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Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

October 24, 1990

COMMITTEE ON
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COMMITTEE ON
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AND FISHERIES
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SUBCOMMITTEE ON HEALTH
AND LONG TERM CARE
TASK FORCE ON WOMEN
AND SOCIAL SECURITY

The Honorable Mary Rose Oakar
2231 Rayburn H.O.B.
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Mary Rose,

Thank you so much for attending the reception at St. Sava Orthodox Church in September. Your support of the unity and territorial sovereignty of both Serbia and Yugoslavia is greatly appreciated. Fortunately, with your help, we were able to defeat H. Con. Res. 385. It was an incredible victory! If this resolution had passed, it seriously would have compromised the integrity of a unified Yugoslavia. Our work to block measures curtailing aid to Yugoslavia is of the utmost importance to the stability of all Yugoslavia -- and particularly to Serbia

As we both expressed at St. Sava, there is considerable turmoil in all of the republics particularly Croatia and Serbia where there have been human rights questions. For this reason, it is important that we stay focused in our efforts to assist Yugoslavia in its quest to remain a unified and peaceful nation with each republic remaining intact as part of that federation. However, there is still a long way to go.

As a consequence, we must continue working towards the legitimate rights of all the peoples living within the country of Yugoslavia, and assist them in achieving these important goals of freedom, democracy and human dignity.

It is my hope that these changes one day soon will become a reality to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and to the Republic of Serbia. With your continued support we can better achieve these goals.

With warmest regards,

Again, hvala!

Sincerely,

Helen
Helen Delich Bentley
Congresswoman
2nd District, Maryland

APR 18 1991

April 17, 1991

Honorable Helen Delich Bentley
U.S. House of Representatives
1610 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Helen:

I have wanted to write to you since last fall to thank you for your extraordinary efforts on our behalf in the House of Representatives.

As you know best, the situation in Yugoslavia is so precarious that we must all, in our own way, try to inform others of these events and continue to do our best to help. Your efforts have been most effective and greatly appreciated by all American Serbs and you continue to be in our thoughts and good wishes.

Should you have a few moments, I have enclosed several of our letters to various newspapers. My letter and a shorter version of the essay on Kosovo was sent to Senator Dole and to all members of the Foreign Relations Committee.

I hope to see you in Los Angeles.

With many thanks,



Desa Wakeman
2471 Cedar Street
Berkeley, CA 94708
415/627-9275

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

The Serbian Perspective

We Americans of Serbian origin are puzzled and alarmed by the persistently superficial and inaccurate reporting on the grave situation in Yugoslavia. We are also shocked by the unsubstantiated charges repeatedly made against the Serbs.

To make it worse, the American media keep "informing" us that Slovenia and Croatia are "Western" and "Catholic" and therefore democratic, and Serbia is "Eastern" and "Orthodox" and therefore Bolshevik. And they do so despite the historical fact that the "Eastern" and "Orthodox" Serbs and Greeks were the only nations in the Balkans who fought for democracy on the side of the Allies against several "Western" and "Catholic" nations in both world wars.

History offers us many unfortunate examples of how disinformation can be easily spread and in time be accepted as fact. One such example involves the heavy infiltration of British intelligence by the KGB during World War II, an accurately researched and well-analyzed subject—among others—of recent books

by David Martin ("The Web of Disinformation") and Michael Lees ("The Rape of Serbia"). It was the Serbian people who bore the brunt of this British blunder.

At the Serbian Unity Congress held in Cleveland last December, the delegates expressed their growing sense of annoyance with the American media's preference for using flippant adjectives instead of doing their homework. Do the Serbs have to be Catholic, our delegates wanted to know, to be "Western"? Are they antidemocratic because they are Orthodox and "Eastern"? And are they Bolsheviks because they want to defend their legitimate national interests?

The Serbian Unity Congress is not trying to get involved in the internal politics of Yugoslavia. Nor does it support any government or political party there. Rather, it requests balanced, fair and more informative reporting of events in Yugoslavia in general and of Serbia and Serbs in particular.

MICHAEL DJORDJEVICH
President, Serbian Unity Congress
Berkeley, Calif.

The Washington Post

EUGENE MEYER, 1875-1960
PHILIP L. GRAHAM, 1915-1963

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April 8, 1991

Ms. Barbara Epstein
Mr. Robert B. Silvers
The New York Review of Books
250 West 57th Street
New York, NY 10107

Re: Kosovo: The Plight of Serbs and Albanians

Dear Editors:

The readers of current events appreciate your responsible and informative reporting on Yugoslavia. Your paper is a rare forum for the expression of balanced views on a topic which lends itself to various interpretations of history, half-truths and outright misrepresentations.

Your policy of publishing rebuttals and differing points of view is an extremely valuable way for important issues to be publicly debated. It would be most appreciated if you would accept the enclosed essay for publication in response to the letter entitled "The Plight of Kosovo" which appeared in the April 11, 1991 issue of "The Review".

All of those who have signed below are authorities on this subject and have published extensively to form an important bibliography of existing sources. While this piece is not intended to be a formal scholarly paper, it is a needed response to the opinions expressed by the signers of the published April letter.

*Desa Tomashevich Wakeman
2471 Cedar Street
Berkeley, CA 94708*

Kosovo: The Plight of Serbs and Albanians

The Serbs and Albanians share a tortuous history and peace will come to them only when they resolve the past.

Six hundred years ago, the Albanians and the Serbs were two neighborly Christian peoples who together fought the Ottoman Turkish invasion of their countries and lost. In the ensuing centuries most Albanians converted to Islam. In order to escape Islamization many Serbs withdrew from their cities and river valleys to the mountains or migrated to Central Europe where they were able to preserve their cultural identity. By the early 19th century, the Serbs returned from their long retreat and repopulated the Serbian countryside. There, they gained enough strength to mount two major insurrections against the Ottomans which ultimately led to the independence of Serbia and Montenegro in 1856, and their recognition as fully sovereign states in 1878.

During the Second World War when the Serbian portion of Yugoslavia was under direct German occupation and when Mussolini gave Albania entry to Kosovo, tens of thousands of native Serbian families were expelled from their homeland or killed there. In his grand plan to create a Balkan communist union and to attract the support of the Albanian Stalinists, the then Stalinist Tito (1944-48) promised Kosovo to his Albanian counterpart, Enver Hoxha. This is why after the war, the Serbs were forbidden to return to their Kosovo homeland, while the Albanians were allowed free entry to Yugoslavia in accordance with Tito's grand design. After the break between Stalin and Tito and after Enver Hoxha turned to Maoism, waves of Albanians continued to flood into Kosovo. Most of these refugee-immigrants never became Yugoslav citizens.

Although still a majority in Kosovo between the two world wars where Albanians and Serbs lived in harmony, suddenly the Serbs found themselves outnumbered in the post-war decades by the aggressive newcomers, alien in speech and in their Muslim religion. Intimidation of the Serbs by their newly arriving, hostile neighbors followed. Serbian churches were damaged or destroyed, graves desecrated, barns were burned, cattle and sheep slaughtered, beatings and occasional murders followed. Because the Tito government provided no protection to Serbs, younger people by the thousands left for safer areas. Over the years Kosovo became predominantly Albanian in population. Yet Kosovo remains, for most Serbs, an integral part of their country. For centuries it was the Serbian heartland. Here were built the great medieval churches and monasteries which house frescoes considered to be international treasures. Here were fought the great battles against the Ottoman invaders. Here was born the powerful folk poetry of Serbian kings and saints and of their struggles against the conquering Turks.

Today Albanians in Kosovo are generally depicted as victims of Serbian oppression. Yet they have Albanian schools, Albanian newspapers, and in Pristina, one of the finest Albanian universities in the world. Until recently they had all the rights and privileges of other citizens of Yugoslavia. The present oppressive conditions go back to the decades of Kosovo autonomy and the Albanian persecution of the remaining Serbian minority there, brought to a climax in 1981 and again in 1988-89, when the Kosovo Albanians felt strong enough to try to force a change in the constitutional structure of Yugoslavia by demanding separation from Serbia and, ultimately, Yugoslavia.

Ironically, this situation was created by the same communist regime which for decades encouraged the Albanian nationalism it now punishes, and punished the Serbian nationalism which it now manipulatively encourages. Moreover, the Kosovo Albanian demagogues with help from the Albanians abroad are inflaming and manipulating the unemployed masses for their own political ends.

Another factor is demographic. Between 1941 and 1991, due to their exceptionally high birth rate (the highest in Europe), two generations of Albanians were born in Kosovo and now represent the demographic majority in that province, but not in the Republic of Serbia to which Kosovo belongs. This explosive birthrate has created an economic burden which neither the federal nor the Serbian state governments can afford and which the Croats and Slovenes refuse to support.

The International Commission on Human Rights presented the Kosovo issue as a one-sided violation of human rights by the Serbian authorities and never reported violations perpetrated against the non-Albanian populations by organized groups of Albanian civilians.

The press has made much of the present Albanian majority in Kosovo without explaining how and when this came about. It did not happen by Serbian annexation, since Kosovo never belonged to Albania. This century has seen extraordinary population movements caused by the collapse of empires, ideological persecutions and economic conditions. Many of these migrations created heavy concentrations of refugee-immigrants in foreign countries where they became a majority in certain areas. Are not the Cuban refugees a majority in certain sections of Florida? Or the Mexicans in California? Or the Afghanis in Pakistan? Or the African and Near Eastern emigrants in certain centers of Western Europe? Are they entitled to "sovereignty" merely because they happen to constitute homogenous ethnic islands in the sea of the culturally different population of their host countries? These questions should certainly not be answered by the press, nor by the arms merchants. They are complex moral and political issues calling for compassion, diplomacy and wisdom, and above all, some knowledge of the history that created the problems of today.

