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ID # 05370000176WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET☐ O - OUTGOING☐ H - INTERNAL☒ I - INCOMINGDate Correspondence
Received (YY/MM/DD) 8/1/22Name of Correspondent: Embassy of Yugoslavia☒ MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: Unopened

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency	(Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>NS</u>	<u>Alte</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>8/1/22</u>			<u>8/1/22</u>
		Referral Note:				
		Referral Note:				
		Referral Note:				
		Referral Note:				

ACTION CODES:

A - Appropriate Action
C - Comment/Recommendation
D - Draft Response
F - Furnish Fact Sheet
to be used as EnclosureI - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary
R - Direct Reply w/Copy
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B - Non-Special Referral
C - Completed
S - Suspended

FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

Type of Response = Initials of Signer
Code = "A"
Completion Date = Date of OutgoingComments: Original to Loretta Braxton

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.

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RECORDS MANAGEMENT ONLY

CLASSIFICATION SECTION

No. of Additional Correspondents: _____ Media: L Individual Codes: 3200 _____

Prime Subject Code: CO 176 Secondary Subject Codes: _____

PRESIDENTIAL REPLY

Code	Date	Comment	Form
C	_____	Time: _____	P- _____
DSP	_____	Time: _____	Media: _____

SIGNATURE CODES:

CPn - Presidential Correspondence

- n - 0 - Unknown
- n - 1 - Ronald Wilson Reagan
- n - 2 - Ronald Reagan
- n - 3 - Ron
- n - 4 - Dutch
- n - 5 - Ron Reagan
- n - 6 - Ronald
- n - 7 - Ronnie

CLn - First Lady's Correspondence

- n - 0 - Unknown
- n - 1 - Nancy Reagan
- n - 2 - Nancy
- n - 3 - Mrs. Ronald Reagan

CBn - Presidential & First Lady's Correspondence

- n - 1 - Ronald Reagan - Nancy Reagan
- n - 2 - Ron - Nancy

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- M - Mailgram
- O - Memo
- P - Photo
- R - Report
- S - Sealed
- T - Telegram
- V - Telephone
- X - Miscellaneous
- Y - Study

023500

By Hand

RECEIVED
MAIL
SECURITY
FILE

DEC 23 1961

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

053700

Embassy of Yugoslavia

nsc/cory

RECEIVED 22 DEC 81 14

TO

PRES

X
FROM LONCAR, BUDIMIR

DOCDATE 21 DEC 81

054836

3200

C0176

PC

KEYWORDS: YUGOSLAVIA

SUBJECT: LTR TO PRES FM YUGOSLAVIAN AMB

ACTION: FOR RECORD PURPOSES

DUE:

STATUS C

FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

PIPES

STEARMAN

COMMENTS FWD TO PRES FOR INFO IF APPROPRIATE. L.

*Steelman is on**leave.*

REF#

LOG

NSC/FID

(L / L)

ACTION OFFICER (S)

ASSIGNED

ACTION REQUIRED

DUE

COPIES TO

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE

(C) *me*NSC # 7337

The Ambassador of Yugoslavia

December 21, 1981
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President,

As the year draws to a close, I would like to take this opportunity to wish you much success in your activities in the coming year.

At the same time, I would like to thank you for the interest you have expressed towards my country and for your support, which has been evinced in the development of our cooperation.

It gives me great satisfaction to express the conviction that cooperation and relations between our two countries have been developing most successfully. At the same time, I wish to state my belief that they will continue to grow, to the benefit of both our nations.

In these difficult and trying times, I am convinced, Mr. President, that our work and hopes center on a common goal: peace, prosperity and happiness for all nations in the world in the forthcoming year.

Respectfully,


Budimir Loncar

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

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

595

VIA LDX

February 1, 1982

MW

064116

3300

00176

FG038

Proc7

MEMORANDUM FOR L. PAUL BREMER, III
Executive Secretary
The Department of State

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

The Vice President will meet with Yugoslav Vice
President Zvone Dragan on Monday, February 8, at
4:30 p.m.

Recommended talking points and background papers
for the Vice President's use would be appreciated
by opening of business on Wednesday, February 3.

Many thanks.



CHARLES P. TYSON
Deputy Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
(Coordination)

NSC# 8200595

National Security Council The White House

~~SECRET~~

Package # _____

82 10 A10: 17

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	ACTION
John Poindexter	_____	_____	_____
Bud McFarlane	_____	_____	_____
Jacque Hill	_____	_____	_____
Judge Clark	_____	_____	_____
John Poindexter	_____	_____	_____
Staff Secretary	_____	_____	A
Sit Room	_____	_____	_____

I-Information A-Action

DISTRIBUTION		
CY To VP	_____	Show CC _____
CY To Meese	_____	Show CC _____
CY To Baker	_____	Show CC _____
CY To Deaver	_____	Show CC _____

Other _____

COMMENTS

crw:
8100724

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

0595

WASHINGTON

January 29, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR BUD McFARLANE

FROM: Nancy Bearg Dyke *MSD*

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

The Vice President will meet with Yugoslav Vice President Zvone Dragan on Monday, February 8, at 4:30 p.m. at the Vice President's residence. May we please have recommended talking points and background papers for the Vice President's use by close of business, Wednesday, February 3.

Thank you.

Cy to: Mike Wheeler

WASHFAX RECEIPT

THE WHITE HOUSE



URGENT

32 MAY 2 4 0: 54

W
SITUATION

MESSAGE NO. 751 CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED NO. PAGES 1

FROM TYSON (Name) (Extension) (Room Number)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION VP MEETING

TO (Agency) DELIVER TO: Dept/Room No. Extension

STATE

BAERER

REMARKS:

CC: 5/5-5

RECEIVED 01 FEB 82 11

TO

MCFARLANE

FROM DYKE, N

DOCDATE 29 JAN 82

KEYWORDS: YUGOSLAVIA

AVP

DRAGAN, ZVONE

SUBJECT: REQUEST TALKERS FOR VP 8 FEB MTG W/ VICE PRES DRAGAN

ACTION: APPROPRIATE ACTION

DUE: 03 FEB 82 STATUS S FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

TYSON

STEARMAN

PIPES

URGENT

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG 8100724

NSCIFID

(H /)

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

State

1)

2/1

Tyson Sld memo to Bremer

2/3

RP, ST

C

2/10

OBT per 8 Pct/s

DISPATCH

2/1 (uncl) X

W/ATTCH FILE *us* (C)*Con*

C0176

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

☐ O - OUTGOING☐ H - INTERNAL☐ I - INCOMINGDate Correspondence
Received (YY/MM/DD) 1/1/

Name of Correspondent: Addressee unknown

☐ MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A) (B) (C)

Subject: Eleven years in prison for an
interview (Dr. Marko Veselica)

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
W Holland	ORIGINATOR	82/06/10			82/06/19 ER
CU AT 03	Referral Note:	82/06/10		NAN	82/06/19 ER
	Referral Note:				
	Referral Note:				
	Referral Note:				
	Referral Note:				

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No. of Additional Correspondents: _____ Media: X Individual Codes: 4000 _____

Prime Subject Code: CD 176 Secondary Subject Codes: TL 003 _____

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DSP	_____	Time: _____	Media: _____
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- P - Photo
- R - Report
- S - Sealed
- T - Telegram
- V - Telephone
- X - Miscellaneous
- Y - Study

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

6-15-82

HP:

I recommend no response to the attached correspondence. It contains articles about the plight of Yugoslav dissidents, an unpersonalized fund-raising letter, and a reprinted paid political advertisement deploring conditions in Croatia.

The sender did not provide a return address.

D. Salem

6/15
Fred -
I agree with David.
AP

PAID POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENT

YUGOSLAVIA CROATIAN GULAG

For Years Yugoslavia has been falsely presented to the American public as a benevolent society, enjoying freedom unknown in other Eastern Block countries. Such an image could not be more wrong. In fact, Serbian dominated Yugoslavia represents one of the worst dictatorships in the contemporary world. According to the latest report of Amnesty International, Yugoslavia's record on human rights violations has surpassed that of the Soviet Union.



DR. MARKO VESELICA
• 11 YEARS FOR AN INTERVIEW

DR. MARKO VESELICA, a noted Croatian economist, was born in 1936 near Sinj, Southern Croatia. His father died during the Second World War fighting on the side of the Tito Partisans. In his youth, Veselica was a prominent activist in the youth and student organizations and a member of the Communist party for 18 years. He studied economics at the Faculty of Economics of the Croatian University at Zagreb, where he earned a Ph.D. in 1962. Until December of 1971, Veselica was a lecturer at the same Faculty, teaching Political economy.

At the same time Dr. Marko Veselica took an active part in the political life of Croatia. He had been a member of the Presidium and of the Executive Committee of the Croatian Trade Unions and a deputy for a Zagreb in the Federal Parliament in Belgrade. In this capacity, Veselica gave his all fighting for real autonomy of the constituent Yugoslav republics, for social and economic reforms and for lasting changes in Yugoslavia. This made Veselica the prime target for attack by "centralist" and "unitarist" forces in Yugoslavia.

He was one of the first leaders of the "Croatian Spring" to be arrested in December, 1971, and sentenced to 7 years of hard labour on trumped-up charges of "counterrevolution" and "separatism" in 1972. Veselica was released from jail after six years following worldwide protests and the intervention of Amnesty International, which campaigned for his release and made him a "prisoner of the month" in October, 1977.

His release from prison was not the end of Veselica's troubles in Serbian dominated Yugoslavia. The father of three small children, he was unable to obtain any kind of work, while clear threats, contained in the public speeches by the highest ranking representatives of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, were constantly aimed at Veselica.

On April 21, 1981, Dr. Marko Veselica was rearrested. Having no legal protection in a lawless country, Veselica used the only form of protest remaining to him; the hunger strike. His trial was delayed several times because of his failing health, due to his previous imprisonment. On August 31, 1981, Dr. Marko Veselica was sentenced by the Yugoslav authorities to ELEVEN (11) years prison term for giving and interview to a West German news magazine (an equivalent of the American Time magazine). Though he is a relatively young man, it is feared that because of his failing health, he will not survive another stay in the Yugoslav Gulag.

The following are some extracts from the interview given by Dr. Marko Veselica to a West German news magazine in August, 1980:

"I am opposed to all violence, even though I was myself a victim of violence. Violence engenders new hatred and creates the imperative for more violence. This tragic chain must somewhere be broken. Violence must be renounced even against those who live by it. I have decided to be one of those who have absolutely renounced violence even though some will say that even by talking to you of these things I have perpetrated a crime. I have never committed a crime, or do I intend to. I follow the teachings of the spiritual leaders of my people and other peoples of the world, who have said that it is better to perish than to hate, and that only goodness and the hunger for truth and justice can purify our hearts and give a true meaning to our existence. This is what I can tell you of my resistance and the ideals that move my people . . .

"The Croatia is truly cut into two parts, the Croatia in exile, scattered around the earth, and the Croatia here, in the homeland. It is normal for the Croats outside the homeland, particularly those who left after W.W. 2, to return to their country, for the heart can never be happy in a foreign land. Economic conditions could be created here for them to return to their homeland . . .

"We who did so much in order to stop the century old Croatian exodus; we who worked so hard to ensure that no Croat should be compelled to leave his homeland; we who did our best to facilitate the return of as many of our people as possible back to our country — we were accused of being chauvinist and separatists, even enemies of our people for whom we so unselfishly gave so much. For our desire to prepare the ground work for an economic, psychological and political life acceptable to all Croats abroad and at home, we were even imprisoned."

Dr. FRANJO TUDJMAN, Croatian historian and writer, was born in Veliko Trgovišće in Zagorje, Croatia's northern most province, in 1922. During the war, he joined the Tito Partisans. After the war, he graduated from the higher military academy, and in 1961, he left the army with the rank of major-general. From 1961 to 1967 he was director of the Institute for party history in Croatia, which was attached to the Central Committee of Croatia. At the same time he held a number of senior political functions.

After his appointment as director of the party history institute, he devoted himself entirely to scholarly work. In 1963, he was appointed professor of history at the political science faculty of the Croatian University at Zagreb. Two years later, he obtained a doctorate for his work "The Causes of the Crisis of Monarchist Yugoslavia from the Unification in 1918 to the Collapse in 1941."

He has published a number of works dealing with military matters and the history of partisan wars, philosophy of history, modern history and international relations. His main works are: "War against War" (1957), "The Formation of Socialist Yugoslavia" (1960), "Occupation and Revolution" (1964), "The Yugoslav Committee and the Formation of the State of Southern Slavs" (1966) and "Big Ideas and Small Nations"



DR. FRANJO TUDJMAN
• 3 YEARS FOR DEFENDING
HISTORICAL FACTS

(1969). His latest book "Nationalism in Contemporary Europe" has just been published by Columbia University Press in New York.

Soon after Tito's condemnation of the Croatia party leadership in Karadjordjevo on December 1, 1971, Dr. Franjo Tudjman was arrested. He was sentenced on October 12, 1972, to two years imprisonment. After nine months in prison, he was released. Then, ten years later, on February 20, 1981, he was sentenced for the same convictions. The court rejected his defense and sentenced him to three years imprisonment.

The following is an extract from his defense in the court: "In 1965 the supporters of the hegemonic and centralist ideas proposed that the principal solemn celebration of the 25th anniversary of the commencement of the National Liberation Struggle and of the revolution in Yugoslavia (due in 1966) should be held in Jasenovac, since at least 700,000 and possibly as many as 900,000 people had been killed in that camp. This was because the party officials in question wanted to use this ceremony to their own advantage in order to strengthen their position. A plan was drawn up to have the number of the people who perished there engraved on a monument and to have Aleksandar Rankovic as the main speaker. I myself opposed this, and used as evidence statistical data about the war victims between 1941-1945 (which was still unpublished at the time and even today has not yet been made public). At that time I pointed out the far-reaching consequences of the more than tenfold inflation of the number of victims, which was horrible enough as it stood.

"My argument carried the weight of evidence substantiated by irrefutable data and by my official duties and functions. At that time I held the following positions: Director of the Institute for history of the labour movement in Croatia; Professor of the socialist revolution and of the contemporary national history at the Faculty of political science; member of the Ideological Commission of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia; member of the Historical Commission of CK SKH and member of the Central Committee of the league of Combatants of Croatia; member of the Coordination committee for the history of the Labour movement in Yugoslavia; President of the Commission for International relations of the Central Committee and member of the Executive Committee of the Socialist League of Croatia; member of the Executive Committee of the Centre for Emigrants of Croatian origin (Matia Iseljenika), member of the Parliament of the Socialist Republic of Croatia and President of the Committee for Academic work of the Cultural and Educational Council.

"However, one of the most responsible political figures in Croatia told me officially: "With regard to Jasenovac and the war victims you are right, but bear it in mind that relations are such that the Central Committee of the Croatian League of Communists cannot support you publicly. The subject is politically so sensitive, that if we drag it into open we would provoke difficulties for comrade Tito, and we must not do that, because he is faced with enough problems as it is!"

"I replied, that one should strive consistently to maintain the truth precisely in order to change things which do not permit it, and furthermore, that such political assessments cannot influence me in my work as a historian, because they are contrary to my conscience as a person and my convictions as a historian.

"In order to demonstrate the total absurdity of the allegations that 700-800,000 people were killed in the concentration camp of Jasenovac alone, I pointed to the officials concerned that this would mean that every single day 500 people were killed and buried, or 600 allowing for holidays, in other words 20 to 25 persons every single hour. In addition — and this is without doubt of far greater importance — I put forward the estimate that probably the total number of victims who perished in the Second World War in the whole of Yugoslavia (i.e. taking into account the entire population on all sides involved in hostilities) — does not exceed this figure! That is to say that where correct statistical data about the war victims is lacking or not yet available, demographic losses are calculated using scientific methods based on demographic statistics.

"Applying two of the three best-known methods, the total demographic losses in Yugoslavia during the Second World War can amount at the most to circa 2, 18 million people (or considerably less according to the third method). Of this figure 450,000 is accounted for by the fall in the birth-rate, 500,000 by the emigration of the German national minority, about 200,000 by the emigrated Italian, Hungarian and Turkish minorities, circa 250,000 applies to the emigre population, leaving a total of 700-800,000 people unaccounted for and regarded as war casualties. (This figure is not insignificant, when one recalls that far larger countries suffered considerably smaller losses, e.g. Great Britain 388,000, Italy 410,000, France 600,000).

