

United States Senate

Washington, DC

Congressional Record

October 8, 1992

Senator Allen K. Simpson

On the Continuing Crisis in Yugoslavia

Mr. Simpson: Mr. President, I want to say a few words about the continuing crisis in Yugoslavia.

MR. PRESIDENT, I think it is fair to say about most of us that we only began to learn about the intricacies of this tragic situation after that land exploded into military conflict. It has truly been on the job training for the Western democracies in developing appropriate responses.

I think that is important to understand because it is important to understand international events have played a role in Yugoslavia's current difficulties, and in the tensions that have emerged there over time. People in America turn on their televisions and they see horrifying images of brutality and terror. The easy -- but incorrect -- response is to turn away and to believe this is just part of the world that has gone crazy, and that is the international community has nothing to do with it. That is not true morally, nor historically, the tensions in Yugoslavia partially result from a history of international great-power conflicts which have focused on that region.

We need to remember that the development of appropriate responses, and appropriate solutions, requires us to do our best to understand what is happening there. It requires us to understand that this is not in anyway analogous to the conflict that erupted 2 years ago between Iraq and Kuwait. I believe President Bush deserves our commendation for recognizing the particulars at work in Yugoslavia, and not attempting to shoehorn a policy that may have worked in other parts of the globe onto this unique situation.

We must, of course, continue to adhere to certain principles in our response. Recently the Senate called upon the United Nations to take the necessary measures to ensure that the relief to victimized peoples there is successful. That was an appropriate response in my view. And we must also make clear that naked military aggression will be punished by the international community, by economic sanctions at the very least.

Beyond that, this situation becomes more complex, and solutions more exclusive. Identifying aggressors is not a trivial matter in a land like Bosnia-Herzegovina, where Croats, Serbs and Moslems have fought within the borders of one Republic -- and where each of those groups is divided into factions that include various levels of nationalist extremism.

We should, of course, condemn aggressive actions by Serbian leader Milosevic -- but we must not delude our selves into believing that, inaction by Serbia, as a result of international pressure, will automatically produce peace in Bosnia. The Republics of Yugoslavia were, after all, drawn up with 30 percent of the Serbs living outside of Serbia.

We must similarly not assume that Serbia is United behind the policies of Slobodan Milosevic. Of course, the growing attacks of a number of Serbs about his policies would not mean that we should relieve the international economic pressure on Serbia. But we need to do what we can to strengthen those elements within Serbia that might be more included to play a productive role in framing a lasting peace.

I had the pleasure this past week of meeting with Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic. I found myself impressed with the energy and enthusiasm of this man, a naturalized American citizen, for advancing ideals which he unabashedly described as "American." Milan Panic spent a great deal of his professional life in the United States, and he has returned to his country with a great enthusiasm for all things American, and I cannot help but admire him for that.

I do believe that we may need to take a good look at who we view as the real voice of Serbia, whether it is Milan Panic, or Slobodan Milosevic. Milan Panic's government of a "rump State" of Serbia and Montenegro has not been generally recognized. This is, after all, a recognition of the forces arrayed against him -- not internationally, but within Serbia. I am certain that Milosevic would love for us to become so enamored of Mr. Panic that we ease the pressure on Milosevic's own regime; certainly we need to guard against that. But I do think we will be distraught with ourselves if a voice for peace and moderation within Yugoslavia is stilled by a coup or conspiracy against him by a militarist regime. We therefore have a responsibility to strengthen our support for what Mr. Panic has been saying.

I would urge my colleges to let the word go forth that the West is in fact receptive to possibilities for democracy and peace within the rump Yugoslavia. And, that the attitude and approach of the West will be in part determined by the extent to which real governing power passes into the hands of moderate parties within their county. Declarations of peaceful intent, of course, are not enough. But we can make clear that we do find the program of Mr. Panic -- and NOT the policies of Mr. Milosevic to comport with our long-held views of the real aspirations of the Serbian people. Mr. Panic represents their clear and best present hope for international respect and goodwill, and that is a hope that we cannot at this tragic time afford to ignore. (Emphasis added.)

Betrayal of Yugoslavia Into Communism by U.S. And Britain Is Charged

Major John J. Knezevich of Los Angeles 43, California in a letter dated March 30, 1946 wrote to Mr. William Randolph Hearst, San Simeon, California. The text of the letter which appears below, was published in the Chicago Herald American on Tuesday April 9, 1946 Flash Edition and in the Boston Daily Record of April 10, 1946, the Charge of Betrayal hovers over the United States of America today, what with the Murders of any number of Serbian Americans by agents of the Communist Government of Yugoslavia, the infamous 5/4 Decision of the United States Supreme Court to hand over lock, stock and barrel Serbian (American) Orthodox Churches and real estate, plus the Six Serbian Political Prisoners in Federal Jails... there is definitely a Conspiracy against Serbia U.S.A., let's read the Major's letter: —

Dear Sir: — Your editorial of March 29 entitled, 'A Shameful Betrayal' is before me. From Dec. 28, 1943 to Aug. 27, 1945, as a Balkan specialist, I was head of the Yugoslav section of the joint Army and Navy Intelligence of our American armed forces in the middle east. It was my responsibility to learn the truth about the political and military situation in Yugoslavia. I have been retired because of disability, and am hoping to be able to again resume the publishing of my newspaper. Thus I am at liberty to speak publicly and disclose to the American people the truth about Yugoslavia and our part in creating the Communist monster, Tito, and Communist Government there. **WITHOUT HESITATION WHATSOEVER I STATE AS FOLLOWS: —** Gen. (Dragoljub) Mihailovich **IS NO TRAITOR, IF HE IS, THEN SO AM I** and every other American who served in this war. He is the greatest martyr produced in this war. He, and the cause of democracy, justice, truth, liberty and loyalty to our friends and allies, **HAVE BEEN BETRAYED BY OUR GOVERNMENT** by abandoning the Yugoslavian people to the mercy of the British Foreign Office and the hunger, terror and aggrandizement of Russian Communism as expounded by Josip Broz Tito.

GOVERNMENT KNEW TRUTH

Every American officer who was sent as a member of our military mission to Gen. Mihailovich will attest to the truth of my statement **OUR GOVERNMENT KNEW THE TRUTH AT ALL TIMES.** Every one of some 500 American aviators who have been saved by the troops of Gen. Mihailovich will also attest to my statement and so will **OUR OFFICIAL FILES!** Gen. Mihailovich's victory against the enemy, in which our American Officers participated as witnesses, were accredited to Tito's Partisans. **OUR OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION WITHHELD THE TRUTH!** Even before the rise of the Russian puppet Tito and during the entire war period we and the British gave to Gen. Mihailovich

less material assistance than was sufficient to equip one battalion of his men. All his pleas transmitted to our authorities were in vain, because Mr. Churchill **WAS THE MASTER OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY IN THE BALKANS.**

The day of March 27, 1941, when the Serbian Army Officers rose in coup d'etat and established King Peter in the throne as a challenge to Germany and Italy, is now being celebrated in Yugoslavia and by the Yugoslavian Communist Party in the U.S. as a Communist day of national revolution for Yugoslavia Independence, when in truth (So well known to our Government) at that time the Communist party of Yugoslavia, together with Tito **ENGAGED IN SABOTAGE AND FIFTH COLUMN ACTIVITIES AGAINST THE ALLIES**, because their master, Stalin, **WAS STILL THE STAUNCH ALLY OF NAZI HITLER.** That Communist activity before and during the German, Italian, Bulgarian and Hungarian attack on Yugoslavia lasted until the day of the German attack on Russia.

Encroaching on Liberties

The security for our American people is to have a well informed people. Our Governmental wartime and now peacetime agencies have shamefully and, it seems, deliberately **FAILED TO DISCLOSE THE TRUTH TO OUR PEOPLE** about the Red monster, which is encroaching fast upon our liberties! The Yugoslav people (as well as the Polish) are on the conscience of the American people. If we do not use every means and force at our disposal to liberate Gen. Mihailovich, and eventually the Yugoslavian people, we shall fail in our faith in God and every decency known to our American people. Where is justice, where is truth, what has happened to our American way of democracy and idealism and national pride? **ARE WE ALSO TO BECOME A PUPPET NATION OF RUSSIAN COMMUNIST EMPIRE?** May God preserve you to continue your noble and courageous efforts to prevent the butchering of our **MOST LOYAL FRIEND, ADMIRER AND ALLY, Gen. Drazo Mihailovich,** and thus at least appease our National Honor and self-respect as well as the respect of the decent world. Respectfully yours. Major John J. Knezevich

- (1) Cleveland Plain Dealer, Thursday, March 28, 1941
- (2) Sun Telegraph, Pittsburgh, Pa. April 2, 1946
- (3) New Post, Baltimore, Md. April 4, 1946
- (4) Chicago Daily Tribune, Saturday, April 6, 1946
- (5) Chicago Herald American, Tuesday, April 9, 1941
- (6) Boston Daily Record, April 10, 1941
- (7) Chicago Sunday Tribune, April 14, 1946, Page 28
- (8) Chicago Herald American, Thursday, April 4, 1946
- (9) Chicago Daily Tribune, Friday, April 19, 1946.

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Clinton Endorses Bosnia Talks

United States Has Not 'Given Up on' the Region, President Says

By Daniel Williams
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Clinton said yesterday that his administration has not "given up on" Bosnia, and strongly endorsed controversial peace talks—scheduled to begin in Geneva Sunday—that the Muslim-led Bosnian government has resisted attending.

European and United Nations mediators have told the Muslims they have little choice other than to attend the talks, and Clinton's comments appeared to agree. At the talks, Serb and Croat leaders, whose separatist forces have made major gains on the ground at the expense of the Muslims, propose partition of the country along ethnic lines.

Clinton was responding to an uproar over remarks made Wednesday by Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who said the United States was "doing all it can" in Bosnia, even as Serb and Croat forces tighten their siege on the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo, driving back Muslim defenders and hindering relief and fuel shipments.

"That is not true that we have given up on it," Clinton told reporters during a photo session with Haiti's exiled President Jean Bertrand Aristide.

"We have aggressively committed ourselves to the process in Geneva," he said, adding that the United States would "participate" in enforcing any accord signed by the Muslims.

Clinton suggested no immediate relief for Sarajevo, saying only that "we are continuing to work with the Europeans on other options."

Presidential press secretary Dee Dee Myers said these consultations centered around ways to improve the delivery of humanitarian relief, protect U.N. peacekeepers, enforce a no-fly zone against Serb planes and monitor economic sanctions on neighboring Serbia, the arms patron for the Bosnian Serbs. None of these are new initiatives.

Muhammed Sacirbey, the country's ambassador to the United Nations, said the Muslims took Christopher's words as an attempt by Washington to "wash its hands" of Bosnia.

"But they can't wash their hands. They are knee-deep in blood," he said.

Sacirbey said he regarded promises to enforce any new peace agreement as empty, given inaction on Sarajevo and other desolate towns. "If they think such comments are encouraging us to talk, they are having the opposite effect," he said. "We have heard these promises before."

The Muslims will not attend the Geneva talks until a ceasefire takes hold in Bosnia, Sacirbey said.

Christopher's words appeared to have revived dormant passions among Washington critics of Clinton's Bosnia policy. Rep. Frank McCloskey (D-Ind.) called the statement "disappointing, appalling and tragic . . . a new low in post-Cold War American foreign policy."

Rep. Lee H. Hamilton (D-Ind.), while supporting the administration's caution, said military steps should be taken to assure constant delivery of relief aid, frequently blocked by Serb and lately Croat militias despite a series of commitments to allow passage. "We must make clear that humanitarian aid is going to go through," he said.

At the United Nations in New York, the five non-aligned members of the 15-nation Security Council protested Western inaction by moving to block the flow of food and medicines to Serbia. "It's unthinkable to us that Yugoslavia [Serbia and Montenegro] should be getting everything they ask for when the victims in Bosnia are getting nothing," said Djibouti ambassador Roble Olhaye.

The non-aligned countries—Cape Verde, Djibouti, Morocco, Pakistan and Venezuela—have staged a boycott in a committee that reviews requests for U.N. approval of shipments of humanitarian goods to Yugoslavia. Through action by the committee, foods and medicines are exempted from tough commercial sanctions the council imposed on Yugoslavia in April.

The committee, composed of one member from each council country, operates by consensus. The non-aligned nations paralyzed it in meetings Monday and Wednesday simply by asking for more time to look over hundreds of petitions for shipments.

Staff writer Julia Preston at the United Nations contributed to this report.

NATIONAL BESTSELLER

McLean Psychiatric Hospital, 1967. A girl, "interrupted in the music of being 17..."

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COMMENT



A LAST CHANCE

THIS spring, when the Clinton Administration briefly gathered its nerve to try to stop the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, threats were made, ultimatums were issued, and the marauding Serbian forces were given pause—also briefly—in their year-old genocidal campaign against the Bosnian Muslims. President Slobodan Milošević, the Serbian nationalist who is primarily responsible for the war, agreed to cut off supplies to his murderous subordinates in Bosnia, and Radovan Karadžić, the leader of the Bosnian Serbs, even signed a peace agreement. Of course, that peace agreement was rejected by Karadžić's constituents, and the Serbs, having discovered that President Clinton's threats were hollow, resumed their grisly "ethnic cleansing" with new fury and no remaining fear of Western military intervention. Now, with the Muslims more battered than ever, and ethnic cleansing in Bosnia entering what some observers believe may be its final phase, the international community, represented by the United Nations, is reported to have started issuing ultimatums again. This time, however, it is the Bosnian government being threat-

ened. Either the Bosnian leaders join negotiations to dismember their country or the United Nations relief agencies, which are currently helping to keep more than two million people alive, will pull out of the country, leaving the Bosnians to their exterminators.

The dismemberment—or "partition," as its proponents prefer to call it—of Bosnia has, at this stage, wide appeal. To the dedicated wreckers of the country, its charms are obvious. To the terrorized refugees being hounded from village to town to forest to killing field, it holds out a last hope of safety. To exasperated diplomats and other onlookers who simply want to see the war end and are by now convinced that Serbs and Croats and Muslims can never live together peacefully, it seems, increasingly, the only practical solution. Even the United States has come around to reluctantly accepting negotiations for partition. But the working document for these negotiations, called "the Milošević map," after its author, awards most of Bosnia, naturally, to the Serbs. For the Muslims, partition will provide, in the words of a senior analyst for the United States Committee for

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Refugees, quoted in the *Times*, an "Indian reservation/Palestinian refugee camp in which people with no political power, held in closed areas, become an international welfare case." According to a classified State Department report, the plan will force as many as two million more people from their homes. "We're talking about enormous waves of people," a State Department official told the *Times*. "Things could get much worse than they are now."

