

Presentation of the SUC Integrity Award to Congressmen Kucinich and Cunningham

The President of the SUC Chapter in Washington, DC - **Ms. Miroslava Jovanovic** expressed gratitude and honor to present the "Integrity Award" to the congressmen for their objective and unbiased stand over the years on issues pertinent to the Yugoslav crisis. The inscription on the award reads "Sincerely and gratefully presented to you in recognition of your steadfast integrity and courage in seeking and speaking the truth". This award was intended to mark the first anniversary of the fall of Milosevic's regime. The award presentation was originally planned for mid - September 2001, but was postponed due to the tragic events of September 11.

The award to **Congressman Kucinich** was presented on March 6, 2002. **Nebojsa Malic**, Vice President, and **Viseslav Simic** were also present. **Congressman Kucinich** was delighted with the award. He carefully examined the photo - storming of the Parliament - and showed appreciation for the text inscribed on the award. He also showed interest in the progress of democratization in Serbia and expressed his intention to visit Belgrade later this year.

The award to **Congressman Cunningham** was presented on March 14, 2002. **Mr. Predrag Pajic** was also present. **Congressman Cunningham** was very pleased with the award. He indicated that he was acquainted with the SUC and that he personally knew **Dr. Vojin Joksimovic**.

Congressman Cunningham underlined long standing friendship between the US and Serbia, indicating that Serbia was always a reliable ally of the US. He also mentioned that during the WW II, Serbs saved hundreds of American pilots. At the end, he expressed his interest to keep in touch with the Serbian community.



Sima Simic, Congressman D. Kucinich, Miroslava Jovanovic, Nebojsa Malic



Miroslava Jovanovic, Congressman R. Cunningham, Predrag Pajic

EDITORIAL

YUGOSLAVIA

At long last, Yugoslavia is dead. Its agony lasted nearly a century. So has the agony of the Serbian people.

From a dream, which had indeed been but an illusion, Yugoslavia became a true nightmare and then a deadly reality for the Serbs. The first Yugoslavia was a freshly dug grave; in the second - the AVNOJ's Yugoslavia - Tito pushed the entire Serbian nation into it; and during the third Yugoslavia at the end of the century, Milosevic covered the grave.

"The decisionto create a new Yugoslavia and to preserve the Yugoslav idea is fundamentally irrational, politically thoughtless and deadly for Serbdom. The Yugoslav idea is forever buried with the evident readiness of the majority of South Slavs to fight and die to get rid of the community with the Serbs based on the Yugoslav ideal."

(From a public statement by the Serbian Unity Congress on establishment of the Third Yugoslavia by Milosevic, May 3, 1992).

"What is the key to the Slovenian and Croat impatience to break away from Yugoslavia? History and World War I. They entered into Yugoslavia in 1918, without intentions to remain any longer than needed to be protected by victorious Serbia from Italian pretensions on their territories.

Slovenians never had their own sovereign country..... Croats were under the Austrian and Hungarian suzerainty since the Middle Ages and had their own state only during the Axis occupation of Yugoslavia in 1941-45. It was a monstrous and murderous creation under Pavelic.... It was inspired by religious fanaticism and extreme nationalism."

(From internal correspondence and position papers prepared for the Board of Serbian Unity Congress, July 7, 1991)

"In Tito's Yugoslavia, the Serbian people have been socially, culturally and economically devastated. Part of such a policy was also the systematic destruction of good reputation and esteem the Serbs enjoyed in the world. Another part was the denationalization of the Serbs, particularly their intellectual elite which was brought up to hate their own nation and to attack it at home and abroad."

(From "Selected Documents from Archives of the Serbian Unity Congress" p. 104).

Yugoslavia may be dead, but its legacy dangerously persists in the minds and hearts of many Serbs. Hidden in the subconscious and often unintentional, this legacy manifests itself in many destructive aspects of private and public life. It permeates current Serbian morality, Serbian worldview, Serbian interpersonal relations and public policies. Unless this legacy is resolutely and promptly uprooted and eradicated, the future of Serbdom is indeed questionable. Yugoslavia is dead; let all its evil legacies die soon too, so that Serbia can live!

**Speech By Rep. Dennis J. Kucinich (D-OH)
To The Southern California Americans for Democratic Action.
February 17, 2002**

Los Angeles, California

A Prayer for America

(to be sung as an overture for America)

"My country 'tis of thee. Sweet land of liberty of thee I sing. . . . From every mountainside, let freedom ring. . . . Long may our land be bright. With freedom's holy light. . . ."

