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RECEIVED MAY 03 1991

April 28,1991

SERBIAN NATIONAL DEFENSE COUNCIL

2950 W.North Ave.

Chicago,illinois 60647

Svetislav Paunovic

Rajko Tomovic

Dear Sirs:

I am an american born Jew,and I am writing in regard to your article in Los Angeles Times dated April 27,1991(attached copy). To begin with,it is interesting to notice that you are asking western newsmedia to try to catch up with the reality in Yugoslavia,while according to your own writing,you are unaware of the facts in the country. The big difference is the fact,that Croatians are willing,ready and able to deceive the world,while the Serbs do not have enough common sense even to speak the truth about themselves.For instance,when it is in question to put down your own Serbian brother Milosevic,you find yourselves on the same side with anti-Serbian Croataians.Together with the Croatians,you are calling Mr.Milosevic a"hardline communist"(even though there is no communist party in Serbia).His freely elected government,you are calling "totalitarian".Now,if you,yourselves are ready to tell the world this kind of a lie,then should anyone be surprised with whatever Croatians have to say about the Serbs and serbian government?Certainly not.In addition,you are telling the world a lie,that Slovenian president Milan Kucan,and Croatian Tito's general Franjo Tadjman were"democratically"elected,while Milosevic supposedly,was not.Wonder what was the difference in their elections and that of Mr.Milosevic?Was anyone forced to vote for Milosevic against his/her will?Certainly not. Isn't it true,that in Serbia there were some 71-small political parties competing against each other,instead,all together competing against Milosevic,if he is a hardline communist as you and the Croatians are telling the world.Isn't it true,that his staunch opponent Vuk Draskovic didn't have any good plan and program for the Serbs,nor did he have enough common sense even to try to organize a meaningful opposition.He didn't even promise the Serbs to remove croatian communo-fascist Josip Broz Tito's name from so many serbian cities,towns,streets,schools and factories.All he was asking the Serbs is to give him a chance to take Mr.Milosevic's seat in government,and obviously,bring an anarchy to Serbia.

(over please):

The only thing he promised, was to bring to Serbia american style, sick and cruel fascist capitalism, which only means more poverty, corruption, crime and injustice.

Isn't it true, that just recently that moron, Draskovic called on to the Serbs to kill each other, and to destroy its own capitol city, in front of the whole world? All this, because he didn't have a chance to win the election due to his own stupidity.

Finally, isn't it true, that you and the Croatians claim that Mr. Milosevic is a hardline communist, just because he has a strong serbian dominated army to defend the Serbs from nazi- fascist Croatians and their old allies Hungarians, Bulgarians, Italians, Albanians, Germans, etc. etc.

The hard reality is, american cruel fascist style capitalism is not bringing a better life to anyone, except the rich and powerful, common crooks and criminals. Getting rid of communism and substituting it with old, sick and cruel capitalism, is the same thing as trading a dirty pig for a skunk. The Russians, Poles, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumunia, Bulgaria, East Germany, and others, are learning a lesson in a hard way, and quickly. Just lets hope that the Serbs are not as naive and stupid as the above.

The hard reality is, no matter how much you love or hate America, american nor any other western government, will never turn against its catholic Croatia and try to help the Serbs in any kind of a war against them. If only for a second you think or believe otherwise, you really live in a dream world. Just remember, when recently our "boy" George Bush, praised the Albanians in Kosovo for their "heroic" killing the Serbs and destroying their property.

Just before the II-W/W, our criminal CIA was actively involved in training nazi-fascist Croatians (Ustashi) how to kill as many Serbs and Jews as possible. They had a number of training centers in southern and northern Italy.

Fortunately, the Serbian people seems to know the reality of life. That is why they know how to vote and for whom to vote, when they have a choice. That is why they overwhelmingly voted for Mr. Slobodan Milosevic.

As a result of the above and much more, please try to catch up with the reality, before asking anyone else to do the same.

Yours very truly,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "John Goodman". The signature is written in a cursive, somewhat stylized script.

Reporting on Yugoslavia

4-27-91

■ For some time, there has been a great deal of inaccuracy in the reports of the Western media on the events in Yugoslavia, which is most likely a result of either poorly done homework on the part of reporters, an influence of propaganda of the regimes in the republics or both.

