

Sir Alfred Sherman (1919-2009) The Founder of The Lord Byron Foundation

A MAN OF PRINCIPLE

James Bissett

Through my activities with the Lord Byron Foundation I had the privilege of meeting and getting to know Sir Alfred. Indeed I had the honour of succeeding him as the Chairman of the Foundation and of sharing the speaker's platform with him on numerous occasions. The last such occasion was in March of 2006 at a conference in Belgrade, where he spoke eloquently about Serbia's right to maintain sovereignty over Kosovo and Metohija.

Sir Alfred led a remarkable life. He was a man who held strong views and who never hesitated to speak out and let his opinions be known. Truth, honesty, and principle were his guidelines through a long career.

When the Yugoslavia he knew began to break up, Sir Alfred was one of the few men in public life in Britain to spring to the defense of the Serbs. As always he was prepared to put his reputation and character at risk by speaking out against the "establishment" and telling the truth about what was happening in Yugoslavia and why it was happening.

As one of the founding members of the Lord Byron Foundation he worked hard to ensure that truth and honesty would prevail. Those of us who knew Sir Alfred, worked with him and traveled with him know how much the Foundation owes to his unwavering and steadfast dedication to the cause of truth and justice.

We will miss him and his loss will also be felt by all those who admired his efforts to tell the truth about the Balkans.

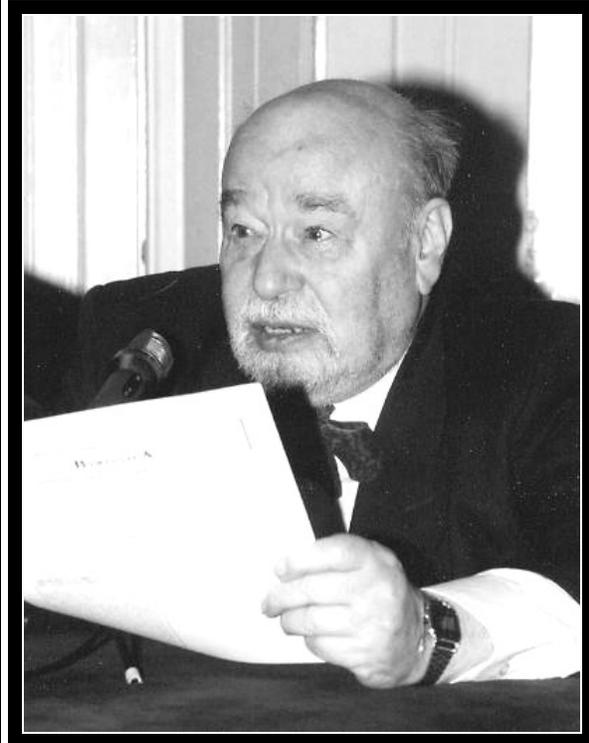
Ambassador Bissett is the LBF Chairman

A WITNESS TO A CENTURY

Srdja Trifkovic

Sir Alfred Sherman, one of the founders and Life Patron of our Foundation who died in London on August 26, 2006, started his political life as a Communist and ended it as a leading conservative thinker. He was a brilliant polymath, a consummate *homo politicus*, and one of the last true witnesses to the twentieth century.

Born in 1919 to immigrants from Russia, Sherman joined the Young Communist League in his first year at Chelsea Polytechnic; as he later explained, "to be a Jew in 1930s Britain was to be alienated. The



world proletariat offered us a home." Within months he was a machine gunner with the Major Attlee Battalion of the International Brigades in Spain. A gifted linguist, he translated the orders of the battalion's Soviet instructor into English, French and Spanish. He fought at Ebro in 1938 and spent several months as Franco's prisoner at San Pedro de Cardenas before being repatriated to Britain.

During the Second World War Sherman served with the British Army in the Middle East, became fluent in Hebrew and Arabic, and embarked on a life-long study of Islam. After the war he continued his studies at the LSE and became president of the Communist Party student cell. In that capacity he visited Yugoslavia, at that time one of Moscow's staunchest allies, and upon his return wrote a favorable report. As he delivered it to his comrades in July 1948, news came of Stalin's break with Tito. The Party asked Sherman to rewrite his report accordingly. He refused and was duly expelled for "Titoist deviationism."

In the early 1950s Sherman returned to Belgrade as an *Observer* correspondent. Unlike his Western colleagues, then or now, he quickly learned the language known then as Serbo-Croat, and acquired an encyclopaedic knowledge of the history, culture and politics of the South Slavs. He developed a strong

affinity with the Serbs comparable to that of Dame Rebecca West. That affinity was rekindled in the 1990s when Sherman became a leading critic of the Western policy in the Balkans.

After a few years in Israel, during which time he advised the government of David Ben Gurion on economic affairs, Sherman returned to London. Thoroughly disillusioned in Socialism in all its forms he joined the staff of *The Daily Telegraph* in 1965, rising to become the Tory flagship's leader writer (1977-86).

In 1974 Sherman founded, with the late Sir Keith Joseph, the prominent conservative think-tank, the Centre for Policy Studies (CPS), and became its first director. (He was ousted from the CPS in 1984 after he fell out of favour with the Tory leadership.) The CPS was the launching pad for Margaret Thatcher, gradually transforming her from the untried party leader of 1974 into a prime-minister-in-waiting. More than any one man, Sherman provided her with the strategy for capturing the leadership of the Party and winning the historic general election of 1979.

Sherman's forte was economics but he was acutely aware of the importance of a coherent cultural basis on which the economic superstructure rests. It behove a Jew deeply worried about the condition of our civilization to advocate the revival of Christianity and to stress that British political history was largely that of religion: church and state were inseparable. As Margaret Thatcher argued in a lecture, *Dimensions of Conservatism*, which Sherman wrote for her two years before she became Britain's Prime Minister,

To describe us as a party of free enterprise as opposed to State ownership would be misleading, although we have good cause to fear the deadening effect of State ownership and control... The Tories began as a Church party, concerned with the Church and State in that order, before our concern extended to the economy and many other fields which politics now touches.

Sherman's star shone briefly after Mrs. Thatcher became prime minister. During those 3-4 years Sherman's vision and readiness to say the unsayable furnished a vital stimulus to the Prime Minister and gave her the intellectual confidence to unveil and defend her radical vision that proved to be almost as abhorrent to some of her nominal allies as it was to her leftist foes.

In her memoirs Baroness Thatcher pays handsome tribute to Sherman's "brilliance," the "force and clarity of his mind," his "breadth of reading and his skills as a ruthless polemicist." She credits him with a central role in her achievements, especially as leader of the opposition but also after she became Prime

Minister. But his "instinctive fanaticism" – or, more accurately, his unwillingness to compromise with the establishmentarian consensus – never enabled him to fit into the clubbable world of British politics.

To wit he once gave an interview to a Russian journalist and was quoted as saying, "As for the lumpen, coloured people and the Irish, let's face it, the only way to hold them in check is to have enough well armed and properly trained police." To his shocked and horrified critics Sherman dryly replied that the quotation missed the word "proletariat" after "lumpen," and denied using the phrase "well armed."

By the end of 1982 many latent strains in his relationship with Mrs. Thatcher were becoming apparent. She complained that he was dismissive of the obstacles she was encountering in dismantling the legacy of decades of socialism, while he berated her for betraying the promise of her early years. (In the '90s he said of her, "Lady Thatcher is great theatre as long as someone else is writing her lines.")

Following his exclusion from her inner circle Mrs. Thatcher nevertheless continued to regard Sherman with "exasperated affection," and rewarded him with a knighthood in 1983. In July 2005 they were reunited for the last time at a reception in London marking the publication of Sir Alfred's last book with a revealing title, *Paradoxes of Power: Reflections on the Thatcher Interlude*.

In the last decade and a half of his life Sherman was tireless in exposing the self-defeating stupidity, short-sightedness and malevolence of the Western policy in the Balkans. In 1994 we joined forces to establish The Lord Byron Foundation for Balkan Studies, with the crucial help of Michael Stenton and Ronald Hatchett, as a non-partisan research institute. In Sherman's words, it was "designed to correct the current trend of public commentary, which tends, systematically, not to understand events but to construct a propagandistic version of Balkan rivalries, designed to facilitate the involvement of outside powers."

Almost a decade ago, well before Iraq and 9-11, Sherman warned that Washington had "set up the cornerstone of a European Islamistan in Bosnia and a Greater Albania, thus paving the way for further three-sided conflict between Moslems, Serbs and Croats in a *bellum omnium contra omnes*... Far from creating a new *status quo* it has simply intensified instability." The US may succeed in establishing its hegemony, in the Balkans-Danubia-Carpathia and elsewhere, "but it will also inherit long-standing ethno-religious conflicts and border disputes without the means for settling them."

His realization that Western intervention in Yugoslavia has come as a result of *Western crisis* and not of Balkan tragedies, stemmed directly from his key insight that Washington's "Benevolent Global Hegemony" is based on a new cultural paradigm, materialistic and anti-traditional. This megalomania is a form of madness, he would add, and nothing new in world history.

The project is coming to grief already, as Sherman knew it would, but – as Dr. Stenton reminds us – since his advice often took the form of a recommendation to prefer pain today to disaster tomorrow, he had found few patrons or disciples.

May he rest in peace.

A TRUE SOLDIER

Michael Stenton¹

In 2001, when Sir Alfred Sherman resigned as chairman of the Lord Byron Foundation, *Byronica* offered the following appreciation:

Alfred is not naturally inclined towards optimism but is not exactly a pessimist either. Since his advice often takes the form of a recommendation to prefer pain today to disaster tomorrow, he has found few patrons or disciples. Wilting patrons have found the message too clear, and possible disciples have been sceptical of the typical Sherman claim that the wickedness of the world does not much change. There is nothing seductive about a Sherman political lesson, and it is delivered without the least concession to rank or reputation. An old communist faith in getting the 'analysis' right sits on an even older respect for the mission of Reason.

Not that men are likely to do what is Reasonable but they should have the chance. Understanding events improves the chances of right action. I remember Alfred almost pursuing Vice-President Nikola Koljevic around Pale in an attempt to get him to have simple discussion of strategic essentials for the Republika Srpska. The late professor Koljevic was unwilling to face this searching examination.

This touches on a central aspect of the man. People are attached to and detached from the political process in different ways. It is not the case that everyone who studies politics wants power; it is possible to want power to be wielded in a certain way but also to reject the pursuit of personal power because it cannot of itself make this possible.

Indeed, the more interested one is in policy the more necessary it is to teach and not to do. In this

¹ Dr. Stenton is a founding member of our Foundation.

respect, Alfred remained true to his Marxist-Leninist formation: command the party line and command the future. Of course, he knew this was not exactly true. There is no sovereign method in politics and there is no perennial 'Party.' Yet making policy was what appealed to him and he did not really want to do anything else. His contempt for mere politicians was no worse than the sneers of politicians and journalists about 'ideologues.'

He ran after his Philosopher's Stone – True Policy – as fervently as any politician in pursuit of office. There is this difference in the two things: nothing much hangs on how much or how little energy politicians devote to the pursuit of power – what matters is how they understand their compromised predicament - but a great deal hangs on the energy devoted to the pursuit of policy. Uncoil that spring and we are slaves in heart and mind.

Alfred Sherman's four years close to the top of an interesting government prove that he had invested his tuition wisely once he knew what to say. He was one of several high quality advisers who combined patriotism, desperation (about Britain) and anti-consensual insight. That he was thrown out of influence in 1983 - once a struggling government had become safe - suggests that he could not be absorbed. He had no ambition that could prevent him putting Policy first.

It was said he was offensive, too direct, insistent and a bore. And very often he was - mostly in the line of duty. Once you had taken a choice that was not his, he was difficult to have around. But 'difficult' is the right word: he was not 'impossible' unless you were unable to state a case. Alfred knew he was clever and educated and proud of his linguistic skills, but he did not imagine he was a major or original intellect. When he was forced to rethink, he rewarded his interlocutor with respect. He toyed with arrogance but was really too pragmatic for it. If he overestimated the role of debate, it is because he liked it. It was the point where the pedagogue, the politician and the apparatchik met. His rudeness functioned as counterpoint to the sneers of mere politicians. He wanted clear assent or stated dissent and no time wasters.

Our article in 2001 continued:

There is no 'West' under whose tutelage capitalism and political culture can be quickly and safely absorbed by societies that slumbered under communism. If there were, Alfred Sherman - a man who once explained Thatcherism to Thatcher - would have been the first to say so. But he did not believe, after 1989, that the world is a rule-based, denationalized global market with a new human rights agenda. He said that Realpolitik and National goals live on especially where power is

most concentrated, and that we are nearer to the Fourth Crusade - the Latin sack and plunder of Constantinople in 1204 - than we like to think.

Which brings us to larger questions. Alfred's stock of history was implausibly clear and instructive. But it was put to good use. History was the reading man's answer to political correctness and 'fashionable' - ideological - delusions. He believed that his idea of Policy was drowned by a universal cant and this caused him the gravest anxiety. 'Europe' he saw as a conspicuous case of the triumph of cant over analysis: a determination not to see malice and maladministration in Brussels because despair about Britain must disguise itself as an ideal and float on lies. People who ought to have known better pretended that it was necessary and safe for the British to be governed in growing measure from outside Britain.

It was difficult for Alfred to accommodate to Mrs Thatcher's regime as it hummed, hawed and hedged about 'Europe'. Alfred wanted an unmasking regime, a party that would contrive to turn its back on the European commitment of 1971-73 and to reunite the feeling of the nation with the thought of their leaders. But the cultural and factional strength of the European commitment always stood in the way of a radicalizing Thatcherism, and eventually it sank Mrs Thatcher.

