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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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Collection Name FRANK, ROBIN JO: FILES

Withdrawer

KDB 10/2/2008

File Folder CO176 YUGOSLAVIA (BEGIN-029999)

FOIA

F07-019/1

Box Number 221

BUTORAC

2

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
55942	MEMO	L. PAUL BREMER TO RICHARD ALLEN RE REQUEST FOR MEETING WITH VICE PREMIER DRAGAN R 7/17/2023 DEPT. OF STATE WAIVER	1	2/24/1981	B1
55943	MEMO	DUPLICATE OF #55942 R 7/17/2023 DEPT. OF STATE WAIVER	1	2/24/1981	B1

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]

B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

BFB

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C. F.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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CO176

FG038

FG006-12

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

February 27, 1981

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997 WS

By COB NARA, Date 10/6/08

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM:

RICHARD V. ALLEN *Allen*

SUBJECT:

Request for Meeting with Yugoslav Vice Premier Dragan (e)

Ivone

I concur with the State Department recommendation at Tab A proposing that a meeting be scheduled for you in April with Yugoslav Vice Premier Dragan. Talking points will be provided, should the meeting be confirmed. (e)

RECOMMENDATION

That you agree to meet with the Yugoslav Vice Premier. (e)

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Review February 26, 1987.

NSC#8100724

A



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

February 24, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. RICHARD V. ALLEN
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Request for Meeting Between Yugoslav Vice Premier
Dragan and Vice President Bush

Last year, Secretary of Commerce Klutznick invited a Yugoslav nuclear power delegation to visit the United States in December for meetings with U.S. Government officials and businessmen. The Yugoslavs accepted the invitation but, after the November election, requested a postponement until this spring. We are now prepared to renew the invitation. Our Embassy in Belgrade has learned that Vice Premier Zvone Dragan personally would head the delegation, if appropriately high-level meetings could be arranged.

Dragan, 41 years old, is one of the most able members of the post-war generation of Yugoslav leaders. Pragmatic and Western-oriented, he has been a principal advocate of the need for market forces to play a greater role in the Yugoslav economy. We believe that a meeting between Dragan and Vice President Bush would serve important U.S. political and commercial interests. Against the backdrop of uncertainty in Eastern Europe over events in Poland, such a high-level meeting -- the first under the Reagan Administration -- would be an important reaffirmation of our long-standing policy of support for Yugoslav independence, unity, and territorial integrity. The Yugoslavs, who have publicly opposed outside intervention in Poland, are deeply apprehensive about the threat of Soviet military action. They would welcome reassurance of the continuity of U.S. policy towards Yugoslavia.

A meeting with the Vice President also would demonstrate U.S.G. backing for American companies in the nuclear field. An American company, Westinghouse, has supplied Yugoslavia with its first commercial reactor, but U.S. companies face stiff competition from the West Europeans and the Japanese in the bidding for future plants.

We plan to invite the Yugoslav delegation to visit during the period April 6-18. We would hope to schedule a meeting for Dragan with the Vice President on April 6 or 7.

DECLASSIFIED

Authority

State Waiver

BY

du NARADATE 7/7/2023

L. Paul Bremer III
Executive Secretary

CONFIDENTIAL
GDS 2/19/87

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

February 26, 1981

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR: RICHARD V. ALLEN
FROM: RICHARD PIPES
SUBJECT: Meeting Between the
Vice President and
Yugoslav Vice Premier
Dragan (C)

I concur fully with the Department of
State recommendation at Tab A. (U)

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the memorandum at Tab I
to Vice President Bush's office. (U)

SIGNED
2/28/81

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Review February 26, 1987.

DECLASSIFIED
White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997
By KOB NARA, Date 10/6/08

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997
By LOIS NARA, Date 12/6/01

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR: NANCY BEARG DYKE
FROM: RICHARD V. ALLEN
SUBJECT: Request for Meeting Between Yugoslav
Vice Premier Dragan and Vice President Bush (C)

I concur with the State Department recommendation at Tab A proposing a meeting in April between the Vice President and Yugoslav Vice Premier Dragan. The NSC will provide the Vice President with talking points, should the meeting be confirmed. (C)

RECOMMENDATION

That the Vice President agree to meet with the Yugoslav Vice Premier. (C)

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Review February 26, 1987.

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURES

RECEIVED 24 FEB 81 20

TO ALLEN

FROM BREMER

10/6/08
EOT

DOC DATE 24 FEB 81

KEYWORDS: YUGOSLAVIA EUROPE EAST
NUCLEAR MATTERS AVP

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR MTG BETWEEN VP & YUGOSLAV VICE PREMIER DRAGAN

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR ALLEN DUE: 26 FEB 81 STATUS S FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR COMMENT

FOR INFO

PIPES

TAU

DEAL

TYSON

LENZ
off
Concur

COMMENTS

Concur H

REF# 8104731

LOG

NSCIFID

(J /)

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

Allen X 2/26 for signature CT ✓

~~2/27 per Colson, needs to be returned~~

R Pipes S 2/27 Redo 2/27 CT done 2/27

Allen X 2/27 for signature CT ✓

2/28 Dance sep for LVA, memo to VP RP CT

DISPATCH 3/2 to VP office via Sit Room/jep W/ATTCH FILE WH (10/8/81)



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

8117617

01946593

CO 176

June 5, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. RICHARD V. ALLEN
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Letter from Yugoslav President Kraigher
to the President

On June 3, the Yugoslav Embassy delivered the attached response of Yugoslav President Kraigher to the congratulatory message which the President had sent him on May 27. No response is required.

for L. Paul Bremer, III
L. Paul Bremer, III
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

As stated.

RECEIVED 25 MAY 81 09

TO ALLEN

FROM BREMER

DOCDATE 23 MAY 81

STEARMAN

23 MAY 81

PRES

03 JUN 81

KEYWORDS: YUGOSLAVIA

HS

KRAIGHER, SERGEJ

SUBJECT: PROPOSED MSG FM PRES TO PRES KRAIGHER

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR ALLEN

DUE: 03 JUN 81 STATUS C

FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR COMMENT

FOR INFO

STEARMAN

PIPES

FARRAR

STEARMAN

COMMENTS PRES 3 JUN LTR TO PRES KRAIGHER SENT TO JERRY WERBEL ICA TO

BE HANDCARRIED BY CHARLES WICK ON 5 JUN

REF# 8115979

LOG

NSCIFID

(M / H)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
	2 ⁰ /06	Pres Kraigher		SE, R, CF
		Thank you		

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE (C)

8117616

DECLASSIFIED
White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997
By DOB NARA, Date 10/7/03

President
of the Presidency
of the S.F.R. of Yugoslavia

Belgrade, June 2, 1981

Dear Mr. President,

I very much appreciate your message of congratulations on the occasion of my assumption of the office of President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Presidency of Yugoslavia and I personally will gladly work, together with you, Mr. President, towards the prosperity, well-being and friendship of our peoples, and towards the broader interests of peace, understanding, mutual respect and progress in the world.

Sergej Kraigher

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

DECLASSIFIED
White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997
By CAJ NARA, Date 10/7/08

President
of the Presidency
of the S.F.R. of Yugoslavia

Belgrade, June 2, 1981

Dear Mr. President,

I very much appreciate your message of congratulations on the occasion of my assumption of the office of President of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Presidency of Yugoslavia and I personally will gladly work, together with you, Mr. President, towards the prosperity, well-being and friendship of our peoples, and towards the broader interests of peace, understanding, mutual respect and progress in the world.

Sergej Kraigher

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

EMBASSY OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL
REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA
WASHINGTON

PRESERVATION COPY

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

→ NBC/S 24 MAR 1981

RECEIVED

81 MAR 23 P 6: 11

[Handwritten signature]
RR

JANET COLSON

BUD NANCE

DICK ALLEN

IRENE DERUS

JANET COLSON

BUD NANCE

KAY

CY TO VP

CY TO MEESE

CY TO BAKER

CY TO DEEVER

CY TO BRADY

gr 23/1850
gr 23/1850 for Staff info
gr

SHOW CC _____
SHOW CC _____
SHOW CC _____
SHOW CC _____
SHOW CC _____

23 MAR 1981

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 23, 1981

MEMORANDUM

TO: Dick Allen
FROM: Max Friedersdorf

FYI

Please help. In Yugoslavia there are again preparations for kangaroo courts in which leading Croatian intellectuals will be sentenced for "activities against the state." This time Belgrade's red fascists plan to start this newest wave of terror in Croatia with persecution of:

- Professor Vlado Gotovac, former editor of the prestigious Croatian Weekly, writer and poet. Professor Gotovac has already served a long prison sentence for participating in the "Croatian Spring" movement of 1971, a movement that demanded democratization and liberalization of the dictatorship in Yugoslavia. Professor Gotovac is unemployed and can currently publish his literature only in "samoizdat."
- Dr. Franjo Tudman, Tito's partisan-general, historian, former director of the Institute for Modern History, writer of numerous scientific books. Dr. Tudman was also imprisoned after Serbian reactionary forces destroyed the "Croatian Spring" movement.

