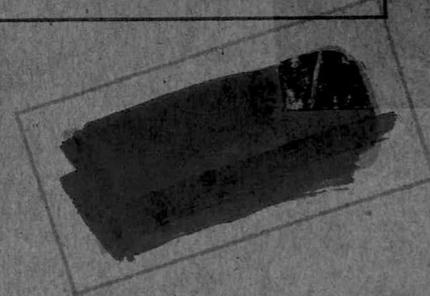


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Policy and Background  
Internal Policy Trends

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---CROATIA: PINK ZONES

CROATIANS TAKE STRONG EXCEPTION TO DESCRIPTION OF PINK ZONES IN

SECGENS LATEST REPORT TO COUNCIL, AS BEING SETTLED BY MAJORITY SERB POPULATION.

2.QUOTE SLOBODNA DALMACIJA UNQUOTE 29JUN DRAWS ON 1991 CENSUS

INFORMATION TO MAKE FOLLOWING ASSERTIONS:

QUOTE

ZONE IN ZADAR OPCINA CONTAINS TEN TEMPORARILY-OCCUPIED CROATIAN VILLAGES, AND SERBS ARE MAJORITY IN ONLY TWO PLACES. STATISTICS FROM LATEST CENSUS OF 1991 STATE FOLLOWING: IN BABINDUB THERE LIVED 3/3 SERBS (9/9 PER CENT), IN CRNOME 90/90 (14/14 PER CENT), IN ISLAM LATINSKI 187/187 (19.5/19.5 PER CENT), IN MURVICA 223/223 (20.3/20.3

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PER CENT) WHILE IN FIVE LARGEST PLACES - NOVIGRAD, PALJUVU,  
PODGRADINA AND SKABRNJE - IN 1991 HARDLY ONE SERB LIVED THERE. IN  
ONLY TWO CROATIAN LOCATIONS, SMOKOVIC AND ZEMUNIK GORNJI, WERE SERBS  
IN MAJORITY: IN FIRST VILLAGE 96.1/96.1 PER CENT AND IN SECOND  
62.2/62.2 PER CENT.

IN THESE SETTLEMENTS ALL OTHER INHABITANTS, OR ALMOST ALL, ARE  
CROATS, SO ITS LOGICAL TO ASK WHER MR GHALI SEES QUOTE SERBS AS  
MAJORITY NATION UNQUOTE AND ON BASIS OF WHAT INFO DID HE COME TO  
SUCH A JUDGEMENT? AND IN ANY CASE WHERE DOES HE GET THE IDEA THAT IN  
SOUTHERN PART OF DUBROVNIK OPCINA SERBS ARE MAJORITY POPULATION,  
SIMILARLY IN SIBENIK, OR IN SINJ. AND IN DRNIS SITUATION IS CRYSTAL  
CLEAR, JUST AS IN ZADAR!

UNQUOTE.

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---CROATIA: PARTY OF RIGHT(S)

SUMMARY: PARTY OF RIGHT (HSP)

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20 - CROATIA	-1-4
LOC	A7

LEADER PARAGA HAS BEEN CHARGED WITH

RECRUITING PARAMILITARY ARMED FORCE. CHARGES WOULD APPEAR TO BE WELL-FOUNDED IN LIGHT OF PARAGAS REPEATEDLY-DEMONSTRATED WILLINGNESS TO DEFY GOVT AUTHORITY BY MEANS INCLUDING THREATENED USE OF ARMED FORCE. CHARGES CAN HARDLY BE UNALLOYED WITH POLITICAL MOTIVES, BUT IF PARAGA IS AGAIN ALLOWED TO DEFY LAW NOT/NOT ONLY GOVERNING PARTY BUT RULE OF LAW IN CROATIA WILL SUFFER. THERE ARE, HOWEVER, SIGNS OF DIVISION WITHIN HSP.

2.REPORT: DOBROSLAV PARAGA AND HIS FREEDOM-LOVING FASCISTS ARE IN TROUBLE AGAIN. PARAGA WAS CHARGED 02JUN WITH RECRUITING AND FORMING

...2

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A PARAMILITARY ARMED FORCE IN CONTRAVENTION OF CROATIAN CONSTITUTION, LAW AND REGULATIONS, WHICH RESERVE SUCH FUNCTIONS TO CROATIAN MINISTRY OF DEFENCE. ACCORDING TO CHARGES AS PUBLISHED, ON 21MAY92 IN ZAGREB, PARAGA IN HIS CAPACITY AS QUOTE SELF-DECLARED COMMANDER OF PARAMILITARY ORGANISATION, SO-CALLED HRVATSKE ORUZANE SNAGE (HOS) WHICH OPERATES WITHIN CROATIAN PARTY OF RIGHT (HSP) ... GAVE ORDER FOR RECRUITMENT AND FORMATION OF UNITS OF PARAMILITARY ARMED FORCE IN IMOTSKI AND IMOTSKA KRAJINA UNQUOTE. PARAGA REMAINS AT LIBERTY DESPITE PROSECUTORS PROPOSAL THAT HE BE TAKEN INTO CUSTODY.

3. ALTHOUGH HOS HAS BEEN FORMALLY INCORPORATED INTO CROATIAN ARMY, IT APPEARS TO CONTINUE TO OPERATE AUTONOMOUSLY UNDER PARAGA'S DIRECTION. IN NEWSPAPER INTERVIEW SOME WEEKS AGO, DEFENCE MIN SUSAK COMPLAINED THAT PARAGA WAS ATTEMPTING TO APPOINT HIS OWN COMMANDERS TO HOS UNITS IN CROATIAN ARMY. IN MAY92 AT TIME OF THREATENED EVICTION OF HSP FROM BUILDING WHICH THEY FORCIBLY OCCUPIED LAST YR, NBR OF HEAVILY-ARMED HOS FIGHTERS WERE PREPARED TO RESIST BY FORCE.

4. PARAGA DESCRIBED LATEST CHARGES AS QUOTE KNIFE IN BACK OF BOSNA-HERCEGOVINA UNQUOTE, SAYING THAT HE HAD NOT/NOT GIVEN RECRUITMENT OR MOBILISATION ORDER, BUT HAD MERELY CALLED FOR VOLUNTEERS TO GO TO B-H. GOVERNING PARTY, HE SAID, WANTED TO DEMONSTRATE THAT IT WAS NOT/NOT INVOLVED IN WAR IN B-H, WHILE AT SAME TIME IT WAS SENDING CROATIAN GENERALS THERE. HSP VICE-PRES DAPIC MAINTAINED THAT HSP

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CONTINUED TO RESPECT COMMAND OF CHIEF OF STAFF OF CROATIAN ARMY:  
QUOTE TODAY HOS OPERATES MAINLY IN B-H, WHILE REST HAS LONG BEEN  
INCORPORATED INTO HV UNQUOTE.

5. IN SEVERAL PREVIOUS TRIALS OF STRENGTH, PARAGA HAS BEEN ABLE TO  
STARE GOVT DOWN, NOT/NOT LEAST BY CREDIBLY THREATENING ARMED  
RESISTANCE. IF THIS CASE DOES NOT/NOT PROCEED TO TRIAL, CREDIBILITY  
OF GOVT AND RULE OF LAW IN CROATIA WILL BE COMPROMISED.

6. DECISION TO PRESS CHARGES CAN HARDLY BE UNRELATED TO IMPENDING  
ELECTION, AND THERE ARE SIGNS OF DIVISION WITHIN HSP. VJESNIK  
REPORTED 26JUN THAT PART OF MEMBERSHIP HAD RESIGNED FROM HSP TO FORM  
NEW PARTY QUOTE CROATIA PARTY OF RIGHTS - DR ANTE STARCEVIC UNQUOTE,  
WHICH HAS APPLIED FOR SEPARATE REGISTRATION AS POLITICAL PARTY.  
BREAKAWAY PARTY IS LED BY ONE KRESIMIR PAVELIC.

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---CROATIA AND BOSNA-HERCEGOVINA

FOLLOWING, IN CASE YOU HAVE NOT RECEIVED IT FROM OTHER SOURCES, IS TEXT OF STATEMENT ISSUED BY CROATIAN GOVT 08JUN. YOUR ATTN DRAWN TO PARA 4/4, WHICH CITES ATTACKS ON CROATIAN TERRITORY FROM B-H AS NECESSITATING PLANNING OF JOINT DEFENCE WITH B-H.

2.FORMIN CHEF DE CABINET KOMBOL TOLD ME TODAY THAT DECISION TO ISSUE STATEMENT HAD BEEN TAKEN RESPONSE TO REPRESENTATIONS BY CDA, ESPECIALLY IN CONTEXT OF HOMS MTG WITH FORMIN SEPAROVIC, FOLLOWED BY SIMILAR APPROACHES BY REPS OF OTHER CTRIES.

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STATEMENT  
BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

At its session of June 8, 1992 the Government of the Republic of Croatia considered the situation in Croatia after the adoption of the UN Security Council Resolution 757 in connection with the continuation and increasing intensity of the aggression by the "Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" (Serbia and Montenegro) against Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Government reached the following conclusions:

1. The Croatian Government repeatedly urges the UN Security Council and other competent international institutions and organizations to demand an immediate stop of aggression against Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, by threatening with military intervention. Despite of economic sanctions the aggression by Serbia and Montenegro is not decreasing but it is intensifying by total destruction of Sarajevo and many other towns and places, while the lives of tens of thousands of people are being directly endangered.

2. The Croatian Government insisted repeatedly last year that heavy weaponry and other armaments of the former Yugoslav People's Army be put under international control. Referring to the former ultimatums and demands made by the international community to Croatia to let the heavy weaponry from the YU-Army barracks be transferred to Bosnia-Herzegovina, we tried to prove that concentration of armaments and large military power under the Serbian control would lead to war and destruction in that country. This proved true and the international community has become even more responsible to prevent further destruction and numerous victims in Bosnia-Herzegovina. There is no justification for the hesitation in implementing effective measures, including military intervention, in order to save thousands of people in Sarajevo and other places which the criminal invader condemned to death.

3. The Government also states that Croatia has received over 270,000 refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina within the last two months, and continues to undertake everything to receive and accommodate additional tens of thousands of people. The Government also states that the international community's help is insufficient and Croatia cannot cope with the problems of refugees and exiles.

4. The Croatian Government is obliged to protect the lives of its citizens, the territorial integrity of the Republic and to prevent further destruction of its villages and towns as Dubrovnik, Slavonski Brod, Zadar and many others. The territory of Croatia is being attacked from the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro by the Serbian and Montenegrin aggressor and it is therefor necessary to plan a joint defense with Bosnia-Herzegovina.

SEP 1 1992

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5. *The Croatian Government reiterates that it wants peace and an end of war. It calls again on the rebellious part of the Serbian population in Croatia to lay down the arms in order to create conditions for ending the war destruction, and by introducing peace, order and work in the occupied Croatian territory, enable political solution of all problems in a peaceful way.*

6. *The Government of the Republic of Croatia reiterates that it accepts wholly the decisions of the UN Security Council and expresses its readiness to contribute to the end of war and to a peaceful solution of all problems in compliance with the views of the UN Security Council, the CSCE and the Brussels Conference.*

*The Croatian Government is undertaking necessary measures in order to implement fully the decisions of the UN Security Council and it will soon inform in this connection the UN Security Council and the international public in a separate report.*

*Zagreb, June 8, 1992*

*Dr. Franjo Gregurić  
Prime Minister*

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---CROATIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT (HOP)

SUMMARY: HOP, DEVOTED TO MAINTAINING LEGACY OF ANTE PAVELIC AND

USTASI MOVEMENT HAS REGISTERED AS POLITICAL PARTY IN CROATIA, WITH  
CHAPTERS IN ZAGREB, SPLIT, ZADAR AND VARAZDIN. NUMBERS OF ADHERENTS  
ARE NOT/NOT KNOWN, BUT WOULD APPEAR TO BE SMALL, WITH HIGH  
PROPORTION OF ELDERLY MEMBERS OF NDH REGIME. PARTY MAINTAINS THAT  
IT WILL ACT WITHIN THE LAW.

2.REPORT: CROATIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT (HRVATSKI OSLOBODILACKI  
POKRET - HOP), FOUNDED IN ARGENTINA IN 1956 BY FORMER LEADER OF  
QUISLING WW2 NDH REGIME ANTE PAVELIC, HAS QUIETLY RE-ESTABLISHED  
ITSELF IN CROATIA. FOUNDING CTTEE FIRST MET 09OCT91 IN SMALL  
VILLAGE NEAR ZAGREB, AND PARTY WAS OFFICIALLY REGISTERED 18FEB92,  
CROATIA'S 54TH POLITICAL PARTY. PARTY PRES IS VJEKOSLAV MATIJEVIC,

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VICE PRESIDENTS ARE ZVONIMIR PUTICA AND KRUNOSLAV BENCIC.

3. PAVELIC WAS NOT/NOT MENTIONED IN PARTY'S APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION. PARTY LEADERS HAVE MAINTAINED IN MEDIA INTERVIEWS THAT CROATIAN HOP IS INDEPENDENT OF EMIGRE ORGANISATIONS WHICH WILL CONTINUE TO OPERATE, ALTHOUGH THEY AIM AT COOPERATION AS BETWEEN CO-EQUALS AND, OF COURSE FOR FINANCIAL SUPPORT. PARTY HAS NOT/NOT YET ACQUIRED OFFICE SPACE, NOT/NOT KNOWING WHETHER EVENTUAL MEMBERSHIP WILL JUSTIFY WHOLE BUILDING OR JUST A ROOM. PUTICA MAINTAINED IN MEDIA INTERVIEW THAT YOUNG PEOPLE AS WELL AS ELDERLY, WERE JOINING.

4. FROM WHOM DOES CROATIA NEED TO BE LIBERATED? FROM CHAMELEONS, TURNCOATS AND PARACHUTISTS, ACCORDING TO ONE EMIGRE PARTY CIRCULAR. DOMESTIC PARTY PROGRAM IS DEVOTED TO CROATIAN STATE ON QUOTE ENTIRE HISTORIC AND ETHNIC TERRITORY UNQUOTE, MADE UP OF TWO ALLIED STATES OR ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS (PROGRAM FAILS TO DISTINGUISH) CROATIA AND B-H. WITHIN THIS TERRITORY, CROATIAN NATION WOULD BE UNITED. THERE ARE FEW IF ANY BASIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HOP AND PARTY OF RIGHT(S) PROGRAM.

5. ACCORDING TO HOP WORLD PRESIDENT SRECKO PSENICNIK (INTERVIEWED IN GLOBUS 22MAY, TOGETHER WITH HIS MOTHER-IN-LAW MIRJANA PSENICNIK, PAVELIC'S YOUNGEST DAUGHTER), HOP WOULD ENGAGE IN POLITICAL LIFE OF CROATIA IN FULL RESPECT OF EXISTING LEGAL FRAMEWORK.

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---CROATIA: NEW FOREIGN MINISTER

DR ZDENKO SKRABALO (PRONOUNCED SHKRABALO) IS NEITHER A CAREER

DIPLOMAT NOR A MEMBER OF ANY POLITICAL PARTY. HIS DIPLOMATIC

SUCCESS APPEARS TO BE DUE TO HIS HAVING BECOME A WORLD AUTHORITY

ON DIABETES. AS SUCH, HE HAS SERVED AS VISITING PROFESSOR AT

MEDICAL FACULTIES OF HAMBURG, FRANKFURT/MAIN, BOSTON, DACCA, LA

VALLETTA, HENAN; LECTURED VIRTUALLY ALL EUROPEAN CTRIES AS WELL AS

USA, CDA, SOUTH AMERICA, AFRICA AND ASIA.

2.THIS EXTENSIVE EXPERIENCE IN INTERNATL ACADEMIC AND MEDICAL

RELATIONS LED TO INVOLVEMENT IN WHO AND THENCE IN OTHER

MULTILATERAL SPECIALISED AGENCIES. AFTER INDEPENDENCE, HE WAS

LOGICAL CHOICE AS DEPTY MIN OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (ADM EQUIVALENT)

FOR MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS.

3.SKRABALO APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN DRAWN INTO GOVT THROUGH CLOSE

ASSOCIATION WITH DEPTY PM GRANIC, WHOSE MEDICAL TRAINING HE

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SUPERVISED. GRANIC APPARENTLY TURNED DOWN FOREIGN AFFAIRS POST  
SEVERAL TIMES AND, ACCORDING TO RUMOUR, SUGGESTED SKRABALO, WHO  
ACTUALLY HAD CREDENTIALS IN HAND AS CROATIAS FIRST AMB TO  
SWITZERLAND AND PERMREP TO UN/GENEVA.

4.CV BY FAX TO OTT ADDRESSEES ONLY.

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---CROATIA: TUDJMAN INTERVIEW

PRES TUDJMAN HAS GIVEN ANOTHER LENGTHY INTERVIEW TO A LOCAL NEWSPAPER, THIS TIME THE MORE CRITICAL AND OPPOSITION-ORIENTED "SLOBODNA DALMACIJA". AMONG THE MORE IMPORTANT SUBJECTS COVERED ARE THE POSSIBILITY OF A CONFEDERATION BETWEEN CROATIA AND BOSNA-HERCEGOVINA, PROTECTION OF MINORITY RIGHTS, FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, AND PROSPECTS FOR THE FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS. AT ONE POINT, TUDJMAN STATES THAT HE WOULD GLADLY STEP DOWN AS PRESIDENT, BUT CANNOT FIND A SUITABLE REPLACEMENT.

2.FOLLOWING IS TRANSLATION.

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NEDJELNJA DALMACIJA 10JUN92

INTERVIEW/ With President of the Republic of Croatia,  
Dr. Franjo Tudjman

<<GO ON, TELL ME WHO WOULD BE ABLE TO TAKE OVER THE STATE!>>

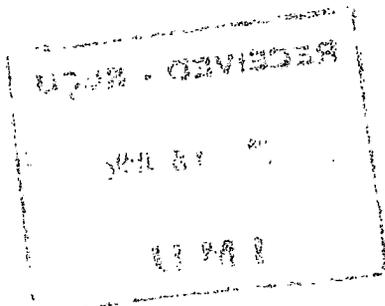
IF THERE EXISTS SOMEONE SERIOUS, I WOULD GLADLY BE HIS COUNSELLOR,  
OR EVEN MORE GLADLY GO BACK TO MY UNFINISHED MANUSCRIPTS AND  
JOURNALS WHICH AWAIT ME. THAT DOESN'T MEAN THAT SUCH A PERSON WON'T  
APPEAR TOMORROW, BUT I DON'T SEE HIM TODAY.

JOSIP JOVIC

Croatia after independence and headed towards peace. Croatia on the  
eve of elections and beginning to build a new society and new  
associations. That is the framework of our conversation with Dr.  
Franjo Tudjman, President of the Republic, which lasted over two  
hours of a peaceful Sunday afternoon in the Villa "Zagorje".  
Acceptance into the United Nations was in every way the culmination  
of the Croatian people and the political leadership during the past  
two years on the level of the international affirmation of our  
country. Nevertheless, even this "absolution" question could not be  
passed over.

- We did everything in order to achieve this, and consequently  
Croatia's entry into the UN was expected, but objectively speaking,  
few would have estimated that it could come to this so quickly. Two  
facts were decisive. Croatia had successfully defended itself  
against the communist, Yugoslav army and Serb terrorism. The  
greatest military strategists, from Europe to America, were  
surprised. They didn't estimate that we would be able to withstand  
and resist such technical superiority as the adversary possessed.  
On the other hand, although the policy of an independent Croatia  
didn't suit foreign circles, they were surprised by our principled  
and consistent foreign policy, so that in the end they were  
convinced that they had no alternative but to accept that same  
Croatia, which had demonstrated its vitality, which had the  
confidence of the people, and which proposed solutions by which war  
could have been avoided. Even those who had not been in favour  
accepted. Our assurances that we would continue to cooperate with  
the states which were established on the territory of former  
Yugoslavia, were of importance.

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Sun 14 Jun 1992 10:32:26

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Page 3/14

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NOTHING NEW FOR ME  
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- In all this, how important were any contacts which you had with world statesmen, far from the public eye?

- I think that they were very important. In such meetings we vigorously rejected hypotheses that were imposed on us, that this Croatia was a continuation of the NDH, that an order was being established which threatened minorities, etc. Little by little, we obtained the confidence of individual countries and important personalities. For a long time world powers gave open support to Markovic, Loncar and those reformist forces. Our confederal proposal reminded many of the North-South relationship. In the end, we gained the confidence of people who were the personal friends of those who had other ideas. Genscher and Loncar, let me recall, were personal friends.

- Would you blame yourself for any mistakes in all this, anything which you could have done better, or faster?

- In the strategic sense, certainly not. Since 1967 I had been banished from public life, either in prison or under house arrest, and everything that I thought about and wrote about was directed toward that which we have today. Please, read my book on the national question in Europe, where I take the position that the time is coming to create a United States of Europe, that is a period of increasing integration for the world, and also of national individualisation. I have followed this policy to its conclusion and for me none of this, in principle, is new. In the same way, in the final chapter of "Trackless Country" I wrote how much all the antagonisms of 1918 had arisen, not only between the Serb and Croat states, but between the two peoples, and that the time had to come when these antagonisms would be overcome and a normal interaction be established between the two neighbouring nations. I have constantly cited as an example the Scandinavian peoples who have quarrelled when they weren't separated. A similar example is France and Germany, who have fought two world wars, but in new circumstances now that they have seen that neither could establish its hegemony, today those two countries are the basis of European cooperation and security.

- That is certainly so from the strategic viewpoint. But how can you talk of living together and cooperating with the Serbs when such a bloody and savage war is being conducted on the territory of Croatia and Bosna-Hercegovina?

...3

Sun 14 Jun 1992 10:33:29

CANMIS ZAGRB (38-41)425-181

Page 4/14

-3-

- Unfortunately, we could not avoid this war, but from my side I have done everything to avoid it or - when it had already come to war - to alleviate it. And after the war we will have to talk.

- Precisely in connection with that, some of your talks were certainly unpopular and considered to be missteps?

- I know that, I know that some of my initiatives encountered a lack of public understanding. But I have consciously taken such risks. I often return to my conversations with Milosevic and Kadijevic. But we simply weren't able, empty-handed, to resist. We forget how just a year ago, along with all their superiority, the army was communist, how they ideologues were writing evaluations that the victory of democracy was temporary. In any agreement with the Soviet generals, and Markovic has confirmed this, they were prepared for an armed restoration of reinforcement of the communist order. And that which is most often forgotten - the Serbs imperialistic plans corresponded partly with the army's interests, and partly did not, and partly were even in opposition. And that was the card I played. With that gambit, albeit on a small dissension and disagreement, I was able to prevent - in the conditions of Autumn 90 and Spring 91, when Croatia still wasn't ready for war - when even Zagreb or Split could have suffered what is happening to Sarajevo, and at the same time preparing for everything that was awaiting us and convincing world opinion of what it was all about.

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I AM NOT COMPLETELY SATISFIED WITH UNPROFOR  
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- One could often hear remarks about the naivete of such policies of yours.

- Well, I think they might stand only if they completely misunderstood everything I've been talking about.

- Several times, you have repeated "the war is over", and there - as we see - the war still continues.

- First they attacked me because I said there would be no war. Well, clearly. In playing the card of disunifying Serb and Army policy, I emphasised how Croatia didn't want war and how there wouldn't be a war. By that we succeeded in preventing a single, general war, and in ensuring that the army didn't enter into a general offensive against Croatia, but exerted pressure by supporting insurrection. Later, when they had refrained from a

...4

Sun 14 Jun 1992 10:34:29

CANMIS ZAGRB (38-41)425-181

Page 5/14

-4-

general offensive, when they had signed a truce, when they had been defeated, when three-fifths of Croatia had been completely liberated, then it was truly possible to say that the war was over. Rockets had been targeted on Zagreb, Rijeka, Sisak. They adversary had been in a position, had we not conducted the internal and foreign policies we did, to strike us a terrible blow. Just as they destroyed Uukovar and Gospic, they could have destroyed all vital buildings and cities. When we prevented them from militarily occupying all the territory they wanted, when they began to withdraw, and when we had the international public on our side, the war was over. But that doesn't mean that we underestimate what is happening on the territory of Baranja, Dubrovnik, Drnis, Sinj, Zadar and the suffering of our people. We are doing everything to minimise the sacrifice, to ensure that all our territory will be liberated as soon as possible.

- Are you satisfied with the engagement of the forces of UNPROFOR, and did we really need them?

- I'm not completely satisfied, but it is necessary to understand that months are needed for the real engagement of peacekeeping forces. There are members of various nations, from Kenyans to Canadians, and Nigerians to Russians. And something else: for it to come at all to the engagement of peace forces, Yugoslavia's agreement was necessary, which then still existed and is still internationally recognised, and Croatia was not. Everything that we did was destructive of Yugoslavia, and that constituted a violation of the international order, and that is what even the most serious part of the public doesn't understand. Therefore, on the one hand you have to destroy Yugoslavia, but still defend the order. So we said: all right - Yugoslavia, but confederal. Well, when that didn't work we proceeded to the referendum which was necessary for us to legitimise our demands before the international public, which would not seek any further explanations. And at the meeting of opposition parties they said: why do we need a referendum, we have the Constitution and similar things. We didn't want to break out of Yugoslavia by force, rather we wanted to make a constructive contribution to the resolution of the crisis, and demonstrate the will of the Croatian people, which the world in the end had to accept. Had we not followed such a policy we would have been condemned.

- We still aren't clear whether it was necessary to allow the army to withdraw all their weaponry, with which they then attacked us, or proceed to confiscate it.

- That is the same question. On one hand, we were not yet ready

...5

-5-

to win, and on the other hand we would have been proclaimed aggressors in our own country.

- Local self-government for Serbs in Croatia, in the eyes of the world, is also a constructive contribution to the resolution of the problem.

- In every way.

- However, on the one hand that will not satisfy the Serbs, they will even find it hard to accept, and on the other hand it will provoke dissatisfaction among the Croats in those "kotari" [counties].

- Acceptance of international conventions on the protection of minorities and ethnic communities was one of the preconditions for the recognition of Croatia. In this way the international community brought the Serbs in Croatia to the point of accepting the status of a minority, something that did not suit Belgrade's policy. Objectively, the position of Serbs has already changed since the election, and particularly since this aggressive war in which only some of the Serbs were deceived, and some were able to imagine a different situation than one with special rights. With the departure of the Yugoslav army, with the downfall of the idea of a great Serbia, objectively, regardless of the rules, Serbs can't count on what they once had, they can't count on a privileged status. We are giving the Serbs the opportunity of a life with equal rights and all ethnic rights according to the norms of the civilised world. No more and no less than that! And as for the Croats in those areas, well, please, how could their position be threatened in an independent and sovereign Croatia? There is still something that is not completely certain. Every Croat must be returned to his hearth, and the question is will that Serbian extremist want to return, who has killed, pillaged his Croat neighbour and burned his house. Certainly he won't be able to return, even if he wanted to! War crimes have no statute of limitations. This has to be kept in mind: we did not accept the item on continuing demilitarisation of those territories. Tomorrow we will have our army in Knin. All that area must, in accordance with our geopolitical position, undergo a demographic renewal. Knin is a key point between Dalmatian and Pannonian Croatia, and there we can never again allow any kind of uncertainty, that we might again find ourselves with another Babic or Martić. That has been understood in the world, and they therefore desisted from there proposal for continuing demilitarisation.

...6

-6-

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CANTONISATION OR CONFEDERATION  
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- There is a continuing danger that Serbs in Croatia will still be used by Serbia for its imperial ends.

- Serbia, in the circumstances when it had an army and we didn't, and when it had Yugoslavia, did not succeed in imposing its will on us, so I don't know how it could do so in future. We have to rely on even it in the end accepting reality. Even before the war in meetings with leaders of former Yugoslav republics, I remember especially the one in Split with Milosevic and Izetbegovic, I spoke about how the time had come to solve our problems peacefully, regardless of how complicated they were. It was better, I maintained, to solve problems by fixing boundaries and with voluntary resettlement rather than with expulsions and barbaric annihilation. I will tell you that in those talks the Serb representatives had no counter-arguments. It would be realistic for Serbs who will not accept Croatia as their state freely to depart for their motherland. Now even Serbs will have to inscribe themselves as Croats, in the citizenship sense.

- We could talk that way before the war, but now?

- Now conditions are being created for just such talks, and they are even better conditions, because the Serbian imperial policy is destroyed and Serbs in Croatia don't have much choice. In all these areas the communications, military, legal and financial order of the Republic of Croatia will be established, the number of Serbs will be significantly less, we will guarantee them all civil and collective rights, but no one will be able to call the state of Croatia into question again. Anyone who does not accept that - will have to go to another country.

- In that context, how do you see the untying of the Bosnian knot?

- What is happening in Bosna-Hercegovina is also proof of the rightness of our policy. In a sense it is the problem of Yugoslavia in miniature, and can maintain itself as a stable state only under conditions of cantonisation or confederalisation. Unfortunately, many positions there are still not clear. From one sector of Muslim politics we now hear of "parliamentary democracy" and the "market" as the answer to all questions, the same as we earlier heard from Belgrade. Either Bosna-Hercegovina will organise itself to

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-7-

guarantee all national rights on a certain territory with three nations, or it will not be. The Serbs have already taken their territory, over which the central government has no influence. The Croat nation has to break away from its subordinate position. At the time of creation of the unified state, Croats were 24 per cent, many Muslims considered themselves Croats, today many fewer. When it is said that Croats and Muslims are natural allies, that is true to a certain extent, in the sense of a common language, common economic interests and common defence. But we can't foresee a systematic weakening of Croatian ethnicity, which is inescapable in the context of some unitary Bosnia, and in the near future would be a threat even to southern Croatia. We hope for such a solution as will not provoke constant convulsions.

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AMERICA IS NERVOUS  
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- Do you then stand behind those negotiations in Graz or those in Split, and do you in any case stand behind them?

- I stand behind both the ones and the others. Because they are not in opposition, as is commonly thought. The talks in Graz were conducted by Serb and Croat representatives on the basis of the Lisbon conclusions. Cutiliero suggested bilateral negotiations. They were directed primarily toward stopping the war. The Croatian side is still in a weak position there, although much better than Croatia was at the beginning of the war. The main goal of the negotiations was to halt further sacrifices and also eventually to remove any reasons for fighting. I will tell you something about which it is high time something was written. The Croats in the Bosnian basin, when the Serbs declared their "republic", wanted to join Croatia. In the interests of the policy which we are conducting, and which above all means the realisation of the interests of Croatia and the Croatian people, always with the support of international policy and principles - refused.

- The Split negotiations?

- Why, we accept a confederation between Croatia and Bosna-Hercegovina which would secure Croatian rights and lead toward a stop to the war and a lasting solution. We don't get drunk on the idea of borders on the Drina. If someone gave Croatia such a border, there we would have two million Serbs and two million Muslims, and we would still have to spend all our energy solving national problems. We want the Croatian people to be sovereign on their own territory, and we want good, normal relations with all neighbours.

...8

Sun 14 Jun 1992 10:38:43

CANMIS ZAGRB (38-41)425-181

Page 9/14

-8-

- What new would have to come out of your meeting with Mr. Izetbegovic?

- I have always been for cooperation. We need to organise a common defence, there are the problems of refugees, the currency that Bosna-Hercegovina hasn't got, and ours is used in certain areas, there was a request for citizens of Bosna-Hercegovina to use our diplomatic representations, etc. In the past there was a contradictory position held by some Bosno-Hercegovinian politicians, avoiding naming the aggressor, even equalising guilt, closing their eyes to the suffering of Croats in Ravno, and similar things. But that is changing now. received with satisfaction the latest statement of President Izetbegovic, in which he unambiguously said that Croatian Defence Council (HVO) fighters were fighting for their homeland, that they were defending the state of Bosna-Hercegovina, and that between the HVO and TO as far as goals and methods were concerned, there were no differences. Just with this the reproaches to the Croatian side in Boutros-Ghali's report fall away. That is now a good basis for cooperation and negotiation. It would be wise, we should now address the merits of the case in which the main role would again be played by the international factor.

- It does not seem that any kind of Bosna-Hercegovina suits the Serbs, and the world, if it wants to maintain that state, will have to intervene militarily and halt the Serbian policy of conquest, which would be hard to stop even in Bosnia, where they want to conquer and annex a part of the country.

- Serbia has already had enough lessons to make it abandon some of its expansionist goals. It has abandoned Croatia, destroyed Bihac, Tuzla, Sarajevo, Mostar, and if it wanted to conquer those places, it shouldn't have destroyed them. America has changed its view of the Balkans and has decided to stand behind Bosna-Hercegovina. Apart from that, it is already rather nervous. Thus, even intervention is not excluded. On the one hand, alteration of borders by force is impermissible, because that would provoke general tumult. Its necessary to curb Serbian appetites, but on the other hand, its necessary to find a solution acceptable to all, including the 1.5 million Serbs who live in B-H, without any kind of supremacy. Croatia, I say again, has only the ambition of protecting the position and rights of Croats, without any kind of imperial plans. We are not, furthermore, narrow, we don't consider just our own interests.

...9

-9-

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ON THE COUNCIL, GOVERNMENT, ADVISORS AND PERSONAL POWER  
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- Now lets return to a few questions about Croatia. In Croatia's struggle for independence and peace we have emphasised the role of the president, you personally. Tomorrow its a struggle for building the economy, democracy, trade relations. Doesn't that require a different, smaller role for the president?

- Not much less than today. Look at the world. Twaddle about the exaggerated role of the president is the commonest thing. The position of the President is ordinarily that of the person at the head of the state. It generally appears that where it is necessary to resolve great questions there is established a presidential system. Cossiga walked out saying that it was necessary to consider a requirement that the president not have just formal powers. Take the French example, the American, the Russian, the Ukrainian. Everywhere there is a tendency toward presidential systems. Depending on circumstances and personalities. And even where there is a pure parliamentary system, as in Britain, Margaret Thatcher kept everything in her own hands. Where they are prisoners of a parliamentary system things get paralysed, as for example in Poland, which with its 29 parties in Parliament is unable to pass certain important economic reforms. There is no music without good orchestration, without a conductor, who knows how to choose musicians. That's how it has been, and will be.

- There is an impression that the greatest power is concentrated in bodies like the Supreme State Council, advisory ones, or more recently the Council for Strategic Development, instead of the Government or Parliament.

- Go on, name the presidents of the parliaments of the countries of Europe!

- Domljan...

- Well there, go on, please. Parliaments are representative bodies where they consider legislation and the budget. Advisers? Stupidities, as many as they are. It's written that there are more than thirty, when there are no more than ten, and of those ten no more than three are counsellors in the true sense. The State Council is composed of representatives of the Government and Sabor so I can coordinate the work of all those institutions, and so I can get their thinking about certain decisions which I have to take as President. The Council for Strategic Development has no other

...10

Sun 14 Jun 1992 10:40:49

CANMIS ZAGRB (38-41)425-181

Page 11/14

-10-

role than to concern itself with the strategy of development by applying some intellectual energy to it. If only I had institutions that dealt with this?! Some are still the spawn of communist and Yugo-unitary approaches. In the Council there are assembled people in their prime, of various field of expertise, to consider and to debate how to conceive of development. There is nothing to prevent us from creating a country of progress and democracy, but that won't fall from heaven. The Council can only assist the Government so that it, dealing with daily problems, can also take practical decisions within the framework of a long-term vision.

- I think that personnel changes occur too often within the Government, which causes public confusion and probably insecurity to certain office-holders.

- There are not. Take France and Italy. What are they doing there? When we came to power we had to inherit some of the old personnel. Because new people for the police, army and now diplomacy can't be created overnight. There were also political reasons. We conducted a policy of anti-revanchism in order to avoid unnecessary friction, but even that led to other difficulties. Maybe we would have had fewer problems in some places if we had decided to clear out certain structures immediately in stead of gradually. Many were vital for us.

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SEKS DIDN'T ASK ME  
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- You have proclaimed the idea of national reconciliation. Today there is a new threat of national disunification.

- All that I know of Croatian history has driven me to this idea. Starcevic relied too much on the intellectuals, Radic went in the opposite direction, with the populist movement, Pavelic clashed with the leftists and even with members of the Peasant Party, and completely excluded the communists. We adapted this idea to state policy after the elections. We didn't just take HDZ members into the Government. Thanks to this idea, we successfully attained what we set out to achieve, albeit with difficulties of other kinds. Because of this program there was little scope left for opposition parties, who have no program in either the social or state sense, and who thus do everything in pure opposition, opposition for opposition's sake, adopting that style that we see in "Slobodni Tjednik", "Globus", "Danas", your own "Slobodna Dalmacija". What is that? A remnant of the old, and engagement in a policy which objectively aims at bringing down the HDZ, bringing down Tudjman,

...11

-11-

that is our policies. That means that the policy of an independent Croatia didn't agree with them, but rather something else. Fortunately, they use the public communications media, and can only make a loud noise, but in reality it's a narrow, very narrow group that has no support either among the people or the intelligentsia.

- Do you think that the HDZ will get fewer votes in the next elections than in the last ones?

- The HDZ will get more votes. All the rest together won't get thirty per cent. And that without regard to all the weaknesses of the HDZ. But the HDZ with its program has made it possible to bring everything together. Where were they, what did they offer? And the people know it all well!

- How would you take losing the presidential elections?

- I am prepared to accept the will of the people. I am somewhat guilty or deserving because of the Croatian state. All my life I promoted the idea. I was invited to join the university, but I knew that I had to stay with my people to the end, with their vision and will, and only there, with the people, could something be created. Outside, one could only be some kind of Djilas. On that point, I am at peace. But go on, tell me, who could take over the state, if there is someone serious I would gladly be his counsellor, or even more gladly go back to my unfinished manuscripts and daily journals which await me. That doesn't mean that such a person won't appear tomorrow, but I don't see him today.

- Many are aggravated by your political style: the airplane, this villa, the ceremonial...

- As if I needed it! These are the normal things by which a state represents itself. Tomorrow, someone else will fly in that plane, someone else will sit in this place. Nowhere does the president of a state travel on ordinary airlines, or sit in any old office. All this has a certain political function. They say - Tadjman plays tennis, as if that were proof of I don't know what. And for years, once a week I have exercised my physical and mental health. It doesn't bother anyone when Bush jogs, for example.

- The prosecutor, in connection with yourself as president, has lodge three accusations. One because of slander (Paraga), the other two because of insult ("Feral Tribune", Torbarina). Did he ask you before he decided on this?

- He did not ask me, just as they didn't ask me when they let Arkan go. I wouldn't have allowed it, even though they have attributed it to me.

...12

Sun 14 Jun 1992 10:42:55

CANMIS ZAGRB (38-41)425-181

Page 13/14

-12-

- And would you, as a citizen, have lodged these accusations?

- I don't have the time to follow everything that is written or said. But you as a journalist know that even in the most democratic countries one pays heavily for lies and slander, and that newspapers can even fail because of it.

- Your relations with the Matica Hrvatska have cooled somewhat?

- Not in any case! My relations with many people in the Matica are excellent, and cooperation with many of them is excellent. At my birthday party there were three vice-presidents of the Literary Society. The only thing is that at the head of the MH there sits a man who has different views on the creation of a state and development of democracy.

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WE WILL DECIDE  
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- And relations with the Academy?

- I don't know where you get that. Some one wrote that I had been Bakarić's candidate for the Academy. No, I was the candidate of Krleža's circle in 1965 and Ranković forbade my joining. Bakarić had been accusing me of nationalism and in 1967 he wrote that I had created a spiritual climate in which a Declaration was possible. Recently there was a renewed proposal to accept me into the Academy. I said no, because that would have meant that the membership had selected me only because I was president. Apart from that - maybe this has become public - they came to me in February from the Presidency of the Academy with the idea of organising a large symposium on the theme "What sort of Croatia do we want?" with some 500 participants. As speakers they had in mind people from abroad, or from countries who had no role in the creation of an independent Croatia, or who were quite simply critical of the idea. I said: whatever Croatia we want, we who have created it will decide, with all the intellectual force of the people. Such a position was also adopted by the Presidency. I am in favour of pluralism and reconciliation, but I am principled and decided when I think that vital Croatian interests are concerned. In all my deliberations and historical research I have experienced the Croatian tragedy, as well as in my own personal experience. The first thing I remember from my childhood is that the gendarmes took my father away to prison after the elections.

- Does the thought ever occur to you that things might be returning to their old patterns, and that this Croatian reality might only be a dream?

...13

Sun 14 Jun 1992 10:43:57

CANMIS ZAGRB (38-41)425-181

Page 14/14

-13-

- I don't believe that. Such are the historical circumstances. We have suffered and sacrificed so much in order to become what we are. And we have endured the worst: military aggression, an attempted coup, we had against us organised diplomatic channels and internal enemy propaganda. The Croatian nation has matured, has passed through communism, Yugo-integralism, and autonomism, and can certainly overcome the problems of building a democratic society when we have already arrived at the position of deciding alone on our own destiny. And what is the ideal order? The Croatian nation has withstood, in spite of everything. We have a rarely beautiful and rich country and why, when we are already our own masters, should we not create prosperity. Milk and honey won't flow by themselves. And we have gone through the war without shortages. That is the result of organised policy, but also the vitality of our people both here and abroad. Let us recognise that the HDZ created this unity of the Croatian people on all continents, and now some want to rupture it by means of some sort of world masonry, so that someone else would again rule on our territory. But that which we have created is so deeply rooted and has acquired such a strong foundation that we need not worry. That which is to come is still the easiest part of the job!



PAGE TWO QLGR0169 UNCLAS

HER OFFICE IN SYNAGOGUE ON ZUDIOSKA ULICA IN OLD CITY. BECAUSE OF CONTINUING BOMBARDMENTS AND STATE OF ALERT WINDOWS WERE SHUTTERED AND, DUE TO LACK OF ELECTRICITY, OFFICE WAS DARK EXCEPT FOR LIGHT OF THREE CANDLES AND ONE BATTERY LANTERN. CONVERSATION WAS REPEATEDLY INTERRUPTED BY ARTILLERY EXCHANGE, ONE SIDE OF WHICH WAS BEING CARRIED ON FROM RATHER CLOSE BY.

4.ACCORDING TO FERRARA, FEDERAL JEWISH COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION OF YUGOSLAVIA HAD REPRESENTED SMALLER COMMUNITIES LIKE DUBROVNIK SINCE WW2. RELATIONSHIP WITH BGRAD HAD BEEN POSITIVE AND COOPERATIVE. UNDER PREVIOUS REGIME, JEWISH COMMUNITY AS SUCH HAD NOT/NOT PLAYED ACTIVE POLITICAL ROLE. IN PRESENT SITUATION, HOWEVER, IT HAD BECOME IMPOSSIBLE FOR BGRAD ORGANISATION TO REPRESENT COMMUNITIES IN CROATIA AND SLOVENIA. ZAGREB ASSOCIATION, IN MOVE WHICH DID NOT/NOT PLEASE BGRAD ORGANISATION, OFFERED TO ASSUME THIS ROLE. COMMUNITIES EITHER ACCEPTED OR DECLINED ON INDIVIDUAL BASIS; DUBROVNIK COMMUNITY ACCEPTED AFTER SOME DEBATE.

5.ACCORDING TO FERRARA, RELATIONS WITH GENTILES IN DUBROVNIK ARE GOOD, WITH LITTLE EVIDENCE OF OVERT ANTI-SEMITISM. COOPERATION WITH LOCAL GOVT IS EXCELLENT. EG ROOF OF 14TH-CENTURY SYNAGOGUE, DAMAGED IN BOMBARDMENTS IN AUTUMN 91, WAS REPAIRED WITHIN 3/3 DAYS. PRICELESS ARTIFACTS IN SYNAGOGUE ARE THERE NOW THANKS TO CROATS WHO TOOK THEM INTO SAFEKEEPING DURING WW2 AT RISK TO THEMSELVES.

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PAGE THREE QLGR0169 UNCLAS

6. FERRARA IS A CONCENTRATION CAMP SURVIVOR. DURING ITALIAN OCCUPATION, JEWS WERE FIRST INTERNED AT GRUZ (POSSIBLY, ACCORDING TO FERRARA, IN ATTEMPT TO PROTECT THEM) UNTIL ITALIAN OCCUPIERS, UNDER GERMAN PRESSURE, TRANSFERRED PRISONERS TO CONCENTRATION CAMP ON ISLAND OF RAB. THEY WERE RELEASED AFTER CAPITULATION OF ITALY; THOSE CAPABLE OF FIGHTING JOINED WAR EFFORT, BUT AGED, WOMEN AND CHILDREN WERE SUBSEQUENTLY CAPTURED BY GERMANS AND SENT TO CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN GERMANY AND POLAND. PRE-WAR JEWISH POPULATION IN DUBROVNIK WAS APPROX 200/200; THERE WOULD NOW BE FEWER THAN 50/50.

7. FERRARA DESCRIBED HOLOCAUST AS HISTORICAL FACT WHICH OCCURRED 50/50 YRS AGO. GERMANS HAD BEEN FORGIVEN, AND EVEN IN CROATIA IT WAS NECESSARY TO KNOW WHEN TO WRITE QUOTE THE END UNQUOTE. ALTHOUGH CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION WAS BEING PAID TO CRIMES OF NDH REGIME, THERE WAS LITTLE MENTION OF CONCENTRATION CAMPS WHICH HAD BEEN OPERATED IN SERBIA BY COLLABORATIONIST REGIME THERE. APPROX 700/700 THOUSAND PEOPLE HAD BEEN KILLED FOR OPPOSITION TO NDH REGIME; THERE HAD BEEN ONLY 75/75 THOUSAND JEWS IN PRE-WAR YUGOSLAVIA (OF WHOM 60/60 THOUSAND DIED).

8. ON ATTITUDE OF CURRENT GOVT, FERRARA HELD TUDJMAN ACCOUNTABLE FOR SEVERAL QUOTE GAFFES UNQUOTE: VICTIMS OF FASCISM SQUARE RENAMED SQUARE OF GREAT CROATS (THIS WAS OPPOSED BY BOTH JEWS AND NON-JEWS); AND ONE OF HIS BOOKS QUESTIONED NBR OF NDH VICTIMS. NEITHER INCIDENT WAS SPECIFICALLY ANTI-SEMITIC.

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PAGE TWO QLGR0170 UNCLAS

CLEARED AWAY AND SOME REPAIRS HAVE BEGUN. FEW, IF ANY BUILDINGS HAVE BEEN COMPLETELY DESTROYED, AND OVERALL CHARACTER OF CITY REMAINS LARGELY UNALTERED.

3. MAJOR DAMAGE HAS, HOWEVER, BEEN DONE. STONE FACADES APPEAR LARGELY INTACT, (ALTHOUGH SOME HAVE SUFFERED MAJOR STRUCTURAL DAMAGE AND ARE BEING HELD UP BY EXTERNAL BRACES) BUT MANY BUILDINGS ARE ROOFLESS, BURNED-OUT SHELLS. INTERIORS OF MANY OTHERS HAVE SUFFERED SEVERE DAMAGE. STONE-PAVED MAIN STREET (STRADUN) BEARS APPROX 50/50 SHALLOW MORTAR CRATERS ABOUT 50/50 CM IN DIAMETER; SOME OF THESE HAVE BEEN TEMPORARILY PATCHED WITH CONCRETE. MAJOR STATUES AND FACADES HAVE HAD WOODEN ENCLOSURES BUILT AROUND THEM, BUT NOT/NOT ALL ARTIFACTS CAN BE THUS PROTECTED.

4. FOR REASONS OF LOCAL MORALE, SYMBOLIC DECISION WAS TAKEN NOT/NOT TO BUILD ENCLOSURE AROUND STATUE OF!! CITY'S PATRON SAINT ST BLAISE WHICH IS SET INTO WALL OF CATHEDRAL, HOLDING CITY IN LEFT HAND. PART OF CITY AND HAND HAVE BEEN CARRIED AWAY BY SHELL FRAGMENT.

5. FRANCISCAN MONASTERY (WHERE ICRC OFFICE IS LOCATED) WAS STRUCK BY APPROX 40/40 PROJECTILES. BALUSTRADES AND STONWORK IN CLOISTER HAVE SUFFERED CONSIDERABLE DAMAGE. THERE WAS ALSO SERIOUS DAMAGE TO ROOF, NOW TEMPORARILY REPAIRED. PORTAL IS PROTECTED BY WOODEN ENCLOSURE. MOST VALUABLE PORTION OF LIBRARY HAS BEEN MOVED TO INTERIOR ROOM WHERE IT IS STORED IN ORDINARY CARDBOARD BOXES.

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PAGE THREE QLGR0170 UNCLAS

CHAIRS OF SENATE OF DUBROVNIK BADLY DAMAGED.

6. EVERYONE APPEARS TO HAVE BECOME SOMETHING OF AN ARTILLERY EXPERT. FRANCISCAN MONK SHOWED ME COLLECTION OF MORTAR FRAGMENTS LAID OUT IN ROW !! LIKE UNHOLY RELICS, AND EXPLAINED THAT NUMERALS 1-20 STAMPED INTO CENTRE OF ONE FIN ASSEMBLY INDICATED THAT IT CAME FROM A 120MM MORTAR, THIS BEING CROSS-SECTIONAL DIAMETER OF BOMB AT ITS WIDEST POINT. HE ALSO TOLD ME THAT WIDELY-PUBLICISED HOLE IN CUPOLA OF ONOFRIO FOUNTAIN JUST OUTSIDE MONASTERY HAD BEEN MADE BY WIRE-GUIDED !! MISSILE.

7. IT WILL NOT/NOT BE POSSIBLE OR PRACTICAL TO REPAIR OR RESTORE ALL DAMAGE. UNESCO ASSISTANCE IS APPARENTLY RESTRICTED TO ROOFS AND FACADES; FUNDS TO REPAIR INTERIORS WILL HAVE TO COME FROM OTHER SOURCES. MINOR FRAGMENT DAMAGE TO FACADES WILL PROBABLY NOT/NOT BE PREPARED, BUT LEFT TO JOIN OTHER IN<JURIES WHICH BUILDINGS HAVE COLLECTED OVER CENTURIES.

8. ACCORDING TO REP OF INSTITUTE FOR RENEWAL OF DUBROVNIK, INVENTORY OF DAMAGE HAS BEEN DONE, BUT BECAUSE BOMBARDMENTS CONTINUE IT WILL NEED TO BE UP-DATED. TOTAL DAMAGE ESTIMATED AT USA DLRS 2/2 BILLION. IN OLD CITY, APPROX 6000/6000 SQ METRES OF BUILDINGS HAVE BEEN COMPLETELY BURNED OUT, AND 40/40 THOUSAND SQ METRES REQUIRE ROOF REPAIRS. STARTING POINT FOR PLANNING IS RECOVERY PLAN FORMULATED AFTER 1979 EARTHQUAKE. ACTION PLAN IS BEING PREPARED IN CONSULTATION WITH UNESCO. GOVT IS PUTTING LOAN

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PROGRAM IN PLACE FOR HOME REPAIRS (APPROX 3000/3000 CASES IN DUBROVNIK REGION). COMMERCIAL INVESTMENT IS ALSO POSSIBILITY, AND SOME INTEREST HAS ALREADY BEEN EXPRESSED, BUT PROGRAMS AND GUIDELINES ARE NEEDED AND PENDING PRIVATISATION OF STATE ASSETS WILL BE COMPLICATING FACTOR.

9.MOST OF DAMAGE TO OLD TOWN WAS CAUSED BY AUTUMN BOMBARDMENTS, WHICH WOULD APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN INTENDED TO CAUSE AS MUCH DAMAGE AS POSSIBLE TO ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL OBJECTS. SOME IN CURRENT SERIES OF ATTACKS ALSO APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN DELIBERATELY AIMED AT OLD CITY, BUT OTHERS APPEAR TO BE AIMED AT CROATIAN ARTILLERY POSITIONS. CROATIAN ARMY BEARS SOME RESPONSIBILITY FOR LOCATING AT LEAST TWO ARTILLERY POSITIONS CLOSE TO OLD CITY (ONE IN PLOCA AREA, OTHER IN PILE) AND USING THEM TO ATTACK SERB/JNA FORCES IN HERCEGOVINA AND CAVTAT. ONE IS SUFFICIENTLY CLOSE TO OLD CITY THAT AT NIGHT ITS FLASHES THROW TOWN INTO SILHOUETTE. CROATIANS SEEM TO HAVE CALCULATED THAT THEY COULD ACCEPT CASUALTIES AND DAMAGE CAUSED BY PREDICTABLE SERB/JNA ATTEMPTS TO SILENCE THESE POSITIONS.

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REF MYTEL QLGR0163 15JUN92

---CROATIA: VISIT TO DUBROVNIK: POLITICAL SITUATION

2.REPORT: ACCORDING TO DUBROVNIK MAYOR PETAR POLJANIC, A FERVENT CROATIAN NATIONALIST, LATEST SERIES OF BOMBARDMENTS (MTG TOOK PLACE 04JUN) REPRESENTED NOTHING SUBSTANTIVELY NEW. THOSE RESPONSIBLE, HE THOUGHT, MIGHT NOT/HAVE BEEN INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS IN OUTSIDE WORLD, AND WERE ACTING ON GENERAL PRINCIPLE THAT DUBROVNIK, A CROATIAN TARGET WITHIN RANGE OF THEIR WEAPONS, HAD TO BE DESTROYED. THEY WOULD NOT/HAVE SUCCEEDED BECAUSE THEY WERE BEING COMPELLED TO WITHDRAW. IF THEY DID NOT/HAVE LEAVE VOLUNTARILY, THEY WOULD BE DRIVEN OUT QUOTE UNTIL LAST SQ-MM OF CROATIAN TERRITORY HAD BEEN LIBERATED UNQUOTE. LESSON OF LAST SIX DAYS WAS THAT CROATS MUST ALWAYS BE ALERT.

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PAGE TWO QLGR0172 UNCLAS

3. GENERAL CONTEXT, ACCORDING TO POLJANIC, WAS GREAT-SERBIAN EXPANSIONISM, WHICH HAD BECOME ENGRAINED OVER PAST 150/150 YRS AND WAS NOW PART OF SERB POLITICAL CULTURE. WORLD COMMUNITY SHOULD HAVE REACTED EARLIER. NOW, HE THOUGHT, SANCTIONS WOULD NOT/NOT BE SUFFICIENT.

4. SERBS, ACCORDING TO POLJANIC, REPRESENT ONLY 6/6 PER CENT (6.7/6.7 ACCORDING TO 1991 CENSUS) OF POPULATION. IN 1800 THERE HAD BEEN ONLY 12/12, AND UP TO WW2 ONLY A FEW FAMILIES. MAIN INFLUX HAD TAKEN PLACE ONLY AFTER WW2, AS DELIBERATE ACT OF YUGOSLAV POLICY. ALL SERBS HAD SAME RIGHTS AS REST OF POPULATION; CROATS HAD NOT/NOT HAD SAME PRIVILEGES AS SERBS IN REST OF CROATIA. 80/80 PER CENT OF POLICE HAD BEEN SERB, SAME HAD BEEN CASE WITH OTHER IMPORTANT FUNCTIONS. THOSE IN DUBROVNIK HAD BEEN MAINLY WEALTHY AND PRIVILEGED.

5. ACCORDING TO POLJANIC, MOST SERBS WITH LENGTHY FAMILY HISTORY IN DUBROVNIK HAD BEHAVED QUOTE CORRECTLY UNQUOTE DURING CURRENT CRISIS. THOSE WHO HAD SETTLED SINCE WW2 HAD TENDED TO JOIN OTHER SIDE.

6. LOOKING TO FUTURE, POLJANIC SAW DIFFICULT CHALLENGES IN SHORT TERM. OPCINA HAD BEEN 53/53 PER CENT OCCUPIED; THIS WAS NOW REDUCED TO 20/20 PER CENT. ONLY WHEN LIBERATION WAS COMPLETE WOULD IT BE POSSIBLE TO MAKE FULL ESTIMATE OF DAMAGE. RECENTLY-LIBERATED AREAS HAD BEEN ALMOST COMPLETELY DESTROYED. 2500/2500 DWELLINGS IN

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7. I ASKED WHETHER, IN LIGHT OF ITS LENGTHY HISTORY OF INDEPENDENCE, THERE WAS ANY INCLINATION FOR DUBROVNIK TO SEEK SOME FORM OF AUTONOMY. POLJANIC TOLD ME EMPHATICALLY THAT I MUST HAVE BEEN MISINFORMED. UNTIL 1800, DUBROVNIK HAD BEEN AN INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC WITH A CROAT POPULATION. TODAY, IT COULD EXIST ONLY AS PART OF CROATIA, WAS ONE OF MOST CROATIAN CITIES IN CROATIA (MORE THAN ZAGREB), AND WAS IN FACT CROATIA'S WINDOW ON WORLD. CROATIAN LITERATURE, CULTURE, SCIENCE, HAD STARTED IN DUBROVNIK. AUTONOMY WAS BEING PROMOTED BY SINGLE INDIVIDUAL (HALF ITALIAN), WHO DURING WAR, SAID POLJANIC, HAD BEEN FAITHFUL SERVANT OF MILOSEVIC.

8. AT POLJANIC'S INVITATION I JOINED HIM AND GROUP OF LOCAL OFFICIALS AND JOURNALISTS IN VISIT TO SLANO, RECENTLY-LIBERATED COASTAL RESORT NORTH OF DUBROVNIK. MEDIA COVERAGE REPORTED SEPARATELY (MYTEL QLGR0161 10JUN). IN ADDITION TO DAMAGE ATTRIBUTABLE TO BOMBARDMENTS, MOST HOUSES, HOTELS, SHOPS AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS APPEARED TO HAVE BEEN SYSTEMATICALLY LOOTED AND DEMOLISHED. INCIDENT OF SINGLE SHELL BEING FIRED CLOSE ENOUGH TO

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PAGE FOUR QLGR0172 UNCLAS

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MAY NOT/NOT HAVE KNOWN OF VISIT, BUT SOMEONE ELSE CERTAINLY DID.

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---CROATIA: VISIT TO DUBROVNIK: POLITICAL SITUATION  
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MAY NOT/NOT HAVE KNOWN OF VISIT, BUT SOMEONE ELSE CERTAINLY DID.

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OF GOVT LOANS, AND IT IS HOPED THAT WORK WILL BE COMPLETED IN TIME FOR THIS YRS HIGH HOLIDAYS. WHEN SYNAGOGUE IN DUBROVNIK WAS HIT BY MORTARS LAST AUTUMN, REPAIRS TO ROOF WERE GIVEN HIGH PRIORITY BECAUSE OF IMPORTANT ARTIFACTS IN BUILDING, AND COMPLETED WITHIN THREE DAYS.

5.NBR OF JEWS HAVE FLED TO ISRAEL VIA BUDAPEST, BUT I UNDERSTAND THAT THEY ARE MEMBERS OF GROUP WHO ESCAPED BY AIR FROM SARAJEVO SOME WEEKS AGO. FLIGHT FROM SARAJEVO WAS ARRANGED BY ZAGREB AND SARAJEVO JEWISH COMMUNITIES, AND (ACCORDING TO COMMUNITY REPS HERE) WAS ROUTED TO BGRAD ONLY BECAUSE JNA WOULD NOT/NOT PERMIT FLIGHT TO ZAGREB. FROM BUDAPEST, SOME CAME TO ZAGREB.

6.WHILE IN DUBROVNIK, I HAD OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS MS GAFFNEYS CONCERNS WITH MIRIAM FERRARA, LEADING MEMBER OF SMALL LOCAL JEWISH COMMUNITY AND HERSELF A CONCENTRATION CAMP SURVIVOR. SHE MENTIONED HAVING HAD TO SPEND NEARLY TWO HRS ON TELEPHONE REASSURING FRIEND IN LOS ANGELES ABOUT SIMILAR CONCERNS. SHE SAID THAT SHE WOULD BE QUITE WILLING TO DISCUSS WITH ANYONE ELSE (PHONE: 011-38-50-20599).

7.I AM NOT/NOT CERTAIN THAT THIRD PARA OF MS GAFFNEYS LETTER IS COMPLETELY ACCURATE REFLECTION OF CDN POLICY. AS FAR AS SPECIAL (NOT/NOT DIPLO) REP IS CONCERNED, REPLY MIGHT MENTION THAT BOTH AS SPECIAL REP AND JEW I HAVE TAKEN PARTICULAR INTEREST IN SITUATION OF JEWISH COMMUNITY HERE, ESTABLISHED RANGE OF CONTACTS, AND

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REPORTED AT SOME LENGTH. OUR/MY INTEREST IN MINORITY RIGHTS HAS  
BEEN WELL PUBLICISED BY LOCAL MEDIA, AND I HAVE NO/NO DOUBT THAT  
I WOULD QUICKLY BE INFORMED IF ALLEGATIONS OF ANTI-SEMITIC  
PRESSURE ON COMMUNITY WERE ACCURATE.

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REF MYTEL QLGR0163 11JUN92

---CROATIA: VISIT TO DUBROVNIK: CEASEFIRE VIOLATIONS

SUMMARY: RESUMPTION OF BOMBARDMENT OF DUBROVNIK CAN BE SEEN AS

RESULTING IN PART FROM EVOLUTION OF MILITARY SITUATION, INC

HERCEGOVINA. BOTH SIDES IN HERCEGOVINA HAVE BEEN RECEIVING

ARTILLERY SUPPORT FROM COUNTERPARTS IN DUBROVNIK AREA, WHO HAVE

BEEN FIRED ON FROM B-H. CROAT AND JNA ARTILLERY IN DUBROVNIK AREA

HAVE ALSO BEEN EXCHANGING FIRE. LOCATION OF CROAT BATTERIES IN AND

NEAR DUBROVNIK WOULD APPEAR TO BE AT LEAST PART OF REASON FOR

RENEWED BOMBARDMENT OF CITY.

