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Date: Tue, 04 May 1999 12:54:29 -0400
From: Senator@wellstone.senate.gov (Senator)
Subject: Rule: Re: A Macedonian case: help please, USA President and
To: "Lyubomir T. Gruyitch" <lyubomir.gruyitch@utbm.fr>

Dear Friend,

Thank you for contacting me with your comments regarding U.S. intervention in the conflict in Kosovo. I appreciate having the benefit of your views on this matter.

As a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, I have been following events in Kosovo for years. In fact, I have been very focused on the Balkans since the breakup of the former Yugoslavia. I traveled there about 5 years ago, and have seen for myself the conditions under which millions of ethnic Albanians have struggled under increasing Serb repression.

Kosovo is a small province of Serbia, the dominant unit of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Ethnically, Kosovo is approximately 90% Albanian, though it is also of great historical importance to the Serbian people. For decades, Kosovo, while a province of Yugoslavia, enjoyed a limited autonomy and local control of many governmental functions. This autonomy was revoked by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in 1989 when he unilaterally amended the constitution of Yugoslavia without consulting the people of Kosovo. During the last year Serbia dramatically increased the presence of troops and security police in Kosovo, ostensibly to counter secessionist activity on the part of some members of the ethnic Albanian community, including the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). Since that time, the conflict between ethnic Albanian rebels of the KLA and Serb security forces, and a brutal, methodical "ethnic cleansing" effort by Serb army and police units against Kosovar civilians, has resulted in thousands of deaths, with the greatest numbers of casualties being concentrated among ethnic Albanians -- both rebels and civilians.

In reaction to these events of the past year, in particular the horrifying massacres of women, elderly men, and young children perpetrated by Serbian military forces, the U.S. and its partners in the International Contact Group (made up of the United States, Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Russia), called for imposition of a U.N. arms embargo against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which was approved by the Security Council in March, 1998. On October 13, 1998, U.S. Special Envoy Richard Holbrooke and Slobodan Milosevic concluded an agreement to provide a framework for a settlement and to allow independent monitoring of the situation in Kosovo. Many hoped that this would help to pave the way toward a peaceful resolution of the crisis there.

By January of this year, that agreement was shattered by sporadic fighting and evidence that Serb forces were being deployed in Kosovo in gross violation of the October accord. On January 15th, approximately 40 ethnic Albanians, including women and children, were massacred in the town of Racak by Serb security forces. This renewed violence led the International Contact Group to accelerate their work on a peace plan and invite representatives of the ethnic Albanians and the Serbian government to Rambouillet, France, to peace talks based on the proposal. The Contact Group draft plan called for a 3-year interim settlement that would provide greater autonomy for Kosovo while postponing final resolution of its political status. The plan would also have required the disarmament of the KLA, a withdrawal of most Serb forces from Kosovo, and the implementation of a large Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) monitoring group and a NATO-led verification force to ensure that all parties adhered to the agreement.

Unfortunately, a final agreement was never reached. While the ethnic Albanians eventually signed the agreement, on March 19th the talks broke up after the Serbian representatives refused to do so. This failure of the Serbs to sign the agreement, coupled with accelerating Serb violence in Kosovo, led NATO members to threaten the use of air strikes to halt the growing violence against innocent civilian Kosovars by degrading the Serbs' ability to prosecute their campaign of ethnic cleansing.

On March 23rd, President Clinton ordered U.S. aircraft to participate in NATO air strikes against Serb military targets in Yugoslavia. With a heavy heart at the need to resort to the use of military force, I supported the air strikes because I believe they offer the last best hope to limit the humanitarian crisis in Kosovo prompted by Serb attacks on innocent non-combatants, to deter further Serb aggression, and, if necessary, to degrade the Serb security forces ability to prosecute their ethnic cleansing campaign.

In the days prior to the air strikes, President Milosevic made his intentions clear by significantly increasing his forces in Kosovo, forces which ejected thousands of Kosovar civilians from their homes, and left villages smoldering and in ruins behind them after brutal offensives. Atrocities of various kinds have become the signature of Serb military forces in Kosovo, just as they were for years in parts of Bosnia.

Since the commencement of NATO air strikes, Serb forces have stepped up their attacks on civilians. Hundreds of thousands of ethnic Albanians have now been driven from their homes, and many have been killed or injured. Others have been jammed onto train cars, shipped to border areas, and left there without food, medicine or shelter. Most recently, Serb forces have closed the borders with Albania and Macedonia to refugee traffic - for unknown purposes.

I believe that a very high threshold must be met before the use of military force by the U.S. can be justified. It must be truly a last resort, used only after all reasonable diplomatic and other non-violent alternatives have been exhausted. Our goals must be clear, the means proportionate, the prospects for success strong, and Congress must be consulted thoroughly and in advance on its use. I believe these criteria have been met in Kosovo, and that the effort to deter further ethnic cleansing by the Serbs justified its use. In our system of checks and balances, military action of this kind should also have prior Congressional authorization, as required by the Constitution; I do not believe that the President should be given a blank check by Congress in Kosovo. For example, I opposed the expansion of the bombing campaign to targets within Belgrade, the capital of Yugoslavia. In this case, I do not believe the limited military utility of such strikes outweighs the potential for Serb civilian casualties.

As of the date of this letter, the NATO bombing campaign continues in Kosovo. In addition, the United States and the international community have marshaled a huge humanitarian relief effort to ease the suffering of the hundreds of thousands of Kosovar refugees who have flooded into Albania, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Kosovo's other nearby neighbors. It is critical that the urgent needs of refugees be met and that support be given to those nations who have accepted large numbers of displaced persons.

It seems likely that the NATO military intervention in Kosovo will continue until the government of Serbia agrees, at a minimum, to halt its ethnic cleansing campaign and allow ethnic Albanians to return to their homes in an environment that is secure -- a security guaranteed and verified by an international military presence.

I offer my unqualified support for U.S. troops participating in the NATO bombing campaign there and for their families back home. I have been hoping and praying for a prompt end to the violence and for their safe return home. I will continue to follow events in the Balkans very carefully and will keep your comments on this matter in mind.

Again, thank you for contacting me. Please stay in touch.

Sincerely,

Paul David Wellstone
United States Senator

“TRUTH in MEDIA” (TiM):

PHOENIX, May 13 - A TiM reader has just sent us an English translation of a poem, written by a Serb poet, Aleksa Santic (pronounced Shantich). The poem was written in 1907, when the Austrian-Hungarian Empire annexed Bosnia - as a prelude to the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand in 1914, and the WW I which ensued.

"The poem is as appropriate for the Kosovo situation in 1999,"

this reader said. Judge it for yourself:

WE KNOW OUR FATE

We know our fate and what to expect from life,
Yet, our hearts will not freeze in fear!
Oxen are forced the yoke to bear,
God gave freedom to all men alike.

Our strength is like a mountain river's sway,
No one will ever stop it's flow!
How to face death these people know,
If free to stay there is no other way.

We know our path, the path of God-the-son,
And mighty like a mountain river's flow.
We will go even over the sharpest stones,
Ready to climb the Golgotha all the way.

And even if you take our only lives away,
Our graves will stay to fight you on!