The Serbs are not unsympathetic to the tragic history of Albania. They well know that during the Ottoman reign, the Albanians suffered a cultural transformation of monumental proportions. They lost most of their European cultural heritage, including their Christian religion and much of their language and socio-economic structure and became an isolated residue of the Ottoman world in Europe. They were successfully used by the withdrawing imperial Turks against their Balkan neighbors and later, to further the interests of Mussolini, Hitler, Stalin and Mao. Most recently they have been manipulated by the internal antagonists of the legitimate Serbian interests in Kosovo, obfuscated by the "reformed" communists still in control in both countries.

In anticipation of true democracy for both Serbs and Albanians, we can hope that a peaceful, humane and mutually acceptable solution will be found to the complex problems which history has cruelly visited on both of these peoples.

April 8, 1991

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Journalist
San Antonio Light
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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, Prishtinë, and the building of the Albanian daily newspaper *Rilindja*. 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. Imtraut 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

Sorting Out Truth On Yugoslavia Crisis

THE BIG LIE continues. Each time it is repeated, it grows in error and malice and threatens to permanently bias otherwise fair-minded people. The lie is this: any person or political entity which is non-Communist is democratic and any group which has had even a passing acquaintance with communism cannot be democratic.

This lie is perpetuated by much of the Western press in coverage of events in Yugoslavia. Two foreign correspondents have been blessed with the honor of providing exclusive reports on the subject. Journalists Chuck Sudetich and Dusko Doder have managed to create a monopoly on interpreting the Yugoslav crisis. These writers never miss an opportunity to repeat the view that the Roman Catholicism of Slovenia and Croatia is more conducive to political democracy than Serbia's Eastern Orthodoxy. Serbs are portrayed as oppressors and proponents of totalitarianism which is ascribed to their Byzantinoid culture.

As a matter of socio-political and historical fact, however, neither of Christianity's two great branches can objectively be credited with a notable contribution to democracy (although the Byzantine Church is less powerful and internally less autocratic than the Roman Church). The real credit for developing pluralism and democracy belongs to Protestantism as a product of the secularization implicit in the Reformation and the subsequent separation of church and state.

It does not take a great deal of digging to discover that both Croatia's President Tudjman and his minister of defense, M. Spigelj, are former Communists, now retired generals from the same Yugoslav army they currently provoke.

These leaders, though once highly placed pillars of Tito's Communist regime, are frequently described as democratic right-of-center politicians. In contrast, the post-Stalinist and post-Titoist Communist association of Serbia's much younger President Milosevic is routinely treated as a primordial sin, carved in stone with no redemption possible. He is always referred to either as a hard-line Communist or an extreme Serbian nationalist. What of his older and more culpable Croatian and Slovene counterparts?

Alas, not every non-Communist government is necessarily democratic. Let us not forget Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, their satellites, and a legion of dictators in Latin America.

Furthermore, history tells us that even freely-held elections may not yield democratic governments. Past prejudices have been known to obscure the present. As the events of Eastern Europe unfolded and communism fell to its knees, the West rose in euphoria, reassured of its own righteousness. But the world is not so black and white and ideology cannot be arbitrarily imposed nor surgically removed. By now we ought to know that Croatia's non-Communist government is not necessarily a democratic bargain.

It is unfortunate and frightening that by reporting judiciously selected fragments of a complex political situation, some U.S. news agencies are assisting in preparations for a new lynching of the Serbian nation. Such a presentation of events in Yugoslavia and particularly in Croatia could easily lead to repetition of the Serbs' systematic extermination in the Independent State of Croatia, 1941-44, in which over 700,000 civilian Eastern Orthodox Serbs, Jews, and Gypsies were brutally killed.

Desa Wakeman is of Yugoslav origin and lives in Berkeley.



that the same speed and energy be applied to solve the Palestinian problem." It was a startling, though not exactly a surprising, admission. In his thinking about the Middle East, the pope has long had his own "new world order" in mind. The relationship between the Catholic Church and Islam clearly takes precedence, for the Vatican, over the relationship between the Catholic Church and Judaism. And even over the one between the Catholic Church and the Western world.

FURIO COLOMBO is the author of *God in America* (Columbia University Press, 1986) and a columnist for the Italian daily *La Stampa*.

The absurd in Serbia.

BLOODY BALKANS

By Robert D. Kaplan

No story demonstrates the limits of conventional journalism like Yugoslavia. Here is the ultimate East-West struggle, where capitalism and communism are code words for deeper historical forces: Christendom against Islam; Western Catholicism, as represented by the Croats and Slovenes, battling Eastern Orthodoxy, as represented by the Serbs and Macedonians; the modernist traditions of Habsburg Austria-Hungary colliding with the despotism of Ottoman Turkey. At another level is the still raw issue of Nazi war crimes: How many Catholic priests in Croatia collaborated in the extermination of Orthodox Serbs? Though rarely stated, this question reverberates in every nuance of the Serb-Croat dispute. Yet news from Yugoslavia, far from being fascinating and full of delicious texture, is an opaque muddle, as repetitive and dreary as accounts from Northern Ireland.

Yugoslavia is not visually exotic, and its story has not been one of personalities and events that are easily compressed into sound bites. Rather, the drama in Yugoslavia is the process itself: the way in which hatreds build, the way in which differing historical currents—in this case, eight fiercely nationalist republics and provinces, comprising more than a dozen ethnic groups and speaking three languages with two different alphabets—interact. Recently, however, something happened in Yugoslavia that the media could get a handle on: tanks and troops battled thousands of anti-Communist demonstrators in the main square of Belgrade. Eastern Europe's revolution had finally come to Yugoslavia!

Actually, it had finally come to Serbia. The northern, Catholic republics of Slovenia and Croatia had their

anti-Communist upheavals last year. In a series of elections, their people voted for nationalist, free market-oriented leadership. Since these revolutions occurred primarily in the voting booth, rather than in the streets, television barely noticed. Slovenia and Croatia now have Western-looking governments that pay short shrift to a federal, Serbian-influenced bureaucracy in Belgrade that is quickly crumbling. Serbia, a proud Eastern Orthodox nation brutalized for centuries by Muslim Turkish tyranny and burdened thus by historical-psychological grudges, has been a pro-Communist holdout, lagging behind even Albania.

Perhaps no Communist Party better illustrates the moral decrepitude of Marxism-Leninism than the Serbian Communists. Here is a group of young and middle-aged apparatchiks, led by Slobodan Milosevic, who slept through the 1989 turmoil in Eastern Europe secure in their villas and hunting lodges, without bothering to make the slightest gesture toward reform. Their secret: a direct appeal to ethnic hatred. The party became a vehicle for fascist-oriented Serbs to attack Muslim Albanians and Catholic Croats. But now, as the recent riots show, many Serbs have themselves revolted against Milosevic. Theoretically, this should be a good thing, and the media quickly interpreted it as such. But the protest leaders in Belgrade were not against Communist control merely for the sake of economic and political freedom. There is a strong nationalist-mystical edge to their movement. They hold that as long as Serbia is weighed down by communism, it cannot successfully confront the historical enemies that surround it.

To understand Serbian passions is to go a long way toward deciphering Yugoslavia. The Serbs are heir to a rich medieval kingdom, with a traveling court, a literature, and an artistic inheritance more wondrous than any in the Balkans and rivaling those of the West. The frescoes in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Serbian monasteries suggest that had the Turks not invaded and destroyed all the Renaissance in painting would have been a Serbian invention rather than an Italian one. "The greatness of Italy was constructed over our bones," a nun at the Grachanitsa monastery sadly told me.

The Turks not only arrested artistic and economic development, they also converted thousands of Albanians to Islam. And it is these Muslim Albanians who, with their high birthrate, have demographically claimed Serbia's most hallowed ground: what Serbs like to think of as "Old Serbia," the Judea and Samaria of the Serbian national consciousness, the place where the medieval kingdom emerged and grew to greatness, now known to the world as "Kosovo," on the southern border of Serbia proper. Kosovo is dotted with Serbian monasteries and settlements, enclaves of extreme nationalism with obvious similarities to those in the West Bank. From the end of World War II, the Serbs have ruled Kosovo as an autonomous province within the Republic of Serbia. At first they tried to pacify the Albanians by building schools and modernizing the infrastruc-

Let Yugoslavs Settle Their Own Business

To the Editor:

Boro Dropulic says of the tendencies toward fragmentation in Yugoslavia that "the U.S. has made it clear to the Yugoslav Government that it would not sit idly by if the military disrupts the democratic evolution" ("Is There a Yugoslavia", Op-Ed, March 22).

I am confident that those interested in Balkan affairs would like to know just what does it mean that the United States "would not sit idly by" Intervene militarily in Yugoslav domestic matters? Or, just threaten and hope everybody gets scared and complies with our vision of what Yugoslavia should be like. Or, maybe just send some tanks to the Balkans now that they are nearby in the Arabian Peninsula?

Just what does Mr. Dropulic think the United States should do other than perhaps take sides, for example, Croatia's? No, Mr. Dropulic. Let the Yugoslavs clean up their own sordid mess. No foreign power can resolve something it does not really understand. We have tried that in the past and got burned. West Europeans are smart. They want no part of it.

As for the "instances of democratic reform in other republics," Mr. Dro-

pulic speaks about, let us look at the case of Croatia.

In the Croatian elections of 1990, only 55 percent of those eligible to vote exercised their right. Of that number, only 43 percent voted for the eventual winner. That in turn means that only 25 percent of the entire Croatian electorate voted for the current Croatian administration. More important, for unknown reasons, more than one million eligible Croats did not vote at all.

Of great concern to the United States should be the people we would have to deal with should we take upon ourselves to solve the Yugoslav puzzle. Almost all of them are freshly recycled Communists, the Serbs, the Croats, the Slovenes, the lot.

No, Mr. Dropulic, let the Yugoslavs take care of their own business. Let them work on their problems, produce new, more acceptable leaders and then, and only then, the United States should try to assist. Our action now would do nothing but further divide this troubled country. Is this in the interest of the United States?

