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DOCUMENTS

CONCENTRATION CAMP FOR SERBS SET UP IN SLAVONSKA POŽEGA

The Penal and Corrective Institution in Slavonska Požega has been turned into a concentration camp for Serbs from this town and the surrounding area. It is believed that about 350 Serbs from Slavonska Požega and nearby villages are currently kept in this camp, where the Ustashi authorities are exploiting them as cheap labour. To be more precise, the Serbs are now, on the eve of the 21st century, being used there like slaves.

The Ustashi have arrested these innocent people under the accusation that they are Chetniks, and the Ustashi authorities in Slavonska Požega have an astonishingly hypocritical explanation for such action.

– We are taking care of our fellow townsmen and we don't want anything bad to happen to them. In the winter, many of them had no heating fuel or food, and we took care of them. They will be grateful to us one day – say the Ustashi via the local radio.

It's a madness that can only be seen in Croatia.

Many Serb captives in Slavonska Požega are forced to work from dawn to dusk in the "Plamen" iron foundry and household appliance factory, where grenades for the Ustashi army are now being produced, instead of cookers and fireplaces. Many are working like slaves in the forests, as lumberjacks, in order to fell enough trees for the Spin Valis furniture factory in Slavonska Požega. The rest, who are only skilled in farming, are now working on the PPK Kutjevo farms in Kutjevo, Kula and Ovčare.

They get nothing in return for their labour and torture and they even consider themselves lucky when a single day passes without their being beaten up. The machine-gun nests are evil looking and hardly any of these miserable people are even thinking of escaping. They have nowhere to escape, and they remain quiet in their misery while awaiting a bill of indictment from the District Public Prosecutor's Office, for "counter-revolutionary activity and undermining the constitutional order of the Republic of Croatia". Among the captive Serbs, there are old people, women and children. Some of them are sick and in need of medical attention.

– Our men are not allowed to leave the village, while we women, may do so three times a month, but we must report to the local authorities. We were told that we can leave the village at any time and that we will suffer no harm, provided that we sign a statement to the effect that we are voluntarily leaving all our property to the local authorities – said a woman from a village near Slavonska Požega, who lives alone with her husband, since both her daughters have escaped to Belgrade.

All Serbs wishing to remain in the region of Slavonska Požega have to sign a statement of loyalty and buy their "citizenship". The signing of the statement of loyalty to Croatia will be a face-losing act for many Serbs. All those opting for Croatian citizenship will have to spend 20,000 Croatian dinars to achieve this, as this is the price of citizenship in this municipality.

Jovica Mladenović

COMMENTARY

"CD" LAW OF THE CLOCK

Just like the evening prayers of Bosnian Muslims, world diplomacy is also not what it used to be. In the past, we were not normally aware of the existence of world diplomacy and surreptitiously envied Belgrade, because the presence of diplomacy there made the city somehow more noble than our towns here in the country. Nowadays however, we don't envy Belgrade at all.

The old English rule concerning the behaviour of a good diplomatic representative – never tell lies, never tell the whole truth and take the opportunity to wash your hands from time to time – used to be followed once upon a time. It appears that as always, the whole truth is not being told nowadays, but there is no longer any hand washing. Because of what they are being used for, hands now have to be kept under running water all the time.

There is some similarity between the existing diplomatic dilemmas and those ethical snares in a novel by Henry James, which was published in 1903 under a symbolic title: The Ambassadors. The novel is about family ambassadors, not those of states, whose mission was to bring a son back to America after his long stay in Paris. On this family mission across the Atlantic, they found out that they must "live in accordance with laws of the clock".

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What this involves is the obligation to bring the moral rigidity of the then American society in line with the "double vision of ethnics and customs". On the one hand, there is the feeling that one must live in the present, though keeping the old feeling of the past. The American laws of the clock, which were ticking reminders of the ethical past in 1903, "started to clash with the world of Europe, which was not ruled by the clock". Thus, on his trans-oceanic journey, the family ambassador turned into a kind of wall pendulum which has to move all the time from one ethical norm to another.

If not geographically, then at least historically speaking, the diplomacy of the big powers in the Balkans is following a similar wall-pendulum trajectory and setting our fates today. Formally, it has to reconcile the established codes of behaviour over many centuries and duties of the trade from the past, and the need to subordinate, in these turbulent times, the fate of a small people to the interests of the big powers in the future. The "law of the clock" here, also makes it necessary to adapt to new norms of behaviour and responsibility.

In public, a diplomat used to be a person resembling Gladstone, of whom it was said that in the house, "he is a great gentleman in private company". He never interfered in the affairs of the country where he was a guest, he never signed newspaper articles, even if he did write them, he never dared to establish political parties and to be the leader of intellectuals.

When a Yugoslav ambassador to the post-war France started to loudly rebuke Marshal Petaine, in the presence of General De Gaulle, because of Petaine's collaboration with Hitler's occupying forces, the ambassador was warned that he was bound by his calling not to voice his opinion of the French. Because of the same considerations, a long historical essay written by George Kennan in the American Embassy in Moscow just after the Second World War, was signed with only an "X".

The attitude world diplomacy holds about us in the course of history was always a measure of our general value and of our price in the better world. When we had our own state and had some weight, we were treated with respect. And vice versa, whenever things went wrong for us, we would be deprived of the privilege of preserving, through the presence of aliens wearing tailcoats, some of the feeling that we are not a Balkan province in the backwaters, to which anything may be done and to which anything can be said openly and bluntly.

Before 1838, when Prince Miloš was in a secret conflict with the Russian emperor, the Russian consul to Serbia thought it his duty to manage the affairs of the Serbian Government. Historian Nil Popov noted that at that time, the consul came to the government building every day to examine the rulings which had been decided upon, and "he kept an eye not only on everything that was happening in Serbia, between the verious parties which were submitting reports to him on all developments of any importance, but also on everything that was going on in Vallachia and the Turkish and Austrian border districts".

We were no exception in that respect, and this is substantiated by the instructions given by Nikolai I to his envoy Meshnikov in Constantionople, just before the Crimean War in 1853: he was either to win over the Turkish sultan as an ally or cleverly challenge him to a war. The admiral involved played his role perfectly. Without resorting to any etiquette or changing his coat, he went in boots straight from the ship and found his way to the foreign minister's office. War broke out soon afterwards.

There are some parmanent rules which are applicable to the governments of individual countries. The advice that persistent bargaining was needed in negotiations with the Russians and that everything agreed upon should be put on paper immediately, was given to the English in the 16th century by a representative of their trading company in Moscow. The still valid rule is that spoken words are worth less than written ones. Should these established norms start changing, it would mean that relations are about to deteriorate.

The way in which we are being treated nowadays by European diplomacy and world diplomacy in general, and especially the behaviour of diplomatic representatives in our capital, are indicative of the trouble coming in our direction. Throughout history, diplomats in foreign courts felt almighty if they wanted to provoke the ruling prince into making a mistake, by stepping aside first. The etiquette and rules of behaviour have been preserved only for the sake of making an impression on the international public that party responsible for a deterioration in relations and the possible severance of diplomatic relations is the ruling prince, not the foreign diplomat who was acting on instructions which would lead to such an outcome.

It looks like we are in for trouble. Incidentty, Russia did lose the war which was so brilliantly provoked by Meshnikov. That's all for now from the gloomy Sarajevo.

Milorad Ekmečić

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FASCISM REAPPEARING

It seems we are now witnessing the disappearance of the last ray of hope that the European democratic community will be able to identify "the thugs in its ranks". This can be seen from the disgraceful silence regarding the horrible crimes committed against Serbs in Croatia, and now in Bosnia & Herzegovina as well, and the substitution of the roles of the killers and victims. All this seems to be giving fresh strength to the revived Fascists, so that they can now boast quite clearly and loudly about their big contribution to the dismembering of Yugoslavia. While official Europe is washing its hands openly, and rubbing them secretly, obviously satisfied with a job well done, it is failing to deal with the growing appetites of the radical right wing.

What was the involvement of the right-wing radicals – that is to say, Nazis – in the developments in and around Yugoslavia, and especially in Croatia?

The extremely unconvincing granting of a minor role to the followers of Dobrosav Paraga, which was done by the "current leader", speaks for itself. Even to those who only know a little about political circumstances in Croatia, it was clear a long time ago that the HOS (Croatian Defensive Forces) are publicly doing in everything thought up by the HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union), but for reasons of a seeming democracy, the current establishment is keeping them at a distance. However, the HOS are not alone. The "authentic Croatian spirit" advocated by this group of right-wing radicals on the Croatian political and military scene is just a "fly trap". The ringleader in the ring in which the HOS played the main role right from the start, is the National Socialist Party of Germany (NPD). The latter is a Nazi party which is strongly supported by German capital. NPD has its own so-called sister party – DSU (German Social Union). The role of the DSU in the political mosaic of Germany, as well as of Europe, is to act in public as a legitimate democratic party, thus giving a seemingly democratic character to the right-wing radicals. In view of the great financial support received from the German business community, these two parties – the NPD and the DSU – are playing the key role in shaping right-wing radical trends.

