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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Office of the Assistant Secretary/Spokesman

For Immediate Release

August 29, 1991

STATEMENT BY RICHARD BOUCHER/ACTING SPOKESMAN

YUGOSLAVIA

- THE U.S. STRONGLY ENDORSES THE POSITIONS TAKEN AND THE STEPS PROPOSED BY THE EC FOREIGN MINISTERS IN THEIR AUGUST 27 DECLARATION ON YUGOSLAVIA, INCLUDING THEIR CALL FOR AGREEMENT BY ALL PARTIES IN YUGOSLAVIA ON A CEASEFIRE TO BE OBSERVED BY CSCE-MANDATED MONITORS AND ON THE CONVENING OF A PEACE CONFERENCE.
- WE ALSO SUPPORT THE EC'S DETERMINATION, IN THE ABSENCE OF SUCH AGREEMENT BY SEPTEMBER 1, TO CONVENE A MEETING WHICH WOULD INCLUDE REPRESENTATIVES OF THOSE YUGOSLAV REPUBLICS WHICH SUPPORT THESE STEPS AS WELL AS THE YUGOSLAV PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN MINISTER.
- WE ARE SERIOUSLY CONCERNED BY THE LEVEL OF VIOLENCE IN CROATIA. WE SEE GRAVE RISKS THAT VIOLENCE WILL ESCALATE IN CROATIA AND SPREAD TO BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA AND TO KOSOVO PROVINCE IN SOUTHERN SERBIA.
- ALTHOUGH MANY PARTIES HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO YUGOSLAVIA'S INSTABILITY, THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SERBIAN REPUBLIC AND THE YUGOSLAV MILITARY BEAR A PARTICULAR AND GROWING RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE COUNTRY'S TRAGIC DESCENT TOWARD CIVIL WAR.
- ACTIONS WHICH SEEK TO REDRAW BY FORCE THE EXTERNAL OR INTERNAL BORDERS OF YUGOSLAVIA REPRESENT A DRAMATIC AFFRONT TO THE VALUES AND PRINCIPLES WHICH UNDERLIE THE CSCE.
- IT IS CLEAR THAT FEDERAL YUGOSLAV MILITARY UNITS IN CROATIA HAVE NOT BEEN SERVING AS AN IMPARTIAL GUARANTOR OF A CEASEFIRE. INSTEAD, THEY HAVE BEEN ACTIVELY SUPPORTING LOCAL SERBIAN FORCES VIOLATING THE CEASEFIRE, AND CAUSING LOSS OF LIFE TO THE CITIZENS THEY ARE CONSTITUTIONALLY BOUND TO PROTECT.
- IT IS EQUALLY CLEAR THAT THE SERBIAN REPUBLIC LEADERSHIP IS ACTIVELY SUPPORTING AND ENCOURAGING THE USE OF FORCE IN CROATIA BY SERBIAN MILITANTS AND THE YUGOSLAV MILITARY.
- SERBIAN REPUBLIC LEADERS AND YUGOSLAV MILITARY LEADERS HAVE ALSO BLOCKED THUS FAR THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY'S OFFER, MANDATED BY THE CSCE, TO MONITOR A CEASEFIRE IN CROATIA.

(more)

To All Comrades!

Urgent! Please distribute world-wide!

Croatia Needs Help !

The war between Serbia and Croatia is not just a war between two Southern Slavic peoples and neighbors, but also a war between the principle of the postwar order and its destruction!

Many Croatians clearly stand on the side of White Europe and also on the side of a Nationalist New Order on this continent.

But the information from (formerly) Yugoslavia is largely filtered by the Serbians, ie the communists, and is not true!

Even in Croatia itself, the situation is not so good. The present government "Tutschman", which is steering a course between Serbo-Belgrade and the "EG" (European Common Market), is not popular with the people and is only accepted as a compromise.

The reasons for this are diverse. But here is a good example: The defenders of VUKOVAR, who have been waging a heroic defense against the Serbian usurpers for months, have been betrayed and sold out by the Croatian central government in Agram (Zagreb). For months now, the world-wide shipments of weapons, ammunition and medical supplies *have not reached the volunteer fighters in Vukovar!* Instead they are being held back in Agram, presumably intentionally.

The defenders of Vukovar have gone so far as to issue calls requesting supplies to no longer be sent through the central government, but instead to be sent directly to Vukovar!

There exists the suspicion of a "Romanianization" of Croatia. According to informed circles, the old Marxist-communist functionaries are trying to keep their positions in the "new" Croatia, too...and they are succeeding!

The secret police, which was completely controlled by Belgrade, has not changed in its personnel: with few exceptions, Serbian agents.

Comrades who were imprisoned for 10 or even 15 years by the Tito regime because of their loyalty to a Free Croatia suddenly see the same people in the security forces who (as agents of Belgrade) just a few years ago persecuted them!

Help! Help! Help!

There are influential circles which, even politically, are interested in a co-operation with nationalist forces in Europe and throughout the entire White world on the basis of national self-determination. These forces are found in the "Croatian Party of the Right" and in its circle of supporters and auxiliary groups.

Some background:

In 1871 the first nationalist Croatian party was founded, the "Croatian Party of the Right", with the slogans "Away from Vienna" and "Away from Budapest". They desired an independent Croatian state on the basis of self-determination of peoples. But even the First World War did not bring the desired result, so a battle organization emerged from the youth movement of the party in 1929. The youth leader, Ante PAVELIC, himself became the first chairman. That was the hour of birth of the "UTASCHA".

"UTASCHA" means as much as "the rebel".

During the period of the Nationalist Order of Europe between 1941 and 1945, a sovereign Croatian state existed for the first time in many centuries, and the UTASCHA changed from a revolutionary group into a regular army, which joined the Axis powers.

Croatian forces participated in the struggle against the rebellious Jozip Broz = TITO, who was supported against Germany by London, Washington and Moscow. Two Croatian volunteer divisions (13th Waffen-SS Mountain Division of the 1st Croatian SS "Handschar" and the 23rd

Waffen-SS Mountain Division of the SS "Kama" of the Croatian 2nd) fought in the Waffen-SS.

Because of this service, the Croats were subjected to the most brutal suppression from the Serbian central government after 1945.

In 1990 the "Croatian Party of the Right" was newly founded. It has its own battle troop, the "HOS" (Croatian Defense Federation), which stands in the tradition of the UTASCHA.

Help! Help! Help!

The HOS troops consist entirely of volunteers and these comrades are the ones who are successfully defending Vukovar, the city on the Donau, as well as parts of Dubrovnik, the Pearl of the Adriatic Sea, against superior Serbian forces.

The resultant blood loss is indescribable. The HOS troops are fighting practically without help from the government, all by themselves, but they are sent to the hottest points of combat as the "fire brigade of the front".

Croatian comrades are requesting national solidarity. It is time to support the freedom fight of the Croatian people world-wide through solidarity measures.

In the near future these freedom fighters will be given material assistance, too. The necessary discussions with leading people in Croatia will take place within a month.

Comrades!

Help our White brothers in southeastern Europe by distributing this report among comrades and also among other organizations!

Thank you!

13 November 1991 (102)

English Translation by:
NSDAP/AO: PO Box 6414, Lincoln, NE 68506 USA



SEP 10 1991

REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
Office of the Republic of Croatia
Washington, D.C.

Congressional Communique
September 10, 1991

European Community Observers Arrive in Croatia, Serbian Insurgents Continue to Pound Defenseless Croats, Croatian President Speaks out on Human Rights Violations

Heavy fighting raged between Serbian insurgents backed by Yugoslav federal army troops Monday as the first European Community observers arrived to monitor what AP described as "a tattered truce accord" in the eastern region of Croatia.

Five EC observers arrived in Osijek, scene of major military action in the last 60 days, to monitor a cease-fire agreement in Croatia's fertile agricultural region of Slavonia.

An EC-sponsored peace conference, begun last Saturday in The Hague, will continue Thursday with "workshop sessions" which, AP reported, "offered a glimmer of hope that the crisis could be solved before it spreads to other republics."

Despite agreeing to a series of cease fires over the last month, Serbian forces inflicted what has been described by AP as "the worst fighting in Croatia...in the strategically important towns of Kostanjica, on the border with Bosnia, and Pakrac, in the ethnically mixed Slavonia region. More than 400 people have died in Croatia since it declared independence June 25.

Croatian Serbs comprise 12 percent of Croatia's 4.75 million. The question of minority rights in Croatia is addressed in the following article by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. He cites Croatia's constitutional guarantees of "civil and national rights" for all citizens of Croatia, including Serbs and other nationals. President Tudjman compares and contrasts Croatia's commitment to human rights with Serbian blatant violations of human rights within Serbia.

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For more information please contact James Mazarella, Ruder Finn, 202-466-7800.

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REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
Office of the Republic of Croatia
Washington, D.C.

"The Boundaries of Civil Society"

By Dr. Franjo Tudjman
President
Republic of Croatia

The question of minority rights hangs over the Yugoslav crisis like an all-pervasive storm cloud. And well it should. The major disagreement fomenting strife and discord among the republics that formerly comprised Yugoslavia relates to the lack of human freedom and the abrogation of the rights of minorities to enjoy the same freedom and opportunity as the majority.

Croatia, for its part, is unalterably committed to human rights. After free elections in April 1990, and dismantling of a Communist regime, our efforts to attain real democracy and national equality were accompanied by legal guarantees for more civil and national rights for all of our people, including Serbs and other nationals in Croatia.

The Croatian Independence Proclamation, issued last June 25, was accompanied by the Charter of the Rights of Serbs and other Nationalities in the Republic of Croatia. The Charter followed the Paris Charter and all the achievements of the European legislation concerning national problems.

Protection of the rights of minorities are mentioned repeatedly in our Constitution. Article 3 says, "Freedom, equal rights, national equality, love of peace, social justice, respect for human rights, inviolability of ownership, conservation of nature and human environment, the rule of law and a democratic multiparty system are the highest values of the constitutional order of the Republic of Croatia."

Citizens of Croatia, by constitutional mandate, enjoy all rights and freedoms regardless of national origin. All are equal before the law. Article 15 states explicitly: "Members of all nations and minorities shall have equal rights in the Republic of Croatia."

The majority of Croatian Serbs are not opposing our independence. Rather it is the terrorists recruited, trained and armed by neo-Communist Serbia, backed up by the Serbian-controlled federal army, who are responsible for the bloodshed and terror.

I defy the neo-Communist Socialist regime that controls Serbia to compare its commitment and record on human rights to that of Croatia. The facts speak for themselves.

We see evidence daily of Serbian "apartheid," as their strongmen move in lockstep toward their perception of a "Greater Serbia." Take a close look at the northern autonomous region of Vojvodina near the Yugoslav-Hungarian border. Militant Serbs have fueled the fires of hatred toward the 350,000 ethnic Hungarians and close to 200,000 Croats who live there.

The Serbs have restricted use of the Hungarian language in schools, courts and official documents. Hungarians have been forced to join the federal army's pro-Serbia battle in Croatia.

Things are even worse in the southern region of Kosovo, where 1.8 million ethnic Albanians, comprising 90 percent of the population, have felt Serbia's crackdown on human rights. They have been deprived of their parliament, lost their university, arrested for listening to Albanian folk songs or flashing the illegal "V" sign, fined arbitrarily, fired from their jobs and replaced by Serbians, and endured dozens of other repressive tactics. Control of local councils has already been wrested away from an ethnic balance to Serbian dominance.

