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*About the Institute*

The Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation, a research division of Carnegie Mellon University, specializes in the history of botany and all aspects of plant science and serves the international scientific community through research and documentation. To this end, the Institute acquires and maintains authoritative collections of books, plant images, manuscripts, portraits and data files, and provides publications and other modes of information service. The Institute meets the reference needs of botanists, biologists, historians, conservationists, librarians, bibliographers and the public at large, especially those concerned with any aspect of the North American flora.

Hunt Institute was dedicated in 1961 as the Rachel McMasters Miller Hunt Botanical Library, an international center for bibliographical research and service in the interests of botany and horticulture, as well as a center for the study of all aspects of the history of the plant sciences. By 1971 the Library's activities had so diversified that the name was changed to Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation. Growth in collections and research projects led to the establishment of four programmatic departments: Archives, Art, Bibliography and the Library.

Transcription of Exhibit 9 (by W. A. Weber)

Mr. Kennedy B. Schmertz  
Director, Foreign Currency Programs  
Office of International Activities  
Smithsonian Institution  
Washington, D.C. USA

July 2, 1972

Very Confidential!

Dear Mr. Schmertz:

We were disappointed when we arrived in Ljubljana in late May and discovered that, contrary to promises, no authorization for our funds had been sent to Belgrade from Washington. We have been told that the Embassy has, at the request of us and Dr. Susnik, repeatedly contacted your office by telephone or telegram for such an authorization in late May or early June. When the authorization at last arrived, I was informed by the scientific attache, Dr. Liimatainen, and his next in command, Mr. Barlovec, that even then nothing could be done because they needed a new approach by Zantes, the Yugoslav Research Council. This looks to me as a plainly deliberate harassment since Zantes agrees (according to what has been told to Dr. Susnik, our coinvestigator) that they already approved our program and funds for five years last summer and so they do not believe this has to be done again. They also seem to feel that when your committee last winter summarily decided to cut short the funding after this summer this was unfair and not motivated, but that is a matter for you politicians to discuss. Whatever is correct, this situation hardly is inductive to scientific work as that for which we contracted, but we certainly are not those who are dragging feet. Also, I am wondering if you had the right to terminate the project after this summer because your committee finds us less competent than our Yugoslav colleagues are -- and we certainly had lost all interest in this brand of Smithsonian encouragement.

Since we trusted that our funds would be available on our arrival in Ljubljana, we brought with us a minimum of dollars to use during our stops en route only. Therefore, when we had waited for two weeks, I asked the scientific attache, per telephone, on June 9, if he could not advance us some money, in the safe anticipation of the evident approval of the funds by Zantes. Astonishingly, he categorically declared that this he could not do, because it was against some regulations. Dr. Susnik and the University had lent us some money for food and other absolute necessities when we arrived, but since I did not feel that I could ask him for more, and since Dr. Liimatainen also indicated that even that had been against some regulations, about which we were and remain ignorant, we continued to restrict our activities and food purchases to a minimum and asked those, from whom we have rented living quarters, to bear with us, and explained why. That they did gladly, but with evident surprise. A couple of days later when nothing happened, I mentioned to the attache per telephone that we were seriously considering the necessity of returning home. Against that he advised strongly and said the money would become available and then indicated that he knew that if we did leave, we would be required to refund personally all the travel costs and pay the salaries of the assistants, and I got the faint notion that he said that the University of Colorado would not support us. Why?

On June 14, according to a note in my book of transactions, etc., however, one of his associates, who presented himself on the phone as Mr. Stern (or Strn?) of the Office of the Scientific Attache at the American Embassy,

phoned me in the morning when I had just arrived at the Institute of Biology. He told me that the attache, as he had indicated to me earlier, had informed him that it seemed likely that Zantes would not act on our funds until in August after the vacations, and that Dr. Liimatainen therefore had proposed that he, Mr. Stern, help me to get an advance or loan, equivalent to the salaries of our group through a Ljubiana businessman, Mr. Francodruz, who he said was well known and trusted by the Embassy. When I asked if there were some conditions, I was told that since such a bypassing of Zantes might be misunderstood by the very sensitive government, the transaction must be kept absolutely secret as a "national security" matter, and the lender would require that when we repay him immediately after receiving our funds from the Embassy whenever that could be, he must be given also the sum intended, as per diem for all five of us in the budget because of his high risk. I could not refrain from using the word extortion about this, and wondered if it would not be wiser and less expensive and more honest towards us and especially our assistants to ask the University to help us without such rapacity since its authorities had clearly shown interest in doing so when lending us money without any interest at our arrival.

The answer to this was categorically negative, and it was at least indicated again that even that small loan had been against some serious "regulations" Mr. Stern advised me that they were only trying to help me, not to force me to accept this, but admitted that he saw no way out "because of the attitude by Zantes". He regretfully warned me not to mention this to Dr. Susnik or to discuss it with anybody, especially not with my wife and co-principal investigator, and I believe some of his words, which I did not write down at once and thus can't recall exactly, could, or perhaps should, be interpreting as "threatening, though not unfriendly. Naturally, I often use, when hearing this proposal, which I find to be an outrageous and unfair reduction in our otherwise reasonable summer budget; I had qualms mainly because of the assistants, although I had not told them about the per diem and still believe their three months salary is reasonably good, even in this most expensive of Yugoslavian cities. I pointed out to Mr. Stern that this was a serious deviation from and actually a drastic reduction in our budget which certainly must be approved by your office, and asked to be allowed to discuss it with the attache himself. I was told that he was out of town, but was, instead, after a few minutes (not seconds) delay, connected with Mr. Barlovec, the second in command. (I must add within parentheses, that I have actually met only the former scientific attache, Mr. deClerck, last year, and that summer I talked only on the phone to Mr. Barlovec. I have so far this summer only talked on the phone to Dr. Liimatainen and his associates, Barlovec and Stern. I understand from some remarks by Dr. Susnik, that Dr. Liimatainen has already visited Ljubiana for a couple of days during the time we have been here this summer. Mrs. Kirk and Dr. Arp have told me that even Mr. Barlovec has visited them in our laboratory in the Botanical Garden and invited Mrs. Kirk out to a restaurant. Why neither of these gentlemen visited us at least rather than our assistants is a puzzle to me).

