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January 27, 1992

The Honorable Lawrence S. Eagleburger
Deputy Secretary
United States Department of State
2201 C Street, Room 7240
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

This letter concerns our conversation of the other day, regarding the intense political pressure exerted by the Croatian-American community on the Administration to back their cause, based on the supposition that the majority of Croatian-Americans are Republicans.

This is simply not an accurate statement.

The majority of people of Yugoslavian descent in the eastern United States, be they Croatian, Serbian, or Slovenian, are workers in the steel, mining and other blue-collar industries, and by default, have historically voted, and continue to vote Democrat.

As later generations of Yugoslav-Americans continued their westward migration, those who became involved in white-collar and professional pursuits changed to the Republican party because it best represented their needs. This accounts for the Republican affiliation of a minority, and I will stress minority, of these individuals. In fact, the only large conservative voting block of Yugoslav-Americans are Serbian-Americans who changed their affiliation to Republican after WWII, due to the perceived sell-out by Presidents Roosevelt and Truman in allowing Tito and the Communists to assume control of Yugoslavia.

One only has to look at Members of Congress of Yugoslavian descent to ascertain this reality:

Republican:	Myself - Serbian Barbara Vucanovich - Serbian John Kasich - Unknown
Democrat:	James Oberstar - Slovenian Joe Kolter - Croatian Dennis Eckart - Slovenian Pete Visclosky - 1/2 Croatian The late John Blatnik - Croatian Senator Tom Harkin - Slovenian

The Honorable Lawrence Eagleburger
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Page 2 of 2

In addition, Governor Rudy Perpich of Minnesota, now active in Croatian affairs is also a Democrat, while Governor George Voinovich of Ohio, half-Slovenian, half-Serbian, is a Republican.

I would caution you to be careful in depending on any Croatian-American votes in the upcoming election. Current sentiment in the Croatian-American press is very anti-Bush, and even with U.S. recognition of Croatia, I believe that it will stay that way due to both the lack of involvement in, and the slow action by the Administration on the Yugoslav crisis.

I would respectfully request that you take the myth of a substantial "conservative voting bloc" of Croatian-Americans with the requisite grain of salt. The Serbian-American population of the U.S. represents at least as large a block, and while not as well organized, certainly will cast its votes in reflection of President Bush's Yugoslav policy.

With warm regards.

Sincerely,

Helen Delich Bentley
Member of Congress

April 6, 1992

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

The Honorable Warren Zimmerman
United States Ambassador
to Yugoslavia
U.S. Embassy
Belgrade, Yugoslavia

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

Enclosed you will find the proposed language on recognition of the Yugoslav republics as drafted by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

The Serbian-American community is assuming that the wording of the resolution is a result of your recent statements which they feel reflect a general attitude seemingly focused solely on the human rights situation of the Albanians in Kosovo and not at all with the ethnic Serbian minority in Krajina.

Despite discussion -- and not without foundation -- the Serbian-American community feels that the one-sided State Department human rights report on Yugoslavia is a direct result of the Embassy's apparent bias against Serbia.

I must admit that I also have this feeling from time to time.

For example, recent mobilization of right-wing Croat forces from Croatia into Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the resultant massacre of at least twelve, if not more, ethnic Serbs in the town of Sijekovic, has not been condemned by the U.S. You know as well as I what the Embassy's reaction would have been had the situation been reversed.

And so this unfortunate situation keeps growing, much to the dismay of all people involved.

On another note, it would be impossible for me to travel to Yugoslavia before the 25th of April, and as that is an Orthodox holiday, I believe that it would be for naught. I therefore am looking at sometime in early May. However, if there is a situation that you feel merits my immediate attention, I may be able to spare a couple of days.

The Honorable Warren Zimmerman
April 6, 1992
Page 2 of 2

As always, please do not hesitate to contact me if I can be of assistance.

With warm regards.

Sincerely,

Helen Delich Bentley
Member of Congress

Summary of Ambassador Zimmermann's Comments in "Danas"

WZ: Firstly I must emphasize that the United States and the American people appreciate the Croatian people and sympathize with them because of all it had to go through in the past few months. We know that you have been victims of Serbian and military aggression, and in that situation you acted with great courage and much dignity. I do not say that as praise for the fighting ability of Croatia, although it was great; rather, I wish to emphasize at the same time that Croatia look within itself for a large amount of restraint. I am thinking of the deblocation of the barracks, which is in our opinion is one of the keys for the possibility of a stable peace. That also concerns respect of the cease-fire, which is always a critical question. I also emphasize the agreement on the UN Peace Plan, which has held on all sides. In all these things the Croatian government and the Croatian people have shown their own great worth.

I have to admit that at this time recognition of Croatia is not on our agenda. But that does not mean that this current American position will remain forever. We have attempted to always approach recognition in a way which will give the greatest contribution to the achievement of a lasting peace, and both Cyrus Vance and Lord Carrington follow that same approach.

Danas: What time frame does that mean?

WZ: I can't tell you an exact date. It no doubt is something which needs to be well-thought over and which we are thinking over, but we always ask ourselves before all what value we would give Croatia at a

time when the war still wages and when Croatia is still occupied by enemy troops? We are of the opinion that the best way for the JNA to leave Croatia is that which the UN suggests, and in the future that one plainly tell the JNA that it must leave Croatia. In achieving this plan we believe that we will gain the most if we retain the capability of pressuring Serbia, the Serbian leadership, and the commanders of the JNA as much as we can. We are now doing this and I truly believe that we have a much better possibility of doing in the future what we have not yet done: recognize Croatia.

In that way we have guarded our authority and credibility in Serbia and in the Army, which we would not have if we followed Germany and recognized Croatia. I believe that what we are doing is useful for achieving a true Croatian independence.

I would like to add that in no way does this mean that Serbia or the JNA have any kind of right of veto for recognition in American politics. They do not have that.

Lord Carrington also believes that recognition of those Yugoslav republics which want it may have been too early in the current circumstances. We have tried to find a way to achieve the result which you wish, which is a truly independent Croatia, free from occupiers and enemy forces. We very decisively told the Serbian and the army leadership that they must leave Croatia, and that the recognition of Croatia by European countries cannot be a reason or an occasion for Serbia or the Army to try to change Croatian independence or to impose a decision through force on Croatia. We believe that the

Army is primarily responsible for the war in Croatia.

Currently the possibility of the war spreading to Bosnia and Hercegovina is the biggest worry. We believe that that would be a terrible tragedy (because there Serbs would be willing to vote for their own freedom through a referendum) which would have consequences in Croatia, where at this moment things look promising.

We decidedly believe that the territorial integrity of each republic must be preserved and because of that we clearly told the Serbian government and Army that we will never recognize any kind of secession in Croatia. Also absolutely necessary is the territorial unity of Bosnia and Hercegovina, one part of which the Serbian leadership in Bosnia currently is trying to break off. We consider this extremely dangerous. The breaking up of Bosnia--whoever would lead it, we see as an extreme destabilization of the political structure. I also believe that if there exists in Croatia any tendency to break up Bosnia together with Serbia it must be overcome.

Croatia is a democratic country, but it is a young democracy in the temptation of war. Because of that it is difficult to be critical, but how it will develop into a fully recognized state, it seems to me, depends on freedom of the press and freedom of political opposition parties and minority rights, which must go forward with much more care than now.

April 6, 1992

The Honorable Sam Skinner
Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Skinner:

As per our conversation earlier today, I would like to reiterate my concerns about the timing of U.S. recognition of the breakaway Yugoslav republics, and of recent Croatian actions that reenforce these concerns.

As you may know, today is the anniversary of the Nazi invasion of Yugoslavia. April 10th is the anniversary of the creation of the World War II Ustashe puppet regime under the Nazis, the only manifestation of an independent Croatian state in modern history. This regime was responsible for the extermination of hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Jews, Gypsies, and even Croats.

