

**CIVIL STRIFE IN YUGOSLAVIA: THE UNITED  
STATES RESPONSE**

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**HEARING**  
BEFORE THE  
**SUBCOMMITTEE ON  
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS**  
OF THE  
**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS**  
**UNITED STATES SENATE**  
**ONE HUNDRED SECOND CONGRESS**  
**FIRST SESSION**

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trary, the line of demarcation—indeed the theodosian line—is once again clearly drawn. Croatia, the "bulwark of Christianity," has become the "bulwark of democracy." The two irreconcilable worlds are on the brink of explosion. Only an urgent, energetic, and decisive action on the part of the United States and the European Community can still prevent the civil war in Yugoslavia.

In view of the foregoing, it is imperative that the United States send a clear signal to the reactionary Communist elements that the United States will not tolerate, let alone support, a Yugoslavia based on force and violence.

For this reason, we support and encourage the kind of legislation introduced by Senator Dole (S. 9) and Congressman Rotunbacher (H.R. 1080), which makes it "the fundamental aid policy of the United States" to give U.S. assistance directly to democratically elected republic governments.

As Senator Dole pointed out in his testimony, ours is a time of historic opportunities and responsibilities. It is time for the United States and the rest of the free world to decide between democracy and freedom and brutal repression and despotism. Let us not forget the brave people of Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia in their struggle to defend freedom and democracy.

Respectfully yours,  
EDWARD SLAVKO YAMBRUSIC.

#### INFORMATION ABOUT THE SITUATION IN THE WORLD AND IN YUGOSLAVIA

Enclosed are highlights of an extraordinary document, titled "Information about the situation in the world and in Yugoslavia and about the imminent tasks of the Yugoslav army," signed by the Central Political Commissariat of the Yugoslav army and ordered to be read to all commanding officers of the Yugoslav army on Friday, January 25, 1991—that is, in advance of the most inflammatory Serbian television program showing the clumsy bolshevik fabrication, a video "documentary" purporting to show how the democratic government of Croatia is "endangering" the poor Serbo-Stalinist Yugoslav army. The extraordinary document was published by the leading daily Vjesnik on January 31 and subsequently by most Yugoslav newspapers. Please note that the head of the new "Communist Party—A Movement for Yugoslavia" is Mrs. Mirjana Milosevic, the wife of Serbia's Stalinist dictator Milosevic. It is obvious that Serbian Communists consider the Yugoslav army to be a Serbian army and an instrument for the restoration of communism in Yugoslavia and/or the creation of "Greater Serbia" on the ruins of Yugoslavia.

● "The progressive forces in the Soviet Union have regrouped after realizing and 'reforms' are leading to catastrophe." ● "The Soviet army is becoming engaged and active—to the distress of the capitalist West."

● "In Yugoslavia socialism also has not been defeated or thrown on its knees. Socialist Yugoslavia has withstood the first wave of anti-Communist attacks and hysteria."

● "The events in the gulf region are not developing according to the initial scenario of the United States and the West. The United States has built its whole civilization on cheap sources of energy—the essential cause of the gulf war. Now the war is beginning to engulf the whole region with unpredictable consequences and total uncertainty of its outcome."

● "In socialist countries of Eastern Europe the situation is becoming complicated, it is improving, and is not anymore under the control of the West that orchestrated and directed the upheavals."

● "The Western manipulators achieved significant results in their primary objective—the destruction of communism and the socialist society. However, they did not achieve their ultimate goal at all—in most Communist countries communism is neither destroyed nor defeated now the West is regrouping for new attacks. We can only expect even stronger attacks from now on."

● "In Yugoslavia the Western European governments and the United States will try to overthrow the Communist governments in those Yugoslav republics where Communists remain in power. They will organize and create social unrest as in Bulgaria and Romania, and will drive for constant democratic reelections as long as necessary until their anti-Communist fifth column do not obtain power."

● "Explicit proof of this strategy is the U.S. State Department's threat that the United States will energetically resist any use of force and intimidation against democratically elected governments in Yugoslavia's republics and against democratic processes in Yugoslavia. The essence of this statement and threat is obvious—a threat to the Yugoslav army not to resist the destruction of Communism and socialism in Yugoslavia."

● "The concern of the United States and Western Europe for democracy is transparent demagoguery—under democracy they really mean anticommunism."  
● "The army needs to organize the progressive forces in Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav army and its commanding officers, as an institution and as citizens, are leading political factors of our country. Our new party, under the new name 'Communist Party-A Movement for Yugoslavia,' should become within the next 5 to 6 months the strongest political force and a gathering center for all left and progressive forces."

● "We need to liquidate the forces that broke the lines of defense of our Socialist society; we need, by our actions, to encourage the progressive forces that want to preserve socialist Yugoslavia."

● "We have documents that illustrate detailed plans for attacking military installations, arms stores, and for other terrorist actions, including murder of our commanding officers and their families. Therefore, we have to act resolutely."

