

Newsweek

THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSMAGAZINE

October 12, 1998

SPECIAL REPORT
RETHINKING THE
GLOBAL ECONOMY

WAR BY MASSACRE



Will NATO End **Kosovo's** Grief?

Serbia: Europe's Outlaw Nation



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TOP OF THE WEEK



SPECIAL REPORT: The Serbians' slaughter of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo finally captures the world's full attention. NATO threatens airstrikes if Serb leader Slobodan Milosevic doesn't call off his troops. It all sounds terribly familiar. Why are the Serbs so murderous, and can anything really be done to stop them? **Page 10**

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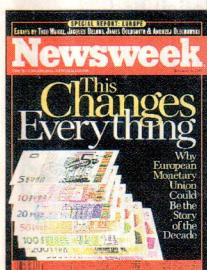
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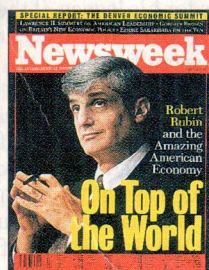
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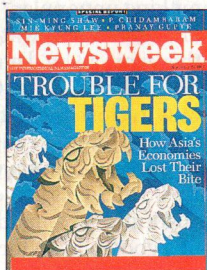
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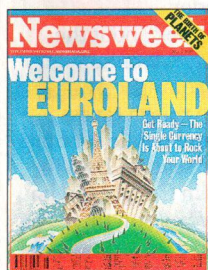
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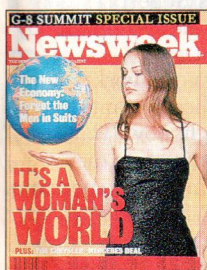
June 23, 1997



September 22, 1997



May 4, 1998



May 18, 1998



September 14, 1998

WORLD ECONOMY: For months now the media—NEWSWEEK included—have been heralding the globalization of the economy. For better or worse, the world's markets have become inextricably linked. Well, we've seen the better; now we're seeing the worse. And we haven't hit the bottom yet. **Page 18**

COVER: Photograph by Adam Brown—AP.

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CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: WADE GODDARD—SIGMA, NO CREDIT (6)

As NATO prepares airstrikes to stop the Kosovo killings, the Serbs say their forces are pulling out. Another win for Slobodan Milosevic. BY JOHN BARRY, ROD NORDLAND AND RUSSELL WATSON

'Time to Shoot or Shut Up'

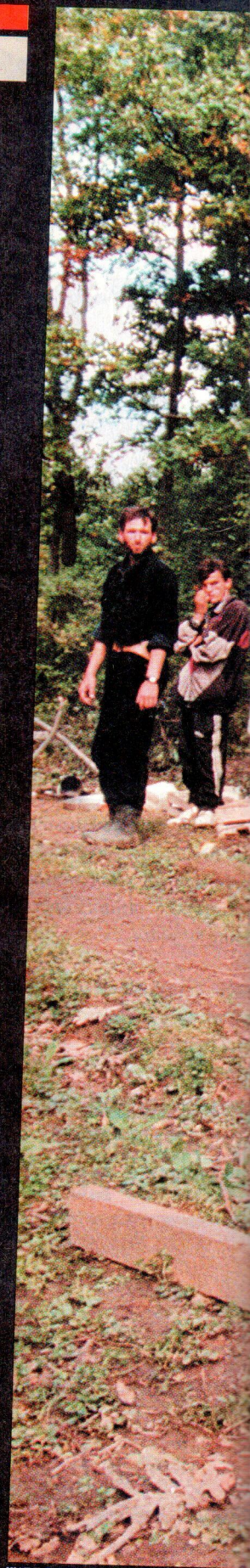
MASSACRES CANNOT BE IGNORED forever, even in a world distracted by financial crisis and a presidential sex scandal. Last week Kosovo, the rebellious province of Serbia, finally caught the world's full attention. The evidence was graphic and overwhelming: an 18-month-old toddler shot through the head at close range, a pacifier still dangling from her purple snowsuit. The young men from one village mowed down by a Serb machine-gunner who sat comfortably in a bucket seat taken from a car. A man caught trying to escape, then tied to a tree and set on fire.