MICHAEL MENNARD

Reston, Va., March 22, 1991

The writer is a retired Foreign Service officer.

The Jan. 14 Commentary column by Max Primorac, "Dealing with Yugoslav changes," claims that Serbia has elected a "hard-line Communist Party", whose leader, Slobodan Milosevic, will "accelerate the breakup of Yugoslavia," while, last year, four other republics voted for "pro-democracy nationalist parties."

Supposedly, Yugoslavia was "cobbled together by the European powers after World War I." The situation later led to "royal dictatorship and communist totalitarianism." Mr. Primorac thus presents the view of anti-Yugoslav extremists that Serbia is the dictator and that other republics are democratically oriented and suffer. So the only solution is the breakup of Yugoslavia.

These claims do not stand scrutiny of either fact or internal logic. First, the nation was a result of many decades of longings of its constituent nationalities to found a united Slavic state. The "Iliric movement" for unity was founded by great national leaders from Croatia and Slovenia; Yugoslavia was formed enthusiastically rather than being "cobbled together" by outside forces.

Second, Marshal Tito, leader of the communist dictatorship for 35 post-World War II years, was a Croat, one whose policies certainly did not suppress Croatia and Slovenia more than other republics!

Third, Mr. Milosevic was a communist, but he won the elections in Serbia on a platform modeled after West European social-democracies, far from Mr. Primorac's "hard-line communism." Unusual? Not at all. Croatian President Franjo Tudjman

'Ludicrous' — Yugoslavia needn't be broken up

was no less than a general in Tito's communist army. He has, however, changed his policies to the extent that he now downplays the genocide by the fascist state of Croatia over Serbs and Jews during World War II. Some leading Zagreb journals are critical of his arrogance toward other political parties in Croatia. Defeated Serbian opposition leader Vuk Draskovic also held a very high position in Tito's administration.

Fourth, none of the republics is fully democratic yet. The claimed 95 percent vote for "independence of Slovenia" is hardly a result of a free voting process — have you ever heard of a 19-to-1 approval of any cause in a Western democratic country?

Mr. Primorac's prescription that the United States should actively work on disintegration of Yugoslavia is ludicrous. Similar to other East European countries, Yugoslavia is going through a political adolescence after a long suppression of freedom. The present myopia of national extremists, including groups in Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia, must be overcome. The reason for existence of a unified country is no weaker than was Abraham Lincoln's policy for a unified United States.

VUKAN R. VUCHIC,
Professor
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia

Washington Times - 2/15/91

Unsure Union Itches with Rivalries

SUMMARY: Yugoslavia is a precarious mix of rival factions. Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia is trying to preserve the Marxist central government but faces strong opposition. The issue boils down to a question of territorial integrity or self-determination.

of any one group, prevented his successors from gaining the kind of authority he himself had enjoyed. The other uniting factor, fear of the Soviet Union, was also receding.

Today's chief proponent for a centrally dominated Yugoslavia is Slobodan Milosevic, an old-fashioned Stalinist and the president of Serbia, the biggest republic. Milosevic heads the revamped communist party, now known as the Socialist Party, which thanks to its control of the media and its naked appeals to Serbian nationalism won a majority in Serbia in December, in Yugoslavia's first free elections. The only other republic where the communists survived in power was tiny Montenegro.

But Milosevic's triumph has been short-lived. Faced with economic catastrophe and anticommunist demonstrations, he first tried to get the federal leadership to declare a state of emergency. Unable to get agreement for such a move, he announced that Serbia no longer recognized the authority of the federal government and ordered the mobilization of the security forces. Observers see Milosevic's action as an attempt to rally the army, whose officer corps is heavily Serbian and reportedly eager to preserve the country as a Marxist federation, dominated by Serbia.

The strongest opposition to Milosevic comes from the noncommunist governments of the northwestern republics of Croatia and Slovenia, which have called for a loose, voluntary confederation of sovereign states to take the place of the present centralized one. If this cannot be obtained and if the army intervenes, they have vowed to fight. They have already assembled large militias and stopped paying federal taxes.

All this presents Western policymakers with certain dilemmas. Ever since Tito broke with Moscow in 1948, becoming the first communist country to leave Moscow's orbit, the traditional State Department view has been that the West could ill afford to see Yugoslavia destabilized, as it formed a crucial buffer between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. This usefulness helped the United States overlook the less charming sides of Tito's 35-year rule: his gross mismanagement of the economy and his willingness to use harsh means to quell dissent.

According to political analyst Cord Meyer, though the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact has made Yugoslavia less important strategically for the West, the dangers of a blowup in the Balkans are obvious: A civil war would send tens of thousands of refugees across the borders; the conflict itself could spill over and involve neighboring Hungary, Albania and Greece.

Officially, the United States continues to support "the unity and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia" at the same time it supports the right to self-determination. According to Max Primorac of the Croatian Democracy Project, the problem arises over how the United States can keep insisting on both the right to self-determination and the territorial integrity of the country, if that self-determination expresses itself in people saying no to belonging to this country. "This is impossible," says Primorac.

Proponents of self-determination like Primorac argue that since Yugoslavia has ceased to exist in all but name, the United States should begin channeling its aid and support to those republics that are willing to protect the human rights of its citizens rather than to the federal government. Such an approach still leaves open the question of where the smaller republics that are not economically viable should go.

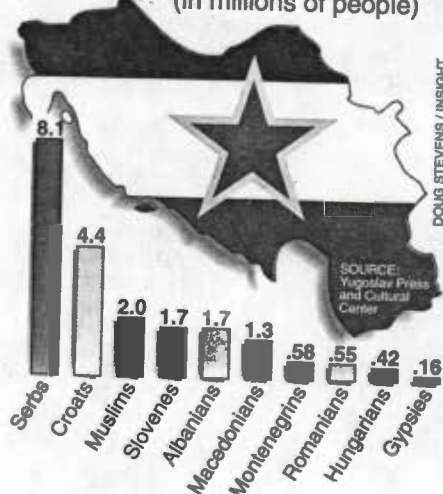
The one outcome that could be said to combine the notion of territorial integrity with self-determination would be a loose voluntary confederation of sovereign states based on mutual interest, along the lines proposed by Croatia and Slovenia. According to Sugar, this would mean a Yugoslavia resembling the original idea of its founders, who in 1916 foresaw a highly decentralized state. Unfortunately, this idea was killed in 1920 by the Serbs' creation of a centralized constitution favoring themselves.

The trouble is it did not work then. And there is little reason to believe it would work now.

— Henrik Bering-Jensen

A Nation of Many Nationalities

(in millions of people)



DOUG STEVENS / INSIGHT



Student protesters wave Yugoslavia's flag with communist emblem cut out.

CHESNOT / SIPA

One of the problematic side effects of the crumbling of communism has been the release of nationalist passions that had been frozen in time under totalitarian repression. Nowhere is that more true than in Yugoslavia, a patchwork country of nearly 24 million people, consisting of six republics and two autonomous provinces. Situated on the crossroads of old empires, Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman, the country displays the ethnic, religious and economic rivalries that stem from this: rivalry between Serb and Croat, between the industrialized north and the poor south, between Christian and Muslim.

These old loyalties were clearly demonstrated in the last census taken during the rule of Josip Broz Tito. Asked to state their nationality, only 100,000 chose to identify themselves as Yugoslav. The rest preferred the designation of Serb, Croat, Slovene and so forth. Indeed, Balkan historian Peter F. Sugar notes: "Though Yugoslavia has existed since World War I, there never were any Yugoslavs." What held the country together before World War II was a well-armed royal dictatorship, established by King Alexander I, a Serb; after World War II, it was the iron hand of Tito.

Predictably, when Tito died in 1980, the whole rickety edifice built around his person started to sway. And the rotating federal presidency, instituted by Tito to prevent power from being concentrated in the hands

HELEN DELICH BENTLEY
2D DISTRICT, MARYLAND

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Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

October 24, 1990

COMMITTEE ON
THE BUDGET
COMMITTEE ON
PUBLIC WORKS AND
TRANSPORTATION
(ON LEAVE)
COMMITTEE ON
MERCHANT MARINE
AND FISHERIES
SUBCOMMITTEES
MERCHANT MARINE
PANAMA CANAL/OUTER
CONTINENTAL SHELF
COAST GUARD & NAVIGATION
SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING
SUBCOMMITTEE ON HEALTH
AND LONG TERM CARE
TASK FORCE ON WOMEN
AND SOCIAL SECURITY

The Honorable Mary Rose Oakar
2231 Rayburn H.O.B.
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Mary Rose,

Thank you so much for attending the reception at St. Sava Orthodox Church in September. Your support of the unity and territorial sovereignty of both Serbia and Yugoslavia is greatly appreciated. Fortunately, with your help, we were able to defeat H. Con. Res. 385. It was an incredible victory! If this resolution had passed, it seriously would have compromised the integrity of a unified Yugoslavia. Our work to block measures curtailing aid to Yugoslavia is of the utmost importance to the stability of all Yugoslavia -- and particularly to Serbia

As we both expressed at St. Sava, there is considerable turmoil in all of the republics particularly Croatia and Serbia where there have been human rights questions. For this reason, it is important that we stay focused in our efforts to assist Yugoslavia in its quest to remain a unified and peaceful nation with each republic remaining intact as part of that federation. However, there is still a long way to go.

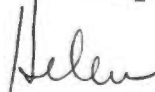
As a consequence, we must continue working towards the legitimate rights of all the peoples living within the country of Yugoslavia, and assist them in achieving these important goals of freedom, democracy and human dignity.

It is my hope that these changes one day soon will become a reality to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and to the Republic of Serbia. With your continued support we can better achieve these goals.

With warmest regards,

Again, hvala!