Both are now accused of "activities against the state," that is for giving several interviews to Swedish, West German and Italian television and news media. For those "crimes" they might be sentenced to up to 15 years in the infamous concentration camps of Yugoslavia. The interviews to the press were given in 1977 (three and one-half years ago); however, the present very difficult economic situation in Yugoslavia "demands" silencing of potential voices for democratization right now.

Enclosed you will find the English translation of their interviews for Swedish television--Dr. Tudman, page 84, and Professor Gotovac, page 81. Please, help protect these noble and courageous men who fight for human dignity and freedom in totalitarian Yugoslavia.

Serbian and red fascists want to punish and silence Dr. Tudman because he has, as a director of the Institute for Modern History, demolished falsifications and fabrications about the civil war in Croatia during World War II. While the number of Serbian war victims is exaggerated by several orders of magnitude (from 40,000 to 900,000), the knowledge about the Croatian victims (600,000+), particularly of systematic postwar genocide (more than 350,000 Croatsians) is still being suppressed. Thousands of Serbian war criminals who still dominate leading positions both in Yugoslavia and Croatia (95% of policemen in Croatia are Serbians) are mortally afraid of the truth. Their political strength comes from perpetuation of national conflicts in Yugoslavia. Among their numerous victims was Bruno Busic, prominent journalist and historian who worked in Dr. Tudman's institution; he was recently assassinated in Paris.

Also, on page 80 you can find an interview with Dr. Znidarcic, former chairman of the Croatian Bar Association. He himself was held in prison for having the "audacity" to defend in court the so-called "Zadar group." This completely innocent group of Croatian students and professors was tortured in a most bestial manner and given extremely long sentences. Detailed descriptions of their torture just surfaced in the West and will be presented to the Madrid conference on human rights. I would also like to call your attention to another extraordinary and courageous statement on the genocide in Croatia by Dr. Marko Veselica. An English translation can be obtained at:

Nova Hrvatska
30 Fleet Street
London EC4Y 1AJ
England
\$3.00

Croatian National Congress
P.O. Box 3088
Steinway Station
New York, New York 11103
\$3.00

Dr. Tudman, Dr. Veselica and professor Gotovac are also among the 43 signatories of the petition for the immediate release of all political prisoners in Yugoslavia. All 43 leading Croatian intellectuals who signed this petition in November 1980 are the subject of police investigations now. Two students who collected the signatures were tortured; one, Ernest Brajder, a Croatian Jew, died under torture, and the other, Dobroslaw Paraga, has broken feet from beatings with iron bars and will probably die soon. The life of Paraga's father, a leading Croatian lawyer, is also endangered. Please note also that more than 80% of all political prisoners in Yugoslavia are Croatians and that sentences given for political "offenses" (like reading an underground newspaper) are especially harsh if the accused is a Croatian. The police, courts, party membership, news media, and diplomatic posts abroad are completely dominated by Serbians.

Yugoslavia is an artificial state where Croatia is brutally persecuted by the reactionary Serbian forces which pursue the genocidal policies of Greater Serbia in the framework of communist dictatorship. One cannot find the truth about this reign of terror in Belgrade where the reactionary Serbian ruling clique tries to carefully hide their crimes. Belgrade's red-Nazi government, while conducting a policy of genocide against the Croatian nation, wines and dines foreign correspondents who are "well behaved" and throws out all journalists who are "too inquisitive" and try to visit and analyze the situation in Croatia.

The past policy of the U.S. State Department has been to openly collaborate with Serbian red Nazis and to suppress screams for human and national freedom and democracy in Yugoslavia. For example, the Voice of America broadcasts only in Serbian, is manned only by Serbians, and censors all the news about the terror in Croatia. When a group of Stanford University professors wanted to visit the leading dissidents in Croatia, Carter's State Department advised them not to do so. Why should the U.S. State Department collaborate with the most reactionary forces in Yugoslavia in their fight against democratization and liberalization? This is not in the interest of the United States. Yugoslavia is an equally artificial country as a hypothetical federation between the U.S. and Iran. The status quo in Yugoslavia is not in the interest of the U.S.

INTERVIEWS WITH PROMINENT CROATIANS IN CROATIA

WILL THE WEST FINALLY BREAK THE SILENCE ABOUT CROATIAN REALITY?

In its 45th issue of October 31, 1977, the West German weekly *Der Spiegel* published an interview of Ivan Zvonimir Cicak with Swedish Television. Cicak is the former student prorector of the Croatian University in Zagreb and one of the most prominent leaders of the Croatian University Students' Movement in 1970-71.

One of Sweden's most respected daily newspapers *Dagens Nyheter* (no. 298, Nov. 2, 1977) reported in a front page story that a television program about Croatia which was to be aired on November 1, at 9 P.M. had been cancelled because of pressure from the Yugoslav embassy in Stockholm. According to *Dagens Nyheter*, the program was to present the conversations of Swedish reporters with Ivan Cicak; the Archbishop of Zagreb, Franjo Kuharic; the Croatian general and an historian, Dr. Franjo Tudjman; the authors Petar Segedin and Vlado Gotovac and with the noted Zagreb attorney, Lav Znidarcic, who distinguished himself in the defense of Croatian political prisoners. The same program was to show the drilling of Croatian commandos in secret training camps. The front page of *Dagens Nyheter* bears a photograph of a Croatian commando in military attire with a large Croatian coat-of-arms. The paper claims that the underground headquarters of the Croatian commandos is located at a known address in Yugoslavia.

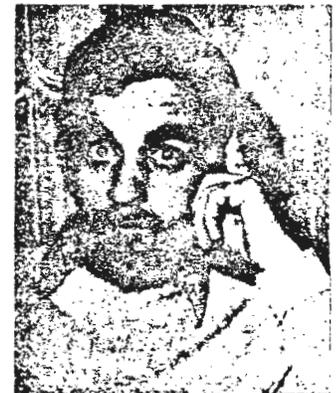
Therefore, I consider everything that I am saying here, not a political appearance, but...

IVAN ZVONIMIR CIIKAK:

It is difficult to talk about the year 1971 and to present its political program, at least for me, personally. In fact, I am not allowed to speak about it because I am forbidden to make any public appearance, but a simple presentation of facts about my life; that I have many difficulties. I am out of work because I was in prison for three years. Fourteen days after serving my sentence I went into the army for one year. When I returned, I got married and my wife is expecting a child. I do not have a job. They will not give me any work because I have no moral political character according to their ruling. I studied philosophy and comparative literature at the university, but I cannot graduate because I simply do not have the strength. I have not resolved the most basic material questions to be able to do that. Of 1971 I can only say that when I think of that year I become infuriated because I remember how incorrect, dishonest and treacherous the West was towards us. Although we share the same ideas---democratic socialism, the right to work and the right to freedom---the West nonetheless declared us to be fascists and terrorists. These are absurdities which no one here can comprehend. But this is in fact not even an absurdity. It is a political reality. I am certain that Palme's government knew what was happening in Yugoslavia, as did Brandt's. I do not know who could have been unaware of it, but no one lifted a finger.

All of Europe rose to its feet for Mihajlov. We have thousands of Mihajlovs in Croatia and no one has uttered a word. We were imprisoned under abnormal conditions. I was placed in solitary confinements for three months. From the solitary cell I was transferred to an isolation cell for three months. They then returned me to solitary confinement for another three months. This is a total of nine months. What did you Europe and your Swedish democratic society say to this? Nothing!!

This is a truth which hurts, which should hurt Sweden. Swedish ideals,



"We have thousands of Mihajlovs in Croatia and no one has uttered a word."

**INTERVIEWS WITH
PROMINENT CROATIANS
IN CROATIA**

the ideals of Swedish socialism, have been betrayed because of political reality. What has happened to the Swedish socialists—their defeat at the last election is a result of not maintaining consistent policy toward all. During the war in South Vietnam there was much yelling and demonstrating. Diplomatic relations with South Vietnam were broken. However, when we were thrown into prison no one uttered a word; we were innocent.

On December 21, 1970, I was the first student to be elected as the student prorector in Zagreb. I was later indicted for these elections. I was indicted for being legally elected as the prorector of the University. This injustice took place only because I am Croatian, a patriot, an intellectual, let us say some sort of intellectual, at least that's what I try to be, because I am Catholic by faith, because I am freedom-loving, a left-winger and a socialist. These are my sins. For these reasons I have been persecuted from my high school years to the present time.

You are going to the Belgrade Conference to discuss democracy, freedom and the free interaction of people and ideas while Marko Veselica is still in prison. He has two small daughters. Only his wife works. She is under constant fear of being thrown out of her job so that, in fact, even she is not free. Marko Veselica has been placed in solitary confinement for twelve days. According to my colleague, Drazen Budisa, there was no such solitary cell even during the Inquisition. Marko Veselica was confined in this solitary cell for exchanging the cigarettes which his wife brought him for food so that he would not die of hunger in the prison. Neither the Swedish nor the other Western media reacted to this.

"They imprison people for wearing the Croatian coat-of-arms on the face of their watch."

You come to the Conference in Belgrade while we have hundreds of political prisoners. Djilas has claimed that there are 600. One of my colleagues estimates that there are 500 Croats in Foca alone, a prison in Bosnia. What of the prisons in Lepoglava, Gradiska and Zenica? No one asks about those!