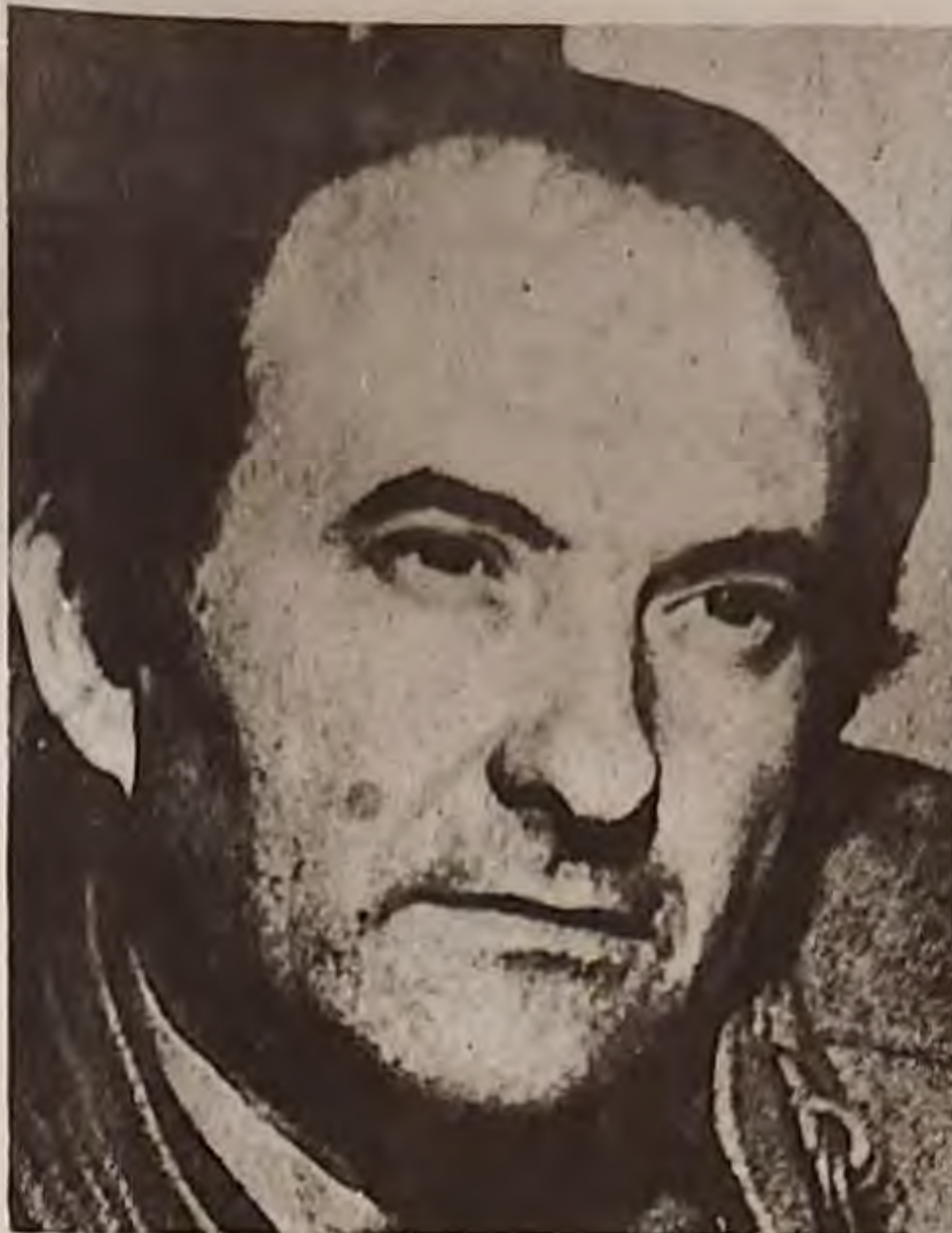
"If one continuously reiterates and exaggerates to an alarming degree the atrocities of the Ustaasha during the NDH (Independent State of Croatia), one tends to lose sight not only of the fact that the historical genesis of the Ustaasha movement lay in the hegemonistic tyranny imposed on the Croat nation under the Yugoslav monarchy, and particularly in the assassination of the Croatian leadership, headed by Stjepan Radic in the Belgrade Parliament, and that the Chetnick forces represented no less a danger to the Croat population in wartime, than did the Ustaasha forces to the Serbs, but also on such falsified premisses one is not in a position to formulate realistic preconditions for the harmonious co-existence of Croats and Serbs in the socialist community.

"People who are not brave enough to face up to historical truth will try to run away from truth in the present as well. In addition one should remember that

For the last 36 Years, human and national rights have been constantly violated especially in the Socialist Republic of Croatia, where even national identity is considered a crime and very of ten prosecuted as such.

The following are some random examples of such prosecutions which frequently have fatal consequences, the most recent of them being a young Croatian Jewish intellectual, Ernest Brajder (31).

this kind of exaggeration of Ustaasha crimes serves the theory of the enormous historical guilt of the whole Croat nation, in order to impose the concept of Croatia being exclusively on the side of the Axis Powers in the Second World War, so as to conceal the truth that Croatia was at the same time on of the strongest supporters of the anti-fascist People's Liberation Movement. Croatia made not a smaller, but most likely a greater contribution to the revolutionary victory over Fascism than did other nations. Moreover the Croat nation suffered the largest proportional population casualties in Second World War."



PROF. VLADO GOTOVAC
• 2 YEARS FOR A LETTER

PROF. VLADO GOTOVAC, a Croatian philosopher and writer, considered by many the most intelligent man to appear in the postwar Croatia, was born in 1930, in Imotski, Southern Croatia. As a prolific writer he has published some 20 volumes of poetry, philosophy, and literary criticism. Prof. Gotovac has already served four years in the infamous prison of Stara Gradiska for his participation in the "Croatian Spring" movement in 1971. At that time he was accused of "counterrevolution" for being the chief editor of the prestigious Croatian Weekly.

Ten years later, on June 5, 1981, Gotovac was sentenced again. This time he was given two years of imprisonment. Besides, after his prison term expires, he will not be allowed to publish anything or to speak in the public for four years. Why?

Because he gave an interview to a Swedish TV reporter in 1977, and spoke to some West European journalists. He was sentenced even for an interview given to a French radio station, "France-Internationale," which was confiscated by Udba (Yugoslav secret police) in Zagreb and, therefore, never emitted at the French radio.

In a letter to the President of the Parliament of the Socialist Republic of Croatia Gotovac wrote: "To accuse whomever you want, whenever you want and for whatever you want — that is one of the traditional privileges of the arbitrary power. . . . You are accusing carelessly, because you think that the court — out of its duty toward your privileges — must prove whatever you say."

Finally, he was sentenced, as he put it talking of his first imprisonment, "simply because I believed that the vital issues affecting my homeland Croatia must be dealt with."

In this context it is of interest to mention that Belgrade's government wines and dines foreign correspondents who are "well behaved" and throws out all journalists who are "too inquisitive" and try to visit Croatian dissidents or analyze the situation in Croatia.



DOBROSLAV PARAGA
• 3 YEARS FOR COLLECTING
SIGNATURES FOR A PETITION

DOBROSLAV PARAGA, a law student, was born in 1960, in Zagreb Capital of Croatia. He was arrested on November 21, 1980, and sentenced on May 20, 1981, to three years imprisonment for collecting signatures for a petition demanding the release of all political prisoners in Yugoslavia.

Paraga's friend, ERNEST BRAJDER, a Croatian Jewish intellectual, born in Zagreb in 1949, collected the same signatures with Dobroslav Paraga and was killed by Udba on November 27, 1980, after three days of a continuous torture.

Ernest Brajder was murdered by Serbian Dominated Udba, but younger and physically stronger Paraga survived the extreme torture. His trial was twice postponed because of his physical condition. When the trial finally took the place, Paraga had the courage to talk about the torture; about what Udba did to him, to his younger brother Domagoj, and to his friend Ernest Brajder.

The following is the Petition sent to the Yugoslav central government in Belgrade on November 14, 1980. The Petition, as Paraga explained it at his trial, was based on a similar Communist Petition from 1936, and was signed by 43 Croatian academics, university, professors, artists, writers, generals, bishops and lawyers, all of whom are now subject to daily harassment and persecution.

TO THE PRESIDENCY OF THE SOCIALIST

FEDERATIVE REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA — BELGRADE.

PETITION BY CITIZENS OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF CROATIA — FOR SUBMISSION TO THE ASSEMBLY OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERATIVE REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA OF A DRAFT LAW ON AMNESTY UNDER ARTICLE 167 AND RELATING TO ARTICLE 314 OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERATIVE REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA

I. We think that the decision to pass a law on amnesty for all political offenders would create solid foundations for an atmosphere of mutual trust and dialogue in the general interest of the whole society. With this in view, we offer below a draft law on amnesty.

II. LAW ON AMNESTY

Article 1.

An amnesty is granted to all persons who had until the day of coming into force of this law committed criminal acts of a political nature.

Article 2.

If criminal proceedings have not yet started against a person to whom this amnesty applies under article 1. of this law, they shall not start at all; if criminal proceedings are already in train, they shall stop. If a person to whom this law applies is already sentenced, the sentence shall be quashed; if the serving of the sentence has already started, it shall stop forthwith.

Article 3.

This amnesty applies also to restrictions on public appearance imposed for security reasons and to legal consequences of any sentence passed by the courts.



REV. JOZO ZOVKO
• 3 1/2 YEARS FOR A SERMON
IL PARROCO ARRESTATO

Rev. JOZO ZOVKO, a 35 years old parish priest in Medjugorje, Croatian province of Herzegovina, was sentenced on October 22, 1981, to three and a half years of hard labour. His indictment charged him with his sermon delivered on July 11, 1981. According to the authorities, in that sermon Fr. Zovko, by the way of referring to the Holy Scriptures, spoke about 40 years of slavery, but actually thought about the Communist revolution . . .

Fr. Zovko is not an exception. On November 11, 1981 Rev. Ferdo Vlasic, a publisher of a religious newspaper in Duvno, was sentenced to EIGHT years of hard labour for publishing in his newspaper a photograph of a poet, Rev. Lucijan Kordic, who lives in Switzerland, while the secretary of the same newspaper, Rev. Jozo Krizic, got five and a half years because he was seen, when visiting Toronto, Canada, in 1979, in the company of a Croatian emigrant.

Daily persecutions of the Catholic Church in Croatia could be illustrated even better by the events that took place between October 7 and 15, 1981, in Makarska, Southern Croatia.

In Vepic, near Makarska, a Shrine dedicated to Our Lady of Lourdes, which was built in 1912, was bulldozed and demolished between October 12, and 15, 1981. The decision to demolish the Shrine was made by the authorities on October 7, 1981, and delivered to the local priest and the office of the archbishop of Split, the second largest city in Croatia, on October 16, 1981.

It is necessary to add here that the Shrine was renovated in the last few years, in accordance with the Yugoslav laws, and that it was the sight of the final ceremony of a Eucharistic Congress on September 6, 1981, when it was visited by more than 100,000 people. Speaking on the radio Vatican, the archbishop of Split, Dr. Frane Franic, stated that he would rather pass all his life in a prison than have to look at such a thing.

**FOR MORE
INFORMATION
ON
HUMAN RIGHTS
VIOLATION IN
YUGOSLAVIA
CALL
(213) 664-6461**

POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENT
PAID FOR BY CROATIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS CHAPTERS, "DR. STANKO VUJICA," 631 W. 9th St., SAN PEDRO; "SINOVI SLOBODE," LOS ANGELES

Forgetting history: --- AN AMERICAN PASTIME

by C. Michael McAdams

The new year, 1982 begins with the eyes of the world upon Poland where a massive military crack-down has taken place. To many Westerners the struggle in Poland appears to be one of communism versus democracy. In fact, the struggle is related almost entirely to economics. The Solidarity Movement was born of an economy that has suffered under the guidance of the Communist Party in which exists today only on hard currency provided by the Western nations.

The Solidarity Movement began a liberalization in Poland which took a period of time to bear fruit. Gradually new books appeared, even books critical of the government. People began to worship more freely and even the state-controlled media began to take a more open tone. But, in December 1981, the Party was purged and the liberalization movement was crushed by General Wojciech Jaruzelski. This should have come as no surprise in the West as this man previously headed the secret police and was instrumental in the Polish participation in the crushing of the Czech Spring in 1968.

Despite the obvious, the West has reacted to the Polish crisis with surprise and outrage. Virtually every Western nation, including such socialist-led countries as France, have at least verbally condemned the action in Poland. The American press; radio, television and newspapers; has been filled with stories about the Poles and their plight. Official reports state that seven people have been killed and over two thousand arrested since the crack-down began. But the press is quick to believe that unofficial reports of hundreds killed and tens of thousands arrested are accurate. The President of the United States

has brought pressure to bear on the Polish and Soviet governments to stop the repression and the American people appear to be one in their support of the Polish people.

Amid the hundreds of news reports on Poland, I have searched for the single reference to the unbelievable parallels which have not, to my knowledge, been noticed by any member of the American press. These parallels, had they been drawn earlier, would have taken much of the surprise out of events in Poland. While the American press is quick to compare the Polish crisis to the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, an event which had noting in common with the present situation in Poland, it has overlooked the obvious. The Croatian Spring, the great liberalization movement in Yugoslavia, was crushed ten years ago, almost to the day of the Polish purge, by the communist government of that country. Like the Solidarity Movement, the Croatian Spring did not happen overnight. It grew gradually with a trend toward liberalization following the purge of the notorious Secret Police chief Alexander Rankovich in 1966. Like the Polish movement, the Croatian Spring was born of economic necessity, not some great clash of political systems. As in Poland, the government made promises of reform. Marshal Tito himself visited the Croatian capital of Zagreb and promised to act upon Croatian demands for greater economic freedom and an end to the use of Croatian youth as virtual serfs in Western Europe to earn hard currency for the regime. Unlike Poland, the majority of the Croatian Spring leaders were loyal communists attempting to work

within the system to bring about a more humane life for their people. And as it happened in Poland, almost exactly ten years later, a strike set the spark off which would destroy the movement.

On December 1, 1971, Marshal Tito summoned the leadership of the Croatian communists to Karadjordjevo, a place bearing the name of the hated Serbian Royal dynasty, while the Army moved on the Croatian capital. In the purge that followed, the entire leadership of the Croatian Communists was removed. By December 21st, the Premier of Croatia, along with most of his government, resigned. Despite the government's slowness in implementing even the most basic economic reforms, the government proved able to move rapidly in crushing liberal reforms born of the workers. By January 14th, over four hundred leading officials had been purged. Next came the Writer's Union, the newspapers, publishing houses and the universities. Between December 1 and March 30, twenty-three Communist Party organizations were disbanded; "political measures" were taken against 1,166 Party members; and criminal action was taken against 2,513 more, 124 of whom were Partisans during World War II.

But the purge of the Party was

only the tip of an iceberg. The workers, the students and the common people suffered even more. By December of 1972 the highly respected International League for the Rights of Man reported that over 16,000 had been arrested; some 2000 members of the news media had been dismissed and thousands upon thousands of teachers, professors and civil servants had been purged from the positions. According to the official Yugoslav census of 1971; one in every three hundred Croatians was arrested during the year. Yugoslavia held, in absolute numbers, more political prisoners than any European nation outside the Soviet Union, and per capita more than virtually any nation on earth. The repression continued for years and even today the effects linger.

The crushing of the Croatian Spring brought some response in the West, but not much. Perhaps America's eyes were still too fixed upon Southeast Asia where she had just ended a long and bloody war. To be sure, American aid to the Tito regime did not skip a beat during the repression. Like Poland, Yugoslavia financed its repression with American dollar and West German Marks. Unlike Poland, the flow to Yugoslavia continued. In fact, Tito was hailed by American Presidents in later years for his

remarkable ability to keep order in Yugoslavia; order of the same sort which now grips Poland.

Perhaps there is something more than the distraction of Vietnam in the refusal of the American press and government to deal accurately and truthfully with events in Yugoslavia. There was no crisis in Southeast Asia last year when Yugoslav tanks crushed the Albanian minority in the Kosovo region... yet the events were virtually ignored by the media and no words of anger or even sorrow were spoken by any Western leader for those who died or even today languish in concentration camps. Perhaps it has something to do with the fact that, to paraphrase Billy Carter, "there are a lot more Polish-Americans than there are Croatian or Albanian-Americans". But even deeper than that I fear is a basic misunderstanding of the nature of Yugoslavia and its system by the American State Department and especially by the American media.

The United States State Department has deluded itself for years with the notion that Yugoslavia is basically a western-oriented "socialist" state which would side with the West in the event of all-out war. The strategic value of Yugoslavia makes this notion something more than academic conjecture; it becomes dangerous to the interests of the United States. Yugoslavia is, first and foremost, a communist state

Editor
Business Week
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New York, New York 10020

dedicated to the destruction of the capitalist system. This is not opinion; it is printed on every piece of government literature from the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia down. Yugoslavia is controlled by a people who have always looked to Russia as their motherland; in religion, in politics and even in the maintainance of the archaic Russian alphabet. There is not the slightest question that in any event, war or otherwise, Yugoslavia will side with the communist powers and with Mother Russia. It seems hard to believe that the U.S. State Department could be so naive, but one look at its record over past ten years is enough to convince the greatest skeptic otherwise. It is obvious that very little is known about the real world in the make-believe land of American diplomacy, where ambassadors are still chosen by the amount of money they contribute to political campaigns and where only one in ten foreign services staff members can speak the language of the country to which they are posted.