The political option of the right-wing radicals is that Germany, Austria and parts of the dismembered Yugoslavia (Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia & Herzegovina) must be a single entity. According to the same scenario, following further developments, France would join the newly formed entity.

The political policies based on these goals is advocated in Austria by the ÖVP (Austrian Folk Party), and in France, by the followers of Le Pen. Incidently, this Nazi alliance also includes quite a number of other parties, and certain sources show that there are ties with the USA and the Ku Klux Klan.

What are they all doing and how are they "helping" Croatia? Only fractions of the answer to this question reach the general public from time to time. The story about foreign mercenaries in Croatia is largely known already. Many of them have joined the ranks of the Croatian secessionists on instructions from some of the aforementioned parties, the key role being played by German Nazis. The typical journey of a Fascist wishing to go to Croatia starts in the French Foreign Legion, where he will receive basic military training. This procedure has been speeded up as of late, as instructors from France have come to Croatia, in order for military training to be given on the spot. The NPD leaves nothing to chance, especially when Croatia is involved, as shown by the presence of a large number of people in Croatia whose task is, in due course, to take key positions in industrial and financial sectors. Then there are, just in case, some military intelligence officers whose task is to keep an eye on all military installations, with due observance of the view that the HDZ and the HOS will not last for ever, and that German interest in the Balkans is a continuous one.

Because of Fascism, which is steadily spreading in Croatia the European democratic community should at long last ask itself what will happen next. Because of France's surprising, and for the Serbs stunning, closer association with Germany, France should take into account the "viper in the bossom" from Alsace-Lorraine. Poland should also knit her brows over at least two facts: the significantly high percentage of Polish public opinion which is turning towards Germany is grossly in contradiction with the issuing of documents to the banished Pomeranians, which is being carried out by Germany, despite the promise that borders on the Oder and the Neisse will be final.

In the hope that although slow in arriving, justice can be achieved, the hilly Balkans are once again warning the world of fiendly Fascism.

Danilo Radivojević

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INTERVIEWS

Helen Delić-Bentley,
Congresswoman and Fighter for Serbian Rights in the USA:

LET THE SERBS UNITE

Once, when asked to explain why the Shqiptares (Albanians) and the Croats, as distinct from the Serbs, receive so much understanding and support from Capitol Hill and from the American public in general, the American congresswoman, Mrs. Helen Delić-Bentley answered that the Serbs themselves were to blame.

As distinct from the Shqiptares and Croats, who so "successfully" join together against the Serbs, **the Serbs themselves never manage to become united with each other.** Nor, she says, can Serbs in the USA understand the extent to which the Senate, the Congress, the House of Representatives, are crammed with different resolutions on Serbia demanding American commitment to impose economic or political blockades on Serbia.

What at one time could only have been imagined is now taking place. Both economic and political blockades.

Mrs. Delić-Bentley, do you regularly follow what is currently taking place in former Yugoslavia, Serbia, the Krajinas?

Of course, I do. The crimes, the suffering, and the shame are all horrible. Peace has to be restored as soon as possible, so that everybody can attend to his own business. To work, to live as a decent human being, in his own family, his own home.

We tried to get Mrs. Helen Delić-Bentley on the phone for days. Her secretary Aleksandra Brkić tried to help us, but in vain. Telephone and fax numbers multiplied. We were recommended to call her at home. A little later, five in the morning Washington time. Mrs. Delić-Bentley regularly borrows an hour or two from the following next day, she gets up early.

And, we succeeded. She agreed to talk. An English (American) word here and there. The rest was in Serbian. She speaks the language of her mother Maria Ković, who comes from the neighbourhood of Pakrac. The language of her father Mane Ivanišević, who was born in Lika. She says "ovdje" ("here"), "divaniti" ("to chat")...

The biography of Helen Delić-Bentley begins in the township of Root, Nevada. She was born in 1923 to a family of Yugoslav immigrant-miners. She was a journalist, first with "United Press".

After working on "The Baltimore Sun" she took to politics. On four occasions she won the elections for Congress triumpnantly, in the second district of the state of Maryland. At the time of Nixon's presidency she was minister of maritime affairs. The first woman ever to hold the office of minister of maritime affairs in the USA.

Mrs. Delić, when you were once asked how to achieve a new Yugoslavia, you said the former Yugoslavia had been a "no man's land" where the East and the West met. Do you think that with the third Yugoslavia, advocated by Serbia and Montenegro, which they are about to formally proclaim, one could realistically expect a state in its proper place?

I believe, I think that this SMALL YUGOSLAVIA is a good solution. That this is best for Serbia and Montenegro, because, then they have something to rely on.

You heard congressman Robert Dole exclaim that "Yugoslavia is no more, it has fallen apart..."

Wouldn't I hear that? He has been wanting this for a long time. That is what I expected from him.

What are your reactions these days in Congress?

I have just spoken to the Congress about what has happened and what is happening in Kupres and in Bosnia and Herzegovina in general. About the horrors of death and destruction.

And what was the reaction?

No reaction at all. They kept silent, as if they did not hear.

Last winter, when the historian, professor Radmila Melentijević of the New York City University who is struggling against massive ustashi displays in the American media, visited Belgrade, she spoke about the great effort you are making to attract the attention of the American public to the "Serbian question".

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I do everything I can. But, I cannot do anything here. Things have to be done there. In Yugoslavia.

Madam, at the last election in the USA, in the state of Maryland, you conducted a campaign for president George Bush. There is a campaign this year too. Are you ever at all in a position to explain to the American president in some way, in more detail, the state of affairs in Serbia, and what has befallen Yugoslavia?

I talked to him about this topic in January. But there is no help available. He said that everything depended on the European Community and on the United Nations Security Council. That a solution should be looked for there.

Perhaps it seems to Mr. Bush that this calamity here fits in his "new world order". You however, said that this war was not waged FOR THE SAKE OF THE FUTURE, but because of the religious and political wars of the past. To what degree is this a religious war?

Yes. In a way it is. It shows that Serbs and Croats will never be able to live together. Or, if they did, there would never be peace.

However, there are so many mixed marriages. So many children born to them. Do you see how devastated and blood-soaked the country will be left by fathers and grandfathers to their sons and grandsons? They are destroying it as if they were doing it for somebody else, not for their own children?

I wondered so many times what will become of those children, those young people, and also wondered at those who would like to see Yougoslavia torn apart as soon as possible. Where will those four and a half million who consider themselves Yugoslavs go!? I know the figures. And why has everything been brought to this point?!

The possibility of Serbia's president Slobodan Milošević visiting the United States of America, has been mentioned recently. Afterwards the newspapers wrote that the visit was conditional on simultaneous talks the president of Croatia Franjo Tudjman. What can you tell us about this, considering that you met with Serbian foreign minister Jovanović in Washington?

I wrote to Mr. Milošević the day before yesterday. I told him I thought that he should visit the United States. That he should travel soon. I wrote several letters to him, but I have not heard from him. I do not know what his attitude is. I no longer know what I would say. And what is the best thing to do now.

ATTACKS

Constantly en route Between Washington, where she has her job, and Baltimore, where her family home is, Mrs. Helen Delić-Bentley is well known for her dynamic nature and openess. She does not save anybody. She is frequently attacked herself. Especially by the Croatian and Albanian nationalists. Even by Serbs who object to her maintaining contacts and cooperation with some organizations that are not in their favour. **When the Albanians attack her, they carry posters labelling her as a communist. Not in the least benign for the milieu.**

Do you feel sorry about everything that has happened in your parents' native land?

I feel sorry about everything. I feel sorry for all Serbs. Not only for those who live where my parents come from.

How much are we ourselves to blame for knowledge about Serbia, and the Serbs living in and outside Serbia being so scarce?

A lot, because the Shqipnian and Croatian lobbies are very strong here. They have strong propaganda. And what about the Serbs? The Serbs have nothing.

How, in general, are lobbies created?

Well, Congress members are persuaded to lobby, to represent groups. Talks are held with Congressmen, certain amounts are paid to their funds.

The German lobby, they say, is remarkably influential in American politics at this moment?

All of them have excellent contacts with the public, extremely powerful propaganda. No wonder they are able to present everything to everybody differently to what it really is like. I do know that, but I do not know why

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the Serbs do not fight for themselves by propaganda as well.

Will president Bush win these elections, too?

Nobody knows now what is going to happen in November. There is work to be done.

What are you, Mrs. Delić, occupied with at this moment?

We in America, have quite a number of economic problems. Currently the economy is weak. I have to think about that, to bear this in mind above all.

What are your objections to our politicians? Do they know what they are doing?

The Serbian politicians I have met and seen know what they are doing.

What will happen in Kosovo? Some American congressmen are seeking its independence?

I can't say now what will become of Kosovo. I only know that as soon as we mention Krajina, they say that Kosovo has to be separated as well. They say that Kosovo must also leave Yugoslavia. As if these were the same issues. But, they reiterate this daily, and one must not keep silent. I do not keep silent.

Are you regularly informed via the satellite TV programme?

