereignty:

1. Bosnian reconstruction must be guaranteed in the form of a crash program similar to the Marshall Plan.
2. The political, institutional, and economic sovereignty of Bosnia must be preserved against the conditionalities of international financial institutions and geopolitical interference by powers such as the heirs of the British Empire.
3. The United States is the only country, at this point, that can push for such reconstruction and sovereignty, and should take up the project of Commerce Secre-



*Youngsters at the Bjelave Orphanage in Sarajevo. On the right is Theo Mitchell of the Committee to Save the Children of Bosnia-Herzegovina.*



tary Ron Brown, who died in an April 3 plane crash in Dubrovnik, Croatia, along with many industrial executives, representing an investment potential of tens of billion of dollars.

4. The war criminals responsible for the aggression and genocide must be prosecuted and punished.

5. It is necessary to inform and mobilize the public in the West, and especially in the United States, on the necessity of guaranteeing the rights of Bosnia, which nation put a stop to the widening of the Greater Serbian assaults and the designs of their sponsors.

The delegation also hoped that a dialogue among the religious leaders of Bosnia could be brought about, and that these leaders might visit the United States. During their stay in Bosnia, members of the delegation extended such an invitation to those with whom they met.

Former Congressman James Mann, in his remarks to the press conference, emphasized that the committee's concern to save the children was broader than just taking care of their physical needs. They have to be free of fear and have a proper education, he said. As a result of the Greater Serbians' policy of ethnic cleansing, many children are missing, he said.

July 1 is the scheduled date for reduction of Bosnia's Armed Forces to 35,000 men, he said. This will demobilize more than 100,000 soldiers; but what are they coming home to? There is no industry, no jobs, no international financial assistance. Mann reported that he was told, in Bosnia, that the loss of Commerce Secretary Brown was a greater loss to Bosnia than to the United States, because it had slowed down

## In this section

The Schiller Institute delegation met with some of the top religious, economic, and political leaders in Sarajevo and Zagreb. In this *Feature*, we publish edited transcripts of many of these interviews, beginning with a discussion with leaders of the ruling Party of Democratic Action, and a report on a joint press conference held at the party's headquarters.

Next are meetings with leaders of the three major religions: Dr. Mustafa Effendi Cerić, Cardinal Vinko Puljić, Bishop Pero Sudar, Father Avakum Rosić, and Cardinal Franjo Kuharić (of Croatia).

Then come meetings with two organizations that have been vital to the economic survival of the nation: Elektroprivreda, the electrical utility; and Merhamet, the Muslim humanitarian relief organization.

Following that are interviews with political leaders: two Members of the Presidency, Stjepan Kljuić and Mirko Pejanović; and Deputy Defense Minister Hasan Čengić and Defense Ministry Spokesman Faris Nanić.

Finally, there is a selection from the local press coverage of the delegation's visit.

the reconstruction effort.

State Rep. Ben Swan, who was a personal friend of Ron Brown, described the Committee's trip as an opportunity for him to understand more fully the importance of the initiative that Brown had been undertaking. There was a deliberate attempt on the part of the aggressors, he said, to dismantle civilization in Bosnia; every aspect of the productive economy was targeted for destruction. The Brown mission was seen there as a way to bypass organizations such as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, which are demanding that Bosnia pay 17% of the debt of former Yugoslavia—when the aggressive force used against the Bosnians was the self-same Yugoslav Army. If the United States does what it can to maintain the peace, Swan said, then it probably won't be necessary in the years to come for American forces to be deployed to stop a new war in that part of the world.

Umberto Pascali of the Schiller Institute then gave a historical overview of the British geopolitical plan that created the war in the Balkans. As a result of the Schiller Institute's intervention, he said, the Bosnians now have a clearer idea that what happened to them was no accident, but that the genocide committed by Greater Serbian leaders Radovan Karadzic and Slobodan Milosevic was fostered from abroad. As the daily *Vecernje Novine* headlined its coverage of the delegation's visit, "The Iron Lady Gave the Green Light" (see p. 44).

---

## Itinerary

---

*The delegation of the Schiller Institute's Committee to Save the Children of Bosnia-Herzegovina had the following meetings in Croatia and Bosnia:*

**April 13, Croatia:** His Eminence Cardinal Franjo Kuharic, archbishop of Zagreb and primate of Croatia, receives the delegation at the Archbishop's Residence in Zagreb.

Dinner with Prof. Zvonimir Separovic, president of the Victimology Society, former Croatian foreign minister, former president of Zagreb University.

Meeting with Jany Hansal, president of DESA-Dubrovnik, a humanitarian organization, and Maria Primorac of the same group.

**April 15, Sarajevo:** Offices of the electric company Elektroprivreda. Meeting with Edhem Bicakcic, general manager of the company and vice president of the ruling Party of Democratic Action (SDA). Meeting with Acif Hadrovic, director of the company; Mrs. Sabaheta Sadikovic, director of generation and head of the research and development department; Urfet Vejzagic, senior counsellor; and Zaim Karamehmedovic of the transmission and operation department.

Presidential Palace. Meeting with Member of the Presidency Stjepan Kljuic, leader of the Republican Party.

Meeting with Rejs Ulema Dr. Mustafa Effendi Ceric, the leader of the Islamic community in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Rejs Ulema receives the delegation at his residence.

Defense Ministry. Meeting with Deputy Defense Minister Hasan Cengic and the Spokesman of the Ministry Faris Nanic.

**April 16, Sarajevo:** His Eminence Cardinal Vinko Puljic receives the delegation at his residence. After the meeting, the delegation is received by the auxiliary bishop of Sarajevo, His Excellency Pero Sudar.

Visit to the School for Europe.

The delegation is received at the offices of Merhamet, the Muslim humanitarian association of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by President Edah Becirbegovic and Vice President Dr. Abdulkerim Fazlic.

Visit at a factory for the production of prosthetic limbs, an initiative sponsored by Merhamet. Meeting with the director, Prof. Isref Karaikovic.

Visit at the Institute for Public Health. The delegation is received by General Director Prof. Arif Smajkic.

**April 17, Sarajevo:** Meeting at the headquarters of the Party of Democratic Action (SDA). The SDA is represented by Dr. Halid Genjac, president of SDA's General Board, and Dr. Ismet Grbo, the manager of the party's Public Relations Department. After the meeting, the delegation holds a press conference in the SDA press room. The conference is introduced by Dr. Grbo, who reviews the main points of discussion and collaboration between the visiting delegation and the SDA.

Presidential Palace. The delegation is received by Prof. Mirko Pejanovic, Member of the Presidency and president of Serb Civic Council, the organization of the Bosnian Serbs free from the control of Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic.

Visit to the Bjelave Orphanage. Received by the director, Amir Zelic.

Visit to the residence of the metropolitan of Sarajevo, Nikolai. The delegation is received by father Avakum Rosic, the only remaining Serbian Orthodox authority in Sarajevo.

Members of the delegation have a telephone conversation with Professor Finzi, the leader of the Jewish community of Sarajevo.

**April 18:** Meeting at the U.S. embassy with Fletcher M. Burton, the deputy ambassador and the highest-level U.S. diplomat present at the time in Sarajevo. There is an exchange of views, emphasizing the need to continue the initiatives of the late U.S. Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, for economic reconstruction of Bosnia; and the importance of bringing the war criminals to trial. Press conference in Dubrovnik, Croatia.

**April 19:** Meeting at the Zagreb Airport with Malaysian delegation leaving for Sarajevo.

# We need a program for rebuilding Bosnia

*On April 17, the delegation from the Committee to Save the Children of Bosnia met with leaders of Bosnia's ruling party, the Party of Democratic Action (SDA), including Halid Genjac, the president of the General Board of the SDA; and Dr. Ismet Grbo, SDA chief of public relations. The following are excerpts from this discussion.*

**Dr. Ismet Grbo:** Our diplomacy has achieved results, and the situation is calming down. Whether it calms down completely, depends on the United States and Europe, but especially on America. Peace is the precondition for any reconstruction. We have little time here to discuss concrete projects, but we can give some outlines.

The two things that could cause problems, are the elections in Bosnia and the elections in the United States. Probably we will have to be patient until the fall; but we have to do what we can now, to get the aid that is needed for Bosnia. We must make sure that interest in Bosnia does not fall off in America, because of the elections. It must not happen that Bosnia is forgotten.

The truth must be told about Bosnia. Some people are spreading ideas about how Bosnia is "fundamentalist." This is a way of avoiding responsibility for Bosnia. From CNN, etc., we know that there are tunes in American politics that just multiply the propaganda of our aggressors. This directly helps both Belgrade and Zagreb, and creates a more difficult situation for the American troops here.

You can see for yourself, that all we are asking for is freedom of religion. We are not building up an Islamic state structure. But you cannot expect us to give up Islam, any more that we ask you to give up your religion.

Many of our children suffered because they were told that they were Muslim children. Fifty thousand Bosnian children have been displaced, and we still do not know where all of them are. They are all over the world. Thirty thousand women were raped, and 15% of them have now had children. We do not know where many of these people are, and what their condition is. A huge number of people are missing. These are all things that influence the reconstruction and development of our community.

After the Dayton Accord, it was said that work would begin on a Clinton-Marshall Plan. A few days ago, a donors' conference took place. It was said that the Islamic countries

should go to Sarajevo and make preparations, and then there would be a conference in Brussels later. The idea is that the money should be given by the Islamic countries. If we operate in this way, the situation will explode.

We are working to prepare legislation that will create minimum social and legal security.

We have been told to wait until the elections, and then aid will come. Many important Americans have told us that Bosnia should be armed, so that we can defend ourselves. But now this issue is delaying the implementation of the agreement here.

Let me review for you our most important requirements:

We need urgent reconstruction of lodgings, so that people can return to their homes. One-third of our people are living outside Bosnia, and every third person here is not at their own home. We need to return to a normal life, to create conditions in which the refugees can return here. They don't need to be given cooked fish, but they need to be able to fish for themselves. They need basic education, tools, food, and a workplace. Production is now zero, and profit does not exist.

**Halid Genjac:** Three days ago, an important meeting took place. Thirty thousand people were there, most of them Bosniacs. President Izetbegovic's words to them are useful, to answer some of your questions. He said that we have to think about reconciliation in Bosnia; the war criminals have to be brought to trial, but we must have reconciliation among the ordinary people, Serbs and Croats. I think that the American people can play a role in this.

### Meeting the press

*The two delegations then proceeded to hold a press conference at the SDA's headquarters. About 40 people attended, including three television stations and all the major Bosnian newspapers. See p. 44 for a sampling of the press coverage that resulted. Dr. Grbo of the SDA spoke first.*

**Grbo:** As you know, we've been hosts to our guests from the Schiller Institute, representatives from different countries. Afterwards, they're going to introduce themselves, and give the main data, and point to the questions they're investigating here in Bosnia.

The topic of today's talks was how to provide help to Bosnia, in a situation where we are preparing for elections. Also, there are preparations for elections in the United States going on.

In Bosnia, it is evident that there is still a crisis. The process of implementation of agreement is going on, and in the United States, their pre-election campaign has some influence regarding providing help to Bosnia.

We also discussed the so-called "Marshall-Clinton Plan," and it was advised that it is going to follow the implementation of the Dayton Accord, which also means the starting-up of big public works.

During these talks, we agreed on several issues. It is very necessary to spread the truth about Bosnia all over the world, in order to stop the prejudices against Bosnia. Bosnia should remain in the public eye of the United States and the world.

The third issue which we discussed was in regard to the continuity of aid, till Bosnia receives some kind of financial injections, which will start production in our country.

An invitation to visit the Schiller Institute was accepted. Now I'm asking representatives to take the floor, and give a short word about the Schiller Institute.

**Paolo Raimondi:** The delegation here is from the Committee to Save the Children of Bosnia. It was created about three months ago, following an appeal that was issued by the president of the Schiller Institute in Germany, Helga Zepp LaRouche. I want to tell you a little bit about the Schiller Institute, and the reason why the Schiller Institute created a committee and campaigned over the past few years for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Schiller Institute is an international political-cultural organization, present in most of the countries of the Western world, as well as in the developing sector. We were the institution which, before the war of aggression of Greater Serbia began, had warned that this was the gameplan in this part of the world. We stressed this, because we saw something that many people in the Western world knew, but nobody wanted to say: that there was a geopolitical gameplan for the destabilization of Europe, to bring war back into Europe after decades of peace.

The forces that I identify as a geopolitical interest have a name, and we named the names. They are London—former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Lord Carrington, the British oligarchy around the Windsor family—together with former French President François Mitterrand, together with those forces in the United States which are in an alliance with the British. I'm talking about George Bush, Henry Kissinger, Lawrence Eagleburger, James Baker.

You have been the victim of this geopolitical gameplan. Without the green light which was given by these forces, Greater Serbia, the Chetnik forces, would not have moved. You have been martyred, and you have suffered in the last four years, because of these operations. You saw Lord Carrington come here, Cyrus Vance come here, the United Nations come here. It is the continuation of this geopolitical destabilization of continental Europe.

So now, coming to the present situation.

First of all, we are campaigning for and we support the national sovereignty of Bosnia-Herzegovina, against all types of supranational interference.

We are campaigning for the right of Bosnia-Herzegovina to have economic development. This is why we are campaigning for a Marshall Plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina, but, directly linked to the national sovereignty of Bosnia-Herzegovina, not something that comes from the outside as a

policy which is dictated. In this context, the role played by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank is de facto the continuation of the destabilization policy of the last four years, because you cannot impose conditionalities on a country like Bosnia-Herzegovina after four years of destruction and aggression. It is immoral even to think, let alone to demand, that the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina must pay the debt of the old communist Yugoslavia.

Bosnia-Herzegovina has the right to a sovereign national bank. It has the right to a national currency; it has the right to issue credit for its own purpose, for reconstruction. And a Marshall Plan, supported from the outside, must be integrated, connected with this principle of sovereignty.

If the World Bank program is simply tolerated or implemented by the West—I don't want to say if "it is accepted by you," because I know that they come to dictate policy—but if the West, the United States, and western Europe, tolerate once again this interference, this will be the continuation of four years of destabilization. And it will lead to other wars.

We from the Schiller Institute say that this policy of the IMF and World Bank is not a mistake; it is not due to incompetence. It is a conscious policy. Because, in our experience, what we have seen of the activity of the World Bank and the IMF over the last 20 years, in Latin America, in the developing sector, and in eastern Europe after the fall of communism, *proves* that their policy leads to destabilization and economic collapse.

We are also campaigning that the question of the war criminals should not be dropped, even if we have to campaign for the next 50 years. If this issue is covered up in the West; if they are not put before an international tribunal, then their policy will have been accepted. That would be an invitation for the continuation of the same policy elsewhere, not only here.

This is why we are suggesting that the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina should file an official lawsuit against these war criminals, the high-level war criminals, so that international organizations and institutions, governments, and citizens, can mobilize to sustain this demand for a tribunal against war criminals.

The Schiller Institute has come to learn everything possible about the situation here, to make sure that we can bring out the truth about the war and the present conditions.

**Dr. Jozef Miklosko:** We created this Committee, which is international and ecumenical. We want to awaken the conscience of people all over the world. Especially in the United States, there are many politicians, congressmen, churches, who are responding positively to this cause.

So, we created a movement from all over the world with the slogan "To save the children of Bosnia!" We know that the children of Bosnia are suffering very much. And they are the future of your country. Therefore, we are trying to coordinate and also organize this help for children.

The second important issue is the debt forgiveness. In the letter by Pope John Paul II, "As the Third Millennium Draws Near," it is written that on the millennium all debt should be forgiven, especially of the poor countries, and we think that Bosnia should be the first example of this generosity. It is absurd that Bosnia, the victim, should pay the debt of the aggressor.

Third, we always stress the generous reconstruction plan for infrastructure into Bosnia.

We underline very much the need for cooperation of all three religions. When we go back home, we shall further the campaign, and help to create interest about Bosnia in the world.

**Ben Swan:** I personally am involved in this project, having been contacted by the Committee to Save the Children of Bosnia-Herzegovina. I'm involved, because I understand the necessity of maintaining peace in Bosnia, a stable peace, a just peace, as part of maintaining peace in the world. Because if we lose peace here, I'm concerned that it would be the beginning of a greater conflict.

My interest for travelling here, was for the purpose of fact-finding, to see and to understand, to get information, to talk to the people here, so that I can go back to America with a greater understanding, in order to help to educate the citizens of the United States, in order that we can personalize the condition and the experience of Bosnia.

We recognize that this is an election year in America, and we recognize that the pressures on President Clinton are affecting the extent of that nation's involvement. But, I believe that if the people of America knew and understood better the importance of maintaining peace here, and the importance of America's involvement here, it would be much more politically appropriate for the United States to extend or expand its involvement here.

Since I've been here, I've extended invitations to people who I've met with here, to come to America, to help bring the information to the citizens of America, so that we can mobilize public support for broader American economic involvement and support for the restructuring of Bosnia. I am personally convinced that the work of Ron Brown, in attempting to gain the involvement of business and industry from the private sector in America, was a great effort, and we should not allow it to die, but to push it forward and to mobilize it in a stronger way.