When Mr. Barlovec at last came to the phone, he told me that the proposal presented by Mr. Stern had been discussed and found to be the only acceptable possibility out of our difficulties, and reminded me that the Embassy was authorized to approve or propose or even force upon us any changes in the budget which later would be reported to Washington. Since I recalled that Mr. Whitehead of your office had, before we left for Yugoslavia in 1971, told me at least twice on the phone that if we needed an approval of even drastic changes in details of the budget the Embassy was fully authorized to allow this, so far as it did not involve an increase in the total sum, I accepted this explanation. I also recalled, that when I asked Mr. Whitehead in the fall of 1971 if I should report on paper that the Embassy, through a phone call to me from Mr. Barlovec, had asked for an adjustment in the air fare for Mrs. Reid to be

sent to him, because Dr. Susnik had told him that Mrs. Reid was not actually contributing to the project (which was correct), Mr. Whitehead told me that this would be reported by the Embassy and I should not mention it to avoid confusion. When recalling also this, I felt more assured, although I asked Mr. Barlovec if he could inform you and get your approval -- that he said had already been accomplished before I was contacted by his colleague. Since I am here with a group of five to accomplish considerable research work during a short summer, I must admit that I felt trapped and with a dagger pointed at me, but since I feel I must trust the diplomats at the Embassy, I reluctantly agreed to accept the proposal. I was then instructed how to contact Mr. Francodruz by telephone, but also strongly advised once more not to even mention this, to Dr. Susnik or to anybody else, and then especially not to my assistants or to my wife. I believe Mr. Barlovec is a Yugoslav working at the Embassy so I was astonished to have him warn that all this caution had to be taken because of the risks for persecution or worse "in this communistic police state", and this he dared to say by telephone from a foreign embassy to me, a foreigner whom he does not know.

I contacted Mr. Francodruz around noon on June 14 and found out through the desk answering the telephone that the number given me by Mr. Stern is that of one of the banks in the city; the girl hesitated somewhat before we were connected. Mr. Francodruz told me exactly how I could recognize him near the entrance of another bank not far from his own, though he himself did not tell me that he spoke from a bank. Less than an hour later, when I had returned from lunch at home, I met him at the place agreed upon. He is a somewhat gaunt and thin man of my size, in his middle 70's I believe, and with some signs of high blood pressure. His face is pleasant and confident looking, that of a man of level-headed intelligence and culture. He speaks English well but hesitatingly and told me that he was more fluent in German. Mr. Francodruz and I sat down at a table in a corner, where he took a thick brown envelope without any writing or text out of his naturally colored and clearly handmade leather briefcase. He gave the envelope to me and said that it included the sum agreed upon in dinars at the rate of the day. I counted that sum later. I offered him a receipt, but he turned it down saying that the officers at the Embassy were his security. I then offered to go out with him for a cup of coffee or milk, but he politely declined. I also asked if he would not sign his name and address on the envelope, but he smiled and said that even that was not possible. Then he rose to his feet, and said "since this is a communistic police state, perhaps we ought to depart separately, and almost at once he left the bank. I did not see him on the street when I myself departed.

I was back at the Institute half an hour before it closed at 2 p.m. for what I believe is the siesta though it is not so called here, and we ourselves work all the day as at home. There I met Dr. Susnik, who told me that he had again contacted the Embassy and, I believe, Zantes, with the same lack of result. That did not disturb me now. Soon the phone rang for me, and I went to one of the offices at the back of the building to take it, because the street noise in the front office is deafening. It was Mr. Stern, who only said that he had heard from Mr. Francodruz that the transfer had been made, and congratulated me on behalf of the office so that now our work could at last proceed without further interference. When I expressed my worries that I had received no written confirmation of the action which I told him I did not find pleasant, he said that no receipts were needed because the Embassy was fully informed and would later furnish me with documents to be presented with my financial report to the Smithsonian, or they would send such documents directly to you with a copy to me before I leave Yugoslavia. He also reported that your office was and would continue to be informed, I understood either by telephone or teleprinter, though this last

impression may be my misunderstanding. Before ending the conversation, Mr. Stern repeated what Mr. Barlovec had told me earlier, that now I should (not only could) pay the assistants their two months salary, but emphasized that I must ask them to sign two blank -- and he repeated, "two blank" -- receipts each and advised me to carefully explain that the Embassy would later decide what ought to be written on these receipts "without giving them any reason for suspicion". These were his words. I followed this instruction when Dr. Arp and Mrs. Kirk came to my home later that day to get their money, but dated the receipt July 1 as Mr. Stern also had told me to do. Both the assistants and my wife, who got the impression that the real funds had at last arrived from the Embassy, were somewhat perplexed, but seemed to accept what I felt was a clumsy explanation.

This might all have been satisfactory if our funds had really been delayed until August, as indicated to me repeatedly by the diplomats. However, only nine days later, on June 23, Dr. Susnik told me that he had had a phone call from his friend Suklovic at Zamtes and also from Dr. Liimatainen at the Embassy, both of whom had told him that the transfer of the entire funds had been approved and that I would receive a bank cheque by registered mail -- which was a great improvement from last year when I was required to pick up the funds in person either in Belgrade or at the Consulate in Zagreb.

