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EMBASSY OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA
2410 CALIFORNIA STREET, N. W. WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008-1679 (202)462-6566

March 23, 1992

Dear Mrs. Bentley:

It is my pleasure to forward to you a letter by Mr. Borisav Jovic, Member of the Presidency of the S.F.R. of Yugoslavia, and the enclosing report.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you the assurances of my highest consideration.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Ivan Zivkovic'.

Ivan Zivkovic
Minister-Counselor

Enclosures

The Honorable Helen Delich-Bentley
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-2002

P r e d s e d n i š t v o
Socijalističke Federativne Republike
Jugoslavije

Beograd, 17.mart 1992.

Uvažena gospodjo,

Visoko ceneći Vaše lično angažovanje na objektivnom sagledavanju ukupnog položaja Srba u Jugoslaviji, informisanju američke javnosti i državnih institucija i širenju istine o njima, slobodni smo Vam dostaviti Memorandum o dramatičnom položaju srpskog naroda u istočnom delu Gorskog kotara u Republici Hrvatskoj, koji se nalazi pod potpunom vojnom, ekonomskom, saobraćajnom i informativnom blokadom, a suočeni su sa opasnošću kolektivnog egzodusa.

Molimo Vas, poštovana gospodjo, da iskoristite Vaš uticaj u američkom Kongresu, drugim državnim institucijama i američkoj javnosti, i da i ovog puta predočite istinu o dramatičnom položaju srpskog naroda na navedenim prostorima.

Budite uvereni da, ako se nešto hitno ne preduzme, srpskom narodu u Gorskom kotaru preti realna opasnost od fizičkog nestanka sa prostora na kojima živi vekovima. O dramatičnom položaju Srba na ovom području obavesteni su generalni sekretar Ujedinjenih nacija i njegov specijalni izaslanik, kao i međunarodne organizacije i institucije.

Sa dubokim uvažavanjem za Vašu ličnost, i sve što ste do sada učinili za srpski narod, ubedjeni smo da ćete se i sada maksimalno založiti da istina o sudbini jednog dela srpskog naroda bude prezentirana američkoj javnosti i zvaničnim državnim institucijama Sjedinjenih Američkih Država.

Primite izraze našeg iskrenog poštovanja,



ЧЛАН ПРЕДСЕДНИШТВА СФРЈ

Dr. Borisav Jović

Gospodja
Helen Bentli-Delić
Kongres SAD
Vašington

Presidency
of the Socialist Federal Republic
of Yugoslavia

Belgrade, 17 March 1992

Dear Madame,

Highly appreciating your personal engagement towards achieving an objective view of the overall position of the Serbs in Yugoslavia, disseminating information to the US public and state institutions and spreading the truth about them, we take the liberty of providing you with a copy of the Memorandum on the dramatic position of the Serbian population in the eastern part of Gorski Kotar in the Republic of Croatia being under complete military, economic, traffic and media blockade and facing the threat of collective exodus.

May we kindly ask you, dear Madame, for your good offices and influence with the US Congress, other state institutions and among US public in raising once more the issue of the Serbian people in the mentioned areas.

Rest assured that unless something will be urgently done, the Serbian population in Gorski Kotar would be faced with a realistic threat of physical extinction from the areas it has been inhabiting for centuries. Of the dramatic position of the Serbs in these parts were informed the UN Secretary General and his special envoy, as well as the international organizations and institutions.

With high esteem for you personally and all that you have done so far for the Serbian people we are convinced that you will do your best to have the truth about one part of the Serbian people presented to the public and to state institutions in the United States of America.

Please, Madame, accept the assurances of my highest considerations.

MEMBER OF THE SFRY
PRESIDENCY

Dr. Borisav Jović

Madame
Helen Delić-Bentley
US Congress
Washington

MEMORANDUM

ON THE DRAMATIC POSITION OF THE SERBIAN POPULATION IN THE AREA OF GORSKI KOTAR AND APPEAL TO THE UNO AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR URGENT ASSISTANCE

At a time when the final preparations for the peace operation in Yugoslavia are unfolding and when its implementation has practically started, we wish to inform the UNO, other international organizations and institutions and the governments of countries of the dramatic position of around 6,000 remaining inhabitants of Serbian nationality in the geographic area of Gorski kotar in the Republic of Croatia, which has remained outside the UNPAs. We received more detailed information about this only recently, even though the difficult situation there has obtained for over a year now.

Representatives of the Serbian people from Gorski kotar managed to break through the blockade via underground channels and, traveling through a number of European countries, reached Belgrade where they presented to the State Committee information on their situation. The testimonies and documents which they managed to bring to the seat of the Yugoslav government, the SFRY Presidency and the State Committee for Cooperation with the UN, testify to suffering which, under the provisions of international law, has the character of genocide. They informed about the dramatic deterioration of the position of the Serbian population in the Gorski kotar enclave at the beginning of March. They are confronted with a total economic, physical, military, transport and information blockade and the threat of military force, i.e. of physical destruction. We will state the facts which they gave us in connection with their situation.

In the mountainous part of Gorski kotar stretching from Mt. Velika Kapela to the river Kupa, westward from the Ogulin - Brinje - Senj

line, there are situated eight local communities with some ten settlements, with around 6,000 inhabitants * of Serbian nationality. In all these places the population is mainly Serbian except in Srpske Moravice where the share of the Croat population ranges between 5 and 15 %. The Serbs settled these lands in the 14th century and were the westernmost and integral part of the Vojna Krajina (frontier area between the Ottoman and the Austro-Hungarian empires) which survived the longest in that form of a military - administrative territory. The Krajina Serbs (frontiersmen) purchased that area in the 17th century (1623) from the Zrinski-Frankopans.** Surrounded by Croat population, they preserved their national compactness for centuries. The Serbs in these areas maintained good relations with the Croats. An exception was in the Second World War and in the aftermath of the victory of the CDU in the Republic of Croatia, and in particular after Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia, which, against their will and their referendum decisions, encompassed the population of Gorski kotar as well.

* These are: Srpske Moravice, Gomirje, Gornje and Donje Dubrave, Jasenak, Drežnica, Musulinski Potok, Ponikve, Popovo Selo, Brinjski Gornji Kraj and a number of hamlets. These places are characterized by demographic stagnation relative to the number of inhabitants before WW II (1931 census). The number of inhabitants is constantly declining due to a number of adverse circumstances. This area was and is economically undeveloped, and this considerably aggravates the current and future position of the Serbian population which is already heavily discriminated against and in fact exposed to political and national elimination pressures.

** By purchasing land and obtaining a charter the Krajina Serbs (frontiersmen) acquired free citizen status with the obligation of paying taxes to the Crown, and in return were granted the right to some elements of autonomy.

The compactness of the Serbian population was broken by administrative divisions and their annexation to the communes of Ogulin, Vrbovsko and Otočac. As a result of such administrative divisions the Serbian population, absorbed by the total number of inhabitants in the mentioned communes, remained in the minority.

With the victory of the CDU and the inauguration of a chauvinistic - reactionary policy, the illegal arming, the creation of paramilitary formations on the basis of national and party affiliation, the Serbs in this area became threatened with physical extermination and the crime of genocide in the broadest sense of the term. Therefore, already as of September 1990, they started to organize and prepare themselves for defence against a possible attack by Croatian paramilitary formations. The security of the Serbian population in this region was also based on the presence of YPA garrisons in Croatia ("the zone of responsibility of the Rijeka corps"). When the armed conflicts broke out and the Rijeka corps left as part of the relocation of the YPA garrisons, facilities and units to other parts of the country, the Serbian population of Gorski kotar remained without adequate protection and outside the territories of the Serbian Krajinas, surrounded by Croatian armed formations.

