

Milosevic & Aanklacht

Map 2A

**Sagittarius**

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**Van:** "Sagittarius" <sagitar@hetnet.nl>  
**Aan:** <nvmipsecr@antenna.nl>  
**CC:** <j.m.g.van.der.dennen@rechten.rug.nl>  
**Verzonden:** woensdag 18 december 2002 14:23  
**Onderwerp:** oorlog tegen Irak en gezondheid  
Beste Hans,

Allereerst wil ik je vragen in het NVMP-bestuur in te brengen het verzoek om over te gaan tot actieve ondersteuning van een kort geding om, als het daadwerkelijk tot oorlog tegen Irak komt, Nederland te verbieden daaraan in enigerlei vorm medewerking te geven.

Althans, zolang er geen aanvullende Veiligheidsraadsresolutie is, die bepaaldelijk tot zo' n oorlog machtigt. De VJV is mede-initiatiefneemster.

Een dergelijk kort geding, aan te spannen mede namens een twintigtal inwoners van grote steden in Irak, heb ik vergaande staat van voorbereiding.

Verdere steun is dringend gewenst !

Ik hoop dat je erin slaagt om een en ander op korte termijn binnen het NVMP-bestuur aan de orde te stellen.

Dan is er nog de volgende kwestie.

Of mr. Milosevic een oorlogsmisdadiger is of niet, vast staat dat hij recht heeft op een zorgvuldige medische behandeling.

Hij kampt echter met zeer ernstige medische klachten en sterke uitputtingsverschijnselen.

Na lang aandringen is een medisch-specialistisch rapport over hem uitgebracht door een cardioloog.

Mr. Milosevic wil nu, naar aanleiding van dit rapport, de mening horen van een andere deskundige. Dit bij wijze van 'second opinion' over dit rapport.

Zou jij in NVMP-kring iemand weten die bereid is om naar het over hem uitgebrachte medisch-specialistische rapport te kijken voor een nader oordeel ?

Ik vraag je dit met name ook in het licht van de bemoeienis die een aantal Duitse IPPNW-medische specialisten naar aanleiding van dit rapport met deze kwestie op zich hebben genomen. Zij zijn zeer kritisch !

Ik stuur je hun reactie separaat bij e-mail.

Als je NVMP-betrokkenen zou kunnen vinden, die zich hierover zouden willen buigen, dan kan ik het specialisten-rapport sturen dat over mr. Milosevic is uitgebracht.

Voor mij is dat moeilijk te mailen, technisch gezien.

Volgens velen is het leven van mr. Milosevic daadwerkelijk in gevaar. Onaanvaardbaar is ook dat hij lange tijd verkeerde medicijnen heeft gehad, zoals de NRC wist te melden. Medicijnen die nota bene zijn bloeddruk verhoogden, in plaats van verlaagden !

Ik hoor graag van je n.a.v. beide kwesties !

hartelijke groeten,

Nico Steijnen

**Sagittarius**

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**Van:** "Vladimir Krsljanin" <vlada@sps.org.yu>  
**Aan:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:@smtp.sps.org.yu;>  
**Verzonden:** woensdag 18 december 2002 21:11  
**Onderwerp:** (in German): JUDICIAL MURDER - Press Release of ICDSM German

**International Committee to Defend Slobodan Milosevic (ICDSM) - German Section**

Internationales Komitee für die Verteidigung von Slobodan Milosevic - Deutsche Sektion

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**Pressemitteilung**

11-2002

18.12.02

**Gefahr des Justizmords weiterhin akut**

Am 18.12.2002, dem letzten Tag des „Prozesses“ gegen Slobodan Milošević in diesem Jahr, war die „Behandlung administrativer Fragen“ angekündigt. Im Klartext sollte es um die gesundheitliche Situation von Slobodan Milošević gehen und die Chance, dass er das Verfahren lebend übersteht. Die Behandlung des Problems im „Gericht“ wurde völlig den Erwartungen gerecht, die bereits jene eiskalte Bürokratensprache hervorrief, als sie eine Überlebensfrage zur „administrativen“ Frage degradierte. In weniger als drei Minuten war „Richter“ May mit dem Problem fertig.

Zunächst informierte er, dass die Kammer ärztliche Gutachten und Anträge „der Parteien“ erhalten habe. Dass zu diesen auch solche des Internationalen und von nationalen Komitees zur Verteidigung von Slobodan Milosevic waren, Appelle von US-Intellektuellen und von deutschen Ärzten sowie eine einstimmige Resolution der russischen Duma, das unterschlug May, sicher nicht aus Zeitgründen.

So ließ er auch keinerlei Diskussion zu diesem Thema zu, sondern verkündete wie ein abschließendes Urteil die drei Punkte: Fortsetzung des „Prozesses“ nach vorgesehenem Zeitplan „unter Berücksichtigung“ der Gesundheit des „Angeklagten“, keine Bestellung eines (von Carla del Ponte geforderten) Zwangsanwalts, da unvereinbar mit den Regeln des „Gerichts“, und drittens: keine zeitweilige Haftentlassung von Slobodan Milošević, die diesem eine spezialisierte Therapie durch ihn langjährig behandelnde Ärzte ermöglicht hätte.

Damit wird trotz wiederholter Warnungen, besonders von Fachärzten, sehenden Auges weiterhin eine schwere Schädigung der Gesundheit und eine Gefährdung des Lebens von Slobodan Milošević in Kauf genommen. Damit sehen sich all jene bestätigt, die aufgrund des bisherigen Desasters des Prozesses in juristischer Hinsicht unterstellt haben, dass die Lösung „Erledigung des Falles durch Ableben“ für die hinter dem „Tribunal“ stehenden Kräfte eine zumindest erwägenswerte Variante darstellt.

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Der Gesundheitszustand von Slobodan Milošević, der an außerordentlich überhöhtem Blutdruck, Herzmuskelschwäche, einer Erweiterung der linken Herzkammer und Angina pectoris mit dem Risiko des plötzlichen Herztodes leidet, hat sich in den letzten Monaten aufgrund unerträglicher Haft- und Verfahrensbedingungen rapide verschlechtert. Die erstmalige Untersuchung durch einen niederländischen Kardiologen am 15.11.2002 prognostizierte eine Senkung des Todesrisikos um 11% bei entsprechender Medikation. Am 23.11.2002 wurde nach Zeitungs- und Agenturmeldungen bekannt, dass Milošević über einen längeren Zeitraum nicht nur keine wirksamen oder unwirksamen, sondern sogar kontraindizierte, nämlich blutdrucksteigernde Medikamente verabreicht wurden.

Eine Initiative von in Deutschland praktizierenden Ärzten und Therapeuten, darunter Mitgliedern der Organisation "Internationale Ärzte zur Verhütung eines Nuklearkrieges", hat in bisher zwei Eingaben an das „Tribunal“ u.a. festgestellt:

„Dieser nur als unverantwortlich zu bezeichnende Umgang mit einem Menschen, dessen Gesundheit und Leben Ihnen mit allen Konsequenzen anvertraut ist, wirft ernsthafte Fragen nach den Gründen auf. Er steht zumindest in diametralem Widerspruch zu verschiedenen Dokumenten und Resolutionen der UN über die Behandlung von Inhaftierten, für deren Gewährleistung doch zumindest Verantwortliche, die sich für Vertreter einer UN-Institution halten, in vollem Umfang verantwortlich sein sollten.

Nach der eingetretenen und vom ICTY voll zu verantwortenden Situation bleibt als die ultimative Konsequenz, Slobodan Milošević umgehend aus dieser gesundheits- und lebensbedrohenden Situation zu befreien und ihn auf freien Fuß zu setzen, damit er sich in Belgrad der längst überfälligen Therapie durch ihn langjährig behandelnde Ärzte unterziehen kann.“

Mit seiner heutigen Entscheidung hat Richter May nicht nur solche einschlägigen Hinweise ignoriert. Offenkundig verletzt das Tribunal damit auch Resolutionen und Dokumente der UN-Generalversammlung im Bezug auf die Gesundheit von Personen in Haft, und zwar

- die Bestimmungen der Resolution der UN-Generalversammlung Nr. 3794 vom Dezember 1982, welche Ärzte und anderes medizinisches Personal verpflichtet, Personen im Gefängnis oder in Haft "eine Therapie derselben Qualität und gemäß denselben Normen wie für Personen, die sich nicht im Gefängnis oder in Haft befinden", zukommen zu lassen, sowie
- Artikel 6 des Kodex für das Verhalten von Personen der Rechtspflege, der von der UN-Generalversammlung am 17. Dezember 1979 angenommen wurde, und der alle Gerichte verpflichtet, für einen vollständigen Schutz der Gesundheit von Personen Sorge zu tragen, die ihrer Rechtsprechung unterliegen.

Darüber hinaus verletzt das „Tribunal“ sein eigenes Statut, insbesondere Artikel 21, Punkt 4b, der dazu verpflichtet, jedem Angeklagten angemessene Zeit und Voraussetzungen für die Vorbereitung seiner Verteidigung zu gewähren.

Aus Sicht des Internationalen Komitees für die Verteidigung von Slobodan Milošević deutet dies darauf hin, dass das Verfahren nur ein organisierter Versuch ist, Slobodan Milošević umzubringen.

Vertreter des Internationalen Komitees kündigte unmittelbar nach dem „potenziellen Todesurteil“ die Prüfung von rechtlichen Schritten gegen „Richter“ May an. In den nächsten Tagen wollen sie den Hohen Kommissar für Menschenrechte der Vereinten Nationen in Genf einschalten, damit im „Zirkus del Ponte“ endlich die Bestimmungen der UN Geltung erlangen.

Klaus Hartmann

Vizepräsident des ICDSM

Internationales Komitee für die Verteidigung von Slobodan Milošević

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<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:

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**Sagittarius**

Van: "CDSM" <cdsm\_b@btopenworld.com>  
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:>  
Verzonden: woensdag 18 december 2002 20:45  
Onderwerp: HAGUE - urgent alert - JUDGES DECLARED MURDER OF

**DECLARED MURDER OF MILOSEVIC**

**Today at The Hague Richard May read the "Trial Chamber Decision" which can be called a "verdict by murderers". It has three points, which say approximately the following:**

- 1. The "trial" will continue in accordance with its schedule;**
- 2. A counsel will not be imposed to President Milosevic against his will;**
- 3. President Milosevic will not be set free!**

**Text of the "decision" has not been officially published yet. There is an obvious intention to cover this death penalty behind the media smoke of Plavsic "trial".**

**Richard May took literally last seconds of today's session to read the decision, not leaving room for any comments or appeals. Before that he shortened the session for 15 minutes, obviously because 45 minutes before the last session on Plavsic was not enough for his lunch. At the beginning he mentioned that 'they received some medical reports and they have motions from the sides'. Point one was followed by remarks that the schedule will be adapted (perhaps in**

**accordance with the serious medical condition of the man whose life is at stake - Our note) and no eventual requests from the "prosecution" to prolong time for their case will be accepted. For point two he added that imposition of a counsel 'would not be in accordance with this type of the trial', but they will continue to analyze this matter. The third point was the shortest one, it was more a reference to their March decision, made upon different ground of the request. May just said: 'the accused will not be granted provisional release, as we already decided'.**

**So, all this was in accordance with the most pessimistic expectations: a short and ruthless 'administration' of death!**

**ALL PUBLIC AND LEGAL MEANS SHOULD BE USED TO EXPOSE AND PUNISH THIS NEW NATO CRIME!**

**ALL INITIATIVES FOR THE BIGGEST EFFICIENCY OF OUR ACTION ARE WELCOME!**

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**Van:** "Vladimir Krsljanin" <vlada@sps.org.yu>  
**Aan:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:@smtp.sps.org.yu;>  
**Verzonden:** woensdag 18 december 2002 11:07  
**Onderwerp:** German doctors' reply to Jorda (English translation and German original)

German physicians, some of them members of Nobel Peace Prize winning organization IPPNW addressed the Hague Tribunal with a demand that President Milosevic should be immediately set free to get medical cure in Yugoslavia and than to defend himself as a free man. After unbelievable long time for a human life at stake urgency, they received an unblievable respond from ICTY President Claude Jorda. Here is their reply:

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**INITIATIVE OF PHYSICIANS AND THERAPISTS PRACTIZING IN GERMANY**

MATTHIAS JOCHHEIM, DR. MED. UTA MADER, PROF. DR. MED. HABIL. ILSE EISEN-HAGEMANN  
DR. PHIL. HANS-PETER BRENNER, PROF. DR. MED. HABIL. INGEBORG RAPOPORT, PROF. DR.  
MED. DR. PHIL. DR. HC. MULT. SAMUEL MITJA RAPOPORT, DR. MED. CHRISTA ANDERS, DR.  
MED. ERNST BELLMER, DR. MED. IRIS JONKANSKI, DR. MED. WOLFGANG HÜHN

**To Mr. Claude Jorda**

and to the attention of

Mr. Richard May, Mr. Steven Kay, Mr. Branislav Tapuskovic

ICTY The Hague

December 13, 2002

**Live and health of Slobodan Milosevic need consequent measures immediately**

Dear Mr. Jorda,

Thank you for your letter of November 27, 2002, received by facsimile on November 29, 2002, by which you responded to our letter of November 8, 2002.

Despite your claim that according to the Tribunal Rules you are not responsible for the above mentioned subject, it is undisputable that a serious damage to the health of Slobodan Milosevic or even his death under the auspices of the Tribunal would be unavoidably seen as responsibility of the institution, for which you in your function carry the biggest and in the last instance decision making responsibility.

In your November 27, 2002 letter of response, you try to diminish our concern about life and health of Slobodan Milosevic with the remark, that he receives good and highly qualified medical treatment

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by the medical staff of the prison. This argument is not convincing from our perspective for the following reasons:

The „medical staff“, which is responsible for all prisoners, consist of only one doctor and one nurse.

The doctor is not a specialist for Mr. Milosevic's illness.

The good and highly qualified treatment consist of just one weekly visit by the doctor. Neither an intensive, special examination nor the necessary therapy are taking place.

Therefore, our conclusions from November 8, 2002 letter, that Mr. Milosevic is getting no permanent medical control and observation and no necessary treatment, remain.

Our expressed concerns were increased by a report of NRC Handelsblad and the news agency Reuters of November 23, 2002 as well as press reports by Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung and Stuttgarter Zeitung of November 25, 2002. They state that Slobodan Milosevic receives for a longer period of time not just inefficient, but contraindicated medication, namely blood pressure increasing medication.

How such situation could be in accordance with the alleged high quality of medical treatment, we do not want to comment. But we emphasize that this would be an unbelievable scandal which would pass over any level of tolerance for all those who in their practice have duty to feel obliged to the Hippocrates Oath.

Upon the order of the responsible Trial Chamber on November 15, 2002 a first examination by a Dutch specialist took place. He stated in his report, that with appropriate medication the risk of death can be reduced by 11%. We ask for your understanding that we strongly deny calculations like that as basis of further procedure.

We strongly condemn the attempt of the Prosecution to use the threatened health situation of Slobodan Milosevic as a pretext and occasion to deny him his right to defend himself in person.

The attempt to force upon an „assigned counsel“ is not only violating the law, it also contains the danger of producing counterproductive effects on Mr. Milosevic's state of health: The enforcement of an assigned counsel against the stated will of the defendant would not lead to improvement and easement of the situation, but would increase the stress and the mental burden and by that would also increase the risk. That proposal of the Prosecution is counterproductive from the medical point of view, and contraindicated.

The whole situation leads us to reinforce our demands, that Slobodan Milosevic has to be released immediately from the heath- and life-threatening situation and set free in order to get the long time needed therapy by his own specialists in Belgrade. After that, he - with appropriate guaranties - should be able to defend himself from freedom against the charges raised.

We support explicitly the proposals filed in that sense by the Amici Curiae.

Dear Mr. Jorda,

We ask you to take these urgently required measures and to secure by that effectiveness of the United Nations regulations concerning the treatment of prisoners.

On instruction of the Initiative,

***Dr. med. Uta Mader***

*(Köln), physician*

*International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) - German Section;*

*Union of Democratic Physicians (Verein der demokratischen Ärztinnen und Ärzte)*

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## **INITIATIVE VON IN DEUTSCHLAND PRAKTIZIERENDEN ÄRZTEN UND THERAPEUTEN**

MATTHIAS JOCHHEIM, DR. MED. UTA MADER, PROF. DR. MED. HABIL. ILSE EISEN-HAGEMANN  
DR. PHIL. HANS-PETER BRENNER, PROF. DR. MED. HABIL. INGEBORG RAPOPORT, PROF. DR.  
MED. DR. PHIL. DR. HC. MULT. SAMUEL MITJA RAPOPORT, DR. MED. CHRISTA ANDERS, DR.  
MED. ERNST BELLMER, DR. MED. IRIS JONKANSKI, DR. MED. WOLFGANG HÜHN

An Herrn Claude Jorda

zur Kenntnis an die Herren

Richard May, Steven Kay, Branislav Tapuskovic

ICTY Den Haag

13.12.2002

### **Leben und Gesundheit von Slobodan Milosevic erfordern konsequente Sofortmassnahmen**

Sehr geehrter Herr Jorda!

Wir bedanken uns für Ihr Schreiben vom 27. November 2002, zugegangen per Fax am 29. 11. 2002, mit dem Sie auf unser Schreiben vom 08. November 2002 antworten.

Obwohl Sie, wie Sie betonen, nach den Regeln des Tribunals für die angesprochene Thematik nicht zuständig sind, dürfte unbestreitbar sein, dass eine ernsthafte Schädigung der Gesundheit von Slobodan Milosevic oder gar sein Ableben unter der Verantwortung des Tribunals unvermeidlich der Institution insgesamt zugerechnet würde, für die Sie Kraft Ihrer Funktion die hervorgehobene und letztentscheidende Verantwortung tragen.

In Ihrem Antwortschreiben vom 27. November 2002 versuchen Sie, unsere Sorge um Leben und Gesundheit von Slobodan Milosevic mit dem Hinweis zu zerstreuen, dass er eine gute und hoch qualitative medizinische Betreuung durch den Medizinischen Stab des Gefängnisses erhalte. Dieses Argument vermag aus unserer Sicht nicht zu überzeugen, und zwar aus den Gründen:

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Der „Medizinische Stab“, der für alle Gefangenen zuständig ist, besteht lediglich aus einem Arzt und einer Schwester.

Der Arzt ist kein Spezialist für die hier vorliegende Erkrankung.

Die gute und hochqualitative Betreuung besteht aus lediglich einem Arztbesuch pro Woche, eine eingehende, spezielle Untersuchung findet ebenso wenig statt wie die erforderliche Therapie.

Damit bleibt es bei unserer am 08. November 2002 getroffenen Feststellung, dass Herr Milosevic weder unter ständiger ärztlicher Beobachtung und Kontrolle steht, geschweige denn die gebotene adäquate Therapie erhält.

Unsere diesbezüglich geäußerten Befürchtungen wurden endgültig erhärtet durch einen Bericht im NRC Handelsblad und der Nachrichtenagentur Reuters vom 23. November 2002 sowie Pressemeldungen wie die der Frankfurter Allgemeinen Zeitung und der Stuttgarter Zeitung vom 25. November 2002. Danach wurden Slobodan Milosevic über einen längeren Zeitraum nicht nur keine wirksamen oder unwirksamen, sondern sogar kontraindizierte, nämlich blutdrucksteigernde Medikamente verabreicht.

Wie dieser Sachverhalt mit der angeblich hohen Qualität der medizinischen Betreuung korrespondiert, möchten wir nicht kommentieren. Wir stellen aber fest, dass mit diesem unglaublichen Skandal hinsichtlich der praktizierten Obhutspflicht die Toleranzgrenze für all jene überschritten ist, die sich dem hippokratischen Eid verpflichtet fühlen.

Nach Anordnung der zuständigen Kammer erfolgte am 15. November 2002 erstmals eine Untersuchung durch einen niederländischen Facharzt. Dieser stellt in seinem Bericht fest, dass bei entsprechender Medikation das Todesrisiko um 11% vermindert werden kann. Wir bitten um Ihr Verständnis, dass wir derartige Kalkulationen als Grundlage der weiteren Verfahrensweise strikt ablehnen müssen.

Wir weisen entschieden den Versuch der Anlage zurück, den bedrohlichen Gesundheitszustand von Slobodan Milosevic zum Vorwand und Anlass zu nehmen, ihm sein originäres Recht auf Selbstverteidigung absprechen zu wollen.

Der Versuch der Oktroyierung eines „Pflichtverteidigers“ ist nicht nur rechtssystemwidrig; er birgt auch die Gefahr, in gesundheitlicher Hinsicht das Gegenteil des vorgeblichen Ziels zu erreichen: Die Aufzwingung eines Pflichtverteidigers gegen den erklärten Willen des Angeklagten wird nicht zu einer Verbesserung und Entspannung der Situation führen, sondern sie erhöht den Stress, die mentale Belastungssituation und verschärft damit die Gefährdungslage. Dieser Vorschlag der Verteidigung ist also auch aus medizinischer Sicht kontraproduktiv und kontraindiziert.

Wir haben allen Anlass, unsere Forderung zu wiederholen, Slobodan Milosevic umgehend aus dieser gesundheits- und lebensbedrohenden Situation zu befreien und ihn auf freien Fuß zu setzen, damit er sich in Belgrad der längst überfälligen Therapie durch ihn langjährig behandelnde Ärzte unterziehen kann. Danach soll er sich, mit entsprechenden Garantien, in Freiheit gegen die erhobenen Anklagen verteidigen können.

Wir unterstützen nachdrücklich diesbezügliche Vorschläge der Amici Curiae.

Sehr geehrter Herr Jorda,

wir appellieren an Sie, diese dringend gebotenen Sofortmaßnahmen zu ergreifen und damit die

Wirksamkeit der Bestimmungen der Vereinten Nationen über die Behandlung von Inhaftierten sicher zu stellen.

Im Auftrag

***Dr. med. Uta Mader***

*(Köln), Ärztin*

*IPPNW - Deutsche Sektion, Verein der demokratischen Ärztinnen und Ärzte*

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Despite your claim that according to the Tribunal Rules you are not responsible for the above mentioned subject, it is undisputable that a serious damage to the health of Slobodan Milosevic or even his death under the auspices of the Tribunal would be unavoidably seen as responsibility of the institution, for which you in your function carry the biggest and in the last instance decision making responsibility.

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How such situation could be in accordance with the alleged high quality of medical treatment, we do not want to comment. But we emphasize that this would be an unbelievable scandal which would pass over any level of tolerance for all those who in their practice have duty to feel obliged to the Hippocrates Oath.

Upon the order of the responsible Trial Chamber on November 15, 2002 a first examination by a Dutch specialist took place. He stated in his report, that with appropriate medication the risk of death can be reduced by 11%. We ask for your understanding that we strongly deny calculations like that as basis of further procedure.

We strongly condemn the attempt of the Prosecution to use the threatened health situation of Slobodan Milosevic as a pretext and occasion to deny him his right to defend himself in person.

The attempt to force upon an „assigned counsel“ is not only violating the law, it also contains the danger of producing counterproductive effects on Mr. Milosevic's state of health: The enforcement of an assigned counsel against the stated will of the defendant would not lead to improvement and easement of the situation, but would increase the stress and the mental burden and by that would also increase the risk. That proposal of the Prosecution is counterproductive from the medical point of view, and contraindicated.

The whole situation leads us to reinforce our demands, that Slobodan Milosevic has to be released immediately from the health- and life-threatening situation and set free in order to get the long time needed therapy by his own specialists in Belgrade. After that, he - with appropriate guaranties - should be able to defend himself from freedom against the charges raised.

We support explicitly the proposals filed in that sense by the Amici Curiae.

Dear Mr. Jorda,

We ask you to take these urgently required measures and to secure by that effectiveness of the United Nations regulations concerning the treatment of prisoners.

On instruction of the Initiative,

*Dr. med. Uta Mader*

*(Köln), physician*

*International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) - German Section;*

*Union of Democratic Physicians (Verein der demokratischen Ärztinnen und Ärzte)*

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## **INITIATIVE VON IN DEUTSCHLAND PRAKTIZIERENDEN ÄRZTEN UND THERAPEUTEN**

MATTHIAS JOCHHEIM, DR. MED. UTA MADER, PROF. DR. MED. HABIL. ILSE EISEN-HAGEMANN  
DR. PHIL. HANS-PETER BRENNER, PROF. DR. MED. HABIL. INGEBORG RAPOPORT, PROF. DR.  
MED. DR. PHIL. DR. HC. MULT. SAMUEL MITJA RAPOPORT, DR. MED. CHRISTA ANDERS, DR.  
MED. ERNST BELLMER, DR. MED. IRIS JONKANSKI, DR. MED. WOLFGANG HÜHN

An Herrn Claude Jorda

zur Kenntnis an die Herren

Richard May, Steven Kay, Branislav Tapuskovic

ICTY Den Haag

13.12.2002

### **Leben und Gesundheit von Slobodan Milosevic erfordern konsequente Sofortmassnahmen**

Sehr geehrter Herr Jorda!

Wir bedanken uns für Ihr Schreiben vom 27. November 2002, zugegangen per Fax am 29. 11. 2002, mit dem Sie auf unser Schreiben vom 08. November 2002 antworten.

Obwohl Sie, wie Sie betonen, nach den Regeln des Tribunals für die angesprochene Thematik nicht zuständig sind, dürfte unbestreitbar sein, dass eine ernsthafte Schädigung der Gesundheit von Slobodan Milosevic oder gar sein Ableben unter der Verantwortung des Tribunals unvermeidlich der Institution insgesamt zugerechnet würde, für die Sie Kraft Ihrer Funktion die hervorgehobene und letztentscheidende Verantwortung tragen.

In Ihrem Antwortschreiben vom 27. November 2002 versuchen Sie, unsere Sorge um Leben und Gesundheit von Slobodan Milosevic mit dem Hinweis zu zerstreuen, dass er eine gute und hoch qualitative medizinische Betreuung durch den Medizinischen Stab des Gefängnisses erhalte. Dieses Argument vermag aus unserer Sicht nicht zu überzeugen, und zwar aus den Gründen:

18-12-02

Der „Medizinische Stab“, der für alle Gefangenen zuständig ist, besteht lediglich aus einem Arzt und einer Schwester.

Der Arzt ist kein Spezialist für die hier vorliegende Erkrankung.

Die gute und hochqualitative Betreuung besteht aus lediglich einem Arztbesuch pro Woche, eine eingehende, spezielle Untersuchung findet ebenso wenig statt wie die erforderliche Therapie.

Damit bleibt es bei unserer am 08. November 2002 getroffenen Feststellung, dass Herr Milosevic weder unter ständiger ärztlicher Beobachtung und Kontrolle steht, geschweige denn die gebotene adäquate Therapie erhält.

Unsere diesbezüglich geäußerten Befürchtungen wurden endgültig erhärtet durch einen Bericht im NRC Handelsblad und der Nachrichtenagentur Reuters vom 23. November 2002 sowie Pressemeldungen wie die der Frankfurter Allgemeinen Zeitung und der Stuttgarter Zeitung vom 25. November 2002. Danach wurden Slobodan Milosevic über einen längeren Zeitraum nicht nur keine wirksamen oder unwirksamen, sondern sogar kontraindizierte, nämlich blutdrucksteigernde Medikamente verabreicht.

Wie dieser Sachverhalt mit der angeblich hohen Qualität der medizinischen Betreuung korrespondiert, möchten wir nicht kommentieren. Wir stellen aber fest, dass mit diesem unglaublichen Skandal hinsichtlich der praktizierten Obhutspflicht die Toleranzgrenze für all jene überschritten ist, die sich dem hippokratischen Eid verpflichtet fühlen.

Nach Anordnung der zuständigen Kammer erfolgte am 15. November 2002 erstmals eine Untersuchung durch einen niederländischen Facharzt. Dieser stellt in seinem Bericht fest, dass bei entsprechender Medikation das Todesrisiko um 11% vermindert werden kann. Wir bitten um Ihr Verständnis, dass wir derartige Kalkulationen als Grundlage der weiteren Verfahrensweise strikt ablehnen müssen.

Wir weisen entschieden den Versuch der Anlage zurück, den bedrohlichen Gesundheitszustand von Slobodan Milosevic zum Vorwand und Anlass zu nehmen, ihm sein originäres Recht auf Selbstverteidigung absprechen zu wollen.

Der Versuch der Oktroyierung eines „Pflichtverteidigers“ ist nicht nur rechtssystemwidrig; er birgt auch die Gefahr, in gesundheitlicher Hinsicht das Gegenteil des vorgeblichen Ziels zu erreichen: Die Aufzwingung eines Pflichtverteidigers gegen den erklärten Willen des Angeklagten wird nicht zu einer Verbesserung und Entspannung der Situation führen, sondern sie erhöht den Stress, die mentale Belastungssituation und verschärft damit die Gefährdungslage. Dieser Vorschlag der Verteidigung ist also auch aus medizinischer Sicht kontraproduktiv und kontraindiziert.

Wir haben allen Anlass, unsere Forderung zu wiederholen, Slobodan Milosevic umgehend aus dieser gesundheits- und lebensbedrohenden Situation zu befreien und ihn auf freien Fuß zu setzen, damit er sich in Belgrad der längst überfälligen Therapie durch ihn langjährig behandelnde Ärzte unterziehen kann. Danach soll er sich, mit entsprechenden Garantien, in Freiheit gegen die erhobenen Anklagen verteidigen können.

Wir unterstützen nachdrücklich diesbezügliche Vorschläge der Amici Curiae.

Sehr geehrter Herr Jorda,

wir appellieren an Sie, diese dringend gebotenen Sofortmaßnahmen zu ergreifen und damit die

Wirksamkeit der Bestimmungen der Vereinten Nationen über die Behandlung von Inhaftierten sicher zu stellen.

Im Auftrag

***Dr. med. Uta Mader***

*(Köln), Ärztin*

*IPPNW - Deutsche Sektion, Verein der demokratischen Ärztinnen und Ärzte*

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**Sagittarius**

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Van: "CDSM" <cdsm\_b@btopenworld.com>  
 Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:>  
 Verzonden: woensdag 18 december 2002 20:46  
 Onderwerp: NATO AND NATOITES ATTACK FREEDOM - actual briefs from The Hague

**NATO AND NATOITES ATTACK FREEDOM**

- actual briefs from The Hague -

December 18, 2002

1) Canadian lawyer Tiphaine Dickson, presently at The Hague, on behalf of ICDSM, have not been allowed this morning to enter the court room audience. Policeman at the entrance explained that she had to make arrangements in advance. In principle the "trial" is open and anyone, presenting ID, can enter the audience. They can eventually deny entrance only if all seats are occupied. This morning there was no queue at the entrance. After her telephone appeal and telephone appeal from SLOBODA, ICTY stuff promised that she will be let in. We expect new information.

2) Up to this moment, despite many appeals and request of President Milosevic, ICDSM delegation have not yet got the "tribunal"'s approval to meet the President.

3) While we write this, "tribunal" is still dealing with one of their "witnesses" - former Mayor of Dubrovnik. Not yet with "administrative" issues. They don't care about the human life, or more precisely, they used to destroy human lives. They also don't care about people of Serbia and Yugoslavia, about Yugoslav and Russian Parliaments, about parties, organizations, medical doctors, university professors, lawyers and many other from all over the world appealing. They think they are above the law. But they are not.

4) One of the biggest insults to the law and to even common sense is parallely taking place at The Hague these days. Brutal murderer Madeleine Albright, holocaust-profiteer Eli Vazel and couple of other criminal actors appeared in a necrophilic show around Biljana Plavsic's "admission of guilt". With absolutely no trace of law, this show exposed the essence of ICTY in a way that everyone who still has any illusions about the NATO puppet "court" should not only abandon illusions, but should join the struggle against this modern inquisition and civilizational outrage.

5) In denying the permission for the visit, "tribunal" mentioned ICDSM web site and doubts that delegation may address the press. So, as we all know, fear from the truth is their principal fear.

6) One can illustrate their panic and attempt to shake the determination and unity of the people and ICDSM with the outrageous anonymous e-mail spamming campaign on the eve of the visit, containing attack on two leading ICDSM personalities, Jared Israel and Nico Varkevisser. Accusing them of being US/Israeli agents using as argument a pamphlet from a Saudi Arabian newspaper clearly shows the background of the attack and the kitchen. It is unnecessary to present counter arguments to any progressive person on these two brilliant leftist writers, analysts and activists. Who made more exposure and wrote more based-on-facts articles on Nazi-type antiserbian propaganda than Jared Israel? Who is for years focus of defense of Cuba and Yugoslavia in The Netherlands but Nico Varkevisser, decorated with a medal of honor by Fidel Castro in person? Who never had doubts that struggle of President Milosevic is crucial for the defense of all peoples? But it is also clear in whose interest is to launch false attacks on these men. In the interest of the New Nazis and their Gestapo at the

ie.

7) Remember the following: 'The sanctions against [people of] Yugoslavia will go on "because the crisis (...) with respect to Slobodan Milošević, his close associates and supporters (...)" /George W. Bush, Presidential Notice, May 27, 2002/'

**8) ACT IN FULL POWER TO PROTECT THE LIFE OF SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC, THE MAN WHO DEFENDS OUR FREEDOM, OUR RIGHTS AND OUR HOPES!**

Vladimir Krsljanin

International Secretary, SPS

International Coordinator, Sloboda

Yugoslav Coordinator, ICDSM

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## **Sagittarius**

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**Van:** "CDSM"  
**Aan:** <Undisclosed-Recipient;>  
**Verzonden:** woensdag 18 december 2002 21:07  
**Onderwerp:** A very successful meeting  
Dear friends,

Thanks for all of you who turned up last night, so close to Christmas!!