As for the American press, I once felt that many reporters were overworked and their offices understaffed. Today I have come to believe that the majority of the American media is filled with lazy, self-serving, egomaniacs. Despite a couple of well-published forays into Afghanistan by one or two reporters, the average American journalist expects the news to be

brought to him when aboard. For the first few weeks of the crack-down in Poland, the media reports were censored by the Polish government. Then, the television stations began to "hype" the "first uncensored reports" out of Poland. The uncensored reports were not, of course, any different than those of the day before. The American press corps in Belgrade seldom leaves the city; preferring to be wined and dined and printing, almost verbatim, regime press releases. The term "investigative reporting" we hear so much about seems to be a cover term to justify invasion of privacy within the safe confines of the U.S.A. Anywhere ^{WHERE} there is real danger... the press is seldom found.

And so we enter a new year. A year with great parallels to the new year of a decade ago. It appears that we, as a people, as a nation and as a press, have not learned much in ten years. As for the communist regimes... they haven't changed much either. Perhaps they have added a few more nations and a few more millions of human beings to their domain. Santayana is quoted much too often. But the words still ring true: "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it." Let us hope that this year ends what has become an all-too-common re-run of history.

February 12, 1982

Danica

4851 Drexel Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois 60615
Phone 312/373-4670

February 13, 1982

Editor
The Economist
25 St. James's Street
London SW1A 1HG
United Kingdom

Dear Sir:

I was astonished that in your informative article on terrorism in Europe (2/16/82) you did not mention the current wave of assassinations in Western Europe by the Yugoslav secret service. Just within the last four months 14 political dissidents were assassinated (West Germany 9, Belgium 3, France 1, Switzerland 1), making the Yugoslav government the most dangerous terrorist group in Europe. In West Germany there are currently three separate trials of assassins or would-be assassins who were caught. In addition, for years now Yugoslavia itself has been one of the main bases of international terrorism. H. P. Rullmann (Hudtwalckerstrasse 26, 2 Hamburg 60, West Germany) just published a book (available in German and English) documenting more than 90 recent assassinations of dissidents, mostly Croatians. Nova Hrvatska newspaper (30 Fleet Street, London) can provide you with detailed information of UDBA's terror at home and abroad.

Yours,
Slobodan Ivanek
San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Sir:

Reading the excellent article by Professor E. Loebl (February 22, 1982), I was pleasantly surprised by his description of the "conflict between Stalin and Stalinist Tito." How refreshing after all those years of western infatuation with this brutal dictator. For many years now the Yugoslav regime has been the most oppressive in Europe. The number of political prisoners relative to the population of Croatia is the highest in the world. Torture is widespread, sentences are barbaric (11 years for an interview, 5 years and death under torture for petitioning for the release of political prisoners, 15 years for removal of Tito's picture). The recent large-scale massacres of unarmed civilians in the Kosovo province by elite Serbian army units alone illustrate the Stalinist nature of Serbian imperialists. Beside providing the basis for international terrorism, the Yugoslav government itself is one of the most dangerous and active terrorist groups. More than 90 dissidents were assassinated abroad — in the last four months alone 14 exiles were assassinated (West Germany 9, France 1, Switzerland 1, Belgium 3). Currently there are three different trials of Yugoslav secret service assassins who were caught in West Germany. H. P. Rullmann (Hudtwalckerstrasse 26, 2000 Hamburg 60, West Germany) recently published a book (available in English) documenting the terrorist activities of the Yugoslav government. The newspaper Nova Hrvatska (30 Fleet Street, London, United Kingdom) has massive documentation about Belgrade's terror at home and abroad.

Sincerely,
Slobodan Ivanek
San Francisco, Cal.

AMERICANS OF CROATIAN ORIGIN AND ALL CONCERNED AND DEMOCRATIC
AMERICANS

The terror, oppression and massacres of innocent Croats are again on the increase in Yugoslavia. The reactionary and chauvinistic oppressors are conducting a policy of systematic genocide of the Croatian nation. Their "final solution" is to establish Great Serbia in Yugoslavia. The continuous racist and reactionary terror, within a framework of fascist dictatorship, is combined with forced assimilation, destruction of Croatian cultural institutions, forced political and economic emigration of Croats, suppression of the Croatian language and culture. Leading Croatian intellectuals are being murdered, imprisoned, tortured. Thousands are forbidden to work. The number of "suicides" during police interrogation is alarmingly high. The number of Croatian political prisoners relative to the population is the highest on earth. More than half of the Croatian territory was given, as a present, to other "republics;" Croats of Moslem and Orthodox religion are even forbidden to call themselves Croats.

The savage red-Gestapo of Yugoslavia is mortally afraid of truth and is spreading a well organized and financed campaign of terror and misinformation, even abroad. More than 100 exile-Croats have been assassinated worldwide by the Yugoslav secret service. Blackmail and spying on a U.S. citizen of Croatian origin is standard routine.

The U.S. taxpayer should not support the Yugoslav terrorist government anymore. The past U.S. policy toward one of the main bases of international terrorism is unethical and not in the interest of the U.S. The so-gullible press-media cannot obtain the truth about Yugoslavia from the Serbian sources in Belgrade or the official propaganda.

The documents about the terror in Yugoslavia are now available. Most of these documents are from Croats who are leading Communist Party members. After an entire generation of Croats was slaughtered in 1945 (the so-called Bleiburg genocide) for being "enemies of the state," "fascists," etc., now even Croats who are leading party members are being persecuted. This fact is simple proof that in Yugoslavia the entire Croatian nation is brutally oppressed, not because of ideology but because of the Serbian policy of territorial expansion.

Please, also send your badly needed contributions.

1. Dr. M. Veselica: The Croatian National Question (English, Croatian, German,)--\$5.00

Dr. Veselica is a leading Croatian economist, high ranking party member and university professor. Because of this courageous interview for a West German weekly in January 1980, Dr. Veselica has been arrested. In a desperate protest he went on a hunger strike and was brutally force-fed. In September 1981, two days before U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig visited Yugoslavia, a kangaroo court sentenced Dr. Veselica to ELEVEN years in prison--for giving a moderate and deeply humanistic interview. Please, read this interview and demand a fundamental revision of the U.S. policy and attitude toward the terrorist government of Yugoslavia. Demand at least moral support for the innocent victims.

2. Dr. F. Tudman: Croatia on Trial (English, Croatian, German)--\$5.00

Because of his interview for Swedish television, this leading historian, university professor and Tito's partisan-general is now in prison. The booklet contains his defense speech during his "trial" in April 1981. The main "offense" of Dr. F. Tudman was to scientifically refute the "black legends" about civil war in Croatia during World War II.

3. Letters Against Tyranny (English, Croatian)--\$5.00

Contains several open letters (April 1981) to the Yugoslav terrorist government from leading Croatian intellectuals. A petition by 43 courageous Croatian intellectuals demanding the release of all political prisoners resulted in numerous arrests and torture. At least one cosigner, E. Brajder, died during torture.

4. "Confession" (English, Croatian, German,)--\$5.00

An authentic document on torture methods in Yugoslavia. This innocent victim, engineer V. Markovic, is still in prison.

5. Dr. M. Mestrovic: Violations of Human and National Rights of the Croatian People in Yugoslavia (English) \$5.00

This is another excellent overview of the tragedy in Croatia. It was submitted to the "Helsinki-3" conference in Madrid in March 1981. Required reading.

6. H. Rullmann: Assassinations Commissioned By Belgrade (English, German)--\$5.00

A summary review of more than 100 recent assassinations by the Yugoslav secret service of prominent exile-Croatians. The list is far from being complete. Since it was published (1980) there have been eleven more assassinations and nine assassination attempts. Compared to the Yugoslav terror abroad, Libya's Khadaffi looks almost innocent. Yet assassinations by Yugoslav secret service, even in the U.S., are hardly even reported in the media, while the U.S. government broke diplomatic relations with Libya.

7. Dr. I. Supek: Heretic of the Left (Croatian only)--\$20.00

A leading Croatian nuclear physicist and humanist on the terror in Croatia.

The above and other documents can be purchased at:

Nova Hrvatska
30 Fleet Street
London EC4Y 1AJ
United Kingdom

Croatian National Congress
P.O. Box 3088
Steinway Station
New York, New York 11103
Telephone: 213/726-8286

Please, send your financial contribution and give this advertisement to other human and peace loving Americans. Do not ignore the innocent victims of terror in Yugoslavia. For example, in just three weeks (August 9-August 30, 1981) Serbian military courts gave more than 3,000 years in prison to approximately 250 Albanians of Kosovo Province. This was reported even in Yugoslav newspapers yet ignored in the U.S. media. A sample of the sentences: 16 and 17 year old students Gani Koci and Bajram Kusumi--15 years in prison for removing a picture of late Yugoslav dictator Tito; Ruzdi Hajolini and Zijadin Hoxha--15 years for participation in demonstrations; Nexhat Terstena and Abdyl Zymberi, highschool students--10 years for participating in demonstrations; their professors between three and five years in prison for having such "bad" students. Parents of the victims of this terror are forced to "demand" draconic punishment for their children. Of course, completely unreported are numerous secret executions of Albanians for their uprising against Serbian aggression. The Kosovo province is completely sealed and forbidden for both foreign and Yugoslav reporters; the elite Yugoslav troops, specially trained for combat with the unarmed civilians and comprised of Serbian soldiers only, have killed more than 4,000 people already. Whole regions were defoliated by chemicals to expose people hiding from the terror in woods. And this is happening now, in the middle of Europe, not Afghanistan, while Deputy Secretary L. Eagleburger makes his scandalous statements about the support to the Yugoslav Nazi-regime and while Secretary A. Haig visits and confers with the henchmen who still have warm blood from their newest innocent victims on their hands.

If you are afraid of the Yugoslav secret service in the U.S., use a false name and neighbor's address and a domestic money order.

PS: Enclosed are excerpts from the defense speech, which were recently smuggled out of the country, of Professor Vlado Gotovac, prominent Croatian poet, writer, journalist and former editor of several leading literary magazines. Mr. Gotovac is again in the infamous prison Stara Gradiska--for a horrible crime--interviews with western journalists in 1977--three years ago. He was sentenced by "the most humane government in the world" and by a government which was host to the Helsinki-2 conference and which signed and so loudly voiced support of human rights., Help protect and save Professor Gotovac and numerous other innocent Croatians.

INDEX ON CENSORSHIP

Vlado Gotovac Freedom in question

Vlado Gotovac is a distinguished Croatian writer, poet and journalist who has not been allowed to publish a word since his first arrest in January 1972. Born in 1920, Gotovac had been publishing collections of verse since 1956 and was for some years the publisher and editor of a number of fine literary magazines, as well as a radio and TV journalist. Having already spent four years in jail following his 1972 trial, he was again arrested and put on trial in June 1981, when he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

At this trial, held in Zagreb between 2 and 4 June 1981, Vlado Gotovac made an impassioned speech in his own defence, in which he defended the freedom of the individual and gave a harrowing account of his imprisonment in Stara Gradiška. The speech is too long to reproduce here in its entirety; for example, Gotovac deals at great length with the complicated issue of the Yugoslav nationalities; we have excerpted the passages which deal with our kind of concern.

My defence will be made up of facts which the indictment failed to mention.

My defence means the exercise of my freedom — as the Apostle Paul wrote: 'Why is my liberty judged of another man's conscience?' An innocent man defends himself by iterating the truth. That is all he can do in his own defence. When the truth is disregarded by the prosecution, whether by accident or design, he still has a duty to it.

But what is truth?

There is only one answer. It is the way in which Time in the long term, the very basis of a society, enables that society to make judgments about itself and other societies. One human society and one truth — they are the same thing. Hence the validity of Bohr's dictum: 'The contrary of an accurate statement is a false statement. But the contrary of a profound truth may be another profound truth.'

My defence is therefore the fulfilment of my duty towards the truth regardless of success or failure; in any other respect it is completely meaningless. According to Koestler, one must resist evil even when it is a hopeless task. In other words, my innocence is so evident that the indictment can stand only if there is a complete disregard for the truth. Accordingly, I am reiterating the truth from a sense of duty and without hope.

Why, then, am I on trial?

When we come to assess and explain the situation in our society there are differences

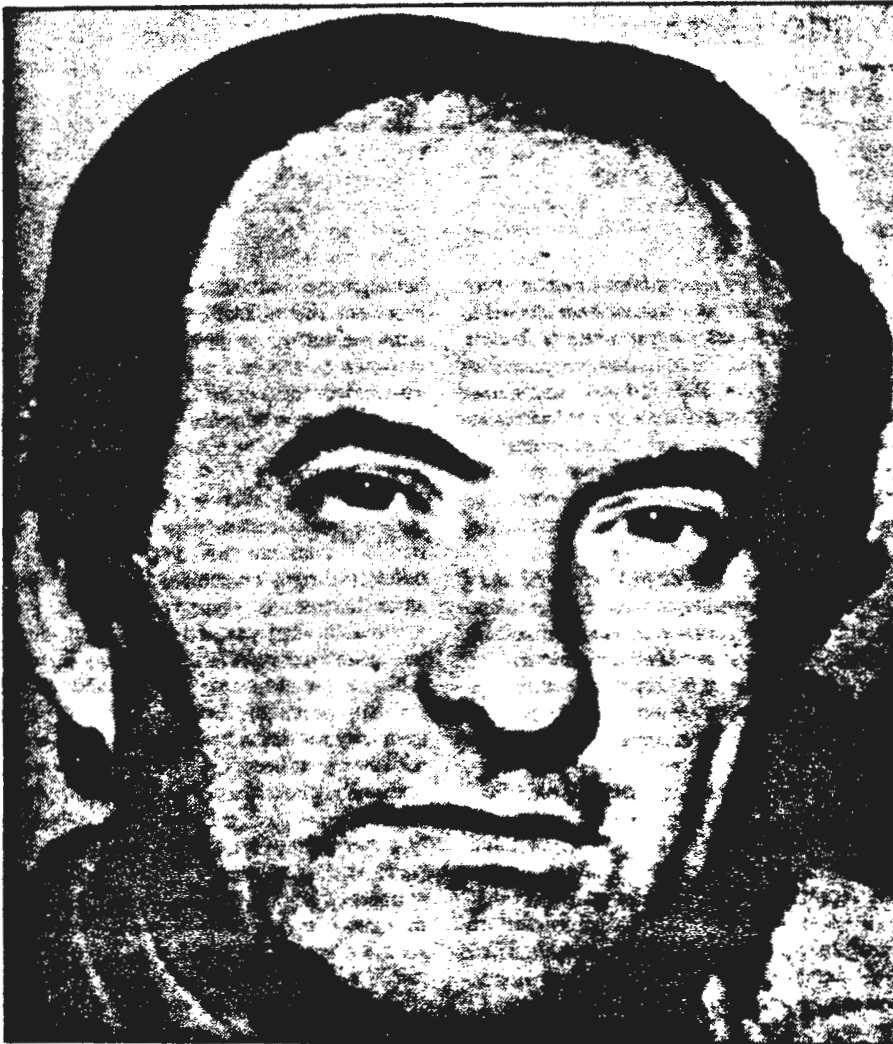
between me and those who at the moment represent the official point of view and its implementation, an implementation which, as is shown by this trial, proscribes and forcibly suppresses any such differences. Only one point of view is permitted — to jail with anyone else's! That, or something like it, is what Tomski said.

But a ban on differing points of view means the death of freedom because the right that freedom guarantees is always the right to differ; the right championed in the famous, albeit hackneyed, saying of Voltaire: 'I disapprove of what you say; but I will defend to the death your right to say it.' Then there are the less famous, but forceful and equally brilliant, words of Rosa Luxemburg: 'Freedom only for the adherents of the authorities, for the members of one party, however numerous they may be, is not freedom. Freedom is only freedom to think differently. Not because of any fanatical devotion to "justice", but because it is the very pith and marrow of all that is edifying and worthwhile, all that is health-giving in political freedom; and the benefits of that freedom are nullified if "freedom" becomes a privilege.'

Nothing is changed by proclaiming every heterodox opinion a danger to the community. This does not safeguard freedom, but transforms it into duplicity and indifference, which in turn substitute calumny and acrimony for argument. To reduce freedom to the freedom of conformists is tantamount to imposing a monologue by decree — a naked, noisesome monster whose sole talking partner is its own echo; this means an end to the difference between freedom and tyranny. There is danger only in an opinion which stifles other opinions.

Lenin once complained: 'In our movement there is less and less dreaming.' In other words, he was worrying about that exalted, but already threatened, generator of progress of which freedom is a prerequisite. With Stalin that worry disappeared; but for the custodians of freedom it increased... and so there was less and less progress and increasing trepidation, as the situation led to the rearing of policemen, not dreamers. The upshot was to be what today we call Stalinism, the most efficient form of struggling for Utopia by devastating man.

At this trial, then, freedom is in question. I am accused of abusing it in my statements to foreign journalists, statements concerned with



PHOTOGRAPH BY V. M. GOLITSKY FROM ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL

take cognisance of the entirety of the opinions which are the subject of its charges, can only be answered in the whole context. The question whether the answer is in fact a defence (particularly an effective one) is meaningless.

The rights of the individual

For me the individual has a value above all others... His fingerprints are on the face of Time. Hence, the only free society is that in which the individual is free, fulfilling his irreplaceable role as partner to every other irreplaceable role. The freedom of the individual exists as a norm for every other freedom.