May 16, 1999

Mr.
Paul David Wellstone
United States Senator

Esteemed Mr. Senator Wellstone,

I thank you for your reply of 04/05/1999. I appreciate the frank expression of your thoughts, evaluations and attitudes. They discover to me your generosity and your interest in internal affairs in my native land, and your claim to be an expert for the affairs. Therefore, I hope you have sensed the soul of the poem.

I am going to present also frankly to you my opinion, evaluations, attitude and a possible solution. I will therefore cover the following topics:

- Your generosity and NATO obligation.
- Your claim, your and the NATO method.
- Your information on and attitude to the truth.
- On the U. S. A. – NATO bombardment.
- Solution proposal.

YOUR GENEROSITY AND NATO OBLIGATION

I understand and share your suffer for exodus of refugees caused by the NATO aggression on my native land Serbia and on Montenegro.

Your generosity is devoted only to Albanian refugees. As Mr. Senator Inhofe informed the USA Senate (April 26, 1999), Albanian refugees consider correctly the USA and NATO responsible for their suffer and exodus. Therefore, your generosity to them is not only human attitude but also indispensable care about them.

You claim that you are specialist for Balkan affairs, including those in Yugoslavia (meaning ex - S. F. R. Yugoslavia) and in Serbia. Therefore, you should have known that:

- Serbs and Serbia, after gaining experience with Stalinist dictatorship influence, welcomed with friendly hospitality several hundred thousands of Albanian immigrants in fifties. They were escaping Stalinist like dictatorship of Heneral Hodja, the President of Albania.
- The frontier was left open to Albania so that Albanians continued immigrating freely into Southwest part of Serbia - Kosovo and Metohiya (for brief: Kosovo).
- Albanians have had in Serbia, hence also in Kosovo:
 - their religious autonomy and liberty,
 - their cultural autonomy and liberty,
 - equal civil rights as all other citizens,
 - equal political rights as all other citizens,
 - the state childcare, like all other citizens,
 - healthcare, like all other citizens,
 - 100% medical insurance, like all other citizens,
 - state employment opportunities, like all other citizens,
 - available state-owned departments, like all other citizens,
 - freedom to develop their culture, like all other citizens,
 - free scholarship at the schools and universities (without a tuition fee), like all other citizens,
 - free education in their language, like all other citizens,
 - freedom to use their language, like all other citizens,
 - freedom to travel abroad, like all other citizens.
- Serbia admitted several hundred thousands of Albanian refugees over its population of about ten million inhabitants. This means several percents of the whole population of Serbia.

- THE CONSTITUTION OF REPUBLIC OF SERBIA, 1990
(actual Constitution):
“Territorial Organization
Autonomous Province Vojvodina
Autonomous Province Kosovo and Metohiya

Article 108

Autonomous provinces are established in agreement with particular national, historical, cultural and other features of their regions.

Citizens in an autonomous province realize independently their rights and fulfill their obligations determined by the Constitution and Law.

The territory of the autonomous province is determined by the Law.

Article 109

The autonomous province, via its institutions,

1. determines a program of its economic, scientific, technological, demographic, regional and social development, of an agricultural development and that of the village, in the agreement with the development plan of the Republic of Serbia, and confirms measures for its realization;
2. determines the budget and the balance of payments account,
3. takes decisions and brings general, in the agreement with the Constitution and Law, with which it regulates particular affairs of interests for the citizens in the autonomous province in the domains of: culture; education; official use of the language and transcript of a nationality, public media,; health and social assurance; social care about children; protection and improvement of the life environment; urbanism, and in other domains determined by the Law;
4. executes laws, other regulations and general acts of the Republic of Serbia the realization of which is attributed to institutions of the autonomous province and brings regulations for their realization if it is so defined by the Law; ensures executions of the province decisions and other general acts;
5. forms organs, organizations and services of the autonomous province and regulates their organization and functioning;
6. carries out also other affairs defined by the Constitution and Law, as well as by the Statute of the autonomous province.

The Republic of Serbia can transfer to the autonomous province execution of other affairs from the domain of its rights and obligations and financial means for those affairs.

Incomes determined by the Law belong to the autonomous province.

Article 112

The Statute is the highest legitimate act of the autonomous province, which, on the basis of the Constitution, determines competencies of the autonomous province, election, organization and functioning of its organs and other affairs of the interest for the autonomous province.

The Parliament of the autonomous province establishes its Statute, under the preceding agreement of the People's Parliament¹.

The members of the Parliament of the autonomous province can not be called for a responsibility for their expressed opinion or for their vote in

the Parliament of the autonomous province. The same immunity enjoy the members of the Executive Council.”

¹ Meaning the Parliament of the Republic of Serbia.

The U. S. A. has started to welcome Albanian immigrating refugees. I hope the U. S. A. will enable them to get the U. S. A. citizenship rather than temporary residence only, and the U. S. A. will grant them with the life conditions, working opportunities, cultural, political and social rights, medical and social security, freedom for self organization and self determination (much) better than they had in Serbia and in its part Kosovo. I expect you will engage yourself as the U. S. A. Senator to ensure that the Senate and the U. S. A. Government guarantee all that to them and that the U. S. A. will admit at least the same percentage of Albanians relative to its population of more than 230 million people as was the percentage realized by Serbia. This means that the U. S. A. should accept more than two million Albanians if they so wished, and that all the NATO countries should admit all Albanians who wish to immigrate in those countries nevertheless whether they have lived in Albania, Serbia - Kosovo, Macedonia or Greece because several percents of more than five hundred million people exceeds largely the number of all Albanians. Albanian emigrants should have a free choice: to stay in Albania, Greece or Macedonia, to stay in/return to Serbia - Kosovo, if they became citizens of those states, or to move to a chosen NATO country.

Such a care about Albanians is not a matter of the generosity only, is not obligation of Albania, Greece, Macedonia or Serbia only, but it has become the full material and moral obligation of all the NATO countries including the U. S. A.

YOUR CLAIM, YOUR AND THE NATO METHOD

You wrote:

- “In reaction to these events of the past year, in particular the horrifying massacres of women, elderly men, and young children perpetrated by Serbian military forces,....”

You claimed this without a proof. Were you an eyewitness of any of them, of which? Otherwise, which information did you use? Further, you claimed:

- “On January 15th, approximately 40 ethnic Albanians, including women and children, were massacred in the town of Racak by Serb security forces.”

Why did you claim this?

Let us at first assume that your claim is correct.

You further wrote:

- “On March 23rd, President Clinton ordered U.S. aircraft to participate in NATO air strikes against Serb military targets in Yugoslavia. With a heavy heart at the need to resort to the use of military force, I supported the air strikes because I believe they offer the last best hope to limit the humanitarian crisis in Kosovo prompted by Serb attacks on innocent non-combatants, to deter further Serb aggression, and, if necessary, to degrade the Serb security forces ability to prosecute their ethnic cleansing campaign.”

So, you did support not only the complete NATO destruction of Serbia and the large one of Montenegro, but also mass massacre of innocent people of Serbia and Montenegro! In that way you have not only accepted the method you accused and used it as the justification for the NATO bombardment, but you, the U. S. A. Government and the NATO enforced it to the national and the multi national level!

