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FROM PARTY-STATE TO NATION-STATE

It is a miracle, but an undisputed fact, that the violence between Yugoslavia's republics has, so far, remained verbal. Causes for despair are plentiful and any agreement which has been achieved has been reached at the edge of an abyss, over which the republics are poised unable to resolve their differences. Oblivious of the consequences, sapping people's energies with nationalist euphoria and hostile threats, courting complete economic collapse and creating incalculable damage to relations with the West, the republican leaderships are fomenting more tension and disorder.

Most, if not all, of these leaders have been schooled in the repudiated communist tradition. They have simply switched from communism to nationalism and, in spite of the declared goals of liberal democracy and integration within the European Community, they have created national party states. Extravagantly extolling national symbols and openly promoting the most predominant religion of the republic, the leaders have

abandoned the idea of a secular state and thus have created apprehension and fear among the minorities within their borders. The problems in Yugoslavia are precisely national minorities "in the other republic."

Therefore, what is needed is a total commitment to human rights, to a secular state and to democracy. These commitments are imperative regardless of whether Yugoslavia is a federation or confederation or dissolves into separate statelets because it is neither practical or civilized to change demographic reality on the eve of the third millennium.

SUMMITS ON THE "POLITICAL FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY"

Amid threats of secession, territorial demands, political turbulence and economic breakdown, the federal and republican leaderships finally decided to start talking face to face. The federal government is represented by the eight-member state presidency and by the head of the Federal Executive Council, Prime Minister Ante Markovic. The republics and two autonomous provinces are represented by their respective presidents.

The first meeting was held in Belgrade on January 10. It produced restatement of known positions, whereby Slovenia and Croatia seek a loose confederation or they threaten to secede, while, on the other end of the political spectrum, Serbia demands a federal arrangement or it will seek territories outside of Serbia proper which have a Serbian majority. An agreement was reached to hold bilateral talks between the

Serbian, Croatian and Slovene presidents before the next summit.

The second meeting took place in Belgrade on January 31. However, after the first meeting the country was shaken by political turmoil which resulted in a showdown between the federal military and Croat authorities who were accused of illegally arming paramilitary units. Because of the presence of the top military brass the Croat delegation left the meeting "because there were no conditions for conducting a dialogue." Although the meeting continued without the Croats, it ended with no progress to report.

On February 8 the third meeting was held in Belgrade. Dr. Franjo Tudjman, the Croat president, refused to attend because an "anti-Croat rally was to be held outside the conference hall by some 5,000 women." The Slovene president, Milan Kucan, walked out of the talks because of the "impossible conditions." The talks then broke up without any agreement being reached.

The fourth round of talks took place in Belgrade on February 13. The biggest news from this summit was that four Croat representatives had their handguns confiscated at the entrance of the federal Assembly where the talks were held. This meeting, attended by all concerned, ended in the usual threats of secession (Croatia and Slovenia) and of expanding territory (Serbia).

The fifth meeting took place in Sarajevo on February 22. The official communique from the meeting, which again was attended by all parties concerned, stated that "a step forward was taken," that is to say, a working group was set up to prepare a plan of solving disputes between antagonistic republics. The talks will continue in Belgrade on March 1.

The reason why these closed door sessions produced no results was best described in the February 11 issue of the weekly *Vreme*: "Even a superficial analysis of the profiles of the main actors in talks on Yugoslavia's future does not induce overoptimism. Among those

who are currently laboring to cultivate Yugoslavia and its peoples there are few with the quality of a statesman and too many politicians who, it appears, are not capable of reflecting and foreseeing events for more than a week. At the negotiating table and in bilateral encounters are individuals who are federalists and confederalists, nationalist leaders unused to dialogue and vain leaders who believe that 'raising the hysteria of the people strengthens their negotiating positions.' Finally, many of these are people who have sat at the protracted conferences of the Communist Party Central Committee through the years, pushing peoples and nations into conflicts with unforeseeable consequences."

IN THE SOVEREIGN REPUBLICS

The activities of republican governments of every persuasion - nationalists, former communists or outright communists - were sadly lacking any constructive moves towards tempering passions and starting to resolve the national and economic crises. Following are some notable events:

Macedonia. After a week of infighting by all concerned, on January 27 the Macedonian Assembly managed to elect (114 out of 119 votes) a new president of the republic. Seventy-four year old Kiro Gligorov has an impeccable communist pedigree. He has held many top federal and republican posts including that of president (1974-78) of the federal Assembly. Before electing him the Assembly voted a resolution making Macedonia a "sovereign and independent state," whatever that entails legally and politically in the current situation.

Bosnia-Hercegovina. There was a move in the Assembly by the Muslim majority (39.9%) on January 27 to pass a decree of sovereignty. The decree was opposed by the Serbs (32% of the population) who threatened to walk out of the Assembly. If enacted, they feared, this decree would hasten the breakup of the federation.

Croatia. While the authorities are facing internal challenges from various regions -

Istria and Dalmatia bent on more regional autonomy, Serb enclaves looking for independence - the government is busy purifying industry's top jobs of non-Croat elements. Meanwhile the opposition (Ivan Zvonimir Cicak) charges that "in Croatia the same thing is occurring as is in Serbia.... Tudjman has made Croatia TV and *Vjesnik* and *Vecernji list* (dailies) his private domain as Milosevic has done with the Politika publishing house and Belgrade TV. So there is the same mentality in Croatia and in Serbia but with different national signs." Dr. Tudjman was cordially received by Kurt Waldheim. He thus gained the distinction of being the second head of state, besides King Hussein of Jordan, to break the embargo against Mr. Waldheim. On February 21 the Croat Assembly voted the supremacy of republican over federal laws which "it deems threaten Croatia's interests and sovereignty."

Slovenia. Strenuous efforts by Slovenia's inept leaders to do something forced them once again to vote secession on February 5. A day after they returned empty-handed from Brussels, where they went seeking aid, the Assembly voted on January 20 to supersede federal with republican laws.

Serbia. After having partially rigged the elections, S. Milosevic had Dr. S. Unkovic elected to head Serbia's Assembly. He had been previously handpicked to be the dean of Belgrade University. His installation to this post elicited the following comment by a Belgrade dissident: "This is the third destruction of the university. First it was done in by the Nazis, then by the communists upon liberation and now by Milosevic's henchman Unkovic." It is to be hoped Dr. Unkovic will not be equally successful with the Assembly.

Time will tell how long these self-serving reaffirmations of sovereignty and other manipulations will be tolerated by the public while the country is on the edge of economic disaster.

WHERE DOES THE YPA STAND?

The biggest unknown factor in the struggle

between Yugoslavia's republics is the federal army or the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA). Privileged during communist rule, it remains loyal to the "Titoist concept of socialism," to the revolution and to the dead dictator himself. From time to time it has flexed its muscles and it has vowed to keep the federation intact and "on the road to socialism." Croats and Slovenes have charged the YPA with pro-Serbian bias because of its more than proportional Serb officer corps; however, its moves so far have not fully substantiated this charge, although some of its moves have coincided with the pronouncements and actions of communist leader Slobodan Milosevic. It is expected that the strains in the society are reflected in the military, which is evident from developments in the last two months.

- On January 9 the state presidency ordered the YPA to disarm "illegal armed units" throughout the country within ten days.

- Although some groups and individuals had handed in their weapons, on January 19 the Croat authorities asked the feds to extend the deadline until midnight on January 21. The extension was granted and the military was instructed to enforce the order thereafter. With unclear federal orders as to which were the illegal units, Croatia and Slovenia put their paramilitary and police forces on full alert and warned that any move by the federal army to disarm these units would result in civil war.