"Oh say does that star spangled banner yet wave. O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?"

"America, America, God shed grace on thee. And crown thy good with brotherhood from sea to shining sea. . . ."

I offer these brief remarks today as a prayer for our country, with love of democracy, as a celebration of our country. With love for our country. With hope for our country. With a belief that the light of freedom cannot be extinguished as long as it is inside of us. With a belief that freedom rings resoundingly in a democracy each time we speak freely. With the understanding that freedom stirs the human heart and fear stills it. With the belief that a free people cannot walk in fear and faith at the same time.

With the understanding that there is a deeper truth expressed in the unity of the United States. That implicit in the union of our country is the union of all people. That all people are essentially one. That the world is interconnected not only on the material level of economics, trade, communication, and transportation, but innerconnected through human consciousness, through the human heart, through the heart of the world, through the simply expressed impulse and yearning to be and to breathe free.

I offer this prayer for America.

Let us pray that our nation will remember that the unfolding of the promise of democracy in our nation paralleled the striving for civil rights. That is why we must challenge the rationale of the Patriot Act. We must ask why should America put aside guarantees of constitutional justice?

How can we justify in effect canceling the First Amendment and the right of free speech, the right to peaceably assemble?

How can we justify in effect canceling the Fourth Amendment, probable cause, the prohibitions against unreasonable search and seizure?

How can we justify in effect canceling the Fifth Amendment, nullifying due process, and allowing for indefinite incarceration without a trial?

How can we justify in effect canceling the Sixth Amendment, the right to prompt and public trial?

How can we justify in effect canceling the Eighth Amendment which protects against cruel and unusual punishment?

We cannot justify widespread wiretaps and internet surveillance without judicial supervision, let alone with it.

We cannot justify secret searches without a warrant.

We cannot justify giving the Attorney General the ability to designate domestic terror groups.

We cannot justify giving the FBI total access to any type of data which may exist in any system anywhere such as medical records and financial records.

We cannot justify giving the CIA the ability to target people in this country for intelligence surveillance.

We cannot justify a government which takes from the people our right to privacy and then assumes for its own operations a right to total secrecy.

The Attorney General recently covered up a statue of Lady Justice showing her bosom as if to underscore there is no danger of justice exposing herself at this time, before this administration.

Let us pray that our nation's leaders will not be overcome with fear. Because today there is great fear in our great Capitol. And this must be understood before we can ask about the shortcomings of Congress in the current environment. The great fear began when we had to evacuate the Capitol on September 11. It continued when we had to leave the Capitol again when a bomb scare occurred as members were pressing the CIA during a secret briefing. It continued when we abandoned Washington when anthrax, possibly from a

government lab, arrived in the mail.

It continued when the Attorney General declared a nationwide terror alert and then the Administration brought the destructive Patriot Bill to the floor of the House.

It continued in the release of the bin Laden tapes at the same time the President was announcing the withdrawal from the ABM treaty.

It remains present in the cordoning off of the Capitol. It is present in the camouflaged armed national guardsmen who greet members of Congress each day we enter the Capitol campus. It is present in the labyrinth of concrete barriers through which we must pass each time we go to vote.

The trappings of a state of siege trap us in a state of fear, ill-equipped to deal with the Patriot Games, the Mind Games, the War Games of an unelected President and his undetected Vice President.

Let us pray that our country will stop this war. "To provide for the common defense" is one of the formational principles of America.

Our Congress gave the President the ability to respond to the tragedy of September 11. We licensed a response to those who helped bring the terror of September 11th. But we the people and our elected representatives must reserve the right to measure the response, to proportion the response, to challenge the response, and to correct the response.

Because we did not authorize the invasion of Iraq.

We did not authorize the invasion of Iran.

We did not authorize the invasion of North Korea.

We did not authorize the bombing of civilians in Afghanistan.

We did not authorize permanent detainees in Guantanamo Bay.

We did not authorize the withdrawal from the Geneva Convention.

We did not authorize military tribunals suspending due process and habeas corpus.

We did not authorize assassination squads.

We did not authorize the resurrection of COINTELPRO.

We did not authorize the repeal of the Bill of Rights.

We did not authorize the revocation of the Constitution.

We did not authorize national identity cards.

We did not authorize the eye of Big Brother to peer from cameras throughout our cities.

We did not authorize an eye for an eye.

Nor did we ask that the blood of innocent people, who perished on September 11, be avenged with the blood of innocent villagers in Afghanistan.