That letter arrived on Saturday, June 24, and on Monday, June 26, Dr. Susnik came with me to the bank where I cashed the cheque for 449,140 dinars and paid 150 dinars for the "service", which I thought ought to have been prepaid by the sender. This was the equivalent of \$26,420 at a rate of 17 dinars per dollar. I asked for one possibility as to how I could get the money out of the bank on occasions last year) that foreigners were not allowed to own a bank account in Yugoslavia. Therefore, I had to keep the money at home and dispose as soon as possible of what had to be paid to others. Dr. Susnik received at once the sum he and the University had lent me earlier in the spring without interest and gave me receipts. All my dealings with him have been exemplary.

Before we left the Institute on Monday around 2 p.m., I contacted Mr. Francodruz at the same phone number, and again the telephone clerk at the bank seemed to be somewhat puzzled before connecting us. We agreed to meet at the same place as last time at 10 a.m. next morning, Tuesday June 27, so that I could pay him back. Naturally, I was tempted to discuss this with Dr. Susnik and with my wife because I felt I had been forced rather than coerced to accept what I believed looked like dirty tricks by the Embassy people, since they must have known the status of the transfer through Zamtes already when they proposed their "arrangement". However, I am brought up never to break a promise however absurd. I met Mr. Francodruz at the correct time and place and handed over to him an envelope with his earlier loan plus the per diem budgeted that the diplomats had ordered me to pay for his "risks" and claimed had been approved by your office, the sums being written outside the envelope above my signature. He had required no receipt from me and gave me none, never wrote his name on a paper and never even said his name himself and never himself mentioned his telephone number or address. And also this time he left politely and quietly that I did not see him on the street when I followed him out.

Later that same day, June 27, I paid the salary for an additional month to Mrs. Kirk and Dr. Arp as instructed by the Embassy people, I believe by Mr. Stern rather than by Mr. Barlovec, and with the same arrangement of two blank

receipts each. When I did this in the laboratory of the Botanical Garden, Mrs. Kirk made a short remark in passing that I understood as that Dr. Susnik had indicated to her that they ought to get more, so I wondered if he had made a slip and mentioned the per diem? If so, that shows that he knew nothing of the transaction and that also the Embassy people have abstained to mention it to him, but he has our budget with all its details. If the assistants should ask again later, I will try to explain without revealing anything important around what Mr. Barlovec and Mr. Stern call "national security", but will then tell them, also on the authority of Mr. Barlovec, that the three months salary remains theirs even if they should stay shorter; if they should insist that they be paid the per diem, I will pay it out of my own salary rather than to reveal anything about the "transaction" because I have promised to keep quiet about it. Since I agreed to this matter against my conscience, I am not asking that the Foreign Currency Program refund our losses, although I would feel it would be proper to offer this to us. In dollars rather than worthless dinars.

I had been only a short while at the Institute in the morning of June 28, when one of the office people called me to the telephone. It was Mr. Stern, who told me that Mr. Francodruz was satisfied, and asked if I had paid the assistants for the third month. Then he added, somewhat hesitantly I felt, that because of some University -- or was it Zantes, or generally Yugoslav? -- regulations (and he even mentioned that there had been substantial losses on the car rentals from the University car pool last year) he was forced to instruct me that it would be necessary to transfer the funds budgeted for our travels inside the country, and the costs of office and laboratory on our side of the budget, to the University authorities. I was puzzled that Dr. Susnik had never mentioned this and mentioned that I would like to discuss this with him, but was again warned and "national security" was again mentioned, that he must be kept outside of this, and instead I was told that this matter would be taken care of by one of the administrative clerks or officers of the Institute alone (and the word "alone" was repeated). He was identified by first name only (though I knew his full name) and I [was] asked never to mention it, for reasons of "national security" again! I was told to pay him these sums without requesting a receipt at this time, but the Embassy would later see to that I got a satisfactory documentation. The University would, instead, furnish us with gasoline coupons, and other devices with which to pay our food and hotel costs when travelling up to or above the total sum of the mileage. I contacted the rather shy gentleman who speaks little English and rudimentary German immediately after this conversation, and the same afternoon I gave him the funds required. I asked for no receipt, but he pointed out that proper receipts would be produced when the Embassy had decided about their wording before we would leave in the fall. I then received a bunch of the coupons.

In this context I may remind you that the funds mentioned in connection with our laboratory and office space as contracted to those on the Yugoslav side of the budget had been included at the request of Dr. Susnik who had seen the first summer that the laboratory at the Botanical Garden and his small office at the institute were insufficient for our use so we proposed to work in one room in the house in which we lived. I told Mr. Stern about this and that I felt no such rent was needed more than the first summer, but he did not discuss that remark, but repeated that this sum must be given to the University and that "appropriate" receipts would be forthcoming later through his office. When I repeated my question he proposed that these funds rather be refunded through the Embassy to the Foreign Currency Program, he said that that could be decided later when a decision on it had been reached by the Embassy and the University.

It surprised me that although the diplomats have emphasized the need not to discuss these matters with anybody, Mr. Barlovec mentioned when I spoke to him on the phone a couple of days ago, that when our date of departure had been decided, he would like to give Dr. Sušnik some rudimentary information so that he could get his help as intermediary when vouchers etc. needed to be collected from me for their scrutiny and completion, and also when all documents needed to be given to me before our departure. However, he still stressed that I should discuss nothing with him myself and give him or others (and here my wife was once more mentioned) no hints or information, since this could endanger the security of these persons and perhaps others". I wonder if this is a threat of some kind or only a friendly advice? But it probably means that I will be able to use Dr. Sušnik as my intermediary if some adjustments or corrections or documentations are required after we have returned home?

Allow me to mention at last that this Smithsonian affair has upset me considerably so that I am pleased to know that the project terminates soon, although it will take a year before the main parts of it are published. We had expected honest cooperation and encouragement but harvested clandestine treatment and roadblocks by outsiders. The Embassy has advised against my reporting anything separately to you, but I want this to be filed, confidentially, together with whatever reports it sends. And I sincerely hope that they keep their promises of perfect and honest documentation for our protection, but trust that you will assist us if needed at that level. But I believe I must admit that I have felt hunted and entrapped alone and even as if the hangman's noose was being forced around my neck by those whom I believed were my protectors. In what they call a communist police state which has done us nothing.