- Midnight January 21 passed and, except for obvious tensions, the federal army made no move to disarm anyone. The state presidency, however, announced the following day that it would prosecute civilians who ignored the order to turn in unregistered weapons, but it made no mention of earlier threats to send soldiers to confiscate arms. Thus the military option to settle the problems between the republics was not used. As far as disarming is concerned, it appears that the order was obeyed in part (only by the Serbs in Croatia) in spite of the fact, or perhaps because of it, that it was widely suspected that the original order was inspired by S. Milosevic. The

Reuter's report of January 23 notes: "Diplomats in Belgrade said the Slovenian and Croatian governments had deliberately stoked tension to unite their people behind them and against the federal authority."

- As tensions seemed to subside with the state presidency's pledge (January 23) that the military would not enforce the federal order of January 9, a day later the military issued the following statement: "Unless the mobilized armed units on the territory of Croatia are disbanded, the Yugoslav army will raise the combat readiness of its units to a level that will guarantee the implementation ... of criminal proceedings and court rulings." Except for creating alarm in Croatia, this statement begged the question of whether the nominal commander-in-chief, the state presidency, is in charge of the military or are the military taking matters into their own hands?

- A day later (January 25) Belgrade TV aired an army film - rumors about its existence were originally reported in *Vreme* of January 21 - shot secretly, showing Croatia's defense officials negotiating and purchasing weapons, making plans for an attack on federal military establishments and personnel, etc. Initially called a fabrication by Croat authorities and eliciting denials from Hungarians who sold the weapons, it soon became apparent that the film showed actual transactions, although some of the statements were edited.

- The following day Croatia's president met federal and Serbian officials and agreed to "demobilize the republican reserve police force by noon, while the state presidency agreed that the combat readiness of the army units in the republic will be reduced to conform 'with peacetime conditions.'" Thus yet another almost fatal encounter was averted.

- On January 30 the federal military issued an order for the arrest of Croatia's defense minister, who was heavily implicated in the film aired five days earlier. This resulted in a new standoff between Croatia's authorities and the federal military.

- The leading dailies, *Borba* in Belgrade and *Vjesnik* in Zagreb, published (January 21) the full text of "information on the current situation at home and abroad and the immediate tasks of the YPA," which was issued by the federal Ministry of Defense. Two statements in this 1,600-word memorandum stand out as the most anachronistic utterances by the military: "In Yugoslavia also, socialism has not been finished off and brought to its knees. In spite of the high price paid, Yugoslavia has resisted the hysteria of the first wave of anti-communist onslaught. The real possibility of preserving the federation and socialist community have been sustained." Attacking the West, the memorandum continues: "In realizing its basic strategic course - the destruction of the communist idea and socialist option - the Western stage managers have achieved significant results but not the ultimate goal. The destruction of communism has not succeeded in any country in which the revolution was home-grown. Because of this the strategists of the anti-socialist campaign are forced to regroup their forces and seek new directions and methods of attack." One can only feel compassion for people who, on January 30, 1991, address their nation as quoted above!

- Since the Croat authorities refused to carry out the army's orders to arrest the republican defense minister, the federal military issued a warrant on February 15 for the arrest of the minister, Martin Spegelj.

After all is said and done, it is still unclear where the army stands and how deep it is in Milosevic's pocket, if at all. Is it committed to enforcing the federal status? At this moment one thing is certain, it is not hell-bent on enforcing democracy anywhere in the country!

ECONOMIC NOSE-DIVE

Speaking at an OECD meeting at the beginning of February about the state of the economy in Yugoslavia, the federal minister for planning explained those who oppose reforms: "Those who sense that they lose

political power with the developing market. Wherever there is a developed market political power is restricted. In our society the tendency is for politics to rule over everything. In accordance with this, the current rulers in Serbia and Croatia are more 'totalitarian' than their predecessors." While this opinion may be harsh, there is no question that the fundamental problem in the two mentioned republics is that their leaders are more preoccupied with fanning nationalism than solving economic problems.

A hint of financial malversation came from the Serbian opposition which charged on December 23 that the republican secret police illegally transferred \$2 million abroad. Seven days later Slovenia's prime minister noted that his government is "investigating rumors that Serbia is printing money." Then on January 4 the federal prime minister received an anonymously sent parcel containing documentation showing that Serbia's communists had illegally printed \$1.6 billion worth of currency. While each republic has the right to ask for an infusion of currency, before it proceeds it must obtain permission from federal authorities. That this piracy undermines the country's monetary system and erodes creditor and investor confidence does not have to be emphasized.

Unemployment stands at approximately 17% and those who work receive their salaries irregularly, sometimes three months late. This situation, compounded by political turmoil, has resulted in a number of strikes. Over 2,000 workers of the Borovo footwear factory in Croatia went on strike January 28, demanding back wages from last year. Several thousand workers from Zemun (near Belgrade) marched on the Serbian Assembly on January 29. Representatives of some 10,000 workers (250 of them) spent over two weeks in mid-January camping in the Assembly of Vojvodina to seek higher pay. Some 200 trucks were used on February 14 to block roads around government buildings. The truckers were seeking lower taxes. On February 18, 13,000 industrial workers in Rakovica (near Belgrade) went on strike seeking back wages for hundreds of

thousands of workers. Some 200,000 metal workers have announced a strike for March 3.

In December federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic told the Assembly that \$2.5 billion in new loans was needed in 1991 to revive the economy. Negotiations were started on January 29 with the IMF, and on February 6 *The Financial Times* reported: "The prime minister must secure support for his latest economic reforms from the six feuding republics in order to secure the stand-by loan from the IMF...." The immediate reaction from the "feuding republics" was not encouraging; however, from later developments it appears that IMF demands have had a positive influence on the republican leaderships.

Industrial production in January fell by 18.2% when compared with the same month of last year. The largest drop was registered in Kosovo (36.5%) and the smallest in Vojvodina (10.5%). By industry, machinery production registered the largest drop (43.6%). While inflation was cut drastically last year, the figure for December still stands at 122%. The Gulf war also hit the economy; \$3 billion in contracts were cancelled and no Iraqi debt payments (in oil) were received.

Recent research by the federal government showed that 28.1% of the people live below the poverty line. By region, this investigation, which did not include results from 1990, points to Slovenia as having 2.9% of the poor, while Kosovo has a staggering 81.9% of the poor.

POLITICAL INTERROGATIONS AND ARRESTS

On January 17, in Belgrade, R. Radovanovic, vice-president of the Independent Union of Belgrade Radio and Television workers, was brought to the police station from his workplace for interrogation. The police escorts had no official papers for his detention and Radovanovic believes the "chat" was in connection with his union activities.

On January 25, in Vitrovitica, A. Habijanec, president of the executive committee of the municipality of Vitrovitica; Dj. Decak, president of the local branch of the ruling Croatian Democratic Alliance; F. Kovac and V. Sabaric, both on active military duty in the local garrison were all arrested by the military police. They are under investigation for the criminal act of "armed rebellion."

On February 10, in Zagreb, M. Vujnovic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party branch in Zagreb, was detained for interrogation on suspicion that he committed the criminal act of "provoking national, racial and religious hatred."

On February 22, in Prilistina, A. Vllasi, former communist leader of Kosovo who was released from prison last April after a show trial (probably the last such event in Eastern Europe), was brought to the police station for an "informative discussion."

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE MEDIA

If the measure of democracy in a society is reflected in the freedom its media enjoy, then democracy in Yugoslavia has a long way to go. Freed from the most part from the communist "diktat", the media finds itself under pressure from the nationalist leaderships in the republics. Numerous reports of firings, harassment and threats to journalists are reported from all corners of the country. Although they vary in severity from republic to republic, in all instances the new rulers are striving to gain control of the media and, in some cases, they are unfortunately successful. A sampling of some recent constrictions follows:

- It was reported that Ljubljana journalist Primoz Kalisnik, who is working for *Delo plus*, will be criminally charged for revealing an "official secret." Kalisnik apparently wrote on the illegal import of arms by the Slovene government reported earlier by the Italian daily *Trieste oggi*.