2.REPORT: YOU WILL BE AWARE FROM OTHER SOURCES OF SETBACKS WHICH

SERB IRREGULAR FORCES (HERCEGOVACKI CORPS) HAVE SUFFERED IN

HERCEGOVINA. B-H CROATIAN FORCES (HVO) HAD, AT TIME OF MY VISIT TO

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DUBROVNIK, BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN DRIVING SERB FORCES BACK TO OUTSKIRTS OF TREBINJE. IN PARALLEL DEVELOPMENT, APPARENTLY TO AVOID BEING CUT OFF, JNA FORCES HAD WITHDRAWN ALONG DALMATIAN COAST TO LINE JUST NORTH OF PLAT, NEAR CAVTAT.

3. I UNDERSTAND THAT HVO HAS BEEN RECEIVING ARTILLERY SUPPORT FROM CROATIAN BATTERIES IN AND NEAR DUBROVNIK, WHILE SERBS HAVE BEEN SUPPORTED BY JNA ARTILLERY IN CAVTAT. IN COURSE OF VISIT, MY HANDLERS CAREFULLY AVOIDED LETTING ME SEE CROATIAN EMBLACEMENTS IN DUBROVNIK, BUT THEIR ACTIVITY WAS PLAINLY AUDIBLE. HOTEL IN WHICH I STAYED IS LOCATED JUST SOUTHEAST OF OLD TOWN OPPOSITE ISLAND OF LOKRUM, PROVIDING EXCELLENT VANTAGE POINT TO HEAR AND SOMETIMES SEE ARTILLERY EXCHANGES BETWEEN DUBROVNIK AND CAVTAT. TV FOOTAGE OF PROJECTILES LANDING IN BAY WAS TAKEN FROM SAME LOCATION. AT NIGHT, OLD TOWN WAS SILHOUETTED BY FLASHES FROM EMBLACEMENT LOCATED JUST ON OTHER SIDE OF IT. THERE MAY ALSO BE CROATIAN EMBLACEMENT ON LOKRUM. FURTHER SOUTH, DURING VISIT TO KUPARI IN ZUPA DUBROVACKA, ONE ARTILLERY PIECE AND TWO TANKS WERE OPENLY VISIBLE.

4. DUBROVNIK IS BEING BOMBARDED NOT/NOT ONLY FROM CAVTAT, BUT BY SERB IRREGULAR FORCES IN B-H. DURING PERIOD OF MY VISIT, ONE CIVILIAN WAS KILLED AND ANOTHER WOUNDED IN ATTACK IN WHICH 3/3 MORTARS FROM FELL APPROX 150 METRES FROM HOTEL. AT LEAST TWO CROATIAN SOLDIERS WERE KILLED IN SEPARATE ATTACKS. ALTHOUGH

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SITUATION MAY HAVE CHANGED IN LAST FEW DAYS, PURPOSE OF ATTACKS DID NOT/NOT APPEAR TO BE TO DESTROY ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL TARGETS IN OLD TOWN, BUT TO SILENCE CROATIAN EMPLACEMENTS.

5. ACCORDING TO CROATIAN ARMY REP IN DUBROVNIK, LATEST SERIES OF BOMBARDMENTS BEGAN 25MAY WHEN CROAT CIVILIANS ATTEMPTED TO RETURN TO AREA OF MOKOSICA, WHICH HAD JUST BEEN VACATED BY JNA, AND WERE FIRED UPON BY SERB IRREGULARS IN B-H, WITH 3/3 FATALITIES. ON 29MAY, OLD CITY AND ZUPA DUBROVACKA ALSO CAME UNDER FIRE. WHEN CROATS PROTESTED TO JNA VIA HOT LINE, THEY WERE TOLD THAT JNA HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH SERB ARMY IN B-H AND WERE NOT/NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR ACTIONS. CROAT ARTILLERY THEN ATTEMPTED TO SILENCE SERB BATTERIES IN B-H. JNA ARTILLERY IN CAVTAT SUPPORTED B-H SERBS, AND ALSO FIRED ON DUBROVNIK. CEASEFIRE HAD BEEN AGREED WITH JNA THROUGH EC AND UN MEDIATION, BUT WAS NOT/NOT BEING OBSERVED.

6. UNPROFOR AND ECOMY HAD BEEN ATTEMPTING TO ARRANGE MEETING TO DISCUSS NEW CEASEFIRE, BUT THEIR EFFORTS HAD BEEN COMPLICATED BY CROAT INSISTENCE ON SINGLE AGENDA ITEM: JNA WITHDRAWAL FROM REMAINDER OF DALMATIA. DURING INTERVIEW WITH CROATIAN ARMY REP, CALL CAME IN ADVISING THAT MEETING SCHEDULED FOR THAT DAY IN CAVTAT HAD BEEN CANCELLED.

7. ACCORDING TO CROATIAN ARMY REP, JNA HAD MINED COASTAL ROAD LEADING TO KONAVLI (SOUTHERNMOST PART OF DALMATIA) AND WAS ACTUALLY REINFORCING ITS POSITIONS THERE. UNTIL THEY HAD WITHDRAWN

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INTO MONTENEGRO, HE MAINTAINED, REQUIREMENTS OF VANCE PLAN WOULD NOT/NOT BE FULFILLED. JNA INTENTION WAS APPARENTLY TO RETAIN CONTROL OF MAJOR NAVAL FACILITY AT PREVLAKA, LOCATED ON NARROW PENINSULA WHICH CONTROLS ENTRANCE TO BOKA KOTORSKA. CROATIANS CLAIM NOT/NOT ONLY PENINSULA BUT SMALL ISLAND BETWEEN IT AND LUSTICA PENINSULA. THIS WOULD COULD GIVE CROATIA CONTROL OVER SEA ACCESS TO HERCEG-NOVI. CROATIAN ARMY REP MAINTAINED, HOWEVER, THAT CROATIA WOULD NEVER INTERFERE WITH FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION.

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REF MYTELS QLGR0156 01JUN92; QLGR0161 10JUN92

---CROATIA: VISIT TO DUBROVNIK: GENERAL IMPRESSIONS

SUMMARY: CONTINUING CEASEFIRE VIOLATIONS ON BOTH SIDES, INCLUDING

BOMBARDMENT OF DUBROVNIK, ARE OCCURRING IN CONTEXT OF COMPLEX

MILITARY SITUATION OF WHICH DEVELOPMENTS IN BOSNA-HERCEGOVINA ARE

INTEGRAL PART. OLD CITY HAS SUFFERED SIGNIFICANT DAMAGE, ALTHOUGH

THIS IS NOT/NOT AS EVIDENT AS IN AREAS WHICH HAVE BEEN UNDER

OCCUPATION. COMMERCIAL, ESPECIALLY TOURIST FACILITIES, HAVE BEEN

HEAVILY DAMAGED. HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES AND DISPLACED

PERSONS POSES MAJOR BURDEN. VISIT, WHICH TOOK PLACE DURING

CONTINUING STATE OF GENERAL ALERT WITH DAILY ARTILLERY EXCHANGES,

WAS ARRANGED BY DUBROVNIK MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES.

2.REPORT: AS INDICATED IN REFTL QLGR0156, VISIT WENT AHEAD

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PAGE TWO QLGR0163 UNCLAS

DESPITE RENEWED BOMBARDMENT OF DUBROVNIK. HAVING ALREADY POSTPONED VISIT ONCE, I THOUGHT IT BEST TO LEAVE IT TO JUDGEMENT OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES TO CANCEL IF THEY THOUGHT SITUATION TOO DANGEROUS. IT MAY HAVE BEEN CASE THAT NEITHER SIDE WAS BRAVE ENOUGH TO CANCEL. SEVERAL PEOPLE WERE KILLED AND WOUNDED IN BOMBARDMENTS DURING PERIOD OF MY VISIT. FIRING BY BOTH SIDES WAS AUDIBLE AND IN SOMETIMES VISIBLE FROM HOTEL IN WHICH I STAYED.

3. I HAD MEETINGS WITH MAYOR, CROATIAN MILITARY, LOCAL RED CROSS AND REFUGEE ORGANISATION REPS, UNPROFOR AND ECOMY REPS, REP OF DUBROVNIK RECONSTRUCTION COUNCIL, AND REP OF SMALL LOCAL JEWISH COMMUNITY. I WAS GIVEN TOURS OF OLD CITY, OPCINA HOSPITAL, SEVERAL HOTELS USED FOR REFUGEE ACCOMMODATION, AND NEARBY RESORT TOWNS OF SLANO (REFTEL QLGR0161) AND KUPARI. DISCUSSIONS WILL BE REPORTED IN SUBSEQUENT TELS.

4. ALTHOUGH LOCAL AUTHORITIES DECIDED TO PROCEED WITH VISIT THEIR CONCERN FOR MY PERSONAL SAFETY (AND PERHAPS OTHER CONSIDERATIONS) WAS EVIDENT THROUGHOUT. I WAS MET AT FERRY BY AN INSPECTOR LUKIC OF LOCAL POLICE FORCE (STILL PART OF MINISTRY OF INTERIOR) WHO PROVIDED POLICE CAR AND DRIVER AND ACCOMPANIED ME THROUGHOUT (ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT/NOT ATTEND MEETINGS). HIS UBIQUITY PUZZLED NOT/NOT ONLY ME BUT MUNICIPAL PROTOCOL OFFICER AND CROATIAN ARMY REP. I ONCE ASKED HIM WHAT PERCEIVED THREAT TO MY SAFETY WAS, ASIDE FROM BOMBARDMENTS, IN WHICH CASE I DID NOT/NOT EXPECT HIM TO

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PAGE THREE QLGR0163 UNCLAS

CATCH FALLING MORTARS. TO MY AND OTHER QUERIES, HE WOULD SAY ONLY THAT IT WAS HIS DUTY. HE MANAGED TO BE UNOBTRUSIVE, AND IF IT WAS PART OF HIS DUTY TO KEEP ME FROM SEEING CROATIAN ARTILLERY EMPLACEMENTS (CLOSE PRESENCE OF WHICH WAS AUDIBLE) HE SUCCEEDED.

5. EXCEPT FOR DAMAGE FROM BOMBARDMENTS, DUBROVNIK LOOKED MUCH AS IT HAD ON MY LAST VISIT, IN 1984. RUBBLE HAD FOR MOST PART BEEN CLEARED AWAY. STREETS OF OLD TOWN, HOWEVER, WERE EERILY EMPTY OF PEOPLE, WHO WERE URGED BY AUTHORITIES TO REMAIN INDOORS AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE DURING CONTINUING STATE OF ALERT. AT FIRST GLANCE, WALLS OF OLD TOWN AND FACADES OF BUILDINGS THERE REMAIN GENERALLY INTACT, BUT THERE IS SERIOUS AND POSSIBLY UNREPAIRABLE DAMAGE TO SCULPTURES AND STONWORK. FACADES ARE ALL THAT REMAIN OF MANY BUILDINGS IN OLD TOWN, WITH ROOFS DESTROYED AND INTERIORS BURNED OUT. NATIVE DUBROVCANI, BROUGHT UP TO APPRECIATE FACT THAT THEY LIVE AND WORK IN PRICELESS HISTORICAL ARTIFACT, FEEL EVERY CHIP, CRACK AND MORTAR CRATER AS A PERSONAL WOUND.

6. MAIN TOURIST HOTELS IN DUBROVNIK HAVE SUFFERED MAJOR DAMAGE FROM BOMBARDMENTS AND RESULTING FIRES. WITH PARTIAL AND TEMPORARY REPAIRS, MOST ARE NOW BEING USED TO ACCOMMODATE REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS. IN NEARBY VILLAGES WHICH HAVE ONLY RECENTLY BEEN RE-OCCUPIED BY CROATS, DAMAGE IS MUCH GREATER. HOTELS, SHOPS, PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND HOUSES APPEARED TO HAVE BEEN SYSTEMATICALLY LOOTED AND DEMOLISHED.

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PAGE FOUR QLGR0163 UNCLAS

7. NORMAL LIFE IN DUBROVNIK WAS VIRTUALLY AT STANDSTILL BECAUSE OF ALERT. LOCAL POPULATION AND REFUGEES WERE OBLIGED TO REMAIN INDOORS MOST OF DAY AND NIGHT, VENTURING OUT ONLY QUOTE ON OWN RESPONSIBILITY UNQUOTE. IN SOME INSTANCES A STRANGE SORT OF ALERT ETIQUETTE WAS IN EVIDENCE: ONE INTERLOCUTOR INSISTED ON COMING TO CITY HALL FOR MTG BECAUSE, AS HE PUT IT, THERE WERE SEVERAL OF US AND ONLY ONE OF HIM. POWER AND WATER WERE CUT OFF DAY AFTER MY ARRIVAL. THERE WERE FEW, IF ANY NORMAL TOURISTS. QUOTE ONLY SUITABLE HOTEL UNQUOTE WAS OCCUPIED PRIMARILY BY JOURNALISTS, UNPROFOR, ECOMY, ICRC MEMBERS. MOST UNUSUAL PERSONALITY TO APPEAR WAS ELDERLY WOMAN WHO WAS PREVENTED BY POLICE IN ATTEMPT TO WALK ACROSS FRONT LINES IN RESPONSE TO SPIRITUAL IMPERATIVE; SHE LEFT ON SAME FERRY AS I DID, CONFINED TO SHIP'S DISPENSARY.

UUU/560 111350Z QLGR0163



BUREAU OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

RBD(m)  
A-07805-92  
cc Mina | Phillips

Toronto, June 10, 1992.

**BY FAX**

The Honourable Barbara McDougall  
Secretary of State for External Affairs  
Lester B. Pearson Building  
125 Sussex Drive  
Ottawa, Ontario  
K1A 0G2

ACC	DATE
FILE	DOSSIER
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A7.5	

Dear Madam:

We have been requested by the Ministry of External Affairs of the Republic of Croatia to inform You that **prof. dr. Zdenko Skrabalo** (orig. Škrabalo) has been appointed as the new Minister of External Affairs of the Republic of Croatia.

Yours very truly,

Dick Bezić  
Agent General

DB/lf



**ACTION REQUEST/FICHE DE SERVICE**

From/De: DUSAN (DICK) BEZIC, AGENT GENERAL  
CROATIA - BUREAU OF THE REPUBLIC OF

No.: A-07805-92

Subject/Sujet : CROATIA: FOR AFFS MINISTER/ Z SKRABALO  
Classification: POLITICS EAST EUROPE \* POLITIQUE EUROPE DE L'EST

Action div./Dir. resp.: **R80**  
Info : MINA/PHILLIPS

Let./Tel. dated	Date sent to division	Deadline date
Let./Tel. en date du	Date d'envoi a la direction	Echeance
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10 JUN 92	16 JUN 92	**30 JUN 92**

**Comments/Commentaires**

FAX

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ACTION REQUIRED/SUITE A DONNER	RESERVE A LA DIRECTION
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| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Reply for signature of SSEA<br>Reponse pour la signature du SEAE                                  | Date received/Date recue<br><b>17 JUN 92</b>          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Reply for the signature of<br>Reponse pour la signature de   | Action officer/Agent resp.<br><b>RBR/GUIMOND</b>      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Reply by division<br>Reponse de la direction   | Disposition and/et date                               |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> For information and any necessary action<br>Pour examen et suite a donner, s'il y a lieu          | <i>Downgrade to "I" KP</i><br><i>filled 22 Jun 92</i> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> CAMPAIGN: Reply for signature of SSEA<br>CAMPAGNE: Reponse pour la signature du SEAE                         |   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> CAMPAIGN: Reply by division<br>CAMPAGNE: Reponse de la direction   |   |
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ALL TRANSFERS TO BE REPORTED TO MINA RECORDS	996-9297 OR/OU
LES ARCHIVES DE MINA DOIVENT ETRE AVISEES DE TOUT CHANGEMENT	992-6428

White - Return to MINA registry when action completed	
Blanche - Retourner aux archives de MINA lorsque suite a ete donnee	
Yellow - Divisional secretary	Green - File with original incoming letter
Jaune - Secretaire de direction	Verte - Au dossier avec la lettre recue

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---CROATIA: NEW FOREIGN MINISTER

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DR ZDENKO SKRABALO (PRONOUNCED SHKRABALO) HAS BEEN SWORN IN AS NEW CROATIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, REPLACING SEPAROVIC WHO RETAINS CABINET RANK AS MINISTER WITHOUT PORTFOLIO CONCURRENT WITH APPOINTMENT AS PERMREP TO UN. SKRABALO WAS PREVIOUSLY A DEPTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. APPOINTMENT COMES AS SOMETHING OF A SURPRISE IN THAT ZAGREB RUMOUR MILL HAD MOST RECENTLY FOCUSED ON BRANKO SALAJ, MINISTER OF INFORMATION. SPECULATION IS THAT SALAJ'S DUAL SWEDISH CITIZENSHIP RULED HIM OUT IN END.

2.WILL FWD CV WHEN AVAILABLE.

3.RECOMMEND CONGRATULATORY MSG FROM SSEA.

UUU/560 101421Z QLGR0162

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 LDN HAGUE CNBRA PCOOTT/MCNEE PMOOTT PILLAROTT/RCT/RCI/RAP  
 RCMPOTT/D/CA/MURRAY TT NDHQOTT/DIPOL/ASSOC ADMPOL/CIS/DPKO//  
 CFELahr/COMD//CCUNPROFOR BELGRADE/COMD//  
 CCECMM ZAGREB/COMD//CCUNPROFOR DARUVAR/COMD/ DE CAF  
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---CROATIA: DUBROVNIK VISIT: MEDIA COVERAGE

AREA TRIP TO DUBROVNIK INCLUDED VISIT 04JUN TO RESORT TOWN OF  
 SLANO, WHICH HAD BEEN RE-OCCUPIED BY CROATIANS FOLLOWING JNA  
 WITHDRAWAL 29MAY. PARTY INCLUDED MUNICIPAL OFFICIALS AND LOCAL  
 MEDIA REPS. TOWN HAD BEEN ALMOST COMPLETELY DESTROYED. DURING  
 TRIP, ONE ARTILLERY PROJECTILE PASSED SUFFICIENTLY CLOSE TO SEND  
 PARTY SCURRYING FOR COVER. LATER AS WE WALKED, REPORTER FOR  
 VECERNJI LIST TABLOID HELD MICROPHONE IN FRONT OF ME AND ASKED FOR  
 COMMENT ON STATE OF TOWN. I REPLIED QUOTE UZAS UNQUOTE (HORRIBLE):  
 FIVE MINUTES LATER, MICROPHONE WAS STILL THERE, SO I SAID I HAD  
 NO/NO MORE TO SAY.

2.THIS WAS ALL RENDERED AS FOLLOWS IN VECERNJI LIST 06JUN92:

QUOTE

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PAGE TWO QLGR0161 UNCLAS

SLANO IS BURNED UP BY BLIND CETNIK HATE BUT LIFE HAS BEGUN TO  
RETURN

-----  
HOUSES BURNED WITH PHOSPHOROUS

-----  
HEAD OF CDN MISSION SAM HANSON, VISIBLY SHAKEN BY SIGHT OF SERBO-  
CETNIK VANDALISM, SAID ONLY ONE WORD: - I AM HORRIFIED, DON'T ASK  
ME ANY MORE QUESTIONS BECAUSE I CAN'T SPEAK!

-----  
DUBROVNIK - DUBROVNIK MAYOR PETAR POLJANIC, CHAIR OF EXECUTIVE  
COUNCIL ZELJO SIKIC AND HEAD OF SPECIAL CDN MISSION IN CROATIA SAM  
HANSON VISITED SLANO, PLACE IN WESTERN PART OF DUBROVNIK OPCINA  
WHICH WAS RECENTLY, AFTER EIGHT MONTHS OF OCCUPATION, LIBERATED BY  
CROATIAN ARMY.

SLANO WAS COMPLETELY DESTROYED, LOOTED, AND THEN BURNED TO THE  
GROUND. IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO BEGIN EVERYTHING AGAIN FROM THE  
BEGINNING. THE TWO BIG HOTELS "ADMIRAL" AND "OSMINE" WOULD BE  
BETTER DEMOLISHED AND BUILT ANEW THAN REPAIRED. THE SCHOOL, HEALTH  
CLINIC, ALL SHOPS AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS HAVE BEEN BURNED, AND THAT  
SO COMPLETELY AND VENGEFULLY THAT EVEN CONCRETE PANELS AND STONE  
WALLS ARE BURNED. NO TRACE OF FURNITURE, RADIATORS, WATER HEATERS  
AND OTHER METAL OBJECTS WERE MELTED BY HIGH TEMPERATURES. DJURO  
VLADIMIR (82) AND HIS WIFE JELE (80) ARE AMONG THE FEW SLANJANI

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PAGE THREE QLGR0161 UNCLAS

WHO REMAINED IN THEIR HOMES THE WHOLE TIME AND SURVIVED THE HELL, TOLD US THAT THE BURNING OF BUILDINGS BY YUGO-ARMY AND CETNIKS STARTED WITH THE OSMINE. THEY WOULD STREW BUILDINGS WITH PHOSPHOROUS AND THEN IGNITE IT. THIS LASTED FOR MONTHS BECAUSE IT WASN'T EASY TO BURN AND DESTROY HARD STONE HOUSES IN THE WHOLE PLACE. THE ONCE WELL-KNOWN TOURIST CENTRE SLANO IS NOW JUST SCENE OF FIRE.

DUBROVNIK MAYOR PETAR POLJANIC TOLD US AFTER TOUR OF SLANO THAT HE HAD ALREADY RECEIVED ALL INFORMATION, BUT THAT HE WAS STILL LEFT APPALLED BY WHAT THE CETNIKS HAD DONE TO THE LITTLE TOWN. REASON CANNOT EXPLAIN WHERE THE YUGO-ARMY AND CETNIKS GOT SO MUCH SAVAGERY AND BLIND HATRED, SAID POLJANIC. HEAD OF CDN MISSION SAM HANSON, VISIBLY SHAKEN BY SIGHT OF SERBO-CETNIK VANDALISM, SAID ONLY THIS: I'M HORRIFIED! ASK ME NO MORE QUESTIONS BECAUSE I CAN'T SPEAK.

SLANO HAD BEEN INHABITED BY CROATIAN POPULATION. A FEW SERBIAN FAMILIES FROM SLANO HAD WELCOMED THE OCCUPIERS, BUT HAD FLED WITH THEM A FEW DAYS BEFORE. ALTHOUGH SLANO HAD BEEN SO SAVAGELY DESTROYED - JUST BECAUSE IT WAS CROATIAN - A FEW RESIDENTS HAD RETURNED ON THEIR OWN INITIATIVE. WE SAW HOW THEY WERE CLEANING OUT THE RUINS, CUTTING THE GRASS; LIFE HAS BEGUN TO RETURN.

AND JUST WHILE WE WERE VIEWING THE RUINS, FINDING OURSELVES ON OPEN ROAD TOWARD GRGURICI, FROM SOMEWHERE BEHIND THE HERCEGOVINIAN

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PAGE FOUR QLGR0161 UNCLAS

HILLS THE SKY ABOVE OUR HEADS WAS SCORCHED BY THE OMINOUS WHISTLE OF A SHELL FOLLOWED BY THE NEARBY VIBRATION OF A POWERFUL EXPLOSION. WE WERE OBLIGED, TOGETHER WITH SAM HANSON, TO SEEK THE NEAREST SHELTER. SINCE THE CETNIKS, BEHIND THEIR HILLS COULDN'T HAVE SEEN US, THEY HAD PROBABLY BEEN INFORMED OF OUR VISIT. WAS THE SHELL AIMED DIRECTLY AT HANSON AS A WARNING?

UNQUOTE.

3. TO TAKE LAST SPECULATION FIRST, FIRING OF SHELL MIGHT HAVE BEEN INTENDED AS SOME SORT OF MESSAGE, BUT IT IS INTERESTING THAT ALTHOUGH CIVILIAN PARTY RAN FOR COVER IN SMALL NEARBY HOUSE (I WAS AMONG THE LAST IN, BY THE WAY, AND FOUND ON ENTERING THAT MAYOR HAD ALREADY TAKEN BEST CORNER) OFF-DUTY SOLDIERS SWIMMING IN BAY JUST WENT ON SWIMMING. SOUND OF SHELL, I WAS TOLD LATER, WAS MORE TYPICAL OF OUT-GOING THAN IN-COMING ROUND. THERE IS THUS SOME QUESTION AS TO ORIGINATOR, AS WELL AS CONTENTS OF WHATEVER MESSAGE IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN CARRYING.

4. QUOTE INTERVIEW UNQUOTE TOOK PLACE AFTER SHELL WAS HEARD. I HAVE NO/NO IDEA WHETHER I LOOKED SHAKEN, BUT MY HANDS WERE SUFFICIENTLY STEADY TO CHANGE A ROLL OF FILM. FOR WHAT I SAID, AS OPPOSED TO WHAT I WAS QUOTED AS SAYING, PLS SEE PARA 1/1.

5. THERE ARE, HOWEVER, SOME RESPONSIBLE JOURNALISTS HERE. REPORTER FROM SLOBODNA DALMACIJA (SOME OF WHOSE STAFF ARE BEING CHARGED WITH QUOTE VERBAL DELINQUENCY UNQUOTE) LEFT SET OF QUESTIONS FOR

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PAGE FIVE QLGR0161 UNCLAS

ME AND PRINTED THEM TOGETHER WITH MY REPLIES, WITHOUT TAKING  
POETIC LICENCE:

QUOTE

SAM HANSON, HEAD OF CDN MISSION, ON OCCASION OF DEPARTURE FROM  
DUBROVNIK

-----  
GREAT HUMAN SUFFERING

-----  
OLD CITY HAS UNDERGONE HEAVY BOMBARDMENT, AND IN SLANO AND ZUPA  
DUBROVACKA HOUSES AND COMMERCIAL FACILITIES HAVE BEEN DESTROYED.  
IMPOSSIBLE TO COMMENT IN MODERATE TERMS ON GREAT HUMAN SUFFERING  
IN THIS AREA

-----  
DUBROVNIK - MR. SAM HANSON, HEAD OF CDN SPECIAL MISSION IN  
CROATIA, AFTER VISIT OF SEVERAL DAYS DEPARTED FROM DUBROVNIK AND  
BEFORE LEAVING RESPONDED TO OUR MESSAGE AND ANSWERED A FEW  
QUESTIONS FOR SLOBODNA DALMACIJA.

Q: DURING YOUR STAY IN DUBROVNIK YOU HAVE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO  
VISIT THE OLD URBAN NUCLEUS & MANY OTHER PLACES IN THE VICINITY OF  
DUBROVNIK. WHAT ARE YOUR IMPRESSIONS?

A: THE OLD TOWN HAS SUFFERED SEVERELY FROM THE BOMBARDMENTS, AND  
IN SLANO AND ZUPA DUBROVACKA HOMES AND COMMERCIAL FACILITIES HAVE  
BEEN LOOTED AND DESTROYED. IT IS SIMPLY IMPOSSIBLE TO COMMENT IN

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PAGE SIX QLGR0161 UNCLAS

MODERATE TERMS ON THE HUMAN SUFFERING WHICH HAS BEEN ENGENDERED. DAMAGE HAS BEEN DONE TO UNIQUE CULTURAL MONUMENTS AND ARTIFACTS WHICH WILL BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO REPAIR.

Q: DO YOU THINK THAT THE RESOLUTION OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL AS WELL AS THE GENERAL BLOCKADE OF SERBIA & MONTENEGRO OR OF SR YUGOSLAVIA WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE PROSPECTIVE END OF WAR IN BOSNIA & HERCEGOVINA & IN SOME REGIONS OF CROATIA?

A: CANADA WAS ONE OF THE FIRST COUNTRIES TO CALL FOR THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL TO DEAL WITH THE CRISIS OF YUGOSLAVIA IN SEPTEMBER 1991. WE WERE ALSO AMONG THOSE TO CALL FOR THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO DEAL WITH THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA. WE CERTAINLY HOPE THAT THE MEASURES IMPOSED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL WILL BE EFFECTIVE IN RESTORING PEACE AND SECURITY TO THE AREA.

Q: HOW DOES CANADA OR YOUR GOVT SEE THE SITUATION ON THE TERRITORY OF FORMER YUGOSLAVIA & WHAT IS ITS RELATION TO THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA?

A: WE SEE THE SITUATION AS A THREAT NOT ONLY TO THE PEOPLES OF THE AREA, BUT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. WE HAVE THEREFORE CONTRIBUTED PERSONNEL TO THE EC MONITORING MISSION, AND WE HAVE PROVIDED ONE OF THE LARGEST CONTINGENTS IN UNPROFOR. WE FULLY SUPPORT BOTH THE UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATION AND THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS BEING CONDUCTED UNDER EC AUSPICES. BUT A PEACEFUL SOLUTION WILL REQUIRE THE FULL, SINCERE AND UNAMBIGUOUS ENGAGEMENT OF ALL

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PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT.

Q: DO YOU THINK THAT THE WORLD SHOULD HAVE A MORE EFFICIENT SYSTEM OF PROTECTION OF INNOCENT PEOPLES LIVES AS WELL AS OF RARE HISTORICAL PIECES OF WORKS OF WORLDWIDE SIGNIFICANCE SUCH AS DUBROVNIK IS?

A: CANADA IS CONTINUALLY SEARCHING FOR MEANS TO STRENGTHEN AND IMPROVE THE WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES RESPONSIBLE FOR REFUGEES, FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AND FOR THE PRESERVATION AND PROTECTION OF OUR COMMON CULTURAL HERITAGE.

UNQUOTE

4.HAVE PROVIDED ALL THE ABOVE BECAUSE THERE WAS CDN JOURNALIST PRESENT IN DUBROVNIK AT TIME OF MY VISIT AND THERE MAY BE SOME REFLECTIONS IN CDN MEDIA.

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PCOOTT/MCNEE PMOOTT PILLAROTT/RCT/RCI/RAP RCMPOTT/D/CA/MURRAY TT

NDHQOTT/DIPOL/ASSOC ADMPOL/CIS/DPKO//CFELAHR/COMD//

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IMH IND INP INE IDD CPP JFX JLA JLO JPO

REF

---CROATIA: SEPAROVIC TO UN

NOTWITHSTANDING RECENT OFFICIAL STATEMENT THAT CURRENT COMPOSITION OF GOVT WOULD REMAIN UNCHANGED UNTIL ELECTION, FORMIN SEPAROVIC IS GOING TO NYORK AS CROATIAN PERMREP TO UN. SUCCESSOR HAD NOT/NOT BEEN NOMINATED AS OF 01JUN.

2.AT PRESIDENTIAL DAY OF STATEHOOD RECEPTION 30MAY, SEPAROVIC MADE POINT OF MENTIONING TO ME AND OTHERS THAT HE WOULD BE DEPARTING FOR NYORK AS CROATIA'S PERMREP TO UN 02JUN. THIS MOVE HAS BEEN RUMOURED FOR MONTHS, BUT ON THIS OCCASION SEPAROVIC ADDED PRACTICAL OBSERVATION THAT ON ARRIVAL HIS FIRST TASK WOULD BE TO FIND A RESIDENCE, WHICH SEEMED TO GIVE STATEMENT ADDED AUTHENTICITY.

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3. AT HASTILY-ORGANISED FAREWELL RECEPTION 01JUN, SEPAROVIC WAS IN MORE SERIOUS MOOD. HIS THREE MAIN PRIORITIES, HE SAID, WOULD BE PEACE (UNPROFOR), REFUGEES, AND RECONSTRUCTION. HE ALSO REVEALED THAT ALTHOUGH HE WAS LEAVING FOREIGN AFFAIRS PORTFOLIO HE WOULD CONTINUE TO BE MEMBER OF CABINET.

4. DURING BRIEF PRIVATE CONVERSATION, SEPAROVIC ASKED ME TO CONVEY HIS REGARDS TO QUOTE FIRST LADY OF CDN DIPLOMACY UNQUOTE. CDA WAS OF GREATEST IMPORTANCE TO CROATIA, HE SAID, AND HE APPRECIATED CDN CANDOUR EVEN WHEN WE HAD TOUGH MESSAGES TO DELIVER, AS ON SERB MINORITY RIGHTS AND CROATIAN INVOLVEMENT IN BOSNA-HERCEGOVINA. ON LATTER ISSUE, HE COMMENTED ELLIPTICALLY, THERE WERE THINGS OF WHICH EVEN CROATIAN GOVT WAS NOT/NOT AWARE.

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---CROATIA: SEPAROVIC TO UN

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PAGE TWO QLGR0160 UNCLAS

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REF

---CROATIA: DEMOCRATISATION: SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC UNION

SUMMARY: FURTHER SIGN OF APPROACHING ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN IS ATTEMPT BY SEVERAL SMALL PARTIES OF LEFT TO UNITE. INAUGURAL CONVENTION, WHICH HAD TO BE POSTPONED ONCE FOR SECURITY REASONS, WAS HELD 31MAY. PLATFORM REFLECTS COMMITMENT TO ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT, AND OPEN APPROACH TO CITIZENSHIP AND OTHER SOCIAL ISSUES. APPROACH TO KEY ISSUE OF ETHNIC CONFLICT IS ENCAPSULATED IN SLOGA QUOTE WE SEEK FRIENDS, NOT/NOT ENEMIES UNQUOTE. PARTY IS FOUNDED IN RECOGNITION OF FACT SUCCESS IN POLITICS IN CROATIA REQUIRES AN ALLIANCE BETWEEN SERBS AND CROATS. APPROACH SEEMS ENLIGHTENED; WHETHER IT WILL BE POPULAR IS ANOTHER QUESTION.

2.REPORT: AT THEIR REQUEST, I ATTENDING INAUGURAL CONVENTION 31MAY

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OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC UNION, WHICH IS UNION OF LEAGUE OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE, CROATIAN REFORM LEAGUE AND SOME INDEPENDENTS. REASON FOR INVITATION WAS THAT CONVENTION, ORIGINALLY SCHEDULED FOR 09MAY, HAD TO BE POSTPONED. REASON FOR POSTPONEMENT, ACCORDING TO LETTER WHICH I RECEIVED, WAS QUOTE THREATS FROM GROUP OF QUOTE SPONTANEOUSLY UNQUOTE ASSEMBLED BULLIES UNQUOTE. IDEA OF INVITING FOREIGN OBSERVERS (REP OF AUSTRIAN GREEN PARTY AND NBR OF FOREIGN JOURNALISTS WERE ALSO THERE) WAS TO ENSURE THAT SECURITY GUARANTEES WERE OBTAINED FROM SENIOR GOVT AUTHORITIES. MTG PASSED OFF WITHOUT INCIDENT.

3. IN INAUGURAL ADDRESS, BRANKO HORVAT NOTED THAT ANNIVERSARY OF ESTABLISHMENT OF WW2 QUISLING REGIME HAD BEEN CELEBRATED 10APR DESPITE BEING FORMALLY FORBIDDEN. SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC UNION HAD FIRST ATTEMPTED TO HOLD INAUGURAL CONVENTION 09MAY, ANNIVERSARY OF VICTORY OVER FASCISM, BUT HAD TO BE CANCELLED BY POLICE ORDER HALF-HOUR BEFORE IT WAS TO BEGIN. IF TREND CONTINUED, HE SAID, CROATIA WOULD SOON BE MORALLY, CULTURALLY AND MATERIALLY DESTROYED. CROATIA WAS BEGINNING TO GET REPUTATION OF PRIMITIVE, TRIBALISTIC CTRY.

4. FORMATION OF UNITED PARTY DEMOCRATIC LEFT, SAID HORVAT, WAS INTENDED TO ARREST THIS TREND. PARTY PLATFORM WOULD BE ONE OF ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION (INCLUDING PRIVATISATIONS, INDEPENDENT ENTERPRISES AND FREE MARKET; INTEGRATION INTO WIDER INNATL

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MARKETS; SYSTEMATIC DEVELOPMENT OF COMMERCIAL AND BANKING  
SYSTEMS). OCCUPIED TERRITORIES TO BE REGAINED NOT/NOT BY FORCE,  
BUT BY PEACEFUL QUOTE EUROPEAN UNQUOTE METHODS. PARTY WAS  
CONCEIVED AS POLITICAL ALLIANCE BETWEEN CROATS AND SERBS. ETHNIC  
CONFLICT TO BE RESOLVED BY FULL GUARANTEES OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS  
AND POLICY OF NATL RECONCILIATION.

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TT NDHQOTT/DIPOL/ASSOC ADMPOL/CIS/DPKO//

CFELAHR/COMD//CCUNPROFOR BELGRADE/COMD/ DE CAF

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REF HANSON/GUIMOND TELCON 29MAY92

---CROATIA: DUBROVNIK

AS INDICATED IN REFTELCON, AREA VISIT TO DUBROVNIK NOW SCHEDULED FOR 02JUN-07JUN. (TRAVEL INCLUDES 24-HR FERRY TRIPS IN EACH DIRECTION, SINCE COASTAL ROAD IS STILL UNSAFE.) AM LEAVING IT TO LOCAL AUTHORITIES TO ADVISE IF THEY CONSIDER THAT CURRENT SITUATION WARRANTS FURTHER POSTPONEMENT.

2.I UNDERSTAND THAT LATEST EVENTS IN AND AROUND DUBROVNIK ARE NOT/NOT AS ONE-SIDED AS PORTRAYAL IN CROATIAN AND INTERNATL MEDIA WOULD SUGGEST. FOR APPROX ONE WEEK NOW, CROATIAN MEDIA HAVE BEEN CARRYING REPORTS ON TRIUMPHANT "LIBERATION" OF DALMATIAN COAST TOWNS BY CROATIAN "TIGER" BRIGADE. THIS IS NOT/NOT RESULT OF ANY

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PITCHED BATTLES: "TIGROVI" ARE SIMPLY MOVING IN AS JNA WITHDRAWS ACCORDING TO PLAN.

3. ON OR ABOUT 29MAY, JNA COMPLAINED TO BOTH UNPROFOR AND ECOMY THAT THEIR WITHDRAWING UNITS WERE BEING FIRED UPON BY CROATIANS, AND THREATENED TO SHELL DUBROVNIK IF FIRING DID NOT/NOT CEASE. SHORTLY THEREAFTER, THREAT WAS MADE GOOD. HAVE NOT/NOT RECEIVED ANY CONFIRMATION OF FIRING BY CROATIANS, WHO ALLEGE THAT JNA WERE NOT/NOT WITHDRAWING, BUT SIMPLY TAKING UP NEW POSITIONS. EVEN ON REASONABLE WORKING ASSUMPTION THAT WORST ALLEGATIONS BY BOTH SIDES ARE TRUE, BOMBARDMENT OF CITY AS RESPONSE TO HARASSING FIRE SEEMS EXCESSIVE.

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---CROATIA: ABORTION

SUMMARY: CROATIAN CARDINAL KUCHARIC HAS WRITTEN TO PRES OF CROATIAN PARLIAMENT REQUESTING THAT ABORTION AND CONTRACEPTION (CURRENTLY LEGAL IN CROATIA) BE PROHIBITED BY LAW. GOVERNING PARTY HAS APPARENTLY CHANGED ITS POLICY ACCORDINGLY. NEVERTHELESS, ACCORDING TO OPINION POLLS, SUCH LEGISLATION IS OPPOSED BY LARGE MAJORITIES. HDZ, WHICH NEEDS SUPPORT OF CHURCH, AND CANNOT/NOT AFFORD TO ALIENATE HALF OF POPULATION, IS IN A NO/NO-WIN SITUATION ON THIS ISSUE.

2.REPORT: ON 04MAY, CARDINAL KUCHARIC ADDRESSED LETTER TO ZARKO DOMLJAN, PRES OF CROATIAN PARLIAMENT (SABOR) WITH REQUEST OR DEMAND (ZAHTJEV) THAT QUOTE LAW ON HEALTHY METHODS FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF RIGHT OF FREE CHOICE IN BEARING OF CHILDREN

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(1978) BE URGENTLY ANNULLED AND REPLACED WITH A NEW ONE. FOR THE FAITHFUL, THIS LAW IS CONTRARY TO GOD AND HUMANITY. IT IS CONTRARY TO NEW CONSTITUTION OF REPUBLIC OF CROATIA, ACCORDING TO WHICH "EVERY HUMAN BEING HAS RIGHT TO LIFE" UNQUOTE. FOLLOWING 12/12-PT EXPOSITION BASED ON BIBLE AND DECISIONS OF SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL AS WELL AS CROATIAN CONSTITUTION, LETTER CONCLUDES BY CONFIDING MATTER TO QUOTE CARE AND CONSCIENCE OF CROATIAN SABOR UNQUOTE. QUOTE I AM CONVINCED THAT SUCH A SERIOUS MATTER WILL BE CONSIDERED WITH SUCH FULL SERIOUSNESS THAT MEMBERS OF SABOR, WITH RESPONSIBILITY BEFORE GOD, HISTORY AND NATION WILL DRAW CONCLUSION AND ADOPT NEW LAW WHICH WILL PROVIDE TRUE DEFENCE OF LIFE OF EVERY HUMAN BEING FROM CONCEPTION TO NATURAL DEATH UNQUOTE.

3. LETTER WAS NOT/NOT MADE PUBLIC UNTIL ACQUIRED BY GLOBUS AND PUBLISHED IN 15MAY ISSUE. PAPER ALSO CONDUCTED OPINION POLLS IN ZAGREB AND OTHER MAJOR CITIES WHICH REVEAL THAT AT LEAST URBAN POPULATION IS OPPOSED TO ANTI-CONTRACEPTION OR ANTI-ABORTION LEGISLATION BY LARGE MAJORITIES. IN BROADER OF TWO SURVEYS, 70.8/70.8 PER CENT WERE OPPOSED TO LEGAL PROHIBITION OF ABORTION AND 79.6/79.6 OPPOSED BAN ON SALE OF CONTRACEPTIVES.

4. PAPER ALSO QUERIED POLITICAL PARTIES AS TO THEIR STANCE ON ISSUE. MAJOR FINDING WAS THAT GOVERNING CROATIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION (HDZ) PARTY, WHICH IN MAY90 SUPPORTED RIGHT TO ABORTION, WAS NOW IN FAVOR OF PROHIBITION. MOST OTHER PARTIES OPPOSED BAN IN 1990

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AND CONTINUED TO DO SO. SPECULATION IS THAT HDZ DO NOT/NOT WANT TO ALIENATE CHURCH IN PRE-ELECTION PERIOD.

5. ACCUSED WORD-CRIMINAL TANJA TORBARINA DELIVERED HERSELF OF FOLLOWING COMMENTS IN 15MAY COLUMN:

QUOTE

WITH THE PRESIDENT IT'S EASY. THAT'S A DICTATOR OF WHOM NO ONE IS AFRAID. BUT CATHOLIC BISHOPS WORRY ME. JUST NOW THEY'VE ORDERED SABOR TO ADOPT LAW AGAINST RIGHT OF WOMEN TO DECIDE WHETHER THEY WILL GIVE BIRTH OR NOT/NOT. EVERY FORM OF CONTRACEPTION, SAY THE BISHOPS, "DEGRADES HUMAN BEING INTO THING OF SELFISH SATISFACTION". HOWEVER IT IS NOT/NOT SPECIFIED WHETHER THE BISHOPS CONSIDERED IF CONTRACEPTION COULD BE USED WITHOUT LEADING TO SATISFACTION. BECAUSE AS SOON AS A MAN IS SATISFIED HE BECOMES SELFISH. BESIDES, METHOD USED FOR "RESPONSIBLE PARENTHOOD IS OBSERVATION OF RHYTHM OF FERTILE AND NON-FERTILE DAYS. BECAUSE THAT IS HOW TO MAINTAIN THE DIGNITY OF HUMAN BEINGS AND HUMAN SEXUALITY." ARRESTS OF APOTHECARIES EXPECTED. AND PRIMARY DUTY OF EVERY WOMAN IN CROATIA IS LEARN TO COUNT TO 28/28. BECAUSE HDZ CAN'T WIN ELECTION WITHOUT SUPPORT OF BISHOPS, ONLY THING LEFT FOR WOMEN IS TO LEAVE HOME DURING FERTILE DAYS. SO AS NOT/NOT TO LEAD GUYS INTO TEMPTATION. BEST FOR CATHOLIC BISHOPS TO GET BUSY TURNING FORMER BARRACKS INTO HOSTELS. WHERE WOMEN WOULD LIVE DURING THEIR FERTILE DAYS, WHOSE MEN PLAY DEAF WHEN NBRS 12, 13, ...4

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14, 15, 16 ARE MENTIONED. SPEAKING OF HDZ, THEY MIGHT DECIDE THAT THE HOSTELS FOR WOMEN WHO DON'T WANT TO GESTATE, NOT/NOT HAVING ENOUGH TO LIVE THEMSELVES, BE CONVERTED DIRECTLY INTO PRISONS.. BECAUSE THEY DESERVE PRISON, WHEN THEY WON'T GIVE THE HOMELAND THAT WHICH THE HOMELAND EXPECTS OF THOSE WHO DON'T KNOW HOW TO COUNT TO 28. CATHOLIC BISHOPS ARE MEN. NEVERTHELESS, THEY WEAR SKIRTS AND IMAGINE THAT THEY KNOW WHAT IT'S LIKE TO BE WOMEN. IT WOULDN'T HURT IF THEY TOOK OFF THEIR HOUSE-COATS AND PUT ON SWEATSUITS. AND GOT SOME EXERCISE ON SOCCER FIELD. AND LEFT WOMEN IN PEACE. OUR BISHOPS ARE SIMPLY NOT/NOT INTERESTED IN WOMEN BEING LEFT IN PEACE. AND WHERE DO THEY GET THE RIGHT TO IMAGINE THAT THEY LOVE CHILDREN MORE THAN WOMEN DO? BESIDES, THE CROATIAN ARMY HAS ALREADY MOVED INTO THOSE BARRACKS. MAYBE THE BISHOPS WOULDN'T LIKE THE IDEA OF HAVING WOMEN IN THEIR FERTILE DAYS LEAVE THEIR HUSBANDS. AND HURRY TO THE BARRACKS. WHERE THERE ARE MEN FROM WALL TO WALL WHOSE NUMBERS ARE OUT OF SIGHT...

UNQUOTE.

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---CROATIA: GOVERNANCE

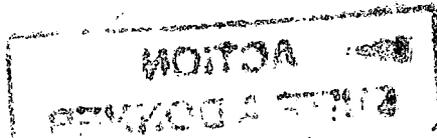
SUMMARY: IT COULD BE SAID THAT CROATIA OWES ITS INDEPENDENCE TO CATASTROPHIC FAILURE OF GOVERNANCE IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA, WHERE SYSTEMS PUT IN PLACE FOLLOWING WW2 FAILED TO PROVIDE SUFFICIENT ECONOMIC, SOCD DEVELOPMENT OF ADEQUATE SYSTEMS OF GOVERNANCE WILL BE D AUNTING

TASK. STATEMENTS OF WHAT GOVT INTENDS IN ECON, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FIELDS ARE LONG ON GOOD INTENTIONS, BUT THESE HAVE BARELY BEGUN TO BE PUT INTO EFFECT, AND THERE ARE DISTURBING SIGNS THAT ACTIONS ARE BEING TAKEN WHICH RUN COUNTER TO GOVT ASSURANCES.

2.REPORT: OVER PAST YEAR OR SO WE HAVE BEEN ELABORATING CONCEPT OF

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GOOD GOVERNANCE AS CRITERION FOR RELATIONS WITH OTHER CTRIES. THIS INVOLVES SETTING STANDARDS FOR POLICY AND PERFORMANCE IN ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SECTORS. THERE HAS BEEN GROWING ACCEPTANCE OF CONCEPT OF GOVERNANCE AS A TRIAD WITH ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LEGS: THE THREE FIELDS OF ACTIVITY ARE MUTUALLY SUPPORTING AND INTERDEPENDENT, SUCH THAT SUCCESSFUL GOVERNANCE IS NOT/NOT POSSIBLE IF ONE OF THE THREE LEGS IS ABSENT OR INADEQUATELY SUPPORTIVE.

3. IN ALL THREE FIELDS, FREEDOM IS ESSENTIAL STANDARD. IN ECONOMIC FIELD, FREE MARKET IS PRIMORDIAL REQUIREMENT, INCLUDING FREEDOM TO BUY, SELL, INVEST, SAVE; PRIVATISATION OF GOVT PROPERTY AND ENTERPRISES IS IMPORTANT CONCOMITANT. IN SOCIAL FIELD, WE JUDGE CTRIES BY THEIR PROTECTION OF BASIC RIGHTS (INCLUDING ROOSEVELTS FOUR FREEDOMS) OF THEIR CITIZENS, BOTH AS INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS, INCLUDING SUCH INDISPENSABLE FEATURES AS RULE OF LAW, INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY, MINORITY RIGHTS, AFFIRMATIVE ACTION. IN POLITICAL FIELD, WE LOOK FOR FUNCTIONING MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY, WITH OPEN POLITICAL PROCESS, FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION, FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS.

4. VICTOR HUGO ONCE WROTE OF CONFLICTS MORE PROFOUND THAN POLITICAL DISPUTES: QUOTE JACQUERIES UNQUOTE, TREMBLEMENTS DE PEUPLE, QUOTE PRES DESQUELLES LES AGITATIONS PUREMENT POLITIQUES SONT JEUX D'ENFANTS, QUI NE SONT PLUS LA LUTTE DE L'OPPRIME CONTRE

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L'OPPRESSEUR MAIS LA REVOLTE DU MALAISE CONTRE LE BIEN-ETRE  
UNQUOTE. FATE OF SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA CAN BE  
SEEN AS EXAMPLE OF QUOTE PEOPLEQUAKE UNQUOTE BROUGHT ON BY MASSIVE  
FAILURE OF GOVERNANCE. PROCESS BEGAN LONG BEFORE COLLAPSE OF  
COMMUNIST SYSTEMS ELSEWHERE, AND EVEN BEFORE DEATH OF TITO. BUT  
GROWING WEAKNESSES OF ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS FED  
ON AND EXACERBATED EACH OTHER TO SUCH DEGREE THAT ONCE COUNTER-  
BALANCING PRESSURES OF COLD WAR WERE REMOVED THERE WAS LITTLE TO  
HOLD CTRY TOGETHER. COUP DE GRACE WAS ADMINISTERED BY POLITICAL  
LEADERS WHO FOUND NATIONALISM AND ETHNIC RIVALRY A SURER ROUTE TO  
POWER THAN ECONOMIC, SOCIAL OR POLITICAL REFORM.

5. CROATIA IS DISCOVERING THAT NEED FOR SUCH REFORMS CANNOT/NOT BE  
EVADED THROUGH INDEPENDENCE. AS TUDJMAN OBSERVED IN HIS SPEECH ON  
RETURNING FROM CROATIAS INDUCTION INTO UN, ONE PERIOD IN CROATIAN  
HISTORY HAS ENDED AND ANOTHER HAS BEGUN. EUPHORIA OF INDEPENDENCE  
AND INTERNATL RECOGNITION CANNOT/NOT BE SUSTAINED FOREVER, AND  
URGENT PROBLEMS OF GOVERNANCE NEED TO BE FACED.

6. IN ECON FIELD, THERE IS PRESSING NEED TO REBUILD: TRANSPORT,  
COMMUNICATIONS, ELECTRICITY AND WATER INFRASTRUCTURE HAVE ALHAVE BEEN  
DAMAGED OR DESTROYED. ECONOMIC ACTIVITY, BOTH BECAUSE OF WAR  
DAMAGE AND DIVERSION OF MUCH OF LABOUR FORCE TO MILITARY ACTIVITY,

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IS AT VERY LOW LEVEL. CTRY'S FINANCES ARE IN PARLOUS STATE, AND ECONOMY IS CURRENTLY SUSTAINED LARGELY BY PRINTING OF MONEY.

7.SOME ACTION IS BEING TAKEN. IMF DELEGATION WAS RECENTLY HERE, AND THERE APPEARS TO BE GENUINE INTENT TO PUT ECONOMY ON SOUND BASIS. GOVT IS ACTIVELY TRYING TO ATTRACT FOREIGN INVESTMENT, AND IS PUBLICLY COMMITTED TO FREE MARKET, PRIVATISATION OF STATE PROPERTY AND ENTERPRISES, INCLUDING RESTITUTION OF OR COMPENSATION FOR NATIONALISED PROPERTY. BUT OFT-REPEATED PROMISES TO UNFREEZE FOREIGN-CURRENCY SAVINGS OF RESIDENTS REMAIN UNKEPT, AND LEGISLATION ON DE-NATIONALISATION HAS NOT/NOT YET BEEN ADOPTED.

8.SOCIAL FIELD IS ALMOST CERTAINLY WHERE GREATEST PROBLEMS LIE. HISTORIC ENMITY BETWEEN SERBS AND CROATS HAS BEEN REVIVED AND INTENSIFIED BY EVENTS OF PAST YEAR TO POINT WHERE IT IS DIFFICULT TO IMAGINE HOW MIXED COMMUNITIES COULD BE RESTORED IN CONFLICT AREAS. GOVT HAS PASSED LEGISLATION ON PROTECTION OFF HUMAN RIGHTS AND ETHNIC MINORITIES, INCLUDING CREATION OF TWO AUTONOMOUS AREAS WHERE SERBS ARE IN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY. IMPLEMENTATION, HOWEVER, MUST AWAIT WITHDRAWAL OF JNA AND RETURN OF THESE AREAS TO CROATIAN AUTHORITY. DISTURBING DEVELOPMENT IS OPENING OF CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS FOR CRIMES INCLUDING ARMED INSURRECTIONS AGAINST THOUSANDS OF RESIDENTS OF CONFLICT AREAS: IT APPEARS HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT ALL THESE CASES WILL MAKE IT TO COURT, BUT AT LEAST PART OF INTENT WOULD APPEAR TO BE TO PREVENT INDIVIDUALS FROM

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BEING ELECTED TO LOCAL GOVT OFFICE IN AREAS CONCERNED.

9. ANOTHER MAJOR, AND RELATED SOCIAL PROBLEM IS HUGE NBR OF REFUGEES (WELL OVER HALF MILLION - MORE THAN TEN PER CENT OF POPULATION) FROM BOTH CROATIA AND B-H, ON CROATIAN TERRITORY. RESULTING STRAIN ON ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS IS JUST BARELY BEING SUSTAINED, AND MASSIVE ASSISTANCE WILL BE NEEDED.

10. NOR IS ETHNIC HATRED ONLY FAULT LINE IN THIS REGION PRONE TO PEOPLEQUAKES. FOR CTRY WHICH WAS UNDER SOCIALIST SYSTEM FOR FIFTY YRS, CROATIA IS IMPRESSIVE FOR DEGREE TO WHICH EDUCATED, CULTURED, EUROPEANISED AND RELATIVELY WEALTHY ELITE HAS BEEN ABLE TO MAINTAIN ITSELF IN DISTINCTION FROM LESS DEVELOPED PEASANTRY. CURRENT UPHEAVAL HAS LED TO SITUATION IN WHICH ZAGREB INTELLECTUALS CONTINUE TO SIT IN OUTDOOR CAFES, SIPPING ESPRESSO AND CAPPUCINO BY THE DEMITASSE AND DEBATING FINER POINTS OF CORRECT USAGE IN LITERARY CROATIAN, WHILE ONLY A FEW METRES AWAY REFUGEES FROM VUKOVAR OR B-H SIT ON SIDEWALKS AND DISPLAY MUTILATED OR SUPPURATING LIMBS IN HOPE OF BEGGING AS MUCH MONEY AS WOULD BUY ONE OF THOSE SMALL CUPS OF COFFEE.

11. HELSINKI WATCH HAS DOCUMENTED NUMEROUS CASES IN WHICH RULE OF LAW, INDEPENDENCE OF JUDICIARY, AND PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS FALL SHORT OF CSCE STANDARDS. GOVT CONTINUES TO MAINTAIN THAT ALL SUCH CASES WILL BE INVESTIGATED AND DEALT WITH, AND THAT CROATIA WILL BE, IN FREQUENTLY-USED PHRASE, QUOTE PRAVNA DRZAVA UNQUOTE,

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PAGE SIX QLGR0152 UNCLAS

STATE OF LAW. BUT ONE LAW STILL ON BOOKS MAKES IT CRIMINAL OFFENCE TO BELITTLE, LIBEL OR SLANDER STATE AND OFFICEHOLDERS. CURRENT PUBLIC PROSECUTOR IS MAKING ACTIVE USE OF THIS LEGISLATION TO PROSECUTE JOURNALISTS WHO HOLD PRES TUDJMAN IN LESS THAN PERFECT AWE.

12. IN POLITICAL FIELD, CROATIA IS WAITING FOR DEMOCRACY. IT WILL NOT/NOT ARRIVE BEFORE NEW ELECTIONS ARE HELD, AND WILL NOT/NOT BE COMPLETELY OPERATIONAL FOR SOME TIME THEREAFTER. ELECTORAL LEGISLATION PROVIDES FOR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS AND ELECTIONS TO HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. THESE WILL BE HELD QUOTE AS SOON AS LAST OCCUPYING SOLDIER HAS BEEN WITHDRAWN UNQUOTE. ELECTIONS TO OTHER HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT, HOUSE OF COUNTIES, ARE TO BE HELD WITHIN FIVE MONTHS OF FIRST ELECTIONS, BUT CANNOT/NOT TAKE PLACE UNTIL LEGISLATION CREATING NEW COUNTIES HAS BEEN ADOPTED. IN MEANTIME, POWER CONTINUES TO BE CONCENTRATED IN HANDS OF PRESIDENT, WHOSE APPETITE NOT/NOT ONLY FOR EXERCISE OF POWER BUT FOR TRAPPINGS OF OFFICE IS SUBJECT OF INCREASING CRITICISM.

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**ACTION**  
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---CROATIA: INVOLVEMENT WITH BOSNA-HERCEGOVINA

SUMMARY: THERE APPEAR TO BE B-H SOLDIERS IN CROATIA, MAKING NO/NO  
 GREAT SECRET OF THEIR PRESENCE. NUMBERS, AND WHAT THEY ARE  
 SUPPOSED TO BE DOING HERE, UNKNOWN. SHOULD MTG BETWEEN SSEA AND  
 CROATIAN FORMIN TAKE PLACE, THIS IS QUESTION WHICH MIGHT BE  
 RAISED.

2.REPORT: I WAS APPROACHED ON STREET TODAY BY GROUP OF FOUR YOUNG  
 SOLDIERS ASKING DIRECTIONS TO HIGHWAY. I DIRECTED THEM TO AVENUE  
 VUKOVAR (FORMERLY BOULEVARD OF PROLETARIAN BRIGADES) ABOUT ONE  
 BLOCK AWAY.

3.THE FOUR WERE WEARING CAMOUFLAGE BATTLEDRESS, ALLEGEDLY EAST  
 GERMAN SURPLUS, WHICH IS TO DATE ONLY UNIFORM WORN BY CROATIAN  
 ARMY (AND ALSO SOMETHING OF FASHION ITEM EVEN WITH CIVILIANS). BUT

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THEIR BERETS (THOSE WHO WERE WEARING THEM) WERE BRIGHT GREEN, WITH A CRESCENT-AND-STAR BADGE. SHOULDER PATCHES WERE IN SHAPE OF SHIELD WITH WHITE STRIPE RUNNING FROM UPPER LEFT TO LOWER RIGHT, WITH FLEUR-DE-LYS ORTS FROM B-H.

4. SINCE ALL FOUR WERE CARRYING AK-47S OR AK-MCS, CURIOSITY SEEMED INADVISABLE. BUT IF PRESENCE OF MEMBERS OF BOSNIAN TERRITORIAL ARMY IN CROATIA IS SUPPOSED TO BE SOME SORT OF SECRET, THEY ARE OBVIOUSLY NOT/NOT WELL BRIEFED ON (A) LAYOUT OF CIT Y, AND (B) IMPRUDENCE OF SEEKING DIRECTIONS FROM BALD JOGGERS WEARING UNTAG/NAMIBIA SOUVENIR T-SHIRTS.

5. IT SEEMS WE CAN ADD TO QUESTION OF WHAT CROATIAN ARMY IS DOING IN B-H, QUESTION OF WHAT B-H ARMY IS D OING IN CROATIA.

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---CROATIA: DEMOCRATISATION: WORDCRIME

SUMMARY: MORE PROCEEDINGS HAVE BEEN INSTITUTED AGAINST JOURNALISTS  
FOR SLANDERING PRESIDENT. CROATIAN JOURNALISTS SOCIETY HAS WRITTEN  
OPEN LETTER TO PUBLIC PROSECUTOR SEKS (PRONOUNCED SHEKS)  
CONDEMNING REPRESSION WHICH, THEY SUGGEST, IS HIS PERSONAL  
INITIATIVE. SATIRICAL COLUMNIST TORBARINA REMAINS UNABASHED.  
2.REPORT: PROCEEDINGS HAVE BEEN LAUNCHED AGAINST THREE JOURNALIST  
FOR ARTICLE WHICH APPEARED IN QUOTE FERAL TRIBUNE UNQUOTE,  
SATIRICAL INSERT CARRIED IN SPLIT DAILY SLOBODNA DALMATIA 20MAY.  
UNDER HEADING QUOTE A SCHOOL, A CLASS, A STUDENT UNQUOTE, PAPER  
PRINTED THREE CLASS PHOTOS OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL STUDENTS, WITH  
ARROWS PURPORTING TO POINT OUT HITLER, STALIN AND TUDJMAN AS

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STUDENTS. CHARGES OF CRIMINAL ACT OF SLANDER AGAINST PRES TUDJMAN HAVE BEEN LAID AGAINST VIKTOR IVANCIC, PREDRAG LUCIC AND BORIS DEZULOVIC.

