
Book Reviews

The Hobbesian diplomatic world of Britain's Lord David Owen

by Susan Welsh

Balkan Odyssey

by David Owen

Harcourt Brace & Co., New York, 1995

367 pages, hardbound, \$25

In a May 10, 1982 public address, (Sir) Henry A. Kissinger bragged of having worked, during his employment as both U.S. national security adviser and secretary of state, as an agent of the British foreign service, behind the backs of Presidents Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford. That address was delivered at "Chatham House," also known as the British Foreign Service's Royal Institute for International Affairs (RIIA), the institution which has sponsored, trained, and directed Kissinger since early 1950s assignment to training at Chatham House's Wilton Park subsidiary, at Harvard University. The subject of that address was Kissinger's attempts to justify his virtually life-long dedication to combatting the traditional American values of President Franklin Roosevelt, on behalf of the British imperial tradition represented by Roosevelt's war-time political adversary, Prime Minister Winston Churchill.

As part of his rejection of the patriotic tradition of the United States, Kissinger included the following paean to British lack of morality: "Philosophically, she remains Hobbesian: She expects the worst and is rarely disappointed. In moral matters Britain has traditionally practiced a convenient form of ethical egoism, believing that what was good for Britain was best for the rest."

This aptly summarizes the philosophical outlook of Lord David Owen, who served as the European Union's "mediator" in the Balkan wars, and co-chairman of the steering committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY), from August 1992 to June 1995. Owen's Hobbesian diplomacy made him complicit in the worst ethnic cleansing and genocide since the Nazi Holocaust.

Kissinger went on to claim that Britain has always prac-

ticed her Hobbesian philosophy and ethical egoism "with an innate moderation and civilized humaneness such that her presumption was frequently justified. In the nineteenth century, British policy was a—perhaps *the*—principal factor in a European system that kept the peace for 99 years without a major war." It can be doubted that the victims of this *Pax Britannica* would agree with Sir Henry's lie; certainly, the victims of the Balkans war do not.

Like Hobbes and Kissinger, Lord Owen is a consummate liar. A skillful diplomat and former British Foreign Secretary, he has long experience in convincing his interlocutor (in this case, the reader) that he is really a nice guy who is doing the best he can to bring peace to a troubled world. Any fact which might disturb this fairy tale, he simply does not report, or lies about.

The only way to refute Owen's picture of the wars in former Yugoslavia, therefore, is to introduce the information that he suppresses. In this article, we draw upon *EIR's* extensive coverage of the Balkans during the period of Owen's tenure, a period in which this magazine played a unique role in getting the truth to people around the world, exposing the British strategic gameplan behind Owen's diplomacy.

Owen's cover-story

Owen's line is that, before he became ICFY co-chairman, he was a staunch advocate of military strikes against the Serbian aggressors, to stop the genocide against Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. In fact, he says, his views on this were identical to those of Bill Clinton in July 1992, who was then campaigning for the Presidency on a similar program. Owen was, during the summer of 1992, an outspoken opponent of the British government's refusal to take military action. But after that same British government secured his appointment to the post of EU "mediator," he soon learned the hard, cold realities of Balkan politics, and lost his naiveté. He came to realize that no military solution were possible, since no Western government was prepared to ask its people to risk their lives to defeat the Serbs. Owen quotes Otto von Bismarck that "the Balkans were not worth the healthy bones of



David Owen (center) with French Maj. Gen. Philippe Morillon (left), then-chief of Unprofor in Bosnia, and Bosnian Serb mass murderer Gen. Ratko Mladic (right), shown here in Sarajevo, December 1992. Lord Owen writes that there are “no innocents” among the leaders of the warring Balkan ethnic groups.

a single Pomeranian grenadier,” and reports his own growing realization that “it was this view which was held by all the key governments when it came to committing troops on the ground in Bosnia-Herzegovina and which ensured that international diplomacy without military power was the hallmark of every attitude and action toward the former Yugoslavia.” Reviewing the history of the now-defunct Vance-Owen Peace Plan (VOPP), he argues that this was the very best “deal” that Bosnia could have gotten—much better than what they have now—and that had it been adopted, it would have prevented many deaths and much suffering.

Owen further explains how he came to realize that there are no “good guys” or “bad guys” in a “civil war” such as that in former Yugoslavia. All sides have committed terrible atrocities, he claims. “Within a week of taking the position of co-chairman,” he writes, “I had come to realize, and to say publicly, that there were no innocents among the political and military leaders in all three parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina.” The negotiator must therefore be impartial, must practice conflict resolution among “the Muslims,” “the Croats,” and “the Serbs,” convincing each to give a little, in the interests of a peace settlement, which is judged to be the primary aim. This means that the Serbs have the right to keep at least a portion of what they have seized by force: After all, how can you expect them to withdraw, when they are in a superior military position, and you are not prepared to use military force to dislodge them?

As to the Bosnian demand that the West lift the arms embargo and allow the government in Sarajevo to defend itself, Owen argues that this would be detrimental, since it would make the Serbs angry, and therefore would wreck his efforts to convince them to “give a little” at the negotiating

table. Further, it would make the Russians angry, and this might lead to World War III.

Above all, Owen’s view absolutely precludes the idea, which Lyndon and Helga LaRouche have insisted on, that a Balkan settlement must include a “peace-winning policy”—a new “Marshall Plan” of assistance to rebuild the shattered economies of the region, while integrating them into a Productive Triangle of European and Eurasian infrastructure development. This policy is axiomatically rejected by the British, and the U.N. apparatus; no hint of it appears in this book.

Hobbes: ‘war of every man, against every man’

What, then, is the Hobbesian world view of Owen, Kissinger, and the British oligarchy?

For Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), men are nasty and brutish creatures, destined to fight continually among themselves, unless some greater power, the *Leviathan*, emerges to keep them in their place. (In Hobbes’s day, of course, this power was the British monarchy; today, that role is to be played by a one-world government, the United Nations, as an instrument of that monarchy.)

