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YUGOSLAVIA

Today I visited the heating plant in new Belgrade. It will use gas, it is true, but it is placed where it does not fit into the surroundings. The city will develop in this direction and some day the chimneys of this installation will be in the midst of modern districts. And what will happen? Someday it will have to be pulled down and transferred to some other place.

Hence, comrades, we must look a little further ahead. Today I told architects and town planners that they should look at least 100 years ahead. Today it is possible to calculate the trend of development and determine mathematically what it will be after 10, 20, or 30 years. Therefore take into account what urban design the center of our socialist community will assume.

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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT  
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EMIGREE PRIEST DENIES FORCED RETURN CHARGE

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[Unattributed report: "The Priest Dragonovic's Statement: The Letter which Prof Krunoslav Dragonovic, until recently one of the most prominent Leaders of the Political Emigrees, Sent to the District Public Prosecutor in Sarajevo"]

[Text] In view of the rumors which emigree circles and their instigators have begun to spread abroad, according to which Prof Dr Krunoslav Draganovic, a priest and until recently one of the most prominent leaders of the hostile emigrees, was compelled to return to Yugoslavia against his will, Draganovic has sent a letter to the district public prosecutor in Sarajevo requesting that the widest possible publicity be given the truth as to his return.

Draganovic is presently free in Sarajevo, where he lived before the war and where recently a court investigation was opened against him because of inical activities in which he had been engaged. Draganovic's request that the amnesty law of 13 March 1962 be applied in his case for a period from the beginning of the war to 1962 is under consideration. The following is the text of this letter:

My Entrance to this Country Was in no way Compulsory:

To the District Public Prosecutor, Sarajevo: Since my case, which you know of in its entirety, is in your hands for consideration, I beg you kindly, if it is convenient, to inform the public of the following:

After an absence of almost a quarter of a century, I am again in my country, with which I have always remained close in spirit. I think it my duty to declare before all of the public that my return was not brought about forcibly, nor by any political or police trickery, nor was I abducted.

Why do I mention unimportant and personal details which will not interest many people? I have a particular reason for this which is based not only on personal considerations--the rumors in the foreign press, especially the emigree press, on my so-called disappearance, rumors that are full of unfounded assumptions and fantasies or, even worse, full of attempts to use my case for political purposes which, in the long run, can only be harmful to me.

I believe that what I say about my return to the socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will surprise some people. Let me immediately provide another, even greater surprise: Deliberately and freely, and perhaps even boldly, I decided to bring my personal case before a regular court, particularly having in mind the effect on my case of the amnesty law.

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I sincerely wish to be able to move freely throughout the world, and particularly in my fatherland, as a free citizen against whom no grave accusations are raised.

As is known, in the past few years I increasingly disassociated myself from political work in emigration, and was more and more engaged in scientific work, which is the aim of my life. This does not mean that I did not continue to follow political events in Yugoslavia and in emigre circles, and I formed my opinion on the basis of facts. The processes of internal development in Yugoslavia, the democratization and humanization of society in all fields, including the law institutions, the country's growing weight in the international field, in the struggle for peace and so forth; these were my problems, for which I sought solutions.

#### Deep Changes Almost Unexpected By Me:

After my arrival in the country many of these problems were solved. I was struck by great changes which I had hardly dared expect. I saw cities which had rapidly grown, as though from nothing, and others which had changed so much in size and had such imposing buildings that I hardly recognized them. I observed comprehensive economic development, especially in industrialization. I was deeply impressed by the enormously great sacrifices which had made a formerly backward country capable of holding its own and competing in today's industrialized world. I was at least just as deeply impressed by the internal changes in the country, by the above-mentioned democratization of the present society in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, by the increasingly rational and liberal ideas in the economic sector, the efficient self-management in factories, the far-reaching social achievements benefiting the widest strata of the people, and I was particularly impressed by the differences in the contrasts to the ideas of the former kingdom of Yugoslavia, in which there were no equal rights for the nationalities; finally, I was impressed by the agreement concluded with the Holy See, in the form of "Protocols." These are my statements, on which I wish further to elaborate in detail.

It was precisely this belief that these observations were correct which induced me to decide that the best and most correct course for me was to submit my case to the regular court and request its impartial and benevolent decision.

