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Folder Title: Yugoslavia –Michailovich (sic)
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Last Updated: 09/16/2025

RECEIVED 12 JUL 85 12

TO PRESIDENT FROM CRANE, PHILIP M
PLATT, N DOC DATE 19 JUN 85
05 JUL 85

KEYWORDS: YUGOSLAVIA

CO

CRANE, PHILIP M
MIHAILOVICH, DRAJA

SUBJECT: LTR TO PRES FM REP CRANES RE MIHAILOVIC MEMERIAL

ACTION: MEMO MARTIN TO JAFFKE DUE: 17 JUL 85 STATUS S FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

DOBRIANSKY

MATLOCK

LEHMAN, C

SABLE

COMMENTS

REF# 8519405 LOG NSCIFID (DR)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
WM	4 7/17	Laury	7/20	
C	7/19	Martin sgd		Pl, Co, Jm SS, RS
DISPATCH	ed 3m			

W/ATTCH FILE (C)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

5532

2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

July 17, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR B. OGLESBY

FROM: WILLIAM F. MARTIN *WFM*
SUBJECT: Response to Congressman Crane Re Mihailovich
Memorial

Attached for signature is a response to Congressman Crane's inquiry on the proposal to construct a memorial to General Draza Mihailovich. The proposed response is based on an initial draft reply from State, with NSC fixes.

Attachment

Tab A State Draft Reply

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
Sec.3.4(b), E.O. 12958, as amended
White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2006
BY NARA *RW*, DATE *2/13/17*

Dear Mr. Crane,

3

President Reagan has asked me to reply to your letter of June 19 concerning the proposal for a monument to honor the memory of General Draza Mihailovich, the Yugoslav resistance leader who played a significant role in the rescue of more than 500 downed American airmen during World War II.

As he indicated in his letter of September 8, 1979 to Michael Radenkovich of the California Citizens' Committee to commemorate the General, the President believes that General Mihailovich like all elements of the Yugoslav resistance, contributed heroically to the struggle against the Nazis. Needless to say, we would not object to any exclusively private efforts to commemorate the deeds of General Mihailovich or other members of the resistance.

Upon consideration of the issues involved, however, this Administration -- like its predecessors -- has determined that it cannot support the specific legislation proposing that federal land be set aside for the construction of a monument to General Mihailovich. The General's anti-totalitarianism is not at issue in this determination, nor is the admiration with which he is regarded by the men whom he rescued and whose gratitude to him lies at the heart of your bill to honor his memory.

It would be inappropriate for the United States Government to recognize on federal land only one side of Yugoslavia's World War II resistance movement, while withholding recognition from other resistance elements who were recognized officially by the Allies and who carried out extensive rescue operations.

Such an action would also be regarded as an unfriendly act by the present government of Yugoslavia, with which the U.S. has good relations. President Reagan recently had useful discussions with Yugoslav Prime Minister Milka Planinc and looks forward to maintaining and improving our relations even further. Yugoslavia is very critical to the overall strategic interests of the U.S. in Southern Europe, and the Administration fully supports its unity and territorial integrity just as previous Administrations have done.

For these reasons, the Administration believes that legislation to set aside federal land for a monument to General Mihailovich is inconsistent with the foreign policy interests of the United States.

Sincerely,

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

July 17, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN

FROM: PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY/TY COBB

SIGNED

SUBJECT: Response to Congressman Crane Re Mihailovich Memorial

At Tab A is the State draft response, with NSC changes, to Congressman Crane on the question of constructing a memorial to General Draza Mihailovich. Mihailovich was the Serbian royalist leader who assisted over 500 downed American airmen during World War II.

You should be advised that State has pressed us hard to have the response go out from Bud. This signifies their attempt to lock us in at a senior policy level to their position. It is our view, however, that we should handle this through the regular channel, i.e., Oglesby.

At Tab I is a memorandum from you to Oglesby giving the NSC clearance of the amended text and requesting that he sign the letter to Crane.

Jack Matlock, Steve Steiner and Ron Sable concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I to B. Oglesby for dispatch.

Approve WAF

Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to B. Oglesby

Tab A State draft response to Congressman Crane

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
Sec.3.4(b), E.O. 12958, as amended
White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2006
BY NARA LN, DATE 2/13/17

UNCLASSIFIED

5532

(Classification)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8519405

Date July 5, 1985

For: Mr. Robert C. McFarlane
National Security Council
The White House

Reference:

To: The President From: Congressman Philip Crane

Date: June 19, 1985 Subject: Mihailovic Memorial

WH Referral Dated: July 1, 1985 NSC ID# 316566
(if any)

 The attached item was sent directly to the
Department of State

Action Taken:

- X A draft reply is attached.
- A draft reply will be forwarded.
- A translation is attached.
- An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
- We believe no response is necessary for the reason
cited below.
- The Department of State has no objection to the
proposed travel.
- Other.

Remarks:


Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED

(Classification)

6
8519405

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE
REFERRAL

JULY 1, 1985

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ATTN: WILL BALL

ACTION REQUESTED:
DRAFT REPLY FOR SIGNATURE OF:
WHITE HOUSE STAFF MEMBER

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 316566
MEDIA: LETTER, DATED JUNE 19, 1985
TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN
FROM: THE HONORABLE PHILIP M. CRANE
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON DC 20515

SUBJECT: WRITES REGARDING STATE DEPARTMENT OPPOSITION
TO HIS BILL, H.R. 77, WHICH WOULD AUTHORIZE
THE CONSTRUCTION OF A MEMORIAL TO HONOR
GENERAL DRAZA MIHAILOVICH FOR ORCHESTRATING
THE RESCUE OF OVER 500 AMERICAN AIRMEN
DURING WWII. THIS OPPOSITION WOULD APPEAR
AT ODDS TO YOUR EARLIER STATED SUPPORT OF
THE GENERAL'S ACTIONS, AND REQUESTS THAT THE

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: JUNE 21, 1985

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE PHILIP M. CRANE

SUBJECT: WRITES CONCERNING THE CONSTRUCTION OF A
MEMORIAL TO HONOR GENERAL DRAZA MIHAILOVICH
OF YUGOSLAVIA

ROUTE TO:		ACTION		DISPOSITION	
OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
M. B. OGLESBY		ORG	85/06/21	MD	A 85/06/25
✓ 99 D05	REFERRAL NOTE:				
	REFERRAL NOTE:		85/07/01		C 85/07/05 AB
2A 0900	REFERRAL NOTE:		85/07/08	AB	C 85/07/11
NS	REFERRAL NOTE:		85/07/11		1/1
	REFERRAL NOTE:		1/1		1/1
	REFERRAL NOTE:		1/1		1/1

COMMENTS:

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA: L INDIVIDUAL CODES: 1240 _____

MAIL USER CODES: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

*ACTION CODES:	*DISPOSITION	*OUTGOING	*
*	*	*CORRESPONDENCE:	*
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION	*A-ANSWERED	*TYPE RESP=INITIALS	*
*C-COMMENT/RECOM	*B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL	*OF SIGNER	*
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE	*C-COMPLETED	*CODE = A	*
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET	*S-SUSPENDED	*COMPLETED = DATE OF	*
*I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC		*OUTGOING	*
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY			*
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE			*
*X-INTERIM REPLY			*

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOb) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

June 25, 1985

8

Dear Phil:

On behalf of the President, I would like to thank you for your June 19 letter concerning the State Department's position regarding legislation you have introduced to authorize the construction of a memorial to honor General Draza Mihailovich.

