

Warsaw risks Moscow wrath with 1979 map on nuke plan

NICHOLAS Watt
Warsaw, November 26

POLAND'S NEW Rightwing government on Friday risked a damaging confrontation with Russia when it published a Warsaw Pact map showing detailed plans for Soviet nuclear strikes against western Europe.

Poland threw open the doors of its military archives to show how most of Europe would have been laid to waste in a nuclear conflagration between east and west. Dating from 1979, when presidents Jimmy Carter and Leonid Brezhnev were discussing detente, the map showed how Warsaw Pact forces would have responded to an attack by the Nato alliance.

A series of red mushroom clouds over western Europe show that Soviet nuclear weapons strikes would have been launched at Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark and Belgium if Nato had struck first. Red clouds are drawn over the then German capital, Bonn, and other key German cities such as the financial centre of Frankfurt, Cologne, Stuttgart, Munich and the strategically important northern port of Hamburg.

Brussels, the political headquarters of Nato, is also targeted. Blue mushroom clouds, representing the expected Nato nuclear strikes, are drawn over cities in the eastern bloc, including Warsaw and the then Czechoslovakian capital, Prague. France would have es-



Poland's defence minister presents the controversial 1979 map in Warsaw on Friday.

aped attack, possibly because it is not a member of Nato's integrated structure. Britain, which has always been at the heart of Nato, would also have been spared, suggesting Moscow wanted to stop at the Rhine to avoid overstretching its forces. The exercise, entitled Seven Days to the River Rhine, indicated Warsaw Pact forces aimed to reach the Franco-German border within a week of a Nato attack. Standing next to the fading map in Warsaw on Friday,

Radoslaw Sikorski, the Polish defence minister, said: "The objective of the exercise on this map is to take over most of western Europe — all of Germany, Belgium and Denmark."

Sikorski, who made a name for himself working for the rightwing American Enterprise Institute thinktank in Washington, made clear he was prepared for a backlash from Russia, whose president.

The Guardian

27 NOV 2005

The New York Times

Editorials / Op-Ed [Next Article in Opinion \(6 of 7\) >](#)

NYTimes.com [Go to a Section](#)

Welcome, kankana - Member Center - [Log Out](#)

SEARCH

NYT Since 1981

[TimesSelect FREE 14-DAY TRIAL!](#)

[Editorials/Op-Ed Home](#) [Editorials](#) [Columnists](#) [Contributors](#) [Letters](#) [New York/Region Opinions](#)

EDITORIAL

Kosovo, Still Messy After All These Years

27/10/05

Published: October 27, 2005

[E-Mail This](#)

[Printer-Friendly](#)

6 - 10 - 011

Six years and four months after it made

[Save Article](#)

Kosovo a ward, the United Nations Security Council has ordered that talks begin on the future status of that blood-soaked Balkan province. This is to give the impression that the outcome is not decided. It is, and it's independence. The six nations that oversee Kosovo - the United States, Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Russia - have ruled out returning it to Serbia, linking it to Albania or partitioning it. So the task of Martti Ahtisaari, the former Finnish president who will lead the talks, is to carve yet another independent state out of the former Yugoslavia.

We have argued that Kosovo is neither prepared for nor deserving of independence. Its Albanian majority has shown no tolerance toward the Serbian minority and little capacity for self-government. Kosovo has no army, only a fledgling police force and powerful mafias. The only Albanian leader with any semblance of authority, Ibrahim Rugova, has lung cancer. His most likely successor, Ramush Haradinaj, was indicted by the international tribunal in The Hague and surrendered

The Serbs will not voluntarily cede this territory, and Albanian rioting in March 2004, which destroyed 30 of the many ancient Serb churches in Kosovo, does not give the Serbs great confidence in an independent Kosovo. The Albanians have no faith that the Serbs would not revert to ethnic cleansing if they had the chance. These two groups are never going to agree.

So why is the United Nations moving ahead? The current arrangement requires Kosovo to demonstrate responsible self-rule before talks even begin on its ultimate status. That has proved an artificial and unworkable goal. The U.N. viceroy in Kosovo, Soren Jessen-Petersen, says it has created uncertainty on all sides and kept foreign investors out.


So the time has come to recognize the inevitable outcome, independence for Kosovo. But the Security Council can still insist on the attainment of democratic standards before granting it. That could force the Serbs to come to grips with having lost Kosovo in 1999. The Albanian Kosovars are more likely to demonstrate leadership if they are told that they are working toward independence, not merely toward talking about working toward independence.


The Security Council would be foolish to use the Ahtisaari mission to extract itself from a bad situation as soon as possible. Even with the best of intentions, an independent Kosovo will require international forces and strong oversight for a long time. In the Balkans, the default mode is violence.


