

BULLETIN

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200th Anniversary of The Serbian Revolution



Two hundred years ago the Serbs from many parts of Europe came together to assist their brethren in the Ottoman-run part of Serbia to rid themselves of the tyrannical janissaries. What started as an effort to, at minimum return to the conditions before the butchery of the janissaries, soon grew to demands for full autonomy for all of Serbia within the Ottoman Empire and later for independence. This dynamic was fueled by the introduction of ideas of national identity and advanced military and administrative skills, brought to the Serbs in the uprising by their fellow Serbs from or with experiences abroad, most notably the leader of the uprising, Djordje Petrovic, known as "Karadjordje" or "Black George". The Serb revolution is recognized as the beginning of the nationalist uprisings that rocked early 19th century Europe and the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires.

Vuk Karadzic, a key contributor to the events of early 19th century Serbian history summed up the dynamic of that time.

Srbi, Svi I Svuda

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In this issue we will begin with the first of a special series on the Serbian Revolution or Srpski Ustanak to be followed in each following issue.



2004 Off to a Busy Start

Dear members and friends

Following the many recent holidays we are back to work on the many important programs on our agenda for 2004 and have had a very busy and productive month.

Bishop Artemije in Washington

Bishop Artemije from Kosovo & Metohija was in Washington D.C. meeting with members of Congress, the State Department, numerous think tanks and other important figures. The Serbian Unity Congress co-sponsored with the Western Policy Center a special forum for the Bishop. It was very well attended drawing many attendees including representatives from the State Department, Department of Defense and the US Congress.

During his meeting with the State Department, Bishop Artemije remarked that "It would be unfair to say that there have been no improvements at all in Kosovo since the war. But it is also disturbing that these improvements, including primarily the return of war-time refugees, reconstruction of war-damaged facilities, and the building of institutions, have almost exclusively impacted the Kosovo Albanian community. Kosovo Serbs have had almost no concrete benefit from these 'improvements,' nor are they of any use to them in resolving their burning issues concerning a normal and free life".

We hope to see Bishop Artemije at our Convention later in the year.

The Albanian Lobby Does Not Sleep

As you might be aware, resolution HR 28 sponsored by the pro-Albanian members of Congress is still active with fresh attempts to revitalize it. "Status before benchmarks" is still the main selling point of those who promote independence for Kosovo, a point in direct contradiction to our own position of "Benchmarks before status" that is shared by the State Department as well as other members of Congress. However, the Albanian lobby is strong and greatly supported by the Albanian community.

We are working actively through our Washington Office to double our efforts in this area participating in many discussions representing the need to approach this issue rationally: first point of order must be to meet the conditions stipulated in UN Resolution 1244 to guarantee a safe return for all refugees and establish and reinforce safeguards for the protection of all Kosovo people's human rights. Anything less can only destabilize the whole region which is not in the interest of either the nations in the region, Europe or the United States. The same protections affect

Serbs from other parts of former Yugoslavia and are on our agenda. We will keep you informed on the status of this issue regularly through the Bulletin and our web site because the Serbian Unity Congress is the primary means that our Serbian American community has to articulate our concerns and recommendations for peaceful and just solutions to issues that affect the Serbian nation such as this one.



Deconstructing the Srebrenica Story

Perhaps the most important issue used to justify harmful one-sided policies toward Serbs is the lingering effect of the official version of the events in Srebrenica. It is time to aggressively research this topic in depth, and fight back with facts and resolve. George Bogdanich, acclaimed producer of the award-winning documentary "Yugoslavia, The Avoidable War", recently approached the Serbian Unity Congress with a proposal to support a new project to do just that. An international group of scholars will address the Srebrenica story from various angles and provide an accurate picture of what really happened. We have agreed to help and will inform you in more detail as the project progresses.

Unraveling of Distortions Begins

Last month we also saw the beginning of a very important development - the unraveling of the media misrepresentation of facts during the wars in the former Yugoslavia. USA Today had learned that its key foreign correspondent Jack Kelley had been misrepresenting facts of events in various war torn areas he was covering over the last decade. The paper investigated and later discovered that Kelley repeatedly misled editors during the internal investigation into stories he wrote. One story on Kosovo pointed falsely to evidence that did not exist and was a crucial piece of data used to justify intervention. Through our law firm we sent a letter to USA Today asking that the paper investigate the articles that Kelley wrote. USA Today has decided to form a commission to do just that.

At the end of February the Board will be meeting in Washington D.C. While there we will be meeting with representatives of Congress, the State Department and think tanks.

Nenad Vukicevic
President



Bishop Artemije's Visit to Washington Keeps Alive Issue of Human Rights in Kosovo

His Grace Bishop Artemije and delegation were in Washington, D.C. for a week of meetings. The SUC office was instrumental in enabling maximum exposure to top policy decision makers in and out of US Government.



Our Washington Office was very occupied with the scheduling of events and meetings for Bishop Artemije during his visit between January 29th - February 5th. Additional meetings were organized by Mr. Joe Grieboski, President of the Institute of Religion and Public Policy and Mr. Damjan de Krnjovic-Miskovic, Assistant Managing Editor of The National Interest.