*During the question and answer session, one member of the press said that she wished to thank Mr. Raimondi for his remarks, because for a long time, the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina had faced a dilemma: "Either the world had gone crazy, or we were crazy. Now, Mr. Raimondi has said that we are not crazy. We are very thankful to him."*

**Theo Mitchell:** I'm grateful that the Schiller Institute extended the invitation to me to be a part of this committee. Certainly, there's nothing like being present, on site, to see

for yourself after also meeting with people and talking with them, to understand the physical destruction and, certainly, the circumstances of a great nation, and certainly a great people. There's nothing like actually learning the facts, and hopefully we will be able to use history, this, as an example that this will never happen again.

We haven't learned anything, as human beings, from World War II and the genocide which the Nazis inflicted upon people here in Europe. Had there been the pursuit of the war criminals here, as occurred during that period, it is possible this would never have happened, and that is one of the concerns I have, that it never happen again. Because if Europe goes up again, the world is going to be involved the next time. We cannot afford that.

The United States has a great responsibility to help in the reconstruction of this nation, and should have involved itself more readily, earlier on, to perhaps save what it could have saved several years ago.

My job is to go back to the United States and tell the people what the reality here is, so that the politicians will realize, up to, and during, and after the election, that reconstruction is essential, necessary, and indispensable to save this nation and its people. And a pursuit of the war criminals must, in fact, be brought about, so that they will not involve themselves in the disruption of Europe again. Thank you.

# The Science of Christian Economy

And other prison writings by  
Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr.

Includes  
*In Defense of Common Sense*,  
*Project A*, and *The Science of Christian Economy*,

three ground-breaking essays written by LaRouche after he became a political prisoner of the Bush administration on Jan. 27, 1989.

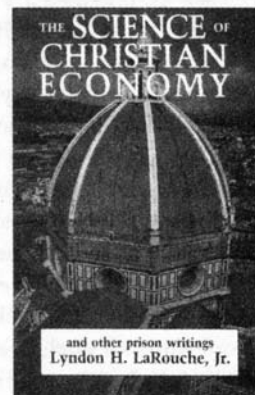
\$15

Order from:

**Ben Franklin Booksellers, Inc.**

Toll free (800) 453-4108 (703) 777-3661 fax (703) 777-8287

Shipping and handling: Add \$4 for the first book and \$.50 for each additional book in the order. Virginia residents add 4.5% sales tax. We accept MasterCard, Visa, American Express, and Discover.



## We reject the 'clash of civilizations' idea

*On April 15, the Schiller Institute delegation met with Dr. Mustafa Effendi Ceric, the highest Muslim authority in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in his office in Sarajevo. Dr. Ceric, who lived in Chicago for five years, spoke in English. This is an abridged transcript of the discussion.*

**Ceric:** Welcome to Sarajevo, to our community here. I have heard about the Schiller Institute. It did a lot for Bosnia. Thank you for your support.

I visited South Africa a week ago, for ten days. I was in Johannesburg, Capetown, and Durban. You have a Muslim community there. It's a small one, 1% of the whole population, with Indians, Pakistanis, and Malays, from Malaysia. A few Arabs. They have three ministers: minister of justice, minister of health, and minister of forests. And they have 16 Members of Parliament. So, they went out onto the streets asking for an Islamic state. It's very, I don't want to say radical, but—

Then we told them, "Please, be quiet. Put up or shut up," as they say in the United States. "Be grateful that you are here and enjoy freedom, and do whatever you can to help, on behalf of humanity, as much as you can."

Because the state is not the purpose-in-itself. Hegel only wants the state to be the purpose-in-itself. I think that is a great deception for us Muslims, that they are putting in our mouths that we want an Islamic state. We do not have, in the Koran, that there should be an Islamic state; we have only that God's will is to have an ethical and moral society. And the state is an instrument to achieve that. So the state may be good or bad. But your goal, to achieve ethical or moral standards, is there, whether the state is good or bad.

In South Africa, I found something called truth and reconciliation. The blacks want to forgive; but the whites don't ask for this forgiveness. The blacks want to live with the whites; but the whites don't want to live with the blacks. A similarity to us. We have hate in some areas of Bosnia. We have some areas where you are not allowed to be, because of your religion, let's say. We know this problem. Maybe sometimes it's better if you are different from others, so that you can know each other.

Religion defines ethnicity here, not vice-versa. So, Islam defines Bosniacs, if you like, in a cultural way, habits, and so

on. Orthodoxy defines Serbs, and Catholicism defines Croats.

I don't know whether this helps you or not, but this is how it is. This is the reality.

Take one remark which is very indicative: The mayor of the western part of Mostar said, "We don't want a united Mostar, because Muslims are lazy, and we work for them, and they want to live with us, because we do things for them." This is the logic of racism. The same thing. The arguments of the whites are that the blacks are worthless, that they are this, this, this, and this. So, it was a tremendous experience for us in South Africa, although, of course, you can't apply everything.

There is another indication. In South Africa, they say that Nelson Mandela is good, but his party is not. So, they believe only in Mandela. The same thing here. They say that Alija Izetbegovic is a good man, but the people around him are not good. But Mandela said, "No. You cannot say that I am good, but my party's not good. It created me." Why? Because these centers, they know how to create despots, dictators.

**Dr. Jozef Miklosko:** I think that just the three big religions, Christians, Muslims, and Jews, should cooperate, if the main culture is going to be saved, because all the world is really going in a very, very bad way, and we are responsible, as believers in one God. I appreciate very much your Islamic position, for example, at the Cairo Conference [the 1994 U.N. conference on population—ed.], for the protection of life. There, all Catholics, Christians, and Muslims were on one ship, and they cooperated, and we should do it also in the future, I hope.

We are trying to help Bosnia, to make a lobby for the generous reconstruction of Bosnia, not through some international and multinational financial institutions, which have some conditionalities which are really sometimes very nasty, to pay 17% of the debt of the aggressors, of the Serbs, and then you get some money. What we need is a national bank, a national organization, which can create sovereign banking, a sovereign state, and help people here, especially the children.

In this sense, I hope that Bosnia has a future, and we all, from many countries and many religions, will try to help you. And therefore, once more, we thank you.

I know the pope wants to come to Sarajevo, and I think that he will use it, also, for this question. And we, as Catholics, are shocked, and surprised, and surprised in a good way, about the very positive activity of the pope, his communication with *all* churches, especially Islam, but also others. Our bishops are very polite and very careful, but the pope is really not, in this sense. And it's good! Therefore, I hope that you will find very good contact with him.

### An oligarchical policy

**Paolo Raimondi:** You touched upon some big issues, also looking back at history, because this provides a very big lesson for what has happened today. You told us that this kind of aggressive war has happened ten times before. I say that



*Rejs Ulema Dr. Mustafa Effendi Cerić, the religious leader of the Islamic community in Bosnia-Herzegovina, receives the Schiller Institute delegation at his residence. Left to right: Paolo Raimondi, Theo Mitchell, Ben Swan, Jozef Miklosko, Dr. Cerić, Umberto Pascali.*

every time it has happened, it was the result of an oligarchical mentality, an empire dominated by this oligarchical mentality, which does not respect human life. On the contrary, it approaches human life as a number: bestial, expendable.

As you know, the Schiller Institute, at the very beginning of this aggression, raised this political point very strongly. We said, “The Serbs have moved—the Greater Serbs,” not the good Serbs. The Chetniks, the Greater Serbs. “They have moved, because somebody, some interest behind them, bigger than them, let them go for some reason.” This was a general destabilization of the world, very, very dangerous, and far-reaching as well.

We pointed a finger at the British Empire, meaning not only London, but this network of oligarchs, now very much present in the House of Windsor as a type of institution.

We saw that in the last years. You saw it more than we did, but all the world could see: Lord Carrington, Cyrus Vance, David Owen, and the United Nations.

The game was, as you know, a supranational solution, a breakup of nation-states, to destroy populations, to destroy values, and then to impose a dictatorship.

On top of this, there was a very conscious attempt (this may be why the Greater Serbs did not get the green light to come into Sarajevo) to create, for a longer period of time, a religious war, what they call a religious war. Pit one against the other, because they were working, and they are still working for the idea of a “clash of civilizations.”

This is the new word. That Islam should become the new enemy. This is why your fight in the last four years has been so important. There was a betrayal from Europeans, Americans, the West in general. Not the people; the people were

participating with their hearts. But the governments, the institutions—not all the governments, but these oligarchs. They block everything. The United Nations mechanism blocks everything, controls everything. And I think that Bosnia and the Bosnian people, after the suffering of the last three or four years, have the moral authority to intervene.

**Ceric:** I understand what you’re saying. I understand. We didn’t want to do this, but this is not by our choice.

**Raimondi:** Because you kept this fire burning, this light, people can come here now, despite all the problems. Today, we saw this again. You can prove that a multi-ethnic, multi-religious community can exist, based on human beings, and that society can function.

This is what they’re battling to destroy, and they’ve tried many times in this century. These people are really dangerous and crazy. They tried to pit Islam against the rest of the world, or the rest of the world versus Islam, depending on where you sit.

As I said, with your moral authority, we need your help—more than ever. We need your help to help us in changing the West, and the rest of the world, around this battle of principles.

### **The issues facing Europe**

**Ceric:** If I may speak now, following your comments: First of all, I am very glad that we met. I usually have all these politicians who are always trying to get you something. So you have to be very careful. And all those humanitarians: I pray to God, sincerely, that you never come to the position that somebody gives you aid. Please, pray, and pray for your children, that you don’t go around and ask, and live on sympathy. I pray sincerely.



They say that the facts have no mercy. God maybe will have mercy on you, and love, and all this. But the facts—they don't. The facts are: always, in all history, you had one power or two powers, but, basically, two. This is why we are in confusion now. We have only one, the most powerful in the world, the West, because we don't have communism any more.

But, what is the greatness of the greater power? There are two characteristics. First, political power, which is based upon economic power. And these two are based on one single fact, that those who know to appreciate differences among people will be great. The United States is great, only because it knows how to recognize differences of all different ethnic groups, religions, and so on.

As for the Ottomans: You may like them or you may not like them, but the fact is, that the Ottomans ruled this area for five centuries. This is the oldest dynasty in the history of mankind. How? Because they recognized different ethnic and religious groups.

The Ottomans made the Serbs to be a nation. The Ottomans built the churches. You know what happened? The churches that had been built in the fifteenth century, and survived all these tyrannical sultans, have been destroyed now. The Ottomans were able to keep peace here, in this area, with all these ethnic Balkan groups. And all these ethnic groups survived, survived the Serbs. The Turks, the Ottomans, were so strong and powerful at the time, that they could wipe out everything, everybody. But they didn't. But, once the Ottomans closed themselves off and isolated themselves, it was the end.

So I see for Europe, which I am part of—you can hate or you can love Europe. These are two extremes. You cannot be indifferent; because it is so powerful, that you like it because you want to imitate it; and yet it is so deadly, so merciless, that you hate the power that it has. And, if Europe continues to do this, this is the beginning of the end. *But*, when you're powerful, you don't see your decline. This is how it is with great powers.

### Islam's role today

People ask me, especially Muslims, "Tell us about Bosnian Muslims. We never hear about them." The Islamic world didn't know about Bosnia; they don't even know certain things about themselves, so how could they know about Bosnia?

But, when it came to be on CNN, they discovered that there are some Muslims in Europe! That was a discovery for them. This is why this emotion came, even though they have problems in Kashmir, Palestine, and all this. But, they forgot everything. "Let's go to Bosnia," because it is in Europe.

And I told them that I didn't know these Bosnians, really, myself. I discovered them, too. Because we were far away from each other. We didn't know each other, even, on the street. Because we lived in a most godless time. In Europe, it was proclaimed that God is dead. Philosophy took over the

religious meaning. We don't know how to speak religiously, and we do not understand each other. This is why we have difficulty: When we speak about this multiculture, people don't understand what you are talking about.

It's not a question any more of how much you believe in God, and how much you go to church. It's a question of respect for the concepts that our fathers had before us.

In Sarajevo, you have these churches, synagogues, in a very, very small area. If somebody asked us now, would you allow the Catholic church to be near the mosque? I don't know what our answer would be. But our fathers based their lives on this belief. We *don't* have religion. It is only a show! We have computers. "We will put everything in the computer." But, it is not in our minds. And, this is why we are suffering.

Why, for example, in the Second World War, did the Serbs, the same Chetniks, not touch the mosques? Yet this time, they destroyed everything. Why? Forty-five years of this alienation from *anything* heavenly, or anything that is God's. Because we are cut off. This is what they call "secularization."

But we have certain moral demands. The difficulty of Islam, is that it doesn't compromise with certain demands of the world in which we live. Islam makes moral demands.

This is why, for example, you have this antagonism, or apathy, toward Islam. This apathy is reasonable, in one way. I know those points that are reasonable. Because those who represent Islam, are very far away from the way Prophet Mohammed taught Islam.

But, the West is making a mistake. You could fight communism, because it was artificial. You cannot fight Islam. I mean, you cannot destroy it. Of course, you can try to control it, to manipulate it. That's different: to corrupt it. But, you cannot destroy it. And this is what they have as an agenda.

The more the West pressures Muslims, the stronger the Muslims will be. The fact is, that all these Bosnians who were *far* from religion—not just Islam, but *every* religion—Karadzic made them stronger Muslims than 50 years of our missionary work in the mosques. Because Karadzic did one good thing for us—God forgive me for saying this. But, he didn't distinguish among the Muslims, whether a person is an atheist or a fundamentalist, or whatever. They killed all those who were circumcised. And that made Muslims stand together as a group, because you need security. You are secure when you come to your group. So, you must be Muslim, whether you like it or not.

What the West is doing, is uniting the Muslim world. Which, from my egoistic point of view, if you like, is good. So I would encourage the West to do this, because it makes people stronger. When you are defiant, if you succeed, then you don't care what they say. The West wants to dominate the world. They want everyone to listen to them, because they don't see the needs of those who are not in the same position.

Europe is lying to us, saying that they want a multicultural life. No. They are lying to us. Yes, you can be a slave, and

have a multicultural life. We will see what the future holds.

### Proposal for an international institute

In a small area here, four civilizations meet. Jews are not a big number, but, because of their quality, their influence is very, very great. So, there are no big and small nations. There are only strong and weak nations.

We can pay homage to this witness of Sarajevo and the Bosnia flank. I would like to see an institute, an international institute in Sarajevo, for comparative study of religions and civilizations, to prevent the conflict of civilizations. Sarajevo should be a laboratory for that. Because here, if you want synagogues, you can go; if you want Catholic churches, you can go. You have Orthodox churches? Yes, you can go. You have mosques? Yes.

Students from all over the world could come to this institute, to be governed by different scholars, different backgrounds, to study religion and culture. Because it is different to study Islam in Cairo, than in Washington. Why? Because in Cairo, whatever you say, you are right. For example. It's like in Moscow, they used to say that Americans were saying that they were a free nation, because you could say whatever you like against Nixon. You can offend him, and so on. So, we have more freedom than Moscow. Then, the Russian said, "We have more freedom. In Moscow, you can say whatever you like against Nixon, too."

But here, you cannot do that. In Sarajevo, if Catholics say, "We are Catholics, we want to do—" No, no, no. If I say, "We want Islam here," the Catholics will say, "No, please. We are here." And the Serbs, and the Jews. So, every day I have to prove myself. *Every day*. Every single day. Because from my home to here, I meet Serbs, and Jews, and Croats, and so on. So, I'm not alone.

What I'm trying to say, is that Sarajevo should be a center for such study, to have a good library, an institute, and to have students—our children—who will come. But, not on the notion that we're going to study *against* religion. We've had enough talk against religion. I mean, it's enough. They've said everything.

### Dialogue among the faiths

But, let them see what there is, about religion. Our great-grandfathers. You see, Thomas Aquinas was a student of Ibn Sina. He would say, "My master says. . . ." Al-Farabi was a student of Aristotle. He sacrificed even Islamic values for the sake of the wisdom of Aristotle. We know this. Then there was Maimonides, a Jew who was a doctor, a private medical doctor to the Mameluke rulers in Egypt, who wrote a book called *A Guide for the Perplexed*, who wrote about Islamic theology, better (I teach Islamic theology) than the Muslims. He could understand this Islamic religion very well.

And they did have dialogue. You have one interesting point, a dialogue between a Jew and a Muslim. They were disputing about their religion, because everybody says that

their religion is better. And in one statement, they said, "If I lie, I swear to God, I wish to be a Jew. If I lie, let me be a Jew." And the Jews say, "If I lie, let me be a Muslim." You know? But, for them, that was a competition. Who is going to be better, and to show in practice whose religion is better?

Now, we are coming to theological paganism, because people say that only those who have *no* religion can rule the world. You see? Why? Because only paganism can be neutral.