What is inaccurate and misleading for readers, and causing anguish and sorrow among hundreds of thousands of Serbs in the United States, is labeling Serbian people as undemocratic and as taking pride in rejecting Western ways, even saying that the hard-line stands of Serbian President Milosevic reflect the attitudes of most Serbs, while using such attributes as democratic and pro-Western when reporting about the Slovenian and Croatian people. Also, it is inappropriate to call Serbia the last bastion of communism, while referring to Slovenia and Croatia as democratic states.

True, Milosevic is a hard-line Communist. And true, there is no democracy in Serbia. The same can be said, however, for

Croatia's President Tudjman and Slovenia's Kucan, as well as for the Croatian and Slovenian states. The fact that Tudjman and Kucan were democratically elected is irrelevant (need we remind you that Hitler was democratically elected); communists for most of their lives, they are unable to change.

To better understand the situation, one must know that Serbia was an independent democratic state in the past, that Slovenia was never a state before becoming part of Yugoslavia and that the only time Croatia was a state, it was fascist and an ally of Nazi Germany; it declared war on the U.S. in 1941.

The Serbian people, who fought on the side of the Allies in both World War I and II and who suffered about 1.5 million casualties in each of them, can only be referred to as democratic, peace-loving and pro-Western. Thanks to undemocratic elections, fraught with deceit and intimidation, they still live in a totalitarian society, but to call them undemocratic is not only false but an injustice and an insult.

In conclusion, there is nothing in common between the desires and aspirations of Serbian people and the methods and goals of its undemocratically elected government. There is no real difference among the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian governments. It is time for the media in the West to catch up with the reality in Yugoslavia—casualties of recent demonstrations in Belgrade demand it.

SVETISLAV PAUNOVIC
RAJKO TOMOVICH
Serbian National Defense Council
Chicago

ACLU challenges arrests of San Francisco beggars

By Jim Doyle

San Francisco Chronicle 4-26-91

SAN FRANCISCO — In what has become a cause celebre for panhandlers, lawyers for the American Civil Liberties Union asked a federal judge Thursday to rule that San Francisco's policy of arresting beggars is unconstitutional.

An assistant city attorney insisted, however, that begging — verbally or with gestures — is not a form of expression protected by the First Amendment guarantee of free speech.

He also suggested that the city's many panhandlers intimidate residents and drive away tourists and shoppers.

U.S. District Judge William H. Orrick Jr. heard the arguments as part of his review of San Francisco's enforcement of a state statute prohibiting begging. The constitu-

tionality question then was submitted to await his ruling.

The federal case stems from a 1989 lawsuit by Celestus Blair Jr., who claims that police violated his constitutional rights when they arrested him five times in 1988 and 1989 for begging while he was unemployed and homeless.

Blair's arrests received much attention in the media and the district attorney later declined to prosecute Blair, now a bus driver for San Francisco's Municipal Railway. But ACLU lawyers sued the city on Blair's behalf, alleging civil rights violations.

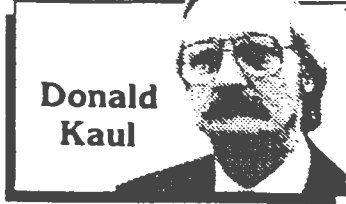
Under the state Penal Code, it is a misdemeanor to accost anyone in a public place for the purpose of begging or soliciting alms. The city's police academy teaches officers that "accost" means "to approach and speak to first."

FREE TO DIE IN "DIGNITY" LIKE A PIG, BUT NOT TO BEG IN ORDER TO SURVIVE. OUR PHONY SNAKES IN GOVERNMENT NEVER HAVE ENOUGH MONEY TO TAKE CARE OF ITS OWN OLD-AGED, SICK AND POOR. BUT, THEY ALWAYS HAVE PLENTY OF MONEY FOR INSTIGATING TROUBLES, CONDUCTING UNNECESSARY FOREIGN WARS, PLAYING A BIG BULLY AND WORLD POLICEMAN. Hope you do not want this kind of criminal government for Serbia.

Patton was right: Americans love war

24 FEB 91

WE ARE a peace-loving people; everybody says so. Well, maybe not everybody, but we sure say so. Hardly a week goes by without one of our national leaders referring to Americans as a peace-loving people.