Whenever I can, I watch the news, listen to the radio, I read. I keep informed about what's going on.

During the elections in Serbia last year we saw you in an observer's role, and you visited the Terazije parliament afterwards. When are you coming to Yugoslavia again? Can we symbolically take your arrival here as a time when peace begins?

I could not say so. But I'll certainly be coming in May. If necessary, I'll come before.

Welcome, Mrs. Delić-Bentley.

Gordana Brajović

■

Jovan, theMetropolitan of Zagreb-Ljubljana

WE ARE NO MIRACLE WORKERS

Recently an explosion destroyed the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Zagreb. The first practical steps have been made to overcome the split between the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Macedonian Orthodox Church.

The Metropolitan of Zagreb-Ljubljana Mr. Jovan has only just received a video-cassette of the horrible effect of the explosion in Zagreb. As a participant in the delegations at the talks in Ohrid, Mr. Jovan is a person who can be a reliable witness. We talked to Mr. Jovan in Belgrade Patriarchate just after he had watched the video of the destroyed Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Zagreb and the Serbian Orthodox Church (SOC) office in Croatia.

– I feel depressed because, along with the entire documentation, irreplacable valuables, our church's historical records of earlier periods have also been destroyed by the explosion. The manuscripts from Slavonia, from the monastery of Orahovica, all our manuscripts from other monasteries, from Marča and other treasuries were stored in my office which has been destroyed. I was keeping those valuables next to my desk to keep an eye on them, because we all thought that all of these precious items were safer upstairs, rather than on the display where we would take eminent guests to see them. We did everything we could to secure the museum treasures, we also had alarms. For the sake of security, we also sent warnings to President Tudjman and the Roman Catholic Church. The plate at the entrance showing that the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church had been there remained after the explosion.

Mr. Jovan also tells us that after a long time the Museum had been included in tourist maps of Croatia, and in the museum exhibition programmes. The damage caused by the explosion, whose perpetrators have not yet been found by the official investigation, is inestimable. The photographs and the video-casette clarly show that the entire house has been demolished, and our interlocutor wonders if there would be any sense at all in trying to restore it. "In my judgement,

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for the time being, the Serbian church in Zagreb and in Croatia has no future" – says Mr. Jovan.

The museum display included manuscripts from the 11th until 15th centuries, fragments of some religious service books, liturgical texts relevant to the history of both the monastery of Lepavina and the eparchy itself. It also included a significant register of 1706, containing the names of Russian tsars, Austrian emperors, Orthodox partiarchs, bishops, metropolitans, priests and lay people who made donations to monasteries in order to improve their health. Whoever made any contact with the monasteries is to be found in this registers and other documentation. Also important is a book dating from 1803 through to the present day, containing the names of monks of the Marča monastery which was destroyed in 1753, i.e. handed over to the Roman catholics and later destroyed.

Therefore, we have been suffering the same destruction, from Maria Theresa up to the present day – says Mr. Jovan. Since then until this day the Orthodox Church has never been desirable in these areas. This should not be much of a surprise, because that is the destiny of the Serbian church. Last year in February, I received a threatening letter from Croatian veterans, which was also circulated to all orthodox bishops in Croatia. The letter contained a warning that we, the bishops, would be the first to bear the brunt if armed conflicts took place. The letter also said that this went without saying and needed no announcement, but they still gave a warning just in case, so that we could influence the Serbs to remain loyal to the policies of Croatian politicians.

Mr. Jovan says that much of the treasure from the Museum and from the monasteries of the Serbian people in Croatia could have been saved if there had been more understanding in Serbia.

– Together with the principal of our SOC Museum I visited the National Museum in Belgrade and talked to its director all in good time. We asked for help in arranging for the iconostases from those log-cabin churches, which there are many across Croatia, and also from those churches where services are occasionally held, to be moved to Belgrade. This, however, was not done, and I regret to say that everything was left there to be destroyed. In despair, I addressed many letters to the "Matica Srpska" (Serbian National Cultural Society) asking for help in saving the cultural treasure from the area of the Karlovac archdiocese. These treasures could have been saved by a continued effort.

And also many unique exhibits – pictures by the painters of Sombor have been destroyed.

If there was any hope that the Roman Catholic Church and the Croatian authorities were willing to change their attitude towards the Serbs, many things would not be taking place, says Metropolitan Jovan. Born in Croatia, he simply felt intuitively whatever might happen, and today we regrettably note that his prophetic vision was fully justified. It was inconceivable, for instance, that many Serbian log-cabin churches, which had small flags put up as a sign of protection under the Hague Convention, should be violently destroyed during last years war. If there are people who are against Serbs by their ideological persuasion, cultural values should at least be protected.

Appeals for peace and accord among people have been addressed several times by the Serbian Orthodox Church and His Holiness the Serbian Patriarch Pavle, not just to the faithful, but to all people of good will as well.

– All these appeals would be enough for sensible people – explains Metropolitan Jovan. With Patriarch Pavle, the man who as one time bishop of the Raška - Prizren area survived tortures and troubles alongside the Serbs in Kosovo and Metohija which we the archpriests had never experienced, becoming the head of the SOC, it clear that the SOC and its head are open hearted in their efforts for the solution of problems and that they are guided by the basic idea that evil will bring no good. At any rate, we appealed to our faithful, to all people in general. The Serbian Orthodox Church condemns every crime regardless of who has committed it, to which religion he may belong, dissociating itself from those who are of Serbian kin and have committed crimes, all the more so if they belong to our Church, if they declare themselves as faithful. Such conduct has never been blessed, or approved of, or encouraged in any way by the SOC.

Both our Patriarch and the SOC have been and will continue, expressing their regret about over all the innocent who are afflicted, irrespective of their nationality.

In his commentary on the present social situation, Metropolitan Mr. Jovan notes with regret that we, being small nations, have allowed ourselves to become toys in the hands of big powers, and fight each other to the point of extermination. A firebrand of hostility has been thrown amongst us, while until yesterday people lived together as good neighbours and friends. We are now fighting against each other to the death, and again, once the war is finished we shall have to start anew, we shall have to build again, to reconstruct what was ruined. However, there is no restoration of what has been destroyed in the domain of our cultural-artis-

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tic heritage. Not to speak about the loss of human lives.

– We are no miracle workers to be able to resurrect those people. In particular, it will be a dreadful tragedy for the disabled to come out on the streets with crutches, in wheelchairs. So afflicted, for a sensible man they will represent a great tragedy, an experience of his own unhappiness. All of them will remind us of this madness and in themselves they will be a grave accusation. Will society show solidarity and take care to alleviate this tragedy which has ensued from this unreasonable conflict? We all believe that better solutions, without bloodshed, could have been found had there been more prudence, more self-sacrificing. For however wide the frontiers may be, for the Slovenes, the Croats, they are of relative meaning. We can be given the whole of Europe, if we have no population to inhabit it with, what shall we do?

Andjelka Cvijić

Jovan Soldatović,

Sculptor

IN THE JAWS OF WAR

Jovan Soldatović (1920), a sculptor, born in Čerević, Srem; graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts in Belgrade, and was a former collaborator in the workshop of Toma Rosandić. Ot is always possible to talk, with or without special reason, with this distinguished and always helpful artist who has been making gallery and monumental sculptures for more than four and a half decades now, and who is also a well-known animal lover, the "brother of roe deer". This time, the talk with Jovan Soldatović in his atelier started from an ordinary question about how much time is he spending in his "workshop" and what does he do when he is not sculpturing, and then it shifted, spontaneously, to other topics which have always been occupying his mind.

– I find it difficult to say what am I doing when I am not sculpturing. I think that I am sculpturing more when I am not sculpturing, when I am just meditating. I spend all day in my atelier. There is no Sunday or any other holiday that can drag me away from my working space. I just think that everything was more spontaneous in the past. The human life experiences that used to be in me and my experiences, including the last war, are now, half a century later, unfortunately reappearing in a drastic way, in almost identical situations. I was under the impression that by speaking about human experiences, I was living only for sculptures, not by sculptures. Now I think that many things have moved me away from such a possibility. Much has been disturbed inside us. I am no longer as sure as I used to be that I was speaking effectively about the humanization of living. My works, if I may mention, **The Notes by Man**, were intended to contribute to the prevention of war, to help us avoid everything which is threatening us as human beings. However, much to my sorrow, I can see that everything is starting all over again.

Your are not stopping to fight
the evil, you are reminding people
of evil times. Thanks to your
resourcefulness, the names of victims of
the raids in Southern Bačka in 1942*
have been listed after so many years;
you have made an addition to the
Family monument (1954) at the
Danube Quay in Novi Sad. To what
extent does time actually influence an
artist to change his attitude, his attitude
to his own work?

– In the sixties and later, when I was making a record of the raid that took place in these regions, in Šajkaška and in Novi Sad, I tried to make the humane messages, humanism overpower that genocide, that evil within people. There was no wish for revenge, there was no wish to inflame hatred. However, even then, I wrote down the names of the victims wherever I could do so, and that was not possible everywhere, without too great a desire to point a finger at the criminals. Having learned a lesson from what is going on now a possible repetition of crimes, I wanted to finish off the monument in Novi Sad, so that the message about the family, which could be associated with victims thrown under the ice, shows the way out is in a harmonious coexistence. I had insisted then on all victims being listed and despite great difficulties, that has been done, thus making the crime visible.

