

**UNMIK**



United Nations Mission in Kosovo

Division of Public Information

# Media Monitoring

## ► *Daily International News Clippings*

► **25 November 2003**

### **Kosovo News**

- **Mayor on the Fly, Covering Lots of Ground (The New York Times)**
- **Rugova and Holkeri condemn police murder (Beta)**
- **Prosecutors ask that Kosovo indictments be joined (SRNA)**

### **Regional News**

- **Ethnic Albanian parties, most probably, will not take part in elections (Tanjug)**
- **Robertson in Belgrade this week (Beta)**
- **Former Bosnian Serb official accuses Karadzic of ordering massacre (Onasa News Agency)**
- **UN warns of tribunal funding shortfall (Financial Times)**
- **EU/Balkans/ MEPS Approve Reports On Stabilisation Process, Kosovo And Bosnia (European Report)**
- **Macedonian government decides to deploy new peacekeeping contingent in Iraq (Macedonian Radio)**
- **Croatian HDZ has hard task of enabling return of refugees - Serbian official (Hina News Agency)**
- **Human Trafficking Remains a Problem in Serbia (Southeast European Times)**
- **The Three-State Solution (The New York Times)**
- **Lecture by Lord Robertson of Port Ellen: NATO is equal to the task of a new world**

## **The New York Times**

### **Mayor on the Fly, Covering Lots of Ground**

**By Michael Cooper**

Published November 25, 2003

PRISTINA, Kosovo, Nov. 24 — Monday morning found Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg blessing the bread in a Jerusalem synagogue beneath stained-glass windows by Chagall. Evening found him here, dancing the valle, a circle dance, with folkloric dancers in red headdresses at the Albanian National Theater.

It was just a one-day trip, sandwiched between a pair of overnight flights, but Mayor Bloomberg covered a lot of ground.

He landed in Israel at 7:30 a.m., met his 94-year-old mother, Charlotte R. Bloomberg, and dedicated a children's health center to her. Then it was on to Kosovo, where he met local officials, took early Christmas presents to two retired New York City police officers now serving on the United Nations-led police force here, and dined with some of the roughly 2,500 United States troops stationed nearby at Camp Bondsteel.

All told, it was hardly standard fare for an official trip of a mayor of New York City.

Generations of city politicians contented themselves with the three I's — Ireland, Italy and Israel. Then, as the city's demographics shifted, they began flying to Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic, where they could appeal to voting blocs between frozen drinks and dips in the ocean. But Kosovo, officials agree, is a first.

So why did the mayor go?

"When else am I going to see this?" he asked troops from New York at Camp Bondsteel.

"You guys don't want me. I'm too old to join."

From a geopolitical point of view, Mr. Bloomberg found himself visiting two of the most troubled regions of recent, and not so recent, years: the Balkans and the Middle East.

The mayor often talks about the scourge of terrorism in Israel, and he had traveled there twice before to show solidarity after bombings. But when he got to Kosovo on Monday, he spoke at length about the ethnic cleansing before and during the NATO air campaign in 1999, in which an estimated 800,000 ethnic Albanians were forced to flee their homes. The mass graves of thousands of people have since been found.

"We've had genocide in this world a number of times, and we should have learned our lesson generations ago," he said here on Monday.

But the future status of Kosovo, which is administered by the United Nations while power is transferred to new elected leaders, is still a delicate issue. So although the mayor changed his necktie — picking up on the colors of national flags, he went from Israeli blue to Albanian red and black — he avoided more direct questions about independence for Kosovo, saying, "Our State Department has a difficult job."

Mr. Bloomberg laid a wreath of white roses and a crystal from Cardinal Edward M. Egan at the foot of a bronze-colored statue here of Mother Teresa, who was born to Albanian parents in what is now neighboring Macedonia, and who was beatified last month by Pope John Paul II. At Camp Bondsteel, the mayor dined with the troops on chicken, Brussels sprouts and mashed potatoes, passed out N.Y.P.D. and F.D.N.Y. hats, and made guy talk about the New York Giants cheerleaders and his well-known crush on J-Lo.

"I thought it was really cool that he came," said Terry Schappert, 37, of Manhattan, who had left the Special Forces to become an actor but rejoined after Sept. 11. "I voted for him, too."