As part of Serbian neo-Communist repression of individual freedom, the Serbian parliament formally brought under direct state control the radio and television broadcasting facilities in the capitals of Vojvodina, Kosovo and Serbia itself. In the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbs took over control of a second television channel which had been broadcasting unbiased news.

While the human rights abuses are bad enough by themselves, when it becomes clear what the neo-Communist leaders have in mind through the abuses, the international community should be up in arms, literally and figuratively.

As the international news media has reported repeatedly, Serbia is out to expand its frontiers using a mix of political intimidation and crude military force.

What a clear-cut contrast this situation draws for the world community to see! The Croatian people, recognized as a national entity since the 6th century, have voted overwhelmingly to withdraw their republic from Yugoslavia. Yet the neo-Communist state seems determined to preserve its boundaries by force and repression.

Former President Ronald Reagan, speaking to the 1991 Captive Nations Week Conference July 15, said it best: "As Americans, who believe in government by consent, our sympathies naturally lie with the breakaway Republics. It is for the people, not the state, to determine where the boundaries of civil society shall fall."

Croatians want the opportunity to exercise that human right. And we appeal to the U.S. and all freedom-loving nations of the world to come to our aid at a moment of desperate need.

###

September 6, 1991

Free For All

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1991 A19

Croatia Deserves Credit

Croats, perhaps even more than Americans, can empathize with the citizens of the former Soviet Union in the last few weeks. We too have conducted free elections that have released us from the bonds of Communist totalitarianism. Yet our decision for self-determination is being undermined by the remnants of a neo-communist regime in Serbia.

As world attention was fixed on Moscow, Serbian terrorists backed by the federal army escalated their efforts to usurp, illegally and by armed force, additional sovereign land of the Republic of Croatia. Fully 20 percent of our land has now been occupied by the Serbian marauders. More than 300 persons have been killed.

The Croatian commitment to freedom and democracy, which led to our declaration of independence June 25, and the historic basis for our action continue to be misunderstood at the very time when America and the world applaud the resilience of freedom forces in the Soviet Union.

Instead of finding fault and placing blame for the breakup of Yugoslavia, Stephen S. Rosenfeld would have better served discourse on the crisis by looking at the roots and effects of the confrontation between Serbs and Croats ["Political AIDS," op-ed, Aug. 9].

Rosenfeld blames the United States, the Cold War and Yugoslavs themselves for the conflict, thus missing the point. Free, democratic and fair elections have been held in Croatia, Slovenia and other Yugoslav

republics within the past 12 months. The only republic that has retained a neo-communist regime is Serbia. The balance of Yugoslavia wants to be free.

It is the Serbian regime, which controls the federal army and funds the insurgent Serbian guerrillas in Croatia, that is to blame. Yet Rosenfeld barely notes the regime's complicity in creating the crisis.

Please note that of the more than 300 fatalities of the fighting, almost all have been Croatian civilians and policemen. Please record that it is Croatia that has pleaded for international intervention, a cease-fire and international peace-keeping forces in the country.

Croatia is committed by constitution and parliamentary mandate to protect ethnic rights and human rights of all those who live in the republic. Serbia meanwhile is trampling upon ethnic rights through state-supported terrorism inflicted on innocent civilians in Croatia and subjugation of minorities such as the Albanians in Serbia's southern province of Kosovo.

For 90 percent of the population who are Albanians, "Serbian apartheid," as your newspaper described it Aug. 10 ["Ethnic Albanians Feel Serbia's Crackdown," news story], has meant dismissal of the parliament, loss of the university, arbitrary fines, unwarranted interrogations, capricious firings from jobs and other forms of repression.

Rosenfeld unduly complicates the Yugoslavia predicament. Yes, there is a recent history of ethnic groups "knitted, knotted" together unnaturally and arbitrarily

by forceful means. But there is a much longer history, since the sixth century, of Croatia as a sovereign and independent nation.

Rather than wringing his hands over what should have been done, Rosenfeld could provide an intellectual boost for U.S. policy makers by articulating a realistic alternative to what he correctly described as America's tight squeeze "between posture and policy."

The Europeans have taken the initiative far more aggressively than Rosenfeld suggested. Collectively and individually, the European Community has proposed options ranging from dispatching armed troops to the area, bestowing diplomatic recognition on the Republic of Croatia, involvement of the United Nations, sanctions against Serbia and appeals to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Meanwhile the United States has in fact hidden "nef- vously behind its skirts," as Rosenfeld stated.

At the very moment in world history when freedom-seeking people around the globe are realizing their dreams of liberty and self-determination, it seems odd indeed that U.S. policy makers should vacillate on the important basic human-rights issues inherent in the Yugoslavia tragedy.

—Frane V. Golem

The writer is the authorized representative of the government of the Republic of Croatia in Washington and minister without portfolio of his government.

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

July 22, 1991

RALLY FOR DEMOCRACY:
CROATIAN, SLOVENIAN, AND ALBANIANS
FRIDAY, JULY 26 -- WEST LAWN U.S. CAPITOL

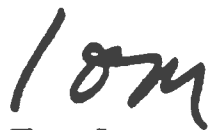
Dear Colleague:

On Friday July 26 thousands of Americans of Croatian, Slovenian, and Albanian descent from all over the United States will be in Washington, D.C. We invite you to join us between 10 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. on the West Lawn of the U.S. Capitol Building. Members are invited and encouraged to make statements.

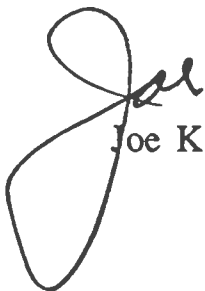
These Americans are concerned about events in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, about the communist army's involvement in Kosova, Slovenia, and Croatia, and over the army's use of whatever means are necessary to quash democratic movements in these areas.

The crisis situation currently in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia can be diffused with appropriate leadership by the United States. We invite you to join us on this important occasion. For information, call Alex Arriaga (5-3531 or 6-4040).

Cordially,



Tom Lantos



Joe Kolter



George E. Sangmeister



REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
Office of the Republic of Croatia
Washington, D.C.

SEP 27 1991

Congressional Communique #6
September 23, 1991

**Canada, France Call for Emergency UN Meeting
As Federal Troops Attack and Invade Croatia**

**Croatia Appeals to President Bush for Support
Of Democracy U.S. Exported to Yugoslav Republics**

Both Canada and France Saturday called for an emergency meeting of the United Nation's Security Council in an effort to stop the escalation of bloodshed and genocide in the Republic of Croatia.

Over the weekend, more than 200 federal army tanks attacked defenseless cities in eastern Croatia while the federal navy bombarded historic buildings and homes in Croatian towns along the Adriatic coast and Soviet-supplied MIGs strafed areas across Croatia.

Despite direct orders from the President of the Yugoslav eight-member presidential council, Stipe Mesic, the Serbian-led military persisted in moving forces and weapons into major areas of Croatia. Mesic declared a military coup had occurred.

Croatian President Tudjman's offer Saturday to end a blockade of federal military barracks in return for withdrawal of the invading tanks was rebuffed by the Communist leaders of Serbia who control the federal military.

With a full-scale war of independence underway, Croatia's Authorized Representative in Washington, Dr. Frane V. Golem, appealed to President Bush and Secretary of State Baker to support the Canadian and French initiatives at the U.N.

In a letter delivered to the President today, Dr. Golem said, "Under your leadership, America has demonstrated its true greatness as a world leader by exporting democratic principles and procedures to many subjugated nations in Eastern Europe, including several of the Communist-controlled Yugoslav republics..."

(more)

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236 Massachusetts Ave., N.E. • Congressional House 505 • Washington, DC 20002 • 202/543-5586

"Through your commitment to promoting democracy around the world through the work of the National Endowment for Democracy, which sent professional political instructors and election observers, the American people provided invaluable aid as we removed the Communist dictatorship in Croatia and installed a parliamentary democracy," Dr. Golem told the President.

"Now, when the balance is tipping in favor of the neo-Communists in Serbia who would destroy democracy while obliterating Croatian culture and society. I appeal to you and the American people to come to our aid. You effectively exported democracy to Croatia. Now, your support is desperately needed," Dr. Golem wrote.

A complete text of Dr. Golem's letter to the President is attached.

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For more information please contact James Mazarella or Jim Harff, Ruder Finn International, 202-466-7800 (day), 703-522-5665 (night), 202-887-0905 (fax).



REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
Office of the Republic of Croatia
Washington, D.C.

September 23, 1991

The Honorable George Bush
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The crisis in Yugoslavia has now entered a decisive stage. Whether freedom and democracy survive in the Republic of Croatia will be determined in the next few days. On behalf of the freedom-loving citizens of Croatia, I appeal to you for immediate support of a United Nations Security Council emergency meeting to help end the bloodshed and genocide occurring as I write.

Under your leadership, America has demonstrated its true greatness as a world leader by exporting democratic principles and procedures to many subjugated nations in Eastern Europe, including several of the Communist-controlled Yugoslav republics, which in the last two years have held free elections with multi-party candidates. Establishment of fledgling parliamentary democracies has been the result. For this, the great majority of Croatians are grateful to you and America.

By your commitment to promoting democracy around the world through the work of the National Endowment for Democracy, which sent professional political instructors and election observers, the American people provided invaluable aid as we removed the Communist dictatorship in Croatia and installed a parliamentary democracy.

Now, we need your support for what you have exported. You can imagine the disappointment and disillusionment of the Croatian people when, after following the U.S. and ridding the government of Communist leadership and totalitarian control of the Republic, we find ourselves under attack and invasion by those very forces we defeated at the election polls.

The Yugoslav federal army, led and controlled by neo-Communist Serbs, has rejected direct orders of the Yugoslav presidency, to which it is supposed to answer. In effect, a military coup has occurred, as civilian leadership of the government lacks any effective control over military action.

President George Bush

Page two

Consequently, the invasion of our country by hundreds of tanks and thousands of troops, the strafing of our cities by Soviet-supplied MiG jets, the naval bombardment of our coastal towns and villages, the destruction of U.N. protected cathedrals, the merciless attacks on our hospitals and the homes of elderly citizens -- all documented thoroughly by the international news media -- have now thrown this peaceful, democratic country into the grips of anti-democratic, barbaric and inhuman hands.

Mr. President, the Republic of Croatia lacks any effective military means to defend itself. Our people are fighting with hunting rifles, pistols, pitch forks and arms confiscated from surrendering federal barracks. We cannot defend ourselves against sophisticated armaments supplied by the Soviet Union and others. A bloodbath of inestimable proportions will occur if the U.N. does not act now. There is no time to wait.

Throughout this crisis, the Republic of Croatia has supported every international effort to bring about peace. Indeed, we have urged international intervention. We have signed every cease-fire proposed by the European Community. We have called for international peace-keeping troops. Regrettably, the other side has cynically signed and then immediately broken each of the six cease fires proposed, escalating its military action against defenseless civilians each time.

Now, when the balance is tipping in favor of the neo-Communists in Serbia who would destroy democracy while obliterating Croatian culture and society, I appeal to you and the American people to come to our aid. You effectively exported democracy to Croatia. Now your support is desperately needed.

Sincerely,



Frane V. Golem, M.D., Ph. D.
Authorized Representative in the U.S.A.





REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
Office of the Republic of Croatia
Washington, D.C.