You are against the forty people massacre, with which I fully agree, but you support the national and the multi national level massacre, which I evaluate as a high crime!

Doing that, you, Mr. William Jefferson Clinton, Jr., the President of the U. S. A. and the NATO have lost every human and moral right to criticize those who you had accused! You have just given the power to, even enforced the method of massacres even on the national and the multi national level!

Besides, another part of your method is to ignore actions - causes and to interpret as you like only reactions – consequences. Why do you do that?

Why did you claim that Serb security forces massacred innocent Albanian people, when it is known that the KLA terrorists were fighting in civil dresses, that the International Mission stayed one hour after the Militia of Serbia had gone away from the place where there was not any body left, that the bodies appeared next morning, that the neutral Finish Investigation Commission reported that the bodies had been displaced, that there was not a blood around the bodies, that a gunpowder was found on the hands of the men and that the Commission did not conclude that the massacre had taken place?

YOUR INFORMATION ON AND ATTITUDE TO THE TRUTH

You pretend to be authoritative regarding the internal affairs in Yugoslavia, Serbia and in particular in Kosovo. You base your authority on information you got indirectly or directly by visiting Kosovo and confirm your authority by your membership to the USA Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Even animals memorize the past. The memory is a strong human property. It is a part of the human creativity. It is the basis of human experience. The history helps preparing well the future. Only criminals forbid to people to think of the history. Only criminals demand people to forget the history.

Since you pretend to be an expert for Balkan and Yugoslav affairs, in particular for those in Kosovo, you should appreciate historical facts and you should understand that there has been a long process of movements, emigration, immigration, aggressions, occupations, atrocities and efforts to ensure normal life in liberty and with equal opportunities.

Your reply, as well as many statements by the officials of the U. S. A. Government and of other NATO countries, ignores the process and does not contain a reference to the following facts:

1. Yugoslavia was a co-founder of the Organization of the United Nations.
2. Yugoslavia was widely well-recognized state by all the members of the O. U. N. Its Constitution had to be appreciated by all the countries that recognized Yugoslavia.
3. The Constitution of Yugoslavia was giving the right to self-determination up to a separation exclusively to Yugoslav nations, NOT to its republics.

4. Yugoslavia and Serbia (as its part) were among the safest countries for people to live in peace until 1990.
5. Economic crises were increasing in the eighties resulting in the deep political crises.
6. Serbs and Serbia were accused for separatism at the end of eighties and the beginning of nineties.
7. All Yugoslav nations, except Montenegrin nation and Serbian nation, decided by their referendums to separate the republics in which they were majorities. Their decisions were neither approved by the Federal Parliament nor by a federal referendum or by referendums of other Yugoslav nations. They separated unilaterally by ignoring other republics and nations despite it was against the Constitution of Yugoslavia.
8. The President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia was Croat Mr. Stipe Mesic, who declared before being inaugurated that he would be the last President of the Presidency. The Prime Minister of Yugoslavia was Croat Mr. Ante Markovic. The Federal Minister of the National Defense was General Veljko Kadijevic, one of his parents was Croat, another one Serb. He gave an interview published December 3, 1990, that there would be a civil war if Mr. Milosevic and his party did not gain the elections of December 9, 1990 (I remember that very well since I was an official independent candidate for the President of Serbia, and evidently I was opposing Mr. Milosevic and all other candidates). The commander of the federal Yugoslav Air Force was also a Croat.
9. It was the constitutional obligation for the federal Army to defend the integrity of Yugoslavia. When Slovenia declared self-separation (1991), Army units were ordered to behave so as that they were preventing separation. I say: "to behave so as that they were preventing" because the soldiers got guns without munitions. All Occidental statesmen and media accused Serbs for ignoring liberty of Slovenian people to separate and for aggression against them in spite the above facts and the fact that men of all nationalities were members of the Yugoslav National Army. Moreover, mothers of Serbian boys entered the Parliament of Serbia during its session and they demanded all Serbian soldiers to return from Slovenia. About hundred thousand of us signed in Belgrade a petition to halt the military actions and to continue with the peaceful procedure for solving the problems. This shows that Serbs did not start the war in Slovenia. In fact, the military operations took place in Slovenia for couple weeks because the Government of Slovenia unilaterally separated Slovenia from Yugoslavia. Occidental countries forced by Germany strongly supported such a separation. By the way, the first significant international engagement of Germany after its unification was in destroying Yugoslav Federation.
10. The Government of Croatia got changed the Constitution of Croatia. Serbian people who with Croatian people was constitutive people of the S. R. of Croatia was eliminated and reduced to a non-mentioned national minority. It completely ignored the result of the referendum of Serbian people in Krayina and Slavoniya not to separate from Yugoslavia. These affairs caused military actions in Karyina and Slavonia. They ended by the exodus of several hundred thousands of Serbs from their native land where their ancestors had lived before Columbus discovered America. Croatian army trained by American instructors forced cruelly the Serbs to leave their Fatherland. The Serbs were expelled from Krayina in 48 hours.
11. At the beginning of 1992 Mr. Stipe Mesic claimed: "If the State of Bosnia were not recently recognized, the war would start." It really happened as he promised. It was then, in February (or March) 1992, when Croat soldiers passed a bridge and from Slavonski Brod (Croatia) entered Bosanski Brod (Bosnia). Muslim army (already created) joined them. They started hunting Serbs, at first the Mayor and other state clerks. Next day, Serbian village, near

to Bosanski Brod, Sijekovac was completely burnt with its inhabitants. In the same period, Muslim soldiers attacked a Serbian wedding in a village in Bosnia by killing several innocent people celebrating freely the wedding. That's how the war started in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

12. Governing politicians of the leading Occidental countries supported the separations of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina and urgently recognized the separated states by causing for the first time in the history of Yugoslav nations a war among them when all other parts of Europe were in peace.
13. The forced recognition of separated states of Slovenia and of Croatia was in fact considered as the great success of Mr. Dietrich Genscher, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the just united Germany.
14. The same politicians completely and exclusively ignored the results of referendums of the Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina not to separate from Yugoslavia.
15. The Serbs did not start war in any part of Yugoslavia. They were forced to defend their families, properties, heritage, land and freedom. Occidental media presented the Serbian defense as an aggression!
16. Occidental statesmen were unjustifiably accusing the Serbs for starting the war. Instead of fairly explaining the Serbian defense they accused the Serbs for an aggression!
17. There was TV prepared massacre at the market Markale in Sarajevo. TV Reporters were at the place in time. The USA Government via CNN almost immediately accused Serbs for the massacre without any serious investigation. Such an accusation was used as a justification to bombard Serbian civil people in the Republika Srpska. It was later proved that the massacre was organized and realized by Izetbegovic's Muslims. Nevertheless, Occidental countries continued to press Serbs in Republika Srpska and took out Brcko from it.
18. Moreover, Serbs who owned about 64% of the land in Bosnia and Herzegovina for centuries were forced by the bombardment of innocent civil people to accept to live on 49% of the territory under the protectorate of foreign troops and government, which has been reduced to 48% after taking out Brcko.
19. The people of Serbia has been subjected to unjustifiable various sanctions for years, which were explained by false accusations that the Serbs were aggressor.
20. Albanians were not mentioned to exist on the Balkan Peninsula until the twelfth century. However, Albania was located between the Southeast part of the Kavkaz in the North, river Kura in the South and the Kaspian sea (the Northeast part of the Azerbaijan) in the East up to the Iberia at the West. At the same period there were Epiria and Macedonia at the area of today Albania. However, Albania did not exist at that region at that time [See: Louis Halphen: "Les Barbares", Presses universitaires de France, Paris, (I ed. 1926) - (V ed. 1997). Pp. 454 – 455: "Cartes pour servir à l'étude des grandes migrations de peuples du V au XI siècle après J. - C.". See also: Rachid Bahadurouglu Koyushev, "Christianity in Kavkazian Albany", Aizerbeydjanian Academy of Science, Baku, 1984].
21. Serbs inhabited Kosovo in the period from the fifth to the seventh century, couple centuries before Albanians came. In order to illustrate this in another way, I mention the facts that there is not any ancient Albanian monument in Kosovo and Metohiya, and that all toponyms have Serbian names including Kosovo and Metohiya, which verify that Albanians did not live there before the Serbs.
22. Albanians were immigrating in mass in Kosovo after Osmanlies occupied Kosovo at the end of the XIV century. Being 90% Muslims they were privileged by Islamic Osmanlies over Serbs who have been Orthodox Christians.