Speaking at The Western Policy Center (WPC) - WPC, in conjunction with the Serbian Unity Congress, hosted a forum entitled "A Multi-ethnic Kosovo: Diplomatic Dream or Balkan Reality?" At the forum Bishop Artemije delivered a prepared speech outlining the dire situation facing the remaining Serbs of Kosovo and other ethnic communities. The briefing was held at the WPC and moderated by WPC Executive Director John Sitalides. It was attended by some 60 guests from various scholarly institutions, analysts from the Department of Defense, Congressional staff and staff from the US Department of State, among other government offices. (A transcript will be made available on the SUC website)

Meetings with the US Government - Bishop Artemije, Kosara Gavrilovic (translator) and I had two meetings with key members of the State and other staff from various offices including US Agency for International Development (USAID), Bureau for Population, Migration and Refugees, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor. The key topic of discussion was the implementation of standards for Kosovo, particularly in UN Res. 1244. Bishop Artemije's view is that there was lack of progress in establishing a secure environment for Serbs making it impossible for them to participate in the provisional government that works only to their detriment. His recommendation was to stick by guidelines originally put in place by UN Res. 1244. DAS Stephens differed in that without participation, the Serbs themselves were dictating a future in Kosovo that would exclude them.

SUC Dinner - SUC hosted a dinner for Bishop Artemije and his delegation in a private room at Legal Seafood Restaurant with about 25 members attending.

Addressing Religious NGO's - Bishop Artemije spoke to members of religious NGO's at the Capitol Hill Club, a Republican social center on Capitol Hill at a briefing sponsored by Joseph Grieboski, President of the Institute of Religion in Public Policy.



*His Grace
Bishop Artemije*

Guest at the National Prayer Breakfast - Bishop Artemije was received as a guest at this annual gathering of nearly 4000 leaders from the US and foreign governments, preeminent scholars and influential officials in US foreign and domestic policy circles, and leaders from a multitude of religious and non-governmental organizations. President George W. Bush addressed and met the attendees, which included Crown Prince Alexander as well as members of the Serbian government.

Also attending was the Kosovo Prime Minister Rejhepi, who briefed an audience on the progress to date in Kosovo and future prospects. Following meetings with Secretary of State Colin Powell, the Prime Minister painted a promising picture of the situation in Kosovo, claiming that incidents of violence against non-Albanian ethnicities are isolated and decreasing in number, that Rule of Law is steadily being established, and that they expect to achieve in full the standards outlined by UNMIK before final status negotiations (scheduled for mid-2005). Rejhepi also stated that although Serbian representatives are not participating in working groups to implement the standards, he is in discussions with other ethnic minorities who plan to participate.

Congressional Luncheon - Bishop Artemije, at the request of Senator George Voinovich (and facilitated by John Sitalides of the Western Policy Center) attended a private luncheon with Senator George Voinovich and additional Members of Congress and those within related policy circles.

Steven Cupic
Interim Director



Major Awards in Serbia Recognize SUC Members

The devotion of SUC members to our people and the leadership of our activism continues and receives recognition



St. Sava Celebrations at the Sava Center

On January 26, 2004 a celebration of both St. Sava's Day, and the 200th anniversary of the First Serbian uprising, was held at the Belgrade's Sava Center. The celebration was co-sponsored by the Christian Cultural Center, Studenica Foundation of the Serbian Unity Congress, "St. Andrew first-named Foundation ", GEPS (Group for the economic revival of Serbia), and "Bambi", a health food production company from Pozarevac.

The introductory speech was given by His Eminence Bishop Ignatije (Midic) of Branicevo, and the celebration was attended by prominent representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church headed by the Serbian Patriarch Pavle, representatives of state, the diplomatic corps and public and cultural life of Serbia.



Renowned Serbian soccer players now playing for Spanish clubs who had organized a major collection campaign in Spain to raise funds for the completion of St. Sava's Temple in Belgrade came to the event to present their donation to Patriarch Pavle. Among them were the famous Predrag Mijatovic, Savo Milosevic, and Slavisa Jokanovic.

Economic Forum on Economic Development

On January 22 a special economic forum "Strategy and Policy of the Economic Development in Serbia - Suggestions to the New Government" was held at the Hyatt Hotel in Belgrade. The Forum was co-sponsored by the Serbian American Association, United for Serbia, co-chaired by Zoran Drakulic and Michael Djordjevic, and attended by eminent entrepreneurs and economic experts from Serbia and Diaspora. Numerous initiatives, goals and strategies were proposed for inducing the revival of Serbia's economy.

In his comments on Diaspora's role Miroslav Djordjevic, Chairman of the Board of the Serbian Unity Congress stated "In order that Serbia might draw in foreign investments in capital, experience and knowledge, it is necessary for entrepreneurs in the homeland and Diaspora to restore mutual confidence, which will bring profit to them all". His call for the establishment of a Ministry for Diaspora under the administration of Diaspora, was met with great approval. Other speakers included professor Svetozar Stojanovic, Ph.D., President of the Serbian-American

Center, and entrepreneurs Zoran Drakulic and Nenad Popovic, Edita Kronic, vice-president of the Serbian Unity Congress, Veselin Sjekloca, Dragan Sataric from PIK Becej, and Zorica Moskovljevic.

