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CHICAGO RALLY  
26 AUGUST 91

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CHICAGO RALLY



*Dr. Gilven M. Slonim  
3710 Whispering Lane  
Falls Church, Virginia 22041*

MAY 22 1992

May 18, 1992

Dear Helen,

You certainly achieved your finest hour on TV last week with the depth of commitment you developed in your discussion as to what must be done in Yugoslavia.

I wanted to get off a note to express our congratulations on your impressive performance, and also wanted you to receive Tony Harrigan's release on the 50th Anniversary of the Victory at Midway.

Much of how well we perform as a Nation through the 21st Century will depend on how well American citizens learn to use the world ocean, and gain our bounties from this Frontier of the Future. By the same token, unless our citizens gain the values, the virtues, the commitment exemplified in gaining Victory at Midway our world leadership will falter.

For this reason, I feel that a National celebration be encouraged at the half century mark of Midway, and that editorials be encouraged in newspapers on TV throughout the land, for a reversal of the attitudes in evidence at the moment.

I would hope that you will give consideration to reading Tony's piece into the Record to stimulate the positive thought and action which it inspires.

With our warmest regards, and appreciation,



Gilven M. Slonim

The Honorable Helen Delich Bentley  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

GMS/fds



## The Oceanic Educational Foundation

Office of the President

Midway...one of those passages at arms  
that turn the world around, and send  
history off in a new direction.

Eric Larrabee  
Commander-In-Chief

### AMERICAN SPIRIT PREVAILS IN NAVAL VICTORY AT MIDWAY

NRA PLANS EXCOM 92 SALUTE TO SPRUANCE  
50th Anniversary Battle June 4, 1942

Naval Reservists, to a man, proudly pay tribute to Admiral Raymond Spruance 'Victor at Midway' on 50th Anniversary of the Victory at Sea, June 4, 5, 6.. Historians agree MIDWAY which 'turned the tide' in the Pacific being America's greatest Victory; Midway as Salamis are among the most momentous in world history. Spruance in defeating a vastly superior force highlighted the significance not alone of superior U.S. naval intelligence, but of tactical timing and skill, of steadfastness of purpose, and concentration of power in naval action. The courage of the ENTERPRISE AirGroup Commander, Wade McClusky, in his search for Yamamoto's Striking force prior to diving on 3 of the 4 Japanese carriers sunk made victory certain. The spirit and ideals exemplified at Midway are those the United States will need to lead the Nations of the world through the "New American 21st Century."

This Memorable Victory was of carinal importance, not only to the United States, but to the Allied cause. The moral effect was tremendous and instaneous. At one stroke the dominant position of Japan in the Pacific was reversed.

Winston Chruchill  
Memoirs



## The Oceanic Educational Foundation

Office of the President

May 8, 1992

My Dear Admiral Lynch,

I am taking the liberty of forwarding a copy of my "Beyond Pearl Harbor---A "Sea Change" presentation with the hope that it will prove of interest to you and to the entire Brigade of Midshipmen.

This is prompted by two, what I consider, the most substantive and interrelated considerations. First, and foremost, I feel that within the education of our future leaders of the Nation's Fleets there should be appropriate emphasis upon the vital role they must play, if the United States is to realize its full potential for global leadership as the world's lone superpower. Here the singular importance of the naval leadership role must remain in the forefront

The question first arose when I lectured to a group of Midshipmen a few years ago, and more recently when I took my granddaughter to visit Memorial Hall prior to your becoming The Superintendent. Aside from the addition of the portraits of the five star Admirals, all of whom I knew and respected, and the listing of those who gave their lives in the War, the orientation was of the past, as when I attended 'Rocks and Shoals,' over a half century ago; it needed something to remind us that the best is yet to come insofar as the naval future is concerned! For the oceanic contribution which they must aspire to is of the future. Seeing Ross Perot and Jimmy Carter placed front and center, in Bancroft Hall, rather than those who sustained their profession of Service to the Nation as Naval Officers and Marines, reinforced my concern.

Similarly, I was a Commander, when I first learned of the implications of Defense Organization vis a' vis naval posture and readiness, the capability for contribution the Sea Services could make to this Nation's security and well being. They must be grounded in this reality, from the outset, as part of their education. In this regard, I attended the Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, and observed the indoctrination the General Staff officers receive, and how this rigid indoctrination raises questions as to how well the Nation can function globally, if there is constraint within dominant landed thought, throughout what President Bush has termed, "The New American 21st Century."

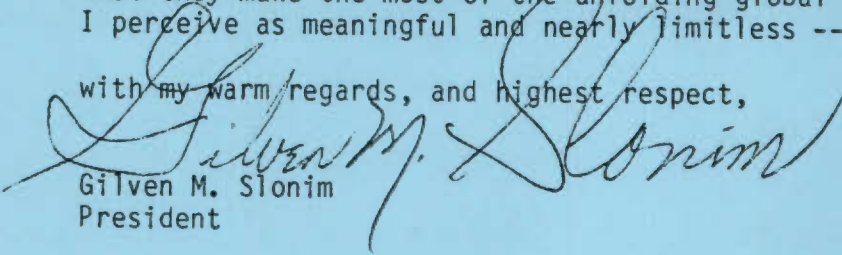


-2-

These comments, in no sense, are raised as critical. They are aimed at motivational aspects of making the most of unfolding opportunities within the ever challenging Naval Profession, and I trust you will consider them in this light as constructive.

The naval profession which I was drawn to in my youth proved most gratifying, I enjoyed a wonderful life in the Service; within this rewarding life I found a great measure of self satisfaction. Frankly, I envy those who will serve the Nation during the new and promising century. My only hope is that they make the most of the unfolding global oceanic opportunities which I perceive as meaningful and nearly limitless -- intensely exciting!

with my warm regards, and highest respect,



Gilven M. Slonim  
President

Rear Admiral T.C. Lynch, United States Navy  
Superintendent  
United States Naval Academy  
Annapolis, Maryland 21402

GMS/fds

- Pres., Capt. John M. Oseth USN (Ret.)
- Sec'y-Treas. Capt. O. M. Butler USN (Ret.)  
625 Timber Branch Pkwy. Alexandria, Va. 22302
- Corr. Sec'y, Capt. William A. Ellis USN (Ret.)  
4101 Downing St., Annandale, Va. 22003-2017  
(703) 256-0159

The perseverance of Gil Slonim in his quest to promote "Oceanic Education" nationally is to be commended, especially in this "Golden Year" that marks so many memories of the anxious days of early World War II. Gil feels that last December the Nation enthusiastically celebrated the wrong battle—a battle we lost because we lacked preparedness and a much needed state of readiness. As a result, he is embarked on a one-man campaign to convince those in authority as well as the Media that MIDWAY is the battle our Nation should be addressing with the kind of vigor that Pearl Harbor brought forth on 7 December 1991. Gil recommends to all, including our President, Congress, the Navy, the Navy League, and the Media, that 4 June 1992 is the propitious time to set forth a "National Tribute" to the heroes in battle and to a most forceful leader in that battle. Admiral Raymond Spruance '07, the "Victor at Midway"—the Victor who "turned the tide" in the Pacific war almost six months to the day after Pearl Harbor; a victory of historic significance comparable to Salamis, the Armada, and Trafalgar (to mention but a few) in their long-term momentous results nationally. Gil feels as of now nobody is projecting such a national celebration for this 4 June coming up, but that all [the President and Congress, the Navy, and the Media] must if we are to promote the national command performance that our success under Adm. Spruance at Midway dictates. If you concur in Gil's recommendation, he encourages each of you to write your Senators and Congressman and local newspaper Editors strongly backing up his recommendation "to pay tribute where tribute is due"—to the Battle of Midway and to Adm. Spruance, a naval officer of selfless dedication to our Nation's security and well-being. We wish Gil the best of luck in his current endeavor and hope you will join ranks with him.



MAY 26 1992

11217 Ave "N"  
Chgo. Ill. 60617  
May 20<sup>th</sup> 1992

312-768-5169

Dear Helen;

The words spoken by our New and young Priest Father Milos Vesin a few Sundays ago said Peace is Fragile. We Serbians trust everyone, and that is probably the reason for the trouble in Yugoslavia.

I mentioned to Bob Stone - of the Serbian of Belgrade had a organization like the Jewish Mosad. could have prevented the brake away Country of Yugoslavia and prevented the killing going on. Silence the Croazys.

When Prayer and diplomacy fail what does the Human Race do?

The enclose information has been my attempt to distort the Greed associated on the Private Sector responsible for the down fall of our Countries economy. Stopping at the port of entry; my encourage investing in our Country.

P.S. I enjoyed the short conversation with you at the Soul Center in Lansing Illinois

Best Wishes  
From My Wife Ann  
Robert Yachovac

Save America

&

Save Our Jobs

Never in the history of America has there been a need for our Labor Unions to speak out and act.

The membership of the Teamsters and the Longshoremen Union should, together, refuse to unload and/or transport any foreign merchandise from all Ports of Entry.

By keeping foreign products off the American Market would, in itself, stimulate our economy in due time. And - show the puppets in Washington that we, the American people, are tired of bad representation.

Showmanship and sweet sounding words stink!

Action Speaks!!

Save America!!

*A Concerned Citizen  
Retired Steel Worker*

11217 Ave. "N"  
Chicago, Ill. 60617

February 26, 1992

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF  
TEAMSTERS-CHAUFFEURS-WAREHOUSE  
AND  
HELPERS OF AMERICA TRANSPORTATION-I.B.T.  
25 Louisiana Ave. N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20001

President Mr. Ron Carey:

Mr. Carey this is a letter of urgency. The GIANT (General-Motors) executives with their long claws are about to pick apart the members of the United Auto Workers.

If there is a need for action on the part of your teamsters membership and the Longshoremen its now as mention in the enclosed copy.

No Union Body should stand by and allow the distruction of the American Work Force. **The United Auto Workers should not be abandoned like the Air Controllers.**

The meeting of all Unions and their support will take the Policy making back to the people instead of the Puppets in Washington.

Good Luck,

Robert Grahovac  
Concerned Citizen  
Retired Steel Worker



# In joint venture, GM to build cars in Poland

*Chicago Tribune Feb 29th 1992*

The biggest insult to the American People is about to transpire. After the closing of General Motors Plants all over the country - this article appears in one of the largest newspapers in the world. The greed of the General Motors Company executives will stop at nothing.

The people in Washington who are hiding in the basement of the White House come out only at election time to wave our ~~arnished American Flag~~.

WARSAW (AP)—Poland and General Motors Corp. Friday signed a joint-venture agreement to make 35,000 GM Opel Astra cars a year in this economically troubled nation.

