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H.R.H. CROWN PRINCE ALEXANDER  
OF YUGOSLAVIA

23rd April 1992

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

Dear Mr. President,

As head of the family which has led the Serbian nation at crucial times during the past two centuries, may I be allowed to put forward some observations and thoughts on the current Yugoslav crisis.

First of all, let me stress that from the very beginning of the Yugoslav crisis, I have repeatedly called on all the nations of Yugoslavia to show restraint and resolve their differences by peaceful means. I have firmly rejected violence and war as a means of resolving disputes and have appealed for peaceful co-existence of peoples of different ethnic and religious backgrounds. I have also warned against rampant nationalism being used by leaders of the Yugoslav republics to keep themselves in power.

Secondly, I have advocated a gradual transition to parliamentary democracy after several decades of one-party Communist rule and have urged a strict observance and respect for human rights of all citizens, including members of the country's national minorities. I have also expressed support for the right of self-determination of all the nations of Yugoslavia and for their right to decide on what form of government they should have.

Though fully aware that Yugoslavia's post-Communist period would be full of dangers, I had always hoped that war and bloodshed could be avoided in the search for new solutions. Alas, such hopes were proven ill-founded, and during the past year we have been witnessing the death throes of Yugoslavia and a brutal and senseless war which has already cost tens of thousands of human lives and caused immense human suffering. Now the threat of a full-scale civil war looms over Bosnia-Herzegovina and there are fears that it will result in more innocent victims, more suffering and devastation.

After the dismal failure of the leaders of the Yugoslav republics to reach an agreement on a peaceful resolution of the crisis, the only glimmer of hope for a peaceful way out has been provided by the United Nations whose peace-keeping forces started to arrive in Croatia recently. I have had the pleasure of meeting the United Nations special envoy, Mr. Cyrus Vance, and I think all Yugoslavs owe him a debt of gratitude for his valiant efforts to prevent further fighting. However, the escalation of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina which we have been witnessing since the European Community and the United States of America recognised its independence, is very worrying. Foreign observers fear that the Republic will inevitably slide into a civil war and their fears are more than justified.

Having followed carefully the United States and European Community efforts to ensure peace and promote political reform in what used to be Yugoslavia, I have regretfully come to the conclusion that policies of Brussels and Washington in the area will result in further bloodshed (as witnessed now in Bosnia), and long-term political instability in the Balkans.

I believe that the crux of the matter lies in the failure of the United States and the European Community to understand the Serbian problem and to assess it correctly. Now that Yugoslavia, as we knew it, no longer exists, it is of paramount importance to find a solution to the Serbian problem if we are to ensure a durable and secure peace in the Balkans. I would, therefore, appeal to you, Mr. President, not to ignore the following points when dealing with the Yugoslav crisis:

- 1) The Serbian people have neither the desire nor the intention to dominate anybody. They only wish to live in a modern democratic state which would take its rightful place in the international community. They also want to reassert their place and role in Europe and to participate in European integrationist processes. The majority of the Serbian people have decisively turned their back on Communism and want to live in a free and democratic society.
- 2) The Serbian people recognise the right of other South Slav nations to self-determination, but insist that they themselves must enjoy the same right. It is unacceptable, for instance, that the international community honours and recognises the wish of two million Slovenes to have an independent state, while denying the same right to almost three million Serbs who live outside Serbia.

- 3) The Serbian people have no intention of creating an ethnically pure Serbian State but cannot be indifferent to the fact that the current United States and European Community blueprints for Yugoslavia leave so many of their brethren outside Serbia's borders at the mercy of people who had engaged in genocide against the Serbs not so long ago. They fail to see why the West considers Yugoslavia's internal borders, imposed by a Communist dictator in 1945, as sacrosanct. If the West thought that bloodshed can be avoided by recognizing the internal borders they have been proved grievously wrong, first in Croatia and now in Bosnia.
- 4) If the current Western blueprints for Yugoslavia are implemented, the Serbian people will justifiably feel discontented and alienated. Their plight would then closely resemble that of the Kurds, which would, I am afraid, lead to long-term instability not only in the Balkans but also in Europe.

