

Milosevic & Aanklacht

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Ramsey Clark Poses as Milosevic's Attorney and then Smears the "Client" On Nationwide US Television

by Jared Israel and Nico Varkevisser

Research by Andy Wilcoxson and Jared Israel

[Posted 17 May 2003]

Please help support the work of the ICDSM

Since Slobodan Milosevic was kidnapped from Yugoslavia and taken to The Hague Tribunal two years ago, there has been a media campaign using lawyers who make public statements in which a) these lawyers falsely claim to represent Milosevic, b) these lawyers compare or otherwise link Milosevic in the public mind to the most monstrous criminals and then c) these lawyers argue that even such criminals deserve a defense, thus cementing the media-created, false impression that Milosevic is, indeed, one of the war criminals.

In the following report we will examine the case of Ramsey Clark. (This is the first of a three-part series on Mr. Clark.)

<http://www.icdsm.org/more/ramsey1.htm>

3-6-03

Exhibit A

Transcript of the exchange between International Action Center (IAC) founder Ramsey Clark and Tammy Lydel, president of the National Press Club in Washington D.C.

This exchange was broadcast live across the United States on C-SPAN television, May 12, 2003. (To view the video of the Lydel-Clark exchange, go to footnote [1])

[Excerpt from transcript of Lydel-Clark exchange starts here]

Tammy Lydel: Salon Magazine called you "the war criminal's best friend." Why have you represented the war criminals like Milosevic?

Ramsey Clark: Why would I?

Tammy Lydel: m-hmmm.

Ramsey Clark: Well the real reason is I'm a lawyer - and therefore never far from sin, as Kafka observed. I would take any capital case in the world because I have always opposed the death penalty passionately and always will, and - um - if you listed all the people that have been demonized that I've - um - represented - um - you'd have a hard time thinking of any others. One thing I do is - if - if no one represents someone I would insist on their being represented that's how I got into Sheik Abdel Rahman's case. He had no lawyer. I couldn't stand the idea that a - um Islamic scholar with a Ph.D. from Al-Azhar University in Cairo, who spoke no English, had no legal background, would go to trial without a lawyer...

Ramsey Clark: But - um - it's a form of guilt by association to, to ask the question, "Why would you represent such a bad person?" Are they human beings? Do they need help? Is that your calling? You can't do it all, but you do what you can.

[Excerpt from transcript of Lydel-Clark exchange ends here]

Regarding the claim that Ramsey Clark is Slobodan Milosevic's lawyer, we present Exhibit B.

Exhibit B

On November 20, 2001 United Nations Foundation Website reprints news report that Slobodan Milosevic rejected Ramsey Clark as attorney and legal advisor [2]

[Report that Milosevic rejected Clark as either his lawyer or advisor starts here]

Former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic has rebuffed an International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia effort to assign him two attorneys who he can meet with confidentially as manipulation by the system, defense attorney Dragoslav Ognjanovic of Belgrade said yesterday. Milosevic has previously refused to appoint a defense team because he does not recognize the tribunal's authority.

"Milosevic 's stand is that this is a new manipulation by the court," Ognjanovic said. "The court has never asked Milosevic if he wants these two people to be appointed as his advisers."

...

The tribunal named former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark and British lawyer John Livingston as the advisers, but Ognjanovic says the ICTY move restricts the number of other people who would be able to hold meetings with Milosevic without being monitored. (Reuters/ABCNews.com, Nov. 19).

[Report that Milosevic rejected Clark as either his lawyer or advisor ends here]

On Monday, 12 May 2003, Mr. Ramsey Clark appeared at a luncheon of the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. At that luncheon, National Press Club president Tammy Lydel asked Ramsey Clark why he represented war criminals like Slobodan Milosevic. His answer was televised on the C-Span cable network and viewed in the US nationwide, perhaps by hundreds of thousands or even millions of people.

Many of us who have worked to refute the lies about Yugoslavia have restrained ourselves regarding Ramsey Clark's behavior. But this latest episode, in which Mr. Clark lied and attacked Slobodan Milosevic and, by extension, the Serbian people, cries out for public comment.

What is remarkable about the exchange between Ms. Lydel and Ramsey Clark?

The first notable thing is that, of all the questions Ms. Lydel could have asked Ramsey Clark, she led off by asking why he represented Yugoslav President Milosevic. Why would she make that her main question? Indeed, why would she ask that question at all, now? Clark hasn't publicly done a thing about the Milosevic case since he visited Mr. Milosevic in August of 2001 - 21 months ago! If Lydel wanted to attack Clark, as Clark suggested in their exchange, why didn't she start by asking him about supporting Saddam Hussein or the Islamist terrorists? Why did she ask why he is representing Milosevic?

The second question is, why did Mr. Clark answer with a lie?

Lydel said:

"Salon Magazine called you 'the war criminal's best friend.' Why have you represented the war criminals like Milosevic?"

And Clark answered:

"Well the real reason is I'm a lawyer -..."

But Clark's explanation, that he is representing Milosevic *because Clark is a lawyer,* is a lie. Because *Ramsey Clark is not representing Slobodan Milosevic*! (See Exhibit B)

Why did Ramsey Clark lie? Why didn't he just say, "I am not representing Slobodan Milosevic"?

And why, once he chose to pretend he was Milosevic's lawyer, didn't he do what lawyers do - which is to defend their client in public?

Why didn't he refute the false accusation that Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic is a war criminal?

Why didn't he say, "Has Milosevic been convicted before a legitimate court? Are you the judge and jury? Why don't you try reading the Hague Tribunal transcripts and you will see that

<http://www.icdsm.org/more/ramsey1.htm>

Milosevic has exposed all their charges as lies, has proven that the Tribunal's sponsors - the U.S., Germany, France, England, Saudi Arabia and NATO - supported terrorism against Yugoslavia? It is precisely because President Milosevic so thoroughly exposed their lies about him - and the Serbian people - that all the big TV networks have stopped broadcasting the Hague proceedings!" [3]

Why didn't Clark say that Milosevic stood up to the KLA terrorists who attacked Serbia with NATO support? Why, having falsely posed as Milosevic's lawyer, did he accept without comment Lydel's characterization of Milosevic as a war criminal? Why did he say that even war criminals are human and that he, Ramsey Clark, is a lawyer and "you can't do it all, but you do what you can"?

If a doctor is asked why he would give you medical care even though you are a thief, and he replies that even a thief should be given medical care and he, the doctor, is a caring person, *he is agreeing that you are a thief.*

In the United States, when lawyers are asked by reporters if their client is guilty, they always say he is innocent.

If a lawyer fails to insist on his client's innocence, everyone knows that not only is the client guilty, but he or she is so guilty that not even their own lawyer has the nerve to deny it!

So by first affirming the lie that he represents Milosevic and then accepting the lie that Milosevic is a war criminal, Clark was strengthening the *false* impression among the public that Milosevic is a monster. A viewer would think, "Even his own attorney admits he is a 'bad person' and a war criminal. I mean, like Clark said, everyone deserves a lawyer, but I am sure glad I don't have to represent him!"

Moreover, Clark didn't just go along with Lydel's charge that Milosevic is a war criminal. He built on it.

He said, "One thing I do is - if - if no one represents someone I would insist on their being represented..."

That implies that Milosevic was desperate for a lawyer. But in fact:

a) Clark of course knows that Milosevic has *refused to hire any attorney to represent him before the Hague Tribunal* because he does not recognize it as a legitimate court and

b) Half the lawyers in the world would give their right arm for a chance to represent Milosevic and

c) As proven in Exhibit B, Milosevic made a specific point of publicly rejecting the appointment by The Hague Tribunal of Ramsey Clark as his attorney or, even, his legal advisor.

Never too many lies...

Having told so many lies, Clark went further. He placed Milosevic in the same class as Sheik Abdel Rahman, the blind Islamic fundamentalist convicted for trying to blow up the World Trade Center. (And what a grotesque comparison. Milosevic led the Yugoslav resistance to the Kosovo Liberation Army, linked to Al Qaeda, which terrorized Yugoslav loyalists - whether of Serb, Roma, or Albanian ethnicity - in Kosovo.) And to top it off, Clark accused Tammy Lydel of smearing him - Clark! - through guilt by association, because she had asked about his "representing" Milosevic.

Tribunal gives Clark the red carpet
while persecuting Attorney
Steijnen, who *actually* represents
Milosevic in the Dutch and
European courts

Exhibit C

Hague Tribunal spokesperson Jim Landale reports that in July 2001 the Tribunal gave Ramsey Clark special access to Milosevic, hoping Clark would convince the Yugoslav President to drop his strategy of speaking for himself in court, which was proving to be a

disaster for the Tribunal. [4]

[Excerpt from AP dispatch begins here]

Associated Press Worldstream July 31, 2001;
Tuesday Headline: Former U.S. attorney general
visits Milosevic in U.N. detention unit, plans
further consultations Dateline: The Hague,
Netherlands

Ramsey Clark, a noted human rights activist and former U.S. attorney general, visited former Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic Tuesday at the U.N. war crimes detention unit, and was granted confidentiality normally accorded to legal counsel, officials said.

"We hope that the legal advise will result in him (Milosevic) formally giving power of attorney to someone," tribunal spokesman Jim Landale said. Clark also was at the seaside prison on Monday and planned to go again on Wednesday.

Previous visits by other lawyers and even by his wife, who saw him for three days earlier this month, had been monitored.

But judges of the U.N. tribunal for the former Yugoslavia granted Clark confidentiality privileges, even though he has not been appointed Milosevic's lawyer.

"An exception was made. He is entitled to consult with lawyers and it was felt that that could take place in a private environment," Landale said. "It is a temporary arrangement."

Milosevic appeared before the court alone at his initial appearance a month ago. He refused to recognize its jurisdiction, to appoint an attorney or to plead guilty or innocent. The court entered a [not-]guilty plea on his behalf.

[Excerpt from AP dispatch ends here]

So, in July 2001 the Tribunal made a special exception for Ramsey Clark, affording him rights denied even to Milosevic's wife. (Exhibit C)

Then in November 2001, the Tribunal appointed Clark as Milosevic's lawyer - despite Milosevic's opposition, thus forcing Mr. Milosevic to publicly reject this appointment. (Exhibit B)

And now, in May 2003, Clark pretends that he is representing Milosevic and smears him before a nationwide US Television audience.

By way of contrast, Nico Steijnen who has *actually* been appointed by Milosevic to represent him before the Dutch and European Courts, has been banned by the Tribunal from meeting with Milosevic, a violation of international humanitarian law. Also, the Tribunal has brought charges against Steijnen before the Dutch Bar, trying to get him disbarred.

A real lawyer for Milosevic is banned and threatened with disbarment. The fake lawyer goes on public TV, pretending to represent Milosevic and smearing him.

We know that Ramsey Clark does not represent Slobodan Milosevic. But clearly he has a professional interest in this case.

So who is his client? Could it be The Hague Tribunal? Meaning, NATO?

-- Jared Israel and Nico Varkevisser
Vice-Chairpersons, ICDSM

Coming soon, the next article in this series, "Ramsey Clark Publicly Smears the Bosnian Serbs."

Then, third, "Ramsey Clark: Once an Intelligence Operative always an Intelligence Operative?"

Articles will be posted at www.icdsm.org
If that Website should not work, please go to www.icdsm.com

*** Footnotes and Further Reading Follow
Fundraising Appeal ***

The ICDSM urgently needs your help!

In order to assist in President Milosevic's defense, we must pay phone bills, travel expenses, and operational costs for our office and legal work in the Netherlands. For this we depend entirely on those who care about President Milosevic's attempt to tell the truth at The Hague.

**** Here is how to make a donation ****

* Donate at our secure server. Go to
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SLOBODA, 381 11 3282491 or 381 638 862 301

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<https://www.paypal.com/xclick/business=icdsm%40aol.com>
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Thank you!

Footnotes and Further Reading

[1] The video of the Lydel-Clark exchange can be viewed at
http://video.c-span.org:8080/ramgen/odrive/iraq051203_clark.rm
Go to the 47:40 mark.

<http://www.icdsm.org/more/ramsey1.htm>

[2]

<http://www.unfoundation.org/unwire/2001/11/20/current.asp#21934>

[3] Regarding our charge that NATO controls the Tribunal, we site as evidence the statement made by NATO spokesperson Jamie Shea at a press conference during the bombing Yugoslavia in 1999. To read that statement, please go to Official Statements Prove Hague 'Tribunal' Belongs to NATO by Jared Israel <http://www.icdsm.org/more/belongs.htm>

[4] For 10 years people were fed the image of an imaginary Milosevic, a monster who, we were told, incited imaginary Serbs to genocide. The media even invented a whole imaginary speech, to replace his famous, actual speech, advocating ethnic tolerance, delivered in Kosovo in June 28, 1989. (For a collection of lies about this speech, from media sources great and small, contrasted to actual quotes from the speech, with links to the entire speech, go to <http://emperors-clothes.com/milo/gw.htm>

The point is, from the moment Slobodan Milosevic started defending himself in court, his reasonable manner, his brilliance and his sincerity were evident to millions of people watching the court appearances on TV. In an effort to silence President Milosevic, Richard May, who runs the proceedings, frequently shut off his microphone.

So by representing himself, Milosevic was in one fell swoop refuting the lies that have been pumped out for a decade about the Serbian people, and utterly contradicting the fictional Milosevic created by the media. Moreover, he was a beacon to people in Yugoslavia, suffering under a pro-NATO government installed in the October 2000 coup, which was financed and controlled by the US, Germany and Norway. (See, 'Did any major power NOT fund the Kostunica campaign?' at <http://emperors-clothes.com/news/everybody's.htm>

So it was of great urgency for the Tribunal (and the NATO powers!) that Milosevic be convinced to stop defending himself and let someone else - like Ramsey Clark - take his place. Hence Landale's special treatment of Mr. Clark in July 2001. When Clark failed to convince Milosevic to appoint him as his lawyer, the Tribunal took the desperate step of appointing Clark anyway! Clark has never publicly disavowed this outrageous act. Rather, as we saw the other day, he has falsely posed as Milosevic's attorney.

<http://www.icdsm.org/more/ramsey1.htm>

-- JI and NV

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Sagittarius

Van: "Klaus von Raussendorff" <redaktion@aikor.de>
Aan: "Sagittarius" <sagitar@hetnet.nl>
Verzonden: maandag 19 mei 2003 22:12
Bijlage: van der Klift3.rtf
Onderwerp: AW: Internat. Demonstration to support Slobodan Milosevic (The Hague, June 28, 03) - Please sign the appeal! -

Dear Nico, thank you for your immediate reply. Please get in contact with Wil van der Klift. He is taking care of the organisational work for the demonstrations. I attach the letter, on the basis of which he is proceeding.
 My Best. Klaus von Raussendorff

-----Ursprüngliche Nachricht-----

Von: Sagittarius [mailto:sagitar@hetnet.nl]

Gesendet: Montag, 19. Mai 2003 18:43

An: Klaus von Raussendorff

Betreff: Re: Internat. Demonstration to support Slobodan Milosevic (The Hague, June 28, 03) - Please sign the appeal! -

As you know, the ICDSM is in big trouble now !

The Dutch branch is completely faded away and Nico Varkenvisser is mating with Jared, so there is here no base anymore left here in the Netherlands, neither for organizing a demonstration nor for participating in organizing such a demonstration.

However, I will try to mobilize organisations and individuals as well, but we surely have to discuss this situation without illusions !

Of course I support, as a person, the appeal !

best regards,

Nico Steijnen

----- Original Message -----

From: "Klaus von Raussendorff" <redaktion@aikor.de>

To: "Klaus von Raussendorff" <raussendorff@web.de>

Sent: Monday, May 19, 2003 1:31 PM

Subject: Internat. Demonstration to support Slobodan Milosevic (The Hague, June 28, 03) - Please sign the appeal! -

> Dear members and friends of the International Committee for the Defence of
 > Slobodan Milosevic (ICDSM),

>

> at a meeting of the German Section of the ICDSM held recently in the
 > presence of the Secretary of ICDSM, Vladimir Krsljanin, it was decided to
 > mark the second anniversary of the kidnapping of the former president of
 > Yugoslavia by an International Demonstration to be held in The Hague on
 > Saturday, June 28, 2003.

>

> Please find attached the draft of a call for this demonstration, which is
 > meant to reach out to a broad range of people in the anti-war and social

- > movements of our countries.
- >
- > Also attached is a file with a leaflet for the same demonstration circulated
- > already by SLOBODA/Freedom Association calling on all honest people and more
- > specifically on the patriotic Serbian/Yougoslav diaspora.
- >
- > The demonstration will be organized by a Serbian-International Organizational Committee.
- >
- > I should like to propose that the presidents and vice presidents of the
- > ICDSM sign this appeal together with a certain number of other
- > personalities well known for their commitment to our cause.
- >
- > We would appreciate your comments and amendments to our draft, it being
- > understood, that at this advanced stage of our preparations only minor
- > changes can be considered.
- >
- > Please add your signature and reply by email to <raussendorff@web.de>
- > stating your full name and place before Thursday, May 22, 2003.
- >
- > Sincerely yours
- >
- > Klaus Hartmann
- >
- > (Vice President of the International Committee for the Defence of Slobodan
- > Milosevic)

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Sagittarius

Van: "Klaus von Raussendorff" <redaktion@aikor.de>
Aan: "Klaus von Raussendorff" <raussendorff@web.de>
Verzonden: maandag 19 mei 2003 13:31
Bijlage: Den Haag-28-6-03-Intern Appeal.rtf; Den Haag-28-6-03-Leaflet.rtf
Onderwerp: Internat. Demonstration to support Slobodan Milosevic (The Hague, June 28, 03) - Please sign the appeal! -

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Please add your signature and reply by email to <raussendorff@web.de> stating your full name and place before Thursday, May 22, 2003.

Sincerely yours

Klaus Hartmann

(Vice President of the International Committee for the Defence of Slobodan Milosevic)

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Sagittarius

Van: "Paul Davidson" <p.davidson@btinternet.com>
Aan: "Christopher Black" <bar@idirect.com>; "Mick Collins" <cirqueminime@club-
CC: "Vladimir Krsljanin" <vlada@sps.org.yu>; "Steinen" <SAGITAR@HETNET.NL>
Verzonden: dinsdag 20 mei 2003 0:16
Onderwerp: Re: What's up?
 Dear Chris and Mick,

Thanks for keeping me informed. As you know, I am no longer active as a political being and as such I do not think I should get embroiled in this controversy but I can offer some opinion.

The issue of Clark is not an unusual one. Yes, he is famous etc etc, but this is not the issue. Here we have someone who for whatever reason is playing his own cards and to his own agenda. We see that in the interview posted on icdsm website he is asked a leading question about his own role. This is an open invitation to self-flattery, which he jumped at. His reply contained not a shred of politics, it was all about promoting himself as the rescuer of lost causes. In this manner he dumped on Milosevic. We see how easy the reporter played on Clark's ego to get a good sensational result.

However there is not one shred of evidence presented by the Redaction Braggadocio twins of any deeper misdoing. Clark was asked why he represented people "LIKE" Milosevic, who the interviewer accused of war-crimes. In so far as others are similarly accused of war-crimes and in so far as Clark has represented them, he did not lie. He never actually stated that he was Milosevic's lawyer. This is a lie invented to persue a vendetta. However, the wisdom of his response is clearly totally flawed, unless one presumes he has been hired by NATO to specifically say such things, but then one would need to present some proofs.

Again, we see the thoroughly intellectually corrupt method of Jared Israel of extrapolation from slender clues. There is in fact no proof of Clark's motivation, simply of his action, which was wholly negative. Israel projects conclusions that affirm his prejudice. He throws out accusations and gets a rowdy support from Nico Varkevisser, who is as cunning as a fox.

It seems to me appropriate to inquire as to who Varkevisser's target audience is for this scandal. Surely the ordinary readers of the icdsm website (as if there are any) could not make head nor tail of it. As for the likes of 'us', they know that we will not be taken in and if anything it represents a statement of independence from 'us'. But it is more likely that the real audience is precisely the media that you have written about. I would imagine they are to see this as a public accusation made by the ICDSM of Ramsey Clark as a state agent. It is therefore aimed at the public, through the press. Whether the international media have any interest in such a rant remains to be seen. But in Serbia, I would imagine that such an accusation might have an impact. Imagine a right wing paper in Belgrade headlining an article, "Milosevic Laywer a NATO agent!" or somesuch.

So, what would there be to gain from such a manoeuvre? First ask what the effect would be. To split the icdsm down the middle - the Germans also will be totally furious - and bring grist to the mill of those who are trying to create fascism in Serbia. What possibly could the ICDSM gain from this?

Clarity??!!

Such accusations are poison. Such accusations are the stuff of agent provocateurs, paid tools or unpaid fools.

It is clear that the icdsm no longer exists, except in name, and that Varkevisser the fox and Israel the clown have that name. So, we have a fox and a clown running the public show (Nico is 'officially' the icdsm press spokesperson). Is this not the time for Sloboda to close down the present icdsm and have all future work centralised in Sloboda's name. Collaboration with Sloboda direct would have to be the starting point to rescue anything worthwhile out of this steadily unfolding mess. The cdsm in London collected \$2500 for the icdsm and sent it direct to Sloboda, without a second thought to send it to the US or Amsterdam. Why not have the courage to face this split and declare a new start? Recognising the fact of a split is never in itself a step back. Failure to act in time leads to a very slippery slope.

regards

p

----- Original Message -----

From: Christopher Black <bar@idirect.com>
To: Nico Stejnen <SAGITAR@HETNET.NL>
Cc: Mick Collins <cirqueminime@club-internet.fr>; Vladimir Krsljanin <slobodavk@yubc.net>; Paul Davidson <p.davidson@btinternet.com>; Ian Johnson <i-johnson@lineone.net>; Mikhail Kuznetzov <elena_abpk@mtu-net.ru>; mailservicesnc <mailservicesnc@tiscalinet.it>
Sent: Monday, May 19, 2003 5:58 PM
Subject: Fw: What's up?

> Nico,

>

> I just heard a through Jared's article about the Dutch bar and the ICTY.

If

> you need any help let me know. Any idea what Jared and Nico are up to.

They

> won't talk to me anymore as you know. But the important thing is what is the

> ICDMS to say to the press when they feast like vultures on the committee

> attacking itself. I do not know what the truth is about Clark. Jared may

> have something. But he should have raised it with Clark first before openly

> attacking him like this and then causing the rest of the committee problems.

>

> best regards

>

> Chris

> ----- Original Message -----

> From: "Mick Collins" <cirqueminime@club-internet.fr>

> To: "Christopher Black" <bar@idirect.com>

> Sent: Monday, May 19, 2003 1:34 PM

> Subject: FW: What's up?

>
 >
 > Chris, Wanted to share this with you. He sounds strong. I've always liked
 > the guy, though we've never met. When I was working on that appeal, I
 > thought I was working for Nico V. Mick
 > -----
 > De : "Sagittarius" <sagitar@hetnet.nl>
 > Date : Mon, 19 May 2003 18:43:53 +0200
 > A : "Mick Collins" <cirqueminime@club-internet.fr>
 > Objet : Re: What's up?
 >
 > Jared and Nico V. are gone mad, I suppose.
 > I am stupefyed by it !
 >
 > The ICTY-guys have launched an frontal attack against me by filing a
 > complaint against me at the Dutch Bar for misbehaviour and contempt of
 > court. The procedure is now going on. However, I don't feel me in trouble
 > by
 > it.
 > On the contrary, the ICTY makes a fool of itself by this stupid action !
 >
 > best regards,
 >
 >
 > Nico S.
 >
 > ----- Original Message -----
 > From: "Mick Collins" <cirqueminime@club-internet.fr>
 > To: "Nico van holst en steijnen" <SAGITAR@HETNET.NL>
 > Sent: Sunday, May 18, 2003 9:03 AM
 > Subject: What's up?
 >
 >
 >> Nico, I heard off Jared and Nico V's raging Zionist sheet, Emperor's
 >> Clothes
 >> again speaking in the name of the ICDSM against its 'Islamic
 >> enemies',--but
 >> since I'm no longer on their lists I got it all via a highly critical
 >> yet
 >> always collegial Chris Black, that you were in some trouble with The
 >> Hague
 >> Tribunal and the Dutch bar. I very much want to know more about your
 >> troubles--and if there's anything I can do to help, you know you can
 >> always
 >> call on me. What ever happened to our appeal? Mick
 >>
 >>
 >> -----
 >> Deze e-mail is door E-mail Virus Scan van Het Net gecontroleerd op
 >> virussen. Zie voor meer informatie: <http://www.hetnet.nl/evs/>
 >>
 >
 >
 >
 >

Sagittarius

Van: "Sagittarius" <sagitar@hetnet.nl>
Aan: "Paul Davidson" <p.davidson@btinternet.com>; "Christopher Black" <bar@idirect.com>; "Mick Collins" <cirqueminime@club-internet.fr>
CC: "Vladimir Krsljanin" <vlada@sps.org.yu>
Verzonden: woensdag 21 mei 2003 13:07
Onderwerp: Re: What's up?

I agree that we we have to face the split ! I am ready to join SLOBODA. What this all may be a number of left -wing jews, all over the world, coming out -like gays on their homosexuality - as tough protagonists of Israel, I don't get a damn of it ! Who is pullting the strings to get these puppets in move , I am asking myself. ? The question of audience of Nico Varkenvisser, which he should be trying to reach : there is hardly any audience for his messages and analyses, which are certainly not all without importance. In contrast with, for instance, the left-wing magazin KONKRET in Germany. Poisoned with and raging the same pro-zionst newspeak now throughtout Germany.

It seems very important to me to keep all these affairs out of publicity. The best thing we could do will be, to my opinion, to burry the ICDSM deep under the ground now, without any publicity to it. And start all over again with joining, and internationalizing, SLOBODA.

P.S: Nobody has informed me about the discussion with regard to Clark.

P.P.S.S. : I am still are preparing to re-start legal proceedings here in the Netherlands. In order to create, in due course, an entrance to the European Court of Human Rights for M. After the final outcome of the ICTY-trial.

That's my position.

best regards,

Nico S.

----- Original Message -----

From: "Paul Davidson" <p.davidson@btinternet.com>
To: "Christopher Black" <bar@idirect.com>; "Mick Collins" <cirqueminime@club-internet.fr>
Cc: "Vladimir Krsljanin" <vlada@sps.org.yu>; "Steinen" <SAGITAR@HETNET.NL>
Sent: Tuesday, May 20, 2003 12:16 AM
Subject: Re: What's up?

> Dear Chris and Mick,

Thanks for keeping me informed. As you know, I am no longer active as a
> political being and as such I do not think I should get embroiled in this
> controversy but I can offer some opinion.

>
> The issue of Clark is not an unusual one. Yes, he is famous etc etc, but
> this is not the issue. Here we have someone who for whatever reason is
> playing his own cards and to his own agenda. We see that in the interview

21-5-03

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> playing his own cards and to his own agenda. We see that in the interview

21-5-03

Nog honderd dagen voor aanklagers Milosevic

U-5-2003

DEN HAAG - De aanklagers van de voormalige Joegoslavische president Milosevic krijgen nog honderd zittingsdagen om hun zaak te bepleiten. Rechter Richard May van het Joegoslavië-Tribunaal heeft dit dinsdag bekendgemaakt. Mede door veelvuldig ziekteverzuim van de 61-jarige Milosevic loopt het proces uit. Als de deadline wordt nageleefd kan Milosevic begin 2004 met zijn verdediging beginnen. Een uitspraak wordt niet eerder dan halverwege 2006 verwacht. (Guardian)

Sagittarius

Van: "Mick Collins" <cirqueminime@club-

Aan: "Sagittarius" <sagitar@hetnet.nl>

Verzonden: woensdag 21 mei 2003 14:38

Onderwerp: Re: What's up?

Yeah, Nico, whatever you want to do--if it helps M beat this bogus charge and gets him out of jail--deal me in. Ever Ready, Mick

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Proces-Milošević duurt nog jaren

Door een onzer redacteurs

DEN HAAG, 21 MEI. De aanklagers van het Joegoslavië-tribunaal krijgen nog honderd dagen om hun zaak tegen oud-president Slobodan Milošević te bepleiten. Dat heeft rechter Richard May van het VN-hof gisteren bekendgemaakt.

Eerder bepaalden de rechters dat de aanklagers tot 16 mei hadden hun beschuldigingen te onderbouwen, maar door het ziekteverzuim van de verdachte loopt het proces uit. Als Milošević ziek is – hij heeft last van een hoge bloeddruk en vermoeidheidsverschijnselen – ligt het proces stil omdat hij zijn eigen verdediging voert. Rechter May maakte gisteren duidelijk dat hij geen nieuwe datum wil vastleggen. Hij stelde voor honderd zittingsdagen vanaf 16 mei. Bij een normaal procesverloop zou dit betekenen dat de aanklagers eind van dit jaar klaar zijn met hun zaak.

Milošević wordt beschuldigd van oorlogsmisdaden en misdaden tegen de menselijkheid in Kroatië en Kosovo en van genocide in de oorlog in Bosnië. Het eerste deel van de aanklacht, over Kosovo, is in september afgerond. Sindsdien worden de conflicten in Kroatië en Bosnië behandeld. De aanklagers roepen in de resterende honderd dagen nog zo'n 170 getuigen op.

Hierna, op zijn laatst eind dit jaar, krijgt Milošević de gelegenheid zijn verdediging te voeren. In principe moet hij daar in de tweede

2 3 3
helft van 2005 mee klaar zijn. Binnen het tribunaal gaat men ervan uit dat hij niet volledig gebruik zal maken van deze termijn.

Na zijn verdediging komen de aanklagers en vervolgens Milošević weer aan het woord. Men houdt er rekening mee dat het proces in 2006 wordt afgerond. Zowel de aanklagers als de verdachte kunnen daarna nog in beroep gaan.

Deze week hebben de aanklagers de Fransman Renaud de La Brosse, professor aan de Universiteit van Reims, opgeroepen. Hij zette uitteken dat Milošević de belangrijkste media in het voormalige Joegoslavië controleerde en „intensief misbruikte” om de Servische bevolking ervan te overtuigen dat andere bevolkingsgroepen, staten en instellingen een bedreiging zijn voor de Serviërs. Niet-Servische delen van de bevolking werden volgens De la Brosse ‘gedemoniseerd’ om hun vervolging te bevorderen. In zijn kruisverhoor betoogde Milošević dat de „meneer de professor niet objectief is”.

In een ander proces voor het Joegoslavië-tribunaal heeft de Bosnische Serviër Dragan Obrenović schuld bekend aan misdaden tegen de menselijkheid jegens moslimmannen uit Srebrenica. Hij is de tweede van vier aangeklaagde Bosnisch-Servische officieren die in de Srebrenica-zaak schuld bekent. Tegen Obrenović vervallen nu andere aanklachten.

Sagittarius

Van: "Ian Johnson" <i-johnson@lineone.net>
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Verzonden: donderdag 22 mei 2003 1:42
Onderwerp: CDSM:Fw: Milosevic prosecution given 100

Subject: Re: Milosevic prosecution given 100 days

> It is not only in the States where this "most important" trial is not
 > getting an airing. It is not being shown ANYWHERE! I think that the
 > quislings in Beograd have taken it off the air too. Interesting that the
 > Croats have refused to sign a bilateral agreement with the US regarding
 war criminals, eh!?!? B

Branka,

>>

>> It still amazes me that this trial, the most important since Nuremberg,
 is not shown on any channel here in the states and I'm talking about over
 195 channels! It is very apparent that those clowns don't want the world to
 know that they are being made jackasses. The other point to be made is
 that not one Croat was ever sent to Nuremberg to be tried for atrocities
 committed against Serbs, Jews and Gypsies. It looks like they are also
 doing their best to keep Croatia's war criminals today at a bare minimum
 just to get the appearance that they are being fair and even handed.

