

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

## Documentation

---

# Parliamentarians attack capitulation to Serbs

## German MP Stefan Schwarz

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

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

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

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

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

## Italian MP Roberto Formigoni

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

“The well-known Italian Christian Democrat Roberto

## Malaysian Parliament stands up for Bosnia

*The following is the historic resolution sponsored by Malaysian Foreign Minister Datuk Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, and unanimously approved by the Dewan Rakyat (Malaysian House) on Oct. 28. In offering the motion, Abdullah had stated: "It is important for this House to reject the peace proposal which divides the state based on ethnicity and religion."*

*The passage of the resolution followed by just three days Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir Mohamad's high-profile intervention on Bosnia at the British Commonwealth summit, held in Cyprus. There, Britain's John Major came under strong attack from the prime minister, BBC reported on Oct. 25. Directing his remarks at Major, Mahathir is quoted saying: "The West has been talking so much about human rights. . . . Here you see clearly people being raped, murdered, slaughtered, shot at, and you do nothing. . . . You are so keen on Iraq, so much so that even if they turn their radar on, you are prepared to shoot them. In the case of Bosnia, nothing is done."*

### **Prime minister to move:**

**That**, in accordance with Standing Order 27(3) of the House of Representatives, I hereby move a motion, as follows:

**That**, the sovereignty and human rights in the state of

Bosnia-Hercegovina have been violated by acts of aggression by the Serbs;

**That**, acts of atrocities have been inflicted on the Muslim population of Bosnia-Hercegovina by the Serbs;

**That**, failure on the part of the United Nations Security Council to take positive steps has resulted in continued acts of "genocide" and "ethnic cleansing" by the Serbs;

**And that**, the delineation of boundary based on racial descent or religion does not perpetuate peace and settlement of the issue.

The House, **hereby** resolves as follows:

1) To condemn the acts of aggression and all forms of violation of human rights of the Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina especially "genocide" and "ethnic cleansing."

2) To request the United Nations Security Council to fulfill its responsibility by taking positive steps to implement the resolutions of the House, namely:

a) to free Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina from attacks and intimidation by the Serbs; and

b) to open up Tuzla Airport to enable food and medical supply aid to reach the war victims in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

3) To urge the United Nations Security Council to repeal the ban on armaments imposed on the State of Bosnia-Hercegovina; and to urge France and Britain especially not to impede this effort; and

4) The House also resolves to convey this resolution to the House of Parliament of all nations concerned, especially of France and Great Britain.

Formigoni has proposed a special conference to take place either in Germany or in Italy for the world community to change its Balkan policy. Formigoni is a member of the national and of the European Parliament, founder of the Popular Movement [a Catholic political movement], and co-chairman of the International Parliamentarians against Genocide in Bosnia, an organization comprising 300 parliamentarians from 30 countries. Formigoni makes serious allegations. The genocide in Bosnia is consciously accepted by some countries and institutions, and by others willingly promoted, he says. He does not hide names: 'The British Owen and the Norwegian Stoltenberg have, from the beginning, based their peace plan on wrong assumptions. They have thus accepted the extermination of Bosnian Muslims.'

"Catholic Formigoni criticizes the policies of both Great Britain and the United States. 'They have prevented the pacification of this part of Europe [the Balkans] out of political considerations.' Formigoni criticizes both American Secretary of State [Warren] Christopher and British Prime Minister

John Major, claiming they are attempting to minimize the extent of the war of extermination against the Bosnian Muslims.

"Formigoni charges that in the Anglo-Saxon world, there are those in specific economic and financial groups who have an interest in preventing European unity. He charged that this grouping, in the current situation, wants to create, out of the conflict in former Yugoslavia and the Serbian push for power, a religious war: play Muslims against Christians, and eventually Catholic against Orthodox Christians. After drawing the comparison with Lebanon, Formigoni states that 'by threatening the existence of Muslims in Bosnia, the most important Muslim enclave in Europe, unrest will spread to Islamic minorities in western Europe, first of all in Germany and France. Through this destabilization, a blow against European unity would be delivered.' Therefore, says Formigoni, the parliamentarians want to bring the genocide in Bosnia before the U.N. General Assembly and request a special debate.

## **U.S. Rep. Frank McCloskey**

*From a commentary in the Oct. 24 New York Times, and the Oct. 25 International Herald Tribune:*

“As a loyal Democrat and supporter of Bill Clinton, I believe, with regret, that Secretary of State Warren Christopher should resign. He has severely damaged the national interest through failed leadership in difficult situations that have required a firm hand. These crises, in the former Yugoslavia, Somalia, Russia, and Haiti, are likely to worsen because of the administration’s flawed policies.