Alfred left the corridors of influence in 1983 just as the British Conservatives threw themselves into a long programme of privatization. This programme evolved into an easy option - a cheap and easy project - at a time when Europe was swelling with new powers and projects which needed urgent opposition. British privatization was also extensively mismanaged - as Alfred pointed out. He was not an obsessive about competition: his rule of thumb for ex-communist societies was not to sell until and unless there was value in the sale. (The Russian 'reformers' - a worse political rabble - would not have wanted to have him in Moscow interrupting the flow of expensive advice from American academics.)

Unfortunately, Alfred was pushed before he jumped, and so he did not leave Mrs. Thatcher from a clear point of departure. Few then or subsequently seemed to notice his disagreements with the 'Thatcherites.' As Sherman and others moved out, a troop of career-makers - clever but less sincere and with little authentic link to the Lady and her famous instincts - gathered round the British PM and dragged her into follies such as the Poll Tax and the botched privatization - as Tories now admit - of the railways and water.

What then was the importance of Thatcher's moment? Something did occur in 1979-83 even if the ground cleared was misused from 1983 and betrayed in

1989-92. The extirpation of incomes policy, the change in trade union law, the floatation of sterling, the end of currency controls, and the beginning of tax reform were great events which brought shibboleths, reputations and consensual certainties crashing down. The combination of Mrs Thatcher's instincts and the radicalism of her advisers was, however, unstable. Her attack on inflation and the psychology of inflationary expectations consisted of deflation achieved by high interest rates; and her view was that if the medicine was right then one should take lots of medicine.

There was a moment when an insensate ferocity about interest rates threatened to break the back of the British economy unless it broke the government first. Tough Tory economists trembled, and their left-wing colleagues prepared obituaries on Thatcher's economic madness. The lazy accounts of the period now suggest that the tough policy worked. But the problem was a super-tough policy which had followed the phase of justifiable severity. What happened next was remarkable. On the brink of meltdown, John Hoskyns and Alfred Sherman found a Swiss economist so impeccably dry and un-Keynesian that even Mrs T would listen, and she pulled back. This saved her, and 'Thatcherism', just as establishment politics was about to throw up a pseudo-novel force (a Labour Party splinter group with solid media support) to recover power into consensual hands. The normal rules of political ingratitude condemned those involved in this tipping moment in modern British history.

Alfred's retrospective view of Thatcher is worth recording here. He wondered sincerely whether he and the other radicals who guided the Tory leadership before really did Britain great harm. He believed, perhaps rightly, that if the labour market had not been changed when it was, if inflation had remained rampant and if the traditions of 1945-79 misrule had persisted, the crisis in British affairs would have become so acute - say by the late 1980s - that a far more radical transformation of society would have been possible, one in which the apparatus of government would not have repaired for the 'Europeans' to reinherit. The Thatcherites proved that inflation did not have to be tolerated and improved the functioning of the labour market. But there it stopped, and it was not meant to stop. And by stopping after a measure of success, 'Thatcherism' prevented an end to mass immigration, a break with Europe, a break with educational egalitarianism and so forth. That the radical right would have had a better chance than the left of exploiting the accumulating disgust of British society with consensual government, though contrary to Tory understanding, is perfectly possible. But that was politics not policy.

In the Republika Srpska (1993-95) Alfred was treated with courtesy, condescension and a degree of alarm. The Bosnian Serb leadership went further than they wanted to go in defying Milosevic in 1993, and Alfred wanted to them to mean what they had done. He believed that Islam was on the march and that Germany was making trouble, and saw every reason to say so rather than to find less catastrophic language for explaining the Serb predicament. He also believed that the battle being fought in Yugoslavia was more important than anything that he had done or failed to do ten years before. He wanted to be in Pale, Srpska's little capital, when NATO started dropping bombs.

Alfred Sherman was not a politician, but he was a soldier – in the broad and intellectual Israeli sense of the word.

He was a Knight of the Realm in Britain and was awarded the Order of Njegos by the Republika Srpska.

Here we present, in chronological order, a selection of Sir Alfred Sherman's articles related to the Balkans and published 1992-2006

The Jewish Chronicle, London, December 4, 1992

FALSE PARALLELS

Sir Alfred Sherman

The lapse of logic in confusing the present plight of Bosnian Muslims with that of European Jewry under Hitler is dangerous and counterproductive

It does us no good to claim a *locus standi* in every conflict be equating it with the Holocaust. Or when third parties in their own interests take the name of our martyrs in vain. Bosnia is not occupied Europe; the Muslims are not the Jews; the Serbs did not begin the civil war, but are predictably responding to a real threat.

Some years ago, I, among others, warned that, whatever the logic of establishing Yugoslavia in the first place, any attempt at hurried dismemberment, particularly along Tito's internal demarcation lines, would lead to armed conflict, self-intensifying bloodshed and floods of refugees.

Bosnia and Croatia are former administrative provinces of Yugoslavia, with large, compact indigenous Serbian minorities. These achieved recognition as a national group only after centuries of struggle. Since 1990, the independent Croatian leadership – with its extreme chauvinist and clericalist colouring – and the Bosnian Muslim leadership – seeking, in its Islamic fundamentalist

programme, to put the clock back to Ottoman days – have threatened to turn the Serbs back into persecuted minorities. Immediately on declaring independence, the Croatian government, ruling a one-party state under a former Communist general, Franjo Tudjman – whom Lord Carrington, among others, described as an evil man – began persecuting Serbs in the former Marches (military frontier).

In Bosnia, Alija Izetbegovic – a one-time secularist who had reverted to strict Islam and preached the Koranic state – entered into an alliance with the Croats, according to which they could have autonomy in certain areas in return for support against the Serbs.

The Serbs cannot forget that, in living memory, the "Independent Croatian State," set up by Hitler in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, massacred close on half of the Serbian population – which was then the largest of the three communities in Bosnia – and as many Jews as it could lay hands on, with the connivance of the Roman Catholic Church. It was helped by Muslims, who were encouraged by their religious leadership, which then hosted Haj Amin el-Husseini, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, and which now supports Mr. Izetbegovic.

If there is any parallel with the Holocaust, it is the martyrdom of the Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, who account for a third of the Serbian nation.

Both the Croatian and Muslim leaderships enjoy support and encouragement from Germany – which is using them as stepping stones in its *Drang nach Osten* in the Balkans and Central Europe – and from Muslim governments, particularly militant ones like those of Iran and Saudi Arabia.

Lord Carrington, former chairman of the EC peace initiative, has outspokenly denounced Germany for deliberately precipitating these inter-ethnic conflicts when they might have been avoided. He has criticized the other eleven EC members for "supinely" going along with Germany in the name of a common European foreign policy, against their own better judgement. Germany now enjoys American support – partly in pursuit of President Bush's will-o'-the-wisp of a "new world order," and partly under pressures from oil-rich Arab states.

John Major has gone along, in spite of Foreign Office and Defense Department misgivings, because, as his apologists put it, he owes Chancellor Kohl favours for smoothing his path at Maastricht, and some add, wishes to show that, unlike Lady Thatcher, he can "get on with Helmut."

Though Serbian refugees from Croatia and Bosnia now outnumber Croatian and Muslim refugees combined, the British media virtually ignore them. It reminds one of the late 1930's, when most of the British press demonised the Czechs at Downing Streets behest, denouncing them as a threat to European peace and for ill-treating their peaceful German Sudetenland minority; "Herr" Hitler, by contrast was held up as a reasonable man.

True, the vast majority of Muslim refugees are innocent people, suffering for the acts of their leaders, whom many did not even choose. The same can be said of hapless Palestinian refugees, and more recently of Palestinians expelled from Kuwait and its neighbors, and equally of millions of German civilians, women, children and old people, who suffered during the closing stages and aftermath of the Second World War.

It is almost invariably the innocent who suffer in war. But that does not equate them with victims of the Holocaust, any more than being a Jew automatically qualifies one to pronounce on Yugoslavia. This needs to meet the Serbs' legitimate claim to self-rule with religious and cultural freedoms, otherwise they will go on fighting even if the whole world is mobilised against them. This solution would in no way prejudice the religious rights which Muslims have enjoyed in Yugoslavia since its foundation.

This will not be achieved so long as European Community foreign policy is made in Bonn, whose agenda entails the reversal not only of Versailles, but also of the post-1945 settlement. This should be the focus of our concern.

THE AMERICAN CENTURY: A VICTIMS-EYE VIEW

Sir Alfred Sherman²

The American century began with the Spanish-American War, whose effects are still with us. It is ending with American penetration of the Balkans backed by the threat of aerial bombardment and military occupation.

The Spanish-American war, besides expressing "manifest destiny," was designed to oust Spain from its last footholds in the New World and strengthen the US's strategic position in the Gulf of Mexico, the Caribbean and Pacific.

By contrast, US intervention in the Balkans has no clear strategic aim, but is allegedly an incursion on

² Introductory remarks at the LBF conference *Intervention in the Balkans* held in Chicago February 28-March 2, 1997.

behalf of the so-called "international community" to "make peace" by the use of armed force against Serbs, and putatively Albanians too.

This begs many questions. First, is there such a thing as "the international community"? Do people in China, which accounts for a fifth of the world's population, and the Buddhists, who account for another fifth – among others – really want the US and its client states to bomb the Serbs or Iraqis? And who exactly, and when, deputed the US to act on behalf of this "world community"? The Secretary General of the United Nations has explicitly complained against American-dominated NATO's usurpation of UN authority. Secondly, can the blunt weapon of force, of whose use US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright boasted, balance conflicting and competing ethnic, religious, economic and political interactions over this wide and conflictive region? Can the US raise the expectations of the Albanians and Slav Moslems without affronting Macedonians, Greeks, Italians, Bulgars and Croats as well as Serbs? And can an alliance with Germany – bringing Hungarians in its train, which cannot but be directed against the remnants of Versailles and the post-1945 settlement – avoid alarming Slovaks, Czechs, Poles, Romanians, Ukrainians, and eventually Russians?

Thirdly, can force be a substitute for policy? It was a wise German who said that you can do anything with bayonets except sit on them. The same goes for gunships, the modern equivalent of gunboat diplomacy. Bomb and rocket once, and it has an effect. But if the victim survives, the second bout is less effective, because the victim is learning to cope. The blockade and embargo against Serbia managed to impoverish, to kill off old people and infants.

It has also set up the cornerstone of a European Islamistan in Bosnia and a Greater Albania, thus paving the way for further three-sided conflict between Moslems, Serbs and Croats in a *bellum omnium contra omnes*, with the Croats supported by Germany and the Moslems by the US and world Islam; and between Albanians and a whole raft of countries. Far from creating a new *status quo* it has simply intensified instability.

The US may succeed in establishing its hegemony in the Balkans-Danubia-Carpathia, but it will also inherit long-standing ethno-religious conflicts and border disputes without the means for settling them. All participants will solicit support in Washington, with the assistance of related hyphenated Americans in the US, and governments elsewhere in the world – including Russia, the Vatican and the Moslem world – as the situation permits.

Decreasing returns to intervention in Kosovo are already obvious. The original strategy was to train and arm the KLA, then respond to Serb over-reaction by the threat or intervention. But this turned out predictably to generate a drive for Greater Albania and responses by Albania's neighbours, which have created a quandary for the US no less than its European partners. This not only frustrates the American frenzy for bombing the Serbs come what may. Multiply the conflictivity generated by NATO intervention in Bosnia and Kosovo by the number of other targets of NATO intervention, and add the interaction between them to give a picture of the complexities inherent in Washington's naïve hegemonism.

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WHAT IS GOOD FOR AMERICA...

Sir Alfred Sherman³

The war in Bosnia was America's war in every sense of the word. The US administration helped start it, kept it going, and prevented its early end. Indeed all the indications are that it intends to continue the war in the near future, as soon as its Moslem proteges are fully armed and trained. How it did so is common knowledge. Why it did so, and the implications for American defense and foreign policy generally remain to be elucidated.

The facts are clear. In 1991, the break up of Yugoslavia, initiated by Germany which was reunified and dominant in the European Union, led to conflict in Croatia and brought the future of Bosnia onto the agenda. It had become clear that whereas a united secular Bosnia was feasible within Yugoslavia – any Yugoslavia – its perpetuation as a sovereign State created serious difficulties. A strong current of Moslem opinion led by Alija Izetbegovic desired to restore the *status quo ante* 1878, when Bosnia was a Moslem province ruled by the Sheriyat, with its Christian majority in subjection and subordination, and the whole province in constant turmoil.

Under Yugoslav rule, the Moslem minority enjoyed civil rights by Western standards, but these were unacceptable to committed Moslems, for whom Moslem rule independent of infidel power was a religious prerequisite. (This is clear from all Moslem theology and its associated political writings. It colors all statements by Moslems in Yugoslavia since 1878. It was repeated in their own publications, e.g., the periodical *Islamska Misao* and in Izetbegovic's *Islamic Declaration*, though bien pensants are as reluctant to take it seriously as an expression of intent as their predecessors were to take *Mein Kampf* seriously.)

³ Paper presented at LBF conference *Intervention in the Balkans* held in Chicago February 28-March 2, 1997.

At the outset of the present crisis the Croats of Bosnia wished to create their own state in association with Croatia. The Serbs, for their part, wished to avoid being placed under foreign rule, having suffered for several hundred years under Roman Catholic and Moslem misrule, including the clero-fascist Ustasa regime which in 1941-45 perpetrated genocide against the Serbs of Croatia and Bosnia with active Moslem participation. It is not generally known or remembered that during the first world war, when the Germans occupied Serbia after the Austro-Hungarians had failed to conquer it, and handed out areas to Hungarian, Bulgarian and Albanian occupation a third of the Serb population was murdered, or died of starvation and disease.