3. CROATIAN JOURNALISTS SOCIETY 25MAY ADDRESSED OPEN LETTER TO PUBLIC PROSECUTOR SEKS REGARDING CHARGES AGAINST JOURNALISTS TANJA TORBARINA, JELENA LOVRIC AND DENIS KULIC. LETTER NOTES THAT FILING OF CHARGES COMES JUST AT TIME OF SEKS ASSUMING OFFICE AS PUBLIC PROSECUTOR, GIVING IMPRESSION THAT SEKS PERSONALLY INITIATED PROSECUTIONS, ESPECIALLY SINCE IN TWO OF THREE CASES CHARGES RELATE TO ACTS WHICH TOOK PLACE LAST YR. LETTER ALSO ACCUSES SEKS OF REPAYING IN KIND JOURNALISTS WHO HAD NOT/NOT SPARED HIM IN THEIR WRITINGS, USING POSITION OF STATE POWER AND RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEFENCE OF PUBLIC ORDER.

4. LETTER EMPHASISES NEED TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN STATE AND INDIVIDUAL INTERESTS, NOTING THAT LAW ON PUBLIC INFORMATION PROVIDES LEGAL REMEDIES FOR INDIVIDUALS TO PROTECT THEIR INTERESTS, AND REGRETTING THAT SEKS DID NOT/NOT RESORT TO THESE REMEDIES INSTEAD OF USING REPRESSIVE METHODS OF ACCUSATION, CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION, ETC. WHEN CROATIA JOINED UN, LETTER NOTES, IT ACCEPTED PRICIPLE OF FREEDOM OF PRESS: QUOTE WHY THEN CALL INTO QUESTION OUR CONCRETE PRACTICE? UNQUOTE. WHILE NOT/NOT ATTEMPTING TO DEFEND TEXTS SPECIFIED IN CHARGES, LETTER CALLS FOR CIVILISED RELATIONS WITH MEDIA, AND QUOTE RESPONSIBLE CONDUCT ON BOTH SIDES

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WITH RESPECT TO SPOKEN OR WRITTEN WORD UNQUOTE. LETTER COMMITS CROATIAN JOURNALISTS SOCIETY AND UNION TO PUBLIC DEFENCE BOTH OF JOURNALISTS AS INDIVIDUALS AND OF DIGNITY OF PROFESSION, AGAINST UNDEMOCRATIC ACTIONS.

5.MEANWHILE, ACCUSED VERBAL DELINQUENT TANJA TORBARINA HAS USED HER WEEKLY COLUMN TO RESPOND TO CHARGES AGAINST HER, IMPLYING THAT SINCE SEKS KNOWS THAT TITOS WILL DOES NOT/NOT LEAVE VILLA ZAGORJE TO TUDJMAN, LATTER WILL BE SHOWN TO BE IN UNLAWFUL OCCUPATION OF VILLA. SEKS' HIDDEN INTENT IS THUS ALLEGEDLY TO CONDUCT AN INTRIGUE AGAINST TUDJMAN AND GET HIM THROWN INTO PRISON...

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---CROATIA: TUDJMAN RETURN FROM UN

SUMMARY: ON RETURN FROM NYORK, PRES TUDJMAN ADDRESSED LARGE CROWD IN  
ZAGREB MAIN SQUARE. BASIC MESSAGE WAS CELEBRATORY, NOT/NOT TO SAY  
TRIUMPHALIST: WITH ENTRY INTO UN, CROATIA HAD ACHIEVED CENTURIES-  
LONG DREAM OF INDEPENDENCE, AND ACCEPTANCE ON ITS OWN RIGHT INTO  
INTERNATL COMMUNITY. HE MAINTAINED THAT HIS GOVT HAD BEEN VINDICATED  
IN DECISION NEITHER TO AVOID WAR AT PRICE OF CROATIAN INDEPENDENCE,  
NOR TO CONTINUE IT LONGER THAN NECESSARY; IF OCCUPIERS DID NOT/NOT  
COMPLY WITH UN PLAN, CROATIA WAS NOW CAPABLE OF DRIVING THEM OUT  
MILITARILY. ELECTIONS WOULD BE HELD AS SOON AS LAST OCCUPIER HAD  
LEFT. ALL ETHNIC AND CIVIL RIGHTS OF SERBS WERE GUARANTEED; IT WAS  
NOW FOR THEM TO ACCEPT CROATIAN STATE AND GOVT. HE EXPRESSED  
PARTICULAR GRATITUDE TO AND SOLIDARITY WITH VOLUNTEERS FROM BOSNA-

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HERCEGOVINA WHO HAD ASSISTED IN DEFENCE OF CROATIA, AND WERE NOW DEFENDING B-H.

2.REPORT: CROWD IN JELACIC SQUARE WAS LARGE AND ENTHUSIASTIC, AND TUDJMANS ADDRESS FROM BALCONY WAS INTERRUPTED MANY TIMES BY CHEERS. THERE WERE NUMBER OF CROATIAN FLAGS IN CROWD, AND AT LEAST ONE EEC AND ONE GERMAN. OCCASION WAS ALSO MARRED BY PRESENCE OF SEVERAL NDH (WW2 QUISLING REGIME) FLAGS WHICH WERE WAVED AS VIGOROUSLY AS ANY OTHERS.

3.RECAPITULATING EVENTS OF PAST TWO YRS, TUDJMAN MAINTAINED THAT HIS GOVT HAD PURSUED ALL POSSIBLE AVENUES TO ACHIEVE CROATIAN ASPIRATIONS BY PEACEFUL MEANS. CROATIAN NATIONAL AIMS HAD HAD TO BE RECONCILED WITH DEMOCRATIC CRITERIA OF INTL COMMUNITY, GREAT EFFORT HAD BEEN NEEDED TO CONVINCED THOSE WHO HAD BEEN FOR PRESERVING YUGO UNITY AT ANY COST. HE REJECTED CLAIMS THAT CROATIA WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR WAR: RECALLING THAT CROATIAN PROPOSAL FOR CONFEDERATION IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA HAD BEEN REJECTED, HE MAINTAINED THAT WAR COULD ONLY HAVE BEEN AVOIDED IF CROATIA HAD ABANDONED GOAL OF INDEPENDENCE. CROATIA HAD BEEN PREPARED TO ACHIEVE ITS GOAL BY PEACEFUL MEANS IF POSSIBLE, AND BY WAR IF NECESSARY. IT HAD WON THE WAR.

4.IT HAD NOT/NOT CONTINUED WAR TO LOGICAL CONCLUSION OF DRIVING ALL OCCUPIERS OUT OF CROATIA IN ORDER TO AVOID CASUALTIES TENFOLD HIGHER THAN THOSE WHICH HAD ALREADY BEEN SUFFERED. ALSO, IN THAT CASE,

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CROATIA WOULD NOT/NOT HAVE BEEN INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNISED, BUT PROCLAIMED AN AGGRESSOR IN ITS OWN CTRY. CROATIA HAD THEREFORE ACCEPTED PEACEKEEPING OPERATION, BUT ON CONDITION THAT CROATIAN SOVEREIGNTY WAS NOT/NOT BROUGHT INTO QUESTION. LAST BIT OF CROATIAN TERRITORY WOULD SOON BE FREE OF OCCUPATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH UN PLAN. IF THIS WERE NOT/NOT CARRIED OUT, CROATIAN ARMY WAS NOW CAPABLE OF DRIVING OCCUPIERS OUT.

5. TUDJMAN REJECTED ACCUSATIONS BY THOSE WHO HAD SOUGHT TO DESTROY DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED GOVT (IE PARTY OF RIGHTS) THAT EASTERN SLAVONIA HAD BEEN ABANDONED FOR HERCEGOVINA. CROATIA HAD UNDERTAKEN DEFENCE OF EVERY PART OF CROATIAN SOIL, IN SOLIDARITY WITH CROATIAN PEOPLE OF B-H. QUOTE BY CROATIAN HOMELAND, I INCLUDE CROATIAN PARTS OF B-H BECAUSE MANY SOLDIERS FROM B-H FOUGHT IN OUR RANKS, AND WHEN SERB ARMY THREATENED B-H IT WAS THOSE VERY PEOPLE WHO VOLUNTARILY WENT TO B-H AND WERE THE BACKBONE OF THE CROATIAN DEFENCE FORCES, DEFENDED THE CROATIAN PARTS OF B-H, AND WERE THE FOUNDATION OF THE DEFENCE OF THE WHOLE OF B-H UNQUOTE.

6. ACCEPTANCE OF CROATIA INTO UN, SAID TUDJMAN, REPRESENTED END OF PERIOD OF STRUGGLE FOR SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE. AHEAD LAY RECONSTRUCTION OF CTRY, RETURN OF REFUGEES AND EXILES, AND ESTABLISHMENT OF FULLY DEMOCRATIC AND LEGAL ORDER, FREE MARKET, PRIVATISATION, AND CTRY OF PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY. SLOGAN FOR FUTURE WOULD BE QUOTE WE ALONE WILL BUILD OUR CROATIA (BECAUSE IT IS

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UP TO US ALONE WHAT IT WILL BE LIKE) UNQUOTE. AS SOON AS LAST OCCUPIER HAD DEPARTED, ELECTIONS WOULD BE HELD FOR NEW DEMOCRATIC GOVT IN ACCORDANCE WITH NEW CONSTITUTION.

7.TUDJMAN CALLED ON SERB CITIZENS OF CROATIA TO CEASE ARMED STRUGGLE AGAINST IT. THEIR ETHNIC AND CIVIL RIGHTS WERE GUARANTEED. THEY HAD TO ACCEPT THAT THEIR WAS NO/NO OTHER WAY THAN TO ACCEPT CROATIAN STATE AND GOVT, IF THEY WISHED TO GO ON LIVING IN CROATIA.

OTHERWISE, QUOTE LET THEM GO WHERE THEY WILL FIND THEIR OWN CTRY UNQUOTE. CROATIA HAD ACCEPTED UN AND EUROPEAN OBLIGATIONS TO RESPECT ALL CIVIL AND ETHNIC MINORITY RIGHTS, BUT WOULD NOT/NOT ACCEPT ARMED INSURRECTION. THOSE WHO HAD BLOD ON THEIR HANDS WOULD HAVE TO ANSWER FOR IT, BECAUSE THERE WAS NO/NO STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS ON WAR CRIMES.

8.QUOTE WE HAVE OUR CROATIA, UNQUOTE, HE CONCLUDED. QUOTE AND IT WILL BE WHAT WE ALONE WANT IT TO BE, AND WE WILL NOT/NOT TAKE FOREIGN PRESCRIPTIONS AS TO WHAT IT MUST BE UNQUOTE.

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---CROATIA: POSSIBLE CABINET SHUFFLE

THERE IS INCREASING SPECULATION HERE THAT ADMISSION OF CROATIA TO UN, EXPECTED 22MAY, WILL BE FOLLOWED BY MAJOR CABINET SHUFFLE (SEVENTH IN LAST 2/2 YRS), INCLUDING DESPATCH OF FOREIGN MINISTER SEPAROVIC TO NEW YORK AS PERM REP TO UN. SPECULATION DOES NOT/NOT EXTEND TO IDENTITY OF NEW FORMIN.

2. OTHER EXPECTED CHANGES: REPLACEMENT OF CURRENT PRES OF GOVT (PRIME MINISTER) BY MLADEN VEDRIS (CURRENTLY MIN WITHOUT PORTFOLIO AND PRES OF ZAGREB MUNICIPAL GOVT) DEPARTURE OF DEPTY PRESIDENTS ZDRAVKO TOMAC AND JURICA PAVELIC IS ALSO SUBJ OF SPECULATION.

3. NEXT CABINET MTG SCHEDULED FOR 23MAY.

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MONITOR, AND AS SUCH SUFFERED PERSECUTION UNDER PREVIOUS REGIME. IN 13FEB92 HELSINKI WATCH REPORT, HOWEVER, HE IS ACCUSED OF PERSECUTION. ACCORDING TO WITNESS (JOURNALIST WHO HAD PUBLISHED ARTICLE ALLEGING THAT THERE WERE FORCES IN GOVT CIRCLES WORKING AGAINST PRES TUDJMAN) SEKS CALLED JOURNALIST IN ZADAR TO DEMAND THAT HE COME ZAGREB. WHEN HE REFUSED, SEKS ALLEGEDLY THREATENED THAT HE WOULD QUOTE SUFFER CONSEQUENCES UNQUOTE FOR HIS ACTIONS.

4. PROCEEDINGS HAVE BEEN INSTITUTED BY OFFICE OF PUBLIC PROSECUTOR AGAINST PARTY OF RIGHT(S) LEADER DOBROSLAV PARAGA FOR DESCRIBING AS TREASON PRES TUDJMANS ACCEPTANCE OF PROPOSED HAGUE CONVENTION (PARTICULARLY MEASURES RELATING TO EASTERN SLAVONIA). PROCEEDINGS HAVE ALSO BEEN LAUNCHED AGAINST SERBIAN DEMOCRATIC FRONT LEADER MILORAD PUPOVAC FOR ALLEGING THAT TEN THOUSAND SERB CHILDREN IN CROATIA HAVE BEEN RE-BAPTISED AS CATHOLICS.

5. IVAN ZVONIMIR CICAČ, AUTHOR OF COLUMN OF POLITICAL COMMENTARY IN WEEKLY MAGASINE QUOTE DANAS UNQUOTE, REVEALED IN 05MAY ISSUE THAT HE HAD BEEN CALLED BY POLICE 29APR AND INVITED TO QUOTE INFORMATIONAL CONVERSATION UNQUOTE. HE REFUSED, AND WAS TOLD THAT PROCEEDINGS WERE BEING LAUNCHED AGAINST HIM BECAUSE OF ARTICLE QUOTE WHO HAS STOLEN OUR SOUL UNQUOTE WHICH HAD APPEARED 07APR. FOLLOWING WEEK, BEFORE WITNESSES, SEKS THREATENED TO PURSUE CICAČ FOR QUOTE VERBALNI DELIKT UNQUOTE.

6. LATEST DEVELOPMENT WOULD BE ALMOST LUDICROUS, WERE IT NOT/NOT OF

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EQUALLY SERIOUS CHARACTER. TANJA TORBARINA, AUTHOR OF WEEKLY HUMOUR AND POLITICAL SATIRE COLUMN (ROUGHLY COMPARABLE TO FOTHERINGHAM OR NAMIBIA'S DR GONZO) IN WEEKLY TABLOID QUOTE GLOBUS UNQUOTE, HAS BEEN CHARGED FOR QUOTE CRIMINAL ACTS OF INSULT AND SLANDER, WITH DAMAGE TO PRES OF REPUBLIC OF CROATIA, DR FRANJO TUDJMAN UNQUOTE. SPECIFICALLY, SHE IS ACCUSED OF QUOTE INTENTIONAL BELITTLING OF PRES BY COMPARING HIS OFFICIAL AND LAWFUL USE OF VILLA ZAGORJE, NOT/NOT FOR RESIDENTIAL BUT FOR WORK AND STATE BUSINESS, WITH FORCIBLE OCCUPATION OF STARCEVICEV DOM BY CROATIAN PARTY OF RIGHT(S).. UNQUOTE. 7.OFFENSIVE PORTION OF TORBARINA'S COLUMN TRANSLATES AS FOLLOWS:

QUOTE

EVERYONE WAITED TENSELY TO SEE WHAT WOULD HAPPEN WHEN THEY STARTED TO THROW PARAGA OUT. BECAUSE HE HAD FORCIBLY MOVED IN TO A BUILDING ON STARCEVIC SQUARE. BECAUSE HE IS STARCEVIC'S SUCCESSOR. BECAUSE HE HIMSELF HAS DECIDED SO. BECAUSE HE FOUNDED THE PARTY OF RIGHT(S). AND SHOWED A TESTAMENT. ACCORDING TO WHICH STARCEVIC, WHO DIED IN 1896, LEFT THE BLDG TO PARAGA. WHO WAS BORN 70/70 YRS LATER. NOW, LET'S SAY, I PROCLAIM MYSELF SUCCESSOR TO EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA. AND WITH NO/NO TROUBLE MOVE INTO ALL THE AUSTRIAN EMPEROR'S PALACES. THEN SHOW A TESTAMENT IN WHICH IT IS WRITTEN THAT THE AUSTRIAN EMPEROR LEAVES ALL THAT HE HAS TO HIS SUCCESSORS. AND WHEN I PROCLAIM MYSELF HIS SUCCESSOR, NO/NO ONE CAN EVICT ME. ON THIS PRINCIPLE, PARAGA IS NOT/NOT THROWN OUT, BECAUSE THAT WOULD HAVE

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PAGE FOUR QLGR0136 UNCLAS

PROVOKED TERRIBLE DIVISIONS AMONG CROATS. BECAUSE OF PARAGA, EACH CROAT WOULD HAVE BEEN CHOPPED INTO AT LEAST FOUR PIECES.

ON THE OTHER HAND, IT'S GOOD THAT PARAGA HASN'T BEEN THROWN OUT, BECAUSE THAT WOULD HAVE CARRIED WITH IT FURTHER EVICTIONS. PRES TUJMAN NOW LIVES IN TITO'S VILLA. AND IT STILL ISN'T KNOWN WHETHER TITO REMEMBERED HIM IN HIS WILL. AND IT WOULDN'T BE NICE FOR THE MILITIA TO COME AND THROW OUR PRES OUT ON THE STREET. JUST SO THE LAW WOULD BE RESPECTED. AND IT WOULDN'T BE NICE AT ALL TO HAVE THE MOVERS COME IN. WHIZZ THE PRESIDENTS COUCHES AND BOOKS ONTO THE STREET. POLICE AND PRESIDENTIAL HONOUR GUARD WOULD SURELY SCUFFLE. AND PRES WOULD BE SITTING ON STREET ON THROWN-OUT COUCH. AND IT WOULDN'T HELP HIM TO SHOW THEM THE PRESIDENTIAL COAT OF ARMS.  
UNQUOTE.

8. TIMING, AND SPECIFICS OF CHARGE, ARE UNUSUAL. TORBARINA HAS PREVIOUSLY SUGGESTED THAT TUJMAN THINKS HIMSELF TO BE TITO, AND OFFERED TO ORGANISE CORONATION FOR QUOTE KING FRANJO OF ZAGORJE UNQUOTE. ALTHOUGH SOME OF HER OTHER VICTIMS HAVE SUED, THERE HAS BEEN NO/NO PREVIOUS INDICATION THAT CRIMINAL CHARGES WOULD BE LAID. ONE CAN SPECULATE THAT COMPARISON WITH PARAGA WAS PARTICULARLY WOUNDING.

9. AS VARIOUS COMMENTATORS HERE HAVE SUGGESTED, IT IS ONE THING FOR AN INDIVIDUAL, EVEN ONE IN PUBLIC LIFE, TO SUE FOR LIBEL OR DEFAMATION. IT IS SOMETHING ELSE FOR THE STATE TO LAUNCH CRIMINAL

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PAGE FIVE QLGR0136 UNCLAS

PROCEEDINGS UNDER A LAW WHOSE COMPATIBILITY WITH NEW CROATIAN  
CONSTITUTION IS, AT THE VERY LEAST, QUESTIONABLE. WHAT ALSO BECOMES  
QUESTIONABLE IS GOVT'S COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRATIC VALUES.

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HAGUE CNBRA PCOOTT/MCNEE PMOOTT PILLAROTT/RCT/RCI/RAP

RCMPOTT/D/CA/MURRAY TT NDHQOTT/DIPOL/ASSOC ADMPOL/CIS/DPKO//

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---CROATIA: PARTY OF RIGHT(S) (HSP)

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PRINCIPAL PLAINTIFF IN DISPUTE BETWEEN HSP AND FINE ARTS SOCIETY  
OVER RIGHT TO OCCUPANCY OF STARCEVICEV DOM BLDG HAS WRITTEN TO  
ZAGREB DAILY VJESNIK COMPLAINING THAT PREVIOUS REPORT ON AFFAIR  
QUOTE MENTIONED ME IN INADEQUATE CONTEXT UNQUOTE. HE DID NOT/NOT  
GIVE ANY AGREEMENT TO WITHDRAW SUIT AGAINST HSP, HE SAID, BECAUSE  
HE HAD NOT/NOT BEEN AUTHORISED TO DO SO BY SOCIETYS MANAGEMENT  
CTTEE. HE ALSO DENIED THAT ANY POLICE OFFICER, STILL LESS THIRTY OF  
THEM, HAD TAKEN HIM ANYWHERE, OR THAT HE WAS UNDER PROTECTION OF  
HSP.

2.DISPUTE APPEARS TO HAVE MOVED FROM COURTS INTO LETTERS COLUMNS.  
VJESNIK 17MAY CARRIES LENGTHY LETTER FROM HSP LEADER PARAGA,  
DENYING THAT HSP HAD EVER GIVEN PROPERTY TO WARTIME USTASHI REGIME;

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AFFIRMING THAT BLDG, WHEN NATIONALISED BY POSTWAR COMMUNIST GOVT, WAS STILL HSP PROPERTY; AND CLAIMING THAT BLDG IS THEREFORE NOT/NOT STATE BUT HSP PROPERTY.

3. CLAIM OF PARAGAS HSP TO BE SOLE OR RIGHTFUL SUCCESSOR TO PARTY ORIGINALLY FOUNDED BY STARCEVIC IS NOT/NOT WITHOUT ITS DISPUTANTS. ORIGINAL HSP WAS SUCCEEDED TO AT LEAST SOME DEGREE BY JOSIP FRANKS QUOTE PARTY OF PURE RIGHT UNQUOTE, THEN BY CROATIAN CLERICAL PARTY. SOME MAINTAIN THAT ALL OPPOSITION PARTIES HAVE CLAIM TO OWNERSHIP OF STARCEVICEV DOM.

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HAGUE CNBRA PCOOTT/MCNEE PMOOTT PILLAROTT/RCT/RCI/RAP  
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---CROATIA: FUGITIVE AIR FORCE

LOCAL MEDIA ENTHUSIASTICALLY REPORT THAT CROATIAN AIR FORCE IS, AS  
OF 15MAY, RICHER BY 2/2 MIG-21 AIRCRAFT, BRINGING ITS HOLDINGS TO  
4/4 (3/3 AVAILABLE, ONE INTERNED IN AUSTRIA).

2.ALL FOUR AIRCRAFT WERE BROUGHT OVER BY DEFECTING JNA PILOTS, ALL  
OF WHOM ARE SAID TO BE CROATIAN. IN MOST RECENT CASE, TWO  
APPARENTLY TOOK OFF AS A PAIR FROM BASE IN SERBIA OR MONTENEGRO AND  
SPLIT UP FOR SECURITY PURPOSES, ONE LANDING AT SPLIT AND OTHER AT  
ZAGREB. AIRCRAFT WERE APPARENTLY IN GOOD SHAPE, REQUIRING ONLY  
REPLACEMENT OF JNA WITH CROATIAN MARKINGS.

3.DEFECTION WAS IN ALL LIKELIHOOD ORGANISED WITH ASSISTANCE FROM  
CROATIAN SIDE, IF ONLY TO ENSURE THAT AIRCRAFT WERE NOT/NOT FIRED  
ON AS THEY APPROACHED THEIR DESTINATIONS. LOCAL PRESS IN FACT  
REPORTED SOME TIME AGO THAT CROATIAN GOVT WAS OFFERING GENEROUS

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COMPENSATION TO JNA PILOTS FOR ANY LOSSES AND EXPENSES INCURRED IN MOVING BACK TO CROATIA. (COMPENSATION IS PRESUMABLY PARTICULARLY GENEROUS FOR THOSE WHO BRING AIRCRAFT WITH THEM.)

4. DEFECTING PILOTS HAVE ALSO APPARENTLY BROUGHT USEFUL INFORMATION WITH THEM. ONE WHO DEFECTED IN FEB WAS APPARENTLY ABLE TO IDENTIFY PILOT AND GROUND CONTROLLERS INVOLVED IN SHOOTDOWN OF ECMMY HELICOPTER.

5. ALTHOUGH MIG-21 IS ADMITTED EVEN BY LOCAL ENTHUSIASTS TO BE QUOTE MUSEUM MODEL UNQUOTE, IT REPRESENTS CONSIDERABLE ADVANCE OVER AN-2 BIPLANES USED BY CROATIANS IN DEFENCE OF VUKOVAR. LIKELIHOOD THAT ANY DEFECTOR WILL BE ABLE TO ESCAPE WITH ONE OF JNAS MORE ADVANCED MIG-29S IS RECOGNISED TO BE VANISHINGLY SMALL.

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INFO BGRAD PRMNY BNATO BRU BREEC ROME VATCN VNACE VIENN GENEV ATHNS  
 HSNKI/CSCDEL BPEST PRGUE LSBON MOSCO WSAW BUCST WSHDC BONN LDN  
 HAGUE CNBRA PCOOTT/MCNEE PMOOTT PILLAROTT/RCT/RCI/RAP  
 RCMPOTT/D/CA/MURRAY TT NDHQOTT/DIPOL/ASSOC ADMPOL/CIS/DPKO//  
 CFELahr/COMD//CCUNPROFOR SARAJEVO/COMD//CCECMM ZAGREB/COMD//  
 CCUNPROFOR DARUVAR/COMD/ DE CAF  
 DISTR USS RGB RBD RBRD RGP RBT RGZ RWD RWR IFB IMD IMU IMUP IMH IND  
 INP INE IDD IDC CPP OSS JFX JLA  
 REF MYTEL QLGR0113 11MAY92

---CROATIA: PARTY OF RIGHT(S) (HSP)

SUMMARY: FOLLOWING ANTI-CLIMACTIC SHOWDOWN, EVICTION OF HSP FROM  
 STARCEVICEV DOM HAS BEEN DELAYED FOR A FLEXIBLE EIGHT DAYS,  
 FOLLOWING OUT-OF COURT AGREEMENT UNDER WHICH HSP WILL ATTEMPT TO  
 FIND ALTERNATIVE ACCOMMODATION FOR FINE ARTS SOCIETY.

2.REPORT: AS 0800 DEADLINE APPROACHED 13MAY, UNUSUALLY LARGE NUMBER  
 OF HOS VEHICLES WERE PARKED OUTSIDE STARCEVICEV DOM, ONE OF THEM  
 BEARING LETTERING QUOTE KUPRES ARMY UNQUOTE. THERE WERE SEVERAL  
 EXTRA HOS MILITIA MEMBERS OUTSIDE ENTRANCE, AND SEVERAL OPEN WINDOWS  
 ALSO FRAMED HOS MEMBERS. THERE WERE SEVERAL GROUPS OF POLICE IN  
 STRATEGIC LOCATION. BOTH SIDES WERE HEAVILY ARMED, EACH INDIVIDUAL  
 CARRYING AT LEAST ONE AK-47 OR OTHER AUTOMATIC RIFLE (SOME CARRIED

.../2

PAGE TWO QLGR0120 UNCLAS

TWO). HOS HAD PLACED SIGNS AT EACH ENTRANCE SAYING QUOTE DANGER - MINES UNQUOTE, AND MAY ACTUALLY HAVE PLACED MINES.

3. POLICE, HOWEVER, MADE NO/NO ATTEMPT TO CORDON OFF AREA, AND VEHICULAR TRAFFIC WAS ALLOWED TO PROCEED NORMALLY. SHORTLY BEFORE 080, COURT EXECUTOR APPEAR TO ANNOUNCE THAT AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED WITH HSP LEADER PARAGA, AND THAT THERE WOULD BE NO/NO QUOTE CIRCUS UNQUOTE. EVICTION WOULD BE POSTPONED. AT END OF DAY, HSP AND HOS STILL OCCUPIED BLDG.

4. IT LATER EMERGED THAT EIGHT-DAY POSTPONEMENT HAD BEEN AGREED WHICH, ON HSP SIDE AT LEAST, IS ALREADY BEING INTERPRETED FLEXIBLY. DURING THAT PERIOD, ACCORDING TO HSP LAWYER, PLAINTIFFS AND DEFENDANT WOULD ATTEMPT TO FIND ALTERNATIVE ACCOMMODATION, WHICH WOULD BE OFFERED TO PLAINTIFFS. ONCE ACCOMMODATION HAD BEEN FOUND AND ACCEPTED, OUT-OF-COURT SETTLEMENT WOULD BE FINALISED.

5. PARAGA CLAIMED CREDIT FOR AVOIDING VIOLENT CONFRONTATION, DESIRE FOR WHICH HE ATTRIBUTED TO RULING HDZ PARTY AND IN PARTICULAR PUBLIC PROSECUTOR VLADIMIR SEKS (PRONOUNCED SHEKS). HE DID NOT/NOT HE SAID, SEE WHY HE AND HIS PARTY SHOULD HAVE TO RESOLVE PROBLEMS OF ARTISTIC SOCIETY, BUT GOVT HAD NOT/NOT THOUGHT IT NECESSARY TO DO SO...

6. ANOTHER ODDITY IN WHOLE AFFAIR IS ALLEGED DISAPPEARANCE OF PRINCIPAL PLAINTIFF, PRESIDENT OF ARTISIC SOCIETY. HE HAD APPARENTLY MADE FORMAL APPEARANCE TO WITHDRAW DEMAND FOR EVICTION OF HSP, AND ON TUESDAY WAS TO HAVE MADE SIGNED DECLARATION BEFORE ATTORNEYS. ON

.../3

PAGE THREE QLGR0120 UNCLAS

TUESDAY MORNING, HOWEVER, ACCORDING TO UNCONFIRMED REPORT PUBLISHED  
IN VJESNIK, HE DEPARTED FOR UNKNOWN DESTINATION IN COMPANY OF APPROX  
30/30 POLICE.

UUU/560 141104Z QLGR0120

ACC	DATE
FILE 20-CROATIA-1-4	DOSSIER
LOC C7-0	

UNCLASSIFIED

FM ZAGRB QLGR0119 14MAY92

TO EXTOTT RBR IFB RGB DELIVER BY 140800

INFO BGRAD PRMNY BNATO BRU BREEC ROME VATCN VNACE VIENN GENEV ATHNS

HSNKI/CSCEDDEL BPEST PRGUE LSBON MOSCO WSAW BUCST WSHDC BONN LDN

HAGUE CNBRA PCOOTT/MCNEE PMOOTT PILLAROTT/RCT/RCI/RAP

RCMPOTT/D/CA/MURRAY

TT NDHQOTT/DIPOL/ASSOCIATE ADM(POL)/DPKO/ NDHQ CIS OTTAWA/CIS/

HQCFE LAHR/COMD/ CCUNPROFOR SARAJEVO/COMD/ CCMMY ZAGREB/COMD/

CCUNPROFOR DARUVAR/COMD/ DE CAF

DISTR MINA MINP USS RBD RBRD RGP RBT RGZ RWD RWR IMD IMU

IMUP IMH IND INP INE IDD IDS IDC CPP OSS JFX JLA

REF YOURTEL RBR1016 13MAY (NOTAL); HANSON/WHITING TELCON 14MAY

---SITREP BOSNIA, CROATIA

SITUATION IN CROATIA:

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2.STATE OF CEASEFIRE

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CEASEFIRE IN CROATIA IS SUBJECT TO DAILY VIOLATIONS BY ALL SIDES.

UNTIL RELATIVELY RECENTLY, THESE HAVE TAKEN FORM OF ARTILLERY

ATTACKS IN LATE AFTERNOON/OVERNIGHT/PRE-DAWN, PLUS INFANTRY PROBES.

LATELY, HOWEVER, ATTACKS HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN BROAD DAYLIGHT WHEN

MORE PEOPLE ARE ABROAD, RESULTING IN HIGHER NUMBERS OF CASUALTIES.

THERE HAVE ALSO BEEN OVERFLIGHTS AND ATTACKS BY AIRCRAFT. ACCORDING

TO CROATIAN SIDE, 24-HR PERIOD TO EARLY 14MAY INCLUDED FOLLOWING

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PAGE TWO QLGR0119 UNCLAS

INCIDENTS:

OSIJEK: 20/20 MORTARS ON CROATIAN DEFENCE POSITIONS.

VINKOVCI/VUKOVAR: FIRING BY ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUNS (PLUS ONE TANK  
ROUND)

ON CROATIAN POSITIONS AT BORINCE, MARKUSICA, DURGUTOVICA FOREST,  
NUSTAR, ZUPANJE.

KARLOVAC: FIRING BY MULTI-BARRELLED ROCKET LAUNCHERS ON CITY AND  
CROATIAN DEFENCE POSITIONS. 14/14 CIVILIANS AND ONE SOLDIER  
WOUNDED.

GOSPIC: ARTILLERY ATTACKS (HOWITZERS, CANNON, TANKS,  
MULTI-BARRELLED

ROCKET LAUNCHERS, MORTARS) ON CROATIAN DEFENCE POSITIONS AND CITY  
ITSELF. SEVERAL HUNDRED ROUNDS ON CITY AND SURROUNDING AREA. 11/11  
WOUNDED SOLDIERS AND CIVILIANS.

ZADAR: PEACEFUL.

SIBENIK: ARTILLERY ATTACK ON CROATIAN POSITIONS NEAR SKRADIN.  
CANNON, MORTAR AND MACHINE-GUN ATTACKS ON CROATIAN LINE, APPROX  
100/100 PROJECTILES.

SINJ: SOME CANNON AND MORTAR ROUNDS ON CROATIAN POSITIONS.

STON: ARTILLERY ATTACKS ON TOWN, PLUS AIR ATTACKS (INCENDIARY  
BOMBS) ON TOWN AND SURROUNDING AREA.

DUBROVNIK: MACHINE GUN AND SNIPER FIRE ON CROATIAN POSITIONS.  
OVERFLIGHT BY ONE AIRCRAFT AT HIGH ALTITUDE.

ABOVE PATTERN OF ACTIVITY IS TYPICAL, AS REPORTED BY CROATIAN SIDE.

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PAGE THREE QLGR0119 UNCLAS

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3. UNPROFOR DEPLOYMENT  
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UNPROFOR IS TO ASSUME OPERATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR SECTOR EAST (EASTERN SLAVONIA AND BARANJA) AT 0800 LOCAL TIME 15MAY. IN FIRST PHASE, HEAVY ARTILLERY IS TO PULL BACK 30/30 KM FROM UNPA BOUNDARY. DATES FOR UNPROFOR TO ASSUME OPERATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY IN OTHER THREE UNPAS HAVE NOT/NOT YET BEEN ESTABLISHED. THIS WILL DEPEND ON WHEN DEPLOYMENT OF PERSONNEL AND EQUIPMENT IS SUFFICIENT FOR THAT STEP TO BE TAKEN. UNPROFOR SUB-OFFICE IN ZAGREB IS OPERATING DESPITE DIFFICULTIES WITH LACK OF EQUIPMENT, POWER OUTAGES AND TELEPHONES.

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4. HUMAN AND MINORITY RIGHTS (HR/MR)  
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AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTIONAL LAW ON QUOTE HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS AND RIGHTS OF ETHNIC AND NATIONAL COMMUNITIES OR MINORITIES UNQUOTE WERE ADOPTED 08MAY. AMENDMENTS WERE WORKED OUT IN CONSULTATIONS WITH CARRINGTON CONFERENCE REPS AND SHOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO DISPOSE OF REMAINING RESERVATIONS IN THAT QUARTER. LAW CREATES TWO SPECIAL STATUS DISTRICTS IN KNIN AND GLINA (IE WHERE SERBS ARE IN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY). ELECTORAL LEGISLATION FOR STATE PRESIDENT HOUSE OF

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PAGE FOUR QLGR0119 UNCLAS

REPRESENTATIVES HAS BEEN PASSED; INTENTION IS APPARENTLY TO HOLD THESE ELECTIONS AS SOON AS JNA WITHDRAWAL FROM ALL UNPAS IS COMPLETE; ELECTIONS FOR HOUSE OF COUNTIES WOULD FOLLOW WITHIN FIVE MONTHS.

-----  
5.SITUATION IN ZAGREB  
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NO/NO FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN BOMBING OF BLDG NEAR AMERICAN CONSULATE. NO/NO SUSPECTS IDENTIFIED OR ARRESTS MADE. CONFRONTATION BETWEEN PARTY OF RIGHT (HSP) AND AUTHORITIES HAS BEEN DEFUSED: EVICTION FROM BLDG WHICH HSP FORCIBLY OCCUPIED LAST YR HAS BEEN POSTPONED FOR 8/8 DAYS IN WHICH HSP WILL ATTEMPT TO FIND ALTERNATE ACCOMMODATION FOR PREVIOUS OCCUPANTS.

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6.FOREIGN RELATIONS  
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CHINA AND CROATIA ESTABLISHED DIPLO RELATIONS 13MAY. 72/72 COUNTRIES HAVE NOW RECOGNISED, 30/30 HAVE ESTABLISHED RELATIONS, AND THERE ARE 6/6 RESIDENT EMBS.

UUU/560 141100Z QLGR0119

U N C L A S S I F I E D

EXTOTT RBR 1016 13MAY92

13 MAY 92 23 35

BGRAD ZAGREB DELBY 140800

FO BREEC BNATO LDN ROME BONN VIENN ATHNS BPEST WSHDC BUCST

RIS LSBON PRMNY HSNKI/CSCDEL VNACE<sup>TI</sup> NDHQOTT/ASSOC<sup>ATE</sup> ADMPOL/CIS/ DE CAF

LLAROTT/RCT/RCI PCOOTT/MCNEE ~~DEFORM~~

STR MINA USS RGB RBD RBRD RGP RBT RGZ RWD RWR IFB IND INP

E IMH IMU CPD CPP ISS IDD IDR IDC JLA

- SITREP BOSNIA, CROATIA

FILE	20-BOSHERC
LOC	REC20-CROATIA-1.4

VE BEEN ASKED BY USS TO PREPARE BRIEF SYNOPSIS OF SITUATION

THE GROUND IN BOSNIA AND IN CROATIA FOR 140900,

RTICULARLY ON MILITARY/SECURITY SITUATION. ANY INFO YOU MAY

<sup>311</sup>  
NT TO CONTRIBUTE WOULD BE MUCH APPRECIATED.

GUIMOND RBR 992-0606 <sup>26m Dig</sup> L. FRIEDLAENDER

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FM ZAGRB QLGR0113 11MAY92

TO EXTOTT RBR IDS IMU

INE GRAD PRMNY BNATO BRU BREEC ROME VAICH UNACE VIENN GENEV ATHNS

BPST PRGUE LSBON MOSCO WSAW BUCST WSHDC BONN LDN HAGUE CNBRA

PCOOTT/MCNEE PMOOTT PILLAROTT/RCT/RCI/RAP RCMPOTT/D/CA/MURRAY

TT NDHQOTT/DIPOL/ASSOC ADMPOL/CIS/DPKO//CFELAHR/COMD//

CCUNPROFOR SARAJEVO/COMD//CCECMM ZAGREB/COMD/ DE CAF

DISTR MINA MINP USS RGB RBD RBRD RGP RBT RGZ RWD RWR IFB IND IMUP

IMH IND INP INE IDD IDC CPP OSS JFX JLA

REF MYTEL QLGR0078 12APR92

---CROATIA: PARTY OF RIGHT(S)

SUMMARY: CROATIAN PARTY OF RIGHT(S) (HSP) HAVE INDICATED THAT THEY WILL DEFEY, POSSIBLY BY FORCE, COURT ORDER REQUIRING THEM TO VACATE BY 0800 13MAY PREMISES WHICH THEY FORCIBLY OCCUPIED LAST AUTUMN, AND TO WHICH THEY CLAIM HISTORIC RIGHTS.

2.REPORT: ZAGREB COUNTY COURT HAS RULED THAT HSP AND ITS HOS MUST VACATE BLDG QUOTE STARCEVICEV DOM UNQUOTE BY 0800 13MAY, AND HAS AUTHORISED NECESSARY MEASURES BY PUBLIC SECURITY FORCES IF HSP AND HOS DO NOT/NOT COMPLY VOLUNTARILY.

3.HSP AND HOS HAD FORCIBLY OCCUPIED BLDG IN AUTUMN 1991, EJECTING ARTISTIC SOCIETY WHICH HAD BEEN LEGAL OCCUPANTS. LATTER LAUNCHED COURT PROCEEDINGS WHICH RESULTED IN PROVISIONAL RULING 31OCT91, REQUIRING THAT HSP RETURN BLDG TO ITS RIGHTFUL OCCUPANTS WITHIN 24

.../29

PAGE TWO QLGR0113 UNCLAS

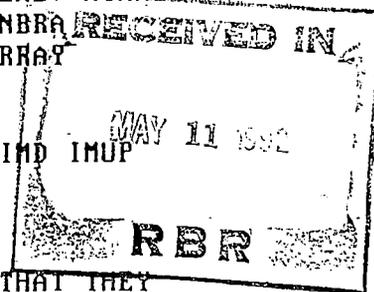
HRS. WHEN HSP FAILED TO COMPLY, COMPLAINANTS LAUNCHED FURTHER PROCEEDINGS TO OBTAIN ENFORCEMENT ORDER, WHICH WAS GRANTED 04MAY.

4.HSP CLAIM TO BE SUCCESSORS OF PARTY FOUNDED IN 19TH CENTURY BY ANTE STARCEVIC, FOR WHOM BLDG AND SQUARE ON WHICH IT STANDS ARE NAMED. CONSTRUCTION OF BLDG WAS AUTHORISED BY CROATIAN ASSEMBLY IN 1892 AS NAIL GIFT TO STARCEVIC, AND IT SERVED AS HSP HEADQUARTERS FROM 1900 ON. BLDG WAS NATIONALISED IN 1947.

5.THUS, WHEN HSP SEIZED BLDG IN OCT91 AND EJECTED CROATIAN FINE ARTS SOCIETY (AND FOR SOME TIME PLACED A CANNON IN FRONT OF BLDG), THEY CLAIMED TO BE EXERCISING HISTORIC RIGHT TO PROPERTY. HSP LEADER PARAGAS RESPONSE TO COURT RULING WAS TO ASK WHETHER SOME PART OF CROATIAN ARTISTIC SOCIETY HAD RIGHT TO MAINTAIN ITS PREVIOUS COMMUNIST PRIVILEGE OF RENT-FREE USE OF STARCEVICEV DOM. QUOTE THE COMRADES, STILL, MUST KNOW THAT IF IT COMES TO EVICTION, HSP AND HOS KNOW HOW TO DEFEND THEIR PROPERTY WITHOUT REGARD TO CONSEQUENCES. WE STILL HOPE THAT IT WILL NOT/NOT COME TO THAT.UNQUOTE.

6.COURT OFFICIALS ANNOUNCED 09MAY THAT FORCIBLE EVICTION WOULD BE CARRIED OUT 13MAY IF BLDG HAD NOT/NOT BY THAT TIME BEEN RETURNED TO ARTISTIC SOCIETY. IF PARAGA AND HSP ACCEPTED RULE OF LAW, COMMENTED COURT EXECUTOR, THEY WOULD NOT/NOT RESPOND BY FORCE TO COURT DECISION.

7.HSP AND HOS ARE WIDELY BELIEVED TO HAVE ARMS AND AMMUNITION STORED IN STARCEVICEV DOM, WHICH IS APPROX ONE BLOCK FROM HOTEL IN WHICH OUR OFFICES ARE LOCATED. IT NORMALLY HAS ONE OR MORE ARMED HOS MEMBERS SLOUCHING ABOUT IN FRONT OF IT.



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FM ZAGRB QLGR0114 11MAY92

TO EXTOTT RBR IMH IMMED

INFO GRAD PRMNY BNATO BRU BREC ROME VATCN UNACE VIENN GENEV ATHNS  
HSNRI/CSCDEL BPEST PRGUE LSBON MOSCO WSAW BUCST WSHDC BONN HAGUE LDM  
CNBRA PCOOTT/MCNEE PMOOTT PILLAROTT/RCT/RCI/RAP RCMPOTT/D/CA/MURRAY  
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CCUNPROFOR SARAJEVO/COMD//CCECMM ZAGREB/COMD/ DE CAF  
DISTR MINA MINP USS RGB RBD RBRD RGP RBT RGZ RWD RWR IFB IMD IMU  
IMUP IND INP INE IDD IDS IDC CPP OSS JFX JLA  
REF MYTEL QLGR0074 07APR92

---CROATIA: HUMAN AND MINORITY RIGHTS (HR/MR)

SUMMARY: CROATIAN PARLIAMENT HAS ADOPTED AMENDMENTS TO  
CONSTITUTIONAL LAW ON PROTECTION OF NATL MINORITIES, WHICH SHOULD  
BRING THIS LEGISLATION INTO COMPLIANCE WITH CSCE PRINCIPLES AND  
REQUIREMENTS OF CARRINGTON CONFERENCE. AMENDMENTS SPECIFY THAT THERE  
ARE TWO DISTRICTS (KNIN AND GLINA) COVERING 11/11 OPCINE, IN WHICH  
SERBS CONSTITUTE ABSOLUTE MAJORITY. ADOPTION WAS, HOWEVER,  
ACCOMPANIED BY HEATED DEBATE, BITTER PROCEDURAL WRANGLE, AND ONE  
MINISTERIAL RESIGNATION.

2. REPORT: SOME PARTY LEADERS NEEDED CONVINCING THAT ADOPTION OF  
LEGISLATION WOULD NOT/NOT RESULT IN CROATIA LOSING SOVEREIGNTY OVER  
OCCUPIED AREAS, OR THREATEN TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF CTRY. ONE  
PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO BILL, WHICH WOULD HAVE MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR  
.../29

PAGE TWO QLGR0114 UNCLAS

INDIVIDUAL OPCINE WITH PREDOMINANTLY CROAT POPULATION TO MERGE WITH  
OTHER OPCINE OUTSIDE THE DESIGNATED DISTRICTS. IT WAS SUCCESSFULLY  
ARGUED THAT ACCEPTANCE OF SUCH AN AMENDMENT WOULD LEAVE CROATIAN  
LEGISLATURE POWERLESS, AND WOULD HAVE EFFECT OF EXCLUDING CROATIAN  
POPULATION FROM ITS OWN TERRITORY. ANOTHER AMENDMENT MAKING IT  
EXPLICIT THAT CROATIAN POLICE WOULD CONTROL INTERNATIONAL CROSSING  
POINTS WAS ACCEPTED.

3. IN DEBATE, ONE SPEAKER WONDERED WHETHER SABOR HAD LOST ITS DIGNITY  
AND WAS NOW SIMPLE SERVANT OF EUROPE; IT WAS IN ANY CASE PREMATURE  
TO ADOPT SUCH LEGISLATION WHEN DETAILS OF INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION OF  
CROATIA HAD NOT/NOT BEEN RESOLVED; SUCH A LAW WAS UNCIVILISED AND  
INHUMAN, NOT/NOT LEAST TO SERBS WHO WOULD BE GHETTOISED IN  
DESIGNATED DISTRICTS; ANOTHER ARGUED THAT SUCH LEGISLATION COULD  
ONLY BE ADOPTED AFTER VICTORY OVER SERBIA: CROATS WHO HAD FLED  
OCCUPIED AREAS IN TERROR WOULD ONLY RETURN WHEN THEY FELT MASTERS IN  
OWN HOMES, NOT/NOT LIKE A THREATENED MINORITY; TO EXTENT THAT  
CROATIA ADOPTED LAWS ACCORDING TO EUROPEAN DICTATES, ITS SOVEREIGNTY  
WOULD BE LIMITED.

4. AS DEBATE HEATED UP, ONE SPEAKER COMMENTED THAT CROATIAN CHILDREN  
WERE BEING KILLED BY THOSE WHO WERE LOYAL BY DAY AND SNIPERS BY  
NIGHT; CROATIA WAS COMPELLED TO COMPROMISE, BUT SERBS OF GLINA AND  
KNIN HAD NOT/NOT BEEN COMPELLED TO PUT THEIR NECKS IN SERBIAN YOKE;  
NOT/NOT ALL SERBS WERE THE SAME, HE REMARKED, QUOTE SOME CUT OUR  
.../39

PAGE THREE QLGR0114 UNCLAS

THROATS WHILE OTHERS ATTACK US WITH MULTI-BARRELLED ROCKET LAUNCHERS  
UNQUOTE.

5. MANY NOTED THAT EUROPE WAS NOT/NOT TREATING ALL PARTIES EQUALLY,  
SINCE SIMILAR MINORITY-RIGHTS PROTECTION WAS NOT/NOT BEING SOUGHT  
FROM CROATIAS OPPONENTS. OTHERS NOTED THAT ESTABLISHMENT OF MINORITY  
DISTRICTS WAS NOT/NOT SUPPORTED BY ECONOMIC, TRANSPORTATION OR  
CULTURAL FACTORS, BUT SIMPLY POLITICAL ONES BEFORE WHICH CROATIA  
SIMPLY HAD TO BEND, DESPITE PSYCHOLOGICAL DIFFICULTY OF DOING SO.  
ONE ASSERTED THAT CROATIAN STATE WOULD BE MAINTAINED IN SERB  
DISTRICTS, CROATIAN ARMY WOULD BE ORGANISED, AND CROATIANS WOULD  
RETURN TO THEIR HOMES.

6. ONE OF SABORS FEW REMAINING SERB MEMBERS EMPHASISED THAT HE WAS  
ONE OF FEW TO WHOM DIGNITY OF PARLIAMENT HAD ALWAYS BEEN IMPORTANT;

REALITIES AND INTERESTS WENT. QUOTE SERBS IN CROATIA CAN THINK WHAT THEY LIKE OF CROATIAN GOVT, BUT GOVT IS ONE THING AND HOMELAND ANOTHER, AND WE HAVE NO/NO OTHER HOMELAND THAN CROATIA UNQUOTE. IN ONE OF DEBATES MORE HIGH-MINDED STATEMENTS, FORMER INTERIOR MIN IVAN VEKIC NOTED THAT CRIMINALS WERE ALL INDIVIDUALS WITH NAMES AND SURNAMES, THAT THERE WERE SERBS IN CROATIA WHO WERE READY TO EXTEND THEIR HANDS, AND THAT HE WOULD BE RAISING HIS HAND IN FAVOUR OF LEGISLATION - NOT/NOT IN COMPLIANCE WITH A DICTATE, BUT IN .../49

PAGE FOUR QLGR0114 UNCLAS

ACCORDANCE WITH CIVILISED NORMS.

7. ONE OF DRAFTERS OF LEGISLATION, PUBLIC PROSECUTOR VLADIMIR SEKS (PRONOUNCED SHEKS) TRIED TO EXPLAIN THAT ACCEPTANCE OF LEGISLATION WOULD REMOVE REMAINING DILEMMAS. CRIMINALS WOULD NOT/NOT PARTICIPATE IN LOCAL GOVT IN MINORITY DISTRICTS, AND CROATIA WAS NOT/NOT RENOUNCING RIGHT TO HAVE ITS ARMY THERE. CROATIA WAS BOUND TO ACCEPT EUROPEAN NORMS, AND WAS DOING SO, BUT IT HAD NOT/NOT ACCEPTED EXTENDED DEMILITARISATION OF DISTRICTS, WHICH SOME HAD SOUGHT TO IMPOSE. CROATIA WOULD HAVE ITS MILITARY UNITS WHICH WOULD SECURE ITS BORDERS, ITS POLICE WHICH WOULD PROTECT CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER, AND ITS COURTS - WHICH MEANT THAT FULL CROATIAN GOVT AND LEGAL AUTHORITY WOULD BE ESTABLISHED IN DISTRICTS. CROATIA HAD ACCEPTED INTERNATIONALISATION OF PROBLEM AND DESPATCH OF PEACEKEEPING FORCES, SUBJECT TO ESTABLISHMENT OF CROATIAN SOVEREIGNTY OVER ALL CROATIAN TERRITORY AND RETURN OF REFUGEES AND DISPLACED. IF THESE STRATEGIC GOALS WERE NOT/NOT ACHIEVED, THEN CROATIAN PARLIAMENT, BY FORCE OF ARMS AND ITS ARMY, WOULD GO TO WAR FOR LIBERATION OF OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND CLEAR OUT QUOTE CHETNIKS UNQUOTE AND JNA. BY INTERNATIONALISATION OF PROBLEM, CROATIA HAD NOT/NOT ACCEPTED COMPROMISE OR CONCESSIONS WHEN IT CAME TO SANCTIONS AGAINST THOSE WHO HAD BEEN CAUGHT RED-HANDED.

8. AFTER VOTE, JUSTICE MIN BOSILJKO MISETIC (ONE OF OPPOSITION PARTY MEMBERS OF GOVT) ATTEMPTED TO TAKE FLOOR TO OBJECT TO PROCEDURAL HANDLING OF LEGISLATION. (IT HAD ORIGINALLY BEEN PLACED ON AGENDA .../59

PAGE FIVE QLGR0114 UNCLAS

FOR DEBATE UNDER NORMAL, RATHER THAN EMERGENCY RULES, BUT FOLLOWING OVERNIGHT CONSULTATIONS AMONG PARTIES AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED TO CONSIDER IT UNDER EMERGENCY RULES, CURTAILING DEBATE.) HE WAS RULED OUT OF ORDER, ON GROUNDS THAT ITEM HAD ALREADY BEEN DEALT WITH. HE ATTEMPTED NEVERTHELESS TO EXPLAIN THAT HE WISHED TO SPEAK NOT/NOT ABOUT LAWS BUT CONSEQUENCES ARISING FROM FACT THAT AT CABINET MTG HE HAD OPPOSED MANNER IN WHICH LAW WAS TO BE ADOPTED. AT THIS POINT SEKS GOT UP FROM HIS SEAT, APPROACHED PODIUM, AND ASKED MISETIC IF HE WAS OFFERING TO RESIGN. REPLY WAS IN AFFIRMATIVE. HE SUBSEQUENTLY EXPLAINED THAT HIS CONCERN WAS THAT IF LAW ENTERED INTO EFFECT BEFORE PEACE WAS ESTABLISHED AND REFUGEES HAD RETURNED TO THEIR HOMES, ALL LOCAL GOVT OFFICES IN MINORITY DISTRICTS WOULD BE OCCUPIED BY SERBS.

ACTION  
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UNCLASSIFIED

FM ZAGRB QLGR0113 11MAY92

TO EXTOTT RBR IDS IMU

INFO BGRAD PRMNY BNATO BRU BREEC ROME VATCN VNACE VIENN GENEV ATHNS

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TT NDHQOTT/DIPOL/ASSOC ADMPOL/CIS/DPKO//CFELAHR/COMD//

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DISTR MINA MINP USS RGB RBD RBRD RGP RBT RGZ RWD RWR IFB IMD IMUP

IMH IND INP INE IDD IDC CPP OSS JFX JLA

REF MYTEL QLGR0078 12APR92

RECEIVED IN  
MAY 12 1992  
RBR

---CROATIA: PARTY OF RIGHT(S)

SUMMARY: CROATIAN PARTY OF RIGHT(S) (HSP) HAVE INDICATED THAT THEY WILL DEFY, POSSIBLY BY FORCE, COURT ORDER REQUIRING THEM TO VACATE BY 0800 13MAY PREMISES WHICH THEY FORCIBLY OCCUPIED LAST AUTUMN, AND TO WHICH THEY CLAIM HISTORIC RIGHTS.

2.REPORT: ZAGREB COUNTY COURT HAS RULED THAT HSP AND ITS HOS MILITIA MUST VACATE BLDG QUOTE STARCEVICEV DOM UNQUOTE BY 0800 13MAY, AND HAS AUTHORISED NECESSARY MEASURES BY PUBLIC SECURITY FORCES IF HSP AND HOS DO NOT/NOT COMPLY VOLUNTARILY.

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.../2

PAGE TWO QLGR0113 UNCLAS

HRS. WHEN HSP FAILED TO COMPLY, COMPLAINANTS LAUNCHED FURTHER PROCEEDINGS TO OBTAIN ENFORCEMENT ORDER, WHICH WAS GRANTED 04MAY.

4.HSP CLAIM TO BE SUCCESSORS OF PARTY FOUNDED IN 19TH CENTURY BY ANTE STARCEVIC, FOR WHOM BLDG AND SQUARE ON WHICH IT STANDS ARE NAMED. CONSTRUCTION OF BLDG WAS AUTHORISED BY CROATIAN ASSEMBLY IN 1892 AS NATL GIFT TO STARCEVIC, AND IT SERVED AS HSP HEADQUARTERS FROM 1900 ON. BLDG WAS NATIONALISED IN 1947.

5.THUS, WHEN HSP SEIZED BLDG IN OCT91 AND EJECTED CROATIAN FINE ARTS SOCIETY (AND FOR SOME TIME PLACED A CANNON IN FRONT OF BLDG), THEY CLAIMED TO BE EXERCISING HISTORIC RIGHT TO PROPERTY. HSP LEADER PARAGAS RESPONSE TO COURT RULING WAS TO ASK WHETHER SOME PART OF CROATIAN ARTISTIC SOCIETY HAD RIGHT TO MAINTAIN ITS PREVIOUS COMMUNIST PRIVILEGE OF RENT-FREE USE OF STARCEVICEV DOM. QUOTE THE COMRADES, STILL, MUST KNOW THAT IF IT COMES TO EVICTION, HSP AND HOS KNOW HOW TO DEFEND THEIR PROPERTY WITHOUT REGARD TO CONSEQUENCES. WE STILL HOPE THAT IT WILL NOT/NOT COME TO THAT.UNQUOTE.

6.COURT OFFICIALS ANNOUNCED 09MAY THAT FORCIBLE EVICTION WOULD BE CARRIED OUT 13MAY IF BLDG HAD NOT/NOT BY THAT TIME BEEN RETURNED TO ARTISTIC SOCIETY. IF PARAGA AND HSP ACCEPTED RULE OF LAW, COMMENTED COURT EXECUTOR, THEY WOULD NOT/NOT RESPOND BY FORCE TO COURT DECISION.

7.HSP AND HOS ARE WIDELY BELIEVED TO HAVE ARMS AND AMMUNITION STORED IN STARCEVICEV DOM, WHICH IS APPROX ONE BLOCK FROM HOTEL IN WHICH OUR OFFICES ARE LOCATED. IT NORMALLY HAS ONE OR MORE ARMED HOS MEMBERS SLOUCHING ABOUT IN FRONT OF IT.

UUU/560 101022Z QLGR0113

ACTION  
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SPECIAL MISSION OF CANADA - MISSION SPECIALE DU CANADA  
HOTEL ESPLANADE - TEL# 38-41-425-150/435-666x123  
MIHANOVICEVA 1, FAX# 38-41-425-181  
41000 ZAGREB, CROATIA

FM ZAGRB QLGR5036 09MAY92

20 CROATIA-1-4

TO EXTOTT RBR

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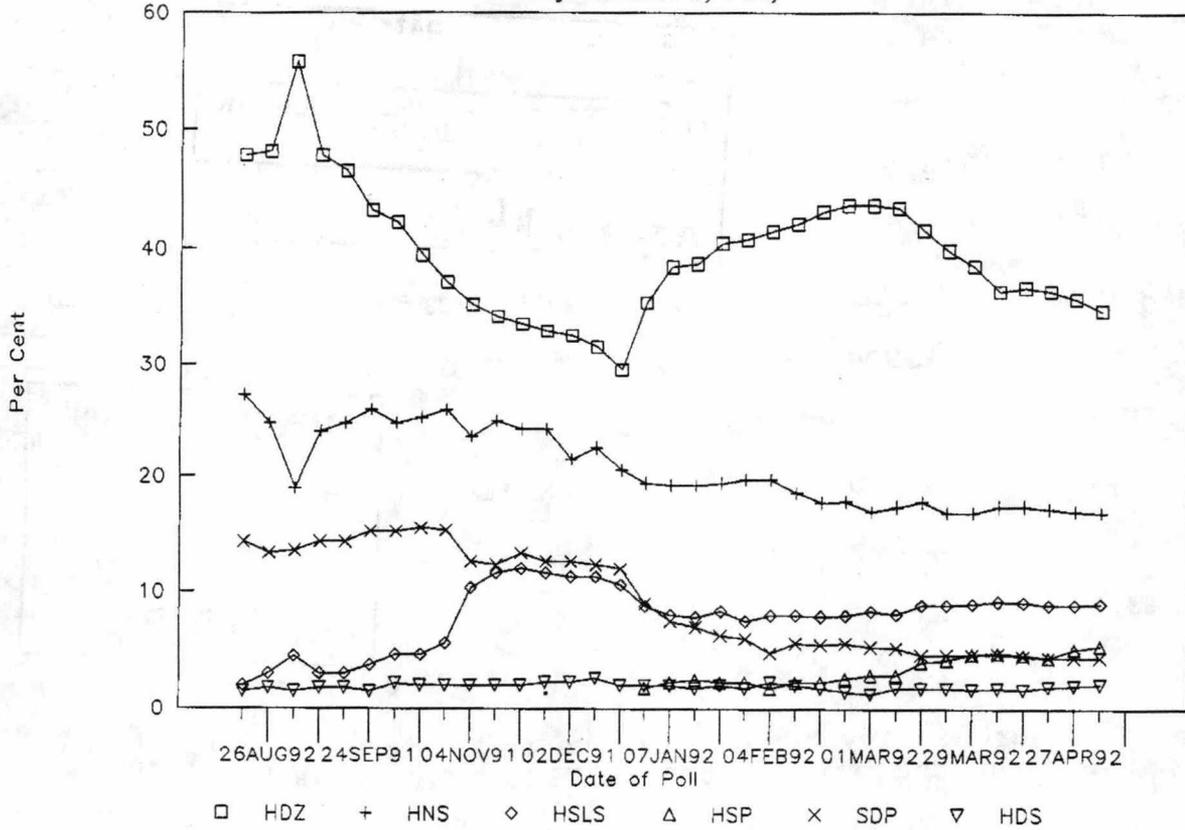
---CROATIA: ELECTORAL PROSPECTS

FOLLOWING ARE GRAPHS BASED ON WEEKLY POLLS CONDUCTED BY CROATIAN TABLOID "GLOBUS" SINCE AUG91. THEY INDICATE A STEADY DECLINE IN THE POPULARITY OF BOTH PRES TUDJMAN AND HIS CROATIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION (HDZ) PARTY. TUDJMAN AND THE HDZ HIT A TROUGH IN DEC91/EARLY JAN, FROM WHICH THEY RECOVERED ON WAVE OF POPULAR EUPHORIA ENGENDERED BY INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF CROATIA. IT APPEARS THAT RECOVERY HIT A PEAK IN MARCH AND IS NOW PETERING OUT.