Historical, moral and legal arguments of the Serbs apart, no pragmatically conducted policy in South-East Europe can be based on solutions imposed on the Serbian people, on us, on solutions which are fundamentally opposed to their interests.

For these reasons, Mr. President, I appeal to you to show understanding for the Serbian people who have been faithful allies of the United States of America and other Great Democracies in two World Wars. I appeal to you not to proceed with punitive actions against the Serbian people threatened recently by the State Department. The Serbian people do not deserve any punishment. They are not guilty of anything and their only wish is to lead secure and free lives in peace with their neighbours.

I would like to conclude, Mr. President, by expressing my gratitude and appreciation of your support for the dispatch of the UN peace-keeping force to Croatia. I would also like to urge you to ask the United Nations to send a similar force to Bosnia-Herzegovina since peace must be preserved at any cost.

Yours sincerely,

*Aloual*

WP: 7/27/92

# The Royal Road to Democracy

## Yugoslavia's Crown Prince, Pitching the Return of Monarchy

By Sharon Waxman  
Special to The Washington Post

LONDON—There it is again. The shadow.

It appears every time Alexander Karadjordjevic, the crown prince of Yugoslavia, gets annoyed. He grinds his teeth and his jaw shifts, leaving a rather ample jowl to cast a shadow below.

It appears every time some uncomprehending journalist asks why he considers monarchy and democracy to be synonymous. The prince is patient, but—grind, shift—it is really very trying. In another time this might have qualified as lese-majeste.

"Don't make that mistake," warns the crown prince, legs crossed in a gold upholstered armchair in his London office. "The reporter from Sky News asked me that question yesterday and I got . . ." He doesn't finish. Anger wouldn't be princelike. "I was lucky enough to be brought up in the West and to know democracy."

Could he please clarify? The shadow appears again. "Six of the 12 countries of the European Community are monarchies," he says. "Democracy always wins out in the end."

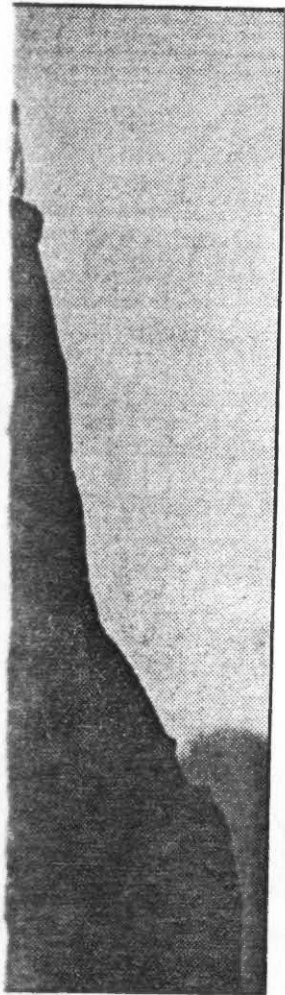
Sorry? "Yes," he responds. "[Monarchy] is synonymous with democracy because I'm talking to all the elements involved; I have contacts with all sides."

See PRINCE, B2, Col. 1



Crown Prince Alexander, who is seeking to regain the Yugoslav throne, in front of a portrait of his father, Peter II.

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# Yugoslav Royalty

PRINCE, From B1

Crown Prince Alexander, 43, has concluded a three-week visit to what is left of Yugoslavia—his second visit ever—and is convinced that only a historical, unifying figure like himself can stop the bloodshed, foster reason and muster consensus.

He might not be wrong.

"Yes, of course, I can make that point to the crown prince," Alexander's administrative secretary, Kay Dixon, is saying into the phone. "You don't want him on any other morning show until Friday. No, no, I understand perfectly. Yes, of course. I'm sure that will be fine.