When Mr. Bloomberg met Specialist Christopher Jones, 21, who attends Pace University across the street from City Hall, the mayor told him, "You ought to come over!" The mayor brought a gift for Maj. Warren Schwartz from the major's fiancée, telling the crowd about the coming marriage. "Why he wants to do that, I don't know," the mayor said. "Been there, done that. If you change your mind, she'll probably want it back." Mayor Bloomberg started the day in Tel Aviv. He and his entourage drove through a downpour to Jerusalem, where he picked up his sister, Marjorie Tiven, and their mother, Charlotte, for an early celebration of Mrs. Bloomberg's 95th birthday, which falls in January.

Their present? A donation to Hadassah Hospital, which is being used to create the Charlotte R. Bloomberg Mother and Child Center.

"There may be a more sublime mitzvah for a Jewish son to perform than taking his mother and sister to Israel, but if there is, I don't think anybody's discovered it yet," Mayor Bloomberg said during a dedication ceremony at the hospital. "But that really pales compared to the mitzvahs performed every day at this hospital."

Touring the hospital, the family walked through long halls lined with Hebrew posters of Winnie the Pooh to visit several sick children. Then, Mrs. Bloomberg, who joined Hadassah nearly 70 years ago, was presented with a framed picture of the hospital. ("We wanted you to schlep something back home," Professor Schlomo Mor-Yosef, the director general of the Hadassah Medical Association, told her.) Mrs. Bloomberg planted a peck on the cheek of her son, the mayor.

"I think he's done very well, and I'm pleased with what he's done," said Mrs. Bloomberg. "I'm pleased not only that he's done well, but that he does good things."

The mayor praised the hospital for providing much-needed medical care to Jews, Arabs and Christians alike, and praised Hadassah. "Hadassah is an organization that is almost as old as my mother," he told reporters. "Hadassah was formed 91 years ago; my mother was formed 95 years ago. And they've sort of grown up together."

When he left Skopje, Macedonia, at 9 p.m., Mr. Bloomberg had spent half as much time on the ground as he had in the air.

## **Beta**

### **Rugova and Holkeri condemn police murder**

PRISTINA -- Monday -- Kosovo President Ibrahim Rugova has condemned the murder of a Kosovo policeman this morning, describing it as an attack on a defender of peace in Kosovo.

He called for the assailants to be apprehended and brought to justice as soon as possible.

Governor Harri Holkeri described the shooting as an attack on the future of Kosovo, adding that it was aimed against criminal investigations being conducted in the Pec region.

However, he warned, the murderers would not deter the international community from securing a better future for Kosovars.

Police officer Sabahat Tolaj was killed and two other members of the Kosovo Police Service injured when their car was fired on this morning on the Pec-Decani road.

The attack occurred at about 8.00 a.m. while the three police officers were on their way to work.

## **SRNA**

### **Prosecutors ask that Kosovo indictments be joined**

THE HAGUE -- Monday – Prosecutors at the war crimes tribunal in The Hague have asked that the trial of three former senior Serb leaders be joined with that of another four top army and police generals indicted last month.

Former Serbian president Milan Milutinovic, deputy Yugoslav prime minister Nikola Sainovic and Serbian defence minister Dragoljub Ojdanic are currently awaiting trial for alleged war crimes committed in Kosovo during the 1998-99 conflict.

The tribunal confirmed today it had received a request for their indictment to be joined with that of the four generals – current Serbian Public Security chief Sreten Lukic, his predecessor Vlastimir Djordjevic, former armed forces chief of staff Nebojsa Pavkovic and retired army general Vladimir Lazarevic. The indictment is almost identical to that of Milutinovic, Sainovic and Ojdanic.

The request specifies that all seven men were “participants in the same criminal enterprise”. Prosecutors argued it would save time and money if the two procedures were joined.

The authorities in Belgrade have said they want to try the four generals in Serbia.

## **Tanjug**

### **Ethnic Albanian parties, most probably, will not take part in elections**

**Bujanovac**, Nov 25 (Tanjug) - Ethnic Albanian parties from South Serbia, most probably, will not take part in the early parliamentary elections scheduled for December 28.

According to president of the Town Committee of the Bujanovac Party of Democratic Action, Fatmir Asani, the party's final stand on the issue would be known by Friday, but "the way things are now, there is little chance that the Party of Democratic Action takes part in them (elections)."

## **Beta**

### **Robertson in Belgrade this week**

BELGRADE -- Monday – NATO Secretary-General George Robertson is due in Belgrade on Wednesday for discussions with state officials.