Because I, as a Muslim, am not; and Boutros Boutros-Ghali, he is "very objective," because he is more criminal, of course. And because I am Muslim, I am not trusted. And because you are Christian, you are not trusted. Right?

They put us together, and we cannot agree. We try to prove whose God is more powerful: mine or yours? But, we are proving *ourselves*, not God, because God is one and the same. It's not only that He is one, but He is the *same God* that we are talking about.

But then, we want to have different gods. So, we put gods to fight each other. And we say that we are not pagans, like the Greeks. Yet, of course, we are very, very close to that.

So our duty, if we are concerned about the future of our planet, is *not* how to prove to ourselves how many of us can destroy mosques and churches, but how many people of this pagan mentality we can bring together, to win them over, to get them to make peace with the Creator of the Universe? I think that's our task and our job. And, I see we have a lot to do.



**LaRouche  
Campaign  
Is On the  
Internet!**

Lyndon LaRouche's Democratic presidential primary campaign has established a World Wide Web site on the Internet. The "home page" brings you recent policy statements by the candidate as well as a brief biographical resumé.

**TO REACH** the LaRouche page on the Internet:

<http://www.clark.net/larouche/welcome.html>

**TO REACH** the campaign by electronic mail:

[larouche@clark.net](mailto:larouche@clark.net)

Paid for by Committee to Reverse the Accelerating Global Economic and Strategic Crisis: A LaRouche Exploratory Committee.

## Without justice, there is no peace

*The Schiller Institute delegation met with Vinko Puljic, the Roman Catholic cardinal of Sarajevo, on April 16.*

*Cardinal Puljic is the author of a book, *Suffering With Hope*, which is available in English. It is a compilation of his letters and speeches up through 1993, which he refers to as the hardest time in Sarajevo.*

*Cardinal Puljic's remarks excerpted here were translated from Croatian.*

**Puljic:** I want to tell you a few important principles. We have to recognize all three religions, all three cultures, or three nations in Bosnia. We have to educate them about how to honor man.

This war created something which we didn't have in Bosnia. There was not such a great love between people, but there was *some* love between people. We lived together. But this war brought hate between the people, and the media incited it.

Now, we have to do everything to make politics accept the fact that everybody is equal, and then to help us to love this country, everybody who lives in it. Because we love this country, we have to do something to build this country. We must do everything possible so that children in school are taught to love their country, to love each other, to have a special love for those who were injured during the war, and then to make sure that every person feels secure in this country.

### Our emphasis is on the schools

I welcome your idea, to help the children here in Bosnia. The Catholic Church has tried not to be thrust into politics, but to do its church work. We are working for man. We put the emphasis on the school; we have to start with the schools. We are just opening schools which are multi-ethnic, multicultural. We have one here in Sarajevo, a private school. Even though we did not have the means to open the school, we opened it.

In this school, the children learn together, they play together, they live together, nobody bothers the other. They are Catholic, Muslim, and Orthodox children. When they have catechism class, the Catholic children learn catechism; the Muslim children have their religious class; but the Orthodox children have no certified priest who can teach them [because



*Cardinal Vinko Puljic: "We must do everything possible so that children are taught to love their country, to love each other, to have a special love for those who were injured during the war, and then to make sure that every person feels secure in this country."*

there are no Serbian Orthodox teachers on this level left in the city—ed.]. We call it the "School for Europe," and we think that at this moment, it is most important.

We would like to open more schools, wherever it is possible. We have problems with the government, because it does not want to give us back our buildings. We had these buildings before the Second World War, and then the communist regime came along and "liberated" these buildings. We do not ask for anything else, just our buildings.

We use all these buildings for social work. The sisters of this community have a special mission for the children in all of Bosnia, Croatia, and the other parts of former Yugoslavia. We have a project especially for abandoned children, for orphans. We have a project for handicapped children, and another for injured people, invalids, an ambulance. And for old people; they really need a lot of help.

### Contacts among the religions

We are thinking about contact with the other religious communities. I had a meeting with Rejs Ceric last Monday. We would like to create one commission, which is not going to be declarative, but concrete. We have not yet done it, but we think we have to do it as soon as possible. Last Sunday, I met the Orthodox metropolitan. I went to greet him and present my best wishes for Orthodox Easter, and he will meet me here today. I am open to dialogue, and to building bridges so

that we can work together.

That, in short, is what I wanted to tell you. The big problem is the refugees returning to their homes. There are many spiritual injuries from the war, and it is very hard to heal them. We have to work on this, not let politics manipulate it, so that everybody can go back to their homes. They must be helped to build small businesses. It is very dangerous that we have been living so long from humanitarian help. It damages one's mentality. Man's destiny is to work and to live from his own work.

**Dr. Jozef Miklosko:** I have discussed in quite a tough way, but politely, with the deputy minister of defense [Hasan Cengic, see p. 41]. He spoke about tendencies for Greater Serbia and also Greater Croatia. He was a little bit pessimistic about the situation, but he spoke about the guilt of Croats against Muslims. He said that many mosques were destroyed by Croats, and that some priests organized such things. I tried to explain to him that after 40 years of communism, there are many who are formal believers, that it is wrong to say that all Croats are Catholics, all Serbs are Orthodox, and all Bosnians are Muslims. But how do you evaluate the guilt of Croats against Muslims?

**Puljic:** We are very sad that this radicalism happened, as a consequence of the Serbian aggression. We saw the destruction and burning of religious buildings. It is very negative. I reacted every time it happened, but it was very, very hard, during the conflict between Muslims and Croats. Every reaction by me created a hard life for my priests, who were left in their parishes. I had to react, but in a way that my priests would be saved, both when there was the Serbian aggression, and also when the conflict started between the Muslims and the Croats.

We should not forget that the conflict between Croats and Muslims is the consequence of the Serbian aggression. During this conflict, Croats destroyed some mosques and Muslim buildings. When I reacted, it was very dangerous for me, but I couldn't condemn just one side. The Muslims destroyed many churches, and we cannot use them any more. There was a great deal of hate on both sides. I couldn't condemn just one. That would not be right.

What I was trying to do, was not to let any priest join the soldiers, or be a leader of the parties. Here is the difference with the Islamic community: Their priests were in the army and in the party. The Muslim community can organize themselves as they wish, but my responsibility is to watch after how the members of my community are behaving. I could not tell the political leaders and the army leaders how they should behave, but I had a responsibility for my people, and I had the right to tell them what is not right.

There were some mysterious persecutions during these conflicts. The Croatians—not "the Croatians," but the Croatian army—expelled about 50,000 Muslims. But the Muslim army expelled 150,000 Croatians. Everybody has to get back

to their homes, but the situation is not yet ready.

We asked forgiveness and we said, we have to forgive each other.

**Umberto Pascali:** We heard in discussions that there were efforts on the part of the Croatian leadership in Bosnia-Herzegovina to split Bosnia in two parts.

**Puljic:** Politicians would like to divide it, and some international politicians are working for that. That is not right. That is injustice.

Everybody has to go to their homes, but they must have security in their homes. I would like to go to my birthplace in Banja Luka, and I would like a situation in which each Muslim could go to Mostar, Caplina, to Banja Luka, as well as for the Serbians to be able to go to their birthplaces. Without that, there is no justice. Without justice, there cannot be peace.

## Condolences from Croatia to Mrs. Alma Brown

*This letter was sent to Mrs. Alma Brown by the women of DESA-Dubrovnik, a Croatian humanitarian organization which is a member of the Committee to Save the Children of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mrs. Brown is the widow of U.S. Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, who died in a plane crash near Dubrovnik on April 3.*

Dear Mrs. Brown,

We, the women of a small women's organization here in Dubrovnik, would like to express to you and your family members, and to all the other grieving families in America, our deepest sympathy. The tragic loss of Mr. Brown and his dear friends and crew members has deeply shaken the lives of all the people in this region. Our women went to church to weep for the loss of these good people and to pray for their souls.

Mr. Brown and his friends came to this country in a very noble mission of bringing us help and friendship of the American people. This was really a Mission of Hope.

Cruel destiny has stopped them halfway through. Nevertheless, their sacrifice *shall* be our obligation and our oath to continue the work they have started, the work of building Peace and Friendship among the people on this planet!

God bless you and give you all the strength in these hard moments!

Sincerely,

The women of DESA-Dubrovnik

## Bosnia-Hercegovina is a viable nation

*Monsignor Dr. Pero Sudar, the auxiliary bishop of Sarajevo, is responsible for Roman Catholic educational work in the whole of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The text of this discussion, conducted in Italian with translation by Paolo Raimondi, has been abridged.*

**Sudar:** The most urgent request and demand from here comes from the children and from the schools here in Sarajevo and Bosnia. Due to the fact that you are supporting Bosnia-Hercegovina, I conclude that you are aware of the situation here. I believe that only those who know, are able to act beneficially. I will concentrate on the Catholic school question.

This war was a war for territory, but then it turned into a war against different communities living together. Bosnia can survive as a territory, as a nation, if it is able to maintain the characteristic of these communities living together. This is the essence of Bosnia-Hercegovina. What we have here is a meeting-place for different cultures, people, and religions. And, we believe that Bosnia-Hercegovina can have a future, if it remains a place where all live together and does not rather become the place of clashes. Unfortunately, when there are too many differences, you can also have various problems arising from this.

The aggression today is still trying to separate, to break up Bosnia-Hercegovina, to divide the different ethnic and religious groups. This problem came again from the Serbs, but, unfortunately, was then accepted by all sides. I will not go into now, why the others, the Muslims and the Catholics, accepted this dynamic. With great pain, I can again only reiterate that it is accepted by all sides, and you have a situation where minorities no longer feel secure.

### Tolerance in the schools

Because of the fact that from here, from Sarajevo, we cover all of the territory, all the villages of the Federation, we know very well what the situation is all over the countryside. Since we knew what was occurring, that was the reason that two years ago, we decided to send a signal of protest and a signal of hope. There is nothing so disturbing as to listen to parents describing how their children are put in a corner and are laughed at, simply because they belong to another group. This creates a situation, in which the parents some-

times will abandon their homes and go to areas where they are the majority. This is why we decided to confront this problem. We decided to create a school, paid for by the Catholic diocese here, but open to all people who feel that they are not fully accepted in their schools. Here, they should find a better place.

This school, and schools—because there should be many of them—are intended to be a proof, that there are people in Bosnia-Hercegovina who still want to live together with others. This was also a very big risk in the beginning, even for us; it could have been a moment, when, instead of demonstrating the ability of people to live together, it might have been a failure. You can imagine the problem faced by Muslim families, particularly during the period of the war between Muslims and Croats, in sending their children to a Catholic school in Sarajevo. But right now, because we do not even have enough space, we have to reject one-third of the children who wish to come to our school.

With this school, we wanted to give a sign of hope, while at the same time, one of protest, against what had been done to the children. And further, that it should become a sign that we wish to say that we want to become a part of Europe, that this *is* a part of Europe. Perhaps we are idealistic, but for us, Europe is a place of tolerance. We want to be a place of tolerance, in which people accept each other. We are trying, in our school, to explain, that to be different, is not something negative. In this school, which is a Catholic school, the religious teaching is open. Children who are of the Islamic religion have their own religious teaching; or, if they do not want to have any, they do not. The same is also true for both of the other communities. It is not allowed for a Catholic child to have Islamic teaching, or vice versa, to avoid any suspicion of pro-secting. For the Orthodox children, there is also a religious teacher appointed. The same is true for the other religions. The school does not appoint the religious teachers: They are appointed by the different communities. In this way, we seek to promote respect for the identity of, and openness to the tolerance of, others.

We wanted to be open to Europe; there are three aspects important in this respect: 1) the Classical languages Latin and Greek; 2) modern European languages: From the first grade, all the children learn English, and after the fifth year, they can elect to learn French and German; 3) exposure to computer technology. We intend to prepare the children, so that they can later be integrated into standard European schools. This is why our school is called, "School for Europe." Why for Europe? We wish to be integrated into Europe, while also making a contribution from our side, because there are two alternatives: Either we become a part of Europe, and we show that by this integration, these communities can work together; or else it is Europe that is going to lose and will not be fit for the future.



*The Auxiliary Bishop of Sarajevo, Pero Sudar, with the Schiller Institute delegation. Left to right: Elke Fimmen, Theo Mitchell, Jozef Miklosko, Bishop Sudar, Ben Swan, Nihad Dzinovic, James Mann, Umberto Pascali. Inset: Bishop Sudar's insignia, showing the map of Bosnia united.*

We now have three centers—in Sarajevo, Tuzla, and Zenica—and we intend to open three more centers. As bishop, I am responsible for all the education in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. I have already spoken to and convinced the bishop of Mostar to open a school like this in Mostar; the bishop of Banja Luka will open a similar center in Bihac. And we want to be part of the educational system of the Catholic schools in Europe, and put all the schools under the same regulations.

### **Political, economic problems**

I also have to admit that we have many difficulties with this project. The money that we did not use immediately for humanitarian aid, was not used for the churches or for anything else, but was invested in this school. Many people like this idea very much, but are not ready to financially support it.

We have much bigger problems from politics than from economics. This type of project upsets those who are against Bosnia being a place of integration. Here in Sarajevo, for example, we could not get back those properties of the Catholic Church that could be used for this project. We do not want to stop our struggle and our project; unfortunately, the opening of the three additional centers that we wanted to open this year, will probably have to be postponed until next year. For example, those who are against the idea that the Croats can go back to the city of Travnik, are also against relinquishing or returning the buildings to the Catholic Church that it intends to

use for the school. The same is true in Mostar and Banja Luka.

So it is difficult to face all these problems together. One has to send ten letters, for instance, from the little town of Travnik to President Izetbegovic; but, if there is no response after ten letters, then one loses faith that it be possible to find a solution. The problem is, that, on the one side, we are not seen very favorably by the government here, because they see us, this project, as a disturbance. But this is not the only problem. An even bigger problem comes from the Croats, themselves, insofar as they are telling us: "Why don't you call the school a Croatian school? You are traitors, you are abandoning us." Then we answer: "We want a school for living together, for working together." So there are problems from all sides. However, we are convinced that we will win; for, those who promote mankind without other attributions, shall win.

Unfortunately, out of 528,000 Catholics in the diocese, only 170,000 are left here. There was a mass emigration. Many say there is no future for Catholics here. Many say to us, that the school is an illusion. But we want to work for the good, even though we might not succeed. I think that men of good will, who are struggling for the good in our world, should learn what is going on here.

Two and a half years ago, in the middle of the most dramatic battles between Muslims and Croats, I chose this symbol as the bishop's insignia, the map of Bosnia-Herzegovina (see photo). You all see that on the walls here, are

pictures of Orthodox churches and mosques of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The warring powers said, and still repeat: Bosnia-Herzegovina is not possible. Dayton also said that Bosnia-Herzegovina is not possible. I ask whether there are forces that might not eventually be as powerful as are the big powers, but, who, nonetheless, are committed to the survival of this concept of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The people who love this country, these smaller forces, must wake up and get into action, internationally. If Bosnia-Herzegovina is not

---

---

*“If Bosnia-Herzegovina is not possible as a small paradigm, as an exemplar of Europe, then Europe is not possible. If, here, they establish a battlefield between the so-called Christian world against Islam, then there is no future. We, as the Catholic Church, do not wish to be made into an instrument by anyone for this purpose.”*

---

---

possible as a small paradigm, as an exemplar of Europe, then Europe is not possible. If, here, they establish a battlefield between the so-called Christian world against Islam, then there is no future.

We, as the Catholic Church, do not wish to be made into an instrument by anyone for this purpose. During and despite the entire war, we have extended an open hand to our brothers, Muslim and Orthodox. Unfortunately, we are fewer in numbers, but we hope to resist.

**James Mann:** Can you tell me about the facilities for medical care and orphanages built for the children?

**Sudar:** We have a social center, called St. Vincent. It was open to everybody during the entire war. We also have a home for the elderly. This is one of the biggest problems in Sarajevo and Bosnia-Herzegovina, because very many elderly and sick people have been abandoned. The children, their families, moved away, and only the elderly stayed behind. They can no longer take care of themselves, they cannot go out of their homes. We have a team of volunteers that travels around the city, from house to house, to help them. So, we wanted to open a home for the elderly, so that they would no longer be abandoned. Thirdly, the sisters want to open an orphanage as soon as possible. The only problem is financial. There is not enough financial support to do everything. And the space, buildings, are lacking.

**Theo Mitchell:** Prior to the war, were you working on

getting your buildings back? What are the prospects now, that a new government has been in place?

**Sudar:** There are two things. One is the way these things are discussed abroad, internationally. There is discussion about the Federation and that everyone has the right to come back to his home—on paper. But the reality is different. Even now, people are being compelled to leave their homes. One example is Zenica, where there was a better situation one or two years ago than now, insofar as we had obtained one building for the school. Now the building is too small, and there are two other church properties right beside it. We asked, “Give us the other building,” but the person who turned over the building in that municipality one year ago, told us: “You do not know how much criticism I received for what I did. If you did not get these buildings one or two years ago, you are not going to get them now.” Another example is in the city of Tuzla. Before the war, the church had a building, completely destroyed in the Second World War; but, the land is there. So I spoke with the mayor of Tuzla, who was here, and asked him for the land to begin to build the school. The mayor said: “I would like to do it, but the other politicians do not want to.” He was put under pressure not to do it.