I beg your pardon that I write this letter for hand so that you may have difficulty in deciphering my European handwriting, and I apologize for not typing the letter. I am, however, writing it in the peace of the now empty laboratory in the Botanical Garden where no typewriter is available to me and where nobody can read this confidential letter over my shoulder. In order to prevent that the letter may be intercepted in the Yugoslav mail, or come into the hands of those Americans which open letters from communist countries, I will bring it to Klagenfurt tomorrow when we drive to there for other purposes and mail it from an Austrian post office. I hope the fact that the letter is composed during its writing from my memory and notes in my record books does not cause it to become confused and obscure. Despite the difficulties and worries, however, we believe we are doing a good work, though less than we had hoped for, not only because of the disturbances mentioned but also because even our colleagues here seem to have lost much of their enthusiasm after all the calculated delays and interferences from Washington, so even they seem to be relieved that this all will soon end. That I believe is a pitiful ending of an otherwise great dream.

Yours sincerely

Askell Löve

*Copy from  
later from [unclear]*

*Original copy of report on Prevalje address [unclear]*

*Original copy 9/3/72 - in return of  
[unclear]*

*Exhibit 10*

Boulder, September 4, 1972.

Confidential.

Dear Franc:

When we left Ljubljana, I got a brown envelope with my name only in type. I understood that it must be from the Embassy people though that was not said, but was told that if something important was missing, it would be sent to me by airmail, but also that I ought not to open the envelope until I had arrived back home. Although I was tempted not to follow such a silly recommendation, we had so many other matters to attend to during our travel that I did not open it until the day after we returned to here. This letter is caused by the content, or perhaps rather lack of content, of that envelope, more about that below.

I am grateful that I also got the information about the plants from Milen in the last minute, although it is incomplete. I am sure that by aid of his earlier reports I will be able to complete the joint papers promised. For your new Scopelia journal, that its printing will not be further delayed. The other papers and the computerized Atlas will be completed during the winter, we hope, or at least during the coming year, but we need the material that your computer center in Ljubljana promised to complete in early September, because that will save us time and money and make it easier to write some more interesting papers about the many results already collected. Naturally, we will keep you as coauthor and send the manuscripts as soon as any one of them is completed.

When you read the continuation of this letter, you will appreciate that. I am sending it to your Prevalje address as you suggested in case some correspondence was needed that should not get into wrong hands in Ljubljana. I am also sending it through our old colleague in Graz, as you suggested last year, and will ask him, both in an enclosed letter and in another letter to be sent separately tomorrow, to send it to you in Prevalje either by a personal messenger or at least mail it inside your border, and will then ask him to acknowledge its receipt. That arrangement should, as you said, assure that this letter will not be picked up by any wrong Yugoslav hands. It will also, I believe, make it unlikely that the letter will be intercepted by the American secret police, which seems to have a tendency to read and copy mail to and from so-called communist countries, especially when sent to and from immigrants, as we think we have observed since we came here. I will keep a copy myself in a secure place at home and will destroy it as soon as I get the material to be mentioned below. I am sorry that because of the Smithsonian pressure for my report at once, I am forced to write this to you and ask for your help and thus perhaps endanger your peace of mind in what Mr. Barloved repeatedly called "a communistic police state", although we observed little of the latter. But I hope that you feel that you can trust that we will keep all this very confidential as we ask you to do also, so that nobody here or in your country will be able to get it into hands that could hurt you or any others, especially since I believe

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that the Embassy people kept you completely uninformed about what they forced me to do and accept, and prevented me with threats from discussing anything with you and even Doris, in the name of "national security" and similar intimidations. I must, however, now break my forced promise since they apparently have broken their, so that you will no longer be kept in the dark because otherwise you cannot help me, but I will not, at least not yet, discuss it with Doris in order to save her the worries I have myself. Allow me to say that when I voiced reluctance to follow the "advice", those on the other side of the phone pointed out repeatedly that if I did not "cooperate", there were means to prevent me and my family to leave the country, "and more", and also even other threats that I do not want to mention, and also pointed out that then I would get no "protection" from the Embassy that I felt was harassing me. Without such compliance, we would at best have been forced by lack of funds to return without having accomplished any of the work planned, and the Embassy people did not hesitate to point out, when I mentioned that possibility when we had been without funds for three weeks, that then we would certainly be required to pay back all the international travel costs for all five of us, in addition to compensation to the assistants, etc. I did not break their repeated bans, until now, on discussing anything with you or even with Doris, perhaps I ought to have asked you to help me go to your police for protection, but I was afraid of the American reaction.

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The first peculiar activity that I observed in connection with our project after all the initial hounding had been bypassed, was when I had to meet Mr. Schmeitz, "for instruction" on 10/11/71 in Ljubljana (1970). Because of a mishap in Denver, I had only a short time in Washington where he met me at the airport. He talked generally about the trip, and I wondered why he could not have saved me the visit to Washington if it were only to listen to generalities that a seasoned traveller knows and to explanations of how I should pick up my small travel funds in Belgrade at the Embassy rather than get them sent by mail to Ljubljana so that I could save two days of tiresome travel. Then he slowly got me to move with him to an empty corner of the hall and began to mention meeting somebody in Slovenia, I got the impression that this ought to be near the Adriatic or at some research station though no place was mentioned. He said something like that I should indicate my willingness to assist the person in question by saying that I had "the best regards from Ken Schmeitz", which he repeated twice and emphasized the importance of the shortened first name. I did not quite follow what he meant, but suddenly it dawned on me that he was perhaps proposing that I become involved in some gathering or transfer of information or some material for which the mail and the Embassy could not be used for some reason. So I reminded him that I am a foreigner both here and in Yugoslavia and that I would have nothing to do with activities other than research. He changed color slightly but kept his posture and said some meaningless phrases that I forgot at once, looked around, and then said that since he had some other engagements, he hoped I would excuse that he left me before my phone should leave, shook my hand and wished me well on the trip and asked me to give his best regards to Dr. LeClerok of the Embassy. When I phoned Doris in the evening from New York, I told her that I had apparently been contacted for some spying but had declined, and she was clearly relieved, of course. I never mentioned this to you and was careful not to mention Mr. Schmeitz to anybody I met when going around with you in Slovenia that early January 1971, although I had a feeling when we were in Portorož that a certain colleague was trying to get "the regards" from Mr. Schmeitz; this may, however, be my misunderstanding. At least you never indicated that you had been instructed by the Embassy or others to introduce me to any particular persons except the deans, the rector, the minister of education, the vice-president of the republic and some other officials.