Stella

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But they declared him guilty even before he got to the Hague, so what's the
 hold up? Why should Carla's spirits be lifted now? "Prospects for a
 successful prosecution"? We were all given to understand that it was a
 foregone conclusion, were we not?

>>>

>>> Milosevic prosecution given 100 days

>>>

>>> Judges at UN war crimes trial set deadline

>>>

>>> Ian Traynor in Zagreb

>>> Wednesday May 21, 2003

>>> The Guardian

>>>

>>> More than a year into the biggest war crimes trial since the end of the
 second world war, judges in the Hague gave the prosecution 100 more days
 yesterday to make the case for genocide against Slobodan Milosevic.

>>>

>>> The prospects for a successful prosecution of the former Serbian leader
 have shifted dramatically in recent weeks because of the smashing of his
 information and loyalist networks in Belgrade and the arrest of senior
 figures in the Serbian regime of the 1990s.

>>>

>>> The extension granted yesterday to Carla del Ponte, the chief
 prosecutor at the UN's international war crimes tribunal for former
 Yugoslavia, is likely to herald further courtroom revelations. She will be
 trying to seal her argument that Mr Milosevic was personally responsible for

the genocide in Bosnia in 1992-95, and for crimes against humanity in Croatia and Kosovo.

>>>

>>> He can expect to be jailed for life if convicted. The prosecution case was to have ended this month, but Ms Del Ponte pleaded for a further six months because of time lost through the defendant's repeated absences from court because of illness.

>>>

>>> The judges refused, but agreed to 100 days before Mr Milosevic can start his defence.

>>>

>>> The new deadline will probably force the prosecutors to scale down their plans to bring a further 100 witnesses.

>>>

>>> In a written ruling yesterday, the judges said: "The trial chamber has come to the conclusion that it would be in the interests of justice to allow some variation in the time limit to allow the prosecution more time to call further witnesses it regards as essential."

>>>

>>> The circumstances of the Milosevic case have been transformed by the assassination two months ago of the man who overthrew him in October 2000, the Serbian prime minister, Zoran Djindjic.

>>>

>>> According to the Serb authorities, the assassination was plotted by underworld bosses and Milosevic loyalists in the security services, bound together by their hatred of the Hague tribunal and fears that they might end up before its judges if Djindjic lived.

>>>

>>> In the purges and mass arrests after the murder, some of Mr Milosevic's closest acolytes were held and questioned. His influential wife, Mirjana Markovic, fled to Moscow to avoid arrest. She joined her gangster son and Mr Milosevic's brother, a businessman and ex-diplomat.

>>>

>>> The detention and interrogation of about 10,000 people lifted the lid on the political crimes of the Milosevic era and may have implications for the trial.

>>>

>>> Two of Mr Milosevic's closest former security aides, the paramilitary leader Franko Simatovic and the former state security chief Jovica Stanisic, were also arrested in Belgrade. They were indicted by the Hague and are awaiting transfer to the Netherlands.

>>>

>>> Mr Stanisic was an intimate of Mr Milosevic and one of the most powerful men in Serbia during the 1990s. But he split from Mr Milosevic in 1998 over Kosovo and may be persuaded to give evidence against his former boss.

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>>> Mr Stanisic has repeatedly made it known that he accepts the jurisdiction of the tribunal.

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>>> Some trial watchers believe that the destruction of the Milosevic loyalist network and the severing of his family's links to Belgrade will make the former president's defence more difficult.

>>>

>>> Ironically, the three main suspects in the Djindjic murder helped the

former prime minister in the arrest of Mr Milosevic in 2001. Two of them were shot dead soon after the murder, and the third, the prime suspect, is on the run.

>>>

>>> Ms Del Ponte's hand has also been strengthened by greater cooperation from Belgrade since the murder. She hopes it might lead to the capture of the tribunal's two most wanted men: General Ratko Mladic, the former Bosnian Serb military commander, and his political boss, Radovan Karadzic.

>>>

>>> The new timetable for the Milosevic trial means a verdict is expected in mid-2006.

>>>

>>>

>>

>

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Sagittarius

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Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Verzonden: donderdag 22 mei 2003 1:42
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Sagittarius

Van: "Ian Johnson" <i-johnson@lineone.net>
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Verzonden: vrijdag 23 mei 2003 0:24
Onderwerp: CDSM:Fw: Milosevic in Court Showdown with Slovene

> (At least 50 dead were young army recruits. They were unarmed and gunned down in cold blood by the Slovenes).

>

> Milosevic in Court Showdown with Slovene Rival

> Wed May 21, 2003 07:59 AM ET

> By Paul Gallagher

>

> THE HAGUE (Reuters) - Slobodan Milosevic accused former Slovenian president Milan Kucan of causing the break-up of Yugoslavia in 1991 after Kucan testified against him at his war crimes trial Wednesday.

>

> Kucan, who once worked with Milosevic in the communist-ruled Yugoslav federation, won independence for his relatively prosperous Alpine republic of two million people after a 10-day conflict with the federal army in 1991 in which 64 people died.

>

> Prosecutors are trying to prove that Milosevic -- charged with 66 counts of war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide in the Balkans in the 1990s fought to prevent smaller Yugoslav republics with Serb minorities breaking away.

>

> Slovenia was the first of six communist-era republics to split off from the Serbian-dominated Yugoslav federation. Largely ethnically homogenous, it was spared the years of bitter conflict which later engulfed Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo.

>

> Milosevic, president of both Serbia and Yugoslavia in the 1990s, turned the tables on Kucan during cross-examination.

>

> "Why did you opt for war? Why did you attack the JNA (federal Yugoslav army) in Slovenia?" Milosevic asked Kucan after the former Slovene leader took the witness stand in Europe's biggest war crimes trial since World War II.

>

> "I wish to refute the assertion that Slovenian forces attacked the JNA," Kucan replied. He accused the Yugoslav army of stripping Slovenian forces of their weapons as a prelude to its attempt to crush the independence campaign.

>

> Kucan, a reformer elected president in Slovenia's first multi-party elections in 1990, remained head of state for 12 years. Slovenia is to join the European Union and NATO in 2004.

>

> Milosevic's trial, which started in February 2002, has been disrupted by his frequent bouts of ill health. It has heard evidence from more than 180 witnesses covering three conflicts spanning almost a decade of Milosevic's 13-year rule.

- >
- > The trial's first phase, focusing on alleged Serbian atrocities in Kosovo in 1999, ended last September. The court has since tackled evidence on the 1991-95 conflicts in Croatia and Bosnia.
- >
- > Judges Tuesday set prosecutors a 100-day deadline to wrap up their case.
- > <http://www.reuters.com/newsArticle.jhtml?type=worldNews&storyID=2784685>
- >

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Sagittarius

Van: "Ian Johnson" <i-johnson@lineone.net>
 Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
 Verzonden: zondag 25 mei 2003 0:48
 Onderwerp: CDSM:Fw: Down with NATO's mafia govt in

>
 > ----- Original Message -----
 > From: <camp@antiimperialista.org>
 > To: <milan.kasic@3web.net>
 > Sent: Friday, May 23, 2003 1:41 AM
 > Subject: Down with NATO's mafia govt in Belgrade!
 >
 >
 >> 1) Demo in The Hague to free Milosevic, June 28
 >> 2) Mobilisation against EU summit Greece, June 15-22
 >> 3) Solidarity delegation for political prisoners in Turkey, June 22-25
 >>
 >> ***
 >>
 >> 1)
 >> Down with NATO's mafia govt in Belgrade!
 >>
 >> Within less than three years Djindjic and his so-called Democratic
 > Opposition (DOS) succeeded in destroying the last remnants of Yugoslavia
 and transforming it into a Latin American style third world oligarchy.
 Djindjic was the only common point which kept together his heterogeneous
 clique of Habermasian civil society intellectuals, ultra-liberal mouthpieces
 of IMF, war profiteers, praetorians and simple gangsters, while his
 anti-popular regime was rapidly loosing ground:
 >>
 >> Although the neo-liberal "shock therapy" has proved a complete failure
 all over Eastern Europe as well as in Argentina it was applied once again on
 Yugoslavia. The radical policy of open market and the privatisation of the
 financial and industrial sector completely destroyed the remains of the
 national economy. Prices soared and wages plunged precipitating the majority
 into misery while a small layer made enormous fortunes. While unemployment
 is skyrocketing the social system is being dismantled.
 >>
 >> All the promises of the nationalist fig leaves to defend Serbian
 integrity against fragmentation brought about by imperialist aggression and
 blamed on the Milosevic government turned out to be cheap lies. Yugoslavia
 has eventually being dismantled splitting away Montenegro. Kosovo remains
 under NATO occupation being successively albanised, the Serbian Kraijna is
 completely ethnically cleansed and the Bosnian Serbs continue to live under
 the dictatorial rule of EU and NATO imposed protectorate. In South Serbia
 the Albanian nationalist guerrilla is carrying on their struggle for
 secession and subsequent unification into a Great Albania without being
 curbed by NATO. The plans to fragment even Serbia proper by giving further
 autonomy to Sandjak and Voivodina are being pressed ahead.
 >>
 >> The Hague "tribunal" has been imposed violating the rules of the UN in
 order to legitimise NATO's aggression. The anti-imperialist resistance of

the Yugoslav and Serb people is to be condemned and abased. Like during medieval witch hunts whose aggressed should be forced to accuse themselves voluntarily and thus absolve the aggressor. But in his brave defence Milosevic keeps destroying the amalgam of the tribunal in which both the prosecutor and the judge are NATO puppets and the judgement is already decided.

>>

>> While the Djindjic regime, in order to co-operate with its foreign masters, has been violating the constitution by extraditing Yugoslav citizen to the Hague, the people continue opposing by majority the tribunal's attempt to criminalize their decade long resistance.

>>

>> When Djindjic wanted to get rid of his powerful mafia companions who brought him to power by means of a coup d'etat and threatened to extradite them to the Hague they assassinated him.

>>

>> On the brink of collapse the Djindjic clique passed to the offensive by imposing the state of emergency. Elementary democratic rights were suspended, strict censorship imposed, the opposition media outlets closed down, 10.000 people taken into custody and interrogated among them 2.000 still not released. While announcing a crackdown on the "organised crime" (which they are in fact politically representing) they are really targeting all the left remnants remaining within the state apparatus. It was not by accident that those organising the defence of Slobodan Milosevic were hit as well. Actually it is the second part of the pro-imperialist coup d'etat.

>>

>> The state of emergency had to be lifted after one month. But several dictatorial measures continue to be in place. The media is completely in Western hands. There is virtually no more freedom of expression.

>>

>> Hence the democracy of Western brand for which the American empire in waging wars around the world. But they will not pass. The popular resistance in continuing whether in Serbia, Iraq or Colombia.

>>

>> Free Slobodan Milosevic!

>> Dissolve the Hague inquisition tribunal!

>> Restore elementary democratic rights in Serbia!

>> NATO out of the Balkans!

>>

>> Demonstration on Vidovdan (the Serbian national day commemorating the defeat on Kosovo Polje, the assassination of Sarajevo, the extradition of Milosevic)

>>

>> The Hague, June 28, 2 pm

>> Churchillplain 10

>>

>> Anti-imperialist Camp

>>

>> ***

>>

>> 2) Thesalonica resistance 2003

>>

>> Sunday 15/6: After Iraq what? American hegemony-imperialist war and contradictions; Monday 16/6: The anti-imperialist direction in the anti-war movement. Needs, capabilities, perspectives; Tuesday 17/6: Development in

the zone of storms. People's revolutionary struggle in Asia and Latin America; Wednesday 18/6: anti-terrorist campaign, black list, isolation, political prisoners and white cells. International solidarity and resistance; Thursday 19/6: European Union. Capitalist barbarism against workers, peasants, migrants, youth, EMU, Euro-army, expansion and contradiction

>>

>> Demonstrations on 19, 20, 21/6

>>

>> People interested to join the mobilisations are requested to contact us.

>>

>> ***

>>

>> 3) Defend political prisoners in Turkey

>>

>> >From June 22 to 25 an international delegation will go to Istanbul in order to visit Tayad, the organisation dedicated to defend the political prisoners, lawyers, relatives and to publicly demonstrate for the elementary human rights for the NATO countries 15.000 political prisoners. People ready to join as are requested to contact us.

>>

>>

>>

>>

>>

>>

>> *****

>> Antiimperialist Camp

>> PF 23, A-1040 Vienna, Austria

>> camp@antiimperialista.org

>> www.antiimperialista.org/en

>> *****

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>> To unsubscribe from: Antiimperialist Camp News, just follow this link:

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http://www.antiimperialista.org/cgi-bin/mojo/mojo.cgi?f=u&l=Antiimperialist_Camp_News&e=milan.kasic@3web.net&p=20632

>> Click the link, or copy and paste the address into your browser.

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> ----- End of Forwarded Message

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4-9-03

Sagittarius

Van: "minja m." <minja@vlada.ca>
Aan: "1 KPAJ 3A HATO" <kpaj-3a-hato@mailcity.com>
Verzonden: woensdag 28 mei 2003 5:06
Bijlage: milos0529.php
Onderwerp: Workers World May 29, 2003: Hague protest to demand freedom for Yugoslav

<http://www.workers.org/ww/2003/milos0529.php>



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Hague protest to demand freedom for Yugoslav workers

By John Catalinotto

Get Workers World
by email

European groups that have been defending former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milo sevic, along with organizations of the Yugo slav diaspora, are issuing a call for a demonstration in The Hague, Netherlands, on June 28, demanding his freedom.

[Click here to set WW as your home](#)

It was on that date two years ago that Milo sevic was kidnapped from Belgrade by NATO forces and brought to The Hague. It is also St. Vitus Day, a date commemorated in Serbia for its significance in the struggle against foreign oppressors in 1389.

The call states clearly the reasons NATO went after President Milosevic.

"Slandered from the outset," it reads, "Slobo dan Milosevic, the Socialist Party of Serbia and all patriotic forces resisted the shattering of Yugoslavia into weak, racially segregated territories, resisted domination by the IMF and World Bank, resisted penetration by the McDonald's culture and resisted NATO-dominated racist-terrorist forces cynically disguised as freedom fighters. It is because of these acts of principle that NATO has put him on 'trial' in The Hague.

"In that trial President Milosevic refuses to make a deal to save himself but continues to expose the crimes of violence and racism committed by NATO and its proxy forces against Yugoslavia.

"Slobodan Milosevic was overthrown by a 'regime change' made in the USA. Yugoslavia is now being wrecked

Information: <http://www.hetnet.nl/eys/>

4-6-03

economically, socially and culturally, under USA/German domination. President Milosevic has become the first political prisoner of the so-called 'globalization' of capitalist exploitation. By kidnapping and putting on 'trial' a popularly elected president of a sovereign state, NATO and their 'tribunal' have established the gravest precedent for the destruction of the sovereignty of states.

"After the military invasions in Afghanistan and Iraq, the U.S. government and its allies continue to blackmail many more nations into subjugation by economic sanctions, the threat of mass destruction and destabilization through 'dissident' and 'opposition' forces organized from outside."

The International Action Center, which was active in leading the anti-war struggle in the United States during the U.S./NATO bombing of Yugoslavia in 1999, has added its support to the call and will send a representative to The Hague on June 28.

Reprinted from the May 29, 2003, issue of Workers World newspaper

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Sagittarius

Van: "Ruza" <despot@wish.net>
Aan: "Corry Westgeest" <sb008024@worldonline.nl>; "Nico & Neeltje" <sagitar@hetnet.nl>;
 "Marrie Kardol" <mkardol@mac.com>; "Speerpunt" <speerpunt@wxs.nl>; "Jan Beentjes"
 <jbeentjes@mac.com>; "Herman Tollenaere, de" <hde_tollenaere@zonnet.nl>; "Dolf Loth"
 <loh@hesasd.nl>
Verzonden: donderdag 29 mei 2003 22:55
Onderwerp: Fw: Unity for freedom!

— Original Message —

From: Vladimir Krsljanin
To: Undisclosed-Recipient:
Sent: Wednesday, May 28, 2003 2:25 AM
Subject: Unity for freedom!

Unity for freedom!

(On the demonstrations in Belgrade and The Hague, on the activities of Sloboda and ICDSM)

By Vladimir Krsljanin

The puppet colonial regime in Belgrade is loosing more and more influence every day. The people is outraged by they're ruthless dictatorship and obvious links to the criminal circles.

By the first political demonstration after the "State of Emergency" five days ago Sloboda have opened a season of protests against the regime in agony.

Before the demonstration, almost 200 people have submitted, one by one, individually, to the Belgrade District Prosecution the criminal charges against the "acting president" Natasa Micic, Prime Minister Zoran Zivkovic, all ministers in the Serbian Government and unknown investigative judge in the "Stambolic case". They are charged for serious violations of the Constitution and Low, abuse of power, spread of the false news aiming to discredit President Milosevic, his family and political opposition.

The demonstration of several hundred in front of the Foreign Ministry and Government of Serbia buildings, on the day of the last visit of Carla del Ponte to Belgrade demanded "end of the Hague-DOS dictatorship", restoration of democracy and sovereignty in Serbia.

The speakers pointed the existence of the coalition between the illegal Hague tribunal and the present rulers in Serbia. It is a coalition of common despair – both anti Serbian groupings face total failure in their attempt to suppress the truth and freedom-loving spirit of the Serbian people.

The patterns of this coalition are seen in the present mass violation of human rights in Serbia, following the example of the Hague tribunal. [1]

The atmosphere of fear is still present in Serbia. But President Milosevic teaches:
“Time of the dictatorship is a right time for the activity of all honest people and of all people devoted to democracy.”

Our duty is to work on the creation of the broadest possible political front to return freedom, hope, dignity and sovereignty to the Serbian people, to stop turning the country into a colony.

Serbs in Diaspora demanded to mark this year's Vidovdan by a demonstration at The Hague. Sloboda supported this demand immediately [2].

The work of Serbian-International Organizational Committee of the Hague demonstration is supported up to now by Serb organizations and groups from Germany, France, Britain, Austria, Sweden, by progressive and leftist parties, groups and organizations from several European countries, by many distinguished personalities, including many ICDSM members.

The situation in Serbia now, for the sake of the future of the Serbian people require unity, lack of sectarian approaches and total solidarity with the struggle of an old European people for its freedom, democracy, sovereignty and equality.

This important and decisive struggle also requires new effective and more developed forms of organization and mutual support at home and abroad.

Everyone ready to support or to take part in this struggle should be aware of its importance for the world peace and destiny of the mankind.

In that struggle everyone will take a position he is willing or able to take [3]. The progressive forces today don't need disputes. The struggle for the freedom of Slobodan Milosevic, Serbia and Yugoslavia is a cause absolutely clean and undisputable. We don't have time nor wish to measure our contributions to that struggle. After we reach the victory, which is close, the reward for the fighters will be the benefit of the people.

[1] <http://www.icdsm.org/more/shock.htm>

[2] see the inviting leaflet at
<http://www.slobodan-milosevic.org/news/sloboda051203.htm> /English version/
<http://www.slobodan-milosevic.org/news/POZIVZAHAG.htm> /Serbian version/
or at
<http://it.groups.yahoo.com/group/crj-mailinglist/files/AIA/> /Both versions
+ PDF/

[3] Honoring all who associated their names with the ICDSM and our struggle in general, the author of these lines does not subscribe to making analyses of individual contributions to this struggle. What I have witnessed is the visit Mr. Ramsey Clark to

Belgrade in 2001, aiming to intervene against the extradition, but delayed due to manipulation of that time Yugoslav Ambassador to Washington. Mr. Clark made a speech in the people's rally in front of the Federal Parliament and two press conferences in Belgrade. Then, there were two visits (all on his own expense) to President Milosevic at the Hague, with one press conference there [4], all the time readiness to give advice, several written interventions to the Tribunal etc. Ramsey Clark signed the ICDSM letter to all heads of states:

<http://www.icdsm.org/appeal.htm>

In his recent interview to Egyptian "Al Ahram" (Weekly On-Line No.624, February 6-12), Ramsey Clark stated:

"I met **Milosevic** a few days ago. His health has deteriorated," he tells me in Cairo. "He had the strength to hold the people of his country together in a very difficult situation."

"Only absolute power, unrestrained by any rule of law or standards of human decency, openly taunts an intended victim as President George W Bush has taunted Iraq." Yesterday it was Yugoslavia. **Milosevic** was struggling to preserve Yugoslavia, **Clark** says. "If there was any independent state in central and eastern Europe it was Yugoslavia. They were playing off the Soviet Union and the US to maintain their independence and relative prosperity." That was during the socialist and non-aligned regime of the country's founder, Joseph Broz Tito. In Tito's day, Yugoslavs were happily united -- a rare occurrence in the Balkans.

"In 1991 there were six [constituent] republics with lots of different peoples in Yugoslavia. And Belgrade had held all these formerly warring groups together in peace. In 1991 *Time* reported that by far the most progressive, and truly the most successful country in Eastern Europe, was Yugoslavia. And almost immediately you see foreign powers trying to dismantle it. First they dismantled Slovenia, then Croatia. Germany comes in after its deplorable historical record in the Balkans and encourages Croatian independence. Then Bosnia and Macedonia."

"We deliberately broke it up. It was US policy to break it up for economic exploitation and to show other Eastern European nations not to dare dream of being independent. If you want to have any economic or political independence you'll be crushed. That was the brutal message signalled to Yugoslavia's neighbours."

A public example had to be made of **Milosevic's** Yugoslavia: "Within two years of the break up of the Soviet Union Ukraine became the third largest recipient of US aid. First Israel and second Egypt and third Ukraine. Can you imagine the old enemy? And what was the aid for? It was to identify public facilities for privatisation. And most went to American companies, and we identified 6,000 properties. We destroyed their economies and they were obliged to buy our goods. And you pay our price. And we'll advertise and make you want to buy our goods just like we make you want McDonald's and blue jeans. And now what have the people got? They lost their education system, they've lost their health care system and they've lost their jobs. [Western investors] came in with big plans for privatisation and nationalisation. What they did is unbelievable -- a despicable act of greed," **Clark** says. And the same fate awaits a defeated Iraq, he warns.

Sagittarius

Van: "Ian Johnson" <i-johnson@lineone.net>
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:>
Verzonden: vrijdag 30 mei 2003 21:00
Bijlage: HagueLeaflet.doc
Onderwerp: CDSM:Fw: call for support of Slobodan

<

> Sent: Thursday, May 29, 2003 6:20 PM

> Subject: call for support of Slobodan Milosevic

>

>

> International Committee to Defend Slobodan Milošević (ICDSM) - German Section

> Internationales Komitee für die Verteidigung von Slobodan Milošević -

> Deutsche Sektion

> www.free-slobo.de

>

>

> Dear friends and supporters of Slobodan Milosevics struggle against the Hague "tribunal"!

>

>

> On 28th of June 2003 the first international demonstration for the
 > dissolution of the illegal "war crimes tribunal" and for freedom for
 > Slobodan Milosevic and all political prisoners of NATO will take place in
 The Hague!

>

>

> On 28th of June 2001, Slobodan Milosevic was abducted by the
 Djindjic-regime to "tribunal" in The Hague. St. Vitus Day on June 28,
 remembering the battle of Kosovo Polje in 1389, always has been and is the
 day of betrayal and degradation but also day of resistance against imperial
 foreign rule.

>

> Slobodan Milosevics success in the cross-examinations, in which he -
 > reminding the role of Georgi Dimitroff in the Reichstagsbrandprozess in
 Nazi Germany - turns from the accused to the accuser, smashes the
 indictment! Although Del Pontes prosecution is seeing one failure after the
 next, she demanded and just got a second extension of her "half-time" by the
 "tribunal", obviously in an attempt to prevent the beginning of Slobodan
 Milosevics "half-time", in which he will call his own witnesses.

>

>

> While the media - of course - says no single word about Mr. Milosevics
 successful self-defense, the public attacks on him reach a new peak. After
 the "tribunal" fails to break him by deficient medical care and wrong
 medication, the Serb puppet government launched a media campaign, accusing
 him and his family of most serious crimes. In their unconditional
 cooperation with the "tribunal", they now obviously aime to weaken Mr.
 Milosevic psychically. The authorities

> seem to work towards a "biolocial solution" of what George W. Bush calles
 the "unresolved crisis about Milosevic, his close associates and supporters

".

- > We have to resist!
- >
- > For his brave struggle against NATO and the Hague "tribunal", Slobodan Milosevic deserves our strongest support and international solidarity!
- >
- > We appeal to you to appear numerously in The Hague at June 28 and to spread the word about the upcoming action!
- >
- > In struggle and solidarity,
- >
- >
- > Peter Betscher and Cathrin Schütz
- > ICDSM - German section/Serbian-International Organizational Committee
- > Darmstadt, May 2003
- >
- > Attachment
- > Flyer/poster, announcing the demonstration - please, distribute!
- >
- >

Deze e-mail is door E-mail Virus Scan van Het Net gecontroleerd op virussen. Zie voor meer informatie: <http://www.hetnet.nl/evs/>

Sagittarius

Van: "Ian Johnson" <i-johnson@lineone.net>
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:>
Verzonden: zaterdag 31 mei 2003 11:54
Onderwerp: CDSM:Fw: ICDSM Meets with President Milosevic in The

> International Committee to Defend Slobodan Milosevic www.icdsm.org
 > Mirrored at www.icdsm.com
 >
 > The URL for this article is: <http://www.icdsm.org/meets.htm>
 >
 > Subscribe to the ICDSM email list at
 > <http://emperor.vwh.net/MailList/icdsm.php>
 > Receive articles posted at www.icdsm.org
 >
 > Please forward this article or send the link to a friend.
 > <http://www.icdsm.org/meets.htm>
 >
 > *****
 >
 > ICDSM Meets with President Milosevic in The Hague
 >
 > [Posted 31 May]
 >
 > We are pleased to announce that ICDSM Spokesperson Nico Varkevisser has
 > been permitted to meet with President Milosevic yesterday, at the
 > President's request. They had a four hour meeting. Tribunal regulations
 > require that we not report the contents of the meeting, however we can
 > certainly say that the President is in fighting spirits despite health
 > problems, and feels the deepest gratitude for all people who are fighting
 > for justice and peace and defending the truth about Yugoslavia.
 >
 > =====
 >
 > * Please Contribute to the Work of the ICDSM *
 >
 > =====
 >
 > In order to assist in President Milosevic's defense, we must pay phone
 > bills, travel expenses, and operational costs for our office and legal work
 > in the Netherlands. For this we depend entirely on those who care about
 > President Milosevic's truly remarkable struggle to tell the truth at The
 > Hague.
 >
 > ** Here is how you can help **
 >
 > * Donate at our secure server. Go to
 > <https://emperor.securesites.com/transactions/icdsm.php>
 > You can use Visa, MasterCard or Discover
 >
 > * Mail a check. Please make payable to ICDSM
 > Mail to:
 > ICDSM

Sagittarius

Van: "CDSM" <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Verzonden: maandag 7 april 2003 10:22
Onderwerp: Fw: STOP THE AGGRESSION AND THE HAGUE TERROR AGAINST

----- Original Message -----

From: Vladimir Krsljanin
To: Undisclosed-Recipient:
Sent: Monday, April 07, 2003 1:15 AM
Subject: STOP THE AGGRESSION AND THE HAGUE TERROR AGAINST SERBIA!

**STOP THE AGGRESSION AND THE HAGUE TERROR
AGAINST SERBIA!**

**AFTER PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC EXPOSED THE ROLE OF THE
HAGUE AND ITS MENTORS IN THE PRESENT TERROR IN
SERBIA, TV TRANSMISSIONS FROM THE TRIBUNAL HAVE BEEN
TEMPORARILY STOPPED IN SERBIA "DUE TO TECHNICAL
REASONS".**

**ON THURSDAY, APRIL 3RD, AFTER BEING FOR MONTHS
TORTURED BY THE "TRIAL" RHYTHM AND BY THE PRISON
CONDITIONS AND FINALLY GIVEN WRONG THERAPY,
PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC DEMANDED ADJOURNMENT OF THE
TRIAL FOR HIS PROPER MEDICAL TREATMENT, RECOVERY
AND APPROPRIATE PREPARATION FOR THE CONTINUATION
OF THE PROCESS. HE STRESSED THAT HE RECEIVED 400000
(FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND) PAGES OF MATERIAL FROM THE
PROSECUTION. JUST FOR QUICK READING OF 500 PAGES PER
DAY, ONE WOULD NEED 800 DAYS!**

**IN SERBIA, DAYS OF DARKEST POLITICAL TERROR CONTINUE.
THOUSANDS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED - TO KILL ORGANIZED
CRIME, AUTHORITIES CLAIM. BUT DRUGS ARE STILL IN THE
SAME AMOUNT IN THE STREETS, AND ALMOST AT THE SAME
PRICE.**

**AFTER THE MEDIA HAVE BEEN TRANSFORMED INTO DIRTIEST
INSTRUMENT OF POLITICAL LYNCH, AND AFTER SEVERAL
OPPOSITION POLITICAL ACTIVISTS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED,
THE ACTION CONTINUES. THEY ARREST GENERALS,**

LAWYERS (THEY DEFENDED CRIMINALS!), JOURNALISTS! THE WARRANT AGAINST PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC'S WIFE HAS BEEN ISSUED. THERE ARE RUMORS ABOUT THE TORTURE IN PRISONS.

STOP THIS INFERNAL SEQUENCE!

WE STILL KNOW NOTHING ABOUT THE DESTINY OF OUR COMRADES!

IN ALL BELGRADE SQUARES, IN SPITE THE TOTALLY CALM SITUATION ALL THE TIME, ONE CAN SEE UNITS OF GENDARMERIE (POLICE MILITARY UNITS) IN PANZERS, WITH COVERED FACES, WITH MACHINE GUNS, WITH ARMORED VEHICLES AND WITH THE LICENSE TO KILL (ANYONE WHO WOULD RESIST ARREST).

NO MORE US DEMOCRACY IN SERBIA!

STOP THE US UNHIDDEN WAR IN IRAQ AND US HIDDEN WAR IN YUGOSLAVIA!

STOP THE IMPERIAL GLOBAL CRUSADE AGAINST PEOPLE!

FREE MILOSEVIC! FREE SERBIA!

STOP THE POLITICAL REPRESSION IN SERBIA!

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RELEASE BOGOLJUB BJELICA AND OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS!