Sincerely,



Helen Delich Bentley
Congresswoman
2nd District, Maryland



ST. GEORGE SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

654 SOUTH BROAD STREET

ELIZABETH, NEW JERSEY 07202-2601

(201) 352-8990

14 Feb. 1991

Dear Brethren in Christ,

The congregation of St. George Serbian Orthodox Church in Elizabeth, N.J. would like to announce the celebration of ~~its Thirtieth Anniversary, May 4-5, 1991.~~ In order to make this event a more memorable one, we are in the process of printing a commemorative book.

Although a relatively young parish, a great deal has been accomplished in the past thirty years. This book will contain a brief history along with corresponding pictures of different occasions through the years. We would be more than happy to print your business ad, your personal "Congratulations"; perhaps you would like to dedicate a page to the memory of a loved one. Your church and church organizations are also encouraged to participate in the production of this book. Pictures are welcomed. Your support will be greatly appreciated.

Make checks or money orders payable to St. George Serbian Orthodox Church (no cash please) postmarked no later than April 1, 1991. For more information please call :
Mira Milicevic- Chair Person- Tel. # (908) 297-6420 or
Father Stephen Zaremba (201) 352-8320.
Once again, thank you for your support and cooperation.

Sincerely,
Commemorative Book Committee

DEAR CONGREGATION:

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR 30th ANNIVERSARY —

THIS NEEDS
TO BE SENT
BY APRIL 2ND

HELEN DELICH BENTLEY
2D DISTRICT, MARYLAND

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
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WASHINGTON, DC 20515
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Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

March 28, 1991

COMMITTEE ON
THE BUDGET
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PUBLIC WORKS AND
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SUBCOMMITTEES:
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SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING
SUBCOMMITTEE ON HEALTH
AND LONG TERM CARE
TASK FORCE ON WOMEN
AND SOCIAL SECURITY

Father Stephan Zaremba
St. George Serbian Orthodox Church
654 South Broad Street
Elizabeth, NJ 07202

Dear Father Stephan:

Congratulations to the St. George Serbian Orthodox Church on the occasion of its 30th Anniversary celebration to be held on May 4th and 5th of this year. For 30 years St. George Serbian Orthodox Church has attended to the needs of the Community of Elizabeth with the warmth and caring that only the church can provide.

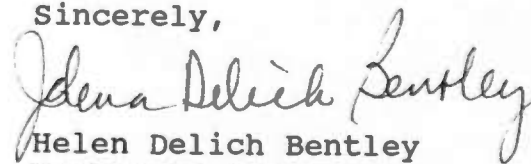
We are indeed fortunate to live in a nation where our spiritual and religious freedoms are guaranteed. Ours is a nation which was founded on religious freedom and it is the church which motivates and inspires the hearts and minds of mankind. The important role St. George plays in the surrounding community is clearly evident through its active role in the community as many members are involved in various community organizations and functions.

The hard work and dedication of St. George Serbian Orthodox Church to the community and its congregation is truly commendable. Our Nation is greatly indebted to the work of such churches throughout the entire country.

Again, please let me extend my personal congratulations on your 30th anniversary. May God continue to bless St. George Serbian Orthodox Church and the United States of America.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,


Helen Delich Bentley
Member of Congress

HDB/mm

MAR 18 1991

SERBIAN CULTURAL CLUB "ST. SAVA"

448 Barry Avenue

Lincoln 9-1099

Chicago, IL 60657

Budimir D. Sreckovich, President
P.O. Box 14, Little Neck Station
Flushing, New York 11363, USA

March 10, 1991

Hon. Helen Delich-Bentley
U.S. Congresswoman
Longworth Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Congresswoman Delich-Bentley:

The very serious situation in Yugoslavia warrants an explanation in depth to get the proper perspectives of the present events there.

1. Multiparty elections held in the republics of Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia have brought strange results. In Slovenia, head of the state is Mr. Kucan, a former communist and Tito's high official. In Croatia, Mr. Tudjman, the new head of the Croatian government, is a former Tito general, as are his Secretary of Defense, Mr. Spegelj, his Secretary of the Interior and Chief of the Police. Both elections were hailed in the West as bringing **democracy** to these regions.

2. In Serbia, elections were held in December of last year. Opposition parties were given only two months to organize and prepare for them. The ruling party--renamed from Communist to Socialist--obstructed contacts with the people by refusing to give them television time for electioneering except for **one** time of one hour duration for each party. Without proper funds, available places to meet or the possibility of publishing and distributing their own papers and thus reaching the voters, the results were foreordained. Mr. Milosevic, as much a former Communist as Kucan and Tudjman, won.

3. Elections in Croatia brought to power people with the same mindset as those who created the Nazi state of Croatia in World War II, which sided with the Axis and declared war on this country. Their intolerance and hatred of the indigenous Serbs, who have lived among them for centuries, came very close to plotting again the infamous massacres perpetrated by the Ustashis. As the New York Times reported March 1, 1991: "the enmity between Serbs and Croats...has deep roots. About 30 miles from Pakrac (a Serbian town in Croatia), at the Jasenovac concentration camp, tens of thousands of Serbs, gypsies and Jews were killed when it was run by the fascist puppet government of Croatia during World War II....For the Serbs, the memory of the wartime atrocity is long...a group of Serbian men declared: 'If the Croatian police does not withdraw, there will be victims. The Croatians killed people, stuffed them down wells. People still remember this. They get frightened when they see the same insignia that they saw in the war years.'"

4. After the elections in Croatia, many pro-Ustashi elements returned from abroad and Tudjman's government embraced extreme nationalist slogans and emblems reminiscent of Pavelich's rule. The Serbian population of Croatia felt harassed and threatened. In towns and villages with Serb majority a country-wide referendum was organized, proclaiming autonomy of that region as a way of protecting their territory, the language, the Eastern Orthodox faith, and their lives.

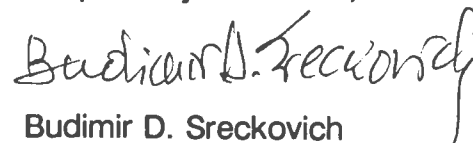
5. This is where the situation at present stands.

The Serbian population of Croatia, with more than a million victims of the Croatian Ustashi massacres in their memory, many of their villages and century-old churches still standing destroyed, wishes now to live in peace and security in the region of Krajina, where they represent a majority. As the Croatian government does not show any sign of recognizing their wishes and autonomy (recently it surreptitiously obtained a large quantity of weapons from Hungary for its special police forces), they have expressed their desire to secede and join the neighboring region of Bosnia and thus remain part of Yugoslavia after Croatia breaks the union. We should be reminded at this point that Hitler also came to power through democratic elections and secret ballot with the well-known results of an "ethnic pure Germany."

6. We deem it in the interest of the United States, which participated at Yalta in the creation of the post-world war regime and developments in Yugoslavia and was responsible--for better or worse--for many aspects of its policy there, to bring its benevolent influence to present developments and help the peaceful cessation of Krajina and protection of its Serbian population.

Serbia in her present borders, together with Serbs in adjacent provinces wherever they are a majority, represents the central and the most populous nation in the Balkans of great strategic, geopolitical, and economic importance, whose strength and stability is of utmost significance.

Respectriully submitted,



Budimir D. Sreckovich

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515

February 20, 1991

Senator Joseph R. Biden, Jr.
Committee on Foreign Relations
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Biden:

I want you to have a copy of the Rape of Serbia by Michael Lees so that you can see what happened to our freedom-loving friends--the Serbs--at a critical juncture in World War II.

Please bear in mind that these people were our allies in two world wars--as the independent nations of Serbia and Montenegro during World War I and as the principal component of Yugoslavia during World War II.

Michael Lees, a British officer, who served with the non-communist Serbian guerrillas, outlines how the Serbs were abandoned, mainly by the British but with U.S. acquiescence. Please note the enclosed review by David Binder of the New York Times.

I hope you will appreciate that while the Serbs still aspire to a free self-governing society, they may be wary of advice from the outside given their historical experiences outlined in the enclosed book.

Sincerely,

Helen Delich Bentley, M.C.

RICHARD G. LUGAR
INDIANA

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-1401

MAR 5 - 1991

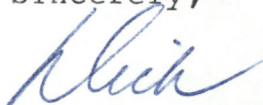
March 1, 1991

The Honorable Helen D. Bentley
1610 Longworth HOB
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Helen:

Thank you for the copy of "The Rape of
Serbia" by Michael Lees. It is a most
thoughtful gift.

Sincerely,



Richard G. Lugar
United States Senator

RGL/rmr

Postage Affixed

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MAR 5 - 1991

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6225

March 4, 1991

The Honorable Helen Delich Bentley
House of Representatives
1610 Longworth Building
Washington, D.C. 20515


Dear Helen:

Thank you for your kind words on the Yugoslavia hearing and for sending along the book on Serbia.

I was pleased that you were able to testify on February 21 and particularly gratified to learn that you felt the hearing went well. I can only hope that continued discussion of some of the difficult issues facing Yugoslavia might assist in ensuring peace and stability there.

Once again, thank you for your participation.

Sincerely,


Joseph R. Biden, Jr.
Chairman, Subcommittee on
European Affairs

E J Verluk, Editor
ZAJEDNICAR
100 Delaney Dr.
Pittsburgh, PA 15235

- COPY -

6011 S. Cicero
Chicago, IL 60638-3823
4-2-91

APR 16 1991

Concerning the internal struggles of the Republican states of Yugoslavia and comparing the current strife with that of the American Colonists and Great Britain, Dr. Vladimir Goss, a historian, in his story that appeared in the 3-6-91 issue of the News of Orange County, Hillsborough, NC, and reprinted in the Zajednicar, 3-27-91 issue, p. 19, incompletely quotes American History with reference to the "Intolerable Acts" against the colonists by the Dictator British King and the Majestic English Family. The analogous Croatian, Serbian comparison aside, the more salient history lesson is the second most important event in US History: that secession is illegal and results in a bloody civil war.