There are many unhappy precedents for this kind of scheme. In South Africa, the mad dreamers of apartheid forcibly resettled three and a half million people in a cynical hopeless quest to create a chain of ethnically "pure" states. What they created instead was untold suffering, chaos, and a ferocious new breed of petty tyrant: the Bantustan leader. Today, while black and white South Africans struggle to wake their country from the long nightmare of apartheid, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the leader of the KwaZulu Bantustan, has joined forces with diehard white supremacists to try to forestall the dawn of nonracial democracy. If a new constitution does not grant him sufficient power and autonomy within his ethnic fiefdom, Buthelezi has warned, he may exercise what he calls "a Yugoslavia option," and secede from a reunified South Africa. Thus do the pawns of partition schemes take on a frightening life of their own, even recognizing their fellow tribal warlords across the continents. But what South Africa and the former Yugoslavia really have in common is simply their pain and their

manipulation by politicians who exploit the idea that only ethnically homogeneous societies can be successful. What is in some ways most frightening at this point in the Yugoslav tragedy is the willingness of Western governments to accept this patently false and racist idea—to agree, in effect, to the creation of Bantustans in Europe.

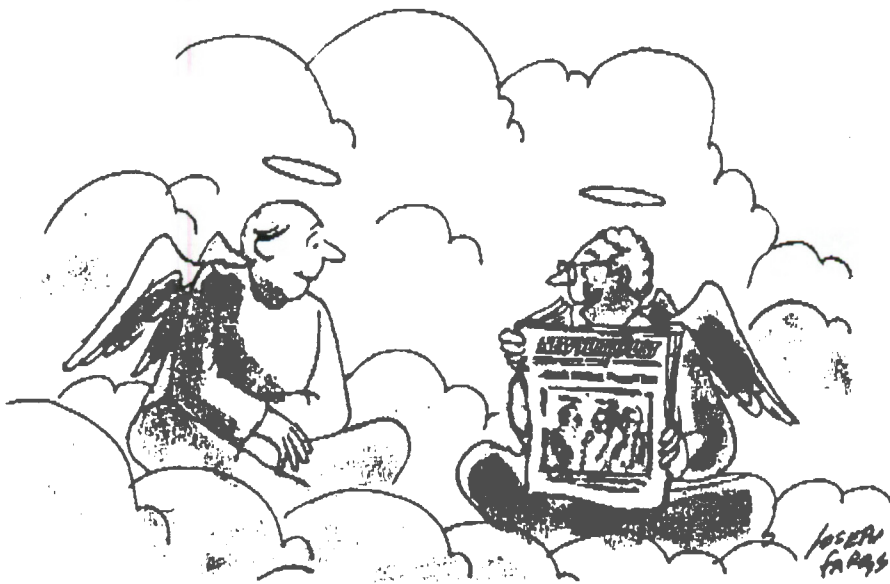
Within the old Yugoslav federation, Bosnia and Herzegovina was always the most multiethnic of the republics. Though the Muslims were the largest group, they did not make up a majority, and mixed marriages were common. Even today, it is inaccurate to describe the Bosnian government or Army as "Muslim," because, according to the government, more than a third of Bosnia's soldiers are ethnic Serbs or Croats. For this heterogeneity alone, the fledgling Bosnian state was perhaps doomed to be attacked by the chauvinist, expansionist regimes in neighboring Serbia and Croatia. The founding premise of international relations—that countries recognized by the United Nations shall not be extinguished and borders not be redrawn by force—is just one of the principles at stake as the Serb and Croat forces continue to carve up Bosnia. There is also the simple but crucial idea that multiethnic societies are viable. (This idea is particularly crucial to Americans, of course.)

Since cities are generally the best advertisements for heterogeneity, they have been special targets of the ethnic cleansers: Dubrovnik, Vukovar, and, above all, the famously cosmopolitan Sarajevo. Bogdan Bogdanović, a pre-Milošević

mayor of Belgrade, recently wrote in *The New York Review of Books*, "What I sense deep in the city destroyers' panic-ridden souls is a malicious animus against everything urban, everything urbane—that is, against a complex semantic cluster that includes spirituality, morality, language, taste, and style."

The siege of Sarajevo, now in its sixteenth month, has lately reached new depths of barbarism. The Serbian forces in the surrounding hills, having already launched hundreds of thousands of high-explosive shells into the city, killing or wounding more than sixty thousand people, have for weeks at a time cut off water, natural gas, and electricity, creating what an American disaster-relief team, in a report to the State Department earlier this month, called "the world's largest concentration camp." Sarajevans lining up at back-yard wells provide, moreover, easy targets: a direct hit on July 12th killed twelve people and wounded fifteen.

President Clinton, watching television in Japan, was reported to be deeply upset by the news from Sarajevo. His aides duly met in Washington to discuss what might be done, but, according to the *Times*, they were unable to decide on any course of action. Actually, lifting the siege of Sarajevo would not present a major military challenge for the United States. It is a matter of securing the city's airport, which means knocking out the nearby Serbian heavy artillery. This artillery's placement is well known, and the suppression of any replacement guns would be a straightforward task for a competent air force, either American or multilateral. If the Clinton Administration is serious about its often declared desire to lift the arms embargo on Bosnia, a recaptured Sarajevo airport is the obvious place to begin the resupply of the nation's defenders. Military intervention is no substitute for the political settlement—or for the immense program of social and economic reconstruction—that Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia all urgently need. But lifting the siege of Sarajevo now, without further dithering, would have profound symbolic—which is to say political—significance, not only for the outcome of the Yugoslav conflict but for the morale and the tenor of the entire post-Communist world. It might also save tens of thousands of lives. Certainly, as Mr. Clinton's political advisers can tell him, it would look better than threatening the weak. ♦



"The New York Post" was here for a couple of days. It had a near-death experience."

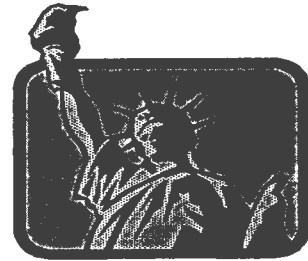
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TO: Select friends/members of TRUTH IN MEDIA
FROM: Bob Djurdjevic
SUBJECT: Zimmermann revisited; letters to Malcolm Forbes, Jr.;
Recent trip reports from Bosnia, Krajina; and more...

1. NEW "CLINTON DOCTRINE" TO EMERGE FROM BOSNIAN FAILURE?

This is an analysis of the origins and consequences of the U.S. policy failures (see pages 6-8).

2. MALCOLM FORBES' (Jr.) WHINING EDITORIAL; LEVITAS (NYT) LETTER

If you have not yet read the latest (August 2) FORBES magazine editorial, you did not miss much. Nevertheless, we recommend that you do read the piece by Malcolm S. Forbes, Jr., the famous publisher's eldest son, who is now the part-time editor-in-chief and a full-time majority owner of the magazine. The reason? It epitomizes the ignorance, arrogance and malice so typical among the many North American editors. Also, see our June 23 letter to Michael Levitas, the NEW YORK TIMES' OpEd editor (page 9).

3. ZIMMERMANN REVISITED

Someone said something recently which set off an instant recall about the correspondence which this writer exchanged in April 1992 with the former U.S. ambassador to the former Yugoslavia on the subject of the former YU republic called Bosnia. Rather than editorialize about it, we've decided to share the copies of these letters with you. Since more than a year has elapsed since they were written, we don't think that their confidential disclosure would influence any current policy issues. On the other hand, we do want the TRUTH TO BE KNOWN about what our government's thinking was in April 1992 and earlier, just in case someone at the State Department, or elsewhere in the U.S. government, decides to rewrite the history to fit the present (see pages 10-14).

3. "DER SPIEGEL" LASHES OUT AT GERMAN BALKAN POLICY

Speaking of rewriting history to fit the present, a respected German magazine, DER SPIEGEL (MIRROR in English) said in its June 28 issue that, "both governments (the U.S. and Germany) are guilty of historical revisionism." The magazine accused the German chancellor, of "trying to cover up what is public knowledge: that it was above all Bonn's former Foreign Minister, Hans Dietrich Genscher, who in 1991/92 forced through the speedy recognition by the (European) Community (of Croatia and Bosnia)." The article, which was sent to us by Prof. Dragnich, and which Velizar Stanoyevictch had translated from German, proves that not everybody in Germany is enamored with the German-American Balkan policy.

Kohl's zeal to help America out went as far as his (mis)interpreting a routine Clinton foreign policy statement as the U.S. president's wish for Kohl to do for America what Warren Christopher failed to in April -- to convince the EC partners at the late June Copenhagen meeting to back the U.S. lifting of the arms embargo against Bosnia. Those familiar with the German mentality can just imagine how flattered Kohl must have felt when he realized that the most powerful country on Earth depended on him to "save it." But, after the other EC members again rejected such "solution" to the Bosnian war, Kohl had to admit that "we (Germany and the U.S.) stand alone." In the end, "what was left was a Helmut Kohl looking foolish," the German magazine noted.

"Shortly afterward," DER SPIEGEL continued, "the time for mutual recriminations (between the German and the American diplomats) had begun." In an interview to the USA TODAY even before the Copenhagen meeting, Warren Christopher had said that the "early recognition of Croatia and Bosnia was a grave mistake." As a result, "he held Bonn responsible for the war in the Balkans." He said that, "the Germans bear a special responsibility because they had persuaded their Community partners to go along."

EDITORIAL COMMENT: Of course, that was a low blow delivered by our Secretary of State. First, because it has some political connotations ("don't blame us for what the Bush Administration did"). Second, because the State Department encouraged Germany to assume the leadership role in Europe. Blaming the Germans for the consequences, therefore, is not just like the "Monday morning quarterbacking;" it is much worse. It's like the "Monday morning quarterbacking" by a losing coach who blamed the quarterback whom he had picked to execute the plays the coach had devised.

No wonder, therefore, that the strong reaction by Bonn was "equally unusual," according to DER SPIEGEL. "The Foreign Ministry rejected Christopher's 'incorrect statements'." The Germans argued that, "if anything, the recognition of Croatia and Bosnia was too late rather than too early."

EDITORIAL COMMENT: "Divide and conquer" was not invented by the Bosnian Serbs; it is a policy which the Romans practiced with considerable success. Yet, one could not help but wonder if the Bosnian Serb leaders may not have had a chuckle or two over the rift which their stubbornness has caused among the world powers. Remember Sarajevo 1914, or the challenge which Belgrade threw at Hitler in March 1941? The Serbs' willingness to die for what they believe was right has already helped topple a few empires. So why did the German and the American diplomats fail to learn from history? We can't be sure. But, it is indisputable that the failure of their foreign policies has confirmed an old saw -- "those who fail to learn from history will regret to repeat it." What's especially unfortunate is that the Western diplomats were forewarned about such consequences of their actions (see "Zimmermann Revisited" above).

Of course, as with all sore losers, the recriminations between the U.S. and European governments are continuing. In his latest salvo against our Euro-allies, President Clinton also blamed them for failing to support the U.S. Bosnia policy (see the NEW YORK TIMES, 7/22/93). Which is why, he told a caller on the "Larry King Live" show on July 20, the U.S. will do nothing more to help Bosnia (see the OpEd column).

4. "THE INDEPENDENT" ATTACKS NATO, WESTERN SECURITY POLICY

In an editorial, "Security Still Matters" (see page 15), the British newspaper, THE INDEPENDENT, attacked both the NATO and the new European security arrangements. It appears that sanity is replacing the anti-Serbian hysteria in the European media. Will some of it perhaps spill over into North America any time soon?

5. TRIP REPORTS FROM BOSNIA, KRAJINA

The following are this writer's CONFIDENTIAL diary notes based on the verbal reports which we have received from two individuals who have just returned from trips to Bosnia and Krajina respectively:

Bosnia: The New Spiritual Center of Serbia?

High Morale. Dr. Srdja Trifkovic spent four days in mid-July in Pale, near Sarajevo. "As soon as you cross Drina (the river bordering Serbia and Bosnia) you get a sense of a whole new atmosphere of optimism," he said. "The morale among the Serbs in Bosnia is very high." He said that he was surprised about the lack of formalities to which he and his driver were subjected between the Serbian border and Sarajevo. "Sure there were checkpoints. We saw Serbian soldiers smoking cigarettes and drinking beer. But, no one bothered to search us." "Was your car especially marked?" I asked. "No," he replied. "It was a regular BG rental car." Dr. Trifkovic said that all farmers' fields in Bosnia along the route he took had been worked. "They let the people out of the army for a few days to go home and work the fields," he explained. "That's why we saw a lot of soldiers hitch-hiking." Afterward, they return to the front. And then back home again for the harvest...

But on their return trip taking a different route (via Bratunac), it was a different story. "There was total devastation all around," Dr. Trifkovic said. "All villages, Serbian or Muslim, were burnt to the ground."

Vibrant Irreverence. "There is a certain kind of vibrant irreverence I've witnessed everywhere in Bosnia," Dr. Trifkovic said. "These people are in the midst of a terrible war, but you'd never know it when you talk to them. They are cracking jokes all the time, often about their own leaders." For example, he described a church service which Patriarch Pavle gave at Sokolac. The service was attended by most of the Bosnian leadership. "Look at Milan (let's call him, a former 'Commie') crossing himself! Until two years ago, even a pair of oxens could not have dragged him into the church!" one of the soldiers observed dryly.

A few moments later, Karadzic was greeted by some small children. He hugged some and kissed a little girl on top of her head. "Look at Karadzic! Just like our late Marshall (Tito)," one soldier commented out loud so that the leaders could hear him. "He loves to be surrounded by 'pioneers' ('pioneers' connoted 'small Communist children' in Serbian).