At all events, the European Union having broken up Yugoslavia on German prompting and thus unleashed war in Croatia, called meetings to prevent the same thing happening in Bosnia. Lord Carrington, one time British Foreign Secretary and Secretary-General of NATO, was chairman of this endeavor working closely with the Portuguese Foreign Minister in Lisbon, under the Portuguese Presidency. Carrington's task of damage limitation was made all the more difficult when Izetbegovic, a militant fundamentalist, declared that the independence of Bosnia was a great event, second in his Moslem calendar only to 1453 - the fall of Constantinople.

However, Lord Carrington, who had fought through the second world war and regarded wars as worth avoiding, was able by inspired chairmanship to broker an agreement, initialed by leaders of the three delegations: Serb, Croat and Moslem, who returned to their respective strongholds committed to seeking ratification from their assemblies.

It was then that America acted fatefully. For reasons which remain to be adduced Acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, who knew Yugoslavia well from his term as Ambassador there and as banker subsequently, instructed Warren Zimmerman, U.S. Ambassador in Belgrade, to fly post-haste to Sarajevo and persuade Izetbegovic to renege on the agreement, promising him all political, diplomatic and military aid if he agreed to do so. Izetbegovic was persuaded. He stationed his green-berreted snipers on the roofs of central Sarajevo, reneged on the agreement, appealed for support in the Moslem world; the Bosnian war began. It has yet to end. As in Greek tragedy, one action by a protagonist, Eagleburger, set a train of events irrevocably in motion.

During the years that followed, America pulled the strings from the background, encouraging the world-wide Moslem agitation in favor of Izetbegovic. They brought the Russians -- who entertained futile hopes of large-scale western investment and aid -- into

line. Washington kept pressing EU members like Britain and France, which had serious misgivings, to accept its *faits accomplis*. The U.S. encouraged and facilitated the dispatch of arms to the Moslems via Iran and Eastern Europe -- a fact which was denied in Washington at the time in face of overwhelming evidence. America used NATO and UNPROFOR as their policy instruments, and blocked all peace moves, of which there were several between 1992 and 1995. Then, having effectively prevented the EU from reaching agreement -- which all but Germany, now intent on its third *Drang nach Osten*, wanted -- the United States was able to corral them into a military offensive sparked off by staged incidents reminiscent of the Battleship Maine and the Gulf of Tonkin incident. It was the U.S. which organized the UN sanctions against Serbia-Montenegro on the basis of one such staged incident.

But why? Here we have the most powerful country on earth at the present time deeply involved off its own bat in Balkan affairs, which bear absolutely no relationship to American security, extending its power into Eastern and South Eastern Europe, involving itself deeply in a number of long-standing and perhaps incurable national conflicts, between Serbs and Croats, Christians and Moslems, (Slav) Macedonians and Greeks, Slovaks and Hungarians, Hungarians and Romanians, Romanians and Ukrainians, among others. Why, for that matter, is the U.S. pressing Czechs, Poles, and Hungarians to join NATO at this juncture?

We have the American C in C of forces in Europe arguing that the diminution of the Soviet threat is no reason for phasing out NATO but on the contrary increasing its political role in Europe; in other words, NATO is to be an instrument of American policy, whatever that policy might be. This entails the militarisation of foreign policy, the very antithesis of the American tradition in international relations. The Secretary of State Madeline Albright, speaking as US Ambassador to the UN, stated unequivocally that the US policy in Bosnia was the foundation of its policies for Europe. Think of the implications: lying and cheating, fomenting war in which civilians are the main casualty, and in which ancient hatreds feed on themselves, involving America in a maelstrom easier to enter than to leave, and above all risking long-term conflict with a Russia which is only partly broken from its recent imperialist past.

I ask you to hypothesize the basis of US world policy, political, military and economic. It must balance objectives against costs. The overwhelming objective is US security. This is partly geographical. What occurs in the Caribbean Basin is more immediately relevant than the East Asian mainland. One can understand the principle of US involvement in

Cuba and Haiti, even though one need not necessarily approve of the particular policies.

America is of necessity involved in hemispheric affairs. America has traditionally been involved in "North Atlantic", i.e., European, affairs, to the extent of two world wars and the cold war. But what is the relevance of the Balkans and Black Sea? And what is the point of creating and arming a militantly Moslem polity in the Balkans which ineluctably gives Iran a foothold there and a route into Central and Western Europe for subversion and terror?

I can find no rational reasons for doing so. I note one aspect of US foreign policy. Because the USA is a very large country, of whose inhabitants relatively few travel abroad and fewer still interest themselves in world affairs, while major foreign policy issues are given massive attention by the White House, legislators, media and academe, for better or worse, less important issues are left to minor interest groups. But they can lead Uncle Sam by the nose. Until the last presidential elections but one, Secretary of State Baker favored the preservation of Yugoslavia as an entity. It was when he took over belatedly as Pres. Bush's chief campaign manager, and Eagleburger was given a free run, with his own personal Balkan agenda, the Serbophobes and Islamophiles came out of the woodwork, and committed Uncle Sam for years to come. The US has traditionally worked with some ugly despotisms, and is still doing, so, viz. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, various Latin-American regimes considered a lesser evil, various unpleasant regimes in Asia, including Pakistan. In any case, democracy cannot be imposed. There are occasions when democracies can be given a helping hand, and others when intervention is counter-productive. But to intervene in favor of Clero-Fascism and Islamic fundamentalism, to help expel Serbs from land they have inhabited as majorities for centuries, and to adopt the German-Hungarian drive to reverse what is left of the Versailles provisions, does not make sense. Why then? I go back to the Spanish American war as an analogy, and to "Manifest Destiny". The US, with the Civil War and reconstruction behind it, wanted to flex its muscles. It was the period when half the Navy wanted to take on the British. But the Spanish Army was an easier hit. The remnants of the Spanish Empire in Cuba, the Philippines and the Pacific were no conceivable threat to the USA nor were the inhabitants groaning under Spanish yoke. They were treated as Spaniards. Even today, most inhabitants regard Spanish rule as a golden age.

Cuba's ills, which led to Castro's Communist dictatorship which generated the greatest threat to America in its history, were a result of U.S. aggression which tore Cuba away from the mother country, and

left it with independence which it had not sought and was unprepared for. The Philippines, with a hard-working intelligent population, were unable to adopt American mores, but live in a miasma of corruption and violence. Spain itself was convulsed by defeat, which stripped it of its last outposts. These convulsions lay at the basis of Spain's unhappy twentieth century: the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, the Republic it engendered, the military uprising, civil war and Franco dictatorship from which Spain is only now recovering and finding its place in the world.

The temptations of imperial arrogance are not new. They should not be forgotten just because America was somewhat protected from this arrogance by the genuine weight and burden, more imposed than chosen, of defending the Free World against Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia. The end of the Cold War has stripped off this protection. Yet the White House has chosen a Secretary of State who is a Cold War junkie, a connoisseur of confrontation, a woman living too passionately in the past, eager to seize the first opportunity to show how the old battles should have been fought, how the West should have Won at Munich. All her talk of leadership, resolve, firmness and New Interests is a preparation for war and the nomination of new enemies.

To present the USA as the world's policeman, judge, jury, and DA may or may not go well into campaign rhetoric, but the idea is endlessly seductive for the Washington community of foreign policy professionals - often poorly educated, high on excitement and low in statesmanlike patience. They fear, quite irrationally, that the world will happily pass them by unless America imposes herself, rises to 'the challenge' and throws her weight about. Albright's heroes are Truman and Marshall. She makes it clear they are also her models. But where is her USSR?

The foreign policy community wants the feel-good factor, the winning-the-Cold-War glow, to go on and on. But to live for the adrenaline and glory of yesterday and yesteryear is to ride for a fall and to walk with Hubris.

Can the yearning to be the world's policeman be the basis of policy? In formal terms, perhaps not. But if the poison is at work, it may be detected. Clinton knows that he should always deny the charge. Throughout the Bosnian Intervention he was the respectable front-end of the Lake-Albright program. Inside the State Department and the CIA there is always room for the pretense that policy is more limited and calculated than the passions and arrogance which may drive it. German policy before 1914 was sometimes defined, on paper, by men more rational and cool than those who took the initiatives and made the choices. Such draftsmen and spokesmen may be

employed in Washington. The power and prestige of America is in the hands of people who will not resist the Temptation to invent new missions, lay down new embargoes and fabricate new courts. For the time being, they control the United Nations, the World Bank, most of the world's military high-tech weapons, and the vast majority of the satellites which watch us from every quadrant of the skies.

The pursuit of World Importance for the sake of World Importance is the Great Temptation in human history, the path of ruin that winds from Xerxes, the Persian King of Kings, to Hitler, the Austrian corporal-tyrant. It is the path which George Washington forbade America ever to take. The American People will never chose it, but can they prevent it? Bosnia was the acid test. They knew why they should not go in; they knew the damage it would do to their oldest alliances; but they could not resist. The combination of high moral purpose, however fudged up by the media, and the chance to show Europe that Only America Decides was just too intoxicating.

At the time of writing, the USA is uniquely powerful. It will not always be so. In the course of time, Russia may gain its potential strength, and there is very little the USA can do about Chinese developments one way or the other. It might save the Chinese Republic in Taiwan for better times, but that would need a great measure of commitment, which will be less likely if the Balkan war turns hot, and a flow of body bags begins. America is very vulnerable to body-bags, because the Americans, unlike the British and French, for example, have no sense of imperial mission which justifies losing young men in foreign fields. The outcry against the Helms-Burton Act, whose target was Castro's Cuba, forced Clinton to delay application of its main provisions.

A law of history is that power tends to generate countervailing power. It is not for me to trace how this will come about. We can do little more than guard against arrogance and over-extension and minimize the pointless sacrifices they usually entail. I am proud to have taken part in this struggle, the struggle to bring the powerful to their senses before they plunge into reckless, ruthless folly. This struggle carries no guarantee of success, for it is the quest for sanity that epitomizes the struggle of suffering humanity throughout the ages.

WESTERN DE-CHRISTIANISATION, ISLAMOPHILIA AND SERBOPHOBIA Sir Alfred Sherman*

Pace Karl Marx, most human history (and much of pre-history) is the history of religion. Only during the twentieth century, and particularly its closing stages, has massive de-Christianisation been occurring, almost unremarked, its crucial importance ignored. Concurrent Western Islamophilia, both in its rhetoric and, more importantly, implicit in its policy, is just one outcome of this massive historic evolution.

For the Serb nation, this process has been immediately calamitous; in the longer run the West is likely to suffer from the process, as was the case of the First World War. We should never forget that the anti-Slav, pro-Moslem policies of the Western nations brought about a state of affairs in which Germany felt strong enough to launch the Great War, which did serious damage to our civilization.

It takes an effort of imagination to recall how deeply Christianity shaped European society, including that in the Americas. Culture, ethics, the organization of state and society, were all religiously driven. The total difference between Christian society and non-Christian ones – Islamic, Buddhist, Hindu, Chinese, and Japanese – reaches all aspects of life. Inside Christianity the difference between Orthodoxy and Rome is overshadowed by that between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. Modern market economy and democracy were fruits of the Reformation. In France, which for centuries was the world's greatest power and cultural leader, the defeat of Protestantism and subsequent revocation of toleration set the country on a downward spiral of conflict and decline.

British political history is largely that of religion: church and state were inseparable. As Margaret Thatcher argued in a lecture, *Dimensions of Conservatism*, in 1977 – two years before she became Britain's Prime Minister and more than a decade before her misguided involvement in the debate on Yugoslavia, "To describe us as a party of free enterprise as opposed to State ownership would be misleading, although we have good cause to fear the deadening effect of State ownership and control... The Tories began as a Church party, concerned with the Church and State in that order, before our concern extended to the economy and many other fields which politics now touches."

* Presented at the LBF symposium *Serbs and the West* in Belgrade on January 24, 2000

Now, religion and religious affairs have vanished from the political agenda. In Italy and Germany post-World War II politics were dominated by two parties that called themselves Christian-democratic. They mobilized the public against communism. But in Italy the focus of *Democrazia Cristiana* was mainly clericalist-institutional, not ideological. In Germany Christian doctrinal social questions were largely neglected by CDU/CSU from fear of generating differences between Catholic and Lutheran sociopolitical doctrines. As post-war expediency slips away there is very little "Christian" left in them.

By contrast, Marxism and other socialist fallacies seem to have survived the socialist world's collapse, and dominate contemporary Western social thinking more than ever. The ruling ideology is vulgar-Marxist and "optimistic," in its refusal to see the dark side of life. The belief in a quick fix eclipses all.

One effect of this is unwillingness to grapple with the problems created by the resurgence of Islam. While the West undergoes a measure of de-Christianization, Islam is resurgent. Between 1800 and 1950 almost all Moslem polities came under Christian rule - but there was no effort to Christianize them. By now over fifty Moslem sates exist, and many are rich thanks to oil and gas. Moslems migrate from their own failed societies to the West, where they create a hard core. Though in Britain they account for only 3% of the population - or so the statistics tell us – mosque attendance is said to outstrip church attendance.

Opinions differ over the cause of the continued hold Islam has over its adherents in the future; I shall not go into it here, except to say that there are no grounds for expecting change of any meaningful magnitude within foreseeable time-scales. Perhaps Islam is protected from change by the backwardness of its societies, which it institutionalizes and perpetuates.

