

1. Western media outlets have published several articles that say you inspired white nationalism. The Washington Post published an editorial calling you “an icon of white nationalism” in the headline, and I think you should have an opportunity to comment on that.

- 1.a) The western media had created not only another Karadžić as they wanted to have, for their own purposes, but the entire Serbian people had been depicted as we had never looked like. You could have seen the immigrants from the Muslim countries passing through Serbia, being treated with care and compassion. Luckily, it was in accord with the Government of Serbia, but nobody could have ordered it, since it was a genuine attitude of the people. But, the same “media” didn’t notice anything. I will tell you an example from my process: Mr. Edward Vulliamy, a journalist from the GB, had visited my country at the beginning of August 92, with a group of GB journalists that I invited to come and see whatever they wanted, and even brought them by the plane of my Government.¹

He visited the Prijedor area, and wrote and sent a report, to which nothing could be objected. He registered the Muslim and Croat villages as a calm and free, and peasants doing their harvest. He talked with them and the Serb officials, separately. All of them told him that they do not have any problem, because they do not want to fight, and who do not fire against the army or civilians is left alone, without any trouble. That was after all the ugly events around Prijedor had been ended.²

And that was not a solitary case: there are many genuine international documents confirming the same – those who didn’t fight, didn’t have any troubles, and didn’t want to leave the Republic of Srpska.^{3, 4, 5}

His own report about the detention units was balanced and correct. Vulliamy testified that he changed his standpoint after seeing what his colleague Penny Marshal had done for her TV, and realized that it was going to be a “big story” within a “media circus”.⁶ Instead to oppose this lie and disclose the staging to which he attended, he joined “the media circus”, not to be late to the party

From then on, after realizing that a “media circus” is put on Bosnia, Mr. Vulliamy continued to be a very anti-Serb activist. And Penny Marshal had staged the case, as if the people admitted in the reception camp of Trnopolje had been within a barb-wire, although there was only one compound with construction tools, surrounded by a barb wire, and she entered there, taking the record of the people outside, as if they had been barb-wired. An independent journalist from Germany, Thomas Deichman, researched this contested matter, and noticed that the fixation of the barb-wire had been outside, on the Marshal’s side, which couldn’t be if it was a prison-camp. He went to the London seat of the TV ITN, Chanel 4, and saw the unedited materials, confirming the entire deception. He was sued by the Chanel 4, and lost the case.

2. What is your opinion of white nationalist groups like the Ku Klux Klan and the Ayrian Nations?

2a) I never had any direct experience with such a groups, but I always had a strong opposition to this way of thinking and particularly to this kind of aggregation. This is deeply inhumane and could have attracted only a problematic individuals, insufficient and inferior, in a desperate need to increase a self-esteem. It only looks like an absurd, because their conduct is quite opposite, pretending to look like superior, but exactly this is indicating what was their main problem. In my profession, psychiatry-psychoanalysis we call it a "reactive formation". This is a psychological side, but a criminal side of the story is notorious, and doesn't need my comment. Social aspect suggests that this kind of aggregation is a cowardly endeavor. Anyway, I didn't like any kind of "secret" association and societies, and had never belonged to any of the kind. Nowadays many "amateurish" psychologists are equalizing real jeopardies, seen and undergone in recent past with a "projected" idiosyncrasies that may, or may not lead to a supremacy of some groups of a "newcomers" in future. As I explained to some of them, if one is in fear of a snake that for sure was not present in the same room – this would be an irrational, neurotic fear, while a fear from snake that is for certain present in the same room – it wouldn't be an irrational, but the most real fear. Neglecting a key elements of reality is a grave mistake, and shouldn't be a basis for further consideration and conclusions. Only in last century there were a horrifying events and civil wars within other international events, all of them on account of the Serbs, which almost destroyed this nation. The Serbs used to say that they had been under the attacks of three big "internationals" – the Communist one, the Vatican, and the Islamic one. In all of the international wars in the region there were wars of locals, allied with big powers against the Serbs. Many the highest officials of the US knew about that, and Lawrence Eagleburger said: "I think the major lesson here is when you got involved in something like this with a thousand years of history underlying it all, you need to understand that once the dam breaks, the viciousness can be pretty awful – on all sides." (*Yugoslavia, the Avoidable War, Part 1, at 46:00.*) or an opinion of Colin Powell: "The biggest mistake was recognizing all these little countries when they started to decide they were independent. [...] The Serbs had very good reason to be worried about being in a Muslim-dominated country. It wasn't just paranoia. (Henry Louis Gates, Colin Powell and the Black Elite, *The New Yorker*, 25 September 1995.) Or what James Baker said:

"Because we said if Yugoslavia does not break up peacefully, there is going to be one hell of a civil war. It nevertheless broke up non-peacefully, it broke up through the unilateral declaration of independence by Slovenia and Croatia and the seizing by these two country's republics of their border posts which was an act of force and which was an act that was in violation of the Helsinki principles, but the European powers and the United States ultimately recognised Slovenia and then Croatia and then Bosnia as independent countries, and admitted them to the United Nations. The real problem was that there was a unilateral declaration of independence and a use of force to gain that independence rather than a peaceful negotiation of independence which is the way it should have happened. (*Yugoslavia, the Avoidable War, at 13:42.*) or what the New York Times columnist A.M. Rosenthal stated that "[...] the war in Bosnia was not the result of immutable historic forces but of the combined catalytic catastrophic stupidity and arrogance of officials in

Western Europe, the former Yugoslavia and the U.S. [...] When Yugoslavia fell apart without Tito's boot to kick it into line, Germany led the West into early recognition of Slovenia and particularly Croatia, Germany's World War II ally. President Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia himself had warned that premature recognition would detonate the powderkeg of Serbs, Croats and Muslims living in Bosnia. It did." (A.M. Rosenthal, *On My Mind; Bosnia: Empty Promises*, *New York Times*, 10 September 1993.)

All the relevant governments and their services knew for a decades in advance that it may happen after Tito's death, but in spite of that, they instigated the war and carnage. Now, they are pretending to be innocent and searching for a causes in personal psychologies of leaders, as if it was irrational, imagined, unreal and exaggerated.

There was nothing like that in the Yugoslav, nor Bosnian crisis. In addition to that, all of our opponents in this crisis didn't differ racially from us a bit. As a matter of fact, almost entire Muslim community previously belonged to the Serbs, but converted to Islam, mainly unwillingly and forcefully, during the long Ottoman occupation. Many of Croats also had been Serbs of Catholic religion, but after the Austro-Hungarian occupation, after the Berlin Congress in 1878, had declared the Croatian affiliation. (A Russian Emperor's diplomat Alexander Giljferding wrote a book about it in 19th century.

3. *White nationalists like Brenton Tarrant and Andreas Breivik have expressed admiration for the Serbian cause, why do you think that is? In 2019, Brenton Tarrant opened fire on the al-Noor mosque in Christchurch, New Zealand. He killed 51 Muslims and wounded another 40 who were worshiping there. On his way there, he listened to a Serbian song that had been written about you. What is your opinion of Brenton Tarrant and his action?*

3a) There is nothing less accurate than this, and this may concerns only to a Serbs that had been created by the media. In Serbia itself there are 27 (twenty seven) large minority groups, more than in any other European country. All of them are happy and successful in their lives, and only one of them, the Serbian Albanians in Kosovo, are not in good relations with the Serbs, but this is because they wanted to secede this part of Serbia, which is to the Serbs precious and sacred as Jerusalem is precious and sacred for the Jews. For that purpose the Albanians resettled from Albania proper and other Balkans areas to Kosovo, mainly adopted Islam and served to the Ottoman Empire in suppressing the Serb efforts to liberate themselves. Later on, during the WWII, Kosovo was occupied by Italy, and resettlement continued. After the WWII, the Communists and Tito, under the strong suggestions of Stalin and Comintern, (**Communist International**, byname **Comintern**) continued to resettle Albanians from Albania proper, allegedly to show how the Tito's Communism is better than the one of Enver Hodža. All it happened artificially and forcefully, i.e. illegal demographic engineering, a favorite game in the Balkans, always with a bloody outcomes. And nothing of it would be possible without a decisive intervention of the great powers. Such a help of the West to the Albanian irredentists would be as if somebody helped the Latin people so kindly accepted in Florida to secede from the US.

But, since we are living in a “post-truth era”, facts are not relevant any more. Simply, the international media, under the governmental lead (not “vice versa”) create an image needed for their purpose, and a process goes on unhindered. All the technological advancement of the human kind is (ab)used for the worse.