We are living at a time
when the Potemkin screens
are being removed,when the names of
streets and institutions are being
changed,
and when the monuments

* A raid resulting in the murder of Serbs and Jews.

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to another time
are being removed and even
demolished.
Somebody once said, not without
a dose of cynism, that monuments are
built on order to be
demolished one day.
How do you find this, what has
happened to your
monuments?

– Although my monuments have been erected throughout the country, I was lucky. My only horrible experience was the destruction of the image of Branko Radičević** in Slavonski Brod, which I had donated to that town, as the birth place of this poet. To me, it was tantamount to infanticide. Since in my work, I was never an opportunist or slave to some '-isms', none of my sculptures have been moved. This means that there is so much humane in them, they can hardly bother anybody, and history will show how lasting such marks are, and to what extent they could possibly become direction indicators.

This time of neither peace nor war has
filled many people with fear and
uncertainty.
Young people have perished,
whole towns have been
destroyed.
Will this be depicted by the hand
of the artist?

– Certainly. This is found in all of us, in our minds. I admit that I am a stubborn man and quite strong-minded. I experienced many-horrors when I was twenty and a half, when Iwas conscripted as a cadet. I took part in the war as far as I was able to, without grumbling. Now I can see that the situation is much more complicated. We had to deal with an external enemy then, while now, it is if the enemy is in all of us and against all of us; that the enemy is in the people against humanity. Frankly speaking, one repentance is inevitable, but even at my age, I would make the same decision. I couldn't desert, step back from what has been imposed on us. One's face, honour, dignity and life has to be defended.

I have read in the newspapers about
your appeal for the
Petrovaradin Fortress to be put into
order and remodeled.
How did you get that idea,
what are you actually suggesting and
how was that idea accepted
by the authorities, as well as by the
general public?

– I would say that the fortress is the dominating point in this region. It has been misused, used the same as any other town area, becoming almost a Cinderella in the process. It is only now that we are realizing how important it could also be in terms of prestige and links between people. The Petrovaradin Fortress, which used to be referred to as the Gibraltar on the Danube, was always a place where civilizations clashed. That is the point of contact between the Balkans and the rest of Europe, between the East and the West. I think that the fortress can now be a place of prestige for Serbia, a place for sending invitations for cooperation and a place from which arms can be extended, in contrast to all these war devastations, hostilities and disagreements between us; it presents an opportunity for international cooperation. The fortress could gather artists from all countries of the Danube, and thus become a link for all of us who are joined, and now separated, by the Danube.

Not only because it is customary,
but also because we think it important,
can you tell me what have you been
preoccupied with as of late,
and what, in your opinion, should be
worked on?

– I have marked the 300th anniversary of the Great Serbian Migration by making a sculpture of Arsenije Čarnojević. The commemoration two centuries since founding of the high school in Sremski Karlovci inspired me to work on the figures of Stratimirović and Anastasijević, and I have also made an image of St.Sava. Although I am getting quite old, I have had several exhibitions recently. I am particularly pleased that in these times of uniting and dividing, I was able to exhibit in Niš and that I will soon have an exhibition in Kragujevac, for the benefit of art and for the good of the people. Without such meetings, encouragements and fusions, we can hardly live to see the highly desired time of a new rebirth.

Ljubisav Andrić

**Branko Radičević, a famous Serbian romanticist poet who wrote under the influence of Vuk Karadžić.

**Branko Radičević, a famous Serbian romanticist poet who wrote under the influence of Vuk Karadžić.

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Dr. Predrag Simić,

Director of the Institute for International Politics and Economics

HOW WILL SERBIA WITHSTAND THE PRESSURE

Could we be blown by the "Balkan storm" similar to the one in the Gulf War, or it is just propaganda-political pressure of the West against the Serbian authorities in order to make them accept the requests presented in the CSCE Declaration?

Dr. Predrag Simić, Director of the Institute for International Politics and Economics in Belgrade, is of the opinion that the "Balkan Storm" will not take place:

– I don't think that military intervention is possible in the Balkans. This is a kind of political pressure, but the United States obviously does not want to intervene with military forces in a Balkans "hot point". Memories of the Vietnam War are still fresh in America, and besides, any intervention in such a delicate region would be extremely expensive. It is also assessed that military involvement might complicate the situation, which could become very dangerous because of intermingled interests and because of the threat of new border changes . Nobody would like to be responsible for the activation of nuclear potentials and for a new world war – said Simić.

Did the USA officials show, by their recent statements, that they have substantially changed their attitude towards Serbia and towards the Yugoslav crisis? How do you interpret the statement by Mr. Cyrus Vance which is rather different from the official attitude of the American administration?

– The American attitude should not be a surprise, and they did not change their basic attitude at all. Mr. Cyrus Vance fully advocates the attitude of the American administration. The three basic assumptions in American policy towards the countries of Eastern Europe and towards the post-communist countries are: the right of peoples to self-determination, the obligation of the peoples who achieved their right to self-detrmination to assure the rights of national minorities in their respective territories in accordance with International Law, and, the most explicit assumption, that there should be no change of the borders. Also, force should never be used. Besides this, the American administration does not accept and does not recognize armies which identified themselves with the socialist system – in our case they mean the Yugoslav People's Army – continued Mr. Simić.

What do you think about the talks between the American Envoy, Mr. Johnson, and Ambassador Zimerman with General Kukanjac, Commander of the Second Military District in Sarajevo? Maybe they are trying to reach a compromise with the Army? Why did they talk to the high officials of the Army instead of the authorities?

The Americans do not recognize the Presidency of the SFRY, and they have had no contacts with the Presidency for a long time. Therefore, they want direct talks with the Army and with the authorities in Serbia. It should also be mentioned that almost a half of our generals were trained in the USA, like for example General Veljko Kadijević who is a West Point graduate. Also, links between our army and the United States and the western defense alliance were especially strong between 1951 and 1954.

I am of the opinion that the Americans suggested to our military officials to decrease the number of soldiers in Bosnia and Herzegovina to the level that existed before the start of the conflicts in the Republic, bearing in mind units from Slovenia and Croatia which are now stationed there. If the Army behaved cautiously as in the past, and if it did not respond to provocations and take part in the conflicts, it could be even tacitly recognized by American policy as a factor of security in that region. Of course the Army would have to be de-ideologised, for when people see advancing tanks with red stars – and such things happened – they immediately consider the Army as an agressor, although 20.000 army soldiers had to face two million Slovenian soldiers of the Territorial Defense, said Simić.

As you think that the "Balkan Storm" is impossible how do you interpret the potential decision on an economic blockade of Serbia, on the complete traffic isolation of Serbia on the level of transport and what do you think about the consequences of such a blockade?

An economic blockade is not excluded. However, the West was surprised by the fact that Serbia is not on her knees in spite of the already existing blockade imposed by Germany and the EC. The resources of Serbia are quite large, and the people of Serbia have shown that they are ready to deprive themselves of many things. Still, a new blockade of air space, of transport and of economic activities, would bring heavy consequences. The economy would start to disin-

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tegrate, the damage would be enormous and we would be isolated from the European economy for a long time to come.

How do you assess the reactions of the Serbian Government and the Foreign Minister, Mr. Vladislav Jovanović to the recent statements of American Diplomacy?

Mr. Vladislav Jovanović is an experienced diplomat, who is always inclined to weigh all arguments, all pros and cons, and he has done successfuly in the past. The government's decision was very probably throughly analyzed. However, our diplomacy should take more advantage and make more use of the wisdom and experience of Nikola Pašić and of the Obrenovići. Mr. Jovanović has shown that he is capable of conducting the policy of the possible. Still, we should look at the experiences of our neighbours, the Rumanians and Bulgarians, who started direct talks with NATO. The ethnic disorders which threatened Rumania in Transylvania and Moldavia are much less certain after that, and the tensions have been calmed. The Bulgarians have under taken military manoeuvres with the American Sixth Fleet, and they also flirt with NATO, which is not just a military organization as is thought here, but is also a powerful political organization. Greece and Turkey also have different interests, but they both belong to NATO. There are less and less disputes between them. The Balkans need a strong factor of integration which could mitigate the tensions and prevent conflicts. At this moment, this factor is the presence of the North Atlantic Treaty – NATO. Who could imagine that this year Mr. Boris Yeltsin and the representatives of the Russian Federation would meet in Brussels, in the same hall, the former bitter enemies from the North Atlantic Treaty?

Is the ideological factor of decisive importance for the disagreement between Serbia and the USA, and what are the possibilities of contacts between our country and the North Atlantic Treaty?

Ideological differences exist, but that does not mean that American policy is less incompatible with Serbian policy, than with the policy of some other states, I think that quite the opposite is true. Also, the Americans recognize all our new republics, including Yugoslavia which consists of Serbia and Montenegro. Besides last December some 180 foreign delegations witnessed for themselves, that the present authorities were elected in a legitimate way by regular multiparty elections.

