

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 25, 1995

John E. Mangieri
806 Gilmores Island Road
Toms River, New Jersey 08753

Dear Mr. Mangieri:

Carol Rasco asked me to respond to your letter about financing health care coverage for the uninsured. Thank you for taking the time to share your innovative and thoughtful idea.

It is wonderful that you are putting your 23 years of experience at the Internal Revenue Service to work developing new ways to tackle the health care crisis. We will keep your suggestion in mind as we continue to work to contain health care costs and to provide health security to all Americans.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Jennifer Klein".

Jennifer Klein
Senior Policy Analyst

cc: Hon. Carol H. Rasco

THE WHITE HOUSE
OFFICE OF DOMESTIC POLICY

CAROL H. RASCO
Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy

To: KUEIN

Draft response for POTUS
and forward to CHR by: _____

Draft response for CHR by: _____

Please reply directly to the writer
(copy to CHR) by: 4/17

Please advise by: _____

Let's discuss: _____

For your information: _____

Reply using form code: _____

File: _____

Send copy to (original to CHR): _____

Schedule ? : ☐ Accept ☐ Pending ☐ Regret

Designee to attend: _____

Remarks: _____

APR - 3 1995

JOHN E. MANGIERI
806 GILMORES ISLAND ROAD
TOMS RIVER, NEW JERSEY 08753

~~APR~~ - 3 1995

(908) 929-9011

MARCH 31, 1995

Carol Rasco
Assistant to the President
for Domestic Policy
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

RE: Potential Solution for Health Care Crisis

Dear Carol:

I would like to share some thoughts with you and the President regarding a possible solution to the health care dilemma. I believe the solution would be relatively simple to implement and would be virtually cost free to the public.

By way of background, I am currently employed by the U.S. Treasury Department as a field agent for the Internal Revenue Service. I have held this position for approximately twenty three years. I graduated from Montclair State University with a BS Degree in Accounting.

THE PROBLEM

Hospitals and physicians across the country have virtually billions of dollars of overaged uncollectible accounts receivable sitting on their books. Some hospitals have recently filed for Bankruptcy protection because of this. In many instances, these individual accounts are not worth pursuing thru the courts on an individual basis because the cost of litigation would exceed the amount of the receivable.

In many instances the uncollectible receivables are due from individuals that already have adequate health care coverage. The individuals are provided services by health care professionals, physicians, and hospitals and in most instances receive direct reimbursement from their respective insurance company. Upon receipt of the insurance company check the individual deposits the funds and uses the proceeds for purposes other than paying for the health care services that were provided to them. Repeated requests for payment by the health care providers are simply ignored. Many fail to ever pay these debts.

If the health care provider is on the cash method of accounting this revenue loss is never taxed. If the health care provider is on the accrual method of accounting, the tax is ultimately lost thru a bad debt writeoff for book as well as tax purposes. Although the latter is a timing loss, the revenue and tax loss is permanent.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF LAW

The Unjust Enrichment Doctrine provides that one person should not be permitted unjustly to enrich himself at expense of another, but should be required to make restitution for

property or benefits received, where it is just and equitable that such restitution be made. The underlying principles of this doctrine are very relevant with respect to health care reform since most of the individuals causing this problem are not insolvent.

Section 61(a)(12) of the Internal Revenue Code provides that gross income includes income from the discharge of indebtedness. Section 108 of the Code provides for exclusion of this income only in limited circumstances, one of which is insolvency of the debtor.

The Code also provides that every person engaged in a trade or business, including a partnership and nonprofit organization, must file information returns for each calendar year for certain payments made during such year in the course of the payer's trade or business. (Code Secs. 6041 - 6050N)

THE SOLUTION

Base upon provisions currently in place, the Internal Revenue Service could issue a new Form 1099 HC. The HC designation would earmark the amounts as being specifically from the cancellation of health care debts. The health care providers would file copies at the point that the accounts receivable are no longer collectible under their particular state statute. Since most of the individuals receiving these forms are not insolvent, they would have to include the debt discharge in their taxable income. The requirements for issuing the Form 1099 HC could be lowered from the normal \$600.00 or more requirement to amounts of \$10.00 or more which are similar to royalty reporting requirements.

The tax revenue that is generated from this source could then be used to fund health care and provide coverage for the nearly 40 million Americans who have no health insurance. This would place the tax burden on the backs of the individuals who are the primary cause of the problem. In addition to this, the Internal Revenue Service could impose penalties on the individuals receiving Form 1099 HC. This would prevent individuals from obviously ignoring their health care responsibilities since many would opt to pay a tax of say 20 cents on the dollar, instead of the actual amount of the debt.