Boban: a "good ustasha." Dr. Trifkovic said that the Bosnian Serbs' attitude is much friendlier toward the Croats than toward the Muslims. For example, his driver had "disappeared" after they arrived in Pale. "My hotel was on Mount Jahorina," he said. "That meant I had to drive by myself for about 15-20 minutes every night. Naturally, I was concerned about my safety in a war zone." "Don't worry about a thing," one of the Bosnian Serb soldiers told him. "There aren't any 'Turks' here; not even in the jail." I laughed. "Not even in jail, ha?" I repeated. It was an example of a typical Bosnian sense of humor.

"So they call the Bosnian Muslim 'Turks?'" I asked. "That, and many other names," Dr. Trifkovic said, rattling off at least half a dozen unflattering expressions. By contrast, the Bosnian Serbs thought that Mate Boban, the Bosnian Croatian leader, "was a good 'ustasha.' We'll make a deal with him," the Serb soldier assured the visitor.

Bosnia: new spiritual center of Serbia? "I think that the spiritual center of Serbia is now west of the river Drina (i.e., into Bosnia)," I said early on in our conversation. "You're quite right," Dr. Trifkovic replied. "Want to know what my driver told me jokingly at the end of the trip, after we had crossed the Drina from Bosnia into Serbia?" "What did he say?" I played along. "Welcome to 'Eastern Serbia!'" Dr. Trifkovic explained. The driver continued jabbing his passenger. "Maybe we in Bosnia are a little backward; maybe we talk funny," he joked, "but compared to you, we are 'the West!'"

Krajina: Serbia's Western Frontier

Belgrade-Banja Luka. Mr. X, an American who has just returned from a trip to former Yugoslavia and who wishes to remain anonymous, said that he met up at the Krajina foreign office on Terazije with two officers from that area who offered to give him a ride to Banja Luka. One of the two officers was the deputy commander of the Serbian Krajina forces. "We've talked a great deal along the way," Mr. X said, "and I found the information very useful." After Banja Luka, he also traveled to Drnis and Bosanski Petrovac. Had he not met with the two Serbian officers, Mr. X said he was planning to use a bus. There is a daily bus run from BG to Knin.

Positive Impressions. His overall impressions were very favorable. "The morale among the Serbian soldiers is high," he said. "They know what they want and are determined to get it at any cost." He said that Britain and France have come around to realizing that. "Now the problem is how do we get our own government to change its position."

Intensity of Fighting. He said that the tactical military situation is exaggerated by the media reports. "If you watch the news reports, you'd think that they are fighting and shelling each other all the time. Actually, it's the way it was in Vietnam. For about 15 minutes, there is intense excitement. The rest of the time, nothing much happens."

6. SERBIA'S "BRAIN DRAIN"

The July 13 report in the British newspaper, THE GUARDIAN, describes a "tragedy within the tragedy" -- an exodus of intellectuals from Serbia. This is an issue which concerned us well before the outbreak of hostilities in YU. In a January 1990 meeting with Slobodan Milosevic, for example, this writer raised the "brain drain" issue, and proposed some solutions. For more details, see our CONFIDENTIAL reply to HRH Prince Alexander (pages 16-18), from whom we received THE GUARDIAN article.

7. CROATIAN "PR" ON THE DEFENSIVE NOW

Now that the EC and the U.N. are threatening to impose sanctions on Croatia, note an almost panicked call for action by a Mia Brozovich/Lodge 439 of the Croatian-American Association in Washington (story provided by Mim Bizic - see page 19).

8. MILOSEVIC AND SADDAM: "BIRDS OF FEATHER STICK TOGETHER?"

Ever since the March 9, 1991 demonstrations in BG, when the posters "Slobodan Sadame" were prominent in the Serbian opposition crowd, the Western press were comparing Slobodan Milosevic, the Serbian president, with Saddam Hussein, Hitler, Stalin, etc. Well, the Milosevic-controlled Serbian/Yugoslav government seems to be playing right into their enemies' hands. On July 16, the new Belgrade leadership extended warm greetings to their Iraqi counterparts on the occasion of an Iraqi national holiday, according to

the July 20 BBC's Summary of World Broadcasts (see page 19). Hm...

If the sanctions are finally slapped on Croatia, I wonder how long it will be before all these "world outcasts" organize their own "Group of Magnificent Seven" summit? Can't you just see Milosevic, Saddam and Tudjman (a Serb, a Muslim and a Croat) co-chairing the founding anti-establishment conference? Just like Tito, Nasser and Nehru did in Belgrade in 1961, when the organization of non-aligned countries was formed. Among other notables, Mouammar Qaddafi, for example, could be in charge of entertainment. After all, that's what he did at the last conference of non-aligned countries in Belgrade in September 1989, when he brought his camels and pitched his desert tent right next to the luxurious Hotel Intercontinental. Qaddafi could also invite some Irish Republican Army and the Basque leaders to assist his own "pyro-experts" in the nightly fireworks shows.

As for Fidel Castro, also one of the leaders of the non-aligned movement, maybe he could give a non-denominational Sunday sermon, with Tudjman and Jesse Jackson assisting as co-chaplains. But Jackson is no outlaw, you say? Maybe not. But, he'd be there anyway. Probably as a member of the security detail. Just in case CNN requests some American hostages to be taken and then rescued during prime time.

9. EXCERPTS FROM LATEST "SRNA" DISPATCHES

Humanitarian Air Drop Rained Death to Some in Srebrenica. Remember the much-ballyhooed U.S. humanitarian aid air drops to the encircled Muslims in Srebrenica last March? Well, according to a July 22 SRNA dispatch, five people died on March 11 alone in a struggle to retrieve the goods. "Two days later, one packet landed on top of a woman and killed her," reports Haris Nezirovic, a Muslim newspaper reporter who had spent a month in Srebrenica during the air drops. Nezirovic points out that enterprising Muslim soldiers benefited the most from the air drops. "They would present themselves to the civilians as military police, claiming all the food for themselves," Nezirovic reports. By the time "real military police" got to the site, all the food would be gone.

Muslim "Soldiers" Terrorize Sarajevo Population. "Sometimes I wish that Karadzic's Army would walk into Sarajevo, and deal in short order with the Mafia-like hooligans who are exploiting other peoples' misfortunes for their own profiteering," said Dzermal Murga, a Muslim criminal investigations inspector of the Sarajevo police, in an interview with OSLOBODJENJE, a Bosnian (Muslim) government-controlled weekly. The SRNA July 22 dispatch goes on to give some examples of the Sarajevo civilians of all ethnic groups being terrorized by these profit-minded gun-toting Muslim Army "soldiers."

Serbs and Croats Continue to Battle in Posavina. Despite indications of occasional collaboration between the Serb and Croat forces, the two warring sides in the Bosnian civil war continue to fight each other around Brcko and Orasje in Northern Bosnia. According to SRNA's July 22 and 23 dispatches, the Serbian forces defending Brcko are being attacked by the Croatian artillery from across the river Sava, as well by the Muslim troops southwest of Brcko. The Croatian forces based in their stronghold Matici (a village four miles southwest of Orasje) are also firing tank and mortar shells at the Serbian-held Orasje and the surrounding villages.

Karadzic Skeptical About Geneva Talks. In a July 23 letter to the two U.N. negotiators, Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, the Bosnian Serbs' president, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, expressed his doubts about the outcome of the Geneva talks scheduled to start July 25. Referring to the Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic, Dr. Karadzic said that, "anything at all he (would) agree (to) in Geneva would be countermanded in Sarajevo." The Serbian leader alleged that Izetbegovic's successive orders contradict one another. For that reason, Dr. Karadzic argues that a "well prepared" meeting addressing the "final solution of the crisis and the end of the war" be held "in mid-autumn."

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"TRUTH IN MEDIA"

(a non profit organization)

5110 North 40th Street
Phoenix, Arizona 85018
U.S.A.

Tel:(602) 956-8586, FAX: (602) 952-2058

July 22, 1993

By Bob Djurdjevic

(approximately 950 words)

NEW "CLINTON DOCTRINE" TO EMERGE FROM BOSNIAN FAILURE?

The U.S. will have nothing more to do with Bosnia, President Clinton said in a July 20 TV interview. Finally, some words of wisdom are being heard at the White House. Only about 18 months and over 150,000 lives too late... But, Clinton's accusation -- that the Europeans are to blame for the failure of our Bosnia policy -- was a low blow. After all, many European nations suffered casualties in Bosnia, while the U.S. and Germany conveniently stayed out of the conflict they helped create. Our allies did it to show solidarity with our policy. The way most Europeans see it, the U.S. has now betrayed them. They are right. And even Bonn is now critical. "In Bosnia policy, Washington has waffled for months," a Bonn diplomat lamented in the June 28 issue of DER SPIEGEL, a respected German magazine. "The German politicians are now

uncertain what role they want to play following the Cold War," DER SPIEGEL notes. The U.S. encouraged them to assume European leadership. Yet, when they did it, "as in the question of recognition (of Croatia and Bosnia), German foreign policy ended in disaster."

Clinton and our loyal European friends should refrain from mutual recriminations. They should focus instead on learning from their Bosnia mistakes. The Europeans might observe that the ability to assert great economic and/or military power doesn't automatically qualify a nation for political leadership. Just think of Hitler, for example.

As for the U.S., if Clinton is worth his salt, he should start formulating the new "Clinton Doctrine" by cleaning house at the State Department. After all, that's where our present

policy was (ill)conceived. The people who have brought America its worst embarrassment since Vietnam must be held accountable for it. They should be treated no less harshly than was the FBI director, William Sessions, for far lesser transgressions. All we need is a Janet Reno, instead of a Warren Christopher at the State Department. Come to think of it -- strike Reno! Make that King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, one of the State Department diplomats' "darlings." He would probably have the culprits beheaded at the bottom of the Foggy Bottom in no time flat. You see, from the Muslim point of view, the U.S. has now betrayed them, too.

To be fair to Clinton, our pro-Muslim policy -- the root of most evil in the Bosnian War -- was conceived over 13 years ago by another Democrat in the White House. Faced with the Afghanistan and the Iranian crises in late 1979, President Carter declared in January 1980, that the Middle East oil fields were in the strategic interest of the U.S.; that any attempt by an "outside force" to gain control of the Persian Gulf would be repelled "by any means necessary." This new policy became known as the "Carter Doctrine."

The "outside force" to which the Carter Doctrine referred was the Soviet Union. Carter had feared that the Soviets might try to exploit the trouble in Iran to gain a strategic advantage over the U.S. The memories of the Soviet invasions of Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan were still fresh. And Carter wanted to put a stake in the ground in the Persian Gulf to stop the spread of the Communist imperialism.

Eleven years later, President Bush perfidiously used Carter's stake for an unintended purpose -- to draw a line in the sand against Saddam Hussein. It was a sly move for at least two major reasons. First, because Bush, both as Reagan's Vice President and later as President, helped create the monster. Two Republican Administrations supported and armed Iraq in its war against Iran, just to have these arms used against the third one. When Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990, the Western governments were caught with their pants down.

The second reason Bush's use of the Carter Doctrine in the Gulf War was deceptive, was that Iraq's invasion of Kuwait did not threaten our national security, as a similar move by the Soviets would have been at the time the Carter

policy was formulated. Iraq's aggression was a regional Arab conflict which would have only jeopardized the profits of some FORTUNE 500-type companies. And even if a possible disruption in Kuwaiti oil supply were to raise prices for American consumers, the effect would have been temporary and minimal -- hardly a reason for America to go to war.

After all, when the OPEC oil cartel was formed in 1973, the impact on American consumers of the resulting oil price shock was far greater and longer in duration. Yet, no one in his right mind would ever have contemplated going to war against the OPEC countries over it.

In other words, the Gulf War was an Oil War. Period. All else was pretext. As for the Carter Doctrine, this policy has clearly outlived its usefulness following the end of the Cold War. The fact that the Bush Administration sent our sons and daughter to die for the benefit of certain American businesses, not to mention the tens of thousands of Iraqi war victims, is merely an example of its moral corruption. The Bosnian War is another. The trouble Serbs are having with the U.S.-supported Kosovo (Serbia) secessionist Muslims is yet another.

It is fair to say, therefore, that Clinton has inherited the mess in the Balkans. But, unless he acts quickly and decisively to remove its causes, the Yugoslav mess may become his undoing, too. In the wake of the State Department's Bosnian failure, Clinton also has a historic opportunity of redefining our foreign policy in the post-Cold War world. If he clearly announces to the American public his vision of our new strategic interests, he may go down in history as the President who devised the "Clinton Doctrine." If he does not, well, the label his Arkansans gave him while he was their governor may have to do -- "Slick Willie."

ATTRIBUTION TEXT:

Bob Djurdjevic, is the founder of "THE TRUTH IN MEDIA," a Phoenix-based non-profit organization. He has followed the Yugoslav crisis closely through personal visits and diplomatic/governmental contacts since June 1989.

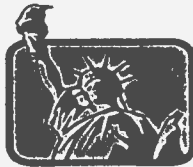
NOTE TO EDITORS:

To facilitate the ease of editing, this text can be made AVAILABLE to you through MCI MAIL or other on-line services. Please let me know you User ID, and I'd be glad to transmit it to you in a machine-readable form.

"TRUTH IN MEDIA"

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5110 North 40th Street, Phoenix, Arizona 85018
TEL: (602) 956-8592 FAX: (602) 952-2058



A FAX

From Bob Djurdjevic

FAXED
21:36

Total number of pages including this one: 6

Date: July 19, 1993 Time: 9:25 pm (PDT)

TO: Malcolm S. Forbes, Jr., Editor-in-Chief
FORBES MAGAZINE
FAX: 212/620-2374 TEL: 212/620-2200

Subject: Letter to the Editor (re. Your August 2 Editorial on Yugoslavia)

Dear Steve:

An editor once told me, "the longer the headline, the less worthy a piece!" Your August 2 editorial, "Dithering and Delay Mean An Ever-Darkening Day of Reckoning," is the case in point. The column sounds like a last whine of a would-be "war monger" whose Daddy has taken away his toy gun. Which is fair enough for an editorial. But, your knowledgeable readers may have a few problems with some of your facts.