Just as the European Community held off official recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina until tomorrow, in deference to events in the Second World War, I would urge that the U.S. do the same in the case of Croatia, postponing any final action until after April 10th. Failure to do so, I believe, could unnecessarily inflame the already delicate situation that exists between Serbs and Croats in both Croatia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Among other recent instances that I have documented regarding actions of the Croatian government that make recognition before or on April 10th an anathema to any hopes of a rapid peace between Serbs and Croats, I list the following:

* According to the Associated Press on February 11th, President Tudjman of Croatia has made it official policy to purge the Croatian language of all words of Serbian, Yugoslavian, or foreign origin. The World War II Ustashe government had the same policy, as did the Nazis.

* In mid-February, the Croatian Parliament officially condemned the prosecution of Cardinal Alojze Stepinac on War Crimes charges after the Second World War. Cardinal Stepinac was a Roman Catholic Cardinal whose collaboration with both the Ustashe and Nazi governments has been extensively documented.

The Honorable Sam Skinner

April 6, 1992

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* According to the Associated Press on March 11th, the German government has officially acknowledged that neo-Nazis from Germany and other European countries have been active in Croatia's drive for independence.

* According to the March 19th issue of Private Eye, a London weekly, President Tudjman of Croatia has embarked on a course of renaming streets and buildings after members of the fascist Ustashe government. Among examples given are the renaming of Nikolas Tesla street in Split after Ante Starevic, the spiritual founder of the Ustashe movement, and the renaming of the Miloj Pavlovic school in Zagreb after Mile Budic, a Catholic priest who collaborated with the Ustashe government in the Second World War, and who coined the phrase regarding Serbs, "Convert a third, expel a third, and kill a third."

These actions closely parallel President Tudjman's previous action of renaming the Square of the Victims of Fascism in Zagreb to the Square of the Croatian Giants, a pivotal event leading to the outbreak of hostilities last year.

Much of the animosity that led to the current situation in Yugoslavia is a direct result of similar policies implemented by President Tudjman before the outbreak of hostilities. These include resurrection of the Croatian checkerboard crest, a symbol to Serbs as potent as the Nazi swastika to Jews, and the welcoming back of Croatian exiles that were involved in the wartime Ustashe government. The Croatian government, for that matter, is the only Axis power from the Second World War that has not apologized for its involvement in cultural genocide, and also never has rescinded its declaration of war against the United States.

In addition, I would stress that the human rights record of the Republic of Croatia, according to both the State Department human rights report and other independent analyses, is anything but perfect -- a fact to which Ambassador Zimmerman in Belgrade will attest.

In all this rush by the EC to recognize the various republics, no one seems to be concerned with the human rights situation of the ethnic Serbian minority in the Krajina region of Croatia. This is my concern.

I do not oppose recognition of the breakaway republics. However, I feel that the Administration and the State Department should postpone recognition at least until after the 10th of April, in deference to events both past and present that could lead to a total collapse of the current fragile cease-fire.

With warm regards.

Sincerely,

Helen Delich Bentley
Member of Congress

THE CONTINUING CRISIS IN THE BALKANS
THE HONORABLE HELEN DELICH BENTLEY
APRIL 8, 1992

Mr. Speaker:

Earlier today, my esteemed colleague from Michigan, Mr. Broomfield, asserted that the United States should send aid and technical assistance to the recently recognized breakaway Yugoslav republics.

That aid is needed, I concur, but not in the form that Mr. Broomfield advocated.

The situation in the Balkans is still very tense. According to news reports today, fighting continues unabated, as it has since Sunday. Reuters correspondent Nikola Antonov reports:

"Recognition of Bosnia's independence from Yugoslavia by the European Community and the United States on Tuesday has done little to end fighting between minority Serbs who opposed the split and Moslems and Croats who supported it."

"Artillery, mortar and machinegun fire rattled through the city throughout the night, despite repeated calls for a ceasefire by Bosnia's leaders."

"Sarajevo radio said more than 30 people had been killed in the capital alone since Sunday in the republic's worst crisis since World War Two. Dozens more have been wounded."

Yes, the Yugoslav republics -- all of them -- need aid, Mr. Speaker. They need aid to stop the current unrest. They, however, do not need military aid. This would just increase the fighting. They need the aid of a competent mediation panel to work out their differences.

Had the E.C. and the U.N. and the U.S. stopped to think about it, surely they would have realized that in a situation as tense as Bosnia, where fully a third of the people do not support the status quo, that some form of serious mediation is required. But instead, the E.C. decided to go ahead with recognition of Bosnia, even though they have scheduled a meeting on the 11th of April with the leaders of the various ethnic groups in Bosnia to resolve their differences.

The current Croat-Moslem partnership in Bosnia is a marriage of convenience, there historically having been no love lost between those two groups, and without an acceptable mediation of the concerns of all three ethnic groups in Bosnia, a repetition of the interethnic violence that plagued this region during the Second World War is inevitable.

But now, the EC, and more importantly, the U.S., have given two of the groups the upper hand -- the Croats and the Moslems -- and have left the third -- the Serbs, the only group that openly supported the allies in both World Wars -- even more scared than before.

And the fighting has spilled over from the Serb-Croat civil war.

Last week, Croatian neo-Nazi extremists seized the ethnic Serbian town of Kupres in northern Bosnia. These extremists, members of Dobroslav Paraga's HOS, came from the republic of Croatia. Even President Tudjman of Croatia acknowledged this, although he also says he has no control over these forces.

According to Reuters, "Kupres was the biggest town seized by Croat militias during several days of fighting over independence in which dozens of people have been killed. It is the key town in an area which contains several federal military installations."

Surely, if the Croats were in search of a peaceful solution to the strife in Bosnia, they would not have even attempted to seize the town.

This fact also is belied by the alleged slaughter of at least 12 ethnic Serbs in the town of Sijekovic in northern Bosnia by Croat and Moslem gunmen at the end of March.

Mr. Speaker, there are many facets to the current situation in the Balkans, and they cannot be hidden under simple buzzwords or catch all phrases: Why do you call Moslems or Croats "freedom fighters" when they are involved in the actions which I described above? Why do you call the Yugoslav army "Serb-led" when the prestigious Financial Times recently published that the JNA and the Republic of Croatia entered into a joint manufacturing venture to produce T-84 tanks?

Mr. Speaker, there are many sides and many ways to view the current strife in Yugoslavia. It is imperative that the U.S. not become blinded in its Yugoslav policy. The U.S. must see the big picture for what it is. This Congress must not lose sight of the fact that Germany has, by its recognition of Croatia, once again supported the aspirations of its Nazi ally from the Second World War. Is it too much to ask that the United States, the U.K., and France at least accord fairness to the minority Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, their allies from both World Wars, and not limit its views to those of the EC, the UN, or any other single proponent involved in the current strife.

The U.S. should not provide aid to the breakaway Yugoslav republics, Mr. Speaker, as Mr. Broomfield advocates. Instead, let the U.S. take the forefront in mediating the current crisis, and provide for the concerns of all people involved, including the minority Serbs, and not just one group or the other. That is the kind of aid that the Yugoslav republics and the Balkans need right now. These ancient and deep-seated ethnic animosities will not just go away. So let us attempt to resolve the current situation, not just ignore it or condone unfairness.

The world has recognized that there is a serious problem in the Balkans. Without proper mediation, a repeat of the ethnic strife that characterized that area during the Second World War is inevitable.

PAGES

April 9, 1992

The Honorable George H.W. Bush
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Bush:

It was great shock and dismay that I learned of the United States ill-timed recognition of the breakaway Yugoslav republics.

As you may know, Monday was the anniversary of the Nazi invasion of Yugoslavia. April 10th is the anniversary of the creation of the World War II Ustashe puppet regime under the Nazis, the only previous manifestation of an independent Croatian state in modern history. This regime was responsible for the extermination of hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Jews, Gypsies, and even Croats.

Even the European Community held off official recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina until Tuesday, in deference to events in the Second World War, not that I agree that their push for recognition of Bosnia was in the area's best interest.

In fact, recognition of the breakaway republics has resulted in increased bloodshed, and the very real threat of an all-out civil war in the Balkans. As Cyrus Vance stated today, "Recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina ... that again threw another factor of instability into the stew just as early recognition of the republics of Slovenia and Croatia did."

The timing also represents a slap in the face not only to the Republic of Serbia, but also, and just as important, to the 1.5 million people of Serbian descent in this country, including myself.

