

Serbian Unity Congress Hosts Panel of Balkan Experts in Washington, D.C

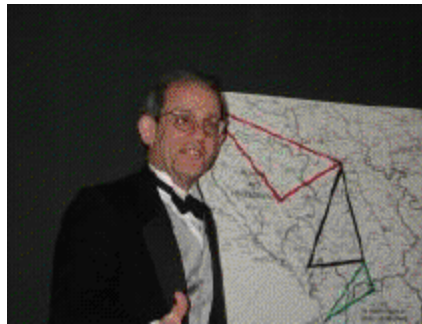
Diverse panel led by Canadian Ambassador M. Perisic disagree on events of past decade but generally agree on future needs of Yugoslavia.

The Serbian Unity Congress completed its daylong Board of Directors meeting today in Washington, D.C. with a reception, dinner and panel discussion headed by Yugoslav Ambassador to Canada, **Miodrag Perisic**. The other panelists included United States **Senator George Voinovich** (R-Ohio), **Dr. John Hulsman**, Research Fellow in European Affairs for the Heritage Foundation, and **Dr. Daniel Serwer**, Director of the Balkans Initiative for the United States Institute for Peace. Also in attendance was Minister Counselor of the Yugoslav Embassy in Washington, D.C., **Ivan Zivkovic**, former **Congresswoman Helen Delich Bentley** (R-MD), a long-time supporter of Yugoslavia, **Igor Davidovic**, Ambassador for Bosnia and Hercegovina to the United States, **Milos Prica**, advisor at the Bosnia and Hercegovina Mission to the United Nations, and President of the Serbian Unity Congress, **Miroslav Djordjevich**.



The panel represented divergent views on who bore responsibility for the tragic events of the 1990's in the Balkans. Serwer, who served in the State Department

in 1991, denied that the United States government supported the division of Yugoslavia, a remark that drew audible protest from the crowd made up largely of members of the Serb Diaspora and drew no support



from any other members of the panel.

But when the discussion moved away from the actions of the West and the Balkan nations in the

1990's, there was general agreement on what needs to happen in the future.

All agreed that:

- It would be best for the progress of the country if President Kostunica and Prime Minister Djindjic could settle any political differences and work together;
- Resolution 1244 should be enforced and that the Yugoslav military has played an increasingly important peacekeeping role in Southern Serbia;
- Regional cooperation between the countries is more likely to promote lasting peace than any plan imposed by the United States or any other entity outside the Balkans; and
- The focus must continue to be on economic reform in the region and not on the events that drove people apart in the 1990's.
- As for the secessionist aspirations of Montenegro, all panelists, except Dr. Serwer, agreed that Montenegro should remain a part of Yugoslavia. They pointed out that there was little or no support in the world community for the breakup of Yugoslavia.

Senator Voinovich was passionate in his support of Serbia and Yugoslavia throughout the evening, calling for increased funds for the rebuilding of the country. "I told [former] President Clinton and Colin Powell that



the United States should take the lead in providing funding for the clean up of the Danube. I still believe that," added Voinovich. But he also offered his advice as a friend of Serbs by stating, "From the start, I

aid to Serbia. I tried to get them out, but the conditions are a fact of life. And they will again be considered later this year if it is perceived by Congress that Yugoslavia is not continuing to cooperate with The Hague."

Dr. Hulsman of the Heritage Institute was critical of the policies of the Clinton Administration, and called for a three-point plan to address the needs of Yugoslavia. "First, Serbia should be seen by the world community as an opportunity and not a problem," said Hulsman. "Second,

we need a regional diplomatic approach. I don't want the U.S. to be drawing borders. It doesn't work, and its hubris. We can facilitate, but we cannot draw the borders. Third, we need an indigenous approach. Freezing the status quo in Kosovo is not the solution. Problems must be addressed and solutions found at

the local level."

Ambassador Perisic chided those supporting independence for Montenegro. "Only 23% of the budget of Montenegro is raised from within Montenegro. So the question is, who does Montenegro really think it will be independent from?" On the subject of Kosovo, Perisic noted that when those recently elected were given the responsibility to pick a leader and begin to govern, they were unable to do so. "When given the freedom to choose a President, they could not do it." On the most pressing priority for Yugoslavia, Perisic said, "We need fresh money, more jobs and the continued activation of the economy. These are the key factors that we must, and we will, address."