Congressional Communiqué #7
September 23, 1991

Yugoslav Military Attacks Claim Lives And "the Cultural Birthright of Croatia"

—The New York Times, 9/22/91

More than 500 Croatians have lost their lives as a result of brutal Communist-led federal army, air force and naval attacks on cities and villages across the Republic during the last two months. Now, *The New York Times*, in an editorial yesterday, focused world attention on another brutal casualty of the fighting. "As many as 116 churches, castles and historic districts have reportedly come under mortar and air attacks by Serbian military or units of the Yugoslav army," The Times stated.

THE NEW YORK TIMES EDITORIALS/LETTERS SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1991

The Sacking of Croatia

Yugoslavia's civil war is claiming lives — and also the cultural birthright of Croatia. As many as 116 churches, castles and historic districts have reportedly come under mortar and air attacks by Serbian militias or units of the Yugoslav Army. A respected private group, the World Monuments Fund, says these are calculated assaults on another people's treasures. It is a credible charge that shames the Serbian cause.

Among the cultural casualties are the great dome of St. Jacob's Cathedral in Šibenik, old Baroque buildings in the former capital city of Varazdin, the castle and museum in Vukovar (see photo) and the historic center of Karlovac. On the Dalmatian coast, a magnet for tourists, recent aerial and naval skirmishes near Split airport imperiled the adjacent classical ruins of Salona, known to Croatians as "our Pompeii."

Destruction on this scale has no precedent in Europe since Nazi Germany's vengeful "Baedeker" raids on English cathedral cities in 1942, and



World Monuments Fund

the Allied firebombing of Dresden. Yugoslavia itself endured grievous losses in World War II, and the painstaking restoration of damaged ancient monuments has been a proud national achievement. But now, asserts Maja Razovic, an art historian in Zagreb, Yugoslavs "have transformed monuments into enemies, forgetting that palaces, museums and churches belong to all."

To deter such vandalism, civilized nations in 1954 devised the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict. Yugoslavia became a signatory in 1955, which means the present attacks on monuments affront not only the world's conscience but world law. In one case, mortar shells shattered an 18th-century church in Petrinja whose spire bore the protective flag prescribed by the Hague Convention.

The loss of life in Yugoslavia is tragic. It piles horror upon horror to engage as well in cultural extermination.

For more information please contact James Mazzarella or Jim Harff, Ruder Finn International, 202-466-7800 (day), 703-522-5665 (night), 202-887-0905 (fax).

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REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
Office of the Republic of Croatia
Washington, D.C.

JAN 24 1992

Congressional Communique #34
Thursday, January 23, 1992

DOLE, 18 OTHER SENATORS INTRODUCE RESOLUTION URGING RECOGNITION OF CROATIA

Senator Bob Dole and 18 other U.S. Senators today introduced a resolution that expressed the Senate's support for recognition of Croatia and Slovenia.

In addition to Senator Dole, the bipartisan sponsors included Senators Pressler, Helms, Pell, McCain, Brown, Gorton, D'Amato, Seymour, Dixon, Johnston, Riegle, Hatch, Wallop, Glenn, Breaux, Gore, Garn and Lieberman.

The resolution congratulated the governments and people of Croatia and Slovenia on achieving recognition from 39 countries, supported the freedom and self-determination of democratic countries that have emerged from communist control, and urged the President "to immediately extend diplomatic recognition to Croatian and Slovenia" which will lead to "mutually beneficial relations with these new countries."

A copy of the complete resolution follows.

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For more information please contact Jim Harff or James Mazzarella, Ruder Finn Global Public Affairs, 202-466-7800 (day), 703-522-5665 (night), 202-887-0905 (fax).

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REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
Office of the Republic of Croatia
Washington, D.C.

1991

Congressional Communique #31

Tuesday, December 3, 1991

EC APPLIES SANCTIONS ONLY TO SERBIA

Actions Move Diplomatic Recognition for Croatia, Slovenia One Step Closer

European Community foreign ministers agreed Monday to scrap sanctions against all Yugoslav republics except Serbia and its ally Montenegro, Reuters reported yesterday. The ministers agreed to lift sanctions which included trade and financial measures against Croatia, Slovenia and two other republics. The four republics will receive \$250 million in financial aid, regain preferential trade access to the EC and qualify for help under an EC program to aid Eastern Europe.

Belgian Foreign Minister Mark Eyskens told reporters that the decision was one more step toward diplomatic recognition of Croatia and Slovenia because it involved establishment of contractual ties between them and the EC.

Meanwhile, Germany announced that it would recognize Croatia and Slovenia next month. Other European Community members are expected to declare their recognition of the two republics following the EC political and economic summit in Maastricht, The Netherlands, December 9 and 10.

European Monitors Blast Serbian Army

UPI reported Monday that a confidential European Community monitors report said the Serb-dominated federal army had systematically attacked civilian targets in Croatia and "bulldozed out of existence" many villages in a drive to take Croatian territory. The EC monitors called for an outside military deterrent to halt the brutal slaughter.

The report, submitted to the EC Brussels headquarters November 26, identified the Serbian-led federal army as the main obstacle to peace. It said Serbian insurgents had been "given the freest hand under the protections and auspices of the Yugoslav Peoples Army and with freely supplied federal army hardware."

(more)

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The report, which stated it represented the views of all delegations in the mission except Greece, said a federal army "offensive" was "in full swing," with the aim of capturing Croatian territory up to a 190-mile line running from Karlobag on the Adriatic coast, through Karlovac, just southwest of Zagreb, to Virovitice, on the border with Hungary.

Federal troops have "not hesitated to shoot either indiscriminately at purely civilian targets with random fire, or, in certain cases, to deliberately select civilian targets of important symbolic value including schools, museums, churches, radio and television stations and, particularly, hospitals," the report said.

The report concluded: "In the last analysis, the federal forces are a cowardly army, fighting for no recognizable principles, but largely instinctively for its own status and survival. It no longer has the authority to lead its men into real sacrifice, hence the patterned of behavior outlined above."

The EC monitors, who have observed the Serbian-led army and Serbian insurgents for months, concluded that an effective sea and air deterrent "to make continued federal army aggression pointless, if not suicidal, thus allowing the peace process to resume."

Italian Foreign Minister Confirms Serbian Assassination Attempts

Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis Friday confirmed that a team of Serbian extremists planned to assassinate him and German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Reuters reported.

Croatia's Authorized Representative in the U.S., Dr. Frane V. Golem, said the assassination attempts were consistent with the way in which the Serbian government was waging its war of aggression against Croatia.

"In October the same terrorists tried to killed Croatian President Tudjman and Chairman of the rotating Yugoslav presidency when they unleashed a rocket attack on the presidential palace and parliament in Zagreb," Dr. Golem said. "They way in which the insurgents have massacred close to 10,000 Croatian men, women and children has been similarly barbaric, using Byzantine methods such as eye gouging to inflict unbelievable pain."

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For more information please contact James Mazzarella or Jim Harff, Ruder Finn International, 202-466-7800 (day), 703-522-5665 (night), 202-887-0905 (fax).



The Republic of Kosova

Congressional Background Information

February 1993

Dear Member of Congress:

The embattled Republic of Kosova has been described as a linchpin in the current crisis in former Yugoslavia. International experts predict that if Serbia shifts its genocidal campaign to Kosova, the Balkan conflict will most likely spill over into Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and possibly Turkey.

The result would have global dimensions. With 2 million defenseless Albanians at the mercy of the well-armed Serbian war machine, a massacre of immense proportions could occur in a short time. It would make the brutality of Bosnia pale by comparison.

My government is working relentlessly to prevent and preempt the possibility of massacre. The people of Kosova are committed to a campaign of peaceful resistance to the Serbian-imposed martial law under which all civil, human and national rights have been abrogated.

Sorting out the Balkan conflict can often be confusing. We hope this background booklet will provide information that you and your staff find useful. Included are facts about the current situation in Kosova, statements by government officials, a Kosova "Bill of Rights," and excerpts from the Congressional Record and media sources about Kosova.

If you have any questions or need further information, please contact our Washington, D.C. representatives, Jim Harff or James Mazzarella at 202/466-7800.

Best regards,
Dr. Bujar Bukoshi
Prime Minister



INSIDE

Kosova Demographic Information
Fact sheet
Myths and realities

Page 2

Assessment of Current Situation
Kosova Bill of Rights
Recent Serbian activities

Page 3

Other Resource Materials
Congressional Record insertions
News article references
Reports from human rights groups

Page 4

Facts and Dates

| | | |
|---------------------|--|---|
| Capital | Prishtina | Multi-party Elections May 24, 1992 |
| Government | Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, President of Kosova Dr. Bujar Bukoshi Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Ilaz Ramajli Chairman of the Assembly | Multi-party elections were won by the LDK with 76 percent of the vote. Other parties winning seats included the Parliamentary Party, the Peasants Party, the Albanian Christian Democratic Party and independent (non-party) candidates. The elections were monitored by eight groups from the United States and Europe, and were reported by 82 international journalists and news agencies. |
| Parliament | Contains 130 seats (100 directly elected, 30 selected through proportional representation). Democratic League of Kosova (LDK) won 76.44 percent in May 1992 elections, 96 Deputies in Parliament | Sovereignty Referendum Sept 26-30, 1991 |
| Demographics | Kosova has 2 million citizens. Of these 90 percent are ethnic Albanian. | Of the 1,051,357 eligible voters in Kosova, 87 percent participated and 99.87 percent of those voted in favor of sovereignty. Only 164 citizens of Kosova voted against independence. |

Myths and Realities in Kosova

Excerpts from a speech given to the European Parliament by Prime Minister Bujar Bukoshi, January 7, 1993

- ▶ **Myth 1: The conflict in Kosova is based on religious grounds.**
Like World War II, the crisis in Kosova is about an ultra-nationalist aggressor trying to dominate another group of people by force and the threat of mass destruction.
- ▶ **Myth 2: The conflict has its roots in historic rights which the Serbians feel for our area.**
Serbians are demanding historical rights of those dead for 500 years while suppressing the human rights of those who live there now. They cite a small battlefield outside our capital, on which Albanians and other ethnic groups also died, as justification for subjugating all non-Serbs.
- ▶ **Myth 3: Serbians are war heroes and will bog down any force that tries to stop them.**
The Serbs are not heroes. Heroes do not rape and slaughter innocent women and children, nor starve and frighten old people to death. They are bullies who take what they can get until they are faced with the threat of force, and only then, and always then, do they back down.
- ▶ **Myth 4: Serbians have been subjected to human rights violations by the Albanian majority.**
In reality, not one Serb has been killed in Kosova in the last 20 years as a result of political intimidation or persecution.
- ▶ **Myth 5: Kosova seeks change of existing borders to unite with Albania.**
Kosova is not asking for a change in borders or reconfiguration of established sovereign nations. Suggestions to the contrary are merely typical Communist lies. An independent Kosova with rights respected and enforced for all and open borders is the only long-term compromise which will fulfill the needs of all ethnic groups.

Current Situation in Kosova

On December 20, 1992, Serbia held what was described by international observers as a rigged election. The hardline nationalists, who were formerly the hardline Communists, won.

Despite the attempts of the international community to support and encourage democracy in Serbia, the outcome of the elections show that Serbia is moving further towards extreme nationalism.

In order to enforce their police state in Kosova, Serbia has suppressed all civil, national, and human rights, outlawed Albanian schools, closed the university, prohibited mass media, fired hundreds of thousands for political reasons, and destroyed the Kosova economy through sanctions directed at Serbia but applying to all republics.