Is the West and American diplomacy exerting pressure, on Croatia as well as Serbia, and what should Serbia do in order to improve its present situation?

Some pressure is being exerted on Croatia too, even the German Minister, Mr. Genscher has asked Mr. Tudjman to withdraw some of his statements against Serbia. The pressure is also being exerted by the United Nations, and Mr. Cyrus Vance has transmitted this to the Croatian authorities. But there are other problems which emerge whenever Serbs mention the autonomy of the Krajina. Whenever this question is mentioned the people from the West insist on the question of Kosovo, which can be seen by the behaviour of Mr. Zimmerman.

Therefore, Serbia should define its national interests, define its borders, without asking for the maximum. Serbia should start from a minimum and tell the West where it would be ready to compromise, and where it would not change its attitude. Serbia must create manoeuvring space, and wage an active policy. Our famous scientist, Jovan Cvijić once said, talking about Serbia, that "when someone builds a house in the middle of a road, he has either to defend it with a rifle in his hand, or make a fence and collect tolls.

Europe made a mistake by not including our country earlier in the integration processes of the Old Continent. However, Serbia has now its tradition of stateship and diplomacy, and we should hope that we will find a way out of this difficult situation, although the West shows its intentions with a "carrot on a stick". The carrot is the possibility of the cantonization of Bosnia and Herzegovina, announced By Mr. Vance, and the space left to Lord Carrington for future negotiations with the possibility of achieving, by such negotiations, the autonomy of Krajina, while the stick is the "Balkan Storm" which is a warning for us, concluded Mr. Simić.

Ivan Stojković

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ANALYSIS

Slobodan Kljakić

MEDIA PRESSURE UPON SERBIA

"Time", an American weekly, published a dossier under the title of "America – the World Policemen", in April 1991. The article analyses the several month long media Satanization of Saddam Hussein. The authors conclude that this was to create a pretext for American military intervention against Iraq. Within the campaign, the truth was consciously avoided, as it was necessary to prepare and manufacture public opinion to gain support for "Desert Storm".

This fishing of human souls, known in literature as "brain washing", naturally nothing new in the world of the media, was brought to its culmination in the case of "Desert Storm".

Since the break up of Yugoslavia started, the powerful industry of consciousness from these regions has been mostly delivering similar products – information which consciously avoids the truth, shaping the public and its opinion by using a mould. And the YPA, the Serbian authorities and the Serbian people found themselves in the middle of this grandiose manipulation. The prospects are that it will reach its zenith one of these days.

Such a state of affairs creates mistaken notions in these parts, too. One of it is concentrated in the theory that the European and world centres of power do not know what is really going on here because, if they knew it, their reactions would be quite different. One of the possible reasons of the mistaken notions is the widely spread conviction that the key media of the democratic world are not under control of said power centres. Unfortunately, the situation is just the opposite.

We mean that those in power, upon which the orientation of the media essentially depends, are mostly well acquainted with what is really going on here. And that is exactly the reason why the facts which would testify in favour of their knowledge, are not reaching the public. Even when that does happen, it is measured in such a way that it does not essentially endanger the formation of the assigned opinion. If such a measure is exceeded, a space for doubts would be created within the public of the democratic countries. Consequently, a question regarding responsibility of the centres of world power for the bloody "solution" to the Yugoslav crisis would be raised. Harsh lights would then have to illuminate the instruments of those centres in these parts, personified in individuals, political groups and the already formed – in the language of the New World Order – cooperative (formerly called "satellite") regimes.

Then, the public of the democratic countries would have to be informed of the true reasons of the Satanization of the said factors from yesterday's Yugoslavia: the YPA, the Serbian authorities and the Serbian people.

They are, in fact, when application of the architecture of the New World Order in the Yugoslav space is in question, the ones who are mostly opposed to the acceptance of the said cooperative role. On the contrary, it would mean payment of too high a price in the governmental, national and existential sense. Certainly, in the moral one, too.

Accordingly, a typical cold-war propagandistic competition, in accordance with which there are scarecrows of the "red", "Bolshevik" danger behind every corner, is applied to these factors (especially to the YPA, as the strongest factor from the military point of view). This, which is also of great importance, darkens the layer of truth about the religious dimension of the local conflicts within which a strong Catholic-clerical structure, otherwise one of the essential, if not the most important pillars of the New World Order, is coming forth.

It is of course, necessary to say that things cannot be fully explained just within this particular framework. Namely, the numerous moves of the YPA, the Serbian authorities and representatives of the Serbian people actually feed the creators of this Satanization, whose very target they represent.

A good example of this claim is the fact that a well-known "scenario" has already been constantly discussed within the said circle for a year or two. It is being realized in the counterattitude toward Yugoslavia, the YPA, Serbia, the Serbian authority and the Serbian people, with daily precision.

Accordingly, it is only logical to ask: why have these factors, so stubbornly, in the course of the last two years, have accepted to only play a role within this scenario which is formulated by the scenario itself? As though politics and common sense cannot avoid it! But, this is a question which deserves a more thorough analysis and exceeds the framework of the subject of the New World Order and the powers of media.

The holders of power are squeezed by a paradox, namely by the democratic essence of technology and media thanks to which control itself is not limitless.

This is confirmed even by the subsequent analyses – such as the one published in "Time", mentioned at the beginning of this text. It is quite probable that we shall soon have an opportunity to read a similar critical

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analysis in connection with the method of Satanization accompanying the YPA, the Serbian authorities and the Serbian people.

The World public will then also approach the truth about what is going on here. It will also mean a confrontation with the issues which are not simple at all.

One of them, for example, refers to the previously unknown authentic leaflet of the "CDC Communist Section". Even the fanatical defenders of the thesis that the present regime in Croatia is democratic and pluralistic, when faced with this document will have if nothing else, to think it over.

The leaflet, as a matter of fact, among other things testifies in favour of a continuity of a strong link between national-Bolshevism and the concept of the Independent State of Croatia. It is very well known that this link was acknowledged half a century ago, when the agreemnt between the Croatian national-Bolsheviks and the Ustashi regime was reached on April 17, 1941. Later in June 1941, Andrija Hebrang claimed that the ISC meant a realization of the "historical dream of the Croatian people" just as Dr. Franjo Tudjman did later on. By the way, recently at the very moment when his state was recognized by Israel, he received a visit from the Ustashi minister Danijel Crljen. In the course of the Second World War, Crljen was in charge of propaganda and education in the ISC government.

Such facts will undoubtedly have to quickly occupy the attention of the public of the democratic regimes, as well as of the regimes which until recently proclaimed themselves communist. Both of these worlds know very well that campaigns have their beginnings, but also their ends.

THE BILL OF THE "CROATIAN DEMOCRATIC COMMUNITY COMMUNIST SECTION":

DOWN WITH FORCE AND INJUSTICE!
LONG LIVE SOVIET CROATIA!

A cloud of danger is again hanging over our native Croatia. It was only the farsightedness of our beloved leaders and chiefs which actively enabled us to use the war enforced upon us for the purpose of renewing and creating a New Soviet Croatia – a country of workers, peasants and honest intelligence. The introduction of labour duty, the establishment of a socio-political system of full social equality and justice, a struggle against kulaks and other profiteers, as well as other measures of war communism preserve our long-standing aspirations which we are again sacrificing at the altar of the Homeland. In the international surrounding of the former and the present colonial forces of the world in which our Homeland has found itself, under the constant attacks of Serbian imperialism which acts together with the internal and the external enemy, the Croatian light has successfully broken into the darkness of Europe – prisons of small peoples damaged by rotten imperialism. A new communist justice is being born here on our land, in the mystical unity of our sweat and blood. The war and the appearance of a young democracy in Croatia did what 45 years of the corrupted and decayed Yugo-so-called-communism did not manage to do – finally we have all become equal.

It is known that every Croat has an equal stomach, it is known that every starved Croatian child is of an equal value to its Mother Homeland, it is known that every killed Croatian son causes equal pain to his Croatian Mother. Is it fair that, while some are enjoying themselves in huge houses on the Adriatic Coast, while some have their own factories, towers and cities and are making war profits, others like big cowards are wondering around, after having escaped from their warm homes and are getting killed, getting killed, getting killed? Croatian victims must be fairly distributed among all the Croats. We need

ONE STATE – ONE PEOPLE – ONE PARTY – ONE LEADER!

WE ARE NOTHING – OUR CROATIA IS EVERYTHING!

LONG LIVE OUR BELOVED LEADER AND THE GREATEST SON OF OUR PEOPLE FRANJO TUDJMAN!