- On January 7 five deputies from Novi Sad sent an appeal to the Assemblies of Serbia and Vojvodina and to the democratic public

demanding objective reporting on the sessions of the Assembly of Serbia. The appeal is underscored by the statement: "Keeping in mind that the managers of the most influential media in Serbia and Vojvodina proved their bias toward one party and their intolerance towards the opposition during the election campaign, it is obvious that they cannot manage editing under the new circumstances (a multi-party Assembly)."

- At a meeting of the Croatian Society of Journalists in late January, a number of instances of pressure on the press by the ruling party were aired. The journalists were particularly disturbed by the forced (early) retirement of some 140 people from Croatian TV. They were also unhappy with the Ministry of Information whose existence is seen as "somebody wanting to oversee the media."

- The federal government issued a statement through its information office deploring "the spread of disinformation, half-truths, political disqualifications and attacks on the person and dignity" of the federal prime minister and his government. These attacks, illustrated by quotations of the offending headlines, took place in the weekly *NIN* and the dailies *Politika* and *Politika ekspres*, all under the tight control of S. Milosevic.

- Two reporters from the Belgrade daily *Vecernje novosti*, S. Djikic and N. Vukovic, were abducted while on assignment in the Croatian town of Vitrovitica on February 1. Their abductors used force, discharged firearms, beat and ill-treated the captives claiming that they represented the new Croatian authorities. Instead of condemning the act of violence, the authorities issued a statement on the investigation of a "physical clash between reporters and the townspeople."

- The Hungarian language weekly which is published in Subotica has twice changed its chief editor within the last few months, the last on February 11. The new boss at *Het Nep*, a government official, was not welcomed by the workers who gave the government seven

days to reconsider its imposition of the top editor. The editorial board warned that if the worker's demands were not met they would go on strike.

- After removing "unsuitable" journalists from the daily *Pobjeda* and banning those who remained from contributing to opposition journals, the newly elected communist government in Montenegro struck again. On February 23 they removed the director of TV Montenegro, M. Radulovic, and the directors of Radio Montenegro, C. Ljesevic and D. Burzan. Radulovic, it was stated, was "unlawfully elected to his post", while the fellows at the radio station had "conducted unprincipled, politically obvious, professionally incorrect editorial policy for a period of time."

- Journalists of TV Novi Sad (G. Bodis, A. Nemet, A. Balaz, Z. Cikos and K. Keseg) were fired from their jobs on February 25. Apparently the authorities were not satisfied with one of their reports which deviated from the official rendering of the events in question.

- An Associated Press dispatch of February 27 reports: "...in an apparent crackdown against independent news media, the police grabbed at least three street vendors in downtown Belgrade as hundreds of passers-by looked on. Stacks of independent periodicals were removed in a police van."

- Two independent television stations, YUTEL and Belgrade's Studio B, were to have certain joint transmissions from February 21 to 28. However, on February 25 the YUTEL transmitter near Belgrade was disabled by "unknown perpetrators." According to YUTEL's general manager, "The Socialist Party (of Serbia) obviously does not want to have sources of information which are not in harmony with the controlled Belgrade TV."

TWO NEW PARTIES IN CROATIA

The Dalmatian Action Party (DAP) was organized in Split on December 16. Among 1,000 delegates, observers and sympathizers

were 11 representatives from other opposition parties; however, conspicuous by their absence were representatives of the ruling Croatian Democratic Alliance (CDA).

The organization of this regional political party was apparently a direct response to the centrist program of the CDA, the same party which opposes the alleged centrist program of the federation!

The basic points of the DAP program are "the rejection of any centralism, complete democratization of social and political life, market economy and maritime orientation with the basic aim of the development of Dalmatia." DAP further states that "the new rulers, blinded by power as was the old regime, consider themselves to be the only guardians of the truth, and the only truth is that we are faced with simple and terrible deprivation." Asserting Dalmatia's geographic, climatic, historical, linguistic, economic and social uniqueness, the DAP will struggle for regional autonomy within the republic of Croatia and Yugoslavia.

Taking a cue from certain former emigre publications, the new rulers attempted to deny the region's historic name, Dalmatia, calling it instead Southern Croatia. It is, therefore, no wonder that DAP came into existence to protect regional interests from a regime claiming to have established "the most democratic country on earth."

Headed by Tito's favorite, who later became a victim of his purges, Dr. Savka Dapcevic-Kucar inaugurated the Croatian National Party in Zagreb on January 14. From her pronouncements to some 2,000 members, guests and observers, which included a representative of the ruling CDA, she chastised the party in power for not having a more "sovereign" Croatian constitution. In very mild terms she also criticized the residues of bolshevism which causes the rulers to view opposition as hostile.

THE CULPABILITY OF TITO

Well-known writer Milovan Danojlic, who

lives in Paris but frequently visits his native Serbia, wrote an essay analyzing a recent brochure, apparently written by a henchman of Serbia's strongman, called: "How much and what Serbs and Serbia owe to Josip Broz (Tito) and the communists." Excerpts from the analysis are translated from *Demokratija* (February 25), the paper of the Democratic party of which Mr. Danojlic is a member.

"The text is based on current articles published in various media in Yugoslavia. As sources for historical facts it is difficult to imagine any more unreliable than the press in Yugoslavia. It falsifies events which we witness daily and it writes completely irresponsibly about the past as it suits the moment....

"Is Tito really to be blamed for everything?

"Some ten years ago when Serbia's communists began waking up from the nightmare, the first thing they thought about was how Tito deceived them. Deceit in politics is not all that serious a transgression and those who permit deception ought not to complain. Narrow-minded and lacking education, the communist intellectuals overnight 'boarded the nationalist boat' and placed all the sins on the back of the dying or already dead Tito. They forgot it was they who brought him to Serbia with bayonets; they forgot what they arrogantly preached for years. They want us to accept them as misled idealists whom the Croatian devil turned against beloved Serbia, which they ruined with the best of intentions, until they saw the light. Now they want, since they are experienced political commissars, to take us in the opposite direction.

"It is difficult to ascertain to what extent Serbophobia guided Tito's actions. He had every reason to respect Serbs - without them he would have never gained power - but, at the same time, he must have detested their rebellious temperament and tendency for unpredictable moves. Nevertheless, all Serbian communists danced to his tune....

"The danger called Serblan hegemonism was not invented by Tito. It follows and is

imposed by the basic tenets of Marxist ideology as developed by Lenin and Stalin.... In his doctrinaire struggle against hegemonism, how much of his Austro-Hungarian and Croatian malice Tito introduced is more a subject to be novelized rather than a matter of scholarship. Titology, at least in Serbia, permits all sorts of insinuations. Assumptions are taken as confirmed facts; they falsify history. The communists used to attempt to give the illusion of satisfying scholarly inquiry, current anti-communist pamphleteers simply ignore the facts. From their writing it appears that the Vatican and the Comintern spend all their days scheming to make life more difficult for the Serbs, so that Tito appears in the role of a double terrorist. As a Roman Catholic he works for Rome, and as a communist for Moscow. He is a devil, while those who brought him to power are heavenly angels.

"A fundamental characteristic of post-war life is that thinking and reasoning are lies.... Now, similar methods are used by anti-communists, among whom there are very many former communists. The experts are continuing with their work.

"It must have been clear to whoever even superficially studied Tito that the first and only virtue of this despot was the craving for power. Therefore, depending on the situation and needs of the moment, he loved and hated Serbs; he loved and hated Croats; he was a Stalinist and anti-Stalinist, a liberal and a tyrant; he strived for centralized Yugoslavia and also to break it up. Serbia suffered under him the most because she probably had the most to lose; however, the others did not fare much better. No one promised and gave more to the ethnic Albanians than Tito. But whenever they sought that which they wanted most, he - remember! - sent tanks to Pristina. Under him the Serbian church groaned, but to say that the Catholic church in Croatia flourished means to be dishonest.

"But who in our recent disputes cares about truth and honesty?