Please be assured that your comments and concerns have been noted, and your correspondence has been brought to the attention of the appropriate officials for further review.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

M. B. Oglesby, Jr.
Assistant to the President

The Honorable Philip M. Crane
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

MBO:KRJ:MDB

cc: w/copy of inc to Will Ball, Legis
Affairs, Dept of State - for DRAFT response
WH RECORDS MANAGEMENT HAS RETAINED ORIGINAL
INCOMING

PHILIP M. CRANE

MEMBER OF CONGRESS
12TH DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS

WAYS AND MEANS
COMMITTEE

SUBCOMMITTEES:

TRADE

SOCIAL SECURITY

REPUBLICAN STUDY COMMITTEE
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

316566
8519405

OFFICE:
SUITE 1035
LONGWORTH BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
202/225-3711

SUITE 101
1450 SOUTH NEW WILKE ROAD
ARLINGTON HEIGHTS, IL 60005
312/394-0790

58 NORTH WILLIAMS STREET
CRYSTAL LAKE, IL 60014
815/459-3399

ROBERT C. COLEMAN
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

June 19, 1985

Honorable Ronald W. Reagan
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Reagan:

In your press conference last night, a question was raised in regards to why you were allowing the State Department to oppose the construction of a memorial to honor General Draza Mihailovich of Yugoslavia for orchestrating the rescue of over 500 American airmen downed over Axis-controlled Yugoslavia during World War II. Before you base your opinion on the State Department's information, I would like to make a few points with respect to H.R. 77, my bill to authorize the construction of a Mihailovich memorial.

To begin with, I have taken the liberty of enclosing a letter signed by you in 1979 in response to an invitation to attend a dinner to commemorate General Mihailovich. In that response you refer to General Mihailovich as "a symbol of resistance to all those across the world who have had to fight a similar heroic and lonely struggle against totalitarianism."

Although you answered last night that you had not heard of the State Department's efforts to oppose my legislation, they have taken the liberty of stating that in fact you already oppose adoption of legislation that would allow the rescued airmen to construct a memorial in honor of General Mihailovich for saving their lives. The State Department's message on your behalf would appear at odds to your earlier stated support of the heroic role played by General Mihailovich.

Based on your patriotism and your commitment to stand behind your previously stated positions, I feel secure in the knowledge that you will take the necessary steps to align the view of the State Department with the views of

Honorable Ronald W. Reagan
June 19, 1985
Page Two

10

your Administration. I certainly would appreciate any support you could give in correcting this historical injustice.

Sincerely,



Philip M. Crane, M.C.

PMC/jc

P.S. You were here long before most on this issue, and you were always right as current declassified information has revealed.

RONALD REAGAN

September 8, 1979

Mr. Michael Radenkovich
Vice President
California Citizens' Committee to
Commemorate General Draja Mihailovich
P. O. Box 1617
Santa Monica, California 90406

Dear Mr. Radenkovich:

Please convey to the California Citizen's Committee to Commemorate General Draja Mihailovich my sincere appreciation for their kind invitation to attend tonight's dinner to commemorate General Mihailovich. Unfortunately, prior commitments prevent me from being with you.

I believe that the spirit in which you have gathered here to honor the memory of General Mihailovich, the faithful allied commander and the first anti-Nazi leader in Europe, is shared by the great majority of Americans.

The ultimate tragedy of Draja Mihailovich cannot erase the memory of his heroic and often lonely struggle against the twin tyrannies that afflicted his people, Nazism and Communism. He knew that totalitarianism, whatever name it might take, is the death of freedom. He thus became a symbol of resistance to all those across the world who have had to fight a similar heroic and lonely struggle against totalitarianism. Mihailovich belonged to Yugoslavia; his spirit now belongs to all those who are willing to fight for freedom.

I wish it could be said that this great hero was the last victim of confused and senseless policies of western governments in dealing with Communism. The fact is that others have suffered a fate similar to his by being embraced and then abandoned by western governments in the hope that such abandonment will purchase peace or security.

Thus, the fate of General Mihailovich is not simply of historic significance--it teaches us something today, as well. No western nation, including the United States, can hope to win its own battle for freedom and survival by sacrificing brave comrades to the politics of international expediency.

12

Mr. Michael Radenkovich
September 8, 1979
Page Two

Your dinner therefore commemorates something more than the legacy of patriotism and heroism that Michailovich left us. You commemorate the principles for which he fought and died. And you remind our nation that abandonment of allies can never buy security or freedom. In the mountains of Yugoslavia, in the jungles of Vietnam, wherever men and women have fought totalitarian brutality, it has been demonstrated beyond doubt that both freedom and honor suffer when firm commitments become sacrificed to false hopes of appeasing aggressors by abandoning friends.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Ronald Reagan". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Ronald" and last name "Reagan" clearly distinguishable.

RONALD REAGAN



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

February 19, 1985

13

Mr. Bernard M. Luketich
National President
Croatian Fraternal Union
of America
100 Delaney Drive
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15235

Dear Mr. Luketich:

President Reagan has asked me to reply to your letter of February 5, 1985, which concerns legislation introduced in the U.S. Congress to authorize construction of Federal Government property of a monument to General Draza Mihailovich. We understand that ~~this legislation, H.R. 774, has been introduced~~ in the House of Representatives and referred to the Committee on House Administration.

The Administration has informed the Congress that, as in the past, it opposes adoption of this legislation. We understand the desire of American servicemen to recognize rescue operations carried out in Yugoslavia during the Second World War and recognize their right to build a monument in recognition of those events. It is clear, however, that the wartime role of General Mihailovich and his followers remains a subject of great historical controversy, and that the number of airmen they rescued represented only a small part of the total saved by the Yugoslav resistance as a whole. As a result, we oppose erection of a monument on Federal land to General Mihailovich or any other resistance leader.

Sincerely,

Richard E. Combs, Jr.

Richard E. Combs, Jr.

Director

Office of East European
and Yugoslav Affairs



Washington, D.C. 20520

February 19, 1985

Mr. Bernard M. Luketich
National President
Croatian Fraternal Union
of America
100 Delaney Drive
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15235

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Sincerely,
Richard E. Combs, Jr.
Richard E. Combs, Jr.
Director
Office of East European
and Yugoslav Affairs

National Security Council
The White House

System #

Package #

85 JUL 17

P 3: 22

5532

1883

15

Bob Pearson
William Martin
John Poindexter
Paul Thompson
Wilma Hall
Bud McFarlane
William Martin
NSC Secretariat
Situation Room

SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
<u>1</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>A</u>
<u>2</u>	<u>m</u>	
<u>3</u>	<u>m</u>	
<u>4</u>	<u>BT</u>	<u>A D</u>

I = Information
cc: VP Reg:

COMMENTS

B.H,
I signed but think
you may wish to
see. Tx,
Bob

further Action

e/Time)

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

CONFIDENTIAL

July 17, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN

FROM: PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY/TY COBB

SUBJECT: Response to Congressman Crane Re Mihailovich Memorial

At Tab A is the State draft response, with NSC changes, to Congressman Crane on the question of constructing a memorial to General Draza Mihailovich. Mihailovich was the Serbian royalist leader who assisted over 500 downed American airmen during World War II.

You should be advised that State has pressed us hard to have the response go out from Bud. This signifies their attempt to lock us in at a senior policy level to their position. It is our view, however, that we should handle this through the regular channel, i.e., Oglesby.

At Tab I is a memorandum from you to Oglesby giving the NSC clearance of the amended text and requesting that he sign the letter to Crane.

Jack Matlock, Steve Steiner and Ron Sable concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I to B. Oglesby for dispatch.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to B. Oglesby
Tab A State draft response to Congressman Crane

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

July 17, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR B. OGLESBY

FROM: WILLIAM F. MARTIN

SUBJECT: Response to Congressman Crane Re Mihailovich
Memorial

Attached for signature is a response to Congressman Crane's inquiry on the proposal to construct a memorial to General Draza Mihailovich. The proposed response is based on an initial draft reply from State, with NSC fixes.