He is scheduled to meet federal President Svetozar Marovic and other senior federal and Serbian officials.

## **Onasa News Agency**

### **Former Bosnian Serb official accuses Karadzic of ordering massacre**

THE HAGUE, Nov 21 (ONASA - AFP) - A former Bosnian Serb official told the UN war crimes court here Friday that indicted wartime leader Radovan Karadzic explicitly ordered a massacre of civilians in the Muslim enclave of Srebrenica in July 1995. Miroslav Deronjic quoted Karadzic as telling him "you need to kill them, you need to kill everyone you can" before his heavily armed Bosnian Serb forces pushed past United Nations peacekeeping troops and overran the town. Deronjic has pleaded guilty to crimes against humanity committed in 1992 at the start of Bosnia's war of succession from Yugoslavia.

He was testifying at a pre-trial hearing before an appeal by former general Radislav Krstic against a 46-year prison sentence imposed in August 2001 for acts of genocide committed at Srebrenica. The appeal hearing has been set for Wednesday and Thursday next week. Bosnian Serb troops commanded by Ratko Mladic slaughtered more than 7,000 unarmed men and boys at Srebrenica in the worst massacre in Europe since the end of World War II. Mladic and Karadzic, his political boss, are the most prominent warcrimes suspects indicted by the UN Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia who are still at large. Court officials have said Karadzic is hiding in the Serbian half of Bosnia and Mladic in Serbia.

### **Financial Times**

#### **UN warns of tribunal funding shortfall**

THE HAGUE -- Monday -- More than 100 countries have made no payments this year for the international criminal tribunals for Yugoslavia and Rwanda, a situation which threatens to leave them with a massive shortfall by the end of the year, the Financial Times reports today.

Countries that had failed to pay included Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slovenia and Serbia-Montenegro.

As of the end of last month, the United Nations said, the tribunals were owed almost \$100m. The US and Brazil each owe \$12m, Russia \$11m and Spain \$5m, the paper reports. Ninety-eight countries had made no payments for the tribunals the previous year.

The tribunals have since July had to borrow money from the UN peacekeeping account to keep afloat, making it more difficult for the UN to reimburse troop and equipment contributing countries. The UN owes \$565m for peacekeeping contributions.

Catherine Bertini, the UN's management chief, warned that the tribunals were in a "very fragile financial position". She said the fact that "so many countries have not paid raises the question 'why?' This I don't know. It's absolutely critical we have payments from the member states."

### **European Report**

#### **Eu/Balkans/ Meps Approve Reports On Stabilisation Process, Kosovo And Bosnia**

EUROPEAN REPORT via NewsEdge Corporation : The European Parliament adopted on November 20 a non-binding Resolution on the Stabilisation and Association Process (SAP) for the countries of the Western Balkans, notably calling for the EU to play a more active

role in reaching a conclusion on the final status of ex-Yugoslav United Nations-administered Kosovo, preferably within two years (see European Report 2818). The Resolution, based on a report from Dutch MEP Joost Lagendijk (Greens/EFA), contains recommendations for the SAP as a whole and the five countries concerned: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), Croatia, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), and Serbia and Montenegro.

At the plenary session in Strasbourg, MEPs also adopted a non-binding Resolution (drawn up by Hannes Swoboda, PES, Austria) on the Commission proposal (COM (2003)389) for a Council Regulation amending Regulation (EC) 1080/2000 on support for the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and the Office of the High Representative in BiH.

## **Macedonian Radio**

### **Macedonian government decides to deploy new peacekeeping contingent in Iraq**

BBC MONITORING INTERNATIONAL REPORTS via NewsEdge Corporation :

[Announcer] The Macedonian government held a session today [24 November], adopting the proposal to adopt a telecommunications bill (by means of a draft law). Deputy Prime Minister Radmila Sekerinska chaired the session. [Passage omitted]

The Macedonian government has adopted and forwarded to the Assembly the decision for the deployment of a new contingent of members of the Macedonian Army [ARM] in Iraq's postwar peacekeeping operation. Namely, the currently deployed contingent is due to be replaced by 9 December.

Further, the government has also adopted a conclusion to initiate a procedure on signing a memorandum with the governments of **Serbia** and Bulgaria on cooperation in the fight against terror, organized crime, illegal trade and other more serious forms of crime.