For example, the Serbian "violence against the Hungarian minority in the north" only exists in your imagination. You also claim that "Serbia isn't finished with its aggression against Bosnia." Serbia was not an aggressor in Bosnia. It was the Bosnian Serbs, Bosnia's inhabitants for centuries, who rose up to fight for their homes, freedom and independence against an unjust "New World Order," which the U.S. and German governments tried to impose upon them. Isn't that exactly why our forefathers rebelled against an unjust British ruler called King George?

It is quite a turn-about-face, isn't it, that an erstwhile revolutionary nation (America) finds itself in an uncomfortable role of an unjust ruler who has been rebuked by a tiny ethnic group? One can understand, therefore, the whining and the outrage of those who, like you, tried to push us into a war requiring us wear the hated "red coats." Thank God you failed. Which doesn't mean you should stop whining. Your wailing would be music to George Washington's ears... Just get your facts straight, please.

Sincerely,

Bob Djurdjevic
Founder
RSD/ar
encl.

1. WHY EVEN FRIENDS HATE US (an opinion column - 4 pages)

encl. & this is case you may wish to use it...

CONFIDENTIAL & PRIVILEGED INFORMATION by Bob Djurdjevic

P.S. I was pleased to meet you at the Enterprise last month. Sorry our political views don't seem to mesh.

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5110 North 40th Street, Phoenix, Arizona 85018
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A FAX

From Bob Djurdjevic

YU Media Co
FAXED
22:09

Total number of pages including this one: 2

From: A New York-Phoenix Flight

Date: June 23, 1993 Time: 10:00 pm (PDT)

TO: Michael Levitas, Editor-OpEd Page
NEW YORK TIMES
FAX: 212/556-4100 TEL: 212/556-4555

Subject: NYT OpEd Policies

Dear Mike:

My children gave me an interesting T-shirt for my birthday earlier this month. It has a picture of a steaming coffee cup beside the front page of the NEW YORK TIMES. Underneath, the caption reads: "morning fix." I hope that you will take that as a compliment. Little did my kids know, however, that what they thought was my "morning fix" was actually a dose of daily masochism.

Michael, it's been almost two years since you first assured me that you (i.e., the NYT) had no particular ax to grind with respect to the YU affairs. In hindsight, such rhetoric was nothing but cheap talk, in view of the overwhelming evidence to the contrary which the NYT OpEd pages have provided in the last two years. In fact, your OpEd page might as well have been called the "Muslim Herald," and published in Riyadh or Kuwait.

The latest example which prompted me to write to you was an article by George Kenney which I've just read aboard this flight in the "International Herald Tribune" (6/23/93). It was lifted from your pages, of course. I find it mindboggling that a person who once told me (in November 1991, remember?) that he had even turned down articles written by the heads of state, would allow such trash, composed by a lowly State Department "paper pusher," to grace the pages of one of the world's most prestigious papers. And to have done that REPEATEDLY, after telling me that my August 1991 OpEd piece was "once in a lifetime"-type event.

Michael, I've always felt that what you did by publishing my fairly controversial OpEd column in 1991 made you kind of "special." For that reason, I have defended you before many critics, in the U.S. and abroad. But, that's becoming increasingly difficult to do.

When I get back to Phoenix, I'll give you a call to discuss all this. I'd be delighted to hear that I have somehow become a paranoid SOB, and that the NYT stands firmly for the truth, rather than for some special interests - whether they are Muslim, Catholic or Serbian. And yes, I do think that it's about time you proved it once again by publishing an objective piece, for a change.

Sincerely,

Bob Djurdjevic

P.S. This FAX is being sent to you directly from my IBM laptop without a prior hardcopy printout. Its personalized "signature" and the date/time stamp are shown at the top of the page.

cc. Mr. Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, Publisher, NYT

RSD/ar

7/23/93: I also discussed this with Levitas on June 25. He said he was not biased!

YU NEWS BULLETIN 93-07

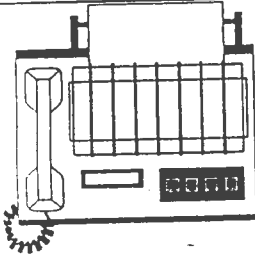
- 9 -

JULY 23, 1993

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A FAX

From Bob Djurdjevic

→ Yur Dj. Co
FAXED
20:27

Total number of pages including this one: 6

CONFIDENTIAL

Date: July 18, 1993 Time: 8:07 pm (PDT)

TO: Warren Zimmermann,
PERSONAL RESIDENCE

COPY

Subject: Bosnian Affairs

Dear Warren:

It's been well over a year since our last communication. Somebody's recent remark, however, reminded me of our correspondence from April 1992 on the subject of the U.S. Bosnia foreign policy (*copies enclosed*). In your April 24, 1992 letter to me, you wrote, "the overriding goal of U.S. policy throughout the Yugoslav crisis has been to stop the violence. That remains our objective." I wonder how you would characterize the success of such policy, after some 150,000 people had perished in Bosnia, and about 20,000 in Croatia? And that's not to mention more than a million of displaced people, some of whom you know have the privilege of looking after in your present job. No, Warren, don't feel obliged to answer my rhetorical question. The body counts speak for themselves.

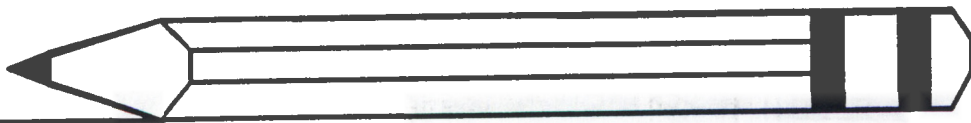
Perhaps the greatest tragedy within the tragedy of YU is that the carnage was probably avoidable. If we (*the Americans*) had listened to our hearts, rather than the cold-blooded calculations by professional bureaucrats or politicians, we would have seen the parallels between the birth of the United States, and those of the former YU regions. Each sought freedom and independence from an unjust ruler or an unfair "world order." Our hearts would have told us whom to support and why. But, rather than theorize some more, I'm enclosing copies of several of my 1993 columns which I hope you will find of interest.

Sincerely,

Bob Djurdjevic

RSD/ar

- encl. 1. Copies of our Apr/92 correspondence
- 2. Some of my recent columns



ANNEX RESEARCH

5110 North 40th Street ■ Phoenix, Arizona 85018 ■ (602) 956-8586

FAX COVER SHEET

Date: April 23, 1992 Time: 8:02 am (Pacific)

TO: Warren Zimmermann, Ambassador
U.S. EMBASSY TO YUGOSLAVIAFROM: Bob Djurdjevic, President
ANNEX RESEARCH, PHOENIX, ARIZONA 85018, U.S.A.
FAX: 602/952-2058 (TEL: 602/956-8586)

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING THIS COVER SHEET: 2

Dear Warren:

With each day's increasing body counts in Bosnia, I've been thinking of you. What does it feel like to be responsible for so many deaths? By "you," I don't necessarily mean, one Warren Zimmermann, our ambassador to a country which no longer exists (although I have not heard a dissenting opinion from you, personally, either). I mean the State Department, whose policies are directly responsible for the latest bloodshed in Bosnia. Jim Baker is basically trading human lives for the Catholic and the Muslim votes in America. As in Israel's case, and initially in Russia, too, domestic politics is dictating our foreign agenda. What else could one expect from a former campaign manager, right? In the process, however, the Serbs are being raped politically -- for the fifth time in this century.

Of course, one would never get that impression at the Foggy Bottom's press briefings. Having stuck a finger in the Serbs' eyes, we are now faulting them for fighting back. That's like blaming the Jews for WW II, or the blacks for the Civil War!

Maybe that's why the anti-Serbian venom is flowing freely from the pens of the State Dept. speech writers, as well as some of the media editors (e.g., the NYT). As if the high decibel readings of such a rhetoric can make up for its hollow message.

Yet, this needless violence was predictable, and, therefore, preventable. In early January, I wrote that "recognizing Croatia (and now Bosnia) is tantamount to opting for war." On April 7, therefore, the State voted for war. You and I also discussed this issue in our February meeting in Belgrade, after which it was evident to me that the U.S. has virtually decided to victimize the Serbs. It was not until recently, however, that I understood the reason for it (i.e., domestic votes).

The irony is that the State's recognition of Bosnia and Croatia, intended to force Milosevic out, has played right into his hands. Rather than let Milosevic fall from atrophy, the State has actually given him a new lease on life. Even the moderate Serbs now feel the armed defense of the endangered Serbian minorities in Bosnia and Croatia is well justified.

Telex: 1501389 (ANNEX IT) ■ FAX: (602) 956-8586

→ Yu Jg. Cor.
FAXED
(19.5)Page 2
Warren Zimmermann
U.S. EMBASSY TO YUGOSLAVIA

April 23, 1992

Besides, even if the State succeeds in dislodging Milosevic, his successor's support of the U.S. policy vis-a-vis the Serbs would be about as popular as was Afghanistan's Najibullah's puppet-government installed by the Soviets after the 1979 coup. One word comes to mind to describe such a foreign policy -- incompetence!

Bottom line? The State's handling of the Yugoslav situation has gravely damaged the prospects for democracy and peace in this part of the world. But, even back home it has a dubious value. How would an average American feel once he/she finds out that we've just recognized a "country" (Bosnia) which has never been independent; and whose leader (Izetbegovic) has reportedly obtained promises of direct military aid from Muammar Gaddafi? You know the saying: "the enemy of my enemy is my friend." Does the reverse mean that the U.S. enemy (Gaddafi) is now our friend? If not, the State should explain how can a friend of an enemy be our friend?

I'll stop here. I am sure you're getting the message. I know you are a professional diplomat who has a job to do. But, you've also told me in the past how you cared about the Serbian people, and how important the human rights issues were to you. Does it ever bother you, therefore, that the policy which you are now supposed to represent advocates that some human rights are more important than others? Do matters of conscience also figure in a diplomat's reasoning?

Please give my best regards to Tinnie.

Sincerely,

Bob Djurdjevic
President

RSD/ar

Also, for your background information, here are Acts I-IV of the Rape of Serbia:

(I) The Serbs' first setback was in 1918. Our victorious ally in WW I, Serbia fell victim to the overblown ambitions of her own King. Alexander I extended a welcome mat into the newly formed Yugoslavia to the Croats and the Slovenians who fought on the losing side.

(II) The Rape of Serbia, Act II, took place during WW II. Over 600,000 Serbs, and a smaller number of Jews and Gypsies, perished at the hands of the "ustashi," the Croatian Nazi-collaborators.

(III) The third time the Serbs were betrayed was in 1944, when the British threw their support to Tito's Communists. In 1945, about 35,000 Yugoslav nationalists who had surrendered to the British in Austria, were turned over to Tito's Communists. Except for a handful of survivors, all were executed in May 1945. But, that was only a tip of the iceberg. Michael Lees, a British author, estimates that the Communists may have killed "a quarter of a million souls" in Yugoslavia for political reasons by the end of 1945.

(IV) The Rape of Serbia, Act IV, had been played out throughout the 45-year rule by Tito's Communists. Not only did the Croatian war criminals go unpunished, but many had simply swapped their "ustashi" insignias for the "red stars" while keeping the same government jobs. After WW II, the Vatican also played a significant role in providing false identities to, and transporting the Croatian "ustashi" leaders from the Allied camps in Austria and Italy to their eventual sanctuaries, typically in South America.

COPY

4/30 - Y. Dj. P.
Cor

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Belgrade, Yugoslavia
April 24, 1992

Mr. Bob Djurdjevic
President
Annex Research
5110 North 40th Street
Phoenix, Arizona 85018

VIA FAX 602-952-2058

Dear Bob:

I am replying to your April 23 letter. The overriding goal of U.S. policy throughout the Yugoslav crisis has been to stop the violence. That remains our objective. As you and I have discussed on many occasions, and as our public statements on the crisis have emphasized repeatedly, no side is blameless in this tragedy. In the case of the outbreak of violence in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the evidence is clear, however, that the present conflict was sparked not by international recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but in large part by a series of destructive steps taken long before, and for which the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia and the Serbian government in Belgrade bear particular responsibility.

The confrontation in Bosnia-Herzegovina did not start with its international recognition by the U.S., the E.C., and others. As early as last autumn Radovan Karadzic's party, supported by the Serbian government in Belgrade, was engaged in a series of steps which undermined efforts to reach a negotiated agreement to Bosnia's future agreeable to all the ethnic groups represented there. In particular, I would cite the unilateral establishment of Serbian autonomous regions which did not recognize the legitimacy of Bosnia-Herzegovina's elected government; the unilateral declaration of a "Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina," incorporating large portions of Bosnia-Herzegovina with large, and often majority, non-Serb

populations; the boycott of the March 1 referendum by the Serbian Democratic Party; the efforts at intimidation in some locations to stop both Serbs and non-Serbs from voting in the referendum, and the erection of barricades in Sarajevo and elsewhere in the aftermath of the referendum. I would further point to SDS steps taken in late March to form a separate Serbian police force, to compel ethnic Serbs to leave the Bosnian police force, and to expell non-Serbs from police units in Serb-controlled areas with ethnically mixed populations. On April 1 Serbian irregular forces moved into Bjeljina, killing at least 41 and perhaps as many as 160 residents, mostly Muslims.

All of these actions were totally inconsistent with the Portuguese-led EC negotiations in which Karadzic was participating, and all of them occurred before Bosnia-Herzegovina was recognized by the U.S. on April 7, and in the face of many efforts by EC negotiators, by concerned Bosnians from all ethnic groups, and others to keep the lines of communication open and to prevent polarization and violence.

The U.S. decision to recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina, and indeed the other republics seeking recognition, was not made lightly. Given the deliberate steps taken by Karadzic's party to divide Bosnia-Herzegovina by force, we viewed recognition as essential to reinforcing our commitment to respect the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and necessary before Bosnia-Herzegovina was completely carved up. Given the level of violence already occurring by early April and our concern that it be contained, the decision to recognize was a difficult call. To suggest as you do, however, that our recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina has caused the violence there is simply not grounded in the facts. Contrary to your assertion, my impression from conversations with the many moderate Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina is that they understand all too well that it is not international recognition of their republic but rather the aggressive actions of the Serbian leadership in Belgrade which are most accountable for plunging Bosnia into violence.