**Ben Swan:** I appreciate your receiving us, providing us with the information that you have. Some of us will take that message back to America and spread it, because we are attempting to do some of the same things, relative to multiculturalism. We think that America must integrate all the cultures, just as you say about your country. The message that you offer, is of benefit and could be beneficial to America, both from the standpoint of learning from your experience, and understanding better your situation here. It would be great, if some delegation from the church here would be able to come to America for the purpose of meeting with groups, and help us to mobilize greater support against the opposition to what you are trying to do, maybe to help with some of the political problems. I would like to extend an invitation for you to come.

**Sudar:** First of all, I want to thank you very much. Maybe America is very far away. I know that it is very difficult to send soldiers here to establish peace. I would like to say that here, thanks to God, and also thanks to the American initiative, people are not being killed these days. If we want this peace agreement, which is not right and is not just, to become better and just; if we want this process to perhaps develop in this direction, I believe strongly, that the U.S. troops should stay not only one year, but longer. If the troops were to leave in December, unfortunately, my prediction is that the troops will have to come back later. We are not yet able to accept the idea of peace. When I say “we,” I mean all the people living in Bosnia. The second point is that if there is thinking about investing in this country, I pray people to first carefully look at which investments they make. What do really you want to do as priorities?

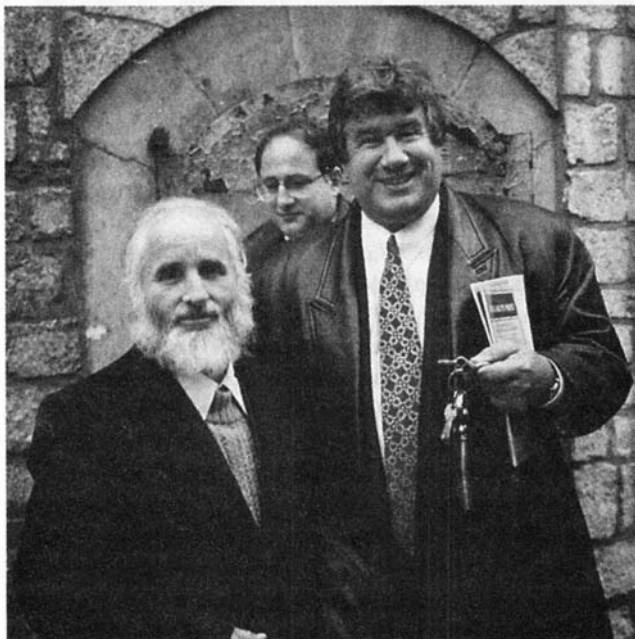
## Hatred and revenge will do nothing

*Father Rosic is the only Orthodox representative remaining in Sarajevo, since Metropolitan Nikolai left for the territory controlled by Radovan Karadzic. The text of this discussion has been abridged.*

**Dr. Jozef Miklosko:** We hoped to meet Metropolitan Nikolai, too, but he is away. Maybe you could tell us how you see the situation in Bosnia, what should be changed for the better, and what would help the ecumenical cooperation of the three Churches in Sarajevo?

**Rosic:** We have a very difficult situation here. It won't be easy to solve this quickly; it should be done gradually, to bring people together, and I hope it will be solved. Every war brings difficulties. There are many casualties, victims, invalids. And all of us have suffered so much, together; so, it's very difficult and it can't be solved quickly.

For those who have lost members of their families, who have suffered damages, it is very difficult to return to normal life. And we are going to feel the results of this war for the next ten years, as it was in 1941 in this country—but now, it's



*Father Avakum Rosic (left) with Schiller Institute delegation members (left to right) Umberto Pascali and Nihad Dzinovic.*

even worse, in this war. We have to do a lot for the unity of the people, and to forget these bad things that have happened. As St. Paul said, you can do anything by means of Love. And the best value is love. With hatred, we can do nothing. With love, friendship, and good will, we can do a lot.

Our church was shelled twice, and was very badly damaged, especially the roof. The rain would run into the church, and so we tried to cover the roof with plastic sheets. Fortunately, there was not too much damage inside, but the walls would get wet.

I would like to thank you for your good will and good aims. A few days ago, we were at a reception with the American ambassador to Sarajevo. There was an envoy of the cardinal, there was the Rejs Ulema [Dr. Mustafa Ceric], and a Jewish professor, and two gentlemen from the United States with the ambassador, who really care about unity and community here, so they would like to start an initiative to meet all the religious leaders, so that we could find some kind of common language.

We congratulate one another and send our best wishes to one another when we have our religious holidays, and we attend one another's receptions. We have organized common prayers together, and have prayed together in four of our religious buildings: churches, a synagogue, and a mosque. A cardinal from Rome and the papal nuncio were present at these common prayers, which meant a lot to people here in Sarajevo.

**Miklosko:** We would also like to thank you, for the fact that, with so many problems, you are staying here. It's very important that there be always some representative of the Orthodox Church here.

**Rosic:** I was sent here for just ten days, to replace one of my colleagues, but he got sick and didn't come back. I couldn't leave the church and the people here, so, I prayed to God for this evil to end, and peace to return. Thank God, the war is over now.

All the sides feel hurt, feel that they have been harmed, so it is very difficult for them to accept reconciliation. Some of them would like to take revenge; but this would lead to even greater evil and destruction, and the war would never end. Jesus Christ said that you cannot cast out evil with evil, because evil then becomes greater. So, the war and this evil would never stop.

**Ben Swan:** I would like to know a little bit more about the situation within the Orthodox community. We have heard that there were districts that were abandoned, destroyed, and burned, and that a lot of people wanted to stay, and did not go.

**Rosic:** These are very difficult issues and it's very difficult for the people to decide what to do. I was watching the situation in Iraq, when the people had to leave their homes, and I said, "Oh, it's nice here with us; we will never have such problems." Ethnic cleansing is, of course, very difficult for people; nobody would leave his own house, if he didn't have to do it. Not all of them, but most of them, left, because the



war was going on there, and some of them didn't dare to stay. They were afraid of pressure and revenge. It's that way with every, every nation; everybody goes where they have a majority—also Muslims and Croats.

**Umberto Pascali:** I want to ask you, how you see the future? I know that there were meetings between Metropolitan Nikolai, Cardinal Puljic, and Rejs Ulema Ceric. How do you see the future of this dialogue?

**Rosic:** I've talked to the Rejs personally, and I know that he felt very bad about the killing of people; because, everybody suffered, every nation had its victims, but the Muslims had the greatest number of victims. The war between Serbs and Muslims was bad enough, but it was even worse, when the Muslims and Croats started fighting. As for the Muslims, we say that in Bosnia, they were "between two fires."

**Swan:** I thank God that you were not hurt in this war, and that you survived, and that you have continued to help. I am here, basically, to find out how we in America, can be of some help to Bosnia, *now*, in order to maintain peace. While I'm not here in an official capacity, I think that there's a great deal of work that can be done by the citizens of America.

So, I really came to find out from people such as yourself, what your viewpoint is, and what role you see being played by people in other parts of the world. Also, to extend an invitation to people from Bosnia to come to America to help to tell the story that *needs* to be told.

There are some methods that President Clinton had wanted to use. He doesn't have universal support in America on this point, and we want to mobilize greater support. This should come from the public at large, rather than through the political establishment.

## U.S. must carry on legacy of Ron Brown

*While in Bosnia the delegation issued this statement on the tragic air crash.*

... From the moment we arrived, many in leadership position and many common people have been asking about Ron Brown. The U.S. Commerce Secretary and the high-level business delegation flying on his plane had died on April 3, while trying to land at the airport of Dubrovnik. We landed in Dubrovnik ten days later, our eyes pointed on the nearby St. John Hill, where the plane crashed, and our minds absorbed Brown's legacy: What could we do to prevent the genocide against Bosnia from continuing "through financial means"? How could we make sure that real reconstruction took place?

... The question most asked of us was: Will the U.S., will this administration continue the approach carried out by Ron Brown, or will his death be the end of those efforts? ... Indeed the approach of Brown to the reconstruction of Bosnia was the opposite of the philosophy and practice of the World Bank and the IMF. ... Brown did not have in mind a little help that would barely guarantee the economic survival of the war-destroyed country, in exchange for its giving up its national sovereignty and becoming enslaved to the debt mechanisms. No! Ron Brown came to Bosnia accompanied by the most powerful delegation of business leaders he could manage to gather.

It was a powerful combination: the American principle of the right to economic development, and the means to implement it. It was the way to unleash the positive power



*The late U.S. Commerce Secretary Ron Brown*

of the American economy, as opposed to the destructiveness of financial speculation and usury. ...

We had many meetings with Bosnian leaders, we saw how their faces lit up when we called for a Marshall Plan for Bosnia. This is what Bosnia needs, they said. Real, huge investment, construction of infrastructure, reestablishment of a modern economy that will give our people the dignity of being productive individuals. For them this was the image of Ron Brown ... as opposed to the diktat of the Lord Owens and Lord Carringtons.

... We will spare no effort so that the legacy of Ron Brown will uplift the American people, especially the youth. So that the sacrifice of those perished in the tragic flight, will help to bring back the U.S. to its real tradition and its real interest: a power for the good, a nation that develops itself by helping developing the world. ...

## Reconciliation takes time to grow

Franjo Kuharic, the Roman Catholic cardinal of Zagreb, Croatia, received the Schiller Institute delegation on April 13, and gave a thorough briefing about the complex historical, political, and religious situation in Bosnia and Croatia. While hopeful about the possibility of reconciliation in the future, he stressed that this needs time to grow and cannot be pushed from the outside. He emphasized that there should be forgiveness, and an end to hatred, which is what the Catholic Church is trying to contribute in this situation.

He began by outlining the situation before the war, when the Bosnian population was 44% Muslim, 31% Serbian, and 18% Croatian. In 1991, some 95% of the population of Croatia voted in a referendum for independence, and so did 66% of Bosnians (because most of the Serbian population did not participate in the elections after Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic ordered a boycott). Karadzic at that time warned that if the referendum did not go according to his wishes, there would be war. At that time, there were two systems in one country, national and socialist, with Serbia's Slobodan Milosevic representing a synthesis of both. The war started with the Serbians tearing apart former Yugoslavia, "cleansing" and expelling everyone according to ethnic ideas.

In Bosnia, both victims of this aggression, Croats and Muslims, started fighting each other. At that time, Cardinal Kuharic explained, he issued urgent appeals for an end to the conflict, calling for the ethnic groups to live together; this is Bosnia's destiny, he stressed.

In this war, on the Croatian side, whole parishes were completely or massively destroyed. In Sarajevo, before the war there were 145 parishes with 528,000 Catholics; now 99 of those no longer exist, and 350,000 Catholics have been "cleansed." In Banja Luka, where 100,000 Catholics lived and there were 50 parishes, now there are only 5,000 Catholics left. Churches and mosques have been destroyed; out of 16 mosques that previously existed, not a single one remains.

With the Dayton Accord, situations like that of the Posavina corridor remain unresolved. Some 160,000 Croats and Muslims were expelled from that area, and Serbia now controls it. The big question is, can these people, under Dayton, freely return to their homes? "Only if everybody can return, can there be democracy," said Cardinal Kuharic.

### The political problem

The problem is the politics, he explained. Material, spiritual, moral, and political actions and help are needed, but these must conform to ethical norms. Not enough was done to stop the aggression, right at the beginning, by Europe, the U.S.A., and the UN. "It seems that some green light was given," the cardinal said. How was it that for three years, 400,000 people in Sarajevo could be encircled? "Sarajevo was a big concentration camp."

Now, we are in the post-Dayton era. On the positive side, one can say that the war is over, there is no fighting now. That is good, but all the elements of the accord must be fulfilled. This peace is not just; political corrections need to be made, and there needs to be a dialogue.

There were several meetings between the Orthodox Church leaders and the Catholic side during the war, the cardinal reported. Several appeals for peace were issued, but they did not influence the situation. "The goals of the war were political, not religious."

Last May, the patriarch of Moscow, Aleksii, invited the cardinal for a meeting in Belgrade. The cardinal instead proposed to meet in Sarajevo, because, in this completely surrounded city, everybody was suffering. This was accepted. Serbian Orthodox Metropolitan Pavle came, Cardinal Puljic of Sarajevo and Cardinal Kuharic were present. Rejs Ulema



*Cardinal Franjo Kuharic, archbishop of Zagreb and primate of Croatia, greets Umberto Pascali of the Committee to Save the Children of Bosnia-Herzegovina.*

Mustafa Cerić was invited to attend, as the highest Muslim leader of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but he did not come. After that meeting, both Catholic cardinals visited him, and asked why he did not attend. He replied that this was his personal protest, because the Serbian Orthodox were not protesting the genocide against the Muslims.

Now, hundreds of thousands of people are waiting for the conflicts to be resolved, to go back to their homes. But the political, economic, and religious climate must be created in which people can go back.

Then there was the Croatian liberation of the Krajina/Knin area. The majority of the Serbian population left, even though Cardinal Kuharic, as well as Croatian President Franjo Tuđman, appealed for them to stay. What were the reasons for their leaving?

1. A psychological and political reason: They could not accept living in a Croatian state, since they had been indoctrinated to believe that wherever Serbians live, there is the Serbian state.

2. There was a military order by the Serbian leadership for them to leave.

3. The destruction which Serbs had inflicted on Croatian houses and churches, and the massacres against the population. In many cases, it is no longer possible even to recognize

the sites where the churches had been. Those who had contributed to this, did not want to wait around for the Croats to return.

The cardinal described how, nevertheless, the people want to return to their homes more than anything else. He receives postcards from people, who say, "My house has been completely destroyed, but I am happy, that now I have returned." These people had to live as refugees for the last four years, relying on the help of others, and now they have their freedom back again, and they are on their own land. It is very important to help the reconstruction of these private houses, he said.

In Bosnia, there is a complicated situation. There are the most helpless people—children, invalids, and those who do not have homes. The world's politicians are not doing what they should do. But after all, this world has a heart, which was shown in the humanitarian help.

Conflicts start, said the cardinal, when principles are separated from interests. I give bread to those in need, he said, not because I want to make them Catholic. Help must be without conditions. If you place conditions, the game of interests starts. People need bread, because they are hungry.

### A moral crisis in the world

"The world is in a general moral crisis; we have collectivism, hedonism, and liberalism." Under communism, the people were told that faith is negative, that it has no future, that it will lead backwards. Positive values were called negative; materialism was called positive and scientific; values were turned upside down.

Recently, the cardinal said, I was visited by a banker, whom I asked, "Do banks have a heart?" Bishop Komarica of Banja Luka once wrote a letter to a member of the diplomatic corps about the situation in Banja Luka. The ambassador gave this letter to his government and later told Bishop Komarica: "My government answered, that they have different information than you as bishop are supplying." The bishop asked the ambassador: "Are we people for you? Do we have a right to exist?" The ambassador replied, "For me, you are; but for my government, not."

The process of reconciliation must grow up from within. One should not retreat from this idea, but it is not a political issue. If you have only one idea, it is always simplistic. American leaders have proposed that all the leaders of the Balkan nations should come to America to pray together. But I cannot imagine Milosevic praying there, said the cardinal.

"I see the situation from the inside, you from the outside. Once I gave a press conference in Sarajevo, and one journalist told me, 'I have been in Sarajevo for 10 days, and I understand the situation.' I replied, 'I have been here for 70 years, and I still do not understand it.'"

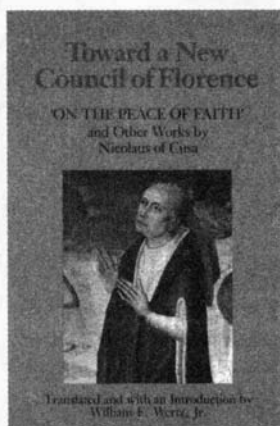
Cardinal Kuharic concluded by blessing the delegation and its work.

## Toward a New Council of Florence

### 'On the Peace of Faith' and Other Works by Nicolaus of Cusa

The Schiller Institute has just released this new book of translations of seminal writings of the 15th-century Roman Catholic Cardinal Nicolaus of Cusa, who, through his work and writings, contributed more than anyone else to the launching of the European Golden Renaissance. The title of the book, *Toward a New Council of Florence*, expresses our purpose in publishing it: to spark a new Renaissance today.