The panel discussion was the highlight of the quarterly board meeting of the Serbian Unity Congress. It is the leading organization of the Serb Diaspora around the world and is in the process of planning its Annual Convention scheduled to be held in Belgrade.



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Senator Voinovich Receives First Annual Serbian Unity Congress "Integrity Award"

Senator George Voinovich (R-Ohio) was recently honored with the first-ever Serbian Unity Congress Integrity Award. Board President Miroslav Djordjevic presented the award to him at a banquet hosted by the S.U.C. in Washington, D.C. on February 2, 2002.

Senator Voinovich was appreciative and gracious upon receiving the award and said "I am proud to have received this award from the Serbian Unity Congress. Over the years, I have done my best to fight for what I believed is right, regardless of the political consequences. I'll continue to do so in the future."

Djordjevic said the award to Senator Voinovich was an easy choice. "For years, Senator Voinovich has stood up for what is right, regardless of



what was 'politically correct.' He's told us things that were not always easy for us to hear, but were nonetheless important for us to understand. We're lucky to have his presence in Washington."

The award was a framed photo taken by Belgrade photographer Igor Jeremic of the tens of thousands of Serb citizens who gathered on October 5,

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EDITORIAL

LAW AND JUSTICE AT THE HAGUE

It is our fundamental instinct to constantly seek security and freedom. Through the trials and tribulations of history, we have gradually understood and accepted that true security and freedom are products of law and justice.

In 1993, the U.N. Security Council authorized creation of the **International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia** at The Hague. The Tribunal was to render fair and impartial judgments for war crimes committed during the Yugoslav war. Avowedly, it was also to become a model for a future world court and a new system of the global rule of law. Nonetheless, the Tribunal has so far failed to attain these lofty objectives and hopes.

Justice is essentially the search for the truth in order to render to every person his or her due. Law is nothing but the instrument to secure Justice and the way to it. Thus, while Justice is the end, Law is the means to that end. Having convicted the Serbs in advance as "the aggressor" in the Yugoslav civil war, the politically motivated members of the Security Council have used international law to support strictly political objectives. Since means predispose the end, the chances of the Tribunal to "render fair and impartial" justice have been non-existent. The Tribunal's record thus far tends to confirm this situation.

There is growing criticism among international legal scholars about the Tribunal's performance regarding indictments, evidentiary rules, testimonies and other aspect of law application. The greatest weakness and hypocrisy of The Hague Tribunal remains to be the failure by indicting only one of the three leaders most responsible for the war, Milosevic, while Tudjman and Izetbegovic have been excused. The Tribunal has also failed to initiate examination of the role of foreign interests and their involvement in the war. Consequently, The Tribunal and its sponsors have de facto and illegally

given amnesty to these key parties responsible for the Yugoslav tragedy.

History has proven time and again: the past cannot be remade through punishment. Thus, the ill-conceived and costly Tribunal at The Hague should be either redirected or disbanded. Time is running out to implement policies and practices that might really help establish the right precedent for international justice and an appropriate approach for reconciliation. The lessons of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission appear to be appropriate for former Yugoslavia, that such a commission should be established for former Yugoslavia forthwith as either a substitute for the Tribunal at The Hague, or at least as its counterbalancing partner.

All sufferings and atrocities of this Yugoslav civil war must be exposed to public view. All responsible individuals and parties, domestic or foreign, must undergo a catharsis in order to end the reoccurring Balkan nightmares. Had Tito's regime done so after the Second World War when some 700,000 Serbs were wantonly murdered by Croats and Moslems, the current tragedy may have been avoided. Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa was one of the principal architects and supporters of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in spite of his personal degradation, suffering and imprisonment. He rejects the type of justice the Hague Tribunal is pursuing. In his words, "**retributive** justice will adjudicate guilt, then the case is closed. But **restorative** justice is about the profound inability of **retributive** justice to effect permanent closure on great human atrocities. There is no point exacting vengeance now, knowing that it will be the cause for future vengeance by the offspring of those we punish. Vengeance leads only to revenge." To him, truth, reconciliation and forgiveness are not unpractical and idealistic. They are realpolitik in the long run. And they are the only permanent.