After having touched on my personal affairs, I would like to dwell on something else which is of great importance, and, I believe, also topical. I have in mind certain political activities, particularly terrorism connected with inevitable shedding of innocent blood, something which, unfortunately, has recently become noticeable among some Croatian emigres.

#### I Wish to Dissociate Myself From Terrorist Activities:

As a man and as a priest I wish above all to dissociate myself from such bloody activities. I do so for principled reasons in accordance with my entire past. Even in the most difficult times, disregarding the danger to my own life, I protested to Dr Pavelic and to other parties against the stifling of human dignity and rights, especially against the senseless terrorism and the shedding of innocent blood for radical, national, or political reasons.

Concurrently I used my modest strength to help and save endangered and suffering people of all kinds, not confining myself only to persons of my own nationality and denomination, but extending a helping hand to all those who came to me for help. I mention all this because certain people have mentioned my name in connection with such activities, activities which I have always consistently rejected as a matter of principle.

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It may seem paradoxical that today, when the times are peaceful, I believe it necessary to raise again the voice of remonstrance and protest against terrorism and subversive activities as tools of political struggle, from whatever side, against deliberate attempts to shed innocent blood, especially if this is done by certain of my fanatic compatriots in the emigre ranks. I must publicly and firmly condemn such activities. This is against the highest command in Christ's law, the command to love God and neighbor. It stifles the noble feeling of humanitarianism, the best that man has. Finally--both from the human and the political viewpoint--it is senseless and harmful because it achieves precisely the opposite of what it intends to achieve.

I am not a man who lacks understanding of all those who risk their lives and sacrifice their youth in prisons for lofty ideals. The question remains, however, whether those who take part in such extremist actions do so out of pure motives alone. Without denying their sincere but misunderstood patriotism, I must emphasize that despair and bitter disappointments also played a role in shaping their reprehensible behavior just as foreign interests did whenever they had a chance. Regardless of everything, however, we must emphasize the great responsibility of those who push young people onto the path of terrorism, while they themselves, in a safe shelter, wish to "collect the laurels" from other people's sacrifices.

#### Sympathy for Senseless Actions?

It has been said before that such terrorist actions usually produce the contrary: Their effect is the opposite of what they wanted to achieve. Take, for example, the explosive charges attached to the cars or passenger trains. How many innocent people would have suffered if the murderous charges had not been found in time? How many families would be in mourning, having lost their supporters who probably were coming home, bringing to their children the fruit of their hard labors abroad? Would such bereaved families, would an entire nation have sympathy for such senseless actions?

Finally, should not the public opinion of foreign states forcefully oppose such terrorist actions, when on their national territory the diplomatic missions of other peoples are attacked--missions which enjoy immunity and respect throughout the civilized world--when such deeds rudely violate the hospitality magnanimously granted to the escapees in question? This only produces bitter anger against the terrorists--undesirable and ungrateful foreigners--anger against the emigres and the goals which they stand for. This has been proven even by facts which need not be mentioned here.

I think it necessary to emphasize another important circumstance which emigres frequently forget. Today we live in the era of coexistence, when opposed ideologies and opposed camps in the world begin to extend their hands toward each other in order to save the endangered world from a general cataclysm. Mankind today seeks peace as the only salvation from the brink of the abyss over which mankind is hanging. Today more than in the past we understand the greatness of Christ's words: "Blessed are the meek, for they will be called the children of God." Mankind today sharply rejects war and everything which leads to war. Instead it seeks the evolution of minds and hearts toward love of peace, in mutual understanding and support. In such an atmosphere any terrorism has lost its logical justification. Even the Catholic Church has accepted coexistence as an indispensable means of preserving mankind from another, most terrible, and perhaps final world war which will be followed by disaster.

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**The Church has Prohibited Political Work by Priests:**

For this purpose the Holy See is trying to achieve a rapprochement and agreement with all the states of the world, also including the states of progressive democracy in the East and does so on the basis of mutual respect and without denying the existing ideological differences. A pertinent agreement, called a "protocol," between the Holy See and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia confirms this fact. This agreement, although limited to certain fields, could also in my opinion, furnish an example for other peoples who probably think that such agreements are impossible or at at least unnecessary.