[Passage omitted]

Defence Ministry spokesman Marjan Gjurovski held a news conference today [24 November] on the deployment of a new army contingent, which is set to replace the ARM platoon once the latter's six-month mission as part of the Freedom for Iraq operation expires.

[Gjurovski] [Passage omitted] With this decision, the participation of the Republic of **Macedonia** in the multinational coalition forces deployed in the Freedom for Iraq operation will continue in phase 5, whereby the country's strategic partnership with the United States and its commitment to participating in the anti-terror coalition will be confirmed. Following the Assembly decision on this, in the period between 5-10 December, the 31-strong army special task platoon will be replaced. In addition, the liaison officer and two officers in the Allied Forces' Headquarters in Baghdad will be replaced.

[Passage omitted]

In today's session [24 November], Defence Minister Vlado Buckovski, who recently paid a visit to the Macedonian troops deployed in Iraq, reported on the participation of the Macedonian Army contingent in the Iraq operation. [Passage omitted]

With its participation in this as well as in the Afghanistan mission, the Republic of **Macedonia** has proved itself as [words indistinct] a contributor to preserving peace and stability in the region. Our participation in the mission is also important in terms of the country's efforts and preparations for its future NATO membership. [Passage omitted]

The contingent has been undergoing preparations for two and a half months now. The soldiers have had quality training and are acquainted with details about the situation in Iraq,

the weather factor, the risks involved and their future tasks and are prepared to respond to the orders of the US Central Command for the Freedom for Iraq operation. (Source: Macedonian Radio, Skopje, in Macedonian 1430 gmt 24 Nov 03)

### **Hina News Agency**

#### **Croatian HDZ has hard task of enabling return of refugees - Serbian official**

BBC MONITORING INTERNATIONAL REPORTS via NewsEdge Corporation :

Belgrade, 24 November: The Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) has the difficult task of showing a new image to the public, the international community and notably refugees, the Serbian government's refugees commissioner, Ozren Tomic, said on Monday [24 November].

It is in every democratic government's interest to create conditions favouring the return of refugees, Tomic told Beta news agency, adding that in the past refugee return was obstructed a lot on both the local and "the medium level". He voiced hoped Croatia's new authorities would "have room to eliminate those obstructions".

According to [Serbia](#)-Montenegro data, about 196,000 refugees from Croatia are staying there while about 70,000 have returned to pre-war homes. Croatia says some 100,000 have come back.

Source: HINA news agency, Zagreb, in English 1952 gmt 24 Nov 03

### **Southeast European Times**

#### **Human Trafficking Remains a Problem in Serbia**

*By Davor Konjikusic for Southeast European Times in Belgrade - 24/11/03*

Human trafficking has become the dominant criminal activity in Southeastern Europe, the deputy chief of Serbia's border police told a roundtable discussion organised by the Institute of War and Peace Reporting (IWPR). Dusan Yoltas said the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs has established 33 units to fight the problem.

The discussion on trafficking in the Balkans took place at Belgrade's Media Centre.

According to representatives of the Belgrade NGO Astra, which provides help to victims, the number of trafficked and exploited women and children in the region is between 400,000 and 7 million.

Yoltas said his ministry has achieved significant results in several large operations. Several members of the police have been arrested for involvement in trafficking. As part of the "Mirage" operation in September 2002, multiple trafficking channels were cut off from Belgrade to Montenegro, and subsequently to Italy. And during the state of emergency that followed the assassination of Zoran Djindjic in March, 30 people were arrested in connection with this type of crime.

Sandra Sljepcevic, representing the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), said that from the summer of 2001 to April of 2003, her group helped 127 people in Serbia-Montenegro who were victims of human trafficking. The largest number came from Romania, while Serbia-Montenegro citizens made up 11 per cent.

More than 51 per cent of the people who sought help from IOM were victims of sexual exploitation, according to Sljepcevic. Around 48 per cent of the victims were between the ages of 18 and 24.

The representative of the Council for the Prevention of Family Violence, Vesna Stanojevic, said that starting last year shelters have been set up in Serbia-Montenegro to care for victims. The new programme for battling human trafficking has established teams that include representatives of the Serbian government, NGOs, the IOM and the OSCE.

According to reports by the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, this problem was completely ignored in Serbia under the regime of Slobodan Milosevic, both by the courts and by the police. Even though the penal code stipulates prison terms of six months to ten years for crimes involving transportation of enslaved persons, prosecutors virtually never invoked the law.