SEND PROTESTS AND APPEALS TO YUGOSLAV EMBASSIES! -find their addresses at

SLOBODA/Freedom Association

OUR PREVIOUS POSTS:

(that did not reach some of you since our computer was arrested for five days)

1. STOP THE POLITICAL ARRESTS IN BELGRADE!
2. ZYUGANOV: STOP THE REPRESSION IN SERBIA!
3. EUROPEAN PEACE FORUM ON SITUATION IN YUGOSLAVIA
4. ICDSM: POLITICAL MURDER AT THE HAGUE!
5. MILOSEVIC: LAWLESSNESS AND TERROR IN SERBIA!
6. HAGUE PROSECUTION DETERMINES THE DESTINY OF SERBIA!
7. BELGRADE MESSAGE OF PEACE AND FREEDOM

1. STOP THE POLITICAL ARRESTS IN BELGRADE!

Yesterday and today, several members of SLOBODA, SPS and YUL have been arrested. For some of them, home apartments and offices have been searched by the police. At least three of them have been kept in detention. After SLOBODA reacted today with the statement bellow and with a press conference, and some electronic media started quoting our position, the regime ordered all such reports to be stopped. Than, this evening, the police appeared with its statements, announcing that "Mira Markovic is in Russia" and informing that some comrades have been kept in detention. They gave no real explanation. In the case of Bogoljub Bjelica, chairman of SLOBODA they said "Continuing the investigation of the hardest crimes and collecting the evidence in order to arrest orderers, inspirers and assistants, the police arrested for questioning and kept in detention Bogoljub Bjelica, one of the closest associates of the former President of FRY Slobodan Milosevic". In the case of Uros Suvakovic and Goran Matic, the police stated that they've been kept "as closest political associates of Mira Markovic" due to suspicion that they are "in possession of information that can help the investigation" of the case of Ivan Stambolic, since, according to the statement of the police, Mira Markovic "is suspected to be involved in this murder".

So, we know that Belgrade US/NATO/Hague executioners keep illegally and with no ground nor charges:

1. *Bogoljub Bjelica, President of SLOBODA/Freedom Association – Yugoslav Committee for the Defense of Slobodan Milosevic, Chairman of the Organizational-Political Committee of the President of SPS, former Deputy Federal Minister of Defense;*
2. *Uros Suvakovic, Member of the Board of SLOBODA/Freedom Association – Yugoslav*

- Committee for the Defense of Slobodan Milosevic, Main Editor of the Theoretical Journal of SPS "SMISAO", former Assistant of the General Secretary of SPS;*
3. *Goran Matic, Vice-President of YUL, until recently Federal MP, former Federal Minister of Information.*

STATEMENT OF SLOBODA/Freedom Association

The fiasco of the co-called trial in The Hague caused panic inside the "tribunal", in the regime here, as its Belgrade office, and among their common masters. Except the desperate attempt to threaten the life and health of President Milosevic, forces of aggression against our freedom and our people have not found any mean to confront his magnificent struggle for the truth, which inspires and mobilizes the forces of peace and freedom at home and abroad.

The attempt to use the state of emergency in Serbia, imposed in an illegal way by the illegitimate regime, for an attack to President Milosevic, his family and associates, speaks itself for their stupidity and weakness.

It is against the common reason and cynical, and even from a moral and logical point of view unacceptable, to try to link individuals and groups, proclaimed earlier by the regime as "heroes of the 5th of October revolution", who took part in downing and arrest of President Milosevic, with him and with members of his family.

The official statements sent to the media prove that we are dealing with a totally illegal behavior, lynch and lack of the rule of law. One of the examples is that it is declared that the wife of President Milosevic is in escape, although it is absolutely clear that there is nothing she should run away from and that as a free citizen she has the right to move and travel freely.

The regime that has lost every hope that it can survive free elections tries to prolong its days, which are already counted, by the misuse of the media and by the suppression of the citizen's rights and freedoms.

This is also an attack on political opponents, free expression of political opinions and fundamental, internationally guaranteed human rights and freedoms.

We demand from the police the immediate release of the President of SLOBODA/FREEDOM Association, Mr. Bogoljub Bjelica, and to stop the persecution and misuse of the media against the members of the family of President Milosevic, arbitrary arrests of the members of our association and other individuals who did not violate any law.

We call upon all democratic political subjects, all domestic and international organizations for the protection of human rights, and all progressive forces and honest individuals to react in the strongest possible way against such a practice of the Belgrade regime.

Send your appeals to the embassies, diplomatic missions and consulates of Serbia and Montenegro in your respected countries. Act publicly!

SLOBODA/FREEDOM Association, Belgrade, March 29, 2003

NOTE THAT ADDRESSES, FAXES AND E-MAILS OF SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIONS, ONE CAN FIND ON THE WEB SITE OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY, USING THE FOLLOWING LINK:

<http://www.mfa.gov.yu/Worldframe.htm>

2. ZYUGANOV: STOP THE REPRESSION IN SERBIA!

PEOPLES'-PATRIOTIC ALLIANCE OF RUSSIA

ALL-RUSSIAN SOCIAL MOVEMENT

Moscow, 31st March, 2003

STOP THE REPRESSION IN SERBIA!

After the assassination of the Prime Minister Djindjic a state of emergency has been imposed in Serbia. Of course, it's upon the authorities of every country, to decide how they will react to each concrete situation. However, several facts show that the state of emergency is used, first of all, for political purposes. One can observe that in Serbia there is neither chaos nor civic disobedience. The Law and order are respected. There is no outside threat. The investigation of the murder goes without any obstacles. Then what sense at all the imposition of the state of emergency can have?

On the other hand, the freedom of the press is drastically limited. Meetings, rallies and strikes are forbidden. The behavior of the authorities far away exceeds the frames of the murder investigation and of the fight against crime. The police obtained the right to perform arbitrary arrests and searches, to monitor the phone talks, to violate the secrecy of the correspondence. More than two thousand people have been arrested. With a severe violation of Law 35 judges have been dismissed. There is a broad purge in the judiciary. So what kind of connection all these purely repressive measures can have with the search for the assassins? An impression is being created that under cover of the search for the organizers of Djindjic's assassination, the actual Serbian regime attempts to trounce its personal and political rivals and to suppress every opposition.

Leading organizers of the activities in Slobodan Milosevic's defense Bogoljub Bjelica, Uros Suvakovic and Goran Matic have been arrested. Members of Slobodan Milosevic's family are under pressure and threats. It is obvious that the "witch hunt" and arrests of the persons who directly assist to President Milosevic in his defense against the false accusations are aimed to save the judicial farce at The Hague, which faces total fiasco.

The Western countries, which allegedly care about "democracy", completely ignore the fact that the fundamental citizens' freedoms in Serbia are under most serious threat.

The Peoples'-Patriotic Alliance of Russia condemns the use of the state of emergency in Serbia for

12-4-03

terrorizing the political opponents of the present regime and calls upon the Government of Serbia to restore as soon as possible the generally recognized citizens' freedoms.

We intend to raise the issue of the political repression in Serbia at the forthcoming session of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

**President of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation,
President of the Peoples'-Patriotic Alliance of Russia**

Gennady Zyuganov

STOP THE POLITICAL REPRESSION IN SERBIA!

STOP THE EVIL CAMPAIGN AGAINST PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC, HIS FAMILY AND ASSOCIATES!

RELEASE BOGOLJUB BJELICA AND OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS!

ASSIES! -find their addresses at

Sagittarius

Van: "Vladimir Krsljanin" <slobodavk@yubc.net>
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Verzonden: maandag 7 april 2003 3:15
Onderwerp: STOP THE AGGRESSION AND THE HAGUE TERROR AGAINST

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<http://www.mfa.gov.yu/Worldframe.htm>***

SLOBODA/Freedom Association

Aanklacht tegen journalist

322

DEN HAAG, 9 APRIL. Het Joegoslavië-tribunaal heeft de hoofdredacteur van het Montenegrijnse blad *Dan* in staat van beschuldiging gesteld. Hij heeft de identiteit prijsgegeven van een beschermde getuige in het proces tegen de Joegoslavische ex-president Milošević. De getuige, met de codenaam K-32, werd vervolgens bedreigd. Hoofdredacteur Dušan Jovanović kan worden veroordeeld tot maximaal zeven jaar gevangenisstraf en/of een boete van maximaal 100.000 euro. Jovanović gaf gisteren toe de identiteit van K-32 te hebben onthuld, maar hij voegde daar aan toe dat wel vaker kranten de naam van beschermde getuigen hebben gepubliceerd. Hij zei naar Den Haag te gaan om zich te verantwoorden. De verspreiding van zijn dagblad – sterk Milošević-gezind – is sinds vorige week in Servië verboden wegens steunbetuigingen aan de moordenaars van de Servische premier Djindjić. (AP)

Sagittarius

Van: "CDSM" <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
Aan: "Chris Kasrils" <Stalingrad1942@aol.com>; "Branka" <branka@blueyonder.co.uk>; "Brian Denny" <bdenny@rmt.org.uk>; "Chris Kasrils" <chriskasrils@hotmail.com>; "colin meade" <c.meade@dial.pipex.com>; "Ian Johnson" <i-johnson@lineone.net>; "Stan Gasparovski" <minergy@btinternet.com>; "Tara McCormack" <tara.mccormack@virgin.net>; "Christopher Black" <bar@idirect.com>; "Vladimir Krsljanin" <vlada@sps.org.yu>; "Cathrin Schuetz" <cschuetz1@aol.com>; "Steinen" <SAGITAR@HETNET.NL>
Verzonden: zaterdag 12 april 2003 11:53
Onderwerp: Fw: Bolsheviks in Belgrade: Serbian Purges Unmasked
 Put out on the restricted list. Please do not distribute! - PD

In reply to the article by Nebojsa Malic sent out entitled, "**Bolsheviks in Belgrade: Serbian Purges Unmasked.**" I received the following email this morning from Nico Varkevisser.

Paul,
 Put me of all your lists. You should be ashamed to use Milosevic for what you are sending!
 Nico

Well, apparently Nico Varkevisser, a leader of the ICDSM, who doubles as Emperors Clothes editor with Jared Israel, has asked to be put off the cdsm list, claiming that I should be "ashamed" to put out such things in the name of Milosevic. What could be beneath this apparent disagreement over an article?

Varkevisser does not specify why I should be ashamed to put out the article "**Bolsheviks in Belgrade: Serbian Purges Unmasked.**" But it is clear that under the cdsm name this list has put out many views on the events in Serbia, some personal, some from readers and some reportage. The article below was put out by Balkan Express and criticises the crackdown in Serbia, which it characterises as "democratic terror." The same use of apparent paradox is employed to describe the terror as "Bolshevism" and "Jacobinism" a dig at those same 'democrats.' One does not know whether Varkevisser is getting puffed up in defence of 'democracy,' Jacobinism or 'Bolshevism' but one suspects it is all an excuse to make a break within the ICDSM.

I think that whether I personally agree with every characterisation in this article is not the point. The article is clearly not anti-Milosevic and it defends the general position we defend, and it opposes the crackdown correctly. Read the following:

"Clearly, the "great Slobist conspiracy" is a deliberate attempt at misdirection, a self-serving fabrication on par with the Inquisition's indictment of Milosevic.

"Just as the indictment seeks to blame Milosevic for everything that happened in the western Balkans in the 1990s, thus absolving the Empire and the Designated Victims of any and all responsibility, "Operation Saber" seeks to blame Milosevic for everything that has gone wrong with Serbia since DOS took over, thus absolving the DOS of any responsibility. Besides, isn't it odd that opponents of the Hague Inquisition were specifically fingered as conspirators? Or that the government immediately pledged to change extradition laws and arrest more "indictees" on behalf of the Inquisition?"

What ever other differences I may have with the article (which are many) it was one worth distributing. And it is obvious that the author's characterisations of 'statism' and 'collectivism' are his own and not mine, nor cdsm's. In fact cdsm has never discussed nor appraised the nature of the Serbian State under Milosevic or his predecessors. This was not the function of the defence committee. We existed to defend Serbia and Milosevic and the legacy of resistance to imperial force. That is why we welcomed those who were not communist or state socialist in this defence work. And Varkevisser and Israel knew, approved and collaborated with this. That is why they invited Misha Gavriloic to The Hague. Does it mean they approve all this man's views or would seek to censure his words when they put him on their platform?

But anyway, the axis of the article is not to attack socialism. This is a device used to characterise the present crackdown (as a return to the centralised statist past) but it is not the centrepiece!

I suspect that behind all this is a further move away from the work to defend Milosevic by Varkevisser and Israel. They have put out virtually nothing since this crackdown and I have received not one article from the ICDSM newlist, which is managed by them. Neither has there been any statement of protest nor any proposition of work. A total absence of public concern on the part of the ICDSM. All the work is being done

through Sloboda in Belgrade, an organisation under severe attack, whose leaders have been repressed and jailed, whose offices have been raided, whose officials have been pushed out of their SPS positions etc etc etc , all at the behest of the U.S. DOS.

And meanwhile, what are Israel and Varkevisser doing?? Why, defending Zionism! Several weeks ago Emperors Clothes announced that they would develop a position on the Iraq war. They have put out nothing except a brief communique that they are opposed to the war, which, according to them, is a US plan to install Islamist regimes in the Middle East which will encircle and strangle Israel!! TENC has put out several long articles to 'prove' that the Arabs are mired in anti-semitism and that their leaders are all nazis and that the Palestinian struggle is a fraud and a phony. Varkevisser even put out an article from an extreme right wing source on his Targets newslit that stated that all anti-american protest is anti-semitic and that the war against Iraq would be a war of liberation for american values. Several of us wrote to Varkisser in protest but received no reply, except that we were taken off his list (we did not request this outcome). And of course no replies were ever received to letters we sent to Emp-erors Clothes regarding their defence of Israeli aggression ("only 50 were killed in Jenin, not 5000, so there was no Israeli massacre"). In fact the one time Jared Israel did to me one year ago he stated "OK. So it's alright to you if some yids get it!" When people accuse me of vile anti-semitism they leave me cold.

This is the source of the break-up of our international work. The Germans are furious with Israel and co and accuse them of sabotage. Others have accused them of being Mosad agents. And we are trying to hold some semblance of a public face together, in spite of all the rottenness of this, and with no direction and no leadership. This is the way things have been since the start of the trial.

Whatever lays behind all this, whatever the agendas, it is clear that a break has occurred.

Paul Davidson

----- Original Message -----

From: TARGETS

To: CDSM

Sent: Friday, April 11, 2003 10:59 PM

Subject: RE: Bolsheviks in Belgrade: Serbian Purges Unmasked

Paul,

Put me of all your lists. You should be ashamed to use Milosevic for what you are sending!

Nico

-----Oorspronkelijk bericht-----

Van: CDSM [mailto:cdsm_b@btopenworld.com]

Verzonden: vrijdag 11 april 2003 21:07

Aan: Undisclosed-Recipient;

Onderwerp: Bolsheviks in Belgrade: Serbian Purges Unmasked

<http://www.antiwar.com/malic/m-col.html>

ANTIWAR, Thursday, April 10, 2003

Balkan Express
by Nebojsa Malic
Antiwar.com

Bolsheviks in Belgrade: Serbian Purges Unmasked

Empire's cheerleaders gleefully reported last week that the Bosnian Serb

Republic has been eviscerated by the Imperial Viceroy, a move aimed at

"bringing the disobedient entity to heel." In yet another move towards the misguided centralization of Bosnia, the Republic lost control of its military and intelligence services, as punishment for allegedly repairing Iraqi aircraft engines and "spying" on its NATO occupiers. Bosnian viceroys have "interpreted" the Dayton peace agreement rather loosely in the past, but Paddy Ashdown's actions flat-out violate the agreement he has a duty to uphold.

It says volumes about the current state of the Balkans, then, when Ashdown's outrageous abuses go virtually unnoticed next to the ongoing purges in Serbia.

Democratic Terror

By last Friday, over 7000 people had been detained for questioning, with some 2000-plus remaining imprisoned. Even though Dusan Spasojevic, the mob boss allegedly behind the Djindjic assassination, was killed by the police, and the man accused of actually shooting the Prime Minister "confessed" to the deed, and the government announced that the actual killing was "solved," the purges continue.

Only the naïve could believe that the government's goal was simply to catch and punish the Prime Minister's killers. Their true aim was to sweep Serbia with an "iron broom," and remove all the troublesome elements – in the best tradition of totalitarian police states. The purge even has a name, Operation Saber (Sr. sablja), aimed to threaten, not reassure.

And what a purge it is: judges, military and police officials, lawyers, even some politicians, all have been targeted in the past three weeks, and the hunt is about to get even bigger. Of course, the government claims it is

only going after "criminals." But their definition of "criminal" is whoever they arrest!

Allegations of criminal conduct by certain individuals may not be too hard to substantiate. Some of those arrested have a reputation for belonging

to organized crime, and no doubt much of that reputation is well-deserved. And it is a fact that Serbia is plagued by violent criminals as much as the rest of the Balkans, perhaps even more because of the decade-long blockade and war devastation. Unable to strike at their Imperial tormentors, and mistakenly believing the government is there to protect them, the people of Serbia have embraced the purges as a way to vent their impotent rage.

That their elementary rights of life, liberty and property are in danger is on no one's mind. That the government didn't have such sweeping powers in the worst days of Milosevic's "dictatorship" is hotly rejected, but true. This is "democracy," after all. If one is to believe the government and the media – who are even more "embedded" than American reporters in Iraq – there is universal support for the government's actions. But that argument is meaningless. The majority can be, and often is, wrong.

Despite the support and even cheering from the Empire, the mass detentions and complete isolation of suspects has even the stalwart imperialist Human Rights Watch crying foul, indicating that Washington would really prefer if Belgrade was just a bit more discreet about this.

The Belgrade Jacobins have other plans.

'A Vast Conspiracy'

Already on April 2, the German-owned daily "Blic" published an official communiqué of the Serbian police accusing the opposition parties of complicity with the assassination. As the accusation did not get enough attention, it was repeated this Tuesday.

"Serbian Government Discovers Clan Plot to Overthrow Authorities," screamed the headline in Glas Javnosti. According to the government, the Djindjic assassination was a coup attempt by the allies of Slobodan Milosevic, enemies of the Hague Inquisition, anti-democratic forces, nationalists, and "political parties dissatisfied with the division of power and the influence of DOS" [the ruling coalition]. In other words, it was a massive conspiracy that not only killed the Prime Minister, but threatened the entire

State!

Heaven forbid anyone suggests that Djindjic was killed because of his mafia connections. The government says this was a lie the conspirators intended to peddle, so as to justify their takeover of power. So, was the New York Times' Steven Erlanger one of the conspirators, then?

Even Dragoljub Milanovic, former manager of the state television convicted of failing to anticipate NATO's bombing (in a travesty of justice, as the actual culprit was out of reach) was linked to the conspiracy.

The entire thing reads so much like a plot of a cheap spy novel, Tom Clancy should be worried.

Self-Serving Fabrications

If the government's Official Truth sounds like something written up to secure popular support, that's probably because it is. There is definitely a hint of Bolshevik bluster in the government's conspiracy theory. One can almost hear expressions such as "counter-revolution," "enemies of the People" and "threats to Democracy." Plus, it is written in the style of socialist propaganda still rooted in Serbian officialdom.

As a theory, it makes little or no sense. Milosevic's supporters are few, scattered, bitterly divided by factional struggle and largely lacking of any serious political program or philosophy (much like the government itself).

How could they have possibly hoped to seize power? With what? Milosevic abandoned his position of strength when he ceded power to Kostunica in October 2000. Why would he try to reclaim it by force, two years later, from an Inquisition jail cell – a position of weakness if ever there was one?

Then, the people allegedly in charge of executing the "conspiracy" were the same people who helped Djindjic seize power in October 2000 and arrest Milosevic in April 2001. There's plenty of circumstantial evidence linking Djindjic and his henchmen with underworld figures. It is far more likely

that Djindjic had a falling-out with his mobster pals, who then had him whacked. That the government specifically insists that this is a lie the conspirators would tell indicates it hits too close for their comfort.

Actually, there are plenty of allegations in the government's story that sound just like what the government itself is doing right now: chaos, state of emergency, heavily armed police on the streets, repression... By accusing its enemies, it avoids accusations itself.

Clearly, the "great Slobist conspiracy" is a deliberate attempt at misdirection, a self-serving fabrication on par with the Inquisition's indictment of Milosevic.

Just as the indictment seeks to blame Milosevic for everything that happened in the western Balkans in the 1990s, thus absolving the Empire and the Designated Victims of any and all responsibility, "Operation Saber" seeks to blame Milosevic for everything that has gone wrong with Serbia since DOS took over, thus absolving the DOS of any responsibility. Besides, isn't it odd that opponents of the Hague Inquisition were specifically fingered as conspirators? Or that the government immediately pledged to change extradition laws and arrest more "indictees" on behalf of the Inquisition?

Purging Kostunica?

Another self-serving aspect of the conspiracy theory is that, by accusing anyone even slightly opposed to the government of being part of the conspiracy, the government creates a pretext for purging them and establishing unchallenged rule. Why else would they try to implicate Vojislav Kostunica, of all people?

Yes, this quiet professor who believed in limited government so much that he stood by while Djindjic ran roughshod over every law in Serbia, is really a cunning Enemy of the People, says the government. His advisors allegedly met with the suspected assassins a day or so before Djindjic was killed.

Fact is, Kostunica's DSS is the only party that demonstrates any kind of honesty. They do have an appalling lack of political skills and anything resembling a coherent program, and they are centrists in a situation that tolerates only extreme positions, but they are also the only clear alternative to the ramshackle DOS coalition. Most parties in the current government are no more than vessels for their leaders' political

ambitions.

Even Djindjic did not dare call an election, knowing his popularity ran in single digits. His flunkies would be even worse off. Kostunica's DSS is a real threat, much more than the hyped-up "remnants of the Milosevic regime," and for that it has to be eliminated.

One Land, One People, One (Dead) Leader

But the very last straw is the recently approved draft law allowing the confiscation of property associated with organized crime. Can there be any clearer proof of government greed?

It's a scapegoating process, pure and simple. And the people approve because they are conditioned to obey, because after all the suffering they've been through, they crave a resolution the purges promise to bring and need a black-and-white reality they could trust. Humiliated, violated, robbed, befuddled and brainwashed, the Serbs have been maneuvered into demanding

tyranny, and DOS is more than happy to oblige. The only thing lacking is the Fuehrer figure. Then again, the "martyred" Djindjic is better suited for that role than anyone alive. Being dead, he is immune to criticism.

The globalist intellectuals are beaming. They challenge insignificant details of government actions – to create an illusion of credibility and independence – but applaud its essence. Turns out, their incessant calls for "de-Nazification" were Orwellian in nature, calling in fact for its exact opposite.

The Choice

A month ago, Djindjic's tragic and regrettable death presented Serbia with a fateful choice: reject a totalitarian legacy of the XX century and move away from a repressive, managerial State as a model for its future – or reject liberty and wallow in the muck of collectivist single-mindedness, lapsing back into the comfortable noose of tyrannical statism.

Driven mad by the wars, sanctions, poverty and cognitive dissonance of propaganda, the people have most definitely chosen the latter. To be honest,

most were never aware they were making a choice at all, and the government did everything to ensure its favored outcome. But the choice was made, and now there will be consequences, in the form of all the evils that tyranny and statism usually produce.

There will be more poverty, more violence, more madness, more propaganda, more theft, more lies, more decay and more death. They will be spun, justified, blamed on others, denied or ignored, but they will be real nonetheless. And they will persist, until the people realize the reality of their choice, and the need to change their minds. But once they do, there will be Hell to pay.

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Sagittarius

Van: "Vladimir Krsljanin"
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient;>
Verzonden: maandag 7 april 2003 3:47
Bijlage: NALEPNICA nova sve.pdf
Onderwerp: NALEPNICA - STICKER

FREEDOM

FREEDOM for Bogoljub Bjelica

and all political prisoners!

FREEDOM from aggression and
terror against men, women and children!

FREEDOM for media!

FREEDOM for workers!

FREEDOM for thought!

FREEDOM for Serbia!

FREEDOM from DOS!

FREEDOM FOR

SLOBODAN

MILOSEVIC!

СЛОБОДА

СЛОБОДА за Богољуба Бјелицу
и све политичке затворенике!

СЛОБОДА од агресије и хашког
терора који не штеде ни жене и децу!

СЛОБОДА за медије!

СЛОБОДА за раднике!

СЛОБОДА за мисао!

СЛОБОДА за Србију!

СЛОБОДА од ДОС-а!

**СЛОБОДА ЗА
СЛОБОДАНА
МИЛОШЕВИЋА**

To join or help this struggle, visit:

<http://www.sps.org.yu/> (official SPS website)

<http://www.belgrade-forum.org/> (forum for the world of equals)

<http://www.icdsm.org/> (the international committee to defend Slobodan Milosevic)

icdsm temporary address:

<http://emperor.vwh.net/icdsm/index.htm>

Le Monde diplomatique

MondeDiplo.com

April 2002

MILOSEVIC IN THE DOCK

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by CATHERINE SAMARY

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Keywords:

- Balkans
- Ex-Yugoslavia
- Kosovo
- Federal Republic of
Yugoslavia
- Yugoslavia
- Conflicts

"We knew the Milosevic trial was going to be difficult but who could have imagined that, from the very beginning, it would be such a disaster for the International Criminal Tribunal?" This comment from Stojan Cerovic, a reporter on the weekly news magazine *Vreme* (1), well known in Belgrade for hostility to Slobodan Milosevic, confirmed what people were saying, not without pride, on the streets of the Serbian capital after the first few days of what was to be a "historic trial".

Until the trial opened on 12 February, it had looked as though Milosevic and his defenders were going to challenge the legal standing of the tribunal and boycott the trial (2). Milosevic had been held in Belgrade at the time and his supporters claim that his forcible removal to The Hague was unlawful. Indeed, the Yugoslav constitutional court had just refused to grant extradition on the ground that there was - and still is - no legal basis for cooperation with the ICTY.

In the event, Milosevic opted to use this public arena to present his own defence, declaring that "the people and public opinion should be his judges." In Belgrade, there was intense interest in the opening of the trial. The proceedings were broadcast live on three channels, viewers kept a daily tally of the points scored by the defendant and his popularity began to recover. But it was not to last.

CNN stopped broadcasting when he produced pictures of the collateral damage caused by the Nato bombing. Since 19 February, when he undermined the principal witness for the prosecution, Mahmut Bakalli, in cross-examination, even the ICTY website no longer publishes transcripts of the proceedings. The Serbian radio and television service Radiotelevizija Srbije (RTS) stopped broadcasting the trial on 8 March, on the ground that it was too costly, and the federal TV channel YuInfo followed suit on 13 March. The independent radio station B92, which has good technical links with the ICTY, still covers the trial, but subscribers may decide to call a halt at any time.

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President Vojislav Kostunica's view is that "much of the evidence is true but much is also superficial, truncated and manipulated. It is being politicised and there is an element of hypocrisy" (3). In fact, despite the tribunal's attempts to appear impartial, the prosecutor, Carla del Ponte, has largely helped to bring the ICTY into disrepute by refusing to investigate the claim that Nato was guilty of war crimes against civilians. And the defendant, Milosevic, whatever one may think of his policies and his one-sided interpretation of events, has been helped by the paranoid theory - rightly condemned by Stojan Cerovic - that "the whole disaster in former Yugoslavia was the result of a criminal conspiracy among members of his entourage" (4).

Sociologist Srdjan Bogosavljevic, interviewed in Belgrade during the first week of the trial, explained the general unwillingness to admit that crimes had been committed in the name of Serbia: "Most people say they could not bring themselves to commit a crime and they believe the same is true of Serbs in general. But the main reason for this collective blind spot is that there are about 600,000 Serbian refugees from Croatia and Bosnia in the country, so people are more aware of the crimes of others."

The jokes circulating in Belgrade about the Kosovar Albanian witnesses are sometimes thought to be a bit racist. In fact, Mahmut Bakalli, a former apparatchik of the League of Communists, was president of Kosovo in 1981 and in that sense he is emblematic of the prosecution's weaknesses. He made a very poor showing as a witness for the prosecution because he was desperately anxious to attribute the start of the crisis in Kosovo to a speech Milosevic made in 1989. He was equally poor as a spokesman for the Albanian cause because, as the defendant did not fail to point out, this was the man who had ordered the tanks out in 1981 to crush demonstrations by young Kosovars seeking republican status for the province. Milosevic quoted an interview with Bakalli at the time, in which he had rejected their claim.

The responsibility for evidence of this type lies with the tribunal machinery, which has tried to justify bringing a case against Milosevic for the events in Kosovo during the Nato bombing, while glossing over the nature of the real conflicts that were tearing the province apart and overlooking the civil war underlying the expulsions, which was made worse by the bombing. Will the ICTY be accused of "revisionism" because it withdrew the charge relating to the notorious Operation Horseshoe (5), which turned out to be a fabrication? The constant bombardment, actual and verbal, ("Auschwitz", "genocide", "deportation") has caused intoxication; a cool look at the evidence is needed. The misguided press campaign sought to justify the war waged by Nato and still prevents any genuine reappraisal of a territorial conflict in which both sides, Serbian and Albanian, were in the right.

There is no denying certain facts. Many Kosovars were the victims of real crimes perpetrated by the Serbs; but the prosecutor has not been able to charge Milosevic with genocide in Kosovo. Hence the

extension of the trial to include events in Croatia and Bosnia. Yet everyone knows that the Dayton accords sanctioned the ethnic cleansing at the time and that those responsible for it were present at the negotiating table. If Milosevic is guilty of crimes against humanity, then others are too. Not to mention their willing accomplices: the governments of the West.

(1) See *Courrier International* no 592, 7 March 2002.

(2) See interview with Jacques Vergès (8 January 2001). The ICTY budget has increased from \$276,000 in 1994 to \$96m. in 2001, 14% being privately funded and the remainder being provided by the UN. Washington would like to cut this "excessive" expenditure.

(3) *Le Monde*, 21 March 2002.

(4) *Courrier International*, op cit.

(5) See Serge Halimi and Dominique Vidal, *L'opinion, ça se travaille. Les medias, l'OTAN et la guerre du Kosovo*, Editions Agone, Marseille, 2000.

Translated by Barbara Wilson

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nt tegen Milošević

gen. Nadien werd niets meer van hem vernomen, tot vorige maand, na de moord op Djindjić. Talrijke tot de maffiabende van Zemun toegetroden leden en ex-leden van de geheime dienst en de JSO werden opgepakt, onder wie de ontvoerders van Stambolić. Later werd Stambolić' lijk opgegraven op de hellingen van de Fruška Gora bergen noorden van Belgrado. Hij was op de dag van zijn ontvoering al vermoord en begraven. Volgens de Servische politie wilde Milošević zijn ex-vriend elimineren omdat deze overwoog zich kandidaat te

stellen bij de presidentsverkiezingen in de herfst van 2000. Uiteindelijk verloor Milošević die verkiezingen ondanks de moord op Stambolić: hij werd verslagen door Vojislav Koštunica.

De Servische politie meldde gisteren dat ook Milošević' vrouw, Mira Marković, bij de moord betrokken was. Ze wordt beschuldigd van opruiing. Tegen Marković loopt al een tijdje een arrestatiebevel. Ze houdt zich schuil in Rusland, bij haar zoon Marko Milošević. Belgrado heeft Moskou om haar uitlevering gevraagd. (VIP)

de
Servische justitie moet nu bepalen of de negen formeel in staat van beschuldiging moeten worden gesteld. Het is voor het eerst dat Milošević in Servië wordt aangeklaagd.

28-4-2003
Volgens de Servische politie zijn er bewijzen dat Milošević heeft gezinspeeld op „de permanente verwijdering” van Stambolić. De acht andere verdachten waren in augustus 2000, toen Stambolić werd vermoord, werkzaam bij ofwel de Servische geheime dienst, ofwel de JSO, een zwaarbewapende elite-eenheid van de Servische geheime dienst. Onder hen zijn Rade Marković, indertijd chef van de geheime dienst, die in januari zeven jaar gevangenisstraf kreeg wegens zijn rol in een andere moord, de toenmalige JSO-chef (later leider van de maffiabende van Zemun) Milorad Luković alias Legija, die wordt gezocht wegens het beramen van de moord op premier Djindjić in maart, en Duško Maričić, Luković' opvolger als chef van de JSO. Hij werd in maart gearresteerd toen de JSO werd ontmanteld.

