

[TRANSLATION] # 2

The initial setbacks, specifically, the refusal of Mr. Jetron Hamilton, the President of the Committee of Human Rights to accept the motions the emigres made through the above-mentioned congressmen and senators did not discourage these self-proclaimed defenders of Albanians in Yugoslavia.

At the beginning of May of this year [1987], when the primary race accelerated, Senator Dole and Congressman Diogardi met in New York with representatives of Albanian emigres in the Club, "Jusuf Garvela." On that occasion, they thanked these emigres for the donation of 1.2 million dollars for Dole's campaign and \$50,000 for Diogardi's. Afterwards, a joint press conference was held for ABC news about the "genocide in Kosovo." On May 9, 1987, the organization, "Beli Kombatar" gave a formal dinner for congressman William Broomfield, member of the Foreign Relations and Human Rights Committees, to thank him for the help he provided the Albanians in the U.S.A., and for his pledge that he will support the opening of the U.S. consulate in Pristina in the legislature this fall.

In his toast, Mr. Bloomfield said, "If the U.S. had its consulate in Pristina, these events would not have taken place." Then he promised that U.S. officials will follow the behavior of the individual Yugoslavs in the U.S., since there is a belief that they committed some murders as members of S.D.B. (Yugoslav Secret Police).

[TRANSLATION] #1

Albanian emigres do not have among them cadres who are skilled in anti-Yugoslav writings. All of their leaflets, posters, pamphlets and their leaders' speeches were prepared in Tirana. Semi-literate escaped criminals from Yugoslavia do not possess the requisite knowledge to speak for example, about the Bujanska conference, nor about advancement of the ideal of the "Kosovo- Republika." But, Tirana's writers do know. Much clearer proof about the direct connection between Tirana and "our" Albanian emigres is their synchronized attack on Yugoslavia and Serbia after the dispatch of militia in the fall of 1987. Both of them in their papers accused Yugoslavia of terror and the disturbance of international relations in the Balkans, Europe and in the world at large. Also, many emigre leaders, especially reporters and radio commentators, at the expense of Tirana, on several occasions visited Albania. In this way, Djeto Sinishaj, owner and operator of "Glas Malesije" visited Tirana. From there he returned with a suitcase full of books entitled, "Onward to Kosovo," and the "Albanian Encyclopedia." Both are of explicitly anti-Yugoslav in character and are sold, besides in the U.S.A., in Switzerland.

Statement by Dr. Alex N. Dragnich, Professor of
Political Science (retired)

Mr. Chairman:

I am sure that you and other members of the House and of the Senate have asked yourselves why you needed to concern yourselves with American citizens who involve themselves in the quarrels of the inhabitants of the countries of their forebears.

As a free American, born here of Serbian immigrant parents, permit me to try to answer that question in terms of United States national interests. I am pleased that my parents came here, because we their children have been able to grow up in a society of free men and women who enjoy the blessings of liberty.

Americans of Serbian background have been well aware, and proud, that these blessings of freedom are precisely what their forebears struggled for in the old homeland. In the course of the 19th century, after nearly 500 years of Turkish domination, the Serbs fought successfully to regain their independence, and toward the end of the century were successful in establishing democratic political institutions. All of this was done with virtually no help from the outside and with great sacrifices.

But there is more than this identity of aspirations that brought Serbs and Americans together. They fought as allies in two world wars, and with untold suffering.

More important, in terms of United States national interests, is the role of Serbs in Yugoslavia. They are the most numerous, nearly twice as large as the next largest group, the Croats. They were the principal instrument in the creation of Yugoslavia in 1918--the ones who sacrificed the most on its behalf and in the interwar years they were the strongest supporters of the common state. There have been allegations that in those years the Serbs abused their dominant position. Recent studies, both here and in Yugoslavia, have demonstrated that such was not the case. But whatever history's ultimate judgment on that question, it remains a fact that there cannot be a Yugoslavia without strong Serbian support.

No one should lose sight of this fact, because United States foreign policy is committed to an integral Yugoslav state.

At the same time, recent years have witnessed disintegrative forces at work. As a result, the Serbs, who are convinced that they have been getting the "short end of the stick" in Tito's Yugoslavia, have been asking themselves why they should continue to support a common state if others seemingly do not want to do so.

This has, it seems to me, important implications for the United States. I believe that the Congress should avoid taking actions that may further contribute to disintegration in Yugoslavia, and thereby undermines United States policy.

This does not mean that any group in Yugoslavia should be free of criticism. But members of the Congress should keep in mind that no nationality group in Yugoslavia favors a communist system. Unfortunately, there are times when some of these groups blame each other for their plight. Consequently, if members of the Congress are inclined to respond to injustices in Yugoslavia, they should do so on behalf of all of the peoples there. To align themselves with one or another group, especially groups that do not share America's policy objective of an integral Yugoslavia, would in my opinion be sheer folly.

MILORAD M. DRACHKOVITCH

Biographical Sketch

Born on November 8, 1921, in Belgrade, Yugoslavia;
came as an immigrant to the United States in 1958;
U.S.A. citizen

- Education:
- B.A. and Ph.D. in Political Science at the University of Geneva (Switzerland), obtained in 1949 and 1953, respectively
 - Diploma of Higher European Studies, College of Europe, Bruges (Belgium), 1953
 - Fellow of the Commonwealth Fund, New York City, 1955-56
- Academic Experience:
- Director of Studies at the College of Europe, 1957-58
 - Visiting Assistant Professor at the University of California, Berkeley, 1959-60
 - Fellow, Russian Research Center, Harvard University, 1960-61
 - Lecturer in the Department of Political Science, Stanford University, 1961-69
 - Senior Fellow, the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, 1961 -
 - Editor-in-Chief of Encyclopedia on Eastern Europe, 1986; resigned for reasons of health in March 1987.
- Publications: (1) Books written:
- Les socialismes français et allemand et le problème de la guerre, 1870-1914. Geneva: Librairie E. Droz, 1953.
 - De Karl Marx à Léon Blum. La crise de la social-démocratie. Geneva: Librairie E. Droz, 1954.
 - U.S. Aid to Yugoslavia and Poland. Analysis of a Controversy. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1963.