23. A part of Serbian people tortured by Turks and their Albanian vassals, led by Serbian Patriarch Charnoyevitch, moved to the North of Serbia in the seventeenth century. My ancestors were among them.
24. When Yugoslav Army capitulated, then its Serbian royalist part organized and led by General Drazha Mihailovitch started the first domestic ground fighting against the Nazi invaders (1941). They were fighting against the Nazi's throughout the war and saved the lives of more than four hundred U. S. A. pilots. The U. S. A. Government presided by the President Harry Truman decided to establish a monument to General Drazha Mihailovitch in Washington D. C. (which has not yet been realized). His anniversary is an official state holiday of the State of Illinois.
25. Couple months later another people's resistance was organized (1941) of non-royalists who were known as Partisans and were led by the Yugoslav communist chief Marshal Josip Broz – Tito. The great majority of Partisans were Serbs. They were also fighting faithfully and bravely against the Nazi's throughout the war.
26. Hitler established a rule exceptionally in occupied Serbia to kill at least ten innocent Serbs for one killed Nazi soldier, and to execute at least hundred innocent Serbs for one killed Nazi officer.
27. After occupying Serbia at the beginning of the Second World War, Hitler separated forcefully the Southwest part of Serbia - Kosovo, where Serbs were the majority, from Serbia, and created the Nazi state Great Albania. This opened the frontier to Albanians to immigrate in Kosovo, which they were doing in mass.
28. Allied countries got heavily bombarded Belgrade at the end of the war instead of bombarding capitals of some Nazi states. WHY?
29. The Churchill Government of Great Britain forced at the end of the war Yugoslav King Peter II (who was in London during the war) to invite Yugoslav people to accept Tito's leadership and to join Tito.
30. Tito's Government established a law on giving the collective rights to the citizenship of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia to all those who were on the territory of Kosovo in 1945. At the time this law legalized the forcibly acquired residence of tens of thousands Albanian citizens - members of the Nazi occupying military units and Nazi occupying army!
31. Tito's Government forbade (1945) to about two hundred thousand Serbs, who were expelled from their properties in Kosovo under the occupation of fascistic Great Albania during the Second World War, to return to their ancient family heritage. Afterwards the frontier to Albania became open to Albanian immigrants.
32. Under Tito's leadership, Yugoslavia rejected to follow Stalinism, 1948. Albanian people who wished to escape Stalinist dictatorship of Heneral Hodja in Albania were immigrating freely to Kosovo. Serbia and Yugoslavia granted hospitality to hundreds of thousands of Albanian immigrants in fifties.
33. Under Tito's dictatorship, without the agreement of people of Serbia, Kosovo got a total political, police, juridical, economical and cultural autonomy with the right equivalent to veto in the Parliament of Serbia (1974).
34. In spite being economically exhausted, Serbia was obliged to invest permanently into Kosovo in order to increase the standard in this its region.
35. Under Tito's dictatorship, Albanian groups were executing atrocities against the Serbs and were forcing Serbian families to leave their homes and properties at Kosovo. Let only few examples be mentioned.
36. Albanian Ferat Mujo (immigrant from Albania) killed Danilo Milincic whose father Slavoljub had been killed ten years ago, and his grandfather Marko in 1944.

37. Albanians killed Miodrag Saric during their thirtieth attack on his home. His widow and their four children are only Serbs in the village that was completely Serbian in 1945.
38. Albanian children poured gasoline over Dejan Antonovic 13 years old and set him up on fire in Pristine, June 9, 1983.
39. Mr. Martinovic, 56 years old father of three children was found lying unconscious in his private field in Kosovo (mid eighties) with a broken bottle forcibly pushed in his bottom! About the case, Henry Kamm wrote the following in the New York Times (the whole article is repeated below):
“ The provincial leadership, dominated by ethnic Albanians, has said it believes that a Serb grossly mutilated last May by a broken bottle inflicted his injuries himself while performing an auto-erotic act.”
Mr. Martinovic claimed that several Albanians had attacked him working in his field and had done that to him. The case has not been officially fairly examined and clarified.
40. Albanian Ahmet Ljatif, Albanian policeman and member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, was trying to rape the chief nun of the monastery Grachanica, August 28, 1988.
41. Albanians were threatening Serbian families to burn their houses and to kill them if they do not sell their properties and flee them. My spouse was a teacher in the XIII Belgrade High School. It was in the eighties when she discovered her colleague very anxious and worried before the morning class. He explained that his parents living in Kosovo got a message in the mail box to sell their house and property to Albanians, otherwise all would be burnt. The family Strahinitch fled forcefully the home.
42. A Serbian fellow (20) and his mother were working at their field, which was centuries ancient family heritage. Two Albanian fellows came and demanded them to leave the field. The son rejected. Albanians fell him down on the ground. One was keeping him immovable, while another one was preparing a knife. Mother crying was begging them to leave her son. They executed the son in front of the mother. This was described in details in a newspaper in eighties.
43. An Albanian fellow forced a Serbian girl to fall in love with him. He could not accept not to be accepted – he killed her. Media announced the event in eighties.
44. Mothers of yet born babies complained officially against Albanian trials to sterilize Serbian babies in the Department of Gynecology/Obstetrics, Faculty of Medicine of Pristine, the biggest town in Kosovo. The hospital director was Albanian female physician Dr Sehadet Mekuli, who was also responsible for the baby’s treatment (the biggest newspaper “POLITIKA” in Serbia published information about the case, about 1981). This and the following information have been only available from Serbia in this current situation: she was the spouse of Albanian Academician Esad Mekuli. A court process has never started. Therefore, the case has never been officially examined, treated and clarified. Strong Albanian politicians who protected her were members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, one of who was Fadil Hodja. This just illustrates how the political and juridical autonomy given by Tito to Albanians in Kosovo was functioning.
45. Only since October until the NATO bombardment of Serbia and Montenegro started, the Albanians committed 500 terrorist attacks, doing atrocious murders or cruelly torturing the hostages. Since the arrival of the OSCE Verification Mission (allegedly the conscience of Europe and the USA) the Albanian terrorists have ethnically cleansed more than 60 Serbian villages. These are only few illustrative examples of many Albanian atrocities against Serbs and how Albanians exploited the political and juridical autonomy of Kosovo.

