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Congressional Human Rights Caucus
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

CONFLICT IN YUGOSLAVIA
The Serbian Perspective
Thursday, October 1st
3:00 pm
2247 Rayburn

Dear Colleague:

We invite you and your staff to join us at a Congressional Human Rights Caucus forum to discuss the position of the Yugoslav government on the ongoing tragedy in the Balkans. Members are encouraged to attend and to make statements.

We will be joined by **Dr. Radmilla Milentijevic** who currently serves as a Minister-at-Large in the cabinet of Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic and Prime Minister Milan Panic. Dr. Milentijevic, now on leave as Professor and Chair of the History Department of City College of New York, was a key participant at the recent London Conference on Yugoslavia. She is making a tour of the U.S. in order to provide information to government officials and news organizations about the efforts of the Panic government to put an end to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, with particular focus on Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We hope that you will be able to join us for an important and timely discussion about human rights in this troubled region. If you have any questions, please contact either Alex Arriaga or Karen Davis at X6-4040.

John Porter
Co-Chairman

Sincerely,

Helen Bentley
Executive Member

Tom Lantos
Co-Chairman

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**THE EFFECT OF "Ethnic Cleansing" AGAINST
BOSNIAN-SERBS IN BOSNIA & HERCEGOVINA
(CONTRASTED WITH THE CENSUS OF 1991.)**

Municipality

Bosnian-Serbs 1991

Bosnian-Serbs
today

Municipality	Bosnian-Serbs 1991	Bosnian-Serbs today
MORICA	33%	NONE
TUZLA	15.5%	4.5%
ZIVINICE	5%	NONE
KLADANJ	26%	NONE
BANOVICI	14%	NONE
KALESJA	18%	NONE
TRAVNIK	11%	NONE
N. TRAVNIK	13.3%	NONE
BUGOJNO	18.9%	5%
DERVENTA	40.8%	5%
B.BROD	33.8%	NONE
JAJCE	19.3%	8,000 4%
SARAJEVO	33%	115,000 7%
BIHAC	7,000 SERBS	ABOUT 500
LIVNO	2,800 SERBS	837 ALL IN A CONCENTRATION CAMP
DUVNO	1,000 SERBS	400 ALL IN A CONCENTRATION CAMP
MOSTAR	20,000 SERBS	ABOUT 1,000

**NB: In total around 300,000 Bosnian-Serbs have been displaced by
"ethnic cleansing"**

Republic of Serbia
 Commission for Refugees
 Belgrade
 September 14, 1992

STATISTICAL SURVEY OF THE SITUATION OF REFUGEES IN SERBIA

NUMBER AND STRUCTURE

Total number of refugees: 527,000 (count taken on 09/14/92)

Ethnic composition:

- Serbs	84.2%	(some 445,000)
- Muslims	6.2%	(some 32,700)
- Croats	1.6%	(some 9,400)
- Others	8%	(Albanians, Jews, Romanies, Hungarians etc.)

Sex:

Women	around 74%
Men	around 26%

Age:

- up to 1 year	2.9%
- from 1 to 7	14.4%
- from 7 to 18	25.3%
- from 18 to 60	44.2%
- over 60	13.2%

Type of Accommodation:

- in families	96.9%
- in collective shelters (160 facilities)	3.1%

Other data:

- children without parents or tutors - around 90
- pregnant women - 2,150
- mothers with one-year old child - 27,500
- children born in refugee shelters - 6,150

NEEDS FOR 500,000 REFUGEES FOR THE PERIOD OF SIX MONTHS

 (November 1992 - April 1993)

A. FOOD

Type of food	per person for 1 month in kilos	for 500,000 refugees or 6 months in metric tons
1. Flour	12	36,000
2. Rice/pasta	1.5	4,500
3. Oil	0.75	2,250
4. Powdered milk	0.9	2,700
5. Beans	1.2	3,600
6. Cheese/meat	1.5	4,500
7. Sugar	0.6	1,800
8. Salt	0.15	450
9. Fruit/ no vegetables	4.5	13,500

B. TOILETRIES AND PERSONAL HYGIENE ITEMS

Type	Per person for 1 month in kilos	for 500,000 refugees for 6 months in metric tons
1. Detergent	0.6	1,800
2. Soap	0.05	150
3. Laundry soap	0.05	150
4. Cotton	0.5	1,500

C. MEDICAMENTS

The Commission for Refugees has a complete list of the needed quantities of medicaments, medical equipment, dental material, bandages, plastic and rubber medical material, x-ray machines and hemodialysis material and equipment to cover the needs of 250,000 refugees.

We do not have the dollar amounts of the value of equipment and medicaments needed since we do not know current prices at the market.