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2000 in front of the Parliament building to ensure that the Federal election results would be recognized. It included the words "The Serbian people take back the Parliament... and their country."

It also included the words of Alexander Hamilton as written in 1787 in the Federalist Papers, "I

have an eye, my fellow-citizens, to putting you upon your guard against all attempts, from whatever quarter, to influence your decision in a matter of the utmost moment to your welfare, by any impressions other than those which may result from the evidence of truth." Hamilton's Federalist Papers are a favorite of Yugoslav President Vojislav Kostunica, who has translated the entire document into Serbian.

S. Katich

THE BALKANS AND 2002 - THE YEAR AHEAD

The Centre for Peace in the Balkans
Analysis, February 2002

Dei gratia

The tragic events of September 11, 2001, have proved our analyses prescient. One did not need a crystal ball to foresee that the Clinton Administration's policies would culminate in tragedy - it was not a question of "if" but "when." Clinton and his policy team are among those who bear responsibility for the events of September 11, as throughout their two terms they ingratiated themselves with several extreme Islamic states while turning a blind eye to the terrorists these states supported and financed.

There is no clearer example of Clinton Administration's folly than the Balkans. From sabotaging the Lisbon Accord in March of 1992[i], where then US Ambassador Warren Zimmermann favoured Alija Izetbegovic's bigoted Islamic agenda, to the "humanitarian" bombing campaign of Yugoslavia in favour of Albanian terrorists, this type of a policy opened the door to a surge of terrorist activity. It was evident in southern Serbia's Presevo Valley as well as Macedonia. Contrary to European states and instead of advocating democratic principles and negotiated solutions, the Clinton team opted for violence at every turn.

The "nation building"

At the same time, the nation building so advocated by the Clinton team is a dismal failure. Of course, the first question that needs to be asked is why tear down a nation, Yugoslavia, to rebuild it in its microcosm, Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Balkans is a hotbed of ethnic hatred. Evidence of ethnic intolerance abounds: from failure to live in mixed communities, disdain for political representatives from a different ethnic group, to still expelling (through fear and intimidation) members of other ethnic groups. To understand the depth of ethnic hatred, a look at a few recent events (after several years of NATO nation building and several billion dollars later) will surely open some eyes. Last year at a soccer match in Sarajevo between the Bosnia-Herzegovina national squad and the Israeli team, the fans were chanting "Auschwitz" and "Sieg Heil." At a basketball game between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, where Bosnian Muslim fans insulted the Croats at every turn and almost demolished the arena throwing objects at the Croat players.

A recent basketball in Zagreb between the Croatian team Cibona and Belgrade's Partizan was a rude awakening for anyone who thought that ethnic tensions between Croats and Serbs had subsided. The Croat public threw over 2kgs of rocks at the Partizan players, ceramic tiles, coins, and anything they could find that would fly. Huge banners (3x1 meters) shouted "Kill Serbs" and "Serbs on Willows" (hang Serbs). Throughout the game spectators shouted out these racist and offensive slogans. Sadly, not one Cibona official or player asked the public to stop.

These sporting events were attended by mainly younger people leading to the question: What is the future of these coun-

tries?

Terrorism, Politics and the Balkans

The daunting task of eliminating terrorism starts with small, but concrete, measures. One of the first places to start is the Balkans where the U.S. has a significant military presence, including, one would assume, intelligence assets. The U.S. has, for years, claimed that it has an interest in Balkan stability. There is no better time than now to follow through on that assertion.