As Hobbes writes: “Hereby it is manifest, that during the time men live without a common Power to keep them all in awe, they are in that condition which is called Warre; and such a warre, as is of every man, against every man. . . . In such condition, there is no place for Industry; . . . And the life of man, solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short. . . .

“The only way to erect such a Common Power, as may be able to defend [men] from the invasion of Forraigners, and the injuries of one another, and thereby to secure them in such sort, as that by their owne industrie, and by the fruites of the Earth, they may nourish themselves and live contentedly; is,

to conferre all their power and strength upon one Man, or upon one Assembly of men, that may reduce all their Wills, by plurality of voices, unto one Will: . . . made by Covenant of every man with every man. . . . This is the Generation of that great *Leviathan* . . . to which wee owe . . . our peace and defence.”

How is this happy state of peace to be achieved? In Hobbes’s world, there is a place for Lord David Owen, the “Arbitrator”: “It is also a Law of Nature, *That all men that mediate Peace, be allowed safe Conduct.* . . . Unlesse the parties to the question, Covenant mutually to stand to the sentence of another, they are as farre from Peace as ever. This other, to whose Sentence they submit, is called an *Arbitrator*. And therefore it is of the Law of Nature, *That they that are at controversie, submit their Right to the judgment of an Arbitrator*” (emphasis in original).

Hobbes specifies that the Arbitrator must not in any way *take sides* between the warring parties, even when it might seem a matter of honor (and morality) to do so: “And seeing every man is presumed to do all things in order to his own benefit, no man is a fit Arbitrator in his own cause. . . . For the same reason no man in any Cause ought to be received for Arbitrator, to whom greater profit, or honour, or pleasure apparently ariseth out of the victory of one party, than of the other: for hee hath taken (though an unavoydable bribe, yet) a bribe; and no man can be obliged to trust him. And thus also the controversie, and the condition of War remaineth, contrary to the Law of Nature.”

Unexamined, is that class of arbitrators, who, even when their neutrality be real, serve a partisan, *third* interest: their own policy, of “let’s you and him fight.” This is the job for the Kissingers and Owens.

Britain’s strategy in the Balkans

David Owen is at pains to emphasize that he is *not* an instrument of British policy, but an independent operator, in the employ of the European Union. On page 25, he reports that he refused a salary from the British government, for the job of EU mediator, because “I had no wish to be seen as a British diplomat or civil servant and preferred not to accept the ‘Queen’s shilling.’ ” Not until page 297, do we learn that his period of service without pay was of short duration; evidently he decided that his dirty work merited a Queen’s shilling or two. One is reminded of the story of the Emperor Vespasian, who gained notoriety for imposing a tax on the public urinals of the city of Rome. When his son Titus complained about this practice, Vespasian handed him a coin and asked, “Does it smell bad?” Titus admitted that it did not. “Yet it comes from urine,” said Vespasian.

It doesn’t take a pay stub to prove that Lord Owen acted in closest coordination with the British government; indeed, the book itself documents this time and again. Just one example, is the way Owen worked with Prime Minister John Major and Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd to “handle” the Americans. The diplomatic push for the VOPP went into high gear

at the end of 1992 and early 1993, after George Bush’s defeat in the November 1992 elections. Owen and Vance worked intensively with the lame duck Bush administration officials, including the President himself, urging them to press the Serbs and the Bosnians to sign the VOPP right away. Clearly, they were trying to lock things in before the inauguration of Clinton, whom the British were not sure they could control. Owen sent a telegram to British Ambassador to the United States Robin Renwick, for example, expressing his frustration with the Clinton administration: “We have this administration briefing the press in a way that could not but stiffen those Muslims who want to continue the war.”

Owen writes further, that “the British position throughout my open battle with the U. S. administration had been totally supportive, largely due to John Major, but also to consistent backing from Sir David Hannay, our representative at the U.N. in New York.” At no point did Owen’s policy conflict with that of Her Majesty’s Government on any substantive issue.

British policy in the Balkans is determined by the broader strategy of neutralizing or destroying any nation-state that poses a threat to British geopolitical domination. This has historically meant:

1. *Balance-of-power manipulations to prevent the emergence of a power bloc oriented toward the economic development of the Eurasian land mass.* This was, for example, the policy of the Entente Cordiale and the Triple Entente, which led to World War I (see article, p. 42). The British create ethnic insurgencies, revolutions, and wars, as their weapon for weakening the nation-state. An example of this today is the “clash of civilizations” policy, enunciated by Harvard’s Samuel Huntington: encouraging “Islamic fundamentalism” as a battering ram to destroy potential cooperation between the Islamic countries and others, including Israel.

2. *Keeping the United States on a British leash,* including the assassination of U.S. Presidents, as necessary.

During the mid-1980s, Britain’s Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and France’s President François Mitterrand had revived the arrangement which had been behind British King Edward VII’s 1902-11 efforts to organize World War I: the notorious, Anglo-French Entente Cordiale. Beginning 1991, the revived Entente Cordiale of Thatcher and Mitterrand had succeeded, with help of the Bush administration, in unleashing Kissinger Associates’ Serbia client, dictator Slobodan Milosevic, in atrocities against Serbia’s Croatian and Bosnian neighbors. Thatcher and Mitterrand sought to ally Russia with Milosevic’s Serbia, seeking to revive the Anglo-French-Russia “Triple Entente,” which was the actual guilty party in launching World War I.

In October-November 1989, with the fall of the Berlin Wall, Thatcher and her government began to scream that a reunified Germany would mean a “Fourth Reich.” London feared that East Germany would be rebuilt economically, and that a unified Germany would become a force for Eurasian infrastructure development, threatening British balance-of-

power domination of Eurasia. Thatcher easily secured the support of President Bush for her policy—the man who announced sourly, as communism was being toppled in East Germany, that he, for one, was not going to “dance on the Berlin Wall.”

As long as Bush was President, the British could run the United States as they wished, as Thatcher boasts in her memoirs. But President Clinton has not only refused to go along with the British policy; he has broken the “special relationship” with London, and oriented his foreign policy toward achieving a partnership with Germany, France, and Russia.