From talking to witnesses, survivors, human-rights investigators and diplomats, NEWSWEEK has assembled a list—surely only a partial one—of 12 confirmed massacre sites since the Serbian assault on Kosovo began last February. Three of the worst atrocities occurred between Sept. 23 and Sept. 26, and as sickening images of slaughter appeared in the news media, the United States and its allies decided, at last, that the killing had to stop.

The result was a NATO threat directed at Slo-

bodan Milosevic, the president of Yugoslavia and leader of its largest component, murderously nationalistic Serbia. Two weeks ago the United Nations Security Council ordered Milosevic to stop the killing, permit relief workers to help the dazed and dispersed population, and begin peace talks with the province's ethnically Albanian, mostly Muslim rebels. By last week Milosevic had begun to withdraw some of his units from Kosovo. But if he does not comply with all the U.N. terms, NATO will hit him with a three-stage air attack, probably starting next week.

Considering that the massacres began seven months ago, why didn't NATO act long ago? At a breakfast with reporters, Sandy Berger, President Clinton's national-security adviser, said "the attitude of our allies" has changed. Perhaps shamed into action, the Western Europeans, even the normally reluctant French, have concluded that Milosevic must be stopped. That, in turn, has galvanized a White House that could afford to back-burner the Kosovo problem as long as its allies did so. "We have no intention of doing this on a unilateral basis," said Berger. "If it is to be done, it should be done by NATO as an alliance." Many members of Congress want action.



WADE GODDARD—SYGMA

Short life, brutal death:
*A man covers an ethnic
Albanian girl who was
killed by Serbs in Obrinje*





War games: On NATO exercises last summer, ethnic Albanians after a Serb attack in Vranic

The Standoff

Prompted by the Serbs' multiple massacres in Kosovo, NATO forces may launch airstrikes from bases in Italy, France and Germany and from a U.S. aircraft carrier.



WADE GODDARD—SIGMA



Sen. Gordon Smith, a Republican from Oregon, says the massacres "have pushed many of us over the atrocity line." At a closed-door briefing last week he told administration policymakers: "With all due respect, it's time to shoot or shut up."

NATO won't necessarily have to shoot. The Serbs said they were leaving Kosovo, except for "police units needed for maintaining public law and order." Belgrade also said it was ready to resume the political dialogue with ethnic Albanians that broke down last May. Milosevic had already achieved most of his objectives, pounding the Kosovo Liberation Army, which is fighting for independence, and driving 150,000 people, most of them KLA supporters, from their homes. "Milosevic has created a desert, and we're about to call it peace," a Pentagon officer says, paraphrasing Tacitus. If Milosevic does pull out, the officer adds, "we will present it as a victory, of course. The truth is, we are going in to pick up the

pieces." Rather than bombing Milosevic, NATO's most useful contribution may be providing relief to his victims.

"If the NATO allies were going to bomb, they should have done it two months ago," says a Western diplomat in Kosovo. "The damage has been done." Another diplomat predicts that if NATO attacks, the Serbs will take revenge on the Albanians. "If there are airstrikes, there will be a bloodbath afterwards," he says—unless NATO sends in ground troops to protect the population, which it has no desire to do. Airstrikes would also put NATO in the uncomfortable position of openly taking sides in the Kosovo struggle. Though the allies regard Milosevic as the main villain of the piece, they have their quarrels with the KLA as well. The rebels have committed atrocities of their own, and their goal of outright independence goes far beyond NATO's objective, which is autonomy for Kosovo within the Yugoslav federation.

The first recorded example of Milosevic's war by massacre occurred last winter, when 26 people—10 of them from a single family—were killed by the Serbs in the villages of Likosane and Cirez. One of the victims was a heavily pregnant woman, shot point-blank in the face. Other mass killings were documented in March, May and July. Three menacing displays of NATO air power along the Kosovo border last summer did not seem to deter the Serb attackers. Outgunned by their enemies, KLA fighters resorted to ambushes and sniping. Two weeks ago five Serb policemen were killed when their car ran over a land mine in the Drenica region, a KLA stronghold.