D. WINTER CLOTHES AND FOOTWEAR

Age	Male	Female
	Number of clothing and footwear items	
from 1 to 7	19,500	30,500
from 8 to 14	39,000	61,000
from 15 to 18	42,900	67,100
over 18	93,600	146,400

E. TEACHING EQUIPMENT AND TEXTBOOKS (at \$60 per refugee)

	Elementary school 8 - 14 years	Secondary education 15-18 years
Children	81,900	128,000
Amount:	\$4,914,000	\$7,685,500
Total:	\$12,599,500	

F. FUEL IN TONS

Oil - 4,170
Diesel - 5,010

G. COST OF CARE OF THE MOST AFFECTED REFUGEES

Category	Amount in U.S.\$
- children without parents	36,000
- pregnant women and women with one-year child	3,600,000
- mothers with small children	59,591,520
- wounded soldiers and disabled	67,500,000
- old-age, weak and and exhausted persons	8,797,200
- sick persons	267,600
Total	72,359,820

H. REHABILITATION OF FACILITIES TO SERVE AS COLLECTIVE SHELTERS

- 160 facilities are in use
- 160 additional facilities have been identified as suitable for use
- out of the total of 320 facilities, 302 should be renovated to withstand winter period

Total cost of renovation: \$ 8,456,000

I. CONSTRUCTION OF NEW FACILITIES FOR THE ACCOMMODATION OF REFUGEES

According to the estimates, shelter should be found for 120,000 refugees representing some 24,000 households

Total construction cost: \$188,000,000

CONCLUSION

Until recently, the Republic of Serbia, the Serbian Red Cross and private donors have been able to meet the needs of the refugees in food and other needs. Due to grave economic situation, the sanctions and the forthcoming winter months, only 30% of the need in food will be met from local sources. In order for the remaining 70% to be covered, a call for help has to be made to the international community.

(Seal)

Commissioner
Dobrica Vulovic
(Signature)

PRISONS IN SARAJEVO WITH SERBS IN THEM

1. The Sport Center "FIS", JNA Street 3 (confirmed);
2. The Central Prison - about 600 Serbs (confirmed);
3. The School for Retarded Children "Vladimir Nazor" - about 200 Serbs (not confirmed). Its manager is Edin Bahtic;
4. The basement of the safety deposit box of the bank "Privredna Banka Sarajevo", Jovan Cvijic Street, a certain Zlatko Lagumdzija is manager - about 170 Serbs;
5. The barracks "Viktor Bubanj", District "Pavle Goranin" - about 250 Serbs;
6. Stadium "Kosevo" connected with Zetra - about 500 Serbs captured;
7. The tunnel "Velesici", Ciglana;
8. Dormitory "Mladen Stojanovic", Radiceva Street;
9. "Sipad" firm in Dzemal Bijedic Street;
10. The garage near "Privredna Banka Sarajevo", Dobrinja IV;
11. Atomic shelter in Dobrinja III;
12. Prison in Stup - the object unknown;
13. The tunnel "Kosevo Hospital";
14. Cafe "Stela";
15. The Heating Plant at Alipasino Polje, "B" phase;
16. The school "Aleksa Santic" - Dobrinja V;
17. Stadium "Famos" in Hrasnica;
18. The House of Correction in Pofalici, near tobacco factory;
19. The Meteorology Institute at Bjelava;
20. The Police Station in Bjelave;
21. The primary school "Pavle Goranin";
22. The railway station - about 600 Serbs.

CONCENTRATION CAMPS FOR SERBS IN BOSNIA AND
HERZEGOVINA

1. LIVNO (Fortress -old town) - about 600 Serbs.
2. TOMISLAVGRAD (Secondary School Center) - about 500 Serbs.
3. TOMISLAVGRAD (the village of Rascani) - all Serbs captured in the village with no food supplies, nor health care.
4. BUGOJNO (house of the killed Serb Relja Lukic) - about 50 Serbs.
5. BUGOJNO (the factory "Slavko Rodic") - about 700 Serbs.
6. JAJCE (the old fortress) - about 500 Serbs.
7. BIHAC (stadium of the Football Club "Jedinstvo") - about 900 Serbs.
8. ORASJE (stadium of a soccer club) - about 100 Serbs. The commander of the concentration camp is Pero Vinrenlic from the village of Donja Mahala.
9. ODZAK (primary school) - about 400 Serbs. The commander of the concentration camp is Mijo Barisic.
10. ODZAK (the firm "Stolit") - about 150 Serbs.
11. ODZAK (the village of Novi Grad) - about 1000-1500 Serbs, mostly women and children.
12. ODZAK (primary school in the village of Poveljeta) - 59 Serbs.
13. ODZAK (the former military warehouse in the village of Rabici) - about 300 Serbs. The Serbs were transported from the concentration camp in the village of Poljari and Rabici in the direction of Bosanski Brod on July 1, 1992. The Serbs killed in the camp in Odzak are buried with a dredge near the Hospital in Odzak. Fuad Alijagic was in charge of that job.
14. KONJIC (the railway tunnel above the village of Bradina) - about 3000 Serbs.
15. HADZICI (Cultural Center in the village of Pazalic) - about 150 Serbs.
16. ILIDZA (stadium of the Football Club "Famos") - about 300 Serbs, mostly women and children. Pero Sutafo from Vinkovci/Croatia, Samsir Lokvancic and Halis Ciko lead the investigation.
17. TUZLA (the stadium "Tusanj") - about 4000 Serbs.
18. BOSANSKI BROD (a suburb near River Sava) - about 400 Serbs.
19. ZENICA (rooms of the House of Correction) - about 2000 Serbs.
20. JABLANICA (the village of Celebici near Jablanicko Lake) - about 500 Serbs.