Publications
(Continued):(1) Books written:

- Lenin and the Comintern, vol. I (in cooperation with Branko Lazitch). Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1972.
- Biographical Dictionary of the Comintern (in cooperation with Branko Lazitch). Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1973.
- New, revised, and expanded edition of the Biographical Dictionary of the Comintern. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1986.

(2) Books edited:

- The French Fifth Republic. Berkeley: Department of Political Science, 1960.
- Marxism in the Modern World. Stanford University Press, 1965.
- The Revolutionary Internationals, 1864-1943. Stanford University Press, 1966.
- Marxist Ideology in the Contemporary World. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966.
- The Comintern: Historical Highlights. Essays, Reflections, Documents. (In cooperation with Branko Lazitch). New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966.
- Yearbook on International Communist Affairs, 1966. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1967.
- Fifty Years of Communism in Russia. University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1968.
- General editor of the Hoover Archival Documentaries series 1977-1984.
- East Central Europe: Yesterday-Today-Tomorrow. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1982.

(3) Books in the process of completion:

- Lenin and the Comintern, vol. II.
- A History of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. 1919-1986.

(4) Other writings:

Chapters in various collective books on comparative government and international relations. - Articles and book reviews (in French, German, and English) in European and American scholarly journals. - Contributor for over twenty years to the Encyclopedia Americana Annual. - Books, pamphlets and articles in Serbian language published over the years in Yugoslav publications in the West.

Public
Activities:

- Member of different professional associations in the field of political science and history.
- Member of the Foreign Policy Advisory Group to the Republican presidential candidate in 1968.
- Occasional consultant on East European and Yugoslav affairs, International Security Policy, Department of Defense. Appointed in June 1983; resigned for reasons of health in August 1984.
- Presidential appointee to the Board of Foreign Scholarships, the United States Information Agency, in April 1984. Resigned for reasons of health in May 1985.

DIMITRIJE DJORDJEVIĆ

Born in Belgrade, Yugoslavia in 1922. During the war joined the resistance movement of general Mihailović, was arrested by the Gestapo and sent to the concentration camp of Mauthausen. After the war supported the democratic opposition in Yugoslavia and in 1945 was sentenced four years of prison of which he served one year and a half. Graduated in history in 1954 at the University of Belgrade and obtained his Ph D in 1962. From 1958 was assistant, then member and senior member of the Historical Institute and Institute for Balkan Studies of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Belgrade. Represented Yugoslav historians in the International Committee for Historical Sciences and Balkan Studies in Paris and Bucharest (1962-1970). In 1970 moved to the History Department of the University of California in Santa Barbara, where he is teaching modern Balkan history and history of Eastern Europe. Naturalized American citizen in 1977. At UCSB was chairman of Russian Area Studies (1976-82), is Chairman of Balkan Studies, fellow of the Interdisciplinary Humanities Center (1987/8), member of the Fulbright Screening Committee in Washington D.C (1987/90), In 1984 was elected president of the Conference on Slavic and East European Studies of the American Historical Association. In 1985 was elected member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Belgrade, Yugoslavia and in 1986 president of the North American Association for Serbian Studies. Member of editorial boards of historical journals in the US and Europe (in the US: Austrian History Yearbook 1974/8, East European Quarterly 1970-on, Serbian Studies 1980-on, Historical Abstract 1972-on). Lectured at US and European universities.

Djordjević' field of research and writing is modern Serbian, Yugoslav and Balkan history, the Habsburg monarchy and the Ottoman empire. He authored, co-authored and edited nine books and over 90 articles, not including reviews, comments etc. in the United States and Europe (in Yugoslavia, France, Greece and Southeast Europe).

RADOVAN SAMARDŽIĆ

Born in Sarajevo in 1922. Graduated in history at the University of Belgrade in 1949 and got his Ph D in history in 1956. Samardžić has been teaching modern European history and history of historiography at the Belgrade University since 1950 until the present.

Professor Samardžić is among the most prominent historians in Yugoslavia today. He was elected a corresponding member (1974) and academician of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, ⁽¹⁹⁸³⁾ the highest scholarly institution in the Republic of Serbia. He is now the Secretary of the Department of Historical Sciences of the Academy, Director of the Institute for Balkan Studies of the Academy and full professor of the University in Belgrade of which he was Chairman of the History Department and Dean of the Philosophical Faculty.

Professor Samardžić' main field of research and writing is in the field of the Ottoman rule in the Balkans and its political, social and cultural aspects. He produced nine books and over one hundred of articles, not including reviews, comments etc. Some of his books include several volumes and got several editions. Samardžić was the main editor of the Yugoslav Historical Journal, as well as of the eight volumes of the History of the Serbian People, the journal Balcanica and volumes published by the Institute for Balkan Studies. He is the organizer of international meetings (was president of the V World Congress of Balkanologists in 1984) and international cooperation of the Institute under his directorship with scholars in France, Greece, the United State as well as other institutes of Balkan studies in South Eastern Europe.

Academician Samardžić is a member of the Committee for the Defence of Freedom of Thought and Expression which includes twenty most prominent intellectuals in Belgrade and Serbia (most of them members of the Academy of Sciences). The Committee fights for democracy and directs petitions-protests to the government, pointing to the abuse of power by the authorities.

Chronicles

A MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN CULTURE

MOMCILO SELIC

Momcilo Selic is managing editor of CHRONICLES: A MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN CULTURE, published monthly by the Rockford Institute.

Born January 8, 1946, in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, Mr. Selic is a writer of fiction who received a Diploma in Architectural Engineering from the University of Belgrade, Yugoslavia. He was forced to emigrate in 1983, after having spent over two years in prison for "hostile propaganda" against the Yugoslav Communist Party and state.

In the West, Mr. Selic has published articles, reviews, and fiction in such publications as: THE TORONTO GLOBE AND MAIL, THE OTTAWA CITIZEN, INDEX ON CENSORSHIP, FREEDOM AT ISSUE, NEWSWEEK, THE NEW LEADER, CHRONICLES, THE IDLER, THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

Mr. Selic is the author of a novel, THE FATIGUE OF MATERIALS, and many short stories. He is the coeditor of THE CLOCK, the first Yugoslav literary samizdat started with Milovan Djilas and Mihajlo Mihajlov. He is the recipient of the international literary prize, FOR THE ARTIST IN THE WORLD, distributed by the fund Pour l'imaginaire, of London.