The Serbian system in Kosova is one of apartheid, torture and constant intimidation with blatant and gross violations of human rights toward the over 90 percent non-Serb population.

For example, the intimidation tactics of the Serbian police have intensified, including the raiding of homes under the pretense of extracting arms that do not exist. These and other acts serve as provocations and are especially severe in the outlying villages.

Kosova has fulfilled all legal requirements associated with the rights of self-determination including the holding of free elections monitored by the West.

Despite the brutal tactics of Serbia and the almost constant provocations, the Albanian population in Kosova has been dedicated to non-violent resistance.



(AP photo)

A man is beaten by Serbian police in Prishtina last year

KOSOVA BILL OF RIGHTS

In order to begin a productive dialogue for resolution of the crisis, the following basic rights must be fulfilled

1. End martial law, allow elected Assembly to meet.
2. Establish no-fly zone over Kosova, place all heavy weapons under international control.
3. Reopen schools, university.
4. Free media, education, scientific, cultural institutions.
5. Rehire fired workers.
6. Reestablish health care system, end practice of "underground" hospitals.
7. Reopen airport, start relief flights.
8. Halt forced colonization.
9. Deploy international monitors.
10. Abolish all forms of apartheid.



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 103^d CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

A WARNING ON KOSOVA

HON. SUSAN MOLINARI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 26, 1993

Ms. MOLINARI. Mr. Speaker, as Serbian aggressors play games at peace talks in Geneva, their campaign of ethnic genocide and terror against Bosnian civilians reaches new, horrific proportions. I am sad to report that 1 year after my visit to former Yugoslavia, the senseless brutality which I witnessed there goes on virtually unchecked by Western leaders.

It is no secret that Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic has chosen the Republic of Kosova, with its 90 percent Albanian majority, as the next victim of his bloody expansionist drive. Already, civilians in Kosova are denied basic rights and liberties. Schools have been closed and civilians have been beaten and killed.

International experts agree that Kosova's two million Albanians, who lack any means to defend themselves from the inevitable attack, will suffer a fate possibly worse than the Bosnians. Only immediate Western action against the Serbian aggressors will prevent the impending Kosova tragedy and put an end to terror in the Balkans once and for all.

Kosova's Prime Minister, Dr. Bujar Bukoshi recently travelled to several Western capitals to sound a warning and appeal to international leaders for assistance. In the address before the European Parliament's Commission on Foreign Affairs and Security in Brussels, January 7, Prime Minister Bukoshi outlined five basic myths in the debate over Kosova which must be exposed if the world is to understand the Balkans conflict accurately.

In addition, he called for Western support and understanding, deployment of a United Nations peacekeeping force and many more international observers, and recognition of Kosova's desire to determine its own political future. Finally, the Prime Minister appealed to parliamentarians around the world to visit Kosova, to see its dire condition for themselves. I commend this speech to my colleagues with grave sincerity.

For more information contact:

Jim Harff or James Mazzarella
Ruder Finn
Global Public Affairs
202/466-7800

Remarks about Kosova from the 102nd Congress:

Senator Dole

May 21, 1992 p. S7142

As my colleagues know, the 2 million Albanians in Kosova have been deprived of their fundamental political and human rights. They have lived, for more than 3 years now, under the crushing weight of repression. They are prisoners in Europe's largest concentration camp run by Slobodan Milosevic... Nevertheless, the people of Kosova are committed to the democratic process.

Rep. Zelig

May 21, 1992 p. H3681

As we all know, the Serbian Government has placed the Albanians under martial law and are committing tremendous human rights violations. As a matter of fact, I was over there during the March 21 weekend to personally see these atrocious acts.

Senator Pressler

May 21, 1992 p. S7089

Kosova is occupied by Serbian Communist troops and is ripe for the picking if the Serbian Army continues its aggression in Bosnia and moves south... Unless the Serbian Government forces are stopped, aggression against the people of Kosova could make what is happening in Croatia and Bosnia look like a Sunday school picnic.

Rep. Lantos

May 14, 1992 p. E1397

The violent means through which Serbian Communists seek to dominate the region were on display for all to see 12 years ago... The efforts to isolate and vilify Albanians in Kosova were as revolting as they were comprehensive... The dire situation in the former Yugoslavia requires that uncompromising attention be paid to the plight of Albanians in Kosova.

Reports documenting Serbian atrocities in Kosova

Helsinki Watch

"Yugoslavia: Human rights abuses in Kosova 1990 - 1992" October 1992.
212/972-8400.

U.S. Department of State

"Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1992" January 1993

Serbian police under President Milosevic's control extensively, brutally, and systemically violated human rights... continuing the pattern of gross human rights violations and systemic repression of Kosova's majority Albanian population.

Bibliography of news clips

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Financial Times "Kosovo PM seeks help for Serbia's next target" Anthony Robinson 1/6/93

Wall Street Journal "The Year's Impending Tragedy" 1/4/93

Newsweek "Where the World Can Draw the Line" Russell Watson, Margaret Warner, John Barry 1/4/93

Washington Post "Bush Threatens Military Force If Serbs Attack Kosova Province" John M. Goshko 12/29/92

The New Republic "Greek Takeout" Robert D. Kaplan 12/21/92

Reuters, "U.S. Allies May Consider U.N. Action On Kosova" 12/7/92

Washington Post "Serbia's Next Victim" Bujar Bukoshi 11/28/92

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Washington Post "Poised To Intervene For Kosova" Evans, Novak 11/11/92

New York Times "Serbia: Blowing Up the Balkans" Editorial 11/6/92

Reuters "Mazowiecki warns of rights abuses in Kosova" 10/18/92

Washington Post "Stop Serbia. Bomb Serbia." Don M. Snider 10/13/92

WAR

PR BATTLES IN
THE BALKANS

In Yugoslavia's vicious civil war, all sides are deploying PR forces to back their combatants. And, as Tom O'Sullivan reports, the words are providing ammunition for even more slaughter.

Horrific television footage showing mutilated bodies was broadcast in Croatia at the end of last year to illustrate the brutality of the Serbian enemy. The same scene of the mutilated bodies was then replayed on Serbian television, claiming the bodies as Serbian victims of Croatian violence. The report came complete with pictures of the victims' families receiving the returned bodies.

The Serbian broadcast held up Croatia's use of the footage as a manipulative and cynical piece of propaganda.

But the only undisputed fact about the film is that the people had been tortured, mutilated and were now dead pawns in the international propoganda war which has become so important to the outcome of the year-long military struggle in the former Yugoslavian republics.

Each side's public relations offensive operates on two levels: the domestic front and the international arena. On their home ground, of course, it is no longer hard and both sides are using their own television, newspaper and news agencies to demonise their "blood thirsty" enemy.

"That was the case in Croatia," says Marco Altherr head of the international news cross-section in Croatia between October 1991 and February this year. "It was almost impossible for a common citizen to have an objective view of what was going on in their own country."

"On one occasion we heard a story of 15 people massacred and raped. But once we compared notes with EC monitors and journalists on the spot it was like almost all the stories--impossible to verify."

"The impression given by the media in Yugoslavia was that large-scale genocide was happening but that was not the case," he adds. "The Serbian side often use pictures from World War Two and depict its forces as fascists, and the Croatian side would present its forces as killers."

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Altherr says the vehemence of the PR and propaganda programmes had convinced people that they would be slaughtered by the other side, and actually fuelled the conflict.

As important is the use of PR to appeal to the international community. Not surprisingly, the protagonists have hired lobbyists and advisers in what has become the most PR-inspired war story every told.

US Justice department records show the extent to which PR and lobbying firms have been used in the US:

- Serbia -- Wise Communications in Washington received a total of \$304,000 from Serbian-owned oil company Jugopetrol. It worked indirectly for Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic.

In the UK, a group of Serbian businessmen hired Ian Greer Associates to organise a lobby of Westminster, communicate the Serbian message and repel EC economic sanctions. Both companies stopped working on the separate accounts when the UN imposed worldwide sanctions in June. ~~British and American companies which had also said to have worked for the Serbian government in accordance with instructions, but these claims have not been proved~~

~~In addition, Ruder Finn was hired by the Republic of Croatia to lobby in Washington on its behalf. In the period to the end of 1991 it was paid \$40,000 but there are no more funds available. A second Washington firm, the Greer Consulting Company, also acknowledges "lobbying work" in Cleveland and consulting the department of Economic Development" on behalf of the Croatian Government.~~

In the UK, Croatian representatives entered negotiations with lobbying firms, including Hill and Knowlton, offering \$500,000 for a campaign to win official recognition and raise the profile of Croatia. Apparently there were no takers. "It was not abundantly clear who we would have been working for," says one lobbyist who was approached.

- Bosnia -- Ruder Finn has also now been engaged by Bosnia-Herzegovina to raise its profile and lobby in Washington. The move is a reflection of the military pact drawn up between the two republics, despite Croatia's ~~refusal to join the pact~~ ~~of Bosnia~~. A second

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- Slovenia -- has established its own office in Washington to handle PR. It also employs Phyllis Kaminsky, an adviser to Ruder Finn, to handle some lobbying and PR work. Lobby firm GJW has been in negotiations with the Slovene government on "financial/political" relations with the City of London which it says are unrelated to the war.

The role call of PR connections also includes Sir Tim Bell, who has advised the London-born Crown Prince Alexander, who last month staked his claim to the Yugoslav crown; Burson-Marsteller, which handled the media and political relations for the visit of the new Yugoslavian prime minister Milan Panic, and a host of Serbian information centres and individual lobbyists from both sides trying to swing public and political opinion.

Atrocity stories and examples of brutality were needed by the Bosnians and Croats to win EC and UN sanctions against Serbia. The stories were crucial for securing votes in the UN Security Council and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

As the war worsens, more stories will be required to press for economic aid for the new republics or possibly to justify military intervention by United Nations forces. Stories to illustrate the desperate nature of the propaganda war are legion.

UN Major General Lewis MacKenzie, head of the UN peacekeeping force in Bosnia up to the start of this month, alleges that both the Serbian and Bosnian/Croatian sides have shelled their own people in Sarajevo to gain an edge in the propaganda war. Both sides deny the allegation--while accusing the other of perpetrating such cynical attacks.

"MacKenzie has been on the scene too long," says Jim Harff, president of Ruder Finn Global Public Affairs. "It is illogical to suggest that the Bosnians are bombing their own people on a practical level they do not have the weapons."

Despite Harff's denials the story is no less believable than others, many unattributable, which have appeared on news broadcasts and in newspaper reports in the past few months in the US, Europe and inside the warring republics themselves.

There was the story of Serbian snipers being paid £300 for each person they killed. It was alleged that children were popular targets for the killers because they were easier to hit.

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The story reached the Western press via a New Zealand aid worker, and his interview with a BBC radio journalist was broadcast on several radio programs, including "News Hour," the World Service flagship news programme. The nationality of the witness was crucial for "third party endorsement," as he was not a Croat and could not be accused of bias--but he could not say he had actually witnessed such mercenary killings himself.

The allegations first surfaced in the Croatian media, before gaining a worldwide audience. Ruder Finn denies any role in their dissemination, claiming that all its faxed material is attributed to named sources, while admitting that some information comes directly from the Bosnian and Croatian governments.

In January, there was a Guardian report on a human rights team's atrocity story that the Yugoslav army had carried out brutal killings using shovels, with slitting throats and orchestrating looting. The human rights organizations was not named and there was no independent substantiation of the stories.