Since the collapse of Soviet power, Britain’s strategy against the United States has been shaped by the effort to elevate the United Nations Organization to the status of “The World Government,” thus reducing the United States to a mere satrapy of a U.N.O. empire, virtually controlled by the British monarchy’s far-flung financier oligarchy and intelligence services.

Today, London’s Balkan policy is one of the leading strategic operations which the British monarchy has deployed in the effort to topple the U.S. Clinton Presidency, and to break the United States to Britain’s will.

Diplomat Lord Owen would claim that he does not support these objectives. He says that he upholds Germany’s strengthened role in Europe, for example, and thinks that the European Union should run its affairs in such a way as not to trample upon the rights and interests of the sovereign nation-state.

Perhaps the lord doth protest too much; more revealing, is his homage to the British concept of World Federalism:

“The world is still a long way from achieving Tennyson’s dream, a text which U.S. President Truman carried in his wallet all his life and which Winston Churchill called the most wonderful of modern prophecies:

“For I dipt into the future; far as human eye could see.
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that
would be. . .
Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rain’d
a ghastly dew
From the nation’s airy navies grappling in the central
blue. . .
Till the war-drum throbb’d no longer and the battle
flags were furled
In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the
World.”

We now examine more closely the four principal axioms of Owen’s book, to show how each is a lie.

Lie #1: All sides are guilty

Lord Owen bristles at being compared with Neville Chamberlain, whose appeasement of Hitler at Munich in 1938 delivered Czechoslovakia into Nazi hands. When a journalist

raised the parallel at a press conference on Aug. 25, 1993, covered by *EIR*, Owen shot back: “I’m tired of this parallel, which is not applicable. Munich was before the war; now we are in the middle of a war. I don’t want to hear that word ‘appeasement’ again.”

One of the ways Owen dodges accusations that he “appeased” the Serbs, is by the scurrilous charge that all parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina are “masters of disinformation, propaganda and deceit,” that all are guilty of ethnic cleansing and atrocities against one another (he concedes that the Serbs behaved a bit worse than the others). According to this “logic,” the war in former Yugoslavia is not a war of aggression by Serbia against its neighbors, but a civil war, a war of “every man against every man,” as Hobbes put it, a war among people who have been killing each for centuries, and will always be killing each other, unless someone from outside stops them.

This obscene argument, playing rhetorically on widespread popular prejudices, is not unique to Lord Owen, as shown by the following statements quoted in *EIR*, Sept. 4, 1992:

U.N. Special Envoy **Cyrus Vance**, Nov. 5, 1991, claimed that it was “not at all clear who is the aggressor and who the victim in this conflict.”

Deputy U.S. Secretary of State **Lawrence Eagleburger**, Nov. 18, 1991: “This should be fought out among the peoples of Yugoslavia themselves.”

French President **François Mitterrand**, Nov. 29, 1991, interview with the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*: Refusing to name the aggressor, he said: “All I know is that the history of Serbia and Croatia has been filled with such dramas for a long time. Especially during the last world war, many Serbs were killed in Croatian camps. As you know, Croatia was part of the Nazi bloc, Serbia wasn’t. . . . Since the death of Tito, the latent conflict between Serbs and Croats had to break out, once again. The time for that has come now. I do not think that Serbia intends to launch war to keep Croatia, but rather to achieve a redrawing of the borders and some kind of direct or indirect control of the Serbian minorities.”

President **George Bush**, Aug. 17, 1992: In an interview with *U.S. News and World Report*, the President disputed reports that the Serbians were committing genocide. “We’re trying very hard to get whatever intelligence we can on the charge that there’s a genocidal wave sweeping through these camps. But in all fairness I have to say to the American people there is no evidence that what’s happening is genocide.”

Lord Owen and his friends are lying.

Take the example of the bombing of the marketplace in Sarajevo on Feb. 5, 1994, in which 49 people were killed and over 200 wounded. Owen uses this incident to bolster his claim that there are “no innocents” in this war. He cites the Serbian press agency Tanjug, quoting Unprofor sources, that this atrocity was carried out from behind “Muslim” lines, firing against their own civilians in order to attract international sympathy.

Reviewer Noel Malcolm, writing in the *Sunday Telegraph* on Nov. 12, 1995, points out, however: "What Lord Owen does not tell us is that a second, more thorough [Unprofor] investigation found that the first had made mistakes in its calculations, and concluded that the shell could equally have come from the Serb side. It is surely inconceivable that Owen is unaware of this second report; yet he chooses not to mention it."

Lie #2: The war is basically an ethnic conflict

Related to the previous lie, is Owen's fraudulent claim that the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina is an ethnic dispute among "the Muslims" and "the Serbs" and "the Croatsians." He always refers to the Bosnian government forces as "the Muslims," and dismisses Bosnia-Herzegovina's multi-ethnic Presidency as a sham.

In fact, it is long-standing British policy to manipulate and provoke conflicts among the various ethnic groups of Yugoslavia, to keep the war going, in service of the doctrine of "divide and rule."

As Lyndon H. LaRouche wrote in *EIR*'s Oct. 13, 1995

Special Report on terrorism in South Asia: "London's strategic use of 'ethnicity' . . . is key to all British long-term strategy in the Americas, Eurasia, and Africa, during the past 20 years. It is the basis for the British monarchy's genocide campaign against Rwanda and Burundi, and London's current efforts to bring about the total destruction of Nigeria and Sudan. It is also an integral component of London's strategic orientation toward the intended dissolution of Canada, of the United States, and of every presently existing nation of Central and South America. *Ethnicity*, whether in the foreign-directed insurgency within Mexico's federal state of Chiapas, Africa, and Eurasia, or the ongoing destruction of Australia, is the theme of the new, massive wave of international terrorism which London offices are directing today."

See *Documentation*, p. 32, for excerpts from an article in the Croatian publication *Danas*, reprinted in *EIR* on Aug. 27, 1993, which shows exactly how this manipulation was carried out in the case of the war between Croatsians and Bosnians.