This equality of individuals is an absolute precondition for justice, because only justice can guarantee, to the limits of the feasible, the living conditions for freedom. Thus, inevitably, from the viewpoint of my own convictions, justice and freedom are united as the indispensable foundations of man's world. Conditions in our society depend entirely on conditions in the foundations. The greater the distance from the actual moment as a prerequisite for creative activity, the farther the individual, true to his uniqueness, is from everyday life, the less mutual understanding there is in the world, the less harmony, and the less cooperation, justice and freedom.

All of this is, of course, diametrically opposed to the point of view which, among Bolsheviks for instance, is expressed by the adage: 'When a tree is felled, the chips fly'. This disregard for the individual and his circumstances, a fatalistic disregard as far as the man in the street is concerned but sheer cynicism among Stalinists, this lack of concern for individuals, I see as heralding the new deluge, which today is called totalitarianism. Contempt for the individual inevitably leads to contempt for the whole community, to wholesale nihilism. Today we are faced with the terrible paradox of every tyranny: while proclaiming the individual absolutely insignificant, and speaking with contempt about his helplessness and impotence, it then goes on to persecute him mercilessly and to suppress every aspect of his uniqueness and irreplaceability. The destruction of the individual always ends in general terror, with everyone becoming quite unscrupulous, living in constant fear of his neighbour — the psychological shamefulness of totalitarianism. Stalin ended up with no adversaries, not even insignificant and impotent ones. He began by murdering the leaders of the revolution and ended by destroying even those who knew, understood, and could do — precisely nothing.

Anyone who stimulates the uniqueness of the individual is also stimulating diversity — which is the usual way in which man's historical world is built. It is the only way it can be made viable, regardless of the cost; and it is ravaged by every attempt to substitute uniformity for diversity...

three subjects:
the civil rights of the individual;
the rights of the nationalities;
relations between the various nationalities.

The indictment alleges: 'The activities of the accused are an integral part of a campaign by reactionary forces in the world, including those forces which are trying to drag the non-aligned Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia into their bloc for the purpose of destabilising the unity of the peoples and nationalities of the SFRY and inciting all the destructive elements in the country, with the aim of creating conditions in the SFRY for the overthrow of the democratic self-managing socialist system or of establishing a bureaucratic non-self-managing system. Individuals in the country who engage in the kind of activities which have incriminated Vlado Gotovac are nothing but megaphones for reactionary forces in the world, being virtually their representatives in our country.'

All my actions and opinions are represented as the work of a servant of reactionary circles abroad, work carried out as an item on their agenda. As for my own work — twenty

published books — it just does not exist; or at least it is not considered relevant to my statements, it has no conceivable connection. At best, I am a split man — one half a writer, the other a hireling of international reaction.

The indictment is in no sense a psychological argument. It merely duplicates, in the tritest possible way and with all the attendant trivialities, that diabolical vehemence that used to gather momentum at political trials, feeding on the humiliation and intellectual and moral degradation of its victims; the old familiar vehemence which turned writers into Japanese spies, Gestapo agents, hirelings of the British intelligence service, and so on; a vehemence seeking no innovations, just victims...

The groundwork for my standpoint was laid in my book *Princip Djela*, written in 1955-65 and published in 1966; while my critical journal *U Svobodnom*, covering the period 1965-8 and published as a book in 1970, represents its practical application in diary form.

Only at this level can my interview be examined, understood, and seen in correct perspective. The indictment, which does not

⊕ The temperatures during winter there are below freezing on the average, but frequently fall below 0°F. The permanent humidity makes the suffering and mortality even worse.

Yugoslavia Freedom in question

'This place is accursed of God'

In the indictment I appear to have an existence only insofar as I am guilty of criminal acts — a convenient phantom for the court. The prosecution has made no attempt to discover why it was that I came to talk to foreign journalists, or to phrase the matter in the idiom of the prosecution: why was I, of all people, chosen for this task by reactionary circles abroad?

The prosecution does not ask this question, because it does not wish to hear the answer, an answer that must include an account of all that has happened to me since January 1972, when at 5 a.m. my flat was searched as the first step towards my trial and a four-year sentence in Stara Gradiška, right up to the present six-year ostracism.

I was taken before the court on a brief which declared that the trial was to be only due process. The result, however, was very simple:

1 One must not rely on the law, like a drunken man leaning against the fence. ☹

2 They invoke the Constitution, while they have placed themselves outside the Constitution.

3 When the Party has already condemned someone, what evidence of his guilt do the courts require?

In accordance with the court's decision I was sentenced to four years rigorous detention under article 100 of the penal code. The sentence was explained on the grounds that in my case it was a typical dialectical transition from quality to quantity: in other words, I had written so much that my words had become counter-revolutionary activity!

In short, it was an old-established trial, like the present one, with no innovations: everything in it had been said countless times in countless places. And it doesn't matter what the names of the accused are — Mandelstam, Havel, or Gotovac...

Stara Gradiška — that was quite a new experience for me.

The first words I heard here were: 'Fuck your bitch of a mother, and that goes for those who let you live. You ought to have had a bullet in the forehead, not come here for us to look after.' That was my greeting at the prison doors from Jovo Vujić, the Chief (that is how prisoners have to address warders), a broad-shouldered man with a moustache — and a powerful punch, as I was soon to discover...

I entered a real kingdom of dankness which made its incursions everywhere; on all sides there was rust and mildew and a suffocating miasma. Then there were the evening horrors and the nightly attacks of rheumatism — and ever-present filth, stench, and putrefaction; everything an endless chain of things being churned into garbage, things rotting away before one could even get a glimpse of them.

The cells in Stara Gradiška are not heated in the winter. The corridors are open, enclosed

only with bars. Only the 'residents room' has heating — from a small stove. We go inside in shifts: one group enters, another leaves. There are three to four hundred of us in the wing and at most one hundred in this room at any one time. We take turns to warm ourselves and freeze; in the 'residents room' we doze, stupefied by the warm and stinking atmosphere; in the corridor we whisper among ourselves and shiver as we shuffle along. Above the roof drifts a steady stream of white wispy fleeces of steam pouring out along the collection of pipes that feeds steam to the boilers in the compound containing the living quarters of the prison staff. It is their firm conviction that it is better for the steam to be lost in the atmosphere than be used to warm 'crooks', as they normally refer to the prisoners. Hence the steam is carried away outside the prison buildings. ☹

Somewhere in the Bible it says: 'It is terrible to fall into the hands of the living God.' In Stara Gradiška one learns how terrible it is to fall into the hands of humanists. And not only because of the steam; for prisoners often get beaten up or put into solitary confinement; and every time there is something different in store — but always bad or even worse than before.

In my cell there were 32 of us — murderers, housebreakers, swindlers, a man sentenced for terrorism, and myself, nearly all serving long sentences. For the most part they were brutish, cruel crafty men, prepared to do anything to improve their lot. The prison staff are aware of this and exploit it: they make skilful use of promises, privileges, and work places, demanding in return 'cooperation' — first and foremost denunciation and provocation of political prisoners. Thus Djuro Kopic, serving a sentence for murder, had a knife made, with the intention of killing me one night; and he was convinced that he would not be punished. His scheme miscarried; but he was rewarded for his initiative with a job in the prison surgery.

Political prisoners in Stara Gradiška are billeted not only with murderers, pickpockets, housebreakers, and sexual deviants, but also with men sentenced to *care and medical treatment* — disturbed alcoholics, insane people, mental deficient, and men almost completely ravaged by syphilis. This terrifying motley crew is handled in a completely arbitrary and thoughtless manner. At any moment anything is possible. For instance; Dražen Budiša was given one month's solitary merely for lending another prisoner a French-Croatian dictionary. Someone informed my education officer, Djordje Mamula, that I was writing something. One afternoon he came to our cell and ordered a search, shouting: 'Confiscate and burn every scrap of writing you find, except letters.' And Chief Milošević said: 'I am God to you. No one can come to your rescue.'

No books from outside are allowed in Stara

Gradiška, no published material; and nothing may be written except letters.

Almost every day some prisoner would swallow a spoon or a piece of wire, or stick a knife into his stomach, taking care not to injure the intestines — not something that everyone can manage! Sometimes someone would cut off a lump of his flesh. All this to get out of Stara Gradiška, at least for a while: to escape from hunger, beatings, the cold and damp, the solitary confinement; just for a breathing spell in hospital.

Sometimes in the afternoon, the duty education officer and Chiefs would organise boxing matches between insane prisoners. The winner received a prize of cigarettes. The wretched fighters would hammer away at each other awkwardly and crazily, but with merciless tenacity. These humiliating exhibitions raised storms of laughter and cynical cheers. On these occasions I was particularly saddened by the fate of Slavko Rajs, a childish youth from the outskirts of Karlovac who was in prison because of his unpredictable behaviour during unpredictable fits. I managed to befriend him by giving him paper and paints, as he enjoyed painting. When I was released, a whole collection of his water colours and drawings was taken from me. I managed to get away with one moving memento of him and Stara Gradiška, a drawing on which he had written a dedication to me: 'This place is accursed of God a lasting keepsake from your good and faithful comrade and friend, Slavko Rajs.'

In Stara Gradiška everyone feels abandoned. The arbitrary severity of the staff is so much in evidence; and what may happen at any moment is so unpredictable. All official visits and inspections take place in our absence; and any complaints are answered by confronting the prisoner with the prison staff, so that the result is usually a beating and solitary confinement. Hence the insane live in fear, hence Rajs is afflicted with constant apprehension... I was not beaten in prison; but that does not diminish my human duty to reiterate: the prison in Stara Gradiška should be demolished.

According to the prosecution, I have freely enjoyed my 'Constitutional Rights', my 'basic human rights and freedom', both at my trial and since, up to the present day... But there is a difference between those rights and the state of affairs as expressed in all my interviews; and because that difference does exist, in the shape of my concrete, personal dramatic experience, and has been embodied in my thinking, I am explaining it and seeking a decision that will eliminate it, or at least reduce it to negligible proportions, for everyone's sake; and that is why foreign journalists have been interviewing me...

Translated from the Croatian by Dorian Cooke.

☹ The infamous order given by the late dictator Tito to Yugoslav courts to be even more draconian during the 1972 purges in Croatia of which Mr. Gotovac was one of the countless victims. Just in those purges the number of people imprisoned, fired from their professions, made homeless, relative to the population of Croatia, would be 1,100,000 Americans. Yet the "free world" hardly even whispered.

YOUR TURN

For speaking his opinion,
my husband is behind the
bars of a Yugoslav prison

By Božena Veselica

As the wife of Dr. Marko Veselica, a state prisoner in Yugoslavia, I have decided to address myself to you and ask for help.

On Sept. 9, 1981, my husband was sentenced to 11 years' imprisonment, although his only sin was that he declared his opinion. This is his second punishment. He was sentenced for the first time in 1972, to seven years of severe imprisonment, and served six years of his sentence in the Stara Gradiška prison. (This prison has been on the list for abolishment for years because it doesn't meet the minimal living conditions.)

After he had completed his studies at the Faculty of Economics in Zagreb, Croatia, in 1960, my husband became an assistant lecturer at the Department of Political Economy. In 1967, he obtained his doctorate in economics and was lecturing at the university until 1972, when he was arrested.

My husband was not only engaged in scientific research but was also prominent in the social and political life of the

country. He became a member of the League of Communists when he was 18 and was a prominent leader of the Student Union and the member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth League in Croatia. In 1968, he became the secretary of the Faculty League of Communists, and in 1969 became a delegate to the Social and Political Chamber of the Federal Assembly in Belgrade. He was concerned with the problems of economic and social development in Yugoslavia and participated in conferences and discussion on basic social and economic problems.

In 1964, he became a member of the Confederation of Trade Unions' Commission for Education and Culture, and after a period of time he was elected president of the Commission for Social and Economic Relations.

As the result of his work in the trade union, he was elected delegate to the Second Congress of Self-Managing Workers.

In 1972, he was excluded from the highest body of the trade unions without any democratic dialogue, suspended from the faculty and, in spite of his immunity as a people's deputy, was arrested on Jan. 11, because all the work that my husband had been legally performing on various political bodies was said to be "nationalism and counter-revolutionary activity."

After he had served his sentence under horrible conditions in Stara Gradiška prison, my husband was employed by a small firm in Zagreb at a minimal salary. Although he had not spoken in public for three years, some politicians kept talking about him as if he were a People's Enemy No. 1. Because of that, we have been living under constant pressure. In September 1980, my husband was interviewed by a journalist from Der Spiegel to say the truth about himself and to testify about prosecution and events of 1971. This interview caused many troubles and, on April 24, 1981, my husband was arrested again. Because of horrible conditions in the prison and inadequate medical help, he had to undergo an operation.

He was tried from Aug. 31-Sept. 9, 1981. My husband is a prisoner of conscience

because he is charged with declaring his belief and opinion, which in no way can be any form of violence. He has been fighting all his life for development, democracy and equality of all the nations as well as against violence and injustice, but now he is himself their victim.

The sentence which has been passed on him is absurd, unbelievable. It is equal to the killing of my husband, because he has already served the sentence of six years. This horrible punishment has made me write to you, because I still believe that something can be done to help my husband.

I appeal to all the people of good will and ask them for help to influence the government in Yugoslavia and to make them re-examine and quash, or at least mitigate radically, his sentence, which is a violation of the rights that the government guarantees to all its citizens. I think that the best thing will be if individuals, groups and institutions address themselves to the government of Yugoslavia and the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

Originally my intention was not to appeal across the borders of my country, but I was forced to do so because in my country nobody has will and strength to help. I addressed myself to all the leading politicians in Yugoslavia while my husband was seriously ill in a hospital, but the only answer was the 11 years' imprisonment.

Our belief is that you will support us in our efforts. ■

TODAY'S CONTRIBUTORS

DAVID WEBB is a Alexandria, Va.-based aerospace writer and consultant.

PHYLLIS BATTELLE is a columnist for the Hearst Newspapers.

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY is editor of National Review, hosts the PBS talk show "Firing Line" and writes a column.

MAXWELL GLEN and **CODY SHEARER** collaborate in writing a column.

BOŽENA VESELICA lives in Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, which is now one of the republics of Yugoslavia.

Los Angeles Herald Examiner
Friday, December 11, 1981

ELEVEN YEARS IN PRISON FOR AN INTERVIEW

In August 1980 Dr. Marko Veselica, a leading Croatian economist and former deputy in the Yugoslav Federal Parliament, gave an interview to West Germany's leading weekly Der Spiegel. This interview was subsequently published in a brochure titled The Croatian National Question--Yugoslavia's Achilles Heel. In this interview, Dr. Veselica described the key problems of today's Yugoslavia. One cannot read this interview without being touched by the courage, deep humanitarianism and democratic thoughts of this noble man.

In April 1981 Dr. Veselica was arrested because of this interview. The controlled press of Yugoslavia sentenced him even before his "trial." In desperate protest Dr. Veselica began a hunger strike. He became seriously ill as a result and a series of operations were performed on him (stomach, colon). Although Dr. Veselica was very ill, his "trial" suddenly began in early September 1981 in order to prevent foreign correspondents from attending it. To illustrate the standard methods of Yugoslav fascists, let us describe their "evidence of guilt."

The standard method is to provide "evidence" for connections with the "fascist remnants abroad." The key witnesses were two 80-year old women, one blind and the other an immobile invalid. The secret service forced them to cooperate with the threat of losing the apartment in which they live together. The chronic and very acute housing shortage is a well planned method of oppression--only "good" Croatians are entitled to one and only after years of waiting and proving one's "goodness." It is also a method that ensures the negative population growth rate of the Croatian nation. However, in court the two 80-year old witnesses, Zora Heger and Zdenka Grkovic, recanted and said that they had never met Dr. Veselica, much less sent his letters abroad.

Desperately the police searched for a new "witness." They found one in Mrs. Mila Sram, 69 years old and dying of a double terminal cancer. She went to Switzerland several times for medical treatment, and this was an opportunity for the police fabrications. The police threatened that dying woman with taking away her medicine. In court she accused Dr. Veselica and then, tormented with her "admission," screamed to the audience that the police interrogated her for seven days continuously to enforce this and fell unconscious.

Dr. Veselica was sentenced to 11 (eleven) years at hard labor for his horrible crime--giving an interview. The reactionary Serbian clique that rules Yugoslavia silenced one more among tens of thousands of innocent Croatian workers, students and intellectuals. Only two days later, Mr. Lawrence Eagleburger, the new assistant secretary at the U.S. State Department and an old apologist for Serbian reactionaries, gave his scandalous speech in which he professed his eternal love for Yugoslavia's terrorist government.

HP -
pls review
prior to signing
is agreed but
I'd appreciate
your advice.
May 1982
JUN -9 1982
082916CLL

Enclosed is a letter that Dr. Veselica's courageous wife and daughters sent to the West. Please help the innocent prisoners of conscience in Yugoslavia. Do not ignore; raise your voices. Pressure on the Yugoslav fascist government will moderate its terror on its own population. At least it is easier to rot and die in abominable prisons in Croatia if one is not forgotten.