At a later stage, it was revealed that the human rights group was the US based Helsinki Watch, but there has still not been verification of the killings described. "For every story we print, we reject three or four because of bias or because they just smell untrue," says Michael Simmons of the Guardian's foreign desk. "We have confidence in our people on the ground but you cannot be sure of every story all of the time."

The Belgrade-based Tanjug news agency has just been forced to retract a story that the Serbian forces had found the corpses of 1,000 Serbs "butchered" in the Northern Bosnian town of Odzak. The report originally surfaced in a paper published in a Serbian strong hold in Bosnia and was then picked up by Tanjug--it retracted the story on the grounds that there were no bodies.

The impact of these stories, and there are many more, is difficult to assess.

But they affect both the mood inside the country and international attitudes to the war, prepare international public opinion for military involvement and on occasions deliberately confuse the picture.

It is undeniable that the Serbian forces have been involved in acts of brutality. But so have the Croats and the Bosnian Muslims.

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"Our role is to identify the aggressor and the victim which has been obscured by either a lack of information or Serbian propaganda," says Harff. "The overriding objective was to develop a Croatian profile when competing against other foreign policy initiatives in Washington.

"Our main targets were the media, Capitol Hill and the Bush administration. There was a dearth of information among policy-makers on the foreign affairs committee.

"There have been brutal incidents involving Croatian forces but they have been minuscule in comparison in Serbian actions. We have not tried to hide Croatian atrocities but they have been minuscule," claims Harff.

Instead, the Ruder Finn strategy has been to build a Congressional and Senate coalition in the US in support of Croatia. So far this has involved:

- Intensive briefings of both chambers.
- A fax advisory network service edited by Ruder Finn and linked in television and newspaper offices around the world with extracts from the Yugoslavian media and its own contacts in Zagreb.
- Mobilizing the 2.5 million Croats in the US to lobby their own representatives in Congress in towns and cities including Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Chicago.
- Trips to Croatia and Slovenia for members of the Foreign Affairs Committee and members of Congress with large Croatian populations in their constituencies. Trips to the Bosnian capital Sarajevo are also planned at a later stage.
- Bringing the mayor of Dubrovnik to the US when the town was being shelled by the Yugoslav army to capitalize on the propaganda value.

Central to all this activity was equating the Serbian forces with communism and the Croats with Western freedom and democracy, in the full knowledge of the effect this black and white treatment of the conflict would have on American opinion.

Ruder Finn is employing a similar strategy in its work for Bosnia "to help it fight the war and line up support and money," according to Harff.

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The agency is also continuing its work with Croatia to consolidate its diplomatic position in the US, to develop economic aid opportunities and to secure a UN resolution in support of military intervention in Bosnia for "humanitarian reasons."

Bill Wise, president of Wise Communications, is much more reticent about his company's indirect role in working for the Serbians. "My contract was with Jugopetrol. Now if that work also served the interests of the Serbian government, then so be it," he says.

"We arranged television interviews and placed articles in UN publications for Slobodan Milosevic. Part of our role was to get some balance to the information coming out of Yugoslavia," says Wise, adding that the contract is now "inoperative."

In recent weeks the military conflict in Bosnia has intensified and the PR propoganda war has equally stepped up a gear.

There has been a perceptible change in language with emotive terms like "ethnic cleansing" and "concentration camps" becoming common currency--evoking images of Nazi Germany, gas chambers and Auschwitz. The Serbians have countered by opening up the camps to the media in a last ditch attempt to change opinions.

Ethnic cleansing, detention centres, murders, attacks on children, shelling of cemeteries--all these acts of barbarity should be condemned.

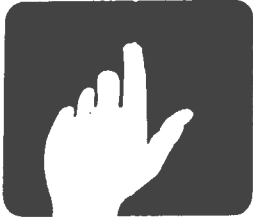
All sides in the Balkans conflict are guilty of atrocities. The danger is that the propoganda has fuelled those atrocities by heightening hatreds, inventing untruths and then witnessing the inevitable backlash from the other, aggrieved side, as they commit an act of revenge.

Chronology of War in Yugoslavia

26 June 1991. Both Croatia and Slovenia declare independence from Yugoslavia.

27 June 1991. Yugoslavian army enters Slovenia and fighting breaks out in both Slovenia and Croatia.

5 November 1991. EC sanctions imposed on Serbia in attempt to isolate it.



ELECTRO MECHANICAL SYSTEMS

801 W. Bradley Ave., Champaign, IL 61820 U.S.A. (217) 359-7125 FAX (217) 359-2075

OPEN LETTER TO ALL AMERICANS

SEP 22 1992

September 18, 1992

On May 30, 1992, President Bush declared a national emergency in Executive Order 12808 with the following words:

I, GEORGE BUSH, President of the United States of America, find that the actions and policies of the Governments of Serbia and Montenegro, acting under the name of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in their involvement in and support for groups attempting to seize territory in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina by force and violence utilizing, in part, the forces of the so-called Yugoslav National Army, constitute an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States, and hereby declare a national emergency to deal with that threat.

The President of our company responded with the following:

I, VLADETA (MIKE) LAZAREVICH, President of Electro Mechanical Systems, Inc., (EMS) find that the actions and policies of the Government of the United States, namely the imposition of sanctions against Yugoslavia, constitute an unusual and extraordinary threat to the existence of EMS, by preventing it from performing legitimate and profitable business activities, and hereby call upon the Bush Administration to immediately reverse the sanctions, so that EMS and other American companies can resume legitimate trading practices with Yugoslavia.

We, the employees of EMS, Inc., ask our co-workers of America to help us save EMS and our jobs.

Vicki L Cole
Ethel Coffin
Dee Brimmer
Mamela M. Rice
Rebecca Littlefield
Marion K. George

Patsy Philbeck
Janella James
Julia Edman
Jim Cochran
Liana Smith
Stephanie Handley
Lawn Williams

V. Lazarevich
Timothy P. Kaelin
N. Kasperowicz
Randall Steinhilber

TO → HDIS
FROM → WILSON

-Advertisement-

WASHINGTON TIMES

The Third Chance

7/12/91

In January 1988, when the severe political and social crisis wracking Yugoslavia was already manifest, the Croatian Republican Party issued a policy statement in English and circulated it amongst political personalities and periodicals worldwide. In one paragraph of this statement we wrote:

"Right after Tito's death, a peaceful separation of the different ethnic groups forming Yugoslavia would have been relatively easy and the economic and political health of the newly independent national states would have been quickly restored. Now, even with such radical measures, the restoration of healthy political and economic conditions would not follow immediately. If we wait for the crisis to become increasingly deeper, it is doubtful that a peaceful separation will be feasible. The longer the delay, the longer will be the period of austerity and adjustment necessary for the restoration of healthy conditions."

As expected, these words fell on deaf ears, as is usual with ideas contrary to the generally accepted view.

With the fall of the Berlin Wall, the collapse of Tito's system became inevitable. The Yugoslav communist leadership, hopelessly anachronistic and divided had caved in, and in April 1990 Slovenia and Croatia voted for democracy and their national sovereignty. They chose to attain their freedom by peaceful means and through negotiations. Surprisingly, foreign reactions were cool. Instead of helping the fledgling democracies to achieve their goals, the international community gave Yugoslavia's communist establishment economic and political help to fend off Slovenia's and Croatia's respective national liberation movements. Thus, the first genuine opportunity to disentangle peacefully the Yugoslav imbroglio was lost through lack of understanding.

As a consequence, in December 1990 the Slovenes decided in a plebiscite, by a 90 per cent majority, to establish within six months the national independence of Slovenia. The Croatians, in a referendum held in May 1991, followed suit with an 84 per cent majority.

Both countries applied for international recognition and enacted laws incorporating democracy and the respect of human rights into their legal systems. Croatia, furthermore, enacted a bill of rights for her ethnic minorities. But they also expected international help to neutralize the pressure exerted by the Yugoslav central authorities and the Yugoslav People's Army, both dominated by Serbian communists, who were trying to set the clock back and, if centralist Yugoslavia was not feasible, to carve a Greater Serbia out of their neighbors' lands.

The European Economic Community and the United States sided with the Serbian and communist dominated federal bodies.

The European Community completely misread the basic reasons of the independence declarations enacted by Slovenia and Croatia, and tried to bribe the nations comprising Yugoslavia by offering them an associate membership in the Community and a one billion dollar loan if the unity of Yugoslavia was preserved. In practice, such a loan would help the federal authorities to finance the Army and the federal bureaucracy, particularly the federal police, and would leave the two breakaway republics to pick up the tab for the repression inflicted on them.

During his Belgrade visit, Secretary of State James Baker refused to consider Slovenia's and Croatia's decision to become independent nations and emphasized that Yugoslavia's territorial integrity, a code word for Yugoslav unity, was his top priority.

Thus the second chance to achieve a peaceful settlement was lost because the Yugoslav Army, the last bastion of Stalinism in Europe, took this declaration as a green light to use force to break the two republics and impose Yugoslav unity on them. In Slovenia, the violent repression was open. In Croatia, agents of the Republic of Serbia and of the Yugoslav Army continued a more subtle policy of arming and abetting a violent ultra-nationalist Serbian group to obtain through provocations an excuse to topple the Croatian Government which, aware of the trap, refused to apply force to repress this violent Serbian fringe group. The Army, ignoring federal bodies formally in charge of governing the country and applying a strategic plan published in December 1990, is marking time to see whether the United States and the European Community will eventually consider the Yugoslav unity more important than the freely expressed will of the people of Croatia and Slovenia, and whether tanks and bombs carry more weight internationally than ballots. The Army, purged of non-Serbian officers and soldiers, waits to be let loose to annex Slovenia and dismember Croatia, and to impose the old-style Yugoslav dictatorship, eventually followed by fraudulent federal elections to formally legalize for Western consumption the outrage that is being committed.

The reaction of the international community is still too ambiguous. Their request for a consensus between the parties is manifestly an impossible task. There can be no consensus between a hard-line totalitarian army and two fledgling democracies trying to build free national societies.

Untold suffering can be avoided only if the United States and the European Community recognize the right of Slovenia and Croatia to be free. This is the third and probably last chance for a peaceful solution of the perennially festering Yugoslav problem.

We expect that with the help of the international community Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia will be able to solve their differences and wind up peacefully the failed experiment called Yugoslavia, so as to dedicate their energies to develop as free and independent nations on the lines of the Scandinavian countries which managed to overcome centuries of hostilities and then organized free and prosperous national communities.

Croatian Republican Party

Dr. Ivo Korsky
President

Sime Letina
Treasurer

and Croation Republican Union

Zagreb, Croatia

Professor Kazimir Katalinic
President

Andjelko Beric
Secretary



RUDER • FINN

MAY 27 1994

May 23, 1994

Honorable Helen Delich Bentley
1610 Longworth Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Congresswoman Bentley:

As the Washington representatives for the former Yugoslav republic of Kosova, we hope you will cosponsor a bill, H.R. 4115, introduced by Representatives Eliot Engel and Susan Molinari, which addresses the current status of human rights violations against the ethnic Albanian population of Kosova. A summary of the Kosova Peace and Democracy Act is enclosed for your review.