Handwritten mark resembling a stylized 'K' or 'H'.

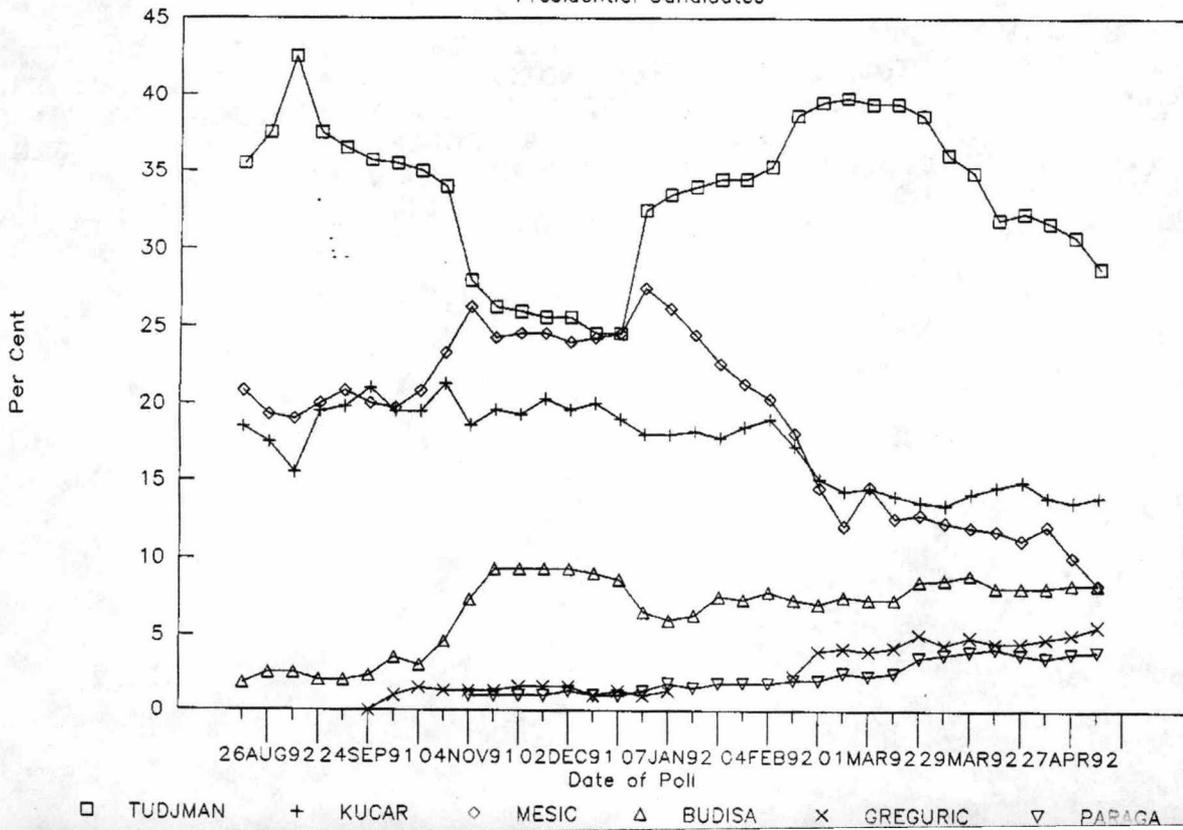
### Electoral Prospects in Croatia

Voting Intentions By Party



### Electoral Prospects in Croatia

Presidential Candidates





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---CROATIA: BOMB ATTACK IN ZAGREB

APPROX 11:00PM 01MAY, POWERFUL EXPLOSION TOOK PLACE IN APARTMENT  
BLDG AT NBR 14 ZRINJEVCA SQUARE, INJURING 14/14 PEOPLE. BLDG, WHICH  
CONTAINED APARTMENTS, RESTAURANT AND BANK, IS VERY CLOSE TO USA  
CONSULATE (WHICH SUSTAINED LIMITED DAMAGE) AND IS APPROX THREE  
BLOCKS FROM HOTEL IN WHICH THIS MISSION AND HONCON ARE LOCATED.

2.REPORT: NO/NO ONE HAS CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY. POLICE INVESTIGATION  
CONTINUES, AND NO/NO OFFICIAL STATEMENT HAS BEEN ISSUED.

EYEWITNESSES HAVE TOLD MEDIA THAT THAT TWO MEN, ONE IN UNIFORM, ONE  
IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES WERE SEEN RUNNING AWAY FROM LOCATION JUST BEFORE  
EXPLOSION OCCURRED.

3.THERE IS SOME SPECULATION IN MEDIA THAT THREE INCIDENTS: BOMBING  
OF JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTRE LAST AUG, EXPLOSION IN SERBIAN ORTHODOX  
CHURCH MUSEUM APPROX THREE WEEKS AGO, AND 01MAY EXPLOSION ARE  
LINKED. ALL TOOK PLACE AT NIGHT, NO/NO ONE HAS CLAIMED

.../2

PAGE TWO QLGR0099 UNCLAS

RESPONSIBILITY FOR ANY OF THEM, ALL INVOLVED FAIRLY LARGE QUANTITIES OF EXPLOSIVES WHICH WOULD HAVE REQUIRED SOME EXPERTISE TO PLACE AND, EXCEPT FOR LATEST INCIDENT, WERE TIMED TO AVOID INJURIES TO PEOPLE. IF TARGET IN LATEST CASE WAS INDEED USA CONSULATE, PRESENCE OF POLICE GUARD MAY HAVE LED PERPETRATORS TO PLACE BOMB NEXT DOOR.

4. GENERAL ASSUMPTION IS THAT EXPLOSIONS WERE WORK OF POLITICALLY-MOTIVATED TERRORISTS, BUT THIS DOES NOT/NOT SEEM CONSISTENT WITH FAILURE OF ANY GROUP TO CLAIM RESPONSIBILITY. IT IS ALSO DIFFICULT TO THINK OF ANY LOCAL FACTION WHICH WOULD HAVE ALL THREE OF JEWS, SERBS AND USA ON THEIR LIST OF TARGETS.

UUU/560 040808Z QLGR0099

MAY 05 '92 08:32PM CANMIS ZAGREB

P.2/4



VLADA REPUBLIKE HRVATSKE

Predsjednik

May 4, 1992

ACC	DATE
FILE	DOSSIER
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LOC	A7
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## STATEMENT BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

*At its session on May 4, 1992, the Government of the Republic of Croatia reviewed the state of security in the Republic in the wake of intensified aggressive moves by the former Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), Serbia and Montenegro against Croatia. The Government also considered the aftermath of the attack on the Republic of Bosnia & Herzegovina and arrived at the following conclusions:*

*1. The former JNA and the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro, in their refusal to abide by some basic standards prevailing in the international community today and related to the prohibition of war operations, the provisions of the Geneva and Sarajevo agreements on the ceasefire in Croatia, the respective UN peace plan and other documents issued by the international community, have renewed their attacks at Croatia with increased intensity and application of highly destructive weapons forbidden by international conventions. Wanton devastation of Osijek, Vinkovci, Zadar, Metković and other towns and places goes on unabated. The attack on Slavonski Brod is an example of a brutal crime committed against innocent civilians, defenceless women and children. The aggressors continue to burn down dwelling and commercial buildings, to expel Croats and other non-Serbs from occupied areas and to launch insidious attacks at civilian targets and the Croatian Army defence positions. Such attacks, as well as those against EEC Monitors and the actions thwarting the UNPROFOR peace operations are designed to escalate the current war conflict and to undermine the international peace efforts, which should enable Serbia, Montenegro and ex-JNA to realize by force their conquering plans as set out in the Greater Serbia project.*

*2. It is in this context that the spread of aggression to the internationally recognized Republic of Bosnia & Herzegovina should be considered: the obvious objective is to subjugate this Republic militarily, to change the ethnic structure of some of its areas and to force it into joining the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.*

*3. All these brutal actions against Croatia and Bosnia & Herzegovina are taking place in the heart of Europe, before the very eyes of the world. By playing soft with the aggressors and failing to take specific actions against them the democratic states and the international institutions are making themselves more and more responsible for the continuing toll in*

MAY 05 '92 08:32PM CANMIS ZAGREB

P.1/4



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COMMENTS / COMMENTAIRES: --- CROATIA: APPEAL TO INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

Following is text of appeal launched by Croatian Government 04 May. Report follows.

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*human lives. Continuous postponement of efficient sanctions against the aggressors enables them to expand their criminal activities, day in, day out, which makes the international institutions and the democratic states as parties to international covenants not only morally, but also actually responsible, for failing to do what they are supposed to do in order to help innocent people.*

*4. The right to live, the right to defend one's life and the duty to help endangered human beings are motives behind the present message of the Croatian Government expressing the bitterness of helpless women and children as well as other innocent victims of the aggressive war waged against Croatia and Bosnia & Herzegovina. On their behalf and based on the UN principles prohibiting the use of force and the commitment of member states to take actions against the aggressor and to help the victim of aggression, as well as other UN Charter provisions and all the adopted international human rights declarations, the Government of the Republic of Croatia hereby requests:*

*(a) Convening an urgent session of the UN Security Council to identify the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro and JNA as aggressors and to decide on efficient actions to be taken in compliance with Chapter VII of the UN Charter.*

*(b) Urgent implementation of UNPROFOR obligations arising from the UN Security Council's decisions intended to stop the aggression against Croatia and to carry out the UN peace plan.*

*(c) An ultimatum should be given by EEC and CSCE to Serbia, Montenegro and their criminal army to the effect that proper and efficient actions be taken against them, unless they immediately stop killing women and children and destroying towns and villages.*

*(d) Bringing the criminal army of ex-Yugoslavia under international control.*

*(e) Making decisions on sending peace keeping troops to Bosnia & Herzegovina.*

*(f) Preventing the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, a disguise of Greater Serbia, from usurping in any way the rights of ex-SFRJ (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) in international institutions and relations.*

*(g) Convening an international conference on refugees and exiles as soon as possible and providing help in taking care of them and thus enabling them to return to their homes.*

*(h) Setting up an international court to deal with war crimes and to take legal actions against all those torturing and killing women, children and other innocent individuals in this bloody war.*

*5. The Government of the Republic of Croatia appeals to all democratically minded citizens of the world to bring pressure to bear on international institutions and their respective states with an aim to protect the victims of aggression in compliance with internationally adopted charters and established standards. Any individual who has failed to do what he can*

*and must do in order to stop the massacre of innocent people bears a part of moral responsibility for and complicity in the crime being committed. Indifference to evil-doing and mild response can only lead to new crime and is likely to encourage crime.*

*6. The Government of the Republic of Croatia particularly appeals to the Croatian people at home and abroad as well as all citizens of Croatia regardless of their nationality to help our suffering citizens living in towns and villages under extremely perilous conditions. This should be part of our joint struggle for freedom, democracy and independent statehood. Let us work and act in a way that will give the best of each of us in these hard moments of our history.*

*Just like the rest of our citizens the Government of the Republic of Croatia has never had any doubts about our ultimate victory. We have tried to reach our objectives with minimum human sacrifice. However, we have been paying a heavy price in human lives and overall destruction. We appeal to you in these decisive and agonizing hours to do your utmost, each in your respective area, in helping our country and our people. The enormous sacrifice rendered so far is binding to all of us.*



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--- NEW YUGOSLAVIA VS CROATIAN AIRSPACE

AS YOU KNOW, CDA HAS AN INTEREST IN CROATIAN AIRSPACE AS ONE  
OF ITS MAJOR AIR CARRIERS, AIR CANADA, HAD, BEFORE CLOSING OF  
CROATIA'S AIRSPACE BY YUGO AIRFORCE, ROUTE TO ZAGREB.

2. WOULD APPRECIATE POSITION FROM YUGOSLAV AUTHORITIES AS TO  
STATUS, AFTER PROMULGATION OF NEW YUGO CONSTITUTION, OF THEIR  
CONTROL OVER CROATIAN AIRSPACE.

ACC	DATE
FILE	20 - Croatia - 14 SIER
LOC	NC

*P. Guimond*  
P. GUIMOND

*L. Friedlaender*  
L. FRIEDLAENDER

RBR 992-0605

PARIS  
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APRIL 19, 1992

ACC	DATE
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Lord P. R. Carrington  
President, Meeting on Yugoslavia  
Brussels

Dear Lord Carrington

You may be aware that Dr. Seselj Vojislav, who is a parliamentary representative, an influential politician and the commander of a well-trained and effective military unit, which represents a large military force, threatened the Croats of Vojvodina with reprisals in a recent parliamentary speech. In addition, he warned the ethnic Hungarians, who have been the objects of the war propaganda and have fled from forced conscriptions, not to return home.

Democratic-minded Serbian public opinion has objected on behalf of the Croats, but no one has yet protested the threats made against Hungarians. All of this renders evident those dangers about which, I have already written to Your Excellency. Namely, the forced alteration of Vojvodina's ethnic structure could become a reality within a short period of time. Since neither ethnic Croats, nor ethnic Hungarians have arms, they both defenselessly await either the betterment or fulfilment of their fate with trepidation.

Mr. Seselj's threats are particularly severe. The severity is reinforced by the fact that only two members of the parliament objected to his speech. The leaders of the Serbian Socialist Party oppose Mr. Seselj's pronouncements by referring to the constitutional provisions. Although they denounce his views, they also call attention to the pronouncements of minority leaders and organizations-falsely labeling them fascists-and thereby justifying this influential representative. It is well known that only two legitimate minority

organizations function in Vojvodina: The Democratic Association of Hungarians of Vojvodina, and the Democratic Alliance of Croats in Vojvodina. The charge of fascism against these organizations and its leaders is often voiced in mass media organs, which are under the jurisdiction of the authorities. We are convinced that this is merely due to the fact that both organizations have, in keeping with the Paris Charter, opposed the civil war and the same time they have accepted Your Excellency's Hague Document upon which they base their demands for rights.

Considering the legal ramifications of Mr. Seselj's pronouncements, it is highly unsettling that the President of the Republic, Slobodan Milosevic, not only praises Mr. Seselj and his party to this day, but has not yet expressed an opinion on these pronouncements.

Dear Lord Carrington !

Based on the above, I respectfully request that Mr. Thierry Beauce grant us a hearing in order that the situation may be discussed and hopefully resolved.

I further ask Your Excellency to personally support the repatriation of all those refugees who have been constrained to flee the country due both to the grave propaganda and the unconstitutional, forced mobilizations. They should be allowed to return home peacefully and without suffering any harm or repercussions. Repatriation and the cessation of the forced mobilization would influence the resolution and to large extent strengthen the rule of law.

Andras Agoston  
President, DAHV



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20-1-2-CROATIA
cc. 20-CROATIA-14
Date
April 15, 1992
Number / Numéro
RBR 0799

To / À MINA (through USS and RGB)

FROM / DE RBR (through RBD)

REFERENCE / RÉFÉRENCE MINA/Phillips request, April 14/92

SUBJECT / SUJET Diplomatic Relations: Situation in Croatia

ENCLOSURES  
ANNEXES

---

DISTRIBUTION

As requested, attached is a situation report on Croatia.

*Lorenz Friedlaender*  
Lorenz Friedlaender  
Director  
Central and Eastern Europe  
Relations Division

Att.

CONFIDENTIAL

SITUATION IN CROATIA

- There are continuing violations of the ceasefire agreement in **Croatia** as both Croatian and Yugoslav forces are trying to gain strategically significant territory before the full deployment of UN peacekeeping forces, scheduled for mid-May. The Croatian government defends its actions by claiming that it has to respond to provocation and that it has a legitimate right to act against foreign occupation of its territory.
- Armed formations from Croatia are also involved in the fighting in neighbouring **Bosnia-Hercegovina**. Canadian members of the EC Monitoring Mission report that Croatian soldiers in Bosnia do not hide their affiliation with Zagreb. The Croatian government flatly denies that it is involved in Bosnia despite the threat to the Croatian community in that republic. It argues that indeed soldiers may be coming from Croatia but that these are ethnic Croats from Bosnia returning to defend their homeland. Croatia has recognized Bosnia-Hercegovina while Serbia has not.
- Croatia is proceeding satisfactorily toward implementing its commitment on **human and minority rights**, although it has not provided new legislation yet. New assurances have been given by President Tudjman that the Constitutional Law will be amended according to these commitments. The Croatian government is aware of the international attention to its human rights record, particularly following a report by Helsinki Watch.
- Australia, Austria, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, and the Scandinavian countries have already established diplomatic relations with Croatia. **France's** position is evolving and contacts in the French Foreign Ministry indicate that an Ambassador has been appointed and that an exchange of documents on diplomatic relations is expected to take place at the end of April. On the day it recognized Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia, the **USA** indicated that consultations would begin immediately on establishing diplomatic relations. **Britain** is not ready to move until provisions for human and minority rights included in the EC proposal at the Peace Conference are put into legislation. According to their information, this could take place in the next few weeks.

Office of the  
Secretary of State  
for External Affairs

Cabinet du  
Secrétaire d'État  
aux Affaires extérieures

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MEMORANDUM

TO: RBR/Friedlaender  
FROM: MINA/Phillips *KP*  
DATE: April 14, 1992  
SUBJECT: Situation in Croatia

---

As just discussed with Pierre Guimond, the SSEA would like to have an up-date on the situation in Croatia before she answers RBR-0660.

2. The note should concentrate on the situation in Croatia, including our assessment of the Croatian government's role in events. It should expand on "Considerations" para 3 of the current memo.

3. Can this be managed for Wednesday afternoon, when the SSEA leaves Ottawa for the week? Thanks.

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REF YRTEL RBR0795 13APR

---CROATIA: HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE

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FILE	38-11-1-EUR/E	DOSSIER
LOC	A7-M	20-CROATIA-1-4

ACCORDING TO ANNOUNCEMENT IN VJESNIK 11APR, HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE IS DESTINED FOR IMPERILLED CROATIAN AND MUSLIM POPULATION OF BOSNA-HERCEGOVINA.

2. ORGANISATION AT THIS END IS RESPONSIBILITY OF MINISTRY OF LABOUR, SOCIAL WELFARE AND FAMILY AFFAIRS. AM ATTEMPTING TO FIND OUT FROM THEM WHAT RECEPTION ARRANGEMENTS EXIST IN B-H. INITIAL CONTACT WOULD SAY ONLY THAT EVERYTHING IS ORGANISED, BUT THAT INFORMATION AS TO ROUTES AND RECEPTION WAS BEING ON NEED-TO-KNOW BASIS BECAUSE OF WAR.

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---CROATIA: ARMED FORCES

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CROATIAN REACTION TO TANJUG REPORT CARRIED BY AFP IS MORE BEMUSED THAN ANYTHING ELSE. FOLLOWING IS TRANSLATION OF ARTICLE WHICH APPEARED IN UJESNIK 14APR.

QUOTE

WHY DOES YUGO-ARMY INFLATE NUMERICAL STATUS OF CROATIAN FORCES?

EXCUSE FOR THE DEFEAT

OBVIOUSLY, TANJUGS SECRET SOURCES IN SO-CALLED JNA DELIBERATELY OVER-CALCULATE IN ORDER TO PROVOKE RESPONSE

QUOTE ACCORDING TO YUGO-ARMY ESTIMATES, CROATIAN ARMED FORCES HAVE ABOUT 200/200 THOUSAND PERSONNEL, 350/350 TANKS, 400/400 ARTILLERY PIECES AND 30/30 AGRICULTURAL AIRCRAFT. THAT MEANS THAT IN NUMBER OF PERSONNEL, CROATIAN ARMY HAS SURPASSED JNA, BUT FALLS SIGNIFICANTLY SHORT IN TERMS OF ORGANISATION AND TECHNICAL CAPABILITIES, ALLEGES TEXT SENT OUT SUNDAY BY TANJUG AGENCY UNDER HEADLINE QUOTE ARMED FORCES OF CROATIA OUTNUMBER JNA IN TERMS OF PERSONNEL UNQUOTE.

QUOTE SECRET QUOTE SOURCES UNQUOTE: TANJUG ALLEGES THAT CROATIAN GROUND FORCES ARE ORGANISED IN 69/69 BRIGADES GROUPED IN FIVE

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Page 2/4

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PAGE TWO QLGR0080 UNCLAS

SECTORS. ACCORDING TO YUGO-ARMY ESTIMATES, IN EASTERN SLAVONIA SECTOR THERE ARE 10-12 BRIGADES WITH 30-40 THOUSAND TROOPS, AND SAME NUMBER IN WESTERN SLAVONIA. IN BANJA, KORDUN AND LIKA ARE 23-28 BRIGADES WITH 60-70 THOUSAND TROOPS, IN CENTRAL DALMATIA 10 BRIGADES WITH 25-30 THOUSAND TROOPS, AND IN SOUTHERN DALMATIA 3-4 BRIGADES WITH 8-10 THOUSAND TROOPS. THEY ALSO ESTIMATE THAT THERE ARE 35-40 THOUSAND TROOPS IN RESERVE IN ZAGREB, RIJEKA AND VARAZDIN SECTORS. UNQUOTE.

QUOTE IN CONCLUSION, TANJUG ALLEGES THAT SOURCES IN YA MAINTAIN THAT CROATIAN ARMY IS STEADILY RECEIVING NEW RECRUITS, CROATS FROM ABROAD, AND FOREIGN MERCENARIES WHO ARE ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN TRAINING MEMBERS OF SPECIAL UNITS IN KUMROVEC, VINICA AND VARAZDIN. UNQUOTE.

QUOTE IT IS CLEAR THAT TANJUGS SECRET SOURCES HAVE QUOTE SLIGHTLY UNQUOTE OVERESTIMATED. ALTHOUGH CROATIA COULD COUNT ON MOBILIZING SIGNIFICANTLY MORE THAN 200,000 TROOPS, SINCE THE SOMETIME TERRITORIAL ARMY HAD AROUND 240,000 MEMBERS AND MOST OF THEM ARE STILL PREPARED TO DEFEND THEIR HOMELAND, IT IS PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE THAT MOST OF THEM ARE NOT/NOT MOBILISED. FURTHERMORE, PRES TUDJMAN RECENTLY ORDERED THE DEMOBILISATION OF 20,000 CROATIAN SOLDIERS, WHICH LARGELY HAS ALREADY TAKEN PLACE, SO IT IS HARD TO AGREE WITH ESTIMATE THAT CROATIAN ARMY OUTNUMBERS EVEN THE MASTODON-LIKE YA. UNQUOTE.

QUOTE VUKOVAR RECIPE: PUBLICATION OF SUCH QUOTE ESTIMATES UNQUOTE

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Page 3/4

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PROBABLY HAS DOUBLE PURPOSE: ATTEMPT TO PROVOKE RESPONSE FROM WHICH IT COULD BE KNOWN WHAT THE CROATIAN ARMY DOES PRESENTLY HAVE AT ITS DISPOSITION, AND TO EXCUSE INCREASINGLY FREQUENT DEFEATS OF YUGO-ARMY. THIS IS THE WELL-TRIED RECIPE WHICH WAS USED AT TIME OF AGGRESSION AGAINST VUKOVAR, WHEN SERBIAN MEDIA PERSISTENTLY INFLATED NUMBERS SO IT WOULD NOT/NOT BE KNOWN THAT FOR MONTHS 1500 BRAVE FIGHTERS SUCCESSFULLY RESISTED AN AGGRESSOR TEN TIMES MORE POWERFUL.  
UNQUOTE

QUOTE THIS CONCLUSION ALSO ACCENTUATES THE FACT THAT TANJUG IN ITS REPORT DOES NOT/NOT REVEAL ANY INFO ABOUT CURRENT FORCE LEVELS OF YUGO-ARMY, ALTHOUGH THAT CAN EASILY BE LEARNED. AND THEY ARE TRYING TO TRANSFER A SIMILAR RECIPE TO BOSNA-HERCEGOVINA. IN A REPORT TRANSMITTED ONLY AN HOUR LATER, SAME YA SOURCES MAINTAIN THAT IN THAT COUNTRY THERE ARE QUOTE ABOUT 100 THOUSAND CROATS AND MUSLIMS ARMED AND ORGANISED IN PARA-MILITARY FORMATIONS UNQUOTE. BUT AT LEAST THEY HAVENT TRIED TO CLAIM THAT THERE ARE MORE OF THEM THAN OF YA. THAT IS TO SAY, IT IS KNOWN THAT B-H IS QUOTE BIGGEST ARMY BASE IN EUROPE UNQUOTE, IN WHICH THERE ARE SEVEN ENEMY CORPS, SO SUCH A LIE WOULD BE TOO MANIFEST. UNQUOTE.

2. WHEN I MET DEFENCE MIN SUSAK SOME WEEKS AGO, HE WOULD NOT/NOT BE DRAWN ON NBRS OF CROATIAN FORCES, SAYING ONLY THAT HE HAD 4.7/4.7 MILLION PEOPLE AVAILABLE (ENTIRE POPULATION) BUT NOT/NOT ENOUGH EQUIPMENT FOR THEM ALL. UJESNIK DISPLAYS SAME CLEVERNESS WHICH IT

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ATTRIBUTES TO TANJUG, IN NOT/NOT REVEALING ANYTHING ABOUT CURRENT  
CROATIAN FORCE LEVELS.

3.AM SEEKING SECOND OPINION ON ESTIMATED SIZE OF CROATIAN FORCES.

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BIOGRAPHIES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT



**Dr FRANJO GREGURIĆ** - Prime Minister.

Born on October 12, 1939 in Lobar, Zlatar Bistrica. Nationality: Croatian. Received a Dr. Sci. from the School of Technology, University of Zagreb. Previously a Deputy Prime Minister of the Croatian Government.

Member of the Croatian Democratic Union.

Address: Radićev trg 7, tel. 443 885, fax: 277 082.

**Dr MATO GRANIĆ** - Deputy Prime Minister.

Born on September 19, 1947 in Baška Voda, Makarska. Nationality: Croatian. Received a Ph.D. from the School of Medicine, University of Zagreb; professor at the School of Medicine in Zagreb. Previously Deputy Director of the Clinical section of the "Vuk Vrhovac" Institute.

Member of the Croatian Democratic Union.

Address: Radićev trg 7, tel. 443 646, fax: 450 284

**JURICA PAVELIĆ** - Deputy Prime Minister

Born on July 20, 1947 in Smiljan, the Gospić district. Graduated from the School of Economy, University of Zagreb. Director of the "Export drvo" company branch in New York, later on general manager of the "Export drvo". Since April 1, 1991, he has been appointed director of the Croatian Development Fund and since August 14, 1991, he has been acting as director of the Agency for Development and Reconstruction.

Member of the Croatian Democratic Union.

Address: Radićev Trg 7, tel. 662 857

**Dr MILAN RAMLJAK** - Deputy Prime Minister.

Born on September 29, 1938 in Čitluk Posuški, Herzegovina. Nationality: Croatian. Received a Ph.D. from the School of Law, University of Zagreb; professor at the School of Law in Zagreb.

Not a member of any political party.

Address: Radićev Trg 7, tel. 443 136, fax: 450 236.

**Dr ZDRAVKO TOMAC** - Deputy Prime Minister.

Born on May 24, 1937 in Garčin, Slavonski Brod. Nationality: Croatian. Received a Ph.D. from the School of Political Science, University of Zagreb; professor at the School of Political Science in Zagreb.

Member of the Social Democratic Party of Croatia - Party of Democratic Changes

Address: Radićev trg 7, tel. 443 646, fax: 450 284

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**Dr ZVONIMIR BALETIĆ** - Minister without portfolio

Born on January 26, 1936 in Kljenjak. Nationality: Croatian. Received a Ph.D. from the School of Law, University of Zagreb, professor at the School of Political Science in Zagreb.

Member of the Social Democratic Party of Croatia.

Address: Radićev trg 7, tel: 443 028, fax: 450 284

**Dr JOSIP BOŽIČEVIĆ** - Minister of Transportation and Communications

Born on March 17, 1929 in Josipdol, Ogulin. Nationality: Croatian. Received a Dr. Sci. from the School of Architecture in Ljubljana, also at the School of Navigation and Communications in Rijeka; and is a professor at the School of Transportation.

Not a member of any political party.

Address: Gruška 20, tel. 612 017, fax: 518 113

**Dr IVAN CESAR** - Minister without portfolio

Born on May 9, 1939 in Beletinac, Varaždin. Nationality: Croatian. Received a Ph.D. from the School of Humanities in Ljubljana; professor at the School of Philosophy, University of Zagreb.

Member of the Croatian Christian Democratic Party.

Address: Radićev trg 7, tel. 443 254

**Dr IVAN CIFRIĆ** - Minister of Environmental Protection, Zoning and Construction

Born on January 22, 1946 in Petrijevac, Valpovo. Nationality: Croatian. Received a Ph. D. from the School of Philosophy, University of Zagreb. Professor at the University of Zagreb.

Member of the Socialist Party.

Address: Avenija Vukovar 78, tel. 611 872, fax: 612 131

**Dr ANTE ČOVIĆ** - Minister of Science, Technology and Informatics

Born on August 23, 1949 in Split. Nationality: Croatian. Received a Ph.D. from the School of Philosophy, University of Zagreb. Assistant professor at the School of Philosophy in Zagreb.

Member of the Social Democratic Party of Croatia.

Address: Strossmayerov trg 4, tel. 434 037, fax: 429 543

**SLAVKO DEGORIČIJA** - Minister of Reconstruction

Born on April 18, 1931 in Košpolje. Nationality: Croatian. Graduated from the School of Philosophy, University of Zagreb.

Member of the Croatian Democratic Union.

Address: Radićev Trg 2, tel. 443 344, fax: 275 682

**Dr ANDRIJA HEBRANG** - Minister of Health

Born on January 27, 1946 in Belgrade, Serbia. Nationality: Croatian. Received a Ph. D. from the School of Medicine, University of Zagreb. Professor at the School of Medicine in Zagreb.

Member of the Croatian Democratic Union.

Address: Ulica 8. maja 42, tel. 431 068, fax: 431 067

**BERNARDO JURLINA** - Minister of Labour and Social Welfare

Born on May 14, 1949 in Živogošće, Makarska. Nationality: Croatian. Graduated from the School of Economics, University of Zagreb; completed post graduate studies at the University of Zagreb.

Member of the Croatian Democratic Union.

Address: Ulica 8. maja 42, tel. 432 704, fax: 430 592

**ŽIVKO JUZBAŠIĆ** - Minister without portfolio

Born on May 18, 1924 in Jošavica, Petrinja. Nationality: Serbian. Finished college.

Retired Director of the "Gavrilović" factory.

Not a member of any political party.

Address: Radićev trg 7, tel. 443 603

**PETAR KRISTE** - Minister of Trade

Born on May 1, 1936 in Dubrovnik. Nationality: Croatian. Graduated from the School of Political Science, University of Belgrade.

Member of the Croatian Democratic Union.

**ANTON MARČELO POPOVIĆ - Minister of Tourism**

Born in 1943 in Bralići, Vrsar. Nationality: Croatian. Graduated from the School of Agriculture, University of Zagreb. Director of the "Adria" tourism firm.

Member of the Croatian Democratic Union.

Address: Gundulićeva 3, tel. 430 858, fax: 428 624

**JOZO MARTINOVIĆ - Minister of Finance.**

Born on September 9, 1942 in Gornji Mamići, Lištica, Herzegovina. Nationality: Croatian.

Received an M.S. from the School of Economics, University of Zagreb. Director of the Trading Bank of Zagreb.

Not a member of any political party.

Address: Katančićeva 5, tel. 434 849, fax: 432 789

**BOSILJKO MIŠETIĆ - Minister of Justice and Administration.**

Born on September 10, 1945 in Grabovnik, Ljubuški, Herzegovina. Nationality: Croatian.

Graduated from the School of Law, University of Zagreb. Lawyer.

Member of the Croatian People's Party.

Address: Savska cesta 41, tel. 535 935, fax: 536 321

**Dr VLADIMIR PAVLETIĆ - Minister of Education and Culture**

Born on December 2, 1930 in Zagreb. Nationality: Croatian. Received a Ph.D. from the School of Philosophy, University of Zagreb. Professor at the University of Zagreb, member of the Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Not a member of any political party.

Address: Trg Burze 6, tel. 410 449, fax: 410 421

**Dr DAVORIN RUDOLFF - Minister of Maritime Affairs.**

Born on December 13, 1934 in Omiš. Nationality: Croatian. Received a Ph.D. from the University of Zagreb; associate member of the Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Not a member of any political party.

Address: Mesnička 23, tel. 450 800, fax: 451 408

**BRANKO SALAJ - Minister of Information**

Born on August 8, 1932 in Zagreb. Nationality: Croatian. Graduated from the University of Stockholm, Sweden, received an M.A. degree in Political Economy at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, USA. Director at the Swedish Federation of Building Employers, ran his own management consultancy and an auditing firm.

Member of the Croatian Democratic Union.

Address: Opatička 8, tel. 445 661, fax: 433 988

**Dr ZDRAVKO SANČEVIĆ - Minister of Emigration**

Born on January 20, 1931 in Crkvena, Teslić. Nationality: Croatian. Received a Dr. Sci. in petroleum engineering from Colorado School of Mining and Pennsylvania State University.

Petroleum manager in Venezuela for 39 years.

Member of the Croatian Democratic Union.

Address: Radićev Trg 7, tel. 417 830, fax: 451 587

**Dr ZYONIMIR ŠEPAROVIĆ - Minister of Foreign Affairs.**

Born on September 14, 1928 in Blato, on the island of Korčula. Nationality: Croatian.

Received a Ph.D. from the School of Law, University of Zagreb.

Not a member of any political party.

Address: Visoka ulica 22, tel. 443 012, fax: 427 594

**IVAN VEKIĆ - Minister of the Interior.**

Born in 1938 in the municipality of Vigonje. Nationality: Croatian. Graduated from the School of Law, University of Zagreb. Previously President of the Socio-Political Chamber of the Croatian Parliament.

Member of the Croatian Democratic Union.

Address: Savska cesta 39, tel. 418 254, fax: 443 715

**GOJKO ŠUŠAK** - Minister of Defence.

Born on March 16, 1945 in Široki Brijeg, Herzegovina. Nationality: Croatian. Finished high school and studied mathematics and physics in Rijeka; continued studies at the University of Ottawa, Canada. Worked with an organization concentrating on accounting, computers and communications.

Member of the Croatian Democratic Union.

Address: Trg Petra Krešimira IV, tel. 443 485, fax: 451 105

**IVAN TARNAJ** - Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management

Born on September 9, 1948 in Djakovačka Sautica, Djakovo. Nationality: Croatian

Graduated from the School of Forestry in Sarajevo.

Member of the Croatian Democratic Union.

Address: Iblerov trg 9, tel. 411 803, fax: 442 070

**Dr ENZO TIRELLI** - Minister of Energetics and Industry.

Born on June 03, 1947 in Labin. Nationality: Croatian. Received a Ph.D. in the field of energetics at the School of Engineering in Ljubljana. Employed at HEP as Director of Construction at the Plomin thermal plant. Appointed senior professor at the University of Rijeka in 1981.

Member of the Social Democratic Party of Croatia - Party of Democratic Changes

Address: Avenija Vukovar 78, tel. 612 930, fax: 613 993

**Dr STJEPAN ŽDUNIĆ** - Minister of the Economic Development

Born on February 14, 1935 in Bieko, Slavonski Brod. Nationality: Croatian. Received a Ph.D. from the School of Economics, University of Zagreb. Worked at the Institute of Economics in Zagreb.

Not a member of any political party.

Address: Strossmayerov Trg 9; tel. 277 044, fax: 424 070

**MUHAMMED ZULIĆ** - Minister without portfolio

Born on July 19, 1928 in Orašac, Bihać, Bosnia. Nationality: Croatian. Businessman.

Member of the Croatian Democratic Union - Croatian Muslim Democratic Party.

Address: Radićev trg 7, tel. 443 603

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--CROATIA: VIEW ON PEACE PROCESS

SUMMARY: EC ACCEPTANCE OF PRINCIPLE OF UNIFORM APPLICATION OF HUMAN  
AND MINORITY RIGHTS GUARANTEES HAS DISPOSED OF ONE MAJOR CROATIAN  
CONCERN. ISSUE OF SPECIAL STATUS FOR MINORITIES HAS ALSO BEEN LARGELY  
DEALT WITH, ALTHOUGH NECESSARY AMENDMENTS TO CROATIAN CONCERN  
LEGISLATION HAVE NOT/NOT YET BEEN PASSED. QUESTION OF LEGAL ORDER IN  
UN PROTECTED AREAS HAS NOT/NOT YET BEEN RESOLVED, ALTHOUGH CROATIANS  
EXPECT THAT SOLUTION MIGHT TAKE FORM OF UN SUPERVISION OF LOCAL  
AUTHORITIES.

2. REPORT: ACCORDING TO PRESIDENTIAL FOREIGN ADVISOR NOBILO, CROATIA  
HAD REASON TO BE SATISFIED WITH PROGRESS TO DATE IN BRU PEACH  
CONFERENCE, ALTHOUGH MUCH REMAINED TO BE DONE. IN CROATIAN VIEW, MOST  
IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT WAS THAT EC HAD QUOTE LEARNED UNQUOTE THAT  
SAME STANDARDS HAD TO BE IMPOSED ON ALL PARTIES. THIS APPLIED IN

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PARTICULAR TO CSCE PRINCIPLES REQUIRING THAT BOUNDARIES BE ACCEPTED AND RESPECTED, THAT MINORITY RIGHTS BE PROTECTED, AND THAT FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AND COMMUNICATION ACROSS THE BOUNDARIES THAT ALL HAD TO RESPECT. IT WAS ALSO IMPORTANT THAT USA HAD REITERATED ITS INTENTION TO LET EC LEAD IN PEACE PROCESS.

3. EVENTS IN B-H, SAID NOBILO, HAD MADE IT CLEAR TO ALL THAT CONFLICT IN (EX) YUGOSLAVIA WAS NOT/NOT JUST A SERB-CROAT CONFLICT. IT WAS A MATTER OF SERB EXPANSIONISM AND JNA/LCY NOMENCLATURA ATTEMPTING TO PRESERVE THEIR POWER AND PRIVILEGED STATUS.

4. CONFERENCE AND ITS COMMISSIONS HAD BEGUN DISCUSSION ON PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF SUCCESSION. ACCORDING TO NOBILO, IDEA THAT ONLY ONE OR TWO OF FORMER YUGO REPUBLICS COULD INHERIT YUGOSLAV STATEHOOD HAD BEEN REJECTED. AGREEMENT ON SUCCESSION FORMULA, HOWEVER, HAD STILL NOT/NOT BEEN REACHED. ONE EXAMPLE OF PRACTICAL QUESTIONS TO BE DEALT WITH WAS THAT OF MILITARY PENSIONS: THERE WERE APPROX 20,000 RETIRED JNA OFFICERS LIVING IN CROATIA, WHOSE PENSIONS HAD FORMERLY BEEN A CHARGE ON FEDERAL DEFENCE BUDGET, AND WHO HAD NOT/NOT BEEN PAID IN MONTHS. THIS WAS ONE ASPECT OF AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE REACHED ON DIVISION OF SFRY ASSETS AND LIABILITIES.

5. ANOTHER SERIOUS ISSUE LINKED TO SUCCESSION QUESTION WAS THAT OF HUMAN AND MINORITY RIGHTS (HR/MR). ACCORDING TO NOBILO, MAIN REASON THAT SERBIA (AND MONTENEGRO) CLAIMED TO BE CONTINUATION OF SFRY WAS THAT THEY WISHED TO EVADE REQUIREMENT FOR CONSISTENT, UNIFORM

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PROTECTION OF HR/MR. IF INTL PRESSURE ON SERBIA CONTINUED, HOWEVER, THEY WOULD EVENTUALLY HAVE TO GIVE IN. THEIR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION WAS WORSENING, AND MILITARY WERE BECOMING RESTIVE AND LESS RELIABLE. THIS WAS ONE REASON THAT THEY COULD NOT/NOT UNDERTAKE MILITARY OCCUPATION OF BOSNA-HERCEGOVINA (REFTEL).

6. REGARDING CROATIA'S OWN STANDING WITH CARRINGTON CONFERENCE, NOBILO THOUGHT THAT BADINTER COMMISSION RESERVATIONS ABOUT SPECIAL STATUS FOR MINORITIES HAD BEEN LARGELY RESOLVED. CROATIA HAD AGREED TO AMEND ITS CONSTITUTIONAL LAW ON MINORITIES, AND AGREEMENT ON MOST AMENDMENTS HAD BEEN REACHED DARWIN/ARENS DELEGATION DURING THEIR VISIT IN MAR. IT REMAINED ONLY TO PASS THE AMENDMENTS INTO LAW. ONLY IMPORTANT PROBLEM IN THIS RESPECT RELATED TO DEMILITARISATION OF SPECIAL-STATUS AREAS. CROATIA ACCEPTED NEED FOR DEMILITARISATION, BUT REQUIRED COMPENSATORY SECURITY GUARANTEES, AND PROVISIONS FOR PATROLLING INTERNATIONAL BORDER (CORRIDOR 5/5 KM WIDE). CLARIFICATION OF SITUATION IN B-H (NOW APPARENTLY WORSENING BY THE HOUR) WOULD ALSO HELP.

7. QUESTION OF LEGAL AUTHORITY IN UN PROTECTED AREAS, SAID NOBILO, CONTINUED TO BE DIFFICULT ISSUE. BRU CONFERENCE HAD NOT/NOT SO FAR BEEN ABLE TO DEAL WITH IT, AND NO/NO PRACTICAL MODEL HAD BEEN PROPOSED. HE THOUGHT IT LIKELY THAT UN DEVELOPMENT WOULD TAKE PLACE BEFORE MATTER WAS RESOLVED, AND ESTABLISH SOME MECHANISM FOR SUPERVISING LOCAL AUTHORITIES. CROATIA WAS NO/NO LONGER OVERLY

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CONCERNED ABOUT SOVEREIGNTY IN THIS CONNECTION (SINCE USA  
RECOGNITION STATEMENT HAD REFERRED SPECIFICALLY TO EXISTING  
BOUNDARIES) BUT PRACTICAL PROBLEMS HAD TO BE DEALT WITH. MOST  
PRESSING OF THESE WAS THAT OF RETURNING DISPLACED PEOPLE TO  
THEIR HOMES: IF LOCAL AUTHORITIES WERE HOSTILE, THEN PEOPLE WOULD  
NOT/NOT BE ABLE TO RETURN. THIS IN TURN WOULD AFFECT POSSIBILITY  
OF HOLDING ELECTIONS WHICH, ACCORDING TO NOBILO, WOULD CERTAINLY  
BE HELD WITHIN THE YEAR, AND POSSIBLY BY SUMMER.

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---CROATIA: THE NASTY PARTY

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SUMMARY: ATTEMPT BY CROATIAN PARTY OF RIGHT(S) TO ORGANISE  
 CELEBRATION OF 51ST ANNIVERSARY OF PROCLAMATION OF QUISLING QUOTE  
 INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA UNQUOTE DURING WW2 DID NOT/NOT INDICATE  
 THAT PARTY ENJOYED WIDESPREAD SUPPORT, BUT NEITHER WAS IT COMPLETE  
 FAILURE. IN SPEECHES TO CROWD OF SEVERAL HUNDRED, PARAGA AND OTHER  
 PARTY LEADERS EXPILICITLY IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES AND THEIR FOLLOWERS  
 WITH WARTIME USTASHI MOVEMENT, AND EXPRESSED AN EXPANSIONIST VISION  
 OF CROATIA IN WHICH ONLY CROATS WOULD RULE. THEY ALSO SUPPORTED  
 UNITED CROAT-MUSLIM STRUGGLE AGAINST SERBS IN BOSNA-HERCOGOVINA.  
 GOVT REACTION WAS RESTRAINED; POTENTIAL FOR EMBARRASSMENT IS OUT  
 OF ALL PROPORTION TO PARTYS LEVEL OF POPULAR SUPPORT.

2.REPORT: FAR-RIGHT CROATIAN PARTY OF RIGHT(S) LED BY FORMER AMNESTY  
 INTL PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE DOBROSLAV PARAGA CLAIMS TO BE  
 CONTINUATION OF PARTY FOUNDED BY STARCEVIC AND KVATERNIK IN MID-19TH

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PAGE TWO QLGR0078 UNCLAS

CENTURY. IT ALSO DECLARES ITS AFFINITY WITH FASCIST CROATIAN REVOLUTIONARY ORGANISATION OF ANTE PAVELIC AND WARTIME QUOTE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA UNQUOTE (NDH) ESTABLISHED UNDER GERMAN/ ITALIAN TUTELAGE. OVER PAST TWO MONTHS, HSP HAS RISEN FROM ABOUT 3/3 PER CENT TO JUST UNDER 5/5 PER CENT IN POLLS. PARAGAS OWN POPULARITY RATING IS ABOUT 4/4 PER CENT, COMPARED TO TUDJMANS 32/32 PER CENT.

3. HSP VISION OF CROATIA INCLUDES TERRITORY EXTENDING FROM SUTLA RIVER (PRESENT WESTERN BOUNDARY WITH SLOVENIA) TO DRINA RIVER IN SOUTH (WHICH WOULD TAKE IN MUCH OF BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA) AND AS FAR EAST AS ZEMUN (NEAR BELGRADE), WHICH WOULD COVER MUCH OF VOJVODINA.

4. A FEW DAYS BEFORE 10 APR ANNIVERSARY OF PROCLAMATION OF NDH, HSP HAD PRINTED MULTICOLOURED POSTERS FEATURING EXPANSIONIST MAP OF CROATIA WITH SUPERIMPOSED QUOTATION FROM QUOTE POGLAVNIK UNQUOTE (LEADER - PAVELIC) TO EFFECT THAT WITHOUT INDEPENDENT STATE THERE WAS NO/NO LIFE FOR CROATIANS. THESE WERE PUT IN CENTRAL JELACIC SQUARE, TOGETHER WITH HANDBILLS INVITING PEOPLE TO ZAGREB TO OPEN AIR RALLY IN PARK AT FRANCUSKI TRG AT 4:00 PM 10 APR. SINCE PARK IS NEAR INTERSECTION OF SEVERAL MAJOR TRAM LINES, TIME AND PLACE WOULD APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN CHOSEN WITH VIEW TO ATTRACTING MAXIMUM NUMBER OF CURIOUS PASSERS-BY ON WAY HOME FROM WORK.

5. POLICE ANNOUNCED IN ADVANCE THAT FOR REASONS OF PUBLIC SAFETY NO/NO 10 DEC ASSEMBLIES WOULD BE PERMITTED IN PUBLIC AREAS. STILL, AT ANNOUNCED TIME APPROX 100-200 PEOPLE HAD GATHERED IN PARK. IT

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INCLUDED SEVERAL BLACK-UNIFORMED PARTY MILITIA (HOS) AND OTHERS WEARING USTASHI BADGES, IRON CROSSES, BLACK LEGION T-SHIRTS, ETC. AT ONE POINT, SOMEONE ATTEMPTED TO LEAD CROWN IN SONG TO WHICH ONLY A FEW ELDERLY, FIERCE-EYED MEN SEEMED TO KNOW THE WORDS. AT APPROX 1630, PARAGA ARRIVED TO ANNOUNCE THAT DUE TO GOVT REPRESSION RALLY WOULD TAKE PLACE AT HSP HEADQUARTERS AT CORNER OF STARCICEV AND TOMISLAV SQUARES. TWO HOS MEMBERS, WAVING HSP AND NDH BANNERS ATTEMPTED TO LEAD PROCESSION TO HSP HEADQUARTERS (WHICH WAS NOT/NOT PERMITTED TO PASS THROUGH JELACIC SQUARE). MILITARY AND CIVIL POLICE WERE PRESENT, ENCOURAGING THE CURIOUS TO MOVE ALONG AND PREVENTING CROWN FROM GETTING TOO BIG.

6. HSP HEADQUARTERS BLDG IS NOT/NOT LARGE ENOUGH TO ACCOMMODATE CROWD. SOLUTION WHICH PARAGA AND HIS HANDLERS DEVISED WAS TO HAVE SPEAKERS APPEAR ON 2ND-FLOOR BALCONY (ADORNED WITH HSP, MUSLIM AND BLACK FLAGS) TO ADDRESS SEVERAL HUNDRED PEOPLE ASSEMBLED IN TOMISLAV PARK ACROSS STREET. CORDON OF HOS MEMBERS STOOD IN STREET, DODGIN TRAMS AND OTHER TRAFFIC.

7. DESPITE THESE INCONVENIENCES, ORGANISERS MANAGED TO ACHIEVE SOME SMALL-SCALE RESEMBLANCE TO NEWSREEL FOOTAGE OF 1930S FASCIST RALLY. THERE WERE CHEERLEADERS IN CROWD TO ENCOURAGE CHANTS OF QUOTE PA-RAGA - PA-VE-LIC; EN-DAY-HA (NDH); SRUSIT CEMO HDZ (WE WILL DESTROY THE CROATIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION - TUDJMANS PARTY), UNQUOTE ETC. AT INTERVALS, PARAGA AND OTHER SPEAKERS WOULD INTERRUPT THEIR SPEECHES

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TO SHOUT USTASHI SLOGAN QUOTE ZA DOM UNQUOTE (FOR THE HOMELAND), AND SOME IN CROWD WOULD RESPOND BY GIVING STRAIGHT-ARM SALUTE AND SHOUTING QUOTE SPREMNI UNQUOTE (READY). RELATIVELY FEW IN CROWD JOINED IN CHANTS; MOST WERE PASSIVE ONLOOKERS.

8. ASSEMBLY WAS DESCRIBED BY FIRST SPEAKER AS QUOTE NOT/NOT A PARTY MEETING, BUT AN HONEST CROATIAN, USTASHI GATHERING UNQUOTE. SHE THEN INTRODUCED PARAGA AS QUOTE FUTURE POGLAVNIK OF NDH UNQUOTE. IN HIS ADDRESS, PARAGA ATTACKED PRESENT GOVT AS QUOTE OPPRESSORS OF CROATS WHO ATTEMPTED TO PREVENT CROATIAN PEOPLE FROM ESTABLISHING NDH UNQUOTE. HE PROMISED TO RENEW CROATIA FROM SUTLA TO DRINA: NDH HAD BEEN WILL OF CROATIAN PEOPLE, NOT/NOT OF FASCIST FORCES. 10 APR WOULD ALWAYS BE CELEBRATED, NOT/NOT 30 MAY OR 22 JUN (QUOTE DAY OF CROATIAN TRAITORS UNQUOTE). CROATIA, HE SAID, COULD BE GOVERNED ONLY BY GOD AND CROATS, AND IN NO/NO WAY BE SERBS.

9. PARAGA WAS FOLLOWED BY VEZIR MUHAREMOVIC, PRESIDENT OF CROATIAN-MUSLIM FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY OF VISEGRAD. HE MAINTAINED THAT HO FORMATIONS EXISTED IN VISEGRAD, FOCA AND SREBRNICA, PLACES WHERE QUOTE CHETNIKS UNQUOTE WOULD NEVER PASS, AND THAT THE DRINA WOULD AGAIN FLOW WITH BLOOD, BUT THAT IT WOULD CARRY OTHER CORPSES THAT THOSE WHICH NOW FLOATED IN IT. SOME IN CROWD RESPONDED WITH SHOUTS OF QUOTE WE WILL NOT/NOT SURRENDER KUPRES, WE WILL GO ON TO BELGRADE UNQUOTE.

10. POLICE MAINTAINED PRESENCE ON MARGINS OF CROWD, BUT DID NOT/NOT INTERVENE. SITUATION REMAINED UNDER CONTROL.

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11. IN CROATIAN LANGUAGE, PORTMANTEAU NAME (HRVATSKA STRANKA PRAVA CAN MEAN CROATIAN PARTY OF THE RIGHT, AND/OR CROATIAN PARTY OF RIGHTS) OF EXTREME-RIGHT HSP NEATLY ENCAPSULATES DILEMMA IN WHICH PARTY AND ITS BLACK-UNIFORMED HOS MILITIA PLACE CROATIAN GOVT. PARTYS ACTIVITIES PROVIDE AMMUNITION FOR YUGO/SERBIAN ATTEMPTS TO TAR TUDJMAN GOVT WITH USTASHI BRUSH, BUT ANY ATTEMPT TO SUPPRESS HSP WOULD CONSTITUTE INTERFERENCE WITH FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION. THERE IS SOMETHING TO APHORISM THAT ONE CAN BE CERTAIN THAT FREEDOM OF SPEECH EXISTS ONLY WHEN IT IS BEING ABUSED.

//RECEIVED BY FAX IN OTT APR 12, 1992//

UUU/184 121302Z QLGR0078

(16)



REPUBLIC OF CROATIA  
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION

41000 Zagreb, Opatička 8c  
Tel: (041) 445 661 Fax: 433 988

DATE April 4, 1992

FILE	20-Croatia-1.4	DOSSIER
	20.Yugo-1.4	
LOC	A7	

# PRESS RELEASE SPECIAL

## THE YUGOSLAV ARMY REORGANISATION SCHEME IN CONTRAVENTION TO U.N.-SPONSORED AGREEMENT

A recently disclosed Yugoslav Army confidential document proves that the YA intends to remain in control of Croatian coastline between the Prevlaka point and the town of Cavtat, in direct contravention to the United Nations-sponsored agreement of December 1991, the so-called Annex III. The YA plans to use the electronic surveillance and communications base in Prevlaka for monitoring electronic communication in Croatia, northern Albania and the Ionian Sea.<sup>1</sup> By agreeing to the provisions of the Annex III, the YA undertook the obligation to leave the entire territory of Croatia.

The YA also plans to establish a garrison in Kumanovo, a town in northern Macedonia, which has proclaimed independence from former Yugoslavia.

The document is a draft scheme of reorganisation of the existing Yugoslav Army into a Yugoslav Defence Force (YUDEF), starting from May 1 this year. **The Ministry of Defence (MoD) of the Republic of Serbia, the Federal Ministry of Defence and the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army** have jointly prepared the document, which is to be submitted for ratification to the governments of Serbia and Montenegro.

According to the plan, the YUDEF would *"continue to protect Serbian population outside Serbia,"* by *"transferring command structures into Territorial Defence units (TD), and supplying these with arms, artillery, armour and missile launching systems."* The MoDs of the self-proclaimed Serbian Autonomous Regions (SARs) in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina would be subordinated to the Serbian MoD. These would *"coordinate their defence plans, jointly protect the external borders and the constitutional system. Serbian Autonomous Regions, having received authorisation from the Serbian MoD, would be able to form their own armed forces and recruit conscripts, whose highest instance of command would be the Serbian MoD."*

The Serbian MoD would also be in command of National Guard units, whose task would be to protect Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The YUDEF Chief of Staff would be authorised *"to incorporate paramilitary units into regular YUDEF units, if the defence interests of Yugoslavia so require."*

The duration of service in the YUDEF would be 12 months, while no possibility for civil service has been proposed, since *"there are no justifiable reasons for psychically and physically able persons not to carry out their service under regular military training."*

cont'd

<sup>1</sup>The Yugoslav Army is currently using similar facilities in Tivat, Montenegro, but these are unsuitable due to land configuration.

The ethnic composition of YUDEF conscripts would be: 50% Serbs, 20% Montenegrins and 30% conscripts of other nationalities. The ethnic composition of YUDEF officer corps however, would be: 92.6% Serbs, 7% Montenegrins and 0.4% officers of other nationalities.

The YUDEF would be divided into five Military Operational Zones (MOZs), with their headquarters in Belgrade, Novi Sad, Podgorica (former Titograd), Niš and Uroševac respectively. The designated territory of the Third MOZ in Podgorica violates the Croatian border by entailing Prevlaka and the coast north to Cavtat, while the designated Fifth MOZ in Uroševac entails the Macedonian town of Kumanovo.

A conspicuous majority of YUDEF garrisons would be concentrated in areas with a substantial non-Serb population, or where Serbs are a minority. Eight garrisons would be in Voivodina (Sombor, Subotica, Vršac, Kikinda, Bela Crkva, Vrbas, Zrenjanin and Sremska Mitrovica), with Army Corps and MOZ Headquarters in Novi Sad, three in Kosovo (Priština, Prizren, Peć) with Army Corps and MOZ HQ in Uroševac, one garrison (Nikšić) and Army Corps and MOZ HQ in Podgorica in Montenegro, while four garrisons would be stationed in Serbian majority regions in Serbia (Valjevo, Paraćin, Zaječar and Leskovac), with Army Corps and MOZ HQs in Belgrade and Niš, and one garrison (Novi Pazar) in a Moslem Slavs majority area.

The deployment of armoured divisions follows the same pattern. The greatest concentration of armour would be along the borders with Hungary and Croatia (Subotica, Bačko Petrovo Selo, Kukujevc, Novi Kneževci) in Voivodina in the north; and in Kosovska Mitrovica, Prizren, Đakovica in Kosovo, and Novi Pazar, in the south.

The YUDEF considers to enhance its arsenal by buying ground-to-ground and ground-to-air missile systems from friendly Middle and Far East countries, once the arms embargo has been lifted. The draft envisages a reduction of the air force, and its reinforcement with MiG-31 aircraft. Explaining this increase in armament, the "**The Concepts of Forming the YUDEF**" state that "*extremely unfavourable international developments (reinstatement of imperialism), and the aspirations towards the peoples of Yugoslavia by neighbouring countries require a more powerful defence mechanism and a different conception of the defensive system, using the experience of such countries as Israel, Iraq and others.*"

Accordingly, the YUDEF would adopt the strategy of "*preventive strikes*", and would station its missile systems along Serbian borders, especially those with Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Hungary. Along these, and the borders with Bulgaria and Macedonia, the YUDEF would position bases for its special task forces in near future (May - June, 1992).

The command structure would be as follows: The Supreme Commander of the YUDEF and its Supreme Command would be the President of the Republic. The Minister of Defence would be a civilian, his Deputy would be either the Chief of Staff or Deputy Chief of Staff, another Deputy Minister of Defence would be an officer responsible for YUDEF units outside Serbia. The General Staff would consist of the Chief of Staff, Branch Commanders, Military Operational Zone Commanders and the Commander of the Military Intelligence Service (MIS).

The Military Intelligence Service would be comprised of four departments: Internal Security Dept., Western Countries Dept., Middle and Far East Countries Dept and Counter-Intelligence Dept. The task to assemble the Military Intelligence Service has been given to Colonel Savo Dabić.

The contents of this top secret YA document were published in the March 26 issue of the Nedjeljnja Dalmacija weekly.

- END OF RELEASE -

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TO EXTOTT (RBR IMU

INFO BGRAD PRMNY BNATO BRU BREEC ROME VATCN VNACE VIENN GENEV

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CNBRA PCOOTT/MCNEE PMOOTT PILLAROTT/RCT/RCI/RAP

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REF MYTEL QLGR0047 09MAR92

---CROATIA:DEMOCRATISATION

SUMMARY:DEMOCRATISATION PROCESS IN CROATIA IS IN STATE OF  
SUSPENDED ANIMATION,AND THIS IS NOT/NOT ENTIRELY DUE TO WAR.NEW  
ELECTIONS WILL BE REQUIRED TO PUT 1991 CONSTITUTION INTO  
OPERATION,BUT ESSENTIAL NEW ELECTORAL LEGISLATION IS STALLED.  
EVEN THEM,PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES OF CONDUCTING ELECTIONS BEFORE  
NORMAL LIFE HAS BEEN RESTORED WOULD BE ENORMOUS.UNTIL THEN,  
HOWEVER,CONSTITUTIONALITY OF PRESENT PARLIAMENT AND PRESIDENCY IS  
OPEN TO DOUBT,AND IN PRACTICE CURRENT SYSTEM IS QUOTE SUPER-  
PRESIDENTIAL UNQUOTE.MUCH WILL DEPEND ON HOW PRES TUJMAN CHOOSES  
///TO EXERCISE THE CONSIDERABLE POWERS AT HIS DISPOSAL.///

2.REPORT:CROATIAS CONSTITUTION,PROMULGATED 22DEC90,CALLS FOR  
ELECTORAL LAWS TO BE PASSED WITHIN ONE YR TO GOVERN NEW ELECTIONS

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ACTION		DATE
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PAGE TWO QLGR0064 UNCLAS

FOR SABOR (PARLIAMENT) AND PRESIDENT. THIS IN EFFECT MENS THREE ELECTIONS, CONDUCTED ON DIFFERENT BASES: ELECTION OF PRESIDENT BY GENERAL ELECTION, ELECTION OF CHAMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES (HALF BY PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION, HALF BY RELATIVE MAJORITY WITH FIVE ADDITIONAL SEATS FOR MINORITIES), AND ELECTION OF CHAMBER OF COUNTIES (ZUPANIJE), IN WHICH THERE WOULD BE 3/3 REPS ELECTED FROM EACH OF 17/17 OR 18/18 COUNTIES.