We did not authorize the administration to wage war

anytime, anywhere, anyhow it pleases.

We did not authorize war without end.

We did not authorize a permanent war economy.

Yet we are upon the threshold of a permanent war economy. The President has requested a \$45.6 billion increase in military spending. All defense-related programs will cost close to \$400 billion.

Consider that the Department of Defense has never passed an independent audit. Consider that the Inspector General has notified Congress that the Pentagon cannot properly account for \$1.2 trillion in transactions. Consider that in recent years the Dept. of Defense could not match \$22 billion worth of expenditures to the items it purchased, wrote off, as lost, billions of dollars worth of in-transit inventory and stored nearly \$30 billion worth of spare parts it did not need.

Yet the defense budget grows with more money for weapons systems to fight a cold war which ended, weapon systems in search of new enemies to create new wars. This has nothing to do with fighting terror.

This has everything to do with fueling a military industrial machine with the treasure of our nation, risking the future of our nation, risking democracy itself with the militarization of thought which follows the militarization of the budget.

Let us pray for our children.

Our children deserve a world without end. Not a war without end. Our children deserve a world free of the terror of hunger, free of the terror of poor health care, free of the terror of homelessness, free of the terror of ignorance, free of the terror of hopelessness, free of the terror of policies which are committed to a world view which is not appropriate for the survival of a free people, not appropriate for the survival of democratic values, not appropriate for the survival of our nation, and not appropriate for the survival of the world.

Let us pray that we have the courage and the will as a people and as a nation to shore ourselves up, to reclaim from the ruins of September 11th our democratic traditions.

Let us declare our love for democracy. Let us declare our intent for peace.

Let us work to make nonviolence an organizing principle in our own society.

Let us recommit ourselves to the slow and painstaking work of statecraft, which sees peace, not war as being inevitable.

Let us work for a world where someday war becomes archaic.

That is the vision which the proposal to create a Department of Peace envisions. Forty-three members of Congress are now cosponsoring the legislation. Let us work for a world where nuclear disarmament is an imperative. That is why we must begin by insisting on the commitments of the ABM treaty. That is why we must be steadfast for nonproliferation.

Let us work for a world where America can lead the day in banning weapons of mass destruction not only from our land and sea and sky but from outer space itself. That is the vision of HR 3616: A universe free of fear. Where we can look up at God's creation in the stars and imagine infinite wisdom, infinite peace, infinite possibilities, not infinite war, because we are taught that the kingdom will come on earth as it is in heaven. Let us pray that we have the courage to replace the images of death which haunt us, the layers of images of September 11th, faded into images of patriotism, spliced into images of military mobilization, jump-cut into images of our secular celebrations of the World Series, New Year's Eve, the Superbowl, the Olympics, the strobic flashes which touch our deepest fears, let us replace those images with the work of

human relations, reaching out to people, helping our own citizens here at home, lifting the plight of the poor everywhere.

That is the America which has the ability to rally the support of the world.

That is the America which stands not in pursuit of an axis of evil, but which is itself at the axis of hope and faith and peace and freedom. America, America. God shed grace on thee. Crown thy good, America. Not with weapons of mass destruction. Not with invocations of an axis of evil. Not through breaking international treaties. Not through establishing America as king of a unipolar world. Crown thy good America. America, America. Let us pray for our country. Let us love our country. Let us defend our country not only from the threats without but from the threats within.

Crown thy good, America. Crown thy good with brotherhood, and sisterhood. And crown thy good with compassion and restraint and forbearance and a commitment to peace, to democracy, to economic justice here at home and throughout the world.

Crown thy good, America. Crown thy good America. Crown thy good.

Thank you.

Croatian president urges Serb refugees from Croatia to return to their homes

Text of report by Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA - 03/09/02

Croatian President Stjepan Mesic has called in an interview given to Novi Sad Television [northern Serbia] on all Serbs who fled from Croatia to "return to their homeland".

"Our citizens who fled from Croatia to escape the 'Storm' [operation in 1995 during the war in Croatia] should return to their homes, to their home country, and Croatia must provide these people not only with reconstructed homes, but also with jobs, education for their children and safety," said Mesic.

He added that the people were not

responsible for the war, but a policy aimed at changing borders.

"Cohabitation of Serbs and Croats in Croatia is possible, because the war was not started for national or religious reasons. I am calling on all our citizens to return to their country," said the Croatian president.