The meeting was a great success. Around 50 people attended and the three speakers were extremely good. During the discussion a large financial collection was taken for the international defence fund.

As you can see from the recent news we have sent out, there is much work going on and the costs do mount up. We have a Canadian lawyer and two Serb lawyers in The Hague as well as the ongoing logistical and campaigning efforts. The costs of the meeting, including room booking, advertising, mailing, phone calls and leaflets were all met by committee members and so every penny you send will go direct to the defence effort. It is probably the best investment you can make right now!!

Anyone who was not able to attend the meeting and who may still want to contribute - it is never too late!!

Please make cheques out to 'CDSM' and post to:

P Davidson  
21 St Margarets Road  
London E12 5DR

Let me know if you are sending a cheque please.

Thanks again for your support.

regards

Paul D

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 Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>  
 Verzonden: donderdag 19 december 2002 9:14  
 Onderwerp: Exclusive: Legal Remarks of ICDSM Attorney, directly from the

**PRELIMINARY LEGAL REMARKS OF ICDSM ATTORNEY Ms. TIPHAINE DICKSON, PRESENT TODAY AT THE HAGUE**

*18 December 2002, The Hague*

Earlier today, Trial Chamber III allocated a few minutes of its timetable to summarize a decision with respect to Slobodan Milosevic's health, trial conditions, and to rule on requests for provisional release filed by parties.

The full ruling was unavailable to the public and the press.

On 5th and 12th of November, the ICDSM petitioned the Chamber for urgent specialized medical attention and for the provisional release of Slobodan Milosevic. On the basis of medical reports and international law, we argued that the current trial conditions constitute a threat to his life, that lack of adequate medical attention is tantamount to torture, and requested that he be afforded the right to urgent, specialized medical care by physicians familiar with his history. This requires provisional release to Belgrade as well as full convalescence.

The ICDSM further submitted that President Milosevic's fundamental right to represent himself, and to not have counsel imposed on him creates an obligation on the Chamber to accommodate the exercise of this right by providing conditions other than those of a grueling trial schedule with restricted access to his legal assistants in a prison. We provided the Chamber with a legal basis upon which to order Slobodan Milosevic's release for the continuation of the trial in a non-custodial setting, following full convalescence.

Chamber III has today denied provisional release, and appears, since they affirm that they will proceed according to their "timetable", to have denied requests for an adjournment so that President Milosevic may obtain specialized medical evaluation and treatment. They did not mention the ICDSM's motion or requests.

Trial Chamber III has disregarded the reasoning of their colleagues in the Talic matter who stated:

*"It would be inappropriate for this Trial Chamber to wait until Talic is on the verge of death before considering favorably his application for provisional release"*

The ICDSM considers that it would also be "inappropriate" for the Chamber to wait until these trial conditions cause severe cardiac complications, stroke, or death before "considering favorably" an application for provisional release. It is also "inappropriate" to wait until Slobodan Milosevic is on the verge of death before "favorably considering" a request for specialized medical attention.

The Chamber stated that "as previously" they would deny provisional release. Previously, that is March 6th 2002, Slobodan Milosevic's health conditions had not deteriorated as they have in the past months. Previously, the arguments of the court-appointed amici took up only four transcript pages including the following remark:

*"So I'm not insisting on provisional release and equality of arms, so to speak".*

The ICDSM did not consider that the matter had been previously argued in an adequate manner. It appears from the fragment of the decision to which the public was made privy that the Chamber has equated previous requests with current ones. Such an interpretation would constitute a gross misapprehension of the facts and the law.

The Chamber did however refuse to impose counsel on President Milosevic. The ICDSM is relieved that Slobodan Milosevic's arguments supporting his right to represent himself and not to have counsel imposed on him have prevailed.

**Another statement will follow the disclosure of the full decision.**

***Tiphaine Dickson***

*Attorney ICDSM*

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 Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:@smtp.sps.org.yu;>  
 Verzonden: woensdag 18 december 2002 21:11  
 Onderwerp: (in German): JUDICIAL MURDER - Press Release of ICDSM German

**International Committee to Defend Slobodan Milosevic (ICDSM) - German Section**

Internationales Komitee für die Verteidigung von Slobodan Milosevic - Deutsche Sektion

*c/o Klaus Hartmann  
 Schillstraße 7  
 D-63067 Offenbach am Main  
 T/F: -69 - 83 58 50  
 e-mail: vorstand@freidenker.de  
 URL: [www.free-slobo.de](http://www.free-slobo.de)*

**Pressemitteilung**

11-2002

18.12.02

**Gefahr des Justizmords weiterhin akut**

Am 18.12.2002, dem letzten Tag des „Prozesses“ gegen Slobodan Milošević in diesem Jahr, war die „Behandlung administrativer Fragen“ angekündigt. Im Klartext sollte es um die gesundheitliche Situation von Slobodan Milošević gehen und die Chance, dass er das Verfahren lebend übersteht. Die Behandlung des Problems im „Gericht“ wurde völlig den Erwartungen gerecht, die bereits jene eiskalte Bürokratensprache hervorrief, als sie eine Überlebensfrage zur „administrativen“ Frage degradierte. In weniger als drei Minuten war „Richter“ May mit dem Problem fertig.

Zunächst informierte er, dass die Kammer ärztliche Gutachten und Anträge „der Parteien erhalten habe. Dass zu diesen auch solche des Internationalen und von nationalen Komitees zur Verteidigung von Slobodan Milosevic waren, Appelle von US-Intellektuellen und von deutschen Ärzten sowie eine einstimmige Resolution der russischen Duma, das unterschlug May, sicher nicht aus Zeitgründen.

So ließ er auch keinerlei Diskussion zu diesem Thema zu, sondern verkündete wie ein abschließendes Urteil die drei Punkte: Fortsetzung des „Prozesses“ nach vorgesehenem Zeitplan „unter Berücksichtigung“ der Gesundheit des „Angeklagten“, keine Bestellung eines (von Carla del Ponte geforderten) Zwangsanwalts, da unvereinbar mit den Regeln des „Gerichts“, und drittens: keine zeitweilige Haftentlassung von Slobodan Milošević, die diesem eine spezialisierte Therapie durch ihn langjährig behandelnde Ärzte ermöglicht hätte.

Damit wird trotz wiederholter Warnungen, besonders von Fachärzten, sehenden Auges weiterhin eine schwere Schädigung der Gesundheit und eine Gefährdung des Lebens von Slobodan Milošević in Kauf genommen. Damit sehen sich all jene bestätigt, die aufgrund des bisherigen Desasters des Prozesses in juristischer Hinsicht unterstellt haben, dass die Lösung „Erledigung des Falles durch Ableben“ für die hinter dem „Tribunal“ stehenden Kräfte eine zumindest erwägenswerte Variante darstellt.

19-12-02

Der Gesundheitszustand von Slobodan Milošević, der an außerordentlich überhöhtem Blutdruck, Herzmuskelschwäche, einer Erweiterung der linken Herzkammer und Angina pectoris mit dem Risiko des plötzlichen Herztodes leidet, hat sich in den letzten Monaten aufgrund unerträglicher Haft- und Verfahrensbedingungen rapide verschlechtert. Die erstmalige Untersuchung durch einen niederländischen Kardiologen am 15.11.2002 prognostizierte eine Senkung des Todesrisikos um 11% bei entsprechender Medikation. Am 23.11.2002 wurde nach Zeitungs- und Agenturmeldungen bekannt, dass Milošević über einen längeren Zeitraum nicht nur keine wirksamen oder unwirksamen, sondern sogar kontraindizierte, nämlich blutdrucksteigernde Medikamente verabreicht wurden.

Eine Initiative von in Deutschland praktizierenden Ärzten und Therapeuten, darunter Mitgliedern der Organisation "Internationale Ärzte zur Verhütung eines Nuklearkrieges", hat in bisher zwei Eingaben an das „Tribunal“ u.a. festgestellt:

„Dieser nur als unverantwortlich zu bezeichnende Umgang mit einem Menschen, dessen Gesundheit und Leben Ihnen mit allen Konsequenzen anvertraut ist, wirft ernsthafte Fragen nach den Gründen auf. Er steht zumindest in diametralem Widerspruch zu verschiedenen Dokumenten und Resolutionen der UN über die Behandlung von Inhaftierten, für deren Gewährleistung doch zumindest Verantwortliche, die sich für Vertreter einer UN-Institution halten, in vollem Umfang verantwortlich sein sollten.

Nach der eingetretenen und vom ICTY voll zu verantwortenden Situation bleibt als die ultimative Konsequenz, Slobodan Milošević umgehend aus dieser gesundheits- und lebensbedrohenden Situation zu befreien und ihn auf freien Fuß zu setzen, damit er sich in Belgrad der längst überfälligen Therapie durch ihn langjährig behandelnde Ärzte unterziehen kann.“

Mit seiner heutigen Entscheidung hat Richter May nicht nur solche einschlägigen Hinweise ignoriert. Offenkundig verletzt das Tribunal damit auch Resolutionen und Dokumente der UN-Generalversammlung im Bezug auf die Gesundheit von Personen in Haft, und zwar

- die Bestimmungen der Resolution der UN-Generalversammlung Nr. 3794 vom Dezember 1982, welche Ärzte und anderes medizinisches Personal verpflichtet, Personen im Gefängnis oder in Haft "eine Therapie derselben Qualität und gemäß denselben Normen wie für Personen, die sich nicht im Gefängnis oder in Haft befinden", zukommen zu lassen, sowie
- Artikel 6 des Kodex für das Verhalten von Personen der Rechtspflege, der von der UN-Generalversammlung am 17. Dezember 1979 angenommen wurde, und der alle Gerichte verpflichtet, für einen vollständigen Schutz der Gesundheit von Personen Sorge zu tragen, die ihrer Rechtsprechung unterliegen.

Darüber hinaus verletzt das „Tribunal“ sein eigenes Statut, insbesondere Artikel 21, Punkt 4b, der dazu verpflichtet, jedem Angeklagten angemessene Zeit und Voraussetzungen für die Vorbereitung seiner Verteidigung zu gewähren.

Aus Sicht des Internationalen Komitees für die Verteidigung von Slobodan Milošević deutet dies darauf hin, dass das Verfahren nur ein organisierter Versuch ist, Slobodan Milošević umzubringen.

Vertreter des Internationalen Komitees kündigte unmittelbar nach dem „potenziellen Todesurteil“ die Prüfung von rechtlichen Schritten gegen „Richter“ May an. In den nächsten Tagen wollen sie den Hohen Kommissar für Menschenrechte der Vereinten Nationen in Genf einschalten, damit im „Zirkus del Ponte“ endlich die Bestimmungen der UN Geltung erlangen.

Klaus Hartmann

Vizepräsident des ICDSM

**Sagittarius**

**Van:** "Vladimir Krsljanin" <vlada@sps.org.yu>  
**Aan:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:@smtp.sps.org.yu;>  
**Verzonden:** donderdag 19 december 2002 17:15  
**Onderwerp:** DANGER OF JUDICIAL MURDER - ICDSM German Section statement (in

**DANGER OF JUDICIAL MURDER STILL ACUTE**

*Press statement issued by the German Section of the International Committee to Defend Slobodan Milosevic, 18/12/2002*

On 18.12.2002, the last day of the "trial" of Slobodan Milosevic this year, it was announced that "administrative questions" would be dealt with. In plain language, the issue was Slobodan Milosevic's state of health and the possibility of him surviving the trial. The treatment of this matter by the "court" was fully in line with what one would expect from the cold-blooded bureaucratic reduction of a matter of life and death to an "administrative issue". "Judge" May dealt with the matter in less than three minutes.

Firstly he stated that that the Chamber had received medical reports and petitions from "the sides". May, certainly not for reasons of time, withheld the information that these included submissions from the International and National Committees for the Defence of Slobodan Milosevic, appeals from US intellectuals and German doctors and a unanimous resolution from the Russian Duma [parliament].

He permitted no discussion of the issues but pronounced three points as a final decision: maintenance of the previously established schedule "with monitoring" of the health of the "accused", no imposition of a defence lawyer - which Carla del Ponte had asked for - since this would be incompatible with the rules of the "Court", and, thirdly, no temporary release of Slobodan Milosevic to allow him specialist treatment by his long-standing doctors.

Thus, despite repeated warnings, notably from medical specialists, we see the acceptance of severe damage to the health and a threat to the life of Slobodan Milosevic. All those who have assumed that, given the disaster of the trial so far from the legal point of view, the forces behind the "Tribunal" view the termination of the trial through death as an option which is at least worthy of consideration, now feel confirmed in that supposition.

The state of Slobodan Milosevic's health - he suffers from exceptionally high blood pressure, weak heart muscles, hypertrophy of the left ventricle and angina pectoris carrying the risk of sudden death through heart failure - has swiftly deteriorated in recent months because of the intolerable conditions of detention and trial. The first examination by a Dutch cardiologist on 15.11.02 predicted an 11% reduction in the risk of death given appropriate medication. On 23.11.02 newspapers and press agencies reported that Milosevic had over a long period not only not been receiving effective or ineffective drugs, but had in fact been given contra-indicated drugs which actually increased his blood pressure.

A group of practising doctors and therapists from Germany, including members of "International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War" in their two petitions to the "Tribunal" have pointed out *inter alia* that:

"This attitude, which can only be described as irresponsible, towards a person whose health and life are in your care with all the consequences flowing from that, raises serious questions as regards motives. At the very least it is totally at odds with various UN documents and resolutions concerning the treatment of prisoners which responsible persons claiming to be representatives of a UN institution ought of all people fully to uphold.

The necessary outcome of this situation, for which the ICTY carries full responsibility, is that Slobodan Milosevic be immediately released from this health- and life-threatening situation and set free so that he can receive in Belgrade the long overdue treatment from the doctors who have treated him for many years."

By his decision today, Judge May has done more than just ignore such expert advice. The "Tribunal" is also thereby blatantly flouting UN General Assembly resolutions and documents relating to the health of persons in custody, in particular:

\* the provisions of UN General Assembly Resolution no. 37/194 of December 1982, which stipulates that "health personnel, particularly physicians, charged with the medical care of prisoners and detainees, have a duty to provide them with protection of their physical and mental health and treatment of disease of the same quality and standard as is afforded to those who are not imprisoned or detained".

\* Article 6 of the Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials adopted by the UN General Assembly on 17 December 1979 which obliges all courts to "ensure the full protection of the health of persons in their custody".

Moreover, the "Tribunal" is violating its own rules, specifically article 21 point 4b, which stipulates that every defendant shall have "adequate time and facilities for the preparation of his defence".

In the view of the International Committee for the Defence of Slobodan Milosevic, all the above indicates that the trial is nothing more than an organised attempt to kill Slobodan Milosevic.

Immediately after this "potential death sentence", representatives of the International Committee announced that they were considering legal steps against "Judge" May. In the next few days, they want the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights in Geneva to intervene so that UN decisions are at last applied in "Del Ponte's Circus".

**Klaus Hartmann**

Vice-President ICDSM (International Committee for the Defence of Slobodan Milosevic)  
<mailto:vorstand@freidenker.de>

ICDSM <http://www.icdsm.org/>

ICDSM - German Section <http://www.free-slobo.de/>

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>

for your donations:

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

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**van holst en steijnen**

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**From:** CDSM <cdsm\_b@btopenworld.com>  
**To:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>  
**Sent:** woensdag 7 augustus 2002 13:48  
**Subject:** Milosevic III - New Recess

**WORSENING OF MILOSEVIC'S HEALTH PRODUCES RECESS OF THE "TRIAL"**

**From FREEDOM Association:**

Consilium of medical experts appointed by "ICTY", in presence of the long time personal doctor of President Milosevic, colonel Zdravko Mijailovic, made on Tuesday afternoon a routine check-up of the President's health.

They measured blood pressure of 120/200 mmHg!

Despite their findings, the "trial" resumed today.

After another strong appeal from the Yugoslav Committee (see below), only today Afternoon, the "court" accepted doctors' advises and decided that, due to the need to change the (practically unexisting) therapy and to make additional check-ups and laboratory analyses, the "accused" shall not appear in the "court" for at least next two days, until further notice.

About two weeks ago, after the second break in the "trial", due to "flu" (diagnosis of the prison doctor) which lasted this time two weeks, the "trial chamber" issued an order to the "registry" to organize a consilium check-up and to report the results. This decision was made after many appeals from Yugoslavia and from abroad. After that, additional efforts and appeals have been made to include in the consilium at least one of Yugoslav doctors. "Tribunal" finally agreed that consilium check-ups can be made in the presence of President's long time personal doctor, colonel Zdravko Mijailovic, head of the Cardio-vascular Clinic of the Military Medical Academy in Belgrade.

We still follow the developments, with lot of worry.

It is obvious that the prison conditions, lack of medical care and inhuman conditions and length of the "trial", produced worsening of the health of President Milosevic and increased risks.

Let us further act against this show-trial and its dangerous consequences!

**FREEDOM FOR SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC!**

**FREEDOM FOR YUGOSLAVIA!**

Our today's message to the "Tribunal":

**"FREEDOM" ASSOCIATION, BELGRADE, FR YUGOSLAVIA**

**- Mr. Claude Jorda,**

President, ICTY

July 17, 2002

**- Mr. Richard May,**

President, Trial Chamber

**- AMICUS CURIAE**

**- Mr. Hans Holthius,**

Registrar, ICTY

**Most Urgent!**

**State of health of President Slobodan Milosevic requires an urgent action!**

Dear Sirs,

Our information about the yesterday's medical examination of the state of health of President Milosevic, made by the medical experts' team appointed by ICTY Registry on the order of Trial Chamber, unfortunately confirms our previous knowledge and our suspicions that the general conditions in which President Milosevic is forced to live, without the proper medical care, combined with inhuman length and conditions of the ICTY proceedings, produce worsening of the President Milosevic's state of health and to the dramatic level increases risks for his life.

We can not understand that the result of yesterday's examination has not yet produced any action from your side. Our duty is to warn you once again that denial of proper medical care for a person in such condition is a matter of criminal responsibility.

In that respect, when a human life is at stake, no bureaucratic negligence can be an excuse for absence of proper and urgent action.

Particularly since the Freedom Association has already been warning you several times about this situation which is one of the worst and most serious forms of violations of human rights. We can not avoid the impression that this might be an intentional practice of ICTY. For this, we refer particularly to our letter Nos. 18-21/2002 of March 27, 2002, addressed to President of ICTY, III Trial Chamber, Chief of Prosecutors and Amici Curiae, with whole appropriate medical documentation enclosed. Our last warning (Letter No.45/2002) was sent to Judges Mr. Jorda and Mr. May, as well as to the Registrar Mr. Holthius, on June 18, 2002.

We enclose this time again the same medical documentation, already sent to you with our March 27 letter.

We appeal in strongest terms that measures to protect a human life have to be taken without any further delay.

Yours sincerely,

Bogoljub Bjelica,

Chairman of the Citizen Association "FREEDOM"

**Our March 30 appeal:**

**FREEDOM ASSOCIATION**

**/YUGOSLAV COMMITTEE TO LIBERATE PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC/**

**WARNS:**

**HEALTH AND LIFE OF PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC  
UNDER THREAT!**

**Level of health protection in former Nazi prison in the Hague is the same like in Nazi  
concentration camps**

**(two prisoners already dyed due to lack of medical care)!**

**60-year old president Milosevic with malignant hypertension and specific form of angina  
pectoris in an endless "trial" every day whole day is treated by aspirins, when he got a  
flu (according to prison doctor - general practitioner) with more then 10 days of high  
temperature!**

**He is under total life risk in such circumstances,  
say medical experts of Belgrade University!**

**He needs urgent check-up by medical specialists, which NATO "tribunal" prohibits up  
to now!**

**ACTION MUST BE TAKEN!**

**After the "tribunal's" negative answer to first such initiative, Freedom Association  
sends the following letter (with medical documentation enclosed) to "judges",  
"prosecution" and "amici curiae" of the now-days Gestapo**

**(in accordance with their "rules"),**

warning them about the criminal responsibility:

**UNITED NATIONS**  
**International Criminal Tribunal**  
**for the Former Yugoslavia**  
**To the III Trial Chamber**

**Your Excellencies,**

**Bearing in mind the intensive dynamic of the so-called trial, to which President Slobodan Milosevic is exposed from day to day, we must warn you that you carry the responsibility for his health and life.**

**Since you are evidently not enough informed with the general, but with the current as well, state of health of President Milosevic, and since, no matter of his illness, you do not show interest enough for the improvement of his health, that is the reason why we are compelled, as National Committee for liberation of Slobodan Milosevic, to warn you about that. We especially bear in mind your responsibility for the state of health of President Milosevic that derives from your Statute and Rulebook on Procedure and Evidence and a number of other international documents. The treatment of President Milosevic as a whole finds itself in full collision with the Convention on torture and other brutal, humiliating sanctions and proceedings, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 10, 1984, came into force on June 26, 1987 and is in collision with the equivalent Convention, adopted by the Council of Europe.**

**If however, for the sake of accomplishing an unprecedented "project" of a trial, you will further on allow, as it has been the case so far, the deterioration of President Milosevic's health, you will carry full responsibility for that.**

Therefore, we demand to enable a number of medical experts (first of all specialists for cardio-vascular diseases) from Yugoslavia, to make an urgent examination of President Milosevic and give a proposal for adequate treatment, in order to stop the further deterioration of his health. The team of experts would be comprised out of Prof. Dr. Med. Sc Bozina Radevic (cardio-vascular surgeon), Prof. Dr. Med. Sc Zdravko Mijailovic (cardiologist), Doc. Dr. Med. Sc Dragana Bojic (cardiologist), and Prof. Dr. Med. Sc Vojislav Suvakovic (infectologist).

Starting from Rule 74bis of the Rulebook on Procedure and Evidence of the Tribunal, according to which you are *proprio motu* able to issue such an order, we demand from you to immediately enable a consilium medical examination of President Milosevic.

Attached you will find the reports of Prof. Dr. Med. Sc. Zdravko Mijailovic of the Military Medical Academy of Belgrade, dating from May 31, 2001 and June 4, 2001 (both in English), together with the copies of the originals in Serbian, as well as the medical report dated from March 25, 2002 related to the state of health of President Milosevic.

Belgrade, March 26, 2002

For "SLOBODA" ("Freedom") Association  
The National Committee for the  
Liberation of Slobodan Milosevic

Bogoljub Bjelica, President

**MEDICAL REPORT**

**RE: SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC**

Inspection of medical documentation and his previously, well known health problems insigate and underline further facts:

The majority of people know what is hypertension. It is not secret that hypertension has an important role of cardiovascular mortality and morbidity. Effective treatment significantly reduces relative risk of stroke up to 40%, and of myocardial infraction by 20%. Slobodan Milosevic does not have simply elevated blood pressure, he has hypertensive crisis or malignant hypertension. His diastolic blood pressure often, with abrupt onset exceeds 130 mmHg, systolic 200 mmHg. What does it mean?

Accelerated (malignant) hypertension occurs most commonly in patients with essential hypertension. The risk of complication is more closely linked with the rate of rise in blood pressure than the absolute blood pressure level, because patients auto regulate to compensate for chronic hypertension. When blood pressure rises rapidly as Milosevic's case, cerebral, retinal and renal damage may ensue and the patient may develop acute cardiac failure. It carries a high mortality risk: untreated, 1-year survival is approximately 25%; with treatment, 1-year survival is around 90%. Rapid control of escalating blood pressure is essential, but it has to be achieved by slow, sustained reduction. There is no prison hospital which can obtain this treatment. They can provide only aggressive treatment. Aggressive reduction can cause tissue and cerebral ischaemia and infraction, because in most cases the tissues have auto regulated to require a greater than normal perfusion pressure.

His another health problem is Prinzmetal's variant angina pectoris. There is no person who does not understand what means "angina pectoris". In the last few months Milosevic has been having chest pain due to coronary arterial spasm which can not be relieved by sublingual nitroglycerin. It occurs at rest with abrupt onset or rapid deterioration of previously stable condition. Reason for deterioration his condition is inappropriate coronary vasoconstriction which has been shown to occur during exposure to mental stress.

In the other hand, anxiety is a normal reaction to cardiac illness and many patient will have symptoms as a result. The tendency to categorize patient's symptoms as "genuine" and "non-cardiac" is unhelpful. Relaxation and stress management are fundamental problems particularly useful in managing angina where (after exertion) stress is the second most likely precipitant of symptoms.

Slobodan Milosevic is in the prison where there is no possibility for appropriate medical treatment. He probably can get pills or doctors' supervision. But underlying conditions ask for high educated consultants, intensive care unit and above all relaxation. Only in this condition his cardiac properties will not function related his chance to present evidence of his innocent.

**Prolonger trial and stress continuity increase risk of major cardiovascular events. Slobodan Milosevic is undergoing extreme physical effort. Everyday rapid deterioration of his health can cause sudden death. That is why he must be reviewed and under care of medical experts from Yugoslavia who know his medical history. They need to see him and after serious examination decide about further treatment.**

**We are not talking about quality of life we are fighting for life!**

**Professors of Belgrade University:**

**Dragana Bojic, Ph.D., MD, cardiologist**

**Vojislav Suvakovic, Ph.D., MD, infectologist**

**Milos Janicijevic, Ph.D., MD, neuro-surgeon**

**Done in Belgrade, March 25, 2002**

**FOLLOW-UP CARDIOLOGY EXAMINATION**

**PATIENT: SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ**

The patient is 61 years old.

Risk factors for coronary arterial disease: smoker, hyper lipidaemia, heredity, high stress, arterial hypertension (in earlier check-ups over many years arterial tension ranged most frequently around 135-140/ 85-90 mmHg, with occasional therapy. Maximum blood pressure readings ranged around 150/95mmHg and rarely 150/100

mmHg).

He is also aware of small cysts in kidneys.

Echo examination of abdomen a year and a half ago, changes in gall bladder observed, like a polyp or calculus but no further investigation made because of the patients' rejection.

Occasionally administered medicines: Presolol 100mg ¼ ili ½, Upsarin effervettes 1 in the morning. Between 11.04.2001 and 13.04.2001 he was hospitalized in the Military Medical Academy Hospital, where:

During echo cardiography: significant hypertrophy of myocardium was proven in the left ventricles, global EF around 45%, but with akinesy of the distal third of the septum, top of heart and distal third of frontal and lateral wall of the left ventricle (Docent dr.A. Neskovic-KBC Dedinje).

The selective coronography revealed coronary bridge ) suffocation of the left coronary artery). Naked microcirculation and on other segments epicardial coronary arteries only negligible changes. Left ventricle of normal size, of hyperopic walls, in systole like hypertrophy cardiomiopathy.

Under the decision of the medical consultation team the patient was dismissed with medical therapy (dismissal letter attached).

In the meantime a check-up was undertaken (223.04.2001) when it was concluded that the arterial hypertension has not been cured, with the existence of probable angina pectoris, more intensive medicinal therapy and additional examinations (ophthalmology examination, neurological examination, analysis of the adrenal glands, abdominal echo and kidney and adrenal glands echo, 24 hour halter monitoring of blood pressure and halter ECG...follow up of ECG and additional assessment of microcirculation (scintigraphy of the heart or PET scan..).

In the meantime he occasionally complained of chest sharp pain propagating to the jaws and numbness in the jaws...he did not take nitroglicerine... those disorders appear when in the state of rest, but more often while walking when he occasionally sweats. Then he must sit down and rest, when the troubles pass away gradually.

Occasionally he feels lack of air and speedy or irregular hear beat.

Sometimes mild headaches felt.

Regularly controlled blood pressure and pulse by the attending doctor. Maximum measured blood pressure readings 220/13p mmHg on 30.05.2001, pulse 120/mm.

The lowest TA value in the period under review was 140/100mmHg and pulse 88/min, once on 21.04.2001.

The most frequent TA readings were 190/115 mmHg and pulse around 100/mm.

Regularly were monitored electro cardiograms, where sinus tachicardy was observed of around 10/min, with symmetrically negative T waves in D1, AVL and V2 to V6.

ECG dated 11.05.2001 shows sinus tachicardy around 11/min with deeply negative T waves in D1, AVL, V2 to V6 even up to around 1.5 cm with lowering of ST clip 2-3 cm.

Planned and appointed examinations suggested earlier were not carried out in the meantime because the patient was not motivated.

According to the patient, the medication proposed earlier has been regularly administered.

## OBJECTIVE FINDING

Cordially compensated. Presently a febrile.

Obese according to general type. Veins in the neck not tense.

Over the neck arteries no suboclussion murmur is heard.

On the lungs vesicular breathing with rare low tone whistling.

Heart action is rhythmical, speeded to about 120/min, tones somewhat quiet, without pathological noise. TA:200/120mmHg (after regular therapy taken this morning).

Liver and spleen not palpable. No sensitivity of gall bladder to palpation.

No signs of free liquid in the abdomen.

Kidney lobes insensitive to succusion.

No visible cardiac edema on lower legs, or deformities.

ECG : sinus tachicardy around 120/min, PQ=0.16, negative T in D1, AVL, V2 to V6 with lowering of ST clip in the left pericardial drains up to 2mm

DG: Hypertensio arterialis (unregulated)

Hypertrohpy of myocardium of the left ventricle

Angina pectoris (cor,bridge...microvasc.??)

TH: Dilatrend 12.5mg, 1 in the morning with the control of TA and pulse. If TA remains unregulated, the dose may be corrected with additional 1 in the evening. Enalapril 20mg 1+1+0 with the check up

of TA

Lometazid 1-2 a week.

Nitroglycerin as needed.

Demetrine tab. 2x1

#### OPINION:

Present hypertension and unregulated with the existing therapy (max. 220/130 mmHg and most often 190/115 mmHg with a pulse of some 100/min).

The above readings of hypertension increase the risk exponentially for fatal events (relative risks of stroke is above 4, and for an acute coronary event between 3.5-4).

According to the patient, he was taking the therapy regularly, but as evident from the above analyses arterial hypertension is unregulated.

Apart from it the patient feels troubled chest of angina type with clear changes in ECG, which are maintained.

Based on the above and starting from scientific, professional and moral standards it is necessary to:

Ensure regular intake of adequate therapy

Complete the examinations recommended earlier (Ophthalmology, neurology, analysis of hormones of adrenaline gland, analysis of kidney function, abdominal echo, ultra sound adrenaline gland check, 24 hour Halter monitoring of blood pressure, supplemental examination of hypertrophy of myocardium, scinthigraphy of the heart, PET scan and others..)

If the patient shall have repeated problems behind the sternum of anginoide character, dizziness or the similar, ECG should be repeated, cardio specific enzyme and promptly proceed along the principles of care of such patients.

If the disorders will persist, the blood pressure reading cannot be corrected and the proposed examinations cannot be carried out in view of the above mentioned risks of fatal events in such patients, it shall be necessary to ensure via competent means an adequate correction of blood pressure, additional examinations of hypertrophy of myocardium, microcirculation of the heart as well as other examinations in hospital (VMÁ..) conditions.

31.05/2001 in Belgrade

Col.Ass.Prof. MD, PhD

Zdravko M.Mijailovic

## FOLLOW-UP CARDIOLOGY EXAMINATION

PATIENT: SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIC

Follow-up examination of 04.06.2001

The patient was examined previously on 31.05.2001. See the finding attached.

The patient is 61 years old.

Of risk factors from coronary disease: smoker, hiperlipidaemia, heredity, arterial hypertension ranging during many years in the past around 135-140/85-90 mmHg with intermittent therapy.

Maximum readings of the blood pressure used to be 150/95mmHg, and on rare occasions 150/100 mmHg.

He is aware of smaller cists in kidneys.

On the earlier abdominal examination, changes were observed on the gall bladder, which resembles of gallbladder polyp, although calculosis could not have been excluded. Follow-up gastro enterologic examination with a repeated echo examination of abdomen was not made due to lack of motivation on the part of the patient.

Of drugs he was using Presolol 100mg ½ or ¼ in the morning and Upsarin eff.

Between 11.04.2001 and 13.04.2001 he was treated in VMA hospital where on Chocardiography considerable hypertrophy of myocardium was evidenced on left ventricle (1.4cm), global EF around 45%, but with akinezy of distal third of the septum, peak of the heart and distal third of frontal and lateral walls of the left ventricle (Ass.Prof. Dr.A.Neskovic- KBC Dedinje).

At the selective coronorography: visible coronary bridge (suffocation of the left coronary artery( naked microcirculation, and on other segments of epycardiac coronary arteries only negligible changes. The left ventricle of normal size, of hypertrophic walls, in systole and by type of hyperthrophic cardiomyopathy.

By the decision of the doctoral consultation team the patient was dismisses with medicinal therapy (Letter of dismissal attached).

In the meantime a follow up was done (23.04.2001) when it was concluded that arterial hypertension is unregulated with probable presence of angina pectoris, the therapy was strengthened, and additional examinations advised for abdomen and echo of kidneys and adrenaline gland, 24 hour Halter monitoring of

blood pressure and Halter ECG... follow up of ECG, as well as supplemental assessment of microcirculation (Scintigraphy of the heart or PET scan...).