So, the “Serbian cause” was the last defense of a very survival, not killing innocent and unknown people in mosque or on beaches. One may see what happened to the Serbs in Kosovo, in Croatia, in the BH Federation (the Muslim-Croat part of Bosnia) and what is happening to them now in Montenegro. There are almost no Serbs at all in Croatia, since out of more than 600,000 now there is about 100,000. There are almost no Serbs in Kosovo, as well as in the Muslim-Croat part of BiH. Until September 1992 there was no any Serbian settled place in “federation” safe, all had already been destroyed, while it never happened in the Republic of Srpska territory, where many Muslim or Croat settled places, villages or towns, had never been touched. The Serbs had never attacked any Muslim-Croat village without being attacked from it, and if attacked, the Serbs demanded perpetrators to be handed over to the security forces. If there was a skirmish, civilians could have been hurt only accidentally, and after such a skirmish the rest of civilians helped the Serb forces in collecting killed and wounded terrorists, who anyway hadn’t been an army, but acted deep within the Serb territory as terrorists. On the other side, the Muslims, and to a less degree Croats, attacked every Serbian village they could reach, killing everyone, even animals, and burning everything. This is all well documented, and can’t be any doubts about it.

For the Brenton Tarrant’s action: it is hard to believe that somebody could have fired against a group of unknown people in worship, with the aim to kill as many as possible. Even if it was a group of animals – it would require a specific psychology to execute them, let alone to execute human beings. The “Serbian cause” could in no way inspire, not even trigger, this kind of crime, if there was no a sort of “specific psychology” and readiness to do it. Why he identified with the “Serb Cause” is another matter, discussed below.

4. Do you think the media’s portrayal of Serbs, and of you personally, has inspired white nationalists? Are they inspired by what the Serbs have actually done, or have they been inspired by the media’s portrayal of what the Serbs have done? Are they inspired by the real Radovan Karadžić, or are they inspired by the media’s portrayal of Radovan Karadžić?

- 4a) The media’s portrayal of the Serbs is a unique, and should be studied as an evil of modern times, although something similar happened to us in the eve of WWI, when the Austro-Hungarian Empire planned to conquer Serbia and reach the Middle East. Then there were many false trials of the prominent Serbs in Bosnia, Croatia and Vojvodina (part of Serbia proper) and other kind of persecution. The main slogan on the graphite(s) in Vienna was “Serbien mus sterben”, i.e. Serbia must die. Although a substantial number of Croats and Muslims didn’t support these actions, still the majority was in favor of it, and the Serbs had suffered a real “pogrom” before and during WWI.

However, I do not think that what Serbs had really done, or even that what the media portrayed them to be doing, inspired the “white nationalists” to commit such a horrendous crimes. There had been such a crimes before, remember different “bombers” and shooters in schools, on streets and markets, far before the Serbs became “glorious”. This is within these personalities, as well as within societies, with alienation, anomia, readiness for hatred, and a kind of despair. It could have been found that this kind of personalities had exercised similar sentiment towards animals and other God’s creatures, even from their childhood. In their own despair, they are looking for some “higher” if not noble justification of their acts. Certainly, they do not expect condemnation, but rather admiration by at least their kind of people.

The Serbian people generally never had any “tradition” in terrorism, not even during the Communist dictatorship. There were many kind of resistance, but never terrorism, while the Croats, and later, to a smaller degree Albanians, had many terrorist acts throughout Europe.

Pertaining to me, Radovan Karadžić, the media had been even more harsh and fake than with the denigration of the Serbs. Although all the negotiators had a very correct relation with me, some of them even friendly and understanding, and they all certainly had seen that it was a civil war with many uncontrolled elements. Even the main European powers kept saying the same.⁷

Many of the mediators and “peace-keepers”, including generals, Nambiar, Morillon, Rose, McKenzie and others, had seen for themselves what was going on. Many of them reported that media are wrong and biased, that all the sides are committing atrocities, but only the Serbs admit, others deny it.⁸

Also, they had noticed that the Muslim side is staging some incidents in order to gain sympathies and a military intervention by foreign countries. Many of them had expected a success that would be even followed by a Nobel Prize, but there was no success because of sabotage mainly from the USA.

But, the most astonishing was a Holbrooke’s transformation: we together created the Dayton Agreement, in Belgrade, in the presence of Presidents, Milošević and Bulatović, and our associates. The first three points had been adopted in Geneva on 8 September 95, and the next three on 27 September in the NYC. We cooperated well, with understanding, and separated correctly. In June 1996 Mr. Holbrooke led an action of my stepping down from the office, promising an immunity, i.e. absence of trial, telling that there will be some rhetoric against me, but not trial. The main concern of the internationals was whether I was to run for another term in Presidency on the forthcoming elections. I kept my word. However, he didn’t deliver, maybe he couldn’t, his part of agreement, while I did deliver my part. This included my absence from the public life and media. When a Greek journalist, attending my meeting with a Greek minister, published what he heard, all of the internationals, including Holbrooke, Carl Bildt and others raised their voices that I violated “something”, which was the Agreement. By keeping me far from media, they secured themselves from any of my reactions, comments or denial, and could have continued to denigrate me without any risk. Finally, Mr. Holbrooke called me a “European

Bin Laden”, and finally, that he regretted for there was no a death penalty. Meanwhile I was informed that many his friends, some obscure people that used to “ride for him” were instigating through NATO to eliminate me by killing me.

When we concluded this agreement of my stepping down, President Milošević told me that it would be improper and impolite to expect that such a big power’s representative is not trusted, and demand him to sign any agreement. “If it is not to be trusted”, President Milošević told me, “then it wouldn’t be a great power any more”.

To conclude, the hunters after me, my conduct and my past had been searching and questioning my friends, my former friends and acquaintances, and opponents and enemies, and had never found a trace of hatred or intolerance, let alone racism of any kind, including a “white nationalism”.⁹ Not to mention that I have reviewed all of my business relations pertaining to my attitude towards the other ethnicities. The vast majority of them had been Muslims, one of them Croat, and none of them Serb. My internist was a Croat, while my optician, my dentist, both of my lawyers, my tailor, shoemaker, hairdresser, barber, and all other suppliers had been Muslims. (I have published this information, with their initials, nobody denied it!) Even during the war I did have people of Muslim and Croatian ethnicities as a close associates, many of them serving in our Army, and even one completely Muslim unit (The “Meša Selimović” unit)

Anyway, not only because of a fake depicting of me and my people, this affair at the end of the 20th Century is an example of abuse of everything humane, and lack of elementary honesty, and obligations towards the law and truth. It is worthwhile to dedicate a big part of someone’s career to present to the world what can happen to individuals and nations. It is a much bigger affair than it was the “Dreyfus Affair”. And it is not only about me, but about many excellent people convicted without any basis, as the entire Serb people is denigrated and condemned on no basis.

5. Alija Izetbegović wrote in his book, *The Islamic Declaration*, that “the Islamic movement should and can, take over political power as soon as it is morally and numerically so strong that it cannon only overturn the existing non-Islamic power, but also build up a new Islamic one” and that “There can be neither peace nor coexistence between the Islamic fate and non-Islamic social and political institutions.” White nationalists believe all Muslims share that view, what do you think? Do you think Izetbegović was speaking for ordinary Muslims when he wrote that?

5a) This principle from the Islamic papers Mr. Izetbegović re-formulated: originally, it was said “when majority” but since the Muslims in BiH hadn’t ever been majority, he adjusted it to the conditions in BiH – “when morally and numerically so strong”. Mr. Izetbegović had been dedicated to an “Islamization of Muslims” at least since 1938. For his activities before and during the WWII he was sentenced and imprisoned just after WWII. During the war his organization (called “Young Muslims”, affiliated to the “Muslim Brothers”, known in Egypt) had hosted the Jerusalem Mufti el Husseini, a close ally of Hitler, after which the Muslims in Bosnia had formed an SS division, called “Handžar Division” (“handžar” is an old Turkish saber, sword) which had been known as the cruelest unit wherever was present. Later on Mr.

Izetbegović wrote the “Islamic Declaration” and also was sentenced to a long imprisonment. At that time I have supported my Belgrade friends, writers and philosophers like Dobrica Ćosić, Ljubomir Tadić and others from a “Committee for freedom” to defend Mr. Izetbegović, being convinced that a proper response to a book should be another book, not a jail. But, an appeal Grand Jury composed of five Muslim judges had confirmed the first degree sentence, convicting him for a long term in jail. They concluded that it was the most malignant plan to cause a civil war, and that this kind of society could have been achieved in Bosnia “only by a terror, or by an international military intervention.”¹⁰ Mr. Izetbegović tried both of it in this war against the Serbs.