When we at last arrived in Ljubljana in the summer of 1973, everything went as expected so we all had, I believe, reason to be satisfied with the substantial results of our energetic work. We felt generally comfortable, not least because of your attitude and help despite that the Institute kept you busy as had also been the case with me in Boulder when you were with us in 1968. When we returned to the States in the fall, we had no reason to be worried. Therefore, we were shocked when we received late in the winter, after numerous attempts by our Office of Research Services, a copy of a letter from Mr. Schmertz that had been addressed and sent only to our provost, without a copy to us, in which our work was condemned on basis of some "judgement" by, evidently, others than our peers, and the University was thus informed that our program was being terminated because of our incompetence although we would get some nominal support this year, without any salaries for us! I sent you a copy of this letter, but I ought perhaps to have sent it to Dr. Ripley and asked for an investigation by real peers, or to have refused to go back at all, since this was still one more sign that our participation in this research that we had planned with you was clearly not appreciated by the Smithsonian powers for some reason other than our and your interest and qualifications and the interest of Yugoslav authorities.

Because I knew that you were expecting us to continue, I accepted an offer of help from our Office of Research Services. I ought to have been suspicious when only a little pressure from them caused that our entire budget was reinstated - without even the unfair cuts we had had to suffer at the last minute the first year. So we continued our preparations and left behind you at the school in May to be able to attend the international symposium in Fortuna, where we planned to discuss the problems to be worked on in Slovenia with several European colleagues. I have told you about this successful stopover.

I was again shocked when you showed me and gave me xerox copies and translation of the letter that you had received from the Yugoslav Embassy in Washington with the slander of me and my work from Mr. Schmertz, and the translation of your answer. But I was very much more troubled when we both seemed to be unable to get our funds through the Embassy which showed no interest in helping us, because I wondered if this might perhaps indicate that the American scientific attaché had also been contacted by Mr. Schmertz and that he felt that he must assist in at least making my life miserable during the summer. You know that story still better than we do since you carried the brunt of the efforts on our behalf with the Embassy and Zames for weeks.

The brown envelope and its contents are directly connected with the troubles with our funds. Although I realize that some of the threats with which the Embassy people forced me to accept their clandestine "solution" of our problem and also to promise not to discuss or reveal anything to you or Doris or anybody else may not be restricted to our stay in Yugoslavia but reach also to Boulder, I must take the risk and tell you the minimum background needed so that you can help us - if you feel you also can take the risk, if any? But perhaps I am scared for no valid reason? I have perhaps observed too much undercover activities against immigrants and liberals in Boulder?

When we had waited in Ljubljana for two weeks for our funds, and when both mine and your phonecalls resulted in nothing, I asked Dr. Liimatainen on the phone if he could advance me some money, in the anticipation of the approval by Zantes. He categorically declared that that would be impossible because of some "regulations". When I told him that you and the University had already lent us some money to buy food, he became upset and claimed that even that was "against the regulations" and must not be repeated nor reported - I did not understand to whom. A few days later, I contacted him again with your help and told him, as we had discussed, that if this continued we would have to consider returning home because we could not continue without money. That he strongly advised against and warned that it would have "serious consequences" for us and certainly cause that we would be forced to pay back the cost for international travel and the salaries of the assistants at least. That was my last direct contact with Dr. Liimatainen.

On June 14, when I was in your office, one of the clerks in the administrative office asked me to come to the phone at the back of the building to speak to the Embassy. A voice that I had never heard before, in English with a slight foreign accent I believe, introduced itself as that of "Ben(?) Stern (or Stern?) of the office of the scientific attaché at the American Embassy in Belgrade". (I am not sure that I got the first name right, but got the impression that the pronunciation of the latter name was German rather than Serbian, but I may be mistaken). He told me that he was phoning because the scientific attaché felt that Zantes would probably not act on our funds until in August after the vacations, and that this carried a high risk. Therefore, he had proposed that Mr. Stern should try to help me to get an advance or a loan, preferably equivalent to the entire salaries of our group, through a businessman in Ljubljana who is well known and trusted by the Embassy. The conditions, however, that were said to be necessary because this gentleman would be taking great risks, were that the entire sum intended for per diem in our budget had to be given to him whenever we could repay him the loan immediately after the release of our funds by Zantes. I believe I used the word extortion when I reacted to this proposal, and wondered why we could not ask the University for a better loan, since our first loan was free of interest. That was not only categorically denied but I was warned not to mention such a possibility to you or anybody else again because it was definitely "against the regulations". I am tempted to refrain from mentioning the name of the gentlemen, whom I met in a bank after having contacted him through a phonecall to a number which I found out was that of another bank, because I do not want to hurt him. However, since this may help you to help me, Mr. Barloveč (who supported Mr. Stern through other phonecalls to convince me of this necessity) and Mr. Stern gave me his name as Mr. Francotuš, he answered to that name but never said it himself, and I could not find it in the telephone directory so perhaps it is fictional, does it not simply mean Franc's friend? He is a pleasant man in his 70's, evidently used to affluence and highly cultivated, somewhat bluish in the face perhaps because of high blood pressure? I once saw him as a passenger in a car that left the Institute's parking lot when we drove in, so perhaps you know him, that was in July? He had the loan in a large envelope that he handed over to me without formalities and refused to accept a receipt from me before he left the bank in a hurry. That very same day I followed instructions from the Embassy and paid the assistants their first two months' salaries; I was told to ask them to sign two blank receipts and explain that this had to be done so until the Embassy had decided about the text required. That I did hesitantly and I believe very clumsily.