Blood pressure readings were regularly controlled and pulse by the attending doctor.

Maximum values of blood pressure were 220/130 mmHg on 30.05.2001, pulse 120/min.

The lowest read TA value over the period was 140/100mmHg and pulse 33/min, only once on 21.04.2001.

The most frequently obtained TA values were 190/115 mmHg with pulse of around 100/mm.

Electro cardio grams were also regularly followed, where sinus tachycardia was observed of some 100/mm, with symmetrically negative T waves in D1, AVL and V2 to V6. ECG of 11.05.2001 revealed tachycardia around 110/mm, with deeply negative T waves in D1, AVL, V2 do V6 even up to 1.5cm with a drop of ST clip 2-3mm.

Planned and appointed examinations proposed earlier were not completed due to the lack of motivation on the part of the patient.

In the meantime, since 31.05.2001 till today, he continued to com-plain here and there to the chest pain propagating to the jaws and numbness in the jaws...he did not take nitroglicerine...these troubles appear at rest but more often while walking when he sometimes sweats. Then he must sit down and take a rest, and the disorders pass away spontaneously.

From time to time he feels lack of air and irregular and speedy hart beat.

Sometimes he has light headache.

Since 31/05.2001 till today no blood pressure was measured and no examinations made, no electrocardiogram, either.

The planned and appointed examinations proposed earlier were not completed in the meantime due to the lack of motivation by the patient.

## OBJECTIVE FINDING

Cordially compensated. Now a febrile.

Obese according to general type. Veins of the neck not tense.

On lungs vesicular breathing, with rare low tone whistling.

Heart action is rhythmic, speedy up to some 130/min, tones somewhat quieter without pathological hums.

TA 230/130 mmHg (following the morning regular therapy, Dilatrend 12.5mg, Enalapril 20mg, Lometazid...).

Liver and spleen not palpable. Gall bladder is not sensitive to palpation. No signs of free liquid in the abdomen.

Kidney archinephrons insensitive to succussion.

No visible cardiac edema on lower legs or deformities.

ECG sinus tachycardia around 130/min, PQ= 0,16, negative T in D1,AVL, V2 up to V6, with lowering of 3T of clips in the left perocardial drains up to 2mm.

DG. Hypertensio arterialis (unregulated)

Hypertrophy of myocardium of the left ventricle

Angina pectoris (cor. "bridge"...microvasc.?? )

Obs. polypus (calculus) v. feleae

TH. Dilatrend 12.5mg 2 in the morning with control of TA and pulse. If TA remains unregulated the dose may be corrected with an addition in the evening.

Enalapril 20 mg i+i+0 with the control of TA.

Norvasc 5mg 0+i=i

Isosorb R 2x1

Lasix i-2 a week

Bromazepam 3mg 2x1

Nitroglicerine as needed

## OPINION

The extremely high value of arterial hypertension continued, and was not regulated with the existing therapy (max. 230/130 mmHg at a pulse rate of 130/min, and most often 190/115 mmHg with pulse rate of around 100/min.). These values of arterial hypertension exponentially increase a risk of fatal incidents (brain stroke, acute myocardial infarct, hear arrest, malignant disorders in heart rhythm...).

Next to that the patient has chest pain of angina type with clear changes in ECG that are reflected.

These disorders could be an indication of threatening fatal coronary accidents, and particularly in combination with enormous hypertension which ranges on average to 195/115 mmHg for over two months, proven hypertension of myocardium, alterations in microcirculation, found phenomenon of "suffocation of left coronary artery" and enormous stress the patient has been permanently exposed to).

Despite all measures undertaken as evident from the above stated findings, the arterial hypertension remains uncorrected, angina disorders are repeated and ECG alterations persist.

Based on the above, starting from high risk to the patient, and since the treatment so far failed to yield results, and starting from scientific, professional and ethic norms:

1. It is necessary immediately in hospital conditions to ensure an adequate correction of blood pressure; implement earlier planned additional examinations, ophthalmology examination, neurological examination, analysis of the hormone of adrenaline gland, analysis of kidney function, abdominal echo with ultra sound examination of adrenaline, 24 hour Halter monitoring of blood pressure, Halter ECG, supplemental examination of the nature of hypertrophy of myocardium and assessment of microcirculation, possibly burden test, scintigraphy of heart, PET scan and others...).

04.06.2001 in Belgrade

Col. Ass.Prof.MD, Phd,

Zdravko M.Mijailovic

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)

<http://www.jutarnje.co.yu/> ('morning news' the only Serbian newspaper advocating liberation)

## van holst en steijnen

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**From:** Christopher Black <bar@idirect.com>  
**To:** <Emperors1000@aol.com>; Vladimir Krsljanin <vlada@sps.org.yu>; TARGETS <redactie@targets.org>; Paul Davidson <p.davidson@btinternet.com>; van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>  
**Sent:** maandag 19 augustus 2002 14:10  
**Subject:** Fw: Fw: [targets-news] WHAT IS MY OFFENSE? (2)

Friends

For your information and comments (Vlada especially) on the idea of a motion or companion motions with a press agency to break the ban on the accused speaking to the press. M would have to demand to see these journalists and once refused be prepared to make an issue of it before Judge May. In support of any such motion I would suggest he consider a boycott of the trial for a period of time. Just enough to make the point and get some press attention on the issue. Maybe one day would be sufficient. maybe a week or two. But some definite period he can control)

I am hoping this Agence France Presse journalist gives us good coverage. I suggested she talk to you Jared but she was doing a story on the UK committee only at this point. I got into the abysmal press coverage of the the trial so she agreed to do a piece about that.

Chris

— Original Message —

**From:** "Christopher Black" <bar@idirect.com>  
**To:** "PERRINE FAYE" <perrinefaye@hotmail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, August 19, 2002 4:59 PM  
**Subject:** Re: Fw: [targets-news] WHAT IS MY OFFENSE? (2)

> Dear Perrine,  
 >  
 > Thank you for your kind words. I hope the Rwanda information is interesting  
 > enough to develop into an article at some point. The disinformation on that  
 > war is a world scandal. As for Verges I do not have a mobile number just a  
 > fax which you probably also have.  
 >  
 > I have called Pinter but just got his answering machine so I will try again  
 > tomorrow morning.  
 >  
 > I understand Paul Davidson is away for two weeks. I have misplaced his  
 > number but if you contact him by the email address I sent you (did you  
 > receive it) he will be happy to talk to you.  
 >  
 > As for the press coverage of these cases especially Milosevic. I am  
 > intending to bring a motion (tho under the rules I am not sure I have  
 > standing) to lift the ban on the accused including Milosevic from talking  
 > to  
 > the press. There is nothing in the statute or rules of the tribunal that  
 > permit such a ban and it violates their rights as detainees presumed  
 > innocent to freedom of expression and association and is a total violation  
 > of the right to a free press. The prosecutor makes allegations all the  
 > time  
 > against the accused at both tribunals yet they are not permitted to  
 > respond  
 > in kind. Even common thieves in a London or Paris are jail is permitted to  
 > speak with the press unless there is special reason to forbid it as they  
 > are  
 > presumed innocent and only detained to make sure they attend their trial.  
 > Yet in these cases which are of interest to the world public the detainees  
 > are gagged. Obviously for political reasons.  
 >  
 > I was asked again today by ABC News in the US for an interview with  
 > Milosevic. I told them he would be willing to speak to them but that they

> should make a request to the Commandant of the UN detention unit and the  
 > Registrar for permission to enter the unit for that purpose. When they are  
 > refused they should then bring a motion before the tribunal contesting  
 this  
 > restriction on press freedom and Milosevic can bring a motion for  
 violation  
 > of his rights. I invite Agence France Presse to do the same thing. I think  
 it  
 > is a scandal that the tribunal by fiat forbids this contact to take place.  
 > The world press should think so too.

> Chris

> — Original Message —

> From: "PERRINE FAYE" <perrinefaye@hotmail.com>  
 > To: <bar@idirect.com>  
 > Sent: Monday, August 19, 2002 12:27 PM  
 > Subject: Re: Fw: [targets-news] WHAT IS MY OFFENSE? (2)

>> Hello Chris,

>> I see you feed me with very interesting pieces of international news!! I  
 >> transcribed your interview and it 5.500 words, I hadn't realised we  
 > talked

>> so much. Thank you again.

>> I wondered if you could me the contact details of M. Davidson in the UK.

I  
 >> also thought you could give me futher contact details for Jacques  
 Verges,

> as  
 >> I have only his office number (0033142815161) and he is not in Paris at  
 > the

>> moment, do you have a mobile number?

>> I am going to write 6.000 words on the supporters of Milosevic, and  
 though

>> you gave me lots of materials, I cannot restrain myself to one person of  
 >> your committee, it wouldn't be very objective as you can certainly  
 >> understand.

>> Do you have any news of Harold Pinter as well?

>> Thanks again so much

>> Hope to hearf from you soon,

>> And continue to send me those articles, your paper on The Hague Court  
 will

>> be useful for us, and the one on rwanda looks amazingly surprising.

>> My next paper is ont the press coverage of Milosevic trial, 6.000 words  
 >> also.

>> AFP will at least publish two papers od 600 words.

>> Regards,

>> Perrine

>>

>>

>> Perrine Faye

>> AFP journalist, London

>> MA International Journalism

>> City University-London

>> [Perrinefaye@hotmail.com](mailto:Perrinefaye@hotmail.com)

>> 0044 7811 835671

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**van holst en steijnen**

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**From:** van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>  
**To:** Christopher Black <bar@idirect.com>; Global Reflexion <office@globalreflexion.org>  
**Sent:** woensdag 21 augustus 2002 12:52  
**Subject:** Re: Dutch lawyers-Rwandan tribunal- meteing

Dear Chris,

Pleased to hear something of you !

Knoops is a very right-wing lawyer, commenting regularly on tv about issues like the Milosevic trial and the ICC. He might be very well a NATO/CIA spy !  
Certainly he the wrong type.

About Milosevic.

I intend to re-start now as soon as possible the litigations before the Dutch legal instances, in order to pave the way for a new application to the European Court of human rights.

So I hope to have access for M to this European Court in the time that he will receive his final conviction by the ICTY-puppets.

If you get access to him, could you please warn me before you visit him ? We can have a talk then, since there are more points to discuss.

One of the most important points is the refusal by Misha and Zdenko to communicate with the ICDSM, at least with us here in Holland.

So we cannot use their regular contact with M. in order to exchange information, suggestions, etc.

M. has to know this.

best wishes,

Nico S.

**van holst en steijnen**

---

**From:** Christopher Black <bar@idirect.com>  
**To:** van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>  
**Sent:** woensdag 21 augustus 2002 10:59  
**Subject:** Re: Dutch lawyers-Rwandan tribunal- meteing

Dear Nico,

Thanks for the information re Knoops.

As for M I do not think they will permit me to see him but I am sending a request today.

What is the problem with Misha and Zdenko?

What type pf application will you make to the European Court?

As for me I am spending almost all my time now on the Rwanda tribunal. it is becoming difficult because I have not been paid by them now for over 8 months and my expenses on that case are high.

Chris

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

**From:** van holst en steijnen

**To:** Christopher Black ; Global Reflexion

**Sent:** Wednesday, August 21, 2002 3:52 PM

**Subject:** Re: Dutch lawyers-Rwandan tribunal- meteing

Dear Chris,

Pleased to hear something of you !

Knoops is a very right-wing lawyer, commenting regularly on tv about issues like the Milosevic trial and the ICC. He might be very well a NATO/CIA spy ! Certainly he the wrong type.

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So we cannot use their regular contact with M. in order to exchange information, suggestions, etc.

M. has to know this.

best wishes,

Nico S.

**van holst en steijnen**

**From:** van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>  
**To:** Christopher Black <bar@idirect.com>  
**Cc:** <office@globalreflexion.org>  
**Sent:** vrijdag 23 augustus 2002 16:58  
**Subject:** Re: Dutch lawyers-Rwandan tribunal- meteing

Chris,

The problem with our two Yugoslav guys is that, though they have daily communication with M., they avoid all kinds of communication with us. Since the beginning of the trial Nico V and me are not able to get in touch with them. We have no idea what kind of strategy they have in mind. We have no idea whether they inform M. properly or not about political issues and tribunal issues. It is the same way around impossible for us to get an impression how far they communicate properly with the ICDSM-base in Belgrade. We wonder if that really would be the case.

Anyway, it is impossible for us to send messages to M and vice versa through them, though this would be the most easy communication line. So we are not able as well to contribute to his defense by transferring possibly important documents directly to him, for instance on the Racak issue, etc. M. has to make himself this aware.

Concerning your fee, those tribunal-bastards there have their paymasters here in Holland I suppose.

As you may know, there is made a treaty between the UN and the Netherlands, excluding all kinds of seizing ( I don't know the right English term) on tribunal properties in the Netherlands. But, as far as I can see, the ICTY, being a persona standi in iudicio, represented by the registrar, according to the same international agreement could nevertheless be brought before domestic courts. In order to contest their refusal to pay you properly and on due time.

It is arguable that you could start such litigations preferably in country that host the Icty, so into the Netherlands. Of course I can help you with that, free of course.

We could maybe generate publicity by linking their unwillingness to pay you properly with the role you have played in the Milosevic case by discrediting constantly the puppets. So we could argue that this is their revenge. Maybe this kind of idea earns to be worked out.

Concerning the re-beginning of the domestic procedures for Milosevic.

You know that we have tried to make a short-cut in order to reach as soon as possible the stage of the European Court of human rights. The European Court has turned down this short-cut, stating the obligation that M. has to pass along all domestic Dutch instances, no matter the fact that the Dutch government and the Dutch court agree on their joint consideration that the tribunal's legal sphere and the Dutch legal sphere are to be considered as completely separate and having no interfaces. This because of the very tiny chance that a higher Dutch legal instance could disagree with this idea.

Since M. has mandated me to bring his human rights violation before the European Court, I intend to take steps to seek access to the European Court again.

I hope you will join me again, on the background or on the foreground.

Nico S.

## van holst en steijnen

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**From:** CDSM <cdsm\_b@btopenworld.com>  
**To:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>  
**Sent:** vrijdag 23 augustus 2002 13:55  
**Subject:** Holbrooke given go-ahead to testify at ICTY

Financial Times (London)

### **Holbrooke given go-ahead to testify at trial**

By Carola Hoyos in Washington

Published: August 22 2002 20:58

The US State Department has agreed that Richard Holbrooke, the former US diplomat and architect of the Bosnia peace accords, and other former high-ranking US officials, may testify at the war crimes trial of Slobodan Milosevic, US and tribunal officials said on Thursday.

The US originally balked at allowing Mr Holbrooke to testify in public for fear that he could be forced to reveal closed information.

But the State Department told the tribunal in The Hague in a memo before the trial's August recess that it had found no legal basis for barring high-ranking officials, including Mr Holbrooke and General Wesley Clark, the former US commander of Nato forces, from testifying.

"The US State Department has left the decision up to the individuals," said one person close to the discussions.

The move raises the prospect of Mr Milosevic publicly cross-examining Mr Holbrooke about their negotiations leading to the Dayton peace accords. This could prove embarrassing for Mr Holbrooke, who has been accused of encouraging the Yugoslav leader by giving him such a prominent seat at the table.

Mr Holbrooke has chosen to be represented by State Department lawyers, who are negotiating the terms of his testimony with prosecutors in The Hague.

Mr Holbrooke said on Thursday: "I will testify according to the terms of reference that are worked out between the prosecutor and the State Department."


Diplomats and officials involved in the discussions surrounding Gen Clark's and Mr Holbrooke's testimonies say have expressed hesitancy in private about appearing at the trial. They note that Mr Holbrooke's insistence on negotiating the terms are delaying his testimony. Mr Holbrooke disputed that on Thursday: "That's flat wrong. I am not reluctant to testify, I am waiting for the outcome of the negotiations."

But he argued that such high-level testimony in a war crimes tribunal would set a precedent that will affect current and future US political leaders. He said it would be detrimental to allow Mr Milosevic to make a "circus" of the trial.

"What they don't want to talk about is November 1995, when Holbrooke and Clark solved the Bosnia problem with Milosevic," said a western diplomat who had been involved in the peace negotiations. "Milosevic knows all of that and that is what he will want to talk about."

In the opening statements of his defence in February, Mr Milosevic sounded wistful as he spoke of leaders, including Holbrooke, whom he once saw as equals, adding that he wanted to see them testify.

In the end the Bush administration decided not to be "the fall guy for Holbrooke", as one negotiator put it.



## van holst en steijnen

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**From:** CDSM <cdsm\_b@btopenworld.com>  
**To:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>  
**Sent:** zondag 25 augustus 2002 16:05  
**Subject:** Serbia Want Ex-Guerrilla Leaders

### **Serbia Want Ex-Guerrilla Leaders**

The Associated Press, Sat 24 Aug 2002

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia (AP) - Serbia has asked U.N. officials in Kosovo to arrest and extradite three former Kosovo Albanian leaders to face trial for crimes allegedly committed during the 1998-1999 war in the province.

Justice Minister Vladan Batic said in a statement Friday that Hashim Thaci, Ramush Haradinaj and Agim Ceku - guerrilla commanders during the Kosovo Albanians' fight for independence - must answer charges of terrorism, armed rebellion and genocide.

Thaci and Haradinaj are the current leaders of two political parties in Kosovo, while Ceku heads a local security force composed of former guerrillas.

Although officially part of Yugoslavia, Kosovo has been a de facto U.N. protectorate since 1999.

A U.N. spokeswoman in Kosovo, Susan Manuel, said the U.N. mission had not received the request, but indicated that U.N. officials would not hand the three over.

Manuel said that the U.N. mission in Kosovo and the U.N. war crimes court in The Hague, Netherlands "have the full authority to prosecute and adjudicate crimes committed in Kosovo."

The United Nations and NATO have administered the province since the alliance led an 11-week air war against Serbian forces. Under the control of former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic, Yugoslav troops waged a harsh crackdown against the province's independence-minded ethnic Albanian majority.

<http://www.europedaily.com/p/eb/f14cae65bf6d.html>

## van holst en steijnen

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**From:** CDSM <cdsm\_b@btopenworld.com>  
**To:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>  
**Sent:** maandag 26 augustus 2002 14:09  
**Subject:** WHAT IS MY OFFENSE? INTERVIEW WITH SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC

URL for this article: <http://emperors-clothes.com/interviews/whatismy-1.htm>

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### WHAT IS MY OFFENSE? INTERVIEW WITH SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC.

Interviewers, Jared Israel and Nico Varkevisser  
 Reprinted from [www.pravda.ru](http://www.pravda.ru)

[Posted 15 August 2002]

=====

At 7:00 PM the phone rang. I was asleep in the hotel room, dreaming I was in Serbia.

"We're going to see Milosevic. Please hurry!"

I splashed water on my face, grabbed a mini tape recorder and a dilapidated writing tablet and hurried downstairs. In front of our very modest hotel I got in a car with Vladimir Krsijanin who's the Foreign Secretary of the SPS, Mr. Milosevic's party. We sped away through the streets of Belgrade, which is familiar but also so different from New York and Boston. For one thing, there are the bombed buildings, like movie sets. But real.

We arrived at the Milosevic family's temporary home. Their own house had been bombed by NATO so they were staying in a place built for former President Tito and now owned by the Yugoslav Army.

This was March 2001, almost six months after a Western-sponsored coup d'etat overthrew the elected Milosevic government. The house was guarded by the Army. The claims, spread by the coup authorities and the Western media, that Mr. Milosevic was guarded by drunken private guards, were simply lies. I saw several alert sentries in Yugoslav Army uniforms with automatic rifles. We were stopped three times as we drove up the long driveway, finally getting out in front of the house.

We were greeted there by Mr. Milosevic and several associates.

It was a stunning moment for me. My entire visit to Serbia, so far just one week, had been culture shock. Since October 1998 I had spent virtually all my time studying Yugoslavia, talking by phone to Yugoslavs inside and outside Serbia, and writing. And now to be in the place with these remarkable people who have so much - how can I explain it? - richness of culture. If all Americans spent a little time in Serbia, our government's policies would fall. Go there, see the place, but I warn you: if you are from the U.S., when you leave you will feel homesick for something you never knew you'd lost.

We were ushered into a fairly large, pleasant but simply furnished room. It was mainly empty except for white chairs and small, white, leather couches arranged in a rectangle. The room had been furnished to allow a dozen people to sit and talk, facing each other. In front of each couch was a small coffee table with refreshments, cups of espresso and the Turkish coffee everyone drinks in Serbia, sweet and dense as mud.

Two seats away from me to my right was Mr. Milosevic. To my left was Zjevadeen Jovanovic, former Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia.

I'm telling you this to help you picture the scene so I can relate some small details. As is often true, the details are revealing.

First, regarding Milosevic: he is impressive and entirely unlike the descriptions in the Western press. Intelligent, calm and dignified, a man who knows who he is and doesn't have to tell everyone. I found this to be generally true of the Serbian people, regardless of status; they have a certain confidence, dignity.

He was funny. It's hard to capture humor when you're writing from notes, and his humor was dry. He was gracious.

They all were. I used to smoke, but no more. But Milosevic offered me a cigarette and I took it without thinking. He leaned forward and lit it.

A few of Milosevic's associates were in the room. Several times he took out a cigarette but nobody would rush forward to light it. This was not the comic book egotist the media has described. There was no self-importance on his part, no fawning on theirs.

At the start, I reached into my jacket pocket and pulled out a small black object - my tape recorder. Imagine if I had done this in a meeting with a Western leader under siege. And since the coup d'etat Milosevic was definitely under siege. I probably would have been jumped by guards.

Zjevadeen Jovanovic patted my hand in a friendly way, smiled. "Please. The tape recorder will make him uncomfortable. Can you take notes?"

So I used the dilapidated writing pad which unfortunately fell apart later. When I got back to the US I thought I'd lost some of the pages. I just found them now, folded in a jacket pocket. Hence this interview, published a year and a half late.

The following is a compilation of Slobodan Milosevic's answers to questions, as recorded by me and also by Nico Varkevisser, from Holland. Milosevic's comments are mostly organized by categories, with only a few remarks by Nico or me.

— Jared Israel

WHAT IS MY OFFENSE?  
 Interview with Slobodan Milosevic

## ETHNIC GROUPS

The fact that different ethnic groups are in a country could be a wealth for that country. Yugoslavia was a modern federation with different cultures, heritages, living mainly in harmony. When the question of who is Macedonian, who is Croatian, etc., was imposed from the outside, like a torpedo, it produced problems. How could Croats have an interest in the dissolution of Yugoslavia when a part of the Croatian people was living in Bosnia and so on? Or Muslims? And what would become of us, divided into little states?

The existence of Yugoslavia was a solution to the Serbian people's national cohesion. Serbs were all together in the same Federation. It was not in the interest of any national group to destroy Yugoslavia.

In Europe there is no recognition of cultural and ethnic differences. Every country needs new formulas adapted to deal with cultural and ethnic differences in a respectful fashion. Yugoslavia had such a code. That is one of the reasons Yugoslavia was not recognized as a solution by certain international forces. They didn't want our kind of solution. They didn't want the example. They had another solution, which is at the core of their strategy for conquest, the solution of using ethnic differences to destabilize, divide et impera.

As for the charge of racism, which originates from the very forces which stir up race hate, let me ask them a question. Why is it that most Serbs have been purged from Croatia but not only have Croats stayed, unharmed, in Serbia, but tens of thousands of Croatian, Bosnian Muslim and Kosovo Albanian refugees have been welcomed here? Why is that the Roma, bellwether of racism in Europe, are so loyal to Yugoslavia and Serbia?

Today Serbia has a large non-Serbian population, the same as before the destruction of Yugoslavia. But Slovenia and Croatia are "pure".

## US HEGEMONY

During the 1999 war I received different representatives from the Italian political scene, from both the left and the right. They said we are not functioning as an independent country. Nobody was asking them, "Are you ready to attack your neighboring country?"

NATO is supposedly an alliance. An alliance means equal states. But in fact, NATO was a war machine imposed by the US. Big Master didn't ask the Italians, "Do you think we should bomb that Serbian passenger train?"

It's understandable for the USA, as the most powerful nation, to aspire to a leading role. But precisely what role?

I told the Americans in 1998: "You could have been benevolent and everyone would have applauded. But instead you chose the path of Caesar, spreading blood and killing nations. So you missed the millennium, not just the century. It would be comic if it wasn't tragic."

I told the US Balkans envoy, Richard Holbrooke, "Don't tell me you're interested in Albanians. I'm interested in Albanians. You have entirely different goals."

And Holbrooke said, "We have to be international leaders."

And I said, "Why does that have to be at our expense?"

Now we are seeing the destabilization of the whole of Southeastern Europe including Greece. Macedonia is under terrorist attack. They will start destabilizing Bulgaria soon. They will of course create problems in Romania as well.

## 1997 MEETING OF SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN LEADERS

Everything has become transparent. Consider this very brief history. In October 1997, leaders of the Southeast European countries met. All of us. We established a very good understanding. I suggested, "Let's do something for ourselves. Let's abolish customs fees among ourselves." The meeting was very good. I had excellent person to person discussions with Fatos Nano, the Albanian Prime Minister. We discussed opening our borders and he said Kosovo is an internal problem of our country. The message of that meeting was that in Southeast Europe things are going to be solved by mutual consultation.

A month later I received a letter from German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel and French Foreign Minister Hubert Vedrine stating that they were very concerned about Albanians. And then of course the BND [German intelligence] organized the so-called UCK [KLA] in 1998. They started to shoot, to kill postmen, foresters; they threw bombs in cafes, near green markets. We reacted as any state would react. By summer of 1998 they were gone. Destroyed.

At that point [U.S. Balkans Envoy] Richard Holbrooke came here to insist that his armed personal be allowed into Kosovo. As observers, he said

We talked. Our discussions were frustrating. We would solve a problem one day and Holbrooke would re-open it the next. I would say, "But we solved that problem yesterday!" And he would say, "Instructions."

He wanted to send in 20,000 armed so-called observers.

This was accompanied by the threat that NATO would bomb us. We tried to minimize the harm of this blackmail, to rouse world public opinion. At the same time we whittled down Holbrooke's demands from 20,000 to 2000. And from armed to unarmed so-called observers. So, something less than outright armed invasion. Though still an assault on our sovereignty.

They put a criminal, William Walker, in charge of their Observers. This is a man who worked with death squads in El Salvador. Supposedly a diplomat. His Observers were mostly intelligence operatives, behind the veneer of a private American company. [Milosevic is referring here to DynCorp - Ed.]

Walker created Racak, the phony massacre, based on his El Salvador expertise. Racak was then used by Madeleine Albright to justify their ultimatum to negotiate at Rambouillet. We were told: negotiate or be bombed. Of course, under international law, no treaty that results from threats is legally binding. But that wasn't their concern.

We decided to use these supposed negotiations to illustrate our stand. Our delegation was a composite of our national groups. It included ethnic Serbs, Albanians, Gorani [Slavic Muslims], Roma ["Gypsies"], Turks. The composition of Kosovo before the UCK [Kosovo Liberation Army] drove most of them out.

Meanwhile, the complete text of the Rambouillet "agreement" appeared in an Albanian publication three days before our delegation even arrived in France.

Do you see? It was drawn up in advance.

So our delegates read the thing. One showed it to the Americans, saying, "Look, this is badly done. It's garbage." And one of the Americans said, "What are you talking about? It was prepared by James O'Brien! One of our best men! He drew up the complete documents for the autonomy of Tibet!"

That's what we had to deal with.

And Clinton? He actually said Serbs were responsible for W.W.I and W.W.II.

#### MEDIA LIES THAT KILL

An Israeli newspaper asked me if the anti-Serb media demonization was a form of genocide. After all, the demonization was used to justify the air war, which involved almost exclusively bombing of civilians, destroying normal life, the life of a people.

The Serbs are the only Europeans who have been bombed since World War II. 22,000 tons of bombs. Without the avalanche of media lies, ordinary Western citizens would never have allowed it. So the demonization was a crucial part of the war machine, limiting international protest. It was part of the genocide.

People in the NATO countries are not yet aware they were lied to. And they aren't aware how much harm this has done to their societies. Clinton's administration put lies into an ostensibly democratic institutional apparatus thus preventing any possibility of democracy. How can people make choices when they're basing their thinking on lies?

#### NEW TYPE OF COLONIALISM

The destruction of Yugoslavia is material proof that the U.S. and other forces are engaged in a new colonialism. If their big words about world integration were true, they would have preserved Yugoslavia. It embodied precisely such integration. Nobody can be against integration if it is just, if people are treated equally. The new colonialism consists in making the small part richer, the big part poorer, and killing nations. If you lose your country, your independence and freedom, all other battles are lost. How can you organize a country for prosperity when you don't have a country?

If we understand that we're facing a new type of colonialism, one that attacks national sovereignty, we can pull all our forces together. The Left once grasped this idea, which is why Imperial forces penetrated the Left.

Now the Left is often worse than the Right. In Germany they removed Kohl and put in Schroeder, who will do anything for the Americans. Gorbachev was an American guy as well. He destroyed the Soviet Union for them.

For years the Russians have functioned as if under hypnosis. The Americans succeeded in hypnotizing them into believing their economy depends on the IMF and the World Bank. Hundreds of Billions have been taken out of Russia; the lives of ordinary people are destroyed; and they waste time negotiating IMF loans.

Consider the possibilities. The whole of Western Europe is relying on natural gas production. Why isn't Russia the big supplier? It could if the Russians had that in mind instead of playing this fool's game of relying on the IMF.

Look at the economic models the IMF enforces! Kenneth Galbraith, the American economist, said, "If the Americans deployed these economic models in America they'd be destroyed."

The question for Russians is: When will you realize the need and possibility to be your own masters? There is no way to play the Americans' game and win. The USA controls the entire international banking system.

#### MILOSEVIC'S GOLD

I have been attacked for everything. The U.S. envoy, Richard Holbrooke, once told me, the Swiss government is going to freeze your accounts. I said, "Why stop there? Here, wait a moment." I wrote a few words and gave him the paper. "Here. I've signed all my foreign bank account assets over to you. You may keep every penny."

He was taken aback. "I may?"

I said, "Yes! Unfortunately, there are no accounts."

Generally in banking you cannot have presidents of countries hiding vast amounts of money. It's simply nonsense. The goal of all the news reports about how they haven't yet found my money is to give people the false impression that there's something to look for.

#### THE MEDIA AND BLAMING THE VICTIM

The other night I was watching TVBK, a private Serbian TV station. Someone was criticizing the media, and right in the middle, the station cut the power. Just like that. The screen went black. It shows how worried this DOS regime [installed in a coup d'etat in October 2000] is when faced with the least critical thought.

They accuse me of having been a dictator. That's ridiculous. Before the DOS coup d'etat we had democracy. 95% of the media was privately owned and the opposition controlled most of it. In Kosovo the Albanians had more than 20 different media. In any neighborhood you could buy a newspaper attacking the government.

We didn't have one political prisoner. But this new regime has issued so-called 'amnesty' laws, freeing members of the KLA convicted for murdering children and the like. They call this 'the new political freedom.' I call it legalizing terror.

How did my supposed dictatorship manifest itself? Ibrahim Rugova, the Albanian secessionist leader, could have a press conference in Belgrade. He could walk around freely, have lunch, and criticize everything. And he did. Nobody bothered him.

They've accused me of being behind a rash of killings that occurred before the coup d'etat. The Defense Minister was killed. The Prime Minister of the province of Vojvodina was killed. The Secretary General of the Yugoslav Left. The Deputy Interior Minister of Serbia. The Managing Director of Yugoslav Airlines, a friend of mine since Gymnasium, he was killed. These were people I worked with, friends. No opposition leader was killed. So, I was killing my

friends and sparing my enemies. A unique strategy.

When a crime occurs, shouldn't one ask: Qui bono? [Who gains?] Isn't it obvious that these killings were carried out to benefit our foreign opponents? That they were an attempt to intimidate men and women in our government? But the Western-controlled media says I was responsible.

The opposition media demonized our government and me and my family in every possible way. They accused my son of being a criminal.

The TV mixed these slanders with programs imported from America; flashy images, seductive especially to young people. They are doing this all over the world. It is a cultural attack.

Of course it had some effect. People in our country aren't used to advertising techniques based on the repetition of false images. The opposition learned these techniques from their US and other NATO handlers.

I've been using the term 'opposition', but in fact we had no opposition. We had a Fifth Column. It was paid huge sums by the people who bombed us. This was openly admitted.

And this Fifth Column, who now occupy government positions, has gone so far as to agree to cooperate with the Hague Tribunal, a false Tribunal created as another part of the genocide against the Serbs. Once in awhile they arrest an Islamic Fundamentalist or a Croatian fascist, to imply balance. But the goal is to destroy those who uphold Yugoslavia, who defend Serbia, to leave ordinary people vulnerable to attack and to make the world think resistance is impossible.

This past week the current authorities in Belgrade shipped their first victim to The Hague. He is a Serb from Bosnia, active in refugee work.

And we are seeing Hague-type justice in Belgrade as well. The present authorities have arrested Dragoljub Milanovic the director of RTS [the State TV station].

This is how it went. In January, Hague Prosecutor, Carla del Ponte, came to Belgrade. She accused me and Dragoljub Milanovic of murder. Why? Because on April 23, 1999 NATO bombed RTS, killing 16 people in one of their cruelest bombing raids. And, she said, NATO had made it clear they would bomb; so by her mad logic, we were responsible.