It is in that vein, that I would respectfully request that the United States, in establishing full diplomatic relations with the Republic of Croatia, put pressure on the Tudjman regime to issue an apology for Croatia's involvement in the genocide of the Second World War.

Such action is not unprecedented. Germany has apologized for its genocidal policies in World War II, as has Austria. Even the Soviet Union has apologized for the Katyn Forest massacre.

The Honorable George H.W. Bush
April 9, 1992
Page 2 of 2

Had such an apology been made previous to last June's outbreak of hostilities, as I had advocated, I sincerely believe that the current situation would have manifested itself in a quite different and much more peaceful manner.

Even now, an apology would go far in assuaging the fears of ethnic Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and ultimately hasten the ongoing peace process.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Helen Delich Bentley
Member of Congress

c.c. The Honorable Sam Skinner
The Honorable Brent Scowcroft

The New York Times

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There's St

To the Editor:
Those who want to know what Congress and the administration are to do about States manufacturing and jobs will get their answer designed to end the foreign that are annihilating American industry goes to the House of Representatives.

This is H.R. 2056, the trade reform bill. Introduced by Congressman Sam Florida, it was first intended as an incentive to industrial countries engaged in multilateral talks to quit stalling and their subsidies for shipbuilding that have shut United States shipyards out of the construction market in many years. When that objective failed, it became a piece of legislation taken seriously in its own right.

What H.R. 2056 does is to require building and repair subsidies under United States trade law, though subsidies connected with construction or repair of ships in current fleet would be grandfathered. Subsidies provided after the bill's enactment would have to be repaid before the ships could dock in United States ports. Once a country signs an agreement with the United States to trade, its shipbuilding repair subsidy requirement goes away.

In addition, H.R. 2056 defines as a product subject to trade laws as airplanes, trucks and other manufactured goods, thereby ending the special exemption enjoyed only by ships that allows them to take advantage of dumped ships without penalty. Despite strong opposition from ship owners and operators, H.R. 2056 has undergone the unusual process of being scrutinized and approved by two House committees, first by the Commerce and then by the Marine and Fisheries.

No doubt, the reputation of the bill has helped to keep it from being buried in committee. It is difficult to label the legislation "protectionist" when it was

Stop the Butcher of the Balkans

Slobodan Milosevic, strongman of Serbia and wrecker of Yugoslavia, may not be as ruthless and reckless as Saddam Hussein. But his aggression against the newly independent republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has become just as blatant — and just as urgently requires a stern response. Unless the international community acts against him now, thousands may die.

The U.S. and European powers can do much to stop the slaughter; Refuse to recognize Serbia's claims as heir to Yugoslavia, tighten their economic embargo on Serbia and make clear that Serbs face years of international isolation if they allow Mr. Milosevic to remain on the rampage.

Even conscientious outsiders have grown confused and weary by the ceaseless, complex civil warfare. But there's nothing confusing or complex about how much of it arises from the Serbian nationalism whipped up by Mr. Milosevic, Europe's last Communist tyrant.

When the Iron Curtain came down, he rejected a confederation that could have held Yugoslavia together. He resorted to force in a vain attempt to keep Slovenia and Croatia from breaking away. And now, ironically, the blue-helmeted United Nations peacekeepers protecting Croatia free his forces to attack elsewhere.

Now he has wheeled and lashed out mercilessly at Muslim-majority towns in Bosnia. From the hillsides, Serb irregulars, backed by the Serb-led

remnants of the Yugoslav Army, indiscriminately blast round after round into Bosnia's defenseless communities.

The multi-ethnic character of those communities is evident in their skylines. The minarets of Muslim mosques and spires of Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches stand side by side. Bosnia's people — 44 percent Muslims, 31 percent Serbs and 17 percent Croats — live side by side. Now, by the tens of thousands, they are fleeing the artillery barrages side by side.

In contrast to Mr. Milosevic's divisiveness, Bosnia's freely elected leaders formed an ethnic coalition to try to hold Yugoslavia together. They broadcast news free of the bilious nationalism that poisons the airwaves of neighboring Serbia. They moved to break free of a Serbian-run Yugoslavia only after Slovenia and Croatia declared independence.

Stymied in Croatia and watching rampant inflation and stagnation sap his popularity, Mr. Milosevic has aroused Serbia to yet another dubious cause — defending Bosnia's Serb minority against a supposed militant Muslim onslaught.

At home in Serbia, an increasingly vocal opposition resists Mr. Milosevic and his bloody policies. They need the firm backing of the international community. Once again, the world has been slow to react. The U.N. is just now dispatching more blue helmets to Bosnia. The U.S. and the European Community have yet to send a strong enough message to Mr. Milosevic: Get out.

Tax Crime, Prison Time

Why is it that around every April 15, some celebrity is in the toils of the law for tax evasion? Mona Helmsley, the erstwhile queen of the hotel world, was indicted in mid-April 1988. Convicted and unable to reduce her four-year sentence, she goes to prison on this tax deadline day.

The reason is that the revenue authorities, prosecutors and even Federal courts often join to make an example of noteworthy violators as an incentive to others.

penses as business expenses related to their real estate empire. A witness at her trial testified that Mrs. Helmsley once boasted that "only the little people pay taxes." That testimony, which she disputed, probably explains why Mrs. Helmsley made so many enemies and why the I.R.S. finds her a suitable example.

Her sentence, lengthy by some tax standards and heavy for

Why Economists S Deficit Spending

To the Editor:
Your March 31 Business Daily report that some economists now argue for an increase in the Federal deficit to stimulate the economy misstates many economists continue to support this traditional Keynesian prescription. They do not believe that deficit spending, "by putting more money into circulation, increases the flow of

PM-YUGOSLAVIA-VANCE-HONGKONG

U.N. ENVOY VANCE WARNS AGAINST WAR IN BOSNIA

HONG KONG, Reuter - Cyrus Vance, the United Nations' special envoy to Yugoslavia, said Thursday that U.S. and European Community recognition of the breakaway republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina had damaged the peace process.

"When we had recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina ... that again threw another factor of instability into the stew just as early recognition of the republics of Slovenia and Croatia did," he said.

"I hope that will have its effect and then begin to calm down, but that has not helped the situation to have that recognition," Vance told reporters in Hong Kong.

Clashes between Serbs, who oppose secession from the Yugoslav federation, and pro-independence Moslems and Croats have increased since the EC and United States recognized Bosnia earlier this week.

Dozens of people have been killed in Bosnia in the last few days. Thirty-one have died in Sarajevo since the weekend.

Vance also warned against all-out war as fierce fighting spread through the newly independent republic to neighboring Serbia.

Asked if he thought war was imminent, Vance told reporters: "I cannot rule out the possibility that it may come. God help them if it does, because that has always been the powder keg for the Balkans region."

Vance, secretary of state under former President Jimmy Carter, was in Hong Kong to address a meeting of the Asia Society.