Attachment

Tab A State Draft Reply

DECLASSIFIED
Sec.34(b), E.O. 12958, as amended
White House Guidelines, Sept. 11, 2006
BY NARA RW, DATE 2/13/17

Dear Mr. Crane,

President Reagan has asked me to reply to your letter of June 19 concerning the proposal for a monument to honor the memory of General Draza Mihailovich, the Yugoslav resistance leader who played a significant role in the rescue of more than 500 downed American airmen during World War II.

As he indicated in his letter of September 8, 1979 to Michael Radenkovich of the California Citizens' Committee to commemorate the General, the President believes that General Mihailovich like all elements of the Yugoslav resistance, contributed heroically to the struggle against the Nazis. Needless to say, we would not object to any exclusively private efforts to commemorate the deeds of General Mihailovich or other members of the resistance.

Upon consideration of the issues involved, however, this Administration -- like its predecessors -- has determined that it cannot support the specific legislation proposing that federal land be set aside for the construction of a monument to General Mihailovich. The General's anti-totalitarianism is not at issue in this determination, nor is the admiration with which he is regarded by the men whom he rescued and whose gratitude to him lies at the heart of your bill to honor his memory.

It would be inappropriate for the United States Government to recognize on federal land only one side of Yugoslavia's World War II resistance movement, while withholding recognition from other resistance elements who were recognized officially by the Allies and who carried out extensive rescue operations.

Such an action would also be regarded as an unfriendly act by the present government of Yugoslavia, with which the U.S. has good relations. President Reagan recently had useful discussions with Yugoslav Prime Minister Milka Planinc and looks forward to maintaining and improving our relations even further. Yugoslavia is very critical to the overall strategic interests of the U.S. in Southern Europe, and the Administration fully supports its unity and territorial integrity just as previous Administrations have done.

For these reasons, the Administration believes that legislation to set aside federal land for a monument to General Mihailovich is inconsistent with the foreign policy interests of the United States.

Sincerely,

UNCLASSIFIED

5532

(Classification)

19

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8519405

Date July 5, 1985

For: Mr. Robert C. McFarlane
National Security Council
The White House

Reference:

To: The President From: Congressman Philip Crane
Date: June 19, 1985 Subject: Mihailovic Memorial

WH Referral Dated: July 1, 1985 NSC ID# 316566
(if any)

 The attached item was sent directly to the
Department of State

Action Taken:

- X A draft reply is attached.
 A draft reply will be forwarded.
 A translation is attached.
 An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
 We believe no response is necessary for the reason
cited below.
 The Department of State has no objection to the
proposed travel.
 Other.

Remarks:


Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED

(Classification)

20
8519405

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

JULY 1, 1985

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ATTN: WILL BALL

ACTION REQUESTED:
DRAFT REPLY FOR SIGNATURE OF:
WHITE HOUSE STAFF MEMBER

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 316566
MEDIA: LETTER, DATED JUNE 19, 1985
TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN
FROM: THE HONORABLE PHILIP M. CRANE
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON DC 20515

SUBJECT: WRITES REGARDING STATE DEPARTMENT OPPOSITION
TO HIS BILL, H.R. 77, WHICH WOULD AUTHORIZE
THE CONSTRUCTION OF A MEMORIAL TO HONOR
GENERAL DRAZA MIHAILOVICH FOR ORCHESTRATING
THE RESCUE OF OVER 500 AMERICAN AIRMEN
DURING WWII. THIS OPPOSITION WOULD APPEAR
AT ODDS TO YOUR EARLIER STATED SUPPORT OF
THE GENERAL'S ACTIONS, AND REQUESTS THAT THE

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: JUNE 21, 1985

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE PHILIP M. CRANE

SUBJECT: WRITES CONCERNING THE CONSTRUCTION OF A
MEMORIAL TO HONOR GENERAL DRAZA MIHAILOVICH
OF YUGOSLAVIA

		ACTION		DISPOSITION	
ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
M. B. OGLESBY		ORG	85/06/21	MD	A85P625
✓ 99 D05	REFERRAL NOTE:				
	REFERRAL NOTE:				
2A 09ee	REFERRAL NOTE:				
NS	REFERRAL NOTE:				
	REFERRAL NOTE:				
	REFERRAL NOTE:				

COMMENTS:

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: 1240

MAIL USER CODES: (A) (B) (C)

*ACTION CODES:	*DISPOSITION	*OUTGOING	*
*	*	*CORRESPONDENCE:	*
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION	*A-ANSWERED	*TYPE RESP=INITIALS	*
*C-COMMENT/RECOM	*B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL	*OF SIGNER	*
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE	*C-COMPLETED	*CODE = A	*
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET	*S-SUSPENDED	*COMPLETED = DATE OF	*
I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC		*OUTGOING	*
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY *			*
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE *			*
*X-INTERIM REPLY *			*

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOb) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT

June 25, 1985

22

Dear Phil:

On behalf of the President, I would like to thank you for your June 19 letter concerning the State Department's position regarding legislation you have introduced to authorize the construction of a memorial to honor General Draza Mihailovich.

Please be assured that your comments and concerns have been noted, and your correspondence has been brought to the attention of the appropriate officials for further review.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

M. B. Oglesby, Jr.
Assistant to the President

The Honorable Philip M. Crane
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

MBO:KRJ:MDB

cc: w/copy of inc to Will Ball, Legis
Affairs, Dept of State - for DRAFT response
WH RECORDS MANAGEMENT HAS RETAINED ORIGINAL
INCOMING

PHILIP M. CRANE

MEMBER OF CONGRESS
12TH DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS

WAYS AND MEANS
COMMITTEE

SUBCOMMITTEES:

TRADE

SOCIAL SECURITY

REPUBLICAN STUDY COMMITTEE
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

316566
8519405

OFFICES:
SUITE 1035
LONGWORTH BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
202/225-3711

SUITE 101
1450 SOUTH NEW WILKE ROAD
ARLINGTON HEIGHTS, IL 60005
312/394-0790

56 NORTH WILLIAMS STREET
CRYSTAL LAKE, IL 60014
815/458-3399

ROBERT C. COLEMAN
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

June 19, 1985

Honorable Ronald W. Reagan
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Reagan:

In your press conference last night, a question was raised in regards to why you were allowing the State Department to oppose the construction of a memorial to honor General Draza Mihailovich of Yugoslavia for orchestrating the rescue of over 500 American airmen downed over Axis-controlled Yugoslavia during World War II. Before you base your opinion on the State Department's information, I would like to make a few points with respect to H.R. 77, my bill to authorize the construction of a Mihailovich memorial.

To begin with, I have taken the liberty of enclosing a letter signed by you in 1979 in response to an invitation to attend a dinner to commemorate General Mihailovich. In that response you refer to General Mihailovich as "a symbol of resistance to all those across the world who have had to fight a similar heroic and lonely struggle against totalitarianism."

Although you answered last night that you had not heard of the State Department's efforts to oppose my legislation, they have taken the liberty of stating that in fact you already oppose adoption of legislation that would allow the rescued airmen to construct a memorial in honor of General Mihailovich for saving their lives. The State Department's message on your behalf would appear at odds to your earlier stated support of the heroic role played by General Mihailovich.

Based on your patriotism and your commitment to stand behind your previously stated positions, I feel secure in the knowledge that you will take the necessary steps to align the view of the State Department with the views of

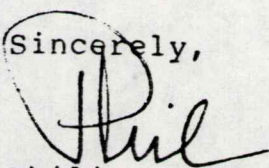
23

Honorable Ronald W. Reagan
June 19, 1985
Page Two

24

your Administration. I certainly would appreciate any support you could give in correcting this historical injustice.

Sincerely,



Philip M. Crane, M.C.

PMC/jc

P.S. You were here long before most on this issue, and you were always right as current declassified information has revealed.