More important for us is the attitude prevailing in the West to Islam. In its simplest form it constitutes appeasement, defeatism and sycophancy. In the name of liberality, tolerance, anti-discrimination, and other "multicultural" virtues, the Western political classes manifest the moral, intellectual and political cowardice that seems to have become their hallmark. In Britain, mass immigration of Third World Moslems was permitted without the slightest discussion of its consequences. All questioning has been outlawed as 'racism,' in defiance of logic and common sense. Hence, in regard to former Yugoslavia, the side of the Moslems was taken against the Serbs without any thought as to meaning or history.

We had the spectacle of large parts of the British Left supporting the Moslems in Bosnia while the Moslem religious establishment, in Britain and everywhere else, was doing likewise. Until then,

British Left had excoriated Islam as the depth of reaction; this was simply dropped without discussion. The British Left – including Stalinists, Trotskyists and others – supported “the Tuzla Convoy,” while Roman Catholic opinion sheepishly bought into Croat Serbophobia

The Serbs made no effort to counter all this at a religious level. It was their misfortune that Belgrade had been handed over to Communism by the British and Russians in 1943-1944, and has yet to liberate itself; while the Serbs West of the Drina failed to create a political personality strong enough to project itself and to resist corruption from Belgrade.

Western intervention in Yugoslavia has come as a result of *Western crisis*: first, the vacuum caused by de-Christianization, and secondly *hubris* brought on by Soviet imperialism’s collapse. “The American Century” and “The New World Order” contain a new cultural paradigm: materialistic, anti-traditional, and hegemonic.

Tito’s personal part in the revival and politicization of Islam in the Balkans is not generally understood. The so-called ‘non-aligned movement’ was Tito’s brainchild. It cannot be explained in terms of *raison d’etat*, even in communism’s distorting mirror, but served for Tito’s personal glorification, the cult of his personality, at Yugoslavia’s expense. In return for acceptance by Moscow as a world communist leader, he brought the Third World to support Soviet policies against the free world and Communist China. This entailed getting close to Moslem governments and movements, and to this end he poured privileges on Islam in Yugoslavia.

This idea of Muslims as a separate nationality, which had been anathema to Marxists, was imposed. This was a throwback to the Ottoman Empire with predictable results: the domination of Islamic fanaticism. Tito paid for Moslem support both by adopting a violent anti-Israeli stance, in defiance of his own public opinion, and supporting Moslem terrorism generally.

Both the Germans, who had risen on the tide of Islamic resurgence twice this century, and the Americans, whose naïve, self-destructive Islamophilia deserves an essay on its own, swam with the Islamophile current in their own ways. Similar motivation underlay Tito’s 1974 Constitution for Kosovo, reflecting the accretion of his anti-Serb obsessions as he aged.

In inter-war Yugoslavia, the Moslems had denounced Atatürk – their hatred reflected by Izetbegović – and waited for Allah to rescue them from infidel control. The minority of Moslems who plumped

for modernism, whether democratic or Marxist, were soon disillusioned. Many jumped onto the revivalist bandwagon in Bosnia and Rashka (*Sanjak* to Moslems); some emigrated. Decades of courting the Moslems in Yugoslavia and leaning over backwards to accord them rights which no Moslem states accord Christians, bore no fruit.

It is customary to talk about “The Serbs” when we trace reactions to Tito. But the Serbs had ceased to be a coherent entity long before 1974. Some Serbs were communists. Some were Yugoslavists. Christian Serbia has lacked a political voice. At its time of greatest trial, in the past decade, it lacked political leadership. Contemporaneously, there has been no one to rally Christians in the wider world to their duty in the Balkans.

This is a measure of the crisis affecting Serbia, Christian Serbia, and the wider Christian world. It will need to be grappled with *inside the Christian framework*, within the two millennia of combined spiritual and secular history.

Those of us who draw attention to the Moslem dimension in the Yugoslav crisis are often accused of seeking to launch “a new crusade.” Nothing could be further from the truth. Coexistence with the Moslem world is essential, like coexistence among Christians and among Moslems, where most conflict has taken place, and will continue to do so. But this is possible only on the basis of truth.

It was Tito who emulated German tactics and exacerbated relations between Moslems and Christians precisely by granting Moslems privileges which were bound to be provocative to Christians and to whet Moslem theocratic ambitions. It was American interference in Bosnia in February 1992 to sabotage the Cutilhero-Carrington agreement just reached in Lisbon and impose a theocratic Moslem state that launched the Bosnian war in which so many Moslems, too, were to suffer. It was U.S. and German interference in Kosovo that led to the KLA incursions and the sufferings which followed on all sides.

But Western intervention in Yugoslavia has not been designed to defend or further the West’s vital interests. It has visibly done the opposite, embroiling NATO in an ugly war with the Serbs and dangerous worsening of relations with Russia. No! Western intervention in Yugoslavia has come as a result of *Western crisis*: first, the vacuum caused by de-Christianization, and secondly *hubris* brought on by Soviet imperialism’s collapse. “The American Century” and “The New World Order” contain a new cultural paradigm: materialistic, anti-traditional, and hegemonic.

Mrs. Albright among others has warned us that this new world melting pot is to be imposed by force. Much of the drive is directed against Russia, weakened by generations of Marxist dictatorship that have not yet fully come to an end. Together with this drive march the Germans and Muslims, the Europhiles and one-worldists, the neophytes who – ignoring the consequences of the Enlightenment – wish to reshape humanity along their own trite model.

This megalomania is a form of madness, nothing new in world history. This the Serbs know to their cost, as they still suffer from the consequences of the Fourth Crusade and Louis XIV's intervention to prevent the Habsburgs' liberation of the eastern Balkans in the early eighteenth century, as well as the Western powers' Turkophile policies in the nineteenth.

The Yugoslav imbroglio is a symptom of these deeper ills in the Western world. Western public opinion is beginning to sense this, if not actually recognize and understand it. To help them to do this, Serbs must put their own intellectual and spiritual house in order.

BAGHDAD AND THE BALKANS

Sir Alfred Sherman⁴

As AD 1999 came to a close American and British spokesmen claimed victory for their bombardment of Iraq in the name of "the international community" [...] The Albright doctrine (*What's the point of having all those wonderful weapons if you don't use them?*) has been tested yet again. On this occasion of the Moslem powers only Kuwait joined in, by permitting the use of its airfields. Many were openly critical, which whatever that may mean, means something different from the verbal support they gave eight years ago. Their mobs that fill Western TV screens burning American, British and Israeli flags - oftentimes provided thoughtfully by Western TV crews - signify the end of president [G.H.W.] Bush's "New World Order."

Both this term and "The International Community" are meaningless. Naked force rules supreme, particularly the use of air power and missiles which few victims are able to counter and which avoids the prospect of body-bags which would make the American public think again. But the political effect of naked force suffers decreasing returns.

Clearly, the American policy-makers – for Tony Blair is little more than Sancho Panza to Clinton – misjudged the mood in the Arab and Moslem world, in Moscow, Peking, and Europe. Focused on the President's domestic agenda, and confident of their

⁴ From an editorial in *Byronica*, February 2000.

military power, Clinton and his advisors failed to work out a coherent strategy which this military power was designed to serve. They overestimated the role of military force in international relations, because it "worked" for them in the Balkans. Indeed, the circumstances in the former Yugoslavia, including flawed leadership in Belgrade (and to a lesser extent in Pale), enabled gunship diplomacy to advance America's Serbophobe aims, and brought into line those European governments which were less than happy about these policies.

Had Russian reactions at that time been anywhere nearly as critical as Primakov's have been to last December's bombardments, matters might have turned out differently in the Balkans. Whether the change in Moscow's stand is due to a change in leadership or to the greater importance to Russia of Iraq's petrodollars remains to be ascertained.

It will be years before the Russian economy is strong enough to obviate dependence on American and German goodwill, though our Foundation's several visits to and conferences in Moscow leave no doubt regarding the concern felt there at American and German Balkan policy, and its possible further implications...

Recent setback to gunship diplomacy - both in terms of world reactions and in the British and American public opinion - gives cause for hope in the Balkans that America is not invincible and that armed might can be offset. That hope can be fulfilled with skilful diplomacy and clear strategy.

We may look forward to both, however, only if and when there is a change at the helm in Belgrade.

THE EMPIRE FOR THE NEW MILLENIUM?

Sir Alfred Sherman⁵

The history of empires is somewhat older than that of civilization. They rise, flourish, decay and are overthrown. At their height they seem irresistible, in their decline they seem unsaveable. Some leave more behind than others. Greek, Latin and Arabic alphabets, vocabulary and language cover wide areas. Greek philosophy, Roman law and British jurisprudence are widespread, as is Islam, with its behavioral codes, architecture and way of life.

Imperial expansion seems to be an imperative driven by internal force, "manifest destiny" rather than, necessarily, economic or technological superiority. The original expansion of Islam and the Mongolian and Manchu empires reflected weaknesses on the side of

⁵ Published by *Chronicles Online* on May 22, 2000

civilization. The claim that Britain's empire was acquired in a fit of absent-mindedness has much to support it, e.g., the "scramble for Africa," designed mainly to forestall other European powers.

World history is entering a new phase following the collapse of Soviet communism and the emergence of American hegemony, exercised through NATO with varying degrees of partnership and subordination of other players. The immediate victims are the Serbs on both sides of the Drina. The process commenced with the deliberate break-up of Yugoslavia, led by Germany and acquiesced in by the other European Union members and the United States (1991). It progressed with sanctions against Serbia for attempting to help the western Serbs (1992). In Bosnia America's early involvement sparked off civil war (the Zimmerman Visit to Izetbegovic, in the aftermath of the Lisbon Agreement), and it eventually matured into the bombing campaign of 1999 and the occupation of Kosovo.

On America's past form we can expect the U.S. and its allies-cum-clients to continue their economic war against Serbia while occupying RaĀka ("Sanjak"), turning Montenegro into their fiefdom, and breaking up Vojvodina. Germany and Hungary may in the end be allowed to redraw the map of central-eastern Europe - to the detriment of the Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Romanians and others.

In a curious way the nineteenth century is being replayed out before our eyes. The great powers are intervening at will and with impunity but now justifying themselves in the name of that new fig leaf, the will of the "international community." (The latter has become the modern equivalent of Rousseau's "general will," which means the will of the person talking.) The Congress of Berlin has even been mentioned, approvingly, without the consideration that it was a step on the way towards the catastrophe of 1914.

No respite is on the horizon. According to the U.S. Secretary of State,

We are privileged to live in a country that, through most of this century, has chosen to lead. Today we are helping to shape events in every region on every continent in every corner of the world... We exercise this leadership not out of sentiment but out of necessity. We must mobilize every foreign policy tool, from the simplest art of persuasion to the blunt instrument of force... [W]e must work to sustain our prosperity by creating an ever-expanding global economy in which American genius and productivity receive their due.

These words of Mrs. Albright's are a timeless recipe for unlimited global imperialism. So long as this mind-frame prevails, and so long as "Western" policies continue to raise the hope of a Greater-Bosnian Islamistan and a Greater Albania - that would include not only Kosovo but also western Macedonia, parts of northern Greece and southern Montenegro - no Balkan peace can be expected. The alternative is conflict and the search for allies. At present the U.S. and its German allies, on whom Washington bases its European policy, are in the ascendant. But experience suggests that no ascendancy can last forever, and that the time for preparation to adjust to change is before changes begin, not after.

The alternative to the new imperialism is to begin thinking about a Balkan Peninsula of peoples, as distinct from one of states (though they too have their rationale). Unless this is done, all present and future manipulation of frontiers, nations and histories will be useless and counterproductive. There are many wires that may yet be tripped: differing objectives of Washington and Berlin; the volatility of American public opinion, and its diminished but not yet completely eradicated ability to resist the globalist project; the capacity of India, Russia and China to form a rival bloc; the unexpected. But meanwhile the juggernaut rolls on.

Empires differ in their objectives. The Greek city-states founded colonies abroad of their own citizens, to expand their own being. The Romans did so as an empire; so did the Ottoman Turks, with the commitment to universalize Islam. The British tried to expand Britain by creating colonies in North America and the Antipodes, but then let the colonies slip out of their grasp. (The British confused others, and themselves, by calling their colonies "dominions" and their dominions - i.e. alien lands dominated by British power - as "colonies," while calling their empire a "commonwealth.")

One can understand the principle of U.S. involvement in Cuba, Guatemala, or Haiti, even if one does not necessarily approve of particular policies. America is of necessity involved in hemispheric affairs, and it has traditionally been involved in "North Atlantic," i.e., European, affairs, to the extent of two world wars and the Cold War. But what is the relevance of the Balkans and the Black Sea? And what is the point of creating and arming militantly Muslim polities in the Balkans which ineluctably gives Iran a foothold there and a route into Central and Western Europe for subversion and terror?

The U.S. has traditionally worked with some ugly despotisms, and is still doing so, viz. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, or Pakistan. But to intervene in favor of Islamic fundamentalism, to help expel Serbs from land

they have inhabited as majorities for centuries, and to adopt the German-encouraged drive to reverse what is left of the Versailles provisions does not make sense.

The temptations of imperial arrogance are not new, even in the United States. They should not be forgotten just because America was, in some part, protected from this arrogance by the genuine weight and burden, more imposed than chosen, of defending the free world against Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia. The end of the Cold War has stripped off this protection... but to live for the adrenaline and glory of yesterday and yesteryear is to ride for a fall and to walk with hubris.