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights, the Helsinki Commission and Human Rights Watch have all documented extensively the human rights abuses suffered by the ethnic Albanian population of Kosova. Most recently, a leading human rights activist, Dr. Alush Gashi, testified before the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe with the most up-to-date information on continued repression and Serbian brutality against the 92% Albanian population of Kosova. As a leading surgeon, professor, and author in the former Yugoslavia, Dr. Gashi suffered personally at the hands of the Serbs and has been in the forefront of the fight for human rights in Kosova.

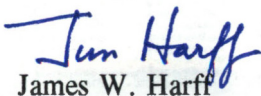
Enclosed is a copy of Dr. Gashi's testimony. One statistic dramatically underscores the severity of conditions in Kosova. Since the Serbs expelled CSCE monitors from Kosova last July, documented cases of human rights violations have increased by 85%. In the absence of international observers, Serbian policies of ethnic cleansing continue unabated.

Dr. Gashi spoke eloquently of the need for H.R. 4115, and we hope that you will add your name as a cosponsor to the legislation. Among a list of provisions, it mandates continuation of sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro until the Serbs stop their brutal rampage in Kosova. It also seeks the return of international human rights observers to Kosova.

Your support for this legislation and efforts to help focus world attention on the plight of the Albanian minority in Kosova would send an important signal that the U.S. Congress will not tolerate continued repression and brutality against the Albanians of Kosova. They are "part of the solution" to the Balkan conflict.

To cosponsor H.R. 4115, please contact Jason Steinbaum in Representative Engel's office at 225-2464 or Kevin Tyne in Representative Molinari's office at 225-3371.

Sincerely,


James W. Harff

Remarks by Dr. Alush A. Gashi
Member
Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms
Prishtina, Kosova

Before the
U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe
Washington, D.C.
May 5, 1994

Chairman DeConcini, Co-Chairman Hoyer, ladies and gentlemen: Thank you for arranging this important and timely hearing, and for the opportunity to present the latest information about the brutal human rights situation in my country.

I.

I have just arrived in the U.S. from Prishtina, the capital of the Republic of Kosova...a country that has been without any CSCE or other international presence since last July, when the Belgrade regime expelled the handful of CSCE human rights observers who had been in our country.

Regrettably, the human rights situation in our country has gone from bad to worse since monitors were removed. As a member of the Kosova Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms, I have witnessed the horrible human, civil and national rights abuses of the 92 percent Albanian majority in Kosova.

Albanians have been committed to peacefully oppose the brutality we have experienced since autonomy was abolished and martial law imposed by Serbia in 1989. The situation cannot continue.

II.

It is important to recall that half of the total Albanian population in the Balkans lives not in the Republic of Albania but in ethnic and compact territories in former Yugoslavia.

Albanians, as an indigenous population, make up the third most numerous people in former Yugoslavia. Therefore, Albanians in former Yugoslavia should not be considered a minority, but rather a nation that has been divided.

Kosova lost its autonomy when Serbia, unconstitutionally by the use of police and military forces, five years ago abolished the Parliament of Kosova, dismissed the government and its administration, and closed down television, radio and the only daily Albanian language newspaper.

Repression intensified following the unconstitutional decision of the Serbian Parliament to abolish the autonomy of Kosova and apply what they termed "special circumstances." In reality, an emergency situation was enforced and martial law declared.

Structural repression against the Albanians of Kosova has gained tragic dimensions each passing year.

Serbian apartheid manifests itself in discrimination that started with rigged political trials before civil and military courts; isolation and confinement of hundreds of intellectuals, scientists and most eminent experts of Kosova's economy; massive prison sentencing of Albanians; killings of peaceful demonstration; the expulsion of hundreds of university professors, scientists and thousands of teachers; dismissals of physicians and other medical staff; and the full denial of human and national rights.

As part of this, Serbians authorities in Belgrade imposed new bosses in work places where Albanians had held executive positions. The formal excuses differed, but each case amounted to sanctions against "political disobedience."

III.

I have been an eyewitness to frequent violence against Albanian medical workers and teaching staff of the Faculty of Medicine and other scientific institutions in Kosova as well as many other Albanians in Kosova.

In the presence of astonished and shocked colleagues, patients and others including medical students, head physicians have been pulled out of their workrooms and offices, laboratories as well as operating rooms, by Serbian police forces.

Under physical threat of the heavily armed police, many professors and physicians of different specialties have been forced to break off exams and leave their students, and even to stop performing surgery in the emergency operating room. Similar measure were taken in different places of Kosova.

IV.

Regrettably, official Serbian strategy is to change the ethnicity of Kosova through institutionalized discrimination and structural repression. It's goal is ethnic cleansing without open war at this time, but with daily police brutality.

The Serbian police regime has achieved bureaucratic ethnic cleansing in all institutions in Kosova by dismissing Albanians. They started with closing schools and dismissing professors because, as publicly stated by Serbs "A good Albanian is an uneducated Albanian. Educated Albanians are the enemy." The Serbian regime is trying to achieve intellectual decapitation of Albanians in Kosova with police brutality.

In response to this Serbian brutality, Albanians under the leadership of President Rugova undertook peaceful ways of finding the solution through establishing democratic institutions and encouraging dialog without preconditions under international mediation by the United States, European Union or the United Nations.

V.

After the expulsion of CSCE monitors from Kosova last July, the brutal repression not only continued but increased dramatically.

During 1993, the Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms (CDHRF) registered 13,431 cases of Serbian police brutality against Albanians in Kosova.

The total included 15 killed, 14 wounded, 2,305 arrested, 1,994 searched, 849 subjected to "informative" talks, 1,777 tortured, 794 maltreated in various ways, 391 plundered, 64 repressed by the army, 604 acts of political persecution against Albanian political activists, 632 acts of violence directed at education, science, culture and sports, and 172 incidents aimed at children including kindergarten children.

There were 155 acts of violence against women, 3,396 searches under the pretext of looking for weapons, 37 acts against Albanians from the diaspora and refugees, 68 arbitrary dismissals from work, and 53 Albanian families arbitrarily removed from apartments.

According to CDHRF data, in first three months of 1993, 1,636 cases of Serbian police brutality were recorded. Some 415 Albanians were arrested (compared with 851 cases in first three months of 1994), 298 were beaten in the first three months of last year (684 beaten in first three months of 1994), 229 houses were searched without warrants, and 694 persons suffered in various ways during those house searches (in first three months of 1994, 1,229 houses were searched).

During the first three months of 1994 CDHRF has registered 3,013 cases of brutal violations of human rights against Albanians in Kosova by the Serbian regime. Two were killed, one wounded, 851 arrested, 64 sentenced for political reasons, 1,229 houses searched on pretence for weapons, 684 beaten and tortured, and 182 maltreated in various ways.

Comparing 3,013 cases in the first quarter of 1994 with 1,636 cases in the first quarter of 1993 when international CSCE monitors were present, repression in Kosova has increased 85 percent, in the absence of any international observers whatsoever.

VI.

Considering the unbearable situation of Albanians in Kosova, the U.N. Commission on Human Rights at its 50th session in March passed a resolution urgently demanding that Serbian authorities:

Cease all human and national rights violations, discriminatory measures and practice against ethnic Albanians in Kosova, in particularly arbitrary detention and violation of the right to a fair trial and the practice of torture and other cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment;

Release all political prisoners and cease all persecution of political leaders and members of Kosova human rights organizations;

Establish democratic institutions in Kosova and the respect the political will of inhabitants as the best means of preventing the escalation of the conflict.

Albanians have asked before and are asking again for the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe to help re-establish the CSCE long-term mission in Kosova immediately, and to explore ways and means of establishing an adequate international presence in Kosova.

Furthermore, it is critical that the Kosova question is part of international efforts to resolve the former Yugoslavia crisis, which is the Balkan crisis, and include legitimate Kosova Albanian officials in negotiations at any international conferences or summits on the Balkans.

VII.

It is a proven fact that Serbian authorities in Kosova do not respect any international document about Kosova. Unfortunately, they are abusing the good offices of institutions such as the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees in their efforts to colonize Kosova. There is no reason or justification for bringing Serbian refugees to Kosova, which already has one of the densest population in Europe.

Structural repression against ethnic Albanians in Kosova has become unbearable, but Albanians are continuing their peaceful attempts to decolonize Kosova and establish an independent state on the basis of the September 26, 1991, referendum as the best way to protect human and national rights of all the population of Kosova.

Albanians in Kosova have experienced all forms of autonomy and have suffered under all of them. As former Yugoslavia disintegrates, Kosova as a constituent unit of former Yugoslavia, exercises its right of self-determination with a commitment to an independent state of Kosova.

Kosova is a newly emerging state in the Balkans which is dedicated to the continued peaceful demonstration in support of freedom and the democratization of occupied Kosova.

Albanians are part of the solution. But, Kosova is subjugated by Serbia, which has committed the worst possible crimes against humanity.

In the past, Serbia has enjoyed many privileges. Serbia wants to keep these privileges by any means necessary.

In reality, the freedom and independence of Albanians should be good for Serbia as well. Kosova's freedom would help Serbia in its democratization process.

Good neighborly relations could exist between the Republic of Kosova and the Republic of Serbia, between Albanians and Serbs.

Serbia is responsible for many crimes, and by taking the path of democracy it will reduce its burden, for its own sake, and the sake of other. The sooner, the better.

If this does not come to pass, then without a just solution of the Albanian questions the agony is bound to continue.

There will be no peace in the Balkans.

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WALKER BENTLEY D.C.

H.L.O.

Sen Dole intends to introduce tomorrow.

108th CONGRESS
1st Session

S. 1044

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. Dole introduced the following bill which was read twice and referred to the Committee on _____

A BILL

Terminating the United States arms embargo of the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4 This Act may be cited as the "Bosnia-Herzegovina
5 Self-Defense Act of 1998".

6 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

7 The Congress makes the following findings:

- 8 (1) On July 10, 1991, the United States adopt-
9 ed a policy suspending all licenses and other approv-

BENTLEY D.C. TO TOLSON

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1 als to export or otherwise transfer defense articles
2 and defense services to Yugoslavia.

3 (2) On September 26, 1991, the United Na-
4 tions Security Council adopted Resolution 718,
5 which imposed a mandatory international embargo
6 on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment
7 to Yugoslavia.

8 (3) The United States considered the policy
9 adopted July 10, 1991, to comply fully with Resolu-
10 tion 718 and therefore took no additional action in
11 response to that resolution.

12 (4) On January 6, 1992, the United Nations
13 Security Council adopted Resolution 727, which de-
14 cided that the mandatory arms embargo imposed by
15 Resolution 718 should apply to any independent
16 states that might thereafter emerge on the territory
17 of Yugoslavia.

18 (5) On February 29 and March 1, 1992, the
19 people of Bosnia-Herzegovina voted in a referendum
20 to declare independence from Yugoslavia.

21 (6) On April 7, 1992, the United States rec-
22 ognized the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

23 (7) On May 22, 1992, the Government of
24 Bosnia-Herzegovina was admitted to full mem-
25 bership in the United Nations.

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1 (8) Consistent with Resolution 727, the United
2 States has continued to apply the policy adopted
3 July 10, 1991, to independent states that have
4 emerged on the territory of the former Yugoslavia,
5 including Bosnia-Herzegovina.

6 (9) Subsequent to the adoption of Resolution
7 727 and Bosnia-Herzegovina's independence ref-
8 erendum, the siege of Sarajevo began and fighting
9 spread to other areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

10 (10) The Government of Serbia intervened di-
11 rectly in the fighting by providing significant mili-
12 tary, financial, and political support and direction to
13 Serbian-allied irregular forces in Bosnia-
14 Herzegovina.

