

Croatian defense minister announced early July 17 that a Serbian "invasion" was imminent, with "the next four days" being "most critical." Meanwhile, with the pretext that a SAM missile was fired by Croatian forces at a Yugoslav Air Force plane, the Army command declared it would close off Croatian air space.

Yugoslav Defense Minister Veljko Kadijevic flew to the military airfield at Zadar on Croatia's Adriatic Coast for a secretive meeting with Croatian President Tudjman. Afterward, Kadijevic publicly denied the invasion threat. An agreement was reached to hold in Belgrade, the next day, the long-delayed meeting of the entire State Presidency. The Army's next target, in its goal of seizing all the regions designed to be incorporated into "Greater Serbia," is likely to be the northern Croatian region of Slavonia.

### International spillover

The danger of international conflicts arising from the partition of Yugoslavia has emerged on two fronts. On July 14 Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall reminded Serbia that after World War I, Hungary had ceded Vojvodina to Yugoslavia, not to Serbia. This elicited a fiery response from Serbia. An editorial in the Serbian-run Yugoslav "Socialist" Party daily, *Borba*, accused Hungary of "crude interference" in Yugoslavia's "internal affairs," and "unabashed revanchism." Vojvodina, with a mixed population of Serbs and Hungarians, roughly 55:45 in Serbia's favor, is in theory an "autonomous" region of Serbia, though, as with Kosovo, in reality under central Serbian rule.

Fortunately, no real war danger exists from Hungary. This may not be the case for another neighbor of Yugoslavia. Smelling a coming ethnically based partition of Yugoslavia, Albania is staking out its claims. The storm broke on July 15, when Albania's Communist President Ramiz Alia issued a strong statement reaffirming Albania's resolve to act "for the protection of and the rights of the Albanians in Kosovo," quickly adding: "Civil war also threatens in southern Yugoslavia," a reference embracing both Kosovo and the southernmost republic, Macedonia, which is opposed to Serbia, but hopelessly cut off from support by Croatia and Slovenia. The statement was made as Alia met in Tirana with Ibrahim Rugova, the chairman of the Democratic League of Kosovo—the first such meeting since the Kosovo disorders began in 1981.

The civil war has also put the final nails in the coffin of Yugoslavia's economy. Foreign trade has plunged to near zero. The federal and republic treasuries are empty. Yugoslavia's landlocked neighbors to the north, Hungary and the C.S.F.R., will be hurt, if the civil war closes the oil pipeline from the Adriatic—the only such pipeline to these countries not coming from the U.S.S.R. The pipeline runs through the Slavonian region of Croatia into Hungary—the very region of mixed Croat-Serb population which will become, barring a miracle, the focal point of fighting in the next round.

## Croatian democrat appeals to CSCE

*Below is the text of "An appeal to the Presidents of member-countries of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and to the world public, on the occasion of a Chetnik, Bolshevik, and Serbian-hegemonist aggression against the Croats and the Republic of Croatia," released in Zagreb on July 12. It is signed "In the great hope that you will listen to your conscience and do everything to stop this war," by the president of the Croatian Democratic Party, Marko Veselica.*

*The author was born on Jan. 9, 1936 in the village of Glavice, in Croatia. He obtained M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in economic science at the University of Zagreb, where he worked as an assistant professor of economic theory.*

*Dr. Veselica gradually assumed a leadership role in Croatian political, intellectual, and cultural life. He was a member of the Federal Parliament in Belgrade, an official of the leadership of the Trade Union of Croatia, and a member of the executive board of Matiza Hrvastika. His constant and resolute activity in several spheres of public life aimed at bringing about Croatia's sovereignty and freedom, brought him into numerous conflicts with the leading groups in Yugoslavia.*

*With the downfall of the 1971 "Croatian Spring," Veselica, a leading figure in the movement, was tried on charges of having conspired against "state and people" and sentenced to seven years of harsh imprisonment and four years of not appearing in public. While serving his sentence he was proclaimed "prisoner of conscience" by Amnesty International. In 1981, in a neo-Stalinist show trial, Dr. Veselica was again accused of having "falsely presented the political situation in Yugoslavia" on the basis of his opinions expressed in an interview to Der Spiegel. He was sentenced to 11 years in prison and four years of not appearing in public. Following an international outcry, he was released earlier.*

*Dr. Veselica is president of the Croatian Democratic Party, vice president of the Croatian Association of Political Prisoners, and president of the Democratic Club for Eastern Europe.*

The Yugoslav state, created on Dec. 1, 1918, is an artificial and forced formation which has not grown into a productive cultural, economic, ethical, and state framework for the development of each nation in this part of Europe. Croats,

who are an ancient and autonomous nation, came to their homeland in the seventh century and have invested a lot of energy to preserve their unique character, to develop their genius, and to become an autonomous actor on the European and world scene. The Serbian hegemonist policy has tried—relying on all means of violence, corruption, and fabrication—to transform the Croats into another nation and to use their homeland and ethnic masses as material for the creation of Great Serbia.