"Manager 2003" Award to SUC President

On February 9th the business journalists of Serbia held their annual Manager of the Year Award ceremonies at the Serbian Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Belgrade. Branislav Gulan, a journalist at the Serbian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, presided over a jury of 15 business journal editors who selected this year's winners of this prize in different categories. The Award for Creativity and Entrepreneurship ", was given to SUC President Nenad Vukicevic (Palo Alto, USA).

The Businessman of the Year award was given to Dragoljub Vukadinovic, CEO of "Metalac" from Gornji Milanovac, and Veselin Jevrosimovic, CEO of "Comtrade" from Belgrade. The jury awarded 14 other "Manager 2003" prizes to other business managers.

"Zivojin Misic" Award to SUC Co-founder

On January 23rd one of SUC's most notable members and founders, Dragoslav Georgevich (Monterey, California) was honored by the town of Mionica, Serbia and selected for the "Zivojin Misic Award" the region's most prestigious award for extraordinary help to the people of this region. The family of Dragoslav Georgevich originally comes from Mionica. This prize was awarded to him for helping rebuild the school and church in his hometown. His son, also a SUC co-founder, Miroslav Djordjevich, joined him by donating for the costs of painting the interior of the Temple of the Lord's Assumption in Mionica. The Mayor of Mionica presented the award for Dragoslav to his son Miroslav at the SUC Office in Belgrade. Also present at the award ceremony were Milos Jevtic, a journalist and author of the book of conversations with Dragoslav Djordjevic "Over Mountains and Seas", and other members of the SUC Belgrade Office.



Dragoslav Georgevich

Slavka Draskovic
Director, Belgrade Office

Srbi, Svi i Svuda

By Vuk Karadzic

Serbian Unity Congress Today And the 200th Anniversary of the First Serbian Revolution How is it meaningful to us?

The 200th anniversary of the First Serbian Revolution of 1804, Prvi Srpski Ustanak, is an excellent occasion to reflect on the progression of Serbian history since that time, the evolution of the basic principle that fueled it (Serbian national identity), and the status and relevance of that principle vis-à-vis the Serbian nation today. In commemoration of the events triggered in 1804, this issue of the Bulletin is featuring the first of a series reflecting on those events 200 years ago. It is a proud accomplishment in Serbian history and its best features are of exemplary value to Serbs now in their struggle to find a way to a meaningful and prosperous future.

The 1804 and subsequent uprisings would not have, could not have, continued and succeeded without the influence and participation of Serbs outside of what was at that time Serbia proper (located within the Ottoman Empire). What is

this thing called "national identity"? Can it transcend territorial boundaries of sovereignty? Is there a clear definition of homeland for millions dispersed across many boundaries? Can homeland be a place from which you have been expelled, to which you are no longer welcome and where you are a second-class citizen or worse? Which is your national identity under those circumstances? How do you as a people dispersed formulate a national vision, driven by which national interest and with whom and how do you work toward the realization of this vision? Did the Serbs abroad two hundred years ago have a right to define and represent Serb interests or was their "meddling" without legitimacy? Was their role a contribution to or did it work against the interest of Serbia and its people? How does all this relate to you as a member of the Serbian Unity Congress?

Refining Our Focus - The Why, What, Who, Where & How Of Our Work

To be relevant we must be critical in our review, honest about our weaknesses, realistic about our limitations within and outside of our control, courageous in our vision and focused in our actions.

A founding premise on the basis of which the Serbian Unity Congress has continued to work was aptly displayed on the walls of the very first convention in Cleveland, Ohio -- Vuk Karadzic's own slogan "*Srbi, Svi i Svuda*" -- Serbs all over the world are part of one Serbian people or nation. And, that we are also an integral and positive part of our respective countries of residence. We have created an organization that enables Serbs to positively represent and nurture Serbian purpose and identity. Our members are caring, intelligent, accomplished, and progressive who share common sensibilities, tradition and a view of a better future, who honor, distinguish and integrate the Serbian spirit into our larger world community.

Our purpose is straightforward: protection of our honor and good name; promotion of our interests and prosperous future; and preservation of our culture and heritage. Our agenda for 2004 is simple. And, it is exciting in that our programs are now designed to involve you because you have and can be an integral part of our continuing positive influ-

ence. We are organizing working committees in the three program areas. Consider these programs and where you would care to become involved.

- 1 Anti-defamation
 - legal response
 - media watch
 - Research, documentation and archiving
- 2 Protection and promotion of human rights of Serbs
 - Strategic alliances (organizations with common interests)
 - Relations with Serb refugee organizations
 - Public Relations - Proactive & Responsive
- 3 Promotion of Culture
 - Visiting artist/academic/performance programs
 - Other

PLAY A CRUCIAL ROLE! JOIN A TEAM!