After Mr. Izetbegović returned from prison and was preparing to form his political party, SDA, we met several times, as neighbors, and I knew some of his family members for a long time. He convinced me that it was a theory that would pertain only to the Muslims and their way of life. I was convinced, and that was what I communicated to the others, to President Milošević and others, which can be found in the intercepted conversations, that Mr. Izetbegović was interested only in a “rebirth” of Islamic life.¹¹ He was the first one who proposed the division of BiH on an ethnic basis.¹² Mr. Zulfikarpašić wrote in his book that Izetbegović “terrified him” twice, proposing the same. I am still prone to the opinion that he was ready for a “smaller, but Islamic Bosnia”, but he was surrounded by many “advisors” to whom he couldn’t resist. For that reason Mr. Izetbegović frequently changed his agenda and reneged on his obligation given through negotiations.

I do know the Muslim community in BiH pretty well, and I am positive that a big portion of this community was not in accord with this plan of Mr. Izetbegović. It was published, a letter of a close associate of Mr. Izetbegović, Halid Čaušević, who left the SDA party, writing to Izetbegović that he must be out of mind if he thinks that the Serbs do not see what he was doing.¹³ **And the original plan was to expel all the Serbs out of Bosnia, as President Tudjman informed Mr. Holbrooke and other Americans at their meeting on 16 August 1995: “It is certain that there is no future for that country because of the Serbs, since there is no military force that can defeat them or, as the Muslims once told me, so we will exterminate them all, but I ask them: how will you drive one and a half million Serbs out of Bosnia?”**^(see endnote 24) Many other distinguished Muslims, an elite of artists and scientists, had abandoned the SDA before the elections in 1990, and formed another party, the MBO (Muslim Bosniak Organization). But, without support of Islamic priests, imams and other confidential and secret organizations, this secular party, as several other secular Muslim parties, didn’t have to much of chance. The MBO won two out of 240 seats in the parliament. All of these secular Muslim parties had been in a good relations with me and our SDS party. The MBO proposed a “Historic Muslim-Serb agreement” in summer 1991, and we accepted it delightfully, but the SDA eventually abandoned it.

The Muslim masses of “ordinary people” wouldn’t have any benefit out of it, except a fake psychological satisfaction for their “kind” is dominant. The only who would benefit would be the

Muslim ruling elite. Mr. Izetbegović certainly didn't speak for ordinary Muslims, nor it was, as he explained to me, a spiritual matter that wouldn't concern the Serbs and Croats. If he wanted to reform the spiritual life and dedication of the Muslims to their fate, there were other, purely spiritual methods, like "Sufism", "dervish movement" and similar. But it wasn't so. There is some misunderstanding of the term "Islamic fundamentalist", as if it is oriented to spirituality, but it is merely a social and political attitude. Mr. Izetbegović was interested only in a political take over of the entire society, inevitably by abusing all the state and social institutions and potentials to achieve this political domination. The Serbs had experienced it, not only during the Turkish occupation, but also in 1991, after the elections: in all the Muslim majority municipalities they violated all the agreements on sharing power, and deprived their Serb minority. It was so drastic, and it is well documented. At the same time, in 104 municipalities there had been an unhidden activity of formation of a secret and illegal army (Patriotic League, Green Berets, Black Swans, Mosque Doves, and so on) and procuring the armament. Even in municipalities with a few percent of Muslims, like Bosanski Šamac, with 8% of Muslims, they prepared a war against their Serb neighbors. It shouldn't be forgotten that the first casualties before the war started were the Serb civilians throughout Bosnia, including "celebration" of referendum in Sarajevo by shooting to a Serb wedding ceremony, and killing a groom's father.

But, even these of Muslims who didn't agree with the SDA didn't dare to oppose it. There is something in Islam which forbids any disobedience. However, many even secular Muslims liked an idea of supremacy of Muslims within Bosnia. The Muslim Communists had been preparing a secession of a unitary Bosnia since mid-sixties, although not based on the "sharia" principles, and this period of three decades was very difficult to the Serbs in Bosnia. At that time the Communists planned dissolution of Yugoslavia, removed all the Serb persons who could have opposed it, granted to the Muslims a title of "nation" instead of a "religious group" as it was until that time. A young Croatian philosopher Dražen Pehar wrote a book on Izetbegović and his manners in political life. He was convinced that Izetbegović was an Islamic "supremacist".¹⁴

All of it was quite visible to me after the 1968 Student Movement, in which I participated as a member of the Central Board of the Student Association. After that I ceased to support Tito and distanced myself from the politics, all until 1990. Before that, although my mother came from a pro-communist family, and father was a dedicated royalist, I was supporting Tito, hoping that he was going to form a new South Slavic nation-state, such as Italy or Germany did in 19th Century. All of it was a lie.

6. *In the 1990 elections, Fikret Abdić got 163,000 more votes than Alija Izetbegović. If Fikret Abdić had taken power instead of Alija Izetbegović, do you think there would there have been a war in BiH?*

6a) I believe there wouldn't be a war, not because there wouldn't be such an ambition to dominate over the Serbs and Croats (the Christian majority) but because the imams wouldn't do for Abdić what they did for Izetbegović, nor would Abdić have a way to persuade them, nor probably would he wish to do so. Mr. Abdić was not the only Muslim leader who was against a war, many other Muslim secular parties were against a war. For instance, former associates and

vice-presidents of Mr. Izetbegović and his Party, Mr. Adil Zulfikarpašić (a businessman who during WWII was with communists, not with the Ustashas, i.e. Croatian Nazis) and Prof. Dr. Muhamed Filipović, a philosophy professor, who left the SDA (Izetbegović's Party) because of fundamentalism. The two of them formed the MBO and comprised all the Muslim elite, proposed an Agreement between the Serbs and Muslims that would avoid a war. It was not as easy, since there was a strong Muslim nationalist (but secular) movement, led by the Communists, with an objective to have the entire BiH only for themselves, but they wouldn't dare to wage a war. I am still convinced that even Izetbegović could have abandoned the idea of war, hadn't he been under the influence of the US Ambassador Zimmermann and the SDA "hard core" fundamentalists. I suppose that with Abdić, or Zulfikarpašić it would be a very dynamic relationship, but without a war, as there is this kind of dynamism in many complex societies with different confronted communities and religions. Even now in BiH there is such a dynamism, which does not depend on any leader, but comes out of the very nature of differences and long history of conflicts.

7. Why did you enter into an alliance with Fikret Abdić in 1993?

7a) Mr. Abdić was a very known business person during the Communist rule, and had never been prone to a religious fundamentalism. I was surprised why he didn't leave Izetbegović together with Zulfikarpašić-Filipović group. As the war was going on, Abdić distanced from Izetbegović, proclaimed his area as one of autonomous provinces (as envisaged by the Lisbon Agreement) and declared that he does not intend to dominate over anybody. He criticized Izetbegović for "turning BiH into a mass grave". There was no any reason to be in conflict with him after that, and we helped him particularly in economy, transportation, medical supplies and other social needs. So did Mr. Martić from the Republic of Serbian Krajina (in Croatia) However, the SDA Muslim Army, called "Army of BiH" waged the war against Abdić too. So the SDA Muslims waged three wars, against the Serbs all the time, against the Croats for over a year, and against Abdić for more than two years. For that reason the SDA Muslims had a bit higher rate of casualties than it had a rate within the general population. Also, a bad command and negligence for human lives in the first year of war caused many casualties of young Muslims that had been instructed just to shout and make noise, without weapons, intermingled with those who had weapons. When one of armed would fell, another would take a rifle and continue. There was about 31,000 of the Serb casualties, (which makes about 34% of all the casualties, and equal as the rate in population) there was probably about 12% of the Croat casualties, which would make about 46%, while the rest would be the Muslim casualties, but it may not be exact.

There shouldn't be any confusion about the objectives of the Bosnian warring sides. We had never been against the Muslims as such, but only against their ambition to subjugate the Serbs (and Croats, against whom they fought too) on the basis of Islamic principles. We wouldn't accept Christian fundamentalism too, and we didn't have any supremacy of Church over the state authorities in history. When my Croatian friends tease me that the Serbs of Orthodox religion didn't have any "Renaissance", I respond that we didn't need it, because there was no a "dark middle age" or Inquisition or other elements that the Catholic Church suffered. Also, we had

been ready to have the Muslim municipalities along with the Serb ones everywhere where there had been a substantial number of Muslims and their settlements. The main worry was the same, unitary political and judicial system, because the Muslims abuse it in accord with the sharia law. In several large municipalities along the Drina River (eastern part of BiH) there had been achieved such an agreement about forming two municipalities: each of them would have the urban parts, and the belonging country, i.e. villages. That would only be an administrative reorganization, so to be autonomous from each other. This is the best proof that there hadn't been envisaged any "ethnic cleansing" or persecution, or any violence. Mr. Izetbegović ordered his authorities in these municipalities to renege on these agreements,¹⁵ but only after Mr. Zimmermann suggested him that he could have taken the entire BiH, with the US support.