46. The Serbs constituted a 61% majority in Kosovo in 1929. They had remained a majority all the way up to the Second World War, during which many Serbs were killed or driven from their homes by the Nazi allies - the Kosovo and Bosnian Muslims. After 1945, Tito's communist government passed a law prohibiting the Serb refugees from returning to their homes in Kosovo. Over the next five decades, hundreds of thousands of illegal immigrants poured in across a porous border. That is how the Albanians got to be a majority in Kosovo.
47. The last census before WWII started, in 1941, showed that 51% of the population of Kosovo were Serbs. Yet, World Almanacs show that in 1961 Kosovo had a total population of 963,565, of which only 642,000 were Albanian. According to the last reliable census of 1971 Albanians in Kosovo constituted around 75% of the total population. The Serbs were 10% while the remaining 15% was comprised of the remaining 12 ethnic groups in Kosovo (Turks, Gypsies, Slavic Muslims, etc). The 1993 World Almanac showed that Yugoslavia still had only 8% Albanian population, which would indicate that there were 826,960 Albanians in all of Yugoslavia.
48. In 1998, there were 1200 dead and missing Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo. This does not constitute genocide. Some of the population of Kosovo was temporarily displaced because of the fighting between the KLA-terrorists and the legitimate forces of Serbia. This does not constitute ethnic cleansing. There has also been no evidence of concentration camps in Kosovo prior to NATO bombing, nor after the bombing began.
49. Albanian terrorists killed three Serbian policemen on Saturday, October 17, 1998.
50. Two journalists disappeared between October 17 and October 19, 1998.
51. The Militia of Serbia was responding to KLA arm attack in Racak. When the Militia left Racak there was not any person executed. Next day there appeared bodies of forty civils, at the place that was empty when the Militia left Racak. The USA Government and NATO almost immediately accused Serbs for the massacre and used it to justify the beginning of the bombardment, in the same way as the Markale market case in Sarajevo was used to justify the bombardment of Serbian civil inhabitants in Republika Srpska.
52. This case posed the following questions: Since there was not the blood around the bodies and since the bodies appeared at the place next day after the Militia left Racak, then where they were killed? Who did them execute? Who did bring the bodies to the place in Racak?
53. The neutral and independent Finish Commission was carefully examining the Racak case. The Commission concluded that there was not any proof that the massacre was done by Serbs or by the Militia of the Republic of Serbia.
54. More than one thousand two hundred citizens of the R. Serbia and of the R. Montenegro were killed and about 5,000 citizens were seriously wounded until May 4, 1999. About 300 schools were destroyed around all the country and three television and radio centers were destroyed until the same date.
55. During the Second WW, the Nazis took all pupils from a school in Kraguyevatz and massacred them together with the school director who rejected to stay in his office. After the war, the people of Kraguyevatz built a monument to them. A NATO plane bombarded and destroyed the monument!!! Do you know who was the pilot?
56. Albanian families that have lived for centuries in Kosovo have lived in peaceful civilized normal relationship with Serbian and other nationality families.
57. KLA terrorists and them devoted Albanians mainly being immigrants in Kosovo or children of the immigrants have been leading military actions

against the Serbs and against Albanians who rejected to join them in order to get Kosovo separated from Serbia.

58. The NATO bombardment has been continuing by completely destroying Serbia, more and more Montenegro, by wounding and killing innocent people...

I interrupt here with the listing of the atrocities and crimes against the Serbs since the list is too long . I append illustrative articles found by chance:

- “Serbian Casualties in the 20th Century” by Ljubodrag Dimic, Ph.D.,
- “The Exodus of Serbs Stirrs Province in Yugoslavia” by Marvine Howe published in The New York Times, July 12, 1982.
- “In One Yugoslav Province, Serbs Fear the Ethnic Albanians”, by Henry Kamm, Special to the New York Times, April 28, 1986.

Why have you been ignoring the above facts if you have known them?

How can you be an expert for the affairs in Yugoslavia and Serbia, in particular for those in Kosovo if you have not known them?

What are your reasons to think still that you personally, the U. S. A. Government and other NATO Governments should interfere in the internal affairs of Serbia and Montenegro?

ON THE U. S. A. – NATO BOMBARDMENT

The NATO bombardment essentially governed by the U. S. A. Government is the aggression against the country and people which and who did not attack any other country or people including the U. S. A. and any other NATO country. It is the aggression against the people who lived peacefully and gave their hospitality to hundred thousands of Albanian immigrants to Kosovo.

The U. S. A. Government and NATO defined the following as the main goals of the bombardment:

1. The dismissal of Mr. Milosevic and his Government.
2. The complete destruction of the Army.

The NATO has used the aggressive interest of Albanian terrorists to excite them and Albanian people to get Kosovo out of Serbia and then to establish its military basis. Such a plan was elaborated and prepared before Mr. Milosevic fixed his power over Serbia (see for example the false claim that Kosovo was a constituent republic of Yugoslavia on page 1222 of Webster’s New World Encyclopedia, Prentice Hall, New York, 1992).

The NATO countries have supported communistic and Islamic fundamentalist dictators. Look only who are the Presidents of the former Yugoslav Republics: of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Macedonia. They have been all well supported by the U. S. A. Government. Moreover, Mr. Milosevic was occasionally (strongly) supported by the U. S. A. Government!

The above just illustrates that Milosevic's Government was artificially and inconsistently used as a justification for the bombardment, and shows that the first U. S. A. Government and NATO claim fails.

Like in every country, the army is obliged to defend the country and people against any aggression. The army of Serbia and Montenegro has not made any aggression, but it has been forced by the KLA terrorism and the NATO aggression to protect the country and people. Hence, the second U. S. A. Government and NATO claim is also invalid.

The NATO bombardment is primarily aimed at occupying Kosovo in order for NATO to establish its military basis.

Since you and the Government of the U. S. A. have not mentioned the facts presented above, which reflect the truth, then you might have not known them or you have ignored those that you have known. In either case you, as well as the Government of the USA, are not competent and eligible to interfere in solving internal problems in Serbia and Montenegro. You do not have any human, moral, legal or legitimate right to do that. I have learnt that you disagree with this and you endeavor by all military and propaganda means to cease Kosovo from Serbia and Serbian people!

Let me add also the following. The Nazi Independent State of Croatia had several camps and concentration camps against innocent people. My spouse was with her mother and three sisters in one of them for the only one reason: they were Serbs in Bosnia. The most cruel concentration camp was Yasenovatz (Slavoniya) where about eight hundred thousands of innocent people were executed. About 80% percent of them were Serbs, others were mainly Jews and Gypsies. How was it possible that there was not a representative of Serbs from Krayina and Slavoniya, Serbia, Montenegro, Republika Srpska at the opening of the Holocaust Museum? What reasons for?

Your attitude, as well as that of the U. S. A. Government, creates a strong impression of the unbelievable hate against the whole Serbian people (not against particular individuals). What reason for?