- 12 works published for the first time in English
- New translations of 3 important works



\$15 plus \$3.50 shipping and handling

**Schiller Institute, Inc.**

P.O. Box 20244 Washington, D.C. 20041-0244  
phone: 202-544-7018

## Rebuilding Bosnia's electrical grid

*The Schiller Institute delegation visited Sarajevo's electrical power plant, Elektroprivreda, on April 15, where they received a full briefing on the destruction of the nation's electrical grid and what it would take to rebuild it. The delegation met with General Manager Edhem Bicakcic; Acif Hadrovic, the director for transmission and operation of the electric power system and the assistant to the general manager; and Mrs. Sabaheta Sadikovic, director of generation and head of the research and development department. Mr. Bicakcic, who is also the vice president of Bosnia's ruling Party of Democratic Action, stopped in briefly to express his appreciation to the institute, before leaving for Germany. Translation was provided by Urfet Vejzagic, senior counselor for Elektroprivreda.*

*What follows is abridged from their discussions.*

**Urfet Vejzagic:** I'm here working as an engineer. I was retired and on pension for some two years before the war, but during the war, from the beginning, I became active again, to help as much as I could. I cannot tell you how much I appreciate your coming. Usually, the delegations which come to visit us are engineers and talk about technical matters. But, I can't help expressing my admiration for you, because you are not technical people, as I have seen you are from different professions—professors, and so on.

I read a lot about your Friedrich Schiller. That is my favorite poet. When I was learning the German language, I read many of his poems.

Before the war, I was working here and with another company as an engineer. I was travelling in many countries which were contracting hydroelectric and thermal power from some transmission lines.

And, because I'm of the older generation, I remember the Second World War, and the people who are making things crazy, did the same thing then. As for the cruelty, I can't believe it; it is like a level of un-civilization.

My father was a Muslim priest in the main mosque, here in Sarajevo, and, his forefathers were for two and a half centuries—this was a tradition. I am an engineer; none of his sons became what he was. But, I have just to say that a human being is a *wonderful masterwork* of the Almighty Creator; and, his dignity should be respected.

We know that it was an injustice that was done to us.

Because our enemy was in Europe getting their army organization and equipment together, but we were prevented from getting organized, and that's one very important difference. It was an enigma for us, how it was possible that certain political circles of certain countries (it's not necessary for me to mention them), supported our enemy. They gave them support, but they didn't take any steps to influence them—as a matter of fact, they helped them to behave in an uncivilized way. That is our biggest surprise, our biggest enigma, which we cannot understand.

**Acif Hadrovic:** I must apologize on behalf of my director, because he has to go abroad. We at the electric authority very much appreciate your visit.

We agree with your approach to understanding Bosnia and Hercegovina, the situation in which we are now, and how we can move out of this situation by also helping you. I am speaking for the general director and director of the department for transmission and distribution of electric energy. Mrs. Sabaheta is the director of the department for development of our electric power system. I am an electrical engineer and a technical consultant in the office of our general director.

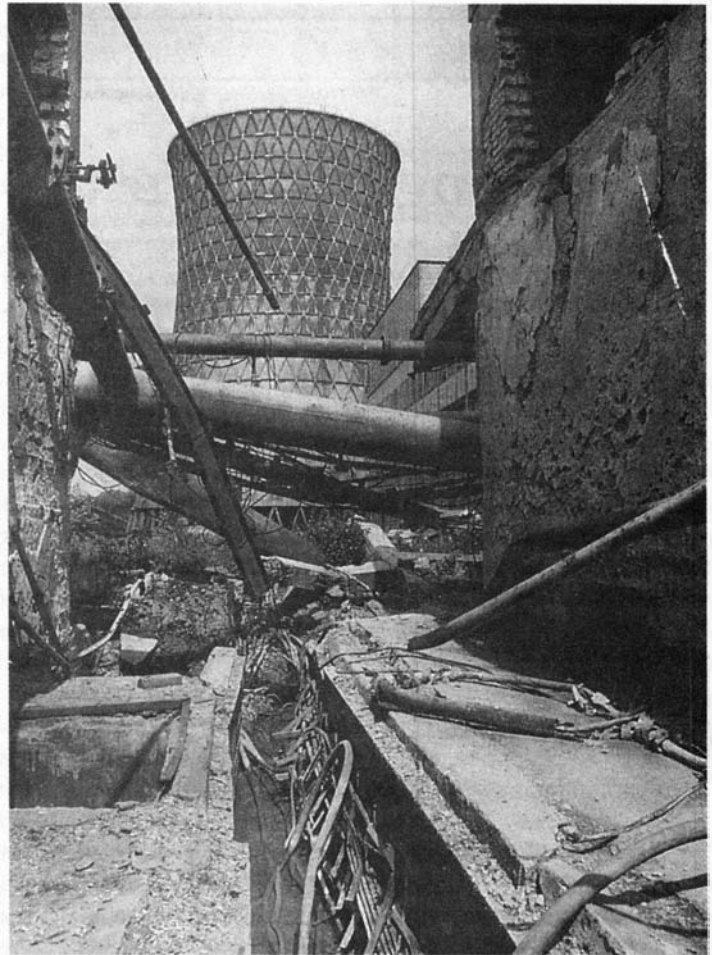
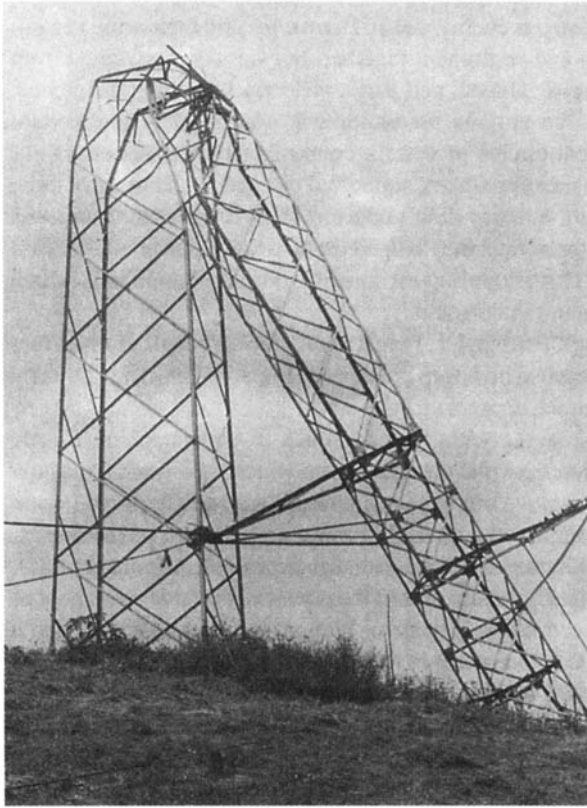
**Jozef Miklosko:** Thank you very much for seeing us. There are many distinguished persons all over the world who have decided to cooperate with us, as well as with this committee. Our campaign is to awake the conscience of the people in America, but also all over the world. Some of us visited the United States a week ago, and we spoke with many distinguished people in churches, in universities, in NGO organizations, about possible help for Bosnia. And we were very surprised at the positive response of many people, and, also, big organizations. We tried to organize such an international movement which should help Bosnia.

First of all, we stressed, "Save the children. The children have suffered too much. Many of them have been killed, many of them are orphans, in orphanages. Please help them."

Second, we stressed the debt relief program. We know that the IMF and the World Bank are trying to make Bosnia pay back 17% of the debt of the former Yugoslavia. We are campaigning against that. It's not good that the victim should pay the debt of the aggressors. And we were also surprised at the positive response in America, in various media, about this topic. And we are trying to tell the people, as Pope John Paul II said, that the second millennium should begin with debt forgiveness for some poor countries. We suggest that Bosnia should be the first.

Third, we stressed the so-called Marshall Plan for the reconstruction of Bosnia, which includes infrastructure, not through some big international financial institutions, but through your national banks, your own sovereign organizations, with help from the outside.

We also stress the importance of reconciliation among the people, and here we see that the churches are the most important thing for that. And we also want to invite some



*Wreckage of Bosnia's electrical power grid: a transmission line (left) and the Tuzla thermal power plant (right). One of the basic military aims of the Serbian aggressors was to destroy Bosnia's electrical power system, along with other infrastructure necessary for the life of the civilian population.*

people to the United States, maybe some politicians, parliamentarians, or some regional leaders, but from all three nationalities, to make contacts on the highest level in America.

As for Slovakia, where I am from, I was also surprised by the positive response on this, and also other small countries could help Bosnia with some concrete projects.

*At this point, General Manager Edhem Bicakcic stopped in to greet the delegation. Former Massachusetts State Rep. Ben Swan—who remarked that he had once worked for the Tennessee Valley Authority—extended the institute's invitation for a Bosnian delegation to come to the United States "to help us to mobilize the kind of political support that we need in order to gain the kind of economic support for restructuring, such as what Ron Brown was attempting to do. I think it would be helpful if we had individuals from your country, to actually physically be in our country."*

### **Enemy sought to destroy electrical system**

**Hadrovic:** I want to give you some information about our actual situation. Our electricity authority, Elektroprivreda

of Bosnia-Hercegovina, was a component part of the electric power system of former Yugoslavia. We were a member of the European Association of High Voltage Electric Power Systems. And we have a very well-developed electric power system on the high-voltage level.

With the start of the aggression, one of the basic aims of our aggressor was to destroy the electric power system, in order to make the situation even more difficult for civilians. Because electricity is a basic for life. After that, it was the system of telecommunications to be destroyed, in order to prevent communication among us. All other systems of infrastructure were hit by the aggression. This aggression was planned and programmed years and years ago.

At first, our aggressor shelled our high-voltage transmission lines, hydroelectric generation units, and thermal power plants, as well as the distribution system under our authority. The hydroelectric station upstream of Mostar—you've had a chance to see how it looks?—is completely flooded by water now. The same at other upstream stations. One has been under water for two years. We are trying now to rehabilitate this one: We've pumped the water out and dismantled some of it.



*The Schiller Institute delegation meets with Edhem Bicakcic, general manager of Elektroprivreda and vice president of the ruling Party of Democratic Action. Left to right: Mr. Bicakcic, Paolo Raimondi, Ben Swan, Umberto Pascali, Jozef Miklosko.*

We've signed contracts for the rehabilitation of the upstream power plants.

Other power plants which were not destroyed or damaged, could not deliver energy to the economy, because transmission lines were seized. So there are two kinds of damage: direct destruction, by shelling and so on, and by forcing it out of normal operation. And another part of our plant was delivering electricity to our consumers in the liberated territories, operating under very unusual and very difficult conditions.

The estimate of direct damages is about DM 550 million [\$345 million], but the study is not complete, because there are certain power plants and certain facilities which we could not approach, because the area was mined. If we add to this amount, the indirect damage caused by not operating, the total damage is more than DM 1.5 billion [\$940 million].

And you know that to rehabilitate all this, a lot of money and a lot of very highly skilled work will be required, because the economy is completely destroyed, and for that reason our country cannot just rebuild it on its own. We cannot do it successfully without help from the rest of the world.

As you know, Sarajevo was encircled by the aggressor, and a lot of damage was completely done to the electricity, and water, and gas supply.

In the free territories controlled by our Bosnian army, we permanently had an electricity supply, just to cover the minimum requirements to deliver power to Sarajevo. But, inside Sarajevo, there was tremendous pressure on the civilians, because everything possible was done to break the electricity supply to the town. From May 26, 1995, to Nov. 26,

1995, Sarajevo's electricity supply was completely down. Not even 1 kilowatt-hour [kwh] was supplied, because the aggressor forces controlled the territory from our power plants to the town, over which the overhead transmission lines ran.

We arranged some underground cable, which the aggressors could not control, and, by means of these 35 kw cables, a minimum electricity supply was brought into the town. We constructed a conduit beneath the airport through which we installed a 35 kw underground cable, and supplied 10 MW of power, because we controlled the territory on either side of the airport. That was the so-called "independent system for electricity supply to the town." You can imagine: 300,000 inhabitants, and only 10 MW of power. It was used for the highest priorities, such as hospitals, post offices, the water system, telecommunications, and so on.

### **The enemy's scorched-earth policy**

Now? We are free now.

In the parts of Sarajevo controlled by the fascist aggressor, before they could be rejoined to our liberated Sarajevo, they were given sufficient time to destroy the industry in this area; the liberated part of Sarajevo, was a residential area, but all industries were controlled by the aggressor, which was planned from before.

For instance, when you approach Sarajevo from Mostar, the suburban area controlled by them for all four years, you can see that they completely dismantled and removed the electrical equipment from our electric substation, 110 kw. In other parts, they destroyed many distributors at the 10 kw

electric substations. Now, we are trying our best to recover.

We have impossible restrictions for public electricity consumption: Every house has 6 kwh per day of consumption—not much, for preparing food, washing clothes, and so on. They have to set up a schedule whether they can do it that day, or not.

**Vejzagic:** I remember in 1992, it was  $-20^{\circ}\text{C}$  outside, but in our hospitals, in the rooms where the patients were lying, the temperature was  $-7^{\circ}\text{C}$ , below the freezing point. You can imagine. And we had even much less for some operations.

**Hadrovic:** But if you ask somebody to explain how we could all endure all this, nobody can—. We had endurance, but please, don't ask how.

**Vejzagic:** I had completely forgotten about electricity: One night about 10:00, after we had gotten electricity at night, I was shaving in the kitchen, completely in the dark. And my wife came in and turned on the light switch: "Why are you doing that?" I said, "I forgot!"

**Hadrovic:** I remember how Sarajevo used to look: It was a very nice town, very green. There were chestnut trees in our parks; now, everything has been cut down for heating.

In the year between 1995 and 1996, we made additional installations for an independent system of electricity to Sarajevo. There is one 110 kw cable, underground cable, that we ran beneath the airport. Our inhabitants felt that if encirclements should continue, with such pressure from the aggressors, we could survive, by means of this 110 kw cable. With this cable, we could import, normally, 17 MW into the town; and another 35 kw cable. That was sufficient for every family to consume 2 kwh per day.

**Benjamin Swan:** And the cease-fire? And the Dayton Agreement? Has there been any effort made to recover equipment taken by the aggressor? Such as the removal of equipment from power stations, relay stations?

**Vejzagic:** Sarajevo has 10 substations, 110 kw for electricity supply to the town. Now, at 8 of them, there is the possibility of removing the threat from mines. We can now approach the problem of repairing them.

**Hadrovic:** They dismantled substations in the territory which they controlled, and shelled those that were on our side. At some substations, they removed what they could, but that only was for Sarajevo, and this is now under operation. But of our substations which were at the 10 kw level, 80% are demolished.

### **World Bank offers pittance**

**Hadrovic:** Before the war, we had 2,000 MW from hydroelectric power plants, and 2,000 MW from thermal power plants. Now, on our liberated territory, from hydroelectric power plants, we have in operation only 250 MW. At the Tuzla thermal power plant, which had 750 MW installed capacity, 155 MW is available now. We have just now, in the course of rehabilitation of one generating unit, 200 MW in

the Tuzla power plant. But we still do not have the ability to rehabilitate two 200 MW units. In another thermal power plant elsewhere, we have four 25 MW units operating; we have to repair one 110 MW unit and to put into operation another unit, 210 MW. But, another unit, 230 MW, will still remain out of operation.

**Swan:** I read the estimate relative to damages. Has there been an estimate in terms of cost of replacement, human resources or skills, manpower needed, and the time that it would take to restore it to normalcy? And are the skills available?

**Hadrovic:** We have done all these estimates for the World Bank and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Mrs. Sadikovic will bring them. The World Bank permitted us to take a certain number of power plants to enter the program, to be financed by them. But there is another part of our electric facilities, for which the World Bank is just trying to find financing and donors.

At one thermal power plant, where a generating unit is just in operation, they have introduced this World Bank financing program. But in this program—it is nothing. It is one unit of 110 MW, and another unit of 220 MW at the same power plant. That means 330 MW is introduced in this World Bank program, and 340 MW is *not* introduced in the World Bank program, which needs to be financed. And the Bank is now searching for financing for the 220 MW, but the other, greater part, 340 MW, is not in this program.

At the Tuzla thermal power plant, the World Bank is obtaining financing for 130 MW, but 630 MW of the Tuzla plant is not brought into this system now. It is our problem how to recover it. So, that means the World Bank has approved this first program, but for the rest, now we have to take care of it as best we can.

### **Bosnia needs independent power capability**

**Mrs. Sabaheta Sadikovic:** We have received many delegations. These delegations wanted to help us in the reconstruction of our electric power system. But yours is the first delegation which has wanted to help us from the principles of morality, ethics, and justice, and we have to accept with great pleasure your help, and support your activity in every respect. Always, for centuries, we have been a multi-ethnic and multi-religious community, and we accept the Schiller Institute's principles with affinity.

The majority of our problems have been mentioned by Mr. Hadrovic, who is an assistant to our general manager, but I wish to point out two problems.

Our greatest problem now, is to keep domestic energy production at the present level. Mr. Hadrovic pointed out that the thermal power plants are not getting support from the various international financial institutions. But, among these problems, a great part of it is the problem of the coal mines in Bosnia and Hercegovina. The great problems are technical

problems, economic problems, and also social problems of our economy in Bosnia-Herzegovina, because many coal mines were in operation before the war; we need your support, and the support of the world, in order to bring these coal mines up to the level of European standards today.