RONALD REAGAN

25

September 8, 1979

Mr. Michael Radenkovich
Vice President
California Citizens' Committee to
Commemorate General Draja Mihailovich
P. O. Box 1617
Santa Monica, California 90406

Dear Mr. Radenkovich:

Please convey to the California Citizen's Committee to Commemorate General Draja Mihailovich my sincere appreciation for their kind invitation to attend tonight's dinner to commemorate General Mihailovich. Unfortunately, prior commitments prevent me from being with you.

I believe that the spirit in which you have gathered here to honor the memory of General Mihailovich, the faithful allied commander and the first anti-Nazi leader in Europe, is shared by the great majority of Americans.

The ultimate tragedy of Draja Mihailovich cannot erase the memory of his heroic and often lonely struggle against the twin tyrannies that afflicted his people, Nazism and Communism. He knew that totalitarianism, whatever name it might take, is the death of freedom. He thus became a symbol of resistance to all those across the world who have had to fight a similar heroic and lonely struggle against totalitarianism. Mihailovich belonged to Yugoslavia; his spirit now belongs to all those who are willing to fight for freedom.

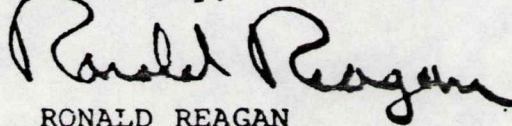
I wish it could be said that this great hero was the last victim of confused and senseless policies of western governments in dealing with Communism. The fact is that others have suffered a fate similar to his by being embraced and then abandoned by western governments in the hope that such abandonment will purchase peace or security.

Thus, the fate of General Mihailovich is not simply of historic significance--it teaches us something today, as well. No western nation, including the United States, can hope to win its own battle for freedom and survival by sacrificing brave comrades to the politics of international expediency.

26
Mr. Michael Radenkovich
September 8, 1979
Page Two

Your dinner therefore commemorates something more than the legacy of patriotism and heroism that Michailovich left us. You commemorate the principles for which he fought and died. And you remind our nation that abandonment of allies can never buy security or freedom. In the mountains of Yugoslavia, in the jungles of Vietnam, wherever men and women have fought totalitarian brutality, it has been demonstrated beyond doubt that both freedom and honor suffer when firm commitments become sacrificed to false hopes of appeasing aggressors by abandoning friends.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Ronald Reagan". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Ronald" and last name "Reagan" clearly distinguishable.

RONALD REAGAN



Washington, D.C. 20520

February 19, 1985

27

Mr. Bernard M. Luketich
National President
Croatian Fraternal Union
of America
100 Delaney Drive
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15235

Dear Mr. Luketich:

President Reagan has asked me to reply to your letter of February 5, 1985, which concerns legislation introduced in the U.S. Congress to authorize construction of Federal Government property of a monument to General Draza Mihailovich. We understand that ~~this legislation, H.R. 77, has been introduced~~ in the House of Representatives and referred to the Committee on House Administration.

The Administration has informed the Congress that, as in the past, it opposes adoption of this legislation. We understand the desire of American servicemen to recognize rescue operations carried out in Yugoslavia during the Second World War and recognize their right to build a monument in recognition of those events. It is clear, however, that the wartime role of General Mihailovich and his followers remains a subject of great historical controversy, and that the number of airmen they rescued represented only a small part of the total saved by the Yugoslav resistance as a whole. As a result, we oppose erection of a monument on Federal land to General Mihailovich or any other resistance leader.

Sincerely,

Richard E. Combs, Jr.

Richard E. Combs, Jr.

Director

Office of East European
and Yugoslav Affairs

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

I. SUBJECT: Monument to Yugoslav General Draza Mihajlovic on Federal Land

II. ORIGINATOR: Pat Buchanan DATE: August 2, 1985

III. ACTION FORCING EVENT:

Follow-up to a question asked of you regarding the monument to Gen. Mihajlovic at your press conference of June 18.

IV. ANALYSIS:

Background: Gen. Draza Mihajlovic led royalist guerrilla forces during the Axis occupation of Yugoslavia in World War II. Mihajlovic is credited with rescuing over 500 American airmen shot down over Axis occupied Yugoslavia. At the end of the war Gen. Mihajlovic was captured by the Tito's communist forces, tried and executed.

Upon Gen. Eisenhower's recommendation, Mihajlovic was awarded the Legion of Merit in the Degree of Chief Commander, by President Truman in 1948. The State Department directed that this honor be kept secret (the first and only time in American history), so as not to alienate the communist government of Yugoslavia, and not to give precedence to Gen. Mihajlovic's wartime role over that of Marshal Tito. In 1967, Congress forced the State Department to make the award and accompanying citation public.

After the war, the rescued airmen established the "National Committee of American Airmen Rescued by General Mihajlovic Inc.", for the purpose of erecting a monument to Gen. Mihajlovic on federal land. The current legislation authorizing erection of such a monument is H.R. 77 sponsored by Congressman Philip Crane.

Cost to Federal Government: None, other than minor expenses for site selection and approval of design and plans.

Support for the monument: The American Legion, the AFL-CIO, "The Washington Times". It has also been passed by the Senate twice.

Opposition to monument: The State Department, while not objecting to the monument in principle, continues to oppose efforts to have public land used for this purpose so as not to offend the Yugoslavian government. Since Tito's break with Stalin, the United States has tried to encourage

Yugoslavia's independence from the Soviet Union while fostering its economic and security ties with the United States and Western Europe. State Department acquiescence to Congressional action would be interpreted as an affront, at least in the short run, to Belgrade.

In addition, some historians have suggested that Gen. Mihajlovic cooperated with the Axis to fight Tito's communists. An OSS report (November 29, 1944) absolved Mihajlovic of this charge and that he was a victim of a disinformation campaign orchestrated, in part, by British intelligence agents who were communist agents.

Discussion: We believe that the State Department's policy is flawed. While State argues that the U.S. should avoid choosing sides in this controversy, the fact remains that, through its political, economic and military policies, the U.S. has consistently supported Marshall Tito and the government succeeding him. Although we understand the national security importance of an independent Yugoslavia, we believe that appeasement on matters of principle is not necessary. Yugoslavia is, after all, a totalitarian communist state. Both the State Department and Belgrade must understand that our mutual cooperation does not constitute U.S. approval for Yugoslavia's system of government.

You, yourself, expressed this belief in a letter of September 8, 1979 (Tab A), in which you stated:

"I wish it could be said that this great hero (Gen. Mihajlovic) was the last victim of confused and senseless policies of western government in dealing with Communism. The fact is that others have suffered a fate similar to his by being embraced and then abandoned by western governments in the hope that such abandonment will purchase peace or security.... No western nation, including the United States, can hope to win its own battle for freedom and survival by sacrificing brave comrades to the politics of international expediency."

- V. RECOMMENDATION: I recommend that you approve the sending of the attached memorandum (Tab B) to the Secretary of State, indicating that it is no longer the policy of this Administration to oppose legislation for the use of federal lands for the erection of the monument to Gen. Mihajlovic.

NSC concurs with this recommendation.

VI. DECISION:

___approve ___approve as amended ___reject ___no action

RONALD REAGAN

31

September 8, 1979

Mr. Michael Radenkovich
Vice President
California Citizens' Committee to
Commemorate General Draja Mihailovich
P. O. Box 1617
Santa Monica, California 90406

Dear Mr. Radenkovich:

Please convey to the California Citizen's Committee to Commemorate General Draja Mihailovich my sincere appreciation for their kind invitation to attend tonight's dinner to commemorate General Mihailovich. Unfortunately, prior commitments prevent me from being with you.

I believe that the spirit in which you have gathered here to honor the memory of General Mihailovich, the faithful allied commander and the first anti-Nazi leader in Europe, is shared by the great majority of Americans.