As a former Amnesty International Prisoner of Conscience, Mr. Selic has lectured various Amnesty International groups and forums in Canada, United Kingdom, and the U.S. He is the cochairman of CADDY (Committee to Aid Democratic Dissidents in Yugoslavia) together with Mihajlo Mihajlov and historian Franjo Tudjman. Mr. Selic has given talks on the plight of Yugoslav writers and intellectuals to the University of Glasgow School of Slavonic Studies, Freedom House of New York, the American Serbian Heritage Foundation of Los Angeles, and other institutions. He has given numerous interviews to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, etc.

In addition to his duties for CHRONICLES, Mr. Selic is working on a novel and a book of short stories. With his wife, Ana, and three children, he is living in Rockford, Illinois.

Biographical Data

Dr. Veselin Djuretic, learned Fellow of the Balkanological Institute, at the Serbian Academy of Science and Art was born, in 1933 in Zeta, Montenegro. Nationality: Serbian. He graduated with a degree in Philosophy from Sarajevo University, and completed his postgraduate study of history in Belgrade. He received his doctorate in 1968. Dr. Djuretic also completed a one year specialization in contemporary history at Lomonosov University in Moscow, U.S.S.R.

About 70 of Djuretic's works on the subject of the history of Yugoslavia and of the October Revolution have been published as well as several theoretical papers concerning methodology. He has authored three books. His first, "Government at Impasse" had two printings the first year. The last two -volume work, "The Allies and the Yugoslav Wartime Drama" was the subject of unprecedented political denunciations which continued for two years on all governmental levels, and in newspapers, television and on the radio. The world press also carried the news of the debate involving his book. The political campaign was carried further in a staged trial which resulted in the banning of all three of the editions. In the meantime, the author published a fourth edition expanded by 250 pages in West Germany.

Djuretic prepared for a symposium held at the University of California at Santa Barbara a report dealing with the postwar migrations in Yugoslavia with emphasis on the exodus of Serbs from Kosovo.

CURRICULUM VITAE

MICHAEL RADENKOVICH

Born: 6 April 1933, Belgrade, Yugoslavia.
Wife, Elaine; Daughter, Kimberly Ann

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| 1951 | Graduated from the Third Men's [High] School in Belgrade |
| 1951-54 | Studied law at Belgrade University |
| August 1954 | Defected to the west (Austria) while on tour as a member of the Yugoslav National Track and Field Team |
| 1954-57 | Resided in Austria, France and West Germany |
| 1955-56 | Studied at the Alliance Francaise in Paris, France |
| January 1957 | Arrived in the United States |
| August 1957-59 | Completed two year duty in the U.S. Army |
| 1959-68 | Served in the Foreign Exchange Divison of the Bank of America International, New York City |
| 1964-68 | Concurrent with the above studied Business and Contemporary History at Columbia University |
| 1968-70 | Director of research for Surety Real Estate Company, Los Angeles |
| 1971-75 | Owned and operated Prime Land Research Company, Los Angeles |
| 1976-present | Founder and President of C. Ramek Energy Systems Company, Santa Monica, California |
| 1983-present | Co-Founder, President and Chairman of Board of American Serbian Heritage Foundation, Los Angeles |

Alex N. Dragnich
100 Grover Court
Charlottesville, VA 22901
(804) 979-1699

Born: Republic, Washington, February 22, 1912
Married, three children

Education: Linfield College, 1933-35
University of Washington, 1936-38; BA 1938
University of California, MA 1939; PhD 1945

Positions held:

Senior Propaganda Analyst, US Dept of Justice,	1942-44
Research Analyst, Office of Strategic Services,	1944-45
Assistant Professor of Political Science, Western Reserve University,	1945-47
Cultural Attache and Public Affairs Officer, American Embassy, Belgrade,	1947-50
Associate Professor of Political Science, Vanderbilt University,	1950-52
Professor (Chairman of Department 1965-69)	1952-78
Professor Emeritus	1978-
Research Fellow, Hoover Institution,	1978-81
Distinguished Lecturer in Politics, Washington and Lee University,	1982

Honors and Other Positions:

Phi Beta Kappa (University of Washington)	1938
Social Science Research Fellow	1952-53
Ford Faculty Fellow (Harvard University)	1955-56
Chester W. Nimitz Professor, US Naval War College	1959-60
Who's Who in America	1966
Vice President, Southern Political Science Association	1972
President "	1973-74
Thomas Jefferson Award (for "distinguished service to Vanderbilt through extra- ordinary contributions as a member of the faculty in the councils and govern- ment of the University.")	1970
Senior Scholar Award, Southern Conference on Slavic Studies	1979

Major Publications:

Tito's Promised Land (Rutgers University Press, 1954)
Major European Governments (after 3rd edition with
Jorgen Rasmussen) (Dorsey Press, 7th ed. 1986)
Serbia, Nikola Pasic, and Yugoslavia (Rutgers
University Press, 1974)

The Development of Parliamentary Government in Serbia (Columbia University Press, 1978)
The First Yugoslavia: Search for a Viable Political System (Hoover Institution Press, 1983)

Co-author:

Yugoslavia (University of California Press, 1949)
The Fate of East Central Europe (Notre Dame Press, 1956)
Government and Politics Random House, (1966, 1971)
The Creation of Yugoslavia (Clio Books, 1980)
The Saga of Kosovo: Focus on Serbian-Albanian Relations (Columbia University Press, 1984)
Politics and Government: A Brief Introduction (Chatham House, 1982; 2nd ed. due 1986)

Articles:

- "Tito Withstands Russian Domination," Current History (July 1952)
- "Time to Revise Our Yugoslav Policy," Vital Speeches (April 1, 1953)
- "How Different is Tito's Communism," American Political Science Review (March 1957)
- "Four Democrats Whom Tito Jailed," The New Leader (June 2, 1958)
- "Recent Political Developments in Yugoslavia," Journal of Politics (February 1958)
- "Communism in Theory and Practice," Naval War College Review (February 1960)
- "King Peter I: Culmination of Serbia's Struggle for Parliamentary Government," East European Quarterly (June 1970)
- "How Serious is the Yugoslav Crisis?," East Europe (October 1971)
- "Yugoslavia: Problem of Nationalities," Politics 73: Minorities in Politics (1973)
- "Turning Back the Clock in Yugoslavia," The New Leader (June 25, 1973)
- "Leadership and Politics: Nineteenth Century Serbia," Journal of Politics (May 1975)
- "International Communist Front Organizations," Yearbook on International Communist Affairs, 1979 (1979)
- "Tito's Troubled Legacy in Yugoslavia," Military Science and Technology (June 1982)