On April 8th French officials did threaten to bomb RTS. On the 9th we surrounded the TV station with a human shield, journalists, managers, officials, all together, arms linked. Serbian citizens were doing the same on bridges and in factories, everywhere. Then Wesley Clark seemed to withdraw the threat, but in any case what were we to do? Not go to work? Employees occupied our biggest auto plant and wrote a letter appealing to NATO not to bomb. NATO bombed anyway, killing and wounding scores of people. Were the victims guilty? Mr. Milanovic was working at RTS all month and could have been killed as well. Would that have made him responsible for 17 deaths, instead of 16?

Of course, Carla del Ponte works for NATO, for the bombers. And the new Belgrade authorities who have now actually arrested Dragoljub Milanovic on this crazy charge, these people work for NATO too.

#### WAR CRIMES - WHO IS GUILTY?

There were war crimes in Kosovo. But by whom? By the terrorists, who committed atrocities as a matter of course. By NATO which never hurt our military. They bombed our homes. They dropped cluster bombs on our green markets. Bombs encased in uranium.

These are war crimes. And they are guilty of the greatest crime of all: they launched an illegal, aggressive war.

All their actions now, everything they do, is intended to hide the criminal responsibility of Clinton, Albright, Blair, Schroeder, Solana, all the others. The worst war criminals.

But they accuse me. They say I ordered the slaughter of Albanians in Kosovo. And to prove it they sent forensic experts all over Kosovo, looking for atrocities. This was a propaganda effort, not a scientific investigation. It was theater - for the media. Every step these experts took was reported: they are looking for the bodies; they will soon unearth the bodies; they have found a shoe; and so on. With all that, people had to assume: there must be some serious crimes here.

The news that they were looking was big news but the news that they had found nothing - that was very small news. It is my opinion that many people in your countries still believe we committed genocide against Albanians in Kosovo.

#### THE JUNE 1999 PEACE ACCORDS

At the end of May 1999 the Russians proposed to us the so-called Yeltsin peace plan. It was good. Then it appears the Russians met with the Americans in Finland, and when the Russian envoy, Victor Chernomyrdin arrived in Belgrade the plan was entirely different. Kosovo was said to remain a part of Yugoslavia but the plan also called for full withdrawal of Yugoslav forces and for UN occupation. We said, how do we know this will not turn into NATO occupation and UCK [KLA] terror? Chernomyrdin swore to us that our Russian brothers would not permit this.

What were we to do? On the one hand, the Russian administration promised not to let NATO take over. On the other hand, there was a clear threat. NATO had begun carpet bombing of Kosovo. If we did not accept, the Russians made it clear they would withdraw their support and we would be condemned in the international media as warmongers who wouldn't even accept a peace plan from our Russian brothers. So we agreed to sign. Our government leadership discussed it, and then it was discussed in parliament, which voted to sign the agreement.

#### THE OCT. 5TH COUP IN BELGRADE

After the October 5th coup d'etat I resigned the presidency.

I didn't have to do that. We could have mounted a counter attack. But our government discussed the situation. It was our opinion that the foreign powers wanted to provoke a bloodbath. Their idea was, we would strongly resist; their Fifth Column would stage violent provocations; we would act to preserve order; and then their agents would stage murderous incidents for the camera, blaming us to create the impression of ruthless repression. Then under cover of defending themselves they could carry out a Chilean solution, supported by outside forces.

Also, many ordinary people were at that time deceived by the DOS media, by the demonization of our government and by many false promises, seemingly backed-up by images from Western TV, seductive images of wealth.

It was our opinion that NATO wanted to provoke civil war, have a blood bath and let the Serbs kill each other. Create a pretext for intervention.

We have direct experience with war. The losses cannot be replaced. So if possible, it is better to make a struggle in the political sphere.

So I resigned. This took the Americans by surprise. I am told that [US Secretary of State Madeleine] Albright called Steven Erlanger from the NY Times on the sixth of October, very upset. "Is it possible he resigned?" She couldn't believe it. It spoiled their plans.

#### ON THE ECONOMY

\* NICO VARKEVISSER ASKED \*

Do you think current economic problems stem from the incompetence of the new authorities, or have they been deliberately created?

\* PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC ANSWERED \*

Definitely deliberate. The economy has been ruined. Competent managers have been driven out using violence or threats. They've been replaced with people who are incompetent but do what the authorities tell them. And what do they tell them? To paralyze the economy, to bankrupt entire industries so they can be sold for peanuts to their patrons in the West. This isn't like old-fashioned colonialism. The foreigners put their proxies in power and simply strip the country, destroy local productive capacity and then dump their junk.

Here's an example: Before the coup d'etat we were producing 400,000 to 500,000 tons of fertilizer per year. We were exporting fertilizer. But I read in the newspaper that this year we already had to import 90,000 tons. And it is inferior quality.

In our Constitution [of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] we put an article stating that all kinds of property would have equal protection. Our intention was that privatization would be linked to the development of the economy, that it would be carried out insofar as it aided the economy. Our goal was optimal development of all forms of property. We were saying we would not ban any approach based on ideological disapproval of some form of property.

You must understand what we had before. Consider the question of land. In the past, under the old Yugoslavia, the Socialist Republic, more than 90% of the land was private. We never had cooperatives.

We had had a 10-hectare limit on the size of a farm. But new technologies meant that 10 hectares was too small. A single family, if properly organized, could handle much more land. A child might be able to operate irrigation technologies, where before they required immense labor. We're not talking about latifundia here - why limit property to 10 hectares and have farmers living in poverty? Our aim was not to get into total privatization, just to have optional structures.

Those tough sanctions that were imposed on us in 1993 completely blocked the economy. For several months we had 350 million percent inflation. We responded by developing a plan that cut inflation to zero in 1994. The main element was the decision to finance the budget with real wealth. Before that we always simply set a budget to finance education, health, state administrative functions and so on. Then we paid salaries this month by printing money, expecting that we'd bring in the money next month. When inflation started there was no way to cover costs based on income from taxes, so we took strong measures: the printing of money was cut. We said, you will get salaries as soon as the state gets money from taxes.

But with all our problems, consider the difference between the neighboring countries and us. We had one million refugees, war, sanctions, a total blockade. Not only didn't Bulgaria and Rumania have sanctions and war, but they were associate members of the European union so they should have had some gains from that position. Yet there were thousands of Bulgarians and Romanians coming here, looking for work. Why? Because our neighbors were devastated by the policies enforced by their Western friends.

In the first winter after the NATO bombing [i.e., the winter of 1999-2000] we had no restrictions on heating. That was a fierce winter. The next winter was mild, but the new so-called Democrats [Mr. Milosevic is referring to the 'Democratic' Opposition of Serbia, which seized power in a coup d'etat Oct. 5, 2000] with all their promises that the West would do this and do that - what did they achieve? Constant electrical shortages. And remember, we heat mostly with electricity.

How can I help but be proud of what we achieved?

\* JARED ISRAEL \*

Speaking of that, I think you should be proud of your courage, staying in Yugoslavia after the coup d'etat last October, despite the threats against you.

\* SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC \*

Thank you. I imagine they hoped I would run away.

#### FURTHER READING:

\* Slobodan Milosevic's famous speech at Kosovo Field, 1989, official US government translation: <http://emperors-clothes.com/milo/milosaid.html>  
BBC translation: <http://emperors-clothes.com/milo/versions.htm>

\* Prof. Francisco Gil-White's analysis of the avalanche of what can only be described as lies about the 1989 Milosevic speech at Kosovo Field, "Media Misrepresentation of Milosevic's Words: A Review of the Evidence," at <http://emperors-clothes.com/milo/gw.htm>

\* Streaming video, "Take Your Suitcases of Cash, Mr. Djindjic!" - Jared Israel interviewed for Serbian TV <http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/jared/tv.htm>

\* Streaming video of Serbian rally March 24, 2001 including speech by Mr. Israel <http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/jared/rally.htm>

Article: "KLA Attacks Everyone; Media Attacks...Milosheovich?" by Jared Israel at <http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/jared/expan.htm>

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**EMPEROR'S CLOTHES URGENTLY NEEDS YOUR HELP!**

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In order for Emperor's Clothes to continue publishing we urgently need your help. We rely entirely on contributions. Not only are we (again!) behind on all our usual bills (such as rent, paying our computer guru and phone bills) but we also need to pay for the plane fare which allowed Editor Nico Varkevisser to attend a most interesting meeting in Moscow, about which you will be reading shortly.

We do not charge for articles and we do not accept advertising. We're as frugal as possible, but we do have to pay bills. In order to continue publishing, we urgently need the help of our friends.

Please send whatever contributions you can! \$20, \$50, \$100, or more. More would be very helpful, but every penny will be used to get articles to more people.

You can make a donation using PayPal at [https://www.paypal.com/xclick/business=emperors1000@aol.com&no\\_shipping=1](https://www.paypal.com/xclick/business=emperors1000@aol.com&no_shipping=1)

You can make a credit card donation by going to our secure server at <http://emperors-clothes.com/howyour.html#donate>

Or Mail a check to Emperor's Clothes, P.O. Box 610-321, Newton, MA 02461-0321. (USA)

Or make a donation by phone at the donation line, (U.S.) 617 916-1705.

Note: If you mail a donation or make one by secure server, please let us know by email at [emperors1000@aol.com](mailto:emperors1000@aol.com) to make sure we receive it. Thanks!

Thank you for reading Emperor's Clothes.

[www.tenc.net](http://www.tenc.net) \* [Emperor's Clothes]

This Website is mirrored at <http://emperor.vwh.net/> and at <http://globalresistance.com>

## van holst en steijnen

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**From:** CDSM <cdsm\_b@btopenworld.com>  
**To:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>  
**Sent:** dinsdag 27 augustus 2002 14:05  
**Subject:** Milosevic Trial Resumes in The Hague

### Milosevic Trial Resumes in The Hague

The New York Times  
 August 26, 2002  
 By MARLISE SIMONS

THE HAGUE, Aug. 26 - Slobodan Milosevic returned to trial here today after a four-week summer break with his customary attack on prosecutors at the United Nations war crimes tribunal.

He challenged plans for witnesses who had worked for the tribunal to be called to testify against him, saying, "This is quite unfamiliar to me in any regular kind of court proceedings."

The presiding judge, Richard May, said the court would rule on the admissibility of any contentious evidence.

As the trial resumed, many still remembered the ghastly story told in late July by Bosko Radojkovic, who came across as a kind and methodical man. For 25 years, he had been a police detective, mostly working in a small riverside town in Serbia. His job was always to unravel crimes, from cattle theft to murder.

But he was now describing his own role in a gruesome cover-up, so perturbing that he ended up sick in the hospital.

In the witness chair at the war crimes tribunal, the police detective avoided looking at Mr. Milosevic, Yugoslavia's former president, now in the dock.

Mr. Radojkovic had been the first to open a freezer truck from Kosovo, found in the Danube River in 1999. It held 86 bludgeoned and mangled bodies. The event was kept secret until last year, when Belgrade suddenly revealed details of this and other mass killings in the Serbian province of Kosovo, apparently to pave the way for sending Mr. Milosevic to face war crimes charges in The Hague.

Now prosecutors say that Mr. Radojkovic's testimony about the truck is central to their case that war crimes were committed in Kosovo and that Mr. Milosevic ordered all evidence removed.

The story of the truck and its cover-up also offers a glimpse of how a small-town policeman became caught up in the mad schemes of killing and deception in the Balkan conflict. It is all the more unusual because, until now, most Serbs who have appeared as witnesses or accused have minimized or denied their responsibility. Mr. Radojkovic, 46, who is still on active duty, is not charged with any crime.

The detective, a short, graying, figure, spoke with precision. On the morning of April 5, 1999, a fisherman alerted the police at Kladovo that the tip of a white truck was visible in the Danube river. Mr. Radojkovic went to the scene. He sent in a diver, who reported that the freezer truck was from a Kosovo meat packing plant. Its front window was missing, its cabin empty. But one of the back doors, although closed with a chain, was slightly open and some human limbs were sticking out.

The police borrowed a crane from a nearby power plant. It took several hours to pull up the heavy truck. As it rose onto the bank, Mr. Radojkovic saw "two human legs and an arm" protruding from the back. He took pictures, as he

always did at a crime scene. Then he "pushed the limbs back inside and closed the door with nuts and bolts," because the scene was "disturbing" for the crane workers and the watching villagers.

Next, "we informed an investigating judge, the coroner and the public prosecutor." Once they arrived, Mr. Radojkovic said, he broke the padlock and opened the back doors of the truck. "I saw a heap of corpses," he said, recalling that he immediately shut the doors again.

"How many?" the judge asked, at the time.

"I said there were a lot," he said he replied."

The judge said that a big case like this was not within his jurisdiction.

As a result, Mr. Radojkovic and a colleague sent a message to the district police at Bor, and the cover-up began. Orders came to remove the letters on the cabin doors, which included the name Prizren, a town in Kosovo. In the dark, Mr. Radojkovic said, he spray-painted over the words.

The truck had no license plates. Mr. Radojkovic brought some from the police station, damaged them and smeared them with mud to make them look used and fixed them to the truck. He patched the hole in the back door. At each stage he took photographs, which were projected in the courtroom.

Asked why he disguised the truck, the detective replied that the Romanian border was less than a mile away, and Romania supported NATO's bombing of Yugoslavia because of the Kosovo situation. There were Romanian patrol boats on the Danube. "They could think all sorts of things," the detective said.

The following day, the district police chief arrived and took over. "He told me to take no further photographs," said Mr. Radojkovic. The truck was to be treated as a state secret and its corpses removed.

At night, four civilians and a dozen policemen began the horrendous task. "I was inside the truck, with a colleague, taking out corpses," Mr. Radojkovic said. Other men wrapped them. In the torchlight they saw that most of the dead were adults, and two were children, all in civilian clothes. The work went slowly with just a few small lights. "We did not want to be seen from Romania," he said.

"How long had the people been dead," asked Dirk Ryneveld, the prosecutor.

"On the basis of my experience I think two or three days," the detective said. "The water was cold, the weather was cold."

Most bodies had visible injuries, inflicted with something blunt or something with a sharp edge, he said. One young man had a bullet wound in his chest and his hands tied behind his back.

At three in the morning, the men stopped. "Everyone was exhausted," the detective continued. A truck took away the first 30 bodies. The following night, they pulled out the rest. They counted 83 corpses plus the heads and some body parts of three more victims.

The next day, on April 8, the district chief ordered the freezer truck to be towed away and burned. Mr. Radojkovic said he and a colleague poured gasoline over the vehicle and set it on fire. But its metal structure remained. After checking with the police chief, he blew it up. "We used industrial explosives," the detective said.

For his final question, the prosecutor asked, "How do you feel about the way you were instructed to carry out your investigation?"

"As for my feelings, I had none at the time," the detective replied. "There was a war going on. I did what had to be done." Once the job was finished, he said, he had to check into hospital, overwrought.

In the court's crowded public gallery, where diplomats, law students, reporters and tourists had been coming in and out all week, no one moved.

Mr. Milosevic, almost friendly, cross cross-examined the detective for close to two hours, but was unable to dent his story. Supporters of Mr. Milosevic have said that Belgrade fabricated the truck story to speed up the former president's handover to the tribunal.

Some of the truck's corpses are believed to be among the bodies found in a secret grave at a police training camp in a Belgrade suburb. More than 1,000 bodies of Kosovo residents have been found in Serbian mass graves, and many people are still missing.

Why were there no photographs of bodies, only of the truck, Mr. Milosevic asked. What about 1999 newspaper reports that a freezer truck was found full of dead Kurdish immigrants?

It was the police who spread the story of the Kurds, the detective replied. "The truck had caused a lot of commotion locally. So we said, 'Let's invent a story.' It was easy. Immigrants from Afghanistan, Iran, Sudan and so on pass through all the time."

What did the witness know about the identity of the dead? "In a few cases we looked into their pockets," Mr. Radojkovic replied, and he went on: "The little girl who was 7 or 8 had a small backpack." They found a Unicef notebook and crayons. "In the notebook was only a drawing of a little house and a flower. Nothing else."

"All right," replied Mr. Milosevic, putting away his list of questions. "Enough about this phantom freezer truck."

<http://www.nytimes.com/2002/08/28/international/europe/26CND-MILO.html?ex=1031371647&ei=1&en=3878c607772a09fd>

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## van holst en steijnen

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**From:** CDSM <cdsm\_b@btopenworld.com>  
**To:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>  
**Sent:** dinsdag 27 augustus 2002 14:04  
**Subject:** Milosevic still defiant in war crimes court after heart attack scare

### Milosevic still defiant in war crimes court after heart attack scare

By Stephen Castle in Brussels (Independent)  
 27 August 2002

Despite fears over his health, the former Yugoslav president Sloboban Milosevic was back in court yesterday and in defiant mood when Europe's biggest war crimes trial since the Second World War resumed after a four-week break.

Mr Milosevic, who is defending himself against 60 charges, including crimes against humanity and genocide for the wars in Kosovo, Croatia and Bosnia, told judges he should have been "released immediately", and described testimony against him as "a farce", before aggressively cross-examining a witness.

Before the summer recess, a medical report showed he was at risk of a heart attack, and yesterday the judge hinted that concerns over his health could slow the trial, already expected to take two more years. "The medical report on the health of the accused may have some impact on the speed of the trial," Judge Richard May told a prosecuting barrister, Geoffrey Nice.

But prosecutors are under instructions to wrap up their case concerning events in Kosovo by mid-September, and to call witnesses setting out Mr Milosevic's alleged role in ethnic cleansing in Croatia in 1991-92 and the 1992-95 Bosnian war.

The prosecution intends to call two dozen more witnesses before it finishes its case on Kosovo. They are likely to include Mr Milosevic's predecessor, Zoran Lilic, and a former US envoy to the Balkans, Richard Holbrook. Jackie Rowland, a former BBC Belgrade correspondent, is expected to give evidence today.

In yesterday's hearing, Sadik Xhemajli, an ethnic Albanian, said he watched with binoculars from a hill as Serb soldiers separated 127 men from unarmed civilians in a field near the village of Izbica on 28 March 1999.

Many of the men were killed with high-calibre weapons fired from five to six metres and the crippled and elderly were burnt to death, he said. "I saw 39 men killed with my own eyes," said Mr Xhemajli, who called himself an officer with the Kosovo Liberation Army.

He added that Serb forces returned to Izbica on 2 June, exhumed the bodies, removed them by truck and tried to burn their belongings.

Mr Milosevic denied his forces could have committed the crimes and dismissed the claims as impossible. "There isn't a single officer in the Yugoslav police who could carry out such orders," he said. "This is complete nonsense."

In Belgrade, Mr Milosevic's legal adviser, Zdenko Tomanovic, was quoted by the Vecernje Novosti newspaper as saying the Kosovo case would "definitely be thrown out". He claimed an acquittal was on the cards.

His client was in good health and "feels excellent", said Mr Tomanovic, but added that Mr Milosevic had been unable to rest over the break because of the "thousands of pages of material" he had to read.

\* Angry Macedonians blocked a highway into the capital, Skopje, to prevent Ali Ahmeti, a former ethnic Albanian rebel leader, attending a political rally after two Macedonian policemen were killed in a machine-gun ambush yesterday. Elections are due in less than three weeks.

<http://news.independent.co.uk/europe/story.jsp?story=327811>

## van holst en steijnen

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**From:** CDSM <cdsm\_b@btopenworld.com>  
**To:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>  
**Sent:** donderdag 29 augustus 2002 02:43  
**Subject:** Milosevic attacks BBC 'bias.'

Reuters (with additional material by BBC). 28 August 2002.  
**Milosevic attacks BBC 'bias.'**

THE HAGUE -- Slobodan Milosevic crossed swords on Wednesday with a British reporter, disputing the objectivity of the BBC as the journalist cast doubt on Serbian assertions that NATO bombs killed inmates of a Kosovo prison.

The British Broadcasting Corporation's former Belgrade correspondent, Jacky Rowland, told of two visits she paid to Dubrava Prison in May 1999, where she saw dead bodies and was told they were victims of the NATO raids launched in response to a Serb crackdown on the majority-Albanian Serbian province of Kosovo.

"I have strong doubts that all those prisoners were killed as a direct result of the NATO bombing," Rowland told the U.N. International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia.

Serb authorities claimed inmates had been killed by NATO bombs, but she reported at the time that it was unclear how the prisoners had died.

Milosevic implied that the NATO bombing of the prison was a war crime.

Journalists are divided over giving evidence at war crimes trials, with some arguing it casts doubts on their independence. A host of international news organizations have backed ex-Washington Post reporter Jonathan Randal's earlier challenge against the Hague tribunal compelling him to testify in another case.

"They (journalists) are not tools of the prosecution or investigative arm of government or courts and it is important to honor that distinction," lawyers representing Randal said in a submission to the court this month.

Rowland stressed the BBC's objectivity and impartiality, saying she spoke to people from all walks of life for her work and she had conducted "balanced, impartial, fair reporting."

But Milosevic challenged the BBC's overall objectivity, saying with a wry smile: "A Serbian proverb says 'One swallow does not make a spring', so please do not generalize regarding this one objective report about the reporting of the BBC in general."

Milosevic later read out the text of a BBC report that questioned allegations by NATO that the Serb authorities were holding tens of thousands of refugees.

AFP. 28 August 2002. Milosevic again told to rest.

THE HAGUE -- A heart specialist has recommended that Slobodan Milosevic take frequent breaks in order to rest up during his war crimes trial, which resumed this week after a month-long recess, judicial sources said Wednesday.

The former Yugoslav president should be given four consecutive days off after every two weeks of hearings, the cardiologist told presiding judge Richard May of the UN tribunal here.

Milosevic's health became a key factor in his trial when a medical exam in July revealed he was at risk of a heart attack due to pressure from his trial.

Underway since February 12, the trial has taxed the 61-year-old ex-leader's health since he has refused outside counsel and is defending himself against some 60 charges of crimes against humanity, war

crimes and genocide for his participation in wars in Kosovo, Bosnia and Croatia.

He is said to spend evenings and nights in his cell reading through voluminous documents, pouring over evidence and witness statements and preparing for the next day's session.

The first of part of his trial, which focused on the Kosovo war, ends next month. The tribunal will begin hearing testimony on Milosevic's responsibility in the Bosnia and Croatia wars on September 30.

**van holst en steijnen**

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**From:** van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>  
**To:** <Jaredisraelmail@aol.com>  
**Sent:** dinsdag 2 april 2002 08:44  
**Subject:** Re: BLAIR'S BRITAIN WANTS A RETURN TO 'AGE OF EMPIRE'

Jared,  
Did you see the 'Foreign Affairs' -edition of this month ?  
Colonialism is overtly back on the agenda, also theoretically.

Nico S.

## van holst en steijnen

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**From:** Paul Davidson <p.davidson@btinternet.com>  
**To:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>  
**Sent:** dinsdag 9 april 2002 02:16  
**Subject:** Beijing Daily - Serbia: Hand Over President for a Dollar?

Beijing Daily  
 Chinese edition

April 5, 2002

### Serbia: Hand Over President for a Dollar?

Huang Qiang in Belgrade

On March 31, under US pressure, the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Serbia, the F.R. of Yugoslavia, issued the order for arresting 4 senior officials of former government of the F.R. of Yugoslavia, present Serbian President Milutinovic included. This decision once again shocked the political arena of Yugoslavia.

It was at same time last year, the Serbian Government, under US pressure, arrested Milosevic, former President of the F.R. of Yugoslavia, and delivered him 3 months later to the Tribunal in the Hague. One year later, the same bad luck befallen Milutinovic. The three others are Sainovic, former Vice Prime Minister, Stojijjkovic, Serbian Interior Minister and Ojdanic, former army chief of staff. They are accused of being the accomplice of Milosevic.

Although the justice ministry of Serbian has issued the order to arrest the four persons, yet up to now, it has not been carried out. Serbian PM Djindjic told that in following 3 or 4 days one of them will be delivered to the Hague.

It was under US threat to cut off economic assistance to Yugoslavia that the Government of Serbia decided to arrest Milutinovic and the other three.

The issue of "war criminals of former Yugoslavia" has been something sensitive in the political arena of the F.R. of Yugoslavia. The action taken last year by Serbian Government in arresting Milosevic and delivering him to the Hague had produced wide repercussions in the political arena of Yugoslavia. This time is not an exception, it left a deeper rift between Yugoslav President Kostunica and the pro-west Serbian Prime Minister Djindjic.

Djindjic played a decisive role in last year incident of arresting Milosevic. He held the confrontation between Kostunica and the Tribunal in the Hague will lead to political unrest of the state, leaving the country to face danger again of sanction and being isolated and preventing the state from being merged into the international community. He condemned Kostunica for his opposition to cooperation with the Tribunal. He told Kostunica is "timid and overcautious, hypocritical and irresponsible". He said the duty of president of Yugoslavia is to safeguard the international status of the state, obviously he is not competent for this position.

Serbian Justice Minister Batic also criticized Kostunica for his "erroneous patriotic remarks",

## van holst en steijnen

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It was under US threat to cut off economic assistance to Yugoslavia that the Government of Serbia decided to arrest Milutinovic and the other three.

The issue of "war criminals of former Yugoslavia" has been something sensitive in the political arena of the F.R. of Yugoslavia. The action taken last year by Serbian Government in arresting Milosevic and delivering him to the Hague had produced wide repercussions in the political arena of Yugoslavia. This time is not an exception, it left a deeper rift between Yugoslav President Kostunica and the pro-west Serbian Prime Minister Djindjic.

Djindjic played a decisive role in last year incident of arresting Milosevic. He held the confrontation between Kostunica and the Tribunal in the Hague will lead to political unrest of the state, leaving the country to face danger again of sanction and being isolated and preventing the state from being merged into the international community. He condemned Kostunica for his opposition to cooperation with the Tribunal. He told Kostunica is "timid and overcautious, hypocritical and irresponsible". He said the duty of president of Yugoslavia is to safeguard the international status of the state, obviously he is not competent for this position.

Serbian Justice Minister Batic also criticized Kostunica for his "erroneous patriotic remarks",

saying the state is facing with the most serious crisis since the new government took office in last Oct. He demanded Kostunica to take a clear-cut stand: To cooperate with the Hague or take the responsibility of US sanctions.

Under inside and outside pressure, Kostunica had to make a compromise, expressing on April 1 that the cooperation with the Tribunal must be carried out within framework of law.

Although the Serbian Justice Ministry has made a decision to arrest Milutinovic and other three when the set deadline came to an end, yet US held Yugoslavia has not done enough. US ambassador in charge of "war crime" affairs pointed out the present condition of cooperation between Yugoslavia and the Tribunal in the Hague is not appropriate for US to continue its assistance to Yugoslavia. 1. Milutinovic and other three have not been arrested and delivered to the Hague; 2. US hopes to have all suspected war criminals within Yugoslavia arrested, including Karadzic and Mladic.

March is rightly the month to mark the 3rd anniversary of US-led Nato bombing against Yugoslavia. At this sensitive moment, there happened such disputes, which reflected from one aspect that there are many complications in Yugoslavia-US relations.

There exist delicate relations between Yugoslav new government and the US. On one hand, Yugoslavia is faced up with serious situation internally and externally. It needs US support. Djindjic said, without US support, the democratic and economic reform in Yugoslavia will stop. The agreements Yugoslavia has signed with IMF and World Bank and negotiation for Yugoslavia accession to WTO will encounter obstacles. Therefore, President Kostunica and Serbian PM Djindjic, the two with real power, visited Washington one after another last year seeking US support. On the other hand, US hard position on issue of war criminal of former Yugoslavia dissatisfied those Yugoslav who laying emphasis on national interest. There lacks trust in Yugoslavia-US relations. A professor working for the Institute for Europe Studies of Yugoslavia said that the sanction started in April of 1992 has brought a loss of USD 60 billion to Yugoslavia. Last year US declared to lift sanctions against Yugoslavia, but in fact the sanctions have not been comprehensively lifted. There still exists some "recessive sanctions". Some bank account of Yugoslavia are still frozen and there is also restrictions on the flight of JAT. Moreover, the Perisic spy case further showed the no-confidence existing between Yugoslavia and US.

It is to serve its Balkan policy that US stirred up trouble on war criminal issue of former Yugoslavia. US realized its military existence through Bosnian war and Kosovo war and established its dominant position in Balkan Peninsula. However, US held there still exist unstable factors in the Balkans, mainly from the nationalism. In eyes of American, Milosevic, Karadzic and Mladic are symbol of Serbian nationalism. To bring them to trial is to hit "great Serbianism". And the pressure imposed on present Yugoslav Gov't on issue of war criminal of former Yugoslavia is also targeted at the nationalism existing within the present government of the F.R. of Yugoslavia.

Meanwhile, US efforts made at this moment on war criminals is also aimed to get rid of the unfavorable situation emerged on the trial of Milosevic in the Hague. The intensified efforts on arrest and delivery of war criminals may produce higher mental pressure on Milosevic and provide more evidences against him.

Starting from April 1, the US promised USD 40 million assistance to Yugoslavia in the current fiscal year will automatically froze. It is still unknown whether US will continue to provide economic assistance to Yugoslavia in next fiscal year.

However, the chief of the Institute of Europe Studies of Yugoslavia held there will not be a big problem in Serbia-US relations. He is optimistic about the future of the Yugoslavia-US relations.

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ELYSEE 2002

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• LE MONDE | 09.04.02 | 16h03

## Jacques Vergès est interdit de rencontre avec Milosevic

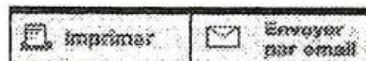
### La haye correspondance

Jacques Vergès reviendra-t-il à La Haye ? Le 12 février dernier, l'avocat français avait profité de l'affluence médiatique causée par l'ouverture du procès de Slobodan Milosevic pour clamer que l'ancien président avait été "kidnappé" et "transféré illégalement" dans le centre de détention du Tribunal pour l'ex-Yougoslavie (TPIY). "Je vais porter plainte devant la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme. Mon dossier est très solide", assurait-il face aux caméras du monde entier. Moins de deux mois plus tard, patatras ! Non seulement la Cour de Strasbourg a, le 27 mars, déclaré "irrecevable" la requête de Me Vergès, mais l'avocat ne pourra plus rendre de visite professionnelle à l'ancien président emprisonné à Scheveningen, dans la banlieue de La Haye.

Jacques Vergès avait en effet été autorisé à rencontrer son client, et à profiter de la confidentialité de ses entretiens, au titre exclusif de conseil pour l'affaire pendante devant la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme. Conformément au règlement du TPIY, le greffe avait demandé à Me Vergès de lui fournir un pouvoir de représentation signé de la main de Milosevic. "Nous n'avons jamais vu cette lettre", souligne un membre du TPIY avant d'ajouter : "Ce n'est plus vraiment important. Vu la décision de la Cour de Strasbourg, il n'y a plus de base juridique pour permettre à Me Vergès de rencontrer Slobodan Milosevic en tant que son avocat."

### MANQUE DE PROFESSIONNALISME

Dans les couloirs du tribunal, qui a repris lundi le procès Milosevic après deux semaines d'interruption, on s'étonne d'ailleurs du manque de professionnalisme avec lequel Me Vergès et son confrère néerlandais, Nico Steijnen, ont traité leur requête devant la Cour des droits de l'homme. L'une des principales conditions pour



#### Sur le même sujet

**Devant le TPIY, un officier britannique fait état d'un plan serbe pour éliminer les Albanais du Kosovo**

• LE MONDE | 18.04.02 | 18h23

**Le procès Milosevic aborde les massacres commis par les forces serbes au Kosovo**

• LE MONDE | 12.04.02 | 13h04

**La Yougoslavie décide de coopérer avec le TPI**

• LE MONDE.FR | 01.04.02 | 20h05

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• LE MONDE | 30.03.02 | 14h45

**Le procès Milosevic renforce le sentiment nationaliste en Serbie**

• LE MONDE | 19.03.02 | 12h13

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les thématiques  
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saisir la juridiction européenne est l'épuisement des voies de recours en droit national. Les juges de Strasbourg n'acceptent de se pencher sur une affaire que si elle a été traitée à tous les niveaux dans le pays d'où elle émane. Dans le cas présent, la procédure n'a été jugée qu'en première instance aux Pays-Bas, le 31 août 2001.

La chambre de la Cour des droits de l'homme constate que *"le requérant s'est désisté du recours formé par lui devant la cour d'appel contre ce jugement, se privant du même coup de la possibilité de se pourvoir devant la Cour de cassation"*. A l'unanimité, la chambre a donc décidé qu'il y avait lieu de rejeter l'affaire. Commentaire d'un membre du TPIY : *"C'est une erreur que même un étudiant en droit n'aurait pas faite."*

**Alain Franco**

• ARTICLE PARU DANS L'EDITION DU 10.04.02

**Articles recommandés**

Recommandez la lecture de cet article aux internautes du monde.fr



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• LE MONDE | 19.03.02 | 12h13

**A Belgrade, une nouvelle crise politique se profile après l'arrestation du général Momcilo Perisic**

• LE MONDE | 16.03.02 | 16h32

**"Je vous avais prévenu, monsieur Milosevic..."**

• LE MONDE | 16.03.02 | 16h32



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bond van anti fascisten

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Tel. 055-3781258  
b.g.g. 026-4951058

Helena en Nico,  
Pr. Margrietlaan 114,  
3708 ZH ZEIST.