Please protest against the terror in Yugoslavia. Join the committees for saving Dr. Veselica; help form their branches in your community. For information please contact:

Professor Jozo Vrbic
P.O. Box 2939
San Francisco CA 94401

Mrs. Marija Levic
2042 N. Hobart Boulevard
Los Angeles CA 90027

Father Castimir Majic
4851 Drexel Boulevard
Chicago IL 60615

Professor Mate Mestrovic
10 Ackerman Road
Saddle River NY 11103

In Australia:

Mr. Mario Sime Despoja
11 Dryanda Drive
Bellair, SA 5052

In France:

Professor Mirko Vidovic
Tour Panoramique 31
69009 Lyon

In England:

Nova Hrvatska
30 Fleet Street
London EC4Y 1AJ

In Germany:

Hans Peter Rullmann
Hudtwalckerstrasse 26
2000 Hamburg 60

Please help, in spite of the fact that small groups within the U.S. media and the State Department try to censor news about the fascist terror in Yugoslavia. Supporting fascist Yugoslavia and a coverup of its countless monstrous crimes is not in the interest of the United States. U.S. taxpayers should not finance the genocide of enslaved Croats in Yugoslavia (i.e., Greater Serbia).

Please obtain the 1982 report by Amnesty International on prisoners of conscience in Yugoslavia:

Yugoslavia--Prisoners of Conscience
Amnesty International
304 West 58th Street
New York, New York 10019

Although far from being complete, the report provides good insight into the most repressive regime in Europe.

Dr. Veselica's interview can be obtained (\$5.00) at:

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

Nova Hrvatska
30 Fleet Street
London EC4Y 1AJ
United Kingdom

Other recent information:

- . The police state of Yugoslavia disbarred Dr. Veselica's attorney for the "audacity" of defending him.
- . As is common practice, the police state of Yugoslavia increased the sentence of 18-year old student Dobroslav Paraga from three to five years. He was sentenced for collecting the signatures for a petition for the release of political prisoners. His colleague, Ernest Brajder, died under torture for the same "offense." Although his sentence and the petition itself were totally ignored by the U.S. media, the gradual increases of sentences of political prisoners is common practice, after the possible initial interest of world opinion wanes.
- . Please help warn the West German government that Yugoslav fascists have started to collect German hostages to exchange them for their assassins abroad who were caught in West Germany. This is their standard practice. Yugoslav secret service terrorist Luka Vidmar (lost a leg during the bombing of an Austrian museum) and Marina Blaj were recently exchanged for an Austrian "spy"--Mr. Gerhard Lachuer. Would-be assassin, Svilar, was not long ago exchanged for another "spy," German social worker Mr. Eberhard de Haan. This brazen practice of taking hostages and exchanging them for convicted assassins can be particularly illustrated by the fact that Mr. Haan, a "spy," was later praised by the same Yugoslav government for his social work, as if nothing had happened. Just within the last four months 14 political dissidents were assassinated abroad (West Germany 9, Belgium 3, France 1, Switzerland 1), making the Yugoslav government the most dangerous terrorist group. In West Germany there are currently three separate trials of assassins or would-be assassins who were caught. Americans visiting Yugoslavia could also become hostages required for exchange for these Yugoslav secret service agents.
- . Please demand an immediate congressional investigation into the behavior and motives of Mr. Lawrence Eagleburger. His blatant support of the Yugoslav terrorist government is becoming an embarrassment for even his staunchest supporters at the State Department. He is the remnant of the totally bankrupt and immoral policies toward Yugoslavia of the Carter Administration. His personal support of the terrorist thugs who presently rule Yugoslavia is highly unprofessional and is directly against the interests of the United States. His pressure and manipulation of the U.S. bankers (conference April 22 and 23) is unprecedented. Because of his active role in suppression of information on massive and abominable human rights violations in Yugoslavia, Mr. Eagleburger should at least be disqualified from participating in all government policy issues regarding Yugoslavia.

PAID POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENT

YUGOSLAVIA CROATIAN GULAG

For Years Yugoslavia has been falsely presented to the American public as a benevolent society, enjoying freedom unknown in other Eastern Block countries. Such an image could not be more wrong. In fact, Serbian dominated Yugoslavia represents one of the worst dictatorships in the contemporary world. According to the latest report of Amnesty International, Yugoslavia's record on human rights violations has surpassed that of the Soviet Union.



DR. MARKO VESELICA
• 11 YEARS FOR AN INTERVIEW

DR. MARKO VESELICA, a noted Croatian economist, was born in 1936 near Sinj, Southern Croatia. His father died during the Second World War fighting on the side of the Tito Partisans. In his youth, Veselica was a prominent activist in the youth and student organizations and a member of the Communist party for 18 years. He studied economics at the Faculty of Economics of the Croatian University at Zagreb, where he earned a Ph.D. in 1962. Until December of 1971, Veselica was a lecturer at the same Faculty, teaching Political economy.

At the same time Dr. Marko Veselica took an active part in the political life of Croatia. He had been a member of the Presidium and of the Executive Committee of the Croatian Trade Unions and a deputy for a Zagreb in the Federal Parliament in Belgrade. In this capacity, Veselica gave his all fighting for real autonomy of the constituent Yugoslav republics, for social and economic reforms and for lasting changes in Yugoslavia. This made Veselica the prime target for attack by "centralist" and "unitarist" forces in Yugoslavia.

He was one of the first leaders of the "Croatian Spring" to be arrested in December, 1971, and sentenced to 7 years of hard labour on trumped-up charges of "counterrevolution" and "separatism" in 1972. Veselica was released from jail after six years following worldwide protests and the intervention of Amnesty International, which campaigned for his release and made him a "prisoner of the month" in October, 1977.

His release from prison was not the end of Veselica's troubles in Serbian dominated Yugoslavia. The father of three small children, he was unable to obtain any kind of work, while clear threats, contained in the public speeches by the highest ranking representatives of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, were constantly aimed at Veselica.

On April 21, 1981, Dr. Marko Veselica was rearrested. Having no legal protection in a lawless country, Veselica used the only form of protest remaining to him; the hunger strike. His trial was delayed several times because of his failing health, due to his previous imprisonment. On August 31, 1981, Dr. Marko Veselica was sentenced by the Yugoslav authorities to ELEVEN (11) years prison term for giving and interview to a West German news magazine (an equivalent of the American Time magazine). Though he is a relatively young man, it is feared that because of his failing health, he will not survive another stay in the Yugoslav Gulag.

The following are some extracts from the interview given by Dr. Marko Veselica to a West German news magazine in August, 1980:

"I am opposed to all violence, even though I was myself a victim of violence. Violence engenders new hatred and creates the imperative for more violence. This tragic chain must somewhere be broken. Violence must be renounced even against those who live by it. I have decided to be one of those who have absolutely renounced violence even though some will say that even by talking to you of these things I have perpetrated a crime. I have never committed a crime, or do I intend to. I follow the teachings of the spiritual leaders of my people and other peoples of the world, who have said that it is better to perish than to hate, and that only goodness and the hunger for truth and justice can purify our hearts and give a true meaning to our existence. This is what I can tell you of my resistance and the ideals that move my people

"The Croatia is truly cut into two parts, the Croatia in exile, scattered around the earth, and the Croatia here, in the homeland. It is normal for the Croats outside the homeland, particularly those who left after W.W. 2, to return to their country, for the heart can never be happy in a foreign land. Economic conditions could be created here for them to return to their homeland

"We who did so much in order to stop the century old Croatian exodus; we who worked so hard to ensure that no Croat should be compelled to leave his homeland; we who did our best to facilitate the return of as many of our people as possible back to our country — we were accused of being chauvinist and separatists, even enemies of our people for whom we so unselfishly gave so much. For our desire to prepare the ground work for an economic, psychological and political life acceptable to all Croats abroad and at home, we were even imprisoned."

Dr. FRANJO TUDJMAN, Croatian historian and writer, was born in Veliko Trgovišće in Zagorje, Croatia's northern most province, in 1922. During the war, he joined the Tito Partisans. After the war, he graduated from the higher military academy, and in 1961, he left the army with the rank of major-general. From 1961 to 1967 he was director of the Institute for party history in Croatia, which was attached to the Central Committee of Croatia. At the same time he held a number of senior political functions.

After his appointment as director of the party history institute, he devoted himself entirely to scholarly work. In 1963, he was appointed professor of history at the political science faculty of the Croatian University at Zagreb. Two years later, he obtained a doctorate for his work "The Causes of the Crisis of Monarchist Yugoslavia from the Unification in 1918 to the Collapse in 1941."

He has published a number of works dealing with military matters and the history of partisan wars, philosophy of history, modern history and international relations. His main works are: "War against War" (1957), "The Formation of Socialist Yugoslavia" (1960), "Occupation and Revolution" (1964), "The Yugoslav Committee and the Formation of the State of Southern Slavs" (1966) and "Big Ideas and Small Nations"



DR. FRANJO TUDJMAN
• 3 YEARS FOR DEFENDING
HISTORICAL FACTS

(1969). His latest book "Nationalism in Contemporary Europe" has just been published by Columbia University Press in New York.

Soon after Tito's condemnation of the Croatia party leadership in Karadjordjevo on December 1, 1971, Dr. Franjo Tudjman was arrested. He was sentenced on October 12, 1972, to two years imprisonment. After nine months in prison, he was released. Then, ten years later, on February 20, 1981, he was sentenced for the same convictions. The court rejected his defense and sentenced him to three years imprisonment.

The following is an extract from his defense in the court: "In 1965 the supporters of the hegemonic and centralist ideas proposed that the principal solemn celebration of the 25th anniversary of the commencement of the National Liberation Struggle and of the revolution in Yugoslavia (due in 1966) should be held in Jasenovac, since at least 700,000 and possibly as many as 900,000 people had been killed in that camp. This was because the party officials in question wanted to use this ceremony to their own advantage in order to strengthen their position. A plan was drawn up to have the number of the people who perished there engraved on a monument and to have Aleksandar Rankovic as the main speaker. I myself opposed this, and used as evidence statistical data about the war victims between 1941-1945 (which was still unpublished at the time and even today has not yet been made public). At that time I pointed out the far-reaching consequences of the more than tenfold inflation of the number of victims, which was horrible enough as it stood.

"My argument carried the weight of evidence substantiated by irrefutable data and by my official duties and functions. At that time I held the following positions: Director of the Institute for history of the labour movement in Croatia; Professor of the socialist revolution and of the contemporary national history at the Faculty of political science; member of the Ideological Commission of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia; member of the Historical Commission of CK SKH and member of the Central Committee of the league of Combatants of Croatia; member of the Coordination committee for the history of the Labour movement in Yugoslavia; President of the Commission for international relations of the Central Committee and member of the Executive Committee of the Socialist League of Croatia; member of the Executive Committee of the Centre for Emigrants of Croatian origin (Matia Iseljenika), member of the Parliament of the Socialist Republic of Croatia and President of the Committee for Academic work of the Cultural and Educational Council.

"However, one of the most responsible political figures in Croatia told me officially: 'With regard to Jasenovac and the war victims you are right, but bear it in mind that relations are such that the Central Committee of the Croatian League of Communists cannot support you publicly. The subject is politically so sensitive, that if we drag it into open we would provoke difficulties for comrade Tito, and we must not do that, because he is faced with enough problems as it is!'

"I replied, that one should strive consistently to maintain the truth precisely in order to change things which do not permit it, and furthermore, that such political assessments cannot influence me in my work as a historian, because they are contrary to my conscience as a person and my convictions as a historian.

"In order to demonstrate the total absurdity of the allegations that 700-800,000 people were killed in the concentration camp of Jasenovac alone, I pointed to the officials concerned that this would mean that every single day 500 people were killed and buried, or 600 allowing for holidays, in other words 20 to 25 persons every single hour. In addition — and this is without doubt of far greater importance — I put forward the estimate that probably the total number of victims who perished in the Second World War in the whole of Yugoslavia (i.e. taking into account the entire population on all sides involved in hostilities) — does not exceed this figure! That is to say that where correct statistical data about the war victims is lacking or not yet available, demographic losses are calculated using scientific methods based on demographic statistics.

"Applying two of the three best-known methods, the total demographic losses in Yugoslavia during the Second World War can amount at the most to circa 2, 18 million people (or considerably less according to the third method). Of this figure 450,000 is accounted for by the fall in the birth-rate, 500,000 by the emigration of the German national minority, about 200,000 by the emigrated Italian, Hungarian and Turkish minorities, circa 250,000 applies to the emigre population, leaving a total of 700-800,000 people unaccounted for and regarded as war casualties. (This figure is not insignificant, when one recalls that far larger countries suffered considerably smaller losses, e.g. Great Britain 388,000, Italy 410,000, France 600,000).

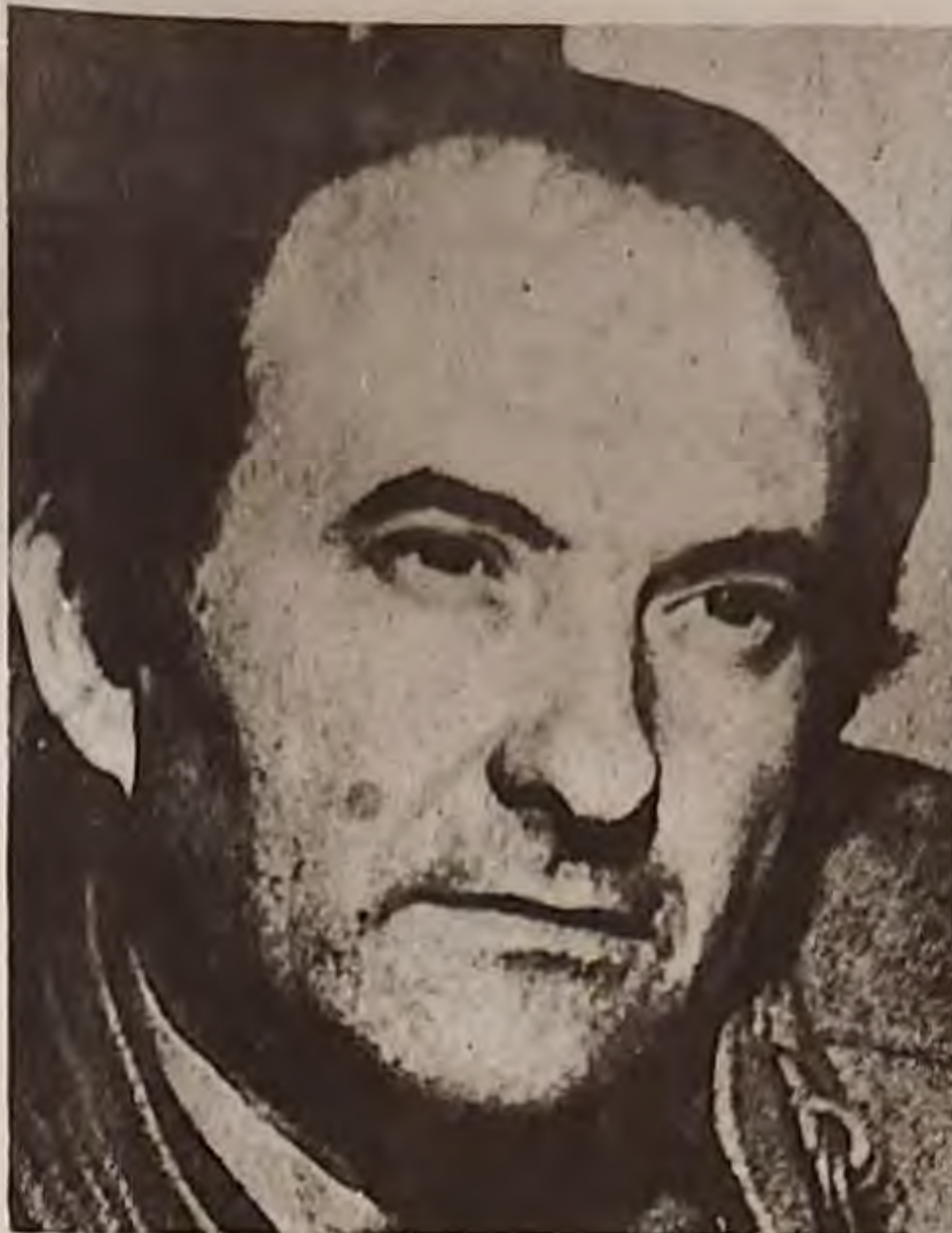
"If one continuously reiterates and exaggerates to an alarming degree the atrocities of the Ustaasha during the NDH (Independent State of Croatia), one tends to lose sight not only of the fact that the historical genesis of the Ustaasha movement lay in the hegemonistic tyranny imposed on the Croat nation under the Yugoslav monarchy, and particularly in the assassination of the Croatian leadership, headed by Stjepan Radic in the Belgrade Parliament, and that the Chetnick forces represented no less a danger to the Croat population in wartime, than did the Ustaasha forces to the Serbs, but also on such falsified premisses one is not in a position to formulate realistic preconditions for the harmonious co-existence of Croats and Serbs in the socialist community.