The deal marks the biggest investment by a U.S. company to date in Poland, which lags behind other East bloc countries in attracting Western investment. The cars will begin rolling off the assembly line next year.

The long-awaited memorandum of understanding was signed by General Motors-Europe, the Polish government's FSO auto plant and the Ministries of Industry, Privatization and Finance.

FSO—which stands for Passenger Car Factory in Polish—has been looking for a new foreign partner for four years.

The deal comes at a time of

retrenchment for GM at home.

This week, GM announced losses of \$2.47 billion for the fourth quarter and a record \$4.45 billion for 1991 and announced the closing of a dozen factories. It is eliminating thousands of jobs in the U.S.

Under the agreement, GM-Europe will invest \$75 million in a new company at FSO's Warsaw plant to assemble Astras, midsize passenger cars.

GM will control the joint venture, while Poland will provide land and buildings.

"If conditions are appropriate," initial GM investment will grow to more than \$300 million, Robert J. Eaton, president of GM-Europe, said at a press conference.

GM's largest investment to date in Eastern Europe is \$300 million in Hungary.

Our hope is that action will be taken by the Teamsters, Longshoremen, and other large labor organizations.

Trade agreement stinks -

the dumping of foreign products has to be eliminated.

It is important that our economy comes first without purchasing power nobody benefits.

~~America First~~

~~The Need Necessitates The Means~~

A Concerned Citizen

## United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

March 30, 1992

Mr. Robert Grahovac  
11217 South N Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois 60617

Dear Mr. Grahovac:

Thank you for your recent letter in support of increased protection for American industries from foreign competition. I appreciate your taking the time to write me on this important issue.

The rebuilding of Europe and Japan and the rapid growth of Third World economies have combined to confront American firms with formidable competitors. As a result, our nation's share in world trade has decreased dramatically. **America needs a bold and comprehensive trade policy to meet these pressing international challenges.**

We must be wary of calls to adopt protectionist trade policies and we should keep in mind that trade with foreign countries is very important for our nation. Aside from creating new jobs and infusing new technology into the United States, foreign trade and investment help decrease our trade deficit. Imposing trade restrictions could dampen the growth and hurt our country. In lieu of protectionism, we should be working to open the world markets and maintain a fair climate of trade and investment for all countries.

Nevertheless, trade must be a two-way street. I continue to be concerned that Japan and other nations impose unreasonable restrictions on United States firms that wish to compete in their markets. I will continue to monitor the unfair trade barriers imposed by other nations and urge the Administration to work vigorously for trade agreements that are fair to both American businesses and workers.

Again, my thanks for writing.

Sincerely,

  
Edward M. Kennedy



PAUL SIMON  
ILLINOIS

COMMITTEES:  
LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES  
JUDICIARY  
FOREIGN RELATIONS  
BUDGET  
INDIAN AFFAIRS

## United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20540

April 2, 1992

Mr. Robert Grahovac  
11217 Avenue N  
Chicago, Illinois 60617

Dear Mr. Grahovac:

Thank you for contacting me in regard to the U.S. position on anti-dumping and countervailing duty laws in the GATT negotiations.

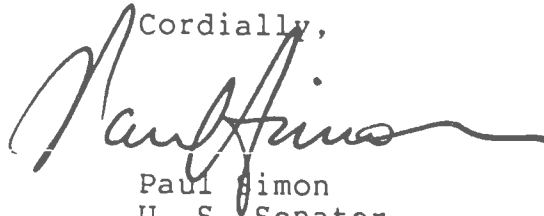
I agree that we need to maintain a strong position against dumping and unfair subsidies. Last year, I joined 63 of my Senate colleagues in signing a letter to President Bush asking him not to weaken the existing U.S. position on trade rules dealing with unfair trade practices. I will continue to work toward this end and will be sure to pass your concerns along to Carla Hills, the U.S. trade representative.

It is my hope that any changes in the GATT anti-dumping agreement and subsidies code should strengthen existing law rather than weaken it.

Again, thank you for contacting me.

My best wishes.

Cordially,



Paul Simon  
U. S. Senator

PS/dac



THE READER'S DIGEST ASSOCIATION, INC.  
READER'S DIGEST ROAD  
PLEASANTVILLE, NY 10570-7000

ELINOR ALLCOTT GRIFFITH  
*Correspondence Editor*

May 4, 1992

Mr. Robert Grahovac  
11217 Avenue "N"  
Chicago, IL 60617

Dear Mr. Grahovac:

Thank you for your letter to Kenneth Tomlinson about your thoughts on the Teamsters and Longshoremen Union refusing foreign merchandise from all Ports of Entry. We are always eager to know what's on our readers' minds.

It was nice to hear from you, and we certainly appreciate your interest in Reader's Digest.

Sincerely,

*Elinor A. Griffith*

"Foreign Imports; Have  
torn the Very Fabric; of our  
Economic Structure! due to  
GREED The Fungus that  
Accompanies. GREED."

BOB- GRAHOVAC  
May 15<sup>th</sup> 1992

**The New York Times**

WASHINGTON BUREAU  
1627 I STREET, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006  
(202) 862-0300

R. W. APPLE, JR.  
Chief Washington Correspondent

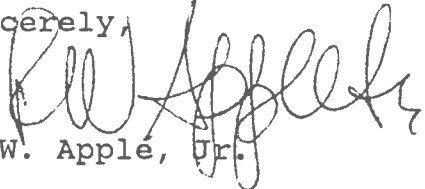
March 26, 1992

Mr. Robert Grahovac  
11217 S N Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois 60617

Dear Mr. Grahovac:

Thank you so much for sending your ideas to me. The problems of General Motors certainly create enormous difficulties for the working people whose livelihoods depend on that big corporation.

Sincerely,



R. W. Apple, Jr.

RWA/def

" Foreign Imports; Have  
torn the Very Fabric; of our  
Economic Structure! due to  
GREED The Fungus that  
accompanies. GREED."

BOB- GRAHOVAC  
May 15<sup>th</sup> 1992

Dear Madame Delic-bentley,

My name is Mario Lozic and my mother's maiden name is Dobrijevic, which makes me half Croatian and Serb orthodox. I have seen your interview on American television, defending Serbian politics. I must tell you that your opponent had you easily "beat" and if you are not convinced, please review the tape, should convince you easily.

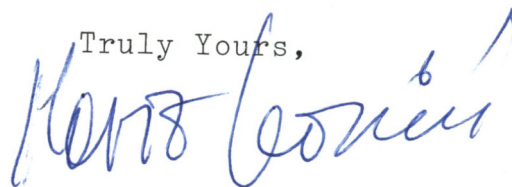
Apart from enormous complexity of past and present situation, there are no facts and arguments that can justify the brutality of former Yugoslav army and perfidity of present regime. Not a shred of sympathy or a good sentiment anywhere in the world for Serbian cause. Only alliance and sympathy to this cause is by the sentiment of birth. I beleive, unfortunetely, this happened to you.

The President Milosevic and old communist generals, should be said for them, nationalisam is the last refuge of scoundrel (communist), are brutal force, second only to Stalin, that know no different, are destroying the country and ultimetely Serbia will pay greatest price. Feels of **suicide**.

It is very possible that you have been used by this politicians. It Would please me enormously if you would care and find time to reply to this conviction.

Mntreal May 15 1992

Truly Yours,



Mario Lozic  
3522 De Bullion  
Montreal Que. Canada  
H2X 2Z9



The Honorable Tom Santas, M.C.  
1526 Longworth off Bldg  
Washington D.C. 20515

MAY 22 1992

May 17, 1992

Dear Mr. Santas:

I had occasion last week to dine  
& hear you and Congresswoman Bentley  
discuss the Civil Wars in what was once  
Yugoslavia, on McNeil-Lehrer program.

Prior to going into specific detail of  
my opinion - The general opinion of  
mine is that it was about the most  
racid of political opinions I have  
heard yet of the issue.

One remark you made to Mrs  
Bentley, you and no other Congress-  
man in Washington has a right  
to tell anyone - you stated the Geno-  
cide of the Jews should be forgotten,  
it was 2 generations ago. Mr  
Santas, do you remember your  
birthday every year? Why, Mr  
Santas, it was over 3 generations  
ago. What other days do you remember  
yearly Mr Santas, same that occurred  
over 2000 years ago and some 200  
years ago. According to you, Mr Santas



Let's forget them all, and go on to "Space Day", EPA Day, Racism Day, and finally come home to your state, and recognize "Riot Day". Mr Lantos, you have been a leading political condemner of the Serbs. You've had your nose in Jugoslavia for years now, and we have problems in this nation we can't solve, but we know, no - you know what's best for the Balkans, while California burns. How many wars have started in Europe the last 100 years, and who was behind them? Today, who is the "leader" of what is best for the Balkans Mr Lantos? Were we wrong in 1918, 1945 and again today. Recognition of Slovenia, Croatia, & Bosnia Hercegovina by German led E.C and The United States didn't stop the war, but escalated it; wrong again in 1992. When will the politicians see the FOREST from the TREES?

You all condemn the Serbian Army, which happens to be the Military force of the Country of Jugoslavia. They are not invaders, they are residents & have the same rights in Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia Hercegovina that Meade,



Sherman, and Grant had marching  
 thru the South and shelling, burning &  
 capturing Rebel cities of those that bolted  
 from the Country of the U.S. Mr  
 Santos, do you advocate, "it is  
 OK when I do, but wrong when  
 some-one else does the same"?

In closing Mr Santos, first, I  
 would like to say, it was a poor selection  
 when they chose you to discuss the  
 Serbian-Croatian-Muslim relations in  
 Yugoslavia that go back as far as 1389.

Secondly, I'm sorry, that I can't  
 forget the Genocide of the Serbs, nor can  
 an Uncle of 75 years of age who lives in  
 the shadow of a black grave marker  
 with the name of 24 Uekovich's  
 who were burned to death in 1941  
 by the Croatian Ustashi. The land  
 he lives on is claimed to be Croatian  
 today, because Tito gave it to them,  
 and you recognize that like you did  
 Tito in 1945 when he was given the  
 country of Yugoslavia.

I wonder Mr Santos, if politicians take  
 the time to read and learn of past History  
 of people's and nations in formulating  
 opinions and policy. In this particular

issue of the Serbs, I doubt it very much.

June 28, 1389, on 1 day, 77000 or so Serbians gave their lives battling the Ottomans for Serb freedom. In WW I & in WW II, millions in each gave their lives for Serb Freedom - won the War - lost the freedom. Mr Santos - after 600 years of living under foreign & tyrannical rule, do you think in 1992 the Serbs are going to lay down and die because Germany & the U.S say so? There are another million Serbians over there willing to sacrifice their lives to live under Serbian and not Croatian or Muslim rule; that is the issue Mr Santos.