The Internal Revenue Service could insure that health care providers are properly issuing Form 1099 HC thru its Market Segment Specilization Programs which are already in place. Perpetuity of coverage would continue if the Government properly funded health insurance via sound investments with the tax dollars collected from this source.

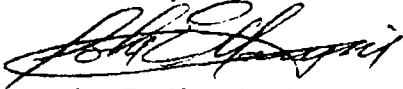
In one recent instance, I noticed that a medical practice consisting of two physicians had more than \$250,000.00 in overaged accounts receivable sitting on their books. Repeated requests for payment are ignored and many are more than six years old. Collection efforts were attempted but to no avail in many cases. Most of these receivables will never be collected due to the cost involved and the passage of time under state statutes. This mind you is after discounting the receivables for various reasons such as reasonable and customary charges etc. If one projects this situation on a national level, there are virtually billions of dollars that escape taxation every year. This should be captured and used to solve the health care dilemma.

Perhaps this will prove to be a successful method of providing revenue to fund health care for those with no coverage, at a minimal cost to taxpayers. I say this because we only have to modify certain programs that are already operational within the Treasury Department.

Carol Rasco
• Page 3

Thank you for your time and attention with respect to this matter. If Washington is serious about helping the Administration improve health care I believe the President might be interested in presenting this to the powers that be as part of the solution.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John E. Mangieri", written in a cursive style.

John E. Mangieri



March 27, 1995

Jennifer Klein
West Wing
White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Jennifer,

Thank you for the opportunity to meet with you last week. I am comfortable that you see the total picture, both from the provider's and the patient's viewpoint.

After visiting with you, I also realize that the task of healthcare reform is monumental. I have continued my reading in preparation for my presentation in Australia. I am somewhat reassured that this is a global concern, certainly not unique to the USA. Both countries are struggling with 3 health care issues; accessibility, escalating cost and quality.

I am embarrassed by my naivete regarding the efforts for health care reform in Washington. However, I remain optimistic that we will work through the issues to a satisfactory solution. I certainly have my plans better formulated since our visit.

Again, as I offered Wednesday, if there is anything I can do to assist you in your efforts to provide quality health care to the American public, feel free to call. I would be honored to help.

Sincerely,

Brenda T. Wright

our Alma Mater proud by
your responses!

The conference was judged
an unqualified success, and
I thank you for helping make
it so.

Best wishes,

Jergels

Dear Jennifer-

You will get an official
thank-you from our President,
but I wanted to add my
personal thanks for coming
over to present the White
House views. I didn't know
the Q and A would get that
controversial, but you did

American Rehabilitation Association
1910 Association Drive • Reston, Virginia 22091



**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**



March 17, 1995

Ms. Jennifer Klein
Special Assistant to the President
Office of Domestic Policy Council
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Klein:

I would like to thank you for your participation at the American Rehabilitation Association's Legislative Summit. This was a successful event, due in large part due to your willingness to come and share your knowledge and insights with our members. I appreciate the time you took from a busy schedule to visit our Summit and educate us.

With such profound changes occurring in federal policy, Americans at the grass roots level need to be especially mindful of what is happening in Washington, and willing to speak out if they believe the changes will affect them. Thank you for helping provide the knowledge and means that we shall need to accomplish this.

Sincerely,

David Daugherty
Chairman of the Board

Sy Schlossman
Interim President and CEO

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 3, 1995

Ms. Kimberly Price
Medical Pathfinders
P.O. Box 104126
Anchorage, Alaska 99510

Dear Ms. Price:

I very much enjoyed meeting with you during your visit to Washington. I look forward to continuing to hear about the progress and success of Medical Pathfinders.

Best of luck.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jennifer".

Jennifer Klein
Senior Policy Analyst



November 7, 1994

Ms. Jennifer Klein
Senior Policy Analyst
Domestic Policy Council
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

RE: Meeting of 9/27/94

Dear Ms. Klein

On behalf of Medical Pathfinders, Inc. I would like to thank you for taking the time to meet with us in September. We considered our meeting to be a valuable opportunity to share our unique product and how our goals include federal support.

As discussed, we will be sending you updated materials as to our projects progress. We look forward to a very successful year and will look to your for continuous support.