See also p. 71 ff.

Only nine days later, on June 23, you told me that your friend Suklovič at Zantes and Dr. Liimatainen had informed you that the entire funds were being transferred, and the next day bank day you brought me to the bank where I cashed the cheque. I paid you back the loans and got a receipt without asking for it, of course. I also contacted our lender soon after and paid him back his loan with the additional per diem funds, as instructed, although I admit that I had protested mildly to Barloved because of the short time of the loan; he mentioned "national security" and some other words that I understood as intimidations. The Embassy had instructed me not to ask for a receipt since they would arrange that matter to my full satisfaction later in the summer, so I did not mention it, though I did ask him if he could write his name on the envelope, which he declined.

A week or less after I had received the funds from the Embassy, one of your office people called me to the telephone in the business office, and Mr. Stern was again on the phone. He said that they had been made aware of that everything now was under control and in full order and recommended that I now should pay the assistants for their third month "to make it easier for them to transfer (or exchange?) their money", and told me to follow the same arrangement with two blank receipts each. After some hesitation he then added that some University or Zantes regulations apparently required that I must transfer the funds budgeted for our travels inside the country, and also the cost of office and laboratory on our side of the budget to the University, which would instead furnish me with plenty of gasoline coupons and later with satisfactory receipts as last year, covering the entire sum budgeted, despite that we were using our own car as I told him and would have vouchers for the mileage needed. I wanted to discuss this with you, but was seriously warned against mentioning it to anybody. I then added that I felt that since we were working mainly at home, the sum for office and laboratory which was originally put on the budget because you had insisted upon it, should rather be returned to the Smithsonian through the Embassy; that he did not answer but repeated what he had said earlier, and told me to pay the entire sum to a gentleman in your administrative office with whom I had difficulties in communicating because of his limited knowledge of the languages I master well or somewhat. I followed the instructions and received a lot of coupons for which I insisted I must give him a receipt which I wrote for hand on a sheet of Institute paper, addressed to the Institute, of course without a copy, unfortunately. I was not given any receipt and asked for none, since I had been told by Mr. Stern not to because receipts would be furnished by the University through the Embassy later. I had no reason to doubt that the Embassy would do this before we would leave.

Although both Mr. Stern and Mr. Barloved had told me that everything done was being reported to Washington that had approved this action, and said that I did not need to report it to the Smithsonian, I felt that I ought to file my version of the matter with the Foreign Currency Office. Therefore, I wrote a long letter, by hand, to Mr. Schertz on July 2, when I could sit alone that Sunday afternoon at the Garden laboratory, and told him more details than I am telling you and asked him to file the letter. I sent it from the post office in Klagenfurt the next day. Naturally, I have heard nothing from him about it, as I did not expect an acknowledgement of such an explanation of matters that he evidently knew from the Embassy.

Here I must also mention that although I met Dr. LeClerck when I got my small funds for the first short visit in January 1971 in Belgrade, I have never met any of the three present Embassy gentlemen in person, but only been introduced to them and their voices by telephone, two of them by you and one, Mr. Stern, by himself and confirmed by Mr. Barloved. You have never mentioned Mr. Stern, so perhaps you do not know him? However, you said once in June that Dr. Linnainen had been in Ljubljana for two days, but he did not show interest in meeting us then, perhaps he was too busy? Mary told me at least once, that Mr. Barloved had visited her and Gerry with you in the Garden laboratory and that he had invited her out - but you did not tell us about that visit, and when I asked you about it, you clearly did not want to talk about it for some reason. But I believe that visit was somewhat later, in July, though I apparently did not make a note of it.

You may recall that Gerry never felt well after his bad stomach infection early in the summer, and around July 20 he expressed his wish to return home earlier than planned. So did Mary also a day or so later, as I then told you. The day after we returned from the long trip south, July 27, Mr. Barloved contacted me per telephone at the Institute and told me that he knew about this decision (how, he did not say, I had not told him), which he should make no difference to the assistants who could keep their three months' salaries. However, he said that now the Embassy needed all - and he emphasized all - our records, vouchers and bills connected with finances and travel, even certain food bills, and the books in which I had written such records, and my own personal notes other than scientific, so that they could "evaluate" them and "arrange" our documents satisfactorily. I wondered why he needed "everything" but then he said firmly and sternly that it would be wise, "because of national security", not to ask but follow instructions, and it astonished me and actually frightened me to here him say specially, that if these were not followed, and also if I discussed these or other related matters with anybody - and he repeated anybody - then there were means to prevent us from leaving the country - "and more". (I thought of course discussing this with you and Doris even if I had not mentioned anything before to either of you, but refrained in the fear that the family then might suffer; later I have wondered if I ought not to have done so and asked you to help us get some protection, but that could perhaps also have endangered our return to America... "or more"). Then he told me to write down the following "instructions" which he read slowly to enable me to get them complete, and I jotted them down on a sheet of Institute paper that was on the desk where I sat:

" Fill out signed receipts for the full salaries of M.L., D.L. and L.L.K., dated July 1, also for full per diems for all three.

Fill out one of the signed receipts each for G. A. and M. K. for their salaries for three months, same dating. Also for their full per diems.