Since recognition, Serbian irregulars have crossed the Drina to capture -- with the complicity of the JNA -- a string of Muslim-majority towns, on the Serbian-Bosnian border. The JNA has intensified its practice of arming Serbian citizens, and Serbian civilians have used heavy artillery to fire on Sarajevo from the hillsides above it.

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CONFIDENTIAL & PRIVILEGED INFORMATION by Bob Djurdjevic

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JULY 23, 1993

CONFIDENTIAL & PRIVILEGED INFORMATION by Bob Djurdjevic

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I do not excuse Croatian use of violence in the Western Herzegovina and Mostar areas, and we have severely warned Tudjman about it. But the violence provoked by Karadzic and Milosevic is on a much broader scale and is obviously in the service of a strategy to create illegally an independent Serbian state on the territory of Bosnia. I have talked to the "Foreign Minister" of this "Serbian Republic of Bosnia" and he is quite frank about his objectives: two-thirds of the territory of Bosnia to go to the Serbian state (Serbs make up one-third of the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina) which is to have its own army and police; Sarajevo itself is to be divided three ways (i.e. by "Berlin Walls.").

I am convinced that the security of all the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina, emphatically including Serbs, can only be assured when all sides, including most notably the Serbian leaders and army who are most responsible for the continued fighting, eschew force and embrace a policy of sincere negotiations for a peaceful resolution to this crisis. I hope that all of us can continue to work together toward that goal.

Sincerely,



Warren Zimmermann
Ambassador

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ANNEX Research

5110 North 40th Street ■ Phoenix, Arizona 85018 ■ 602 956-8586

→ Yu Dipl. C
FAXED
 20:16

FAX COVER SHEET

Date: April 30, 1992 Time: 2:27 pm (Pacific)

TO: Warren Zimmermann, Ambassador
 U.S. EMBASSY TO YUGOSLAVIA

FROM: Bob Djurdjevic, President
 ANNEX RESEARCH, PHOENIX, ARIZONA 85018, U.S.A.
 FAX: 602/952-2058 (TEL: 602/956-8586)

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING THIS COVER SHEET: 3

Dear Warren:

Thank you for your letter/FAX. First, an administrative point. I am bringing it up only because I don't want you to get the impression that your correspondence is a low priority item for me. It is not. Your FAX is dated April 24. Yet, I received it today -- April 30. I thought that you may wish to investigate why it took six days for a FAX to travel from your office to the BG Embassy's FAX machine?

Meanwhile, I don't think that we differ greatly as to the facts (re. the Serbian irregulars' actions in Bosnia, for example). As you know, in my February's conversation with Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade, I urged him to condemn such criminal behavior, and to prosecute the offenders. But, it's the facts which you did not mention that make the difference! Like the fact that the State had chosen its favorite side in the Bosnian conflict well in advance of the referendum there. If this were clear to me (and it was), I have to assume that it was clear to the Serbs in Bosnia. Therefore, I can understand why they would characterize our (the U.S.) position as a provocation which caused their reaction to it.

Similarly, you did not mention the March 26 Croatian/Muslim attack on Bosanski Brod, and their massacres of the Serbian civilians there. Nor that on March 2 in Sarajevo, a Serb was killed during a wedding procession -- the first victim of violence in Bosnia after the referendum. And even if you had "severely warned Tudjman" about the Western Herzegovina and Mostar crimes by the Croats, we nevertheless recognized Croatia. They say that actions speak louder than words. Our actions have cheapened our words. They made them seem like a mild slap on the wrist as compared to our reaction to the alleged Serbian crimes.

But, even setting all that aside for a moment, and assuming, as you allege, that Milosevic and Karadzic did plan out the Serbian "insurrection" in Bosnia, your moves played right into their hands. It was not difficult to predict, for example, that they would use the U.S./E.C. recognition as a rallying point to stir up the Serbian nationalism anew. You knew that, or should

YU NEWS BULLETIN 93-07

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July 23, 1993

April 30, 1992

BACKGROUND RE. BOSNIA, CROATIA:

NEW YORK TIMES - 4/30/92
Don't Make Serbian the Yugoslav Villain

CONFIDENTIAL & PRIVILEGED INFORMATION by Bob Djurdjevic

NB

have known it. Yet, you went ahead anyway. Warren, it is you (the State) that is saving Milosevic/Karadzic, albeit inadvertently -- per your letter.

You may recall, for example, that I did warn of such a Milosevic's "game plan" as far back as July 1990 (I copied you on my analysis thereof). You may also recall our conversation in September 1991 in Belgrade on the same subject (also recounted in my Trip Diary of which you have a copy), when I argued that a "do nothing" policy would be the best approach by the Western diplomats. I also wrote in January 1992 that our recognition moves would lead to war -- as they have. I repeated it in my January 17 conversation with Michael Habib in Washington. You (the State) knew all of that, chose to ignore it, and do it "your way." Well, now you are seeing the human toll as a consequence of "your way"...

By the way, this may be probably a small consolation, but even Lord Carrington was shown to be somewhat gullible. He wrote to me on March 16 to say that "it is hoped that the deployment of peacekeeping forces... will prevent the resumption of fighting and facilitate the progress in the political negotiations." Lord Carrington was commenting about a statement which I made in January that, "one of the popular myths about Yugoslavia is that all parties want peace. They don't. Peace is not in the best interests of any of the signatories to the many Yugoslav ceasefires, which is why they have been so frequently broken." To his credit, however, he added that no one, the least of all he and the U.N. Secretary General (Ghali), realize that "we are in for anything other than a long haul."

Finally, you say that Milosevic's and Karadzic's strategy was "to create illegally an independent Serbian state on the territory of Bosnia." I find that statement quite amusing. I wonder why it is "illegal" for the Serbs to want independence where they are a minority (in Bosnia, Croatia), but it isn't for Croats, Slovenians (in Yugoslavia) or Albanians (in Kosovo)? In the latter case, Albanians are a minority who aren't even in their own country! It is precisely such biased and contradictory positions that made me wonder in my April 23 letter to you if it ever bothered you "that the policy which you are now supposed to represent advocates that some human rights are more important than others?" I guess not....?

Sincerely,

Bob D.

Bob Djurdjevic
President
RSD/ar

P.S. For your information, my OpEd column entitled "BAKER: TRADING LIVES FOR VOTES," may soon appear in one of the world's most prominent publications. I'll send you a copy if and when it is published.

P.P.S. Enclosed is also a clip from today's New York Times.

Meanwhile, the State's Yugoslavia policy has been a charade of contradictions, turns-about-face, and failed efforts to back a political winner. When I first met Warren Zimmermann in Belgrade in June 1989, he told me that the U.S. supported an undivided federal Yugoslavia. We were also backing the efforts of the then Prime Minister, Ante Markovic, a Croatian Communist who was then the Federal Prime Minister. Yet, at the same time, we were sympathetic to the Kosovo Albanians' secessionist efforts! Such a contradiction, or the fact that we were supporting a Communist (Markovic), did not seem to bother any of the American diplomats with whom I met.

Or take the support which the State evidently gave Franjo Tudjman, the Croatian President and also a former Communist, on his road to power. Just like in Kosovo's example, the State seems to have encouraged Tudjman's "early efforts" (to form an independent Croatia) at the same time as it was publicly defending Markovic's efforts to keep the federal Yugoslavia together. And even our initial refusal to recognize Croatia's secession on June 25, 1991 was based on Baker's personal whim rather than a foreign policy principle. Baker was reportedly ticked off at Tudjman for jumping the gun on June 25 without Washington's prior blessing. Ten months and over 10,000 lives later, the two "kissed and made up." The U.S. recognized Croatia on April 7.

With respect to Slovenia, the same story can be repeated with just a change of actors and places. Like Milosevic and Tudjman, Slovenian President is also a former Communist. And as did Milosevic, he, too, had held the same job prior to the Slovenian elections in 1990. Yet, Kucan's Communist origins did not seem to bother our State Department, either. We also recognized Slovenia on April 7.

The strong U.S. backing of Alija Izetbegovic, Bosnia's non-Communist President and a Muslim, became evident during my September 1991 meetings in Belgrade with the U.S. diplomats. When I next met Zimmermann in Belgrade in mid-February, he was already talking as if the U.S. recognition of Bosnia would be a "fait accompli" if the late-February secession referendum there went as expected. The fact that the Serbs in Bosnia decided to boycott the referendum did not seem to carry much weight. Nor did it matter to the State that on March 2, the first shot in Bosnia's war was fired at a Serbian wedding procession in the center of Sarajevo, killing the groom's father and wounding a Serbian Orthodox priest. Or that on March 25, Croatian and Muslim forces invaded Bosanski Brod (in northern Bosnia), massacring at least a dozen Serbian civilians in a nearby village. Or that the Croatian forces attacked and killed more Serbian civilians in Kupres, a town in southern Bosnia. The State went on as planned with the recognition of Bosnia on April 7.

It was only after the Serbs started to retaliate in April, that voices of righteous indignation, threats and ultimatums to Serbia could be heard at the Foggy Bottom's press briefings. The objective? Make the victim look like the villain.

→ WARREN:
4/30/92
-END-

..... (c) Copyright 1992 by Bob Djurdjevic.....

↳ this was a part of background info. to my column. D.

To the Editor:
"Stop the Butcher of the Balkans" (editorial, April 15) is anything but helpful to someone who is trying to fathom what is happening in the tragic land that once was Yugoslavia. You call the Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic the "wrecker" of Yugoslavia. But it was the breakaway republics of Slovenia and Croatia that took the first steps to destroy the nation.

You say Mr. Milosevic "rejected a confederation that could have held Yugoslavia together." Is there some sacred principle that when a minority proposes to change the constitution, it must be accepted? It was obvious that Croatia and Slovenia were determined to break up Yugoslavia. Else, they would not have proposed a confederal arrangement that the new Serbia could never accept.

I read the Slovene-Croat document, which would have left the national government even weaker than that of the 13 American former colonies was under the Articles of Confederation. Neither the national government nor that of Serbia would have had any powers to intervene on behalf of Serbs in other republics.

Then, you allege that Yugoslavia was Serb-run, an allegation that cannot stand serious scrutiny. Before the country began to fall apart, it was run by the Titoist Communist clique, which consisted of all groups in Yugoslavia, and some Slovenes and Croats were prominent among them. Tito himself was a Croat. When Tito's heirs began to fall out with one another, the unraveling began.

In addition, you ignore the rights of Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, though they are twice as numerous as the Croats in that republic. It was the decision of the Muslims and Croats to choose independence, and the refusal of the Serbs of Bosnia and Herzegovina to accept the decision, that created the crisis, not Mr. Milosevic.

I hold no brief for Mr. Milosevic, but when you choose to heap so much vitriol on him, why don't you ask who it was put him there? He is part and parcel of the Tito system. And who helped to make it possible for that system to enslave the country? Britain and the United States more than anyone else. ALEX N. DRAGNICH
Bowie, Md., April 16, 1992

The writer is a professor emerita of political science, Vanderbilt U.

YU NEWS BULLETIN 93-07

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July 23, 1993

CONFIDENTIAL COPY

COMMENTARY

Security Still Matters

THE INDEPENDENT

Regardless of official promises that Serb and Croat territorial conquests would never be tolerated, the old Bosnian republic is now clearly dead. Does this amount to appeasement of the aggressors, similar to that which preceded the second world war?

Despite obvious historical analogies, Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic is no Adolf Hitler, and Serbia is not 1930s Germany. Moral arguments apart, even allowing Milosevic to feed on Bosnia's corpse is unlikely to result in a Serbian occupation of the Balkans.

Yet historical analogies are relevant, for today's Western politicians labor under the same mentality that produced the disaster of the 1930s. They continue to claim a divine right to tell all East Europeans how to behave but assume that this entails no obligations. And they believe that it is still possible to confine collective security to a prosperous West, despite the evidence that they are increasingly surrounded by a wild East.

Although most Western politicians and institutions have been compromised in the former Yugoslavia, a slide toward more European strife can still be avoided, provided the lessons of the Yugoslav debacle are properly understood. Yet this can only happen if Bosnia's demise is regarded as a catalyst for new European security arrangements—a signal for more, rather than less, Western involvement in the region.

Every institution from the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to the European Community, the Western European Union, and NATO has tried to handle an utterly predictable war, and all have been disgraced for one simple reason: They tackled a post-communist conflict with instruments best suited for a previous age.

Since the end of the second world war, generations of Europeans and North Americans have been taught to fear a massive onslaught from the East. Vast arsenals were built up to meet this eventuality, and elaborate triggering mecha-

nisms were put in place to insure that these were used from the start of any warfare.

Yet no Serbian soldier, however brutal, can endanger the security of any Westerner, and if a politician wished to advocate military intervention in the Balkans, he should have been prepared to argue why Yugoslavia mattered. No Western government did so, and the lukewarm popular response to the Balkan crisis became the excuse, rather than the reason, for inaction.

As distressful as it may seem to Western liberal thought, countries with no ethnic group in the majority have no future. Blood is still thicker than water. Instead of haphazardly trying to apply Western dreams on Eastern realities, the aim must be to limit the violent potential of ethnic conflicts. Not every clash offers a neat solution. In many cases, territorial changes are preferable to perpetual war, while in others, the long-term protection of ethnic minorities should suffice. Claims for self-determination do not always need to result in territorial revision, provided that they are handled well before they erupt.

Throughout, three fundamental aims should be pursued. First, neighboring states must be involved in the handling of the conflict from the beginning. One of the major mistakes in Yugoslavia was that the country's neighbors were deliberately ignored and had no stake in the

settlement that was proposed by the West. Second, no government should have the right of defending its ethnic kin in other states. Minority problems are universal concerns. The easy acceptance of Serbia's claims to defend its people in other independent states should never be repeated.

And finally, Western governments must realize that collective security is no longer divisible between East and West. It either becomes a reality for all European states or it ceases to exist at all. It is no longer possible to maintain the fiction that nobody knows where the continent's frontiers end and that, as a consequence, East Europeans should remain in suspended animation, awaiting the verdict of Western politicians who do nothing but scratch their heads.

Europe's future challenge is to devise a response to the violence that may follow in the former Soviet Union—violence often sponsored by Kremlin forces that are not prepared to accept the demise of their empire. If the Central Europeans are accepted into Western alliances, and if Moscow's claims on other republics are rebuffed early, the sacrifice of Bosnia will not have been in vain. If, however, the response to future troubles apes the errors in the former Yugoslavia, Western politicians are advised to don Neville Chamberlain's bowler hat while many Europeans reach for their helmets. □



Moir/Sydney Morning Herald

By Jonathan Eyal; from the "Independent" of London.