Respectfully

Kimberly Price
President & Founder

Robert W. Beart Jr.

1451 Ruthford Drive • Pasadena, California 91103 • (818) 683-0618

January 1, 1995

Ms. Jennifer Klein
West Wing, 2nd floor
White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Ms. Klein,

I appreciated your persistence and the opportunity to talk with you last week. As I promised, I am writing to followup on our discussion.

First, I do not have personal health care agenda. However, I do have an interest in achieving many of the things the Clintons have advocated and am anxious to help in anyway I can. Perhaps a new grass roots strategy will develop, and if so, I will be happy to help nationally or in the west.

Secondly, let me share with you several names that may be excellent candidates for Surgeon General:

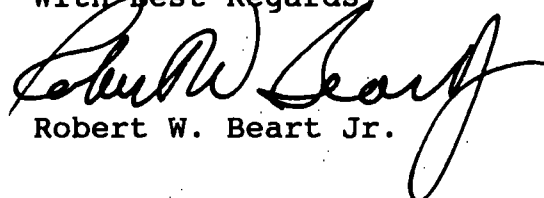
Dr. Olga Jonasson-Chicago Illinois
Dr. Rollo Hanlon -Chicago, Illinois
Dr. Gerry Austin - Boston Massachusetts

Each of these individuals is principled, articulate and would follow in the image of Dr. Koop. They are well respected by the medical community.

Finally, I appreciate your willingness to followup on my daughter's application to the State Department for a summer position. She has applied for a position in programs of the Bureau of Oceanic and Environmental Affairs, and the Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs. Any help you can give us would be appreciated. I can be reached at work: Ph #213-342-5751 and Fax # 213-342-5756.

Please give my regards to Mrs. Clinton.

With Best Regards


Robert W. Beart Jr.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 12, 1994

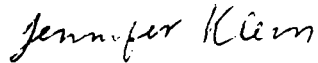
Mr. Lawrence Lifschultz
The Pamphleteer's Press
P.O. Box 3374
Stony Creek, CT 06405

Dear Mr. Lifschultz:

I have received a copy of the unbound galley of The Rational Option. Thank you for sending them to me.

Mrs. Clinton will not be writing a reply to Himmelstein and Woolhandler. I apologize for any delay in responding.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jennifer Klein".

Jennifer Klein
Senior Policy Analyst

**THE
PAMPHLETEER'S
PRESS**

P.O. Box 3374
Stony Creek, Conn. 06405

Tel (203) 481-5184

Fax (203) 483-1429

**URGENT ATTENTION
FAX COVER SHEET**

TO: Jennifer Klein
Special Assistant to The First Lady
The White House
2nd Floor, West Wing
Washington, D.C. 20506

FROM: Lawrence Lifschultz
Fax: USA/ 203-483-1429

PAGES: Cover Page + 2 Pages

Date: January 9, 1995

MESSAGE:

Please see attached letter and cover of *The Rational Option*.

THE
PAMPHLETEER'S
PRESS

P.O. Box 3374
Stony Creek, Conn. 06405

Tel (203) 481-5184
Fax (203) 483-1429

9 January 1995

Jennifer Klein
Special Assistant to
The First Lady
The White House
2nd Floor, West Wing
Washington, D.C. 20506
Fax: 202-456-2878

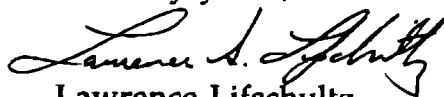
Dear Ms. Klein,

I would appreciate if you could confirm two points. Have you received a copy of the unbound galleys of *The Rational Option* for a National Health Program by John Canham-Clyne, Steffie Woolhandler, M.D., and David Himmelstein, M.D.? As you may recall, you telephoned me for the final footnotes on a number of occasions.

On December 14th we wrote Ms. Clinton care of your office to ask whether she would be prepared to write a 3,500 word reply to Himmelstein and Woolhandler. You and I had discussed this during our first conversation. In light of the failure of the 103rd Congress to enact any healthcare reform, we believed the time was ripe for serious reflection and discussion among those who have advocated universal coverage, albeit by different means. Since we have not heard from you, we presume that Hillary Clinton has made a decision not to engage in a public dialogue and respond to the critique set out in *The Rational Option*. Nevertheless, could you confirm this?

We are proceeding toward publication. And, unless there is a good reason to do so, we plan to move forward with our schedule.