The ultimate tragedy of Draja Mihailovich cannot erase the memory of his heroic and often lonely struggle against the twin tyrannies that afflicted his people, Nazism and Communism. He knew that totalitarianism, whatever name it might take, is the death of freedom. He thus became a symbol of resistance to all those across the world who have had to fight a similar heroic and lonely struggle against totalitarianism. Mihailovich belonged to Yugoslavia; his spirit now belongs to all those who are willing to fight for freedom.

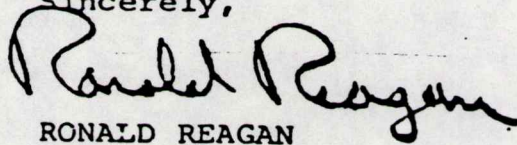
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Thus, the fate of General Mihailovich is not simply of historic significance--it teaches us something today, as well. No western nation, including the United States, can hope to win its own battle for freedom and survival by sacrificing brave comrades to the politics of international expediency.

Mr. Michael Radenkovich
September 8, 1979
Page Two

Your dinner therefore commemorates something more than the legacy of patriotism and heroism that Michailovich left us. You commemorate the principles for which he fought and died. And you remind our nation that abandonment of allies can never buy security or freedom. In the mountains of Yugoslavia, in the jungles of Vietnam, wherever men and women have fought totalitarian brutality, it has been demonstrated beyond doubt that both freedom and honor suffer when firm commitments become sacrificed to false hopes of appeasing aggressors by abandoning friends.

Sincerely,

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RONALD REAGAN

33

B

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 2, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR GEORGE SHULTZ, SECRETARY OF STATE

SUBJECT: Administration Policy on use of Federal Land for
Monument to General Draza Mihajlovic

This memorandum is to inform the Department that it is the policy of this Administration not to oppose the authorization of the use of federal land for the purpose of erecting a monument to General Draza Mihajlovic.

The Department should inform appropriate Congressional offices, including that of Representative Philip Crane, of this policy.

FOR THE PRESIDENT

Donald E. Regan
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 2, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT MCFARLANE, ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

FROM: PATRICK BUCHANAN, ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
COMMUNICATION *PB*

SUBJECT: Administration Policy on use of Federal Land for
Monument to Yugoslav General Draza Mihajlovic

Attached, for your review and concurrence, is a Presidential
Decision Memorandum, subject as above.

cc: Paula Dobriansky, NSC ✓
John Lenczowski, NSC

RECEIVED 05 AUG 85 19

TO MCFARLANE FROM BUCHANAN, P

DOCDATE 02 AUG 85

36

KEYWORDS: YUGOSLAVIA

LEGAL ISSUES

MIHAILOVIC, DRAZA

SUBJECT: ADMIN POLICY ON USE OF FEDERAL LAND FOR MONUMENT TO YUGOSLAV
GENERAL MIHAILOVIC

ACTION: FOR RECORD PURPOSES

DUE:

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FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

DOBRIANSKY

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

37

August 2, 1985

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FROM: PATRICK BUCHANAN, ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
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SUBJECT: Administration Policy on use of Federal Land for
Monument to Yugoslav General Draza Mihajlovic

Attached, for your review and concurrence, is a Presidential
Decision Memorandum, subject as above.

cc: Paula Dobriansky, NSC
John Lenczowski, NSC

*I believe facts
are very
ambiguous.
Until they
are clearly
established
we need
to interview.*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

38

I. SUBJECT: Monument to Yugoslav General Draza Mihajlovic on Federal Land

II. ORIGINATOR: Pat Buchanan DATE: August 2, 1985

III. ACTION FORCING EVENT:

Follow-up to a question asked of you regarding the monument to Gen. Mihajlovic at your press conference of June 18.

IV. ANALYSIS:

Background: Gen. Draza Mihajlovic led royalist guerrilla forces during the Axis occupation of Yugoslavia in World War II. Mihajlovic is credited with rescuing over 500 American airmen shot down over Axis occupied Yugoslavia. At the end of the war Gen. Mihajlovic was captured by the Tito's communist forces, tried and executed.

Upon Gen. Eisenhower's recommendation, Mihajlovic was awarded the Legion of Merit in the Degree of Chief Commander, by President Truman in 1948. The State Department directed that this honor be kept secret (the first and only time in American history), so as not to alienate the communist government of Yugoslavia, and not to give precedence to Gen. Mihajlovic's wartime role over that of Marshal Tito. In 1967, Congress forced the State Department to make the award and accompanying citation public.

After the war, the rescued airmen established the "National Committee of American Airmen Rescued by General Mihajlovic Inc.", for the purpose of erecting a monument to Gen. Mihajlovic on federal land. The current legislation authorizing erection of such a monument is H.R. 77 sponsored by Congressman Philip Crane.

Cost to Federal Government: None, other than minor expenses for site selection and approval of design and plans.

Support for the monument: The American Legion, the AFL-CIO, "The Washington Times". It has also been passed by the Senate twice.

Opposition to monument: The State Department, while not objecting to the monument in principle, continues to oppose efforts to have public land used for this purpose so as not to offend the Yugoslavian government. Since Tito's break with Stalin, the United States has tried to encourage

Yugoslavia's independence from the Soviet Union while fostering its economic and security ties with the United States and Western Europe. State Department acquiescence to Congressional action would be interpreted as an affront, at least in the short run, to Belgrade.

*Have you
seen this
report?*

In addition, some historians have suggested that Gen. Mihajlovic cooperated with the Axis to fight Tito's communists. An OSS report (November 29, 1944) absolved Mihajlovic of this charge and that he was a victim of a disinformation campaign orchestrated, in part, by British intelligence agents who were communist agents.

Discussion: We believe that the State Department's policy is flawed. While State argues that the U.S. should avoid choosing sides in this controversy, the fact remains that, through its political, economic and military policies, the U.S. has consistently supported Marshall Tito and the government succeeding him. Although we understand the national security importance of an independent Yugoslavia, we believe that appeasement on matters of principle is not necessary. Yugoslavia is, after all, a totalitarian communist state. Both the State Department and Belgrade must understand that our mutual cooperation does not constitute U.S. approval for Yugoslavia's system of government.

You, yourself, expressed this belief in a letter of September 8, 1979 (Tab A), in which you stated:

"I wish it could be said that this great hero (Gen. Mihajlovic) was the last victim of confused and senseless policies of western government in dealing with Communism. The fact is that others have suffered a fate similar to his by being embraced and then abandoned by western governments in the hope that such abandonment will purchase peace or security.... No western nation, including the United States, can hope to win its own battle for freedom and survival by sacrificing brave comrades to the politics of international expediency."

- V. RECOMMENDATION: I recommend that you approve the sending of the attached memorandum (Tab B) to the Secretary of State, indicating that it is no longer the policy of this Administration to oppose legislation for the use of federal lands for the erection of the monument to Gen. Mihajlovic.

does not
NSC *^* concurs with this recommendation.

VI. DECISION:

☐ approve ☐ approve as amended ☐ reject ☐ no action

RONALD REAGAN

40

September 8, 1979

Mr. Michael Radenkovich
Vice President
California Citizens' Committee to
Commemorate General Draja Mihailovich
P. O. Box 1617
Santa Monica, California 90406

Dear Mr. Radenkovich:

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The ultimate tragedy of Draja Mihailovich cannot erase the memory of his heroic and often lonely struggle against the twin tyrannies that afflicted his people, Nazism and Communism. He knew that totalitarianism, whatever name it might take, is the death of freedom. He thus became a symbol of resistance to all those across the world who have had to fight a similar heroic and lonely struggle against totalitarianism. Mihailovich belonged to Yugoslavia; his spirit now belongs to all those who are willing to fight for freedom.