15 (11) In statements dated May 1 and May 12,
16 1992, the Conference on Security and Cooperation
17 in Europe declared that the Government of Serbia
18 and the Serbian-controlled Yugoslav National Army
19 were committing aggression against the Government
20 of Bosnia-Herzegovina and assigned to them prime
21 responsibility for the escalation of bloodshed and de-
22 struction.

23 (12) On May 30, 1992, the United Nations Se-
24 curity Council adopted Resolution 757, which con-
25 demned the Government of Serbia for its continued

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1 failure to respect the territorial integrity of Bosnia-
2 Herzegovina.

3 (13) Serbian-allied irregular forces have, over
4 the last year, occupied approximately 70 percent of
5 the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, committed
6 gross violations of human rights in the areas they
7 have occupied, and established a secessionist govern-
8 ment committed to eventual unification with Serbia.

9 (14) The military and other support and direc-
10 tion provided to Serbian-allied irregular forces in
11 Bosnia-Herzegovina constitutes an armed attack on
12 the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina by the Gov-
13 ernment of Serbia within the meaning of Article 51
14 of the United Nations Charter.

15 (15) Under Article 51, the Government of
16 Bosnia-Herzegovina, as a member of the United Na-
17 tions, has an inherent right of individual or collective
18 self-defense against the armed attack from the Gov-
19 ernment of Serbia until the United Nations Security
20 Council has taken measures necessary to maintain
21 international peace and security.

22 (16) The measures taken by the United Nations
23 Security Council in response to the armed attack on
24 Bosnia-Herzegovina have not been adequate to
25 maintain international peace and security.

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1 (17) Bosnia-Herzegovina has been unable suc-
2 cessfully to resist the armed attack from Serbia be-
3 cause it lacks the means to counter heavy weaponry
4 that Serbia obtained from the Yugoslav National
5 Army upon the dissolution of Yugoslavia, and be-
6 cause the mandatory international arms embargo
7 has prevented Bosnia-Herzegovina from obtaining
8 from other countries the means to counter such
9 heavy weaponry.

10 (18) On December 18, 1992, with the affirma-
11 tive vote of the United States, the United Nations
12 General Assembly adopted Resolution 47/121, which
13 urged the United Nations Security Council to ex-
14 empt Bosnia-Herzegovina from the mandatory arms
15 embargo imposed by Resolution 718.

16 (19) In the absence of adequate measures to
17 maintain international peace and security, continued
18 application to the Government of Bosnia-
19 Herzegovina of the mandatory international arms
20 embargo imposed by the United Nations Security
21 Council prior to the armed attack on Bosnia-
22 Herzegovina undermines that government's right of
23 individual or collective self-defense and therefore
24 contravenes Article 51 of the United Nations Char-
25 ter.

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1 (20) Bosnia-Herzegovina's right of self-defense
2 under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter in-
3 cludes the right to ask for military assistance from
4 other countries and to receive such assistance if of-
5 fered.

6 **SEC. 2. UNITED STATES ARMS EMBARGO OF THE GOVERN-**
7 **MENT OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA.**

8 (a) **TERMINATION.**—The President shall terminate
9 the United States arms embargo of the Government of
10 Bosnia-Herzegovina upon receipt from that government of
11 a request for assistance in exercising its right of self-de-
12 fense under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter.

13 (b) **DEFINITION.**—As used in this section, the term
14 "United States arms embargo of the Government of
15 Bosnia-Herzegovina" means the application to the Gov-
16 ernment of Bosnia-Herzegovina of—

17 (1) the policy adopted July 10, 1991, and pub-
18 lished in the Federal Register of July 19, 1991 (68
19 Fed. Reg. 83322) under the heading "Suspension of
20 Munitions Export Licenses to Yugoslavia"; and

21 (2) any similar policy being applied by the
22 United States Government as of the date of receipt
23 of the request described in subsection (a) pursuant
24 to which approval is routinely denied for transfers of

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1 defense articles and defense services to the former
2 Yugoslavia.

3 SEC. 4. UNITED STATES MILITARY ASSISTANCE FOR
4 BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA.

5 (a) POLICY.—The President should provide appro-
6 priate military assistance to the Government of Bosnia-
7 Herzegovina upon receipt from that government of a re-
8 quest for assistance in exercising its right of self-defense
9 under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter.

10 (b) AUTHORIZATION OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE.—

11 (1) DRAWDOWN AUTHORITY.—If the Govern-
12 ment of Bosnia-Herzegovina requests United States
13 assistance in exercising its right of self-defense
14 under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, the
15 President is authorized to direct the drawdown of
16 defense articles from the stocks of the Department
17 of Defense, defense services of the Department of
18 Defense, and military education and training in
19 order to provide assistance to the Government of
20 Bosnia-Herzegovina. Such assistance shall be pro-
21 vided on such terms and conditions as the President
22 may determine.

23 (2) LIMITATION ON VALUE OF TRANSFERS.—

24 The aggregate value (as defined in section 664(m)
25 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961) of defense

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1 articles, defense services, and military education and
2 training provided under this subsection may not ex-
3 ceed \$200,000,000.

4 (8) EXPIRATION OF AUTHORIZATION.—The au-
5 thority provided to the President in paragraph (1)
6 expires at the end of fiscal year 1994.

7 (4) LIMITATION ON ACTIVITIES.—Members of
8 the United States Armed Forces who perform de-
9 fense services or provide military education and
10 training outside the United States under this sub-
11 section may not perform any duties of a combatant
12 nature, including any duties related to training and
13 advising that may engage them in combat activities.

14 (5) REPORTS TO CONGRESS.—Within 60 days
15 after any exercise of the authority of paragraph (1)
16 and every 60 days thereafter, the President shall re-
17 port in writing to the Speaker of the House of Rep-
18 resentatives and the President pro tempore of the
19 Senate concerning the defense articles, defense serv-
20 ices, and military education and training being pro-
21 vided and the use made of such articles, services
22 and education and training.

23 (6) REIMBURSEMENT.—(A) Defense articles,
24 defense services, and military education and training
25 provided under this subsection shall be made avail-

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1 able without reimbursement to the Department of
 2 Defense except to the extent that funds are appro-
 3 priated pursuant to subparagraph (B).

4 (B) There are authorized to be appropriated to
 5 the President such sums as may be necessary to re-
 6 imburse the applicable appropriation, fund, or ac-
 7 count for the value (as defined in section 684(m) of
 8 the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961) of defense arti-
 9 cles, defense services, or military education and
 10 training provided under this subsection.

Washington Update on Bosnia

Alex Brkic
Office of Representative
Helen Delich Bentley
LHOB 1610

A publication of the Bosnian Task Force, USA; P.O. Box 1876; Washington DC, 20013
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Washington Correspondent: Andrew Eiva

March 22, 1993

Pressure Builds for End to Arms Embargo Against Bosnia; Senator Feingold Introduces New Resolution

In an attempt to focus attention on the embargo issue and focus consensus Sen. Feingold this week has introduced a resolution which calls for only one action--lifting the arms embargo against Bosnia. S. Res 79 reads:

the United States should work with the member states of the United Nations Security Council to lift the international arms embargo as it applies to Bosnia-Herzegovina in concurrence with article 51 of the United Nations Charter, and such action should be taken on a timely basis in a manner to complement to the maximum extent feasible the peace process.

While congress, media and administration officials argue over air drops, air strikes, peace keeping forces and a host of other considerations, everyone seems to lose the single most important action which can be taken on behalf of the Bosnians: lift the arms embargo and allow them to defend themselves. Everyone seems to agree that we should not be enforcing an embargo against Bosnia, but this consensus is obscured in all of the 14 point plans issued from various sources. Senators are urged to cosponsor this resolution, and activists and officials are urged to cooperate on achieving what we already agree upon rather than debates about what should follow later.



McCloskey Letter Urges End to Embargo

*an excerpt from an "Open Letter to President Clinton on Bosnia"
From Cong. Frank McCloskey (D-IN)*

Dear Mr. President:

Unless you act now, you will be tarnished forever by acquiescence in the murder of Bosnia, failure to deter a wider crisis that will cost us dearly in treasure and in lives, and endangerment of America's crucial security interest in Europe.

You are the leader of the free world and our Commander-in-Chief. You must come up with a strategy commensurate with our moral values and future security--and not with the mistakes of your predecessor or your counterparts in Europe.

Instead your national security staff is writing off Bosnia as a lost cause. They still hope that the Serb aggressors will play along with Western diplomatic and humanitarian make-believe in exchange for Western efforts to deliver a Bosnian surrender. But Western lack of will has so emboldened the Serb fascists that they no longer bother pretending to play the diplomatic shell-game. They assault eastern Bosnian enclaves from Serbia and escalate their obliteration of Sarajevo, even as UN, EC, and U.S. press Bosnia to trust in a negotiated settlement.

Western defeatism in the face of genocide stands exposed. Your administration is saying that the U.S. will tolerate land grabs and the slaughter of a quarter of a million people in Europe. *Worse still, we will abet this genocide: we will continue to hobble Bosnia's self-defense by barring their acquisition of weapons.*

This policy is an outrage. I implore you to change it, for the sake of humanity, our national security and your presidency.

UN Embargo Rewards Aggressors, Prevents Self-Defense

It is widely agreed that the United Nations embargo against the countries which formerly comprised Yugoslavia is affecting the Serbian government either little or not at all, since they have major weapons producing factories.

During the battle for Vukovar, 1000 to 1500 ragtag defenders, with only infantry arms, held off 25,000 Serbians, backed by artillery, tanks and MiGs for three months--until their ammunition ran out.

The result of the embargo has been rather to ensure that Bosnia remain unable to acquire weapons on the international market to be used in self-defense. With the deck stacked in the favor of the Serbians they naturally feel little need to halt their aggression, while they feel little threat from an international community which does not even possess the political will to supply arms to Bosnia.

Many of the atrocities now being perpetrated by the Serbians could well be prevented simply by allowing the Bosnians the means to defend themselves against attack. Yet the Clinton Administration seems to be unwilling to work with the international community to restore Bosnia's right to self-defense.

New York Times
February 23, 1993; A6
While much attention has been focused on efforts to block the delivery of arms to former Yugoslavia, American officials said Serbian arms exports had also been a problem. The Serbs have a substantial arms industry, and before the outbreak of fighting in the former Yugoslavia, Serbia was a major exporter of Soviet designed weapons. Serbia also took over the extensive stockpiles of arms from the Yugoslav National Army. Unlike the Bosnian government, Serbia has an abundance of weapons and has been relatively immune from the effects of the U.N. embargo on arms shipments to the Balkans.

How Can the U.S. Work to Lift Embargo?

UN Resolution Gives EC Wide Authority to Act

A Security Council Resolution officially declaring the embargo against Yugoslavia to be inapplicable to Bosnia would be one way of the U.S. putting an end to the embargo. However, this is not the only way.

First the UN embargo applies only to Yugoslavia; the international community recognizes Bosnia as an independent nation and not part of Yugoslavia. Moreover, resolution 713 states that the Security Council:

1. Expresses its full support for the collective efforts for peace and dialogue in Yugoslavia undertaken under the auspices of the member states of the European Community with the support of the states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe consistent with the principles of that conference;

2. Supports fully all arrangements and measures resulting from such collective efforts as those described above.

Thus the United States can work with the European Community and the CSCE to lift the embargo under the provisions of Res. 713 and UN Charter art. 51. which guarantees member states the right of self-defense.