Sincerely yours,



Lawrence Lifschultz
Editorial Committee

The FOR A NATIONAL Rational HEALTH PROGRAM Option

■ In clear concise language, **the authors** cut through the morass of the health care debate and **set forth a rational program** which will **provide coverage** for America's forty million uninsured and **guarantee freedom of choice** in **choosing** one's **physicians**. It is a proposal which the Congressional Budget Office described as **the most cost effective** of all **plans** which is capable of **covering every American** with a **comprehensive range of benefits**. ■ By **John Canham-Clyne** with **Steffie Woolhandler, M.D.** and **David Himmelstein, M.D.** Introduction by **Senator Paul Wellstone**. ■

THE
PAMPHLETEER'S
PRESS

P.O. Box 3374
Stony Creek, Conn. 06405

Tel (203) 481-5184
Fax (203) 483-1429

14 December 1994

Hilary Rodham Clinton
c/o Jennifer Klein
Special Assistant to the First Lady
The White House
West Wing, 2nd Floor
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ms. Clinton,

At Jennifer Klein's request I enclose a copy of the unbound galleys of *The Rational Option* by John Canham-Clyne, David Himmelstein and Steffie Woolhandler. They include the footnotes which you requested. I would remind you that this text is still an uncorrected galley. Further changes will be made in both the text and the footnotes. I also enclose a copy of the uncorrected galleys of Senator Wellstone's introduction.

Once again, I would like to ask whether you would be willing to respond to the critique which Himmelstein and Woolhandler present in this work. It seems to me that the time is ripe for a critical, intelligent, and public dialogue between all those who have favored universal coverage and yet disagreed as to the best path to achieve it. Whatever happens or fails to happen in the next year or two, I believe an *intellectually honest* and reasoned statement on your part would be rather interesting and quite useful. This debate needs to be clarified if an effective alliance between the two camps is ever to be achieved. And, without such an alliance it seems quite evident that there will be no meaningful reform.

If you still disagree with David and Steffie, then tell us why. Perhaps, given the experience of the last year, you may have changed your views and now agree with them more than you once did. Indeed, you may be reassessing your earlier advocacy of the tactical compromise with the private insurance industry. Clearly, it would take tremendous honesty and integrity to admit

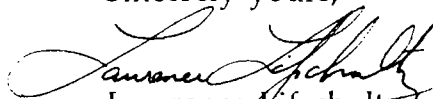
publicly to such a change. But, it just might be the way forward. In the context of a discussion of the merits or demerits of the single payer option tell us why your own proposals failed to overcome its formidable opposition.

I have the impression that although intellectually you believed the single payer plan was in fact the most rational option, you nevertheless did not believe in 1993 that it was a politically viable position. [See the excerpt from *The Nation* which I attach to this note.] Of course, early on others disagreed and believed that an effective coalition of forces could have been mobilized to counter the vested interests and the financial influence they would ultimately deploy in the Congress and in the media in order to defeat the Clinton proposals.

We are moving ahead with this publication. I understand that your recent travels in Asia precluded the possibility of your participating when we first sent you a draft of the text. However, your interest was conveyed. If you are now able to write a critique of Himmelstein and Woolhandler and reply to their criticisms of the Clinton reform proposals, we would be prepared to slightly delay our publication date. While I am not interested in a general comment, I am interested in a well thought out response that engages in an intellectually serious argument with the issues presented in *The Rational Option*. I would propose a length of 3,500 words. However, if you felt you needed more space we would be open to a somewhat longer text. Tell us what you would require. I hope, however, it would run no longer than 5,000 to 7,500 words.

If you are interested in writing a critical response and comment, could you possibly let us know within the next two weeks.*

Sincerely yours,


Lawrence Lifschultz
Editorial Committee

*The quote from The Nation
describing your 1993 exchange with
David Himmelstein is attached.*

P.S. I have enclosed an excerpt from the introduction of *Why Bosnia? Writings on the Balkan War*, co-edited by my wife, Rabia Ali, and myself.

** Please use my private office
line when replying or the fax above.
203-483-9457*

THE RATIONAL OPTION
For
A National Health Program

Quote from *The Nation*
April 26, 1993

Healthcare Reform: Big Players vs. Single-Payer
by David Corn

Excerpt

"Senators tell me this," notes Senator Paul Wellstone, who has introduced a single-payer bill. "They say, 'look your bill is [the] most desirable, but the organized special interest groups can't accept it. It can't pass. You bump up against the insurance industry, the pharmaceutical companies, and others. And we've got to pass something.'"