Have things changed? See Iran, El Salvador, Iraq - Greece, Cambodia, etc. The US is involved in all these victims of "divide 'n conquer".

For annexations of the Yugoslav Republican states or for "peace and stability in Europe", is a US-led blitzkrieg from NATO bases in Italy, Greece and Turkey possible?

So what's happened to Yugoslavians? They seem to be worshipers of the big God Moola - money and the paper chase. But how many civil wars turned a profit? Mis-thinking Yugoslavians have forgotten that relating of the human-animals' mind with truth isn't easy and requires years of arguing, and reasonable experimentings.

As for Mr. ("President") Milosovic of the Republic of Serbia, he will eventually return the stolen "appropriated" \$1.3 billion to the Yugoslav Nat'l Treasury.

All Yugoslavians must work on a new Constitution.

People have to have a World view.

c US-Kansas Sen. Dole, and Elizabeth
US-IL Rep. M. Russo
Et al

Sincerely, Palo (Half)-Croatian,
August C. Nerad
August C. Nerad

US Rep H. Delle-Bentley (R-MO) re your testimony
concerning Sen Dole's S-9 Bill and US Rep. Dana
Rohrabacher (R-CA) "Direct Aid To Democracies..." bill
2-21-91

PAUL B. BARTULICA, M.D.

OBSTETRICS AND GYNECOLOGY

APR 16 1991

205 WEST 21ST STREET
LORAIN, OHIO 44052
(216) 244-2221

Lorain 4/6/91

Mr. George Bush
President
United States of America
Washington, D.C. 20002

Dear Mr. President!

I thank America for the opportunity to write to You and the wisdom of our forefathers that have made all this possible.

Regarding Your letter of support for Mr. Ante Markovic, the president of the Yugoslav Federal Executive which in short outlines the policy of USA toward Yugoslavia my concern as an American citizen of Croatian descent is that the policy can be interpreted in many different ways and those communists that are still in position of power today, are now and will continue to interpret your desire for a "single democratic Yugoslavia" as a green light for further intimidation and softening of the democratic trends within Yugoslavia.

All things being equal your policy statement is without reproach, but you and your administration know that this is not the case in Yugoslavia and that a policy which protects the interests of all at this point in time is in actual fact improving the position of those that are it's worst offenders.

United States needs to have a policy, and you gave one, but there is a need of a policy that will protect and reward the democratic process regardless of ethnic implications and one that will protect the right of any sovereign republic to leave a union, as a last resort, when that union is detrimental to democracy.

The policy as outlined is ambiguous but if you are truly sincere in preserving "close and mutually beneficial relationship" with a "single democratic Yugoslavia" than you will have to modify your position to read, "single con-federal democratic Yugoslavia" and support for all republics that are now democratic with overt and covert encouragement of other republics to become democratic in the near future.

This policy will have to include specific directions in breaking up of the 4 : 4 dead lock at the level of Yugoslav presidency where Serbia has been able to obtain the votes for Kosovo and Vojvodina by illegal manipulation of these "autonomous" regions giving itself 3 votes while the fourth vote from Montenegro is automatic and puppet like.

Such a policy would indeed be without reproach and one that would guarantee a peaceful transition toward "Europe whole and free". The policy we appear to have now sounds good at a Ladies Auxilliary Club meeting or a Boy Scout gathering but not when one is looking down the gun barrel of a tank on an empty stomach.

Mr. President you know that democracy can not stand on paper alone, that it needs definition and concrete steps to amount to anything- so why is it that the greatest democracy in the world can not send a clear message to Belgrade that the United States will defend democracy within the framework of the sovereign republics where it has the most chance of success rather than locking the democratic changes to the constraints of Yugoslavia where it has been abused forever and continues to be abused today.

Sincerely,

Paul B. Bartulica M.D.

Paul B. Bartulica M.D.

CC: 101st Congress of United States of America
The State Department

LETTER FROM PRESIDENT BUSH TO ANTE MARKOVIC,
PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

1. BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

I HAVE BEEN FOLLOWING RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN YUGOSLAVIA WITH CONCERN. IN THESE DIFFICULT DAYS, LET ME EXPRESS ONCE AGAIN MY ADMIRATION FOR YOUR COURAGEOUS PROGRAM OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL OF THE PEOPLE OF YUGOSLAVIA. I AM CONFIDENT THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WILL PROVIDE FURTHER CONCRETE SUPPORT TO YUGOSLAVIA AS IT MAKES PROGRESS IN THESE REFORMS.

AS YOU HAVE STATED, AND AS THE YUGOSLAV FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AND THE YUGOSLAV PRESIDENCY HAVE MADE CLEAR, THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND NATIONALITY PROBLEMS OF YUGOSLAVIA CAN ONLY BE RESOLVED THROUGH DEMOCRACY, REFORM, AND THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES. THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE STRONGLY OPPOSED TO ANY USE OF FORCE OR INTIMIDATION TO BLOCK DEMOCRATIC CHANGE OR IMPOSE A NON-DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM IN YUGOSLAVIA.

IT SHOULD BE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR THAT THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT AND WILL NOT FAVOR ANY PARTICULAR NATIONAL OR ETHNIC GROUP IN YUGOSLAVIA. AT THE SAME TIME, WE WANT TO SEE DIFFERENCES AMONG NATIONALITIES RESOLVED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A SINGLE, DEMOCRATIC YUGOSLAVIA AND WILL NOT ENCOURAGE OR REWARD THOSE WHO WOULD BREAK THIS COUNTRY APART.

EUROPE HAS EXPERIENCED BREATHTAKING CHANGE OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS. MILITARY CONFRONTATION HAS RECEDED. FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN DIGNITY HAVE SPREAD. A COLD WAR HAS GIVEN WAY TO AN ERA OF NEGOTIATION, COOPERATION AND TRUST. IT WOULD BE A TRAGEDY IF YUGOSLAVIA FAILED TO GRASP THE POSSIBILITIES OF THIS MOMENT IN HISTORY TO ESTABLISH A NEW BASIS FOR DEMOCRATIC UNITY, AND TO JOIN IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A EUROPE WHOLE AND FREE.

IT IS MY MOST SINCERE WISH THAT WE CAN PRESERVE THE CLOSE AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONSHIP WHICH HAS LONG EXISTED BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

SINCERELY,
GEORGE BUSH

March 27, 1991

P H O N E M E S S A G E	TO	Mite Nagam	DATE	4/15	TIME	3:00	AM PM
	FROM	Jasminka	AREA CODE	213-274-9559			
	NO.		Fuy 818-284-6825				
	OF		EXT.				
M E S S A G E	Diane gave you a letter 3 weeks ago for Kosov Charity Dinner in D. A. - Need copy today for inclusion in the program. Fill date of letter to Doc. her trip to Yugoslavia &						

JASMINKA 818-284-9061
 (213)285-9700

H-213-274-9559

Letter for Program -
 call her for details

HELEN DELICH BENTLEY
2D DISTRICT, MARYLAND

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Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

April 16, 1991

COMMITTEE ON
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PUBLIC WORKS AND
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(ON LEAVE)
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MERCHANT MARINE
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SUBCOMMITTEES
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CONTINENTAL SHELF
COAST GUARD & NAVIGATION
SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING
SUBCOMMITTEE ON HEALTH
AND LONG TERM CARE
TASK FORCE ON WOMEN
AND SOCIAL SECURITY

Dear Fellow Serbians:

It is certainly a pleasure to be able to take part in the First Annual Kosovo Charity Dinner, and let us hope that it is the first of many. We all are concerned about the plight of our brothers and sisters in Kosovo.

Having recently returned from Yugoslavia, where I took part in a Helsinki Commission fact finding tour, I was disturbed to see the rioting scenes and the use of military weapons in Belgrade and elsewhere in Yugoslavia. I also was saddened at the deaths that occurred. Considerable turmoil has been underway for several months in the republics of both Croatia and Serbia -- as the people are grasping for their freedoms and democracy. However, there is still a long way to go as the ethnic groups struggle for what they feel are their rights.

The transition from Communism to Democracy is not an easy one, and the Yugoslavian situation reflects some of the difficulties which mark that path.

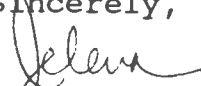
As a consequence of my trip, on April 11th, my distinguished colleague, Gerald Kleczka, and I introduced H.Res. 121, a Sense of Congress Resolution concerning the current crisis in Yugoslavia.

This Resolution urges the Yugoslav Federal Government, as well as each of the 6 constituent republican governments, to recognize the legitimate rights of all citizens and their rights to express themselves politically and to play a role in the shaping of a 21st century Yugoslavia.

It is my hope that these changes one day soon will become a reality to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and to the Republic of Serbia.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,


Helen Delich Bentley
Member of Congress



APR 12 1991

СРПСКО КУЛТУРНО ДРУШТВО "ЈОВАН ДУЧИЋ"
SERBIAN CULTURAL SOCIETY "JOVAN DUCHICH"
8700 TAFT STREET
MERRILLVILLE, IN. 46410, USA

Mr. George Bush
President of the United States of America
White House
Washington, DC 20500

April 8, 1991

Dear Mr. President:

News, remarks, and statements related to events in Yugoslavia are, in many instances, misleading to our American people and, to some degree, to our politicians. We are of the opinion that many reporters and some politicians do not fully understand what is happening in Yugoslavia and why, and that they are making a very complex situation even more complicated.

For example, on February 21, 1991, the following remark was made by Senator Bob Dole before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Yugoslavia: "Sure, there have been and are historic tensions between the various nations that make up Yugoslavia." This statement is misleading and insulting. The Croatian government of the so-called Independent State of Croatia had organized genocide against Serbs, Jews, and Gypsies during 1941 through 1945. The Croatian Ustashi, the military arm of the Croatian government, which was more vicious than the Nazi SS, brutally massacred over one million Serbian men, women, and children and practically all Jews and Gypsies. They burned or destroyed over 250 Serbian Orthodox churches, killing over 200 Serbian Orthodox priests and 3 bishops.