The United States did not plan its empire or global hegemony any more than the British did. In the 19th century it expanded westward relentlessly, killing Indians, expelling all European powers (British, French, Spanish) and taking land from Mexico in a stage-managed war; but that expansion was "national," not imperial. But then, a century ago, McKinley acquired colonial possessions. In the ensuing half-century two world wars and Korea established America as a global power. Kennedy's disastrous foray into Indochina seemed to indicate the limits of the empire, but the lessons of that trauma appear to have been inexplicably unlearned within a generation. Kennedy's costly boast that he would fight communism the world over has long since been exceeded by Mrs. Albright's promise to set the whole world to rights, by force where necessary, without reference to other states.

Instead of rediscovering the virtues of traditionally defined, enlightened self-interest in the aftermath of its hands down cold war victory, America's foreign policy elites are more intoxicated than ever by their own concoction of "benevolent global hegemony" and "indispensable power."

In the short term there is no countervailing force on the horizon. Moscow is showing the awareness of the dangers emanating from expanding American hegemony which it failed to show earlier in the decade. ... For nearly a decade the U.S. and E.U. were given a free hand in Europe, including Romania and Bulgaria, dragooning them into their anti-Serbian war against those countries' public opinion, national interest, and economic considerations.

Cui bono? It was a German who remarked that you can do anything with bayonets but sit on them. What can the Americans do with their new empire? They cannot settle it, like earlier colonial powers. How far and how long can they dominate it, with their Muslim allies and satraps in the Balkans and elsewhere? How far ahead are America's policy makers looking, and what their eventual aims are, if any?

A 19th century British liberal's complaint that "the empire is a millstone round our neck" has continued relevance. It should be brought home to ordinary Americans, in order to turn them into allies.

At the time of this writing America is uniquely powerful. It will not always be so. In the course of time, Russia may gain its potential strength, and there is very little the United States can do about Chinese developments one way or the other. A law of history is that power tends to generate countervailing power. We do not know how this will come about. We can do little more than guard against arrogance and overextension and minimize the pointless sacrifices they usually entail. The opponents of globalism and interventionism should be proud to have taken part in this endeavor.

NEW MILLENNIUM, OLD PROBLEMS Sir Alfred Sherman *

President Kostunica's election victory in October 2000 was the first step in a long journey - but only one step. First, Milosevic had a decade in which to wreak havoc, and its results are still with us.

Secondly, as experience in the rest of the Soviet world shows, countries whose institutions were communized over decades do not easily and smoothly develop into democracies.

Thirdly, Milosevic and his cronies were responsible for only a small part of Yugoslavia's ills. The main culprits were U.S. and German policies, Moslem resurgence, and Croatian aggression that mirrored atrocities during the Second World War. The Albanian narco-mafia is still operating; its accomplices in American public life are still active. (An honest politician has been described as one who once bought stayed bought. By that definition, but by no other, Robert Dole, Lieberman, Lantos, and Hilary Clinton are *honest* politicians.) The attempt to de-Serbianize Montenegro and split it off from Serbia, the better to dissect and digest it, is proceeding apace. The effect of earlier sanctions and bombing still bite.

There are countervailing factors. Awareness of the dangers to the West of unrestricted U.S. hegemony exercised through NATO is growing, intensified by reactions against Anglo-American bombing of Iraq and growing concern at the looming new cold war with Moscow. Russia, India and China, representing between them the majority of humanity, express concern at American presence in the Balkans. But the time when these countervailing factors will actually operate to halt the NATO crusade against Serbia, let alone reverse it, is

* *Byronica*, March 2001.

still some way off. The critical point at which misgivings turn into political action has not yet been reached.

When Clinton intervened in Bosnia in 1995, exploiting Karadzic's passivity when he held the military advantage, we said, and wrote, that Bosnia was only the first step. After conquering Bosnia and digesting it over time, the next item would be Kosovo, followed by Raska ("Sandjak") and parts of southern Serbia designed to form part of Greater Albania, then Vojvodina, of which large parts would be run by Germany and Hungary. This in turn would be used to legitimize German *revanchisme* in the Sudetenland and Hungarian claims on South Slovakia which had been allotted to them by the Reich. (There are geopolitical planners in Germany who are keen on recreating territorial settlements not because they are Nazis, but because they are Germans.)

Given the world balance of power, the scenario may unfold step by step. It is not for me to suggest the strategy and tactics needed by the Serbs to counter this scenario... Serbia's friends, including the Lord Byron Foundation, which took its allies where it found them, will continue to operate as they have done until we have reason to change. It has been a privilege to work as we did during the dark days, when the Belgrade government was more liability than asset. Our Moscow conference jointly with the Russian Academy of Sciences had political resonance. Our work in North America provided a discordant voice at a time when they were seldom heard. We shall continue to be present.

It stands to reason that the crucial task will be to influence American policy. This entails arguments based on American interests and international morality. In retrospect, few Americans would argue that their government's actions and policies over the last century were either moral or expedient.

The Spanish-American war, which entailed the annexation of Puerto Rico and the Philippines among other territories, created more problems than benefits. President Wilson's post-war policies, followed by abrupt reversal, created many lethal inter-war problems. Policies at the end of the Second World War, which included deliberately undermining French, Dutch and British colonial rule, rebounded on America. The attempt to reverse the ill effects of their anti-French policies in Indo-China as part of President Kennedy's *bragadaccio*, his claims to fight communism world-wide instead of containing it, created the Vietnam imbroglio which inflicted considerable harm on American society. The posturing of the Clinton Administration exemplified by Albright, Talbot and Rubin was vulnerable to logical argument and political action. We can only hope that its successors will show more reason and greater restraint.

Politics is not an exact science. It is difficult to tell when political initiatives fall on stony ground and when

they suddenly create momentum, as in the case of the war in Vietnam. But the advent of the Bush administration, which has at least said many of the right things against large-scale overseas intervention where American interests are not concerned, provides a more congenial environment for political action.

In Britain, there has been the lack of a major political figure to mobilize existing opinion against bipartisan subservience to the U.S. Life might last, we can but try. There is some hope that the French, for whatever motive, will pick up the ball and run. A few years ago, the LBF visited Moscow and encouraged Balkan specialists to speak up both publicly and privately against Russian appeasement of the American and German assault on Serbia. This has not been without effect. We still have everything to play for.



Sir Alfred Sherman with Baroness Thatcher at the launching of his last book, *The Paradoxes of power* (London, July 2005)

THE AMERICAN CENTURY REVISITED Sir Alfred Sherman⁶

Surtout, pas trop de zèle – Talleyrand

It will take time before the dazzling impact of the recent historically horrific exercise in freelance Muslim terrorism against a country which has recently done more to extend Muslim rule at the expense of Christian neighbours than any since Palmerston and Disraeli, working loosely with bin-Laden-trained and equipped Muslim terrorists, gives way to a sober assessment of the 21st Century hazards generated by American hegemony for the world, not least for America itself. In retrospect, the successful and horrific act of terror will be seen as a sideshow, and probably a counter-productive irritant, while the problems generated by the USA's sudden and partly unsought world hegemony remain to be confronted.

⁶ *Byronica*, November 2001.

The term *imperialism*, once positive, now pejorative, should be used neutrally. Empires have played a major part in human history, bringing languages, alphabets, religions, communications, culture and government. The Greek, Roman, Muslim-Arab, Spanish, Portuguese, French and British empires made the world we live in. Others, like the Persian, Mongol and German ruled large swathes for long periods, but left little, if anything, behind. It has been said that the British acquired their empire in a fit of absent-mindedness; much the same could be said of America's recent hegemony.

American imperialism can be divided into three periods. First came territorial expansionism to make way for resettlement. Once independent of Britain, the colonies launched unsuccessful wars against Canada, spread across the continent into settled Mexican territory and engaged in genocidal wars against the American Indians.

The second stage was the war against Spain, which gave the US traditional style colonies: Puerto Rico, the Philippines (where 200,000 citizens were killed in wars of resistance) and large numbers of Pacific Islands to add to Hawaii and create a Pacific shield. The third stage is American hegemony, spreading into Europe, the Near and Middle East, parts of Asia and Latin America... The experience of the Cuban missile crisis, communist rule in Nicaragua and communist terror in El Salvador in a shrinking world make it harder for the US to relinquish its levels of involvement. A test will come when Castro leaves the controls.

NATO, originally devised a defensive weapon against the very real threat of Stalinist expansion, has turned into a major instrument of American domination. This need not necessarily have been so, and was undertaken without a national debate in the US or Europe. Whereas the previous functions of NATO were clearly spelled out, its present objectives are clouded in euphemisms. The first question any military alliance should answer - who is the enemy? - is left unanswered. The first victims were the Serbs, subjected to a crippling blockade and then bombardment; the second have been the Macedonians, whose statehood and identity are now in question.

The first beneficiaries have been the ultra-nationalist and indeed clero-fascist Croats and the Slav and Albanian Muslims. NATO has transformed Kosovo-Metohija into an Albanian-style state with strong bin Ladenite links. Public figures such as Kissinger questioned the rationale of the Kosovo adventure, but to no avail, for reasons I discuss below. The UKL, originally sponsored by bin Laden, has now irrupted into Macedonia under NATO sponsorship, calling its survival into question. As the Piedmont of

projected Greater Albania, the UKL in Kosovo and now Macedonia is set to move against Montenegro and Greece, indicating to its NATO sponsors that world supremacy not only has a price but creates intractable dilemmas.

NATO has already absorbed the Czech Republic and Poland, both of which have more to fear from Germany, with its eyes on irredenta within their borders, than from Russia. NATO is now casting its eyes further, not omitting the Baltic states which can be a source of conflict with Russia, whose interest in these territories antedates NATO by several centuries. The US/NATO/EC is also exerting pressure in the Ukraine, the Balkans, the Danube basin and southern periphery of Russia, where new sources of oil and gas and new routes for their transport westward avoiding Russian territory are being traced.

On the other side of the world, American geography and recent history posit a presence in South Korea, Japan and Taiwan, one of the most successful of post-war states. After decades of conflict with communist China, the US has yet to elaborate a decisive China policy, though it can do little more than react to China's unpredictable initiatives.

Having led the anti-Iraq coalition following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the US remains ensconced in the region, unable to topple Saddam or exert more than a watching brief on his plans to evolve new weapons of mass destruction. American involvement in Arab-Israel relations characterises diminishing returns to proactive world supremacy.

Since the Republic's foundation, it has retained its New World idealism, the zeal against which Talleyrand warned. The belief that they had shaken the dust of the corrupt, monarchical old world from their feet and established the rule of liberty and virtue still dominates their thinking: it takes for granted that no problems should be insoluble. Clinton brought the largely insoluble Arab-Israel conflict into the heart of Washington. Israel's greater dependence on Washington's largesse and military support made it the more pliable. But no Israeli government could agree to terms which entailed acceding to Arafat's avowed aim of abolishing the Jewish state and expelling if not killing its inhabitants. Hence, Camp David, which brought massive concessions by Israel and funds from the EC for Arafat, in return for nothing but further demands, aroused unfulfillable hopes.

The US, in its role of honest broker, found itself supporting Israel willy-nilly when it brought workable preliminary proposals, whereas the Arabs have nothing to offer but *intifada*, violence and demands tantamount to Israel's eventual dissolution. A major effect of the renewed conflict was to undermine the Israeli peace

movement and Labour Party and give General Sharon a representative status at home he had previously lacked as an architect of several disasters.

In the circumstances, the Americans could follow no other policies, with minor reservations which irk the Israelis without mollifying the Arabs. But this allowed them to be presented as one-sided supporters of Israel. It is used against them by our anti-Israeli Stalinists, eg the *Guardian* and the BBC, to condone the new round of anti-American terrorism.

Yet ample evidence shows that the terror campaign embodied in the present outrage was set in motion several years ago, long before the Camp David agreements turned out to be a mirage and while Arafat and Rabin were universally hailed as blue-eyed boys. The Americans' cardinal fault was their high-profile involvement in the lost cause of brokering Arab-Israeli peace, resulting from their meliorative zeal. The terrorist assault is being used in Europe and the Arab world to rationalise the demand that the US throw Israel to the wolves, but the present mood in the US runs counter to this.

I mentioned above that the US decision to convert NATO from a defensive alliance into an instrument of hegemony, and its consequent pogrom against the Serbs and generous support for Slav and Albanian Muslim expansion, represented a turning point - which requires explanation.

To some extent, the temptation to use diplomatic and military power to gain an expanded share of Caspian oil following relaxation of Moscow's control over states in the basin - Azerbajdjan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Georgia and Armenia - played a part. Oil is worth fighting for.

But one cannot rule out the role of Croatian and Albanian bribery. The USA is a corrupt country, not more so than many others but not less so either. It is commonplace for the criminal underworld even more than legitimate big business to control politicians, judges, police and government at state and city levels. In the past, this has been done mainly to protect them in their criminal or business activities, although the Mafia's provision of sexual partners to Jack Kennedy and his brothers must have had political overtones which America is coy to trace.

However, the Croats and Albanians are another matter. The wartime Croat Ustasi government imposed by the Germans not only killed off three quarters of a million Serbs and all the Jews it could lay its hands on but confiscated all Jewish property. This wealth was smuggled out of the country after Germany's defeat with the aid of the Vatican and Swiss banks, first to Argentina and then to Canada and the United States. The money was used among other things for political

activities leading to the eventual establishment of a semi-fascist xenophobic state in Croatia with German aid, from which any remaining Serbs were expelled with NATO help. It was Croat Ustasi money which fed into illegal party accounts held by Kohl and his colleagues and subsequently bought their pardons. In the USA, this money went as 'campaign contributions' - Americanese for bribes - and helped the Croatian campaign for the break-up of Yugoslavia and the creation of a Greater Croatia from which rooted Serb communities were expelled *en masse*, several thousand being killed in the process.