"The author categorically contends that Tito

imposed communism with the only aim of ruining the Serbs. He should then explain why the majority of people freely elected Tito's - although unfaithful, but nevertheless - successors?

"Instead of guessing what Tito really did and what he might have done and what the Comintern and Vatican intrigues were, all of which they participated in, our communists would do better to tell us what they themselves did and were thinking at particular periods. That must be more familiar to them than the manipulation of the world's dark political forces. This, however, requires somewhat more intellectual effort and, above all, honesty. From all appearances they have lost the habit of both.

"As far as history is concerned, they were really never rooted in it; they always dwelled in the legend and the nightmare."

Mr. Danojlic wrote candidly about Serbian communists, their lies, manipulations and the use of all means to stay in power. It would be refreshing to hear from others whose nationals also helped Tito to grab and stay in power and who are today beating the nationalist drum in order to stay in power themselves.

THE WEST'S CONCERN FOR YUGOSLAVIA

Concern for untying Yugoslavia's problems is more evident as the situation in the country deteriorates. From the US Senate to the German Bundestag and the European Community, alarm bells are ringing, protests and suggestions are forthcoming. Because of a long-standing infatuation with Tito, who is the architect of the mess the country finds itself in presently, the West has been unable to influence events in spite of the fact that it possessed tremendous leverage to do so. Now with the country in turmoil it is attempting to do what should have been done decades ago: dictate the terms - respect for human rights and political pluralism - under which financial and political backing will continue. While opportunities have been missed, there is no need now to repeat the

mistakes of the past.

The vice-chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), Senator Dennis DeConcini (D- Arizona), expressed the CSCE concern about Yugoslavia and proposed that American policy be guided by the following principles (*Congressional Record*, January 24):

1. Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.
2. Equal rights and self-determination of peoples.
3. Territorial integrity, inviolability of frontiers.
4. Refraining from the threat of the use of force.
5. Peaceful settlement of disputes.

It is significant that the CSCE would require that each of the republican governments, in addition to the federal government, subscribe to the above principles. It is also noteworthy that under Point 1 it is stated that equal application of rights must be applied to "the Albanians in Kosovo and Macedonia, to the Serbs in Kosovo and Croatia." Elaborating on Point 2 regarding self-determination, it is stated: "This could but does not necessarily mean secession and independence, a frequent and mistaken assumption. In fact, unlike the Soviet situation to which it is often compared, the essentially voluntary nature of the original joining of the Yugoslav peoples brings less sympathy to arguments for Yugoslavia's break-up." [Emphasis added.] This last statement will find a number of republican leaders red- faced. Their drawing of false parallels between the Baltic republics and their own has been seen by the US Senate for what is is, a cheap propaganda ploy.

Further Western initiatives attempting to influence events in Yugoslavia are:

January 29. Italian foreign minister G. DeMichelis declared: "We will use all the

political means at our disposal to prevent the use of force concerning the very delicate situation in Yugoslavia...."

February 5. The European Community issued an appeal to Yugoslavia's authorities which concluded that the EC hopes "...that the current dialogue between republican and federal organs will lead to constitutional moves which would facilitate creation of a new Yugoslavia based on freedom and democracy."

February 21. The European Community lodged a strong protest with Serbia's authorities about the "unacceptable treatment of the EC delegation during its recent visit to Kosovo."

February 21. After a day-long debate the German Bundestag sent a message to the Yugoslav government: "The break-up of Yugoslavia can't be in Europe's interest."

February 21. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee held a hearing with the theme: "Civil War in Yugoslavia: America's Response." The high point of the hearing was Senator R. Dole's testimony in which he recommended aid be given to non-communist republics "thereby by-passing central government." Senator Dole is obviously not informed that only one republic, Bosnia-Herzegovina, has a non-former-communist at its head! Deputy Assistant Secretary of State J. F. Dobbins said that the United States is committed to encouraging the "territorial integrity of Yugoslavia within its present borders."

February 27. Two members of the European Parliament were invited guests of the federal Assembly. During a side visit to the Assembly of Serbia, they declared: "The fate of your country is in Europe."

In an attempt to mitigate intra-national problems, perhaps the most active of the diplomats in Belgrade is the US Ambassador, Warren Zimmermann. He appears to be on the move at all times and has held talks with most, if not all, republican leaders and federal authorities. It is regrettable that he

has been vilified by Milosevic's press in Belgrade for his efforts. These uncalled for and vulgar attacks have been condemned by the opposition in Serbia, whose spokesman stated that such behavior has brought nothing but shame to Serbia.

1990 DEPARTMENT OF STATE REPORT

Released on February 1, this year's State Department Report on Human Rights in the World also deals with the state of human rights in Yugoslavia on some 20 pages.

For the first time in 11 years we can state that the report is unbiased and generally correct. The refreshing news is that the SD has finally shed the "official" versions of events and has reached a variety of sources as the basis for the report.

Most of the report, under various categories of human rights abuses, deals with events in Kosovo where the most flagrant abuses are taking place. It is interesting that when reporting on the elections in the republics, the report states that they were generally free except in Serbia. Then it presents the American press: "In Serbia, the actual voting in most districts generally appeared to have been conducted in a correct fashion. However, Serbian authorities used their control of the media to conduct what amounted to a smear campaign against the opposition, while denying the opposition equal access to the media. The authorities denied the opposition equal access to office space and financial resources and harassed some opposition leaders by charging them with misdemeanors. There are widespread and credible reports that many people in Serbia were warned by the authorities not to vote for the opposition, and some were harassed, including being threatened with dismissal from their jobs if they supported the opposition during the election campaign."

The report is also expanded to deal with feminist and trade union problems in more detail than in previous years.

THE CROAT AND SLOVENE LOBBY IN WASHINGTON

Dr. Norman Beiley is the economic adviser to the Presidency of the republic of Croatia. Mr. Peter Millonig is the bureau head of the government of the republic of Slovenia based in Washington, DC.

Washington is teeming with lobbyists for all types of causes and everybody knows that their job is to drum up support for the cause they are getting paid to represent. It would, however, be prudent to stay within the limits of truth when doing the job. Dr. Beiley held a press conference on January 28 and, apart from referring to Yugoslavia as an artificial country - thus implying that the US has been dealing for 73 years with an artificial entity! - he stated that Dr. Tudjman received 70% of the vote in the elections last April. The truth is that Dr. Tudjman received 41% of the vote, which in itself does not change much, but says a lot about Dr. Beiley's zeal.

Mr. Millonig had his thoughts recorded in *The Christian Science Monitor* (January 29). He has presented two novel reasons why the West urges the integrity of Yugoslavia and why these are wrong. First, the West wants a unified market, and second, a number of smaller states would render the region geopolitically unstable. Regarding the market, the point is completely unsubstantiated. About instability, it is obvious that those advocating European integration will not look favorably on any trend which may reverse that process.

BRIEFS

- Respected Slovene economist Dr. Aleksandar Bajt is reported (*Vreme*, February 18) to have stated: "In case it becomes independent, Slovenia will, in short order, become the tenth province of Austria. Slovenes are ready to pay a high price for independence and Austria's political and economic interests would exact a price tag of open germanization." For his efforts in attempting to safeguard Slovenia's national interests within Yugoslavia's framework, Dr. Bajt was physically assaulted.