8) *Do Muslims in Western countries pose the same threat to non-Muslims that Alija Izetbegović's government posed to Serbs in BiH? Are white nationalists justified in seeing parallels between your struggle and their own political agenda? Is there anything about the Serbian experience that justifies killing or persecuting Muslims in Western countries?*

8a) I do not think that there is any similar threat of the Muslims in Western countries. There are some other threats from a solitary Muslim "desperados" (or a members of some ISIL cells) in such a countries, who can be additionally frustrated by their indoctrination in a fundamentalist sense, when confronted with a totally different life. But, the rate of such individuals wouldn't exceed the same rate among domestic, "white desperados" in domestic population, not to count in the ISIL agents. The difference is quite clear: in BiH the Muslim community had a decisive plan to form a "Jamahiriya" and to subjugate the Christian communities (which now was majority, in future it would be minority) to the sharia law and political will of the Muslim authorities. A Croat young philosopher Pehar brilliantly analyzed the abuse of state by Izetbegović, using it as a tool to torture others. ^(See endnote 14 in entirety) This is not imaginable in the Western countries. The problem in Western countries with the Muslim immigrants is derived from the fact that these people do not come to the West to become a "Westerners". On the contrary, some of them would like to influence the new western neighbors to live like Muslims do. The Western Europe didn't have any such or similar problems with people from the Balkans, because these people wanted to adopt as much of European life style as possible, and they had always been well integrated in these societies, regardless of religion, i.e. including the Bosnian Muslims.

The same concerns with the Serb, or my struggle, and a parallels between this and political agenda of white nationalists, although the "media circus" as described by E. Wulliamy, could have some influence on it, rather as an opportunity to identify and justify these agenda. Most of the Serbs in BiH do consider the Bosnian Muslims as a Serbs of Islamic religion, and there are many proofs to that direction. When the Ottoman Empire withdrew from the Serbian countries, even before the First Balkans War in 1912, i.e. after the Berlin Congress, not a single original Turk remained there. All that remained were the domestic people that converted into Islam

during more than four centuries of Turkish occupation. Many of the Muslims considered themselves as Serbs, particularly higher educated, or gifted as scientists and artists, who even now do not renege on their Serb origin. So, none of the Serbs wanted anything else but a full autonomy both from the Muslims and Croats, after they had lost a protection of their rights by a common, federal state.¹⁶ A British author Bat Ye' Or, an Egyptian Jew lady, wrote a book "The Dhimmitude" about the life of non-Muslim communities in the Muslim, Islamic societies. That was how it went on in my country during the Ottoman occupation. The Christians, Jews and other non-Islamic people had been a third class citizens, except their leader, "dhimi", a protégé, if he can manage his community to be obedient.

But even in the western world different ethnic groups want to run their lives and affairs autonomously from the other societies and entities within a state. And all the international mediators had been aware of that, because there are many similar situations in Europe itself, like Switzerland, Belgium, United Kingdom with several entities based on an ethnic basis, the Northern Ireland in particular. We had a constitutional right to prevent any secession of BiH, but for the compromise we accepted it, provided we were to be autonomous from each other.¹⁶

But, the truth is so simple, and similar to many cases in Europe. Let us imagine what would happen if the Flemish people in Belgium forcefully pursue an intention to merge the entire Belgium as a unitary, with the Netherlands: what would be a response of the Valona people? Or, if the majority in Florida (created artificially through resettlement of immigrants) decide to secede from the USA, taking Americans with them? Or a German speaking cantons in Switzerland decide to merge the entire country with Germany or Austria? And that all of these breaches of international law had been supported by some of the world powers? The events in the Northern Ireland are well known, and neither of these examples was a racial issue.

9) Alija Izetbegović was a convicted criminal whose extremist views were well known in Yugoslavia. Why did so many people follow him into war? How was he able to manipulate people into thinking he was acting in their best interest?

9a) Usually we didn't pay too much of credit to the Communist courts, and particularly the Serb intellectuals, philosophers and writers were against sentencing any author for some book, which should be opposed by another book and arguments. However, as of mid-sixties there was a secret accord among the Communist oligarchy to prepare the dissolution of Yugoslavia. According to the Yalta Agreement between the West and Soviets, there should be a 50%-50% of influence on Yugoslavia. For that reason it was always meant that Yugoslavia may be divided into two, western and eastern parts. That would probably be so, if the Germany didn't unify, and took many actions in order to gain what Kaiser Wilhelm, the Habsburgs and Hitler had lost on the Balkans. Mr. Vance said publicly, many times, that it was a Genscher's war, and it was necessary, because some US middle range officials took lead in this destruction of Yugoslavia. The Germany didn't want too many large countries in Europe, and there was encouragement of any nationalism to go towards secession. So, the Muslims had been granted a status of separate nation, instead of a "religious group" and somebody promised them the entire Bosnia. That would be attempted even by the secular, Communist Muslims, but they certainly wouldn't risk a

war. The only who would do everything was the Izetbegović's circle known since 1939 as fundamentalists. Still it is a puzzle to me – why the US and other Western powers didn't support some of secular Muslim parties instead of the fundamentalist SDA.

Being a fundamentalist party, the SDA relied on the imams, reviving the dreams of the “Turkish times”, when the Muslims had been privileged over the Christians, and that made them to be very conservative, so that many Sultans had sent a “punishing expeditions” to Bosnia, to punish the Muslims, not Christians, for sabotaging all reform attempts of the central authorities. In Rebecca West's book “Black Lamb and Gray Falcon” there is description of a visit of Atatürk's minister to Bosnia, a first encounter to which she attended. The minister appeared dressed and behaving as any European gentlemen, while a great mass of Bosnians had been dressed traditionally, exactly the way Atatürk just had forbidden in Turkey.

So, these memories of a “golden Turkish times”, together with an Islamic attitude towards (dis)obedience, and particularly the Western support, made the SDA the most powerful party. Certainly, the Muslim elite didn't belong to this party, but elite is, by definition, a tiny minority.

10) Some of white nationalists have argued that NATO's behavior in Yugoslavia was controlled by “the Jews”. Do you think Judaism had anything to do with NATO policy in Yugoslavia?

10a) This is yet another myth, a very malignant one, about some global conspiracies, which had already served as a justification for anti-Semitism. There is no such a Jewish entity, organization, center, that would have this kind of policy, let alone to be able to pursue it so efficiently. The state of Israel certainly does not have it, nor would Israel support any such a cunning action against Serbs. Moreover, Israel wouldn't ever support the Bosnian Islamic fundamentalists, because they have known about Izetbegović's friendship with El Hussein, the Jerusalem mufti during the WWII.

There is a long friendship between Serbs and Jews. In my opening speech on forming the SDS on 12 July 1990, I posed one of the principles: “the SDS will not talk or cooperate with any anti-Yugoslav, Anti-Serb, anti-Semite or anti-democratic party or organization. Serbia itself had always been very happy with the Jews: many Jews were faithful and good Serbian citizens and Serb patriots, and some of them had left a deep trace in the Serbian history, mainly in culture. One of them was Stanislav Vinaver, who accompanied Rebecca West during her tour through Yugoslavia, when she wrote the “Black Lamb and Gray Falcon”. The friendship was “informed and supported” by the Ustasha movement (a Croat Nazi Army) who killed many Jews and Serbs at the same places, and for the same reasons, i.e. without other than racial reasons. I used to consider what was it, why the Jews are so frequently accused for such a fake sins, and I think that some of these reasons are clear to me. Neglecting the psychological reasons for aggregation on such an evil basis, the strong identity of Jews, their successful coping within professions they have chosen, and “lack” of illusions that a domestic population in each country develops from

time to time – all of it makes the envy against Jews more harsh and malignant. (In the psychoanalysis we have a complex called “envy and gratitude” developed by the post-Freudians, a complex active and present in our daily life. See: Melanie Klein: *Envy and Gratitude* (1957).) This complex of the European attitude towards the Jews, even from Bogdan Khmel'nitsky, who didn't miss an opportunity to harm the Jews just “by the way”, to Hitler and Pavelić (a Croatian Nazi leader) looks like the most exemplary “scapegoating”, which is a great disgrace of the human kind.