Although this area is in the immediate vicinity of the war-stricken zones, the Serbian population there did not take part in the conflicts despite the fact that they had been subjected to persecution and reprisals by the Croatian authorities and armed forces in Ogulin, Otočac and Vrbovsko, and even despite the total destruction of five Serbian villages on the outskirts of Gorski kotar and the crimes committed, which, in view of their objectives, methods and consequences are tantamount to genocide. The people were murdered, massacred. Some managed to find refuge in the Serbian Krajinas. All traces of life in the areas where they lived were extinguished. Houses were razed to the ground mercilessly, village cemeteries were ploughed over, churches and other edifices destroyed, foundations and other traces of human settlements removed. The dead were barbarically buried in

garbage dumps to decompose faster so that no trace of life whatsoever would be left there.

In view of the economic underdevelopment and stagnation in some Serbian -populated areas, the young would leave and find work in larger industrial centres in Croatia.* Due to repressive policies, Serbs were forced to leave their places of work, apartments, houses and to return to their ancestral homes in Gorski kotar.**

As soon as the CDU came to power in Croatia the Serbs started to be discriminated against in this area also on the basis of nationality and in terms of their civil rights. Their basic human and civil rights and freedoms were called in question. They survived biologically thanks to their national compactness, the inhospitable mountainous terrain and their resolve to resist physical destruction.

With protection in mind, the Serbs in this area formed underground armed detachments, posted around-the-clock watches, erected makeshift fortifications and shelters for the people in the event of armed attacks against them, etc.

* This is hilly and mountainous country, of natural resources endowed only with forests, with timber processing plants mainly for basic processing operations (chiefly felling and sawmills).

** In Ogulin alone the number of Serbian inhabitants fell by 10 - 15 %, because they fled the terror of the Croatian authorities and armed formations. More on reprisals in the Annexes to the Memorandum.

A verbal agreement was reached with representatives of the Croatian authorities, at Government level, on "the establishment of a demarcation line"*. On the basis of that agreement, the Croatian authorities did not set up new police stations in these areas, the Croatian armed forces did not enter them, and the Serbs were not mobilized to serve in Croatian armed formations. In effect, the authority of the Croatian state did not function in these areas, nor does it function today. There exist and function local bodies of authority which manage with extreme effort to organize food, shelter and protection for about 6,000 inhabitants. Food stocks are being depleted and there is no possibility of replenishment due to the total economic, transport and information blockade. Electricity and telephone connections are being cut off. The health situation is exceptionally grave as there is not a single medical professional in the area at the moment. Although there are , according to the assessment of Serbian representatives, tens of thousands of members of Croatian armed forces concentrated around this area, the verbal agreement ("Modus vivendi") has not been violated.

* The agreement was reached in September 1991 and reaffirmed on another three occasions: in November and December 1991 and in January 1992. Participating in the agreements, on the Croatian side were: Vice Premier Dr Z.Tomac, J. Boljkovac (Josip Manolić in the first one), minister in the Croatian government and commander of the Croatian army for the coastal zone and Gorski kotar.

After the establishment of the Fifteenth Truce, the Truce in Sarajevo, on January 3, 1992, the launching of the UNO peace operation, and especially the secession and international recognition of the Republic of Croatia on the part of a large number of countries, the position of the Serbian population of Gorski Kotar deteriorated considerably. In addition to the negation and endangering of their fundamental human, civilizational and civil freedoms and rights and the absence of adequate and legal protection, they are in fact faced with the threat of total biological annihilation and the forcible eradication of all traces of their existence in these regions. The seriousness of these threats is testified to by the completely burned down villages on the unprotected area from Gorski Kotar to the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina. The Serbian population thus found itself, against its will, outside the territory of its parent country and nation, fully encircled by military formations, under a complete economic, transportation and information blockade and under permanent political pressure. The Serbian population is requested to "obey the Croatian authorities"*, to surrender weapons and to report to the Croatian armed forces when drafted.**

The communal authorities of Ogulin and the local commanders of the Croatian armed forces decided, in spite of the verbal agreement reached, to present an ultimatum requiring that all the mentioned demands be accepted by March 20. Non-compliance

* With a view to attaining these objectives, Gorski Kotar was visited, in February this year, by four ministers of the Croatian Government and its Vice-President, Dr. Tomac.

** The representatives of the Serbian people of Gorski Kotar stated in various notes and discussions that they would not accept those demands at any cost, especially their assignment for duty on the "borders towards the Krajinas, where they would be expected to fight against their Serbian brothers.

with the demands set in the ultimatum would result in a general attack on these regions. That would mean the opening of a new bloody hotbed of war, in which an enormous number of unprotected civilians would perish in inequitable battle.

The fears of the Serbian population in the region of Gorski Kotar were intensified by the crimes committed against Serbs in Ogulin and Otočac, especially against the inhabitants of 21 villages along the Senj - Otočac - Plitvice route. In that attack 5 Serbian villages were completely destroyed and traces of human existence in those areas eradicated. (Documentation on the crime committed, including the crime of genocide, is given in the Annex).

The position of the Serbian population in Gorski Kotar has a number of negative political, security, international and other implications. In the politically delicate both international and internal situation, the UNO and other international organizations and institutions and federal Yugoslav organs are called upon to extend urgent assistance for putting a stop to the aggression against and the biological annihilation of the Serbian population of Gorski Kotar.

The endangered Serbian population in the enclave of Gorski Kotar is now appealing to all international factors and authorities, primarily Mr. Boutros-Ghali and Mr. Cyrus Vance, to request from the President of the Republic of Croatia to refrain from military aggression against an area which did not take part in the armed conflict and which consistently abided by the agreement reached with the representatives of the Croatian Government on the preservation of peace.*

* The representatives of the Serbian people from Gorski Kotar exhibited understanding for the need to preserve peace, but at the same time express their resoluteness to withstand a possible attack by all available means.

They also request that the existing status quo and the agreed upon "modus vivendi" be observed until a final political solution for the overall position of the Serbian people in Croatia is negotiated at the Conference on Yugoslavia in Brussels, chaired by Lord Carrington.

The threatened Serbs of Gorski Kotar are aware that the "UN Protection Zone" cannot be extended to their region as well, but call for the urgent assistance and intervention of the international community and public, as they are on the verge of physical, biological annihilation, being surrounded by strong Croatian military formations.

Representatives of international organizations (the International Red Cross, the CSCE Commission on Human Rights, the EC, the UNO and others) are invited urgently to visit the mentioned endangered area and determine the actual situation on the spot, and assess the danger to and position and situation of the Serbian population. Let international organizations and factors convince themselves of the devastation of whole villages and the crime of genocide committed on a broader area, as attested to in the attachments to this Memorandum.

March 11, 1992

ANNEX I

THE SUFFERING OF THE SERBIAN POPULATION IN GORSKI KOTAR
AND ON THE TERRITORY FROM GORSKI KOTAR TO LIKA

The Serbian population in Gorski Kotar was subjected to various forms of reprisals such as arrests, murders, physical maltreatment, the seizure of their flats and the razing down of their houses.