We wish to get this support for the thermal power plants for that reason, but also for economic and social reasons, but, at the same time, the basic point is that we need an independent system of electric energy production. But we cannot rely on imports of electric energy, which is what is suggested to us.

We are ready, and we wish to respect and employ all ecological standards which have been developed in European countries for this kind of power plant. Before the war, as a republic, former Yugoslavia had good conditions in energy generation and resources, and now we are pointing out the problems of our coal-based thermal power plants. We are expecting the support of the international community, to help us to restore our coal mines and electric thermal power plants. That is our orientation in further development of our power system.

During the four years of the war, it was a great effort to supply electricity to our liberated territory, as much as we could. But now, there are very difficult conditions, because our transmission lines and substations, even in our liberated territories, were permanent targets of war actions by our aggressors: About 320 of our skilled workers lost their lives while repairing our transmission lines and substations. In these four years, our thermal power plants and hydroelectric power plants, which were under operation, were without maintenance, but every power plant, every year, must have some maintenance, and as a result there could very easily be a breakdown in the electricity supply which we must repair now.

**Mrs. Elke Fimmen:** You are saying that the top priority is to make sure that the coal mines will be working and up to a good standard, so that you have independent electricity, and not need to import electricity? I'm asking this, because in many cases, the World Bank has been demanding that countries such as Poland import coal, instead of producing it in their own mines.

**Sadikovic:** We are receiving similar suggestions from the World Bank, and also, the European Bank has the same attitude.

All during the four years, in spite of such a difficult situation, we prepared documents, which would lead to the recovery and rehabilitation of our power system; we elaborated this, because we knew we would need it, once the war had stopped.

Before the war, we were generating 14 billion kwh a year, and, by the end of 1995, we were generating about 2 billion-plus kwh of electricity. We permanently employed our skilled staff in our operation, and, during these four years, we were making an effort to elaborate further on reconstruction after the end of the war. This war situation did not prevent us from

doing so.

**Vejzagic:** I remember, though, during one planning session (you can imagine!), we were in the vicinity of some explosions. But our highly skilled staff was employed in order to put up resistance, to help our economy, in the war period, to stand.

**Sadikovic:** But, we kept a good, basic core of a highly skilled staff in the whole economy of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and, especially, in our electricity authority. And when a delegation from a financial institution came to us, after the war ended, we were ready for them. We had already prepared a report on repairing our electric power system and our program for further development. And in this publication now, we have a compilation of our electric power facilities in the year 1990 and 1995.

### **Epic fight by ordinary people**

**Swan:** I would just like to express appreciation for the time that you've allowed for us today, and I understand the importance of the trip that was taken by Commerce Secretary Ron Brown relative to attempting to make available private enterprise support for reconstruction.

Personally, I understand well the information that you have provided, because of my background. I served as an employee, as a manager, with the Tennessee Valley Authority, the TVA in America, which covers a seven-state region. I'm living in New England now, and we have to receive power exported from Canada.

I've seen much of the tragedy that you've experienced. But on my trip to Sarajevo, I witnessed the destruction of power lines, the destruction of the high-energy lines, and it was obvious what the aggressor was attempting to do, by taking away your energy source.

I know that in order to restructure, rebuild your industry, you will have to add energy. I could tell from the cutways, in coming here, from the construction, that there was plenty of coal in your land. And I was impressed by the flow of the water in the river that we travelled along, so I know that hydro-generation is quite possible. It seems to me that you have the resources to even export energy to other lands: That should be developed. So, I am pleased that you provided me with some of the facts so that I can have a good understanding.

**Nihad E. Dzinovic:** I would also like to say a couple of words, as a native Bosnian-American. When Bosnia was completely blockaded, militarily, and, at the same time, there was such a blockade that you couldn't get anyone out of Bosnia, I got full support from the Schiller Institute, in organizing demonstrations in the United States, in spreading the truth about the injustice in Bosnia. I found that this was one group of people who were really sincere about helping Bosnia, and they were with me from Day One of the aggression.

**Umberto Pascali:** The history of your fight, must be made public and explained much more. I have been looking



at Bosnia for a long time, but now I have a real insight into what this means. There is an epic element in that, the fight of the engineer and the technician and others to keep this lifeline alive, and I understand now how this is a symptom: that the population, the leadership, were totally united in this resistance.

There were no politicians in the classic sense of the word, but there were normal people, engineers, and so on. How did the leading group that put together the political resistance, the economic resistance, the productive resistance—how did it shape up?

**Hadrovic:** Our aggressor's front line was just 50 meters from our building, and we can show you, if you like—if you don't mind—just what it looked like, what kind of destruction was imposed on this building, and what the situation was. And then you can imagine under what conditions we were working here, because every day we were working, exposed to the shelling, with the aggressors trying to cross over the bridge. And the most dangerous battle line, was about 1 kilometer from this building to the town. They were everywhere crossing here and back.

But, before we go to see this, maybe we should have another question.

**Swan:** I would again reinforce our desire to have a delegation from Bosnia come to America, to help us spread the word, to make the point, to get support.

**Fimmen:** I think especially this kind of briefing would really help: This is so concrete. It's not an ideological question; it's very clear.

You were going through what the World Bank is willing to finance, in terms of the reconstruction and getting the electricity generation system back to work. But, did I understand it right, that the biggest part which would be needed, is *not* being financed right now, is *not* in the program. Is this true?

**Sadikovic:** Yes, that's true. The World Bank has agreed to finance the top priority program, which is now only for survival and for basic humanitarian needs, but this is not for industrial recovery.

**Vejjagic:** We wish to join the European Community again, and our opinion, is either Bosnia will be Europeanized, or that Europe will be Balkanized.

## IMF squeezes Bosnia for Yugoslavia debt

*Avvenire*, the Milan daily that acts unofficially as the mouthpiece of the Italian bishops conference, highlighted the case of Bosnia in its April 26 coverage of the annual International Monetary Fund-World Bank conference in Washington, D.C. In the first of three articles covering the two-year-old effort to obtain debt relief for the world's poorest countries, *Avvenire* wrote:

"The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have postponed the consideration of a proposal to eliminate part of the debt of the world's poorest countries, acknowledged to be unpayable. Now there is fear that the initiative, which could have relieved the situation of 40 extremely poor countries, will fail. The international organs have even given an ultimatum to Bosnia: if it wants more loans, it must first pay 17% of the debt of former Yugoslavia."

*Avvenire* elaborated the new looting of Bosnia in an accompanying article:

"Bosnia must take on 17% of the debt contracted with foreign banks by the defunct Yugoslavia, and 'accept a plan to eliminate the interest arrears on these loans.' That's the condition that the World Bank, in its report to the Brus-

sels Conference on Bosnian Reconstruction (Dec. 20-21, 1995), has imposed on the government of Sarajevo as 'the most important in order to be admitted among the members of the World Bank,' without which [Bosnia] will have no access to new credits.

"Yet the same World Bank recognizes that 80% of the Bosnian economy has been destroyed (and almost half of the population killed or expelled) by the aggression of Serbia, which claims to be the political heir of Tito's Yugoslavia. But the logic of the World Bank is revealing: Bosnia, which controls 17% of the territory of the ex-Yugoslavia (what the Serbians left them) must pay 17% of the debts contracted by Yugoslavia. Financial circles do admit, *sotto voce*, that the large private western banks lent 'too much' to Yugoslavia, incautiously trusting in the 'stability of the country' created by Tito.

"It's a classical case of a failed investment, induced by ill-considered 'political' motives; and, according to the norms of the 'market,' the damage for the failed investments should fall on whoever made the investments. Instead, the investors want to load their error onto a country that has been martyred. And, via the World Bank, they suggest the 'recipes for fiscal responsibility' which, given the situation in Sarajevo, seem to be tragically ridiculous: 'The government of Bosnia must move towards the convertibility of its currency, the dinar, and rapidly take up the privatization of state firms and excessive spending on social assistance.' "

# Relief effort kept Sarajevo from starving

*On April 16, the Schiller Institute delegation visited the headquarters of Merhamet, the Muslim charitable organization that, in coordination with the Catholic charity Caritas, the Jewish La Benevolentia, and the Orthodox Dobrotvor, helped to keep the citizens of Sarajevo alive during the four-year siege. The delegation was received by its president, Edah Becirbegovic, and two of its vice presidents, Dr. Abdulkerim Fazlic, and Dr. Edhem Traljic. This transcript is abridged.*

**Edah Becirbegovic:** I am particularly happy that you are visiting Merhamet, the organization that I have been leading for some time, from the beginning. And I would like to inform you briefly about the organization of Merhamet.

Merhamet is a Muslim charitable society, and it was founded in 1913, which, practically, means, that it worked through both the First World War and the Second World War. In the Second World War, it played an extremely important role, working on the accommodation of the refugees and the expelled persons from eastern Bosnia.

In 1946, the communists and the communist regime banned Merhamet as one of the societies which had religious connotations, as well as all other societies from the same field—religious societies. The activities of the society were reestablished on Feb. 2, 1991. It was owing to a number of donations both from the country and from abroad that we became an organized humanitarian society. Especially during this war, we contributed a lot to having the expelled accommodated and sheltered.

## A unique organization

This is the only organization of this type in the country. During this war, we have been importing humanitarian aid, in quantitative terms of speaking, more than all other organizations of this type together, except for UNHCR [UN High Commission for Refugees]. We have a network of our committees throughout Bosnia and Hercegovina, in all municipalities. Our organization tries to set up our units and organizations anywhere where the Bosniaks live. So we have some of our units in Sweden, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Austria, Croatia, Slovenia, Canada, and Australia.

Various units of ours have greatly contributed to the

work of Merhamet here, so that the role played by Merhamet in this war was really very important. Even during the war, we were thinking of the organization and activities of Merhamet *after* the war, in the time of peace. We were aware and we are aware that once we had peace, the interest of the world in Merhamet, in Bosnia-Hercegovina would drop; and that is why we decided to set up, ourselves, some production plants, which should play a double role: first, to start up production, and thus to create financial resources to cover Merhamet programs; second, the humanitarian aspect of all of this, which is getting socially vulnerable categories of the population employed.

So, whenever possible, in these plants which we set up, we try to employ the disabled persons and the members of the families of the fighters who were killed.

We founded an enterprise called BosMert. The basic aim of the enterprise is to make a profit, and to finance our activities by that profit. Then we also started and opened a number of farms: sheep farms, rabbit farms, brood-hen farms, poultry farms, and the farms where we grow different crops. A breeding center is being built, for goats. There is a fish farm in Travnik.

As to the humanitarian aspect of our activities, we have a number of pharmacies, and a center for the manufacture of orthopedic appliances, with the most modern technologies for the implantation of joint prostheses.

I would like to mention the results that have been achieved only one year after we reestablished our activities. I also want to point out that although our population was hungry, nobody *died* of hunger.

Now, we think that Merhamet is in a phase, and society is in a phase, when it is the government that should take care of feeding the population, and Merhamet should go back to its previous activities, such as getting the people employed. I would be the happiest person, if, in the foreseeable future, there were no need for such an organization, because this would mean that we no longer had any socially vulnerable categories of people; but, unfortunately—well, the philosophy is that Merhamet and its activities will be needed in the future, at least 50 years. We are grateful to all those who helped us and supported us to gain such results; and we gladly offer our cooperative hands. Thank you for coming here.

**Dr. Jozef Miklosko:** We are from various countries, various regions. We have tried to help the process of peace along. The Schiller Institute has done this for the last five years, from the very beginning. And we are now trying to lead the campaign, visiting various church organizations, universities, to organize support for Bosnia, first of all for the children, but also politically, at the same time.

We want to impress upon governments the need to change their policy toward Bosnia-Hercegovina, to offer general debt forgiveness, because we know that Bosnia

should not have to pay 17% of the former Yugoslavia debt as the condition to get some other money from these international institutions. We are fighting for this.

For us, it seemed the debt forgiveness is the easiest way to do something for the Bosnians. Debt reorganization can lead to a general reconstruction, similar to the Marshall Plan after the Second World War, for Bosnia.

### Cooperation of four faiths

**Becirbegovic:** I feel bound to mention that some prejudices should really be eliminated, speaking about interreligious and international relations. From the very beginning of Merhamet as an organization, and during the whole of the war, every Friday, in this room, there have been meetings of the representatives of Caritas; Dobrotvor, which is the Orthodox charitable society; La Benevolentia, which is Jewish; and Merhamet, the Muslim charitable society, in which we talk about and agree upon joint activities.

Our attitude is that there are no genocidal nations. No religion instructs or teaches violence; but, there *are* genocidal policies. So, let's fight those genocidal policies, and *not* the nations and the peoples or religions as wholes.

Unfortunately, the prejudices, and particularly in western Europe, against Islam, and the Muslims in Bosnia, created a disastrous situation. It is impossible to understand and accept the fact that for four years, someone could sit and watch what was going on, without offering help—not only not offering to help and stop the bloodshed; but, by imposing an embargo, not to let that people defend itself. That was disastrous.

That is why we think that the civilized world shares con-

siderable responsibility for what has happened in Bosnia. At the very moment that the Western world really wanted to stop the bloodshed, it did so. But up until then, a lot of evil had already been done and a lot of crimes had been committed here. This war has greatly unbalanced and spoiled the relations among the peoples here. We are doing our best; we are fighting to prove that it was not the responsibility and the fault of the peoples, the nations here, but the policies behind the peoples.

**Theo Mitchell:** Did you mention a Christian charity, also?

**Translator:** Yes. Caritas is Catholic; Dobrotvor is Orthodox; La Benevolentia is Jewish; and Merhamet is Muslim. So, all the four religions of the people who live in Sarejevo, in Bosnia, all of them, every Friday, we meet here. And at the moment we have a joint campaign—all four societies.

**Mitchell:** And that campaign is?

**Becirbegovic:** It is a campaign for glazing windows. The basic criterion for assistance is that a family has a person over 60 or children under 5 years of age. There are no criteria with respect to religion, or nation. [Most of the windows in buildings were blown out during the four years of shelling of Sarajevo by the Serbian Army. Providing windows before the winter sets in will therefore be a crucial task.—ed.]

**Mitchell:** What about the orphans?

**Becirbegovic:** We have special campaigns relating to orphans. But this is a criterion of age that we are applying, in this context, in this specific campaign. We had similar campaigns throughout the war. We coordinated them all together.



Officials of the Merhamet Muslim humanitarian association welcome the Schiller Institute delegation. Left to right: Umberto Pascali, Ben Swan, Theo Mitchell, Merhamet President Edah Becirbegovic, Jozef Miklosko, Paolo Raimondi, Nihad Dzinovic, Merhamet Vice President Dr. Abdulkerim Fazlic, Elke Fimmen, James Mann, and an official of Merhamet.

**Mitchell:** What are your priorities? And what do you seek for the future?

**Becirbegovic:** As I said just a minute ago, during the war, the *whole* population was a socially vulnerable category here. So we opened a number of soup kitchens, public kitchens, trying to provide at least *one* meal a day for every person. As I said, people really were hungry, but still they survived; they didn't die of hunger.

You may not know that, on average, each person in Sarajevo lost ten kilograms [22 lbs.] during the war. So, if it had not been for those soup kitchens, the population in Sarajevo *would* have been dying of hunger.

Now, of course, the situation has changed for the better, since recently the blockade of Sarajevo has been lifted. So the humanitarian societies do not feel responsible for feeding the *whole* of the population. And that's why we accept it as our task, to take care of the disabled, the families of the fighters who were killed, and the most serious cases of diseases and patients, and the people who live alone, who have no families.

So, we have developed programs. For the disabled we opened the center, as I was telling you. Then, for the disabled and the members of their families, we have been opening some production plants. And, for the orphaned children, we are trying to get scholarships; we have a special program for caring for the socially vulnerable individuals who have no families to live with.

So, this is a project through which we would like to care for and provide for the bed-ridden patients, old and frail persons. We would like to extend health care to their homes; and, we have been doing that, in some places in Bosnia already. This program will also cover the paraplegics, of which the number, unfortunately, is large, obviously.

In recent months, we have facilitated the distribution of over 100,000 food parcels, mostly for the children. However, we do not consider it our primary activity. We place the priority on getting people employed. And these programs where, through which we try to get people employed, do not make us afraid of getting people used to being helped and supported, because we're trying to help get people employed so that they can care for themselves, provide for themselves.

We set up a dental clinic. And it operates on purely humanitarian principles. Last week, we opened a beauty parlor, a cosmetic salon. The profits of the salon will cover the expenses of the dental clinic.

*Mr. Becirbegovic also described how Merhamet was branching out into providing construction materials for reconstructing buildings in Bosnia.*

**Mitchell:** I think it's commendable that Merhamet has involved itself so readily to provide jobs for people. Can you tell us approximately how many?

**Becirbegovic:** I mentioned that the one in Sarajevo employs 30 people. Unfortunately, I do not have total numbers

of people who got employed through us, but I'm sure of a few hundred.

**Mitchell:** What is the greatest obstacle to restructuring here?

**Becirbegovic:** So far, it was the import blockade. Now, it's financial. We could do, and could have done, a lot more, if we had the support of donors for these projects.