- Ivan Zvonimir Cicak, one of the most vocal

critics of Dr. Tudjman's administration, was the first to resign from the Croatian Society for the Protection of Human Rights. He stated that under the current government it was useless to strive to protect the human rights of others when one is unable to protect his own rights. (*Vjesnik*, January 29) Now comes Dr. Zarko Puhovski, a prominent Zagreb sociologist, who resigned from the same organization for very similar reasons. Dr. Puhovski states that there is "renewed emphasis on a totalitarian political atmosphere in Croatia." Conditions are such, he notes, that any "attempt to seek justice for whatever minority group elicits a charge of anti-state activity." (*Vreme*, February 18)

- "They are Serbian liberals who underwent surgery for the removal of every and all national feeling. They side with other nationalities when they claim that Serbia is threatening them. They are completely blind to the problems of Serbia." So states professor Dr. Ljubomir Tadic regarding the activities of the Belgrade branch of the Yugoslav Democratic Initiative (YDI). Essentially, the activities of YDI which he criticized are those which deal with this organization's courageous efforts - thus far unsuccessful - to establish a dialogue with Kosovo's Albanians in order to initiate the unraveling of this thorny problem in that part of Yugoslavia. In the overheated nationalist climate which prevails throughout the country with the subjugated media hammering out hate and fabricating enemies on all sides, it is not surprising that YDI's efforts are not widely embraced. What is surprising, however, are the quarters from which YDI is criticized. First it was from a communist (now socialist) member of the Assembly who for 45 years has known what is patriotic and what is not. Then came Dr. Tadic, a former communist and former member of the Praxis group which attempted to salvage Marxism by giving it a "human face" and who is currently a member of the Democratic party.

- In Slovenia and Croatia, Christmas day (December 25) was declared a non-working holiday. In Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro, Christmas day (January 7) was a

regular working day. The refusal of the authorities to grant the religious holiday in Serbia was protested by opposition parties as well as by public figures not allied with the regime. It is ironic that even in the Russian republic January 7 was an official holiday.

- The biweekly *Duga* (December 20-January 5) published an investigative report on the number of people executed by the communists immediately after the "liberation" of Belgrade in 1944. The numbers claimed are staggering - from 15,000 to 30,000! The methods used to do away with the "undesirable elements" are described by some of the executioners themselves. The victims were usually taken to the city outskirts and summarily shot. In special cases the executioner's orders were: "Just ring the house bell and open fire.!"

- It has been known for years that top communist party and government officials receive the "Secret Official Gazette" (SOG). The Belgrade weekly *Vreme* (January 9) now brings to light facts about the SOG, whose purpose was to hide from the public and foreign partners any law or regulation which could elicit criticism at home or abroad. The law enacting publication of the SOG, usually issued weekly, was rubber-stamped by the federal Assembly on February 27, 1980, and signed for Tito by the country's vice-president. *Vreme* illustrates with a business deal which did not materialize: "The German businessman could not believe it because he made it a point to study Yugoslavia's economic regulations. It was explained to him that the regulation which forbids the transaction was published in a 'secret' document, that is to say, in the SOG. So invisible, secret regulations voided laws known to the public..."

- One heritage of the Titoist regime is the disproportionate size of Yugoslavia's diplomatic representation. *Vjesnik* of February 1 quotes the head of the federal budget committee who stated that Yugoslavia has more embassies than France and more diplomatic-consular personnel than Great Britain.

- On February 11 the State Department issued another (original issued October 19, reported in CB 61-62) travel advisory on Yugoslavia. It recommends exercising caution when travelling in Kosovo "because of heightened political tension and the potential for ethnic demonstrations." The advisory also recommends caution when travelling in "the Republic of Croatia because of political tension between federal military authorities and the local government."

- "Nationalism and separatism have always been a problem in Yugoslavia, which is an artificial [emphasis added] country made up of several ethnic groups after the First World War," so writes Dusko Doder in *The European* (January 25/27). Mr. Doder is the author of a book entitled *The Yugoslavs* (Random House, 1978). It appears that in 1978 he wrote a book about an "artificial" people.

- *News* from Helsinki Watch of January 9 devotes 13 pages to "Human Rights in a Dissolving Yugoslavia." Regarding Western governments' policies towards Yugoslavia the report states: "Helsinki Watch takes no position on whether Yugoslavia ought to remain a single federal country, a confederation, or break up entirely. Its only concern is that the human rights of all individuals, including members of minority groups, are respected throughout the territory. Accordingly, it urges that economic sanctions be imposed by foreign governments to persuade Yugoslavia and its internal republics to comply with international human rights standards."

- Recent books:

- Cuvalo, Ante, *Croatian National Movement, 1962-1975*. Boulder, CO/New York: East European Quarterly/Columbia University Press, 1990. 275p.

- Emmert, Thomas M. *Serbian Golgotha, Kosovo 1389*. Boulder, CO/New York: East European Quarterly/Columbia University Press, 1990. 233p.

- Lampe, John R., Russell O. Prickett and Ljubisa S. Adamovic. *Yugoslav-American Economic Relations Since World War II*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990. 249p.

- Pipa, Arshi. "Political Situation of the Albanians in Yugoslavia". In: *Albanian Stalinism*. Boulder, CO/New York: East European Monograph/Columbia University Press, 1990. pp. 144-165.

- Stokes, Gale. *Politics as Development. The Emergence of Political Parties in Nineteenth-Century Serbia*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990. 400p.

- Todorovich, Slavko P. *The Chilandarians. Serbian Monks on the Green Mountain*. Boulder, CO/New York: East European Quarterly/Columbia University Press, 1989. 161p.

● In recent journals:

- Although sprinkled with factual errors (e.g. "Kosovo was seized in 1984 when Albania was cut in half - the other half is present-day Albania"), Jane Kokan captures the essence of the Kosovo tragedy in her "Where even toddlers know hatred" (*Index on Censorship*, September, 1990). She states: "Kosovo is a place where toddlers from both sides know whom to hate. If the price of bread goes up, one group blames the other. A disinformation campaign is waged by the Serbs against the Albanians and the Albanians against the Serbs. The tension is overwhelming."

- Michele Lee's "The slide towards civil war" (*International Viewpoint*, October 1) gives an overview of the state of the country at the time. As usual, her biased analysis does not contribute to a better understanding of the dismal situation facing all the peoples of Yugoslavia.

- The October issue of *Current* published Milovan Djilas' "Eastern Europe After the Revolution."

- "The Federal Dilemma in Yugoslavia" by Robin Alison Remington (*Current History*,

December 1990) presents a reasonable update of the problems Yugoslavia faces.

- Professor of history at the Faculty of Philosophy of Zagreb University Ljubo Boban wrote "Jasenovac and the Manipulation of History" (*East European Politics and Society*, Fall 1990). As the title states, he writes about the current manipulation of the number of victims who perished in this notorious concentration camp. In spite of the fact that his analysis is colored here and there with partisan (communist) mythology, his conclusion stands: "The difference between those who made Jasenovac and those who today try to manipulate the story as part of a policy that contributes to the growth of religious and national hatred is not all that great." It is hoped that professor Boban has in mind those manipulators who understate as well as those who exaggerate the number of victims!

- "Poles apart in Yugoslavia" in *East European Reporter* (Autumn/Winter 1990, pp. 61-72) contains a series of outstanding articles on Yugoslavia's past and current problems. One of these by professor Ivo Goldstein was reproduced in our last issue.

- Sabrina P. Ramet wrote "Serbia's Slobodan Milosevic: A Profile" in *Orbis* (Winter 1991, pp. 93-105). While it accurately describes Milosevic's rise to power, it lacks any analysis of the man himself.

- The second issue in 1990 of *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe* printed Michele Lee's "Yugoslavia goes into a penalty shoot-out" in which heavy guns are aimed at Serbia's communist leadership. She, however, must know that hammering at one side for advocating (entering) the union (Yugoslavia) with "hegemonistic intentions" and not mentioning the "separatist intentions" of the other side leads to no solution.

- *The New Leader* (January 14) published Mihajlo Mihajlov's "Back in Yugoslavia." Describing his November visit to his native land, Mihajlov ends the article on an optimistic note: "The U.S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia, Warren Zimmerman, has

compared Yugoslavia today to the noted medical mystery 'Uncle Toby', who fell into a metabolic stupor for seven years. When he came out of his deep freeze, said the Ambassador, 'it turned out that he had a malignant form of cancer which, after being dormant for those seven years, spread and quickly killed him.' The Ambassador continues, 'Eastern Europe, awakening from the cold storage of authoritarian repression, must now contend with the dangers of virulent nationalism. Yugoslavia is not immune.' I think Ambassador Zimmerman is right. I also think the same forces that won the battle against the stupor will win the battle against the cancer."