Since Gerry and Mary want to return home earlier than planned, other receipts must be made out as if they had received salaries and per diems for only two and a half months, May 26 - August 12. These receipts are to be dated July 1, but not signed. The Embassy will get their signatures, if needed, and will later furnish me (M.L.) with proper documents to show that their instructions have been followed throughout. Do not use already signed receipts except as mentioned before, but send them to the Embassy; they will be returned if proper.

Because unsigned receipts will leave 1 1/2 months of funds unaccounted for, the Embassy requests that I fill out one receipt for ND 20,740 as a salary (\$710) and per diem (\$510) for Michael Fisher, Mary's guest. Print his name below in parentheses for identification only. (K. reacts: This is very wrong... B.: Do you want to return, or...? K.: I will conform but under duress). The Embassy will get Fisher's signature, if needed. These are all formalities to satisfy Washington, which is fully informed, I (K.) will be furnished with "fully satisfactory receipts and other explanatory documents", what kind not said.

Tear out and keep receipts for K., D. & L., but leave duplicates or copies in the receipt book which must be sent with other papers. Add above and later data and informations behind other transactions on separate pages in record book, which must be sent intact.

Mileage costs: ordinary receipts from receipt book, no duplicate, dated Ljubljana August 7, my name and "ND 63,750 (and in letters) for rent of three cars from car pool, 75 days each, with free gasoline and no mileage limit, à ND 8500 (= \$500) per month each." No signature, only a formality, correct receipt from University through Embassy. (I protest: this is very wrong; B.: same "warning"). B.: Came to think of that full mileage records must be sent with other documents, also such vouchers as verify mileage or places. This is approved by Washington, the procedure that is. (No mentioning directly of Schmeitz, but I get the feeling that he has approved, by telephone or teleprinter, but that may be my mix-up).

Undated receipt, my name, no duplicate, ND 18,360 (and in letters), text: "for rent of laboratory and research space for three months à \$360 = ND 612) per month." No signature, this is "only a kind of a guideline" because the University will furnish proper documents through the Embassy. (I object: why not return these funds to the Embassy and the Smithsonian, because we work in a room in the house where we live. B.: This is according to regulations (requirements?), would advise to comply, if not, "might delay departure or...").

This must all be done at once so departure will not be delayed. Put everything in a large University or Institute envelope, write "H. B." on the outside, nothing else, seal properly and sign over sealed part, also on bottom seal of envelope. Deliver to business officer at the Institute, who accepted the funds earlier. The Embassy will copy all the material, also for the University, and return together with additional documents before we leave, through Sušnik or the business officer, except papers that may be incomplete that will be airmailed to us after our return home.

Finally, words of thanks for this time, welcome next year, remember no discussion with anybody, and destroy the paper with these instructions when they have been followed."

I brought the entire collection of vouchers, papers, documents and receipts and receipt books as well as two record books to your office next morning, July 28. Fortunately, you were not there so the office was empty, so I could arrange everything into some order in peace. Then I went over to the business office, where I met the gentleman mentioned, and he seemed to have been waiting for me. We said only very little because of the language difficulty, but he clearly understood that the sealed envelope was to be airmailed or sent to Mr. Barlovec at once. Then I went back home with my duodenal ulcer that had been troubling me unusually much this summer, I believe for evident reasons.

I heard nothing from the Embassy the following week and refrained from phoning them even the day before we should leave, because I trusted that the envelope would be handed over to me not later than when we said good-bye, as also was the case. You brought me to visit the lady who is the new Vice President of the Republic, Dr. Kornhauser, on Friday morning, August 4. Later that day Gerry left and you insisted that you should drive him to the airport, not we. During the weekend we were busy with various matters, but on Monday morning, Mary's landlady, from the house next to Stina's, came over rather upset and told us that Mary had left with you and Gerry with little or no luggage on Friday without mentioning that she would not return in the evening, and she still was not home. She knew that Mary had a reservation with JAT some of the next days to leave for America through Germany. Now her worries became ours, since we also were unaware of Mary's whereabouts. We wondered if we should go to the police in case she had met with some accident or foul play. Therefore, I went to see you at the Institute and asked for your help and advice, but you said that we could wait since she would probably return "today". But when I asked you where you had left her when you returned from the airport on Friday, you were evidently startled that I knew that she had gone with you and said that she had wanted to walk around at the airport and return later by bus. I became suspicious because this was evidently not true, so when I left the Institute for home, I went first to JAT where the girl Irène told me that Mary had flown to Belgrade on Friday, as far as I understood with Gerry, who would continue to America from there, whereas Mary should return with the afternoon flight, as you actually had indicated. So she did and you picked her up. As you once observed, Mary is promiscuous, so I can guess her errand, but why did she go to Belgrade without telling me? And I still wonder why you did not tell me about this, when I came with my worries to you in the morning, at least to calm me down? Perhaps Barloved, for some reasons unknown to me, had asked you to arrange this visit without my knowledge, Mary told me that he had invited her south and arranged that she could live for these three days in the apartment of one of his friends who was not there and then showed her around the city, but I did not ask her about Gerry, why should I tell her that I knew? I wonder if their visit to Belgrade is not most clearly confirmed by the fact that the four receipts that were unsigned when I sent them were signed when they were returned to me, because I doubt that the Embassy has equipment to transfer so skillfully the signatures from the blank receipts I sent? Perhaps Mary brought the envelope that I received at my departure the next morning? Perhaps she also knew about the contents of the envelope and somewhat more, Gerry mentioned once that she had been writing to Mr. Schmertz whose address she had not gotten from me, is it possible that she knew him before leaving the States?