Call our Washington Office at (202) 463-8643

SUC DIALOGUE: Serbian Identity ? --- Tell Us How You See It

One's identity is an interesting subject. A common identity binds a community and motivates it to a greater purpose. What do you think are our best traits? We invite you to share your views with us. Please answer the following questions in two paragraphs no more than 50 words each. They can be serious, humorous, but always thoughtful. Send your essays to the Central Office by fax (818-902-9891) or email to jelena@serbianunity.net. We will reprint the most compelling entries here.

1. A uniquely Serbian characteristic you most respect in yourself
2. A uniquely Serbian characteristic you most respect in those Serb individuals whom you hold in greatest regard

200th Anniversary The Serbian Revolution

PRE-CONDITIONS: Serbian Society At the Time of the Revolution First in the series on the First Serbian Revolution

In 1804 there was no Serbian polity, only memory of the medieval Serbian Empire, kept alive through epic poems like those about the Battle of Kosovo. The 1804 insurrection took place in the Belgrade Pashalik (an area ruled by a pasha), an oval running 150 miles along the south bank of the Danube River, and extending 100 miles south into forested hill country. The population of the pashalik was about 350,000 -- 10% were Turks or other Muslims, including janissary households displaced from lands to the north after a lost war with Austria in 1791. The city of Belgrade (the White City) was a center for the Ottoman administration, a janissary garrison, and Muslim shopkeepers. Serbian society was rural and existed in the countryside.

The average Serb had no notion of "nationality" in the modern sense, but despite 400 years of Turkish rule, Serbian society was still alive and distinct from Ottoman Turkish society due to certain Ottoman policies and other powerful elements holding the society together.

The policy of religious separatism -- Under the millet system, Christian Orthodox Serbs were clearly NOT Muslim Ottoman Turks, as evidenced by their subservient status in matters of law, taxes, and privileges.

The Serbian Orthodox Church -- It harked back to the pre conquest kingdom of Serbia. All Orthodox believers were lumped together into a single millet. However, a distinctly Serbian archbishopric continued to exist at Pec until 1766. There was also a Serbian Orthodox bishop in Habsburg Hungary, the result of a mass migration of 70,000 Serbs into exile after a failed revolt in 1690. These Serbs were frontier soldiers of the Habsburg "Military Border". The Serbian Church's hierarchy of priests was a repository of limited education and administrative experience for Serbs; services were in Old Church Slavonic helped preserved Serbian identity as a people who had a separate language, not Turkish or Greek, as well as a separate faith.

Serbian village life -- The Ottomans made each village responsible collectively for the payment of taxes to the state and the 900 timariots in the pashalik. To run the village, the Turks permitted the election of headmen (knezes) and advisory assemblies (skupstinas) who became Serbia's secular leaders. In 1793, Serb villagers gained limited rights to bear arms: the anarchy created by displaced janissaries and the rise of renegade pashas forced the sultan to create local militias to maintain order. Serbian militia took part in Ottoman campaigns against Pasvanoglu, an "ayan" or rebellious pasha trying to set up an independent state in

northwest Bulgaria.

The "zadruga," the extended household was made up of a couple and their adult sons with their families, perhaps a dozen people, living communally and sharing farmland, herds and a living compound.

In the late 1700s, these old institutions combined with new forces to create the pre-conditions for the successful revolution that began in 1804. What were these changes?

First, the Austrian reconquest of Hungary brought the border to the edge of Serbian territory providing trading opportunities in Hungary, exposure to new ideas, a place to visit where Christians were not second-class citizens while at the same time making Serbs aware of their separate identity: if the Ottoman system taught them that they were Christian, the Austrians taught Serbs that they were Orthodox and Slavic.

During the Austro-Turkish war of 1788-91, some Serbs served as soldiers and officers in Habsburg armies. They learned about military tactics, organization and weapons. Some "hajduks" put this knowledge to work even before the 1804 revolt. Other Serbs were employed in administrative offices in Hungary or in the occupied zone.

Serbs began to travel in search of trade and education, and were exposed to European ideas about secular society, politics, law, and philosophy, including both rationalism and Romanticism. There was an active Serbian community in southern Hungary whose ideas crossed the Danube.

Other Serbian thinkers found strengths in the Serbian community itself and turned their attention to Serbia's own language and literature. Dositej Obradovic, born ca. 1743, after a brief career as a monk also traveled through Western Europe and inspired, he later wrote grammars and dictionaries to create a modern Serbian language, wrote some books himself and translated others. Others followed his lead, and revived tales of Serbia's medieval glories. Vuk Karadzic, born in 1787, collected and published Serbian epic poetry, which helped to build Serbian awareness of a common identity based in shared customs and shared history. This kind of linguistic and cultural self-awareness was a central feature of German nationalism in this period, and Serbian intellectuals now applied the same ideas to the Balkans.