Ivan Stambolić, voormalig president, premier en partijleider van Servië en vroeger vriend en mentor van Milošević, verdween op 25 augustus 2000 toen hij in een park bij zijn woning in Belgrado ging jog-

Milosevic aangeklaagd voor moord op Stambolic

28-4-2003
BELGRADO Het Servische openbaar ministerie heeft oud-president Slobodan Milosevic in staat van beschuldiging gesteld wegens de ontvoering van en de moord op zijn politieke rivaal Ivan Stambolic. Hij werd in augustus 2000 vermoord, onlangs is zijn lichaam gevonden. In het Joegoslavië van de jaren '80 was Stambolic de politieke mentor van Milosevic. (AP)

Sagittarius

Van: "Ian Johnson" <i-johnson@lineone.net>
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Verzonden: zondag 27 april 2003 2:46
Onderwerp: CDSM Fw: Newsletter FREE SLOBO ! - n°

— Original Message —

From: Comité Francophone pour la Défense de Slobodan Milosevic
To: FCDSM-CFDSM
Sent: Thursday, April 24, 2003 11:39 PM
Subject: Newsletter FREE SLOBO ! - n° 59

Newsletter FREE SLOBO ! - n° 59

FREE SLOBO !

Newsletter of the FCDSM
(Frenchspeaking Committee to Defend Slobodan Milosevic)
Lettre d'information du CFDSM
(Comité Francophone pour la Défense de Slobodan Milosevic)
<http://www.liberez-milosevic.fr.st/>

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N° 59 Avril / April 2003

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Webmaster - Editeur responsable :
Luc MICHEL - email : lucmichelbxi@yahoo.fr

=====

This number is send to 61.000 emails.
Ce numéro a été envoyé à plus de 61.000 mailles

=====

TO THE YUGOSLAV AND INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC

My struggle here is about the truth and freedom. The whole planet knows that.

This illegal court undergoes its everyday fiasco. And it happens in their own half-time. In the half time when their false prosecution and false witnesses appear. It lasts the second year already. They are afraid even to think how my half time will look like, when I will speak and when my witnesses will speak.

Against me they have applied all the means of the political, media, psychological and physical pressure. WITH NO SUCCESS.

Now they have started the brutal persecution using the vicious lies. That persecution is also physical and is followed by a media campaign.

And the whole public sees that the perpetrators of the crimes whom they have arrested are the very same ones who were praised by the actual regime for they're "contribution" to the October 5th coup. The very same ones who were, with covered faces, jumping into yard of my residence, the ones who arrested and kidnapped me for their account.

They have launched a brutal persecution of my wife and my son only because of me. Because they can't brake me. Because I am a moral winner in any case. Because the truth is on my side.

Due to that persecution I haven't seen my son for three years already and since recently I can't see my wife. It is their real goal to block all my contacts. For that right nobody here is not, nor can be deprived. That's exactly why they decided to deprive me in such a dishonest way.

I demand stop of the persecution of my wife and of my son since it is purely politically motivated against my struggle and in favor of justification of the crime against Yugoslavia and its citizens.

Slobodan Milosevic

The Hague, April 23rd, 2003

This letter has been presented to the public at today's press conference of SLOBODA in Belgrade.

At the conference, our two comrades, recently released from detention - member of SLOBODA Uros Suvakovic and former Yugoslav minister of information Goran Matic appeared and explained in detail their prison experience (26 days in solitary confinement, with no walk, in total incommunicado) and shown written decisions on their detention, stating that they were detained "since the suspicion that they might, if remain free, threaten the security of other citizens and the security of the Republic".

As a guest of the press conference, Dr John Laughland, on behalf of the British Helsinki Human Rights Group, counted preliminary conclusions of their delegation after the visit to Serbia and contacts with all sides of the political spectrum here: State of emergency was unnecessary, its provisions (some of which are continued to be applied on the basis of the changes in legislation even after the State of Emergency was formally lifted) violate the basic human and citizens rights and standards of democracy and rule of law, its obvious political misuses produce the greatest concern.

Vladimir Krsljanin, foreign relations assistant to President Milosevic and member of SLOBODA underlined the case of the SLOBODA Chairman Bogoljub Bjelica. Mr. Bjelica appeared to be a symbol of political persecution in Serbia today and first victim of the "new legislation". His detention has been prolonged for another 15 days on the "grounds" the he might posses "the information of importance for investigation" – unprecedented in civilized world form of mistreatment of "potential witnesses".

Krsljanin repeated the estimate about the criminal responsibility of the Hague prosecution and of its sponsors for the present state in Serbia. He announced that SLOBODA will use all legal and political means in the struggle to stop the persecution of President Milosevic, his family and associates, to free Bogoljub Bjelica and to return freedom, law, democracy and dignity to Serbia.

SLOBODA CALLS UPON ALL FORCES AND INDIVIDUALS WHO CARE ABOUT FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY TO CONTRIBUTE URGENTLY IN MOST CONCRETE WAYS TO REACH THESE GOALS !

To join or help this struggle, visit:

<http://www.sps.org.yu/> (official SPS website)

<http://www.belgrade-forum.org/> (forum for the world of equals)

=====
Les nouvelles qui sont données dans ce bulletin le sont à titre d'information. Elle n'impliquent pas nécessairement l'adhésion du FCDSM/CFDSM, en particulier quant aux informations provenant des media occidentaux.

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<http://www.liberez-milosevic.fr.st/>

Consulter aussi – See also :

WEBSITE SPS (Serbe et Anglais)

<http://www.sps.org.yu/eng/explorer.htm>

BELGRADE FORUM (forum for the world of equals) :

<http://www.belgrade-forum.org/>

PCN-NCP'S YUGO INFO :

<http://www.pcn-ncp.com/yougoslavie.htm>

(Information en Français, en Serbe et en Anglais - Information in French, Serbian and English)

SERBIAN NETWORK :

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- > UNITED NATIONS OFFICE OF THE HIGH
- > COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
- > SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO
- >
- >
- >
- >
- > Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
- > Mission to Serbia and Montenegro
- >
- >
- >
- >
- > 24 April 2003
- >
- > CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM TO THE MINISTRIES OF JUSTICE AND THE
- > INTERIOR OF
- > THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA
- >
- > Initial findings and recommendations arising from the visit
- > to detainees in Belgrade 14-15 April 2003
- >
- >
- > Following their joint visit to places of detention and detainees in
- > Belgrade on 14 and 15 April 2003 the UN Office of the High Commissioner
- > for Human Rights, OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro and OSCE Office
- > of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights have identified nine urgent
- > recommendations which they would draw to the attention of the
- > authorities in the Republic of Serbia.
- >
- > These recommendations are not intended to represent the complete
- > findings and recommendations of the three institutions. Rather, they
- > represent a number of urgent steps which, if implemented, the Delegation
- > considers would immediately improve the situation of persons detained
- > following the imposition of the state of emergency. The three
- > institutions will issue a comprehensive joint report of their findings
- > and recommendations in due course. This report will expand upon the
- > recommendations below and be complemented by additional ones. The three
- > institutions would like to draw the Government's attention to the fact
- > that, in its observations, many of the problems do not arise directly
- > from the conditions under the state of emergency, but are long-standing
- > problems concerning the Belgrade Central Prison which were identified
- > during assessment visits in 2001. The state of emergency has exacerbated
- > most of these problems and that certain provisions of the amended Law on
- > the Suppression of Organised crime are likely to continue doing so
- > unless appropriate safeguards are promptly introduced.
- >
- > The three institutions welcome the lifting of the state of emergency

Sagittarius

Van: "Vladimir Krsljanin" <slobodavk@yubc.net>
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Verzonden: zondag 18 mei 2003 14:51
Onderwerp: UNHCHR on Human Rights Violations by the Serbian Police
 English original and Serbian translation (bellow).

The following very polite text contains very serious admissions and (preliminary) findings. All progressive and democratic forces should join the battle against these outrageous practices. The message of President Milosevic is: 'the time of dictatorship is a right time for action of all honest people and of all the people devoted to democracy'.

Human rights violation practices are imposed to Serbia by ICTY (the Hague 'tribunal'). There was never in history an institution under UN cover whose practices was systematic violation of human rights and dignity. The malignant anti-Yugoslav grouping of Western intelligence bureaucracy, facing fiasco in their show-trials find a common language with the regime that lost all credibility and support of the people. Both desperately try to justify its existence and lot of money spent to support their illegal activities. Allying with criminals in Serbia and abroad they unsuccessfully try to blame for all their dirty work President Milosevic and Serbian people.

On Tuesday, May 20, at 15:00, in front of the 'Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Serbia and Montenegro' in Belgrade there will be a demonstration, organized by Sloboda, against the new visit of Carla del Ponte, already accused in German press for her links with the criminal circles in Serbia.

We stand for law, justice and truth!

We stand for freedom, sovereignty and democracy!

We invite all the people to the major Vidovdan (June 28) demonstrations:

At The Hague
 organized by a Serbian-International Organizational Committee
 (see the inviting leaflet at
<http://www.slobodan-milosevic.org/news/sloboda051203.htm> /English version/
<http://www.slobodan-milosevic.org/news/POZIVZAHAG.htm> /Serbian version/
 or at
<http://it.groups.yahoo.com/group/crj-mailinglist/files/AIA/> /Both versions
 + PDF/)

And of course in Belgrade
 organized by SLOBODA

The UNHCHR text bellow was originally circulated by:
news@antic.org
<http://www.antic.org/>

Support the peace and stability in the Balkans and in Europe!
 Support democracy and human rights in Serbia!
 Free Slobodan Milosevic!

> orders on 22 April. Although the provisions relating to detention under
 > the state of emergency are no longer in force, they consider that the
 > findings and recommendations pertaining to detention contained in this
 > memorandum remain relevant. They base this on recognition of the fact
 > that the pressures on Serbia's criminal justice system remain; that
 > provisions for extended detention without judicial supervision remain in
 > force under the amended Law on the Suppression of Organized Crime; and
 > the continued existence of systemic problems which have previously been
 > identified following the 2001 prison assessment, the visit of the
 > Committee against Torture in 2002 and other assessments.

>
 > Besides the matters requiring attention which are identified below, the
 > Delegation would like to record that welcome improvements upon the
 > situation in 2001 were noted. These included improved relationships
 > between detainees and prison guards. The Delegation heard consistently
 > positive references to the guards from detainees during their
 > confidential interviews. In addition the Delegation also noted that all
 > government officials were helpful and open in their discussions with it.

>
 > The three institutions hope that the initial findings and
 > recommendations contained in this memorandum will be of assistance to
 > the Government in its efforts to combat organized crime and uphold the
 > rule of law on accordance with the relevant international standards.
 > They look forward to delivering the full report in the near future and
 > of having the opportunity to carry up follow-up visits to places of
 > detention.

> Findings and Recommendations

> Section A: The legal basis for detention

> Finding 1: The continued justification for detention without judicial > supervision

> Article 4 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
 > (ICCPR) states clearly that derogations of rights guaranteed under the
 > Covenant must be strictly limited to those required by the exigencies of
 > the situation. Both the procedures under the state of emergency and the
 > recent amendments to the Law on the Suppression of Organized Crime
 > include provisions for extended periods of detention without adequate
 > judicial supervision. These are clearly not in conformity with the
 > international human rights standards, notably Article 9(4) of the ICCPR
 > and Article 5(4) of the European Convention for the Protection of Human
 > Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ECHR). The commentaries and case law
 > indicate that detainees may be held without judicial supervision for a
 > few days as an absolute maximum, even in times of public emergency.

>
 > The Delegation found that the justification for the continued detention
 > of individuals without judicial supervision was unclear in many cases,
 > particularly as many individuals had not been subject to any form of
 > questioning for many days and that much time has passed since the
 > initial emergency following the assassination. Some, who had been in
 > detention for several days, reported that they had not been questioned
 > at all.

>
 > With the ending of the state of emergency, which has occurred since the
 > visit, all derogations to the right to be brought promptly before a
 > judge are to be considered invalid and therefore detention without
 > charge is no longer permissible. Therefore the detainees must be either
 > charged with a criminal offence or released in accordance with Article 9
 > of the ICCPR.

>
 > The Delegation was particularly concerned that the combination of
 > detention without judicial supervision combined with some of the other
 > findings given below meant that human rights violations were being
 > compounded or exacerbated by a combination of these factors.

>
 > Recommendation 1: Re-examine, on the basis of the facts of each case,
 > whether the conditions continue to warrant the detention of each
 > individual detained since the state of emergency was introduced
 > (including those detained under the amended Law on the Suppression of
 > Organized Crime). Ensure that detainees are either released or charged
 > with a criminal offence and kept in further detention only on the basis
 > of judicial decisions. These decisions should be subject to regular
 > review.

>
 > Finding 2: Information about status and rights for detainees; access to
 > counsel; procedures for considering appeals

>
 > International standards as well as the principles established in the
 > Constitutional Charter of the State Union and the Code of Criminal
 > Procedure emphasize the rights right of detainees to be informed of
 > their status and rights as well as being given access to legal counsel
 > to protect their interests. The state of emergency suspended or
 > restricted a number of rights relating to communication with the outside
 > world including visits by families and communication with legal counsel.
 > While some of these restrictions may be justified as exceptions required
 > by the exigencies of the situation, applied on a case-by-case basis and
 > for short periods, they appear instead to have been applied on a group
 > basis or in an arbitrary way and often for extended periods.

>
 > The Delegation found that many detainees were unclear about their status
 > and rights. There appeared to be no systematic process to ensure that
 > detainees were informed of their right to challenge detention under the
 > state of emergency order. The confusion about their status, rights, and
 > possibilities for communication extended to detainees who had passed to
 > detention on judicial orders or on the orders of the Special Prosecutor.

>
 > Recommendation 2: Carry out a systematic process of informing all
 > detainees of their status and rights. This should include, inter alia,
 > particular attention to those who were initially detained under orders
 > issued under the state of emergency, but are now passing into other
 > forms of detention. Ensure that all detainees are given immediate access
 > to legal counsel.

>
 > Finding 3: Appeals procedures

>
 > At least one detainee was informed in writing that he had to submit any

- > appeal within 12 hours of receiving the decision on his detention. No
- > effective deadlines existed for ruling on appeals, at least one detainee
- > received the negative decision around the 30th day of his 30-day
- > detention. The processes for communicating between detainees and the
- > authorities were not transparent in ensuring adequate recording and
- > issuing receipts for communications. The Delegation also felt that a
- > review by the Minister of Internal Affairs was not a sufficiently
- > independent mechanism. The Delegation is concerned that these problems
- > persist for detainees held under the provisions of the amended Law on
- > the Suppression of Organized Crime.
- >
- > Recommendation 3: Introduce judicial supervision of all detainees
- > immediately. Introduce a clear and consistent procedure regulating the
- > process of allowing detainees to appeal against detention, ensuring that
- > there are no temporal limits on the detainees' right to appeal and that
- > all appeals are ruled upon and communicated to the individual concerned
- > within 24 hours.
- >
- > Finding 4: Arbitrary factors controlling conditions of detention
- >
- > The Delegation found that the applicable rules governing detainees
- > conditions of detention were not clear and that they depended in part on
- > individual decisions by the prison authorities. This was particularly
- > problematic as these decisions and the procedures applied appeared
- > variously to influence the detainees' possibilities to obtain medical
- > supplies or sanitary items and to communicate with families and legal
- > counsel.
- >
- > Recommendation 4: Ensure that the law and regulations applied do not
- > introduce arbitrary factors which affect the possibility of detainees to
- > obtain access to counsel or restrict other rights.
- >
- > Section B: Conditions of detention
- >
- > Finding 5: Police facilities unsuitable for extended detention
- >
- > The Delegation found that the facilities in the police station it
- > visited were unsuitable for anything other than short periods of
- > detention and were not suitable for overnight stays. The reasons for the
- > unsuitability included, inter alia, the lack of beds for each detainee
- > and of any blankets or mattresses; inadequate provisions for food and
- > medical care; and inadequate lighting and ventilation. All these are
- > requirements contained in the Standard Minimum Rules of the Treatment of
- > Prisoners (SMR) and the European Prison Rules (EPR). SMR Rule no. 19 and
- > EPR Part II, Rule 24 offer specific guidance in this.
- >
- > The Delegation was concerned to learn that some detainees have been in
- > the Central Police Station in these conditions for up to six or seven
- > days.
- >
- > Recommendation 5: Ensure that detainees are kept in police detention
- > facilities for as short a period as possible and are not used to detain
- > prisoners for overnight stays.
- >
- > Finding 6: The conditions of detainees kept in isolation in the Belgrade

> Central Prison were unacceptable

>

> The Delegation saw that most prisoners kept in isolation at the Belgrade

> Central Prison are kept in small, badly lit cells with poor lighting and

> ventilation. It also learned that most were denied exercise and were

> kept in the cells all the time and were taken out infrequently and

> mainly for the purpose of questioning.

>

> The cumulative and combined effects of the underlying illegality of

> extended periods of detention coupled with the substandard conditions of

> detention for many detainees amounts to degrading punishment or

> treatment which is incompatible with Article 3 of the Convention against

> Torture and Other, Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment and Punishment

> (CAT), Article 3 of the ECHR and Article 7 of the ICCPR.

>

> The Delegation noted that the increased population at the prison also

> appeared to decrease the possibility for exercise for all prisoners. It

> noted that the 2001 assessment found that the exercise facilities in the

> Belgrade Central Prison were already inadequate for the then population

> of some 400 detainees and the exercise periods too short. The current

> population is reported to be more than 1,000.

>

> Recommendation 6: Ensure that all prisoners are allowed adequate

> exercise of at least one hour per day and that other steps are taken to

> improve the conditions in the isolation cells in the Belgrade Central

> Prison.

>

>

> Finding 7: Procedures for registering complaints

>

> During the visit to the Belgrade Central Police Station and the Belgrade

> Central Prison the Delegation was briefed about the procedures in place

> to submit complaints to internal or external control bodies. The

> procedures within the prison which were described to and seen by the

> Delegation represented a very centralised approach to the airing of

> complaints. They seemed to be an inadequate guarantee and did not

> provide for independent and transparent analysis of complaints. The

> inadequacy of the current method was also reflected in the poor

> confidence of the detainees in the effectiveness of the internal

> investigations.

>

> This concern seems particularly relevant as during the visit, the

> Delegation heard allegations or saw indications of torture or

> ill-treatment during arrest concerning two detainees. It was unable to

> verify in full the veracity of these allegations, but the Delegation

> considers it important that detainees are able to report any such

> allegations with confidence in seeing their complaints promptly

> addressed. The Delegation also heard accounts of forms of questioning

> and pressure during interrogation which would appear to be

> inappropriate, particularly when they involve young women.

>

> Recommendation 7: Improve the possibilities for detainees to communicate

> with the relevant authorities concerning their conditions of detention

> and develop a long-term plan of revision of the internal control systems

> in both the police and prison systems. Any allegations of ill-treatment

- > o borbi protiv organizovanog kriminala; i dalje postoje sistemski
- > problemi koji su već identifikovani nakon posete iz 2001. radi
- > utvrđivanja stanja u zatvorima, posete Komiteta protiv mučenja u 2002. i
- > drugih procena.
- >
- > Uz niže navedena pitanja koja zahtevaju pažnju, Delegacija želi da
- > navede da su konstatovane pozitivne promene u odnosu na situaciju iz
- > 2001. Tu spadaju bolji odnosi između pritvorenika i zatvorskih čuvara.
- > Takođe, Delegacija je tokom poverljivih razgovora sa pritvorenicima čula
- > dosledno pozitivne ocene o čuvarima. Uz to, Delegacija želi da
- > konstatuje da su svi državni službenici bili predusretljivi i otvoreni
- > prilikom razgovara sa Delegacijom.
- >
- > Tri organizacije se nadaju da će početni nalazi i preporuke sadržane u
- > ovom memorandumu biti od pomoći vladi u njenim naporima u borbi protiv
- > organizovanog kriminala i podržavanju vladavine prava u skladu sa
- > relevantnim međunarodnim standardima. Predstavnici tri organizacije
- > očekuju da će uskoro podneti potpuni izveštaj i imati mogućnost da
- > ponovo posete pritvorske ustanove.
- >
- >
- > Nalazi i preporuke
- >
- > Deo A: Pravni osnov za pritvaranje
- >
- > Nalaz 1: Dalje pravdanja pritvora bez sudskog nadzora
- >
- > Član 4. Međunarodne konvencije o građanskim i političkim pravima (ICCPR)
- > jasno navodi da odstupanje od prava garantovanih Konvencijom mora biti
- > strogo ograničeno na odstupanja koja nalažu potrebe situacije. I
- > postupci u vreme vanrednog stanja kao i nedavni amandmani na Zakon o
- > borbi protiv organizovanog kriminala sadže odredbe o produženom pritvoru
- > bez adekvatnog sudskog nadzora. Jasno je da takve odredbe nisu u
- > saglasnosti sa međunarodnim standardima o ljudskim pravima, posebno sa
- > članom 9(4). ICCPR-a i članom 5(4) Evropske konvencije za zaštitu
- > ljudskih prava i osnovnih sloboda (ECHR). Komentari i običajno pravo
- > ukazuju da pritvorenici mogu biti držani samo nekoliko dana kao
- > apsolutni maksimum, čak i za vreme vanredne situacije.
- >
- > Delegacija je utvrdila da ne postoji jasno opravdanje za produženje
- > pritvora pojedinaca bez sudskog nadzora, posebno što mnogi od njih nisu
- > ispitivani danima i što je dosta vremena proteklo od početne vanredne
- > situacije nakon atentata. Neki, koji su bili u pritvoru nekoliko dana,
- > izjavili su da uopšte nisu bili ispitivani.
- >
- > Sa okončanjem vanrednog stanja, do čega je došlo nakon naše poslednje
- > posete, sva derogiranja od prava, a naročito od prava da lice bude
- > izvedeno pred sudiju bez odlaganja treba smatrati nevažećim i samim tim
- > pritvaranje bez podizanja optužbe nije više dopustivo. Stoga se
- > pritvorenici moraju ili optužiti za krivično delo ili pustiti, u skladu
- > sa članom 9. ICCPR.
- >
- > Delegaciju posebno brine što pritvor bez sudskog nadzora zajedno sa
- > nekim od drugih niže navedenih nalaza znači da se kršenje ljudskih prava
- > još više komplikuje ili pogoršava kombinacijom ovih dodatnih faktora.

Sagittarius

Van: "Ian Johnson" <i-johnson@lineone.net>
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:>
Verzonden: woensdag 30 april 2003 1:59
Bijlage: 0.gif_tag=racak&j=n
Onderwerp: CDSM: Fw Complete Analysis of the Incident at Racak on Jan. 15,1999 by Chris

Complete Analysis of the Incident at Racak on Jan. 15, 1999

by Chris Soda

www.stopnato.org.uk www.bernal.co.uk/Research/Racak.html

The "Moral High Ground;" Introduction

This is the beginning of a series on the so-called Racak atrocities. Predrag Tomic and myself are introducing new features to our ever-growing list of readers at Yugoslavia Info, including special reports such as this and as well interviews with key players/commentators whose expertise will help all of us better understand the nature of NATO's aggression in the Balkans.

For anyone who has read the forwards/commentary on the Yugoslavia Info site, it is apparent that both Predrag and myself question both the legality of the NATO aggression in the Balkans as well as its "humanitarian" agenda. In particular, many Western news agencies are selectively distributing both false and misleading "coverage" on the Balkans to their respective markets; while not commenting on the reasons for such actions, it is nonetheless apparent that much of this type of "coverage" is based in countries with NATO membership.

For most readers of Western news services, Racak has become synonymous with "atrocities"; so has "Serb", so has "Milosevic"; Albanians are portrayed as "victims" of the "Serbs", etc. I had heard all of this, as well as the opinions of those who thought the incident at Racak on Jan 15/99 was not a "crime against humanity"; but there were a few things I was sure of before embarking on this particular study: (a) The incident at Racak on Jan 15/99 is the only specific, dated charge in the ICTY indictment of Milosevic and four of his aides that is listed as occurring before the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia, and (b) The incident at Racak is the most specifically-mentioned example quoted by both Western politicians and by the Western news agencies of NATO countries, as the "prime example" of Yugoslavian "atrocities" against Albanians which necessitated the NATO bombing campaign.

There is nothing I have found anywhere to justify the NATO bombing campaign on legal grounds; even many quoted supporters of the aggression against Yugoslavia acknowledge the illegality of the strikes (or say nothing at all in this regard - for instance, read: most Canadian parliamentarians) but insist that intervention was necessary on "humanitarian" grounds. And the incident at Racak is apparently the "ace" up the sleeve of the ICTY as well - despite all the much-touted acts of "ethnic cleansing," "atrocities," "crimes against humanity" etc supposedly perpetrated by the Yugoslav government before Mar. 24/99, this particular charge must be seen by the international court as being the most "iron-clad" and easiest to prosecute. It is the first specifically-dated charge in the indictment handed down and is crucial to the NATO-justification school of necessity in initiating these attacks.

Everything stated in this report has been corroborated at least once over, and usually more than once. There are some problems which I'll state at the outset: although I have the comments and positions of many of the actual forensic experts who performed studies on the bodies, I cannot lay my hands on the actual forensic reports. No copies were to be found at the OSCE, University of Pristina, University of Helsinki, University of Nis, NATO, UN, EU or Government of Yugoslavia websites - or anywhere else that I've looked. This absence precludes a vital cross-reference to any definitive

Racak study; however, as I say the input of the actual medical staff involved is a matter of public record and was heavily used in segments of this upcoming report. Secondly, I have received no answer from my e-mails to various institutions requesting contact with the medical staff studying the bodies found at Racak. If I ever do hear back in regards to this, I would like to give any or all of them equal time on this site to comment.

Sources used in this report were all taken from the Internet; they are numerous and will be listed at the end of the report.

As I say, the incidents at Racak on Jan 15/99 are crucial to both the whole NATO-justification for bombing, and the whole ICTY indictment. If the incidents which occurred at Racak really were atrocities perpetrated by the Yugoslav government, then NATO will continue to use this to claim the "moral high ground" in past, present, and future actions in the Balkans; as well, the legitimacy of internationally - judging the leaders and actions of sovereign states will be seen as progress in the pursuit of "justice".

If, on the other hand, the incidents at Racak were not atrocities perpetrated by the Yugoslav government, the NATO-bombers' "house of cards" claiming moral legitimacy falls apart; as well, any past, present, and future actions by NATO in the region will be severely scrutinized for hidden agendas. And if the incidents at Racak on Jan 15/99 are shown not to be atrocities, then the whole question of self-claimed objective international legalities will be shown to be just another link in the chain of selective, biased judgment fueling the same hidden agendas.

The I.C.T.Y. Indictment

The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) is an entity established by the UN Security Council in 1993 (Resolution # 827); under the ICTY mandate from the UN, four major types of offences can be prosecuted against individuals for the following acts within the territory of the former Yugoslavia:

- (1) Grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions (Article 2)
- (2) Violations of the laws or customs of war (Article 3)
- (3) Genocide (Article 4)
- (4) Crimes against humanity (Article 5)

I share the opinion of many that the UN has no legal or moral authority to selectively pass judgment on anyone, nor to establish institutions of the same. As long as a so-called "world body" is in fact ruled by a veto-wielding minority, it cannot claim that any of its pronouncements are democratic, representative, or capable of justice. Having said that, the ICTY nonetheless is a vital part of the war waged against Yugoslavia since 1991 (and possibly even earlier) and the beginning of UN sanctions; with an ever-increasing budget, from \$276,000 (all figures US) in 1993 to over \$94,000,000 as of June 1999, this "legal" weapon wields considerable power and respect (unfortunately). The incidents which occurred at Racak as detailed in the ICTY indictment should be analyzed not only in an objective international court of law (still waiting for this one) but in the court of public opinion as well; as I said in Part 1, the legitimacy of the ICTY as a capable and fair arbiter of right and wrong rests with the successful prosecution of those which the ICTY prosecutor (up until recently this was Louise Arbour of Canada) has deemed responsible for what she terms as a Yugoslav-government directed "atrocities" in this village; as well, the constant stream of propaganda against Serbs in general and Milosevic in particular leading up to the so-called "justification" of the NATO air strikes rests with this particular charge.

The full text of the indictment can be found at various Internet sources; I have used parts of the copy from the Jurist Network at <http://jurist.law.pitt.edu/indict.htm>

The ICTY indictment is dated May 22 1999 and charges Slobodan Milosevic, Milan Milutinovic, Nikola Sainovic, Dragoljub Ojdanic and Vljako Stojiljkovic with, amongst others, the following:

Under "Charges": Crimes Against Humanity and Violations of the Laws or Customs of War;

(90) Beginning in Jan 1999.... [the five accused]planned, instigated, ordered, committed, or otherwise aided and abetted in a campaign of terror and violence directed at Kosovo Albanian citizens living in Kosovo in the FRY. [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]

(98)a On or about 15 January 1999 in the early morning hours the village of Racak... was attacked by forces of the FRY and Serbia. After shelling by... [Yugoslavian government forces] ...the Serb police entered the village later in the morning and began conducting house-to-house searches. Villagers,

who attempted to flee from the Serb police, were shot throughout [Racak]. A group of approximately 25 men attempted to hide in a building, but were discovered by the Serb police. They were beaten and then were removed to a nearby hill, where the policemen shot and killed them...

The ICTY indictment also refers to Racak in (28): In one such incident on Jan 15, 1999, 45 unarmed Kosovo Albanians were murdered in the village of Racak....

Under the ICTY indictment, under General Allegations(82): All acts and omissions charged as crimes against humanity were part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against the Kosovo Albanian civilian population of Kosovo in the FRY.

General Analysis of the I.C.T.Y. Indictment

General Analysis: The Numbers Game.

This is a general analysis of the ICTY indictment of May 22 1999 charging Milosevic and four others with crimes against humanity , violations of the laws and customs of war, etc.

Before moving directly to the Racak charges, there are other points in the ICTY indictment worth showing as a reference to the cynical nature of these allegations.

In the preamble to the specific charges, there are constant references to the "Autonomous Province of Kosovo"; right away, when I read this, I was suspicious: how could a so-called legal body refer to Kosovo as an "autonomous province" on May 22/99, the date of the ICTY indictment? Autonomy for Kosovo was the main topic at Rambouillet, but there was never any final agreement on the status of Kosovo. There was no legal establishment of autonomy for Kosovo; that the ICTY would refer to Kosovo as such is wrong and casts doubt on its' subsequent statements.

Under (90) in the ICTY indictment, we have this: "Beginning in January 1999... [the 5 accused] ...planned, instigated, ordered, committed, or otherwise aided and abetted in a campaign of terror and violence directed at Kosovo Albanian civilians living in Kosovo in the FRY..."

Again, without offering proof, the ICTY indictment alleges "ethnic cleansing"; the two problems I have with this statement are: (a) the UN states approximately 700,000 Albanians fled Kosovo during the 11 weeks of NATO bombing, but how did these same 700,000 avoid the so-called "ethnic cleansers" for the 11 weeks leading up to the bombing? These 700,000 lived in their homes, not in hiding, in Kosovo and were untouched by the Yugoslav government before March 24/99- hardly

victims of any government-sponsored "ethnic cleansing", as the indictment alleges. (b) The obvious point is that if this "ethnic cleansing" was done to "...ensure continued Serbian control over ...[Kosovo]..." (in #91 of the indictment), then surely Milosevic and the other accused would have moved the approximately 1.5 million Serbian refugees from Croatia, Bosnia, etc, currently in Yugoslavia into permanent residence in Kosovo as some sort of resettlement program. With 700,000 Albanians still able to flee their homes in Kosovo, it is very likely that "continued Serbian control by means of ethnic cleansing" was not an issue - at least not on May 22/99, the date of this indictment.