Hoenderloo, maandagmiddag, 16-4-2002

Beste Helena en Nico,

Wat een geweldig artikel, ik hoop niet dat het ergens anders in staat voor wij het geplaatst hebben. Helena geef hem er maar een flinke knuffel voor. Je man wordt nog beroemd. Het is vroeg zat, want we maken er deze keer een krant van over Nederland is vol en ik moet nog wachten op antwoord van het Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek voor de nieuwste cijfers. Dan maken we ook een nieuw Groen Boekje, met de nieuwe cijfers. Hopelijk komen ze gauw binnen. Zal ik onder jouw stuk zetten: Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen? Ik zet er nog het nr. onder voor steun.

Met ons gaat het goed. Ik heb er een nieuwe pil bij voor de suiker. Die slaat een beetje erg goed aan, mijn bloeddruk is ook een stuk lager. We zijn ook al in de tuin bezig, met de buurman hebben we een accoord over de grensscheiding. Wij kregen onze zin, dus we hebben er nog een stukje bij.

Hartelijke groeten en we rekenen de volgende keer op het volgende artikel met de uitslag van je aanvraag.

Henk en Alie. Fijn van de floppie, scheelt me uren, en fouten.

*Bij Jurg kwam een jongen, een Joegoslaf, al jaren hier. Jurg begon met hem over etc. Hij zocht al jaren naar zijn adres. Hij kreeg tranen in de ogen toen Jurg het af. Hij wist zijn verjaardag, zou hem een kaart sturen en zou hem schrijven. Ik zal dat ook in de krant zetten*



21-4-2002

Milosevic Case**Jacques Vergès: trump cards at the ready!**

Just like in the status conference in the Milosevic case, Jacques Vergès made an imposing entrance at the Tribunal. In the space of a few hours, the turbulent lawyer managed to launch a media campaign, attend parts of a hearing and open the doors of the Scheveningen prison. During the status conference, the prosecution was granted six months to present its case.

At around 10.a.m. on 9 January, when Jacques Vergès first entered the hall of the international tribunal, all the indications were that the newcomer would not be getting a warm welcome. After all, the lawyer is none other than a member of the Slobodan Milosevic committee, a form of parallel defence set up with the aim, among others, of proving the "illegality of the court" and drumming home the message to the media and the public insofar as possible. Mr Vergès was keen to meet the accused he is defending, but a tribunal spokesperson, Christian Chartier, was firm: the request for a visit had to be carried out within the proper administrative channels. Such a procedure could take several days, after which the accused must provide a written power of attorney confirming his agreement, he explained to the French lawyer.

**A Laissez-Passer: the Power of Language**

And yet...after striding down a few corridors, entering a few discrete offices and conversing in his polished French, which he masters quite well, the lawyer announced that he would be visiting the Scheveningen prison at 2 p.m., along with colleagues from Belgrade who had already gone through the agonising procedure long ago. This time, he got away with it: Milosevic's verbal power of attorney was enough to get him in for a visit. The star of the Paris Bar was able to make a joint trip with counsel Steijnen to meet the former Yugoslav Head of State as part of his defence before the European Court in Strasbourg. The same privilege was also granted to the lawyers charged with defending this exceptional inmate in the context of the court action taken against him by Belgrade.

Officially in The Hague, the link between Jacques Vergès and Slobodan Milosevic that legitimised their meeting is not the fact that the lawyer is part of the International Committee, but the fact that he is co-counsel along with six other lawyers in the proceedings begun on 20 December 2001 at the European Court of Human Rights.

**Six Months for the Prosecution**

Having gained the right to a visit, the lawyer found the time to issue a statement lamenting the violation of Milosevic's rights. "If we look closely at the details, it is clear that behind the formality that appears to ensure that the rules are respected, the rights of the defence are not being respected," he told the French press agency AFP. Moreover, he said, judge May had once again interrupted the accused during the morning's hearing. Unless, of course, the accused had not replied according to the rules of procedure, so dear to the British presiding judge... But despite the former Yugoslav president's renewed condemnation of NATO bombing in Kosovo and the partiality of the judges - albeit with less conviction than during previous hearings - the court managed to resolve the final logistical elements of his trial, which is scheduled to open on 12 February. The Court requested the prosecution to limit the number of witnesses it would call; the Prosecutor therefore announced that he would be calling 90 witnesses and using a hundred written statements before the beginning of August, by which time he must have finished presenting his evidence.

### **Ten Days to Disclose**

Aside from scheduling issues, Geoffrey Nice also raised the issue of the difficulty of ensuring witness protection. Since the Prosecutor is obliged to disclose his evidence to the other party within thirty days of the trial, he asked the judges - arguing that in this particular case the accused was not bound by professional confidentiality and, moreover, did not recognise the rules of the Court - for authorisation to disclose either on the day witnesses are called or two weeks before they are due to testify. In response, the judges ruled that the accused could have access to testimonies ten days beforehand. The amici curiae lawyers, however, would be allowed to follow normal procedures. Finally, the prosecution asked the judges to inform the accused in advance that anything he says "can be used against him". The judges replied that they would rule on the matter later.

It remains to be seen whether the appeal lodged by the Prosecutor against the decision not to join the three cases relating to Milosevic - Kosovo, Bosnia and Croatia - will be admissible. The chamber charged with ruling on the question consists of three heavyweights: Claude Jorda, David Hunt and Fausto Pocar. However, the rules of procedure do not specify a deadline for the decision.

**Stéphanie Maupas**

9 January 2002

## van holst en steijnen

---

**From:** Paul Davidson <p.davidson@btinternet.com>  
**To:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>  
**Sent:** maandag 29 april 2002 14:33  
**Subject:** Fw: Immunity is not an issue, says tribunal's Belgrade chief & Partnership for Peace rests on top army dismissals B92

> Immunity is not an issue, says tribunal's Belgrade chief  
 > 13:27 NOVI SAD, Saturday ? The UN war crimes tribunal in The Hague does not  
 > recognise any kind of immunity from arrest and prosecution, the head of the  
 > tribunal's Belgrade office said today.  
 >  
 > The tribunal insists that all indicted appear before the court ?as soon as  
 > possible,? Matthias Helmann said in Novi Sad today.  
 >  
 > The authorities in Belgrade say they are reluctant to hand over incumbent  
 > Serbian President Milan Milutinovic until his mandate expires this year.  
 >  
 > But Helmann urged that all suspects named on the same indictments be tried  
 > simultaneously, to save time and resources.  
 >  
 > Milutinovic is named alongside Slobodan Milosevic on the ?Kosovo  
 > indictment.? A second alleged co-conspirator, Milosevic's former army  
 > chief  
 > of staff Dragoljub Ojdanic, made his first appearance before the tribunal  
 > yesterday. (Beta)  
 >  
 > Partnership for Peace rests on top army dismissals  
 > 13:26 BELGRADE, Saturday ? Yugoslavia must dismiss its army chief of staff  
 > and head of military security to secure membership of NATO's Partnership  
 > for  
 > Peace, a source within the Yugoslav government has told Beta.  
 >  
 > ?The US will not allow the participation of Yugoslavia in the Partnership  
 > for Peace until (Nebojsa) Pavkovic and (Aco) Tomic are removed from their  
 > current posts,? said Beta's source.  
 >  
 > Beta reports that the condition was set after Tomic's military security  
 > unit  
 > arrested former Serbian Prime Minister Momcilo Perisic and an American  
 > diplomat on suspicion of spying.  
 >  
 > Yugoslav President Vojislav Kostunica has since pushed for the dismissal  
 > of  
 > Pavkovic, but has been thwarted by the Supreme Defence Council, which has  
 > demanded Tomic be sacked as well.  
 >  
 > Pavkovic was appointed chief of staff by Slobodan Milosevic, having  
 > commanded Yugoslav forces in Kosovo. His continued tenure has attracted  
 > condemnation at home and abroad.  
 >  
 > The Yugoslav government announced on Thursday it would begin procedures  
 > for  
 > admission to the Partnership for Peace. (Beta/B92)  
 >  
 >  
 >

# Voorzitter Milosevic schoffeert zijn partij

door David Jan Godfroid

BELGRADO - Met zijn steunbetuiging aan de ultranationalist Seselj heeft Slobodan Milosevic vanuit zijn gevangenis in Scheveningen de politieke verhoudingen in zijn land op hun kop gezet.

Vorbijgaand aan zijn eigen politieke partij, de Socialistische Partij van Servië (SPS), uitte Milosevic in een brief zijn steun voor de kandidatuur van de ultranationalist en leider van de Servische Radicale Partij, Vojislav Seselj, voor de Servische presidentsverkiezingen van eind september. In het hoofdkantoor van de SPS in Belgrado begrijpt men niets van deze politieke ommezwaai.

In zijn brief bepleit Milosevic eenheid in de strijd tegen de door de SPS en andere oppositiepartijen verfoeide presidentskandidaat van de regering Miroljub Labus. Hoewel zijn eigen partij over twee kandidaten beschikt, ziet hij de SPS kennelijk niet in staat die eenheid te bewerkstelligen. Hij roept alle 'patriottische' partijen op zich achter Seselj te scharen.

De SPS had het liefst Milosevic zelf kandidaat gesteld. Partij-activisten hadden zelfs al 8500 van de tienduizend benodigde handtekeningen voor zijn kandidatuur ingezameld. Volgens een hoge vertegenwoordiger van de partij is dit eerder een 'politiek signaal', want Milosevic heeft er al twee termijnen opzitten en dat is het maximum dat de grondwet toestaat. „Niets verbiedt hem echter

aan de verkiezingen mee te doen", aldus de zegsman. „Milosevic zou zeker 1,2 miljoen stemmen hebben gehaald en dat is een teken waar de marionettenregering niet onderuit kan."

De vice-voorzitter van de SPS, de 27-jarige Branko Ruzic, bestrijdt het recht van Milosevic zijn kandidatuur te weigeren althans. „Maar we hadden verwacht dat hij één van onze kandidaten zou ondersteunen", zegt hij teleurgesteld.

Milosevic heeft zelfs niet de moeite genomen zijn partij te informeren over zijn brief. „Ongeveer lukkigerwijs is de communicatie met onze voorzitter niet verlopen zoals gewoonlijk", aldus Ruzic. „De brief van meneer Milosevic is eerst bij een andere politieke partij bezorgd (Seseljs Radicale Partij), toen is hij in de media verschenen en pas daarna hebben wij een kopie gekregen."

Zaterdag beslist het hoofdbestuur van de SPS welke koers er zal worden gevolgd. Het voorstel van Milosevic, nog steeds de grote man in de partij, kan niet zomaar terzijde worden geschoven, maar steun aan Seselj, zonder een eigen kandidaat, zou volgens partijbronnen politieke zelfmoord zijn.

De SPS tast in het duister over Milosevic' beweegredenen. Een functionaris zegt te vermoeden dat Marija Milosevic, Slobodans dochter, de kwade genius is. „Zij heeft sympathie opgevat voor de Radicale Partij en haar vader gemanipuleerd. Het zal wel iets psychologisch zijn."

# Advies Milošević door eigen partij genegeerd

2002

BELGRADO, 19 AUG. De Servische Socialistische Partij (SPS) heeft besloten het stemadvies van haar voorzitter Slobodan Milošević voor de komende presidentsverkiezingen te negeren. De beslissing wordt gezien als een zware nederlaag voor Milošević.

Milošević, die in Den Haag terecht staat voor het Joegoslavië-tribunaal, had een week geleden in een vanuit de Scheveningse strafgevangenis gestuurde fax de SPS aanbevolen zich uit te spreken voor de kandidatuur van Vojislav Šešelj voor de Servische presidentsverkiezingen op 29 september. De

ultranationalist Šešelj is leider van de Servische Radicale Partij. De socialisten zouden volgens Milošević geen eigen kandidaat naar voren moeten schuiven.

Twee dagen eerder hadden de socialisten laten weten Milošević zelf kandidaat te laten staan. Maar daar stak het Constitutionele Hof direct een stokje voor: Milošević is al twee keer president van Servië geweest en een derde termijn wordt door de grondwet verboden. Hoe Milošević vanuit de gevangenis president kan zijn had de SPS overigens niet nader toegelicht.

Het bestuur van de SPS besloot

zaterdag op een negen uur durende bijeenkomst de aanbeveling van de partijvoorzitter te negeren en later deze week een eigen SPS-kandidaat aan te melden. Een grote meerderheid van het partijbestuur kon zich in dat besluit vinden. Waarnemers menen dat het besluit het groeiende isolement van Milošević illustreert. De voormalige president wordt ook binnen zijn eigen partij nog slechts gesteund door een handvol aanhangers, zo menen zij.

Vojislav Šešelj, die tijdens het bewind van Milošević zowel een van zijn felste critici als een van zijn

bondgenoten en coalitiepartners is geweest, is een van Joegoslavië's meest omstreden politici. Zijn militie hebben tijdens de oorlogen in Kroatië en Bosnië oorlogsmisdaden begaan en hij zelf heeft jarenlang diverse vormen van geweld gepredikt.

Een van de belangrijkste kandidaten bij de Servische presidentsverkiezingen, Miroljub Labus, vice-premier van Servië, ligt in de peilingen op kop, samen met Koštunica. Deze heeft nog steeds niet bekendgemaakt of hij op 29 september kandidaat wil zijn. Hij heeft nog tot 8 september de tijd om dat te doen. (Reuters, AP)

gen kandidaat naar voren schuiven. Deze partijen nemen afstand van Zoran Djindjić, de Servische premier, die een machtsstrijd uitvecht met de Joegoslavische president Vojislav Koštunica. Om die reden zouden sommige partijen binnen DOS niet op Djindjić kandidaat voor het Servische presidentschap, Labus, willen stemmen. Labus, vice-premier van Servië, ligt in de peilingen op kop, samen met Koštunica. Deze heeft nog steeds niet bekendgemaakt of hij op 29 september kandidaat wil zijn. Hij heeft nog tot 8 september de tijd om dat te doen. (Reuters, AP)

## Servische socialist negeren Milosevic

BELGRADO - De Servische socialisten hebben het stemadvies van hun voormalige leider Slobodan Milosevic naast zich neer gelegd. Vanuit zijn Haagse cel had Milosevic hen opgeroepen om de extreem-nationalistische Vojislav Seselj te steunen. Die zou de kandidaat moeten worden van de 'patriottische' oppositie bij de verkiezingen op 29 september. Milosevic' partij komt met een eigen kandidaat, waarvan de naam woensdag bekend wordt gemaakt.

Op uitnodiging van de aankla-  
gers deden gisteren twee leden van  
het Kosovo Bevrijdingsleger UÇK  
dicapten, mensen met wonden  
aan hun verhaal. Van Muhtarrem Dashi  
kregen de rechters een schriftelijke  
getuigenis. De aanklagers kiezen  
voor deze methode om tempo te  
maken. Eventuele onduidelijkhe-  
den in de verklaring kunnen de  
aanklagers ophelderen door vra-  
gen te stellen aan de getuigen. Maar  
dat gebeurde gisteren niet.

„Ik zag hoe 39 mensen werden  
geëxecuteerd. Ondere en gehan-  
delde mensen met wonden. De  
stokken", aldus Xhemajli. De  
vrouwen en kinderen werden in  
een konvooi naar Albanie ge-  
stuurd.

Milosevic stelde de „NATO-  
agressie" aan de kaak. Video-beel-  
den van Izbiica kwaliificeerde hij op  
„vervalsingen".

17 Augustus 2002

Amerika heeft de financiële hulp aan Joegoslavië bevroren uit onvrede over de gebrekkige samenwerking met het Joegoslavië-Tribunaal. De Serviërs zijn van hun kant net zo ontevreden: 'We hebben de helft van de hulp van vorig jaar niet eens binnen.' Donorgeld als stok achter de deur.

4-5-2002

Yaël Vinckx

**Z**e gaan op de reguliere lijnvlucht van de Joegoslavische vliegtuigmaatschappij JAT. Vertrek uit Belgrado 07.10 uur. Aankomst in Amsterdam 09.30 uur. En vanaf Schiphol gaan ze in geblindeerde auto's naar een gevangenis in Scheveningen.

Eergisteren landde Nikola Šainović, verdacht van oorlogsmisdaden in Kosovo, op Schiphol. In hetzelfde vliegtuig zat Momčilo Gruban, verdacht van moord, marteling en verkrachting in het beruchte Omarska-kamp tijdens de Bosnische oorlog. En vorige week kwam oud-legerleider Dragoljub Ojdanić aan, ook verdacht van oorlogsmisdaden in Kosovo.

Schuldig zijn ze volgens eigen zeggen niet. Generaal Ojdanić zal voor het tribunaal in Den Haag „de onschuld van het Joegoslavische leger en het Servische volk bewijzen”. Voormalig vice-premier Šainović heeft ook verklaard onschuldig te zijn.

Schuldig of niet; hun vrijwillige overgave is van het grootste belang voor de Servische regering, die onder enorme druk staat om verdachte oorlogsmisdadigers uit te leveren. Want op 31 maart liep een deadline van het Amerikaanse Congres af. Servië moet beter samenwerken met het VN-tribunaal voor de berechting van oorlogsmisdadigers uit het voormalige Joegoslavië, stelden de leden van het congres, anders krijgt het land geen financiële hulp.

Die financiële stok achter de deur is slecht gevallen bij de Servische regering. „Eerst heeft de internationale gemeenschap ons omhelsd. Nu zijn we niets meer”, zegt minister Goran Pitić bitter. Pitić leidt het ministerie voor Buitenlandse Economische Betrekkingen en is onder meer belast met de coördinatie van buitenlandse hulp.



gemeenschap staart zich op de uitlevering van oorlogsmisdadigers", zegt Goran Pitić in zijn werkkamer. „Wij hebben aan tal van andere voorwaarden voldaan. Maar daar kijkt niemand naar." Inderdaad heeft Servië twee van de vier eisen van het congres ingewilligd. Zo zijn Kosovo-Albanese politieke gevangenen vrijgelaten en is de financiering van de Servische Republiek in Bosnië, tehuis voor de Bosnische Serviërs, stopgezet. En eergisteren verklaarde de minister van Binnenlandse Zaken de Servische archieven open te stellen voor de onderzoekers van het tribunaal, de vierde voorwaarde.

Het is onvoldoende voor de internationale gemeenschap. Een woordvoerder van het Amerikaanse ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken verklaarde deze week de inspanningen van Servië te waarderen ('ze doen wat ze kunnen') maar de hulp wordt nog niet hervat. Het Westen wil meer oorlogsmisdadigers in de beklagdenbank van het Joegoslavië-Tribunaal zien.

De Amerikanen hebben ervaring met het stellen van een deadline. Vorig jaar stelde het congres de Servische autoriteiten ook voor een voldongen feit. Voor 31 maart moest de nieuwbakken Servische regering laten zien dat ze definitief wilde afrekenen met het Milošević-tijdperk. Servië wachtte – letterlijk – tot vijf voor twaalf. In de vroege ochtend van 1 april werd Slobodan Milošević gearresteerd. In Amerika, in een andere tijdzone, was het nog 31 maart.

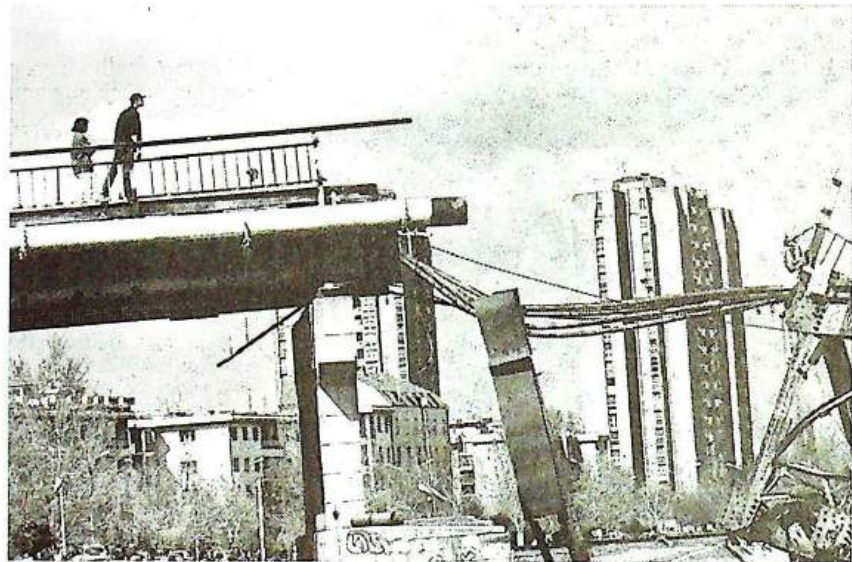
De Serviërs werden beloofd voor hun optreden; het Congres keurde 50 miljoen dollar aan hulp goed. Maar toen een aantal politici, onder wie de Joegoslavische president Vojislav Koštunica, weigerde Milošević uit te leveren aan Den Haag, stelden de Amerikanen opnieuw een deadline.

In juni zou de internationale gemeenschap een grote donorconferentie organiseren. Maar, zeiden de Amerikanen, als Milošević niet is overhandigd aan het tribunaal, doen wij niet mee. Het werkte; op 28 juni werd Milosevic afgevoerd naar een gevangenis in Scheveningen. Op de daarop volgende donorconferentie slepten de overgebleven Joegoslavische deelrepublieken Servië en Montenegro 1,3 miljard dollar binnen, het overgrote deel voor Servië.

En deze keer? Op 31 maart bleef het akelig stil. Geen enkele verdachte Servier werd gearresteerd en uitgeleverd. Daarop bevroor het Amerikaanse Congres een financieel hulppakket ter waarde van veertig miljoen dollar.

„Een donkere wolk boven Servië" noemt minister Pitić die beslissing. Want Servië kan de veertig miljoen dollar goed gebruiken. De staatskas is nagenoeg leeg; onderwijzers en verpleegsters krijgen hun loon half of niet uitbetaald. Het gemiddelde salaris bedraagt circa honderd dollar per maand, gepensio-

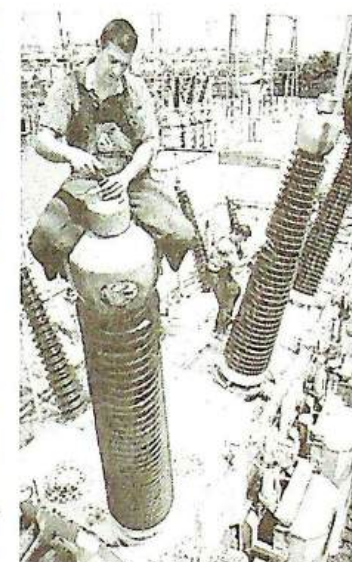
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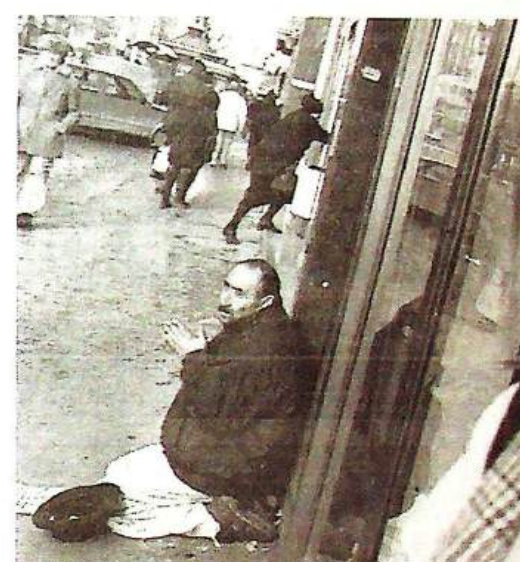
Gebombardeerde burg bij Belgrado. (Foto Oleg Klimov/Fotoloods)



Nadat de Navo een energiecentrale heeft geraakt wordt de kraamafdeling van een Servisch ziekenhuis met kaarsen verlicht. (Foto AP)



Arbeiders repareren de elektriciteit in een buitenwijk van Belgrado. (Foto AP)



Een bedelaar in het centrum van Belgrado, december 2001. (Foto Martin Roemers)

# Donorlanden gebruiken steun aan Servië als stok achter de deur

## De helpende hand van de vijand

neerden krijgen tachtig dollar per maand – tenminste, als de overheid hun pensioenen uitkeert. Ruim 1,4 miljoen mensen leven van minder dan een dollar per dag.

Bovendien heeft de Amerikaanse beslissing andere, vergaande consequenties, aldus Pitić. Ze brengt andere donorlanden aan het twijfelen over hun inspanningen. Ze schrikt buitenlandse investeerders af. En ze brengt de financiële hulp van instanties als de Wereldbank en het IMF in gevaar. „Daar adviseren Amerikaanse medewerkers negatief op onze hulpaanvragen.”

Novi Beograd heet de grootste buitenwijk van de Servische hoofdstad, Nieuw Belgrado. Vanuit de oude stad kun je het stadsdeel zien; over de rivier de Donau en achter de luxueuze hotels en het nieuwe kantoorcomplex met zijn groene ramen begint het 'echte' Belgrado; onafgebroken rijen van vuilwitte flats. Een buitenstaander verdwaalt er, want de flats die zijn gebouwd in communistische tijden lijken allemaal op el-

kaar. Aan de voet van een van die anonieme blokken klontert een aantal Romavrouwen en kinderen samen. In de kelder van het gebouw blijkt een soepkeuken te schuilen. Hier krijgen armlastigen iedere dag een half brood en een halve liter drabberige soep per persoon. In deze buurt maken vooral zigeuners en gepensioneerden gebruik van de soepkeuken. De lege plastic emmertjes en rood/wit/blauw gestreepte boodschappentas klemmen ze stevig onder de arm.

Over het uitblijven van donorgeld laten de medewerkers van het Internationale Rode Kruis, beheerder van de soepkeuken, zich niet uit. Ze krabbelen eenvoudig enkele cijfers op een papertje. Meer dan 50.000 'begunstigden' krijgen iedere maand 12 kilo meel, 1 kilo suiker, 1 liter olie, 1 kilo bonen en 150 gram zout. De hygiëne-pakketten, met daarin 3 kilo waspoeder, 2 stukken zeep, 250 milliliter shampoo, tandelborstel en tandpasta, worden iedere drie maanden uitgedeeld.

Mag donorgeld worden gebruikt als stok achter de deur, als koevoet om poli-

tieke hervormingen te forceren? „Ja, anders doet Servië helemaal niets. Geen enkele politicus durft over uitleveringen te beginnen zonder druk van buitenaf”, zegt James Lyon, hoofd van de International Crisis Group, een onafhankelijke denktank in Belgrado. Servië werkt volgens de ICG alleen mee als het een zak met geld wordt voorgehouden. We verkopen onze ziel voor een handvol dollars, zoals de Joegoslavische president Vojislav Koštunica smalend pleegt te zeggen. De president is een erkend tegenstander van het tribunaal.

In Servië ziet men het tribunaal niet als internationale, onafhankelijke rechtbank, maar beschouwt men het als een bevooroordeeld slachthuis. De aanklagers, hoofdaanklager Carla Del Ponte voorop, zouden erop uit zijn om het Servische volk collectieve schuld aan te wrijven. Ook hervormingsgezinde politici (premier Djindjić, Nationale Bank gouverneur Dinkić, minister Pitić) lopen niet warm voor het Joegoslavië-Tribunaal, maar ze zijn pragmatisch en be-

seffen te moeten samenwerken.

Het brengt de pro-Westerse hervormers in een lastig parket. Leveren ze verdachte oorlogsmisdadigers niet uit, dan kunnen ze fluiten naar de hulpelden. Bovendien wordt Servië's toetreding in instituties als de Raad voor Europa en het Partnership for Peace van de NAVO dan ernstig bemoeilijkt. Leveren ze verdachten wel uit, dan moeten ze een binnenlandse politieke crisis het hoofd bieden.

En dus proberen hervormingsgezinde politici de uitleveringen te 'verkoppen' aan hun kiezers – onder andere door de schuld op het Westen af te schuiven. Premier Djindjić klaagde onlangs zijn nood in het Duitse blad Der Spiegel: Servië doet zijn best maar het Westen komt niet over de brug met de donorgelden. Vooral de Europese Unie moest het ongeden.

Maar navraag in Belgrado leert dat de EU deze keer niet de wanbetaler is. Van de krappe 194 miljoen euro voor 2001 is 58 procent betaald. Dat is, naar internationaal gebruik, hoog. Alleen de beloof-

de medische apparatuur is niet geleverd.

Ook minister Pitić geeft hoog op van de EU. Maar toch. Van de 1,3 miljard dollar is die toegezegd op de donorconferentie vorig jaar, dus n'a de uitlevering van Slobodan Milošević, heeft Servië slechts 310 miljoen dollar ontvangen, aldus de bewindsman. Dat ligt voor een deel aan de Serviërs zelf. „We kunnen niet alle geboden hulp verwerken.”

Soms ook heeft niemand schuld. Voor de verouderde elektriciteitscentrales in Servië heeft men verouderde onderdelen nodig, maar die zijn moeilijk te krijgen. Voor een speciale turbine, die alleen in Zweden wordt gemaakt, bestaat een wachtlijst van een half jaar. Maar ook komen sommige landen hun beloftes niet of nauwelijks na. Goran Pitić weigert hun namen te noemen, maar binnen zijn ministerie vallen regelmatig de namen van Italië en Griekenland. „Veel praatjes, weinig daden”, weet een medewerker over die landen.

Verder, klagen de Serviërs, gaat een groot deel van het donorgeld op aan de

afbetaling van buitenlandse schulder die zijn gemaakt onder Milošević. Servië's buitenlandse schuld bedraagt 8,4 miljard dollar – een flink bedrag voor een land dat zo aan de grond zit.

En de donors laten het afweten. Ze geven volgens minister Pitić allengs minder geld dan in de eerste maanden na de val van Milošević. Want de wereld is veranderd; niet alleen begonnen de VS een oorlog in Afghanistan, ook organiseerde de internationale gemeenschap een donorconferentie voor buurland Macedonië. „Die conferentie heeft geld uit Servië weggezogen”, aldus de bewindsman.

De Servische regering hoopt op een snelle hervatting van Amerikaanse hulp. De vrijwillige overgaven moeten daarbij helpen. Voor volgende week staat Milan Martić, leider van de Kroatische Serviërs, op de lijst om zich te melden bij het Joegoslavië-Tribunaal in Den Haag. Misschien, zo wordt dezer dagen in de Servische hoofdstad gepraat, blijkt Milan Martić 'de man van veertig miljoen' te zijn.

## van holst en steijnen

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**From:** Vladimir Krsljanin <vlada@sps.org.yu>  
**To:** "Prof M.N.Kuznecov" <annakisa@mtu-net.ru>; "Prof A. Bernardini" <mailservicesnc@tiscalinet.it>; <Jaredl@aol.com>; <emperors1000@aol.com>; "Dragoslav Misa Ognjanovic" <ogmi@eunet.yu>; "Christopher Black" <antinato@hotmail.com>; "Branko Rakic" <brankorakic@yahoo.com>; <misaognjanovic@yahoo.com>  
**Cc:** "Zdenko Tomanovic" <zdenkot@eunet.yu>; "Tiphaine Dickson" <tiphainedickson@videotron.ca>; "Tetekin V.N." <tetekin@duma.gov.ru>; "Nico Varkevisser" <office@globalreflexion.org>; <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>; "Elena Kuznecova" <elena\_abpk@mtu-net.ru>; "David Jacobs" <david@ShellJacobs.com>; "Borislav Svetozarevich Milosevic" <borislav@polikvart.ru>; "Anna Yastrebova" <anna\_yastrebova@mtu-net.ru>  
**Sent:** zaterdag 4 mei 2002 10:56  
**Attach:** Steijnen on consequences.doc  
**Subject:** Fw: Serbs Fear Reparations Bill

- 1) Mihajlovic promises to catch Buha killers
  - 2) KLA planned to kill Rugova, witness tells Milosevic trial
  - 3) Milosevic supporters demand state TV show trial
- 

### **Mihajlovic promises to catch Buha killers**

17:21 BELGRADE, Monday ? Serbia?s interior minister has promised no stone will be left unturned in tracking down the killers of public security deputy chief Bosko Buha.

Dusan Mihajlovic said he had requested all state resources be dedicated to the search for the gunmen and that he be granted access to all files that might be of relevance.

Buha, the interior ministry?s deputy public security chief, was gunned in the early hours of this morning outside Belgrade?s Hotel Yugoslavia. (Srna)

?Attack against the state?

16:44 BELGRADE, Monday ? The killing of Serbian public security chief Bosko Buha represents an ?attack against the state,? the chairman of the Serbian parliament?s security committee, Dragan Jovic, said today.

"Regardless of whether it was a personal settling of accounts or a warning to the authorities, it is a state issue - a police general was killed, one of the key people in the state, who was in charge of citizens' security," he said.

Jovic said he believed the killing would become another unsolved high-profile murder unless the government genuinely commits to fighting organised crime. (FoNet)

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### **KLA planned to kill Rugova, witness tells Milosevic trial**

14:55 THE HAGUE. Monday ? A former member of the Kosovo state security service testified today at the trial of Slobodan Milosevic that the Kosovo Liberation Army, KLA, had plotted to kill moderate Kosovo Albanian leader Ibrahim Rugova, now president of the province.

"According to our knowledge the KLA planned an assassination attempt against Rugova. Is that correct?" Milosevic asked in his cross-examination of the witness.

"It's correct," the man, identified only as K6, replied.