In Washington all policy is politics. That's no secret. Those advocating a revolutionary reform--one that would eviscerate one of the American people's least favorite industries, the insurance trade--are being told to get real, to work within the borders. The word comes from on high. Several national advocates of a single payer system, including Dr. David Himmelstein of Physicians for a National Health Program, sat down with Hillary Clinton in February [1993]. She listened attentively, asked smart questions--how would such a system encourage more health providers to perform primary care rather than specialize?--but she gave no indication their presentations would make a dent in her plan, some form of managed competition in which the health care delivery system is organized into large purchasing cooperatives likely to be dominated by insurance companies.

It was evident Hillary is thinking a lot about politics. Can you realistically tell me, she asked, that there are any big powers that support single-payer and that can take on the insurance industry's lobbying and advertising budget? "I said, 'about 70% of the people in the US favor something like a single payer system,'" Himmelstein recalls. "'With presidential leadership that can be an overwhelming force.' She said, 'David, tell me something interesting.'"

* * *

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Why Bosnia?

RABIA ALI & LAWRENCE LIFSCHULTZ

A cosmopolitan identity

In Danilo Kiš's words, Bosnia was once 'that exotic country in the heart of Europe'—a land with a six-hundred-year heritage made rich with the intermingling of many cultures and civilisations. Multinational, multicultural, multireligious, its many communities—Muslims, Serbs, Croats, Hungarians, Jews—had lived together for generations. It was in Bosnia under the Ottomans that large numbers of Jews fleeing the Inquisition in Spain found welcome refuge, and there they had stayed, weaving another strand into the country's variegated tapestry. It was this Bosnia, recognised as a historically distinct entity, that was accorded constitutional status as a separate and multinational republic of three equal constituent nations—Muslim, Serb, and Croat—as part of the new Yugoslav federal state established under Tito at the end of the Second World War.

This ancient land, the new republic of a modern state, had long been the centre of a distinctly cosmopolitan way of life. The intermingling of peoples and cultures had continued apace in the twentieth century with more than one-quarter of the marriages in modern Bosnia cutting across ethnic divides. Ethnicity had ceased to be the defining criterion of identity for Bosnia's new generation of 'Yugoslavs'.

History returned with a vengeance in the 1990s as Yugoslavia disintegrated and the revived blood-and-soil nationalisms of its more powerful neighbouring republics of Serbia and Croatia brought war to Bosnia. For the new nationalist ideologues a 'hybrid' state and civilisation such as the one Bosnia represented belonged, with Yugoslavia, in the graveyard of history. Bosnia as it had existed for six centuries had to be destroyed; the fabric which wove the lives of its many peoples together torn beyond repair; the loyalty of its indigenous Serb and Croat communities to a multi-ethnic Bosnian nation subverted; its native Muslim population terrorised. The objective was to 'cleanse' Bosnia not only of the Muslims but also of the unique and dangerous cosmopolitanism of its cities which clearly had no place in the new 'pure' nation-states emerging from the ruins of Yugoslavia. A 'cleansed' Bosnia could then be carved up and annexed to the national states of 'Greater Serbia' and 'Greater Croatia'.

At stake in Bosnia were two visions of society and democracy. Those who came under assault in the newly formed Bosnian state made clear that they stood for a society of equal citizens where the rights of all constituent nations would be secured and protected under law as a matter of constitutional right. This was a vision of a multi-ethnic society in the tradition of the European Enlightenment.

WRITINGS ON THE BALKAN WAR

Why BOSNIA?



shleeter's

edited by Rabia Ali & Lawrence Lifschultz

Why BOSNIA?

Writings On The Balkan War

Edited by Rabia Ali and Lawrence Lifschultz
(Pamphleteer's Press, Stony Creek, Ct. 06405)

(ISBN paperback: 0-9630587-9-7; \$ 19.95)

(ISBN hardcover: 0-9630587-8-9; \$ 35.00)

What the critics say:

"Why Bosnia?... [is] the superbly edited collection of writings on the Balkan war."

--The New York Review of Books

"An outstanding collection of articles and essays by a diverse group of distinguished authors that bring Bosnia to life...full of common sense, rigorous analysis and substance. *Why Bosnia's* special merit lies in its dissection of the UN-led mediating process and the skewering of the half truths and deceptions that statesmen devised as they led the West into the first major diplomatic debacle of the post cold war era."