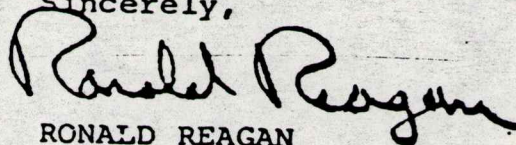
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Mr. Michael Radenkovich
September 8, 1979
Page Two

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Sincerely,

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RONALD REAGAN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 2, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR GEORGE SHULTZ, SECRETARY OF STATE

SUBJECT: Administration Policy on use of Federal Land for
Monument to General Draza Mihajlovic

This memorandum is to inform the Department that it is the policy of this Administration not to oppose the authorization of the use of federal land for the purpose of erecting a monument to General Draza Mihajlovic.

The Department should inform appropriate Congressional offices, including that of Representative Philip Crane, of this policy.

FOR THE PRESIDENT

Donald E. Regan
Chief of Staff

*Correspondence to
the national security
community at
NSC.*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

43

July 12, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR RONALD K. PETERSON

FROM: WILLIAM F. MARTIN *WFM*

SUBJECT: State Proposed Testimony on HR-77/Monument for
General Mihailovich Hearing on 12 July

We have reviewed and concur with the State proposed testimony on HR-77 (TAB A), dealing with a monument for General Draza Mihailovich in recognition of the role he played during World War II.

Attachment:

TAB A Proposed Testimony



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

July 10, 1985

5492

SPECIAL

44

LEGISLATIVE REFERRAL MEMORANDUM

TO: Legislative Liaison Officer-
Department of the Interior - 343-6706 (16)
National Capital Planning Commission
Commission of Fine Arts
✓ National Security Council

SUBJECT: State proposed testimony on H.R. 77, dealing with
a monument for General Draza Mihailovich, for a
hearing on Friday, July 12, 1985.

Note: It is our view that this testimony is consistent
with views previously expressed by the Administration on
such legislation. We must presume you have no comments
on this if you do not call us by noon tomorrow.

The Office of Management and Budget requests the views of your
agency on the above subject before advising on its relationship
to the program of the President, in accordance with OMB Circular
A-19.

A response to this request for your views is needed no later than
Noon, Thursday, July 11, 1985.

Questions should be referred to Randy Coleman (395-6194),
the legislative analyst in this office or to Steve Satterfield
(395-4993).

Ronald K. Peterson

RONALD K. PETERSON FOR
Assistant Director for
Legislative Reference

Enclosures
cc:

4959c

45

TESTIMONY OF R. MARK PALMER, DEPUTY ASSISTANT
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN AFFAIRS
BEFORE THE HOUSE ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE
TASK FORCE ON LIBRARIES AND MONUMENTS
JULY 12, 1985

MS. OAKAR, DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS OF THE TASK FORCE:

I AM PLEASED TO HAVE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO APPEAR TODAY BEFORE THE TASK FORCE ON LIBRARIES AND MONUMENTS TO PROVIDE YOU THE VIEWS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE ON H.R. 77. THIS PROPOSED LEGISLATION WOULD AUTHORIZE THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF AMERICAN AIRMEN RESCUED BY GENERAL DRAZA MIHAIOVICH TO ESTABLISH A MONUMENT ON PUBLIC GROUND IN RECOGNITION OF THE ROLE THE GENERAL PLAYED IN SAVING THE LIVES OF MORE THAN FIVE HUNDRED OF THEIR NUMBER IN YUGOSLAVIA DURING WORLD WAR II.

THE DEPARTMENT UNDERSTANDS AND SYMPATHIZES WITH THE GRATITUDE TO GENERAL MIHAIOVICH WHICH H.R. 77 SEEKS TO EXPRESS, AND WE DO NOT OPPOSE THE RIGHT OF AMERICAN SERVICEMEN TO ERECT A MONUMENT IN RECOGNITION OF THAT GRATITUDE. THE ADMINISTRATION, HOWEVER, OPPOSES H.R. 77, JUST AS PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATIONS HAVE OPPOSED SIMILAR LEGISLATION IN THE PAST. OUR OPPOSITION TO THE BILL HINGES ON THE PHRASE "PUBLIC GROUND," OR AS ELABORATED IN THE LANGUAGE OF H.R. 77, "A SUITABLE SITE ON GROUNDS OWNED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA OR ITS ENVIRONS."

LEGISLATION WHICH PROPOSES THE DEDICATION OF FEDERALLY OWNED LAND TO ESTABLISH A MIHAIOVICH MEMORIAL WOULD, IF

46

PASSED, REQUIRE THIS AND FUTURE ADMINISTRATIONS TO UNDERTAKE A SERIES OF ACTIONS THAT COULD ONLY BE INTERPRETED AS U.S. GOVERNMENT RECOGNITION OF MORE THAN HIS RESCUE OF AMERICAN AIRMEN, WHICH WAS BUT ONE EPISODE IN THE BLOODY STRUGGLE AGAINST THE NAZI OCCUPATION OF YUGOSLAVIA DURING WORLD WAR II. IT WOULD IMPLY OUR OFFICIAL ENDORSEMENT OF ONE INTERPRETATION OF THOSE EVENTS AND THE REJECTION OF OTHERS AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF WHAT CONTINUES TO BE A HIGHLY EMOTIONAL AND DIVISIVE DEBATE.

TO UNDERSTAND THE CONTINUING IMPORTANCE OF THESE ISSUES FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF YUGOSLAVIA AND VIRTUALLY ALL PEOPLE OF YUGOSLAV ORIGIN, ONE NEED ONLY CONSIDER THE FACT THAT APPROXIMATELY TWO MILLION YUGOSLAV CITIZENS LOST THEIR LIVES DURING THE WAR, MORE THAN TEN PERCENT OF THE POPULATION OF THIS SMALL BALKAN NATION. MORE THAN 400 THOUSAND OF THESE WERE BATTLEFIELD CASUALTIES SUFFERED DURING THE GERMAN INVASION OF 1941 AND THE PROTRACTED RESISTANCE THAT FOLLOWED. IN ADDITION TO THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE NAZIS, YUGOSLAVIA WAS TORN BY A MULTI-SIDED CIVIL WAR IN WHICH ELEMENTS OF THE RESISTANCE LED BY COMMUNIST AND NON-COMMUNIST FORCES FOUGHT AGAINST EACH OTHER, AND IN WHICH BOTH RESISTANCE FORCES FOUGHT AGAINST BOTH REGULAR GERMAN FORCES AND NAZI-INSTALLED PUPPET REGIMES.

DURING THE WAR, THE ALLIES EXTENDED RECOGNITION TO BOTH YUGOSLAV RESISTANCE ARMIES, FIRST TO THE CHETNIKS UNDER GENERAL MIHAILOVICH, AND SUBSEQUENTLY TO THE PARTISANS UNDER MARSHAL TITO. BOTH RESISTANCE FORCES WERE ENGAGED AGAINST THE GERMAN

47

OCCUPATION, AND BOTH CARRIED OUT SUBSTANTIAL RESCUE OPERATIONS FOR AMERICAN AIRMEN WHO WERE SHOT DOWN OVER YUGOSLAVIA. INDEED, THERE IS CONSIDERABLE EVIDENCE THAT THE PARTISANS RESCUED MORE DOWNED AMERICAN AIRMEN THAN DID MIHAILOVICH'S FORCES. TITO'S PARTISANS, WHO FORMED THE PRESENT YUGOSLAV STATE AT THE END OF THE WAR, RECEIVED ALLIED MILITARY MISSIONS FROM 1943 ON AND OFFICIAL RECOGNITION FROM THE ALLIES IN 1944 AND PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE LIBERATION OF THE COUNTRY IN 1945.