Alex N. Dragnich was born in Republic, Washington in February 1912. After spending two years at Linfield College, he received his BA degree (Phi Beta Kappa) from the University of Washington. His MA and PhD degrees were obtained from the University of California at Berkeley. In 1950 he joined the faculty of Vanderbilt University as associate professor of political science, and in 1978 retired as Professor Emeritus. In the years 1964-69, he was Chairman of the Department. In 1970, he received the Thomas Jefferson Award for "distinguished service to Vanderbilt through extraordinary contributions as a member of the faculty in the councils and government of the University." During World War II, he was in government service in Washington (Department of Justice and Office of Strategic Services). In 1945-47, he was assistant professor at Western Reserve University. In 1947-50, he served as Cultural Attache and Public Affairs Officer in the American Embassy in Belgrade. In 1959-60, he was Chester W. Nimitz Professor at the U. S. Naval War College. Among Dragnich's books are: Tito's Promised Land: Yugoslavia (1954); Serbia, Nikola Pasic, and Yugoslavia (1974); The Development of Parliamentary Government in Serbia (1978); The First Yugoslavia: Search for a Viable Political System (1983). He is the co-author of other works, including Major European Governments (7th edition, 1986), Politics and Government: A Brief Introduction (2nd edition, 1987), and The Saga of Kosovo: Focus on Serbian-Albanian Relations (1984). Also, he is the author of a number of journal articles. He served in a number of capacities in professional organizations, including that of President of the Southern Political Science Association. In 1979, he was the recipient of the Senior Scholar Award of the Southern Conference on Slavic Studies. In the years 1978-81, he was a Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution, and in 1982 he was Distinguished Lecturer at Washington and Lee University. Since 1983, Dragnich has lived in semi-retirement in Charlottesville, Virginia.

Editor:

While your correspondent's story out of Belgrade (Nov.20th) is generally informative, the headline, "New Serbian Leader Blamed for Rising Ethnic Tension," is highly misleading. It is as if the members of ones household have been unable to agree on what to do about one member who for years has been trying to set the house on fire, and when one member finally seems determined to do something about it, he is accused of creating ill-feeling toward the would-be arsonist!

The locale of the trouble, as your correspondent points out, is the area of Kosovo, the cradle of the Serbian nation and the home of its spiritual and cultural monuments. After some 500 years of Turkish colonial rule, during which there was a large influx of Albanians to Kosovo, the Serbian population dropped below 50 per cent . After World War II, the **T**ito regime created of Kosovo an autonomous region (later province) of the republic of Serbia. In actuality, the Serbs exercised no control over Kosovo and the Albanians there had free reign. Moreover, they brought over 200,000 more Albanians from Albania and imported over 200 university professors **f**s from there, along with textbooks, etc.

The Kosovo Albanians used their power to persecute the Serbs (rape, pillage, seizure of property, desecration of

cultural and religious monuments) as a way of forcing them to leave Kosovo. This is still going on. In large measure the Kosovo Albanians have succeeded, because today the Serbian population there is less than 20 per cent.

The Yugoslav government knew what was going on in Kosovo, but did nothing to stop it. Moreover, the Yugoslav public was told nothing until the violent demonstrations by the Kosovo Albanians in April 1981. Since that time a great deal has appeared in the Yugoslav media, and the Kosovo Albanians have publicly been accused of genocide. Yet the Yugoslav government has seemingly been powerless to do anything about it.

(7)

Now that the government in Belgrade is seeking to do ~~something about a problem that threatens to tear the country apart,~~ something about a problem that threatens to tear the country apart, all of us should strive to see it in proper perspective. I say this as one who, in books and articles, has been highly critical of the Yugoslav communist system. I do not believe that it would be in the U. S. national interest to see in Yugoslavia another Lebanon in the making, or perhaps another Northern Ireland.

Alex N. Dragnich

Charlottesville

804-970-1699

ALEX N. DRAGNICH
100 GROVER COURT
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA 22901

The United States and the Albanian Problem in Yugoslavia

Alex N. Dragnich

It is beyond comprehension how members of the U. S. Congress, and particularly honorable men who aspire to be President, such as Senators Dole and Simon, would be misled into sponsoring Senate Concurrent Resolution 65, about alleged mistreatment of Albanians in Yugoslavia.

It is precisely those Albanians who are the problem. They have created an almost impossible situation for the Yugoslav government. I say this as one who, in books and articles, have been most critical of the communist government of Yugoslavia, because that regime has been unjust toward all the peoples of Yugoslavia. To a degree, however, the Yugoslav government has favored the minorities (including the Albanians) as a tactic of "divide and rule."

Looked at from that point of view, the Albanians in Yugoslavia are a problem because the Tito Communist regime created the situation that has led to it.

The focus of the problem is an area called Kosovo, the cradle of the Serbian nation in the middle ages. From an ethnically pure Serbian area, Kosovo became, through nearly 500 years of Turkish enslavement, a Serbian golgotha.

Encouraged by the Turks, Islamized Albanians came into Kosovo in large numbers in the 18th and 19th centuries. The foreign offices of the European powers contain thousands of documents reporting unspeakable crimes by the Albanians against the helpless Serbian population.

After the Balkan wars Kosovo again became a part of Serbia but for less than two years. After World War I, it became a part of Yugoslavia.

When Yugoslavia fell to the Axis in 1941, Italy and Germany gave the Albanians free reign. Once more the Serbs were persecuted. Over 100,000 of them were forced to flee, and at the end the war they were not allowed to go back.

Near the end of World War II, when Tito hoped to get help from the Kosovo Albanians in the civil war that he was waging against the forces of General Draza Mihailovich, he promised them that after the war they could join Albania if that was their wish.