Sincerely

Louis Anckovich  
370 Fairfield Ave  
Johnstown Pa 15906  
814-539-3153

C.C. Hon H. Bush Pres.

" J. Baker - S. State

" H. Bentley - M.C.

" J. Muntha M.C.

" McNeil Lehrer.

P.S. - a Hackad.



Mr Santos, would you care to answer:

How do you expect the Serbians to accept your opinion as to what is best for them, when in your own state the residents burned more property in 1 day than was destroyed in all of Yugoslavia in a year of the War?

You fiddling in Yugoslavia while California is burning?



Herb Pace  
46-020 Hwy. 74 #8  
Point Dume, CA 93360  
(619) 341-0512

15, 1992  
20 1992

Dear Mrs. Bentley

You are not a Serb, but I grew up  
with them, married in history, graduated  
with a B.S. in history from Montana St.  
University - I went on for a Masters  
concentrating in E. European Hist. In 1971  
I had an audience with the Patriarch of  
the Serbian Orthodox Church in Belgrade.  
For Christ's sake don't let those  
fathetic bulldozers Congress into some-  
thing stupid like what happened to  
them during WWII.

MS4

scribes

As far as Serbian Bureau of Commerce  
is concerned - when it works for them  
let them exercise it. The U.S. let it  
happen in the 1st place against Churchill's  
warning.

Cordially  
Herb Pace

P.S. Santos is full of Catholic Spite  
& doesn't know what has happened  
nor what is going on now,  
(over)



Besides - You ain't going to tell the

5 PM ~~nothing~~ a damn thing!

Herb Pace  
46-050 Hwy. 74 #8, 3  
Palm Desert, CA 92260  
(619) 341-0215

planned - with road

you emerge of fuel about a hour and  
betwixt, perhaps in a sign, most often  
as motorist may visit in P.D. & other  
sections to help in time of - phrasing  
15:01 or. talk prepared. 3 in particular  
to describe I am often anxious no part of  
abandoned in terms of vehicle which will  
road that it was clear a kind of  
- emergency canyon to be held with  
it necessary to be a bit of a point  
• there is a prison west, 2000

10214

2000

maximum of fuel incident as ref ad  
most of show to be in - because so  
to tel. 2000 ed. to prison with tel  
illness & danger early tel with no suggest  
• prison

planned

not held

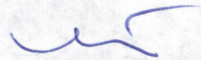
right side of the road as a car. 29  
emergency and to be - want of gas to  
• will no sign as to be in  
(news)





GIVE MY KINDEST REGARDS  
TO YOUR FAMILY.

WITH THE BEST WISHES.



MRS.

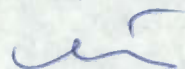
MARIJA VRBAŠKI-VOJKOVIĆ

ALEKSE ŠANTIĆA, 2.

85310 BUDVA

S.R. YUGOSLAVIA

P.S. FORGIVE ME FOR  
DISTURBING YOU.





MAY 22 1992

MRS. BENTLEY

MAY 15-92

I AM A SERBIAN BORN NEAR KARLOVAC  
IN SO CALLED CROATIA. FIRST AM A YUGOSLAV  
AMERICAN AND I WILL BE JUST THAT, REST OF MY  
LIFE. WATCHING YOUR DEBATE WITH THAT  
HUNGARIAN NATZI MADE ME SICK HOW BAD YOU  
WAS PERFORMING. YOU DO NOT KNOW NOTHING ABOUT  
SERBIAN HISTORY. THOSE PEOPLE HAVE BEEN PROSECUTED  
FOR CRIMES THEY ARE 100% RIGHT TO DO EVERYTHING  
THEY DOING AND MORE. NOT ONLY THAT US AND  
E.C. SHOULD WITH TO RECOGNIZE THOSE YUGOSLAV  
STATE, THEY SHOULD NEVER RECOGNIZE THEM IN  
FIRST PLACE. THOSE ARE AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY  
IN THEIR WORST EVER. GOOD SET UP FOR W.W. 3  
THEY KNOW THAT THEY DONE WRONG. CROATIA,  
SLOVENIA NEVER WAS INDEPENDENT ONLY 4 YEAR  
WHEN HITLER, AND MUSOLINI GIVE TO THEM.  
CROAT AND MUSLEM DID NOT ONLY SLAUGHTER  
750,000 SERBS. BUT MORE THAN MILION AN HALF  
MY ~~WIFE~~ WIFE OF TODAY WAS BORN IN  
SLAVONIA NEAR OKUČANI. SHE AND THOUSAND OTHER  
WERE FORCED TO BAPTIZED CATHOLIC ORDER  
WERE AND STILL ARE COMING FROM VATICAN  
SHE WAS ONLY 14 YEAR OLD. SERBIAN PEOPLE FOUGHT  
FASLIST AND NATZI, AND TODAY THEY ARE SOLD  
TO THE NATZI. ~~THE~~ NOBODY HAVE INTEREST IN THAT  
BUT GERMANY, AND VATICAN. I WISH I COULD BE  
NEXT TO THAT HUNGARIAN NATZI

MAY 26 1992

Honorable Helen Delich-Bentley  
1610 Longworth Blvd  
Washington, DC 20005

May 22, 1992

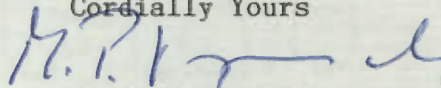
Dear Mrs. Delich-Bentley:

Enclosed, please, find "Genesis of the Serbo-Croatian War" and "Agony of the Serbs" which I wrote in an attempt to both understand and explain the tragedy of Yugoslavia.

If you think that it would be helpful to mail the above mentioned pieces to some people in the policy making circles, please, do let me know. I would need names and addresses.

My heartfelt compliments for your valiant fight in support of the Serbian cause.

Cordially Yours



M. P. Voynovich

## AGONY OF THE SERBS

by M. P. Voynovich

May 1992

The principle of fairness in reporting about the tragedy of Yugoslavia is nonexistent in the American media and preconceived notions are given full display without much regard for truth or reality.

While the American media talks about the centuries old tensions between the Serbs and the Croats, genocide of the Serbs in the "Independent State of Croatia" during the World War II, **the root cause of the civil war**, is barely mentioned and only in passing.

The statement of the Croatian President Tudjman that "the Independent State of Croatia of the World War II was not just a pure creation of Hitler and Mussolini, but the realization of the age old Croatian aspirations" is not mentioned at all. This carries the same implications as if Chancellor Kohl had said at the time of the reunification of East and West Germany: "The Third Reich (with all that it implies: holocaust of the Jews, concentration camps etc.) was the age old aspiration of the German people."

Mr. Tudjman saying, during his election campaign: "Thank God my wife is neither a Serb nor a Jew" is considered in the press, if mentioned at all, as little more than an awkward faux pas. This at the time of rampant physical attacks on Serbs, on their clergymen, arson of their homes and businesses. No mention at all.

Mr. Tudjman's revival of the xenophobic political philosophy that resulted in the Ustashi genocide of the Serbs is too complicated for the newspaper columnists to consider.

Mile Budak, the Ustashi Minister, who formulated the Ustashi solution to the Serbian problem: one third to be converted to Catholicism, one third expelled and one third killed, is honored by the present Croatian regime by naming a school and a street in Zagreb after him. Is it surprising that the Serbs should feel the same way as the Jews would if there was suddenly a school and a street in Berlin named after Himmler? Not important enough to be mentioned in the American media.

Mr. Danijel Crljen, the chief of Ustashi propaganda during the World War II, was granted audience with the Croat President Tudjman and appeared as honored guest on the Croatian television on 26th of March, of this year. It is doubtful that the appearance of Mr. Goebbels would be met with equal silence in the western media or by western Governments.

The pictures in Chicago Tribune of Croatian and Moslem mothers grieving over their fallen sons are heartrending. Serbian mothers, on the other hand, either don't have dead sons, are not grieving over them, or are not worthy of readers' sympathy.

Mr. Milosevic is guilty of raising the specter of raw nationalism in Serbia and should be condemned for it. Mr. Kucan in Slovenia and Mr. Tudjman in Croatia (actually Mr. Tudjman revived the Ustashi specter, which is far, far worse) did the same thing but they escape criticism. Under their rule - let us not forget that they are ex-Communists (same as Mr. Milosevic) and new born democrats who had full control of the mass media with the power to influence the masses in their respective republics - Slovenia and Croatia opted for independence. It was a unilateral decision.

Lets us assume that Texas, New Mexico and California have majority Mexican population and they declare independence unilaterally. And our World War II enemies - Germany, Italy and Japan - and the European Community recognize the independence of those three states. Would we expect our Government to bow to the decisions of the above mentioned or would we want Washington to extend support to those Americans in the three states who, in order to avoid persecution, wish to remain citizens of the United States?

At the beginning, the United States Government and the European Community favored a united Yugoslavia. Later, under heavy pressure from Germany to recognize the two new countries, the E.C. proposed a formula as a condition for the recognition. Respect for human rights was an essential component of this formula. Then, again under very heavy pressure from Germany, E.C.



ignored its own commission's report against recognizing Croatia because of human rights violations. In direct contradiction of E.C. commission's report, German Foreign Minister Genscher stated that Croatia has exemplary human rights record. Chancellor Kohl, as an explanation of his country's position, said that Germany is only trying to help its ally, apparently honoring the alliance of Nazi Germany and Ustashi Croatia!

By now, it should be fairly obvious that Germany (and probably Austria) had supported the separatist movements in Slovenia and Croatia even before their declaration of independence. It is very doubtful that the unilateral declaration of independence would have taken place without assurances of strong support from abroad.

The right to self-determination in Yugoslavia is considered applicable to some ethnic groups, but not to the Serbs.

According to the census of 1981 Serbs represented 41% of the total population of Yugoslavia (this figure includes Montenegro since its people are Serbs), Croats 19%, Slovenes 8%, Bosnian Moslems 8% and Macedonians 8%. While those 8% of Slovenes, 19% of Croats and 8% of Moslems have a right to determine their own future and live in their newly independent states thereby breaking up the borders of Yugoslavia, the borders of these new states cannot be violated to accommodate the will of 24% of the all the Serbs of Yugoslavia who live in those new states. They are denied the right to self-determination, forced to live in the newly created countries where 50 years ago they were subjected to merciless genocide.

Looking at the ethnic distribution from another angle: there are 1.6% Croats and 2.3% Moslems in Serbia while there are 16% Serbs in Croatia and 36% in Bosnia-Herzegovina. (It is safe to assume that of the 379,000 people in Croatia and 326,000 in Bosnia who declared themselves as Yugoslavs in the 1981 census the majority are Serbs.)