21. KLADANJ (the village of Stupari) - about 50 Serbs; every day one of them is hung.
22. SARAJEVO (the stadium "Kosevo", the sport hall "Zetra", the Railway Station of Sarajevo, Women's Prison, Dormitory "Mladen Stojanovic", nursery school "25 May" in the district "Payle Goranin", "Sipad" Warehouse, House of Correction "Pofalici").

Besides the mentioned ones in Sarajevo, there are several other concentration camps. One of them is the former JNA barracks "Viktor Bubanj", where there are 750 Serbs. They live in incredible conditions. Rooms planned for one person are crowded with 10-12 persons. The chief investigator is Mile Davidovic, the former basketball referee. Among others there are 20 Arab guards. About 170 Serbs are located in the safe-deposit boxes of the bank "Privredna Banka Sarajevo". Members of a HVO (Croatian Defense Council) unit called "Kvadrant", guarding this camp call this concentration camp a "Torture Room for Serbs". Commander of the HVO unit "Kvadrant" is Zlatko Lagumdžija. Commander of the concentration camp is Dragoslav Dojcinovic, a karate expert. About 200 Serbs are located in the confines of the skyscraper No. 2 in the square "Pero Kusoric". Commander of this camp is Edin Bahtic, a former soccer player. The mass murders are committed at the Cantilever bridge on the River Miljacka. Twenty seven Serbs were killed during one night. The major mass murderers are: EDIN BAHTIC, SAFET KLEPO, OMAR REZBJEJ, SAFET KENIC, HARIŠ LERZIC AND UZES SARIC. There are about 600 Serbs captured in the Central Prison in Sarajevo. Commander of the camp is a well known singer Safet Isovic. He is a SDA (Democratic Action Party) representative in the Assembly of the former BH. There are also concentration camps in the primary schools "Andrija Rasu" and "Prvi Maj" in Alipasino Polje, in the rooms of the local community "Alipasino Polje" (buildings in the "B" and "C" phase).

About 6000 Serbs have been killed up to now in the concentration camps established by the Croatian-Muslim coalition, and the number is increasing every day. Most of the captured are women and children.

To: Alex From: 10:15:21 1/6/98 p. 2 of 7

POLITICIZING HUMAN RIGHTS: A LEGACY OF THE YUGOSLAV CONFLICT

Human rights are, by definition, universal. To politicize human rights, that is, to ignore violations against one group in favor of another, is a grave disservice to the very concept of human rights. Agencies and international bodies that report selectively or use double standards breed cynicism rather than respect for these guarantees that Americans take for granted. Unfortunately the legacy of the *human rights reporting from Yugoslavia has been extremely discouraging* for those who seek universal standards of conduct.

Ethnic Cleansing Began in Kosovo

The problem began in Kosovo, several years ago when human rights groups toured this historic Serbian province where violent Albanian nationalists, encouraged by the Stalinist regime of Enver Hoxa in nearby Albania had driven over 100,000 Serbs from the area. This was through violent attacks on people, desecration of monasteries and cemeteries. Rapes went unpunished. Orthodox clergy members including Bishop Pavle, who is now the Patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church were attacked in broad daylight. A corrupt regime of Albanian authorities, deeply mired in the heroin trade*, had held sway since they were given special semi-autonomous status under the Communist regime of Josip Broz Tito failed to prosecute any of these crimes. The Serbian population which had been 35 percent was reduced to about 10 percent today while bitter refugees fled to Serbia with horrifying stories that could not be printed in the Tito-controlled media. Meanwhile in violation of international law, thousands of illegal immigrants from nearby Albania took over housing and property left behind by Serbian refugees.