I'm sure readers will find many such "facts" in this indictment; I've only listed a few to show the political nature of this ICTY document. This UN-sponsored attack on Yugoslav leaders is neither factual nor credible with even the most perfunctory glance at its contents - including the Racak incident:

(98)a "On or about 15 January 1999 in the early morning hours the village of Racak... was attacked by forces of the FRY and Serbia. After shelling by... [government/Yugo] units, the Serb police entered the village later in the morning and began conducting house-to-house searches. Villagers, who attempted to flee from the Serb police, were shot throughout the village. A group of approximately 25 men attempted to hide in a building, but were discovered by the Serb police. They were beaten and then removed to a nearby hill, where the policemen shot and killed them..."

"...a group of 25 men...": A group of 25 men attempted to flee the Serb police, leaving their wives, children, family relatives, etc behind? And all 25 attempted to hide in the same building? And the building wasn't the mosque in Racak, the one place you would surely take yourself and your family

you really were looking for security. Shells falling all around you, police going door-to-door, and all 25 of you run to the same place and leave all your loved ones behind?

Depending on the source, I've read that the population of Racak in Jan 1999 was anywhere from 400 to 1400 inhabitants. Even using the minimum number of 400, there were surely more than 43 males in Racak on Jan 15, 1999. Why were only these 43 males "singled out", as the ICTY indictment alleges? (ICTY indictment lists 43 males and 2 females as victims of Yugoslav government atrocities at Racak in the specific charges against Milosevic, et al).

The ICTY charges allege the village of Racak was attacked by Yugoslav government shelling; and yet, as you will see in future sections of this analysis, there is not one civilian casualty listed as dying in their home. Rather odd that "indiscriminate" shelling against a surprised, unwarned population should produce not even one death.....

If you will notice, in the details of the ICTY charges re: Racak, there is not the "customary" allegation that the "Serbs" separated the women and children from the males; apparently, they had already separated themselves.....

One last point in this section of the report: if you check the list of alleged civilian "victims" in the ICTY indictment, you will notice a curious fact: the list of 45 is categorized by name, approximate age, and sex. This indictment was made public on May 22/99, more than 4 months after the alleged atrocities occurred; and after this much time for Louise Arbour to investigate, her team could only come up with half of the approximate ages - 23 of the 45 listed in the indictment have no approximate age, which seems inconceivable given that all 45 have names and supposedly were ordinary residents of the village. The ICTY could find no one in Racak to give an approximation of age for over half of the alleged victims? Surely, someone must have known the roundabout ages of these people. For instance, in the ICTY listing of the next four charges, all having dates of occurrence after March 24, the start of NATO bombing, (alleging atrocities at Bela Crkva, Velika Krusa, Dakovica, and Crkolez), we find a list of about 185 alleged victims, with approximately 176 with full names, approximate ages, and sex. Obviously, a full ICTY investigation could not have

cameras (from AP news services), OSCE, print media, etc. at Racak on the day and times in question, all detail the operation of a police encirclement of KLA positions and a subsequent gunfight initiated by the KLA themselves, who fired first. More on this in later in the report; for now, I'm raising these facts to show that if Ranta did indeed rely on all these witnesses, why is her conclusion that the dead were "unarmed civilians" the exact opposite conclusion of all the filmed, written, and publicly proclaimed records/comments of all the neutral witnesses? (and other pathologists as well)

Not once in her statement does Ranta make a reference to the fact that OSCE observers were witnessing the events at Racak, as were television cameras and print media. Also not mentioned in the Ranta report is the fact that these observers were at Racak because they all had been INVITED BY THE YUGOSLAV POLICE THEMSELVES a few hours before the operation began.

I mention all this because the point is that any "moral high ground" claimed by NATO countries and their bombers would have been sorely tested had Western media chose to report with authority just this one fact of an invitation by the Yugoslav police forces- who would have believed in a government atrocity at Racak had this fact of an invitation-originally denied by OSCE - been publicized by most of the Western press? (some French media and Yugoslav media ran reports of this; I could find not even one mention of this invite in any mainstream North American newspaper before the NATO bombing). Ranta was aware of the invitation, but chose not to mention this in her statement. Do you think NATO would have bombed on March 24 had they been confronted with embarrassing questions regarding an invitation to a massacre by the killers themselves?

There are other points in the Ranta statement that are puzzling as well. For instance, she writes that to search for gunshot residue (GSR) on the 40 bodies, the best method available is to use a Scanning Electron Microscope with an Energy Dispersive X-Ray analyzer (SEM/EDX); test samples on the bodies Ranta claims she investigated with this method proved negative, which weighed heavily in her estimation leaning towards the dead bodies found at Racak being non-combatants.

When I checked SEM/EDX under a simple Netscape search, I found the following:

DETECTION OF GUNSHOT RESIDUE, FORENSIC PATHOLOGY INDEX, NETSCAPE

"For these methods [SEM/EDX] , samples must be obtained from the skin surfaces of a victim AT THE SCENE [capitals/brackets mine]. Delay in obtaining residues, movement [of bodies], or washing ...will diminish or DESTROY gunshot residues..."

The test samples by Ranta were not obtained from the bodies at the scene in Racak; Ranta did not start analyzing the bodies until 6 days after they had died; the bodies, as Ranta herself points out in her statement, were both moved and turned over; also, the shoes of some of the bodies had been removed and all 40 bodies were only recovered by the Yugoslavs after others had assembled and subsequently displayed the dead in the mosque at Racak. There is every likelihood that the bodies were washed before public display as well.

How could the method used by Ranta to detect gunshot residue have any validity? Every necessary precondition for the successful usage of the SEM/EDX on the bodies was violated before the tests could even be conducted by this method. And Ranta was aware of this; in fact she mentions all of them in her statement!

This is "evidence" for the ICTY?

There are also these simple comments from the same Netscape page:

occurred during the NATO bombs, and yet only 9 of 185 post-NATO bombing "atrocities" victims could not be positively recorded with approximate ages.

The Forensic Reports - Helena Ranta Part A:

In this section, we'll see the nature of the EU forensic evidence along with the public comments of the lead pathologist involved in this report, Dr. Helena Ranta. As always, read the information carefully and see if you feel that the forensic evidence detailed in the EU report justifies a claim of an atrocity at Racak.

Subsequent reports on this site will detail witness reports, other forensic-evidence comments by those involved in the autopsies, etc: this edition will only focus on the comments of the nature of the forensic evidence presented to the EU by the pathologists themselves. As I stated in the introduction a few days ago, there was no record of either the actual Ranta forensic results, nor a record of the Yugoslav/Belarus forensic results, that I could find on the Internet.

Dr. Helena Ranta and her team of pathologists were already in Yugoslavia when the incident occurred at Racak; she was there to investigate the alleged atrocity scenes at six other locales, three of which were supposed to contain the remains of slaughtered Serb civilians, and three other sites which supposedly contained the remains of non-Serb civilians. When she finally did arrive in Pristina to join two other teams of pathologists headed by Dr. Sasa Dobricanin (Yugoslavia) and Dr. Vladimir Kuzmicov (Belarus), 16 bodies had already been autopsied by the Dobricanin/Kuzmicov teams. In her written statement presented at a press conference on March 17/99 (one week before NATO bombing began and one week after the release of the Dobricanin/Kuzmicov forensic report by Serbian State Prosecutor Dragisa Krsmanovic) coinciding with the release of her forensic report, Ranta agreed that "...with respect to these [16] corpses, the EU experts... [could] ...verify that the work [by Dobricanin/Kuzmicov et al.] had been done properly..."

In her statement, Ranta also comments on the fact that 40 bodies were investigated by the various teams in Pristina. (not 45 as detailed in the subsequent ICTY indictment of Milosevic and four of his aides) - again, the numbers tossed around in regards the incident at Racak Jan 15/99 vary wildly from source to source: one full week after this so-called "atrocity", OSCE was quoted as claiming 37 non-combatants were found dead, the US 45 non-combatants, and some Albanian sources 51 non-combatants. So we have numbers of 37, 40, 45, and 51; I don't think the variations are a question of mathematical ability. This is one of many indications of tampering at the scene before the securing of the site by Yugoslav investigators, one of many examples of an ongoing theme in the so-called "investigations" of Yugoslav government "atrocities"; some recent examples of this include the massacre of 14 Serbs in Kosovo which were "investigated" by a team of experts which did not include even one Yugoslav government pathologist. As well, in July/99 KFOR had information on a mass grave containing Serb civilians at Gnjilane, which they waited one month to disclose publicly.

Ranta also claimed in her statement that the circumstances of death of the 40 bodies had to be relied upon from OSCE and EU observers, as well as the media; this comment baffles me for two reasons. First, Ranta apparently made no attempt to consult with the Yugoslavian government as to their version of events- either with the Yugoslav army and/or with the Yugoslav police, both of which took part in the operation. Secondly, ALL observers at the scene during the incident at Racak describe a battle between the KLA and the Yugoslav forces; this includes the written press, TV journalists who filmed the operation, and OSCE observers as well. NO ONE from this group is on record as describing a "massacre" as having taken place.

Dr. Ranta's observation in her written statement that "...there were no indications that the people... [autopsied were] ...other than unarmed civilians..." is all the more puzzling given the fact that TV

occurred during the NATO bombs, and yet only 9 of 185 post-NATO bombing "atrocities" victims could not be positively recorded with approximate ages.

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Dr. Ranta's... indications that the people...
[autopsied]... puzzling given the fact that TV

"A rifle or shotgun may not deposit GSR on hands". "Determination of the range [distance between killer and victim] may be particularly difficult [to ascertain]."

Ranta also states that "...medicolegal investigations [such as scientific analysis of bodies] cannot give a conclusive answer to the question whether there was [in fact] a battle [between the police and insurgents]...", but she leans towards the victims being non-combatants in part because "...no ammunition was found in the pockets" of the bodies she investigated. However, she leaves out the fact that, in front of TV cameras, OSCE observers, and the press, the Yugoslav police found, after just a few hours of searching, the following items in Racak on Jan 15/99:

Le Figaro, Jan 23/99: 1 12.7mm heavy artillery gun, 2 hand-held artillery pieces, 2 sniper rifles, and about 30 Chinese-made Kalashnikov rifles.

Srpska Mreza site: 1 12.7mm Browning heavy artillery piece, 2 hand-held artillery pieces, 36 automatic rifles, 2 sniper rifles, ammunition, hand grenades, radio transmitters etc.

Most other press detailings approximate the same numbers as the two sources I've given for examples.

Also absent from Ranta's reported statement is any indication that Racak was indeed a KLA stronghold, with this terrorist group having a base near the power plant in Racak. If Ranta really used "the media", as she says, to make some of her determinations, then why was "no ammunition in the pockets" used by her in determining that the victims were probably non-combatants, but that AP film footage, OSCE observers at the scene at during the fighting, police reports, Racak as a KLA center, and the confiscation of huge amounts of artillery at such a small village in just a few short hours, not used?

Note that the EU, and the University of Helsinki, have both labeled Ms. Ranta's' comments made public Mar 17/99 comments as her personal opinion; Ms. Ranta herself states in the report that she cannot conclusively show a "massacre" had in fact occurred.

My question is this: what did NATO find out about Racak after March 17 (the date of the EU release of the Ranta report) and before March 19 (the day OSCE withdrew its observers from Yugoslavia) to prepare for its bombing of 2000 civilians starting on March 24?

Part B:

One of the more obvious points in the Ranta report is that there is no mention of a return to the "crime" scene by the Ranta team. I find this perplexing because Ms. Ranta made much of the fact that there was no evidence she could find to support the theory, and the comments of many of the interviewed neutral witnesses, that most of these 40 dead could have been KLA fighters deployed against government forces on Jan 15/99 in Racak.

Also, the EU commissioned Dr. Ranta and her team to do the study on the bodies found at Racak; OSCE itself, which had asked the EU for assistance in the forensics study of the bodies, stated that there were only 37 bodies. Numbers of bodies ranged from 22 to 51 depending on who was doing the public commenting; this alone should have been a warning to Ranta that something about this so-called "crime" scene was not right, and that at least one exploratory trip to Racak was necessary.

Dr. Ranta herself comments in her report on "body count" discrepancies, yet somehow did not feel the necessity for a visit to the area in which the bodies she autopsied were supposedly found.

As well, Ms. Ranta in her March 17/99 statement on her findings laments the fact that there was no

"chain of custody" from the site of the bodies to EU hands; this, coupled with Ms. Ranta's observations that many of the bodies had been moved and/or turned over should have lead her and the rest of her team to at least acknowledge that gunshot powder residue may have been removed from the bodies autopsied by the simple fact that these bodies were repeatedly handled before she and her team could analyze them. In her statement one week before NATO attacks on Yugoslavia, there is no mention of this possibility - a possibility at least as likely as her conclusion that these 40 dead appeared to be non-combatants, and a possibility which would fit the known circumstances at Racak on the day in question.

The Ranta statement of her teams' forensic findings also mentions that the "victims" (her words - again contradictory; how could Ms. Ranta not be sure, as she says in her statement, that there was a massacre at Racak and yet call these people victims?) wore several warm jackets and pullovers - entirely consistent with people who have been living/operating in outdoor conditions, but hardly consistent with "victims" having just been pulled from their homes and summarily executed. The Ranta statement also points out that no ammunition was found in the pockets of the dead, and that in her opinion it would have been very unlikely that clothing could have been switched (i.e. from KLA uniforms to civilian clothing to fabricate an atrocity site) because of the way in which the entry holes of the bullets lined up as well as her study of the coagulated blood of the bodies.

Again, this is very strange because she does not consider the possibility that any KLA uniforms worn over these several layers of clothing could have been removed - even though she found that most if not all of the bodies had been moved and their positions after death altered in some way. This is entirely possible given the known circumstances of both the bodies and the events at Racak on Jan 15/99; the bullet holes between the clothing and the bodies would still line up, and the results of her teams' study of the coagulated blood would just as easily be consistent with uniformed bodies as without.

Another not-mentioned in her report, but well-known fact, about gunshot residue, is that even repeated firing of a weapon does not always produce any traces on the hands of the shooter; according to "Firearms Investigation Identification and Evidence" (Hatcher, Jury, and Weller):

"...the fact that in a great many instances one may fire a revolver or pistol without leaving any trace of gunpowder on the hand which may be detected by this test." (for nitrates, a component in gunpowder).

Again, no mention of this in her report that leans towards "non-combatants" as the probable status of the dead bodies she and her team analyzed.

As stated, Ms. Ranta decries the use of the paraffin test in gunshot residue tracing in her report, instead relying on the SEM/EDX method for determining "metallic content", as she puts it. This is simply a misleading statement for at least three reasons; first, the Dobricanin/Kuzmicov analysis did not include a paraffin test, as Dr. Dobricanin himself has stated. Secondly, "metallic content", as Ranta puts it, should include tests not only for nitrates, but for barium and antimony as well- unlike nitrates, two other components found often in gunpowder but rarely found otherwise in the environment. No mention of the fact that the paraffin method of testing for gunshot residue is almost universally used, when applied, for the detection of nitrates only, but not for either barium or antimony. And thirdly, Ranta states that when SEM/EDX test results were finalized by her team, the determination of metallic content proved "negative" for the collection of nitrates from the hands of the dead bodies at Racak.

THIS IS ABSOLUTELY IMPOSSIBLE; nitrates are a very common compound found in laundry products, cigarettes, fertilizer, some food, etc etc - and in a rural community such as Racak, all of these were in abundance and should have been detected. Given that nitrates are a common component of gunpowder, if Ranta did in fact find nitrates on the bodies, how could she exclude the

possibility that the dead were fighters? And how is it possible not to find nitrates in your collection of "metallic content" given the known circumstances and way of life for those living in Racak?

Another telling point is that from the first moment that the bodies were being autopsied in Pristina, at least 2 OSCE observers were present at all times, even before the arrival of the Ranta team. At no time did any of the Belorussian or Yugoslav or subsequent EU pathologists have access to the bodies in question alone; besides the OSCE observers, all of the pathological procedures were filmed and photographed; Ranta herself took 3000 photographs and ten hours of video footage. If all procedures and methods were agreed upon, as Ranta states, and if the entire autopsy scene was constantly secured and recorded, then all parties must have found the same things together using the same methods. There would be no chance for anyone to add or subtract any physical evidence. How do 40 bodies NOT show traces of nitrates, at the very least, when they have been exposed to them their entire lives? And how do 37 of these same bodies show gunshot residue in the reports of two other forensic teams?

Also not mentioned in the Ranta statement are numerous other telling signs of a non-massacre:

(a) The 40 bodies analyzed were killed by gunshots FROM DIFFERENT DIRECTIONS; hardly the kind of thing one would expect from the rounding up of males and their subsequent "executions". Ranta claims in her report that the bodies were "most likely" shot where found. More than 20 were "found" in a ditch on the outskirts of Racak nearby KLA entrenchments and positions on the day of the Yugoslav police operation. How do you round up and execute 20+ people in a ditch near enemy positions and under constant mortar/rifle fire? From different directions? These determinations were made by both the Dobricanin and Kuzmicov teams in conjunction with Helena Ranta and her experts as well.

(b) All the dead bodies analyzed were killed by firearms shot from various distances, including the group of approx. 20 bodies found near a ditch (hardly a sign of an execution). This conclusion was reached by both Dobricanin and Kuzmicov and their respective teams of pathologists - and the methods used by them to determine this was in fact stated by Ranta in her statement Mar 17/99. To quote:

"After a demonstration autopsy, all agreed upon common methods and procedures."

Again, hardly a sign that 20+ bodies were "massacred" (a term much used by many Western governments and NATO to describe the events at Racak) - does anyone believe that more than 20 men just happened to leave their wives and children and relatives behind during an eight-hour battle, with mortars and gunfire exploding practically nonstop, to seek refuge, unarmed, in one building, (as the ICTY indictment of Milosevic and four others stipulates) only to be lined up in a ditch under heavy enemy fire and executed at a distance from different directions?

(c) Many KLA fighters do not wear identifiable uniforms and in fact wear civilian clothing during their "operations"; Ms. Ranta knew this, but instead chose in her report only to state that the bodies bore no identifying badges or insignias. I find that comment most disturbing because in her statement Ranta claims that this also led to her conclusion that the bodies autopsied from Racak were "most likely" unarmed civilians; while Dr. Ranta states that she and her team relied exclusively on reports from both OSCE and the EU in determining the circumstances of death for those bodies. She has somehow left out of her report any knowledge or information on non-uniformed fighters the head of OSCE in Yugoslavia at the time, William Walker, made previously to Representative Joseph Moakley, D/Mass.

"Anyone can get uniforms. The fact that they [the killers] were dressed in military uniforms was not proof that they are military." (Wash Post Mar 21/93)

Or that if they are not dressed in uniforms... they might still be armed combatants.

(d) Lastly, not mentioned in the Ranta statement on her findings is that despite the fact that she was hired by the EU to do an objective pathological report in conjunction with Dr. Dobricanin and Dr. Kuzmicov, and despite the fact that Jan 22/99 was THE FIRST DAY RANTA BEGAN HER WORK IN RELATION TO RACAK, we have the following: both of which Ranta was aware of and both of which are missing from her statement one week before NATO bombing:

From the EU website: Statement by EU Presidency, Brussels, JANUARY 20, 1999

"The political committee reviewed recent developments on Kosovo. It concluded: The EU condemns the recent massacre in Racak in the strongest possible terms. Belgrades' response to the massacre is totally inadequate....".

Belgrade's "response" of course, was to try and recover the bodies for forensic examination.

Here we have the conclusion-massacre- being forwarded before Ranta even looked at one body.

Also from the EU website, a report dated barely 3 days into the EU pathologists' analysis also mentions a discussion on Kosovo with EU Special Envoy Ambassador Petritsch (yes, this is the same Petritsch of Rambouillet "fame") and the outrage the European Union expresses concerning the "massacre" at Racak. In this 2158th Council Meeting, General Affairs, Brussels, the discussion related the EU "position" on Racak et al., put forth to Slobodan Milosevic in a letter from the President of the Council. along with a list of demands... (a mini-Rambouillet).

In conclusion, we have the EU which has already stated its conclusions on Racak as a "massacre" scene, deploying Helena Ranta and her team of pathologists to conduct an impartial forensic report. Despite stating that all pathologists involved, including those headed by both Dr Dobricanin and Dr Kuzmicov, agreed on all methods and procedures used in the autopsies, Dr Ranta concludes results opposite of findings from both Dobricanin and Kuzmicov teams. Dr. Ranta, despite the contradictory body counts which she acknowledges, and the contradictory claims as to the positions and locations of these bodies, makes no attempt to return to the so-called "crime" scene to advance further investigations. (ie blood on the ground, footprints, and their direction, etc). Dr. Ranta, despite claiming in her statement many instances in which an SEM/EDX test would not have validity, concludes that the bodies autopsied appeared to be "non-combatants", based largely on these tests. Dr. Ranta, in her statement, decries the validity of paraffin testing for gunshot residue despite the fact that paraffin testing was not even used by ANY of the pathologists involved. Dr. Ranta, in her statement on her findings, fails to mention one week before NATO bombs fell on Yugoslavia, that film crews, print media, and OSCE observers all reported a battle between the KLA and Yugoslav government forces, and that not one of this group present at Racak on Jan 15/99 saw anything remotely approaching what many, including her own employers at the time, have called a "massacre" or an "atrocitiy" - despite the fact that Dr. Ranta claims to have exclusively relied on OSCE, EU, and media reports as to the place and circumstances of death of these bodies. Dr. Ranta in her statement Mar. 17/99 also opines that "massacre" as a forensic conclusion is not possible, yet concludes that the 40 bodies found at Racak were victims, "probably" non-combatants, mentioning their lack of insignias and badges, despite having in her possession knowledge of a long gunbattle between the KLA and Yugoslav security forces, in which, from a very small town, Dr. Ranta found it unnecessary in her comments to acknowledge the huge amounts of weaponry that was confiscated, all or a part of which could have been used by any of the subsequently killed villagers against these security forces.

Finally, Dr. Ranta makes no mention of the fact that the bodies were shot dead from different directions near KLA positions and offers no explanation as to how many other pathologists using the same methods and procedures for evidence-collecting as she and her team used, and approved of,

could in fact declare most of those autopsied were armed combatants, recently firing their weapons, and subsequently killed in battle.

The EU report comments of pathologist Helena Ranta is located at:
<http://www.usia.gov/regional/eur/balkans/kosovo/texts/racak.htm>

Other Forensic Studies

So far, these editions on the Racak charges by the ICTY against Milosevic et al have dealt with the nature of both the indictment and the forensic report comments by Dr. Helena Ranta who led the EU team in the study of the bodies recovered from Racak; a week after the Mar 17 disclosure of Ranta's findings, NATO began bombing Yugoslavia.

Dr. Dobricanin from the Institute for Forensic Medicine in Pristina was also part of the medical team commissioned by Yugoslav investigating judge Danica Marinkovic, as was Dr. Kuzmicov from Belarus; together they led a team of experts examining the Racak bodies; the first 16 bodies were studied by the Dobricanin/Kuzmicov examiners, while the last 24 bodies were studied by all the pathologists including those headed by Dr. Ranta.

Dr. Dobricanin has made the point in various interviews that OSCE observers were always present during the autopsies, constantly videotaping, even before the arrival of the Ranta team on Jan 22/99. Dr. Ranta herself has confirmed that the forensic work of the teams doing the study of the first 16 bodies analyzed was done properly. Drs. Dobricanin, Kuzmicov, and Ranta have all confirmed in various statements that all pathologists agreed to common methods and procedures for their forensic studies.

The findings of the Dobricanin/Kuzmicov teams re the bodies recovered from Racak were made public March 10/99 by Serbian State Prosecutor Ms. Dragisa Krsmanovic. According to this report, the Dobricanin/Kuzmicov teams detected nitrates (one of the components of gunpowder, but also one of the components of many everyday items such as tobacco, laundry soap, etc) on 37 out of the 40 bodies they analyzed. The report found no mutilation of the bodies either before or after their deaths; all injuries were from weapons fired from various distances, and no injuries were discerned from weapons discharged at close range. The Yugoslav forces at Racak on Jan 15/99, were responding to fire from KLA positions.

This is at great variance to the Ranta team comments as to their findings. Before we go any further, it should be noted that some may feel that the Dr. Dobricanin and Dr. Kuzmicov-led teams had intentionally set out to "find" evidence in support of the dead bodies being either combatants and/or caught between either KLA-or-Yugoslav gunfire; tensions at the time were heightened in lieu of the forensic findings- just days after the discovery of the bodies at Racak, we have these comments:

From Louise Arbour: "Now is the time for action."

From Javier Solana: "A devastating massacre of Albanian civilians..."

From William Walker (head of OSCE): "I can describe what I saw as a massacre."

In addition, 400 NATO aircraft were put on alert. Despite this, the credentials of both the Dobricanin and Kuzmicov teams, comprised of experts from Nis, Novi Sad, and Belgrade amongst others, cannot be questioned. Dr. Ranta herself confirms this by noting the level of co-operation and professionalism she and her team experienced in Pristina while helping to study the Racak bodies; as well Dobricanin is not intimidated by his employers nor his president. It was Dr. Dobricanin who signed a death certificate released April 21 1995 by the Institute for Forensic Medicine in Pristina, confirming that Sabit Islam Vllahia (born 1940) had died a violent death while in Yugoslav police custody (Mors Violente), confirming what ethnic Albanian doctors, Vllahia's relatives, and others

had suspected. Mr. Vllahia had been arrested December 18 1994 in regards to arms possession.

It does not appear that Dr. Dobricanin would include anyone in his team of pathologists that would fabricate information for anyone, and is obviously not afraid of doing his job and publishing his findings.

Dr. Dobricanin has been adamant in his public statements and in his findings; no massacre, no "execution-style" wounds (made from a killer while their victim is on his/her knees), no blindfolding, no binding of the bodies at the wrist at the times of death, all injuries from a distance and resulting from firearms, no pattern in the bodies of entry/exit wounds (i.e. all died from gunshots from different directions as well), no mutilation of the bodies before or after death (many of the pathologists and/or their respective governments had, before full examinations of the bodies, speculated that some tampering with the bodies had occurred before analysis; both Ranta, Dobricanin, and Kuzmicov concur that other than the wounds which caused death, only biting and tearing from small animals were discovered on the bodies), no torturing of the found bodies at Racak had occurred before death, etc etc.

A typical quote from Dr. Dobricanin (during the first stage of analysis): "Not a single body bears any sign of execution....the bodies were not massacred..." (BBC, Fri Jan 22/99)

Earlier in the report I have mentioned that I have not been able to use the actual forensic reports of any of the pathologists (where are they?); however, Dr. Dobricanin has seen the final Ranta report and comments that Ranta's opinion that the dead bodies were probably non-combatants WAS NOT FOUND IN HIS COPY OF HER REPORT.

As to the method of testing, Dr. Dobricanin has been quoted more than once as saying that his team, nor the team of Dr. Kuzmicov (nor the team of Ranta, as she herself confirms in her comments on the forensic analysis done by her team), removed powder particles with the "paraffin" method; rather they used a foil followed by a chemical analysis of the contents on the foil - a method that has been used all over the world for a number of years, according to Dobricanin. Because of this, Dr. Dobricanin has been at a loss to explain why Ranta has derided the paraffin method, which was not used, in her comments of her report made public by the EU.

Dr. Dobricanin states that he recovered gunpowder traces from the fingers, palms, and above-palm areas, of the hands of 37 out of 40 bodies studied. This has helped him to conclude that almost all of the bodies found were recently armed and had fired their weapons shortly before death.

In an interview with Politika on Mar 19, Dr. Dobricanin was also quoted as saying that the Ranta team DID NOT EVEN TAKE SAMPLES FROM THE HANDS OF ANY OF THE BODIES.

Dr. Vujadin Otasevic, part of the forensic teams analyzing the bodies recovered from Racak, also asserts that none of the pathologists found any sign of torture; only mutilation wounds from small animals after death were found. Dr. Otasevic also comments on the fact that various types of drugs and amphetamines were found in some of the bodies; he states that the Ranta team did not sign the common report of Dobricanin/Kuzmicov because they told him they wanted to run final blood checks at the University of Helsinki. Dr. Otasevic also concurs that there was no massacre.

Finally, Dr. Kuzmicov from Belarus also has been heavily quoted in relation to the forensic results. Dr. Kuzmicov and his team found results including no slitting of throats, no signs of torture, and no signs of a massacre. Dr. Kuzmicov states that his team determined causes of death, how they died, (i.e. from weapons fired), distance from the weapons fired to the bodies, directions from which the weapons causing death were fired, types of arms used to cause death, etc.

Dr. Kuzmicov also comments on the fact that practically all bodies found were dressed in several

pairs of pants, shirts, and other warm clothing; he states that many packets of cigarettes were found nearby, as well as other items suggesting life in cold, hard, outdoor conditions. Dr. Kuzmicov also states that his team and the Dobricanin team, together, signed the final report (with English translations as well), but that Ranta's team did not sign because they told him they wanted more time.

This concludes the forensic study re bodies found at Racak. Again, the events of Jan 15/99 are the basis for the only specifically-dated charge against Milosevic and four others by the ICTY, before the bombing attacks by NATO. As we shall see in future editions, nothing in the EU-released forensic report mentions the KLA by name, nor the fact that Racak was a KLA-stronghold on Jan 15/99; nor is there any mention of the fact that the bodies were killed by firearms shot over various distances and from different directions- nor is the fact that the print media and TV cameramen were both invited by the Yugoslavs themselves hours before the police operation at Racak.

Nor is their any mention of this in the ICTY indictment.

What Really Happened Jan. 15, 1999 at Racak: The ICTY Version

According to the ICTY indictment against Slobodan Milosevic and four others, dated May 22nd, 1999:

(28) "In one such incident on Jan 15, 1999, 45 unarmed Kosovo Albanians were murdered in the village of Racak...."

(98)a "On or about 15 January 1999 in the early morning hours the village of Racak ...was attacked by forces of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.... After shelling by [government/Yugoslavia] units, the Serb Police entered the village later in the morning and began conducting house-to-house searches. Villagers who attempted to flee from the Serb [M.U.P.] Police, were shot throughout [Racak]. A group of approximately 25 men attempted to hide in a building, but were discovered by the Serb Police. They [the men found in the building] were beaten and then were removed to a nearby hill, where the policemen shot and killed them...."

I have discussed the "merits" of this version of events in previous Racak editions: to elaborate on the most obvious discrepancies.

(a) "Group of 25 men" apparently left their wives, children, and other relatives behind to hide- all together- in one building, unarmed civilians running from their families when they are needed most.