3. ELECTORAL LEGISLATION WAS TO HAVE BEEN DEALT WITH AT THIS MONTHS SESSION OF CURRENT SABOR (PARLIAMENT MEETS FOR ONLY A FEW DAYS EACH MONTH), BUT HAS NOW BEEN POSTPONED UNTIL NEXT MONTHS SESSION. FIRST INDICATION OF DIFFICULTY WAS REVELATION FEW DAYS BEFORE SESSION BEGAN THAT GOVT WOULD PROPOSE THAT ONY LEGISLATION ON PRESIDENTIAL AND CHAMBER OF REPS ELECTIONS BE DEALT WITH.

4. UNDER THIS PROPOSAL, LEGISLATION DEALING WITH CHAMBER OF ZUPANIJE ELECTIONS WOULD BE POSPONED, AS WOULD LEGISLATION TO ESTABLISH ZUPANIJE (EACH OF WHICH WOULD INCLUDE SEVERAL EXISTING OPCINE). ELECTION FOR CHAMBER OF ZUPANIJE WOULD BE HELD FIVE MONTHS AFTER PRESIDENTIAL AND CHAMBER OF REPS ELECTIONS, DURING WHICH TIME POWERS OF SABOR WOULD BE EXERCISED BY CHAMBER OF REPS ALONE.

5. GOVT COULD HAVE FORCED THIS PROPOSAL THROUGH, BUT REACTION WAS SUFFICIENTLY NEGATIVE THAT IT HAS BEEN DECIDED TO POSTPONE CONSIDERATION OF ANY ELECTORAL LEGISLATION UNTIL APR SESSION. ONE

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PAGE THREE QLGR0064 UNCLASSIFIED

COMMENTATOR REFERRED TO PROPOSAL FOR TRUNCATED SABOR AS QUOTE ILL-REPUTED EXPRESSION OF POLITICAL LIFE OF LORMER YUGOSLAVIA WHICH HAD ENTERED BY BACK DOOR INTO POLITICAL LIFE OF CROATIA UNQUOTE.

6. CHAMBER OS ZUPANIJE ELECTIONS, OF COURSE, COULD NOT/NOT BE HELD UNTIL ZUPANIJE THEMSELVES HAD BEE DEFINED, AND GOVTS PROPOSED LEGISLATION TO ACHIEVE THIS HAS ENCOUNTERED CONSIDERABLE RESISTANCE. SOME HAS COME FROM AREAS WHERE PROPOSED ZUPANIJE BOUNDARIES WOULD CUT ACROSS ESTABLISHED SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LINES. ALSO, SOME ZUPANIJE, ESPECIALLY IN AND BORDERING ON OCCUPIED AREAS WHERE SERB-CROAT TENSIONS ARE MOST BITTER, WOULD HAVE BEEN PREDOMINANTLY SERB.

7. GOVTS RELUCTANCE TO GRASP THIS NETTLE IS UNDERSTANDABLE, AS IS ITS DESIRE TO HOLD ELECTIONS, IF ONLY PARTIAL ONES, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. BY DOING SO HDZ COULD CAPITILISE ON CREDIT IT HAS GARNERED FROM VICTORY IN INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE BEFORE THIS BECOMES TOO MUCH ERODED BY ECONOMIC HARDSHIP.

8. IT DOES NOT/NOT SEEM TO BE TOO MUCH DETERRED BY PRACTICAL DIFFICULTY OF ORGANISING ELECTIONS IN CTRY WHICH HAS 30/30 PERCENT OF ITS TERRITORY OCCUPIED, AND OVER 600,000 OF ITS PEOPLE DISPLACED. THERE IS WIDESPREAD ASSUMPTION THAT ELECTION IN OCCUPIED AREAS WOULD BE CONDUCTED WITH ASSISTANCE, ON AT LEAST ACQUIESCENCE OF UN.

9. BUT UNTIL NEXT ELECTIONS, CROATIA WILL BE GOVERNED BY PARLIAMENT

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PAGE FOUR QLGR0064 UNCLASSIFIED

ELECTED UNDER PROVISIONS OF 1974 SFRY CONSTITUTION, AND MORE PARTICULARLY BY PRESIDENT ELECTED BY THAT PARLIAMENT. CURRENT REGIME HAS BEEN DESCRIBED AS QUOTE SUPER-PRESIDENTIAL UNQUOTE, IN THAT TUDJMAN IS BOTH STATE PRESIDENT AND PRESIDENT OF HIS PARTY AND THUS EFFECTIVELY DIRECTS STATE, PARTY, GOVT AND PARLIAMENT. ALTHOUGH NOT/NOT ELECTED UNDER PROVISIONS OF PRESENT CONSTITUTION, HE EXERCISES PRESIDENTIAL POWERS SET OUT IN IT, AS WELL AS EMERGENCY POWERS DELEGATED BY GOVT AND PARLIAMENT. FUTURE OF GROATIAN DEMOCRACY WILL DEPEND VERY MUCH ON HOW HE CHOOSES TO EXERCISE THESE POWERS.

RECEIVED BY FAX IN OTTAWA 28MAR 1992.

UUU/122 281023Z QLGR0064

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Sat 28 Mar 1992 16:35:27

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RCMPOTT/D/CA/MURRAY

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REF MYTEL QLGR0047 09MAR92

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Sat 28 Mar 1992 16:36:04

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Page 2/4

PAGE TWO QLGR0064 UNCLAS

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Sat 28 Mar 1992 16:36:35

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Page 3/4

PAGE THREE QLGR0064 UNCLAS

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RECEIVED BY  
FAXINOTT  
MAR 28 1992

I wonder whether SAM is aware of how good a case he is making for having only an Hon Con in Zagreb?

RGR

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TO EXTOTT RBR RGZ IDR IMH

INFO BGRAD PRMNY BNATO BRU BREEC ROME VATCN VNACE VIENN GENEV

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---CROATIA:HUMANITARIAN AND RECONSTRUCTION NEEDS

ACC	DATE
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FILE	DOSSIER
38-11-1-1/EUR/E	
LOC	
A75R	20-CROATIA-1-4

SUMMARY:ALTHOUGH HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE REQUIREMENTS ARE SIGNIFICANT,THEY ARE DWARFED BY WHAT WILL BE NEEDED TO REBUILD AND REPAIR DAMAGE TO INFRASTRUCTURE AND ECONOMY ESTIMATED AT USA DLRS 20/20 BILLION.IN TWO FRONTS AREAS RECENTLY VISITED,SCALE OF DESTRUCTION IS STAGGERING.IN ADDITLON TO SHORT-TERM HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE,MANY OF THIS WARS WOUNDED WILL REQUIRE CARE AND THERAPY FOR YRS TO COME.

2.REPORT:ACCORDING TO DEPT CHAIR OF OSIJEK CRISIS CTTEE,IT HAS BEEN NECESSARY TO DENY REFUGEES AUTHORITY TO RETURN,BECAUSE OF LACK OF FACILITIES TO PROVIDE FOR THEM.AS IT IS,OSIJEK AUTHORITIES FACE REQUIREMENT TO PROVIDE SOME 67/67 THOUSAND MEALS PER DAY.

3.WITHIN THE 40/40 PER CENT OF OSIJEK OPCINA WHICH IS CURRENTLY ...2

PAGE TWO QLGR0060 UNCLAS

UNDER CROATIAN CONTROL, 13,000/13,000 DWELLINGS (OUT OF 59,400/59,400 IN ENTIRE OPCINA) HAVE BEEN DAMAGED TO SOME DEGREE. 700/700 ARE MORE THAN 85/85 PER CENT DESTROYED, 2300/2300 MORE THAN 65/65 PER CENT. 3500/3500 LIGHTLY-DAMAGED PUBLICLY-OWNED DWELLINGS HAVE BEEN REPAIRED AT COST OF HRD 60/60 MILLION.

4. INDUSTRY IN CROATIAN-CONTROLLED PART OF OSIJEK OPCINA IS OVER 70/70 PER CENT DESTROYED. WITH OVER USA DLRS 1/1 BILLION IN DAMAGES IDENTIFIED SO FAR. BEFORE CONFLICT THERE WERE 60/60 THOUSAND EMPLOYED IN OPCINA; THERE ARE NOW ONLY 18/18 THOUSAND DRAWING SALARIES, BUT FEW OF THEM ARE ACTUALLY PRODUCING SALEABLE GOODS AND SERVICES (MANY IN FORCES, ABOUT TO BE DEMOBILISED).

5. IN GOSPIC, 70/70 PERCENT OF BUILDINGS IN TOWN HAVE BEEN DESTROYED, AND LITTLE IF ANY ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IS TAKING PLACE. IN CROATIAN-CONTROLLED TWO-THIRDS OF OPCIAN, 9070/9070 DWELLINGS HAVE BEEN DESTROYED, UNCLUDING 96/96 PER CENT OF PUBLICLY-OWNED DWELLINGS. AS ONE EXAMPLE OF SCALE OF RECONSTRUCTION REQUIREMENTS, I WAS TOLD THAT 200/200 THOUSAND SQ METRES OF WINDOW GLASS WERE NEEDED IN GOSPIC. NUTRITIONAL REQUIREMENTS CURRENTLY MANAGEABLE, ALTHOUGH DEMOBILISATION AND RETURN OF DISPLACED PERSON WILL CREATE ADDITIONAL PRESSURE. MOST OF FARMS IN OPCINA ARE IN OCCUPIED TERRITORY.

6. I WAS ASKED WHAT RECONSTRUCTION ASSISTANCE MIGHT BE FORTHCOMING FROM CDA, POSSIBLY ON CITY-TO CITY BASIS OR FROM NGOS. MOST

...3

PAGE THREE QLGR0060 UNCLAS

INTERLOCUTORS, HOWEVER, LAID GREATEST EMPHASIS ON INVESTMENT RATHER THAN DONATIONS. INTERLOCUTORS WERE CONFIDENT THAT IN CURRENT SITUATION, WITH PRIVATISATION PROGRAM UNDER WAY, ATTRACTIVE INVESTMENT OPPORTUNITIES (EG PURCHASE/RECONSTRUCTION OF TOURIST RESORTS) WOULD NOT/NOT BE LACKING.

7. IN BOTH LOCATIONS, INTERLOCUTORS ALSO REFERRED TO NEED FOR DEMINING ASSISTANCE, ESPECIALLY BEFORE SPRING PLANTING BEGINS. THERE IS CONSIDERABLE CONCERN ABOUT MINES AND UNEXPLODED ORDNANCE IN FIELDS, ALTHOUGH I NOTED SOME PLOWING ALREADY UNDER WAY IN VICINITY OF OSIJEK. I NOTED THAT ALTHOUGH ENGINEER UNIT WAS PART OF CDN UNPROFOR CONTINGENT, ANY REQUEST FOR THEIR SERVICES SHOULD IN FIRST INSTANCE BE MADE TO UNPROFOR.

8. MANY OF THIS WARS WOUNDED (17,351/17,351 ON CROATIAN SIDE ALONE, ACCORDING TO ONE RECENT ESTIMATE) WILL ALSO REQUIRE LONG-TERM CARE. ACCORDING TO MEDECINS SANS FRONTIERES, THERE WERE 300/300 AMPUTEES STILL WAITING FOR PROSTHESES IN JAN; DUE TO USE OF SUCH WAPONS AS SMALL-CALIBRE HIGH-VELOCITY BULLETS, DUMDUM BULLETS (UNDISCIPLINED TROOPS SOMETIMES MODIFY REGULAR AMMUNITION), AND MINES (INCLUDING BOOBY-TRAPPED TOYS), THERE IS RELATIVELY HIGH NBR OF CASES REQUIRING AMPUTATION. PERHAPS CDN WAR AMPS ORG COULD PLAY ROLE.

9. MSF MENTIONED PSYCHIATRIC DRUGS AS ONE TYPE OF MEDICATION IN SHORT SUPPLY (MADE IN SERBIA). IT IS IMPOSSIBLE AT THIS STAGE TO

...4

PAGE FOUR QLGR0060 UNCLAS

ESTIMATE REQUIREMENTS FOR LONG-TERM PSYCHIATRIC CARE DUE TO CONFLICT. ONE CAN ANTICIPATE, HOWEVER, THAT AS PRESSURES OF CRISIS RECEDE AND INDIVIDUALS HAVE MORE TIME FOR REFLECTION AND RECOLLECTION, MORE AND MORE CASES OF POST-TRAUMATIC STRESS AND SIMILAR DISORDERS WILL APPEAR. TOUGHNESS IS VERY MUCH A PART OF LOCAL SOCIAL MORES, AND MOST INTERLOCUTORS TRY TO PROJECT IMAGE OF COOL RESTRAINT. ONE, HOWEVER, IN MIDDLE OF SENTENCE, BRIEFLY BROKE DOWN AND WEPT.

10. PLS ADVISE CURRENT POSITION AND THINKING ON HUMANITARIAN AND RECONSTRUCTION ASSISTANCE TO CROATIA.

UUU/215 231400Z QLGR0060

RECEIVED IN  
MAR 17 1992  
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**ACTION**  
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DATE	11/11
DOSSIER	20
FILE	20
LOC	VIENNE
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TO EXTOTT RBR IDR IMH

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CNBRA PCOOTT/MCNEE PMOOTT PILLAROTT/RCT/RCI/RAP

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DISTR MINA MINP USS RGB RBD RBRD RGP RBT RGZ RWD RWR IFB IMD IMU

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---CROATIA: VISIT TO FRONT

SUMMARY: ZAGREB, WHERE PEACETIME LIFE HAS BEEN ALMOST COMPLETELY RESTORED, IS ONE REALITY. TOWNS AND VILLAGES CLOSE TO FRONT LINE REPRESENT QUITE ANOTHER. OSIJEK, IN CROATIAS AGRICULTURAL HEARTLAND OF SLAVONIA, AND GOSPIC IN THE BEAUTIFUL MOUNTAIN REGION OF LIKA, HAVE BEEN VISITED BY RAPINE AND DESTRUCTION ON A SCALE THAT CAN HARDLY BE DESCRIBED IN MODERATE TERMS. IT IS HARD TO IMAGINE ANY SEMBLANCE OF NORMAL LIFE CONTINUING IN SUCH SURROUNDINGS, BUT SOMEHOW IT DOES. SO DOES DEEP RESENTMENT ON PART OF CROAT POPULATION AGAINST SERBS WHO, UNTIL OUTBREAK OF CONFLICT, WERE FRIENDS AND NEIGHBOURS. HUMAN AND MINORITY RIGHTS GUARANTIEES WILL BE MUCH EASIER TO LEGISLATE THAN TO IMPLEMENT.

2.REPORT: DURING PERIOD 11-15MAR I VISITED OSIJEK AND GOSPIC, TWO WIDELY-SEPARATED POINTS ON CEASEFIRE LINE WHERE MULTIPLE VIOLATIONS HAVE BEEN REPORTED SINCE CEASEFIRE CAME INTO EFFECT

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PAGE TWO QLGR0053 UNCLAS:FOIA

03JAN. VISITS INCLUDED MEETINGS WITH REPS OF LOCAL CROATIAN CIVIL AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES, WHICH WILL BE REPORTED IN MORE DETAILS IN SUBSEQUENT TELS. I WAS ALSO ABLE TO MAKE CONTACT WITH CDNS RESIDENT IN BOTH AREAS, WITH CDN MEMBER OF ICRC TEAM IN OSIJEK, AND WITH CDN UNMLOS. THIS TEL GIVES OVERVIEW AND GENERAL IMPRESSIONS.

3. TO MINIMISE RISK, VISITS WERE ARRANGED IN CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH LOVAL CRISIS MANAGEMENT AUTHORITIES. I WAS ACCOMPANIED BY LOCAL STAFF MEMBERS, AND ACCOMMODATION WAS ARRANGED IN LOCATIONS SOME DISTANCE FROM LINE (BIZOVAC FOR OSIJEK, KARLOBAG FOR GOSPIC) WHICH HAD NOT/NOT BEEN ATTACKED SINCE CEASEFIRE CAME INTO EFFECT (SAME ACCOMMODATION USED BY ICRC AND ECMY). SINCE MOST VIOLATIONS OCCUR AT NIGHT, PRESENCE IN FRONT AREAS WAS LIMITED TO DAYLIGHT HOURS.

4. AS IT HAPPENED, SOME 30/30 QUOTE GRANATE UNQUOTE (GENERIC TERM WHICH INCLUDES ROCKETS, HOWITZER PROJECTILES, MORTARS, TANK ROUNDS, AND SHELLS FROM ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUNS USED IN SURFACE-TO-SURFACE ROLE) FELL ON OSIJEK DURING NIGHT OF VISIT THERE. SOME FAIRLY HEAVY DETONATIONS WERE HEARD IN DISTANCE AT DIFFERENT TIMES DURING DAY AND NIGHT DURING VISIT TO GOSPIC AREA.

5. DESTRUCTION IN BOTH LOCATIONS IS QUITE HEAVY. ALTHOUGH MY HOSTS CERTAINLY DID NOT/NOT DENY THAT MILITARY POSITIONS ARE ALSO SUBJECT TO ATTACK, THEY WENT TO SOME EFFORT TO POINT OUT THAT SOFT

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PAGE THREE QLGR0053 UNCLAS

CIVILIAN TARGETS SUCH AS TOWN CENTRES, SCHOOLS, SPORTS FACILITIES, THEATRES, HOSPITALS, CHURCHES AND RESIDENTIAL AREAS HAVE COME IN FOR CONCENTRATED SHELLING, ALLEGED AIM IS TO DRIVE OUT CIVILIAN POPULATION BY DESTROYING INFRASTRUCTURE AND MAKING NORMAL LIFE IMPOSSIBLE.

6. IN OSIJEK, THERE IS HEAVY DAMAGE TO CENTRE OF TOWN, WHERE CATHEDRAL HAS TAKEN MULTIPLE HITS; BUILDING HOUSING OPCINA CRISIS CTTEE AND MILITARY SECTOR HEADQUARTERS IS NOT/NOT FAR AWAY. OPCINA HOSPITAL (WHERE ALL PATIENT ACCOMMODATION AND TREATMENT FACILITIES HAVE BEEN MOVED TO BASEMENT) AND RESIDENTIAL AREAS AROUND IT ARE HEAVILY DAMAGED. IN WHAT APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN COMMON JNA PRACTICE, THERE IS MILITARY BARRACKS LOCATED DIRECTLY ACROSS STREET FROM HFOSPITAL; I WAS TOLD, HOWEVER, THAT IT HAS BEEN DESERTED SINCE JNA PUFLED OUT. YUG 2 RESIDENTIAL AREA IN SOUTHERN PART OF CITY HAS BEEN REPEATEDLY SHELLED; INDUSTRIAL PARK IN SAME SECTOR SEEMED LARGELY UNTOUCHED.

7. GOSPIC WAS NOT/NOT ONLY SHELLED AND BOMBED FROM AIR, BUT ATTACKED BY GROUND FORCES IN ATTEMPT TO OCCUPY TOWN. IN AREAS WHERE THERE WAS HOUSE TO HOUSE FIGHTING, WHOLE STREETS LIE IN RUINS. NEARBY SERB VILLAGE CLOSE TO FRONT LINE WAS TAKEN, THEN RE-TAKEN IN HOUSE TO HOUSE FIGHTING, AND SHELLED ON EACH OCCASION BY THOSE WHO HAD LOST ENGAGEMENT; WITH ALL HOUSES IN RUINS, DESERTED BY CIVILIAN POPULATION, AND CROATIAN TROOPS WHO NOW HOLD IT

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PAGE FOUR QLGR0053 UNCLAS

OCCUPYING UNDERGROUND BUNKERS, IT LOOKS LIKE WW1 TRENCH WARFARE PHOTO COME TO LIFE. IN ANOTHER NEIGHBORING VILLAGE WE WERE SHOWN RUINS OF CATHOLIC CHURCH WHICH WAS APPARENTLY ONE OF FIRST TARGETS TO BE ATTACKED IN AREA, AND NEARBY CAVE WHERE MAKESHIFT ALTAR HAD BEEN SET UP AND CHRISTMAS MASS CELEBRATED BY LIGHT OF CANDLES HAND-HELD BY CONGREGANTS; MINITIONS WERE STORED IN CAVE IMMEDIATELY ADJACENT.

8. CIVILIAN POPULATION WHO REMAIN ARE MAKING IMPRSSIVE EFFORT TO MAINTAIN SEMBLANCE OF NORMALITY IN THEIR LIVES. CENTRAL OSIJEK AT MID-DAY IS FULL OF VEHICLE TRAFFIC AND PEDESTRIANS GOING ABOUT VARIOUS ERRANDS. IN GOSPIC, NEIGHBOURS OF LOCAL STAFF MEMBERS INVITED US TO COFFEE IN ONE OF TWO REMAINING HABITABLE ROOMS OF THEIR HOME; REST OF HOUSE RENDERED UNUSABLE BY 152MM ARTILLERY SHELL. WE ALSO ATTENDED RE-OPENING OF EXTENSIVELY-DAMAGED GOSPIC MUSEUM, WITH EXHIBIT CONSISTING OF PHOTOGRAPHS OF DEFENCE OF TOWN AND FRAGMENTS OF ORDNANCE.

9. NOT/NOT ALL THE DAMAGE IS DUE TO MILITARY ACTION. THE CLOSER ONE GETS TO THE FRONT, THE MORE BURNED AND BLASTED HOUSES ONE SEES. IN MANY CASES THESE ARE EMPTY SERB HOUSES WHICH HAVE BEEN DELIBERATELY SET AFIRE OR DESTROYED BY EXPLOSIVES. CROATIAN CIVIL AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES MAINTAIN THAT THESE INCIDENTS WILL BE TREATED AS CRIMINAL ACTS, BUT POLICE CAPABILITIES ARE LIMITED (POLICE WERE PREDOMINANTLY SERB PRIOR TO OUTBREAK OF CONFLICT),

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PAGE FIVE QLGR0053 UNCLAS

AND THERE ARE MANY PEOPLE WHO HAVE BOTH A GRUDGE AND A HAND GRENADE TO THROW THROUGH A WINDOW.

10. ALTHOUGH CROATIAN GOVT IN ZAGREB MAINTAINS THAT HUMAN AND MINORITY RIGHTS GUARANTEES TO BE LEGISLATED WILL BE EXEMPLARY, IT WOULD BE HARD TO OVERESTIMATE THE DIFFICULTY OF PUTTING THESE INTO PRACTICE IN THE FRONT-LINE AND OCCUPIED AREAS. IN GOSPIC I WAS TOLD, NOT/NOT ONCE BUT MANY TIMES, THAT IN THE TWO OR THREE DAYS PRECEDING FIRST BOMBARDMENT VIRTUALLY ENTIRE SERB POPULATION HAD ABANDONED TOWN, AND THAT IN NO/NO CASE HAD ANY ATTEMPT BEEN MADE TO WARN CROAT FRIENDS AND NEIGHBOURS WITH WHOM THEY HAD BEEN LIVING FOR YEARS.

11. I WAS THUS NOT/NOT SURPRISED TO MEET WITH A RATHER DUSTY RESPONSE WHEN I RAISED QUESTION OF MINORITY RIGHTS. SERBS, I WAS TOLD, RECEIVED FULL PROTECTION OF LAW, EQUAL ACCESS TO HUMANITARIAN AID, AND WOULD ENJOY SAME RIGHTS AND SAME SHARE OF GOOD OR BAD FORTUNE, AS CROATS. ONE OFFICIAL SAID, IN TONES THAT WOULD FREEZE SLIVOVICA, THAT HE DID NOT/NOT LOVE SERBS AND HAD MANY REASONS TO HATE THEM, BUT THAT HE WAS A PROFESSIONAL AND FOLLOWED GOVT POLICY.

12. FOR A LONG TIME TO COME, IT CANNOT/NOT BE HOPED THAT INTERCOMMUNAL RELATIONS WILL BE MORE THAN CORRECT. IT IS THUS ALL THE MORE IMPORTANT THAT HUMAN AND MINORITY RIGHTS GUARANTEES BE NOT/NOT ONLY LEGISLATED BUT IMPLEMENTED.

(RECEIVED OTT VIA UNCLAS FAX 17MAR)

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MAR 13 1992

**ACTION  
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FM ZAGRB QLGR0052 17MAR92

TO EXTOTT LRBR/RGZ

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---CROATIA: RECONSTRUCTON

CONSULATE HAS RECEIVED NOTE FROM CROATIAN MINISTRY OF

RECONSTRUCTON, REQUESTING INFO ON CDN CHARITABLE AND HUMANITARIAN

ORGANISATIONS WHICH IT MIGHT APPROACH FOR ASSISTANCE WITH

RECONSTRUCTION PROJECTS. WAR DAMAGE HERE ESTIMATED TO BE ON ORDER

OF USA DLRS 20/20 BILLION.

2. PLS ADVISE

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REF HANSON/GUIMOND TELCON 02MAR92

---CROATIA: PAVELIC REHABILITATION DENIED

MINISTRY OF INFO REACTED STRONGLY 02MAR TO AFP STORY ALLEGING THAT  
DECISION HAD BEEN TAKEN TO TRANSFER TO ZAGREB REMAINS OF ANTE  
PAVELIC (LEADER OF PUPPET GOVT ESTABLISHED DURING WW2 UNDER  
GERMAN/ITALIAN AUSPICES). FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF INFO MINISTRY  
STATEMENT:

2.QUOTE

AFP MONDAY AFTERNOON CARRIED REPORT THAT SOME SORT OF QUOTE  
CROATIAN STATE COUNCIL UNQUOTE HAD DECIDED TO TRANSFER TO ZAGREB  
THE MORTAL REMAINS OF DR ANTE PAVELIC, QUOTE CHIEF OF THE FORMER  
CROATIAN NAZI STATE UNQUOTE, WHO DIED IN MADRID IN 1959. THE AFP  
REPORT IS BASED ON A SENSATIONAL ARTICLE IN BGRAD NEWSPAPER QUOTE  
VECERNJE NOVOSTI UNQUOTE, WHICH EVEN ALLEGES THAT THIS IMAGINARY

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COUNCIL DIRECTED SABOR VICE-PRESIDENT VLADIMIR SEKS TO HEAD A PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE WHICH WOULD HAVE PREPARED A GALA RECEPTION FOR THE URN CONTAINING PAVELICS ASHES. MINISTRY OF INFO OF CROATIAN REPUBLIC STATES THAT THIS REPORT IS WITHOUT ANY BASIS, THAT WHAT WE HAVE HERE IS YET ANOTHER INVENTION FROM A WELL-KNOWN BGRAD PROPAGANDA-AND-LIES FACTORY. WE NOTE WITH CONSTERNATION THAT A GREAT GLOBAL AGENCY HAS AGAIN UNCRITICALLY CARRIED A MOST NOTORIOUS UNTRUTH, WHICH IT FELT NO/NO NEED TO VERIFY, AT THE VERY LEAST BECAUSE OF ITS STRANGENESS AND VARIANCE WITH THE POSITION OF THE CROATIAN GOVT.

UNQUOTE.

3. STRENGTH OF OFFICIAL REACTION IS INDICATIVE OF CONTINUING CROATIAN SENSITIVITY TO ACCUSATIONS THAT CURRENT GOVT IS IN ANY WAY QUOTE SOFT UNQUOTE ON WARTIME NDH REGIME. CARDINAL STEPINAC AND OTHER QUOTE VICTIMS OF COMMUNISM UNQUOTE CONDEMNED FOR ALLEGED COLLABORATION WITH NDH REGIME ARE BEING REHABILITATED, BUT PAVELIC HARDLY FITS INTO THIS CATEGORY: HE WAS THE REGIME. IT WOULD HAVE BEEN RATHER LIKE REHABILITATING QUISLING IN NORWAY.

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FEB 24 1992

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C O N F I D E N T I A L  
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TO EXTOTT RBR

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---YUGO:KRAJINA

WHILE ERSTWHILE PRESIDENT OF SERBIA ENCLAVE, KRAJINA IN CROATIA  
IS INCREASINGLY BEING PUSHED TO SIDE, YOU MAY BE INTERESTED IN  
LATEST INSIGHT WE HAVE INTO HIS VIEWS AS REPORTED TO AUSTRIAN  
EMB COLLEAGUE BY BABICS DEPUTY, RASUO, 18FEB. BABICS GOAL IS TO  
UNITE CROATIAN AND BOSNIAN KRAJINA REGIONS WITH REPUBLIC STATUS  
AND INNATL RECOGNITION. RASUO SAID THERE WOULD BE NO ORGANIZED  
VIOLENCE AGAINST IN PEACEKEEPERS BUT NO GUARANTEE AGAINST INDIVID-  
UAL ACTS OF VIOLENCE. HE CLAIMED THERE WERE NO FORMED KRAJINA  
MILITARY UNITS TO BE DISARMED BUT LOCALS WOULD NOT ACCEPT TO  
DISARM WITHOUT RESISTANCE. HE REPEATED ASSERTIONS THAT USTASHI  
WOULD INFILTRATE PEACEKEEPERS FM CDA, AUSTRALIA AND SOME SOUTH  
AMERICAN COUNTRIES. WE WOULD LIKE TO THINK IT DOES NOT MUCH MATTER  
WHAT BABIC AND COMPANY SAY OR THINK ANYMORE, BUT HE STILL DOES  
HAVE A CERTAIN MEASURE OF LOCAL SUPPORT.

CCC/004 241040Z ZLGR2141

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REPUBLIC OF SERBIAN KRAYINA - YUGOSLAVIA  
Република Српска Крајина Југославија  
Washington Office

020410185 (8292)

12:00 AM, February 10, 1992

The Honorable Brian Mulroney  
Prime Minister of Canada  
Ottawa, Canada

ACC	DATE
FILE	DOSSIER
20-CROATIA-1-4	
LOC	
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Your Excellency,

we would like to convey to you the utmost interest of the Government of the Republic of Serbian Krayina for the peaceful resolution of the Yugoslav conflict through the Engagement of the United Nations Peace-keeping Forces. However, if any engagement is to be orderly started and if it is to successfully accomplish its military and political goals, the Government of Serbian Krayina has to rally an unanimous support of the people of Krayina behind it.

An illegal attempt to convene the Assembly of Serbian Krayina in the city of Glina failed, yesterday. According to the Article 74. of the Constitution of Serbian Krayina, an emergency session of the Assembly can convene either upon a written request of more than one third of the delegates or upon a request of the Government of Krayina. The first condition was not fulfilled.

Less than one third of the delegates showed up for the meeting in Glina. The meeting was also attended by General Adzic, Acting Minister of Defence and Mr. Branko Kostic, Vice President of the Yugoslav Presidency. According to the Constitution of Serbian Krayina, no decision adopted on this meeting has legal power.

A session of the Assembly organized by the Government of Krayina is still in progress in Knin, at this moment. The Asembly is addressing the implementation of the U.N. Peace Plan.

We will keep you informed on the developments.

Respectfully yours

*Zoran B. Djordjevic*  
Zoran B. Djordjevic  
Authorized Representative  
Republic of Serbian Krayina

P.S. For your information: Yesterday, we learnt that the JNA Air-Force Captain Danijel Borovic, a Croat, was allowed to escape to Zagreb on February 4th. Captain Borovic was the MIG pilot who shot-down the EC helicopter in January, causing deaths of five EC monitors. The Commander of the JNA Air-Force at the time of the incident was General Zvonko Jurjevic, also a Croat.

9224 Three Oaks Drive, Silver Spring, MD 20901

phone: 301-565-7839, fax: 301-565-9034

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Government of Canada / Gouvernement du Canada  
Privy Council Office / Bureau du Conseil privé

Ottawa, Canada  
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RECEIVED IN  
FEB 13 1992  
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Date: .....

MEMORANDUM TO: .....

① RBR / Friedlander - info  
② Piere - action file

Letter to the Prime Minister from:

PMO Ref. No. 204 0185 8292

We have arranged with the Under Secretary's office that the Department's services can be drawn upon in preparing replies to letters which the Prime Minister has received on foreign affairs.

I would be grateful if you could arrange for a reply (within seven working days) to the attached letter for signature at the appropriate level within the Department of External Affairs and with copies to PMO/Correspondence and External Affairs/CMG. I would also welcome your advice on alternative ways of dealing with the matter, if appropriate.

If you have any questions, please call me at 957-5485.

John McNee  
Foreign and Defence Policy Secretariat

c.c. EA/CMG

no reply necessary  
Pierre says we do not answer letters to this person. We have sent 4 copies already

Canada

REPUBLIC OF SERBIAN KRAYINA - YUGOSLAVIA  
Република Српска Крајина Југославија  
Washington Office

020510068

February 10, 1992

The Honorable Brian Mulroney  
Prime Minister of Canada  
Ottawa, Canada

737898	DATE
FILE 20-CROATIA-1-4	DOSSIER
LOC A7-	NC

Your Excellency,

on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Serbian Krayina, we would like to bring to your attention the following:

Today, on the 10th day of February 1992, the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krayina has convened in the emergency session to discuss the U.N. Concept for the Engagement of Peace-Keeping Troops. 85 of the total of 161 delegates has been present. The Assembly has considered and accepted the report submitted by the Government of Serbian Krayina, including the comments and objection on the specific points of the proposed Plan.

The Assembly has voted to uphold the decision of the President of the Republic of Serbian Krayina, Dr. Milan Babic, that the Referendum should be held on the issue of acceptance of the U.N. Plan, all in accordance with the Article 78. of the Constitution of Serbian Krayina. The Referendum will be held on 22nd and 23rd day of February. 1992.

The Referendum will pose the following question:

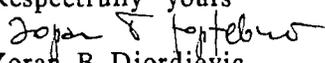
**ARE YOU IN FAVOR OF ACCEPTANCE OF THE U.N. PEACE PLAN**

- (A) **WITH MODIFICATIONS, PROPOSED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIAN KRAYINA; OR**
- (B) **FULLY AND UNCONDITIONALLY**

Mr. Uros Funduk, the President of the Supreme Court of Serbian Krayina is charged with chairing the Commission for the purpose of organizing and monitoring the Referendum.

The Assembly of Serbian Krayina has supported the proposal submitted by Dr. Milan Babic and requests from the United Nations to send additional 500 monitors into the region. Those monitors would help in preserving the current cease-fire, until the date of the Referendum and would also monitor the Referendum itself.

Original Announcement is Signed by  
Secretary of the Assembly  
Mrs. Borka Lalic

Respectfully yours  
  
Zoran B. Djordjevic  
Representative  
Republic of Serbian Krayina

9224 Three Oaks Drive, Silver Spring, MD 20901

phone: 301-565-7839, fax: 301-565-9034

REPUBLIC OF SERBIAN KRAYINA - YUGOSLAVIA  
Република Српска Крајина Југославија  
Washington Office

**February 11, 1992**

APPEAL OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIAN KRAYINA  
TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE WORLD

*In the last four months in the city of Zagreb, 404 houses and 302 small businesses, property of local Serbs, were demolished and their inhabitants and proprietors forced to flee.*

*On the island of Pasma, opposite of the city of Zadar, a concentration camp for the Serbian inhabitants of Zadar is being transformed into a torture camp. To the best of our knowledge, on average, three persons are dying in the camp every day.*

*Before the conflict began, there were 12.000 Serbs living in Zadar. Today there are none.*

*In the city of Osijek, houses belonging to the local Serbs are being blown-up every day. We do not know the number precisely, but it does exceed several dozen and possibly, as many as one hundred houses in the last 30 days.*

*These are just a few examples of the current practices of the Croatian State.*

*The objective of the demolition campaign is to prevent the Serbian population, which fled Croatian cities, from returning to Osijek.*

*The objective of the terror campaign is to frighten as many Serbs into leaving Croatian-held territories.*

The people and the Government of Serbian Krayina, on behalf of their unprotected kin on the Croatian-held territories, appeal to all the Governments of the World to use their influence and insist that the Government of Croatia stop the practices described above.

We can not believe that there is any reason for this appalling human suffering and senseless destruction of property.

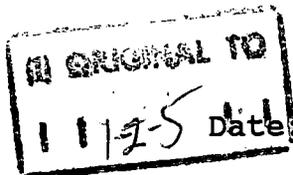
For the Republic of Serbian Krayina

Dr. Zoran B. Djordjevic  
Authorized Representative

c.c. Secretary General of the United Nations  
Human Rights Watch  
Amnesty International

Government of Canada  
Privy Council Office

Gouvernement du Canada  
Bureau du Conseil privé



24.2.92

RBR / Fredlander

file

MEMORANDUM TO:

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Letter to the Prime Minister from:

PMO Ref. No. 205, 0068 8340  
No further action

We have arranged with the Under Secretary's office that the Department's services can be drawn upon in preparing replies to letters which the Prime Minister has received on foreign affairs.

I would be grateful if you could arrange for a reply (within seven working days) to the attached letter for signature at the appropriate level within the Department of External Affairs and with copies to PMO/Correspondence and External Affairs/CMG. I would also welcome your advice on alternative ways of dealing with the matter, if appropriate.

If you have any questions, please call me at 957-5485.

John McNee  
Foreign and Defence Policy Secretariat

c.c. EA/CMG

Discussed with John McNee  
He agrees  
no further  
letter to Mr  
Ford since is  
keeping  
we have  
already  
written  
M.M.

Canada

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CROATIA: THE SERBIAN QUESTION

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U.S. Mission  
February 18, 1992

THE STATUS OF CROATIA'S SERBS HAS PLAGUED THE REPUBLIC SINCE IT FIRST EMERGED FROM THE SHADOW OF TITO'S YUGOSLAVIA. THE REPUBLIC'S SERBS ARE NOW THE FOCUS OF A CIVIL WAR THAT HAS LEFT SEVERAL THOUSAND DEAD AND OVER HALF A MILLION DISPLACED. ATTENTION CENTERS NOW ON THE SELF-PROCLAIMED SERBIAN "REPUBLIC OF KRAJINA," WHERE ETHNIC SERBS ARE A MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION. BUT FEWER THAN A THIRD OF CROATIA'S SERBS LIVE IN THIS AREA, AND THEIR INTERESTS DIFFER MARKEDLY FROM THOSE OF THE BULK OF CROATIAN SERBS, WHO MAY INFLUENCE THE SEARCH FOR A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE SOLUTION TO THE VIOLENCE.

THE SERBIAN POPULATION IN CROATIA MAY BE DIVIDED INTO THREE ROUGHLY EQUAL SEGMENTS OF APPROXIMATELY 200,000 PEOPLE. IN THE SPARSELY POPULATED AREA AT THE MILITARY FRONTIER (KRAJINA) OF THE FORMER HABSBURG EMPIRE, THE MAJORITY IS SERB, WITH SCATTERED CROATIAN COMMUNITIES. THE KRAJINA HAS NO MAJOR CITIES AND IS POOR FARMING AND HERDING COUNTRY, BUT IT SITS ASTRIDE THE MAIN RAIL AND HIGHWAY LINKS BETWEEN ZAGREB AND THE CENTRAL DALMATIAN COAST. ANOTHER 180,000 SERBS LIVE IN SLAVONIA, THE EASTERN SEGMENT OF CROATIA, AND CONSTITUTE ABOUT 18 PERCENT OF THE REGION'S POPULATION; THEY LIVE PRIMARILY IN DISCRETE VILLAGES. MOST OF THE REMAINING THIRD OF CROATIA'S SERBS LIVE IN MAJOR CITIES: ZAGREB, KARLOVAC, AND SISAK IN THE CENTRAL PART OF THE REPUBLIC; RIJEKA, SIBENIK, ZADAR, SPLIT, AND DUBROVNIK ON THE COAST; AND COMPOSE SIX TO TEN PERCENT OF THE POPULATION OF EACH.

#### SERBIAN PURGES

AT THE TIME OF CROATIA'S FIRST POST-WAR, MULTI-PARTY ELECTIONS, IN APRIL 1990, THE MAJORITY OF THE REPUBLIC'S SERBS (NUMBERING 580,000, 12 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION) WERE SUPPORTERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY. THE SERBIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (SDS), WHICH HAS SINCE BECOME THE PRINCIPAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ETHNIC SERBS IN CROATIA AND NEIGHBORING BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA, WON ONLY FIVE SEATS IN THE 356-MEMBER, TRICAMERAL LEGISLATURE. NONETHELESS, FRANJO TUDJMAN, WHOSE CROATIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION WON A MAJORITY OF THE SEATS, OFFERED SDS PARTY LEADER JOVAN RASKOVIC A VICE-PRESIDENCY IN HIS GOVERNMENT.

RASKOVIC, A PSYCHIATRIST FROM SIBENIK, REFUSED TUDJMAN'S OFFER BUT ASKED THAT THE POSITION BE KEPT VACANT FOR HIM WHILE HE TRIED TO SOLIDIFY SERBIAN SUPPORT. ON THIS SCORE, HOWEVER, RASKOVIC LOST

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-2-

OUT TO MILAN BABIC, A DENTIST FROM THE SMALL KRAJINA TOWN OF KNIN, WHO USED THE SUPPORT OF SERBIAN PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC AND A MORE RADICAL SEPARATIST LINE TO PUSH ASIDE THE FOUNDER OF THE SDS.

TUDJMAN, ELECTED REPUBLIC PRESIDENT BY THE LEGISLATURE ON A CROATIAN NATIONALIST PLATFORM AFTER 45 YEARS OF COMMUNIST RULE, PROCEEDED TO PURGE THE GOVERNMENT OF COMMUNISTS AND DISTRIBUTE THE SLOTS TO HIS BACKERS. SERBS WERE DISPROPORTIONATE LOSERS IN THIS SPOILS PROCESS, ESPECIALLY IN THE POLICE FORCES.

BIRTH OF THE KRAJINA

BY LATE 1990, BABIC HAD DECLARED KRAJINA A SERBIAN AUTONOMOUS REGION, BLOCKADED TRANSPORT ROUTES WITH HIS UNIFORMED MILITIA, FORMED A GOVERNMENT AND PARLIAMENT, AND ESSENTIALLY SET UP A FIEFDOM INDEPENDENT OF THE CENTRAL CROATIAN GOVERNMENT. HIS FORCES RELIED ON THEIR MONOPOLY OF ARMS TO TERRORIZE THE REGION'S CROATS AND ALBANIANS, BURNING OUT AND SCARING OFF MOST OF THE NON-SERB POPULATION. BABIC CANNOT ACCEDE TO THE VANCE PLAN -- DISARMING HIS MILITIA, ALLOWING THE DEPARTURE OF THE YUGOSLAV ARMY (JNA), SUBMITTING TO UN SUPERVISION OF POLICE FORCES, AND TACITLY RECOGNIZING THE SOVEREIGNTY OF CROATIA -- WITHOUT LOSING ALMOST EVERYTHING HE HAS CREATED.

EVEN UNDER THE VANCE PLAN THE KRAJINA SERBS, HOWEVER, WOULD RETAIN THE BENEFIT OF THE JNA RESERVISTS WHO MAKE UP THE BULK OF FEDERAL TROOPS IN THE REGION AS WELL AS LOCAL MILITIA MEMBERS. THOUGH THE PLAN STIPULATES THE DEMOBILIZATION AND DISARMAMENT OF LOCAL PERSONNEL, IN REALITY THESE INDIVIDUALS WOULD KEEP MUCH OF THEIR WEAPONRY.

REMOVING BABIC

MILOSEVIC, WHO LARGELY CREATED BABIC, AND THE JNA, WHICH PROPPED HIM UP WITH ITS KNIN CORPS, HAVE NOW PROMISED VANCE THEY CAN REMOVE HIM. VANCE REMINDED THEM PUBLICLY OF THIS PLEDGE ON FEBRUARY 6 AND SAID THE DEPLOYMENT OF A PEACEKEEPING FORCE COULD NOT TAKE PLACE "UNLESS WE SETTLE THIS BABIC THING."

RASKOVIC, PRACTICALLY INVISIBLE FOR THE PAST YEAR, RESURFACED THIS PAST WEEK IN A PRESS CONFERENCE IN BELGRADE, ANNOUNCING THE RETURN OF THE SDS TO MAJOR CROATIAN TOWNS, RECLAIMING THE PRESIDENCY OF THE PARTY, AND THROWING FULL SUPPORT TO THE VANCE PLAN AS THE "INITIAL STEP FOR THE SOLUTION OF KRAJINA AND OF THE SERBIAN QUESTION." COVERAGE OF RASKOVIC IN THE BELGRADE MEDIA MAKES IT CLEAR HE HAS THE NOD FROM MILOSEVIC TO REPLACE BABIC.

ON FEBRUARY 9, KRAJINA ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT MILE PASPALJ CONVENED A SESSION OF THE PARLIAMENT IN GLINA. 87 OF THE 112 DELEGATES ATTENDED, AND 81 OF THEM VOTED FOR A RESOLUTION SUPPORTING THE VANCE PLAN. THAT MAJORITY INCLUDED KRAJINA "INTERIOR MINISTER" MARTIC, WHO CONTROLS THE AREMED FORCES, AND THE DECISION WAS ECHOED BY GORAN HADZIC, LEADER OF THE SERBS IN EASTERN SLOVENIA. BRANKO

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KOSTIC, VICE PRESIDENT OF RUMP YUGOSLAVIA, SENT A TELEGRAM TO THE UNSYG ASSURING HIM THE KRAJINA SERBS SUPPORT UN DEPLOYMENT AND. THUS, ALL OBSTACLES HAVE BEEN REMOVED.

BABIC DENOUNCED THE GLINA MEETING AND HELD HIS OWN SESSION OF THE KRAJINA ASSEMBLY ON FEBRUARY 10, BUT HAD TO CREATE 42 NEW DEPUTIES JUST TO MAKE A QUORUM. BABIC'S RUMP LEGISLATURE VOTED TO CONDUCT A REFERENDUM FEBRUARY 22 - 23 ON THE VANCE PROPOSALS. WITH THE OPPOSITION OF SERBIA, THE YUGOSLAV ARMY, AND NOW A SUBSTANTIAL SEGMENT OF CROATIAN SERBS, THERE IS DOUBT THE BALLOTING WILL TAKE PLACE. EVEN WITH A SMALL NUMBER OF DEDICATED, ARMED SUPPORTERS, HOWEVER, BABIC COULD MAKE DEPLOYMENT OF UN PEACEKEEPERS DIFFICULT.

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---CROATIAN ELECTION LAW

ATTACHED IS A US REPORT ON DRAFT LAW WHICH WAS CIRCULATED IN  
POLITICAL COMMITTEE FEB. 4.

(FAX TOTAL 5 PAGES).

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U.S. Mission  
February 4, 1992

THE CROATIAN DRAFT ELECTION LAW

SUMMARY

THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT IS FLOATING A DRAFT OF NEW ELECTION LAWS GOVERNING THE ELECTION OF THE REPUBLIC'S PRESIDENT AND OF A BICAMERAL ASSEMBLY, WITH THE ANNOUNCED INTENT OF PASSING THE NEW LAWS IN THE FEBRUARY 13-14 SESSION OF THE CROATIAN ASSEMBLY (THE SABOR) AND HOLDING GENERAL ELECTIONS SOON, PERHAPS AS EARLY AS APRIL OR MAY. THE DRAFT LAW DETAILS THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE 1991 CROATIAN CONSTITUTION'S PROVISIONS FOR DIRECT POPULAR ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT AND FOR A NEWLY STRUCTURED BICAMERAL ASSEMBLY. OPPOSITION PARTIES ARE VOICING CONCERN BOTH ABOUT SOME ASPECTS OF THE LAW AND ABOUT THE TIMING OF THE ELECTIONS. THERE IS SPECULATION IN THE PRESS AS TO WHETHER ELECTIONS, PARTICULARLY FOR THE NEWLY ESTABLISHED "HOUSE OF PARISHES" (ZUPANIJA) CAN BE HELD WHILE CROATIA DOES NOT CONTROL ALL OF ITS TERRITORY. THIS MESSAGE PROVIDES HIGHLIGHTS OF THE PROPOSED DRAFT ELECTION LAW, THOUGH THE DRAFT IS LIKELY TO UNDERGO REVISION, PERHAPS SUBSTANTIAL, BEFORE FINAL PASSAGE BY THE SABOR.

END SUMMARY

DISCUSSION

ON JANUARY 27, THE LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION OF THE CROATIAN ASSEMBLY APPROVED A DRAFT OF NEW ELECTION LAWS CONCERNING THE ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC, THE ELECTION OF REPRESENTATIVES TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES (ZASTUPNICKI DOM), AND OF REPRESENTATIVES TO THE NEWLY CREATED HOUSE OF PARISHES (ZUPANIJA), ENVISIONED AS THE SECOND HOUSE OF A BICAMERAL ASSEMBLY (SABOR). THE DRAFT, WHICH IS REPORTEDLY LARGELY THE WORK OF ASSEMBLY VICE-PRESIDENT VLADIMIR SEKS AND A COLLECTION OF LEGAL EXPERTS, WILL NOW GO THROUGH A PERIOD OF REVIEW AND REVISION BEFORE BEING DEBATED AND VOTED ON BY THE FULL ASSEMBLY. THE GOVERNMENT AND RULING CROATIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION (CDU) HOPE TO USE THEIR MAJORITY IN THE SABOR TO ASSURE PASSAGE IN THE SESSION SCHEDULED FOR FEBRUARY 13-14.

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

THE DRAFT LAW IMPLEMENTS PROVISIONS OF THE CROATIAN CONSTITUTION ADOPTED IN 1991 CALLING FOR DIRECT POPULAR ELECTION OF THE REPUBLIC'S PRESIDENT. (PRESIDENT TUDJMAN WAS ELECTED IN 1990, BEFORE PASSAGE OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION, BY INDIRECT VOTE IN THE SABOR.)

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ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTING ON THE PRELIMINARY DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION LAW, THE LAW INCLUDES THE FOLLOWING PROVISIONS:

- THE TERM OF OFFICE FOR PRESIDENT IS FIVE YEARS.
- ALL CROATIAN CITIZENS WHO HAVE REACHED THE AGE OF 18, ARE ENTITLED TO VOTE FOR PRESIDENT.
- THE ELECTION DATE MUST BE ANNOUNCED AT LEAST SIXTY DAYS IN ADVANCE TO ALLOW FOR A CAMPAIGN PERIOD.
- REGISTERED POLITICAL PARTIES AND CROATIAN CITIZENS, SEPARATELY OR COLLECTIVELY, CAN SUBMIT CANDIDATES FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC. TWO OR MORE REGISTERED PARTIES CAN NOMINATE A JOINT CANDIDATE.
- CANDIDATES FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC CAN BE NOMINATED EITHER BY ONE OR MORE REGISTERED PARTIES OR BY A PETITION CONTAINING THE SIGNATURES OF AT LEAST 20,000 CROATIAN CITIZENS. EACH CROATIAN CITIZEN CAN WITH HIS SIGNATURE SUPPORT ONLY ONE CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC.
- THE LAW GUARANTEES THE VOTERS THE SECRECY OF THE BALLOT.
- PUBLIC MEDIA IS OBLIGED TO OFFER TO ALL CANDIDATES EQUAL RIGHTS FOR THE EXPOSURE OF THEIR PROGRAMS.
- THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC IS ELECTED BY A MAJORITY OF VOTES. IF NO CANDIDATE HAS RECEIVED THE MAJORITY OF VOTES, A RUN-OFF ELECTION IS HELD FOURTEEN DAYS AFTER THE FIRST ROUND WITH THE TOP TWO CANDIDATES FROM THE FIRST ROUND. THE CANDIDATE WHO WINS THE MAJORITY IN THE SECOND ROUND WINS THE PRESIDENCY.

ELECTION TO THE ASSEMBLY

THE DRAFT PROPOSAL FOR THE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS IMPLEMENTS THE NEW CONSTITUTION'S PROVISION FOR A BICAMERAL ASSEMBLY. (THE CROATIAN ASSEMBLY IS PRESENTLY A TRICAMERAL BODY WHICH MEETS TOGETHER). THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES (ZASTUPNICKI DOM) IS ENVISIONED AS THE MORE POWERFUL BODY, WITH HALF OF ITS 120 MEMBERS ELECTED FROM DISTRICTS AND HALF ON A REPUBLIC-WIDE BASIS ACCORDING TO A PROPORTIONAL SYSTEM. THE HOUSE OF PARISHES (ZUPANIJSKI DOM) IS ENVISIONED AS A BODY WITH ONLY LIMITED POWERS, WITH ITS MEMBERSHIP ELECTED FROM NEWLY-FORMED PARISHES (ZUPANIJA).

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FOLLOWING ARE KEY POINTS FROM THE WORKING DRAFT AS REPORTED IN THE CROATIAN PRESS:

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-- CANDIDATES FOR THE ELECTION OF THE 120 REPRESENTATIVES TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES (ZASTUPNICKI DOM) OF THE ASSEMBLY CAN BE PROPOSED BY REGISTERED POLITICAL PARTIES IN CROATIA, OR BY CROATIAN CITIZENS, INDIVIDUALLY OR COLLECTIVELY.

-- TWO OR MORE PARTIES CAN PROPOSE THE SAME CANDIDATES EITHER FOR DISTRICT SEATS OR FOR A JOINT PROPORTIONAL LIST.

-- INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES FOR INDIVIDUAL DISTRICT SEATS CAN BE PLACED ON THE BALLOT BY OBTAINING AT LEAST 400 VALID SIGNATURES ON A PETITION. IN THE CASE OF NOMINATION TO A PROPORTIONAL SEAT, 10,000 SIGNATURES MUST BE OBTAINED BY THOSE WHO DO NOT HAVE A PARTY NOMINATION.

-- ONE-HALF OF THE SEATS (60 REPRESENTATIVES) ARE ELECTED FROM ELECTION UNITS, WITH ONE REPRESENTATIVE FOR EACH DISTRICT.

-- THE OTHER HALF OF THE REPRESENTATIVES TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ARE ELECTED BY A PROPORTIONAL SYSTEM ON A REPUBLIC-WIDE BASIS. VOTERS VOTE THROUGHOUT THE REPUBLIC FOR THESE 60 REPRESENTATIVES ACCORDING TO PARTY LISTS, NOT FOR INDIVIDUAL REPRESENTATIVES.

-- ANY PARTY LISTS WHICH RECEIVE LESS THAN FIVE PERCENT OF THE VOTES WILL NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE DIVISION OF THE REPRESENTATIVE SEATS.

-- IF AT THE ELECTION FOR THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ADEQUATE REPRESENTATION OF ETHNIC AND NATIONAL MINORITIES HAS NOT BEEN ACHIEVED, THE NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES IN THE HOUSE WILL BE INCREASED TO THE NUMBER WHICH IS NEEDED FOR THE REQUIRED REPRESENTATION. IF IN SUCH A WAY THE REPRESENTATION OF MINORITIES CANNOT BE OBTAINED, THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC MUST PROCLAIM ADDITIONAL ELECTIONS WITH AS MANY SPECIAL ELECTION UNITS AS ARE NEEDED TO ACHIEVE PROPORTIONALITY.

-- MEMBERS OF ETHNIC AND NATIONAL MINORITIES WHO FORM LESS THAN EIGHT PERCENT OF THE POPULATION IN CROATIA HAVE THE RIGHT TO ELECT A TOTAL OF FIVE REPRESENTATIVES TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. MINORITIES WHICH FORM EIGHT PERCENT OF THE POPULATION HAVE THE RIGHT ACCORDING TO THIS SYSTEM TO ELECT NINE REPRESENTATIVES TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THE HOUSE OF PARISHES

ACCORDING TO THE DRAFT LAW ON THE HOUSE OF PARISHES (ZUPANIJSKI DOM), EACH PARISH ELECTS THREE REPRESENTATIVES. EACH PARISH HAS THREE ELECTION WARDS, WITH EACH WARD ELECTING ONE REPRESENTATIVE.

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STILL MANY QUESTIONS

AS THE CROATIAN PRESS AND OPPOSITION FIGURES ARE SUGGESTING, THE DETAILS WHICH ARE SO FAR AVAILABLE ABOUT THE DRAFT ELECTION LAW RAISE A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS. THESE QUESTIONS INCLUDE:

-- HOW WILL ELECTIONS BE HELD IN AREAS WHICH THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT DOES NOT CONTROL? IS THE DEPLOYMENT OF U.N. PEACEKEEPERS A PREREQUISITE TO THE HOLDING OF ELECTIONS? WHAT KINDS OF ELECTIONS WILL BE POSSIBLE IN THOSE AREAS? AN ARTICLE TODAY IN VECERNJI LIST SUGGESTS THAT ELECTIONS AT LEAST FOR THE HOUSE OF PARISHES MAY HAVE TO BE POSTPONED UNTIL CROATIA REGAINS ITS LOST TERRITORY AND THE NEW "PARISHES" CAN BE CREATED. IN THIS CASE, WILL THE GOVERNMENT GO AHEAD ONLY WITH A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AND/OR A PARTIAL (HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ONLY) SABOR ELECTION?

-- NOT YET ADDRESSED, AT LEAST IN PUBLIC, IS THE QUESTION OF THE DRAWING OF THE NEW ELECTION UNITS. AS IN ALL COUNTRIES, OPPOSITION AND ETHNIC MINORITY LEADERS WORRY THAT THE DISTRICTS WILL BE GERRYMANDERED TO THEIR DISADVANTAGE.

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EMBASSY  
OF THE S.F.R. OF YUGOSLAVIA  
17 BLACKBURN AVENUE  
OTTAWA, ONTARIO, CANADA K1N 8A2



AMBASSADE  
DE LA R.S.F. DE YOUGOSLAVIE  
17, AVENUE BLACKBURN  
OTTAWA, ONTARIO, CANADA K1N 8A2

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February 4, 1992

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Dear Sir:

Upon the instruction of the Government of Yugoslavia, I attach herewith the Memorandum of the Government of Yugoslavia on the Yugoslav crisis and Yugoslav Government Memorandum on genocide in Croatia. In the first Memorandum, the Government of Yugoslavia reviews the development of Yugoslav crisis and other events related to Yugoslavia and in the second, describes the crimes against Serbian population committed by the Croatian para-military forces, irregulars and local authorities in Croatia in 1991 and 1992.

Sincerely,

*Goran Kapetanovic*  
Goran Kapetanovic  
Ambassador

**YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT MEMORANDUM ON  
GENOCIDE IN CROATIA**

**Belgrade, January 31, 1992 (Tanjug)**

The Yugoslav Government is asking the United Nations and other international institutions "to establish the real truth about the genocide (against the Serbian people) in the secessionist Yugoslav republic of Croatia during the civil war in 1991 and 1992 and to condemn it in an appropriate manner".

The Memorandum calls upon the United Nations to condemn destruction of the Serbian historic, cultural and religious monuments in Croatia done by the Croatian para-military forces, irregulars and local authorities and to take steps for their protection.

The Memorandum says that the Croatian authorities and their "para-military and illegal armed forces, for the second time in the past fifty years, committed the crime of genocide against the Serbian people in Croatia, as well as other crimes".

"In addition to physical liquidation, primarily of members of the Serbian population, Croatian authorities are using terror and issuing official orders to forcefully move citizens out of the territory of Croatia, with a view to creating ethnically pure and homogenous areas", it is said in the Memorandum.

The document quotes many "cases of flagrant violation of international law" which "trample fundamental rights and freedoms" and among them the following:

The Croatian aviation bombed a column of Serbian refugees from the region of Western Slavonija on December 16, 1991.

In the village of Divos, near Osijek, the Croatian soldiers killed 24 inhabitants of Serbian nationality, of which six were massacred.

Members of the Croatian para-military formations burned alive 70-year-old Ankica Konjuh, former inmate of the concentration camp Jasenovac, on the threshold of her home in the town of Petrinja on December 19.

Arrests, followed by the liquidation of numerous citizens of Serbian nationality were carried out in Vukovar, Gospic, Daruvar, Ogulin, Zadar, Zagreb and other cities in Croatia.

After the liberation of Vukovar, numerous collective graves of killed and massacred civilians were found, among which the bodies of five children under the age of seven.

The Memorandum also quotes examples from the Croatian press, that several hundred renowned Serbs from Gospic and Daruvar were missing. The bodies of 24 missing Serbs have been found, and experts say that they were killed in the most ruthless way.

- 2 -

In Karlovac on September 21, 1991, 13 members of the Yugoslav People's Army were massacred, after they had surrendered. The Croatian militia first shot them in the legs and then decapitated on the bridge in front of many witnesses and TV cameras.

Over 25,000 old men, women and children of Serbian nationality from 24 Serbian villages in Western Slavonia were expelled and total of 17 Serbian villages were completely destroyed and burned down on that occasion.

Many Serbs from Zagreb moved out of the town under pressure. More than 120,000 Serbs in Croatia have been fired from their work due to their national affiliation. Over 250,000 Serbs from Croatia have moved to other parts of Yugoslavia.

The Memorandum says that many national and cultural institutions, cultural and historic monuments as well as religious facilities have been destroyed in Croatia and among them the following:

By the end of October 1991, "71 orthodox churches were destroyed or severely damaged", and on September 28, the Croatian para-military formations demolished the baroque complex of the court residence of the Pakrac bishops built in 1732. They also destroyed the church of St. Paraskeva dating from 1782.

In Pakrac orthodox cathedral, Croatian para-military forces burned down the iconostasis and numerous icons, the bishopry library with 5,500 books, including copies dating from the early 16th and 18th century.

The vandalism of the memorial complex of Jasenovac constitutes a gross violation of the Convention on the protection of cultural goods in the event of armed conflict.

From late September to October 8, 1991, the Croatian armed formations grossly desecrated the memorial complex of Jasenovac and destroyed documents about the genocide committed 50 years ago by the Independent State of Croatia. Jasenovac was the largest concentration camp in the quisling Independent State of Croatia, set up in 1941 with the help of nazi Germany and fascist Italy. Jasenovac was the third largest concentration camp in Europe and the place of the largest mass execution on the territory of Yugoslavia. According to the encyclopedia of holocaust, published in London and New York, the Ustashi (Croatian fascists) killed in Jasenovac 600,000 people, mainly Serbs, Jews and Gypsies.