DRAZA MIHAILOVICH'S WARTIME ROLE, AS WELL AS THE RESPECTIVE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE CHETNIKS AND PARTISANS TO THE YUGOSLAV RESISTANCE, REMAIN DIVISIVE AND EMOTIONAL ISSUES, BOTH IN YUGOSLAVIA AND AMONG AMERICANS WHOSE ORIGINS SPRING FROM THAT COUNTRY. FOR THE U.S. GOVERNMENT NOW TO TAKE A POSITION ON THE MERITS OF THE CASE BY ENACTING H.R. 77 WOULD ONLY INFLAME THE DEBATE AND INEVITABLY DAMAGE RELATIONS WITH YUGOSLAVIA. PASSAGE OF H.R. 77 WOULD, IN FACT, BE INTERPRETED BY THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT, AS WELL AS BY MANY ORDINARY YUGOSLAV CITIZENS AND THOSE OF YUGOSLAV ORIGIN HERE IN THE UNITED STATES, AS EVIDENCE THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT FAVORED ONE SIDE WHILE DENYING RECOGNITION TO ANOTHER.

THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS NEVER QUESTIONED MIHAILOVICH'S PATRIOTISM OR DEVOTION TO THE ALLIED CAUSE. IT IS A FACT, HOWEVER, THAT THERE ARE SHARPLY DIVERGENT VIEWS ABOUT HIS ROLE IN WORLD WAR II. THE FINAL WORD ON MIHAILOVICH IS NOT YET IN, AND A REVIEW OF THE MATERIAL ALREADY MADE PUBLIC DOES NOT MAKE THE PROBLEM ANY EASIER TO RESOLVE. DEBATE OVER WHO DID WHAT TO

48

WHOM AND WHY, AS WELL AS WHO RECORDED EVENTS AND REPORTED THEM TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD AND FOR WHAT REASONS, ONLY ADDS TO THE CONTROVERSY OVER THE ROLE OF THE YUGOSLAV RESISTANCE DURING WORLD WAR II. AMONG HISTORIANS, THERE HAS BEEN A GENERAL CONSENSUS THAT MIHAILOVICH'S FORCES SPENT MUCH OF THEIR ENERGIES IN ACTIONS AGAINST TITO'S PARTISANS. DECLASSIFIED DOCUMENTS WHICH WERE THE SUBJECT OF RECENT PRESS ARTICLES WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF FURTHER STUDY AND DEBATE.

THIS IS A QUAGMIRE WHICH THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN WISE ENOUGH TO AVOID THUS FAR AND WHICH WE THINK WE OUGHT TO CONTINUE TO AVOID. H.R. 77 WOULD, UNFORTUNATELY, LEAD US RIGHT INTO THE THICK OF IT. WE BELIEVE THAT THE ESSENTIAL FACT WE NEED TO REMEMBER IS THAT ALTHOUGH BOTH YUGOSLAV RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS RESCUED AMERICAN SERVICEMEN DURING THE WAR, H.R. 77 WOULD EXTEND OFFICIAL RECOGNITION TO ONLY ONE OF THEM.

THE CONCERN OF THIS ADMINISTRATION IS FAIRNESS. IN FAIRNESS, MANY MIGHT ARGUE, WOULD IT NOT BE BETTER TO ESTABLISH A MONUMENT HONORING ALL THOSE IN YUGOSLAVIA WHO RESCUED AMERICAN AIRMEN DURING WORLD WAR II? BETTER YET, WOULD IT NOT BE APPROPRIATE TO ERECT A MONUMENT TO ALL THOSE THROUGHOUT EUROPE WHO, DURING WORLD WAR II, LENT A HELPING HAND TO AMERICAN SERVICEMEN BEHIND ENEMY LINES, OFTEN IN THE FACE OF DANGER TO THEIR OWN LIVES? COUNTLESS CITIZENS OF FRANCE, BELGIUM, THE NETHERLANDS, POLAND AND OTHER NATIONS MADE MANIFEST THEIR LOVE FOR DEMOCRACY IN COMING TO THEIR AID

BECAUSE THEY REPRESENTED A NATION WHICH WAS MANKIND'S BEST HOPE FOR FREEDOM'S FUTURE -- THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

AS I HAVE SAID, WE FULLY UNDERSTAND THE MOTIVES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF AMERICAN AIRMEN RESCUED BY DRAZA MIHAILOVICH WHO SEEK TO HONOR HIS MEMORY WITH SUPPORT WHICH WOULD BE PROVIDED BY THE PASSAGE OF H.R. 77. BUT WE THINK THE MOST APPROPRIATE WAY TO DO SO WOULD BE TO CAMPAIGN FOR PRIVATE FUNDS AND TO FIND A PRIVATE SITE FOR WHATEVER MONUMENT THEY DEEM SUITABLE. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT PASSAGE OF H.R. 77, WHICH WOULD SET ASIDE FEDERALLY OWNED LAND FOR THAT PURPOSE, IS INCONSISTENT WITH THE FOREIGN POLICY INTERESTS OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND WOULD BE HARMFUL TO OUR GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT OF YUGOSLAVIA, AND IT IS OUR VIEW THAT THIS LEGISLATION SHOULD NOT BE APPROVED.

WHEN ALL IS SAID AND DONE, GEOPOLITICAL REALITY MAKES YUGOSLAVIA A STRATEGICALLY IMPORTANT COUNTRY FOR THE UNITED STATES. IT OCCUPIES A CRITICAL POSITION ON NATO'S SOUTHERN FLANK, IT HAS SUCCESSFULLY RESISTED EFFORTS BY THE SOVIET UNION TO CONTROL IT, AND, AS EVERY PRESIDENT SINCE 1948 HAS DECLARED, WE ARE FULLY COMMITTED TO SUPPORTING YUGOSLAVIA'S INDEPENDENCE, UNITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY.

LESS THAN TWO MONTHS AGO, PRESIDENT REAGAN MET WITH YUGOSLAV PRIME MINISTER MILKA PLANINC IN THE WHITE HOUSE. HE AFFIRMED THAT U.S. RELATIONS WITH HER NATION ARE GOOD AND

50

INDICATED THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION HOPED TO MAINTAIN AND IMPROVE THEM. THE PRESIDENT'S EFFORTS IN THAT DIRECTION WOULD ONLY BE HAMPERED IF H.R. 77 IS PASSED. THE YUGOSLAVS HAVE INFORMED US, THAT REGARDLESS OF THE INTENT OF THE SPONSORS OF THE BILL, THEY WOULD REGARD PASSAGE AS A DELIBERATE AND UNFRIENDLY ACT. THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BELIEVES THAT PASSAGE WOULD DAMAGE OUR GOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH YUGOSLAVIA TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT.

IN SUM, WE BELIEVE THAT NOT TAKING SIDES IN WHAT REMAINS A BITTER HISTORICAL DISPUTE IS A PRACTICAL POLICY THAT IS IN OUR NATIONAL INTEREST. WE BELIEVE THAT FINAL EVALUATION OF THE ROLE OF MIHAILOVICH IS A JUDGMENT FOR HISTORIANS AND NOT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT. WE THEREFORE OPPOSE PASSAGE OF H.R. 77 BECAUSE IT WOULD LEAD MANY OTHERS, BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD, TO ASSUME THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAD TAKEN SIDES AND HAD COME TO A FINAL CONCLUSION ON THIS CONTROVERSIAL SUBJECT. AND THIS, AS I HAVE ARGUED, IS NOT IN THE OVERALL FOREIGN POLICY INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

THANK YOU.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

51

July 11, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM F. MARTIN

SIGNED

FROM:

JACK F. MATLOCK *JFM*

SUBJECT:

State Proposed Testimony on HR-77/Monument for
General Mihailovich Hearing on 12 July

I have reviewed and concur with State proposed testimony on H.R. 77 at TAB A, dealing with establishing a monument for General Draza Mihailovich in recognition of the role he played during World War II.

Bob Pearson and Chris Lehman concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to Ronald K. Peterson at TAB I.