We can refute Owen's lie about the ethnic nature of the war, by quoting the participants in the conflict themselves. The following chronology gives a very different picture (the dates refer to the issue of *EIR* in which the item appears):

Jan. 15, 1993: Prof. Dr. Kasim Trnka, "Ethnic Constitution Is Unacceptable." Dr. Trnka is an adviser to Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic and a member of the delegation

Locke Society promotes balkanization, secession

Thomas Hobbes's partner in crime, in developing the concept of the "social contract" by which man allegedly overcomes the bestial "state of nature," was John Locke (1632-1704)—another philosophical mentor of Lord David Owen. Charles K. Rowley, general director of The Locke Institute in Fairfax, Virginia, spells out his vision of Lockean classical liberalism, and a call for the demolition of the nation-state, in a treatise titled Property Rights and the Limits of Democracy (1993), quoted below. Rowley, an Englishman, came to the United States in 1984, where he is active in promoting "limited government and the free enterprise system." For more on Locke's political philosophy, see Philip Valenti, "The Anti-Newtonian Roots of the American Revolution," EIR, Dec. 1, 1995.

Locke himself had no notion in mind that democracy might enfranchise the property-less classes who would place no high valuation on protecting property, and who might welcome democracy only as an instrument of plunder. Yet, in modern times, attempts to limit the franchise would invoke

alienation and disaffection on a scale that would surely threaten the basis of civil society.

Given such constraints, those who value liberty highly and who seek to obtain for themselves the right to life, liberty and property, might do well to argue in favour of the dismantling of mega-states, at least for all purposes other than defence, and to favour the balkanization of civil societies into a set of smaller clubs that allow individuals real choices with respect to civil government. If certain clubs, such as the District of Columbia, should evidence strong preferences for welfare state socialism, gradually inward and outward migration would consolidate that tendency. If other clubs, such as Indiana, should evidence strong preferences for a Lockean society, true believers in liberty might cluster there, just like the Pilgrims in New England. . . .

Unlike the Pilgrims, there is no obvious wilderness to which classical liberals may relocate in a dramatically narrowing world. Only by making the case for secession and balkanization of states can they reasonably expect to achieve a society of like-minded individuals who recognize the importance of minimal government as the only safeguard for liberty available in a world increasingly characterized by individuals rather than to themselves for the solutions to their perceived problems.

of the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina in Geneva. He comments on the Vance-Owen Plan: "Unfortunately, now, again, amongst the ten additional principles that were introduced, there is a clear reintroduction of three constitutional units, based on an ethnic principle. . . . In their discussion on these arrangements, the Bosnia-Hercegovina delegation, having a strong interest in a unified, sovereign, and unbroken territory of the country, and with regard to the suggestion of the co-chairmen, insists on organizing the provinces on geographic, cultural, economic, and ethnic principles. The other two delegations (Serb and Croat) insist that those are the negotiations of three nations, and favor strictly ethnic criteria, that is, when it suits their purpose."

July 23, 1993: "U.N., Owen Push 'Final Solution' Against Bosnia," by Umberto Pascali, quotes **Lord Owen** in an interview with British Sky News and the French weekly *Le Journal du Dimanche*: "It's not aggression, it's a civil war." When asked whether what happened in Bosnia couldn't be called "ethnic cleansing," Owen replied: "Ethnic cleansing? If we talk about ethnic cleansing then we ought to talk about the ethnic cleansing the Serbs suffered in the 1940s of this century, the worst after the one suffered by the Jews." Pascali writes: "Regardless of the fact that the statement is factually incorrect—6% of the Serb population, 6.8% of the Muslims, and 5.4% of the Croats died during World War II—or that Belgrade was proudly presented to the Nazi government of Germany by the Serbian authorities as the first 'Jew-free' city in Europe, Owen is providing justification to the proponents of Greater Serbia, an asset of the British Empire, for their ongoing genocide."

Jan. 21, 1994: A Bosnian Muslim source tells *EIR* that British operatives are posing as "Muslims": Former British officers came as volunteers to fight in Croatia, during the period when Croatian extremist Mate Boban began his chauvinist drive against the Muslim population. A similar process has occurred in the Bosnian Army. "For example, there is a gentleman who was a colonel or captain in the British Special Forces, his name is David Owen—no relation to the so-called mediator, at least as far as I know. Two years ago, David Owen suddenly converted to Islam and he became . . . Sheik Dawud."

April 22, 1994: **Francis A. Boyle**, professor of international law at the University of Illinois and formerly the attorney for the government of Bosnia and Hercegovina, has submitted a document to the Parliament of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, analyzing the Washington Agreements of March 18. He writes that the accords are intended to prepare the way for the ultimate partition of Bosnia-Hercegovina, over a period of years. "The Vance-Owen Plan violated the 1973 Apartheid Convention and the 1965 Racial Discrimination Convention. The same is true for the Owen-Stoltenberg Plan. Indeed, this document seems to combine the worst features of both the Vance-Owen Plan and the Owen-Stoltenberg Plan. This document partitions the Republic of Bosnia and

Hercegovina in accordance with the principles of ethnicity and apartheid (like Owen-Stoltenberg), and then 'cantonizes' the so-called Federation in accordance with the principles of ethnicity and apartheid (like Vance-Owen). So this document is far worse than the Vance-Owen Plan, where at least you kept 100% of your independent state. Perhaps the Washington Agreements should most appropriately be called the Vance-Owen-Stoltenberg Plan."

The U.S. State Department is no friend of Bosnia-Hercegovina, writes Boyle. "As far as I can tell, these documents were drafted for the express purpose of putting you out of business as an independent nation state. This is typical of the way U.S. State Department lawyers do their dirty work around the world: Genocide by means of a word-processor."