Donald Kaul

What can they be thinking of? In the past 50 years, we have fought four major wars; that is, wars that fully engaged the national attention. In addition, we have invaded Panama, Grenada and the Dominican Republic; sent troops to Lebanon (twice); given naval escort in wartime to ships in the Persian Gulf; bombed Libya; provided clandestine military support to various regimes and rebel groups in Central America; conspired in the assassination of at least three foreign heads of state; launched war planes to help thwart a coup in the Philippines and nurtured a military assault on Cuba. Those are merely the adventures that come readily to my aging mind; I'm sure there are others.

None of these wars, invasions, incursions, police actions and punitive expeditions, I hasten to point out, involved the defense of our soil (although, to be fair, World War II might qualify in that regard since it began for us with the bombing of Hawaii).

No other country in the past half-century can match our record for embracing armed conflict as a foreign policy tool.

Nor have we, for the most part, gone into these battles reluctantly. American presidents are never more popular than when they take us to war. It is only when we are perceived as losing the war that public opinion turns on them.

The fact is, we are a war-like people. I remember being shocked when Gen. George Patton said as much. "Americans

love war," he said in a famous address to his troops on the eve of battle.

He was right.

I'm not sure the soldiers involved are enthralled with war, but the people at home are invariably enthusiastic about it. They decorate the streets with ribbons and flags, as if in celebration. They say it's to show support for the troops, but it's the war that gets supported.

In theory, we conduct our wars in a civilized manner, adhering scrupulously to the rules laid down by the Geneva Convention; no targeting of civilians, no poison gas, no abuse of prisoners. In practice, we are less fastidious.

Even as we bomb Iraqi troops to pulp we are outraged at the thought that Saddam might use chemical weapons against us. He is "without a shred of human decency," we are told.

Have you heard about our air-fuel bombs? They explode above the ground, sending out a fine mist of petroleum jelly which then ignites, creating a firestorm that sucks up the oxygen over an area the size of four or five football fields, suffocating its victims, Dresden-style.

Why is that not a chemical weapon? What makes it more ethical than poison gas? You say that the difference is that air-fuel bombs are not banned by the Geneva Convention.

Oh, I see.

We are many things, some of them good, but peace-loving we are not. We are, instead, war-like creatures of self-delusion, able to convince ourselves of the nobility of our cause, no matter what means we use to pursue it. ■

Donald Kaul is a syndicated columnist.

Poll: Americans blame Iraq in air-raid deaths

WASHINGTON POST

2-17-91

War support still strong

WASHINGTON — An overwhelming majority of Americans believe that Iraq was to blame for the deaths of Iraqi civilians during a U.S. air raid on Baghdad Wednesday, and a large majority of Americans still support the month-old war with Iraq, according to a new Washington Post-ABC News Poll.

The survey found that eight of 10 persons questioned said Iraqi President Saddam Hussein or the Iraqi government were most to blame for

unchanged from a Post-ABC survey completed before the air raid.

Interviews with 772 randomly selected adults were conducted before Iraq's peace offer Friday.

But the poll results suggest that support for the war, unshaken by the deaths of Iraqi civilians in Wednesday's air raid, should be unaffected by Bush's rejection of the Iraqi proposal.

Seventy-eight percent of those surveyed said they backed the decision to go to war — a level of support that has not changed in more than two weeks.

Wednesday's incident. A similarly large majority of those questioned Thursday night said they believed the bombed facility was a military target, as asserted by President Bush and allied military leaders.

Six of 10 said the United States should continue bombing military targets, "even if Iraqi civilians might be killed." And two of three said the United States is "making enough of an effort" to avoid bombing civilian targets,

THESE DANGEROUSLY SICK AND CORRUPT MASTERS OF DECEPTION CLAIM THAT THEIR CHILDREN SUFFERED MENTAL STRESS WATCHING THE WAR ON T.V.s, NOT THE IRAQIS WHO WERE BOMBED CONSTANTLY FOR 36-DAYS AND NIGHTS BY THE GREAT SATAN FORCES.

By Richard Cole
Associated Press

1-19-91

MIAMI — The CIA and U.S. Army paid Manuel Noriega more than \$300,000 in payments and gifts over 31 years, according to papers filed by the U.S. government Friday in the deposed Panamanian leader's drug case.