Next Article in Opinion (6 of 7) >


Copyright 2005 The New York Times Company | [Home](#) | [Privacy](#)

RELATED ARTICLES

 **CRISIS IN THE BALKANS: THE UNITED NATIONS;** Annan Urges Swift Action On Assistance To Kosovo (July 1, 1999)

 **CRISIS IN THE BALKANS: DIPLOMACY;** In Secret Belgrade Talks, London Financier Seems to Have Helped Milosevic Accept Accord (June 15, 1999)

 **CRISIS IN THE BALKANS: RUSSIA;** Moscow Envoy's Peace Efforts, Praised in West, Are Panned at Home (June 9, 1999)

 **CRISIS IN THE BALKANS: THE DIPLOMACY;** Russians and NATO Negotiating Pact Details (June 5, 1999)

INSIDE NYTIMES.COM



Fall Auction Season



At Home With Anne Rice




Goats Do Their Bit for Gourmands



The 3 Faces of Stella



 Kristof: Hurricane Fitzgerald

[Policy](#) | [Search](#) | [Corrections](#) | [XML](#) | [Help](#) | [Contact Us](#) | [Work for Us](#) | [Site Map](#) | [Back to Top](#)

Jan 1, 2005

The New York Times

International

Have yo

NYTimes: Home - Site Index - Archive - Help

Welcome, kankana9 - Memb

Go to a Section Go

Site Search:

Q: Which state has the longest coastline?

CA



AK



HI



FL



di

Trk

NYTimes.com > International > Europe

Premier in Ukraine Quits, Giving Way to Opposition Rule

By STEVEN LEE MYERS

Published: January 1, 2005

MOSCOW, Dec. 31 - Viktor F. Yanukovich resigned as Ukraine's prime minister on Friday, signaling the end of a tumultuous political drama that nearly propelled him to the presidency but resulted in his defeat after a popular uprising against state-sponsored electoral fraud.

Mr. Yanukovich, who was prime minister for two years under President Leonid D. Kuchma, said he would continue his legal challenges against the repeat presidential election last Sunday, in which the opposition candidate, Viktor A. Yushchenko, appeared to hold a commanding, if unofficial, lead.

But increasingly isolated, abandoned even by some of his closest advisers and by all appearances deeply embittered, Mr. Yanukovich held out little hope that the challenges would succeed in overturning the results.

"As far as the election results, we are keeping up the fight but I don't have much hope for a just decision from the Central Election Commission and the Supreme Court," he said, according to The Associated Press, referring to his last-ditch appeals against what seems to be Mr. Yushchenko's victory.

Mr. Yanukovich's resignation capped an excruciating chapter in Ukraine's recent political history, beginning when his seeming victory in a runoff against Mr. Yushchenko on Nov. 21 was immediately called into question by reports of widespread fraud and intimidation.



Agence France-Presse-Getty Images

Prime Minister Viktor F. Yanukovich announced on television Friday that he was resigning, but did not concede the election for president.

ARTICLE TOOLS

- E-Mail This Article
- Printer-Friendly Format
- Most E-Mailed Articles
- Reprints & Permissions

ARTICLE TOOLS SPONSORED BY **SIDWAYS** NOW PLAYING IN THEATERS

Most E-Mailed

1. Op-Ed Contributor: Even Einstein Had His Off Days
2. Op-Ed Contributor: The Ends of the World as We Know Them
3. Frank Rich: Washington's New Year War Cry: Party On!
4. Heavy Questions
5. Sleaze in the Capitol

Go to Complete List

Find out

wave of popular protest against electoral fraud inspired activists in Ukraine.

"We held our breath watching you," Reuters quoted Mr. Saakashvili as saying. "We admired your courage. The future destiny of Europe was being decided in this square."

Special Offer: Home Delivery of The Times from \$2.90/week.

Ads by Google

what's this?

OUR ADV

Politics and government

We Found What You Are Looking For Politics and government
www.advancedwebsearch.com

RELATED ARTICLES

- Polls in Ukraine Close Without Reports of Widespread Flaws (December 26, 2004)
 - Polls in Ukraine Show Lead for Yushchenko (December 26, 2004)
 - LETTER FROM EUROPE: Why the Fever in Ukraine? A Few Not-So-Easy Answers (December 22, 2004) \$
 - Ukrainians Enact Reforms, Clearing Way for New Vote (December 9, 2004) \$
- Find more results for Politics and Government and Yanukovich, Viktor F

TOP INTERNATIONAL ARTICLES

- Emergency Campaign: Relief Effort Gains as Aid Is Reaching More Survivors
 - The Outlook: Disaster's Damage to Economies May Be Minor
 - 19 Iraqis Killed in Car Bombing
 - In South Africa, Licensing Law Poses Hurdles for Gun Buyers
- Go to International

Various suitors circle a Poland in limbo

The new Government could have a big say on the pace of EU enlargement.