CDC COMMUNIST SECTION

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Mirko Stamenković

EVERYONE HAS HIS MURAT

A wave of hatred from the so-called democratic world of the West has fallen over Serbia. There also exists a Murat in the West who has opened the gates of the dam of rational thought which says that **it is illusory to expect that any country would simply leave one third of its population to the mercy of others, especially to those with whom the country already had a very rich experience of unhidden genocidal ambitions during this century.**

To put a knife at Serbia's throat – this is not something to be done only once, or just temporarily. It is roulette from which nobody can gain. Even for those who think they have all the trump cards in their hands. For now **it is not a problem what will be done, but when and with how many victims and with how much damage? Unfortunately, there will be damage to all interested and participating parties.**

Among the many irrational moves of American diplomacy and of the biggest European powers, which could be understood, there is only one that has no rational explanation at all: **are anybody's political ambitions more valuable than the right of a third of one nation to a free, democratic and civilized life. A people who not because of there own fault are the most numerous population and are living in the geostrategic position where history put them.**

The political, economic and military strategists of the West make three big mistakes in their assessments concerning Serbia:

First, **at this moment, it is impossible for any political group, to stay in power in this regions regardless of the hidden or open promises of their leaders, if they betray the Serbs outside Serbia**. This is, at present, not a matter of individual wills or of collective madness, this is a situation of hopelessness in which there is no place for rational moves.

Secondly, **Bosnia and Herzegovina represents the key of peace in the central part of former Yugoslavia, but it can in no way influence relations between Serbia and Croatia. Therefore, every strategist, if wise at all, would separate those two things and solve the problems of B & H for the sake of peace in that part of Yugoslavia, and not as a master key, a panacea which could solve the Yugoslav problem**. The crude fact is that it is now quite obvious there is no mutual confidence between the peoples, and that the withdrawal of this or that army could bring no results if the foreign powers continue to take sides. It seems that only Mr. Cyrus Vance has a sensitive ear to realise this, and therefore is insisting on the respect of peace concluded by the leaders of the peoples involved in the conflict, **acknowledging the fact that they can live only with the division of power and with the existing borders.**

Thirdly, **in the Balkans, and everywhere in the world, problems cannot be solved by threatening or by humiliating the motherland**. The English would never solve the problem of "their Irish population" by any blockade or subjugation of free Ireland, and the Turks are no less "democrats" when they exerminate Kurds under the eyes of estern democrats, because the west needs them as allies against "Jihad Islam", and the Bulgarians felt no serious consequences of the threats when they simply exiled, by force, hundreds of thousands of Turks. To put it bluntly: **Serbia can be subjugated by fire and the sword, but that fact would not force the Serbian people in Croatia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina into a position of a vassal. They will continue to fight, by their own will, for their very lives.**

Wise people in the world, and in our country as well see the following as the last resort, before it becomes too late: **Serbia should finally define its borders, should constitute itself as a state, with or without Montenegro, and then it should appear in international organizations not only as the legal successor of Yugoslavia, but also as a state with its own interests, its own rights and its own requests, regardless of the fact that all this can not be achieved without bargaining behind the stage.**

Anyway, **without clear and strong borders, closed towards all neighbours, a country can not efficiently resist politically, economically or militarily**. And, of course, it is impossible to avoid undermining the small amount of strength that is left in the people.

At this moment, nothing is left to be lost anymore. **And there is no chance for the opposition to live in false hopes that it can achieve any success without disavowing the undemocratic and uncivilized threats of the big powers**. The attempts to hide behind the allegations that "they lost those territories" are an illogical nonsense, for the new regime or the new government will have to face the same problem: **to assure for Serbs living outside Serbia an honourable, democratic and politically free and autonomous life in the regions which have belonged to them for centuries.**

Therefore, there is no choice. Others decide instead of us, almost as much as they did at the beginning of this century. The difference lies in the fact that at that time this was done only by German tribes, while now it is, unfortunately, done by our former allies as well.

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PERSONAL STAND

Jovan Lakićević

THE RETURN OF THE USTASHIS

The unbelieveable Mr. Stjepan Mesić, "The last President of the SFRY", Mr. Tudjman's lieutenant in the HDZ, has once again made sensational news public to the whole world – namely that water is wet!

He stated in an interview to a Czech paper that "the present democratic Croatia allows the Ustashis to return if they want to".

Had Mesić only said that, it would not have been a big deal. His statement could be easily classified in the category of affected humour, typical for this political clown. However, the unpredictable Mesić goes even further. In his opinion, he said, they are people who can do no harm to anybody anymore! And finally, to put icing on the cake, Mr. Mesić announced to the world that the Ustashis and other Fascist trends are naw a matter of the parties in Croatia"!!

The prankish Mr. Mesić, of course, expected his word to be taken. And, of course, he has reason to expect that. European public opinion has already been impregnated and prepared for a long time to receive only some special Balkan "truths", with unlimited "receiving capacity" guaranteed to the "Zagreb School".

But let us start from the beginning. Regarding Mr. Mesić's public invitation to the Ustashis to come back to their resurrected ISC, we were convinced, all the time that until yesterday the majority of them had already come. Of course, the sons of the skilfull and competition-prone butchers had already responded to the first battle-cry from the fatherland during last summer, and came to massively fill the ranks of the newly established Ustashi Phalanx, and showed by repeated crimes and atrocities committed against the Serbian population that they are really worthy descendants of their ancestors. They proved it once more recently in the bestial massacres at Kupres. Several years of training in various camps from Australia to the hospitable (for them) Austria, together with the blessings of western intelligence services made them the spearhead of Mr. Tudjman's guard.

Thanks to the abundant and decisive help of the tailors of the "New International Order", their efforts paid of. The ancient dreams of the Ustashis became a reality overnight: the complete destruction of Yugoslavia and the establishment of the Independent State of the Croats.

As regards Mr. Mesić's statement that the Ustashis and other Fascist trends are now a matter of the past in Croatia, we would not dare to say this would not bring him some troubles in Zagreb. Tens of thousands of HOS "Black Shirts" which took the oath according to all regulations and rites of Pavelić's followers a long time ago, would simply ask him what the hell was he talking about? Namely, as opposed to Mr. Mesić, they are deeply convinced (and with good reasons) that the Ustashis and their movement do not represent, in present Croatia, just a matter of the past, but also a matter of the present and, most important, the matter of their bright future. This is, of course, well known by Mr. Mesić whose HDZ performed its victorious flight on the wings of the Ustashis dragon abroad. We believe that Mr. Mesić will easily present his excuses to Mr. Dobrosav Paraga, official leader of the Ustashis in the country, by simply stating that it was a story made for the already programmed European public opinion.

A second look at Mesić's statement shows us that he talks about the return of the people "who can do no harm to anybody anymore". Of course it is not difficult to understand that he talks about war criminals whose criminal responsibility, according to legal regulations, can never become obsolete. But it is quite natural that their neo-ustashi homeland forgives them, as deserving fighters and founders of the new Croatian democracy.

Concerning Mesić's innocent remark that "at present they can do no harm to anybody", we could say that there is a quite natural continuation of that sentence – "but they can be useful"! In Tudjman's and Mesić's Croatia, even after all the new pogroms, there are still several hundred thousand Serbs. The experience of these skilled butchers will be precious for their followers in the new Ustashi Order!

Well, finally things which even the already highly arrogant Germans don't dare to do – to call their fascist compatriots disseminated around the world back to the country – such things were done, shamelessly, by their new (old) vassals from the restored ISC!

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Enriko Josif:

THE U.S.A. HAS BETRAYED THE STATUE OF LIBERTY

Right now, by attacking Serbia, the whole European democracy has turned into the rule of Satan. And America has betrayed its Statue of Liberty. All the world powers, together with the support of the Vatican which, judging by its activities, is nothing but a Satanic centre, all of them have thrown themselves against a single people – Serbian people. Do you believe that they would have done all this, in the first place, if they were not holding you Serbs in high esteem, and if they were not afraid of you. A living mythology of evil is at work. You Serbs still have the power to say an historical "NO". Your fate is going to determine the whole fate of the human race. The Serbian "No" gives us hope that we shall survive.

By these words, at yesterday's gathering at the Ethnographic Museum, Enriko Josif expressed his feelings and his attitude towards the present situation and the solution to the Serbian question, which he closely connected with world policy and its current issues. He said that only his people – the Jews, who had gone through a historical Golgotha – can understand such an historical injustice, but he also regretted that Israel, which has until recently defied the pressures of world forces, finally recognized Croatia.

At this moment, you are alone in the most magnificent of ways, but stay content, as you are going to resist a rampart of evil as did the biblical people. All Serbs feel that a terrible injustice has been done unto them, and that is the most powerful weapon necessary for your survival, said Enriko Josif.

He expressed his hope that China, as the only truly great power, will be able to say "NO" in the Security Council to the democrats such as France, Great Britain, the U.S.A. He illustrated the absurdity of the present blockade in the world which is preventing the truth about Serbs coming to light, by giving an example from the Franch press which announced that Murat Šabanović was saving the dam on Drina from the destructive assaults of Serbia and the YPA and concluded: "If that is possible in France, what are we to expect from others?"

Enriko Josif's suggestive narration was full of historical parallels and his insistence on the fact that a "New Order" is on the scene, which recalls the exact name of Hitler's "Noye Ordnung". According to Enriko Josif, everything is connected with the ever splendid Russia, the land of Dostoevski, Tolstoi, and Turgenev. It has been thrown to its knees, it even behaves like a broken giant, who is crawling and obeying other people's decisions. I think that this will not last for long, and that the people will be ressurected.