The government said they released the information to counter statements by Noriega's attorneys that the Central Intelligence Agency paid him "millions of dollars" during its relationship with the defendant.

After all, this is what we fought for



CHICAGO

Despite its having been ravaged by war, there is encouraging news coming out of Kuwait.

Shortly after Kuwait City was freed, some residents began publishing a newspaper. It began very small as a mimeographed tip sheet on where people might find medical care or something to eat. But it soon became a more professional journal, and its popularity increased.

But about a week ago, a government official came to the newspaper's office and told the editor that he would have to cease publication immediately.

The official was upset because the newspaper had criticized the government for its bumbling efforts to provide food, water, electricity, medicine and other services to Kuwait City's miserable inhabitants.

The editor asked the government official what he had to do to keep publishing. The official said he needed a government license. The editor asked how he could get a license. The official said he could apply for one, but he didn't know if or when it would be issued.

So that was the end of Kuwait's first post-war independent newspaper.

Now various international press organizations are criticizing Kuwait's rulers for shutting down the newspaper. They are making the predictable statements about press freedoms. But their criticism is misguided. In this case, the government did

Mike Royko writes a column for the Chicago Tribune.

the right thing.

It must be remembered that we fought the gulf war to restore the "legitimate government" of Kuwait. And at considerable expense, in human lives and money, this "legitimate government" was restored.

So how does it look, after we have gone to all that expense and effort, to have the legitimate government we restored accused of being a bunch of bumbler? Is that the impression a newspaper should be giving — that to restore a bunch of bumbler to positions of power, we killed more than 100,000 Iraqis and devastated their country?

Besides, it's quite possible that the newspaper was mistaken in its criticism.

That paper should have been aware that while it was carping about food, water, medicine and other matters, the government was faced with the urgent task of preparing a palace for Kuwait's ruler, Emir Jaber Ahmed Sabah.

It was essential that the palace be made livable so that the emir could return in triumph from the hardships of his temporary quarters at a luxury resort in Saudi Arabia.

So Kuwait engineers and other craftsmen joined with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to do an almost miraculous job of fixing up one of the emir's several palaces. The one they chose was built several years ago at a cost of a few hundred million dollars.

The job wasn't easy. They had to order and install dozens of gold-plated toilet paper rollers, gold-plated shower heads, new marble toilets and sinks, crystal chandeliers, cut-glass ashtrays and the finest fabrics and wall coverings. And the most

sumptuous furniture for the dozens and dozens of rooms. To get that kind of stuff, you just don't pop into a Great Ace or a Wal-Mart. It took a gigantic logistical effort to bring it in from Saudi Arabia.

But that was the easy part. Naturally, the emir and his clan would need water. And not just to brush their teeth. The palace has a huge fountain inside so the palace has its own reservoir that holds 2 million gallons. It was filled from the city's water supply and the fountain gushed in all of its pre-war glory.

Then there was the problem of electricity. It takes a lot of juice to light up the bulbs and get the air conditioners working in a joint about the size of the Pentagon. So three monster generators were put back in working order and everything worked: the stereos, the TV, and the electric tooth flossers.

This had to be done because the emir is the ruler of the nation. And until he was in Kuwait, the "legitimate government" wouldn't really be restored. But without a palace to come home to, how could the emir return? And without the emir safely in his palace (the bulletproof glass also was installed), how could we claim victory?

So that nagging newspaper was clearly out of line. Yes, the citizens of Kuwait could use water. But can their needs be compared to the needs of the emir's great fountain? Electricity? Would they have the emir walk into a room that wasn't properly cooled? They want food and medicine at a time when trucks are urgently needed to haul the emir's new furniture?

You have to wonder what kind of whining ingrates we fought this war for.

SICK AND BLOOD-THIRSTY 3-27-91 Schwarzkopf Says He Hoped for a Rout of Iraqi Forces but Bush Chose to Halt War

From Reuters

WASHINGTON—Gulf commander H. Norman Schwarzkopf says he wanted to annihilate Iraq's armies as Hannibal once crushed the Romans, but President Bush pulled him up short.

In a television interview with David Frost scheduled for broadcast tonight, the U.S. Army general also said Baghdad's cease-fire negotiators "suckered me" into letting Iraq keep flying the helicopters it is now using against Shiite and Kurdish rebels.