The Albanians went even further. In recent decades, they have become one of the largest criminal communities in the world, matching the Sicilians. Their part in the heroin traffic from Afghanistan across to Italy and the USA is second only to that of the Turkish gangs. They control prostitution in several Italian cities and, according to Scotland Yard, in central London, where they have largely ousted the once familiar Maltese ponces.

In the United States the Albanian-owned businesses serve as important links in drug trafficking and money-laundering. They finance the lavishly funded American-Albanian Political Action Committee (PAC). Politicians who have benefited from Albanian Mafia largesse include Senators Dole, Lieberman, Hilary Rodham Clinton - who bullied her husband into bombing Serbia - McCain and Lantos, among others.

Senator Dole played a key role. It will be remembered that at an EC conference on the future of Bosnia in Lisbon in 1991-92, after Croatia and Slovenia had broken up Yugoslavia with German and Austrian help, Lord Carrington brokered an agreement between the representatives of the Serbs, Muslims and Croats on constitutional changes to facilitate a peaceful transition. But in the meantime, a new US ambassador had been dispatched to Belgrade, Warren Zimmerman, in place of President Bush's nomination of a Serb-American notable for charitable work. Dole was able to do this thanks partly to his power in the Senate, which controls such appointments, and partly because neither Bush nor his colleagues, concerned about election prospects, saw any great significance in the matter.

However, when the Lisbon conference was temporarily halted while the three delegations returned to their regions to achieve ratification of the agreement, Zimmerman flew to Sarajevo. He persuaded Aljia Izetbegovic, the senior Muslim delegate, a fanatic Muslim fundamentalist, as his *Islamic Declaration* indicates, to renege on the agreement, promising full American diplomatic and military aid. Izetbegovic accepted Zimmerman's urgings, rejected the agreement and declared a unified Bosnian state with a Muslim majority (large numbers of Serbs, who had been the

largest community for centuries, had been killed by Croats and their Muslim allies during the German occupation, and others had been resettled in the Vojvodina after the war). He prepared for war, but without American help would not have succeeded. Tens of thousands of people, mainly Muslims, died as a result of the Zimmerman stratagem, and the Bin Ladenites gained their expanded foothold in the Balkans.

Izetbegovic was supported by contingents of foreign *mujahedin* from the bin Laden camps. Many have remained in Bosnia and many travel on Bosnian passports. Bin Laden's training and support was even more important when the kLa terrorists launched their attacks on Serbs and non-militant Albanians in Kosovo, with the connivance of the CIA and German intelligence, in order to provoke Serbian reprisals and pave the way for American intervention designed to annex Kosovo. Though in theory Islam is totally against drug trafficking and use, the Bin Ladenites and their protégés are involved in narco-terrorism. There is ample evidence of this, although Western media are coy about it. Leading members of the CIA have gone on record expressing concern at the Bin Laden terrorist influence in Bosnia, Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia, but their concern has yet to influence policy-making levels. How this will sit with George Bush's 'crusade' against Muslim terrorism remains to be seen. [...]

THE COMING CONFRONTATIONS WITH ISLAM

Alfred Sherman on the *clash of civilisations* ⁷

There is much to be studied in present-day Islam, and the changing nature over the centuries of the relationship with Christendom which began when Islam burst out of the Arabian peninsula and embarked on a career of conquest and conversion which has by no means come to an end. Why Mohammed's musings should have formed the basis of a world religion now encompassing a fifth of mankind is a matter of speculation in the present state of our human self-knowledge; perhaps it always will be. Religions and philosophies which have mediated human affairs for millennia eventually lose their grip and successors emerge. We must take into account the state of Christianity, which is something of a residual force - and should perhaps be lumped together with 'post-Christianity' - when deciding upon our counter-position to Islam.

When comparing Christianity with Islam, vast differences emerge. There is a world association of

Muslim states with a secretariat and regular meetings, active in the present crisis. There is no corresponding body of Christian states, although it is Christianity which is under attack, yet dare not speak its name without caveats which allow Islam the benefit of the doubt and ignore its complicities in the present crisis. Christian polities remain anonymous, disguised as 'the international community', but pick up the bills. Have the remnants of Christendom not enough in common, if only in self-defence, to seek to re-establish a voice, a refurbished identity, Christian democracy and world law?

The present Afghan conflict and the battle with al Qaeda is just one symptom of a new phase in Islam's relations with what we call for want of a better word 'the West', which began half a century ago. We have been reluctant to come to terms with it, but it will be with us for decades to come.

The essence of the change was fourfold.

First, the liberation of the Muslim world from Western rule and domination; secondly, the Muslim world's response with a new, or rather renewed, Islamic militancy; thirdly, concurrently an increase in what Orwell called the West's "negative nationalism" - masochistic self-hatred in Western self-image and policy-making - and lastly a linked tendency to collective self-deception in relation to Islam. This self-deception encouraged policy-makers and opinion-formers to ignore the gravity of the problem for decades. It is now at work identifying the malaise exclusively with Bin Laden and al Qaeda, whereas they are merely symptoms of a much deeper and more widespread malaise affecting Islam worldwide.

Lastly, there is also the pervading influence of Marxism in Western thinking, which presents the crisis in economic terms and implies that generous economic aid will smooth the rough edges of Muslim antagonism or that Islam's economic malaise is somehow the West's fault.

To set it in perspective, let us turn back to the end of the Second World War. Almost the whole of the Muslim world, with the exceptions of Turkey and parts of the Arabian peninsula, was under Western rule. The whole of North Africa and adjacent parts of sub-Saharan Africa, the Near and Middle East, Iran-albeit briefly - British India, Malaysia and Indonesia, and Soviet Central Asia, were under non-Muslim rule. Under colonial rule they made some progress. Their identity was seen primarily as colonial, and their destiny liberation. In the 60 years that followed, they have enjoyed almost universal liberation from non-Muslim rule. Exceptions are Palestine, a special case, where they chose *intifada* rather than deal, Chinese Turkistan and parts of Kashmir.

⁷ From *Right Now!* January 2002

But there is no happy ending. Muslim countries have failed by their own criteria. The shadow of Muslim fundamentalism looms. Country after country eschews elections because they would let in the fundamentalists committed to full sharia and jihad, and outlawing democracy for ever. Turkey, Algeria and Egypt are among those countries which dare not let their electors speak. In Egypt, elections for professional bodies indicate that the results of free elections would be a triumph for reaction, a return to the early Middle Ages. Muslim countries lack mechanisms for evolution, peaceful constitutional and political change.

During the last 50 years, in spite of the vast increase in oil wealth, which Muslims believe was placed there by Allah for their particular benefit. There is no commensurate wellbeing, but rather the opposite. Oil wealth has been squandered, and the full price is yet to be paid. Saudi Arabia, the archetypal Aladdin's Cave, is in permanent economic crisis. If Russia ever chooses to flood the world with cheap oil, Saudi Arabia could be in freefall, bankrupt, its regime and continued existence as a single state in question, its debts unpaid, a vast politico-economic and military black hole.

Rapid population growth, facilitated by improved medical services, brought population expansion unmatched by resources or employment. The demographic balance has changed, with many more young people lacking regular employment and becoming prey to religious demagoguery. Islam's message is beguilingly simple - Muslim solidarity, the Prophet's laws and nothing else, hatred and suspicion of the infidel, paranoia. This is nothing new. For several centuries, the Muslim world has chosen its religious vocation over scientific and economic progress. In world historical terms this is the norm, and 'the West' is an exception. We optimistically took for granted that the Third World would follow in the West's footsteps, but must revise our assumptions. Liberalism has no place in Islam. The dominance of sadism in penal policy should not go unremarked. Our liberals and Leftists whose consciences are so tender at home should not be permitted to turn a blind eye to Islam's war on womankind, its sheer gynophobia.

Islam and 'the West' have been increasingly moving in opposite directions and there is every reason for this to continue. There are no major forces for change visible in the Muslim world. 'The West' is materialistic in a manner which would have shocked earlier generations, eg Gladstone's. It is also doggedly liberal.

But Islam has regressed in terms of its own values. If we take British India as an example, in spite of all the horror stories there was a civil service of high standard and an independent judiciary. Pakistan, by contrast, has

become a by-word for corruption, and the country's economic potential has been seriously compromised as a result. The concept of 'excessive transaction costs' meaning that the costs of bribery are greater than the economy can bear, dominates economists' reports.

But the divide runs deeper, how much deeper is only becoming apparent. During the Middle Ages, Islam and Christianity seemed to have common values. This may turn out to have been illusory; at least it bears reconsideration. By now, Christianity and post-Christianity are totally fractured; the term 'Christendom' is in desuetude. There is no longer even lip service to Christianity in Western policy-making.

Multiculturalism, inasmuch as it means anything at all, means an absence of agreed values; it means rights to Muslims in the West that are denied in darulislam, the home of Islam, as opposed to daruharb, the locus of war, but which Muslims define the West. By contrast, Islam is ubiquitous in its own home. There, it is a fact, not a concept, an identity as well as a faith. There is no agreement on a blueprint for an Islamic state, other than the sharia, which leaves major questions unanswered. The differences between Morocco, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iran and Pakistan inter alia are not even conceptualised. It is all very well to hark back to a caliphate, but that did not last very long, and there is no sign that existing Arab states would compromise their own sovereignty by moving towards one.

Experience worldwide does not inspire hope for compromise, a viable alternative to Western models. Is there a possible compromise between the prohibition of interest and a modern banking system essential to a modern economy? Can the treatment of women by the Taleban and Saudis and other Muslim states go hand in hand with a working modern society? Muslim solidarity is primarily against the West, without positive content. Hence a determined Western response, as after September 11th, is making headway, which gives the lie to the fainthearts and defeatists.

For centuries, Islam advanced by conquest as well as conversion. When it fell under foreign rule there was no backsliding. Its economic failures have paradoxically expanded it by mass migration, an issue with which Western societies have so far lacked the nerve to grapple - hence the growing, indigestible colonies in Christian heartlands, fifth columns feted and privileged... [W]e must tie up the loose ends left by September 11th and the Afghan war...

At present, no-one is seeking the wider initiative, a path for the Christian and post-Christian world to rally in the face of an attack of which Bin Laden and his allies are protagonists. 'The West' cannot afford to be passive, but should take the initiative in all things for which history has fitted us. In other words, the answer

to Bin Laden should be a question: 'what are we for right now and in the future?' - not just 'What are we against?' Civilisations survive or fail thanks to their inner strength of purpose. The question of the day is what Christian civilisation stands for. If we fail to answer this question satisfactorily, our counter-attacks, however massive, will prove ultimately ineffectual.

THE ASSAULT ON SERBIA

Sir Alfred Sherman⁸

Not for the first time, the Serbs are being subjected to a pogrom. As in the case of all pogroms, the cause lies in the nature of the perpetrators, not the victim's. The West, that is to say NATO, which has been leading the pogrom, is beset by deep distemper, one of whose many manifestations has been chronic Serbophobia. This is one symptom of the ingrained masochism and national or civilizational self-hatred which has been plaguing the West increasingly since the dawn of the last century.

The self-hatred has taken many forms. *Nostalgie de la boue*, emotional identification with backward societies, blind sympathy with destructive revolutionary forces and regimes, and crude Islamophilia are among the symptoms. It is mainly a product of the twentieth century, though antecedents can be traced earlier. Communism exemplifies it.

In the first decade of the 21st century Britain is beginning to feel like an occupied country. As a result, associated cardinal values – patriotism, loyalty, the family, morality – are under threat.

Magical wisdom and powers were accorded to the proletariat, flying in the face of logic and experience. The conceited claims of semi-literate monsters like Stalin and Mao were taken at face value, their assaults on civilization assisted. In many parts of Britain, Christian symbols and practices are outlawed or hindered by authorities on the grounds that they constitute discrimination against non-Christian minorities.

Similar action is taken against literary and historical expressions of Britishness. In the first decade of the 21st century Britain is beginning to feel like an occupied country. As a result, associated cardinal values: patriotism, loyalty, the family, morality are under threat. In her years as leader of the Opposition and then prime minister, Margaret Thatcher met opposition from her colleagues and the media to her enunciating a Christian view on socio-political affairs.

⁸ Address at the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade, March 16, 2006

Christianity continually needs creative restatement in light of science and social change. The exploitation of patriotism by fascism in its various forms has left national values exposed. The moral and intellectual vacuum generated by the decline of national consciousness, patriotism and Christianity has opened the way for worship of strange Gods. Among them, Islam, the world of the Near East, beckons.

Reality is not far behind ideas. Europe, which for centuries was the source of migration, peopling the Americas, Oceania and parts of Africa, has become the target for mass immigration by Islam, Asia and Africa. Various pretexts have been advanced for this by immigrationists, in particular labor shortage. This is evidently fallacious. Europe has always been at a loss to employ its growing population, both numerically and because most advances of technology obviate need for people.

Backward countries export backward people, whose labor is decreasingly relevant to advanced countries, who absorb more in welfare than they produce. Hence only a minority of immigrants of working age from Pakistan and Bangladesh are in employment, swelling the ranks of the massive welfariat, even a lower proportion of Somalis. But the immigrants have set up their own states within a state, and are readily granted privileges to enable them to recreate their *milieux*. Much of social and economic policy is designed to favor them and maintain their separate identity. By now, Moslems have breached the ten per cent barrier in Western and Central Europe. Governments seem helpless or unwilling to stem the tide. Spokesmen for the European Community laud this Moslem colonization as Europe and the Moslem world as coming together, ignoring its utter one-sidedness.