Unlike the KLA, Rugova favoured a peaceful path to achieving greater rights for the province's majority Albanian population, and eventually independence.

His party is now in coalition government in Kosovo with two parties led by former KLA commanders Hashim Thaqi and Ramush Haradinaj.

The ethnic Albanian witness was a member of the Kosovo security service, run by the Serbian interior ministry, until 1998.

In his testimony, K6 claimed the Belgrade had turned a blind eye to the smuggling of weapons from Albania to ethnic Albanian rebels in Kosovo and the formation of the KLA.

Prosecutor Geoffrey Nice asked him why. "The main aim was that one day an armed conflict should start between the KLA and Serbia," he replied.

The witness claimed that Belgrade has a number of plans to wipe out the KLA in 1996 and 1997 but had not acted to them.

Under Milosevic's cross-examination K6 appeared to contradict some of his earlier testimony given in a written statement. Pressed by the presiding judge, the witness asked to explain the discrepancies in a closed court session. (AFP)

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### **Milosevic supporters demand state TV show trial**

20:13 BELGRADE, Monday ? A crowd of Slobodan Milosevic fans gathered outside the state television building today demanding live coverage of their former leader's war crimes trial.

Bringing traffic to a standstill, the protestors shouted "we want live broadcasts" and "freedom for Slobodan."

Radio Television Serbia stopped broadcasting the trial live shortly after it began in February, claiming it was too expensive.

In fact, any television station with mobile satellite access can connect to the Tribunal's internal television

## van holst en steijnen

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**From:** CDSM <cdsm\_b@btopenworld.com>  
**To:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>  
**Sent:** zondag 5 mei 2002 15:02  
**Subject:** Milosevic clashes with Kosovan president

### Milosevic clashes with Kosovan president

By Stephen Castle in Brussels and Vesna Peric Zimonjic in Belgrade

04 May 2002

The prosecution of Slobodan Milosevic reached a new juncture yesterday when the former Yugoslav president clashed directly with his former foe, Ibrahim Rugova, the ethnic Albanian President of Kosovo.

In heated exchanges at the War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague, Mr Milosevic, who is conducting his own defence, cross-examined Mr Rugova, a key witness, challenging his claims that Serbs oppressed ethnic Albanians and triggered a war in the disputed province.

Throughout his testimony at the United Nations tribunal, Mr Rugova avoided direct eye contact with the accused. But, when Mr Milosevic began his cross-examination by describing the pacifist ethnic Albanian leaders as pawns of the "great powers", Mr Rugova hit back.

"The great powers and the international community came out in our defence, for human rights and against the massacres perpetuated by Belgrade and by you," said Mr Rugova.

Earlier the softly-spoken Kosovo leader, who is a key prosecution witness, calmly recounted the run-up to the conflict in Kosovo that led to a 78-day bombing campaign by Nato. Mr Milosevic, meanwhile, appeared uninterested and occasionally yawned.

Mr Rugova, undeterred by the display of contempt from his old adversary, said he had warned Mr Milosevic in April 1999 that Serb troops were committing crimes. "We said that the situation in Kosovo was bad, that there was violence and repression and he [Mr Milosevic] said the state had to respond to terrorist activities," Mr Rugova said.

He added: "People were being driven out of Kosovo by military and police and other groups and I asked him to find out what was the matter and to do something and he was listening."

Mr Milosevic denies allegations of war crimes by his forces against civilians, claiming they were fighting Albanian rebels responsible for terrorist attacks. He is accused of responsibility for the murder of hundreds and the expulsion of about 800,000 ethnic Albanians in the spring of 1999. In total Mr Milosevic is being tried on 66 charges of war crimes committed in the Balkans in the 1990s, including one count of genocide in Bosnia.

During yesterday's exchanges the two men argued about the future of Kosovo, a Yugoslav province of huge symbolic importance to Serbs, the status of which remains undetermined. "Do you believe Serbs will give up on Kosovo altogether, Mr Rugova?" asked Mr Milosevic. Mr Rugova replied: "I believe they will, they should. Kosovo belongs to Kosovars, which is ethnic Albanian majority."

During the Nato bombing Mr Rugova appeared on TV with Mr Milosevic, a move that sapped his credibility. But the outcome of the conflict, which gave Albanians de facto independence, allowed Mr Rugova to re-establish his reputation and fight off hardliners.

In Belgrade interest in the Milosevic trial appeared to have faded. Many Serbs said they had neither time nor patience to watch the confrontation between their former leader and Mr Rugova.

With only two out of 14 channels airing the trial, its most faithful followers are the pensioners. Others describe it as a "Latin American soap opera", because of the often unconvincing prosecution witnesses and Mr Milosevic's repeated, well known political lectures on the history of Balkans.

In a separate development, Mr Milosevic's top aide during the Kosovo crisis turned himself in to the tribunal. Nikola Sainovic, a 53-year-old former prime minister of Serbia and deputy prime minister of the Yugoslav federation, pleads not guilty to war crimes charges

## van holst en steijnen

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**From:** CDSM <cdsm\_b@btopenworld.com>  
**To:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>  
**Sent:** zondag 5 mei 2002 15:33  
**Subject:** Kosovo leader, Milosevic clash in court

### Kosovo leader, Milosevic clash in court

Times of India

AFP [ FRIDAY, MAY 03, 2002 9:33:02 PM ]

THE HAGUE: Ibrahim Rugova, President of Kosovo and longtime moderate leader of its ethnic Albanian majority, crossed swords with Slobodan Milosevic at the UN war crimes tribunal on Friday, accusing the former Yugoslav president of ordering massacres of his countrymen.

In cross-examination, Milosevic hit back by accusing Rugova – who has led a non-violent movement for Kosovo's independence from Serbia since 1989 – of being a pawn of "great powers" trying to implement their own agenda.

"The great powers and the international community came out in our defence, for human rights and against the massacres perpetrated by Belgrade and by you," replied Rugova, who never once looked Milosevic in the eye, and only referred to him in the third person, during the tense exchange.

The Kosovo Albanian leader countered Milosevic's frequently loaded questions with lengthy answers explaining his own views.

Strengthened by the court's admonitions to Milosevic to ask only question that dealt directly with the indictment, Rugova repeatedly branded Milosevic's queries as irrelevant.

"You seem to like that word 'relevant', Mr May uses it a lot too," Milosevic sneered. Milosevic quoted several newspaper articles and books charging that the Kosovo Liberation Army was a terrorist organisation funded by drug money and trained by foreign intelligence services in an overall plan to overthrow Serbia.

"I don't know anything about that," said Rugova, dismissing the question. Milosevic went on to suggest that German support for Rugova's independence movement harked back to Albanian fascist militias which supported Italian dictator Benito Mussolini and German Nazi leader Adolf Hitler during World War II.

Rugova rejected the question, adding he did not "suffer from conspiracy theories". Judge May cut off this line of questioning, deeming it irrelevant to the trial. Milosevic faces more than 60 counts of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes for his role in the 1991-95 war in Croatia, the Bosnian war from 1992-95, and the Kosovo conflict.

In the first months of the case the prosecution is focussing on the former president's role in the expulsion of over 800,000 ethnic Albanians from Kosovo in a violent campaign waged by the Yugoslav forces in the province in 1998 and 1999. Milosevic was at that time the president of Yugoslavia.

Earlier in Friday's hearing, Rugova told the court how the province's ethnic Albanians suffered under Milosevic's rule. He spoke of a "calmly done cleansing of the population".

Rugova, dressed in a black suit with a red sweater, quietly explained how his party, the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK), was founded.

He spoke of many meetings with the Serb authorities leading up to the conflict, and said that many promises were made to improve conditions for ethnic Albanians, but never fulfilled.

During the full-blown war between Yugoslav troops and the KLA, Rugova was a member of the Kosovo's ethnic Albanian delegation in the Rambouillet peace talks held in the beginning of 1999.

"We did our bit, we signed the agreement," he said, insisting that the Serbs were not serious about reaching a settlement.

At the height of NATO's bombing campaign, Rugova also had a much-publicised encounter with the former Yugoslav president. This made him an easy target for hardliners, who charged that he was collaborating with the Yugoslav regime.

The prosecution dwelled on these and other meetings in their questioning and Rugova said that, at the time, he was under house arrest and forced to meet with Milosevic and other high ranking Serbs.

"They were not talks, I was a prisoner," Rugova insisted. Rugova is to continue his testimony Monday.

# Milosevic: Albanezen streefden naar Groot-Albanië

DEN HAAG — De oorlog in Kosovo is veroorzaakt door het streven van de Albanezen naar een Groot-Albanië. Dat betoogde Slobodan Milosevic gisteren voor het Joegoslavië-Tribunaal op de tweede dag van zijn kruisverhoor van Ibrahim Rugova, oud-leider van de Albanese onafhankelijkheidsbeweging en sinds kort president van Kosovo.

Volgens Rugova streefden de Albanezen in Kosovo alleen naar vrijheid. Milosevic hield in de rechtbank een kaart van Groot-Albanië omhoog, volgens de Joegoslavische oud-president in 1998 uitgegeven door de Albanese Academie van Wetenschappen. Op de kaart omvat Albanië behalve Kosovo ook delen van Montenegro, Servië, Macedonië en Griekenland. Rugova wees erop dat er ook

2-5-2002  
veel Serviërs zijn geweest die naar een Groot-Servië streefden.

Rugova omschreef de onafhankelijkheidsbeweging als „het resultaat van het verlangen naar vrijheid van de etnisch-Albanese meerderheid van Kosovo”. Rugova acht het niet ondenkbaar dat Kosovo zich ooit aansluit bij Albanië, maar „wij streven naar een onafhankelijk Kosovo”. Momenteel is Kosovo een internationaal protectoraat.

Milosevic legde in het kruisverhoor de nadruk op de rivaliteit tussen Rugova en het Bevrijdingsleger van Kosovo (UCK), de militante beweging die in 1997 het initiatief in de onafhankelijkheidsbeweging van Rugova overnam.

De oud-president van Joegoslavië beweerde in april 1999 Rugova's leven te hebben gered. Het UCK zou hem toen hebben willen vermoorden, waarna Milosevic Rugova en diens gezin naar Belgrado zou hebben laten brengen. „Meneer Rugova, u kwam naar mij toe en vroeg mij u te redden van het UCK. Kijk me in de ogen en vertel me of dat waar is of niet!” (AP)

Maar volgens Milosevic zou hij bang was gedood door het Kosovo-bombardementen op Joegoslavië. Rugova zegt dat hij al bang was dat hij zou worden gedood door het Milosevic-bewind.

# Rugova beschuldigt Milosevic

DEN HAAG — Slobodan Milosevic en Ibrahim Rugova zijn gisterochtend bij het Joegoslavië-Tribunaal lijnrecht tegenover elkaar blijven staan.

Het was de tweede dag van het kruisverhoor van de leider van de

2-8-2002  
Kosovo-Albanezen door de ex-president. Twistpunt is wat er gezegd is tijdens hun ontmoeting in Belgrado op 1 april 1999, tijdens de Navo-bombardementen op Joegoslavië. Rugova zegt dat hij al bang was dat hij zou worden gedood door het Milosevic-bewind.

Maar volgens Milosevic zou hij bang was gedood door het Kosovo-bombardementen op Joegoslavië. Rugova zegt dat hij al bang was dat hij zou worden gedood door het Milosevic-bewind.

# Rugova ontkent Slobodan's aantijgingen

2-5-2002  
Van onze verslaggeefster  
Annieke Kranenberg

DEN HAAG

Ibrahim Rugova, de president van Kosovo, heeft er overduidelijk genoeg van. Het is de tweede dag dat hij door Slobodan Milosevic wordt onderworpen aan een kruisverhoor voor het Joegoslavië-Tribunaal. De gematigde Kosovo-Albanese leider reageert halsstarrig op vragen, maar blijft zoals altijd beschaafd. Onderwijl haalt Milosevic alles uit de kast om zijn politieke opponent in diskrediet te brengen.

Triomfantelijk presenteert de oud-president van Joegoslavië maandag een felrood pamflet uit 1999. Het is een oproep aan de Kosovo-Albanezen om te vluchten naar Albanië en Macedonië, omdat zelfs het Kosovo-bevrijdingsleger (UCK) de burgerbevolking niet meer kan beschermen. Het bedrukte vel papier is ondertekend door de Rugova.

Milosevic wil daarmee aantoonen dat de Kosovo-Albanezen niet naar de buurlanden zijn gedeporteerd, waarvan hij wordt beschuldigd, maar dat zij door hun eigen leider zijn opgeroepen te vluchten.

De getuige hoeft het papier niet lang te bekijken. 'Het is niet van mij, ik heb het niet ondertekend. Het is vals.' Rugova bevestigt wel dat een 'soorgelijk pamflet' in Pristina in omloop was. Maar volgens hem moeten die vellen verspreid zijn door de Servische strijdkrachten, omdat er geen enkele bewegingsvrijheid bestond voor Kosovo-Albanezen. Hij zei vrijdag dat hij huisarrest had.

Als hij het pamflet even later nader bestudeert, wijst Rugova ook op de spelfouten in de tekst. Degenen die het pamflet hebben geschreven, beheersten in ieder geval de Albanese taal niet goed, zegt Rugova, hoogleraar in de Albanese literatuur. Terwijl Rugova de fouten met een stift markeert, moet Milosevic aanzien hoe zijn bewijsstuk aan betrouwbaarheid

inboet. Bovendien, zegt Rugova, prijkt op het pamflet het logo van het UCK, terwijl hij altijd het logo van zijn politieke partij gebruikt. Bij een ander twistpunt wil het Milosevic ook niet lukken Rugova in het nauw te drijven. De milde schrijver was vrijdag door de aanklager al ondervraagd over zijn ontmoetingen met Milosevic in

Het lukt Milosevic niet om Rugova in het nauw te drijven

1999. Rugova verklaarde dat hij onder zware druk werd gedwongen naar Belgrado af te reizen. Na een ontmoeting met Milosevic op 4 mei 1999 mocht hij na herhaaldelijke verzoeken naar het buitenland vertrekken. Het werd Italië.

Volgens Milosevic heeft Rugova hem bij die ontmoeting verteld dat hij bang was gedood te worden

door het UCK. Veel UCK'ers zagen Rugova als een verrader nadat hij in april met Milosevic op tv was verschenen. Milosevic zei eerder dit jaar voor het Tribunaal dat hij het leven van de Albanese leider had gered omdat hij persoonlijk de voormalige Italiaanse premier Lamberto Dini had opgebeld en hem had gevraagd Rugova en zijn familie op te vangen.

Rugova ontkent maandag evenwel stellig dat hij vreesde dat het UCK hem zou vermoorden. Hij zegt dat hij juist bang was dat hij zou worden gedood door het Milosevic-regime.

Heeft Rugova ook directe kennis over de moorden, deportaties en verkrachtingen die onder verantwoordelijkheid van Milosevic in Kosovo zijn gepleegd? Niet concreet, zegt Rugova. 'Maar ik weet dat hij de president was, en de bevelhebber van de politie en het leger.' Dat behoeft geen nadere uitleg, zegt de president van Kosovo die na deze verklaringen mocht terugkeren naar huis.

## van holst en steijnen

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**From:** CDSM <cdsm\_b@btopenworld.com>  
**To:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>  
**Sent:** maandag 6 mei 2002 13:49  
**Subject:** Milosevic cross-examines Rugova

Source: B92

### Milosevic cross-examines Rugova

12:50 THE HAGUE, Monday ? The Hague Tribunal trial of former Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic resumed this morning with the defendant?s cross-examination of Kosovo President Ibrahim Rugova.

Milosevic demanded that Rugova look him in the eye and tell him whether he had asked for protection from Belgrade during the 1999 NATO bomb attacks on Yugoslavia.

Refusing to look at Milosevic, Rugova described the claim as ?a pure lie?.

He added that he had been under house arrest at the time and that Milosevic had been seeking a meeting with him.

Asked by Milosevic whether there had been an attempt on his life and whether police had killed the would-be assassin, Rugova replied that it had been a time when ?nobody knew who would kill who?.

?We were living in fear. While police and army were in my house I heard that a man who had been my driver had been killed,? said Rugova, adding that he had never been afraid of being killed by Albanians.

### Kosovo prime minister builds bridges

12:01 PEC, Monday ? Kosovo Prime Minister Bajram Redzepi, together with UN governor Michael Steiner and KFOR commander Marcel Valentin, attended Serbian Orthodox Easter observances at the Pec Patriarchate yesterday.

Steiner and Redzepi announced that they had visited the most important Serbian Orthodox site in Kosovo in the interest of improving community relations.

Redzepi, speaking in Serbian, told the BBC that his visit to Pec had not been political.

?I went there to celebrate Easter, and after that we chatted with the congregation and this is the way we as a government behave and we shall continue to do so, with the aim of creating the conditions for everyone to return to their homes,? said Redzepi.

### Djelic warns of illegal privatisation in Kosovo

12:01 BELGRADE, Monday ? State assets are being illegally privatised in Kosovo, with service stations being taken over by organised crime syndicates, Serbia?s finance minister said today.

Bozidar Djelic told Radio B92 that he and Privatisation Minister Aleksandar Vlahovic had not agreed with the privatisation plan presented to the Serbian Government last week by UNMIK representatives because it was not in Serbia?s interests.

?We are not against privatisation and we support any move which will improve the economic situation in Kosovo, because that will mean an improvement for local Serbs as well. But there cannot be privatisation at any cost, especially not when it endangers Serbia?s interests,? said Djelic.

Djelic also claimed that cigarette smuggling was ?big business? in Kosovo.

**van holst en steijnen**

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**From:** Ruza <despot@wish.net>  
**To:** Hans Hupkes <hans.hupkes@planet.nl>; Nico & Neeltje steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>  
**Sent:** woensdag 8 mei 2002 16:00  
**Subject:** Fw: Milosevic ends Rugova questioning

De leugens van Rugova!

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

**From:** Joveljic, Nebojsa N

**To:** 'Ruza'

**Sent:** Wednesday, May 08, 2002 10:18 PM

**Subject:** Milosevic ends Rugova questioning

Gledaj kako laze pedercina siptarska. Steta sto ga Srbi nisu udavili onim njegovim salom.  
 Pozdrav,  
 Nebojsa

=====

Monday, 6 May, 2002, 13:59 GMT 14:59 UK

Rugova said he feared Milosevic's forces would kill him

The former Yugoslav President, Slobodan Milosevic, has finished his cross-examination of the Kosovan President, Ibrahim Rugova, at the war crimes tribunal at The Hague.

It was another acrimonious exchange between the two foes but it did appear to shed some light on the political wrangling in the Kosovo conflict during the 1990s.

The two men gave sharply contradictory accounts of their meetings in 1999 as the Kosovo conflict took place.

Mr Milosevic, who is conducting his own defence, is charged with responsibility for crimes against ethnic Albanians in Kosovo in 1999, but he claims his forces were fighting Albanian rebels who carried out terrorist attacks.

Mr Rugova, you came to me asking me to save you and your family from a possible assassination perpetrated by the KLA. Look me in the eyes and tell me whether that is true or not

Slobodan Milosevic On the first day of Mr Milosevic's questioning, on Friday, the judge was forced to intervene as the two men exchanged claim and counter-claim.

#### **Murder fears**

Mr Rugova - who was the moderate, political leader of Kosovo's Albanians under the Milosevic regime - said Mr Milosevic's forces had kept him under house arrest in the Kosovo capital Pristina in April 1999 and he had feared they would murder him.

Mr Milosevic said he had been protecting Mr Rugova from assassination by Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) separatist guerrillas.

Milosevic claimed he was protecting Rugova

"Mr Rugova, you came to me asking me to save you and your family from a possible assassination perpetrated by the KLA. Look me in the eyes and tell me whether that is true or not," Mr Milosevic said.

"That is not true. That is not true," replied Mr Rugova.

"Mr Rugova, as you know the police saved your life. They protected you. I did not arrest you," Mr Milosevic insisted.

Escape to Italy

Mr Milosevic also said he had helped Mr Rugova to escape to Italy in 1999 when his life was under threat.

Mr Rugova said that he actually left for his temporary exile in Rome because he feared Mr Milosevic's forces would kill him.

"I wanted to leave so that I would not be killed or that a plot would not be staged to kill me someday by the regime. At any moment we were living in dread lest they kill us," Mr Rugova told the court.

The court must prove Milosevic knew of the Kosovo atrocities

Mr Rugova continued to avoid eye contact with his old enemy but the two sparred over contentious issues, including the retraction of Kosovo's autonomy in 1989 and the failed Rambouillet peace deal 10 years later which led to Nato's bombing campaign on Yugoslavia.

The political context of the war in Kosovo is only the background to the charges against Slobodan Milosevic.

Mr Rugova claims Mr Milosevic knew Serb forces were committing atrocities.

If the prosecution can prove this he faces life in prison

EOM

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and delete the message.

**van holst en steijnen**

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**From:** CDSM <cdsm\_b@btopenworld.com>  
**To:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>  
**Sent:** woensdag 8 mei 2002 08:04  
**Subject:** THE WITNESS NEVER LOOKED AT THE DEFENDANT'S EYES - PRAVDA

2002-05-07

THE HAGUE: THE WITNESS NEVER LOOKED AT THE DEFENDANT'S EYES

PRAVDA.Ru

Yesterday, at the trial, ex-Yugoslav President, Slobodan Milosevic asked questions to the main witness of the Tribunal, today's President of Kosovo and the leader of Democratic Union of Kosovo, Ibragim Rugova.

The defendant proved that Serbs, but not Albanians had been victims of genocide; that Albanian militants, members of so-called Liberation Army, but not Yugoslav military and police, carried out that ethnic cleansing, while the Yugoslav representatives' activities were aimed for keeping unity of the multinational country.

Milosevic reminded, that he had saved Rugova from punishment of Albanian separatists of Kosovo, that the today's Kosovar leader himself had asked about it, fearing for his life. When the defendant asked the witness to confirm this fact and to honestly answer, looking at his eyes, the Kosovar president, without looking at Milosevic called his statement "pure lie".

According to the main witness, May 1999, he was with his family in Italy, while the reason of his departure was his fear of the Serb police, but not menaces of the Liberation Army.

A convincing proof of the ex-Yugoslav President could be a leaflet presented to the Tribunal, in which Ibragim Rugova personally calls Albanians to leave Kosovo and to emigrate to Albania and Macedonia. "In the circumstances of NATO's bombardments, - the leaflet reads, - the Liberation Army cannot guarantee security of Albanian population."

The leaflet was really spread in 1999 in Kosovo, in the name of Ibragim Rugova. While he stated he had never signed that appeal and that it was really a "forgery," that all arguments of Milosevic were far-fetched. In general, Rugova does not remember many facts and documents Slobodan Milosevic referred to.

According to *RIA 'Novosti'*, while answering the questions of the defendant, Rugova never looked to his side and never called his name, preferring to call the ex-President "defendant." The Albanian politician openly ignored Milosevic.

As for the events of 1999 in Kosovo, he said nothing new: Serbs carried out "planned annihilation" of Kosovar Albanians, Milosevic is the main initiator of all what happened in Kosovo, while NATO's activities were "liberation." (Rugova, however, finds difficult to answer Milosevic's question, who killed about 2,000 Albanians after Serbs left Kosovo in the late 1999, when the territory was controlled only by the Liberation Army).

Much more interesting was the opinion of this politician, in every possible way backed by the West now, about further development of the situation in Kosovo and in the Balkans in general.

Albanians who live in Macedonia, Montenegro, and South Serbia must have a "right on self-determination," Rugova said. In other words, on independence. According to him, Kosovar Albanians do not exclude their future integration in Albania.

**Sergei Yugov**  
**PRAVDA.Ru**

**van holst en steijnen**

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**From:** Ruza <despot@wish.net>  
**To:** Nico & Neeltje steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>  
**Sent:** woensdag 8 mei 2002 16:53  
**Subject:** Fw: Freedom Fight in the Hague (1)

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

**From:** Vladimir Krsljanin  
**To:** <mailto:Undisclosed-Recipient:@smtp.sps.org.yu>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 08, 2002 10:31 AM  
**Subject:** Freedom Fight in the Hague (1)

**FREEDOM ASSOCIATION SPECIAL BULLETIN No.1**  
**May 7, 2002**

## A Judiciary Farce In The Hague

### Rugova on the bench... and fatigues

The testimonial of Ibrahim Rugova as well as his fate during NATO aggression may be the best illustration ever of the message, which Milosevic is trying to communicate to the World. With the intention to blacken Serbia and the Serbs as more as possible, to justify the terror of his compatriots and the NATO aggression, as well as to affirm the platform of Albanian separatists on the independence of Kosovo and creation of the so-called Great Albania, Rugova unintentionally uncovers (to people of good will an otherwise acknowledged fact) who is the patron of such policy and source of all kinds of evil in Kazoo and Matthias.

Besides being conspicuously in the favors of Judge May (persistently addressed to as Dr. Rugova), while Milosevic, on the other hand, has always been halted from leading his cross-examination freely, the Hague bench proved to be of no coziness to the leader of the Albanian separatists. In answering to Milosevic's questions, he had to act the "forgetting professor" role, who can not remember the number of expelled or kidnapped, either killed Serbs in Kosovo and Metohia, nor can hide his Serb-hating cynicism as, when answering to the question "does he believe Serbs will give up on Kosovo" responds with "which Serbs"!!?

We should not wander how such Rugova is blaming even the policemen for saving him when he was forced to flee ahead of NATO bombs and in fear of the threats of Tachi's terrorists, since they were Serbian policemen.

We should not wander that he has forgotten signing the leaflet (KLA proclamation) by which he called upon Kosovo and Metohia's Albanians to retreat to Macedonia and Albania, by which one of the key accusations (mass deportation as performed by Serbian police) is being cut down. Such Rugova has also forgotten having begged Milosevic to save him and his family from the KLA and secure him a getaway to Italy, which he did.

Rugova evidently was one of the major assets to The Hague prosecutors and their

mentors in testifying against President Milosevic. Him being carefully prepared is evident also from the fact that he first got replaced with Bakali, and then announced for April 8, as well as by the way Judge May "defended" him from Milosevic. All this did not help him to successfully play the part of key witness, that is why cold-blooded Judge May this time has shown more nervousness and even contempt towards Milosevic.

As a matter of fact, Rugova's testimonial evolved around the same cliché as all previous ones that resembled a play in two acts. In the first one the witnesses behaved themselves as kid pupils that recite more or less successfully a well learned song. In the second one, when they found themselves in front of the cross examination of President Milosevic, they eventually start forgetting things and mumbling about, so that whatever they say is more useful to the defense than to the indictment.

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)

<http://www.jutarnje.co.yu/> ('morning news' the only Serbian newspaper advocating liberation)

## van holst en steijnen

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**From:** CDSM <cdsm\_b@btopenworld.com>  
**To:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>  
**Sent:** donderdag 9 mei 2002 02:22  
**Subject:** FREEDOM ASSOCIATION SPECIAL BULLETIN No.2

Dear friends,

Thanks to the Freedom Association for this new bulletin. The FA is the organisation in Serbia which wholeheartedly defends Mr. Milosevic. Slobodan himself had made this point very clearly during a brief phone conversation with us (before his phone card run out!!) when ICDSM members met with the FA in Belgrade in March. Whilst in Belgrade I had asked the FA to provide such a service, which is vital for the international defence work. One can only imagine the workload they are under in the situation there and how difficult it is for them to organise around this specific task. Congratulations to them, therefore. We look forward to the next bulletins. Now at last we have a concrete and reliable news source on the trial.

Paul Davidson

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### FREEDOM ASSOCIATION SPECIAL BULLETIN No.2 May 8, 2002

#### Contradictory Witnesses

Today in The Hague as witnesses appeared Avni Nebihu from the village Sojevo near Urosevac, Aslan Tachi from the village Demjan near Djakovica and Dzevahire Rahmani from the village Bukos near Vucitrn. The contradictoriness of these witnesses, that is characteristic for the whole length of the trial, today was even more accentuated.

On a question posed by Milosevic, Nebihu explained that his village has close to 200 households, and that each household has an average 10 members. Nevertheless, in his written statement he declared that Serbian soldiers had expelled all locals from their houses and that they afterwards headed for Urosevac. There were, as he had pointed out in that statement, about 500 of them. As Milosevic insisted to get an explanation what happened to the remaining 1.500 locals, the witness got confused and without a proper explanation. This witness, in one of his written statements, pointed out that he had left his house together with his family after having seen what was going on in the surroundings, while in another one he did it after being told to do so by the soldiers. Also, in one statement he saw, from a 500 meters distance, as the soldiers were putting fire on house with some flamc-firing weapons, and when Milosevic reminded him that from the place from where he found himself he could not even see the houses in question, said that he had seen such weapons earlier.

Since this witness, as the other Albanian ones as well, had in his written statement quoted being satisfied about the NATO bombardments, Milosevic asked him was it his own statement to the prosecution representative, or that representative first questioned him had he been satisfied over the NATO bombardment. The witness replied that it was his answer to a specific question of the prosecution representative.

Aslan Tachi too in many of his quotations in the written statements has been contradictory. However, the most interesting part of his cross-examination was related to the presumed presence of Russians among Yugoslav soldiers that were in his village. Tachi pointed out that he speaks Russian, that he had heard as some military were discussing in Russian and even issuing orders to others. At Milosevic's queries he confessed not speaking Russian, explaining that everyone who knows Serbian understands Russian as well, and that those presumed Russians did not have any ranks, and when they allegedly ordered all present civilians should be killed, the soldiers did not do it.

Dzevahire Rahmani in her statement accused the military that they raped some girls from the group they were searching in a room. However, on a question posed by Milosevic, regarding the grounds which could have brought her to such a conclusion, she said she estimated it upon their looks, while neither of them had told her that in a later conversation, nor there was nothing she could have heard from the room where they were searching them that could make her think that, but it was their looks upon coming out of that room. Even the soldier she claimed harrasing her, though not raping her, she once described as a tall guy with the shaved head, once as having blond hair.

Today the testimonial of Abdullah Salihu started as well, and it will be resumed tomorrow.

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## van holst en steijnen

**From:** CDSM <cdsm\_b@btopenworld.com>  
**To:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>  
**Sent:** vrijdag 10 mei 2002 07:33  
**Subject:** Milosevic castigated his ex-army accuser as "a deserter"

May 9, 2002 Posted: 2:09 PM EDT (1809 GMT)

### **Milosevic castigated his ex-army accuser as "a deserter"**

THE HAGUE, The Netherlands – Prosecutors have produced their first so-called "insider" witness against Slobodan Milosevic at the U.N. war crimes tribunal.

Former Yugoslav army officer Nike Peraj, an ethnic Albanian who deserted from the army in June 1999, told how Belgrade "declared war" on its renegade province of Kosovo.

Peraj, 55, described the relationships between Serbian police, paramilitary units and the Yugoslav army.

"I will never forget the crimes and terrible things that I have seen... committed by forces of the Yugoslav army, the MUP (internal police), paramilitaries and others," he told the tribunal on Thursday.

Former Yugoslav leader Milosevic is accused of war crimes in Kosovo, Bosnia and Croatia in the 1990s. Prosecutors charge him with "command responsibility" – that he knew or should have known of the crimes but did nothing to stop or punish them.

The "insider" testimony came on the day that a Belgrade court issued arrest warrants for 17 top Serb war crimes suspects who failed to surrender voluntarily, including the two most-wanted fugitives – former Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and his wartime commander, Gen. Ratko Mladic.

#### EXTRA INFORMATION

In-Depth: Milosevic on trial

However, the warrants were not expected to lead to the suspects' immediate arrests and extradition to the U.N. tribunal.

Branislav Todic, the chief investigative judge of Belgrade's district court, told The Associated Press that authorities do not know the whereabouts of Mladic, Karadzic and several other war crimes suspects.

However the U.N. said on Thursday Bosnian Serb authorities had arrested five ex-policemen for war crimes in what is believed to be the first such move in a region renowned for harbouring war crimes suspects.

The ex-police officers from the northwestern town of Prijedor were detained on Wednesday and transferred to a prison in the Bosnian Serb de facto capital Banja Luka, where the prosecutor charged them with war crimes, the U.N. told Reuters.

At the U.N. tribunal on Thursday Milosevic, who has appointed no lawyer and is defending himself, contended that military rules allowed the army to be used in peacetime to combat terrorism.

"An army unit, yes, but not the whole army," Peraj told Milosevic in cross-examination. "In Kosovo all the army units that existed in Yugoslavia were used. Only the navy was not used."

The bespectacled witness – whom Milosevic disparaged as "an officer, albeit a deserter" – said he met ethnic Albanian rebels of the Kosovo Liberation Army three times after the Kosovo conflict.

Milosevic suggested that KLA threats or blackmail had persuaded Peraj to testify in The Hague – something vehemently rejected by the witness, who said he had come to do his "moral duty."

"I have come here because of the lamenting, the tears of the families, the brothers, sisters, mothers who have been left without loved ones," he declared.

"Many of them have come to me and have asked me if I don't know something

about the fate of their loved ones because I was in the army."