He said Iraqi generals had sought allied permission to fly helicopters for transportation when their real intent was to use the aircraft against the insurrections.

Discussing Bush's decision to stop the ground war after four days on Feb. 27, when the goal of ousting Iraqi forces from Kuwait had been achieved, Schwarzkopf recalled that the allies were pounding the fleeing Iraqis "and it was literally about to become the battle of Cannae, a battle of annihilation."

The Carthaginian general Hannibal, one of Schwarzkopf's

military heroes, encircled an entire Roman army at the village of Cannae in 216 BC and cut it to pieces.

"Frankly, my recommendation [to Bush] had been, you know, continue the march," Schwarzkopf said.

"I mean, we had them in a rout and we could have continued to reap great destruction on them. We could have completely closed the door and made it a battle of annihilation.

"And the President made the decision that we should stop at a given time, at a given place that did leave some escape routes open for them to get back out, and I think it was a very humane decision and a very courageous decision on his part."

He said historians would second-guess Bush forever and noted that critics were already complaining that the allies failed to destroy Iraq's Republican Guard and other units.

"There were obviously a lot of people who escaped who wouldn't have escaped if the decision hadn't been made to stop us where we were," he said. "... But again, I think that was a very courageous decision on the part of the President."

The interview is scheduled to be broadcast on public television stations tonight.

Schwarzkopf peppered the interview with the contempt he often aims at Hussein—calling him "an evil man," a liar and a killer, among other things—but said he appears to be beyond the reach of any international war crimes tribunal.

"What normally happens to people like Saddam is, at some point, they are taken care of by their own folks," the general said without elaboration.

WORLD

Senate Judiciary Committee reports U.S. has highest violent-crime rate

By Tim Weiner
Knight-Ridder Newspapers

WASHINGTON — The United States is "the most violent and self-destructive nation on earth," the Senate Judiciary Committee said in a report released Tuesday.

The report depicted Americans killing, raping and robbing one another at a furious rate, surpassing every other country that keeps crime statistics.

The nation's citizens committed a record number of killings in 1990 — at least 23,300, or nearly three an hour — and a record number of rapes, robberies and assaults, the committee said.

"In 1990, the United States led the world with its murder, rape and robbery rates," the report said. "When viewed from the national perspective, these crime rates are sobering. When viewed from the international perspective, they are truly embarrassing."

The report noted that the murder rate in the United States was more than twice that of Northern Ireland, which is torn by civil war; four times that of Italy; nine times England's and 11 times Japan's.

Violence against women in the United States was even more pervasive, the committee said.

The rape rate in the United States was eight times higher than in France, 15 times higher than in England, 23 times higher than Italy's and 26 times higher than in Japan, according to the report.

Robbery rates followed much the same pattern: six times higher than in England, seven times higher than Italy's — and nearly 150 times higher than in Japan.

Los Angeles accounted for 991 of the estimated 23,300 slayings nationwide — about 4.25 percent of the total.

Los Angeles police Lt. Fred Nixon said the murder rate in Los Angeles actually is down from what it was a decade ago, when a record 1,028 people were killed in 1980.

"In 1980, the population in Los Angeles was much smaller than it is now, but the homicide rate is still horribly high for 1990," Nixon said.

There were 2,968,528 people living in Los Angeles in 1980, and 3,485,398 people in 1990.

Nixon said a total of 2,020 rapes, 35,772 robberies and 45,033 aggravated assaults were committed in Los Angeles in 1990.

"We are clearly a nation that is too violent," Nixon said, referring to the committee's report. "We are a nation that must learn to resolve

conflicts on streets in less violent ways."

The committee's report, based on raw FBI data and preliminary statistics for last year, based its comparisons on Justice Department statistics for industrialized nations. Crime-reporting standards vary in those countries, and crime rates for less-developed Third World nations generally are either unavailable or unreliable.

However, the report made clear that violence in the United States has no equal among the world's developed nations.

"More than 1.8 million Americans were murdered, raped, robbed or assaulted in 1990," the committee said. That makes the violent-crime rate last year the highest ever, which means Americans are likelier to become victims of violent crimes today than at any time in modern history, the committee said.