Simon Tisdall

LIKE GERMANY'S voters one week ago, the Poles opted for change in parliamentary elections at the weekend (September 24-25) — but not too much or too fast. Their wish to have it both ways now looks likely to produce an inexperienced coalition government mired in contradictions, beset by external challenges, and at war with itself.

By giving the edge to the welfare state conservatives of the Law and Justice party (PiS), voters backed away from the more radical reformist ideas of the Civic Platform which advocated a 15 per cent flat tax, public spending cuts and swift adoption of the euro. And by humiliating the corruption-tainted Democratic Left Alliance government, whose support fell by 30 per cent, the electorate bade a second goodbye to communism, reformed or otherwise, while in theory re-

embracing traditional cultural values championed by the PiS leader and likely Prime Minister, Jaroslaw Kaczynski.

But Mr. Kaczynski needs the Civic Platform's support if he is to command a parliamentary majority. Prolonged wrangling is now likely over fiscal policy, privatisation, job creation, and welfare provision. Nor does his social conservatism sit easily with ambitions to place Poland in the vanguard of modern European states.

The fact that the two leading parties remain locked in a fight for the Polish presidency that will be decided on October 9 also presages continuing friction at the top. "Civic Platform and Law and Justice talk of forming a coalition with the other, then launch an attack on the other party in the next breath," said Wojciech Kosci, an analyst for the *Transitions Online* website. "The attacks are so strong and the differences so

pronounced that they may not be able to coalesce into a workable government."

Poland's confusions, if unresolved, will dismay neighbours such as Ukraine, the Baltic states, and pro-democracy activists in Belarus who look to Warsaw for a strong lead in rolling back Russian influence. Already fraught relations with Moscow are unlikely to have been helped by Mr. Kaczynski's comparison last week of President Vladimir Putin's Russia to Nazi Germany.

Question marks also now hang over Poland's 1,500 troops in Iraq. Most Poles want them to leave and they are currently scheduled to withdraw on December 31.

The new Polish Government could also have a big say on European Union budget reform and the pace of enlargement, with Bulgaria, Romania and others hoping for Warsaw's support. Perceived British obstructionism over its rebate at June's failed

EU summit was blamed in Warsaw for jeopardising nearly £6 billion in structural funding for Poland.

More broadly, the victory for what Mr. Kaczynski calls "social Poland" carries more than an echo of Gerhard Schroeder's election comeback in Germany. The result may in turn encourage attempts by France's Prime Minister and presidential hopeful, Dominique de Villepin, to forge a middle path between neo-liberal or "Blairite" economic remedies and dirigiste "big government."

As the floating by Mr. de Villepin's rival, Nicolas Sarkozy, of new post-constitution models for enhanced European integration indicates, Poland is increasingly courted within the EU as an important ally. But all her suitors may now face the same problem: how to get a straight answer. — ©Guardian Newspapers Limited 2005

007 THE THRU

Kosovo plunged into further unrest

Ian Traynor
Pristina, March 9

6-27-05
Balkan Crisis
1077

BALKAN CRISIS

THE UNSTABLE Balkan province of Kosovo braced itself for a bout of unrest on Tuesday night when Prime Minister Ramush Haradinaj was indicted for war crimes by the international tribunal in The Hague and his government collapsed.

Hundreds of British and German soldiers were rushed to the province just before the announcement to bolster security in case of riots. Haradinaj, an ethnic Albanian guerrilla leader against the Serbs, has become, in recent years, a highly regarded and effective politician. The tribunal indicted him with crimes committed during the 1998-99 war when Slobodan Milosevic, who is on trial at The Hague for genocide and other offences, began a campaign of ethnic cleansing against the

two million ethnic Albanians who constituted the bulk of Kosovan population. Serbia was defeated by an 11-week Nato air campaign.

Haradinaj was a regional commander of the Kosovo Liberation Army, the guerrilla force opposing the Serbs, in the west of the province. He lost two brothers in the war and another was jailed in Kosovo for the murder of Serbs and Albanian "collaborators".

The tribunal gave no details of the indictment, which Haradinaj announced himself, but it is believed to cover crimes against humanity and commanding forces which murdered Serb civilians and Albanian collaborators. Haradinaj immediately resigned and said he would surrender to the tribunal. His

coalition government, comprising his own party, the Alliance for the Future of Kosovo, which came third in the election last October, and President Ibrahim Rugova's Democratic League of Kosovo, which came first, resigned.

The provincial government is under the supervision of the UN, which is backed by a peacekeeping force, K-For, of approximately 20,000. Haradinaj was lauded for the example he set by promptly surrendering and the statement he delivered, which was seen as urging his supporters not to cause trouble. He said, "I am a person of Kosovo and I willingly sacrifice myself for my country. I accept this burden. I also ask all of you to accept this fact ... in order to do your country and your nation an honour." Denis MacShane, the British foreign office minister for Europe, said Haradinaj's decision was indeed "very brave".

The Guardian

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

10 MAR 2005