

COPYRIGHT / USAGE

Material on this site may be quoted or reproduced for **personal and educational purposes** without prior permission, provided appropriate credit is given. Any commercial use of this material is prohibited without prior permission from The Special Collections Department - Langsdale Library, University of Baltimore. Commercial requests for use of the transcript or related documentation must be submitted in writing to the address below.

When crediting the use of portions from this site or materials within that are copyrighted by us please use the citation: *Used with permission of the University of Baltimore.*

If you have any requests or questions regarding the use of the transcript or supporting documents, please contact us:

Langsdale Library
Special Collections Department
1420 Maryland Avenue Baltimore, MD 21201-5779

FRANK R. WOLF
10TH DISTRICT VIRGINIA

WASHINGTON OFFICE
104 CANNON BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-4610
(202) 225-5136

CONSTITUENT SERVICES OFFICES
13873 PARK CENTER ROAD
SUITE 130
HERNDON, VIRGINIA 22071
(703) 709-5800
1-(800)-945-9853
(WITHIN VIRGINIA)

110 NORTH CAMERON STREET
WINCHESTER, VIRGINIA 22601
(703) 667-0990

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

SUBCOMMITTEES
TRANSPORTATION

TREASURY—POSTAL SERVICE—GENERAL
GOVERNMENT

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND
COOPERATION IN EUROPE

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-4610

August 2, 1993

Send a Message to Croatia:
Support an End to MFN

Dear Colleague:

Please read the article below from the July 16, Washington Post, in which Stephen Rosenfeld makes a powerful case for sanctions against Croatia for its aggression against Bosnian Muslims.

Following the dissolution of Yugoslavia, I strongly supported the Croatian people's drive toward democracy and I actively worked for U.S. recognition of independence for Croatia. Unfortunately, the situation has changed in Croatia. Croatia and Serbia are now coordinating their military operations against Bosnia and have joined to deny U.N. humanitarian convoys access to beleaguered Bosnian cities. For these reasons, Croatia no longer deserves preferential trade with the United States. That is why I have introduced legislation which would cut off Most-Favored-Nation status to Croatia. Please call Chris Walker of my staff at x55136 to cosponsor.

Stephen S. Rosenfeld

Sanctions Against Croatia

The refugee crisis in Croatia is frightful. To see the pictures and read the figures is enough to bring tears of sympathy. This little shard of the former Yugoslavia houses a quarter-million Croats ousted from their homes elsewhere in Croatia by Serbs, another quarter-million (most of them Muslims) from Bosnia and some from Serbia too. That adds up to a crushing 12 percent of the Croatian population in a never-rich, hard-hit country whose principal industry, tourism, has been shredded by war. Nor has there been much response to Croatia's pleas for international help in carrying this extra load. Little wonder that the Zagreb government is lobbying in Washington for a piece of the American foreign aid pie.

It shouldn't get a penny. The Croatian government that is appealing for aid to care for refugees is the very government that is today generating further refugees in its conspiracy with Serbia to carve up Bosnia. Croatia has long gotten something of a free international ride on the basis that it is a victim of Serb depredations in Croatia. But it is a perpetrator of its own depredations in Bosnia. This is what counts most.

To make innocent civilian refugees pay for historical events and official derelictions for which the refugees have no responsibility: Is this not unfair and arbitrary as well as heartless?

The company of nations has no choice if it is serious about addressing the moral core of the Yugoslav crisis, the ravaging of Muslim Bosnia. Some would say that Bosnia has long since been abandoned and that a mercy killing under the label of partition is its best remaining hope. But this is not so. Bosnia has not been entirely forsaken. It is not being effectively defended by military means. But it is being defended in some degree by economic means—by sanctions.

International sanctions are in place against Serbia for its part in the violation of Bosnia. For the same reason, sanctions should be imposed against Croatia. Sanctions are meant not simply to punish but to force a reevaluation of policy. To threaten sanctions against the Croats and then to offer them funds for humanitarian relief is to undercut those sanctions. It is to take with one hand and give with the other.

A dilemma lurks: Is it right, in order to help Bosnia, to stifle the flow of aid that Croatia might provide to displaced Bosni-

ans? It is right if it adds to the burden on the Croatian government. For it is by a change of Croatian policy that the quickest and surest relief can be delivered to Bosnian and other refugees. Relief whose effect is to *lighten* the pressure on an erring government merely prolongs the injustice and the agony.

If the United States and other countries were taking further effective steps to enforce the United Nations' *dozens* of resolutions offering rescue to Bosnia, then they could more readily do the familiar humanitarian thing. But since they have not adequately enforced those resolutions, they fall under an ethical obligation to use their limited leverage in a way that will have the sharpest effect.

It is said that Serbia and, if it too were targeted, Croatia are more likely to rally in a nationalistic spirit against sanctions than to bend to them. The argument that hence sanctions are not only ineffective but also "counterproductive" is a hardy fixture in these debates, and I have sometimes found it persuasive.

But not this time. In Serbia and perhaps even more in Croatia, a place more oriented to the West in both history and current interest, a potential moderate and democratic domestic opposition must be encouraged. It undermines this opposition for the current leaders not only to conduct a war policy but to have other countries in effect pick up part of the tab for it by providing humanitarian aid. It helps this opposition if it can demonstrate that a war policy leads to economic and human disaster.

So many specious and inflated words have been spoken about Bosnia in high places that one turns only hesitantly to last weekend's Group of Seven summit in Tokyo. "If the Serbs and Croats persist in dismembering Bosnia through changes of border by force or ethnic cleansing," the Seven said, "they will place themselves beyond the pale of the international community and cannot expect any economic or commercial assistance, especially reconstruction aid."

Note the equivocation: "If the Serbs and Croats persist . . ." They've already done enough to be cut off. But note too the warning: "especially reconstruction aid." The future of Serbia and Croatia is in the balance. Military intervention remains politically too hard. But imposing economic isolation is not too hard. It can be done. This is the noose that must be pulled tight to save something for Bosnia.

Sincerely,



Frank R. Wolf
Member of Congress