This is not just a problem of Croatian prisoners. You cannot imprison a person for not thinking in a like manner or for telling a joke. You cannot, I implore you, prosecute my brother-in-law, Damir Stambuk, for saying in the army that I have not changed a bit since I was released from prison. Many people are saying what he has said.

These are facts that must be brought out. We must speak of the thousands of Stambuks who exist. We must speak of those people who sing *Oj ti vilo, vilo Velebita* and are automatically imprisoned for two months, if not more. They imprison people for this. They imprison people for wearing the Croatian coat-of-arms on the face of their watch. These are absurdities. A Croatian coat-of-arms hangs on the wall of my apartment. If the police were to find it, they could imprison me for displaying the Croatian coat-of-arms. I purchased this same coat-of-arms in a store right here in Zagreb.

A colleague, Ante Paradzik who was in prison with me, was also in solitary confinement for three months, although in a separate cell, of course. His confinement in solitary was extended for another three months, making a total of six months. He was imprisoned for two months, a week after his wedding (he was married in Herzegovina), for sending wedding invitations engraved with the Croatian tri-colors; red, white and blue, exactly as they can be purchased in any store.

For this he was imprisoned for two months. Notice that he and his wife did this together. Why was his wife not imprisoned with him? I repeat, they did this together. No. Paradzik must be broken. That's it exactly. He must be broken. Budisa must be broken. Budisa was placed in solitary confinement for a month for lending a book which he had in prison to a friend. One cannot get books from the outside in prison, or rather, they are difficult to get. Budisa had obtained it in Gradiska. He told me this and it is the honest truth. We share every morsel, our table, everything. Our wives

INTERVIEWS WITH
PROMINENT CROATIANS
IN CROATIA

are here and we live under the same roof in the same misery. Budisa told me that he lent a book to someone. It was an Italian book, actually a text of the Italian language. After that he was placed in a solitary cell which was two meters long and a meter wide. It had a rotten floor. One could see the ground and mushrooms sprouting from the ground. When he entered the cell, there was a full repository in it--that is a dish for waste. It was full and had been sitting there for God knows how long. It smelled horridly. When he called a guard and asked him to throw the waste out of the repository, the guard answered that he could not help him because waste was thrown out every Thursday and that day happened to be a Friday.

Budisa scooped the excrement out with his dish and threw it out the window at night so that he might go to the bathroom and not dirty the planks in the area. He later had to eat out of that same dish. Drazen Budisa can testify to this should it be necessary. He was kept in a solitary cell which is claimed not to exist. It is called the *mracara* or "dark cell" because it has no windows. They place a man in this *mracara* for two days. He is then brought out into bright sunlight to harm his eyes. I know how much my eyes have suffered because I was in prison. I must wear metalized glasses permanently.

You undoubtedly know what a solitary cell is. The one I was in was a room two meters long and exactly this wide. It contained no bed, only a low chair, on which one could not really sit, but crouch. There was a waste repository which was fully corroded. It smelled constantly because the top was full of holes. This repository, this stench serves as a table. One must place his food dish on this and eat. There is no other place to put it. I lay on the floor and became ill. According to law, they must release a person from the solitary cell if he is sick. They did not release me. Even today I suffer the consequences. My leg and arm ache. I have rheumatism. But, this does not interest anyone. Like Mihajlov we engaged in hunger strikes. No one in the West knew this. They fed us by placing a rubber hose in our stomachs and pouring hot milk into us.

It is absurd to keep men in jail because they think differently from someone else. For this reason I am using this opportunity to urge the Yugoslav government to come forth at the Belgrade Conference with prisons emptied of political prisoners. I do not speak in my name but in the name of my comrades. If you ask them individually, then you will agree that the conditions of my friends has become unbearable.

Professor Hrvoje Sosic was released from prison three years ago. He has two children and is out of work. Jozo Ivcevic has two university degrees. He was a lecturer at the Law School. He is married and has a child. His wife is Serbian--the daughter of the Croatian Author Vladen Desnica. He is out of prison but he cannot get a job. He has sent hundreds of appeals. He is rejected everywhere because of his "moral and political quality".

Sime Dodan, Doctor of Economics, a university professor, is also out of work. As you know, he came out of prison seriously ill. Drazen Budisa has no job. I have no job. Drazen Budisa got married. They are expecting a child. I got married and my wife is expecting a child. Ante Paradzik got married. His wife is expecting. None of us has work. We are all looking for jobs. Vlado Gotovac has also been looking for work since he got out of prison. He cannot find any either.

It is an impossible feeling when a man lives from his wife's earnings and sits at home. All right, we all do work which is not in our line, manual and other labor, but these jobs do not fit our occupations. All we ask for is the right to freely express our own thoughts and the right to work. All possible world orders guarantee these rights.

I think it is hypocritical to discuss human rights by the League of Human Rights whose president is from Yugoslavia when at this very moment there are so many political prisoners in Yugoslavia. Why does this man not

"All we ask for is the right to freely express our own thoughts and the right to work."

**INTERVIEWS WITH
PROMINENT CROATIANS
IN CROATIA**

"As a Croatian I consider it necessary to work so that my Croatian nation can be sovereign in its own homeland."

undertake some action if he is for human rights?

Yes, we are aware of all the proclamations, declarations, charters and God knows what letters and proverbial sayings. We are well aware of all this, but concrete actions, that is what we want.

Listen, I am tired of these stories about Croats as some unstable element in Europe, about how we are cut-throats, robbers, murderers, ustashas and bandits. If that is the case, then the whole Croatian nation should be hanged, completely hanged if that is what we are. We are not fascists. The real fascist is Ernest Block who declared that all Croatian emigrants are fascists and that those in Croatia are semi-fascists. He is a fascist and a racist because he categorizes people according to their nationality, not according to their beliefs. That is an absurdity. How can a man say such things? When he said this he was either sick or crazy or he was fed the wrong information. You have all been fed the wrong information. That is the whole point.

As a Croatian I consider it necessary to work so that my Croatian nation can be sovereign in its own homeland. I have already said this and I am again letting your Mr. Palme, the current president Feledin, and all democratic forces know. We are for the equality of nations. Small nations also have the right to full political, cultural, economic and social freedom. This is not just the right of large nations because of their size. Small nations also have the right to exist in complete freedom.

Translated by Ruzica Kapetanovic

LAV ZNIDARCIC

Q: Mr. Znidarcic, in 1974-75, you were attorney for a group of Croats accused of various criminal actions against Yugoslavia?

A: Yes.

Q: Did this involve terroristic activities, a terrorist organization?

A: During interrogation, the defendants vehemently denied the existence of any type of organization, especially a terroristic one. The attorneys incorporated this in their statements as well, emphasizing that only verbal activity was involved. The defendants were convicted and their sentences affirmed.

Q: Had any of your clients actually committed any terroristic acts?

A: No.

Q: How long were their sentences?

A: One received eleven years, the other six and a half.

Q: Is this case an exception in Croatia or not?

A: I haven't defended in other such cases.

Q: Were you arrested in Zadar after the trial?

A: Yes.

Q: Could you tell us why you were arrested?

A: No.

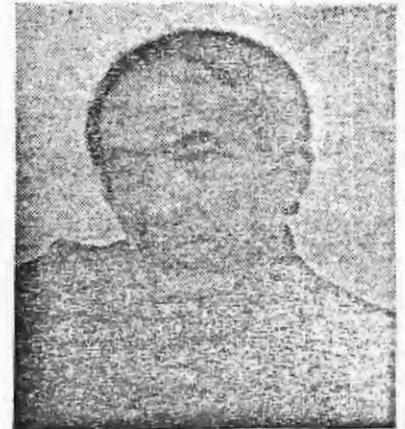
- Q: Were you convicted?
A: No.
Q: How long were you in prison?
A: Four months, minus six days.

translated by Julienne Basic

VLADO GOTOVAC

Q: You spent four years in prison. What were you convicted of?

A: I was convicted of a whole series of crimes. My indictment was similar to all indictments raised against intellectuals during this particular crisis-ridden period, in various socialist countries. Literally and textually, it differs very little from these other indictments. I shared the opinions of many of the intellectuals who were truly left-oriented and who believed that they could offer justice and freedom to the world, as an actuality, as their future, and the statements made in the indictments involving my "fascism", my "right-wing orientation", were inventions which were needed to explain the basis for the charges against me. No basis was found in my actions or in my activities, but, rather, like in all such processes, criminal actions were assumed and corroborated, not only in my case, but in the cases of a whole group of others whom I know. Because of this, I ended up in prison, simply because I believed that within pre-determined conditions and a clearly defined atmosphere of freedom, the vital issues affecting my homeland, Croatia, must be dealt with and, when necessary, resolved. Whether or not I agreed, at this particular moment, with the official stance is not particularly important because I agreed with the general views and goals concerning the creation of a just socialist society. I have been a loyal socialist all my life. Therefore, I believe today, just as I did at the moment I first appeared in court, that I spent four undeserved years in prison, that I was in prison four years for absolutely nothing.