Approve

WFM

Disapprove

Attachments:

TAB I Memorandum to Ronald K. Peterson

TAB A State Proposed Testimony

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

CHRON FILE

June 25, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM: PAULA DOBRIANSKY ^{TD}SUBJECT: Proposed USG Memorial to Chetnik Leader
Mihailovich

ROW HAS SEEN

State has forwarded you a memorandum (TAB II) which provides background and press guidance on a proposal before the Task Force on Libraries and Memorials of the House Administration Committee (H.R. 77 introduced by Representative Philip Crane) to erect a monument to General Draza Mihailovich, leader of the Chetnik resistance in Yugoslavia during World War II.

In the President's press conference last week, his views were solicited on this issue. For this reason, State has forwarded us a memorandum which describes the bitter historical dispute about the role of Mihailovich's forces and Tito's partisans during World War II. The memo also details why the Executive Branch has opposed this proposal over several decades and notes that passage of H.R. 77 out of committee is unlikely.

According to Bob Sims, the President may have already been briefed on this issue. Also, no further press inquiries have been made. However, in one of your 9:30 briefings, you may want to give the President the attached press guidance for his future reference (TAB I).

Jack ^{jm} Matlock and Karna Small concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you give the press guidance at TAB I to the President.

Approve m

Disapprove _____

Attachments:

TAB I Press Guidance

TAB II Platt to McFarlane Memorandum, dated June 19, 1985 with
Attachment

cc: Bob Sims

PRESS GUIDANCEYUGOSLAVIA: Proposed USG Memorial
to Chetnik Leader General Mihailovich

The U.S. Government understands and sympathizes with the desire of airmen rescued by General Mihailovich during the war to construct a monument in his memory. However, partisans of Marshal Tito also rescued hundreds of American airmen who would therefore also have a legitimate claim to have a memorial erected to Tito. As in previous administrations, we have informed the Congress that we are opposed to construction of a monument to General Mihailovich on Federal land, which would force the U.S. Government to take sides in what remains a bitter historical dispute.

The U.S. Government does not take a position on the merits of this issue. We recognize that American airmen were rescued during the war both by Mihailovich's forces and by Tito's partisans who fought ably and heroically against the Nazis and who received Allied recognition. We do not oppose appropriate, private recognition of the role of the Yugoslav resistance, merely a form of recognition that implies our endorsement of one party to the exclusion of the other.



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

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June 19, 1985

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MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Proposed USG Memorial to Chetnik Leader Mihailovich

At his press conference last evening, the President was asked his views on the proposal now before the Task Force on Libraries and Memorials of the House Administration Committee (H. R. 77, introduced by Representative Philip Crane) to authorize construction on Federal Government property of a monument to General Draza Mihailovich, leader of the Chetnik resistance in Yugoslavia during the Second World War, in recognition of his role in rescuing some 500 U.S. airmen in Yugoslavia. Similar bills were introduced in past sessions of Congress. H. R. 77 currently has 56 co-sponsors, and it is our understanding that Chairwoman Oaker does not expect passage of the resolution out of committee.

The Executive Branch has consistently over several decades expressed the belief that this legislation should not be approved for the following reasons:

1) The role played by General Mihailovich and his supporters during the Second World War remains a subject of considerable controversy, both within Yugoslavia and among non-Yugoslav historians. The Yugoslav communist government executed Mihailovich after the war as a traitor to the country who allegedly collaborated with the Nazi occupation in actions against Tito's partisans. Whatever the merits of this argument, there is a general consensus among historians that Mihailovich's forces expended a substantial share of their efforts in actions against the Partisans rather than joining the latter in resistance.

2) The priority given by the Chetniks to fighting against the Partisans rather than against the Nazis, along with their reputation as a Greater Serbian nationalist rather than Yugoslav movement, led to their declining effectiveness as a resistance force. It was this factor which led to Allied recognition of the Partisans as the main Yugoslav resistance force and the extension of substantial aid to Tito by the Allies from 1943 on.

3) Although Mihailovich's forces rescued many American airmen during the War, Tito's forces carried out even more substantial rescue operations. Erection of a monument to Mihailovich on Federal land, even if construction and maintenance costs were to be borne by private organizations, would imply U.S. Government recognition of the former but

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- 2 -

denial of the latter. This perception would create tremendous opposition within and outside Yugoslavia and damage U.S. relations with that strategically important country.

We understand and sympathize with the gratitude to General Mihailovich that is felt by rescued American airmen. We do not oppose their legitimate right to erect a monument privately in recognition of that gratitude. However, were the President to support the proposal to erect a monument on Federal land, this would imply preferential U.S. Government treatment of one party in what remains a bitter historical dispute and damage relations with a country that is of great importance to the United States. It would also give a legitimated claim to the many airman rescued by Tito's forces to have a memorial to Tito erected on Federal land, an action which would be equally inappropriate.

Finally, whereas a Mihailovich monument would please some Americans of Yugoslav descent, it would also create bitter feelings among many other Americans of Yugoslav origin who look upon Mihailovich and the Chetnik movement with deep hostility.

The Department recommends that the President respond to the press inquiry along the lines of the attached statement.

Pomckmley
for Nicholas Platt
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

1. Press Guidance
2. Copy of H. R. 77

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99TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 77

56
EVR/EE
Mihailovich
Hten
JH
RH
RH
XIL

To authorize the National Committee of American Airmen Rescued by General Mihailovich to establish a monument to General Draza Mihailovich in Washington, District of Columbia, or its environs, in recognition of the role he played in saving the lives of more than five hundred United States airmen in Yugoslavia during World War II.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 3, 1985

Mr. CRANE introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on House Administration

A BILL

To authorize the National Committee of American Airmen Rescued by General Mihailovich to establish a monument to General Draza Mihailovich in Washington, District of Columbia, or its environs, in recognition of the role he played in saving the lives of more than five hundred United States airmen in Yugoslavia during World War II.

- 1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
- 2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
- 3 That the National Committee of American Airmen Rescued
- 4 by General Mihailovich is authorized to establish a monument
- 5 on public grounds in the District of Columbia or its environs
- 6 to honor and recognize General Draza Mihailovich for the

1 role he played in saving the lives of more than five hundred
2 United States airmen in Yugoslavia during World War II.

3 SEC. 2. (a) The Secretary of the Interior, in consultation
4 with the National Committee of American Airmen Rescued
5 by General Mihailovich, shall select with the approval of the
6 Commission of Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning
7 Commission a suitable site on grounds owned by the Federal
8 Government in the District of Columbia or its environs for
9 establishment of the monument referred to in the first section
10 of this Act.

11 (b) The National Committee of American Airmen Res-
12 cued by General Mihailovich shall be responsible for the de-
13 velopment of such monument's design and plans, which shall
14 be subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior,
15 the Commission of Fine Arts, and the National Capital Plan-
16 ning Commission. If the Secretary of the Interior, the Com-
17 mission of Fine Arts, or the National Capital Planning Com-
18 mission fails to approve or make specific objection to such
19 design and plans within ninety days of submission, his or its
20 approval shall be deemed to be given.

21 (c) Neither the United States nor the District of Colum-
22 bia shall bear any expense in the establishment of the monu-
23 ment other than expenses incurred in the process of site se-
24 lection and approval of design and plans.

1 SEC. 3. The Secretary of the Interior shall permit
2 ground breaking for construction of the monument only after
3 he determines that sufficient funds are available to complete
4 the monument in accordance with the approved design and
5 plans.

6 SEC. 4. The authority conferred by this Act shall lapse
7 unless the construction of the monument begins within two
8 years after the date of enactment of this Act.

9 SEC. 5. The maintenance and care of the monument
10 established under this Act shall be the responsibility of the
11 National Committee of American Airmen Rescued by Gener-
12 al Mihailovich.

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