- Professor Larry Wolff (Boston College) wrote a laudatory retrospective on Rebecca West's monumental travelogue on Yugoslavia, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* (1941). His "Rebecca West: This Time Let's Listen" was published by *The New York Times Book Review* (February 10). Although he does not approve of her self-imposed isolation from post-war Yugoslavia, which she loved, professor Wolff notes her steadfast anti-Titoism, a tribute to a lady who refused to be misled. Very few of her countrymen connected with Yugoslavia can boast of the same distinction!

■ LETTER FROM YUGOSLAVIA

Living in a Le Carré Novel

SLAVENKA DRAKULIĆ

Zagreb

I feel dizzy. I suffer from nausea. I have a headache as soon as I open my eyes in the morning. My heart beats too quickly. I perspire and choke—sometimes I think I'll suffocate, since there is not enough air. I am afraid to open newspapers, watch TV or listen to the radio. I don't dare go outside at night. I have bad dreams. And yet I don't visit my doctor. I know there is no cure for my disease, because I simply suffer from the *symptoms of living here*, in a country where even mother's milk is poisoned by politics.

On the surface, everything seems normal. Streetcars are running, people go to work, schools and hospitals are open. But ominous events have been taking place. The Republic of Slovenia passed a referendum declaring its right to secede. Croatia adopted a new Constitution proclaiming its sovereignty. And most recently, the army has threatened a coup.

- "Breaking Up Is Hard" is a two-page report on Yugoslavia published by *Time* on February 25.

- Zagreb journalist and novelist Slavenka Drakulic published her "Letter from Yugoslavia" in *The Nation* of March 4. We reproduce it at the end of this issue because of its dispassionate and unbiased content.

* * * * *

The deadline for this edition of the *CADDY BULLETIN* was February 28, 1991.

The Democracy International Committee to Aid Democratic Dissidents in Yugoslavia (CADDY) was founded in 1980 to extend moral and political support to those persecuted in Yugoslavia for their opinions.

Material contained herein may be reproduced in its original English or in translation, provided reference is made to the *CADDY BULLETIN* or the CADDY Special Report.

Address all correspondence to: CADDY, 485 Fifth Avenue, 3rd floor, New York, NY 10017 USA.

The army started rattling its tanks and helicopters, threatening to confiscate the illegal arms directly.

It seems clear to me now that the symptoms I describe are closely connected with a dangerous and contagious disease that has been developing for some time and spreading in the past couple of years, until no part of this land is spared: It is nationalism, a very specific illness, perhaps characteristic of the Balkans. The disease is shaking the whole country so hard that with every passing day we are further from a remedy, if there is any. For thirty-five years Tito, the Communist Party and the army held Yugoslavia together. Crushed and melted in their iron embrace, Serbs, Croats, Slovenians, Macedonians, Montenegrins, Bosnians, Herzegovinians, Albanians, etc. were ready to recognize the "truth" that in this Arcadia there is no nationalism, only brotherhood and unity. When Tito died eleven years ago, *The Economist* predicted that Yugoslavia would split apart within a year. It was wrong. It took a good ten years, because after Tito died, the Communist Party was still alive. God knows what would have happened

if the revolutions of 1989 in Eastern Europe hadn't helped the process along (although they didn't in Serbia). But the third leg of the "iron triangle," the Yugoslav People's Army, is still alive and well. Until now, it was only a wicked presumption of the Croats and the Serbs that the army favored a "Serbian solution" because 80 percent of the commanding cadre are Serbs—that is, retaining the federal and centralized structure of the country as opposed to a confederation of republic-states decentralized to the point of secession, the solution preferred by Croatia and Slovenia. In this country the army has always played an important political role, and no one doubted it would try to continue to play one, despite its proclaimed depoliticization. But not until January did it become apparent that the army is the joker in the federalists' pack—a very dangerous card.

On January 9, the federal presidency announced a ten-day deadline for all illegally armed paramilitary groups and individuals in Yugoslavia to turn in their weapons. However, it was clear that this ultimatum was aimed primarily at the Croatian police reserve, which has been accused by the federal presidency of being armed illegally. The Croatian government rejected this accusation, saying that every sovereign state has the right to arm its police, that it had done so according to the Constitution and that the terrorist groups in Knin, if any one, should be disarmed first. (Last August, Serbs in Croatia, under the influence of nationalists in Serbia, claimed that their minority rights were imperiled after the election of the new Croatian government, and in protest committed a series of terrorist actions around the town of Knin and proclaimed their autonomy.) On the other hand, the Croatian authorities' intention to constitute the Croatian police as a parallel, republican army was evident. Everyone knew that underlying this ultimatum of the federal presidency was a more important and more dangerous dispute about the legality of the new Croatian non-Communist government, installed after the first free elections were held last April, which the Serbian Communist leader Slobodan Milosevic and the army regarded as a threat to the centralized federal system.

Most Yugoslavs, accustomed to political games at the top, didn't pay much attention to the ultimatum. They started to pay attention to it only recently, when salt, sugar and flour couldn't be found in any of the stores here, not even for pancakes. I admit that this frightened me more than the rumors about tanks being sent in—it was more real. And while I could understand why people were hoarding flour, oil and sugar, salt I didn't understand. When a friend's grandmother bought twenty-five kilos of salt, I asked her, Why so much? "Because you can sell it later, or trade it for food," answered the 87-year-old lady, who had survived two world wars. My God, are we coming to this? I thought, opening a kitchen closet and staring at my one-pound store of salt (because salted food is unhealthy!), no sugar and no flour (because they make you fat!), and a little vegetable oil.

Before the deadline, some 200 rifles were returned to the police station—peanuts compared with the automatic rifles, variously estimated at from 20,000 to 80,000, that supposedly

have been imported illegally, mainly from Hungary (Hungary admitted the export of 10,000 weapons). The presidency (or I should say the army, because by then it was clear that this decision was made under very strong army pressure) thought so too. The government angrily extended the deadline two more days. The army started rattling its tanks and helicopters, threatening to confiscate the illegal arms directly, which sounded like a threat of a military coup. Still the arms were not turned in.

Croat leaders made speeches psychologically preparing their people for resistance to the army, for civil war. On January 22 and 23, army maneuvers in Croatia were reported. Buses, trains and trucks were posted as barricades at the bridges and entrances to the city of Zagreb. On the evening of January 24, tensions were at a peak. Nobody could be sure that the political games wouldn't involve bloodshed. Nobody slept, the streets were empty, the president of Parliament called an extraordinary session for the next day. Television and radio broadcast news bulletins all night.

But as the longest night in recent history passed, the tension eased and it became clear that the army wouldn't attack, at least not that night. In the morning, after attending the stormy session of Parliament where deputies unanimously called people to arms to defend the sovereignty of Croatia, President Franjo Tudjman, who had previously decided not to attend a scheduled meeting with Serbian leader Milosevic "because in this situation it doesn't make any sense," changed his mind and went to Belgrade, realizing that talks were the only way to overcome the biggest crisis yet in relations between the two republics.

In the meantime, the collective federal presidency was in session, and the federal Prime Minister held a Cabinet meeting. In the late evening Tudjman issued a statement announcing a "historic decision": The federal presidency, including the representative of the army, had recognized the Croatian government for the first time in its eight months of existence. The representatives of the republics agreed that the talks at the top about the future of Yugoslavia should continue. The army took the troops off the highest state of alert. We were relieved—but not for long. Everything that followed was not politics but a first-rate spy novel. The day after a cheerful President Tudjman returned from Belgrade, the whole country found itself in the middle of a John le Carré novel. And while it is a very interesting position to be in, it gives one an extremely uneasy feeling.