After the regime was overthrown December 2000, Belgrade signed the international Convention on the Battle Against Transnational and Organised Crime. Nevertheless, Serbia-Montenegro still has become an international crossroad for traffickers and the principal supplier to countries in the region.

According to official sources close to organisations that battle human trafficking, the suburbs of Belgrade house at least three human traffickers who hold up to 15 women in private prisons for reselling.

**The New York Times**  
**The Three-State Solution**  
**By Leslie H. Gelb**

President Bush's new strategy of transferring power quickly to Iraqis, and his critics' alternatives, share a fundamental flaw: all commit the United States to a unified Iraq, artificially and fatefully made whole from three distinct ethnic and sectarian communities. That has been possible in the past only by the application of overwhelming and brutal force.

President Bush wants to hold Iraq together by conducting democratic elections countrywide. But by his daily reassurances to the contrary, he only fans devastating rumors of an American pullout. Meanwhile, influential senators have called for more and better American troops to defeat the insurgency. Yet neither the White House nor Congress is likely to approve sending more troops.

And then there is the plea, mostly from outside the United States government, to internationalize the occupation of Iraq. The moment for multilateralism, however, may already have passed. Even the United Nations shudders at such a nightmarish responsibility.

The only viable strategy, then, may be to correct the historical defect and move in stages toward a three-state solution: Kurds in the north, Sunnis in the center and Shiites in the south.

Almost immediately, this would allow America to put most of its money and troops where they would do the most good quickly — with the Kurds and Shiites. The United States could extricate most of its forces from the so-called Sunni Triangle, north and west of Baghdad, largely freeing American forces from fighting a costly war they might not win. American officials could then wait for the troublesome and domineering Sunnis, without oil or oil revenues, to moderate their ambitions or suffer the consequences.

This three-state solution has been unthinkable in Washington for decades. After the Iranian revolution in 1979, a united Iraq was thought necessary to counter an anti-American Iran. Since the gulf war in 1991, a whole Iraq was deemed essential to preventing neighbors like Turkey, Syria and Iran from picking at the pieces and igniting wider wars.

But times have changed. The Kurds have largely been autonomous for years, and Ankara has lived with that. So long as the Kurds don't move precipitously toward statehood or incite insurgencies in Turkey or Iran, these neighbors will accept their autonomy. It is true that a Shiite self-governing region could become a theocratic state or fall into an Iranian embrace. But for now, neither possibility seems likely.

There is a hopeful precedent for a three-state strategy: **Yugoslavia** after World War II. In 1946, Marshal Tito pulled together highly disparate ethnic groups into a united **Yugoslavia**. A Croat himself, he ruled the country from Belgrade among the majority and historically dominant Serbs. Through clever politics and personality, Tito kept the peace peacefully.

When Tito died in 1980, several parts of **Yugoslavia** quickly declared their independence. The Serbs, with superior armed forces and the arrogance of traditional rulers, struck brutally against Bosnian Muslims and Croats.

Europeans and Americans protested but — stunningly and unforgivably — did little at first to prevent the violence. Eventually they gave the Bosnian Muslims and Croats the means to fight back, and the Serbs accepted separation. Later, when Albanians in the Serb province of **Kosovo** rebelled against their cruel masters, the United States and Europe had to intervene again. The result there will be either autonomy or statehood for **Kosovo**.

The lesson is obvious: overwhelming force was the best chance for keeping **Yugoslavia** whole, and even that failed in the end. Meantime, the costs of preventing the natural states from emerging had been terrible.

The ancestors of today's Shiites, Sunnis and Kurds have been in Mesopotamia since before modern history. The Shiites there, unlike Shiites elsewhere in the Arab world, are a majority. The Sunnis of the region gravitate toward pan-Arabism. The non-Arab Kurds speak their own language and have always fed their own nationalism.

The Ottomans ruled all the peoples of this land as they were: separately. In 1921, Winston Churchill cobbled the three parts together for oil's sake under a monarch backed by British armed forces. The Baathist Party took over in the 1960's, with Saddam Hussein consolidating its control in 1979, maintaining unity through terror and with occasional American help.

Today, the Sunnis have a far greater stake in a united Iraq than either the Kurds or the Shiites. Central Iraq is largely without oil, and without oil revenues, the Sunnis would soon become poor cousins.