(b) "The village of Racak... was attacked by... shelling from... [government/Yugoslavia] units...", makes no mention that Racak was a KLA-stronghold and the sight of many previous- and- post police operations; for instance, in the charge cited in the ICTY indictment, nothing is said concerning the huge amounts of firepower confiscated from these "villagers" nor does the charge refer to the established KLA base near the Racak power plant. All witnesses to these events at Racak on Jan 15/99 refer to the KLA attacking the Government of Yugoslavia forces (who had surrounded the village of Racak looking for the murderers of numerous policemen and civilians in and near Racak starting in the summer of 1998), from trenches, barricades, and other fortifications, using automatic weapons, hand-held missile launchers, hand-held grenade launchers, etc. All this firepower from "villagers" available on very short notice and who were suddenly surprised by an unannounced police operation . With so many people moving in and out of Racak, it would be difficult to pinpoint an approximate population count, which is why we have estimates recorded of between 400 and 1400 inhabitants. Obviously, Racak on Jan 15, 1999 was not a quaint little village with a fixed or nearly fixed number of full-time residents. As well, I find it unusual that the ICTY indictment pertaining to Racak does not mention that ALL residents were not running from the shelling; only

the males were. I'm sure homes in Racak consisted of men, women, and children - and yet during this so-called indiscriminate "shelling of the village of Racak" we find not even one casualty listed as dying in their home from Yugoslav government bombs; nor is there any mention of women and children running from the shelling. The Yugoslav government operation went on for approximately 8 hours; all accounts record vicious cross-firing and shelling of military positions, but none record civilian homes as being the targets. Again, curious that this is "missing" from the ICTY statement of facts.....

(c) As mentioned in previous editions, the Yugoslav government forces actually invited OSCE itself, TV crews (from Associated Press) and print media to attend Racak on the day in question; curiously, this fact is also missing from the version of events in the ICTY indictment.

(d) The ICTY indictment does not list the fact that the KLA fired first, nor the fact that numerous heavy arms were confiscated after the Yugoslav forces moved into Racak; in fact, the KLA is not mentioned at all in the indictment as being stationed in and near Racak on the day in question. A typical report I found lists as confiscated by Yugoslav police: one 12.7 mm Browning heavy artillery piece, two other hand-held artillery pieces, 36 automatic rifles, two sniper rifles, numerous rounds of ammunition, numerous hand grenades, radio transmitters, etc- not your standard fare in a quaint little village.

(e) No mention is made in the ICTY indictment of the fact that the area in and around Racak was the scene, as mentioned earlier, of numerous attacks against both civilians, policemen, and army personnel. The list of attacks makes it apparent that they were organized and called for some sort of response by the Yugoslav government. One of the KLA victims was Enver Maloku, head of the Kosovo Information Center, and a prominent advisor to Ibrahim Rugova. Some of the others killed included civilians Enver Gasi (on Jan 2/99), Miftar Reseni (Dec 31/98), as well as policemen Sasa Jankovic (Aug 2/98), Sinisa Mihajlovic (Sept 10/98), Ranko Djordjevic (Oct 12/98), Nazmija Aluri (Oct 29/98), and Svetislav Przic (Jan 10/99); on Nov 18/98, the home of Djemalj Batici was burned to the ground by the KLA. As well, there were numerous kidnappings of Albanian and Roma civilians which were reported in the districts of Urosevac and Stimlje. And on Dec 14/98 in Pec, one month before the police operation at Racak, six youths were shot and killed, along with many others wounded, in a cafe. Earlier, in Kosovo, 22 Serb civilians were massacred by the KLA who dismembered the bodies and burned them in ovens.

Again, this backdrop is curiously "missing" from the ICTY indictment list of the relevant information relating to the charges, but this same indictment finds the time to list many general (but no specific) allegations directed at Milosevic and four of his aides which purportedly occurred before NATO

began bombing. Again, Racak was not your typical rural village. I have only listed some of the attacks against civilians and police forces in that part of Kosovo; other reports, such as the one by Milovan Mitrovic from the University of Belgrade (Dec 15/98), also lists hundreds of Serb civilians alone being kidnapped by the KLA, including farmers, women, children, health workers, media personnel, etc.

(f) The police operation at Racak on Jan 15/99 was part of a larger operation including the villages of Belince and Malopoljce, which were the areas of police presence later that day. Again, no mention in the ICTY indictment that the operation at Racak was designed to arrest not only KLA members in Racak (that is why the Racak was surrounded in the first place), but in the other two areas as well. No "atrocities" were reported from either Belince nor Malopoljce- of course, these two areas on the day in question were not the scenes of a protracted battle between the KLA and government forces, either. For the ICTY to accuse the Yugoslavs of targeting unarmed civilians only in Racak, but not in any of the other towns, should have an objective person question why the only reports of "atrocities" during this multi-town police operation were given by the "residents" of a town with a base for armed separatists who fired first, and why, apparently, the Yugoslavs were not

interested in killing "civilians" in any of the other villages.

(g) No where in the ICTY indictment is there a reference to the fact that OSCE originally denied being invited to watch this police operation; only after Briton Neal Strachan claimed in an interview in the London Guardian that he was one of the OSCE members officially invited to witness the Jan 15/99 police operation at Racak, did OSCE itself concede this.

(h) No mention in the ICTY indictment that 3 different forensic teams who analyzed the bodies found no evidence to verify that the dead had been massacred; 2 of those teams positively concluded that in fact 37 out of the 40 bodies analyzed had recently discharged weapons. The ICTY quotes no forensic report to show that the vast majority of bodies recovered from Racak were none other than KLA members/supporters killed during combat.

(i) No mention in the ICTY indictment of the vast discrepancies in numbers of "civilians" killed at Racak on this day; the indictment itself lists 45 - a Yugoslav police communiqué reached the International Press Center in Pristina about 3pm Jan 15/99 and lists that 15 KLA members had been killed in combat; the Albanian Information Center mentions 7 killed. The Serbian Information Center lists 15 KLA killed; another Albanian source states 8 KLA killed, while OSCE, at that time with William Walker as the #1 observer in Kosovo, says 37 bodies were found, and that 2/3 of about 20 bodies that were in a ravine, later found to be near one of the KLA positions, contained victims aged 50 and older. Since the ICTY itself only lists two, out of which it says were 45 bodies found, over the age of 50, that in itself should be evidence of something amiss with the truthfulness of the detail of this indictment, notwithstanding the fact that somehow Yugoslav forces managed to execute civilians near KLA positions during a heated battle in the first place. The Americans claim 45 bodies were found (surprised?) while other Albanian sources list up to 51 bodies found.

The next day, Jan 16/99, the KLA itself claimed to have lost 8 combatants during the previous fighting, and that the Yugoslavs had locked the women and children in basements while taking away many male civilians; many villagers on the day in question claimed that the Yugoslavs had arrested 24 men and OSCE observers IN ANOTHER LOCALE OTHER THAN RACAK were called to verify this! (why would you not call the OSCE office nearest you?) The OSCE observers present during the fighting went into Racak and left soon after, taking with them a couple of elderly people slightly injured during the battle; the OSCE observers from another locale arrived soon after in Racak, found no evidence of arrests of males (or anyone else) by the Yugoslavs, found no evidence of any "massacre", were not told by villagers of any "massacre", and went home later that night. French observers in OSCE have stated in interviews that they had no idea other observers from OSCE were called. In other words, two sets of OSCE teams went into Racak within hours of the withdrawal of Yugoslav forces, completely unaware that the other was there. And neither team reported anything untoward. And this is also missing from the "background" detailed in the ICTY indictment.

This concludes the study of the ICTY version of events, as it relates to its indictment against Milosevic and four others, specifically regarding the events at Racak Jan 15/99.

The whole ICTY indictment lacks any perspective or details as to the nature and truthfulness of its version of events; and, as we shall see in subsequent editions on the events at Racak, nothing in the indictments' version of events matches the versions given by all the witnesses to the entire operation by the Yugoslav forces on Jan 15/99 at Racak.

What Really Happened on Jan. 15, 1999 at Racak: Evidence and Witness Accounts

This report will focus on the corroborated accounts of witnesses to the events at Racak on Jan 15/99.

As mentioned in earlier reports, the Yugoslav police operation at Racak on Jan 15/99 was one part of an overall crackdown on KLA positions the same day at Belince and Malopoljce as well; Racak itself was the site of a heavily-armed KLA stronghold near its power plant.

The KLA had been active in and around Racak, committing civilian killings, house-burnings, and kidnappings prior to the Yugoslav police operation of Jan 15/99; in fact, since the Oct/98 agreement between President Milosevic and Richard Holbrooke in Belgrade, and Jan 14/99 - the day before the police operation at Racak- the KLA engaged in attacks involving 186 civilians and 413 Yugoslavian government forces, in Kosovo/Metojina alone. As mentioned earlier, one of those was murder victim Enver Maloku, at the time head of the Kosovo Information Center and a close advisor to Ibrahim Rugova.

The Yugoslav police and army forces surrounded Racak Jan 15/99 as the first phase in the attempted arrest of KLA members suspected of being in the area. When the KLA fired on the government troops from fortified positions, the Yugoslav forces responded. Most reports state the KLA using automatic weapons, hand-held rocket launchers, and mortars from trenches, bunkers, and other fortifications in and immediately outside Racak; the government response was by automatic weapon fire, tanks, and anti-aircraft guns. The exchanges were steady, intense, and from many directions; most reports I found mention a 6-to-8 hour battle.

As is well known and corroborated from many sources, TV cameramen from AP news services, print media, and OSCE were all invited by the government to witness this particular "takedown" at Racak; Neil Strechan, a British observer, was one of those present at Racak during the Jan 15/99 operation. Other reports give Gabriel Keller, a former ambassador to Yugoslavia and at the time the #2 man in OSCE behind William Walker, as also being present. Some reports also mention two OSCE vehicles as being present at all times during the fighting, while other reports specifically mention two OSCE vehicles with US diplomatic plates.

By 8:30am the fighting was already under way, the film crew had been invited to watch, and OSCE had been notified as well. By 11:30am that morning the first reports of casualties were being received from sources on both sides of the battle. Albanian sources were confirming deaths and damages on both sides, as were government sources. Figures range wildly on this topic as well; during the day reports of KLA killed run from "several" to seven to eight to fifteen; the Yugoslav government later reported at least fifteen killed, among them Mujota Sadik (born 1943) from Malopolje, who is reported to have headed a KLA faction near Racak along with his daughter (who was also reported killed), three sons, and his brothers.

As well, Goran Vucicevic from the Serbian Police Forces was reported injured, and these same reports mention various damage to Ministry of Internal Affairs vehicles that were taking part in the operation at Racak. It should be noted that several reports mention that most, but not all, of the KLA killed were in uniform; fighters in civilian clothes were seen fighting alongside the KLA. This would seem to be a logical result of a surprise police operation; once the fighting started, many of those who were fighting with the KLA probably did not have time to don uniforms.

The government forces eventually made their way into Racak, shortly before noon. According to every report I could find concerning the contents of the actual film of the event by AP, Racak was almost totally empty of civilians by the time these government forces actually entered the village. But because the KLA was still firing on them, the Yugoslav forces had to move slowly, from wall to wall, in order to avoid the shooting. The AP film records no separating in Racak that day of males from women and children (as the KLA and its supporters claim) by the government forces; the film records no killing of civilians attempting to flee from the government forces (as claimed in the ICTY indictment against Milosevic, et al); the film records no "discovery" of 25 unarmed males in a building who were beaten, removed to a nearby hill, and shot (also as charged in the ICTY indictment).

Nor does the AP film show anything, according to all reports of those who have seen it, other than KLA fighters attempting to kill government forces followed by the confiscation of huge amounts of artillery and firearms belonging to the KLA.

As mentioned, OSCE observers were present throughout the operation, watching along with the press from a safe position overlooking the area. At shortly after 3pm that day, most reports give an account of an OSCE verifier (some reports claim it was Gabriel Keller) contacting the leader of these Yugo government forces to request a cessation of the operation. Shortly after 3:30pm (some reports say the last policemen left just before 5pm), OSCE observers move into Racak to assess the damage and take reports. Some journalists see two OSCE vehicles, some see three.

At any rate, the only injured removed by OSCE are two elderly men and two elderly women, around 6pm that day. OSCE is quoted from various sources as saying that they were unable to evaluate the battle toll at that time. This is in direct contradiction to the ICTY charge which in the indictment claims that Serb police shot civilians throughout the village. Obviously, if there are dead civilians "throughout the village", then OSCE would have found at least some of them after two and a half hours of "observing". Not even residents of Racak are reported to have said this - although in interviews, some of these residents claimed that the Serbian police went into their homes (during a pitched battle!), separated the males, locked the women and children in basements, and removed those males to nearby hilltops where they were executed.

So none of the residents of Racak are reporting fellow villagers being gunned down in the streets of Racak - an integral part of the ICTY indictment. As to the claim by these witnesses that they were locked in basements, how is it then possible to see where "the males" have been taken to, or that they have been "executed"?

Also note that the print media present throughout the police operation at Racak and afterwards also give radically different witness accounts as compared with the ICTY indictment list of facts.....

Probably the most telling fact about these Racak residents "witness accounts" is that not one of them could either direct OSCE on Jan 15 to the site of these "executions" immediately after the cessation of hostilities, nor later that day when A 2nd TEAM OF OSCE OBSERVERS WERE SENT TO RACAK. Believe it or not, this 2nd team was dispatched because of phone calls to an OSCE detachment IN ANOTHER LOCALE - not the nearest OSCE post! This second team responded to claims that 24 male arrests by the Serbian police had been made earlier in the day at Racak.

This second team of OSCE verifiers, independent of the first (as some of the French members of OSCE, unaware of a second team, confirmed during interviews with the newspaper Liberation), found no evidence of arrests, were not directed to any "atrocities" site, saw no gunned down or locked-up villagers, and in fact saw nothing untoward and went home later that night.

Strange that the first OSCE team into Racak, there since the early morning, could not "evaluate the battle toll" with, supposedly, bodies strewn everywhere; equally strange is the evaluation of the second OSCE team, independent of the first, and from another locale, that nothing worth recording had happened and subsequently left.

Strange that on Jan 15/99, no one in Racak, population 400-1400 (depending on which source you check), could bring anyone from OSCE or from the press to the site of what William Walker later termed, an "atrocities" - and for those of you familiar, William Walker is the man to ask when it comes to "atrocities" expertise. (see his dismal record in Central America available on many internet sites)

Strange that these same villagers had two different opportunities the same day to show OSCE the various bodies massacred throughout the village (according to the ICTY) as well, and yet did not.

Another puzzling fact is that OSCE contacted government forces around 3:00pm asking for a cessation of hostilities; this would give so-called "executioners" of these government forces half an hour to confiscate all the weapons they found, lock all the women and children in basements, round up all the remaining men, beat them, move them to a nearby hill, shoot them, then leave before OSCE arrived at 3:30pm. And, they would have to do this out of sight of cameramen as well. All reports I saw have OSCE coming in at 3:30pm, with the government forces leaving by no later than 5pm; certainly such a "crime against humanity" could not have been conducted while OSCE was there between 3:30pm and 5pm.

And between the late morning, when the first government forces went into Racak, and 3pm, hostilities were raging so severely that OSCE had to request a ceasefire - obviously a roundup of males complete with beatings and executions could not have been conducted during a crossfire.

Another "forgotten" point in the ICTY indictment regarding Racak is the fact that there were no reported civilian casualties from indiscriminate government "shelling of the villagers of Racak"; again it is apparent that the Yugoslav government was not shelling the homes of civilians, but the positions of the KLA, who had fired first during this attempted arrest operation.

The obvious question: what is the ICTY using to justify their charges against Milosevic and four others in their indictment regarding Racak?

Certainly not evidence from AP, print journalists, the Yugoslav government, or even OSCE verifiers at the scene that day.

And certainly not the forensic reports, none of which concluded that a massacre had taken place on that day at Racak.

The Discovery and Recovery of the Bodies

Two different teams of OSCE personnel were at Racak the day of the fighting; the first team went in about a half hour after the shooting had stopped, while the second team, at that time unbeknownst to the first, went in later on that night. Both teams of OSCE observers failed to find even one civilian killed at Racak. Both OSCE teams left without being directed to any so-called "atrocities" site by even one of the residents of Racak.

But by the next morning, journalists were directed by KLA members to a dry bed of a stream on Bebus Hill overlooking Racak; there these journalists found a number of dead bodies in civilian dress. Other bodies were scattered nearby. Many of the journalists present have remarked upon the absence of shell casings and blood near these bodies. Some reporters have questioned why most of these bodies could not be identified by the residents of Racak. For instance, B92 Daily News for Feb 4/99 remarks that 29 out of the 40 bodies autopsied could not be returned to residents of Racak because those residents trying to claim the bodies could not prove their identities as relatives of the dead.

Curiously, one OSCE investigator the morning after the fighting at Racak claims to have seen 38 dead bodies; OSCE head William Walker, who arrived shortly after, claims he counted 45 bodies. The French newspaper Liberation reports 20 bodies in a ditch, with other bodies scattered about. AP news in the New York Times, Jan 16/99, reports 15 bodies in one ravine and 8 more in another location.

Once again, we have a "numbers" problem; the number of dead bodies that the ICTY (which alleges 40) have listed in their indictment runs contrary to many of the numbers claimed to have been seen by reporters, OSCE (which claimed, for instance, that 2/3 of the bodies in one area were aged 50 or more; in the ICTY indictment, only 2 out of 40 are listed as being 50 years or older), the KLA, etc

etc. John Fantini, at that time head of the Kosovo Verification Mission in Urosevac, claims that members of his team counted 39 bodies; other editions of this analysis have reported claims of 37 bodies, 45 bodies, 51 bodies, etc etc.

One thing is certain: if these bodies were execution victims of the Yugoslav government, they would have had to have been rounded up and marched to the outskirts of Racak, and killed, in at most 30 minutes, after which the first OSCE team went into Racak to investigate the outcome of the fighting. As well, these executions of civilians would have had to have been done away from the AP film crew which followed and recorded the Yugoslav government forces as they moved into Racak while still under fire from the KLA.

Danica Marinkovic, investigating judge with the District Court of Pristina, made her first attempt to arrive in Racak along with Ismet Sufto, Deputy District Public Prosecutor; this followed the public pronouncements of OSCE head William Walker that unarmed civilians had been massacred there. Ms. Marinkovic could not begin her investigation when she arrived at Racak because the KLA fired at her from their positions in the area. OSCE told the judge and prosecutor that they would have to investigate without an armed guard, as this security was seen as a provocation by the KLA.

At this time, the Yugoslavs notified Walker that their first investigations into the incidents at Racak would begin Jan 17/99, starting at 8:00am and would continue that day until 1:00 pm, with an armed guard being sent along for everyone's protection. The Yugoslav government, as they had done before their police operation on the 15th, invited OSCE to attend.

During this Yugoslav investigation, the KLA again fired on OSCE, Ms. Marinkovic and her team, with mortars and other artillery, from various positions including nearby Petrovo. One of the missiles hit the judges' car, while others narrowly missed the judge herself. Some reports record a total of three attempts by the Yugoslav government to recover the bodies and investigate the "crime" scene, other reports indicate four attempts. The EU pathologist, Helena Ranta, never did go to Racak.

By Monday, Jan 18/99, the last of the preliminary investigations by the Yugoslavs had been completed and the bodies, which had been moved into a mosque in Racak, were loaded into government vehicles for transportation to Pristina where the initial autopsy studies would begin.

By Jan 20th/99, the EU had officially condemned the events at Racak as a massacre- despite the fact that the pathologist they asked to do their forensic study of the bodies (to determine whether or not the dead had been KLA combatants in civilian clothing) would not begin her work until Jan 21st/99.

This would not be the first or last time that the Yugoslavs government would be accused of "atrocities" or "massacres"- which is all the more reason that they acted with expediency and tenacity in recovering the bodies at Racak for investigation. And I can recall some recent attempts by Western authorities to prevent the Yugoslav authorities from access to civilian bodies found murdered; AIM news for Sept 3 this year reports complaints from the Yugoslav government in this regard at Ugljare. As well, the 14 Serb farmers found murdered under KFOR auspices recently were autopsied without any government pathologists present. And at Gnjilane, a mass grave of 15 Serb civilians was found July 24th this year, while public notification of this took about 30 more days.

Other reports have questioned the authenticity of "massacre" claims at Racak by pointing to film purportedly showing the mourning relatives of these executed civilians, relatives wearing black clothing and/or black mourning beads which these reports say are not a traditional Muslim expression of grief.

Interestingly enough, the 40 autopsied bodies found at Racak eventually were returned to the Pristina Institute of Forensic Medicine because despite Ms. Marinkovic's efforts to turn over the dead to the

relatives, no one would claim the bodies. According to an interview reprinted Feb 5/99 in Serbia-Info, the judge had notified OSCE, Muslim priests in Racak, and representatives from the Democratic League of Kosovo as to a time and place for the Yugoslav government to return the bodies. When Marinkovic arrived, it was dark and a large crowd had gathered outside of the arranged meeting place; OSCE, the Muslim priests, and reps from the Democratic League all agreed that the transfer of bodies to the families should take place at the Stimlje Health Center instead. When it became obvious that no one was coming to the health center to claim the bodies, once more Marinkovic returned with the entire entourage, and the bodies, to the original agreed meeting place, a Stimlje mosque, to again try and return the dead for burial. However, none of the crowd was to be seen; Marinkovic felt she had no choice but to return the bodies to Pristina.

The next day, according to Marinkovic, in front of the Institute for Medicine at Pristina, a large crowd again appeared. This time, "relatives" of the "victims" staged fainting scenes and rolled around in the snow in front of reporters and foreign TV film crews, bemoaning their inability to claim the bodies to anyone who would listen- or watch.

The ICTY has apparently not considered any of these facts in their formulation of the Racak segment of the indictment against Milosevic and four aides. As well, the discovery of these bodies, the number of which remains in dispute, coupled with the removal of these bodies away from their places of death and into a mosque, should have alerted any objective pathologist, or anyone studying the forensic results, to the exclusion of conditions that would have made the SEM/EDX test for gunpowder residue not applicable- a test which the EU team used anyway, under the employ of officials who declared the Yugoslav government guilty of an atrocity at Racak even before their own pathology team could begin investigating.

Conclusions

This edition will conclude the analysis of the Racak charge in the May22/99 ICTY indictment against Slobodan Milosevic, Milan Milutinovic, Nikola Sainovic, Dragoljub Ojdanic, and Vlajko Stojiljkovic. For previous editions of this analysis.

The ICTY charges that the five above-listed individuals committed both crimes against humanity and violations of the laws or customs of war on January 15, 1999 at the village of Racak, Yugoslavia.

Based on the known facts and circumstances, the indictment as specified by the ICTY fails to provide even a bare minimum of corroborated details to justify such serious allegations. For instance, the alleged "crime scenes" at Racak were not controlled by a chain of custody. There were no attempts made by those who allegedly "stumbled" across the bodies found at Racak, nor by so-called "independent" international observers who arrived shortly afterwards, to secure the scene for the proper authorities; this has led many to conclude that this "crime site" was in fact a staged event, in which the KLA definitely disarmed their dead combatants, possibly removed their uniforms, and then presented these fighters as "massacred" civilians.

This lack of control between the times of death and the eventual recovery of these bodies for analysis by the proper authorities does in fact open the possibility of tampering by those, specifically the KLA, who would hope to provoke other aggressors to action against the Yugoslav government.

This possibility was rejected by the ICTY outright; no where in the indictment does it mention that what are being claimed as "massacred civilians" were found by armed insurrectionists.

In an objective court of law, where the accused is presumed innocent, an unsecured "crime scene", coupled with the fact that those who allegedly discovered an "atrocity" at Racak, the KLA, were

themselves subjects of numerous national and international arrest warrants regarding drug trafficking and systematic murders of civilians, should have rendered this case as frivolous and therefore unprosecutable. For instance, missing from the ICTY indictment (and most Western news services on this case, even today) is the fact that those who have claimed to "discover" this "crime against humanity", also (a) massacred civilians on a regular basis (b) used both regularly dressed, and uniformed fighters, on a regular basis, (c) were, in the hours immediately previous to the alleged massacre themselves engaged in a heated firefight with the authorities (d) instigated this firefight by shooting first (e) had a major operating base near the power plant in Racak (f) engaged Yugoslav forces at Racak on numerous occasions before Jan 15/99, and since that date; within three days of the so-called "massacre" at Racak, those that "found" the bodies again engaged the police with automatic weapons and mortar fire - this time targeting, but narrowly missing, those authorities who were involved in the recovery of the bodies for analysis.

Many Western-court prosecution attempts do not even make it past the preliminary stage if there is even a hint of tainted evidence and/or an unsecured crime scene, especially when the potential is present for known criminals to infiltrate and arrange the scene to embarrass the authorities. The ICTY knew this yet went ahead with their indictments anyway, as much acknowledging that the frivolous nature of these charges being exposed in the long term would be counterbalanced by scoring short-term publicity points that would "take the edge" off repeated media reports of numerous civilian casualties of the NATO "smart" bombings.

Besides the criminal nature of those who called the international press to announce the discovery of "massacred" civilians, we have to consider the nature and circumstances of most of the dead themselves. Two teams of forensic pathologists have stated in the report of their analysis that 37 out of 40 bodies autopsied had recently fired weapons; furthermore, many of the bodies showed signs of exposure to an environment of cold, outdoor, living conditions immediately prior to their deaths. This is in direct contradiction to the ICTY details in their indictment, which claims that more than half the dead were civilians of Racak who were hiding in a building in the village, only to be discovered by the Yugoslav authorities, and that none of the deceased were armed.

Furthermore, according to these forensic reports from two teams of pathologists, most of the bodies autopsied wore several warm jackets, pullovers, and pants, and were killed from many different directions and from many distances, which is consistent with a pitched battle between surrounding forces and trapped insurgents who are normally dressed for outdoor living conditions. Again, these facts are not consistent with the ICTY-stated conclusion that most of the dead were simply innocent villagers rounded up, beaten, then shot.

A third forensic report was independently filed by Helena Ranta at the behest of the EU; this report also does not conclude that a "massacre" at Racak had taken place. But her conclusion that most of the dead were unarmed at their times of death was largely based on the SEM/EDX testing method for gunshot residue recovery, a type of analysis whose preconditions for accuracy were non-existent-preconditions that were a matter of the public record Ranta also states she "relied upon" in her determinations.

All forensic analysis done on these bodies, and the conclusions of the heads of three different medical teams, has been omitted in the ICTY detailing of the charges in the indictment. Furthermore, also missing from the ICTY indictment is the fact that the EU had already publicly stated its conclusions before the pathologist they hired, Dr. Ranta, had even begun her testing. On two separate occasions the EU denounced the "massacre" at Racak, months before any forensic reports had finalized.

In any Western-style courtroom, a revelation that the prosecution was not only relying on murderers and drug dealers to boost their case, but that the judge worked in conjunction with those who had already publicly stated the defendant's guilt before trial, would result in outcries of unfairness by the

public; no doubt any of those involved would never be able to work in that field again.

But at the Hague, in respect to this indictment against Milosevic and four aides, the lead prosecutor is rewarded with a Supreme Court appointment back home, even before the case goes to trial- while none of the judges involved have the moral fibre to remove themselves from ruling, based on the obvious conflicts of interest they themselves publicly admit to.

Also missing from the details of Racak charges in the ICTY indictment is the fact that any claims of legitimacy by the court willing to rule on this case emanate from an organization with a built-in select veto, the UN, itself designed to thwart any democratic or objective renderings by its members.

The objectivity of a court that owes its existence to an organization engaged in the implementation of ten years' worth of economic sanctions against the defendants and their co-citizens also must be called into question; how can an honest verdict be reached when the judge's employer has publicly called for the dismissal of the defendants from their elected positions?

The legitimacy of these charges can also find little solace in the fact that two separate teams of OSCE observers, one immediately after the cessation of hostilities between the KLA and Yugoslav forces at Racak on Jan 15/99, the second again later that same evening, one unbeknownst to, and independent of the other, failed to find even one civilian casualty, despite the fact that both had unimpeded, unrestricted access to the citizens of Racak and more than enough opportunity to be shown the location and other details of this so-called "massacre".

It wasn't until the next day, after the observers had left convinced that there were no civilian casualties, that the bodies of "massacred civilians" appeared. William Walker, OSCE head at the time in Yugoslavia, personally condemned the site of the bodies as an "atrocious" scene, despite basing his conclusions on the word of KLA members who had committed a minimum of 599 documented acts of terrorism against both Yugoslav forces and civilians in just 3 months.

Both of these details are curiously missing from what is purported to be an even-handed attempt at justice by the ICTY. Also missing from this indictment is the invitation extended by the Yugoslavs to both OSCE (which denied at first, but then admitted), and the press, to report and film what has been corroborated as a crackdown at Racak on the KLA that day - part one of a three-part police/army venture against the armed separatists which also included raids by the government the same day at two other known KLA strongholds in different locales.

The ICTY indictment fails to list the fact that all reports on what the film crew from AP news services recorded detail a practically empty village with Yugoslav forces moving carefully between buildings to avoid KLA mortars and gunfire. Not one civilian is filmed being arrested, beaten, tortured, or shot- but the film does show a large confiscation of KLA military hardware by the Yugoslavs; reports generally indicate 30+ automatic rifles, 2 sniper rifles, a 12.7mm Browning heavy artillery piece, thousands of rounds of ammunition, numerous hand grenades, radio transmitters, etc etc.

All of this found in a village with a population of perhaps as low as 400 people. Does the ICTY think that any Western court - the principles of which are purported to be in the model currently in use at the Hague - would believe that most of those who died with traces of gunpowder on their hands in a village with an insurgent base, and such a documented haul of weaponry from that village, were "massacred"?

That is the problem with this indictment and with these international courts - the standards applied against Milosevic and his co-accused are radically different from the standards afforded an accused in any of the home countries of the judges and prosecutors now in league at the Hague.

The ICTY indictment is so poorly documented that half the "victims" alleged at Racak cannot be identified by age - this despite the fact that the ICTY had more than 4 months to discern this. For example, the next list of specific charges in the same indictment against Milosevic and four of his aides list a total of 185 "massacred" civilians, 176 of which are listed with names, ages, etc- but those charges were supposedly investigated during the NATO bombings in Yugoslavia, where interviewing witnesses, collecting forensic evidence, etc would have been far more difficult. But this fact of unknown particulars of the dead would tally with the Yugoslav government's claim that most of those killed were KLA fighters from many areas engaged in military units; apparently many of the dead were unknown to the residents of Racak. The indictment is also riddled with examples of ignorance of the facts, even referring to "an autonomous" Kosovo - knowing full well that the meetings between the parties at Rambouillet did not conclude any agreements in this regard. The indictment also refers to the shelling and bombing of the civilians at Racak on Jan 15/99, despite OSCE claims, press reports, the Yugoslav government, and film records to the contrary. Not one civilian was reported killed at Racak by this so-called "indiscriminate" shelling of the Yugoslavs.

The minimum pre-conditions necessary for the Yugoslavs to have carried out a "massacre" of unarmed civilians in Racak were non-existent. For one thing, OSCE observers watched continuously from safe positions overlooking the village - at no time did they, or the press, report the parading of beaten, tortured civilians to the outskirts of Racak for summary execution. For another, the area where many of the bodies were found was near one of the KLA positions that day; the alleged Yugoslav government-ordered executioners would have had to expose themselves to gunfire in that area in order to commit these acts of which they are accused. No doubt any "massacre" would have been conducted behind the safety of, or inside of, a building in Racak, not in open fields near a ditch, as the ICTY alleges. The time factor-barely at most a few hours to find, round up, question, beat, march, then execute forty males- also lends criticism to the purported series of events detailed in the indictment.

And all of this finding, arresting, beating, torturing, marching, and killing of 40 men would have had to have been done in such a way as to defy the forensic results which positively indicated no wounds of torture, beatings, handcuffing, etc were inflicted- and, the automatic gunfire alleged to have killed these people would have had to come from many different directions, from many different angles, from many different distances, and with little or no shell casings and with little or no blood at the site of this "execution".