Talent flees in Yugoslav brain drain

The GUARDIAN
London, England
July 13, 1993

Vigil Cheered in Belgrade

At about eight o'clock every morning, Serbia's brightest talents queue outside the Canadian embassy. Dozens of disillusioned scientists vie for immigration visas, desperate to escape international isolation and embargo-induced poverty.

They are the victims of a Yugoslav brain drain which has drained the country of its most talented scientists and contributed to its economic decline.

While Serbs and Montenegrins have traditionally migrated in search of work, the outbreak of war two years ago sparked an exodus to Canada, Europe, Australia and South Africa of thousands of some of the most able citizens — including university students, lawyers and doctors.

The imposition of the United Nations blockade last year fuelled the brain drain, which is threatening to wipe out the nation's intellectual elite. Since the embargo was introduced, a quarter of the country's 5,000 scientists have left.

"They are losing some of their highest-calibre people," said Brian Casey, a Canadian embassy immigration officer. He added that this year 2,000 immigration visas will be allocated to exceptional applicants, who now account for half the 200 inquiries he receives daily. This is double their 1992 quota.

The would-be immigrants cite as the reasons for wanting to go shrinking salaries, limited research funds, lack of equipment and a sense that they have been cast out of the international scientific community.

"I'm really reluctant to go, but I can't survive with my present salary and I can't work when I don't have the instruments I need," said Nenad, a computer scientist at Belgrade University who was forced to postpone his doctorate because of resource shortages.

Olivera, a senior systems analyst, expressed similar frustrations. "In 10 years' time things might be better," he said. "I'm not going to wait that long. I

want to go somewhere I can develop myself professionally — all I do here is exist."

For Dragan, a professor at Novi Sad University, loss of contact with colleagues abroad was critical. "We used to exchange views all the time," he said. "Since the sanctions, I

Vlastimir Matejic, head of the Mihajlo Pupin scientific institute, estimates that the loss of research talent last year alone will cost Yugoslavia about \$20 billion over the next 20 years.

Scientists working in industry have the greatest incentive to emigrate. With productivity down by 40 per cent, managers have little interest in research and development.

Those employed in universities and institutes are not much better off. They rely almost entirely on state subsidies.

Some have left to pursue their research elsewhere. "We had to be drastically reduced, with 50 per cent of scientists now engaged in routine projects.

"It's as though your profession has been suspended — it's a kind of starvation," said Goran Poznanovic, of the Institute for Biological Sciences.

They also face severe difficulties keeping up with breakthroughs abroad. The ban on educational and cultural exchanges with Yugoslavia rules out subscriptions to foreign journals and invitations to international conferences.

"We are somehow disconnected from the world scientific community — and that's one of our greatest sufferings," said Mr Matejic.

He believes falling standards and the loss of talent could create a Third World economy.

"We will be thrown back to a pre-industrial era where everything is based on foreign technology, cheap labour and basic processing of raw materials."

On a political level, the exodus of thousands of the country's predominantly liberal-minded elite has practically killed off the opposition movement, according to Predrag Si-

mic, the head of the Institute for Politics and Economics.

In Belgrade in particular, moderate political parties have seen their membership and support fall sharply as the brain drain has gathered pace.

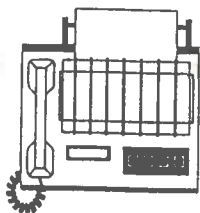
The authorities, meanwhile, have been buttressed by the influx of 600,000 mainly conservative Serb refugees from Croatia and Bosnia who have rushed to declare loyalty to Serbia's president, Slobodan Milosevic.

Mr Simic believes the combined migrations have, in effect, crushed political dissent.

Two years ago, just before the opening shots of the war, 100,000 people attended a demonstration in Belgrade that almost brought down the regime.

EUROPEAN NEWS

ANNEX RESEARCH
 5110 North 40th Street • Phoenix, Arizona 85018 • (602) 956-8586 •

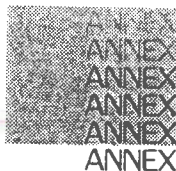


A FAX

from Bob Djurdjevic

Personal FAX: 602/952-2058

FAXED
19:20



TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING THIS ONE: 4

Date: July 15, 1993 Time: 7:00 pm (PDT)

TO: HRH Crown Prince Alexander Karadjordjevic
 PERSONAL

Subject: Your FAX re. YU Brain Drain

Dear Prince Alexander:

Thank you for your today's FAX -- the GUARDIAN's July 13 story "Talent flees in Yugoslav brain drain." Serbia's "brain drain" is indeed a tragedy within a tragedy. The country's future is fleeing, leaving behind its ignominious past. Yet, one cannot fault the young people for wanting a better life. The fault lies with their parents who have failed to provide for them an environment in which they could grow and prosper.

As you can see from my confidential diary notes about my first meeting with Milosevic in January 1990, I was very concerned about Serbia's "brain drain" even though three and a half years ago the problem had not yet taken on today's gigantic proportions. At the time, I made some concrete proposals about how to attract and keep the talent in Serbia.

The "PANnonian-AMERICAN Institute," for example, would have been a joint venture between the Novi Sad and Arizona State Universities, IBM, my own company (ANNEX), and certain U.S. government agencies. Its purpose would have been a transfer of information technology from the U.S. to Serbia, particularly in the "agribusiness" field. Considering that agriculture is still Serbia's largest economic activity, and that the PAN-AM INSTITUTE's software could have been also exported into Russia (*which is how I got IBM interested in participating*), it should not be surprising that by March 1991, all above parties had agreed to participate in the project. Even Milosevic seemed very enthusiastic about it, as was his then Prime Minister, Zelenovic. Just as we were about to "ink the proposal," the March 9 Belgrade demonstrations erupted. They were followed by a congressional ban on American investments in May, the Slovenian/Croatian wars in June, and the Bosnian war in April 1992.

By the way, it is interesting to note that as late as April 1991, I had the full support of the U.S. government for these projects. Now, or whenever the sanctions are lifted, we'll all have to start from the cellar again...

Page 2
 HRH Crown Prince Alexander
 PERSONAL

July 15, 1993

CONFIDENTIAL
COPY

Meanwhile, when I did some "advance scouting" for this idea in Belgrade in June 1990, after just one comment I made on Channel 3 of Belgrade TV, I had nearly 200 well qualified young people apply for a job. They jammed up the switchboard at the Intercontinental Hotel. I even had to hire a secretary on the spot to help me deal with all these applications.

In other words, the Serbian youth did not want to leave. They wanted to contribute to the rebuilding of their country. All they needed was for someone to give them a chance, show them the way. Instead, they were PUSHED OUT by an unscrupulous local tyrant, as I was 25 years ago by another dictator, albeit at least not a Serb in that case. It pains me to think now what has become of some these fine young people since that time. Thanks for bringing back these memories, however painful they are to me right now.

In the end, it is difficult to apportion the blame for the exodus. The first wave (*to which I also belong*) was the legacy of a 45-year Communist rule. The latest departures are the consequences of the ill-conceived Western (*especially U.S./German*) foreign policies. Those in between (1990-1992) left because they became disillusioned with Milosevic. Some among them escaped the military draft with their bare lives.

If there is a change in Serbian leadership, I feel that we can still get many of these people to return. But, first things first... Only the Serbs in Serbia can change the leaders whom they elected -- TWICE!

Sincerely,

Bob Djurdjevic

RSD/ar

- encl. 1. Copy of a diary page from RSD's Jan 9/90 meeting with SM
 2. The PAN-AM INSTITUTE map

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APPROVED COPY

(an excerpt)

7/15/93

January 9, 1990 Meeting: 11:00-13:00 (at "Starl Dvor")

Meeting With Slobodan Milosevic (SM)

cont'd)

... 'social property' are the various utilities, just like in the West," he said. "Well," I replied, "that's a great plan, but how can you trade shares without a stock exchange?" "We'll have one in Belgrade soon," he said. "And a major one at that. After all, Belgrade is the capital of the country, not Ljubljana." "How soon?" I asked. "In two to three months."

Re. IBM Representation In Serbia

SM said that, in his opinion, we should take over the representation of IBM for Serbia from Intertrade. I agreed, stating that our intention would be to buy the Serbian operation from the Slovenians. I outlined for him my plans to meet with IBM executives in Vienna and Paris. "It will be good for you to be the first one through the door," SM intensified his sales pitch. I smiled and said, "that's true, as long there is no fire on the other side of the door!" "What fire? I can assure you...there is no fire," he said.

Re. Belgrade: Turning The 'Brain Drain' To 'Brain Gain'

As we were leaving his office, I outlined to SM my ideas about having the successful Serbian emigres coming back to teach their trade at the BG U for about one or two weeks each year. "That's a great idea," SM said. "Why don't you talk to Drasko (Milicevic) about that, too?" he suggested. That's why I came up with another idea of working toward the same goal through the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Re. St. Nikola, Serbian Flag In My Office On December 19

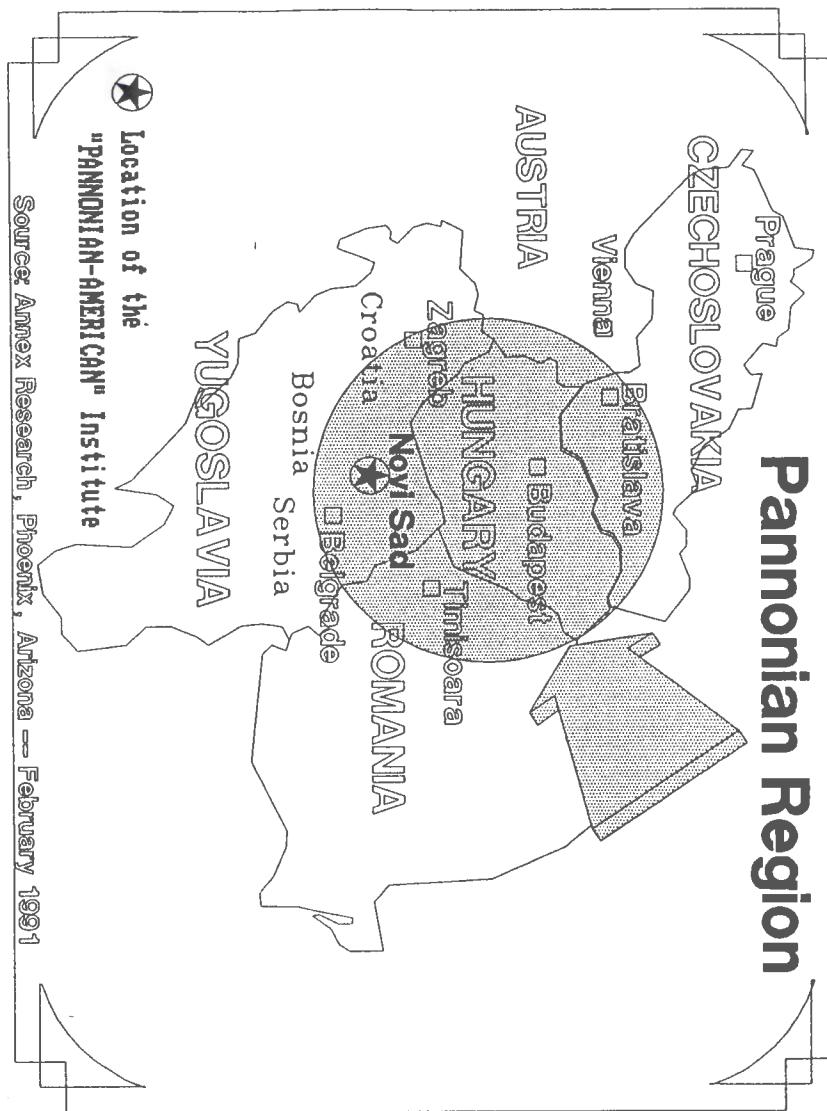
As we walked out of his office, in front of his secretary Mira and another man, I said to SM that I had something to show him. I showed him the picture of a wall at my office. The photo depicted a Serbian flag below that of the U.S., and a Serbian 4xC cross. "This is what my office looked like on December 19th," I said. SM took a long look at the picture. He replied, "E, bas je to lepo!" ("Eh, that's really nice indeed!"). The other two people present at the time, of course, could not see the picture. They only heard what I had said to SM. Yet, even the Communists knew that Dec. 19 was St. Nikola day, the Djurdjevic's "slava."

11. When I did, however, Drasko M. was less than enthusiastic! It seemed as if he wanted to run the whole show.

BOB DJURDJEVIC's Diary Notes

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

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BIZIC

Jul.22 1993 5:16PM P01

20- 7-93 ; 18:12 ;

16029522058:# 1/ 1

Do Not Consider Croatian Sanctions

WASHINGTON, DC—Yesterday, British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd stated that the EC could decide as early as Monday to impose sanctions on Croatia. We can not let this happen! Croatian-Americans in the U.S. and Great Britain must let their governments know that Croatia does not deserve economic sanctions.

Call the State Department and say that imposing sanctions on Croatia is one more way of punishing a victim of Serbian aggression for the international community's own inaction.

Tell the State Department that Croatia's economy is already near collapse due to the tremendous burden of caring for one-quarter million Bosnian Muslim refugees.

Ask where Croatia would send these Muslims if sanctions were imposed.

Tell the State Department that, as an American, you are adamantly opposed to imposing sanctions on Croatia, a country which has been invaded, whose coastline is still shelled daily, and whose internationally recognized borders have been changed by force.

Remind the State Department that Croatia signed the Vance agreement; extended the UN mandate in Croatia despite the UN's failure to implement it; encouraged Bosnian Croats to sign the Vance-Owen plan; and has supported all negotiations to end the violence in Bosnia and Croatia. Are sanctions the international community's way of repaying Croatia for this diplomacy?

Call the State Department: Secretary Warren Christopher 202/647-6291, Bureau of European Affairs 202/647-9826, Public Information & Comments Line 202/647-6575.

It is urgent! All our political work for Croatia could be undone if sanctions are imposed. Call now.