The Memorandum has been sent to the U.N. Secretary-General, the Chairman of the U.N. Security Council, U.N. special envoy Cyrus Vance, European Community Ministerial Council Chairman Joao de Deuspinheiro, Chairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia Lord Carrington, the Chairman of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Ambassadors of the United States, Russia, China, France and Great Britain, Spain, Greece and Portugal in Belgrade."

**MEMORANDUM  
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF YUGOSLAVIA  
ON THE YUGOSLAV CRISIS**

In order to inform all members of the United Nations and world public on the developments in Yugoslavia, which have been shaking the country and its citizens and causing concern of the international community, in particular during the past year, the Government of Yugoslavia wishes to draw attention to certain specific developments, procedures and behaviour which are of general significance and which could have fatal consequences for many parts of Europe and the world.

Yugoslavia, which has been in existence for 74 years, came into being as a state community of three nations (i.e. Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) in 1918 and after World War II as a federation of six equal nations (Croats, Macedonians, Montenegrins, Muslims, Serbs and Slovenes). Besides these nations, Yugoslavia is the homeland of number of national minorities. During the existence of Yugoslavia, deep and unbreakable links have been established in the economic, cultural and social areas as well as among peoples, the tearing of which would have very grave consequences.

Two Yugoslav republics, i.e. Slovenia and Croatia, invoking the right of nations to self-determination, proclaimed their sovereignty in 1991 and thereby unilaterally, in contravention to the provisions of the Constitution of Yugoslavia, and without the agreement of the lawful federal bodies in which they were always represented on a parity basis, carried out the act of forcible secession. Under their influence, Macedonia embarked upon the same path. All this is having a strong impact on the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, a republic constituted by three nations.

The Federal Presidency, Assembly and Government as well as the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia characterized these acts as unilateral secession, contrary to the Constitution and therefore being null and void. At the same time, the Presidency instructed the authorities in Slovenia and Croatia to consider all disputed questions, together with the other members of the Federation, in a democratic manner as stipulated by the Constitution, and fully observing the right of nations to self-determination. Instead of doing that, the authorities of the Republic of Slovenia assumed by force the functions of the federal organs on the territory of this republic (i.e. military affairs, customs, inspection services, etc.). The Government of Yugoslavia requested that the federal bodies continue to exercise their functions on the borders and the supreme command of the Yugoslav People's Army decided to deploy 2000 troops along the border with a view to enabling the said federal bodies to perform their duties.

However, the territorial defence units of Slovenia blocked the barracks of the federal army and opened fire on the military convoys heading for the border thereby provoking an armed conflict in which four-fifths of the 60 casualties were soldiers of the federal army who were under orders to accomplish control over the border crossing points without returning fire. The Republic of Slovenia capitalized on this conflict by presenting it to the world as war and aggression against this republic.

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Desirous of achieving a peaceful settlement to the Yugoslav crisis and wishing to avoid fresh armed conflicts and further loss of life and material destruction, the Presidency of SFRY decided to relocate the army units stationed in Slovenia without prejudicing thereby future relations in the country (Slovenian leadership claimed that that the territorial defence units had repulsed Yugoslav army - a claim that can hardly hold water because it is clear that a well equipped army, such as the Yugoslav Federal Army, with several hundred thousand men could have easily gained control over the entire territory of the republic). The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia did not approve the decision of the Presidency of Yugoslavia to withdraw Federal Army units from Slovenia because this decision was not based on the Constitution of Yugoslavia.

The decisions of the Croatian Assembly to secede from Yugoslavia provoked developments which culminated in an armed conflict that took a tragic toll of several thousand lives, thousands of wounded and irreparable damage to the economy and the population of the country.

Though the secessionist ideas had been present in Croatia for some time the electoral victory of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), which won a majority in the Parliament of that Republic, brought the new wave of Croatian nationalism and nationalistic hatred. Even the election campaign relied heavily on national-fascist and Ustashi ideology from the time of the Second World War caused justifiable fear and mistrust among the Serbs living in Croatia.

In order to avoid an escalation of the armed conflict and in view of the lack of readiness on the part of the leadership of the Republic of Slovenia to resolve disputed issues in a peaceful manner and in conformity with the Constitution, the Presidency and the Government of Yugoslavia accepted the internationalization of the problem suggested by the European Community. Even though Yugoslavia was not a member of the EC, it hoped that the European Community would spare no efforts to find a just and negotiated settlement to the crisis. Believing in bona fide of the European Community, Yugoslav Government signed the Memorandum of Understanding with the EC on Brioni Islands on July 7, 1991.

The Memorandum stipulated that "... the complete territorial integrity, sovereignty and international legal personality of SFR Yugoslavia shall be immediately restored and that to that end all the laws, regulations and measures of the Republic of Slovenia and the Republic of Croatia which are not in accord with the Yugoslav legal system shall be suspended not later than July 12, 1991". It was also decided that the regime provided for by Article 281, Point 10 of the Constitution and the Law on frontier traffic and relevant regulations that had been in force on the frontiers of SFR Yugoslavia up to June 25, 1991 would be restored at the same time. This also implied the payment of customs duties into the federal budget, as well as placing simultaneously the symbols (coat of arms, flag and frontier signs indicating the name of the state) of SFR Yugoslavia and the Republic of Slovenia at the frontier crossing points. The provisions of the same Memorandum also stipulated that all the representatives of the Republic of Slovenia in the federal bodies and agencies would resume their duties so as to actively contribute to the quest for a settlement of the Yugoslav crisis that would be acceptable for all parties concerned.

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Hardly any of the provisions of this Memorandum were put into effect by the Slovenian and Croatian side which continued with their secessionist politics. In the meantime, the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia declared as null and void the acts of unilateral secession by the Republic of Slovenia and the Republic of Croatia. The authorities of the Republic of Slovenia did not permit the regime which had been in effect prior to June 25, 1991 to be restored at the frontiers, they did not permit the return of Yugoslav customs authorities to the border, they did not pay any customs duties into the federal budget and they did not put up the symbols of Yugoslavia at the border crossing points. Rather, they continued to implement laws, regulations and measures which were not in conformity with the Constitution of Yugoslavia. They even adopted additional regulations and measures which derogated the provisions of the Constitution and federal legislation. At the same time they continued blocking the work of federal agencies by walking out of them and not participating. The Government of Yugoslavia had on several occasions drawn attention to the European Community to its failure to honour the commitments it had undertaken under the Brioni Memorandum or to undertake the appropriate measures to implement those commitments. The so-called Brioni Memorandum also established monitoring missions of the European Community to monitor the truce in Slovenia and later their mandate was extended also to the Republic of Croatia after the outbreak of armed conflicts on its territory.

The Croatian Parliament promulgated a new Constitution which unlike the outgoing one, did not refer to the Serbs in Croatia as one of the two constituent peoples in that republic. The direct consequence of the new Constitution was the loss of jobs by many citizens of Serbian nationality in Croatia. At about the same time, the police started to harass and raid the apartments of Serbs in Croatia (there were about 700 thousand of them), the authorities ordered the demolition of their houses on the ground that they had been illegally built but this applied exclusively to houses along the Adriatic coast and belonging to Serbs. The automobiles with the licence plates of Serbian towns became the target of attack and destruction. The Croatian authorities disregarded decisions of the Presidency and the Government of Yugoslavia (unanimously adopted and in presence of representatives of both Slovenia and Croatia) to disarm paramilitary units which became one of the main pillars of the forces which provoked a bloody civil war in Yugoslavia. Even more, they created new strong Croatian paramilitary units and armed them by illegally importing large quantity of weapons from Hungary and other countries with which Croats-members of the ruling party established close relations. The civil war in Yugoslavia brought the problem of displaced persons and refugees, especially the problem of Serbs driven out of Croatia. The Croatian authorities ordered the evacuation of 27 Serbian villages in the region of Grubisino Polje which were later burnt to the ground and the villagers subjected to unheard-of suffering and terror. The Serbian people in Croatia who had been the victims of one of the cruellest crimes of genocide in human history during the Second World War (entailing hundreds of thousands of victims) felt that its existence was in jeopardy again, due to the discriminatory and coercive measures taken by the new Croatian authorities.

The unconstitutional unilateral decision on secession taken by Croatia invoking its right to self-determination, totally ignored the same right of the Serbs in Croatia who constituted the majority population in a number of large areas (e.g. Krajina). This part of the Serbian nation which had for

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The lack of readiness on the part of the authorities of the Republic of Croatia to address the problem in accordance with the Constitution and peacefully, provoked armed clashes between the Croatian authorities and Serbs in Croatia. By decision of the highest bodies of the Federation, the federal army was engaged to protect both nations but it thereby became a party to the conflict, defending itself from the attacks by the Croatian paramilitary forces. In the interest of the defence of the Serbian population in the so-called Serb Krajinas the issue was internationalized and the international community was appealed to support a peaceful and democratic settlement. That is why the Presidency and the Government of Yugoslavia agreed not only to the establishment of the EC monitoring missions but also to the EC offer of good offices and assistance in seeking for a settlement that would be "acceptable for all the parties in Yugoslavia". It accepted to participate in deliberations of the Peace Conference under the auspices of the European Community and with the participation of the organs of the Federation and all six Yugoslav republics.

Despite the considerable experience of Lord Carrington as the Conference Chairman and the serious efforts of representatives of the EC and certain member countries, the Conference on Yugoslavia was soon to show that the good offices which the Yugoslav parties had accepted with hope and trust were turning into a biased attitude in favour of the secessionist republics while the others were exposed to the pressure to acquiesce. The principal course taken by the Conference and backed up by acts and measure of certain EC member states supporting secession, was the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the proclamation of independence of all the republics which would only then, having been divided and become independent, negotiate a future arrangement. With the intention of negating and denying the statehood of Yugoslavia, the only holder of international legal personality, the representatives of the Yugoslav Federation were denied the right to speak and present their views at the Conference and, for some time now and in spite of repeated requests that they be allowed to participate, no invitations have been addressed to them. Plenary sessions of the Conference on Yugoslavia were frequently scheduled only one or two days in advance and the drafts of documents submitted for adoption were often distributed among participants only a few hours prior to the beginning of meetings or even at the meetings themselves. The republics that did not endorse the drafts were labelled "uncooperative" and sanctions without precedent in inter-state relations were instituted against them by the EC and individual member countries.

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- 5 -

multilateral agreements, suspending road, river and air traffic with Yugoslavia (subsequently explaining orally that this suspension does not apply to the "cooperative" republics). The Republic of Italy suspended a bilateral agreement on air traffic again without any legal grounds. Some other non-member countries have followed suit. The Republic of Austria (respecting the delay for the termination of contract) cancelled three bilateral contracts on economic cooperation in the area of transportation and tourism while Switzerland, without prior notice, suspended the validity of a bilateral convention on the abolition of visas for private travelling, officially informing the Yugoslav party of this decision on the eve of its coming into effect. Canada and the United States also introduced "economic sanctions" against Yugoslavia as a whole (temporary suspension of rights under the general scheme of preferences, restrictions on textile imports, temporary suspension of technical aid).

In addition to all measures mentioned above, by the statements of their highest officials certain countries (i.e. Germany, Hungary, Italy, Bulgaria) lent support to secession of some Yugoslav republics, denying the international legal personality of Yugoslavia and some of them even expressing territorial pretensions towards it. By providing weapons, military equipment and experts in contravention of Security Council Resolutions 717, 721 and 724, by tolerating the recruitment of mercenaries from among their citizens, by ignoring the competencies of federal agencies of Yugoslavia and by other similar internationally impermissible acts (the most flagrant examples are reviewed in Annex I) and by wholeheartedly supporting secession, those countries have been flagrantly interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, undermining its sovereignty and territorial integrity and jeopardizing peace and security in this part of Europe and beyond.

One of the most flagrant examples of interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia was the election of the President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia and the recognition of the secessionist republics. Some EC member-countries and a number of other states insisted under strong pressure in 1990 on the election of Mr. Stjepan Mesic, hitherto representative of Croatia to the Yugoslav Presidency, as the President of that Presidency, a move disputed for moral and ethical reasons. Indeed, he had repeatedly stated in public that he would be the last President of Yugoslavia and that he would act towards its dismantlement. In addition, as the former Prime Minister of the Republic of Croatia he had directly supported secession by, among other things, participating in decisions on illegal arms imports. As a result of the resolute pressure by the above mentioned countries, Stjepan Mesic was eventually elected President of the Presidency in the presence of the ministerial "Troika" of the European Community, to declare only a few months later addressing a televised session of Parliament of the Republic of Croatia: "I have accomplished my task. Yugoslavia is no more". This embittered Yugoslav public opinion and aroused doubts as to the good intentions of the countries which had insisted so much on Mesic being appointed to such a responsible post.

Some Western European countries which had supported secession most resolutely had frequently emphasized in their statements and propaganda campaigns that Croatia and Slovenia were unequal in Yugoslavia paying no attention to the fact that for years and even in the very year of secession the representatives of the Republic of Croatia occupied top-ranking positions in

- 6 -

Yugoslavia including: President of the Yugoslav Presidency, President of the Government of Yugoslavia, Minister of Defence who is in command of the Yugoslav People's Army, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Finance, Minister of Development as well as a large number of other important federal posts including top-ranking positions in Yugoslav diplomatic missions abroad. Generally speaking, this also applies to Slovenia whose representatives had previously held key posts in the Federation and in the present Yugoslav Government the posts of Vice-Premier, Minister of Foreign Trade and Minister of Transport, and a range of other high-ranking posts, particularly in diplomatic and consular missions.

A number of these officials displayed indeed a high degree of loyalty, but the fact remains that many of them, along with the very leaders of the Republics of Croatia and Slovenia, worked assiduously both in the country and abroad to dismantle Yugoslavia and assert secession. However, all this would not have led to the known outcome had there been no support to the secession by particular European countries which, guided by their narrow interests, decided to ignore the common interest of the EC and the UN, as well as the fundamental principles of international law. It is noteworthy that the very countries which were Yugoslavia's enemies and occupying forces, most of them so in both world wars (Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Bulgaria), have been in the forefront and the states that have supported secession in an absolutely impermissible manner. They are the ones which are in various ways endeavouring to present territorial claims to particular parts of Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav Government does not wish to claim that this testifies to the reemergence of the "axis powers" of the World War II, nor that the governments of the countries concerned are thereby promoting further the policy of war hostilities towards Yugoslavia dating back to that period, but it does wish to point out the fact that such actions can only exacerbate the antagonisms and animosity among nations inherited from the past, instead of overcoming them through mutual understanding and cooperation, by resolute removal of any vestiges of history as well as any attempts to revive them. It is only in this way that we can join fully in the processes of European integration, which this government is advocating.

The Hague Declaration of the European Community underscores explicitly that the question of recognition of particular republics as states will be addressed only at the end of the negotiating process ("it is essential for all the parties concerned to participate so as to devise a political solution based on the prospect of recognition for all the republics wishing it at the end of the negotiating process conducted in good faith"). In direct conflict with the above stand, the EC passed its Brussels Declaration introducing criteria and a procedure for the recognition of the Yugoslav republics which was scheduled to take place on January 15. By this act the EC asked all Yugoslav republics to apply for recognition. Instead of providing good offices, the EC arbitrarily proclaimed itself as the official international forum for the recognition of states. Some of the EC member states did not wait for the given deadline, but flauntingly declared their recognition of the independence of the secessionist states almost a month ahead of time (e.g. FR Germany). In the same flaunting manner and wishing to "set an example" for the others, the Vatican followed suit but preceded it by publishing a memorandum on Yugoslavia openly supporting the secessionist "catholic" republics. Eventually, and despite the fact that it had entrusted the Arbitration Commission made up of five eminent Presidents of the Constitutional Courts of a number of EC member states with assessing the

- 7 -

eligibility of particular republics for recognition, the EC decided without taking any note of the position and assessment of its arbitration commission which republics met the requirements for recognition.

We have noted with satisfaction the constructive and balanced attitude of the permanent members of the Security Council which shoulder the heaviest responsibility for peace and security in the world. China, the Russian Federation and the USA have so far not recognized the secessionist republics, while the United Kingdom and France, notwithstanding their "solidarity" with the other EC member states, have refrained from establishing diplomatic ties. Typically, among the first few countries to recognize the secession of Croatia were precisely those which also in the period of World War II had recognized the so-called NDH (the Independent State of Croatia) and maintained diplomatic-consular relations with the fascist quisling entity. Taking also into account the complexity of the problem and the view that unilateral secession constitutes an abuse of the right of peoples to self-determination, the principles of legality and respect for international law, we were able to note with appreciation that almost all the non-aligned and other countries which are guided by the objective standards of principles of international law have abandoned the idea of recognizing the two secessionist Yugoslav Republics.

All five members of the Arbitration Commission were appointed by the EC. Namely, it had been decided that three members be appointed by the EC and two by the Yugoslav Presidency, and by unanimity (which is in violation of relevant Yugoslav laws which do not envisage any unanimous Presidency decisions).

In parallel to all the mentioned efforts in support of secessionism, an organized media campaign has been mounted particularly in the West European media, by the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Slovenia with the assistance of certain circles in those countries (including statements by the highest ranking officials of some of those countries), to demonstrate that Yugoslavia is no more, that the war is the result of the aggression of the Yugoslav People's Army and the Republic of Serbia on the peaceful population of Croatia, that the JNA troops, volunteers and the territorial defence units in the Serbian Krajinas are violating the ceasefire and committing crimes, while covering up the truth, i.e. that the most atrocious crimes of genocide and war crimes are being committed precisely by the Croatian paramilitary units and foreign mercenaries and that the ceasefire is being violated by those same forces. Certain world media have even broadcast anonymous and false reports by EC monitors on the alleged crimes committed by the federal army, which can best be verified with the very observer missions themselves. It is hard to believe that such false reports are the result of the abuse by any EC monitors.

Having reviewed the atrocious crimes of genocide perpetrated against the Serbian people, the Presidency of SFRY proposed to the Yugoslav Assembly the appointment of a special commission to investigate and determine these crimes.

In order to facilitate secession, the authorities of the secessionist republics have inaugurated the term "disassociation", instead of the proper international term of secession. In this way they wanted to ensure not only

- 8 -

the secession of the two republics from Yugoslavia which is not disputable if done in a democratic manner and in compliance with the constitution of the common state, but rather the fragmentation of the whole federation so that the rump federation, i.e. the republics which do not wish to secede, would lose its international-legal personality.

The elaboration and use of this idea was also prompted by a rather biased attitude of the Arbitration Commission which claimed that it was not secession that was at issue but rather "the dissolution of Yugoslavia" (another term unknown in international law). The Commission has further failed to take into account the Federal Constitution and national legislation and the decisions and opinions of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, which has greatly surprised particularly the professional circles.

The above overview of events and procedures related to the Yugoslav crisis clearly shows that, regrettably, Yugoslavia has witnessed the following:

- the recognition of secession as a means of creating a state as opposed to the right to self-determination which can never be exercised to the detriment of others and contrary to the standards of national and international law;
- the gross violation of international law and the principles enshrined in the UN Charter, on the basis of which relations in the international community, and primarily those among different states, have been built and developed for almost half a century;
- the gross unilateral violation and termination of various international treaties which Yugoslavia has entered into with the EC, its individual members states and other countries;
- an upsurge of violence, pressure, economic sanctions and other forms of coercion in international relations, as opposed to the principles of cooperation, tolerance, reciprocal respect, sovereign equality of states and non-interference in internal relations;
- gross interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign country, a founding member of the UN, of the CSCE and other international organisations, and thereby the undermining of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and international-legal personality of Yugoslavia.

All these and other above mentioned developments and procedures constitute an open threat to international peace and security and forebode a new world conflict mankind could be drawn into if they are not only unanimously condemned but also most resolutely resisted. In other words, instead of building the so-called new international democratic order, the world could plunge headlong into a cataclysm, as the rule of the muscle and the right of the stronger in international relations may lead to the use of weaponry which has never before been used in the history of mankind.

The Yugoslav Government is hopeful that the arrival of UN peacekeeping troops to Yugoslavia, at the invitation of the Presidency of SFRY and with the consent of all the parties to the conflict, will make it possible for the Yugoslav peoples to peacefully and democratically settle all the issues related to their future arrangement, with full respect for the UN Charter,

- 9 -

the CSCE instruments and international law and honouring the right of every nation to decide its future destiny by exercising its right to self-determination. The Government also hopes that the Conference on Yugoslavia, through the unswerving personal effort of Lord Carrington, and once it reverts to its original mandate of good offices, will overcome difficulties and resolutely reject the methods and procedures which are not suited to the present-day relations among countries. The EC and the Governments of those countries which have, regardless of their intentions, by their mentioned actions and by unilaterally supporting secession, inflicted grave damage on Yugoslavia and its bilateral relations with it, are expected to take the extended hand of cooperation and mutual respect with more understanding and sincerity and in good faith, as they used to do for years prior to the Yugoslav crisis. The Government of Yugoslavia also expects the larger-scale involvement of the UN and the Security Council, and expresses its appreciation for the remarkable contribution by the UN Secretary-General and his personal envoy Mr. Vance.

Profoundly regretting the sufferings and numerous sacrifices by the civilian population in the armed clashes at the peak of the Yugoslav crisis as well as the tragic loss of the lives of five members of the EC monitoring missions and a number of foreign journalists, the Government of Yugoslavia hopes that such tragic events will never again occur anywhere in the world. This will be possible only if the principles of legality and the constitutional and international order are fully observed and if power and pressure disappear from both the national and international scenes.

As one of the founding members of the UN and the Non-Aligned Movement, and without disputing the right of every nation to self-determination, Yugoslavia expects all countries to show understanding for its efforts in defence of its sovereignty and international-legal personality, and to abstain from any actions which are posing a threat to our country today and, if tolerated further, may tomorrow prove fatal also for other countries. Yugoslavia also requests the international community to support the full exercise of the right to self-determination by the peoples who would like to continue living in Yugoslavia as their common state firmly believing that the right to separate cannot be superior to the right to stay in the country.

The Government of Yugoslavia shall make every effort to see the Yugoslav crisis resolved peacefully and in a democratic manner.

January 30, 1992

EMBASSY  
OF THE S.F.R. OF YUGOSLAVIA  
17 BLACKBURN AVENUE  
OTTAWA, ONTARIO, CANADA K1N 8A2



AMBASSADE  
DE LA R.S.F. DE YOUGOSLAVIE  
17, AVENUE BLACKBURN  
OTTAWA, ONTARIO, CANADA K1N 8A2

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February 4, 1992

ACC	DATE
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FILE	DOSSIER
20-CROATIA-1.4	
LOC	
A7-	NC

Dear Sir:

Upon the instruction of the Government of Yugoslavia, I attach herewith the Memorandum of the Government of Yugoslavia on the Yugoslav crisis and Yugoslav Government Memorandum on genocide in Croatia. In the first Memorandum, the Government of Yugoslavia reviews the development of Yugoslav crisis and other events related to Yugoslavia and in the second, describes the crimes against Serbian population committed by the Croatian para-military forces, irregulars and local authorities in Croatia in 1991 and 1992.

Sincerely,

  
Goran Kapetanovic  
Ambassador

MEMORANDUM  
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF YUGOSLAVIA  
ON THE YUGOSLAV CRISIS

In order to inform all members of the United Nations and world public on the developments in Yugoslavia, which have been shaking the country and its citizens and causing concern of the international community, in particular during the past year, the Government of Yugoslavia wishes to draw attention to certain specific developments, procedures and behaviour which are of general significance and which could have fatal consequences for many parts of Europe and the world.

Yugoslavia, which has been in existence for 74 years, came into being as a state community of three nations (i.e. Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) in 1918 and after World War II as a federation of six equal nations (Croats, Macedonians, Montenegrins, Muslims, Serbs and Slovenes). Besides these nations, Yugoslavia is the homeland of number of national minorities. During the existence of Yugoslavia, deep and unbreakable links have been established in the economic, cultural and social areas as well as among peoples, the tearing of which would have very grave consequences.

Two Yugoslav republics, i.e. Slovenia and Croatia, invoking the right of nations to self-determination, proclaimed their sovereignty in 1991 and thereby unilaterally, in contravention to the provisions of the Constitution of Yugoslavia, and without the agreement of the lawful federal bodies in which they were always represented on a parity basis, carried out the act of forcible secession. Under their influence, Macedonia embarked upon the same path. All this is having a strong impact on the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, a republic constituted by three nations.

The Federal Presidency, Assembly and Government as well as the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia characterized these acts as unilateral secession, contrary to the Constitution and therefore being null and void. At the same time, the Presidency instructed the authorities in Slovenia and Croatia to consider all disputed questions, together with the other members of the Federation, in a democratic manner as stipulated by the Constitution, and fully observing the right of nations to self-determination. Instead of doing that, the authorities of the Republic of Slovenia assumed by force the functions of the federal organs on the territory of this republic (i.e. military affairs, customs, inspection services, etc.). The Government of Yugoslavia requested that the federal bodies continue to exercise their functions on the borders and the supreme command of the Yugoslav People's Army decided to deploy 2000 troops along the border with a view to enabling the said federal bodies to perform their duties.

However, the territorial defence units of Slovenia blocked the barracks of the federal army and opened fire on the military convoys heading for the border thereby provoking an armed conflict in which four-fifths of the 60 casualties were soldiers of the federal army who were under orders to accomplish control over the border crossing points without returning fire. The Republic of Slovenia capitalized on this conflict by presenting it to the world as war and aggression against this republic.

- 2 -

Desirous of achieving a peaceful settlement to the Yugoslav crisis and wishing to avoid fresh armed conflicts and further loss of life and material destruction, the Presidency of SFRY decided to relocate the army units stationed in Slovenia without prejudicing thereby future relations in the country (Slovenian leadership claimed that the territorial defence units had repulsed Yugoslav army - a claim that can hardly hold water because it is clear that a well equipped army, such as the Yugoslav Federal Army, with several hundred thousand men could have easily gained control over the entire territory of the republic). The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia did not approve the decision of the Presidency of Yugoslavia to withdraw Federal Army units from Slovenia because this decision was not based on the Constitution of Yugoslavia.

The decisions of the Croatian Assembly to secede from Yugoslavia provoked developments which culminated in an armed conflict that took a tragic toll of several thousand lives, thousands of wounded and irreparable damage to the economy and the population of the country.

Though the secessionist ideas had been present in Croatia for some time the electoral victory of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), which won a majority in the Parliament of that Republic, brought the new wave of Croatian nationalism and nationalistic hatred. Even the election campaign relied heavily on national-fascist and Ustashi ideology from the time of the Second World War caused justifiable fear and mistrust among the Serbs living in Croatia.

In order to avoid an escalation of the armed conflict and in view of the lack of readiness on the part of the leadership of the Republic of Slovenia to resolve disputed issues in a peaceful manner and in conformity with the Constitution, the Presidency and the Government of Yugoslavia accepted the internationalization of the problem suggested by the European Community. Even though Yugoslavia was not a member of the EC, it hoped that the European Community would spare no efforts to find a just and negotiated settlement to the crisis. Believing in bona fide of the European Community, Yugoslav Government signed the Memorandum of Understanding with the EC on Brioni Islands on July 7, 1991.

The Memorandum stipulated that "... the complete territorial integrity, sovereignty and international legal personality of SFR Yugoslavia shall be immediately restored and that to that end all the laws, regulations and measures of the Republic of Slovenia and the Republic of Croatia which are not in accord with the Yugoslav legal system shall be suspended not later than July 12, 1991". It was also decided that the regime provided for by Article 281, Point 10 of the Constitution and the Law on frontier traffic and relevant regulations that had been in force on the frontiers of SFR Yugoslavia up to June 25, 1991 would be restored at the same time. This also implied the payment of customs duties into the federal budget, as well as placing simultaneously the symbols (coat of arms, flag and frontier signs indicating the name of the state) of SFR Yugoslavia and the Republic of Slovenia at the frontier crossing points. The provisions of the same Memorandum also stipulated that all the representatives of the Republic of Slovenia in the federal bodies and agencies would resume their duties so as to actively contribute to the quest for a settlement of the Yugoslav crisis that would be acceptable for all parties concerned.

- 3 -

Hardly any of the provisions of this Memorandum were put into effect by the Slovenian and Croatian side which continued with their secessionist politics. In the meantime, the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia declared as null and void the acts of unilateral secession by the Republic of Slovenia and the Republic of Croatia. The authorities of the Republic of Slovenia did not permit the regime which had been in effect prior to June 25, 1991 to be restored at the frontiers, they did not permit the return of Yugoslav customs authorities to the border, they did not pay any customs duties into the federal budget and they did not put up the symbols of Yugoslavia at the border crossing points. Rather, they continued to implement laws, regulations and measures which were not in conformity with the Constitution of Yugoslavia. They even adopted additional regulations and measures which derogated the provisions of the Constitution and federal legislation. At the same time they continued blocking the work of federal agencies by walking out of them and not participating. The Government of Yugoslavia had on several occasions drawn attention to the European Community to its failure to honour the commitments it had undertaken under the Brioni Memorandum or to undertake the appropriate measures to implement those commitments. The so-called Brioni Memorandum also established monitoring missions of the European Community to monitor the truce in Slovenia and later their mandate was extended also to the Republic of Croatia after the outbreak of armed conflicts on its territory.

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Despite the considerable experience of Lord Carrington as the Conference Chairman and the serious efforts of representatives of the EC and certain member countries, the Conference on Yugoslavia was soon to show that the good offices which the Yugoslav parties had accepted with hope and trust were turning into a biased attitude in favour of the secessionist republics while the others were exposed to the pressure to acquiesce. The principal course taken by the Conference and backed up by acts and measure of certain EC member states supporting secession, was the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the proclamation of independence of all the republics which would only then, having been divided and become independent, negotiate a future arrangement. With the intention of negating and denying the statehood of Yugoslavia, the only holder of international legal personality, the representatives of the Yugoslav Federation were denied the right to speak and present their views at the Conference and, for some time now and in spite of repeated requests that they be allowed to participate, no invitations have been addressed to them. Plenary sessions of the Conference on Yugoslavia were frequently scheduled only one or two days in advance and the drafts of documents submitted for adoption were often distributed among participants only a few hours prior to the beginning of meetings or even at the meetings themselves. The republics that did not endorse the drafts were labelled "uncooperative" and sanctions without precedent in inter-state relations were instituted against them by the EC and individual member countries.

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multilateral agreements, suspending road, river and air traffic with Yugoslavia (subsequently explaining orally that this suspension does not apply to the "cooperative" republics). The Republic of Italy suspended a bilateral agreement on air traffic again without any legal grounds. Some other non-member countries have followed suit. The Republic of Austria (respecting the delay for the termination of contract) cancelled three bilateral contracts on economic cooperation in the area of transportation and tourism while Switzerland, without prior notice, suspended the validity of a bilateral convention on the abolition of visas for private travelling, officially informing the Yugoslav party of this decision on the eve of its coming into effect. Canada and the United States also introduced "economic sanctions" against Yugoslavia as a whole (temporary suspension of rights under the general scheme of preferences, restrictions on textile imports, temporary suspension of technical aid).

In addition to all measures mentioned above, by the statements of their highest officials certain countries (i.e. Germany, Hungary, Italy, Bulgaria) lent support to secession of some Yugoslav republics, denying the international legal personality of Yugoslavia and some of them even expressing territorial pretensions towards it. By providing weapons, military equipment and experts in contravention of Security Council Resolutions 717, 721 and 724, by tolerating the recruitment of mercenaries from among their citizens, by ignoring the competencies of federal agencies of Yugoslavia and by other similar internationally impermissible acts (the most flagrant examples are reviewed in Annex I) and by wholeheartedly supporting secession, those countries have been flagrantly interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, undermining its sovereignty and territorial integrity and jeopardizing peace and security in this part of Europe and beyond.

One of the most flagrant examples of interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia was the election of the President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia and the recognition of the secessionist republics. Some EC member-countries and a number of other states insisted under strong pressure in 1990 on the election of Mr. Stjepan Mesic, hitherto representative of Croatia to the Yugoslav Presidency, as the President of that Presidency, a move disputed for moral and ethical reasons. Indeed, he had repeatedly stated in public that he would be the last President of Yugoslavia and that he would act towards its dismantlement. In addition, as the former Prime Minister of the Republic of Croatia he had directly supported secession by, among other things, participating in decisions on illegal arms imports. As a result of the resolute pressure by the above mentioned countries, Stjepan Mesic was eventually elected President of the Presidency in the presence of the ministerial "Troika" of the European Community, to declare only a few months later addressing a televised session of Parliament of the Republic of Croatia: "I have accomplished my task. Yugoslavia is no more". This embittered Yugoslav public opinion and aroused doubts as to the good intentions of the countries which had insisted so much on Mesic being appointed to such a responsible post.

Some Western European countries which had supported secession most resolutely had frequently emphasized in their statements and propaganda campaigns that Croatia and Slovenia were unequal in Yugoslavia paying no attention to the fact that for years and even in the very year of secession the representatives of the Republic of Croatia occupied top-ranking positions in

- 6 -

Yugoslavia including: President of the Yugoslav Presidency, President of the Government of Yugoslavia, Minister of Defence who is in command of the Yugoslav People's Army, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Finance, Minister of Development as well as a large number of other important federal posts including top-ranking positions in Yugoslav diplomatic missions abroad. Generally speaking, this also applies to Slovenia whose representatives had previously held key posts in the Federation and in the present Yugoslav Government the posts of Vice-Premier, Minister of Foreign Trade and Minister of Transport, and a range of other high-ranking posts, particularly in diplomatic and consular missions.

A number of these officials displayed indeed a high degree of loyalty, but the fact remains that many of them, along with the very leaders of the Republics of Croatia and Slovenia, worked assiduously both in the country and abroad to dismantle Yugoslavia and assert secession. However, all this would not have led to the known outcome had there been no support to the secession by particular European countries which, guided by their narrow interests, decided to ignore the common interest of the EC and the UN, as well as the fundamental principles of international law. It is noteworthy that the very countries which were Yugoslavia's enemies and occupying forces, most of them so in both world wars (Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Bulgaria), have been in the forefront and the states that have supported secession in an absolutely impermissible manner. They are the ones which are in various ways endeavouring to present territorial claims to particular parts of Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav Government does not wish to claim that this testifies to the reemergence of the "axis powers" of the World War II, nor that the governments of the countries concerned are thereby promoting further the policy of war hostilities towards Yugoslavia dating back to that period, but it does wish to point out the fact that such actions can only exacerbate the antagonisms and animosity among nations inherited from the past, instead of overcoming them through mutual understanding and cooperation, by resolute removal of any vestiges of history as well as any attempts to revive them. It is only in this way that we can join fully in the processes of European integration, which this government is advocating.

The Hague Declaration of the European Community underscores explicitly that the question of recognition of particular republics as states will be addressed only at the end of the negotiating process ("it is essential for all the parties concerned to participate so as to devise a political solution based on the prospect of recognition for all the republics wishing it at the end of the negotiating process conducted in good faith"). In direct conflict with the above stand, the EC passed its Brussels Declaration introducing criteria and a procedure for the recognition of the Yugoslav republics which was scheduled to take place on January 15. By this act the EC asked all Yugoslav republics to apply for recognition. Instead of providing good offices, the EC arbitrarily proclaimed itself as the official international forum for the recognition of states. Some of the EC member states did not wait for the given deadline, but flauntingly declared their recognition of the independence of the secessionist states almost a month ahead of time (e.g. FR Germany). In the same flaunting manner and wishing to "set an example" for the others, the Vatican followed suit but preceded it by publishing a memorandum on Yugoslavia openly supporting the secessionist "catholic" republics. Eventually, and despite the fact that it had entrusted the Arbitration Commission made up of five eminent Presidents of the Constitutional Courts of a number of EC member states with assessing the

- 7 -

eligibility of particular republics for recognition, the EC decided without taking any note of the position and assessment of its arbitration commission which republics met the requirements for recognition.

We have noted with satisfaction the constructive and balanced attitude of the permanent members of the Security Council which shoulder the heaviest responsibility for peace and security in the world. China, the Russian Federation and the USA have so far not recognized the secessionist republics, while the United Kingdom and France, notwithstanding their "solidarity" with the other EC member states, have refrained from establishing diplomatic ties. Typically, among the first few countries to recognize the secession of Croatia were precisely those which also in the period of World War II had recognized the so-called NDH (the Independent State of Croatia) and maintained diplomatic-consular relations with the fascist quisling entity. Taking also into account the complexity of the problem and the view that unilateral secession constitutes an abuse of the right of peoples to self-determination, the principles of legality and respect for international law, we were able to note with appreciation that almost all the non-aligned and other countries which are guided by the objective standards of principles of international law have abandoned the idea of recognizing the two secessionist Yugoslav Republics.

All five members of the Arbitration Commission were appointed by the EC. Namely, it had been decided that three members be appointed by the EC and two by the Yugoslav Presidency, and by unanimity (which is in violation of relevant Yugoslav laws which do not envisage any unanimous Presidency decisions).

In parallel to all the mentioned efforts in support of secessionism, an organized media campaign has been mounted particularly in the West European media, by the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Slovenia with the assistance of certain circles in those countries (including statements by the highest ranking officials of some of those countries), to demonstrate that Yugoslavia is no more, that the war is the result of the aggression of the Yugoslav People's Army and the Republic of Serbia on the peaceful population of Croatia, that the JNA troops, volunteers and the territorial defence units in the Serbian Krajinas are violating the ceasefire and committing crimes, while covering up the truth, i.e. that the most atrocious crimes of genocide and war crimes are being committed precisely by the Croatian paramilitary units and foreign mercenaries and that the ceasefire is being violated by those same forces. Certain world media have even broadcast anonymous and false reports by EC monitors on the alleged crimes committed by the federal army, which can best be verified with the very observer missions themselves. It is hard to believe that such false reports are the result of the abuse by any EC monitors.

Having reviewed the atrocious crimes of genocide perpetrated against the Serbian people, the Presidency of SFRY proposed to the Yugoslav Assembly the appointment of a special commission to investigate and determine these crimes.

In order to facilitate secession, the authorities of the secessionist republics have inaugurated the term "disassociation", instead of the proper international term of secession. In this way they wanted to ensure not only

- 8 -

the secession of the two republics from Yugoslavia which is not disputable if done in a democratic manner and in compliance with the constitution of the common state, but rather the fragmentation of the whole federation so that the rump federation, i.e. the republics which do not wish to secede, would lose its international-legal personality.

The elaboration and use of this idea was also prompted by a rather biased attitude of the Arbitration Commission which claimed that it was not secession that was at issue but rather "the dissolution of Yugoslavia" (another term unknown in international law). The Commission has further failed to take into account the Federal Constitution and national legislation and the decisions and opinions of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, which has greatly surprised particularly the professional circles.

The above overview of events and procedures related to the Yugoslav crisis clearly shows that, regrettably, Yugoslavia has witnessed the following:

- the recognition of secession as a means of creating a state as opposed to the right to self-determination which can never be exercised to the detriment of others and contrary to the standards of national and international law;
- the gross violation of international law and the principles enshrined in the UN Charter, on the basis of which relations in the international community, and primarily those among different states, have been built and developed for almost half a century;
- the gross unilateral violation and termination of various international treaties which Yugoslavia has entered into with the EC, its individual members states and other countries;
- an upsurge of violence, pressure, economic sanctions and other forms of coercion in international relations, as opposed to the principles of cooperation, tolerance, reciprocal respect, sovereign equality of states and non-interference in internal relations;
- gross interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign country, a founding member of the UN, of the CSCE and other international organisations, and thereby the undermining of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and international-legal personality of Yugoslavia.

All these and other above mentioned developments and procedures constitute an open threat to international peace and security and forebode a new world conflict mankind could be drawn into if they are not only unanimously condemned but also most resolutely resisted. In other words, instead of building the so-called new international democratic order, the world could plunge headlong into a cataclysm, as the rule of the muscle and the right of the stronger in international relations may lead to the use of weaponry which has never before been used in the history of mankind.

The Yugoslav Government is hopeful that the arrival of UN peacekeeping troops to Yugoslavia, at the invitation of the Presidency of SFRY and with the consent of all the parties to the conflict, will make it possible for the Yugoslav peoples to peacefully and democratically settle all the issues related to their future arrangement, with full respect for the UN Charter,

- 9 -

the CSCE instruments and international law and honouring the right of every nation to decide its future destiny by exercising its right to self-determination. The Government also hopes that the Conference on Yugoslavia, through the unswerving personal effort of Lord Carrington, and once it reverts to its original mandate of good offices, will overcome difficulties and resolutely reject the methods and procedures which are not suited to the present-day relations among countries. The EC and the Governments of those countries which have, regardless of their intentions, by their mentioned actions and by unilaterally supporting secession, inflicted grave damage on Yugoslavia and its bilateral relations with it, are expected to take the extended hand of cooperation and mutual respect with more understanding and sincerity and in good faith, as they used to do for years prior to the Yugoslav crisis. The Government of Yugoslavia also expects the larger-scale involvement of the UN and the Security Council, and expresses its appreciation for the remarkable contribution by the UN Secretary-General and his personal envoy Mr. Vance.

Profoundly regretting the sufferings and numerous sacrifices by the civilian population in the armed clashes at the peak of the Yugoslav crisis as well as the tragic loss of the lives of five members of the EC monitoring missions and a number of foreign journalists, the Government of Yugoslavia hopes that such tragic events will never again occur anywhere in the world. This will be possible only if the principles of legality and the constitutional and international order are fully observed and if power and pressure disappear from both the national and international scenes.

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As one of the founding members of the UN and the Non-Aligned Movement, and without disputing the right of every nation to self-determination, Yugoslavia expects all countries to show understanding for its efforts in defence of its sovereignty and international-legal personality, and to abstain from any actions which are posing a threat to our country today and, if tolerated further, may tomorrow prove fatal also for other countries. Yugoslavia also requests the international community to support the full exercise of the right to self-determination by the peoples who would like to continue living in Yugoslavia as their common state firmly believing that the right to separate cannot be superior to the right to stay in the country.

The Government of Yugoslavia shall make every effort to see the Yugoslav crisis resolved peacefully and in a democratic manner.

January 30, 1992

YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT MEMORANDUM ON  
GENOCIDE IN CROATIA

Belgrade, January 31, 1992 (Tanjug)

The Yugoslav Government is asking the United Nations and other international institutions "to establish the real truth about the genocide (against the Serbian people) in the secessionist Yugoslav republic of Croatia during the civil war in 1991 and 1992 and to condemn it in an appropriate manner".

The Memorandum calls upon the United Nations to condemn destruction of the Serbian historic, cultural and religious monuments in Croatia done by the Croatian para-military forces, irregulars and local authorities and to take steps for their protection.

The Memorandum says that the Croatian authorities and their "para-military and illegal armed forces, for the second time in the past fifty years, committed the crime of genocide against the Serbian people in Croatia, as well as other crimes".

"In addition to physical liquidation, primarily of members of the Serbian population, Croatian authorities are using terror and issuing official orders to forcefully move citizens out of the territory of Croatia, with a view to creating ethnically pure and homogenous areas", it is said in the Memorandum.

The document quotes many "cases of flagrant violation of international law" which "trample fundamental rights and freedoms" and among them the following:

The Croatian aviation bombed a column of Serbian refugees from the region of Western Slavonija on December 16, 1991.

In the village of Divos, near Osijek, the Croatian soldiers killed 24 inhabitants of Serbian nationality, of which six were massacred.

Members of the Croatian para-military formations burned alive 70-year-old Ankica Konjuh, former inmate of the concentration camp Jasenovac, on the threshold of her home in the town of Petrinja on December 19.

Arrests, followed by the liquidation of numerous citizens of Serbian nationality were carried out in Vukovar, Gospic, Daruvar, Ogulin, Zadar, Zagreb and other cities in Croatia.

After the liberation of Vukovar, numerous collective graves of killed and massacred civilians were found, among which the bodies of five children under the age of seven.

The Memorandum also quotes examples from the Croatian press, that several hundred renowned Serbs from Gospic and Daruvar were missing. The bodies of 24 missing Serbs have been found, and experts say that they were killed in the most ruthless way.

- 2 -

In Karlovac on September 21, 1991, 13 members of the Yugoslav People's Army were massacred, after they had surrendered. The Croatian militia first shot them in the legs and then decapitated on the bridge in front of many witnesses and TV cameras.

Over 25,000 old men, women and children of Serbian nationality from 24 Serbian villages in Western Slavonia were expelled and total of 17 Serbian villages were completely destroyed and burned down on that occasion.

Many Serbs from Zagreb moved out of the town under pressure. More than 120,000 Serbs in Croatia have been fired from their work due to their national affiliation. Over 250,000 Serbs from Croatia have moved to other parts of Yugoslavia.

The Memorandum says that many national and cultural institutions, cultural and historic monuments as well as religious facilities have been destroyed in Croatia and among them the following:

By the end of October 1991, "71 orthodox churches were destroyed or severely damaged", and on September 28, the Croatian para-military formations demolished the baroque complex of the court residence of the Pakrac bishops built in 1732. They also destroyed the church of St. Paraskeva dating from 1782.

In Pakrac orthodox cathedral, Croatian para-military forces burned down the iconostasis and numerous icons, the bishopry library with 5,500 books, including copies dating from the early 16th and 18th century.

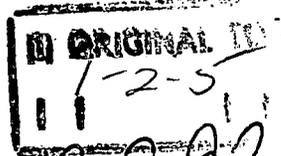
The vandalism of the memorial complex of Jasenovac constitutes a gross violation of the Convention on the protection of cultural goods in the event of armed conflict.

From late September to October 8, 1991, the Croatian armed formations grossly desecrated the memorial complex of Jasenovac and destroyed documents about the genocide committed 50 years ago by the Independent State of Croatia. Jasenovac was the largest concentration camp in the quisling Independent State of Croatia, set up in 1941 with the help of nazi Germany and fascist Italy. Jasenovac was the third largest concentration camp in Europe and the place of the largest mass execution on the territory of Yugoslavia. According to the encyclopedia of holocaust, published in London and New York, the Ustashi (Croatian fascists) killed in Jasenovac 600,000 people, mainly Serbs, Jews and Gypsies.

The Memorandum has been sent to the U.N. Secretary-General, the Chairman of the U.N. Security Council, U.N. special envoy Cyrus Vance, European Community Ministerial Council Chairman Joao de Deuspinheiro, Chairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia Lord Carrington, the Chairman of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Ambassadors of the United States, Russia, China, France and Great Britain, Spain, Greece and Portugal in Belgrade."

Government of Canada / Gouvernement du Canada  
Privy Council Office / Bureau du Conseil privé

Ottawa, Canada  
K1A 0A8



Date: 13.2.92

MEMORANDUM TO:

① RBR / Fred / Under-info

② Kierre / action

file

Letter to the Prime Minister from:

PMO Ref. No.

20420068 8239

We have arranged with the Under Secretary's office that the Department's services can be drawn upon in preparing replies to letters which the Prime Minister has received on foreign affairs.

I would be grateful if you could arrange for a reply (within seven working days) to the attached letter for signature at the appropriate level within the Department of External Affairs and with copies to PMO/Correspondence and External Affairs/CMG. I would also welcome your advice on alternative ways of dealing with the matter, if appropriate.

If you have any questions, please call me at 957-5485.

John McNee  
Foreign and Defence Policy Secretariat

c.c. EA/CMG

No response required?  
Newsletter

EMBASSY  
THE S.F.R. OF YUGOSLAVIA  
17 BLACKBURN AVENUE  
OTTAWA, ONTARIO, CANADA K1N 8A2



AMBASSADE  
DE LA R.S.F. DE YUGOSLAVIE  
17, AVENUE BLACKBURN  
OTTAWA, ONTARIO, CANADA K1N 8A2

RBD(m)  
A-01444-92  
CC MINA/PHILLIPS

February 4, 1992

ACC 735916	DATE
FILE 20 CROATIA-199	DOSSIER
LOC A7-	NC

Dear Madam:

Upon the instruction of the Government of Yugoslavia, I attach herewith the Memorandum of the Government of Yugoslavia on the Yugoslav crisis and Yugoslav Government Memorandum on genocide in Croatia. In the first Memorandum, the Government of Yugoslavia reviews the development of Yugoslav crisis and other events related to Yugoslavia and in the second, describes the crimes against Serbian population committed by the Croatian para-military forces, irregulars and local authorities in Croatia in 1991 and 1992.

Sincerely,

  
Goran Kapetanovic  
Ambassador

## YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT MEMORANDUM ON GENOCIDE IN CROATIA

Belgrade, January 31, 1992 (Tanjug)

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**MEMORANDUM  
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF YUGOSLAVIA  
ON THE YUGOSLAV CRISIS**

In order to inform all members of the United Nations and world public on the developments in Yugoslavia, which have been shaking the country and its citizens and causing concern of the international community, in particular during the past year, the Government of Yugoslavia wishes to draw attention to certain specific developments, procedures and behaviour which are of general significance and which could have fatal consequences for many parts of Europe and the world.

Yugoslavia, which has been in existence for 74 years, came into being as a state community of three nations (i.e. Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) in 1918 and after World War II as a federation of six equal nations (Croats, Macedonians, Montenegrins, Muslims, Serbs and Slovenes). Besides these nations, Yugoslavia is the homeland of number of national minorities. During the existence of Yugoslavia, deep and unbreakable links have been established in the economic, cultural and social areas as well as among peoples, the tearing of which would have very grave consequences.

Two Yugoslav republics, i.e. Slovenia and Croatia, invoking the right of nations to self-determination, proclaimed their sovereignty in 1991 and thereby unilaterally, in contravention to the provisions of the Constitution of Yugoslavia, and without the agreement of the lawful federal bodies in which they were always represented on a parity basis, carried out the act of forcible secession. Under their influence, Macedonia embarked upon the same path. All this is having a strong impact on the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, a republic constituted by three nations.

The Federal Presidency, Assembly and Government as well as the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia characterized these acts as unilateral secession, contrary to the Constitution and therefore being null and void. At the same time, the Presidency instructed the authorities in Slovenia and Croatia to consider all disputed questions, together with the other members of the Federation, in a democratic manner as stipulated by the Constitution, and fully observing the right of nations to self-determination. Instead of doing that, the authorities of the Republic of Slovenia assumed by force the functions of the federal organs on the territory of this republic (i.e. military affairs, customs, inspection services, etc.). The Government of Yugoslavia requested that the federal bodies continue to exercise their functions on the borders and the supreme command of the Yugoslav People's Army decided to deploy 2000 troops along the border with a view to enabling the said federal bodies to perform their duties.

However, the territorial defence units of Slovenia blocked the barracks of the federal army and opened fire on the military convoys heading for the border thereby provoking an armed conflict in which four-fifths of the 60 casualties were soldiers of the federal army who were under orders to accomplish control over the border crossing points without returning fire. The Republic of Slovenia capitalized on this conflict by presenting it to the world as war and aggression against this republic.

- 2 -

Desirous of achieving a peaceful settlement to the Yugoslav crisis and wishing to avoid fresh armed conflicts and further loss of life and material destruction, the Presidency of SFRY decided to relocate the army units stationed in Slovenia without prejudicing thereby future relations in the country (Slovenian leadership claimed that the territorial defence units had repulsed Yugoslav army - a claim that can hardly hold water because it is clear that a well equipped army, such as the Yugoslav Federal Army, with several hundred thousand men could have easily gained control over the entire territory of the republic). The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia did not approve the decision of the Presidency of Yugoslavia to withdraw Federal Army units from Slovenia because this decision was not based on the Constitution of Yugoslavia.

The decisions of the Croatian Assembly to secede from Yugoslavia provoked developments which culminated in an armed conflict that took a tragic toll of several thousand lives, thousands of wounded and irreparable damage to the economy and the population of the country.

Though the secessionist ideas had been present in Croatia for some time the electoral victory of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), which won a majority in the Parliament of that Republic, brought the new wave of Croatian nationalism and nationalistic hatred. Even the election campaign relied heavily on national-fascist and Ustashi ideology from the time of the Second World War caused justifiable fear and mistrust among the Serbs living in Croatia.

In order to avoid an escalation of the armed conflict and in view of the lack of readiness on the part of the leadership of the Republic of Slovenia to resolve disputed issues in a peaceful manner and in conformity with the Constitution, the Presidency and the Government of Yugoslavia accepted the internationalization of the problem suggested by the European Community. Even though Yugoslavia was not a member of the EC, it hoped that the European Community would spare no efforts to find a just and negotiated settlement to the crisis. Believing in bona fide of the European Community, Yugoslav Government signed the Memorandum of Understanding with the EC on Brioni Islands on July 7, 1991.

The Memorandum stipulated that "... the complete territorial integrity, sovereignty and international legal personality of SFR Yugoslavia shall be immediately restored and that to that end all the laws, regulations and measures of the Republic of Slovenia and the Republic of Croatia which are not in accord with the Yugoslav legal system shall be suspended not later than July 12, 1991". It was also decided that the regime provided for by Article 281, Point 10 of the Constitution and the Law on frontier traffic and relevant regulations that had been in force on the frontiers of SFR Yugoslavia up to June 25, 1991 would be restored at the same time. This also implied the payment of customs duties into the federal budget, as well as placing simultaneously the symbols (coat of arms, flag and frontier signs indicating the name of the state) of SFR Yugoslavia and the Republic of Slovenia at the frontier crossing points. The provisions of the same Memorandum also stipulated that all the representatives of the Republic of Slovenia in the federal bodies and agencies would resume their duties so as to actively contribute to the quest for a settlement of the Yugoslav crisis that would be acceptable for all parties concerned.

- 3 -

Hardly any of the provisions of this Memorandum were put into effect by the Slovenian and Croatian side which continued with their secessionist politics. In the meantime, the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia declared as null and void the acts of unilateral secession by the Republic of Slovenia and the Republic of Croatia. The authorities of the Republic of Slovenia did not permit the regime which had been in effect prior to June 25, 1991 to be restored at the frontiers, they did not permit the return of Yugoslav customs authorities to the border, they did not pay any customs duties into the federal budget and they did not put up the symbols of Yugoslavia at the border crossing points. Rather, they continued to implement laws, regulations and measures which were not in conformity with the Constitution of Yugoslavia. They even adopted additional regulations and measures which derogated the provisions of the Constitution and federal legislation. At the same time they continued blocking the work of federal agencies by walking out of them and not participating. The Government of Yugoslavia had on several occasions drawn attention to the European Community to its failure to honour the commitments it had undertaken under the Brioni Memorandum or to undertake the appropriate measures to implement those commitments. The so-called Brioni Memorandum also established monitoring missions of the European Community to monitor the truce in Slovenia and later their mandate was extended also to the Republic of Croatia after the outbreak of armed conflicts on its territory.

The Croatian Parliament promulgated a new Constitution which unlike the outgoing one, did not refer to the Serbs in Croatia as one of the two constituent peoples in that republic. The direct consequence of the new Constitution was the loss of jobs by many citizens of Serbian nationality in Croatia. At about the same time, the police started to harass and raid the apartments of Serbs in Croatia (there were about 700 thousand of them), the authorities ordered the demolition of their houses on the ground that they had been illegally built but this applied exclusively to houses along the Adriatic coast and belonging to Serbs. The automobiles with the licence plates of Serbian towns became the target of attack and destruction. The Croatian authorities disregarded decisions of the Presidency and the Government of Yugoslavia (unanimously adopted and in presence of representatives of both Slovenia and Croatia) to disarm paramilitary units which became one of the main pillars of the forces which provoked a bloody civil war in Yugoslavia. Even more, they created new strong Croatian paramilitary units and armed them by illegally importing large quantity of weapons from Hungary and other countries with which Croats-members of the ruling party established close relations. The civil war in Yugoslavia brought the problem of displaced persons and refugees, especially the problem of Serbs driven out of Croatia. The Croatian authorities ordered the evacuation of 27 Serbian villages in the region of Grubisino Polje which were later burnt to the ground and the villagers subjected to unheard-of suffering and terror. The Serbian people in Croatia who had been the victims of one of the cruellest crimes of genocide in human history during the Second World War (entailing hundreds of thousands of victims) felt that its existence was in jeopardy again, due to the discriminatory and coercive measures taken by the new Croatian authorities.

The unconstitutional unilateral decision on secession taken by Croatia invoking its right to self-determination, totally ignored the same right of the Serbs in Croatia who constituted the majority population in a number of large areas (e.g. Krajina). This part of the Serbian nation which had for

- 4 -

decades been living together with the main body of the Serbian nation in a single State, that of Yugoslavia, could not accept the unilateral secession of Croatia. By the transformation of the administrative boundaries of Croatia which had not been established by any internal constitutional-legal document, into international borders, the Serbs in Croatia would be separated from the rest of their nation remaining in Yugoslavia.

The lack of readiness on the part of the authorities of the Republic of Croatia to address the problem in accordance with the Constitution and peacefully, provoked armed clashes between the Croatian authorities and Serbs in Croatia. By decision of the highest bodies of the Federation, the federal army was engaged to protect both nations but it thereby became a party to the conflict, defending itself from the attacks by the Croatian paramilitary forces. In the interest of the defence of the Serbian population in the so-called Serb Krajinas the issue was internationalized and the international community was appealed to support a peaceful and democratic settlement. That is why the Presidency and the Government of Yugoslavia agreed not only to the establishment of the EC monitoring missions but also to the EC offer of good offices and assistance in seeking for a settlement that would be "acceptable for all the parties in Yugoslavia". It accepted to participate in deliberations of the Peace Conference under the auspices of the European Community and with the participation of the organs of the Federation and all six Yugoslav republics.

Despite the considerable experience of Lord Carrington as the Conference Chairman and the serious efforts of representatives of the EC and certain member countries, the Conference on Yugoslavia was soon to show that the good offices which the Yugoslav parties had accepted with hope and trust were turning into a biased attitude in favour of the secessionist republics while the others were exposed to the pressure to acquiesce. The principal course taken by the Conference and backed up by acts and measure of certain EC member states supporting secession, was the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the proclamation of independence of all the republics which would only then, having been divided and become independent, negotiate a future arrangement. With the intention of negating and denying the statehood of Yugoslavia, the only holder of international legal personality, the representatives of the Yugoslav Federation were denied the right to speak and present their views at the Conference and, for some time now and in spite of repeated requests that they be allowed to participate, no invitations have been addressed to them. Plenary sessions of the Conference on Yugoslavia were frequently scheduled only one or two days in advance and the drafts of documents submitted for adoption were often distributed among participants only a few hours prior to the beginning of meetings or even at the meetings themselves. The republics that did not endorse the drafts were labelled "uncooperative" and sanctions without precedent in inter-state relations were instituted against them by the EC and individual member countries.

The European Community suspended the implementation of the Agreement on cooperation between Yugoslavia and the EC even though there were no grounds for doing in the provisions of the Agreement (not to mention the unacceptable selective implementation in specific areas). Certain EC member states have been resorting to similar impermissible measures bringing pressure to bear on the "uncooperative" republics of Yugoslavia. The Federal Republic of Germany suspended without any justification and contrary to all rules of international law, the implementation of a number of bilateral and

- 5 -

multilateral agreements, suspending road, river and air traffic with Yugoslavia (subsequently explaining orally that this suspension does not apply to the "cooperative" republics). The Republic of Italy suspended a bilateral agreement on air traffic again without any legal grounds. Some other non-member countries have followed suit. The Republic of Austria (respecting the delay for the termination of contract) cancelled three bilateral contracts on economic cooperation in the area of transportation and tourism while Switzerland, without prior notice, suspended the validity of a bilateral convention on the abolition of visas for private travelling, officially informing the Yugoslav party of this decision on the eve of its coming into effect. Canada and the United States also introduced "economic sanctions" against Yugoslavia as a whole (temporary suspension of rights under the general scheme of preferences, restrictions on textile imports, temporary suspension of technical aid).

In addition to all measures mentioned above, by the statements of their highest officials certain countries (i.e. Germany, Hungary, Italy, Bulgaria) lent support to secession of some Yugoslav republics, denying the international legal personality of Yugoslavia and some of them even expressing territorial pretensions towards it. By providing weapons, military equipment and experts in contravention of Security Council Resolutions 717, 721 and 724, by tolerating the recruitment of mercenaries from among their citizens, by ignoring the competencies of federal agencies of Yugoslavia and by other similar internationally impermissible acts (the most flagrant examples are reviewed in Annex I) and by wholeheartedly supporting secession, those countries have been flagrantly interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, undermining its sovereignty and territorial integrity and jeopardizing peace and security in this part of Europe and beyond.

One of the most flagrant examples of interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia was the election of the President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia and the recognition of the secessionist republics. Some EC member-countries and a number of other states insisted under strong pressure in 1990 on the election of Mr. Stjepan Mesic, hitherto representative of Croatia to the Yugoslav Presidency, as the President of that Presidency, a move disputed for moral and ethical reasons. Indeed, he had repeatedly stated in public that he would be the last President of Yugoslavia and that he would act towards its dismantlement. In addition, as the former Prime Minister of the Republic of Croatia he had directly supported secession by, among other things, participating in decisions on illegal arms imports. As a result of the resolute pressure by the above mentioned countries, Stjepan Mesic was eventually elected President of the Presidency in the presence of the ministerial "Troika" of the European Community, to declare only a few months later addressing a televised session of Parliament of the Republic of Croatia: "I have accomplished my task. Yugoslavia is no more". This embittered Yugoslav public opinion and aroused doubts as to the good intentions of the countries which had insisted so much on Mesic being appointed to such a responsible post.