REUTER

Helen Delich Bentley

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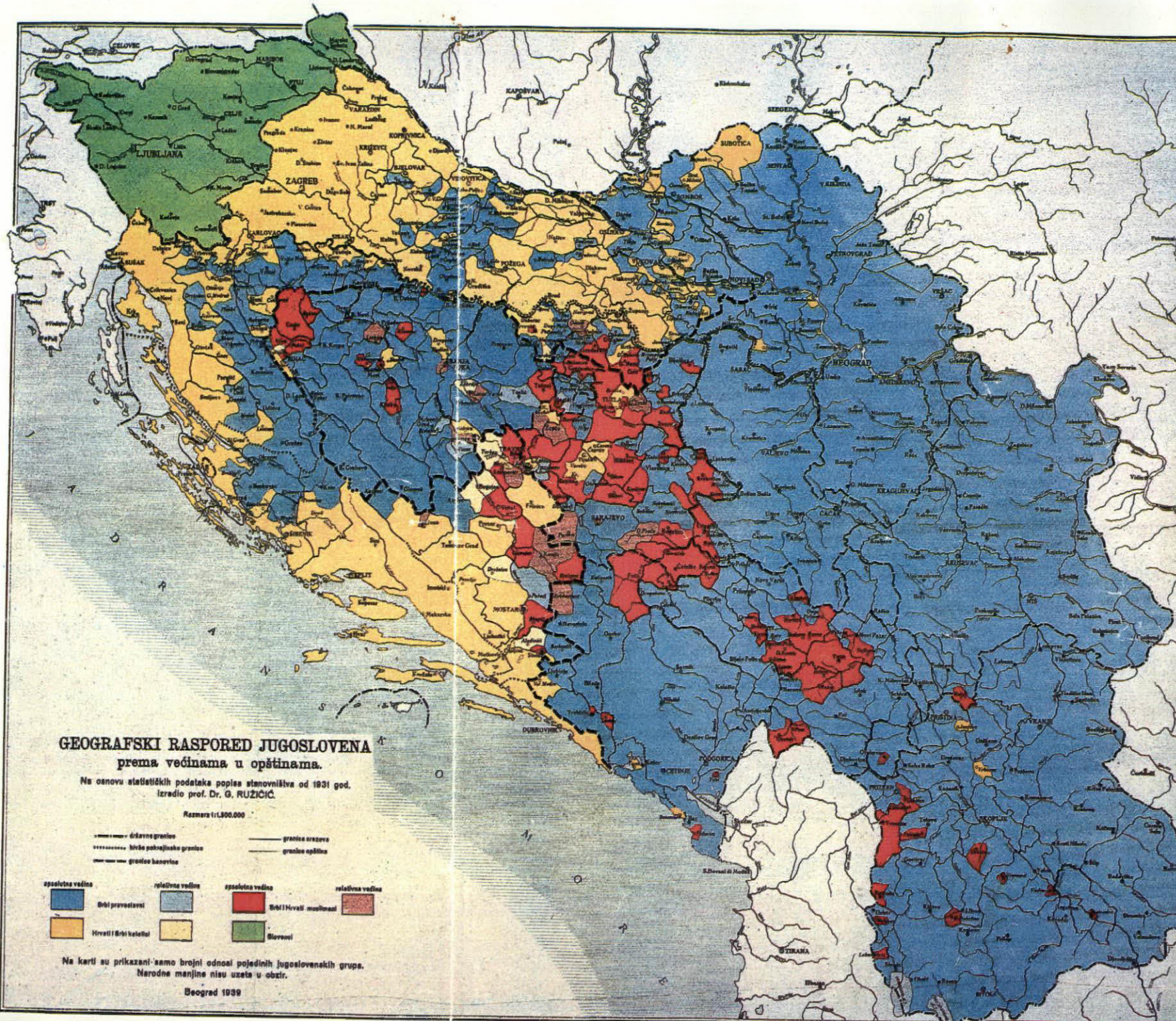
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Geographical Order
 Yugoslavs, According
 Majorities By
 Counties

- Orthodox Serbs
- Croats and Serbs: Catholics
- Serbs and Croats: Muslims Slavs
- Slovenians



GEOGRAFSKI RASPORED JUGOSLOVENA
 prema većinama u opštinama.

Na osnovu statističkih podataka popisa stanovništva od 1931 god.
 Izradio prof. Dr. G. RUŽIĆ.

Skala 1:1.500.000

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| — — — — — državne granice | — — — — — granice države |
| hrišćansko-poboljšanske granice | — — — — — granice opština |
| — — — — — granice banovina | |
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| apsolutna većina | relativna većina | apsolutna većina | relativna većina |
| Ortodoksi Srbi | Hrvat i Srbi katolici | Srbi i Hrvati muslimani | Slovinci |

Na karti su prikazani samo brojni odnosi pojedinih jugoslovenskih grupa.
 Narodne manjine nisu uzete u obzir.

Београд 1939

on statistics of
 ents of 1931
 red by:
 Dr. G. Ruzicic

ИТИКЈА



Herzegovina, another constituent republic of Yugoslavia, is claimed by both Croatian and Serbian nationalists.

The first independent Yugoslav state was formed at the end of World War I. Known officially as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, its name was changed in 1929 to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Because the kingdom was dominated from the beginning by Serbs, the Croats were dissatisfied with their status. When the Axis powers overran and dismembered Yugoslavia in April 1941, they permitted the establishment of an independent Croatian state which was under Axis control. The 1945 victory of the Communist Partisan-led forces under Josip Broz Tito—Croat on his father's side, Slovene on his mother's—resulted in the reconstitution of a Yugoslav state with Croatia as one of its constituent republics.

PATTERNS AND CAUSES OF MIGRATION

Croats began coming to the United States in significant numbers about a century ago. By now there are between 500,000 and 750,000 Americans who are entirely or partially of Croatian descent, making the Croats the most numerous of the South Slav groups that have settled in the United States. Some authorities argue that the number is over a million. Precise figures cannot be obtained because in the 19th century Croa-

tian immigrants tended to identify themselves in terms of the region from which they had come—Slavonia, Dalmatia, Istria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and so on—and until 1918 the U.S. Immigration Service did not distinguish Croats from Slovenes or other immigrants from the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The U.S. Bureau of the Census added to the confusion by listing Croatian, Serbian, and Dalmatian as separate mother tongues from 1910 to 1940, but then treating Serbo-Croatian as one language and Yugoslavia as one country of origin in the 1970 Census.

A handful of sailors, merchants, craftsmen, adventurers, and missionaries, most of them from the Dalmatian coast, reached America in the 17th and 18th centuries. By the early 19th century ships manned by Dalmatian sailors were traveling regularly from Dubrovnik and other Adriatic ports to North American trading centers. Many of these sailors jumped ship in New Orleans and San Francisco. They found a temperate climate similar to that of the Adriatic and Mediterranean regions, and by 1860 some 16,000 to 20,000 Dalmatians had settled in the United States.

In the 1850s and 1860s some Croats began to arrive from inland as well as coastal regions, drawn by reports of gold in California and the expansion of copper and coal mining in a variety of states. The single largest wave of Croatian immigrants (perhaps as many as

STIRS EUROPE

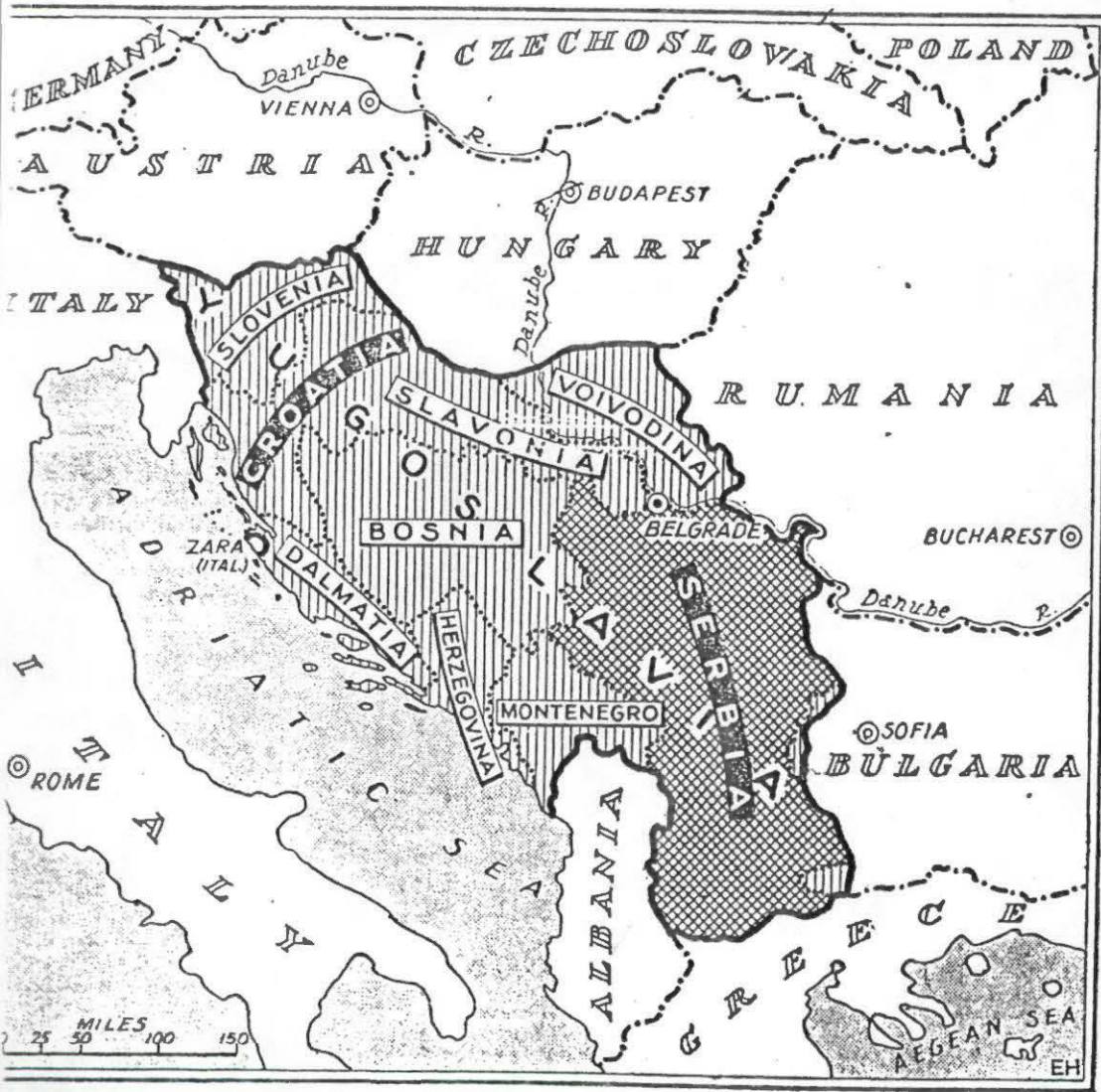
Questions as to the Future of on the Fate of the Continent

