

Another complex and tragic situation exists in Yugoslavia. Four of its six constituent republics elected democratic governments within the past year: Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia. Meanwhile, two other republics—Serbia, the largest, and Montenegro, its tiny, subservient neighbor—staged what many independent observers consider to be rigged elections that sought to legitimize hard-line Communist regimes. Sitting precariously atop this volatile mix is a Communist central government—including some reformers but largely dominated by the Serbian hard-liners—that uses its armed forces as a club to intimidate the people of the democratic republics.

This past summer I led a five-member Senate delegation to Yugoslavia. There we got a shocking firsthand look at a human rights nightmare. Traveling in that country the few miles from democratic Croatia to Communist Serbia is like going through a time warp—back to the Cold War.

One of our main goals on the trip was to visit the province of Kosovo in Serbia, the scene of the most brutal repression of ethnic Albanians by the Serbian government. Serbian government officials with whom we met in Belgrade didn't want us to go to Kosovo and tried to keep us out. Nonetheless we went to Pristina, Kosovo's capital, and soon found out why the authorities didn't want us there.

Some 10,000 Albanians, hearing of our visit, had assembled peaceably to greet us with chants of "U.S.A." and fingers upraised in the familiar "V" sign. Our Communist hosts reacted by hustling us away on some sort of wild goose chase to keep us from meeting with the Albanians.

Even so, the scenes we saw from our speeding bus were appalling and unforgettable—tanks and troops everywhere, hundreds of demonstrators fleeing in all directions, trying to avoid the club-wielding security forces, and tear gas rising over the confusion and carnage. Scores were injured, hundreds arrested.

Since then, things have gotten even worse in Yugoslavia. The Communist central government has escalated its intimidation of the democratic republics by repeated threats to dispatch military forces and by the actual use of federal troops—in Croatia against Croatian police forces, in Belgrade to crush anti-Communist Serbian demonstrators.

As I write this the hard-liners appear on the verge of unleashing the army in a full-fledged assault on the people of Yugoslavia who are risking their lives for democracy.

Let's face it, this is no time to be rewarding Belgrade with American taxpayer dollars. It is time for us to get off the sidelines and demonstrate—in deed as well as word—our commitment to help the forces of democracy and free enterprise within those countries.

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*Bob Dole*

## Get Smart About Foreign Aid

Although we have just won a stunning victory in the Persian Gulf, the disturbing headlines from Yugoslavia, the Baltics and the Kremlin tell us that the struggle for freedom and democracy is still grinding on.

One key weapon in America's arsenal that can help win that struggle is our coveted foreign aid dollars. But to make foreign aid a "smart" weapon, we have to be a lot smarter in the way we're using it. Right now, we're spending \$15 billion on foreign aid, a huge sum that the taxpayers will be quick to say is way too much unless we get a real "bang for the buck." To date, our aid programs have not always met that strict but necessary criterion.

First, we need to ensure that our aid dollars support democracy and free enterprise and do not inadvertently prop up hard-line Communist governments. That sounds easy. And in nations such as Poland, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria—which are clearly on the road to democracy—it is relatively easy.

But political developments in all of Eastern Europe are not so clear-cut and promising. One of the toughest challenges we face is using aid to foster freedom and self-determination in countries where democratic forces are still struggling against strong Communist forces—such as in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

That's why I have introduced as one of my legislative priorities a bill that directs the administration to channel aid to republics that are on the road to democracy—and simultaneously to deny aid to the Communist central governments in Moscow and Belgrade and wherever else governments are still mired in Stalinist communism.

We should try to encourage the forces of reform in the Soviet Union, using our foreign aid and other efforts. But we have no business even considering aid to Gorbachev's government while Soviet soldiers trample on the Baltics, while the central government tries to intimidate Armenia, Moldavia, Georgia and the Ukraine, and while hard-liners in the Kremlin continue to suppress the democratic movement inside the country.

Recently, in response to critical food shortages across the Soviet Union, the United States offered agricultural credits to the Soviet government. At that time, I supported that initiative on humanitarian grounds. But I have changed my mind after discovering that Gorbachev is using those credits to "bribe" republics that seek democracy—telling them they will get grain only if they give in to Gorbachev's schemes, manifest in his phony "union treaty," to keep them under Moscow's thumb.

Until we receive ironclad guarantees that food assistance will reach those who need it and not be used for political blackmail, I will oppose future agricultural credits to Moscow.