As far as it is concerned with me and “my” Bosnian Serbs, there had been usual attempts of the Muslim propaganda to place lies about the Serb attitude toward the Jews, and it had been clarified in the courtroom, (see a part of testimony of witness KDZ 310 at the end notes.¹⁷) Beside that, in my book of poetry “Immemorial” (“Pamtivek”, in Serbian) that had been published in 1971, I have dedicated a cycle of poems with the same title to the Jews (The Jewish cycle). Before the war I did have some advisors from Israel,¹⁸ and during the war there was another advisor for media.¹⁹ During my stay in London, at conferences, I met with the “The Board of Deputies of British Jews” and signed an agreement to secure the evacuation of the Jews from Muslim part of Sarajevo through the Serb territories.²⁰ When we formed the SDS Party, one of the points in it's program was OOO In the 1990 elections my party tendered the chief of the Jewish community in BiH (I, Č.)²¹ only for the reasons of presenting the Jews, since I.Č. hadn't been member of my party, nor my personal acquaintance. He was supposed to represent “the others”, i.e. others than Serbs, Muslims and Croats, who had two seats in Presidency each. The only certainly “others” were Jews, who anyway did a lot for Sarajevo, after escaping from the Spain, but the SDA tricked us, tendering Ejup Ganić, the most extreme Muslim from Sandžak, Serbia, to be a “Yugoslav” and had been elected to represent the “others”. Such a way the Muslims had three representatives, while Serbs and Croats had two each. Recently, the SDA had elected in the “three members” Presidency a Croat prone to the Muslim interests to represent Croats, although none of Croats wanted him, nor voted for him. But, that is what is Bosnia: an endless abuse of laws, regulations, good habits and agreements, just for a small benefit, or even without benefit, just for a malice. You may read about it in an Andrić's story titled “A letter from 1920.”²²

11) *What do you think motivates NATO's hostility towards the Serbs? What do you think NATO's goal was or is in the former Yugoslavia?*

I think that the main reasons are in the NATO itself. There is a saying in my country: “A jobless priest is baptizing goats”. That is the same with the NATO. After “winning” the “cold war” NATO became a “jobless priest”, consuming so much money of the member states, and also serving to the military industrial complexes as a source of endless influx of money, which may become jeopardized for several reasons: first, there is no such a formidable opponent which would justify such a high spending; second, there are ambitions of Europe, and other regions and regional powers to build up their independent defenses, together with their military industry. Even the NATO high officials used to say that they had to do something to recover the NATO's credibility. What credibility? Who had doubts about it? Finally, as a strictly “defensive”

formation, the NATO has to find a way to become “universal”, i.e. to be offensive when needed. If there is any chance to abuse such a powerful entity, be sure it would be abused. The international treaties do not worth a bit, because it is never concluded among the most responsible and powerful representatives of nations, but between a third or fifth class clerks of administrations. There are no sanctions envisaged for a violation of such agreements and treaties. Therefore, these treaties are senseless.

Those are “internal” reasons, but there are a geopolitical reasons as well. Namely, the lords of this world would like to secure their leading position in the present and future, namely, to be the only imperial powers. However, they are using a very old imperial tools, as was used during 19th and 20th century, i.e. a full domination over their fully obedient “subjects”, a small nations. Instead of going there with their own armed forces and administration, the only new approach is that these small nations be scared enough, so that their own armed forces and administration do what the “imperial bosses” want them to do. This way, the new empires do not have any spending, nor any responsibility for these nations. From time to time, the NATO wants to infirm it’s own credibility, by being harsh, and even bombing some countries without any authorization of the UN, but for another reason: to create a precedent, and such keep other countries in fear. These Western powers are concluding “per analogiam”, but the world is changing faster, and a new challenges demand a new tools, but it would be cooperation instead of conflict, which is still a choice number one.

Therefore, this is completely wrong strategy. A nations that may be targeted by the NATO and it’s member states are looking for a new alliances, and seeking new “mentors” that are less dangerous and more useful and reliable. I already said in some interviews than in many cultures there are two main archetypes of female figures: a mother and step mother, a good aunt or a fairy and evil witch. Just after WWII we on the Balkans had seen the USA as a good aunt, while now the small nations see China and Russia as good aunts, while the US they see as an evil witch. So, to scare the entire world, it is not fruitful strategy and tactics, and will fail very soon. The traditional advantages of the developed world were freedom and technology, while the resources of raw materials had to be collected from the colonies. Now, the “colonies” are capable of having technologies and “know how”, but the developed West still needs the same resources, as well as free access to markets of these small nations.

For why the Serbs had been chosen to be “exemplarily punished” there are several reasons. First, because of ethnic and cultural closeness with Russia, it is envisaged in the West that they wouldn’t join any action against Russia. Further, President Milošević looked to the West as the last Communist dictator, which he really wasn’t. He was leftist, and he suffered of a surplus autocracy, but he was considered as very close to America. He was convinced that Clinton would be a great President, and that nothing would spoil a traditionally good relations between the two nations. Also, the old “world order” had been outdated, and it looked as a moment to take as good positions as possible for the further development, and the Balkans had always been of the greatest interest of powers which wanted to keep Russia far from the “warm seas” and to have a free access to the Middle East resources. The central position on the Balkans keeps Serbia. But,

the main reason was what unified Germany wanted, to revenge for the wars lost against the Allies, to grant it's traditional allies, like Croats, Muslims and Albanians, and to secure the leading position in the unified Europe.

You know that the "world orders" last from thirty to fifty years, and become "outdated" because the balance of power is changed. Usually the leading empire, or alliance, being in panic for presumed stepping down, makes many maneuvers and turmoil that usually end as a big war, after which there is a world congress (1815 Vienna, 1878 Berlin, 1919 Versailles – Sent Germaine, 1945 UN) and the new turn of 50 years starts. All of those wars had been instigated by a declining empire, Napoleon, Habsburgs, Kaiser Wilhelm, Ottoman Empire, and Hitler, and all of them had lost, and the following "congress" defined the future relations. The winning powers had been guaranteeing these treaties, but all of these treaties had been violated and broken. Our "Western allies" have betrayed the Serbs, and Mr. Genscher won all the wars that Germany had lost in the Balkans in 20th century.

We only may hope that the current empires would be clever enough to make a congress before, i.e. instead of a war, but it doesn't look like to be.

In the case of Yugoslavia (i.e. of the Serbs) the US have only joined Germany, in order to gain something and not to stay outsider, and it really was a present to Germany, which could continue to act clandestinely.

12) In 1996 Madeline Albright went on national television and said the death of 500,000 Iraqi children due to U.S. sanctions was "worth it" to topple Saddam Hussein's government. Since then, the United States and other NATO governments have instigated several wars in the middle east that have killed hundreds of thousands of people and displaced millions more. What goes through your mind when you hear NATO leaders and Western media calling you a war criminal, and how do you cope with it?

12a) The same distinguished lady was the leading person in indulging the German wishes to revert the outcome of all the wars in the Balkans in 20th century, i.e. the outcomes positive for the Serbs: the First Balkans War against the Ottoman Empire, Second Balkans War against the Bulgarian intrusion and aspirations in Macedonia, the WWI and WWII. Not only she neglected the US obligations to guarantee the treaties, she neglected all other provisions of the International Law, not to mention so many innocent people who died during these "humanitarian interventions" of her. For the attack on Yugoslavia in 1999, many nations had their own interest to have it, and participated for their own selfish benefits: Germany wanted to revenge for the two WWs and to revert the region to the "status quo ante"; different circles in the US had an interest to destroy the Yugoslav military industry, since Yugoslavia had a 7% to 10% of the world market, particularly in the "third world" and "non-allied countries"; others didn't want to be out of this affair, or couldn't resist to the pressure of the mentioned powers. The middle range officials in these countries, our allies in all the wars in 20th century, neglected this long lasting friendship and devotion of the Serbs to the Anglo-Saxon nations (GB and US) and France, spoiling and destroying it to dust, which may be forgiven, but not forgotten, ever. And this is an

enormous loss for them, much higher than any benefit. Therefore, this was not in their national interests, but interests of a small groups and lobbies within these countries. So, not only they destroyed the international law system, but also traditional friendships, which made the Serbs to join the Western Alliance on 27 March 1941, while Stalin was still in a good relation with Hitler (a Ribbentrop-Molotov Agreement). The Serbs had always half of their hearts devoted to the Russians, and another half to "our Anglo-Saxon allies" and that is why both anti-Nazi movements of the Serbs, the Royal Army (Chetniks, to which my father belonged) and the Tito's Communist army (Partisans, to which the entire family of my mother belonged) helped the Western Alliance. For instance, the Royal Army, accused by their Communist opponents for cooperation with the Germans, had saved more than 500 US pilots, and transported them in 1944 to Italy under the American control, (The Halyard operation)

But, what makes this "business" even more disgusting is a sort of private interests of the high officials, like mentioned lady, particularly in Kosovo. Some of them, after playing a disgraceful role in the war, continued with their private business there, participating in privatization of resources and assets. Finally, they knew exactly what was the nature of conflict in Bosnia, they knew who was doing what, but they did unimaginable things, by forging the facts and influence on media, covering many exculpatory evidence, exerting a pressure on judicial institutions. Mr. Holbrooke himself confessed that the main benefit of the Indictment against me was to prevent me to be in Dayton, so that they could have altered the Agreement that was created by me and him with the teams, respectively.