Attached is a copy of the letter by Leon M. Johnson, United States Department of State, dated December 20, 1984, which undoubtedly presents that the Board of Immigration Appeals found the following: "The new State of Croatia immediately declared war on the United States. The government of the new Independent State of Croatia promulgated a complete set of Nazi-type laws providing for establishment of concentration camps.....there were massacres of Serbs and, perhaps to a lesser extent, of other minority groups within Croatia.....a regime of the type against which we went to war in 1941."

We wonder how Senator Dole could call these crimes "historic tensions."

The largest problem in Yugoslavia and perhaps of the Balkans is the division between Serbian and Croatian people. Enclosed is a brief entitled "Serbs and Croats in Yugoslavia: The Powderkeg of the Balkans", we believe, presents a vital account of the continuous struggle between the Serbian and Croatian people, and it is imperative in understanding the complex history of Yugoslavia. Also enclosed are several photographs from the referenced books.

We appeal to you, Mr. President, to use the power of your office and your sense of humanity, reason, and justice when considering the political solutions to the problems in Yugoslavia.

Sincerely,

The Board of the Serbian Cultural Society
"Jovan Duchich"

Secretary

Branko Djulich
Branko Djulich

Enclosures

cc: United States Senators
United States Representatives
News Media

BRIEF

SERBS AND CROATS IN YUGOSLAVIA: THE POWDERKEG OF THE BALKANS

We are witnessing major political and economic changes in Eastern Europe with an array of problems associated with these changes. These changes are dramatic when we think about the Communist philosophy that ruled with an iron fist for over 45 years with little deviation. The countries of Eastern Europe can be categorized into two groups. The first group consists of countries like Poland, Bulgaria, and Hungary. Here we see a predominant nationality, language, and religion. The second group is made up of countries like the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and to some degree Czechoslovakia. These countries have more than one nationality, language, and religion. It is in these latter countries where diversity and ethnic unrest have compounded an already difficult transition period.

Yugoslavia is a country which is presently made up of six republics. The largest republic is Serbia, the second largest is Croatia, the other four are Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia, Macedonia, and Montenegro (Crna Gora). The majority of the people in Yugoslavia are Serbs of Serbian Orthodox religion. The second largest group are Croats of Roman Catholic religion. The largest problem in Yugoslavia and ultimately of the Balkans is the division between the Serbian and Croatian people. This division is mostly on a religious basis.

Prior to World War I, Serbs had two sovereign states: the Kingdom of Serbia and the Kingdom of Montenegro. Croats were living within the Austro-Hungarian Empire and were the majority in Zagorje (region of Zagreb) and in part of Dalmatia. In other regions within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, like Lika, Kordun, Bania, Northern Dalmatia, Slavonia, and Baranja (known as Serbian military frontiers), the Serbs made up the majority of the total population. Serbs were also in the majority in Bosnia and Herzegovina, while Croats made up only 20 percent of the total population.

During World War I, the Croats were part of the Austro-Hungarian armed forces; and together with German forces, they were fighting, initially, against Serbia and Montenegro and later against the United States, Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Italy. Serbia lost 30% of its population in World War I including 60% of its adult males⁽¹⁾. One can see, inside of the Shrine Room of the War Memorial Building in Indianapolis, Indiana, the portraits of the World War I military leaders of America, France, England, Belgium, Italy, and Serbia. Twenty-thousand Serbian-Americans and Serbian-Canadians, most of whom were from Serbian regions that were under Austro-Hungary's domain, volunteered to return to the Balkans to help fight for Serbia. Half of them were killed in the war. The goal of Serbia was to free all Serbs from Austro-Hungary and unite them with Montenegro into one Serbian state. Croatian politicians, seeing that the Austro-Hungarian empire would come apart, to avoid being on the losing side, worked through the Yugoslav Committee and proposed that the Croats and Slovenes be included in the new state, on the basis that the Croats and Slovenes are Slavic people (the same as the Serbs) having only a different religion. The Yugoslav Committee consisted of 25 members: 15 Croats, 4 Slovenes, and 6 Serbs. The common state was formed in 1918 under the name: Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. In 1929, the name was changed to Yugoslavia.

Even though the Croats pushed for the formation of Yugoslavia during World War I, they always considered Yugoslavia to be an artificial country not satisfactory to their interests. The Croats did not represent the majority; nevertheless, they wanted to form their own politically autonomous state.

Most of the Croatian people feel that they should have their own state. In April 1990, in a free election, most Croats within the Republic of Croatia in Yugoslavia voted for Franjo Tudjman, a Croatian nationalist (formerly Tito's general and communist), who was promoting the free, independent state of Croatia. The Serbian people are not so opposed to the Croatian desire for their own state as they are to the problem that exists over the boundaries that the Croats are proposing between Croatia and the rest of Yugoslavia. The Croats have stated that the boundary would include what is now the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This would mean that over 3 million Serbs would be included in this proposed future state of Croatia.

There are reasons why the Serbs are opposing that any region populated by Serbs be included in the state of Croatia. As mentioned before, Serbs and Croats opposed each other in World War I. The Croat units within the Austro-Hungarian armed forces massacred the Serbian people (men, women, and children) in the area of the Sabac Region (Serbia), and committed crimes against the Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in what is today the Republic of Croatia⁽²⁾.

After World War I, the newly formed Yugoslavian government tried to play down the crimes and massacres by the Croats, hoping that people would forget what happened in the past in order to build a new common state. Generally speaking, the Serbian people accepted Yugoslavia as their own country; they gave up their own flag and their two sovereign states (Serbia and Montenegro) and were genuinely trying to build Yugoslavia. Dr. Ante Trumbich, at that time a leading Croatian politician, recognized these facts by declaring: "Serbia proved ready to sacrifice her state individually in order that one common state of all Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes be created. And so, she attains the absolute right to be called the Yugoslav Piedmont." On the other hand, the Croatian people continued to say that Yugoslavia was only a transition stage for them to gain their own independent state and that Yugoslavia was an artificial state made of many nationalities which cannot work and should be separated.

During World War II, the Croats again sided with the Germans, welcomed the Nazi-Germany forces into Yugoslavia, and were anti-Yugoslavia⁽³⁾. When the Germans and Italians invaded Yugoslavia, they divided the country, giving a large part of Yugoslavia to the Croats to rule under the protection of the German and Italian forces. The Germans and Italians helped the Croats form the so called "Independent State of Croatia," which embraced Croatia, Slavonia, part of Dalmatia, and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1969). With the Germans and Italians giving support and arms, the Croats proclaimed the "Independent State of Croatia" on April 10, 1941, only four days after Yugoslavia was attacked. In the beginning (May 1941) a very few Croats joined a royalist group (known as Chetniks) under the leadership of Serbian General Dragoljub Mihailovich to fight the occupying forces. In July, 1941, a few Croats joined a Communist group (the Partisans) led by Croatian communist Josip Broz-Tito. However, the majority of Croats sided with Dr. Ante Pavelic, who organized the Ustashi. The Ustashi was the military arm of the Croatian government and was more vicious than the Nazi SS⁽⁴⁾.

After Dr. Ante Pavelic came to power in Zagreb, the "Independent State of Croatia" declared war against England and the United States (Croatian newspaper Nedjeljne Vijesti, Zagreb, December 15, 1941). The Croatian government also declared that they wanted the "Independent State of Croatia" to be a pure state of Croat-Roman Catholics only - eliminating or expelling all people of different nationality or religion. Dr. Mile Budak, Croatian Minister of Education, publicly declared that all Jews and Gypsies must be killed. The Serbs (representing about 3 million people within that "State of Croatia") were to be dealt with in three

ways: one-part killed, second-part expelled, and third-part to be forcefully converted to Croation Roman Catholicism^(4,5). In that case, the new "State of Croatia" would only consist of Croats, and Roman Catholicism would be the only religion. What they proclaimed, they did. They killed practically all Jews and Gypsies and over one million Serbs within that state. Because the Serbs represented the largest group to be eliminated, Serbs in self-defense organized an uprising against the "Croatian State," and fierce fighting took place for four years during World War II. In trying to reach their goals of eliminating Serbs, Jews, and Gypsies within the "State of Croatia," the Croatian Ustashi burned or destroyed over 250 Serbian Orthodox churches, and practically all synagogues, killed over 200 Serbian Orthodox priests, 3 Serbian Orthodox bishops,⁽⁶⁾ and practically all Jewish rabbis. They killed over one million Serbian men, women, and children^(7,8,9).

The Croatian government, in the process of accomplishing their goals, misused practically all the institutions of the Roman Catholic church within the "Independent State of Croatia." Some Croation Roman Catholic priests (Filipovic, Brekalo, Matkovic, Brkljadic...) joined them, and there is historical evidence that a priest commanded a concentration camp.^(2,5,9) The Franciscan monk, Father Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic, was the commandant of the horrendous Concentration Camp Jasenovac.^(2,5,9) The Croatian government used churches, monasteries, and the existing Roman Catholic organization, disgracing not only the Roman Catholics in that state but throughout the world. They compromised the Roman Catholic church as an organization. There are numerous books, photographs, and testimonies on this subject (see list of References and attached photographs).

Roman Catholic Cardinal Tisserant stated: "Upon hearing the reports of Italians about what is going on in Croatia, one gets a shocking impression. According to their accounts, the agenda consists of murders and burnings, assaults and pillaging. I don't know whether these reports are correct in every particular, but I do know positively that Franciscans have taken part in assaults upon the Orthodox population and the destruction of Orthodox churches. I know positively that the Franciscans in Bosnia and Hercegovina have acquitted themselves miserably, and that hurts. Cultivated and educated persons should not allow such things to be imputed to them, priests least of all." (Stern No. 19, 1991).