Criticism of these trends is stifled as "racism", ignoring considerations of patriotism, national consciousness and social order. The undermining of national homogeneity based on common values is leading to visible social breakdown. In whole areas of London, the English are in a minority, particularly among the school population. Communal cohesion has suffered as a result. Man still does not live by bread alone, but the refurbishment of spiritual values may not be an autonomous process. Emigration by Englishmen and women, particularly to North America, is increasing while the third world, mainly Moslems and Hindus, rushes in to take their place. Public spiritedness, once based on commonality of national sentiment, is correspondingly declining.

These developments are reflected in policy. In dealing with former Yugoslavia, it is taken for granted by policy-makers and commentators that the Moslems, so-called *Bosniaks*, a product of Ottoman rule, are the indigenous population and are oppressed by alien Serbs

and Macedonians. Ignorance of Balkan history facilitates this distortion, but underlying it is alienation from a sense of Euro-Christian history and values. It is no accident that the United States has been leading this gadarene rush. Sense of history is not America's strong point. Immigrants came to shake the dust of imperial Europe off their feet, but in fact transplanted it. A majority of Americans are God-fearing and traditionalist, but the tone-setters: academics; communicators; entertainers, and politicians; are boring away at its entrails.

Serbdom is particularly vulnerable to these trends. During the Second World War, the British colluded with the Russians in imposing an atheistic communist dictatorship on Yugoslavia.

The interests of the long-suffering Serb nation were subordinated to Tito's megalomaniac designs, which included harnessing the Moslem world to Soviet cold-war expansionism while Communist Yugoslavia gained additional status as a major Soviet partner.

This left no room for the essentially Christian character of Serbdom, including the western Serbs of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Krajina, and other parts of the newly-created xenophobic Croatian Republic. Serbia's appeal to the Christian world has thereby gone by default; yet it is an essential element of Serbdom's right to live.

The Euro-American pogrom against the Serbs totally ignores their beleaguered Christian essence and traditions. This can be put down in part to the West's compulsive secularization, in part to the Serbs' own long integration into Yugoslavia and particularly the communist period, and in part to aping of Western secularism. There are also residues in it of the great schism in Christianity, exploited by Clero-fascism in Croatia. The Judeo-Christian character of Serbdom, which is a major part of its identity and right to survive, and which unites Old Serbia, Rashka, Montenegro and the Vojvodina, is passed over in silence. Christians in Europe and the US are not apprised of the religious nature of Serbdom.

These developments have been in line with the secularization of politics which has been a characteristic of recent centuries. But history never stands still. In the United States, a re-assertion of Christianity in society and citizenship is taking place and has begun to reassert an influence over politics. Even in Europe, the general trend towards secularization does not have it all its own way. See for example resistance to Turkey's acceptance into the European Community grounds of the Community's essentially Christian character is a pointer. Since this conference was first mooted, the uncompromising nature of Islam's hatred of the West, intensified and

not mitigated in response to Western appeasement, has been the organized mob violence in several continents rationalized by cartoons in a low circulation Danish publication. It is a reminder that appeasement is always counter-productive. It follows that assertion of Serbia's right to support on grounds of its Christian reassertion against both Moslem and post-communist aggression, is not special pleading but a statement of common interests.

More than that, it is time to remind Euro-America of its Judeo-Christian character, rights and duties, its own interests no less than the interests and rights of Serbs. This will be Serbia's positive contribution to the Western world's fight-back. I ask for no favors, but for a common struggle to defend a common heritage against a perennial threat.

OBITUARIES

The Times, August 29, 2006

Political Thinker Who Swung Away From Communism to Become a Leading Adviser to Margaret Thatcher

Enfant terrible and éminence grise of the Conservative Party in the mid and late 1970s, Alfred Sherman, a journalist, policy thinker and undeniable iconoclast, was a leading influence on Margaret Thatcher after she became party leader in 1975. A former communist who had fought with the International Brigades in the Spanish Civil War, Sherman had, between his late twenties and late forties, undergone a spectacular ideological conversion from the far Left to the extreme Right. Thus transformed, his zeal and determination proved decisive in moving the Tories towards policies that would have seemed impossibly right wing in the immediate post-war period.

Once Thatcher had beaten Edward Heath to become Tory leader, Sherman had been able to take advantage of the shock — and in some cases, temporary tactical paralysis — suffered by more orthodox political figures to become, briefly, an ever-present, all-purpose adviser and leading influence in her court.

Small of stature, a man who suffered few fools, he antagonised established Tories and the liberal establishment in equal measure. With a razor-sharp intellect and ardour for ideas that few could match, he was well equipped for colourful verbal indiscretion. Fundamentally, he wished to move the Tories from Heath's corporatism to fresher, more daring policy territory. This he achieved by supplying Margaret Thatcher with a stream of provocative ideas countering

the post-war Keynesian consensus. Accepted wisdom was anathema to Sherman: for instance the myth, as he saw it, that Britain's welfare state was the envy of the world.

Alfred Sherman was born in 1919. He grew up in an East End Jewish environment where, as he said, "you were born a socialist, you didn't have to become one." He was educated at the boys' school set up in 1876 by the Worshipful Guild of Grocers, later Hackney Downs. "In my schooldays, Hackney was considered a place of opportunity, full of immigrants who worked hard to make a success of themselves," Sherman recalled. He praised the school's discipline and the respect it required to be paid to its teachers, although "it was assumed that if you became successful you would move on. I left soon after my 17th birthday".

He briefly studied chemistry at Chelsea Polytechnic but, "appalled by fascism", he soon boarded a train from London with others determined to fight for the Spanish republicans. The move was emotional rather than ideological: Sherman had yet to read Marx. He recalled: "I wanted to do my bit." He hadn't told his parents where he was going.

After three weeks' basic training he was sent into action; his capacity for Spanish and French came in handy. Asked for his view on shooting to kill, he once simply replied: "What's a soldier for?"

He was back in the UK in 1938. The Republicans had been betrayed: "We were pawns in many ways. It took me another decade before I realised what a cheat and liar Stalin was."

Partly on the strength of his language skills, he served in the [Second World War] in field security and the administration of enemy-occupied territories. Once back in civilian life he briefly became a school teacher — he later argued that the school-leaving age should never have been raised from 14 to 16; it increased delinquency rates — and studied at the London School of Economics. He also lived for a while in Israel, where he learnt Hebrew and met his future wife.

Returning to the UK he entered journalism, working on the *Jewish Chronicle* and, later, *The Daily Telegraph* in various roles, advancing to be a leader-writer. He developed an expertise in local government affairs, becoming in 1971 a Kensington and Chelsea councillor.

His left-wing days were now long past. Given Stalin's atrocities, he explained, "people who would like to make the world a bit better switched." As a writer he developed the tricks of what might be termed a right-wing version of a Marxist dialectic. His targets were the idiocies of municipal socialism, but also the

ineffectiveness of Butskellite Toryism advanced by Heath and Harold Macmillan.

Having passed through journalism to the outskirts of politics, he had written speeches for Sir Keith Joseph before the latter returned to government in 1970. In 1974 Edward Heath's defeat at the polls gave Sherman his great opportunity. Unfailingly theatrical, he made his way to Joseph's home, where he announced: "Keynes is dead! Dead!" Joseph agreed with Sherman that Tory policy had to be recast from its foundations — and that the existing Conservative Research Department was unlikely to achieve this. The two established a new think-tank, the Centre for Policy Studies. This, wrote Sherman, with his lyrical gifts now coming to the fore, would "question the unquestioned, think the unthinkable, blaze a trail".

It was a heady time. Sherman described early 1974 as a "London spring" when even his foes admitted that the forces of moderate Toryism — shaken by their defeat at the hands of the National Union of Mineworkers — were made to retreat. The CPS generated a mass of speeches — many by Joseph — pamphlets and articles aiming to change the tramlines of debate in politics, business and academic circles.

Many hands were involved in producing these, but Sherman played the main part in provoking their authorship. One mishap for which he was probably not responsible, but for which he often stood accused, was writing a notorious passage in a Joseph speech citing potential damage arising from reproduction among the underclass. Joseph insisted that he had himself inserted the offending words.

Thus Thatcher, not Joseph, became Tory leader. At first sight Joseph might have offered better prospects, but even under Thatcher, who had a weakness for former socialist converts, Sherman's influence was maintained.

Sir Alfred was a complex man, a brilliant man, a difficult man and a scholar. His full contribution to the Thatcher revolution has not yet been recognised. – Iain Dale

She appreciated his rigour, depth of reading and inexorable clarity of view. For a while, to the fury of his many enemies, most of all her shadow ministers, he was her most trusted mentor. The two would have numerous and lengthy discourses while others waited to gain her attention. Even when they did they remained menaced by the rejoinder: "But Alfred says . . ."

Once installed as Prime Minister, however, she decided there was no place for him in Downing Street. He later wrote, miserably, that even by 1979 her reforming zeal had been "diluted" by the Tory

grandees. The election victory, he continued, “placed her in the hands of the Civil Service and the Establishment”.

With no formal Whitehall role, he lost influence, although he did help to bring Sir Alan Walters, her closest economic adviser, into government service. In 1983 Sherman was knighted — a recognition of a unique contribution, but a signal, too, of his limited acceptability in a more staid ruling environment.

Eased out of the CPS, he argued that thinking the unthinkable receded within Tory fashion because it posed a challenge that “a complacent government was starting to find irksome”.

But he always knew that once frontbenchers had regained their poise after the shock of defeat in 1974, his role as generator of ideas would ebb. Trying to sell a minister a policy was “like trying to sell condoms to an impotent man”.

Indefatigably, he entered two decades of opposing much of government policy — either Tory or new Labour — on issues including education, race relations, and what he described as a wrongful hue and cry for rail subsidies. Water privatisation, heavily opposed by the Left, was, he said, “never properly thought through”. It contained “the seeds of a new corporatism”.

He became a professional lobbyist, unashamed if his views seemed eccentric or if his clients were unfashionable. He was not wholly excluded from Thatcher’s governing circle: he was sent to Central America as her personal emissary to monitor Nicaragua’s Government, and was received at Ronald Reagan’s White House. Thatcher also made a significant effort to attempt to help with his pension arrangements.

He embarrassed her when in 1986 he championed a controversial visit to the Tory conference by Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of the French National Front, which was called off only when Le Pen declined to attend. In the 1990s Sherman advised Radovan Karadzic and, yet more controversially, Ratko Mladic. During the 1999 Nato Kosovo campaign, he flew to Belgrade to attack Western policy.

Sherman claimed a “crucial role” in Thatcherism’s most formative period yet complained he was “air-brushed” out of *The Downing Street Years*, the autobiography of Thatcher’s premiership.

However, when in July last year he launched his memoirs, *Paradoxes of Power: Reflections on the Thatcher Interlude*, Lady Thatcher attended. She told fellow guests: “We could have never defeated socialism if it hadn’t been for Sir Alfred.”

The Herald (Glasgow), August 30 2006
Communist Who Became a Tory Policy Creator

Gordon Casely

Sir Alfred Sherman was the ardently right-wing journalist, *enfant terrible* and iconoclastic thinker who buttressed Margaret Thatcher for eight years after she became party leader in 1975. He bore none of the patrician handsomeness of a Hurd or a Heseltine. He had also been a fanatical communist who fought with the International Brigades in the Spanish Civil War before undergoing a spectacular ideological conversion.

His wellspring of zeal and determination moved the Tories decisively to the right. He overturned Tory thinking, co-founding with Sir Keith Joseph and Mrs Thatcher the Centre for Policy Studies in 1974. He provided his leader with the intellectual confidence to proclaim an unfettered free market. A leader-writer on *The Daily Telegraph*, Alfred on his occasional visits to Scotland barely hid his sneers at “the cosy Keynesian consensus you Scots operate.” [...]

Mrs Thatcher appreciated Sherman, to the disgust of most of her shadow cabinet. His intellect and clarity of view impressed her. But after she came to power in 1979, his influence waned. When, in 1983, he was summarily sacked from the CPS, even a knighthood barely mollified him. [...]

At conferences, he’d stand at the bar, plump hands waving, enthralled audiences with ideas that flowed as entertainingly as a comedian’s one-liners.

Harry Reid on Sherman
The Herald, August 31, 2006

Thatcher is regarded as a conviction politician. The reality is that she was a pragmatist, and a cautious one at that. After being elected leader of her party, she and her right-hand man, Keith Joseph, listened to ideologues of the right. Among them was the remarkable Alfred Sherman, who died [on August 26]...

She listened to him, impressed by his ability to “think the unthinkable.” But when she gained power, Sherman was swiftly sidelined. He became bitter, believing Thatcher and Joseph were weak. Joseph decided Sherman was too extreme and outspoken to act even as an adviser. Eventually, badgered by the outcast, Joseph arranged for him to have an interview with the civil servant Sir Peter Carey, who asked Sherman what he would do with the

Department of Industry. "Abolish it," came the reply. The interview did not last long. Thatcher gave Sherman a knighthood and then ignored him.

Sherman continued to present himself as the intellectual architect of Thatcherism but the truth was that Thatcherism, as he had intended it, never existed.

The Guardian, August 29, 2006
**Adviser Who Preached Thatcherism
Before the Term Was Invented**

Dennis Kavanagh

For a brief period in the 1970s, Alfred Sherman, who has died aged 86, wielded considerable influence over Conservative ministers, in government and in opposition. Between 1974 and 1979 he supplied much of the drive for Sir Keith Joseph to turn back the tide of postwar collectivism. As leader of the opposition during those years, and for the first three years of her premiership, Margaret Thatcher leaned on Sherman for strategic advice and suggestions for speeches.