Over the past generation, the number of violent crimes has risen 12 times faster than the population. Rape and assault rates are rising even faster, the report said.

The population of the United States has grown 41 percent since 1960, while violent crimes have increased 516 percent, according to FBI and U.S. census statistics.

FOR AS LONG AS WE HAVE PROFESSIONAL IDIOTS WHO DO NOT WANT TO, DO NOT KNOW HOW AND/OR CAN NOT FREE IT OWN PEOPLE FROM FEAR OF POVERTY, CRIME AND INJUSTICE, AND THEY WANT TO BE POLICEMAN OF THE WORLD, WE ARE ALL IN A DEEP, DEEP TROUBLE... AMERICA IS DANGEROUSLY SICK!

LETTERS

THE PLIGHT OF KOSOVO

To the Editors:

We are writing to express our grave concern about, and to protest, recent events in Kosovo. In July 1990 the Serbian government suspended Kosovo's parliament and government and imposed direct rule through its own police force. Armed police occupied Albanian Radio and Television in the capital, Phrishtinë, and the building of the Albanian daily newspaper *Rilindija*. When Albanian journalists refused to work under such conditions—as they did—they were sacked. Policemen of Albanian origin who refused to sign agreement with the Serbian measures were demobilized. Leaders of the Albanian democratic opposition in Kosovo and delegates of the suspended parliament were taken in for questioning by the police and several were physically ill-treated. The Serbian vice-minister for internal affairs stated that some members of Kosovo's suspended political institutions could face criminal prosecution.

These steps were only the latest in a long series of measures which the Serbian government has taken to remove the autonomy of the province of Kosovo. They were unconstitutional according to both the constitution of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia and the constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. They are without precedent in postwar European history. The use of repression has not solved any of the problems in Kosovo or in Serbia; it has only worsened the situation. The tragic result of this uncompromising and blind politics is a growing hostility between the ethnic communities living in the region and, according to reports from the region, the death of more than 100 Albanians. In addition, it appears that in the last nine years at least 500 Albanians have been wounded and some 10,000 imprisoned. Two hundred and forty Albanian leaders and intellectuals have been interned for various periods without trial and at least 600,000 Albanians have suffered at the hands of police (detentions, interrogations, beatings, etc.) The whole population of the province has been living in an undeclared state of emergency since 1981. A Serbian policeman was killed on a demonstration two years ago. That there have been no further deaths from political violence in the non-Albanian population is almost certainly due to the influence and authority of

the Albanian democratic opposition and its principled commitment to nonviolence.

We understand the expressed concern for the rights of the Serbian minority in the region, but cannot see how these rights can ever be secured by the denial of the basic human rights and political liberties of the Albanian majority. On the contrary, only when those rights are fully respected can the rights of the Serbian minority, and of other minorities, be guaranteed. The root of the present problems in Kosovo is, namely, the resistance of the Serbian political authorities to the democratic reforms which have recently been implemented in other East European countries. The Serbian people are justifiably proud of their own struggles for liberty. We do not wish the repressive anti-Albanian politics of the Serbian state to isolate them or Yugoslavia from the democratic integration of Europe.

Finally, we are deeply concerned that, with the suspension of legal political institutions in Kosovo, the suppression of a free press, and the refusal of dialogue with the Albanian democratic opposition (which, although illegal, enjoys the support of the great majority of the population) there are no means left for a political, that is non-violent, resolution of the crisis. This has created a real and immediate risk of civil war. Quite apart from the horror of such an event for Yugoslavia itself, war in the Balkans has not previously remained a local event and on this occasion could endanger detente and the democratic processes underway throughout Europe.

We urge the Federal Government to respect its own constitution; to insist on the immediate reinstatement of the Kosovo parliament; and to ensure that basic human rights and political liberties exist in every part of Yugoslavia. We also call for the legalization of the democratic opposition in Kosovo and for dialogue between all political forces in the province. If the Albanian majority in Kosovo does not have the right to choose its political representatives freely, and to decide how it would like to live in Yugoslavia, there cannot be peace and democracy in either Yugoslavia or Europe.