Bosnia-Herzegovina

- It is noteworthy that the western media is not familiar with the fact the honorary commander of the El Mujahadeen unit was the supreme commander of the Muslim forces, president of the Muslim part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegovic. This is the same Alija Izetbegovic who wrote (in his published book, *The Islamic Declaration*, p. 22): "... The first and foremost of such conclusions is surely the one on the incompatibility of Islam and non-Islamic systems. There can be no peace or coexistence between the 'Islamic faith' and non-Islamic societies and political institutions. ... Islam clearly excludes the right and possibility of activity of any strange ideology on its own turf. Therefore, there is no question of any laicistic principles, and the state should be an expression and should support the moral concepts of the religion. ..." It is interesting that a booklet which contained instructions about the conduct of a "true Muslim warrior," printed specially for the 3rd Corps of the Bosnian Muslim Army, states: ... "a Muslim warrior will first of all obey the will of the supreme commander, and then the orders his commanding officers," as well as "that it is up to the supreme command to decide if the best course of action is to release, exchange or liquidate an enemy prisoner." This last instruction was given to every Muslim soldier.

- There should, however, be a review of the Muslim-Croat Federation in light of the fact that the federation was created with economic and materiel support from Osama bin Laden's mujahadeen network. Instead of turning a blind eye to the terrorists operating in areas under U.S. military control, the U.S. forces should be doing their best to dismantle these terrorist networks.

- Begin a series of investigations on the issuance of official federation documents, as well as reviewing financial transactions between Islamic humanitarian organizations and the Bosnian Muslim leadership.

- Insist on a change of the current radical Islamic leaders in the Bosnian Muslim hierarchy. In an opening ceremony of an Islamic center and a mosque in Bugojno, leaflets were handed out which said: "The city of Bugojno is exceptionally proud of its Islamic identity, whose numbers are around 30,000 people. This is one of the few cities in Bosnia-Herzegovina in which almost no Croats reside, even though the surrounding area is populated by them."

- Dissolve the current Bosnian Muslim secret service (AID) as it is proven that it has cooperated with terrorists.

- Create effective police units consisting of both Muslims and Croats, whereby the Muslim candidates would pass rigorous controls by Western security agencies.

Croatia

- Investigate the activities of humanitarian organizations connected to the Zagreb mosque.

Macedonia (name recognized by UN is Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM])

- This is a key area in the battle against terrorism as the Balkan Medellin passes through western Macedonia and finances the activities of the so-called KLA and ANA. It is worth mentioning that these Albanian terrorist groups belonged to the Al Qaeda terrorist network.

Serbia and Montenegro - Province of Kosovo

- What is not difficult to see is that the Albanians in Kosovo are unable to form a government and prevent the ethnic cleansing of the non-Albanian population. Crime, in the form of murder, extortion, white slavery and drug trafficking is rife in Kosovo. At that time we were not willing to listen partially because the reports came from Milosevic's regime. Today, with Milosevic no longer a factor in the region, reality must be faced, especially since Osama bin Laden proved that this region is fertile ground for his ideas.

Politics

- First and foremost, respecting the Dayton Agreement to the letter. The current overlord of Bosnia-Herzegovina, (the top international mediator) Wolfgang Petrisch, is attempting to integrate armies and police forces, citing some undetermined "spirit" of Dayton. There is no "spirit" of Dayton, just a contract signed in good faith by all three parties, with great fanfare and a smiling Bill Clinton, Franjo Tudjman, Slobodan Milosevic and Alija Izetbegovic.

- It is becoming clearer by the day that the West overestimated it's goals in Kosovo and that the NATO troops occupying the province are on the wrong side. By the same token it is difficult to extricate oneself from a "charmed" circle, while strategically it would be erroneous to abandon the Balkans and the established military bases.

- In Macedonia, extend support to Branko Crvenkovski who should undoubtedly win the next election, scheduled for this year.

With the opposition's victory in the October 2000 elections, at last, this part of the Balkans was offered the opportunity for economic revival to defeat chauvinism and national divisions. The Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS), an alliance of various political platforms succeeded in the unexpected, survived its differences and contrariety and began to make a mark in the Serbian and Balkan political scene. Unfortunately, expecting an alliance of leftists, centrists and rightists, and politicians "for sale," to survive any longer is naïve, if not utopian. There is a need to:

- Prevent the dissolution of DS and DSS as they are a guarantor of economic and political stability in the land. Serbia is a major regional player and only by having a stable government will she be able to do its part in the battle against terrorism.

- The DS and DSS, if they intend to remain in power in Serbia, must immediately turn their attention to the quickly dwindling middle class, which brought them to power. If the current U.S. Administration intends to assist these two parties to best the opposition in the upcoming elections, the winning formula is to provide something tangible and hope to the middle class.