Excerpts from *The Balkans In The Age Of Nationalism*,
1996 by Steven W. Sowards

Државност Србије ДЕЛО УКУПНОГ СРПСКОГ НАРОДА

Проф. Димитрије Ђорђевић

Историографија безује појам модерних европских нација са француском револуцијом и Неполеоновим ратовима који су јој следили. У српском народу припадност српској народној целини постојала је и развијала се током бекоба. Њени корени сачувани су у патријархалном српском селу под отоманском влашћу, у каплућерској успомени на стару држабу осежабану задужбинама српских средњебекобних блага, у Прабослабљу и обновљеној Пећској Патријаршији која је током од више од два века покривала расуће делове српског народа и у учешћу Срба у ратовима и бунама против Турака. Народне сеобе које су из тога исходиле добеле су до међусобног укрштања и узајамног прожимања расутих делова српског народа преносећи са колена на колена сазнање о његовој целини. Обо сачувано сазнање допринело је изградњи нове српске државности рођене у Устанку на обзорју деветнаестог века.



Од краја 17-ог до краја 18-ог века област Шумадије је била у неколико наврата опустешена ратовима. Њено становништво је наизменично бежало из ратом угрожених подручја и наново ту се после рата враћало. Расејан и наново насељаван српски народ је обим таласима побратника и нових насељеника био етнички осежабан и ојачан.

Проучавајући етничке покрете на Балкану Јован Цвијић је установио три главне области из којих су долазили сви насељеници у Србију. Они су потицали из области Динарских планина, из Косовско-метохијске равнице и из моравско-бардарске долине. Дошљаци су собом донели наслеђа из својих ранијих постојбина, тежњу за независношћу, нетрпељивост према турској власти и отпор према централној државној управи. У предвечерје српског Устанка 1804 - писао је Јован Цвијић - Шумадија је представљала "згуснуту снагу укупне српске нације, позорицу на којој су се стопиле и ујединиле, све снаге српског народа". На томе се заснивала обновљена српска државност.

Многи вођи Устанка 1804. били су изданици обих српских насељеника. Карађорђеви претци дошли су у Србију из Васојевићских брда. Милошеба лоза је

потицала од Братоножића из Црне Горе. Пореклом из Црне Горе били су и Васо Чарапић, Танаско Рајућ, Назар Мутап и породица Ненадовића. Из Босне су потицали Илија Бирчанин, Анта Богичевић и Сима Катун. Из Херцеговине је дошао Стојан Чупић, и Змај од Ноћаја. Из аустријске Војне Границе пребегли су капетан Вучо Зигић и Радош Петровић. Тома Милиновић, војвода устаничке артиљерије, дошао је из Мориња у Боки Которској. Устанку су такође пришли добровољци из Санџака, Старе Србије и Македоније. Из Сјенице су били Хаџи

Продан Глигоријевић и Сима Паштрнац ; са Охрида војвода Цинцар Јанко Поповић; из Призрена Чолак-Анта Симеонићи. Хајдук Ђорђе Ђурчија стигао је из Босуте у Слабонију. Потстакнути догађајима у Србији, спонтани народни устанци избили су 1807. и 1809. у Срему, Босни и Херцеговини, затим у Топлици, Јабланици и Власини. Владика Петар II у Црној Гори био је у бази са устаницима у Србији.

Напоредо са војним старешинама Устанка, српска школована интелигенција из расејања одиграва је непроцењиву улогу у баскрсу српске државне мисли. Први предлози за обнову српске државности потекли су од Саве Текелије у Будиму, митрополита Стевана Стратимировића у Карловцима и Архимандрита Арсенија Гаговића у Херцеговини. Њу су даље развили умни професор из Харкова Божидар Грујовић, професор у Карловцима Иван Југовић и посебно, најугледнији представник српске просвећености Доситеј Обрадовић, први министар просвете у ослобођеној Србији.

Данас, када су државне творевине српског народа у негдашњој прошлости грађене и разграђене и када је Србија поплављена избеглицима са бекобних српских огњишта, остала нам је у наслеђе порука коју је пре два века, године 1809. Карађорђе упутио Владици Петру II. у Црној Гори: "Да жибито заједно и уједињени, као што Бог заповеди. Он који је у нас улио исту крв и који нам је дао исту беру, учинио нас је да жибито као браћа, једно тело, срце и душа."

Politics Make Strange Bedfellows

Milosevic's party helps Vojislav Kostunica form a government.

Has Serbia made a great leap backward?

By DEJAN ANASTASIJEVIC | BELGRADE

Sunday, Feb. 08, 2004, *Time Europe Magazine* - Rarely has politics made stranger bedfellows than the allies who came together in Serbia last week. Vojislav Kostunica .. who defeated Slobodan Milosevic in 2000 to become the last President of Yugoslavia struck a deal with Milosevic's own Socialist Party (SPS) to secure the position of Serbian Prime Minister.



Milosevic himself, on trial in the Hague for war crimes, will have no influence on government policy, but what many regard as an unholy alliance is prompting fears that Serbia is lapsing into its bad old nationalistic habits.