## **van holst en steijnen**

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**From:** Vladimir Krsljanin <vlada@sps.org.yu>  
**To:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:@smtp.sps.org.yu;>  
**Sent:** dinsdag 14 mei 2002 03:14  
**Subject:** Freedom fight in the Hague (3)

**FREEDOM ASSOCIATION SPECIAL BULLETIN No.3**  
**May 13, 2002**

### **General, OSCE Verification mission chief, badly informed**

In the morning of May 13, the cross-examination of Nik Peraj, a Captain of the Yugoslav Army from Djakovica, who was sentenced by a military court to 15 years seclusion for deserting, was finished in The Hague. Peraj claimed that in the village of Meja near Djakovica the YA was carrying out operations against the civilian population. In his intervention, President Milosevic has shown, beside other things, a map of this operation drawn by the witness himself, and asked him if he knew that namely in the villages shown on the map, in the very center of the operation, 38 militaries had perished. This all happened in a time span of a few weeks, meaning that the clashes with the KLA lasted for several days. To that the witness, as in other cases where his statements shown to be contradictory, avoided direct answers. He tried to do so on Milosevic's question if he had known about the order of the YA Supreme Command that no shooting was allowed if civilians could have been endangered by crossfire.

Today, however, major attention was caused by the testimonial of English general John Drewenkievitz, then operational chief of OSCE's KVM, who has been seldom put in an unpleasant situation during his cross-examination related to the alleged massacre of civilians in the village of Racak. For instance, it has been revealed that in his written statement he kept silent about the fact that the Police operation against terrorists in Racak had been announced in advance to his mission. The general got caught meddling about the fact that his observers were present right above this village when the operation started, since he had first declared that his men were at least 5 miles (8 km) away, to then lower the figure to a kilometer or two, and after Milosevic claimed an Associated Press tape be shown (in which the Police entering into the village were clearly visible, as well as the position of the OSCE jeeps) the general complained this probably had not been taped at the beginning of the operation.

It is known that the Racak event was used as pretext to start bombing Yugoslavia, since this clash with the terrorists has been shown to the World public as a massacre of civilians. Therefore, in his written statement the General never mentioned seeing any evidence of fighting taking place and that the KLA was present in the village, no matter it is well known that this was one of the KLA strongholds. He seemed a bit confused when, on Milosevic's claim, another footage of the operation tape was shown, in which it could be clearly seen and heard how clashes went on and several weapons used, so that the General had no other option than saying that "it's the first time he hears there were clashes".

No matter he had been the operational chief of the mission that collected and verified all information on the events taking place in Kosovo and Metohia, the General gave the impression of a rather badly informed man. So he said he did not know the contents of the report on the official findings about the Racak events, forgetting that three members of his mission had participated in their making. When parts of the forensic report were cited, in which those experts pointed out that almost all killed persons had previously been using fire arms and all of them perished in combat, General Drewenkievitz laconically replied that at that time he had filled the report he did not have these information.

General Drewenkievitz's testimonial shows the real role of OSCE verifiers, since in all of the incidents he has seen only the guilt of the Yugoslav security forces, and in neither case of the terrorists, whom he called that himself in one of his reports. Even when the Police had arrested three Albanians for illegal possession of weapons, the General wrote down it was a guilt of the Serbian Police.

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<http://www.jutarnje.co.yu/> ('morning news' the only Serbian newspaper advocating liberation)

Getuige voor VN-tribunaal:

# Goedkeuring van Milošević voor zuivering

Door een onzer redacteurs

DEN HAAG, 15 MEI. De voormalige Joegoslavische president Slobodan Milošević heeft zijn goedkeuring gegeven aan de etnische zuivering in Kosovo. Dat is gisteren voor het Joegoslavië-tribunaal gezegd door een belangrijke getuige.

De getuige, de 46-jarige Ratomir Tanić, was medewerker van de Joegoslavische staatsveiligheidsdienst. Hij werkte tussen 1995 en 1997 als speciaal adviseur van het ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken aan een vreedzame oplossing voor Kosovo. Die poging werd ondersteund door de internationale gemeenschap waarmee Tanić nauwe contacten onderhield.

Tanić, die Joegoslavië inmiddels heeft verlaten en getuigde vanachter een scherm terwijl zijn gezicht op de monitoren onherkenbaar was gemaakt, is voor de aanklagers een zeer belangrijke getuige. Hij is de eerste, uit de kring van naaste medewerkers van Milošević, die getraillerd vertelde over de betrokkenheid van de de Joegoslavische oud-president bij de plannen voor een etnische zuivering in Kosovo. Zijn getuigenis zal waarschijnlijk de hele week nog in beslag nemen.

In 1997 maakte Milošević, die tot dan toe de onderhandelingen over een vreedzame oplossing voor Kosovo steeds had gesteund, een radicale ommezwaai. „Milošević constateerde ploseling dat er een probleem was: het aantal Albanen in Kosovo is te groot”, zei Tanić. Hij vroeg Milošević om opheldering. „Milošević werd toen kwaad en zei dat hij zou aantonen dat er minder dan een miljoen Albanen in Kosovo woonden.”

In het geval de Albanen minder dan tien procent uitmaken van de totale bevolking in Kosovo zouden ze geen recht meer hebben op zelfbestuur. Het aantal Albanen werd toen geschat op ongeveer 1,5 miljoen. „Daar paste volgens de

Servische autoriteiten maar een oplossing bij: etnische zuivering”, aldus Tanić.

Een jaar later, in 1998, braken in Kosovo de gewichten uit tussen het Kosovo Bevrijdingsleger UCK en het Joegoslavische leger. Milošević was er zeker van dat de internationale gemeenschap, met de Verenigde Staten voorop, het UCK financieel en met wapens steunde. Tanić: „Daar was hij absoluut van overtuigd.”

Ook vertelde Tanić hoe directe kringen rond Milošević moedwillig de resultaten manipuleerden van een onderzoeksmisje, die door gematigde politici in België do naar Kosovo werd gestuurd om de werkelijke situatie te bestriden. De met Milošević aangeklaagde Nikola Sainović zou daarvoor verantwoordelijk zijn geweest. De Joegoslavische president beschikte, volgens Tanić, over „een parallelle privé-commandostructuur” voor het optreden in Kosovo. „De leiding van de staatsveiligheidsdienst en het leger en een groep politici in de regeringscoalitie waren tegen het moedwillig gebruik van geweld in Kosovo om de simpele reden dat het niet nodig was. Toen Milošević hiermee geconfronteerd werd, stelde hij een eigen commandostructuur in en zette hij de generale straf, het leiderschap van de staatsveiligheidsdienst en de parlementaire instituten buitenspel.”

De verdachte hoorde de verklaring van Tanić uiterlijk onbewogen aan. Eén keer onderbrak hij het relaas. „Deze persoon die ik niet ken, vertelt tot nu toe alleen onwaarheden”, briste Milošević.

W

PA

# 'Milosevic keurde zuivering Kosovo goed'

Getuige meldt persoonlijke betrokkenheid ex-president bij etnische schoonmaak

15-5-2002

Van onze redactie buitenland  
AMSTERDAM – De Joegoslavische oud-president Slobodan Milošević heeft zijn goedkeuring gegeven aan de etnische schoonmaak van Kosovo. Dat heeft een sleutelgetuige verklaard voor het Joegoslavië-tribunaal in Den Haag.

De getuigenis van Ratomir Tanić, eerder aangeduid met de code-naam K3, toonde voor het eerst

sinds het begin van het proces, Milošević' persoonlijke betrokkenheid aan bij de oorlogsmisdaden in Kosovo. De 46-jarige Tanić werkte in de jaren negentig bij de staatsveiligheidsdienst en was betrokken bij de partij Nieuwe Democratie, die in 1994 met Milošević' SPS een coalitie vormde. Hij werkte tussen 1995 en 1997 als speciaal adviseur van het Servische ministerie van binnenlandse zaken aan een vreedzame oplos-

sing voor Kosovo. Die onderhandelingen werden gesteund door de internationale gemeenschap, waarmee Tanić nauwe contacten onderhield.

Tanić vertelde dat ook Milošević die dialoog steunde, tot hij in 1997 een radicale ommezwaai maakte. „Plotseling was er een probleem: het aantal Albanen in Kosovo was te groot”, zei Tanić, die Joegoslavië inmiddels is ontvlucht en getuigde van achter

een scherm, terwijl zijn gezicht op de monitoren onherkenbaar was gemaakt.

Tanić vroeg Milošević om opheldering. „Hij was kwaad en zei dat hij zou aantonen dat er minder dan een miljoen Albanen in Kosovo woonden. In dat geval zouden zij minder dan tien procent van de totale bevolking uitmaken en geen recht meer hebben op zelfbestuur.” Het aantal Albanen werd toen geschat op

1,2 tot 1,5 miljoen. „Daar was volgens de Servische autoriteiten maar een oplossing voor: etnische zuivering”, aldus Tanić.

Een jaar later braken in Kosovo gevechten uit tussen het Kosovo Bevrijdingsleger UCK en de Joegoslavische regeringstroepen. Volgens Tanić zou de internationale gemeenschap een harde aanpak van de separatisten hebben gesteund als er ook een vredesplan was geweest. „Dat is Milošević

niet een keer maar wel 100 keer op hoog niveau duidelijk gemaakt, maar hij wilde geloven dat de internationale gemeenschap de UCK steunde”, zei Tanić.

Milošević luisterde schijnbaar onbewogen naar de getuigenis. Een keer onderbrak hij de verklaring met: „Deze persoon die ik niet ken, vertelt tot nu toe alleen onwaarheden.” Tanić kan voor de aanklagers een cruciale getuige zijn in het proces.

## van holst en steijnen

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**From:** Vladimir Krsljanin <vlada@sps.org.yu>  
**To:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:@smtp.sps.org.yu;>  
**Sent:** woensdag 15 mei 2002 04:55  
**Subject:** Freedom fight in the Hague (4)

**FREEDOM ASSOCIATION SPECIAL BULLETIN No.4**  
**May 14, 2002**

### **Terrorist Commander, A Civilian As Well**

What is the function of a witness for the prosecution in The Hague, perhaps was best seen today during the cross-examination of the witness Isuf Ljoku from the village Kotlina near Kacanik. Except for the fact that he was not able to say more than what he was obviously prepared to do, he kept denying himself from a sentence to the next. At Milosevic's question how many soldiers he had seen entering his village, he first replied seeing 25 of them. After being asked were they on foot or in vehicles, he replied seeing 13 tanks, 2 armored vehicles and 10 trucks. While in his written statement, given to the tribunal representatives a year ago, he had claimed having seen several thousands of soldiers entering his village.

When witness Ljoku kept asserting unbelievably illogic statements, such as that his village was abandoned by all of his inhabitants before the military got in, and that the military had shelled the village for four hours before getting in. Judge May tried to help him by warning Milosevic to be fair towards the witness. As Judge May intervened in this way at Milosevic insisting the witness should explain how come the military had not found him after "escaping to the mountain" and hiding just 50 meters away from his house, Milosevic than "warned" May that he does not have to interpret for him what the witness is talking about.

Although there were serious clashes going on with the KLA in his and in the neighboring villages, the witness Ljoku claimed no KLA member had been to his village. At Milosevic's question does he know that his cousin Miljaim Ljoku was in command of the so-called Kacanik KLA brigade and died in an armed clash of that unit with the YA, the witness said his cousin had died as a civilian.

Today the testimonial of Ratomir Tanic has begun, from whom the prosecution obviously expects quite a lot, so that their examination of the witness today was not finished. His face was scrambled, although he identified himself, and his voice was heard. Tanic has been a high official of "New Democracy" Party at the time it was in power in coalition with SPS and JUL. Before that he has been one of the founders of opposition parties like UJDI and the Civic Alliance. As he himself stated, he was conducting some negotiations with Albanian representatives in Kosovo on behalf of his party. More than that, according to him, he collaborated with officials of the State Security Service (whom he did not want to name), but also with the Intelligence Services of England, Italy and Russia (from which he got paid). From the testimonial of this witness today anyone could assert that his role in this trial is to help the prosecution show that it was allegedly possible to find a political solution for Kosovo and Metohia and that the war was not unavoidable, in other words to justify NATO aggression against our country.

While announced as the first "insider" witness at this trial, he could hardly be called as such, since he has been a minor player and never part of the ruling SPS gear. Having been member of "New Democracy", his role in this trial may easily be understood, if one knows the political "beliefs" of this party, whose leader for the last 15 years has been in power within all Governments, regardless it were Communist, Socialist or "Democratic" ones. The party itself never participated alone in the elections, but was the first to advocate admission of Yugoslavia to NATO. Its leader, Dusan Mihajlovic, whose "special adviser" Mr. Tanic was, is currently Serbian Interior Minister and one of main responsables for abduction of President Milosevic and fabrication of "refrigerator trucks" stories.

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## van holst en steijnen

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**From:** CDSM <cdsm\_b@btopenworld.com>  
**To:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>  
**Sent:** donderdag 16 mei 2002 00:51  
**Subject:** FREEDOM ASSOCIATION SPECIAL BULLETIN No.4

**FREEDOM ASSOCIATION SPECIAL BULLETIN No.4**  
**May 14, 2002**

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**van holst en steijnen**

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**From:** CDSM <cdsm\_b@btopenworld.com>  
**To:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>  
**Sent:** donderdag 16 mei 2002 00:44  
**Subject:** Deep Concern about the conduct of the trial of Mr Slobodan Milosevic

**Deep Concern about the conduct of the trial of Mr Slobodan Milosevic**

ICTY- Den Haag

To: **Claude Jorda**

Belgrade, 15 May 2002

Dear Mr. C. Claude Jorda

I express my deep concern about the conduct of the trial of Mr. Slobodan Milosevic before the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in the Hague and growing evidence of partiality of the Tribunal.

I am especially concerned about the Tribunal's acceptance of Mr. Riddle-Mayer as an independent expert in the field of historical monuments of culture. This acceptance came in spite of the fact that Mr. Riddle-Mayer had obtained funding for his one-sided Kosovo research project from his own sources and then offered his services to the Office of the Prosecutor of the ICTY. On the other hand, I am aware that it is a well-established practice of impartial criminal courts anywhere in the world that experts for a particular expertise are appointed by courts themselves, while the financing of these expertises is strictly determined by the rules governing the procedure.

I am also concerned by a large and growing number of issues which the presiding Judge Richard May declares as irrelevant during the cross-examination of the witnesses by Mr. Milosevic. To this end, strict time restrictions are imposed on Mr. Milosevic, even when he is cross-examining some of the most important witnesses such as Mr. Ibrahim Rugova, President of Kosovo, on 3 & 6 May 2002. I consider it unacceptable that issues such as, for instance, the ascertainment of the role, character and sources of financing of the KLA are declared as *irrelevant*. At the same time, no significant effort has been made by the presiding Judge May to make Mr. Rugova give precise, concise and concrete answers to the questions posed by Mr. Milosevic and *amicus curiae*. Mr. Rugova's testimony was characterised as *a shame for international justice* by many lawyers and journalists present in The Hague, reported Belgrade daily *Glas Javnosti* on 4 May 2002.

Noting that great many witnesses from Kosovo testify not to have ever heard of the KLA, I am concerned that not a single witness has been warned that a false statement is subject to penal measures under Article 91 of the Rules of Procedure and Evidence. These measures must be applied in order to prevent incredible testimonies, abuse of power by the Prosecutor's Office and undue exhaustion of Mr. Milosevic who is exposed to a rather long trial.

Finally, I am deeply concerned about the constant changes in order of appearance of witnesses by the Prosecution which the Chamber allows too lightly.

The Milosevic case is a complex one, raising complex issues and too narrow, selective and impatient approach by the Chamber to these issues can have detrimental consequences for the rights of Mr. Milosevic. Considering that such an approach has already started affecting his right to a fair trial, I call upon all human rights organisations to appoint its observers at the trial, or to follow the proceedings in other appropriate manner. I also call upon all human rights organisations to take any action they deem appropriate in order to stop the violations of the right to a fair trial of Mr. Slobodan Milosevic.

Yours sincerely,

**Vladislav Jovanovic**, Acting President of The Belgrade Forum for the world Of Equals

Belgrade, Misarska 6

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## **van holst en steijnen**

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**From:** CDSM <cdsm\_b@btopenworld.com>  
**To:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>  
**Sent:** donderdag 16 mei 2002 10:42  
**Subject:** FREEDOM ASSOCIATION SPECIAL BULLETIN No.5

**FREEDOM ASSOCIATION SPECIAL BULLETIN No.5**  
 May 15, 2002

### **"Protected Witness" Tanic – Co-Author In the Writing Of The Indictment**

Today's testimonial of the (partially) protected "insider" Ratomir Tanic speaks more about his personality and about the role of intelligence services in the trial, than about the very subject of the testimonial. It appeared that these services directly, but badly prepared Tanic's testimony. Indicative is the today's statement of his former Party leader and current Interior Minister in the Serbian Government, Dusan Mihajlovic, published in today's edition of the Belgrade daily "Nacional", which goes: "I knew Ratomir was crazy enough to apply for witness and testify, but I had no vague presentiment that those ones were stupid enough to take him as witness".

Tanic has testified about all kinds of things, as if he has been the closest Milosevic's associate, or high state official, for the lightness with which he talked about things that could have been within reach exclusively to the highest state and military leadership. For the rest, at the very beginning of his examination by the prosecutor, he has identified himself as paid collaborator of British, Italian and Russian intelligence services.

Tanic's testimonial looked more like some kind of political analysis, by which it was intended to show that a political solution to the Kosovo and Metohia problem was possible, which Milosevic never accepted, since his goal was ethnic cleansing, i.e. the expulsion of Albanians from the province. Tanic kept developing this theory through an alleged parallel civilian chain of command, introduced by Milosevic, that by-passed the Army and Police command structures. As sources for these allegations he mentioned some "leading figures" within the Army and Police, whose names he did not want to reveal. After Milosevic and the Court insisted on the matter, he referred to Dusan Mihajlovic (leader of "New Democracy" party), General Momcilo Perisic (ex-Chief-of-staff of the YA), Jovica Stanisic (State Security Service - SDB - chief), as well as SDB officer Bogdan Tomas (for the events around Djakovica).

Tanic appeared with senseless allegations that the leadership of Yugoslavia wished for a "little bombing" in order to continue harassing and forcing the Albanians into exile, as well as to reduce the strength of the Serbian opposition. For this he recalled an alleged conversation with the British and German Ambassadors, in which he took part as well, never though mentioning in what capacity. He used the same pattern to affirm that he knows who ordered the Racak operation, but "may not reveal the foreign source".

Tanic insisted on proving the existence of a military training plan called "Horse shoe", that envisaged military operations in Kosovo and Metohia in the case of foreign aggression supported by the Albanian population. He further speculated that this "training" plan had been subsequently abused and applied in real conditions, no matter that 'there was neither a foreign aggression nor a rebellion of the Albanian population'.

Tanic's testimonial looks more like a script for an action movie in which the "bad guys" were Serbia and its leadership, and the "good guys" were the Kosovo and Metohia Albanians and NATO. The first ones are "guilty" because they have not solved the problem by political means and with selective use of force, which by Tanic's estimates was quite possible, while the latter are good because by bombardment they forced a solution for the province, that seemingly only Tanic is actually satisfied with.

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Although Milosevic's cross-examination of this witness has only just started, it has been immediately clarified that Tanic was collaborating with the British Intelligence Service in writing The Hague indictment against Slobodan Milosevic. Such an obvious conclusion appears from simple comparison of the indictment and Tanic's written statement, as well as from his answers to the prosecutor's questions. Besides that, on Milosevic's question, he confessed that at least two members of the British Intelligence Service were present during the writing of his statement. On the other hand, the fact his face was scrambled on TV transmission

from the courtroom is rather indicative, meaning that "somebody" insured his secret for-life sojourn somewhere in the World with a false identity and changed looks.

The cross-examination of this 'protected witness' will go on, but it is already certain that it is going to be Tanic who will carry, for as long as he lives, the burden of having been the first Serb to testify against Milosevic and against the truth, but also against the right of his own nation to defend its citizens and territory from terrorism, regardless was it of Albanian or U.S./NATO kind. This 'testimony' also exposes unbelievable low level of the NATO political trial and of its Hague machinery, in which as one of crucial witnesses appears a person which never had any official position in Yugoslavia and which admits paid liaisons with foreign secret services.

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)

<http://www.jutarnje.co.yu/> ('morning news' the only Serbian newspaper advocating liberation)

# 'Milosevic offerde Serviërs op'

16-5-2002

DEN HAAG – De Joegoslavische oud-president Slobodan Milosevic heeft eind jaren negentig doelbewust Servische levens opgeofferd. Dat heeft een getuige verklaard voor het Joegoslavië-tribunaal in Den Haag.

Ratomir Tanic ging gisteren vooral in op het voorjaar van 1999 toen de oorlog in Kosovo op het hoogtepunt was en de Navo Servië bombardeerde. Volgens Tanic stuurde Milosevic doelbewust aan op Servische slachtoffers om harder ingrijpen tegen de Kosovo-Al-

banezen te kunnen rechtvaardigen. De correcte manier was geweest, vroegtijdig gecontroleerd in te grijpen door mensen zonder gebruik van excessief geweld te arresteren, aldus Tanic, een oud-medewerker van de Joegoslavische staatsveiligheidsdienst.

Ten tijde van de Navo-bombardementen bestond de strategie van Milosevic uit „het zo lang mogelijk standhouden en door burgerslachtoffers en schade aan civiele doelen een soort morele overwinning te boeken”, aldus de getuige. Daartoe werden burgers

opzettelijk niet geëvacueerd uit gebouwen waarvan men van tevoren wist dat ze zouden worden aangevallen. Als voorbeeld noemde Tanic de aanval op het gebouw van de Servische staatstelevisie.

Tijdens een kruisverhoor probeerde Milosevic de geloofwaardigheid van de getuige op felle wijze te ondermijnen. Hij noemde Tanic een 'valse getuige' en zei dat hij nooit enig contact met hem heeft gehad. Daarom kon Tanic helemaal niet op de hoogte zijn van zijn werkzaamheden, zei Milosevic.

70-50-90

**van holst en steijnen**

2

**From:** FCDSM-CFDSM / FREE SLOBO ! <lucmichelbxl@yahoo.fr>  
**To:** <info@pcn-ncp.com>; <lucmichelbxl@yahoo.fr>  
**Sent:** vrijdag 17 mei 2002 10:48  
**Subject:** Newsletter FREE SLOBO ! - n° 25

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/>

N° 25 - 16 Mai / May 2002

Webmaster - Editeur responsable :  
 Luc MICHEL - email : [lucmichelbxl@yahoo.fr](mailto:lucmichelbxl@yahoo.fr)

This number 24 is send to 61.000 emails.  
 Ce numéro 24 a été envoyé à plus de 61.000 mails

In this number 25 / Dans ce numéro 25 :  
 - BAGHDAD CONFERENCE : RELEASE MILOSEVIC!  
 - FAUX TEMOIN DU « TPI » A LA HAYE ! REVUE DE PRESSE :  
 « TPI LE PROCES MILOSEVIC. UN « INITIE » TEMOIGNE »  
 - "PROTECTED WITNESS" TANIC - CO-AUTHOR IN THE WRITING  
 OF THE INDICTMENT  
 - PROSECUTION IN TROUBLE REVUE DE PRESSE :  
 L'HUMANITE(PARIS) - « MILOSEVIC · LA BARRE EN SERBIE »  
 - OPEN LETTER FROM "BELGRADE FORUM" : DEEP CONCERN  
 ABOUT THE CONDUCT OF THE TRIAL OF MR SLOBODAN  
 MILOSEVIC

BAGHDAD CONFERENCE :  
 RELEASE MILOSEVIC!

The Seventh Session of the Committee of Follow-up and Co-ordination of the Baghdad Conference has been finished in Baghdad on May 9, with participation of 160 representatives of about 90 political parties and organizations from more than 40 countries of all continents, including the MPs from Belgium, Belarus, Canada, France, Greece, Great Britain, India, Italy, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, Ukraine, ministers from South Africa and Malaysia, as well as high representatives from all Arab countries and from several countries of Africa and Latin America. Representatives of several Yugoslav parties also took part.

The Conference has adopted a joint Declaration, reflecting the common views on the contemporary international processes, and condemning the imperialist "globalization".

A special joint Statement containing the strong demand for release of President Slobodan Milosevic, has also been adopted, upon initiative the SPS representative and Head of Human Rights Commission of Yugoslav Parliament, Mr. Zivorad Igie.

The full text of the joint statement:  
 "At the Seventh Session of the Committee of Follow-up and Co-ordination of the Baghdad Conference held in Baghdad on 7-9 May 2002;  
 Having discussed the question of putting President Slobodan Milosevic before a so-called "Ad Hoc UN

Journal" at The Hague;  
The Conference adopted the following  
STATEMENT

1. The Conference does not accept the legality of the said Tribunal because it is politically motivated and was not legally constituted.
2. It is the people of Yugoslavia who are the only authority competent to deal with any matter pertaining to their country, Yugoslavia.
3. President Slobodan Milosevic should be released immediately from illegal detention, as this is the only step, which conforms to international law and the Charter of the United Nations."

FAUX TEMOIN DU « TPI » A LA HAYE !  
REVUE DE PRESSE : « TPI LE PROCES MILOSEVIC. UN «  
INITIE » TEMOIGNE »

Le Soir en Ligne, le 17/05/2002

AP /JEAN-JACQUES FRANK/LA HAYE

« Dans le jargon du procureur du Tribunal pour l'ex-Yougoslavie, Ratomir Tanic est un « initié », l'un de ces témoins-clés qui ont vécu dans le cercle du pouvoir à Belgrade, capables de faire le lien entre les exactions commises par les Serbes sur le terrain, et le premier d'entre eux, Slobodan Milosevic. Ancien conseiller du gouvernement serbe pour les questions internationales et le Kosovo, membre du comité directeur du Parti de la Nouvelle Démocratie, alors partenaire du pouvoir de l'accusé Milosevic, Tanic devait initialement déposer à huis clos. Finalement, il témoignera en public, le visage protégé. Ensuite, Tanic bénéficiera du « programme de réinstallation » du TPI.

Tanic, qui affirme avoir participé à plusieurs réunions avec Milosevic, raconte que le chef de l'Etat a d'abord cherché un règlement pacifique à la crise du Kosovo. Il indique que des conversations ont eu lieu avec des membres de services secrets russes, britanniques et allemands pour lutter contre les différents trafics organisés par les Albanais du Kosovo.

Mais l'ancien homme fort de Belgrade, accusé de crimes contre l'humanité, modifie sa stratégie en 1997. Il a rejeté l'autonomie du Kosovo et la participation d'étrangers au dialogue. (.) Le témoin charge l'accusé : Il avait créé une chaîne de commandement parallèle pour contourner ceux qui étaient opposés au meurtre de civils. Quand l'Otan bombarde la Yougoslavie, Milosevic ne fait rien pour empêcher des victimes civiles. Il précise que le président était au courant de l'intention de l'Otan de bombarder le siège de la radio-télévision serbe, confirmant des accusations déjà connues.

Vient le moment du contre-interrogatoire. Irrité, gesticulant, Milosevic accuse le témoin de mentir sur toute la ligne. Nous ne nous sommes jamais rencontrés. Vous êtes un faux témoin, martèle-t-il en substance. Les deux hommes s'accrochent, le ton monte. Le juge May doit intervenir sans relâche pour remettre fermement de l'ordre dans les débats.

Pendant ce temps, à Belgrade, le ministre serbe de l'Intérieur, Dusan Mihajlovic, clame que Tanic n'avait aucune position privilégiée. Il était un observateur au même titre que n'importe quel citoyen. Est-ce exact, ou Mihajlovic prend-il ses distances avec un homme qui vient de mouiller l'actuel chef de la police, Sreten Lukic, qu'il accuse d'avoir dissimulé le transport des cadavres de victimes albanaises ? Le contre-interrogatoire se poursuivra mardi prochain. »

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PROTECTED WITNESS" TANIC -  
 CO-AUTHOR IN THE WRITING OF THE INDICTMENT  
 FROM "FREEDOM ASSOCIATION SPECIAL BULLETIN" No.5  
 May 15, 2002

Today's testimonial of the (partially) protected "insider" Ratomir Tanic speaks more about his personality and about the role of intelligence services in the trial, than about the very subject of the testimonial. It appeared that these services directly, but badly prepared Tanic's testimony. Indicative is the today's statement of his former Party leader and current Interior Minister in the Serbian Government, Dusan Mihajlovic, published in today's edition of the Belgrade daily "Nacional", which goes: "I knew Ratomir was crazy enough to apply for witness and testify, but I had no vague presentiment that those ones were stupid enough to take him as witness".

Tanic has testified about all kinds of things, as if he has been the closest Milosevic's associate, or high state official, for the lightness with which he talked about things that could have been within reach exclusively to the highest state and military leadership. For the rest, at the very beginning of his examination by the prosecutor, he has identified himself as paid collaborator of British, Italian and Russian intelligence services.

Tanic's testimonial looked more like some kind of political analysis, by which it was intended to show that a political solution to the Kosovo and Metohia problem was possible, which Milosevic never accepted, since his goal was ethnic cleansing, i.e. the expulsion of Albanians from the province. Tanic kept developing this theory through an alleged parallel civilian chain of command, introduced by Milosevic, that by-passed the Army and Police command structures. As sources for these allegations he mentioned some "leading figures" within the Army and Police, whose names he did not want to reveal. After Milosevic and the Court insisted on the matter, he referred to Dusan Mihajlovic (leader of "New Democracy" party), General Momcilo Perisic (ex-Chief-of-staff of the YA), Jovica Stanisic (State Security Service - SDB - chief), as well as SDB officer Bogdan Tomas (for the events around Djakovica).

Tanic appeared with senseless allegations that the leadership of Yugoslavia wished for a "little bombing" in order to continue harassing and forcing the Albanians into exile, as well as to reduce the strength of the Serbian opposition. For this he recalled an alleged conversation with the British and German Ambassadors, in which he took part as well, never though mentioning in what capacity. He used the same pattern to affirm that he knows who ordered the Racak operation, but "may not reveal the foreign source".

Tanic insisted on proving the existence of a military training plan called "Horse shoe", that envisaged military operations in Kosovo and Metohia in the case of foreign aggression supported by the Albanian population. He further speculated that this "training" plan had been subsequently abused and applied in real conditions, no matter that 'there was neither a foreign aggression nor a rebellion of the Albanian population'.

Tanic's testimonial looks more like a script for an action movie in which the "bad guys" were Serbia and its leadership, and the "good guys" were the Kosovo and Metohia Albanians and NATO. The first ones are "guilty" because they have not solved the problem by political means and with selective use of force, which

Tanic's estimates was quite possible, while the latter are good because by bombardment they forced a solution for the province, that seemingly only Tanic is actually satisfied with.

In his senseless statements Tanic even said the purpose of sending the Army to the area of Djakovica (near the border with Albania) during NATO bombing was to prove that NATO committed crimes by killing Yugoslav soldiers, as well as to clean-up the Albanian population there.

Although Milosevic's cross-examination of this witness has only just started, it has been immediately clarified that Tanic was collaborating with the British Intelligence Service in writing The Hague indictment against Slobodan Milosevic. Such an obvious conclusion appears from simple comparison of the indictment and Tanic's written statement, as well as from his answers to the prosecutor's questions.

Besides that, on Milosevic's question, he confessed that at least two members of the British Intelligence Service were present during the writing of his statement. On the other hand, the fact his face was scrambled on TV transmission from the courtroom is rather indicative, meaning that "somebody" insured his secret for-life sojourn somewhere in the World with a false identity and changed looks.

The cross-examination of this 'protected witness' will go on, but it is already certain that it is going to be Tanic who will carry, for as long as he lives, the burden of having been the first Serb to testify against Milosevic and against the truth, but also against the right of his own nation to defend its citizens and territory from terrorism, regardless was it of Albanian or U.S./NATO kind. This 'testimony' also exposes unbelievable low level of the NATO political trial and of its Hague machinery, in which as one of crucial witnesses appears a person which never had any official position in Yugoslavia and which admits paid liaisons with foreign secret services.

PROSECUTION IN TROUBLE  
FROM "FREEDOM ASSOCIATION SPECIAL BULLETIN" No.6  
May 16, 2002

All of the examinations of the witnesses to the Prosecution so far have shown that the authors of the Indictment against Slobodan Milosevic are in a big trouble. This was definitely proven after today's cross-examination of Ratomir Tanic. His written 40-pages long statement, two days of answering to prosecutor's questions, as well as the issues he is covering, show that he is one of the indictment's crown witnesses. However, his answers on Milosevic's questions today have not only cut the reliability of his testimonial, but have also seriously compromised his credibility as a witness. All participants in the trial have become aware of that, so even Judge May himself had often to seriously warn Tanic, something he was not accustomed to do with the witnesses so far. Yesterday, at the very beginning of examination, Milosevic had proven that Tanic gave his statement under "control" of the British Intelligence Service with whom he co-wrote the indictment itself. Today Tanic at one point confessed that he made his voluminous statement in English, finding that as an excuse why he was not quite precise during his testimonial today.

