

## Gospodinu Georgeu Bushu, predsjedniku SAD

Poštovani gospodine,

S punom odgovornošću, kao Hrvat, uzimam sebi pravo, a kao književnik osjećam i dužnost, da Vam uputim otvoreno pismo. Uvjeren sam da vi ove činjenice o kojima ću pisati znate barem toliko dobro kao i ja. Ipak ih nastojite zaboraviti, zato Vas na njih podsjećam.

Sjetite se kako je nastala ovako velika i moćna Jugoslavenska narodna armija. To je bilo radi sigurnosti Vas i Vaših sunarodnjaka i prestiža Vaše zemlje. Trebali ste još jednu vojnu silu protiv komunističkoga Sovjetskog Saveza, zato ste je svesrdno pomagali, financirali i školovali.

Ta glomazna vojna sila jedne komunističke zemlje, kao što je Jugoslavija, sada se oborila na Hrvate, jedan od naroda te države, jer taj narod ne želi napustiti put u demokraciju, jer taj narod ne želi napustiti tlo koje je stoljećima teško branio i požrtvovno kultivirao. Problem zbog kojega je stvorena takva neproporcionalna jugoslavenska vojska više ne postoji. Vi, gradani Vaše zemlje i Zapada možete se bezbrižno zabavljati svojim hobijima, ali prije toga sjetite se da ste nešto zaboravili, da ste zaboravili ukloniti tu nepotrebnu i opasnu vojnu silu. U međuvremenu, ta je vojska podivljala i sada ubija svakoga tko ne vjeruje u komunizam.

Kada ste stvarali tako moćnu Jugoslavensku narodnu armiju, Vi niste ni slutili što činite, da uzgajate svoga neprijatelja i neprijatelja zapadne civilizacije, da uzgajate izdajicu koji će se prvom prilikom okrenuti protiv Vas i Vaših saveznika.

I sada je to učinio kada je napao Hrvatsku.

A Vi pokušavate odgoditi zaključak o toj neugodnoj činjenici, o tome propustu politike Zapada.

No dok Vi okljevate, jedan će stari europski narod izginuti. Zbogom

Josip Stošić  
hrvatski pjesnik i povjesničar

U Zagrebu na dan Rodenja Blažene Djevice Marije 1991.

### Izraz Usuda

*"Samo nas Bog može spasiti."*

Car Konstantin VII. U-grimizu-rodeni a.D. 949.: Naime, nakon svoga pokrštenja Hrvati su vlastoručno potpisali ugovor zaklevši se čvrsto i nepovredivo Svetim Petrom Apostolom da nikada neće navaljivati na strane zemlje i njih ugrožavati ratom već će živjeti u miru sa svakim koji to isto želi, a dobili su od rimskog pape blagoslov s obvezom da će se Bog boriti za Hrvate i štititi ih, i Petar, Kristov učenik, donijeti im pobedu ako bi bilo koji stranci navalili na državu Hrvata.<sup>+</sup>

*Na kulama od pluta  
branimo se očima.*

Kada sam prije dvadeset i pet godina zapisao ove stihove, nisam mislio da će oni jednoga dana postati izraz usuda moga naroda.

Ljeta gospodnjega 1991.

Josip Stošić

<sup>+</sup>Codex Parisinus gr. 2009, 90v, (DAI ed. Moravcsik 31, 34-42)

Bauerova 38  
41000 Zagreb, Croatia  
8 September 1991

To the President of the United States

Dear Sir,

As a Croat and a Croatian writer, I take the liberty to address to you this open letter.

I am convinced that the facts that I will present in this letter are just as well known to you as they are to me, yet you try to forget them and I would like to remind you of them.

Please remember how the large and powerful Yugoslav People's Army came into being. This was done in the interest of security of the United States and its people and to enhance the prestige of your country. The United States needed another military force against the Communist Soviet Union and therefore it readily supported, financed and trained the Yugoslav Army.

This huge military machine of a communist state that is Yugoslavia has now come down with full force on the Croats, one of the nations of that state, simply because they do not wish to abandon the path to democracy and are not prepared to leave their native soil which they have lovingly tilled and defended at great cost through the centuries. The problem that prompted the creation of such a disproportionately large Yugoslav Army no longer exists. You, the citizens of your country and of the West can freely indulge in your hobbies, but before you do that, please remember that you have forgotten something – namely, to remove this unnecessary and dangerous military force. In the meantime, this army has gone wild and is now shooting at everybody who does not believe in communism.

When the United States was helping to create such a powerful Yugoslav Army, it had no idea that it was building up its own enemy and an enemy of the Western civilization, a treacherous force that would turn against it and its allies at the first opportunity. It has done precisely this now in attacking Croatia. At the same time, you delay facing this unpleasant fact and error of judgement on the part of the West. But while you are procrastinating, an ancient European nation is being threatened with extinction. Farewell, Mr. President.

Yours very truly,

Josip Stošić  
Croatian poet and historian

Written in Zagreb on the day commemorating  
the birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary

### AN EXPRESSION OF DESTINY

*Only God can save us.*

Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, A. D. 949: Καὶ γὰρ οὗτος οἱ Χριστίανοι μετὰ τὸ αὐτὸν βαπτισθῆναι συνθήκας καὶ ιδεόχειρα ἐποιησάντε καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἡγίου Πέτρου, τὸν ἀπόστολον δρόσου βεβαίους καὶ ἀσφαλεῖς, ὡς μηδέποτε εἰς ἄλλοτριαν χώραν ἀπέλθωσιν καὶ πολεμήσωσιν, ὅλα μὲλλον εἰρηνεύειν μετά τάντου τῶν βουλομένων, λαβόντες καὶ παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πάπα Τάμης εὐχήν τούτην, ὡς εἰ πεις ἀλλοι ἔθνικοι κατὰ τὴς τῶν αὐτῶν Χριστίανων χώρας ἀπέλθωσιν καὶ πόλεισιν ἐπενέγκωσιν, θα τῶν Χριστίανων ὁ Θεὸς προστέλει καὶ προστάτα, καὶ οὐας αὐτοῖς Πέτρος δι τὸν Χριστοῦ μαρτυρῆς προξενεῖ.\*

Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, A. D. 949: For after their baptism the Croats made a covenant, confirmed with their own hand and by oaths sure and binding in the name of St. Peter the apostle, that never would they go upon a foreign country and make war on it, but rather would live at peace with all who were willing to do so; and they received from the same pope of Rome a benediction to this effect, that if any other foreigners should come against the country of these same Croats and bring war upon it, then might God fight for the Croats and protect them, and Peter the disciple of Christ give them victories.

*In fortresses of cork  
We defend ourselves with our eyes.*

When I wrote these lines twenty-five years ago, I did not think that one day they would become an expression of the destiny of my people.

A. D. 1991