The next day paramilitary police shelled a village called Obrinje and then moved in to find only one resident remaining: Fazli Deliaj, 94, an invalid who could not flee. After forcing him to say where his neighbors were hiding in the woods, the Serbs killed him and attacked the villagers. One



victim was 18-month-old Valmir Deliaj, whose mother and father also died. Serbian state television claimed the child's body was actually a plastic doll planted by the KLA with the connivance of the Western press. The Serbs did spare one child, a month-old infant found trying to suckle her dead mother's breast. In all, 18 people from Obrinje died. "I strongly believe these were innocent civilians, and they were gunned down by Serbian police forces simply because of their ethnicity," says Fred Abrahams, an Albanian-speaking researcher for Human Rights Watch, which helped uncover some of the latest incidents. "The way the bodies fell, it appears they were shot while running away."

On the same day, 13 young men were executed in the nearby village of Golubovac. One Serb policeman fired his machine gun while resting in a car seat; others used a forked stick to poke out victims' eyes. Independent investigators, including represent-

atives of the International War Crimes Tribunal, interviewed an eyewitness and a wounded survivor who escaped by playing dead. At the scene the investigators found the car seat surrounded by 80 spent cartridges and a forked stick covered in blood. They also examined the body of 37-year-old Ramadan Hodxaj, who had been tied to a tree and set on fire.

In another village, called Galica, NEWSWEEK's Justin Brown, working with an Albanian journalist, uncovered signs of another massacre unknown to international observers. Under an artillery barrage by the Serbs, the 500 residents had fled their homes. On Sept. 23, Serb police and soldiers caught one large group, separating most of the women and children from the men. At least 15 men and one woman were taken away and shot at close range, villagers said. They quickly buried their dead but dug up one of the bodies last week to show to reporters, hoping to refute Serbian claims that

the massacres were imaginary. Fourteen-year-old Besim Ademi watched as cops, faces covered with camouflage paint and hands dripping with what looked to him like blood, took away his brother, father and two cousins. "I never saw them again," he said. "We never even said goodbye."

Orahovac, formerly a town of 60,000 people, was quite possibly the worst massacre of them all, on July 21. Albanians have claimed as many as 1,000 were killed as police rampaged through the town after defeating its KLA defenders; even Serb authorities concede 58 died, though they say they were all terrorists. Human-rights groups count 80, but concede there may be up to 60 more whose names they don't have; when Serb authorities buried the dead, they used bulldozers to push them into mass graves at a garbage dump, then spread fresh refuse on top. Among the dead was a respected mullah from a Sufi Muslim sect, the Rufa'i; he was found murdered in-

side his *tikke*, or mosque, with 10 of his followers after the police raids had ended.

"Everyone expects Milosevic to comply" with NATO's ultimatum, says an alliance official in Brussels. "Why shouldn't he? He's won." But if full compliance is too slow in coming, NATO will launch its three-stage attack, with a pause for Serbian reflection after each stage. The first strikes will aim to cripple Yugoslav air defenses. The Pentagon, risk-averse as always, wants to use cruise missiles on the more dangerous targets; they could be fired by as many as eight U.S. warships in the region. In phase two, NATO warplanes would hit Yugoslav military and police targets in Kosovo. Then, in the third phase, the strikes would spread to military targets all over Yugoslavia.

The air armada would be similar to the one used in Operation Determined Falcon, NATO's show of force last June, which consisted of 84 combat aircraft from 13 of the alliance's 16 nations. This time the planes would fly from bases in Italy, France and Germany and from the U.S. aircraft carrier Eisenhower. The United States would contribute two squadrons of F-16 strike aircraft based in Aviano, Italy, along with the F/A-18s carried aboard the Eisenhower.

Having studied aerial-reconnaissance photographs, NATO planners think enough housing still exists in Kosovo to accommodate all the refugees during the fast-approaching winter—provided they can be coaxed out of their hideouts in the hills. The consensus among American and European experts is that many refugees will stay put, risking death by freezing or starvation, unless NATO sends in ground forces to protect them from the Serbs. The worst-case NATO scenario—which is a long way from being approved by the alliance—is that it would take 50,000 troops to do the job, including 5,000 or more Americans. Washington doesn't even want to talk publicly about deploying ground units; it hopes the Europeans will provide those forces, if they're needed at all.