BRITAIN

Neal Ascherson, journalist;
Anthony Barnett, Charter 88;
Ken Coates, Member of European Parliament; Timothy Garton Ash, writer; Dr. Lynne Jones; Mary Kaldor,

European Dialogue; Professor John Keane, Polytechnic of Central London; Professor Steven Lukes, European University Institute, Florence; Hilary Wainwright, Manchester University

USA

Virginia Baron, Richard Deats, Fellowship of Reconciliation; Andrea Imredy, Joanne Landy, Campaign for Peace and Democracy; Julian and Phyllis Jacobson, *New Politics*; Roy Morrison, Clamshell Alliance

OTHER COUNTRIES

Dr. Irmtraut Karlsson, Member of Parliament, Austria; Professor Bohdan Krawchenko, University of Alberta, Canada; Myrna Kostash, Writers' Union of Canada; Ruth Sormova, Independent Peace Association, Czech and Slovak Federative Republic; Toni Liversage, Danish Writers' Union; Jean Chesneaux, historian, France; Solange Fernex, Member of European Parliament, France; Gilles Perrault, writer, France; Birgit Voigt, Green Party, Germany; Radha Kumar, Movement Against Communalism, India; and more than one hundred other signatories in fourteen countries

The Serbian struggle in Yugoslavia

From Mr S. Borovac

Sir: As a Serb, I would like to condemn the repressive and dictatorial government of the Serbian communist president, Slobodan Milosevic. However, as a Serb, I would also like to respond to certain statements made by Dr Drago Stambuk (Letters, 21 March). His assertion that Yugoslavia was always "only a mask for Greater Serbia" is subject to debate. Post-war Yugoslavia was led by Josip Broz (Tito), a Croat, and any discussion of Serbian nationalism under his regime was ruthlessly put down, in the main by Serbs.

Dr Stambuk refers to Serbia's cruelty and attempts to "Serbianise" other nations. This is a blatant untruth, and I would be interested to see any evidence, if it exists, of Serbia's attempt to do this in either pre- or post-war Yugoslavia.

In fact, the contrary is the case. During the Second World War, in the puppet-fascist Independent State of Croatia, an edict was proclaimed that one third of the Serbian population was to be transported to Serbia, one third forcibly converted to Catholicism and the remaining third exterminated. The last part of this edict was executed with such efficiency that approximately 750,000 Serbs were massacred under the Ustashi terror. Wartime Croatia was the only "state" that had a death-camp solely for children. I feel that these events go a long way to explain the fears felt by those

Serbs who live in Croatia.

These historical facts are generally ignored by the media, which portrays Serbs as being both aggressive and unreasonable, while the Croats are referred to as freedom-loving, democratised, Westernised liberals.

Dr Stambuk's statement that Europe should be deeply suspicious of Serbia does not go on to explain why. His reference to Serbia "claiming its imperialist birthright" is presumably an oblique reference to the problems in Kosovo. This part of Serbia has the highest percentage of Serbian orthodox churches and monasteries and has always been considered as the heartland of the Serbian nation. Great play is made of the Albanian majority in Kosovo, ignoring the fact that many Albanians were encouraged to cross from Albania into Kosovo by Broz; his philosophy being that "a weak Serbia means a strong Yugoslavia."

It is also worth noting that the Serbian people have, in the two world wars, been allies of the Western democracies, unlike the Croats, and, apart from the Serbian communists, still regard the Western powers as their friends, though this is rarely reciprocated in deed or statement, the opposite nearly always being the case.

Yours faithfully,

S. BOROvac

Serbian National Organisation

London, W1

22 March

The Independent Mar. 26/91

MONDAY, MARCH 25, 1991

Letters

For Yugoslavia, Unity Still Holds Best Hope

To the Editor:

It may be that Tomislav Sunic is right when he asserts that for Yugoslavia, breakup is the best answer (letter, March 2). Unfortunately, his reasoning is specious. While I have been a consistent critic of the Yugoslav Communist regime, it is only fair to point out that, contrary to Professor Sunic's assertion, the Yugoslav Government has gone to great lengths to set up quotas (called a nationality key) so that all Yugoslav ethnic groups would be fairly represented, and this has been most notable in the diplomatic corps.

Mr. Sunic blames the Serbs for the failure of the Yugoslav system to work as planned. This is ironic when we recall that during Marshal Tito's lifetime, the Serbs had far less voice in public affairs than the Slovenes and Croats. And since Tito's death there has been a great deal of political paralysis, due mostly to the unworkable constitution he bequeathed to the country.