He added that finding a solution to the issue of refugee return was a test of maturity for Croatia's democracy.

Mesic confirmed that, if he were called, he would go to The Hague to testify against Slobodan Milosevic.

"Milosevic wanted the war, he prepared for it. He wanted neither a confederation nor a federation, but Greater Serbia, for which he prepared and which he eventually put into operation," said Mesic.

According to him, Milosevic's ultimate goal was *Bosnia*-Hercegovina, while

he needed the Serbs in Croatia as "kindling for the war in *Bosnia*-Hercegovina".

"In any case, when it came to the 'Storm', Milosevic did not lift a finger for them. Borisav Jovic [former Yugoslav Presidency member] told me in 1991 that they were not interested in the Serbs in Croatia," said Mesic.

He advocated the individualization of guilt and responsibility for war crimes of all those who committed crimes, regardless of their nationality.

The Croatian president says that the Croatia of today must claim its right to existence from AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council Liberation of Yugoslavia] and ZAVNOH [State Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Croatia] and from Anti-Fascism and not from the Ustasha NDH [Independent State of Croatia - German puppet state during German occupation].

Former chief of war-crimes court blasts Del Ponte

The former head of the UN war crimes tribunal on Tuesday accused war crimes prosecutor Carla Del Ponte of damaging the case against Slobodan Milosevic by playing to the media before the trial.

Antonio Cassese, an Italian, accused the Swiss prosecutor of damaging the tribunal in an outspoken attack in an interview with Italy's ANSA news agency three weeks into the former Serbian leader's trial for alleged war crimes in the Balkans.

And he criticised the United States for the way it made millions of dollars in development aid conditional on Milosevic's handover by Belgrade. "All Ms Del Ponte's statements before the debate, in which she shouted from the rooftops about having damning evidence against Milosevic, have allowed him to use the ICTY as a political platform," said Cassese, chairman of the UN court from 1995-1999.

"My concern is that the ICTY, in such a big trial, is being transformed into a political platform. It's what Milosevic is doing, it's what on some occasions Carla Del Ponte has a tendency to do.

That creates a malaise and is damaging to the ICTY (International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia). Justice is not done by statements to the media. I must say that it's Ms Del Ponte who started it," said Cassese, who is professor of international law at Florence University. He added that the trial had functioned well until now but warned of the danger of it becoming a political stage.

Del Ponte "must prove not only that Milosevic had effective control of the crimes committed by his subordinates, but also that they were really his subordinates, including Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, and that he had effective control over them."

Asked about how some believe Milosevic is a victim, Cassese said: "These people are right concerning the not very proper way in which Milosevic was handed over to the tribunal in The Hague.

"Deep down, it was bargaining. The Americans were putting pressure, saying 'we won't give you any money if you don't give us Milosevic.'" Cassese noted that four other officials had been indicted along with Milosevic, but had been largely forgotten about since his handover last April.

"If the Americans want to be coherent and believe in justice, then they must bring pressure to bear so that all five are brought to trial."

The four are incumbent Serbian President Milan Milutinovic, currently residing in Belgrade, former Yugoslav deputy prime minister Nikola Sainovic, former Yugoslav army chief of staff Dragoljub Ojdanic, and former Serbian interior minister Vljako Stojiljkovic.

They have been charged with war crimes and crimes against humanity for crimes allegedly committed in Kosovo.

As Serbian president, Milutinovic currently enjoys immunity, as do Sainovic and Stojiljkovic, who are deputies in the Yugoslav parliament.

Former Yugoslav president Milosevic has been on trial in The Hague court for the past three weeks on charges of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity.

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Seeds of Hate: In Postwar "Bosnia" - Part 1

Militant Islam Turns U.S. Allies to Enemies --- Mujahedeen Who Fought Alongside Muslim Militia Stirred Faith and Doubts --- A Pig Thrown Into a River

By Yaroslav Trofimov

The Wall Street Journal - March 18, 2002

SARAJEVO, *Bosnia*-Herzegovina -- Like nearly all Bosnian Muslims, Ali Ihsan grew up wearing Western clothes. She was taught that the Quran wasn't always to be taken literally. And while she celebrated some Muslim holidays, the 24-year-old Sarajevan was otherwise hard to distinguish from her Christian compatriots.

Now, as she sips Turkish coffee in a cafe here, Ms. Ihsan is shrouded head-to-toe in a Saudi-style black robe. In January, she joined hundreds of other Bosnian Muslims to protest the deportation of suspected al Qaeda terrorists. The protest ended in a clash with police.