A little while ago, I had a telephone call from our ambassador to Spain. And he told me that there was a shipment of humanitarian aid on the way from Spain to Bosnia, consisting of mostly second-hand clothes; some food; and some medical supplies; and, he was asking me to receive the shipment.

The freight cost for that shipment will come out to be much higher than if we had bought the things ourselves here. We will take over the shipment ourselves here, of course, just as a sign of gratitude to the people who tried to do their best; but, I also asked our ambassador, to look for donors who would buy and pay for goats that we need for our breeding center project.

**Paolo Raimondi:** We want to reaffirm that, when the members of the committee go back to our countries, we will raise this question of the Marshall Plan, for debt relief. We have seen, from meeting the religious, political leaders from all the different communities in Bosnia, that time is now of the essence. Five months have passed by, without any of the other reconstruction, and we are approaching the end of the Dayton Accord period.

For the future, there are 180,000 soldiers who should be sent home and will become unemployed. So, I think that those who would go further with this kind of paper war are preparing another crisis—some consciously, and others unconsciously. So it is *our* task to raise these issues, to raise a political fight in the United States and western Europe. This is nothing new from what has been going on for the last four years; but, nothing happened in the last four years. Nothing really happened. And it would be unacceptable, *intolerable*, that in one month, we would lose the peace simply because we do not act.

What the American Constitution says, if it is true for the Americans, is true also for the other countries of the world: The principles of independence, national sovereignty, the inalienable rights of all mankind.

This is probably the best support that we can promise you. We ask you to help us, because you have the moral authority, because of the last four years, to tell the Western governments, and the people in the United States and the rest of the world, what *they* have also to do. So, we have invited delegations to come to the United States. We are also discussing the way to work with the religious representatives, at up to the highest levels, to create this movement, because if we lose Bosnia, it is not only Bosnia—as every Bosnian here knows, but in the West it is not known—we lose community, integration, respect of human dignity. I think that either we *win the battle here*, or Europe and the United States will lose at home.

I also want to situate something we should have raised

before: Ben Swan was a friend of Ron Brown, the U.S. commerce minister who was killed, and it was a dramatic loss of life and opportunity. I think there was a very serious commitment behind his idea, and now we have to take that responsibility.

**Ben Swan:** We want to mobilize in America to support President Clinton, in his effort to make possible the kind of aid that was being organized. Because he didn't have the *full* support of the Congress; he was going *around* Congress. So, because of the election year, there will be some opposition to him from the opposition party. But, we want to mobilize the citizens to give him support, so he can help, so that the political climate will be conducive to getting some of the private investment, supported officially by the government.

I believe that if there is such a delegation as has been proposed, that comes from Bosnia, it would go a long way in helping us to mobilize. You can provide information firsthand, pertaining to the groups that we need to pull in. And so, we extend an invitation.

**Becirbegovic:** Thank you. And I would like to point out that the fight for Bosnia is the fight for democracy, basically. Bosnia is going to survive only if we manage to establish democratic institutions, intelligent institutions. The West *can* preserve Bosnia, but it can also act in such a way that Bosnia disappears. Should Bosnia disappear, that would be the defeat

of the West and its civilization, and that would be a degradation of all the principles on which civilization is based. That would be a negation of universal principles and values: conscience, freedom, human rights; and, I'm glad to hear that you are fighting in Bosnia, not only for Bosnia's sake, but for the survival of a civilization, on which the Constitution of the U.S.A. is also based.

**Mitchell:** That's what I was going to say, because what you just enunciated is the foundation upon which the United States of America depends, with all the problems we still have. If the country does not rise to *this* occasion, then all the principles that put the United States in its place, will have eroded, and it's only a matter of time before it will be destroyed.

**Becirbegovic:** That's why I'm really thankful to you. I'm aware of the fact that, globally speaking, Bosnia is a small country. I'm sure that 90% of the people in the United States would say they had never heard of this country, had there never been this war. But it is here that there are people who are really asking only for the *minimum* of human existence, who want to live in accordance with their conscience—in reconciliation with their conscience. So, here we have the fight for, really, *universal* values and principles; and, if we don't defend them here, then it would be a defeat for those who could have done much more, and didn't do it.

# LISTEN TO LAROUCHE ON RADIO



*Frequent Interviews with  
Lyndon LaRouche on the  
Weekly Broadcast "EIR Talks"*

**ON SATELLITE**  
Thursdays, 1600 Hours  
(4 p.m.) ET  
Galaxy 7 (G-7)  
Transponder 14.  
7.56 Audio.  
91 Degrees West.

**SHORTWAVE RADIO**  
Sundays, 1700 Hrs  
(5 p.m. ET)  
WWCR 12.160 MHz

**Cassettes Available to  
Radio Stations**

**Transcripts Available to  
Print Media**

## Local Times for "EIR Talks" Sunday Shortwave Broadcast on WWCR 12.160 MHz

Adis Ababa . . . . .	0100*	Little Rock . . . . .	1600
Amsterdam . . . . .	2300	London . . . . .	2200
Anchorage . . . . .	1300	Los Angeles . . . . .	1400
Athens . . . . .	2400	Madrid . . . . .	2300
Atlanta . . . . .	1700	Manila . . . . .	0600*
Auckland . . . . .	1000*	Mecca . . . . .	0100*
Baghdad . . . . .	0100*	Melbourne . . . . .	0800*
Baltimore . . . . .	1700	Mexico City . . . . .	1600
Bangkok . . . . .	0500*	Milan . . . . .	2300
Beijing . . . . .	0600*	Minneapolis . . . . .	1600
Belfast . . . . .	2200	Montreal . . . . .	1700
Berlin . . . . .	2300	Moscow . . . . .	0100*
Bohemian Grove . . . . .	1400	New Delhi . . . . .	0330*
Bogota . . . . .	1700	New York . . . . .	1700
Bonn . . . . .	2300	Nogales . . . . .	1500
Bombay . . . . .	0330*	Norfolk . . . . .	1700
Boston . . . . .	1700	Oslo . . . . .	2300
Bretton Woods . . . . .	1700	Paris . . . . .	2300
Bucharest . . . . .	2400	Philadelphia . . . . .	1700
Buenos Aires . . . . .	1900	Pittsburgh . . . . .	1700
Buffalo . . . . .	1700	Prague . . . . .	2300
Cairo . . . . .	2400	Rangoon . . . . .	0430*
Calcutta . . . . .	0330*	Richmond . . . . .	1700
Caracas . . . . .	1800	Rio de Janeiro . . . . .	1900
Casablanca . . . . .	2200	Rome . . . . .	2300
Chattanooga . . . . .	1700	St. Louis . . . . .	1600
Chicago . . . . .	1600	St. Petersburg . . . . .	0100*
Copenhagen . . . . .	2300	San Francisco . . . . .	1400
Denver . . . . .	1500	Santiago . . . . .	1800
Detroit . . . . .	1700	Sarajevo . . . . .	2300
Dublin . . . . .	2200	Seattle . . . . .	1400
Gdansk . . . . .	2300	Seoul . . . . .	0700*
Guadalajara . . . . .	1600	Shanghai . . . . .	0600*
Havana . . . . .	1700	Singapore . . . . .	0530*
Helsinki . . . . .	2400	Stockholm . . . . .	2300
Ho Chi Minh City . . . . .	0600*	Sydney . . . . .	0800*
Honolulu . . . . .	1200	Teheran . . . . .	0130*
Hong Kong . . . . .	0600*	Tel Aviv . . . . .	2400
Houston . . . . .	1600	Tokyo . . . . .	0700*
Istanbul . . . . .	2400	Toronto . . . . .	1700
Jakarta . . . . .	0500*	Vancouver . . . . .	1400
Jerusalem . . . . .	2400	Vladivostok . . . . .	0800*
Johannesburg . . . . .	2400	Venice . . . . .	2300
Karachi . . . . .	0300*	Warsaw . . . . .	2300
Kennebunkport . . . . .	1700	Washington . . . . .	1700
Kiev . . . . .	2400	Wellington . . . . .	1000*
Khartoum . . . . .	2400	Wiesbaden . . . . .	2300
Lagos . . . . .	2300	Winnipeg . . . . .	1700
Lima . . . . .	1700	Yokohama . . . . .	0700*
Lincoln . . . . .	1600	Yorktown . . . . .	1700
Lisbon . . . . .	2300		* Mondays

## A Marshall Plan can prevent new wars

*On April 15, the delegation met in Sarajevo with Stjepan Kljuic, leader of the Republican Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and a member of the Bosnian Presidency, who belongs to the Croatian Catholic minority. Here are translated excerpts from his remarks:*

I have called for a "Marshall Plan," with the idea that all resources should be immediately consolidated, with clear rules for their distribution. If you give aid to certain groups, they invest only where they want. For that reason, it is necessary to establish certain principles, even if under a certain degree of pressure.

The most important issue is for all refugees to return to their homes. But all the refugees are returning to the areas under the control of the legitimate government of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which only confirms the principle of ethnic cleansing. Therefore, we have to foster Bosnian patriotism, giving less importance to what one is called, what religion one belongs to. If we do not start the process of reconstruction,

people will have no work. They receive humanitarian aid, but this can be used as means of manipulation, and it offers no future.

All of this has been going on for too long. Young people are looking for opportunities elsewhere. But we have an obligation to give them a place to return to, and that is the reason that my party wishes to open the window into the future to Bosnians and Hercegovinians.

I stated in Brussels, that we were not asking for a fish; we want a boat and a fishing rod to be able to catch the fish ourselves. As you know, we are a very proud and educated people. Just one city, Mostar, in its thousand-year history, has produced more artists than the whole of Switzerland. Consequently, we wish to work and earn a living with our own hands. In order to attain that, we require foreign aid.

On the other hand, we have a huge number of invalids and war victims, and we are already experiencing a "Vietnam syndrome"—people with mental illnesses who find it extremely difficult to cope, since no one has the time to care for them. The children are the first-priority problem; then, the elderly and the unemployed. While we had an Army, they had a uniform, dinner, cigarettes. Now, out of uniform, they have nothing. If these people receive no assistance, the Balkans will be a place of constant conflicts.

We extend to you our thanks, and I would like to send my greetings to Mrs. LaRouche. One more thing: I would like to see your magazine published in Bosnian, as I saw that certain editions were published in other languages of the Balkan countries.



*Meeting at the Presidential Palace with Member of the Presidency Stjepan Kljuic, leader of the Republican Party (right).*

## Sarajevo's struggle for human rights

*Dr. Pejanovic is a member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina and a leader of the Serbian Civic Council, the organization of the Serbs in Bosnia who resisted the Nazi policies of Radovan Karadzic. He received the Schiller Institute delegation on April 17 at the Presidential Palace in Sarajevo reserved for visiting heads of state. An interview with Dr. Pejanovic was published in EIR, Sept. 29, 1995.*

**Pejanovic:** Yesterday was the first time since the beginning of the war, that I met leaders of other religions. I met representatives of the Islamic community, the Catholic community, and the Jewish community. And this will certainly be a very good beginning.

Religious leaders can do a lot to stop this hatred. For example, the metropolitan, during his Easter speech, included a very strong peace message. It's unfortunate that he was not saying something like this three years ago; but it's never too late to do something good.

**Umberto Pascali:** Do you think the Orthodox Church in Serbia could free itself from any influence from the Milosevic-Karadzic group? Do you see this progressing also in Belgrade?

**Pejanovic:** It is very, very difficult. If I were to judge the words which the metropolitan is saying to his believers, and what he said to me, I would say that a new spring is coming. But still, there are a lot of people who work within the Serbian Orthodox Church who are spreading the poison of hatred, although they wear those holy clothes. Among our people, we say that somebody who wears such holy clothes is good for everybody, but sinful before God.

I admire your action, and I'm very grateful to you. The idea of Bosnia perhaps wouldn't be so successful if we hadn't had so much support from people of good will from all over the world. And now, it's succeeded, and we have to be even stronger.

Also, I want to tell you something more about the Serbs living here, in the Federation. They are mostly intellectuals. By their origin, they are members of the families who have lived here for hundreds of years, and most of them have very, very big families, and they entered mixed marriages. In a word, they are cosmopolitans.

The war has done its job, and now the people have a very difficult time. The war brought divisions between people. The Bosniac community has all the institutions, in a national



*Prof. Mirko Pejanovic (left), member of the Presidency and president of the Serb Civil Council, greets Schiller Institute delegation member Umberto Pascali at the Presidential Palace.*

sense. The Croatian community also. Even the Jewish community does. Church, cultural, humanitarian organizations, political organizations, and NGOs.

What happened to us? Everybody left us. Only we didn't leave ourselves. The priests deserted us. Only now, it happens that the metropolitan is coming to Sarajevo. He left only one priest in Sarajevo, who is not educated to be a real priest.

We don't have humanitarian associations. Nobody sent aid to us. Serbian organizations from all over the world sent aid to Serbia, but not to Sarajevo. But, we survived. The Serbs who live here now, live very difficult lives, especially in the material sense—financially. Ninety percent of them are unemployed. We need help.

By preserving the ethnic structure we have now in Sarajevo, we can reconstruct Bosnia. So we have to convince these Serbs to remain here, to convince them of this, not to think about the idea of going somewhere else.

The Serbs here have a Serbian Civic Council. I am the president of this council, and its main task was preserving human rights. It is actually a model of the American community. Thanks to this fact, we preserved the trust of Serbs here, the Bosnians, and the Croats. That's why we founded an Alternative Nobel Peace Prize. We put aside some money to establish a Foundation for Human Rights. It's only DM70,000 [\$50,000], and we are going to send a letter to you, asking for help to establish this foundation here in Sarajevo, because we think that Sarajevo is a symbol of the fight and struggle for human rights.

## The priorities for Bosnia's armed forces

*Bosnian Deputy Defense Minister Hasan Cengic and Defense Ministry press spokesman Faris Nanic received the Schiller Institute delegation on April 15. Mr. Cengic's remarks were translated by Mr. Nanic, and the text of the discussion published here has been abridged.*

**Cengic:** I would like to take the opportunity to wish a pleasant stay in Sarajevo to all our distinguished guests. I am very glad to have the opportunity to receive you here. I am partly acquainted with the activities of the Schiller Institute, and also of the other guests, who are not members of the Schiller Institute, and I would like to thank you once again for everything that you have done so far for Bosnia. We hope that your activities will continue, despite the fact that, thank God, the war is over. But you certainly know that the cessation of war does not mean the cessation of problems. We have a saying here since the war: "During the war we had only one problem. After the war, now we have all the problems."

I would like to give you a short overview of the situation.

### A historical perspective

I would not like to dwell on the past, not even the recent past. We really want to put this war behind us. But, I would like to tell you, that we faced aggression during this war, and that this war has been caused by forces outside of Bosnia. This war is actually a continuation of former wars. For more than a century in this region, we have had Greater Serbian and Greater Croatian wars against Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state. Unfortunately, ideologues and the leaders of these hegemonistic teachings are saying that the "Bosniacs," or better said, the Muslim people, are the greatest obstacle, and they think that if they remove the Bosnians, politically and physically, from this region, they will be in a position to create Greater Serbia, or even Greater Croatia. Unfortunately, this is an old doctrine which is very much alive even today.

On the other hand, we consider ourselves as a kind of buffer zone, a region that can stop further chauvinistic struggles. We consider that our survival here can stop the appetites of Greater Serbia and Greater Croatia, and can establish a certain political, military, and cultural balance in this region and in the region of the Balkans generally.

I would like to remind you, that we have lived here for centuries together. Not a single struggle in Bosnia has begun from within. Every conflict has been begun from the outside.

In that sense, we cannot accept some attitudes, which have been repeatedly expressed in the West, including in America, that this was a civil war, and that we can talk in terms of "the warring factions." Unfortunately, we have faced terrible aggression, very strongly supported from outside, militarily and politically.

I would like to remind you of another fact. Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state, and the Bosniacs, have paid the highest price in the struggle against communism. We are the leaders of the fight against communism in Europe. I hope you have not forgotten, that a Communist Party is still in power in Serbia today, a party which has only changed its name, but not its ideology. The price we paid, of almost 200,000 persons killed out of a population of less than 2 million, in rejecting communism, must not be forgotten. Therefore, we cannot, by any means, accept those estimates, which are either founded on ignorance or on a poor understanding of things here.

This was a fight for democracy. This has to be said clearly. We have expected, that the leaders of democracy would say this themselves, that they would say the truth. Unfortunately, due to some analyses from very high places in the West and in Europe, they say that we are all equally guilty, all equally to blame for the war. This may cause great resentment toward democracy among our people. I ask you to bear this in mind.

For four years we have been asking the democratic world to help us. It is very hard, as a government, for us today to convince our people, especially the families of people who died in this war, that the Western world, the democratic world, was not able to stop these crimes a long time ago. Our people think that this could have been done in 1993 just as well as in 1995.