A short time before the declaration of independence of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Moslem, Serbian and Croatian leaders had agreed on ethnic autonomies along the lines of the Swiss cantons. Then, the Moslem leaders reneged on the agreement and Mr. Izetbegovic, a Moslem fundamentalist and the President of the Republic, announced independence for the Republic.

The utter failure to understand the problems of Yugoslavia by the media is just a reflection of the equally complete failure of the European Community's and the United States Government's solutions to a country's painful transition from Communism to democracy. The war in Croatia and the easily predictable spreading of the civil war to Bosnia-Herzegovina should be a sufficient proof of wrong solutions to the dissolution of Yugoslavia. Instead of revising a plan that is obviously not bringing the desired results, a scapegoat is found in the Serbian President Milosevic and Serbian nationalism.

The aim of E.C. and the United States involvement in Yugoslavia was to bring about a peaceful and just dissolution of the country. Instead it triggered a civil war without an end in sight.

Germany stands accused of supporting the separatists in Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and pushing for quick recognition of their independence at the expense of the Serbs.

Hitler's rage against the Serbs in the World War II is well documented. He repeatedly threatened to destroy them. German Military Command, only in occupied Serbia, instituted a ratio of 100:1 of civilian hostages executed for one German killed, while the rest of Europe enjoyed a 10:1 ratio.

It is curious, to say the least, that today's democratic Germany pursues, with great determination, a division of Yugoslavia along the same frontiers that the Nazi Germany did.

2,250,000 Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina simply do not want to live in an independent Croatia or Bosnia-Herzegovina where they were subjected to genocide and where today there is a revival of neo-Ustashism. They have fought for centuries to achieve independence and freedom from oppression. They are being asked to bow to the German led E.C. and the United States and to live outside the borders of their own country.

Serbia has every right (as every nation has), indeed a duty, to protect the interests of - and to extend support to their nationals forced to live within borders that were not negotiated but imposed. Accusing Serbia of aggression is irrelevant. What has to be justly considered are the wishes and determination of the Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Maybe, there is still time to avoid a Lebanon in the Balkans.

## GENESIS OF THE SERBO-CROATIAN WAR

by M. P. Voynovich

The civil war in Yugoslavia started because, in simplest possible terms, Serbs in Croatia, with the horrors of genocide etched in their memory, do not want to live in a Croatia that is not part of Yugoslavia. Croat President Tudjman wants an independent Croatia with borders that include also the areas where Serbs constitute an absolute majority even after the genocide of 1941. From the Serbian point of view the war is about their right to self-determination in the areas where they constitute a majority. From the Croatian point of view the war is about the territory which they consider their own.

In 1941 Hitler granted independence to Croatia and installed an ex-terrorist and Croatian separatist, Ante Pavelic, the leader of a Croatian Nazi movement called the Ustashi, as head of the Government of the new State. The Croatian Government then announced publicly an **official government policy, unprecedented in the history of mankind, of extermination of Serbs, Jews and Gypsies from the territory of the "Independent State of Croatia"**. Hundreds of thousands of Serbs and tens of thousands of Jews and Gypsies were slain. Young and old, children and women were not spared.

At the end of World War II, Tito's Communists took control of Yugoslavia and, while there were some trials of the war criminals, **there was never a thorough process of de-nazification carried out in Croatia as there was in Germany, Austria and the rest of Nazi occupied Europe**. Under the Communist ideology and for the sake of brotherhood and unity in the country, any mention of the Croatian Ustashi horrors perpetrated on the Serbian population was discouraged and considered "nationalist deviationism".

In 1990, Mr. Tudjman, Tito's General and a high ranking Communist, in his political campaign for the presidency of Croatia, while proclaiming himself for democracy, ran on a platform that was racist and discriminatory against the Serbs. After the election, Mr. Tudjman and his Government instituted policies that were first formulated in mid 1800s by Ante Starcevic and his successor Josip Frank: it is only the Croats that can live as a political people on Croatian land. The ultimate implementation of

this political philosophy was Pavelic's policy of extermination of Serbs. Mr. Tudjman's new constitution relegated Serbs from the status of a separate constituent people (a status granted to the Slovenes, the Croats and the Serbs by both the Kingdom of Yugoslavia of 1918 and the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia of 1945) to the status of a minority: by a simple Government edict they became Croats of Orthodox faith.

When the Government of the Republic of Croatia (one of the Federal Republics of Yugoslavia), in June of 1991, proclaimed unilaterally independence for the state of Croatia, the Croatian Guard tried to disarm the Serbian population of Krajina. The Serbs rebelled first in Krajina and later in Slavonia, and rose up in arms against the creation of a state which they **justifiably perceived not only as a threat to their cultural, religious and political identity but to their very existence**. Local fighting escalated and the Yugoslav Army stepped in – initially to separate the warring parties.

At the beginning of the crisis in Yugoslavia, at the time of declaration for independence by both Slovenia and Croatia, the Yugoslav Army was the only functioning federal organization still committed to Yugoslavia as a single state. The Minister of Defense was a Croatian, General Veljko Kadijevic; his Deputy was a Slovenian, Admiral Stane Brovet, and the Chief of the Federal Air Force was a Croatian, General Zvonko Jurjevic.

Army's commitment to Yugoslavia was perceived as a threat to the Croatian drive for independence and, in order to internationalize the crisis, Croatian Government forces started blockading the Army barracks and facilities.

While it is true that a relatively high percentage of the officers' corps is composed of Serbs, it was the Army's commitment to the Yugoslav idea that made it eventually side with the Serbian insurgents. The Army's aim was to preserve Yugoslavia – Serbs do not want to live in independent Croatia – the two aims coincided. And the conflict escalated.

▪ **MISCONCEPTIONS AND LIES ABOUT YUGOSLAVIA**

We accept as a basic principle that in order to understand the actions of an individual today we must learn all about his past. The same principle applies to a nation or a people. Whether we like it or not, in order to understand the bloody tragedy being played out in Yugoslavia, we have to be willing to learn more about the actors in the Yugoslav drama.

The historical circumstances to which the two main players (the Serbs and the Croats) were subjected formed two totally different national characters. The Serbs had to learn to rely on their own resources in their long struggle for freedom and independence from foreign yoke; their leaders, spokesmen and their kings were selected from their own people. Even their religion, Serbian Orthodox, is their own and not subject to foreign influence. Early on, a clear ethnic and national identity was formed. By contrast, the Croats were dominated through centuries by their own corrupt aristocracy, and kept in virtual serfdom. They were and are Roman Catholic and their clergy was always very militant and proselytizing in character. Their national and ethnic identity developed later, never quite free of foreign influence.

In a single ferocious and bloody battle with the Turks at Kosovo in 1389 Serbs lost their freedom, their leadership, their aristocracy and their gentry. From then on for over 400 years the rebellion was waged against a merciless oppressor by the peasants on the level of small groups and villages. The thirst and fight for freedom never faltered till the early 1800s when, finally, after two bloody uprisings, the dream of freedom was realized and the Serbs created their own state. Incidentally, in the first uprising the people elected one of their own, a man called Karageorge, to lead them in battles against the Turks. His descendants became the kings of Serbia, the Karageorgevich dynasty.

During that same period, actually since the 1100s, the Croatian aristocracy, in order to survive, started first making deals with the Hungarian and then Austrian kings. The dealmaking progressed to outright request for the foreign kings to be their own kings. During that period in every popular rebellion and uprising of the Croatian people (e.g. in 1573 Matija Gubec) the Croatian gentry, in order to preserve their privileges, sided with the foreign rulers at the expense of the

peasantry. By the mid 1800s the awakening of Croatian consciousness started taking shape: on one hand there was a dream for a free and unified Land of Southern Slavs (this is the literal translation of Yugoslavia), whose most visible proponents were the Roman Catholic Bishop Josip Strossmayer and the Habsburg General and Austrian Governor of Croatia ban Josip Jelacic. On the other hand there was a proponent for Croatian independence – Ante Starcevic – whose aspirations were pan-Croatian in nature: he considered all Southern Slavs as Croats. His successor, Josip Frank, thought Croats should stay within Austrian domain and was virulently anti Serbian.

It is generally thought that Yugoslavia was an artificial state created by the Allies after the end of the First World War. Or that it was imposed on the Croats and Slovenes by the victorious Serbian Army. Nothing could be further from the truth.

During the First World War, Serbia fought valiantly on the side of the Allies and was offered a considerable enlargement of its territory which would encompass almost two thirds of present day Yugoslavia (Treaty of London of 1915 – the Treaty that also granted Italy most of Dalmatia). The Slovenes and Croats fought on the side of Austria as conscripts. As the Allied victory appeared more and more certain, afraid of being left on the losing side with the victorious and expansionist Italy as a neighbor, many exiled Slovene and Croat politicians approached the Serbian Government proposing a single Southern Slav State.

An agreement was reached on the Island of Corfu in 1917 between the Yugoslav Committee (composed of Slovenian, Croatian and Serbian representatives living on the territories under Austrian rule) and the Serbian Government for the creation of a unified state under the Serbian dynasty Karageorgevich. The leading Croatian politician, Dr. Ante Trumbic, at the time declared: "Serbia proved ready to sacrifice her state individuality in order that one common state of all Serbs, Croats and Slovenes might be created. She thus has the absolute right to be called the Yugoslav Piedmont".

So it was that, on December 1, 1918, a new nation was born: a constitutional monarchy called Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. To further unify and to minimize the importance of ethnicity the name was



changed in 1929 to Yugoslavia. The administrative borders of the provinces were drawn disregarding ethnicity, named after the main rivers running through the units and the main theme of Government policy was unity and brotherhood: we are Yugoslavs first and by choice – the rest is an accident of birth. The majority of people accepted this and, given time, the dream of a Yugoslav nation and Yugoslav people would have eventually become a reality. And considering the checkered demographic distribution (Slovenia being the only ethnically homogenous province) the wisest possible solution to the new state.

There were difficulties: Croatian politicians, once assured of the integrity of the Croatian land within the borders of Yugoslavia and having Yugoslavia as a guarantor against expansionist Fascist Italy, began a policy of obstructionism. In order to maintain the idea of Croatian identity and separateness alive they pushed for the creation of a province drawn along the Croatian ethnic lines. It was, perhaps, born of an 800 year old Croats' life without history, without their own flags, without their victories and their defeats. Of this historical frustration was born the idea of Croats as a political entity. The cornerstone of this idea is that only Croats can live on Croatian land. For the more moderate Croats the Serbs living on Croatian land owe political loyalty only to Croatia while for the more extreme (the Ustashi) Serbs had no right to exist at all on Croatian land.