The Shiites might like a united Iraq if they controlled it — which they could if those elections Mr. Bush keeps promising ever occur. But the Kurds and Sunnis are unlikely to accept Shiite control, no matter how democratically achieved. The Kurds have the least interest in any strong central authority, which has never been good for them.

A strategy of breaking up Iraq and moving toward a three-state solution would build on these realities. The general idea is to strengthen the Kurds and Shiites and weaken the Sunnis, then wait and see whether to stop at autonomy or encourage statehood.

The first step would be to make the north and south into self-governing regions, with boundaries drawn as closely as possible along ethnic lines. Give the Kurds and Shiites the bulk of the billions of dollars voted by Congress for reconstruction. In return, require democratic elections within each region, and protections for women, minorities and the news media.

Second and at the same time, draw down American troops in the Sunni Triangle and ask the United Nations to oversee the transition to self-government there. This might take six to nine months; without power and money, the Sunnis may cause trouble.

For example, they might punish the substantial minorities left in the center, particularly the large Kurdish and Shiite populations in Baghdad. These minorities must have the time and the wherewithal to organize and make their deals, or go either north or south. This would be a messy and dangerous enterprise, but the United States would and should pay for the population movements and protect the process with force.

The Sunnis could also ignite insurgencies in the Kurdish and Shiite regions. To counter this, the United States would already have redeployed most of its troops north and south of the Sunni Triangle, where they could help arm and train the Kurds and Shiites, if asked.

The third part of the strategy would revolve around regional diplomacy. All the parties will suspect the worst of one another — not without reason. They will all need assurances about security. And if the three self-governing regions were to be given statehood, it should be done only with the consent of their neighbors. The Sunnis might surprise and behave well, thus making possible a single and loose confederation. Or maybe they would all have to live with simple autonomy, much as Taiwan does with respect to China.

For decades, the United States has worshiped at the altar of a unified yet unnatural Iraqi state. Allowing all three communities within that false state to emerge at least as self-governing regions would be both difficult and dangerous. Washington would have to be very hard-headed, and hard-hearted, to engineer this breakup. But such a course is manageable, even necessary, because it would allow us to find Iraq's future in its denied but natural past.

*Leslie H. Gelb, a former editor and columnist for The Times, is president emeritus of the Council on Foreign Relations.*

## **Lecture**

### **Lord Robertson of Port Ellen: NATO is equal to the task of a new world**

#### **From the Winston Churchill lecture by the Nato Secretary General to the English-Speaking Union**

25 November 2003

To those who sigh wearily that the Cold War is over, and that Nato cannot adapt to today's very different world, I invite them to look at last year's Prague Summit declaration.

September 11 2001 gave each of the 19 Nato nations a powerful wake-up call. Wake-up calls are sometimes ignored. Think of Churchill in the 1930s. This one was heeded and it was acted upon. This wake-up call produced the most profound transformation in the alliance's long and distinguished history.

Nato had long since ceased to be a cold war warrior. During the 1990s the alliance intervened to bring peace and security to Bosnia after the bloodiest civil war in recent European history. It acted to end Milosevic's brutal ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. In 2001 it prevented a civil war in Macedonia. It reached out to new democracies in Europe and into the former Soviet Union. It began the process of engagement with Russia, tentative steps but a welcome contrast to the hostility of the Cold War.

September 11 changed the rules completely. But Nato proved equal to the task. Our declaration of article 5 of Nato's Washington Treaty on 12 September 2001, which made the attack on the United States an attack on all 19 Nato countries, turned Churchill's famous dictum on its head. The old world came to the aid of the new.

In parallel, we have turned Nato into the motor for developing military plans and concepts to guide the contribution of armed forces in the war against terrorism and in defending ourselves against weapons of mass destruction. This may sound arcane. But it is 50 years of co-operation of this kind in planning and preparing for conventional military operations

which enabled US and European troops to work effectively together in the Gulf War, the Balkans, Afghanistan and Iraq, whether or not Nato was directly involved. Better still, Nato is not working alone but forms the heart of a much wider set of partnerships, with the EU, Russia, Ukraine and with partner countries from Albania to Uzbekistan. This 46-strong partnership for peace is the world's largest permanent coalition and, thanks to Nato, it is a key player in the fight against terrorism. Churchill, the consummate coalition builder, would have heartily approved.