About 95 inhabitants of Serbian villages who commuted to Ogulin to their jobs or were on their way to hospital were arrested. The Serbs who lived in Ogulin had to leave it and go to Serbian villages, their houses were torn down and looted. (A total of 50 houses, of which 10 small scale businesses). 10 Serbs from surrounding Serbian villages, among them a boy aged 13, were killed in Ogulin. They were killed at interrogations in the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Ogulin, by Milan Brozović, commander of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and by Josip Turković, commander of special units. (They died horrible deaths, without anyone to help them). We must stress that the Serbs in Gorski Kotor have no doctors, dentists, or any other type of medical care. The Serbs of Gorski Kotar living in Rijeka, Karlovac, Ogulin, lost all their property, because they had to leave their places of residence due to nationalistic discrimination.

A total of about 500 inhabitants returned to their home towns. Of that number 227 were left without a job. About 30% of the Serbs of Gorski Kotar were moved out under pressure.

The Monastery of Gomirje, the westernmost Orthodox monastery, built in 1602, is known in the world cultural and historical heritage for Baltić's School of Icons. During World War

If the icons were seized by the Ustashi and taken to Zagreb where they are still located. They are of priceless value.

Besides being the spiritual centre of the Serbian people, the Monastery was the Bishop's Seat of Bishop Josif Rajačić. Bishop Josif Rajačić was one of the most eminent figures of the Serbian and Croatian peoples.

In the region from Gorski Kotar to Lika, 5 villages were totally destroyed. The inhabitants were killed or fled to avoid reprisals:

1. **Staro Selo** - 64 households were totally destroyed. Each numbered 2-8 members on the average. Two persons were burned in their houses, 6 were killed in their own yards, 4 persons were killed in conflicts with the Croatian army.

2. **Tukljaci** - 24 houses were burned down and 2 people were killed.

3. **Rapain Dol and Rapain Klanac** - 24 houses burned down and 6 people brutally killed.

4. **Drenov Klanac** - 64 houses burned, 1 person killed.

5. **Brlog** - 126 houses were completely destroyed.

In the five mentioned villages alone, for which data have been collected so far, 302 houses were burned to the ground and totally destroyed. 21 people were burned or killed in other ways. All traces of life in those regions were erased. Three churches were razed down. Graveyards were plowed over and even the gravestones were taken away so as to obliterate traces of life from these areas.

ANNEX II

EVIDENCE OF THE SUFFERING OF THE SERBIAN POPULATION IN THE AREA STRETCHING BETWEEN LIKA AND GORSKI KOTAR. EACH OF THE LISTED NAMES IS THE HEAD OF A HOUSEHOLD. THE DATA PRESENTED HERE HAVE BEEN OBTAINED FROM REPRESENTATIVES OF SERBS IN THE GORSKI KOTAR REGION.

L I S T S

of owners of burnt-down homes - households and of persons killed by Ustashis in the Staro Selo village near Otočac

LIST OF NAMES OF OWNERS OF BURNT-DOWN HOUSES - homes including ancillary facilities, i.e. stables, barns, sheds, garages, workshops etc.

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Milaković Nedeljko | 22. Milaković Dušan |
| 2. Diklić Dušan | 23. Mileusnić Stojan |
| 3. Diklić Milorad (Mišo) | 24. Diklić Milan |
| 4. Dugandžija Ilija | 25. Milaković Rade |
| 5. Dugandžija Bogdan | 26. Aleksić Ana |
| 6. Dugandžija Jovo | 27. Aleksić Braco |
| 7. Dugandžija Mirko | 28. Aleksić Milan |
| 8. Dugandžija Danica | 29. Diklić Rade |
| 9. Bobić Veljko | 30. Diklić Nedeljko |
| 10. Bobić Mika | 31. Diklić Arse |
| 11. Bobić Branko | 32. Diklić Nikola |
| 12. Orlić Bogdan | 33. Diklić Petar |
| 13. Bobić Djuro | 34. Bobić Dragica |
| 14. Bobić Vlado | 35. Bobić Nikola (Nina) |
| 15. Bobić Miloš | 36. Marijan Marija |
| 16. Bobić Rade | 37. Marijan Rade |
| 17. Milaković Jela | 38. Diklić Mara |
| 18. Aleksić Mica | 39. Žunić Milka |
| 19. Aleksić Milka | 40. Pavelić Nikola |
| 20. Aleksić Milica | 41. Nežak Petar |
| 21. Milaković Nikola | 42. Uzelac Anka |

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 43. Žunić Milica | 54. Božićković Nikola |
| 44. Vuksan Soka | 55. Diklić Stanko |
| 45. Vuksan Nikola | 56. Mileusnić Ilija |
| 46. Vuksan Kata | 57. Dugandžija Marija |
| 47. Vuksan Mile | 58. Mileusnić Ilija |
| 48. Vuksan Milan | 59. Dugandžija Iso |
| 49. Ćurčić Nikola | 60. Mileusnić Djordje |
| 50. Ćurčić Mišo | 61. Dugandžija Petar (Perica) |
| 51. Mileusnić Milorad | 62. Dugandžija Nikola (Braco) |
| 52. Dugandžija Jelka | 63. Dugandžija Milka |
| 53. Dugandžija Branko | 64. Dugandžija Gojko |

On November 4, 1991, the Ustashis attacked STARO SELO village. As they set fire to houses and other buildings they committed genocide against the Serbian population and brutally murdered the inhabitants and burnt them together with their homes.

I - Burnt alive in their homes:

1. Diklić Mara and
2. Bobić Mika

II - Executed in their front yards:

1. Milaković Jela
2. Aleksić Milica
3. Bobić Dragica
4. Žunić Milka
5. Uzelac Anka
6. Ćurčić Nikola

III - Killed in battle defending their village from the Ustashis:

1. Mileusnić Nedeljko
2. Dugandžija Milorad
3. Diklić Nikola
4. Diklić Petar

Following these atrocities, the villagers fled leaving behind them their smouldering homes.

The Ustashis stayed behind taking up positions in the village where they are still. The village church was also burnt down while the cemetery was ploughed over by bulldozers and tanks.

LIST OF NAMES OF OWNERS OF HOUSES - HOUSEHOLDS BURNT-DOWN
BY THE USTASHIS IN THE VILLAGE OF

B R L O G

(together with the houses, the auxiliary buildings were also burnt down, i.e. stables, barns, garages, workshops, etc.)

- | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Rapaić Joco | 29. Gavrić Mirko |
| 2. Rapaić Dane | 30. Odanović Petar |
| 3. Rapaić Jovo | 31. Hajduković Ilija |
| 4. Knežević Dragan | 32. Ogrizović Srdjo |
| 5. Knežević Milan | 33. Bastaja Dragan |
| 6. Rutonski Bato | 34. Ogrizović Dragan (Sitan) |
| 7. Rapaić Stevo (Stiv) | 35. Kojčin Mane |
| 8. Rapaić Ilija | 36. Bjelobaba Spaso |
| 9. 4 holiday houses | 37. Brkljač Dušan |
| 10. Rapaić Marinko | 38. Kojčin Milan |
| 11. Rapaić Dane | 39. Rajačin Milan |
| 12. Agbaba Jovo | 40. Hajduković Djordje |
| 13. Pešić Milorad | 41. Puhalo Predrag |
| 14. Vukadinović Milan | 42. Karlevša Špiro (Tomić) |
| 15. 1 holiday house | 43. Tomić Djuro (Dančin) |
| 16. Vukadinović Pajo | 44. Rapaić Petar (Ninin) |
| 17. Vlašić Iso | 45. Karleuša Milka |
| 18. Četković Desanka | 46. Vrzić Dušan |
| 19. Vukadinović Gojko | 47. Ogrizović Dane (Mašin) |
| 20. Vukadinović Milan (Urošovi) | 48. Vujnović Mišan |
| 21. Agbaba Milorad | 49. Karleuša Vajo |
| 22. Vukadinović Stevan | 50. Karleuša Mard |
| 23. Vukadinović Dane | 51. Karleuša (Novi Sad) |
| 24. Vukadinović Mile (Šante) | 52. Karleuša Petka |
| 25. Vukadinović Dara | 53. Karleuša Špiro (Beograd) |
| 26. Vukadinović Miloš (Pliver) | 54. Prica Petar |
| 27. Vukadinović Petar | 55. Lovački dom |
| 28. Milinčević Vajo | 56. Janković Mirko |

57. Ogrizović Mile (Ćičan)
58. Makas Jelena
59. Grahovac Zoranka (Beba)
60. Drakula Milorad
61. Drakula Andja
62. Ogrizović Miloš
63. Ogrizović Miloš
64. Dilić Mica
65. Puhlo Petar
66. Puhalo Iso
67. Puhalo Danko
68. Puhalo Branko
69. Puhalo Vujo
70. Puhalo Soka
71. Puhalo Jovica
72. Lalić Jovo
73. Ljubotina Milorad
74. Grizelj Vico
75. Ljubotina Mišo
76. Ljubotina Miloš
77. Dilić Petar
78. Tomić Djuro (Frait)
79. Karleuša Milorad
80. Karleuša Važo (Marijin)
81. Vukadinović Dušan
82. Milinčević Dušan
83. Ljubobratović Mišo
84. Divjak Milan
85. Djurić Milord
86. Branković Bogdan
87. Branković Željko
88. Lužaić Ilija
89. Lužaić Petar
90. Branković Ilija
91. Branković Petar
92. Ranković Dane
93. Branković Dušan
94. Branković Danko
95. Škorić Mane (Soka)
96. Ljubobratović Duna (Kudre)
97. Ljubobratović Nikola (Kudre)
98. Karleuša Djordje (Djalin)
99. Karleuša Milka
100. Karleuša Dušan (Djusa)
101. Orlić Milan
102. Nećak Milan
103. Nećak Nikola
104. Nećak Dušan
105. Odanović Petar (Šodak)
106. Vukadinović Dušan (Dušanac)
107. Karleuša Djordje
108. Džakula Dušan
109. Ogrizović Mladen
110. Ogrizović Milan
111. Milan (Palijač)
112. Nešić Djordje
113. Bjelobaba Stevo
114. Ljubobratović Sava
115. Ljubobratović Djuro (Ismasak)
116. Ljubobratović Marija
117. Ljubobratović Dane
118. Ljubobratović Djuro
119. Ljubobratović Dane
120. Janjatović Branko
121. Ljubobratović Bogdan
122. Ljubobratović Stevo
123. Ljubobratović Dane
124. Ogrizović Djuro
125. Tomić Miro
126. Djurić Braco

The rest of the villagers deserted the village on September 24, 1991 leaving behind their smouldering homes. The village church was also burnt down.

The Ustashis took over the village and they are still holding it.

LIST OF NAMES OF OWNERS OF HOMES-HOUSEHOLDS BURNT-DOWN
BY THE USTASHIS IN THE VILLAGE OF
DRENOV KLANAC

(together with the houses, the auxiliary buildings were also burnt down, i.e. stables, barns, garages, workshops, etc.)

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Vuinović Dušan | 31. Prica Joco |
| 2. Vuinović Anka | 32. Prica Dušan |
| 3. Vuksan Rada | 33. Prica Braco |
| 4. Drakula Dušan | 34. Grubić Nikola |
| 5. Drakula Milan | 35. Grubić Milan |
| 6. Drakula Sava | 36. Grubić Zorka |
| 7. Drakula Milka | 37. Žakula Sveto |
| 8. Nikšić Djuro | 38. Bjelobaba Ilija |
| 9. Banović Pero | 39. Bjelobaba Slavko |
| 10. Mileusnić Mile | 40. Bjelobaba Djuro |
| 11. Mileusnić Dušan | 41. Djurić Nikola |
| 12. Branković Petar | 42. Budisavljević Milan |
| 13. Mileusnić Ilija | 43. Budisavljević Ilija |
| 14. Mileusnić Mane | 44. Budisavljević Spasa |
| 15. Mileusnić Dane | 45. Prica Nikola |
| 16. Mileusnić Vajo | 46. Budisavljević Bosa |
| 17. Mileusnić Bosa | 47. Vlašić Nikola |
| 18. Mileusnić Vujo | 48. Vlašić Nikola |
| 19. Mileusnić Stakica | 49. Vlašić Stanko |
| 20. Budisavljević Mićo | 50. Vlašić Mile |
| 21. Budisavljević Mirko | 51. Žakula Budo |
| 22. Mileusnić Mirko | 52. Žakula Vajo |
| 23. Grubor Mićo | 53. Žakula Djoko |
| 24. Grubor Branko | 54. Žakula Mirko |
| 25. Grubor Dane | 55. Žakula Vajo |
| 26. Grubor Ilija | 56. Žakula Mićo |
| 27. Panjković Milka | 57. Vezmar Ico |
| 28. Drakula Milka (Buba) | 58. Lalić Gojko |
| 29. Prica Ilija | 59. Lalić Anka |
| 30. Prica Sava | 60. Potkonjak Mirko |

- 61. Potkonjak Nikola
- 62. Mileusnić Petar
- 63. Mileusnić Božo

On September 28, 1991, the Ustashis attacked the village of Drenov Klanac. During the attack, Milorad Mileusnić was killed. The villagers fled leaving behind what remained of their homes. The Ustashis stayed on in the village taking up positions there which they are still holding.

LISTS OF NAMES OF OWNERS OF BURNT-DOWN HOUSES-HOUSEHOLDS
AND THE NAMES OF PERSONS KILLED BY THE USTASHIS IN THE VILAGES OF
RAPAIN KLANAC AND RAPAIN DOL

(together with the houses, the ancillary facilities such as stables, barns, garages, sheds, workshops etc. were also destroyed)

- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Diklić Nenad | 13. Knežević Nikola (Nika) |
| 2. Hajduković Boško | 14. Janjatović |
| 3. Smiljanić Petar | 15. Orlović Vlado |
| 4. Smiljanić Boja | 16. Orlović Gojko |
| 5. Rapačić Mile | 17. Knežević Miloš |
| 6. Šašić Mile | 18. Kosovac Djuro |
| 7. Rapačić Milan | 19. Galović Mane |
| 8. Rapačić Pero | 20. Galović |
| 9. Rapačić Zorka | 21. Rapačić Zora |
| 10. Knežević Mile | 22. Rapačić Sajka |
| 11. Knežević Mile | 23. Rapačić Mićo |
| 12. Vukadinović Drago (Stanin) | 24. Hajduković |

On September 24, 1991 the Ustashis attacked the villages of Rapain Klanac and Rapain Dol. On that occasion, as they set fire to houses and sheds they committed genocide against the Serbian population and killed:

1. Orlović Gojko
2. Orlović Mićo
3. Rapačić Milo
4. One person of Moslem nationality
5. Diklić Milosava (died of shock)
6. Smiljanić Milan

After these atrocities, the rest of the village fled and deserted what remained of their homes. The Ustashis stayed behind taking up positions in the village which they are still holding.