The Serbian leadership and politicians, decimated and exhausted by the First World War (**Serbian losses were 23% of its population**), lacked both vision and sensitivity to assuage Croatian worries about their own identity. Overall, with all the political bickering and dissensions the future looked promising.

The Slovenes, on the other hand, gave wholehearted support to the Yugoslav idea: perhaps because sizeable numbers of their co-nationals were still living under the rule of Fascist Italy and Austria and their only hope for eventual liberation was a strong Yugoslavia.

In 1941, with Great Britain alone waging the war against the might of Hitler's Germany, which by that time with its allies was in control of almost all of Europe, there was a great deal of diplomatic activity in Belgrade, the capital of Yugoslavia: Hitler was pressuring the Yugoslav Government to sign a non-

aggression pact with Germany in order to further secure the southern flank of "Fortress Europe" since Italy was less than successful in their war with troublesome Greece and with British troops positioned on the Island of Crete ready to land on the mainland to assist the Greek forces. The British and the American Embassies (US Colonel Donovan, head of the Office of Strategic Services, the precursor of the CIA, was a very busy man those days in Belgrade) were trying equally hard to persuade the Yugoslav Government not to sign. The Yugoslav Government eventually felt forced to sign a non-aggression pact with Germany. Just as Hitler was preparing his attack on the Soviet Union, it was the Serbian patriots, fired by the ideals of democracy and liberty, that overthrew the Government.

On April 6, Germany launched heavy air raids on Belgrade and the might of its Army against Yugoslavia. Croatian regiments on the Hungarian border offered no resistance and Zagreb welcomed the Nazi Army. The Serbs fought briefly but were no match for the Blitzkrieg, and the war ended in short order.

And Germany proceeded to partition Yugoslavia among its Allies: an "Independent State of Croatia" was established comprising Croatia proper, Dalmatia, eastern Slavonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina; Italy and Austria divided and annexed Slovenia, parts of Serbia were given to Hungary and Bulgaria. What was left of Serbia was under the direct military occupation of Germany while Montenegro and a part of Serbia to the northeast of Albania were occupied by Italy.

Hitler's rage against the Serbs, whose actions delayed the attack on the Soviet Union giving him less time before the onset of the Russian winter, prompted him to set a **ratio of 100:1 – Serbian hostages to Germans killed**. And the German Military Command for Serbia proceeded to both enforce and exceed it. In the town of Kragujevac, as a retribution for 10 German soldiers killed and 26 wounded, on the 21st of October 1941 the German military shot 2,300 Serbian hostages (including high school children); town of Kraljevo: 2,400; in the region of Macva a German punitive expedition massacred 10,000 people (women, children and men) razing to the ground a dozen villages, etc. etc... This type of German inhuman ruthlessness was played over and over again.

▪ **"INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA"  
GENOCIDE OF SERBS**

Germany's rage may also have played a part in its decision to install on April 10, 1941, Mussolini's protege Ante Pavelic, a Croatian terrorist, responsible for the assassination of King Alexander, as the head of the newly created "**Independent State of Croatia**" (that was the official name of the new state). Ante Pavelic, a Croatian separatist, a follower of Ante Starcevic's idea of pan-Croatism and Josip Frank's ferocious hatred of Serbs and a believer in the purity of the Croatian race, has been living in Italy since the late 1920s under the protection of Mussolini. With the funds furnished by the Italian Government he established secret training camps in Italy attracting Croatian separatists. He named the members of his terrorist organization Ustashi. The aim of the Italian policy at the time was to destabilize Yugoslavia and realize the age old Italian aspirations of making Dalmatia part of Italy, and Mussolini's dream of reviving the glory of the old Roman Empire of controlling the Balkan peninsula and the Mediterranean basin. The Ustashis also enjoyed the support of the Hungarian Government and had a terrorist training camp at Janka Pusta in Hungary.

On December 14, 1941, Croatia declared war on Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union. A peace treaty was never signed.

Pavelic, following the Croatian historical precedents, invited an Italian prince, Duke of Spoleto, to be the king of Croatia. In gratitude for Italian support he ceded to Italy a sizable part of Dalmatia which that country promptly annexed.

Within days, **Mile Budak, Minister for Education and Religion (!) of the Independent State of Croatia, announced the official policy of the Government as to the solution of the "Serbian problem": "One third of the Serbian population shall be converted to Catholicism, one third expelled across the river Drina (which was the border with the German occupied Serbia) and one third shall be liquidated"**. This announcement was carried on the front pages of the Croatian newspapers and broadcast by the Government radio.

On April 28, 1941, only a couple of weeks after the announcement of this official Government policy the execution of 195 Serbian civilians took place in the

village of Gudovac, near Bjelovar, in the presence of Eugen "Dido" Kvaternik, Minister for State Security of the Independent State of Croatia. After that, the pace of the liquidation of Serbian civilian population on the territory of the Independent State of Croatia accelerated: in the concentration camps, in towns and villages, in the Serbian Orthodox churches (it is estimated that in the Orthodox Church in Glina over a thousand Serbs were slaughtered on August 2nd and 3rd, 1941). Women and children were not spared: in the region of Kozara thousands of children with the average age of 6.5 were slaughtered. The dead were not spared either: in Capljina the Orthodox cemetery was ploughed over and the city dump was established on its site. Hundreds of Serbian Orthodox churches were demolished.

The Ustashi genocide of the Serbs was characterized by a hatred beyond comprehension: the favored tools of mass executions were knives, axes, bats and torture. By contrast, German executions were positively surgical.

There is a wealth of historical documents indicating that both German and Italian occupation authorities (the Italians largely on humanitarian grounds) were opposed to the enormity and bestiality of Ustashi massacres of the Serbs on the grounds that the massacres were increasing the ranks of the guerrillas and thus making the position of the Axis military forces on the Balkans more difficult. (Faced with annihilation Serbs would flee to the mountains and organize defense and resistance groups in order to survive.)

Dr. Hermann Neubacher, Hitler's Minister Plenipotentiary for the Balkans writes in his book "Special Assignment In The Southeast, 1940-45" (pg 18) that "a Croatian crusade of destruction directed against the Orthodox Serbs erupted, a crusade that belongs among the most brutal mass murder undertakings in the entire history of the world". Further on in his book (pg 31) he writes: "The prescription for the Orthodox proclaimed by the leader and Fuhrer of Croatia, Ante Pavelic, was reminiscent of religious wars of the bloodiest memory: One third must be converted to Catholicism, another third must be expelled and the final third must die. The last part of the program has been carried out. When the leaders of the Ustashi movement claim that they have slit the throats of a million Serbs (including infants, children, women and

old people) that is, in my opinion, a boastful exaggeration. On the basis of the reports that were submitted to me, I estimate the number of the defenseless murder victims to be three quarter of a million."

The German intelligence chief for the Southeast Dr. Wilhelm Hoettl (alias Walter Hagen) writes in his book "The Secret Front" (pg 238): "A truly murderous hatred was aimed at the Serbs and the Jews who had just been officially proclaimed outlawed. Already in the Summer of 1941 the horrendous atrocities have assumed unheard of proportions... Since, following an old tradition, being Croatian was equivalent to confessing to the Catholic faith and being Serbian followed from the profession of Orthodoxy, they now began to convert the Orthodox to Roman Catholicism under duress. These forced conversions were actually a method of Croatization."

Curzio Malaparte, a respected Italian writer and journalist reports in his book "La Pelle" about an audience with Ante Pavelic. Malaparte, commenting on the contents of a wicker basket, asked: "Are they Dalmatian oysters?" Pavelic replied: "It is a gift from my loyal Ustashis. Forty pounds of human eyes."

In a book titled "Collaboration or Resistance" published in 1968 in Austria German author Werner Brockdorf writes: "The Ustashi formed the Jasenovac concentration camp in the summer of 1941. Deplorable living conditions resulted in an enormous mortality rate among the inmates. The camp was built mainly for the extermination of Jews and Serbs. Systematic executions, some in bestial fashion, were committed en masse."

The commandant of the Jasenovac camp was a Franciscan friar, Miroslav Filipovic-Majstorovic.... The Franciscan seminarian Brzica alone on the night of August 29, 1942, decapitated 1.360 persons, using a special knife.

Further in the book Brockdorf says: "On June 28, 1941, mass arrests of Serbs suddenly began. By the hundreds, they were led up to the banks of Neretva, tied together by wire, shot and then thrown into the river. In the vicinity of Mostar, where the river narrowed, the drifting corpses jammed the waterway. The Ustashi unclogged it by throwing hand grenades."

Again Brockdorf: Taking the lead in working hand in

glove with the Ustashi, and imposing upon the Serbian people a repression which was designed to lead to mass conversions, was the order of Franciscans. Already in 1941, thousands of Serbs became converted. The Ustashi and the Catholic clergy were of the mistaken opinion that compulsory Catholicization also resolved the issue of nationality, for Zagreb's first priority was to Croatize those areas which were thinly populated by Croats.

The Austrian publicist and writer, Friedrich Heer, writes in his book "The Faith of Adolph Hitler": As for the brutal murders of Serbs in Croatian, Serbian and Bosnian areas taken over by the Croatian Ustashi bands, 600.000 to 850.000 Orthodox Serbs, down to small children were butchered. Roman Catholic priests and Franciscan friars collaborated in these murders both as executioners and as commanders of concentration camps. Not infrequently, they initiated them. The mayhem was taking place before the eyes of Rome. The Croatian state of Ante Pavelic represented itself as strictly Catholic; it had its envoy in Rome. The Italian and German commanders averted their eyes with horror. Rome was keeping silent.

Still, Friedrich Heer: 299 Serbian churches were pillaged and razed and 600.000 to 800.000 Serbs were murdered. Churches were converted into slaughterhouses. Later, children were found on a spit, their members still contorted by pain.

The German writer, Karlheinz Deschner, in his book entitled "With God and the Fascists", says the following: Numerous Serbian priests were subjected to horrible tortures. In Zagreb, where Catholic Archbishop Stepinac resided with the Apostolic Nuncio Marcone, the Orthodox Metropolitan Dositej was tortured in such a bestial fashion that he lost his sanity. Orthodox hierarchs, Bishop Platon of Banja Luka, the Metropolitan of Sarajevo Petar Zimonic, and Bishop Sava, were brutally murdered, as were several hundred other Orthodox clergy. They gouged out the eyes of Bishop Platon and his aide, Msgr. Dusan Subotic, while a fire was lit on their chests; then they cut off their noses and ears before administering the mortal blow.

Other victims of Nazi terror, Jews and Gypsies, were not spared either: Pavelic boasted to Hitler that his Ustashis were more efficient and thorough than Hitler's SS troop in eliminating the Jews.