Some Western European countries which had supported secession most resolutely had frequently emphasized in their statements and propaganda campaigns that Croatia and Slovenia were unequal in Yugoslavia paying no attention to the fact that for years and even in the very year of secession the representatives of the Republic of Croatia occupied top-ranking positions in

- 6 -

Yugoslavia including: President of the Yugoslav Presidency, President of the Government of Yugoslavia, Minister of Defence who is in command of the Yugoslav People's Army, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Finance, Minister of Development as well as a large number of other important federal posts including top-ranking positions in Yugoslav diplomatic missions abroad. Generally speaking, this also applies to Slovenia whose representatives had previously held key posts in the Federation and in the present Yugoslav Government the posts of Vice-Premier, Minister of Foreign Trade and Minister of Transport, and a range of other high-ranking posts, particularly in diplomatic and consular missions.

A number of these officials displayed indeed a high degree of loyalty, but the fact remains that many of them, along with the very leaders of the Republics of Croatia and Slovenia, worked assiduously both in the country and abroad to dismantle Yugoslavia and assert secession. However, all this would not have led to the known outcome had there been no support to the secession by particular European countries which, guided by their narrow interests, decided to ignore the common interest of the EC and the UN, as well as the fundamental principles of international law. It is noteworthy that the very countries which were Yugoslavia's enemies and occupying forces, most of them so in both world wars (Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Bulgaria), have been in the forefront and the states that have supported secession in an absolutely impermissible manner. They are the ones which are in various ways endeavouring to present territorial claims to particular parts of Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav Government does not wish to claim that this testifies to the reemergence of the "axis powers" of the World War II, nor that the governments of the countries concerned are thereby promoting further the policy of war hostilities towards Yugoslavia dating back to that period, but it does wish to point out the fact that such actions can only exacerbate the antagonisms and animosity among nations inherited from the past, instead of overcoming them through mutual understanding and cooperation, by resolute removal of any vestiges of history as well as any attempts to revive them. It is only in this way that we can join fully in the processes of European integration, which this government is advocating.

The Hague Declaration of the European Community underscores explicitly that the question of recognition of particular republics as states will be addressed only at the end of the negotiating process ("it is essential for all the parties concerned to participate so as to devise a political solution based on the prospect of recognition for all the republics wishing it at the end of the negotiating process conducted in good faith"). In direct conflict with the above stand, the EC passed its Brussels Declaration introducing criteria and a procedure for the recognition of the Yugoslav republics which was scheduled to take place on January 15. By this act the EC asked all Yugoslav republics to apply for recognition. Instead of providing good offices, the EC arbitrarily proclaimed itself as the official international forum for the recognition of states. Some of the EC member states did not wait for the given deadline, but flauntingly declared their recognition of the independence of the secessionist states almost a month ahead of time (e.g. FR Germany). In the same flaunting manner and wishing to "set an example" for the others, the Vatican followed suit but preceded it by publishing a memorandum on Yugoslavia openly supporting the secessionist "catholic" republics. Eventually, and despite the fact that it had entrusted the Arbitration Commission made up of five eminent Presidents of the Constitutional Courts of a number of EC member states with assessing the

- 7 -

eligibility of particular republics for recognition, the EC decided without taking any note of the position and assessment of its arbitration commission which republics met the requirements for recognition.

We have noted with satisfaction the constructive and balanced attitude of the permanent members of the Security Council which shoulder the heaviest responsibility for peace and security in the world. China, the Russian Federation and the USA have so far not recognized the secessionist republics, while the United Kingdom and France, notwithstanding their "solidarity" with the other EC member states, have refrained from establishing diplomatic ties. Typically, among the first few countries to recognize the secession of Croatia were precisely those which also in the period of World War II had recognized the so-called NDH (the Independent State of Croatia) and maintained diplomatic-consular relations with the fascist quisling entity. Taking also into account the complexity of the problem and the view that unilateral secession constitutes an abuse of the right of peoples to self-determination, the principles of legality and respect for international law, we were able to note with appreciation that almost all the non-aligned and other countries which are guided by the objective standards of principles of international law have abandoned the idea of recognizing the two secessionist Yugoslav Republics.

All five members of the Arbitration Commission were appointed by the EC. Namely, it had been decided that three members be appointed by the EC and two by the Yugoslav Presidency, and by unanimity (which is in violation of relevant Yugoslav laws which do not envisage any unanimous Presidency decisions).

In parallel to all the mentioned efforts in support of secessionism, an organized media campaign has been mounted particularly in the West European media, by the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Slovenia with the assistance of certain circles in those countries (including statements by the highest ranking officials of some of those countries), to demonstrate that Yugoslavia is no more, that the war is the result of the aggression of the Yugoslav People's Army and the Republic of Serbia on the peaceful population of Croatia, that the JNA troops, volunteers and the territorial defence units in the Serbian Krajinas are violating the ceasefire and committing crimes, while covering up the truth, i.e. that the most atrocious crimes of genocide and war crimes are being committed precisely by the Croatian paramilitary units and foreign mercenaries and that the ceasefire is being violated by those same forces. Certain world media have even broadcast anonymous and false reports by EC monitors on the alleged crimes committed by the federal army, which can best be verified with the very observer missions themselves. It is hard to believe that such false reports are the result of the abuse by any EC monitors.

Having reviewed the atrocious crimes of genocide perpetrated against the Serbian people, the Presidency of SFRY proposed to the Yugoslav Assembly the appointment of a special commission to investigate and determine these crimes.

In order to facilitate secession, the authorities of the secessionist republics have inaugurated the term "disassociation", instead of the proper international term of secession. In this way they wanted to ensure not only

- 8 -

the secession of the two republics from Yugoslavia which is not disputable if done in a democratic manner and in compliance with the constitution of the common state, but rather the fragmentation of the whole federation so that the rump federation, i.e. the republics which do not wish to secede, would lose its international-legal personality.

The elaboration and use of this idea was also prompted by a rather biased attitude of the Arbitration Commission which claimed that it was not secession that was at issue but rather "the dissolution of Yugoslavia" (another term unknown in international law). The Commission has further failed to take into account the Federal Constitution and national legislation and the decisions and opinions of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, which has greatly surprised particularly the professional circles.

The above overview of events and procedures related to the Yugoslav crisis clearly shows that, regrettably, Yugoslavia has witnessed the following:

- the recognition of secession as a means of creating a state as opposed to the right to self-determination which can never be exercised to the detriment of others and contrary to the standards of national and international law;
- the gross violation of international law and the principles enshrined in the UN Charter, on the basis of which relations in the international community, and primarily those among different states, have been built and developed for almost half a century;
- the gross unilateral violation and termination of various international treaties which Yugoslavia has entered into with the EC, its individual members states and other countries;
- an upsurge of violence, pressure, economic sanctions and other forms of coercion in international relations, as opposed to the principles of cooperation, tolerance, reciprocal respect, sovereign equality of states and non-interference in internal relations;
- gross interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign country, a founding member of the UN, of the CSCE and other international organisations, and thereby the undermining of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and international-legal personality of Yugoslavia.

All these and other above mentioned developments and procedures constitute an open threat to international peace and security and forebode a new world conflict mankind could be drawn into if they are not only unanimously condemned but also most resolutely resisted. In other words, instead of building the so-called new international democratic order, the world could plunge headlong into a cataclysm, as the rule of the muscle and the right of the stronger in international relations may lead to the use of weaponry which has never before been used in the history of mankind.

The Yugoslav Government is hopeful that the arrival of UN peacekeeping troops to Yugoslavia, at the invitation of the Presidency of SFRY and with the consent of all the parties to the conflict, will make it possible for the Yugoslav peoples to peacefully and democratically settle all the issues related to their future arrangement, with full respect for the UN Charter,

- 9 -

the CSCE instruments and international law and honouring the right of every nation to decide its future destiny by exercising its right to self-determination. The Government also hopes that the Conference on Yugoslavia, through the unswerving personal effort of Lord Carrington, and once it reverts to its original mandate of good offices, will overcome difficulties and resolutely reject the methods and procedures which are not suited to the present-day relations among countries. The EC and the Governments of those countries which have, regardless of their intentions, by their mentioned actions and by unilaterally supporting secession, inflicted grave damage on Yugoslavia and its bilateral relations with it, are expected to take the extended hand of cooperation and mutual respect with more understanding and sincerity and in good faith, as they used to do for years prior to the Yugoslav crisis. The Government of Yugoslavia also expects the larger-scale involvement of the UN and the Security Council, and expresses its appreciation for the remarkable contribution by the UN Secretary-General and his personal envoy Mr. Vance.

Profoundly regretting the sufferings and numerous sacrifices by the civilian population in the armed clashes at the peak of the Yugoslav crisis as well as the tragic loss of the lives of five members of the EC monitoring missions and a number of foreign journalists, the Government of Yugoslavia hopes that such tragic events will never again occur anywhere in the world. This will be possible only if the principles of legality and the constitutional and international order are fully observed and if power and pressure disappear from both the national and international scenes.

As one of the founding members of the UN and the Non-Aligned Movement, and without disputing the right of every nation to self-determination, Yugoslavia expects all countries to show understanding for its efforts in defence of its sovereignty and international-legal personality, and to abstain from any actions which are posing a threat to our country today and, if tolerated further, may tomorrow prove fatal also for other countries. Yugoslavia also requests the international community to support the full exercise of the right to self-determination by the peoples who would like to continue living in Yugoslavia as their common state firmly believing that the right to separate cannot be superior to the right to stay in the country.

The Government of Yugoslavia shall make every effort to see the Yugoslav crisis resolved peacefully and in a democratic manner.

January 30, 1992

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
CABINET DU SECRETAIRE D'ETAT AUX AFFAIRES EXTERIEURES

**ACTION REQUEST/FICHE DE SERVICE**

From/De : GORAN KAPATANOVIC, AMBASSADOR  
EMBASSY OF YUGOSLAVIA

No.: A-01444-92

Subject/Sujet : YUGOSLAVIA:GENOCIDE IN CROATIA/WAR CRIME  
Classification: POLITICS EAST EUROPE \* POLITIQUE EUROPE DE L'EST

Action div./Dir. resp.: **RBD**  
Info : MINA/PHILLIPS

Let./Tel. dated	Date sent to division	Deadline date
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<b>04 FEB 92</b>	<b>05 FEB 92</b>	<b>**19 FEB 92**</b>

**Comments/Commentaires**

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| <input type="checkbox"/> For information and any necessary action<br>Pour examen et suite a donner, s'il y a lieu                     | <i>No further action<br/>Please file</i>       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> CAMPAIGN: Reply for signature of SSEA<br>CAMPAGNE: Reponse pour la signature du SEAE                         |  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> CAMPAIGN: Reply by division<br>CAMPAGNE: Reponse de la direction   | For MINA use/<br>Reserve a MINA                |
| <input type="checkbox"/> CAMPAIGN: For information and any necessary action<br>CAMPAGNE: Pour examen et suite a donner, s'il y a lieu |  |

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Yellow - Divisional secretary	Green - File with original incoming letter
Jaune - Secretaire de direction	Verte - Au dossier avec la lettre recue

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 ---ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL SITU IN CROATIA:UPDATE

DURING RECENT VISIT TO ZAGREB A LEADING CENTRAL BANK OFFICIAL PROVIDED US WITH A CONCISE AND, WE BELIEVE, HONEST DESCRIPTION OF THE ECONOMIC SITU IN CROATIA.

2. IN 1992 GDP DECLINED A FURTHER 20 PCT FROM THE 1991 LEVEL (1991 GDP ITSELF WAS 30 PCT BELOW 1990 GDP). THUS OVER THE LAST TWO YEARS CROATIAS GDP SHRANK BY MORE THAN 50 PCT FROM A LEVEL OF USA DLRS 16 BILLION IN 1990 TO SOME USA DLRS 7.5 BILLION IN 1992.

3. THERE ARE SOME POSITIVE SIGNS. INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION IS TURNING AROUND SHOWING A 25 PCT INCREASE OVER THE FIRST 10 MONTHS OF 1992, BUT FOR THE ENTIRE YEAR INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION WILL HOWEVER RECORD A 15-20 PCT DECLINE FROM THE LEVEL REACHED IN 1991 (AND STILL BELOW THE 1990 FIGURE BY 40 PCT). EXPORT WILL REACH SOME USA DLRS 3 BILLION (40 PCT OF GDP) AND TOURISM IS EXPECTED TO BE SLIGHTLY BETTER THAN FORECAST (SOME USA DLRS 1 BILLION). IN THE CURRENT ACCOUNT FOR THE PERIOD JAN-OCT92, A SURPLUS OF USA DLRS 450 MILLION WAS ACHIEVED. ESPECIALLY POSITIVE WAS THE GROWTH OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE RESERVES WHICH EARLY IN 1992 TOTALLED ONLY SOME

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USA DLRS 200 MILLION IN THE ENTIRE BANKING SYSTEM, BY DECEMBER THEY HAD RISEN TO USA DLRS 665 MILLION (OF WHICH THE CENTRAL BANK HELD USA DLRS 165 MILLION AND THE BALANCE OF USA DLS 500 MILLION WAS HELD BY THE COMMERCIAL BANKS).

4. INFLATION HAS BEEN A MAJOR CONCERN DURING THE SEP-DEC PERIOD AND EXCEEDING 30 PCT PER MONTH WITH ALMOST EQUALLY DEVALUING CURRENCY. HOLDING THE GOVT DEFICIT BELOW 5 PCT OF GDP IS A MAJOR CHALLENGE. MAJOR CAUSE OF THE INFLATION IS THE COST OF WAR. WE LEARNED THE DEFENCE EXPENDITURES ALONE ARE REACHING 10 PCT OF GDP (I.E. USA DLRS 750 MILLION P.A.) IN ADDITION THERE ARE THE ENORMOUS COSTS OF HOUSING AND FEEDING SOME 800,000 REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS (ALMOST 500,000 FROM BOSNIA). THE COST OF RECONSTRUCTION OF WAR DAMAGES HAS NOT/NOT EVEN BEEN TACKLED (IF THESE WERE ADDED THE BURDEN WOULD BE DOUBLED OR 20 PCT OF GDP). THE INCREASED PUBLIC SECTOR EXPENDITURES (SLIGHTLY ABOVE 10 PCT OF GDP IN 1993) CANNOT/NOT BE SUPPORTED BY INCREASED TAXATION (AS THE TAX BASE HAS BEEN SEVERELY ERODED), A FIVE PCT WAR TAX ON MOST CONSUMER GOODS AND A 10 PCT TAX ON LUXURY GOODS IS IN PLACE), CREDITS EXTENDED BY THE CENTRAL BANK ARE BY LAW LIMITED TO MAX 5 PCT OF BUDGET AND MUST BE REPAID. THE GOVT HAS BEEN COVERING SOME OF THE DEFICIT BY NON-BUDGETORY OPERATIONS SUCH AS SALE OF GOVT ASSETS (SOME USA DLRS 150 MILLION DURING 1992).

5. CROATIA IS ABOUT TO FORMALLY JOIN THE IMF/IBRD BY 31 JAN (IT

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PGE THREE ZLTD1015 P R O T E C T E D

GAINED MEMBERSHIP IN EBRD 15DEC92. THE CROATIAN GOVT AND THE IMF HAVE AGREED ON THE QUOTE SUCCESSORSHIP MODEL UNQUOTE TO THE FORMER YUGO QUOTA AND LIABILITIES. THUS CROATIAS QUOTA WILL BE 28.49 PCT (SDR 155 MILLION OR USA DLRS 200 M) PLUS SDRS 20 MILLIONS IN ARREAR. THE SABOR (CROATIAN PARLIAMENT) IS EXPECTED TO PASS THE RELEVANT LEGISLATION AND ARTICLES OF ADMISSION TO BE SIGNED BEFORE THE END OF JAN93.

6. MEMBERSHIP IN THE IMF WILL RESULT IN AN ECONOMIC STABILIZATION PROGRAM TO BE INTRODUCED BY THE GOVT IN ORDER TO MAKE UP FOR A STAND-BY AGREEMENT. THIS IS THEN TO BE FOLLOWED BY PARIS CLUB AND OFFICIAL DEBT RESCHEDULING NEGOTIATIONS (OF THE TOTAL DEBT OF EX-YUGO, USA DLRS 15.1 BILLION CROATIAS PORTION HAS BEEN IDENTIFIED AS USA DLRS 2.7 BILLION, THERE ARE, HOWEVER, SOME USA DLRS 3.1 BILLION OF EX-YUGO DEBYT THAT CANNOT/NOT BE SPECIFICALLY ALLOCATED).

7. ONCE A STABILIZATION PROGRAM HAS TAKEN EFFECT IT IS THE GOVERNMENTS PLAN TO ABOLISH THE TEMPORARY CROATIAN CROATIAN DINAR AND REPLFACE IT WITH THE NEW QUOTE CROATIAN CROWN UNQUOTE PROBABLY IN EARLY 1994.

8. WITH ALL THE GLOOM AND DOOM THERE ARE SOME POSITIVE SIGNS (FOREIGN TRADE, TOURISM, IND PRODUCTION) POINTING TOWARD ECONOMIC RECOVERY, BUT IT WILL TAKE SEVERAL YEARS BEFORE CROATIA IS BACK WHERE IT WAS IN 1990. THE GENERAL MOOD, HOWEVER, IS SLIGHTLY UPBEAT AND PEOPLE ARE SLOWLY REGAINING CONFIDENCE AND ARE LOOKING MORE TOWARD THE FUTURE AND NOW ARE LESS PERSISTENTLY BROODING OVER THE PAST.

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---CROATIA: ELECTIONS TO UPPER HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT

SUMMARY: ELECTIONS FOR HOUSE OF COUNTIES (ZUPANJISKI DOM) WILL BE  
HELD 07FEB. ELECTION HAD TO AWAIT PASSAGE OF LEGISLATION CREATING  
21/21 COUNTIES, WHICH WAS ADOPTED BY SABOR 29DEC92. EACH COUNTY WILL  
ELECT THREE MEMBERS BY PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION. ELECTION, WHICH  
ACCORDING TO LAW MUST TAKE PLACE WITHIN SIX MONTHS OF 02AUG92  
ELECTION FOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, HAS BEEN DELAYED BY  
PROTRACTED DEBATE OVER HOW CTRY WAS TO BE DIVIDED INTO COUNTIES. TWO  
SPECIAL-STATUS SERB AREAS CREATED BY SEPARATE LEGISLATION LAST MAY  
ARE INCLUDED IN COUNTIES.

2.REPORT: DELAY IN HOLDING ELECTION FOR HOUSE OF COUNTIES HAS BEEN

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DUE PRIMARILY TO DIFFICULTY OF DELINEATING ZUPANIJE. ATTEMPT TO DO THIS WAS UNDER WAY AS LONG AGO AS MAR92. AIM WAS TO GROUP CONTIGUOUS OPCINE INTO ZUPANIJE IN ACCORDANCE WITH HISTORICAL, ETHNIC, TRANSPORT, AND ECONOMIC PATTERNS. IN MANY AREAS, STRONG VIEWS AROSE AS TO WHICH ZUPANIJA A CERTAIN OPCINA SHOULD BE PART OF. ON SOME ADRIATIC ISLANDS, VIEWS WERE PARTICULARLY STRONGLY HELD. THESE DIFFERENCES TOOK MONTHS TO RECONCILE.

3. POSSIBLY TO AVOID SIMILAR DIFFICULTIES WITHIN ZUPANIJE, ELECTORAL LAW WAS AMENDED TO PROVIDE THAT THREE MEMBERS FROM EACH ZUPANIJA BE ELECTED BY PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION RATHER THAN RELATIVE

MAJORITY. INSTEAD OF BEING SUBDIVIDED INTO THREE ELECTORAL DISTRICTS, EACH ZUPANIJA WILL BE A THREE-MEMBER CONSTITUENCY.

4. TWO SERB AUTONOMOUS AREAS (KOTARI), KNIN AND GLINA, ARE INCLUDED IN ZADAR-KNIN AND SISAK ZUPANIJE RESPECTIVELY. KNIN ENCOMPASSES 21 OF 38 OPCINE IN ZADAR-KNIN, AND GLINA ACCOUNTS FOR 14 OUT OF 26 OPCINE IN SISAK. SINCE ZUPANIJE WILL NOT/NOT BE SUBDIVIDED INTO ELECTORAL DISTRICTS, POSSIBILITY OF KOTARI DIRECTLY ELECTING REPRESENTATIVES TO ZUPANIJSKI DOM IS PRECLUDED. HOWEVER, NUMERICAL WEIGHT OF SERB POPULATION IN KOTARI (ASSUMING THEY VOTE) WILL BE DECISIVE IN ELECTION OF THREE MEMBERS IN EACH OF THE TWO ZUPANIJE.

5. LEGISLATION WAS PASSED UNDER EMERGENCY RULES, WHICH HAVE EFFECT ON DEBATE SIMILAR TO CLOSURE. LEADER OF LARGEST OPPOSITION PARTY, DRAZEN BUDISA, WAS DENIED OPPORTUNITY TO REBUT STATEMENTS MADE BY

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PAGE THREE QLGR0003 UNCLAS

DEPTY PRIME MINISTER SEKS (PRONOUNCED SHEKS) IN RESPONSE TO  
OPPOSITION OBJECTIONS. LAW WAS ADOPTED WITHOUT OPPOSITION, IN SENSE  
THAT MEMBERS OF OPPOSITION PARTIES WALKED OUT OF CHANBER WHEN VOTE  
WAS CALLED.

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**REPUBLIC OF SERBIAN KRAYINA**  
**REPUBLIKA SRPSKA KRAJINA**  
**Washington Office**

NC  
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**5:00 PM January 4, 1992**

Honorable Brian Mulroney  
 Prime Minister of Canada  
 Ottawa, Canada

(613) 957-5636

**U R G E N T U R G E N T U R G E N T U R G E N T**

Ref.: Conversation with Fedor Mesinger

Your Excellency,

we would appreciate if your Government would take a notice of the facts contained in the letters enclosed. The Serbian nation, twice a war-time ally of western democracies, is being falsely accused of grabbing another nations land. The facts are the oposite. It is the land of Serbs which is being attacked, their homes are destroyed, Serbs are killed in thousands. The Federal Army is led by the long-time communist cadres: Kadijevic and Jurjevic, Croats and Brovet, a Slovene. This army is supposed to protect the country and its population. Instead, communist generals in Belgrade cooperate with their fellow communist generals in the seccesionist Croatia, providing them with massive quantities of arms and ammunition and willfully preventing the establishment of an effective defense of Serbian territories.

Now, that very Army and the communist Government of Belgrade are trying to disarm Serbs defending their families in Krayina region and to hand them over to Croats. The reason is very obvicus. Krayina region has grown into a first free territory (free of open or converted communists) on Yugoslav soil.

Please find ways to make sure that the facts contained in those letters will reach the Government of the United States and the Governments which are members of the Security Council.

Thank you in advance.

Faithfully yours

*Zoran B. Djordjevic*  
 Zoran B. Djordjevic

**THIS FAX CONTAINS FIVE PAGES, THIS ONE INCLUDED**

JAN 04 '92 08:37PM N.T.I.

P.2

**REPUBLIC OF SERBIAN KRAYINA**  
**REPUBLIKA SRPSKA KRAJINA**  
**Washington Office**

**4:00 PM, January 4, 1992**

Honorable Brian Mulroney  
Prime Minister of Canada  
Ottawa, Canada

Your Excellency,

On behalf of the Government of the Republic of Serbian Krayina I would like to bring to your attention the following:

The people, Government and the President of the Republic of Serbian Krayina would like to assure you of their deepest respect for the efforts the United Nations and Mr. Cyrus Vance, the personal envoy of the Secretary General are making in order to establish peace and a just political solution for the conflict in Yugoslavia. We will, in all our capacity, do our best to help the UN efforts succeed.

However, in spite of the latest cease-fire agreement, mediated by the UN, which we hoped would end the hostilities and prevent further loss of life, Croatian military forces are stepping up their offensive against the Serbian Krayina. Fresh reports are coming in every hour testifying that the terror over Serbs in Croat-held-regions is continuing.

During the last week, Mr. Franjo Tudjman, President of the Republic of Croatia, on two occasions, both before and immediately after the newest accord with Mr. Cyrus Vance was announced, publicly stated that "from the UN effort, Croatia expects to extend her rule over the territories of Serbian Krayina". "If that fails", he stated, "Croatia will conquer those territories by war".

Also, the officials of our Government, the only legal and legitimate representatives of the people of Serbian Krayina, were prevented from approaching Mr. Cyrus Vance, during his last mission, and were consequently not able to present him with our demands for modifications in the spirit and text of the "Concept for Engagement of the UN Peace-keeping Forces" (in the form available to us, as made public at the beginning of December).

Claims of certain Yugoslav politicians and representatives of the Yugoslav National Army that the people and the Government of Krayina fully support the most recent "agreement" are not true. The President and the Government of the Serbian Krayina can not "fully support" an agreement they should be a party to but the content of which is not fully known to them.

The people, Government and the President of the Republic of Serbian Krayina believe that no lasting peace can be established unless the peace process includes the legal and legitimate representatives of Serbian Krayina.

9224 Three Oaks Drive, Silver Spring, MD 20901

phone: 301-565-7839, fax: 301-565-9034

3.8.4.

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JAN 04 '92 08:38PM N.T.I.

P.3

The people and the Government of Serbian Krayina have on several occasions unequivocally expressed their belief that the deployment of UN troops along the line separating the military forces of two sides is the only way to ensure an end to hostilities and help establish a just and negotiated peace settlement of the conflict.

The defense forces of Serbian Krayina, which we assure you are under full command of the legal civilian authorities, have a standing order not to attack Croatian positions. However, the effects of every provocation or attack by Croatian forces will be carefully examined and a measured but highly effective military response will be ordered whenever appropriate.

Also, we have received today a text of the Statement of Dr. Milan Babic, President of the Republic of Serbian Krayina, concerning some actions undertaken by Yugoslav authorities. For your convenience we are providing you with the authorized translation of the Statement.

Sincerely yours

*Zoran B. Djordjevic*  
Zoran B. Djordjevic  
Washington Representative  
of the Republic of Serbian Krayina

THIS FAX CONTAINS FOUR PAGES

JAN 04 '92 08:39PM N.T.I.

P.4

Socialistic Federal Republic of Yugoslavia  
Republic of Serbian Krayina  
Office of the President

Ref.: 01-1/1-92  
Knin, January 4, 1991

**STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIAN KRAYINA  
Regarding the Concept of Engagement of the United Nations  
Peace-Keeping Forces in Yugoslavia**

Concerning the decision of the Presidency of Socialistic Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to accept the Concept for Engagement of the UN Peace-keeping Forces in Yugoslavia, we find it imperative to inform all the concerned parties of the following:

We are astonished by that fact that the representatives of the people of Serbian Krayina were not given any opportunity to convey their views regarding the engagement of the UN peace-keeping force in Yugoslavia to Mr. Cyrus Vance, personal envoy of the Secretary General, during his last visit to the country.

The Republic of Serbian Krayina is ready to fully cooperate with the United Nations on the establishment of peace in Yugoslavia. However, the Republic can not accept any arrangement that would endanger basic human rights and interests of the people of Krayina. We strongly believe that only if the UN forces are deployed in a buffer zone separating aggressive forces of Croatia and defensive forces of Krayina will they protect the interests of Serbian Krayina from continuing Croatian aggression and Serbian population from the danger of impending genocide.

For us, it is inconceivable that certain members of the Presidency, representing Serbia and Montenegro, could accept the withdrawal of all Yugoslav Armed forces from the territory of Serbian Krayina, when people of Krayina repeatedly expressed their decision to remain within Yugoslavia. This is even harder to understand after the position of Serbian Krayina has been accepted by the Convention on New Yugoslavia, which was organized by the same Presidency.

It is absolutely unacceptable and insulting to the Serbian people, who constitute by far the vast majority of the population of the Republic of Serbian Krayina, that the Presidency accepts a Concept which refers to the Serbian Krayina as "the territories within Croatia". That statement does not correspond to the elementary facts.

Concerning the issues of internal government and protection of public order and peace within the Republic of Serbian Krayina, we have to remind all parties concerned that those are the sole responsibilities of freely and democratically elected representatives of the people of Krayina and their Government. No one has the right to make arrangements concerning those issues, while ignoring the presence of legal and democratic authorities of Krayina.

Also, we are expressing our strongest concern and protest of the notion in the Concept, that the legal armed forces of the Republic of Serbian Krayina should be disarmed. It is alarming that

3.8.4.

JAN 04 '92 08:40PM N.T.I.

P.5

the same Concept does not impose disarming of the armed forces of Croatia and even, in a blunt contradiction to the Yugoslav Constitution, legalizes the Croatian Guard as a legal force on Yugoslav soil and thus offers it a chance for further growth and aggression.

We highly respect the efforts of Mr. Cyrus Vance. We expect that he will accept our objections to the text of the Concept and will propose additional guaranties that the territory of Serbian Krayina will not be exposed to further aggression by Croatia and that the Serbian people will be protected from the continuing genocide.

For protection of our human and political rights we are pleading with the whole international community and in particular with the Governments of the United States, Canada, China, Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, India and Russia.

President of the Republic

Dr. Milan Babic

Seal of the Republic  
Serbian Krayina.

The above text is an authorized translation of the Serbian original.

3.8.7.

301

JAN 05 '92 09:13PM N.T.I.

P.1/1

**REPUBLIC OF SERBIAN KRAYINA  
REPUBLIKA SRPSKA KRAJINA  
Washington Office**

**U R G E N T U R G E N T**

**8:00 PM, January 5, 1992**

Honorable Brian Mulroney  
Prime Minister of Canada  
Ottawa, Canada

FAX: 1-613-957-5636

Excellency,

in view of the facts transmitted to your attention by this office today or yesterday, we are free to advise full restraint and caution in adoption of any Resolution on Yugoslavia by the Security Council in the next couple of days.

The most important political group in the region, currently engulfed in this most unfortunate war, the people of Serbian Krayina, have been side-stepped by some Yugoslav officials in the last round of UN mediated negotiations, and were not able to contribute to the peace Concept. Adopting the Concept for Engagement of the UN Peace-keeping Forces and sending those forces into the region, in the situation when the local, democratically elected, Government feels as being manipulated, can only lead to further tensions and eventual failure of the UN effort.

The people and the Government of Serbian Krayina are most eager to cooperate with Mr. Cyrus Vance and the UN peace initiative, but they must, at least, be informed of the content of that initiative.

On behalf of the Government of Serbian Krayina

Respectfully yours

  
Zoran B. Djordjevic

Government of Canada  
Privy Council Office

Gouvernement du Canada  
Bureau du Conseil privé

Ottawa, Canada  
K1A 0A3

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15.1.92

Date: .....

MEMORANDUM TO:

① RBR / Fred [unclear] - info  
② Rierre - action Geoff

Letter to the Prime Minister from:

PMO Ref. No. 2006 067 8107

We have arranged with the Under Secretary's office that the Department's services can be drawn upon in preparing replies to letters which the Prime Minister has received on foreign affairs.

I would be grateful if you could arrange for a reply (within seven working days) to the attached letter for signature at the appropriate level within the Department of External Affairs and with copies to PMO/Correspondence and External Affairs/CMG. I would also welcome your advice on alternative ways of dealing with the matter, if appropriate.

If you have any questions, please call me at 957-5485.

*[Signature]*

John McNee  
Foreign and Defence Policy Secretariat

RECEIVED IN  
JAN 17 1992  
RBR

c.c. EA/CMG

To Under-Secretary of State for  
External Affairs, OTTAWA (RBR)

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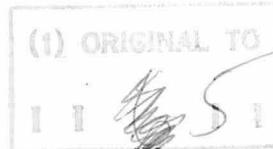
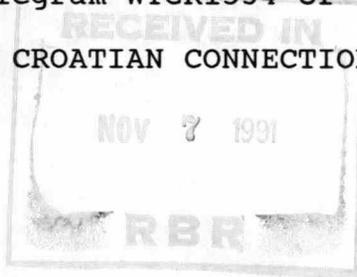
Fm Canadian Embassy, SANTIAGO

October 10, 1991

Ref Our telegram WYGR1534 of 03 October

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Suj CHILES CROATIAN CONNECTION



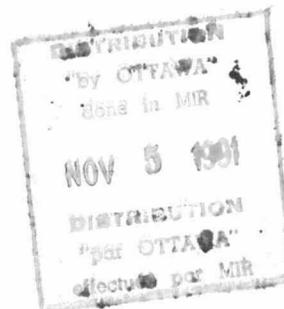
Further to our telegram under reference, we attach information received from the Croatian community in Santiago. While the content is likely to be familiar to you, it would appear that this information reached the community through the Yugoslav Embassy in Santiago. Incidentally, a small group of Croatian women (approximately 6) today picketed the Conference Centre in which the IPU Conference was being held.

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*[Signature]*  
The Embassy

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# The Serbs in Croatia - the Oppression Argument Revisited

I. Crkvencic

Contents	Page
1. Demographic oppression (Table 1)	1
2. Economic and social oppression (Table 2)	2
3. Urbanisation	3

## The Serbs in Croatia - the Oppression Argument Revisited

In 1981, 531,502 Serbs lived in Croatia. Of the 102 districts in the Republic of Croatia the Serbs were an absolute majority in 11 districts, where 26.77% of all Serbs in Croatia lived in 1981. The remaining 73.3 % of Serbs in Croatia lived in almost all the other districts, nearly a half of them in cities. Most Serbs in Croatia live in mixed communities with Croats and other ethnic groups in Croatia.

The 11 districts with an absolute majority of Serbs are situated in three regions of Croatia: Banija and part of Kordun (the districts of Dvor, Hrvatska Kostajnica, Glina, Vojnić, Vrginmost), Eastern Lika (Donji Lapac, Gračac and Titova Korenica) and Northern Dalmacija (Benkovac, Knin, and Obrovac). These regions are poor in natural resources and without major urban and economic centers.

The present ethnic structure of the 11 districts, which formed the nucleus of the Medieval Croatian state, is a consequence of social upheavals caused by the Turkish expansion in Eastern Europe from the 15th century onward. The original Croatian population declined in numbers and new settlers came, mainly from Bosnia.

The motive set forth by the Knin Serbs as the reason for their rebellion in Summer 1990 was their alleged oppression by the Croats. The Serbs from Knin were first joined by the Serbs from other Serbian majority districts, and later by Serbs from other districts in Croatia.

Here are some figures which show that oppression could not possibly be the reason for the Serbian rebellion.

### Demographic oppression

Figures in Table 1 show that the number of inhabitants in these 11 districts has decreased over the last 20 years, with the number of Croats decreasing much more than the number of Serbs. Such a process brought about a decrease in the percentage of Croats in the total population.

Table 1 : The trends in the number of inhabitants of the districts of Croatia with an absolute majority of the Serbian population

District	Total	1971		Total	1991	
		Croats	Serbs		Croats	Serbs
Benkovac	35,562	13,448	19,384	33,078	13,430	18,987
Donji Lapac	9,609	94	9,337	8,049	40	7,839
Dvor	16,379	1,676	16,226	14,636	1390	12,528
Glina	28,336	10,785	16,936	22,997	8,048	13,913
Gračac	14,819	3,107	11,318	11,060	1,548	9,102
Knin	46,679	5,374	40,113	42,337	3,640	37,510
Kostajnica	16,914	5,642	10,744	14,838	4,228	9,258
Obrovac	13,498	5,196	8,093	11,442	3,684	7,540
T. Korenica	14,637	3,009	11,112	11,307	1,899	8,570
Vojnić	9,590	188	9,146	8,190	98	7,420
Vrginmost	21,536	4,866	16,337	16,534	4034	11,673
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>229,539</b>	<b>55,585</b>	<b>168,746</b>	<b>194,469</b>	<b>42,039</b>	<b>144,340</b>
index	100	100	100	87.4	75.6	85.5

- Sources
1. The ethnic composition 1971-1981, Bureau of Statistics of Croatia, Doc, 500.1, Zagreb 1982
  2. Census of population, households and farms 1991, Unofficial results, Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Croatia, Zagreb 1991.

Note: Numbers of Croats and Serbs in districts were counted according to percentages given in the Report.

Allegations that the Serbs in these districts are demographically oppressed are evidently fictional. According to these tables, the demographically oppressed population are the Croats.

**Economic and social oppression**

The territory covered by the above mentioned districts is economically underdeveloped. After the Second World War part of the active agricultural population abandoned agriculture and migrated from the rural areas. Since the jobs created in the secondary and tertiary sectors were not sufficient for those who were abandoning agriculture, part of them had to emigrate. Most of the emigrants were Croats. This was due to the employment policy adopted by the district authorities in which the representatives of the Serbian population played a decisive role.

The district authorities were in a position to influence the emigration trends in different ways, but mainly by labour policy. This was made possible after 1955, when the districts legally became basic political and territorial organizations and basic social and economic communities, with large powers in the social and economic sectors. They became totally independent from Republic authorities when the division into counties was abolished in 1965.

District authorities in the districts with a Serbian majority determined the employment policy. Their power is manifested in the disproportion between the number of Croats in the total population and the number of Croats in the total of the population employed in the district administration and the social sector organizations. The District of Benkovac, with a relatively high percentage of Croats, may serve as an example.

Table 2. The relation of the percentage of Croats in the total population (1981) and the percentage of Croats in the total working population of the Benkovac District (1980)

Employees in:	Total number	Croatians	% Croatians
<i>Companies &amp; public service</i>			
Agroprodukt	94	14	14,9
Kimont	253	24	9,4
IGM Benkovac	195	8	4,1
Jugoplastika	852	138	16,2
Radnik-building sites	271	25	9,2
Radnik-administration	72	6	8,3
High School	115	13	11,3
Community service	34	-	-
Community Court	19	2	10,5
<b>SUBTOTAL I</b>	<b>1905</b>	<b>230</b>	<b>12,7</b>

Local Government

Clerks	141		26		18,4	
Executives	7		1		14,2	
Inspectors	11		2		18,8	
Judges	6		1		16,7	
<b>SUBTOTAL II</b>		<b>165</b>		<b>30</b>		<b>18,2</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2070</b>		<b>260</b>		<b>12,6</b>	

CROATIANS IN THE POPULATION OF THE COMMUNITY : 40,1 %

Source: This data was presented at the Extraordinary Session of the Croatian Parliament in October 1990

The number of people working in the above mentioned organizations is 50 % of all state-employed people in the Benkovac District (3,476 in 1981), so it can be, to a large extent, representative of the relation of the Serbian and Croatian working population.

The Croatian media have repeatedly warned that this disproportion is present in other districts with an absolute Serbian majority, i.e. that the percentage of the state-employed Croats is considerably less than their percentage in the total population of the districts.

All these districts had the official status of underdeveloped districts and had received additional funds for the regular functioning of social services and general development. The Croatian Government regularly covered all business losses of institutions and companies. All these funds were taken from the income of the more developed Croatian districts.

The district authorities were evidently abusing their privileges. With the new Croatian Government this kind of relationship was bound to cease, and the districts, more precisely their Serbian ..... functionaries, started feeling "oppressed".

Urbanization. Rapid increase in the number of Serbs in urban centers

The migration from agricultural areas and the development of secondary and tertiary activities (mostly in towns) increased the numbers of Serbs in the towns. This can be seen from the example ..... of three Northern Dalmatian communities: Benkovac, Knin and Obrovac.

The towns of Benkovac, Knin and Obrovac are relatively small in size and number of inhabitants. Their present number of inhabitants is a consequence of their relatively rapid development over the last 20 years. The increasing number of inhabitants changed the ethnic structure of these towns, which until recently were inhabited mostly by Croats.

The percentage of Croats in the total population of these three urban centers decreased from 78.8% in 1880 to 27.3% in 1981, and the percentage of Serbs increased from 31.6% to 52.2% during the same period. In the last hundred years the percentage of Croats decreased in all the three centers, but mostly in Obrovac (from 75,8 to 16,5%), then Benkovac (75,4 to 20,8) and Knin (65,6 to 15,6%)

The Croatian population was a majority in all three towns until the Second World War, after which their percentage dipped below 50%, and the percentage of the Serbian population started to

increase. This process was the most rapid in Knin, where the percentage of Croats was only 36.6% already in 1953. In Obrovac the Croatian population remained a majority until 1961, and in Benkovac the percentage of Croats fell under 50% in 1971 (30.9%)

The percentage of Croats in the three towns started to decrease more intensely after 1961, when more independence was given to districts. The "surplus" in the Croatian agricultural labour force, brought about by migration from rural areas, had to emigrate, while the same "surplus" of Serbs moved into the towns.

\* REPORTE DE ACTIVIDAD \*

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**PATRICK J. BUCHANAN**

**U.S. must turn up heat on Stalin of the Balkans**



**WASHINGTON**

If the Black Berets of Boris Pugo and tanks of the Red Army were rampaging through Lithuania, Americans would know what to do: suspend aid to Moscow, denounce the crime at the United Nations, impose sanctions, provide moral support for the embattled Lithuanians.

Why, then, are we paralyzed and silent at the ongoing rape of the republic of Croatia by the second largest Red Army in Europe and the Black Berets of Serbian Stalinist Slobodan Milosevic?

For three months — since Slovenia broke free of Belgrade — a bloody war of aggression has been waged against Croatia. First, by Serbian irregulars; now, by the Yugoslav Army, with its blockades of Croatian ports and its air strikes on Croatian towns. Initially, Serb nationalists said they only wanted to liberate Serb-populated areas; but, now, attacks are taking place all over Croatia in a Balkan re-enactment of that wilding attack in Central Park.

Last June, leaders of the European Community, jealous of President Bush's global standing, declared, "This is the hour of Europe!" Since then, they have fumbled the ball repeatedly, showing themselves incompetent to bring peace.

The reasons are familiar. Europeans are hopelessly divided because they are a diverse, contentious and amoral lot who, facing a crisis, immediately consult their own narrowest interests. They ask only one question: How will this affect me? For all the talk of a dynamic new "United States of Europe," they are the same old quarrelsome, disputatious and jealous crowd they always were.

Thus, Berlin supports Slovenia and Croatia, both part of the old Hapsburg Empire, while Paris fears the detached republics will join an emergent German economic bloc. The Brits and Spanish fear that if they support Croatian independence, they may encourage their own independence-minded Welsh, Scots, Catalans and Basques.

So, the slaughter of the Croatians goes on, but where are the Americans who do enjoy a reputation for standing up for principle? Nowhere to be found — having taken a back seat to the squabbling Europeans who will not take the wheel.

Should Bush send the U.S. Seventh Army in nearby Bavaria crashing into Croatia? Of course not. But cannot the White House see that Bush's endless emphasis on order and stability is being translated in Belgrade as U.S. indifference at best, and indulgence at worst, of a war of repression against a democratic republic seeking to shake free of the clammy

hand of Communist control?

Why is America not more supportive of Slovenia and Croatia? No vital U.S. interest is at risk should the artificial creation of Yugoslavia come apart. Indeed, there is little we could do to hold it together, if we wished. As the breakaway republics are modeling their new nations on U.S. ideals, why not take their side?

True, there are billions in outstanding loans to Belgrade made in the past decade by American diplomats.

What can America do? Inform Belgrade that if it does not halt its attacks on Croatia, we are calling in our loans, and putting them in default. Second, state our view that not only is European communism dead but the old Yugoslavia is now history, and not only Croats and Slovenes but Serbs should choose their own future. Then, recognize Slovenia and warn Belgrade if its army does not withdraw we will recognize Croatia — and put Milosevic in the same political basket as Saddam Hussein.

What Milosevic and his crowd are about is creation of a Greater Serbia by using a superior military machine to seize as much territory and as many people as possible.

There is a formula for permanent war in the Balkans. We are living in an age, Margaret Thatcher reminds us, where the notion of one people ruling another against its will is no longer tolerable.

In the crumbling Soviet Union, Great Russian chauvinists are watching Yugoslavia. If Europe and the United States will permit Serbia to bring dissident peoples under its control by force, they may believe there will be no objection if, in the name of keeping all Russians under one roof, Moscow's armies march into Kazakhstan or Ukraine. Serbia's war in the Balkans could be the dress rehearsal for Russia's war to hold those swatches of the old empire where Russians live.

In Yugoslavia, there are deep wounds that have never healed. During World War II, Croatia sided with the Germans; the royalist Draza Mihailovich and his Chetniks with the West; Marshal Tito with Stalin. On all sides, horrific atrocities were committed; no one can undo that terrible history or erase those awful memories.

But such a past makes it imperative the future be built on ideas upon which Serbs, Croats and Slovenes can agree: freedom, liberty, self-determination, majority rule with full guarantee of minority rights, a commitment to the peaceful settlement of disputes, freedom of travel for all citizens, and a right of return.

Not a perfect formula, but it is about the best we have to offer to bring about the greatest measure of justice, tolerance and peace to regions that have known too much injustice, hatred and war. It is the American idea. If there's a better one...

Patrick J. Buchanan writes a column

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BRIEF NEWS BULLETIN IN ENGLISH September 27, 1991  
NO. 313A Number of pages including this one: 3  
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HVATNA IZVEŠTAJNA AGENCIJA - CROATIAN NEWS AGENCY

**TUDJMAN AND WIJNAENDTS HOLD JOINT PRESS CONFERENCE ZAGREB,**  
September 27th (Mina) - Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and EC envoy Henry Wijnaendts held a joint press conference following their meeting in Zagreb. President Tudjman spoke in particular about the recently concluded cease fire agreement and agreements which he had with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Federal Defense Secretary Veljko Kadijevic. He explained the cease-fire agreement is to prevent the loss of human lives and further destruction. The Croatian President stated: "We knew that a cease-fire would not be so easy to carry out. However, the army is continuing their attacks in certain areas". He added that "we especially value the new mission of Ambassador Wijnaendts and the role of the EC monitors."

Ambassador Wijnaendts informed reporters that representatives of the EC asked him to meet once more with conflicting sides to reach a cease-fire. He said that he spoke with Milosevic and Kadijevic regarding proposals for expanding the observer mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Following the talks held with President Tudjman, Ambassador Wijnaendts is returning to Belgrade in order to try and appease the various viewpoints. Wijnaendts conceded that a lasting cease-fire would one day be attained.

**17 EC MONITOR TEAMS ON THE FIELD**

**ZAGREB, September 27th (Mina)** - Seventeen teams of EC monitors are today out in the field in Croatia and Slovenia, advised the mission's spokesman Simon Smith. Four teams are permanently situated in Ljubljana, and then one team each in Karlobag, Osijek, Split, Dubrovnik and Zadar. Two teams are visiting the army garrisons in and around Zagreb.

One team is traveling to Bjelovar to supervise the army complex and if a cease-fire is achieved they will visit ~~Srijem~~ ~~in Srijem~~ ~~the area of the Srijem~~ ~~today to visit the army garrisons.~~

The Zadar team has managed to establish good contacts with Knin while the team in Split came across some difficulties with the army authorities.

A final team is traveling to Belgrade via Hungary where they will establish a permanent base.

**UPDATE ON LATEST EVENTS IN CROATIA**

**ZAGREB, September 27th (Mina)** - There was no peace on the battle fields again last night and there were new victims of the assault by the YA and Serbian terrorists. According to news reports this morning, there were renewed mortar attacks in a wide area around Osijek, in Karlobag, Novska, Slavenska Pozeza and Vinkevo.

**OSIJEK** - According to reports from the State Information Center, last night there were renewed mortar attacks in a wide area around Osijek, in Karlobag, Novska, Slavenska Pozeza and Vinkevo.

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of high calibre were fired at the village damaging houses and businesses. There were no casualties during the attack. Sinja was attacked and 104 mortars were launched from the surrounding villages where Chetnik bases are located. Croatian defense forces did not return fire.

**KARLOVAC** - According to the Karlovac police administration, last night Serbian terrorists from Liku Polje and Sinj members attacked Draznik-Grad and Grahovac (near Slunj). Between 7 and 8 p.m. more than 70 various explosive mines were launched at the towns. One of the projectiles directly hit a house in which 10 people were sleeping. There were several wounded as well.

**NOVSKA** - Following yesterday's fierce attacks by the army and terrorists, most residents of Novska spent the night in shelters. After the mortar attacks had ceased the rest of the night was filled with sporadic shooting incidents. Once the villages of Tanac, Vianjica and Usica were evacuated, terrorists burned the villages, reports Croatian radio. During the night military helicopters were constantly overflying the town on Novska.

**SLAVONSKA POZEGA** - Serbian terrorists from the northwest section of Pozeza attacked the villages of Urijavac, Strazeman, Biskupca and Doljanca. There are still no reports of casualties however damages are high.

**VINKOVCI** - A column of transport vehicles is expected in Vinkovci today to transport the remaining army from the Vinkovci garrison. Residents are remaining in shelter and only necessary services will be operating, reports Croatian radio. According to radio reports terrorist fired from cannons and mortars and attacked the village of Tordince. Terrorists from Pacetina and Silas launched more than 70 mortars. Terrorists also attacked Kerod, Nustar and Antin. So far one person has been found dead and one injured, reports Croatian radio.

**VUKOVAR** - Despite all the signed agreements the army is again attempting to advance in Vukovar, reports Croatian radio. Approximately 150 military vehicles arrived in Lovas last night. The residents of this village have been evacuated. Croatian defense forces have retaliated all aggression.

**OSIJEK** - During the night Serbian terrorists launched mortar shells on a wide area around Osijek. More than 95 mortars were launched between 11 p.m. and 5.45 this morning, from the direction of Bilje. According to Osijek police administration huge material damages were caused. There are no reports of injuries available as yet.

At 6.15 a.m. an artillery attack began on Belisce coming from the direction of Baranja.

According to information gathered by the Red Cross there are 14,874 refugees registered from Baranja and eastern Slavonia. Most of the refugees registering these days are people from the outskirts of Osijek.

(To be continued)

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DUBROVNIK/GRUDA, September 27th (Hina) - Two military fighter jets bombarded the village of Vitaljina, only 30 km from Dubrovnik, yesterday at 5 p.m. Thirty minutes after this, three Navy gunboats attacked the port of Molunat and the village of Djurinici where they attempted a landing. Despite support by rocket launchers and patrol boats, Croatian forces successfully held off the enemy forces. No casualties have been reported among the Croatian forces.

**AGREEMENT REACHED REGARDING WITHDRAWAL OF ARMY FROM ARTILLERY RANGE NEAR SINJ**

SINJ, September 27th (Hina) - Civil authorities for the municipality of Sinj and YA representatives of the Knin Corps yesterday reached a final agreement regarding the cessation of all battle activities. The agreement arranges for the organized departure of the units belonging to the Sinj garrison at the Kukuruzovac artillery range which include engineering and communication regiments. The withdrawal of these units which will leave Sinj will be carried out starting today in the shortest possible time. Sinj authorities are calling on all citizens and members of Croatian forces to do nothing to impede the withdrawal. A prisoner exchange was also carried out. Two Army officers were released for eleven members of the Croatian defense forces.

**SPECIAL SESSION OF SERBIAN ASSEMBLY**

BELGRADE, September 27th (STA/Hina) - The Slovene Press Agency reports that the president of the Serbian Assembly, Aleksandar Bakovic, at yesterday's special session of the Assembly, stressed that the resolution of the YU crisis was only possible in a peaceful manner. This resolution, in his opinion, includes a Belgrade initiative based on the document entitled "Foundations for building future relations in Yugoslavia."

**SERBIA TO CHARGE DESERTERS?**

BELGRADE, September 27th (Hina) - Many difficulties have emerged from the current mobilization of military conscripts in Serbia and many of them have deserted from YA units stationed on Croatian territory. According to well-informed sources who wish to remain anonymous, this was admitted yesterday by Serbian Defense Minister.

In his address on the security situation in the republic, he accused opposition parties, especially Draskovic's Serbian Renewal Movement, for causing the problems. Given what General Simovic said today, Serbian authorities can be expected to act more strictly towards deserters and to criminally prosecute them. These same sources told Hina that in the discussions which followed, several representatives criticized the Federal Defense Secretary General Kadijevic for the failures of the Yugoslav Army in Croatia and for its disorganization.

(Hina - The End)

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09.27.91 04:07 PM  
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09.27.91 10:21 AM POS

**BRIEF NEWS BULLETIN IN ENGLISH** September 27, 1991  
 NO.3138 Total number of pages including this one:4  
 Sending commenced at:20:30

**LANDING OF YUGOSLAV NAVY UNITS ON THE ISLAND OF KORCULA**  
**VELA LUKA, September 27th (Hina)** - According to the Republic Information Center today at 17:30 near Vela Luka on the island of Korcula an unknown number of soldiers landed from a navy gun-boat. It is assumed that the landing is connected with the ultimatum issued by the Yugo-Army to the inhabitants of Vela Luka to return weapons by 16:00 today taken from the army arsenal.

**MEETING OF CROATIAN GOVERNMENT**  
**ZAGREB, September 27th (Hina)** - Croatian Prime Minister Franjo Greguric said today among other things that Croatia has chosen to be independent, sovereign state and it will persevere on its way. He also said that "the Government of the Republic of Croatia has never accepted the identification of the democratic authorities in the Republic of Croatia with the Independent State of Croatia from the second world war... Croatian Government has never refused and will never refuse the possibility of peaceful life together of all citizens regardless of their nationality, religion or political orientation.

**CROATIAN GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE TO MARKOVIC'S PROPOSALS**  
**ZAGREB, September 27th (Hina)** - At its session today the Croatian government concluded that it does not accept the federal prime minister's proposals regarding the reconstruction of the federal government. The Croatian government welcomes the initiative to establish a coordinative body consisting of representatives from each of the republics in order to coordinate activities relating the peaceful disassociation of Yugoslavia.

These conclusions were adopted following discussions referring to Markovic's letter forwarded to the government on September 24. Markovic proposed a coordinative body which would be consisted of himself and republic prime ministers, as well as his proposals for the reconstruction of the federal government.

The Croatian government appraised that once again Markovic and his government have failed to objectively evaluate the situation in Yugoslavia especially in Croatia. They have failed to decisively name the aggressors as being the Republic of Serbia and the YPA and to admit that Yugoslavia no longer really exists, which means that federal bodies have lost their legality and legitimacy.

**STATEMENT BY CROATIAN GOVERNMENT ON UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION**

**ZAGREB, September 27th (Hina)** - The Croatian government appraises the UN Security Council Resolution No. 713 on Yugoslavia as support to the efforts for peace and dialogue in Yugoslavia in cooperation with member states and participants of the CSCE.

This is emphasized in a statement issued by the Croatian government following its session today. The government further supports the continuation of the Conference on Yugoslavia.

(To be continued)

HRVATSKA IZVJEŠTAJNA NOVINSKA AGENCIJA · CROATIAN NEWS AGENCY

41000 ZAGREB, Hrvatska Republika, 10000 Zagreb, Croatia  
 Tel: +385 1 462 1111, 462 1112, 462 1113, 462 1114, 462 1115, 462 1116, 462 1117, 462 1118, 462 1119, 462 1120, 462 1121, 462 1122, 462 1123, 462 1124, 462 1125, 462 1126, 462 1127, 462 1128, 462 1129, 462 1130, 462 1131, 462 1132, 462 1133, 462 1134, 462 1135, 462 1136, 462 1137, 462 1138, 462 1139, 462 1140, 462 1141, 462 1142, 462 1143, 462 1144, 462 1145, 462 1146, 462 1147, 462 1148, 462 1149, 462 1150, 462 1151, 462 1152, 462 1153, 462 1154, 462 1155, 462 1156, 462 1157, 462 1158, 462 1159, 462 1160, 462 1161, 462 1162, 462 1163, 462 1164, 462 1165, 462 1166, 462 1167, 462 1168, 462 1169, 462 1170, 462 1171, 462 1172, 462 1173, 462 1174, 462 1175, 462 1176, 462 1177, 462 1178, 462 1179, 462 1180, 462 1181, 462 1182, 462 1183, 462 1184, 462 1185, 462 1186, 462 1187, 462 1188, 462 1189, 462 1190, 462 1191, 462 1192, 462 1193, 462 1194, 462 1195, 462 1196, 462 1197, 462 1198, 462 1199, 462 1200

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The Croatian government, the statement continues to say, will adhere to its obligations resulting from the September 19 and 22 cease-fire agreements.

The government appraises that the federal foreign secretary, Budimir Loncar is continuing to represent the politics which is partially responsible for the current YU crisis by treating the aggressors, i.e. Serbia and the YPA and Croatia as equals. This attitude of his was culminated with his performance at the Security Council session. The government believes that Loncar has placed himself on the side of those opposing a democratic and just solution to the YU crisis.

The government also believes that the permanent delegate to the UN for Yugoslavia did not show his readiness to support the interests of Croatia and as such the government denies him the right to participate in the UN in the name of the Republic of Croatia.

**WTN CREW RELEASED**

**ZAGREB, September 27th (Hina) -** As reported to Hina, two TV reporters of the American WTN network were released today. The two, a cameraman and his assistant were captured two nights ago in Novi Varos by the Banja Luka army corps. They were taken to Banja Luka and today were released. The two reporters safely made their way back to Zagreb.

**VICTIMS OF TERRORIST ATTACK ON SLAVONSKA POZEGA**

**SLAVONSKA POZEGA, September 27th (Hina) -** In yesterday's attacks in the Slavonska Pozega area and while Serbian terrorist specialist forces were retreating from Pakrac, five guardsmen were killed and another five injured. These details were reported today at the press conference held by the Slavonska Pozega crisis center.

Serbian terrorists have been hidden in the woods on the Papuk mountain and have been abusing Serbian villagers in the area.

Details reported at the conference indicate that terrorist forces in the area have received reinforcements and it is assumed these have come from Nis.

Terrorists are firing mortars, hand bombs which are all from military arsenals. The target of their attacks being the villages of Orljivac, Strazeman, Biskupici and Doljanci.

**TERRORISTS FROM MIRKOVCII ATTACK VILLAGES AROUND VINKOVCI**

**VINKOVCI, September 27th (Hina) -** As the last column headed out of the "Duro Salaj" garrison in Vinkovci towards Serbia, terrorists from Mirkovci started an attack. At 1 p.m. terrorists using long-range weaponry opened fire on Stari and Novi Jankevci. At the same time terrorists attacked Srijemske Lase. Half an hour later terrorists from Mirkovci opened fire at the village of Cerio. Croatian defense forces repulsed against the attack and the shooting stopped. As a consequence of the attack, the village of Cerio was destroyed and the village of Cerio was abandoned.

**REPORT FROM BJELOVAR**

**BJELOVAR, September 27th (Hina) -** Bjelovar police administration reports that at 2.15 p.m. terrorists opened (To be continued)

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- 4 -

refugees from  
Orbovac, reservists opened fire at the bus.

The Konavle Crisis Center has denounced news in Montenegro that Croatian forces mined the highway at the Debeli Brijeg border crossing. The road is passable and the road has not been mined reports the center.

**NILAS: PARTY ARMED GROUPS ILLEGAL**

**ZAGREB, September 27th (Hina) -** Croatian Deputy defense minister, Ivan Milas today stated to Hina that there is only one form of armed forces in the Republic of Croatia which was defined in the Defense Law of June 28, 1991. All other armed groups that are not contained within that law are illegal.

In this light there is no legal basis to act otherwise to the party groupings of the Croatian Party of Rights led by Dobroslav Paraga, stated Milas adding that the emblem of the Croatian defense forces is the only one allowed by law.

**AGANI: NOBODY CAN PREVENT THE REFERENDUM IN KOSOVO**

**PRISTINA, September 27th (Hina) -** The Referendum for a "sovereign and independent Republic of Kosovo" is fleeing with police repression and arrests. Members of electoral commissions and activists of political parties are being taken away and locked up.

The Serbian police has confiscated voting material from many of the booths. Deputy presidents of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, Dr. Fehmi Agani today at a press conference in Pristina stated that the referendum, to which the response has been massive, cannot be prevented. "If however, there is force then we will activate a Resolution of the Sovereignty and Independence of the Republic of Kosovo" which has been passed by the Kosovo Assembly. Agani expressed his belief in the success of the referendum.

**GEORGIJEVSKI: THE LARGEST THREAT TO MACEDONIA IS FROM SERBIA**

**PRISTINA, September 27th (Hina) -** In an interview for the Albanian "Seri and Rinise" the Vice president of Macedonia, Ljupco Georgijevski stated that the "largest threat to Macedonia and the Macedonian people is coming from Serbia which is in decay, and this is why it is dangerous".

"We can see what Serbia is doing in Slovenia, Croatia and in Kosovo and this could easily happen to Macedonia. We are conscious that greater-Serbian chauvinism is the largest threat to the peoples of today's Yugoslavia", said Georgijevski.

Referring to Kosovo, Georgijevski said that "there is no way that Serbia can keep Kosovo. The minimum to be expected for Kosovo is the situation that was existent under the 1974 Constitution, but the Albanians should demand the maximum from Serbia."

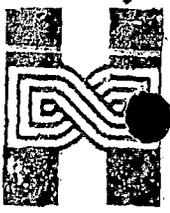
**NEXT BULLETIN WILL BE SENT TOMORROW AFTERNOON.**

(Hina - The End)

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demokratska  
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croatian  
democratic  
union

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Ottawa, Ontario  
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TO: MR. PIERRE GUILMOND

FAX: (613) 995 1277

FR: ANDRE FISTONIC

FAX: 613-238-8367

DATE: 03 SEP. 91

NO. OF PAGES: 2 (INCLUDING THIS PAGE)

AS PER YOUR REQUEST I AM  
SENDING YOU A CURRICULUM VITAE  
FOR DR. ZVONIMIR SEPAROVIC  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
FOR REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

Dr. Zvonimir Šeparović  
Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Republic of Croatia

### **CURRICULUM VITAE**

Zvonimir Šeparović, Ph.D., professor of law, born on September 14, 1928 in Blato on the island of Korčula.