"I ended up in prison simply because I believed that the vital issues affecting my homeland, Croatia, must be dealt with."

Q: What are you doing now, how do you occupy yourself?

A: Now, after having been released from prison, I am a man without a job. I'm not allowed to work at any type of job for one year. I am living solely on the earnings of my wife. I am not permitted to speak in public. In addition to four years in prison, I am prohibited from all public activity for three years. That fact that I am speaking with you in this manner is a certain violation and I don't know what kind of repercussions will follow from it.

Q: You are an advocate of social justice, of freedom. What do freedom and justice mean to you?

A: The dilemma confronting the West and the entire contemporary world is how to be both just and free. That's the central question. Actually, the contemporary world has gotten accustomed to the idea that it's necessary to be just, but seldom is freedom considered or insisted upon. This viewpoint has been removed from the ranks of economic and class radicalism, has almost vanished because, just as an empty stomach cannot digest the idea of freedom, freedom cannot digest justice and justice has devoured it. For this reason, I deeply believe that's a world problem. We are only endeavoring, in harmony with all other questions with which the contemporary world is involved, to insure enough liberty and enough justice so that all issues can be dealt with, as well as our problem, our traditional problem. Therefore, that which Croatia is striving for within the European framework isn't a provincial problem, it isn't a problem to shrink away

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"We wanted to solve our problems through a society in which freedom and justice is ensured."

from, especially as a result of some insane prattle spoken about us, I really can't call it anything else, that defames us, that attempts to silence us by portraying us as "fascists" and "ustashi". All nations in the world, if they regard themselves honestly, have their black marks, times they've been weak, individuals, large or small groups, they are not proud of, who will not admit to their evilness. We admit that there are those who did us and others harm, but we don't believe that such facts should be allowed to play any kind of role in the fate of a nation, in questions of freedom, justice, socialism, etc. And I became a victim of this way of thinking in my trial, which was truly dishonest, because there was absolutely no reason for trying me at all, especially in this manner. But if they simply wanted to try me, maybe it was something else. It's perhaps difficult to convince people that one should be in prison for what I did, but it's a fact that that which was attributed to me falls within the range of charges reserved only for attacks against Croats. That's why I would like to emphasize here the fact that the issue we've presented is not only ours, is not one we want to be purely provincial. It's a question we refused to give a separatist framework to, either within the state or the world, but, rather, we wanted to solve our problems through a society in which freedom and justice is ensured, we wanted to solve all the problems for which no final solution has yet been found. In my opinion, this is a vital question for entire Europe, because both European communities, East and West, have a whole series of internal problems with the organization of their societies. Both one and the other want a framework in which the society can function, in which all the inhabitants cooperate and participate with full rights and satisfaction, economically, socially, culturally, etc. Finally, I personally believe the contemporary world needs a true pluralism, a real pluralism, which encompasses spiritual and intellectual values, traditions, and perspectives of groups, individuals and nations, a pluralism in which freedom and justice can be realized. Actually, freedom and justice reach their peak when the world realizes the pluralistic concept.

Q: What problems were discussed in 1971, which problems existed in the press, in talks in the area of economic relationships?

A: We discussed various aspects of economic problems which existed for us, we spoke about the monetary exchange, for example, we discussed the way economic investments were made, etc. We discussed a whole series of questions. I can't analyze these issues for you, I'm not an economist, I can't speak expertly about these issues, there are others who are experts in this field. Such questions were discussed daily. Specifically for this reason I mention all contemporary problems, because they cannot be solved unless a solution is found for matters of like importance. I don't believe in any great temporary or pragmatic solutions or ones which are designed for one specific situation or province, let's say situation. And the reverse holds true. I, as well as many colleagues I know, always insisted that our solution be found on a basis that would help others find a form to solve their internal problems as well, social, economic, cultural and other problems.

Q: The Croatian problem is a European problem. Why, in your opinion, are there such misunderstandings between Croatia and Europe?

A: You see, I believe that when we, in Europe, do not regard each other in a sufficiently serious light, when we think that some nations are large, some small, some important, some unimportant, we are behaving not only badly, but dangerously. I'm especially not favorably disposed to those who feel that small nations, because they are small and cannot correct their mistakes through tanks and cannons, have no right to say anything about general or common interests, general or common goals of the world, humanity, ideology. Just the reverse: because small nations have no opportunity to solve their problems with tanks and cannons, small nations must be wise.

They have to accomplish everything through understanding. That's their only weapon. They have to struggle to become free, because only in freedom can one realize one's full intellectual capabilities. Therefore, we wish that every small nation insists on its freedom, because through it, it obtains its only saving weapon: intellectual reality, intellectual life of its own. I repeat, small nations cannot use force, they can only intellectually maintain their values, their cultures, institutions, values of their creative existence. They have nothing else. Therefore, when we seek this, the West has to take into consideration that our freedom, the pulse of our freedom, is the pulse of her freedom, and if she is indifferent to us, her indifference will very surely, in some form, cost her dearly, as it has in the past.

Q: Can the Croatian problem be solved quietly, as opposed to force?

A: I don't believe that, either in our case or any other case in the world, force can solve a contemporary problem, even if injustice is involved, especially if injustice is involved. The fact that one is forced to be silent means nothing other than that the problem remains unsolved. And as far as questions involving us are concerned, I don't feel anything will change simply because we cease discussing it, cease discussing the problems. They can be postponed, our problems and world problems, which, at this moment, occupy virtually every sphere; but they won't be solved until they can be solved in an atmosphere of freedom and mutual trust, because there will always be people who will be dissatisfied with some method or another. But I am of the view that individuals should be allowed to express their dissatisfaction. I'm not talking about percentages. Every person, as long as his dissatisfaction is not opposed to freedom or the rights of others, should be able to express his beliefs, whatever they may be. To deal with these beliefs by force and imprisonment means simply that truth and freedom are only permitted at specific times. I believe that the contemporary world, not only here, but in general, is moving in the direction of again comprehending this, will find a solution for all that's occurring, not only at this moment, but as a general problem of the contemporary world. We must find ways of creating social ideals of humanity. Along with that, we must find ways of offering mankind social justice and full freedom.

"The fact that one is forced to be silent means nothing other than that the problem remains unsolved."

My entire life I've dreamt of a socially just society and exactly for this reason I've always been left-oriented. I believed only when justice and freedom existed could human problems be solved. I always believed that only through the solution of these problems could human values be realized. A free individual, an individual who lives justly, only this individual can offer all which the human being has to offer, all of his greatness and all of his human dignity.

Q: How long do you think the contemporary world will endure these injustices, this violence?

A: It is difficult to say how long it will be endured. There are many examples in history. In the question of endurance, history shows different faces. There are periods where some issues, regardless of their importance, were solved over long stretches of time and there are examples of questions which were totally unimportant being solved very quickly. One can never predict such things nor play, in such an unquiet world as ours, the role of a prophet. You know that we reject all that. We can only say that we wish and hope for, because I don't want the situation to become explosive anywhere in the world. I hope mankind will be sufficiently prudent and intelligent to find a solution without any explosion, to find the solution, I repeat, because it's very important to me, that it is discovered within the framework of full freedom and created within it as well.

Q: What do you expect from the Helsinki and Belgrade conferences for European security and cooperation?

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A: You see, this question just continues with what we've discussed thus far. I don't believe that any conference will solve all our problems or the problems of anyone else currently suffering under any kind of lack of freedom, under the lack of opportunity to speak what he wishes, anyone who is prevented from living as he wishes, in harmony with humane ideals. Of course, I strongly differentiate here when I speak of freedom between the necessity for denying extremist, fascistic organizations freedom, because I feel those whose ideals are directed against others deserve no freedom. Freedom must exist in harmony with humane ideals. Meanwhile, it's often said that we don't know what freedom is. Just as mankind works compulsively to make something valuable of life, even though he cannot define the meaning or source of life, he knows what freedom is and compulsively strives for it as well, although he can't define it simply, either. The mere fact that we cannot define all life's concepts does not mean we must cease participating in them, experiencing them, spreading them and attempting to recognize them. At any rate, one thing is sure, true freedom cannot exist with social injustice and it is just as certain that justice cannot exist without freedom. In the context of this entire framework, the role all of us should assign to Helsinki and Belgrade is to maximally increase all components. That is, to fight with all human means to enable people to live and work, in harmony with their beliefs, so that in the East and West both components of freedom, its justice and its very essence are ensured, and the difference between formalized and true freedom is eliminated, transformed into a real freedom which will be guaranteed by the economic position of the individual, so that no one can degrade him with the promise of bread or the threat of imprisonment.

Q: You were in prison in Stara Gradiska. What kind of prison is it?

A: I was flabbergasted at the fact that we even have such prisons. I didn't suspect that such castoffs from society even existed in Yugoslavia, decaying under one's very eyes. The atmosphere there is fetid and filthy, the people who are rejected from society like so much garbage and who are decaying there, whether they are criminals or not, (we were all together with the worst recidivist criminal elements) really evoke in one more than mere sympathy, they evoke a feeling of horror at what is being done to them. Obviously, one who has never committed a crime feels much worse in that kind of company. In the midst of those who suffer, you become the one suffering the most. That is why this prison is horrible to me, perhaps more than any other type of brutality. I wasn't in isolation, I wasn't beaten, but I was haunted continually, from dusk to dawn, by the scenes which surrounded me, the filth the desolation, the hunger. I think that this is really something we should not allow to exist, regardless of the circumstances or of who is in power.

translated by Julienne Busic

"I was flabbergasted at the fact that we even have such prisons [in Yugoslavia]."