● "We also have to resolve the issue of continued financing of the Yugoslav army. The hostile forces have discontinued or have threatened to discontinue its further financing."

● "Comrades, ask yourselves why the enemy within and outside of Yugoslavia is so against our Communist Party-A Movement for Yugoslavia. If Communism is indeed dead and finished as they say, why are they so afraid of our party?"

● "In some of the Yugoslav republics anti-Communist 'democracies' won the elections in part because of the traitors within their local Communist leadership. It is especially important to liquidate such people from our party' the party that is led by our commanding officers. We should not repeat the errors made in the recent past; we should liquidate the fifth column among us."

#### THE CENTRAL POLITICAL COMMISSARIAT OF THE YUGOSLAV ARMY.

As you can see, there is an explicit and imminent threat of the use of violence by Serbian Communist hardliners (in the army and Serbia's Communist government) against the peaceful and democratically elected governments of Croatia and Slovenia. These democracies need all our help and support against the evil alliance of Serbian Communists, ultranationalists, and religious fundamentalists.

#### PREPARED STATEMENT OF DOBROSLAV PARAGA, PRESIDENT, CROATIAN PARTY OF RIGHTS

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to submit a statement to the Subcommittee on European Affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee as president of the Croatian Party of Rights concerning the current situation in Croatia and Yugoslavia.

My homeland, Croatia, rages these days with military storms provoked by the Federal Communist Army from Belgrade, still the capitol city of Yugoslavia.

The idea of a Yugoslav federation or confederation patterned after the Soviet model has completely exhausted its reasons for existence in the western republics of this country after 72 years of forced union. Yugoslavia by its origin was never a voluntary union of different peoples, religions, customs and cultures, and because of this has only been able to preserve itself by the use of lies and force. The right to self-determination as stated in Wilson's Fourteen Points has never been realized in this artificially created country.

The eastern part of Yugoslavia, industrially behind and clothed in communism, has taken upon itself with all possible means at its disposal to not allow the sovereignty of non-Serbian people in this multinational country. These great Serbian politics from its headquarters, the central Parliament in Belgrade, have once already brought about the breakup of Yugoslavia in 1941 and now threaten, by use of force and the holding of small nations at all costs in the Yugoslav federation, to not only bring the people currently in Yugoslavia but even neighboring countries who have parts in Yugoslavia into bloody war and an international conflict.

As with the international coalition of forces in battle against the occupation of Kuwait, it is now necessary to form a coalition for the peaceful separation of the nations of Yugoslavia. Let's be consistent. The occupation of Kuwait and southern Vietnam unjustly denies the right of those people to self-determination just as the occupation of Croatia, Slovenia, and Kosovo, etc. And had international politics been consistent all along Kuwait would not find itself in the tragic position that it does now.

Respected Senators, do not be negligent. Do everything that you can under the Respects of the international community to bring about the self-determination of the

peoples of Croatia, Slovenia, Kosovo, and Macedonia. Such a solution is infinitely better than one of force, arms, and war.

Belgrade through its centralized politics, propagated by Serbia in the name of Yugoslavia, has not allowed the non-Serbian nations to express themselves under this domination by Serbia. The Croatian, Slovenian, and Albanian people are battling for their countries' freedom independent of any kind of Yugoslavia in a situation similar to that of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia seeking their freedom and independence from Moscow and the Soviet Union.

To maintain Yugoslavia through force is the grossest violation of human rights and the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man. Expect conflicts, wars, and a Lebanon in Europe if the Great Serbian terror over Croatia, Kosovo, and other non-Serbs continues. The right to self-determination and even separation by those occupied in Yugoslavia has to be realized.

Yugoslavia is collapsing because the forced joining of different peoples in a country is a crime against humanity, freedom, and democracy for all those people forcefully joined just as the forced separation of a single people is a crime as has been the case until recently in Germany or still continues to this day with the Albanians, Koreans, and other peoples.

The uniting of the forcefully separated and the separation of the forcefully united should be the main assignment of the United Nations, the United States, and all humanity.

The territory upon which today's Yugoslavia is located contains the boundary of two different worlds, cultures, religions, and civilizations. The east on one side and the west on the other. This is the line dividing the western and eastern Roman Empires, the boundary line between the Catholic and Protestant religions on one side and the Orthodox and Islam religions on the other side.

These divisions, incomparably stronger and historically deeper than the Berlin Wall, cannot be erased by creating through the use of force any kind of an artificial country which instead of being a heaven is a living hell for these peoples and countries.

Because of this collision of the West with Asia, democracy with domination, tolerance with hegemony, democracy in Yugoslavia is hard to come by and the small steps that it sometimes does make die even quicker. From such a place as this, or more accurately from the epicenter in Serbia, their concern is for the conquest and domination of their neighbors. This has already brought about a number of wars in this century including two Balkan wars and the First World War with the Sarajevo assassination because of the Serbs' desire for territory which was never Serbia or Yugoslavia.

Two different peoples, the Croats and Slovenians in the northwest and the Albanians in the south, desire their freedom and independence from the dictates of Belgrade at any cost.