Concerning the lawsuit which Bosnia had intended to press against Britain, for violation of the Genocide Convention (see *Documentation*, p. 31), Boyle writes: "As you may know, threats by the British government and several other European states forced the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina to withdraw from this proceeding last December. But when I informed the Court of Bosnia's intention to withdraw, I also told the Court that the withdrawal was being made under duress, threats, and coercion. I therefore reserved the right of the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina to sue Great Britain at any time. Now is the time for the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina to sue Great Britain in order to break the arms embargo and stop this carve-up!"

May 13, 1994: A Conference of the International Parliamentarians Against Genocide in Bosnia took place in Brussels on April 28-29. One of most important achievements of the conference was to bury the idea that the war in Bosnia is a war of Christianity against Islam. **Dr. Nedzib Sacirbey**, the personal representative of President Izetbegovic, said: "Do not help us because we are Muslims. Help us because we are right. Help us in the name of dignity and of the law."

Aug. 18, 1995: The London *Times* recently published a map of Bosnia, divided between Belgrade and Zagreb, supposedly drawn by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman during his May 6 visit to London. This was intended to provoke a Bosnian backlash against Croatia. But a few days later, the "map" was unmasked as a fraud: Croatian Ambassador in London Ante Cicin-Sain revealed that the source of the map (which included obvious misspellings and geographic errors) was British Liberal Party leader **Paddy Ashdown**, who had himself drawn the "incriminating annotations" on the map. Ashdown is a "former" member of the British Special Air Services (SAS).

Sept. 15, 1995, interview with **Mirko Lazovic**, member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, president of the Parliament of the Republic, and a Serbian Orthodox. *EIR* points out that the British press speaks of Bosnia as a 'Muslim State.' Lazovic: "Such affirmations are, simply, *untrue*. Western politicians speak of a 'Muslim State,' so they can get on with dividing Bosnia. It is perfectly logical

that there should be a great number of Muslims in the Army or other institutions. But the Army is *not* fighting for 'Muslim interests' alone. They are fighting for our State, in which all religions will freely share."

Interview with **Jovan Diviak**, a general of the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and a Serbian Orthodox. He points out that there are many Serbians in the Army (4%) and the units of the Interior Ministry (14%), and that many Serbians have been decorated for valor. "A great many Serbs know that they can perfectly well live alongside the Muslims. There are also many who protest in the Serbian-occupied parts of Bosnia against Radovan Karadzic's regime. They protest. But they are under pressure and they are not able to say what they think. To wage this war, the Serbians were forced to bring in many people from other parts, especially, for example, from Montenegro. Because it was not easy to make the Serbians born in Bosnia fight against their country."

Sept. 29, 1995: Interview with **Mirko Pejanovic**, president of the Serb Civil Council of Bosnia and a member of Bosnia's collective Presidency: "The Karadzic regime is one thing and the Serbian people a different one. The majority of the Serbs living in areas controlled by Karadzic do not support him. . . . Karadzic's propaganda was already proven wrong by the Serb Civic Council. We proclaimed to the world community that *we are Serbs who are not with the aggressors*, and that the total number of the Serbs against

the Karadzic regime is *bigger* than the number under his control. The total number of loyal Serbs is 650,000; under Karadzic's regime there are 500,000. And if we put aside for a moment the Pale regime itself, I only want to say that the people under that regime *do not identify with it*. Those people who live in the area under Karadzic's control are *not supporting him*. . . . [President Izetbegovic] is a Bosnian Muslim, but he is the President of a Presidency in which there are two Serbs, two Croats, and he never discusses topics about Bosnia with anyone, *without the presence of a multi-national, multi-ethnic delegation*. They are always putting him forward as a Muslim. Some governments call our army the 'Muslim Army,' even though there are Serbs fighting in it, and we are resisting that."

Lie #3: There is no military solution

Lord Owen's argument that there is no military solution to the Bosnian war, is intended primarily to con the Clinton administration into the British game of Hobbesian diplomacy and cabinet warfare. The reality is, that from day one of the war, the British were out to prevent or sabotage any decisive military operations against Serbia. The following chronology

The man who would 'plug his wife into the mains'

In a cover story on Feb. 12, 1993, "Nazi Psychiatrists Behind Serbia's Reign of Terror," EIR documented the fact that many of the top leaders of the Serbian Chetnik forces are psychiatrists, trained at London's Tavistock Institute of Human Relations, the University of Frankfurt's Institute of Social Research ("Frankfurt School"), or affiliated institutions. Tavistock was, during World War II, the psychological warfare arm of British intelligence. After the war, it became a laboratory for the development of hard-core brainwashing techniques. That's where Dr. David Owen comes in.

Owen, in his 1991 autobiography, Time to Declare, describes his training with Dr. William Sargant, a Tavistock researcher in the 1950s and '60s. Sargant was a controversial proponent of using both leucotomy—a method of cutting out parts of the brain, which has been made illegal in Europe—and electro-convulsive shock therapy. The following excerpts from Owen's book describe events in 1964:

I returned to London, quite happy to switch right out of politics and to concentrate on medicine. . . . At the hospital I was now combining what I had always wanted to do, psychiatry, with neurology, and working for Dr. William Sargant. He was a giant both physically . . . and clinically, a dominating personality with the therapeutic courage of a lion, author of a best-selling book on brainwashing called *Battle for the Mind*. That generation of psychiatrists who worked at the Maudsley Hospital transformed British psychiatry. They pioneered the unlocking of all doors and the treating of psychiatric patients in all respects like patients in medical wards of general hospitals. Before the war psychotherapy and psychoanalytical treatments had done nothing to cut the size of the large remote Victorian psychiatric hospitals. People were protected in hospital wards rather than treated. The most many psychiatrists could hope to do was to shield them against the three Ss: starvation, sleeplessness and suicide. Even after the war patients were still virtually imprisoned with wards locked and, in all too many cases, patients neglected. The transformation of their life during the 1950s was a social revolution. Psychiatric patients began to be treated with physical methods like electro-convulsive therapy (ECT) and the special anti-depressant drugs began to appear. . . .