Professor Sunic does not tell us what kind of confederation the Croats and Slovenes propose. I have read the draft, and it reminded me of our own Articles of Confederation. Under it, the central government would have basically advisory powers. That would not be a confederation, but an association of separate states. Such an arrangement has never worked anywhere, and there is no reason to believe it would in Yugoslavia.

Serbia would like to see a workable federation, free and democratic, and is therefore opposed to paper agreements that would solve nothing and

perpetuate political paralysis. Despite some of Slobodan Milosevic's confusing actions, I find little evidence in the history of Yugoslavia or of Serbia to show that Serbia seeks supremacy.

ALEX N. DRAGNICH
Nashville, March 10, 1991

The writer is professor emeritus of political science, Vanderbilt U.

Neighborly Support

To the Editor:

"On the Edge, in the Lands That Wrote the Book" (The Week in Review, March 3), on Balkanization in the Balkans, couldn't be further off the mark. You state that "nobody outside Yugoslavia is prepared to welcome its separate parts into the European family," but neighboring western and eastern European nations have been giving both Slovenia and Croatia unofficial support.

Countries such as Austria, Germany, Hungary and Czechoslovakia have much to gain by establishment of free and independent democracies in Slovenia and Croatia, with their thriving free-market economies. Slovenia and Croatia, with long historical and cultural ties to these nations, have received vital good will, moral support, favorable news media coverage and other unofficial support from private institutions in those countries.

Indeed, Hungary's large sale of automatic weapons to the government of Croatia last fall helped this struggling republic preserve its hard-won democracy by standing up to the Communist Yugoslav army. Unfortunately, this army, whose officer corps

is 70 percent Serbian, is the last functioning federal institution in Yugoslavia, through which Communist-ruled Serbia can extend its heavy grip over the other democratic republics.

Clearly, Yugoslavia, and its main champion, Serbia, are finding themselves increasingly more isolated in the international community because of this Serb-controlled army intimidation, because of Serbian repression of Albanians in Kosovo and because of recent Serbian abuse of the federal banking system. Even the International Monetary Fund recently suspended all negotiations with Yugoslavia on monetary aid until this internal turmoil settles.

And even more clearly, the continued existence of Yugoslavia, as it is constituted today, is not in the best interest of Yugoslavia's neighbors. For that matter, it is not in the best long-term interest of the United States either. When push comes to shove in Yugoslavia soon, those European countries will support the democracies in Slovenia and Croatia. So should we.

ANTHONY MARGAN

Alexandria, Va., March 3, 1991

The writer is a member of the Croatian Democracy Project.

Uneasy Status Quo

To the Editor:

You rightly refer to the historical, cultural, linguistic and religious differences among Croats, Slovenes and Serbs in "Divorce, Yugoslav Style" (editorial, Feb. 22). Yugoslavia's population has the greatest ethnic diversity in Europe. The country did not exist as a historical entity until it was created on Dec. 1, 1918, following the dissolution of the Hapsburg Empire.

The so-called Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes included 5 major Slavic nationalities and 17 minorities. Nationalism was an important force from the beginning. Croats and Macedonians turned against their new masters with increasing ferocity between the two world wars.

Antagonism was strongest between the Serbs and Croats. For eight centuries, Croatia was an autonomous part of the Hungarian Kingdom, with separate legislature and public administration, so it was natural that the Croats wanted a federal Yugoslavia, not a centralized system, embodied in the Constitution of 1921.

Following Stalin's efforts to subvert the Belgrade Government, President Tito initiated a federalist constitutional reform, which led again to regional and ethnic nationalism, culminating in terrorist activities directed against Yugoslav officials abroad.

In my opinion, American Presidents from Woodrow Wilson to Ronald Reagan wrongly supported Yugoslav unity. It was a mistake to prop up a new country consisting of diverse, centrifugal elements.

Last year and in the first months of 1991 Yugoslavia reached the peak of social and economic crisis. Croatia and Slovenia should be allowed to secede, before civil war upsets the uneasy status quo in the Balkan peninsula.

SANDOR SZILASSY

Turnersville, N.J., March 2, 1991