#### ▪ MARSHAL TITO'S YUGOSLAVIA

After the war ended, Marshal Tito installed his personal brand of autocratic Communism in power. In order to solidify the rule of the Communist party over the country and also to insure his personal power, he divided the country arbitrarily into six Republics (vaguely along ethnic lines). To further weaken possible opposition from the Serbians (who were by far the most numerous group and also largely monarchist) he created on the traditionally Serbian territory two autonomous units. The administrative boundaries were never open to parliamentary discussion or popular plebiscite. The fairness of the boundaries is rather questionable; for instance: **according to the statistics of 1948 only 1% of Croats were living in the Republic of Serbia, while 17% of Serbians, even after the genocide of 1941, were left within Croatia's borders.**

The division of the country into six Republics and weakening of the Federal Government (Marshal Tito himself retained enormous personal power) resulted in the creation of cliques in each Republic fighting for power on both Republican and Federal level. It also degenerated over the years from a purely ideological level to a narrow national and a personal power struggle.

Incidentally, after the War's end, there was an adjustment of Yugoslav borders and the territories populated by the Slovenes in Italy and Austria were incorporated into the Yugoslav state.

#### ▪ POST COMMUNIST YUGOSLAVIA

After the formal demise of Communism, "democratic" elections, more or less controlled and manipulated by the existing power cliques, were held: in Slovenia, Mr. Kucan, Secretary of the Communist Party of Slovenia was elected President of Slovenia; in Croatia, Mr. Tudjman, a Yugoslav Army General and a high ranking member of the Communist Party was elected President of Croatia and in Serbia it was Mr. Milosevic, the Secretary of the Serbian Communist Party (which became a Socialist Party) who was elected President of Serbia. Fiery rethoric, based on intolerant chauvinism, was used in each electioneering campaign as a substitute for the bankrupt communist ideology.

Mr. Tudjman, heavily financed by Ustashi emigre circles, in his zeal to appeal to the most ethnocentric sentiments of his electorate and in order to score points against his local opponents, said: "Thank God, my wife is neither a Serb nor a Jew!"

Much more ominously, he made a clear statement: **"The Independent State of Croatia was not just a pure creation of Hitler and Mussolini but the realization of the age old Croatian aspirations"**. This is a direct and clear reference by Mr. Tudjman to the "Independent State of Croatia" headed by Ante Pavelic and his Ustashi butchers whose stated official policy was the elimination of the Serbian population from the "sacred soil of Croatia".

Mr. Tudjman and his party, the Croatian Democratic Union, adopted as their symbol a flag with a red and white chessboard, the flag created by the Fascist Ustashi. While it is true that the chessboard is a historical Croatian coat of arms it was never before used on the flag till the Ustashi created it as a symbol of their Fascist movement. It was the symbol under which the Ustashi carried out the horrendous genocide against the Serbian people. It carries the same emotional impact to the Serbs as the Nazi crooked cross elicits in the Jews.

As is typical of all apologists, Mr. Tudjman reduced the number of civilian victims of Ustashi genocide to 38.000. And the Croatian Catholic Church took an unconscionable stand: the victims of the World War II in Croatia were due to the civil war! In a letter published on May 22, 1991, in *Zajednicar* (a Croatian periodical) and signed by 15 Croatian Catholic Bishops they say: "The people were exposed to the civil war that was particularly harsh on the territory of Croatia. The Croatian population suffered from armed Serbian groups (Chetniks) and the Serbian population from the revenge of the Croatian regime (Ustashi)." **This is a horrifying and despicable attempt to accuse the victim of the crime committed by the victimizer – to confuse the issue of the victim of genocide and the perpetrator of genocide.**

Historically, Chetniks (literally members of cheta or squad – as in military squad) would appear during the wars as volunteers in defense of the Serbian people. In peacetime they would disband and exist only as old veterans that would meet occasionally and

informally to recount old glories. They were completely non political in their outlook. **By contrast the Ustashi were a terrorist organization which, once in power, became a clearly defined Nazi party dedicated to a racially pure Croatia, a party with a publicly stated policy of extermination of Serbs from their newly created state.**

In 1941, Col. Drazha Mihajlovic formed a core of resistance in Serbia against the Nazis under the name of Chetniks. He was named Yugoslav Minister of Defense by the Yugoslav Government in exile and was recognized as such by the Governments of USA and Great Britain. Both Allied Governments had military missions at his Headquarters in the mountains of Serbia. His Chetniks saved the lives of hundreds of American pilots downed over Yugoslavia. They had built, with very primitive means at their disposal, a landing strip at Pranjani in Serbia and kept it secure. It is from this strip that the American Air Force planes flew the pilots to safe haven in Italy.

The largest Chetnik group in Croatia, the Dinara Chetnik Division, operating roughly in the area of Krajina, was established on the 27th of July of 1941, fully 3 months after the genocide by the Ustasish had started. Hundreds of Croatian patriots also joined the Dinara Chetnik Division: quite a few in positions of command – Major Stude was the Chief of Staff, Ivan Jankov was a Brigade Commander, Captain Alfirovic was the Adjutant to the Commander of the Division, Roko Kaleb was Chief Information Officer etc.

There was a Slovenian Chetnik group operating in Slovenia. Chetniks of the Second World War rose up not only in defense of the Serbian people against the Ustasish, but, primarily, as a Yugoslav resistance movement against the Nazis.

After Mr. Tudjman's election, thousands of Serbs in Croatia were fired from Government jobs, special police units of "pure Croats" (as opposed to the new Croats of Orthodox faith) were formed, public display of Cyrillic alphabet was forbidden. While there were programs on the Croatian Television and Radio for the Italians, Slovenes and Hungarians, there was not a minute devoted to the Serbs, although they constitute by far the largest minority in the Republic of Croatia. The educational curricula were geared to the creation of an ethnically pure Croatian state. Serbian literature and history were all but eliminated from the text

books. Serbian Orthodox clergy has been continuously exposed to indignities, threats and physical abuse. As a result, 4 bishops and a great many priests of the Serbian Orthodox Church, fearing for their safety and mindful of the 1941 total extermination of their predecessors, fled from the Republic of Croatia.

Serbs have lived in the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia–Herzegovina since the 13th century. They continued to migrate to these areas in order to escape the horrors of Ottoman Turkey. The Austro–Hungarian Empire was the lesser of two evils and they settled in the territories that were the border between Austria–Hungary and Turkey. While Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia were separate administrative provinces of the feudal system of the Austro–Hungarian Empire, the territory where the Serbs settled and lived as relatively free men, was called Vojna Krajina (literal translation: Military Zone) and was under the direct military control of the Austrian Crown. The Serbs became the soldiers of the first line of defense of the Austrian Empire and Vojna Krajina a buffer zone between the two warring Empires.

In the 1800s the Turkish Empire started crumbling and ceased to be a threat to Austria–Hungary. Consequently, the need for the Military Zone ceased to exist and, towards the end of the century, it was incorporated into Croatia proper, still under Austrian rule. **Since Krajina, the territory where the Serbs have lived and defended it with their lives for centuries, was part of Croatia but for a short period of time in history, it is not quite correct to talk about Serbians in Croatia. The Croatian claim to that territory rests on very questionable grounds.**

Except for brief periods of peaceful coexistence with the Croats, the Serbs were subjected to cultural and political oppression and forced into conversion to catholicism. The most "genuine" Croats, those in western Herzegovina, for instance, are really of Serbian descent. Their family names betray their Serbian origin.

## CONCLUSIONS

It is all too easy for the democratic West to view the demise of Communism as a first step towards democracy in Eastern Europe. While this attractive point of view may be realized without too much turmoil in homogenous nations, it seems that

multinational countries such as the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia may go through a period of nationalistic awakenings, ethnic tensions and tribal hostilities, all of it compounded by the difficulties and miseries of the transition to market economies. The Communist doctrine of forced and artificial internationalism ignored the ethnic, nationalistic and tribal passions, and they continued to fester underground instead of loosing their destructive power as they do in open societies. Newborn "democrats", steeped in Communist ideology of autocratic power politics, cannot easily abandon their lifetime training of rule by force. Skilful manipulation of ethnic and tribal passions gets them elected in seemingly democratic fashion and allows them to retain the power.

In Yugoslavia, Communism as ideology had died long before it did in the rest of Eastern Europe. Government apparatus and structure of the Communist parties survived. **In order to stay in control in each Republic and gain popular support, the cliques in power revived dormant tribal animosities and drifted towards extreme and narrow nationalism.**

The natural progression of events carried these power cliques in Slovenia and Croatia towards the declaration of independence for their own states, because otherwise they would have had to relinquish some of their power.

Considering the checkered demographic distribution, a just division of Yugoslavia into independent states would have been very difficult at best. A peaceful and equanimous solution became almost impossible in the atmosphere of heightened nationalistic tensions.

In Croatia, Mr. Tudjman and his party, the Croatian Democratic Union, went a step further in exacerbating an atmosphere of mistrust: they are responsible not only of reviving the tribal animosities **but also of resurrecting a racist and xenophobic policy of Messrs. Starcevic, Frank and Pavelic. A policy based on hatred of the Serbs, purity of Croatian political entity and the sanctity of the Croatian soil. THIS IS THE CAUSE OF THE SERBO-CROATIAN WAR.**

**The Croatian (and Slovenian) claim that they are fighting for democracy and freedom from the Communist regime in Belgrade is totally without foundation. If we take freedom of expression, freedom to criticize the government and its policies**

**as a measure of democracy, then Serbia is more democratic than either Slovenia or Croatia: there is far more opposition to the Government policies allowed in Belgrade than in Zagreb or Ljubljana.** Several periodicals, published in Belgrade, both in Cyrillic and Latin alphabets, are harshly critical of Government policies as are the numerous opposition parties in their public debates over the future of Yugoslavia and/or Serbia. By contrast, the only opposition to Mr. Tudjman's policies is allowed to come from even more extreme elements of the ethnocentric and racist persuasion. Tragically, Croatians born after 1940, have no idea of the crimes committed by their fathers. They are gambling their future on a history based on lies and on a political philosophy that cannot but continue to deepen the rift between the Serbs and the Croats.

In Croatia, a mantle of democracy must not be allowed to hide the underlying ethnocentric, racist and anti-Serbian political philosophy of the Croatian Government as represented by Mr. Tudjman and his Croatian Democratic Union.

Any support of Mr. Tudjman's regime, particularly from abroad, is a subversion and betrayal of basic democratic principles. It is alarming to read the statement of Chancellor Helmut Kohl (as reported in the Chicago Tribune of 12/22/91 by Storer Rowley) that Germany is merely trying to protect an ally (Croatia). Democratic Germany honoring the alliance of Nazi Germany and the Ustashi "Independent State of Croatia"!!