While he reneged on his promise, Tito did create of Kosovo an autonomous province where the Albanians have been a law unto themselves. While Kosovo is theoretically an autonomous province of Serbia, the Serbian authorities in Belgrade have by design or otherwise been powerless in matters concerning Kosovo.

To make things worse, after the creation of the autonomous province, between 200,000 and 240,000 Albanians were, over a period of several years, brought from Albania into the Kosovo-Metohija area. Over 200 university professors were brought in from Albania, along with textbooks and other things Albanian. The Albanian authorities in Kosovo in effect created a state within a state.

At the same time, the Serbs of Kosovo, making up less than half of the population of the province, were subjected to all sorts of atrocities (rape, pillage, arson, seizure of property, desecration of Serbian historic cultural and religious monuments, etc., etc.), in an effort to force them to leave. To a large extent the Kosovo Albanians succeeded, because today the Serbs make up less than 20% of the population.

It seems ironic that the Kosovo Albanians, who for many years (mainly in the 1920s and 1930s) talked about minority rights, have in recent decades been the prime violators of minority rights in Yugoslavia.

What has been going on in Kosovo was known to the Yugoslav government in Belgrade, but nothing was done to put a stop to it. And the Yugoslav public was told nothing until the violent demonstrations by the Kosovo Albanians in April 1981. Since that time a great deal has appeared in the Yugoslav

media. Kosovo Albanians have even been accused of genocide, but the Yugoslav government has seemingly been powerless to do anything about it.

Honorable members of the Senate and the House should view in some perspective the feeble efforts of the Yugoslav government to deal with a problem that threatens to tear the country apart. All of us need to ask: would it be in the U. S. national interest to see in Yugoslavia another Lebanon in the making or perhaps another Northern Ireland?

American Serbian Heritage Foundation
4424 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90019
(213) 933 5249

March 30, 1988

Congressman Gerald B. Solomon, R-New York
2342 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20515-3224

Dear Congressman Solomon:

On behalf of the American-Serbian Heritage Foundation, I extend sincere thanks for you and your capable staff representative, Mr. David Lorie, for your assistance in withdrawing the decision to approve H. Con. Res. 162 concerning the situation of ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia. The subject resolution does a significant disservice to the actual facts of the situation in the Kosovo province of Serbia, the birthplace of the Serbian Orthodox culture in Yugoslavia, and is extremely offensive to the approximately 1.2 million American Serbs who have served this country faithfully since the turn of the century.

Further, thousands of American-Serbs in the great state of New York applaud your position and extend their sincere gratitude.

With respect to the hearing presented before the Congressional Human Rights Caucus on 29 October 1987, the Honorable Joseph J. DiGuardi presiding, representatives of the Serbian community were not aware, nor invited to provide rebuttal.

It is not the intention of the American-Serbian Heritage Foundation to further complicate the subject issue but to provide the facts as they were historically and exist today.

We have called upon noted scholars/professors from the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences of Belgrade, and a number of American-Serbian University professors to visit Washington, D. C. on the 2nd of April for the express purpose of meeting with you and members of your committee in an attempt to provide information from the concerned Serbian perspective.

We deeply appreciate your consideration and hope that you and your committee will be available to meet with our delegation during this time period.

Should you require additional information regarding identification and biographies of the members of the delegation, please do not hesitate to contact me directly.

Sincerely,



Michael Radenkovich
President

CC: Congressman Billirakis
Congressman Crane
Congresswoman Vucanovich
Congresswoman Bertley

THE SAGA OF KOSOVO

Alex N. Dragnich

The title of my topic, "The Saga of Kosovo," was given to me by the organizers of this panel, mainly I suppose because of a like title of a book that I co-authored a few years ago.¹ The Saga of Kosovo is a long, involved, and complicated one, and cannot be treated adequately in a brief presentation. In what follows, however, I have attempted to stay within the bounds of the subject of the panel, "Serbian Culture in Kosovo in Past and Present Times."

As I seek to depict some of the highlights in the historic evolution of Kosovo, I realize that much of this may have little meaning to many of you. I would therefore ask each one of you to imagine similar events taking place within a historic framework with which you are familiar-- whether it be the United States or Canada or some other country-- and I will come back to this point at the end of my remarks.

Kosovo is identified with the early years of the Serbian nation. It is often referred to as the "cradle" of Serbia, i. e. the place where the young Serbian state was born and nurtured, where the culture of the Serbian people flowered,

many of where/ the historic monuments of that period have been preserved and can be seen today. Kosovo was the center of the Serbian Empire of the middle ages, the strongest empire in the Balkans for over 100 years. To subsequent generations of Serbs Kosovo was to become holy ground, not unlike Jerusalem to others.

We can only speculate on what there was in Kosovo prior to the coming of the Serbs about the 6th century A. D. Certainly there is no anthropological or other evidence of an organized society in the Kosovo region prior to the establishment of the Serbian state. On the other hand, the evidence of Serbia's historic legacy is there for all to see.

Serbian Cultural Legacy Prior to the Turkish Conquest

Irrespective of where we might go in the world to study cultural achievements, we pose the question: what made them possible? In other words, what are the necessary conditions for cultural development? They are basically three. The first of these is a settled and organized society. Generally speaking, cultural activities take place within an established setting, usually within the confines of a political unit or other social entity. In the case of the Serbs it was the medieval Serbian state which came into its own in the eleventh century.

The second prerequisite ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ for cultural development is a leadership, usually political but often in combination with the religious, that is at least receptive to cultural manifestations. A political entity can encourage and facilitate cultural developments. It can impede them or pursue a neutral position. Fortunately for the Serbs, especially after the acceptance of Christianity, their leaders were eager not only to encourage the promotion of cultural works, but indeed to take a leading part in their realization.

The third condition for cultural growth is talented artists and artisans and other cultural workers. The Serbs, as every other people, had to begin somewhere. Most often in such situations the first step is to recognize shortcomings. The next step is to have the imagination and the initiative to seek to overcome them. Here again, the Serbian leaders, first of all Nemanja (1168-1196) and his youngest son, Rastko (later Saint Sava) took the lead. Nemanja realized that Serbia needed cultural manifestations that could easily be identified with the Serbian people, and he knew of the cultural richness of Byzantium as well as of his own Zeta littoral in the west. In the end it was under Sava's brilliant guidance that these two different artistic traditions were united to produce new and creative combinations that can easily be identified as medieval Serbian cultural creations.