--Roy Gutman, European Correspondent for *Newsday*

Winner of the 1993 Pulitzer Prize in Journalism for International Reporting

"Comprehensive, brilliantly conceived, this compendium of history, poetry, politics is the best single introduction to the tragedy of Bosnia. Those who have been looking in vain for a substantive work on the recent Balkan wars shall welcome this book. Ali and Lifschultz's careful selections from history, literature, eyewitness accounts and analytical essays have been brought together to tell the story of the destruction of Europe's only multi-ethnic and multi-religious state. It is a sobering portrait of inhumanity in the Balkans, and the post-cold war world which made it possible...Indispensable for courses in contemporary history and international politics."

--Dr. Eqbal Ahmed, Hampshire College

MacArthur Foundation Fellow, Program in Peace & National Security

"Why Bosnia? refutes the great lies in fine, chronological detail and should serve as a primer for anyone eager for further action...a brilliant, superb work."

--The Village Voice

"This book belongs on the shelf of every person who thinks Bosnia is important. It is a guide, a reference, a conscience, and an epiphany. Bosnia may be the future of Europe and the American future as well. The many contributors to this book give us hope that we can learn to deal with pathological politics, modern fascism.

If we don't, we are doomed to repeat the Bosnian experience."

--George Kenney, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Mr. Kenney was the first State Department official to resign his post in protest over American policy in the Balkans.

"Why Bosnia? is our best resource on the background to the Balkan War ...it makes a morally compelling statement for the importance of preserving Bosnia and the urgency of immediate action to that end...an important new book."

--The Boston Review

Please Turn Over

"Why Bosnia? represents an extraordinary collective statement. The authors dispel the myths and prejudices that were used as powerful weapons against the Bosnian people. The most ecumenical people of Europe thus also became victims of a historical and cultural cleansing. Ali and Lifschultz's work constitutes a monumental rebuttal to the fabrications and speculations of the 'Slavists' among the major powers who were able to paralyze the will of the international community to live up to its responsibilities."

**—Diego Arria, Venezuela's Ambassador to the UN and Representative
at the Security Council 1991-1993**

"In explanations begin responsibilities...By stressing recent history over ancient hatreds, the contributors return the Bosnian War to the realm of politics and responsibility... Editors, Rabia Ali and Lawrence Lifshcultz, provide a remarkably cogent narrative of how Bosnia has been undermined from within and betrayed from without. The voices that follow—journalists, academics, and other interested individuals in the United States, Western Europe and the former Yugoslavia—swell into a chorus of pain and indignation. One impassioned essay after another debunks the myths that allow leaders and citizens of Europe, the United States and other UN member nations to live with themselves while Bosnia dies. Recent events heighten the value of this testimony, for as the West stumbles toward a defense of Bosnia, any moral and reasonable course of action depends on discarding those myths forever."

—The New Leader, July 1994

"This is an indispensable work for all libraries..."

--Starred Review, *Library Journal*, January 1994

Why BOSNIA? WRITINGS ON THE BALKAN WAR

"An outstanding collection of articles and essays by a diverse group of distinguished authors that bring Bosnia to life . . . full of common sense, rigorous analysis, and substance. Why Bosnia?'s special merit lies in its dissection of the UN-led mediating process and the skewering of the half truths and deceptions that statesmen devised as they led the West into the first major diplomatic debacle of the post cold war era."

—ROY GUTMAN, European Correspondent for *Newsday*, Winner of the 1993 Pulitzer Prize in Journalism for International Reporting and author of *A Witness to Genocide*

"Comprehensive, brilliantly conceived, this compendium of history, poetry, and politics is the best single introduction to the tragedy of Bosnia. Those who have been looking in vain for a substantive work on the recent Balkan wars shall welcome this book. Ali and Lifschultz's careful selections from history, literature, eyewitness accounts, and analytical essays have been brought together to tell the story of the destruction of Europe's only multi-ethnic and multi-religious state. It is a sobering portrait of inhumanity in the Balkans, and the post-cold war world which made it possible . . . Indispensable for courses in contemporary history and international politics."

—DR. EQBAL AHMED, Hampshire College, MacArthur Foundation Fellow, Program in Peace and National Security

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—GEORGE KENNEY, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Mr. Kenney was the first State Department official to resign his post in protest over American policy in the Balkans.