ANNEX III

EVIDENCE OF THE SUFFERING OF THE SERBIAN POPULATION IN
THE GORSKI KOTAR REGION

| Town | No. |
|---------------------------|-----|
| - Srpske Moravice | 20 |
| - Gomirje | 50 |
| - Jasenka | 27 |
| - Drežnice | 35 |
| - Gornji Kraj | 25 |
| - Dubrave Gornje | 15 |
| - Dubrave Donje | 30 |
| - Ponikve and Popovo Selo | 25 |
| Total: | 227 |

(Data incomplete. The figures given cover only the citizens who returned to their homes in the Gorski Kotar region)

BREAKDOWN OF THE INHABITANTS OF DREŽNICA THAT WERE LAID OFF OR WHO
RETURNED AND ARE UNEMPLOYED

| NAME | MARITAL STATUS | NO. OF CHILDREN | VILLAGE |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------|
| 1. Ivošević Spase | single | - | Krakar |
| 2. Ivošević Davor | married | 3 | Radojčići |
| 3. Radojčić Pero | single | - | Radojčići |
| 4. Maravić Ratko (pump operator) | married | 2 | Pražići |
| 5. Maravić Ratko (farmer) | married | 1 | Šekići |
| 6. Maravić Slavko | single | - | Pražići |
| 7. Maravić Mane | single | - | Pražići |
| 8. Radulović Tošo (refugee, Ogulin) | married | 1 | Trbovići |
| 9. Trbović Dragan " " | married | 2 | Trbovići |

| | | | | |
|-----|---|---------|---|------------|
| 10. | Tomić Djordje (Djoina) | married | 2 | Tomići |
| 11. | Tomić Stevo | married | - | Tomići |
| 12. | Maravić Milan (Braco) | married | 1 | Tomići |
| 13. | Tomić željko (refugee, Ogulin) | married | 2 | Tomići |
| 14. | Vukelić Srdjan " " | married | 2 | Vukelići |
| 15. | Vukelić željo (refugee, Rijeka) | married | - | Vukelići |
| 16. | Vukelić Pero (refugee, Karlovac) | married | 2 | Vukelići |
| 17. | Pero's son in law: Vujo | married | 2 | Vukelići |
| 18. | Vukelić Sava (refugee, Rijeka) | single | - | Vukelići |
| 19. | Tatalović Djuro | single | - | Šekići |
| 20. | Tatalović Rade | single | - | Vrujac |
| 21. | Tatalović Sava | single | - | Vrujac |
| 22. | Maravić Miodrag | single | - | Centar |
| 23. | Maravić Milenko | single | - | Centar |
| 24. | Radojčić Pero | married | - | Centar |
| 25. | Radulović Milkan (ref. Novska) | married | 2 | Centar |
| 26. | Radulović Milan (Srpkov) | single | - | Radulovići |
| 27. | Radulović Duško (Škoro) | single | - | Seočani |
| 28. | Radulović Ljubomir | married | 2 | Seočani |
| 29. | Radulović Ranko | single | - | Seočani |
| 30. | Zrnić Dragan | single | - | Zrnić |
| 31. | Manić's grandson (refugee Srpske Moravice) | single | - | Zrnić |
| 32. | Tomić Mišo (refugee, Rijeka) | single | - | Tomići |
| 33. | Maravić Milan | married | 1 | Čorli |
| 34. | Zrnić željko (ref. Josipdol) | married | 2 | Čorli |
| 35. | Tatalović Boško | single | - | Papeži |

LIST OF PEOPLE LAID OFF IN GOMIRJE:

1. Kovacević Predrag
2. Mavrinac Radivoj
3. Mamula Nikola
4. Radulović Rade
5. Radulović Vulosava
6. Tomić Zdravo (ref. from Ogulin)
7. Vignjević Nikola

8. Vignjević Miloš
9. Milanović Čedo (refugee from Rijeka)
10. Milanović Miloš " " "
11. Vujnović Petar (refugee from Zagreb)
12. Polovina Ratko
13. Stojanović Nikola (refugee from Rijeka)
14. Musulin Željko (refugee from Sisak)
15. Trbović Mićo
16. Mamula Bogdan
17. Vujnović Branko
18. Vujnović Jovo (refugee from Karlovac)
19. Vujnović Milica " " "
20. Mamula Simo
21. Mamula Rade (refugee from Zagreb)
22. Mamula Bogdan (University graduate, refugee from Karlovac)
23. Mamula Gina (University graduate, refugee from Zagreb)
24. Mamula Biljana (University graduate, refugee from Karlovac)
25. Zlokas Dušan (University graduate, refugee from Rijeka)
26. Stojanović Milivoj, (University graduate, refugee from Zagreb)
27. Trbović Dušan (University graduate, refugee from Karlovac)
28. Musulin Ratka (refugee from Sisak)

POPULATIONS FORCED TO FLEE FROM THE GORSKI KOTAR REGION

| VILLAGE | NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS | NO. OF MEMBERS |
|---|----------------------|-------------------|
| Gornje Dubrave | 10 | cca. 35 |
| Donje Dubrave | 27 | cca. 80 |
| Gomirje | 15 | cca. 40 |
| Jasenak | 10 | cca. 35 |
| Drežnica | 12 | cca. 36 |
| Ogulin: Population 9,365 according to 1991 census. 35% Serbs. Now only 5% remain. | | |
| Vrbovsko | 15 | cca. 35 |
| Srpske Moravice | 5 | 13 |

Milić Janko and Vukmirović Predrag, employed in the Vrbovsko Secretariat of Internal Affairs gave up their job and property because they refused to wear the chessboard insignia.

Stojanović Milivoj, a lawyer from Zagreb, had to give up his job and all his property simply because of his Serbian nationality.

Zlokaš Dušan from Rijeka, was fired because of his Serbian nationality.

Ivošević Rajko, forestry engineer from Ogulin was fired also on account of his Serbian nationality.

Warrants have been issued for their arrest merely because they are Serbs.