In all great prophecies and revelations, as we all know, it is said that "three dishonest forces are going to gather together, and call upon all the princes and peoples to join the battle against the Sacred One". Let me reduce this to a historical dimension, as right now we have such a case. The entire human race has become a large village. I would add that we are not even a large village any more, but just a large room. And in this world, which is now becoming a small room, everybody is turning against one, numerically small people... Your fate is going to determine the fate of the entire human race, and I do not exaggerate at all. If they want to knock you down, be sure that they are going to plunge into their own chasms, said Enriko Josif and added:

I am sure that, even when you think that you have been destroyed, they will not be able to destroy you, as you Serbs have one union. All the Serbs, disregarding the party they belong to, feel that a terrible injustice has been done to them. You possess a frightful historical power and you will never disperse. Not only that you are going to survive, but in a very close, wondrous future, you are going to experience such a renaissance, not only in the spiritual but also in the economic sense, that no-one can dream of.

The Vatican works as though it is the seat of Satan, and not a church of God. All this is the Third World War against a single people. Still, do not run away from the truth. Think about your significance. Do you believe that this awful, rotten, ruined Europe would spend its time, carry out a shameful information blockade, ruin democracy, human and I dont know what other rights, if they did not see a terrible danger in your resistance. They hold you in very high esteem – that is why they hate you so much.

From this moment on, you are not a historical people any more, from this moment on you are a people which exceeds history as you are now on the map of the world's fate, as a final huge rampart which is going to say "No", together with the living God who is invincible. Together with Him you are going to defeat all the possible blockades, and soon they are going to experience such a destruction of their own selves, among their own selves...

They will become so estranged from one another, that soon after the American elections they will see that America will again become what it is supposed to be. At the

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moment, it has knocked down its Statue of Liberty, thrown it upon the ground, and is now stamping on it, it has betrayed its Statue of Liberty. But, it will have to raise it again, because in spite of everything that he is now doing among us, Zimmerman does not know that he is going to be the chief culprit of the Third World War, which has already started. For, if the State Department receives reports submitted by him, and I believe that it does not receive only his reports, it is no wonder that this huge colossus has entered this monstrous groove thanks to the spiritually promiscuous Europe, and that it is now playing the leading role, directing the whole wretchedness of this miserable process. And be sure that a change will come.

B. Božić

DOSSIER

SERBS AS IN THE TIME OF THE THIRD REICH

Milorad Pavić, an academician, has recently retired, leaving his longstanding job of a professor at the Faculty of Philosophy. On this occasion, we asked Milorad Pavić and a few of his friends and colleagues to tell us a few appropriate words about what is happening to us right now.

First, Milorad Pavić:

"I retired 20 years ago, when I started to write. Simply, certain cycles are being finalized, and it is nice to be aware of that. This year I published three books which remained in the shadow of my novels, three books dealing with the history of Serbian literature, the baroque, classicism, and pre-romanticism, within a project of a private Belgrade publisher who intends to publish a history of Serbian literature. The first book was written by the late Dimitrije Bogdanović, while the other three are mine. The publisher is "Dossier" and I think that this concludes a cycle of mine in the field of scientific work. It is also occurred to me that it was time for me to leave the University. I have numerous obligations at the Academy of science and, naturally, obligations in connection with fiction. That's the whole story.

I was recently asked a question similar to yours – how I feel – by a German journalist in Munich. She asked me how I feel in Germany. I replied to her: "I feel like a Jew in the Third Reich". In some ways, it is also an answer to your question. As a matter of fact, Serbs and Jews feel the way they did in Europe in the time of the Third Reich. It was 50 years ago, but I remember the feeling and I cannot make any mistake about it. It does not matter who you are, it does not matter what you have done, it does not matter how many readers you have in Germany or in the world, the only thing that matters is that you are a Serbian writer and, accordingly, you are turned into a persecuted one, one who is to be condemned and liquidated at any costs. This is a sad story about our times, a sad story about our people at this moment. I have been saying for a long time that hatred against Serbs is much greater in today's world than hatred against Jews at the time of the Second World War, although the hatred against Serbs was quite great at that time, too.

Sima Ćirković, a historian, said:

We organized a farewell party to professor Pavić who has just retired, and who came to our faculty at a rather late date, from the University of Novi Sad, and who was so to speak, a sort of a good investment. When we received him, we did not have any idea how much we would gain by that. On the one hand, our students and, on the other hand, the reputation of our faculty in the world, for which we have mostly to thank the literary success of Milorad Pavić.

As for your question regarding the present situation, I am of the opinion that certain things which are happening to us now simply are a harvest of what we poorly sowed a few years ago.

Professor Vasilije Krestić:

I had the pleasure, when professor Pavić expressed his desire to come from Novi Sad to Belgrade, to be the writer of a report, a proposer and one of the initiators in bringing him to our faculty, and he came to the department I am in charge of. It's my pleasure that Pavić, while working at this particular department, acquired the world reputation that he has now. He wrote the **Dictionary of the Khazars** and the **Region Painted by Tea** and the **Internal Side of the Wind**, as well as many other works while he was here at our faculty. Consequently, I've been sharing his satisfaction and his successes.

What can I reply to your question about what is happening to us? It is our sorrow, our torment and I just pray to God to make it easier for us. I am afraid that we are just sinking deeper and deeper, into even greater difficulties. I am not an optimist, but I

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must not be over pessimistic either. I do not see a single brighter foundation which could possibly save us at this moment, in the situation that we are in today. Not only we Serbs, but also Croats and Muslims. There's darkness and gloom and hopelessness everywhere.

And, finally, professor Andrej Mitrović:

We are very happy that Pavić completed his career as a university professor with us. What's more important, as he has put it himself, he wrote all his literary works in our midst. His arrival enriched the contents of our lectures, of our intellectual services and a gap will be left by his departure. However, his departure is more of a formal nature. He will not be an active professor any more, he has retired now. However, I hope that he will go on cooperating with our department, his projects do remain in our department, and I am glad because of that.

As for your question about our present situation, let me start from the autumn of 1987. It was clear then that it was not possible to use force, or to go too fast. What we needed was wisdom. The Serbian state was made with great cautiousness, great wisdom as well as with great courage and readiness to take risks, but there was more wisdom than risk involved. And if all that has now been denied, then this is an inevitable outcome as the characteristics of this soil had been neglected, and this is shaky ground. I have already said a couple of times that I do not see any bright perspectives. I have made thorough analyses which makes me say this.

The thing that I consider crucial is the social stratum which is leading us, a social stratum which like everywhere else consists of two main groups – the politicians and the intellectuals – both having an essential influence upon what is going on. I think that another group should arise which must solve these terrible problems because the previous groups, who in my opinion, made exceptionally big mistakes, cardinal mistakes, wrong moves, which were bound to bring us into this crisis, the first in modern Serbian history. As a matter of fact, the crises of 1914 and 1941 were crises which came from the outside, while this one came from within. Foreign countries did not, however, play a positive or at least a neutral role. On the contrary, foreign countries proved themselves selfish, uninformed, careless, and without compassion, all of which we didn't expect. We just expected that they would be wiser and help us prevent things from becoming more tense. I think that we could even say that they are also partially responsible for the escalation of the conflicts into bloody duels.

It is not necessary to have rulers, but to have people who want to take care of politics, meaning those who want to cooperate. Politics cannot be taken care of from an autocratic centre. Cooperation, the consideration of others, the realization that we are in a difficult situation, and a new culture, reasonable people, those who do not run away from problems, but confront them and look for solutions. Solutions have to be searched for by using one's mind.

Dušica Milanović

DUBROVNIK IN RUINS? – NO, ONLY THE TRUTH.

I walked the streets of old Dubrovnik on Wednesday, March 25th, 1992. There were plenty of Croatian troops. And one American tourist, me. The main street is the Stradun, the word in Venetian dialect for "big street". Was it destroyed? Hell, no. Was it damaged? Slightly.

I counted in the paving stones about 15 scars from mortar fire. You see the telltale shallow point of impact and radiating lines from the blast. Mortars are anti-personnel weapons; they do little damage to structures, especially such as the stone-built Venetian buildings of the Stari Grad, or "Old City" of Ragusa. The mortar is an infantry, not a navy weapon. Although the federal Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) has land units around Dubrovnik, the major forces are ships operating off Dubrovnik. The damage I saw was not done by navy guns, but, I repeat, by infantry mortars. Whose mortars did the damage? Were they those of the Yugoslav Army or Croatian mortars? There was a shoot-out in Dubrovnik between Croatian cops who wanted to surrender to the YPA and Dobroslav Paraga's Nazis. Did they use mortars in this encounter?

What was damaged? Outside the walls tourist hotels have had their top floors destroyed. Were there refugees in these? Yes, just as women and children in Baghdad were sheltered in a complex housing beneath them a control and command center. The YPA navy guns were pint-point accurate. They hit the upper floors used as billets and observation posts by Croatian forces. (The commander of the navy was Admiral Stane Brovet, a Slovene.)