The issue hasn't been resolved, and senior officials at NATO headquarters in Brussels complain that the Monica Lewinsky affair has made it nearly impossible to get a decision out of the White House on anything. "The [U.S.] national-security apparatus is still processing things in the usual way, but the White House is virtually shut down," says a high-ranking European official. Now that Kosovo has finally seized the world's attention, hard decisions will have to be made if a negotiated settlement is to be reached before the KLA rebuilds its strength and Milosevic decides to hit the rebels again. Kosovo's bloody history suggests that the world will not remember these massacres for long.

With JUSTIN BROWN and ZORAN CIRJAKOVIC in Pristina and MICHAEL HIRSH in Washington

The Outcasts of Europe

The view from inside the Continent's pariah state: we're right, you're wrong. BY ROD NORDLAND

MADELEINE ALBRIGHT IS pregnant, and Warren Christopher is the father!" Vuk Bojovic is telling the truth—but he's talking about a pair of fat boa constrictors in the Belgrade Zoo, where he's the curator. He decided the zoo's snakes should all get American names after Washington brought sanctions against his country. It was Bojovic's way of repaying what he sees as the world's unfairness to his zoo. "Like me, these poor animals had the misfortune to be born in these unhappy Balkans," he says. "But they didn't bomb Sarajevo or Dubrovnik or Kosovo. I tell other zoos we've got a good home for a giraffe here, and they tell me, 'Make peace with your neighbors, then we can talk.' Hah!" Until that distant day, Bojovic has another project to keep him busy: breeding the SOP, an acronym for Serbian Defense Dog. A cross of Labrador, bulldog and wolf, it's not a pretty sight. But the SOP is the zoo's single biggest attraction, and Serbia's commercial breeders are wildly bidding for stud rights.

Step through the looking glass and enter Europe's pariah state. Here is where the new world order stops, and in nearly every-

thing but name the old communist order remains. While the rest of Eastern Europe made a peaceful transition, Serbia has inflicted upon Europe three wars and counting. The costs: at least 100,000 dead, millions of refugees, billions of dollars for aid and tens of thousands of foreign troops for what may be decades to come. The West foots the bill, but Serbia pays a heavy price. To be a Serb in the late 1990s is to personify one's country's flaws, whether one shares them or not (box). It is something like being a German in the late 1940s.

The author of his country's travails is Slobodan Milosevic, president of what remains of Yugoslavia. For all his notoriety, at home and abroad, he remains an elusive figure. He rarely gives interviews, no longer makes public appearances and has never even visited his country's wounded soldiers in the hospital. In his quest for a Greater Serbia since the breakup of Yugoslavia in 1991, he's presided over a lesser and lesser Serbia. Now the only other republic in rump Yugoslavia is Montenegro—and the two have been at loggerheads since Milosevic tried but failed to overthrow that republic's democratically elected president. The suspension of limited autono-

A Violent Past

The recent massacres of ethnic Albanians in the Serbian province of Kosovo are the latest in a series of Serb atrocities.

Nov. 1991 After a bitter siege during

Serbia's war with Croatia, Serb

troops overrun Vukovar. One of many atrocities: they execute 261 wounded, hospitalized Croats.



Victims of Vukovar



A Serb soldier

March 1992 "Blow out their brains!" Gen. Ratko Mladic shouts when he orders the shelling of Sarajevo. Over the next five years, 10,600 civilians are killed.

April 1992 Serbs working for the Yugoslav army kill the Muslim mayor of Prijedor, setting off a wave of killings of leading Muslim politicians in local communities.

May 1992 Sixteen Sarajevans waiting in a bread line are killed by a mortar shell fired from Serb positions outside the city.



Flags and convictions:
Serb students at a
May rally in Pristina

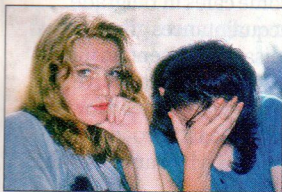
my in Kosovo impelled its leaders to demand no less than total independence. And yet Milosevic's countrymen hail him as "savior of the Serbs" and display his photo where they used to hang icons of their saints.