"People who are not brave enough to face up to historical truth will try to run away from truth in the present as well. In addition one should remember that

For the last 36 Years, human and national rights have been constantly violated especially in the Socialist Republic of Croatia, where even national identity is considered a crime and very of ten prosecuted as such.

The following are some random examples of such prosecutions which frequently have fatal consequences, the most recent of them being a young Croatian Jewish intellectual, Ernest Brajder (31).

this kind of exaggeration of Ustaasha crimes serves the theory of the enormous historical guilt of the whole Croat nation, in order to impose the concept of Croatia being exclusively on the side of the Axis Powers in the Second World War, so as to conceal the truth that Croatia was at the same time on of the strongest supporters of the anti-fascist People's Liberation Movement. Croatia made not a smaller, but most likely a greater contribution to the revolutionary victory over Fascism than did other nations. Moreover the Croat nation suffered the largest proportional population casualties in Second World War."



PROF. VLADO GOTOVAC
• 2 YEARS FOR A LETTER

PROF. VLADO GOTOVAC, a Croatian philosopher and writer, considered by many the most intelligent man to appear in the postwar Croatia, was born in 1930, in Imotski, Southern Croatia. As a prolific writer he has published some 20 volumes of poetry, philosophy, and literary criticism. Prof. Gotovac has already served four years in the infamous prison of Stara Gradiska for his participation in the "Croatian Spring" movement in 1971. At that time he was accused of "counterrevolution" for being the chief editor of the prestigious Croatian Weekly.

Ten years later, on June 5, 1981, Gotovac was sentenced again. This time he was given two years of imprisonment. Besides, after his prison term expires, he will not be allowed to publish anything or to speak in the public for four years. Why?

Because he gave an interview to a Swedish TV reporter in 1977, and spoke to some West European journalists. He was sentenced even for an interview given to a French radio station, "France-Internationale," which was confiscated by Udba (Yugoslav secret police) in Zagreb and, therefore, never emitted at the French radio.

In a letter to the President of the Parliament of the Socialist Republic of Croatia Gotovac wrote: "To accuse whomever you want, whenever you want and for whatever you want — that is one of the traditional privileges of the arbitrary power. . . . You are accusing carelessly, because you think that the court — out of its duty toward your privileges — must prove whatever you say."

Finally, he was sentenced, as he put it talking of his first imprisonment, "simply because I believed that the vital issues affecting my homeland Croatia must be dealt with."

In this context it is of interest to mention that Belgrade's government wines and dines foreign correspondents who are "well behaved" and throws out all journalists who are "too inquisitive" and try to visit Croatian dissidents or analyze the situation in Croatia.



DOBROSLAV PARAGA
• 3 YEARS FOR COLLECTING
SIGNATURES FOR A PETITION

DOBROSLAV PARAGA, a law student, was born in 1960, in Zagreb Capital of Croatia. He was arrested on November 21, 1980, and sentenced on May 20, 1981, to three years imprisonment for collecting signatures for a petition demanding the release of all political prisoners in Yugoslavia.

Paraga's friend, ERNEST BRAJDER, a Croatian Jewish intellectual, born in Zagreb in 1949, collected the same signatures with Dobroslav Paraga and was killed by Udba on November 27, 1980, after three days of a continuous torture.

Ernest Brajder was murdered by Serbian Dominated Udba, but younger and physically stronger Paraga survived the extreme torture. His trial was twice postponed because of his physical condition. When the trial finally took the place, Paraga had the courage to talk about the torture; about what Udba did to him, to his younger brother Domagoj, and to his friend Ernest Brajder.

The following is the Petition sent to the Yugoslav central government in Belgrade on November 14, 1980. The Petition, as Paraga explained it at his trial, was based on a similar Communist Petition from 1936, and was signed by 43 Croatian academics, university, professors, artists, writers, generals, bishops and lawyers, all of whom are now subject to daily harassment and persecution.

TO THE PRESIDENCY OF THE SOCIALIST

FEDERATIVE REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA — BELGRADE.

PETITION BY CITIZENS OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF CROATIA — FOR SUBMISSION TO THE ASSEMBLY OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERATIVE REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA OF A DRAFT LAW ON AMNESTY UNDER ARTICLE 167 AND RELATING TO ARTICLE 314 OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERATIVE REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA

I. We think that the decision to pass a law on amnesty for all political offenders would create solid foundations for an atmosphere of mutual trust and dialogue in the general interest of the whole society. With this in view, we offer below a draft law on amnesty.

II. LAW ON AMNESTY

Article 1.

An amnesty is granted to all persons who had until the day of coming into force of this law committed criminal acts of a political nature.

Article 2.

If criminal proceedings have not yet started against a person to whom this amnesty applies under article 1. of this law, they shall not start at all; if criminal proceedings are already in train, they shall stop. If a person to whom this law applies is already sentenced, the sentence shall be quashed; if the serving of the sentence has already started, it shall stop forthwith.

Article 3.

This amnesty applies also to restrictions on public appearance imposed for security reasons and to legal consequences of any sentence passed by the courts.



REV. JOZO ZOVKO
• 3 1/2 YEARS FOR A SERMON
IL PARROCO ARRESTATO

Rev. JOZO ZOVKO, a 35 years old parish priest in Medjugorje, Croatian province of Herzegovina, was sentenced on October 22, 1981, to three and a half years of hard labour. His indictment charged him with his sermon delivered on July 11, 1981. According to the authorities, in that sermon Fr. Zovko, by the way of referring to the Holy Scriptures, spoke about 40 years of slavery, but actually thought about the Communist revolution

Fr. Zovko is not an exception. On November 11, 1981 Rev. Ferdo Vlasic, a publisher of a religious newspaper in Duvno, was sentenced to EIGHT years of hard labour for publishing in his newspaper a photograph of a poet, Rev. Lucijan Kordic, who lives in Switzerland, while the secretary of the same newspaper, Rev. Jozo Krizic, got five and a half years because he was seen, when visiting Toronto, Canada, in 1979, in the company of a Croatian emigrant.

Daily persecutions of the Catholic Church in Croatia could be illustrated even better by the events that took place between October 7 and 15, 1981, in Makarska, Southern Croatia.

In Vepic, near Makarska, a Shrine dedicated to Our Lady of Lourdes, which was built in 1912, was bulldozed and demolished between October 12, and 15, 1981. The decision to demolish the Shrine was made by the authorities on October 7, 1981, and delivered to the local priest and the office of the archbishop of Split, the second largest city in Croatia, on October 16, 1981.

It is necessary to add here that the Shrine was renovated in the last few years, in accordance with the Yugoslav laws, and that it was the sight of the final ceremony of a Eucharistic Congress on September 6, 1981, when it was visited by more than 100,000 people. Speaking on the radio Vatican, the archbishop of Split, Dr. Frane Franic, stated that he would rather pass all his life in a prison than have to look at such a thing.

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VIOLATION IN
YUGOSLAVIA
CALL
(213) 664-6461**

POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENT
PAID FOR BY CROATIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS CHAPTERS, "DR. STANKO VUJICA," 631 W. 9th St., SAN PEDRO; "SINOVI SLOBODE," LOS ANGELES

AMERICANS OF CROATIAN ORIGIN AND ALL CONCERNED AND DEMOCRATIC
AMERICANS

The terror, oppression and massacres of innocent Croats are again on the increase in Yugoslavia. The reactionary and chauvinistic oppressors are conducting a policy of systematic genocide of the Croatian nation. Their "final solution" is to establish Great Serbia in Yugoslavia. The continuous racist and reactionary terror, within a framework of fascist dictatorship, is combined with forced assimilation, destruction of Croatian cultural institutions, forced political and economic emigration of Croats, suppression of the Croatian language and culture. Leading Croatian intellectuals are being murdered, imprisoned, tortured. Thousands are forbidden to work. The number of "suicides" during police interrogation is alarmingly high. The number of Croatian political prisoners relative to the population is the highest on earth. More than half of the Croatian territory was given, as a present, to other "republics;" Croats of Moslem and Orthodox religion are even forbidden to call themselves Croats.

The savage red-Gestapo of Yugoslavia is mortally afraid of truth and is spreading a well organized and financed campaign of terror and misinformation, even abroad. More than 100 exile-Croats have been assassinated worldwide by the Yugoslav secret service. Blackmail and spying on a U.S. citizen of Croatian origin is standard routine.

The U.S. taxpayer should not support the Yugoslav terrorist government anymore. The past U.S. policy toward one of the main bases of international terrorism is unethical and not in the interest of the U.S. The so-gullible press-media cannot obtain the truth about Yugoslavia from the Serbian sources in Belgrade or the official propaganda.

The documents about the terror in Yugoslavia are now available. Most of these documents are from Croats who are leading Communist Party members. After an entire generation of Croats was slaughtered in 1945 (the so-called Bleiburg genocide) for being "enemies of the state," "fascists," etc., now even Croats who are leading party members are being persecuted. This fact is simple proof that in Yugoslavia the entire Croatian nation is brutally oppressed, not because of ideology but because of the Serbian policy of territorial expansion.

Please, also send your badly needed contributions.

1. Dr. M. Veselica: The Croatian National Question (English, Croatian, German,)--\$5.00

Dr. Veselica is a leading Croatian economist, high ranking party member and university professor. Because of this courageous interview for a West German weekly in January 1980, Dr. Veselica has been arrested. In a desperate protest he went on a hunger strike and was brutally force-fed. In September 1981, two days before U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig visited Yugoslavia, a kangaroo court sentenced Dr. Veselica to ELEVEN years in prison--for giving a moderate and deeply humanistic interview. Please, read this interview and demand a fundamental revision of the U.S. policy and attitude toward the terrorist government of Yugoslavia. Demand at least moral support for the innocent victims.

2. Dr. F. Tudman: Croatia on Trial (English, Croatian, German)--\$5.00

Because of his interview for Swedish television, this leading historian, university professor and Tito's partisan-general is now in prison. The booklet contains his defense speech during his "trial" in April 1981. The main "offense" of Dr. F. Tudman was to scientifically refute the "black legends" about civil war in Croatia during World War II.

3. Letters Against Tyranny (English, Croatian)--\$5.00

Contains several open letters (April 1981) to the Yugoslav terrorist government from leading Croatian intellectuals. A petition by 43 courageous Croatian intellectuals demanding the release of all political prisoners resulted in numerous arrests and torture. At least one cosigner, E. Brajder, died during torture.

4. "Confession" (English, Croatian, German,)--\$5.00

An authentic document on torture methods in Yugoslavia. This innocent victim, engineer V. Markovic, is still in prison.

5. Dr. M. Mestrovic: Violations of Human and National Rights of the Croatian People in Yugoslavia (English)
\$5.00

This is another excellent overview of the tragedy in Croatia. It was submitted to the "Helsinki-3" conference in Madrid in March 1981. Required reading.

6. H. Rullmann: Assassinations Commissioned By Belgrade (English, German)--\$5.00

A summary review of more than 100 recent assassinations by the Yugoslav secret service of prominent exile-Croatians. The list is far from being complete. Since it was published (1980) there have been eleven more assassinations and nine assassination attempts. Compared to the Yugoslav terror abroad, Libya's Khadafi looks almost innocent. Yet assassinations by Yugoslav secret service, even in the U.S., are hardly even reported in the media, while the U.S. government broke diplomatic relations with Libya.

7. Dr. I. Supek: Heretic of the Left (Croatian only)--\$20.00

A leading Croatian nuclear physicist and humanist on the terror in Croatia.

The above and other documents can be purchased at:

Nova Hrvatska
30 Fleet Street
London EC4Y 1AJ
United Kingdom

Croatian National Congress
P.O. Box 3088
Steinway Station
New York, New York 11103
Telephone: 213/726-8286

Please, send your financial contribution and give this advertisement to other human and peace loving Americans. Do not ignore the innocent victims of terror in Yugoslavia. For example, in just three weeks (August 9-August 30, 1981) Serbian military courts gave more than 3,000 years in prison to approximately 250 Albanians of Kosovo Province. This was reported even in Yugoslav newspapers yet ignored in the U.S. media. A sample of the sentences: 16 and 17 year old students Gani Koci and Bajram Kusumi--15 years in prison for removing a picture of late Yugoslav dictator Tito; Ruzdi Hajolini and Zijadin Hoxha--15 years for participation in demonstrations; Nexhat Terstena and Abdyl Zymberi, highschool students--10 years for participating in demonstrations; their professors between three and five years in prison for having such "bad" students. Parents of the victims of this terror are forced to "demand" draconic punishment for their children. Of course, completely unreported are numerous secret executions of Albanians for their uprising against Serbian aggression. The Kosovo province is completely sealed and forbidden for both foreign and Yugoslav reporters; the elite Yugoslav troops, specially trained for combat with the unarmed civilians and comprised of Serbian soldiers only, have killed more than 4,000 people already. Whole regions were defoliated by chemicals to expose people hiding from the terror in woods. And this is happening now, in the middle of Europe, not Afghanistan, while Deputy Secretary L. Eagleburger makes his scandalous statements about the support to the Yugoslav Nazi-regime and while Secretary A. Haig visits and confers with the henchmen who still have warm blood from their newest innocent victims on their hands.

If you are afraid of the Yugoslav secret service in the U.S., use a false name and neighbor's address and a domestic money order.

PS: Enclosed are excerpts from the defense speech, which were recently smuggled out of the country, of Professor Vlado Gotovac, prominent Croatian poet, writer, journalist and former editor of several leading literary magazines. Mr. Gotovac is again in the infamous prison Stara Gradiska--for a horrible crime--interviews with western journalists in 1977--three years ago. He was sentenced by "the most humane government in the world" and by a government which was host to the Helsinki-2 conference and which signed and so loudly voiced support of human rights., Help protect and save Professor Gotovac and numerous other innocent Croatians.

INDEX ON CENSORSHIP

Vlado Gotovac Freedom in question

Vlado Gotovac is a distinguished Croatian writer, poet and journalist who has not been allowed to publish a word since his first arrest in January 1972. Born in 1920, Gotovac had been publishing collections of verse since 1956 and was for some years the publisher and editor of a number of fine literary magazines, as well as a radio and TV journalist. Having already spent four years in jail following his 1972 trial, he was again arrested and put on trial in June 1981, when he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

At this trial, held in Zagreb between 2 and 4 June 1981, Vlado Gotovac made an impassioned speech in his own defence, in which he defended the freedom of the individual and gave a harrowing account of his imprisonment in Stara Gradiska. The speech is too long to reproduce here in its entirety; for example, Gotovac deals at great length with the complicated issue of the Yugoslav nationalities; we have excerpted the passages which deal with our kind of concern.

My defence will be made up of facts which the indictment failed to mention.

My defence means the exercise of my freedom — as the Apostle Paul wrote: 'Why is my liberty judged of another man's conscience? An innocent man defends himself by iterating the truth. That is all he can do in his own defence. When the truth is disregarded by the prosecution, whether by accident or design, he still has a duty to it.

But what is truth?

There is only one answer. It is the way in which Time in the long term, the very basis of a society, enables that society to make judgments about itself and other societies. One human society and one truth — they are the same thing. Hence the validity of Bohr's dictum: 'The contrary of an accurate statement is a false statement. But the contrary of a profound truth may be another profound truth.'

My defence is therefore the fulfilment of my duty towards the truth regardless of success or failure; in any other respect it is completely meaningless. According to Koestler, one must resist evil even when it is a hopeless task. In other words, my innocence is so evident that the indictment can stand only if there is a complete disregard for the truth. Accordingly, I am reiterating the truth from a sense of duty and without hope.

Why, then, am I on trial?