Sava, a Mont Athos monk, scholar, and theologian, was eminently prepared to build the foundations upon which a national culture would grow within the environment of Eastern Orthodoxy. As a way of securely establishing Orthodoxy as a national faith, Sava gained autocephaly for the Serbian Church. A diplomat above all, who travelled widely, he knew most of the leading figures of the era: from emperers sitting on the various thrones of segmented Byzantium to the heads of churches and spiritual leaders of monastic communities, from Nicea and Jerusalem to the shores of the Adriatic and beyond. In his travels he became acquainted with architecture and religious art in churches and monasteries throughout Byzantium and all the way to the Holy Land. He was able to commission from Constantinople some of the most outstanding painters of the period.

Nemanja, who did not want to be remembered by castles or fortresses but by churches and roads, and Sava proved to be a magnificent combination: a pragmatic father to construct a viable framework and a sophisticated and artistically sensitive son to fill it with relevant content. Above all, Nemanja and Sava set a precedent which succeeding members of the dynasty (as well as the nobility and higher clergy) were to follow, the net result being untold cultural riches that continue to be the pride of the Serbs to this day.

In the book that I co-authored, mentioned earlier, there is a brief chapter that in the main discusses the surviving monuments-- many were destroyed under the Turks-- as Serbia's cultural legacy in Kosovo and adjoining areas.² It is not my place to pass judgment on the architectural style of the monasteries or on the quality of the artistic/compositions that adorn their interiors. Even if I desired to do so, I do not have the needed qualifications. I cannot resist, however, reporting one or two observations by experts.

Art historians in general, and Byzantologists in particular, have written volumes dealing with the style and iconography of Serbian frescoes. On the whole, they agree that the paintings preserved on the walls of these churches constitute a continuity in Byzantine artistic expression during the period when the artistic output of Constantinople was severely curtailed due in large part to the political turmoil in the empire in the late 12th and early 13th centuries. Most scholars agree that Serbian art served as a link between the East and the West, transmitting to Western artists, eager to learn and to experiment, the venerable tradition kept alive in the superior Byzantine technique of frescoes and mosaics, as well as style. This flowering of Serbian art in the 13th and 14th centuries occurred just as Byzantium was undergoing an artistic revival and the West was on the threshold of the classical revival and the beginning of the Renaissance.³

The monastery Gračanica, built on the field of Kosovo, is considered by experts to be second to none among Serbian monasteries.⁴ Some scholars dealing with Serbia's medieval cultural legacy give high praise to the monastic complex known as the Peć Patriarchate, so often referred to as the center of Serbian Orthodox Christendom. Other scholars have chosen to emphasize the majesty and serenity of the largest of all Serbian medieval churches, the Dečani monastery. Dečani contains more than a thousand compositions, with an estimated 10,000 painted figures. There are more than twenty biblical cycles on the walls, from Genesis to the Last Judgment. This is certainly the largest surviving iconographic complex ever created within the Byzantine sphere of influence.

Taken together, these Serbian churches and monasteries not only are a witness to the fact that the Kosovo region was ethnically the most homogeneous of Serbian territories in medieval times, but in addition, they constitute a vivid and dramatic visual presentation of the history of the rule of the Nemanjić dynasty. Moreover, some of the Serbian monasteries are today looked upon as world art treasures; at least Sopoćani and Studenica have been so designated by international art scholars.

It should also be noted that after the Serbs were left without a state, the churches and monasteries over time became national centers, carriers of national identity. In large measure, Serbian Orthodoxy lost its churchly dogmatic character and increasingly accepted an ethnic attribute. As ill-equipped and inexperienced as the patriarchs were for this secular leadership role, they fought valiantly, especially in the period 1557-1766, at the end of which the Patriarchate was abolished.⁵ A noted church historian, in describing the devastating consequences for the Serbs of the actions of Islamized Albanians after the abolition of the Patriarchate in 1766, calls this period "the Second Kosovo."⁶

It is evident, therefore, that the saga of Kosovo after the Ottoman conquest was in essence one of continual setbacks for the Serbs, not only in the cultural realm but ultimately also in terms of their physical existence. I say continual, because while the flow of the stream was in one general direction, there were times of relative calm. It should be noted that prior to 1389, where Serbs and Albanians existed side by side, they lived in considerable harmony. As late as the 15th century, the large majority of Albanians were Christians. So it is no surprise that at one time Serbs and Albanians paid homage to the same saints, worshipped in the same churches, and respected a past of shared values. Even today there are Albanians who can recall that their fathers would never begin any project on Tuesday,

the day of the Serbian defeat at Kosovo.

The good neighborly and even brotherly association that had characterized the largest part of the history of Serbian-Albanian relations began to shift slowly after the two great migrations in 1683-1690 and 1717-1737 of Serbs to Austria and Hungary. While these migrations weakened the Serbs in Kosovo, many of those who had departed were reinforced by the movement to Kosovo of Serbs from other parts of the Ottoman empire, although a significant number of these had been converted to Islam. Nevertheless, until about the middle of the 18th century the Kosovo area was ethnically homogeneous. The Islamization of the Albanians (about half of all of them had been converted by the end of the 16th century), was followed in the 18th century with an influx of Albanians into Kosovo in large numbers.

Instigated in part by the Ottoman authorities, this movement of Albanians sharply reversed the nature of their relations with the Serbs, and was the beginning of oppression of the latter by the former. This oppression reached such proportions in the last decades of the 19th century and the early years of the 20th that it could properly be referred to as genocide. The Albanian atrocities are recorded in massive source materials, mainly in reports by consuls of European powers in Bitolj, Skoplje, Prizren, and Priština, and in the protests ^{to the Porte} by these European states. The reports by European consuls are supplemented

by extensive reports by Serbia's consuls in these same cities.⁷

I have examined ten or more of the latter reports, dealing mainly with the first decade of this century. They are specific as to persons, time, and place. They report on murders of Serbs, rape, pillaging, arson, and attempts to force Serbs to leave their lands. Some of the reports indicate that incidents were called to the attention of Turkish officials, who promised to help, but usually that is where the matter ended. Similarly, the diplomatic protests of the European powers to the Porte also bore no fruit, but at least authentic documents remain testifying to the crimes committed against the Serbs in the Kosovo region.