What crosses my mind when they mention me as a war criminal? The same as when Mr. Izetbegović, a friend of El Houseini and Hitler, labels his Serb colleagues in the Presidency as a "Nazis", see in Pehar's book. I am not surprised by what the architects of this crisis say about me, because it is inherent to everything they had done. I can hardly believe how many serious, intelligent and educated people are so lazy, sluggish and ready to accept the media presentation of a contemporaneous events. Reading some of them I sometimes think they may be drugged, because they write about Bosnian crisis as if they had been there all the time, while majority of them had never been there. They still believe Saddam did have what the GB Prime Minister was saying, pretending to know even more than CNN knew. At the same time, on the same example we can see how precious are vigil, curious and responsible persons like yourself, who do not take the media truth for granted.

This affair, including the part concerning to me and so many strait and innocent people, is going to be an example of how it must not be done ever, but we have to wait a bit for that.

¹ The E.W. report published in the Toronto Star

The unexpected access was as part of an invitation by the Bosnian-Serbian President Radovan Karadzic to the Guardian and Independent Television News of Britain to inspect "whatever you wish to see," in response to the concentration camp allegations.

² Vulliamy: pp. 21077 – 78 of the trial transcript

MR. KARADZIC: (Interpretation)

Q. And now I would like to move on to London. During the London Conference, I contested some allegations about camps and then I invited British journalists, whoever wanted to go there, to come and that entire Republika Srpska will be open to them to see whatever they wanted to see. Do you remember? I was not provoked into doing that. I was the one who invited British journalists to come and see for themselves what was going on.

A. No, I agree. I don't see -- I don't see that you were -- provoked isn't the word I would use. Challenged perhaps by the allegations that had been published in the "Guardian" and in an American paper called "Newsday," and your response was, and I summarise, not your words, but the sense of it were, "Well, come and see for yourselves on my authority." And you contested that the -- the allegations of brutality in the camps.

3

Vulliamy, ibid:

Q. Thank you. And now I would like to call up 1D4821 in e-court. I believe that you will be able to help us and tell us whether this is your first report about your visit to Prijedor.

A. That's it, sir, yes.

Q. This was before the media circus, as you call it, that fell upon Bosnia. At this particular point in time, there was still no media circus; right?

A. Yes, sir, that's right. Perhaps Your Honours might like to note it says the "Toronto Star" at the top. It's a reprint. I believe the date is the same, I don't know. Sorry. Yes, that's before the media circus.

4 E.W. report on 7 August 92

"These are the people who accept the Serbian republic," explains Maj. Milovan Milutonic from army headquarters in Banja Luka. "If they do that, we just leave them alone."

There are Croatian communities around Banja Luka too, exchanging their docility to the new order for a relatively quiet life.

5 (D2424)

Subject: visit protection officer to Grbavica on 9 March 1993.

1. a/m Municipality is located in the south of central Sarajevo and is under Serbian control. Protection officer visited the president of the municipality, Mr. Prijic, together with interpreter (Mica).

Further observations.

Regarding position of Muslims: impression that those with known loyalties to the Republika Srpska face no difficulties.

Position of those who want to leave or have not signed declaration of loyalty needs further investigation.

Will try get copies of a/m document and document of voluntary (temporary) release of property.

This was on 9 March 1993, but similar was a year earlier, see below:

7 D. Pehar, pp. 182-183.

With no hesitation, the US acting may be pertinently described as a symbolic alliance with Alija Izetbegović. Of all the great powers, it is the US alone that officially kept defending the narrative of military aggression of Serbia against the BiH, and lobbying for either a lift of the arms embargo or even a limited military intervention; such American narrative continues unabated till the start of military hostilities, and war, between the Croat and the Bosniac-Moslem armed forces. UK, France, and Russia defend the narrative of 'a civil war.' Misha Glenny gives a very succinct and lucid summary of the international relations through the first year of the BiH war:

"The British and French regarded the war in Bosnia as a civil war, first and foremost, which had been provoked by the breakdown of Bosnia's constitutional consensus. In the United States, the issue was perceived very differently. The war was a straight case of aggression by one state, Serbia, against another, Bosnia-Herzegovina (the role of the Bosnian Croats or Croatia was simply not considered, a fact which caused complete confusion on

the news desks of American newspapers when fighting between Croats and Moslems started to run out of control in spring 1993). The issue then was to roll back the Serbs and send them back to their republic, rather as the Americans had pushed the Iraqis out of Kuwait in 1991. This was the beginning of a serious diplomatic conflict between the United States on the one hand and Europe and the UN /EC Conference on Yugoslavia on the other.” (Glenny 1993, pp. 222-223)

⁸ See many official reports of the UN Commanders, from Gen. Nambiar to the last one.

6

/stamp/
Serbian republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
No. 2511-05
Datum: 25th of June 1992
Sarajevo

Grbavica: refused to be exchanged

The UNPROFOR forces were rather surprised today, as they came to Sarajevo settlement of Grbavica in order to take several Muslim and Croatian families to be exchanged, which were on the list. Nevertheless, families of Dervo Pušina, Izet Tanović, Alija Talić, Drago Barbara as well as family Hadžimesić signed the statement they didn't want to leave Grbavica because they had no reason for such action. To the team of UNPROFOR they confirmed that “the Serbian authorities treated them rather correctly and that they enjoyed all condition to live normally as well as Serbian people in this settlement”. Also, they asked how their names got to the exchange list.

/signed and stamped/

⁹ Donia, interviewed Josip Usti (Osti is correct) my former friend, a Croat living in Ljubljana, and got no confirmation about my racist sentiments, to see in the Donia's book.

¹⁰ Part of Verdict of Izetbegovic in 1983.:

environment. In our circumstances, supporting such an ideology means going back to the positions of fratricidal war, negating our independence and the policy of non-alignment. There is no doubt that such ideology (national and religious separation, the establishment of an Islamic state in Bosnia, a political system based on Islam etc.) could not come into being in a socialist self-managed Yugoslavia, in an environment which is ethnically and religiously so mixed that the predominance or total domination of one of the existing national groups is simply unimaginable, unless it were based on terror or even on foreign intervention and the use of coercion. The

¹¹ *KARADŽIĆ – MILOŠEVIĆ, 29-May-1991 (b)*

Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ	...he wants a division, so that that part would be as small as possible, and so that he could unite with Croatia.
Radovan	I don't think he wants to unite with Croatia. He wants to use Croatia to leave

KARADŽIĆ	Yugoslavia, because what he'd like is to have some Muslim enclave in the valley of the river Bosna, which I think he needs for, err, the Arab world.
Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ	Yes, yes.
Radovan KARADŽIĆ	Of course it would be a difficult negotiation and a great problem and how to use each principle. We didn't want to leave and we still believe that it would be a pity if Bosnia were to fall apart. That is our basic stand and when it comes to it, we will announce that everybody, every party should announce their own position.
12 <i>ibid</i>	
Radovan KARADŽIĆ	Well, it seems to me that they have...that it's definite. He tells me that Bosnia should support this in the Assembly, although KLJUJIĆ has not given his support, so they were surprised, DRNOVŠEK was surprised. He said, "We thought our friends and nearest neighbours would support us."
Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ	Well, I told him about that, I told him that they will be the first ones not to give them support!
Radovan KARADŽIĆ	I told him, "Mr. DRNOVŠEK, we really are your friends. Serbs and Slovenes have never been enemies, and although we are not your first neighbours, we are your friends. Or rather, we are not your enemies." So, we spent some time in casual conversation and pleasantries, and, err, IZETBEGOVIĆ asked me to find out the timing of the Croats. I asked him what the intentions of the Croats were? He said, "Similar!"
Slobodan MILOŠEVIĆ	Two days after them?!
Radovan KARADŽIĆ	And what about their timing? He said, "Similar!" However, we now have intensive talks with our ... they surprised us the day before yesterday, after that lunch, they completely took us by surprise. IZETBEGOVIĆ talked about the division of Bosnia, explicitly and openly, he'd never been more explicit! I, we were shocked. We hadn't thought about that. Then we discussed, err, what to do and how - they don't want to stay in the Federal Yugoslavia, and we don't want to leave the Federal Yugoslavia. And today