Ms. Ihsan is one of the thousands of Bosnian Muslims who embraced an ultraconservative strain of Islam after the country's bloody civil war. She's in a minority: Most Bosnian Muslims -- about half of the country's four million people -- practice their faith in a relaxed manner, if at all. They also link their political future to Europe's and regard the U.S. as an ally. Yet, in recent months, *Bosnia*'s new Islamist groups have provoked increasingly anti-American sentiments, raising fears of attacks on U.S. troops and installations.

The seeds for this conversion to militant Islam were sown by Arab mujahedeen, or holy warriors, who flocked to *Bosnia*-Herzegovina as volunteer soldiers in the 1992-95 war against ethnic Serb and Croat militias. Some settled in the country, while others joined al Qaeda bases in Afghanistan, the deadly Islamist guerrillas in Algeria or the Chechen rebels battling Russia.

After Sept. 11, the U.S. pressured *Bosnia* to deport the remaining mujahedeen and to clamp down on Arab charities and Islamist organizations. The Muslim protests that followed spread far beyond the Islamist fringe. "These Arabs have shed their blood for our country," complains Ms. Ihsan, who has a bachelor's degree in political sci-

ence. "And now the government is betraying them just to please America."

Such bitter feelings are new in *Bosnia* -- a country routinely held up by the U.S. State Department as an example of America going to war on the Muslim side. Part of the problem, diplomats here say, is that the West sat by for years as Saudi and other Persian Gulf charities, often staffed by former mujahedeen, spent hundreds of millions of dollars to instill their puritan and anti-Western version of Islam.

Among the converts is Faruk Visca, a 22-year-old Sarajevan who runs the popular IslamBosna.com Web site. The site's chat forums are full of pictures of Osama bin Laden and of Jordan-born Hattab, the rebel leader in Chechnya. A recent discussion looked at the issue of whether one needs parental permission to fight in a jihad. Another discussion thread was devoted to praising Palestinian suicide bombers.

In mid-September, Mr. Visca was detained overnight for putting up posters that decried *Bosnia*'s decision to hold a minute of silence for the victims of the Sept. 11 attack while ignoring the plight of Muslims elsewhere. "Eventually, Islam will triumph everywhere," he says in a Sarajevo cafe favored by Islamist youths. "In Sarajevo, and in Washington."

Mr. Visca says he "can't help laughing" when he hears the U.S. bring up its *Bosnia* record to offset accusations of anti-Islamic bias. In *Bosnia*'s civil war among Muslim, Serb and Croat forces, the Muslims suffered the bulk of the casualties and were most hurt by a United Nations arms embargo imposed with U.S. consent on all three sides. The Croat and Serb militias received massive assistance from Croatia and Serbia.

The U.S. did help the Muslims by imposing sanctions on their principal enemy, the Serbs, and hitting Serb positions with air strikes toward the end

of the war. But Islamists argue that when Washington intervened with a peace settlement after Muslim troops overran Serb lines, the move was designed to abort a probable Muslim victory. "The American government is the enemy of Islam everywhere -- and this includes *Bosnia*," Mr. Visca says.

The overwhelming majority of Bosnian Muslims maintain a staunchly secular lifestyle and identify themselves with the West. But the radical ideology of people like Mr. Visca, while a minority view, has succeeded in attracting some of *Bosnia*'s more-articulate and better-educated young people. It has become almost a fashion on Bosnian campuses. Islamic youth groups have been largely nonviolent so far and are too small to bring dramatic change to Bosnian society, security officials say. Yet these officials see them as a reservoir of al Qaeda supporters, and they are monitored by the Bosnian authorities and Western troops that enforce Bosnian peace.

Nermin Karacic, a former Bosnian special-forces trooper who heads one of these budding Islamic youth organizations, sits in the courtyard of the huge King Fahd mosque. It was built in Sarajevo's Dobrinja suburb by Saudi Arabia amid residential buildings pockmarked by gunfire. Mr. Karacic, 30, echoing a view widely held among young Bosnian Muslims, says that Mr. bin Laden was probably innocent, that the Sept. 11 attack must have been a Jewish conspiracy, and that America is waging war on Islam.

"When Bush claims he's at war against terrorism, believe me, with this beard, I'm a terrorist to him," Mr. Karacic says after taking an Arabic-language phone call. He adds quickly that the appropriate Muslim response should be spreading the faith rather than killing Americans.

Part 2 in our next issue.

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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