•Mia Brozovich/Lodge 439
Croatian-American Association

HOT LINE ALERT!

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Daily & Weekly Reports - P(IA)
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Third Series EE/1745
29th July 1993



SWB

BBC
MONITORING
SUMMARY OF WORLD BROADCASTS

Part 2
Eastern Europe

[26]
Yugoslav leadership extends greetings to Iraqi counterparts on National Holiday (Text) Belgrade, 16th July: Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kotic has sent a message of greetings to the Prime Minister of the Republic of Iraq, Muhammad Hamza al-Zubaydi, on the occasion of that country's national holiday, the Federal Foreign Affairs Ministry announced today.

"It gives me immense pleasure to forward my heartfelt greetings to Your Excellency on the occasion of the Iraqi National Holiday, and to express my wishes for the universal progress of the friendly Iraqi nation as well as for the speedy overcoming of all the difficulties your country is facing," Kotic's message says. (Tanjug in Serbo-Croat 1258 gmt 16 Jul 93)

(Text) Belgrade, 16th July: President of Yugoslavia Zoran Litic has sent a message of congratulations to the President of Iraq Saddam Husayn on the Iraqi national holiday, the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] president's office has said in a statement. In his message Litic expressed the hope that the relations and cooperation between the two countries would continue to develop successfully. (Tanjug in Serbo-Croat 1307 gmt 16 Jul 93)

YU NEWS BULLETIN 93-07

- 19 -

July 23, 1993

TRUTH IN MEDIA



RECEIVED JUL 29 1993



Phoenix, Arizona

LATEST NEWS FLASHES

INFIGHTING FLARES UP AMONG BOSNIAN MUSLIM LEADERS

Serb Sarajevo, July 24 -- Harry Schleicher, a German reporter and a columnist, claims in today's edition of the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU that an open rift has developed among the Bosnian Muslim leaders, according to SRNA. Fikret Abdic, the Western Bosnia Muslims' leader, blamed Alija Izetbegovic's politics "for prolonging conflicts and threatening annihilation of the Muslim people." Abdic also accused Izetbegovic and his "self-appointed deputy" (Ejup Ganic) for turning their allies (the Croats) into enemies by an anti-Croatian media campaign dating all the way back to June of 1992. "A similar media campaign is now under way against the (Geneva) negotiations," the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU commentator notes. "Izetbegovic, Ganic and Silajdzic are perfidiously raising false hopes for a (foreign) military intervention."

MLADIC ACCUSES MUSLIMS OF AGGRESSION IN SARAJEVO

Serb Sarajevo, July 24 -- "We have accepted the initiative of Gen. Briquemont (the new UNPROFOR commander from Belgium who recently replaced the French Gen. Morillon) to cease firing around Sarajevo on July 25 at 10:00, if the Muslim side accepts this, too," said Gen. Ratko Mladic, the commander of the Serbian forces, according to SRNA. He added that the hostilities around Sarajevo in the last several days were caused by "an attempt of the Muslims to breach the Serbian defense lines toward Vogosca, Ilijas and Visoko." Gen. Mladic also proposed to have the tunnel under the Sarajevo airport placed under UNPROFOR control. The Muslims had dug the tunnel so as to link their forces in the city with those on Mount Igman. "The Muslim population in Sarajevo needs to know that the tunnel has outlived its usefulness," said Gen. Mladic. "Mount Igman is under Serb control."

SERBS SAY THEY DID NOT FIRE UPON UNPROFOR FORCES AT ZETRA

Serb Sarajevo, July 25 -- "We reject resolutely the claim that the Serb Army has fired Sunday upon combat and other vehicles of the French UNPROFOR battalion at the location of Zetra in Sarajevo," said Gen. Manojlo Milovanovic, the Serb Army's chief of staff, in a letter to Gen. Francis Briquemont, UNPROFOR's commander for Bosnia. Manojlovic said that the Serb Army scouts on Mount Trebevic had noticed Muslim artillery fire from Bistrik (a Muslim settlement in south Sarajevo) fire about 20 shells at Zetra and the Kosevo stadium. "The Muslims have attacked the UNPROFOR members in order to, as so many times before, accuse the Serbs on the eve of upcoming meetings and negotiations (in Geneva)."

CROATIAN AIRPLANES VIOLATE "NO FLY ZONE" OVER MOSTAR?

Serb Sarajevo, July 24 -- The Croatian "Dragon"-class airplanes dropped six bombs "of great destructive power" right after midnight on the Mostar suburb of Dracevice, according to the Muslim Radio Sarajevo. Yet, there were apparently no casualties. "The bombs contained salt in order to prevent the healing of wounds," the Muslim radio alleged.

COMMENT: We are certainly no military experts, but how could they know about the alleged salt AFTER the bombs had exploded, especially if "there were no victims," as the Muslim radio had reported?

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у Београду,
18. Јануара 1993. г.

ПРЕДСЕДНИК ГЛАВНОГ ОДБОРА
СРПСКОГ КУЛТУРНОГ КЛУБА



Жељмир Марковић
Жељмир Марковић



Growing pressure to get involved: Serb irregulars after a battle

The fascist states of the Second World War may still carry traces of their past, but they are not the same today as some pessimists may imagine. To assume that the present is not substantially different from the past, and to act accordingly will prove self-destructive for Serbia. Serbia must recognize that the global and regional struggles for power are on the economic battlefield, not the military. Higher levels of productivity, economic growth and competitiveness in the international marketplace are far more important for the modern state than absolute or relative military power.

In sum, the Serbs must make every effort to end the war to lift the sanctions, and then afterwards continue to press for recognition of their grievances, both past and present. They must regain their standing, respect and integrity in the world. They must do justice to those who were harmed irrespective of the injustice done to them. Serbs everywhere must reflect on these dilemmas and obligations and eventually do the right thing.

— The End —

HOW BOSNIA found Arkansas and won a White House friend

■ No joking, now. A year ago, a month before Bosnia-Herzegovina declared its independence, the government in Sarajevo was surprised to receive a letter from the governor of Arkansas seeking "fraternal" relations between the two states and proclaiming February as Arkansas/Bosnia-Herzegovina Month. He also invited the Bosnians to send a delegation to Little Rock. Recalls one Bosnian official: "All I knew about Little Rock at the time was that I heard it mentioned once in a cowboy film." And although the Bosnian government needed an atlas to locate Arkansas, it still decided to send President Alija Izetbegovic and a trade delegation to Little Rock. But before they could leave, the trip was postponed. Then, as Bosnia descended into civil war, the visit was canceled altogether. But the Bosnians remain optimistic that they will soon have a real friend in the White House. "When Clinton was running for president we all laughed," says the source. "We joked that it might be nice for us if he won." No one is joking now.

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, JANUARY 25, 1993

■ BOSNIAN POLICY:	
PERCENTAGE OF AMERICANS WHO THINK U.S. SHOULD:	
STAY UNTIL WARRING CLANS ARE DISARMED	30%
LEAVE ONCE FOOD IS DISTRIBUTED	61%
■ SOMALIA POLICY:	
PERCENTAGE OF AMERICANS WHO THINK U.S. SHOULD:	
STAY UNTIL WARRING CLANS ARE DISARMED	44%

N.Y. TIMES

S/LETTERS MONDAY, JANUARY 4, 1993

We Need to Know What's Happening in Bosnia

To the Editor:

"A Diary of Disgrace" (editorial, Dec. 20) sets forth in devastating detail the pattern of avoidance and denial that has characterized our response to the Serbian Government-sponsored blockade of Sarajevo. May I note that the United States Government has imposed a blockade of its own? In this case, designed to prevent members of Congress from seeing the horror for themselves.

In late November I managed even so to make it through. The Canadians flew me in one day, the British out the next. Only to be greeted by a European Community cable canceling further United States Government cooperation with my trip. (A plane was to fly me to Kosovo and Macedonia.)

Our Government does not want us to know what is going on in Bosnia. I was first in Sarajevo more than 40 years ago. The city is still recognizable; the people are not. After seven months of siege, there is no food left. What gets through one day is eaten the next.

Jeremy Blade, a former captain in the Gurkha Regiment, with two other officials of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, is trying to feed a third of a million people. He can't. As things are, they will die, from starvation or from the incessant shelling and machine gun fire. They stand about in the streets. Waiting.

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN
U.S. Senator from New York
Washington, Dec. 28, 1992

Bosnian 'No-Fly Zone' Called Futile

Pentagon Officials Also Discount Value of Arms Aid to Muslims

Associated Press

Enforcing a "no-fly zone" or supplying Bosnian Muslims with arms would do little to stop Serb aggression in Bosnia-Herzegovina, senior U.S. military officials said yesterday.

The officials, testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee, said most of the violations of the no-fly zone over Bosnia implemented by the United Nations last Oct. 9 have been resupply missions from Croatia to Muslims and not Serb warplanes.

The last reported violation by a Bosnian Serb fixed-wing aircraft was Dec. 5, and enforcing the air cap would make "no appreciable military difference," said Rear Adm. Mike W. Cramer, director of current intelligence for the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Enforcing the no-fly zone and lifting the embargo on arms transfers to the beleaguered Muslims are two possibilities being studied by the United States and its allies as they search for ways to stop the carnage in the former Yugoslav state.

During the presidential cam-

paign, then-candidate Clinton criticized President George Bush for not doing enough in Bosnia. Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher said Thursday that the administration continues to explore a "wide range of options" but is not close to a decision.

The military officials acknowledged that Muslim forces are vastly outgunned by the Serbs, but Lt. Gen. Martin L. Brandtner, director of operations in the Joint Chiefs of Staff office, said the outcome of lifting the arms embargo for the Muslims would "just be more chaos."

"Each of the sides would continue to acquire illicit and legalized support," Brandtner said. "I think it would just be contributing to the violence and would have no salutary effect."

The officials were even stronger in warning of the dangers of sending ground troops to end the fighting in Bosnia. "The cost would be very heavy, it would be very long-term," Brandtner said. Without a specific and focused objective, "this

would be an enormous pool that would drain resources."

The officials issued other caveats—that the margin of success of air strikes would be vastly reduced compared with those in Iraq because of the different terrain in Bosnia, that Russia would strongly resist ground operations in former Yugoslavia and that outside intervention will not halt the centuries-old hostilities in the area.

"The only solution ultimately will be when the Serbs and the Croats obtain their military objectives," Cramer said.

Cramer also warned that fighting between Croats and Serbs over a strategic coastal area has reached "a very critical period." He said there was a real possibility that the Serbian national army might intervene.

"I hope the new commander in chief will think long and hard before committing American servicemen to that confusing, complex situation," Sen. Strom Thurmond (S.C.), the ranking Republican on the committee, said at the opening of the hearing.

WP:1-30-93

All parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina raping, pillaging

BY VUKAN KUIC

U.S. Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger not only wants to shoot at the Serbs in Serbia as well as Bosnia-Herzegovina; he also wants to hang Serbs from both countries for crimes they are reported to have committed.

against Muslims and Croats. *New Day*, 13 editorial suggestions that evidence needs to be gathered also of "Croat and Muslim atrocities" amounts to only a faint cry in the wilderness.



Kuic

Contrary to what the Western public has been led to believe, what is dragging on in Bosnia-Herzegovina is not Serbian aggression but a bitter civil war among not just two but three native antagonists. The largest group, the Muslims, represent about 43 percent of the population; the Serbs count for about 33 percent; and the Croats are about 17 percent.

At the beginning of this year, all agreed on the principle of ethnic equality and "cantonal self-government." But as soon as the new state was recognized, the Muslims and the Croats reneged on this agreement, provoking the Serbs to declare their own independence. While this may appear to outsiders as an unjustified overreaction, history helps to explain it.

During World War II, Bosnia and

Herzegovina, with a far larger Serbian population than the present one, was part of the first independent state of Croatia, set up by Nazi Germany (1941-1945). But its numbers were permanently changed by a most brutal policy of "ethnic cleansing" in which about three-quarters of a million men, women and children were mercilessly slaughtered, while an even larger number were expelled to Serbia.

With some exceptions, most Muslims identified with this Croatian state, and not a few took active part in persecuting their Serbian neighbors. Thus, to defend the Muslim "cause" in Bosnia today with the slogan, "never again" (as former U.S. Secretary of State, George Schultz did in a recent speech), is the ultimate in political perversity.

But could not the Serbs forgive what, after all, happened two generations ago in the midst of war? Many probably would have been willing to forget, if not forgive completely, except for what they saw happening in the newly independent Croatia.

To the Serbs, their Orthodox faith is inseparable from their ethnic identity. But the new Croatian government (under former Communist Gen. Franjo Tudjman) insists that Serbs living within the boundaries of Croatia are actually "Croats of the Orthodox faith" and, among other harassments, has forbidden any public display of the Serbian Cyrillic alphabet.

The only political opposition allowed in Croatia consists of groups that more or less openly glorify the former Nazi state, and the leader of



A Sarajevo mechanic watches his garage burn after mortar attack on his neighborhood

one of these groups, Dinko Praga, in a recent interview, barely qualified his conviction that the only good Serbian is a dead Serbian. This is not just talk. His paramilitary unit

operates alongside the regular Croatian troops which, having secured patches of Herzegovina inhabited by Croatian majorities, is now advancing into Serbian areas.

For instance, last October, Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali, received an appeal for from the Orthodox bishop of East Herzegovina, Atanasije, who has fled before the Croatian troops dynamited his church and mosque. This and other such developments largely ignored by American media which are fast succumbing to an anti-Serbian and pro-Muslim propaganda. Thus *The New York Times* seems happy with "Muslims From Afar Joining 'Holy War' in Bosnia" (Dec. 4).

This media bias may be traced to two not unrelated causes. From a realpolitik point of view, according to Muslim states (47 in the UN) may well appear more important than the aspirations of a relatively small ethnic group in the former contentious Balkans. But only Western media taking sides in conflict have absolutely nothing to do with the tens of millions of Arabs freely spent on public relations by the leaders of the Bosnia Muslims.

Back to the sad reality: Let us recognize that all parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina are killing, raping, plundering, torturing and torching their ethnic and religious "enemies" — yesterday's neighbors. The world indeed should do something about it but the policies proposed by Secretary Eagleburger, former Ambassador to Yugoslavia and former general counsel to former University of South Carolina President James B. Holderman, do not seem the best that can be done to bring this tragic conflict to an end.