This sad saga of Kosovo was bitterly aggravating and deeply disappointing to Serbia's leaders in Belgrade. Aggravating because while in the course of the 19th century the Serbs were successful in regaining their independence and in building a democratic political system, they were not in a position to be of much help to their brethren outside Serbia, especially in Kosovo, or Old Serbia, as it was called. Disappointing because the Serbian leaders had believed that the Albanians, as other Balkan peoples, would make common cause in driving the Turks from Europe. ^{Serbian} /naivete was made evident in the wars that Serbia and Montenegro waged in 1876-77 and 1877-78 against the Turks, when the Albanians fought to defend the Ottoman empire.

Albanian actions can best be understood if we recall that in the latter half of the 19th century they had managed a formal unity among the major factions among them and in 1878 formed the Prizren League. Although great differences continued among them, by and large the Albanians remained loyal defenders of the Ottoman empire, and hence they had few fears of the Turks. If the latter should be forced to leave Europe, the Prizren League leaders believed that Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece would be the main barriers to the formation of a large Albanian state. Admittedly, this is far from being an adequate exposition of Albanian actions and aspirations in the 19th century.⁸

As is generally known, one result of the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913 was that Kosovo was liberated and that Serbia and Montenegro also liberated other areas, but the Great Powers denied them some of their important gains. Another result was that the Great Powers were instrumental in the creation of an Albanian state in 1912. This action stemmed in part from the fact that in their rush to the sea, the Serbian forces occupied areas populated mainly by Albanians. In the process of creating an Albanian state, however, the Great Powers denied to the Serbs some historic lands, notably the city of Skadar, which Montenegrin forces had succeeded in taking. Just as the Serbs began establishing their rule in the Kosovo area came World War I, and in 1915 the Serbs were forced to flee their homeland in

the face of the oncoming German armies. Once again, Kosovo Serbs were left to face new persecutions from several sources, including Albanian and Bulgarian.⁹

Kosovo in the First Yugoslavia

After the formation of the new state, The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, the leaders in Belgrade were forced to give Kosovo a rather low priority. The enormous problems of beginning to govern a newly constituted state, with serious nationality problems which soon surfaced, to say nothing of seeking to recover from the ravages of war, left little time for anything else.

Even when the Yugoslav government leaders turned their attention to Kosovo, they again seemed to suffer from a form of naivete in dealing with the Albanians of the Kosovo region. The Yugoslav government thought that it could establish stability and harmony with agrarian reforms, i.e. breaking up the landed estates of Albanian or Turkish begs, who had prospered under Ottoman rule, and giving land to Albanian peasants and to Serbs and other Yugoslavs who were willing to come to Kosovo. Instead of a solution, this approach led to more bad blood between Serbs and Albanians.

In terms of Serbian culture in Kosovo, some modest successes were realized, largely through efforts of the Serbian

Orthodox Church. Important restoration work was done at the Sopoćani Monastery, the Peć Patriarchate, as well as the monasteries of Banjska and Kalenić. In addition, surveys and some archeological excavations were carried out at other places, among them Tsar Dusan's church, Holy Archangels near Prizren, and at Stobi near Skoplje.

Present Times

What can we say about Serbian culture in Kosovo in present times? I interpret present times to mean the period since World War II. On the one hand, the Yugoslav Communist regime did a great deal by way of restoring Serbian cultural monuments as well as cultural objects in other parts of the country. In this the government was stimulated by a general world-wide interest in and increase in this type of activity, as well as by the more advanced knowledge concerning techniques of such restorations. On the other hand, the regime in Belgrade left political control in Kosovo to Albanian Communists, many of whom joined the Party near the end of the war when they saw that their dream of an Axis-sponsored large Albania would not be realized.

Having said the above, it is still valid to conclude, it seems to me, that as far as Serbian culture in Kosovo in

this period is concerned, it is a long and painful story. In brief, there has been a reversion to a situation similar to Turkish times, only worse. Without stopping to detail the actions of the Tito regime in promoting conditions that led to the persecution of Serbs in Kosovo¹⁰ and to attempts to annihilate their cultural past, we can say that although Kosovo was made an autonomous province of Serbia, the government of Serbia, by design or otherwise, has had virtually no control over what was happening in the Kosovo region.

Although the Yugoslav government was aware of what was going on in Kosovo, there was no outcry or protest. For example, at least by the early 1970s, Serbian professors at the University of Priština were told that they could stay in their positions only if they learned Albanian. There were few voices crying in the wilderness even in the 1960s, notably that of novelist Dobrica Ćosić, attempting to call attention to what was going on in Kosovo. Ćosić was rewarded by expulsion from the Central Committee of the Serbian Communist Party. In the meantime, over 200 professors were brought to Priština University from Albania. And all sorts of textbooks were brought from Albania. The Yugoslav public still has not been told who invited the professors from Albania and who made possible the importation of those textbooks.

Not until the demonstrations by the Kosovo Albanians in 1981, and their public demand for the status of a republic and even the right to join their motherland Albania, did anyone in Belgrade dare even to mention the suffering of the Serbs of Kosovo. Since that time much has been publicly noted about various actions of Albanians of Kosovo to force Serbs to leave the area and to obliterate their cultural heritage there. Actions against the Serbs included unlawful seizure of properties, vandalizing of churches and cemeter^eies, physical violence against Serbian priests and their domiciles, arson, rape, etc.etc.¹¹

Instead of the situation getting better since 1981, it has become worse. In the summer of 1987, a scandal--some refer to it as "administrative genocide"--came to light when Serbian Orthodox Church authorities in Peć discovered at the local cad^astral office that many Serbian Orthodox churches had disappeared^a from the face of the earth. Someone had simply eliminated them and listed them as mosques. The Peć Patriarchate was listed simply as an ordinary "religious object." Both Serbian Orthodox churches in Lip^ljan, which are under state protection as cultural-historic monuments, had in the books become mosques. In the village of Livadj, populated exclusively by Serbs, the Orthodox church is administratively a mosque. And in the villages of Dobrotin and Donji Gušteric, also exclusively populated by Serbs, their churches have become "ordinary buildings."