Many commentators have noted the Serbs' penchant for snatching defeat from the jaws of victory. When Eastern Europe's communist regimes tumbled in 1989, Yugoslavia was the region's most prosperous,

most progressive country. Its communist dictator, Tito, was dead, its economy was booming. And a then obscure communist apparatchik was clawing his way to power. Milosevic could easily have been the first ex-communist leader to declare democratic elections; instead, Serbs got the vote last, behind even the horse-drawn Albanians. Milosevic rejected democracy for nationalism. One of his few speeches was a land-

mark diatribe in Kosovo invoking the Serbs' past greatness there. The speech not only scandalized ethnic Albanians, who soon lost most of their civil rights; its harsh nationalistic rhetoric helped scare the other Yugoslav republics into bolting from the federation. Relatively few Serbs live there anymore, but Kosovo was their ancient homeland. People in Milosevic's Serbia still celebrate the anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo,

August 1992 Serb-run death camps for Muslims are discovered in northern Bosnia. Later,



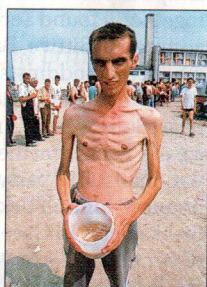
Rape survivors in Bosnia

survivors tell of killings and torture.

1992-93 Muslim women in Foca are held in "rape motels," where they are attacked repeatedly by police and Serb militiamen.

1992-93 The Drina River valley is "cleansed" of its Muslim population. One million are left homeless.

tion. One million are left homeless.



A Bosnian POW

Jan. 1993 Bosnia's Muslim deputy prime minister, Hakiya Turajlic, is

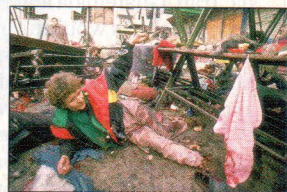
executed by Serb police at a checkpoint as he is escorted from the Sarajevo airport by U.N. troops.

June 1993 Mourners gathered at a hillside cemetery in Sarajevo are cut down by a Serb mortar attack.

Feb. 1994 A Serb-fired grenade lands in the crowded

Markala market in downtown Sarajevo, killing 68. The incident spurs new anti-Serb pressures and, ultimately, the first of a series of NATO airstrikes.

July 1995 Troops execute 10,000 Muslim men in the fall of the U.N. safe haven, Srebrenica.



Marketplace massacre

on June 28, 1389—a fight the Serbs lost.

The wars in Croatia and Bosnia, along with the international community's sanctions, devastated an economy that had once been the envy of the east. "When communism fell, the former Yugoslavia was 12 to 14 years ahead of other communist countries," says the prominent economist Tomislav Popovic. "Now God knows how far behind we are. Industrial production is 35 percent what it was over a decade ago." Yugoslavia remains the slowest Eastern European country to privatize; for the most part, privatization has meant only a fire sale of state assets to Milosevic family members, cronies and gangsters. "This is a mafia state now," says a Western diplomat in Belgrade.

The war years made the gangster class rich. Sanctions-busting made smuggling a state-approved enterprise; that and looting

Muslims' homes created a whole class of nouveau riche with dirty hands and dirty money. Some commentators believe there's now a pro-sanctions lobby in Belgrade, made up of functionaries yearning for the easy money of the Bosnian war years. "You have to wonder, when you see what Milosevic is doing, if he doesn't actually miss sanctions," said a European diplomat. "Maybe he doesn't care if NATO bombs him. It'll only make him more popular at home."

If Milosevic is a strange leader for a land of 11 million people, his associates are even weirder. The deputy prime minister of Serbia is Vojislav Seselj, head of the Radical Party and a man who made his name leading paramilitaries during the brutal ethnic cleansing of eastern Bosnia. Seselj's recipe for interethnic relations: "Use a rusty spoon to gouge out their eyes," he once told a TV au-

dience. Last week he vowed terrorist retribution against aid workers and human-rights activists if NATO attacks Serbia. Milosevic's First Lady, Mirjana Markovic, the president's childhood sweetheart, is a dedicated communist with ideas of her own, which she publishes in a fortnightly women's-magazine column. AIDS, she writes, is an affliction of rich people, especially gays and movie stars—the poor are too noble to die of such a virus. She also regularly denounces nationalism, at least in theory, although her husband appears to pay no mind.