That Saturday evening, the 26th, Croatian TV broadcast a supposed documentary on the "illegal armament of Croatia." The forty-minute movie was produced by Zastava Film, the army film company. It showed Croatian Defense Minister Martin Spegelj explaining the illegal importation of arms from Hungary and tactics for attacking army officers and soldiers in the event of civil war. What shook the TV audience, and then the entire country—apart from the question of whether the documentary was true—was the words the Minister used. He talked about execution of army officers in their apartments, along with their wives and children; extermina-

tion of Serbs in Knin; assassination of unreliable people; secret lists of people to be killed; liquidation squads. The movie was murky, without close-ups and with a soundtrack so poor that certain words and phrases were unintelligible. (The text was transcribed and run as subtitles.)

Minister Spegelj immediately released a statement saying that phrases and words had been inserted into his speech. He accused the army of manipulating public opinion because the documentary had been broadcast on Serbian TV while talks between Tudjman and Milosevic were still going on.

But the top Croat politicians and their advisers apparently didn't coordinate their statements, because President Tudjman's security adviser said that same evening, in a discussion after the movie, that Spegelj was aware that he was being filmed and said what he did on purpose, to send disinformation to army headquarters. To add a dramatic note to the already surreal plot, that same night, after recognizing himself in the movie, a man who had collaborated, perhaps unwillingly, with army intelligence killed himself in front of his wife and friends.

The Croatian media were silent for two days, publishing only Spegelj's statements and waiting for a decision by the Croatian government on his guilt or innocence. The Serbian media had already proclaimed him guilty and called not only for his resignation but for his arrest. The point is that the Croatian and Serbian media took the sides of their governments, and, unlike the press in a democratic country, they didn't show even a minimum of professionalism or investigative spirit. Rather than being journalists, they acted like parrots.

As the story progressed, the people realized that they were only extras in the movie of le Carré's novel, directed by Francis Ford Coppola. The next scene took place at the Zagreb airport on Monday, January 28: We saw President Tudjman on his way to Vienna, saying a joyful farewell to his beleaguered Minister Spegelj. So it seemed that nothing more needed to be said. However, on Tuesday evening Croatian TV broadcast an interview with Spegelj so he could defend himself publicly. But the interviewer didn't dare ask him what should have been asked, so the key questions were left hanging in the air and the Minister departed, leaving the impression that he had handled an extremely difficult and sensitive political situation with too much self-assurance, almost with arrogance.

And then, while Croatian TV was preparing "smashing"

proof that the movie was falsified, the army prosecutor issued a warrant to arrest Spegelj for "armed mutiny." The Croatian government and a civil prosecutor answered that the army had no authority to issue such a warrant, and, besides, Spegelj was innocent; he was only performing his duties as Defense Minister. The next day the Croatian delegation walked out of a meeting of the federal presidency. The day after that, Croatian TV broadcast another episode in the drama, showing another person from the incriminating movie who claimed that he was forced to collaborate with army espionage and that in the movie he was saying what he was told to say. The federal presidency said that the army will go to the end. A week later there was another failed attempt to settle the problem peacefully.

As I write this, we are totally victimized by homogenization. There is no possibility anymore of acting or speaking publicly or privately as anything but a Croat or a Serb. All differences—political, ideological, individual—are swept away by the danger of "outside enemies." In a truly democratic country, in spite of pressures and dangers, it would be normal for the opposition to jump on the Spegelj case in an attempt to gain some points for itself in future elections. Not in Croatia. Here the parliamentary opposition (ex-Communists, liberals, social democrats) is giving its support to the central government, i.e., the ruling party, proving that the totalitarian mentality lasts longer than the totalitarian system.

Another consequence of the crisis is the suspension of democracy on all levels. The two most important questions about the controversial movie are: Where did money for importing the arms, legal or illegal, come from? And did the Croatian Parliament know about and approve such an expenditure? These two questions haven't even been asked—not by the opposition, not by journalists, not by the general public. This silence, more than anything, shows where we are and how far the pollution of fear, hate, nationalism and war has advanced. Because the harm has been done already; the ground for civil war has been prepared. We are not only poisoned by politics; it is now our only and ultimate reality. This country is playing a game of Russian roulette, but while the pistol is in the hands of those in power, it is aimed at our heads. □

Slavenka Drakulić is a journalist and novelist from Zagreb. She is currently finishing a book of stories, How We Survived Communism, to be published by W.W. Norton.



AUG 0 8 1991

The Democracy International
COMMITTEE TO AID DEMOCRATIC DISSIDENTS IN YUGOSLAVIA

CADDY BULLETIN

CADDY, 485 Fifth Avenue, 3rd floor, New York, N.Y. 10017 USA

SPECIAL ISSUE

AUGUST 5, 1991

UPRISING FOR PEACE

Reading and listening to Western news media and that from Yugoslavia, too, the grim news dominates. Killings, destruction, funerals and refugees are the order of the day, no sanity seems to remain in the overstressed and confused society. Fortunately that is not the whole truth. In spite of unsurmountable odds in the ocean of nationalist hysteria where reason is equated with treason, courageous islands of sanity are emerging.

Besides many local -such as daily joint prayers in Bugojno and meetings of villagers of Ciste Male and Velike Male- and individual initiatives for peace, a more organized movement is taking shape as evidenced by the following activities.

June 29. Thirteen political organizations and movements from across the country issued an appeal against violence, urging negotiations.

July 04. Green Action from Zagreb issued an appeal for peace.

July 05. Four Slovene women organizations staged a meeting for peace in towns across the republic. Similar, coordinated initiatives took place in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, and Serbia.

July 07. Helsinki Citizens' Assembly ably led by Sonja Licht organized an international conference on the crisis in Yugoslavia. With prominent guests from Eastern and Western Europe, and from all parts of the country, a useful exchange of views took place.

July 15. Center for Anti-War Action was organized in Belgrade and from its first meeting the following Proclamation, calling for civil disobedience, was issued:

"The Center believes there is no greater evil than the suffering resulting from war. There is war because three national leaders: Tudjman, Milosevic, and Kucan refused to agree on a peaceful resolution to Yugoslavia's crisis. Why should we pay their stubbornness and incopentence with most

horrible price: in human lives, war destruction, poverty and a farewell to Europe and the developed world? These people and such authority do not command respect for their 'laws' and the rules of their game. They obliged us with nothing except with total evil and disgrace. Their national programs are wrong because they brought us into this dirty war. We represent those whose war this one is not, all those who know that it is impossible to create an ethnic state in the Balkans at any cost".

July 15. Citizens' Action for Peace founded in Belgrade.

July 17. Women Assembly organized anti-war demonstrations in front of the Serbian Assembly.

July 20. Physicians for Prevention of War was organized with participants from Zagreb and Belgrade. They sent appeals for peace to the Assemblies of Croatia and Serbia, and created their own street bulletin board with peace messages.

July 20. Groups from five republics met to organize a peace protest in Sarajevo on July 25.

July 22. Helsinki Citizens' Assembly (Belgrade group) organized a pro-peace meeting.

July 25. Demonstrations for peace were simultaneously held in Belgrade, Sarajevo, Uzice, Titograd, and Skopje.

July 27. A follow-up (of July 20) meeting of Physicians for Prevention of War was held in Zagreb. Croatian and Serbian members were joined by the representatives of the IPPNW, the international organization of physicians for the prevention of nuclear war.

July 28. Independent youth radio from Belgrade, Studio B92, joined in the peace effort.

July 28. One hundred thousand people took part in a peace demonstration organized by the Yugoslav TV (YUTEL) in Sarajevo. Following the meeting representatives from the federal government met with the representatives from the Shadow Parliament, an organization of some thirty opposition parties, organizations and associations. At the round table discussion they agreed to seek compromises to resolve the crisis peacefully.