When we come to assess and explain the situation in our society there are differences

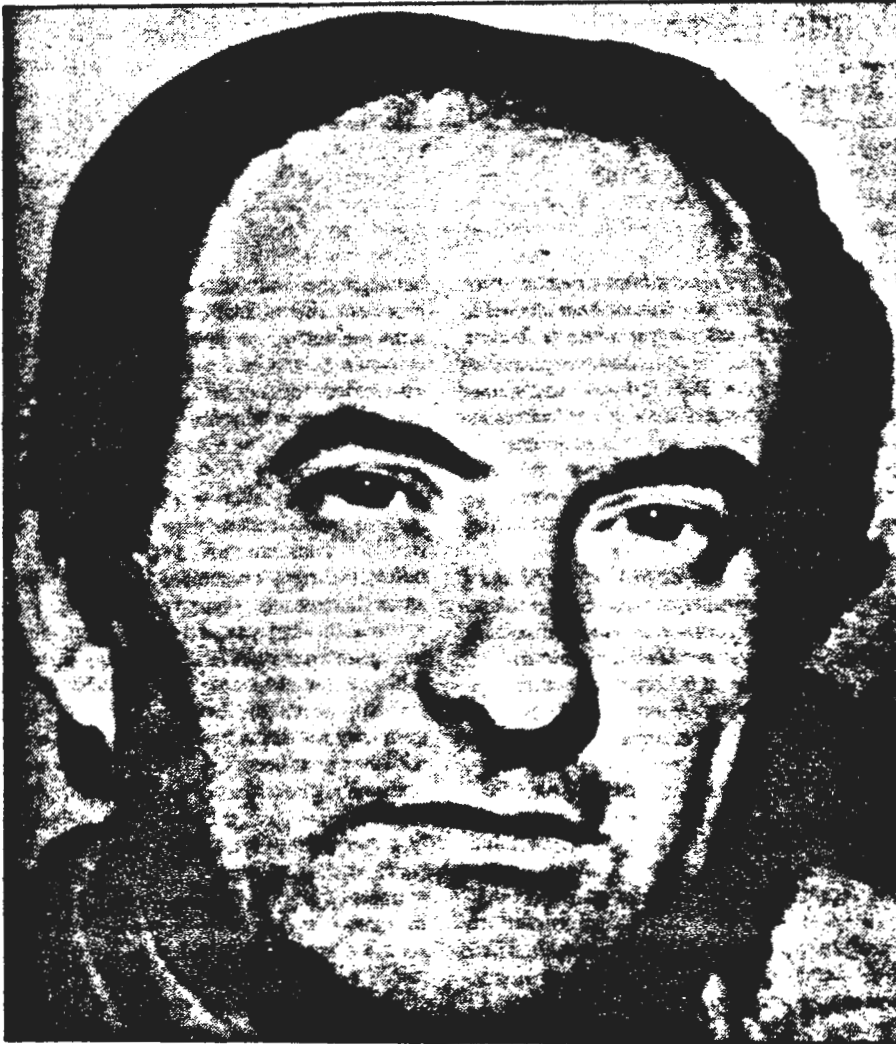
between me and those who at the moment represent the official point of view and its implementation, an implementation which, as is shown by this trial, proscribes and forcibly suppresses any such differences. Only one point of view is permitted — to jail with anyone else's! That, or something like it, is what Tomski said.

But a ban on differing points of view means the death of freedom because the right that freedom guarantees is always the right to differ; the right championed in the famous, albeit hackneyed, saying of Voltaire: 'I disapprove of what you say; but I will defend to the death your right to say it.' Then there are the less famous, but forceful and equally brilliant, words of Rosa Luxemburg: 'Freedom only for the adherents of the authorities, for the members of one party, however numerous they may be, is not freedom. Freedom is only freedom to think differently. Not because of any fanatical devotion to "justice", but because it is the very pith and marrow of all that is edifying and worthwhile, all that is health-giving in political freedom; and the benefits of that freedom are nullified if "freedom" becomes a privilege.'

Nothing is changed by proclaiming every heterodox opinion a danger to the community. This does not safeguard freedom, but transforms it into duplicity and indifference, which in turn substitute calumny and acrimony for argument. To reduce freedom to the freedom of conformists is tantamount to imposing a monologue by decree — a naked, noisome monster whose sole talking partner is its own echo; this means an end to the difference between freedom and tyranny. There is danger only in an opinion which stifles other opinions.

Lenin once complained: 'In our movement there is less and less dreaming.' In other words, he was worrying about that exalted, but already threatened, generator of progress of which freedom is a prerequisite. With Stalin that worry disappeared; but for the custodians of freedom it increased... and so there was less and less progress and increasing trepidation, as the situation led to the rearing of policemen, not dreamers. The upshot was to be what today we call Stalinism, the most efficient form of struggling for Utopia by devastating man.

At this trial, then, freedom is in question. I am accused of abusing it in my statements to foreign journalists, statements concerned with



PHOTOGRAPH BY V. ARLO-GUTHRIE FOR ANTHONY INTERNATIONAL

take cognisance of the entirety of the opinions which are the subject of its charges, can only be answered in the whole context. The question whether the answer is in fact a defence (particularly an effective one) is meaningless.

The rights of the individual

For me the individual has a value above all others... His fingerprints are on the face of Time. Hence, the only free society is that in which the individual is free, fulfilling his irreplaceable role as partner to every other irreplaceable role. The freedom of the individual exists as a norm for every other freedom.

This equality of individuals is an absolute precondition for justice, because only justice can guarantee, to the limits of the feasible, the living conditions for freedom. Thus, inevitably, from the viewpoint of my own convictions, justice and freedom are united as the indispensable foundations of man's world. Conditions in our society depend entirely on conditions in the foundations. The greater the distance from the actual moment as a prerequisite for creative activity, the farther the individual, true to his uniqueness, is from everyday life, the less mutual understanding there is in the world, the less harmony, and the less cooperation, justice and freedom.

All of this is, of course, diametrically opposed to the point of view which, among Bolsheviks for instance, is expressed by the adage: 'When a tree is felled, the chips fly'. This disregard for the individual and his circumstances, a fatalistic disregard as far as the man in the street is concerned but sheer cynicism among Stalinists, this lack of concern for individuals, I see as heralding the new deluge, which today is called totalitarianism. Contempt for the individual inevitably leads to contempt for the whole community, to wholesale nihilism. Today we are faced with the terrible paradox of every tyranny: while proclaiming the individual absolutely insignificant, and speaking with contempt about his helplessness and impotence, it then goes on to persecute him mercilessly and to suppress every aspect of his uniqueness and irreplaceability. The destruction of the individual always ends in general terror, with everyone becoming quite unscrupulous, living in constant fear of his neighbour — the psychological shamefulfulness of totalitarianism. Stalin ended up with no adversaries, not even insignificant and impotent ones. He began by murdering the leaders of the revolution and ended by destroying even those who knew, understood, and could do — precisely nothing.

Anyone who stimulates the uniqueness of the individual is also stimulating diversity — which is the usual way in which man's historical world is built. It is the only way it can be made viable, regardless of the cost; and it is ravaged by every attempt to substitute uniformity for diversity...

three subjects:
the civil rights of the individual;
the rights of the nationalities;
relations between the various nationalities.

The indictment alleges: The activities of the accused are an integral part of a campaign by reactionary forces in the world, including those forces which are trying to drag the non-aligned Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia into their bloc for the purpose of destabilising the unity of the peoples and nationalities of the SFRY and inciting all the destructive elements in the country, with the aim of creating conditions in the SFRY for the overthrow of the democratic self-managing socialist system or of establishing a bureaucratic non-self-managing system. Individuals in the country who engage in the kind of activities which have incriminated Vlado Gotovac are nothing but megaphones for reactionary forces in the world, being virtually their representatives in our country.'

All my actions and opinions are represented as the work of a servant of reactionary circles abroad, work carried out as an item on their agenda. As for my own work — twenty

published books — it just does not exist; or at least it is not considered relevant to my statements, it has no conceivable connection. At best, I am a split man — one half a writer, the other a hireling of international reaction.

The indictment is in no sense a psychological argument. It merely duplicates, in the tritest possible way and with all the attendant trivialities, that diabolical vehemence that used to gather momentum at political trials, feeding on the humiliation and intellectual and moral degradation of its victims; the old familiar vehemence which turned writers into Japanese spies, Gestapo agents, hirelings of the British intelligence service, and so on; a vehemence seeking no innovations, just victims...

The groundwork for my standpoint was laid in my book *Princip Djela*, written in 1955-65 and published in 1966; while my critical journal *U Svobodnom*, covering the period 1965-8 and published as a book in 1970, represents its practical application in diary form.

Only at this level can my interview be examined, understood, and seen in correct perspective. The indictment, which does not

⊕ The temperatures during winter there are below freezing on the average, but frequently fall below 0°F. The permanent humidity makes the suffering and mortality even worse.

Yugoslavia Freedom in question

'This place is accursed of God'

In the indictment I appear to have an existence only insofar as I am guilty of criminal acts — a convenient phantom for the court. The prosecution has made no attempt to discover why it was that I came to talk to foreign journalists, or to phrase the matter in the idiom of the prosecution: why was I, of all people, chosen for this task by reactionary circles abroad?

The prosecution does not ask this question, because it does not wish to hear the answer, an answer that must include an account of all that has happened to me since January 1972, when at 5 a.m. my flat was searched as the first step towards my trial and a four-year sentence in Stara Gradiška, right up to the present six-year ostracism.

I was taken before the court on a brief which declared that the trial was to be only due process. The result, however, was very simple:

1 One must not rely on the law, like a drunken man leaning against the fence. ☹

2 They invoke the Constitution, while they have placed themselves outside the Constitution.

3 When the Party has already condemned someone, what evidence of his guilt do the courts require?

In accordance with the court's decision I was sentenced to four years rigorous detention under article 100 of the penal code. The sentence was explained on the grounds that in my case it was a typical dialectical transition from quality to quantity: in other words, I had written so much that my words had become counter-revolutionary activity!

In short, it was an old-established trial, like the present one, with no innovations: everything in it had been said countless times in countless places. And it doesn't matter what the names of the accused are — Mandelstam, Havel, or Gotovac...

Stara Gradiška — that was quite a new experience for me.

The first words I heard here were: 'Fuck your bitch of a mother, and that goes for those who let you live. You ought to have had a bullet in the forehead, not come here for us to look after.' That was my greeting at the prison doors from Jovo Vujić, the Chief (that is how prisoners have to address warders), a broad-shouldered man with a moustache — and a powerful punch, as I was soon to discover...

I entered a real kingdom of dankness which made its incursions everywhere; on all sides there was rust and mildew and a suffocating miasma. Then there were the evening horrors and the nightly attacks of rheumatism — and ever-present filth, stench, and putrefaction; everything an endless chain of things being churned into garbage, things rotting away before one could even get a glimpse of them.

The cells in Stara Gradiška are not heated in the winter. The corridors are open, enclosed

only with bars. Only the 'residents room' has heating — from a small stove. We go inside in shifts: one group enters, another leaves. There are three to four hundred of us in the wing and at most one hundred in this room at any one time. We take turns to warm ourselves and freeze; in the 'residents room' we doze, stupefied by the warm and stinking atmosphere; in the corridor we whisper among ourselves and shiver as we shuffle along. Above the roof drifts a steady stream of white wispy fleeces of steam pouring out along the collection of pipes that feeds steam to the boilers in the compound containing the living quarters of the prison staff. It is their firm conviction that it is better for the steam to be lost in the atmosphere than be used to warm 'crooks', as they normally refer to the prisoners. Hence the steam is carried away outside the prison buildings. ☹

Somewhere in the Bible it says: 'It is terrible to fall into the hands of the living God.' In Stara Gradiška one learns how terrible it is to fall into the hands of humanists. And not only because of the steam; for prisoners often get beaten up or put into solitary confinement; and every time there is something different in store — but always bad or even worse than before.

In my cell there were 32 of us — murderers, housebreakers, swindlers, a man sentenced for terrorism, and myself, nearly all serving long sentences. For the most part they were brutish, cruel crafty men, prepared to do anything to improve their lot. The prison staff are aware of this and exploit it: they make skilful use of promises, privileges, and work places, demanding in return 'cooperation' — first and foremost denunciation and provocation of political prisoners. Thus Djuro Kopic, serving a sentence for murder, had a knife made, with the intention of killing me one night; and he was convinced that he would not be punished. His scheme miscarried; but he was rewarded for his initiative with a job in the prison surgery.

Political prisoners in Stara Gradiška are billeted not only with murderers, pickpockets, housebreakers, and sexual deviants, but also with men sentenced to *care and medical treatment* — disturbed alcoholics, insane people, mental deficient, and men almost completely ravaged by syphilis. This terrifying motley crew is handled in a completely arbitrary and thoughtless manner. At any moment anything is possible. For instance; Dražen Budiša was given one month's solitary merely for lending another prisoner a French-Croatian dictionary. Someone informed my education officer, Djordje Mamula, that I was writing something. One afternoon he came to our cell and ordered a search, shouting: 'Confiscate and burn every scrap of writing you find, except letters.' And Chief Milošević said: 'I am God to you. No one can come to your rescue.'

No books from outside are allowed in Stara

Gradiška, no published material; and nothing may be written except letters.

Almost every day some prisoner would swallow a spoon or a piece of wire, or stick a knife into his stomach, taking care not to injure the intestines — not something that everyone can manage! Sometimes someone would cut off a lump of his flesh. All this to get out of Stara Gradiška, at least for a while: to escape from hunger, beatings, the cold and damp, the solitary confinement; just for a breathing spell in hospital.

Sometimes in the afternoon, the duty education officer and Chiefs would organise boxing matches between insane prisoners. The winner received a prize of cigarettes. The wretched fighters would hammer away at each other awkwardly and crazily, but with merciless tenacity. These humiliating exhibitions raised storms of laughter and cynical cheers. On these occasions I was particularly saddened by the fate of Slavko Rajs, a childish youth from the outskirts of Karlovac who was in prison because of his unpredictable behaviour during unpredictable fits. I managed to befriend him by giving him paper and paints, as he enjoyed painting. When I was released, a whole collection of his water colours and drawings was taken from me. I managed to get away with one moving memento of him and Stara Gradiška, a drawing on which he had written a dedication to me: 'This place is accursed of God a lasting keepsake from your good and faithful comrade and friend, Slavko Rajs.'

In Stara Gradiška everyone feels abandoned. The arbitrary severity of the staff is so much in evidence; and what may happen at any moment is so unpredictable. All official visits and inspections take place in our absence; and any complaints are answered by confronting the prisoner with the prison staff, so that the result is usually a beating and solitary confinement. Hence the insane live in fear, hence Rajs is afflicted with constant apprehension... I was not beaten in prison; but that does not diminish my human duty to reiterate: the prison in Stara Gradiška should be demolished.

According to the prosecution, I have freely enjoyed my 'Constitutional Rights', my 'basic human rights and freedom', both at my trial and since, up to the present day... But there is a difference between those rights and the state of affairs as expressed in all my interviews; and because that difference does exist, in the shape of my concrete, personal dramatic experience, and has been embodied in my thinking, I am explaining it and seeking a decision that will eliminate it, or at least reduce it to negligible proportions, for everyone's sake; and that is why foreign journalists have been interviewing me...

Translated from the Croatian by Dorian Cooke.

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☸ The infamous order given by the late dictator Tito to Yugoslav courts to be even more draconian during the 1972 purges in Croatia of which Mr. Gotovac was one of the countless victims. Just in those purges the number of people imprisoned, fired from their professions, made homeless, relative to the population of Croatia, would be 1,100,000 Americans. Yet the "free world" hardly even whispered.

Forgetting history: by C. Michael McAdams

AN AMERICAN PASTIME

The new year, 1982 begins with the eyes of the world upon Poland where a massive military crack-down has taken place. To many Westerners the struggle in Poland appears to be one of communism versus democracy. In fact, the struggle is related almost entirely to economics. The Solidarity Movement was born of an economy that has suffered under the guidance of the Communist Party in which exists today only on hard currency provided by the Western nations.

The Solidarity Movement began a liberalization in Poland which took a period of time to bear fruit. Gradually new books appeared, even books critical of the government. People began to worship more freely and even the state-controlled media began to take a more open tone. But, in December 1981, the Party was purged and the liberalization movement was crushed by General Wojciech Jaruzelski. This should have come as no surprise in the West as this man previously headed the secret police and was instrumental in the Polish participation in the crushing of the Czech Spring in 1968.

Despite the obvious, the West has reacted to the Polish crisis with surprise and outrage. Virtually every Western nation, including such socialist-led countries as France, have at least verbally condemned the action in Poland. The American press; radio, television and newspapers; has been filled with stories about the Poles and their plight. Official reports state that seven people have been killed and over two thousand arrested since the crack-down began. But the press is quick to believe that unofficial reports of hundreds killed and tens of thousands arrested are accurate. The President of the United States

has brought pressure to bear on the Polish and Soviet governments to stop the repression and the American people appear to be one in their support of the Polish people.

Amid the hundreds of news reports on Poland, I have searched for the single reference to the unbelievable parallels which have not, to my knowledge, been noticed by any member of the American press. These parallels, had they been drawn earlier, would have taken much of the surprise out of events in Poland. While the American press is quick to compare the Polish crisis to the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, an event which had noting in common with the present situation in Poland, it has overlooked the obvious. The Croatian Spring, the great liberalization movement in Yugoslavia, was crushed ten years ago, almost to the day of the Polish purge, by the communist government of that country. Like the Solidarity Movement, the Croatian Spring did not happen overnight. It grew gradually with a trend toward liberalization following the purge of the notorious Secret Police chief Alexander Rankovich in 1966. Like the Polish movement, the Croatian Spring was born of economic necessity, not some great clash of political systems. As in Poland, the government made promises of reform. Marshal Tito himself visited the Croatian capital of Zagreb and promised to act upon Croatian demands for greater economic freedom and an end to the use of Croatian youth as virtual serfs in Western Europe to earn hard currency for the regime. Unlike Poland, the majority of the Croatian Spring leaders were loyal communists attempting to work

within the system to bring about a more humane life for their people. And as it happened in Poland, almost exactly ten years later, a strike set the spark off which would destroy the movement.

On December 1, 1971, Marshal Tito summoned the leadership of the Croatian communists to Karadjordjevo, a place bearing the name of the hated Serbian Royal dynasty, while the Army moved on the Croatian capital. In the purge that followed, the entire leadership of the Croatian Communists was removed. By December 21st, the Premier of Croatia, along with most of his government, resigned. Despite the government's slowness in implementing even the most basic economic reforms, the government proved able to move rapidly in crushing liberal reforms born of the workers. By January 14th, over four hundred leading officials had been purged. Next came the Writer's Union, the newspapers, publishing houses and the universities. Between December 1 and March 30, twenty-three Communist Party organizations were disbanded; "political measures" were taken against 1,166 Party members; and criminal action was taken against 2,513 more, 124 of whom were Partisans during World War II.