The number of found bodies has also been a sad example of the disreputable nature of this indictment by the ICTY. Publicly, OSCE has at times claimed 37 dead; the Americans, 45; Albanian sources, 51. In addition, OSCE claims that 2/3 of approximately 20 bodies found massacred outside Racak in a ditch were over 50 years of age, while the ICTY indictment regarding Racak lists 2 out of 40 in the same age category. William Walker claims he counted 45 bodies, while earlier-arriving OSCE members only claim to have found 38. This only supports the "staging" claims, not the ICTY indictment - it is quite possible that at the time the first OSCE arrived the day after the battle to investigate a discovery of a massacre, only 38 bodies had been sufficiently "arranged" by the KLA; by the time Walker arrived, 7 more had been "arranged" as well.

The ICTY indictment regarding Racak also fails to mention any of this; nor does it mention the faked transcripts of fake telephone conversations supposedly intercepted by satellites and spy equipment which purportedly showed orders being given to a Yugoslav policeman to "come down hard" on the villagers in Racak on the day in question.

I wonder also, for instance, how many British-based judges, investigators, and prosecutors at the Hague would dismiss themselves from this case as a result of British Foreign Secretary Robin Cook's claim that, "Our observers saw absolutely no evidence of fighting" between the KLA and the Yugoslav forces - this despite the fact that Briton Neal Strechan of OSCE has publicly acknowledged that he was one of the observers invited by the Yugoslavs to Racak to watch on the day in question.

the "moral high ground" argument used for justification by the bombers.

All information used in these reports has been corroborated.

The following is a list of links citing the internet sources used in this Racak analysis:

The Jurist - The ICTY Indictment
O.S.C.E. Homepage
McAdams - Paraffin Testing
Firearms Forensic Tutorial - Examination of Gunshot Residue (SEM/EDX)
Serbia-Info - Racak search results
The Strategic Issues Research Institute - The Racak killings, A massacre?
Kosovo Forum - The Racak massacre, A brief for the defense
International Action Centre - The "Racak massacre" questioned by French media
BBC News - Racak killings: Who says what?
BBC News - Pathologist: 'No Kosovo massacre'
Report of the EU Forensic Expert Team on the Racak Incident
Media Focus - Racak in headlines
TFF Features - NATO's war of aggression against Yugoslavia: An Overview
TFF Features - President Milosevic and 4 other FRY...
Srpska Mreza - The Racak File: Truths and manipulation
Workers World - Kosovo massacre was faked
Liberation 21 - Nine questions concerning the Racak dead
Compuserb - Liar, Liar! - Bill Dorich on Madeleine Albright
SMIP - Facts Re: Racak Police Operation 1/15/99
Kosova Daily Report - Serb Forensic Experts say Albanian was Tortured to Death
One World Search Engine - Various Links
Human Satto - Various Links

The following links thanks to Rade Kuzmanovic and staff from A.I.M. (www.aim.ac.yu):

<http://www.newsroom.co.nz/stories/GE9901/S00082.htm>
<http://www.euronews.net/en/news/january/19990121/ennews0121e.htm>
<http://www.mfa.gov.lv/ENG/NEWS/PRESREL/Pr990118-1.htm>
<http://www.bergenrecord.com/morenews/yugo23199901236.htm>
<http://www.uk-us-trade.org/BIStext/FORDOM/Balkans/Kosovo/17jan99.stm>
http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/europe/newsid_260000/260211.stm
http://www.hoosiertimes.com/stories/1999/02/11/news.990211_A6_JFM06074.sto
<http://netmarket.fairfax.com.au/news/9901/19/pageone/pageone3.html>
<http://www.msnbc.com/news/233809.asp>
http://www.state.gov/www/policy_remarks/1999/990118_djohnson_racak.html
<http://usa.grmbl.com/s19990204g.html>
<http://www.balkanunity.demon.co.uk/serbia/indexen.htm>
<http://www.usia.gov/regional/eur/balkans/kosovo/kbkgmd.htm>
<http://www.workers.org/ww/1999/kosovo0204.html>
<http://www.javanet.com/~gbozovic/info.html>
<http://compuserb.com/walkoute.htm>
<http://www.srpska-mreza.com/library/facts/albanian-solution.html>
<http://www.stophthewar.freeuk.com/comments.html>
<http://www.kauhajoki.fi/~herantam/>
<http://cnn.vg.no/VERDEN/9903/17/4405.html>
<http://www.mtv3.fi/uutiset/arkisto/9901/990119/9901190111.html>
http://www.iwpr.net/focus/focus07_eng.htm

This sequence of events seems all too familiar and predictable:

Feb 5th, 1994: 68 die in bombing of marketplace; Serbs accused, UN condemns, independent reports say no Serbian involvement, soon after NATO supplies air support to those fighting Serbs

Aug 28, 1995: 37 die in bombing of another marketplace; Serbs accused, UN condemns, 4 independent military reports say no Serbian involvement, soon after NATO supplies air support, and heavier bombing, to assist those fighting Serbs.

Jan 15, 1999: 40(?) die at Racak, Yugoslavia; Serbs accused of atrocities, UN condemns, 3 teams of pathologists do not conclude any atrocities took place, soon after NATO supplies air support, and "smart" bombing, in a campaign claiming 2000 civilian lives in 78 days (and 13 tanks) - to assist drug-trafficking armed separatists fighting Yugoslav forces.

This concludes the analysis of the Racak segment of the ICTY indictment against Milosevic and four aides. The patterns and agendas evident in this specific charge against Milosevic and four aides regarding Racak are not unique, as has been seen. In case anyone thinks this is simply an aberration and not consistent with ICTY methods and motives, take care to note that the president of Yugoslavia and four of his aides are also charged with crimes against humanity and violations of the laws and customs of war with regards to events which are alleged to have occurred Mar 25, Mar 26, Mar 27/99 - immediately after the beginning of the bombing aggression by NATO, when no investigation was possible. Again, that is the point - it is not the truthfulness of the charges, it is the airing of them publicly as a coincided effort with cynical Western agendas that determines the purpose of this ICTY fiasco. And why hasn't this obvious pattern of propaganda-warfare been exposed by the so-called independent media? Or the opposition members of the home legislatures of the bombers themselves? It seems they are all on the same team.

Sources

This completes the study of the ICTY indictment charges against Slobodan Milosevic, Milan Milutinovic, Nikola Sainovic, Dragoljub Ojdanic, and Vljako Stojiljkovic, regarding the events at Racak, Yugoslavia, Jan 15/99.

Regrettably, the actual forensic reports by the teams headed by Dr.s Ranta, Kuzmicov, and Dobricanin are unavailable through my searches for them on the Internet, and my repeated requests to OSCE, University of Pristina, and the University of Helsinki, for these reports. However, we do have as a matter of public record the statements of the Racak analysis by these forensic pathologists as well as public statements from individual members of the teams.

The UN and the ICTY also have been accorded the opportunity to read and contribute to these reports; so far, they have declined. As well, over 300 Canadian Members of Parliament have had the opportunity to contribute information and/or rebuttals concerning this analysis of the Yugoslav police operation at Racak - they have all remained silent thus far.

Thanks to my wife, Danielle Fairlie, for her research, technical and moral support. Also thanks to Predrag Tosic for his co-operation and direction. Rade Kuzmanovic and his fellow staff at A.I.M. were also very helpful and supportive.

Any readers with new information concerning the Racak charges in the ICTY indictment are welcome to forward them to Predrag at p-tosic@cs.uiuc.edu or Chris at nibiru@mnsi.net

Remember, **Racak is the ONLY DATED CHARGE in the entire ICTY indictment against Milosevic, et al**, before NATO bombings, and this particular allegation is cited as the major plank in

<http://www.srpska-mreza.com/library/facts/albanian-solution.html>

Chris Soda, co-manager of YugoslaviaInfo www.egroups.com/group/yugoslaviainfo/
Windsor, Ontario, Canada
nibiru@mnsi.net

To subscribe to YugoslaviaInfo, send a blank message to yugoslaviainfo-subscribe@egroups.com

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Sagittarius

Van: "CDSM" <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Verzonden: donderdag 3 april 2003 0:05
Onderwerp: BELGRADE MESSAGE OF PEACE AND
BELGRADE MESSAGE OF PEACE AND FREEDOM

On 24th March 2003, a commemorative meeting has been held in Belgrade.

The meeting was addressed by Professor Ilija Vukovic, president of the Patriotic Alliance of Yugoslavia and long-term president of the Alliance of Antifascist Veterans of Yugoslavia, Mr. Dragutin Minja Milovanovic, one of the leaders of Serbs from Kosovo and Metohija and Mr. Vladimir Krsljanin, assistant of President Milosevic.

Despite the attempts of the regime to prevent marking the anniversary by the repressive measures of the illegal "State of Emergency", directed also to prevent anti-war and social protests, around 200 consequent socialists and other patriots have expressed their strong determination to continue defense of the freedom and national dignity.

The meeting has been attended by Professor Oskar Kovac, Dr Zoran Bingulac, Cedomir Zdrnja and other important socialist leaders, antifascists and patriots, as well as war veterans.

The meeting has sent to President Slobodan Milosevic and the public at home and abroad, the MESSAGE OF PEACE AND FREEDOM. Text of the message, together with the concluding speech of Mr. Vladimir Krsljanin, you can read bellow.

*Address of Vladimir Krsljanin, Assistant to President Milosevic,
at the Meeting to commemorate the fourth anniversary of the aggression,
in Belgrade, March 24, 2003*

Respectful friends,

A War has been declared to the Mankind.

While another proud nation is looking into eyes of the US aggression, victims of previous aggression still suffer. While some nations are being bombed, other nations are being enslaved.

The armed part of another World conflict started as some times before, in the Balkans. Four years ago something that many of us for decades considered impossible took – war on European soil. Yugoslavia, a sovereign country, an example of tolerance and brotherhood and of social welfare, has been tiered apart, raped, brutally bombed and finally occupied. Warmongers and criminals responsible for that are not punished. As a wounded beast they continue the war against humanity.

In February 2000, leader of our people, President Slobodan Milosevic stated:

“Today, it is Serbia. Than the Middle and Far East. And the entire world at last. The only obstacle that can stand in the way of this crusade can be reason. The reason of the mankind, because this time mankind is the ultimate goal. Today, when danger of global violence is certain, what we need is an organized resistance to violence on a global scale.”

In September 2002, as Dimitrov facing Nazis, President Milosevic faced NATO as prisoner who, advocating sovereignty and dignity of all peoples, turns into a prosecutor:

“There were no “wars” in this territory, only a war, against Yugoslavia. This war has been incited and directed by the greatest powers of the modern world, relying on internal allies and nationalist-separatist cadre dominated by the forces defeated in World War Two. This war was waged by all means: media, political, economic, and military. First it was waged through a decade-long media campaign which abused the monopoly over global information exchanges, then through a diplomatic intervention aimed at creating independent states from Yugoslav republics, then through the many years of cruel economic blockade and sanctions against the FR Yugoslavia – which can only be qualified as genocidal – and finally, through an open military aggression. First in 1995, against the Republic of Srpska and in the operation “Storm”, with NATO forces participating in the largest ethnic cleansing ever recorded, and in 1999, against the FR Yugoslavia.”

In one of his first appearances before the court of the aggressors, President Milosevic pointed:

“I am proud that I commanded the armed forces of Yugoslavia that have stopped NATO, since this has shown that a country, even a small one, having a strong will to defend its freedom and defend the idea of freedom and equality of nations and peoples, can succeed. I am here as a punishment for our standing up against the danger of the biggest tyranny that has threatened mankind.”

Black clouds of deadly planes and missiles covered skies over Belgrade on March 24, 1999. Exactly four years later, they are darkening the skies over Baghdad.

They ended XX century with the attempt to kill one nation. They begin XXI century with the attempt to kill another.

Their MAGNUM CRIMEN must be stopped. As we were once united to stop and defeat fascism, the mankind must unite to prevent today’s threat which is even bigger. The aggressive force has weapons capable to destroy the whole life on our planet.

We must unite around the protection of peace which is the universal value and everyone’s right and around the protection of the sovereignty of every people which is

the most powerful tool against the new colonialism.

The lives of the heroes and of the helpless civilians laid on the altar of the Fatherland in the Spring of 1999 were not useless. Nor is the monument built for them by Slobodan Milosevic at The Hague. The resistance of the united people is not forgotten. That resistance inspires today millions of fighters for peace all over the World, it inspires Iraqi and all other peoples threatened by the same evil. NATO disappeared as a threat. It survives its last days as a mechanism of keeping the deprived Central and Eastern Europe in obedience, but even that will not last long. And the grotesque American-British hi-tech machinery of death is being drawn in the Afghanistan gorges and in the Iraqi sands. To the extent that the voices of resistance in the highs of the European and American politics nobody even tries to silence.

Until now, every anniversary of March aggression has been commemorated in Belgrade by an international conference and by a people's rally.

This year, the conference is forbidden, as well as all demonstrations.

These days in Belgrade, only NATO and its servants can speak publicly.

We thought that the peak of cynicism must be the moment when Javier Solana determined the framework for future servant life to the peoples of Yugoslavia.

But, as unbelievable outrage and disgrace, on March 20-22, in the building of the Federal Parliament in Belgrade, NATO Parliamentary Assembly will hold its seminar. The special guest star will be devil's advocate in person, Carla del Ponte.

It is an unbearable humiliation.

But it is only a peak of an iceberg.

After the period of Djindjic's dictatorial rule in which the constitutional, legal and moral norms have been blatantly violated in the interest of Western capital, an attempt has been made to formally impose a system of dictatorship in Serbia.

Those who dare to turn Mesopotamia, the cradle of the World civilization and the Balkans, the cradle of European civilization into graveyards and ruins, have been ashamed of the perpetrators of their 5th October orgy. The Serbian state has to become a tool for an inter-mafia skirmish, in which, according to their plans, victims should be the people, its democracy and freedom. So that in the last round of the race the colonial masters would be the nice Kostunica and nice Labus. Of course that no one reasonable can have illusions that the March 2003 is being conducted either by Legija, Siptar and Kum, or by Zivkovic, Batic and Covic. All this people is being maltreated with is conducted by an American bureaucrat, a puppet-master with the experience from Bulgaria, Croatia and Yugoslavia, decorated with the medals of Prince Trpimir and of The Old Mountain and with numerous American awards for setting up democracy in the Central and Eastern Europe, Vietnam war veteran William

Montgomery.

No people deserve to be under the unlimited rule of criminals.

I don't recommend them to try to press Serbian people nor to further violate its freedom and democracy.

They must go.

In one of the earlier conferences commemorating the anniversary of the aggression, it has been stated:

"The Empire has no friends or allies, only the future victims."

This people comprehends that. And these days even those seduced will understand that we have a problem not because the famous Western "cruise-missile" democracy has not been yet developed, but just because it operates here with the full strength since 5th October 2000.

During only a week of the illegal "State of Emergency", around 1000 people have been arrested and detained without right for a defense counsel. There is a total censorship of all media. Those media that were only open to opposition views are banned. There are no more TV transmissions from the Parliament. Leaders of ruling coalition call to ban the patriotic opposition parties. Trade union activities and the right of strike have been abolished.

All that on the eve of a hot political spring with a wave of workers' protests already announced. And with the Movement of People's Unity almost emerged.

No foreign force should try to back illegitimate Serbian rulers. Every occupation of Serbia can be only temporary. It is high time to end the puppet show in our country. No one is authorized to impose nor to kill puppet rulers here. The attempt that those who are most responsible for the misery and disaster of this country rule as dictators shall not be fulfilled.

At The Hague, there is a seventh break in the process due to a new deterioration of the President Milosevic's health. The NATO Inquisition remains deaf to appeals from all over the world, including from Russian Duma and dismissed Yugoslav Federal Parliament that the President's life has to be saved by a period of recovery in freedom.

All this is a proof that the monstrous threat to the mankind does not have only a face of military aggression but has also all other oppressive dimensions we all remember from 60 years ago.

This is a warning and an alarm from Belgrade on 24th March 2003.

Therefore, I suggest that this meeting addresses to the President Milosevic, to the public at home and abroad, the following words:

The consequent socialists and patriots, gathered in Belgrade on 24th March 2003, despite the attempts to silence free word by the spreading of fear, send to the President Slobodan Milosevic, to the domestic and international public the following

MESSAGE OF PEACE AND FREEDOM

- 1. We will always spread the glory of the heroes of defense and of the victims of aggression.**
- 2. The aggression against our and other peoples must stop immediately.**
- 3. President Slobodan Milosevic, who inspires and leads the freedom fighters in our country and worldwide, must be immediately released from aggressors' imprisonment, where his life is deliberately imperilled.**
- 4. The State of Emergency in Serbia must be abolished immediately.**
- 5. The Government of the Republic of Serbia must immediately resign since it has no confidence of the people due to its responsibility for abolishing the people's sovereignty, disastrous situation in the social, economic and security fields, for severe breaches of the Constitution, Law and human rights and for general criminalization of the society.**
- 6. All democratic and patriotic forces are obliged, lead by the standpoints of President Milosevic, to reach the effective cooperation within the Movement of People's Unity, because only that would guarantee that the will and the interests of the people will be respected after the early elections. The biggest obligation in that sense has the Socialist Party of Serbia.**
- 7. Serbia and Yugoslavia shall be again respected and equal members of the European and World community of nations.**
- 8. We most strongly condemn the Anglo-American aggression against the friendly Iraq, we express the full support to the Iraqi people and leadership**

in the defense of freedom and national sovereignty and we call upon all free nations to present their effective assistance.

- 9. We are disgusted by the decision of the Quisling regime in Belgrade to expel two Iraqi diplomats. We demand the decision to be recalled and an apology to be sent to the Government of Iraq.**
- 10. We are solidaire with the mass expressions of the will of peoples all around the World, who demand peace, abolition of the international dictatorship of the financial and military centers of power and democratization of the international relations.**
- 11. We demand that General Assembly of the United Nations, under slogan "United for Peace" condemns all aggressive wars waged by USA and NATO without the UN mandate and obliges the International Court of Justice to decide about that in urgent procedure, including about the demands for war reparations, liberation of all occupied territories in the Balkans and in other parts of the World and abolition of the *ad hoc* tribunals which became tools of aggression. If this can not be accomplished we call upon all free nations to create a new World organization.**
- 12. Determined to contribute to the accomplishment of these goals by our most intense activity, we call upon all citizens to participate in this struggle, since each day without freedom multiplies the victims and sufferings.**

People – united, can never be defeated!

The undefeated spirit of freedom of this people can never be extinguished!

All conscious fighters for peace and freedom should count on that.

We can not betray our martyrs and our history.

The people of Serbia is more than mature and able to determine its future peacefully.

No one can be above the will of the people.

Long live President Slobodan Milosevic!

Long live free Serbia and Yugoslavia!

The only way to the future we have is that united we continue the struggle for freedom.

Until victory!

To join or help this struggle, visit:

<http://www.sps.org.yu/> (official SPS website)

<http://www.belgrade-forum.org/> (forum for the world of equals)

<http://www.icdsm.org/> (the international committee to defend Slobodan Milosevic)

icdsm temporary address:

<http://emperor.vwh.net/icdsm/index.htm>

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Sagittarius

Van: "CDSM"
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient;>
Verzonden: donderdag 3 april 2003 0:03
Onderwerp: Message from Chris Black
Message from Chris Black

The BBC interviewed me tonight about Mira Markovic. They said they were going to give me three minutes. But they cut me off abruptly after one minute. I guess they didn't like what I had to say.

Basically they tried to suggest to me that the security operation on Serbia was justified to rid the country of criminal gangs and therefore it was ok to arrest her. I countered that it was absurd to connect her with criminal gangs and was part of a campaign to discredit the left in Serbia, to put the squeeze on Milosevic and was being done under an unjustified state of martial law prompted by the murder of a single man whose death could only benefit one group and their external backers. They then tried to get me to admit that the Stambolic murder was linked to our friend and Mira and I countered that such an idea was absurd as Stambolic wasn't even involved in politics at the time he disappeared.

They got angrier and asked' "so you think she will resist the attempt to extradite her" and I replied that it was necessary under all extradition treaties that the requesting state present a prima facie case to the state in which the suspect is found before extradition can take place and so far the regime in Belgrade has presented no evidence of anything to anybody and no doubt because there isn't any. I then started to state that the imposition of a state of emergency was unjustified for various reasons when they just cut me off.

The interview was live and being broadcast into Serbia for the breakfast news on the World Service which is probably why they cut me off in mid-sentence.

Chris

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Joego-Slavie-Tribunal (telet v. bandje)

Moderator Rother Feud: "Meine Suchmaschine, die Agenturmeldungen nach dem Namen Milosevic durchstöbert, findet für den gestrigen Tag: das UN-Kriegsverbrecher-Tribunal in den Haag setzt der Anklage im Falle des früheren Staatspräsidenten Milos. eine Frist von noch einem Jahr, um ihre Sicht darzulegen. Richter Richard May sagte, die zeitliche Begrenzung sei notwendig um Milos. einen fairen Prozess zu gewährleisten. Dann findet die Suchmaschine erst mal lange gar nichts mehr - es heißt, der Prozess findet fast unter dem freiwilligen Selbstausschluss der deutschen Öffentlichkeit statt. Dann und wann liest man, daß in Serbien die Verteidigungen Milos.'s "live" übertragen werden und er dort Zustimmung bekomme - so daß ich schließe, wenn er schon redet, was die Serben wollen, macht man ihm jedenfalls einen fairen Prozess. Hören Sie aber Karl Unger mit einer Verfahrens-Schelte."

Karl Unger: Milos, ist erstaunlicherweise nicht wegen Völkermordes im Kosovo-Krieg angeklagt. Dabei war der doch das zentrale Propaganda-Argument der NATO für ihren Krieg gegen Jugoslawien. Dafür muß er sich jedoch für die Verbrechen während der Kriege in Kroatien und in Bosnien-Herzegowina verantworten. Beim Krieg in Bosnien wird Milos, Völkermord vorgeworfen, doch wie der begründet wird, weiß man noch nicht so genau, weil die Verhandlung eröffnet wurde ohne daß die Anklageschriften zu Kroatien und Bosn. - Herzegowina in ihrer endgültigen Form vorlagen. Der Stab der Anklägerin Carla del Ponte, hat diese drei - nicht zuletzt in juristischer Hinsicht sehr unterschiedlich zu bewertenden Kriege - im Eingangsplädoyer mit Hilfe einer simplen Konstruktion zusammengefaßt: "Milos. habe mit militärischen Mitteln einen Groß-Serbischen Staat schaffen wollen." Dieses Konstrukt, das Richter May ursprünglich als zu verschwommen bezeichnet hatte, ist in sich nicht logisch. Der Krieg im Kosovo kann wohl schlecht Teil einer Groß-Serbischen Strategie gewesen sein, denn der Kosovo war ohnehin schon Teil Serbiens.

Ihre These will die Anklage mit Hilfe eines großen Zeugen aufgebots beweisen. Einer war der frühere Britische Balkan-Unterhändler Paddy Ashdown, der zu Protokoll gab: Ich habe nie gezeugt, daß die UČK eine terroristische Organisation ist, Daß er damit bestätigte, was Milos, immer behauptet hatte, wird das Gericht wenig beeindruckt haben, wenn gleich es nicht glücklich schien - aber aus einem anderen Grund: Die Aussagen von Paddy Ashdown bezogen sich nämlich auf einen Zeitraum, der gar nicht Gegenstand der Anklage ist. Die Praxis der Staatsanwälte, Zeugen oft stundenlang zu verhören, ohne daß klar wird was - abgesehen von der Stimmungsmache - der Sinn ist, hat inzwischen dazu geführt, daß die Anklage vor jeder Aussage darlegen muß, auf welche Straftat sich diese bezieht. Möglicherweise wird das Carla del Ponte dazu bringen, mit der Auswahl der Zeugen sorgfältiger vorzugehen. Denn es ist schon peinlich, wenn ein Zeuge, der sich als unabhängiger Intellektueller präsentiert und betont, keine Kontakte zu UČK zu haben, später zugeben muß, daß er als ihr politischer und diplomatischer Berater tätig war. Das beeinträchtigt die Glaubwürdigkeit viel mehr als die, - ohne jeden Beweis, aber dafür vehement vertretene Behauptung -, alle albanischen Arbeiter in den serbischen Staatsbetrieben hätten Loyalitäts erklärungen unterzeichnen müssen, um nicht entlassen zu werden. Denn bei diesem Gericht ist, rechtsstaatlich bemerkenswert, Hören sagen, d.h. das Gerücht, als Beweismittel zulässig! Als die Staatsanwälte beginnen wollten, sich gegenseitig als Zeugen aufzurufen, griffen die "Amici Curie" ein; diese Freunde des Gerichts, die über den fairen Ablauf des Verfahrens wachen sollen, hatten in diesem Fall mit ihrer Intervention Erfolg. Aber das Gericht ist in keiner Weise verpflichtet, sich mit den Argumenten dieser

dieser von ihm selbst geschaffenen Institution auseinanderzusetzen, die aus einem Britischen, einem niederländischen und einem jugoslawischen Anwalt besteht, und der, auf einem New-Labour-Ticket nach den Haag gekommene, Richter May hat auch deutlich gemacht, daß ihm die Rechtsauffassung der "Amici Curie" wenig interessiert. Diese haben nämlich zwei grundsätzliche Einwände gegen das Verfahren vorgebracht:

- 1) Erstens halten sie es für unverzichtbar, daß im Milos.-Prozess die Rolle der NATO untersucht wird und in wie weit die Luftangriffe - zitat: "darauf abzielten, terroristische Gruppen zu unterstützen und die jugoslawische Regierung zu schädigen." In der Anklageschrift tauchen die NATO - Angriffe, eben so wie die Morde und Vertreibungen der UČK, nur beiläufig in der Rubrik "zusätzliche Fakten" auf. Das verwundert nicht - hatte Carla del Ponte doch schon vor zwei Jahren mitgeteilt, daß sie keine Ermittlungen gegen die NATO einleiten werde, da diese zwar Fehler aber keine Kriegsverbrechen begangen habe.
- 2) Zweitens haben die "Amici Curie" angeregt, daß das Tribunal seine Rechtmäßigkeit durch den Internationalen Gerichtshof überprüfen lassen solle. Sie heben dabei vor allem auf völkerrechtliche Probleme ab, und die Tatsache, daß das Tribunal vom Weltfriedensrat als ein Sanktionsmittel auf der Basis des Artikels 42 der UN-Charta geschaffen wurde. So wird es benutzt und damit ist ihm der Charakter eines fairen, von allen Seiten gleich behandelnden Gerichts völlig abhanden gekommen. Im Januar 2000 wurden drei bosnische Kroaten wegen eines Massakers, das der Richter in einer Reihe mit Gurodur und Mylai stellte, zu langjährigen Haftstrafen verurteilt. In der Berufungs-

Berufungsinstanz wurden sie Ende vergangenen Jahres freigesprochen. Die Verurteilung sei ein Versehen gewesen weil es zu wenig Beweise gegeben hätte, erklärte danach ein Anklage-Vertreter und fügte wörtlich hinzu "das Tribunal war gerade neu als diese Männer angeklagt wurden und musste noch seine Existenzberechtigung beweisen". Ein Versehen, das aus dem subjektiven Willen, sich über juristische Normen hinwegzusetzen resultiert, nennt man gemeinhin: **RECHTS- BEUGUNG**. Und daß dieses Tribunal einen sehr eigenwilligen Umgang mit Recht und Gesetz pflegt, macht noch ein anderes Faktum deutlich: in offenkundiger Verletzung von Artikel 32 seines eigenen Statuts, werden die Kosten nicht von der UNO getragen, sondern zu annähernd 90% von den USA und den anderen NATO-Staaten. -" Karl Unger.

For more information :

<http://www.liberez-milosevic.fr.st>

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**Communiqué de presse du
Comité Francophone pour la Défense de Slobodan Milosevic (CFDSM-FCDSM)
Et du
Comité International pour la Défense des Prisonniers Politiques Serbes (ICDSPP-
CIDPPS)
<http://www.liberez-milosevic.fr.st/>**

5 avril 2003

**HALTE A LA CHASSE AUX SORCIERES CONTRE LA
FAMILLE DU PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC ET LES
PATRIOTES ET SOCIALISTES SERBES !**

L'assassinat de Zoran Djindjic sert de prétexte à une vaste chasse aux sorcières contre les patriotes et socialistes serbes du SPS (Parti socialiste de Serbie), de la JUL (Gauche Unie Yougoslave), du SRS (Parti Radical Serbe) et du Parti de l'Unité Serbe, quatre formations représentées au parlement.

Le gouvernement serbe de la DOS **tente de criminaliser l'opposition patriotique**, parle sans aucun fondement ni preuve de « tentative de coup d'Etat » et évoque des « liens avec le crime organisé ». L'assassinat de Djindjic est un règlement de compte entre la DOS et les clans mafieux qui ont fait alliance avec elle à l'occasion du coup d'Etat d'octobre 2000 qui a renversé le Président Milosevic. Les principaux accusés, Lukovic et d'autres chefs des « Bérets rouges » (unité d'élite yougoslave), devenus depuis des chefs mafieux, bien loin d'être encore liés aux partisans de Milosevic, **étaient des alliés de Djindjic.**

Le but de l'opération est de **terroriser l'opposition serbe** – plus de 4.000 arrestations et plus de 1.000 détenus à ce jour, dont le collectif de défense du Président Milosevic à Belgrade –, de criminaliser celle-ci et de **déstabiliser la défense de Milosevic au TPI**. Les attaques menées, contre l'épouse de Milosevic, Mira Markovic, dirigeantes de la JUL, n'ont pas d'autre motif.

Nous nous associons à l'action internationale de défense de l'opposition patriotique serbe, menée par nos camarades du KPRF (Parti Communiste de la Fédération de Russie) et de l'Association serbe « Sloboda » (Liberté).

Nous affirmons notre totale solidarité avec les patriotes serbes détenus ou persécutés, la famille du Président Milosevic et particulièrement notre camarade Mira Markovic.

Nous exigeons la fin de la chasse aux sorcières et de l'Etat d'exception en Serbie et le rétablissement des libertés démocratiques de réunions et d'expression suspendues.

Nous appelons à une action énergique en direction des autorités serbes :

Sagittarius

Van: "Comité Francophone pour la Défense de Slobodan Milosevic"
Aan: "FCDSM-CFDSM" <liberezmilosevic@free.fr>
Verzonden: zaterdag 5 april 2003 3:01
Onderwerp: [STATEMENT] STOP THE WITCH-HUNT IN SERBIA !

English version / Version française**Statement from**

**Frenchspeaking Committee to Defend Slobodan Milosevic (FCDSM/CFDSM)
and**

**International Committee to Defend the Serbian Political Prisoners
(ICDSPP/CIDPPS)**

<http://www.liberez-milosevic.fr.st>

April 5, 2003

**STOP THE WITCH-HUNT AGAINST PRESIDENT
MILOSEVIC'S FAMILY
AND SERBIAN PATRIOTS AND SOCIALISTS !**

The murder of Zoran Djindjic serves as a **pretext to a vast witch-hunt against Serbian patriots and socialists** of the SPS (Socialist Party of Serbia), the JUL (Yugoslavian United Left), the SRS (Serbian Radical Party) and the Party of the Serbian unity , four formations represented at the parliament.

The DOS Serbian government tempts to **criminalize the Patriotic Opposition**, speaks without no foundation nor proof of a "coup" and evokes "ties with the organized crime".