¹³ A public letter of Mr. Čaušević to Mr. Izetbegović

¹⁴ Pehar, on A.I. **Alija Izetbegovic and the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina**, © Dražen Pehar, 2011. hkd napredak Glavna podružnica Mostar Mostar, 2011.(publisher)

pp.152-53 But, it is also clear that his conception of Islam contains some elements of fundamentalism in the sense of an ideology committed to the claim that a religion is so superior to the others that an absolute expansion of the religion, even by violent means, is a worthwhile goal. Clearly, Izetbegović unambiguously claims, and the key argument of *Islam between East and West* aims to substantiate the claim, that Islam, as a world-view, religion, a view and way of life, is vastly superior to all intellectual and spiritual alternatives including philosophical, religious, ethical and political ones (Izetbegović 1995b, esp. pp. 19-21 and 204-213). Such is simply the key message of his book, and nobody can deny it. Does such a claim justify by itself a use of violence against the other religions, or world-views, in Izetbegović's opinion? Does that imply that Islam should rule the world? Of course,

Izetbegović was intelligent enough not to propose an affirmative answer to the questions. Such an answer would have made him a straightforward Islamic fundamentalist. However, does a faith in superiority of one's own faith motivate a kind of demeaning attitude towards the others, the 'inferior ones'? Does it increase the probability of a conflict between the representative of the superior religion and the representatives of the 'inferior ones'? Does it create a sense in the representative of the superior religion that he has already won, or that the existence of the representatives of the 'inferior' religions is not as meaningful as his own? The answer to the three questions must be in the positive. Therefore, the most pertinent and fitting attribute one should assign to Izetbegović is of an 'Islamic Supremacist' as an advocate of the thesis of intellectual supremacy of Islam against all other religions and world-views.

p. 154. For instance, some elements of Islam simply cannot be interpreted as appropriation of the elements of Hindu, or Christian faith. The former can be interpreted only as radically opposed, and irreconcilable, to the latter. Secondly, applied to Bosnia-Herzegovina, Izetbegović's philosophy implies a belief in an inherent superiority of the true followers of Islam over the followers of Christianity, or agnostics, or atheists.

pp. 154-155 The idea of superiority does not have to be necessarily translated into political reality; however, imagine that you are brought up within a tradition that does not consider conversion into Islam as a possibility – then you will get a justified impression that, from Izetbegović's perspective on Islam, you are *a priori* taken as less worthy, as one who will never achieve the progress that true Islamic believers will. Certainly, now the idea that the Moslems of Bosnia-Herzegovina should enjoy a 'surplus of rights', a reference to special rights of a 'majority people', is easier to understand. Also, an uncomfortable feeling experienced by the others when faced with the ideologue of Islamic supremacy – the feeling that the best part of their identity (e.g. as a catholic, or an agnostic) is, as the ideologue interprets it, already in a better way incorporated into a follower of Islam (who embraces the catholic element but adds to it something else, which makes him or her superior to the catholic), not in themselves – is now easy to understand. Additionally, it is only within Alija Izetbegović and the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina the perspective of Izetbegović's Islamic supremacism that one can properly understand his two characterisations of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina that depict it in a positive light – the war as a force that more than ever "unified the Moslems of the world" in their solidarity with the Moslems of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Izetbegović 1995a, p. 41); the war as an event that brought to the Moslem-Bosniac people "a world-wide affirmation" (Izetbegović 1997, p. 57).

OTHER RELEVANT EXCERPTS FROM THE PEHAR'S BOOK „Alija Izetbegovic and the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina“

p.112 Lastly, there are few serious, scholarly, or theoretical studies of Alija Izetbegović, so regrettably few that one can count them by a single hand. There is one study of a booklength in English; it is a Master's thesis submitted in 2009 at the University of Missouri-Saint Louis (US A): by Jason Carson "A leader despite himself? An analysis of the statesmanship of Alija Izetbegović, 1990-2000. Bat Ye'or, Alan J. Kuperman (who has read the English version of this book), and John Schindler have published essays on Izetbegović. This exhausts the relevant sources, when one intelligently put aside some psychological profiles of Izetbegović that intelligence agencies have perhaps drawn for their own use and eyes only, and/or commissioned, well-paid, and extremely biased 'characterologies' such as one by Bernard-Henri Levy.

p.127 Serbs as Nazis, the state as a command-giver – – January 10 1992

pp. 129-130

January 10 is of a critical importance because, at that day, it became obvious that Alija Izetbegović in fact declined the first option, the option of cessation of unilateral moves, that is, the option of entry into the period of negotiations based on the principle of equally valid, or rightful, opening positions. In fact, January 10 shows that the war had already started, that all the key causes of war had been 'assembled.' How can one see that? January 10 1992 is the date of a session of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of BiH, chaired by Izetbegović; the agenda of the session includes a single item – the decision by

the Serb Assembly to declare the Republic of the Serb people of the BiH (the session transcript in NS F 2006a, pp. 79-89). The participants to the session included the representatives of the Serb people too, Biljana Plavšić and Nikola Koljević, which made the session a site at which the option of negotiation might have been probed, or explored, at least in the way of an experiment. However, such an option is missed. The events take a different turn.

p.130. First of all, Izetbegović voices an opinion that, in a normal state, the Serb Assembly participants would have been sent to prison. (...)

p.131. In other words, Izetbegović starts his speech by designating the representatives of the Serb people as criminals, as the enemy of the state. In fact, he openly and directly threatens them - in a paraphrase, he conveys to them the following message "against you, it would be best to employ the violent means of a coercive state," and "with you, the option of negotiation is impossible." But, even more importantly, when Izetbegović refers to the state, as an agent on whose behalf he himself is speaking, for him it means an extremely simple thing, a thing discarded by political theory long time ago: he refers to the state as a 'commandgiving body.' One can discern this in a brief passage that precedes Izetbegović's comparison of the BiH with France: "I propose we invite the bodies, to perform their duties, to keep functioning; we tell them who to listen to, and what to do. Now, there are two republics, two bodies that give command." (NS F *ibid.*) Actually, it is interesting to note that Izetbegović, a long-term prisoner in a state founded on the Marxist premises, thereby subscribes to the Marxist model of the state in which the state is an instrument of power that a group, or a class, of people employs to keep another group, or class, in check (see also Eriksen, Stjernfelt 2004, pp. 162-163). (...)

p.133. In the same passage Izetbegović draws a clear analogy between the Serb representatives and the Nazis: "Many clever people backed the Nazi project, yet later felt ashamed of it. They have not timely realized that some things must not be done." (NS F 2006a, p. 85). (...) **(r,k.: He himself was "one of those very clever people who backed the Nazi project" but it didn't prevent him to label the highest Serb representatives thay way!)**

p.136. To conclude, for Izetbegović, by January 10 1992 the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina had started in a psychological sense. He does not negotiate with the Serb representatives on a possible compromise; he is trying to punish them, teach them a lesson; he depicts them as criminals, the Nazis, irrational and immoral re-organizers of a 'common place of residence,' as apparent, not real representatives of the Serb people.⁴² His goal is either to reverse the decisions by the Serb Assembly, or create soon a situation in which those decisions will be reversed and made nil and void. He does not respond to the invitations to a more reasoned approach, nor to the expressions of the need to negotiate in the spirit of consensus and equality. He interrupts a normal, human communication between the (recent) political partners, refuses to assume his own responsibility and confront directly the problems generated, despite the fact that such a responsibility should be his by his mandate; and finally, he finds in the referendum the only tool of a political crisis management. Are we faced here with some kind of temporary irrationality striking Izetbegović on January 10? Have the Serb representatives driven him mad? Could we interpret his claims and strategies in light of the principle of charity at all? Are these claims and strategies graspable at least from some perspective? More importantly, are we dealing here with some claims, beliefs, or strategies that perhaps persist over a longer period of time, that form a part of a long-term, continuous project?

p. 139-40 Again, looking in February 1998 back at his talks with Karadžić, that he temporarily suspended but then reopened in December 1992, he emphasized that he accepted the negotiating process to buy some time, to delay the destruction of “Bosnia and my own people” (Izetbegović 1999, p. 19). In other words, in Izetbegović’s view, negotiations do not aim at a compromise or a political problem-solving by verbal means. He views negotiations not as something that could lead to a successful or satisfactory negotiated outcome, but as something that should help him to achieve some other goals by other means, not by the means of negotiation; such goals are pre-defined independently of the negotiating process, and negotiations cannot affect or shape them. In other words, he looked at the negotiating process as a tactical manoeuvring, as buying time for something else, not necessarily for ‘saving Bosnia’: for instance, for illegal purchase of weapons at international market, and, most importantly, for lobbying to lift the arms embargo for Bosnia-Herzegovina. On many occasions Izetbegović was explaining to foreign representatives and diplomats that he, and his army, needed arms in order to achieve ‘a balance of military power’, which he thought was the only way to a just peace or compromise (Izetbegović 2004, p. 232). Again, the relationship of force is considered as a precondition of negotiations, even as a guarantor of their success (see also NS F 2006b, pp. 264-265).