FRANJO TUDJMAN

Q: Recently, in Sweden and in other European countries, as well as America, the International media has been confronted with the increasing political and terroristic activity of the Croatian emigration whose extremists are young people raised in Socialist Yugoslavia. What are the reasons for this: What is the spiritual and political situation in Croatia and Yugoslavia which is provoking an ever stronger separatist movement? How influential is the emigration and to what extent do the demands for an Independent Croatia represent the true desire of the Croatian people?

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A: It is not easy to answer all these questions. By the reaction to such activity, we can see that the work of the Croatian emigrants represent an increasingly serious problem for the countries in which they operate as well as the Yugoslav government. Yugoslavia's anxiety over this problem is apparent from the sentences which are imposed on those who are accused of having ties with the emigration. The newest wave of Croatian political emigrants is a result of the brutal handling of the Croatian renaissance movement during 1970 and 1971. All the roots of this Croatian Spring have been crushed. As a result, many young people have lost faith in the possibility of free political and national life in the homeland. Embittered and desperate, they have gone abroad and associated themselves with radical emigrant activity. This serves as further proof that police persecution and political terror cannot resolve any problems and least of all national problems. Such problems can only be further aggravated in this manner. The reasons for this newer political emigration are manifold. They have their roots in the more recent Croatian history which we have already discussed and in contemporary world affairs. In essence the source of these problems is the fact that Croatia finds herself in a multinational state union such as Yugoslavia was and as it is today. Between the two wars Croatia fought against Greater Serbian hegemonism and for her right to self-determination. The Yugoslav monarchy was a national prison for the Croatian nation and for the other non-Serbian nations. Restructuring Yugoslavia into a socialist federation was a radical historical change, but it did not prevent the renewed creation of a greater centralistic state. All institutions were centered in Belgrade. In all areas of national and state concern from politics and economics to sports, Belgrade became the center of both power and of the decision-making process. The unilateral monopoly and so-called democratic centralism of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia crippled the federal system and enabled Rankovic to exert police pressure over Croatia. The Croatian people offered the greatest resistance to this bureaucratic centralism and Greater Serbian state etatism, because this centralism affected Croats most. This is evidenced by the fact that of the million economic emigrants from Yugoslavia, nearly one half were Croats from Croatia, especially during Rankovic's era. A political emigration was in large part recruited from among these economic emigrants.

"The Yugoslav monarchy was a national prison for the Croatian nation."

At the time of the latest constitutional reform in 1971, the proclamation of the self-managing body introduced some confederative elements concerning internal relations. Even this did not guarantee the right to a freer national existence and democratic self-determination was not assured. We see this from the way in which the Croatian intellectuals and the communist leadership of Croatia were persecuted and the manner in which the Croatian student and general popular movements were crushed at the beginning of this decade.

"The right of every nation to its own statehood and to self-determination is guaranteed by the constitution, but those rights are restricted and negated in practice."

All the events up to this time demonstrate that there is a deep contradiction between the selected programmatic principles of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Constitution of the SFR Yugoslavia and reality. The right of every nation to its own statehood and to self-determination, including the right to secede is guaranteed by the constitution, but those rights are restricted and negated in practice.

From the point of view of history, the Croatian emigration has rejected the international order and Yugoslavia in it and is counting on no resolution of the problems through pressure from the major power blocs or guesswork about Yugoslavia. This position is only an extreme expression of the historical expectations of the Croatian nation, which like every other nation, in our time yearns for the realization of full national sovereignty and the right to make its own decisions about its own fate and future in a democratic manner, especially with respect to the question of Croatia's relations with the other nations in Yugoslavia and in the European community. That is approximately how I can answer your question.

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Q: Contradictory evaluations about the Yugoslav regime and about human and political freedoms in Yugoslavia have appeared abroad. For some, Yugoslavia is a much freer country than other single-party socialist country. For others she represents an even tighter totalitarian regime than other East European countries. What is in fact the situation with respect to human and political freedoms in Yugoslavia? Is the situation worse in Croatia than it is in other republics? Do you personally feel under coercion? Were there any changes in the direction of a freer exchange of people and ideas during the year of the Helsinki conference?

A: Undoubtedly, Yugoslavia is a much more open society in many respects than other socialist countries. We see this from her open borders, the flow of tourists and the movement of hundreds of thousands of our workers in European countries, as well as the cultural, technological and other influences on the life and thoughts of our people. However, Yugoslavia is also unquestionably a country where the Communist Party with its Marxist doctrine has the exclusive monopoly of decision-making in all areas of the material and spiritual life of the people. In Yugoslavia, as in all other communist countries, there is no room for pluralism of social ideas or for any other political or ideological views. Recently, a high official of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia declared that the supporters of Euro-communism, that is to say Carillo, Berlinguer and their followers, would be imprisoned in Yugoslavia as counterrevolutionaries because neither pluralistic democracy nor the idea of Euro-communism would apparently be acceptable to Yugoslavia. What would be acceptable to Yugoslavia? It is understood that only Yugoslavia's leadership, in fact the pinnacle of that leadership has the right to make such decisions. Even those individuals who were communist leaders and ideologues are now jobless unemployed. They live as forsaken people who are forbidden from engaging in any public work only because at a given moment they came into conflict not with the majority, but with the minority---a most powerful minority in a partisan leadership. To see that the conditions in Croatia are harsher than in the other republics, we need only look at the fact that because of the so-called Croatian nationalism more and more new groups of people from prominent Croatian revolutionaries to the most well-known authors or university students who are just preparing themselves for life, are under constant attack.

"In my own case I now cannot print a single word. As a historian, I cannot attend any academic functions. The government forbids me from travelling abroad."

Have there been changes since Helsinki and the Belgrade Conference? There have certainly been no vital changes. Kardelj and some others have presented the view of "self-managing pluralism" stating that even part of the leadership is aware of the need for democratization and a greater respect for national and human rights. But others, and even these men, immediately took the trouble to point out that they do not refer to any popular democracy and that this is not meant to question in any way the leading role of the League of Communists. In newspapers and elsewhere we read of indictments because of verbal political delicta. In my own case I now cannot print a single word. As a historian, I cannot attend any academic functions. The government forbids me from travelling abroad. They continually reject my passport application. Therefore, I cannot accept invitations from Swedish and other universities abroad who have offered me positions as a professor and a writer. During our time and in this world such phenomena must provoke dissatisfaction not only of the intellectual who is by his nature preoccupied with academic life, but also of the average person. This does not facilitate the exchange of people and ideas which is the aim of the resolutions of the Helsinki conference. That is about all I have to say about that question.

Q: Every time the Swedish press has the opportunity to write about the Croatian problem, accusations of Croatian genocide against the Serbian

people are always repeated in the press coverage. Jasenovac and the figure of 700,000-900,000 liquidated human lives are frequently mentioned. These and similar accusations have formerly given the Croatian problem a special character. Are they true?

A: Not only are these "facts" not true, but they have been exaggerated tenfold. I can say this as a historian with complete scientific responsibility. My conclusions are based on the official data from the National Institute for the Statistical Census of War Victims 1941-1945. I have on hand a summary of such a census. More than ten or fifteen years ago I had the opportunity, or if you will, the misfortune to challenge with these and other data the repeated attempts to engrave for eternity on a stone monument at Jasenovac the record that more than 600,000 people were killed in that camp. It is, however, a historical fact that in all the camps and prisons in Croatia 59,635 people lost their lives. These were not only Serbs, but included a large number of Croats, democrats and anti-fascists, as well as Jews, Gypsies and other nationalities. Even this is a huge number 60,000 people and it does not diminish the responsibility of those who participated in these crimes. There is no question that all those who exaggerate these figures tenfold do this to augment the responsibility of the Croatian people and of the Croatian nation.

"No lasting historical judgements can be formed on the basis of lies."

It is further necessary to point out that in addition to the above-mentioned victims of camps and prisons 68,505 Partisans died on the territory of present-day Croatia. 50,806 people fell victims to the direct terror of the German and Italian occupators and to Ustashe and, of course, Chetnik units. The total number of victims who died during the so-called national socialist revolution is 185,327, without including those who died on the side of the Independent State of Croatia. Of these 185,327 war victims, the overwhelming majority are Croats. According to my estimates, approximately two thirds of these victims were Croatian. The others were of Serbian and other nationalities.

These are historical facts. Everything else is an attempt to manipulate historical truth and consequently to deceive the international media. Those who present these historical facts in any other manner are either misled by those who are familiar with the true facts, or they are victims of malicious propaganda. Some individuals intentionally and in a planned manner incessantly twist historical truth. By creating a false historical picture of the Croatian nation they attempt to deceive the international media.