There was practically no question where Tanic had not denied himself. So he said that in 1997 Milosevic and his associates, having plans of ethnic cleansing on their mind, claimed less than a million Albanians

lived in Kosovo and Metohia. When Milosevic made him admit that at that time preparations went on for the presidential elections in Serbia and that a positive environment for negotiations with the Kosovo Albanians was set (their participation in the election was expected), Tanic could not deny the fact that their number was discussed within the framework of estimating the election results, as well as keeping in mind they had always exaggerated their number. In his statement Tanic had also claimed that on June 25, 1997 Milosevic in his Pristina speech had provoked the Albanians and annulled all preparations for a political settlement achieved till then. However, when Milosevic quoted that speech whose accent was on the equality of all ethnic minorities and mutual tolerance, a confused Tanic replied: "As long as I remember, Milosevic had insisted on Kosovo being an integral part of Serbia". In some totally private and intelligence activities Tanic had supported the independence of Kosovo, a fact visible from a document of a round table on Kosovo held abroad, in which he took part and practically joined the Albanian participants who advocated independent Kosovo (that had been the very purpose of the gathering). Tanic tried in vain to prove that he was there on behalf of the authorities, whose partner then was his party New Democracy, especially after Milosevic quoted a document of that party in which Kosovo was considered as integral part of Serbia.

The unreliability of the witness Tanic was visible on every question. When Milosevic asked him to clarify the whereabouts of his presidential office where Tanic claimed having meetings with him, Tanic explained it was left from the entrance to the building of the Presidency of Serbia. After Milosevic explained his office was on the next floor, Tanic confusedly replied that he had seen him walking out from the ground floor hall and believed that was his office.

Another Tanic's affirmation, that he had been member of some New Democracy delegation (Dusan Mihajlovic and him only, according to his written statement) negotiating with Milosevic, was unmasked after he now had testified it had been a quite numerous one. After Milosevic reminded him that his former boss stated last night (in a live broadcast on Belgrade TV) that Tanic had been involved in those events no more than any other citizen of Serbia, Tanic tried to give explanations not even clear to himself. A similar thing happened with his claims that he had meetings with Milosevic during receptions held in JUL headquarters. Tanic insisted these meetings were taking place in a room of the JUL building, while Milosevic explained that all JUL receptions were held in that building's garden. This was confirmed in a statement of a former JUL official earlier today in Belgrade.

Tanic got caught in quite a lot of discrepancies, related to differences between his written statement and current testimonial, such as his written allegations of being the "main negotiator" (reduced today to "talks engine" by his own words), of starting his collaboration with the British Intelligence Service in 1993 "during preparations for Dayton" (Milosevic reminded him that the Dayton negotiations were agreed only two years later), as well as of Milosevic attempting to provoke a civil war in Serbia in late 1996 and after that being put under a "mild control of the Army and Police forces" in order to stop him realizing such intentions (which looked like a Sci-Fi plot to all who lived in Serbia at that time).

When asked who did let him start collaborating with

the British Intelligence Service, Tanic replied -  
 "Both sides - Serbian and British Services".

Questioned what has been his post within New Democracy, Tanic claimed being empowered by Dusan Mihajlovic to negotiate with the Albanians as "advisor to the party leader", "Member of its Executive Board" and "Member of the Presidential Cabinet of New Democracy". Things have become really rough for Tanic when Milosevic proposed examining Tanic's party application form, from which unequivocally results that he has been just a sympathizer, and not even an outright member of New Democracy.

About the nature of Tanic's testimonial the quote "Albanians should be the Piedmont of Southern Europe" from his written statement speaks for itself, since it can only mean the creation of a Greater Albania by cutting parts of Montenegro, Serbia, Macedonia and Greece. Tanic at first denied having testified that, and after seeing the original, simply explained it as being a print error!

After all we have heard from Tanic these last few days, it is more than obvious that we are dealing with a collaborator of foreign secret services who took part in preparing the indictment against President Milosevic, but even more so it is obvious that he is completely disable to play a role of crown witness to the prosecution, as those services had planned.

#### REVUE DE PRESSE :

L'HUMANITE(PARIS) - « MILOSEVIC · LA BARRE EN SERBIE »

« Yougoslavie. Ses interventions devant le tribunal et certaines failles du TPI renforcent la position de l'ex-potentat, écouté comme jamais dans son pays ». Yougoslavie, correspondance particulière.

« La population serbe continue de rester rivée à longueur de journée devant les écrans de télévision, toutes les chaînes retransmettant en direct le procès de Slobodan Milosevic. " Il ne parle pas pour le tribunal, mais il s'adresse à la Serbie. Cela faisait des années qu'il n'avait pas autant parlé et que le peuple serbe ne l'avait pas autant écouté ", note Nikolaï Kabasic, un juriste de Mitrovica, au Kosovo, militant de longue date de l'opposition à l'ancien président. Toute la population regarde le procès, à l'exception d'une petite minorité, qui correspond très exactement aux vieux militants d'opposition, qui répètent à l'unisson, d'un bout à l'autre de la Serbie : " Nous l'avons assez entendu, et ces retransmissions permanentes sont une catastrophe. " Dans les milieux journalistiques de Belgrade, on se demande sous forme de plaisanterie comment l'actuel gouvernement gèrera le retour triomphal au pays de l'ancien homme fort de Belgrade. L'éventuel élargissement de Slobodan Milosevic demeure une hypothèse bien improbable, mais la pugnacité de sa défense impressionne fortement la population serbe. " Peu de gens voulaient croire aux poncifs de la propagande lorsque Milosevic était encore au pouvoir, maintenant que ces mêmes arguments sont avancés devant le Tribunal de La Haye, ils acquièrent une tout autre signification ", analyse Nikolaï Kabasic. Au printemps 2001, la population serbe voulait avant tout tourner la page, et n'avait guère réagi à l'arrestation de Slobodan Milosevic et à son transfert à La Haye, mais la prestation de l'ancien président est en train de transformer la donne (.)

Milosevic a réussi à remettre au premier plan les souffrances bien réelles endurées par cette population. Il ne faut pas oublier qu'en Serbie vivent près d'un million de réfugiés de Croatie, de Bosnie et du Kosovo ", poursuit Nikolaï.. »

OPEN LETTER FROM "BELGRADE FORUM" :  
DEEP CONCERN ABOUT THE CONDUCT OF THE TRIAL OF MR  
SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC

ICTY- Den Haag

To: Claude Jorda

Belgrade, 15 May 2002

Dear Mr. Claude Jorda

I express my deep concern about the conduct of the trial of Mr. Slobodan Milosevic before the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in the Hague and growing evidence of partiality of the Tribunal.

I am especially concerned about the Tribunal's acceptance of Mr. Riddle-Mayer as an independent expert in the field of historical monuments of culture. This acceptance came in spite of the fact that Mr. Riddle-Mayer had obtained funding for his one-sided Kosovo research project from his own sources and then offered his services to the Office of the Prosecutor of the ICTY. On the other hand, I am aware that it is a well-established practice of impartial criminal courts anywhere in the world that experts for a particular expertise are appointed by courts themselves, while the financing of these expertises is strictly determined by the rules governing the procedure.

I am also concerned by a large and growing number of issues which the presiding Judge Richard May declares as irrelevant during the cross-examination of the witnesses by Mr. Milosevic. To this end, strict time restrictions are imposed on Mr. Milosevic, even when he is cross-examining some of the most important witnesses such as Mr. Ibrahim Rugova, President of Kosovo, on 3 & 6 May 2002. I consider it unacceptable that issues such as, for instance, the ascertainment of the role, character and sources of financing of the KLA are declared as irrelevant. At the same time, no significant effort has been made by the presiding Judge May to make Mr. Rugova give precise, concise and concrete answers to the questions posed by Mr. Milosevic and amicus curiae. Mr. Rugova's testimony was characterised as a shame for international justice by many lawyers and journalists present in The Hague, reported Belgrade daily Glas Javnosti on 4 May 2002. Noting that great many witnesses from Kosovo testify not to have ever heard of the KLA, I am concerned that not a single witness has been warned that a false statement is subject to penal measures under Article 91 of the Rules of Procedure and Evidence. These measures must be applied in order to prevent incredible testimonies, abuse of power by the Prosecutor's Office and undue exhaustion of Mr. Milosevic who is exposed to a rather long trial. Finally, I am deeply concerned about the constant changes in order of appearance of witnesses by the Prosecution which the Chamber allows too lightly. The Milosevic case is a complex one, raising complex issues and too narrow, selective and impatient approach by the Chamber to these issues can have detrimental consequences for the rights of Mr. Milosevic. Considering that such an approach has already started affecting his right to a fair trial, I call upon all human rights organisations to appoint its observers at the trial, or to follow the proceedings in other appropriate manner. I also call upon all human rights organisations to take any action they deem appropriate in order to stop the violations of the right to a fair trial of Mr. Slobodan Milosevic.

Yours sincerely,

Radislav Jovanovic,  
Acting President of The Belgrade Forum for the world  
Of Equals  
Belgrade, Misarska 6

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Les nouvelles qui sont données dans ce bulletin le  
sont à titre d'information.

Elle n'impliquent pas nécessairement l'adhésion de  
l'ICDSM,

en particulier quant aux informations provenant des  
media occidentaux.

The news contained in this newsletter are given only  
for information.

ICDSM don't approve necessarily these news,  
particularly when information come from western media.

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Pour plus d'information - For more information :  
Website FCDSM (Français, Anglais, Serbe) :  
<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-NCPS 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 :  
<http://www.srpska-mreza.com/>

Do You Yahoo!? – Une adresse @yahoo.fr gratuite et en français !  
Yahoo! Mail : <http://fr.mail.yahoo.com>

## van holst en steijnen

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**From:** Vladimir Krsljanin <vlada@sps.org.yu>  
**To:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:@smtp.sps.org.yu;>  
**Sent:** vrijdag 17 mei 2002 02:44  
**Subject:** Freedom fight in the Hague (6)

**FREEDOM ASSOCIATION SPECIAL BULLETIN No.6**  
 May 16, 2002

### Prosecution In Trouble

All of the examinations of the witnesses to the Prosecution so far have shown that the authors of the Indictment against Slobodan Milosevic are in a big trouble. This was definitely proven after today's cross-examination of Ratomir Tanic. His written 40-pages long statement, two days of answering to prosecutor's questions, as well as the issues he is covering, show that he is one of the indictment's crown witnesses. However, his answers on Milosevic's questions today have not only cut the reliability of his testimonial, but have also seriously compromised his credibility as a witness. All participants in the trial have become aware of that, so even Judge May himself had often to seriously warn Tanic, something he was not accustomed to do with the witnesses so far.

Yesterday, at the very beginning of examination, Milosevic had proven that Tanic gave his statement under "control" of the British Intelligence Service with whom he co-wrote the indictment itself. Today Tanic at one point confessed that he made his voluminous statement in English, finding that as an excuse why he was not quite precise during his testimonial today.

There was practically no question where Tanic had not denied himself. So he said that in 1997 Milosevic and his associates, having plans of ethnic cleansing on their mind, claimed less than a million Albanians lived in Kosovo and Metohia. When Milosevic made him admit that at that time preparations went on for the presidential elections in Serbia and that a positive environment for negotiations with the Kosovo Albanians was set (their participation in the election was expected), Tanic could not deny the fact that their number was discussed within the framework of estimating the election results, as well as keeping in mind they had always exaggerated their number.

In his statement Tanic had also claimed that on June 25, 1997 Milosevic in his Pristina speech had provoked the Albanians and annulled all preparations for a political settlement achieved till then. However, when Milosevic quoted that speech whose accent was on the equality of all ethnic minorities and mutual tolerance, a confused Tanic replied: "As long as I remember, Milosevic had insisted on Kosovo being an integral part of Serbia". In some totally private and intelligence activities Tanic had supported the independence of Kosovo, a fact visible from a document of a round table on Kosovo held abroad, in which he took part and practically joined the Albanian participants who advocated independent Kosovo (that had been the very purpose of the gathering). Tanic tried in vain to prove that he was there on behalf of the authorities, whose partner then was his party New Democracy, especially after Milosevic quoted a document of that party in which Kosovo was considered as integral part of Serbia.

The unreliability of the witness Tanic was visible on every question. When Milosevic asked him to clarify the whereabouts of his presidential office where Tanic claimed having meetings with him, Tanic explained it was left from the entrance to the building of the Presidency of Serbia. After Milosevic explained his office was on the next floor, Tanic confusedly replied that he had seen him walking out from the ground floor hall and believed that was his office.

Another Tanic's affirmation, that he had been member of some New Democracy delegation (Dusan Mihajlovic and him only, according to his written statement) negotiating with Milosevic, was unmasked after he now had testified it had been a quite numerous one. After Milosevic reminded him that his former boss stated last night (in a live broadcast on Belgrade TV) that Tanic had been involved in those events no more than any other citizen of Serbia, Tanic tried to give explanations not even clear to himself. A similar thing happened with his claims that he had meetings with Milosevic during receptions held in JUL headquarters. Tanic insisted these meetings were taking place in a room of the JUL building, while Milosevic explained that all JUL receptions were held in that building's garden. This was confirmed in a statement of a former JUL official earlier today in Belgrade.

Tanic got caught in quite a lot of discrepancies, related to differences between his written statement and current testimonial, such as his written allegations of being the "main negotiator" (reduced today to "talks engine" by his own words), of starting his collaboration with the British Intelligence Service in 1993 "during preparations for Dayton" (Milosevic reminded him that the Dayton negotiations were agreed only two years later), as well as of Milosevic attempting to provoke a civil war in Serbia in late 1996 and after that being put under a "mild control of the Army and Police forces" in order to stop him realizing such intentions (which looked like a Sci-Fi plot to all who lived in Serbia at that time).

When asked who did let him start collaborating with the British Intelligence Service, Tanic replied - "Both sides - Serbian and British Services". Questioned what has been his post within New Democracy, Tanic claimed being empowered by Dusan Mihajlovic to negotiate with the Albanians as "advisor to the party leader", "Member of its Executive Board" and "Member of the Presidential Cabinet of New Democracy". Things have become really rough for Tanic when Milosevic proposed examining Tanic's party application form, from which unequivocally results that he has been just a sympathizer, and not even an outright member of New Democracy.

About the nature of Tanic's testimonial the quote "Albanians should be the Piedmont of Southern Europe" from his written statement speaks for itself, since it can only mean the creation of a Greater Albania by cutting parts of Montenegro, Serbia, Macedonia and Greece. Tanic at first denied having testified that, and after seeing the original, simply explained it as being a print error!

After all we have heard from Tanic these last few days, it is more than obvious that we are dealing with a collaborator of foreign secret services who took part in preparing the indictment against President Milosevic, but even more so it is obvious that he is completely disabale to play a role of crown witness to the prosecution, as those services had planned.

Tanic's cross-examination by Milosevic and the "Amici Curiae" will be resumed, and most probably over, on next Tuesday.

To join or help this struggle, visit:

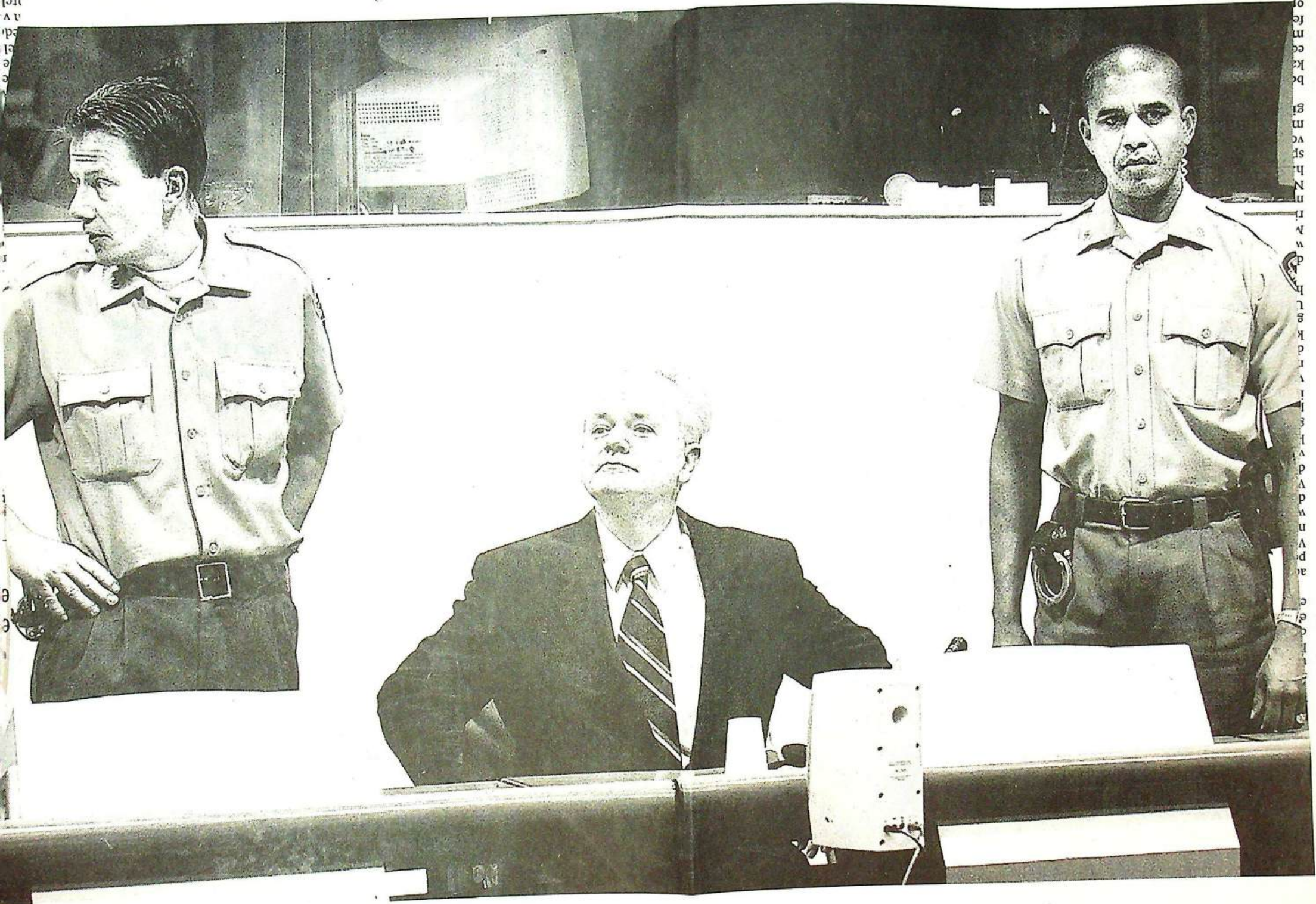
<http://www.sps.org.yu/> (official SPS website)

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

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

<http://www.jutarnje.co.yu/> ('morning news' the only Serbian newspaper advocating liberation)

18-5-2002



Slobodan Milošević bij het Joegoslavië-tribunaal in Den Haag. Foto AP

## De sluwe verhoortechniek van Milošević

# Het geheim van de baseballpetjes

confrontatie met de verdachte Slobodan Milošević het tribunaal zijn verschenen. Waarmee

vroegere Joego-  
slavische president  
Milošević. Op verzoek  
van deze krant wonen  
schrijvers een  
zittingsdag van het  
Joegoslavië-tribunaal  
bij. Bij het gerechtshof  
hangt iets onzegbaars in  
de lucht, schrijft Louis  
Ferron, 'een mengeling  
van boosaardigheid,  
woede en verdriet'.

Louis Ferron

Het is wel iets voor een romanticus, die geschiedenis van Servië en het latere Joegoslavië. Eerst had je de koninkrijken Servië en Montenegro; er was sprake van Habsburgse gebieden en gebieden die horig waren aan het Ottomaanse rijk. Westers en Slavisch christendom botsten er met de islam. Door dat alles heen schuifelden bandieten van Kuifje-achtige allure, huldigers van de vendetta en vierders van langdurige vetes. Het geheel overgoten met veel slivovitsj en bloed dat kroop waar het niet gaan kon. Ooit, in de Middeleeuwen uitgevochten veldslagen dreunden door tot in de twintigste eeuw. Zeg maar: het Balkangevoel volgens A. den Doolaard.

Al even romantisch was, voor wie het zo zien wilde, de wanhoopsdaad van de Servische student Princip die, met zijn moord-aanslag op aartshertog Franz Ferdinand van Oostenrijk de Eerste Wereldoorlog ontstak en daarmee indirect, en nadat er zeeën van bloed waren gestroomd, de grondlegger van het moderne Joegoslavië mocht worden genoemd. Als zodanig werd hij in ieder geval geroemd door de communisten die na een nieuwe, wellicht nog barbaarsere oorlog, de macht in Joegoslavië overnamen. Men kan zijn winst uit-tellen.

Maar waar is waar: het waren de voornamelijk Servische partizanen onder Josip Broz, alias Tito, die de veelvolkerenstaat Joegoslavië tot een zekere eenheid wisten te smeden. Zodat wij, hier in het Westen, het over Joegoslaven hadden waar het ging om Servische, dan wel Montenegrijnse, Kroatische of Macedonische balletje-balletjespelers. En ondanks dat vermaledijde spelletje en soms ook nog wat praktijken van heel wat criminelere aard was een zekere sympathie voor de Joegoslaven ons niet vreemd. Want, wat we onthouden hadden was dat het juist de Serviërs onder de Joego's waren die manhaftig verzet tegen het Hitlerbewind hadden geboden. En het waren alweer de Serviërs die, alweer onder

...zo zagen wij dat graag: antis-fascistisch en dissident communistisch. Daar kon je in tijden van Koude Oorlog aardig mee uit de voeten. En dat Tito zich uiterlijk manifesteerde als een Balkanese Goering... dat maakte de zaak er alleen maar gemakkelijker op. Een communist in een wit praaluniform, dat moest wel de verpersoonlijking zijn van het Hegeliaanse ideaal, door ons allen zo deerlijk gekoesterd, waarin de tegendelen elkaar ophieven. Om over te gaan in een nieuwe waarheid van hogere orde. In dit geval die van een multiculturele samenleving waarin het moslim-lam met de orthodoxe, dan wel westelijk-christelijke leeuw sloop.

Het ideaal kon niet langer duren dan het operettepak van Tito onbesmeurd bleef. En dat bleef het natuurlijk niet.

Tot zover ongeveer mijn persoonlijke *Werdegang* en die van mijn geestverwanten tot op het moment dat, tegelijk met het kolossale lijf van Tito, ook de door hem tot eenheid gedwongen staat in ontbinding raakte. Wat voor de naar etnisch/staatkundige zelfstandigheid hakende bevolkingsgroepen goed uitkwam, want ook het communisme als zodanig begon aan ontbindingsverschijnselen te lijden.

Nog voor het in 1989 voorgoed de geest zou geven, was in 1986 ene Slobodan Milošević tot secretaris-generaal van de communistische partij van Servië gekozen. Tito's erfgenaam waar het ging om de Servische suprematie in Joegoslavië, maar slim genoeg om het woord 'communistisch' alleen nog als dekmantel voor zijn nationale aspiraties te gebruiken. Twee periodes lang was hij president van de deelrepubliek Servië om in 1997 tot president van de federale republiek te worden gekozen. Inmiddels echter waren de rapen goed gaar en zo hebben we jarenlang via krant en televisie getuigen mogen zijn van Milošević' pogingen de Joegoslavische zaak een beetje bij elkaar te houden. Dat hij indirect de val van Paars 2 nog mocht bewerkstelligen is één van die verrassingen die de geschiedenis gelukkig altijd nog in petto houdt.

Het is niet niks de erfgenaam van Tito, die op zijn beurt tot een historische grootheid van betwistbaar kaliber is uitgegroeid, in levenden lijve te mogen aanschouwen. Laat ik het provocerende en, naar ik hoop, eerlijker formuleren: één van de poetsen die de geschiedenis mij persoonlijk gebakken heeft is dat ik geen getuige heb kunnen zijn van het Neurenbergproces. Hoe graag had ik het vleesge worden kwaad in de personen van onder anderen Goering, Goebbels en Himmler niet in de ogen willen zien? Uit sensatie-zucht gedeeltelijk, maar wel degelijk ook in de hoop iets te kunnen achterhalen van het kwaad dat in ieder van ons schuilgaat en dat we maar beter kunnen erkennen om erger te voorkomen.

Nu staat Slobodan Milošević voor het tribunaal dat is opgezet om de tijdens de Joegoslavische troebelen (om maar eens een in de Slavische geschiedenis historisch begrip te parafaseren) begane misdaden te berechten. De aanklacht tegen Slobodan en zijn kompanen is niet gering en doet niet of nauwelijks onder voor die, ingebracht tegen de massamoordenaars van het Derde Rijk. Hier lag de kans mijn historische en morele schade in te halen.

## Schrijvers bij het Milošević- proces

De kans bleek verpletterend banaal. Om te beginnen al de architectuur van de door de VN afgehuurde Haagse lokaliteit waarin het tribunaal zich afspeelt: gezellig modernisme; een klassiek zuiltje hier, een bescheiden versierinkje daar. En de controle op de bezoekers van de zittingen is wel streng, maar ook weer niet zo streng dat ik mijn sleutelhanger annex knipmes niet bij me zou mogen houden. De aanslagplegers op de *twin towers* beschikten over minder vervaarlijke wapens. Zelfs de couture van de magistraten blinkt niet werkelijk uit door indrukwekkendheid. Want, hoe vaak civil en strafrecht vaak gekleed? Potsierlijk. Des te erger zou het met een internationaal gerechtshof moeten zijn waar niet minder dan de humanitaire waarden in het geding zijn. Het viel dus mee. Een rood toefje hoogstens bij de zittende magistraten. Dat lijkt me een goede zaak. Met *Impontierghebe* heb ik niet veel op.

Banaal dus, schreef ik. Maar wat is er verder banaal aan het feit dat ik, zodra ik andere bezoekers zag binnendruppelen, bevangen werd door onbehagelijke gevoelens? Sommigen van hen spraken voor mij onbegrijpelijke talen. Slachtoffers, familie van slachtoffers? Heimelijke sympathisanten van Sloba wellicht? Ik ben te weinig journalist om het ze te hebben durven vragen. Toch voelde ik iets onzegbaars in de

Milošević keek me  
recht in de ogen en ik  
voelde me schuldig

lucht hangen; een mengeling van boosaardigheid, woede en verdriet. En daarna: toch weer dat banale. Een verkeerd windjack, een fout hoedje, de kennelijk geroutineerde gang naar de zittingszaal, het al even geroutineerde inschakelen van de vertaalapparatuur. De zittingszaal bleek met een glazen wand afgescheiden van de bezoekersruimte. Auditoriumsgewijs werd ons een zicht op het aquarium geboden waarin het kwaad gefileerd ging worden. Ja, verdomd, realiseerde ik mij, dit is wat hier gaande is: na de devaluatie van het theologisch te definiëren kwaad wordt hier getracht een seculiere variant te bepalen. Ik vind dat eigenlijk van een verpletterende hoogmoed, maar zou ook niet weten wat je anders zou moeten doen.

In dergelijke mijmeringen verzonken miste ik in eerste instantie dat waarvoor ik eigenlijk gekomen was: mijn persoonlijke

jurist en bankpresident. Een man, nog geen jaar ouder dan ikzelf ben maar met een uiterlijk dat, in tegenstelling tot het mijne, gezag en, ja heus, een zekere eerbiedwaardigheid uitstraalt. Dat laatste komt natuurlijk door zijn bankierscarrière. Ik pleeg zelfs bankdirecteuren die twintig jaar jonger zijn dan ik met 'u' aan te spreken. Met politieke kopstukken heb ik meestal een merkwaardigerwijs heel wat minder etiquetteuze problemen.

Maar goed, alsof mijn ogen gewend waren geraakt aan een nachtelijk duister zag ik hem dan toch zitten. Links voor mij, slechts in gezelschap van een uit basalt gehakte bewaker. De aan Sloba toegevoegde *amicus* bleek niet meer dan een zo nu en dan eens langsfalderende kraai. Milošević keek door het glas naar het auditorium en even verbeeldde ik mij dat hij me persoonlijk in de ogen keek. Ik voelde me, raar genoeg, schuldig. „Ik zit hier alleen maar om verslag te doen”, had ik hem willen toeroepen, „of u het kwaad belichaamt is aan die lui daar ter beoordeling en van de onder uw verantwoordelijkheid aangerichte slachtpartijen heb ik alleen maar via krant en televisie vernomen. En dat kwaad waarvan ik u verdenk het te belichamen, dat huist ook in mij en in mijn slechtste dromen bezorgt me dat ook nog eens een gevoel van opwinding.” Maar dat riep ik allemaal niet, want Milošević keek alweer weg en nam de pose aan die hij de rest van de zitting zou blijven koesteren: die van de getrainde jurist die een zaak verdedigt waaraan eigenlijk niet zoveel eer te behalen is. Een doortrapte pose, besefte ik later.

Door mijn oortelefoon klonk angstwekkend geruis. Provinciale kneus die ik ben, wist ik me natuurlijk geen raad met de apparatuur. Een vriendelijke dame naast mij – Sloveense, Bosnische, Kosovaarse of god mag weten welke 'ethniciteit' dan ook – hielp me uit de brand.

Dat wil zeggen, een ijsingwekkende, in het Engels vertaalde stilte tuitte in mijn oren. Er bleek sprake van een procedurefoutje, of een bepaald stuk ontbrak. Milošević keek nu terecht misprijzend. Alweer: de banaliteit. Enerzijds lachwekkend in het licht van de behandelde zaak, anderzijds een waarborg voor een zekere geloofwaardigheid. Immers, overwinnaarsrecht pleegt zich in de regel heel wat trefzekerder te manifesteren. Trouwens, bedacht ik, wat heet hier overwinnaarsrecht als de zaak in handen is gelegd van de Verenigde Naties, een instantie die tot op heden een schamel figuur heeft geslagen als het gaat om de overwinning van de humaniteit op militaire agressie en genocide? 'Slachtofferrecht' zou een betere definitie zijn. Boosaardiger gezegd: een vrijwel machteloos orgaan krijgt hier, namens de werkelijke overwinnaars, een kluijfe toegeworpen waarmee het weer een jaartje of wat zoet kan zijn.

Een jaartje of wat en misschien nog wel langer als het aan Milošević ligt. Want zoveel is uit de krantenverslagen die ik erover gelezen heb wel duidelijk geworden en daar, in die rechtszaal, bleek het eens te meer: er is de gedaagde alles aan gelegen de getuigen à charge dermate met subtiele details uit hun herinnering in de war te brengen, dat ze zich aan het eind van de zaak niet eens meer zullen kunnen herinneren wanneer ze voor de eerste keer voor

nul en gener waarde zal zijn. Het kwaad blijkt geslepener dan het recht banaal is.

In de getuigenbank zat een 22-jarige jongeman, tevens „Albanees etnische moslim”!

„Is that correct?”

„....”

„We can't hear you.”

Gefriemel aan de apparatuur – ik ben goddank niet de enige provinciaal. Zenuwachtig getelefoncer door een bloedmooie bijzitter.

Toen een en ander geregeld was, ontrolde zich een door Milošević geregisseerd drama waarin de getuige steeds verder wegzakte in hulpeloosheid, zich dreigde te verstikken in tegenstrijdige uitspraken waaruit hij steeds weer werd gered door interventie van de dienstdoende hoofdrechtter. „U treedt in herhalingen, mister Milošević.” Toch gebiedt de eerlijkheid te zeggen dat het die herhalingen waren die de zwakte van de getuige blootlegden. Natuurlijk wist Milošević dat, maar hij bleef kijken of het hem allemaal niet aanging.

Ik had woedend om het vertoon moeten worden, maar de zaak werd in mijn ogen lachwekkend toen de zaak zich toespitste op het feit of de getuige op zeker moment nu wel of niet Servische militieleden had kunnen zien, of ze wel of niet maskers en baseballpetjes hadden gedragen. Voor zover ik de snelle woordenwisseling kan volgen begrijp ik dat de getuige dat van die maskers wel wil terugnemen. Maar op het punt van de baseballpetjes insisteert hij. Langs allerlei juridische strikwegen probeert Milošević hieruit zijn voordeel te halen. En, het is waar, als je niet weet of je de militie maskers hebt zien dragen, hoe zou je dan zeker weten of ze baseballpetjes droeg. Milošević scoort, zoveel is zeker. Maar maakt dat hem minder schuldig?

Het geheim van de baseballpetjes wordt niet ontraadseld. Opeens is dit deel van de zitting afgerond. Getuige mag vertrekken. Van dit soort zittingen zullen nog vele tientallen volgen, vrees ik. Noodzakelijk, maar voor de krantenlezer die hongert naar gerechtigheid weinig voedzaam.

Intussen zit ik in de trein, weer op weg naar huis. Opnieuw overweeg ik de ooit zo romantische geschiedenis van Servië en Joegoslavië. Ik denk aan de Duitse schrijver Peter Handke die, als één van de weinige intellectuelen van West-Europa, begrip voor de Servische zaak heeft kunnen opbrengen. De Serviërs hebben tenslotte tegen de fascistische gevochten en ze hadden een Tito die een leven lang vrede heeft weten te bewaren in een landschap dat, volgens Handke's normen past in een wereld van beschouwelijkheid, introspectie en nu en dan een glaasje slivovitsj. Maar die wereld van Handke is een papieren wereld, zoals die van A. den Doolaard dat was. En op papier was het Tito'sme mooi. Op papier ook was de strijd tegen het fascisme mooi. Maar in de werkelijkheid is alles erger. Banaler. Milošević zal zijn vet krijgen. Maar toch, aan mij blijft die droom knagen die ook hem voor ogen moet hebben gestaan: die van een ideale, multiculturele samenleving. In Sloba's geval volgens Servisch model. Dat wel.

Dit is de derde aflevering in een serie. De eerste aflevering verscheen op 16 februari, de tweede op 16 maart. 'Het overspelige gras' is de laatstverschene roman van Louis Ferron.