Besides the damage to the paving stones of the Stradun, did I see damage to buildings? The upper stories of one building on the throughfare were burnt out; the ground floor,

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occupied by a bar, had damage from within the room: a brawl must have taken place in there. Was this the site of a shoot-out between different Croatian fractions that was reported in the Yugoslav press? Croatian police troops (MUP, Ministry of the Interior) had wanted to surrender, but were attacked by forces of the extreme right-winger Dobroslav Paraga (HOS - Croatian Defensive Forces). In any case, the damage on the street level seems unrelated to the fire on the top floors. Windows of neighboring shops were broken, but had been replaced prior to my visit. Traces of light machine gun fire, clearly shot from street level, remain on some shutters.

Was St. Blaises's Church damaged? The interior has no sign of damage. On the facade, left of the portal, there is only shallow chipping. Locals reported that a small "zolja" rocket had caused the superficial damage, but the shot could only have come from in front and above. That means from the Napoleonic citadel high above the Old City, on Mount Srdj, a stronghold of Croatian forces. This fortress, and not the Old City, was the target of the YPA navy guns and rockets. The building facing St. Blaise's and the sea, showed no damage.

Is the Synagogue damaged? No.

In the Jewish Street the only damage is clearly a few window panes broken from air pressure blast, the concussion of distant artillery explosions. There are only about ten Jews left in Dubrovnik. The few Jews who survived the holocaust wrought on Jews, Serbs, and Gypsies during the Quisling "Independent State of Croatia" (1941–1945) feel safe only in Israel and Serbia.

Did I see any heavily damaged structure in the Old City? Oh yes, to Serb Orthodox church property. Across from the Serbian Orthodox cathedral, the ceiling of which shows some collateral damage to the ceiling (chips of plasters missing), stands the library and museum of the Serb Orthodox cathedral. Though its walls still stand, it has been gutted, its collection of rare books and priceless icons went up in flames, like the flames of Kristallnacht. Could the Serb-dominated Yugoslav navy have trained its guns on the Serb Orthodox Church? The lack of damage to adjacent structure and the fact that the walls of the burnt-out building are intact indicates that, not artillery, but plastic explosive applied on the spot (by whose hands?) was the source of the damage. Cui bono?

Dubrovnik in 1992 is ready for tourists, if only the soldiers would go away. They once did go away. The soldiers actually did, in 1968, leave Dubrovnik and its environs: the federal army, for the sake of developing tourism, demilitarized this most important base. It had always been strategically important; that is why it is walled, and strongly walled. Dubrovnik was happily free of the military from 1968 until 1990, when Croatians freely voted to turn over their fortunes to Comrade General Tudjman and his team made up of other "ex"-communists in consort with rabid Nazi emigre Croatians in exile. These, their children and grandchildren returned in the spring and summer of 1990. Cars bearing Belgrade license plates were trashed and pushed into the sea. Moderate Croats warned their children working and studying overseas to stay away. The day before I got there, I was told by a Dubrovniker, the car of his neighbour was dynamited. Days before, Croatian terrorists had tried to set it on fire; Croat neighbours succeeded in putting out the fire. "Why" I asked "was this guy's car targeted?". "Because he was a Serb!" was the answer. Later this man told me he's a Muslim. (He also told me that in this time of lawlessness in neo-fascist Croatia some private scores among Croats are being settled for totally non-political reasons.)

A couple days before I strolled through old Dubrovnik there was an air raid; the civillian population went into the cellars. There was no attack, but Croatian forces off loaded tanks (from ex-East Germany?) from a ship while the unsuspected townfolks were "safe" in their cellars.

In the summer of 1991 the only "tourists" in Dubrovnik were police troops, boozing and singing World War II war songs calling for a renewed slaughter of the Serbs. Tourism died, to the tune of a multi-billion dollars loss for the people of the Adriatic coast. If Croatia's troops would leave Dubrovnik, the federal forces would withdraw.

The permanent solution, which would serve the interests of all and damage noone, not the Croats nor the Serbs and Montenegrians, is to declare Dubrovnik what she was before Napoleon in 1810 served her up on a platter to a voracious Austro-Hungarian Empire, an independent city-state, like Liechtenstein or San Marino.

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THE CENTENARY OF THE SERBIAN LITERARY COOPERATIVE

THE POWER OF BOOKS AND OF WISE PEOPLE

One century ago, on April 16–19th 1892, the physicians, professors, civil servants, authors and scientists of Serbia founded the Serbian Literary Cooperative, deeply believing in the power of books. The broad response of readers from all Serbian regions enabled the founder and first president, Stojan Novaković and the vice-president, Jovan Jovanović Zmaj to publish the first series of the Cooperative in the same year.

The first book to be published was the "Life and Adventures" of Dositej Obradović.

From then until the present day, 84 series have been published all in the well-known blue cover. The books of this library, unique in the history of Serbian culture, where the most popular books for decades. During its existence and its activities, the SLC published almost all the most important works of Serbian and World cultural heritage.

At the same time, the SLC gathered together generations of members, patrons, investors and of most prominent Serbian authors and scientists.

Presently, the SLC is one of the oldest and most distinguished institutions of the Serbian people. The history of the one hundred years of its existence, is actually a story about the wisest creators and about their works, about the readers and the national libraries and reading rooms, about the continuity and the value of the Serbian culture.

CRNJANSKI – A PROPHET OF A SMALL PEOPLE

The award of the "Miloš Crnjanski" Endowment, given to me for my memoir prose work by the esteemed Jury of this institution, represents an obvious tribute to me. My joy is all the more greater because the decoration bears the name of Miloš Crnjanski, whose work is connected with my first literary experiences.

I have always thought of Crnjanski as a true prophet of a small people, who right to peace and tranquility had been taken away by his own tragic fate. Condemned to be "a new Isreael", a permanent unrest and a boundless yearning for an ideal and more righteous world have been built within us. That is a life "in reality and in dreams", as Laza Kostić, another great poet of our language, puts it. Consequently, I dare say, Crnjanski became a unique chronicler of his persecuted nation, and his historical figures, through their personal destinies, have grown into protagonists in a universal drama. Its whirlpool was threatening us with an unavoidable disappearance, a final end to the centuries-old struggle for freedom and justice. And thus, portraying the wretched fate of the Serbian people, at a specific historical moment, Miloš Crnjanski also created a great metaphor about the people who have withheld their homes, domestic deities, deep inside themselves resisting their devaluation, oblivion and final annihilation with the last strength of their roots.

Only a single great writer was able to carry out everlasting messages from the darkness of the 18th century – even more realistic that at the time when they had been created. As for this claim, it is enough if we just humbly think about the Serbian suffering, our new exiles, refuges and the contemporary thought-of genocide.

I was overcome by such a concern when I summed up courage to write down my experiences. I tried never to let down the inviolable principle of permanent truths. I wanted to preserve the right and responsibility imposed by the position of a witness in a time in which numerous human values have been annulled. Somewhere in the depths of my hidden intentions I again discover the superior figure of Miloš Crnjanski.

Dejan Medaković

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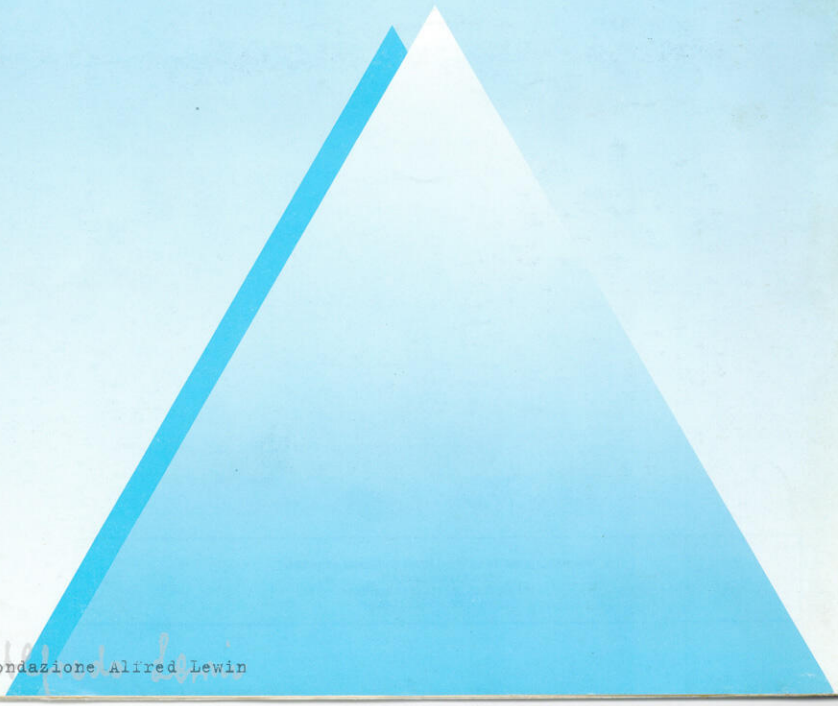

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