Kostunica's Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS) forged the deal with Milosevic's SPS after December parliamentary polls produced an inconclusive result. The ultranationalist Serbian Radical Party, led by Milosevic's longtime

ally and fellow Hague indictee Vojislav Seselj, emerged as the largest single party, with 82 of the 250 seats in the Serbian parliament. That's not nearly enough to form a government, but with 53 seats the DSS was far short of a majority too. A coalition with the Radicals was out of the question because of their openly extremist agenda, so it was widely expected that Kostunica would turn to the reformist Democratic Party, which dominated Serbian politics until its chairman Zoran Djindjic was assassinated last March. Kostunica and Djindjic never saw eye to eye on reform, and the DSS leader failed to do a deal with Djindjic's successors, Zoran Zivkovic and Boris Tadic. Kostunica then teamed up with two smaller centrist parties and turned to Slobo's old gang, whose 22 seats gave him just enough to reach a majority.

Out of power and with their leader incarcerated in the Hague, the Socialists were considered a spent force. But Kostunica's embrace has brought them back to life. ..The political price of the DSS-SPS alliance could be high. It will certainly cost Kostunica the cooperation of the Democrats. "The vote turned the clock back to Oct. 4, 2000," Tadic said, referring to the day before Milosevic was toppled in a popular uprising. Voters are expressing their distaste, too. Leaving the parliament building after the deal was announced, Kostunica ran a gauntlet of angry ex-supporters who denounced the pact. "I voted for Kostunica, but I never expected him to deal with Milosevic's cronies," said

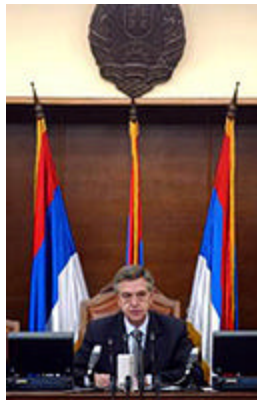
a disgusted Ljubica Zivkovic, 55, a grocery store owner from Belgrade. "I thought I'd never see their faces again."

Kostunica's alliance with the SPS will also increase suspicion in the West, on which Serbia depends for aid. Kostunica's mistrust of the Hague tribunal, which he sees as an American political tool, has already caused concern, and his new political friends are only likely to increase Western worries. The European Union has already voiced its discontent. "We in the E.U. have said very clearly [that] we want ... the democratic parties of Serbia to stick together and continue the process of reform," said E.U. foreign policy chief Javier Solana. Still, there's some hope that the West can do business with Kostunica. "The situation is complex, and one should not jump to conclusions," one Western diplomat told Time. "The real test will be actions, not personalities."

Serbia's first test comes in less than two months. By the end of March, the U.S. Congress will vote on whether to continue aid to Serbia. Kostunica will have to convince Congress that he's committed to democratic reform and that he's serious about arresting suspected war criminals. Given his fierce resistance to the tribunal in the past - and with his government dependent on votes from Milosevic's party - few expect to see people like Bosnian Serb General Ratko Mladic on their way to the Hague anytime soon. "We are highly dependent on Western aid, and if the U.S. stops supporting us, others are likely to follow," says independent foreign investment consultant Milan Kovacevic. "We should hope for the best, but expect the worst." Kostunica will need to decide which is more important, political expediency or economic necessity.

A New Composition for Government

February 16, 04 , <http://www.blic.co.yu> - Minority government consisting of DSS, G17 Plus and SPO-NS coalition will be formed this week, most likely with support by the Socialist Party of Serbia. However, as 'Blic' source close to democratic parties that have been negotiating for weeks already, claims there is possibility that Democratic Party /DS/ gives that support.



According to this support distribution of posts have been agreed in principle and is expected to be 'officially defined' until Thursday. Our source further claims that DSS leader Vojislav Kostunica would be the Prime Minister of new Serbian Government. G17 Plus leader Miroslav Labus would be Deputy Prime Minister for economic relations with abroad. The new government would have 16 ministries.

Greater Dialogue Between Pristina, Belgrade Needed

February 9, 2004, *United Nations* - Pristina and Belgrade must have direct and serious dialogue if Kosovo is to make any progress soon on such key issues as the fate of persons missing from the war of 1998-99, Harri Holkeri, the Secretary-General's Special Representative and United Nations senior envoy to the province told the Security Council today. He described a fragile Kosovo marked by mistrust between communities. The envoy said Kosovo's capital, Pristina, understands that dialogue is a standard that must be fulfilled before the province's future status is determined. He also criticized the Yugoslav capital, Belgrade, for setting up parallel institutions and power structures in Kosovo.

Over 3,500 people - about 75 per cent Kosovo Serbs and nearly 20 per cent Kosovo Albanians - are still missing since the war ended, while many people have not yet returned to their former homes and villages. The "Standards for Kosovo" document, launched in December, sets out what the province's Provisional Institutions of Self-Government need to achieve before permanent future status can be decided including functioning democratic institutions, the rule of law, freedom of movement, returns and reintegration, the economy, property rights and dialogue with Belgrade.

Mr. Holkeri said Kosovo Serbs have not been participating in the standards process because of their "wholly unfounded" fears that it prejudices Kosovo's future status. "Kosovo's undetermined status helps no one in Kosovo and it needs to be resolved sooner rather than later," he said. Zeljko Perovic, Assistant Foreign Affairs Minister of Serbia and Montenegro, told the Council that Kosovo's non-Albanian communities were being denied any meaningful participation in the province's political life. He also charged that in the province, all of the political, economic and social advantages belonged to the ethnic Albanian community.