mise that France would be able bring Italy and Yugoslavia to-her after years of ugly threats de against each other across the e waters of the Adriatic. hould the regency in Belgrade to assert authority within the ntry all efforts at collaboration ong Italy, France and Yugo-ia would be doomed to futility. d in powerful business circles in grade there is a strong pro-Ger-n element which believes that nomic prosperity for the nation y only come through collabora- with Germany. et at the present time it would hasty to conclude that Yugo- foreign policy will make any

definitely aligned herself with France, Yugoslavia will be less ready to shake off the arms of Marianne for the uncertain Gretchen in Berlin. In Italy, Signor Mussolini' on learning of the Marseilles tragedy must have had mixed emotions. He is no less anxious than France to curb German aspirations of conquest. His readiness to come to terms with France on questions of Italian-French naval policy; of the standing of Italian inhabitants in Tunis and of Italy's desires in Africa can be attributed to Hitler's Austrian ambitions. Uncertainty in the Balkans at a time when there were good prospects of arriving at



SERBS—A Division of Yugoslav Troops.



YUGOSLAVIA: A FEDERATION OF HETEROGENEOUS STATES—The Heavier Shading Shows the Old Kingdom of Serbia. The Lighter Shading Covers the Territories That Were Joined to Serbia After the War to Form the New Country.

dom would be far from Italy's disliking. The anti-Italian outbreaks in Yugoslavia reveal the tense situation that exists between the two nations.

Far to the north, across the Alps, the leaders of the Third Reich watch the drama as it unfolds. Louis Barthou, who was weaving a strong net of treaties around the Reich, has now disappeared from the scene. Though his policy may not be wrecked, its consummation will be delayed. And Germany is playing the international game with one eye on the watch.

The Third Reich has made strong efforts to win Yugoslavia to her side with promises of economic advantages and political help. If she could take Yugoslavia out of the French group, other Balkan countries might follow the lead. Today the Third Reich may see a great opportunity, and it is unlikely that she will be slow to make advances to the Yugoslav regents.

In Hungary last week's tragedy has probably given new life to the hopes for treaty revision. Ever since the Treaty of Trianon was signed Hungarians have demanded a change in boundaries. Though her claims involve mainly Czechoslovakia and Rumania, she has also demanded territory now included in Yugoslavia.

Magyars in Yugoslavia.

For many years Magyar propagandists have declared that the Croats and Slovenes would be happier in a Hungarian home. Alexander's assassination will give them new hope for their activities. Today there are approximately 465,000 Magyars living in three parts of Yugoslavia.

ence of numberi- (Sza present s The B problem. Serbs, R mixed h towns a could ev groups. Croatis ulated i however narity. culties (and Slo Hungari attempt gary. The Ha With t burg re even H Yugoslav great im Austria foreign t that cot the re-e tro-Hung Hapsbur which p back to Balkans. in Vienr the Croa rebelled Serbs. has alw restorati more, v German- The sn kans, w peace ha world, a

EXAMPLE

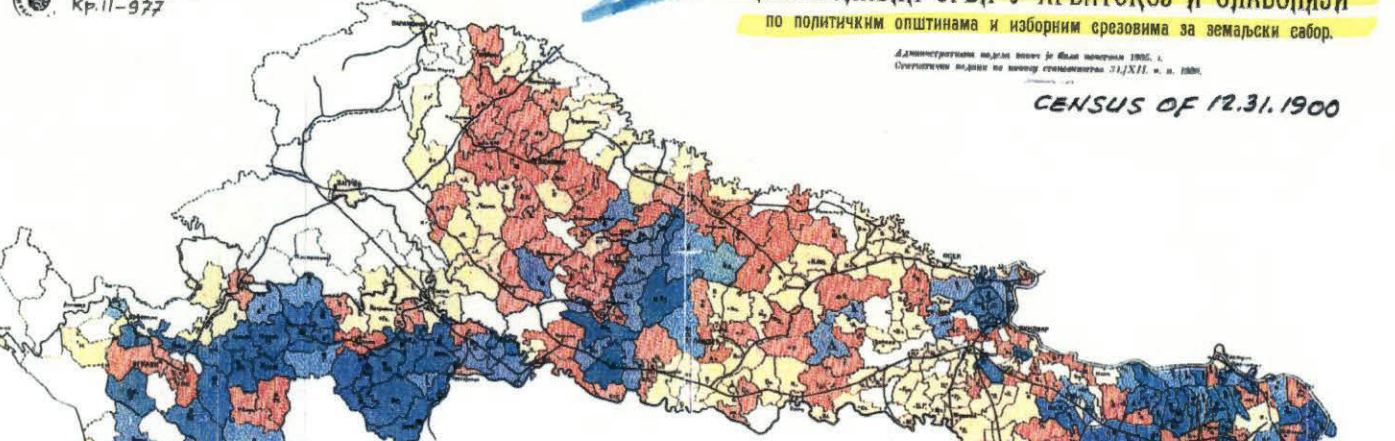
3 COUNTY OF GRAČAC PERCENTAGE OF SERBS

BRUNO 91%
GRAČAC 81%
ZRNOVAČA 97%
LOVINJA 25%

Српски Јединствени
Организациони
Одбор
№ 5

№ 5/45-2
Кр.П.1-977

Tables showing population and percentage of Serbs in various counties like I. Лико-Врбаски, II. Мађарско-Речки, III. Задарски, etc.



ORTHODOX SERBS IN CROATIA & SLAVONIA
ПРАВОСЛАВНИ СРБИ У ХРВАТскоЈ И СЛАВониЈИ
по политичким општинама и изборним срезovima за земаљски сабор.

CENSUS OF 12.31.1920

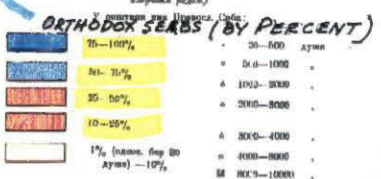
Административни подаци постоје до краја маја 1920. г.
Статистички подаци по избору саопштенима 21.ХХ. и. г. 1920.

Table titled 'SERBS IN COUNTIES (BY PERCENT)' showing percentages for counties like I. Лико-Врбаски, II. Мађарско-Речки, III. Задарски, etc.

Table titled 'ПРАВОСЛАВНИ СРБИ ПО ИЗБОРНИМ СРЕЗОВИМА ЗА ЗЕМАЉСКИ САОБОР' showing data for various electoral districts.