When Serbs finally restored a semblance of law and order to the area, the same Albanian extremists who had carried out the Stalinistic ethnic purge began portraying themselves as adherents of democracy and human rights as a new strategy of separatism that would permit them to create a Greater Albania by joining the nearby state. When human rights organizations made well publicized visit Albania to investigate the tense standoff between advocates of separatism and the federal army, they visited only Albanians. Reporters who accompanied a tour of American congressman, noted that the delegation did not even bother to meet with representatives of the terrified Serbian community.

That was a major oversight and a tragedy, because, the world would have learned about the first "ethnic cleansing" in the region, a practise that would later be used against Serbs in Croatia and by all sides in Bosnia. Another practice which would be widely used was contrived incidents -- the supposed poisoning of drinking water and other tactics cynically designed to win international sympathy.

* New York Federal Prosecutor Rudolph Giuliani told the Wall Street Journal that 25 percent of the 40 percent of the heroin trade in his district was distributed through this Albanian connection

HDZ Croatia -- the Second Ethnic Cleansing Against Serbs

For Serbs living in Croatia, Kristallnacht began in September 1990, in places such as Zadar where ethnic Serbs -- those who survived the World War II Holocaust against Serbs, Jews and Gypsies -- have lived for centuries with Croats. But Croatia never deNazified after Tito took power and when the Tadjman government, which contains many Ustasha (Croatian Nazi Party) sympathizers, adopted virtually the same flag that flew over the death camps of Jasenovac where three quarters of a million Serbs perished. Armed gangs mined hundreds of Serbian businesses and homes in Zadar and other Croatian cities to drive out Serbs that fall after the HDZ government took power. Ethnocentric laws were passed that immediately removed Serbs from posts in the police, military and the media. By the summer of 1991, 120,000 Serbs were removed from their jobs.

There is no doubt that the first ethnic cleansing related to the present conflict was against Serbs. As Simon Wiesenthal recently told a reporter from Reuters: "The first refugees in the Yugoslav crisis were the 40,000 Serbs who fled Croatia after a constitutional amendment had defined them as a minority." Croatian war criminals were welcomed back under an amnesty for perpetrators of the World War II genocide, while ordinary Serbs were forced to flee persecution for the second time in their lives.

Imagine if at this point our Ambassador or then Secretary Baker had condoned these atrocities. Imagine if the international community had responded and the leading newspapers had chronicled the plight of Serbs at this point. Instead there was silence. And the cleansing went on. In November in Western Slavonia a purge by Croats began in which 286 Serbian villages in Western Slavonia were burned to the ground their populations fleeing on foot again with no comment by the U.S. Government or the Congressional Human Rights Caucus. Inevitably Serbs in their own protected enclaves responded in kind and a terrible pattern emerged which continues today in Bosnia.

Bosnian Nightmare

A couple facts may help understand how the killing began in Bosnia. Remember that the first political killing in Sarajevo was the attack on a Serbian wedding party by Muslim and Croat terrorists in which the father of the groom was killed and the Serbian priest injured. The first deliberate ethnic cleansing took place on the evening of March 26 in Bosanski Brod when Croatian forces terrorized Serbs in the area. They sent a deliberate message by cutting the throats of the father and children of five families while leaving the mother alive to tell what was in store for Serbs who remained in the area. More than ten thousand Serbs left the area in the intervening weeks. Similar atrocities took place a week later against Serbs in Kupres and by May Serbian forces in Eastern Bosnia had begun their own forcible deportations.

10: Alex
Flow
10/1/92 1:07pm p. 4 of 7

Unfortunately, Serbs have been unfairly identified with a policy which has historically and currently been used against them. We condemn these tactics as they are practised, by all parties to the conflict. But we do a disservice to the truth and justice by ignoring or minimizing the suffering of Serbs who have now been ethnically cleansed -- to use that dreadful phrase-- from nearly a hundred cities and village in Bosnian-Herzegovina.

One third of the million plus refugees estimated by the UNHCR to have been displaced in Bosnia have been Serbs who have lived there for centuries. The Panic government has urged all sides to arrest extremists carrying out this policy and we are glad to see that Serbian leader Radovan Karazic arrested 70 extremists in Bijeljina last month. Unfortunately we have not seen similar actions by Mr. Izetbegovic or Mr Boban of the Muslim and Croatian forces.

We challenge both the administration and Congress to use only one standard in the reporting and the condemnation of human rights abuses and to bring pressure on those forces which have managed thus far to avoid sanctions -- despite terrible crimes and abuses of the civilian population. In doing so, we can avoid future tragedies such as those that have befallen our neighbors in the Balkans and learn from them.