Such intrigue can temporarily achieve some advances, but it is worth noting that no lasting historical judgments can be formed on the basis of lies. In the final analysis such lies must be swallowed by those who spread them and by those who exert themselves to maintain them.

Q: There is no disagreement that there was national tyranny in the old fascist Yugoslav monarchy. How was this tyranny manifested in the life of non-Serbian nations, especially the Croats?

A: The Croatian nation is one of the oldest in Europe. It has existed on the present territory for thirteen centuries. Throughout her history, Croatia has maintained her individuality, even after losing her medieval state independence. It was maintained in the framework of the Hapsburg monarchy. However, since the creation of the state of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918, or Yugoslavia, as it has been called since 1929, the national and state individuality of the Croatian nation has been eliminated. The Croatian people did not accept this elimination. They demanded no fewer rights in the new union than they had had in the Hapsburg monarchy which had also been a foreign country. There too, Croats had to fight for their independence. They wanted to maintain their national identity in the new state and demanded the same rights as the Serbs and other nationalities of Yugoslavia.

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The Greater Serbian bourgeoisie denied and negated these rights, even with an open fascist dictatorship. Let us not forget that two leaders of the Croatian National Movement were murdered in that Belgrade parliament.

Even within the framework of such a fascist Yugoslavia, the Croatian national movement had an expressly democratic nature. Croatia was one of the few Catholic countries in Europe where there were no fascist or clerical parties. This was due to the fact that in the first phase of the national movement Starcevic's Party of Rights and later Radic's Peasant Party had a democratic character. As a result, conservative and reactionary, not to mention fascist currents, were never present in Croatian political life.

Q: You have presented a picture of the political and social structure of Croatia before the Second World War and pointed out that left and leftist influences were strong in the political life of Croatia. How did this affect the formation of the resistance of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia at the beginning of the war and the very beginning of the revolution?

A: You see, Croatia and Slovenia had the most developed working class and subsequently, the most developed worker movements. In addition, by force of circumstance, Croatia had a strong leftist intellectual Marxist movement which was socialistic by orientation, but did not succumb to the developments which led to Stalinism in the Soviet Union. This leftist movement was antifascistic even in its origins and created an antifascist atmosphere in Croatia. Although the Croatian nation formed its own state within the framework of the Axis Powers, the Croatian nation certainly did not become fascist as a result. To the contrary, Croats affirmed themselves as antifascists. Therefore, the National Liberation Movement and the revolution developed more firmly here than in the other nations. It is worth mentioning that the revolutionary authority, the representative of the Croatian nation and some sort of provisional parliament and government were established in Croatia from 1942 on. It might add that my father was a member of this representation of the Croatian nation, as we call it ZAVNOH. In other words, the Croatian nation was building a program for its socialist statehood even during the war. During the revolution itself the Croatian people wanted to create the foundation of such a federal state of Croatia which no one in recent history has questioned. What is more, the program of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia which Tito announced at that time claimed that the new Yugoslavia would resolve not only the social problems, but would, above all, solve the national question.

Q: Can you tell me what you actually wanted and why you were indicted?

A: My involvement was in the area of historical research. This is in accordance with my aspirations that the Croatian nation decide all questions regarding her cultural, economic and political life within the framework of a self-managing socialism. These aspirations that the right to self-management be raised to the level of the people, that the self-managing socialism should harmonize with the desire of every nation to determine its own fate, that all human and civil rights be guaranteed to every individual--that is what is currently termed Eurocommunism in Europe. That is a socialism of a more humanitarian type.

Q: How is it possible that the desire of the Croatian people for freedom and national integrity is so great? Is it possible to imagine that in today's era of Helsinki and the Belgrade Conference that actually exist political disagreements in Europe? In other words, is it possible to avoid these disagreements before the Croatian question is resolved, before the question of small nations which do not consider themselves free is resolved?

A: In speaking of Europe, we should mention that all the European countries have considerable ethnic problems. Britain has disagreements among the English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish; Spain has the Basque and

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Catalan problem; France has a problem with the Bretons. The question of 4,000 Laplanders has been raised in Scandinavia. Therefore, Europe and the world as a whole have reached such a level of development that no ethnic minority, and especially not an ancient historical nation, will endure any national restraint, but desires to be sovereign in the international community. Europe and the world can build peace only when all nations are content in their national aspirations and when that international community is founded on the mutual agreement of those nations, not on the basis of hegemony and domination over each other.

Q: The western press frequently poses the question what will happen after Tito. The Yugoslav press also mentions the danger of intervention. It further claims from the highest levels that the Yugoslav peoples are firmly committed to defending themselves from any intervention, including Soviet intervention. Are Croats actually willing to sacrifice their lives to defend Yugoslavia? What is the real danger of intervention despite the agreement of the Big Powers at the Yalta Conference? As a historian, can you tell us something about this?

A: What will happen after Tito is only a guess and I do not wish to make any such guesses. In any case, as a historian I can say that the Yalta agreement and the 50-50 influence in Yugoslavia was never realized on the geopolitical territory of Yugoslavia which is a central European and Mediterranean country. Those were crucial moments when foreign powers wanted to realize that influence in Yugoslavia. By force of circumstance Tito resisted both the western and the Stalin influence. In any event, the Croatian nation will, I hope, remain faithful to its democratic principles and will not allow some new enslavement. Since you ask about the relationship between Croatia and the Soviet Union, I can say that in the past in Croatia there has been some Slavic feeling toward Russia, toward the ideals of the October revolution, but in the life of the Croatian nation, more than among the other nations, a strong resistance surfaced to the Stalinistic distortion of Communism, the Stalinistic suppression of non-Russian nations and the Stalinistic crushing and destruction of human and civil freedoms. As an example, I can point out that at the time of the resistance to the Informbureau in 1948 and later, there were the fewest informbureauists, followers of Stalinism, among the Croats. There was in fact only an insignificant number. Thus, Croats have been opponents of a Stalinistic model and the Stalinistic approach because Stalinism was always tied to the centralistic hegemonistic orientation in Yugoslavia and in the socialist world in general. Croats want a democracy, decentralization, a humanization of the socialist movement. As a result, it is absolutely certain that Croats are not followers of any sort of Stalinism and that they will resist any Stalinistic movement.

"Croats want a democracy, decentralization, a humanization of the socialist movement."

It is understood that Croats cannot expect anyone, not the western powers or anyone else to form policies for them or to resolve their problems.

However, life, especially the life of small nations is often dependent of the large powers, frequently to a considerable extent. Small nations depend on the relations among the world's powers and on their international development and orientation.

translated by Ruzica Kapetanovic

FRANJO KUCHARIC

Q: Last summer, the thirteen hundredth anniversary of Croatian Christianity and the one thousandth anniversary of the sanctuary of "Our



"A belief was created in the Serbian mind that they were responsible for the country and that they were her only masters."

Q: We've heard that approximately two hundred leading Croatian intellectuals are having difficulty finding work, that some are even in prison?

A: You see, I am not a politician, and I am afraid to even speak about these problems. I would merely like to state the truth, and the truth is that in Croatia after the year 1971, an exceptional state of affairs has existed. Many people suffered, were imprisoned, and, upon their release, were unable to find employment. This is a problem which falls within the realm of issues with which I am now involved, that is, the fate of certain people at this point in time and in this territory. Lately, I've been extremely occupied. This is an example of the eradication of the human personality, its denigration. The human personality is something which to me is inordinately important. I've observed that this period in time, with many of its declarations and manifestos, negates and destroys the human soul, in the Eastern part of the world, as well as in the West; in the East, by means of a disordered ideology which supports and defends an unwieldy political apparatus, and in the West, by means of something called technocracy. Technocracy and this disordered ideology manifest themselves in different ways, but both destroy the human soul. The human soul hasn't yet disappeared, but is in particular danger, and exactly this thought occupies me continually.

Q: You've mentioned the year 1971 and said that after it, a part of the Croatian intelligentsia was in prison. What happened in 1971? As a writer and chronicler of your time, you could give us a description of the events.

A: In order for you to understand what I wish to say, I must first explain certain things. In 1948, the Yugoslav Communists began a new era in contemporary society, an anti-Stalinist era. From 1948 on, the evolution progressed at an easy pace toward democratization, and we hoped it would grow into a social democracy. Unfortunately, in 1971, this evolution was interrupted because of the fear of Yugoslavia's disintegration.

Q: What was the basis for the conclusion that Yugoslavia stood at the brink of destruction?