The NATO destruction of Serbia and Montenegro, the bombardment of the people of Serbia and Montenegro is clearly a multiple crime that should halt immediately.

The U. S. A. is military doubtless the most powerful country today. Can it be justification for the U. S. A. Government to start and continue leading and forcing the NATO aggression against Serbia and Montenegro?

However, how the U. S. A. can be the most powerful country, how it can be the Free World leader when it is deadly afraid of presenting the truth to its own people and equally deadly frightened of spreading truthful information to other peoples?

Do you think that the U. S. A. and NATO economic and military supremacy are the justifiable means and way to impose and ensure such a prestigious position and authority?

If the U. S. A. and NATO may do that then the mankind will be retarded for at least a century.

If the U. S. A. may do that then the U. S. A. Government betrayed not only its allied country and people but also its Founding Fathers, the spirit of Americans, (see below the speech by the U. S. A. President Woodrow WILSON), the devotion of brave and altruistic American soldiers to fight against Hitler's attitude of having all rights based on its super military power at that time.

Haven't you personally and the U. S. A. Government recognized and understood that the whole world, including the countries and peoples under former hard (communistic or fascistic or any other) dictatorship regimes did trust with hope in the U. S. A. to lead the humankind peacefully and fairly? How can you now expect to regain such an appreciation and belief? Maybe you do not mind that?

SOLUTION PROPOSAL

- Immediate and unconditional halt of the bombardment of Serbia and Montenegro.
- Immediate suspension of the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro.
- Complete freedom to all Albanians who so wish to immigrate in the U. S. A. or in any other NATO country or to stay/return to Serbia – Kosovo if they are citizens of Serbia.
- The U. S. A. and all other NATO countries should guarantee to the immigrating Albanians the permanent residence towards the citizenship and at least all that what Albanians had in Serbia – Kosovo.
- Appreciation of the International Law, the Charter of the O. U. N. and other international conventions.
- Appreciation of the sovereignty of the states of Montenegro and Serbia.
- Appreciation of the fact that Kosovo and Metohiya are non-separable parts of Serbia.
- Appreciation of the territory integrity of Montenegro and Serbia.
- Appreciation of the freedom of the peoples of Montenegro and Serbia to resolve peacefully and democratically their internal problems through the elections for their Constitutional Parliaments.
- Appreciation of the freedom of media to present truthful information.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

This exposition outlines my opinion and these are my evaluations based on available information, my knowledge and experience gained not through one visit to Kosovo where I lived one whole year (1966/67) and where I was lecturing with pleasure to Albanian, Serbian and other nationality students (in seventies), but those accumulated throughout my life in Serbia 1939 – 1992 (with the longest interruptions of five months spending in Santa Clara, CA, 1971, and another one of twenty months spent in South Bend, IN, and Baton Rouge, LA, 1988 -1990).

I consider our communication open to public since it does not concern personal affairs but only public affairs. Therefore, I will e-mail it to the U. S. A. Government, all the U. S. A. Congresspersons, to many international statesmen and to media (which, I predict due to my experience, will not publish this, but they might wish to read the letter).

I appreciate your invitation to stay in touch with you, which I have evidently accepted.

Sincerely yours,
 Lyubomir T. Gruyitch, D. Sc., D. H. C., University Professor
 1, rue Marcel Paul
 90000 Belfort, France

When the Serbian Flag Flew Over the White House

On July 28, 1918, President Woodrow Wilson gave the following message to the American people. It was read in churches throughout the country and published in virtually all major newspapers. The Serbian flag was raised over the White House and all public buildings in this nation's capital. The message read:

To the People of the United States:

On Sunday, 28th of this present month, will occur the fourth anniversary of the day when the gallant people of Serbia, rather than submit to the studied and ignoble executions of a prearranged foe, were called upon by the war declaration of Austria-Hungry to defend their territory and their homes against an enemy bent on their destruction. Nobly did they respond.

So valiantly and courageously did they oppose the forces of a country ten times greater in population and resources that it was only after they had thrice driven the Austrians back and Germany and Bulgaria had come to the aid of Austria that they were compelled to retreat into Albania. While their territory has been devastated and their homes despoiled, the spirit of the Serbian people has not been broken. Though overwhelmed by superior forces, their love of freedom remains unabated. Brutal force has left unaffected their firm determination to sacrifice everything for liberty and independence.

It is fitting that the people of the United States, dedicated to the self-evident truth that is the right of the people of all nations, small as well as great, to live their own lives and choose their own Government, and remembering that the principles for which Serbia has so nobly fought and suffered are those for which the United States is fighting, should on the occasion of this anniversary manifest in an appropriate manner their war sympathy with this oppressed people who have so heroically resisted the aims of the Germanic nations to master the world. At the same time, we should not forget the kindred people of the Great Slavic race--the Poles, the Czechs and Jugo-Slavs, who, now dominated and oppressed by alien races yearn for independence and national unity.

This can be done in a manner no more appropriate than in our churches. I, therefore, appeal to the people of the United States of all faiths and creeds to assemble in their several places of worship on Sunday July 28, for the purpose of giving expression to their sympathy with this subjugated people and their oppressed and dominated kindred in other lands, and to invoke the blessings of Almighty God upon them and upon the cause to which they are pledged.

**Woodrow Wilson, President,
The White House, July, 1918.**

SERBIAN CASUALTIES IN THE 20TH CENTURY

Professor Ljubodrag Dimic, Ph.D.
Department of the History
Faculty of Philosophy
University of Belgrade

The Serbian question is not a marginal question of European history. In the long period from the beginning of the 19th century to the present day, it has always surpassed the actual borders of Serbia, attracted the attention and provoked the reaction of the Great Powers, "infringed" on their vital interests, and acquired European proportions. For the Serbs, the 20th century began with the wars for liberation and unification. As a result, the Serbian state again stretched over the territory it had in the Middle Ages and the Serbian people for the most part found themselves within the borders of one state. This century ends with open aggression by NATO, which is attempting to destroy this European people.

In this gory century, the Serbs have fought 5 wars for survival, in which they experienced and lived through 2 genocide, 2 civil wars, 2 foreign occupations, won two liberation wars, lost their state twice and created a new state three times. In the last decade of the century, with the help of the USA and a united Europe, the Serbs have experienced a large-scale Exodus and lost their ethnic territories. Since 24 March 1999, the Serbs have been waging their sixth war in the 20th century with the sole aims of surviving, saving their lives, their state, and preserving their tradition and identity which cannot exist without Kosovo and Metohija .

In the first Balkan war, fought by the Balkan states of Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria against Turkey in 1912, the Serbian casualties amounted to 30,000 wounded or killed Serbian soldiers. The unsolved political issues and territorial disputes of the Balkan states provoked the second Balkan war in 1913, out of which Serbia came victorious, but materially exhausted and with casualties amounting to 41,000 soldiers.