William Sargant was a human dynamo. Controversial,

of *EIR*'s coverage proves the point (see also *Documentation*, p. 34 and p. 38, articles by Croatian journalist Srecko Jurdana and Germany's Gen. Count Hanno von Kielmansegg):

Dec. 17, 1993: At a meeting in Königswinter, Germany Dec. 1-2 of the Conference of International Parliamentarians Against Genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Germany's **Gen. Count Hanno von Kielmansegg**, former NATO commander for the Northern Region, and until recently head of the Unprofor headquarters in Bosnia, said: "Moral appeals to England are useless. All we can do is to try to make it clear to the English that their behavior is not, in the real sense, in their own interest. Our strength is in our own populations, where there is still some moral spark, no matter how feeble. In any event, the only way we can save Bosnia is by military intervention against Serbia. We must. I agree with Representative Wilson that the British and French troops are deliberately kept there as hostages. It would be better to pull them out now. The lifting of the embargo against Bosnia would be far more effective to save her, than keeping such troops there."

April 1, 1994, "British Military: 'We Have Quietly Taken over Bosnia,' " by Katharine Kanter. The London daily *Independent* recently wrote: "Great Britain has quietly taken control of much of the U.N.'s Bosnia operation." As soon as **Gen. Sir Michael Rose** arrived in February, as the new commander of Unprofor, he created two new military sectors, and reorganized the U.N. command. According to the London *Daily*

Telegraph, "at least 50 British special forces troops are engaged in covert operations in Bosnia" under the direct command of General Rose. This is the first time that British special units have been officially deployed as part of a U.N. force. They are designated as "U.N. military observers," and are deployed throughout Bosnia, according to the *Telegraph*, "wherever Serbian gunners have long-established firing positions." On March 19, the *Telegraph* reported on "impromptu" seminars given by British **Brig. John Reith** and General Rose, to the Muslim and Croatian militia leaders. Reith: "We told them they lacked the mobility, firepower, and logistics for maneuver warfare . . . that they were locked in a war of attrition." Reith and Rose "convinced" the Croats and Muslims that they had "no military options left," and this, according to the *Telegraph*, was what led to the Washington agreement of March 19 being signed. *EIR* points out that this pact between Bosnians and Croats was brokered by the United States, not Britain, but the British were just trying to insinuate themselves into the process.

April 22, 1994: On April 10-11, American bombers carried out extremely limited bombing of Serbian matériel used in the siege of Gorazde. According to British Labour Party sources, **Gen. Sir Michael Rose**, commander of the U.N. troops in Bosnia, was not informed in advance. He told BBC radio: "It was the Pentagon which launched the attack, not the U.N. Security Council." The London *Times* reported on April

committed, he was the sort of person of whom legends are made. . . .

To work for Sargant was a delight because he was so enthusiastic. He was, as his critics claimed, often infuriating and he did at times stretch the evidence and exaggerate the effects of his preferred treatment. . . . Sargant claimed that he was entitled to take some risks with the treatment of a depressed patient in the same way that a surgeon takes risks with his patients. When side-effects were discovered for such successful drugs as chlorpromazine hydrochloride, commonly called Largactil, used in the treatment of schizophrenia, or the then newly discovered monoamine oxidase inhibitors used for anxiety depression. Sargant would not only refuse to stop dispensing them but he would defend the side-effects by reference to the number of patients who were expected to die just by virtue of having an anaesthetic. . . . To his critics all this was dangerous bravado. To his supporters it was robust common sense. . . .

In the psychiatric department a great deal of careful thought was given as to whether to refer schizophrenic patients to the neuro-surgeons for a modified leucotomy operation. The operation Sargant favoured cut the lower medial quadrants of the frontal lobe of the brain and specifically avoided the upper quadrant. Sargant found in a

careful follow-up that when all other treatments had failed many of these carefully selected patients did well. Leucotomy also helped some very bad obsessional cases, people with rituals such as having to wash their hands non-stop, provided that they had a good previous, albeit obsessive, personality. For some psychiatrists the fact that Sargant was even prepared to contemplate recommending a leucotomy was a sign of derangement and his conduct aroused bitter controversy.

The widespread use of electro-convulsive therapy in St. Thomas's also shocked people. Yet I saw too many patients respond dramatically to ECT to harbour many doubts about its efficacy in carefully selected patients suffering psychotic rather than neurotic symptoms. . . . I was reminded how controversial all this treatment was when some years later I was having lunch in Soho with Anthony Howard, then editor of the *New Statesman*, and a doctor friend of his. Talking as one might among doctors I used the shorthand description for ECT and said that if my wife ever got depressed after childbirth "I wouldn't hesitate to plug her into the mains" [electrical outlets]. A few months later he used that quote in a profile and, ever since, it keeps recurring without any linkage to post-puerperal depression. So I simply became the man who would not hesitate to plug his wife into the mains!



Bosnian Vice President Ejup Ganic (left) with Gen. Sir Michael Rose, in Sarajevo, 1994. General Rose secretly sabotaged NATO air strikes against Serb targets in November 1994. Ganic's assessment of the British: "The British want to create chaos in the Balkans, and they need the Serbian cowboys for that. Germany is to be forced back."

12: "By calling in tactical bombing, Rose is staving off American pressure for blanket bombing."

Nov. 11, 1994: The Bosnian Army has begun to turn the tide against the Serbian war of aggression, with a three-pronged counteroffensive. The Serbians have responded to the offensive in northwest Bosnia by shelling, from bases located *inside the Unprofor zone* in occupied Croatia, against Bosnian towns, including the suburbs of Bihac. Unprofor commander **Gen. Sir Michael Rose** speaks of launching NATO air strikes against *Bosnian Army* positions. Rose: "The strategic balance is slowly turning against the Bosnian Serb army. . . . If the Bosnian government . . . [returns] to a full-scale war . . . it would be a catastrophe for the people of this country."