The president's oldest child, his son Marko, is a race-car driver and a discothèque operator with lots of friends in the sanctions-busting demimonde. There is only one expressway in a country of poorly maintained roads. So when Marko wants to take one of his Maseratis out for a

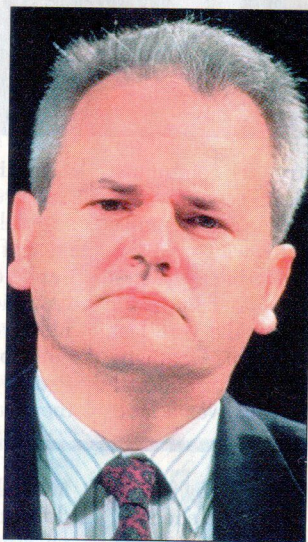
On Being a Serb

Once we were tolerant at home and welcomed abroad. Now we're seen as ambassadors of evil.

BY ZORAN CIRJAKOVIC

IT'S EMBARRASSING TO BE a Serb these days. When I venture out of my shrinking homeland, I find myself staring at the ground. Several months ago a Serb friend and I visited Mali. But when other tourists discovered our ethnicity, we became the main attraction. They asked: "What are you doing here?" As in many countries I've visited in the last five years, that is the polite way of asking: "Shouldn't you be back home driving Muslims from their homes and shelling villages?"

When we were Yugoslavs, my countrymen traveled more than anyone in Eastern Europe—welcome on both sides of the Iron Curtain. As Serbs, we are unwelcome most places. I've been turned away from the embassies of Malaysia, Iran, Guatemala and Norway; the clerks wouldn't even let me fill out the visa forms. Many friends have found it impossible to go anywhere in Western Europe in the past year. We are seen as ambassadors of the new world or-



Serbian President Milosevic

der's dark side: intolerance and ethnic cleansing. Before any foreigner will be my friend, I have to prove that I'm not a monster. Heroes of World War II, today's Serbs are Europe's pariahs.

I can understand that. When my Bosnian Serb cousins overran Srebrenica and slaughtered its menfolk, I was in Tangiers.

Feelings against Serbs ran high, and the worst part was that I agreed with our Arab critics. I don't condone what Slobodan Milosevic has done in his pursuit of power, but collective guilt is hard to escape. So in Morocco, I pretended to be Bulgarian. That ended when conversation turned to football. The famous Bulgarian national football team is well known in Morocco, and I couldn't even name the starting players. I decided to pose as a Croat.

I am welcome some places. I could easily visit Libya or Iraq. Sanctions-busters stick together. I found Serbs admired in Sittwe, Burma, where the Buddhists oppress their Muslim minorities with near-Balkan gusto. In India, a party hack from the Hindu nationalist BJP party pronounced himself tickled to meet a Serb. In Greece, many of our Orthodox brothers have made Milosevic a sort of honorary patriarch, and the indicted war criminal Gen. Ratko Mladic a latter-day saint. As a member of NATO, Greece is a little critical: the last time I vis-

ited, every Greek I met complained we were not hard enough on Muslims.

With friends like these, I might as well stay home. But home gets worse with each new outrage. I marvel at how many of my oldest friends have turned into raving nationalists. They're convinced that the world is wrong, that we are the victims, as if all the massacres were done by Bosnians and Albanians. As Yugoslavs, we had an oppressive communist regime, but we were reasonably tolerant of one another. As Serbs, we have bought the rhetoric—drilled into us by Milosevic's media—on how to hate our neighbors. Croats are "rabbits" when we're chasing them, or "pigs" when they're chasing us. Muslims are "dogs" or "baby killers." Albanians are just "filthy rats."

I feel like a stranger in my own country. Sadly, Milosevic has convinced most of us that if you're not a nationalist you must be a traitor. That's what I'm now called when I walk into some cafés in Belgrade. Old acquaintances greet me with disappointment on their faces: "Oh, you're still alive?" It makes me want to head for the border. At least abroad, I can understand why I am a pariah.

CIRJAKOVIC, a native of Belgrade, helps cover the Balkans for NEWSWEEK.