The following persons have been forced to move out of Donje Dubrave:

1. Dr Nataša Zatezalo, (University graduate)
2. Milorad Zatezalo (2 children)
3. Ratko Papić (1 child)
4. Savo Janjanin (University graduate, 2 children)
5. Djordje Papić (University graduate, 2 children, one of the US citizen)
6. Rade Papić (2 children)
7. Ranko Jaković (2 children)
8. Mico Jaković
9. Nikola Stanić
10. Miloš Jaković (1 child)
11. Mile Zatezalo (2 children)
12. Boško Zatezalo
13. Željko Zatezalo
14. Djuka Jaković (1 child)
15. Simo Mikašinović (1 child)
16. Dušan Mirić (1 child)

17. željko Mirić
18. Boško Jaković
19. Mile Rebić
20. Djordje Janjanin (2 children)
21. željko Papić (2 children)
22. Vladimir Višnjic (University graduate, 2 children)
23. Lazar Višnjic (University graduate)
24. Aleksandar Rebić
25. Djuro Rebić
26. Milorad Zatezalo
27. Djuro Zatezalo (University graduate)

The following persons have been forced to move
out of Gornje Dubrave:

1. Ivković Branimir (1 child)
2. Ivković Boro (University graduate, 1 child)
3. Višnjic Nedeljko (University graduate, 2 children)
4. Višnjic Jadranka (University graduate)
5. Višnjic Vlado (2 children)
6. Mikašinović Boro (2 children)
7. Mikašinović Siniša (College graduate)
8. Mikašinović Ljubomir (College graduate, 1 child)
9. Mikašinović Dĕjana (College graduate)
10. župan dr Luka (University graduate, 1 child)
11. župan-Višnjic dr Radojka (University graduate)
12. Novaković Stojan (University graduate, 2 children)
13. Novaković Borka (University graduate)
14. Zatezalo Rade (1 child)
15. Zatezalo Milica

LIST OF OWNERS OF HOUSES-HOUSEHOLDS BURNT DOWN BY THE
USTASHIS IN TUKLJACI VILLAGE

(All the ancillary facilities, such as stables, sheds, garages, barns, workshops, etc. were burnt down together with the homes).

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Mileusnić Sava | 13. Ognjenović Zdravko |
| 2. Mileusnić Veljko | 14. Mileusnić Dragan |
| 3. Mileusnić Nedjo | 15. Mileusnić Jelena |
| 4. Mileusnić Ilija | 16. Tintor Jovo |
| 5. Mileusnić Mara | 17. Mileusnić Petar |
| 6. Mileusnić Srdja | 18. Mileusnić Petar |
| 7. Mileusnić Soka | 19. Mileusnić Djuro |
| 8. Mileusnić Mićo | 20. Mileusnić Mišo |
| 9. Mileusnić Luka | 21. Mileusnić Nina |
| 10. Mileusnić Djuro-Mića | 22. Mileusnić Ilija |
| 11. Vašarević Tomo | 23. Mileusnić Milan |
| 12. Mileusnić Vajo | 24. Mileusnić Djordje |

During the Ustashi attack on Tukljaci the following villagers were killed: Mileusnić Djuro and Mileusnić Nikola.

Following these events, the villagers fled leaving behind their destroyed homes. Each of these households numbered between 2 and 8 members.

The Ustashis stayed on in the village taking up positions there which they are still holding.



EMBASSY OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA
2410 CALIFORNIA STREET, N. W. WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006-1670 (202) 462-6566
FAX # (202) 797-9663 TLX # 197690, 248558

Br./No.

Datum April 9, 1992
Date

ZA/TO: Office of Congressman Frank WOLF

FAX BR/NO : (202) 225-0437

Na ruke/ Attn.: Mr. Andrey HARD

Kopija/ CC : Ms. Helen Delich Bentley

OD/FROM: Nebojsa Vujovic, First Secretary

VAS BR./RE #:

Broj strana/No. of pages: 5
(racunajuci ovu/ including this one)

PORUKA/MESSAGE:

Dear Sir:

Regarding our recent telephone conversation, please find enclosed a brief outline of recent events in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as the Statement by the Government of the Republic of Serbia of April 7, 1992.

Sincerely,

Nebojsa Vujovic
Nebojsa Vujovic



EMBASSY OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA

2410 CALIFORNIA STREET, N. W. WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008-1679 (202) 462-6566

P R E S S R E L E A S E

In connection with the events in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Embassy had been receiving extensive information which we would like to share with you for the sake of a more objective and balanced insight into the real situation there, and the true causes of current clashes.

1. The Yugoslav Presidency assesses that the international recognition of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina practically hampers an agreement among Bosnia-Herzegovina's constitutive peoples and leads to further conflicts. It also requests Bosnia-Herzegovina to revoke its decision on mobilization.

The Yugoslav Presidency requested the Bosnia-Herzegovina leadership to revoke its unconstitutional decision on mobilization of territorial defense units and police reservists, which was adopted by the republic's Presidency two days ago, without participation of Serbian Presidency members.

The decision on mobilization will stir up arming, rather than stimulate political dialogue and resolute action to the open aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina by armed groups from Croatia, and prevent genocide against Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina, especially in Bosanski Brod, Kupres, Mostar, etc., the Yugoslav Presidency warned.

Following the decision on mobilization and call by Alija Izetbegovic, armed clashes erupted in the central Bosnian town of Kupres, where Croatian forces attacked Serbs.

The Yugoslav Presidency appealed to Bosnia-Herzegovina's population and leadership to refrain from conflicts and seek solution by political means.

The Yugoslav Presidency reiterated that a solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina's future may be found only by political means, through agreement of its three constitutive peoples.

2. On April 7, the Government of the Republic of Serbia stressed this time again that all the problems of a joint life in Bosnia-Herzegovina should be resolved in a peaceful and non-violent manner, by political and not military means, and with full respect and recognition of legitimate rights and demands of all of the three constitutive peoples and all citizens of this

republic.

The Government of the Republic of Serbia expressed its firm belief that the Conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina under the auspices of the EC is an irreplaceable political framework for the search of political solution to the constitutional transformation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and strives for an urgent continuation of its work with the aim of reaching solution on the basis of agreement of all of its three constitutive peoples.

3. In this region of Bosnia-Herzegovina there are several thousands of HOS members, para-military formations of the Croat Party of Right, many of them having arrived from Croatia - military sources reported on April 7.

These para-military formations are concentrated in the area of Western Herzegovina, around the towns of Bosanski Brod, Drventa and Odzaci and in the vicinity of Travnik and Bugojno.

According to the Army sources, in Western Herzegovina there are between 12 and 15 thousand armed HOS members at the moment, while in the territory of Travnik and Bugojno, where the number of members of para-military formations is constantly increasing, there are over three thousand of Paraga's army soldiers

4. The flame of war is seriously threatening the city of Mostar. During the last two days inhabitants of this city of all nationalities have fled from their homes. Violent clashes between Ustashi formations and the Yugoslav Army units are taking place in the immediate vicinity of the city. On April 6 at 11:00 am general attack of the Ustashi forces began with artillery and mortar fire from the region of the villages of Tepici and Dobro Selo on the Yugoslav Army Units, and the Army retaliated with powerful artillery fire.

5. At the press conference held in Zagreb on April 5, 1992, while answering the questions of the reporters Mr. Tudjman especially attacked Alija Izetbegovic claiming that his policies are unitaristic. "There was a Croat-Muslim coalition, but it has failed because of inconsistent behavior of Alija Izetbegovic", describing the policy of Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina as "an answer to Izetbegovic's unitarism". According to Tudjman, Izetbegovic is "striving for such a set-up of Bosnia-Herzegovina for which were striving those who wanted to preserve Yugoslavia".

6. On April 8, in Herzegovina, Kupres, the Drina river, in Sarajevo, Bosanski Brod, Zvornik and Visegrad shooting continued. After several consecutive attacks on the airport and other military structures in Herzegovina, Yugoslav Army had bombed war strongholds of the Ustashi and acted only on the military targets. In the fighting around Kupres, the Yugoslav Army units captured 95 Ustashi. The flame of war is spreading to the area of Zvornik and Visegrad and there is shooting around the towns of Bosanski Brod and Derventa, where the Yugoslav Army has warned the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina that it is indispensable for

the forces of the Croat National Guard to withdraw to Croatia.