In the cadastral books of the Uroševac region there are no longer any Orthodox churches in the villages of Nekodina, Gornji Nerodim, and Bavljak. They have become mosques. And in Uroševac itself the large Orthodox church "went over to Islam." A similar story is to be found in the Gnjilska opština. One church there was simply eliminated and transformed into a "cemetery."

The pearl of Serbian medieval culture, the monastery Gračanica is listed as general public property. Another pearl of Serbian culture, the 650-year old Monastery of Dečani has been transformed into an "ordinary building."

In some areas Serbian Orthodox churches have become "pasture lands." One cemetery has become the property of the state forestry enterprise, while another one is listed as the property of a state school. In still another case, the cemetery is listed as "private property."

As might be expected, these actions against Serbian history and culture evoked bitterness among Serbs. The only official explanation is that these were unintentional mistakes or foreign mistakes or of a technical nature. In one place they blamed it on the computer, and in another on a secretary. Not one culprit was named, as if the mistakes were made by themselves.¹²

In April 1987, Slobodan Milošević, the head of the Presidency of the Serbian Communist Party, went to Kosovo to hear complaints from Serbs. Over 15,000 came, but only some 300 pre-selected Serbs could be accommodated because of the size of the building. The meeting lasted 13 hours and 78 persons spoke. The majority of them openly attacked the Communist regime. From the excerpts printed in the Party organ Borba, a few sentences are sufficient to get a flavor of the proceedings:¹³

Serbian man: "I know why Germany was divided after the war, but why was Serbia divided?"

Serbian man: "We do not need guarantees. . . heads will fall, because it is impossible to endure and to permit the beating of our children and women."

Serbian woman: "Either there will be some order in Kosovo, or by God we will take up arms again if need be."

Serbian man: "Serbs want to live together with Albanians.... but here counterrevolution is being financed from the federation."

Serbian woman: From the establishment of Priština University there has been a process of ethnic epuration of Kosovo and the process of cultural purity.

Serbian man: How is it that Yugoslavia protests one-language signs in Austria but agrees to it in Kosovo?

Serbian man: How is it that according to the 1974 Constitution Serbo-Croatian is also an official language in Kosovo while in the constitution of the Province it is not

obligatory?


Another man asked about the erection of a monument to the Prizren League, which he characterized as a fascist organization that sought to tear Yugoslavia apart. He also asked why the program of Albanian nationalist group, Balli Kombetar, was being carried out in Kosovo. There was also condemnation of Serbian Communists in Kosovo who "served with the Albanians" in putting their personal interests ahead of the national interest.

The open use of the term genocide is to be found even in some Yugoslav newspapers, as well as expressions of amazement that after six years there has not been a single resignation either in Kosovo or at the top in Yugoslavia that would witness to a feeling of responsibility. Instead, the authorities "continue with the same announcements in which they avoid naming criminals."¹⁴ One member of the Writers of Serbia opined: "There is no Serbia. If there were, what is happening in Kosovo would not be taking place."

in the same month (June 1987)

Ironically, a similar stance was taken by the Presidency of the League of Yugoslav Communists (LCY) after the LCY's 13th Congress, when it concluded that the "most difficult part of the problem of Kosovo and the whole of Yugoslav society is to be found in that the policy of the LCY is not being implemented."¹⁵ It seems fair to ask, who is failing to implement it? Can anyone doubt that it is the Kosovo Albanians with the help of their agents among the Serbian Communists?

A month or so earlier, at an "ideological" plenum of the Central Committee of the LCY, a member by the name of Dušan Dragosavac said: "If we cannot quickly overcome genocide. . . then I see as the only way out an urgent convoking of an extraordinary Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists and the calling of free elections with multiple candidates, so that men can come to the top who can bring an end to the genocide."¹⁶



What of the Future?

At this stage it is quite appropriate to ask: what of the future? Rather than speculate about the ^{future,} ~~future,~~ I should like to emphasize the seriousness of the Kosovo situation. You will recall that at the outset I asked you to think within a framework of situations close at home, Canada or the United States, that would make more meaningful for you the things that I was going to say. As I have thought about it, however, I had to conclude that in Canada and in the United States we do not have any really comparable situations. The United States and Canada are relatively young states, and do not have anything in their history that could help in giving us a better insight into the saga of Kosovo.

Nevertheless, try to imagine that a few hundred years into the future Mexicans becoming the overwhelming majority in Texas, and embarking on a campaign to push all non-Mexicans out, engaging in pillage, arson, rape, and similar acts. Imagine further that the Mexicans desecrated the Alamo or destroyed it. Imagine also that although they were United States citizens they did not think of themselves as Americans, and insisted on Spanish as the only valid language there.

I have used Texas, but some would say that California would be even more appropriate. In either case, the imagined

Mexican actions would be more understandable, because of their one-time sovereignty in Texas and California.

Instead of Texas or California, let us come east, where we are at the moment. Imagine that at some future time citizens of the United States desecrating the historical monuments in Boston, Concord, or Lexington. Or imagine a similar desecration ~~many~~ of the ^{many} monuments at Gettysburg.

Those of you more familiar with Canadian history can also do some imagining. Imagine that one day a separatist Quebec movement/doing what the Kosovo Albanians have been doing, engaging in all sorts of acts to force English inhabitants out, to eradicate traces of English cultural manifestations, doing away with the English language, and refusing to play a constructive role in Canadian society.

If you can imagine any of the situations that I have asked you to imagine, then you can have some appreciation of how the Serbs feel about what has been happening in Kosovo.

There is no denying the fact that today Albanians make up close to 80 percent of the population of Kosovo. It is ironic that they, who for many years talked about minority rights, have in recent decades been the prime violators of minority rights in Yugoslavia. The first prerequisite for any peaceful outcome, it seems to me, is for the Kosovo Albanians to act as Yugoslavs-- as constructive citizens of their adopted land, which they seem

disinclined to do, despite all the revelations of the past six or seven years. If indeed they continue on the course they have been following, then not only will Serbian prospects (cultural and otherwise) be bleak in Kosovo, but also the logical result is apt to be a two Albania situation, with all the ominous consequences of the two Koreas and the two Germanies. Even more likely is a "northern Ireland" plight in the making.

#