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—DIEGO ARRIA, Venezuela's Ambassador to the UN and Representative at the Security Council 1991-1993

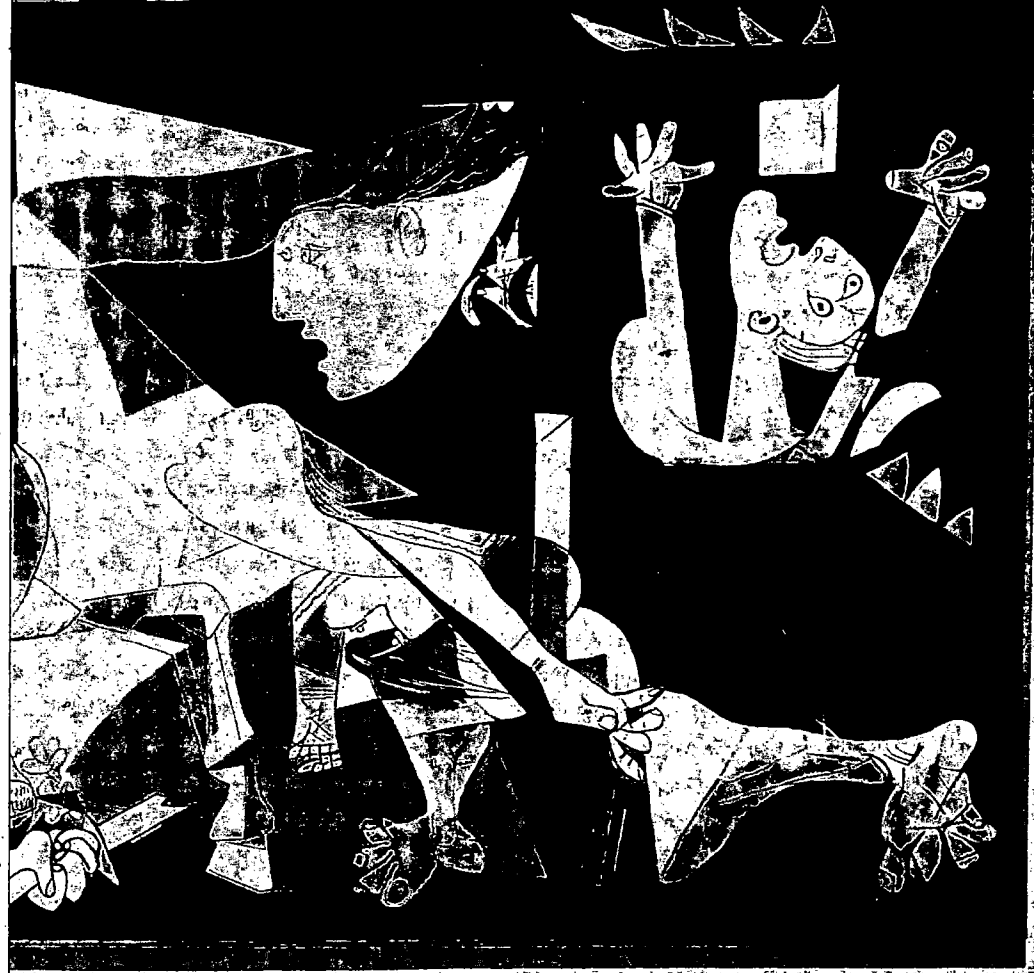
Pamphleteer's Press

Box 3374, Stony Creek, CT 06405
Tel (203) 481-5184
Fax (203) 483-1429

The editors, authors, and publishers of *Why Bosnia?* are contributing royalties and a proportion of the sales to the **Sarajevo Fund** which has been established to assist emergency relief in Bosnia-Herzegovina and to support the reconstruction of Sarajevo's National Library.

WRITINGS ON THE BALKAN WAR

Why BOSNIA?



Front cover. Detail from Pablo Picasso's *Guernica*.

edited by Rabia Ali & Lawrence Lifschultz

Why BOSNIA? WRITINGS ON THE BALKAN WAR

Edited by **Rabia Ali & Lawrence Lifschultz**

"Not since Andalusia has Europe owed so much to a synthesis . . . If Sarajevo goes under, then all who care for such things will have lost something precious, and will curse themselves because they never knew its value while they still had it."

—CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS, *The Nation*

On the eve of the twenty-first century the world has witnessed another barbaric, genocidal war in the heart of Europe. A civilization and its people have been systematically destroyed while powerful governments and international organizations obstructed the right of the Bosnians to resist aggression and defend the idea their country had embodied through centuries—the idea of a multicultural, cosmopolitan, pluralist society. The reasons for keeping Bosnia unarmed and defenseless multiplied until they led to its internationally sanctioned dismemberment on the United Nations' and Europe's peace tables.