There is a documentary film by Lordan Zafranovic, a Croat himself, entitled "Blood and Ashes of Jasenovac" (Jasenovac is 60 miles from Zagreb and was one of the largest concentration camps in Europe). In this film, a witness, a Croatian Roman Catholic man, is explaining that a Croatian Roman Catholic priest had a pistol and a dagger during mass in the camp and that the priest committed killing prior and after mass. Another witness describes a tournament that was held at Concentration Camp Jasenovac to see who could kill the most Serbs in one day using only a knife. The winner of this "tournament" was Pero Brzica, who killed over 1,300 people in one day⁽²⁾. This is probably the bloodiest world record ever marked in human history.

The crimes that the Croatian government committed against Serbs, Jews, and Gypsies, during World War II are outrageous and unbelievable, and also documented. Croatian Ustashi killed men, women, children, and small babies. They gouged out people's eyes, cut babies out of their mother's wombs, skinned people alive, cut off ears, pushed people alive into deep caves, and massacred people using axes, saws, or sledge hammers. Croatian Ustashi did genocide on children. They had concentration camps for children (Sisak, Stara Gradiska, Jasenovac, Jastrebarsko...)⁽¹⁰⁾. The most infamous is Jastrebarsko, 20 miles from Zagreb.

Reportedly, they ate children's brains⁽¹¹⁾. Could anything in this world be more monstrous or more unforgettable? These crimes were planned, and even before World War II, Croatia Ustashi performed surveys to determine how many bodies they could dispose of in caves throughout Yugoslavia.⁽¹⁰⁾ There are hundreds and hundreds of these caves in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in present day Republic of Croatia, which are full of skeletons of Serbs. The most infamous of these is Jadovno in the region of Lika.

After World War II, similarly to World War I, these crimes again were played down by the Croatian communists in the interest of brotherhood and unity of the common state of Yugoslavia. They never allowed Serbs to make a list of all the people who had been killed. They said "it was war... revolution... every body was involved in killing..., etc." They never acknowledged that genocide and concentration camps existed. The truth is: it was war and revolution and that many men were killed in battles, but the Croatian government planned and organized genocide and performed a brutal massacre of people (men, women, and children) only because they were of a different religion and nationality (see list of References). As the war and time passed, the Serbs had to set aside the past. But, they have been unable to forget the injustice and the failure to bring the criminals to trial. Recent incidents and crimes are surfacing in Croatia which are dangerously similar to the atrocities of World War II in that country. Franjo Tudjman won the election in Croatia (in April 1990) when the majority of Croats sided with him because he claimed he is going to form a state similar to the one of 1941. He stated that the "Independent State of Croatia," (in which genocide against Serbs, Jews, and Gypsies was carried out) was the centuries-old aspiration of the Croatian people (Nin, March 4, 1990).

Since World War II, Croats outside of Yugoslavia (including the United States) and to some degree within Yugoslavia, have celebrated the anniversary of the formation of the "Independent State of Croatia" of April 10, 1941. These celebrations are glorifying the state which was responsible for genocide during World War II. The Croats' celebration of this anniversary would be akin to Germans celebrating the rise to power of Hitler's Third Reich. Based on Croatian glorification of the beginning of this monstrous state, Tudjman's statements, recent Nazi-type genocidal actions by the current Croatian government, the announcement that Croatia is a sovereign state, and their declaration of war against the United States in 1941 (see attached letter by Leon M. Johnson, United States Department of State, dated December 20, 1984), we wonder if they are still at war with the United States. To the best of our knowledge, the declaration of war has not been retracted.

In March, 1991, CNN-TV, reporting about the Concentration Camp of Jasenovac, stated that 500,000 Serbs had been massacred along with Jews and Gypsies using hammers, clubs, knives... They concluded their report with a slanderous statement made by Franjo Tudjman, current President of Croatia: "Chetniks killed Croats the same way and the same number." As mentioned above, the "Chetniks" was the Royalist movement which fought the occupying forces with the Americans under the leadership of General Dragoljub Mihailovich, who was decorated with the Legion of Merit by President Harry Truman. CNN-TV News left the public to conclude that Serbs "had concentration camp(s)," that "Serbs killed over one million Croats," and that "Serbs destroyed Croatian churches," etc. Media quoting such gross inaccuracies from an elected official is both irresponsible and dangerous (to say the Jews committed a Holocaust against the Nazis is ludicrous). Croats sided with the Germans and even volunteered to fight with the Germans on the Russian front. Chetniks killed Croats in self defense from Ustashi and in battles against Croatian and occupying forces. We, Serbian-Americans, believe in the freedom of speech and press and realize that Tudjman could say what he likes or thinks, even to lie as he did. However, the media has a responsibility to its public to present both sides so that the truth could surface. CNN's omission glossed over the entire Holocaust against Serbs and left

the impression that Chetniks committed the same horrendous crimes as the Croatian Ustashi. There is no evidence of this. However, the Croatian government had, for example, Dr. Andrija Artukovic, Minister of the Interior during the Holocaust in Croatia (see attached United States Department of State letter of December 20, 1984), who was deported from the United States, stood trial, and was found guilty of crimes against humanity in Yugoslavia.

Serbian people, both here and in Yugoslavia, are worried about uninformed statements and recent events in Yugoslavia. Recently, some Serbian homes within the Republic of Croatia have been burned and bombed. On May 18, 1990, Miroslav Mlinar, a 23-year old student and president of a subchapter of the Serbian Democratic Party in the town of Bankovac (in northern Dalmatia), gave a speech stating that as a Serb he would like to fight for his rights, religion, and culture. After the speech he was attacked and stabbed seven times in the throat, chest, and stomach (Duga No. 424). Groups of Serbian children visiting the coastal region in Dalmatia have been attacked. Other violence against Serbs includes some homes bombed, cemeteries desecrated, and boats and cars destroyed. Disturbing human rights violations are cropping up throughout the Republic of Croatia. The Serbian Cyrillic alphabet is forbidden; Serbian history and culture are forbidden to be taught in schools; Serbian cultural clubs are forbidden to organize, and are met with violent resistance. There are clear signs of very strong anti-Semitism and anti-Serbian feelings in the Republic of Croatia today, and Serbs and Jews live in fear. U.S. Ambassador Zimmerman in Yugoslavia stated in an interview that he is worried about the Serbs and Jews in Croatia (NIN, July 6, 1990).

RESPONSE, the Wiesenthal Center's World Report, August 1991, presents an article "Embracing the Brutalities of the Past": In Croatia, dangerous signals are appearing on the political landscape(.) Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and his conservative, nationalist party recently won a majority in the Croatian Parliament. Tudjman, one of the authors of the "Jasenovac Myth", reduces the number of Jewish victims of the Holocaust from six million to one million, and states that historical data about Jasenovac is "inflated". He further wrote of alleged "participation of Jews in the liquidation of Gypsies in Jasenovac," and accused Jews of having taken "the initiative in preparing and provoking not only individual atrocities but also the mass slaughter of non-Jews, Communists, Partisans, and Serbs." In fact, Jasenovac was the camp in which tens of thousands of innocent Jews and other victims of the pro-Nazi Croatian state were brutally murdered.

There are numerous books and publications about Concentration Camp Jasenovac. The number of victims are not fully known yet, but in most cases, the estimate is about 700,000⁽⁹⁾.

According to the new constitution of the Republic of Croatia, Serbs do not have the same rights as Croats do. Lately, many newspapers (one example, Novosti, January 29, 1991) reported that Croats (civilians) are armed. They are putting together a "black" list of Serbs that have to be killed, not sparing women and children. Serbian families from the Slavonia region have sent their children to the Republic of Serbia.

The Croatian "Democratic" government has organized special police/military units ("Specialci") made up of pure, at least three generations pure-blood, Croats who must declare that they will kill even children if needed (Dr. Milan Kresojevic, speech, Merrillville, Indiana, February 3, 1991). On March 2, 1991, Croatian "Specialci" moved into the town of Pakrac (Slavonia Region, over 70 percent Serbs). "Specialci" imprisoned many Serbs. They beat men and women, they occupied Serbian Orthodox Churches and Bishops' residencies. Many Serbs and Bishop Lukian took refuge in nearby woods (Nin, March 8, 1991). They desecrated the church and they broke icons and candles (Duga No. 445).

Considering all this, the question remains whether today's Republic of Croatia should become an independent state. Perhaps it should; however, regions of Serbian population where Serbs were slaughtered by Croatian Utashi during the war are hardly likely to remain in that state. The Croats are claiming areas (former Serbian military frontiers) such as northern Dalmatia, Lika, Kordun, Bania, Baranja, and Slavonia, in which Serbs are still the majority, even after Croatian Utashi killed 30% of the Serbs in World War II. Serbs cannot and will never accept being part of Croatia because they know that as soon as Croatia becomes independent, they will face the same fate (genocide) as Serbs did during 1941 through 1945. The same feelings have been expressed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, not because of like or dislike toward the Croats, but simply as a matter of survival and existence as human beings.

In 1990, the Serbs formed an autonomous region, Krajina (Krayina), of the former Serbian military frontiers within the Republic of Croatia. On February 25, 1991, Milan Babic, President of the Serbian National Council of the Kraina, presented in the United Nations (Commission on Human Rights) violations of human rights and fundamental freedom of the Serbian people in the Federal Republic of Croatia.⁽⁷⁾ On March 16, 1991, after criminal behavior of Croatian "Specialci" in the town of Pakrac, the Serbs of Kraina declared separation from Croatia and to stay an integral part of Yugoslavia (NIN, March 22, 1991).

If the Croats want to have their own federal republic, confederat, or independent state, their boundaries should include only Croat-occupied lands. After the events of World War I, World War II, as well as more recent incidents and crimes, the Croats cannot be trusted, and Serbs are not willing to try a third time...never again! Serbs cannot and will not accept the solution by which they will cease to exist.