"Lovely," she says, hanging up. "That's all I've got with NBC." (The crown prince is in Washington today winding up a brief U.S. visit that included talks at the United Nations and the State Department; Friday he appeared on NBC's "Today" show.)

The walls in Alexander's posh office—funded by the Crown Prince Alexander Foundation—are filled with framed magazine covers (mostly Yugoslav) featuring pictures of the prince, his wife and three children.

On the coffee table, a stack of photocopied clippings from the Chicago Tribune, Philadelphia Inquirer, Baltimore Sun and Richmond Times-Dispatch chronicle the prince's triumphant visit to his homeland.

The office guest book lists the procession of journalists who have dutifully noted the prince's thoughts, which—if a bit disorganized—seem less and less outrageous the longer the savage war in Yugoslavia continues to defy any semblance of reason.

If his visit was completely ignored by Yugoslav state-controlled television, Alexander has not suffered similarly in the West, thanks to clever marketing and his availability to virtually anyone bearing pen and paper.

In his office, below an oil painting of his father, King Peter II, and beside framed pictures of his sons, Peter, Alexander and Philip, Alexander sets forth his argument for restoring the monarchy that was abolished when he was 2.

"The first answer is to create peace and stop the bloodshed," he says, speaking in a stream of con-

sciousness. "You see vivid, live pictures of horrors. All sides are to blame, because all have inspired hatred.

"The answer is to implement democratic reform, to make a concentrated effort in each capital—in Belgrade, in Zagreb . . . [and Sarajevo]. Each entity has its own army. You take these three entities and you inspire democratic values.

"What you do here is disarm all the militias," he continues, breathing heavily. He is a bit tired. "Look, we are a Lebanon situation twentyfold. We have godfathers, irregulars and so on. This is *the world* we are talking about. This is an unstable situation. I'm very serious. I'm *serious*."

And his own role? "I am the person who is above politics, who wants to get everyone together," he says. "I have a base which is a good one. I'm well rooted. I have respect for all religions, including Moslem. The sultan of Oman is a close friend of mine. I'll defend everyone's rights."

The prince plans to move to Belgrade permanently by September and ask another former Yugoslav exile, Prime Minister Milan Panic, to "prove his commitment to democracy" by restoring the royal family's rights to the palace, now empty, and its surrounding grounds.

Alexander isn't new to the monarchy, he's just new to Yugoslavia.

His father, a direct descendant of Britain's Queen Victoria, ruled a kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes for a number of days in 1941, taking over when his uncle, Prince Regent Paul, was deposed in a coup. When Yugoslavia surrendered to the Nazis within a week, Peter fled to London. The Communist leader Josip Broz—Tito—abolished the monarchy in 1945; Peter never abdicated. He died in 1970. Alexander was born in London's Claridge's Hotel, which the British government generously declared Yugoslav territory for the occasion. He was baptized in Westminster Abbey with Princess—now Queen—Elizabeth as his godmother.

The young prince, who holds a British passport, attended schools in Switzerland, the United States and Britain before serving in the British army.

He lived in the United States for 10 years, working in Chicago for the insurance firm Marsh and McClennan and then another insurance firm, Fred S. James, in Washington and New York. He moved back to England in 1985 with Fred S. James and then joined a friend's oil and shipping company.

"I was brought up like any normal child. I didn't kiss a frog and turn into a prince," he says. "In the United States I was Alexander Karadjordjevic. I had a mortgage; I know what an electric bill is, what it is to pay for a child's education." He did not, he says, dream of reclaiming his lost throne but hoped that democracy would one day come to Yugoslavia.

"My father was very homesick. I was realistic," he says.

After the revolutions of 1989, the Yugoslavian press began to take an interest in him; Alexander, in turn, began to study Serbo-Croatian, a language he speaks with difficulty.