WADE GODDARD—SYGMA

No mercy: Home on fire in Kosovo, Bosnian Serb fighter Ratko Mladic

drive, authorities close a runway at the airport and let him loose. Marko has a reputation as a bully, and his bodyguards are much feared.

Then there is Zeljko Raznatovic, better known as Arkan. Wanted for bank robbery on an Interpol warrant, he's the owner of the country's national-championship football team, Obilic. During the Croat and Bosnian wars he led a cutthroat band of paramilitaries, Arkan's Tigers, many of whom were recruited from the ranks of fans and hooligans who supported his teams. They openly bragged about slaughtering Muslim and Croat civilians. The major social event in Belgrade in 1995 was Arkan's marriage to Ceca, a blend of singer of turbo-folk music, which is a mix of machine-gun blasts and Serbian folk tunes. The wedding was attended by Orthodox bishops, Milosevic's top associates and every hoodlum in Belgrade.

Milosevic's country might be hilarious—if it were not deadly serious. When Richard Holbrooke persuaded Milosevic to sign on to the Dayton peace accord, the future



PATRICK CHAUVEL—SYGMA

briefly seemed bright. A few democratic opponents won municipal elections, which Milosevic promptly annulled. The resulting popular protests forced him to stand down. But within a few months, his opponents were at one another's throats. One of their leaders, Vuk Draskovic, soon joined forces with Milosevic, co-opting the last major independent television outlet.

Still, by early 1998, prosperity threatened. The IMF was prepared to ante up \$1.8 billion in credits; most sanctions were lifted.

An unnamed major European carmaker, believed to be Italy's Fiat, entered serious negotiations to revitalize the country's biggest industry, Zastava Group, maker of the Yugo. Before the war, Zastava was cranking out 180,000 Yugos annually, many for export. Now it makes only 11,000—all retreads of the 1989 model.

Student protesters, who were no great liberals, used to shout at policemen, "Leave us alone and go kill Albanians." To the amazement of everyone, that's just what Milosevic had his police do last March. The crackdown made heroes and martyrs out of a small, marginal independence group, the Kosovo Liber-

ation Army, and outraged the international community. Some sanctions were restored—foreign investment was banned, for instance. The international bankers went home, and the unnamed carmaker canceled talks with Zastava.

Is Milosevic to blame for all these problems? Or is he merely one more trouble the Serbs have brought on themselves? A fourth of the country's people are unemployed, another fourth have jobs but rarely get paychecks, industries are idle, trade moribund—but Milosevic is still ahead in every poll. His opponents have proved themselves no less corrupt, and, as a Western diplomat put it, "breathhtakingly incompetent." The president does have critics among the Serbs—but the most potent of them are even more rabid nationalists. "Milosevic doesn't have a strategy, he doesn't even have an aim of Greater Serbia," says Momcilo Trajkovic, who once served as one of his closest confidants. "Maybe he once had a

dream, but when he woke up he forgot about it. It's all power, power, power." And what is Trajkovic's biggest beef? Milosevic has been too soft on Kosovo.

"There's something wrong with people here," says Vladeta Jankovic, a prominent writer and academic. "They lived 50 years here under a crippling regime, but they had economic stability and they sold their souls for that. This yearning to be free you had in the more oppressive Eastern European countries didn't exist here." So when the rest of Eastern Europe had a clean sweep, Serbia was left with an old broom. "Let's face it," says antiwar activist Zarko Korac, "communism and nationalism are really the same totalitarian systems."

Not since Enver Hoxha's Albania has a European country been as scorned by its neighbors as Serbia now is. Yet the international revulsion still comes as a shock to the Serbs. "Why is everyone against us?" they ask with genuine puzzlement. When a group of 160 students in the Faculty of Tourism at Belgrade University were denied visas to visit Spain for a study trip this spring, they were outraged that they had to go to Egypt instead. "Serbia cannot be isolated from Europe," said Marko Todorovic, 20. "It's ridiculous. Why, Serbs were the first people in Europe to eat with a fork." That's a common refrain. The ancient Romans might beg to differ, but never mind. Table manners are the least of Serbia's problems.

With ZORAN CIRJAKOVIC in Belgrade