- Abandon support for the current Montenegro leadership which is steeped in criminal activity, especially cigarette smug-

gling (the Montenegrin President Milo Djukanovic is not so affectionately known by some as Marlboro Milo).

- At the end of the year hold new parliamentary elections in the Serbian province of Kosovo. The first priority would be to eliminate, from public life, extremists like Hashim Thaci, Ramush Haradinaj and Agim Ceku and insuring a coalition government between Rugova's party and Serb representatives.

Croatia

- Insure the survival of the SDP/HLSL coalition that represents the only serious option to the return of the ultra right party. Croatia's return to right wing rule would mean a destabilizing influence in the region.

- Prevent a split in the SDP, the party of premier Ivica Racan, and weakening his political power base. Provide financial aid to Ivica Racanin's government but under stringent controls and conditions. One of those conditions should be a resolution to the question of Serb refugees' property.

- Secure a rational and economically justifiable use of an Adriatic oil pipeline with a potential expansion towards Slovenia, Slovakia and further.

The future - Economy

At this point in time, the last thing the West should do is to abandon the Balkans. At the same time, and tied to current and future events, a change in allegiances is necessary. To that end, we recommend the following:

- With a reconstituted Serbia and Montenegro sign a lease agreement with the Federal Government of Yugoslavia for the naval port in the Bay of Boka Kotorska, which would also solve the problem in relations between Croatia and Yugoslavia in that disputed region;

- Lease the port Bar as a supply point to NATO troops stationed in Kosovo as well as those in the military base Krivolak, Macedonia;

The Serbian media reacted negatively to a NATO trial balloon with regard to leasing military bases in Serbia. The predictable response is typical of Serbs who think with their heart instead of their head. Countries that are of interest to the West and NATO have an opportunity at economic prosperity.

- Create a free trade zone between Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, which could later also include Macedonia, Romania and Albania;

In this manner the region would avoid the further influence of radical Islamic elements and prevent terrorist expansion through the Balkans towards Europe, and even further. Another factor would be capital investment and job creation in the region as opposed to donations, which are only a brief and temporary respite from misery.

The Balkan people do not have to love each other; they do have to learn to live side by side. If misfortune befalls one group that does not necessarily translate into something positive for another. Until the various ethnic groups realize that an economic free trade zone is a necessity for economic growth and progress, it is unreal to expect any increase in standards and acceptance into the European Union.

S.U.C. COMMUNIQUE

February 8, 2002

Dear S.U.C. Chapter Presidents,

This is my first, introductory, and by necessity, brief communication to you as the newly elected President of Serbian Unity Congress.

Last week, the Board of Directors of Serbian Unity Congress met in Washington, D.C. It was a very intensive and productive meeting with considerable preparations done beforehand. One of the key topics discussed was centered around membership and chapters.

The support of the chapters for several of the key 2002 projects of our organization will be absolutely essential and crucial. These projects are all practical and are aimed at specific actions to help our Homeland. Some of them will need real grass roots support; consequently, SUC has to revive the chapters and increase membership if we are truly to preserve our culture and heritage in the Diaspora and assist the transition of our Homeland to a better life and future. Having just returned from Serbia (my fourth visit in 12 months), I can tell you without any hesitation that our support is vital. Without it, the changes will take longer and would be less effective.

The Board identified six key projects for the year and a number of individual ones that will be implemented by various directors individually. For now, I am just going to list the six main programs. You will shortly be receiving written material dealing with the membership drive and the attempt to revive the chapters. These projects are:

1. Assembling and publishing a comprehensive "Business Handbook" in Serbia that would benefit and aid small to medium size companies in the Serbian private sector in particular.
2. To support the three-year program aimed at generating moral renewal, particularly with the young people. This will be done via a "St. Sava Essay Contest," and by us sponsoring schools in Yugoslavia and Republika Srpska that either we went to in our younger day, or that our parents went to, or any other wishing to be a participant in the program.
3. Our Board member, Sofija Skoric, has secured a \$100,000 funding for updating the Parliamentary Library in Belgrade. The funding was offered with the understanding that SUC will provide technological assistance and additional modest funding as well. This is an important program since no modern parliament can function without an efficient and qualitative library.
4. Preservation of the Monastery Manasija Archives and Artifacts.
5. Public Relations and Anti-defamation - the need to correct past defamation and to prevent or counteract more of the same in the future. It is still urgent.
6. We have to convince the current Yugoslav government to give citizenship to all Diaspora Serbs who want it, and to enable them to vote and be voted in Serbian (Yugoslav) elections. This program will have to be carried out jointly with other organizations in the Diaspora, and many have already joined us towards this end.

Let us re-establish and keep the lines of communication open. We have a tremendous opportunity to do something worthwhile and noble for our people who have suffered for so long. I hope you will "Join Us to Help Serbia."

I would appreciate any suggestions or questions; or if not that, then some kind of feedback of your interest to "Join Us to Help Serbia."

Sincerely,
Michael Djordjevich
President
Serbian Unity Congress

FEATURED MEMBERS

Gift for the Hospital and Medical Center in Belgrade

HRH Princess Elizabeth Karadjordjevic, patron of the St. Andrei Foundation, donated to the Institute of Internal Medicine in Belgrade much needed humanitarian aid valued at 50.000 DM. The shipment came from California, and it was organized by the Fund's major donor, American businessman, Mr. **Branko Milinovic**, who has been sending aid to the Serbian people in the past decade. Part of the humanitarian aid will be delivered also to the "Zvezdara" Clinical Center in Belgrade. (Tanjug, 12/19/01)

COMMUNIQUE

CEREMONY IN THE FRY CONSULATE IN VIENNA OLD FLAG TO THE STUDENT CLUB

Monday evening (January 28, 2002), the Serbian student's club in Vienna was given a present - a valuable flag that cherishes the tradition of our students in Austria's capital.

Namely, president of the Serbian Unity Congress (SUC) from the USA, **Michael Djordjevic** met with our students in the rooms of the FRY consulate, where, it was pointed out, the realization of cooperation and contact between the European and Northamerican Diaspora started.

During the meeting, Mr. Djordjevic had the honor of handing to our students the over 130 year old flag that was consigned by Prince Mihajlo Obrenovic to the student club "Zora" in Vienna in the year 1863. The old but valuable flag was guarded by the president of "Humanitas" **Stevan Munjaz**, who together with the guest from the USA handed over this gift to the student's club Vice President, **Snezana Maric**.

At the beginning of the meeting, the SUC's representative in Austria **Olga Danilovic** pointed out that Vienna was the haven of many Serbian intellectuals in the past two centuries. Michael Djordjevic stressed that it is very important that our youth preserves the values of the past. "We must not enter Europe deprived of our identity, because, he who forgets where he came from, can easily be lost."

Mr. Djordjevic pointed out that it is very important that our students return to the homeland when they finished university and help their country with their knowledge.

Serbian students on the meeting with Michael Djordjevic talked about the possibilities of our Diaspora in the world, and were interested in the activities of our Diaspora in America.



This was the first meeting M. Djordjevic had with the European Diaspora. "I came to Austria because it is closest to our homeland, and because a great number of our citizens live in that country who showed great patriotism during the past period" he told *Vesti* in explaining why he had chosen Vienna as the place for the first encounter with the European Diaspora.

Mr. Djordjevic announced that he plans, later on to meet with our Diaspora in Germany, France and Sweden. "Differences exist between the Diaspora in various countries that should be removed because the Diaspora has to help the motherland in the transition phase," he added.

Serbian Unity Congress is the organization of Serbs and their friends in the Diaspora.
It was established in 1990. Its main goals are:

1. To sustain and nurture the Serbian heritage, culture and identity of Serbs in the Diaspora;
2. To garner the talents, experiences and abilities of all Serbs and their friends abroad in order to help economic, social, cultural and other positive changes towards a free political system and a moral society in Serbian lands;
3. To inform public opinion and key policymakers in the world about the true goals and aspirations of the Serbian people, as well as to endeavor to re-establish the Serbian good name and image damaged by the events of the past decade of relentless defamation.

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