Born into an east London Jewish family of immigrants from Russia, Sherman grew up in great poverty, and suffered from rickets. He became a grammar school boy, getting a place at Hackney Downs county secondary school, then studied science at Chelsea Polytechnic. He joined the Communist party as a teenager and in 1937, aged 17, volunteered to fight on the Republican side in the Spanish civil war.

Sherman served in the Middle East with the British army during the second world war; then became a student at the London School of Economics (he was president of the student branch of the CP there in 1948) and graduated in 1950. He worked briefly as a teacher and, finding this not to his taste, began to write newspaper articles, leading to a sometimes fraught association with the *Daily Telegraph* lasting from 1965 to 1986.

Visits to Yugoslavia and experience of East European communism after 1945 were disillusioning. He shifted across the political spectrum to supporting the free market. There was never to be any middle ground in Sherman's life. He believed in absolutes, revelled in conflict and detested the consensual complacency of the middle way.

Sherman had a highly original mind to which were added wide reading, a range of languages and a gift for striking phrases. As local government reporter for the *Daily Telegraph* he came to the attention of Sir Keith Joseph in 1969 and drafted some of Joseph's

speeches celebrating the free market. Preaching Thatcherism before the term was invented, he was disappointed with the economic U-turns of Edward Heath's 1970 government and the performance of Joseph, who was health minister. Sherman claimed Joseph had been captured by his civil servants and forgotten all he had taught him.

Back in opposition after the February 1974 election, Joseph turned again to Sherman, who drafted speeches attacking social engineering, subsidies, trade union power and high taxation, and spelling out the case for monetarism. The thinktank, the Centre for Policy Studies, was founded jointly by Joseph and Thatcher in 1974 and provided a home for those who wanted to promote free market Conservatism. In those "heroic" days it was little more than an office employing Sherman to draft speeches for Joseph. It attracted a number of people who had not been active Tories but became influential later, notably David Young (later Lord Young of Graffham) and John (later Sir) Hoskyns.

As director, Sherman urged the CPS to "think the impossible." He supplied many of the phrases which Joseph popularised, for example, reversing the "ratchet of socialism" and the distinction between "common ground" (about which the parties and most voters agreed) and "the middle ground" (a point mid-way between the parties). There was tension between the centre and the Conservative Research Department as they fought for the leader's ear. To this was added mutual hostility between the research director, Chris (now Lord) Patten, and Sherman... Other hates included the Foreign Office, civil service, most of the Establishment and immigrants.

Sherman aroused strong feelings. He could be arrogant and offensive to those (the great majority) whom he regarded as "second-rate." His crude expressions, particularly about immigrants and non-whites, could give plain speaking a bad name. He was widely believed to have prompted Thatcher in a television interview in January 1978 to use her "swamping" remark to describe public feeling about immigrants. The remark brought William Whitelaw to the brink of resigning as shadow home secretary.

It was inevitable that when the Conservatives returned to office in 1979 his relations with the leadership would end in tears. He was given no government job. The difficulty was his love of the limelight; he felt free to write articles critical of the government while presenting himself as a semi-official adviser to Thatcher. The parting of the ways came in 1983 when Lord Thomas of Swynnerton (the historian Hugh Thomas), chairman of the CPS, pushed him out and Thatcher refused to intervene. Thomas, with her agreement, wanted the centre to be more pro-

Conservative. Sherman thought the essence of the thinktank was its independence. He broke with Joseph, whom he accused of "going native". A knighthood in 1983 was small recompense. The CPS never had the same clout, and neither did Sherman.

For a brief period Sherman undoubtedly reinforced the radicalism of Thatcher. He undermined Jim Prior's "softly softly" approach to reforming industrial relations. In 1981 he and Sir Alan Walters, Thatcher's economic adviser, invited Professor Jürg Niehans, the Swiss economist, to demonstrate that monetary policy was too tight and damaging the economy. He described his relationship with Thatcher as one in which "I articulated her instincts." In the end he gave up on her also, claiming that she had been tamed by Whitehall.

Sherman later was retained as a public affairs adviser to the National Bus Corporation and advocated paving over railways. An invitation to the French National Front leader, Jean-Marie Le Pen, to address a fringe meeting at the 1987 Conservative conference provoked a storm and was cancelled. During the bloody breakup of Yugoslavia, he was an adviser to and apologist for President Radovan Karadzic of the Serb Republic of Bosnia, from 1993 to 1994.

Sherman was one of the political entrepreneurs, including Ralph Harris, Arthur Seldon and Madsen Pirie, whose ideas were important in undermining the postwar consensus. He seemed to despise most politicians and civil servants whose goodwill he depended on. His lack of tact combined with his quest for recognition made it difficult for Whitehall to know what to do with him.

The Daily Telegraph, August 28, 2006 **Sir Alfred Sherman**

Sir Alfred Sherman, who died on Saturday aged 86, was the former Communist who became one of Margaret Thatcher's earliest intellectual soulmates when she succeeded Edward Heath as Opposition leader...

Sherman was arguably the most eccentric, and certainly the most contradictory, figure ever to have been a leading adviser to a senior politician. His early imbibed skill in Marxist dialectic made him a formidable logician; at his best he could be witty, educated and shrewd on economic matters. But he could also be breathtakingly naive, never losing the instinctive fanaticism which put him in the Communist party in the first place.

That fanaticism never enabled him to fit into the clubbable world of British politics. Though sensitive

and easily stung by criticism, Sherman's inability to compromise, and his deep contempt for large swathes of the Establishment, brought him few close friends. Many people regarded him as a sinister figure; but others found pathos in a man who effectively destroyed himself by a series of venomous quarrels that left him isolated from former colleagues.

During the years when his star was in the ascendant, Sherman's clear thinking and willingness to say the unsayable – Sir Keith Joseph once described Sherman as the Tory Party's "hair shirt" – provided a vital stimulus to Mrs Thatcher, giving her the intellectual confidence to proclaim her radical free-market vision in her early years as leader. His access continued after Mrs Thatcher became prime minister in 1979. Sherman introduced her to the monetarist Professor Alan Walters, who became her personal economic adviser in 1980.

In 1981 the CPS under Sherman's directorship brought the Swiss monetarist Jurg Niehans over to Britain to advise on economic management. Niehans wrote a report critical of the government's economic management that was crucial in influencing the change of policy in the 1981 budget; this tightened the government's fiscal stance to make possible a looser monetary policy – the foundation for the policy successes of the Thatcher years.

Sherman also contributed to Mrs Thatcher's speeches. It was said that at party conferences he could be relied upon to provide a draft of 50 pages, 48.5 of which were so outrageous as to be unusable, while the other one and a half contained phrases of pure gold. Mrs Thatcher's close advisers were convinced that Sherman would continue to make a real contribution to the process of policy formulation in government, but strains in his relationship with the prime minister soon began to show... By 1983 Lord Thomas (the historian Hugh Thomas), who had been appointed chairman of the CPS in 1979, was finding Sherman impossible to work with. In the summer of that year, following a row over the relationship of the CPS with the Tory party, Sherman was summarily sacked from the CPS in a "virulent" letter from Thomas.

Sherman did not blame Thomas personally, but criticised "changed attitudes among Conservative leaders towards ideas, once back in office," typically adding, "the effects on the CPS of de-Shermanisation are painfully evident in the brain death inflicted..."

Not that everyone took his outbursts seriously. On one occasion, when Sherman was supposed to have sounded off about the need for all second-generation immigrants to go home, an affable Jewish stockbroker patted him on the shoulder and said: "Okay, Alfred, I'll

meet you at Heathrow for the Thursday Aeroflot flight to Moscow.”

It was not any “fanaticism” that had made Sherman “unclubbable” but his non-elite education and his being a contrarian outsider and creative thinker – indeed the very traits that paradoxically led him to Communism, and then to his rejection of Communism (“a self-deception beyond repair”).

Having spent much time in the last year or so talking to Alfred, writing an extensive review of his book and recording his thoughts for a radio programme on *The Rise and Fall of Margaret Thatcher* it is clear to me that he was the only senior government adviser who fully grasped (economically as well as philosophically) the nature of the task before the Conservative Government in 1979. He was by far the most able thinker close to No. 10, and he “got it right” on virtually every point – mass immigration, coal and steel subsidies, monetarism, the Poll Tax, Europe, the ERM and the bureaucratisation of the NHS.

“Margaret Thatcher was not really a Thatcherite,” he told me. He was right, but Alfred Sherman created Thatcherites and that powerful combination of classical liberal economics, Conservative morality and property rights and opposition to the corporatist state which gave the Conservative Party 18 years in power and, initially at least, even benefited the Blair regime.

Sir Alfred thought that the British political situation had regressed. It was not “post Thatcherite” but “pre Thatcherite”. Shortly after Mr Cameron (who seems to believe in little of these principles) was elected Tory leader Alfred said to me “you should prepare for the post Cameron era”.

Rodney Atkinson

A PRICKLY AND PRESCIENT PIONEER Derek Turner

Sherman’s brushes with Stalinists in Spain made him start to doubt socialism, and this process was accelerated after his experiences of Tito’s Yugoslavia (he was the *Observer*’s Belgrade correspondent). As he put it in his book *Paradoxes of Power* (Imprint Academic, 2005), he had “become aware of the continuing relevance of national and

religious questions” – questions for which Marxism clearly had no answers. He began to believe that statism was always wrong, and that the free market was the answer (although he would later say that the market constituted merely “the lowest form of rationality”).

Whilst moving away from socialism, he also had little time for the ineffectual Heathite ‘conservatism’ of the time, which merely went along with Labour initiatives. [...]

His short, stocky figure was a permanent fixture at *Salisbury Review* parties, where he would sit by himself on a sofa (often wearing an incongruous and grubby yellow poncho), and I always found him perfectly easy to talk to and even disagree with – so long I was sure of my own ground. The sad thing is that he was lonely because people avoided him – and often this was simply because they were afraid of his merciless intellect. I was initially slightly afraid of him too. But I soon found that he would even tolerate direct attacks on his most sacred cows, so long as these attacks were made courteously and comprehensively – and in any case we shared much common ground on non-economic matters. The last time I saw him, at the launch party for his book at the CPS last year, he was so anxious to talk to me that he actually sent his wife over to fetch me (even then, he could only walk with difficulty), and we spoke companionably for a short time about his experiences in Spain and about Muslims. Some months later, I heard that he had been very pleased by a lengthy review of *Paradoxes of Power* that I had penned for an American magazine. I am glad that my last contacts with this original and remarkable man were such pleasant ones.

In *Paradoxes of Power*, that restless brain was still much in evidence – although his conclusions were exceedingly depressing. He believed that the reforms of the Thatcher period were now being reversed, and that there was little sign of the intellectual ferment necessary if Britain is to come to terms with a rapidly changing and highly dangerous world. He looked forward to new thinking that would address

“the national question (or questions), relations between ethnically diverse communities, with the US, the EU and the Commonwealth, the role of Christianity... a reassessment of human nature, the roots of crime and social breakdown, scope and limits of market-oriented economies and of government action in society.”

In the era of David Cameron, this admittedly looks unlikely – but he was already looking hopefully forward to “the post-Cameron era”, an era now he will not see. But we will; and when we do perhaps we should spare an occasional grateful thought for this prickly and prescient pioneer.

A REVOLUTIONARY ROMANTIC

Peter Coleman⁹

The only British prime minister who has spoken out against the chattering intellectuals and spoken up for the lower classes has been Margaret Thatcher. (She sold them their council houses.) It is as if she has been so demonised that it would damage his cause to identify it with her.

Yet this is what Alfred Sherman does in his fascinating *Paradoxes of Power: Reflections on the Thatcher Interlude*. Sherman claims, with some exaggeration, to have invented Thatcherism. A Jew from London's East End, an old communist from the days when half of the British Communist Party was Jewish, and a youthful veteran of the Spanish Civil War in which he was a machine gunner in the (largely Jewish, he says) International Brigades—he finally renounced communism after a stint in Tito's Yugoslavia. In its place he espoused a very British conservatism. But he retained the Marxist belief in thinking big—and the confidence that if you are aligned with the forces of history, a handful of people can move mountains. You might even find a cure for “the British disease” (stagflation, syndicalism, universal hopelessness).

It was another Jew, the far-sighted Tory cabinet minister Keith Joseph, who set him up in a think-tank, the Centre for Policy Studies, with the goal of reversing the postwar socialist settlement that had turned Britain into the sick man of Europe. Fleet Street dubbed Joseph the Mad Monk and Sherman Rasputin. But anyone still sceptical about think-tanks, small magazines, and even speeches, should read Sherman's marvellous little chapters on the Centre for Policy Studies and how they gradually transformed Mrs Thatcher from the untried party leader of 1974 into a prime-minister-in-waiting.

By 1979 she *was* Prime Minister. She set out to deregulate Britain, privatise its nationalised industries, free the market and push the featherbedded businessmen, Tory wets and the Sir Humphreys of the civil service — all screaming — out into the real world. She also defeated the Argentinian fascists, curbed union power, began to see off the Soviet Union, and forced Labour to abandon socialism. It was, Sherman says, the revolutionary romance of it all that excited him. She may not have had the social impact of Lloyd George

or Clement Attlee. But she showed that the spirit of Peel and Gladstone is not dead.

Sherman's influence waned after Mrs Thatcher's victory in the election of 1983. The economic reforms of the early years, he says, should have been followed by reforms of the socialist health services, the comprehensive schools, the radical universities, the lefty BBC, and the welfare establishment. But the moral dimension of Thatcherism, always strong in Mrs Thatcher's own character, was not thoroughly transformed into public policy. That is why Sherman refers to “the Thatcher *interlude*.” She left no successor.

⁹ *Quadrant Magazine* November 2005, Vol. XLIX, No. 11