He visited Yugoslavia for the first time in October, a brief trip that convinced him that his future lay in that fractured country. During the three weeks he just spent touring Serbia, thousands turned out to see him, to plead with him to come back and save what is left of Yugoslavia.

He has made up his mind to seriously push his claim to the throne and to demand the institution of democracy in the form of a constitutional monarchy. The prince and his entourage think that the public support is there.

"On an emotional level, the monarchy is a link with a better past," said Serge Trifkovic, an adviser to the

prince who traveled with pragmatic level there is a transition from the monarchy could provide of today to a democratic

Arnauld Chaffonjon, a French royalist who has followed the European royals for the years, puts it more simply tried everything and failed," he said. "If there is a remains, it is the monarchy

While England debates the monarchy has outlived its Eastern Europe wonders when time is ripe to renew its Alexander can get himself king, there is a whole line blue bloods who may well be the same: King Simeon of King Michael of Romania, I of Albania, Ukrainian George house of Bagration, and Ma nov, would-be empress of al

Some of these resurrect are more likely bets than Leka is an arms dealer in Sca, Georges is a former m driver who lives in Spain. gro's Nicholas Njegosh is an in Paris who—at least before had rather egalitarian politic

But King Michael, 70, v Romania twice—between 1

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tional level, the monar-  
with a better past," said  
ovic, an adviser to the

prince who traveled with him. "At a  
pragmatic level there is a feeling that  
the monarchy could provide a smooth  
transition from the authoritarian re-  
gime of today to a democratic one."

Arnauld Chaffonjon, a French jour-  
nalist who has followed the Eastern  
European royals for the past 30  
years, puts it more simply. "They've  
tried everything and everything  
failed," he said. "If there is a hope that  
remains, it is the monarchy."

While England debates whether its  
monarchy has outlived its usefulness,  
Eastern Europe wonders whether the  
time is ripe to renew its own. And if  
Alexander can get himself crowned  
king, there is a whole line of other  
blue bloods who may well try and do  
the same: King Simeon of Bulgaria,  
King Michael of Romania, King Leka  
of Albania, Ukrainian Georges of the  
house of Bagration, and Maria Roma-  
nov, would-be empress of all Russias.

Some of these resurrected royals  
are more likely bets than others;  
Leka is an arms dealer in South Afri-  
ca, Georges is a former motor rally  
driver who lives in Spain. Montene-  
gro's Nicholas Njegosh is an architect  
in Paris who—at least before 1989—  
had rather egalitarian political tastes.

But King Michael, 70, who ruled  
Romania twice—between 1927 and

1930 and again from 1940 to 1947—  
has a loyal following, speaks the lan-  
guage and has always maintained  
some contact with his country.

"My reestablishment on the throne  
would signify the reestablishment of a  
historical continuity and would give  
the Romanian people their dignity in  
allowing them to reclaim its past," Mi-  
chael recently told a French maga-  
zine.

He just last week rejected an offer  
to run for president at the head of the  
National Liberal Party list in Septem-  
ber's elections. (His office in Versoix,  
Switzerland, released a statement  
saying that "Michael would only re-  
turn . . . as a sovereign.")

Then there is Bulgaria's King Sim-  
eon, who lives in Madrid, and who be-  
ginning at age 6 ruled his country for  
three years. Simeon has not visited  
his homeland since he fled with his  
mother in 1945 after much of his fam-  
ily was executed by communists. But  
Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev  
visited him earlier this year.

Maria Romanov's claim to the  
throne of all Russias is disputed. Her  
father, Grand Duke Vladimir Kirillov-  
ich Romanov, collapsed and died dur-  
ing a press conference in Miami in  
April, but rival claimants say that a  
woman cannot succeed to the throne  
of the czar.

In all their serious self-importance,  
these renascent monarchs—and Al-  
exander most of all—seem at times  
caught in a contradictory claim of past  
and future. Their argument for legiti-  
macy is rooted in a history overtaken  
by events and political change, and it  
often seems to stumble over their  
claim of being change-minded folk-  
who can guarantee democracy.