“Our Bosnia policy has been an utter failure. Mr. Christopher has vacillated and obfuscated the issue of Serbian aggression. . . . Mr. Christopher steadfastly refused to describe atrocities by Bosnian Serbs as genocide. Why? More than 200,000 Bosnians have been killed, and half of all the remaining Bosnians have been driven into exile. More than 380,000 people are in the 18th month of the Sarajevo siege, but Mr. Christopher will not describe this situation as terrorism. . . .

“In Russia, the administration identifies Boris Yeltsin as the embodiment of democratic reform and is investing all of its faith and aid to Russia in his survival. I gravely doubt whether he is a true democrat. His erratic behavior and the crackdown on his opponents and the free press are perplexing.

“More importantly, we are encouraging violent ultranationalists and secessionists throughout the former Soviet Union, by failing to address Serbian aggression in the Balkans. . . .”

## **Malaysian parliamentarians**

*From the Malaysian New Straits Times on Oct. 29:*

“The Dewan Rakyat today unanimously resolved to condemn the acts of aggression and all forms of violations of human rights, especially genocide and ethnic cleansing of Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina [see box]. . . .

“Debating the resolution, Datuk Dominic Puthuchery (BN-Nibong Tebai) criticized the control of the western media in not exposing two World Court decisions which found the Serbs’ aggression as genocide. He added it had been reported that John Major had told Clinton that if the arms sanctions against Bosnia were lifted, the chances of Major being reelected would be affected. Puthuchery called for U.S. strikes on Serb strongholds in Bosnia-Herzegovina. . . .

“Sukri Mohamad (S46-Kok Lanas) urged the government to rescind its contracts with British companies, especially those signed during Major’s visit last month. ‘To show our disgust over the British stand in not resolving the Bosnian issue, Malaysians should stop buying British goods,’ he said. . . .

“Badruddin Amirudin (BN-Jeraj) said Malaysians should boycott goods from the United States, Britain, and

France as these countries were not doing anything to stop the atrocities, and Malaysia should also call for the resignation of U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali for his failure to find a solution.”

*According to New Straits Times on Oct. 26, the parliamentary debate began several days earlier when MP Datuk Dominic Puthuchery reported on his trip to Sarajevo:*

“Speaking to a group of MPs and guests at Parliament House, Puthuchery stressed that the western powers were playing a dangerous game by pitting the Serbs, Croats, and Bosnians against each other and watching as genocide was being committed. ‘Serbia is a sovereign nation and so is Croatia. . . and if these foreign forces have usurped Bosnian land and establish their own strongholds. . . it cannot be a civil war. . . it is outright invasion,’ said Puthuchery, who is co-chairman of an international parliamentary group on Bosnia. ‘If the international community could join forces in the liberation of Kuwait when Iraq overran it. . . what is so different in this situation?’ he asked.

“He insisted that the Bosnian government does not want the creation of Muslim enclaves in his country, but a sovereign, multi-religious, multi-racial Bosnia-Herzegovina. He said [Bosnian] President [Alija] Izetbegovic had made it clear that the interference of Serbia and Croatia and the western powers had resulted in the country being torn apart by clashes. He said a motion on B-H [Bosnia-Herzegovina] would be tabled [introduced] in Parliament and its decision distributed to countries around the world.”

## **Australian MP Paul Filing**

*From a press release on Oct. 13, “Dangerous Times for World Peace”:*

“The Federal Member for Moore, Paul Filing MP, today called for the resignation of United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Mr. Filing, speaking from Zagreb in Croatia, has just returned from an international delegation to the besieged Bosnian capital, Sarajevo. . . .

“ ‘Mr. Boutros-Ghali has overseen the worst disaster in which the United Nations has been involved. Bosnia, and now Somalia, represent opposition for U.N. intervention, due to the disrepute into which the U.N.’s actions have fallen, and it is going to be virtually impossible to develop the will to intervene and stop further carnage in Bosnia. . . . Surgical air strikes against the heavy artillery positions surrounding Sarajevo should be used if the guns are not withdrawn. . . .

“ ‘The drift in leadership must be attributed to Boutros-Ghali. The United Nations has lost the plot and a change is desperately needed. This is a very dangerous period for peace and security. . . . The post-Cold War scenario is a colder and more savage environment, thanks to the most recent examples of the lack of leadership. Boutros Boutros-Ghali should wear much of the criticism as should President Clinton.”