July 29. Fifty thousand young people demonstrated for peace in Sarajevo.

As further evidence of the emerging desire for a divorce from hysterical nationalism and for peaceful resolution of problems, we are herewith reproducing two premier issues of the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly INFORMATION on peace activities in Yugoslavia.

AUGUST 5, 1991

HELSINKI CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY

INFORMATION

ON PEACE ACTIVITIES IN YUGOSLAVIA

No. 1 18, July 1991

CITIZENS' ACTION FOR PEACE FOUNDED IN BELGRADE

This group was founded in Belgrade on July 15th under the pressure of the recent war in Slovenia and conflicts developing in Croatia which threaten with total inter-ethnic and inter-state war.

The initiators and leaders of the GAMA (acronym in Serbo-Croat) are Prof. Miladin Zivotic, movie-director Dejan Djurkovic, play-writer Miladin Sevarlic and lawyer Branislav Tapuskovic.

This group has high ambitions, and several actions have already started such as a journalist pool against media-war which is raging in Yugoslavia. The address of the GAMA is:

GAMA, Hotel "Metropol"
Bulevar Revolucije 60
11000 Belgrade
Yugoslavia
Fax: +38 (11) 332-911 (for GAMA)

CENTER FOR ANTI-WAR ACTIONS FOUNDED IN BELGRADE

In the office of the EUROPEAN MOVEMENT IN YUGOSLAVIA in Belgrade on July 15th a group of representatives of different groups and movements founded a Center for coordination of anti-war actions.

So far this Center is supported by the European Movement in Yugoslavia, HCA in Yugoslavia, Association of Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, GAMA, Women Party, Yugoslav Helsinki Committee and many professional groups and individual peace activists.

The address of the center is:

CENTER FOR ANTI-WAR ACTIONS
C/O EUROPEAN MOVEMENT
INSTITUTE FOR ECONOMIC SCIENCE
Zmaj Jovina 12 tel. 624-027
11000 Belgrade

WOMEN DEMONSTRATION FOR PEACE IN FRONT OF SERBIAN PARLIAMENT

On July 17th a group of women in front of the Serbian Parliament demanded the end of pro-war propaganda, in which some MPs are taking part as well, immediate start of talks with all sides in Yugoslavia and peaceful settlement of all problems. The peace demonstration was organized by the **Women Parliament**. Several MPs talked with women and accepted their papers with demands. The demonstration was reported by **Bolgrade TV** - a major TV station in Serbia.

GREEN ACTION OF ZAGREB ISSUED A PEACE APPEL

An environmental group in Zagreb under the name of **GREEN ACTION OF ZAGREB** issued on July 4th a statement **STOP THE WAR!** This appel is mainly aimed at parents of the soldiers but, also, to all people of good will. This group is planning some other activities as well, such as signing of a **PEACE CHARTA** all over Yugoslavia.

The address of this group is:

ZELENA AKCIJA ZAGREB
Radnička c. 22 (II kat, soba 29)
41000 Zagreb, p.p. 876
FAX:+38 (11) 612-615

13 YUGOSLAV POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS ISSUED AN APPEL AGAINST VIOLENCE AND FOR NEGOTIATION!

This appel was issued during the fights in Slovenia but as a reaction to the escalation of violence in Croatia as well. The central demand is to end of all kinds of armed conflicts, respect for life of all Yugoslavs and end the use of violence as a political mean. The appel is pointing out the danger for all of Europe if the conflicts and war in Yugoslavia would get out of control.

This appel is signed by the following organizations and movements: **HELSINKI CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY, ETHNIC FORUM, DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE OF RIJEKA, LEAGUE OF SOCIALDEMOCRATS (CROATIA), YUGOSLAV HELSINKI COMMITTEE, EUROPEAN MOVEMENT IN YUGOSLAVIA, SOCIALDEMOCRATIC LEAGUE OF SERBIA, DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION FORUM OF CROATIA, SOCIALDEMOCRATIC PARTY OF B&H, DALMATIAN ACTION, WOMEN LOBBY, ISTRIAN DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLY, WOMEN PARLIAMENT.**

PEACE-FAX INFORMATION SERVICE
EDITED BY: MILAN NIKOLIC, FAX:+38 (11) 622 - 957 (FOR MILAN NIKOLIC)

HELSINKI **C**ITIZENS' **A**SSEMBLY **INFORMATION**

ON PEACE ACTIVITIES IN YUGOSLAVIA

No. 2 21, July 1991

PHYSICIANS FOR PREVENTION OF WAR

Physicians from Zagreb and Belgrade met on July 20th in Belgrade with the main goal to found a peace organization **PHYSICIANS FOR PREVENTION OF WAR**. They have decided to build a network of physicians all over the country which will work for peace. They adopted a letter which they will give as a model to all their colleagues to be sent to the parliaments of Serbia and Croatia, a letter to the public opinion and a letter to all the professional organizations and association of physicians. At the Belgrade meeting representatives from three foreign organizations were present as well. Next Saturday the physicians will meet in Zagreb to continue their activities. There were several journalists present at the meeting and both the TV and newspapers covered this event.

If interested in participation or information call:

Dr. Vuk Stambolovic, tel.: + 38 (11) 432-398

HELSINKI CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY IN YUGOSLAVIA (BELGRADE GROUP) ACTIONS FOR PEACE

In the Belgrade Youth Centre at 22th July a HCA group in Belgrade organized a meeting with people interested in citizens' peace actions. As a result of this meeting several peace actions are in preparation like: collecting the documentation about the atrocities against unarmed people, making the declaration on international legal documents concerning the obligations of the authorities and parties in conflict for protection of civilians, making a group of people ready to collect all data about peace activities and to give objective information, etc. The two most important actions are: **HCA MONITORING MISSIONS IN THE AREAS OF CONFLICT** and **PEACE KEEPING FORCES ORGANIZED BY PEACE MOVEMENTS** (or creation of **PEACE BUFFER CHAINS BETWEEN THE SIDES IN CONFLICT**).

AN ALL YUGOSLAV PEACE MEETING IN SARAJEVO

In organization of several women groups, peace groups, non-governmental organization from Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and

Herzegovina, Macedonia at July 20 a meeting was organized to establish a network for exchange of information about different peace activities, support for all peace actions across the country and joint peace actions. A joint declaration for peace was made at this meeting. The first joint action will be organized on July 25th in several cities all over the country: five minutes before noon a minute of silence for all those who lost their lives in armed conflicts.

For all information about this network call:
Sonja Lokar, tel.: + 38 (61) 558-616 and 215-916
Fax: + 38 (61)

MEDIA FOR PEACE

YUTEL (the Yugoslav TV) announced that this TV station will promote all peace actions in Yugoslavia and start its own. Their first action is to organize an all-Yugoslav peace gathering nearby Sarajevo (Bosna river spring) at July 28th.

Address: YUTEL
Trg Marksa i Engelsa 11
11000 Beograd
Tel: + 38 (11) 334-036
Fax: + 38 (11) 330-185

B 92, an independent youth radio from Belgrade, announced that this radio station is becoming an active part of the peace efforts and will promote all peace efforts and actions.

B 92 Fax is: + 38 (11) 330-946.

CONFLICT AREAS AND EXPECTED CONFLICT AREAS IN YUGOSLAVIA

Most of the present conflict areas where there are actual shootings are in Croatia and bordering areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Eastern Slavonia (Western Baranja, Banat and Srem bordering with Serbia on East and Bosnia and Herzegovina on South), Knin Kraina (Croatia), Bosnian Kraina (Western B&H), Middle Dalmatia (Croatia), Bania (Croatia), Kordun (Croatia), Eastern Herzegovina (B&H bordering Monte Negro).

Expected conflict areas are: different parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sandzak (Serbia), Kosovo, Western Macedonia, Northern Vojvodina, East-Southern Monte Negro, Southern Serbia.

PEACE-FAX INFORMATION SERVICE

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