ПУТА ЗНАЧИ КОЈИ ЗНАК:

Црвеним линијама показана територија окупације
Белим линијама показана територија окупације
Црним линијама показана територија окупације

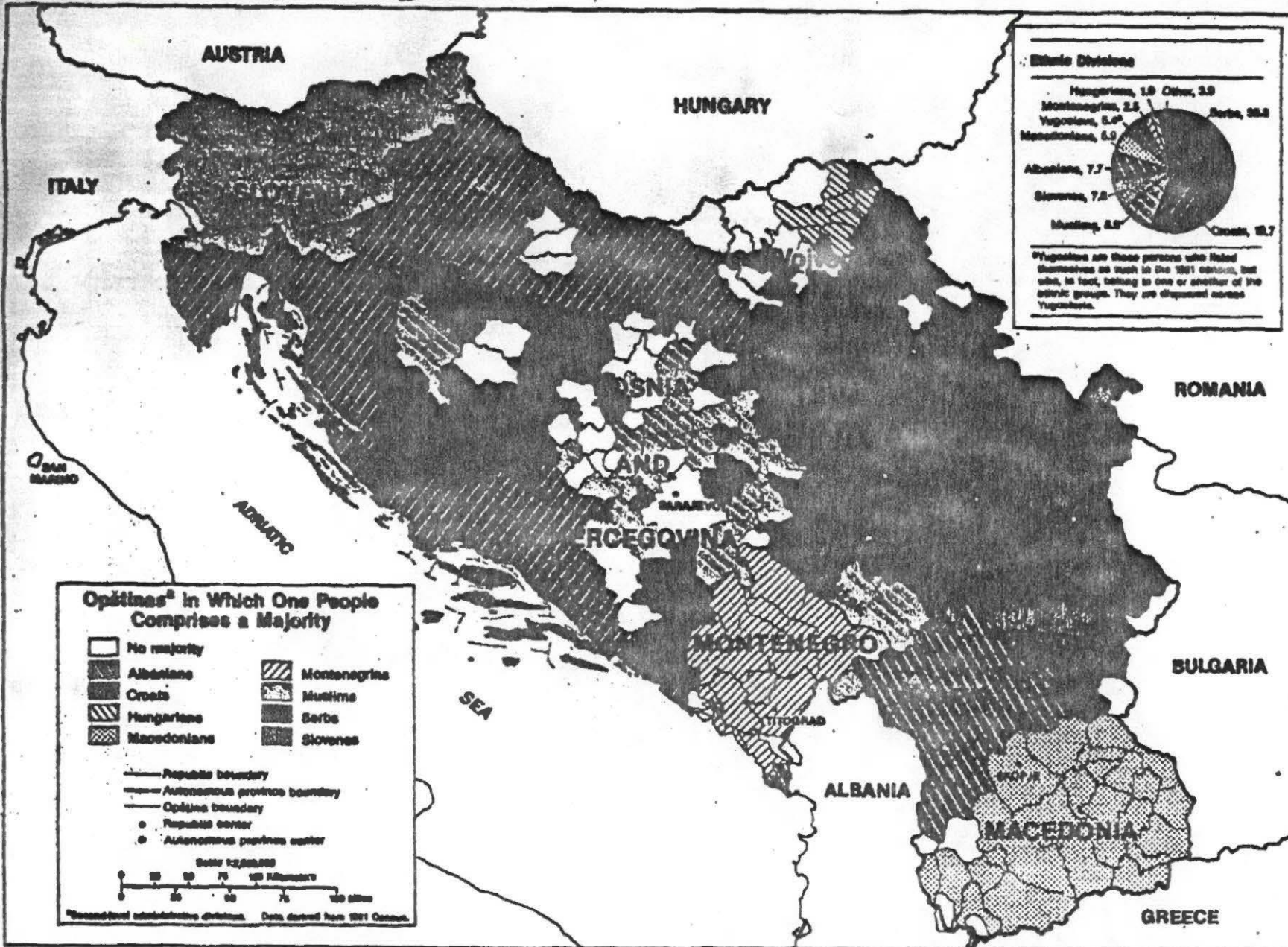


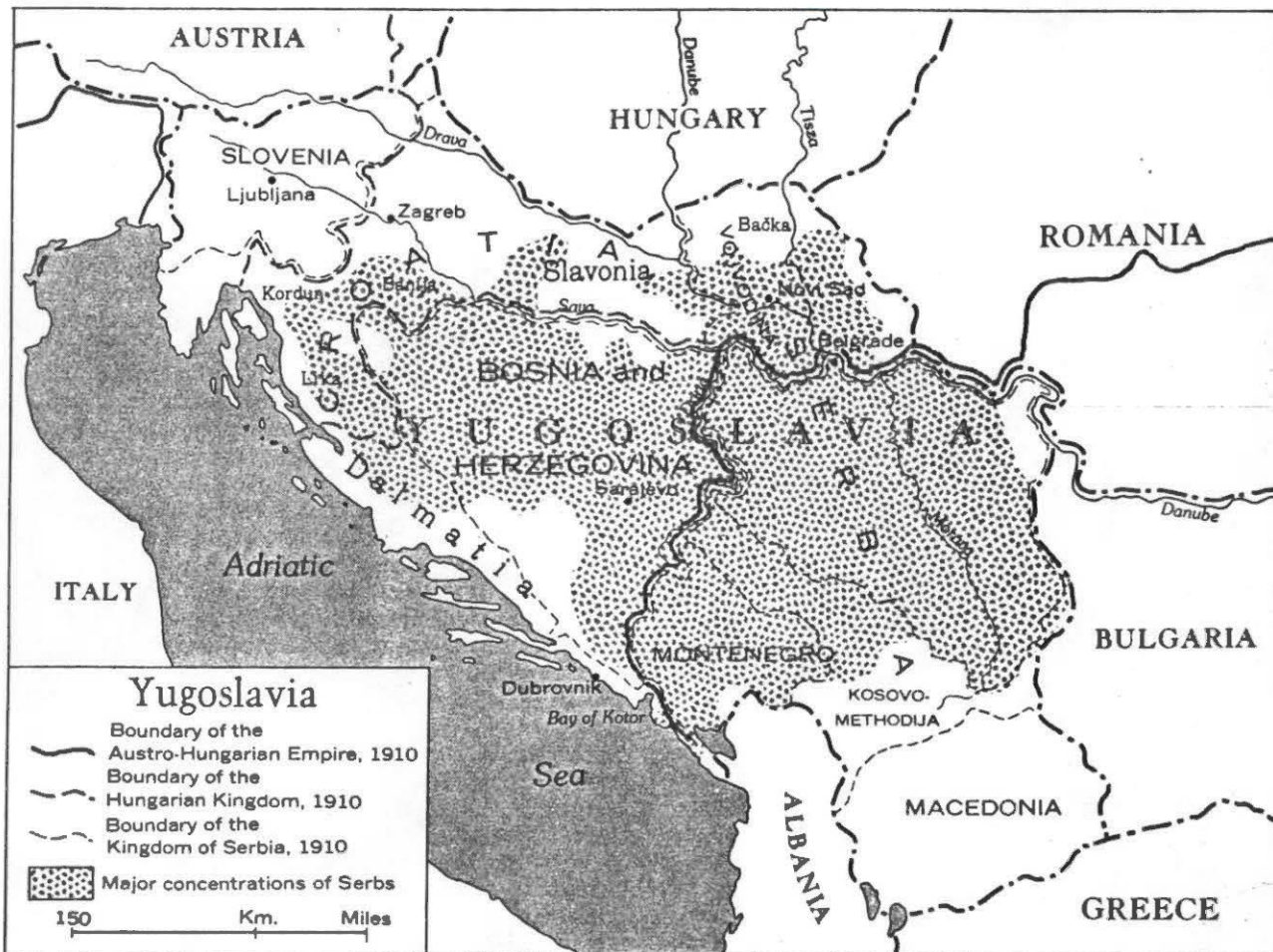
Large table on the right side of the page providing detailed data for various counties and electoral districts, including population and percentages.

Издание К. А. А. (Марка и Дина) у Виду.

ПРАВОСЛАВНИ СРБИ У ХРВАТскоЈ И СЛАВониЈИ
по политичким општинама и изборним срезovima за земаљски сабор.