Albania's representative, Agim Nesho, voiced regret over the lack of participation of minorities in the implementation process. But he welcomed the recent transfer of certain specific responsibilities to Kosovo's Provisional Institutions - the presidency, the government and the Kosovo assembly - as a step forward. All 15 Council members took part in the debate, with many stressing that Kosovo's Provisional Institutions must meet the standards timetable. A number of speakers also underscored the need for ethnic tolerance to foster returns and stability.

Desa Tomasevic:

A Tireless Spokeswoman For Her People

Desa Tomasevic Wakeman was born in a merchant family, in Vocin - a frontier town in the heart of the Serbian part of Slavonia. After surviving the Ustashe concentration camp Caprag, with hundreds of thousands of refugees from Croatia in WW-II, her family found refuge in the occupied Nedic's Serbia "which received and cared for us as a widowed mother cares for her children." After the war and the arrival of Tito and communism, she and her brother George - both students at the University of Belgrade - escaped and settled in Chicago, where they finished their university education.

In the early 50's utilizing her previously acquired background in mathematics, she spent 10 years working on the pension plans in Chicago at one of the (then) biggest actuarial firms in the United States. This experience, together with the additional education in the mathematics of finance at Stanford, enabled her to become one of the pioneers in the post-war era of the U.S. economic expansion, focusing on the international financing of the airplanes, locomotives, ships, factories and other major American-built assets, today known as leasing. Her career of 33 years with The United States Leasing International Inc. included positions of: President of the U.S. Lease Financing, Inc., President of the Trust Company for USL and the manager of its \$1.2 billion portfolio. Between 1965 and 1990, she trained the young cadres from Japan, China, Australia and Europe, earning her the name of "founding mother of the international equipment financing".

While still handling the major responsibilities of a distinguished career Desa worked tirelessly to fight the disinformation against the Serbian people over the last 15 years. She joined the Serbian Unity Congress at its inception and has been one of its greatest donors. Desa has been a generous donor to endless other projects and individual requests. She has appeared on numerous television and radio interviews trying to clarify to a befuddled American public the role of the Serbs in the wars in the Balkans.

Along with other SUC members from the San Francisco Chapter Desa co-founded the American Serbian Women's Caucus that worked tirelessly with the War Crimes Tribunal in the Hague to succeed early on in getting an investigation, indictment and convictions for perpetrators of war crimes against the Serbian people - the Celebici case. This remains the only case convicting the Muslim perpetrators for war crimes in B&H. These are just a few of her many achievements and contributions.

Desa is currently a pensioner, living in Berkeley, California and continuing to be an extremely effective unofficial ambassador of the Serbian people.

Thank you Desa!

CELEBRATING THE POWER OF LOVE



Perast

As we celebrate the power and wonderment of love this February, we have selected what is considered by many to be the best love poem written by the legendary Petar Petrovic Njegos - "A Night More Precious Than A Lifetime". It is said that Njegos wrote the poem in 1844 and that it describes a night when he went to Perast to bathe and encountered a young maiden neighbor who was smitten with him and whose "attentions he did not resent". Renown artist, Olja Ivanjicki, so inspired by this beautiful love poem, produced 13 works of art and in collaboration with publisher "INTER-PRES", published a book by the same name "A Night More Precious Than A Lifetime" in 1997 with a translation of the poem into six other languages.

Painting by Olja Ivanjicki reprinted with permission by artists

Ноћ скупља бијек

Петар Петровић Његош

Плаба луна бедрим зраком у прелесту дивно тече
испод поља збјезданије у пролећну тиху бече,
сипље зраке магичке, чуства тајна нека буду,
те смртника жедни поглед у дражести слаткој
блуду. Над њом збјезде ројевима брилијантна кола
боде,

под њом капље ројевима заживу се ројене боде;
на грм слабуј усамљени армоничку песму поје,
мушице се огњевите ка комете мале роје.

Ја замишљен пред шатором на шарени "ћилим
сједим

и с погледом бнимателним сбу дивоту обу гледим.
Чуства су ми сад трејазна, а мисли се разлетиле;
красота ми оба божа разбијала умне силе.

Него опет к себи доћи, у ништабо људско стање
ал' лишено сбога трона божество сам неко мање;
претчуствбијем неким слатким ход Дијанин
беличаби

душу ми је напојио - све њен б'јенац гледим плаби.
О насљедство идејално, ти нам гојиш бесмртје,
те са небом душа људска има сбоје сношеније!

Слух и душа у надежди плибајући танко пазе
- ба кубду дбиженија - до њих хитро сби допазе!

Распрсне ти пупуљ сб'јетни али кане роса с струка -
све то слуху оштром грми, код мене је страшна
хука;

затрепте ти тице крила у бусењу густе трабе,
стрецања те рајска тресу, а битлења туче главе.
Тренућ ти је сваки сахат - моје време сад не иде;
силе су ти на опазу, очи бјеже сбуд - да биде.