Two world wars almost reduced the Serbian people to a demographic minimum. "The demographic collapse" of Serbia in the First World War expressed numerically amounts to around 1,250,000 killed (402,435 soldiers and 845,000 civilians), and around 500,000 invalids with permanently reduced working ability, the demographic loss (killed, unborn and unable to work) being 35% of the entire Serbian population. The greatest loss was suffered by male working population (18-55) - 62% of the entire population (53% killed and 9% invalids). Such losses amounted to the eradication of the entire nation and caused permanent, unresolved consequences in the patriarchal society of the Serbian villages (22% more women than men). The wars for liberation and unification which lasted several years (1912-1918), in which the Serbs fought on the side of the allies (France, England, USA, Russia, etc.) consumed much energy, "wore out" the Serbian people, bore "war exhaustion", "weakness", "stagnation", and the loss of entire generations.

The death toll in the Second World War was at least 1,000,000 Serbian lives (the exact data have never been established because in 1946 the Communist authorities in Yugoslavia impeded the work of the Committee for establishing the crimes of occupiers, for political reasons). Imprisonment and wounding included, the demographic loss of the Serbian population amounted to over 20%. Settled on the territory of the entire Yugoslavia, the Serbian people was fractionated and exposed to the danger of biological, national and cultural destruction.

In the period 1941-1944 under the German occupation, more than 80,000 Serbs were killed, for the most part in death camps, special prisons, punitive expeditions, reprisals in which 100 Serbs were murdered for 1 wounded German soldier, and 150 for a killed soldier. More than 350,000 Serbs were forcefully taken to German camps.

On the territory of the Italian protectorate of Great Albania (Metohija), more than 10,000 Serbs were executed; 80,000 Albanians at a minimum were settled there.

In the Hungarian occupation zone, only during 1941 10,000 Serbs were killed (out of that number, 4,000 Serbs were thrown into the frozen Danube on the site which used to be occupied by the bridge destroyed in these days by NATO bombs).

The outcome of the Bulgarian occupation was 20,000 murdered and 50,000 displaced Serbs.

The crime committed on the territory of the Independent State of Croatia assumed the largest proportions. 1,900,000 were exposed to terror. According to German sources, 700,000 Serbs were murdered in Croatia, 250,000 of them converted and more than 400,000 evicted to Serbia.

Crimes against the Serbian population were committed in the years of the disintegration of Yugoslavia. The disintegration of the SFRY was carried out by means of armed secession, was amply supported by the international community. The principle of the territorial integrity of a state and the inviolability of its internationally recognized borders (UN Charter, the Concluding Act of the Conference of Cooperation and Security in Europe) was not observed in Yugoslavia's case. The right to self-determination was linked to federal units. The Serbs were exempted from the universal right to self-determination. Their commitment to living with other nations in a common state was ignored. The diplomatic acknowledgement of the secession made it possible for the civil war, which commenced in Croatia in 1991 and spread to Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992, to be characterized as aggression.

In those wars the Serbs suffered greater losses than other peoples of Yugoslavia did. In 1990's, about 500,000 Serbs permanently left Croatia (emigrated or evicted). According to some sources, in 1991 723,665 Serbs lived in Croatia; today, there are 130,000 - 150,000 of them. Accordingly, the demographic loss is almost 600,000 Serbs. According to the estimates of analysts, the Serbian casualties in Croatia amount to 8,000 - 10,000. Out of total losses of life in Bosnia-Herzegovina (estimated at 80,000), more than 30,000 are Serbs.

In the first decades of this century, the Serbs were in the majority in Macedonia, Kosovo, Metohija and Sandzak (50.4%). In Bosnia-Herzegovina, they constituted a majority of the total population (43%) and were in the majority in 28 districts, out of 53. The Serbs lived in compact groups in Croatia and Slavonia (21%) and Dalmatia (17%). They constituted a numerical majority in 20 districts. Hundreds of thousands of Serbs were forced to leave Kosovo and Metohija. In the period 1971-1981, the number of Serbs who immigrated from Kosovo and Metohija was 13 times higher than the number of those who settled there; as regards Montenegrins, 9 times as many of them immigrated from Kosovo and Metohija than settled there. At the end of the century, it is evident that the territories on which the Serbs lived have been ethnically emptied. By a policy of repression, their presence in Croatia has been reduced to the percentage that is not statistically significant. They constitute 30% of the population in Bosnia-Herzegovina today.

A new crime against the Serbs is being committed now!

Belgrade is being destroyed for the 42nd time in its history!

<http://www.bg.ac.yu/>
 ubginfo@rect.bg.ac.yu

The New York Times, Monday, July 12, 1982

EXODUS OF SERBIANS STIRS PROVINCE IN YUGOSLAVIA

By MARVINE HOWE, Special to the New York Times
(Pristina, Yugoslavia)

Danilo Krstic and his family are hardworking wheat and tobacco farmers, Serbs who get along with their Albanian neighbors.

"You have to love the place where you live to stay on the land here,"

Marko Krstic, the oldest son, told visitors to the farm at Bec, a few miles from the Albanian border. There have been no serious troubles between Serbs and Albanians in Bec, but Serbs in some of the neighboring villages have reportedly been harassed by Albanians and have packed up and left the region.

The exodus of Serbs is admittedly one of the main problems that the authorities have to contend with in Kosovo, an autonomous province of Yugoslavia inhabited largely by Albanians.

Rioting Brought Awareness

Last year's riots, in which nine people were killed, shocked not only the troubled province of Kosovo but also the entire country into an awareness of the problems of this most backward part of Yugoslavia, which is made up of many ethnic groups.

In June a 43-year-old Serb, Miodrag Saric, was shot and killed by an Albanian neighbor, Ded Krasnici, in a village near Djakovica, 40 miles southwest of Pristina, according to the official Yugoslav press agency Tanyug. It was the second murder of a Serb by an Albanian in Kosovo this year. The dispute reportedly started with a quarrel over damage done to a field belonging to the Saric family. The local political and security bodies condemned the murder as "a grave criminal act" that could have serious repercussions, according to the press agency. Five members of the Krasnici family have been arrested and investigations are continuing.

The authorities have responded at various levels to the violence in Kosovo, clearly trying to avoid antagonizing the Albanian majority. Besides firm security measures, action has been taken to speed political, educational and economic changes.

Past Errors Acknowledged

Privately, some officials acknowledge that the rise of Albanian nationalism in a society that is based on the principle of the equality of nationalities is the result of past errors - at first neglect and discrimination, and more recently failure to act against divisive forces or even recognize them.

"The nationalists have a two-point platform,"

according to Becir Hoti, an executive secretary of the Communist Party of Kosovo,

"first to establish what they call an ethnically clean Albanian republic and then the merger with Albania to form a greater Albania. "

Mr. Hoti, an Albanian, expressed concern over political pressures that were forcing Serbs to leave Kosovo.

"What is important now," he said, "is to establish a climate of security and create confidence."

The migration of Serbs is no ordinary problem because Kosovo is the heartland of Serbian history, culture and religion. Serbs have been in this region since the seventh century, long before they founded their own independent dynasty here in 1168.

57,000 Have Left Region

Some 57,000 Serbs have left Kosovo in the last decade, and the number increased considerably after the riots of March and April last year, according to Vukasin Jokanovic, another executive secretary of the Kosovo party. Mr. Jokanovic, former president of the Commission on Migration set up after last year's disturbances, said the cause of Serbian migration was "essentially of a political nature." The commission has given four basic reasons for the departures: social-economic, normal migration from this underdeveloped area, an increasingly adverse social-political climate and direct and indirect pressures. Mr. Jokanovic, a Serb, called the pressures disturbing and said they included personal insults, damage to Serbian graves and the burning of hay, cutting down wood and other attacks on property to force Serbs to leave.