To return to the envelope mentioned at the beginning of this letter and later, I had wondered why it was so much thinner than when I sent it to Mr. Barloved. When I opened it at last in Boul der, I was disturbed to find out that it contained only one record book, not two, and all that the pages containing what Barloved had instructed me to add had been torn out (it is a spiral book), and that the only entry and per diem receipts were those that he had told me to write, under threat, but now they were signed by Gerry and Mary (but not by her friend). There was no document from the University and no explanation from the Embassy, but both the receipts for the office and the cars that he had forced me to write according to "instruction" were now signed by what I believed was Stina's signature, although I cannot be sure about that because her receipts for our personal rent were missing. So were all our other documents and verifications of travels etc. that Barloved

had said he needed to "copy" and would return. But if the signatures really are Stina's, they must have been transformed in some way or another from the missing receipts, because she was in Ljubljana all this week, and I do not believe that such a devoted communist would cooperate in such clandestine activities for a foreign embassy against us or any others. There was, however, a half of a sheet of white paper on which was typed in capital letters that I suppose are from some special typewriter because they differ from those on our typewriters both here and in XXX Yugoslavia. It said: "Pass your financial report on this selected material, which you ought to file at your University business office. We will send explanations and copies of your other material directly to Washington and airmail copies and originals to you in due time. Embassy. Destroy when read."

I am writing all this to you because I have still seen nothing of the promised airmailed material, and because the Smithsonian people have been pestering me for my financial report since we returned to Boulder, although I believed that it could wait until your final report has been received by me around the end of the year. I wonder what they are up to, or if they want to continue the coercion and at last follow the old Colorado rule to "give him a fair trial and hang him." I am beginning to wonder what kind of people we have been dealing with, at least Mr. Schertz has belonged to the CIA according to his second in command Mr. Whitehead. But let me summarize the points on which we need your help as soon as possible; since I want to give only a correct financial report, whatever recommendations the Embassy gives

1) I need back the record book that disappeared and, especially, the pages that had been torn out of the record book that was returned.

2) I want back the correct receipts for the three months' salaries paid to Garry and Mary. If the Embassy prefers that receipts for their full per diems ought to be included, although incorrect, I can include them, but then must have an explanation attached from the Embassy, and from myself.

3) If the last condition is not adopted, I must ask that the Embassy furnishes me with the promised receipt for the entire per diem funds paid to their Mr. Francodruž. Also, I then need a proper explanation of this "transfer" from them, to prevent at least to the University here and probably also to the Smithsonian, although the latter are said to have approved the entire transaction.

4) I expect to get valid receipts as promised from the University, or at least from the administrator involved, but am sorry that his name evades me and I never got it down. With this ought to be an explanation from the Embassy.

5) I would appreciate a bona fide explanation of the entire affair from the Embassy, although I trust that they told me the truth when they said that everything was being discussed and reported to Washington. Because of the latter, I could perhaps waive that request if the others are honored, for that I would appreciate your recommendation.

6) If nothing of this is done, I wonder what is up their sleeves, but then I am forced to follow their last "instructions" and send in their false receipts, which I then fear were "arranged" to complete the witchhunt with my own innocent and naive help received under threats. In that case, if an explanation should be requested by the University or other authorities, then



I would feel free to show at least the copy of the slanderous letter that Mr. Schmertz asked the Yugoslav Embassy in Washington to send to you, your translated answer, my copy of the handwritten report to Mr. Schmertz that I mailed from Klagenfurt, a copy of this letter, and other similar documents, though I realize that only the first is properly documented as is also the condemning letter to the University of Colorado. But I would hesitate to show more of these latter letters than what pertains to the matter, and would delete parts that might put you or your assistants and other assumed innocent people mentioned or indicated in some jeopardy, because I would rather suffer myself than hurt those who are guiltless or under my direction, whatever their misdeed if any, and I will do everything, however foolish from my own point of interest, to protect Doris and Léa, so do not mention them.

If you feel that this entire story is dangerous or too hot for you to handle because of entanglement about which I know nothing, I would understand your reluctance to become involved, and then also your possible destruction of this letter and a categorical denial of ever having received it, if somebody should ask. In order to secure that possibility, I do not register it here, and I promise to destroy all possible letters from our colleague in Graz that confirm its receipt and delivery, though perhaps not at once but certainly during this winter. But if you, as I expect from what I have observed about your fortitude, should decide to help us in this, openly or secretly, you are permitted to show this letter to respectable Yugoslavs, for instance Dr. Kornhauser, who is both a renowned scientist and trusted politician and who could advise wisely on proper actions, if any. You may also copy it in its entirety or in part, provided that it will not be used to hurt more or less innocent people here or in Yugoslavia, if that is possible.

I must say at the end that I find this entire story to be a distasteful sign of a miscarriage of justice and rottenness that I had heard of, but never believed could occur in those high institutions that I always have trusted. But I hope those who are guilty of possible mistakes do not have power to prevent necessary corrections without force, and that even here we will find people with fortitude who will be willing to help their friends if needed. But whatever happens, we will complete the Atlas and other basic parts of the project irrespective of Smithsonian support. Of course, we are disappointed, as I know you are too, and sorry to have had to learn once more that the reward for good and progressive scientific work of no military or political significance is ingratitude - because those many who are neither creative nor logical feel professionally threatened, for no valid reason. But we and you can at least rest in the satisfaction of having done our best. Whatever happens in the future, we know that our work will fare well when judged by the generation of our grandchildren, as Linnæus suggested for his great *Species plantarum* that his contemporaries did not understand. I wonder how many American or even European colleagues could have accomplished as much under such duress for two summers only.

We would like our Slovenian Atlas to be published in the series of the Slovenian Academy if possible, and the smaller papers ~~in your~~ in your *Scopelia* journal. However, we would also like to find other support, without any political interference, to continue with you the entire Yugoslav and Balkan cytotaxonomical dream, since we do not believe that you want to exchange cooperators as us for some "better American botanists" as suggested by the incompetent slanderers.

With the best regards and thanks from us all to you and the family,  
your two brothers and your remarkable father in Prevsilje,

As ever,