### The post-Dayton situation

Today we are faced with some significant problems. We have accepted the Dayton Accord, in order to stop further destruction and chaos. We do not consider this agreement a just one. We do not think that the aggressor should be rewarded with 49% of the territory of this country. The aggressor never had 49% of the territory; this country has never been divided in this way. In this country, nobody ever counted percentages of territory or a separate ethnic identity. We have simply lived next to one another. We used to live in the same cities and villages together. This was normal. We have never thought in terms of what percentage the Croats occupy, or the Muslims, or Serbs.

But much worse than this is that today we are subjected to terrible pressures, unfortunately, even from the American administration, to release the war criminals. General Shalikhvili was here 20 days ago and he demanded that Serbian Gen. Djordje Djukic be released. You know that he was sent to The Hague, and that charges have been pressed against him. You have to understand, that this demand by General Shalikhvili cannot lead to positive consequences. We expect that American public opinion, American politicians,





*Meeting at the Sarajevo Defense Ministry. Left to right: Defense Ministry spokesman Faris Nanic, Umberto Pascali, Paolo Raimondi, Deputy Defense Minister Hasan Cengic, Nihad Dzinovic.*

American intellectuals will raise their voice to help ensure the real punishment of the war criminals. Without this punishment, it is not possible to have democracy, peace, and human rights.

We are faced today with the obligation to demobilize our soldiers. During the first six months of this year, 180,000 soldiers will be released from service. In order to grasp the dimension of this number, you must know, that currently in Bosnia-Herzegovina we have 130,000 employees; in production, only half that number. Within two months we expect some turmoil; it could cause the fall of the government.

We are in a paradoxical situation. According to the Dayton agreement, in 1996, there is not one cent allocated for defense in the Federation budget. But there is also not a single cent for taking care of the demobilized soldiers. Without reconstruction of infrastructure, there is no reconstruction of production, there is no industry. Without production and industry, there is no employment. We find ourselves in a closed cycle.

Unfortunately, those who have carefully planned these steps for Bosnia-Herzegovina have not counted on these problems. They have not given systematic solutions. We are not in a position to solve this problem in an official and systematic way. We are in a situation where we have to solve this with the help of non-governmental organizations, or rather, with the help of the humanitarian aid organizations, who treat our soldiers as social cases. You will certainly agree with us: This can be very dangerous, because they are really not social cases. This is why we consider this the first priority. They are very good, excellent workers, and also very good fighters. There is a great danger that with this treatment, we may cause new social problems.

In the political sense, I have to tell you, we have great problems with the implementation of the Federation, unfortunately. There are two different understandings of the Dayton agreement. Our understanding and the Croatian understanding of this is as if we are looking at different contracts, even when we call on the American representatives here, people who were in Dayton, for help and assistance. When they give their stipulation, it is still not accepted by the Croatian side, unfortunately.

Obviously, in wanting to gain political results and to initiate the implementation of the Federation here, sometimes the American side does not do enough to protect the principles of Dayton. What is the essence? Croats accepted making a state from the Federation. We are talking about the present Croatian policy in Bosnia. They would agree to turn the Federation into a separate state, at the same time creating very, very fragile and very weak connections with the State of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This goes to the point of jeopardizing the sovereignty of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is not acceptable for us. We did not lose the sovereignty of Bosnia during the war, so we will not lose it at the table. This is the essence of the misunderstanding of the federal defense law.

Of course, I would love for somebody to help me, as a person who is in charge of defense, to create a defense system for one country with two legal and completely separate armies, and two legal and completely separate ministries of defense. This is my assignment. With my modest knowledge, it is not possible to find anything like it anywhere in the world. We have to do it. If not, we will be accused of not being cooperative in the Federation. And we are putting ourselves in a situation where aid will be held up, or we may even be faced with completely baseless accusations.

Finally, the question of peace in Bosnia. It is not only a question of relations within Bosnia, but also the question of world relations. This war was not begun only because of us. In the same way, we have not been able to stop it ourselves.

We think that the United States of America and some European countries do not understand the future of Bosnia in the same way that we do. This is reflected also in relations here in Bosnia. We do think that the establishment of a military balance can provide deterrence. If not, it will only be a question of days before the war will begin again. That is why we think the American commitment to establish a military balance, is absolutely correct. But it should be accepted by the European countries. Otherwise, we could have a situation, in which everything that has been done so far, will not yield any fruits.

### The danger of hegemonism

I have not spoken about the Croatian or the Serbian people, and I consider neither of them to blame. I consider the people who committed crimes, to be the guilty individuals. Unfortunately, there are lots of them. Among the Serbs, they could make a separate people of criminals, unfortunately.

The Serbian people, the people itself, is never guilty. This also goes for the Croatian people. I am speaking about hegemonic policies.

We are glad that the war is over. But sometimes, we are faced with a very rough violation of this country's sovereignty at the highest level, toward the highest institutions of the State of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In that sense, the position of the IMF is almost the same, as is the approach of some other international organizations. Our government has to cooperate with other governments and international institutions created by these other governments. You also know very well what we have lived through. We are not in a position to change a lot of things.

This is why I share your opinion: Only through real investment, investments of these companies that really want to produce here and work here, can we achieve real progress. It is not clear to us how are we going to pay back these new loans, when we have an old debt which is very big. We have made a proposal which unfortunately has not been accepted.

According to our estimates, at least \$10-12 billion of the property of the Yugoslav National Army is our property. At the same time, we are in a very difficult situation in rescheduling our debt of \$2.5 billion. Why can we not agree, that the international financial institutions pressure Belgrade to solve the problem of our debts and their succession and their obligation? We have tried this, but everybody turned us down. It is easier to pressure the destroyed Bosnia than Serbia.

This is only one of the examples. Unfortunately, we can give you a lot more. We consider that the succession has to be solved, but before that, we have to solve the question of who the aggressor is. This is the beginning of everything: We have to establish who the aggressor was. We know that very well, and world public opinion knows that very well, but this

has to be said in legal terms, which has not been done.

**Ben Swan:** Do the signers of the Dayton agreement seriously expect you to reduce the size of your military?

**Cengic:** They believe that we have to do it. And we will do it. However, unless we achieve a military balance, or rather, the modernization of equipment and training of the federal army, then we will be doomed to destruction.

### Mobilizing Bosnia's skilled workforce

*Mrs. Elke Fimmen asks whether there is a possibility of putting the demobilized soldiers into government projects for rebuilding the country.*

**Cengic:** We are ready to do that, but we have been waiting for money for five months. It would be useful to get some construction machinery to at least clean up. But we have not been able to.

We can employ people. As you certainly know, we have educated people, and our people have been involved in industry for more than a century. We have people who have been working on great projects all over the world, not only in the East, but also in the West, not only in civil engineering. We had cooperation in many fields. If there were real investments, we would be able to solve a great number of problems very soon. We do not need humanitarian aid. We want reconstruction and investments.

The problem of demobilized soldiers was not treated in the Dayton agreement. We were only ordered to demobilize.

## EIR Audio Report

Your weekly antidote  
for New World Order 'news'

Exclusive news reports and interviews  
Audio statements by Lyndon LaRouche

- Updates on:
- The Real Economy
  - Science and Technology
  - The Fight for Constitutional Law
  - The Right to Life
  - Food and Agriculture
  - The Arts
  - The Living History of the American Republic
  - Essential Reports from around the Globe

**\$500 for 50 Issues**

An hour-long audio cassette sent by first-class mail  
each week. Includes cover letter with contents.

Make checks payable to:

**EIR News Service**

P.O. Box 17390, Washington, D.C. 20041-0390

Phone: (703) 777-9451

Fax: (703) 771-9492

## London's 'Iron Lady' gave the green light

On April 18, three Sarajevo dailies carried "pool" coverage of the Schiller Institute's April 17 press conference at the headquarters of the ruling Party of Democratic Action (SDA). We quote the text of the coverage as it appeared in *Oslobodenje*, and include some additional reportage from the other two dailies. At least two reports of the press conference were aired on Sarajevo television.

*Oslobodenje* headlined its coverage: "The West's Dangerous Games"; a kicker referred to the Schiller Institute program: "Insistence on a 'Marshall Plan' which includes setting public works in motion for the reconstruction of B&H."

"Bosnia and Hercegovina is a victim of planned geopolitical games of certain Western countries and their intent to provoke the war on its territory. If it hadn't been for the 'green light' from London, given by Margaret Thatcher, Lord Carington, and the British oligarchy, in conjunction with the French President Mitterrand, as well as approvals from certain forces in the United States, the Chetniks would not have started the aggression, stated Paolo Raimondi, a representative of the Schiller Institute, an international political and cultural organization, during a press conference on Wednesday at the headquarters of the Party of the Democratic Action (SDA) in Sarajevo.

"The Schiller Institute," said Raimondi, "was the only organization which, even before the aggression against B&H, had warned that the "Western games" were leading to the destabilization of this area."

"The policy of destabilization in the last five years was also carried out through the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. 'The conditionalities should not be imposed on Bosnia and Hercegovina,' Raimondi thinks, 'which these two organizations are demanding, after four years of destruction.'

"The Schiller Institute, the organization which brings together representatives of associations from many countries, is promoting a campaign for the sovereignty of Bosnia and Hercegovina, and its right to economic development, and is against any kind of conditionalities. That's why they insist on the 'Marshall Plan,' which includes setting into motion the building of public works for the reconstruction of the country.

"A Schiller Institute delegation, including members of the Committee to Save the Children of Bosnia and Hercegovina, arrived in Sarajevo on Tuesday, after a one-day visit to Croa-

tia. They have already held talks in Sarajevo with members of the Presidency of the Republic of B&H, Stjepan Kljujic and Mirko Pejanovic, Rejs Ulema Prof. Dr. Mustafa Ceric, Deputy Minister of Defense Muhamed Cengic, Cardinal Vinko Puljic and representatives of SDA."

*Vecernje Novine* bore the headline, "Schiller Institute Press Conference: Geopolitical Games around the Aggression against B&H; the Iron Lady Gave the Green Light." The accompanying picture shows Britain's then-Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

"Bosnia and Hercegovina is a victim of planned geopolitical games of certain Western countries and their intent to provoke the war on its territory. If it hadn't been for the 'green light' from London, given by Margaret Thatcher, Lord Carington and the British oligarchy, in conjunction with the French President Mitterrand as well as approval from certain forces in the United States, the Chetniks would not have started the aggression, stated Paolo Raimondi, a representative of the Schiller Institute. . . .

"It is highly immoral to expect the people of Bosnia and Hercegovina to pay the debts of the communist Yugoslavia. The 'Marshall Plan' aid must be tied in with the sovereignty of B&H and that is what we are striving for," stated Raimondi."

*Dnevni Avaz*, "The West Is Responsible for the War."

"The Schiller Institute, according to Paolo Raimondi, was the only organization which denounced the 'games of the

Pres - konferencija "Šilerovog instituta"  
Geopolitičke igre oko agresije na BiH  
**GVOZDENA LEDI DALA  
ZELENO SVJETLO**

BiH je žrtva planirane geopolitičke igre određenih zemalja Zapada i namjere da se na njenim prostorima izazove rat. Da nije bilo "zelenog svjetla" iz Londona, koje su dali Margaret Tater, lord Karington i britanska oligarhija, zajedno sa francuskim predsjednikom Miteranom, kao i "svjetla" koje su dale neka snaga iz SAD-a, ne bi se četnici pokrenuli - rekao je predstavnik međunarodne političke i kulturne organizacije "Šilerov institut" Paolo Raimondi na preskonferenciji u Centrali Stranke demokratske akcije u Sarajevu.

"Šilerov institut" bio je, po riječima Raimondija, jedina organizacija koja je još prije agresije na BiH ukazala da "igre Zapada" vode ka destabilizaciji ovog područja.

Na destabilizaciju politike u posljednjih pet godina utječu i Svjetska banka i Međunarodni monetarni fond, BiH smatra Raimondi, ne mogu se postavljati uvjeti kao što to čine te dvije organizacije nakon četiri godine njenog razaranja.

"Šilerov institut", kao organizacija koja okuplja predstavnike asocijacije iz raznih zemalja pruža, prije svega, podršku kampanji za nacionalni suverenitet BiH i pravo BiH da se ekonomski



tira na "Maršalovom planu", koji podrazumijeva pokretanje javnih radova u obnovi zemlja.

- Krajeva je nemoralno da se od naroda BiH očekuje da plaća dugove komunističke Jugoslavije. Pomoć "Maršalovog plana" mora biti povezana sa suverenošću BiH i mi se za to i zalazamo - rekao je Raimondi.

"The Iron Lady Gave the Green Light," headlined the Sarajevo daily *Vecernje Novine*, in its coverage of the press conference given by the Committee to Save the Children of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The photo is, of course, of Margaret Thatcher.

West' that led to the destabilization of this area. Yesterday at the headquarters of SDA in Sarajevo, the representatives of the Schiller Institute from Germany were introduced to the press." The caption of an accompanying photo of bombed out houses: "Onward with the reconstruction of Bosnia and Hercegovina with the 'Marshall Plan.' "

The Croatian daily *Slobodna Dalmacija* of April 20, covered the delegation's press conference in Dubrovnik:

"An international delegation of the Committee to Save the Children of Bosnia-Hercegovina of the Schiller Institute held a press conference, upon their return from a visit of several days in Sarajevo, at the Dubrovnik Hotel Imperial on Thursday evening [April 18]. They presented to the media their impressions of their journey through B&H. The delegation included members from Italy, Germany, Slovakia, as well as current and former American parliamentarians. They reported on their evaluation of the situation in neighboring B&H and spoke about their efforts to contribute to keeping the peace both in B&H and in Croatia.

"Elke Fimmen, the representative of the Schiller Institute from Wiesbaden, presented the necessity for an urgent renewal of the economy of B&H, because there would otherwise be a reversal in economic development, opening the way for new tension and fighting.

"A stable peace in B&H remains the prime political task of the United States, Benjamin Swan, state representative

from Massachusetts stressed. He added that after the tragic accident of Commerce Secretary Ron Brown and his co-workers, the United States will continue to develop joint economic cooperation as well as support rapid restoration of infrastructure.

"Former U.S. Congressman from South Carolina, James Mann, spoke about the fate of thousands of children, who were sent to other countries for refuge during the war. He stressed that it should be one of the future aims of the U.S. administration to make it possible for these children to return to their native country, B&H, as well as to ensure the preconditions for a normal life and education of the youngest ones.

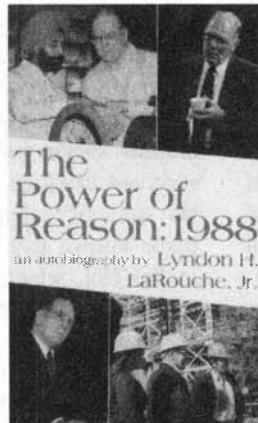
"Concerning the destruction during the aggression against B&H and Croatia, Theo Mitchell, former state senator from South Carolina, said that, after he returned home, he would encourage the U.S. government to inject fresh capital into this region, so that the destroyed production potential could be rebuilt, and new employment for local people could be created.

"Concluding the press conference, the representative of the Schiller Society for the Protection of Life, Culture, Science and Human Rights, Dr. Jozef Miklosko of Slovakia, spoke. He reported on the discussions which they held during their stay in Sarajevo with representatives of the three religious communities. Miklosko supported strengthening their collaboration, so that durable peace could be secured in the area of B&H."

## Books by Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr.

The LaRouche case "represented a broader range of deliberate cunning and systematic misconduct over a longer period of time utilizing the power of the federal government than any other prosecution by the U.S. Government in my time or to my knowledge."

—Former U.S. Attorney General  
Ramsey Clark

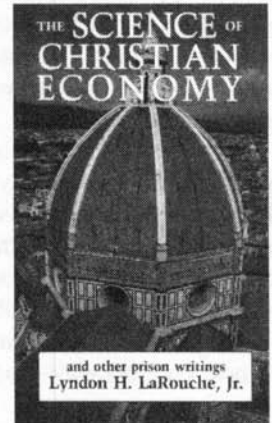
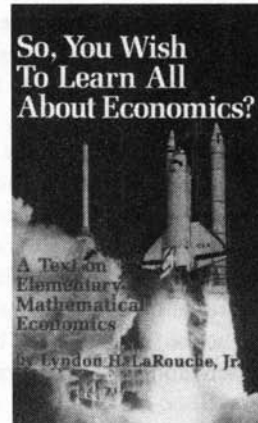


**READ LAROUCHE'S BOOKS** and find out why the Establishment is so determined to silence his voice.

*The Power of Reason: 1988.*  
An autobiography by  
Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr. \$10.00

*So, You Wish to Learn  
All About Economics* \$10.00

*The Science of Christian Economy  
and Other Prison Writings* \$15.00



Send checks or money orders to:

**Ben Franklin  
Booksellers, Inc.**

107 South King St.  
Leesburg, VA 22075  
phone 1-800-453-4108 (toll free)  
or 1-703-777-3661

Shipping and handling charges: Add \$4 for the first book and \$.50 for each additional book. Virginia residents add 4.5% sales tax.

We accept MasterCard, Visa, American Express, and Discover.