The United States is going to great efforts to not recognize this process. The United States Senate, for the first time in Yugoslavia's 72 years of existence, condemned Yugoslavia on Aug. 4, 1989, for abuses of human rights with unanimous adoption of S. Res. 169. The situation though has remained the same because Belgrade still continues to receive support from official United States policy which actually undermines the progress made by the Senate with S. Res. 169.

Today's situation with its somber chronicles of the killed and imprisoned only serves as a confirmation of persecution while some of the perpetrators against whom there are claims of atrocious abuses have even become cabinet ministers of the new "democratic" Croatian Parliament. Yugoslavia cannot be reorganized or become a democratic country with equality for all people. Titoists, their followers and their successors, were and are a big lie which the West has tolerated with closed eyes believing this to be in the West's own best interests.

Today the Helsinki Watch recommends governing sanctions against the rule of Belgrade, which myself and others have for over a decade been calling for. But these are useful only if they do not postpone the resolution to this Yugoslav, Balkan, and even European crisis. Governing sanctions without the separation of peoples joined together by force will not help much.

It is hard for you to believe that by supporting Ante Markovic, the Yugoslav Premier, that you are not saving Yugoslavia but rather postponing its disentanglement and prolonging the agony of the Croatian, Slovenian, Albanian, and even the Serbian people on whose behalf the Belgrade politics oppress the other people.

We do not wish to continue enduring this atrocity without end in the name of a united Yugoslavia.

In Prague, Ambassador Edward Rowney and the leading dissidents of the world signed a resolution for the disunion of the peoples of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

In Washington, Ambassador Jean Kirkpatrick and Ambassador Sheik Al-Sabah amongst others also signed a resolution for the dissolution of the peoples of Yugoslavians and the Soviet Union.

Until 1918, that is until the creation of Yugoslavia, Serbs and Croats were never at arms against each other but rather had good neighborly relations. Whereas after this forced union a hell ensued for not only Croats, but also for Albanians, Slovenians, and others. The divorce of the Serbs, Croats, and others from this artificial country can alone bring peace and the return of equal neighbor status to this part of the world.

I urge this most respected world body, the Congress of the United States, to appeal to the United States administration, the United Nations, and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to allow the self-determination of the freedom-seeking peoples of Croatia and other nations in Yugoslavia. Please devote the same attention which you have to the gulf crisis for reasons equally dangerous and potentially more threatening to world stability and help to realize the peaceful separation of the peoples of Yugoslavia and the establishment of democratic governments in its place.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF PROF. EDWARD J. DAMICH

### I. The existence of the current Yugoslavia will not contribute to regional peace in the long run.

Even if United States policy is not concerned with self-determination, democracy, and free markets, but is merely concerned with regional stability, propping up the current Yugoslavia will not contribute to this goal.

The current Yugoslavia can only be preserved by force of arms. As has been repeatedly demonstrated in world history, a state composed of militarily subjugated peoples is inherently unstable. Now that Yugoslavia is surrounded by states that have thrown off one-party rule and are moving toward democracy and free markets, it is improbable that a military dictatorship would ensure stability. This is even more true for the republics of Slovenia and Croatia, which share borders with Italy, Austria, and Hungary. Only the severest oppression could prevent Slovenians and Croats from constant contacts with these countries. There would thus be a constant traffic of arms and other assistance, and the subjugated republics would always be on the verge of revolt. The end result would be a "Lebanonization" of Yugoslavia.

### II. A stable Yugoslavia is dependent upon voluntary cooperation among its constituent republics.

If Yugoslavia is to continue to exist without being a military dictatorship, it must be a voluntary union of its constituent republics. Dr. Franjo Tudjman, the President of Croatia, has repeatedly expressed the interest of the Croatian people in a union with the other peoples that make up current Yugoslavia. The structure of this union is to be worked out in good-faith negotiations among equals; otherwise, the union would be doomed. Tudjman has been frustrated at every turn in attempting this solution. Most recently the Serbs have branded him a national criminal for writing to the President of the United States, with the result that he might very well be arrested if he sets foot in Belgrade to participate in negotiations about the future of Yugoslavia.

### III. It is not in the Serbian interest to transform Yugoslavia into a free association.

A. Accepting the principle of self-determination and free association would undercut Serbia's attempt to dominate—indeed, seemingly to eliminate—the 95-percent majority of Albanians in Kosovo.

B. A free association of Yugoslav republics would likely not agree to the massive subsidies to Serbia that flowed from the more prosperous republics (i.e., Croatia and Slovenia). Since Serbia has opted to retain a state-run economy with all its attendant shortages and inefficiencies, Serbia is even more likely to require tribute from Slovenia and Croatia in the future.

C. Serbia would lose its most effective tool in controlling the other republics. Its benefit—the Yugoslav Army. Seventy percent of the officer corps in the current Yugoslav Army are Serbs and most of them are hard-line Communists. Yet, Serbs make up only about 80 percent of the Yugoslav population. The rank and file rough-