7. With the support of multi-tube throwers, rockets and mortars in the morning of April 7 at 3 am the attack on the Mostar airport was renewed from the direction of Krusevo-Krivodol and from the direction of the village of Gnojnica, the Information Service of the Second Operative Group of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army reported.

The demands for the fire to stop have remained without response and the members of the Yugoslav army were forced to retaliate. The aircraft of the Air Force have acted upon the fire areas of the attackers and the structures which are used for combat purposes. ("Borba", April 8)

8. The Moslem-Croatian extremists in the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina killed eight Yugoslav Army soldiers on Wednesday and wounded three soldiers and six civilians. Six Army soldiers were killed and six civilians wounded yesterday, Wednesday, near the town of Jajce, when local police made up of Moslems and Croats, in that Central Bosnian town ambushed a passenger coach. All Serbian policemen had been dismissed from the Jajce local police force.

The Moslem-Croatian extremists also attacked an Army vehicle near Derventa, Northern Bosnia, killed two and wounded three soldiers.

An Army soldier died and one soldier and three civilians were seriously wounded on Wednesday in the afternoon attack on an Army patrol by Moslim and Croatian extremists in Mostar, according to military sources.

9. The dramatic situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina is generating a growing number of refugees. In fact, fearing conflicts or simply fleeing from them, many are those that have sought refuge in safer zones or outside Bosnia. According to the latest data disclosed by the Serbian red Cross, 172,113 refugees have been registered. With respect to yesterday, there are 3,552 more refugees, mostly from Bosnia-Herzegovina.

However, the Red Cross officials fear that the number of those that sought safety in Serbia in the last two or three days is far greater. The data is not yet complete, but unofficial estimates by the Red Cross officials range from 10 to 15,000 people.

S T A T E M E N T
BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA
of April 7, 1992

The Government of the Republic of Serbia wishes to express its great alarm and deep concern over the escalation of tensions and armed clashes, which threaten to escape control and precipitate Bosnia-Herzegovina into an all-out civil war.

The Government of the Republic of Serbia stresses once again that all the problems arising in the course of communal life in Bosnia-Herzegovina should be resolved in peaceful rather than violent manner, through political negotiation and not by force of arms, and with full respect of the legitimate rights and demands of all these constituent peoples and all the citizens of that republic. To this end, the Government lends its support to the joint position taken by the three highest representatives of these three constituent peoples concerning the need to halt all hostilities and return to the peaceful resolution of all the problems of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Government of the Republic of Serbia expresses its firm conviction that the Conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina, under the auspices of the European Community, represents an indispensable political framework for devising arrangements for the constitutional transformation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and it calls for its immediate resumption, in order to achieve a settlement based on the census of all three constituent peoples.

The Government of the Republic of Serbia wishes to emphasize that an agreed settlement of the future status of Bosnia-Herzegovina reached by these three peoples is the only guarantee for peace and prosperity. Giving absolute priority to the importance of the continued work of the Conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Government of the Republic of Serbia calls upon all influential factors and forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina to give their support to the Conference and to conduct themselves in such a way as to make it a success. The Government believes that the establishment and maintenance of peace at this time is of utmost importance for surmounting the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and for resolving the Yugoslav crisis.

Facsimile Cover Sheet

To: CONGRESSWOMAN
HELEN BENTLEY

Company:

Phone:

Fax: 202-225-4251

From: BRANKO MILINOVIC

Company:

Phone:

Fax: 714-641-7276

Date: 10/08/92

**Pages including this
cover page:** 3

2526 South Second Avenue
Arcadia, CA 91006
October 8, 1992

The Honorable Lawrence Eagleburger
Secretary of State
Department of State
2201 C Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary,

Helen Bentley suggested that I go to Washington, D.C. and tell you what I know of the allegation that 3000 Muslims were killed in a concentration camp in Brcko.

In order to better understand what is presently happening in Croatia and Bosna-Hercegovina where Serbs are living outside of Serbia and why we are having this terrible civil war, it is necessary to know about the genocide of the Serbs in that area from April, 1941 to 1945.

Since you were the United States Ambassador to Yugoslavia and spent a number of years in Belgrade, I know that you are familiar with the above-mentioned genocide. However, because of my first-hand experience I believe that only those people who were in that area during the genocide period and survived can know what kinds of massacres happened.

I was born in Brcko and I am one of those survivors. I saw the massacre of Serbs in Brcko with my own eyes. When I escaped from Brcko to Belgrade, my Serbian friends in Belgrade were unable to believe that a genocide had happened let alone the extent and ferocity of it that I was able to relate as an on-site witness. On April 10, 1941, the Yugoslav Government capitulated and as a reserve officer I was attached to the Yugoslav Government. I was lucky to have carried civilian clothes in my car and was, therefore, not taken as a prisoner of war in Sarajevo where I happened to be at the time. Returning from Sarajevo to Belgrade, I decided to stop in Brcko to visit my parents. I was immediately arrested on entering Brcko and imprisoned by a group of Ustashi and Muslims all of whom were my boyhood friends. There were many Serbs in the prison. An Ustashi officer announced that we were all to be executed. Before my escape, I personally witnessed the torture and killing of many Serbs by the Ustashi and Muslims. Half of my family were killed. It's a long story on how I succeeded to escape, but I did and returned to Belgrade.

Two weeks ago, I was in Belgrade especially to take care of members of my family who had escaped from Brcko to Belgrade. During my eight-day stay, I saw many Serbs and some Croats from Brcko who had fled to Belgrade, including my aunt who twice returned to Brcko during my stay in Belgrade to retrieve some of her belongings. Everyone I talked to who had escaped from Brcko, Serba and Croats and my aunt, were shocked to learn of the allegation of the massacre of 3000 Muslims in Brcko. I am personally very familiar with the brick factory and pig farm mentioned in the allegation. It is physically impossible to hold more than approximately a hundred people in these two locations. As far as the story goes that the prisoners were taken in groups of fifty to be executed and cremated, it is impossible to believe that noone in the small town of Brcko would have been aware of this. This is why I mentioned to Helen Bentley that this alleged massacre must be Muslim-Ustashi propaganda such as those recent instances recently reported in the press. The purpose, of course, is to put additional blame on the Serbs. I discussed this matter with President Dobrica Cosic and with Prime Minister Milan Panic. Both said the authorities in Belgrade had started an investigation into the matter.

Of course, in a civil war killing is happening where both sides can be blamed for atrocities, but, in my opinion, it is truly an exaggeration to claim that 3000 Muslims were killed in Brcko without the populace being aware of it. Therefore, I do not believe the story of the two eye witnesses who claim to have escaped this killing. It is easy to find well-briefed Muslims to travel to Washington, D.C. to make such claims.

If you wish to know a little more about me and my work concerning Yugoslavia, please feel free to contact Ambassador Zimmerman who knows me well.

Sincerely,

B. Milinovic

Branko Milinovic

EMBASSY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA

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Br./No.

Datum/Date: 08.10.1992.

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|--|---|----------|
| Za / To Fax broj / Fax No. | Congresswoman Bentley's Office 225-4251 | | |
| Na ruku / Attention | Mrs. Bentley | | |
| Kopija / CC | | | |
| Od / From | | | |
| Val broj / Ref. No. | | Broj strana / No. of pages (računajući i ove/including this one) | 7(seven) |

PORUKA / MESSAGE:

Please find enclosed the english version of the interview given to the French newspaper Le Point by Lord Carington upon his resignation.