But the purge of the Party was

only the tip of an iceberg. The workers, the students and the common people suffered even more. By December of 1972 the highly respected International League for the Rights of Man reported that over 16,000 had been arrested; some 2000 members of the news media had been dismissed and thousands upon thousands of teachers, professors and civil servants had been purged from the positions. According to the official Yugoslav census of 1971; one in every three hundred Croats was arrested during the year. Yugoslavia held, in absolute numbers, more political prisoners than any European nation outside the Soviet Union, and per capita more than virtually any nation on earth. The repression continued for years and even today its effects linger.

The crushing of the Croatian Spring brought some response in the West, but not much. Perhaps America's eyes were still too fixed upon Southeast Asia where she had just ended a long and bloody war. To be sure, American aid to the Tito regime did not skip a beat during the repression. Like Poland, Yugoslavia financed its repression with American dollar and West German Marks. Unlike Poland, the flow to Yugoslavia continued. In fact, Tito was hailed by American Presidents in later years for his

remarkable ability to keep order in Yugoslavia; order of the same sort which now grips Poland.

Perhaps there is something more than the distraction of Vietnam in the refusal of the American press and government to deal accurately and truthfully with events in Yugoslavia. There was no crisis in Southeast Asia last year when Yugoslav tanks crushed the Albanian minority in the Kosovo region... yet the events were virtually ignored by the media and no words of anger or even sorrow were spoken by any Western leader for those who died or even today languish in concentration camps. Perhaps it has something to do with the fact that, to paraphrase Billy Carter, "there are a lot more Polish-Americans than there are Croatian or Albanian-Americans". But even deeper than that I fear is a basic misunderstanding of the nature of Yugoslavia and its system by the American State Department and especially by the American media.

The United States State Department has deluded itself for years with the notion that Yugoslavia is basically a western-oriented "socialist" state which would side with the West in the event of all-out war. The strategic value of Yugoslavia makes this notion something more than academic conjecture; it becomes dangerous to the interests of the United States. Yugoslavia is, first and foremost, a communist state

Editor
Business Week
1221 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York 10020

February 13, 1982

Editor
The Economist
25 St. James's Street
London SW1A 1HG
United Kingdom

Dear Sir:

I was astonished that in your informative article on terrorism in Europe (2/16/82) you did not mention the current wave of assassinations in Western Europe by the Yugoslav secret service. Just within the last four months 14 political dissidents were assassinated (West Germany 9, Belgium 3, France 1, Switzerland 1), making the Yugoslav government the most dangerous terrorist group in Europe. In West Germany there are currently three separate trials of assassins or would-be assassins who were caught. In addition, for years now Yugoslavia itself has been one of the main bases of international terrorism. H. P. Rullmann (Hudtwalckerstrasse 26, 2 Hamburg 60, West Germany) just published a book (available in German and English) documenting more than 90 recent assassinations of dissidents, mostly Croatians. Nova Hrvatska newspaper (30 Fleet Street, London) can provide you with detailed information of UDBA's terror at home and abroad.

Yours,
Slobodan Ivanek
San Francisco, Calif.

dedicated to the destruction of the capitalist system. This is not opinion; it is printed on every piece of government literature from the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia down. Yugoslavia is controlled by a people who have always looked to Russia as their motherland; in religion, in politics and even in the maintenance of the archaic Russian alphabet. There is not the slightest question that in any event, war or otherwise, Yugoslavia will side with the communist powers and with Mother Russia. It seems hard to believe that the U.S. State Department could be so naive, but one look at its record over past ten years is enough to convince the greatest skeptic otherwise. It is obvious that very little is known about the real world in the make-believe land of American diplomacy, where ambassadors are still chosen by the amount of money they contribute to political campaigns and where only one in ten foreign services staff members can speak the language of the country to which they are posted.

As for the American press, I once felt that many reporters were overworked and their offices understaffed. Today I have come to believe that the majority of the American media is filled with lazy, self-serving, egomaniacs. Despite a couple of well-published forays into Afghanistan by one or two reporters, the average American journalist expects the news to be

brought to him when aboard. For the first few weeks of the crack-down in Poland, the media reports were censored by the Polish government. Then, the television stations began to "hype" the "first uncensored reports" out of Poland. The uncensored reports were not, of course, any different than those of the day before. The American press corps in Belgrade seldom leaves the city; preferring to be wined and dined and printing, almost verbatim, regime press releases. The term "investigative reporting" we hear so much about seems to be a cover term to justify invasion of privacy within the safe confines of the U.S.A. Anywhere ^{WHERE} there is real danger... the press is seldom found.

And so we enter a new year. A year with great parallels to the new year of a decade ago. It appears that we, as a people, as a nation and as a press, have not learned much in ten years. As for the communist regimes... they haven't changed much either. Perhaps they have added a few more nations and a few more millions of human beings to their domain. Santayana is quoted much too often. But the words still ring true: "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it." Let us hope that this year ends what has become an all-too-common re-run of history.

February 12, 1982

Danica

4851 Drexel Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois 60615
Phone 312/373-4670

Dear Sir:

Reading the excellent article by Professor E. Loebl (February 22, 1982), I was pleasantly surprised by his description of the "conflict between Stalin and Stalinist Tito." How refreshing after all those years of western infatuation with this brutal dictator. For many years now the Yugoslav regime has been the most oppressive in Europe. The number of political prisoners relative to the population of Croatia is the highest in the world. Torture is widespread, sentences are barbaric (11 years for an interview, 5 years and death under torture for petitioning for the release of political prisoners, 15 years for removal of Tito's picture). The recent large-scale massacres of unarmed civilians in the Kosovo province by elite Serbian army units alone illustrate the Stalinist nature of Serbian imperialists. Beside providing the basis for international terrorism, the Yugoslav government itself is one of the most dangerous and active terrorist groups. More than 90 dissidents were assassinated abroad — in the last four months alone 14 exiles were assassinated (West Germany 9, France 1, Switzerland 1, Belgium 3). Currently there are three different trials of Yugoslav secret service assassins who were caught in West Germany. H. P. Rullmann (Hudtwalckerstrasse 26, 2000 Hamburg 60, West Germany) recently published a book (available in English) documenting the terrorist activities of the Yugoslav government. The newspaper Nova Hrvatska (30 Fleet Street, London, United Kingdom) has massive documentation about Belgrade's terror at home and abroad.

Sincerely,
Slobodan Ivanek
San Francisco, Cal.

May 1982

ELEVEN YEARS IN PRISON FOR AN INTERVIEW

In August 1980 Dr. Marko Veselica, a leading Croatian economist and former deputy in the Yugoslav Federal Parliament, gave an interview to West Germany's leading weekly Der Spiegel. This interview was subsequently published in a brochure titled The Croatian National Question--Yugoslavia's Achilles Heel. In this interview, Dr. Veselica described the key problems of today's Yugoslavia. One cannot read this interview without being touched by the courage, deep humanitarianism and democratic thoughts of this noble man.

In April 1981 Dr. Veselica was arrested because of this interview. The controlled press of Yugoslavia sentenced him even before his "trial." In desperate protest Dr. Veselica began a hunger strike. He became seriously ill as a result and a series of operations were performed on him (stomach, colon). Although Dr. Veselica was very ill, his "trial" suddenly began in early September 1981 in order to prevent foreign correspondents from attending it. To illustrate the standard methods of Yugoslav fascists, let us describe their "evidence of guilt."

The standard method is to provide "evidence" for connections with the "fascist remnants abroad." The key witnesses were two 80-year old women, one blind and the other an immobile invalid. The secret service forced them to cooperate with the threat of losing the apartment in which they live together. The chronic and very acute housing shortage is a well planned method of oppression--only "good" Croatians are entitled to one and only after years of waiting and proving one's "goodness." It is also a method that ensures the negative population growth rate of the Croatian nation. However, in court the two 80-year old witnesses, Zora Heger and Zdenka Grkovic, recanted and said that they had never met Dr. Veselica, much less sent his letters abroad.

Desperately the police searched for a new "witness." They found one in Mrs. Mila Sram, 69 years old and dying of a double terminal cancer. She went to Switzerland several times for medical treatment, and this was an opportunity for the police fabrications. The police threatened that dying woman with taking away her medicine. In court she accused Dr. Veselica and then, tormented with her "admission," screamed to the audience that the police interrogated her for seven days continuously to enforce this and fell unconscious.

Dr. Veselica was sentenced to 11 (eleven) years at hard labor for his horrible crime--giving an interview. The reactionary Serbian clique that rules Yugoslavia silenced one more among tens of thousands of innocent Croatian workers, students and intellectuals. Only two days later, Mr. Lawrence Eagleburger, the new assistant secretary at the U.S. State Department and an old apologist for Serbian reactionaries, gave his scandalous speech in which he professed his eternal love for Yugoslavia's terrorist government.

Enclosed is a letter that Dr. Veselica's courageous wife and daughters sent to the West. Please help the innocent prisoners of conscience in Yugoslavia. Do not ignore; raise your voices. Pressure on the Yugoslav fascist government will moderate its terror on its own population. At least it is easier to rot and die in abominable prisons in Croatia if one is not forgotten.

Please protest against the terror in Yugoslavia. Join the committees for saving Dr. Veselica; help form their branches in your community. For information please contact:

Professor Jozo Vrbic
P.O. Box 2939
San Francisco CA 94401

Mrs. Marija Levic
2042 N. Hobart Boulevard
Los Angeles CA 90027

Father Castimir Majic
4851 Drexel Boulevard
Chicago IL 60615

Professor Mate Mestrovic
10 Ackerman Road
Saddle River NY 11103

In Australia:

Mr. Mario Sime Despoja
11 Dryanda Drive
Bellair, SA 5052

In France:

Professor Mirko Vidovic
Tour Panoramique 31
69009 Lyon

In England:

Nova Hrvatska
30 Fleet Street
London EC4Y 1AJ

In Germany:

Hans Peter Rullmann
Hudtwalckerstrasse 26
2000 Hamburg 60

Please help, in spite of the fact that small groups within the U.S. media and the State Department try to censor news about the fascist terror in Yugoslavia. Supporting fascist Yugoslavia and a coverup of its countless monstrous crimes is not in the interest of the United States. U.S. taxpayers should not finance the genocide of enslaved Croats in Yugoslavia (i.e., Greater Serbia).

Please obtain the 1982 report by Amnesty International on prisoners of conscience in Yugoslavia:

Yugoslavia--Prisoners of Conscience
Amnesty International
304 West 58th Street
New York, New York 10019

Although far from being complete, the report provides good insight into the most repressive regime in Europe.

Dr. Veselica's interview can be obtained (\$5.00) at:

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

Nova Hrvatska
30 Fleet Street
London EC4Y 1AJ
United Kingdom

Other recent information:

- . The police state of Yugoslavia disbarred Dr. Veselica's attorney for the "audacity" of defending him.
- . As is common practice, the police state of Yugoslavia increased the sentence of 18-year old student Dobroslav Paraga from three to five years. He was sentenced for collecting the signatures for a petition for the release of political prisoners. His colleague, Ernest Brajder, died under torture for the same "offense." Although his sentence and the petition itself were totally ignored by the U.S. media, the gradual increases of sentences of political prisoners is common practice, after the possible initial interest of world opinion wanes.
- . Please help warn the West German government that Yugoslav fascists have started to collect German hostages to exchange them for their assassins abroad who were caught in West Germany. This is their standard practice. Yugoslav secret service terrorist Luka Vidmar (lost a leg during the bombing of an Austrian museum) and Marina Blaj were recently exchanged for an Austrian "spy"--Mr. Gerhard Lachuer. Would-be assassin, Svilar, was not long ago exchanged for another "spy," German social worker Mr. Eberhard de Haan. This brazen practice of taking hostages and exchanging them for convicted assassins can be particularly illustrated by the fact that Mr. Haan, a "spy," was later praised by the same Yugoslav government for his social work, as if nothing had happened. Just within the last four months 14 political dissidents were assassinated abroad (West Germany 9, Belgium 3, France 1, Switzerland 1), making the Yugoslav government the most dangerous terrorist group. In West Germany there are currently three separate trials of assassins or would-be assassins who were caught. Americans visiting Yugoslavia could also become hostages required for exchange for these Yugoslav secret service agents.
- . Please demand an immediate congressional investigation into the behavior and motives of Mr. Lawrence Eagleburger. His blatant support of the Yugoslav terrorist government is becoming an embarrassment for even his staunchest supporters at the State Department. He is the remnant of the totally bankrupt and immoral policies toward Yugoslavia of the Carter Administration. His personal support of the terrorist thugs who presently rule Yugoslavia is highly unprofessional and is directly against the interests of the United States. His pressure and manipulation of the U.S. bankers (conference April 22 and 23) is unprecedented. Because of his active role in suppression of information on massive and abominable human rights violations in Yugoslavia, Mr. Eagleburger should at least be disqualified from participating in all government policy issues regarding Yugoslavia.

YOUR TURN

For speaking his opinion,
my husband is behind the
bars of a Yugoslav prison

By **Božena Veselica**

As the wife of Dr. Marko Veselica, a state prisoner in Yugoslavia, I have decided to address myself to you and ask for help.

On Sept. 9, 1981, my husband was sentenced to 11 years' imprisonment, although his only sin was that he declared his opinion. This is his second punishment. He was sentenced for the first time in 1972, to seven years of severe imprisonment, and served six years of his sentence in the Stara Gradiška prison. (This prison has been on the list for abolishment for years because it doesn't meet the minimal living conditions.)

After he had completed his studies at the Faculty of Economics in Zagreb, Croatia, in 1960, my husband became an assistant lecturer at the Department of Political Economy. In 1967, he obtained his doctorate in economics and was lecturing at the university until 1972, when he was arrested.

My husband was not only engaged in scientific research but was also prominent in the social and political life of the

country. He became a member of the League of Communists when he was 18 and was a prominent leader of the Student Union and the member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth League in Croatia. In 1968, he became the secretary of the Faculty League of Communists, and in 1969 became a delegate to the Social and Political Chamber of the Federal Assembly in Belgrade. He was concerned with the problems of economic and social development in Yugoslavia and participated in conferences and discussion on basic social and economic problems.

In 1964, he became a member of the Confederation of Trade Unions' Commission for Education and Culture, and after a period of time he was elected president of the Commission for Social and Economic Relations.

As the result of his work in the trade union, he was elected delegate to the Second Congress of Self-Managing Workers.

In 1972, he was excluded from the highest body of the trade unions without any democratic dialogue, suspended from the faculty and, in spite of his immunity as a people's deputy, was arrested on Jan. 11, because all the work that my husband had been legally performing on various political bodies was said to be "nationalism and counter-revolutionary activity."

After he had served his sentence under horrible conditions in Stara Gradiška prison, my husband was employed by a small firm in Zagreb at a minimal salary. Although he had not spoken in public for three years, some politicians kept talking about him as if he were a People's Enemy No. 1. Because of that, we have been living under constant pressure. In September 1980, my husband was interviewed by a journalist from Der Spiegel to say the truth about himself and to testify about prosecution and events of 1971. This interview caused many troubles and, on April 24, 1981, my husband was arrested again. Because of horrible conditions in the prison and inadequate medical help, he had to undergo an operation.

He was tried from Aug. 31-Sept. 9, 1981. My husband is a prisoner of conscience

because he is charged with declaring his belief and opinion, which in no way can be any form of violence. He has been fighting all his life for development, democracy and equality of all the nations as well as against violence and injustice, but now he is himself their victim.

The sentence which has been passed on him is absurd, unbelievable. It is equal to the killing of my husband, because he has already served the sentence of six years. This horrible punishment has made me write to you, because I still believe that something can be done to help my husband.

I appeal to all the people of good will and ask them for help to influence the government in Yugoslavia and to make them re-examine and quash, or at least mitigate radically, his sentence, which is a violation of the rights that the government guarantees to all its citizens. I think that the best thing will be if individuals, groups and institutions address themselves to the government of Yugoslavia and the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

Originally my intention was not to appeal across the borders of my country, but I was forced to do so because in my country nobody has will and strength to help. I addressed myself to all the leading politicians in Yugoslavia while my husband was seriously ill in a hospital, but the only answer was the 11 years' imprisonment.

Our belief is that you will support us in our efforts. ■

TODAY'S CONTRIBUTORS

DAVID WEBB is a Alexandria, Va.-based aerospace writer and consultant.

PHYLLIS BATTELLE is a columnist for the Hearst Newspapers.

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY is editor of National Review, hosts the PBS talk show "Firing Line" and writes a column.

MAXWELL GLEN and **CODY SHEARER** collaborate in writing a column.

BOŽENA VESELICA lives in Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, which is now one of the republics of Yugoslavia.

Los Angeles Herald Examiner
Friday, December 11, 1981