May 13, 1994: Interview with **Zvonimir Trusic**, president of the Croatian Volunteers Association: "I led the last attempt to break through [the Serbian siege] to Vukovar, and I categorically confirm that Vukovar could have been defended. The military encirclement of the city was never total. In the last days of its defense, groups of people were pulling out through certain corridors, through which it was possible to get in. The action to actually get through was stopped in Zagreb. When it was known that our group wanted to go to Vukovar, there was a refusal to supply the necessary anti-tank and armor-piercing weapons. In the end, I was forced with my unit to take over by force a storehouse from the Croatian Army to get the necessary supplies. They sent military police with armored vehicles after me, to prevent me. From a military standpoint, it is very clear that Vukovar could have been defended, but obviously, other motives were crucial in this matter."

Oct. 27, 1995: Assistant Secretary of State **Richard Hol-**

brooke gave an interview in the Italian daily *Corriere della Sera* of Oct. 16, stressing that the Bosnian-Croatian Operation Storm '95, which freed the occupied Krajina in Croatia and saved the Bihac region of Bosnia, was launched with U.S. support and "in opposition to European advice." He revealed that the United States had resisted British efforts to stop the air strikes: "The British told us the Serbs would use U.N. personnel as hostages if we bombed them. This was wrong."

Feb. 16, 1996: "British General Sabotaged NATO Bombing of Serbs," by Umberto Pascali. The London *Guardian* on Jan. 29 quoted U.S. intelligence sources and other U.S. officials, that **Gen. Sir Michael Rose**, the British Unprofor commander, secretly sabotaged NATO air strikes aimed at stopping the Serbian slaughter of Bosnians in the "U.N. Protected Area" of Bihac in November 1994. Rose is a former commander of the SAS. Secret U.S. intelligence monitoring of his communications with SAS men in the field, revealed the extent of his treachery. As the Serbian assault on Bihac intensified, Rose insisted that the U.N. "cannot be used to alter the military balance in a civil war . . . a peacekeeping force cannot allow itself to be hijacked by political pressures and become involved in the conflict. . . . There exist obvious limitations on the use of air power in any confused war situation. It is simply not possible to secure safe areas . . . by the use of airpower alone." When the United States insisted that NATO air strikes would proceed, according to the *Guardian*, "This is what happened. General Rose heeded [the civilian head of the Bosnia U.N. mission] Kofi Annan's request for close air support from NATO—an intervention within the strict rules stipulating that the pilot had to find a smoking gun [a precise military target] before he could strike. *The men responsible for locating the smoking gun* were the SAS teams

in radio contact with General Rose's headquarters. That night NATO planes took off from the U.S. Air Force base at Aviano, Italy. . . . For General Rose's command, there was *only one* way to stop the bombing: They would have to tell the SAS scouts not to identify the target for NATO to bomb. The rules of engagement were clear: no target, no bombs.

"The American intelligence sources now allege that this is what Unprofor command did. It was a careful decision. . . . By the end of the weekend, Serb tanks were blasting their way through the suburb of Bihac." According to these sources, General Rose's order to the SAS was: Hold off, do not identify the targets. "The NATO pilots were shown nothing; their planes came and went, impotent. It was a measured instruction highly secret, defiant of NATO."

Lie #4: The solution is in 'conflict resolution' by an 'impartial mediator'

Where would the world be today, if Lord David Owen had been around in 1776, to "mediate" the war between the British Crown and her upstart colonies in America? Or in 1943, to mediate the "quarrel" between Hitler and the Allies?

Apart from the moral bankruptcy of Owen's Hobbesian "conflict resolution" approach—that there can be no right or wrong, but only a calculus of opposing self-interests—the very idea that he, and his British and French cronies in the new Entente Cordiale, are "impartial," is a fraud. The following chronology of *EIR* articles covers some of the more despicable actions of the U.N. commanders, and commentaries by outspoken opponents of their policies.

Jan. 22, 1993 and *EIR Special Report*, "Why the U.N. Plans for World Government Must Be Stopped" (1993): On Jan. 8, Unprofor was implicated in the most outrageous crime of the many perpetrated since they arrived in former Yugoslavia. The deputy prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina, **Hakija Turajlic**, was assassinated by Serbian killers, while under the protection and escort of French U.N. troops and while inside an armored personnel carrier. Responsible for Turajlic's security was **Col. Patrice Sartre**, the man in charge of the U.N. battalions at the Sarajevo Airport. Colonel Sartre "negotiated" with the killers for several hours, insisting on sending away all other U.N. convoys that passed through the roadblock where the vehicle had been stopped by two Serbian tanks. This, despite the fact that at least two of this convoy's officials insistently offered to assist the French U.N. military. In the end, someone opened the door of the carrier—which *can be opened only from the inside*—and a Chetnik killer executed the Bosnian official.

U.N. Secretary General **Boutros Boutros-Ghali** named an investigative committee. On Jan. 19, in a letter to the Security Council, he stated: "The assassination was the work of a

single assailant acting unilaterally." The letter blamed the Bosnian government because it "did not follow proper procedures." He also stated: "As a result of the above, Unprofor failed to adhere to the Standing Operating Procedures normally applied to escort civilian VIPs. . . ."

Bosnian Interior Minister **Jusuf Pusina** asked the U.N. to replace French **Maj. Gen. Philippe Morillon**, the chief of Unprofor in Bosnia, and **Maj. Gen. Hussein Abdel-Razek**, the U.N. chief in Sarajevo. Pusina declared them *personae non gratae*. Morillon, in an arrogant statement, said he would stay, because his job is not over.

July 23, 1993: Lord Owen reported on July 12 to the U.N. Security Council that humanitarian aid may be impossible to continue, if a negotiated settlement is not reached soon. After this, elements based in Croatia of the ruling party of Bosnia, the Party of Democratic Action, demanded the resignation of Owen as mediator: "The word 'mediator' has a very precise meaning. The duty of Lord Owen as a peace mediator is to find out the attitudes of the opposite sides and establish a solution which he believes all three sides would voluntarily accept. A mediator does not decide. Lord Owen does the opposite. He continuously pressures Bosnia, and sometimes Croatia. He even blackmails Bosnia with humanitarian aid in order to force Bosnia and Herzegovina authorities into 'negotiations,' and even to negotiate about a confederation without previously consulting the Bosnian delegation."

