

## U.S. CONGRESS ADOPTS A NEW ANTI-SERBIAN RESOLUTION

# Senator Dole's Private War

*From Dušan Zupan in Washington*

The U.S. Senate recently adopted yet another of a series of anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav resolutions. Over the past few years such documents seemed to interest certain U.S. politicians immensely.

The document was once again drawn up by the head of the Republican minority in the U.S. Senate, Robert Dole, a man who has, in the past two years, openly taken sides with those political forces in Yugoslavia that endorse the country's disintegration. A scandal broke out during his visit to Kosovo last year when he arrogantly refused to hear out representatives of the Serbs and Montenegrins living in this province and their religious leaders. Later on, Dole made references to this visit while explaining his previously established political views on the situation in Yugoslavia and Serbia.

Dole's true motives for concluding that the U.S. Senate should pass a new anti-Yugoslav and anti-Serbian resolution at this very moment are not clear, particularly since there are certain signs of pacification in the country and since the republican leaders are devoting much more time and energy to joint discussions than they did only a few weeks or months ago. Some analysts of the U.S.-Yugoslav relations believe that Dole has taken this new step precisely because the situation in the country seems to be improving. Discussions on the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis have intensified this month and Yugoslav officials received warnings from various parts of the world, including Washington, that Yugoslavia should remain united.

What exactly is the resolution about? According to Dole, its importance lies in the fact that it "is signaling the Yugoslav people that the U.S. Senate is 100% in favour of freedom, democracy and human rights" and that this signal is being sent out precisely now that "the situation in Yugoslavia is fluid and precarious".

The contents of the resolution could be reduced to the claim that four Yugoslav republics (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia) are "democratic", while two are "communist" (Serbia and Montenegro), that the provinces have been deprived of their autonomous status, that the Yugoslav Army has threatened to use force against the "democratic" republics and that this threat still exists. Serbian President, Slobodan Milošević, is urged to abandon his alleged policy of oppression against the Albanian population in Kosovo, while the President of the Yugoslav Presidency Borisav Jović is requested not to use force against the authorities of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia and Slovenia. The resolution, however, does not mention those forces in Yugoslavia threatening to disintegrate the country.

At the very end of the document one might find its probable essence: reference is given to the so-called Nickles amendment, (named after its author, senator Don Nickles, a Republican from Oklahoma) which has been included in the Foreign Operations Appropriations Bill and which threatens that the United States will discontinue its aid to Yugoslavia or to some Yugoslav republics under certain conditions. Some connoisseurs of the U.S. Yugoslav relations believe that

this resolution could be used to impose additional pressure on Yugoslavia and Serbia.

It is generally known that the Washington administration does not believe that this resolution is the best way of contributing to the processes currently taking place in Yugoslavia. It believes that in the present situation, which is thought to be 'fluid,' it is better to leave the settlement of the crisis to the Yugoslavs than to influence them in ways proscribed by the Kansas senator. No one knows why senator Dole, one of the most influential U.S. senators, is so interested in the events taking place in Yugoslavia. There are some notions, which have neither been proved nor denied, that he is of Albanian origin. Some believe that he has been influenced by certain anti-Yugoslav lobbies in the United States. It is interesting to note that it was senator Dole who headed the Congress delegation to Iraq a year ago. The delegation had no major remarks regarding the respect of human rights in that country. In their talks with Iraq's president Saddam Hussein, some members of the delegation even agreed that certain western media went too far in their attacks on the Iraqi government.

The minutes on these talks issued by Baghdad showed that Dole was far less outspoken in discussing human rights in Iraq than discussing the same issue in Yugoslavia later on.

Apart from being a pending "memorandum" of the "Nickles amendment," Dole's last resolution is of little significance, since it does not go further than the previous anti-Yugoslav and anti-Serbian resolutions. It can be said that the role of this document is to provoke further tension in the

U.S.-Yugoslav relations and to possibly cause an unnecessary anti-American mood in Serbia, rather than to have positive influence on Yugoslav local politics or on the bilateral relations between the two countries.

As far as the implementation of the above mentioned "Nickles amendment" is concerned, it does not depend on the Congress anymore, but on the "testimony" of the State Department and the White House, which are believed to have no interest in implementing the amendment in the present situation. Yugoslavia has not been receiving aid from the United States for a long time, and the threats of discontinuing the guarantees provided by Exim bank would affect the U.S. exports to Yugoslavia more than they would contribute to the "punishment" of Belgrade. The only harm could be done by implementing the provision under which U.S. representatives in the international financial institutions (IMF, World Bank) would be ordered to oppose further cooperation with Yugoslavia or with some of its parts. In that case, however, harm would not be done to Yugoslavia only. It would have more serious repercussions, which would not be in line with the recent statements made by top representatives of a number of Western countries.

Dole's last resolution is thus only the latest episode in a series of similar documents and steps taken by the United States that were of no benefit to the relations between the two countries. Although senator Dole believes that "the message should be sent now," many U.S. politicians think that the timing is not right for such a message, if it should be sent at all.