A: One cannot speak of a conclusion, but, rather, it was an ever-increasing feeling that this was indeed the case. In my opinion, it was a problem of the Serbian complex, illustrated already in the year 1918, with the victory in World War I and the creation of Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia was created in Versailles, as a result of a victorious war the Allies waged against Germany and Austria, and the disintegration of Austria. As you know, in every movement, as well as in the Party and the Yugoslav League of Communists, there are diverse personalities, diverse conceptions. Some of these people saw a great danger in the democratization of Yugoslavia. I feel the Serbian element in the Party was most sensitive to the problem of Yugoslav democratization. As I've stated already, unless I'm mistaken, the Serbian participation or struggle on the side of the entente in the First World War contributed to the fact that Serbia was considered victor in this war. Serbia, on the side of the Entente, emerged from the war victorious; the formation of Yugoslav entity carries its mark. It's a gift for its participation in the war on the Allied side. As a result, a belief was created in the Serbian mind that they were the administrators of this Yugoslav state, that they were responsible for the country and that they were her only masters. Between the two wars, this was, to a certain extent, understandable, but after the Second World War, such a view was an anachronism. Meanwhile, whether it is an anachronism or not, the belief lives on among the Serbians that they are the administrators of the country, that they are responsible for it, and

that they must concern themselves about its fate. I call that a complex. Those with power and ownership complexes were worried about the fact that Croats, by means of democratization, began to gain their rights as a nation and as individuals; as individuals, in that they realized their human rights, began to speak what they felt, work toward a stable freedom, and affirm the positive values of their nation.

Q: In other words, the Croatian nation had previously been unable to affirm its individuality and liberty within Yugoslavia?

A: That's been shown, there is no need for me to even speak of that. In the course of democratization since 1948, evolution took place toward freedom or autonomy for individual nations. The Croatian leadership and peoples were able to articulate problems which caused them distress, to work for their solution. Some of these problems were solved. However, this process and this course were judged dangerous to the powerholders within the Yugoslav framework, and these people considered themselves Serbian. This fact led to the tragedy of 1971. Of course, there are other problems, economic, etc., but the basic problem is the one I've already mentioned, the fear that democratization will destroy Yugoslavia.

Q: That means that Serbs, who have had in the old and in the new Yugoslavia, all power in their hands, do not actually fear the destruction of Yugoslavia, but, rather, are afraid they will lose power and domination over Yugoslavia, a state they consider their territory?

A: That's exactly what I've been saying. People identify their power with the existence of the Yugoslav state.

Q: When the West writes about Croatian problems and Croatian national rights, these problems are generally equated with some type of reactionary, fascistic tendencies within the Croatian nation and Croatian political life. Djilas, who often speaks on Western television, and who gives interviews to Western news sources, also characterizes this tendency as fascistic, nationalistic, reactionary. What are your feelings about this?

A: That is correct. Nothing shocked me more recently than this interview by Djilas, especially by him, which appeared in the Western press. In 1972, in spite of the obvious injustice, he supported the attack in Karadjordjevo, and today tries to convince the West that only Croatian nationalism exists in Yugoslavia. Milovan Djilas, like many Serbs, believes this is the way to preserve the Yugoslav entity. Here in Croatia, this type of reaction is considered a reflex of the Serbian victory in Versailles, which is equated, through the Yugoslav framework, with Serbian political aspirations.

Q: You speak of Karadjordjevo, as do many other Croats. What does this word actually mean?

A: Karadjordjevo, that is the place which got its name from the dynasty of the Serbian kings, Karadjordjevic. The Twenty-First Congress of the Yugoslav Communist Presidium was held there. To criticize this Congress would be to insult many people, many institutions, the government itself. This I don't wish to do. I simply feel it is necessary to mention. You see, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and its leadership commenced in 1948 with a process of evolution within a society which had world-wide import—the struggle against Stalinism. That which is now occurring within Western Communist parties would be difficult to comprehend without the events of 1948 in Yugoslavia. The purge at Karadjordjevo casts a dark pall on the year 1948. Many in Yugoslavia, especially in Croatia, have reached the unfortunate conclusion that democratization is not possible in Yugoslavia. I don't wish to criticize any national group, especially not Serbs, with whom, however one looks at it, we are forced to live. The

"Djilas supported the attack in Karadjordjevo, and today tries to convince the West that only Croatian nationalism exists in Yugoslavia."

INTERVIEWS WITH PROMINENT CROATIANS IN CROATIA

"In Croatia, this [Serbian messianic] complex is considered a monster, to which, from time to time, a certain number of just and righteous Croatsians must sacrifice themselves, thereby preventing the world from falling apart."

experience of my relatively long life tells me that exactly this Serbian Versailles complex undermined and destroyed old Yugoslavia. Its concealed, messianic character of today has appropriated for itself the role of defender and watchman of the Yugoslav entity. This messianic reflex denies many non-Serbian nations human rights, the right to be what they are. This complex is based on conquest by force, it is blind to human rights, although this is a basic element constituting Marx's view on mankind, a view which cannot exist without individual rights. In Croatia, this complex is considered a monster, to which, from time to time, a certain number of just and righteous Croatsians must sacrifice themselves, thereby preventing the world from falling apart. It is difficult for me to say this, although it is necessary just this once, but this Serbian conquering complex resulted in the Ustashi, and today, it has dispersed around the world a large part of contemporary Croatian youth, creating from them, very often, highly desperate people. It would be helpful and beneficial that these people, Djilas, the Serbs, who are unaware, finally comprehend this fact.

Q: After conversing with many people, it seems to us that discussion about national problems in Yugoslavia is a strict taboo. Are you fearful of the repercussions affecting you as a result of what you've told us tonight?

A: I can't tell you a thing. Whatever happens to me will be an answer to your question.

translated by Julienne Basic

Große Ideen, kleine Völker

Im ersten großen politischen Prozeß der Nach-Tito-Ära wurde ein Partisanengeneral verurteilt, der Gleichberechtigung für das Bundesland Kroatien fordert.

Als Jungkommunist ging er zu den Partisanen; nach Kriegsende war er Titos jüngster General. Er kämpfte gegen deutsche und einheimische Faschisten, nämlich Besatzer und kroatische „Ustaschen“. Er kämpft bis heute „für die Ideale, für die ich damals in die Revolution gezogen bin“: so Franjo Tudjman vor dem Zagreber Untersuchungsrichter.

Für die Partei ist Dr. Tudjman, 58, der jahrelang in ihrem Auftrag ein „Institut zur Erforschung der Geschichte der kroatischen Arbeiterbewegung“ leitete, „mit der Ideologie des Neofaschismus und Ustaschentums getränkt“.

Weil er „in Interviews, die er ausländischen Journalisten gab, die Lage des kroatischen Volkes und die Verwirklichung der demokratischen Freiheiten der Bürger der Sozialistischen Föderativen Republik Jugoslawien lügnerisch dargestellt hat“, wurde er am vergangenen Freitag zu drei Jahren Gefängnis verurteilt.

Es war der erste große politische Prozeß seit Titos Tod. Zu den Idealen, auf die sich Tudjman berief, gehörte eine Erklärung Titos vor Partisanen: Kriegsziel sei nicht allein die Befreiung des Vielvölkerstaats Jugoslawien von den Okkupanten, sondern jeder einzelnen Nationalität in Jugoslawien für sich. Nach Kriegsende müsse „jedes Volk das Recht auf Selbstbestimmung

einschließlich des Rechts auf Abtrennung haben“.

Den Führer der kroatischen Nationalkommunisten, Andrija Hebrang, ließ Tito allerdings nach Kriegsende verhaften; Hebrang wurde erwürgt in einer Belgrader Gefängniszelle aufgefunden. Schon damals bürgerte es sich in der Parteipropaganda ein, nationalbewußte kroatische Kommunisten mit ihren Bürgerkriegsgegnern, den „Ustaschen“, gleichzusetzen.

Anfang der siebziger Jahre ging die kroatische Parteiführung wieder auf Nationalkurs und versöhnte so die Bevölkerung mit den landeseigenen Kommunisten — woraufhin Tito 16 000 Genossen absetzte und einige vor Gericht stellte, wieder unter dem Vorwurf, sie kollaborierten mit „Ustaschen“, die es kaum noch gab.

Franjo Tudjman, der in einem Buch über „Große Ideen und kleine Völker“ festgestellt hatte, daß die Träume des kroatischen Volkes im Nachkriegs-Jugoslawien nicht erfüllt worden seien, wurde damals schon zu zwei Jahren Zuchthaus verurteilt.

Verdächtig: Tudjman hatte an einem Harvard-Seminar mit Henry Kissinger und an Tagungen des Münchner Studienzentrums für Ost-West-Probleme teilgenommen, auch ein Buch „Moskaus Gewaltakt vom 21. 8. 68“ im Westen mit herausgegeben. Damit gehörte er nach Titos Sicht zur „Zagreber Elf“ — dem harten Kern eines „konterrevolutionären Zentrums“, dessen Aufgabe es sei, im Rahmen einer „weltweiten Verschwörung“ Kroatien von Jugoslawien loszureißen.

Intern rechtfertigte sich Tito: Sowjet-Chef Breschnew habe unter Androhung eines Eingreifens die Säuberung der jugoslawischen Partei von kroatischen Nationalisten verlangt.

Vorzeitig aus der Haft entlassen, erläuterte Tudjman 1977 vor der Kamera eines nach Zagreb eingeflogenen schwedischen Fernsighteam, weshalb ausgerechnet aus Jugoslawien immer mehr junge Männer, oft Kommunisten, fliehen und sich dann im Westen extremen Exilorganisationen anschließen: Das sei „die Folge brutaler Abrechnung mit der kroatischen Erneuerungsbewegung 1970/71“ und ein „Beweis mehr dafür, daß man mit Polizeipogromen und politischem Terror nichts und schon gar keine nationale Frage lösen kann“.