ZIVKOVIC

YUGOSLAVIA---THE TWO MISTAKES OF EUROPE

For twelve months, Lord Carrington, 73, former British Minister of Foreign Affairs and of Defense, has tried in the name of the EEC to arrive at a negotiated solution to the civil war in Yugoslavia. After a year of efforts and thirty cease-fires which never lasted for more than a few days, he ended up by throwing in the towel. On the eve of the meeting in London on the subject of Yugoslavia, he handed over the torch to Lord Owen, the man whom, such is the irony of careers, he had succeeded at the Foreign Office when he became Minister to Margaret Thatcher.

Replying to Point during one of the rare interviews he has granted since his resignation, he first of all confirmed the fact that bitterness is not a sentiment worthy of a lord.

Lord Carrington: Bitter, me? No. But, disappointed, yes. You know, if I resigned it was above all because the EEC wished to have the chief of the peace mission stay in Geneva and this would have been incompatible with my duties as president of Christie's International.. (Lord Carrington resigned from his position of president of Christie's on September 12.

Le Point: The United Nations have just decided to send 5,000 more soldiers to Yugoslavia. Is this the prelude to an actual military intervention?

L.C. With the arrival of winter, the objective is to make sure that food and medicines reach the population of the regions which have been

for a long time inaccessible to help. But, without wishing to appear cynical, one could ask oneself whether the fighting won't stop automatically anyway because of winter.

Le Point Aren't we entering, with the sending of these new contingents, into this logic of war of which Francois Mitterand spoke of apropos of the Gulf War?

L.C. I don't think that the heads of the different communities are ready to begin firing on the UN troops. Even though, given the nature of this country and the complexity of the situation, nothing can surprise me. One must, moreover, ask oneself whether the responsible parties of three nationalities truly control the situation on the ground. The acts of violence are the doing of private militias and a result of individual acts. This is especially true as far as the Serbs are concerned. Moreover, there are acts of provocation on the part of the Moslems against the United Nation Organization (ONU) aimed at forcing the hand of an armed international action.

J.P. You speak of uncontrolled actions of local militias; does that mean that the Serbian president, Milosevic, shouldn't be held responsible for the bombings of Sarajevo?

L.C. Karadzic, the chief of the local Serbian militia, is personally certainly responsible. And, at the very least, one could say that Milosevic exerts a great influence on him. This is not the case with the new Prime Minister, Milan Panic. He has the advantage of really believing what he says. But he doesn't have any real support in the interior of the country even though his personal popularity is rising in Belgrade. Because, if there were to be an election tomorrow in Serbia, Milosevic would win it because he is

strongly supported in the rest of the country.

L.P. Don't you, who acted as its mediator during a period of twelve months, find that the EEC proved its powerlessness in this affair?

L.C. The problem for governments is to keep a level head, to not react emotionally, but, rather, realistically. To get involved too deeply because of the horrors happening in Bosnia is to risk falling into quicksand. And, since the Community would like to avoid getting involved in a dangerous web, it gives the impression of feebleness. Consequently, ~~two~~ two scenarios are possible.

1) One could try to stop the fighting by actually getting involved in the war. But, before doing so, it is necessary to define the military methods that are to be employed and the objectives that are to be pursued. Knowing that the protagonists in Bosnia, as in the rest of Yugoslavia, are not people to whom one can dictate anything other than a provisional solution.

2) The other solution is to pursue in the way we are doing presently the route of sanctions-negotiations. If the sanctions, in particular the oil embargo, begin to make themselves felt, there could be political changes in Serbia resulting in a government ready to make peace. However, I am not persuaded that it would exert sufficient authority on the Serbian leaders of Bosnia or of Krajina to stop the war. In any case, I think that this drama will only end when the belligerent forces are all tired out and decide to stop fighting because they believe themselves to be satisfied with the territories they control. The Serbians of Bosnia have perhaps reached this stage today.

Le Point In fact, as in Lebanon, is it necessary to wait for a kind of catharsis before peace is reached?

L.C6 I don't think that this will last fifteen years as it has in Lebanon. But the repercussions are to be feared. Today, all eyes are riveted on Bosnia, even though there exist also two other situations potentially as explosive. The first one is in Krajina, a region of Croatia which is principally Serbian. The UN has received a mandate to disarm the local militias and to permit the return of Croats expelled by the Serbs. However, not only have the militias not been disarmed, but the Croatian inhabitants have not been able to return to their homes. The Serbs would rather stay under the protection of the UN than to accept the special status which I conceived for them under Croatian sovereignty. But President Tudjman, the Croatian chief of state is becoming impatient. Because, along with a part of Slovenia, which finds itself in the same situation, this concerns a good one third of the Croatian territory. And the risk is that the peace-keeping effort will evaporate because he will refuse to sign the renewal of the UN mandate at the beginning of the next year.

The other critical situation is that of Kosovo (population 1 million Albanians as opposed to 200,000 Serbs). The Serbs refuse to discuss the situation of Kosovo both in the setting of the UN and in that of the EEC because they claim that it concerns a problem which is purely internal. If Kosovo were to proclaim its independence, it would give rise to the risk of an international conflict with the intervention of Albania and of Greece.

Le Point Why didn't they succeed in preventing the inevitable breaking out of this civil war?

LC In retrospect, I think that it would have been better if Europe had recognized earlier the disappearance of Yugoslavia. In the plan that I proposed in the summer of 1991, the six republics were identified, such as they were, with more or less tight ties to each other, on the one hand, ~~to~~ and to the center, on the other hand. Some of these republics declared themselves ready for an association of this kind. But the EEC didn't listen to me because it feared that this plan would create a precedent for the breaking up of the federation of Russia.

The other error of Europe was to recognize Croatia and Slovenia. The European Conference which I presided over was created with the idea that this double independence would not be validated as long as there wasn't a global agreement with the Yugoslavia republics. The double recognition undermined the bases of our work which was reduced to simple bilateral negotiations. Especially since, concurrently, they felt obliged to ask Bosnia whether it, too, wished to become independent. Clearly, its president, Alija Izetbegovic, had no choice but to answer affirmatively. I advised the directors of the EEC that a scenario of this sort, unacceptable for the Serbs of Bosnia, would lead to civil war. This was a tragic error!

Le Point Do you hold that the responsibility for the conflict is equally shared among its principal actors?

LC If one were to go back to the origins of the war, one could say that it was the Croatians who set the whole thing off by promulgating a constitution which didn't make allowances for the special position of the Serbs of Croatia. If one remembers the massacres of 1941,

one can understand the uneasiness of the Serbs of Serbia towards their coreligionists. But one cannot tolerate their reaction and excuse the invasion of Croatia, the obliteration of Vukovar, the bombardment of Dubrovnik, not to speak of the detention & camps and the operations of "ethnic purification". That is not to say that the other side is innocent either.

Le Point You are well acquainted with all the main participants in the conflict. What impression do you have of them?

LC Milosevic and Tadjman are men coming from a pure communist tradition. Milosevic, an apparatchik, Tadjman, a police general. Izedbegovic has nothing to do with Titoism, but he manipulated the constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina in such a way that it was necessary to have the consensus of three nationalities to proclaim independence. What more can one say on the subject? Yes, I can say this: I found it particularly frustrating and depressing to have interlocutors who, without exception, were ready each day to accept proposals without having the least intention of applying them the following day."