Many Nations Call for End to Embargo

In October the nations of the Organization of Islamic Conference--led by Egypt, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and Iran--called for an end to the embargo noting, "If the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina had more adequate means to repel aggression, the likelihood of achieving a peaceful and just solution through negotiation would be enhanced." This is a position reiterated by the Turkish ambassador just last week (see WUB 15 March).

Many other nations have called for an end to the embargo. The United States should be working to increase international consensus against the Bosnian Embargo rather than sitting by idly and waiting for Bosnia to give in to partition or annihilation.

SEP 3 1993

BUILDING BRIDGES
OF UNDERSTANDING

MIDDLE EAST PEACE . . .

SOMALIA . . . BOSNIA . . .

ISLAM

BANDAR BIN SULTAN
Ambassador of the Kingdom of
Saudi Arabia to the United States
August 19, 1993



ROYAL EMBASSY OF SAUDI ARABIA

*Excerpts from a Speech by HRH
Prince Bandar bin Sultan to the
International Road Federation,
Laguna Niguel, California, August 19, 1993*

An ex-fighter pilot talking to a road group somehow suggests the possibility of a hard landing. But with the considerable ground I would like to cover with you, full throttle ahead; and damn the potholes!

The topic of my talk this evening is "building bridges for better understanding." You may ask what a fighter-pilot has to say about building bridges. Well, if you think about bridges of steel and concrete, not much. But if you think about philosophical bridges which span the world and lead to better understanding and cooperation among nations and people, then what I have to offer may be of interest.

The principle of dealing with others on the basis of mutual respect and mutual interests has guided the Kingdom's relations with other nations around the world, whether in the developed or developing world.

As a country which has never experienced colonialism, we have no colonial complex. As a result we are able to deal with the industrialized world with an open mind.

We "modernized" but did not necessarily "westernize."

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is one of the champions of the 'new world order' proclaimed after the death of communism. This new order made its first stand in the Arabian Peninsula, when a vast international coalition came together under a UN umbrella to reverse Iraq's brutal aggression and uphold international legality.

MIDDLE EAST PEACE

Soon after that, Saudi Arabia broke with old restraints and took part in the Madrid Conference with the other Arab states.

Today we are working closely with the co-sponsors and the other Arab countries to help move the peace process along. Our objective is to transform the Middle East into an area where, in the words of the co-sponsors at the Madrid Conference, "normal men and women lead normal lives."

We feel that a settlement based on the principle of "land for peace" as envisioned in UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 is achievable; one which guarantees the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and assures peace and security for all states in the region.

The peace process seeks to break down the barriers of distrust and replace them with bridges of cooperation and peace.

SOMALIA

When the U.S. led a UN sanctioned humanitarian intervention in Somalia, the Kingdom was one of the first nations to join by contributing forces as well as financial and humanitarian assistance. Our soldiers have stood shoulder to shoulder with your soldiers and others from over thirty nations.

We feel that the new world order has to be preserved throughout the world. Which brings me to the tragic situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

BOSNIA

What we are witnessing in Bosnia is nothing less than the death of a nation—really its strangulation.

Sarajevo, a city of pluralism, a child of Rome and Byzantium and Islam, a place where Muslim and Catholic and Eastern Orthodox lived and worked for centuries, is being laid waste. If ever there was a good bridge between civilizations, this city was it. Remember the 1988 winter Olympics in Sarajevo!

Yet on this fragile, civilized city and its hinterland, there has now been unleashed an ideology of "ethnic cleansing" and bigotry the world has largely been spared since the Second World War.

But we should not acquiesce. The lesson taught in the Gulf War—that aggression does not pay—will be put in jeopardy if the international community falters in Bosnia.

We want to uphold the idea of a civilized international order and affirm that international life is not simply a jungle. That is why Bosnia matters.

Those of us who believe in getting things done, in building structures that work and sustain men and women, know better than to believe that the Balkans can be written off without cost to all of us elsewhere.

Sarajevo and Bosnia demand our attention and sympathy and solidarity. What we do there is of enormous moral and practical consequence for the kind of international order we build for the years to come.

People in the Muslim world ask why the United Nations cannot implement its own resolutions and let the Bosnians arm and defend themselves—as King Fahd and President Clinton have called for.

Europe should have seen Bosnia as an opportunity. But alas, it was seen only as a problem.

Stopping ethnic cleansing would have been the right thing to do morally and strategically—for the Balkans, Europe and the world. And certainly as seen by the planet's one billion Muslims.

Europe has failed. But the international community must not.

The world is entering an historic, new phase. How we deal with the issue of cooperation among different cultures, religions, and political environments will directly impact on our ability to maintain international order and security.

We have a vested interest in strengthening the bonds between the Muslim world and the West. We seek to build bridges, not destroy them.

ISLAM

In that spirit, I would like to talk with you briefly about Islam from my perspective as a Muslim, and why there is need to build bridges for better understanding between us.

For over fourteen hundred years, the Western world and the Muslim world have been neighboring civilizations.

Relations between the two have had their ups and downs, as neighborhoods do.

Misperceptions and mutually damaging stereotypes have unfortunately accumulated among some on both sides.

It is long past time to recognize that the world is now rapidly shrinking in many ways. We have all become interdependent as never before.

The strategic realities, for example, from Southeast Asia across the Middle East and North Africa, can hardly be adequately thought through without coming to terms with what is most basic across that broad sector of the globe—and indeed for nearly a billion Muslims worldwide.

It is worth keeping in mind that almost one in every five human beings in the world is a Muslim!

Unfortunately, there have been attempts in the last several years to replace the Cold War threat with a so-called Islamic threat. That effort may tell something about a need to shake the cage of negativism in the West for the incentive of fear—so as to motivate and stampede people. But that tells nothing of practical consequence about Islam.

Media coverage and serious public discussion here are out of focus when they use the label of “Islamic Fundamentalists” as to various small, violence-prone groups currently causing trouble in parts of the Middle East. And, to a much lesser extent, elsewhere.

They are *not* Fundamentalists—they are extremists.

With their blatant extremism, such groups are actually doing violence to basic Islamic teachings—and certainly to Islam’s good name. What they are really concerned with most is not Islam, but economic and other grievances—or more often, dead-end power for themselves. They are feeding on social and economic problems rooted in the colonial period in various countries.

But please keep in perspective that these extremists are a very small fraction of the overall Islamic community. They are not at all in the historical or present Muslim mainstream.

Every great religion and the civilization which history builds up around and out of it, contain many different currents. That is obviously true in the diverse Western world—and it is just as true of the widely scattered Muslim world.

The West has often charged Islam with being too conservative, too traditional.

Yet at the same time—and especially recently, the Western media splashes its headlines with catch-phrases like “Islamic Extremism” and “Islamic Radicalism,” as though that is mostly what is to be seen and communicated.

But Islam cannot be viewed as both too traditional and too radical. I respectfully urge what is happening among some in the West is an inability to see what the mainstream of Islam is all about.

As a Muslim, I want to emphasize that the overwhelming preponderance of Muslims are deeply and peacefully committed in their faith.

Islam means peace and the giving—the surrendering—of one's self to the Almighty, the same One God believed in by Christians, Jews and Muslims.

The everyday greeting used by Muslims when they meet others is "peace be unto you."

To try to sum up the essence of any great religion for those of a different faith is to tempt controversy and hair-splitting—or much worse.

But as a Muslim, I say to you and others far beyond, that the heart of Islam and the holy Quoran is in "adl" and "ahsan," balance and compassion; in "ilm," knowledge and "sabr," patience; in justice, generosity, community and love.

Yes, we hold that the shared interest in the family and in one's community and society is even more important than the claims of the individual.

But there, too, Islam urges balance, compassion, patience, and knowledge.

In a period when the world's cultures and religions are coming into greater and greater contact with each other, Islam can contribute much for this shared planet by providing a sense of caution and counterbalance to the rampant materialism in so much of Western culture—a counterbalance which leads to renewed recognition of the belief which the Christian West, Islam and Judaism have long shared in one uniting, all-embracing Almighty.

For Islam, the spiritual and the material "here-and-now" are two sides of the same coin—two aspects of a unifying, deeper reality.

A more down-to-earth way to sum up all this is that the One God that Jews, Christians and Muslims look to, had to send three great religions to a comparatively small corner of the world simply to tell people to be good, to be loving, to obey some basic commandments and look to the Almighty for guidance and reflection.

CNN makes clear every day that simple lesson has still not yet been taken to heart nearly well enough. But we must all keep trying in our own way.

To close with my original point here, we must also work our way through the stereotypes and slanted simplifications of the news media and movies, to what are the values and interests which we all share.

Digging down to a "firm base" is essential when building roads and bridges—but also when trying to work out the really significant challenges which face our times and the destiny of this planet—and each of us individually.

BANDAR BIN SULTAN

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An Open Letter to President Clinton and the U.S. Congress

STOP GENOCIDE IN BOSNIA

We are now witnessing in Bosnia a replay of one of the darkest eras of modern history: the invasion of one sovereign nation by another. It is the attempted genocide of people who have lived in peace and tolerance with their neighbors for centuries. The scale of atrocities and the appalling human suffering tell the story.

The savagery can and must be stopped or the tragedy will spread far beyond Bosnia. People of conscience must speak out now.

Every assistance should be provided to help the Bosnian refugees; otherwise countless more will die.

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Decision/Making/Information

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Former Chief of Naval Operations

CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY

Not since World War II has Europe endured the intensity of destruction and degree of human misery that it is now witnessing in the Balkans. Television footage and newspaper reports depict a grisly drama of death and hate. Most of the victims have been non-combatants—the elderly, women and children—deliberate targets of an "ethnic cleansing" strategy. Over 100,000 people have already died in this war, many more have been injured, and at least 20,000 women have been raped. More than 1.6 million people are now classified as refugees, an additional 1.3 million people inside Bosnia are categorized as "displaced," and 750,000 are living under siege conditions. The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees also says the detention centers inside Serbia are in "outrageous condition." An additional 400,000 may die from disease, famine or exposure if the present situation continues. Former Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger has said that the international community has a "moral and historical obligation not to stand back a second time in this century while a people faces obliteration."

WHAT YOU CAN DO

The need for assistance is urgent, and although international contributions have been significant, they remain inadequate. With winter conditions and few buildings intact, there is great need to protect people from the cold. Hospital equipment is simply wearing out, and food and medicines are in critically short supply. The relief agencies listed below are operating within the former Yugoslavia and have devised innovative means of delivering supplies. Please help them as generously as you can.

- AmeriCares 800-486-4357
- Church World Services 219-264-3101
- Lutheran World Relief 212-532-6350
- Project Hope 703-837-2100
- World Relief 800-535-5433
- World Vision 800-423-4200

Join these national and international leaders and the COALITION FOR INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, in calling for a meaningful peace and international relief for the people of the former Yugoslavia.

- Please add my name to the Bosnia Declaration.
- Also, I am contributing \$_____ to help get others involved in the Stop Genocide in Bosnia campaign.

Name _____
 Street _____
 City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Please make your tax deductible contribution payable to the American Security Council Foundation (the Education Coordinator of the Coalition for International Security). Detach and mail to:

Mr. John M. Fisher, Administrative Chairman
Coalition for International Security
1155 15th Street, N.W., Suite 1101
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 296-9536

The **Message** *International*

BOSNIA