Aug. 13, 1993: Francis Boyle, the counsel to the Bosnia and Herzegovina government, accused Owen and Stoltenberg of lying to President Izetbegovic, to get him to sign an agreement on the Union of Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Izetbegovic wrote to the ICFY co-chairmen saying that he could not accept the draft because, contrary to what they had told him, the agreement implies that Bosnia would lose its statehood. Article 1, in the draft originally presented to Izetbegovic, reads: "The Union of the Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina is composed of three Constituent Republics." The formulation avoided the use of the word "State."

In a July 31 press conference, Boyle was asked whether Owen "had lied" and whether he had tried to "trick" Izetbegovic. He replied with an unequivocal, "Yes, Owen and Stoltenberg lied!"

Dr. Paul Szass, the legal adviser of Lord Owen, in a discussion with Bosnian officials on July 31 in Geneva, admitted that his original formulation of the agreement had been changed by his superiors. Boyle wanted to know whether the "Union" was in fact intended to be a State. Szass: "There were so many disagreements, that we wanted to avoid using certain words and expressions, like that of State." Boyle objected that this would destroy the continuity of the Bosnian State. Szass: "This language is meant to establish a new State without explicitly using the word State. . . ." Boyle: "Did you write this, Dr. Szass?" Szass: "I had tried to be more precise about the question of statehood in my original wording. *But it was changed. . . .*"

May 13, 1994: In early 1994, the French general commanding the 92nd Regiment of Infantry for Unprofor at Bihac in Bosnia, gave a speech which was made available to *EIR*. It was an internal briefing intended for French officers deployed to Bosnia, and exposes the reality behind the hypocritical "impartial diplomacy" of the French government:

"The Serbian strategic aim is clear: restore the unity of the Serbian nation. They consider that such a union can be got, only by dividing Croatia and Bosnia. What has abusively been called ethnic cleansing, will allow for regrouping the populations according to their nationality and will thus make this division feasible. . . .

"The Serbian position is relatively well-grounded. . . . Bosnian unity, assuming that it did ever exist, has become a fiction. That unity is, in any case, far less legitimate than Yugoslavian unity which was quickly dropped.

"The obstinate determination to uphold that unity is mainly due to ideological reasons. But the Serbians and the Croats don't want to belong to Bosnia anymore. . . . That puts [to rest] any debate about the survival of a multi-ethnic Bosnian state.

"The Bosnian leadership will find it hard to sign a peace accord, because they bear responsibility for unleashing the war and they have attached their name to the principle of upholding Bosnian unity.

"Since the beginning, they have tried to bring the world onto their side by using the mass media very effectively, and multiplying provocations. . . . All of our dead [the French soldiers killed] were killed by the Bosnians.

"At Geneva, the Bosnians wrecked the talks deliberately by their excessive demands. Their leaders are die-hard nationalists, who are now going to have to prove just how representative they really are. They are getting more and more radical, and have reorganized their Armed Forces. Bosnia lives today under a military regime. They have been backed in that way of thinking by the U.S.A., which has played an ambiguous role toward Bosnia. . . .

"I know I may seem anti-Bosnian or pro-Serbian by saying all this . . . but *facts are facts*, and hiding them will only bring us further away from a realistic solution. . . .

"The Muslims must be pressured to see that their idea of a unified Bosnia is dead and buried, and give in to a three-way confederation with a realistic carve-up. . . .

"At Zagreb you would think yourself in Germany or in Austria. There are a lot of Croatian emigrés in Germany, and, therefore influential pro-Croatian pressure groups in that country. They are very nationalist and high-strung. The U.N. has a bad image in Croatia, and the Croats are doing everything they can to disrupt the U.N. troops' activities. Generally speaking, they do not like us, for historical reasons (we have always been their enemy). . . . It will be very hard, not to say impossible, to change this image. Croatia, as well as Slovenia, will become the rich nations in the region, and they are both the private hunting grounds for Germany."

Balkan leaders expose the British gameplan

The following statements by leaders of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia reflect a very precise understanding of the perfidious role being played by the British in general, and Lord Owen in particular. The dates in boldface refer to the issue of EIR in which the statement was quoted. See also p. 31 for the Bosnian government's lawsuit against Britain for violation of the 1948 Genocide Convention.

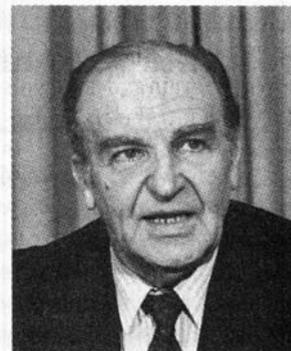
Jan. 22, 1993: President **Alija Izetbegovic** compared the Geneva Conference to the one in Munich in 1938, and the Owen-Vance mediation to the diplomacy of Neville Chamberlain. "There are many analogies to Munich," he said on Jan. 12. "Instead of Munich, today it's Geneva. Instead of Benes, it's me. Vance and Owen, in our opinion, should save Bosnia, and they are saving the conference."

Aug. 20, 1993: Interview made available to *EIR*, with **Niaz Durakovic**, head of the opposition Bosnian Social Democratic Party. "In Bosnia we always said: Whenever the British come to make peace, people fight each other for the next half-century."

Aug. 27, 1993: Interview with Vice President **Ejup Ganic** in *Der Spiegel* magazine: "The British want to create chaos in the Balkans, and they need the Serbian cowboys for that. Germany is to be forced back."

Nov. 26, 1993: **Zeljko Milicevic**, a leader of the Bosnian and Croatian community in Canada, describes a speech he gave to a meeting of the ambassadors of the Organization of Islamic Countries in Ottawa:

"Going back to the Roman Empire, '*divide et impera*' was the way of the Roman Empire. The British Empire took that and converted it into 'divide and conquer.' We know that wherever the British Empire went, blood was shed. The British Empire needed to preclude Germany from getting oil



Alija Izetbegovic



Zeljko Milicevic