Док ебо ти дивне биле лаким кроком ће ти лети -
забиг' те ми, сби бесмртни, на тренутак обаж свету!
Ход је билин много дични но Аброрин када шеће,
од сребрног сбога прага над прољећем кад се креће;

зрак је биле маголик тако красан ка Атине,
огледало и мазање презиру јој черте фине.

Устаб, луно, б'јела кола, продужи ми часе тиле,

кад су сунце над Инопом уставити могле биле.
Прелесницу како бидим, загрлим је ка бог белу,
убедим је под шатором к испуњењу светој жељи.
Под зракама красне луне, при сбејњици запањеној
пламена се споји душа ка душици раскањеној
и цјелиби божествени душу с душом драгом слију.
Ах, цјелиби, божа мана, све прелести рајске слију!
Цјелителни балсам свету - најмирисни аромати
што је небо земљи дапо - на усне јој стах сисати.
Собршенство творенија, таинствене силе боже
ништа љепше ни' је када нити ог ње стборит може!
Малена јој уста слатка, а ангелски обрашчићи -
од тисуће што чуствујем једну не знам сада рећи!
Сњежана јој прса кругла, а стрецају светим плам-
ом,

дб'је слонобе јабучице на њи губе слатком маом;
црна коса на багобе низ рајске се игра груди...

О дивото! Чудо смртни ере сада не полуци!

Б'јела прса гордија су под црнијем балобима
но планина гордељуба под бјечнијем сњегобима
на изпазак кад је сунца са рабнине цб'јетне гледим,
крос трежицу танке магле беличину кад јој сц'јед-
им.

Играм јој се с јабукама - дба сбијета срећна баже,
к босхиштењу бесмртномеш лишеника среће драже;
зној лагани с њеном косом с занешене тарем
глабе...

Друге среће, мало бажне, за њу би да, и све слабе.
Не тичу се уста с устах - цјелиб један ноћи ц'јеле!

Јошт се ситан не наљубих бладалице биле б'јеле;
сбезала се дба погледа магическом слатком
силом,

као сунце с сбојим ликом када лети над пучином.

Луна бјежи с хоризонта и уступа фебу благу,
таг избига је изгубим дивотницу тоју магу!

It is with sadness that we note the passing of one of SUC's Advisory Board members. Mike Minich contributed his expertise, his resources and his heart to the Serbian Unity Congress and will be greatly missed. He passed away on Saturday January 18, 2004 at his home near Leesburg, FL at the age of 69.

Mike was born November 2, 1934 in Aliquippa, PA, the son of Anne Zenich Minich and the late Joseph Minich, Sr. and was raised on the family farm in Clinton, PA. He graduated from L.A. City College as an Electrical Engineer and pursued his inventive nature, designing the locking connector device utilized on space rockets. He was owner of TriRidge Electronics Corp. and became a successful businessman.

Playing the accordion and working for Serbian causes were a couple of his pastimes, and he as an avid member of the Accordion Club of Central Florida. His past service includes past president of Sv. Petka Serbian Orthodox Church in Lake Mary, FL which he helped organ-

IN MEMORIAM
Michael (Mike) Minich (1934-2004)

ize. Mike was an early advocate for getting SUC on-line, understanding the technical advantage long before most and he remains the single

largest contributor to SUC's Endowment Fund.

Mike's family were very close knit, and he is mourned by his mother Anne Minich of Clinton, PA as well as his wife of 48 years, Wilma, Leesburg, FL; along with daughter Diana Cooper and son Samuel Minich their spouses and 4 children, all of Clinton, PA. Three brothers, Samuel, Joe and Dale Minich and their families.

Our deepest sympathies are extended on behalf of the SUC and we remain eternally grateful for his meaningful contributions.

Vecna mu Pamjat!

George Kolarovich
IAB Coordinator

Quo Vadis, America?

Where are you Headed, America?

264 pp. Hardbound, \$30.00



~ About the Author ~

The author of the book, Dr. Vujica Yevjevich, is at present Professor Emeritus of Water Resources Engineering at Colorado State University. He served with this university for twenty years (1960-1979). He also served as research professor with George Washington University for eight years (1979-1987), in Washington D.C. He is a native of Yugoslavia, and came to the United States in February 1958 by invitation of the US Government as a guest scientist. He has published 200 papers and authored 20 books, and obtained 26 awards from national and international professional organizations, among which are: Technologist Doctor Honoris Causa by the University of Lund, Sweden, and the first Ven Te Chow Award in 1996 by the American Society of Civil Engineers. He has traveled worldwide as a consultant and lecturer.

~ About the Book ~

The book starts with the past and present nations, with their evolution, dynamics of change, culture and civilization. The formation of the United States of America is viewed through influences which emphasize the characteristics of republic, capitalism and democracy. Some of the dilemmas are: unity in diversity verses diversity in unity, type of immigration policy, social status of immigration groups and what political trends the country should follow.

The author expects that the prosperous future if USA will be assured through defense and improvement if freedoms, democracy, human rights, national security and general economic and social progress.

FAX NUMBER FOR ORDERING THE BOOK IS (720) 344-4534

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