The Bolshevik-Communist revolution which lasted from 1941 to 1945 relied on the methods of crime and deception to come to power and to create a Titoist, communist, and centralist Yugoslavia which only increased the conflict among Yugoslav nations and destroyed all the creative and national forces who could have developed the economy and a full social and national life. Yugoslavia was an illusion, not only for the nations that created it, but also for the Western factors that contributed to its creation and artificially maintain it. It was the greatest mistake of Western politics in Europe, because it transformed this part of Europe into a zone of hatred, underdevelopment, and the use of the dirtiest, most barbarian means of violence, applied in order to maintain this artificial community.

The process of dissolution of the bolshevik empire, the U.S.S.R., has brought about the global conditions for fundamental change in the East of Europe which cannot be stopped, since bolshevism and Russian imperialism have manifested an incapacity for cultural progress and for the realization of the rights of each nation that has made up the Soviet Empire.

In the context of such fundamental changes in the Soviet Union and the geopolitical structure of Europe, the process of dissolution of Yugoslavia has begun. In this framework the first free postwar elections took place in Croatia and Slovenia in 1990, and these two nations voted for independent, democratic states of Croatia and Slovenia. Serbia's bolshevik and hegemonistic policy, personified in Slobodan Milosevic, could not accept these developments, and, basing itself on the memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts, launched its imperial program of creating Greater Serbia on Croatian soil. As soon as the Croatian democratic government was constituted on May 30, 1990, Greater Serbian policy, led by Slobodan Milosevic, sent terrorist Chetniks to Croatia. These terrorists have been killing innocent citizens of Croatia, of both Croatian and Serbian nationality, poisoning waterworks, blowing up rails and roads, and committing all sorts of crimes unimaginable for people brought up in the countries of Western democracy. The Chetnik terrorism is directly organized by Slobodan Milosevic and Serbian State Security and supported by Serbian media and cultural organizations.

The most difficult problem in the struggle against Chetnik terrorism in Croatia is the fact that it is directly supported by the so-called Yugoslav National Army, led by Gen.-Col. Blagoje Adzic and Defense Minister Veljko Kadijevic. The

Croatian police and the guard of the Republic of Croatia are prevented from establishing law and order. On June 26, 1991 Slobodan Milosevic and the Army leadership led by General Adzic, started a brutal war against Slovenia. As far as Croatia is concerned, this war started a year ago. The victims of this war are enormous. Several hundred people have already been killed and about a thousand injured. In the last few weeks, Chetnik terrorism in eastern Slavonia has been increasing.

Chetniks, cooperating with the Army, destroyed and burned down the Croatian village of Celije, and they are planning to destroy the villages of Tenja and Borovo Selo. Terrorism is considerably present in the largest Slavonian town, Osijek, and it is coming closer and closer to the Croatian capital, Zagreb. The army recently fired at unarmed and innocent citizens of Osijek, and at the same time it fired machine guns at the hospital, where children were hurt and had to be evacuated to the cellars.

The Chetniks have not only brutally, and from cowardly ambush, killed members of Croatian police forces, but they have mutilated them by cutting their eyes out, cutting off their ears, and doing other unspeakable things unknown to the history of warfare. The military leadership, together with Chetniks, is preparing a war against Croatia—a war of extermination.

It could be the beginning of a new tragedy in Europe. They plan to bomb Zagreb and other major villages in Croatia and even the nuclear plant in Krsko, which is a terrible threat to all our neighboring countries in Europe as well as for the world.

It is my opinion that European policy is not responsible enough when it comes to the acts of crime and war that are going on before our very eyes. The so-called three-month moratorium is merely being used as a pause before an even worse kind of war and even more horrible crimes to be performed against the Croatian nation, the Slovenian nation, as well as being a sin against all of mankind. It is absolutely imperative for the European countries to do all in their power in order to stop the bloodthirsty military junta, Slobodan Milosevic, and the Chetnik murderers.

The Croatian nation will not surrender. It is ready to defend its Croatian homeland, its integrity, freedom, and independence. However, we feel that this war should be stopped while there is still time, and before thousands and hundreds of thousands of people are killed. Europe must not allow a new war to break out, because it is a threat to innocent people who live here. We are all responsible not only for our countries and their interest, but also for others. "No man is an island," and therefore, when only one is in danger, we are all in danger as members of mankind and as God's children.

Dear Sirs, honorable Presidents, I beg of you to do everything in your power, in the name of the morality and justice which is what our Western civilization is all about, to stop the crimes and the war that threaten to endanger the whole of Europe.