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# Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515

October 23, 1991

COMMITTEE ON  
THE BUDGET  
COMMITTEE ON  
PUBLIC WORKS AND  
TRANSPORTATION  
COMMITTEE ON  
MERCHANT MARINE  
AND FISHERIES  
SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING  
CAUCUSES:  
STEEL  
ART  
TRADE AND TOURISM  
MARITIME  
ENERGY TASK FORCE

Mr. Anthony Gaeta  
Office of Director of Studies  
CSIS  
1800 K Street Northwest, Suite 400  
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Mr. Gaeta:

In view of your August 16, 1991 report, I am sending you three Congressional pieces I gave on August 1, October 9 and October 16, 1991 concerning Yugoslavia, so that you will have more background.

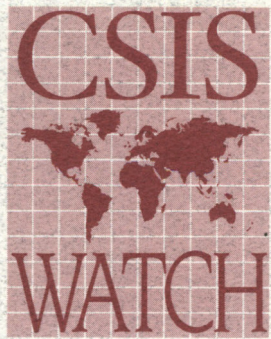
As you will see from the pieces, there are definitely two sides to the conflict; one, the Serbian side, which is not being reported.

I hope you find the information helpful.

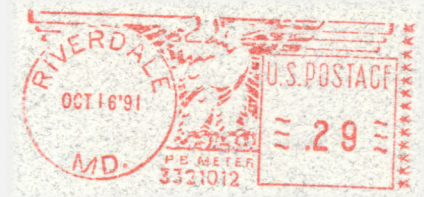
Sincerely,

  
Helen Delich Bentley

HDB:ab



The Honorable Heien D Bentley  
House of Representatives  
Washington DC 20515



October 16, 1991

### Back to Yugoslavia

Twice in this century the United States became embroiled in war in Europe. After each war, one lesson was clear: balance needed to be brought to an inherently unbalanced and unstable continent. Today, as the fighting rages in Yugoslavia, the importance of that lesson is ominously apparent. What is also clear is, no less in this new global order than in 1917 and 1941, the United States is fundamental to peace and security in Europe. The only question is what role the U.S. can play and how to play it.

On the Brink: CSIS's Janusz Bugajski, recently back from the fighting, notes that there are some hopeful long-term signs. Last week the EC helped broker the eighth cease-fire and the conflict is receiving greater world attention. There are also signs of trouble for Serbia and the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA), indicating that an end to the fighting may be on the horizon: Troop morale is waning and Belgrade is having difficulty recruiting new soldiers. Non-Serbian troops and even younger Serbian soldiers are simply not sure why they are fighting. Even inside Serbia the idea of preserving Yugoslavia is not enough.

Bugajski, however, is not optimistic about the near-term situation. He notes that several Croatian towns are still under heavy siege, and EC efforts to supply humanitarian aid are severely limited. Bugajski points out that although the YPA will pull out of some Croatian areas, they will likely just relocate to guard territories more heavily Serbian and closer to the border, which they are unwilling to surrender. In addition, Belgrade may willingly give up Slovenia, but not Croatia. Bosnia has declared sovereignty, and the large Muslim population is arming itself in preparation for possible war with Belgrade.

A New International Code: CSIS's Don Snider suggests that long before calculating numbers of troops and tanks it wishes to deploy in any peace-keeping force, the U.S. must determine, then articulate two things: exactly what are U.S. interests in Yugoslavia and what can be expected of U.S. allies? Snider argues that the question of when and if the U.S. should intervene in civil war or internal aggression has been left intentionally ambiguous since the Kurdish crisis in March. Ironically, traditional thinking about the sanctity of borders and issues of sovereignty are precisely the areas most challenged in the changing world order.

(over)

A Bigger Bargaining Table: One of the stumbling blocks of the old order has already fallen. Soviet President Gorbachev has backed away from his previous position that there should be no external involvement in internal Yugoslav matters. Indicating flexibility while conducting its own peace talks with the Croatian and Serbian leadership, Moscow is willing to play a role. The UN, appointing former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance as special mediator, is also becoming involved. Finally, Bugajski notes, the EC, despite its faults, ought to be commended and supported in the role it has played; it can be argued that as a result of the persistent efforts of the EC states, some constraints have been placed on Belgrade, and lives may have been saved. The question for Washington, as it was before both world wars, is what involvement means.

Bugajski argues that now is the time for U.S. participation, and the sudden proliferation of outside actors provides both a challenge and an opportunity. Within the EC, Germany wants to recognize Croatia and Slovenia, but France objects. The Soviet Union is undergoing a dramatic change of its own; the U.N. so far has proven limited in internal wars, and CSCE was conceived to handle conflicts between nations not within one.

Bugajski suggests the challenge now is to locate an area of interest common to all the external actors (US, EC, USSR, CSCE, UN), and that by combining incentives of cooperation and threats of economic sanctions, the parties can be brought to the bargaining table. He argues that human rights presents the most solid foundation upon which to build a step-by-step approach to an end to the fighting. Holding a summit and calling for international inspection teams to monitor human rights abuses in contested areas may provide a viable first step toward new borders and a lasting peace.

--Anthony A. Gaeta, Office of Director of Studies