p.162. Prior to that, on September 16 1993, he signed a secret treaty with the Serb representative Krajišnik, which authorised the Bosnian Serbs to organise a referendum of independence and thus secede from Bosnia-Herzegovina (Komšić 2006, p. 251). However, it is also interesting to note that, at secret bilateral meetings with Tuđman, on January 12 1994 in Bonn, he put forward two proposals to Tuđman: first, to let him, Izetbegović, import arms and artillery into the BiH, after which he, Izetbegović, would defeat the BiH Serbs militarily, without Croat meddling, following which Izetbegović would agree to a reorganisation of the whole of BiH on the principle of parity in power between the Bosnian Moslems and the Bosnian Croats. Following Tuđman’s refusal even to consider such a proposal, Izetbegović offered to Tuđman Western Herzegovina, which would join Croatia, and then “to leave us [Moslem-Bosniacs] alone” (Komšić 2006, pp. 311-314).

p.167 What is the ultimate point, or constellation, at which Izetbegović’s will to deploy the means of violence aims? We know that he viewed ‘his’ war as a war for a civil, whole and undivided Bosnia-Herzegovina. We also know that ‘his’ war was a war against a division/partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina, especially division along the ethnic or national lines (“We shall not sacrifice sovereignty for peace; we shall sacrifice peace for sovereignty”). Does this sound logical? In fact, taken literally, the very idea makes no sense. One cannot wage a war and sincerely hope, or expect, that the war would prevent, or stop, division. All wars deepen the existing, or create new, divisions. In an extreme case, if you send an army against those who, on a public demonstration, express their desire to create peacefully a new entity, and thus separate themselves from you to a higher or lower degree, you will both speed up the separation and make it legitimate and morally justified.

15. A public letter of Ms. Rabija Šubić to Mr. Izetbegović, criticizing him for denial of the local agreements of Serbs and Muslims

¹⁶ A notes from Karadžić's meeting with the mediators, 27 Aug. 1992 in London. Note for Peter: since it is a public document (P941) maybe you should send it to Andy in its entirety.

1. Secretary Vance welcomed Dr Karadzic to the Conference. He said it was time to bring the fighting to a halt and begin serious negotiations. Dr Karadzic said that the Serbs were willing to negotiate. Regrettably the Muslims had always negotiated in bad faith. The Muslims had accepted the 18 March principles but had now reneged on them. They were only interested in a Muslim state. Earlier in the year he had urged the international community not to recognise Bosnia. After recognition, the Serbs had been forced to act in order to protect the Serbian population. The Serbs were willing to return territory and were content to remain part of Bosnia and Hercegovina within the existing boundaries. But the Serbian people of Bosnia wanted full autonomy from the Muslims and Croats.

¹⁷ (Transcript p. 9259 – 60 (KDZ310))

MR. KARADZIC: [Interpretation]

Q. This is the 23rd of June. The Sarajevo media said that a group of Sarajevo Jews from Grbavica were taken prisoner and that they were in the military barracks:

"Blanca Romano, the leader of this delegation that visited the barracks, stated that the Jewish residents of Grbavica feel completely safe, having so far no problems whatsoever with the members of the Serbian BH Republic Army and therefore do not want to move from this neighbourhood."

Have you heard of this kind of misinformation from the Muslim media?

A. I did not see anything like that, but it is true that the Serb Army did not treat the Jews in a hostile way.

THE REGISTRAR: As Exhibit D886, Your Honours.

¹⁸ [NAME REDACTED] (but it shouldn't be published, to prevent any harm for he and his family,

¹⁹ [NAME REDACTED] (shouldn't be public)

20 D3662

AGREEMENT

BETWEEN

THE BOARD OF DEPUTIES OF BRITISH JEWS

AND

THE PRESIDENCY OF THE SERBIAN REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA

1. In recognition of the humanitarian needs of the Jewish community which at present remains within the city of Sarajevo,

The Board of Deputies of British Jews

has this day reached an agreement with

The Presidency of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia,

whereby permission is given to enable those members of the Jewish community living in Sarajevo who wish to leave the city to do so without any fear of harm, attack or any other adverse consequence.

IT IS AGREED that members of the Jewish community living in Sarajevo should be free to make arrangements to leave Sarajevo in groups including members of their extended families and close friends (who would not necessarily be Jewish). These people would be free to leave Sarajevo in one or more convoys. The precise arrangements for their departure would be made between representatives of the Jewish community in Sarajevo, the authorities having control over the territories through which they will pass, and if possible United Nations observers.

IT IS AGREED that on the day or days of their departure from Sarajevo, a ceasefire would remain in force. It is intended that the date of departure for the first convoy should be 5 August 1992 or such other date as may be designated by the Jewish community in Sarajevo; any subsequent convoy would leave Sarajevo 14 days after the first convoy.

IT IS AGREED that the convoys would be assured of a free and safe passage through and from Sarajevo and the surrounding territory. The Presidency of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia will issue orders to ensure that this right of safe conduct is fully respected by all troops for whom they have responsibility. The convoy will be guaranteed safe passage across the checkpoint at the agreed exits of Sarajevo.

IT IS AGREED that the members of the Jewish community after leaving Sarajevo will be accommodated, fed and supported by international Jewish organisations.

IT IS AGREED that protection will be sought from United Nations observers, who will be requested to accompany the convoy for a distance of ten miles beyond the checkpoint at the agreed exits from Sarajevo.

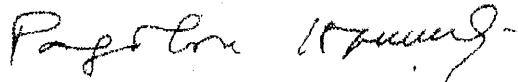
IT IS FURTHER AGREED that members of the Jewish community who leave Sarajevo in this way will have the right to return and reclaim their properties. Their homes will be sealed and protected from invasion.

Signed at London, this 29th day of July 1992.

On behalf of THE BOARD OF DEPUTIES OF BRITISH JEWS



On behalf of THE PRESIDENCY OF THE SERBIAN REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA



²¹ I.C. [NAME REDACTED], not to make public if possible

²² Ivo Andrić, a Serb Nobel Prize winner.

²⁴ MINUTES DATE: IN: START OF MEETING: END OF MEETING: PRESENT AT MEETING: MEMBERS OF MISSION: WITH THE PRESIDENT: OF THE MEETING HELD ON 16 August 1995, PRESIDENTIAL PALACE - North Lounge 1315 hours 1500 hours Richard HOLBROOKE, Robert ERASURE, General W. CLARK, J. KRUZEL, Colonel N. DREW, R. PAULI-GIKAS, P. GALBRAITH, J. KEAGLE H. ŠARINIĆ, Dr M. GRANIĆ, G. ŠUŠAK, Army General Z. ČERVENKO, Dr Ž. MATIĆ, G. RADIN, Major General K. KAŠPAR

President Tudjman [...] "We support this idea of preserving Bosnia and Herzegovina as a united state which is a member of the United Nations, but let's be realistic. As we have said, we too support the principle that there must not be any forcible alterations of borders, but it is certain that there is no future for that country because of the Serbs, since there is no military force that can defeat them or, as the Muslims once told me, so we will exterminate them all, but I ask them: how will you drive one and a half million Serbs out of Bosnia? Accordingly, it is quite certain that in the future the Serbs will get the Muslims to accept their right to join up with Serbia because they don't want to live with the Muslims. In any case, when I talked in private with **Alija IZETBEGOVIC** on the eve of the Split Agreement a month ago, he told me himself that it was clear that we could not keep Bosnia together, but it was necessary now for political reasons to talk about unity.

Therefore, even among the Muslim leadership, which is not united, there is a realisation that they can no longer count on a war until the expulsion of the Serbs from Bosnia, but must make peace, that all that is left to the Muslims is to rely on Croatia, but the Serbs will sooner or later leave Bosnia. In this context, the demarcation between the Federation and this Serbian part is crucial for the temporary settlement of preserving Bosnia and Croatia as a whole, and for such a prospective solution. It is clear in this context, it must be clear to us, that this is not a demarcation between the Federation, between the Croats and Muslims and the Serbs, but also a demarcation between Eastern and Western Europe, the East and the West. Regardless of whether Ivan the Terrible, Stalin or Yeltsin is there, Russia

remains a Eurasian power that will try through the Orthodox religion to Increase Its sphere of influence in this part of Europe towards the Mediterranean.

Accordingly, It Is necessary to draw borders that are appropriate, In other words, create a new international order which **will** not give rise to new conflicts and which will be more stable from the point of view of Western civilisation. This is the context of my idea that perhaps this plan of yours should be combined with some of the measures from the second plan. This is to say, perhaps the situation Is momentarily such that, with simultaneous diplomatic action and simultaneous military operations, we could establish borders that would take into account these strategic relations in the future."

Richard HOLBROOKE:

"I find that exceptionally interesting, Mr President."

r.k. Doesn't it looks like a sort of racism? And that the Serbs are victims of their Orthodox fate?