The murder of Djindjic is a violent settling of scores between the DOS and **mafia's clans that made alliance with him** on the occasion of the October' 2000 coup which overthrew President Milosevic.

The principal indicted, Lukovic and other chiefs of the "Red Berets" (Yugoslavian elite unit), become since mafia chiefs, well far to be still bound to Milosevic's partisans, **were allies of Djindjic**.

The goal of the operation is to terrorize the Serbian opposition - more of 4.000 arrests and more of 1.000 prisoners to this day, including the collective of defense of President Milosevic in Belgrade -, to criminalize it and to destabilize the defense of Milosevic at the so-called ICTY. The attacks led against Milosevic's wife, Mira Markovic, leader of the JUL, don't have any another motive.

We participate in the **international action of defense of the Serbian patriotic opposition**, led by our friends of the **KPRF** (Communist Party of the Federation of Russia) and of the Serbian association "**Sloboda**" (Liberty).

We affirm our total solidarity with the Serbian patriots either persecuted or detained, President Milosevic's family, and particularly our comrade Mira Markovic.

We require the end of the witch-hunt and the state of exception in Serbia and the restoration of the suspended democratic liberties of meeting and expression .

We call for an strong action to the Serbian authorities :

Write, Fax, E-Mail to protest against the DOS' dictatorial methods to the governments and parliaments of Serbia and Montenegro

(addresses on: **<http://www.mfa.gov.yu/Worldframe.htm>**).

Ecrivez, Faxer, Mailez pour protester contre les méthodes dictatoriales de la DOS auprès des gouvernements et parlement de Serbie et du Monténégro (adresses sur : <http://www.mfa.gov.yu/Worldframe.htm>).

Pour plus d'informations :

<http://www.liberez-milosevic.fr.st/>

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Vrouw Milošević stapt uit partij

2005
BELGRADO, 13 MEI. Mira Marković, de echtgenote van oud-president Slobodan Milošević, heeft al haar banden met de politieke partij Nieuw Joegoslavisch Links (JUL) verbroken. Dat zegt een woordvoerder van de partij. Marković was partijleider, maar wordt door de Servische politie gezocht wegens vermeende betrokkenheid bij de ontvoering van en moord op ex-president Ivan Stambolić van Servië in augustus 2000, al heeft ze dat in een brief aan haar partij ontkend. Ze houdt zich schuil in Rusland, bij haar zoon. Belgrado heeft Moskou om haar uitlevering gevraagd. Twee kopstukken van de JUL werden vorige maand gearresteerd wegens betrokkenheid bij de moord op premier Zoran Djindjić eerder dit jaar. (AP)

Sagittarius

Van: "Vladimir Krsljanin" <slobodavk@yubc.net>
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Verzonden: zondag 11 mei 2003 21:54
Bijlage: Hague Leaflet.doc
Onderwerp: MOBILIZATION for June 28 DEMOS AT THE

DEAR FRIENDS,

ATTACHED IS THE LEAFLET OF SLOBODA/FREEDOM ASSOCIATION, INVITING ALL THE PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE TO DEMONSTRATE AT THE HAGUE ON VIDOVDAN (St.Vitus Day, June 28). PLEASE DISTRIBUTE THE LEAFLET WIDELY, HELP THE ORGANIZATION, COME TO THE HAGUE.

ALL YOUR SUGGESTIONS FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE DEMONSTRATION AND OUR MOST POWERFUL APPEARANCE ARE THE MOST WELCOME AND WILL BE IMMEDIATELY TRANSMITTED TO THE ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITTEE, WHICH IS SERBIAN-INTERNATIONAL AND WHICH WILL GROW. THIS IS A VERY IMPORTANT MOBILIZATION IN OUR STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY AND DIGNITY OF OUR PEOPLE. WE WILL INFORM YOU ABOUT THE COURSE OF THE PREPARATIONS. WE PREPARE FOR May 20 THE SECOND LEAFLET WHICH WILL CONTAIN THE DETAILED PROGRAM OF THE DEMOS.

YOU CAN CONTACT US VIA E-MAIL SLOBODAVK@YUBC.NET , PHONE +381 63 8862 301 OR FAX +381 11 630 549.

● SLOBODA/FREEDOM ASSOCIATION

To join or help this struggle, visit:

<http://www.sps.org.yu/> (official SPS website)

<http://www.belgrade-forum.org/> (forum for the world of equals)

<http://www.icdsm.org/> (the international committee to defend Slobodan Milosevic)

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Verdachte bekent 'Srebrenica'

7-5-2003

Rechters ontevreden over deal met Nikolic

ANP, Reuters, AP, AFP
DEN HAAG

De Bosnisch-Servische commandant Momir Nikolic heeft schuld bekend aan de massamoord in Srebrenica in 1995. Gisteren kreeg het Joegoslavië-Tribunaal in Den Haag een schriftelijke schuldbekentenis, de eerste over het drama in Srebrenica. De rechters hebben echter bezwaren tegen elementen uit de afspraken tussen de aanklagers en de verdachte. Zij eisen een nieuwe overeenkomst.

In ruil voor een bekentenis en getuigenissen tegen Nikolic' medeverdachten werden de aanklachten wegens genocide en oorlogsmisdaden geschrapt. De aanklagers willen vijftien tot twintig jaar tegen hem eisen. Zijn advocaat dringt aan op tien jaar.

Nikolic verklaart dat hij heeft meegedaan aan de 'wijdverspreide en systematische' massamoord op zeventienduizend jongens en mannen in de leeftijd tussen 16 en 60 jaar. Ook vrouwen, kinderen en bejaarden zijn vermoord. Op 12 juli 1995 was Nikolic in de buurt toen tachtig tot honderd gevangenen werden onthoofd. Hun lijken werden op vrachtwagens geladen, staat in zijn bekentenis.

Nikolic, een voormalige onderwijzer, was als officier belast met de bewaking van Moslim-gevangenen. Hij behoorde tot de Bratunac Brigade die Srebrenica had omsingeld. De enclave werd onder leiding van generaal Mladic onder de voet gelopen, ondanks

de aanwezigheid van de Nederlandse VN-militairen van Dutchbat.

Nikolic bekennt aanwezig te zijn geweest bij krijgsberaad waarin de massamoord op de Moslim-mannen openlijk werd besproken. 'Ik besprak de operatie om de vrouwen en kinderen naar Kladanj te vervoeren en om de gezonde Moslim-mannen in Potocari apart te zetten, gevangen te nemen en te doden.'

Hij geeft toe dat het doel de 'etnische zuivering' van de enclave was. Nikolic was een van de Bosnisch-Servische officieren die op 11 juli 1995, de dag van de val van Srebrenica, Mladic begeleidde bij een ontmoeting met Dutchbat-commandant Karremans in hotel Fontana in Bratunac. Hij bracht de Nederlanders terug naar hun basis.

De aanklagers denken dat Mladic in de nacht na die ontmoeting tot de massamoord heeft besloten en die stelling wordt onderbouwd door de bekentenis van Nikolic: hij kreeg de volgende ochtend het bevel de moordpartij te organiseren.

De drie medebeklaagden (Vidoje Blagojevic, Dragan Obrenovic en Dragan Jokic) houden vol dat zij onschuldig zijn. Hun zaak komt volgens plan op 14 mei voor.

Pas na die zaak zullen de aanklagers hun vijf zware aanklachten tegen Nikolic, waaronder genocide, definitief laten vallen, als hij woord heeft gehouden bij zijn getuigenissen. De rechters vonden die formule een aantasting van Nikolic' recht zich te verdedigen.

Tribunaal wijst afpraak over Srebrenica af

2003

Door een onzer redacteurs

DEN HAAG, 7 MEI. De rechters van het Joegoslavië-tribunaal hebben gisteren een overeenkomst afgewezen waarbij de Bosnisch-Servische commandant Momir Nikolic schuld heeft bekend aan de massamoord in Srebrenica in ruil voor strafvermindering. Het akkoord was bereikt tussen de aanklagers van het tribunaal en Nikolic' advocaten.

Gisteren erkende Nikolic in een schriftelijke verklaring dat na de val van de moslim-enclave Srebrenica in Oost-Bosnië in juli 1995 meer dan zeventienduizend moslims zijn vermoord. Ook gaf hij toe dat het gebied rond Srebrenica 'gezuiverd' moest worden van alle moslims.

Nikolic (48) was als officier belast met de bewaking van de moslim-gevangenen. Hij is samen met Vidoje Blagojevic, Dragan Obrenovic en Dragan Jokic aangeklaagd voor zijn rol in de massamoord in Srebrenica. In ruil voor een bekentenis en getuigenissen tegen zijn medeverdachten werd de zwaarste aanklacht tegen Nikolic - genocide - geschrapt. Zijn drie medeverdachten houden vol onschuldig te zijn. Hun zaak zou morgen beginnen, maar is uitgesteld tot 14 mei.

De deal tussen Nikolic' advocaten en de VN-aanklagers is pas rechtsgeldig wanneer hij door de VN-rechters is gefatueerd. Maar de rechters zijn ontevreden met tal van formele aspecten. Zij gaven de partijen de opdracht hun huiswerk over te doen. Volgens tribunaal-

medewerkers is vooral sprake van een botsing van culturen. In de Verenigde Staten, waar VN-aanklager Peter McCloskey vandaan komt, zijn dergelijke afspraken heel gewoon. In China, Argentinië en Oekraïne, de landen waar de rechters vandaan komen, zijn ze dat niet.

Nikolic was een van de Bosnisch-Servische officieren die op 11 juli 1995, de dag van de val, legerleider Ratko Mladic begeleiden bij een ontmoeting met Dutchbat-commandant Karremans in Hotel Fontana in Bratunac. Volgens de aanklagers hebben Mladic c.s. de nacht daarop besloten tot de massamoord. Die theorie wordt onderbouwd door de schriftelijke bekentenis van Nikolic: hij kreeg op de ochtend van 12 juli in Hotel Fontana in Srebrenica een andere Bosnisch-Servische officier de opdracht de moord op de moslim-mannen te organiseren.

Terwijl de moordplannen al waren gemaakt, strooide de Serviërs de Nederlanders zand in de ogen door op 12 juli verder te onderhandelen en enkele mannen met de vrouwen en kinderen per bus te laten vertrekken. De mannen werden verderop weer uit de bussen gehaald en vermoord.

Op vergaderingen van Bosnisch-Servische functionarissen werd volgens Nikolic openlijk gesproken over de massamoord. Hij erkent ook dat hij later betrokken was bij pogingen bewijsmateriaal weg te moffelen en voor het Joegoslavië-tribunaal te verstoppen.

Nikolic bekent schuld Srebrenica

Door een onzer redacteurs

DEN HAAG, 8 MEI. De rechters van het Joegoslavië-tribunaal hebben gisteren alsnog de overeenkomst geaccepteerd waarbij de Bosnisch-Servische commandant Momir Nikolic schuld heeft bekend aan de massamoord in Srebrenica in ruil voor strafvermindering.

Een dag eerder was de overeenkomst door de rechters nog verworpen, maar nadat een aantal formele aspecten was gewijzigd en Nikolic gistermiddag in de rechtszaal zijn schuldbekentenis mondeling herhaalde, gingen de rechters alsnog akkoord.

In ruil voor Nikolic' schuldbekentenis en de belofte te getuigen tegen medeverdachten hebben de aanklagers van het VN-Hof de aanklacht wegens genocide laten vallen. De aanklagers bepleiten een straf tussen de vijftien en twintig jaar. Nikolic' advocaten zetten in op een maximum van tien jaar.

Nikolic was samen met Vidoje Blagojevic, Dragan Obrenovic en Dragan Jokic aangeklaagd voor zijn rol in de massamoord in Srebrenica waarbij in juli 1995 ruim zeventienduizend moslims zijn vermoord nadat de Serviërs de enclave hadden veroverd. Nikolic' medeverdachten houden vol onschuldig te zijn. Hun rechtszaak begint volgende week. Over een paar maanden wordt op een hoorzitting de strafmaat voor Nikolic bepaald.

Binnen en buiten het tribunaal neemt de kritiek toe over het gemak waarmee de aanklacht van genocide, de zwaarste aanklacht in het volkenrecht, wordt geschrapt wanneer een verdachte schuld bekennt. Zo bekende Biljana Plavšić, ex-president van de Servische Republiek in Bosnië, schuld aan etnische vervolging, waarna alle overige onderdelen van de aanklacht, waaronder genocide, werden geschrapt. Eerder dit jaar werd ze veroordeeld tot een gevangenisstraf van elf jaar. „Tegenover de nabestaanden kun je niet zo lichtzinnig met het schrappen van de genocide-aanklacht omspringen”, vindt tribunaal-expert Göran Sluiter. „Het gebeurt om tijd te winnen, het VN-hof heeft het druk, maar vanuit juridisch en ethisch oogpunt is het verwerpelijk.”

Tribunaal aanvaardt deal met verdachte Nikolic

DEN HAAG - 8-5-2003
De rechters van het Joegoslavië-Tribunaal hebben gisteren de Srebrenica-verdachte Momir Nikolic alsnog schuldig bevonden, nadat de aanklagers hun deal met de verdachte hadden aangepast. In ruil voor Nikolic' schuldbekentenis en de belofte te getuigen tegen medeverdachten zien de aanklagers definitief af van een aanklacht wegens genocide. (AP)

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het proces kan zonder meer bestempeld worden als bijzonder.

In de eerste plaats omdat voor het eerst een democratisch gekozen staatshoofd berecht wordt door een tribunaal, waarvan de legitimiteit door vele vooraanstaande juristen en wetenschappers in twijfel wordt getrokken. Ten tweede omdat tijdens het proces talloze gebeurtenissen en achtergronden belicht worden, die inzicht geven in de tragische ontwikkelingen in de voormalige Federale Republiek Joegoslavië (FRJ) in de jaren negentig van de vorige eeuw. In die zin is het proces een historisch document, waarin we - los van mediamanipulatie - de gebeurtenissen opnieuw beleven.

Voor het eerst ook krijgt Slobodan Milosevic, en met hem het Servische volk, de kans om weerwoord te geven tegen de beschuldigingen van genocide en oorlogsmisdaden. Wellicht krijgt om die reden het proces zo weinig aandacht in de media.

Wie het proces wil volgen, is nu uitsluitend aangewezen op internet, waar de letterlijke verslagen worden gepubliceerd. Dat is niet voor iedereen gemakkelijk toegankelijk, bovendien heeft het tribunaal een beperkte levensduur en bestaat de kans dat na opheffing deze verslagen van internet verdwijnen.

Gezien het belang van het proces, zowel voor historici als al die mensen die zich nauw betrokken voelden en nog voelen bij wat zich in de voormalige FRJ heeft afgespeeld, voor juristen die het verloop van het proces willen bestuderen, wil Global Reflexion de complete officiële verslagen van het tribunaal in boekvorm publiceren. Als eerste in de Engelse taal.



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HET PROCES TEGEN SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC IN BOEKVORM

Beste Nico,

Het proces tegen de voormalige president van Joegoslavië, Slobodan Milosevic, is nu ruim een jaar aan de gang. Bij aanvang werd het proces in de media omschreven als 'het proces van de eeuw'. Aanvankelijk was de belangstelling van de media dan ook zeer groot, maar al spoedig verdwenen de camera's en werd volstaan met een summiere en veelal eenzijdige verslaggeving in de pers.

Het proces kan zonder meer bestempeld worden als bijzonder. In de eerste plaats omdat voor het eerst een democratisch gekozen staatshoofd berecht wordt door een tribunaal, waarvan de legitimiteit door vele vooraanstaande juristen en wetenschappers in twijfel wordt getrokken. Ten tweede omdat tijdens het proces talloze gebeurtenissen en achtergronden belicht worden, die inzicht geven in de tragische ontwikkelingen in de voormalige Federale Republiek Joegoslavië (FRJ) in de jaren negentig van de vorige eeuw. In die zin is het proces een historisch document, waarin we - los van mediamanipulatie - de gebeurtenissen opnieuw beleven.

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Hoewel nog niet duidelijk is hoe lang het proces zal duren, iets dat mede bepaald wordt door de gezondheidstoestand van Slobodan Milosevic, is de omvang van het te publiceren materiaal zo groot dat het een serie wordt van vele delen. Global Reflexion wil rond de zomer van dit jaar beginnen met de publicatie van de eerste twee delen, om vervolgens elke maand twee delen uit te geven.

De voorbereidingen van de publicatie zijn in volle gang en dit voorjaar willen we vooral gebruiken voor publiciteit om een indicatie te krijgen in welke oplage we gaan drukken. De prijs van elk afzonderlijk deel zal in de boekhandel rond de 25.00 euro bedragen. Personen of instellingen die alle delen in bezit willen hebben en zich abonneren op de gehele serie, betalen via een incassomachtiging 20.00 euro per deel, exclusief verzendkosten.

De publiciteit en het drukken van de eerste delen vergen een behoorlijke investering. Om die reden organiseert Global Reflexion een obligatiecampagne, waarmee we hopen voldoende financiële middelen bijeen te krijgen om de beginkosten van productie en publiciteit te kunnen financieren. Deze obligatiecampagne maakt deel uit van de algemene campagne voor fondswerving, die we in TARGETS hebben gepubliceerd. Voor alle duidelijkheid, het gaat dus niet om twee verschillende obligatiecampagnes, maar om één campagne waarvan de uitgave van het proces van Milosevic een onderdeel is. Hiervoor schrijven we apart een beperkte groep mensen aan, waarvan we denken en hopen dat zij de waarde van dit initiatief onderschrijven en ons willen helpen bij het realiseren van deze uitgave.

Wie een obligatie koopt, doneert niet, maar geeft een renteloze lening. Het totaal ingelegde bedrag wordt in een looptijd van 24 maanden terugbetaald, te beginnen in januari 2004. Onder de obligatiehouders zullen in januari 2004, vóór de uitloting van de eerste obligaties, drie kunstwerken worden verloot. De stichting geeft obligaties uit van 50 euro. Elke obligatie van 50 euro is tegelijk een lotnummer.

Wij hopen dat wij op uw steun voor dit unieke project mogen rekenen. U kunt uw deelname aan de obligatiecampagne kenbaar maken door de bijgesloten kaart ingevuld op te sturen naar Stichting Global Reflexion, Sloterkade 20, 1058 HE Amsterdam.

Met vriendelijke groet,
Nico Varkevisser



Juni 2003

carla del ponte over
milosevic:
'afvoeren die man!'



Del Ponte staat de pers te woord voor het Tribunaal

Wie is Carla del Ponte? Vier jaar geleden trad ze aan als hoofdaanklager in Den Haag. Achter deze kleine vrouw gaat een doorzetter schuil, een ware terriër. Een exclusief gesprek met Milosevic' nachtmerrie.

Arusha, Tanzania – Carla del Ponte houdt er niet van over zichzelf te praten, ze houdt zich liever bezig met anderen. Dat wil zeggen: met het najagen en vervolgen van anderen. Binnenkort staat ze weer oog in oog met haar voornaamste tegenstrever, Slobodan Milosevic, in Europa's belangrijkste proces aangaande oorlogsmisdaden sinds de Tweede Wereldoorlog. Daarnaast is ze ook nog verantwoordelijk voor een overweldigende vracht overige dossiers over misdaden tegen de menselijkheid in Rwanda en de Balkan.

Maar op deze zachte Afrikaanse vooravond gaat ze zichzelf even rust. Na een zeldzaam partijtje golf bestelt ze ontspannen een wodka-toma en een pizza. Rondom het Impala-hotel gaan de trekfels tekeer in het struikgewas. Ze zou net zo goed een van de vele toeristen hier kunnen zijn, elegant gekleed als ze is in witte broek en zwart jasje. Behalve dan dat vlak achter haar, aan een ander tafeltje, twee bewapende lijfwachten zitten die haar niet uit het oog verliezen.

Carla del Ponte is in Arusha – een stad die bekend staat als de toegangspoort tot Tanzania's safarigebied – voor de andere helft van haar reguliere werkzaamheden. Behalve hoofdaanklager voor het VN-tribunaal inzake het voormalige Joegoslavië in Den Haag is ze dat ook voor het Rwandatribunaal dat de daders berecht van de genocide van 1994, die zeker 800.000 Afrikanen het leven kostte.

Een lijfwacht brengt een mobieltje: haar zoon belt uit Zwitserland. Hij is 25, cineast. Ze loopt weg, druk gesticulerend. Bij terugkeer merkt ze de lege borden op van haar lijfwachten. 'Eten jullie niet meer?' vraagt ze.

Moederschap is niet het eerste dat in je opkomt bij een ontmoeting met Zwitserlands meest prominente internationale ambtenaar – deze kleine vrouw met haar dikke spierwitte haardos en donkere ondeugende ogen. Maar persoonlijke veiligheid en bewaking staan voorop, al een decennium lang, vanaf het ogenblik dat ze hoorde dat de Italiaanse maffia een huurmoordenaar had ingehuurd om haar te doden. 'Natuurlijk was ik aanvankelijk bang', zegt ze met een grimas. 'Ik veranderde van gewoonte en uitgaanspatroon, nam schietlessen. Ik werd zelfs een tamelijk goed schutter. Ik heb de vergunning, de holster, alles. Maar ik draag geen revolver bij me. Ik zou nog geen kat kunnen doodschieten, of welk ander levend wezen ook.'

Met haar specialisme, de bestrijding van het witwassen van drugsgelden, heeft ze heel wat vijanden gemaakt. Ze brak het Zwitserse bankgeheim open in de jaren tachtig en negentig om rekeningen op te sporen van afgezette dictators. Russische georganiseerde misdaad, drugsbaronnen, wapensmokkelaars, noem maar op. Toen ze in 1994

Zwitserlands hoofd personeel genoot, waarschuwden bankiers haar dat ze als ontdekkende aanklager's lands zakenwereld schade zou kunnen toebrengen.

Besluitend is vier vierde jaar als hoofdaanklager van het Tribunal de l'Etat na. Samen de diegenen uit de Balkan. 'Na verloop van tijd' zegt ze, terwijl de rook van weer een sigaret uit haar mond kruipt, 'leer je ermee leven.' Nu ze 56 is lijkt ze te blaken van zelfvertrouwen.

Om te zien wat wellicht als ze is bevestigd ze het beeld dat collega's van haar leeft als een vechter van nature en een niet aflatende terriër. 'Vaak heb ik zich hielden door intuïtie, om vervolgens als een veldheer de aantak te nemen om haar zin door te drijven', zegt Laurent Walpin, een voormalige Geneefse politiechef die nu haar onderzoeksteam leidt. En haar zin krijgen betekent verdachte misdadigers najagen, de waarheid ontdekkend, een bekentenis afdwingen net zo goed als een veroordeling.

Als jeugdig verdediger kwam ze er al gauw achter dat bescherming bieden niet haar favoriete bezigheid was. Nee: in de jacht, de vervolging, daarin lag haar ambitie. 'Ik was vreselijk als verdediger', zegt ze met een lach. 'Ik was geneigd mijn cliënten voor te houden: kijk nou eens naar dat bewijsmateriaal, als ik jou was zou ik schuld bekennen. Ik voelde me niet op mijn plek. In de rechtszaal wilde ik liever op de stoel van de aanklager gaan zitten.'

Ze neemt een flinke hap van haar Tanzaniaanse pizza en praat dan over haar banden met Italië. 'Ik voel me meer Italiaan dan Zwitser; Italiaans is mijn eerste taal.' Al pratend schakelt ze echter gemakkelijk over van Frans naar Engels, en ook Duits spreekt ze vloeiend.

Ze is geboren in Lugano, een vredig stadje aan het meer dat grenst aan Italië. Ze was de enige dochter van een hoteleigenaar en een verpleegster. Haar vader vond het niet nodig dat ze studeerde, een vrouw hoorde getrouwd te zijn. Maar al opboksend tegen haar drie broers leerde ze voor zichzelf op te komen. Ze eiste dezelfde rechten als zij en ging toch studeren. 'Ik wilde aanvankelijk arts worden', zegt ze, terwijl ze een verse sigaret opsteekt.

Waarom is ze dan advocaat geworden? 'Wil je dat echt weten?' vraagt ze. 'Nou, ik koos rechten omdat de studie veel korter was, vier jaar in plaats van acht jaar voor medicijnen.'

Ze moet zelf lachen om het grillige toeval in haar leven: 'Zie je wel, helemaal geen roeping!' Niettemin was zij het die het bankgeheim hielp kraken en het hele juridische landschap van Zwitserland omploegde.

Ze geeft zichzelf tijdens het gesprek nauwelijks bloot totdat ze begint over 1981, het jaar waarin ze aanklager werd in Lugano, destijds een thuishaven voor de maffia en dubieuze Italiaanse financiers.

Uit Italië kwam een onderzoeksrechter over die hulp zocht bij zijn naspelingen: Giovanni Falcone, de befaamde misdaadspuurhond die later in Sicilië door de onderwereld werd omgebracht. Als jongste jurist van het kantoor werd ze gevraagd hem te assisteren en er groeide een

'De aanklager komt op voor de slachtoffers. Ik heb behoefte aan contact met hen. Het motiveert me, leert me doorgronden wat ik aan het doen ben'

hechte band tussen de twee, meer dan dat, ze werden heftig-lyrisch. Die vriendschap zou haar later langdurig veranderen. 'We werkten nauw samen tot aan zijn dood', zegt ze. 'Hij heeft me alles geleerd. Hoe je de georganiseerde misdaad onderzoekt, hoe je onderzocht, de hele ethiek van het vak.' Ze komt dichterbij zitten, haar stem zakt een octaaf: 'Een aanklager heeft macht. Als ik laat doorschemeren dat ik gegevens heb die jouw schuld kunnen bewijzen terwijl ik die bewijzen helemaal niet heb, dan belazer ik de kluit.'

De moord op haar mentor in 1992 door een Siciliaanse bande schook haar diep. Ze wilde er zelfs de brui aan geven. Elk jaar in mei, bij de herdenking van zijn dood, bezoekt ze met andere magistraten zijn graf in Palermo. Het is een illustratie, deze pelgrimstocht, van de heilige belofte die ze heeft afgelegd om zijn werk voort te zetten.

Het allermoeilijkst in haar werk vindt ze het gebrek aan tijd. Het vele reizen, het aanzetten van regeringen tot oppakken van verdachten, het gevecht met de VN-bureaucratie - het vreet aan haar. 'Ik zou liever meer in de rechtszaal staan om een zaak te bepleiten, mijn dagen zijn te vol.' Heeft ze nog een privéleven? 'Nou, dat is zo gering dat je nauwelijks van een privéleven kunt spreken. Maar dat is geen zelfopoffering want ik ben gek op dit werk. Ik haal de schade later wel in.'

Ze is twee keer getrouwd geweest, beide keren met juristen en beide keren liep het huwelijk op de klippen. 'Het was niet te voorkomen', zegt ze met enige spijt in haar stem. 'Het waren mediterrane mannen die nog steeds vinden dat de plaats van de vrouw achter het aanrecht is.'

Ze steekt weer een sigaret op - heeft wel geprobeerd te stoppen maar dat, zegt ze klagerig, kost toch teveel energie.

Op kantoor bij het tribunaal, een paar dagen later, is ze in een schalkse bui. Ze richt een camera op mij die ze van haar zoon, de cineast, heeft gekregen. 'Nu ben ik aan de beurt om vragen te stellen. Ik verzamel bewijsmateriaal en ik gebruik daarvoor dezelfde wapens als jij.'

Haar bureau is betimmerd met tropisch hout, de muren helemaal kaal op een VN-vlag na. Aan de wand van haar kantoor in Den Haag is dat


Eerst dacht ik, eindelijk heb ik de kans de grote Milosevic te ontmoeten. Maar hij gedraagt zich als een pruilend kind'

ver anders, maar hangen grote foto's van de drie meest gezochte mannen uit de Balkan. Miadic, Karadzic en Milosevic. Over het portret van Slobodan Milosevic staat een groot blauw kruis gekalkt. Zijn proces zal meer nog tot 2005 duren. 'Natuurlijk geeft het voldoening om hem in de hoofdtribunaal te zien staan', zegt ze en slaat zo hard met haar vinger op de tafel waar armband er van rinkelt. 'Hij heeft bloed aan zijn handen, heeft duizenden misdaden begaan.'

Er lijkt nog een ander soort motivatie bij haar te bespeuren, een emotionele. In Brussel en Rwanda heeft ze massagraven bezocht en gesproken met de nabestaanden, urenlang heeft ze verhalen aangehoord van weduwen, van ouders die hun kinderen verloren of hun hele familie kwijt zijn.

'De aanklager komt op voor de slachtoffers', zegt ze. 'Ik heb behoefte aan contact met hen. Het motiveert me, leert me doorgronden wat ik aan het doen ben. Het is de menselijke kant van het recht.'

Hoe voelt het om oog in oog te staan met Milosevic?

'Eerst dacht ik, eindelijk heb ik de kans de grote Milosevic te ontmoeten. Maar hij gedraagt zich als een pruilend kind. Na een van de eerste zittingen ben ik op hem afgestapt en heb hem op de man af gezegd: ik ben bereid om naar u te luisteren. Maar hij weigerde om met me te praten. Hij bleef maar naar de vloer staren. Toen heb ik mezelf enige genoegdoening veroorloofd. Ik droeg de bewakers op: Alsjeblieft, afvoeren die man!' 

Marlise Simons

Correspondent van de New York Times

Del Ponte: 'Mogelijk genocide in Congo'

Slachtingen, aangericht in de Congolese provincie Ituri, in het noordoosten, zouden wijzen op genocide. Dat heeft Carla del Ponte, hoofdaanklager van de tribunaal voor Rwanda en voormalig Joegoslavië, half mei tegen verslaggevers gezegd: 'Volgens onze inschatting, en voor zover bekend, zou het volkenmoord kunnen zijn.' Ze zei er niet bij welke van de strijdende partijen, militieën gelieerd aan de rivaliserende Hema- en Lendu-stammen, zich aan deze praktijk schuldig maken. De kwalificatie is opmerkelijk in VN-kringen. Toen in april 1994 de moorden in Rwanda begonnen, was er geen hoge VN-functionaris bereid dat meteen genocide te noemen. Want genocide, dat betekent actie van de Verenigde Naties en

daar was destijds na de fiasco's op de Balkan en in Somalië geen animo voor.

Een apart tribunaal voor Congo bestaat niet. Wel zou mogelijk het Internationaal Strafhof (ICC), opgericht in juli 2002, de daders die zich sindsdien aan schendingen schuldig maken in Congo kunnen berechten.

De provincie Ituri, met als hoofdstad Bunia aan het Albert Meer, is het centrum van de recente moordpartijen. Daar zijn oude vetes tussen de Hema en Lendu opgelaaid, aangewakkerd door Oegandese en Rwandese rebellen die beide stammen voor hun terugtocht uit het gebied hebben bewapend. Tot dusver zijn zeventien VN-troepen (MONUC) ter plekke, meest

Uruguayanen. Zij konden met hun beperkte VN-mandaat weinig meer uitrichten dan toezien hoe de beide stammen elkaar uitmoorden.

Half mei kwamen twee VN-waarnemers om het leven, een Nigeriaan en een Jordaniër. Sindsdien heeft de waarnemersmissie zich volledig teruggetrokken. Drieduizend troepen uit Bangladesh staan nu klaar om in te springen. Ook Fransen en Britten zouden bereid zijn troepen te sturen, zo werd eind mei bekend. Misschien was het Carla del Ponte die met haar opmerking de doorslag heeft gegeven voor een hernieuwde VN-bemoeienis.

W.O.