But the very suggestion of this con-  
tradiction brings a shadow of the  
shadow over Alexander's face.

"The most advanced form of de-  
mocracy is constitutional monarchy,"  
he says. "Why shouldn't I make a con-  
centrated effort to achieve that in my  
country and end this horror?"

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H. R. H. CROWN PRINCE ALEXANDER  
OF YUGOSLAVIA

MEMORANDUM

Further to our recent meeting in Washington DC, I wish to summarize some of the main points which should be taken into account when defining US policy options in the Balkans:

1. CHANGE THE ATTITUDE TO THE WAR

The war can be ended only by a negotiated peace among the parties to the dispute. The Serbs in Bosnia and Krajina have an equal and undivided right to self-determination as the Croats and Bosnian Muslims. They have to be treated as part of the solution. Only a more even-handed US policy can ensure a creative and truly constructive role for America in the region. "Unitary Bosnia" is as dead as "unitary Yugoslavia" is. Recognition of Croatia and Bosnia, under German pressure, was evidently an error which should no longer be compounded. A shift in policy is the basic precondition for an end to the accompanying horrors of all wars in the Balkans, in which all sides indulge.

2. HELP THE OPPOSITION, ENCOURAGE DEMOCRATIC CHANGE IN SERBIA

The United States and the international community should use the promise of a speedy lifting of international sanctions - under clearly stated conditions - as an instrument of policy in support of Serbia's democratic forces.

The net effect of UN-imposed sanctions has been a further strengthening of Milosevic. This is against western interest and against common sense, besides having disastrous consequences for the people of not only Serbia, but also neighbouring countries:

- a. the imposition of a police state in Serbia, with 100.000 well trained and armed policemen loyal to Milosevic;
- b. brain drain of over 200,000 of the best and brightest;
- c. destruction of the middle class, of intellectuals, entrepreneurs, and other strata supportive of democracy;
- d. inherent instability in all of former Yugoslavia.

Furthermore, non-imposition of sanctions against Croatia for equivalent behaviour convinces most Serbs that they have been and are treated unfairly.

Political leaders in the US should indicate that a change of regime in Belgrade would lead to reexamination of the sanctions. Besides, a clearer set of conditions for their removal should be laid out.



This is the only real weapon the democratic community has to undermine the regime in Belgrade. It should be used. Only a tangible promise of a better deal from the West if the present leadership goes may change the apathy descending on Serbia. A stable, democratic government in Belgrade will contribute to the stability and democracy in the entire region - so sadly lacking, right now, on all sides of South Slav baricades.

### 3. HELP INDEPENDENT MEDIA IN SERBIA

The voices of democratic change cannot get their message across as long as most people in Serbia get their information from the state television network. Help them undermine this propaganda machine by:

- a. giving independent Serbian TV stations free air time on satellite networks;
- b. giving the independent stations free equipment and technical advice through non-governmental bodies;
- c. exempting all newsprint, media-related hardware etc. sent to independent media outlets from all sanctions;
- d. giving their efforts greater prominence, just as Charter 77 and Solidarity had been given in the 1980s.

### 4. HELP POSITIVE CHANGE BY HELPING THE RETURN OF THE CROWN

The monarchist option in Serbia would bring stability, encourage democracy, and help achieve and sustain peace. It would enhance Serbia's return to the international community, and help normalise relations with its neighbours. It would provide the optimal framework for free exercise of human, ethnic, religious and all other rights to all its citizens.

Constitutional monarchy, for the Serbs, is a viable option which is supported by an ever increasing number of people from all walks of life. It should be supported by all who wish to see an end to the carnage in the Balkans.

The United States, an ally of Serbia in two world wars, must not become embroiled in the war in the Balkans. It should be the region's "honest broker" instead. Instead of threatening or villifying any one side, Washington should require all parties to negotiate peace in earnest.