The 1981 census showed Kosovo with a population of 1,584,558, of whom 77.5 percent were ethnic Albanians, 13.2 percent Serbs and 1.7 percent Montenegrins. The population in 1971 of 1,243,693 was 73.8 percent Albanian, 18.4 percent Serbian and 2.5 percent Montenegrin.

Ex-Defense Minister Concerned

In a recent visit to Kosovo, Nikola Ljubcic, head of the Serbian Presidency and a former Minister of Defense, expressed particular concern about the continuing exodus of Serbs.

"An ethnically clean Kosovo will always be cause for instability,"

Mr. Ljubcic said, adding that Yugoslavia

"will never give up one foot of her land."

Conversations with Serbs and Albanians in different parts of the province showed that that they were generally troubled about the Serbian migration but did not know what to do about it. Some people described it as "psychological warfare" but were at a loss to explain who was at fault.

In Pristina, the provincial capital, with its skyscrapers and bustling streets, people said they felt relatively secure because the authorities maintained "a close watch." Although the army remains at a distance and has not had to intervene, there is a strong militia presence. Things appear relaxed on the Corso, Pristina's main street. As in other Yugoslav cities, every night from about 6 to 10 the main thoroughfare is closed to traffic and practically everyone turns out for a stroll, encounters and discussions.

Different Sides of Street

What is special about Pristina is that it has always been Serbs on one side of the street and Albanians on the other. Residents say Albanians have been encroaching on Serbian "territory" since the disturbances.

After the crackdown on Albanian nationalists - about 300 have been sentenced - they are said to have changed tactics, moving to the villages, where there is less security control. In some mixed communities, there were reports of farmers being pressured to sell their land cheap and of Albanian shopkeepers refusing to sell goods to Serbs.

"We don't want to go because we have a large farm,"

a Serbian farmer's wife said in a village near Pristina.

"Our property hasn't been touched, but there are the insults and the intimidation, so we feel uncomfortable."

Several neighbors have left, she said, and her own sons who were planning to build a new house have stopped "to see how things will turn out."

There have been many changes since the riots, but most people in Pristina agree with Mr. Ljubicic that more could be done. The main thrust of the changes is economic.

"We're going to change the economic structures with more emphasis on agriculture, the processing industry, small business and handicrafts,"

Aziz Abrashi, the Economics Minister, said in an interview.

"Ninety-nine percent of the Albanians have no wish to live in Albania,"

Mr. Abrashi, an Albanian, said,

"but they view the rest of Yugoslavia and are aware of the higher living standards. Our young people want the same good life, the nice houses and cars, and they can't get them if they can't get jobs."

The New York Times
April 28, 1986, Monday, Late City
Final Edition

(Section: Section A; Page 13, Column 1; Foreign Desk)

**IN ONE YUGOSLAV PROVINCE,
SERBS FEAR THE ETHNIC ALBANIANS**

By HENRY KAMM, Special to the New York Times

(PRISTINA, Yugoslavia)

The ethnic Albanian majority in the autonomous province of Kosovo is feared by the minority population of Serbs and Montenegrins, who believe the Albanians are seeking to drive them out of the province.

A 1981 fire that gutted the medieval nunnery of the Serbian Orthodox Patriarchate in Pec, a center of Serbian national feeling, has been Officially ascribed to bad construction.

An aged nun at the Patriarchate said she and her sisters were convinced that the fire had been set to chase them from Kosovo. But she said the nuns would never leave, and three Serbian or Montenegrin visitors agreed with her.

The provincial leadership, dominated by ethnic Albanians, has said it believes that a Serb grossly mutilated last May by a broken bottle inflicted his injuries himself while performing an auto-erotic act. The maiming of Djordje Martinovic, a 56-year-old farmer and father of three, has become the most widely discussed Yugoslav criminal case in years, debated in Parliament and covered in full detail by television and the press.

Yugoslavs Blame the Albanians

The case remains unsolved, but Yugoslavs' minds seem mainly made up on both incidents. They blame ethnic Albanians. They also blame them for continuing assaults, rapes and vandalism. They believe their aim is to drive non-Albanians out of Kosovo.

"A legitimized genocide against the Serbian people is being carried out in Kosovo," said Dobrica Cosic, a dissident novelist published here and in the United States, in an interview in Belgrade. "More than 200,000 Serbs have been forced to leave their home in the last 10, 20 years." A Steady exodus continues.

Since Albanian nationalists went on a rampage in 1981, leaving at least nine people dead, the level of violence has declined. But enough agitation continues, punctuated by acts of violence, to make a burning issue of the antagonism between the 1.4 million ethnic Albanians and the little more than 200,000 Serbs.

Under the federal Constitution, Kosovo is part of the Serbian Republic.

In effect, it is as self-governing as the six republics of the nation. It is also the poorest region of Yugoslavia. Men in their 20's line the main street of Pristina - a stretch of grandiose modern buildings that separates near-slums on either side - offering to shine the shoes of passers-by who can hardly afford such luxury. Begging children accost diners in restaurants.

Use of Funds Criticized

The over ambitious buildings, such as a recent, prematurely rundown, 300-room hotel with 3 restaurants in a little-visited town of 100,000, sustain criticism of the provincial leadership a misuse of federal development funds. To many, the aid represents a futile effort to solve an intractable problem through financial bounty.

Mohammed Mustafa, director of the Provincial Economic Planning Institute, said there were 115,000 registered unemployed out of a potential work force of 804,000. The economic growth rate has been 1.5 percent a year since 1980, while

the population is growing at 2.5 percent, he said. The average wage is 20 percent below the national average.

"Kosovo is Yugoslavia's single greatest problem," said a Western diplomat. "They can pay off their huge debt, but Kosovo defies solution."

Serbs and Montenegrins feel beleaguered. Communists and non-Communists express distrust of the provincial leadership and chagrin over the federal and Serbian authorities who in their opinion do nothing to halt increasing Albanian domination over a multi-national population and lands that are historically inseparable from Serbian national identity.

Restrictive Atmosphere

Non-Albanian Yugoslav residents and visitors characterize the atmosphere of Kosovo as frighteningly restrictive and its Communist leadership as so dogmatic as to resemble the rigorously Stalinist regime that holds power in nearby Albania.

In contrast to officials elsewhere in Yugoslavia, who readily acknowledge problems and errors and de-emphasize ideology in favor of pragmatism, a leading Kosovo official, Ekrem Arifi, offered an entirely ideological explanation of Kosovo's problems.

In prepared statements that took the place of replies to questions, he blamed outside forces for all difficulties - agents of Albania and emigres in the West. Mr. Arifi, executive secretary of the provincial party, spoke in Albanian and in stock phrases long out of use in Yugoslavia, such as "proletarian internationalism," "the class enemy" or "the solidarity of the working class."

They are not echoed by the non-Albanian population.

Asked whether the nuns felt safe in their rebuilt convent, the old nun replied, "Yes, with God's help."