Ethnic Diversity in Yugoslavia





their calendar; St. Sava's Day is January 14 and St. Vitus's Day is June 15 in the Old Style. A feeling of distinctiveness is also assiduously promoted by Serbian organizations and the Serbian press in the United States, and is epitomized in the often repeated theme of a popular song, *Niko nema što Srbin imade* [Nobody has what the Serb has].

MIGRATION

Following the generally accepted division in American immigration history between the "old immigration" (from 1820—when immigration records were first kept—to the 1880s) and the subsequent "new immigration," clearly the great majority of Serbian immigrants belong to the latter. They came as part of the wave of southern and eastern Europeans from Austria-Hungary, Italy, and the Russian Empire. From the standpoint of the development of Serbian life in the United States, therefore, it is more useful to distinguish five periods of Serbian immigration: the earliest settlers of the old immigration (1815–1880); the first, and the largest, wave of the new immigration (1880–1914); arrivals between the two world wars (1918–1941); displaced persons from war-torn Europe (1945–1965); and the most recent immigrants from Yugoslavia (1965 to the present).

How many Serbs came in each period is impossible to

state with certainty because official U.S. immigration statistics do not distinguish Serbs from other South Slavic groups. In the records before World War I some Serbs are included in the official category of "Bulgars, Serbs, and Montenegrins," others in the category "Dalmatians, Bosnians, and Herzegovinians," along with the Croats from those provinces. Serbs may even be included in the category "Croats and Slovenes," since some Serbs from Croatia might easily have been recorded as Croats. Some Serbs and Croats were no doubt also recorded as Hungarians or Austrians, since they were subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. By far the smallest number of Serbian immigrants came from the Kingdom of Serbia itself, and by far the greatest number came from the various lands of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Many left to evade military service, consequently with false documents that gave them different nationality designations. Nor do records indicating mother tongue help, inasmuch as Serbian and Croatian are lumped together as a single language. Distinctions are even harder to make in statistics dating from after World War I, since immigrants from the newly created Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (renamed Yugoslavia in 1929) were all identified simply as Yugoslavs.

The Serbian population in the United States can only be estimated, and these estimates have varied greatly through the years. Today they range between 175,000

zations was to promote the creation of a South Slav, or Yugoslav, state. The two most important Croatian-American newspapers supporting the council's activity were the Chicago *Hrvatska Zastava* and *Hrvatski Svijet* (Croatian World), a New York daily with a circulation of 10,000.

How much impact these and other activities had on the emergence of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, which came into existence December 1, 1918, is debatable. But the Croatian Americans were soon profoundly disappointed in the resulting independent Yugoslav state and expressed their unhappiness in both word and deed during the next two decades. Several thousand Croatian immigrants did return to their homeland in the first few years after World War I, but far more—perhaps 35,000—came the other way in an influx that probably would have continued unabated had not the United States severely curtailed immigration beginning in 1924. Yugoslavia was given a quota of less than 1,000 per year. In the late 1920s and the 1930s a number of Croatian-American groups with an explicitly anti-Yugoslav orientation appeared; some of them supported the activities of the Fascist Ustashes led by Ante Pavelić (1889–1959). On the whole, however, Croatian Americans displayed less and less interest in their homeland as their absence from it lengthened and as the second and third generations—most of whom had no direct experience of Croatia—grew older. In the 1930s they were too preoccupied with surviving the Great Depression to involve themselves with distant politics.

The Axis attack on Yugoslavia in April 1941 somewhat altered this situation. After conquering Yugoslavia and taking what territory he wanted for the Third Reich, Hitler divided the rest among his various allies. Italy received the most generous share; Croatia was given independent status, and Pavelić, the founder of Ustasha, was placed at its head. Although it was an Axis satellite, Pavelić's Croatia had a degree of internal administrative autonomy. From then until the end of the war the Croatian people were divided into at least four factions: the Ustashes, the dominant minority, the passive non-Fascist and non-Communist majority, especially the adherents of the Croatian Peasant party and various other prewar parties; some Communists and many more non-Communists who joined the Partisans; and the very few who, mostly out of loyalty to their oath as Yugoslav army members, joined the predominantly Serbian Chetniks of Draža Mihailović. There were still others. Croatia was the scene of extraordinary bloodshed: the Ustasha massacred hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Jews, and others; the Partisans murdered Croats and others suspected of being Ustashes or enemies. In 1945, at the very end of the war, tens of thousands of Croats were massacred by Partisan forces for the same reasons, and tens of thousands of other Croats fled into exile to escape death or imprisonment.

The situation was almost beyond understanding to those experiencing the events in Croatia; the confusion in the Croatian-American community was even greater. Reliable information was impossible to obtain; competing stories of atrocities led to sharp antagonism between Serbs and Croats. To organize support for the victims of the conflict and to ensure that the Allied

powers were aware of the needs and demands of the South Slavs, a number of Croatian leaders convoked a huge All-Slavic Congress in Detroit in 1942. Among the numerous groups that emerged were the Croatian War Aid Committee and the Yugoslav Relief Committee, each of which collected over \$1 million in fund-raising campaigns to aid the victims of war. The U.S. decision to support the Partisan movement of Marshal Tito persuaded many Croats and other South Slavs in the United States to support or at least tolerate it.

But reports of the harsh and dictatorial Communist government established by Tito in postwar Yugoslavia, along with news of large-scale massacres of anti-Communists (stories that were eventually substantiated) united most Croatian Americans in opposition to the regime. Some, like Ivan D. Butkovich, the president of the Croatian Fraternal Union, who earlier had been pro-Tito, changed their views and expressed strong anti-Communist sentiments. In 1945 ten Croatian-American societies opposed to Communist rule in Yugoslavia founded an organization called the United Croatians of America and Canada (in 1966 renamed the United Croats). With a membership of about 5,000 in the late 1970s, the United Croats has continued to protest the Communist regime in Yugoslavia. Another group with similarly strong views is sponsored by the Croatian Franciscans in Chicago, who publish *Danica* (Morning Star); formerly known as *Hrvatski list i danica hrvatska*, this publication reaches 4,500 subscribers. These two groups and others have been buttressed by the thousands of Croatian political refugees who have settled in the United States and Canada.

This preoccupation with homeland politics has not kept some from achieving prominence in American political life and in the U.S. armed forces. Croatian Americans have served in the armed forces in all the conflicts of the 20th century. Thousands fought in World War I; several hundred were killed, others were wounded, and many received decorations for valor. At least four won the Congressional Medal of Honor. Tens of thousands served in World War II, more than 300 members of the Croatian Fraternal Union were killed in action. Many have served on the local level and in state legislatures, but only a few have reached the upper ranks of government. Mike Stepovich became governor of the Alaska Territory in 1957 and the first governor of the state in 1959. In Minnesota, Rudy Perpich (1928–), a miner's son, was elected lieutenant governor in 1970 and served as governor from 1976 to 1979. Michael A. Bilandic (1923–) became acting mayor of Chicago when Richard J. Daley died and served as mayor in his own right from 1977 to 1979. From 1977 to 1979 Dennis J. Kucinich (1946–) was mayor of Cleveland. Most Croatian-American politicians have been Democrats, as have Croatian Americans in general.

GROUP MAINTENANCE

When the Croats first settled in the United States in the 19th century, they found it difficult to maintain distinct communities. Few Croatian women came with them or followed them. Men, if they married, married outside the group, although often they chose other Catholic Slavs. Their children generally identified themselves in terms of the ethnic affiliation of their

U.S. Urges Europe To Protect Bosnia

Baker Maps Protest to Serb Leaders

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Staff Writer

The United States made urgent appeals yesterday to some of its European partners for help in staving off an assault by the Serb-dominated Yugoslav army on Bosnia-Herzegovina, saying that bloodshed could result in Serbia's further isolation from the West.

Secretary of State James A. Baker III, after a meeting with Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Siladzic, began a round of calls to European capitals in an effort to put together an emergency, joint protest to Serbian leaders. In addition, European Community political directors were urged during a meeting at the State Department to help Bosnia.