Even before this, Yugoslavia, owing to its independent road both in foreign and domestic policy, was an example and signpost for various peoples. The preservation of religion, peace on the basis of freedom of conscience and freedom of the Church's mission, while respecting the same rights for other religious communities, is an integral part of peace in the world. The magnificent Second Vatican Council and the steady concern of Pope Paul VI, who, despite the barriers of the past, visited a UN session and the ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras, and who receives and honors the heads of other religious communities too, are firm steps toward the same goal.

In our small and humble ways we priests are also obliged to follow the road of our supreme spiritual shepherd on this earth. We are primarily obliged to exercise and preach tolerance, respect, and love among all the peoples of the world and in all religious communities, especially those living together in the same countries, or connected by origin and blood. We must do everything to prevent the renewal of national and religious hatred. All peoples without exception should live in freedom, enjoying equal rights and independence, without the stronger ones imposing their will on the weaker ones, and they should thus create a happier future for themselves.

The Church is supranational, but not an antipopular institution. It is not against a sound national feeling, but it rejects any unhealthy chauvinism which creates hatred between peoples. The Church works for peace in the world and thus does the duty imposed on it by God, of preserving humanity on this endangered planet.

The Church does not desire any political activity by priests and forbids it. A very expressive and profound saying has been created: non civilizando evangelizare, sed evangelizando villificare! The Gospel should not be spread by civilizing (the world), but the world should be civilized by preaching the Gospel! In other words, it is not the task of the Church to influence conditions in the world, especially the social and political ones, and thus create better conditions for preaching the Gospel; on the contrary, it must--regardless of conditions or, more precisely, under the given conditions, as they are--preach the Gospel to the people and this will have an effect on nonspiritual conditions, meaning justice and love, meaning the humanization of human society. This is undoubtedly a painful and difficult road, but a truly evangelical one. Thus both the Church and its clergy are liberated from the heavy ballast of politics which has brought so much misfortune in the past.

**It is High Time to put an End to the Tragic and Naive Distortions of the Emigres:**

I must apply this also to my personal case. I am a man who consistently, without personal advantage or ambition, defended the principle of the freedom and independence of the Croatian people. I have nothing to reproach myself for in this respect.

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I am sorry only if perhaps I have thus harmed the love and the rights of other nationalities, or if I did not strictly follow the postulates of the Church in the present world, despite my devotion and obedience to the Church in this respect.

Considering all that I said before about progress and development in the country, I must regret that only a small number of our emigres, who have come to this country either with regular or with emigree passports, have had the opportunity to see things in this country and evaluate them realistically. If an even greater number of old and new emigres would do this--to whom, by the way, the state guarantees full personal security within the limits of law--certain a priori theses would collapse which are spread among our emigres. What I have particularly in mind are the assertions of certain leaflets written by "revolutionaries" abroad that everything is in a state of ferment in the country and that one spark from abroad would suffice to unleash a revolution in Yugoslavia. Having fallen prey to such fantasies, groups of people have come from abroad to this country and eventually fallen into the hands of the state organs without having had the opportunity to see anything of this ferment and even less of the expected "revolution." It is high time to put an end to this naive and tragic distortion which misleads people and for which they pay dearly.

I am not among those who believed such fables. I can state with a clear conscience that I never invented facts. Whatever bad or exaggerated things I wrote or spoke about conditions in Yugoslavia were a consequence of my anticommunist attitude, owing to which I saw conditions in communist countries in a light worse than that in which I saw conditions in noncommunist, western countries.

Therefore, as I already said, my case is now under consideration by the state power organs. I am deeply convinced of what I said before about the lawfulness of the procedure and the increasingly profound humanization of the state administration, and therefore I believe that my personal case, too, will not be exempt from the benefits of the amnesty regulation within the limits of the law.

Finally it is a pleasant duty for me to emphasize that all organs of the state power have behaved correctly, even humanely and considerately, toward me as toward a human being and a priest, for which I publicly express my sincere thanks.

I hope that my personal case will thus be utterly clear and instructive.

Sarajevo, 4 November 1967 [signed] Prof Krunoslav Draganovic.

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