It is both alarming and ominous to see democratic governments of recent date in Germany, Italy, Austria (Waldheim's Austria !) and Hungary in a great rush to dismember Yugoslavia, the torn in their sides since its inception. Apparently, the new democratic governments in the aforementioned countries are pursuing the same geopolitical aims as their previous Nazi and Fascist regimes did. It is doubtful that without their support the separatist movements in Slovenia and Croatia would have rushed into unilateral declarations of independence without exploring all the possibilities of a peaceful and amicable settlement within the legal framework of the Yugoslav state.

In the exacerbated atmosphere of ethnic and nationalistic tensions in Yugoslavia a peaceful and truly democratic resolution seems tragically remote.



*Igor Radovic*

## YUGOSLAVIA: DOWN FOR THE FINAL COUNT

By all odds, the much overdue last flutter of the red hammer and sickle flag over the Kremlin as the West celebrated Christmas Day 1991 will soon be followed by the sound of taps for the grotesque fiction that Yugoslavia has become. Some, maybe even many, in this deeply divided and troubled land may in time lament its passing, but fewer and fewer are today willing to fight to preserve it. And those who still are - for the most part in the upper command echelons of the Yugoslav Army - are doing it for the wrong reason, to protect privileges and perks the collapse of Yugoslavia will inevitably bring to an abrupt end.

To be sure, to keep Yugoslavia alive is not what motivates the Serbs who inhabit the areas of the current armed conflict and are at the center of the ethnic strife within the Yugoslav borders. Theirs is a revolt against the rising specter of Croatian domination and the horrors this domination visited upon them during World War II. Krajina and Slavonija (as well as Bosnia and Herzegovina where, knock on wood, as of this writing the battle has not yet been joined) are the territories where during the last war the worst of the grisly atrocities against the Serbs were committed by the Croatian Ustashe minions of the Nazi aggressor, and the memories of these large-scale and systematic bloody pogroms are still too painfully seared on the mind of the Serbs for them to risk a repeat performance by the Ustashe heirs. They certainly are not reassured by the actions and pronouncements of Croatia's President Tudjman - a virulently anti-Serbian as well as anti-Semitic Johnny-come-lately ex-communist general of the Yugoslav Army - who is on record for having stated, inter alia, that the activities of the Ustashe - the perpetrators of the mass slaughter of the Serbian population - were the expression of centuries-old aspirations of the Croatian people. Nor can they be reassured by some vague guarantees on the part of the European Community when the principal sponsor of Croatia in the E.C. is the German government whose predecessor, the Third Reich, abetted and cheered on its own protege - the Ustashe regime - in its gruesome wartime crimes of genocide against the Serbs. The E.C. might as well tell the chicken not to worry, and ask it to share the coop with the fox, for the wolf will protect it. Instead, the E.C. should recognize that Croatia has long ago forfeited its eligibility for the guardianship of any Serbian minority.

More to the point, to consider the future of the Serbs as the largest minority in a new independent state of Croatia has a basis only if one a priori and unquestioningly accepts the artificial internal boundaries imposed on the Serbs after WW II by Josip Broz Tito, himself a Croat. These spurious inter-republic internal borders had as one of their main objectives a weak Serbia within the communist federation of Yugoslavia.

As a result of this blatant gerrymandering barely half of the Serbs (even when not counting the Montenegrins, who overwhelmingly consider themselves Serbian) wound up residing within Serbia, the others conveniently parcelled out to other Yugoslav republics and two autonomous regions - hardly a proof of Serbian aggression and expansionism, one might add. To insist that these arbitrary internal boundaries be rigidly maintained because to do otherwise might set a dangerous precedent and invite ethnic troubles elsewhere is neither a just nor a realistic solution for Yugoslavia and can at best lead only to cruel, if all-too-usual, punishment for all involved. Through negotiations or plebiscite preferably, by violence otherwise, more equitable and practical borders must be established, to separate the Croats from the Serbs. Short of that, nothing will work, either in the short or in the long run.

Finally, there can be no question about it, Croats have every right to live under their own sovereign rule and national banner if they so choose. But the Serbs are entitled to no less. They also want to live in their own country as free and equal citizens and not under a foreign heel as a trampled upon minority with their lives at risk, and no one should be surprised to see them fighting on if, on account of some bogus borders, they are denied the right to self-determination. The concerns of Serbs in Krajina and Slavonija, as well as in Bosnia and Herzegovina, are physical survival and freedom and not, contrary to with malice in mind oft repeated tales, expansionist dreams of a "Greater Serbia". They also have legitimate human rights and national aspirations which deserve fair consideration in the painful process of putting Yugoslavia to rest. And these should not be obscured by the inability or unwillingness of Serbia's President Milosevic to make a clean break with his communist past, his phony, opportunistic, brand of nationalism, and his pathetic ineptitude in foreign affairs, or ignored because of the self-serving machinations of the Yugoslav Army high command.

Igor D. Radovic  
New York City, December 1991

To the Editor:

A recent letter to the Editor from the Croatian Minister of Information boasts the title of "Croatia Assures Rights of Ethnic Minorities". Before the readers are asked to take this assertion at face value let them consider the following:

1. During WW II Croatian Ustashe quislings slaughtered hundreds of thousands of Serbs. The majority of Croats will admit that much. Yet, Croatia's President Tudjman has stated that the Ustashe regime "reflected centuries-old aspirations of the Croat people".
2. In town after town - Gospić, Pakračka Poljana, Daruvar, Zadar, Ogulin,.... - , no sooner had the current hostilities broken out than hundreds of unarmed Serbian civilians were rounded up and summarily executed by the Croatian police, for no reason other than being Serbian. The Croatian government promised an investigation and punishment of the culprits. Nothing has ever come of it.
3. Only because it was needed to gain recognition by the EC, and with great reluctance and very late in the day at that, did Croatia formally recognize minority, i.e. Serbian, rights. How sincere and solid these assurances are, the reader can guess.
4. The chief sponsor of Croatia in the EC - the would-be guarantor of minority rights - is the German government, whose predecessor - the Third Reich - gave the Croatian Ustashe every support and encouragement in their crimes of genocide against the Serbs.

In truth, the subject of Serbs as a minority in Croatia is a red herring, and a problem that never should have arisen: The inter-republic borders in what was Yugoslavia is a bequest of the communist past, an artifice whose principal purpose was a weak Serbia. It served this purpose very well, by keeping close to half of the Serbian population outside of Serbia's borders, divided among adjoining republics and two autonomous regions. But now that communist Yugoslavia is no more why should this communist legacy still be considered sacrosanct? There is only twisted logic and certainly no equity in it.

It is time to stop penalizing and alienating the Serbs by identifying them with the two-headed albatross around their neck, namely the communist command cadres of the Yugoslav Army whose only real objective is to preserve their perks and privileges, and the opportunistic crypto-communist President Milošević of Serbia who, while professing nationalist convictions, is now poised to sell the Serbs in the contested territories down the river if that is what it takes to stay in power. And it is time to start bringing the Serbs back into the fold of true democracy by recognizing that they, too, no less than the Croats, have a right to self-determination.

Dr. Igor D. Radović  
New York City, Jan. 20, 1992



The Editorial Page (Letters)  
The New York Times  
229 West 43d St.  
New York, N.Y. 10036

To the Editor:

Your editorial article "What if Bosnia Had Oil?" of April 23rd, in its eagerness to pin the blame and propose a quick fix, manages to completely ignore the one subject which is central to the current conflict in Yugoslavia, that is the Serbian population in the contested territories. These are the Serbs who in World War II were slaughtered by the hundreds of thousands, in complicity with the Nazi aggressor, by more than a handful of collaborators among those who now form a majority in the newly-recognized independent states and would have the Serbs once more, to put it mildly, at a disadvantage as a minority. In the circumstances, namely a) that the wartime genocide of the Serbs is a historical reality which cannot be swept under the carpet however hard one tries, b) that the inter-republic borders in what was Yugoslavia are a blatantly artificial creation and legacy of the communist rule which was intended, among other things, to divide the Serbs and limit their influence in the Yugoslav communist federation, and c) that since everybody else's right to self-determination in former Yugoslavia has now been widely recognized, the Serbs in Bosnia, Hercegovina and Krajina might be forgiven their desire to exercise their own. And, given their past experience, as well as some of the more recent experiences of minorities such as, say, the Kurds and the Shiites in Iraq, it also should not be too difficult to understand the inclination of Serbs to opt for self-rule rather than rely on some solemn assurances from the outside for the protection of their minority rights.

Dr. Igor D. Radovic  
New York City, April 24, 1992

Dr. Igor D. Radovic  
382 Central Park West, #19X  
New York, N.Y. 10025  
Tel. (212) 662-5681



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**URGENT** Ref: U.S. Landing Rights  
May 22, 1992

President George Bush  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

By way of introduction, I am the Chairperson of the *Benefit Performance Group of the Kosovo Charity Fund*, responsible for current fund raising for the humanitarian needs of the people in Yugoslavia. Our organization is part of the Serbian Orthodox Diocese of Western America, located in Alhambra, California.

The Kosovo Charity Fund is currently sponsoring a 16 city tour through the United States by the National Folk Ballet of Belgrade, with all proceeds going to aid the orphans and homeless victims of the civil war. Our first performance is scheduled in Merrillville, Indiana on June 5, 1992. The news yesterday that landing rights for Yugoslav Airlines have been rejected by the United States government was extremely problematic.

The Charity Fund, to date, has paid nearly \$50,000.00 in non-refundable deposits to 16 theaters across the United States. This places the Charity Fund in a most difficult financial position. Yugoslav Airlines has agreed to bring these 42 dancers to the United States at a 50% discount fare, as a contribution toward our charity efforts. Our payment for the airfare is not due until the last performance on July 5th, 1992. The dancers have also volunteered their time and talents and have agreed to NO COMPENSATION for these benefit performances. Publicity expenses have been incurred and Ticketmaster is already selling tickets for these performances.

In writing this letter, I am hopeful that you, Mr President, our government and our State Department, still contain compassionate individuals responsive to our plight. As the Red Cross and other humanitarian organizations are permitted to function during war, we are hopeful that you and the State Department would allow Yugoslav Airlines to make this one flight to Chicago on June 4th for these events. If this group is forced to fly other airlines from Greece or Germany, the added expense and arrangements at this late date will be overwhelmingly costly and may financially force the Kosovo Charity Fund to accept its current losses and cancel its fund raising efforts.

If such restriction is not lifted, the Kosovo Charity Fund, and the humanitarian individuals on my committee will lose more than \$75,000.00 of very hard-earned money. This, of course, does not account for the approximate \$250,000.00 we anticipated raising through our charity efforts surrounding these benefit performances.