Baker told reporters that within the last day the United States had sent "another very strongly worded protest to the Serbian leadership" about the march of heavily armed Yugoslav militiamen on the Bosnian town of Visegrad. Reports of killings of innocent civilians by the militiamen "are extraordinarily tragic and outrageous," Baker said.

A senior administration official said Baker hoped to organize such a strong protest that the Serbian leadership would be forced to rethink the military advance. The official said a similar threat had succeeded in March in averting violence between Serbia and Croatia.

The official said the United States and the Europeans would threaten to totally isolate Serbia and suspend its membership in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, a grouping committed to protection of human rights, democratic principles and territorial integrity. The official said that the Serbian leadership was also being told that further attacks on Bosnia would put any potential aid from the United States at risk.

The official acknowledged that the urgent involvement of the United States was something of a shift from its earlier approach to the violent breakup of the Yugoslav federation, in which Washington largely let the Europeans take the lead to try to quell bitter fighting between Serbia and Croatia. The official said the Bosnian situation was different because the republic had declared its independence peacefully and in keeping with Western principles and was now being attacked from outside. For their part, Yugoslav

See BAKER, A33, Col. 4



Serb Forces Overwhelm Key Town

Assault Escalates War in Bosnia

By Blaine Harden
Washington Post Foreign Service

VISEGRAD, Bosnia, April 14—With heavily armed Serbian militiamen in the vanguard, the Yugoslav army launched an all-out assault today on this Bosnian river town just five miles from the border with Serbia.

There appeared to be little resistance from residents of the predominantly Slavic Muslim town of 22,000, as the Serb-dominated army advanced under a creeping barrage laid down by heavy mortars and 122mm rockets.

"It will happen very quickly," said an army colonel as thousands of infantrymen entered the outskirts of Visegrad. "They are not a strong force; we are going to surround Visegrad and then we are going to call them to surrender." If residents give up quickly, he said, the army will not demolish the town.

The army troops worked closely with Serbian paramilitary units who performed the risky work of flushing out houses in advance of the regular infantry. Many of the militiamen had daubed their faces with camouflage paint and blazoned their vehicles with banners bearing ancient Serbian slogans, including, "With Faith in God, King and the Fatherland." Some drank heavily from liter-sized bottles of brandy as they marched; others drank beer.

They made no attempt to minimize what will happen to those Muslims who choose not to flee the town. "The women and children will be left alone," said a mustachioed Serb militiaman who escorted journalists to the front. As for the Muslim men, he ran his finger across his throat.

The massive assault on Visegrad, site of a giant hydroelectric dam on the Drina River, marks a further escalation in a rapidly spreading ethnic war sparked by Bosnia-Herzegovina's secession from Yugoslavia—now reduced essentially from a six-republic

Serb Forces Attack Key Bosnian Town

BOSNIA, From A1

federation to an alliance between Serbia and Montenegro.

Bosnian independence—which was recognized earlier this month by the United States and the European Community—is vigorously supported by the republic's Slavic Muslims and Croats, who together account for two-thirds of the 4.4 million population, but adamantly opposed by Bosnia's Serbs, who account for one-third and who wish to preserve political ties with Serbia.

The Yugoslav army, which has 100,000 troops still based in Bosnia, said it was "liberating" Visegrad—63 percent of whose inhabitants are Muslims, 33 percent Serbs—to protect Serb rights. "[Muslims] were mistreating Serbs in Visegrad and the surrounding area," said the army colonel, who refused to give his name.

In Serbia, meanwhile, the Yugoslav army chief of staff, Gen. Zivota Panic, threatened to step up the offensive in Bosnia in response to "increased attacks on the army and the Serbian people" by Muslim and Croat militias. "The army is ready to repel such attacks," Panic said, adding that "there are no signs of calming" in Bosnia.

Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic, a Muslim who has been trying unsuccessfully to negotiate a political compromise under EC sponsorship, has denounced Serbia's involvement in the conflict and has demanded that the Yugoslav army pull out of Bosnia.

[In Washington, Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic met with Secretary of State James A. Baker III and asked for help to prevent "mass massacres" by Serbian militiamen in his republic. Baker called

the situation in Bosnia "extraordinarily tragic" and said the United States had sent another strongly worded protest to Serbia's leadership.

[Later, the State Department issued a statement in which it condemned "the use of force, intimidation and provocation to nationalist violence by militant nationalist Serb, and to a lesser extent, Croat leaders in Bosnia. . . . Their strategy and tactics are clearly aimed at promoting the forceful disintegration of Bosnia." The statement also condemned the "clear pattern of support" for the destabilization of Bosnia, primarily on the part of the Yugoslav military and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.]

U.S. ambassador to Yugoslavia Warren Zimmermann delivered a similar message to the Serbian government Monday, but out here in the rocky hills of eastern Bosnia, where reality is measured by men-at-arms, diplomatic notes do not seem to matter much. By that gauge, the army has a crushing advantage; backing up the infantry are about 150 trucks hauling field artillery, mobile kitchens, water tanks, ammunition and lots of freshly baked bread—all rushed here from neighboring Serbia over the past 24 hours.

Scores of area homes were commandeered for army use well before the first combat troops arrived. Tents were erected in farm yards, latrines dug, communication centers built. Trains have been hauling army tanks eastward into Bosnia. For governments that have recognized Bosnian independence, it would seem difficult to interpret such actions as anything other than a frontal assault across an international border.

Serb forces here, however, seem to pay little mind to the border

question. Indeed, the local border post between Serbia and Bosnia is manned by Serbian police who whistle, wave and cheer as army trucks thunder by into what they clearly do not regard as a foreign country.

Bosnia's militant Serb leaders certainly do not either, and with the enthusiastic backing of the Serbian government, they have announced creation of a sovereign Serb republic on Bosnian territory—a state whose boundaries they have yet to define.

These leaders claim that Serbs cannot live safely as a minority in a nation separate from the Serb-controlled rump of Yugoslavia, but many Western diplomats and long-time observers of the Yugoslav scene regard this as a pretext for a land grab. Bosnia's Muslim-led government, diplomats say, has gone out of its way to avoid any violation of Serb civil or ethnic rights and has been accommodating in response to Serb demands for political autonomy.

Yet, almost within minutes of U.S. and EC recognition of Bosnia, Serb leaders resigned from the republic's multi-ethnic collective presidency and announced formation of their own Bosnian republic. Fighting for territory broke out almost immediately between rival ethnic militias, and hundreds have died since.

The pattern of the assault on Visegrad bore many of the earmarks of well-planned attacks at the height of the 10-month-old Serb-Croat war now winding down in neighboring Croatia. First Serb woman and children were evacuated from the town, then Serb guerrillas launched probing attacks, followed by a full-scale army offensive supported by overwhelming artillery fire.



Serb combatants view rivals from cemetery near Sarajevo, Bosnia's capital. REUTER

Europe Urged to Assist Bosnia

BAKER, From A1

army troops say they are advancing to protect Serbs in Bosnia.

In a statement yesterday, State Department spokesman Margaret Tutwiler reiterated that the United States "condemns the use of force, intimidation and provocation to nationalist violence by militant nationalist Serbian, and to a lesser extent, Croatian leaders in Bosnia."

"Their strategy and tactics are clearly aimed at promoting the forcible disintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina," Tutwiler said. "These leaders stand at a crossroads. If they continue on their present course of destabilization, they will only ensure their international political and economic isolation."

Tutwiler said the United States "strongly supports the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina," which the United States recognized

April 7 and the European Community recognized the day before.

Officials said responses to the U.S. appeal for a joint protest had not yet been received from the Europeans as of late yesterday. Silajdzic told Baker he would be traveling soon to Germany and other European nations seeking help, and also had called Saudi Arabian officials seeking assistance. A sizable percentage of the Bosnian population is Muslim.

Silajdzic told reporters of "mass massacres in Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Serbian and Montenegrin irregulars," as well as some militiamen brought in from Croatia. "They are amassing their troops around Sarajevo now and there is a danger of imminent attack," the minister said.

"Hundreds of dead bodies and dying people lie in towns of Zvornik, Foca, Bijeljina and surrounding villages and other towns. And it is a great human tragedy," he added.