Jovan Duchich, Diplomat of pre-war Yugoslavia and poet, who lived in the United States from 1941 until his death in 1943, after learning what the Croatian government was doing in Yugoslavia, stated: "Croats are the most audacious people in the world, not because they are not afraid of anything, but rather that they are not ashamed of anything".⁽¹²⁾

We, Serbian-Americans, are citizens of this country. Some of us are originally from Yugoslavia; many were born in the United States. We are trying to convey our feelings and fears to you and present the facts as they actually happened in the past and as they are presently taking place in Yugoslavia. With the potential for bloodshed looming ahead, in that explosive setting, we are appealing to every American citizen and especially Roman Catholics within this country to write letters to the Pope and ask him to use his position and power to expose this horrible period in history, just as other civilized countries have done, and to prevent fanatical nationalism and bloodshed from happening again as it did in the early 1940's.

This brief but vital account of the continuous struggle between the Serbian and Croatian people in Yugoslavia is imperative in understanding the complex history of that country. Therefore, we Serbian-Americans appeal to each reader's sense of humanity, reason, and justice when considering the political solutions to these problems.

Dated: April 2, 1991

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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

December 20, 1984

NAME: ARTUKOVIC, Andrija Marijan
A#: 27 095 961
COUNTRY of BIRTH or NATIONAL of YUGOSLAVIA

Ms. Rose Humbles
Immigration Court Clerk
U.S. Department of Justice
P.O. Box 711
Los Angeles, CA 90053

RECEIVED

DEC 21 1984

OFFICE OF
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

ATTN: Immigration Judge Reece Robertson

Dear Ms. Humbles:

This is in reply to your letter of December 13 requesting the Department of State's advisory opinion concerning Mr. Andrija Marijan Artukovic's application for asylum.

We note that Mr. Artukovic's request for asylum has been made in the context of a deportation proceeding against him. We also note that in a ruling issued on April 3, 1953 the Board of Immigration Appeals (BIA) found that Mr. Artukovic had carried out a policy of genocide and persecution under the Nazis when he held the position of Minister of Interior and other positions in the State of Croatia during World War II.

Specifically the BIA found that:

"The new State of Croatia immediately declared war on the United States. The government of the new Independent State of Croatia promulgated a complete set of Nazi-type laws providing for establishment of concentration camps, imprisonment of Jews and Communists, summary execution, expropriation of property and expatriation of any inhabitant who fell into disfavor with the regime. Under these laws it was the duty of the Ministry of the Interior, admittedly Artukovic, to decide who should be thus punished, and to determine the disposition of the members of their families and of their property.

There appears to be little doubt (1) that the new Croatian State, at least on paper, pursued a genocidal policy in Croatia with regard to Jews and Serbs; (2) that (respondent) helped execute this policy in that, as Minister of the Interior, he had authority and control over the entire system of Public Security and Internal Administration, and (3) that during this time there were massacres of

NAME: ARTUKOVIC, Andrija Marijan
A#: 29 095 961
COUNTRY: YUGOSLAVIA

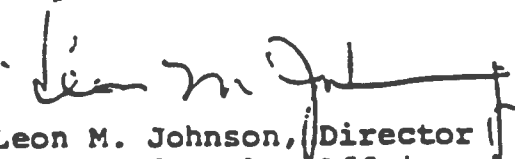
Serbs and, perhaps to a lesser extent, of other minority groups within Croatia.

(I)t is difficult for us to think of any one man, other than Pavelic, who could have been more responsible for the events occurring in Croatia during this period than was respondent.

It is our conclusion that respondent has had a long history, first as an agent, then an official and prime movant of a regime of the type against which we went to war in 1941."

In light of these findings, it is the Department's opinion that Mr. Artukovic is ineligible for asylum in the United States because it appears he is ineligible for refugee status under U.S. law. The term "refugee" excludes "any person who ordered, incited, assisted, or otherwise participated in the persecution of any person on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion."

Sincerely,


Leon M. Johnson, Director
Office of Asylum Affairs
Bureau of Human Rights
and Humanitarian Affairs

CASE NO. 84-8743-L(3)
Artukovic
VS. _____
DEFENDANT'S EXHIBIT 5
DATE 3-1-85 IDEN. _____
DATE 3-1-85 EVID. _____
Clerk, U.S. District Court, Central District of California
BY [Signature]



Another case of throat cutting, which took place in Croatia in 1943. The photograph was found in the pocket of a dead Ustashi. One of his companions is holding up the already severed head of a victim, for his friend to take a photo.

The Ustashi committed the most execrable crimes with the utmost indifference. Frequently they amused themselves with prolonging the tortures of their prisoners, to pass the time.

They did not spare women or children. To quote only one instance: In the villages between Vlasenica and Kladanj the Nazi occupational troops discovered children who had been impaled upon stakes by the Ustashi, their members still distorted with pain.

Catholic priests, too, advocated the killing of children. Witness Father D. Juric. "Today it is no longer a sin to kill a child of seven," he said, "should such a child be opposed to our movement of the Ustashi."



Indiscriminate mass deportations and mass executions became one of the most characteristic features of the Ustashi. Very often the life or death of the prisoners depended upon the whims of the local Commander or even the local Catholic priest.

Ustashi authorities would summon the Orthodox Serbs to perform public works or to listen to some new law. Once they were gathered in a given place, they would be surrounded, marched outside the village or town, and executed without further ado.

In the most remote regions of Upper Dalmatia, like Bosnia Herzegovina, there took place such veritable extermination. Women and children were not spared.

Some detachments of Ustashi, with the idea of saving themselves the trouble of burying the bodies, shot their victims on bridges. In Brcko, for instance, the home town of Dzafer Kulenovic, the Ustashi Prime Minister, the Orthodox prisoners were all executed on the local bridge and then immediately hurled into the river.

This photograph shows the bodies of people executed by the Ustashi and flung into the river Kupa in May 1945.



Mass murders were supplemented by the massacre of individuals, mostly in rural districts. Instances of the utmost ferocity occurred. The Ustashi very often used the most primitive weapons, such as forks, spades, hammers and saws, to torture their victims prior to their execution. They broke their legs, pulled off their skin and beards, blinded them by cutting their eyes with knives and even tearing them from their sockets, as a survivor, Marija Bogunovitch, testified.

Sometimes executions were committed on the home ground of victims, carried out with conventional guns and revolvers. Some Ustashi specialised in disposing of their "charges" by crushing their skulls with hatchets or even hammers.

At Dubrovnick, Dalmatia, Fascist soldiers had photographs of an Ustashi wearing two necklaces. One was a string of cut-out eyes, the other of torn out tongues of murdered Orthodox Serbs.

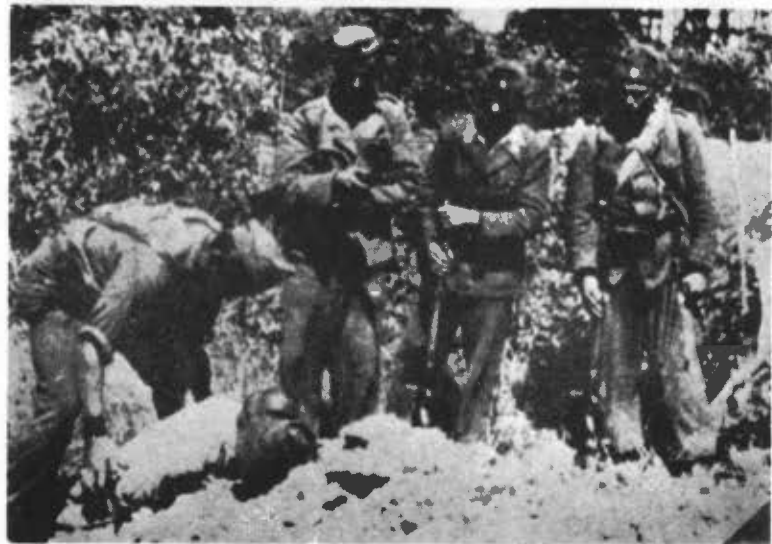
In this photograph Ustashi are torturing an Orthodox Serb with a saw prior to executing him. Somewhere in Bosnia, in 1943. The photograph was found in the pocket of a dead Ustashi in 1945.



Ustashi cutting the throat of one of their Serbian Orthodox victims. Notice how a Ustashi is holding a vessel to collect the first spurt of blood and thus prevent their uniforms from being blood stained. The brutal crime - one of many - took place near Cajnice in 1943.

This type of execution was not exceptional. Some Ustashi specialised in dispatching their Orthodox prisoners in this manner.

Catholic priests, friars, and, indeed, even some of their pupils, followed their example. The case of Peter Brzica is undoubtedly one of the most incredible in this category. Brzica was a law student and an ardent member of the foremost Catholic organisation called the Catholic Crusaders. During the day and night of 29th August 1942, Brzica cut the throats of 1,300 prisoners in the Concentration Camp of Jasenovac. He was rewarded with a gold watch and proclaimed King of Cut-throats. Dr Nikola Kilolic, a Croat and a Catholic, was an eye witness to the deed.



Top: This peasant had to dig his own grave. Sadistic Ustashi show him the knife with which they will kill him.

Bottom: After the job is done.



1941: Children in Stara Gradiska concentration camp slowly starving to death. The government of satellite Croatia (Andrija Artukovic, Minister of Interior) ordered caustic soda to be added to their food in order to exterminate them.



The Ustashi took pictures following their "heroic deeds," bayonetting the "seeds of the beasts."

One of the crazed priests, Fr. Ivan Raguz, had no inhibitions, repeatedly urged the killing of all Serbs, including children so that "not even the seeds of the beasts are left."



Ustashi carrying the head of a Serbian Orthodox priest.