#### **Schooling:**

Elementary school in Korčula  
Secondary school in Dubrovnik and Split

#### **University Education:**

Graduated from the Faculty of Law, University of Zagreb  
Master's degree (Faculty of Law in Zagreb)  
Doctorate (Faculty of Law in Ljubljana)

#### **Specialization:**

Humboldt scholarship in Germany  
(1963-65 and 1979)  
Fulbright scholarship, Warrensburg, USA  
(1972-73)

#### **Professional Experience:**

Journalist of Studentski list (Students' Gazette) (1948)  
Foreign policy commentator of Radio Zagreb from 1949-51  
Judge - District Court in Karlovac (1960)  
- District Court in Krapina (1966)  
- Regional Court of Zagreb (1967)

Professor at the Faculty of Law in Zagreb since 1961 until the present.

Performed the functions of Vice-Dean in 1974-75, Dean of the Faculty of Law in 1985-86, and President of the University of Zagreb from 1989 to 1991.

Professor of Criminal Law and Criminology at the Faculty of Law; Medical Law and Ethics and Essentials of Criminology and Victimology at Postgraduate studies of the Medical School of Zagreb.

Participated in numerous scientific conferences at home and abroad. Lectured at a number of universities in the world, including Universities of Tokyo and Kobe in Japan; Wellington in New Zealand; Sydney, Melbourne, Hobart, Adelaide and Perth in Australia; Penn State, Berkeley, New York, Chicago in the USA; Ontario, Waterloo and McGill in Canada; Marakesh and Cairo in Africa; and Paris, Berlin, Muenster, Naples, Strasbourg and Helsinki in Europe.

<b>UNCLASSIFIED FACSIMILE</b>	<b>TELECOPIE NONCLASSIFIEE</b> <span style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">1/3</span>
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<b>SUITE A D'ONNIEV</b> Mission Permanente du Canada 1 rue du Pré-de-la-Bichette 1202 Genève, Suisse  FAX: 734.79.19 TEL: 733.90.00	<b>FILE/DOSSIER: 45-13-A. &amp; M.E.</b>  <b>DATE: 03 SEPTEMBRE 1991</b>  <b>PAGE 1 OF/DE: 3</b>

FM/DE GENEV YTGR4398 03SEP91

TO/A RBR

INFO

DISTR RWR,RWD,RBD

REF

--- SITUATION IN CROATIA: LETTER TO AMB. SHANNON 26AUG91

Attached is a letter addressed to Ambassador Shannon with a copy of a news article from our local newspaper Journal de Genève.

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<b>DRAFTER/REDACTEUR</b>  ANN CLARK	<b>TELEPHONE</b>  220	<b>APPROVED/APPROUVE</b>  <i>[Signature]</i>
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YTGR 4398  
PAGE 2 OF/DE 3

PERSONAL

Geneva August 26, 1991

Rec 3  
8/18  
To P. Denis

H.E. M. Gerald E. SHANNON  
Ambassador  
Permanent Mission of CANADA  
1, ch. du Pré-de-la-Bichette

1202 GENEVE

FAK to  
EXTORT ZBR  
RWR  
RWB  
RBD

Your Excellency,

Since our last letter (July, 1991) to your Excellency, the situation in Croatia has worsened considerably. Many people, citizens and young members (18 - 19 years old) of the National Guard were killed and often butchered by tschetniks (pls. find attached a copy of an article published in Journal de Genève of July 31, 1991). The well-trained Serbian mercenaries always supported in crucial situations by the "Yugoslav" army tanks and now often by military aviation, are taking a bigger part of Croatia every day.

In spite of courage and bravery on the part of the National Guard and the police force, they are too poorly armed to fight efficiently against tanks, trench mortars and the "federal" aviation.

The Yugoslav army is attacking more and more civilians, women and children. On August 20, the Yugoslav army attacked again with cannon (more than 100 cannon balls fell in the center of Osijek, a major city of 200,000 inhabitants in Slavonia) destroying a bus, a tramway and a school, killing 15 persons (Swiss & French TV). The following day on Aug. 21 a very similar sceneray in Pakrac...etc. The Yugoslav army and tschetniks do not respect any agreement neither the accepted Cease-fire.

All those beautiful ideals: "Democracy", "Human rights", "The right of people to self-determination" (all fulfilled in the case of the young Croatian and Slovene democracies), could not much influence the Western Democracies to make a more effective decision in order to help them. It is extremely depressing and disappointing.

The European Troika and M. H. van den Broek have realized, after many useless attempts, that there is not much sense to communicate with M. Milosevic- the last communist dictator in Europe. However, during this period of time, several hundreds of people were killed. How many more should be killed before the Western Countries take a sensible decision? Croatia and Slovenia need to be recognized in order to be able to defend their liberty more efficiently.

Today Croatia and Slovenia (and very soon Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina) could be saved with a little effort and understanding from the western countries avoiding further loss of life.

We express our deepest consideration and we ask Your Excellency kindly to be a loyal interpreter of our aspiration in service of your government and your President.

For the cultural association  
of Croates and Slovenes in Switzerland  
3000 Bern - 9 / BP 216

Le rôle, une pratique d'interrogatoires des suspects palestiniens de la justice une profonde, ainsi que l'obligation des services de sécurité de se régles de conduite en vigueur. ce qui est appelé par euphémisme «essais physiques», les autorités ont entouvé la porte à tous les ent les partis Mapam, Raiz, Shinnosy. Cette fois-ci le ministre de pourra pas s'en tirer par une «claudant le rapport déséquilibré» flash (le parti communiste), cherer les trente signatures nécessaires du Parlement. Le rapport soucy réaction au Ministère de la les Palestiniens, comparissant unaux militaires, ont très peu de réficir d'un procès équitable. Ariel Sharon, ministre israélien du noncé soir la création d'une nouon juive dans le territoire occupé rapporte la télévision israélienne conservateur a souhaité que ion, appelée Avnech Hafez, et près de la ville palestinienne de plus large jamais entreprise par ajoute la télévision. Quelque vivent parmi 1,75 million de s les territoires occupés. La plus ion compte 15 000 habitants.

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set du 27 octobre au cours  
ue le gouvernement devraient  
ons à nals bien des choses peuv-  
révât une victoire péroriste au  
ja, mais les pronostics sont très  
provinces comme Catamarca,  
et Luján.  
e président Menem souhaiterait  
avec l'opposition représentée  
le Parti radical, mais il userait  
are un tel pacte après les elec-

Christian Yeg

Les huit membres de la Commission européenne ont aussi les nouvelles propositions formulées par la Communauté européenne en vue d'éviter la guerre civile dans cette région des Balkans, véritable mosaïque de groupes ethniques et religieux. Mais les diplomates occidentaux doutent qu'une solution rapide puisse être trouvée à un antagonisme séculaire.  
Les heurts entre Serbes et Croates se sont poursuivis dans la nuit de lundi à mardi en Croatie où plusieurs villages ont été touchés par des tirs au mortier et à la mitrailleuse. Cependant, pour la première fois depuis plusieurs jours, aucun mort n'a été signalé.  
La CEE a souligné que, dans un premier temps, toutes les factions devaient accepter l'instauration d'un cessez-le-feu en Croatie.  
Les observateurs de la CEE ont réussi sans grand

600 000 Serbes hostiles à l'indépendance de la république.  
«La CEE ne peut pas imposer un cessez-le-feu», a déclaré un diplomate européen. «Bruxelles a fait savoir lundi que les dirigeants yougoslaves devaient prendre leurs responsabilités et accepter un cessez-le-feu, après quoi nous les aiderons à le faire respecter».  
Invité avec les cinq autres chefs des républiques yougoslaves à assister à la réunion, le président croate Franjo Tudjman a décliné l'offre en dénonçant l'escalade du «terrorisme» des nationalistes serbes en Croatie.  
Le ministre croate de l'Information, Hrvoje Hitrec, a déclaré de son côté à des journalistes que les propositions de la CEE et les nouvelles tentatives de cessez-le-feu s'apparentaient «pour le moment au mirage».

# Le silence de plomb de Milena

La jeune réfugiée croate - appelons-la Milena - est en état de choc. Il est trois heures mardi matin dans la petite ville de Kutina, à 80 kilomètres au sud-est de Zagreb, et les 247 Croates - des femmes et des enfants pour la plupart - viennent juste d'arriver à bord d'un convoi de tracteurs et de remorques. Ils fuient tous les villages de Struga, Golabavac, Kezibrod, Zamclaca et d'autres, situés dans la région le Dvor na Uci, contrôlés maintenant par les nationalistes extrémistes serbes et l'armée fédérale yougoslave.

Struga n'aurait pu riposter à l'attaque serbe par crainte de toucher le bouclier humain», assure Ivan Mladjenovic, un fermier de 44 ans. Le groupe de civils était obligé d'avancer devant deux camions remplis de Serbes, dont l'un était muni d'une mitrailleuse lourde anti-aérienne. Sommés de se rendre, les policiers ont déposé leurs armes en imaginant qu'ils deviendraient prisonniers, tout comme les autres. Rien du tout...

Dragica Antinovic, une habitante de Struga rachet. «Les militaires ont évacué trois blessés croates sur le village serbe de Dvor na Uci et les ont déposés à bas avant de revenir sur Struga pour récupérer d'autres blessés. Au retour des militaires, les blessés avaient été exécutés.

Les réfugiés de Struga, atteints tous par l'hygiène frénésie de la liberté et de la sécurité retrouvées, font tous - de manière, certes, incohérente - le même récit. Blessés achevés, prisonniers mutilés, femmes violées... La liste n'est pas complète. Ajoutez à cela les attaques violentes de la part des chars d'assaut de l'armée fédérale contre les policiers croates dans la région de Glina, à 60 kilomètres seulement au sud-est de Zagreb, et la photo l'ensemble en devient assez éloquent.

Nikola Jukic, charpentier de 57 ans, n'éprouve pourtant aucune rancune envers ses voisins et ses amis serbes. «L'un de mes amis serbes, dont j'avais réparé la maison, m'a prévenu de l'imminence de l'attaque», dit-il. «Lorsque nous sommes partis du village, tous nos voisins serbes avaient les larmes aux yeux et nous ont souhaité bonne chance».

C'est dans ce contexte que la Communauté européenne a décidé d'envoyer ses équipes d'observateurs non armés pour séparer les deux camps. Ceux-ci sont supposés prendre position autour des enclaves serbes de Croatie et patrouiller toutes les régions conflictuelles, de la manière dont cela se passe depuis deux semaines en Slovénie voisine. Parallèlement, la CEE propose aux policiers croates de constituer des patrouilles mixtes pour «sauver le respect du cessez-le-feu». Si la situation n'était pas aussi dramatique, on serait presque tenté de sourire. Peut-être faudra-t-il que des observateurs occidentaux se fassent tuer en Croatie pour que l'Europe saisisse enfin l'ampleur du conflit.

## DE NOTRE ENVCYÉ SPÉCIAL: VLADIMIR VANOV

Sur les treize mille habitants, seuls 1420 étaient Croates. Les quatre derniers jours ont été un véritable cauchemar pour eux... Pourquoi ces villages ont-ils été attaqués, combien de morts cela a-t-il fait, qu'est-ce que cela signifie sur l'échiquier politico-militaire?... On est presque tenté de dire que les réponses à ces questions n'ont plus la moindre importance, tant il est vrai que la guerre civile entre Serbes et Croates est entrée dans le cercle vicieux de la violence.

La pâleur presque cadavérique, le regard fixe, le tremblement et le bras en écharpe ne réussissent pas à enlever cette beauté majestueuse de la jeune Milena. Une beauté silencieuse, car son état de choc l'a visiblement plongé dans un mutisme total. Il serait inhumain d'essayer de l'interroger... La jeune fille, au même titre que quarante autres personnes, a servi d'otage et de bouclier humain aux nationalistes serbes qui ont attaqué vendredi et samedi derniers les villages de Dvor na Uci. Avant de pouvoir s'échapper, les Serbes l'ont passée à tabac.

«Les sept policiers croates assurant la défense de

Mila Begic, habitant de Struga, était là. «Les Serbes ont obligé les policiers à se déshabiller et les ont passés à tabac à coups de crosses jusqu'à ce que leurs corps devenaient une plaie ouverte.» Un Serbe, Predrag Orlovic, que Begic a reconnu comme vivant dans le voisinage, a alors sorti son poignard et a attaché les yeux de deux policiers. «Ils hurlaient de douleur et de peur», poursuit Begic. Après, les policiers - même ceux dont les yeux avaient été arrachés - ont été obligés de courir, nus, dans un champ. «Les Serbes ont tous commencé à leur tirer dessus...», affirme Begic. Truffés de balles de mitrailleuses les corps des policiers croates se sont répandus sur le sol. «Mais l'un d'entre eux vivait encore», explique Bogic. «Le Serbe Orlovic s'est alors approché, lui a soulevé la tête et l'a achevé...»

## Exécutions sommaires

C'est seulement à la suite de ces scènes que l'armée fédérale yougoslave s'est décidée à intervenir. «Deux tanks de l'armée arboraient le drapeau des «Tchetniks» serbes, soutient Ivan Mladjenovic. Les corps des policiers assassinés ont été évacués vers l'hôpital de Sisak, en territoire contrôlé par les Croates, plongeant les médecins locaux dans l'horreur. La télévision croate a diffusé ces images à titre de témoignage des atrocités commises par les Serbes.

Document disclosed under the Access to Information Act / Document divulgué en vertu de la Loi sur l'accès à l'information  
James Baker, à Moscou, à l'occasion du sommet Bush-Gorbatchev, s'est entretenu mardi matin avec des dirigeants israéliens, par téléphone. a-t-on déclaré de source américaine autorisée, sans plus de précisions.  
Le secrétariat d'Yitzhak Shamir, le ministre israélien, a confirmé cette conversation téléphonique. James Baker, a-t-il ajouté, après-venu Yitzhak Shamir qu'il déciderait d'ici 24 heures de sa visite ou non en Israël, dans la semaine.  
Avant de donner sa réponse sur sa participation à des négociations directes avec les Arabes, Israël fit attendre une «clarification» de Washington sur la composition de la représentation palestinienne.

YTGR 4398 P. 3/3

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PAGE 3 OF 3

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SFRY: Croatian Assembly Endorses New Government

LD@3@8123291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian  
1134 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Summary] Zagreb, 3 Aug (TANJUG) -- The Croatian Assembly endorsed the proposal of Prime Minister Designate Franjo Greguric on a new Croatian government:

- Franjo Greguric - prime minister
- Milan Ramijak, Mate Branic, and Zdravko Tomac - deputy prime ministers
- Enzo Lirelli - minister of energy and industry
- Jozo Martinovic - minister of finance
- Zvonimir Separovic - minister of foreign affairs
- Gojko Susak - minister of immigration *EMIGRATION*
- Luka Bebic - minister of defense
- Bosiljko Miletic - minister of justice and administration
- Josip Bozicevic - minister of transport and communications
- Davorin Rudolf - minister of navigation
- Ivan Iarnaj - minister of agriculture and forestry
- Vlatko Pavletic - minister of education and culture
- Bernardo Jurlina - minister of labor and social policy
- Petar Kriste - minister of trade
- Ivan Vekic - minister of internal affairs
- Ivan Citric - minister of environment, urban planning, and construction
- Andrija Hebrang - minister of health
- Ante Covic - minister of technology and information
- Zvonimir Baletic, Drazen Budisa, Ivan Cesar, Zivko Juzbasic, Vladimir Veselica, Muhamed Zulic, and Stjepan Zdunic - minister's without portfolio
- Ministers of information and tourism have not yet been appointed.

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INFC BNATO VNACE GENEV PRGUE HAGUE PILLAROTT/RCI  
DISTR MINA USS DMC IFB RBD JLA ORD OSD OSS OSSE OSSW BMM  
---YUGC:CINS IN CROATIA

28JUN EDITION OF EUROPEAN NEWSPAPER ON YUGO REPORTS INTER ALIA  
QUOTE BETWEEN THEM.SLOVENIA AND CROATIA HAVE 140,000 MEN UNDER  
ARMS-ONLY 40,000 FEWER THAN NATL ARMY.THE CROATIAN FORCE INCLUDES  
5,000 CIN CRCATS WHC HAVE JOINED IN RESPONSE TO A CALL TO HELP  
DEFEND THEIR HOMELAND UNQUOTE.WE SPOKE WITH CROAT REPUBLIC  
DEPUTY MINDEF(AND CDN)SUSAK 30JUN WHC SAID 5,000 FIG WAS TOTALLY  
WRONG.HE SAID THERE WERE ONLY ABOUT 3 CDNS SERVING IN CROAT FORCES.  
ASKED IF 5,000 FIG MIGHT REF TO NUMBER IN CDA WHO HAD RESPONDED  
TO HIS CALL TO STAND AT READY WITHIN CDA,HE REPLIED THIS WAS  
MORE PLAUSIBLE.

2.SUSAK SAID HE BELIEVED SLOVENIA HAD PUSHED ITS INDEPENDENCE  
TOO FAR TOO FAST  
CCC/004 020930Z ZLGR2565

ACTION **CDN EYES ONLY**  
SUITE A L'INTERFERENCE

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FILE	20-0000-14
A7-J	A7

**S C R E T CANADIAN EYES ONLY**

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---YUGO:CONSULTS IN ZAGREB

(FOR FURTHER DISTR ONLY AS YOU DEEM APPROPRIATE).

POL COUNSELLOR VISITED ZAGREB 22MAY EXPECTING TO HOST CROATIAN REPUBLICAN MINISTER FOR MIGRATION GOYKO SUSAK (A CDN CITIZEN) TO LUNCH. INSTEAD, SUSAK DID NOT/NOT SHOW BUT SENT ASSISTANT MINISTER FOR MIGRATION, DR. IVAN SIMEK TO HOST POL COUNSELLOR; ONLY EXPLANATION OFFERED WAS THAT WITH CROATIA IN WAR SITN, SUSAK WAS FULLY OCCUPIED. SUSAK APPEARS TO WEAR TWO REPUBLICAN HATS: MIGRATION MINISTER AND LEPUTY MINDEF, WITH BOTH TO SOME EXTENT BEING RELATED AS WILL BE APPARENT FM BELOW. SIMEK SAID HE IN EFFECT RUNS MIGRATION MINISTRY FOR SUSAK AND, AS IT TURNED OUT PROVIDED INTERESTING INFO ALTHOUGH ONLY BECAME EXPANSIVE AFTER SECOND BOTTLE OF WINE. COUNSELLOR AND SIMEK WERE JOINED FOR TIME BY RESTAURANT PROPRIETOR, DARKO BELUSIC, WHO CLAIMS TO BE CDN LANDED IMMIGRANT RETURNED TO CROATIA SOME YRS AGO. PLSE PROTECT ALL THAT FOLLOWS.

2. SIMEK ACKNOWLEDGED AUTHENTICITY OF SUSAKS FEB91 LET TO CROATS ABROAD AS PER PILLAROTT REFTTEL, SAYING HE IN FACT DRAFTED IT, WITH SUSAK MERELY SIGNING IT. SIMEK WAS INITIALLY

...2

PAGE TWO ZLGR2460 S E C R E T CANADIAN EYES ONLY

COY AT RESPONDING TO QUERIES ABOUT RESPONSE TO LET, SAYING QUOTE MANY, MANY CROATS ABROAD HAD ANSWERED CALL FOR FINANCIAL SUPPORT AND VOLUNTEERS. IT WAS ONLY AFTER SECOND BOTTLE OF WINE HE ADMITTED TO APPROX 5,000 CDNS PRESENTLY IN CROATIA. SIMEK STRESSED INTENT OF SUSAK LET HAD NOT/NOT BEEN TO PROMPT RUSH OF VOLUNTEERS TO CROATIA BUT RATHER ENCOURAGE THEM TO STAND AT READY IN COUNTRIES ABROAD; CROATIA COULD PROFIT MORE AT THIS STAGE FROM THEIR CASH REMITTANCES. HE SAID THOSE VOLUNTEERS ARRIVING FROM CANADA, USA, FRG, AUSTRALIA ETC WANTING TO DEFEND CROATIA WERE SCREENED WITH MENTAL AND PHYSICAL TESTS THEN GIVEN 3 MONTHS MILITARY TRAINING. MANY OTHERS WERE CHANNELLED INTO GOVT MINISTRIES, ENTERPRISES, ETC. HE SAID VOLUNTEERS, AFTER MILITARY TRAINING MAKE QUOTE GOOD KILLERS UNQUOTE.

3. ACCORDING TO SIMEK AND BELUSIC ACQUIRING WEAPONS WAS NO/NO PROBLEM - BELUSIC CLAIMED HE, HIMSELF, HAD KALASHNIKOV (AK-47) AND MOST CROATS WERE ARMED; ACCORDING TO SIMEK OFFICIAL PRICE FOR AK-47 WAS APPROX USD 250; ON BLACKMARKET IN ZAGREB, ACCORDING TO BELUSIC USD 1,000 - BUT CROAT PATRIOTS ENSURED PURCHASE PRICE WAS NO/NO PROBLEM FOR ANYONE INTERESTED. ACCORDING TO BELUSIC, UZIS WERE AVAILABLE ON STUTTGART BLACKMARKET FOR USD 750. BELUSIC SAID HE PERSONALLY KNEW NUMBER OF CDNS CURRENTLY IN CROATIA IN ANSWER TO CALL, ALL OF WHOM STAYING

...3

PAGE THREE ZIGR2460 S E C R E T CANADIAN EYES ONLY

WITH RELATIVES. HE MENTIONED AMONG HIS COUSINS (WE THINK)  
TWC IN CDN AIR FORCE WHO WERE READY TO RETURN IF NECESSARY.

4. SIMEK SAID THERE WERE 3 MILLION CROATIANS ABROAD; 80-100,000  
IN CDA; 1 MILLION WERE PREPARED TO COME TO AID OF CROATIA.

HE SUGGESTED MONEY WAS POURING IN. HE SAID (NOT/NOT NECESSARILY  
IN THIS CONTEXT) THERE WAS PROPOSAL BY SOME WEALTHY  
ENTREPRENEURS TO SET UP CDA-CROATIA BANK, MENTIONING IN  
PARTICULAR CIN BY NAME OF HERAK(?).

5. ASKED ABOUT UBVA, SIMEK SAID IT WAS SERB SECRET SERVICE  
ACTIVE IN CROATIA, BUT CROATS HAD THEIR OWN RESPONSE TO UBVA.

6. WHEN FIRST ASKED, AND IN PRESENCE OF BELUSIC, SIMEK SAID  
CROATIA WLD NEVER CONTEMPLATE SEEKING DEAL TO CARVE UP  
BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA. LATER, HOWEVER, AFTER MUCH WINE AND IN ABSENCE  
OF BELUSIC SIMEK WAS MORE EXPANSIVE; HE SAID THERE HAD BEEN  
AT LEAST ONE MTG BETWEEN CROATIAN PRES TUDJMAN AND SERB PRES  
MILOSEVIC AT WHICH LATTER WAS PREPARED TO CONCEDE SERB  
MAJORITY KNIN REGION OF CROATIA TO CROATIA IN RETURN FOR  
SERB MAJORITY REGION OF BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA. SIMEK SAID HE MET  
WITH BOSNIAS CROATIAN PARTY LEADER, KLJUIC JUST BEFORE LUNCH,  
WHO ASKED WHAT WAS WANTED OF HIM. SIMEK TOLD KLJUIC TO KEEP  
LOW PROFILE. ASKED IF BOSNIA REPUBLIC PRES AND MUSLIM PARTY  
LEADER IZETBEGOVIC WAS PARTY TO SECRET TUDJMAN-MILOSEVIC  
DEAL, SIMEK SAID IZETBEGOVIC HAD INDICATED HE WLD GO ALONG.

...4

PAGE FOUR ZLGR2460 S E C R E T CANADIAN EYES ONLY  
ASKED IF PAYOFF FOR BOSNIAS MUSLIMS WLD BE FIRST MUSLIM  
STATE IN EUROPE, SIMEK NODDED YES. HOWEVER, SIMEK SAID,  
NEITHER TUDJMAN NOR/NOR MILOSEVIC CLD AFFORD POLITICALLY  
TO ADVANCE THIS OPTION PUBLICLY NOW, WITH ITS GREATER  
CROATIA RESONANCE AND ITS APPARENT SELL-OUT BY MILOSEVIC  
OF CROATIAS SERBS. IN ANY EVENT, BEFORE THIS OPTION BECAME  
VIABLE, SIMEK SAID HE WAS SURE THERE WILL BE WAR, WITH  
NATIONAL ARMY (JNA) CONSIDERING ITSELF COMPELLED TO TAKE  
ACTION. HOWEVER, ACCORDING TO SIMEK, THERE WERE TWO IMPORTANT  
INHIBITORS TO SUSTAINED MILITARY INTERVENTION: FIRST, JNA  
WLD BE FRUSTRATED BY INTERNAL DIVISIONS AND SECOND, SERBS  
KNEW CIVIL WAR RISKED OPENING UP THEIR FRONTS WITH  
ETHNIC-ALBANIANS, MACEDONIANS, BULGARIANS. THESE THREATS  
WLD MAKE DEAL AS ABOVE MORE ATTRACTIVE, BUT ONLY AFTER  
FIGHTING STARTED.

CCC/070 241100Z ZLGR2460



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Pierre :

As per our conversation.  
I'm sending this to file ... If you  
feel I should do otherwise, pls. advise.

Thank  
Charles

MINISTERIAL CORRESPONDENCE UNIT \*\*\* CPGM  
UNITE DE CORRESPONDENCE MINISTERIELLE \*\*\* CPGM

ACTION REQUEST/FICHE DE SERVICE

From/De : HON JOHN A FRASER MP  
SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

No.: A-04326-91

Subject/Sujet : YUGOSLAVIA;CROATIA SITUATION;RASKOVIE  
Classification: POLITICS EAST EUROPE \* POLITIQUE EUROPE DE L'EST

Action div./Dir. resp.: RBD/CPGM  
Info : MINA/ARCHIBALD

Let./Tel. dated Let./Tel. en date du =====	Date sent to division Date d'envoi a la direction =====	Deadline date Echeance =====
25 APR 91	07 MAY 91	**22 MAY 91**

Comments/Commentaires

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A-04326-91 RBD/CPGH  
INFO: MINA/ARCHIBALD

THE SPEAKER  
LE PRÉSIDENT

April 25, 1991

The Right Honourable Joe Clark, P.C., M.P.  
Secretary of State for External Affairs  
Room 165, East Block  
House of Commons,  
K1A 0A6

*My dear Mr. Clark*  
Dear Colleague:

Please find enclosed a copy of the correspondence I received from the President of the Serbian Democratic Party along with my reply.

I trust this information will be useful.

Yours sincerely,

  
John A. Fraser

Enclosures

O/SSEA

80 1991

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Prof. Jovan Rašković, M.D., S.C.  
President  
Serbian Democratic Party  
Milovana Marinkovića 7  
11 000 Beograd

House of Parliament  
P.O. Box 950  
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0A6  
Canada

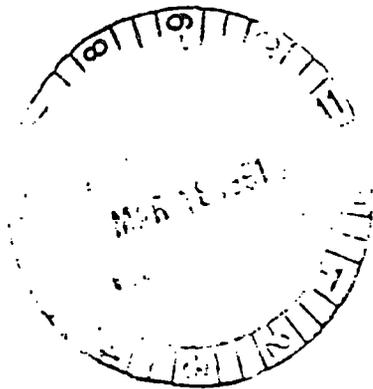


Dear Sirs,

I am free to send the "Declaration of the Position and Rights of the Serbian people in the Republic of Croatia" to the members of your Parliament with hope that doing so I contribute to spreading of the truth about my people.

Respectfully yours

Dr. Jovan Rašković  
President of the  
Serbian Democratic Party



DECLARATION  
OF THE POSITION AND RIGHTS OF THE SERBIAN PEOPLE IN THE  
REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

The Serbian Democratic Party wants to draw the attention of the international and domestic public to the difficult and tragic situation of the Serbian people in the Republic of Croatia.

The new Croatian state as one of the federal units of Yugoslavia is establishing a regime of ethnocracy and parliamentary tyranny over the Serbs in Croatia.

The State of Croatia, as a federal unit, performs an instrumental aggression upon the Serbs who are its inhabitants and citizens. It does not recognize the Serbian national being in Croatia, it denies it and expels it from the social life.

Besides, there is a systematic aggression of the institutions. That is the aggression demonstrated by the Croatian Parliament, the Croatian Government, all political institutions and non-political organizations. What they have in common is a tendency to establish a control over the Serbian being, to limit it and subdue it.

The third, but the most unpleasant, invisible and latent, at the same time the most perfidious and most successful anti-Serbian aggression is the aggression of the mind. It is an aggression that has successfully been implanted into a large part of the Croatian people, imposed not only by the Croatian Democratic Organization, as the governing party, but also by

all Croatian parties, which are always united when the Serbian people is in question. This form of the aggressive mind is the most sinister achievement of the European civilization. Aggression is demonstrated towards the Serbs on the streets, at working places, in factories, in schools and other institutions. The examples of such terrible aggression are numerous. That aggression has caused a mass migration of the Serbs from Croatia. To illustrate this just one example will do. At this moment fifteen experienced psychiatrists, Serbs, who were educated and have been working in Croatia are looking for a job in Serbia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Some of them have already moved to Serbia and found a job there. But that is not all. The Republic of Croatia, as a federal unit, is a militaristic state. Militarization has entered all the pores of the social and political life of Croatia. The State arms reliable people. And there are lots of them. According to the official data eighty thousand civilians are armed in Croatia at the moment. It is a threat as well as a biological pressure on the Serbian national being in Croatia. It is even more difficult for the Serbian people when we have in mind that, as it is well-known, during World War II the Croatian ustaše /fascists/ committed a monstrous genocide when more than one million Serbs and Jews were killed. At this moment we do not expect a more lasting genocide, but the fear of the Serbian people of a genocidal "St. Bartholomew Day" is quite real.

A spiritual and psychological preparation for a mass manslaughter is obvious in providing an alibi for a massacre. Some well-known Croatian journalists point out that some Serbs have freed themselves from the control of the Croatian

- 3 -

state and that they might act independently and aggressively. The truth is that the Serbian people in Croatia is barehanded and unprotected from a repeated genocide. General Martin Špegelj, the minister of the Armed Forces of the new Croatian state spoke, as it was obvious from the documents presented both to the Yugoslav and world public, about "slaughtering" the Serbs in Croatia. It is because of this announcement and threat that the Serbs hide their children in Serbia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The life of the Serbs in Croatia is getting unbearable.

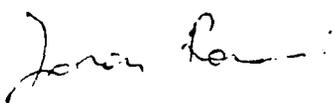
The leaders of the Croatian state preach democracy rhetorically and for the needs of the outside world. On the internal plan they establish a practice of threatening, violence and militarism.

This Declaration was meant to give a description and the data of the ethnocentric and militant Croatian power and policy. It is therefore necessary to inform the world public and ask for help from the international community.

In this respect we address you expecting your understanding, support and help whose forms and content we would discuss with you subsequently.

President of the Serbian  
Democratic Party

Donji Labac  
February 16, 1991.

  
/Dr. Jovan Rašković/

- 4 -

This is to be sent to:

1. The world public through the best-known means of public information i.e. world agencies,
2. Domestic public through all means of public information,
3. European and world institutions for the protection of human, national and man's rights,
4. Parliaments of the outstanding European and world countries,
5. Representative bodies and governmental agencies of the SFRY, the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Serbia,
6. All institutions and individuals interested, both in the country and abroad.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE DEBATE ON THE FIRST ITEM ON THE  
AGENDA AT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONFERENCE OF THE S D S

Yugoslavia's historical chronometer is striking its last minutes. It is obvious that the second Yugoslavia is passing away. Today's federal organs resemble pathologists gathered around a cadaver rather than politicians in an attempt to wake the political and state creation that has died out. The two greatly opposed concepts are the concept of federal organization and the confederate concept.

Arguments in favor of federation are historically and ethnically established and, according to their character, they are peaceful and democratic. Their accordance with the requests of the European civilization is obvious.

The Serbs in Croatia as well as the Serbian people as a whole are radically opposed to the confederate structure and are rejecting every possibility of accepting confederation of the existing republics. Confederation is a false and vulgar fraud. It is false firstly because it immediately recognizes and accepts the existing illegal borders, especially those between Croatia and Serbia and also between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, which are not constitutional.

They have been determined in accordance with political aims and political criteria of the KPJ (Yugoslav Communist Party.) They have served for nearly fifty years in order to preserve a certain political system. And with the Titoist system coming apart, their historical foundation is no longer valid.

Those borders, incidentally lacking an international agreement, weren't democratically determined; they were imposed by party leaders and therefore they represent no serious ethnic distribution. If confederation were accepted, approximately 2.5 million Serbs would become national minority in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Turning a people into a national minority isn't merely the question of that people's dignity; it is the process of annullating the people and depriving it of its marks. The confederation would increase national conflicts and frustration as it would deepen multi-national crises. After all, this is already occurring in newly-created Croatia, today's Yugo-confederation. The Serbs in Croatia bear the brunt of a Serbo-phobic ideology. The new Croatian confederate state, i.e. its Assembly (Sabor) denies the Serbian people establishment of its national being. Not a single idea, if only it differs from those within the HDZ, can pass in the Croatian Assembly. All our attempts, even the most lenient, remain in vain. It is indeed a tyrant parliament, one that allows no one to establish a different combination from the one that it itself establishes. Even we, with "straight and clean attitudes" toward that parliament are asked a question with a political answer: were the elections free and was a free parliament elected?

If so, we are furthermore told, there is no reason for us to rebel, and we should remain loyal to this parliament. Our reply is clear and simple: Hitler came to power by legal means too, was elected by the election committee; yet what matters is what had become of that power. Today, the Croatian leadership is working on anti-Serbian projects of chauvinism and racism, and such projects revive the ideas of genocide that has reigned in the state which is the spiritual choice of the present Croatian State, as was openly proclaimed by today's Croatian president during the election campaign. If a bestial spirituality is accepted as source of the state, it is then certain that previous victims of this bestial spirituality have practically and psychologically been put in a situation of fear and expectance of a relapse. It is therefore no wonder that the main problem of the Serbian people in Croatia is fear of a renewed oppression and, eventually, fear of genocide. This fear does not lessen the leadership of the Croatian State; on the contrary - it supports it. Aggressive and psychopathically habituated Šeks and Djodans enter the scene, sometimes followed by the seemingly peaceful Mesićs. Our reply: we cannot accept the Ustashi attitude and ideology, which is exactly what ordinary Ustashi are like.

The Serbian people in Croatia are in a bad position. The evil and threatening darts of an instrumental aggression by the Croatian State, that not only does not recognize the

Serbian national being but also denies it and excludes from social life, are being thrown at us. Yet these are not the only evil darts. Another part of aggression is a more aggressive institution of the system, including the parliament, the ministry, almost all political institutions and non-political organizations. What they all have in common is total control of the Serbian being and how to limit and expel it. The third and the most unpleasant anti-Serbian aggression, invisible and hidden though at the same time most perfidious and most successful, is aimed at the Serbs in the streets, at work, in schools and in firms. It is an aggression of conscience skillfully developed and deeply rooted into the Croatian people, forced upon not only by the HDZ but also by all Croatian parties which are in agreement whenever it comes to the Serbian people in Croatia. This form of conscience is the darkest and the most evil accomplishment of the European civilization.

The latest developments in Yugoslav Presidency, a rather active engagement of the Army, the created atmosphere of civil war in Yugoslavia, the forced and "accusing" reactions of the Croatian leadership (all skillfully transmitted by the media to the Croatian people and their diasporas) and, above all, disclosure of the documents revealing aggressive preparations by the Croatian State, aimed at the JNA, the Serbs in Croatia and the Yugoslav integrity, all obviously show that certain people at the very top of the new and "democratic" Croatian government have been preparing an attack on the JNA, Yugoslavia, and the Serbs in Croatia.

Such an attack would probably end in a repeated genocide of the Serbian people. Therefore there was no question of the JNA intervening in Croatia and breaking down the Croatian State and its political system. It was in fact the JNA and the Yugoslav State that have been attacked. The Army had undertaken only defensive actions. We are certain that the Croatian Assembly was supposed to join in the game as well and, according to the monstrous constitution passed merely a month ago, it would have proclaimed the independent State of Croatia. This intention was abandoned however, most likely due to the latest proof the JNA has discovered and released to the people of Yugoslavia and to the world.

The Croatian leadership's reaction was hysterical, i.e. it was very dramatic and full of untruths. Unfortunately, it was passed on to the greater part of Croatian people. What the Croatian general, Martin Špegelj, declared, what he discussed with minister Boljkovec, as well as many other details in that video film, undoubtedly show that new Luburics are being promoted in Croatia. Such an open story of organized crime exists neither in Himler's nor in Hitler's archives.

We do hope that all of the above will help open the Croatian people's eyes and make them realize that the JNA, the Serbs in Croatia, and the State of Yugoslavia have no ill-intended plans whatsoever aimed at the Croatian people. If the Croatian people will not renounce their old and new Luburics or their old and new <sup>potential</sup> Pavelics, it is then certain that we, the Serbs in Croatia, haven't a single reason to live together with the Croatians in the Croatian State.

History repeats itself. The initial Yugoslavia had been betrayed and destroyed by Austro-Hungarian-oriented Croatian generals; today, it is being destroyed by Tito's Croatian generals (Špegelj and Tuđman), each in his own way. After this coup, a historical relapse of genocide of the Serbian people would be likely to follow. It would mean the same over and over again.

We are offering obviously utopian, yet very sincere reasons, in favor of federation. It is our understanding that these reasons are reasonable from both the political and national standpoints. It is the peace-making, and the only possibility for all Yugoslav regions inhabited by all Serbian people

to establish a democratic system based on the sovereignty of each and every independent individual, each human being, and each citizen. Such Yugoslav federation would ensure all group freedoms and it would bring the nationally imposed pluralism and religious intolerance to an end.

Expecting this Yugoslav democratic determination to win is difficult, for the existing constitution of republics, especially in Croatia and Slovenia, is centrifugal and confederate. Yugoslavia today is being torn apart by certain disintegrative factors which are political as well as spiritual, moral, and finally economic. There is little hope for Yugoslavia to remain a free community. However, breaking Yugoslavia apart would result in a completely different construction of Yugoslav and Balkan regions. What are the options? In the first place, it is the residuary Yugoslavia,

without Croatia and Slovenia. Nowadays we don't have a single democratic or non-democratic reason for Slovenia or Croatia to remain part of Yugoslavia. However, we strongly object to the Serbian people leaving Yugoslavia and settling in independent Croatia. We must point out that Croatia is free to become separate, though with no historical or ethnic Serbian regions. Residuary Yugoslavia will obtain new energy to invest into European processes. Yet regardless of it all, the national <sup>parties</sup> who hold the power in Yugoslav republics, or the republics as states, cannot determine the fate of Yugoslavia — only each Yugoslav separately or the Serbian people as a whole can. Nationalist and separatist furies are gaining strength as nationalism is being built into political parties. National movement of the Serbian people in Croatia is one for national equality, civil rights, and a democratic residuary federal Yugoslavia. Several other options remain, and they will prove relevant in a few months at the latest: an independent Serbia, Serbian State of Krajina as a region or an autonomous Serbian province or, finally, an ethnic Serbia that could bear the old-fashioned and fraudulent name "The Great Serbia."

How are the Serbs in Croatia to act and what exactly are they to undertake?

The Serbs in Croatia must be well organized and able to gather in Croatia as a whole. There are three options, three possible spheres of organization.

The first and the most important sphere is organizing the SAO Krajina, which is well under way. Serbian territorial and political autonomy is the central focus of the SDS program. It has been formally accepted by the plebiscite and it is ethnically and historically established. This autonomy will develop only the peace-making and democratic processes. It is the offspring and the concern of the SDS. The second sphere of political organization of the Serbs in Croatia is actually the original union of the political and the national being. It is important and essential that the SDS grow into an organizational whole that will truly and psychologically unite the Serbs gathered in SAO Krajina as well as those who will remain out of Krajina, in an independent and self-sufficient State of Croatia, and also in Slovenia. It is necessary to prepare the party for this task. The SDS must have its independent organs and committees. We suggest the following committees: 1) The Central Committee and 2) The Executive Committee. The Central Committee must consist of "sector boards " such as: political and organizationally-judicial, economic, marketing, board for relations and communication with other parties, foreign politics board for communication with foreign political parties, board for culture and education, for information and, if necessary, there will be other boards as well.

The third sphere, one of great political importance, would represent a separate electoral organ. It would bear a traditional, yet generally quite modern name,

a name sensitive to all problems, programs and needs of the Serbian people. The idea for establishing this organ evolved from Sacred archi-heretical SPC Assembly and from the SDS leadership. It would be called the National - Religious Assembly where the wise and religious SPC archi-heretics, the orthodox clergy loyal to the church and to the Serbs, and the spiritually powerful Serbs, devoted sons of the Serbian people, would all take part. It is evident that we are planning, within the NCS, a wider engagement of the SDS members and leaders of SAO Krajina.

As can be seen, the three spheres would be connected, though in the leading sense - as for personnel, it would be independent. We propose that the NCS Initiative Committee be established the soonest possible. This initiative committee would, among other matters and together with the SDS, organize elections with one member for every 5000 to 7000 Serbs. The president of the SDS and president of the Executive Committee of SAO Krajina would operate as members of this Assembly. Accordingly, members of the Assembly would function as SPC Bishops in Croatia. We would like to mention the fact that such a NCS in Austro-Hungary had acted as the Serbian Parliament and had scored a great victory having ensured Serbian autonomy in Vojvodina. This Assembly had elected Duke and Patriarch and therefore Vojvodina has gone down in history. The Executive Committee of the SDS will take on organizing elections for NCS.

President of the Serbian Democratic Party,  
(Prof. Dr. Jovan Rašković)

Vice President of the Serbian Democratic P  
(Prof. Branko Marjanović)

HOUSE OF COMMONS  
CHAMBRE DES COMMUNES  
OTTAWA, ONTARIO  
CANADA  
K1A 0A6

THE SPEAKER  
LE PRÉSIDENT

April 25, 1991

Prof. Jovan Rašković, M.D., S.C.  
President of the  
Serbian Democratic Party  
Milovana Marinkovica 7  
11 000 Beograd

Dear Dr. Rašković:

Thank you for your letter which was received on March 18, 1991. I read the documents you enclosed with great interest.

Canadians across the country have been following the events in Yugoslavia, and particularly in Croatia. We are hopeful that peaceful solutions to outstanding issues will soon be reached.

Because these matters concern our Department of External Affairs, I am sending your correspondence to our Secretary of State for this department. I am certain he will find the information useful.

Yours sincerely,



John A. Fraser

c.c. The Right Hon. Charles Joseph Clark  
Secretary of State for External Affairs

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

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---YUGO SITREP:PROBLEMS IN CROATIA

SUMMARY:SECURITY SITU IN SERB POPULATED REGIONS OF CROATIA  
 HAVE DETERIORATED SERIOUSLY IN RECENT DAYS WITH SEVERAL CROATIAN  
 POLICE AND UNDERERMINED NUMBER OF SERBS KILLED IN SEPEAATE  
 CLASHES IN NORTH EASTERN AND SOUTH WESTERN PARTS OF REPUBLIC.  
 DISTURBANCES HAVE ALSO OCCURREG IN CERTAIN COASTAL CENTRES(REPORT  
 ON TRAVEL ADVISORY BY SEPARATE TEL).NATIONAL ARMY(JNA)TANKS,  
 APCS AND TROOPS IMPOSING CONTROL IN AREAS OF INCIDENTS USUALLY  
 SPARKED BY EFFORTS TO ASSERT CROATIAN POLICE AUTHORITY IN  
 SERB SELF-DECLARED AUTONOMOUS REGION OF CROATIA.LEADER OF  
 RADICAL PARTY OF SERBIA,SESELJ WAS MAJOR SPEAKER AT MASS SERB  
 RALLY AT CROATIAS TROUBLED PLINTVICE NATL PARK 02MAY AND  
 CROATIAN AUTHJORITIES CLAIM ELEMENTS FM SERBIA ARE FORMENTING  
 DISTURBANCES.VIOLENCE IS ESCLATING AS 15MAY INSTALLATION DATE FOR  
 CRCATIAN,MESIC AS YUGO FED PRESIDENT,AND 19MAY CROATIA REFERENDUM  
 APPROACH.

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PAGE TWO ZLGR2395 C O N F I D E N T I A L

2. REPORT; SECURITY SITU IN CROATIA HAS DETERIORATED SERIOUSLY IN RECENT DAYS WITH TERRORIST INCIDENTS, DEATHS AND DEMOS REPORTED IN EASTERN AND WESTERN PARTS OF QUOTE KRAJINA UNQUOTE SERB MINORITY REGION AND ON COAST AT ZADAR AND SIBENIK.

3. NATIONAL ARMY (JNA) HAS BEEN CONTROLLING PLITVICE NATL PARK AREA (A MAJOR YUGO TOURIST ATTRACTION) SINCE 31 MAR IN RESPONSE TO EARLIER CLASHES THERE BETWEEN CROATIAN POLICE AND SERB MINORITY MILITIA; 5-10,000 SERBS RALLIED AT PLITVICE 02 MAY IN RELATIVE PEACE. MAIN SPEAKERS WERE KRAJINA LEADER MILAN BABIC AND LEADER OF ULTRANATIONALIST RADICAL PARTY OF SERBIA, VOJISLAV SESELJ (THE SAME GRP THAT IS TO HAVE DEMO IN FRONT OF TITO MEMORIAL BGRAD 04 MAY AND THREATEN FORCEFUL EVICTION OF TITO FM HIS RESTING PLACE).

4. IN NORTH EASTERN SLAVONIA REGION OF CROATIA, 4 PLAIN-CLOTHES CROATIAN POLICEMEN IN CAR WERE STOPPED IN BOROVO SELO 01 MAY, TWO WOUNDED AND TWO CAPTURED BY SERBS. WHEN CROATIAN POLICE FORCE ENTERED TOWN 02 MAY TO RESTORE ORDER SERBS REPORTEDLY WAITING IN AMBUSH (MEMBERS ESTIMATED FM 300 TO 3000) POUNCED ON POLICE RESULTING IN 9-12 POLICE DEAD AND UNDERTERMINED NUMBER OF SERBS. ACCORDING TO OUR CROATIAN CONTACT, CDN CITIZEN AND CROATIAN DM OF DEFENCE, SUSAK, CROATIAN AUTHORITIES HAVE FILMED EVIDENCE OF SERBS COMING FM SERBIA FOR AMBUSH. SUSAK IDENTIFIED SESELJ AS ONE

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00-35#433") 42395 C O N F I D E N T I A L

OF THE RINGLEADERS OF CURRENT UNREST AND CLAIM TO HAVE EVIDENCE ON  
SESELY LEAVING SERB PRES MILOSEVICS BGRAD RESIDENCE FEW NIGHTS  
AGC.USA CONSUL ZAGRED TOLD US CROATIAN GOVT WAS CALLING UP  
RESERVE MILITIA IN SLAVONIA REGION HAVING SECURED UNDERSTANDING OF  
JNA LEADERSHIP.5.ON WESTERN SIDE OF CROATIA,NEAR KNIN,SERB  
MINORITY MILITIA REPORTEDLY HAVE BEEN GOING TO CROATIAN HOMES,  
DISTURBING RESIDENTS AND SEIZING ARMS.SUSAK TOLD US TWO  
POLICEMEN WERE KILLED AND FIVE TAKEN HOSTAGE IN LATEST INCIDENTS  
THERE,WITH ONE OFF-DUTY POLICEMAN LOSING EYE IN GUN ATTACK.THERE  
HAVE BEEN VIOLENT DEMOS IN ZADAR AND SIBENIK ON COAST.JNA TANKS,APCS  
AND TROOPS ARE IMPOSING CONTROL IN VARIOUS CROATIAN TROUBLE SPOTS  
5.WE ASKED SUSAK HOW CROATIAN LEADERSHIP INTERPRET LATEST  
EVENTS.HE SAID ESCALATING DISTURBANCES LEADING UP TO 15MAY  
INSTALLATION OF CROATIAN,MESIC AS YUGO PRES,AND 19MAY CROATIAN  
REFERENDUM WERE ANTICIPATED BUT THEY HAD DEVELOPED FASTER AND  
FURTHER THAN EXPECTED.SUSAK SAID THERE WAS NO QUARREL WITH JNA  
CHIEF OF STAFF,WHO SEES HIMSELF AND JJA AS SAVIORS OF YUGO;HOWEVER,  
SUSAK CLAIMS TO HAVE EVIDENCE LOWER ECHELONS OF JNA ARE COOPER-  
ATING WITH TERRORITISTS.HE OBSERVED THAT ONLY 15PCT OF CROATIAS  
SERBS LIVE IN TROUBLED KRAJINA REGION.TWICE THAT NUMBER IN ZAGREB  
LIVED IN PEACE.HE ACCOUNTED DISTURBANCES TO APPROX 300 TROUBLE  
MAKES AIDED AND ABETTED FM SERBIA.ASKED IF THERE WERE ANY EFFORTS  
AT DIALOGUE WITH KRAJINA SERBS,SUSAK SAID THEY WERE TOO INTIMIDATED  
TO TALK

CCC/004 031530Z ZLGR2395

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---CDN MINISTER FOR CROATIAN IMMIGRANTS ABROAD

YOU SHLD BE AWARE THAT PRESIDENT OF CROATIA HAS APPOINTED CDN  
 CITIZEN AND LONG-TIME OTT RESIDENT GOJKO SUSAK, MINISTER FOR  
CROATIAN IMMIGRANTS ABROAD. WE HAVE LEARNED THAT SUSAK CURRENTLY  
 IS IN CDA HEADING DEL TO USA/CDA, INCLUDING CROATIAN VICE-PRES  
JOSEPH MANOLIC AND VICE PM MATE BABIC. APPARENTLY, THEY ARRIVED  
 TRNTO 25JUN AND WILL VISIT OTT BEFORE LEAVING FOR NY EVENING 27JUN.

2. CROATIANS ABROAD WERE VERY SUPPORTIVE OF PRES TUDJMAN'S ELECTION  
 CAMPAIGN: TUDJMAN NOW WANTS TO DEMONSTRATE THEY WILL NOT/NOT BE  
 FORGOTTEN. DOUBTLESS THEY WILL BE ACTIVELY ENCOURAGED TO INVEST  
 IN CROATIA, AND WE EXPECT SUSAK WILL TURN UP HEAT TO HAVE CDN VISA  
 SERVICES IN SITU IN ZAGREB AND INDEED, TO PUT IN PLACE FULL  
 CONSULATE. TUDJMAN HAS BEEN SEEKING OUT HONCON TO PRESS THESE  
 VERY POINTS. BY EXTENSION YOU DOUBTLESS CAN EXPECT REPRESENTATIONS  
 FROM CDNS OF CROATIAN ORIGIN.

CCC/070 261126Z ZLGR2678

FBIS-EEU-90-106  
1 June 1990

## YUGOSLAVIA

59

### Assembly Session Continues

*LD3105145890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1218 GMT 31 May 90*

[Text] Zagreb, 31 May (TANJUG)—After interparty squabbles, the new Croat Assembly session considering the program of the republican Executive Council has resumed in the afternoon 31 May.

Assembly President Dr. Zarko Domljan accepted that replies constitute a legitimate method of work, and called on Josip Bursic from Rijeka, a Croat League of Communists-Party of Democratic Change [SKH-SDP] deputy, to make a reply. Bursic protested at derogatory comments made by Deputy Sima Djodan, (HDZ) [Croatian Democratic Community], about the situation in Rijeka and discussion regarding the government program made by deputies from this area. Rijeka was and is a Croatian city. Istria and Rijeka were not liberated by Dalmatians only. Derogatory assertions made by Djodan also insult the results of the democratic elections, Bursic said.

Josip Bursic's statements were supported by deputies gathered in the SKH-SDP and associated parties club.

### Assembly Elects Officials

*LD0106090290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1432 GMT 31 May 90*

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 31 May (TANJUG)—In its second day of work, the newly constituted Croat Assembly adopted the bases of the program of the new republican government. Some 30 deputies took part in the six-hour debate.

Many critical comments assessed that a more prominent place should be given in the government's program to stances on the Federal Executive Council program, questions of financing for the underdeveloped regions in the country and the republic, problems of agriculture and rural areas, and the development of infrastructure and maritime resources, tourism, and, in particular, environmental protection. [passage omitted: Two-day assembly session marked by party differences]

After a considerably shortened debate, new Executive Council President Stjepan Mesic proposed the members of the new government, which will have 16 members, of whom 14 were elected on 31 May, and four chairmen of republican committees that are not included in the government.

In a public vote, with three votes against, Mato Babic, Milan Ramljak, and Bernardo Jurlina were elected Executive Council vice presidents.

The following were elected members of the Assembly Executive Council: Drazen Kalodjera with responsibility for restructuring the economy and reprivatization, Gojko Susak for relations with emigres, and Zvonimir Medvedovic for small businesses and underdeveloped regions. In addition, the republican secretaries and

chairmen of the republican committees were appointed. Josip Boljkovac was appointed republican secretary for internal affairs and Petar Kriste as republican secretary for national defense, while the posts of republican secretary for justice and administration and republican secretary for finance remained unfilled.

Bozidar Udovic was appointed chairman of the Republican Committee for Energy, Industry, and Crafts; Ivan Tarnaj, chairman of the Republican Committee for Agriculture and Forestry; Zdravko Mrcic, chairman of the Republican Committee for Foreign Relations; Vlatko Pavletic, chairman of the Republican Committee for Education, Culture, Physical and Technical Culture; Andrija Hebrang, chairman of the Republican Committee for Health and Social Welfare; and Stjepan Zdunic was appointed director of the Republican Institute for Social Planning.

The following were appointed as chairmen of republican committees that are not part of the Executive Council: Milan Hrnjak as chairman of the Republican Committee for Construction, Housing, Communal Affairs, and Environmental Protection; Marin Cornja as chairman of the Republican Committee for Veterans' Questions; Osman Muftic as chairman of the Republican Committee for Science and Technology; and Milovan Sibl, as chairman of the Republican Committee for Information. At the moment, the posts of chairmen of five republican committees remain unfilled.

The next Assembly session was scheduled for 20 June.

### Agreement on Preparations for Renewal Congress

*LD3105231990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1405 GMT 31 May 90*

[Text] Belgrade, 31 May (TANJUG)—The committee for the preparation of the Congress of League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Democratic and Program Renewal reached an agreement on 31 May about the manner of work on drafting proposed documents, above all, the proposed LCY program and statute that should be endorsed by the congress scheduled for 29 September. The committee work will be organized in a way that secures full cooperation and consultation between the LCY parts and their bodies, so that they can actively participate in drafting the proposed documents. Acknowledged experts will be also involved in the committee work.

Representatives of the Macedonian League of Communists [LC] Party of Democratic Transformation, the Croat LC-Party of Democratic Change, and the Slovene LC-Party of Democratic reform, attended today's session—chaired by Miroslav Ivanovic—as observers.

### Delegates' Attendance at 14th LCY Congress

*AU3005104690 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 May 90 p 3*

[Unattributed report: "521 Delegates Absent"]

[Text] The optimistic forecast of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia

FBIS-EEU-90-105  
31 May 1990

## YUGOSLAVIA

63

### New Croatian Government Members Proposed

AU3005103590 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST  
in Serbo-Croatian 25 May 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Croatian Premier-designate Stjepan Mesic by Davor Ivankovic; place and date not given: "Who Are the New Ministers?"]

[Text] Zagreb—In an exclusive statement for VECERNJI LIST, new Croatian Premier-designate Stjepan Mesic announced most of the names of people proposed for members of the government. Names of some other ministries will be known in a few days. Stjepan Mesic told us that, for the time being, the government will consist of 17 ministers, but that it will most probably be expanded. However, the government's entire administrative apparatus will be smaller than the current one.

The following people have been proposed as Executive Council members: the minister of economy has still not been nominated; Bernardo Jurlina has been proposed as Executive Council vice president in charge of social activities; Milan Ramljak as Executive Council vice president in charge of internal policy (internal affairs, judiciary, public prosecution); Dr. Zvonimir Medvedovic as Executive Council member in charge of undeveloped regions and development of small businesses; the Executive Council member in charge of finances has not been finally nominated—several people are being considered, and the probable choice is Dr. Mate Babic. Gojko Susak will be proposed as Executive Council member in charge of emigrants.

The republican secretary for national defense is still not known; Josip Boljkovac has been proposed as republican secretary for internal affairs; the secretary for administration and judiciary has not been nominated; Guste Santini has been proposed as secretary for finance; Professor Dr. Bozidar Udovicic has been proposed as president of the Republican Committee for Energy, Industry, and Crafts; Engineer Ivan Tarnaj has been proposed as president of the Republican Committee for Agriculture and Forestry; Toni Mrcsic has been proposed as president of the Republican Committee for Relations with Foreign Countries; Academician Vlatko Pavletic has been proposed as president of the Republican Committee for Education and Culture and Physical and Technical Education; Dr. Andrija Hebrang has been proposed as president of the Republican Committee for Health and Social Protection; the nominee for president of the Republican Committee for Social Planning is still not known.

Republican committee presidents who are not Executive Council members but are invited to attend its sessions are proposed as follows: Dr. Davorin Rudolf has been proposed as president of the Republican Committee for Maritime Affairs, Traffic, and Communication; Dr. Josip Bozicevic has been proposed as his deputy; the republican secretary for construction is not yet known; Prof. Dr. Osman Muftic has been proposed as president of the Republican Committee for Science; the president of the Republican Committee for Employment has not

yet been nominated; lawyer Marin Crnja has been proposed as president of the Republican Committee for Veterans' and Disabled Veterans' Questions; Ante Letica will most probably be proposed as president of the Republican Committee for Trade; the president of the Republican Committee for Water Management is not yet known; Milovan Sibl has been proposed as president of the Republican Committee for Information.

We asked Stjepan Mesic to explain why he had decided in favor of these people.

"We said that the government, that is, the Assembly Executive Council, will consist of members of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] who are at the same time experts and of experts who do not necessarily have to be HDZ members, but support our program. So far they have all confirmed that they are experts, and I think that they can implement this program. Bernardo Jurlina has already worked with trade unions and dealt in social activities; Milan Ramljak is professor at the Zagreb Faculty of Law, he teaches the organization of administration and is an expert for such a job; Mate Babic is an expert for finances and banking; Josip Boljkovac (future minister of police) has already dealt with internal affairs, he worked in the administration and in the Assembly; Guste Santini has worked in the Institute for Finance; Prof. Dr. Bozidar Udovicic is professor at the Electrotechnical Faculty, works at the Institute for Energetics, and is an expert on energetics and is well known as such in the country and the world. Engineer Ivan Tarnaj is an expert on agronomy, he has already been a member of the Croatian Assembly, dealt in agriculture, and has been in the management of agricultural organizations. Toni Mrcsic (minister of foreign affairs) has worked abroad, has many connections in the country and abroad, and dealt with world international organizations. Vlatko Pavletic is an academician, a writer. Dr. Andrija Hebrang is a medical doctor, a specialist, he works in the hospital in Zajceva Street in Zagreb; Dr. Davorin Rudolf is a university professor in Split and works in maritime affairs; Dr. Osman Muftic is a university professor at the Zagreb Machine Faculty; Marin Crnja is a lawyer in Rijeka and works at the Committee for Veterans' and Disabled Veterans' Questions; Ante Letica is director of the Split Brodomercur Organization, until now he has worked on the implementation of regulations pertaining to trade and will now be creating these regulations; Milovan Sibl, president of the Republican Committee for Information, is a journalist by profession."

### Constituent Session of Croatian Assembly Held

#### SDS Deputies Boycott

LD3005091590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service  
in Serbo-Croatian 0811 GMT 30 May 90

[Text] Zagreb, 30 May (TANJUG)—The constituent session of the chambers of the multiparty Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia began in Zagreb on 30 May in the absence of all five deputies from the ranks of the Serbian Democratic Party [Srpska Demokratska Stranka—SDS]

**ACTION**  
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---FETE NAT GRECE:MACEDONIENS

PREMIER CONSEILLER POUR BALKANS AU MAE, THOMOGLU NOUS TRANSMET INFO SUIVANTE: DE NOMBREUX MACEDONIENS DES ETATS-UNIS VONT SE RASSEMBLER A TRNTO POUR MANIFESTER DEVANT CONGEN DE GRECE A L OCCASION DE FETE NATIONAL DE GRECE, LE 25MARS.

2. INFO PROVIENT DE CONGEN DE GRECE A CHCGO QUI RAPPORTE QUE RADIO EN LANGUE MACEDONIENNE DE MERRILVILLE, INIDANA A APPELE CITOYENS DE CETTE LOCALITE A VENIR AU CDA POUR PROTESTER CONTRE TRAITEMENT FAIT AUX MACEDONIENS PAR LA GRECE.

3. AUTORITES GRECQUES EN CONCLUENT QUE MACEDONIENS VEULENT GROSSIR LEUR NOMBRE POUR TENTER D INTIMIDER GOUVT CANADIEN. ELLES ESPERENT QUE PERMIS DE MANIFESTER LE JOUR DE LA FETE NATIONALE DE LA GRECE NE SERA PAS ACCORDE PAR AUTORITES MUNICIPALES AU NOM DE L AMITIE ENTRE LES DEUX PAYS.

4. COMME ELLES ONT ALERTE COMMUNAUTE GRECQUE DE TRNTO, IL SE POURRAIT QUE LES ESPRITS S ECHAUFFENT.

CCC/274 201127Z ZFGR5259