Er zitierte auch noch einen Parteifunktionär, der erklärt hatte, sogar der Vater des Eurokommunismus, Spaniens Santiago Carrillo, würde in Jugoslawien wegen seiner Reformideen zum Konterrevolutionär erklärt und verhaftet werden.

Nach einer Intervention des jugoslawischen Botschafters in Stockholm wurden mehrere regimekritische Interviews aus Kroatien schließlich 1978 doch noch vom Schwedischen Fernseh-

hen gesendet, nachdem der SPIEGEL vorher schon einen Auszug veröffentlicht hatte: Der Kroat Zvonimir Čičak berichtete über die Zustände in den jugoslawischen Zuchthäusern (SPIEGEL 45/1977).

Ohne Tudjmans Einwilligung und Wissen gelangte ein anderes freimütiges Tudjman-Gespräch in ein Münchner Emigrantenblatt. Sein Gesprächspartner, der Belgrader Student Vladimir Marković, wurde deshalb angeklagt, dann in eine Irrenanstalt abgeschoben; Tudjman, der Ex-Partisan, blieb lediglich unter Polizeibewachung.

Anfang 1980, Tito lag im Sterben, erklärte Tudjman dem ARD-Korrespondenten Peter Mirošnikoff, Titos Nachfolger täten gut daran, besser auf kroatische Interessen einzugehen.

Mirošnikoff erhielt für ein Jahr ein Aufenthaltsverbot in Jugoslawien. Ausgewiesen wurde ein Reporter von „Radio France Internationale“, dem Tudjman erklärte, man müsse „auch im Rahmen des Sozialismus nach demokratischen Lösungen suchen“.

Ende vorigen Jahres unterschrieb der renitente General a. D. eine Petition kroatischer Intellektueller, in der eine politische Generalamnestie empfohlen wurde. Unterschriftensammler Paraga, ein Student, und der Mitunterzeichner Brajder wurden verhaftet. Brajder starb kurz nach der Festnahme an „Vergiftung“ (so die Polizei). Sein Sarg durfte nicht geöffnet werden.

Dem Angeklagten Tudjman lastete das Gericht an, er habe „zwischen 1977 und 1980 ausländischen Journalisten Interviews gegeben“, in denen er die Benachteiligung und Ausbeutung seines Bundeslandes Kroatien beklagte. Da das aber nach der von Jugoslawien unterzeichneten Helsinki-Schlußakte kaum strafbar ist, mußte sich die Justiz des alten Tricks im Kampf gegen kroatische Nationalkommunisten bedienen: sie als „Ustaschen“ einzustufen.

Beweis: Noch vor der Sendung des Interviews im Schwedischen Fernsehen seien einzelne Passagen in der Londoner Exilzeitung „Nova Hrvatska“ („Neues Kroatien“) erschienen, das sei strafbare „feindliche Propaganda in der Presse der Ustascha-Emigration“. Tudjman verteidigte sich: „Die müssen das irgendwo abgedruckt haben; ich habe dieser Zeitung nie ein Interview gegeben.“

„Nova Hrvatska“-Herausgeber Jakša Kušan (der erst 1955 als 25-jähriger Student emigrierte, also der Ustaschabewegung nicht angehört haben kann) kupfert gern ab, ohne Genehmigung: Auch andere Auszüge aus dem Schweden-Interview, erklärte Kušan, seien vor der Sendung erschienen, beispielsweise im SPIEGEL, aus dem dann „Nova Hrvatska“ abgedruckt habe.

Der Interview-Partner im SPIEGEL, Čičak, lebt in Zagreb, bis vorigen Freitag noch frei.



Ex-Partisanen-General Tudjman
„Brutale Abrechnung“

4/6/81 to VPO

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 4, 1981

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INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: RICHARD V. ALLEN *jam*

SUBJECT: Cancellation of Visit by Yugoslav Vice Premier Dragan *2 VONE*

The Department of State has informed me that Yugoslav Vice Premier Dragan has postponed his visit to the United States because his presence is required in Yugoslavia for important economic policy discussions. Therefore, he has cancelled his appointment with you scheduled for April 6. Mr. Dragan, however, has expressed an interest in visiting the United States in May or June. If his visit is rescheduled, another appointment request with you will be made.

NSD #8100724

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 3, 1981

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR: RICHARD V. ALLEN
 THROUGH: RICHARD PIPES/CHARLES TYSON *RP*
 FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY *PD*
 SUBJECT: Cancellation of Visit by Yugoslav
 Vice Premier Dragan

The Department of State has informed us (Tab B) that Yugoslav Vice Premier Dragan will be unable to visit the United States on April 6-7, as his presence is required in Yugoslavia for important economic policy discussions. In accordance with State's request, at Tab A is a memorandum to the Vice President cancelling his appointment with Vice Premier Dragan scheduled for April 6 and informing him of potential rescheduling in May or June.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab A to the Vice President.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

SIGNED

cc: Henry Nau
 Allen Lenz
 Tim Deal



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

March 27, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. RICHARD V. ALLEN
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Visit of Yugoslav Vice Premier Dragan

We have been informed that Yugoslav Vice Premier Dragan's presence is required in Yugoslavia for important economic policy discussions and that he will be unable to visit the United States on April 6-7 as previously scheduled. Accordingly, we request cancellation of Vice President Bush's April 6 appointment with Dragan.

Dragan has expressed an interest in postponing his visit to the United States until May or June. If his visit can be rescheduled, we will again request an appointment with the Vice President.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "L. Paul Bremer III".

L. Paul Bremer III
Executive Secretary

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

March 16, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR ALLEN LENZ

FROM: Nancy Bearg Dyke ^{MBD}

SUBJECT: Vice President's Meeting with Yugoslav Vice
Premier Dragan

The Vice President will meet with Vice Premier Zvone Dragan of Yugoslavia on Monday, April 6, 4:30 - 5:00 p.m. in his Old Executive Office Building Ceremonial Office (room 274). May we please have recommended talking points and background papers for the Vice President's use by close of business, Friday, April 3. Thank you.

REFERRAL

DATE: 18 MAR 81

MEMORANDUM FOR: STATE SECRETARIAT

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: ALLEN

FROM: DYKE, N

DATE: 16 MAR 81

KEYWORDS: YUGOSLAVIA

EUROPE EAST

DRAGAN, ZVONE

SUBJ: REQUEST & TALKERS FOR VP MTG W/ VICE PREMIER DRAGAN ON APR 6

REQUIRED ACTION: PREPARE TALKERS & BACKGROUND PAPERS

DUE DATE: 20 MAR 81

COMMENTS:


FOR NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

----- FOR NSC USE ONLY -----

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TO (Agency)

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REMARKS: DUE DATE: 31 MARCH

Cancel



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

February 24, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. RICHARD V. ALLEN
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Request for Meeting Between Yugoslav Vice Premier
Dragan and Vice President Bush

Last year, Secretary of Commerce Klutznick invited a Yugoslav nuclear power delegation to visit the United States in December for meetings with U.S. Government officials and businessmen. The Yugoslavs accepted the invitation but, after the November election, requested a postponement until this spring. We are now prepared to renew the invitation. Our Embassy in Belgrade has learned that Vice Premier Zvone Dragan personally would head the delegation, if appropriately high-level meetings could be arranged.

Dragan, 41 years old, is one of the most able members of the post-war generation of Yugoslav leaders. Pragmatic and Western-oriented, he has been a principal advocate of the need for market forces to play a greater role in the Yugoslav economy. We believe that a meeting between Dragan and Vice President Bush would serve important U.S. political and commercial interests. Against the backdrop of uncertainty in Eastern Europe over events in Poland, such a high-level meeting -- the first under the Reagan Administration -- would be an important reaffirmation of our long-standing policy of support for Yugoslav independence, unity, and territorial integrity. The Yugoslavs, who have publicly opposed outside intervention in Poland, are deeply apprehensive about the threat of Soviet military action. They would welcome reassurance of the continuity of U.S. policy towards Yugoslavia.

A meeting with the Vice President also would demonstrate U.S.G. backing for American companies in the nuclear field. An American company, Westinghouse, has supplied Yugoslavia with its first commercial reactor, but U.S. companies face stiff competition from the West Europeans and the Japanese in the bidding for future plants.

We plan to invite the Yugoslav delegation to visit during the period April 6-18. We would hope to schedule a meeting for Dragan with the Vice President on April 6 or 7.

DECLASSIFIED

Authority

State Waiver

BY

DATE

7/17/2023

L. Paul Bremer III
Executive Secretary~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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TO ALLEN

FROM BREMER

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KEYWORDS: YUGOSLAVIA

EUROPE EAST

DRAGAN, ZVONE

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SUBJECT: REQUEST & TALKERS FOR VP MTG W/ VICE PREMIER DRAGAN ON APR 6

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR ALLEN

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KEYWORDS: YUGOSLAVIA

EUROPE EAST

DRAGAN, ZVONE

NUCLEAR MATTERS

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SUBJECT: REQUEST & TALKERS FOR VP MTG W/ VICE PREMIER DRAGAN ON APR 6

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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

March 16, 1981

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