The Serbian army in Bosnia and the Serbians fighting in Croatia have been suspicious to western humanitarian efforts in this war. The news that their National Dance Company is being refused entry into the United States will come as devastating news which can only lead to further aggression and distrust of the American interest in this war. I would encourage our government to show its compassionate nature in this matter by allowing this dance group access to the American public to raise funds for their war victims. By setting this precedent, we would establish a greater bond between our governments rather than to further alienate what was once a very positive relationship with former allies. When this war ends, and it will end, such acts will be viewed as American aggression to financially destroy the Serbian people.

Today in a conversation with Mr. Bud Moss, aide to Senator Sarbanes, he responded to my plight by saying, "...The Serbians deserve this." Mr. President, NO ONE DESERVES THIS! If future humanitarian assistance in our government is based on such callous individuals, people with compassion will surely suffer as much as the victims.

*The language Mr. Moss used with Mr. Donic was much worse than described in this letter.*

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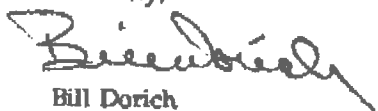
President George Bush  
 Re: Landing Rights  
 May 22, 1992  
 Page 2

I will not use this opportunity to defend nor argue the positions one might take with regard to the current civil war in Yugoslavia. As an American-Serb, my concern, and that of the Kosovo Charity Fund, is to aid victims, and there are now more than **One Million Three Hundred Thousand** of them. Secretary of State James Baker said today that the world must not stand by and allow a "humanitarian nightmare" That nightmare has now hit home.

Our country has never turned its back on the victims of war. I pray that the United States does not make organizations such as ours pay a heavy price for our dedication to the human condition, regardless of this country's disagreements with a foreign government. And, above all, that the United States does not further punish these innocent victims by denying this request and their desperate need for any and all assistance.

I would therefore, appreciate your immediate help in solving these serious circumstances in which we find ourselves. I have sent a personal letter regarding this matter to the government representatives listed below and I will make public both yours and their response to this crisis so that the American voter may judge the compassion of these elected representatives. I look forward to hearing from you and I thank you for your help.

Sincerely,



Bill Dorich  
 Kosovo Charity Fund  
 1621 West Garvey Avenue  
 Alhambra, CA 91803

CC: Senator Edward Kennedy, Senator Robert Byrd, Senator Connie Mack, Senator Paul Sarbanes, Senator Daniel P. Moynihan, Senator John Rockefeller, Senator Lloyd Bentsen, Senator Bill Bradley, Senator Robert Dole, Senator Paul Simon, Senator Jim Sasser, Senator Bob Packwood, Senator Sam Nunn, Senator George Mitchell, Senator Richard Lugar, Senator Robert Kerrey, Senator Jesse Helms, Senator Orrin Hatch, Senator Albert Gore, Senator Alfonse D'Amato, Senator Dennis DeConcini, Senator Howard Metzenbaum, Senator Christopher Dodd, Senator William Cohen.

Rep. Jim Moody, Rep. Anthony Beilenson, Rep. Dana Rohrabacher, Rep. Dan Rostenkowski, Rep. Helen Bentley, Rep. Edward Roybal, Rep. George Gekas, Rep. Henry Waxman, Rep. Mathew Martinez, Rep. Mel Levine, Rep. Tom Lantos, Rep. Olympia Snowe, Rep. Gerald Solomon, Rep. Dan Burton, Rep. Philip Crane, Rep. Vin Weber, Rep. Doug Applegate, Rep. Philip Crane, Rep. Mike Bilirakis, Rep. Nicholas Mavroules, Rep. Peter Visclosky.

Mr. James Baker, State Department, Senator Joseph Biden, Foreign Relations Committee. Rep. Lee Hamilton, Foreign Relations Committee.







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Phoenix, Arizona

Universal Packaging System  
Chino, California

## URGENT

Representative Helen Delich Bentley  
1610 Longworth House Office Bldg.  
Washington, D.C. 20515

May 22, 1992

Dear Representative Bentley,

By way of introduction, I am the Chairperson of the Benefit Performance Group of the Kosovo Charity Fund, responsible for current fund raising for the humanitarian needs of the people in Yugoslavia. Our organization is part of the Serbian Orthodox Diocese of Western America, located in Alhambra, California.

The Kosovo Charity Fund is currently sponsoring a 16 city tour through the United States by the National Folk Ballet of Belgrade, with all proceeds going to help the orphans and homeless victims of the war in Yugoslavia. Our first performance is scheduled in Merrillville, IN. on June 5, 1992. The news yesterday that landing rights for Yugoslav Airlines have been rejected by the United States government was extremely problematic.

The Charity Fund, to date, has paid nearly \$50,000.00 in non-refundable deposits to 16 theaters across the United States. This places the Charity Fund in a most difficult position. Yugoslav Airlines had agreed to bring these 42 dancers to the United States at a 50% discount fare, contributing the balance toward our charity efforts and not demanding any payment until the last performance on July 5th, 1992. The dancers have also volunteered their time and talents and have agreed to NO Compensation for these benefit performances. Naturally, publicity expenses have been incurred and Ticketmaster is already selling tickets for these performances.

In writing this letter, I am hopeful that within our government and our State Department, there are still compassionate individuals responsive to our plight. As the Red Cross and other humanitarian organizations are permitted to function in war, we are hopeful that the State Department would allow Yugoslav Airlines to make this one flight to Chicago on June 4th for these events. If this group is forced to fly other airlines from Greece or Germany, the added expense and arrangements will be overwhelmingly costly.

If such restriction is not lifted, the Kosovo Charity Fund, and the humanitarian individuals on my committee will lose more than \$75,000.00 of very hard-earned monies. This, of course, does not account for the approximate \$250,000.00 we anticipated raising through our charity efforts surrounding these benefit performances.

I will not use this opportunity to defend nor argue the positions one might take with regard to the current war. My concern, and that of the Kosovo Charity Fund, is to aid victims, and there are more than one million of them. Our country has never turned its back on the victims of war. I pray that the United States does not make organizations such as ours pay a price for the acts of those governments with whom we may disagree. And, above all, that our government will not further punish these victims by denying this request.

I would therefore, appreciate your immediate help in solving these serious circumstances in which we find ourselves.

I look forward to hearing from you and I thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

Bill Dorich  
Kosovo Charity Fund



### *Our Sleeping Giant*

by: Robert Grahovac

Our Giant (Uncle Sam) is no longer considered a Giant. In 1946, Uncle Sam decided to take a short nap - in the dim light of the White House Basement. Today - forty six years later - if one looks at Uncle Sam, who is seated in a high-back chair with one front leg missing and is held up by old discarded telephone books dated 1946. Rodent droppings clutter the floor around the huge high-back chair.

Placed near Uncle Sam's high-back chair is a picture of the United States Marine raising the American Flag with the glass broken. Above his head, hangs an American Flag held up by four rusted nails along with the flags of so many other countries that our dear Stars and Stripes can barely be seen.

In the dim light cast upon the face of our Uncle Sam, one can barely notice the tears trickling down his long white beard. One leg of our Uncle crosses over the other showing the large hole on the sole of his shoe about the size of a half dollar.

"Sam, I believe you slept too long. Look what has happened to your country." A short distant away there is a light passing through the bottom of an old door and one can hear a foreign voice speaking softly as not to arouse our Uncle Sam. A few minutes pass and then three Oriental figures leave down the poorly lite passageway. Suddenty a long line of hooded people go into the room to pick up the banned money keeping a watchful eye on one another so as not to take more then the allotted stack with a number marked on the banded money. Each character picks his allotted amount then tip toes out of the room carefully so that our Uncle Sam will not be alerted to their presence.

The Old Man senses something is not right - decides to investigate - gets up off the old broken high-back chair and with his bones creaking, he heads for the Loot Room. Upon arriving he sees nothing but a huge empty shelf with a few loose dollar bills.

What have they done to my country!! - The giant is no longer a giant.

Greed beat the old man.

*To Our Serbian  
Helden <sup>voice</sup> Delic Bentley*

*Robert Grahovac*

*5/20<sup>th</sup>/92*



RECEIVED MAY 0 1 1992

Beograd, 21<sup>st</sup> of April 92.

Dear Mrs. Helen,

I am taking this opportunity to address to you as the best friend of the Serbian people in the States. We all know for the battle that you have in American Congress for the rights of our people and for the truth. May I introduce myself: I am Katarina Cerovic, the communication engineer from Beograd and I have the daughter Dunja Radosavljevic of 19, who is studying business & finance (second year) on a community college in Sacramento, California.

My daughter is an excellent student and she was prepared to transfer on the third year of the University in Davis, Berkeley or Sacramento in January 93. Unfortunately the situation in Serbia changed to very bad this past year (eg. in January 91 like an engineer I earned about \$ 1000 and this January 92 only \$ 80). Now is even worse. So my parents and I (as I am divorced) are not able to finance her any further. She might come here, but then she will lose two precious years of her study, because the authorities here do not recognize half of American studies and the life here is very difficult, we suddenly became very poor in this war situation. But in the States as a foreign student she cannot get the scholarship.

This is the reason to ask for your help. Dunja is an only child in my family and she succeeded to be on her own nearly for three years in the State (she also graduated in America from her secondary school). We paid for her school fees and she was (is) working (taking care of two children) in the family with whom she is staying, for her accommodation and food. Also she gives lessons of maths & economics to some students, she works three times (5 hours) per week like an accountant in a small company and for the weekend she cleans the house of the people she works for. She has really shown that we have to accept her with respect.

Dear Mrs. Helen, is there any opportunity that you and our Serbo American organization in the States could give her some kind of scholarship or help her find the scholarship or financial aid and that she after her studies return it to you by working for you? I sincerely believe that my daughter deserves your help as a Serbian child on her study in America.

From the American River College in Sacramento you can get a report on her work and from the family with whom she is staying you can also have a report on her.

Wishing you all best, we kindly ask for your help to Dunja, good, young but poor student, by giving her a chance to continue her education and maybe to help you one day somehow. Please let us know for your decision.

Yours very grateful,

*Katarina Cerovic*

KATARINA CEROVIC,  
G.ZDANOVA 58/1, ulaz 1,  
11000 BEOGRAD,  
Yugoslavia  
phone (011) 641-760

My daughter's address:  
Miss DUNJA RADOSAVLJEVIC,  
1749, CARMELO DRIVE,  
CARMICHAEL  
CA 95608.

phone (916) 485-9599

This is with the family Mrs. Fern Laethen, that Dunja lives with.

~~916 959~~

*American River College*