From : DRAGU PAVLICHIN
PHONE NO. : 262 364 1116
DEC.29 1992 10:05AM

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U.N. Next month the administration will change in Washington; perhaps there will be some fresh thinking on this problem also. Indiana Congressman Lee Hamilton has pointed to what sounds like a sane alternative. Hamilton acknowledges that mistakes were made in the hasty recognition, pushed by the Germans, of the former Yugoslav republics. But more importantly, he insists that all parties must bear blame for the ensuing civil war and that, therefore, all must be equally pressured to take constructive action to stop fighting.

This seems not just a more sensible approach but also a prerequisite for an indictment for crimes against humanity with which the Europeans and the outgoing U.S. Administration would now like to redeem their not-so-innocent mistakes.

Dr. Kucic, a distinguished professor emeritus in the Department of Government and International Studies at the University of South Carolina, is a Serbian and a native of Sarajevo, the war-torn capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

WP: 2-593

Rivals Vie On Balkan Role of U.S.

*Muslim Leader Offers
Case for Air Strikes*

By Christine Spolar
and Julia Preston

Special to The Washington Post

On the eve of a new round of talks among Bosnia's warring Muslims, Serbs and Croats, the leader of one faction stepped up the pressure on the Clinton administration to back an international peace plan, while another urged the United States to intervene in the fighting.

In Sarajevo, the besieged Bosnian capital, President Alija Izetbegovic, a Muslim, declared in an interview yesterday that "we want air strikes" as a "more speedy way" to end the war.

But Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, arriving at U.N. headquarters in New York for the talks, urged the Clinton administration to support the plan drawn up by U.N. envoy Cyrus R. Vance and European Community mediator David Owen. "This plan is not perfect, but we don't have anything better," Karadzic said in an interview, warning that the new administration would face "another Vietnam" if it chose to send troops into ground combat in Bosnia.

At the White House, President Clinton told reporters: "I think anything, any effort that increases the chances of some ultimately peaceful solution is important." He said the United States "has under review now all of its options," and he called "proper" the position of Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher, who told Vance and Owen on Monday that he has questions about the "feasibility" and "practicality" of their plan—which would divide Bosnia-Herzegovina into 10 semiautonomous provinces.

White House press secretary Dee Dee Myers said Clinton "is just saying that if the parties agree to it, that he would support it. But so far all the parties have not agreed to it."

In several rounds of talks in Ge-

See BOSNIA, A31, Col. 1

Bosnian Serb, Muslim Differ on Role for U.S.

BOSNIA, From A27

neva that ended in deadlock last weekend, Izetbegovic's government, Karadzic's Serbs and the Bosnian Croats all endorsed the Vance-Owen plan in principle, but only the Croats accepted the proposed boundaries of the new provinces.

"We accepted the idea of 10 provinces but not the shape of them," Izetbegovic said in the interview. "Ethnic division is bad, but there is something worse—unjust ethnic division." He charged that the Vance-Owen boundaries would reward Bosnian Serbs' "ethnic cleansing"—the practice of mass expulsions of non-Serbs from their lands and homes.

"Regardless of what the [U.N.] Security Council does," Izetbegovic said, "we will not accept the plan." If the council supports the Vance-Owen boundaries, "it implies that genocide can be carried out and rewarded."

Karadzic, in New York, said Bosnian Serbs agree with all but 20 percent of the Vance-Owen boundaries, which would reduce the areas of Bosnia under their control from the current 70 percent to about 43 percent. He proposed that the Serbs and Muslims, meeting at the United Nations, should draw up

lists of the disputed territories and engage in "horse-trading."

In areas where there has been no "ethnic shifting"—the term he used in preference to ethnic cleansing—local referendums should be held, Karadzic said, to resolve control. He predicted that Muslims who end up in Serb-dominated provinces would move to Muslim provinces and that few of an estimated 700,000 Muslim refugees would return to their homes if they are within predominantly Serb provinces.

But without a peace settlement, Karadzic said, Serb authorities could not guarantee there would be no more communal purges in Serb-held areas because "it's difficult for us to control small places."

Before fighting broke out last spring, Slavic Muslims made up 44 percent of Bosnia's population, with Serbs accounting for 31 percent and Croats 17 percent. Under the Vance-Owen plan, Croats and Muslims would each dominate about 25 percent of Bosnian territory while Sarajevo, the capital, would be in a jointly controlled province. The U.N. plan would give the Serbs more territory in proportion to their population, but Serb spokesmen say most of their people are farm-

ers, spread out over about 60 percent of the prewar republic.

Izetbegovic, interviewed at his office in Sarajevo's Bosnian Presidency building, renewed his call for a lifting of the U.N. arms embargo on Bosnia so that the Muslim-led government could buy weapons to offset those flowing to the Serb forces from neighboring Serbia and the Serb-controlled Yugoslav army.

"We don't want your boys on the ground," the Bosnian president said. He expressed confidence, however, that "there is support in America to send us arms. . . . I don't know whose side Clinton might be taking or Congress is taking, but I do know the American people are on our side."

Karadzic, meanwhile, warned that Serbs "will defend ourselves" if foreign troops are sent to Bosnia. But he also expressed confidence that Serb militia forces would lay down their arms if a settlement is reached. "Don't worry," he said, "Serbs aren't born fighters. They would rather drive a Toyota than a tank."

Spolar reported from Sarajevo and Preston from New York.



Couple in suburban Sarajevo wheels firewood for sale at a market, where a sack brings \$3.2

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

Yugoslav Observations on Relations with the the U.S.

I

In recent months, the United States has been unable to realize its policy objectives in Yugoslavia. It wanted greater influence in Yugoslavia but has instead raised resistance to its policies. It would like to have increased its influence in Eastern Europe, but, through the prolongation of the Yugoslav crisis, it has hurt the countries of the region economically. Furthermore, U.S. policies have increased popular support for socialism in Yugoslavia.

The new U.S. administration should now face certain realities which its predecessor either failed to see or failed to understand.

Firstly, serious language barriers have impeded understanding between American and Yugoslav policy-makers. These were of two kinds. One was a particular way of thinking and the other was a particular way of expressing ideas.

Yugoslavs have been accustomed to thinking in a routinized bureaucratic language. They often formulated ideas in terms of abstract principles which lacked concreteness and precision. These sometimes carried overtones of an illusory grandeur. The ideas themselves, in addition, were ex-

pressed in bureaucratic terms which were incomprehensible to foreigners.

Therefore, despite the fact that Yugoslavs and Americans could speak a common language -- English or Serbo-Croat -- they were often unable to understand one another.

Secondly, the United States does not really appear to be convinced that Yugoslavia badly needs a democratic reconstruction of its own making. Some of the politicians, for instance, favored by the United States are, in fact, obstacles to any real reconstruction of the country.

While the U.S. and Yugoslavia may share some general political goals, Yugoslavia's long-term domestic objectives are very different from those of the U.S.

Yugoslavia's principal need at the moment is to be free of the tendency to misappropriate economic resources for purposes other than those of economic and social development.

Locked in its own accustomed manner of thinking, the U.S. appears to be unaware that there really is an irreversible process of change under way in this country. And it is only a matter of time before this process will have reached its goals.

The United States has been pushing hard in the course of the changes going on in Yugoslavia. In fact, it has sometimes applied too much pressure. Sanctions, for instance, need not have been carried as far as they have been.

Such actions can prove counter-productive for the United States.

The U.S. should realize that, as a result of their own historical experience, the Yugoslav people have become anti-Nazi, anti-Stalinist and generally anti-doctrinaire. They are also very patriotic.

Thus, the present anti-American mood is not at all surprising. The policies of the Bush Administration severely shook the reputation of American democracy in the eyes of the Yugoslav people.

Thirdly, everyone should recognize that there are three kinds of interests which have to be taken into account if there is to be mutually beneficial co-operation between our two countries. There are Yugoslav interests, American interests and common or complementary Yugoslav-American interests.

There are obvious and important complementary interests in the field of economic affairs.

Yugoslavia needs the following: up-to-date ideas for the organization of its economy; modern technology for many branches of industry; access to pure and applied research, etc.

Yugoslavia also needs technical aid and money, including foreign investment as well as foreign financing for projects. There could be a Marshall plan for Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia can offer the U.S. the following possibl-

lities. It is not just a single, small domestic market for goods and services. It is also a large potential re-export market for West and East Europe, the Balkan peninsula, the Mediterranean, the Middle East and Southwest Asia.

Yugoslavia also has enormous human and natural resources. In the present political circumstances, it has been impossible to use them for real economic and social development. For planning has sometimes been based on misconceived ideas or, simply, it has been frustrated by corruption. Thus, our highly educated and skilled labor force has not been properly used.

Fourthly, until recently, Yugoslavia played an important role in helping the U.S. to realize important policy goals. It played an important role in furthering U.S. goals with respect to the U.S.S.R., the E.C., Iran, Islamic fundamentalism, and the Arab countries. The assistance to the U.S. in the matter of the Euro-Arab dialogue is a concrete example.

Now, of course, the pendulum has shifted, and the U.S., apparently, no longer regards Yugoslavia as especially useful. It has decided to sacrifice it, or so it appears.

The main problem with this line of U.S. policy is that it will lead to instability. It carries a very high price in terms of economic damage, political divisions, waste and general social insecurity. From the U.S. point of view, the problem will be that it will be hated here. There will be

other effects as well.

Fifthly, it should be remembered that the Yugoslav people have been deeply influenced by two factors: patriotism and their relative prosperity in the postwar period. It should be stressed that Yugoslav political, economic and social development from 1954 was very positive. Yugoslavia leapt ahead of those countries which experienced "really existing socialism". The present elite is using the people's attachment to that experience to appeal to them to defend Yugoslavia now, having in mind, of course, their own interests rather than those of the country.

In these circumstances, pressures or threats coming from the United States, or indirectly through the E.C., can only have counter-productive results. This is not changed by the fact that these demands may be made in the name of an anti-communist orientation or of "the process of democratization". These terms do not have the same meaning in Yugoslavia that they might have elsewhere.

Threats are especially counter-productive when the U.S. seeks to exercise its influence here through persons who have been discredited.

Recent U.S. policies towards Yugoslavia in themselves gave the present political elite many opportunities to condemn the United States, making it easier for that leadership to "demonize the U.S." The Yugoslav people learn quickly.

Sixthly, it would be a fundamental mistake for the

United States to imagine that it can create a clone of the U.S. in Yugoslavia. This tendency, manifest in our recent relations, shows the United States does not realize it would make much more sense to support a far-reaching democratic reconstruction in our country.

Yugoslavia has made many concessions to the United States, and it may be prepared to make others. Yugoslavs, however, do not want foreign domination. They want the rule of law and normal social and economic development. Above all, the U.S. should realize that Yugoslavs want to preserve all the positive results of their development between 1945 and 1981.

Seventhly, a war in Yugoslavia, should the United States allow or want one to begin, would last for years and be enormously costly. Military intervention would give the Yugoslavs, with their knowledge of guerrilla tactics and their experience in the present wars, a considerable advantage. For Americans, this could mean a situation far worse than the one they found themselves in during the war in Indochina.

II

1. There is need for a new dialogue between the two sides. This should be carried out by teams of responsible experts in a large number of economic, social, political and

technical fields.

2. There is only one way to find a lasting solution to the problems now dividing us. This is to enter into a dialogue on the basis of equality and mutual respect -- and eventually to conduct negotiations on the relevant issues.

3. The U.S.-Yugoslav agreement of the mid-1980s has to be renegotiated. For Yugoslavia has already paid a very high price for the institutional changes now under way. That price consists of much more than the loss of human lives, the destruction of airports, bridges and highways, the destruction of our industries, etc. It also consists of something intangible: the destruction of trust among the peoples of Yugoslavia and a rising popular anger. This will have unanticipated consequences, namely the appearance of Yugoslav versions of the Basque E.T.A. and the Irish I.R.A. The targets will be American interests, that is, American citizens, facilities and property.

4. The U.S. has to contribute between \$75 and \$100 billion for the reconstruction of Yugoslavia and for healing the social devastation caused by the war.

5. It was widely hoped, indeed, hoped throughout the world community, that the Clinton Administration would pursue new and more enlightened policies on taking office. Clearly, the U.S. cannot change the broad lines of its foreign and military policies overnight. However, the hopes for change which many countries had only a few weeks ago

are now clearly receding. And resistance to American policy is growing in many countries. Yugoslavia now has no choice but to confront the U.S. in order to bring about a reduction of the pressures applied against it.

6. The U.S., by the same logic, must refrain from the use of double standards. There must be a clear shift in U.S. policy towards Yugoslavia if a further hardening of attitudes in the Yugoslav population is to be avoided. The petty direct pressures of the Bush Administration shook respect for the U.S. in this country and caused a silent majority to distance itself from their traditional friends, the Americans.

7. The new U.S. Administration must stop activities aimed at promoting an escalation of the war in Yugoslavia or face a real revolution in this country, with all the consequences which that would have for American interests.

8. A new basis for co-operation in the economic field and in world politics might be found in the creation of the core of a new Balkan confederation or association of some kind consisting of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Macedonia and Greece. This is an area which is relatively homogeneous, which is relatively developed, where there is a common Orthodox faith and in which the U.S. already has extensive interests.

9. Policy is the art of reconciling conflicting interests, and the U.S. should now be ready to compromise,

for its own interests as well as for ours.

10. Yugoslavia, it should be obvious, is of much greater value to the U.S. than Vietnam, Lebanon, Iraq or Kuwait. Yugoslavia is well aware of this, and the United States should accordingly take note of the fact.

Belgrade
February 1993

Attention: Pat Wait

The following text was given to me by the person, whose credentials seem rather peculiar. Either he is a new "savior" of these brutes in the Balkans, an impostor, a provocateur or all three.

For beginners, the institute he lists as his affiliation does not employ "professors" of any type. This institute was and probably remains an UDBA front. He recently published an essay in the journal Covert Action. As a scholar I have deep seated allergies to any journal that has cover as part of its title.

PS: the handwritten address in his New York permanent residence. He is an American--I presume-- citizen.

This file contains also contains a map(s), chart(s), or other items that has/have not been scanned because it/they are oversized.