Why Bosnia? Writings on the Balkan War is a collection of essays on the conflict that engulfed Bosnia-Herzegovina following the disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1991. Prominent scholars, writers, and journalists—from the United States, Europe, and the republics of former Yugoslavia—have come together to focus the world's attention on the underlying causes, the brutal course, and the far-reaching consequences of a war for "Greater Serbia" that made "ethnic cleansing" a strategy for ultra nationalist hegemony and territorial conquest.

The spectrum of contributors to this book is wide and varied. Writing from Sarajevo about his city is Kemal Kurspahić, the editor of the daily *Oslobodjenje* awarded the Newspaper of the Year 1993 award in Europe. Stojan Cerović of the independent journal *Vreme* of Belgrade analyzes the exploitation of Serb nationalism under the Milošević regime. Orhan Bosnević writes about life and death in the Manjača concentration camp in the first such memoir by a Bosnian survivor to appear in the English language. In a wide-ranging interview with the editors of the book, Dr. Ivo Banac, Professor of History at Yale University, discusses the historical and political backdrop to the struggle over Bosnia. Christopher Hitchens, columnist for the *Nation*, sees in the death of Bosnia the destruction of a synthesis once symbolized by Andalusia and gives warning of the damage done to multicultural, multi-ethnic coexistence in Europe. Jelena Lovrić, a dissident Croatian journalist, indicts both Croatian and Serbian nationalist leaders for their collusion in the dismemberment of Bosnia. Dr. Francis Jones describes the vibrant Bosnia he knew as a student in Sarajevo before it was destroyed. Dr. Smail Balić writes about the cultural and architectural heritage of Bosnia that was targeted for destruction in the war. Slavenka Drakulić talks to women raped in the war and reflects on the political and social consequences of this aspect of "ethnic cleansing." Mark Thompson and

*Bosnia, you see, is a country
Both fasting and barefooted, you see,
And cold and hungry
And in addition,
you see,
Defiant
After sleep.*

—MAK DIZDAR, Bosnian poet (1917-1971)
From "A Text About the Land"

Thomas Harrison, among others, deliver a sharply focused critique of the peace negotiations conducted by Owen and Vance, the international mediators, as an exercise in appeasement and legitimization of aggression. Kasim Trnka, former Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court of Bosnia-Herzegovina, analyzes the way in which the mediators deviated from their original mandate to secure the sovereignty and integrity of Bosnia and thereby caused the "degradation" of the entire peace process.

The leitmotif of the collection is multicultural Bosnia—its significance, symbolism, and the necessity of its survival in a world increasingly divided against itself. In carefully documented, strongly argued, vividly written accounts, the authors dispel the mist of confusion, misinformation, and propaganda that has obstructed the formulation of a coherent, effective, and just international policy on Bosnia. They present the history, the reality, the poetry, and the unique character of a society now threatened with extinction.

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The Sarajevo Fund

On the eve of the twenty-first century the world has witnessed another barbaric, genocidal war in the heart of Europe. A civilization and its people have been systematically destroyed while powerful governments and international organizations obstructed the right of the Bosnians to resist aggression and defend the idea their country has embodied through centuries—the idea of a multicultural, cosmopolitan, pluralist society.

The editors, contributors, and publishers of *Why Bosnia?: Writings on the Balkan War* have taken the initiative to establish a fund devoted to humanitarian relief measures and long-term efforts toward reconstruction of a democratic, multi-ethnic Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the coming months, the Executive Board of The Sarajevo Fund will select several grantees from among existing non-governmental organizations which are actively working to provide immediate relief to those who have been displaced and severely affected by the campaigns of "ethnic cleansing." The Sarajevo Fund will aid projects across Bosnia-Herzegovina and will not be restricted only to work in the capital.

Among the projects the Fund hopes to establish in cooperation with other organizations are special prostheses centers in Sarajevo and Tuzla designed to assist the thousands who have lost limbs in a war in which the targeted shelling of civilians has produced thousands of amputees. Longer-range goals include a plan to assist in the reconstruction of the National Library in Sarajevo once conditions permit. A description of grantees and other information can be obtained by writing or calling The Sarajevo Fund.

Executive Board: Ammiel Alcalay, Rabia Ali, Manuela Dobos, Salko Krijestorac, Jennifer Scariott, Aleksandra Wagner

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